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1: AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES
OF THE NORTH NEW GUINEA CLUSTER
IN NORTHWESTERN NEW BRITAIN

edited by
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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

This volume is the first to come out of a project which was originally conceived in 1987. In the process of researching the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia during the 1970s and 1980s, I realised that New Britain had one of the most complex linguistic geographies in the region, yet only quite broadbrush studies of its languages had appeared in print. I had also become aware that a number of people had worked on the island's languages, but that (for a variety of reasons) relatively few publications had resulted from their labours. So I decided to solicit studies for publication in what I then believed would be a single large volume.

Because New Britain is inextricably linked to New Ireland in some of its linguistic relationships, I also decided that the scope of the volume should include both islands. I knew that there was an amount of unpublished work on New Ireland languages.

My solicitations met with a response which has overwhelmed me, and fresh or revised contributions have continued to reach me in the intervening years. As a result, the planned single volume has grown into at least four volumes, and it is possible that more will be needed to accommodate the project's materials by the time their collection and editing is complete. The first two volumes are concerned with Austronesian languages of the North New Guinea cluster which are spoken on New Britain. Further volumes will contain studies of Austronesian languages of the Meso-Melanesian cluster, mostly spoken on New Ireland, and Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages, most of them spoken on New Britain.

The size of the response to my request for material has been gratifying, for me personally because it has affirmed that the motive for the project was right, and academically because it increases our knowledge of a linguistically little known area. But the unexpected extent of that response has also brought me a great deal of embarrassment. Instead of being able to edit the contributions and compile them quite rapidly into a publication, I found that the editing task stretched on into a period in which other commitments competed for my time. As a result, publication has been very much delayed, and I want to offer a heartfelt apology to the contributors to these volumes for the long delay in the appearance of their work. I thank them for their patience.

I am also grateful to Robin Grau of the Department of Human Geography in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, who saved me several hours by providing me with the outline on which the map is based.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

In interlinear glosses, a hyphen (-) is used to indicate a morpheme boundary, a full stop (.) is used to indicate a word-break in the gloss of a single morpheme, and angle brackets (<...>) are used to mark infixation.

Five classes of pronominal morphemes are recognised in the languages described in this volume. They are, with their class abbreviations:

D	disjunctive (independent, focal, free) pronouns
P	possessive pronominal suffixes and possessive pronouns
S	subject pronominal prefixes
O	object pronominal suffixes
R	reflexive pronouns

The gloss of each pronominal morpheme has three parts. For example, the Maleu independent pronoun *iou* 'I' is glossed 'D1S', where 'I' marks the morpheme class ('disjunctive'), '1' marks the person ('first'), and 'S' marks the number ('singular'). Thus the three persons are marked '1', '2' and '3', whilst the abbreviations marking number are:

S	singular
P	plural
EP	exclusive plural
IP	inclusive plural

Possessive pronouns are distinguished from possessive pronominal suffixes by the addition of .PRON to the gloss, e.g. Maleu *lemva* P1EP.PRON.

Abbreviations used in glosses are:

ADJ	adjective
AdjP	adjective phrase
ADJR	adjectiviser
ADV	adverb
AdvP	adverb phrase
BEN	benefactive
C	created possession classifier
CERT	certainty
CJ	conjunction
CJ.DUR	durative conjunction
CJ.PURP	purposive conjunction
CJ.RES	resultative conjunction
CJ.SEQ	sequential conjunction
CI	clause
CMPL	completive
CNT	continuative
COLL	collective

COM	comitative
COMP	complementiser
CON	connective
CONSEQ	consequential
COP	copula
CS	causative
D	disjunctive (independent, focal, free) pronoun (see above)
DEM	demonstrative adjective
DESID	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DS	disposable possession classifier
E	exclusive (see above)
ED	edible possession classifier
EP	exclusive plural (see above)
F	feminine
FUT	future
G	general possession classifier
HL	holophrastic, interjection
I	inclusive (see above)
IN	intimate possession classifier
INST	instrument formative
INSTR	instrument
INTRPV	interruptive
IP	inclusive plural (see above)
IRED	<i>i</i> -reduplication (Mangseng)
IRR	irrealis
k.o.	kind of
LIG	ligature
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MOD	modality marker
N	noun; neuter
NEG	negative
NM	noun marker
NP	noun phrase
NSR	nominaliser
O	object (see above)
P	plural (see above); possessive (see above)
PNM	proper noun marker
POSS	possessive
PossP	possession phrase
POST	postposition
Pred	predicate
PREP	preposition
PrepP	preposition phrase
PRON	pronoun
PRT	boundary particle
QUANT	quantifier

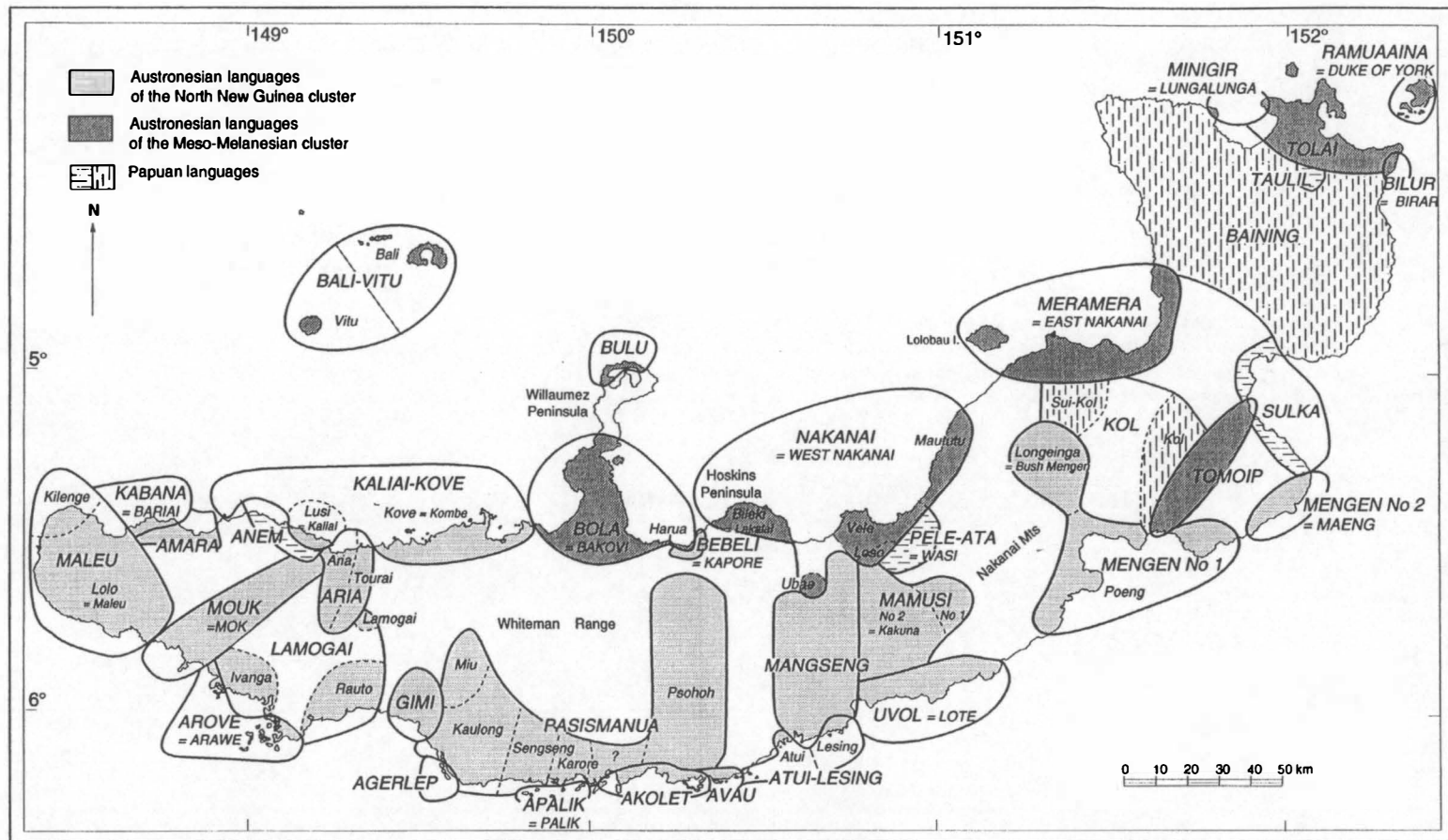
R	reflexive (see above)
RCP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
RelCl	relative clause
S	singular (see above); subject (see above)
SCE	source
sp	species of
SPEC	specifier
spp	various species of
TC	topic of conversation/cognition
TEMP	temporal
TEMP	temporal
TR	transitive
V	verb
VI	intransitive verb
VP	verb phrase
VTR	transitive verb

Symbols used in lexicons in Thurston's contributions are:

>	see also, compare with
<	derived from
=	equivalent to
≠	antonym, contrasts with
≤	taxonomic hyponym, kind of
≥	generic for list of varieties
±	optional
¶	paradigm (1S, 2S, 3S, 1IP, 1EP, 2P, 3P)
...	incomplete paradigm

Abbreviations of language names are:

Bbl	Bebeli	Mgs	Mangseng
Bkv	Bakovi	Mll	Malalamai
Gtu	Gitua	PBri	Proto Bariai
Ivg	Ivanga	PNgBri	Proto Ngero/Bariai
Kau	Kaulong	PNgVz	Proto Ngero/Vitiaz
Kbn	Kabana	POc	Proto Oceanic
Kge	Kilenge	Rto	Rauto
Krr	Karore	Sng	Sengseng
Lak	Lakalai	Tou	Tourai
Lmg	Lamogai	TP	Tok Pisin
Mer	Meramera		



The languages of New Britain

INTRODUCTION

MALCOLM D. ROSS

This volume is the first of a set containing studies on the languages of New Britain and New Ireland. While I was researching and writing Ross (1988), I came to an ironic realisation: although New Britain and New Ireland were among the first areas of Papua New Guinea to experience contact with Europeans, New Britain in particular remained linguistically one of the least known regions of the country. There are several reasons for this. One is that although the St George's Channel between New Britain and New Ireland was an early area of contact with traders, missionaries and colonisers, the mountainous terrain obstructed this contact from reaching very far inland or westward, so that much of New Britain has remained relatively isolated from the rest of Papua New Guinea well into the last quarter of the twentieth century. Even around the German colonial centres of Rabaul and Kokopo, however, both located on the St George's Channel, our linguistic knowledge has remained limited. In 1974 I sent some senior high school students out on a small exercise in linguistic data collection in the Rabaul/Kokopo area, and one returned with data from an Austronesian language spoken not far from Kokopo, whose existence was nowhere recorded in the literature.¹ The assumption seems to have been made quite early that the Rabaul/Kokopo area was so accessible that there could hardly be much still to be found there. Yet both in that area and in the quite accessible northern half of New Ireland there remain a good number of languages on which little or nothing has been published.

The aim of the present volumes is to help fill that gap. In the course of my work I realised that a fair number of linguists had worked on New Britain and New Ireland in recent years. Some (Goulden and Thurston in this volume) had written their work up, but had not organised its publication because their career paths had taken them in other directions. Others (Haywood in the present volume) are members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who had done write-ups for SIL-internal purposes but whose Bible translation commitment did not leave them the time to edit their work for publication. One way or another, there was quite a quantity of unpublished material on the languages of New Britain and New Ireland, and much of this is being brought together in these volumes. Some contributions (in this volume, Haywood's) I have edited specifically for publication here.

Although there is quite a diverse sprinkling of Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages on New Britain and New Ireland, the majority of the two islands' languages are Austronesian. New Britain, especially, is important for the study of the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia, because its Austronesian languages probably display greater genetic diversity than those of any similarly sized area in Oceania. They all belong, however, to the same major

¹ This language was Bilur, *alias* Birar, to which Ann Chowning refers on page 22 of the present volume.

grouping, Western Oceanic.

Western Oceanic includes all the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea except for the Admiralties, as well as of Choiseul, New Georgia and Santa Ysabel in the western Solomons. Western Oceanic is itself part of the Pacific-wide Oceanic group of Austronesian languages (for a recent survey, see Pawley and Ross 1995).

New Britain is important with reference both to Oceanic and to Western Oceanic. It is important with reference to Oceanic because there is broad agreement that Proto Oceanic, the ancestor of all Oceanic languages, was associated with the Lapita culture, which flourished in the Bismarck Archipelago in the middle of the second millennium B.C.² Numerous Lapita artifacts have been found on New Britain (Allen & Gosden, eds, 1991). Many of these artifacts are made from obsidian (volcanic glass), sourced to the Willaumez Peninsula of New Britain. It is therefore a reasonable inference that Proto Oceanic was spoken on (but not necessarily only on) New Britain.

New Britain is even more important with reference to Western Oceanic. The Western Oceanic group appears to be the result of the gradual spreading of the languages which were left behind in western Melanesia after other Oceanic speakers had departed for the Admiralties and for the further reaches of the Pacific beyond western Melanesia. This spreading resulted in the formation of dialect linkages which tended to differentiate out into distinct languages as their speakers extended their habitations further and further away from the original centre of Western Oceanic. Three ancestral linkages can be identified within Western Oceanic, and these became the North New Guinea, Meso-Melanesian, and Papuan Tip clusters (Ross 1988). The first two of these share a common border on New Britain (see the map on page ix), and it is therefore likely that New Britain, and particularly an area including the Willaumez Peninsula where this border occurs, is the centre from which Western Oceanic originally spread. This inference is supported by the fact that the New Britain portion of each of the two clusters is also the most diverse part of its cluster (Ross 1989).

There is thus good evidence that New Britain is (or is part of) the locus from which Oceanic, then Western Oceanic, languages have spread. That is, it has played a crucial role in the linguistic prehistory of the Pacific. But its significance for linguistic prehistory does not end here. When the first Austronesian speakers arrived on New Britain sometime around the beginning of the second millennium B.C., the island had already been occupied for millennia by speakers of Papuan languages. It is reasonable to infer that the newly arrived Austronesian speakers interacted with Papuan speaking inhabitants, and it seems very likely that it was contact with Papuan speakers that led to the innovations in this Austronesian speech which turned it into what we label 'Proto Oceanic'. We cannot be sure that this contact took place only, or even mainly, on New Britain — this is a matter for future research — but we *can* be certain that contact took place, and that contact of this kind has continued through the intervening four millennia. During this period, Oceanic speakers have occupied increasing swathes of New Britain, and the Papuan languages are today limited to quite small enclaves. However, the diversity of both the island's Oceanic and Papuan languages provides an ideal situation for studying the historical effects of contact (see Thurston 1982, 1987), and the materials in these volumes will hopefully provide a stimulus in this direction.

This volume and the second in the set consist mainly of descriptive and comparative

² For a survey, see Spriggs (1995).

studies of the Austronesian (Western Oceanic) languages of the North New Guinea cluster. Apart from Chowning's contribution, the studies in the present volume describe languages that are located in the northwestern part of New Britain. All of them belong to the Ngero/Vitiaz group, one of the cluster's three member groups (the others are the Huon Gulf and Schouten groups). However, this statement masks the diversity among these languages. Ngero/Vitiaz subdivides into the Ngero/Bariai³ and the Vitiaz groupings. The Ngero/Bariai grouping is quite close knit, and Kabana (Bariai), Lusi and Kove, described in Goulden's contribution, all belong to it. The Vitiaz languages seem to be the outcome of a relatively ancient dialect chain, and display considerable differences among themselves, as well as from Ngero/Bariai. They include Maleu, the fourth language described by Goulden and also the language described in Haywood's contribution (Goulden calls it 'Kilenge', the name of the dialect from which his data are drawn), as well as the languages which are Thurston's subjects, namely Amara and the Bibling (Lamogai) languages. Other Vitiaz languages are described in the second volume.

To the best of my knowledge, the only descriptions of any of these languages which have appeared in print are Friederici's (1912) sketch of Kabana and Counts' (1969) short grammar of Lusi. Both are members of the Ngero/Bariai group. Apart from this, we find more fragmentary data scattered across a number of publications. Thurston (1982) contains substantial data from Lusi. There are also lesser quantities of data from various of these languages in Chowning (1973, 1976, 1986), Haywood and Haywood (1980), Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) and Thurston (1987, 1989). Thurston's study of the Bibling languages is the first substantial publication on this group, whilst Amara, the subject of Thurston's other contribution, had barely received mention in the literature before Thurston circulated results of his own research.

Chowning's contribution is rather different from the others. It is comparative rather than descriptive, and its range is wider, dealing as it does with both Austronesian and Papuan languages of western New Britain, and including Austronesian languages of both the North New Guinea and Meso-Melanesian clusters. I have included it here because this is the first volume of the set, and Chowning's work deals with languages referred to in four different volumes. Chowning's chapter is a critique of Thurston's and my work on relationships — both contact-induced and genetic — among the languages of western New Britain (see Thurston 1982, 1987, 1989, Ross 1988). She focusses particularly on languages of groups among whom she has worked as an anthropologist, namely the speakers of Kove, Senseng and Lakalai (only the first is within the strict domain of this volume). While I do not accept all of Chowning's criticisms of either Thurston's or my own work, her detailed knowledge of certain aspects of the languages she considers has enabled her to point out many possible counter-examples to our claims, and this indicates that there is still a great deal of basic linguistic research to be done in the west New Britain region.

Chowning ends her paper by remarking that we do not really know enough about the languages of western New Britain to be sure about their genetic relationships and their contact history. I hope that this set of volumes will contribute to an improvement in that knowledge.

The map on page ix shows the locations of the languages of New Britain. I have relied

³ 'Ngero/Bariai' is the term Goulden uses in his contribution to the present volume. Ross (1988) used the term 'Ngero'.

heavily on the detailed sketch maps in Johnston (ed., 1980) and on work done in preparing the maps for Ross (1988: 161, 260), as well as taking cognisance of information given in the papers in this volume. The nomenclature generally matches that in this volume, but alternative names are also given. As the authors of this volume mention at various points, the distinction between 'language' and 'dialect' is hard to make; where this distinction is made on the map, it would be unwise to take it very seriously.

To simplify the reader's task, I have standardised the contributions in various respects. Where Proto Oceanic reconstructions are cited, these are in the orthography of Ross (1988). Interlinear glosses conform to the *Pacific Linguistics* style, and abbreviations are standardised and listed on page vi.

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RELATIONS AMONG LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN: AN ASSESSMENT OF RECENT THEORIES AND EVIDENCE

ANN CHOWNING

1. INTRODUCTION

It is now forty years since I was a member of a team, led by Ward Goodenough, which carried out anthropological fieldwork among the Lakalai speakers of the West Nakanai Census Division. In the mid-50s the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program (TRIPP) was trying to collect comparative data on many Pacific Austronesian languages, using a single word list (Grace 1955), and a member of our team, C.A. Valentine, filled out all or part of the TRIPP forms (the first part consisted of the Swadesh 215-word 'basic vocabulary') for a number of languages on and near the north coast of what is now West New Britain. Goodenough's two papers on West New Britain languages (1961a, b) were based on his and Valentine's data, on which I have also relied.

Eventually I worked in two other West New Britain societies, Sengseng and Kove. Some of my own papers were written in reaction to statements by others about specific languages with which I had worked (e.g. Chowning 1973). Stephen Wurm, however, asked me to write on New Britain languages in general, and my attempts to revise subgroupings and classifications (as Austronesian or non-Austronesian) suggested by linguists such as Capell and Dyen resulted from this project. Although I had the advantage of first-hand knowledge of three languages – which seemed, furthermore, to belong to three different subgroups – my investigations suffered from the problem that has continued to plague linguists trying to assess the situation in New Britain. Everyone has access to a different set of data. In addition, although many linguists have been extraordinarily generous in giving others copies of their data,¹ they do not necessarily collect the same sorts of things. Though both purporting to deal with basic vocabulary, for example, the TRIPP and Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) word-lists differ so much that an investigator trying to establish cognacy between terms in languages recorded by different investigators may be hard-pressed to find adequate evidence for regular sound-correspondences.² Apart from the well-known weaknesses of word lists collected in a single session, it is difficult to find even lexicostatistical evidence for subgrouping.

Where word lists are supplemented or replaced by other kinds of linguistic evidence, the problem of lack of comparability is greatly acerbated. The grammatical data on TRIPP lists, apparently devised by those familiar with Eastern Oceanic languages, has no overlap with

¹ I am particularly indebted to C.A. Valentine, George Grace, David Counts and Ray Johnston.

the data elicited on SIL lists, and many linguists, notably Capell and Ross of those whose classifications concern me, have collected data which accord with their own ideas of what is likely to be significant. It can be difficult, and sometimes impossible, to challenge subgroupings based on non-lexical criteria, or even on lexicon most of which is outside the realm of basic vocabulary, unless one has access to relatively full material on each language. Until much more detailed accounts of certain languages, such as those now classed as *Bibling* and *Arawe*, are published, attempts at subgrouping must necessarily be tentative. But even when full descriptions are available, the problem of subgrouping may remain. Present evidence indicates that the linguistic prehistory of New Britain has been long and complex, and that movements around the island and contacts with other languages have obscured boundaries and divisions between what initially were genetic groupings.

2. NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

At present, it is generally agreed that only two languages in West New Britain are unquestionably non-Austronesian. These are *Anêm* or *Karai*, spoken on and near the north coast in the *Kaliai* Census Division, and *Wasi* (*Ata*, *Pele-Ata*), spoken in the *Nakanai* Mountains in the Central *Nakanai* Census Division. Both are surrounded by Austronesian languages and have borrowed some lexicon from these. It was these loans that originally led some linguists to classify *Wasi* as Austronesian, but no one has done so in recent years. Although *Wurm* grouped *Anêm* and *Wasi*, together with the more numerous non-Austronesian languages of East New Britain, into a *New Britain Stock* (*Wurm* 1975:1787-1791), the evidence for links among these languages is meagre, especially where *Wasi* is concerned. I am doubtful about the validity of the grouping, at least as regards *Anêm* and the East New Britain non-Austronesian languages, and so is *Thurston*, the authority on *Anêm* (*Thurston* 1982:6-7). (*Thurston* had no access to material on *Wasi*.) Until much more material is available on *Wasi*, it seems safest to assume that it bears little if any relation to *Anêm*. It is possible that the various non-Austronesian languages now in New Britain derive from a single migration, presumably from New Guinea, in which case a combination of time and the influence of later migrants speaking Austronesian languages might account for the present diversity of the non-Austronesian languages. (Precisely the same scenario has been invoked to account for the diversity of Austronesian languages.) But until better evidence is presented for close similarities linking the non-Austronesian languages, it is probably best to start with a different set of hypotheses.

The first, which I shall follow here, is that the non-Austronesian languages of New Britain have long differed from each other. If they have indeed influenced most or all of the Austronesian languages, we should not expect these influences to be uniform from one part of the island to another. The second hypothesis is that there may well have been other non-Austronesian languages in New Britain different from those that remain. They may

² The differences in these lists partly account for the discrepancy between rates of cognacy for *Bola* and *Harua* estimated by *Goodenough* and *Johnston* (see *Johnston* 1982: 62). Re-checking *Valentine's* lists, and eliminating a few forms like 'narrow' that I consider difficult to elicit through *Tok Pisin*, I found the languages shared about 70 percent cognates, far below the 85 percent reported by *Johnston*. The list in *Johnston* (1980b), which contains many names of animals and cultigens as well as cultural objects, gave a rate of 77 percent.

have disappeared entirely, at least from New Britain itself, or they may be represented only by features of languages spoken in areas that no longer contain any languages that can be classified as fully non-Austronesian. The third possibility was favoured by Capell as regards much of New Britain (§5), and it also seems to be Thurston's preference. Given that non-Austronesian speakers antedated Austronesian speakers, I think it highly probable that the former influenced the speech of the latter in a number of places and probably in different ways. Almost surely the later arrivals interbred with the earlier ones. But the difficulty is to detect even the fact, much less the details, of the influences of now vanished languages. Where non-Austronesian and Austronesian languages are still in contact, as in parts of East New Britain (Chowning 1969:21, Thurston 1982) and in the region that contains Anêm, it is much easier to make a plausible case, though there is still room for argument. Elsewhere perhaps all that can be done is to suggest and evaluate a range of possibilities.

3. QUESTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

The principal questions to be addressed are the following:

- (a) Does evidence support what seems to be Ross's assumption that Lakalai and Kove, and their closest relatives, are direct descendants of the earliest pre-Proto Oceanic settlers in New Britain, who have remained near the ancestral settlement areas? (Ross 1988:386ff.). The corollary seems to be that the Oceanic languages of south New Britain, and some that reached the north coast such as Maleu, Amara, and Bebeli, represent later settlements.
- (b) Have some of the languages of West New Britain been influenced by contact with speakers of non-Austronesian languages, so that (i) resemblances between them reflect a shared non-Austronesian substratum, and (ii) they cannot be considered fully Oceanic? (Thurston 1982, 1987, 1989). This theory has implications for subgrouping of the languages so labelled.
- (c) Is it possible to resolve disagreements about genetic relations among various languages of southwest New Britain, and if so, on what basis?

As will be seen, the most that I can do is to evaluate some of the evidence and arguments put forward both by others and, in the past, by myself. A combination of inadequate data, uncertainty about the weight to be given to what is available, and the undoubted complexity of the situation makes it impossible for me to draw firm conclusions. I can, however, point to what I consider flaws in some of the recent assessments of language relations in West New Britain.

There exist several theories that I do not intend to deal with here. Since I agree with Ross that Kove and Lakalai do not belong to the same subgroup however defined (Chowning 1973), I shall not discuss the possibility that they do (Grace 1985). I shall have to refer to some of Thurston's suggestions about the influence of Anêm-like non-Austronesian languages on Sengseng and its relatives, but it would take another lengthy paper to discuss in detail the applicability of his ideas about 'pidginisation' and 'esoterogeny' (Thurston 1982, 1987, 1989). I have already argued (Chowning 1986) that I do not believe Kove to show any evidence of non-Austronesian influence, and here I shall have little to say about that language except where Kove data are pertinent to questions about the position of Sengseng.

3.1 GENETIC GROUPINGS

Although this may have become an increasingly unpopular or old-fashioned stance (Grace 1985, 1988), I still believe that if enough data are available, it is usually possible to establish genetic groupings that reflect a 'family tree' model. Furthermore, I expect that in most cases evidence from lexicostatistics, grammar, and phonological developments will coincide. The use of only one type of evidence, whether inspection of short word lists (as in parts of Chowning 1969), a few grammatical features (as in some of Capell's papers), or a small number of apparent morphophonemic innovations (as in parts of Ross 1988) may produce results that are unconvincing or actually mistaken. In attempting to establish genetic relations, considerable difficulties are likely to result from borrowing, parallel developments in different languages, and uncertainty about the restricted distribution of apparent innovations (see discussion in Ross 1988:7-13).

I should add that I differ from Ross as regards the definition of 'comparative method'. To me, if cognacy is established by demonstrating regular sound correspondences, and if subgroups are based on systematic differences in reflexes of protoforms, then a proper application of lexicostatistics involves the comparative method (Bloomfield 1933:485-492; Pawley and Green 1985:162-164). Morphophonemic or other innovations need not be demonstrated, although they certainly strengthen the case for the establishment and the separateness of subgroups (compare Ross 1988:260). Decisions about cognacy should therefore be conservative, offered only as suggestions if it is impossible to demonstrate regular sound correspondences, a likely source of borrowing, or good evidence that the reflex is highly likely to reflect a particular protoform. If it is necessary to postulate unlikely phonological developments, then cognacy is either queried or rejected. An example is Kove *boma*, Lak *soma* 'leech' (Table 1); the Kove term is not likely to be cognate with the Lakalai one, which is derivable from POc **droman*. (In this particular case, the fact that the creatures were hardly ever mentioned by the Kove makes it possible that I misheard or misrecorded the term.) The Lakalai form is irregular and perhaps was originally borrowed from a dialect such as Ubae in which **dr* is reflected as /r/, then underwent whatever shifts produce irregular /r/ and /s/ as reflexes of a single protophoneme (Chowning 1973:201, Ross 1988:162). This case, like Lak *dui* 'dugong', is irregular but not impossible. On the other hand, I would put in the non-cognate category Lak *kale* 'hut', which it would be tempting to derive from POc **pale*, Lak *veru* 'distribute' as a reflection of POc **pase* (Johnston 1982:80), and Sng *pe-lap* compared with Kove *pelaka* 'lightning', though the latter presumably derives from POc **pilak*, with unexpected first vowel.

3.2 BORROWING

In drawing conclusions about borrowing, it is necessary to distinguish between two very different situations. The point is elementary but is not always made. It leads to confusion when cultural items are involved, as they are even for the 'basic' wordlist used by SIL. In a number of cases in Melanesia, items are traded far away from the region in which they originated, and may be accompanied by their original name. Examples in West New Britain include both clay pots and carved wooden dishes, both originally manufactured on or near the north coast of New Guinea. The fact that the Kove names for both of these items (*ulo* 'clay pot', *tavila* 'wooden dish') derive from Proto Oceanic forms is no reason to think that

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON

Note: Items 1-200 of this list are Blust's (1981) modified Swadesh list for use in Austronesian lexicostatistical study. Item 201 is my addition. I also list as items 202-246 some of the words from Th (1987) which refer to New Britain flora and fauna. I have omitted some of his items for a number of reasons: an excess of terms for different varieties, as with bamboo; absence of the particular plant or an in certain environments; failure to elicit the term or to know the identity of certain plants and animals; r: introduction of the plant. A(c) beside the term indicates that the plant is usually, and in some cases always, cultivated.

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
1. hand	<i>vili</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>nima</i>
2. left	<i>(a)kos</i>	<i>meru</i>	<i>ɣayala</i>
3. right	<i>apipsik</i> (cf.94)	<i>labalaba</i> (cf.94)	<i>tau</i>
4. leg/foot	<i>kive</i>	<i>vaha</i>	<i>ahē</i>
5. to walk	<i>yok; hih</i>	<i>tuga</i>	<i>lalao</i>
6. road/path	<i>hiso, komaŋ</i>	<i>gauru</i>	<i>erapu</i>
7. to come	<i>me(i); moi</i>	<i>go-mai</i>	<i>nama</i>
8. to turn	<i>pakeh, puk</i>	<i>vulo</i>	<i>palele</i>
9. to swim	<i>su(h)</i>	<i>puru</i>	<i>waia, nao</i>
10. dirty	<i>soin</i> (cf. 165); <i>mi-sumu-iyān</i> (‘interior-dirt-y’)	<i>mumugu</i>	<i>ŋahaŋa</i>
11. dust	<i>nekokwa; kau</i> (cf. 146)	<i>magasa-pupusi</i> (‘earth rises’)	<i>kahu</i>
12. skin	<i>elit; ho</i> (‘body’)	<i>kulikuli; vovo</i> (=‘body’)	<i>kulikuli; tinŋ</i> (=‘body’)
13. back	<i>posiliha, musu</i>	<i>poga, poke</i>	<i>ruyu</i>
14. belly	<i>kuma</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>apo</i>
15. bone	<i>pokoin</i>	<i>tuha</i>	<i>tuatua</i>
16. intestines	<i>muhulu</i>	<i>tamusi</i>	<i>moyali</i>
17. liver	<i>eta</i>	<i>hate</i>	<i>ate(a)te</i>
18. breast	<i>sus(u)</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>туру</i>
19. shoulder	<i>huwa</i>	<i>pala, beho</i>	<i>wala</i>
20. to know (things	<i>haop; hion</i> (cf.46)	<i>rovi</i>	<i>atai</i>
21. to think	<i>kumak</i> (‘believe’), <i>min hu</i> (‘think about’)	<i>gabutatala</i>	<i>vaya</i> (‘believe’); <i>mata i nana</i> (‘think about’, lit. ‘eye follows’)
22. to fear	<i>lem, noknok</i>	<i>taga, matau</i>	<i>matauri</i>
23. blood	<i>eŋhik</i>	<i>kasoso</i>	<i>siŋi</i>
24. head	<i>mihī, po</i>	<i>gama</i>	<i>vola</i>
25. neck	<i>hot; hmoŋ</i> (‘throat’)	<i>loho</i>	<i>ɣayalu</i>
26. hair	<i>yut</i>	<i>ivu</i>	<i>launi</i>
27. nose	<i>muhut, hut</i>	<i>maisū</i>	<i>nuru</i>
28. to breathe	<i>moyo</i> (‘breath’)	<i>lalahate</i>	<i>uhu</i> (‘breath’)

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
29. to sniff, smell	<i>hipek, pin</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>nuri</i>
30. mouth	<i>wo</i>	<i>hare</i>	<i>awa</i>
31. tooth	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>livo</i>	<i>luo</i>
32. tongue	<i>mamai</i>	<i>kalamea</i>	<i>mae</i>
33. to laugh	<i>hoŋ</i>	<i>lege</i>	<i>ŋiŋi</i>
34. to cry	<i>tinis</i> (with tears); <i>hau</i> (sound; general term)	<i>tali</i>	<i>taji</i>
35. to vomit	<i>mutwok, kelaut</i>	<i>kalalua</i>	<i>lua</i>
36. to spit	<i>kusap, lakmo</i>	<i>kapute, kavarasi</i>	<i>taluan, burari</i>
37. to eat	<i>i</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>ali</i>
38. to chew	<i>nas</i>	<i>gari, kamuta</i>	<i>ŋau</i>
39. to cook	<i>wut, kau</i>	<i>gutu</i>	<i>nono</i>
40. to drink	<i>num</i>	<i>liu</i>	<i>unu</i>
41. to bite	<i>koho, tuk, kat</i>	<i>ala, tolo, koro, gari</i>	<i>yoŋo</i>
42. to suck	<i>sus, slup</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>ruru</i>
43. ear	<i>kliŋa</i>	<i>gavusa</i>	<i>taliŋa</i>
44. to hear	<i>kihoy</i>	<i>lolo</i>	<i>loŋo-ni</i>
45. eye	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mata</i>
46. to see	<i>hion</i>	<i>hilo</i>	<i>kona</i>
47. to yawn	<i>tak wo</i> ('split mouth')	<i>tolomaha</i>	<i>awa maŋaŋa</i> ('mouth open')
48. to sleep	<i>nahuy</i>	<i>mavuta</i>	<i>eno</i>
49. to lie down	<i>nok, sinok</i>	<i>mavuta</i>	<i>eno</i>
50. to dream	<i>enu-n li</i> ('soul goes')	<i>tagabara</i>	<i>anunu-yu</i> ('my soul')
51. to sit	<i>sioŋ</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>roa</i> ('seat oneself')
52. to stand	<i>sipit</i>	<i>magiri</i>	<i>yuru</i>
53. person	<i>po, po-tonus, po-tuhu</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>ava, pana</i>
54. man/male	<i>po-masay</i>	<i>tahalo</i> ('man'), <i>hatamale</i> ('male')	<i>tamone</i>
55. woman/female	<i>po-wala</i>	<i>tavile</i> ('woman'), <i>hatavile</i> ('female')	<i>tamine</i>
56. child	<i>po-kusan</i>	<i>guliliki</i>	<i>kekele</i>
57. husband	<i>ve</i> (cf. 184)	<i>harua</i>	<i>aroa</i>
58. wife	<i>et</i> (cf. 184)	<i>rutu</i>	<i>aroa</i>
59. mother	<i>tom</i> (reference), <i>tina</i> (address)	<i>tila</i>	<i>tina</i>
60. father	<i>ve-tama</i> (reference)	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
61. house	<i>mok</i> ('family house') <i>masaŋ</i> ('men's house; general term')	<i>luma</i>	<i>luma</i>
62. thatch/roof	<i>masaŋ</i> + names of different materials	<i>varu</i> ('forehead'); <i>ivu</i> ('hair')	<i>usu</i>
63. name	<i>iya, ya</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>era</i>
64. to say	<i>tik</i> (=196), <i>yai, sakal</i>	<i>vei</i>	<i>vaya</i> (=21), <i>varo</i>
65. rope	<i>elik</i> ('vine'); <i>esih</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>waho</i>
66. to tie up	<i>vat, kan</i>	<i>kisi, solo, vuu</i>	<i>vono, lauri, piti</i>
67. to sew	<i>sihit</i>	<i>sahi</i>	<i>ralei, riri</i>
68. needle	—	<i>salu</i>	<i>salumu</i>
69. to hunt	<i>hip</i>	<i>vamusi</i>	<i>paŋo, wana kauwa</i>
70. to shoot	<i>ves</i>	<i>kapiti</i>	—
71. to stab	<i>ves, tak, nin</i>	<i>ubi</i>	<i>yali</i>
72. to hit	<i>wok, vi</i>	<i>kue</i>	<i>hau</i>
73. to steal	<i>tip</i>	<i>pakali</i>	<i>panaho</i>
74. to kill	<i>vi</i> (see 72)	<i>bili</i>	<i>hau ya i mate</i> ('hit and he dies'); <i>sulu</i>
75. to die, be dead	<i>hun, hisi, lukhon</i>	<i>peho</i>	<i>mate</i>
76. to live	<i>oŋ, mon, in</i>	<i>oio; mahuli</i>	<i>mororo</i>
77. to scratch	<i>kas, niyoŋ</i>	<i>kasi</i>	<i>kaho</i>
78. to cut (wood)	<i>vel, ut, tai, puk</i>	<i>vari, tubi, tolo</i>	<i>keti</i>
79. stick	<i>up</i>	<i>malege</i>	<i>rumola</i>
80. to split	<i>pal</i>	<i>sulu</i>	<i>pala</i>
81. sharp	<i>to-ŋi-ŋ</i> ('with teeth') <i>mata-keŋ</i>	<i>kara, mata</i>	<i>karikariŋa</i>
82. dull, blunt	<i>ni-som</i> ('teeth-not'), <i>mata-poŋ, -puhun, -puk</i>	<i>matatupo</i>	<i>matatura, matatupo</i>
83. to work (in garden)	<i>kum, niŋ-pi</i>	<i>igo-golu</i>	<i>karo, umo</i>
84. to plant	<i>h(u)wa, yasi</i>	<i>galu</i>	<i>roa, uwe</i>
85. to choose	<i>sahal</i>	<i>isu</i>	—
86. to grow	<i>nuhum, mihit</i>	<i>tubu</i>	<i>tuvu</i>
87. to swell	<i>sosohom</i>	<i>sogo, buku, pore</i>	<i>vini</i>
88. to squeeze	<i>paŋ</i>	<i>bebe</i>	<i>vivi</i>
89. to hold	<i>kak-sum, kom, soŋ-ho</i>	<i>abi, sau</i>	<i>kisi</i>
90. to dig	<i>kel</i>	<i>oli</i>	<i>sale</i>
91. to buy	<i>kol</i>	<i>loto</i>	<i>oli</i>
92. to open	<i>klas, las</i>	<i>kope</i>	<i>rere</i>

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
93. to pound	<i>tut</i>	<i>katu, voro</i>	<i>watu</i>
94. to throw	<i>psik, tay, tij</i>	<i>pigi, laba</i>	<i>taro</i>
95. to fall	<i>loŋ-koh, hesun</i>	<i>boru, paru</i>	<i>tapu</i>
96. dog	<i>elva</i>	<i>paia</i>	<i>kauwa</i>
97. bird	<i>eki</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>manu</i>
98. egg	<i>ponuwat</i>	<i>hatotolu</i>	<i>kaka</i>
99. feather	<i>yut</i> (cf. 26)	<i>ivu, kokoma</i>	<i>launi</i>
100. wing	<i>mihit</i>	<i>palapala</i>	<i>vaye</i>
101. to fly	<i>yak</i>	<i>lovo</i>	<i>hoho</i>
102. rat	<i>kakum</i>	<i>kusuke</i>	<i>kuruke</i>
103. meat	<i>mali-n, keniŋ, luma-n</i>	<i>maili</i>	<i>meramera</i>
104. fat/grease	<i>tuleŋ, molia-n</i>	<i>molamola</i>	<i>mona</i>
105. tail	<i>kut</i>	<i>kiu</i>	<i>hihiu</i>
106. snake	<i>amat</i>	<i>pase</i>	<i>mota</i>
107. worm	<i>emleŋ, mulusmatanumtun</i>	<i>pakeso, kirere</i>	<i>motamota</i>
108. louse	<i>emut</i>	<i>utu</i>	<i>tuma</i>
109. mosquito	<i>humuk-a-kenken</i>	<i>lamo</i>	<i>makinikini</i>
110. spider	<i>kamukmuk, kayekyek</i>	<i>kamimisi</i>	<i>yaliki</i>
111. fish	<i>esma</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>iha</i>
112. rotten	<i>hwok, hiis</i>	<i>mavulu, parara, pusa</i>	<i>vusa, vura</i>
113. branch	<i>sa-vili-n</i> ('tree hand')	<i>halala</i>	<i>voka</i>
114. leaf	<i>kisaŋ, sa-kin</i>	<i>galalau</i>	<i>laulua, launi</i>
115. root	<i>kumut</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>wawahi</i>
116. flower	<i>yihun</i>	<i>sese</i>	<i>puhu, koko</i>
117. fruit	<i>yihun; nun</i> ('edible part')	<i>vavua</i>	<i>tautau</i>
118. grass	—	<i>rako</i>	<i>uyu</i> ('Imperata')
119. earth	<i>epluk</i>	<i>magasa</i>	<i>tano</i>
120. stone	<i>umat</i>	<i>uati</i>	<i>patu</i>
121. sand	<i>nemah</i>	<i>magasa-la-mago</i> ('earth of sea')	<i>lavu, tano</i> (= 119), <i>vovala</i>
122. water	<i>eki</i>	<i>lalu</i>	<i>eau</i>
123. to flow	<i>sut</i>	<i>sali</i>	<i>silele</i>
124. sea	<i>hisik</i>	<i>mago</i>	<i>tari</i>
125. salt	<i>sahuli</i>	<i>mimila</i>	—

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
126. lake	—	—	—
127. woods	<i>sil, mihak, miyemwe</i>	<i>tibulu</i>	<i>sahu</i>
128. sky	<i>hiŋis, het-pi</i>	<i>lagi/lage</i>	<i>vuvuhi</i>
129. moon	<i>namih</i>	<i>taio</i>	<i>taiko</i>
130. star	<i>kihap, li-mlek</i>	<i>matatabu</i>	<i>motala</i>
131. cloud	<i>avat</i> (rare); <i>hiŋis, hetpi</i> (= 128), <i>pe-kun</i> (= 132)	<i>gauku, mori</i>	<i>vuvuhi</i> (= 128), <i>bubu</i>
132. fog	<i>aup, pe-kun</i> (cf. 145)	<i>gauku, veto</i>	<i>yauyau</i>
133. rain	<i>pe-yuŋ</i>	<i>hura</i>	<i>awaha</i>
134. thunder	<i>pe-klur</i>	<i>mori kumu, kuraraba</i>	<i>balibali i kukururu</i>
135. lightning	<i>pe-lap</i>	<i>sima, meme</i>	<i>pelaka</i>
136. wind	<i>pe-puh, pe-hokot</i>	<i>lolovi</i>	<i>namule</i> (borrowed term)
137. to blow, of win	<i>puh</i>	<i>vai/vahi</i>	<i>lele</i>
138. warm (weather)	<i>ŋenŋen</i>	<i>tivura</i>	<i>wanawana</i>
139. cold (weather)	<i>ŋlik</i>	<i>maigi</i>	<i>pulipuli, lukuluku</i>
140. dry (general); dry up	<i>heihiyi, yat</i>	<i>tagara, masaga</i>	<i>mamasa</i>
141. wet	<i>wuŋ</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>kua, petaka</i>
142. heavy	<i>maŋik</i>	<i>tikumu</i>	<i>ai uha tau</i> (‘its weight great’)
143. fire	<i>yau</i>	<i>havi</i>	<i>eai</i>
144. to burn	<i>tun, sut</i>	<i>goo/goho</i>	<i>ani</i> (= 37)
145. smoke	<i>yau-kun</i>	<i>sosobu</i>	<i>vosu</i>
146. ash	<i>epia, yau-sin</i>	<i>buburo</i>	<i>mola</i>
147. black	<i>kuwi</i>	<i>kuru, parakuru</i>	<i>kasoka</i>
148. white	<i>plel, wok</i> (‘light’)	<i>kakea</i>	<i>kaŋakaŋa</i>
149. red	<i>memhe, ŋehŋeh</i>	<i>magegese</i>	<i>siŋisiŋia</i>
150. yellow	<i>yaŋ, molo</i>	<i>ialalo</i>	<i>eaŋoeaŋo</i>
151. green	<i>keheŋ</i>	<i>lamalivoloo, kakesa</i>	<i>vivihija</i>
152. small	<i>tun, titun, sakun</i>	<i>bisi</i>	<i>kahaku, yiŋihiti</i>
153. big	<i>apluk, nemutu</i>	<i>uru</i>	<i>paka</i>
154. short (height)	<i>hut</i>	<i>boboto</i>	<i>volovolo</i>
154a short (length)	<i>hutyas</i>	—	—
155. long	<i>nimalak</i> (cf. 180)	<i>malau</i>	<i>raerae</i>
156. thin (object)	<i>ha, atitun</i>	<i>malauga, tavi</i>	<i>manipinipi</i>
157. thick (object)	<i>nuhum</i>	<i>uru, bitolu</i>	<i>matolotolu</i>

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
158. narrow	<i>min-tun</i>	<i>bisi; kapilikia</i> (of doorway only)	—
159. wide	<i>min-apluk</i>	<i>uru</i>	<i>paka</i>
160. painful, sick	<i>sahi</i> ('sick') <i>man, musuk</i> ('to hurt')	<i>lea</i> ('sick'); <i>ligi</i> ('to hurt')	<i>rivali</i> ('sick'); <i>eaieai</i> ('to hurt')
161. ashamed	<i>manjin</i> ('shame')	<i>mahela</i>	<i>mamaia</i> ('shame')
162. old (people)	<i>hiyanan</i>	<i>uru</i> ('big')	<i>paka</i> ('big')
163. new	<i>ahoman, netijin</i>	<i>halaba</i>	<i>pau</i>
164. good	<i>tonus, tuhu</i>	<i>taritigi, tigi</i>	<i>doko</i>
165. bad	<i>soin, leqwal, lok</i>	<i>kama kokora</i> (‘not adequate’)	<i>sasi</i>
166. correct, true	<i>tihit</i> ('straight') (cf. 164); <i>hevin</i>	<i>taritigi, sesele, matata</i> (‘straight’)	<i>tutui</i> ('straight')
167. night	<i>pe-luwok</i>	<i>logo</i>	<i>vonji</i>
168. day	<i>siyanan</i>	<i>haro</i>	<i>waro</i>
169. year	<i>pe-naj</i> ('dry season')	<i>leavala</i> ('rainy season')	<i>awahalolo</i> ('rainy season'); <i>hai</i> ('dry season')
170. when?	<i>to-pi-ele</i>	<i>gaisa</i> (future), <i>alisa/alaisa</i> (past)	<i>nera</i>
171. to hide	<i>kek</i>	<i>tari-kokovu</i>	<i>mura, kuku</i>
172. to clumb tree	<i>si, sopa</i>	<i>go-ata, sae</i>	<i>rae</i>
173. at	<i>ho, ta</i>	<i>oio te</i>	<i>pani</i>
174. in, inside	<i>mi</i>	<i>o-ilo</i>	<i>ai lolo</i> ('its interior')
175. above	<i>ahon</i>	<i>o-ata</i>	<i>sae</i>
176. below	<i>ahet</i>	<i>o-talo</i>	<i>sio</i>
177. this	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-le, ale</i>	<i>diene</i>
178. that	<i>men, kahmen</i>	<i>aleo</i>	<i>diana, duawa</i>
179. near	<i>tikayun</i>	<i>hagavi</i>	<i>somoli</i>
180. far	<i>malak</i>	<i>malau</i>	<i>vahi</i>
181. where?	<i>ani, hiye</i>	<i>o-ve, oio-ve</i>	<i>sora</i>
182. I	<i>na</i>	<i>na (eau)</i>	<i>eiau</i>
183. thou	<i>o, a</i>	<i>eme</i>	<i>u(veau)</i>
184. he/she	<i>ve (M); et (F); i(N)</i>	<i>eia</i>	<i>i(veai)</i>
185. we (I)	<i>ita</i>	<i>etatou</i>	<i>ta(ita)</i>
185a we (E)	<i>pima</i>	<i>amiteu</i>	<i>ya(yai)</i>
186. you (P)	<i>om</i>	<i>amutou</i>	<i>ami(amiu)</i>
187. they	<i>po</i>	<i>egiteu</i>	<i>si (pana, asiri)</i>
188. what?	<i>ele</i>	<i>(la)-rova, lava</i>	<i>saua</i>

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
189. who?	<i>ano (M), eno (F)</i>	<i>ere(i)</i>	<i>sei (S); sapara (P)</i>
190. other	<i>mak, maksī</i>	<i>isapolo</i>	<i>pape</i>
191. all	<i>lik</i>	<i>tomi</i>	<i>to, tosalai</i>
192. and	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ya</i>
193. if	<i>aka</i>	—	—
194. how?	<i>tehe</i>	<i>mave, ilava</i>	<i>maro</i>
195. no, not	<i>awo ('no'); som ('not')</i>	<i>ouka ('no'); ka(ma) ('not')</i>	<i>mao ('not')</i>
196. to count	<i>tik</i>	<i>gigi</i>	<i>ware</i>
197. one	<i>ta, tahin</i>	<i>-saa, -sasa</i>	<i>ere, kehe-tauere</i>
198. two	<i>hwo, ponuwal, wuon</i>	<i>-lua</i>	<i>hua</i>
199. three	<i>miok</i>	<i>-tolu</i>	<i>tolu</i>
200. four	<i>nal</i>	<i>-vaa</i>	<i>paŋe</i>
201. ten	—	<i>savulu</i>	<i>saŋaulu</i>
202. banana (c)	<i>muhuk</i>	<i>vugi</i>	<i>puri</i>
203. bat (flying fox)	<i>yunul, piyanpiyan</i>	<i>bureki</i>	<i>viana</i>
204. betelnut	<i>kahama, sulai</i>	<i>bua</i>	<i>vua</i>
205. betelnut, wild (= areca nut) (c)	<i>ekoi, ekohpo</i>	<i>koi</i>	<i>kalago, kalagisi</i>
206. betel pepper (c)	<i>eman</i>	<i>toma</i>	<i>royi</i>
207. breadfruit (c)	<i>pana</i>	<i>ulu</i>	<i>unu</i>
208. bush hen, megapode	<i>muluŋ</i>	<i>kileo</i>	<i>kio</i>
209. butterfly	<i>ewup</i>	<i>bebe</i>	<i>vovo</i>
210. canarium	<i>evel, miyŋip, leŋep</i>	<i>uele</i>	<i>aŋahi</i>
211. cassowary	<i>kukiyon, eseko</i>	<i>kehu, kalisu</i>	<i>soko, meŋo</i>
212. casuarina	<i>suhup</i>	<i>lealu</i>	<i>ealu</i>
213. clam	<i>kolon</i>	<i>kasi</i>	<i>tue</i>
214. cockatoo	<i>nalŋin</i>	<i>kea ('white')</i>	<i>elea</i>
215. coconut (c)	<i>evit</i>	<i>liu</i>	<i>niu</i>
216. cordyline (c)	<i>mimi, lele</i>	<i>malemale</i>	<i>mohe</i>
217. crab (generic)	<i>kahe</i>	<i>keho</i>	<i>karoki, laumu</i>
218. crocodile	<i>aputio</i>	<i>bogea</i>	<i>bayele</i>
219. crow	<i>k(o)hoŋ</i>	<i>kaokao</i>	<i>karo</i>
220. cuscus	<i>elan</i>	<i>kaupolo</i>	<i>sahakiu, kapulu</i>
221. cycad	<i>matiti</i>	<i>rou, patola</i>	<i>vavala, matolo</i>

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

	Sengseng	Lakalai	Kove
222. dove	<i>eluwus</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>varuhi, balu</i>
223. eel	<i>ewul</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>lubaluba, malome, mota</i> (‘snake’)
224. <i>Ficus</i> tree	<i>eva, sa-nuhum</i>	<i>balele</i>	<i>lawani</i>
225. frog	<i>kahok</i>	<i>karukaru, pere</i>	<i>kalo</i>
226. ginger, <i>Zingiber</i> (c)	<i>emit, hiñil, sakhei, amom</i>	<i>lahia</i>	<i>haia, mahaka</i>
227. hibiscus	<i>kisañ</i>	<i>gelegele</i>	<i>kokohi, napolopolo</i>
228. hornbill	<i>kañkañ, sopo</i>	<i>tavu</i>	<i>bea</i>
229. leech	<i>siñlip</i>	<i>soma</i>	<i>boma</i>
230. Malay apple(c)	<i>lahup</i>	<i>gaiva</i>	<i>puai</i>
231. mango	<i>eyun</i>	<i>keme</i>	<i>korae</i>
232. mangrove	<i>nemsiy</i>	<i>toho</i>	<i>vale, toño, poru,</i> <i>romuromu</i>
233. monitor lizard	<i>apahiya, limpak</i>	<i>vareki</i>	<i>pahia, taroa</i>
234. mosquito	<i>humuk-a-kenken</i>	<i>makilikili</i>	<i>nimunimu, kemukamu,</i> <i>moromo</i>
235. moss	<i>lumlu, mumut</i>	<i>lumu</i>	<i>yulumu</i>
236. mushroom (fungus)	<i>iliñ, kumiya, etuwil</i>	<i>taliga</i>	<i>makue, koko</i>
237. parrot	<i>kahalañ, susu</i>	<i>kerakera, marea</i>	<i>kahañani, vaho</i>
238. pig	<i>yu</i>	<i>bolo</i>	<i>gaea</i>
239. <i>Saccharum</i> <i>edule, pitpit</i> (c)	<i>ehmal</i>	<i>tabua</i>	<i>tavuahi, tabuka</i>
240. <i>Pometia</i>	<i>elop</i>	<i>ropa</i>	<i>lopi</i>
241. sandfly	<i>humuk</i>	<i>lamo</i>	<i>makinikini</i>
242. sugarcane (c)	<i>eyim</i>	<i>tovu</i>	<i>tou</i>
243. taro (c)	<i>ñai</i>	<i>mavo</i>	<i>moi</i>
244. turtle	<i>miyat</i>	<i>bolu</i>	<i>ponu</i>
245. wallaby	<i>apup</i>	<i>pakasa</i>	<i>kuta</i>
246. yam (c)	<i>emom, ewol</i>	<i>huvi</i>	<i>viru</i>

they are other than borrowings.³ Throughout New Britain, it seems that steel knives and axes were often called by different names than those used for pre-contact cutting implements. The reason was probably not only the difference in material but in ways of hafting and using them. The distribution of certain linguistic forms affords interesting evidence for the post-

³ Ross has suggested that the medial consonant in *tavila* also indicates borrowing, but there seems to be some uncertainty about the medial consonants in the proto-form, from Proto Austronesian **ta(m)bi[l]*. (Editor's note: See Ross (ms) regarding this form.)

European spread of these implements, but should not be taken as evidence for earlier contact or common history. So the fact that the same word for steel knife (Sng *e-pul*) is found throughout southwest New Britain as far as Kilege, and a different one (Lak *viso*) is shared with Mergen and the non-Austronesian languages of East New Britain, tells us nothing about prehistoric connections between speakers of these languages (also Johnston 1980b:113).⁴ The same caveat applies to plants recently introduced into New Britain such as sweet potatoes. By contrast, the shape of a word for manganese used for blackening teeth (Sulka *a kät*,⁵ Sng *e-kit*, Kove *keto*) throughout much of New Britain does point to prehistoric trade relations, even though the term is probably cognate with Lak *kato* which designates only other black things.

3.3 INTERPRETING SHARED LEXICON

Evaluation of the nature and possible significance of the sharing of lexical items among New Britain languages is made difficult by several factors. The most important of these, as I mentioned above, is the paucity of comparative material outside of lists of basic vocabulary. The second problem is the absence of an up-to-date published list of Proto Oceanic reconstructions. Many of us working in the region have our private lists or proposed addenda, but anyone trying to separate out Proto Oceanic reflexes from words likely to be of non-Austronesian origin is likely to underestimate the number of the former. Third, those who work in one area tend to have considerable comparative material from languages spoken near each other, but may know little of those spoken farther away, or fail to examine the relevant material. It was my attempts to subgroup all of the Austronesian languages of New Britain that made me realise how many items, not so far attributable to Proto Oceanic, have a discontinuous distribution that raises many questions about earlier movements of peoples, shared histories, or even trade contacts of which there is little additional evidence. It is not enough to point to the sharing of an item between contiguous groups without knowing its total distribution. For example Lusi *mogali* 'intestines' is certainly related to the identical word in Kove and possibly to Sng *muhulu* as well as to Bali *mangali*, but then there is a large gap along the north coast of New Britain before another cognate turns up in Meramera (East Nakanai) *magali*. Cognates of Lusi, Kove *taiko* 'moon' are found in Lak *taio* on the north coast, the Bibling languages (Mouk *daiko*), and Uvol, far to the east on the south coast, but not in the intervening areas (compare Bola *keva*, Sng *namih*). It is probable, of course, that some of these discontinuous items will indeed turn out to derive from Proto Oceanic or from some now vanished non-Austronesian language that was widespread, but for the present they can only be noted as a complication.

Where the distribution of a form is known to be limited, it is certainly reasonable to apply phonological criteria to ascertain the direction of borrowing. In view of the very different phonologies of basic vocabulary, I agree that Thurston is wholly justified in assuming that words in Lusi beginning with an initial consonant cluster, apart from those resulting from the deletion of Proto Oceanic high vowels, have been borrowed (1982:56). But many shared items cannot be attributed without doubt to one source. For example, Thurston assumes (1982:65) that all cognates that have a *gê-* prefix in Anêm and a *ka-* prefix in Lusi, many of

⁴ Ross suggests (pers. comm.) that *viso* derives from POc **piso* 'k.o. cane'; this is presumably regularly reflected by Lakalai *viro* 'Phragmites reed'.

⁵ Parkinson 1907:183, with his spelling.

which do indeed contain initial consonant clusters, represent borrowings into Lusi (in this volume). The ultimate Anêm origin of a few seems dubious, however. I earlier (Chowning 1986:426) discussed the case of Lusi *ka-muru*, Anêm *gê-muxu* 'coo, of doves', beside Kove and Kabana ('Bariai') *kamuru* 'whisper, murmur'. If it were not for the Kabana example, I would assume that Kove had borrowed from Lusi, but this suggests a different direction of borrowing. Another uncertain case is Anêm *gê-bot*, Lusi *ka-vot* 'float to surface', in which the root seems suspiciously close to Kove *poti* 'float', cognate with Lak *pati* and Manam *poati* (but presumably not with Sng *plot*). A third uncertain case is that of Anêm *gê-siusiu*, Lusi *ka-siusiu* 'buzz, of cicada'. I have Kove *sisiu* defined as 'brown grasshopper', but it may in fact designate a cicada (though see Sng *esis* 'grasshopper'). In Kove the verb *karo* 'make, do, affect, etc.' is often abbreviated to *ka*, and appears in phrases like *ka daila* 'make (like a) frigate bird' (telling a baby to spread its arms). If the same abbreviation occurs in Lusi, it may be that a Lusi phrase was assumed by Anêm speakers to belong to the series in which a different Lusi *ka-* was equated with Anêm *gê-*. These cases are only suggestive, but may at least point to somewhat more complex interaction than Thurston has postulated.

A different sort of problem arises when maritime vocabulary is examined. In his latest work (1989), Thurston has noted that words for interior flora and fauna shared between Lusi and Anêm may come from other languages such as Bibling ones. He still seems to assume, however, that the shared maritime vocabulary was simply brought by the ancestors of the Lusi when they migrated into New Britain from the Siassi Islands (Thurston 1982:6). In the case of Kove, however, despite a stronger maritime orientation than the Lusi, the maritime vocabulary seems to have a decidedly mixed origin. Disregarding words connected with sails, some of which (because of the fossilised noun-marker *na-*) seem to be from Kilenge and so support the contention of many Kove that sails were not used by their remote ancestors, the words referring to sea creatures include many which, because they contain voiced stops, were presumably not inherited directly from the common ancestor of Kove and Lusi. Goulden (this volume) has also noted that much maritime vocabulary seems to have been borrowed *into* Lusi. Many of these apparent borrowings designate shellfish and so may reflect the local environmental differences; that is, these shellfish may not have occurred in the region from which the ancestors came. Other words, however, designate sea creatures found everywhere, from the frigate bird mentioned above to the fish-hawk (*bulu*), crocodile (*bayele*), sailfish (*baruku*), and 17 other salt-water fish on my list. At least two of these words, those for crocodile and sailfish, are shared with Bola, even in Kove villages far from the Bola border, and presumably were borrowed from Bola. *Baruku* may have spread along with a major ritual of the same name which is said to have originated on the Willaumez Peninsula, and it is interesting that Thurston reports that cognates of the Kove *bayele* are used in Kabana and by his Kove informants when they are avoiding the name of an affine called by the usual term for 'crocodile', which is *puaea*. Where I lived, *Puaea* appeared only as a personal name.

Whatever the processes involved, Kove has clearly adopted foreign terms relating to the sea without, as far as they know, ever having lived far from the coast. The situation is in fact similar to that which Thurston describes for Anêm. If we exclude both "maritime" vocabulary and words for presumably new items of technology that might have been brought by later migrants, the Anêm language still contains forms of Austronesian origin in two significant areas: basic vocabulary, and names of flora and fauna.

There are also a few words which, though not clearly derived from Proto Oceanic, are distributed outside the mainland of New Britain, and so unlikely to have originated in Anêm.

These include Anêm *abiaŋ* 'flying fox' and *esin* 'blood' (Chowning 1973:209). Thurston (1989) noted that the "Anêm words for 'moss' and 'rat' are clearly copies of Proto Oceanic etyma from Lusi or Kabana", and so, he adds, is the word for 'sun' (*ado*). I would add the Anêm words for 'barkcloth' (*malo*), canarium almond (*aŋaxi*), flower (*eipuxu*), honeycomb (*uame*; compare Motu *uamo* 'beeswax'), pandanus of a type formerly used by interior people to make mats (*parpara*), snake (*mota*), probably stone (*pa*), and yellow/tumeric (*iaŋo*). Thurston also pointed out that some terms, such as Anêm *enik* 'nest', are probably derived from Oceanic but not directly from Lusi (where the word is *giniu*) (1989). When languages are in close contact, a certain amount of borrowing seems to take place that cannot be explained simply by the attractions of new technology, by the need to find words for unfamiliar phenomena in a new environment, or by the resistance of basic vocabulary to change. If we grant this, what can we then deduce from the distribution of cognates in West New Britain?

4. PREVIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS

The contrast between lumpers and splitters is particularly evident in the work of some of the linguists who have dealt with the Austronesian languages of New Britain. (I shall not discuss all of the classifications, which have been described elsewhere (Chowning 1969, 1976a), but confine myself to those most relevant to the questions to be discussed here.) The outstanding lumper has been Grace. Initially, and apparently prior to his own field research in New Britain, he divided the Austronesian languages into two subgroups. The first subgroup put together languages of the 'northern half' of the island (apparently the Gazelle Peninsula) with those of New Ireland and the Duke of Yorks. The second included 'Southwest New Britain', 'Kobe' (my Kove), the French Islands (Bali-Vitu), the Siassi Islands, and several languages spoken on "the adjacent coast of New Guinea" (Grace 1955:339). Of languages for which published data were then available, there is no indication of the placement of Mungen and Lakalai. He has said that his subgroupings were intended to represent "chains of varieties such that each chain was completely set off by boundaries from all outside varieties" (Grace 1985:6). Grace's subgroupings continued to be cited in the literature (as in Pawley 1981:279) for many years, though he had told me that he no longer supported them (pers. comm.). Nevertheless, his most recent publication on the subject explicitly presents a similar division to that set up in 1955. Tolai, as unquestionably a migrant from New Ireland, is separated from all other New Britain Austronesian languages, which derive from a "settlement from the Morobe Coast" (Grace 1985:11). Presumably he meant by this a single settlement, with all later diversification taking place within New Britain.

The outstanding splitter of New Britain languages, Dyen, also did not suggest that they entered the island at different times and by different routes. On the contrary, he originally postulated that their degree of diversity indicated that perhaps New Britain was the homeland in which Austronesian languages originated (Dyen 1965:54). When I began to consider data much fuller than that available to Dyen, I fully expected to reduce the amount of diversity that he had found. Instead, I ended up increasing it, both because of having material on languages (my Lamogai, Thurston's Bibling) about which he knew nothing and because of evidence that the apparent ties between Kapore (Bebeli, Banaule) and neighbouring languages were the result of borrowing (Chowning 1969). But more significant for the problems to be considered here is that some of my subgroups ('families') have subsequently been further split by others. The case of the Whiteman languages will be discussed separately below. Ross has

demonstrated that Bali-Vitu should be separated from my Kimbe Family (Ross 1988:262-263), and that I was wrong to treat Bilur (my Birara) as only a dialect of Tolai (Chowning 1976b:366; Ross 1988:259).⁶ He has also treated as a separate language another 'dialect' of Tolai, Minigir (Ross 1988:257). Lincoln (and Ross) had both noted that Kilenge was more different from Bariai and Kove than I had originally assumed (see discussion in Chowning 1986), and Goulden (this volume) has since convincingly demonstrated the amount of the difference. At present, none of these languages seems closely related to any other. Neither does Amara, discovered by Thurston (this volume). Furthermore, there are still unknown languages in New Britain. One is spoken up the Via River, inland from Kove. Most probably, it will, like the Bibling language Tourai, recently found by Thurston and Goulden, turn out to belong to that subgroup, but the example of Amara shows how dangerous it is to assume that there are no other languages to be discovered that cannot be easily sub-grouped.

Ross himself splits at one level, but lumps at another. At present he assigns the Austronesian languages of New Britain to two different 'clusters', the North New Guinea and the Meso-Melanesian, with sub-divisions within them. Of the languages with which I have worked, Lakalai (his and Johnston's Nakanai) is assigned to the Willaumez chain of Meso-Melanesian. Kove and Sengsen are both assigned to the Ngero-Vitiaz Family of the North New Guinea cluster, but to different divisions: Kove to the Ngero family and Sengsen to the Southwest New Britain network (Ross 1988:121, 160-162).

Here I shall be concerned almost wholly with West New Britain, and so I shall not deal in any detail with those East New Britain languages that, according to Ross, reached their present locations through back-migrations from New Ireland (but see below). As regards West New Britain, Ross seems to assume that the Austronesian languages of the French Islands, the Willaumez Peninsula, and the 'Nakanai coast' to the east are the direct descendants of languages of the first Austronesian speakers to settle in that region. Related languages spread east to New Ireland and to the North Solomons (Ross 1988:261-262). I, on the other hand, had proposed that the languages of Ross's Willaumez chain came to that region from the east (Chowning 1973:224). I did not think that they had been there for a long time for the following reasons:

- (a) active vulcanism in the region has led to many shifts of population in historic times;
- (b) the restriction of most of these languages to narrow coastal bands, in notable contrast to those Austronesian languages which extend right across New Britain, suggests that the former are comparative latecomers (see Thurston 1987:19-22);
- (c) the languages of the Willaumez chain, from Bulu to Meramera, seem to me more similar to each other than I would expect if their common ancestor had reached New Britain as long ago as Ross's scheme demands.

Ross and I agree on two major points: the separation between the languages of the Willaumez chain and those to the west of them, such as Kove, and the importance of volcanic activity in explaining the settlement of the whole north coast of New Britain (Ross 1988:261, 386-387). It may be that reconciliation of our views requires only that the ancestor of the Willaumez chain is to be sought at a later period in time. I nevertheless think that Ross's classifications sometimes rely on so few criteria that his conclusions may fail to convince. An example is

⁶ Ross is mistaken in thinking that he was the first to discover Bilur or to consider it a separate language (see Chowning 1976b:366), though I was one of those who thought it only a dialect of Tolai.

the case of Tomoip.

Ross agrees with me (Chowning 1969) that this is not closely related to any other New Britain Oceanic language. He proposes that like Tolai, it is to be derived from New Ireland, his reasons being primarily morphosyntactic but partly lexical. Doing this, however, involves him in only comparing Tomoip with the geographically nearest Oceanic language, Mengen, while ignoring other New Britain languages. For example, the deictic system is one of the criteria linking Tomoip to New Ireland, yet Ross himself attributes the same system to Meramera (Ross 1988:275, 292). When he says that Tomoip “retains a few items of basic Proto Oceanic lexicon which are lost in the New Britain languages of the North New Guinea cluster but retained on New Ireland”, and cites only reflexes of POC **boRok* ‘pig’ and **buaq* ‘areca nut’, he is ignoring the fact that both of these are reflected in Willaumez languages (Lak *bolo* and *bua*). Furthermore, reflexes of **buaq* are found in Maleu and Bariai languages (Kove *vua*). Even the ‘innovative’ *lo* locative preposition, shared by Tomoip with New Ireland languages, is a bit suspect because a locative *lo* postposition is so widely distributed, occurring certainly in Arawe and possibly in Mengen (Capell 1971:268, 333; Chowning 1978a:1114). Ross does refer to the possibility of influence from South West New Britain languages as regards the personal article (1988:293). Tomoip may be a case, and perhaps not the only one, in which it is difficult to decide where the closest relatives of a language are to be found. Furthermore, it might be worth considering the possibility that Tomoip is a remnant of the Meso-Melanesian languages that originally occupied parts of the Gazelle Peninsula before they spread to New Ireland. The ancestor of Tomoip may once have occupied a much larger, or different, area, and its ties to New Ireland may only reflect common ancestry at a higher level.

5. MIXED LANGUAGES AND THE SUBSTRATUM HYPOTHESIS

In recent years, the idea that many languages of Melanesia represent a mixture of Austronesian and non-Austronesian has been particularly identified with Capell. He not only insisted that languages could be so thoroughly mixed that they were not clearly assignable to the groupings occupied by either of their ancestors, but also thought that many languages of Melanesia considered by others to be Austronesian “are only NAN [non-Austronesian] languages overlaid with a veneer of AN [Austronesian]” (Capell 1962:375). In this case he was referring to “all of the languages of the southwest coast” of New Britain, including Sengseng.

More recently, Thurston has suggested, following his work on interaction between Lusi and the non-Austronesian Anêm language, the “possibility of a pre-Anêm substratum in the Bibling and Whiteman languages” (1987:92). I should note that by condensing a quotation from Chowning (1969) on the same page, Thurston presents my position as being that in New Britain, no non-Austronesian languages have “greatly influenced any of the neighbouring Austronesian languages”. In fact in the full passage I cited Tomoip and Mengen as examples of such influence, and simply argued that I found no evidence for such influence in Whiteman languages. Furthermore, one of my main reasons for rejecting the hypothesis of strong non-Austronesian influence on Sengseng is precisely that it did not seem to me an example of “languages that are Austronesian almost exclusively in lexical form alone” (Thurston 1987:92). On the contrary, I have argued that it was its grammar that helped persuade me, in the face of the apparently low Oceanic content in the lexicon, that Sengseng was Austronesian (Chowning

1985:173-175; Throop and Ross 1994). I do not reject the possibilities either of mixed languages or of substratum influences; the question is simply whether Sengseng is an example, and if so, of what sort of non-Austronesian influence. The possibility of Anêm influence on Sengseng will be examined below.

6. VULCANISM

Virtually the whole of the Willaumez Peninsula is composed of volcanoes, with the last eruption dated to the late nineteenth century. Although my sources (Lowder and Carmichael 1970) give no dates for earlier eruptions, it seems unlikely that they failed to disrupt occupation of the peninsula. The situation in the Lakalai region is somewhat clearer. Again, much of the Hoskins Peninsula (sometimes equated with Cape Hoskins) is occupied by volcanoes. The caldera of one of these, Vitore (officially 'Witori') covers "over half of the Cape Hoskins area" and was thought to have been formed in a "major catastrophic eruption" about 2,600 years ago. Another volcano, Buru, is represented by features that "probably occurred during a major catastrophic eruption after the caldera eruption of Witori" (Blake and McDougall 1973:202-203). Underlying the deposits produced by the last major eruption of Vitore are obsidian chips that are stated to be artifacts (Blake 1976:193). The date for the eruption of Vitore is approximately the same as that for Lapita sites on Watom, in Kove, and in the Siassi Islands (Lilley 1988),⁷ so that it is quite likely that this region would have been occupied by Austronesian speakers at the time of the eruption(s). In addition, the extremely heavy tephra deposits found throughout the Hoskins region, which are up to 7m deep, are thought to have come from volcanoes located either to the east (Lolobau) or the west, on the Willaumez (Blake and McDougall 1973:203), and are younger than Vitore. Given that the much less devastating eruptions of Pago, the sole remaining active volcano on the Hoskins Peninsula earlier in this century, still damaged the gardens so badly that some Lakalai moved either to the Willaumez or to Central Nakanai, it seems safe to assume that the earlier events had much more drastic effects on the population; few if any of the possible survivors are likely to have stayed there. (See §7 for discussion of the effects of Vitore eruptions on the region now occupied by speakers of Sengseng.)

Ross is quite aware of the vulcanological situation in New Britain. He suggests that it accounts for the separation between his Ngero languages (Kove and its relatives) and the Willaumez languages (1988:261). Nevertheless, he constantly gives the impression of seeing the old Oceanic settlement area in New Britain as one that coincides with the present distribution of Oceanic languages from the Vitiaz Straits to Lolobau Island (Ross 1988:386-387), with the implication that the present occupants are direct descendants of the first settlers. Even when he cites Lilley's data on presumed changes in trading patterns across the Vitiaz Straits, he suggests that the second occupation, about 400-900 AD, "was perhaps associated with the dispersion of speakers of ... the Vitiaz linkage", while the last, suggested by Lilley to be less than 400 years old, "may be associated with the dispersion of Proto Ngero speakers" (1988:426). But where were they dispersing from? Were they living in New Britain all this time, just west of the Willaumez Peninsula! Prehistory does not support such a scenario.

⁷ According to Pavlides and Gosden (1994:607), the last eruption of Vitore was 1320 BP. Gosden (1994:28) assumes all the Lapita finds in New Britain date from around 3500 BP.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Archaeological investigations within New Britain and on its offshore islands have been few, and dates are not yet available for some recently discovered sites. Nevertheless, one significant pattern has emerged in a number of areas. This is the cultural discontinuity between earlier and later occupations of the same site, often with a gap suggesting lengthy abandonment. Furthermore, the cultural continuities between the societies which were described following European contact, and archaeological remains in the same area, are few. The prevalent picture is one of change, including movements of populations.

The prehistoric materials are of several kinds. First, there are several sets of remains that are presumably early but that have not yet been dated. The longest known of these are stone mortars and pestles, similar to those found on the mainland of New Guinea and in Bougainville, for which there is no local tradition of human manufacture (for a survey, see Bulmer 1982:180). These remains come from both the north and south sides of West New Britain, and are generally considered to antedate the arrival of Austronesian speakers in these islands. At least one was collected in the present interior Sengseng-speaking region (Specht 1980). The pierced stone discs used as wealth by the Sengseng and Kaulong are also of unknown origin.

It has recently been established that an obsidian source, Mopir (otherwise Mopili or Mopril), well inland from Cape Hoskins, was exploited during the Pleistocene. According to Gosden, material from there was traded beyond New Britain by 20,000 BP (1994:25).

The longest sequence centres on the interior Sengseng region, where flaked chert implements were discovered in 1963 but not recognised as artefacts by the local people (Chowning and Goodale 1966). Several archaeologists have attempted to find these in stratified and dateable contexts. The earliest tools, along with evidence of local quarrying, of the chert sealed under tephra from an early eruption of Vitore, and surrounded by charcoal, are now dated to approximately 35,000 BP. Later tools in a different style, mixed with obsidian imported both from Talasea and from Mopir on Cape Hoskins, date to about 4,000-3,500 BP. "At approximately 3300 b.p. the interior areas of West New Britain were smothered by tephra from the greatest Holocene eruption of Mount Witori, WK2" (Pavlidis and Gosden 1994:609). Later occupants of the region no longer quarried chert, though they continued to manufacture tools, and obsidian was no longer imported from Mopir (Pavlidis 1993:58). Specht found that a nearby area in which he had excavated seemed to have been abandoned after one eruption until it was re-occupied "just before 2575 ±110 years ago". Specht assumes that occupation after that was continuous, but there is no actual evidence that the people who used the site over the ensuing years were the same (Specht 1980). Interestingly, the present-day Sengseng said that they found their stone adze blades (made of a foreign material) lying on the ground, and simply resharpened and hafted them.

Only in the interior Sengseng region, at Lolmo cave in the Arawe Islands (Gosden et al. 1994:109) and on the Willaumez Peninsula (Specht et al. 1991:282) has excavation reached preceramic levels. Pottery was not manufactured in New Britain in recent times, if ever. It may also never have been traded into certain parts of the island. Consequently it is not rare for a site to lack pottery, but in this case the Pleistocene dates from deep in what is now Sengseng territory, together with the Mopir data, suggest settlement of the interior of New Britain before pottery was made anywhere in the New Guinea region. On the other hand, the discovery at the same levels of obsidian from the Willaumez Peninsula suggests that cross-island trade was already established by this period (Specht 1980:5).

The elaborate flaked and stemmed obsidian tools found on the Willaumez Peninsula are unlike anything known to have been used by recent occupants of that region, and were no longer made after the Lapita period, though they antedate it (Specht et al. 1991:286-287).

All those interested in the prehistory of New Britain have taken it for granted that the island was originally settled by speakers of non-Austronesian languages, and these dates make it clear that they were correct. Although the non-Austronesian language of Umboi Island, Kovai, is "distantly related" to some of those spoken on the Huon Peninsula of New Guinea (McElhanon 1975:529), no such links have been found between any non-Austronesian languages of the mainland of New Britain and those of the mainland of New Guinea. The Sengseng dates indicate that New Britain was occupied earlier than 35,000 years ago, if we allow a minimum amount of time for people to have reached the interior and to have established trade links with the north coast, or even to have reached there and discovered the obsidian deposits. The actual date of initial settlement may have been considerably earlier. (A recently discovered occupation date of 33,000 BP on Buka Island has led Wickler and Spriggs (1988:703-706) to the reasonable conclusion that New Britain and New Ireland must have been occupied even before than that.) 33,000 B.P. is also the date for the earliest known site in New Ireland (Allen et al. 1989). Presumably the areas around the obsidian deposits on the north coast were also occupied by speakers of non-Austronesian languages, since the Whiteman Mountains make it impossible for those living in the present Sengseng area to travel directly to the north coast to exploit the resources available there. (I am doubtful about Specht's suggestion, cited in Spriggs 1985:181, that the trip was made by sea.)

It has become standard to assume first that the bearers of Lapita culture, who also exploited the Willaumez obsidian deposits, were Austronesian speakers, and second that Lapita represented the first movement of Austronesian speakers into much of Oceania. From that, it seems to follow that Austronesian speakers in areas where Lapita remains have been found are descendants of these first settlers. Yet it has long been known that this is not necessarily the case. The first Lapita site to be discovered in New Britain is on Watom Island, off the Gazelle Peninsula. At the time of European contact Watom was occupied by Tolai speakers, and as was noted above, they are agreed to be late migrants to New Britain. Therefore a hiatus existed between the original settlement, if that was represented by the Lapita remains, and the Tolai occupation (Ross 1988:386-387). Recent excavations in West New Britain and on the Siassi Islands have also indicated a break between Lapita levels and later ones, with strong suggestions of discontinuous occupation (Lilley 1987, 1988). In Kove Lilley found two types of prehistoric pottery, both Lapita and his Type X, identified in excavations in the Siassi Islands. He suggests that the latter may be no more than 1,100 years old, but after it was deposited there was no more evidence of occupation until about 350 years ago (Lilley 1980). Swadling, excavating further west, with particular attention to artificial mounds just inland from their putative ancestral site, found that charcoal, mixed with obsidian in oil under the mounds, was dated to 660 ± 140 BP, and a midden at the ancestral site to 550 ± 95 , whereas debris from the offshore islands was modern (Swadling in press). The Kove attribute the mounds to the activities of a supernatural culture hero, not to those of their ancestors. The data from both Swadling's and Lilley's excavations points to considerable breaks in occupation and in cultural continuity within the Kove region. They support Kove oral tradition, according to which the unoccupied islands were all settled only a few generations ago from the single traditional origin site on the mainland. Too few sites have been explored for it to be safe to believe that the whole coast was unoccupied, as Lilley seems to assume when he puzzles about the fact that obsidian continued to be brought to the

Siassi Islands throughout this period. But I see no reason why Siassi sailors could not have proceeded directly to the Willaumez Peninsula, possibly with stops on the unoccupied offshore islands whether or not the coast was occupied by people who from all accounts were not such accomplished seafarers as they themselves were. Elaborate trade networks, after all, partly function to reduce the difficulties of passing through enemy territory.

For Kove and Sengseng, then, the archaeological data point to two or more discontinuous occupations. The earliest ones located in Sengseng territory may well have been by non-Austronesian speakers, but the earliest ones so far located in Kove territory were probably not. On the Willaumez Peninsula early obsidian tools are separated from Lapita deposits by tephros from a major eruption of Vitore (Specht et al. 1991:282). For Lakalai there is no archaeological evidence, apart from obsidian chips, because of the volcanic activity described above. The Mopir site is inland from the strip occupied by the Lakalai.⁸ Like the Sengseng and the Kove, the Lakalai have no tradition of coming from far away (§8.2.4). Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that any of these people are descendants of the first settlers of the regions they now occupy. For the present, it is simply necessary to keep in mind that nowhere in New Britain is there archaeological support for the assumption of continuous occupation by the descendants of bearers of the Lapita culture. Furthermore, the discovery of Lapita sherds on the south coast of New Britain indicates that Austronesian speakers arrived there as early as on the north coast. The last eruption of a north coast volcano that spread a great deal of debris far to the south seems to have antedated, if by very little, the first Lapita settlements. (Gosden believes – 1994:28 – that Lapita remains throughout New Britain date from about 3500 BP.) This may lend some support to my assumption that OC languages that are on or near to the south coast represent early settlements in New Britain, as early as any represented by north coast languages. However bad the effects of the deposits from north coast volcanoes on the south side of the Whiteman range (Pavrides and Gosden 1994:606), they were presumably much more devastating on the north coast.

8. THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

Here I intend to discuss only the languages with which I have worked, and those that I consider to be their closest relatives. Table 1 indicates the type and degree of lexical similarity between Lakalai, Sengseng, and Kove.⁹ At first glance, it is evident that Kove and Lakalai resemble each other, and differ from Sengseng, in having reflexes of many Proto Oceanic forms. In only a few cases (numbers 32, 34, 40, 42, 45, 60, 137, 150, 177) do they all clearly reflect the same Proto Oceanic lexeme, and in some cases, notably that of the words for 'drink', only prior knowledge of the existence of POC **inum* (with evidence for an

⁸ In recent times the Mopir site has been owned by Bebeli speakers from Mosa village (Fullagar, Summerhayes, Ivuyo, and Specht 1991:110). In 1956, however, Charles Valentine was told that the region was once occupied by Mangseng speakers.

⁹ I have chosen to retain my own phonemicisation of Kove, with *u* and *w* for the sound that Goulden (1989) writes as *o*, and *r* for the sound that Ross writes as a dental fricative. In the former case, I had no opportunity to check my data in the field; in the latter, the differences are dialectal. Ross's data are drawn from two communalects: Kapo village, where this sound was [ɹ], and Moputu, where it varied between [z] and [ð]. These are evidently dialectal variants of the consonant which Goulden, this volume, writes as *z* and describes as an apico-alveolar slit fricative). Sengseng words are written with what may be a prefixed article, but it is omitted in Lakalai.

alternative form with *u-) makes it possible to be sure that the terms in all these languages are indeed cognate. Several other forms are possibilities, such as the word for 'liver' (17), if metathesis was involved in Sengsen. I have explained in Chowning (1985) why I think that Sengsen is so 'aberrant'. It should be noted that in some cases the Sengsen lexeme, even when differing from those in Lakalai and Kove, is still derived from Proto Oceanic. Examples are words for 'nose', 'vomit', 'dig', and 'burn'. There are also several cases of words not on this list which are shared by all three languages. In addition to those discussed elsewhere, they include Sengsen *mal*, Lak *malelei*, Kove *mahani* 'to watch performers', which may be a word attributable at least to Ross's Proto Western Oceanic (Chowning 1973:213); Sng *masi-ŋin* 'salty, tasty', Lak *mamasi* and Kove *madimasi* 'salty', all of which derive from POc **maqasi*, and probably also Lak *malala*, Kove *melemele* 'plaza', Sng *-mla* 'open space', probably from POc **m^walala*. My general impression, however, is that if words in the 'married' vocabulary, devised to avoid name taboos and so likely to involve borrowing, are excepted, Sengsen has many fewer reflexes of Proto Oceanic forms than do Lakalai and Kove.

8.1 BARIAI LANGUAGES

Kove is the easternmost of three very closely related languages: Kove (Kombe), Lusi (Kaliai), and Kabana (Bariai proper). Here I shall adopt Goulden's suggestion (this volume) that Bariai be used to designate these three languages together, and Kabana for Friederici's Bariai. Kove and Lusi are so similar in basic vocabulary that Counts (1969) and I have spoken of them as dialects of a single language. Goulden, like Thurston, points out that Lusi speakers consider that theirs is a separate language, and that their attitude should be respected. While I agree with this stance, I should note that the Kove speak of Lusi as only a dialect of Kove. Nevertheless, it is certainly true that the languages diverge considerably outside the area of basic vocabulary, and I am perfectly willing to call them separate languages. It should however be kept in mind that they are very much more similar to each other than either is to Kabana. The similarity, particularly as regards basic vocabulary, is almost surely not the result of mutual influence between Kove and Lusi, strong though this has been, but the result of their having diverged from a lower level common ancestor after the split separating that ancestor from Kabana.

There is no need to repeat the data that are presented by Goulden. It is clear that each language has been affected by contact with a rather different group of neighbours. In the case of Kove, there has been some direct borrowing from Bola, immediately to the east. Some Kove lineages derive from Bola, many present-day Kove claim to speak Bola, and Kandoka, on the Kove-Bola border at the foot of the Willaumez, is a village which, though classified by the Kove as Bola, is said to contain many Kove speakers. While the discernible influence from Bola and perhaps Bali, where the Kove have a tiny colony, is not so great as Thurston suggests (1988), it does account for a number of irregular reflexes of Proto Oceanic consonants, for many doublets, and for some lexemes that are not found in Kabana or, in some cases, in Lusi. Because in a number of cases Bali and Bola share a form, the place of origin is rarely clear. For example, Goulden lists sources in Bali, Vitu, and Bola (Bakovi) for some Kove and Lusi lexemes, without ever giving more than one source, but Bola as well as Bali has *barema* 'sago palm' (Lusi *barema*, but cf. Kove *valevalema* 'nipa palm' and Lak *barema* 'nipa palm'), *bubu* 'cloud', and *mariaba* 'storm'. In these cases, the borrowing is indicated both by the voiced stops and in the case of 'cloud' by a doublet (Kove *vuvuhi*), but

the source is not certain.

Kove has also borrowed a little from Bibling languages, having one village that is said to incorporate speakers of Aria, and in areas having to do with ritual as well as sailing, has borrowed a considerable number of lexemes from Kilenge. The major influences on Lusi are assumed to be Bibling, Anêm (Thurston 1982), and Kilenge in the same areas of lexicon as Kove, with other influences coming via Kove (Goulden, this volume). For Kabana, I must rely on Goulden; clearly there has been some influence from Kilenge even in this basic vocabulary.

Goulden documents the recent phonological changes taking place in Kabana, and it is obviously impossible to make any assumptions about how long such changes may take. Nevertheless, I assume that Kove has had a fairly lengthy time in New Britain, encompassing a shift from what I assume were voiced stops in Proto Bariai to fricatives in an early form of Kove, followed by the re-introduction of voiced stops in many words, both in basic vocabulary and in that part of the lexicon that refers to the maritime environment. Goulden has noted a similar situation in Kaliai.

The Bariai languages do not seem to offer problems as regards external connections. If we do not accept Thurston's (1982) hypothesis that some or all of them resulted from non-Austronesian speakers learning very different languages, any uncertainty about their affiliations seems to be only the result of inadequate data. (I suspect that I was influenced into over-estimating the strength of ties with Maleu languages by the relative uniformity of the culture area that extends from Kove to the Siassi Islands; Chowning 1978b:297) The closest relatives of Bariai lie outside the island of New Britain, both in the Siassi Islands and in New Guinea. The area occupied by Proto Bariai may once have extended further west into the Cape Gloucester region; if so, the evidence was presumably eliminated by the tidal wave following the eruption of Ritter, or by earlier catastrophes (Chowning 1976b). It is difficult to correlate the present linguistic situation with the oral traditions that derive the Lusi from a recent migration from the Siassi Islands while the linguistically similar Kove think that the single ancestral village that broke up such a short time ago was 'always' there. I would expect the Kove and Lusi to have originated in a single settlement or group of neighbouring settlements that were physically a little distant from those occupied by the ancestors of the Kabana.

As regards hypotheses about the coming of Oceanic languages to New Britain, or the development of Oceanic languages on New Britain, the proofs that Bariai is not closely related to Maleu strengthens my original belief that all the Bariai languages descend from a relatively late migration. Despite the effects of borrowing from their neighbours, they seem too much alike to have been separated very long, and their position in tiny narrow coastal enclaves also points to an arrival later than that of the other Austronesian languages in the vicinity: Maleu, Bibling, and probably Amara, together with the non-Austronesian Anêm. Despite their maritime orientation, the Kove (with a particularly strong reputation for seafaring) never approached the prowess of those who speak related languages and live around the Vitiaz Straits. Contrary to Thurston's assumptions (1987:20-21), their present way of life is said to post-date pacification, and they do not normally rely on trade for subsistence (Chowning 1978b:205). Consequently it seems more likely that the ancestors of the Bariai speakers came to New Britain from the west, rather than sending branches to the west. I still believe that the branch of Ngero-Vitiaz that includes Bariai reached New Britain after the speakers of other Oceanic languages of northwest New Britain.

8.2 WILLAUMEZ LANGUAGES

I have explained elsewhere why I choose to call the westernmost dialect of Nakanai 'Lakalai' (otherwise Bileki) (Chowning 1976b). Here my usage is contrary to that of Johnston and Ross. Apart from the fact that Lakalai contains no /n/, the use of the term to designate only one set of languages or dialects seems objectionable on two grounds. First, it excludes Meramera, the language called Nakanai in all the earlier literature. Ross at least seems to agree with me that Meramera subgroups with Lakalai (1988:258). I prefer to use Nakanai to designate the languages from Lakalai to Meramera, distinguishing the latter as East Nakanai, and referring to the rest as the western 'branches', in order to avoid questions about dialect/language boundaries. If all of these latter are treated as a single language 'Nakanai', as in Johnston and Ross, then the fact that all of them do not have the same reflexes of Proto Oceanic consonants is ignored. For example, one dialect of Vele contains no /r/ (see also §8.2.1).

The closest relatives of my Nakanai are unquestionably Bola (Bakovi) and Bulu of the Willaumez Peninsula together with Harua (Xarua), traditionally said to be settled by migration from Garua Island just off the Willaumez. Goodenough called these three languages 'Willaumez', and used 'Kimbe' as a term to include both Willaumez and Nakanai languages. Unfortunately, I extended 'Kimbe' to include Bali-Vitu, and Johnston followed me. Now that Ross has demonstrated that Bali-Vitu does not subgroup with these others, he has used 'Willaumez chain' to include Goodenough's Willaumez and Nakanai, though because of Johnston's cognate counts he regards Harua as only a dialect of Bola. (This grouping, and term, reflects Dyen's 1965 'Willaumez Linkage'.) There is now no term for Goodenough's Willaumez languages. I propose to refer to them as 'Willaumez Peninsula' languages, which occupy the westernmost part of Ross's Willaumez chain.

At the beginning of the century Ross's Willaumez chain was broken physically only by a small Bebeli-speaking enclave located just to the west of Nakanai. Two of the western Nakanai branches, Ubae and Loso, did not reach the coast (nor did the non-Willaumez Mangseng; the maps in Johnston 1980b and Ross 1988 are misleading¹⁰). The speakers of all of these languages, including Bebeli, seem to have been culturally very much alike. The close resemblances between Meramera and Lakalai culture are evident in the writings of Hees (1915-16), and reportedly the people of the Willaumez Peninsula were once much more like the Lakalai than is now the case, when their culture has been strongly influenced by the Kove.

In an unpublished paper dealing with the reconstruction of Proto Nakanai Goodenough (n.d.) notes that the many irregular correspondences and doublets point to considerable interaction among the speakers of the daughter languages (or dialects) even after differentiation took place. Certainly such interaction has been common recently. More interesting, perhaps, is the fact that the linguistic divisions do not correspond closely with physical proximity. For the western division, which includes everything but Meramera, there seems to be an obvious continuum along the coast from Lakalai to Maututu. The two languages spoken wholly in the interior depart from this pattern. These are Ubae and Loso.

¹⁰ *Editor's note:* Ross's map was based in this regard on Johnston's, which shows Kukula village, three or four kilometres inland in the late 1970s, as Mangseng speaking.

8.2.1 UBAE

Lakalai is spoken just to the northwest of Ubae, and Mangseng, very different though Oceanic, in the surrounding hinterland. Ubae differs from Lakalai in several significant respects, particularly in phonology. One is the substitution of /r/ in a great many words (but not all) which have /g/ in Lakalai. Lakalai /g/ reflects several different Proto Oceanic (or Proto Willaumez) phonemes, from *d to *ŋ (Chowning 1973:198-200), and the data suggest that Ubae is particularly likely to reflect *d, *dr as /r/. Also, as in Lakalai, within one word *l tends to shift to /r/ under the influence of another /r/, so that Ubae has *roro* 'night' beside Lak *logo*. Ubae also tends to reduce *ai to /i/, even across the morpheme boundary between the *la* noun marker and the following noun. A similar tendency, not so strongly manifested, reduces *au to /u/. The consequence is that we find in Ubae *livu* 'hair', *lisa* 'name', *lutu* 'louse', beside Lak *la ivu*, *la isa*, *la utu*. A combination of these shifts explains Ubae *miri* 'cold' beside Lak *maigi*. A third distinctive feature of Ubae is the existence of an initial syllable, usually *ha-*, in a number of nouns and predicates which in Lakalai either contain partial reduplication of the root (which also occurs in Ubae) or a shorter form. Examples include Ubae *hatara*, Lak *taga* 'dream'; Ubae *hakoma*, Lak *kokoma* 'feather'; Ubae *haburo* Lak *buburo* 'ashes'.

These features of Ubae are not recorded for other branches of Nakanai. In addition, Ubae resembles Meramera in frequently having /s/ rather than /r/ as a reflex of POc *s, *c. On the other hand, Ubae is like other western Nakanai dialects in usually reflecting POc *q as /h/ and *a- as /ha-/. For both of these, see Lak *ere(i)*, Ubae *esei*, Mer *sei* 'who?'; Lak *harua*, Ubae *hasua*, Mer *sua* 'husband'; Lak *hare* 'mouth', Ubae *hase* 'lip', Mer *oase/ase* 'mouth' (but Ubae *lusa* beside Lak *la hura* 'rain'). An additional point of interest is that Ubae reflects POc *kusupe 'rat' as *kusuve*, whereas Lakalai and other coastal western dialects, like a scattering of languages farther west such as Kove, have an unexpected third consonant that produces Lak *kusuke* (Chowning 1973:205). Another difference between Ubae and neighbouring branches of Nakanai is that all of the pronouns take an *e-* prefix. Ubae is like Maututu in this but unlike Lakalai (or Vele), where the first and second persons dual and plural all begin with *a-* (see §9), presumably as a result of levelling. (Valentine also records an alternative Ubae third person plural *esou* along with *egiteu*, the former being like Meramera and the latter like Lakalai, whereas Grace, in a very short word list, recorded only *egiteu*.)

There are a number of lexical items that link Ubae with the east (Maututu or Meramera). They include, for example, Ubae *tavula*, Mer *tabu* 'nose', beside Lak *maisu*; Ubae *malolou*, Mer *malou* 'thirsty', where all the rest including Lakalai have *malehu* (but see Bola *malou*); and the lack of metathesis in the word for 'how many?': Ubae, Mer *i-visa*, beside Lakalai and other *i-riva*.

Of the Ubae words that do not have cognates in other branches of Nakanai, I have been able to identify probable Mangseng loans for only two: Ubae *kamukeli*, Mangseng *mikeli* 'guts' (Lak *tamusi*) and Ubae *lumu*, Mangseng *um* 'stone' (Lak *uati*). Goodenough (n.d.) had also pointed to the resemblance between Ubae *miri* and Mangseng *merir* 'cold', but since, as I noted above, the Ubae term is fully cognate with Lak *maigi*, the case for this one is not strong. Even two loans in basic vocabulary, however, suggest that more would be found in the larger lexicon.

8.2.2 LOSO

The reason that I did not identify this as a dialect separate from Vele was that the word list collected by Valentine from speakers from that region did not show the distinctive features cited by Johnston (1980a:17). One of the problems may have been that Valentine decided to treat /l/, /n/, and /r/ as allomorphs of a single phoneme. That he was wrong is certainly indicated by a word list later filled out by Pius Soisi, a student from Lotou village (his spelling). Valentine did not notice the use of the noun marker *a* in place of Lakalai *la*, and the student records it in only one word *aleavala* 'year' (Lak *la leavala*). The only appearance of *la* is in *laia* 'fish' – Lak *la ia*, but it should be noted that Loso is not far from the Mamusi-speaking region, where the word for 'fish' is *lia*; there are clearly problems in interpreting this case, particularly because other languages, including Bebeli, have forms like *lia*. Loso has not undergone the phonological changes that characterise Ubae. Johnston tends to contradict himself on whether Ubae or Loso is the more different from Lakalai (1980a:16,17). By my reckoning, judging only from the Lotou list, Loso does have fewer cognates (80 per cent for a 205-word list, compared with 84 per cent for Valentine's 215-word list). Loso looks less different, however, both because of the aforementioned failure to undergo particular phonological changes, and because a number of the words in its basic vocabulary also appear in Lakalai, but with different meanings. Examples are *timu*: Loso 'suck', Lakalai 'smack the lips'; *sosobu*: Loso 'fog', Lakalai 'smoke'; *vulai*: Loso 'work', Lakalai 'clear gardens'. The only word lacking cognates in Lakalai that seems to unite Ubae and Loso is the one for 'bad': Loso *baugu*, Ubae *bugu*. Apart from the possible case of the word for 'fish', I have not identified the sources of any of the aberrant (as compared with other Nakanai languages) Loso lexicon. The neighbouring non-Austronesian language Wasi also has *timu* 'suck', but in view of the Lakalai word, is probably not the source for Loso. I have found no evidence of borrowing from Mamusi into Loso.

8.2.3 LAKALAI

Johnston states that 'Nakanai' is the most 'mutated' of the languages that he derives from his 'Proto Kimbe' (which include Bali and Vitu). I am doubtful about the accuracy of this statement as regards Lakalai proper, but it is worth noting that in a few respects, Meramera is more like the languages of the Willaumez Peninsula than it is like Lakalai. In lexicon, if we disregard cases in which these other languages reflect POc forms and Lakalai does not, we find such examples as words for 'fat' (*vi*, versus Lak *molamola*, from Proto Oceanic); 'rain' (Bula *kadavu*, Mer *gadavu*, Lak *hura*); perhaps 'wind' Bulu *vini*, Mer *vili* (if these do not derive from Tok Pisin), Lak *lolovi*; and 'tongue' (*tabele*, as opposed to Lak *kalamea*, from Proto Oceanic). The *na*, rather than *a*, article, is also peculiar to Lakalai and its closest kin; although Johnston lists *na* for Meramera (1982:80), this is presumably a misprint, since it is contradicted by all his examples. Johnston himself has pointed to a link in the cardinal numerals which group Bola, Harua and Meramera with *polo-* prefixes, versus the others which have regular reflexes of the Proto Oceanic system (1982:86). In fact, however, Meramera has *pan-* rather than *polo-* and only as a reflex of numbers 6-8 (Johnston 1982:87), so the resemblance may be accidental. Furthermore, Valentine recorded a full decimal system for Harua.¹¹

¹¹ It is not borrowed from Lakalai; compare Lakalai *-uolo*, Harua *-ono* '6'; Lakalai *ualasiu*, Harua *-tio* '9', Lakalai *savulu*, Harua *-rajavulu* '10'.

8.2.4 THE POSITION OF UBAE AND LOSO

The impression given by Ubae and Loso are that either the coastal varieties of western Nakanai, from Lakalai to Maututu, are descended from a lower-level common ancestor than the one that produced the ancestor of Ubae, or that the coastal varieties stayed in closer contact with each other after the split, or both. The phonological differences between Ubae and the others suggest a period of separate development, whereas Loso may simply not have participated in levelling resulting both from trade and actual movements of peoples. As has been noted, some shifted because of volcanic activity on Cape Hoskins, and some because of quarrels, which reputedly led to the founding of two originally Lakalai villages in what is now central Nakanai. Recent eruptions of Pago might account for the separation of Ubae, which could have been cut off from easy access to the coast. Furthermore, it is likely that at certain periods, the coastal areas nearest Ubae were unoccupied.

It is possible that after, according to Ross's scenario, Willaumez languages spread throughout the region that is now Nakanai-speaking, the branch which occupied the Cape Hoskins region was displaced from these by volcanic activity, any survivors moving west along the shores of Kimbe Bay or east to what is now Central Nakanai. When volcanic activity died down, Cape Hoskins would then have been resettled – primarily from the east, in view of the close linguistic links in that direction, but perhaps with some input from the west. For what it is worth, the one Lakalai myth that deals with migrations has them moving from Vulai Island, just to the north of Cape Hoskins, to the empty mainland. I do not, however, suggest that present-day Lakalai derived wholly from a branch that moved directly to what is now the Vele-speaking region without spending time near or on Cape Hoskins. The reason is that of lexical links between Lakalai and a Pasismanua-like language. There is no reason to think that such languages ever extended east of their present boundaries, in the Psohoh-speaking area.

8.3 WHITEMAN LANGUAGES

8.3.1 PASISMANUA LANGUAGES

Because there is disagreement among myself, Johnston, and Ross about the grouping of the Pasismanua chain and its connections with other languages in West New Britain, some clarification of the reasons for my stance is necessary. Ross considers Psohoh, spoken to the east of Sengsen and deep into the interior, a co-ordinate member of the chain, which otherwise contains, as a single subgroup, Miu, Kaulong, and Sengsen. He also, like Johnston, ignores my mention of Karore as the easternmost language in the chain as I originally set it up (Chowning 1976b), presumably because the Throops misidentified it as a dialect of Arawe, which was based on incomplete and erroneous information. I corrected their omission for Karore (Chowning 1985:192), but Ross's map still leaves a large and I suggest non-existent gap,¹² presumably uninhabited, between the Sengsen and Psohoh regions (Ross 1988:161). In Throop and Ross (1994), however, Karore and Psohoh are part of the 'Pasismanua dialect chain', but apparently they viewed the latter languages as more distinct than the other three.

¹² This gap, marked '?', is tentatively filled on the map on page ix.

8.3.1.1 PSOHOH

Judging from the lexical data, however, Psohoh seems as similar to Sengseng as Miu is (Table 2). I have chosen my principal Psohoh data from lists supplied by Ray Johnston, including part of one from an unpublished paper on these languages (Johnston 1981). Unfortunately poor photocopying makes part of this last list illegible. Some words on Johnston's list are omitted for that reason, some because I do not have comparable data from other languages. To minimise the effects of borrowing, and because Johnston's data are fullest for it, I have used the word lists from Bao, the northernmost dialect of Psohoh, spoken a short distance inland from the north coast (and so relatively close to Bebeli). I have written only five vowels for all languages concerned, though there is reason to believe that they contain more.¹³ I have also omitted the masculine prefix (*ve-* in both Bao and Sengseng) from parts of the body. Where the Sengseng and Bao forms are clearly cognate, I have not bothered to indicate cognates in other western Pasismanua or Psohoh languages, except when they clarify the presumption of cognacy. Where the Bao forms seem to include the third person singular suffixed possessive *-n*, I have included it with the Sengseng forms.

Despite the lexical resemblances, there are ways in which the Bao dialect of Psohoh does differ from Sengseng. Johnston's description of Bao is only partial, and is certainly incorrect in one respect. He has frequently analysed an initial syllable, or just an initial vowel, as a noun marker, when the comparative evidence makes it clear that it is part of the root. Examples include his *i uŋ* 'NM pig' and *ma saŋ* 'NM house' (Johnston 1981:4, 6) beside Sng *yu, masaj*. I suspect that other morpheme boundaries given for Bao are erroneous, and consequently the glosses are misleading. This said, it seems that the major grammatical differences between Bao and Sengseng are the following. Bao has two sets of separable possessives, one marking 'edible' possession with *a-* and the other 'general' possession with a root *niji* or *nini*, preceded in the examples given by the *ve-* marker for third person singular masculine. Neither of these possessives contains the *ta-* prefix which marks the single set of separable possessives in Sengseng, though *ta* appears as a 'beneficiary/locative' preposition (Johnston 1981:6). (This difference not only supports Lichtenberk's assertion – 1985:121 – that POc **ta* usually marks "spatial relations, most notably location or place of origin" rather than possession, but also suggests that Sengseng and Lakalai may have developed the possessive function of this preposition independently of each other.) Bao does, however, agree with Sengseng (and Lakalai) in that separable possessives follow the head noun, whereas in Bebeli and Mangseng they precede.

Johnston also identifies several particles designating modality and aspect for which I have not identified anything similar, or cognate, in Sengseng, though it is possible that I may have missed or misinterpreted comparable particles. For Bao, these are a 'dubitative' *ver* which ends the sentence; an 'incompletive' with *loh* preceding and *in* following the verb; and a 'habituaive' *ha* which precedes the verb. Both languages employ *tio* 'self' but otherwise reflexive constructions differ, Bao using *lo* 'again' (cf. Lak *lou*, from Proto Oceanic). Bao and Sengseng are, however, alike, and the terms are cognate, in expressing negation, the perfective, and reciprocal action.

Phonologically, Bao differs from Sengseng particularly in apparently having a phonemic

¹³ Throop and Ross (1994), however, identify only five vowel phonemes for Kaulong.

TABLE 2: PSOHOH (BAO) WORDLIST WITH EQUIVALENTS IN OTHER WESTERN NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

	Psohoh: Bao dialect	Psohoh: other dialects	Sengseng	Other west Pasismanua languages	Other western New Britain languages
1. hair	<i>ki</i>	...	...	Krr <i>iki</i>	...
2. head	<i>po</i>	...	<i>po</i>	...	...
3. mouth	<i>lito</i>	...	...	...	...
4. nose	<i>ɲori</i>	...	...	...	...
5. eye	<i>mata</i>	...	<i>mata</i>	...	...
6. belly	<i>kapi</i>	Aigon <i>kope</i>	...	...	Bbl <i>kapa, kepe</i> ; Mgs <i>opo, hopo</i>
7. neck	<i>luɲu</i>	Aigon <i>hot</i>	<i>hot</i>	...	...
8. skin	<i>yo</i>	Aigon <i>lut</i>	<i>lit; ho</i> ('body')	...	...
9. knee	<i>posut</i>	...	<i>posut</i>	...	...
10. man	<i>pa-masaɲ</i> <i>pa-toyo</i>	...	<i>pomasaja</i> (<i>masaja</i> 'men's house'), <i>po-tuhu</i> ('human being')	...	...
11. woman	<i>pa-noyo</i>	...	...	...	...
12. bird	<i>e-kiɲ</i>	...	<i>e-ki</i>	Klg <i>e-gin</i>	...
13. wing	<i>i-mbrit</i>	...	<i>mihit</i>	Krr <i>mirit</i>	...
14. tail	<i>pokut</i>	...	<i>kut</i>	...	...
15. egg	<i>i kulue</i>	...	...	...	Bbl <i>i kutel</i>
16. rat	<i>tansu</i>	...	...	...	...
17. louse	<i>ɲut</i>	...	<i>mut</i>	Krr <i>nut</i>	Mgs <i>ɲut</i>
18. snake	<i>i-moto</i>	...	<i>amat</i>	...	...
19. mosquito	<i>rumuk</i>	...	<i>humuk-akenen</i>	...	...
20. ear	<i>tiɲi</i>	...	<i>kliɲa</i>	...	...
21. tongue	<i>mamai</i>	...	<i>mamai</i>	...	...
22. tooth	<i>eɲi</i>	...	<i>ɲi</i>	...	...
23. breast	<i>susu</i>	...	<i>susu</i>	...	...
24. hand	<i>komleɲ</i>	Aigon <i>vilin</i>	<i>vili-</i>	...	...
25. back	<i>ɲgimon</i>	...	...	...	...
26. leg	<i>kebe</i>	...	<i>kive</i>	...	...
27. bone	<i>embru</i>	...	...	...	...
28. blood	<i>eɲriken</i>	...	<i>eɲhik</i>	Krr <i>ɲrik</i>	...
29. liver	<i>atan</i>	...	<i>eta-n</i>	...	...
30. shoulder	<i>sivia</i>	...	...	...	...
31. forehead	<i>mlaja</i>	...	<i>mianja</i>	...	...
32. meat	<i>i-malen</i>	...	<i>mali-n</i>	Krr <i>emalin</i>	...
33. fat	<i>ikamar</i>	...	...	...	Rauto <i>kamar</i> , Piliilo <i>kmar</i>

TABLE 2 (continued)

	Psohoh: Bao dialect	Psohoh: other dialects	Sengseng	Other west Pasismanua languages	Other western New Britain languages
34. fish	<i>esmaŋ</i>	...	<i>esma</i>	...	...
35. father	<i>tama</i>	...	<i>ve-tama</i>	...	Bbl <i>pu-tama</i>
36. mother	<i>tina</i>	...	<i>totni</i> (reference), <i>tina</i> (address)	...	...
37. sister	<i>e-lut</i>	...	<i>et-lut</i>	...	Mgs <i>i-lu</i>
38. name	<i>e-a</i>	...	<i>iya, ya</i>	...	...
39. what?	<i>e-leŋ</i>	...	<i>ele</i>	...	...
40. who?	<i>vanume</i> ('who comes?')	...	<i>a-no</i> (F), <i>e-no</i> (F)	...	...
41. when?	<i>teles</i>	...	...	...	...
42. stone	<i>wat</i>	...	<i>umat</i>	...	Bbl <i>i-kum</i>
43. tree	<i>zaŋ</i>	...	<i>sa</i>	...	...
44. root	<i>kumut</i>	...	<i>kumut</i>	...	...
45. leaf	<i>i-ki-, kizaŋ</i>	<i>kin, kisaŋ</i>	...	...	...
46. seed	<i>i-ugu</i>	...	<i>yihun, yuhun</i>	...	...
47. earth	<i>pluk</i>	...	<i>pluk</i>	...	...
48. mountai	<i>kalapen</i>	...	...	...	...
49. water	<i>i-ki</i>	...	<i>e-ki</i>	...	...
50. ocean	<i>isiy</i>	...	<i>hisik</i>	...	...
51. sun	<i>nelak</i>	...	...	Kɿ <i>nehelak</i>	...
52. moon	<i>nam</i>	...	<i>namih</i>	...	...
53. star	<i>kirap</i>	...	<i>kihap</i>	...	...
54. cloud	<i>riŋis</i>	...	<i>hiŋis</i>	...	...
55. rain	<i>e kus</i>	...	...	...	...
56. night	<i>i-vus</i>	...	<i>i vus</i> 'out, of fire'	...	...
57. path	<i>giso</i>	...	<i>hiso</i>	...	...
58. fire	<i>kela</i>	...	(<i>yau</i>)	...	...
59. smoke	<i>i-kiŋ</i>	...	<i>yau-kun</i>	...	...
60. ashes	<i>kau</i>	...	<i>kau</i>	...	...
61. big	<i>ɣoloŋ</i>	...	<i>holoŋ</i> (of cucumber)	...	...
62. small	<i>tutu-ŋ</i>	...	<i>tuntun</i>	...	...
63. red	<i>ŋyrekŋyrek</i>	...	<i>-ŋeheŋe</i>	Kɿ <i>-ŋetŋet</i>	...
64. white	<i>volvol</i>	...	<i>volvol</i> 'dry?'	...	...
65. black	<i>gopgop</i>	...	<i>akop</i> 'dark blue (of sky)'	...	Bbl <i>gopgop</i> , Mgs <i>poŋ -kokop-ŋa</i>
66. yellow	<i>iyomuk</i>	...	...	...	...
67. green	<i>yo-kirkir</i>	...	<i>keheŋ, kehes</i>	...	...

contrast between voiced and unvoiced stops,¹⁴ as well as a voiced flap which contrasts with both of these, and a set of fricatives as well. Sengseng has only a bilabial fricative (my /v/), which in the interior dialect has an allophone [w] before back vowels. Since Johnston also identifies a /w/ phoneme for Bao, it has six or seven more consonant phonemes than does Sengseng, a difference of some significance when borrowings are considered. For all of these differences, evidence is lacking to show that they are shared by all the divisions of Psohoh. Getmatta may be much more like Sengseng.

Despite differences between Bao and Sengseng, this material seems to me to demonstrate that languages very similar to Sengseng are still spoken in a region physically close to Lakalai, and it is not implausible to suggest that they once extended further east. When I point to some of the lexical resemblances between Sengseng and Lakalai, I assume that they would be found in Psohoh as well.

8.3.2 BEBELI (BANAULE, KAPORE)

The position of this language, spoken on the north coast of New Britain immediately to the west of Lakalai, is disputed. I put it into the Whiteman group along with the Pasismanua languages and Mangseng. Johnston divided the Whiteman languages into Eastern and Western, putting the Pasismanua group, including Psohoh but with no mention of Karore, into the Western Division, together with Uvol. (I had put this last with Mengen, as does Ross.) Johnston's Eastern Whiteman contains Bebeli and Mangseng; he says that "the two languages are more similar to each other than either is to the Pasismanua group" (Johnston 1980b:122). His reason is lexicon, and he does point out that the differences in phonology and particularly in the pronouns make him uncertain about the relation between Bebeli and Mangseng (Johnston 1980b:124-126). I still think that Bebeli is somewhat closer to Pasismanua languages than to Mangseng (Chowning 1976b:371). Ross, however, presents new data which throws doubt on the boundaries of my Whiteman group. He assigns Bebeli to an East Arawe chain which contains some of the Arawe languages as well; the other members of his Arawe chain are the western Arawe languages and, separately, Mangseng. All of these are then grouped with Pasismanua as being derived from Proto Arawe/Pasismanua (Ross 1988:162). This grouping is actually in close agreement with my original suggestion, based on lexicon alone, that Arawe is most closely related to the Whiteman languages, so that "it may eventually be possible to put the two together", and that I was particularly struck by the relatively high number of shared cognates between Bebeli ('Kapore') and a dialect of Arawe, even though the one I cited is put by Ross in his Western Arawe chain (Chowning 1969:30).

Nevertheless, Ross admits to difficulties with Bebeli. His reason for separating Pasismanua from Mangseng is that "the Pasismanua communalects have undergone changes which have increased their level of morphological complexity ... (These are notably) the creation of dual and trial pronoun forms which have no obvious Oceanic forebears, and the innovation of a masculine/feminine/neuter distinction which affects both third person singular pronouns and the articles which occur before human nouns". But he notes that Bebeli also has the gender

¹⁴ This is, however, a feature of Kaulong (Throop and Ross 1994). In Sengseng I considered it more parsimonious to assume that some words contained a nasal plus stop, rather than to postulate the existence of a separate series of pre-nasalized unvoiced stops.

TABLE 3: SENSGENG AND BEBELI PRONOUN PARADIGMS

		Sengseng		Bebeli	
		Subject	Object	Subject	Object
Singular	1	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>ŋo</i>	<i>ka (alö)</i>	<i>(a)lo</i>
	2	<i>o, a</i>	<i>ŋon</i>	<i>ö (ino)</i>	<i>nö</i>
	3M	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>pu</i>
	3F	<i>et</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>
	3N	<i>i, li</i>	<i>i, li</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>i</i>
Dual	1I	<i>taŋa, toŋ</i>	...	<i>su</i>	<i>susum</i>
	1E	<i>toha</i>	...	<i>mese</i>	<i>mesek</i>
	2	<i>mom</i>	...	<i>musu</i>	<i>musum</i>
	3	<i>hiloŋ</i>	...	<i>su</i>	<i>su</i>
Trial	1I	<i>souk(a)</i>	...	...	...
	1E	<i>piok</i>	...	...	...
	2	<i>miok</i>	...	...	...
	3	<i>hilok</i>	...	...	...
Plural	1I	<i>ita</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>tokua, totok (G), sumuk (J)^a</i>
	1E	<i>pima</i>	<i>pim</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>memek</i>
	2	<i>om, ami</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>momok</i>
	3	<i>po</i>	<i>po, hi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>

^a Forms marked (G) were recorded by Ward Goodenough, (J) by Raymond Johnston.

distinction (Ross 1988:183). What he does not discuss are Bebeli pronouns. Bebeli has singular, dual, and plural sets, and I would argue that (a) the dual looks fully as aberrant as the Sengseng dual (that is, not clearly derived from Proto Oceanic), and (b) that some of the forms in the plural resemble the Sengseng trial/paucal. In the latter case, there may be an influence from the word for '3', *miok* in both languages (Table 3). In Sengseng, both the dual and the trial pronouns are related to their words for '2' and '3' (one of these words for '2', *vuon*). It may be worth noting that in the Kimbe languages, which flank Bebeli, "the triple set of pronouns has become the set for all numbers beyond 2" (Johnston 1980b:116). Since, however, in Kimbe languages the words for '2' and '3' are clearly derived from Proto Oceanic, the dual and plural forms, which include these, differ from those in Pasismanua. Bebeli has *lu* '2', but no trace of it in the dual pronouns. Finally, as regards the question of complexity, too little material is available on Bebeli to judge the matter fully, but it can be said that the possessive system is considerably more complex in Bebeli than in Sengseng, with

its single set of separable possessive markers. As will be seen, Bebeli, like Bao, in this respect is more like some other West New Britain languages (and admittedly like the system that has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic). I would, then, deny that Sengseng is as morphologically complex as Bebeli. Like all languages, it has its peculiarities,¹⁵ but when I was learning the language, it struck me as no more complex than Lakalai, which Johnston (1982) regards as simple compared with other Willaumez languages.

At this point it is pertinent to examine the question of ties between Bebeli and the Arawe languages, located along the south coast of New Britain. Ross's convincing reason for grouping Bebeli with Eastern Arawe is that not only do those Arawe languages have sex gender in singular pronouns, but in the case of the Avau division of Arawe, use the same forms as the Bebeli ones. These are *pu* (m.), *ti* (f.), and *e* 'neuter'. (Ross writes the Bebeli neuter as *i* and suggests – 1988:183) that it is "apparently only used as object, not as subject". Goodenough's fieldnotes, however, make clear that Bebeli has a neuter subject pronoun which he writes *ā*, whereas literate Bebeli write this as *e*.)

Within Pasismanua languages, there is considerable variation in the shape of the third person singular pronouns (see discussion below). Sengseng seems to be virtually unique in using the same forms for 'he', 'husband', and as a masculine prefix to kinship terms, and for 'she', 'wife', and as a feminine prefix to kinship terms. In Kaulong, by contrast, the prefixes to kinship terms are cognate with the Sengseng ones, but the independent pronouns differ from these and from Sengseng.¹⁶ The Karore word for 'she' *tot* differs completely from the third person singular feminine pronoun in other Pasismanua languages but is the first syllable of the reference term for 'mother' in Sengseng. In the Getmatta dialect the personal noun markers are used before kinship terms as well (Chinnery n.d.:14). My data for Miu and Psohoh are incomplete, but it is worth recording that Miu has a masculine prefix for at least one kinship term (the word for 'son') that is *pu-*. Otherwise the precise forms seem to link Avau and Bebeli as against all the other languages of West New Britain.

It must be noted, however, that linguists have often failed to note gender distinctions in the course of making surveys of these languages. I recorded at least a he/she distinction for the Palik division of Arawe (assigned by Ross to Western Arawe). The terms bear no resemblance to those in Avau. For the same languages, Hoopert and Wakefield record a distinction between the possessive pronouns used for women's and men's houses, though in the first person singular (1980:14). The failure to record gender distinctions in other Western Arawe languages does not mean that they do not exist. If they are indeed confined to the eastern end of the Arawe-speaking region, it is difficult not to suspect some influence from Pasismanua languages, but that leaves unexplained the detailed resemblance between the Bebeli and Avau forms.

Other links between Bebeli and some Arawe languages include the preposition *ki* 'to' and the use of postpositions rather than prepositions for 'in' and 'under' (examples from Arawe in Hoopert and Wakefield 1980:20-21). In the latter case, the forms differ, but the use of

¹⁵ See Chowning (1978). These include a special pronoun, *sun*, the so-called obviative (Bloomfield 1933:193), used when the object of a verb differs from the subject.

¹⁶ For one dialect of Kaulong, Goodale (unpublished field notes) recorded a variant (*wi*) used only when a woman is speaking of a man. That independent pronoun is the same as the masculine prefix to her kinship terms. Confusingly, the Kaulong data in Throop and Throop (1980:230, 237) disagree with Goodale's (from two widely separated Kaulong villages); their kinship terms are prefixed with *yan* ('he').

postpositions contrasts with Sengseng, which uses only prepositions for 'in' and 'under'. The possessive systems of Arawe and Bebeli also resemble each other in several respects. (1) They contain two sets of separable possessives, along with one that is suffixed. (2) The separable possessives precede the noun. (3) Some parts of the body take the separable possessives. (4) When the possessives are suffixed, in some cases the vowels of the noun shift according to the person and number of the suffix. (Presumably the shift reflects the original vowel in the suffix; however, in the singular the suffixes have all been reduced to a single consonant.) (5) In some cases, the actual shapes of the possessives are the same or very similar; compare Bbl *kok, lok* 'my' with Avau *kok, luk*. The resemblances are not so close as regards the internal vowel shifts in roots; in Arawe languages /a/ tends to become /o/ in first person singular, but /e/ in Bebeli: Arawe *moto-k*, Bbl *mete-k* 'my eye' (with both having *mata* in the third person singular).

The Arawe languages, however, vary greatly among themselves in this regard, as the paradigms in Hoopert and Wakefield (1980:15) demonstrate (though the morpheme boundaries are often erroneous). Nevertheless, in all of these respects Bebeli and Arawe contrast with Sengseng and its nearest neighbours. (Hoopert and Wakefield 1980:11 do describe vowel changes in the word for 'mouth' in a coastal Kaulong dialect that sounds like the Arawe situation.)

Lexically, there seems to be only a handful of items that unite Bebeli and Arawe to the exclusion of Pasismanua. My lists are unsatisfactory for detailed comparisons, consisting only of basic vocabulary for two Western Arawe languages, supplemented by the brief lists in Hoopert and Wakefield, and a much longer word list for Bebeli complicated by the fact that it has borrowed heavily from Lakalai (and possibly from other north coast languages). Some of the shared items are derived from Proto Oceanic but differ in shape from the Pasismanua forms. They include cognates of the following Bebeli terms: *ken* 'eat' (Sng *i*); *in* 'drink' (Sng *num*); *kon* 'lie down, sleep' (Sng *nok* possibly a methathesised version of the same); *kum* 'stone' (Sng *umat*); *kei* 'tree' (Sng *sa*); *kon* 'fire' (Sng *you*); *rumit* 'stand' (Sng *si-pit*, possibly cognate; compare Avau *ramit*); *rehin* 'sit' (Sng *si-on, uŋ*); *mi* 'breast' (Sng *susu*); *mini* 'hand' (Sng *vili*); *biti* 'rain' (Sng *-yuy*); *sele* 'root' (Sng *umut*); *huhul* 'flower' (assuming that Palik *kurkur* is cognate; Sng *yihu-n*); *pesik* 'wet' (Sng *vuy*); *lemigilik* 'night' (Sng *pe-luvok*, but see Sng *-ylik* 'cold'). Another possible case is *le* 'fish' beside Pililo *eli/eheli*, (Sng *esma*), but the Bebeli form could come from Lak *la-ia* (but see §8.2.2). A few of these forms have cognates in Mangseng, a point to which I shall return below. In Karore a derivation of *ken* 'eat' appears in a word for 'food' (*keniŋin*, with the noun-formative suffix), and both Karore and Sengseng also have *keniŋ* 'food, meat' but otherwise these words are not attested in my Pasismanua data except as 'married' alternatives to tabooed words (Chowning 1985).

The features that unite Bebeli, Arawe, and the Pasismanua languages are, on the evidence available to me, very few. One is the use of a marker for completed action cognate with Sng *kut*.¹⁷ Another is the use of a verbal suffix indicating reciprocity that is cognate with Sng *val/al*. As Ross notes, this device is also found in other languages in southwest New Britain (1988:180). Lexically, only a few items are attested for all three languages. They include a general word for 'work' *kum* (possibly from POC **quma* 'garden'); 'leg' (Bbl *keve*, Sng *kive*,

¹⁷ Throop and Ross (1994) agree with my suggestion (Chowning 1985:174) that this derives from POC **goti*. If so, the fact that these languages share it may be meaningless. Ross (1988:103) gives an example containing *ket* in Mangap which may be cognate.

TABLE 4: WORDS SHARED BY SENSGENG AND VARIOUS BRANCHES OF ARAWE

English	Sengseng	Arawe	comments
sun	<i>sinəŋ</i>	<i>sinəŋ, nəŋ</i>	Final consonant unexpected if from Proto Oceanic
work	<i>kum</i>	<i>kum</i>	
three	<i>miok</i>	<i>moiok, miok</i>	
come	<i>me(i)</i>	<i>me</i>	
liver	<i>kakat</i> (of pig only)	<i>kakat</i>	
go	<i>li</i>	<i>le</i>	
rope, vine	<i>elik</i>	<i>alik</i>	
hunt	<i>hip</i>	<i>rip</i>	
split	<i>pal</i>	<i>pal</i>	Widespread in New Britain; cf <i>Kovφala</i>
snake	<i>amat</i>	<i>amat</i>	
pull	<i>nak</i>	<i>nak</i>	
cloud	<i>avat</i>	<i>avat</i>	
ashes	<i>pokas</i> ('charcoal')	<i>pukas</i>	
long	<i>malak</i>	<i>malak</i>	From POc? See Lakalai <i>malau</i> , Bola <i>malaku</i>
near	<i>tikayun</i>	<i>dakaiunjun</i>	

Atui/Lesing *keve*; 'bite' (Bbl *kolo*, Sng *koho*, Arawe *kor*); and '3', cognate with Sng *miok*, but again attested well beyond this region.

Despite the longer word lists, the lexical items shared only between Bebeli and the Pasismanua languages, to the exclusion of all the Arawe languages, are not numerous. They include words for 'water' (Bbl *neki*, Sng *eki*); 'wrap' (Bbl *suk*, Sng *sukh*); 'star' (Bbl *kirap*, Sng *kihap*); 'butterfly' (Bbl *bavop*, Sng *evup*); 'coconut' (Bbl, Sng *niom* – though not the most common word in Sengseng; 'MB/ZC' (Bbl *hevek*, Sng *veheŋ*); and perhaps 'big' (Bbl *hebuk*, Sng *apluk*). The pronouns, although dissimilar, seem more similar to each other than to Arawe.

As I have noted elsewhere (Chowning 1969, 1985), the number of lexemes shared between Sengseng and Arawe is also very small. This is true even as regards the division of Arawe that Hoopert and Wakefield call Palik (1980:7), spoken adjacent to Sengseng and involved in trade and intermarriage with Sengseng speakers. Only 22 out of 210 Palik words were cognate with Sengseng ones; furthermore two of these are rare in Sengseng, compared with their synonyms, and two belong to the 'married' vocabulary. Some of the remainder, though derived from a single protoform, reflect very different developments. Examples are Sng *num*, Palik *in* 'drink' from POc **inum*, and note that Ross also derived Sng *nal*, Palik *pen* '4' from a single protoform. Words shared by Sengseng and various branches of Arawe are shown in Table 4. If we ignore reflexes of POc forms that show no distinctive developments, such as *malak* 'long, far', and look at branches of Arawe that are not adjacent to Sengseng, the lexical resemblances between the languages are so few as to suggest either borrowing or common ancestry followed by a long history of separate development. The latter possibility is hard to envisage given the present geographical distribution of the languages, and the fact that the south coast lacks volcanoes which might have separated people. It should be noted, however, that Arawe speakers like the Sengseng and Kaulong practice word tabooing (Chinnery

n.d., Chowning 1985), a practice that is likely to reduce the number of directly inherited reflexes while increasing the amount of borrowing.

8.3.3 MANGSENG

My information on this language is derived from Coombs' sketch of the grammar and word lists collected by C.A. Valentine and others. The language resembles Psohoh in extending from the south coast of New Britain to a short distance from the north coast. The language is divided into several dialects, the northernmost nearest to Ubae. To the west, it borders Mengen languages, and to the south, Arawe.

The grammar seems to contain none of the features that have led some to postulate non-Austronesian influence on Pasismanua languages to the west, and on Mengen to the east. It differs from the former, and from Bebeli, in lacking sex gender distinctions, and it also seems to lack articles or noun markers of any kind. A slightly unexpected feature, though Oceanic, is the use of the pluralising suffix *-ri* for inanimate objects as well as people and animals. (Lakalai also pluralises all of these, but by reduplication.) The possessives are, however, very similar to those of both Bebeli and Arawe, consisting of a three-way distinction, with the two sets of separable possessives prefixed, and with one of those sets used for some parts of the body. Also like these two languages, Mangseng contains suffixed locatives, one for 'in' and one for 'in the middle', together with prepositions. The marker of completed action is not cognate with the *kut*-like lexeme used in these languages and in Pasismanua. Coombs does not mention a reciprocal marker.

Comparative data available are too scanty for me to judge how distinctive some features of Mangseng are, such as the future marker *aro*, which precedes the subject, and what Coombs calls a 'punctiliar' verbal suffix *-ul*. Only two features remind me of Sengseng. One is the frequent use of words derived from 'come' and 'go' as verbal suffixes to indicate motion to and from an object, and a numerical prefix *or-*, which resembles Sng *kahot* and *eut*. Coombs calls the Mangseng terms a cardinal marker, whereas I had not really known how to define the latter, which I had recorded with such a disparate collection, from men to months, that I suggested they might just be glossed as 'item'. Overall, the impression given of Mangseng is of simplicity, like one of Thurston's pidgins (1982), though there is no reason to think that Mangseng has served as a lingua franca recently. As regards subgrouping, I still feel that its closest relative, though not a very close one, is Bebeli (Chowning 1969), but I simply lack the evidence that would subgroup it with Arawe.

9. ROSS'S CLASSIFICATIONS

On lexical grounds alone, there is no doubt that Lakalai belongs with the other Willaumez languages, and Sengseng, perhaps less securely, with other languages in southwest New Britain, plus Bebeli. With considerable justification, however, Ross does not like to rely upon lexicon for sub-grouping (Ross 1988:11-12). Consequently the criteria that he does use merit examination as regards the placement of these two languages. If we look at the distinctions that separate Lakalai, as a Meso-Melanesian language, from Sengseng, as a Vitiaz one (Ross 1988:164-173, 177-183, 264-280), we find that several of the innovations characteristic of one division or the other either do not have identifiable reflexes in these languages, or

show irregular ones. As regards Meso-Melanesian, Lakalai, with or without its closest kin, is specifically said not to share some of the innovations. One example is in reflexes of POc **k*. Of the others: as regards the merger of POc**r* and **R* in Meso-Melanesian, both Lakalai and Sengseng show irregular reflexes of both protophonemes (see Chowning 1973 for Lakalai, 1985 for Sengseng). It is nevertheless true that the usual reflex of both in Lakalai is /*l*/; many examples, such as *bolo* 'pig', could be added to those cited by Ross. Apparently this merger also characterises all Vitiáz languages as well, with the reflex for all of Ross's Arawe/Pasismanua languages being /*r*/ except in Sengseng and Kaulong, where it is /*h*/. No reflex is recorded for Mangseng. Since the languages of the Willaumez Peninsula also reflect these protophonemes as /*r*/, the merger and one of its most common reflexes do not separate the groups to which Lakalai and Sengseng belong, but they themselves differ in the specific reflexes.

The second Meso-Melanesian innovation, the merger of **dr* and **d* as Proto Meso-Melanesian **d*, is again one for which Lakalai, in which the reflex is /*g*/, can provide many more examples than Ross gives. Ross illustrates the same merger for part of the Vitiáz linkage, but not for his Proto Arawe/Pasismanua, in which the reflex is **r*, again reflected as /*h*/ in Sengseng and Kaulong. This reflex separates Proto Arawe/Pasismanua from several other branches of Proto Vitiáz, in which the merger does produce /*d*/. Of the innovations in reflexes of **p* in Meso-Melanesian, comparative data are very scanty in Sengseng. Ross records no reflexes for Sengseng or Kaulong of the lenis grade of **p* either medially or finally, and indicates that otherwise POc **p* is reflected only as /*p*/ in these languages. In Chowning 1985 I had mentioned two possible exceptions (apart from the suffix indicating mutuality, which I had derived from Proto Oceanic): Sng *a-val* 'garden hut', possibly from **pale*, and Sng *yau* 'fire', very much like the word in some Vitiáz languages of New Guinea (Ross 1988:52-53). But if these do reflect the Proto Oceanic forms, there is no obvious source from which they might have been borrowed.

Ross's morphosyntactic innovations for Meso-Melanesian are three. One is the structure of the possessive, but Lakalai lacks the innovation, forming possessives exactly like Sengseng. Ross points out that these latter structures, based on the use of the **ta* preposition, are "attested in the North New Guinea cluster," as well as in some Meso-Melanesian groups and in the Admiralties" (1988:274).

As regards the innovation in the direction marking morphemes, there is certainly nothing comparable to the 'locative adverbs' derived from **mai* and **ua* in Sengseng, but I also wonder whether the Meramera case has been correctly interpreted. Ross mentions as a peculiarity of New Britain languages not thought to represent a back-migration from New Ireland that "the verbs **ua* 'to to' and **mai* 'come from' ... were cliticised to form locative adverbs", though he does mention the "phonological oddity" of the derived forms, *maq* and *u* alternating with *us* in Meramera (Ross 1988:275). Although he does not mention it, all the *us*-forms occur before suffixes beginning with a vowel. He may be right about the derivations, but the Meramera forms surely should have been discussed in connection with the similar constructions in Lakalai, which have been so fully described by Johnston (1980a:209ff.). Most of the Meramera and Lakalai locative suffixes are cognate, partly because many derive from POc. For one that does not, the evidence suggests that Ross is incorrect in analysing a form meaning 'inland' as *us-ivo*. Even if we did know of Lak *-rivo* 'bush, gardens', Valentine recorded the Meramera phrase *tau ma-sivo* 'bush spirit', lit. 'man from the bush', which is analogous to Lak *tahalo lo-rivo*, with the same meaning (Johnston 1980a:213). Furthermore, Valentine's data suggest that the *u*-forms do not distinguish 'motion to' but are more similar to the Lakalai *o*-forms, indicating 'in, at'. Compare (Valentine's

examples and spelling): *ma 'asi 'u-sala* 'bring it out', *gu'ale 'u-sale* 'take it out' (and many other examples). The Lakalai equivalent is *o-gala*, 'outside'. In any case, Lakalai locatives do not show reflexes of the prefixes that are identified by Ross as the innovation. In Lakalai, **mai* is not reflected by a 'full verb', but it forms the suffix rather than the prefix in locatives: *o-mai* 'here', *go-mai* 'come here', etc.

Ross's third Meso-Melanesian morphosyntactic innovation concerns the personal pronouns: "non-singular disjunctive pronouns were replaced by forms from the possessive pronominal paradigm" (1988:277). Lakalai is said to offer an example, but there are two errors in the data that Ross offers. One is that he has substituted the 3P for the 2P forms, and the other is that he has stated flatly that in these forms, "the initial morpheme is *e* personal article". He also omits the disjunctive 1EP. The mistake about the first morpheme is understandable, because Johnston says as much more than once (e.g. 1980a:180). Nevertheless, the full and correct forms are published in Johnston (1980a:181, 1980b:116, 1982). They are *amiteu* 'D:1EP', *amutou* 'D:2P', and also *amulua* 'D:2D'. It seems to me that only the retention of **a* from the POC **kami* and **kamu* forms explains the variation in the initial syllables of the Lakalai pronouns. Note also that the contrast between Lak *etatou* 'D:1IP' and *-gatou* 'P:1IP' indicates that the first consonant in the former reflects POC **kita* while that in the possessive reflects **-da*. I cannot see that the evidence presented by Ross indicates that Lakalai shared this innovation, and he notes that Meramera did not.

Sengseng pronouns reflect Proto Oceanic forms much more rarely than Lakalai ones do, but in general it seems that the possessives are derived from the disjunctive forms (e.g. *ita*, *-it* '1IP') rather than vice-versa, though there are a few exceptions such as in *i*, *-n* '3S' in which the forms are unrelated, though sometimes both are from Proto Oceanic.

If we consider Sengseng as a Ngero-Vitiaz language, the following points can be made. Before returning to the question of links between Sengseng and Meso-Melanesian languages, it is necessary to consider its relation to other Ngero/Vitiaz languages. Ross says that "no phonological innovations" link all of these languages, but three morphological features do. One of these is that "probably no language of the family reflects the Proto Oceanic disjunctive forms **[i]ko[e]* D:2S" (1988:164).¹⁸ Instead, they are said to reflect Proto Ngero/Vitiaz **kom(u)*. Yet on the same page he correctly lists the Sengseng form as *o*, putatively derived from Proto Southwest New Britain **wom*. Why not from **[i]ko[e]*? (There is some confusion in the list of forms, since Kl_g (*η*)*on* is not the usual predicate marker but Sengseng *o* is. The Sengseng emphatic/interrogative *ηon* is cognate with Kl_g *ηon*.)

The second innovation is that "the reflexes of POC **dria* P:3P ... collectively manifest the correspondence set not of POC **dr* but of POC **j*" (1988:172). The Sengseng reflex of **dria* is *-hi*, but it is often replaced for people by *-po*, the same as the plural disjunctive; *-hi* also acts as a pluraliser on kinship terms: *tina-hi!* 'mothers!'. I do not have enough data on Miu and Karore to know if they distinguish reflexes of **dr* and **j*. In Sengseng they both seem to be reflected, most often, as /h/. Ross gives no Sengseng reflexes of **j*, but I suggest that they include *hom* 'lick' (and see *hom_ηin*, 'lime spatula', with the noun-formative suffix), from POC **jamu*; Sng *hah* 'crawl', from POC **jaRa* 'move, creep'; and perhaps the second part of Sng *ya-ho_η* 'curved pig's tusk', from POC **jo_η(o,a)* 'boar's tusk'. If I am right, it is impossible to detect this innovation in Sengseng.

¹⁸ As Ross recognises, some of the forms are "not diagnostic of the difference" between POC **[i]ko[e]* and PN_gVz **kom(u)*.

The third innovation, S:1S **ŋa*, does indeed characterise Sengseng, along with Kove (though it is not recorded for Arawe). It is, however, found elsewhere in Oceania, according to Lincoln (1978:940), who records apparent cognates for Santa Cruz and Marshallese.

In addition, a feature that ties Sengseng and the rest of the Southwest New Britain network to most other Ngero/Vitiaz languages is loss of **k-* only in disjunctive pronouns (Ross 1988:172; also Chowning 1985). Lakalai, which has also lost **k-* in disjunctive pronouns, retains it in some but not all other environments. According to Ross (1988:268), Lakalai is the only Willaumez language that sometimes loses fortis **k*, so that in this respect it differs from Sengseng.

One lexical item is noted as tying together some languages in Ngero/Vitiaz: the substitution of one of two (related?) new words for '4' in place of POC **pati*. One is reflected by Kove *pane*, the other by Sng *nal*. (Most Sengseng numerals are not derived from Proto Oceanic. The only one that probably is from Proto Oceanic is one of three words for '2', *huo*. I assume that *ta* '1' is a contraction of *tahin* and so not to be derived from **ta*, although Ross (1988:358) does so interpret Klg and Psohoh *ta-*).

Ross identifies four features "common to the South-West New Britain network" (1988:181). They are the prefixing of the 'common article' to the noun so that "in many languages [it] seems to have become a fossilised part of many nouns"; a common article Proto Southwest New Britain **e/*ne*, a personal article Proto Southwest New Britain **a*, and place names "treated as personal nouns". He also notes that "Pasismanua languages make a gender distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, marking masculine with *a*, feminine with *e*" (1988:182). This statement, while not incorrect, is misleading as it stands. First, many common nouns take no such prefix. Second, where it occurs on common nouns, it does not mark gender; only people and some anthropomorphic spirits have gender, as indicated by the use of special third person singular pronouns in referring to them.

Furthermore, when common nouns do take such prefixes, the Sengseng treat them as separable, as they do what they interpret as similar prefixes in borrowings (Chowning 1983, 1985). (*ne* 'prefixes', however, are not treated as separable, and also do not function as articles. I had previously argued (Chowning 1985) that at least for Sengseng, the words that took a *ne*- prefix seemed to be borrowings. Not only are some of the sound shifts shown in roots derived from Proto Oceanic aberrant for Sengseng, but words almost all referred to coastal phenomena: *nepah* 'edible beach pandanus', *nepui* 'paddle', *nekoit* 'octopus', *nemah* 'sand', *nemsiy* 'mangrove', *nemkal* 'pig net' (not used in the interior). While the source is unknown to me (and may have been a now-vanished Oceanic language with a *ne* article), I feel that it is confusing the picture to lump together nouns reconstructed with **ne-* with those reconstructed with **e-*. I am also uncertain about two Proto Southwest New Britain lexemes used as examples: **e-kutu/*e-ŋutu* 'louse' and **-manuk* 'bird'. The evidence also suggests that the appearance of a nasal stop in the word for 'louse' also has a limited distribution, and perhaps these two forms should not be put together. (Also in Ross's examples, reflexes of **e-manuk* either lack the initial vowel or lack the final syllable, so again one might wonder whether a single Proto Southwest New Britain form is reflected.)

Ross noted that Mergen also treats place names as personal nouns, but so does Lakalai (Johnston 1980a:166). Contrary to Ross's example, the article before place names is usually *a* in both Kaulong and Sengseng, as maps of the region testify.

I find this list of features unpersuasive, though I am not adverse to the idea that Sengseng belongs to a network in Ross's terms (1988:8), along with its neighbours. The problem is to

define its boundaries, which of course involves choosing the criteria that will separate one network from the next one. I am not actually arguing that Sengseng and Lakalai subgroup with each other, but simply pointing to some of the problems of assigning particular languages to particular groups when the criteria are innovations that are not shared by all members of the group. Sometimes when a wider context is considered, the tenuousness of such assignments is clear.

Although it may be that some of the features shared by Lakalai and Sengseng are the result of parallel innovations, such as the form of the separable possessives based on **ta*, while others may simply be retentions from Proto Oceanic, as with Sng *ma*, Lak *me* 'and'¹⁹ (as opposed to the North New Guinea forms *be* and *ga* cited in Ross 1988:180; cf. Kove *ya*), there is lexical evidence for contact between an ancestor of Lakalai and a Pasismanua language, as well as evidence that suggests links with other Willaumez languages. (The question of lexical links to the west will be discussed below.)

10. LEXICAL INTERCHANGE

In recent years, Lakalai has been, as the numerically dominant language in the Cape Hoskins region, the donor of lexemes to its neighbours, particularly Bebeli but also Harua. The evidence of earlier contact with other languages lies in the following isoglosses linking Lakalai and Sengseng, and so presumably Karore and Psohoh as well. The words fall into several categories. One consists of names of bush plants and animals. The animals include a small marsupial (Lak *misiki*, Sng *esmik*), an edible phasmid insect (Lak *komaga*, Sng *makah*), and also a general term for game (Lak *basi*, Sng *pasi*).²⁰ In Lakalai this is a term for small game, and more narrowly specifically for the phalanger. In Sengseng it designates large game (cassowary, wild pig, wallaby, and again especially the phalanger. It is also, however, a 'married' term for domestic pig, used by those who must avoid the usual term. The trees are wild areca nut (Lak, Sng *koi*); *Pometia pinnata* (Lak *ropa*, Sng *lop*); *Canarium* almond (Lak *uele*, Sng *e-vel*); perhaps *Parartocarpus venenosus* (Lak *geo*, Sng *hiko*); and probably a word designating a particularly large tree (Lak *salumu*, Sng *sa-nuhum*), since the Sengseng term literally means 'big tree'.²¹ The second category, artefacts, has only one example Lak *lipi*, Sng *lip* 'wooden club'. The third consists of verbs and other nouns. They include Lak *koko*, Sng *ko* 'defecate'; Lak, Sng *mahela* 'shame'; Lak *patu*, Sng *patuk* 'to feed or rear an orphan, human or animal'; perhaps Lak *pigi* 'throw', Sng *psik-i* 'throw it'; and perhaps the words for 'south-east wind' (Lak *hipu*, Sng *eip*). The fourth, and perhaps most interesting, category includes three words that seem less likely to be borrowed than the others: Lak, Sng *so* 'yet, still', Lak *gai* 'soon', Sng *akai* 'now, at once'; and Lak *lalai*, Sng *lai* 'tentatively'.

In making this list, I have of course excluded all terms attributable to Proto Oceanic, except the word for 'defecate', which Ross has suggested is also Proto Oceanic (pers. comm.).

¹⁹ Ross derives Lakalai *me* from **mai* rather than from **ma*, but derives Lakalai *te* from **ta* without concern about the vowel shift (1988:110, 263).

²⁰ Some names of birds are also cognate, but either they may be onomatopoeic, as in the case of the cuckoo (Sengseng *toktok*, Lakalai *totoko*), or they probably reflect POc forms, as in the case of the wagtail (Sengseng *pooti*, Lakalai *pote*; compare Sa'a *pote*).

²¹ The actual trees so labelled are not the same, however.

Four of the other words are also found in Kove, and so presumably are widespread in West New Britain. These are the words for game (Kove *basi*, which designates particularly wild pig and phalanger); wooden club (Kove *lipi*); *Pometia pinnata* (Kove *lopi*); and *Paratocarpus* (Kove *reo*, certainly cognate with the Lakalai term). It is worth noting, however, that of the bush plants listed by Thurston in languages of northwest New Britain, cognates for these terms for *Pometia* and wild areca nut do not occur (but see Mengen *koe* 'betelnut'). (The other words are not on Thurston's list.)

In some cases phonological evidence indicates the probable direction of borrowing. *mahela* is an unlikely shape for a Sengseng term, and there is another word, *manjin*, which is more expectable. Words containing voiced stops in Kove are assumed to be borrowed; Kove *basi* probably comes from Bola, which is closely related to Lakalai. The case of Lak *patu*, Sng *patuk*, suggests that Lakalai borrowed from a Whiteman language, like Psohoh, which contains unvoiced medial consonants (if Lakalai were the source, the final consonant in Sengseng would be absent). Because I do not have comparable data for Willaumez Peninsula languages, except to know that the word for *Paratocarpus* is *deko* in Bola, I cannot say whether some of these forms may have spread into the Pasismanua from Willaumez Peninsula languages rather than from Nakanai ones. It is also impossible to detect the direction of transmission for words like *so*, though it does seem unlikely that they would have been borrowed without close contact between speakers of the different languages. As regards the plant and animal names, however, the possibility of an ultimate origin in a non-Austronesian language once spoken in the region between the Whiteman and Nakanai languages seems strong (§10.3). Alternatively, if I am right to think that Whiteman languages have been the general region of Cape Hoskins longer than Nakanai ones, then it seems most likely that the ancestors of the Lakalai learned these names from speakers of a Whiteman language who were already resident in this part of New Britain, and familiar with the local flora and fauna, before the ancestors of the Lakalai arrived.

On the other hand, there are two links between Sengseng and Willaumez languages that are not purely lexical. One is the fact, mentioned above, that in both languages the separable possessives are formed from POC **ta* plus suffix. The possessives do not resemble each other in detail,²² however, and I have suggested that the gap in distribution of similar constructions may point to independent invention. The other link is more problematical. This is the resemblance in future/irrealis markers between Sengseng and Willaumez languages, particularly Bola. Sengseng is more like Bola than Lakalai is, in having *ka* for first person pronouns and *ko* for all others; Bola has *ga* 'S:1S', *go* 'S:2S' and *ge* 'S:3S' (Johnston 1980b:119), whereas Lakalai has *ge* throughout. This brings Sengseng closer to a system of distinctions that seem to be widespread outside New Britain, and one in which Bola is the most conservative, although differences between markers for singular and plural have disappeared. (Compare the forms used in Central Papua – Ray 1907:455.) The resemblance may result from differential retention of constructions found in an Oceanic protolanguage, rather than the kind of innovation involved in the reciprocal suffix represented by Sng *-val/-al* (Ross 1988:180). Nevertheless, the fact that the intervening languages lack any similar constructions may indicate that some contacts of peoples were once involved.

²² I do not, however agree with Ross that in Sengseng, the pronominal endings are not actually suffixed to the *ta-* prefix. The pronunciation of /a/ in *ta-it* 'our pl. inc.' for example, is affected by the following /i/ in a way that does not occur across lexical boundaries. See Ross (1988:106); Chowning (1985:180).

11. SENGENG AND NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

Another question that needs to be dealt with as regards Pasismanua and other Whiteman languages is whether they in particular have been affected by contact with non-Austronesian languages, or indirectly, by contact with other languages that had been so affected. Thurston has proposed that they were influenced by a language related to Anêm, so that possibility will be considered first, with phonology, lexicon, and grammar, discussed separately. In making this suggestion, I suspect that Thurston was influenced by his assumption that Amara, a language that he discovered just to the east of Anêm, belonged to the Whiteman group. Apparently he has changed his mind since 1989, and now (like me) considers it an isolate (this volume). If Amara belongs with any other New Britain languages, they seem to me more likely to be those of the Bibling group (my Lamogai) than Whiteman. Lying to the west of the Whiteman range, between Pasismanua languages and Anêm, Bibling languages extend the width of New Britain, and one of the cross-island trading routes goes through their territory. If Ross is correct in subgrouping Pasismanua languages with Arawe ones, then my Whiteman (his Pasismanua/Arawe) languages extend farther west in New Britain than I had assumed, and are both closer to the region in which Anêm is now spoken and also in more direct contact with Bibling languages (the southern dialects of Lamogai) than is true for the Pasismanua dialect chain. Since it is possible that Pasismanua languages received the postulated non-Austronesian influence by way of Bibling languages, some data from there will be considered as well.

11.1 PHONOLOGY

As regards phonology, Sengeng, in contrast to most Austronesian languages (and to Kove and Lakalai), contains many initial consonant clusters. Presumably the aberrant appearance of Sengeng lexemes was a major reason for its being considered non-Austronesian by Capell. Although I have shown that some of the words with initial consonant clusters can be derived from Proto Oceanic, many cannot. I have described elsewhere both the consonant phonemes of Sengeng and my uncertainty about the number of vowels (Chowning 1985:174). If Sengeng has more than five vowel phonemes, the additional ones are not unrounded back vowels like those of Anêm. As regards consonants, the principal difference between Sengeng and the northwest New Britain languages discussed by Thurston (1982, 1987), is the reduced number of stops (or, in the cases of Lusi and Kove, fricatives derived from stops). In Sengeng there are only three stops, which in words of Proto Oceanic origin represent **p*, **t*, and **k*, hence my decision to write them as voiceless stops. They are, however, voiced, and in the case of /t/ sometimes trilled, except word-finally (Chowning 1985:176-177, 192). I do not know, however, that all Pasismanua languages have so few consonants; Psohoh certainly seems to have more and so apparently does Kaulong (Throop and Ross 1994).²³ There are differences between Anêm and Sengeng regarding the consonants that can co-occur word initially. In Anêm an initial stop can be followed by any resonant or trill (*m, n, ŋ, l, r, x*) (Thurston 1982:92). In Sengeng the fricatives (*h, s*) may be followed only by resonants. (The only trill is the allophone of /t/ mentioned above, and it is recorded after a fricative only in *stu*, pronounced [sru], from Pidgin *tru*.) Stops may be followed by fricatives but not by resonants. As was mentioned, [r] is an allophone of /t/, and accounts for the single case of what I write as an initial cluster of two stops: *ptekptek*, pronounced (*brekbrek*) 'sound of

²³ Their analysis naturally raises questions about the accuracy of my phonemicisation of Sengeng.

insect chewing wood, tick of clock' (a second example, spelled by me with the same initial consonants, derives from Pidgin *brum* 'sweep').

Between the Pasismanua languages, vowels tend to be very stable; the majority of the apparent shifts probably reflect recorder's uncertainty about particular vowels, so that cognate terms may be recorded with either /e/ or /i/ (or some other similar vowel), and with either /o/ or /u/. (See, for example, Johnston's four versions of the Bao third person singular masculine pronoun, with which I had similar difficulties in Sengseng.) A rare exception is the word for 'she': Miu *wid*, Klg *wud*, Sng *et* (this last again containing a vowel sometimes recorded as higher). Alternative forms of certain kinship terms are also exceptions; for example, in Sengseng the words for 'mother' may be *tina*, *tino*, *ina*, and *ino*. In general, however, apart from cases in which vowel harmony or umlauting has affected the vowel in an initial syllable (Chowning 1985:179), the vowels in words derived from Proto Oceanic show little change from the protoforms. In this respect Pasismanua languages differ from Bibling ones, as recorded in Thurston 1987 (Table 5). The general stability of vowels in Pasismanua seems to reduce the likelihood that, for example, Sng *miŋe* 'crazy' was derived directly from a form like the *mayamaŋa* of northwest New Britain, or that Sng *kut* 'tail' is cognate with Bibling *giŋo*, etc. (Table 5). But I am only arguing that Sengseng did not borrow directly from a Bibling language or from one much like present-day Anêm. That these other languages borrowed from one related to Sengseng cannot be ruled out. Such cases as Mouk *mtoko*, Aria, Tourai *mteke* 'vomit' (Sng *mutwok*), and Aria, Tourai, Lamogai *tin* 'burn' (Sng *tun*) certainly increase the plausibility of a link between say Sng *sup* and Bibling *sep* 'enter', or Sng *toŋ* 'drip' and Anêm *têŋ*. (Note that in these cases the Pasismanua forms are closer to Proto Oceanic, though I suspect that Sng *mutwok*, from POc **mutaq*, has been reanalysed to reflect Sng *mut* 'reject food' and *wok* 'spill'.)

Consonants vary more widely among the Pasismanua languages. There are certain regular shifts, as when Karore /r/ = Sng /h/ initially and medially, but Sng /-h/ = Klg /-k/, while Miu initial and medial /h/ = Klg /p/ (/b/ in Goodale's transcription). Other shifts are less predictable. Just between Kaulong and Sengseng, they include such variations as Klg *maŋ*, Sng *masaŋ* 'men's house'; Klg *ekin*, Sng *e-ki* 'bird'; and various others. (See list in Throop and Throop 1980; almost all the Sengseng data, apart from the numerals, are mine, with my phonemicisation, taken from a list I supplied to SIL.) Sometimes the cognate form in another language reduces the likelihood of cognacy between Sengseng and words in languages of northwest New Britain. For example, the fact that the Karore cognate of Sng *hiis* 'rotten' is *hiris* reduces the likelihood that the Sengseng word is cognate with Anêm *êkîs*. It may, however, be significant that these irregular correspondences are not found in words that can be traced to Proto Oceanic. But a number of the forms attributed to Anêm and Bibling begin with consonant clusters that cannot be derived directly from Proto Oceanic. In the apparently cognate Sengseng words, some but not all of these, in slow speech, may be pronounced with a vowel between the first two consonants. This phenomenon is not reported to occur in Anêm and Bibling, but elision is a common feature of both languages (Thurston 1987:60). (It should be noted that the other non-Austronesian language in West New Britain, Wasi, apparently lacks initial consonant clusters; see list in Johnston 1980b.)

11.2 LEXICAL LINKS TO BIBLING AND ANÊM

As regards lexicon, it is necessary to take into account the Bibling evidence (which is also pertinent to the question of whether Pasismanua and Bibling languages really belong to different subgroups). Adequate lexical data are available only for the northern branches of Bibling: Mouk, Aria, Tourai, and Lamogai proper. According to an SIL survey, however, the southernmost branches are only dialects of Lamogai (Allen, Rath, and Johnston 1980:185). Mouk and Aria are adjacent to Anêm and Lusi, while Lamogai is, at present, the most isolated, and so perhaps least affected by recent borrowing (Thurston 1987:vii).

Thurston's wordlists are of particular interest in two respects, compared with Sengseng (Table 5). They demonstrate a number of ties between Sengseng and Bibling languages, and in a few cases they point to possible ties between Sengseng and Anêm. In my appended list of possible cognates, based on Thurston's lists, I have of course ignored shared items that can be derived from Proto Oceanic, such as Anêm *lanlanjo*, Sng *e-lan* 'fly (N)', unless there is something distinctive about the reflexes of the protoforms. The Bibling languages are indicated, as in Thurston's wordlist, by their first two letters. "Bibling" indicates that the form is the same in all the Bibling languages. The symbols *ê* and *î* represent unrounded back vowels in Thurston's orthography. Alternative, presumably non-cognate, terms are in brackets.

Thurston's wordlist, although it contains a number of cultural items such as 'men's lodge', does not differ radically from some other lists that purportedly focus on basic vocabulary. By contrast, what he calls 'sound and motion words' (a somewhat misleading label) fall into a different category. Only a few of these words (such as 'level' and 'straight') are likely to appear in basic wordlists, and even much more extensive lexicons may not record equivalents for some of them, such as 'squish' and 'tinkle'. Thurston has found a number of such words in Anêm, Lusi, and the Bibling languages, and as his list makes clear (Thurston 1989), the forms are cognate across these languages. They are distinguished as a subset by characteristic prefixes which differ from language to language: *gê-* in Anêm, *ka-* in Lusi, and *nV-* (the vowel varying with that in the root) in Bibling. Two points struck me about the list. First, none of the 22 Lusi words on it have equivalents in my Kove lexicon (and all contain consonant clusters or final consonants that are atypical in Kove). Second, at least a few of the words have apparent cognates in Sengseng, although there they lack a prefix. In Sengseng, in contrast to the other three Melanesian languages I have studied, I recorded a considerable number of words for specific sounds. Only one of these Sengseng words was cognate with one in Lakalai or Kove: Sng *tok*, Lak *toko* 'to click in the throat'; cf. Sng *toktok*, Lak *totoko* 'giant forest cuckoo'. This presumably derives from POC **toko*. The Lakalai term contrasts with *taka* 'to click the tongue in the front of the mouth'. (Kove *daka* means the same but the voiced stop suggests a borrowing, possibly from Bola, whereas the Kove equivalent of Lak *toko* is *tuku*).

Although onomatopoeia is a source of obvious problems in comparative linguistics, it is worth noting the following Sengseng terms that may be cognate with those on Thurston's list (with the Anêm and Bibling prefixes omitted):

'squish': Anêm, Bibling *blak*; compare Sng *plak*, 'break off the fall down, as a piece of food being eaten'.

'pant, wheeze': Anêm, Bibling *ɲasɲas*. Compare Sng *ɲosɲos*; 'to breathe heavily, be out of breath, sigh'.

'firm': Anêm, *biɲ*, Bibling *biɲ*. Compare Sng *peɲpeɲ* 'very strong or hard'.

TABLE 5: COMPARISON OF SENSGENG, BIBLING AND ANÊM WORDS

English	Sengseng	Bibling	Anêm	Comments, other cognates
two	<i>huo (ponuwal, wuon)</i>	Aria, Tou <i>oruo</i>	...	If derived from POc, the final vowel is unexpected.
three	<i>miok</i>	...	<i>bik</i>	See Thurston (1987:89).
four	<i>nal</i>	Aria, Tou, Mouk <i>apanal</i>	<i>tanol</i>	...
five	<i>esip</i>	...	<i>êsi</i>	...
bamboo	<i>esu</i>	Mouk <i>oxsu</i>	<i>osu</i>	...
bandicoot	<i>maom, milim</i>	Bibling <i>melim</i>	<i>moum</i>	Kove, Lusi <i>maumu</i>
bat	<i>piyanpiyan (yūnūl)</i>	...	<i>abian</i>	Kove, Lusi <i>viana</i>
bathe	<i>vis</i>	Mouk <i>xis</i> , Aria <i>ris</i>	...	...
big	<i>ampip (apluk)</i>	Bibling <i>omba</i>	<i>omba</i>	...
bird	<i>eki</i>	...	<i>êknin</i>	See Thurston (1987:89).
canoe	<i>luk, kok</i>	Tou <i>kakuk</i> , Mouk <i>kakluk</i>	...	...
carry on head	<i>sun</i>	Mouk, Lmg <i>sun</i>	...	...
comb (V)	<i>sehe po-n</i>	Mouk <i>sex</i> , Tou, Lmg <i>ser</i>	...	See Thurston (1987:89).
come	<i>me(i), moi (2P)</i>	Aria, Tou, Lmg <i>me</i>	<i>men</i>	Probably from POc.
copulate	<i>isi-wal (et-wal)</i>	Mouk, Aria, Tou <i>isu</i> , Lmg <i>is</i>	...	- <i>wal</i> indicates mutuality.
count	<i>tik</i>	Bibling <i>tik</i>	<i>tik</i>	...
crab	<i>kahe, kahkah</i>	...	<i>kṅaxe</i> (<i>klakix</i>)	...
crawl	<i>hah</i>	Mouk <i>xaxai</i>	<i>xaxai</i>	Kove <i>haha, hahai</i> , Lusi <i>hahai</i>
crazy	<i>miŋe</i>	Mouk, Aria <i>maŋamaŋa</i>	<i>maŋamaŋa</i>	Kove, Lusi <i>maŋamaŋa</i>
crow	(<i>ŋo</i>) <i>hoŋ</i>	...	...	...
down	<i>ko(h)</i>	...	<i>gêx-îl</i>	...
enter	<i>sup</i>	Bibling <i>sep</i>	...	...
fear	<i>lem</i>	Aria, Tou, Lmg <i>lim</i>	...	...
fire	<i>yau</i>	Mouk, Aria, Tou <i>eiou</i>	...	...
float	<i>plot (ŋli)</i>	Mouk, Lmg <i>ples</i>	...	...
frog	<i>kahok</i>	Tou <i>kala</i>	<i>kalo</i>	Kove, Lusi <i>kalo</i>
fuzz	<i>kikis (sihu)</i>	Lmg <i>kisisley</i>	<i>emkis</i>	...
hair, leaf, feather	<i>ki-</i> (leaf only)	...	<i>ki-</i>	See Thurston (1987).
hard	<i>po-koklon</i>	Lmg <i>koklon (kairok)</i>	...	Borrowing into Lamogai?
hide	<i>kek</i>	...	<i>ki-</i>	...
hit	<i>lek (vi, wok, wa)</i>	Bibling <i>mluk</i>	...	...

TABLE 5 (continued)

English	Sengseng	Bibling	Anêm	Comments, other cognates
hurt	<i>nis</i> (lit. 'hot')	Mouk <i>nisi</i>	...	The Sengseng term is used for headache attributed to fever.
intestines	<i>muhulu-</i>	Bibling <i>mogolu</i>	...	Kove, Lusi <i>mogali</i>
itchy	<i>kalakan</i>	Bibling <i>kaklak</i>	...	...
lime powder	<i>alemiyo (siton)</i>	Lmg <i>oglum</i>	<i>glîm</i>	Both Sengseng terms also mean 'limestone'.
Malay apple	<i>lahup</i>	Lmg <i>iarup</i>	...	Borrowing into Lamogai?
monitor lizard	<i>apahiya</i>	Mouk <i>paxia</i> , Aria, Tou, Lmg <i>paria</i>	<i>paxia</i>	Lusi <i>paria</i> , Kove <i>pahia</i>
mosquito	<i>humuk a-kenken</i>	Mouk <i>lomuk</i> , Aria, Tou, Lmg <i>nomuk</i>	...	Probably from POc.
moss	<i>mumut, lumlum</i>	Mouk, Lmg <i>olmut</i>	<i>gulumu</i>	Kove, Lusi <i>gulumu</i> , Kilenge <i>lumlum</i> (from POc).
mountain	<i>photpi (posakai)</i>	Mouk <i>ebet</i>	<i>êbêt</i>	...
net	<i>nemkal</i>	Lmg <i>aŋkal</i>	...	Borrowing into Sengseng?
penis	<i>-si-</i>	Lmg <i>is-</i>	...	...
plant (V)	<i>hwa (phai, ya)</i>	Mouk <i>uasak</i> , Lmg	...	...
Pometia	<i>elop</i>	Lmg <i>aulopo</i>	...	See Lakalai <i>ropa</i> , Kove <i>lopi</i>
pull	<i>nak</i>	Lmg <i>nak (riri)</i>	...	Borrowing into Lamogai?
python	<i>amat</i>	Lmg <i>amat</i>	...	Also 'snake (generic)'.
rotten	<i>hiis</i> ('stinking') (<i>hwok, luŋ</i>)	...	<i>êkîs</i> ('wet')	...
sew	<i>sihit</i>	Lmg <i>sisir</i>		Arawe <i>siririŋe</i>
short	<i>pat (hut-yes)</i>	...	<i>pîtik</i>	...
sibling	<i>-lut-</i>	Mouk, Aria, Tou <i>lutno</i>	...	...
sit	<i>si-oŋ</i>	Mouk, Aria, Tou <i>doŋ</i>	...	...
skinny	<i>tohos (atitun)</i>	Mouk <i>toxtox</i>	<i>toxtox</i>	...
smell (N)	<i>man</i> ('odoriferous')	Mouk <i>mna</i> , Aria, Tou <i>amna</i>	...	Lakalai <i>mali-</i> ('odoriferous').
sneeze	<i>isŋi, kisŋi (kisiyo, mahiksi)</i>	Mouk, Aria <i>gisŋi</i> , Tou, Lmg <i>kisŋi</i>	...	...
spear (N)	<i>pali (sa 'wood')</i>	Lmg <i>beliŋ, biliŋ</i>	...	...
stab	<i>tak (nin)</i>	Mouk <i>mtex</i> , Aria, Lmg <i>mte</i>	...	...
stick	(<i>t</i>) <i>sihin</i>	Bibling <i>sigi</i>	<i>sigi</i>	Kove, Lusi <i>sigi</i>
sweet potato	<i>kihimpak (nowiswis)</i>	Lmg <i>kirimpak</i>	...	Very recent introduction into Sengseng.
tail	<i>kut</i>	Mouk, Aria, Tou <i>gitno</i> , Lmg <i>gito</i>	<i>git-lêx (taba-)</i>	...

TABLE 5 (continued)

English	Sengseng	Bibling	Anêm	Comments, other cognates
tobacco	<i>embos</i>	Lmg <i>ombox (usai)</i>	...	
vomit	<i>mutwok</i>	Mouk <i>mtoko</i> , Aria, Tou <i>mtō</i>	...	...
water	<i>eki</i>	Mouk, Aria, Tou <i>aki</i>	...	...
weep	<i>tinis (hau)</i>	Tou <i>tjis</i>		POc, with unexpected <i>n</i> for <i>ŋ</i> in Sengseng.

'flash': Anêm *blîk*, Bibling *blik*. Compare Sng *m(e)lek* 'to light, to flame, as a fire, lightning, fireflies'. (See also Kove *pelaka*, POc **pilak* 'lightning'.)

'rattle': Anêm *gxongxon*, Mouk *gxengxex*, Aria/Tourai *grengreŋ*. Compare Sng *kloŋ* 'sound of hitting head on a rafter'; also perhaps cf. *kokloŋ* 'to fell a tree'; *k(u)luŋ* 'to thunder'.

'tinkle': Anêm, Bibling *kleŋ*. Compare Sng *kliŋ* 'sound of water dropping into water'.

'move': Anêm, Bibling *mil*. Compare Sng *mili* 'to go by, to go in any direction'.

'drip': Anêm *dtêŋtêŋ*, Bibling *teŋteŋ*. Sng *toŋ* 'drip'; *e-toŋ* 'drop of liquid'.

The cognacy of all of these is not certain, but several look very likely. As far as I know, only two words on this list might possibly be derived from Proto Oceanic: those for 'flash'²⁴ and for 'tinkle, etc.' from POc **giriŋ* 'ring bell, strike slit gong'.²⁵ This is not to say that Proto Oceanic and Proto Austronesian forms descriptive of sounds are rare. Blust in particular (1980) has reconstructed a large number for Proto Austronesian. Furthermore, some of the other sound words in Sengseng can convincingly be derived from these protoforms; examples include Proto Austronesian **ŋaŋ* 'inarticulate sound', Sng *ŋaŋ* 'to cry, of person, bird, pig'; Proto Austronesian **ŋek* 'grunt', Sng *ŋokŋok* 'to snort, of pig bitten by dog'; and perhaps **ŋiŋ* 'buzz, hum', Sng *ŋiŋ-hik* 'to snore'. Nevertheless, this list at least suggests some sharing of non-Austronesian forms.

Another feature which according to Thurston unites non-Austronesian and Austronesian languages of northwest New Britain, and which he ascribes to contact between such non-Austronesian and Austronesian, needs examination. This is what he calls 'semantic convergence'. Thurston's basic assertion is as follows. The "various languages" of northwest New Britain "tend to segment the same cultural universe according to the same principles", and these principles derive "to a certain degree" from "the cultures of the people whose languages are ancestral to the modern Anêm". He uses terms for body parts to illustrate two associated points: that the "body is divided according to the same pattern in all the languages of the area", and that "terms for parts of the body are extended to other situations which are

²⁴ I had earlier suggested that Sengseng *m(e)lek* derived from POc **maiRaw*. There are, however, recent cases in which Sengseng has transformed a bilabial stop in a borrowed term into a nasal, as in *motel* 'bottle'.

²⁵ Ross has suggested (pers. comm.) that Sengseng *k(u)luŋ* 'thunder' derives from POc **guRuq*, but derivation does not accord with what I know of Sengseng reflexes of POc phonemes (Chowning 1985:176-177).

neither expected nor transparent" (1987:81). Consequently, he believes, these terms reflect a culturally distinctive way of categorising. Before the applicability of these data to Sengseng is considered, several points need to be made. First, Thurston is apparently unaware of the existence of POc **m^wata* 'point, edge, sharp' as a lexeme different from **mata* 'eye', and so interprets 'blade of knife' as literally meaning 'eye of knife' (1987:82). Second, in some cases the "extension" may simply reflect a misapprehension on the part of the local people; I have certainly received the impression that lateral fins of fish are actually thought to be ears. Third, some of the 'extensions' are made to look odd because of Thurston's choice of glosses: 'hand' and 'foot' rather than 'arm' and 'leg', 'claw' rather than 'nail', even though the English word 'nail' has both meanings. (This last one is changed in the 1989 paper.) Fourth, in one case the gloss shifts on adjacent pages; *lolo* in Kove and its close relatives is first translated as 'guts' but then more accurately, as 'interior' (1987:84-85). Fifth, there is no discussion of the cases which do not confirm the assertion that these languages are uniform: for example, Kove *guvi* means only 'heel', not 'base of foot', and *goga* designates only 'thumb, big toe, crab claw' (1987:85-86). Finally, it is by no means clear that similar metaphors are involved in such cases as calling the 'calf' either the 'meat', 'fruit', or 'belly' of the leg, or digits either 'digit' or 'children' of the limb (pp.83,85).²⁶ (It should be added that Kove *riki* 'digit' means only that, not 'child', even if Thurston is correct in deriving it from POc **(r)iki*. If the only point being made is that "these are polymorphemic lexemes" (1987:86), then they hardly illustrate a single distinctive world view; after all, English 'fingernail', 'sole of the foot', and 'calf of the leg' are equally polymorphemic. Thurston is, however, making another point about the existence of such complex terms.

There are few specific correspondences between the sorts of anatomical terms which Thurston says are typical of northwest New Britain, and those of the Sengseng. Admittedly the lateral fin of an eel is called by the word for 'ear' (but see above). Also, the same word is sometimes applied to both heart and lungs. According to Thurston, in northwest New Britain lungs are often confused with liver, or called 'the second liver' (1987:126). My experience is rather that heart and liver tend to be confused elsewhere, though not in Sengseng. There are separate words in Sengseng for 'knee' and 'elbow', though the latter, with part of the body specified, is also used for 'heel'. The same word is used for finger/toenail and for a pig's hoof, but usually a different one for a bat's claw. Although a word exists for digits, it is not uncommon to hear them referred to as the 'end' (= 'nose') of the limbs, and both digits and nails may be called by this term. (I have also heard the general term for hand/arm used for fingers, in describing someone with six fingers.) The word for 'tooth' is the same as the word for 'thorn' but is a single lexeme. So is a word that means only palm (of hand)/sole (of foot). All of these contrast with what is said to be the northwest New Britain pattern.

The Sengseng do, however, say that they 'comb the head', and the forms strongly resemble the Bibling ones: Lamogai *ŋa ser apuŋu*, Sng *ŋa sehe po-ŋo*. (On the other hand, contrary to what Thurston reports as a similar usage in Kove, what I recorded there means literally 'I comb myself'.) The Sengseng also use the same terms for parts of the body and parts of trees (compare English 'limb' and 'trunk'), but in contrast to what is said to be the universal pattern in northwest New Britain (Thurston 1987:81), use words for 'leaf' that are different from the word that denotes hair and plumage. (These are, however, the same in some others of the languages I have called Whiteman.) Although Sengseng does not have as many separate

²⁶ In Malay, 'calf' is also 'fruit' of the leg.

words for body parts as does Lakalai (or I did not record as many), the Sengseng pattern is much closer to the Lakalai one than to that described for northwest New Britain.

Thurston's argument is that the "relative lack of monomorphemic lexemes ... suggest(s) that metaphors have been lexicalized to supply words not available after the initial process of exoteric speciation" (1989). This is his term for a process in which in contact situations, speakers of one language borrow only items of basic vocabulary from another. Many Sengseng terms are complex and metaphorical, but these are typically synonyms of monolexemes that may well have developed in reaction to word taboos (Chowning 1985:185). They do not seem to me to indicate that in these respects, Sengseng is like the Bibling languages, and perhaps Lusi, in reflecting interaction with Anêm. The best evidence for sharing, then, seems to lie in a few lexical items, notably those with initial consonant clusters in both languages, that cannot (at present) be derived from Proto Oceanic.

As Table 5 indicates, Sengseng is united by a number of isoglosses with Bibling languages, but only a tiny handful suggest links with Anêm alone, exclusive of Bibling. As regards the Bibling connection, I have generally assumed that when a shared form is attested only for Lamogai, that it is likely to be a borrowing into Bibling; if it were only attested for Miu, I would assume that Miu had borrowed. The question remains of whether the lexical evidence points to a close genetic connection between Pasismanua and Bibling languages. That a number of items are shared is clear from Table 5. Interestingly, however, relatively few of them come from basic vocabulary, but I am not prepared to argue that words for 'sneeze', 'copulate' (obscene in Sengseng), or 'carry on the head' are more or less likely to be borrowed than words on the usual 'basic vocabulary' lists. Of lexemes shared between Pasismanua and Arawe, several are shared only with Lamogai among the Bibling languages, and so presumably borrowed from Pasismanua (Table 5). The *me* form for 'come' (from POc **mai*) is found in all Bibling languages, but is of doubtful significance, given the widespread tendency in Oceanic languages for /a/ to be fronted when followed by /i/. Amara also has *melak* 'long' and *katkate* 'liver', both probably from Proto Oceanic. If we do not accept Thurston's suggestion that *miok* '3' is related to Anêm *bîk*, then there are very few lexemes that unite Pasismanua, Arawe, and Bibling languages, and they are not the same as those that point to connections between Pasismanua and Bibling alone. If we ignore reflexes of Proto Oceanic forms that show no distinctive developments, and look at branches of Arawe that are not adjacent to Sengseng, the lexical resemblances between the languages are so few as to suggest either borrowing or common ancestry followed by a long history of separate development.

Grammatically Sengseng is wholly unlike Bibling languages as described by Thurston, and apart from consonant clusters, also differs from them phonologically. The case for a close genetic relation, as opposed to extensive borrowing, has to remain not proven for the present.

11.3 NON-AUSTRONESIAN INFLUENCE IN GENERAL

As regards grammar, the principal characteristic of Sengseng that looks non-Austronesian is the marking of gender distinctions. The nearest non-Austronesian language now spoken to the east of this region, Wasi, is not recorded as distinguishing gender distinctions (Johnston 1980b:122), but Kol and Baining of East New Britain distinguish masculine and feminine in the third person singular (Lindrud 1980:164), and Taulil distinguishes a neuter as well (Moore and Moore 1980:811). Although Anêm has a masculine/feminine distinction, it is very different from that of Sengseng in that all nouns are classified as either masculine or

feminine, and furthermore "first and second person pronouns are feminine in the singular but masculine in the plural regardless of the sex of the referent" (Thurston 1982:45). This last point of course raises questions about whether the distinctions are labelled correctly; Thurston, as he says, was influenced by the way an informant described them. In Sengseng, the gender distinctions in pronouns might be thought to be echoed in the difference between nouns that take *a-* and *e-* prefixes and those lacking either, particularly because the same prefixes respectively precede masculine and feminine proper names. But as was pointed out above, in Sengseng only human beings and some anthropomorphic spirits are masculine or feminine; everything else is neuter. Neither do the terms with prefixes agree with Anêm categories, in which, for example, axes are masculine and houses feminine. Sengseng has both *eyah* and *atut* 'axe' (the latter contrasting with *etut* 'Job's tears'), and the words for 'house' are simply *masaŋ* and *mok*, without prefix.

It should be noted that all of these non-Austronesian pronominal systems differ from those in the Austronesian languages, including Sengseng, in lacking an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person plural pronouns. Further, none of the precise forms used in the non-Austronesian third person singular resemble those recorded for the Austronesian languages, but as has been mentioned, there is also much variability in these last. But even if people speaking an non-Austronesian language which distinguished gender applied this distinction when they learned Austronesian languages, they seem otherwise to have taken everything else that was typically Austronesian in the systems. (I know of no non-Austronesian source for the Sengseng obviate.)

The phonemic systems of the languages being discussed here are too poorly described for it to be possible to assert that the existence of more than five vowels in Pasismanua, Bebeli, and Mangseng can even be derived from a single source, much less from a particular non-Austronesian language. Other Oceanic languages have more than five vowels; for example, Muyuw of Milne Bay (Lithgow and Lithgow 1974:8). For the present, non-Austronesian influence in this respect can only be called a possibility.

As regards lexicon, I mentioned above the existence of certain isoglosses that connect Sengseng and Lakalai. Table 1 makes it clear that on lexical grounds alone, these languages are fundamentally very unlike each other. Even though I have pointed out that Sengseng and Lakalai are not so different as some of Ross's criteria suggest, I agree with him that they should be assigned to different subgroups. If the ancestors of both the Lakalai and the Sengseng acquired these terms from another, very possibly non-Austronesian language, that was once spoken in the region between the Whiteman and Nakanai ranges, it does not seem to have been very similar to Anêm.

Whether or not Sengseng is more complex than some of its neighbours, it lacks any of the complexities that Thurston describes for Anêm or for the Bibling languages. If Sengseng has been influenced by contact with an non-Austronesian language, presumably that language was not much like present-day Anêm. Sengseng does not seem to show the complexities to be expected if speakers of an Anêm-like language had been learning an Austronesian one. Of course, if Thurston is correct (1987, 1988) in suggesting that the ancestors of the Anêm deliberately made their language more difficult in order to prevent outsiders from learning it, then it is impossible to know how complex that earlier language was.

12. CONCLUSIONS

My interpretation of the archaeological, linguistic, and distributional evidence produces the following possibilities. If the non-Austronesian languages of New Britain were originally one, its descendants differentiated to such a degree that the only widespread features are the following:

- (a) SVO order;
- (b) an elaborate system of noun classes;
- (c) a distinction between masculine and feminine in third person singular pronouns;
- (d) at least seven vowel phonemes.

Since most linguists (apart from Thurston) seem to agree that Proto Oceanic had SVO order, this feature is useless as an indication of non-Austronesian influence. Of the New Britain Austronesian languages, only Mengen shows any indication of true noun classes, though several use different possessive pronouns for different parts of the body. Sengseng does not; Arawe, Bebeli, and some Bibling languages (Thurston 1988) do.

As regards gender, a tiny scattering of Oceanic languages, including Tolai, use proper noun markers that distinguish the gender of the person named (Codrington 1885:258, Ray 1907:427), but this is so rare that it seems unlikely to have been the source of gender distinctions in pronouns in Oceanic languages. It therefore seems probable that the existence of gender distinctions in a small number of Austronesian languages in West New Britain reflects influence, possibly in the form of a substratum, from a non-Austronesian language. Given that all of the Austronesian languages known to have gender distinctions are physically close to each other, in a region that extends from the southern side of the Whiteman range to the region to the east of it, it seems highly probable that the language that contributed the distinction was located somewhere in this region. It must also be noted that there is great variation in the forms, especially for the feminine, and for the ways in which terms marking gender vary between personal articles, personal pronouns, and prefixes to kinship terms. This conveys the impression that various languages (Pasismanua, Arawe, Bebeli) only acquired the gender-marking *distinction* in pronouns but applied it in different ways. Even Kaulong, Sengseng, Karore, and Getmatta differ from each other in these matters. This interpretation indicates borrowing ("stimulus diffusion" in anthropological terms) rather than a substratum.

It may be that we need to examine the supposed integrity of a Southwest New Britain network in the light of the possibility that the western languages were affected by a non-Austronesian language similar to Anêm, and the eastern ones (Bibling, perhaps Eastern Arawe) by a very different non-Austronesian language, which also had different words for the local flora and fauna. Note that if pre-Lakalai did not acquire some of these terms directly from a non-Austronesian language, the lexical evidence suggests that languages related to Sengseng have been located near, or on, the north coast of New Britain as long as the ancestors of the Willaumez languages. My examination of the data suggest to me that at least when we consider the languages located east of the Whiteman range, lexical items point in different directions. Some are quite unexpected, such as the fact that the Psohoh *kalango* 'betelnut' has its nearest known relation in Kove *kalago* 'wild betelnut'. The problem of discontinuous distributions leads back to earlier comments about the danger of assuming that people have not moved around a great deal since they came to New Britain. The Bebeli oral tradition of migration from the western side of the Willaumez Peninsula does not accord with any linguistic evidence. Here I am excluding the few isoglosses that link Bebeli with Harua

(Xarua), located just to the east. Some of these isoglosses are problematical: for example, Bebeli and Harua have *ga* 'pig', clearly cognate with Kove *yaia* and not with Lak *bolo* and Psohoh *yuy*, Sng *yu*. But forms cognate with *ga* are so widely distributed in New Britain that Ross reconstructs **gaya* for both Proto Mengen and, tentatively, for Proto Southwest New Britain (1988:465), while ignoring its distribution elsewhere in his Ngero/Vitiaz region (Chowning 1973:209). A few items, found not only in Bebeli but also in Sengseng, connect with languages of the Willaumez Peninsula. Examples include the reduced (from Proto Oceanic) form **tu* 'child', and *ŋi* 'tooth', both identical in Sengseng and Bola. Sengseng, Bebeli, and Willaumez Peninsula languages also have *tu* 'child', presumably a reduction of POC **natu*, but so does Kilenge, and Mengen has *ŋiji* 'tooth'. By contrast, Lakalai and Kove both reflect POC **natu* as well as **lipon* 'tooth'.

To the extent that the Southwest New Britain network depends on lexicon alone (as is very much more the case for Johnston's version than for Ross's), it is very hard to know how and where to draw the boundaries. When data are inadequate, the problem of distinguishing borrowing from genetic relationship can be insuperable. For that reason, I understand why Johnston consider Uvol a Whiteman language, since I too had noticed some interesting apparent cognates with Bebeli which Uvol does not share with other Mengen languages (Chowning 1969:32). I feel that the weight of the evidence puts it with Mengen, but perhaps this evidence is no stronger than that which links Bebeli with Eastern Arawe.

This last is the most interesting of the cases in which lexical links are completely unexpected in view of both the present location of the languages and, at least in the case of Bebeli, oral tradition. (I should add that I am sceptical about depending heavily on oral tradition.) At the very least, this link indicates that more population movements have taken place east of the Whitemans than might be expected, given the relatively continuous distribution of closely related languages that we find if we look at the south coast alone. (In general, except where there are traditions of very recent movements, the closest relatives are also contiguous.) The frequent reports of as yet uncontacted people living inland from the Willaumez Peninsula, and in the hinterland behind Kove, suggest that there may still be languages as yet undescribed that may help clarify the picture of the distribution of subgroups in West New Britain. On the other hand, they may complicate it still further.

In any case, the archaeological and vulcanological evidence, showing temporal gaps in occupation of particular regions, repeated volcanic devastation of many areas, and discontinuity between the NAN languages undoubtedly spoken in earlier times and the OC ones found later, offer enough complications in their own right. It is impossible to assume that any of the speakers of OC languages in West New Britain are simply the direct descendents of the first settlers of the region they now occupy.

At present, the picture seems to be one in which certain languages, such as Eastern Arawe, Psohoh, and Bibling, have one set of ties that extend in one direction, and one or more that extend in others. The term network is appropriate, but I suspect that it is too early to draw the boundaries of it, or even, perhaps, to exclude some of the languages that are at present assigned to Meso-Melanesian. Whether any of the complexity can be ascribed to influence from non-Austronesian languages, except in the clear case of the neighbours of Anêm, remains as uncertain as before Thurston made his original suggestions. Until many more detailed descriptions of a number of New Britain languages are available, we are likely to attach too much weight to bits of evidence that may be outweighed – depending, of course, on our individual criteria – by that which is not yet available.

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THE MALEU AND BARIAI LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

The western end of the province of West New Britain and the northern coast and islands almost as far east as the Willaumez peninsula are dominated linguistically by several languages of the putative Siasi language family:² Lolo (= Lollo), Kilenge, Kabana (= Bariai), Lusi (= Kaliai) and Kove (= Kombe).³ Only two other languages break this linguistic hegemony: Amara, an Austronesian isolate (see Thurston, this volume), and Anêm, a non-Austronesian isolate (see Thurston, forthcoming). Lolo and Kilenge are similar enough to be considered dialects of a single language, known as Maleu. On linguistic grounds, Lusi and Kove may also be defined as dialects of a single language, called Kaliai-Kove by Counts (1969:3).

Although the speakers of these languages recognise linguistic similarity with their dialect partners, they prefer to see themselves as distinct social, political and cultural groups speaking separate languages. While it is true that the endolexica (basic vocabularies) of Lusi and Kove and of Kilenge and Lolo provide statistical evidence of dialect status, there are,

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² Ross (1988:189) argues that Hooley's (1971) 'Siasi family' is ultimately a paraphyletic grouping, and he suggests that a more inclusive grouping, the North New Guinea cluster, replace this classification. I cannot dispute this position, and hence I avoid further reference to the Siasi languages until such time as evidence can be brought forth justifying the separation of Hooley's Siasi languages from other languages of Ross's North New Guinea Cluster.

³ There is no justification for distinguishing between Kove and Kombe as the Haywoods do in their 1980 article. According to informants, Kombe is the Tok Pisin version of their name, Kove (see also Chowning 1986:430 footnote 3). I use the names Lusi and Kabana instead of Kaliai and Bariai for several reasons: (a) Kaliai is a census division, within which several other languages are found, including Anêm, Mouk and Aria. To call Lusi 'Kaliai' ignores the presence of the other languages spoken in Kaliai. (b) Bariai, according to informants, is a name given to them by the Germans, in the same way that the village of Kokopo (formerly Gumerta) received its name after the village in East New Britain. This choice of name represents a change from Goulden (1982). (c) The Lusi and the Kabana call themselves and their languages by these names, although the Kabana also use the name Bariai, since that is how they are generally known to outsiders. The Lusi do not call themselves 'Kaliai' unless they belong to a specific clan by that name (from which the census division received its name).

nonetheless, substantial differences in the ectolexica (non-basic or esoteric vocabularies) of these languages. In addition, native speakers are sensitive to minor differences in the endolexicon, such as pronominal forms, *faux amis*, non-cognate forms and the phonological shape of cognates. Such differences are perceived as emblematic features which distinguish one group linguistically (and hence culturally) from another (cf. Laycock 1982:34 and Sankoff 1980:119). Consequently, I treat Lusi, Kove, Kabana, Kilenge and Lolo as distinct languages as well, honouring the link between language and ethnic identity made by native speakers.

Several authors have written on the relationship of these West New Britain languages to languages spoken outside the province, including Hooley (1971), Lincoln (1977a, 1978), Chowning (1969, 1973, 1986), Bradshaw (1978), and Ross (1977, 1988). It is agreed that Kabana, Lusi, and Kove are members of a single subgrouping, first named 'Bariai' by Chowning (1969). This subgroup is most closely related to Lincoln's (1978) Ngero subgroup which includes Malalamai, Gitua and the Tuam-Mutu-Malai dialect chain. Lincoln (1977a) places the Bariai languages and the Ngero languages into a single group also known as the Bariai group, with two divisions: the western Bariai subgroup which includes Gitua, Malalamai and Tuam-Mutu-Malai, and the eastern Bariai subgroup which includes Kabana, Lusi and Kove. Chowning (1986:423) suggests these languages may all have a single common ancestor.

Ross (1988) takes the most comprehensive look at the relationships of these and other New Guinea languages to date, with many changes and new labels. First, he posits a Ngero-Vitiaz family:

The term Ngero/Vitiaz *family* implies that the Ngero/Vitiaz languages diversified by separation..., and this is true at the first level of subgrouping: Proto Ngero/Vitiaz split into Proto Ngero and Proto Vitiaz. However, whereas Proto Ngero became a small family of eight languages whose affinities with each other are quite evident despite their geographical dispersal..., Proto Vitiaz was not a proto language at all in the strict sense (1988:160; his emphasis).

Ross subdivides Proto Ngero into Proto Tuam and Proto Bariai. Proto Tuam represents the ancestral language of his Tuam network: Tuam, Mutu, Malai and Gitua, while Proto Bariai includes the members of the Bariai chain: Kove, Lusi, Kabana and Malalamai. In this schema, Malalamai is associated more closely with Lincoln's Eastern Bariai languages rather than those of his Western Bariai group.

The relationship of Kilenge and Lolo to other languages has been less clear. Although Chowning (1969) originally included Kilenge and Lolo with Kabana, Lusi and Kove in her Bariai subgrouping, she subsequently concludes that Kilenge and Lolo are "less closely related to Bariai [Kabana], Kaliai [Lusi], and Kove than are Tuam-Mutu, Gitua, and Malalamai" (1986:423). Lincoln also separates Kilenge and Lolo from the Bariai subgroup by placing them in the Sio group "embracing Sio, Mangap, Maleu [Lolo], Kilenge, Sel, Lukep, Barim, and Malasanga" (1977a:14). Most recently, Ross isolates Kilenge and Lolo as "a separate off-shoot of the Vitiaz linkage" (1988:1963), without making any connection of these two languages to other Rai coast languages such as Lincoln's Sio group.

The proliferation of labels for these languages becomes somewhat confusing. 'Bariai' has been used to refer to (a) the Kabana language; (b) Kabana, Kove, Lusi, Kilenge and Lolo, or (c) Kabana, Kove, Lusi, Malalamai, Gitua and Tuam-Mutu. The name 'Ngero' was originally set up by Lincoln (1978) on the basis of a distinctive word for 'man' (e.g. Gitua)

found in Tuam, Mutu, Malai, Malalamai and Gitua but not in Lusi, Kove and Kabana. Ross (1988), however, extends the label to include the latter set of languages.

In this paper, I have settled on an amalgamation of these terminologies:

- (1) *Bariai* is used to refer to Lusi, Kove and Kabana. Since I have chosen, with informants' support, to use the name Kabana instead of Bariai, the label 'Bariai' is free to be used unambiguously to refer to Kabana and its closest relatives. Putative reconstructions for this group are labelled 'Proto Bariai' (PBri), as per Ross (1988), except that I am excluding Malalamai, for which I have little data.
- (2) following Lincoln (1978), Gitua, Tuam, Mutu, Malai and Malalamai are referred to collectively as the *Ngero* languages. This differs from Ross' use of *Ngero* which includes the Bariai languages, but is justified on the basis of Lincoln's original reason for this label, namely to distinguish the two groups on the basis of a word shared by this group and absent in Maleu and Bariai. I have decided to follow Lincoln and treat Malalamai as a member of this group until its placement within the Bariai group can be more firmly established.
- (3) the Bariai and *Ngero* languages taken together are simply referred to as the *Ngero/Bariai* languages. The protolanguage, then, is *Proto Ngero/Bariai* (PNgBri). Proto *Ngero/Bariai* reconstructions are occasionally provided to account for similarities among these languages. Often these reconstructions also account for Kilenge reflexes, but lacking evidence from other Vitiaz languages, I have not posited Proto Vitiaz reconstructions to include Maleu. It may turn out that certain Proto *Ngero/Bariai* reconstructions apply to other Vitiaz languages and can be reconstructed at a higher level.
- (4) *Maleu/Bariai* is strictly a convenient *geographic* label to refer to Kilenge, Lolo, Kabana, Lusi and Kove at the same time. It makes no reference to genetic affiliation.

While much of the literature on the Maleu/Bariai languages focusses on examining their relationships to the languages of the Siasi islands and the mainland, little has yet been provided on the internal relationships of these five languages. This has been due, no doubt, to lack of sufficient data from all five languages. Friederici (1912) and Chowning (1973, 1986) have provided a considerable body of firsthand and accurate data on Kabana and Kove respectively, but information on Kilenge, Lolo and Lusi is often drawn from the sketchy works provided by Capell (1971), Hooley (1971), Counts (1969), Goulden (1982), and Haywood and Haywood (1980). These all contain errors, and the mistakes in their works are often repeated by investigators who use their data. This paper provides a comparative account of the Maleu/Bariai languages to demonstrate (a) the unity of the Bariai subgroup, and (b) the features which separate Maleu from the Bariai languages. Since I currently lack sufficient data from other Vitiaz languages, I cannot put forward any new hypotheses about the relationship of Kilenge and Lolo to languages outside West New Britain. It is hoped that the information provided here may help other researchers to provide better answers to the problem of placing Kilenge and Lolo within the larger New Guinea linguistic picture, to aid in Proto Oceanic (POc) reconstruction, and to provide evidence of the effects of language contact.

The data used here were collected in four separate field trips to West New Britain in 1978, 1981, 1982 and 1988. Lusi and Kabana were the foci of the data-collection, although the presence of a Kilenge bigman in Kainiaoa (a Lusi village) in 1982 allowed the collection of a body of Kilenge data as well, supplemented by the language notes taken by Jill Grant (pers.comm.), a social anthropologist who worked in Kilenge. In addition, several opportunities

arose during these fieldtrips to gather data from Kove visitors, predominantly residents of Arumigi and Tamuniai, off-shore islands located between the Lusi and the Kabana. My Lusi and Kabana data are the most complete, but Lolo must remain outside the study. Information regarding Kilenge, although relatively scant, can be assumed to apply in large part to Lolo as well, and the relationship between Kilenge and the Bariai languages is assumed to reflect that between Lolo and these languages. Kove data from Chowning's publications or from personal communications are used where my data on Kove are lacking or where the forms I have differ from hers as the result of the influence of Lusi and Kabana on Arumigi and Tamuniai Kove, the source of my data.

In the lists of lexemes provided in this paper, the following conventions are used:

- (1) Words in parentheses are not considered to be cognates of the lexemes under discussion.
- (2) A dash indicates a gap in the data base.
- (3) A hyphen (-) is used to separate additions from the root in question.
- (4) Verbs are presented with an initial hyphen, indicating the requirement of a subject prefix. Reflexive verbs (which require a coreferential object suffix) also have a final hyphen.
- (5) Noun and adjective roots with a final hyphen require a possessive suffix. These include inalienable nouns in all four languages and adjectives in Kilenge.
- (6) Kilenge nouns are presented without the nominal prefix *na-*.
- (7) Kilenge transitive verbs are presented without the transitive suffix *-k-* or obligatory object suffixes.
- (8) footnotes provide extra information about the meaning of glosses and cognates in other languages.

Gitua (Gtu) data are from Lincoln (1977b), and Mutu data (representing the Mandok dialect) were graciously provided by Pomponio (pers. comm.). For Proto Oceanic etyma, I use Ross' (1988) revised Proto Oceanic phoneme inventory and reconstructions where available. The Maleu/Bariai languages are presented in the order: Kilenge (Kge), Kabana (Kbn), Lusi and Kove, reflecting their west-to-east locations. Correspondence sets are given in the same order, such that the set *l : r : r : h* is to be read: Kilenge *l* corresponds to Kabana *r* which corresponds to Lusi *r* which corresponds to Kove *h*.

2. PHONOLOGY: CONSONANTS

The following sections examine the development of Kilenge, Kabana, Lusi and Kove consonants from Proto Oceanic to demonstrate the ways in which these languages subgroup on the basis of shared innovations. To a great degree, the analysis agrees with (and owes much to) those given by Ross (1988) and Chowning (1973, 1986), while differing in detail and focus.

The chart below provides the consonant phonemes of Kilenge, Kabana, Lusi and Kove.

Kilenge			Kabana			Lusi			Kove		
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
			<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>v</i>		<i>g</i>				<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>g</i>
	<i>s</i>			<i>s</i>			<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
	<i>r</i>			<i>r</i>			<i>r</i>				
	<i>l</i>			<i>l</i>			<i>l</i>			<i>l</i>	

The glides *w* and *y* used in the writings of other authors are here represented by their vocalic counterparts *i e o u* for the reasons given in Goulden (1989).

2.1 VOICELESS STOPS

The voiceless stops *p t k* are shared by all four languages, and are derived from the corresponding Proto Oceanic phonemes thus: **p > p : p : p : p*, **t > t : t : t : t* and **k > k : k : k : k*:

	'turtle'	'navel'	'base'	'stone'	'new'
POc	<i>*poŋu</i>	<i>*piso^a</i>	<i>*puqun</i>	<i>*patu</i>	<i>*paqu^b</i>
Kge	<i>pon</i>	<i>puso-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>pot</i>	<i>pau-</i>
Kbn	<i>pon</i>	<i>piso-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>pau</i>
Lusi	<i>ponu</i>	<i>piso-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>patu</i>	<i>pau</i>
Kove	<i>ponu</i>	<i>piso-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>patu</i>	<i>pau</i>

^a Ross (1988:45) suggests that Pre-Proto Oceanic may have had several forms, including **puso*, as found in the Kilenge witness.

^b Proto Western Oceanic reconstruction (Ross 1988:464).

	'ear'	'cry'	'father'	'body'	'mother'
POc	<i>*taliŋa</i>	<i>*taŋis</i>	<i>*tama</i>	<i>*tini</i>	<i>*tina</i>
Kge	<i>taŋa-</i>	<i>-taŋ</i>	<i>tama-</i>	<i>tini-</i>	<i>tna-</i>
Kbn	<i>taŋa</i>	<i>-taŋ</i>	<i>tama-</i>	<i>tini-</i>	<i>tna-</i>
Lusi	<i>taŋa</i>	<i>-taŋi</i>	<i>tama-</i>	<i>tini-</i>	<i>tna-</i>
Kove	<i>taliŋa</i>	<i>-taŋi</i>	<i>tama-</i>	<i>tini-</i>	<i>tina-</i>

POc **k* and **q* merged, such that **q > k : k : k : k* or underwent changes comparable to those of **k*, discussed below.

	skin	bamboo	egg
POc	<i>*kulit</i>	<i>*qauR</i>	<i>*qatoluR</i>
Kge	<i>kulkuli-</i>	<i>kau^a</i>	<i>(ŋalo-)</i>
Kbn	<i>kukuli-</i>	<i>kaur ~ kau</i>	<i>kakatol</i>
Lusi	<i>kukuli-</i>	<i>kaura</i>	<i>kakatolu</i>
Kove	<i>kulikuli-</i>	<i>kauha</i>	<i>kaka</i>

^a 'bamboo flute'.

^b 'panpipes made of bamboo'.

Other examples include (i) POc **raqaŋ* 'branch' > Kge *laka-* and (ii) POc **qupi* 'yam' > Kge *kiu* Kbn *kiu* (with metathesis).

POc **t* is the most stable of the voiceless stops, with two exceptions. First, **t* becomes *s* in Lusi and Kove in POc **saqati* 'spoil (something)' > Kbn *sat* Lusi *sasi* Kove *sasi* 'bad' (compare Gtu *sagati*). The Kabana form is restricted to expressions like Kbn *posa-ŋa sat* {speak-NSR bad} 'foul language' (Lusi *posa-ŋa sasi*). The opposite development — POc **s* becomes *t* — is found in the Bariai words for 'breast': POc **susu* 'breast' > Kbn *tudu-* Lusi *tuzu-* Kove *tuzu-*. This shift is also found in the Ngero cognates Gtu *tuzu-* Mutu *tuzu-* Mll *tuzu-*, and in Sissano *tus* (Laycock 1973), but not in Kge *su-*. The alternation between *t* and *s* in the modern languages is found in a few other instances, such as Kbn *ta* Lusi *sa* Kove *sa* 'and, and then, so'. In Kove, *tau* ~ *ta* is a connective used to mark futurity (found also in Kabana and Lusi as *tau*); the reduced form *ta* may be the origin of Kbn *ta* 'and', since futurity is also found in the Lusi and Kove connective *sa*. Doublets containing the *t* ~ *s* alternation are found in (i) Lusi *-tasio* ~ *sasio* 'put down' and in (ii) Lusi *-saki* ~ *-taki* 'rub, wipe'. The *-tasio* form appears to be a reduction of *-tazo sio* 'throw down', found also in Lusi *-talo* 'put inside'. The *-sasio* form may be the result of analogy with Lusi *-sasae* 'put on top of', which is a reduplicated form. Neither *-talo* nor *-sasae* show this *t* ~ *s* variation. In the case of Lusi *-saki* ~ *-taki* 'rub, wipe', the *-taki* form can also mean 'peel bark'. In Kove, however, this occurs as *-saki* 'peel bark', while *-taki* means 'wash, scrub'. Lastly, it is common for *t* to replace *s* in Lusi baby talk (speech addressed to small children), e.g. *soko* 'cassowary' > *toko*.

The second exception to the stability of POc **t* is noted by Chowning (1973:198). In these cases, POc **t* becomes *d* in Kabana and *z* in Lusi and Kove, as in (i) POc **turu* 'leak' > Kbn *dodolo* Lusi *zuzulu* Kove *zuzulu* 'droplet' and in (ii) POc **matakut* 'fear' > Kbn *-mataud* Lusi *-matauzi* Kove *-matauzi* (but Kge *-motau*). Kabana also shows alternation between *t* and *d* in the doublet *-tutui* ~ *-duduia* 'straight' (Lusi *-tutui* Kove *-tutui* but Gtu *dui*). In the Kilenge word *uraura* 'bush' from POc **qutan* (but compare Kge *vala-uta* 'wild'), the development of Kilenge *r* from POc **t* is comparable to that found in the Bariai words above, since Kilenge *r* corresponds to Kabana *d*, Lusi *z* and Kove *z*. The change of POc **t* to *r* : *d* : *z* : *z* is the expected outcome of lenition, but developments along this line are too sporadic and infrequent to be as convincing as the case for lenition of POc **p* and POc **k*, discussed below.

A few irregular correspondences can be found among the voiceless stops of the modern languages. For example, the cognates Kbn *mokruk* Lusi *mokrup* 'tree frog' show a correspondee between Kabana *k* and Lusi *p* (compare the development of Tolai *murup* to Tok Pisin *muruk* 'cassowary'). A similar development from POc **p* to PBri **k* took place in the case of POc **kusupeq* 'rat' > Kbn *kuduke* Lusi *kuzuke* Kove *kuzuke*, found also in Bali *kuvuzeke* (Johnston 1982) and Lakalai *kusuke* (Chowning 1973). Correspondence between *t* and *k* is found in two cases: (i) Kbn *kikipua* Lusi *titipua* Kove *titipua* 'wart' and (ii) Kbn *-tnan* Lusi *-kinani* Kove *-kinani* 'let go, release, abandon, leave'. This last appears to be a case of assimilation of *k* to *t* before *n* in the Kabana form.

The retention of Proto Oceanic voiceless stops in the modern Maleu/Bariai languages is most conservative in initial position. The development of **p* and **k* in intervocalic position, however, often reflects what Ross (1988:47ff) describes as a fortis/lenis grade distinction which developed after the break-up of Proto Oceanic. Ross describes the development of the fortis and lenis grades as follows:

- (1) initial fortis *p and *k become PNgBri *p and *k.
- (2) initial lenis *p and *k become PNgBri *v and *∅.
- (3) medial *p and *k become PNgBri *v and *ɣ.

In Goulden (1982), I note that this process is not complete, but has resulted in variation in the Bariai languages along the following developmental continuum: *p > *v > *w > *∅, and *k/*q > *g > *h > ∅. In the modern Maleu/Bariai languages, the complete range of changes along the developmental continua can be found with both initial or medial *p and *k, although the final stages (*p > ∅ and *k > h/∅) are most common in medial position, and variation is greatest in the case of the initial stages (*p and *v).

In the first development, lenis *p became *v. This development is retained in a few words in the Maleu/Bariai languages (see below), but is more commonly preserved in the Ngero languages. More frequently, *v underwent a second change in Maleu/Bariai languages: *v > *w. This *w subsequently underwent a third set of changes conditioned by the following vowel:

- (1) *w before a high vowel was lost. This is corroborated by the observation that, in the modern languages, the sequence *uu* is not found, and *ui* is very rare:

	'hit'	'sugarcane'	'afternoon'	'sister'	'stonefish'	'conch'
POc	*Rapu	*topu	*Rapi	*lipu	*nōpu	*tapuRi
Kge	-lau	tou	leilei	liu-	nou	taule
Kbn	-rau	tou	lailai	liu-	nou	taule
Lusi	-rau	tou	leilei	liu-	nou	taule
Kove	-hau	tou	lailai	liu-	nou	taule

Further examples include (i) POc *api 'fire' > Kove *eai*, and (ii) POc *qupi 'yam' > Kge *kiu* Kbn *kiu* (with metathesis of the vowels).

- (2) *w became an *o*-glide before *a* (*wa > *qa*), and a *u*-glide before *o*. This *o*-glide developments parallels the change of POc *y > *ɛ* before *a* in the Bariai languages.

	'hot'	'monsoon'	'fathom'
POc	*panas	*apaRat	*ropa
Kge	(<i>nounou-ŋa</i>) ^a	<i>eoala</i>	<i>leoe</i>
Kbn	<i>oanaoana</i>	<i>aoara</i> ^b	<i>leoa</i>
Lusi	<i>oanana</i>	<i>aoara</i> ^b	<i>leoa</i>
Kove	<i>oanaoana</i>	<i>aoaha</i> ^b	<i>leoa</i>

^a The Kilenge word is from *nou* 'stonefish'; in Kabana, *nou kapei* {stonefish big} is used to refer to hot sand.

^b 'rain'.

The *pa > *wa > *oa development is reflected in the development of POc *wa to *qa*. In Kilenge, however, POc *wa is often reduced to *o*, whereas POc *pa becomes *oa*.

	'know'	'canoe'	'vine'	'root'
POc	* <i>wataki</i> ^a	* <i>waga</i>	* <i>waRoc</i>	* <i>wakaR</i>
Kge	- <i>otai</i>	<i>oga</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>oka-</i>
Kbn	- <i>oatai</i>	<i>oaga</i>	<i>oaro</i>	<i>oaroari-</i>
Lusi	- <i>oatai</i>	<i>oaga</i>	<i>oaro</i>	<i>oaoari-</i>
Kove	-(<i>o</i>) <i>atai</i>	<i>oaga</i>	<i>oaho</i>	<i>oaoahi-</i>

^a PNgbri reconstruction, based on Gtu *-watak* and Mutu *-watagi*.

	'two days ago'	'mouth'	'in-law'
POc	* <i>waRisa</i>	* <i>qawa</i>	* <i>rawa</i>
Kge	<i>olia</i>	<i>ao-</i>	<i>lao-</i>
Kbn	<i>oadla</i>	<i>aoa-</i>	<i>laoa-</i>
Lusi	<i>oariza</i>	<i>aoa-</i>	<i>laoa-</i>
Kove	<i>oahiza</i>	<i>aoa-</i>	<i>laoa-</i>

On the basis of the Maleu/Bariai correspondence set *o* : *oa* : *oa* : *oa*, it is possible to reconstruct the following forms for Proto Ngero/Bariai or Proto Bariai:

- (i) PNgbri **wasa* 'fish with net' > Kbn *-oasa* Lusi *-oasa* Gtu *-wasa*, compare Kge *-osa*.
- (ii) PNgbri **gawa* 'flee' > Kbn *-eaoa* Lusi *-haoa* Kove *-haoa* Gtu *-gawa* Mutu *-gau*, compare Kge *-ko*.
- (iii) PBri **waz(e,o)* 'whistle' > Kbn *-oaoado* Lusi *-oazaze* ~ *-oazazo*, compare Kge *-ore*.
- (iv) PBri **waŋa* 'flood' > Kbn *oŋa* Lusi *oŋa* Kove *oŋa*, compare Kge *oŋa*.

As mentioned above, there are also a few instances of POc **p* > **v*. The retention of **v* is most common before high vowels. This development merged POc **p* with POc **b* (see below):

	'sand'	'squeeze'
POc	* <i>drapu</i> ^a	* <i>pipi</i>
Kge	(<i>magamaga</i>)	- <i>vivi</i>
Kbn	<i>lab</i> ^b	- <i>bib(i-ran)</i>
Lusi	<i>lavu, lavu-pu</i> ^b	- <i>vivi-rani</i>
Kove	<i>lavu, lavu-pu</i> ^b	- <i>vivi-(hani)</i>

^a 'dust'.

^b 'beach.'

It is difficult to find complete sets among the four Maleu/Bariai languages which reflect the same intermediate stage of development. Since the change from **p* to \emptyset is incomplete, it has produced variation among *p* ~ *v* : *b* : *v* : *v* ~ μ/ϱ ~ \emptyset in the four languages and has resulted in various doublets within a given language:

(a) *p > p ~ v : b : v : v

	'turn; mix'	'pull off; pull on'	'baby coconut; betelnut'
POc	*puli ^a	*sapu ^b	*puaq; *buaq ^d
Kge	-puli-; -vuli-	(-tul); -	(pogoli-); vua
Kbn	-pul; -bul	-sapup; -sabu-n ^c	puapua; bua
Lusi	-puli; -vuli	-sapu; -savu-ni ^c	puapua; vua
Kove	-puli; -vuli	-sapu; -savu-ni ^c	puapua; vua

^a 'turn'.^b 'pull out'.^c These verbs indicate opposite motions of pulling or pushing a circular object over a long, thin object, e.g. a ring on a finger, trousers over legs, a shirt over arms, an armlet over the arm, a coil of rope along a post, etc. The second of the set also refers to going upstream.^d 'fruit; betelnut'.

Another example of *p > p ~ v is found in POc *pale 'house' > Kge valevale 'bush house' Lusi palata Kbn palata 'bush house' (< *pale 'house' + *qutan 'bush').

(b) *p > v : b : v : v ~ ∅

	'body hair'	'Derris'
POc	*pulu	*tupa
Kge	vurvuri-; vurvur ^a	—
Kbn	burburu-; buruburu ^a ; ul ^b	tua ^c
Lusi	vuvuru-; vuru ^a ; ulu ^b	tuva
Kove	vuhuvuhu; vuhu ^a ; ulu ^b	tuva

^a 'decorative fringe made of shredded leaves'.^b 'taboo marker made of decorative fringe representing the skirts of a masked spirit figure.'^c vine sp., but not *Derris*.

(c) *p > p ~ w/q ~ ∅

The doublets presented here represent nouns and their verbal counterparts. The nouns have initial fortis *p, whereas the verbs have initial lenis *p (compare 'squeeze' above where lenis *p > *v). As noted in Goulden (1982) and in Ross (1988:51), the verb forms require subject prefixes which result in intervocalic *p, producing lenition like that which occurs elsewhere in medial position. With a single exception ('go out'), Kilenge reflects fortis *p instead of lenis *p:

	'go out, arrive; outside'	'stone; hit with stone'	'paddle'
POc	*potu	*patu	*pose
Kge	-pot ~ -uot; gam-pot ^a	pat; (-pop-e)	pe; -pe
Kbn	-uot ~ -ot; ga-ot ^b	pat; -oat	pode; -uode ~ -ode
Lusi	-otu; potu	patu; -oatu	poze; -oze
Kove	-otu; potu	patu; -oatu	poze; -oze

^a 'beyond the reef'; the Bariai language forms also have this meaning.^b Also Kbn -pa-pot {CS-appear} 'bring out of seclusion'.

In the following, the Bariai verbs show lenis *p where Kilenge reflects fortis *p: (i) POc *pai 'weave' > Kge -pau Kbn -oaoai Lusi -oaoai Kove -oaoai; (ii) PNGBri *pato 'call name' >

Kbn *-oato* Lusi *-oato* Kove *-oato* Mutu *-wat*, compare Kge *-pato*.

In the set Lusi *-olo* Kbn *-uolo* ~ *-olo* 'blocked, closed', the presence of initial *u-* in the Kabana form suggests an earlier form with initial lenis **p*. It is not clear whether these forms are reflexes of POc **ponot* 'close', given the unexpected change of **n* to *l*, and given that the original **n* and fortis **p* are found in Kbn *-pono* Kove *-pono* and Gtu *-pono* 'cover, block.'

(d) **p* > *ɥ/ɔ* ~ *∅*:

	'lime'	'goanna'	'shoulder'	'what'
POc	<i>*apuR</i>	<i>*paRipa</i> ^b	<i>*paRa</i>	<i>*sapa</i>
Kge	<i>au</i>	<i>pariua</i> ^c	<i>alo-</i>	<i>sae</i>
Kbn	<i>eaoo</i> ^a	<i>paria</i>	<i>(kepe-)</i> ^d	<i>saoa</i>
Lusi	<i>eaoo</i> ^a	<i>paria</i>	<i>oala-</i>	<i>saoa</i>
Kove	<i>eaoo</i> ^a	<i>pahia</i>	<i>oala-</i>	<i>saoa</i>

^a The origin of the final *a* is unclear; the initial *e* is accreted.

^b Proto Oceanic reconstruction based on these data, Gtu *pariva* 'goanna', and Motu *ariha* 'goanna' (Lawes 1888). Although one would expect *ɔ* before *a* in the Kilenge form, the preceding *i* appears to have resulted in *ɥ*.

^c 'drum'; semantic extension based on the drum timpanum which is made from the skin of a goanna.

^d Also Kbn *pol* 'shoulderblade' with fortis **p*.

POc **k* also has a lenis reflex. Like lenis **p*, lenis **k* is lost in many words. Kilenge, however, has been more conservative in retaining initial lenis **k* than the other languages:

	'breadfruit'	'S2S'	'pot'	'sea tern'
POc	<i>*kuluR</i>	<i>*ku-</i> ^a	<i>*kuron</i>	<i>*kanawe</i>
Kge	<i>kun</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kulo</i>	<i>kanae</i>
Kbn	<i>un</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>kanaena</i>
Lusi	<i>unu</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>anae</i>
Kove	<i>unu</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>anae</i>

^a Proto Ngero/Vitiaz reconstruction (Ross 1988:364).

An exception is POc **kaŋaRi* 'Canarium' (Chowning 1963) > Kge *aŋal* Kbn *aŋal* Lusi *aŋari* Kove *aŋahi*, in which initial lenis **k* is lost in Kilenge as well. Gitua has both *kaŋar* and *aŋar*.

Medial lenis **k* is also lost in Kilenge, as in the Bariai languages:

	'defecate'	'know'
POc	<i>*bekas</i>	<i>*wataki</i> ^a
Kge	<i>-veve</i>	<i>-otai</i>
Kbn	<i>-bebea</i>	<i>-oatai</i>
Lusi	<i>-vevea</i>	<i>-oatai</i>
Kove	<i>-vevea</i>	<i>-(o)atai</i>

^a PNGBri reconstruction, based on Gtu *-watak* and Mutu *-watagi*.

Also POc **liko* 'hang' > Kbn *-lio-* Lusi *-lio-* Kove *-lio-* 'hang self.'

POc **q* is usually lost in the Maleu/Bariai languages, suggesting that it merged with lenis **k* more often than with fortis **k*:

	'brains'	'chin'	'liver'	'crocodile'
POc	* <i>quto</i>	* <i>qase</i>	* <i>qate</i>	* <i>puqaya</i>
Kge	<i>uto-</i>	(<i>nolo</i>)	<i>ateate-</i>	<i>pua</i>
Kbn	<i>utouto-</i>	<i>adade-</i>	<i>atate-</i>	<i>puaea</i>
Lusi	<i>uto-</i>	<i>azeze-</i>	<i>atete-</i>	<i>puaea</i>
Kove	<i>uto-</i>	<i>azeze-</i>	<i>atete-</i>	(<i>bagele</i>)

Also (i) POc **saqit* 'sew' > Kge *-saisai* Kbn *-saisai* Kove *-saisai*; (ii) POc **qutan* 'bush' > Kge *uraura*; (iii) POc **qipi* '*Inocarpus fagiferens*' > Kge *ip*. Exceptions include the sets given earlier for **qaur* 'bamboo', **qatoluR* 'egg', **raqan* 'branch' and **qupi* 'yam', in which one or more languages has *k*, as well as POc **quma* 'garden' > Kge *kumo* 'garden' Kbn *-uma* 'do garden work', Lusi *-umo* 'do garden work' Kove *-umo* 'do garden work.'

In some Proto Oceanic items with final *-*q*, the final consonant is retained as *i* in the Bariai languages (but lost in Kilenge). It is retained as *-k* in Gitua:

	'spider web'	'pus'	'cut up'
POc	* <i>lawaq</i>	* <i>nanaq</i>	* <i>totoq</i> ^a
Kge	—	<i>nana-</i>	<i>-toto</i>
Kbn	<i>laoai</i>	<i>nanai</i>	<i>-totoi</i>
Lusi	<i>laoai</i>	<i>nanai</i>	<i>-totoi</i>
Kove	<i>laoai</i>	<i>nanai</i>	<i>-totoi</i>
Gtu	<i>lawak</i>	<i>nanak</i>	<i>-totok</i> ^b

^a PNGBri reconstruction.

^b 'cut down something that is hanging'.

In the following words, the presence of *k* in Kilenge suggests an earlier form with **k*:

	'porpoise'	'thatch'	' <i>Eugenia</i> '	'basket'
Kge	<i>kuluei</i>	<i>kus</i>	<i>pokai</i>	<i>tika</i>
Kbn	<i>uluae</i>	<i>usi</i>	<i>poi</i>	<i>tia</i>
Lusi	<i>oluae</i>	<i>usu</i>	<i>puai</i>	<i>tia</i>
Kove	<i>uluae</i>	<i>usu</i>	<i>puai</i>	<i>tia</i>

	'pulp'	'carry on head' ^b	'tree sp.' ^d	'earth oven' ^c
Kge	<i>kisa-</i>	<i>-kuri-</i> ^c	<i>reko</i>	<i>kiamo</i>
Kbn	<i>sa-</i> ^a	<i>-ud</i>	<i>deo</i>	<i>eamo</i>
Lusi	<i>sa-</i> ^a	<i>-uzu</i>	<i>zeo</i>	<i>eamo</i>
Kove	<i>sa-</i> ^a	<i>-uzu</i>	<i>zeo</i>	<i>eamo</i>

^a These forms only occur with the third person singular prefix: Kbn *i-sa* Lusi *ai-sa* Kove *ai-sa*. The root may, in fact, be *isa-* with degemination of identical vowels, e.g. *ai-isa* > *aisa*, but this cannot be confirmed synchronically.

^b Also Gtu *-kukudu*. Chowning (pers.comm.) suggests the Proto Oceanic form should have initial **q*, given the Lakalai cognate *hugu* 'carry on head', in which *h* reflects **q* and not **k* (the latter becomes \emptyset in Lakalai).

^c The Kilenge word for 'head' is *kuri-*.

^d *Parartocarpus venenosus* (Chowning, pers. comm.). Compare Bakovi *deko* Lakalai *geo* (Chowning 1973:199).

^e Given the irregular vowel reflexes, it is doubtful that these come from POc **qumu*.

In four instances, Kilenge lacks *k* where the other languages retain it:

	'tongs'	'clam'	'chicken'	'basket'
Kge	<i>aira</i>	<i>tue</i>	<i>koako</i>	<i>alei</i>
Kbn	<i>kaida</i>	<i>tuke ~ tue</i>	<i>kokako</i>	<i>karei</i>
Lusi	<i>kaiza</i>	<i>tuke ~ tue</i>	<i>kokoako ~ kokako</i>	<i>karei</i>
Kove	<i>kaiza</i>	<i>tue</i>	<i>kokoako ~ kokako</i> ^a	—

^a Also Kove *kahako*.

As with **p*, POc **k* and **q* have undergone an incomplete change to \emptyset , which has resulted in a continuum: **k/*q > g > h > \emptyset*. As with the lenition of **p*, the initial development **k/*q > *g* is more commonly evident in Ngero reflexes, but some evidence of this stage is found in variation present in the modern Maleu/Bariai languages. This variation includes *k~g*, and *g~\emptyset*:

	'mosquito'	'bifucation'	'branch'	'tobacco'	'S.E. wind'
Kge	<i>muginjin</i>	<i>gasa</i>	(<i>laka-</i>)	<i>guas</i>	<i>lai</i>
Kbn	<i>makinkin</i>	<i>kasa</i>	<i>boga-</i> ^a	<i>guas</i>	<i>ragi ~ rai</i>
Lusi	(<i>kikilamo</i>)	<i>kasa</i>	<i>voka-</i> ^a	<i>uasi</i>	<i>rai</i>
Kove	<i>makinikini</i>	<i>kasa</i>	<i>voka-</i> ^a	<i>uasi</i> ^b	<i>hai</i>

^a Compare Gtu *bwaga* 'branch'.

^b Chowning (pers.comm.) also notes *guasi*, 'plant sp.' which is said to have been smoked before the arrival of tobacco.

Also POc **kiri* 'tickle' > Kbn *-gilgil* Lusi *-gilgili* Kove *-giligili*; compare Gtu *-kikil*.

In the next development, **g* become *h* in Lusi and Kove, where Kilenge and Kabana have \emptyset :

	'fish'	'tail'	'steal'	'uncle'	'faeces'	'leg'
POc	<i>*ikan</i>	<i>*ikuR</i>	<i>*panako</i>	<i>*wa(kq)a</i> ^d	<i>*taqe</i>	<i>*qaqe</i>
Kge	<i>ia</i>	(<i>vovo-</i>)	(<i>-kop</i>)	—	<i>tae-</i>	<i>ae-</i>
Kbn	<i>ia</i>	<i>uui</i> ⁻¹	(<i>-lub</i>)	<i>oa-</i>	<i>tae-</i>	<i>ae-</i>
Lusi	<i>iha</i>	<i>hihiu</i> ⁻²	<i>-pahano</i> ³	<i>oaha-</i>	<i>tahe-</i>	<i>ahe-</i>
Kove	<i>iha</i>	<i>hihiu</i> ⁻²	<i>-panaho</i>	<i>oaha-</i>	<i>tahe-</i>	<i>ahe-</i>

^a Metathesis of **i* and **u* with loss of **k*. The long vowel occurs only in this word and in Kbn *-uui* 'swell, swollen'.

^b Metathesis of **h* and **i*.

^c Metathesis has occurred.

^d 'mother's brother; sister's child'. PNGBri reconstruction based on Gtu **waga* and Mutu *waga-*.

Internal variation among *k ~ h* and *k ~ \emptyset* are evinced in the following:

	'charcoal'	'penis'	'eat; food; feed'
POc	<i>*kaso</i> ^a	<i>*quti</i>	<i>*kani; *kani; *pa-kani</i>
Kge	<i>asoaso; kaso</i> ^b	<i>kuti-</i>	<i>-kan; an-; -pani</i>
Kbn	<i>asaso; aso</i> ^c	<i>uti-</i>	<i>-ean; an-; -pa-ean</i>
Lusi	<i>oaso; asoso</i> ^{-b} ; <i>oasaso</i> ^d	<i>uti-, kuti-</i> ^e	<i>-ani; hani-; -pa-hani</i>
Kove	<i>asoaso; kasoka</i> ^b	<i>uti-</i>	<i>-ani; hani-; -pa-hani</i>

- ^a PNGBri reconstruction, based on Mutu *asoso* 'black' Gtu *aso* 'black body paint'.
^b 'black'
^c 'black funeral paint, kin of dead person, mourning.' Lusi *oaso* also has these meanings.
^d 'black, of pigs'.
^e Baby-talk form.

	'push'	'mourn'	'no, not'	'flee'	'bamboo'
POc	* <i>sukuRani</i> ^a	* <i>qosi</i>	* <i>mako</i> ^e	* <i>gawa</i> ^g	* <i>qauR</i>
Kge	(- <i>patila</i>)	<i>aikos</i> ^b ; <i>osos</i> ^c	(<i>eavo</i>)	- <i>ko</i>	<i>au</i> ; <i>kau</i> ^h
Kbn	- <i>susu-ran</i>	<i>osiosi</i> ^b	<i>mao</i>	- <i>eaoa</i>	<i>kaur</i> ~ <i>kau</i>
Lusi	- <i>suk-lani</i>	<i>aikoso</i> ^b ; <i>ososi</i> ^c	<i>mako</i> ^f ~ <i>mao</i>	- <i>haoa</i>	<i>kaura</i> ; <i>kau</i> ⁱ
Kove	- <i>suku-lani</i>	<i>osiosi</i> ^d	<i>mao</i>	- <i>haoa</i>	<i>kauha</i> ; <i>kau</i> ^h

- ^a PBri reconstruction.
^b 'widower'; the final *-o* of the Lusi form is unexpected. Compare Gtu *kosi* 'widower'.
^c 'unmarried, single', hence also 'fruitless, childless'.
^d 'widow'. Chowning (pers.comm.) also provides *akosi* 'plant worn as skirt by widow'.
^e PNGBri reconstruction, based on Gtu *magu* Mutu *mao*.
^f Emphatic form.
^g PNGBri reconstruction, based on Gtu *-gawa* Mutu *-gau*.
^h 'bamboo flute'; in Kabana, this is *kau usouso* {bamboo blow-NSR}.
ⁱ 'panpipes made of bamboo'.

Doublets with and without *k* are found in the Lusi kin terms: *atoka* ~ *atoa* 'daddy', *aiaka* ~ *aia* 'mommy', and *auaka* ~ *aua* 'uncle'. In another set, Kge *-kol* Gtu *-gol* Mutu *-gol* 'buy' are more closely related to Kbn *-koli* Lusi *-koli* Kove *-koli* 'pay back' than to Kbn *-uol* ~ *-ol* Lusi *-oli* Kove *-oli* 'buy', which come from the Proto Oceanic form **poli* 'buy', as indicated by the *u* of the Kabana form.

2.2 PRENASALISED STOPS

The voiced stops *b d g* of Lusi and Kove are prenasalised ([mb nd]) and contrast with the fricatives *v z g*, e.g. Lusi *-dumu* 'lie, deceive' *-zumu* 'slide, push'. The symbol *q* is used to distinguish the prenasalised voiced velar stop [ŋg] from the voiced velar fricative *g* ([ɣ]). In both languages, these prenasalised stops are optionally realised as oral stops in initial position, e.g. Lusi *boboŋi* [mbombonji ~ bombonji] 'morning'.

Unlike Lusi and Kove, which have no phonemic oral voiced stops, the voiced stops *b d g* of Kabana are not prenasalised. These may occur after a homorganic nasal, e.g. Kbn *aygul* 'fish sp.', but such clusters are not true prenasalised voiced stops, as they do not demonstrate any phonemic contrast and are infrequent relative to other consonant phonemes. Kilenge lacks a series of voiced stop phonemes, although fricatives are realised as voiced stops after a nasal, as in *paromvalaŋa* [parombalaja] 'gable end of a house' and *simvomvom* [simbombom] 'spotted'.

The prenasalised stops of Kove and Lusi are much less frequent than voiced fricatives, and minimal pairs are few in number. Chowning notes:

The lexical material indicates that at some time, the voiced stops in the proto-language that gave rise to Bariai, Kaliai, and Kove all became voiced spirants in Kove, and possibly in Kaliai as well. Subsequently, however, Kove acquired many words containing

voiced stops, though where POC [Proto Oceanic] forms are represented, the spirant reflexes are greatly in the majority (1973:195).

Many words with a prenasalised stop appear to be copied from neighbouring languages. There are several observations which support this. First, many prenasalised stops (or nasal+stop in Kabana) occur in the ectolexicon, and hence in the realm of terminology most susceptible to borrowing. An especially large proportion of this esoteric vocabulary relates to fish and other marine animals, such as:

Kbn <i>lumbalumba</i>	Lusi <i>lubaluba</i>	Kove <i>lubaluba</i>	'moray eel.'
Kbn <i>dandan</i>	Lusi <i>dadani</i>	Kove <i>danidani</i>	'poisonous crab sp.'
Kbn <i>lua</i>	Lusi <i>luaqe</i>	Kove <i>luaqe</i>	'flying fish.'

Second, a word with a prenasalised stop in one language frequently has no cognate in the other languages. A few examples of such words containing nasal+stop clusters in Kabana and voiced stops in Lusi are provided below:

Kbn <i>tambaia</i>	Lusi <i>more aisa</i>	'cockatoo crest'
Kbn <i>nagombe</i>	Lusi <i>gumimi</i>	'millipede sp.'
Kbn <i>minde</i>	Lusi —	'north wind'
Kbn <i>kanda</i>	Lusi —	'crab sp.'
Kbn <i>marilua</i>	Lusi <i>girgiri</i>	'variegated'
Kbn <i>ongu</i>	Lusi <i>ramu</i>	'lemongrass'
Lusi <i>butu</i>	Kbn <i>kuakua</i>	'elephantiasis'
Lusi <i>bidorotu</i>	Kbn <i>labelabe</i>	'epiphyte sp.'
Lusi <i>dikman</i>	Kbn <i>naroma</i>	'leech'
Lusi <i>tade</i>	Kbn <i>salke</i>	' <i>Terminalia catappa</i> '
Lusi <i>qararu-</i>	Kbn <i>gogo-</i>	'breast shell of turtle'
Lusi <i>-kaqrok, -qoroko</i>	Kbn <i>-ninigoro</i>	'snore'

It is likely that many words containing prenasalised voiced stops are borrowed from neighbouring languages such as Bali-Vitu and Bakovi. The Kove have strong trading and marriage bonds with the Bali and the Vitu to the north, and with the Bakovi (= Bola) to the east (Chowning 1978b:298), and it is noteworthy that Kove has many more voiced stops than Lusi. Lusi probably acquired many of its words with prenasalised stops indirectly from Bali-Vitu or Bakovi via Kove. In the following examples, Bali data comes from Johnston (1980), Bakovi data from Tangari (1977) and Vitu data from Friederici (1912):

Lusi <i>barema</i>	Bali <i>barema</i>	' <i>Nipa</i> palm'
Lusi <i>dalaŋa = ezapu</i>	Bali <i>dalaŋa</i>	'path'
Kbn <i>mariamba</i> , Lusi <i>mariaba</i> , Kove <i>mariaba</i>	Bali <i>mariaba</i>	'storm'
(note the <i>r</i> instead of expected <i>h</i> in the Kove form)		
Kove <i>balu ~ vazuhi</i>	Bali <i>balu</i>	'dove'
Lusi <i>bubu ~ buburi</i> Kove <i>bubu ~ vuvuhi</i>	Bali <i>bubu</i>	'cloud'
Kbn <i>mamanda</i> Lusi <i>mamada</i>	Bakovi <i>mada</i>	'meeting place'
Kove <i>rabolo</i>	Bakovi <i>rabolo</i>	'eel sp.'
Kbn <i>bagele</i> Kove <i>bagele</i>	Bakovi <i>bahale</i>	'crocodile'
Kbn <i>balubalu-</i> Lusi <i>balbalu-</i> Kove <i>balubalu-</i>	Vitu <i>balbalu-</i>	'lower jaw, mandible, chin'
Lusi <i>dara = saha</i> Kove <i>dara = saha</i>	Vitu <i>dara</i>	' <i>Nassa</i> snail'

Kove <i>damu</i>	Vitu <i>damu</i>	'lime spatula'
Kove <i>baki</i> 'breadfruit seed'	Vitu <i>baki</i>	'breadfruit.'

Because of the relative infrequency of prenasalised stops and the lack of cognates, it is also difficult to establish a pattern of correspondence between prenasalised stops in one language and the phonemes in other languages. Furthermore, the nature of the esoteric vocabulary in which many prenasalised stops are embedded makes it difficult to find Proto Oceanic etyma for the lexica and to determine their development. In general, however, prenasalised stops tend to correspond to the 'fricative' set: Kge *v r g* Kbn *b d g* Lusi *v z g* and Kove *v z g*. Reflecting the marginal phonemic status of prenasalised stops, Lusi and Kove have some doublets in which prenasalised stops alternate with fricatives:

Kove <i>balu</i> ~ <i>vazuhi</i>	'dove'
Kove <i>tabuka</i> ~ <i>tavuahi</i>	' <i>Saccharum edule</i> '
Kove <i>bubu</i> ~ <i>vuvuhi</i>	'clouds'
Lusi <i>bubu</i> ~ <i>vuvuri</i>	'clouds'
Lusi <i>voreka</i> ~ <i>boreka</i>	'fish sp.'
Lusi <i>varema</i> ~ <i>barema</i>	'sago palm'
Lusi <i>vatuku</i> ~ <i>batuku</i>	'fish sp.'
Lusi <i>vagove</i> ~ <i>vagobe</i>	'pufferfish sp.'
Lusi <i>virija</i> ~ <i>birija</i>	'fish sp.'
Lusi <i>kirivanvaŋ</i> ~ <i>kiriubanbaŋ</i>	'caterpillar sp.'

Doublets containing *v* and *b* are also found in Lusi *vovo* 'hole' *bobo-ŋa* 'full of holes' and Lusi *voŋi* 'night' *boboŋi* 'morning' (but Kove *voŋi* 'night' Kove *voŋiivoŋi* 'morning'), and alternation between *g* and *q* is found in the doublet Lusi *golo/maza* '*Tridacna* sp.' *qola* 'smaller *Tridacna* sp.'. In another word, Lusi has a doublet with *v* and *b* variants where Kabana and Kove cognates have only the oral forms: Lusi *varema* ~ *balema* but Kbn *balbalema* Kove *valevalema* 'Nipa palm.'

Kove appears to have more prenasalised stops than Lusi and Kabana, while Lusi has considerably more prenasalised stops than Kabana has sequences of homorganic nasal and stop. This reflects the degree of proximity, both geographic and social, of the Kove, Lusi and Kabana to the Bali-Vitu and Bakovi. In the following sets, Kove has a prenasalised stop which corresponds to a fricative in Lusi and Kilenge and to an oral stop in Kabana:

	'ironwood'	'pandanus sp.'	'lime spatula'	'build wall'
POc	—	* <i>padra</i>	* <i>jamu</i>	* <i>dridriŋ</i> ^a
Kge	<i>vona</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>rom</i>	- <i>riŋi</i>
Kbn	<i>bana</i>	<i>padapada</i>	<i>dam</i>	- <i>diŋ</i>
Lusi	<i>vona</i>	<i>pazpaza</i>	<i>zamu</i>	—
Kove	<i>bona</i>	<i>vada</i>	<i>damu</i>	- <i>diŋi</i>

^a 'wall'.

2.3 VOICED FRICATIVES

Far more common than prenasalised stops are the fricatives in Lusi, Kove and Kilenge and the oral stops of Kabana. In the orthography, *v* represents a voiced bilabial fricative [β], *g* a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] in Kilenge, Lusi and Kove or a voiced velar stop [g] in Kabana, and /z/ a voiced apico-alveolar slit fricative [r]. This last may also be pronounced as

a tap [r] in rapid speech. Since Lusi has a trill [r̄], the use of *z* avoids the problem of needing diacritics to distinguish the tap from the trill as done by Counts (1969), while providing a symbol which reflects the fricative status of the phoneme. In Kove, however, there is no trill/tap contrast and *r* is free to represent the fricative as done in Chowning (1973, 1978a, 1986), although I shall maintain the use of *z* for the purpose of this comparison. Kilenge lacks a fricative equivalent to *z*, having collapsed a prior fricative with *r*, realised as a trill [r̄] or a tap [r]. The tap variant of the Lusi and Kove fricative *z* suggests the origin of /r/ in Kilenge. Chowning's observation on Kove *z* is also noteworthy in this light:~

The /r/ is often pronounced as an alveolar trill in the western dialect of Kove, spoken adjacent to Kaliai, which has two r-phonemes, one a flap and one a trill. The latter usually corresponds to /h/ in Kove. The trilled pronunciation may represent Kaliai influence (1986:410).

In a number of the Kove words I learned from western Kove, I found a trilled [r̄] corresponding to a Lusi trilled [r̄], e.g. Lusi *karo* Kove *karo* 'crow' (instead of the expected **kaho*). In such borrowings, it is likely that a Lusi [r̄] has been reanalysed as a trill variant of /z/. The Kilenge *r*, as in the case of this Kove dialect, has probably developed from a tap to a trill for lack of a tap/trill contrast, as Kilenge usually has *l* where Lusi and Kabana have *r*.

These fricatives correspond to Kabana stops *b d g*. The bilabial voiced stop of Kabana is in the process of becoming a voiced fricative [β]. Friederici (1912) noted the presence of [β] in a few Kabana words seven decades ago; now informants claim only a handful of Kabana words are pronounced with [b], and a single minimal pair *bua* 'betelnut' *vua* 'first' was found. In elicitation sessions, however, I noted that even in these words, the phoneme varied between [b] and [β], and that there is considerable difference in opinion regarding the status of [b] and in the actual pronunciation of the phoneme. The pronunciation of the velar stop *g* is undergoing the same process, changing from [g] to [ɣ], but lags far behind the [b] > [β] development. Kabana *d* is frequently pronounced as a tap [r]. The result of these changes has been the erosion of the voiced stops which, among the Maleu/Bariai languages, are unique to Kabana, and the development of a set of phones almost identical with those of Lusi, Kove and Kilenge. It is likely that the change has been the result of Kabana speakers conforming to the languages surrounding them, but at present the change is far from complete and is currently in a state of flux. In the New Britain variety of Tok Pisin, the /w/ in words like *diwai* 'tree', *lewa* 'liver' and *kawawar* 'ginger sp.' is realised as [β], and bilingualism in Tok Pisin and Kabana may also have encouraged the shift from [b] to [β].

Kilenge, Lusi and Kove *v* corresponds to Kabana *b*. These are derived from POc **b* (and **b^w*), as well as lenis **p* (see above):

	'ancestor'	'betelnut'	'night'	'butterfly'	'defecate'
POc	* <i>tubu</i>	* <i>buaq</i>	* <i>bonji</i>	*[<i>kali</i>]bobonj	* <i>bekas</i>
Kge	<i>tivu-</i>	<i>vua</i>	<i>vol</i>	<i>vovo</i>	- <i>veve</i>
Kbn	<i>tibu-</i>	<i>bua</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bobo</i>	- <i>bebea</i>
Lusi	<i>tuvu-</i>	<i>vua</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>vovo</i>	- <i>vevea</i>
Kove	<i>tuvu-</i>	<i>vua</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>vovo</i>	- <i>vevea</i>

Also POc **banic* 'wing' > Kge *vani-*.

Alternation between *v* (or *b*) and *g* is found in a few words, such as:

Kbn *gulupa* Lusi *gulupa* but Kove *vulupa* 'wasp'.

Lusi *gusamati* ~ *vusamati* 'name of a masked spirit figure' (after *gusa* 'squid').

Kge *guas* ~ *vuas* Kbn *guas* Lusi *uasi* Kove *uasi* 'tobacco' Kove *guasi* 'plant sp. said to be smoked before the introduction of tobacco' (Chowning pers. comm.).

Kbn *uber* ~ *uger* 'wrist'.

Lusi *vuvuar* ~ *guguar* 'vine sp.'

Lusi *voropala* ~ *goropala* 'bird sp.'

The dental reflex set *r* : *d* : *z* : *z* developed from the merger of POc **d*, **dr*, and **j*:

	'banana'	'our = P2IP'	'forehead'	'their = P3P'	'pandanus'	'stand'
POc	<i>*pudi</i>	<i>*da</i>	<i>*dramwa</i>	<i>*-dri</i>	<i>*padran</i>	<i>*madriRi</i>
Kge	<i>pur</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>ramo</i> ^a	<i>-re</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>-mari</i>
Kbn	<i>pud</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>dama</i> ^a	<i>-d</i>	<i>padapada</i>	<i>-madid</i>
Lusi	<i>puzi</i>	<i>-za</i>	<i>zomo</i>	<i>-zi</i>	<i>pazpaza</i>	(<i>-gunu</i> -)
Kove	<i>puzi</i>	<i>-za</i>	<i>zamoha</i>	<i>-zi</i>	<i>vada</i>	(<i>-gunu</i> -)

^a 'prow'; also Kove *zamo*- 'prow'.

	'nose'	'meat, muscle'	'lime spatula'	'boar's tusk'	'plug, stop up'
POc	<i>*ŋuju</i>	<i>*mijak</i>	<i>*jamu</i> ^b	<i>*joŋa</i>	<i>*joŋi</i>
Kge	(<i>vani</i> -)	<i>meramera</i>	<i>rom</i>	<i>roŋa</i> ^c	—
Kbn	<i>nunu</i> ^a	<i>medamedada</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>doŋa</i> ^d	<i>dodo-n</i> ^e
Lusi	<i>nuzu</i>	<i>mezameza</i>	<i>zomu</i>	<i>ŋazo ŋado</i> ^d	<i>zozo-ni</i> ^e
Kove	<i>nuzu</i>	<i>mezameza</i>	<i>damu</i>	<i>ŋazo</i> ^d	<i>zozo-ni</i> ^f

^a The third person singular form is *i-nud* 'his/her nose', showing *d*.

^b 'chew betelnut'.

^c 'tooth'.

^d 'molar; metathesis has occurred.

^e 'plug made of ginger leaf'.

^f 'ginger sp.'

Also POc **droman* 'leech' > Kge *roma*.

In two of Ross' (1988) Proto Oceanic reconstructions involving **j*, Kilenge has *s* instead of the expected *r*: (i) POc **jika* 'bad' > Kge *sia-ŋa*-, and (ii) POc **jiRi* '*Cordyline*, *Draecena*' > Kge *sir* 'rattan skirts.' Ross also gives Kbn *daŋa sisid* 'grass skirts', but this, in fact, means 'many things'. (The Kbn word is *odoa* 'rattan skirts'; *sisid* 'many' only occurs with *daŋa* 'thing' and is related to Lusi *asizi* 'they'.) The phoneme *s* is also found in the four Maleu/Bariai languages in POc **kojom* 'pierce, husk' > Kge *koso-ŋa* 'husking stick' Kbn *-koso* 'husk coconut' Lusi *-koso* 'husk coconut' Kove *-koso* 'husk coconut; spear pig; copulate'. Although Ross (1988:169) explains the development of Kilenge /s/ as conditioned by the presence of POc **i*, the reflexes of **kojom* 'husk' do not follow this conditioning.

POc **c* also develops into the Bariai voiced dental series. In Kilenge, however, it is usually lost:

	'when'	'how many'	'name'	'sibling same sex'
POc	* <i>ɲica</i>	* <i>pican</i>	* <i>qacan</i>	* <i>taci</i>
Kge	<i>nia-ɲ</i>	<i>pia</i>	(<i>pasis</i>)	<i>tai-</i>
Kbn	<i>ɲeda</i>	<i>pida</i>	<i>eda-</i>	<i>tadi-</i>
Lusi	<i>ɲeza</i>	<i>piza</i>	<i>eza-</i>	<i>tazi-</i>
Kove	<i>ɲeza</i>	<i>piza</i>	<i>eza-</i>	<i>tazi-</i>

Given that lenis *s is also lost medially in Kilenge (§2.4), it is likely that lenis *s and *c merged before their loss, while the Bariai languages merged lenis *s, *c and *j to produce *d* and *z*. On the basis of this intervocalic loss in Kilenge, we can add the following set: Kge *sian* Kbn *sida* Lusi *soza* Kove *soza* 'where?' The presence of final *ɲ* on the Kilenge forms *nia-ɲ* and *sia-ɲ* is unexplained.

POc *g gives rise to Kilenge, Kabana, Lusi, and Kove *g*.

	'canoe'	'finger'
POc	* <i>waga</i>	* <i>gaga</i>
Kge	<i>oga</i>	<i>goɲa</i> ^a
Kbn	<i>oaga</i>	<i>goɲa</i> ^a
Lusi	<i>oaga</i>	<i>goga</i> ^b
Kove	<i>oaga</i>	<i>goga</i> ^b

^a The *ɲ* is unexpected. ^b 'thumb'.

An exception is POc **gaun* 'dog' > Kbn *kau-a* Lusi *kau-a* Kove *kau-a*, although Kge *gaune* provides the expected *g*. In two sets, there is a correspondence between *ɲ* and *g*: (i) Kbn *-nogo-* Lusi *-nuɲa* Kove *-nuɲa* 'jiggle, loose (of tooth)', and (ii) Kge *ɲaunɲau* 'mist' Kbn *gagau* 'mist' *gaugau* 'dust' Lusi *gauku* 'mist' Kove *gaugau* 'mist'. The final syllable *-ku* of the Lusi form is also found in Nakanai *gauku* (Chowning 1973), and has probably been lost in Kilenge, Kabana and Kove (§4.3).

Kilenge *v* and *g* are devoiced when they occur in final position. This devoicing occasionally produces the correspondence set *p : b : v : ɸ*, as in the following forms:

	'grow'	'forbid'	'bamboo'	'my'	'betel pepper'
POc	* <i>tubuq</i>	* <i>pa-tabu</i>		* <i>gu</i>	
Kge	<i>-tup</i>	<i>-pa-top</i>	<i>rop</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>rek</i>
Kbn	<i>-tub</i>	<i>-pa-tob</i>	<i>rob</i>	<i>-g</i>	<i>dog</i>
Lusi	<i>-tuvu</i>	<i>-pa-tavu</i>	(<i>sasavu</i>) ^a	<i>-gu</i>	<i>zogi</i>
Kove	<i>-tuvu</i>	—	(<i>sasavu</i>) ^b	<i>-gu</i>	<i>zogi</i>

^a Kabana has a cognate in the phrase *gali-aea sapsap* {neck its bamboo} 'windpipe' (Lusi *gali-aea sasavu*) which also shows a final voiceless stop (compare Mutu *saab*), found as well as in Kbn *kopkop* 'empty' (compare Lusi *kuvu* 'finished, all gone'). It is unlikely that this is a case of final devoicing in Kabana, as devoicing does not occur elsewhere (compare Kbn *lab* Lusi *lavu*), but the final *p* may be the result of fortis/lenis grades of **p*.

^b Chowning (pers. comm.) has not come across this form, so it is possible that my Western Kove informants acquired this word from Lusi.

Alternation between *p* and *v* occurs in some Kilenge verbs when certain morphological rules produce final voiced fricatives: (i) *-kiv-e* > *-kep* 'do, make'. The first form occurs with the third person singular object suffix *-e*, and the second is the intransitive form. (ii) *-sig-e* ~ *-sik* 'give birth'; *-ig-e* ~ *-ik* 'carry'. The first form with *-e* indicates a singular object and the

second form without *-e* indicates a plural object. (iii) *-pigi-a ~ -pik* ‘bent’ (compare Lusi *-pigi* Kove *-pigi*). The first form is an adjective used as an intransitive verb with the third person singular suffix *-a* (§5.1.2); the second form is transitive.

A voiced fricative is found intervocalically in the Kilenge reduplicated forms *-ik ~ -ig=ik* ‘carry’, *-suk ~ -sug=uk* ‘swim’; *-guk ~ -gug=uk* ‘cough’; *-kep ~ -kev=ep* ‘do, make’; and *-kop ~ -kov=op* ‘steal’. Given that POc **suku* ‘dive’ becomes Kge *-suk ~ -suguk* ‘swim’, it would appear that the voiced fricative is the innovation in this word.

2.4 VOICELESS FRICATIVES

There are only two voiceless fricatives in the Maleu/Bariai languages: *s* and *h*. Only Lusi and Kove have *h*, which corresponds to \emptyset in Kabana and Kilenge. Both *h* and \emptyset are derived by lenition from POc **k* or **q*, as discussed in §2.1. Kove has also developed *h* from **R* (§2.5.2).

POc **s* has fortis and lenis grades. The initial fortis grade **s* remains *s* in the Maleu/Bariai languages:

	‘liquid’	‘who’	‘what’	‘ten’	‘outrigger’
POc	<i>*suRuq</i>	<i>*sai</i>	<i>*sapa</i>	<i>*saŋapulu</i>	<i>*saman</i>
Kge	<i>suli-</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>sae</i>	<i>saŋaul</i>	<i>sama</i>
Kbn	<i>sulu-</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>saoa</i>	<i>saŋaul</i>	<i>saman</i>
Lusi	<i>suru-</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>saoa</i>	<i>saŋaulu</i>	<i>samani</i>
Kove	<i>suhu-</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>saoa</i>	<i>saŋaulu</i>	<i>samani</i>

Initial and medial lenis **s* become Kbn *d*, Lusi *z* and Kove *z*. In Kilenge, however, initial lenis **s* is reflected as *s*, but medial lenis **s* is lost:

	‘dive’	‘sea’	‘two days ago’	‘paddle’	‘rat’
POc	<i>*suku</i>	<i>*tasik</i>	<i>*waRisa</i>	<i>*pose</i>	<i>*kusupeq</i>
Kge	<i>-suk^a</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>olia</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>kiue^c</i>
Kbn	<i>-dug^b</i>	<i>tad</i>	<i>oadla</i>	<i>pode</i>	<i>kuduke</i>
Lusi	<i>-zugu^b</i>	<i>tazi</i>	<i>oariza</i>	<i>poze</i>	<i>kuzuke</i>
Kove	<i>-zugu^b</i>	<i>tazi</i>	<i>oahiza</i>	<i>poze</i>	<i>kuzuke</i>

^a ‘swim’. ^b ‘jump, dive’.

^c The first occurrence of **u* has changed to *i*, while both **s* and **p* are lost.

As in the case of **p*, the lenition is found with verbal stems:

	‘up; go up’	‘down; go down’	‘breast; suckle’
POc	<i>*sake</i>	<i>*sipo</i>	<i>*susu</i>
Kge	<i>gan/se^a; -sake^b, -se</i>	<i>raun sio; (-raun)</i>	<i>su-; -su</i>
Kbn	<i>ga/dae; -dae</i>	<i>gadio; -dio</i>	<i>tudu-; -dud</i>
Lusi	<i>sae; -zae</i>	<i>sio; -zio</i>	<i>tuzu-; (-unu tuzu)^c</i>
Kove	<i>sae; -zae</i>	<i>sio; -zio</i>	<i>tuzu-; -zuzu</i>

^a ‘inland’; the Bariai forms also have this meaning.

^b ‘climb’.

^c [drink breast].

The Kilenge adverbial form *gan-se* 'inland' and the Kabana adverbial forms *ga-dae* 'up' and *ga-dio* 'down' have a fossilised prefix Kge *gan-* Kbn *ga-* which form locative adverbs from the verb forms. The prefixes are also found in Kge *gam-pot* 'beyond the reef' (from *gan-* + *-pot* 'go out'), Kbn *ga-ot* 'outside' (from *ga-* + *-ot* 'go out'), and Kbn *ga-duduŋa* 'inside' (from *ga-* + *-duduŋa* 'enter'). The Kabana forms *ga-ot* 'outside', *ga-dae* 'up' and *ga-dio* 'down' show medial lenis **p* and **s*, whereas the Lusi and Kove forms *potu* 'outside' *sae* 'up' and *sio* 'own' reflect initial fortis **p* and **s* forms.

The correspondence set $\emptyset : d : z : z$ is also found in the following sets, suggesting either an original lenis **s*, or a medial **c*:

	'rotten'	'tame'	'spear'
Kge	- <i>vua</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>io</i>
Kbn	- <i>buda</i>	<i>mud</i>	<i>ido</i>
Lusi	- <i>vuza</i>	<i>muzu</i>	<i>izo</i>
Kove	- <i>vuza</i>	<i>muzu</i>	<i>izo</i>

Doublets of the set 'rotten' are found in Kge *vusevuse* 'wet' (underlying form *vusavusa-*) and Kove *-vusa* 'rotten, soft', suggesting an alternation between fortis medial **s* (hence Kge *vusa*) and lenis medial **s* or medial **c* (hence Kge *vua*).

A similar lenis development of POc **s* is found in three irregular nominalised forms in Kabana ('crying', 'laughter', and 'bathing') and two in Lusi and Kove ('crying' and 'laughter'). In these instances, the nominalising suffix is Kbn *-da* and Lusi, Kove *-za*:

	'cry'	'crying'	'laugh'	'laughter'	'bathe'	'bathing'
Kge	- <i>taŋ</i>	<i>taŋa</i>	- <i>ŋiŋ</i>	<i>ŋiŋa</i>	- <i>oa-liu</i>	<i>oa-liuŋa</i>
Kbn	- <i>taŋ</i>	<i>taŋdaŋa</i>	- <i>ŋiŋ</i>	<i>ŋiŋdaŋa</i>	- <i>liliu</i>	<i>liliudaŋa</i>
Lusi	- <i>taŋi</i>	<i>taŋiza</i>	- <i>ŋiŋi</i>	<i>ŋiŋiza</i>	- <i>liliu</i>	<i>liliuŋa</i>
Lusi	- <i>taŋi</i>	<i>taŋza</i>	- <i>ŋiŋi</i>	<i>ŋiŋiza</i>	- <i>liliu</i>	<i>liliuŋa</i>

These are derived from POc *taŋis* 'cry', POc **isi* 'grin' and POc **rikus* 'bathe' respectively. Verbs in the Maleu/Bariai languages are normally nominalised by suffixing *-ŋa*, but in the nominalised forms of the above verbs, Kabana has an unexpected *-da* form in addition to the usual *-ŋa* suffix, while Lusi and Kove have the cognate reflex *-za* without the expected *-ŋa* suffix. The *d* and *z* appear to reflect the final **s* of the Proto Oceanic etyma. The Kilenge forms *taŋa* 'crying' and *ŋiŋa* 'laughter' are formed regularly from *-taŋ* and *-ŋiŋ*, showing the application of a degemination rule in which the two contiguous occurrences of *ŋ* are reduced to one: *taŋ+ŋa* > *taŋa* and *ŋiŋ+ŋa* > *ŋiŋa*.

2.5 NASALS

The nasals are relatively stable in their development: POc $*m$ and $*m^w > m : m : m : m$; POc $*n$ and $\tilde{n} > n : n : n : n$; and POc $*\eta > \eta : \eta : \eta : \eta$.

	'die'	'bird'	'snake'	'eye'	'precede'
POc	$*mate$	$*manu$	$*m^wata$	$*mata$	$*muqa$
Kge	<i>-mate</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>mata-</i> ^a	<i>-muga</i>
Kbn	<i>-mate</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>mata-</i>	<i>-muga</i>
Lusi	<i>-mate</i>	<i>maru</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>mata-</i>	<i>-muga</i>
Kove	<i>-mate</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>mata-</i>	<i>-muga</i>

^a The usual Kilenge word for 'eye' is *airo-*, but Kge *mata-* is also found in a few phrases, e.g. *mata-k e maga* {eye-P1S ED.P3S sand} 'I have sand in my eye'; *mata-m i-muga* {eye-P2S S3S-ahead} 'look ahead'; *mata-k i-gera* {eye-P1S S3S-see} 'my eyes are open', etc.

	'shadow'	'coconut'	'settlement'	'ground'	'fat'	'turtle'
POc	$*qanunu$	$*niuR$	$*panua$	$*tano$	$*moñak$	$*poñu$
Kge	<i>anuni-</i>	<i>niu</i>	<i>pano</i> ^a	<i>tatano</i>	<i>mona-</i>	<i>pon</i>
Kbn	<i>anunu-</i>	<i>niu</i>	<i>panua</i> ^b	<i>tano</i>	<i>mona-</i>	<i>pon</i>
Lusi	<i>anunu-</i>	<i>niu</i>	<i>pana</i> ^b	<i>tano</i>	<i>mona-</i>	<i>ponu</i>
Kove	<i>anunu-</i>	<i>niu</i>	<i>pana</i> ^b	<i>tano</i>	<i>mona-</i>	<i>ponu</i>

^a 'place'.

^b 'people'.

	'hear'	'a fly'	'laugh'	'yellow'
POc	$*roŋoR$	$*lajo$	$*ŋiŋis$	$*yaŋo$
Kge	<i>-lojo</i>	<i>lajo</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>ŋajo-ŋa</i>
Kbn	<i>-lojo</i>	<i>lajolajo</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>eaŋo-ŋa</i>
Lusi	<i>-lojo-ni</i>	<i>lajlajo</i>	<i>-ŋiŋi</i>	<i>eaŋo-ŋa</i>
Kove	<i>-lojo-(ni)</i>	<i>lajolajo</i>	<i>-ŋiŋi</i>	<i>eaŋeaŋo</i>

Unexpected correspondences involving a nasal include:

(a) $m : n$

(i) POc $*tam^wata$ 'man' > Kge *tamta* Lusi *tanta*; the Lusi form shows assimilation of the nasal consonant.

(ii) Lusi *amsere* Kbn *ansere* 'Hibiscus'

(b) $m : \eta$

(i) POc $*lumut$ 'moss' > Kge *lumlum* Kbn *gu-luŋ* Lusi *gu-lumu* Kove *gu-lumu*.

(ii) Kbn *kauruma* Lusi *kahuma* Kove *kahumu* ~ *kahuŋu* 'bailer'.

(iii) Kbn *naseresereŋ* Lusi *seremserem* 'fragrant plant sp.'

(c) $m : p$

Kbn *-tama* Lusi *-tapa* Kove *-tapa* 'fan, wave'.

(d) $m : \emptyset$

POc $*tamapine$ 'woman' > Kbn *taine* Lusi *tamine* Kove *tamine*.

(e) $n : \eta$

- (i) POc **ɲica* 'when' > Kge *niaɲ* Kbn *ɲeda* Lusi *ɲeza* Kove *ɲeza*.
(ii) POc **ɲuju* 'nose' > Kbn *nunu-* Lusi *nuzu-* Kove *nuzu-*.
(iii) Kbn *ɲesɲeso* Lusi *nosnose* Kove *neso* 'ant' (compare Mutu *nos* Gtu *nonosa*).
(iv) Kge *na-* Kbn *na-* Lusi *ɲa* Kove *ɲa* 'I'.
(v) Kge *sapeɲa* Kbn *sapeɲa* Lusi *sapena-* Kove *sapeɲa* 'waist, hips'.
(vi) Lusi *patna* Kbn *patɲa* 'sea cucumber sp.'
- (f) **n > l*
POc **malino* 'calm, of sea' > Kbn *madlo* Lusi *malilo* Kove *malilo*. The opposite development (POc **l > n*) is found in POc **kuluR* 'breadfruit' > Kge *kun* Kbn *un* Lusi *unu* Kove *unu*, and in Gtu *unu* Mutu *un*.
- (g) *n : ∅*
POc **qanitu* 'ghost' > Kge *aitu* Kbn *artu* Lusi *antu* Kove *anitu*.

2.6 LIQUIDS

POc **l* is usually reflected by *l* in the Maleu/Bariai languages, as in:

	'go'	'three'	'fly'	'split'	'skin'	'ten'
POc	<i>*lako</i>	<i>*tolu</i>	<i>*lajo</i>	<i>*pala</i>	<i>*kulit</i>	<i>*saɲapulu</i>
Kge	<i>-la</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>lajo</i>	<i>-pala</i>	<i>kulkuli-</i>	<i>saɲaul</i>
Kbn	<i>-la</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>lajolao</i>	<i>-pala</i>	<i>kukuli-</i>	<i>saɲaul</i>
Lusi	<i>-la</i>	<i>tolu</i>	<i>lanlajo</i>	<i>-pala</i>	<i>kukuli-</i>	<i>saɲaulu</i>
Kove	<i>-la</i>	<i>tolu</i>	<i>lanolajo</i>	<i>-pala</i>	<i>kulikuli-</i>	<i>saɲaulu</i>

Kilengel may also correspond to Kabana *r*, Lusi *r* and Kove *h*, derived from POc **R*:

	'yesterday'	'hit'	'fly'	'rope'
POc	<i>*noRap</i>	<i>*Rapu</i>	<i>*Ropok</i>	<i>*waRoc</i>
Kge	<i>nola</i>	<i>-lau</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>olo</i>
Kbn	<i>(made)</i>	<i>-rau</i>	<i>roro</i>	<i>oaro</i>
Lusi	<i>nora</i>	<i>-rau</i>	<i>roro</i>	<i>oaro</i>
Kove	<i>noha</i>	<i>-hau</i>	<i>hoho</i>	<i>oaho</i>

Also (i) POc **kaRat* 'bite' > Kge *-kala*; (ii) POc **kiRam* 'adze' > Kge *kila*; (iii) POc **kuRita* 'octopus' > Kge *kulta*; and (iv) POc **taRaq* 'chop' > Kge *-tala*. An exception is found in POc **jiRi* '*Cordyline*, *Dracaena*' > Kge *sir* 'rattan skirts.'

Kilenge has lost *l* in *iua-* 'woman', compare Gtu *livage* Mutu *liva*; and in *airo-* 'eye', compare Kbn *kadlo* 'breadfruit seed; eyeball' (with metathesis of *d* and *l*) Lusi *kalizo* 'breadfruit seed; eyeball' Kove *kalizo* 'breadfruit seed; eyeball' and Gtu *talizo* 'breadfruit seed.'

POc **l* and **R* ideally produce two different sets of correspondences in the Maleu/Bariai languages: (a) POc **l > l : l : l : l*; and (b) POc **R > l : r : r : h*. A number of changes, however, have affected the regularity of these sets:

- (1) Kilenge has *r* instead of *l*.

- (2) Lusi has *h* instead of *r*.
 (3) there is uneven merging of **l*, **R* and **r*.

In the first instance, Kilenge appears to have copied words with *r*:

	'shield'	'crawl' ^a	'dirty'	'pufferfish'	'magic'
Kge	<i>gariau</i>	<i>-rara</i>	<i>ɲaraŋa</i> ^b	<i>kora</i>	<i>vorou</i>
Kbn	<i>gariau</i>	<i>-rarai</i>	<i>ɲaraŋa</i>	<i>kora</i>	<i>borou</i>
Lusi	<i>gariu</i>	<i>-rarai</i>	<i>ɲaraŋa</i>	<i>kora</i>	<i>vorou</i>
Kove	<i>gahiau</i>	<i>-haha(i)</i>	<i>ɲahaŋa</i>	<i>koha</i>	—

^a Compare Gtu *-zarap*, suggesting PNGbri **zarapi*.

^b 'clean'. The Mutu form *ɲalaŋa* 'clean', with unexpected *l*, has the same semantic shift as Kilenge. Compare also Kge *vilviliŋa* Kbn *birbiriŋa* Lusi *viviriŋa* Kove *vivihŋa* and Mutu *bilbiliaŋa* 'blue, green', where Mutu has *l* instead of the expected *r*.

In the second case, Lusi has replaced *r* with *h*, copying a Kove word, as shown by the presence of *r* in Kabana cognates:

	'thirst'	'rattan'	'bailer'	'empty space'	'tusk'	'brideprice'
Kge	—	<i>alia</i> ^b	—	(<i>vora</i>)	—	—
Kbn	<i>marum</i>	<i>arila</i>	<i>kauruma</i>	<i>maraoa-</i>	<i>bori</i>	<i>gerebo</i>
Lusi	<i>muhumu</i> ^a	<i>ahila</i>	<i>kahuma</i>	<i>mahaoa-</i>	<i>vohi</i>	<i>gehevo</i>
Kove	<i>muhumu</i>	<i>ahila</i>	<i>kahuŋu</i>	<i>mahaoa-</i>	<i>vohi</i>	<i>gehevo</i>

^a Also Mutu *marun*, showing expected *r*.

^b The second liquid has been lost.

Also (i) Kbn *arilu* Lusi *ahilu* 'small mortuary feast'; (ii) Kbn *neru* Lusi *nehu* 'fierce, aggressive'; and (iii) Kbn *piroro* Lusi *pihoho* 'mollusc sp.'

The third case results from the merger of POc **l*, **R* and **r*. Some occurrences of *l* in the Maleu/Bariai languages are the result of two mergers: (1) **l* and **r* and (2) **l* and **R*. In Kilenge, the merger of **l*, **r* and **R* (*asl*) is relatively complete, but as Ross (1988:173) points out, it is the merger of **l* and **r* that sets the Bariai languages apart from the Ngero languages (his Tuam network). The Ngero languages have merged **r* and **R* *asr*, keeping this distinct from **l* > *l*. In Bariai, however, **r* has merged with **l*, but **R* is often kept distinct as *r* : *r* : *h*. It is due to the merger of **l* and **r* that Ross places Malalamai in the Bariai group.

Examples of the merger of POc **l* and **r* as *l* include:

	'pot'	'hear'	'bathe'	'in-law'	'hair, leaf'
POc	<i>*kuron</i> ^a	<i>*roŋoR</i> ^b	<i>*riu</i> ^c	<i>*rawa</i> ^d	<i>*raun</i> ^e
Kge	<i>kulo</i>	<i>-loŋo</i>	<i>-oa-liu</i>	<i>lao-</i>	<i>laulau-</i>
Kbn	<i>ulo</i>	<i>-loŋo</i>	<i>-liliu</i>	<i>laoa-</i>	<i>launi-</i>
Lusi	<i>ulo</i>	<i>-loŋo-ni</i>	<i>-liliu</i>	<i>laoa-</i>	<i>launi-</i>
Kove	<i>ulo</i>	<i>-loŋo-ni</i>	<i>-liliu</i>	<i>laoa-</i>	<i>launi-</i>

^a Compare Mutu *ur* Gtu *uro*.

^b Ross (1988:189) suggests that the North New Guinea cluster has the form **loŋon-i*, which accounts for the *l* (for anticipated *r* in Mutu *-loy* and Gtu *-loŋon*).

^c PNGBri reconstruction, based on Mutu *-ririu* Gtu *-ririu*.

^d Compare Mutu *rava-* Gtu *rawa-*.

^e Compare Mutu *rau-* Gtu *rau-*.

Also (i) POC **raqan* 'branch' > Kge *laka-* (Gtu *rakaraka* 'twig'); and (ii) POC **turu* 'leak' > Kbn *dodolo* Lusi *zuzulu* Kove *zuzulu* 'droplet.'

In addition to the merger of POC **r* and **l* in the Bariai languages, one also finds evidence of the merger of POC **R* and **l*:

	'house'	'shoulder'	'evening'	'stingray'	'conch'	'Casuarina'
POC	* <i>Rum</i> ^w <i>a</i> ^a	* <i>paRa</i>	* <i>Rapi</i> ^d	* <i>paRi</i> ^e	* <i>taPuRi</i> ^f	* <i>aRu</i> ^g
Kge	(<i>nia</i>)- <i>ulum</i> ^b	<i>alo-</i>	<i>leilei</i>	—	<i>taule</i>	<i>au</i> ^h
Kbn	<i>luma-lum</i> ^b	<i>pol</i> ^c	<i>lailai</i>	<i>pali</i>	<i>taule</i>	<i>eal</i>
Lusi	<i>luma - lumu</i> ^b	<i>oala-</i>	<i>leilei</i>	<i>pali</i>	<i>taule</i>	<i>ealu</i>
Kove	<i>luma - lumu</i> ^b	<i>oala-</i>	<i>lailai</i>	<i>pali</i>	<i>taule</i>	<i>ealu</i>

^a Compare Mutu *rum* Gtu *rum*^w*a*.

^b 'men's communal house'; compare Lakalai *hulumu* (Chowning 1973).

^c 'shoulderblade'.

^d Compare Mutu *rabrab* Gtu *raravi/a*.

^e Compare Gtu *par*.

^f Compare Mutu *tavur* Gtu *tavure*.

^g Compare Gtu *yar*.

^h Intervocalic *l* has been lost.

In the Bariai languages, then, POC **r* > *l* while POC **R* gives rise to both *r* (or *h*) and to *l*. There are other instances, however, when one or more members of the Maleu/Bariai languages have switched reflexes. These include:

- (1) POC **l* > *r* or *h* instead of *l*.
- (2) POC **r* > *r* or *h* instead of *l*.
- (3) POC **R* > *l* in one or more languages but *r* or *h* in another.
- (4) mixed correspondence among *r*, *h* and *l*.

The first involves POC **l* with unexpected *r* or *h* instead of *l* (unexpected reflexes are underlined):

	'hunger'	'body hair'	'vomit'
POC	* <i>pitolo</i> ^a	* <i>pulu</i>	* <i>luaq</i> ^b
Kge	(<i>maik</i>)	<i>vuɽvuɽi-</i>	<i>-mala-lua</i>
Kbn	<i>pitoɽ</i>	<i>buɽbuɽu-</i>	<i>-ɽuaɽua</i>
Lusi	(<i>mokuŋa</i>)	<i>vuvuɽu-</i>	<i>-lualua</i>
Kove	<i>pitoɦo</i>	<i>vuɦuvuɦu-</i>	<i>-lualua</i>

^a Compare Mutu *pitol*.

^b Compare Gtu *-lua* Mutu *-luar*.

	'soft'	'ginger'	'dove'
POc	*malumu	*laqia ^a	*baluc
Kge	maɽuma	(gena)	a-vol
Kbn	maɽum	laia	barur ^b
Lusi	maɽumu	h̄aia	velis ^c
Kove	maɦumu	h̄aia	vazuhi ^d ~ balu

^a Compare Gtu *laea* Mutu *lae*.

^b Expected: Kbn *balud*.

^c This form is probably a copy of Aria *belis* or Mouk *belis*.

^d Expected: Kove **valuzi* (metathesis of *z* and *h*).

In the following sets, POc **r* has unexpected *r* or *h* instead of *l* in one or more of the Maleu/Bariai languages. These unexpected reflexes thus match those of the Ngero languages:

	'two'	'S.E. monsoon'	'back'	'dugong'	'scrape'
POc	*rua ^a	*Raqi	*muri	*ruyu ^c	*kori
Kge	lua	lai	-ai/mul ^b	ɽui	koɽ ^d ; -kolkol ^f
Kbn	ɽua	ɽai	-muɽi-	ɽui	-koki ^e ; -kokol ^f
Lusi	ɽua	ɽai	-muɽi-	lui	-koki ^e ; -kokoli ^f
Kove	h̄ua	h̄ai	-muɦi-	lui	-koki ^e ; -kolikoli ~ -kokoli ^f

^a Compare Mutu *ru* Gtu *rua*.

^b 'later'; compare Kbn *muriai* Lusi *muriai* Kove *muhi* 'later'. Also Gtu *mur* Mutu *muri*.

^c Compare Gtu *ru*.

^d 'sago midrib used to scrape up litter'.

^e 'scrape up litter with a sago midrib'.

^f 'scrape taro skin'.

In the third set, POc **R* is reflected by *l* in one or more of the Bariai languages, most frequently Kabana, where *r* or *h* is expected:

	'two days ago'	'wring'	'liquid, milk'	'Canarium'
POc	*waRisa ^a	*poRos ^c	*suRuq ^f	*kajaRi ^g
Kge	olia	(-pis) ^d ; polo-ŋa ^e	suli-	aŋal
Kbn	odla ^b	-poro; polo-ŋa ^e	suɽu-	aŋal
Lusi	oariza	-poro; polo-ŋa ^e	suru-; suɽu ^f	aŋati
Kove	oahiza	-poho; polo-ŋa ^e	suhu-	aŋahi

^a Compare Mutu *wariz* Gtu *wariza*.

^b Metathesis of *land* *d*.

^c 'squeeze'. Compare Gtu *-poro* 'wring' and Mutu *poro-ŋ* 'taro pudding'.

^d From POc **pisag*.

^e 'coconut bast tissue used to wring out coconut milk'.

^f 'soup, liquid'. Compare Mutu *sur* Gtu *suru*.

^g Compare Gtu *kaŋar* ~ *aŋar*.

Lastly, the following are examples of mixed correspondence among *r*, *h* and *l*:

	'pig cage'	'sandfly'	'paint'	'dance'
Kge	<i>korol</i> ^a	<i>kikiꞤamo</i>	(-gigi)	(-gale)
Kbn	<i>korol</i>	<i>kikiramo</i>	-geꞤe	-toꞤ ^c
Lusi	<i>karoro</i>	<i>kikiꞤamo</i> ^b	-gere	-tori
Kove	<i>kahoho</i>	—	—	-tohi

^a Compare Mutu *nakaral* 'a type of basket', probably borrowed from Kilenge with the nominal prefix *na-* intact.

^b 'mosquito'. Compare Gtu *ramoramo* 'fruit fly'.

^c Compare Mutu *-tor* Gtu *-tor*.

	'dull'	'fence/stockade'	'singe' ^a	'parrot'
Kge	(<i>mate eavo</i>)	<i>sira; silasila</i>	-salau	<i>ai-kala</i>
Kbn	<i>nula</i>	(<i>ala</i>); <i>silasila</i>	-salaba	<i>kaꞤa</i>
Lusi	<i>tula ~ tuꞤa</i>	(<i>ala</i>); <i>silasila</i>	-savaꞤa-ni	<i>kara</i>
Kove	<i>tula</i>	(<i>ala</i>); <i>silasila</i>	-savaꞤa-ni ^b	<i>kaha</i>

^a PNGBri **salaba* based on Gtu *-salaba* 'singe off hair'; also Proto Philippine **sarab* (Charles 1973). Lusi and Kove have undergone metathesis. Compare Lusi *savara* Kbn *saraba* 'jellyfish'.

^b Chowning (pers. comm.) glosses this as 'cook bivalves directly on fire'. In Lusi, Kabana and Kilenge, however, it is used to describe burning the hair off a dead pig prior to butchering it.

	'cold' ^a	'guts'	'pitpit' ^b	'green, blue'
Kge	—	<i>mogali-</i>	(<i>apas</i>)	<i>vilvilia</i>
Kbn	<i>tola</i>	<i>mogali-</i>	<i>tabuaꞤ</i>	<i>birbiria ~ biꞤ</i>
Lusi	<i>toꞤa</i>	<i>mogaꞤi-</i>	<i>tavuari</i>	<i>viviri</i>
Kove	<i>toꞤa</i>	<i>mogali-</i>	<i>tavuahi</i>	<i>vivihi</i>

^a Compare Gtu *tola*, suggesting PNGBri **tola* 'cough, cold'.

^b Compare Mutu *taboyar* Gtu *tabuar*.

Further examples include:

- (i) Lusi *-pera* 'spread open' Kove *-peꞤa* 'open out'; compare Kge *pelapela-more* Lusi *pelapela-moze* Kove *pelapela-moze* 'earwig' (where Kge *more-* Lusi *moze-* and Kove *moze-* mean 'arse'). The Gitua form *-pera* 'spread open' suggests that the *r* form is original.
- (ii) Kbn *Ꞥabu-* Lusi *Ꞥavu-* Kove *Ꞥavu-* 'middle' but Lusi *ai-lavu* 'half-full.' The Gtu form *livuga-* 'middle of body' suggests the *l* form is original.
- (iii) Kbn *meꞤemeꞤe* Lusi *meꞤemeꞤe* 'village plaza' Kbn *meremere* 'clearing in bush; dawn' Lusi *meremere* 'illumination provided by the moon' Kbn *mere-* Lusi *mere-* 'clean, clear.'
- (iv) Lusi *salakiu* Kove *sahakiu* 'cuscus.'
- (v) Kbn *dala* Lusi *dara* Kove *dara* 'Nassa shell.'

It has been mentioned that borrowing may be involved in this correspondence problem, resulting in unexpected *r* in Kilenge and *h* in Lusi. It is also noteworthy that Kabana is most often the irregular Baria language in having *l* where Lusi has *r* and Kove has *h*. Given the expected Kilenge correspondence *l* in this set, and the Kabana proximity and frequent interaction with the Maleu, there is little reason not to believe that these forms have been influenced by Kilenge in the same way that many Kilenge forms with unexpected *r* in place

of *l* have resulted from interaction with the Kabana or the Mutu. Ross also proposed contact as an explanation:

The cases where reflexes have changed places may be attributed either to the influence of a neighbouring communalect which had undergone different sound changes or (accepting that sound change may be lexically gradual) to the beginnings of a merger of the reflexes of POc **r* and **R* (at a time when a merger of the reflexes of **r* and **l* was nearing completion). Either way, the fact is that POc **r* and **R* had not merged completely in Proto Bariai... (1988:177).

Unfortunately, the complicated correspondences involving *l* do not end here. In a few words, *l* occurs in one or more languages where the dental correspondence $r \sim \emptyset : d : z : z$ is expected:

	'sun'	'calm'
POc	<i>*qaco</i>	<i>*malino</i>
Kge	<i>iualo</i> ^a	(<i>taul</i>)
Kbn	<i>ado</i>	<i>maḡlo</i> ^b
Lusi	<i>azo</i>	<i>malilo</i>
Kove	<i>oazo</i>	<i>malilo</i>

^a Expected *iuaō* 'sun'.

^b Expected: *malilo* 'calm'.

Further examples include:

- (i) POc **maqurip* 'live' > Kove *-maguzi* 'healthy' (expected: *-maguli*).
- (ii) POc **quraŋ* 'prawn' > Kove *guza* (expected: *gula*).
- (iii) Kge *saluŋi*- Kbn *saludi*- Lusi *sasaluzi*- 'sprout' (expected: Kge *saluri*- or *salui*-).
- (iv) Kge *viŋa-ko* Kbn *beda-ne* Lusi *veza-ne* Kove *veza-ne* 'thus'. The suffixes are all deictic particles meaning 'this' (expected: Kge *vira-ko* or *via-ko*).
- (v) Kge *-lu* Kbn *-ḡuḡuŋa* Lusi *-loŋa* Kove *-loŋa* 'enter' (expected: Kbn *-luluŋa*); compare Mutu *-loŋ* Gtu *-loŋo*.
- (vi) Kge *el-ŋa* Kbn *aḡial* Lusi *aliali* Kove *aliali* 'obsidian' (expected: Kbn *alial*).
- (vii) Kge *vore-* 'white' *volvole-* 'white' ('of pigs') Kbn *bodebode* 'white' Lusi *vozvoze* 'light-coloured, pale' (expected: Kge *vorvore-*).

2.7 CONSONANTS: SUMMARY

The table below summarises the development of Maleu/Bariai consonants from Proto Oceanic, and the resultant correspondences among these languages. These reflexes and correspondences represent the major trends, although, as the above discussion has made clear, there are numerous discrepancies and innovations to be found in these languages. The following Proto Oceanic protophonemes are merged in this table:

- (i) **p* and **p^w* > **p*;
- (ii) **k* and **q* > **k*;
- (iii) **b* and **b^w* > **b*;
- (iv) **d*, **dr* and **j* > **d*;

(v) $*m$ and $*m^w > *m$;(vi) $*n$ and $*\tilde{n} > *n$.

In the following table, p_1 , k_1 and s_1 are fortis grade, while p_2 , k_2 and s_2 are lenis grade.

POc	$*p_1$	$*p_2$		$*t$	$*k_1$	$*k_2$	$*wa$
Kge	p	$o/_a; \emptyset/_i,u$		t	k	\emptyset	o
Kbn	p	$o/_a; \emptyset/_i,u; u/_o$		t	k	\emptyset	oa
Lusi	p	$o/_a; \emptyset/_i,u$		t	k	h, \emptyset	oa
Kove	p	$o/_a; \emptyset/_i,u$		t	k	h, \emptyset	oa
POc	$*b$	$*d$		$*g$	$*c$	$*s_1$	$*s_2$
Kge	$v; p/_ \#$	r	$g; k/_ \#$	\emptyset		s	\emptyset
Kbn	b	d	g	d		s	d
Lusi	v	z	g	z		s	z
Kove	v	z	g	z		s	z
POc	$*m$	$*n$		$*\eta$	$*l$	$*r$	$*R$
Kge	m	n	η	l		l	l
Kbn	m	n	η	l		l	r, l
Lusi	m	n	η	l		l	r, l
Kove	m	n	η	l		l	h, l

Phonologically, Kilenge subgroups apart from the Bariai languages in the following respects:

1. Kilenge is more conservative in the retention of $*p$ and $*k$ than the Bariai languages.
2. POc $*wa$ develops into Kge o , where the Bariai languages have oa .
3. Kilenge has final devoicing of v and g .
4. Kilenge loses $*c$ and lenis $*s$, where the Bariai languages have $d : z : s$.
5. Kilenge has merged $*l$, $*r$ and $*R$, where the reflexes in the Bariai languages sometimes distinguish $*r$ from $*R$.

3. PHONOLOGY: VOWELS

Each of the Maleu/Bariai languages has the five vowels $i e a o u$ which can be combined in any sequence (except like vowels) to form diphthongs. The vowels match relatively well across the four languages, having developed fairly regularly from the corresponding Proto Oceanic vowels.

	'body'	'die'	'father'	'brains'	'skin'
POc	$*tini$	$*mate$	$*tama$	$*quto$	$*kuli$
Kge	$tini-$	$-mate$	$tama-$	$uto-$	$kulkuli-$
Kbn	$tini-$	$-mate$	$tama-$	$utouto-$	$kukuli-$
Lusi	$tini-$	$-mate$	$tama-$	$uto-$	$kukuli-$
Kove	$tini-$	$-mate$	$tama-$	$uto-$	$kulikuli-$

Diphthongs often result from the loss of a Proto Oceanic intervocalic consonant:

	'sugarcane'	'afternoon'	'new'	'faeces'	'sea'
POc	* <i>iopu</i>	* <i>Rapi</i>	* <i>paqu</i>	* <i>taqe</i>	* <i>tasik</i>
Kge	<i>tou</i>	<i>leilei</i>	<i>pau-</i>	<i>tae-</i>	<i>tai</i>
Kbn	<i>tou</i>	<i>lailai</i>	<i>pau</i>	<i>tae-</i>	<i>tad</i>
Lusi	<i>tou</i>	<i>leilei</i>	<i>pau</i>	<i>tahe-</i>	<i>tazi</i>
Kove	<i>tou</i>	<i>lailai</i>	<i>pau</i>	<i>tahe-</i>	<i>tazi</i>

Kilenge has a tendency to reduce vowel clusters, as seen in the development of **wa* > Kilenge *o*, and in:

	'paddle'	'climb'	'what'	'crocodile'	'defaecate'	'pig'
POc	* <i>pose</i>	* <i>sake</i>	* <i>sapa</i>	* <i>puqaya</i>	* <i>bekas</i>	* <i>gaya</i> ^c
Kge	<i>pe</i> ^a	<i>-se</i> ^b	<i>sae</i>	<i>pua</i>	<i>-veve</i>	<i>ga</i>
Kbn	<i>pode</i>	<i>-dae</i>	<i>saoa</i>	<i>puaea</i>	<i>-bebea</i>	<i>gaea</i>
Lusi	<i>poze</i>	<i>-zae</i>	<i>saoa</i>	<i>puaea</i>	<i>-vevea</i>	<i>gaea</i>
Kove	<i>poze</i>	<i>-zae</i>	<i>saoa</i>	(<i>bagele</i>)	<i>-vevea</i>	<i>gaea</i>

^a With an intermediate stage **poe*.

^b But *na-sa-ŋa* 'climbing', the nominalised form of *-se*.

^c PNgBri reconstruction based on Gtu *ŋgaya* and Mutu *ŋgai*.

A noteworthy development is the degemination of two identical vowels which result when an intervening consonant is lost. Degemination is also operative synchronically (§5.1.2). Examples include: (i) POc **puqun* 'base' > Kge *pu-* Kbn *pu-* Lusi *pu-* Kove *pu-*; (ii) POc **saqati* 'bad' > Lusi *sasi* Kove *sasi*; (iii) POc **susu* 'breast' > Kge *su-*; and (iv) POc **pa-kani* 'cause to eat' > Kge *-pani* 'feed.'

Differences can be found among the Maleu/Bariai languages in three important areas (1) vowel loss, (2) change of height, and (3) change from front to back (or vice versa).

3.1 VOWEL LOSS

A feature shared by Kilenge and Kabana is the regular loss of the high vowels *i* and *u* in final position when they follow a consonant:

	'banana'	'cry'	'eat'	'bird'	'breadfruit'	'arrive'
POc	* <i>pudi</i>	* <i>taŋis</i>	* <i>kani</i>	* <i>manuk</i>	* <i>kuluR</i>	* <i>potu</i>
Kge	<i>pur</i>	<i>-taŋ</i>	<i>-kan</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>-pot ~ -uot</i>
Kbn	<i>pud</i>	<i>-taŋ</i>	<i>-ean</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>-uot ~ -ot</i>
Lusi	<i>puzi</i>	<i>-taŋi</i>	<i>-ani</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>uru</i>	<i>-otu</i>
Kove	<i>puzi</i>	<i>-taŋi</i>	<i>-ani</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>unu</i>	<i>-otu</i>

This final vowel deletion, however, is not without exception, as both Kabana and Kilenge have retained final *i* or *u* in some words, though not always in the same ones:

	'art'	'bed'	'dry'	'pull out'	'thatch'	'pair' ^b
Kge	<i>mos</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>-mis</i> ^a	<i>-posposu</i>	<i>kus</i>	<i>saku</i>
Kbn	<i>mosi</i>	<i>mul</i>	<i>-misi</i>	<i>-pasu</i>	<i>usi</i>	<i>saku</i>
Lusi	<i>mosi</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>-misi</i>	<i>-pasu</i>	<i>usu</i>	<i>saku</i>
Kove	<i>mosi</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>-misi</i>	<i>-pasu</i>	<i>usu</i>	<i>saku</i>

^a 'cooked'. The other languages also have this meaning for *-misi*.

^b Used to count mats, thatch shingles etc.

In Kilenge and Kabana, final *u* and *i* are retained when they follow a vowel, as in POc **niuR* 'coconut' > Kge *niu* Kbn *niu* Lusi *niu* Kove *niu*. In many cases, the vowel cluster is the result of the loss of an intervocalic consonant at an earlier stage, as seen in the examples given earlier. Exceptions include (i) Kge *gigi* Kbn *gigi* Lusi *gigi* Kove *gigi* 'thorn'; (ii) Kbn *adi* Lusi *aziu* '*Tridacna* sp.'; and (iii) Kbn *mau* Lusi *maui* Kove *maui* 'betel mortar'.

Final high vowels of verbal and nominal roots are retained when a pronominal suffix is present, and the vowel, therefore, does not occur in word-final position. The roots of inalienable nouns, for example, retain stem-final high vowels before possessive suffixes:

Kge *tini-* 'body' > *tini-k* 'my body' *tini-m* 'your body' *tini-a* 'his/her body'
 Kge *su-* 'breast' > *su-k* 'my breast' *su-m* 'your breast' *su-a* 'his/her breast'

The Kilenge inalienable noun *mailu-* 'urine', however, loses the final vowel in the verb form *-mail* 'urinate' in a predictable manner.

In Kabana, the third person singular possessive pronoun *i-* is a prefix. This results in stem-final high vowels which are deleted unless they are part of a diphthong, as in *i-tautau* 'his/her soul':

Kbn *tini-* 'body' > *tini-g* 'my body' *tini-m* 'your body' *i-tin* 'his/her body'
 Kbn *tudu-* 'breast' > *tudu-g* 'my breast' *tudu-m* 'your breast' *i-tud* 'his/her breast'

In Kilenge, root-final high vowels are retained before *-k-e*, composed of the transitive suffix *-k-* and the third person singular object suffix *-e*, as in *gaviti-k-e* 'feel it', *sopu-k-e* 'forget it' and *-e* 'break it'. In the intransitive forms lacking these suffixes, however, the high vowel is lost: *-gavit* 'feel', *sopsop* 'forget' and *-ɲut* 'break'. (The verbs *sopuke* and *sopsop* do not take a subject prefix).

Kilenge has root-final *i* in a number of transitive verb forms before the third person singular object pronoun *-e*, as in *-pa-vulvuli-e* 'speak about it' (but *-vul* 'speak'), *-gerepi-e* 'look at it' (but *-gerep soksok* 'stare') and in:

	'spear (it)'	'turn it over'	'gather them'	'carry it on head'
Kge	<i>-gali-e</i>	<i>-puli-e</i>	<i>-pa-lupi-e</i> ^a	<i>-kuri-e</i> ^c
Kbn	<i>-gal</i>	<i>-pul</i>	<i>-lup</i> ^b	<i>-ud</i>
Lusi	<i>-gali</i>	<i>-puli</i>	<i>-lupu</i> ^b	<i>-uzu</i>
Kove	<i>-gali</i>	<i>-puli</i>	<i>-lupu</i> ^b	<i>-uzu</i>

^a Compare Kge *-luplup* 'gather, meet'. The final *u* (as found in Lusi and Kove) has changed to *i* in the transitive form.

^b 'gather, meet'. Compare Gtu *-lupu* 'bring into a pile'.

^c Compare Kge *kuri-* 'head'.

Some Kilenge verbs take *-i* as the third person singular object pronoun instead of the expected *-e*. This *i* appears to represent the reanalysis of a stem-final high vowel in an earlier

form as found in Proto Oceanic or in cognates among the Bariai languages: Kge *-kan* 'eat' > *-kan-i* 'eat it' (from POc **kani* 'eat'); Kge *-pan* 'feed' > *-pan-i* 'feed it' (from POc **pa-kani*); Kge *-tun-i* 'set it on fire' (from POc **tunu* 'burn'. Kilenge has changed **u* to *i*); Kge *-kol* 'buy' > *-kol-i* 'buy it' (Kbn *-koli* Lusi *-koli* Kove *-koli* 'pay back'); Kge *-gun-i* 'plant it' (Kbn *-pa-gun* Lusi *-gunu* Kove *-gunu* 'erect, stand (it) up'. Kilenge has changed /u/ to /i/). The Kilenge forms *-sip-i* 'catch it', *-ruk-i* 'fold it', *-uon-i* 'swallow it' and *-sig-i* 'give birth to him/her' also have the *-i* suffix, but cognates are lacking from which to determine whether these final *-i* were stem-final at an earlier stage.

Some medial high vowels are also lost in Kilenge, Kabana and Lusi. This varies from language to language, although Kove consistently maintains the vowel:

	'spirit'	'mother'	'crab'	'mushroom'	'two days ago'
POc	<i>*qanitu</i>	<i>*tina</i>	<i>*alimaŋa</i>	<i>*taliŋa</i> ^b	<i>*waRisa</i>
Kge	<i>aitu</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>almaŋo</i>	<i>taŋa</i>	<i>olia</i>
Kbn	<i>antu</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>amlaŋo</i>	<i>tatalaŋa</i>	<i>oadla</i>
Lusi	<i>antu</i>	<i>ma-</i> ^a	<i>amlaŋo</i>	<i>tataliŋa</i>	<i>oazira</i>
Kove	<i>anitu</i>	<i>tina-</i>	<i>alimaŋo</i>	<i>tataliŋa</i>	<i>oahiza</i>

^a The *i* reappears in the Lusi reduplicated plural form *itina-* 'mothers'.

^b 'ear'; compare Lusi *kuta ai-taŋa* {wallaby its-ear} mushroom sp.

	'young woman'	'ripe'	'still, yet'	'bowl'	'look at/for'
Kge	<i>(-lpu)</i>	<i>(-kis)</i>	<i>(eavo ta)</i>	<i>tavila</i>	<i>-tilo</i>
Kbn	<i>blala</i>	<i>blabla</i>	<i>maitne</i>	<i>tabla</i>	<i>-tlo</i>
Lusi	<i>vilala</i>	<i>vulavula</i>	<i>maitne</i>	<i>tavila</i>	<i>-tilo</i>
Kove	<i>vilala</i>	<i>vulavula</i> ^a	<i>maitune</i>	<i>tavila</i>	<i>-tilo</i>

^a 'coconut beginning to turn brown'.

Other examples of the loss of medial high vowels include:

- (i) POc **kuRita* 'octopus' > Kge *kulta*.
- (ii) Kbn *-su=suran* Lusi *-suklani* Kove *-sukulani* 'push.'
- (iii) Kge *-pula* Kbn *-pla* 'spit.'
- (iv) Kbn *dledle-* Lusi *zilezile-* Kove *zilezile-* 'edge.'
- (v) Kbn *-man* Lusi *-kinani* Kove *-kinani* 'leave, abandon, let go, release.'

Loss of final *a* or *o* is much less common, but does occur in a few words:

	'defaecate'	'singe'	'tongue'
POc	<i>*pekas</i>	<i>*saraba</i> ^a	<i>*maya</i>
Kge	<i>-veve</i>	<i>-salau</i>	<i>mae-</i>
Kbn	<i>-bebea</i>	<i>-salaba</i>	<i>mae-</i>
Lusi	<i>-vevea</i>	<i>-savara-ni</i>	<i>mae-</i>
Kove	<i>-vevea</i>	<i>-savaha-ni</i> ^b	<i>mae-</i>

^a PNGBri reconstruction, based on Gtu *-salaba*. The loss of final *-a* in the Kilenge form probably represents reduction of the vocalic cluster *aua* of an intermediate form **-salaua*.

^b 'cook bivalves directly on fire'.

	'adze'	'come'	'two days before'	'pig cage'
Kge	<i>kolalu</i>	(-mai)	<i>vo</i>	<i>korol</i>
Kbn	<i>kolaluo</i>	-nam ~ -nama	<i>boŋrua</i>	<i>korol</i>
Lusi	<i>kulaluo</i>	-nama	<i>voŋo-rua</i>	<i>karoro ~ kororo</i>
Kove	<i>kulalu</i>	-nama	<i>voŋo-hua</i>	<i>kahoho</i>

Other examples include:

- (i) POC **pitolo* 'hunger' > Kbn *pitor* Kove *pitoho*.
- (ii) POC **paRa* 'shoulder' > Kbn *pol* 'shoulderblade'.
- (iii) Kbn *tal* Lusi *tarali* 'unfortunate fellow.'
- (iv) Kbn *sapad* Lusi *sapaza* Kove *sapaza* 'who.P'
- (v) Kge *-pespes* 'runny (of eyes)' Kbn *pesepese* 'sleep (in eyes)' Lusi *pepeta* 'sleep (in eyes)'.

3.2 CHANGE OF VOWEL HEIGHT

In some cognate sets, a word in one or more of the Maleu/Bariai languages may possess a vowel differing in height from those found in the other languages or in Proto Oceanic. The height differences follow one of two patterns:

- (1) the low vowel *a* corresponds with a mid vowel, either *e* or *o*;
- (2) a mid vowel corresponds with a high vowel having the same front/back feature: *e* : *i* and *o* : *u*.

3.2.1 *a* : *e*

In a few words, POC **a* has been raised to *e* in one or more of the Maleu/Bariai languages:

	'name'	'fathom'	'monsoon'	'dove'
POC	* <i>qacan</i>	* <i>ropa</i>	* <i>apaRat</i>	* <i>baluc</i>
Kge	(<i>pasis</i>)	<i>leoŋ^a</i>	<i>eoala</i>	<i>a-vol</i>
Kbn	<i>eda-</i>	<i>leoa</i>	<i>aoara^b</i>	<i>barur</i>
Lusi	<i>eza-</i>	<i>leoa</i>	<i>aoara^b</i>	<i>vglis^c</i>
Kove	<i>eza-</i>	<i>leoa</i>	<i>aoaha^b</i>	<i>balu</i>

^a This may represent the third person singular suffix (§5.1.2).

^b 'rain'.

^c Probably a copy from Aria *belis* Mouk *belis*.

Alternation between *a* and *e* is found within the possessive paradigms of the following three nouns:

Of interest in this regard is the development of the forms for 'jaw' and 'liver':

	'spouse'	'jaw'	'liver'
POc	* <i>adawa</i>	* <i>qase</i>	* <i>qate</i>
Kge	(<i>aiu-</i>)	(<i>givasi-</i>)	<i>ateate-</i>
Kbn	<i>adaoa-</i>	<i>adade-</i>	<i>atate-</i>
Lusi	<i>azaoa-</i>	<i>azeze-</i>	<i>atete-</i>
Kove	<i>azaoa-</i>	<i>azeze-</i>	<i>atete- ~ atate-</i>

In the case of 'spouse', the Bariai languages replace the initial *a* with *e* in the third person singular form: Kbn *adaoa-g* Lusi *azaoa-gu* Kove *azaoa-gu* 'my spouse' but Kbn *i-gdaoa* Lusi *ai-gzaoa* Kove *ai-gzaoa* 'his/her spouse'. This same change is found in the third person singular form of 'jaw' in Kabana: *adade-g* 'my jaw' but *i-gdade* 'his/her jaw'. In the Lusi possessive paradigms of 'liver' and 'jaw', the third person singular forms replace the second *e* with *a*: *azeze-gu* 'my jaw' but *ai-azaze* 'his/her jaw'; *atete-gu* 'my liver' but *ai-atate* 'his/her liver.'

Correspondence between *a* and *e* is also found in Kbn *-mala* Lusi *-male* 'twitch', and the following:

	'sweet potato'	'together'
Kge	<i>serembat</i>	<i>-ηere</i>
Kbn	<i>serembat</i>	<i>-ηada</i>
Lusi	<i>saravatne</i>	<i>-ηeza; ηaza</i> ^a
Kove	<i>saravatne</i>	<i>-ηeza</i>

^a 'apiece, each', e.g. Lusi *rua rua ηaza* 'two apiece'.

The forms for 'sweet potato' are copied from Mouk *saxabatne* or Aria *serebatne*, showing the same *a ~ e* alternation. In these Bibling languages, the word *batne* 'base, origin, source' is used as a suffix on a number of words and place names (compare Maleu/Bariai *pu-* discussed in §4.1), whereas this form has no meaning in the Maleu/Bariai languages (the meaning of *saxa(m)* or *sere(m)* in Mouk and Aria is unknown but may be related to the Lusi word *seremserem* 'a fragrant plant sp.', also a copied form).

Although the motivation for the development of /e/ from POc **a* is not always clear, height assimilation is probably involved in some cases. Lusi *velis* 'dove', for example, is a loan from the Bibling languages (Aria *belis* Mouk *belis*), in which the second vowel of POc **baluj* becomes *i* and the *a* is raised. This sort of vowel harmony is not uncommon in the Bibling languages. Other examples of height assimilation accounting for the correspondence between *a* and *e* include:

	'angry' ^a	'climb up'	'obsidian'
Kge	<i>mɛlmɛl</i>	—	<i>ɛl-ŋa</i>
Kbn	<i>malmal</i>	<i>-asi</i>	<i>adial</i>
Lusi	<i>malmali</i>	<i>-esi</i>	<i>aliali</i>
Kove	<i>malimali</i>	<i>-esi</i>	<i>aliali</i>

^a Compare Mutu *malmal*.

Height assimilation also accounts for the correspondence between *ai* and *ei* diphthongs:

	'afternoon'	'who'	'we (incl)'	'pain'	'shaft, handle'
POc	* <i>Rapi</i>	* <i>sai</i>	* <i>kita</i>		
Kge	<i>leilei</i>	<i>siɛ^a</i>	<i>ita</i>	(- <i>karkar</i>)	—
Kbn	<i>lailai</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>gita</i>	<i>ieiei</i>	<i>kaikai-</i>
Lusi	<i>leilei</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>teita</i>	<i>iaiai ~ ieiei</i>	<i>kaikai- ~ keiei-</i>
Kove	<i>lailai</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>taita</i>	<i>iaiai</i>	<i>kaikai-</i>

^a Metathesis of *e* and *i*.

3.2.2 *a : o*

In some words, POc **a* is raised to *o* in one or more of the Maleu/Bariai languages. This development is especially common in Kilenge.

	'needle'	'stone'	'bird'	'dove'	'lime spatula'	'forbid'
POc	* <i>saRum</i>	* <i>patu</i>	* <i>manuk</i>	* <i>baluj</i>	* <i>damu</i>	* <i>pa-tabu</i>
Kge	<i>sol</i>	<i>pɔt</i>	<i>mɔn</i>	<i>a-vɔl</i>	<i>rɔm</i>	<i>-pa-tɔp</i>
Kbn	<i>salum</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>barur</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>-pa-tɔb</i>
Lusi	<i>salumu</i>	<i>patu</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>velis</i>	<i>zamu</i>	<i>-pa-tavu</i>
Kove	<i>salumu</i>	<i>patu</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>balu</i>	<i>damu</i>	—

In these reflexes, **a* is raised to *o* before the **u* found in the following syllable and the final **u* is subsequently lost. Height assimilation to **u* or *i* also accounts for the presence of *o* in the following:

	'fall'	'extract'	'neck'	'escort'	'green coconut'
Kge	<i>-tɔp^a</i>	<i>-pɔspɔsu</i>	<i>gɔli-</i>	<i>-tɔli^b</i>	<i>pɔgɔli-^c</i>
Kbn	<i>-tap</i>	<i>-pasu</i>	<i>gagali-</i>	<i>-tal</i>	<i>pogal</i>
Lusi	<i>-tapu</i>	<i>-pasu</i>	<i>gagali-</i>	<i>-talu</i>	<i>pogalu</i>
Kbn	<i>-tapu</i>	<i>-pasu</i>	<i>gagalu-</i>	<i>-talu</i>	<i>pogalu</i>

^a 'fall, of rain'.

^b Also 'put, bring, take'.

^c 'baby coconut'.

In the case of Kbn *lua*- Lusi *lua*- Kove *luɔ*- 'trunk', the *o* of the Kove form may be due to the presence of the preceding *u*.

The *au* diphthong may also be raised to *ou*:

	'sing'	'spirit' ^b	'saliva'	'hair' ^c
Kge	<i>-vau</i>	(<i>ano-</i>)	(<i>ɲau</i>)	<i>laulau- ~ lɔulɔu-</i>
Kbn	<i>-bau</i>	<i>tautau-</i>	<i>mau-</i>	<i>launi-</i>
Lusi	<i>-vaza vo^a</i>	<i>tautau- ~ tɔutɔu-</i>	<i>mɔu-</i>	<i>launi-</i>
Kove	<i>-vɔu</i>	<i>tautau-</i>	<i>mɔu-</i>	<i>launi-</i>

^a {get song}; Lusi has lost the verb form *-vou* from which the noun *vo* 'song' is derived, and has reduced the diphthong to *o*.

^b Also 'edible part, flesh, fruit, nut'.

^c Also 'leaf, fur, feather'.

Other examples include (i) POC **qutan* 'bush' > Kge *uraura* ~ *urqura* 'bush' and (ii) POC **iau* 'I' > Kge *iau* ~ *iqu*.

In some cases, *a* appears to be raised to *o* to match the *o* found in a contiguous syllable:

	'today'	'two days hence'	'together'	'pig cage'
Kge	<i>alavo-ko</i> ^a	<i>voŋa</i>	—	<i>kqrol</i>
Kbn	<i>labo-ne</i>	<i>boŋrua</i>	<i>toman-</i>	<i>kqrol</i>
Lusi	<i>lqvo-ne</i>	<i>voŋq-rua</i>	<i>tomq</i> ~ <i>toma</i> ^b	<i>karoro</i> ~ <i>kqroro</i>
Kove	<i>lavo-nene</i>	<i>voŋq-hua</i>	<i>toma</i> ^b	<i>kahoho</i>

^a The suffixes are all deictic particles meaning 'this'.

^b These forms are followed by *ŋani*; Lusi and Kove also use a contracted form *tomani-* parallel to that of Kabana.

Other examples include (i) Kge *a-kqr* Lusi *karo* 'crow'; (ii) Kbn *-mokaka* Lusi *-mokqkq* 'loose'; and Lusi *iqmone* 'male' Kove *tamone* 'man, male'; and (iii) Kbn *-mado* 'sit, stay' Lusi *-mqzo* 'stay' Kove *-mqzozo* 'stay.'

Another source of *o* is the result of the rounding of *a* after the velarised Proto Oceanic phonemes **b^w* and **m^w*. In certain instances, however, one or another language maintains the original *a*:

	'snake'	'forehead'	'armpit'
POc	<i>*m^wata</i>	<i>*dram^wa</i>	<i>*b^wae</i>
Kge	<i>mqta</i>	<i>ramq-</i> ^a	—
Kbn	<i>mqta</i>	<i>dama-</i> ^a	<i>bai-</i> ^c
Lusi	<i>mqta</i>	<i>zqm-</i>	<i>vae-</i>
Kove	<i>mqta</i>	<i>zamqha-</i> ^b ; <i>zamo-</i> ^a	<i>vqe-</i>

^a 'prow'.

^b The second syllable is unexpected.

^c The *ai* diphthong is unexpected, but compare Lakalai *vai-*.

An exception is POC **Rum^wa* 'house' > Kbn *luma* Lusi *luma* Kove *luma*, although the final *u* (subsequently lost in Kilenge and Kabana) in the forms Kge *ulum* Kbn *lum* Lusi *lumu* Kove *lumu* 'men's communal house' may be derived from a velarised **m^w*. A similar development may explain the presence of *u* in Kbn *bule-* 'thigh'. The Gitua cognate *b^wale-* 'fleshy part of buttocks' contains *a* after a velarised bilabial, which normally corresponds to *o*, as found in Lusi *vole-* 'thigh' and Kove *vole-* 'hip.'

In the following sets, the presence of velarised bilabial consonants in Gitua suggests that the *o* found in the Maleu/Bariai languages may have developed from velarised forms in their predecessor languages. Kabana is the most conservative of the Maleu/Bariai languages in the retention of *a*:

	'belly'	'call to'	'garden'	'taro'
POc			<i>*qum^wa</i>	<i>*m^wapo</i>
Kge	<i>apq-</i>	(<i>-kava</i>)	<i>kumq</i>	<i>mq</i>
Kbn	<i>apa-</i> ^a	<i>-baba</i>	<i>-uma</i> ^d	<i>mqi</i>
Lusi	<i>apq-</i> ^b	<i>-vqvq</i>	<i>-umq</i> ^d	<i>mqi</i>
Kove	<i>apq-</i>	<i>-vqvq</i>	<i>-umq</i> ^d	<i>mqi</i>
Gtu	<i>ap^wa-</i>	<i>-b^wa</i> ^c	<i>um^wa</i>	<i>m^wai</i>

- ^a But Kbn *apo-kin* 'have a large belly, as when pregnant' (Lusi *apo- kinkiniŋa*).
^b Also Lusi *ai-ŋpo* 'his/her belly'.
^c 'call to dog'.
^d 'work in garden'; Gtu *-gum^wa*.

Other evidence of rounding as indicated by Gitua velarised bilabials includes:

- (i) Kbn *paea-mao* {good-not} 'bad' Lusi *pŋea* 'good' Gtu *p^waya* 'good.'
(ii) Kbn *bŋga-* Lusi *vŋka-* Kove *vŋka-* Gtu *b^waga* 'branch'.
(iii) Kbn *bŋro* Lusi *vŋro* Kove *vŋho* Gtu *b^waro* 'egret.'
(iv) Lusi *-vŋri* Kove *-vŋhi* 'stick finger into' Gtu *-b^wazi* 'move stick around in circle to make hole.'
(v) Kbn *-mŋl* Lusi *-mŋli* 'wind, coil' Kove *-mŋli* 'curl up' Gtu *-m^walik* 'curled up.'

Although Gitua cognates for the following words are not available, the alternation between *a* and *o* occurs after bilabial consonants, suggesting etyma which possessed velarised phonemes.

	'sago'	'ironwood'	'drum'	'smoke'	'clear underbrush'
Kge	<i>mŋmŋ</i>	<i>vŋra</i>	(<i>kure</i>) ^a	(<i>vu</i>)	(<i>-eaea</i>)
Kbn	<i>mama</i>	<i>bana</i>	<i>abam</i>	<i>basu</i>	<i>-deba</i>
Lusi	<i>mŋmŋ</i>	<i>vŋra</i>	<i>avŋmu</i>	<i>vŋsu</i>	<i>-zevŋ</i>
Kbn	<i>mŋmŋ</i>	<i>bŋra</i>	(<i>kuze</i>) ^a	<i>vŋsu</i>	<i>-zevŋ</i>

^a Compare Kabana *kude* 'slit gong'.

Other examples include:

- (i) Kbn *lipa* Lusi *lipŋ* Kove *lipŋ* 'climbing noose.'
(ii) Kbn *malmali-* Lusi *malmali-* Kove *mŋlumŋlu-* 'gills.'
(iii) Kbn *gigima* Lusi *gigimŋ* 'star.'
(iv) Kbn *-sima* Lusi *-semŋ* 'infect with sexual heat.'

In the set Kge *-pŋkaka* Kbn *-pakaka* 'lie, deceive', however, height assimilation fails to account for the *o* in the Kilenge form, nor is it a case of rounding after a velarised bilabial, since the initial syllable probably comes from **pa-* 'causative'. The development of *o* from POc **a* in the following forms likewise lacks phonological motivation:

	'fear'	'shoulder'	'crab sp.'	'finger'
POc	<i>*matakut</i>	<i>*paRa</i>	<i>*alimaŋa</i>	<i>*gaga</i>
Kge	<i>-mŋtau</i>	<i>alŋ-</i>	<i>almaŋŋ</i>	<i>gŋ</i>
Kbn	<i>-mataud</i>	<i>pŋl</i> ^a	<i>amaŋŋ</i>	<i>gŋ</i>
Lusi	<i>-matauzi</i>	<i>oala-</i>	<i>amaŋŋ</i>	<i>gŋga-</i> ^b
Kove	<i>-matauzi</i>	<i>oala-</i>	<i>alimaŋŋ</i>	<i>gŋga-</i> ^b

^a 'shoulderblade'.

^b 'thumb'.

3.2.3 *i : e*

In several words, POc **i* has developed into *e* in one or more of the Maleu/Bariai languages. This change often occurs before or after a syllable containing a mid or low vowel, suggesting that this lowering may be the result of height assimilation.

	'when'	'meat, muscle'	'lightning'
POc	<i>*ŋica</i>	<i>*mijak</i>	<i>*pilak</i>
Kge	<i>nia-ŋ</i>	<i>mɛramɛra-</i>	—
Kbn	<i>ŋɛda</i>	<i>mɛdamɛda-</i>	<i>pɛlaka</i>
Lusi	<i>ŋɛza</i>	<i>mɛzameza-</i>	<i>pɛlaka</i>
Kove	<i>ŋɛza</i>	<i>mɛzameza-</i>	<i>pɛlaka</i>

Also (i) POc **bakiwa* 'shark' > Kbn *bakɛoa* and (ii) POc **drami* 'lick' > Kbn *-damɛ* Lusi *-zameɛ*.

Given the Proto Oceanic evidence of lowering **i* to *e* in assimilation to nearby mid or low vowels, it may be the case that *e* is the innovation in the following instances of *i ~ e* alternation: (i) Kge *kiamo* Kbn *ɛamo* Lusi *ɛamo* Kove *ɛamo* 'stone oven'; (ii) Kbn *-sima* Lusi *-sɛmo* 'infect with sexual heat'; (iii) Kbn *-ilo* 'look for' Lusi *-ɛlo* 'check on' Kove *-ɛla* 'look at' (Gtu *-ɛla* 'see, look').

Alternatively, it may be the case that a nearby high vowel has raised *e* to *i* in words such as: (i) Kbn *karibu* Lusi *karebu* Kove *karebu* 'fish sp.'; (ii) Kove *-pa-sei* 'build a fire' (metathesis) < *-esi* 'alight' Kbn *-pa-isi* Lusi *-pa-isi* 'build a fire' *-isi* 'bore a hole using a heated metal point'; and (iii) Kbn *kikisi ~ kekesi* 'wild Areca sp.'

Height assimilation, however, fails to account for the variation in Kge *-kep* 'do, make' *-kiv-e* 'make it', or in the following cases:

	'urinate'	'their'	'conch trumpet'
POc	<i>*mimiR^a</i>	<i>*-dri</i>	<i>*iapuRi^b</i>
Kge	<i>-mail</i>	<i>-rɛ</i>	<i>taulɛ</i>
Kbn	<i>-mɛmɛ</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>taulɛ</i>
Lusi	<i>-mɛmɛ</i>	<i>-zi</i>	<i>taulɛ</i>
Kove	<i>-mɛmɛ</i>	<i>-zi</i>	<i>taulɛ</i>

^a Compare Mutu *-mɛm*.

^b Compare Gtu *tavurɛ*.

3.2.4 *u : o*

There is little evidence of the development of POc **u* > *o*, except POc **tuqa* 'older sibling' > Kge *a-tua-* Lusi *tɔa-* Kove *tɔa-*, found also in Gtu *tɔga-* Mutu *tɔya-*. Given the trend described above for the lowering of *i* before or after mid and low vowels, it may be that a similar development has occurred to produce the *u ~ o* alternations given below, and that *o* represents the innovation:

	'Eugenia'	'water'	'adze'
Kge	<i>pəkai</i>	<i>eakɔ</i>	<i>kɔlalu</i>
Kbn	<i>pəai</i>	<i>eau</i> ^a	<i>kɔlaluo</i>
Lusi	<i>puai</i>	<i>eau</i> ^a	<i>kulaluo</i>
Kove	<i>puai</i>	<i>eau</i> ^a	<i>kulalu</i>

^a Compare Gtu *yau*.

In several words, however, the presence of nearby high vowels suggests that *o* is raised to *u*:

- (i) Kge *kɯluei* Kbn *ɯluae* Lusi *oluae* Kove *ɯluae* 'porpoise.'
- (ii) Kge *kora motu* Lusi *kora mɯtu* Kove *kora mɯtu* 'pufferfish sp.'
- (iii) Kbn *bɯrɯku* Lusi *vohoku* Kove *vohoku* 'name of a monster in stories.'
- (iv) Kbn *mɯrupu* 'Venus' Lusi *morupu* 'Venus' Kove *morupo-mo* 'Southern Cross' (Chowning, pers. comm.).
- (v) Lusi *gomimi* ~ *gumimi* Kove *gumimi* 'millipede.'
- (vi) Lusi *-momoni* ~ *-mɯni* 'hide.'
- (vi) Lusi *-posi* ~ *-pɯsi* Kove *-posi* 'rub, wipe.'
- (vii) Kbn *-bɯsum* Lusi *-vosumu* 'suck.'
- (viii) Kbn *sɯmisɯmi* Lusi *somsomi* 'constantly.'

Several words reflect other vocalic differences which obscure the direction of the *u* ~ *o* development: (i) Kbn *kubal* Lusi *kovoli* 'knot, bump'; (ii) Kbn *dodolo* Lusi *zuzulu* Kove *zuzulu* 'droplet'; and (iii) Kbn *kopkop* 'empty' Lusi *kuvu* 'finished'. Likewise, it is difficult to provide a motivation for the development of POC **ko* 'you (sg.)' into Kge *ku*- Kbn *θ*- Lusi *u*- Kove *u*-.

Height assimilation is by no means a regular and predictable process in the Maleu/Bariai languages. First, not all languages undergo assimilation in the same words, e.g. POC **sai* 'who' > Kbn *sai* but Lusi *sei*. Second, assimilation occurs in only a few of all possible candidates for such a process in any one given language, e.g. POC **sai* 'who' > Kove *sei* but POC **Rapi* 'afternoon' > Kove *lailai* (Lusi *leilei*). Third, it is not always possible to establish the direction of assimilation, e.g. has the second vowel of Kbn *-malajo* 'twitch' been lowered to match the preceding *a*, or has the second vowel of Lusi *-malejo* 'twitch' been raised to match the following *o*? Fourth, not all changes in height can be explained by assimilation, e.g. POC **qacan* 'name' > Lusi *eza-*. For these and other reasons, assimilation cannot be seen as a powerful explanatory source for vocalic alternation in the Maleu/Bariai languages. In some cases, assimilation provides a valid explanation, as when Kilenge raises **a* to *o* before *u*, e.g. POC **manuk* > Kge *mon*. In other cases, assimilation represents a trend or tendency, as when **a* becomes *e* or *o* in the diphthongs *ai* ~ *ei* and *au* ~ *ou*. Just as often, however, assimilation simply provides a set of *ad hoc* explanations attempting to account for individual cases. Indeed, it may equally be the case that phonetic drift in height has resulted in an ultimate shift in the phonemic status of the vowels of certain words. In all the Maleu/Bariai languages, there is a wide range of possible height articulation for each cardinal vowel (accounting for many mistakes in previous surveys and an area of constant verification in my own fieldwork), and over time certain vowels in certain words may gradually have shifted into the phonemic range of a higher or lower vowel.

3.3 FRONT/BACK ALTERNATIONS

The front vowels *i* and *e* correspond occasionally to the back vowels of the same height, that is, *u* and *o* respectively. While explanations for these shifts may occasionally appear to be assimilation of front/back features, there is even less evidence for front/back assimilation than for assimilation of height.

3.3.1 *i* : *u*

In the case of the alternation between *i* and *u*, the evidence from Proto Oceanic shows that change can be in either direction, that is, POC **i* > *u*, or POC **u* > *i*:

	'ancestor'	'spirit'	'burn'	'liquid'	'hair'	'rat'
POc	<i>*tubu</i> ^a	<i>*qanunu</i>	<i>*tunu</i>	<i>*suRuq</i>	<i>*pulu</i>	<i>*kusupeq</i>
Kge	<i>tivu-</i>	<i>anuni-</i>	<i>-tun-i</i> ^c	<i>sulj-</i>	<i>vurvurj-</i>	<i>kjue</i>
Kbn	<i>tibu-</i> ^b	<i>anunu-</i>	<i>-tun</i>	<i>sulu-</i>	<i>burburu-</i>	<i>kuduke</i>
Lusi	<i>tuvu-</i>	<i>anunu-</i>	<i>-tunu</i>	<i>suru-</i>	<i>vuvuru-</i>	<i>kuzuke</i>
Kove	<i>tuvu-</i>	<i>anunu-</i>	<i>-tunu</i>	<i>suhu-</i>	<i>vuhuvuhu-</i>	<i>kuzuke</i>

^a But POC **tubu* 'grow' > Kge *-tup* Kbn *-tub* Lusi *-tuvu* Kove *-tuvu*.

^b But Kbn *tibu-* > *i-tub* 'his/her ancestor'.

^c 'set it on fire'.

	'tooth'	'drink'
POc	<i>*lipon</i>	<i>*inum</i>
Kge	<i>(ro)</i>	<i>(-va)</i>
Kbn	<i>luo-</i>	<i>-un</i>
Lusi	<i>luo-</i>	<i>-unu</i>
Kove	<i>luo-</i>	<i>-unu</i>

The development **u* > *i* is difficult to account for; in fact, all of these changes represent counter-examples to front/back assimilation. The development of **i* > *u*, however, could be described in terms of assimilation. In the case of the form for 'tooth', the **i* is backed before *o*, while the **i* of 'drink' is backed to match the final *u*. A counter-example to this, however, is found in the development of POC **pai* 'weave' into Kge *-pau* (Kbn *-oaoai* Lusi *-oaoai* Kove *-oaoai*). Consequently, the source of the *i* ~ *u* alternations found in the following sets is difficult to ascertain, although it should be noted that the neighbouring Bibling languages and Amara frequently show the same alternation and may have influenced the Maleu/Bariai languages in certain cases. Original vowels may be posited on the basis of their frequency within a set, suggesting that *i* is most often the innovation. This is corroborated by the observation that Kilenge tends to have *i* where other languages have *u*:

	'kulau' ^a	'gall'	'underpart'	'thatch'	'tame'	'escort'
Kge	<i>pogoli</i> - ^b	<i>osi</i> -	<i>vulolo</i> -	<i>kus</i>	<i>muji</i>	<i>-tolif</i> ^c
Kbn	<i>pogal</i>	<i>asu</i> -	<i>bulolo</i> -	<i>usi</i>	<i>mud</i>	<i>-tal</i>
Lusi	<i>pogalu</i>	<i>oasu</i> -	<i>vilolo</i> -	<i>usu</i>	<i>muzu</i>	<i>-talu</i>
Kove	—	<i>asu</i> -	<i>vilolo</i> -	<i>usu</i>	<i>muzu</i>	<i>-talu</i>

^a 'green drinking coconut'.

^b 'baby coconut'.

^c Also 'put, bring, take'.

Other examples of *i* : *u* correspondences include:

- (i) Kge *-guni* 'plant' Kbn *-pa-gun* 'erect, stand something up', *gunugunu* 'stake' Lusi *-gunu*- 'stand' Kove *-gunu*- 'stand.'
- (ii) Kge *-pa-lupi* 'gather, collect' Kbn *-lup* 'gather, meet' Lusi *-lupu* 'gather, meet' Kove *-lupu* 'gather, meet' (compare Gtu *-lupu* 'bring into a pile').
- (iii) Kbn *-kapisu* Lusi *-kapusia* Kove *-kapuse* 'sneeze.'
- (iv) Kbn *tibur* Lusi *tuvuru* Kove *tvuhu* 'place.'
- (v) Kbn *-siran* 'pour', *susuraja* 'trough used to process sago' Lusi *-surani* ~ *-suranu* 'pour' Kove *-suhani* 'pour.'
- (vi) Kbn *buligaliga* Lusi *viligaliga* Kove *vuligaliga* 'all over, all about.'
- (vii) Kbn *nunu-g* Lusi *nuzu*- Kove *nuzu*- 'nose' but Kbn *-nud* Lusi *-nuzi* Kove *-nuzi* 'smell' (compare Gtu *-ηuzu* 'smell').
- (viii) Kbn *malmali*- Lusi *malmali*- Kove *molumolu*- 'gills.'
- (ix) Kbn *musilan* 'seldom' Lusi *misilani* 'slowly' Kove *misilani* 'slowly' (compare Gtu *musilan* 'softly, quietly').
- (x) Kbn *syon* Lusi *sioni* Kove *sione* 'netting shuttle'.

3.3.2 *e* : *o*

The alternation between *e* and *o* is not very common, and no apparent pattern can be established to provide an explanation for the variation.

	'sleep'	'cut'	'fathom'	'daka'	'bean'	'whistle'
POc	* <i>qeno</i>	* <i>koti</i>	* <i>ropa</i>	* <i>dogi</i> ^a	—	—
Kge	<i>-kqno</i>	<i>(-rev)</i>	<i>leo</i>	<i>rek</i>	<i>veleu</i>	<i>-ore</i>
Kbn	<i>-eno</i>	<i>-ket</i>	<i>leo</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>boloae</i>	<i>-oaoado</i>
Lusi	<i>-eno</i>	<i>-keti</i>	<i>leo</i>	<i>zogi</i>	<i>voluae</i>	<i>-oazaze</i> ~ <i>-oazazo</i>
Kove	<i>-eno</i>	<i>-keti</i>	<i>leo</i>	<i>zogi</i>	<i>voluae</i>	—

^a PNGBri reconstruction based on Gtu *dogi* Mutu *dog*.

Other examples include Kbn *-sogo* Lusi *-sogo* Kove *-soge* 'adorn'; Kbn *tamagogo* Lusi *tamagege* Kove *tamagogo* ~ *matagogo* 'starfish.'

3.4 IRREGULAR VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

The following are vowel correspondences which do not match any of the patterns discussed above:

	'veins'	'taro'	'settlement'	'soft'
POc	*waRo	*m ^w apo	*panua	*malumu
Kge	(alislisi-)	mɔ	panɔ ^a	marumɔ
Kbn	oarari-	mɔi	panua ^b	marum
Lusi	oararo-	mɔi	panɔ ^b	marumu
Kove	oahoaho-	mɔi	panɔ ^b	mahumu

^a 'place'; also *nia* 'house; village; place'.

^b 'people'.

	'shield'	'shame' ^a	'where' ^b	'pandanus' ^c 'piece' ^d	
Kge	gariau	mamaɔ-	sia/	mei	arigi-a
Kbn	gariau	maeamaea-	sida	moe	i-adag ~ i-edag
Lusi	gariu	mamaea-	sɔza	moe	vazege
Kove	gahiau	mamaea-	sɔza	moe	vazege

^a Compare Gtu *maya-*.

^b Mutu *sine*.

^c Compare Gtu *moge* Mutu *moy*, suggesting PNgBri **moge*.

^d Also 'portion; other side'.

Other irregularities include:

- (i) Kge *-pa-iti* Kbn *-e-at* Lusi *-ati* 'copulate' (compare Gtu *-gati*).
- (ii) Kge *muringin* Kbn *makinkin* Kove *makinikini* 'mosquito.'
- (iii) Kge *koako* Kbn *kokako* Lusi *kokɔako* ~ *kokako* Kove *kokɔako* ~ *kokako* ~ *kahako* 'chicken.'
- (iv) Kbn *nauruge* Lusi *nauregi* ~ *naurege* Kove *nahuge* 'earthquake.'
- (v) Kbn *kauruma* Lusi *kahuma* Kove *kahuu* ~ *kahumu* 'bailer.'
- (vi) Kbn *mɔrum* Lusi *muhumu* Kove *muhumu* 'thirst' (compare Mutu *murun*).

4. PHONOLOGY: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

As discussed above, Kilenge and Kabana differ from Lusi and Kove in the loss of numerous final high vowels. Variation in syllable structure may also be related to other phenomena:

- (a) the addition of an extra syllable in one or more languages;
- (b) metathesis;
- (c) differing patterns of reduplication.

4.1 EXTRA SYLLABLE

Extra syllables in one or another language arise according to several patterns. In the first, an extra vowel, usually *e-* but occasionally *o-* (or *i-* and *u-* in Kilenge), is found before *a* in one or more of the Maleu/Bariai languages. This accretion occurred after the loss of POC **p* and **k* (or **q*):

	'eat'	'fire'	'lime'	'scratch'	'sun'	'Casuarina'
POc	<i>*kani</i>	<i>*api</i>	<i>*apuR</i>	<i>*karis</i>	<i>*qaco</i>	<i>*aRu</i>
Kge	<i>-kan</i>	<i>(rija)</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>(-kalo)^a</i>	<i>iu-alo</i>	<i>au</i>
Kbn	<i>-e-an</i>	<i>(di)ŋa</i>	<i>e-aoa</i>	<i>-o-arisi</i>	<i>ado</i>	<i>e-al</i>
Lusi	<i>-ani</i>	<i>(zi)ja</i>	<i>e-aoa</i>	<i>-o-asiri^b</i>	<i>azo</i>	<i>e-alu ~ alu</i>
Kove	<i>-ani</i>	<i>e-ai</i>	<i>e-aoa</i>	<i>-karisi</i>	<i>o-azo</i>	<i>e-alu</i>

^a From POC **kaRo* 'scratch', which has reflexes in Kbn *-o-aro* Lusi *-o-aro* and Kove *-o-aho*.

^b Metathesis has occurred.

	'flee'	'gall bladder'	'copulate'	'charcoal'
Kge	<i>-ko</i>	<i>osi-</i>	<i>-pa-iti^a</i>	<i>asoaso; kaso^c</i>
Kbn	<i>-e-aoa</i>	<i>asu-</i>	<i>-e-at</i>	<i>asaso, aso^d</i>
Lusi	<i>-haoa</i>	<i>o-asu-</i>	<i>-ati</i>	<i>o-aso; asoso-^c; o-asaso^c</i>
Kove	<i>-haoa</i>	<i>asu-</i>	<i>(-gahe)^b</i>	<i>asoaso, kasoka^c</i>

^a The initial *pa-* may be a fossilised reciprocal prefix. Although the vowel *i* of *-pa-iti* is unexpected, vowel cluster reduction is common in Kilenge, and there may have been an intermediate form **pa-i-ati*.

^b Lusi also has *-gare*.

^c 'black'.

^d 'black funeral paint; kin of dad person, mourning'. Lusi *oaso* also has these meanings.

^e 'black, of pigs'.

Examples of initial vowel accretion are numerous. Some further examples include:

- (i) Kbn *e-ado* Lusi *azo* Kove *o-azo* 'digging stick.'
- (ii) Kbn *-e-aol* Lusi *-o-aoli* ~ *-oalali* Kove *-o-aoli* 'swim.'
- (iii) Kbn *e-aba* 'man' *e-ababa* 'human being' Lusi *e-avava* 'human being' Kove *ava* 'man, person' *panava* 'human being' (from *pana* 'people' + *ava* 'man, person').
- (iv) Kge *e-avo* ~ *avo* 'no, not'.

A second pattern of vowel addition also involves an initial vowel, usually *a-* but occasionally *e-*. It is likely that this is a fossilised noun marker **a*, as found in Amara or the Bibling languages (see Thurston this volume):

	'dove'	'Parinarium'	'stick'	'older sibling'
POc	<i>*baluj</i>	<i>*tita</i>	<i>*tokon</i>	<i>*tuqa</i>
Kge	<i>a-vol</i>	—	<i>to^a</i>	<i>a-tua-</i>
Kbn	<i>barur</i>	<i>a-tita</i>	<i>toto^a</i>	<i>(tadi- kapei)</i>
Lusi	<i>velis</i>	<i>a-tita</i>	<i>a-toko^b</i>	<i>toa-</i>
Kove	<i>balu</i>	<i>a-tita</i>	<i>a-toko^b</i>	<i>toa-</i>

^a 'punting pole'.

^b 'walking stick'; also Lusi *-toko* 'walk with stick tokonkon small branches, kindling'.

	'pig trap'	'crow'	'times'	'today'
Kge	<i>a-rakrak</i>	<i>a-kor</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>a-lavo-ko</i>
Kbn	<i>rakrak</i>	<i>karo</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>labo-ne</i>
Lusi	<i>a-rakrak</i>	<i>karo</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>lovo-ne</i>
Kove	—	<i>karo</i>	<i>a-pa</i>	<i>lavo-nene</i>

Other examples include (i) POc **nukit* 'nest' > Lusi *e-nik* and (ii) Kove *a-vahi* ~ *vahi* 'far.'

In addition to the accretion of initial vowels, a few words have acquired a final vowel (Chowning 1973:197). In these cases, the final consonant of the Proto Oceanic form has been conserved by the addition of the vowel:

	'needle' ^a	'hair'	'fear'	'outrigger'
POc	* <i>saRum</i>	* <i>raun</i>	* <i>matakut</i>	* <i>saman</i>
Kge	<i>sol</i>	<i>laulau-</i>	<i>-motau</i>	<i>sama</i>
Kbn	<i>salum</i>	<i>laun-i-</i>	<i>-mataud</i>	<i>saman</i>
Lusi	<i>salum-u</i>	<i>laun-i-</i>	<i>-matauz-i</i>	<i>saman-i</i>
Kove	<i>salum-u</i>	<i>laun-i-</i>	<i>-matauz-i</i>	<i>saman-i</i>

^a The final syllable in the Bariai languages is also found in POc **tiRom* 'oyster' > Lusi *tilom-u* ~ *timolu* Kove *tizo* ~ *tilom-u*. This syllable may also be part of Lusi *avomu* Kbn *abam* 'drum', relating these Bariai words to Motu *gaba* 'drum' through an earlier form **kabam*.

	'root'	'sea'	'bamboo'	'lightning'	'scratch'
POc	* <i>wakaR</i>	* <i>laman</i>	* <i>qauR</i>	* <i>pilak</i>	* <i>karis</i>
Kge	<i>oka-</i>	<i>lama-</i> ^a	<i>kau</i> ^c	—	(<i>-kalo</i>)
Kbn	<i>oaroar-i-</i>	—	<i>kaur</i>	<i>pelak-a</i>	<i>-oaris-i</i>
Lusi	<i>oaoar-i-</i>	<i>laman-i</i> ^b	<i>kaur-a</i>	<i>pelak-a</i>	<i>-oasir-i</i> ^d
Kove	<i>oaoah-i-</i>	<i>laman-i</i> ^b	<i>kauh-a</i>	<i>pelak-a</i>	<i>-karis-i</i>

^a 'deep'.

^b 'deep water'.

^c 'bamboo flute'.

^d Metathesis of *s* and *r*.

In the case of POc **gaun* 'dog' > Kge *gaun-e* Kbn *kau-a* Lusi *kau-a* Kove *kau-a*, the Kilenge form retains the final consonant of the Proto Oceanic etymon by adding *e*, but the added *a* of the Bariai forms is unexpected; compare Bali *akauaka* and Harua *kaua* (Johnston 1980).

Certain non-productive inflectional affixes such as the suffix Kbn *-n* Lusi *-ni* Kove *-ni* 'transitive' (§5.2.3), and non-productive derivational suffixes such as *-pu* 'base, origin' and *-mata* 'eye' may occur in one language but be missing in another. Some examples include:

- (i) Kbn *lab* Lusi *lavu-pu* Kove *lavu-pu* 'beach'; compare Lusi *lavu* Kove *lavu* 'sand.'
- (ii) Lusi *kahu* 'ashes, hearth' Kove *kahu* 'dust' Kbn *au-pu* 'hearth.'
- (iii) Kbn *ta-pu-* Lusi *ta* Kove *ta* 'lateral fin.'
- (iv) Kbn *eda-p(-mata)* Lusi *eza-pu* Kove *eza-pu* 'road, path.'
- (v) Kge *tavele-mata* Kbn *tabele-mata* Lusi *tavele* Kove *tavele* 'peninsula, point of land.'

In the set Kbn *kakau-ede* Lusi *kahaku* Kove *kahaku* 'small' (compare Kbn *kakau* Lusi *kakau* Kove *kakau* 'child'), the *ede* suffix of the Kabana form is related to the Lusi and

Kove use of *eze* with certain adjectives as an intensifier, e.g. Lusi *volvolo eze* 'very small' Kove *kehetau-eze* '(just) one'.

In some cognates, one or another language may possess an extra syllable whose origin is not clear:¹

	'lime'	'moss'	'tree'	'vomit'	'later'	'forehead'
POc	* <i>apuR</i>	* <i>lumut</i>	* <i>kayu</i>	* <i>luaq</i>	* <i>muri</i>	* <i>dram</i> ^w <i>a</i>
Kge	<i>au</i>	<i>lumlum</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>-mala-lua</i>	<i>ai-mul</i> ^b	<i>ramo-</i> ^d
Kbn	<i>eao-a</i>	<i>gu-luŋ</i>	<i>ab-ei</i> ^a	<i>-ruarua</i>	<i>muri-ai</i> ^c	<i>dama-</i> ^d
Lusi	<i>eao-a</i>	<i>gu-lumu</i>	<i>av-ei</i> ^a	<i>-lualua</i>	<i>muri-ai</i> ^c	<i>zomo-</i>
Kove	<i>eao-a</i>	<i>gu-lumu</i>	<i>av-ei</i> ^a	<i>-lualua</i>	<i>muhi-ai</i> ^c	<i>zamoha-</i> ^e

^a Compare Kbn *kai-p* Lusi *kai-pu* Kove *kai-pu* 'hitting stick, switch; fight, war'.

^b A number of Kilenge words possess a prefix *ai-* whose meaning is unclear, e.g. *aikilo* 'parrot sp.', *ailut* 'above', *aipaga* 'sow', *aigilo* 'skink sp.' etc.

^c The *-ai* suffix on Kabana, Lusi and Kove is the locative suffix *-iai* with degemination of *i*.

^d 'prow'.

^e Also *zamo-* 'prow'.

	'Imperata'	'barracuda'	'nothing' ^a	'bathe'	'parrot'
Kge	<i>gu</i>	<i>kalu</i>	<i>sapa</i>	<i>-oa-liu</i>	<i>ai-kalaja</i>
Kbn	<i>gu-pa</i>	<i>kalu-bia</i>	<i>sapa-ean</i>	<i>-liliu</i>	<i>kalaja-n</i> ^b
Lusi	<i>u-gu</i>	<i>kalu-via</i>	<i>sapa</i>	<i>-liliu</i>	<i>karaja-ni</i> ^b
Kove	<i>u-gu</i>	<i>kalu-via</i>	<i>sapa</i>	<i>-liliu</i>	<i>kahaja-ni</i> ^b

^a Also 'empty, bald, in vain, without'.

^b *-n(i)* is found on a number of other nouns and adjectives, including (i) Kbn *maron* Lusi *maroni* Kove *mahoni* 'headman', compare Mutu *maron* 'headman' Gtu *maroro* 'political leader'; (ii) Kbn *mamalan* Lusi *malmalani* Kove *malamalani* 'light(weight)', from POc **maRamaRa*; and (iii) Kbn *dodon* 'a plug made of ginger leaves' Lusi *zozoni* 'ginger sp.; a plug made of ginger leaves' Kove *zozoni* 'ginger', from POc **joŋi* 'plug, stop up'.

In some cases, a language has a reduced form:

	'egg'	'walk'	'child'	'punting pole'
POc	* <i>qatoluR</i>	* <i>lako</i> ^a	* <i>natu</i>	
Kge	(<i>ŋalo</i>)	<i>-lala</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>to</i>
Kbn	<i>kakatol</i>	<i>-lalala</i>	<i>natu-</i>	<i>toa</i>
Lusi	<i>kakatolu</i>	<i>-lalao</i>	<i>natu-</i>	<i>toa</i>
Kove	<i>kaka</i>	<i>-lalao</i>	<i>natu-</i>	<i>toa</i>

^a 'go'; the Kilenge and Kabana forms are reduplications of the verbs Kge *-la* Kbn *-la* 'go'; the Lusi and Kove words for 'go' are also *-la*.

4.2 METATHESIS

Numerous examples of metathesis can be found in the development of Maleu/Bariiai languages from Proto Oceanic etyma, and also as an alternation among the modern languages. The most common form of metathesis involves the reversal of two vowels or two consonants:

	'two days ago'	'crab sp.'	'scratch'	'who'	'singe'
POc	* <i>waRisa</i>	* <i>alima</i>	* <i>karis</i>	* <i>sai</i>	* <i>salaba</i> ^a
Kge	<i>olia</i>	<i>alma</i>	(- <i>karo</i>)	<i>sie</i>	- <i>salau</i>
Kbn	<i>oadla</i>	<i>amla</i>	- <i>oarisi</i>	<i>sai</i>	- <i>salaba</i>
Lusi	<i>oazira</i>	<i>amla</i>	- <i>oasiri</i>	<i>sei</i>	- <i>savara-ni</i>
Kove	<i>oahiza</i>	<i>alima</i>	- <i>karisi</i>	<i>sei</i>	- <i>savaha-ni</i> ^b

^a PNgBri reconstruction, based on Gtu *-*salaba*. Also Kbn *sabara* Lusi *savara* 'jellyfish'.

^b 'cook bivalves directly on fire'.

Further examples include:

- (i) POc **qupi* 'yam' > Kge *kiiu* Kbn *kiiu*.
- (ii) POc **siku* 'elbow' > Kge *suki-* 'elbow, knee.'
- (iii) POc **tiRom* 'oyster' > Lusi *tilomu* ~ *timolu*.
- (iv) POc **taliŋa* 'ear' > Kove *taliŋa* 'ear', *taliŋa-* 'lateral fin' (compare Kbn *taja* Lusi *taja* 'ear; lateral fin').
- (v) Kbn *ŋesŋesɔ* Lusi *nosnose* Kove *nesɔ* 'ant', compare Gtu *nonosa* Mutu *nos*.
- (vi) Kbn *dalme* Lusi *zamlɛ* 'decorative plant sp.'
- (vii) Lusi *maruzi* Kove *mazuhi* 'time of plenty', compare Lakalai *maru* (Chowning 1973).
- (viii) Kove -*esi* 'light' > -*pasei* 'build fire.'
- (ix) Lusi *kakaloŋu* ~ *kakamoŋu* 'children.'
- (x) Lusi *vazege* ~ *vageze* 'piece, portion, other side.'
- (xi) Kove *lago* ~ *loŋa* 'hawk.'
- (xii) Lusi -*hazo* ~ -*zaho* 'knock down fruit by throwing a stick or stone.'

Less frequently, metathesis reverses syllables, as in (i) POc **joŋa* 'tusk' > Kge *roŋa* 'tooth' Kbn *doŋa* 'tusk' but Kbn *ŋado* Lusi *ŋazo* Kove *ŋazo-* 'molar'; and (ii) Kge *muro* 'clear' Kbn *mudomudo* 'murky' but Lusi *zumozumo* 'murky.'

4.3 REDUPLICATION

Words may also have differing syllable structure based on different reduplication patterns. The reduplication of $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ is more common in Kabana and Kove, while Lusi usually reduplicates $C_1V_1C_2$. In rapid speech, however, Kove may drop reduplicated interconsonantal vowels (Chowning 1986:426), producing a reduplicated form similar to that of Lusi, e.g. Kove *puli=puli* ~ *pul=puli* Lusi *pul=puli* 'cold'. In spite of this, Lusi-speakers describe Kove as a 'pulled' language (that is, Kove has more vowels).

	' <i>Cordyline</i> sp.'	'fly'	'swamp, mud'	'light(weight)'
Kge	<i>molo=molo</i>	<i>lajo</i>	<i>pa=paŋa</i>	(<i>ser-ser-</i>)
Kbn	<i>molo=molo</i>	<i>lajo=lajo</i>	<i>paŋa=paŋa</i>	<i>mala=malan</i>
Lusi	<i>mol=molo</i>	<i>laj=lajo</i>	<i>paŋ=paŋa</i>	<i>mal=malani</i>
Kove	<i>molo=molo</i>	<i>lajo=lajo</i>	<i>paŋa=paŋa</i>	<i>mala=malani</i>

Other differences in reduplication patterns set these languages apart, including non-reduplication in one language corresponding to reduplicated forms in another, as with 'fly'

above.

	'hot'	'skin'	'pandanus sp.'	'fleas'
POc	* <i>panas</i>	* <i>kulit</i>	* <i>padra</i>	* <i>piti</i> ^a
Kge	(<i>nounou-</i>)	<i>kul=kuli-</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>pit=pit</i>
Kbn	<i>oana=oana</i>	<i>ku=kuli-</i>	<i>pada=pada</i>	<i>pit=pit</i>
Lusi	<i>oana=na</i>	<i>ku=kuli-</i>	<i>paz=paza</i>	<i>pi=piti</i>
Kove	<i>oana=oana</i>	<i>kuli=kuli-</i>	<i>vada</i>	<i>pitipiti</i> ^b

^a 'jump'.

^b 'jumping insect found in beach rubbish' (Chowning pers. comm.).

Other examples include (i) Kge *ma=mao-* Kbn *maea=maea-* Lusi *ma=maea-* Kove *ma=maea-* 'shy, shame'; (ii) Kge *lave-* Kbn *labe-* Lusi *lav=lave-* Kove *lave=lave-* 'testicles'; (iii) Lusi *-mon=mono* ~ *-mo=mono* ~ *-mono=no* Kove *-mo=mono* 'float'; and (iv) Kbn *tib=tib* Lusi *ti=tivu* 'edible tuber sp.'

An interesting pattern related to reduplication is concomitant syllable loss. In these instances, when one syllable of a disyllabic root is reduplicated, the non-reduplicated syllable is lost. This may affect either the first syllable, or the second. For example, POc **tuki* 'knock, pound, beat' becomes Lusi *-tutu* 'beat, hammer', through an intermediate stage **tutuki*. In the following examples, the syllable in question is underlined:

- (i) POc **Ropok* 'fly' > Kge *-lolo* Kbn *-roro* Lusi *-roro* Kove *-hoho* (this could equally be the result of loss of **p* followed by degemination).
- (ii) POc **susu* > Lusi *tuzu-* 'breast' > *tutu* 'mommy!' Kove *tuzu-* 'breast' > *-zuzu* 'suckle.'
- (iii) POc **ηisi* 'laugh' > Kge *-ηiη* Kbn *-ηiη* Lusi *-ηiηi* Kove *-ηiηi*.
- (iv) POc **ηuju* 'snout, nose' > Kbn *nunu-g* 'my nose' but *i-nud* 'his/her nose'(root: *nudu-*), compare Lusi *nuzu-*, Kove *nuzu-*.

This pattern relates the following cognate sets:

- (i) Lusi *-oana-ni* but Kbn *-oaoa-n* Kove *-oaoa-ni* 'wake.'
- (ii) Kbn *toa* Lusi *toa* Kove *toa* 'punting pole'; compare Kbn *-toto* Lusi *-toto* Kove *-toto* 'punt'.
- (iii) Lusi *-suk-lani* Kove *-suku-lani* but Kbn *-susu-ran* 'push.'
- (iv) Lusi *mohu* Kove *mohu* 'old'; compare Lusi *momo* Kove *momo* 'grey hair.'
- (v) Lusi *aleke* but Kge *alele* 'rope.'
- (vi) Kge *livu-* but Kbn *baba* Lusi *vovo* Kove *vovo* 'hole'.
- (vii) Lusi *gauku* 'mist' but Kge *ηauηau* 'mist' Kbn *gagau* 'mist' *gaugau* 'dust' Kove *gaugau* 'mist.'
- (viii) Lusi *-lumumu* Kove *-lumumu* 'rub' but Kge *-mumi* Kbn *-mum* (the final *-u* of *-lumumu* corresponds to Kilenge *i* Kabana \emptyset).
- (ix) Kbn *dodo* Lusi *zozolu*; compare Kge *roro-ηa-* 'whole, complete.'

This phenomenon relates to Blust's statement:

Among the most fundamental observations of comparative Austronesian lexicology, one first noted by Brandstetter is especially salient: the great majority of reconstructed

and attested roots are disyllabic, and where altered by reduplication, affixation, or regular phonological change this optimal canonical shape is often restored by secondary change (1977:11).

In this case, reduplication alters the canonical shape, which is regained by dropping the extra syllable.

5. MORPHOSYNTAX

Typologically, the Maleu/Bariai languages share a basic syntax, found also in the other Austronesian languages of West New Britain (Mouk, Aria, Amara, etc.) and in the non-Austronesian language, Anêm (see Thurston 1987). A number of morphological details, however, distinguish Kilenge from the Bariai languages. The following syntactic comparison focusses on the minor syntactic and morphological differences to be found.

5.1. THE NOUN PHRASE

5.1.1 NOMINAL PREFIX

A feature that makes Kilenge and Lolo unique among the Maleu/Bariai languages is the retention of the Proto Oceanic noun marker **na*, which has become a prefix in Kilenge. This prefix can take the regular antepenultimate stress, e.g. *nə-pe* 'a paddle'. Degemination of identical vowels occurs when an initial *-a* of a noun meets with the vowel of the prefix, as in *n-au* 'lime powder' from *na-* + *au*; compare *a-k au* 'my lime powder'.

Although the majority of Kilenge nouns take the *na-* prefix, a few never occur with *na-*, such as *aikos* 'widower', *aimara* 'parent whose child has died', *aipina* 'parent whose newborn baby has died', *akor* 'crow', *akɲok* 'hornbill', *ataka* 'cockatoo', *avol* 'dove', *gariau* 'shield', *guas* 'tobacco', *ilapen* 'bonito', *kaiiau* 'bush hen', *kakaroka* 'crab sp.', *kalu* 'barracuda', *kamokiue* 'hawk sp.', *laɲu* 'pandanus sp.', *leilei* 'afternoon', *lelepo* 'mourning armlet', *mainoka* 'cassava', *ogaoga* 'decorative hat worn for *Sia* dance', *pelepele* 'tree sp.', *rurum* 'cassowary', *saumoi* 'sea eagle sp.', and *utue* 'morning'. Although many of these words are copied, others do not occur in the neighbouring languages, so borrowing alone is not an explanation for these exceptions. There also does not appear to be a semantic basis for the presence or absence of the nominal prefix. Although the names of several biota (e.g. *rurum* 'cassowary') and temporal nouns such as *leilei* 'afternoon' and *utue* 'morning' are among the nouns which do not take the nominal prefix, other words in the same categories require the prefix, e.g. *na-koako* 'chicken', *na-goga* 'crab sp.', *na-put* '*Barringtonia*', *na-sikeoa* 'shark', and *na-voj* 'night'.

The nominal prefix does not occur in certain syntactic frames (see also Crowley 1985):

- (a) in possessive constructions, e.g. *na-pul* 'knife' but *le-k pul* 'my knife'; *na-loa* 'ashes' but *na-riɲa e loa* {*na*-fire its ashes} 'ashes of the fire'; *na-tepo* 'blood' but *tepo-k* 'my blood'.
- (b) in locative phrases lacking the preposition *kɲe*, e.g. *i-lala paele* {S3S-walk beach} 'he walked to the beach', compare *i-lala kɲe na-paele* {S3S-walk LOC *na*-beach} 'I walked on the beach'; *ti-mai nia* {S3P-come house} 'they came home', compare *na-raun na-mai kɲe na-niu kuri-a* {S1S-descend S1S-come LOC *na*-coconut head-O3S} 'I came down from the top of the coconut palm.'

5.1.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

The Maleu/Bariai languages all classify nouns into one of two possessive categories: (a) inalienable (b) alienable. Inalienable nouns require possessive pronouns to be affixed directly to the noun, whereas the alienable nouns affix the same pronouns to a specialised possessive morpheme. Alienable nouns are further subdivided into the 'disposable' and 'edible' classes. The possessive pronominal affixes used with both classes are:

	P1S	P2S	P3S	P1IP	P1EP	P2P	P3P
Kge	-k	-m	-a	-ra	-em	-mi	-re
Kbn	-g	-m	i-	-da	-mai	-mi	-d
Lusi	-gu	-mu	ai-~ ei-	-za	-mai	-mi	-zi
Kove	-gu	-mu	ai-	-za	-mai	-mi	-zi

The Bariai languages have lost the third person singular suffix and replaced it with a prefix, while Kilenge alone still has a suffix. Kabana, Lusi and Kove have very similar forms, with the notable difference of Kbn *i-* 'P3S' against Lusi *ai- ~ ei-* and Kove *ai-* (see Chowning 1973:216ff on the possible origin of this prefix). The Kilenge forms *-a* 'P3S', and *-em* 'P1EP' distinguish Kilenge from the Bariai languages.

Inalienable nouns, as in many Austronesian languages, include kinship terms and body parts, although certain such terms in each language fall into the alienable class, e.g. Lusi *agu gil* 'my scar' Kbn *leg kadene* 'my sibling-in-law (opposite sex).'

	Kge	Kbn	Lusi	Kove
'my head'	<i>kuri-k</i>	<i>labora-g</i>	<i>zava-gu</i>	<i>vola-gu</i>
'your head'	<i>kuri-m</i>	<i>labora-m</i>	<i>zava-mu</i>	<i>vola-mu</i>
'his/her head'	<i>kuri-a</i>	<i>i-labora</i>	<i>ai-zava</i>	<i>ai-vola</i>
'our heads (1IP)'	<i>kuri-ra</i>	<i>labora-da</i>	<i>zava-za</i>	<i>vola-za</i>
'our heads (1EP)'	<i>kuri-em</i>	<i>labora-maizava-mai</i>		<i>vola-mai</i>
'your heads'	<i>kuri-mi</i>	<i>labora-mi</i>	<i>zava-mi</i>	<i>vola-mi</i>
'their heads'	<i>kuri-re</i>	<i>labora-d</i>	<i>zava-zi</i>	<i>vola-zi</i>

'head of the tree'
tree P3S-head^a

'my heel'
foot-P1S P3S-heel^a

Kge	<i>n-ai kuri-a</i>	<i>ae-k suki-a</i>
Kbn	<i>abei i-labora</i>	<i>ae-g i-gub</i>
Lusi	<i>avei ai-zava</i>	<i>ahe-gu ai-kuti</i>
Kove	<i>avei ai-vola</i>	<i>ahe-gu ai-guvi</i>

^a The interlinear translations follow the Bariai order of morphemes; for Kilenge, they are {*na*-tree head-P3S} and {foot-P1S heel-P3S} respectively.

In addition to the irregular third person forms found for 'spouse' and 'jaw' (§3.2.1), Lusi has a number of irregular third person singular forms of inalienable nouns not found in Kabana or Kove, such as *apo-gu* 'my belly' but *ai-opo* 'his/her belly'; *semene-gu* 'my boil' but *ai- semen* 'his/her boil'; *atete-gu* 'my liver' but *ai-atate* 'his/her liver'; and *gali-gu* 'my neck' but *ai-gauli* 'his/her neck' (compare *ai-gali* 'corner').

Lusi also has a rule *ai-* > [a-] / __u, that is, *ai-* 'P3S' becomes *a-* before nouns beginning with *u-*: *a-uti* 'his penis', *a-ue* 'cloning sprout, cutting', *a-uvu* 'its hindlegs', *a-uru* 'his/her breath', *a-ura* 'his/her strength, weight', *a-uto* 'its sprout, his/her brains'.

The Bariai languages share a morphophonemic rule $o / > [u] / i- _a$, that is, the initial *o* of a root beginning with *oa* changes to [u] after the 'P3S' prefix Kbn *i-* Lusi *ai-* ~ *ei-* and Kove *ai-*, e.g. Kbn *oala-g* Lusi *oala-gu* Kove *oala-gu* 'my shoulder' but Kbn *i-uala* Lusi *ai-uala* Kove *ai-uala* 'his/her shoulder.'

With certain kin terms, Kilenge replaces *-k* with *-ge* (see also Chowning 1985), such as *tama-ge* 'my father', *ma-ge* 'my mother', *liu-ge* 'my sibling of the opposite sex', and *tivu-ge* 'my ancestor'. An irregular *-* form is found in *atua-* 'my elder sibling of the same sex'.

Degemination occurs when the Kilenge suffix *-em* 'PIEP' is affixed to a stem with final *-e*, rendering the second person singular form homophonous with the first person exclusive, e.g. *vage-m* 'your arm' and *vag-em* 'our arms' < *vage-em*. These are segmented differently here to reflect the pronominal suffixes, and not to suggest that the stem final *-e* is deleted in *vage-em*, since it is not possible to determine which of the two instances of *e* is lost.

Kilenge has a morphophonemic rule: $\{i,u\} > \emptyset / \{l,r\} _ \{-ra, -re\}$, that is, a root-final high vowel is deleted before the suffixes *-ra* 'PIIP' and *-re* 'P3P' when the consonant preceding the vowel is *l* or *n*, e.g. *gunguni-k* 'my back' but *gungun-ra* 'our backs' *gungun-re* 'their backs'; *goli-k* 'my neck' but *gol-ra* 'our necks' *gol-re* 'their necks'. The resultant combination of *-nr-* is realised phonetically as [ndr], e.g. *gungun-ra* [ɣunyəundra], *gungunre* [ɣunyəundre].

The Kilenge suffix *-a* is subject to the morphophonemic rule: $-a\# + -a > -e$, that is, if a root ends in *-a*, then this *-a* and the suffix *-a* coalesce into a single *-e*, e.g. *papa-k* 'my cheek' but *pape* < *papa+a* 'his/her cheek'. This rule may account for the presence of final *-e* in a large number of Kilenge words, even where possession *per se* is not involved, such as *leo* 'fathom' (compare Kbn *leoa* Lusi *leoa* Kove *leoa*), and *na-iue* 'woman' < *iua+a* but *na-iua-re* 'woman', 'women' (compare Gtu *liva* 'woman'). In reduplicated words, the rule is applied before the reduplication occurs, e.g. *mere=mere* 'muscles, meat', compare *meramera-k* 'my muscles'; *goŋe=goŋe* 'fingers', compare *goŋaiŋe* 'thumb' < *goŋa+aiŋe* 'big finger'; and *lake=lake* 'branches' < *laka+a*, compare Gtu *rakaraka*.

Another feature of Kilenge possession which distinguishes it from the Bariai languages is that most adjectives in Kilenge have the structure of inalienable nouns. For example, in the phrases *na-gaune papue* 'a good dog' or *na-nia paua* 'a new house', the forms *papue* 'good' and *paua* come from *papua-* 'good' and *pau-* to which *-a* 'P3S' is affixed (compare Lusi *poea* 'good' and Lusi *pau* 'new'). In the case of *papua-* + *-a*, the morphophonemic rule $-a\# + -a > -e$ is applied to produce *papue*. The final *-a* surfaces in the plural form, e.g. *na-gaune papua-re* 'big dogs' {dog big-P3P}, and in derivations such as the causative, e.g. *-pa-sia* {CS-bad} 'harm with sorcery' (compare *sia* 'bad'), or when the adjective is used verbally in the predicate, e.g. *na-malo ŋaŋoŋe* 'a yellow cloth' but *na-pano i-ŋaŋoŋa* {sky S3S-yellow} 'the sky is yellow'. Final *-a* is also seen in the non-reduplicated adverbial form of *papua-*, e.g. *i-kono pua* 'he slept well'. Some adjectives also allow first and second person possessive suffixes, such as *moro-k* 'I am short', compare *na-olo moro-a* 'a short rope'; and *vusavusa-m* 'you are wet', compare *na-malo vusevuse* 'a wet cloth.' The roots of such 'inalienable' adjectives have been presented in this study with final *-e*, although many of them only occur in the third person singular form, e.g. *roroŋe* 'whole, complete' (root: *roroŋa-*). The final *-a* is often confirmed by cognates in the other languages or by Proto Oceanic etyma, such as POc **laman* 'sea' > Kge *lame* (root *lama-*) Lusi *lamani* Kove *lamani* 'deep'.

Ross notes the use of possessive constructions in the derivation of adjectives from stative verbs:

One of the devices employed to use a stative verb attributively was to nominalise the verb and make the nominalisation the head of a noun phrase in which the noun being described becomes the possessor...(188:184).

The stative verb is nominalised by adding the Proto Oceanic nominalising suffix *-(a)ŋa, which “became a regular means of forming attributive adjectives in at least parts of the ancestral North New Guinea network” (188:184). The Maleu/Bariai languages agree with this analysis. In addition to acting as a nominalising suffix, -ŋa is also affixed to numerous Kabana, Lusi and Kove adjectives. Many Kilenge adjectives are composed of -ŋa- followed by a possessive suffix, e.g. *iau moloŋa-k* {D1S tall-P1S} ‘I am tall’ and *n-ai moloŋe* {na-tree tall.P3S} ‘the tree is tall’, corroborating Ross’ analysis of the derivation of such forms from earlier nominalised constructions. Further evidence of the nominalisation hypothesis is that some adjectives in Maleu/Bariai languages may be derived from verbs by adding the suffix -ŋa, although this involves turning action-process verbs into statives (and not statives into adjectives):

	‘they cooked the fish in a stone oven’	‘fish that has been cooked in a stone oven’
	S3P-cook.in.stone.oven fish	fish stone.oven.cook-adj
Kge	<i>ti-pae na-ia</i>	<i>na-ia pae-ŋa</i>
Kbn	<i>ti-tatan ia</i>	<i>ia tatan-ŋa</i>
Lusi	<i>ti-tatao iha</i>	<i>iha tatao-ŋa</i>
Kove	<i>ti-tatao iha</i>	<i>iha tatao-ŋa</i>

In the modern Maleu/Bariai languages, the -ŋa suffix has acquired the status of an adjectival suffix and can be found in the derivation of adjectives from nouns as well as from verbs:

	‘turmeric’	‘yellow’
POc	* <i>yaŋo</i>	* <i>yaŋo+ŋa</i>
Kge	<i>ŋaŋo</i>	<i>ŋaŋo-ŋa-</i>
Kbn	<i>eaŋo</i>	<i>eaŋo-ŋa</i>
Lusi	<i>eaŋo</i>	<i>eaŋo-ŋa</i>

In this particular example, however, Kove uses reduplication instead of the adjectival suffix: *ea* ‘turmeric’ > *eaŋoeaŋo* ‘yellow’. Other examples include: (i) Lusi *bobo-ŋa* ‘full of holes’ from *vovo* ‘hole’; (ii) Kge *kavuvu-ŋa-* ‘dusty’ from POc **kabut* ‘dust’; (iii) Kge *nounou-ŋa-* ‘hot’ from *na-nou* ‘stonefish’; and (iv) Kbn *apapa-ŋa* ‘pregnant (women)’ from *apa-* ‘belly.’

The suffix -aŋa is found with a few adjectives instead of the usual -ŋa, e.g. Kge *taitai-aŋa* ‘salty’ from *na-tai-aŋa* ‘sea’, and the variants Kbn *i-mata ar=ar ~ i-mata ari-aŋa* Lusi *ai-mata ari-aŋa* {P3S-eye bright-NSR} ‘he is wide-awake’. The extra vowel appears to be that found in POc *-(a)ŋa and is present in the Kilenge and Kabana words for ‘green, blue’ but not in the Lusi and Kove forms. The derivation of ‘green, blue’ is evinced by its form in the words for ‘bluebottle fly’ (literally ‘fly-blue’):

	‘green, blue’	‘bluebottle fly’
Kge	<i>vilvili-aŋa</i>	<i>laŋo-vil</i>
Kbn	<i>birbiri-aŋa, bil</i>	<i>laŋo-bil</i>
Lusi	<i>viviri-ŋa</i>	<i>laŋo-viri</i>
Kove	<i>vivih-ŋa</i>	<i>laŋo-vihi</i>

5.1.3 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

The disposable class of alienable nouns is marked by the use of the possessive morpheme *le-* (DS-) while the edible class requires the possessive morpheme *a-* (ED-). The pronominal paradigms for these forms are provided below. In the rest of this paper, these forms are unparsed.

	DS-P1S	DS-P2S	DS-P3S	DS-P1IP	DS-P1EP	DS-P2P	DS-P3P
Kge	<i>le-k</i>	<i>le-m</i>	<i>le^a</i>	<i>ra^c</i>	<i>l-em^d</i>	<i>li-mi^e</i>	<i>re^f</i>
Kbn	<i>le-g</i>	<i>le-m</i>	<i>e-le^b</i>	<i>le-da</i>	<i>le-mai</i>	<i>le-mi</i>	<i>le-d</i>
Lusi	<i>le-gu</i>	<i>le-mu</i>	<i>e-le^b</i>	<i>le-za</i>	<i>le-mai</i>	<i>le-mi</i>	<i>le-zi</i>
Kove	<i>le-gu</i>	<i>le-mu</i>	<i>e-le^b</i>	<i>le-za</i>	<i>le-mai</i>	<i>le-mi</i>	<i>le-zi</i>

^a The expected form is ***le-a*.

^b The expected form is ***ai+le*.

^c The expected form is ***le-ra*.

^d Derived from **le+em* through degemination.

^e The expected form is ***le-mi*.

^f The expected form is ***le-re*.

	ED-P1S	ED-P2S	ED-P3S	ED-P1IP	ED-P1EP	ED-P2P	ED-P3P
Kge	<i>a-k</i>	<i>a-m</i>	<i>e^a</i>	<i>a-ra</i>	<i>em^c</i>	<i>a-mi</i>	<i>e-re^d</i>
Kbn	<i>a-g</i>	<i>a-m</i>	<i>ae-a^b</i>	<i>a-da</i>	<i>a-mai</i>	<i>a-mi</i>	<i>a-d</i>
Lusi	<i>a-gu</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	<i>ae-a^b</i>	<i>a-za</i>	<i>a-mai</i>	<i>a-mi</i>	<i>a-zi</i>
Kove	<i>a-gu</i>	<i>a-mu</i>	<i>ae-a^b</i>	<i>a-za</i>	<i>a-mai</i>	<i>a-mi</i>	<i>a-zi</i>

^a From *a+a*.

^b Derived from **ai-a* through the rule: *i > [e] / a __ a*. A comparable lowering rule resulted in the realisation of POc **w* as [q] before *a*, and POc **y* as [ɣ] before *a*, as in POc **qawa* 'mouth' > Kbn *aoa*-Lusi *aoa*-Kove *aoa*- and POc **yajo* 'turmeric' > Kbn *eaŋo* Lusi *eaŋo* Kove *eaŋo*.

^c The expected form is **a-em*.

^d The expected form is **a-re*.

The possessum (head noun) follows the affixed possessive morpheme. In binominal constructions, the possessor (subordinate noun) precedes *le-* or *a-*, which in turn requires a P3S or P3P affix indexing the possessor noun:

	'my pig' DS-P1S pig	'my pork' ED-P1S pig	'my sister's mat' sister-P1S DS-P3S mat	'the women's mats' woman DS-P3P net
Kge	<i>lek ga</i>	<i>ak ga</i>	<i>liu-ge le mei</i>	<i>na-iua-re re puo</i>
Kbn	<i>leg gaea</i>	<i>ag gaea</i>	<i>liu-g ele moe</i>	<i>eaba led puo</i>
Lusi	<i>legu gaea</i>	<i>agu gaea</i>	<i>liu-gu ele moe</i>	<i>tamine lezi moe</i>
Kove	<i>legu gaea</i>	<i>agu gaea</i>	<i>liu-gu ele moe</i>	<i>tamine lezi moe</i>

Kilenge may also suffix *-va* 'thing' to the possessive morphemes to produce the forms *lekva/akva* '1S', *lemva/amva* [lémba/ám̐ba] '2S', *leva/eva* '3S', *rava/arava* '1IP', *lemva/emva* [lémba/émba] '1EP', *limiva/amiva* '2P', and *reva/ereva* '3P'.

Kilenge words with initial *a-* lose the vowel after *e* 'ED-P3S', e.g. *ak anya* 'my food' but *nya* 'his/her food' and *n-asoaso* 'charcoal' but *na-rie soaso* 'charcoal from the fire'.

The edible class is so named because it is commonly used with food, drink and other consumables, while the disposable class seems to be used most commonly for objects that are owned or manipulated by the possessor and can be given away or traded, also known as

'dominant possession' (Pawley 1973:158). This is a generalisation based on the most salient semantic functions of the morphemes, however, and both morphemes have other functions. For example, *a-* possession is used to indicate parts of wholes as in:

'ladder of a house'
(*na-*)house ED.P3S ladder

Kge *na-nia e tete*
Kbn *luma aea tete*
Lusi *luma aea tete*
Kove *luma aea tete*

Accompanying nominalised verbs, *le-* indicates that the possessor is the agent of the underlying verbal proposition, while *a-* indicates other semantic roles for the possessor. Because of various semantic relationships between the possessor and the possessum, *a-* possession has also been referred to as 'passive' possession (see also Lynch 1982).

'what the woman said' 'what is said about the woman'
(*na-*)woman DS.P3S speak-NSR (*na-*)woman ED.P3S speak-NSR

Kge	<i>na-iue le ŋoŋo-ŋa</i>	<i>na-iue e ŋoŋo-ŋa</i>
Kbn	<i>taine ele posa-ŋa</i>	<i>taine aea posa-ŋa</i>
Lusi	<i>tamine ele posa-ŋa</i>	<i>tamine aea posa-ŋa</i>
Kove	<i>tamine ele posa-ŋa</i>	<i>tamine aea posa-ŋa</i>

In each Maleu/Bariai language, there are nouns which fall into the *a-* class which have no apparent semantic connection to eating or drinking, but which seem more appropriately to be members of the *le-* class (which they may be in one or more of the other languages):

Kge	<i>ak rom</i>	'my lime dipper'
Kbn	<i>ag malo</i>	'my cloth'
Lusi	<i>agu alio</i>	'my pillow'
Kove	<i>agu kanika</i>	'my basket'

A fourth way of expressing possession is through the use of the possessive preposition Kge *ki-* Kbn *to-* Lusi *to-* Kove *to-*. These prepositions require an object suffix instead of a possessive suffix (§5.2.5.4):

	of.O1S	of.O2S	of.O3S	of.O1IP	of.O1EP	of.O2P	of.O3P
Kge	<i>kiau</i>	<i>kiom</i>	<i>kie</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>kiem</i>	<i>kiami</i>	<i>kire</i>
Kbn	<i>togau</i>	<i>togo</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>togita</i>	<i>togai</i>	<i>togimi</i>	<i>togid</i>
Lusi	<i>togau</i>	<i>togo</i>	<i>toni</i>	<i>togita</i>	<i>togai</i>	<i>togimi</i>	<i>tozi</i>
Kove	<i>togau</i>	<i>togo</i>	<i>toni</i>	<i>togita</i>	<i>togai</i>	<i>togimi</i>	<i>tozi</i>

This prepositional form neutralises the contrast between the edible and disposable classes. In Kilenge, the nominal prefix *na-* is retained in *ki-* constructions:

	'my house'	'the pigs' food'
	(<i>na-</i>)house of.O1S	(<i>na-</i>)food of.O3P pig
Kge	<i>na-nia kiau</i>	<i>n-anŋa kire na-ga</i>
Kbn	<i>luma togau</i>	<i>anŋa togid gaea</i>
Lusi	<i>luma togau</i>	<i>haniŋa tozi gaea</i>
Kove	<i>luma togau</i>	<i>haniŋa tozi gaea</i>

The order of possessum and possessor in these prepositional possessives is the reverse of that in *a-* or *le-* constructions, e.g. Lusi *tama-gu aea vua* {father-P1S ED.P3S betelnut} ‘my father’s betelnut’ but Lusi *vua toni tama-gu* {betelnut of.O3S father-P1S} ‘my father’s betelnut.’

5.1.4 PLURALITY

In the Maleu/Bariai languages, plurality is not generally indexed on nouns, but in the choice of plural pronominal affixes (subject, object or possessive) associated with the noun phrase or the verb phrase. The use of plural pronominal affixes generally follows the hierarchy [+human] < [+animal] < [-animate], that is, plurality is most frequently indicated for [+human] nouns and least frequently for [-animate] nouns. Other less common (and unproductive) means of indicating plurality are also found:

- (1) In Kilenge, the third person plural possessive suffix *-re* is found with several [+human] plural nouns: *na-iua-re* ‘woman, women’, *na-minki-re* ‘young women’, *na-lpuki-re* ‘young men’, and *tuanga-re* ‘children’. That the form *na-iua-re* can indicate both singular or plural (the form *na-iue*, however, can only be singular) suggests this process of plural marking is not only unproductive, but that it is losing its plural content.
- (2) Certain common adjectives may be optionally reduplicated to indicate plurality (see also Ross 1988:389):

‘big pigs’

Kge	<i>na-ga kapor=poria</i>
Kbn	<i>gaea kapei=pei</i>
Lusi	<i>gaea pa=pazo</i>
Kove	<i>gaea pa=paka</i>

The words Lusi *tapazona* Kove *apaka* ‘bigman’ and Lusi *tampazona* Kove *tampaka* ‘bigwoman’ are contractions of Lusi *tanta/tamine* + *pazona* {man/woman+ big} and Kove *ava/tamine* + *paka* {person/woman + big}. The respective plurals are Lusi *papazona* Kove *papaka* ‘bigmen’ and Lusi *tamine papazona* Kove *tamine papaka* ‘bigwomen’. Although the plurals appear to be reduplicated forms of the adjective ‘big’, it is equally possible that Lusi *papazona* and Kove *papaka* are derived from *pana* + *pazona/paka* {people + big} in the same fashion as *tapazona/apaka* and *tampazo/tampaka*.

- (3) Some nouns, mostly [+human] and especially kinship terms, may also be reduplicated for this purpose, e.g. Kbn *ma-g* ‘my mother’ > *matma-g* ‘my mothers’; Lusi *tama-gu* ‘my father’ > *tamtama-gu* ‘my fathers’; Kbn *asape* ‘widow’ > *asapsape* ‘widows’; Lusi *vilala* ‘young woman’ > *vivilala* ‘young women.’
- (4) In a single case, plurality is lexicalised:

	‘man’	‘men, people’
Kge	<i>tamta</i>	<i>tamtamaol</i>
Kbn	<i>eaba</i>	<i>panua</i>
Lusi	<i>tanta</i>	<i>pana</i>
Kove	<i>ava</i> ^a	<i>pana</i>

^a ‘man, person’. The word *tamone* ‘man, male’ is more commonly used for ‘man’ (Chowning, pers. comm.). The Lusi cognate *tomone* is only used for ‘male’.

The forms Kbn *gereirei* Lusi *kakalomu* ~ *kakamolu* Kove *gigihiti* are used to refer to small children, as in Kbn *kakau gereirei* Lusi *kakau kakalomu* Kove *kakau gigihiti*. In Kabana and Lusi, these terms may be extended to refer to numbers of small items, e.g. Kbn *ia gereirei* 'fish fry' Lusi *niu kakalomu* 'small, immature coconuts.'

5.2 THE PREDICATE

Sentences in the Maleu/Bariai languages generally consist of a subject and a predicate. The predicate may contain a verb (verbal sentences) or may be verbless. The subject may be a noun phrase or a pronoun, either free (as in verbless sentences) or prefixed (as in verbal sentences). In the analysis of the verbal sentences, five major components of the verb phrase are examined: (1) pronouns, (2) transitivity, (3) causatives and reciprocals, (4) modality, (5) prepositional phrases.

5.2.1 VERBLESS SENTENCES

The predicate of a verbless sentence may consist of a noun phrase or any constituent of a noun phrase such as a possessive or a modifier phrase (demonstratives often have adverbial forms used in such utterances):

	'That woman is my father's sister.'	'This is mine.'
	(<i>na</i> -)woman that father-P1S sister-P3S	this of-P1S
Kge	<i>na-iue lo tama-ge liu-a</i>	<i>eko kiau</i>
Kbn	<i>taine oa tama-g i-liu</i>	<i>ane togau</i>
Lusi	<i>tamine za tama-gu ai-liu</i>	<i>ane togau</i>
Kove	<i>tamine oa tama-gu ai-liu</i>	<i>diene togau</i>
	'Her house is yonder.'	'I have three pots.'
	DS-O3S (<i>na</i> -)house yonder	DS-O1S (<i>na</i> -)pot three
Kge	<i>leva na-nia talo</i>	<i>lekva na-ulo tol</i>
Kbn	<i>ele luma gaeoa</i>	<i>leg ulo tol</i>
Lusi	<i>ele luma gazaoa</i>	<i>legu ulo tolu</i>
Kove	<i>ele luma toduaoa</i>	<i>legu ulo tolu</i>

A demonstrative is the last element of a noun phrase, so when the demonstrative occurs between a noun and an adjective, it indicates that the adjective is in predicate position. Compare:

	'that big pig'	'That pig is big.'
	(<i>na</i> -)pig big that	(<i>na</i> -)pig that big
Kge	<i>na-ga aiio</i>	<i>na-ga io ai</i>
Kbn	<i>gaea kapei na</i>	<i>gaea na kapei</i>
Lusi	<i>gaea pazona na</i>	<i>gaea na pazona</i>
Kove	<i>gaea paka na</i>	<i>gaea na paka</i>

Some adjectives may act as verbs in the predicate and take the requisite subject prefixes:

	'cold water'		'The water is cold.'
	(<i>na-</i>)water cold		(<i>na-</i>)water (S3S-)cold
Kge	<i>na-eako roga</i>		<i>na-eako i-roga</i>
Kbn	<i>eau memedŋa</i>		<i>eau (i-)memedŋa</i>
Lusi	<i>eau pulpuli</i>		<i>eau (i-)pulpuli</i>
Kove	<i>eau pulipuli</i>		<i>eau (i-)pulipuli</i>

5.2.2. PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

As with many Austronesian languages spoken in Papua New Guinea, the Maleu/Bariai languages have several sets of pronominal forms serving different functions. In addition to the set of possessive affixes discussed above, each has a set of free pronouns, a set of subject prefixes and a set of object suffixes. The use of these pronominal forms is almost identical from language to language, although the differences in the phonetic shapes of the pronouns are important emblematic features of each language; speakers readily point to pronominal forms as distinguishing their own language from others.

5.2.2.1 FREE PRONOUNS

The free (D[isjunctive]) pronouns are used for emphasis, contrast, or as the subjects of verbless sentences:

	D1S	D2S	D3S	D1IP	D1EP	D2P	D3P
Kge	<i>iau ~ iou</i>	<i>iom</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>iem</i>	<i>iami</i>	<i>ire</i>
Kbn	<i>gau</i>	<i>eao</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>gita</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>gimi</i>	<i>gid</i>
Lusi	<i>viau</i>	<i>veao</i>	<i>eai ~ ei</i>	<i>teita</i>	<i>viai</i>	<i>amiu</i>	<i>asizi</i>
Kove	<i>iau</i>	<i>veao</i>	<i>veai ~ vei^a</i>	<i>taita</i>	<i>iai</i>	<i>amiu</i>	<i>asizi^a</i>

^a The nouns *ava* 'man, person' and *pana* 'people' are more commonly used than the pronouns given (Chowning pers. comm.).

	'Who are you?'		'we are not Europeans.'		'He is my father.'
	D2S who		D1EP European not		D3S father-P1S
Kge	<i>iom sie?</i>		<i>iem pura eavo</i>		<i>ie tama-ge</i>
Kbn	<i>eao sai?</i>		<i>gai puda mao</i>		<i>ei tama-g</i>
Lusi	<i>veao sei?</i>		<i>viai puza mao</i>		<i>eai tama-gu</i>
Kove	<i>veao sei?</i>		<i>iai puza mao</i>		<i>ava tama-gu</i>

In Kabana, the first person exclusive and the second person plural subject prefixes are identical, and so the free pronouns are frequently used to disambiguate, e.g. *gai a-la* {D1EP S1EP-go} 'we are going' and *gimi a-la* {D2P S2P-go} 'you are going'. Kabana also uses *ei* 'he, she, it' as a third person object pronoun. This often results in a merging of a verb-final vowel and the pronoun *ei*, e.g. Kbn *na-gera-i* from *na-gera ei* {S1S-see D3S}. The resultant forms often resemble the reflexive which uses a specialised suffix *-i* in the third person singular in the Bariai languages. The Kabana use of *ei* as an object pronoun probably reflects the origin of the specialised third person reflexive suffix *-i*, corroborated by the fact that the object pronouns are used reflexively in the other persons in the Bariai languages, e.g. Kbn *na-gera-gau* 'I see myself' (§5.2.2.3).

The use of *ei* in Kabana as an object pronoun is consistent with the fact that the free pronouns of Kabana are almost all identical with the object suffixes. Given that these free forms are cognate with the object suffixes of Lusi and Kove, it appears that Kabana has simplified its pronominal system by replacing most of its free pronouns with object pronouns, thereby reducing two distinct sets to one (with the exception of *eao* 'D2S').

The Kilenge form *iem* 'D1EP' is unique among the Maleu/Bariai languages, but has cognates in other Ngero and Vitiaz languages, such as Malalamai *yam*, Mutu *yam* Gtu *yam*. All the first person exclusive forms are derived from POC **ka[m]i* 'D1EP'.

Dual and trial number may be optionally marked by adding the numerals 'two' and 'three' to the free pronouns, with a few minor changes in the form of some pronouns. The affixed pronouns do not have dual or trial forms.

	Kge	Kbn	Lusi	Kove
D1ID	<i>ita lua = tamulua</i>	<i>gita rua</i>	<i>tarua</i>	<i>tahua</i>
D1ED	<i>iem lua</i>	<i>gai rua</i>	<i>viarua</i>	<i>iahua</i>
D2D	<i>iami lua = amulua</i>	<i>amirua</i>	<i>amirua</i>	<i>amihua</i>
D3D	<i>ire lua</i>	<i>gisirua = asirua</i>	<i>asirua</i>	<i>asihua</i>
D1IT	<i>ita tol</i>	<i>gita tol</i>	<i>tatolu</i>	<i>tatolu</i>
D1ET	<i>iem tol</i>	<i>gai tol</i>	<i>viatolu</i>	<i>iatolu</i>
D2T	<i>iami tol</i>	<i>amitol</i>	<i>amitolu</i>	<i>amitolu</i>
D3T	<i>ire tol</i>	<i>gisitol = asitol</i>	<i>asitolu</i>	<i>asitolu</i>

In Kilenge, one finds the roots *tamu-* '1IP' and *amu-* '2P' in addition to the expected *ita* and *iami* forms in the dual pronouns (whether these also occur in the trial forms in Kilenge is not known). The Kabana roots *ami-* '2P' and *gisi-* or *asi-* '3P' replace *gimi* and *gid* respectively. Lusi and Kove use the reduced root *ta-* '1IP' instead of the full forms Lusi *teita* and Kove *taita* (themselves composed of *ta+ita*), and Lusi *via-* Kove *ia-* '1EP' replace Lusi *viai* and Kove *iai* respectively. Similarly, the Lusi and Kove pronoun *asizi* is replaced by *asi-*, showing that the free pronoun *asizi* is composed of the root *asi-* and the third person possessive suffix *-zi*. Lusi and Kove both reduce *amiu* 'D2P' to either *ami-* or *amu-* to produce Lusi *amirua* ~ *amurua* Kove *amihua* ~ *amuhua* 'you two' and *amitolu* ~ *amutolu* 'you three' (Lusi may also use the full forms *amiu rua* and *amiu tolu*). It is noteworthy that these various changes to the free pronouns in the four languages reduce a few of the differences to be found among the free pronouns. Thus Kge *iami* Kbn *gimi* Lusi *amiu* Kove *amiu* 'D2P' become Kge *amu-* Kbn *ami-* Lusi *amu-* ~ *ami-* Kove *amu-* ~ *ami-* and Kbn *gid* Lusi *asizi* Kove *asizi* 'D3P' become Kbn *asi-* Lusi *asi-* Kove *asi-*.

In addition to these free pronouns, the Maleu/Bariai languages all possess a collective pronoun (COLL) to indicate people associated with the head noun:

'Peter and his friends/kin'
Peter COLL

Kge *Pita meko*
Kbn *Pita masin*
Lusi *Pita masizi*
Kove *Pita masezi*

These forms appear to contain reflexes of POC **ma(i)-* 'and, with'. The Lusi and Kove forms also contain a form related to their third person free pronoun *asizi*.

5.2.2.2 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

The subject pronouns listed below are prefixed to the verb.

	S1S	S2S	S3S	S1IP	S1EP	S2P	S3P
Kge	<i>na-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ti-</i>
Kbn	<i>na</i>	\emptyset -	<i>i-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ti-</i>
Lusi	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>via-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ti-</i>
Kove	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ia-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ti-</i>
	'where are you going?' S2S-go where		'give me betelnut to eat' (<i>na-</i>)betel S3S-come S1S-chew			'let's go to sleep' S1IP-go S1IP-sleep	
Kge	<i>ku-la siane?</i>		<i>na-vua i-mai na-soŋo</i>			<i>ta-la ta-kono</i>	
Kbn	<i>la sida?</i>		<i>bua i-nama na-soŋo</i>			<i>ta-la ta-eno</i>	
Lusi	<i>u-la soza?</i>		<i>vua i-nama ŋa-soŋo</i>			<i>ta-la ta-eno</i>	
Kove	<i>u-la soza?</i>		<i>vua i-nama ŋa-soŋo</i>			<i>ta-la ta-eno</i>	

The subject prefixes of the four Maleu/Bariai languages are quite similar, with two exceptions:

- (1) Kilenge and Kabana have *n-* in Kge *na-* Kbn *na-* 'S1S' where Lusi and Kove have *ŋ-* in Lusi *ŋa-* Kove *ŋa-* 'P1S'. This same split is found among the Ngero languages: Malamalai and Gitua have *ŋa-* while Mutu has *na-* (Lincoln 1977a:9).
- (2) The first person exclusive prefix differs in each of the four languages. The Kilenge first person exclusive prefix *em-* is identical in form with the first person exclusive possessive suffix *-em*.
- (3) Kbn \emptyset - 'S2S' is unique among these languages, but Kge *ku-*, Lusi *u-* and Kove *u-* may optionally be deleted in imperatives. This may account for the loss of the prefix in Kabana.

Degemination of identical vowels occurs when a prefix meets a verb root beginning with a vowel, e.g. Kge *na-uata-e* 'I followed him' but *ku-ata-e* 'you followed him'; Kbn *na-ilo masilau* 'I hunted for game' but *i-lo masilau* 'he hunted for game'; Lusi *i-ani* 'she ate' but *ani* 'I ate'; Kove *i-atai* 'he knows' but *atai* 'I know.'

Kabana and Lusi have a morphophonemic rule: *e > ∅ / i, u __ a*, that is, the root-initial *e* of a verb beginning with *-ea* is deleted after a prefix with a high vowel, namely the prefixes *i-* 'S3S', *ti-* 'S3P' and Lusi *u-* 'S2S':

Kbn	<i>-ean</i> 'eat'			Lusi	<i>-eamani</i> 'repair a net'		
	<i>na-ean</i>	<i>ta-ean</i>	<i>a-ean</i>		<i>ŋa-eamani</i>	<i>ta-eamani</i>	<i>via-eamani</i>
	<i>ean</i>		<i>a-ean</i>		<i>u-amani</i>		<i>a-eamani</i>
	<i>i-an</i>		<i>ti-an</i>		<i>i-amani</i>		<i>ti-amani</i>

A second morphophonemic rule *o > [u] / i, u __ a* is shared by the three Bariai languages and converts a root-initial *o* followed by *a* to [u] after prefixes having a terminal high vowel, e.g. Kbn *na-oai* Lusi *ŋa-oai* Kove *ŋa-oai* 'I married' but Kbn *i-uai* Lusi *i-uai* Kove *i-uai* 'he married'. The nominalised forms of these verbs show that the *o* is original: Kbn *oai-ŋa* Lusi *oai-ŋa* Kove *oai-ŋa* 'marriage'. Degemination may occur in Lusi and Kove when [u] is preceded by *u-* '2S', such that Lusi *u-* '2S' + *-oatai* 'know' first becomes *u-uatai* and then is realised as *uatai* 'you know'. The rule does not apply to the Kabana equivalent *oatai* 'you know' since the second person singular is \emptyset -.

The Lusi verb *-zega* 'want; be about to; say' is exceptional in requiring *o-* 'S2S', *e-* 'S3S' and *te-* 'S3P' instead of the usual forms *u-*, *i-* and *ti-*, e.g. *o-zega* 'you want', *e-zega* 's/he wants', *te-zega* 'they want'. One Kilenge verb, *-mai* 'come', changes to *-moi* in the second person singular: *ku-moi* 'you came'.

5.2.2.3 OBJECT PRONOUNS

The object pronouns are suffixed to a verb or to a preposition (§5.2.5.4) to mark the object:

	O1S	O2S	O3S	O1IP	O1EP	O2P	O3P
Kge	<i>-au</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ita</i>	<i>-em</i>	<i>-ami</i>	<i>-re</i>
Kbn	<i>-gau</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-gita</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>-gimi</i>	<i>-gid</i>
Lusi	<i>-gau</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-gita</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>-gimi</i>	<i>-zi</i>
Kove	<i>-gau</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-gita</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>-gimi</i>	<i>-zi</i>

Kilenge is unique in having a distinct third person singular object suffix, lacking in Kabana, Lusi and Kove:

	'I hit him'	'he saw her'	'who brought it?'
	S1S-hit-O3S	S3S-see-O3S	who S3S-bring-O3S
Kge	<i>na-lau-e</i>	<i>i-li-e</i>	<i>sie i-toli-e?</i>
Kbn	<i>na-rau-∅</i>	<i>i-gera-∅</i>	<i>sai i-bada-∅?</i>
Lusi	<i>na-rau-∅</i>	<i>na-kona-∅</i>	<i>sei i-vaza-∅?</i>
Kove	<i>na-hau-∅</i>	<i>na-kona-∅</i>	<i>sei i-kea-∅?</i>

When the Kilenge suffix *-e* 'O3S' is affixed to a verb stem ending in *a* and to some ending in *o*, this final *a* or *o* is dropped, e.g. *-pora* 'slap' > *i-pora-om* 'he slapped you' but *na-por-e* 'I slapped him'; and *-loŋo* 'hear' > *i-loŋo-au* 'he heard me' but *na-loŋoe* 'I heard him'. Degemination occurs when a root final vowel is identical to the initial vowel of an object suffix, e.g. *-veta* 'ask' > *i-veta-re* 'she asked them' but *i-vet-au* 'she asked me', *i-vet-ami* 'she asked you'; and *-loŋo* 'hear' > *na-loŋo-re* 'I heard them' but *na-loŋoom* 'I heard you'.

The Kilenge suffix *-e* is redundantly present even when a nominal object follows the verb, although some verbs, such as *-va* 'drink', do not take the suffix under any circumstances:

Kge	<i>na-tal-e</i>	<i>n-ai</i>	'I chopped down the tree.'
	S1S-cut-O3S	<i>na-tree</i>	
Kge	<i>na-savaki-e</i>	<i>na-ia</i>	'I scaled the fish.'
	S1S-scale-O3S	<i>na-fish</i>	
Kge	<i>na-va</i>	<i>na-eako</i>	'I drank the water.'
	S1S-drink	<i>na-water</i>	

A few verbs take *-i* instead of *-e* as the third person suffix (§3.1):

Kge	<i>ti-tun-i</i>	<i>na-gu</i>	'They burned the Imperata.'
	S3P-burn-O3S	<i>na-kunai</i>	
Kge	<i>guas</i>	<i>i-mai</i>	'Give me a cigarette to smoke.'
	tobacco	S3S-come	S1S-eat-O3S

In Kilenge, some verbs may occur without a third person object suffix to indicate a plural inanimate object :

Kge	<i>a-ig-e</i> S2P-carry-O3S	<i>n-ai</i> <i>na-tree</i>	'Carry the tree!'
	<i>a-ik</i> S2P-carry	<i>n-ai</i> <i>na-tree</i>	'Carry the trees!'
Kge	<i>na-ruk-i</i> S1S-cover-O3S	<i>guas</i> tobacco	'I rolled a cigarette.'
	<i>na-ruk</i> S1S-cover	<i>na-vulŋa</i> thing	'I covered the things.'

The object suffixes are also used in reflexive constructions. Kabana, Lusi and Kove have a special third person singular reflexive suffix *-i* which is lacking in Kilenge, where the regular third person object suffix *-e* is used:

Kge	<i>na-kotu-k-au</i> S1S-stub-TR-O1S	'I stubbed my toe.'	<i>i-kotu-k-e</i> S3S-stub-TR-O3S	'He stubbed his toe.'
Kbn	<i>na-lua-gau</i> S1S-return-O1S	'I returned.'	<i>i-lua-i</i> S3S-return-O3S	'He returned.'
Lusi	<i>ŋa-zoa-gau</i> S1S-seat-O1S	'I sat down.'	<i>i-zoa-i</i> S3S-seat-O3S	'He sat down.'
Kove	<i>ŋa-lio-gau</i> S1S-hang-O1S	'I hanged myself.'	<i>i-lio-i</i> S3S-hang-O3S	'He hanged himself.'

The nominalised form of Kbn *-lua-* and Lusi *-lua-* 'return' maintains the third person singular suffix, e.g. Kbn *edap lua-i-ŋa aea* Lusi *ezapu lua-i-ŋa aea* {road return-O3S-NSR CON} 'the return road'.

Kilenge, Lusi and Kove (but not Kabana) also have an emphatic reflexive noun *tau-* 'self' to which the possessive suffixes are attached:

Kge	<i>tau-k</i> self-P1S	<i>na-kiv-e</i> S1S-do-O3S	'I did it myself.'	
Lusi	<i>kekele</i> child	<i>ai-tau</i> P3S-self	<i>i-mosi-i</i> S3S-care.for-O3S	'The child looks after himself.'
Kove	<i>u-polu</i> S2S-fold	<i>uasi</i> tobacco	<i>ai-tau</i> P3S-self	'Roll a cigarette in its own leaf.'

The reflexive suffix is also used to derive process verbs from process-action verbs in Kabana, Lusi and Kove:

Kbn	<i>na-tok</i> S1S-spill	<i>eau</i> water	'I poured/spilled the water.'
	<i>eau</i> water	<i>i-tok-i</i> S3S-spill-O3S	'The water spilled.'
Lusi	<i>ŋa-pasu</i> S1S-extract	<i>moi</i> taro	'I pulled out the taro.'

ai-luo *i-pasu-i* 'Her tooth fell out.'
 P3S-tooth S3S-extract-O3S

Kove *ŋa-pala* *avei* 'I broke firewood.'
 S1S-split tree

avei *i-pala-i* 'The tree split.'
 tree S3S-split-O3S

Kilenge has no comparable derivation:

Kge *na-og-e* *na-eako* 'I poured the water.'
 S1S-pour-O3S *na-water*

na-eako *i-lele* 'The water spilled.'
na-water S3S-spill

Kge *ti-posposu* *na-mo* 'They pulled out the taro.'
 S3P-extract *na-taro*

roŋe *i-pos* 'Her tooth came out.'
 tooth.P3S S3S-extract

Kge *na-pale* *n-ai* 'He split the wood.'
 S1S-split:3S *na-tree*

n-ai *i-ma-pala*^a 'The wood split.'
na-tree S3S-stative-split

^a The Kilenge stative prefix *ma-*, which has cognate forms in Kabana, Lusi and Kove, is not productive.

Kilenge has several compound verbs lacking in the Bariai languages, where simple verbs or verb chaining is more common (see Bradshaw 1979 on serial causatives):

Kge 'We killed him.' 'Break the coconut open.'
 S1EP-kill and S3S-die S2S-hit coconut S3S-split-O3S

Kge *em-lau-mati*^a *ku-lau-pale na-niu*^b

Kbn *a-rau ga i-mate* *rau niu i-pala-i*

Lusi *via-rau ga i-mate* *u-rau niu i-pala-i*

Kove *ia-hau ga i-mate* *u-hau niu i-pala-i*

^a {S1EP-hit-kill.O3S}; the form *-mati* is related to *-mate* 'die', and is also found in the Kilenge causative form *-pa-mati* 'extinguish (a fire)' (Kbn *-pa-mate* Lusi *-pa-mate* Kove *-pa-mate*). A cognate of *-laumatiŋa* is found in Mutu *-rab-matin* 'kill'. Compare also Gtu *-rap-mate-a*.

^b S2S-hit-split.O3S coconut.

'I knocked a mango down,' 'I tore the paper.'
 S1S-knock.down mango S1S-tear paper

Kge *na-gal-kere-k-e na-uoi*^a *na-pal-sasa-k-e pepa*^b

Kbn *na-bal kodaē* *na-sasaran pepa*

Lusi *ŋa-kozaē* *ŋa-sasarani pepa*

Kove — *ŋa-sasarani pepa*

^a S1S-spear-pluck-TR-O3S mango.

^b S1S-split-tear-TR-O3S paper.

Kilenge may also incorporate the adverbs *pua* 'well, carefully' (compare *papua-* 'good') and *sapa* 'in vain, empty, nothing' into the verb. Kabana, Lusi and Kove lack such incorporation:

'I carried them carefully.' 'Carry this thing well.'
 S1S-carry good (S2S)-carry thing this good

Kge	<i>na-ik-pua-re</i> ^a	<i>ku-ik-pue na-va</i> ^b
Kbn	<i>na-bisi kemi</i>	<i>bisi daja ne kemi</i>
Lusi	<i>ja-visi poea</i>	<i>u-visi zaja ne poea</i>
Kove	<i>ja-poga doko</i>	<i>u-poga zaja ne doko</i>

^a S2S-carry-good-O3P.

^b S2S-carry-good.O3S *na*-thing.

'He ate it without (coconut gravy).'
 S3S-eat nothing

Kge	<i>i-kan-sape = i-kan-i sapa</i> ^a
Kbn	<i>i-an sapa</i>
Lusi	<i>i-ani sapa</i>
Kove	<i>i-ani sapa</i>

^a S3S-eat-nothing:3S = S3S-eat-O3S nothing

5.2.3 TRANSITIVE MARKING

As a rule, Kabana, Lusi and Kove do not have a specific transitive suffix, although a non-productive suffix Kbn *-n* Lusi *-ni* Kove *-ni* 'transitive' (TR) is found on a number of verbs. This suffix is frequently preceded by Kbn *-ra- ~ -la- ~ -a-* Lusi *-ra- ~ -la- ~ -a-* Kove *-ha- ~ -la- ~ -a-*, but the conditioning factors behind these variants is not apparent. Chowning (1978a:1154) suggests this suffix may derive from the Proto Oceanic transitive suffix **-aki(ni)*.

	'push'	'pour'	'release' ^a	'wake'	'hide'
Kbn	<i>-susura-n</i>	<i>-sira-n</i>	<i>-tna-n</i>	<i>-oaoa-n</i>	<i>-muda-n</i>
Lusi	<i>-sukla-ni</i>	<i>-sura-ni</i>	<i>-kina-ni</i>	<i>-oana-ni</i>	<i>-muza-ni</i>
Kove	<i>-sukula-ni</i>	<i>-suha-ni</i>	<i>-kina-ni</i>	<i>-oaoa-ni</i>	<i>-muza-ni</i>

^a 'leave, release, let go, abandon'.

In some cases, the suffix is lacking in one or another of the languages or in doublets in one language:

	'hear'	'singe'	'stretch, extend' ^c
Kbn	<i>-lo</i>	<i>-salaba</i>	<i>-pa-otoa-n</i>
Lusi	<i>-lo-ni</i> ^a	<i>-savara-ni</i>	<i>-pa-oto</i>
Kove	<i>-lo-ni</i> ^a	<i>-savaha-ni</i> ^b	<i>-pa-oto</i>

^a The Lusi and Kove forms can be shortened to *-lo* in abrupt commands. The shortened form is also found in Kbn *pa-lo* Lusi *pa-lo* Kove *pa-lo* 'inform, tell'. ROSS reconstructs **lo* for the North New Guinea cluster (1988:189).

^b 'cook bivalves directly on fire'.

^c Compare Kbn *i-oto-i* Lusi *i-oto-i* Kove *i-oto-i* {S3S-stretch-O3S} 's/he stretches'.

	'chase'	'squeeze'	'pull'
Kbn	<i>-nana-n</i>	<i>-bibira-n</i>	<i>-dada</i>
Lusi	<i>-nana</i>	<i>-vivira-ni</i>	<i>-zaza</i>
Kove	<i>-nana</i>	<i>-vivi(-hani)</i>	<i>-zaza(-hani)</i>

Also: (i) Kbn *-bili-n* 'disperse, break up' Lusi *-vilili* 'disperse, scatter'; (ii) Lusi *-koli* 'repay, return' but *-kolia-ni* 'replace, rebuild, replant'; and (iii) Kbn *-pa-sola-n* Lusi *-sola-ni* 'point to, show' but Lusi *sosola* 'index finger.'

The suffix is found in the derivation of verbs from nouns in the following: (i) Kbn *odoa* Lusi *ozoa* Kove *ozoa* 'rattan skirts' > Kbn *-u-odoa-n* Lusi *-zoa-ni* Kove *-zoa-ni* 'put on skirts'; and (ii) Kbn *tulua* Lusi *tulua* Kove *tulua* 'bundle carried on head' > Kbn *-tutula-n* Lusi *-tulua-ni* Kove *-tulua-ni* 'tie into a bundle.'

The suffix is replaced by the reflexive suffix *-i* in certain intransitive constructions:

Kbn	<i>i-sasara-n</i>	<i>avei</i>		'She split the wood.'
	S3S-rip-TR	tree		
	<i>avei</i>	<i>i-sasara-i</i>		'The wood split.'
	tree	S3S-rip-O3S		
Lusi	<i>ŋa-gigira-ni</i>	<i>ai-gauli</i>		'I throttled him.'
	S1S-constrict-TR	P3S-neck		
	<i>luma</i>	<i>i-gigira-i</i>		'The house is constricted, cramped.'
	house	S3S-constrict-O3S		
Kove	<i>i-suha-ni</i>	<i>eau</i>		'She poured the water.'
	S3S-spill-TR	water		
	<i>eau</i>	<i>i-suha-i</i>		'The water spilled.'
	water	S3S-spill-O3S		

Although Kilenge lacks a cognate form of the above suffix, it has its own transitive suffix *-k-*, which is much more productive than the *-n(i)* counterparts of Kabana, Lusi and Kove, and which appears on a large number of transitive verbs, albeit not all. The transitive suffix *-k-* is always followed by an object pronominal suffix (the object suffix *-re* '3P' becomes *-ire*, presumably to avoid the consonant cluster in *-k-re*). A few examples include:

Kge	<i>na-ule-k-e</i>	<i>na-oga</i>		'I pulled the canoe.'
	S1S-pull-TR-O3S	<i>na-canoe</i>		
	<i>ku-to-k-e</i>	<i>na-pul</i>	<i>i-mai</i>	'Bring the knife.'
	S2S-bring-TR-O3S	<i>na-knife</i>	S3S-come	
	<i>na-silpei-k-au</i>			'I combed myself.'
	S1S-comb-TR-O1S			
	<i>sie</i>	<i>i-kala-k-om?</i>		'Who bit you?'
	who	S3S-bite-TR-O2S		

A number of Kilenge words with this suffix have cognates (lacking a suffix) in Kabana, Lusi or Kove:

	'sweep'	'catch'	'grate'	'scrape'	'sew'	'pluck'
Kge	<i>-sile-k-</i>	<i>-sau-k-</i>	<i>-nau-k-</i>	<i>-kolkol-k-</i>	<i>-sai-k-</i>	<i>-kere-k-</i>
Kbn	<i>-sile</i>	<i>-sau</i>	<i>-nau</i>	<i>-kolkol</i>	<i>-saisai</i>	<i>-kede</i>
Lusi	<i>-sile</i>	<i>-sau</i>	<i>-nau</i>	<i>-kokoli</i>	<i>(-zizi)</i>	<i>-keze</i>
Kove	<i>-sile</i>	<i>-sau</i>	<i>-nau</i>	<i>-kolikoli</i>	<i>-saisai</i>	<i>-keze</i>

A number of transitive verbs with *-k-* have intransitive forms lacking it (in the first

example, the verb *sopu* ~ *sopsop* does not take the expected S3S subject prefix):

Kge	<i>mata-k</i> eye-P1S	<i>sopu-k-om</i> lose-TR-O2S		'I forgot you.'
	<i>mata-k</i> eye-P1S	<i>sopsop</i> lost		'I forgot.'
Kge	<i>na-nuni-e</i> S1S-put-O3S	<i>i-lu</i> S3S-enter	<i>visi</i> basket	'I put it into the basket.'
	<i>na-eako</i> na-water	<i>i-lu-k-e</i> S3S-enter-TR-O3S	<i>kap</i> cup	'The water goes into the cup.'
Kge	<i>na-lamo-k-e</i> S1S-clear-TR-O3S	<i>na-uraura</i> na-bush		'I cleared the bush.'
	<i>na-lamo</i> S1S-clear	<i>kye</i> in	<i>na-pano</i> na-place	'I cleared (the weeds) in the village.'
Kge	<i>i-posposu-k-e</i> S3S-extract-TR-O3S	<i>guas</i> tobacco		'He took out a cigarette.'
	<i>na-niu</i> na-coconut	<i>i-pospos</i> S3S-extract		'A coconut came off.'

Note that the final high vowel of the root is maintained in the transitive verbs *sopu-k* 'forget' and *-posposu-k* 'extract', but is lost in the intransitive forms *sopsop* and *-pospos*.

The *-k-* suffix does not appear when the verb is nominalised, as in the following: (i) *-silpei-k-* 'comb' > *na-silpei-ŋa* {na-comb-NSR} 'a comb, combing'; (ii) *-gal-kere-k-* {spear-pluck-TR-} 'knock fruit off tree with a stick' > *na-gal-kere-ŋa* {na-spear-pluck-NSR} 'a stick used to knock fruit off tree'; and (iii) *-kisi-k-* 'hold' > *na-olo ki-e na-ga e kisi-ŋa* {rope CON-O3S pig ED-P3S hold-NSR} 'a rope for holding onto the pig' (compare Kbn *-kisi* Lusi *-kisi* Kove *-kisi* 'hold, take hold of').

5.2.4 CAUSATIVE AND RECIPROCAL

The causative prefix *-pa-* (CS) is found in all four Maleu/Bariai languages, and is relatively productive:

Kge	<i>na-malo</i> na-cloth	<i>i-gol</i> S3S-dry	<i>o</i> CMPL	'The cloth has dried.'
	<i>i-pa-goli-e</i> S3S-CS-dry-O3S	<i>na-malo</i> na-cloth		'He dried the cloth.'
Kbn	<i>apa-g</i> belly-P1S	<i>i-sum</i> S3S-full		'I am full.'
	<i>rais</i> rice	<i>i-pa-sum</i> S3S-CS-full	<i>apa-g</i> belly-P1S	'Rice makes me full.'
Lusi	<i>kanika</i> basket	<i>i-moeoeo</i> S3S-hang		'The basket is hanging.'

	<i>ŋa-pa-moeoeo</i>	<i>kanika</i>	'I'll hang the basket.'
	S1S-CS-hang	basket	
Kove	<i>gaea</i>	<i>i-ani</i>	'The pig is eating.'
	pig	S3S-eat	
	<i>i-pa-hani</i>	<i>gaea</i>	'She fed the pig.'
	S3S-CS-eat	pig	

In a single instance, Kbn *-pa-*, Lusi *-pa-* and Kove *-pa-* represents a reciprocal (RCP):

	'hit'	'fight'	
		RCP-hit	
Kge	<i>-lau</i>	<i>-lau pol^a</i>	
Kbn	<i>-rau</i>	<i>-pa-rau</i>	
Lusi	<i>-rau</i>	<i>-pa-rau</i>	
Kove	<i>-hau</i>	<i>-pa-hau^b</i>	

^a {hit RCP}.

^b This is not commonly used in Kove (Chowning pers. comm.).

This appears to be a fossilised form of POc **paRi-* 'reciprocal', which has collapsed with POc **pa-* 'causative'. Kilenge stands apart from Kabana, Lusi and Kove in having a specific reciprocal morpheme *pol* derived from a form such as **palu* (Ross 1988:180), to which the object suffixes may be affixed (*-ita* 'O1IP' is shortened to *-ta*, and *-re* 'O3P' may be omitted). In the other languages, the preposition Kbn *ŋan-* Lusi *ŋa-* Kove *ŋa-* does double-duty as a reciprocal; it follows the verb and takes the object suffixes:

	'we saw each other'
	S1IP-see RCP-O1IP
Kge	<i>ta-li pol-ta</i>
Kbn	<i>ta-gera ŋan-gita</i>
Lusi	<i>ta-kona ŋa-gita</i>
Kove	<i>ta-kona ŋa-gita</i>

In the case of Kge *ta-kot pol-ta* {S1IP-stub RCP-O1IP} 'we bumped heads', the verb loses the final high vowel; compare *na-kotu-k-au* {S1S-stub-TR-O1S} 'I stubbed my toe.'

5.2.5 MODALITY

The modality system of the Maleu/Bariai languages is relatively simple. Tense is not marked and aspect may be indicated by various lexical means or by reduplication and is, by and large, optional. There is little marking of mood differences. All four languages agree quite closely in the sorts of modality marked and the means used to mark them, although the lexical items themselves often differ in form.

Although tense marking is absent, it is possible to indicate futurity (FUT) in the four Maleu/Bariai languages by means of the free morphemes Kge *pa* Kbn *tau* Lusi *tau* Kove *tau* ~ *ta*. This marking is optional, although Kilenge tends to make use of *pa* more frequently than Kabana, Lusi and Kove use *tau*.

'I went to the garden yesterday.'
yesterday S1S-go garden-LOC

Kge *nola na-la kumo*^a
Kbn *made na-la dadanja-i*
Lusi *nora ŋa-la zazanja-i*
Kove *noha ŋa-la moŋa-eai*

^a {yesterday S1S-go garden.}

^b {tomorrow (FUT) S1S-return S1S-come}.

'Tomorrow I will return.'
tomorrow (fut) S1S-return-O1S

aule (pa) na-mule na-mai^b
sabale (tau) na-lua-gau
savale (tau) ŋa-lua-gau
savalele (tau) ŋa-lua-gau

A second Kilenge form, *so*, has an extra desiderative (DESID) function, e.g. *so ku-moi kiau?* {DESID S2S-come with-O1S} 'Do you want to come with me?'

The most basic aspect dichotomy in the Maleu/Bariai languages is between durative and completive. The durative aspects of progressive and habitual are largely unmarked, although occasionally reduplication of the verb may be used. Continuative action may be indicated by repetition of the verb, or by a sequence involving a verb of motion (usually 'go') which is repeated after the verb, carrying the requisite subject prefix and conjoined by 'and.'

'I don't drink tea.'^a
S1S-drink tea not

Kge *na-va ti eavo*
Kbn *na-un ti mao*
Lusi *ŋa-unu ti mao*
Kove *ŋa-unu ti mao*

^a Or 'I am not drinking tea'.

'I hear a man talking.'
S1S-hear man S3S-speak

na-loŋo na-tamta i-ŋoŋo ~ i-ŋoŋo=ŋo
na-loŋo eaba i-posa ~ i-posa=posa
ŋa-loŋoni tanta i-posa ~ i-posa=posa
ŋa-loŋoni tamone i-posa ~ i-posa=posa

'The fire is burning.'
(na)-fire S3S-eat

Kge *na-riŋa i-kan=an*
Kbn *diŋa i-an=i-an*^a
Lusi *ziŋa i-an=ani*
Kove *eai i-an=ani*

^a {fire S3S-eat S3S-eat}.

'He kept walking and walking.'
S3S-walk and S3S-go and S3S-go and S3S-go

i-lala me i-la me i-la me i-la
i-lalala ga i-la ga i-la ga i-la
i-lalao ga i-la ga i-la ga i-la
i-lalao ŋga i-la ga i-la ga i-la

The completive (CMPL) is consistently marked in all four languages by means of a specialised modality marker: Kge *o* Kbn *ga kus*, *na* or *o* Lusi *gasili* Kove *gasili*. This modality marker occurs after a verb and its adjunct phrases (object or prepositional phrases). There appears to be no difference among the Kabana forms. Kabana *kus* may also be used to mean 'finished up, all gone', while *na* is a demonstrative meaning 'that'; *kus* may be accompanied by either *na* or *o*. The Lusi and Kove forms appear to be composed of *ga* 'and' and *sili* 'enough' (e.g. Lusi *na i-sili aoara, ta-la* {this S3S-enough rain, S1IP-go} 'to hell with the rain, let's go' and *a-kaliana sili* {S2P-play enough} 'you've played enough.')

'Have you eaten the fish?'
S2S-eat(-O3S) fish CMPL

Kge *ku-kan-i na-ia o?*
Kbn *ean ia ga kus?*
Lusi *u-ani iha gasili?*
Kove *u-ani iha gasili?*

'He has died; he is dead.'
S3S-die CMPL

i-mate o
i-mate na
i-mate gasili
i-mate gasili

	'The cloth is dry.'		'They are married.'
	cloth S3S-dry CMPL		S3P-marry CMPL
Kge	<i>na-malo i-gol o</i>		<i>ti-ola o</i>
Kbn	<i>malo i-mamasa o</i>		<i>ti-oai o</i>
Lusi	<i>malo i-mamasa gasili</i>		<i>ti-oai gasili</i>
Kove	<i>malo i-mamasa gasili</i>		<i>ti-oai gasili</i>

To express 'not yet', the forms Kge *eavo ta* Kbn *maitne* Lusi *maitne* Kove *maitune* occur in the same slot as the completive. The Kabana, Lusi and Kove forms are also used to mean 'still', but the Kilenge equivalent *ta* 'still' occurs alone. The use of *mait(u)ne*, hence, can be ambiguous but is clarified by context.

	'I haven't eaten yet.'		'He is still sleeping.'
	S1S-eat not yet		S3S-sleep yet
Kge	<i>na-kan eavo ta</i>		<i>i-kono ta</i>
Kbn	<i>na-ean maitne</i>		<i>i-eno maitne</i> ^a
Lusi	<i>ŋa-ani maitne</i>		<i>i-eno maitne</i> ^a
Kove	<i>ŋa-ani maitune</i>		<i>i-eno maitune</i> ^a

^a Or 'He has not slept yet'.

Sequencing between clauses is indicated by several means. The first, which may be called the interruptive (INTRPV), is indicated by an adverbial meaning 'first, for the time being': Kge *ge* Kbn *bua*, *ge* Lusi *muga* Kove *muga*. This is used to indicate that an action is temporarily interrupted while another action takes place. This is often used to excuse oneself from an activity, with the implication that one will shortly return and continue the activity:

	'Let's chew betel first.'		'Excuse me while I go and urinate.'
	S1IP-chew INTRPV		S1S-go S1S-urinate INTRPV
Kge	<i>ta-sonjo ge</i>		<i>na-la na-mail ge</i>
Kbn	<i>ta-sonjo bua</i>		<i>na-la na-meme ge</i>
Lusi	<i>ta-sonjo muga</i>		<i>ŋa-la ŋa-meme muga</i>
Kove	<i>ta-sonjo muga</i>		<i>ŋa-la ŋa-meme muga</i>

The completive is used to indicate that one action is completed before another action commences. This device is particularly common in narratives:

	'After they speared the pig, they butchered it.'
	S3S-spear(-O3S) pig CMPL, S3P-butcher
Kge	<i>ti-gali-e na-ga o, ti-toto</i>
Kbn	<i>ti-gal gaea ga kus, ti-totoi</i>
Lusi	<i>ti-gali gaea gasili, ti-totoi</i>
Kove	<i>ti-gali gaea gasili, ti-totoi</i>

5.2.6 NEGATION

In addition to the forms expressing 'not yet', the Maleu/Bariai languages have the negative morpheme Kge *eavo* ~ *avo* Kbn *mao* Lusi *mao* Kove *mao*. The Lusi negative has an emphatic variant *mako* (compare Gitua *mago*). The negative occurs in the same clause-final slot as the completive and the 'not yet' forms, all of which are mutually exclusive. The

negative is also used to express 'or'; in Lusi, the word *ge* 'or' may also be used for this, or the two words may be used together. The Kove form *mao* is generally shortened to *ma* in this usage:

	'I didn't see the woman.'		'Is this food good or bad?'
	S1S-see(-O3S) woman not		food this good (or) not bad
Kge	<i>na-li-e na-iue eavo</i>		<i>n-anio papue eavo sia?</i>
Kbn	<i>na-gera taine mao</i>		<i>anne kemi mao paeamao?</i>
Lusi	<i>ŋa-kona tamine mao</i>		<i>haniŋa ne poea ge (mao) sasi?</i>
Kove	<i>ŋa-kona tamine mao</i>		<i>haniŋa ne doko ma sasi?</i>

A second negative, Kge *kute* Kbn *padam* Lusi *mina* Kove *mina*, is used in negative imperatives ('dehortatives': DHRT), again in the same slot as the completive:

	'Don't cry.'	'Let's not go to the garden.'	'Don't beat your dogs!'
	S2S-cry DHRT	S1IP-go garden-LOC DHRT	S2P-hit DS-P2P dog DHRT
Kge	<i>ku-taŋ kute</i>	<i>ta-la kumo kute</i> ^a	<i>em-lau limi gaune kute</i>
Kbn	<i>taŋ padam</i>	<i>ta-la dadana-i padam</i>	<i>a-rau lemi kawa padam</i>
Lusi	<i>u-taŋi mina</i>	<i>ta-la zazaŋa-i mina</i>	<i>a-rau lemi kawa mina</i>
Kove	<i>u-taŋi mina</i>	<i>ta-la moŋa-eai mina</i>	<i>a-hau lemi kawa mina</i>

^a S1IP-go garden DHRT.

A caveat is expressed with the conjunctions Kge *pa* Kbn *kado* Lusi *kasa* Kove *katau* 'lest'. The Kilenge form is identical to the irrealis marker; the Kabana, Lusi and Kove conjunctions are based on the verbs Kbn *-kado* Lusi *-kazo* Kove *-kazo* 'do'. In Lusi and Kove, this verb is shortened to *-ka* and conjoined with Lusi *sa* 'and then' and Kove *tau*, the futurity marker. Thus these constructions are comparable to 'if you do (what you were doing), then...':

	'sit properly or you'll fall'
	S2S-sit good lest S2S-fall
Kge	<i>ku-mate pua pa ku-mol</i>
Kbn	<i>mado kemi kado tap</i>
Lusi	<i>u-zoa-go poea kasa u-tapu</i>
Kove	<i>u-zoa-go doko katau u-tapu</i> ^a

^a Chowning (pers. comm.) has not recorded *katau*, but notes that *ga* 'and' is used in the same way.

5.2.7 PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

The Maleu/Bariai languages do not possess a large inventory of prepositions or postpositions, and those that exist do not always have identical functions across these languages (those of Lusi and Kove, however, are virtually identical in use). Three prepositions are shared by all four languages, while the Bariai languages possess, in addition, one more preposition and two postpositions lacking in Kilenge. The three most basic prepositions, to which object pronominal forms are suffixed, are as follows:

	possessive	benefactive, locative	source, instrument
Kge	<i>ki-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>kɲa-</i>
Kbn	<i>to-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ɲan-</i>
Lusi	<i>to-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ɲa-</i>
Kove	<i>to-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ɲa-</i>

The Bariai languages have a specific third person singular suffix which is affixed to these prepositions: Kbn *-n* Lusi *-ni* Kove *-ni*, to produce (i) Kbn *ton* Lusi *toni* Kove *toni* 'POSS-O3S'; (ii) Kbn *pan* Lusi *pani* Kove *pani* 'BEN-O3S'; and (iii) Lusi *ɲani* Kove *ɲani* 'SCE-O3S'. In the case of the Kabana preposition *ɲan*, the suffix *-n* has fused to the root, and the form *ɲa* does not occur in Kabana, so *ɲan-* is used irregardless of the suffix, e.g. Kbn *ɲan-gau* 'from me' but Lusi *ɲa-gau* Kove *ɲa-gau* 'from me'. The Lusi and Kove forms *toni*, *ɲani* and *pani* may optionally be shortened to *to*, *ɲa* and *pa* before a noun phrase, e.g. Lusi *ɲa-nama pa(ni) tuɲa* {S1S-come LOC(-O3S) village} 'I came to the village', and Kove *ti-lalao pa(ni) sahu* {S3P-walk LOC(-O3S) bush} 'they walked to the jungle.'

Two Kabana words, *lelea-* 'cold' and *kekele-* 'alone', behave like the above prepositions in that they take object suffixes, with *-n* occurring in the third person singular: *lelea-gau* 'I am cold' *lelea-go* 'you are cold' but *lelea-n* 'he is cold' and *kekele-gau* 'by myself' *kekele-go* 'by yourself' but *kekele-n* 'by oneself'. The Lusi equivalent of the last is an inalienable noun: *kekele-* 'alone', but it too affixes *-ni* in the third person, along with the possessive prefix *ai-* 'P3S': *kekele-gu* 'by myself' *kekele-mu* 'by yourself' but *ai-kekele-ni* 'by oneself'. These two examples, in which words act like verbs in taking object pronouns reflect Ross' discussion on the origin of *-n(i)* from prepositional verbs in these and other languages (1988:112ff).

The genitive has been discussed under possession, but it should be noted that Kilenge also uses *ki-* as a comitative (COM). The Bariai languages, however, have a fourth prepositional construction for this purpose: Kbn *toman-* Lusi *tomo ɲa* ~ *toma ɲa* Kove *toma ɲa* 'with'. Again, the third person suffix *-n* has fused in the Kabana form, while Lusi and Kove often fuses the preposition *ɲani* to *toma* to produce Lusi *tomani-* and Kove *tomani-*. All four Maleu/Bariai languages also possess a comitative form to which pronominal prefixes are attached: Kge *-ɲere* Kbn *-ɲada* Lusi *-ɲeza* Kove *-ɲeza* 'together'. In Kilenge, *-ɲere* requires subject prefixes, and so acts as a verb, whereas in the Bariai languages, the focal pronouns are affixed to the cognate forms.

	'He went with us.'	'I'll go with Peter.'	'They came together.'
	S3S-go COM-O1EP	S1S-go COM Peter	3P-together S3P-come
Kge	<i>i-la ki-em</i>	<i>pa na-la ki-e Pita</i> ^a	<i>ti-ɲere ti-mai</i>
Kbn	<i>i-la toman-gai</i>	<i>na-la toman Pita</i>	<i>asi-ɲada ti-nam</i>
Lusi	<i>i-la tomo ɲa-gai</i>	<i>ɲa-la tomo ɲani Pita</i>	<i>asi-ɲeza ti-nama</i>
Kove	<i>i-la toma ɲa-gai</i>	<i>ɲa-la toma ɲani Pita</i>	<i>asi-ɲeza ti-nama</i>

^a {FUT S1S-go COM-O3S Peter}.

Kilenge also uses *ki-* where the Bariai languages have a postposition *aea*. This is used as a binominal connective (CON) to indicate (a) a person commonly associated with a given action; (b) the function or purpose or something; (c) the source or origin of something:

	'a woman who gardens a lot'		'a pig cage'
	woman garden-NSR CON		cage pig CON
Kge	<i>na-iue ki-e na-kumo-ŋa</i> ^a		<i>na-korol ki-e na-ga</i> ^b
Kbn	<i>taine umo-ŋa aea</i>		<i>korol gaea aea</i>
Lusi	<i>tamine umo-ŋa aea</i>		<i>kororo gaea aea</i>
Kove	<i>tamine umo-ŋa aea</i>		<i>kahoho gaea aea</i>
	^a { <i>na</i> -woman con-O3S garden-NSR}.		
	^b { <i>na</i> -cage con-O3S <i>na</i> -pig}.		
	'a bat (wingbone) needle'	a fish caught by net	a fish net
	needle bat CON	fish net CON	net fish CON
Kge	<i>na-sol ki-e na-viaŋa</i> ^a	<i>na-ia ki-e na-puo</i> ^b	<i>na-puo ki-e na-ia</i> ^c
Kbn	<i>salum biaŋa aea</i>	<i>ia puo aea</i>	<i>puo ia aea</i>
Lusi	<i>salumu viaŋa aea</i>	<i>iha puo aea</i>	<i>puo iha aea</i>
Kove	<i>salumu viŋa aea</i>	<i>iha puo aea</i>	<i>puo iha aea</i>
	^a {needle CON-O3S bat}.		
	^b {fish CON-O3S net}.		
	^c {net CON-O3S fish}.		

The use of the Kilenge genitive preposition for these purposes parallels the use of *aea* in the Bariai languages, in that *aea* is also a possessive form; in the Bariai languages, however, the possessive *aea* has been converted into a postposition for these specific functions.

The preposition *pa-* is found in all four Maleu/Bariai languages. The Kilenge forms are *pagau* 'BEN-O1S' *pagom* 'BEN-O2S' *pae* 'BEN-O3S' *pagita* 'BEN-O1IP' *pagaem* 'BEN-O1EP' *pagami* 'BEN-O2P' *pagire* 'BEN-O3P.' I have chosen to consider *pa* as the root, with a set of object prefixes similar in form to those of the Bariai languages: *-gau*, *-gom*, *-gita*, *-gami* *-gaem* and *-gire*. This choice is based on the form *pae* in which the suffix *-e* is clearly affixed to *pa-*. It is also an etymological choice based on comparative evidence, but it should be noted that, synchronically, the root may equally be *pag-*, with the addition of the regular object prefixes (the exception being the form *pagaem* which should, according to this analysis, be *pag-em*). This analysis is based on the third person singular variant form *page*, in which *pag-* is treated as the root and *-e* as the suffix.

The functions of *pa-* differ in the Maleu/Bariai languages, although all four agree in the benefactive (BEN) use:

	'I gave it to you'		'she spoke to me'
	S1S-give(-O3S) BEN-O2S		S3S-speak BEN-O1S
Kge	<i>na-kiv-e pa-gom</i>		<i>i-ŋoŋo pa-gau</i>
Kbn	<i>na-pan ei pa-go</i>		<i>i-posa pa-gau</i>
Lusi	<i>ŋa-pani pa-go</i>		<i>i-posa pa-gau</i>
Kove	<i>ŋa-pani pa-go</i>		<i>i-posa pa-gau</i>

Kabana frequently avoids *pa-* by using 'give' followed by a possessive, e.g. Kbn *na-pan am gaea* {S1S-give ED-P2S pig} 'I gave (you) your pork'. In Lusi and Kove, the more common construction is to affix the pronoun to the verb *-pani* 'give' which can be optionally shortened to *-pa* before the second and third person object suffixes, e.g. Lusi and Kove *i-pa-gau haniŋa* {S3S-give-O1S food} 'she gave me food' Lusi and Kove *ŋa-pani ulo* {S1S-give pot} 'I gave him a pot'. This alternation reflects the paradigm of the preposition

pani which has *pa-* before the second and third person object suffixes and *pani* as the third person singular form.

Lusi and Kove agree in using *pa-* as a general locative (LOC) 'to, at, in' etc.:

Lusi *patu i-tapu pa(ni) eau* 'The stone fell into the river.'

Kove *patu i-tapu pa(ni) eau*
stone S3S-fall LOC water

Lusi *i-eno pa(ni) ele luma* 'he is sleeping in his house.'

Kove *i-eno pa(ni) ele luma*
S3S-sleep LOC DS-O3S house

Lusi *ti-nama pa-gai* 'they came to us.'

Kove *ti-nama pa-gai*
S3P-come LOC-O1EP

Locative marking in Kilenge and Kabana is more complicated. Kilenge marks a locative in one of three ways:

- (1) it may be unmarked; in these cases, the nominal prefix *na-* is lost:

Kge *ti-mai nia* 'They came to the village.'
S3P-come house

- (2) a [-animate] location or goal may be marked with the preposition *kɲe* or, less frequently, by *pa-*:

Kge *na-pot i-mol kɲe na-eako* 'The stone fell into the river.'
na-stone S3S-fall LOC na-water

Kge *ire na-iuol kɲe na-rogo* 'Many of them were at the feast.'
D3P *na-many LOC na-feast*

Kge *na-iapa pa-e na-sira* 'I jumped over the fence.'
S1S-jump LOC-O3S *na-fence*

- (3) a [+human] goal is indicated by *pa-*:

Kge *ti-mai pa-gaem* 'They came to us.'
S3P-come LOC-O1EP

Kabana also uses *pa-* with +human goals. Otherwise a locative is marked by *ɲan* or by the locative suffix *-iai ~ -eai ~ -i*:

Kbn *la pan apa* 'Go to your father.'
go LOC daddy

Kbn *ti-nam pa-gai* 'They came to us.'
S3P-come LOC-O1EP

Kbn *i-dio ɲan tibur oa* 'She's in the bush yonder.'
S3S-stay LOC bush yonder

Kbn *ta-earum moi ɲan lelele* 'Let's plant the taro in swampy ground.'
S1IP-plant taro LOC wet.place

Kbn *ti-la tibur-iai o* 'They have gone to the jungle.'
S3P-go bush-LOC comp

Kbn *boŋ ti-eno lab-iai* 'Last night they slept on the beach.'
 night S3P-sleep beach-LOC

Lusi also possesses the locative suffix *-iai* ~ *-eai* ~ *-i* and Kove has *-iai* ~ *-eai* (Kilenge lacks a locative suffix). The locative allomorphs *-iai* and *-i* are morphologically conditioned, and *-eai* is an allomorph of *-iai* which occurs after mid or low vowels. Words which have lost high vowels in Kabana still reflect the high vowel by opting for the *-iai* suffix. The *-eai* form, however, is becoming productive in Kabana, and currently many words which should affix *-iai* have *-eai* instead.

	'at the place' place-LOC	'in the house' house-LOC	'to the village' village-LOC	'in front of me' eye-my-LOC
Kbn	<i>tibur-iai</i> ^a	<i>luma-eai</i>	<i>tua</i>	<i>mata-g-iai</i>
Lusi	<i>tuvuru-iai</i>	<i>luma-eai</i>	<i>tua</i>	<i>mata-g(u)-iai</i> ^c
Kove	<i>tuvuh-iai</i> ^a	<i>luma-eai</i>	<i>toŋa-eai</i> ^b	<i>mata-gu-iai</i>

^a 'in the bush'. The Kove form comes from *tuvuhu* 'place' with deletion of the final *-u*.

^b Irregular form, from *tua* 'village' (Chowning, pers. comm.).

^c The Lusi form may delete *-u* and be identical in form to the Kabana.

Lusi and Kove occasionally lose final vowels before the *-iai* ~ *-eai* suffix, e.g. (i) Lusi and Kove *vilol-eai* 'under' from *vilolo-* 'underpart'; and (ii) Lusi and Kove *va-lol-eai* 'in/to the mangrove' from *vale* 'mangrove' and *lolo-* 'inside'. In Kabana, the same two forms show vowel changes and loss of the final vowel: (i) Kbn *kabulel-eai* 'under' from *kabulolo-* 'underpart'; and (ii) Kbn *barq-lel-eai* 'in/to the mangrove' from *bare* 'mangrove' and *lolo-* 'inside'.

The locative suffix is much more common in Kabana than in Lusi or Kove, where *pa-* is more usual:

	'Put it in my basket.' S2S-put:in LOC basket	'At the mouth of the river.' river P3S-mouth-LOC = LOC water P3S-mouth
Kbn	<i>dol i-loŋa tia-eai</i> ^a	<i>eau i-aoa-i</i>
Lusi	<i>u-taloŋa pa tia</i>	<i>eau ai-aoa-i = pa eau ai-aoa</i>
Kove	<i>u-taloŋa pa tia</i>	<i>eau ai-aoa-i = pa eau ai-aoa</i>

^a {put S3S-enter basket-LOC}.

Kilenge also uses *pa-* to indicate topic of conversation/cognition (TC) and instrument (INSTR); the Bariai languages agree with one another in the use of Kbn *ŋan* Lusi *ŋa* Kove *ŋa-* for these roles:

	'He spoke to me about the pig.' S3S-speak BEN-O1S TC pig	'I cut my hand with a knife.' S1S-cut hand-P1S INSTR knife
Kge	<i>i-ŋoŋo pa-gau pa-e na-ga</i> ^a	<i>na-tal-e vage-k pa-e na-pul</i> ^b
Kbn	<i>i-posa pa-gau ŋan gaea</i>	<i>na-ket bage-g ŋan didid</i>
Lusi	<i>i-posa pa-gau ŋani gaea</i>	<i>na-keti lima-gu ŋani uzage</i>
Lusi	<i>i-posa pa-gau ŋani gaea</i>	<i>na-keti lima-gu ŋani uzage</i>

^a S3S-speak BEN-O1S TC-O3S *na*-pig.

^b S1S-cut-O3S hand-P1S INSTR-O3S *na*-knife.

In addition, Kilenge uses *pa-* in the interrogative phrase *pa-e na-sae* 'why?' ('for what?'), where the Bariai languages use *ŋan(i)*: Kbn *ŋan saoa?* ~ *ŋan sa?* Lusi *ŋani saoa?* Kove *ŋani*

saoa?

	‘Why did you hit me?’ (S2S-)hit-O1S source what	‘Why are they laughing?’ S3P-laugh source what
Kge	<i>ku-lau-au pa-e na-sae?</i> ^a	<i>ti-ŋin pa-e na-sae?</i> ^b
Kbn	<i>rau-gau saoa?</i>	<i>ti-ŋin ŋan saoa?</i>
Lusi	<i>u-rau-gau saoa?</i>	<i>ti-ŋin ŋani saoa?</i>
Kove	<i>u-hau-gau saoa?</i>	<i>ti-ŋin ŋani saoa?</i>

^a S2S-hit-O1S source-O3S *na*-what .

^b S3P-laugh source-O3S *na*-what.

All four Maleu/Bariai languages, however, agree in the use of Kge *kŋe* Kbn *ŋan* Lusi *ŋani* Kove *ŋani* to indicate source, although the Bariai languages may also use the locative suffix here:

	‘he fell from the top of the coconut palm’ S3S-fall source coconut P3S-head
Kge	<i>i-mol kŋe na-niu kuri-a</i> ^a
Kbn	<i>i-tapu ŋan niu i-labora</i>
Lusi	<i>ŋa-tapu ŋani niu ai-zava</i>
Kove	<i>ŋa-tapu ŋani niu ai-zavazava</i>

^a S3S-fall SCE.O3S *na*-coconut head-O3S.

The following table shows the different prepositions and postpositions used to mark semantic roles:

	Kilenge	Kabana	Lusi	Kove
possessive	<i>ki-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>to-</i>
comitative	<i>ki-</i>	<i>toman-</i>	<i>tomo ŋa-</i>	<i>toma ŋa-</i>
connective	<i>ki-</i>	<i>aea</i>	<i>aea</i>	<i>aea</i>
benefactive	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>
locative	<i>∅, pa-, ki-, kŋe</i>	<i>pa-, ŋan, -iai</i>	<i>pa-, -iai</i>	<i>pa-, -iai</i>
topic of conversation	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ŋan</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>
instrument	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ŋan</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>
source	<i>kŋe</i>	<i>ŋan, -iai</i>	<i>ŋa-, -iai</i>	<i>ŋa-, -iai</i>

5.3 SUMMARY

Syntactically, Kilenge is structured very much like the Bariai languages. Morphologically, however, Kilenge is distinct from the Bariai languages in several areas. Features of Kilenge not shared by the Bariai languages include:

- (1) the nominal prefix *na-*.
- (2) the third person singular suffix possessive suffix *-a* and the first person singular possessive suffix *-ge* associated with kinship terms.
- (3) the compound possessive forms with *-va*.
- (4) inalienable adjectives.
- (5) the use of the plural possessive suffix *-re* to mark plurality on several [+human] nouns.

- (6) a third person object suffix *-e* (or *-i*).
- (7) compound verbs.
- (8) the transitive suffix *-k-*.
- (9) the reciprocal form *pol*.
- (10) the form *ta* 'still' which is conjoined with *eavo* to form *eavo ta* 'not yet'.

The Bariai languages share several features absent in Kilenge :

- (1) the fossilised third person singular form *-n(i)* found on prepositions.
- (2) the specialised reflexive suffix *-i*.
- (3) the suffix *-n(i)* found on a few transitive verbs.
- (4) a monomorpheme *mait(u)ne* to express both 'still' and 'not yet'.
- (5) the comitative preposition Kbn *toman* Lusi *tomo ŋa* and Kove *toma ŋa*.
- (6) the postposition *aea*.
- (7) the locative suffix *-iai*.

6. LEXICON

The final area where subgrouping can be clearly delineated is in the lexicon. The closest lexical relationship exists between Lusi and Kove, although they occasionally differ from each other. In these cases, one or the other may match either Kabana or Kilenge, or there can be complete disagreement among the four languages.

	'man'	'bush hen'	'ringworm'	'get'	'good'
Kge	<i>tamta</i> ^a	<i>kaiiau</i>	<i>pelpel</i>	<i>-tok</i>	<i>papua</i> ^e
Kbn	<i>eaba</i> ^b	<i>kaiiau</i>	<i>pelpel</i>	<i>-bada</i> ^d	<i>kemi</i>
Lusi	<i>tanta</i> ^a	<i>kaiiau</i>	<i>pelpel</i>	<i>-vaza</i> ^d	<i>poea</i> ^e
Kove	<i>tamone</i> ^c	<i>kio</i>	<i>kezikezi</i>	<i>-kea</i>	<i>doko</i>

^a Also 'male'. Compare Mutu *tamot* 'man, person'.

^b Also Kove *ava* 'man, person' Lusi *eavava* 'human'.

^c Also Lusi *tomone* 'male'.

^d Also Kge *n-ai ki-e na-ga e vara- ŋa* {tree con-O3S pig e-O3S carry-NSR} 'a stick for carrying a pig' (Kbn *sig* Lusi *sigi* Kove *sigi* Gtu *si* Mutu *sig*) in which *-vara* is cognate with the Kabana and Lusi forms. Compare also Gtu *-bara* Mutu *-bad* 'carry'.

^e Compare Mutu *poia* and Gtu *pwaya*.

	'heel'	'run'	'play'	'big'	'garden'
Kge	<i>suki-</i>	<i>-ut</i>	<i>-rikarika</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>kumo</i> ^d
Kbn	<i>gubi-</i> ^a	<i>-lado</i> ^a	<i>-titiau</i>	<i>kapei</i>	<i>dadaya</i>
Lusi	<i>kuti-</i>	<i>-laguzi</i>	<i>-kalianaa</i>	<i>pazona</i>	<i>zazaya</i>
Kove	<i>guvi-</i> ^a	<i>-lazo</i> ^a	<i>-kavanahi</i> ^c	<i>paka</i>	<i>moja</i>

^a Compare Gtu *guvi-*.

^b Compare Gtu *-lado*.

^c From *-kazo va* {make play}.

^d Also Kbn *-umo* Lusi *-umo* Kove *-umo* 'work in garden'; compare Gtu *un*^a Mutu *um* 'garden' and Gtu *-gum*^a 'work in garden'. The Kove form *mo* is derived from *umo-ŋa* {garden-NSR} with loss of *u-*.

	'all gone'	'bow'	'want'	'shark'	'Cycas'
Kge	<i>apua</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>voli-</i>	<i>sikeoa</i>	<i>patolo</i>
Kbn	<i>kus</i>	<i>pande</i>	<i>-kim</i>	<i>bakeoa</i>	<i>babaka</i>
Lusi	<i>kuvu</i>	<i>kʝen</i>	<i>-zega^a</i>	<i>mogevo</i>	<i>vavaka</i>
Kove	<i>bauka</i>	<i>napaniʝa</i>	<i>-vaga</i>	<i>kaluga, sioa</i>	<i>matolo</i>

^a Compare Mutu *-gaze* 'want'.

	'burn'	'wet'	'hornbill'	'crocodile'
Kge	<i>-vava^a</i>	<i>vusavusa-</i>	<i>akʝok</i>	<i>pua</i>
Kbn	<i>-ean</i>	<i>burisiʝa</i>	<i>oroʝon</i>	<i>puaea, bagele^c</i>
Lusi	<i>-kau</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>meriaʝ</i>	<i>puaea</i>
Kove	<i>-esi^b</i>	<i>petaka, kua</i>	<i>bea</i>	<i>bagele^c</i>

^a Compare Mutu *-lavar* Gtu *-lava*.

^b Kbn *-paisi* Lusi *-paisi* 'build a fire' is cognate with the Kove word.

^c Compare Bakovi *bahele* (Tangari 1977).

In several instances, Kabana shares a cognate with Kilenge instead of Lusi and Kove:

	'hawk'	'wallaby'	'litter'	'blow'	'tremble'
Kge	<i>kamokiue^a</i>	<i>ruarua</i>	<i>sakir</i>	<i>-so</i>	<i>-samimi</i>
Kbn	<i>kamokiue, uloto</i>	<i>duadua</i>	<i>sakirkir</i>	<i>-uso</i>	<i>-samimi</i>
Lusi	<i>lago, ui</i>	<i>kuta</i>	<i>volazu</i>	<i>-pupu</i>	<i>-ligligi</i>
Kove	<i>lago</i>	<i>kuta</i>	<i>volazu</i>	<i>-pupu</i>	<i>-ligligi</i>

^a From *-kamo* 'beckon' (found also in Kabana and Lusi) and *kiue* 'rat'. Since the Kabana word for 'ra't is *kuduke*, this indicates that the Kabana form is borrowed from Kilenge.

	'swollen'	'hand'	'slit gong'	'tie'	'first'	'left'
Kge	<i>-uiui</i>	<i>vage-</i>	<i>kure^a</i>	<i>-kaukau</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>ʝas^b</i>
Kbn	<i>-uui</i>	<i>bage-</i>	<i>kude^a</i>	<i>-kaukau</i>	<i>ge, bua</i>	<i>aʝas^b</i>
Lusi	<i>-vini</i>	<i>lima-</i>	<i>gilamo</i>	<i>-lauzi</i>	<i>muga</i>	<i>gagala</i>
Kove	<i>-vini</i>	<i>lima-</i>	<i>gilamo</i>	<i>-lauzi</i>	<i>muga</i>	<i>gagala</i>

^a Also Kove *kuze* 'drum, slit gong'.

^b Compare Mutu *ʝas*.

	'yam'	'far'	'itchy'	'old'	'stand'
Kge	<i>kiu</i>	<i>aluae</i>	<i>-tuntun</i>	<i>mugaʝa-</i>	<i>-mari</i>
Kbn	<i>kiu</i>	<i>aluae</i>	<i>-tuntun</i>	<i>mugamuga</i>	<i>-madid</i>
Lusi	<i>amezo</i>	<i>mazaza^a</i>	<i>-akala</i>	<i>moho</i>	<i>-gunu-</i>
Kove	<i>amezo</i>	<i>avahi</i>	<i>-akala</i>	<i>moho</i>	<i>-gunu-</i>

^a Also 'a long time', compare Kove *mamaza* 'a long time'.

	'dirty'	'finger'	'hang'	'basket'	'not like'
Kge	<i>muk</i>	<i>goŋa</i>	<i>-tutu</i>	<i>visiŋa</i>	<i>tini-eavo</i> ^b
Kbn	<i>mukmukŋa</i>	<i>goŋa</i>	<i>-tutu</i>	<i>bisiŋa</i>	<i>tini-ŋan mao</i> ^c
Lusi	<i>ŋaraŋa</i>	<i>ziziki</i> ^a	<i>-moeoeo</i>	<i>kanika</i>	<i>mana-ŋani mao</i> ^d
Kove	<i>ŋahaŋa</i>	<i>ziziki</i> ^a	<i>-moeoeo</i>	<i>kanika</i>	<i>mana-ŋani mao</i> ^d

^a But Kbn *man i-ae didiki* {bird P3S-leg finger} 'vine sp. with curved thorns'.

^b {body not}.

^c {body for it not}.

^d {like for it not}; *mana-* is an inalienable noun.

It is likely that many of these Kabana words are borrowed from Maleu. Numerous other borrowings stand out by possessing a fossilised *na-*, the Maleu nominal prefix. Maleu borrowings in Kabana are especially common in bush vocabulary and cultural items, e.g. *napapak* 'wild *Canarium* sp.', *naber* 'tree sp.', *nakotkot* 'philodendron', *nakailil* 'a decorative feather worn on a masked spirit figure' etc. In some instances, Kabana has two words, one matching Kilenge, the other matching Lusi and Kove, e.g. Kge *-men* Kbn *-men*, *-sigiri* Lusi *-sigiri* Kove *-sagih* 'wash, scrub' (compare Mutu *-men*).

Ultimately, it is Kilenge which clearly subgroups apart from the Bariai languages. Numerous examples in which a Kilenge form is distinct from a cognate set shared by the Bariai languages can be gleaned from the lexical sets given throughout this paper, including several of the syntactic functors discussed above. Some examples, already presented, include:

	O2S	O1EP	POSS	'not'	'this'	'that'
Kge	<i>-om</i>	<i>-em</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>eavo</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>io</i>
Kbn	<i>-go</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>na</i>
Lusi	<i>-go</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>na</i>
Kove	<i>-go</i>	<i>-gai</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>na</i>

	'young woman'	'push'	'jaw'	'cut'	'hot'
Kge	<i>-lpu</i>	<i>-patila</i>	<i>givasi-</i>	<i>-rev</i>	<i>nounou</i>
Kbn	<i>blala</i>	<i>-susuran</i> ^a	<i>adade-</i> ^b	<i>-ket</i>	<i>oanaoana</i>
Lusi	<i>vilala</i>	<i>-suklani</i> ^a	<i>azeze-</i> ^b	<i>-keti</i>	<i>oanana</i>
Kove	<i>vilala</i>	<i>-sukulani</i> ^a	<i>azeze-</i> ^b	<i>-keti</i>	<i>oanaoana</i>

^a Compare Gtu *-zuzura* 'pull'.

^b Compare Gtu *aze-* Mutu *aze-*.

A few more examples from basic vocabulary are provided to show the degree to which Kilenge is lexically disparate. This list can be expanded multifold.

	'carry'	'sky'	'do'	'veins'	'road'
Kge	<i>-ig</i> ^a	<i>gulvek</i>	<i>-kep</i> ^b	<i>alislisi-</i>	<i>roro</i>
Kbn	<i>-bisi</i>	<i>burbur</i>	<i>-kado</i>	<i>oaroari-</i>	<i>edapmata</i>
Lusi	<i>-visi</i>	<i>vuvuri</i>	<i>-kazo</i>	<i>oarari-</i>	<i>ezapu</i>
Kove	<i>-visi</i>	<i>vuvuhi</i>	<i>-kazo</i>	<i>oaoahi-</i>	<i>ezapu</i>

^a But Kge *visi-ŋa* {carry-NSR} 'basket'; also Gtu *-bisi* 'carry on back'.

^b Compare Gtu *-gap*.

	'rain'	'moon'	'thing'	'strong'	'who (pl)'
Kge	<i>sava</i>	<i>top</i>	<i>va, vulŋa</i>	<i>votvoti-</i>	<i>sime</i>
Kbn	<i>aoara</i>	<i>taiko</i>	<i>daja</i>	<i>matua</i>	<i>sapad</i>
Lusi	<i>aoara</i>	<i>taiko</i>	<i>zaja</i>	<i>matua</i>	<i>sapaza</i>
Kove	<i>aoaha</i>	<i>taiko</i>	<i>zaja</i>	<i>matua</i> ^a	<i>sapaza</i>

^a 'mature, fully-developed'. The Kabana and Lusi cognates also have this meaning.

	'tail'	'smoke'	'tomorrow'	'throw'	'eye'
Kge	<i>vovo-</i>	<i>vuja</i>	<i>aule</i>	<i>-parua</i>	<i>airo-</i>
Kbn	<i>uui-</i> ^a	<i>basu</i>	<i>sabale</i>	<i>-tado</i>	<i>mata-</i> ^b
Lusi	<i>hihiu-</i> ^a	<i>vosu</i>	<i>savale</i>	<i>-tazo</i>	<i>mata-</i> ^b
Kove	<i>hihiu-</i> ^a	<i>vosu</i>	<i>savalele</i>	<i>-tazo</i>	<i>mata-</i> ^b

^a Compare Gtu *igu-*.

^b Compare Gtu *mata-* Mutu *mata-*.

In many of these sets, the Bariai languages have cognates in the Ngero languages:

	'ginger'	'smell'	'mucus'	'marry'	'inside'	'spouse'
Kge	<i>gena</i>	<i>kuni-</i>	<i>muli-</i>	<i>-ola</i>	<i>remo-</i>	<i>aiu-</i>
Kbn	<i>laia</i>	<i>oadi-</i>	<i>ŋoŋo-</i>	<i>-oai</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	<i>adaoa-</i>
Lusi	<i>haia</i>	<i>oazi-</i>	<i>ŋoŋo-</i>	<i>-oai</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	<i>azaoa-</i> ^a
Kove	<i>haia</i>	<i>oazi-</i>	<i>ŋoŋo-</i>	<i>-oai</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	<i>azaoa-</i> ^a
Gtu	<i>laea</i>	<i>vazi</i>	<i>ŋoŋo-</i>	<i>-vai</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	<i>azua-</i>
Mutu	<i>lae</i>	<i>buz</i>	<i>ŋo-</i>	<i>-vai</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	<i>azua-</i>

^a Chowning (1986) also gives the form *azoa-*.

	'nose'	'louse'	'egg'	'give'	'dry'	'urinate'
Kge	<i>vani-</i>	<i>gine</i>	<i>ŋalo-</i>	<i>-kiv</i>	<i>-gol</i>	<i>-mail</i>
Kbn	<i>nunu-</i>	<i>tuma</i>	<i>kakatol</i>	<i>-pan</i>	<i>mamasa</i>	<i>-meme</i>
Lusi	<i>nuzu-</i>	<i>tuma</i>	<i>kakatolu</i>	<i>-pani</i>	<i>mamasa</i>	<i>-meme</i>
Kove	<i>nuzu-</i>	<i>tuma</i>	<i>kaka</i>	<i>-pani</i>	<i>mamasa</i>	<i>-meme</i>
Gtu	<i>uzu-</i>	<i>(lezak)</i>	<i>(apopor)</i>	<i>-van</i>	<i>mamasa</i>	—
Mutu	<i>izu-</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>atulu</i>	<i>(-gam)</i>	<i>mamas</i>	<i>-mem</i>

Chowning (1986:415-6) provides a list of isoglosses which delineate the Ngero/Bariai subgroup either lexically or through shared phonological changes from Proto Oceanic, and numerous of these isoglosses are absent in Kilenge. The following list adds Kilenge, Kabana and Lusi to Chowning's list (which includes Kove). I have added hyphens for what are probably inalienable nouns and verb stems in Mil (Malalamai) and Gtu (Gitua), but these are absent in Chowning's list, so they may be inaccurate in places. I have replaced Chowning's Tuam-Mutu entries with the Mandok dialect of Mutu from Pomponio (pers. comm.).

	'one'	'head'	'blood'	'hip'	'drink'
Kge	<i>tea</i>	<i>kuri-</i>	<i>tepo-</i>	<i>givapoti-</i>	<i>-va</i>
Kbn	<i>ede</i>	(<i>labora-</i>)	<i>siŋi-</i>	<i>bule-</i> ^b	<i>-un</i>
Lusi	<i>eze</i>	<i>zava-</i>	<i>siŋi-</i>	<i>vole-</i> ^b	<i>-unu</i>
Kove	<i>eze</i>	<i>zavazava-</i> ^b	<i>siŋi-</i>	<i>volevole-</i>	<i>-unu</i>
Mll	—	<i>dawa-</i>	<i>siŋ</i>	<i>bole-</i>	<i>-unu</i>
Gtu	<i>eze</i>	<i>zava-</i>	<i>siŋ</i>	<i>bwale-</i>	<i>-gun</i>
Mutu	<i>ez</i>	<i>daba-</i>	<i>siŋ</i>	<i>bole-</i>	<i>-gun</i>

^a 'top of a tree'.

^b 'thigh'.

	'smell'	'name'	'dance'	'wing'	'Saccharum sp.'
Kge	<i>-loŋe kuni-</i> ^a	<i>pasi</i>	<i>-gale</i>	<i>vani-</i> ^b	<i>pas</i>
Kbn	<i>-nud</i>	<i>eda-</i>	<i>-tol</i>	<i>bagebage-</i>	<i>tabual</i>
Lusi	<i>-nuzi</i>	<i>eza-</i>	<i>-tori</i>	<i>vagvage-</i>	<i>tavuari</i>
Kove	<i>-nuzi</i>	<i>eza-</i>	<i>-tohi</i>	<i>vage-</i>	<i>tavuahi</i>
Mll	<i>-nunuzi</i>	<i>eza-</i>	<i>-tol</i>	<i>bae-</i>	<i>tambol</i>
Gtu	<i>-ŋuzu</i>	<i>ezangani-</i>	<i>-tor</i>	<i>bage-</i>	<i>tambuar</i>
Mutu	—	<i>iza-</i>	<i>-tor</i>	<i>bage-</i>	<i>tamboyar</i>

^a {hear.O3S smell}.

^b But Kge *vage-* 'arm, hand', compare Kbn *bage-* 'arm, hand'.

	'red'	'digging stick'	'tie'	'not'	'come'
Kge	<i>kilkilua</i>	- ^a	<i>-pasi</i>	<i>eavo</i>	<i>-mai</i>
Kbn	<i>siŋsiŋia</i>	<i>eado</i>	<i>-pit</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>-nam(a)</i>
Lusi	<i>siŋsiŋia</i>	<i>azo</i>	<i>-piti</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>-nama</i>
Kove	<i>siŋsiŋia</i>	<i>oazo</i>	<i>-piti</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>-nama</i>
Mll	—	<i>wazo</i>	—	<i>mau</i>	<i>-lam</i>
Gtu	<i>sisijia</i>	<i>yazo</i>	<i>-bitu</i>	<i>mago</i>	<i>-lam</i>
Mutu	<i>siŋsiŋia</i>	<i>yaz</i>	<i>-bit</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>-nim</i>

^a Kilenge lacks a word for 'digging stick' although the concept can be expressed by the phrase *n-ai ki-e na-kumo-ŋa* {na-tree CON-O3S na-garden-NSR} 'stick for gardening'.

In addition to these, Lincoln (1977a:15) also points out the distinctiveness of the word for 'bone', which is *tua* or *tuatua* in the Ngero/Bariai languages, but Kge *volvoli-*. It must be noted, however, that there are instances where Kilenge has a cognate form with the Ngero/Bariai isoglosses provided by Chowning (1986):

	'four'	'know'	'laugh'	'hit'	'fall'
Kge	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>-otai</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>-lau</i>	<i>-top</i> ^a
Kbn	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>-oatai</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>-rau</i>	<i>-tap</i>
Lusi	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>-oatai</i>	<i>-ŋiŋi</i>	<i>-rau</i>	<i>-tapu</i>
Kove	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>-(o)atai</i>	<i>-ŋiŋi</i>	<i>-hau</i>	<i>-tapu</i>
Mll	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>-wote</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>-lop</i>	<i>-tapu</i>
Gtu	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>-watak</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>-rap</i>	<i>-tapu</i>
Mutu	<i>paŋ</i>	<i>-watagi</i>	<i>-ŋiŋ</i>	<i>-rab</i>	<i>-tapu</i>

^a The usual word is *-mol* 'fall', but *-top* is used in *na-sava i-top* {rain S3S-rain} 'it is raining'.

	'high tide'	'betel pepper'	'good'	'alight'	'tear'
Kge	<i>sil</i>	<i>rek</i>	<i>papua-</i>	<i>-kan</i>	<i>-masasa</i>
Kbn	<i>sil</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>(kemi)</i>	<i>-ean</i>	<i>-sasaran</i>
Lusi	<i>sili</i>	<i>zogi</i>	<i>poea</i>	<i>-ani</i>	<i>-sasaranani</i>
Kove	<i>sili</i>	<i>zogi</i>	<i>(doko)</i>	<i>-ani</i>	<i>-sasahani</i>
Mill	—	<i>doi</i>	<i>poe</i>	<i>-yan</i>	<i>-sosa</i>
Gtu	<i>sir</i>	<i>dogi</i>	<i>pwaya</i>	<i>-gan</i>	<i>-sasa</i>
Mutu	<i>sir</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>poia</i>	<i>-gan</i>	<i>-rasa</i>
	'water'	'when'	'weave'	'sibling opp sex'	
Kge	<i>eako</i>	<i>nia</i>	<i>-pau</i>	<i>liu-</i>	
Kbn	<i>eau</i>	<i>ηeda</i>	<i>-oaoai</i>	<i>liu-</i>	
Lusi	<i>eau</i>	<i>ηeza</i>	<i>-oaoai</i>	<i>liu-</i>	
Kove	<i>eau</i>	<i>ηeza</i>	<i>-oaoai</i>	<i>liu-</i>	
Mill	<i>ieu</i>	<i>ηeza</i>	<i>-wowe</i>	<i>livu-</i>	
Gtu	<i>yau</i>	<i>ηeza</i>	<i>-wowai</i>	<i>livu-</i>	
Mutu	<i>ya</i>	<i>ηez</i>	<i>-vavai</i>	<i>livu-</i>	

In addition to these, there are a few Kilenge words which have cognates with Ngero languages, while the Bariai languages do not:

	'true'	'heavy'	'long'	'mango'
Kge	<i>onaona</i>	<i>patanja-</i>	<i>molonja-</i>	<i>uoi</i>
Kbn	<i>tautaunja</i>	<i>kulupu</i>	<i>mamarae</i>	<i>kodae</i>
Lusi	<i>aoatau</i>	<i>kulupu</i>	<i>voru</i>	<i>kozae</i>
Kove	<i>aoatau</i>	<i>uha-^a</i>	<i>zaezae</i>	<i>kozae</i>
Gtu	<i>onanaya, tauja</i>	<i>patanja</i>	<i>malawa</i>	<i>wowai</i>
Mutu	<i>onon, tau</i>	<i>patanja</i>	<i>mala</i>	—

^a 'weight'; *ai-uha tau* {P3S-weight very} 'heavy'.

	'dig'	'island'	'calm'	'short'	'dream'
Kge	<i>-kel</i>	<i>motmot</i>	<i>taul</i>	<i>tuktuki-</i>	<i>vivita</i>
Kbn	<i>-lei</i>	<i>eru</i>	<i>madlo</i>	<i>bolobolo</i>	<i>anunu-</i>
Lusi	<i>-lei</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>malilo</i>	<i>volvolo</i>	<i>anunu-</i>
Kove	<i>-lei</i>	<i>nuu</i>	<i>malilo</i>	<i>volovolo</i>	<i>anunu-</i>
Gtu	<i>-gel</i>	<i>(siesie)^b</i>	<i>manino</i>	<i>tuku</i>	<i>vivi</i>
Mutu	<i>(-tai)^a</i>	<i>mutu</i>	<i>taun</i>	<i>tuku</i>	<i>vib</i>

^a Compare Kbn *-taian* 'plant' Lusi *-taiani* 'bury, cover with dirt'.

^b Compare Kbn *sia* Lusi *sia* Kove *sia* 'reef' (Kge *kur*). The Siasi Islands probably take their name from a similar form such as *siasia* (with final vowel loss typical of Mutu); 'Lusi' comes from the word for 'mountain', as does 'Lolo' (both groups were traditionally interior-dwellers), and it may be the case that the name 'Kove' is related to the Gitua word *kove* meaning 'sea' (the Kove dwell on numerous off-shore islands along the coast of West New Britain).

	'tree'	'vulva'	'return'	'mountain'	'raw'
Kge	<i>ai</i>	<i>pui-</i>	<i>-mule</i>	<i>lolo</i>	<i>vita-</i>
Kbn	<i>abei</i> ^a	<i>kede-</i>	<i>-lua-</i>	<i>lusi</i>	<i>kasiki</i>
Lusi	<i>avei</i> ^a	<i>keze-</i>	<i>-lua-</i>	<i>lusi</i>	<i>kasiki</i>
Kove	<i>avei</i> ^a	<i>keze-</i>	<i>-lua-</i>	<i>lusi</i>	<i>kasiki</i>
Gtu	<i>ai</i>	<i>pugi-</i>	<i>-mule</i>	<i>(ŋgaram)</i>	<i>bitai</i>
Mutu	<i>ai</i>	<i>ende-</i>	<i>-mul</i>	<i>loloz</i>	<i>biti</i>

^a These may be cognate with *ai* but their forms distinguish the Bariai languages from Kilenge and the Ngero languages.

	'Inocarpus'	'right(hand)'	'clear weeds'	'request'	'bonito'
Kge	<i>ip</i>	<i>ono</i>	<i>-lamo</i>	<i>-sun</i>	<i>ilapen, vaniaro</i>
Kbn	<i>ua</i>	<i>oatai</i>	<i>-saoa</i>	<i>-gau</i>	<i>nabainaro</i>
Lusi	<i>ua</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>-gama</i>	<i>-gau</i>	<i>sususu</i>
Kove	<i>ua</i>	<i>tau</i>	—	<i>-gau</i>	<i>sususu</i>
Gtu	<i>ipi</i>	<i>wane</i>	<i>-lamo</i>	<i>-sun</i>	<i>(lala)</i>
Mutu	—	<i>wan</i>	—	—	<i>irapeŋ</i>

Also Kge *kolman* Mutu *olman* 'old man'; the Bariai languages lack a word for this.

6.1 LEXICON: SUMMARY

The differences among the Maleu/Bariai languages are quite salient in the lexicon, and it is in the lexicon that speakers of these languages themselves recognise distinctiveness. Although Lusi and Kove are quite similar, their speakers focus on the evident lexical differences as a way to define themselves as different linguistic (and cultural) peoples. Nonetheless, it is clear from the vast number of shared lexical items that Lusi and Kove are very closely related. Their next closest tie is with Kabana, which also shares a large lexical repertoire, but which also possesses numerous lexical differences. While some of these are shared by Kilenge, there is no question that Kilenge stands apart lexically from the Bariai languages. Lastly, the lexical evidence available relates the Bariai languages to the Ngero languages. Although Kilenge also possesses lexical items cognate with Ngero languages (and sometimes lacking in the Bariai languages), their number is dwarfed by the number of cognates shared by the Ngero languages and the Bariai languages and lacking in Kilenge.

The differences among the four languages can be greatly enlarged when esoteric vocabulary is taken into account. Unfortunately, there are still numerous gaps in my data bases for Kove and Kilenge, and consequently this area has not been fully explored here. Although the vocabulary available to me at this time supports the separation of Kilenge from the Bariai languages, and the separation of Kabana from Lusi and Kove, deeper analysis of the esoteric vocabulary might provide some interesting patterns of borrowing. At this level, Lusi shares more with Anêm, a neighbouring non-Austronesian language (see Thurston 1982), than it does with Kabana and, I suspect, with Kove. Kabana, on the other hand, has considerably more Maleu borrowings in this lexical realm than do Lusi and Kove (although they both have borrowed a few words from Maleu), while Kove has taken numerous lexical items from Bakovi and Bali-Vitu.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This brief descriptive account of Kilenge and the Bariai languages of West New Britain demonstrates the ways in which Kilenge (and by extension, Lolo), Kabana, Lusi and Kove relate to each other. At the phonological level, there are a few emblematic features which distinguish each language. Kove stands out from the rest in having replaced *r* with *h*. It is also the most conservative in vowel retention. Kabana is the only language of the group with oral voiced stops (although this is changing), while Lusi and Kove share prenasalised stops largely lacking in Kilenge and Kabana. Kilenge is unique in lacking a voiced alveolar phoneme equivalent to *d* in Kabana and *z* in Lusi and Kove. Lusi has no one feature that the others lack, but its combination of features distinguishes it phonologically from the others.

The Maleu/Bariai languages developed from Proto Oceanic in many similar ways. Kabana and Kilenge, however, share several changes not found in Lusi and Kove, especially (a) the loss of final high vowels, and (b) the loss of *h*. In other areas, however, Kabana clearly subgroups with Lusi and Kove. Kilenge stands out in several ways, outlined in §2.7. In many of these cases, however, variation can be found in the Bariai languages, and conversely, some words in Kilenge share the changes to be found in the Bariai languages. Borrowing among the four languages has blurred many of the language-specific developments.

Syntactically the Maleu/Bariai languages all belong in a *Sprachbund*, or language convergence area. Nonetheless, Kilenge stands out from the Bariai languages in several aspects of its morphology (§5.3). This is also the case when the lexica of the four languages are compared. While Kilenge can be separated from the Bariai languages at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels, the question of its closest relatives among the Vitiaz languages still needs to be explored. Given the large number of Kilenge lexemes that have no counterpart in the Maleu/Bariai languages, it is necessary to find isoglosses connecting such lexemes to other Vitiaz languages. If morphological evidence can also be given, then the evidence will be strong. If isoglosses connecting Kilenge to other Vitiaz languages cannot be found, then Kilenge must remain a Vitiaz isolate, as classified by Ross (1988).

The Maleu have maintained a strategic position in West New Britain for many generations. Their territory covers the whole western end of the island, from the south coast to the north coast, and so they have a long history of contact with neighbouring south coast languages, with Amara, and with the Bariai languages. Because of their geographic location, they have also been the entry point of the Siasi trade network into New Britain. Many trade goods reach the Arove, Kabana, Lusi, Kove, Bali-Vitu islanders and the Bakovi not directly from Siasi voyagers, but from Kilenge intermediaries. Such contact provides a plethora of sources for borrowing and linguistic change. The implications of such contact are twofold: (a) to understand the origin of the Maleu lexicon, one must search further afield than the Ngero/Bariai languages; and (b) it is reasonable to expect that the Maleu lexical core does not match any one given Ngero/Bariai or Vitiaz language, but will show elements from several.

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A MALEU GRAMMAR OUTLINE AND TEXT

GRAHAM HAYWOOD

1. PRELIMINARIES

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Maleu is a member of the Vitiáz linkage (see Ross, this volume) spoken by over 4000 people living in the Cape Gloucester sub-province of the West New Britain Province. There are two dialects, Kilenge and Maleu.

Data for this paper were gathered in Pototpua village, whose residents speak the Maleu dialect, between 1974 and 1977. The writer lived among the Maleu in broken periods during those years.¹ Abbreviations are listed on page vi.

1.2 PHONEME INVENTORY

Maleu has five vowels /i e a o u/. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are often phonetically [y] and [w] respectively before another vowel. The inventory of consonants is:

	Bilabial	Aveolar	Velar
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricative	<i>v</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Flap		<i>r</i>	
Liquid		<i>l</i>	

Note that there are no phonemic voiced stops. The symbol *g* is used for the voiced velar fricative [ɣ].² However, the voiced fricatives /v/ and /g/ vary between fricatives [β ɣ] and stops [b g]. The (voiced) stop allophones occur only after nasals, e.g. *amviŋe* [ambinɛ] 'big'.

¹ An earlier version of this paper was written in 1980 as part of the author's work with the Papua New Guinea branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Grateful appreciation is extended to Michael Kataka, Robert Aigilo, Beti Maia, Barnabus Navus, Bruno Nakovai and Alphonse Narol who provided texts and helped record and transcribe them. Many other people provided very helpful answers to many questions as they patiently taught the language. Consultant help was graciously given by Robert Lee, Elizabeth Murane, and Linda Vissering (née Lauck). These colleagues provided valuable suggestions for the production of the earlier version.

² *Editor's note:* Consistency would require that *b*, rather than *v*, be used for the bilabial fricative. However, *v* is used for the sake of consistency with Goulden (this volume).

The voiced fricatives do not occur word-finally.

The sequences /tn/ and /kŋ/ are pronounced as [ɲn] and [kŋŋ] respectively.

1.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Where a sequence of two like vowels occurs at a morpheme boundary, elision occurs, i.e. one is deleted.

<i>ki-</i>	PREP: 'of'	+	<i>ire</i>	D3P: 'they'	becomes	<i>k-ire</i>	'of them'
<i>na-</i>	NM	+	<i>ai</i>	'tree'	becomes	<i>n-ai</i>	'NM-tree'

When the third person singular object or possessive pronoun *-e* is attached to a stem ending in *-e*, *-a* or *-o*, or in a consonant + *-i*, the stem-final vowel is dropped.

	<i>i-valpala-re</i>	S3S-split-O3P	'he splits them'
but	<i>i-valpal-e</i>	S3S-split-O3S	'he splits it'
	<i>mata-mi</i>	face-P1EP	'our faces'
but	<i>mat-e</i>	face-P3S	'his face'
	<i>i-toko-re</i>	S3S-take-O3P	'he takes them'
but	<i>i-tok-e</i>	S3S-take-O3S	'he takes it'
	<i>eiŋa-re</i>	big-P3P	'big (singular)'
but	<i>eiŋ-e</i>	big-P3S	'big (plural)'
	<i>i-kevi-re</i>	S3S-do-O3P	'he does them'
but	<i>i-kev-e</i>	S3S-do-O3S	'he does it'

The basic form for the prefixed noun marker on nouns is *na-* 'a, the', but it undergoes elision before stem-initial *a-* and becomes *ne-* and *no-* before *i-* and *u-* respectively.

<i>na-tamta</i>	'NM-man'
<i>na-olo</i>	'NM-rope'
<i>n-ae</i>	'NM-day'
<i>ne-iuare</i>	'NM-woman'
<i>no-urata</i>	'NM-work'

The first person singular subject pronoun *na-* is similarly affected:

<i>ne-ik</i>	S1S-carry	'I am carrying'
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When reduplication affects a nasal + fricative (phonetic stop) sequence, only the fricative is repeated.

<i>amviŋe</i> [ambige]	'big.S'	<i>amviviŋe</i> [ambiviŋe]	'big.P'
<i>na-riŋgete</i>	'NM-termite'	<i>na-riŋgetegete</i> [na-riŋgeteŋete]	'NM-termites'

When an affix ending in *-m* is added to a stem with initial *k*, assimilation occurs, *-m* becoming *-ŋ*.

<i>lem + kiamo</i>	becomes	<i>leŋ-kiamo</i>	P1EP-mumu	'our mumu'
<i>em + kono</i>	becomes	<i>eŋ-kono</i>	S1EP-sleep	'we sleep'

When the final *-k* of some verb stems occurs before a vowel, this *-k* becomes *-g-* [ɣ]. This may occur as the result of reduplication or by the addition of a suffix:

	<i>em-uk</i>	SIIP-swim	'we swim for lobsters'
but	<i>em-uguk</i>	SIIP-swim.CNT	'we swim for lobsters'
	<i>ne-ik</i>	SIS-carry	'I am carrying'
but	<i>ne-ig-e</i>	SIS-carry-O3S	'I am carrying it'

Some words change form within a declension. This is true of some inalienably possessed nouns.

	<i>ero-k</i>	eye-P1S	'my eye'
	<i>ero-ra</i>	eye-P1IP	'our eyes'
but	<i>eru-a</i>	eye-P3S	'his eye'
	<i>eru-mi</i>	eye-P2P	'your eyes'
	<i>goli-k</i>	neck-P1S	'my neck'
but	<i>gol-ra</i>	neck-P1IP	'our necks'

1.4 WORD BOUNDARIES

To determine word boundaries in Maleu three criteria are employed: the stress pattern on compounds, the occurrence of known isolated words in larger forms, and the occurrence of clitics.

1.4.1 STRESS PATTERN ON COMPOUNDS

When certain words are compounded, stress shifts to the penultimate syllable and in some cases vowels also change to effect vowel harmony. The preference in spelling is to follow the phonological form.

<i>'avo</i> 'not' + <i>ta</i>	becomes	<i>a'vota</i> 'not yet'
<i>'avo</i> 'not' + <i>la</i>	becomes	<i>a'vola</i> 'and so'
<i>'tia</i> 'one' + <i>'tia</i> 'one'	becomes	<i>t'i'atia</i> [ti'atya] 'one by one'
<i>na-'roro</i> 'NM-road' + <i>tne</i> 'his/her.mother'	becomes	<i>naro'rotne</i> 'the big road'
<i>na-'vola</i> 'NM-man' + <i>tia</i> 'one man'	becomes	<i>navo'latia</i> [nabo'latya] 'one man'
<i>na-'vola</i> 'NM-man' + <i>lua</i> 'two men'	becomes	<i>navo'lalua</i> [nabo'lalwa] 'two men'

When *'ire* 'they' and *'lua* 'two' are compounded three forms may be found:

<i>er'elua</i>	}	'they two', 'he and (one other)'
<i>er'emua</i>		
<i>er'elmua</i>		

1.4.2 OCCURRENCE OF KNOWN ISOLATED WORDS

Where known isolated words occur within larger forms, these are treated as two words, with exceptions where stress-shift indicates a compound (§1.4.1).

Examples:

n-ai *kuri-a*
 NM-tree head-P3S
 'the top of the tree'

na-vola *tako*
 NM-man this
 'this man'

no-ulum *talo*
 NM-men's.house that
 'that men's house'

1.4.3 OCCURRENCE OF CLITICS

In this paper, higher level clitics have been separated from words to which they attach.

Examples:

iatano lo 'ground there'
 (*lo* = boundary particle)

na-melamela io 'NM-child there'
 (*io* = boundary particle)

1.4.4 CLASSES OF PRONOMINAL MORPHEME

Five classes of pronominal morphemes are recognised here. They are, with their class abbreviations:

- D disjunctive (independent, free) pronouns (§3.6.1)
- P possessive pronominal suffixes (§3.2) and possessive pronouns (§3.6.2)
- S subject pronominal prefixes (§3.1)
- O object pronominal suffixes (§3.1)
- R reflexive pronouns (§3.6.3)

2. STEMS

Stems are simple or complex. Simple stems contain only one morpheme, complex stems more than one morpheme. Stems may be bound, not occurring without an affix; or free, able to occur without an affix.

2.1 SIMPLE STEMS

Examples of simple stems are:

bound	<i>kuri-</i>	'head'
	<i>-mari</i>	'stand'
free	<i>lolo</i>	'mountain'
	<i>mule</i>	'return'

2.2 COMPOUND STEMS

2.2.1 NOUNS

Maleu has a small number of compound noun stems.

<i>namaga</i>	'sand'	+	<i>tn-e</i>	'mother-P3S'	becomes	<i>namagatne</i>	'a tiny fish'
<i>-roro</i>	'road'	+	<i>tn-e</i>	'mother-P3S'	becomes	<i>narorotne</i>	'the big road'
<i>au-a</i>	'mouth-P3S'	+	<i>nagena</i>	'ginger'	becomes	<i>auanagena</i>	'catfish'

2.2.2 VERBS

Maleu also has a number of compound verb stems.

-gal- 'pierce' + *-pala-* 'split' gives *na-gal-pal-e* 'S1S-pierce-split-O3S'

The complex form here ('I pierce-split it') expresses the idea of piercing a small vine and splitting it into four parts with thumb and forefinger so that the centre of the vine may be thrown away.

2.3 DERIVED NOUN STEMS

There are a large number of verb stems which can be changed into nouns by the addition of the nominalising suffix *-ŋa*

Examples:

<i>-vore</i>	'dress up'	becomes	<i>-voreŋa</i>	'finery'
<i>-uavel</i>	'run'	becomes	<i>-uavelŋa</i>	'running'
<i>-ŋoŋo</i>	'speak'	becomes	<i>-ŋoŋoŋa</i>	'talk'
<i>-muga</i>	'go first'	becomes	<i>mugaŋa</i>	'front, first place'
<i>-ŋij</i>	'laugh'	becomes	<i>-ŋija</i>	'laughter'
<i>-vou</i>	'sing'	becomes	<i>-vouŋa</i>	'song'
<i>-rikarika</i>	'play'	becomes	<i>-rikaŋa</i>	'toy'
<i>-kirime</i>	'follow'	becomes	<i>-kirimeŋa</i>	'rear place'

2.4 REDUPLICATED STEMS

2.4.1 ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS AND NOUNS

Reduplication of stems may be of the whole or a part of the stem. Reduplication in nouns normally indicates plural number, while that in adjectives and adverbs indicates individuality associated with plural number.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	
<i>amviŋe</i>	<i>amviviŋe</i>	'big'
<i>kapori-a</i>	<i>kaporpori-a</i>	'small-P3S'
<i>poki-a</i>	<i>pokpoki-a</i>	'toe-P3S'

polia *polpolia* 'a little'

Maleu has a large number of reduplicated adjective stems.

2.4.2 VERB STEMS

Reduplication of a verb stem may also be of the whole or a part of the stem. It can indicate that the action is intensified, continuative or durational. Very often verb stems are reduplicated when plural subject prefixes or plural object suffixes are present. (Prefixes and suffixes in these examples mark the person and number of, respectively, subject and object; see §3.1)

<i>na-uavel</i>	'I run '	<i>na-uavelvel</i>	'I run fast'
<i>na-muga</i>	'I go first'	<i>na-mugamuga</i>	'I go in front of line or group'
<i>na-gal-e</i>	'I pierce it'	<i>na-galgal-e</i>	'I continue piercing it'
<i>i-maia</i>	'he rests'	<i>i-maiamaia</i>	'he rests for a period'
<i>na-lei-e</i>	'I see it'	<i>na-leilei-re</i>	'I see them'
<i>na-ruk-e</i>	'I wrap up it'	<i>na-rukruki-re</i>	'I wrap them/it all up (i.e. food)'
<i>na-kan-e</i>	'I eat it'	<i>na-kanan-e</i>	'I eat all of it'
<i>na-lik-e</i>	'I fasten it'	<i>em-likoliko</i>	'we fasten them'

More research is needed on verbal reduplication, which is glossed here simply as 'continuative' (CNT).

2.4.3 NUMERALS

Reduplication of numerals or numbers occurs to a limited extent in Maleu to form adverbs as follows.

<i>tia</i>	'one'	<i>tia tia</i>	'one by one'
<i>lua</i>	'two'	<i>lua lua</i>	'two by two'

3. WORDS

3.1 VERBS

Verbs in Maleu are free forms with optional affixation. A verb in the indicative mood has a pronominal prefix indicating the person and number of the subject. An unprefixated verb expresses the imperative mood. A transitive verb also has a pronominal suffix indicating the person and number of the object.

	SUBJECT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES		OBJECT PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1I	—	<i>ta-</i>	—	<i>-ta</i>
1E	<i>na-</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>-ou</i>	<i>-em</i>
2	<i>ku-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-mi</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-re</i>

For example:

na-kan
S1S-eat
'I eat'

ta-kan-e
S1IP-eat-O3S
'we eat it'

i-rukruki-re
S3S-wrap.up-O3P
'she/he wraps them up'

Note that object pronominal suffixes also occur on certain prepositions (§3.12.1).

The causative derivational prefix *pa-* is inserted immediately before the verb stem.

na-pa-sik-e
S1S-CS-tie.up-O3S
'I tie it up'

i-pa-sik-om
S3S-CS-tie.up-O2P
'he ties you up'

There is no verbal tense marking in Maleu. Past and present are distinguished by the presence of a temporal (§3.5) or by context. The future tense is marked by a morpheme *pa* preceding the whole clause, the subject or subject prefix of a verb.

A-reŋe uae-m tereŋe pou pa a-la a-lu patia
S2P-be.with friend-P2S some new FUT S2P-go S2P-go.in together"
'You and some of your friends too will enrol together.'

Reduplication of a verb stem may express duration or continuation, but also has other functions (§2.4.2).

na-gal-e
S1S-pierce-O3S
'I pierce it'

na-gal-gal-e
S1S-pierce.CNT-O3S
'I continue piercing it'

i-maia
S3S-rest
'he is resting'

i-maia-maia
S3S-rest.CNT
'he rests for a period'

Maleu has an interrogative verbal proform *-so* or *-uso*, meaning 'do what'. For example:

ai-m i-so io?
leg-P2S S3S-do.what PRT
'what is the matter with your leg?'
(More literally, 'What has your leg done?')

3.2 COMMON NOUNS

Common nouns fill the HEAD slots of noun phrases (§4.2), and may be classified according to possession. Possessed nouns occur with a pronominal possessive affix indicating the person and number of the possessor. A noun may be classified according to the kind of pronominal possessive affix which occurs with it, and by whether it is obligatorily or optionally possessed. (For the syntax of possessed nouns, see §4.2.2.)

There are three kinds of possessive affix, namely possessive suffixes, intimate possessive prefixes, and non-intimate possessive prefixes, shown below. ('1I' means 'first person plural inclusive', i.e. including the addressee, whilst '1E' means 'first person exclusive', i.e. excluding the addressee.)

	SUFFIX		INTIMATE PREFIX		NON-INTIMATE PREFIX	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1I	—	<i>-ra</i>	—	<i>ara-</i>	—	<i>ra-</i>
1E	<i>-k, -ge</i>	<i>-em</i>	<i>ak-</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>lek-</i>	<i>lem-</i>
2	<i>-m</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>ami-</i>	<i>lem-</i>	<i>lemi-</i>
3	<i>-a</i>	<i>-re</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>ere-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>re-</i>
	<i>-e</i>					

The suffix *-k* 'my' is replaced by *-ge* with some kin terms.

3.2.1 OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED NOUNS

Obligatorily possessed nouns include body parts and some kin terms. They always occur with a possessive affix. For most, the possessive marker is a suffix. However, some kin terms instead take intimate possessive prefixes, and more remote kin terms take non-intimate possessive prefixes.

Examples of nouns which take a possessive suffix are *kuri-* 'head' and *tivu-* 'grandparent':

	singular		plural	
1I	—		<i>kuri-ra</i>	'our heads'
1E	<i>kuri-k</i>	'my head'	<i>kuri-em</i>	'our heads'
2	<i>kuri-m</i>	'your head'	<i>kuri-mi</i>	'your heads'
3	<i>kuri-a</i>	'his/her head'	<i>kuri-re</i>	'their heads'
1I	—		<i>tivu-ra</i>	'our grandparent'
1E	<i>tivu-ge</i>	'my grandparent'	<i>tivu-em</i>	'our grandparent'
2	<i>tivu-m</i>	'your grandparent'	<i>tivu-mi</i>	'your grandparent'
3	<i>tivu-a</i>	'his/her grandparent'	<i>tivu-re</i>	'their grandparent'

Some kin terms are historical compounds, and the suffix is attached to the first morpheme of the compound, as in *liu- + lia* 'younger sister' (i.e. the suffix is structurally an infix here).

	singular		plural	
1I	—		<i>liu-ra-lia</i>	'our younger sister'
1E	<i>liu-k-lia</i>	'my younger sister'	<i>liu-em-lia</i>	'our younger sister'
2	<i>liu-m-lia</i>	'your younger sister'	<i>liu-mi-lia</i>	'your younger sister'
3	<i>liu-a-lia</i>	'his/her younger sister'	<i>liu-re-lia</i>	'their younger sister'

In contrast to 'younger sister', the noun *-tuaŋe* 'younger brother' occurs with an intimate possessive prefix, whilst *-sasa* 'great-grandparent' occurs with a non-intimate possessive prefix.

	singular		plural	
1I	—		<i>ara-tuaje</i>	'our little brother'
1E	<i>ak-tuaje</i>	'my little brother'	<i>em-tuaje</i>	'our little brother'
2	<i>am-tuaje</i>	'your little brother'	<i>ami-tuaje</i>	'your little brother'
3	<i>e-tuaje</i>	'his/her little brother'	<i>eretuaje</i>	'their little brother'
1I	—		<i>ra-sasa</i>	'our great grandparent'
1E	<i>lek-sasa</i>	'my great grandparent'	<i>lem-sasa</i>	'our great grandparent'
2	<i>lem-sasa</i>	'your great grandparent'	<i>limi-sasa</i>	'your great grandparent'
3	<i>la-sasa</i>	'his/her great grandparent'	<i>re-sasa</i>	'their great grandparent'

3.2.2 OPTIONALLY POSSESSED NOUNS

Optionally possessed nouns differ from those above in that they also occur in an unpossessed form. Most (but not all) optionally possessed nouns are prefixed by the noun marker *na-* in their unpossessed form. Plural is usually not marked on the noun, but human nouns sometimes take *-re* to indicate plurality, e.g. *na-malaki-re* {NM-young.men-P3P} 'young men'.

In their possessed forms, optionally possessed nouns take either the intimate or the non-intimate possessive prefixes. Nouns of a nature intimate to a person take the intimate possessive prefixes. Other nouns take the non-intimate prefixes. There is also some overlap of the subclasses, i.e. some nouns may occur with either kind of prefix. A small number of nouns taking non-intimate prefixes may also take suffixes.

Examples of optionally possessed nouns which take an intimate possessive prefix are *-gelema* 'lobster' and *-pasis* 'name'.

<i>na-gelema</i>	'NM-lobster'	<i>a-gelema</i>	'my lobster'
		<i>ami-gelema</i>	'your lobster'
		<i>ere-gelema</i>	'their lobster'
<i>na-pasis</i>	'NM-name'	<i>ak-pasis</i>	'my name'
		<i>e-pasis</i>	'his/her name'
		<i>ara-pasis</i>	'our names'
		<i>ere-pasis</i>	'their names'

The nouns *-pul* 'knife' and *-mei* 'sleeping mat' take a non-intimate possessive prefix.

<i>na-pul</i>	'NM-knife'	<i>lem-pul</i>	'your knife; our knives'
		<i>la-pul</i>	'his/her knife'
		<i>ra-pul</i>	'our knives'
<i>na-me</i>	'NM-sleeping.mat'	<i>lek-me</i>	'my sleeping mat'
		<i>ra-me</i>	'our sleeping mat'
		<i>re-me</i>	'their sleeping mats'

3.2.3 LOCATIVE NOUNS

Locative nouns are a subclass of common noun which may also fill the LOCATION slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). When they occur in this slot, they have no prefix, that is, they behave as locatives (§3.4). For example:

pa na-gavola i-kukŋa lolo
 CJ NM-vine S3S-grows mountain
 'because the vine grows on the mountain'

Locative nouns generally refer to locations which are intimately familiar to Maleu speakers. There are three categories of locative noun.

The first category consists of at least three nouns, *kumo* 'garden', *paele* 'beach', and *sapu* 'camp', which always occur unprefixated. Possession is expressed with the possessive noun phrase (2) structure (§4.2.2): *kumo ki-om* {garden PREP-O2S} 'your garden'.

The second includes nouns which may also occur as optionally possessed common nouns (i.e. they may take *na-*) or as unprefixated locatives: *lolo* 'mountain', *nia* 'village, home', *ulum* 'men's house', *roro* 'road', *oga* 'canoe'. For example:

erelua tivu-a ti-mate kŋe na-lolo tia
 they.two grandfather-P3S S3P-stay at NM-mountain one
 'He and his grandfather live on one mountain.'

The third category has only one member, *remo* 'inside', which occurs in three guises:

- (i) as an optionally possessed common noun which may take *na-*;
- (ii) as an obligatorily possessed noun: *remo-k* {inside-P1S} 'my inside, my thinking', *remo-mi* {inside-P2P} 'your insides, your thinking';
- (iii) as the second part of a compound unprefixated locative noun: *nia-remo* 'the inside of the house', *ulum-remo* 'the inside of the men's house'; *oga-remo* 'the inside of the canoe'.

3.3 PROPER NOUNS

Proper nouns are the particular names of persons and places. They are free forms without affixation. Proper nouns occur in the same slots as basic noun phrases, and proper nouns which are the names of places may also occur in the LOCATION slots of verbal clauses.

Names of villages sometimes occur with the noun marker *na-* (i.e. are used as common nouns) or a third person plural suffix, but in such cases reference is usually being made to an inhabitant or inhabitants rather than to the place itself.

3.4 LOCATIVES

Locatives are words that fill the HEAD slot of locative phrases, which in turn fill the LOCATION slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). Unlike locative nouns (§3.2.3), which may function either as common nouns (with the noun marker *na-*) or like locatives (without affixation), the words listed here appear never to take the affixation of a common noun. Whereas locative nouns refer to specific items in the environment, locatives refer to relative locations.

<i>aleleŋa</i>	'round about'
<i>aluai</i>	'far away'
<i>eilut</i>	'up above'
<i>rounsio</i>	'down below' (< <i>-roun</i> 'go down' + <i>-sio</i> 'stop')

maje 'outside'

For locative proforms, see §3.8. The interrogative locative is *siaŋ* 'where?'.
 3.5 TEMPORALS

Temporals are words that fill the TIME slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

<i>alavoko</i>	'today'	<i>eliakoko</i>	'now'
<i>noula</i>	'yesterday'	<i>aole</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>olia</i>	'day before yesterday'	<i>voŋua</i>	'day after tomorrow'
<i>muga</i>	'before'	<i>eimul(e)</i>	'later'
<i>utue</i>	'morning'	<i>leilei</i>	'afternoon, evening'
<i>voj</i>	'night'		

The interrogative temporal is *ŋia* 'when?'

Two of the nouns above also occur as optionally possessives common nouns with *na-*: *na-voj* 'the night, the evening' and *no-utue* 'morning'.

3.6 PRONOUNS

As well as the pronominal subject and object affixes listed in §3.1 and the pronominal possessive affixes listed in §3.2, Maleu has three classes of free pronouns: independent, possessive and reflexive.

The interrogative pronouns corresponding respectively to common and personal nouns are *na-sae* (incorporating the noun marker) 'what', *sei* 'who?' and *sei-me* (who-and) 'who (plural)?'. For example:

Iom sei?
 D2S who
 'Who are you?'

Iami sei-me?
 D2P who-and
 'Who are you (plural)?'

3.6.1 INDEPENDENT (DISJUNCTIVE) PRONOUNS

Independent pronouns occur in the same slots as proper nouns and common noun phrases. Dual forms occur especially in comitative noun phrases (§4.2.6). The independent pronouns are:

	singular	plural	dual	trial
1I		<i>ita</i>	<i>italua, itamilua</i>	<i>itatol, itamitol</i>
1E	<i>iou</i>	<i>iem</i>	<i>iemlua, emilua</i>	<i>iemtol</i>
2	<i>iom</i>	<i>iami</i>	<i>amilua</i>	<i>iamitol</i>
3	<i>ie</i>	<i>ire</i>	<i>irelua, timilua, erelua,</i> <i>irem lua, erem lua</i>	<i>iretol, timitol</i>
			<i>erelmua, eremua</i>	

3.6.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The forms of the possessive pronouns are made up of the intimate or non-intimate possessive prefix and the morpheme *-va*. The latter predictably becomes [-ba] after /m/. It becomes *-ua* in the first person singular.

	INTIMATE		NON-INTIMATE	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1I		<i>arava</i>		<i>rava</i>
1E	<i>akua</i>	<i>emva</i> [emba]	<i>lekua</i>	<i>lemva</i> [lemba]
2	<i>amva</i> [amba]	<i>amiva</i>	<i>lemva</i> [lemba]	<i>lemiva</i>
3	<i>eva</i>	<i>ereva</i>	<i>lava</i>	<i>reva</i>

When the possessed noun in a possessive noun phrase belongs to the optionally possessed class (§3.2.2), two structures are possible. Firstly, the prefixed noun marker *na-* may be replaced by a possessive prefix, e.g. *na-pasis* 'NM-name' but *ak-pasis* 'my-name' (see §3.2.2). Secondly, a possessive pronoun may be placed before the prefixed noun marker *na-*, e.g.

<i>lemva</i>	<i>na-vuŋa</i>
P1EP.PRON	NM-belongings
'our belongings'	
<i>eva</i>	<i>na-la</i>
P3S.PRON	NM-small.vine
'its small vine'	

3.6.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Reflexive pronouns never occur alone. They always follow a personal pronoun or a noun.

	singular	plural
1I		<i>toura</i>
1E	<i>touk</i>	<i>touem</i>
2	<i>toum</i>	<i>toumi</i>
3	<i>taua</i>	<i>touré</i>

For example:

<i>Kamo ie taua</i>
Kamo D3S R3S
'Kamo was by himself'

A reflexive pronoun optionally has the suffix *-ŋa* attached:

<i>Kamo ie tauaŋa</i>
Kamo D3S R3S
'Kamo himself'

na-ga tauaŋa
 NM-pig R3S
 'the pig itself'

3.7 BOUNDARY PARTICLES

Boundary particles are clitics which occur phrase- or clause-finally. Further analysis is required to fully disclose their functions, but they usually occur either at the end of a clause or at the end of a long pre-verbal phrase, e.g. a phrase in the periphery of the clause (see §5.2) or a subject noun phrase. One of their functions seems to be that of marking the boundary of a phrase or clause. Two of them, *ko* and *lo*, often indicate distance in time and space and perceived by the speaker, whilst the third, *io/o* seems to be neutral with regard to time and space, but is quite often used to indicate that a clause is perfective.

ko 'near (in time or space)'
lo 'far (in time or space)'
io, o neutral, perfective

In the following example, *ko* marks the boundary of a clause-initial temporal phrase, and *o* marks the swelling as already occurring, i.e. as perfective:

leilei talo kō Kamo ai-a i-uuui o.
 afternoon that PRT Kamo leg-P3S S3S-swell.CNT PRT
 '... that afternoon Kamo's leg was already swelling.'

In the next example, *ko* and *lo* both mark the boundaries of temporal phrases, one of them close ('this coming week'), the other further away ('the following one'):

Pa uik eko matarai kō avota me eimul-e lo na-riŋa mat-e
 FUT week this ahead.of.us PRT not.yet CJ behind-P3S PRT NM-fire face-P3S

pa-e Fraide la i-sio utue Sarere.
 PREP-P3S Friday CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday
 'Not this coming week but the following one, start preparing for Friday until Saturday morning.'

In the third example, both *ko* and *lo* mark clause boundaries:

Ti-loŋo i-la ko Navus i-kava talo kŋe roun-sio lo.
 S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT
 'They heard them fall, Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.'

3.8 DEMONSTRATIVES AND RELATED PROFORMS

Demonstratives are free forms filling the DEMONSTRATIVE slot of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1), e.g. *na-ga talo* {NM-pig that} 'that pig'. They are each made up of the ligature *ta* (§3.12.3) and a boundary particle (§3.7).

tako 'this (near speaker)'
taio 'that (near hearer)'
talo 'that (far)'

The form *taio* occurs more often as a conjunction (§3.12.2) than as a demonstrative.

There are sets of locative proforms, each made up of *e-*, *ene-* or *si-* and a boundary particle (§3.8). Their main function is to fill the LOCATION slots of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2), but their distribution is not fully understood.

<i>eko, eneko, siko</i>	'here (near speaker)'
<i>eio, eneio, sio</i>	'there (near hearer)'
<i>elo, enelo, silo</i>	'there (far)'

For example:

<i>na-vuŋa-tia</i>	<i>enelo</i>	<i>i-mate</i>	<i>kŋe</i>	<i>n-ai-lake.</i>
NM-thing-one	there	S3S-stay	PREP	NM-tree-branch
'there is something sitting on a branch'				

Occasionally a member of the *ta-* set of demonstratives is also used in this way:

<i>iem</i>	<i>alavoko</i>	<i>em-kep</i>	<i>no-urata</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>nia</i>	<i>ki-re</i>	<i>pura</i>	<i>lo</i>
D1EP	today	S1EP-do	NM-work	there	house	PREP-P3P	whiteman	there
'today we work at the white man's house'								

Another set of proforms made up of a stem and a boundary particle comprises the 'consequentials':

<i>vileko</i>	'as a consequence of this'
<i>vileio</i>	'as a consequence of that'
<i>vilelo</i>	'as a consequence of that'

For example:

<i>Kamo</i>	<i>i-kimkim-re</i>	<i>uae-a</i>	<i>ŋata</i>	<i>soge</i>	<i>ti-reŋereŋe</i>	<i>aleleŋa</i>	<i>la</i>
Kamo	S3S-like.CNT-O3P	friend-P3S	very	thus	S3P-be.with.CNT	around	CJ.DUR
<i>uae-a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>vile-io</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>ti-kimkim-e</i>	<i>Kamo</i>	<i>ŋata.</i>	
friend-P3S	CJ.RES	CONSEQ-PRT	new	S3P-like.CNT-O3S	Kamo	very	
'Kamo liked his friends he went about with very much and consequently those friends also liked him very much.'							

<i>Kamo</i>	<i>i-loŋ-e</i>	<i>tam-e</i>	<i>i-vul-e</i>	<i>pa-e</i>	<i>na-skul-ŋa</i>	<i>ta</i>
Kamo	S3S-hear-O3S	father-P3S	S3S-tell-O3S	PREP-P3S	NM-school-NSR	CJ.RES
<i>vile-lo</i>	<i>taio</i>	<i>i-veta</i>	<i>pue</i>	<i>tam-e ...</i>		
CONSEQ-PRT	that	S3S-ask	good	father-P3S		
'Kamo heard his father speak to him about schooling, and so he asked his father ...'						

One other consequential form has been found, consisting of *vile-* and the future morpheme *pa* (§3.1) and used in the context of a future event:

<i>Vile-pa</i>	<i>aole</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ta-kev-e</i>	<i>i-la</i>	<i>haus</i>	<i>sik.</i>
CONSEQ-FUT	tomorrow	FUT	S1IP-do-O3S	S3S-go	house	sick
"In that case tomorrow we will make sure he goes to the aid-post."						

3.9 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives include a large number of words which act as modifiers to nouns. An adjective usually takes a possessive suffix (§3.2) agreeing in person and number with the noun it modifies (§4.2.1). For example:

<i>na-nia</i>	<i>pau-a</i>	'new house'
NM-house	new-P3S	
<i>na-nia</i>	<i>pou-re</i>	'new houses'
NM-house	new-P3P	
<i>iou</i>	<i>kapori-k</i>	'I am small'
D1S	small-P1S	

Some adjectives mark number by a contrast between a simple and a reduplicated form: In this case the reduplicated (plural) form may still take the *singular* possessive suffix. For example:

<i>na-nia</i>	<i>kapori-a</i>	'small house'
NM-house	small-P1S	
<i>na-nia</i>	<i>kaporpori-a</i>	'small houses'
NM-house	small.P-S1S	

3.10 MODIFIERS

Modifiers are a small class of words whose members fill the MODIFIER slot of an adjective phrase (§4.3) or the MANNER slot of a verbal clause (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

<i>pou</i>	'too, again' (literally 'new')
<i>avo</i>	'not'
<i>mot</i>	'very'
<i>ηata</i>	'very'

3.11 NUMERALS

Numerals are words that fill the QUANTITY slot of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

<i>tia, tiavolem</i>	'one'	<i>paŋe</i>	'four'
<i>lua</i>	'two'	<i>masa</i>	'five'
<i>tol</i>	'three'	<i>sajaul</i>	'ten'

The interrogative numeral is *pia* 'how many?'

3.12 RELATORS

Relators may be subdivided into prepositions, conjunctions, and the ligature.

3.12.1 PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are the relators of prepositional phrases (§4.5). One of them, *pa-*, also serves as a subordinating conjunction (§3.12.2). The preposition *ŋe* is a free form, whilst the others take an object pronominal suffix (§3.2) agreeing in person and number with their prepositional object.

Maleu prepositions are:

<i>kŋe</i>	location: 'to', 'at', 'by' (§4.5.1)
<i>pag-</i>	beneficiary 'for', 'to (someone/some persons)' (§4.5.2.1)
<i>pa-</i>	instrument: 'with'; reference: 'about' (§4.5.2.2)
<i>ta-</i>	reference: 'about' (§4.5.2.2)
<i>ki-</i>	personal location: 'to', 'of' (§4.5.2.3)

3.12.2 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions may be classified as co-ordinating or subordinating.

Co-ordinating conjunctions are free forms which conjoin words, phrases, or clauses with each other. Some are simple in form, others compound. Of those listed, it appears that only *me*, and occasionally *la*, are used to conjoin words and phrases (§4.2.5). All are used to conjoin clauses.

<i>me</i>	neutral: 'and', 'but'
<i>la</i>	duration: 'and', 'and then', 'until'
<i>ta, taio</i>	sequence, result: 'and', 'and then', 'and so'
<i>eta, etaio</i>	sequence: 'and then'
<i>avola</i>	result: 'and so'
<i>so, sogē</i>	purpose: 'thus', 'so that'
<i>ta-so</i>	result: 'and so'
<i>me-so</i>	result: 'and so'

Words and phrases may also be conjoined with *avo* 'or' (usually 'not'; §4.2.5).

Only two subordinating conjunctions have been identified. One is *pa* 'because', used to introduce dependent clauses of reason (§6.1). The other is *so* (also used as a co-ordinating conjunction), which is used to introduce condition clauses (§6.1).

The forms *stireŋe/tijere* are used in contexts where English would use a comitative preposition 'with' ('Jack went with Jill') or a conjunction ('Jack and Jill went'). However, these forms seem best analysed as verbal (§6.2.1).

3.12.3 THE LIGATURE

The ligature *ta* has been found in only one very limited context, linking the quantitative nouns *ne-iuol* 'many' and *ne-iŋur* 'all' to the noun they modify:

<i>la-gol</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ne-iuol</i>
P3S-fashion	LIG	NM-many
'his many ways'		
<i>n-ae</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ne-iŋur</i>
NM-day	LIG	NM-all
'every day'		

The ligature is also found in the forms of the demonstratives (§3.8).

3.13 REDUPLICATION OF STEMS

Certain stems are reduplicated or repeated to express a distributive meaning.

tia-tia

one-one

'one by one'

i-kev-e e-voro siaŋe siaŋe

S3S-work-O3S P3S-poison bad bad

'He works his evil poison (on the individuals).'

ti-mari mule mule ti-la kŋe re-nia

S3P-stand.up return return S3P-go to P3P-place

'They return individually to their places.'

4. PHRASES

Phrases in Maleu are of five kinds: verb phrases (§4.1), noun phrases (§4.2), adjective phrases (§4.3), locative phrases (§4.4), and prepositional phrases (§4.5).

4.1 VERB PHRASES

A verb phrase consists either of a single verb (§3.1) or of a string of verbs (a serial verb phrase; §4.1.1). It occurs in the PREDICATE slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

4.1.1 SERIAL VERB PHRASES

Maleu has a large number of verb phrases which consist of a string of two, three or even more verbs. These are serial verb phrases.

Serial verb phrases are used to express motion and direction. Normally each verb in the string carries the same subject pronominal prefix. For example:

iou alavoko na-la na-luveivei lolo

D1S today S1S-go S1S-go.bush mountain

'Today I go into the bush on the mountain.'

One exception to this is the stem *mule* 'to return'; which occurs as the second verb in a string *without* a subject pronominal marker. It may, however, take an object pronominal suffix agreeing in person and number with an express or implied object. For example:

ne-igi-re mule-re na-vira

S1S-carry-O3P return-O3P S1S-climb

'I carry them back (home).'

If the OBJECT or LOCATION (§5.2.1, §5.2.2) of the serial verb phrase belongs to a verb other than the last, then it intervenes in the verb phrase:

Patokŋa-iŋe i-gon mule kumo i-mai
 Patokŋa-old S3S-come.from return garden S3S-come
 'Old Patokŋa returns from the garden.'

If the intervening element is the OBJECT of its verb, then the *subject* pronominal marker of any verb which follows agrees with that OBJECT in person and number. For example:

ku-igi-re na-vua teŋere ti-mai
 S2S-carry-O3P NM-betelnut some S3P-come
 'You bring some betelnuts.'

4.1.2 VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

The tagmemic structure of the verb phrase is:

+ HEAD ₁	(± HEAD ₂) ⁿ⁼¹⁻⁴
verb	verb

The indicative verb phrase has no change in pitch and each verb (except *mule* 'to return') takes a subject pronominal prefix. Only the HEAD₁ slot is obligatory, as the following examples show:

ire-lua ire-toure ti-sio
 S3P-two S3P-themselves S3P-stop
 'they stay by themselves'

iem alavoko em-kep no-urata talo nia ki-re pura lo
 D1EP today S1EP-do NM-work there house PREP-O3P white.man PRT
 'today we work at the white man's house'

The following examples are serial verb phrases, with one or more verbs in the HEAD₂ slot. The last two examples have *mule* 'return' in this slot, which has no subject pronominal prefix.

em-molmol em-pot em-la em-molmol em-la
 S1EP-walk S1EP-down S1EP-go S1EP-walk S1EP-go
 'we walk down'

i-los i-la i-kulek-e
 S3S-go.in S3S-go S3S-pull.out-O3S
 'he goes inside and pulls it out'

na-riŋa i-sio i-kan
 NM-fire S3S-stay S3S-eat
 'the fire keeps burning'

na-mari na-kulek-e na-la
 S1S-stand.up S1S-pull.out-O3S NM-small.vine
 'I go and pull out (the small vine)'

na-mari mule na-la
 S1S-stand.up return S1S-go
 'I go back, I return'

ne-igi-re *mule-re* *na-vira*
 S1S-carry-O3P return-O3P S1S-climb
 'I carry them back (home)'

The imperative is signalled by a rise in pitch and no subject pronominal marker on the verb in the HEAD₁ slot.

polo *ku-nun* *ara-tai*
 come S2S-fill.up P1IP-salt.water
 'Come and fill up (our coconut shells with) salt water.'

nernerki-re *na-tamta* *avo*
 rebuke-O3P NM-men not
 'Don't rebuke the men!'

4.2 NOUN PHRASES

Maleu noun phrase structure is quite complex. The structure of common noun phrases can be described using the tagmemic structures in §4.2.1 to §4.2.6. No attempt is made here to set up tagmemic structures for proper noun phrases, and we refer simply to proper nouns and independent pronouns as single-element structures. However, there are occasional signs in text that further research might warrant setting up a *proper noun phrase*. The APPPOSITION slot of the following appositional noun phrase (§4.2.3) is filled by a proper noun phrase rather than by a simple proper noun:

na-vola *tako* *Kamo* *tako*
 NM-man this Kamo this
 'this man Kamo'

4.2.1 BASIC NOUN PHRASE

The basic noun phrase fills the SUBJECT slot of intransitive clauses (§5.2.1), the SUBJECT and OBJECT slots of transitive clauses (§5.2.3) and the SUBJECT and PREDICATE slots of non-verbal clauses (§5.1). It also occurs embedded in other phrase types, namely possessive phrases (§4.2.2), appositional phrases (§4.2.3), co-ordinate noun phrases (§4.2.5), and , as well as manifesting the OBJECT of prepositional phrases (§4.5).

The tagmemic structure of the basic noun phrase is:

+ HEAD	± MODIFIER ₁	± MODIFIER ₂	± QUANTITY	± DEMONSTRATIVE
noun	noun	adjective phrase	numeral	demonstrative
possessive noun phrase (1)				

Only the Head slot is obligatory. While all slots may occur in a single phrase, this is very uncommon. Two or three tagmemes are normal. The following examples have a simple noun in the HEAD slot:

na-ga *na-kuril* *amviŋe* *talo*
 NM-pig NM-brown big.S that
 'That big brown pig.'

na-vuŋa *neinur* *ŋata*
 NM-thing many very
 'very many things'

na-pur *manan* *vulevule*
 NM-banana *Manang*.type ripe.P
 'The ripe *Manang* bananas.'

In the examples below the HEAD slot is filled by a possessive phrase:

uae-ra *kapori-a* *tako*
 friend-PIIP small-P3S this
 'This small friend of ours.'

uae-a *na-melamela* *tereŋe* *pou*
 friend-P3S NM-children some too
 'Some of his childhood friends.'

Atem *me* *Topi* *re-melamela* *loutave*
 Atem CJ Topi P3P-child firstborn
 'Atem and Topi's firstborn child.'

An elicited example showing all five slots was considered too long for normal use:

na-ga *na-kuril* *amviŋe* *tiavolem* *talo*
 NM-pig NM-brown big.S one that
 'that one big brown pig'

4.2.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

Maleu has two possessive noun phrase structures, which we label (1) and (2).

A possessive noun phrase (1) expresses the relationship between the HEAD (a possessed noun or a possessive pronoun), which is the thing or person possessed, and its POSSESSOR. Its distribution is similar to that of the basic noun phrase, and it may also serve as the head of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

A possessive noun phrase (1) has two tagmemic structures, one with a possessed noun (§3.2.1 and §3.2.2) as HEAD, the other with a possessive pronoun (§3.6.2) as HEAD:

± POSSESSOR	+ HEAD	± APPOSITION
basic noun phrase	(a) possessed noun	—
possessive noun phrase (1)		
appositional noun phrase	(b) possessive pronoun	noun (not possessed)
co-ordinate noun phrase		
proper noun		
independent pronoun		

In structure (a) above, 'possessed noun' refers to a noun with a possessive affix. This affix may be a possessive suffix or a possessive prefix, either intimate or non-intimate (§3.2). In the four examples below, the possessed noun is suffixed. In the first two, the POSSESSOR slot is filled by an independent pronoun, in the third by an appositional phrase, and in the fourth by a basic noun phrase consisting only of a common noun. The fourth example also

illustrates a common occurrence, the use of a possessive noun phrase as the object of a location prepositional phrase.

ita tama-ra
 DIIP father-P1IP
 'our father'

ie vagi-a
 D3S hand-P3S
 'his hand'

na-ko Gusei ai-a
 NM-water Gusei leg-P3S
 'the river Gusei's leg'

kŋe na-reŋe mori-a
 PREP NM-hole bottom-P3S
 'in the bottom of the hole'

In the following four examples, also of structure (a), the possessed noun is prefixed — in the first two examples with intimate possessive prefixes, in the third and fourth with a non-intimate possessive prefix.

In the first example, the POSSESSOR slots are empty. In the second, the POSSESSOR slot is filled by a basic noun phrase, in the third by a co-ordinate noun phrase, and in the last by an independent pronoun.

ami-rago tereŋe ami-ga me ami-eiuul
 P2S-meat some P2S-pig CJ P2S-cassowary
 'Some of your meat, pig and cassowary'

pa-e na-ko tia e-pasis
 PREP-O3S NM-water one P3S-name
 'along a river called...'

Atem me Topi re-melamela
 Atem CJ Topi P3P-child
 'Atem and Topi's child'

iou lek-uavel-ŋa
 D1S P1S-run-NSR
 'my running'

Structure (b), in which the HEAD is a possessive pronoun, is similar in structure to an appositional phrase (§4.2.3), in that the noun referring to the possessed thing/person seems best understood as in APPPOSITION to the HEAD. Thus in this example *na-ga* is in apposition to the (intimate) possessive pronoun *eva*.

Navus eva na-ga
 Navus P3S.PRON NM-pig
 'Navus' pig (meat)'

In the next example, the POSSESSOR slot is empty, and *na-pe* is in apposition to the (non-intimate) possessive pronoun *lava*. (The possessive noun phrase *lava na-pe* is in its turn the POSSESSOR of a structure (a) possessive noun phrase whose HEAD is *e-pasis*.)

lava *na-pe* *e-pasis*
 P3S.PRON NM-paddle P3S-name
 'the name of his paddle'

In the final example, the POSSESSOR slot is filled by *uae-ra ne-imola* 'our Aimola friends' (itself an appositional noun phrase with a possessive noun phrase as its HEAD!) and the APPPOSITION slot is empty. (The possessive noun phrase *uae-ra ne-imola ereva* is itself the head of a basic noun phrase, in which *amviŋe* fills the MODIFIER₂ slot.)

uae-ra *ne-imola* *ereva* *amviŋe*
 friends-PIIP NM-Aimola.people P3P.PRON big.S
 'our Aimola friends' big man'

The structure of a possessive noun phrase (2) is quite different from the examples above, in that the HEAD, the possessed item, comes first, and is followed by a personal location prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *ki-* (§4.5.2.3) expressing the possessor. Its tagmemic structure is:

+ HEAD	+ POSSESSOR
basic noun phrase	personal location prepositional phrase

The object of the prepositional phrase is usually a human possessor. For example:

na-ga *kapori-a* *ki-e* *Toplei me tam-e*
 NM-pig small-P3S PREP-O3S Toplei CJ father-P3S
 'the small pig belonging to Toplei and her father'

talo *nia* *ki-re* *pura* *lo*
 there house PREP-O3P whiteman PRT
 'at the whiteman's house there'

elo *kŋe* *na-kerevat* *ki-e* *Aigilo me tam-e* *me lo*
 there PREP NM-sweet.potato PREP-O3S Aigilo CJ father-P3S CJ there
 'there in the sweet potato of Aigilo and his father'

4.2.3 APPositional Noun Phrase

An appositional noun phrase consists of two noun phrases in apposition. Its distribution is similar to that of the basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

The tagmemic structure of an appositional noun phrase is:

+ HEAD	+ APPosition
basic noun phrase	basic noun phrase
co-ordinate noun phrase	co-ordinate noun phrase
proper noun	proper noun
independent pronoun	reflexive noun phrase

The reflexive noun phrase is usually in apposition to a proper noun. Normally only one of the two slots will be filled by a proper noun. When the HEAD slot is filled by a locative noun (§3.2.3) and the APPosition slot by a proper noun, this phrase fills the LOCATION slot of a verbal clause (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

Examples of appositional noun phrases are:

Makele me e-uaneue Patoknga
 Makele CJ P3S-wife Patoknga
 'Makele and his wife Patoknga'

re-nia pau-a Kuntop
 P3P-village new-P3S Kuntop
 'their newvillage, Kuntop'

Kamo ie tauaga
 Kamo D3S R3S
 'Kamo himself'

ire na-motmot
 D3P NM-islanders
 'the islanders'

tam-e Topi
 father-P3S Topi
 'his father Topi'

e-uaneue Patoknga ti-reje la-melamela
 P3S-wife Patoknga S3P-be.with P3S-children
 'his wife Patoknga with her children'

4.2.4 REFLEXIVE NOUN PHRASE

The tagmemic structure of a reflexive noun phrase is:

+ HEAD	+ REFLEXIVE
noun independent pronoun	reflexive pronoun

For example:

na-ga tauaga
 NM-pig R3S
 'the pig itself'

A reflexive noun phrase with an independent pronoun as HEAD may fill the APPPOSITION slot of an appositional noun phrase (§4.2.3), as in these examples —

ire-lua ire toure ti-sio
 D3P.two D3P R3P S3P-stop
 'they stay by themselves'

Kamo ie tauaga
 Kamo D3S R3S
 'Kamo himself'

— or the PREDICATE slot of a non-verbal clause (§5.1):

Kamo ie taua
 Kamo D3S R3S
 'Kamo was by himself'

4.2.5 CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

A co-ordinate noun phrase consists of two (or more) noun phrases with various structures joined to each other with a conjunction (or conjunctions). Its distribution is similar to that of the basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

Up to eight nouns have been found joined in this way in texts.

The tagmemic structure of a co-ordinate noun phrase is:

+ HEAD	(± LINK	+ HEAD) ^{n = 1 - 8}	± LINK
basic noun phrase possessive phrase ₁ proper noun independent pronoun numeral	conjunction	basic noun phrase appositional phrase proper noun independent pronoun numeral	conjunction

For example:

lemiva na-loulou me n-ai me n-anna polpoli-a
 your.P NM-leaves CJ NM-wood CJ NM-food little-P3S
 'your leaves and wood and small amount of food'

Makele me e-uaneue Patoknga
 Makele CJ P3S-wife Patoknga
 'Makele and his wife Patoknga'

iou me Vulum
 D1S CJ Vulum
 'Vulum and I'

ami-rago terege ami-ga me ami-eiuul
 P2P-meat some P2P-pig CJ P2P-cassowary
 'Some of your meat, pig and cassowary'

i-rulmakmak-e na-matavuvu me na-gome me na-mul
 S3S-takes.off-O3S NM-shell CJ NM-Trochus CJ NM-grass.skirt
 'she takes off her shell decorations and grass skirt'

ki-e Toplei me tam-e
 PREP-O3S Toplei CJ father-O3s
 'of Toplei and her father'

na-ouoi ti-kono kye na-vua me na-riiu pu-re
 NM-mango S3P-sleep PREP NM-betelnut CJ NM-coconut base-P3P
 'The mangoes are lying at the base of the betelnut and coconut trees.'

It is very common to find that a co-ordinate noun phrase is also closed with a conjunction. This example, which has seven HEADS and is a list of peoples' names, illustrates this:

Asola me Loupu me Keke me Aviua me Amom me Vulum me Sari me.
 'Asola and Loupu and Keke and Aviua and Amom and Vulum and Sari.'

An example with eight HEADS is a list of the names of eight different kinds of flower used as finery in festivals .

ti-peinun-e na-sisilŋa me ne-ikurkur me na-manei me na-kurkatintin me
 S3P-fetch-O3S NM-sisilŋa CJ NM-.....

na-langoma me na-gupoi me karanj me momoŋa me.

‘They fetch [the eight kinds of flower].’

The conjunction in a co-ordinate noun phrase is almost always *me*, but occasionally *la* is found, as in this example from the text:

Iom la uae-m toureŋa io
 D2S CJ friend-P2P R3P PRT
 ‘you and all these friends of yours’

The morpheme *avo*, otherwise ‘not’, is used to express alternation, i.e. ‘or’:

ma-ra avo tama-ra i-tol-ta ta-la ta-sio
 mother-P1IP not father-P1IP S3S-bring-O1IP S1IP-go S1IP-stop
 ‘Our mother or father will bring us to stay ...’

4.2.6 COMITATIVE NOUN PHRASE

The comitative noun phrase expresses close relationship between persons or kin. Its use is limited to cases where one party is referred to by a pronoun, the other by a noun. The pronoun is normally a dual independent pronoun (§3.6.1) which *includes* the party referred to by the noun.

The tagmemic structure of a comitative noun phrase is:

+ GROUP	+ INDIVIDUAL
compound pronoun	kin noun
appositional phrase	proper noun
proper noun	

For example:

ire-lua tivu-a
 D3P-two grandfather-P3S
 ‘he and his grandfather’

ere-mua e-uaneue
 D3P-two P3S-wife
 ‘he and his wife’

iami-lua Vulum
 D2P-two Vulum
 ‘you and Vulum’

Another structure which is similar in function to the comitative noun phrase is the comitative relative clause, described in §6.2.1. It uses the verb *-reŋe* ‘be with’ to express the linkage between the two parties.

4.3 ADJECTIVE PHRASE

The adjective phrase fills the MODIFIER₂ slot of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1) or the PREDICATE slot of a non-verbal clause (§5.1).

+ HEAD	± MODIFIER
adjective	modifier

Most often an adjective phrase consists only of a HEAD, i.e. an adjective, but sometimes the MODIFIER slot is filled by one of a small set of modifiers (§3.10). For example:

votvoti-a nata
strong-O3S very
'very strong'

Ne-iplaka me Navus ti-pos kŋe livua eko moiun-e avo.
NM-cuscus CJ Navus S3P-fell PREP hole this shallow-O3S not
'The cuscus and Navus fell into this deep hole.'

4.4 LOCATIVE PHRASE

Locative phrases fill the LOCATION slots of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). Their tagmemic structure is:

+ HEAD	± MODIFIER
locative	beneficiary prepositional phrase

The head is always a locative (§3.4), and the MODIFIER slot is rarely filled. Examples (with beneficiary prepositional phrase underlined> are:

aluai pag-e tna-ra me tama-ra me
far PREP-P3S mother-PIIP CJ father-PIIP CJ
'far from our mothers and fathers'

rounsio pag-ou
down.below PREP-O1S
'down below me'

4.5 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The various types of prepositional phrase are described separately for the sake of convenience (on prepositions, see §3.12.1). There appears to be some overlap of function of the affixed prepositions in Maleu texts. Thus the instrument/reference preposition *pa-* and the beneficiary *pag-* are somewhat interchangeable, and at times each of these prepositions introduces a location phrase. The instrument/reference preposition *pa-* may also introduce a time phrase.

In all the phrase types the phrase may be manifested simply by the preposition. For example:

i-la ki-re
S3S-goes PREP-O3P
'he goes to them'

4.5.1 COMMON LOCATION PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

This phrase fills the LOCATION slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). The tagmemic structure of a common location prepositional phrase is:

+ PREPOSITION	± OBJECT
<i>kʏe</i>	basic noun phrase possessive noun phrase appositional noun phrase co-ordinate noun phrase

The OBJECT of a common location prepositional phrase always has a common noun, usually with a non-human referent, in the OBJECT slot. For example:

kʏe na-kulo eivor
PREP NM-saucepan clay
'into the clay saucepan'

kʏe n-ai- pu-a
PREP NM-tree base-P3S
'to the base of the tree'

kʏe na-motmot Aromot
PREP NM-island Aromot
'to the Aromot islands'

kʏe na-oga e-pe
PREP NM-canoe P3S-steering.place
'on the steering place of the canoe'

kʏe na-roro rolue
PREP NM-road another
'by another road'

kʏe re-nia pau-a Kuntop
PREP P3P-place new-P3S Kuntop
'to their new place, Kuntop'

kʏe na-vua me na-niu pu-re
PREP NM-betelnut CJ NM-coconut bases-P3P
'by the betelnut and coconut trees'

4.5.2 BENEFICIARY, INSTRUMENT, REFERENCE AND PERSONAL LOCATION
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

These prepositional phrase types share a single tagmemic structure:

+ PREPOSITION	± OBJECT
PREP-O <i>pag-</i> 'beneficiary' <i>pa-</i> 'instrument, reference' <i>ta-</i> 'reference' <i>ki-</i> 'personal location'	basic noun phrase possessive noun phrase appositional noun phrase accompaniment noun phrase proper noun co-ordinate noun phrase

The formulation PREP-O refers to a preposition with an object pronominal suffix (§3.12.1).

Unlike the common location prepositional phrase, these phrases allow a noun phrase with either a non-human or a human referent as OBJECT.

4.5.2.1 BENEFICIARY PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

This phrase fills the BENEFICIARY slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). For example:

pag-ou
PREP-O1S
'to me'

pag-e ta-ra me tama-ra me
PREP-O3S mother-PIIP CJ father-PIIP CJ
'to (from) our mothers and fathers'

pagi-re na-malaki-re
PREP-O3P NM-young.men-P3P
'for the young men'

4.5.2.2 INSTRUMENT AND REFERENCE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

These phrases fill the INSTRUMENT/REFERENCE slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). For example:

pa-e vilviliange me kilkiluange
PREP-O3S blue CJ red
'with blue and red (dye)'

pa-e na-pul
PREP-O3S NM-knife
'with the knife'

pa-e iou lek-uavel-ŋa
PREP-O3S D1S P1S-run-NSR
'about my running'

ta-e Kamo ti-reŋe uae-a
PREP-O3S Kamo S3P-be.with friends-P3S
'about Kamo and his friends'

4.5.2.3 PERSONAL LOCATION PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

This phrase type commonly occurs in the POSSESSOR slot of a possessive noun phrase (2) (see §4.2.2). However, as the first two examples show, it is also used in cases where a location is a human being.

i-la ki-e tiyu-a
 S3S-goes PREP-O3S grandfather-P3S
 'He goes to his grandfather's.'

i-la ki-re
 S3S-goes PREP-O3P
 'He goes to them.'

na-ga kapori-a ki-e Toplei me tam-e
 NM-pig small-P3S PREP-O3S Toplei CJ father-P3S
 'the small pig of Toplei and her father'

na-sil-re ki-re na-melamela
 NM-half-P3P PREP-O3P NM-child
 'the children's half of them'

talo nia ki-re pura lo
 there house PREP-O3P whiteman PRT
 'at the whiteman's house there'

i-kelk-e ne-il na-viŋe ki-e no-ulum talo
 S3S-dig-O3S NM-posthole NM-big.S PREP-O3S NM-men's.house that
 'He digs the large post hole of that men's house.'

5. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

There are two basic types of independent clause: non-verbal and verbal. The latter fall into two subtypes, transitive and intransitive. Non-verbal clauses have no verb while the other two types do have verbs and there is an optional OBJECT tagmeme in the transitive clause.

5.1 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The non-verbal clause has two obligatory tagmemes, which I label SUBJECT and PREDICATE.

± SUBJECT	+ PREDICATE
basic noun phrase	basic noun phrase
possessive noun phrase (1)	possessive noun phrase (1)
proper noun	reflexive noun phrase
independent pronoun	adjective phrase
	prepositional phrase

In the following examples, the PREDICATE is underlined:

Atem me Topi re-melamela loutave na-tamta e-pasis Kamo
 Atem CJ Topi P3P-child firstborn NM-man P3S-name Kamo
 'Atem and Topi's firstborn male child's name was Kamo.'

na-gelema na-viviŋe Na-kuleole
 NM-lobster NM-big.P *Nakuleole*
 'The big lobsters are called *Nakuleole*.'

na-sil-re ki-re na-melamela
 NM-half-P3P PREP-O3P NM-children
 'The half of them are the children's.'

ire amviviŋe mot
 D3P big.P very
 'They are very big ones.'

Kamo ie taua
 Kamo D3S R3S
 'Kamo was by himself.'

Juxtaposition of two non-verbal clauses with adjective predicates may be used where English would use a comparative adjective:

ie amviŋe iou kapori-k
 D3S big.S D1S small-P1S
 'He is older than I.'

Non-verbal clauses are also used idiomatically to express meanings which in English would require a verbal clause. For example:

mata-mi lemiva na-loulou me n-ai me n-an-ŋa polpolia
 face-P2P P2P.PRON NM-leaves CJ NM-wood CJ NM-eat-NSR little
 'Find your leaves, wood and a little food.'

Maleu has a number of non-verbal clause idioms whose subject is *na-pano* 'the earth'. For example:

na-pano na-meik
 NM-earth NM-hungry
 'The people are hungry.'

na-pano na-tai
 NM-earth NM-sea
 'This part of the sea.'

na-pano na-voŋ
 NM-earth NM-night
 'It is dark.'

The word *apua* 'finished' (which seems to form a class on its own) also serves as the predicate of a non-verbal clause. For example:

Kamo iom na-lai eko matarai ko apua io
 Kamo D2S NM-year here ahead.of.us PRT finished PRT

ku-lu kŋe skol pou o.
 S2S-go.into PREP school new PRT
 'Kamo, when the present year is finished, you will go into school too.'

There are also cases where a non-verbal clause consists only of a predicate. The first word of each of the following two examples is a non-verbal clause in its own right. The evidence

for this is that each is followed by a conjunction which conjoins it to the following clause (§7).

Na-galegale-na *la* *i-sio* *utue* *Sarere*
 NM-dance.CNT-NSR CJDUR S3S-stop morning Saturday
 ‘The dancing lasted until Saturday morning’
 (More literally ‘There was dancing until it stopped on Saturday morning.’)

Utue *taio* *Topi* *i-kev-e* *Kamo* *i-la* *i-uaiiu.*
 morning CJ.SEQ Topi S3S-do-O3S Kamo S3S-go S3S-wash
 ‘In the morning Topi took Kamo to bathe.’
 (More literally ‘It was morning and Topi took Kamo to bathe.’)

N-ae *taua* *lo* *taio* *Kamo* *ti-reŋe* *uae-a* *paŋe* *ti-la* *ti-*
luveivei.
 NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S four S3P-go S3P-
 go.bush
 ‘One day Kamo went into the bush with his four friends.’
 (More literally ‘There was one day and Kamo went into the bush with his four friends.’)

In the next example, *apua* ‘finished’ (see above) is similarly a single-word clause conjoined to the following clause by the conjunction *taio*. The function of *apua* here is to recapitulate the previous clause, indicating that its event was completed before the event of the next clause began.

Navus *i-kananak-e* *ne-iplaka.* *Apua* *taio* *ti-mari* *pou.*
 Navus S3S-hit.CNT-O3S NM-cuscus finished CJ.SEQ S3P-stand.up new
 ‘Navus was hitting the cuscus. After that they continued walking.’
 (more literally ‘Navus was hitting the cuscus. (It was) finished and then they walked again.’)

5.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

Although the tagmemic structures for transitive and intransitive clauses shown below contain respectively eight and nine tagmemes, the largest number of tagmemes found in a single clause in a text is five, and such clauses are unusual. Clauses of four and five tagmemes mainly occur in narratives, whilst procedural and hortatory texts have fewer tagmemes per clause. Clauses of two or three tagmemes are normal in narratives and procedural discourse.

Verbal clauses may be described as consisting of a core of three units. The first is the SUBJECT, the second the PREDICATE. In transitive clauses the third unit is the OBJECT, whilst in intransitive clauses there is either no third unit or, if the verb (e.g. *-la* ‘go’) requires it, there is a LOCATION. The remaining tagmemes are the periphery of the clause, which includes TIME, usually between SUBJECT and PREDICATE, and all the tagmemes which follow the core. Normally only one or two tagmemes occur in the periphery of a clause.

Tagmemes generally occur in the orders shown below, but a TIME tagmeme may occur in the post-core periphery, or, especially if it is long, at the beginning of a clause, and tagmemes of the post-core periphery may either permute, be shifted to the beginning of the clause, or (if they are short) occur in the TIME slot. However, if there is a NEGATIVE tagmeme, it occurs at the end of the clause.

5.2.1 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

The tagmemic structure of an intransitive clause is:

± SUBJECT	± TIME	+ PREDICATE	± LOCATION	± MANNER	± INSTRUMENT/ REFERENCE	± BENEFICIARY	±NEG
<i>see below</i>	temporal	verb phrase	location prepositional phrase location noun or appositional phrase with location noun as head locative phrase locative proform	modifier	instrument prepositional phrase reference prepositional phrase reason clause	beneficiary prepositional phrase	<i>avo</i>

The SUBJECT slot may be filled by a noun phrase of any of the types described in the subsections of §4.2 (except perhaps a reflexive phrase), or by a proper noun or independent pronoun. A location prepositional phrase in the LOCATION slot may be either common (§4.5.1) or personal (§4.5.2.3).

For example:

uae-a na-melamela tereje pou ti-uaiuliu
friend-P3S NM-children some too S3P-wash
'Some more of his childhood friends were washing.'

Makele me e-uaneue Patoknga ti-mate saksak
Makele CJ P3S-wife Patoknga S3P-stay Sagsag
'Makele and his wife Patoknga live at Sag Sag.'

erelua tivu-a ti-mate kje na-lolo tia
they.two grandfather-P3S S3P-stay at NM-mountain one
'He and his grandfather live on one mountain.'

na-la na-uaiiu polia paele avo
S1S-go S1S-swim a.little beach not
'I don't go to the beach to swim a little.'

Kamo ti-reje uae-a paŋe ti-la ti-luveivei
Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S four S3P-go S3P-go.bush
'Kamo with his four friends went into the bush.'

na-vola ko i-mari rounsio pag-ou
NM-man PRT S3S-stand down.below PREP-O1S
'The man is down below me.'

5.2.2 TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The tagmemic structure of a transitive clause is:

± SUBJECT	± TIME	+ PRED	±OBJECT	± MANNER	± LOCATION	± INSTRUMENT	± BENEFICIARY	±NEG
<i>see below</i>	temporal	verb phrase	<i>see below</i>	modifier	location prepositional phrase locative noun or appositional phrase with locative noun as head locative phrase locative proform	instrument prepositional phrase	beneficiary prepositional phrase	<i>avo</i>

The SUBJECT and OBJECT slots may be filled by a noun phrase of any of the types described in the subsections of §4.2 (except perhaps a reflexive phrase), or by a proper noun of independent pronoun. A location prepositional phrase in the LOCATION slot may be either common (§4.5.1) or personal (§4.5.2.3).

For example:

iem alavoko em-kep no-urata talo nia ki-re pura lo
 D1EP today S1EP-do NM-work there house PREP-O3P whiteman there
 ‘Today we work at the whiteman’s house.’

na-neinei-e eva na-la pa-e vilviliange me kilkiluange
 S1S-boil-O3S P3S.PRON NM-small.vine PREP-O3S blue CJ red
 ‘I boil the small vine with the blue and red (dye).’

na-guguna i-pa-nak-e Kamo ai-a na-luvua
 NM-wasp P3S-CS-shoot-O3S Kamo leg-P3S NM-cup
 ‘The wasp stung Kamo’s knee.’

5.2.3 THE STRUCTURE OF VERBAL CLAUSES WITH SERIAL VERB PHRASES

When a serial verb phrase (§4.1.1) occurs, a complication may be added to the structures in §5.2.1 and §5.2.2 above. It was noted in §5.2 that verbal clauses may be described as consisting of a core of three units. The third unit is the OBJECT of a transitive clause or the LOCATION of an intransitive clause. If the third unit is the OBJECT or LOCATION of a verb *other than the last* in the serial verb phrase, then it is inserted *into* the verb phrase immediately after that verb. For example:

Patoknga-iye i-gon mule kumo i-mai
 Patoknga-old S3S-come.from return garden S3S-come
 ‘Old Patoknga returns from the garden.’

i-gal-e *e-mon* *lau-a* *i-la* *i-se*
 S3S-pierce.with-O3S P3S-bird feather-P3S S3S-go S3S-go.up
 'He sticks his bird's feathers into his headdress.'

Where the third unit is the OBJECT or LOCATION of the last verb in the serial verb phrase, then no complication of structure occurs. For example:

iou *alavoko* *na-la* *na-luveivei* *lolo*
 D1S today S1S-go S1S-go.bush mountain
 'Today I go into the bush on the mountain.'

na-la *na-ualiu* *paele* *polia*
 S1S-go S1S-swim beach a.little
 'I go and swim a little at the beach.' or
 'I go to the beach to swim a little.'

iou *alavoko* *na-mari* *na-peinak-e* *ni-ai*
 D1S today S1S-stand.up S1S-look.for-O3S NM-wood
 'Today I go to look for the wood.'

6. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Dependent clauses fall into four categories: adverbial clauses, relative clauses, quotations, and nominalised clauses.

6.1 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses occur in slots at the periphery of independent clauses. Only two types of adverbial clause have been found in Maleu, namely reason clauses and condition clauses. In other cases where clauses are combined, they appear to be independent clauses linked with a co-ordinating conjunction (§7).

Reason clauses are introduced by *pa* 'because' (§3.12.2). Examples are:

pa *na-gavola* *i-kukna* *lolo*
 CJ NM-vine S3S-abound mountain
 '... because the vine grows plentifully on the mountain'

ti-mari *mule* *mule* *ti-la* *kje* *re-nia* *pa* *na-pano* *na-*
vuevue-ŋa
 S3P-stand.up return return S3P-go PREP P3P-village PREP NM-earth NM-tired-
 NSR
 '... they got up and went back to their villages because they were tired.'

A condition clause is introduced by the conjunction *so*: The following are elicited examples.

so *ita* *ta-la* *pa* *ire* *ti-la* *pou*
 CJ D1IP S1IP-go FUT D3P S3P-go too
 'If we go, they will go too.'

so ita ta-la eio ire ti-la o
 CJ D1IP S1IP-go there D3P S3P-go PRT
 'If we had gone, they would have gone too.'

Note that in the second example, counterfactuality is indicated by the boundary particle *o*, functioning here to mark the perfective.

6.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause modifies a noun phrase (its 'head'). It is formally marked as a subordinate clause only by the fact that no boundary particle marking a phrase boundary (§3.7) intervenes between the head and the relative clause. It may be followed by such a particle, which marks the boundary of the unit formed by the head and relative clause together. Examples are:

Me ne-iua-re a-la kumo pagi-re na-malaki-re ti-la
 CJ NM-woman-P3P S2P-go garden PREP-P3P NM-young.man-P3P S3P-go

ti-manman-e na-ga lo.
 S3P-try.to.get-O3S NM-pig PRT

'And you women go to your gardens (to get food) for the young men who go to try to get the pig.'

i-roun i-mai siko kɲe na-tatano eko ta-mate kɲe ko
 S3S-go.down S3S-comes here PREP NM-ground here we-stay PREP PRT
 'It comes down on the ground which we live on.'

In the first of the examples above, the subject pronominal prefix *ti-* {S3P} is coreferential with the head of the relative clause, *na-malaki-re* 'the young men', and agrees with it in person and number. In the second example, neither the subject nor the object of the verb in the relative clause is coreferential with its head, *na-tatano* 'the ground'. Instead, it is the location in the relative clause, marked by the presence of the preposition *kɲe*, that is coreferential with the head. Similarly in the following example, which contains two relative clauses, *kɲe ie* 'to it' is coreferential with the head *skul*.

Skul ta-la ta-lu kɲe ie e-nia rolu-e pou aluai pag-e
 school S1IP-go S1IP-go.into PREP D3S P3S-village different-P3S too far PREP-P3S

ma-ra me tama-ra me.
 mother-P1IP CJ father-P1IP CJ

'The village of the school which we will go to is another (one) which is far from our mothers and fathers.'

The second relative clause of this example is a non-verbal clause whose unmanifested subject is coreferential with the head *e-nia* 'its village'. The example below also contains a non-verbal relative clause.

Ne-iplaka me Navus ti-pos kɲe livua eko moiun-e avo.
 NM-cuscus CJ Navus S3P-fall PREP hole here shallow-P3S not
 'The cuscus and Navus fell into a hole which is not shallow.'

6.2.1 COMITATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Taken together with its head noun, a comitative relative clause is similar in function to a co-ordinate or comitative noun phrase (§4.2.5, §4.2.6). It functions to link two (groups of) people and expresses the fact that they are considered together.

Structurally, it appears to be an idiomatic relative clause, but this analysis is not completely satisfactory and the topic needs further research. The relative clause always has the same verb *-reŋe* 'be with'. (Indeed, it seems that only the continuative form *-reŋereŋe* occurs in independent clauses.) In this example, *Kamo* is the head noun, and the comitative relative clause is underlined.

*N-ae ta ne-iŋur lo Kamo ti-reŋe uae-a ti-rikarika
aleleŋa.*

NM-day CJ NM-all PRT Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S S3P-play.CNT
around

'Every day Kamo played about with his friends.'

(More literally 'Every day Kamo who was with his friends played about.')

The special feature of the verb *-reŋe* is that its subject pronominal prefix agrees in person and number with the combination of its head noun and object. This is clearer in the next example, where head noun and object have different persons. The verb *ku-moi* shows that the (otherwise unmentioned) head noun of the relative clause is 'you (singular)', whilst the implicit object of *-reŋe* is 'us (exclusive)'. The resultant subject prefix is *ta-* 'we (inclusive)'.

Ti-kav-e Kamo, "Ku-moi ta-reŋe ta-ualiu"
S3P-call-O3S Kamo S2S-come S1IP-be.with S1IP-wash
'They called to Kamo, "You come and bathe with us".'

In the next example, the unmentioned head is the addressee, 'you (singular)' and the object is *uai-m*, which we know from context is plural. The resulting subject prefix is *a-* 'you (plural)'.

A-reŋe uai-m tereŋe pou pa a-la a-lu pa-tia.
S2P-be.with friend-P2S some too FUT S2P-go S2P-go.into PREP-one
'You and some of your friends will enrol together.'

The absence of a head noun in these examples calls the relative clause analysis into question. However, the only alternative which presents itself is to treat *-reŋe* and the verb which follows as a serial verb phrase. But the presence of *pa* 'future' between the two verbs in this last example undermines this analysis.

The difficulty of analysing this structure probably arises from the fact that it is in the midst of a change, whereby *ti-reŋe* {S3P-be.with}, the most frequently occurring form, is being reanalysed as a preposition. Evidence that the form *tireŋe* is for some speakers losing its connection with the paradigm of *-reŋe* 'be with' is provided by the metathesised form *tiŋere*, found in:

na-melamela tiŋere ma-re
NM-children with mother-P3P
'the children with their mother'

6.3 QUOTATIONS

Quotations are typically direct, but both direct and indirect forms are used. Sometimes a quotation appears in a narrative without any introduction or closure, but it is more usual for a quote to be introduced with a phrase such as *i-vul* 'he said'. Direct and indirect quotations differ from each other only in the persons of their pronouns and the like:

i-vul "ku-kev-e avo"
S3S-said S2S-do-O3S not
'He said, "Don't do it!"'

i-vul *so* i-keve avo
S3S-said thus S3S-do-O3S not
'He told him not to do it.'

Both direct and indirect quotations may be introduced by *so* or *soge* 'thus', used as a complementiser (suggesting that they should be analysed as nominalised clauses; see §6.4):

ti-njoŋo *ta-e* *Kamo* *ti-reŋe* *uai-a* soge ti-palu-re
S3P-speak PREP-P3S Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S thus S3P-circumcise-O3P
'... they spoke concerning Kamo and his friends that they should be circumcised.'

Where the sequence *-vul so* or *-vul soqe* '... said thus' occurs introducing a quotation, it is often abbreviated to *-vu-so/-vu-soge*.

Narol *i-vu-so*, "*a-sio* *me* *na-vir-e*."
Narol S3S-speak-thus S2P-stop CJ S1S-climb-O3S
'Narol said, "Stay here and I will climb it".'

i-vu-soge *timi-lua* *Vulum* *ti-luveivei* *la* *na-guguna* *i-panak-e*.
S3S-speak-thus D3P-two Vulum S3P-go.bush CJ.DUR NM-wasp S3S-biteu-O3S
'He told me just now he and Vulum went into the bush where a wasp bit him.'

Tama-ge, *ku-vu-soge* *na-lu* *kŋe* *sukul...*
father-P1S S2S-speak-thus S1S-go.into PREP school
'Father, you said I would go to school ...'

6.4 NOMINALISED CLAUSES

Certain verbs may take a dependent clause in their OBJECT slot. In the examples below, the OBJECT slot of the verb *-loŋo* 'hear' is filled by a clause. As such, it is a nominalised clause, although there is no formal marking to indicate this.

Kamo *i-loŋ-e* *tam-e* *i-vul-e* *pa-e* *na-skul-ŋa* ...
Kamo S3S-hear-O3S father-P3S S3S-tell-O3S PREP-P3S NM-school-NSR
'Kamo heard his father speak to him about schooling ...'

Ti-loŋo *i-la* *ko* *Navus* *i-kava* *talo* *kŋe* *roun-sio* *lo*.
S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT
'They heard them fall, (and) Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.'

When the verb *-kevi* is used causatively, it takes a nominalised clause in its OBJECT slot:

Vile-pa aole pa ta-kev-e i-la haus sik.
 CONSEQ-FUT tomorrow FUT S1IP-do-O3S S3S-go house sick
 'In that case tomorrow we will take him to the aid-post.'
 (More literally '... tomorrow we will cause him to go to the aid-post.')

Ta Narol i-kev-e ti-kirimerime
 CJ.SEQ Narol S3S-do-O3S S3P-follow.behind.CNT
 'So Narol followed behind with him.'
 (More literally 'So Narol caused them to follow behind')

It is tempting to analyse the two examples above as containing a kind of serial verb phrase (§4.1.1), but in the second example the object pronominal suffix *-e* {O3S} is singular, agreeing with the following clause as a whole, not with the subject pronominal prefix of *ti-kirimerime*. If this were a serial verb phrase, the object pronominal suffix would agree in person and number with the subject pronominal prefix of the following verb (i.e. with an intervening object 'them').

One verb, *-uai* 'be like' is used to express simile and may take a nominalised clause in both its SUBJECT and OBJECT slots. The first of these two examples has a nominalised clause in the SUBJECT slot only, the second has one in both slots.

i-uavel i-uai na-goune
 S3S-runs S3S-be.like NM-dog
 'He runs like a dog.'

soge a-sio a-rika aleleŋa nia i-uai eliakoko a-kev-e ko
avo.
 CJ.PURP S2P-stop S2P-play around village S3S-be.like now S2P-do-O3S PRT
 not
 '... and so your (and your friends') stopping playing around in the village will not be like you do now.' (i.e. 'and so you and your friends will not play around in the village like you do now'.)

It was noted above that the quotation clause of a verb of saying may be introduced by the complementiser *so* or *soge* 'thus'. Quotation clauses should probably be analysed as a variety of nominalised clause, since *soge* is used to introduce the OBJECT clause of at least one other verb, namely *-kim* 'like':

So ti-la sian kumo avo eio uai-a ti-kim soqe ti-reperene.
 CJ.PURP S3P-go where garden not there friend-P3S S3P-like thus S3P-
 be.with.CNT
 'Whenever they went to a garden somewhere the friends liked to go together.'

7. CO-ORDINATE CLAUSES

Independent clauses (§5) often occur in sequences conjoined by co-ordinating conjunctions (§3.12.2). This is by far the most common form of clause linkage in Maleu, as the text (§9) illustrates.

The most neutral of the conjunctions is *me* 'and, but':

Ti-mate me Kamo ie tauaŋa i-rikarika aleleŋa.
 S3P-stay CJ Kamo D3S R3S S3S-play.CNT around
 ‘They lived there and as for Kamo he played about by himself.’

Ti-tokotoko n-an-ŋa l-apua
 S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR CJ.DUR-finished

taio eiŋa-re ti-vililil me ire i-sio.
 CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-leave CJ D3P S3P-stop
 ‘When they had distributed the food, the big men left but they (of Alia) stayed.’

The durative conjunction *la* conjoins two clauses where the event referred to in the first clause is viewed as lasting until the event referred to in the second clause. It is generally translatable into English by ‘and then’ or ‘until’

ti-mate la ti-puek-e na-ga ano-re la i-pursisik-e
 S3P-sit.down CJ.DUR S3P-cut.out-O3S NM-pig meat-P3P CJ.DUR S3S-cut.out-O3S

volvolvol-ia me i-lulu kŋe na-mormorse la-gamar
 bones-P3P and S3S-goes.in.CNT PREP NM-mormorse P3S-basket
 ‘They sit down and then they cut out the pig meat and then he cuts out the bones and they all go into the *mormorse*’s basket.’

A quite common turn of phrase is *la i-sio* {CJ.DUR S3S-stop} ‘until it stopped’ to emphasise the duration of an event:

Ti-galegale voŋ la i-sio utue.
 S3P-dance.CNT night CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning
 ‘They danced through the night until morning.’
 (More literally ‘They danced through the night until it stopped in the morning.’)

In §5.1 it was noted that *apua* ‘finished’ may occur as a single-word clause recapitulating the previous clause and indicating that the event of that previous clause was completed before the event of the next clause began. It is very common to find *apua* used in this way, but also conjoined to the previous clause with the conjunction *la*:

Ti-ualiuliu l-apua taio ti-rikarika aleleŋa.
 S3P-wash.CNT CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ S3P-play.CNT around
 ‘When they had finished bathing, they played about.’
 (More literally ‘They bathed until (it was) finished and then they played about.’)

The sequential conjunctions *ta*, *taio*, *eta* and *etaio* also conjoin two clauses in chronological sequence. In the case of *ta* in particular there is sometimes the implication that the second event is the outcome of the first.

ti-kono la utue ta ti-molmol Vakvak ti-se ti-la
 S3P-sleep CJ.DUR morning CJ.SEQ S3P-walk Vakvak S3P-go.up S3P-go
 ‘They sleep till morning then they go up along *Vakvak* (a track).’

Ti-lala ti-pot kumo taio ti-maiamaia.
 S3P-go.CNT S3P-go.out garden CJ.SEQ S3P-rest.CNT
 ‘They came out at a garden and then they rested.’

Ti-mate la na-pano na-meik ta ti-mule ti-la Alia.
 S3P-stay CJ.DUR NM-earth NM-hungry CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go Alia
 'They stayed there and became hungry so they went back to Alia.'

Ti-mate haus sik avola Kamo ai-a popu-e etaio ti-mule ti-la nia.
 S3P-stay house sick and.so Kamo leg-P3S good-P3S CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go
 village
 'They stayed at the aid post till Kamo's leg was better then they went home.'

The resultative conjunction *avola* conjoins clauses where the event referred to by the second clause is viewed as the outcome of the event referred to by the first.

Ti-mate haus sik avola Kamo ai-a popu-e etaio ti-mule ti-la nia.
 S3P-stay house sick and.so Kamo leg-P3S good-P3S CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go
 village
 'They stayed at the aid post till Kamo's leg was better then they went home.'

Me ti-mate avola i-rara, me ti-mate avola tortor aleleŋa.
 CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES S3S-crawl CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES began.toddle around
 'They lived there and so he began to crawl and as they stayed he started toddling about.'

So and *soge*, which also have other uses (§6.1, §6.3), serve as conjunctions of purpose, translatable as 'so that', 'in order that'. However, unlike the traditional analysis of their English counterparts, there is no reason to analyse them as dependent clauses.

Ti-tokotoko n-an-ŋa pagi-re eiŋa-re soge ti-mari mule
 S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR PREP-P3P big-P3P CJPURP S3P-stand.up return
 return

ti-la kŋe re-nia pa na-pano na-vuevue-ŋa.
 S3P-go PREP P3P-village PREP NM-earth NM-tired-NSR
 'They distributed the food for the big men so that they could return to their villages because they were all tired.'

Less frequently, independent clauses occur in sequences without an intervening co-ordinating conjunction.

Ti-loŋo i-la ko Navus i-kava talo kŋe roun-sio lo.
 S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT
 'They heard them fall, (and) Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.'

Ti-mari utue ŋata t-ik er-en-ŋa pou.
 S3P-stand.up morning very S3P-carry S3P-eat-NSR too
 'They started very early and carried their food too.'

As the tagmemic structures of independent clauses show (§5), the only tagmeme of a clause which must occur is the PREDICATE. In sequences of clauses, participants are tracked by the subject and object pronominal affixes. Thus in the first four sentences of the text (§9), *Atem* and *Topi*, the parents of the protagonist, are introduced in the first sentence, whilst the protagonist himself, *Kamo*, is introduced in the third. Up to and including sentence 8, *Atem* and *Topi* are tracked simply with the subject and possessive pronominal prefixes, respectively *ti-* {S3P} 'they' and *re-* {P3P} 'their'. *Kamo* in the meantime is tracked by the subject

pronominal prefix *i-* {S3S} ‘he/she/it’, although he is also named again several times, being the main participant.

One consequence of this tracking mechanism is that when an *independent* pronoun is used in addition to a subject prefix, as in the following example, it is used to show that the subject of this verb is not the same referent as the subject of the previous verb.

Ti-tokotoko n-an-ŋa l-apua taio eiŋa-re ti-vililil me ire ti-sio.
 S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-leave CJ D3P S3P-stop

‘When they had distributed the food, the big men left but they (of Alia) stayed.’

In this case, the verb *ti-tokotoko* refers to the people of Alia village. The next verb, *ti-vililil*, has a different subject, *eiŋa-re* ‘the big men’. The independent pronoun *ire* ‘they’ shows that the subject prefix of *ti-sio* is not the same as that of the previous verb, i.e. ‘the big men’, but refers back to the people of Alia.

8. SENTENCE LINKAGE

Sentences in narrative are often linked by recapitulation. This entails the repetition of the verb of one sentence at the beginning of the next, exemplified below by *i-panak-e* ‘it bit him’.

Ti-lala kŋe na-ŋal pu-a so ti-roun ti-mate ko pa sian
 S3P-go.CNT PREP NM-galip base-P3S CJ.PURP S3P-go.down S3P-stay PRT PREP where

ta me na-guguna i-panak-e Kamo ai-a na-luvua. I-panak-e taio i-taŋ
 CJ.SEQ CJ NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S Kamo leg-P3S NM-cup S3S-bite-O3S CJ.SEQ S3S-cry

‘They walked to the base of the galip tree to sit down, but a wasp bit Kamo’s knee. It bit him and he cried.’

In the following example, it is the verb *i-mai* ‘it came’ that is recapitulated. The example is more readily understood if one knows that the idiomatic expression for ‘give A to B’ is ‘let A come to B’.

Narol i-vul, “Iami ne-iplaka taio i-mai uai-ra kapori-a
 Narol S3S-tell D2P NM-cuscus CJ.SEQ S3S-come friend-P1IP small-P3S
tako i-ge eva.” I-mai Kamo i-ge eva.”
 this S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON S3S-come Kamo S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON

‘... Narol said, “Give the cuscus to our small friend and he can carry it for himself”. They gave it to him and Kamo carried it himself.’ (More literally ‘... Narol said, “(Let) the cuscus come to our small friend and he can carry it for himself”. It came and Kamo carried it himself.)

A technique similar in function to recapitulation is briefly described at the end of §5.1. Here *apua* ‘finished’ is used as a proform for a previous clause whose event has been completed.

9. TEXT

1. *Atem me Topi re-melamela loutav-e na-tamta e-pasis Kamo.*
 Atem CJ Topi P3P-child firstborn-P3S NM-man P3S-name Kamo
 Atem and Topi's firstborn male child's name was Kamo.
2. *Re-nia e-pasis Alia.*
 P3P-village P3S-name Alia
 Their village name was Alia.
3. *Ti-mate me Kamo i-tuptup avola i-pelturtur, me ti-mate*
 S3P-stay CJ Kamo S3S-grow.CNT CJ.RES S3S-turn.over.CNT CJ S3P-stay
avola i-matete.
 CJ.RES S3S-sit.up
 They lived there and Kamo grew fat, began to turn over and as they lived there he began to sit up.
4. *Me ti-mate avola i-rara, me ti-mate avola tortor aleleŋa.*
 CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES S3S-crawl CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES begin.toddle around
 They lived there and then he crawled and as they stayed he started toddling about.
5. *Taio ti-la kŋe re-nia pou-a Kuntop etaio Kamo i-lala.*
 CJ.SEQ S3P-go PREP P3P-village new-P3S Kuntop CJ.SEQ Kamo S3S-go.CNT
 Then they went to their new village, Kuntop, and Kamo started walking.
6. *Ti-mate me Kamo ie tauaŋa i-rikarika aleleŋa.*
 S3P-stay CJ Kamo D3S R3S S3S-play.CNT around
 They lived there and Kamo played about by himself.
7. *Ti-mate la na-pano na-meik ta ti-mule ti-la Alia.*
 S3P-stay CJ.DUR NM-earth NM-hungry CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go Alia
 They stayed there until they became hungry, and then they went back to Alia.
8. *Ti-mate Alia avola ti-kan mule.*
 S3P-stay Alia CJ.RES S3P-eat return
 They lived at Alia and so they were able to eat again.
9. *N-ae taua lo taio eiŋa-re ti-luplup ulum me ti-ŋoŋo ta-e*
 NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-met men's.house CJ S3P-speak PREP-
 P3S
Kamo ti-reŋe uae-a soŋe ti-palu-re
 Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S thus S3P-circumcise-O3P
 One day the big men met in the men's house and they spoke about Kamo and his friends, that they should be circumcised.
10. *Kamo tam-e i-vul-re uae-a, "Iami soŋe aole taio a-la*
 Kamo father-P3S S3S-tell-O3P friend-P3S D2P thus tomorrow CJ.SEQ
 S2P-go
a-maŋmaŋ-e na-ga kapori-a ki-e na-vola tako.
 S2P-try.to.get-O3S NM-pig small-P3S PREP-P3S NM-man this
 Kamo's father told his relatives, "Tomorrow you go try to get this man's small pig.

11. *Me ne-iua-re a-la kumo pagi-re na-malaki-re ti-la*
 CJ NM-woman-P3P S2P-go garden PREP-P3P NM-young.man-P3P S3P-go
ti-maŋmaŋ-e na-ga lo.
 S3P-try.to.get-O3S NM-pig PRT
 “And you women go to your gardens (to get food) for the young men who go to try to get the pig.
12. *Mata-mi lemiva na-loulou me n-ai me n-an-ŋa polpoli-a.*
 face-P2P P2P.PRON NM-leaves CJ NM-tree CJ NM-eat-NSR little.P-P3S
 “Find your mumu leaves, wood and a little food.
13. *Pa uik eko matarai ko avota me eimule lo na-riŋa mat-e*
 FUT week here ahead.of.us PRT not.yet CJ later PRT NM-fire face-P3S
pa-e Fraide la i-sio utue Sarere.
 PREP-P3S Friday CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday
 “Not this coming week but the following one, start preparing for Friday until Saturday morning.”
14. *Fonde na-ravu ti-kono me elo Fraide utue lo na-ga*
 Thursday NM-food S3P-sleep CJ there Friday morning PRT NM-pig
ti-la ti-samo me ne-iuol i-raral
 S3P-go S3P-cook CJ NM-many S3S-come
 On Thursday the food was put in the mumu and then on Friday morning they went and cooked the pig and many people came.
15. *Na-galegale-ŋa la i-sio utue Sarere etaio*
 NM-dance.CNT-NSR CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday CJ.SEQ
ti-palu-e Kamo tako ti-reŋe uae-a.
 S3P-circumcise-O3S Kamo this S3P-be.with friend-P3S
 There was dancing until Saturday morning and then they circumcised this Kamo with his friends.
16. *Ti-palu-e l-apua taio Kamo tam-e i-ŋoŋo*
 S3P-circumcise-O3S CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ Kamo father-P3S S3S-speak
pa-e n-an-ŋa.
 PREP-P3S NM-eat-NSR
 When they had circumcised him, Kamo’s father called for the food.
17. *Ti-tokotoko n-an-ŋa pagi-re eiŋa-re soge ti-mari mule*
 S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR PREP-P3P big-P3P CJ.PURP S3P-stand.up return
mule ti-la kŋe re-nia pa na-pano na-vuevue-ŋa.
 return S3P-go PREP P3P-village PREP NM-earth NM-tired-NSR
 They distributed the food for the big men so that they could each return to their villages because they were all tired.

18. *Ti-tokotoko n-an-ŋa l-apua taio eiŋa-re ti-vililil*
S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-leave
me ire ti-sio.
CJ D3P S3P-stop
When they had distributed the food, the big men left but they (of Alia) stayed.
19. *Utue taio Topi i-kev-e Kamo i-la i-ualiui.*
morning CJ.SEQ Topi S3S-do-O3S Kamo S3S-go S3S-wash
In the morning Topi took Kamo to bathe.
20. *Ti-la io uae-a na-melamela tereŋe pou ti-ualiuiui.*
S3P-go PRT friend-P3S NM-child some too S3P-wash.CNT
They went where some of his young friends were bathing.
21. *Asola me Loupu me Keke me Aviuu me Amom me Vulum me Sari me ti-ualiuiui.*
Asola CJ Loupu CJ Keke CJ Aviuu CJ Amom CJ Vulum CJ Sari CJ S3P-
wash.CNT
Asola, Loupu, Keke, Aviuu, Amom, Vulum and Sari were bathing.
22. *Ti-kav-e Kamo, "Ku-moi ta-re ŋe ta-ualiui "*
S3P-call-O3S Kamo S2S-come S1IP-be.with S1IP-wash
They called to Kamo, "You come and bathe with us".
23. *Kamo i-sio ti-reŋe uae-a ti-ualiuiui me tam-e*
Kamo S3S-stop S3P-be.with friend-P3S S3P-wash.CNT CJ father-P3S
Topi i-mule i-la nia.
Topi S3S-return S3S-go village
Kamo stayed with his friends bathing and his father Topi returned to the village.
24. *Ti-ualiuiui l-apua taio ti-rikarika aleleŋa.*
S3P-wash.CNT CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ S3P-play.CNT around
When they had finished bathing, they played about.
25. *N-ae ta ne-iŋur lo Kamo ti-reŋe uae-a ti-rikarika*
aleleŋa.
NM-day CJ NM-all PRT Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S S3P-play.CNT
around
Every day Kamo played about with his friends.
26. *N-ae taua lo ie me Vulum ti-la ti-luveivei.*
NM-day one PRT D3S CJ Vulum S3P-go S3P-go.bush
One day he and Vulum went into the bush.
27. *Ti-lala kŋe na-ŋal pu-a so ti-roun ti-mate ko*
S3P-go.CNT PREP NM-galip base-P3S CJ.PURP S3P-go.down S3P-stay PRT
pa siaŋ ta me na-guguna i-panak-e Kamo ai-a na-luvua.
PREP where CJ.SEQ CJ NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S Kamo leg-P3S NM-cup
They walked to the base of the galip tree to sit down, but a wasp bit Kamo's knee.

28. *I-panak-e taio i-ta ŋ*
S3S-bite-O3S CJ.SEQ S3S-cry
It bit him and he cried.
29. *I-taŋtaŋ la ie mumun etaio Vulum i-vet-e Kamo,*
S3S-cry.CNT CJ.DUR D3S stop CJ.SEQ Vulum S3S-ask-O3S Kamo
“*Ku-taŋ-e na-sae o*”
S2S-cry-O3S NM-what PRT
He kept crying until he stopped, then Vulum asked Kamo, “Why are you crying?”
30. “*Tiavo me na-guguna i-panak-e ai-k.*
don’t.know CJ NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S leg-P1S
“I don’t know, but a wasp bit my leg.”
31. *Vile-io iom mumun me ta-mule ta-la nia pa*
CONSEQ-PRT D2S stop CJ S1IP-return S1IP-go village PREP
na-pano na-voj o.
NM-earth NM-night PRT
“In that case you stop (crying) and we will return to the village because it’s getting dark.”
32. *Ti-la nia la leilei talo ko Kamo ai-a i-uiui o.*
S3P-go village CJ.DUR afternoon that PRT Kamo leg-P3S S3S-swell.CNT
PRT
They went to the village and that afternoon Kamo’s leg was already swelling.
33. *Atem i-lei-e tu-a ai-a taio i-vet-e.”*
Atem S3S-see-O3S child-P3S leg-P3S CJ.SEQ S3S-ask-O3S
Atem saw her son’s leg and asked him,
34. “*Kamo, ai-m i-so io?*”
Kamo leg-P2S S3S-do.what PRT
“Kamo what is the matter with your leg?”
35. *Kamo i-taŋ me i-vul.*
Kamo S3S-cry CJ S3S-tell
Kamo cried and he said,
36. “*Iou me Vulum em-luveivei la na-guguna i-panak-e.”*
D1S CJ Vulum S1EP-go.bush CJ.DUR NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S
“Vulum and I went into the bush and then a wasp bit me.”
37. *Atem i-kav-e Topi.*
Atem S3S-call-O3S Topi
Atem called Topi.
38. “*Topi ku-moi ku-lei-e tu-m ulia ai-a ge?*”
Topi S2S-come S2S-see-O3S child-P2S child leg-P3S PRT
“Topi, come and see your son’s leg immediately.”

39. *Topi i-vet-e, "EkoAtem i-uso tako?"*
 Topi S3S-ask-O3S this Atem S3S-do.what this
 Topi asked, "Here, Atem, what is the matter with this (leg)?"
40. *Tiavo me i-vu-soge timi-lua Vulum ti-luveivei la na-guguna*
 don't.know CJ S3S-speak-thus D3P-two Vulum S3P-go.bush CJ.DUR NM-wasp
i-panak-e.
 S3S-bite-O3S
 "I don't know, but he told me just now he and Vulum went into the bush and a wasp bit him."
41. *Vile-pa aole pa ta-kev-e i-la haus sik."*
 CONSEQ-FUT tomorrow FUT S1IP-do-O3S S3S-go house sick
 "In that case tomorrow we will take him to the aid-post."
42. *Utue taio ti-mari ti-la haus sik.*
 morning CJ.SEQ S3P-stand.up S3P-go house sick
 In the morning they went to the aid post.
43. *Ti-mate haus sik avola Kamo ai-a popu-e etaio ti-mule*
 S3P-stay house sick CJ.RES Kamo leg-P3S good-P3S CJ.SEQ S3P-return
ti-la nia.
 S3P-go village
 They stayed at the aid post and so Kamo's leg got better, then they went home.
44. *Ti-mate me Kamo uae-a eiya-re ti-poutaitai-e pa-e*
 S3P-stay CJ Kamo friend-P3S big-P3P S3P-teach.CNT-O3S PREP-P3S
na-pana-ya me na-galsup-ya me no-uk-ya me na-vuŋa
 NM-shoot-NSR CJ NM-spear-NSR CJ NM-swim-NSR CJ NM-thing
ta ne-iŋur ko avola i-uotaitai tereŋe.
 LIG NM-all PRT CJ.RES S3S-know.CNT some
 They lived there and Kamo's big friends taught him shooting, spearing, swimming (for yabbies) and all such skills until he knew some.
45. *Kamo uae-a ti-kimkim-e ŋata pa ie na-melamela popu-e*
 Kamo friend-P3S S3P-like.CNT-O3S very because D3S NM-child good-P3S
la la-rika-ya popu-e la la-gol ta ne-iuol eiŋ-e lo
 CJ P3S-play-NSR good-P3S CJ P3S-fashion LIG NM-many big-P3SPRT
popu-e volem.
 good-P3S only
 Kamo's friends liked him very much as he was a good child and played well and all his ways were good.
46. *N-ae taua lo taio Kamo ti-reŋe uae-a paŋe ti-la ti-luveivei.*
 NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S four S3P-go S3P-go.bush
 One day Kamo went into the bush with his four friends.

47. *Ti-mari utue ηata t-ik er-en-ηa pou.*
 S3P-stand.up morning very S3P-carry S3P-eat-NSR too
 They started very early and carried their food too.
48. *Ti-uataata-e na-roro talo ti-la liako me Kamo i-lei-e*
 S3P-follow.CNT-O3S NM-road that S3P-go surprised CJ Kamo S3S-see-O3S
ne-iplaka i-mate kηe ne-ilato kapori-a.
 NM-cuscus S3S-stay PREP NM-nettle.tree small-P3S
 They followed that track and suddenly Kamo saw a cuscus sitting in a small nettle tree.
49. *I-vul-re uae-a "Iami na-vuηa-tia enelo i-mate kηe n-ai-lake."*
 S3S-tell-O3P friend-P3S D2P NM-thing-one there S3S-stay PREP NM-tree-branch
 He said to his friends, "Hey you lot, there is something sitting on a branch."
50. *Uae-a ti-lei-e ta ti-vul, "Elo ne-iplaka lo."*
 friend-P3S S3P-see-O3S CJ.SEQ S3P-tell there NM-cuscus PRT
 His friends looked and said, "There is a cuscus".
51. *Narol i-vu-so, "A-sio me na-vir-e."*
 Narol S3S-speak-thus S2P-stop CJ S1S-climb-O3S
 Narol said, "Stay here and I will climb it".
52. *Navus i-vul, "Ai itami-lua ta-vir-e,"*
 Navus S3S-tell hey D1IP-two S1IP-climb-O3S
 Navus said, "Hey, both of us will climb it".
53. *Ne-iuol ti-sio ti-uaηa kηe n-ai pu-a me Narol me*
 NM-many S3P-stop S3P-ready PREP NM-tree base-P3S CJ Narol CJ
Navus ti-vir-e.
 Navus S3P-climb-O3S
 They all stayed ready at the base of the tree and Narol and Navus climbed it.
54. *Ne-iplaka soge i-ko liako me Navus i-uok-e ta ti-tavul.*
 NM-cuscus thus S3S-run surprised CJ Navus S3S-grab-O3S CJ.SEQ S3P-fall.down
 The cuscus was going to run away but Navus suddenly grabbed him and they fell down.
55. *Narol i-sio i-mate sapa kηe n-ai kuri-a eilut.*
 Narol S3S-stop S3S-stay just PREP NM-tree head-P3S above
 Narol stayed just sitting at the top of the tree.
56. *Ne-iplaka me Navus ti-pos kηe livua eko moiouη-e avo.*
 NM-cuscus CJ Navus S3P-fall PREP hole here shallow-P3S not
 The cuscus and Navus fell into a hole which was not shallow.
57. *Ti-loηo i-la ko Navus i-kava talo kηe roun-sio lo.*
 S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT
 They heard them fall, (and) Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.

58. *Ne-iuol ta ti-raljat-e Navus me ne-iplaka ti-roun ti-la.*
 NM-many CJ S3P-walk-O3S Navus CJ NM-cuscus S3P-go.down S3P-go
 They all went to the place where Navus and the cuscus had fallen down.
59. *Navus i-kananak-e ne-iplaka.*
 Navus S3S-hit.CNT-O3S NM-cuscus
 Navus was hitting the cuscus.
60. *Apua taio ti-mari pou.*
 finished CJ.SEQ S3P-stand.up too
 After that they walked again.
61. *Ne-iuol ti-mugamuga me Narol me Kamo ti-kirimerime.*
 NM-many S3P-go.ahead.CNT CJ Narol CJ Kamo S3P-follow.behind.CNT
 The others all went first and Narol and Kamo followed behind.
62. *Kamo uae-a ti-luveivei molola mata-re kje o me ie avota.*
 Kamo friend-P3S S3P-go.bush long.time face-P3P PREP PRT CJ D3S not.yet
 Kamo's friends were familiar with going around in the bush but he wasn't yet.
63. *Ta Narol i-kev-e ti-kirimerime*
 CJ.SEQ Narol S3S-do-O3S S3P-follow.behind.CNT
 So Narol followed behind with him.
64. *Ti-lala ti-pot kumo taio ti-maiamaia.*
 S3P-go.CNT S3P-go.out garden CJ.SEQ S3P-rest.CNT
 They came out at a garden and then they rested.
65. *Eiŋa-re ti-kep na-tou ti-ket-e tia pa-e Kamo taio*
 big-P3P S3P-pull NM-sugar.cane S3P-give-O3S one PREP-P3S Kamo CJ.SEQ
i-mate me i-kan
 S3S-stay CJ S3S-eat
 The big boys pulled out the sugar cane, gave one piece to Kamo and he sat down and ate it.
66. *Apua taio Narol i-vul, "Iami ne-iplaka taio i-mai uae-ra*
 finished CJ.SEQ Narol S3S-tell D2P NM-cuscus CJ.SEQ S3S-come
 friend-PIIP
kapori-a tako i-ge eva."
 small-P3S this S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON
 Afterwards Narol said, "Give the cuscus to our small friend and he can carry it for himself".
67. *I-mai Kamo i-ge eva.*
 S3S-come Kamo S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON
 They gave it to him and Kamo carried it himself.

68. *Ti-la nia taio Atem i-vet-e,*
S3P-go village CJ.SEQ Atem S3S-ask-O3S
“*Kamo iami alavoko a-gon sian?*”
Kamo D2P today S2P-come.from where
They arrived in the village, and Atem asked, “Kamo, where did you all go today?”
69. *Kamo i-vul, “Iem em-luveivei la iou na-lei-e ne-iplaka*
Kamo S3S-tell D1EP S1EP-go.bush CJ.DUR D1S S1S-see-O3S NM-cuscus
la em-tok-e.”
CJ.DUR S1EP-take-O3S
Kamo said, “We went to the bush and I saw a cuscus and we caught it”.
70. *Atem i-vet-e, “Vile-io ne-iplaka sian i-la o”*
Atem S3S-ask-O3S CONSEQ-PRT NM-cuscus where S3S-go PRT
Atem asked him, “So where did the cuscus go?”
71. *Taio Kamo i-vu-so, “Ne-ig-e i-moi elo i-kono mane.”*
CJ.SEQ Kamo S3S-speak-thus S1S-carry-O3S S3S-come there S3S-sleep outside
Then Kamo said, “I carried it home and it is outside”.
72. *“Ku-la ku-tok-e i-mai me ta-lei-e.”*
S2S-go S2S-take-O3S S3S-come CJ S1IP-see-O3S
“Go and fetch it and we will look at it.”
73. *Kamo i-tok-e i-la ta ti-sam-e.*
Kamo S3S-take-O3S S3S-go CJ.SEQ S3P-cook-O3S
Kamo took it to her and they cooked it.
74. *N-ae ta ne-ijur io Kamo i-tuptup me remu-a i-nalnal.*
NM-day LIG NM-all PRT Kamo S3S-grow.CNT CJ inside-P3S S3S-learn.CNT
Every day Kamo was growing up and learning more.
75. *Kamo i-kimkim-re uae-a ηata soge ti-reηereηe aleleηa la*
Kamo S3S-like.CNT-O3P friend-P3S very thus S3P-be.with.CNT around
CJ.DUR
u-a ta vile-io pou ti-kimkim-e Kamo ηata.
friend-P3S CJ.SEQ CONSEQ-PRT too S3P-like.CNT-O3S Kamo very
Kamo liked his friends very much and thus they went around together, and consequently those friends also liked Kamo very much.
76. *So ti-la sian kumo avo eio uae-a ti-kim soge ti-reηereηe.*
CJ.PURP S3P-go where garden not there friend-P3S S3P-like thus S3P-be.with.CNT
Whenever they went to a garden somewhere the friends liked to go together.
77. *Ti-reηereηe avola remu-a i-nal ηata.*
S3P-be.with.CNT CJ.RES inside-P3S S3S-learn very
They used to go together, and he learned a lot.

78. *I-sio la laue talo ta eiŋa-re ti-luplup pou me ti-ŋoŋo.*
 S3S-stop CJ.DUR time that CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-met too CJ P3S-speak
 This went on until one time the big men met together again and talked.
79. *Na-vola tako Kamo tako pa ti-reŋe uae-a toure ko ti-lei*
 NM-man this Kamo this FUT S3P-be.with friend-P3S R3P PRT S3P-see
na-kamutmut la pa-tia pou.
 NM-tumbuan.mask CJ PREP-one too
 This man (said) this Kamo and his friends must see the tumbuan³ man together.
80. *Eiŋa-re ti-kevi-re la ti-la ti-pot sapu taio*
 big-P3P S3P-do-O3P CJ.DUR S3P-go S3P-go.out camp CJ.SEQ
ti-lei na-kamutmut.
 S3P-see NM-tumbuan.mask
 The big men made preparations and they went out to the camp and then they saw the tumbuan.
81. *I-sio la n-ae taua lo taio ti-gal-e na-kamutmut.*
 S3S-stop CJ.DUR NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ S3P-dance-O3S NM-tumbuan.mask
 This went on until a certain day, and then they danced a tumbuan dance.
82. *Ti-galegale voŋ la i-sio utue.*
 S3P-dance.CNT night CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning
 They danced through the night till morning.
83. *Utue taio na-kamutmut i-lou-re me eiŋa-re ti-kan*
 morning CJ.SEQ NM-tumbuan.mask S3S-hit-O3P CJ big-P3P S3P-eat
n-an-ŋa l-apua taio ti-vililil.
 NM-eat-NSR CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ S3P-leave
 In the morning the tumbuan hit them(the children), the big men ate the food, and when (they were) finished they left.
84. *Ire ti-sio Kamo tini-a kus o la i-lei na-kamutmut*
 D3P S3P-stop Kamo skin-P3S happy PRT CJ.DUR S3S-see NM-tumbuan.mask
pou o.
 too PRT
 They (the children) stayed and Kamo was very happy as he had seen the tumbuan too.

³*Tumbuan* is a Tok Pisin term referring to a spirit figure represented by a masked dancer.

85. *N-ae ta ne-ijur lo Kamo i-lala aleleŋa me i-tuptup*
 NM-day LIG NM-all CJ.DUR Kamo S3S-go.CNT around CJ S3S-
 grow.CNT
avola ti-ŋoŋo tata-e pa-e na-sukul-ŋa pou.
 CJ.RES S3P-speak PREP-P3S PREP-P3S NM-school-NSR too
 Every day Kamo was going around and growing up, and then they talked about
 schooling too.
86. *Leilei talo i-la i-vira nia-remo taio tam-e i-vulvul-e.*
 afternoon that S3S-go S3S-enter house-inside CJ.SEQ father-P3S S3S-tell.CNT-
 O3S
 That afternoon he went up into the house and his father spoke to him.
87. *I-vu-soge, "Kamo iom na-lai eko matarai ko apua io*
 S3S-speak-thus Kamo D2S NM-year here ahead.of.us PRT finished PRT
ku-lu kŋe sukul pou o.
 S2S-go.into PREP school too PRT
 He said, "Kamo, when this present year is finished, you will go into school too.
88. *A-reŋe uae-m tereŋe pou pa a-la a-lu pa-tia."*
 S2P-be.with friend-P2S some too FUT S2P-go S2P-go.into PREP-one
 You and some of your friends will enrol together."
89. *Kamo i-loŋ-e tam-e i-vul-e pa-e na-sukul-ŋa ta*
 Kamo S3S-hear-O3S father-P3S S3S-tell-O3S PREP-P3S NM-school-NSR
 CJ.SEQ
vile-lo taio i-veta pue tam-e,
 CONSEQ-PRT CJ.SEQ S3S-ask good father-P3S
 Kamo heard his father speak to him about schooling, and so he asked his father
 nicely,
90. *"Tama-ge, ku-vu-soge na-lu kŋe sukul elo eisae lo"*
 father-P1S S2S-speak-thus S1S-go.into PREP school there what PRT
 "Father, you said I will enrol in school, what does that mean?"
91. *Etaio tam-e i-liuolia, "Skulalŋe i-kono vile-ko.*
 CJ.SEQ father-P3S S3S-answer schooling S3S-sleep CONSEQ-PRT
 And then his father answered him, "Schooling means this.
92. *Iom la uae-em toureŋa io a-reŋe a-rikarika aleleŋa io.*
 D2S CJ friend-P2P R3P PRT S2P-be.with S2P-play.CNT around PRT
 You and all these your friends, you play around together.

93. *Na-lai eko matarai ko i-sou kʲe soge a-sio a-rika*
 NM-year here ahead.of.us PRT S3S-be.enough PREP CJ.PURP S2P-stop
 S2P-play

aleleʲa nia i-uai eliakoko a-kev-e ko avo.
 around village S3S-be.like now S2P-do-O3S PRT not

“This present year will be enough of this, and so your (and your friends’) stopping and playing around in the village will not be like you do now.” (i.e. “and so you and your friends will not play around in the village like you do now”.)

94. *Sukul ta-la ta-lu kʲe ie e-nia rolu-e pou aluai*
 school S1IP-go S1IP-go.into PREP D3S P3S-village different-P3S too far
pag-e tna-ra me tama-ra me.
 PREP-P3S mother-P1IP CJ father-P1IP CJ

The village of the school which we will go to is another (one) which is far from our mothers and fathers.

95. *Tna-ra avo tama-ra i-tol-ta ta-la ta-sio ta soge*
 mother-P1IP not father-P1IP S3S-bring-01IP S1IP-go S1IP-stop CJ.SEQ thus
ta-la lavunim io me ie i-mule i-mai kʲe ra-nia.
 S1IP-go first.time PRT CJ D3S S3S-return S3S-come PREP P1IP-village

Our mother or father will bring us to stay and thus we will go first time, and then he will return to our village.

96. *Me ita ta-sio io tama-ra avo tna-ra rolu-e o.*
 CJ D1IP S1IP-stop PRT father-P1IP not mother-P1IP different-P3S PRT

And we stay there and we will have another father or mother.

AMARA: AN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE OF NORTHWESTERN NEW BRITAIN

WILLIAM R THURSTON

1. BACKGROUND

On the northwestern coast of New Britain, Amara is spoken by an estimated 200 people in Malaso, Siamatai, Kimbe (a small village inland from Kokopo),¹ and Kaugo (Namatamou). It may also be spoken in several villages on the southwestern coast. One small settlement has also been established at Eivin Pio, an interior site which, according to Amara mythology, is the ancestral origin place of the Amara, the centre from which all human beings have come. An accurate count of Amara speakers is difficult to ascertain, (1) because the government census lists the Amara along with speakers of either Kabana and Anêm; and (2) because most, if not all, Amara know the language as semi-speakers. That is, although they are fluent in Amara, their dominant language seems to be Kabana. There are two dialects of Amara: Amara proper and Autie. Named after the river Mara (Gurisi), Amara proper is spoken in Kimbe, Kaugo and Siamatai. Autie is spoken by members of a patriclan that overlaps the Anêm in Malaso and the Amara in Siamatai. Unless otherwise stated, the data here reflect the language as spoken in Kimbe.²

Until this work, Amara has been discussed only briefly in Chowning (1978, 1986), Ross (1988) and Thurston (1976, 1982, 1987). In 1984, I circulated a trilingual lexicon of Amara, primarily for use by informants in New Britain; this has been corrected and revised as the basis for §6. Friederici (1912:220) provides a short list of words in a language which he, unfortunately, calls Longa. Although his list contains some Amara words, it also contains words from Mouk and, possibly, Aria (Thurston 1987:23-26). The word *longa* itself, however, is a Kabana pejorative used indiscriminately in reference to all interior peoples including Mouk and Anêm and does not properly refer to any language.

Amara is an interior language in the same sociolinguistic relationship to Kabana as Anêm is to Lusi (Thurston 1982; 1987). The evidence suggests that Amara was established on New Britain long before people from the Siasi islands brought the language ancestral to Kabana, Lusi and Kove to the coastal areas of New Britain. Like the Anêm and the Mouk, the

¹ This Kimbe is a village, not the large township to the east of the Willaumez Peninsula. Similarly, Kokopo is the West New Britain village once named Gumerta and renamed, according to informants, by the Germans after the better known Kokopo on the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain.

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Amara have no tradition of maritime activity – their settlements used to be well inland, away from tidal waves and saltwater crocodiles. While the coastal peoples fought with slingshots and sorcery, the Amara, like the Anêm and Mouk, battled with shields and spears. Although traditional Amara contacts with the Anêm and Mouk to the east and with the Lolo to the west are still maintained, the Amara have now been almost totally absorbed, both linguistically and socioculturally, into the Kabana community. A low level of hostility, nevertheless, is still evident in interactions between those who still identify themselves as Amara and those who consider themselves Kabana. Language and the tradition of being interior peoples are still the primary residual markers of Amara identity used for contrast with the Kabana.

2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC EROSION OF AMARA

Contact with Kabana has resulted in the decline of Amara language and culture. Linguistically, this decline takes two forms: (1) a decline in the number of people who can speak Amara at all; and (2) a drastic loss of Amara vocabulary among those who can still speak the language.

The processes leading to the reduction in the number of speakers exemplify the spread of language in general. Except as a result of the most extreme instances of imperial social organisation, such as the extinction of Beothuk and Tasmanian, languages do not spread because the speakers of one language exterminate the speakers of another language, or, as Sankoff suggests, “as a result of the differential rate of expansion of the populations speaking them and of their success in competing with other populations for material resources such as land” (1980:13), but because their languages are adopted, for reasons of prestige and economic utility, by peoples who previously spoke other languages. In this case, the Amara have been abandoning their language in favour of Kabana. On the north coast, all speakers of Amara also speak Kabana, but few Kabana speak any Amara.

Based on observations of East Sutherland Gaelic and Pennsylvania Dutch, Dorian writes about the process of language death in general:

The transition from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another language, via a period of bilingualism, is probably the commonest route to linguistic extinction.... When a speech community is in the process of language shift, individuals typically appear who show differential acquisition of the competing languages. At first, community members are likely to speak the threatened language better, and to have difficulties with the language posing the threat. With time, however, the situation reverses, and speakers appear who control the threatened language rather poorly but have acquired the other language, the one that is posing the threat, extremely well. I have used the term ‘semi-speaker’ to describe the last, imperfect speakers of a dying language (Dorian 1983:158).

From this perspective, the Amara are clearly semi-speakers. Like speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic, they learn their weaker language in intimate home settings and, consequently, understand it well, but speak the dominant language better. In this case, the Amara invariably speak Kabana (and even Tok Pisin) better than they speak Amara. While Dorian demonstrates substantive grammatical simplification in semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic, however, I have been able to identify only minor points of simplification in the grammar of Amara. The most salient effect of the language death process on Amara appears to be the gross loss

of vocabulary, particularly in the ectolexicon (non-core vocabulary).

Traditionally, throughout the New Britain area, a state of potential warfare continues between peoples who are not interrelated through marriage, and consequently, through trade. The normalisation of relationships between enemy groups in Melanesia almost always involves the exchange of marital partners between groups. Over generations, this exchange of hostages between antagonistic groups defuses the possibility of warfare. It also places constraints on sorcery, because a person is expected to guard all ensorcelable bodily effluvia from his or her own kin. A person who marries (distant) kin enjoys added protection. Marriages between Amara and Kabana are very common, and the children of these linguistically-mixed marriages typically choose to speak Kabana rather than Amara as their primary language of ethnic identity. As a result, the grandchildren of Amara-Kabana marriages have little exposure to Amara and have to make a special effort to learn it. For most of these children, maintaining an ethnic contrast with Kabana is not worth the work of learning Amara for at least five interconnected reasons:

- (1) relative to Kabana, Amara is considered too difficult to learn;
- (2) among coastal peoples, interior social groups are stigmatised;
- (3) in order to function in Amara communities, everyone must know Kabana anyway;
- (4) Kabana has value as a lingua franca, while Amara does not; and
- (5) even in Amara communities, social status is achieved through Kabana institutions.

For two major reasons, Kabana has practical value as a lingua franca. First, because of the *aulu* complex described below, Kabana is known in communities well outside Bariai. Second, Kabana is lexically similar to Lusi and Kove. In conversations using basic vocabulary, all three languages are mutually intelligible and can be used with a high degree of success dual-lingually across most of the the north coast of New Britain from Cape Gloucester to the base of the Willaumez peninsula. Since Amara is lexically unlike any language in the area, it cannot serve as a communicative link to any other linguistic group.

The Kabana language is embedded in the *aulu* complex, an institution through which an individual achieves prestige and avoids condemning his group to status of social 'trash' (Scaletta 1985). The *aulu*, a spirit figure (Tok Pisin *tumbuan*), mediates relationships between the living and the dead, between recently-dead ancestors and firstborn children, and between political leaders and followers. Since the *aulu* complex is extremely important and invasive, it is viewed with contempt as manipulative by the Anêm and others to the east. Once established in a community, the obligations it imposes can never be fulfilled. People are initially obliged to participate by being coercively 'invited' to attend an *ololo*, a mortuary ritual in honour of someone's recently-dead ancestor. During the ritual, those invited are each given one or several pigs. This places the recipient in debt to the donor. The only way to resolve the debt is for the recipient to arrange an *ololo* in honour of one of his own recently-dead ancestors and return an equivalent pig. Only through the resolution of this debt, is the name of the ancestor, in whose honour the first *ololo* was originally arranged, finally put to rest. Failure to resolve a pig debt in the proper manner is an affront to the ancestor and descendents of the original pig givers. Since it may take a decade or so to make the arrangements for an *ololo*, the debts incurred are inherited. A person cannot avoid getting involved in the first place without exposing himself to the dangers of war or sorcery. Just as with a chain letter in European traditions, he is threatened into full participation.

The obligation to get involved in the *aulu* complex also comes with the commitment to buy

the rights to perform a particular *aulu* spirit. In order to enforce the proper execution of the ritual, the people from whom the *aulu* is purchased must have representatives at any performance to oversee every aspect of the ritual. Even if the rights are purchased from non-Kabana, the Kabana who originally sold them must also be present and must be compensated with pigs. This means that, at every performance of *aulu*, there are paid Kabana-speakers and, consequently, interactions in the Kabana language.

A performance of *aulu* coopts all the resources of a community. Special gardens are planted to feed the *aulu* spirit, the guests and the pigs; special herds of pigs are raised; and debts are carefully planted so they can be returned at the appropriate time. Special gardens of cordylines for costume are also planted; these cordylines have genealogies corresponding to those of the ancestors and firstborns honoured at previous *ololo*. Debts from other ritual complexes must be coordinated so that the group performing the *aulu* can rally all its economic resources at the appropriate time. All these material goods must be sufficient at various stages to avoid losing face, and more importantly, to avoid the disapproval of the overseers whose ritual is being reproduced and whose ancestors are ultimately being honoured in each performance. Disapproval threatens to bring retaliation in the form of sorcery. The whole *ololo* may take well over a decade to plan; traditionally, the actual performance took months, but now this has been cut down to six weeks or so. When it is finished, the host community is economically broken, but thoroughly tied into a network of social obligation with individuals in the surrounding region.

Because it is the men's lodge of a particular group that stages an *ololo*, the *aulu* presupposes a particular kind of social organisation. In Kabana, each men's lodge represents what is roughly a truncated patrician, while in Anêm and Mouk, each patrician has two men's lodges, one for each matrimoiety. Thus *aulu* enforces conformity in social structure. The complex is detailed, totally involving, obligatory and acquisitive. Once the people of a group have performed *aulu*, they count on others to reciprocate. Except for some of the Kabana who get royalties from it, everyone seems to feel trapped by the *aulu* into a social bind that wastes their time and resources. The Mouk resisted until 1981, when the first *aulu* was performed in Salkei. The Anêm resisted until 1986, when the people of Karaiai finally yielded to pressure and staged a performance.

The importance of the Kabana language piggybacks on the importance of the *aulu* complex. Being right next to the Kabana, the Amara are the most immediate possible targets for warfare and sorcery and have been influenced to the highest degree and over the longest period of time. For them, consequently, knowledge of and integration into Kabana culture is perceived to be very much a matter of survival. The linguistic consequences of this social assimilation have been enormous.

Perhaps as recently as 200 years ago, there were no speakers of Kabana in the Bariai area. The entire western end of New Britain was much more densely populated, with hamlets strung along the mountain ridges from the crocodile line on the north coast and across the mountains to the south coast. Then, in the late nineteenth century, a tidal wave, volcanic ash falls, an extended period of drought, and a catastrophic epidemic of smallpox thinned the population nearly to extinction. Speakers of the language ancestral to Kove, Lusi and Kabana probably arrived while the population of interior peoples was still high, and they almost certainly came in small numbers. The stories told to various anthropologists working in the region (Chowning 1986:419) speak in terms of a couple of canoes founding new and politically-independent settlements along the northwestern coast of New Britain, not in terms

of migrations to found new colonies. Although the interior peoples considered the coastal margin unsuitable for their own village sites, the beach, nonetheless, constituted a resource-rich sector of their territory, and the newcomers were intruders. Greatly outnumbered by the autochthonous peoples, the settlers could have survived only if they had succeeded in normalising their relationship with the landowners by exchanging women in marriage. In the beginning, at least in the coastal settlements, the children of these marriages augmented the number of Kabana speakers. Since then, as the Amara have been drawn into Kabana institutions such as the *aulu* complex, there has been a steady conversion of Amara speakers into Kabana speakers. In this process of cultural assimilation, the genetic contribution of the original immigrants has been thoroughly diluted; that is, while modern speakers of Kabana are culturally derived from the immigrant settlers, they are biologically derived from ancestors who spoke mostly Amara (and Anêm).

In the last century, the decline of Amara has also been accelerated by contact with Europeans. When the Germans arrived on the northwestern coast of New Britain in the late eighteenth century, several groups of Amara are said to have fled to the south coast in fear. This had the effect of fragmenting the Amara, mixing them among communities speaking other languages, and reducing the critical mass of Amara speakers left in contact with Kabana. Furthermore, since contact with the outside world has always started from the coast and worked inland, Amara interactions with the Roman Catholic church and the government have been largely through Kabana-speaking intermediaries. For years, the European priest at Kokopo interacted with his parish in Tok Pisin and Kabana; and, as mentioned above, the government census counts the Amara along with Kabana in the Bariai Census Division. Outside Bariai, few people are aware of the Amara language; they think that all people in Bariai speak only the Kabana language, which they know only by the German-introduced name 'Bariai'.

In spite of the forces working against it, Amara is not extinct yet; nor is it likely to be in the immediate future, as I once believed. In 1988, teenagers were speaking Amara as an emblem of pride in their distinction from Kabana. Nevertheless, these are semi-speakers of Amara, and their language has been radically altered through contact with Kabana and through near extinction. Amara has been lexically pruned; what is etymologically Amara in modern Amara is parallel to what is Germanic in modern English. That is, much of the endolexicon (core vocabulary) of Amara is still etymologically Amara, but the ectolexicon (non-core vocabulary) has been replaced with copies from Kabana and Tok Pisin. Endolexical items were generally easy to elicit from Amara speakers, but during elicitation sessions, the call for ectolexical items usually stimulated a lengthy discussion, frequently in Kabana, in which informants searched their memories, often in vain, for the correct Amara word.

Prominent Amara men have achieved high status by climbing socially up the *aulu* ladder, and consequently, they have lived the most important parts of their lives in Kabana, rather than Amara. Elders of lower prestige were usually more knowledgeable about their language, but access to them was difficult without putting them at social risk; they could not yield information about their language without possibly appearing to one-up their social superiors. Consequently, the accompanying lexicon (§6) is not as complete as might be possible. It does, however, represent much of Amara as it is spoken. Using the combination of low status teenagers and high prestige elders, it represents the store of words from which Amara can be replicated among future generations.

While much of the Amara lexicon has melted away as a result of Kabana domination,

there is little evidence to suggest that the morphology or syntax has been greatly simplified. The pronominal morphology of common inalienable nouns is particularly irregular, a complexity which quickly discourages potential students of Amara. There is, however, variation in and uncertainty about the actual forms in the paradigms elicited so far, and this may be indicative of incipient simplification as expected by Dorian's (1983) model of language death. In the Amara of Kimbe, there is minor evidence of assimilation in verbal morphology to the system used in Kabana. For example, both in Kabana and in the Amara of Kimbe, the second person singular verbal prefix is usually \emptyset , while the Autie dialect has retained *ku-* or *k-* for the same form. Similarly, in the third person plural verbal prefix, the Amara of Kimbe frequently uses *ti-* like Kabana, where Autie consistently has the more conservative *ki-*.

In syntax, Amara is typologically almost identical to all the languages of northwestern New Britain, Austronesian and non-Austronesian alike (Thurston 1987). Any simplification in the syntax and semantics of Amara occurred well before the period of contact with Kabana, and probably as a result of contact between the Austronesian precursor to Amara and a now-extinct non-Austronesian language. In the scenario reconstructed for this area of New Britain, Amara emerged out of the contact between small immigrant groups speaking an Austronesian language and autochthonous non-Austronesian peoples whose languages were abandoned in favour of Amara in a process similar to the current conversion of Amara speakers into Kabana speakers.

The erosion of Amara evident today is the latest episode in a continuous cycle whereby sequential layers of language and culture are absorbed by peoples who biologically represent, for the most part, stable populations on the land. To reconstruct a valid prehistory from linguistic data alone, comparative-historical work leading to the ultimate classification of Amara should seek to establish connections between Austronesian languages outside the area and the precursor to Amara that came into contact with the language of the original non-Austronesian inhabitants. Without written documentation from an earlier period, this task may prove to be impossible, and is not even attempted in the following discussion.

3. EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

Lexically, Amara is clearly an Austronesian language. Below is a selection of endolexical items in Amara with POc reconstructions taken with some modifications from Ross (1988). Many additional Amara lexemes are recognisable as derivatives from Proto Austronesian or POc etyma. It is a major challenge, however, to distinguish the directly-inherited etyma from those that have been copied from other Austronesian languages.

SOME AUSTRONESIAN WORDS IN AMARA

Amara	POc		Amara	POc	
<i>akai</i>	* <i>kayu</i>	'tree'	<i>mete</i>	* <i>mata</i>	'eye'
<i>eivul</i>	* <i>pudi</i>	'banana'	<i>omoto</i>	* <i>mwata</i>	'snake'
<i>emen</i>	* <i>manuk</i>	'bird'	<i>pel</i>	* <i>paRi</i>	'reciprocal'
<i>ken</i>	* <i>kani</i>	'eat'	<i>ruo</i>	* <i>rua</i>	'two'
<i>kulkulio</i>	* <i>kulit</i>	'skin'	<i>tarj</i>	* <i>tanj</i>	'weep'
<i>lume</i>	* <i>lima</i>	'hand, five'	<i>tel</i>	* <i>tolu</i>	'three'
<i>me</i>	* <i>ma[i]</i>	'come'	<i>teme</i>	* <i>tama</i>	'father'

The place of Amara within a particular subgroup of Oceanic or Austronesian, however, is not obvious. For purely impressionistic reasons, I originally grouped it with the Whiteman languages (Thurston 1987). Ross (1988), the only one to attempt a truly comprehensive phyletic classification that includes Amara, places it as an isolate within the South-West New Britain Network, coordinate (1) with what I call the Bibling group (Thurston 1987) and what Chowning (1969) calls the Lamogai Family, and (2) with another subgroup that includes Chowning's Whiteman and Arove Families.

As shown in the examples below, Amara bears superficial resemblances to the Bibling languages, especially Mouk, but also Aria, which is currently not a contiguous language. At this time, it is impossible to determine whether these lexical similarities represent common ancestry or contact; and if they are primarily a result of contact, the direction of lexical copying is equally obscure.

AMARA AND THE BIBLING LANGUAGES

Amara	Mouk	Aria		Amara	Mouk	Aria	
<i>akai</i>	<i>akai</i>	<i>akai</i>	'tree'	<i>emles</i>	<i>emles</i>	<i>emles</i>	'ginger'
<i>akmaŋŋ</i>	<i>apmŋ</i>	<i>apmaŋ</i>	'woman, wife'	<i>ogomod</i>	<i>gomot</i>	<i>gomot</i>	'canoe'
<i>akŋarap</i>	<i>kxarap</i>	<i>kraŋip</i>	'phalanger'	<i>leila</i>	<i>lila</i>	<i>lila</i>	'walk'
<i>aplau</i>	<i>aplau</i>	<i>aplau</i>	'cockatoo'	<i>ŋas</i>	<i>ŋas</i>	<i>ŋes</i>	'chew betel'
<i>asar</i>	<i>asax</i>	<i>asar</i>	'reef'	<i>olmud</i>	<i>olmut</i>	(<i>gulumu</i>)	'moss'
<i>eiki</i>	<i>aki</i>	<i>aki</i>	'water, river'	<i>ouŋa</i>	<i>aŋua</i>	<i>oŋua</i>	'fish, game'
<i>eila</i>	<i>uala</i>	<i>ola</i>	'spear'	<i>ourum</i>	<i>oxmun</i>	<i>ormun</i>	'men's lodge'
<i>eiou</i>	<i>eiou</i>	<i>eiou</i>	'fire'	<i>rum</i>	<i>xum</i>	<i>rim</i>	'thick, fat'
<i>ekirau</i>	<i>kixdau</i>	(<i>ulo</i>)	'clay pot'	<i>uakŋe</i>	<i>oku</i>	<i>oku</i>	'new'
<i>ekiue</i>	<i>kiue</i>	<i>kiue</i>	'rat'	<i>uore</i>	<i>uole-ine</i>	(<i>elilo</i>)	'leaf, hair'
<i>ekreŋ</i>	(<i>ienim</i>)	<i>ekreŋ</i>	'path'	<i>ur</i>	<i>uxi</i>	<i>uri</i>	'throw'
<i>eli</i>	<i>olu</i>	<i>olu</i>	'deep'				

The Amara lexicon also contains items that may be cognates or copies from the languages on the south coast, inland from Kimbe, and as far east as the Mengen district. A selection of these is shown in the left-hand column below. As with the Bibling languages, it is not yet possible to draw inferences from these lexical connections with Amara.

AMARA AND DISTANT NEW BRITAIN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

<i>kok</i>	Gimi <i>kok</i> ³	'my'
<i>kom</i>	Gimi <i>kom</i> ³	'your'
<i>ka</i>	Gimi <i>ka</i> ³	'his'
<i>lok</i>	Gimi <i>lok</i> ³	'my'
<i>suŋ</i>	Lesing <i>-suŋ</i> ³	'give'
<i>lok eivin</i>	Arove <i>logevin</i> ³	'my house'
<i>okmoŋo</i>	Bebeli <i>kumu</i> , ³ Mamusi <i>kumaŋ</i> ³	'garden', POC * <i>quma</i>
<i>okum</i>	Arove <i>εkum</i> ³ , Bebeli <i>ikum</i> ⁴ , Uvol <i>um</i> ⁵	'stone', POC * <i>qumun</i> ⁶

³ Data from Hoopert & Wakefield (1980).

⁴ Data from Johnston (1980).

⁵ Data from Rath (1980).

⁶ 'stone oven' from Lichtenberk (1994).

nemje Atui *inɛmja*³ 'breast'

Like the other languages of northwestern New Britain, Amara show signs of contact with Anêm, the only non-Austronesian language in the area. The items listed here could be multiplied.

Amara	Anêm		Amara	Anêm	
<i>eiuek</i>	<i>iik</i>	'leaf wrapper'	<i>kipis</i>	<i>-kêpîs</i>	'fart'
<i>epelim</i>	<i>êtêlîm</i>	'breadfruit'	<i>osuk</i>	<i>esik</i>	'white'
<i>evîd</i>	<i>puti</i>	'pig tusks'	<i>pten</i>	<i>-tên</i>	'rest'

Amara also shares many words with Kabana and Tok Pisin. While Kabana items dominate the semantic domains of marine and ritual phenomena, Tok Pisin words are found primarily in areas dealing with government, religion and medicine. There is also a considerable number of words copied from Maleu. Although most Amara speakers reject words obviously copied from Tok Pisin or Kabana as non-Amara, they nevertheless use them in normal Amara conversations, particularly where 'true' Amara words are unavailable. Lexical copying among languages in contact is, of course, not unusual, but, in the case of Amara, the bulk of lexical resources appears to have been drawn from other languages. In this respect, Amara is like English in that the copied vocabulary overwhelms that which has been directly inherited in both languages. In sorting the copied words from the inherited words, we have the advantage of two millenia of writing in the relevant languages for English but nothing for Amara. Consequently, the history of Amara may be permanently beyond recovery.

The issue of subgrouping in general is beyond the scope of this paper, and the classification of Amara in particular must remain in the category of future research. As Ross (1988:160) points out, before this mess can be definitively sorted out, we need reasonable descriptions of the languages involved. To date, only a few of the languages of New Britain and the surrounding area are described beyond the wordlist level. The real issue in subgrouping, however, may not be the dearth of available descriptions of individual languages but the model of language change underpinning the methods used for linguistic classification (Thurston 1982, 1987). With good descriptions, phyletic subgrouping may not even be possible; and even if it does turn out to be theoretically possible, the lines of descent for particular languages may not be recoverable from current linguistic data alone. In the case of Amara, it is clear that, in order to establish an unambiguous line of descent, we must be able to identify directly-inherited resources and distinguish them from the effects of contact.

4. PHONOLOGY

Amara has 17 segmental phonemes. The 12 consonants and five vowels are tabulated below.

	bilabial	apicoalveolar	dorsovelar
voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
voiced stops/fricatives	<i>v</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
fricative		<i>s</i>	
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
lateral		<i>l</i>	
trill		<i>r</i>	

The voiced stops /b d g/ have fricative allophones [β ɾ ɣ] generally in free variation in all environments, but the fricatives are particularly frequent after vowels. The voiced bilabial fricative [β] allophone of *v* is particularly frequent in all environments. While phonologically it would make sense to use *b* for this phoneme, in deference to the judgments of my informants, I use *v* instead.

	front unrounded	central	back rounded
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

The high and mid vowels have non-syllabic allophones in the environment of lower vowels:

<i>iou</i> [i _o u]	‘me’	<i>eiuek</i> [éi _u ek]	‘leaf wrapper’
<i>saoa</i> [sá _o a]	‘clear underbrush’	<i>eadi</i> [eá _i .i]	‘that one’

The syllabic canon of Amara is: (C₁) V (C₂), where C₁ can be any consonant, a sequence of any stop plus any resonant, or the sequence *ks*; where V stands for any vowel; and where C₂ stands for any consonant. Primary stress occurs on the penultimate syllabic vowel.

Sequences of identical vowels or consonants across morpheme boundaries are shortened to a single segment:

<i>i-pon ne eiki</i>	[i _{ponéi} ki]	‘it’s full of water’
<i>ki-in</i>	[kín]	‘they drink’

Similarly, the final vowel of a proclitic is regularly deleted before a word that begins with any other vowel:

<i>ne akai</i>	[ná _{kai}]	‘with a stick’
<i>ka oŋgup</i>	[kó _{ŋgup}]	‘his coconut to eat’
<i>le oŋgup</i>	[ló _{ŋgup}]	‘his coconut tree’

Between a nasal and *r*, a voiced stop, homorganic with the the nasal, is inserted:

<i>am-ri</i>	[ám _{bri}]	‘you (plural) bathe’
<i>naŋrikŋe</i>	[naŋ _{gríkŋe}]	‘unripe, uncooked’

In Amara, it is useful to posit a morphophoneme *A* to account for regular phonologically-conditioned allomorphy in affixes with allomorphs containing *a*, *e*, or *o* depending on the first vowel of the stem. Schematically, this can be represented by the rule:

A → /e, o, a/
 e/___ \$ {e, i}
 o/___ \$ {o, u}
 a/ ...

That is, regardless of intervening consonants or consonant clusters, the morphophoneme *A* is realised as *e* before stems where the first vowel is front, as *o* where the first vowel is back, and otherwise as *a*:

<i>A-la</i>	→	<i>a-la</i>	‘I go’
<i>A-ri</i>	→	<i>e-ri</i>	‘I bathe’
<i>A-surŋ</i>	→	<i>o-surŋ</i>	‘I give’

5. A GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE

There are seven pronominal categories in Amara representing the intersection of person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural), with inclusive distinguished from exclusive in the first person plural.

Additional categories involving dual and trial numbers are optionally available through the inclusion of numerals, but these are neither obligatory nor basic. In the following example, the form for you two is a verbal numeral.

ko-ruo ka-kave ko-k aguas imna?
 S2P-two S2P-bring edible-P1S tobacco negative?
 'Didn't you two bring me some tobacco?'

The seven pronominal distinctions occur with 3 paradigms: (1) the focal (disjunctive) pronouns, (2) the prefixes used to indicate verbal subjects, and (3) the suffixes used, primarily, to indicate possession with inalienable nouns. The basic forms of each are summarised below. The nominal suffixes given in the chart are only representative of the two classes discussed below; the actual suffixes are morphologically conditioned and exhibit great irregularity from noun to noun.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	focal (disjunctive)	verbal subject prefixes	nominal suffixes	
			class 1	class 2
1S	<i>iou</i>	<i>A-</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-ou, -iou</i>
2S	<i>eje</i>	<i>k-, ku-, 0-</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-eje</i>
3S	<i>io</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-0, -o</i>	<i>-o, -0</i>
1IP	<i>ito</i>	<i>tA-</i>	<i>-do, -to, -ito</i>	<i>-to</i>
1EP	<i>iam</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>-mam, -imam</i>	<i>-am, -imam</i>
2P	<i>emi</i>	<i>kA-</i>	<i>-mi, -imi</i>	<i>-emi, -imi</i>
3P	<i>ide</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-de, ide</i>	<i>-de, -ide</i>

The focal pronouns have the following functions:

- (1) They occur in verbless sentences to indicate personal distinctions where other morphology is lacking:

eje ui aton.
 D2S big very
 'You're very big.'

- (2) They are used redundantly with verbal subject prefixes and nominal possessive suffixes to mark contrastive emphasis:

iou e-tilak io.
 D1S S1S-push D3S
 'I am the one who pushed him.'

eje lo-m eseve i-usis?
 D2S disposable-P2S knife S3S-lost
 'Is YOUR knife lost?'

iou suvo-k a-la
 D1S alone-P1S S1S-go
 'I'm going by MYSELF.'

(3) They are used to mark the objects of verbs and prepositions:

akman adi i-kave iou.
 woman that S3S-carry D1S
 'That woman gave birth to me.'

i-tel akai ne io.
 S3S-chop tree PREP D3S
 'He chopped down a tree with it.'

At this preliminary stage in the analysis, it seems that Amara nouns can be classified as either alienable or inalienable. The majority of alienable nouns occur with a nominal prefix *A-* which is lacking in most inalienable nouns. The allomorphs of the nominal prefix are usually conditioned by the first vowel of the stem:

<i>e-kiue</i>	'rat	<i>o-kum</i>	'stone
<i>e-sjei</i>	'pig	<i>o-goune</i>	'dog
	<i>a-kman</i>		'woman

In possessive constructions, alienable nouns occur after the possessive auxiliary nouns *ka* edible or *le* disposable:

lo-k e-sjei 'my pig'
ko-k e-sjei 'my pork'

Inalienable nouns are directly bound to pronominal suffixes. In form, the possessive auxiliary nouns are inalienable nouns:

moto-k 'my eye'
tinu-k 'my body'
para-k 'my jaw'
katkate-iou 'my liver'
teveli-ou 'my brains'

Possessive constructions all include a constituent that is formally an inalienable noun. The paradigms for inalienable nouns are highly irregular. Of the 41 complete nominal paradigms collected, there are 34 different morphological patterns; no pattern is repeated for more than 3 nouns; and 17 paradigms are unique. Moreover, there are no principal parts from which other members of a paradigm can be economically predicted with any reliability. The irregularity involves not only different suffixes but also alternations in the stem. Some stems have an unpredictable loss of final vowels before some suffixes, especially in the 1IP and 3P forms; others have alternating vowels that reflect assimilation to vowels that can be partly reconstructed for the suffixes; and some have both types of alternation. The overall details of the paradigmatic irregularity, however, are usually minor, and general morphological trends are identifiable. As shown in the tabulation of page 206 there are two more-or-less distinct classes of inalienable nouns: (1) those with *-k* in the 1S forms and *-m* in the 2S

forms; and (2) those with morphology resembling the focal pronouns. These are illustrated below.

	'foot'	'eye'	'child'	'spirit'
1S	<i>kak ruo</i>	<i>motok</i>	<i>otuk</i>	<i>kanuk</i>
2S	<i>kam ruo</i>	<i>motom</i>	<i>otum</i>	<i>kanum</i>
3S	<i>ka ruo</i>	<i>mete</i>	<i>etio</i>	<i>kanio</i>
1IP	<i>kaito ruo</i>	<i>motodo</i>	<i>etido, otudo</i>	<i>kanto</i>
1EP	<i>kaimimam ruo</i>	<i>metememam</i>	<i>etimam</i>	<i>kanmam</i>
2P	<i>kaimi ruo</i>	<i>metemi</i>	<i>etimi</i>	<i>kanmi</i>
3P	<i>kaide ruo</i>	<i>metede</i>	<i>etide</i>	<i>kanumade</i>

	'chest'	'body'	'sibling'	'hand'
1S	<i>kusuk</i>	<i>tinuk, tunuk</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>lumok</i>
2S	<i>kusum</i>	<i>tinum, tunum</i>	<i>tim</i>	<i>lumom</i>
3S	<i>kosio</i>	<i>tinio</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>lume</i>
1IP	<i>kosto</i>	<i>tinto</i>	<i>teido</i>	<i>lumodo</i>
1EP	<i>kosmemam</i>	<i>tirmam</i>	<i>teimam</i>	<i>lumemam</i>
2P	<i>kosmimi, kusmi</i>	<i>tirmi</i>	<i>teimi</i>	<i>lumemi</i>
3P	<i>kosde</i>	<i>tinde</i>	<i>teide</i>	<i>lumede</i>

Many nominal lexemes, such as 'foot', are multiradical. That is, they consist of a phrase in which two or more roots must be present. Usually one root is inflected for pronominal categories, while any others remain constant. Most of the invariant elements appear to be fossilised 3S forms. While some roots occur alone with their inflections, others occur only in conjunction with other roots, and are thus syntactically bound forms. A large portion of the Amara vocabulary is constructed by recombining such elements. Informants can usually give meanings for the uniradical forms asterisked in the following examples, but reject their use outside multiradical constructions.

<i>akai kane</i>	'fruit of tree'	<i>*kane</i>
<i>otoli-o kane</i>	'its egg'	<i>*otoli-o</i>
<i>omod kane</i>	'island'	<i>*omod</i>
<i>vovse-iou kane</i>	'my lungs'	<i>*vovse-iou</i>
<i>kovuru-k kane</i>	'my testicles'	<i>*kovuru-k</i>
<i>pi-k kane</i>	'my vulva'	<i>*pi-k</i>
<i>gudu-k kane</i>	'my head'	<i>*gudu-k</i>
<i>meme gudu-k</i>	'my tongue'	<i>*meme</i>
<i>telŋe gudu-k</i>	'my ear'	<i>*telŋe</i>
<i>ouŋa telŋe</i>	'lateral fin of fish'	
<i>vre</i>	'it has a hole in it'	
<i>no-k kane vre</i>	'my mouth'	<i>*no-k, *no-k kane</i>
<i>no-k kane vre kokokŋe</i>	'my teeth'	
<i>tinu-k kulkulio</i>	'my skin'	<i>*kulkulio</i>
<i>no-k kane vre kulkulio</i>	'my lips'	
<i>akai kulkulio</i>	'bark of tree'	
<i>gudu-k maganio</i>	'my neck'	<i>*maganio</i>
<i>ka-k ruo maganio</i>	'my thigh'	
<i>akai maganio</i>	'trunk of tree'	

akmareŋ 'old woman'
akmareŋ tno-k 'my mother' **tno-k*

While the majority of inalienable multiradical nominal lexemes inflect only one constituent for pronominal categories, there are a few in which either element can be inflected, depending on the pronominal category. In these, there is no consistent pattern. The paradigm for 'head', which follows the normal process, is given for comparison with the paradigms for 'tongue', 'ear' and 'nose'.

	'head'	'tongue'	'ear'	'nose'
1S	<i>guduk kane</i>	<i>meme guduk</i>	<i>telŋe guduk</i>	<i>ŋjorok ka</i>
2S	<i>gudum kane</i>	<i>meme gudum</i>	<i>telŋe gudum</i>	<i>ŋjorom ka</i>
3S	<i>guda kane</i>	<i>meme gudio</i>	<i>telŋe gudio</i>	<i>ŋjore ka</i>
1IP	<i>gudto kane</i>	<i>memeito gudio</i>	<i>telŋe gudto</i>	<i>ŋjore kaito</i>
1EP	<i>gudmam kane</i>	<i>meme gudmam</i>	<i>telŋemam gudio</i>	<i>ŋjore kaimam</i>
2P	<i>gudmi kane</i>	<i>meme gudmi</i>	<i>telŋemi gudio</i>	<i>ŋjore kaimi</i>
3P	<i>gudde kane</i>	<i>meme gudde</i>	<i>telŋe gudde</i>	<i>ŋjore kaide</i>

The edible and disposable possessive auxiliary nouns are as follows:

	edible	disposable	contrastive singular	contrastive plural
1S	<i>kok</i>	<i>lok</i>	<i>kiou</i>	<i>kikiou</i>
2S	<i>kom</i>	<i>lom</i>	<i>kijeŋe</i>	<i>kikijeŋe</i>
3S	<i>ka</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>kio</i>	<i>kikio</i>
1IP	<i>kodo</i>	<i>lodo</i>	<i>kŋoito</i>	<i>kito</i>
1EP	<i>kam</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>kŋaimam</i>	<i>kikiam</i>
2P	<i>kami</i>	<i>lami, lemi</i>	<i>kŋeimi</i>	<i>kikiemi</i>
3P	<i>kade</i>	<i>lade</i>	<i>kŋeide</i>	<i>kide</i>

The possessive auxiliary nouns have several grammatical functions in Amara:

- (1) First, they are used before alienable nouns to indicate simple possession, and, like most Austronesian languages, make a focal distinction between items that are construed as food and those that are not:

<i>lok eŋei</i>	'my pig'	<i>kok eŋei</i>	'my pork'
<i>lok eivin</i>	'my house'	<i>kok akanŋo</i>	'my food'
<i>lok aguas</i>	'my tobacco plant'	<i>kok aguas</i>	'my tobacco (to smoke)'
<i>lok oŋgup</i>	'my coconut tree'	<i>kok oŋgup</i>	'my coconut (to eat)'

- (2) In a limited number of contexts, they are used alone as possessive pronouns, while still making the focal distinction between food and non-food:

<i>i-suŋ kok akanŋo</i>	'he gave me some food'
<i>i-suŋ kok</i>	'he gave it (food) to me'
<i>i-suŋ lok eseve</i>	'he gave me a knife'
<i>i-suŋ lok</i>	'he gave it (non-food) to me'

- (3) In deverbal nominalisations, they mark the semantic rôles of the nominal arguments of the underlying proposition. In these, *le* marks the agent and *ka* marks other rôles.

lok okoloŋo 'my speech, what I say'
kok okoloŋo 'what is said about me'

- (4) In many common constructions, *ka* (but sometimes *le*) is used to indicate part-to-whole and other relationships:

akai ka egigi 'thorn of a tree'
akai ka enene 'sap of a tree'
emen ka onuk 'bird's nest (bird of.it nest)'
esŋei ka akai kane 'kidney of a pig (pig of.it tree fruit)'
esŋei le opuo 'diaphragm of a pig (pig of.it net)'

- (5) In postnominal position, they are used derivationally to convert nouns to adjective-like phrases. (I have insufficient data to discern any distinction between *ka* and *le*).

ovorou akmaŋ ka 'love magic (magic woman for.it)'
otogou omuk ka 'sorcerer (man dirt of.it)'
eivin vugoŋ ka 'old house (house before from.it)'
esŋei eivin le 'domesticated pig (pig village of.it)'

The contrastive possessive auxiliary nouns given on page 209 are used primarily for contrastive emphasis. They occur after alienable nouns and neutralise the edible-disposable distinction. With these, the reduplicated form are used after plural nouns. A few nouns, such as *akai* 'tree' are used non-emphatically, but with a shift in meaning.

aguas kiou 'MY tobacco'
akai kikiou 'my firewood'

Amara verbs occur with one of the seven pronominal prefixes marking the person and number of the subject. For example:

	S1S	S2S	S3S	S1IP	S1EP	S2P	S3P
'go'	<i>a-la</i>	<i>k-la</i>	<i>i-la</i>	<i>ta-la</i>	<i>am-la</i>	<i>ka-la</i>	<i>ki-la</i>
'follow'	<i>a-nasi</i>	<i>k-nasi</i>	<i>i-nasi</i>	<i>ta-nasi</i>	<i>am-nasi</i>	<i>ka-nasi</i>	<i>ki-nasi</i>
'inhale'	<i>e-id</i>	<i>k-id</i>	<i>i-id</i>	<i>te-id</i>	<i>am-id</i>	<i>ke-id</i>	<i>ki-id</i>
'bathe'	<i>e-ri</i>	<i>k-ri</i>	<i>i-ri</i>	<i>te-ri</i>	<i>am-ri</i>	<i>ke-ri</i>	<i>ki-ri</i>
'plant'	<i>e-se</i>	<i>k-se</i>	<i>i-se</i>	<i>te-se</i>	<i>am-se</i>	<i>ke-se</i>	<i>ki-se</i>
'throw'	<i>o-ud</i>	<i>k-ud</i>	<i>i-ud</i>	<i>to-ud</i>	<i>am-ud</i>	<i>ko-ud</i>	<i>ki-ud</i>
'stay'	<i>o-su</i>	<i>k-su</i>	<i>i-su</i>	<i>to-su</i>	<i>am-su</i>	<i>ko-su</i>	<i>ki-su</i>
'get'	<i>a-kave</i>	<i>∅-kave</i>	<i>i-kave</i>	<i>ta-kave</i>	<i>am-kave</i>	<i>ka-kave</i>	<i>ki-kave</i>
'light'	<i>e-tin</i>	<i>∅-tin</i>	<i>i-tin</i>	<i>te-tin</i>	<i>am-tin</i>	<i>ke-tin</i>	<i>ki-tin</i>
'sleep'	<i>o-kono</i>	<i>∅-kono</i>	<i>i-kono</i>	<i>to-kono</i>	<i>am-kono</i>	<i>ko-kono</i>	<i>ki-kono</i>
'come'	<i>e-me</i>	<i>k-ma</i>	<i>i-me</i>	<i>te-me</i>	<i>amu-me</i>	<i>ka-me</i>	<i>ki-me</i>
'rest'	<i>e-pten</i>	<i>ku-pten</i>	<i>i-pten</i>	<i>te-pten</i>	...	<i>ke-pten</i>	<i>ki-pten</i>

These paradigms require some comment. First, 'come' is irregular. Second, the 2S form of 'rest' has *ku-*, retained from an earlier stage in the language, because the stem has an otherwise impermissible consonant cluster (the 2P form was, unfortunately, not elicited). Third, in 2S forms, *∅* occurs before stops, and *k-* elsewhere. Finally, as shown below, although the forms given are normal in Amara, there is some variation within Amara proper

and systematic differences between Amara and Autie. Before *s* in utterance-initial position, the 2S forms sometimes have \emptyset instead of *k-*. Speakers of Amara in Kimbe often use *ti-* instead of *ki-* in the 3P forms, where the Autie consistently have only *ki-*; and the Amara of the Autie always has *ku-* or *k-* instead of \emptyset in the 2S forms. Both differences reflect assimilation in the Amara of Kimbe toward the morphology of Kabana which has \emptyset in 2S forms of verbs and *ti-* in the 3P forms.

Amara	Autie	Kabana	
<i>k-suj lok ~\emptyset-suj lok</i>	<i>ku-suj lok</i>	<i>\emptyset-pan-gau</i>	'you give it to me'
<i>ku-kave ~\emptyset-kave</i>	<i>ku-kave</i>	<i>\emptyset-bada</i>	'you get it'
<i>ki-la ~ ti-la</i>	<i>ki-la</i>	<i>ti-la</i>	'they go'

The current morphology of transitive and intransitive verbs hints at previous morphology that has mostly become fossilised. The majority of transitive verbs end with *-e* and are intrinsically transitive. That is, no object need be expressed with such verbs. A few verbs have a word-final alternation between *-e* or \emptyset and *-o*, the latter being used only if no explicit object noun phrase occurs in the clause:

<i>ikelme</i>	'he buried it.'
<i>itele</i>	'he chopped it down.'
<i>ikave ~ ikavo</i>	'he carried it.'
<i>ikave akai</i>	'he carried wood'
<i>*ikavo akai</i>	
<i>iliηo</i>	'he poured it'
<i>iliη eiki</i>	'he poured water'
<i>*iliηo eiki</i>	

The majority of transitive verbs without final-*e* are clearly copies from surrounding languages.

There is some unsystematic morphology for deriving intransitive verbs from transitive verbs and vice versa:

<i>a-la</i>	<i>o-kou.</i>	<i>o-volkou</i>	<i>lo-k</i>	<i>e-seve</i>
S1S-go	S1S-hide	S2S-hide	disposable-P1S	knife
'I'll go and hide.'		'I hid my knife.'		
<i>eiki</i>	<i>i-motok.</i>	<i>o-tok</i>	<i>eiki</i>	
water	S3S-spill	S1S-spill	water	
'The water is spilling.'		'I spilled some water.'		
<i>emelo</i>	<i>i-mansarak.</i>	<i>a-sarak</i>	<i>emelo</i>	
cloth	S3S-torn	S1S-tear	cloth	
'The cloth is torn.'		'I tore the cloth.'		

Nouns are derived from verbs with the addition of the nominal prefix *A-* and the nominalising suffix *-*. If the verb stem terminates in *e*, this is changed to *o*. Several deverbal nouns are irregular, and many nouns with the structure of a deverbal noun have no corresponding verb:

<i>i-kose</i>	'he husked it'	<i>o-koso-ηo</i>	'husking stick'
<i>i-ken</i>	'he eats'	<i>a-kan-ηo</i>	'food'
<i>i-kave</i>	'he carried it'	<i>a-kavo-ηo</i>	'bundle (on shoulder)'
<i>i-gud</i>	'she carried'	<i>o-gud-ηo</i>	'bundle (on head)'

<i>i-pitlak</i>	'he braids'	<i>e-pitlak-ŋo</i>	'braided rope'
<i>i-kole</i>	'he spoke'	<i>o-kolo-ŋo</i>	'language'

Adjectives occur in postnominal position. The majority are derived from verbs with the addition of the adjectival suffix -, but many have no corresponding verb forms:

<i>ama i-lip</i>	'The taro is mature.'	<i>ama lip-ŋe</i>	'mature taro'
<i>ekreŋ i-nal</i>	'The road is straight.'	<i>ekreŋ nal-ŋe</i>	'straight road'

A few adjectives are related to alienable nouns:

<i>eniŋid</i>	'the sun'	<i>epeno niŋid</i>	'sunny place'
<i>akmaŋ</i>	'woman'	<i>ot-um kmaŋ se</i>	'your daughter'

After plural nouns, especially if they are animate, adjectives are usually reduplicated:

ekikmaŋ ui ui 'large women'

Amara demonstrative adjectives, pronouns and adverbs distinguish 'near' from 'remote'. This system differs from that of other languages of the area, all of which have a three-way system. The demonstrative adjectives and pronouns also distinguish singular from plural number.

<i>akmaŋ ane</i>	'this woman'	<i>ekikmaŋ anane</i>	'these women'
<i>akmaŋ adi</i>	'that woman'	<i>ekikmaŋ adidi</i>	'those women'
<i>eane</i>	'this one'	<i>eanane</i>	'these ones'
<i>eadidi</i>	'that one'	<i>eadidi</i>	'those ones'
<i>ievene</i>	'thus (like this)'	<i>ievero</i>	'thus (like that)'

Amara quantifiers include the cardinal numerals and a few other words and phrases. Like most of the Austronesian languages of northwestern New Britain, Amara has cardinal numerals from one to five and separate numerals for 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 and 100. The word for five is 'hand', and the word for 100 is 'knee'.

1	<i>kapuk</i>	6	<i>lume kapuk</i>	10	<i>soŋoul</i>	60	<i>siŋilme soŋoul</i>
2	<i>ruo</i>	7	<i>lume ruo</i>	20	<i>suŋuruo</i>	70	<i>siŋilme suŋuruo</i>
3	<i>tel</i>	8	<i>lume tel</i>	30	<i>suŋtelio</i>	80	<i>siŋilme suŋtelio</i>
4	<i>paŋ</i>	9	<i>lume paŋ</i>	40	<i>silpaŋio</i>	90	<i>siŋilme silpaŋio</i>
5	<i>lume</i>			50	<i>siŋilme</i>	100	<i>kuvusŋe</i>

Other numbers are made by juxtaposing the cardinal numerals such that they add up to the required sum:

suŋuruo lume tel '28'

The numerals, especially those above 59 were difficult to elicit, because pre-contact Amara had little occasion to count this high, because counting shell money at public rituals is done in Kabana or Kove, and because most other counting, even among elders, is now done in anglicised Tok Pisin.

Grammatically, Amara quantifiers also include the following words and phrases, which occur in the same syntactic position and which are mutually exclusive with one another and with the cardinal numerals.

<i>kapso</i>	some, a, one	<i>kume se</i>	a little
<i>rigruo se</i>	a few, a couple	<i>sileŋ pau</i>	another
<i>so</i>	some	<i>vuturu</i>	many

The syntax of Amara is relatively simple. Clauses tend to have few nominal arguments; the word order is fairly rigid; and there is little rearrangement of constituents. The syntactic categories given below should be considered tentative.

SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

abbreviation	category	examples
Cl	clause	
Pred	predicate	
VP	verb phrase	
NP	noun phrase	
AdjP	adjective phrase	
AdvP	adverb phrase	
PrepP	preposition phrase	
MOD	modality marker	<i>imna, ge, pau, ma...</i>
V	verb	<i>me, la, repe, tele...</i>
N	noun	<i>akmaj eivin, mete...</i>
PREP	preposition	<i>ne</i>
ADJ	Adjective	<i>kmaj lipye, gidaya...</i>
ADV	Adverb	<i>melak, nalaŋ, ŋai, soso...</i>
TEMP	temporal	<i>diŋdiŋo, koudok, nanjame...</i>
SPEC	specifier	<i>aton</i>
PRO	pronoun	<i>eadi, eŋe, io, saga...</i>
QUANT	quantifier	<i>kume se, tel, vuturu</i>
DEM	demonstrative adjective	<i>adi, ane...</i>
CJ	conjunction	<i>kama, la, me, vo...</i>

The phrase structure rules listed below should also be considered tentative. They are given in this form because most linguists will be familiar with the notation.

BASIC PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

- (1) Cl → (TEMP) (NP) Pred (MOD)
- (2) Pred → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\}$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\}$
- (3) VP → V (NP) (AdvP)
- (4) AdvP → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PrepP} \\ \text{TEMP} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\}$
- (5) PrepP → PREP NP
- (6) NP → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}' (\text{AdjP}) \\ \text{PRON} \end{array} \right\}$
- (7) AdjP → (ADJ (SPEC)) (QUANT) (DEM)
- (8) N' → N (PRON) (N')

The syntactic category of predicate is used because many sentences in Amara are verbless;

they may consist of a subject noun phrase followed by another noun phrase, an adverb phrase or an adjective phrase. The surface structure of Amara sentences does not even require a subject noun phrase, especially when a pronominal suffix is present.

misigi-eje?
hungry-D2S
'Are you hungry?'

Yes/no questions are indicated by sentence intonation alone. *Wh*-questions require the use of one of the interrogative words below, and, again, there is no transformation of word order.

<i>naŋai, ŋai,</i>	ADV	where
<i>naŋame</i>	TEMP	'when?'
<i>saga</i>	PRON	'what?'
<i>sei</i>	PRON	'who (singular)?'
<i>seiŋa</i>	PRON	'who (plural)?'
<i>usei</i>	ADJ	'how many, how much?'
<i>ne saga</i>	PrepP	'why?'
<i>sovolaja</i>	ADV	'how?'

For example:

akmaŋ di i-kave eje?
woman that S3S-bear D2S
'Did that woman give birth to you?'

emim adi i-ken saga?
child that S3S-eat what
'What is that child eating?'

There is no obligatory marking of tense in Amara; it is indicated optionally with temporals. Other modality is indicated by the modality markers listed below, which are mutually exclusive

<i>dodo</i>	incompletive, not yet, still
<i>ge</i>	first, before (X occurs)
<i>iaka</i>	just, only, merely
<i>imna</i>	negative, not
<i>kate</i>	dehortative, don't
<i>ma</i>	completive, already
<i>pau</i>	again, too, also
<i>vana</i>	inchoative, now, starting

Following are examples showing the typical functions of modality markers:

ki-kelme dodo
S3P-bury not.yet
'They haven't buried him yet' OR 'They are still burying him.'

te-meitei te-ptey soso ge
S1IP-sit S1IP-rest a.little first
'Let's sit down and rest a little first.'

e-leila iaka

S1S-walk just

'I'm just walking around.'

e-ter io ne ko-k akanyo imna

S1S-put D3S PREP edible-P1S food NEGATIVE

'I don't put it on my food.'

k-ur io kate

S2S-throw D3S DEHORTATIVE

'Don't throw it.'

emi ke-ri ma?

D2P P2P-bathe CMPL

'Have YOU already had a bath?'

ko-loŋo ko-k okoloŋo pau?

S2P-hear edible-P1S speech also

'Did you hear what is being said about me too?'

ki-la ki-kelme vana

S3P-go S3P-bury INCHOATIVE

'They've just set off to bury him now.'

The modality markers *dodo* and *imna* can be used as holophrastic clauses.

dodo, mega am-la am-kelme vana

not.yet but S1EP-go S1EP-bury INCHOATIVE

'Not yet, but we're just going to bury him now.'

eŋe k-ma imna imna? imna, o-su

D2S S2S-come or NEGATIVE no S1S-stay

'Are you coming or not? No, I'll stay.'

In syntax, reciprocal constructions are similar to equivalent constructions in the languages of northwestern New Britain, and unlike most other Austronesian languages. That is, instead of using a verbal prefix, Amara has a separate pronoun *pel*, used in the object noun phrase position. If an explicit object noun phrase also occurs in the sentence, it is transformed into a preposition phrase with *ne*.

te-rei pel

S1IP-see RCP

'We looked at one another.'

ki-kiskis pel ne lume-de

S3P-hold RCP PREP hand-P3P

'They held each other's hands.'

The Amara clause tends to have few nominal arguments, and, consequently, several clauses are often combined into a single sentence. This is accomplished either with zero conjunction or with the conjunctions listed below. A common construction involves the use of a single noun phrase as the object of one verb phrase and the subject of another verb phrase in the same sentence:

ki-ter akmaj i-la Ø i-uolo
 S3P-take woman S3S-go CJ S3S-marry
 'They took a woman to be married.'

The conjunctions are:

kama lest, or
la and, so
me and, along with
vo if, since, and so, so that
mega but
imna or

For example:

k-reirei eye kama k-makluk
 S2S-look D2S lest S2S-fall
 'Watch out or you'll fall.'

akaulij ui i-me la i-repe lo-k eivin
 wind big S3S-come and S3S-wreck disposable-P1S house
 'A big wind came and wrecked my house.'

sei me sei ki-la?
 who with who S3P-go
 'Who went with whom?'

io la sei?
 D3P and who
 'He and who else?'

eivin vugoj ka vo te-repe
 house before edible-P3S since S1IP-wreck
 'Since the house is old, let's wreck it.'

dodo mega am-la am-kelme vana
 not.yet but S1EP-go S1EP-bury INCHOATIVE
 'Not yet, but we're going to bury him now.'

eye k-ma imna imna?
 D2S S2S-come or not
 'Are you coming or not?'

The temporals are lexemes that occur either in clause-initial position or in the slot after a verb phrase reserved for adverbial phrases. They are:

<i>nijid</i>	'day, dawn'	<i>uerio ila</i>	'three days ago'
<i>dijidijō</i>	'morning'	<i>uerio</i>	'two days ago'
<i>nijid puli</i>	'noon'	<i>noro</i>	'yesterday'
<i>reureu</i>	'afternoon, dusk'	<i>tnigane</i>	'today, now'
<i>vilijō</i>	'night'	<i>koudok</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>vilijō luatu</i>	'midnight'	<i>vojō ruo</i>	'in two days'
<i>vugoj</i>	'before'	<i>vojō tel</i>	'in three days'
<i>seblej se</i>	'soon'	<i>vojō paj</i>	'in four days'
<i>gidmeijō</i>	'later'	<i>vojō ume</i>	'in five days'

If there is a preposition phrase or other adverbial phrase in the same clause as the temporal, the temporal occurs in initial position.

e-dgi diŋdiŋo OR *diŋdiŋo e-dge*
 S1S-awake morning morning S1S-awake.
 'I wake up in the morning.'

reureu ke-ter our ne oŋgup
 afternoon S2P-put sign PREP coconut
 'In the late afternoon, go put a prohibition marker on the coconuts.'

An alternate possible analysis is that temporals can constitute a holophrastic clause on their own and that what appears to be clause-initial position, is really an example of a holophrastic temporal with a zero conjunction between it and the main clause.

reureu Ø ke-ter our ne oŋgup
 dusk CJ S2P-put sign PREP coconut
 'When it is dusk, go put a prohibition marker on the coconuts.'

6. AMARA LEXICON

The Amara-English lexicon given in this section is based primarily on data collected and 1981 and 1982, but has been updated through written correspondence with Mr Peter Lingaso of Kimbe village and a brief period of research in 1988.

Because of numerous exceptions to the general morphological pattern, inalienable nouns are given in the P3S form, and alienable nouns are given with the nominal prefix. The entries are listed alphabetically with *ŋ* following *n*. The second element of each entry is an upper-case abbreviation giving the syntactic category of each lexeme, and, where relevant, this includes special syntactic conditions indicated with a slash. For example, in

emim N/*±le*__ child.

N indicates that *emim* is a noun, and */±le*__ indicates that it may optionally occur after *le* rather than *ka* in possessive constructions. Additional lexical information is enclosed in square brackets. For example,

ekikmaŋ N women [plural > *akmaŋ*].

indicates that *ekikmaŋ* is intrinsically plural and directs the reader to look up *akmaŋ* Where available, full paradigms are listed after the symbol ¶ in the order 1S, 2S, 3S, 1IP, 1EP, 2P, 3P. Abbreviations and symbols used in the lexicon are listed at the front of the book (page vi).

adan N 1. man [singular > *adandanio*, *arej teme*, *akmanj*]; 2. male [with human nouns > *tamane* ≠ *kmanj*]. *emim adan* boy.

adandanio N men [plural > *adan*, *otogou*, *otodgoio*].

adekio N back of head. *adekiou* back of my head. *adekto* the back of our heads.

adeje N neck [¶ *adejok*, *adejom*, *adeje*, *adejeito*...]. *ikou adeje* she hanged herself [to commit suicide].

adi DEM/S__ that [> *adidi*, *ane*]. *akmanj adi ikave iou* that woman gave birth to me. *saga adi?* what is that?

adidi DEM/P__ those [> *adi*].

advam N wave.

agaugau N fog; mist. *agaugau iduk* the fog is developing [> *duk*, *eiuek*].

aguas N tobacco, cigarette. *etin kok aguas* I light my cigarette. *aguas kapso ime* hand me a cigarette.

aguguna N large wasp sp.

aiaugim N bamboo sp.

ainunj N wild *Cordyline* sp. [> *omore*].

aino ADJ yellow. *emelo aino* yellow barkcloth.

aipu N club.

aita N/le__ father [> *arej teme*]. *lok aita* my father. *le aita* his father.

aitar N taro paddle.

akai N tree, wood, stick, firewood. *akai uore* leaf. *akai raka* branch. *akai dukje* a tree with flowers. *akai ka egigi* thorn of a tree. *akai ka enene* sap [sticky]. *akai sirio* sap [watery]. *akai kane* fruit. *akai pagilio* seeds of a tree. *akai gudio* canopy of a tree. *akai maganio* tree trunk. *akai pio* stump. *akai kutio* central shaft of tree. *akai remte* tree roots. *akai dukio* new growth of a tree. *akai kuvusje*

knot of a tree. *eklit akai kulkulio* I peel the bark off a stick. *akai kikiou* my firewood. *ikave le akai* he carries his firewood.

akai mete N lime spatula.

akai kane N/ka__ kidney. *esjei ka akai kane* a pig's kidneys.

akailaja N small house elevated on a single post for the initiation of girls, especially firstborn girls.

akaiuor N cassowary. *akaiuor ka omopmop* cassowary wings.

akalaja N parrot.

akamele N mountain crest, mountain ridge.

akanjo N food [< *ken*].

akanjo N python.

akao N a tree, *Ficus* sp.

akarei N food basket [> *aval*].

akateme N village plaza.

akateme N tree sp., the bark of which is used for tying up thatch.

akaulij N 1. wind [generic]; 2. northwest monsoons [specific > *omur*].

akavokavo N elevated platform used in the initiation of children [< *kave*].

akavojo N load [carried on shoulder by men. < *kave* > *ogudjo*]. *lok akavojo* my load.

akiom N hand-twisted double-stranded rope used to tie up pigs [> *enel*, *epitakjo*, *ovuvjo*, *vle*]. *tevle akiom* let's make some rope.

akloun N *Calamus* sp., large-leafed rattan sp. [> *aria*].

akmanj N 1. woman [singular > *ekikmanj*, *kmanj*. ≠ *adan*]; 2. wife [≠ *avadnjile*]; 3. female [> *kmanj*. ≠ *adan*, *tamane*]. *akmanj adi ikave iou* that woman gave birth to me. *ovorou akmanj ka* love magic. *lok akmanj*. my wife. *kiter*

- akmarjila iuole* they brought a woman to be married. *emim akmarj.* girl.
- akmarej* N old woman.
- akmarej tne* N mother [¶ *tnok, tnom, tne, tnodo, tnemam, tnemi, tmede* > *arej teme, avu*]. *akmarej tnom* your mother.
- akjarap* N cuscus.
- akjok* N hornbill.
- akorol* N cage, box for transporting pigs.
- akraj* N hard or tough betelnut.
- akrok* N crow.
- akua* N youngman.
- akunkun* N small clam sp. [> *oruor*].
- alislisio* N veins, tendons [¶ *alislisiou, alislisiene, alislisio, alislisio, alislisiam, alislisiemi, alisliside*].
- ama* N taro, *Colocasia esculenta*.
- amalel* N bow [and arrow > *otutupi*].
- amanajo* N mud, swampy place [> *ovul*].
- amanioka* N manioc, cassava, *Manihot utilissima*.
- amarakai* N brown pig which is striped as piglet [> *esjei*].
- amasujo* N meat, garnish, something added to stodgy meal [< *masu*, > *kurio, me*].
- amatavu* N shellmoney.
- amkik* N small frog sp. [> *aval*].
- amsau* N pitpit sp., *Saccharum* sp. [> *elgo, epie, ororojo*].
- anane* DEM/P__ those [> *ane*].
- ane* DEM/S__ this [> *adi, anane*].
- ankap* N tongs.
- anjakum* N black pig [> *esjei*].
- apa* N/le__ grandmother, grandfather, granddaughter, grandson.
- apadapada* N nipa palm, *Nypa fruticans*.
- apageigei* N spider sp.
- apala* N tree ant.
- apapak* N mountain tree sp. [with a nut similar to *Canarium* or *Terminalia* but larger.
- apara* N top plate in house wall construction.
- apilpil* N orchid.
- aplau* N cockatoo.
- apluk* N 1. bamboo; 2. jawharp made of bamboo.
- apopou* N 1. bed made of saplings in men's lodge; 2. shelf for food. *omur apopou* stick bed.
- apu* N oral history, law [> *okunisnojo*]. *tanasi apu* let's relate the history.
- apua* N crocodile.
- arej teme* N father [¶ *tok, tom, teme, temedo, tememam, tememi, temede* > *aita, akmarej tne, teme*]. *arej tok* my father.
- argin* N yam sp., *Dioscorea esculenta* [≠ *oudo*].
- aria* N a small-leafed rattan, *Calamus* sp. [> *akloun*].
- arjom* N mangrove, *Rhizophora mucronata*.
- arvu* N dove.
- asakir* N litter [> *asakirkir*].
- asakirkir* N litter, dust, lint. *osomum asakirkir ila* I brush off the dust.
- asaksak* ADJ wild. *esjei asaksak* wild pig.
- asal* N rain [> *mariamba*]. *asal iduo tosu temeite* if rain falls, let's stay put. *asal ka emelo* rainbow.
- asalke* N beach tree sp., *Terminalia catappa*.
- asap* N widow.
- asapala* N taro pudding.
- asar* N coral, reef [= *okur*].

asarke N bed of ginger leaves for sitting on or butchering pigs on.

asasa N/±le__ great-grandparent, great-grandchild.

asaurum N flying fox, fruitbat.

asile N/±ka__ fuzz, hair or small barbs on leaves. *akai ka asile* the fuzz of a tree.

aslak N/le__ forearm, specifically the two bones of the forearm, wrist, ankle. *kak ruo le aslak* my ankle. *lumok le aslak ipid* my wrist hurts.

asoj N charcoal.

asuak N clearing in forest as resting place along road or a place for picnics.

ata N shit, faeces [> *tata, paikai*]. *kio ueine ata* it smells like shit.

ataljadi N bamboo sp.

ataje N non-firstborn child [≠ *emeretuono, etio, emim*].

atarano N sago, *Metroxylon* sp.

atatajo N ladder.

atavele N peninsula.

atavia N blowfly.

aton DEM this, contrastive. *akai aton* THIS tree.

aton SPEC very [> *tau*]. *eje ui aton* you are very big.

aualjo N sago hammer.

aei N cloning stock. *ama ka aei taro* cloning stock. *kla kse aei go* plant taro sticks.

aualjo N rafters.

auram N young man [> *eulio*].

avadjile N/le__ husband [> *akman, avagad*].

avagad N widower [> *avadjile*].

avakeua N shark.

aval N handbasket carried by men [> *akarei*].

aval N large frog sp. [> *amkik*].

aver N wall. *eivin ka aver* wall of a house.

avidavida N bedbug.

avo kane N/ka ruo__ calf. *kak ruo avo kane* my calf.

avu N/le__ mother. *lok avu* my mother [> *akmarej tne*].

dada VTR pull, drag [> *it*]. *tadada ogomod ipaid* let's pull up the canoe.

deoa N crab sp. [red with a long lobster-like tail].

dgi VI wake up. *edgi dijdiyo* I wake up in the morning [> *poje = keser*].

didlikje ADJ slippery; smooth. *akai didlikje* slippery tree.

dil VTR bore, drill. *edil ongup* I put a hole into a coconut.

dil ADV crashing sound. *kolojo akai imokrou la munio dil?* did you hear the tree break down and make a crashing sound?

dijdiyo TEMP morning. *edgi dijdiyo* I wake up in the morning.

dodo MOD not yet; still. *kikelme dodo* they have not buried him yet. *dodo vane* there is still some left.

dokdokje ADJ wet.

duk VI 1. sprout [new growth > *dukio, dukje*]; 2. develop [of fog > *eiuek*]. *akai iduk* the tree sprouted. *agaugau iduk* fog is developing.

dukio N new growth, sprout [> *duk, dukje*]. *akai dukio* new growth of a tree.

dukje ADJ flower [> *duk, dukio*]. *akai dukje* a tree with flowers.

dunji VTR smell [> *kio*]. *idunji tinuk kio* he smells my body odour. *ogoune idunjiou* the dog smells me.

eadi PRON that one [singular > *eadidi*, *adi*].

eadidi PRON those ones [plural > *ead*, *adi*].

eanane PRON these ones [plural > *eane*, *ane*].

eane PRON this one [singular > *eanane*, *ane*].

edege N raintree or jacaranda, *Samanea saman* or *Poinciana delnis*.

edge N slit gong.

edgim N flood.

edidmen N leech.

egei N cataract [> *gran*]. *motok kovorio egei* I'm blind with cataracts.

egeled N hairless pig [> *esjei*].

egeliou N shield.

egete N digging stick.

egidue N/le__ tail [= *egudio*]. *ogoune le egidue* a dog's tail.

egigi N thorn [> *gigio*]. *akai ka egigi* thorn of a tree.

egudio N/le__ tail [= *egidue*]. *ogoune le egudio* dog's tail.

eigin N shrimp, prawn [especially freshwater prawn, but also lobster by extension > *okureirei*].

eiki N 1. freshwater, river; 2. water container. *eiki ipun iou* I'm thirsty. *eje tok eiki kate* don't spill the water. *eiki kopkopne* an empty water container. *eiki ivul* the water is boiling.

eila N spear. *ise esjei ne eila* he speared a pig with a spear.

eilep N betel, *Areca catechu*. *eilep ime aņas* hand me some betel to chew. *eilep akraņ* hard betelnut. *eilep mulumņe* tender betelnut. *eilep kakrakņe* very hard betelnut.

eiou N fire. *ousok eiou iken* I blow on the fire so it burns.

eip N tree sp., *Inocarpus fagiferus*.

eirer N obsidian, obsidian blade.

eiuek N 1. leaf wrapper; 2. clouds [seen to arise from a spell cast on leaves during rain magic > *duk*, *agaugau*].

eivin N 1. house; 2. village. *akauliņ ui ime la irepe lok eivin* a big wind blew and destroyed my house. *akapin eivin* I built a house. *kororo eivin* sweep the village. *esjei eivin le* a tame pig. *eivin mete* a door. *Eivin Pio* name of original Amara village in interior.

eivul N banana, *Musa* spp.

eivur N forest, jungle.

ekenkenņo N/±ka__ sore, tropical ulcer [> *kenken*]. *kom ekenkenņo* your sore.

ekid N louse.

ekikmaņ N women [plural > *akmaņ*]. *ekikmaņ vuturu* many women.

ekirau N clay pot [traded in from Siasi network]. *ekirau imaņiņ* the pot is cracked.

ekiriuli N panpipe [> *nakuil*].

ekiue N rat.

ekreņ N footpath, road.

ele VTR drive pigs into net. *kila kiele esjei* they went to drive pigs. *tala teele esjei* let's go drive pigs.

elei N tree sp., *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

elgo N sugarcane, *Saccharum officinarum* [> *amsau*, *epie*, *ogoroņo*].

eli N deep [≠ *moko*]. *eiki eli* deep river.

elivolio N pond in river [> *eli*].

emelo N barkcloth, cloth, sarong. *emelo ipar* the cloth is dry. *lok emelo ka omuk* my sarong is dirty. *mariamba ka emelo* = *asal ka emelo* rainbow.

emen N bird. *emen ka onuk* bird's nest. *emen vaivaio* wings of a bird. *emen uoruore* feathers.

emenderik N little boys [plural > *emim*].
emensik N/±ka__ comb [> *sir*]. *kok emensik* my comb.
emeo N sea, ocean.
emeretuŋo N firstborn child [≠ *ataŋe*, *etio*, *emim*].
emese N *Trochus* sp.; armband made of *Trochus* shell.
emi PRON you [D2P. ≠ *eŋe*].
emilim N bandicoot.
emim N/±le__ child [> *etio*, *emeretuŋo*, *ataŋe*]. *emim adan* boy. *emim akmaŋ* girl. *lok emim kapuk se* I have only one child.
emirmirŋo N wasp sp.
emitidŋo N something to stand on [> *mid*]. *otorokok le emitidŋo* ridgepole [of house, something for chickens to stand on].
emles N ginger, *Zingiber officinale*.
emliŋ N tree sp., *Pometia pinnata*.
enel N rope tied with knots to date events [> *akiom*, *epitlakŋo*, *ovuvŋo*].
enene N/±ka__ 1. pus; 2. sap [≠ *sirio*]. *kok enene* my pus. *akai ka enene* sap [thick sticky sap].
enimnim N beach sandfly sp. [≠ *omromo*].
eniŋid N sun [> *niŋid*].
eŋe PRON thou, you [D2S. ≠ *emi*]. *eŋe koruo* = *eŋkoruo* the two of you.
eŋiri N coconut grater. *onou oŋgup ne eŋiri* I grate coconut with a coconut grater.
eŋliŋo N/±ka__ urine; piss [> *liŋliŋ*]. *kok eŋliŋo* my urine.
epeiouŋo N stone oven [< *peiou* > *okum gurio*].
epelim N breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*.
epelpelŋo N/±ka__ ringworm. *io ka*

epelpelŋo he has ringworm.
epeno N 1. place; 2. season. *epeno vevre* a place with holes. *epeno isamil* lightning, thunder. *epeno niŋid* sunny place. *epeno gidaya* rainy season. *epeno melak* a distant place.
epero N monitor lizard.
epes N ground.
epetoro N cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis*.
epie N wild pitpit sp., *Saccharum* sp. [> *amsau*, *elgo*, *ogoroŋo*].
epimuk N honeycomb [≠ *ovon*]. *epimuk tne* sweat bee that produces honey. *epimuk sirio* honey.
epitlakŋo N braided rope [< *pitlak* > *akiom*, *enel*, *ovuvŋo*]. *tepitlak epitlakŋo* we braid rope.
epituk N star.
epsok N/±ka__ spit, saliva. *iou epre kok epsok* I spit my saliva.
epto N betel pepper, *Piper betle*.
eres N 1. palm sp. [used for flooring], *Kentiopsis archontophoenix*; 2. flooring. *kaukau eres* tie down the flooring.
erin N wild tree sp. [similar to *kapok* and used for stuffing pillows].
esere N vegetable greens sp. [cooked with pork in a stone oven > *onouŋo*].
eseremvad N sweet potato, *Ipomoea batatas*.
eseve N knife. *eseve itele eŋe?* did you get cut on a knife? *eseve mete* sharp knife. *eseve mete pumpumŋe* dull knife. *kla kukau lok eseve* go look for my knife.
esik N stick for carrying pigs over shoulder; any stick supported at both ends to hold something like a pot over a fire.
esiŋo N broom.

esip N a large locust that lives on coconuts.

esiran N hourglass drum.

esnei N pig, pork [= *esnei*]. *lok esnei* my pig. *kok esnei* my pork. (*esnei*) *amarakai* brown pig that is striped as juvenile. (*esnei*) *osuk* white pig. (*esnei*) *egeled* hairless pig. (*esnei*) *aŋakum* black pig. (*esnei*) *kalonŋe* spotted pig. *esnei ivnik* rotten pork. *ila ikau esnei* he went hunting pigs. *ese esnei* I speared a pig. *kila kiele esnei* they went to drive pigs [into a net]. *esnei kurio* lean meat of pork. *esnei tamane* boar.

etio N child, son, daughter [not firstborn.

¶ *otuk, otum, etio, etido* = *otudo, etimam, etimi, etide* > *ataŋe, emeretuonŋo, emim*]. *otuk kmaŋ se* my daughter. *otuk se* my son.

etiti N earthquake. *etiti tok* there was an earthquake.

etiue N mangrove clam.

euil N mushroom.

eulio N young unmarried woman [> *auram*].

eveiŋo N thing [= *ovolo*]. *lok eveiŋo* my disposable thing. *kok eveiŋo* my edible thing.

eveliou N beans [native to New Britain, similar to wing beans].

ever N hunting magic [> *ovorou*].

evid N pigtusks.

evlei N eel, [especially freshwater eel > *lumbalumba*].

galaŋa N shoulder [¶ *galaŋok, galaŋom, galaŋa...*].

gasi VTR pick. *agasi nok kane vre kokŋe* I pick my teeth.

ge MOD first, before... (then...). *eliŋliŋ ge* I should take a leak first. *kukono ge* go to sleep first. *temeitei tepten soso ge* let's sit down and rest a little first.

gelio N hip [¶ *geliou, geleŋe, gelio, gelto, gelmam, geliemi, gelde*].

gidaŋa ADJ bad, poisonous [≠ *ŋaraŋe*]. *akai gidaŋa* poisonous tree. *epeno gidaŋa* rainy season. *ovorou gidaŋa* sorcery.

gidmeiŋo TEMP later.

gigio N bone [¶ *gigiou, gigieŋe, gigio, gigto, gigiam, gigiemi, gigde* > *egigi*]. *kak ruo gigio* my leg bones. *ouŋa gigio* fish bones.

golgole N under [> *moloklokŋe*]. *eivin golgole* under the house.

gorgorio N guts, entrails, viscera, insides [¶ *gurguruk, gurgurum, gorgorio, gorgorto, gorgormemam, gurgurmi, gorgorde*].

gorio N inside. *eivin gorio* inside the house. *lumom gorio* your palm. *kam ruo gorio* your sole.

gran VI blind. *motok kovorio igran* I'm blind [unspecific].

gud VTR carry on head [> *guda kane, gudio, ogudŋo, kave*]. *kigud io* they carry it on their heads.

guda kane N head [¶ *guduk, gudum, guda, gudto, gudmam, gudmi, gudde* > *gud, gudio*]. *guduk kane uoruore* my hair. *guduk kane isapapa* I'm bald. *kiklok pel ne gudde kane* they bump heads. *guduk maganio* my neck.

gudio N head, canopy. *akai gudio* canopy of a tree. *eiki gudio* headwaters. *okoro gudio* hearth [stones collected for stone oven].

gurguruk > *gorgorio*

iaka MOD just, only, merely [> *sapa*]. *eleila iaka* I'm just walking. *kapuk iaka* just one.

iam PRON we [D1EP. ≠ *ito*].

id VTR inhale. *eid kok omomod* I inhale my breath. *kid kom omomod*

- you inhale your breath.
- ide* PRON they [D3P]. *kipunpel ne ide* they hit each other.
- ievene* ADV thus, like this [> *ievero*].
- ievero* ADV thus, like that [> *ievene*].
- imna* MOD 1. negative, not, no; 2. or.
iou eklele imna I don't know. *apagara imna* I do not lie. *koruo kakave kok aguas imna?* didn't you two bring my tobacco? *eje kma imna imna?* are you coming or not?
- in* V drink. *ein ongup* I drink a coconut. *ide kiin* they drink.
- io* PRON he, she, it, him, her [D3S]. *io iuole io* he married her. *io ikole pogiou ne io* he spoke to me about it.
- iou* PRON I, me [D1S]. *akmanj adi ikave iou* that woman gave birth to me.
- ioioui* VI swim [on surface. ≠ *kultip*]. *oiouiou* I swim. *keiouiou* you swim.
- it* VTR pull [> *dada*]. *eit io* I pull it. *eit ouro* I pull a vine. *amit ogomod ipaid* we pull the canoe up.
- ito* PRON we, us [D1IP. ≠ *iam*]. *ito ruo suvodo tala ide kisu* we two should go by ourselves. they're staying.
- ka* N edible possessive [q *kok, kom, ka, kodo, kam, kami, kade* ≠ *le*]. *kok aguas* my tobacco. *Paulus ka akanjo* Paul's food. *sunj kok* give it [edible] to me. *ovorou akmanj ka* love magic. *otogou omuk ka* sorcerer. *emelo ka omuk* dirty cloth. *snorom ka* your nose. *eivin vugonj ka* an old house.
- ka* VI flee, run away [> *ud*]. *kika kila* they run away. *taka tala* let's run away.
- ka ruo* N foot, leg [q *kak ruo, kam ruo, ka ruo, kaito ruo, kaimimam ruo, kaimi ruo, kaide ruo*]. *kak ruo le aslak* my ankle. *kam ruo gorio* your sole. *kak ruo pio* my heel. *ogoune ka ruo* hindleg

- of a dog. *kak ruo maganio* my thigh. *kak ruo avo kane* my calf. *kak ruo kokokne* my toes. *kak ruo kokne ui* my big toe. *kak ruo lilio* my little toe, my pinky. *kak ruo kuvusne* my knee. *kak ruo murio* my footprints.
- kakakano* ADJ crazy.
- kakaroka* N river crab sp.
- kakrakne* ADJ hard, tough, strong [of things. ≠ *urara, ui*]. *eilep kakrakne* very hard betelnut. *akai kakrakne* strong wood.
- kalonge* N white and black spotted pig [> *esne*].
- kaluvia* N barracuda.
- kama* VTR make, build, do [= *kapin, kep*]. *ikama eivin* he built a house. *kama eiou* build a fire. *eje kama saga?* what are you doing?
- kama* CJ lest, watch out or. *kama opun eje* watch out or I'll hit you. *kreirei eje kama kmakluk* careful or you'll fall
- kamo kiue* N hawk.
- kane* N 1. fruit [singular > *kankane*]; 2. protuberance. *akai kane* fruit. *kope kane* his belly. *velajok kane* my body. *kak ruo avo kane* my calf. *ka otolio kane* its egg. *vurvuruk kane* my forehead. *guduk kane* my head. *omod kane* island. *parak kane* my jaw [where molars are]. *kok akai kane* my kidney. *vovseiou kane* my lungs. *nok kane vre* my mouth. *nok kane vre kokne* my tooth. *kovuruk kane* my testicles. *ongup kovure kane* sprout and pithy ball inside mature coconut. *pio kane* her vulva.
- kanimnim* VI dream. *akanimnim* I dreamt.
- kanio* N spirit, shadow, soul [q *kanuk, kanum, kanio, kanto, kanmam, kanmi, kanumade* > *ovorou okunid*].
- kankane* N fruit [plural > *kane*]. *akai*

- kankane* the fruit of a tree. *muli kankane* oranges, lemons, citrus fruit.
- kapak* VI split [> *pele, maskak*]. *akai ikapak* the wood splits.
- kapater* VI jump. *ikapater* he jumped.
- kapin* VTR make [= *kama, kep*]. *akapin eivin* I built a house.
- kapora se* ADJ little, small. *ogoune kapora se* a little dog.
- kapso* QUANT one, a, a little, some [> *kapuk, siley pau*]. *aguas kapso ime* give me a little tobacco. *kapso pau ime* hand me some more.
- kapuk* QUANT one [> *kapso*]. *kapuk iaka* just one. *kapuk se* just one.
- kari* VI weed [in garden]. *akari la kus vo our odo* when I have finished weeding, I put up a fence.
- kasji* VI sneeze. *akasji* I sneezed.
- kate* MOD dehortative, don't, let not, should not, stop...-ing. *eje tok eiki kate* don't spill the water. *klijo kate* stop pouring it. *eje tilak iou kate* stop pushing me. *kur io kate* don't throw it. *kmotou iou kate* don't be afraid of me.
- katkate* N liver [¶ *katkateiou, katkateje, katkate, katkateito, katkateimam, katkateimi, katkateide*].
- kau* VTR look for, hunt. *ila ikau esjei* he went hunting pigs. *kla kukau lok eseve* go look for my knife.
- kaudama* N mangrove crab sp.
- kaukau* VTR tie. *kaukau eres* tie down the flooring. *kakaukau esjei* tie up the pig.
- kaurir* VTR scratch. *akaurir tinuk* I scratch my skin.
- kave* VTR 1. carry, carry on shoulder, get, take, bring [> *akavono, ter, pei ≠ gud*]; 2. give birth to. *kave* you carry it. *kla kave eilep ime* go get some betel and bring it. *koruo kakave kok aguas imna?* didn't you two bring my tobacco? *iou akave* I took it. *sei ikave eje?* who gave birth to you? *akmanj adi ikavo = akmanj adi ikave io* that woman gave birth to him.
- kel* VTR dig. *kikel orur* they dug a hole.
- kelme* VTR bury. *kikelme ma* they've buried him.
- ken* VI burn, light [> *tin*]. *ousok eiou iken* I'll blow on the fire so that it'll burn. *lam iken* the lamp is lit.
- ken* VTR eat [> *kenen*]. *okunid ikento vana* the tambaran will eat us now.
- kenen* VI eat [> *ken*]. *kukenen* eat!
- kenken* VI sore [> *ekenkenjo*]. *kak ruo ikenken* my leg has a sore on it.
- kep* VTR do [= *kama, kapin, kev*]. *eje kep saga?* = *eje kukep saga?* what are you doing?
- kere* VTR bite. *ogoune ikere eje?* did a dog bite you?
- keser* VI wake up [= *dgi ≠ pone*]. *ekeser dijdijo* I wake up in the morning.
- kev* VTR build [= *kama, kep, kapin*]. *ikev eivin* he built a house.
- kiki* N landcrab sp. that lives near the beach.
- kikio* N/P__ neutral contrastive possessive [plural. ¶ *kikiou, kikiye, kikio, kito, kikiam, kikiemi, kide < kio*]. *kikiou mine*.
- kim* VI like [> *kole*]. *iou ekim* I like it.
- kio* N/S__ neutral contrastive possessive [singular. ¶ *kiou, kieje, kio, kjoito, kjoaimam, kjeimi, kjeide > kikio*].
- kio* N smell, stink [> *duŋki*]. *tinuk kio* I smell. *kio ueine ouja* it smells like fish. *kope kio* wallaby [its belly stinks. = *natus*].
- kipis* VI fart. *ekipis* I farted.

kiskis VTR hold. *iou ekiskis io* I'm holding it. *kikiskis pel ne lumede* they held each other's hands.

klele VTR know. *iou eklele imna* I don't know.

klit VTR peel, skin [> *sadid, sip, uer*]. *eklit akai kulkulio* I peel the bark off a stick. *eklit epero kulkulio* I skinned a monitor lizard.

klok VTR bump. *kiklok pel ne gudde kane* they bumped heads.

kmaŋ ADJ female [> *akmaŋ, lio*]. *otuk kmaŋ se* my daughter. *luk kmaŋ* my sister [man speaking]. *tik kmaŋ se* my little sister [woman speaking].

kmusŋe ADJ short. *otogou kmusŋe* a short man.

kokŋe N finger, toe, tooth [singular > *kokokŋe*]. *lumom kokŋe* your finger. *kak ruo kokŋe ui* my big toe. *nok kane vre kokŋe* my tooth.

kokokŋe N fingers, toes, teeth [plural > *kokŋe*].

kole VI 1. speak, talk, tell [> *okoloŋo, tit, nasi*]; 2. want [> *kim*]. *ikole pogiou ne io* he spoke to me about it. *iou okole ala Kavana* I want to go to Kabana.

kono VI 1. sleep, lie; 2. be located, exist [> *meitei*]; 3. stay [> *su*]. *kumese vane ikono* there's just a little left. *lok eseve ikono nanai?* where's my knife? *kukono ge* you sleep first. *okum ikono ne akai moloklokŋe* there's a stone under the tree.

kop VTR fold. *tokop io* let's fold it.

kope (kane) N 1. belly, abdomen; 2. pregnant [¶ *kopok, kopom, kope, kopodo, kopemam, kopemi, kopeide*]. *akmaŋ adi kope* that woman is pregnant.

kope kio N wallaby [its belly stinks. = *natus*].

kopkopŋe ADJ empty. *eiki kopkopŋe* the water container is empty. *akanjo imna epeno kopkopŋe* there is no food. the place is empty.

koposŋe ADJ light, lightweight.

korkor VTR scrape black off. *okorkor ama* I'll scrape the black off the taro.

koro VTR help. *kma koro iou* come help me.

kose VTR husk [> *okosoŋo*]. *okose oŋgup* I husked the coconut.

kosio N chest, breast [¶ *kusuk, kusum, kosio, kosto, kosmemam, kosmimi* = *kusmi, kosde*]. *kusukmete* my sternum. *kusuk papakŋe* I'm angry. *kusuk kane* my heart.

kosŋe VTR ask [a question > *noŋoŋ*]. *ikosŋe iou* he asked me.

kotitid VI/exp__ cold [> *penpenio*]. *okotitid* I'm cold.

kou VI hide [> *volkou*]. *ala okou* I'll go and hide. *kla kukou* go hide.

kou adeŋe VI commit suicide by hanging oneself. *ikou adeŋe* he hung himself.

koudok TEMP tomorrow. *koudok kiter eŋkoruo kala Glosta* tomorrow they'll take you two to Gloucester.

kov VTR steal. *ikov lok eseve* he stole my knife.

kovorio N/mete__ eyeball [> *kovure*]. *motok kovorio* my eyeball.

kovure kane N testicle [¶ *kovuruk kane, kovurum kane, kovure kane, kovorto kane, kovormam kane, kovormemi kane, kovorde kane* > *kovorio*]. *oŋgup kovure kane* sprout and pithy ball inside mature coconut.

kuksukŋe ADJ black.

kulkulio N/N__ skin, bark, lip, husk, shell. *tinuk kulkulio* my skin. *eklit akai kulkulio* I peeled the bark off a stick. *nom kane vre kulkulio* your lips.

oygup kulkulio coconut husk. *euer eivul kulkulio* I peeled a banana.

kultip VI swim [underwater. ≠ *iouiou*].
kikultip they swim.

kume se QUANT a little. *kume se vane ikono* there's a little left.

kurio N meat, flesh, muscle [> *me, amasujo*]. *kurieŋe* the flesh of your body. *kom kurio* your meat [to eat]. *esŋei kurio* lean of pork. *ouŋa kurio* fish flesh.

kus ADJ finished, all gone [> *ma*]. *erege la kus* I've finished digging it up. *etele la kus ma* I've finished cutting it. *kom aguas kus?* is your tobacco finished?

kusuk > *kosio*

kutio N 1. penis; 2. central shaft [¶ *kutuk, kutum, kutio, kutto, kutmam, kutmi, kutde*]. *kutuk mete* my glans penis. *akai kutio* central shaft of tree.

kuvusŋe QUANT hundred.

kuvusŋe N/N__ elbow, knee, knot. *lumok kuvusŋe* my elbow. *kak ruo kuvusŋe* my knee. *akai kuvusŋe* knot of a tree.

la CJ and, so [> *me, vo*]. *akauliŋ ui ime la irepe lok eivin* a big wind came and wrecked my house. *erege la kus* I've finished digging it up. *io la sei?* he and who else? *lam imakluk la imurup* the lamp fell and broke. *sei ivud akai la pel adi?* who snapped that branch so that it made a cracking sound there?

la VI go [¶ *ala, kla, ila, tala, amla, kala, kila*]. *ila ikau esŋei* he went to hunt pigs. *iou okole ala Kavana* I want to go to Kabana. *koudok kiter eŋkoruo kala Glosta* tomorrow they will take you two to Gloucester. *sei me sei kila?* who is going with whom? *ide kimuŋgoŋ kila ma* they have already gone ahead. *oru ala* I went inside. *kiter aknaŋ ila iuole* they took a woman to get married. *temleito tala eivin* let's

go back home.

lakendaŋ N tree sp. [with wood similar to *Cordia* sp. used for carving].

lam N lamp. *lam imakluk la imurup* the lamp fell and broke.

laumu N mangrove crab sp.

le N disposable possessive [¶ *lok, lom, le, lodo, lam, lami* = *lemi, lade* > *ka, kio, kikio*]. *le akai* his firewood. *esŋei eivin le* domesticated pig.

leila VI walk. *kileila kila* they walked away. *ileila ne opukpuk* he walks with a stick. *kleila omos* walk carefully.

lilio N/N__ little finger, little toe. *lumok lilio* my little finger. *kak ruo (kokŋe) lilio* my little toe.

liŋliŋ VI urinate, piss [> *eŋliŋo, liŋo*].
kliŋliŋ ge you urinate first.

liŋ-o VTR pour [> *liŋliŋ, tok*]. *iou eliŋ eiki* I pour water. *eŋe kliŋo kate* stop pouring it.

lio N sister, brother, sibling or parallel cousin opposite sex. *lukmaŋ* my sister [man speaking. ¶ *lukmaŋ, lumŋaŋ, lio kmaŋ, lido kmaŋ, limam kmaŋ, limi kmaŋ, lide kmaŋ*]. *luk se* my brother [woman speaking. ¶ *luk se, lum se, lio se, lido se, limam se, limi se, lide se*].

lip VI; ADJ/_ŋe ready to harvest, mature. *ama ilip* the taro is ready. *ama lipŋe* mature taro. *okmoŋo lipŋe* = *okmoŋo ilip* garden with mature crops.

lomo VI clear underbrush. *olomo la kus vo etele* after I have finished clearing away the underbrush, I chop down the trees.

loŋo VTR hear. *amloŋo esiran* we heard the drums. *koloŋo lok okoloŋo pau?* did you hear what I said too?

loulou V plant [> *se*]. *etinio la kus vo*

oloulou after I have burned it, I plant.
lovlovo VI play. *kla klovlovo* go play.
luatu > *vilhoŋ*.

luk > *lio*

lumbalumba N moray eel [> *evlei*].

lume N hand, arm [¶ *lumok, lumom, lume, lumodo, lumemam, lumemi, lumede*]. *kikiskis pel ne lumede* they hold hands. *lumok lilio* my little finger. *lumok kuvusŋe* my elbow. *lumok le aslak ipid* my wrist hurts. *lumok kokŋe* my finger. *lumok kokŋe ui* my thumb. *lumom gorio* your palm. *lumom vlisio* your fingernails.

lume QUANT five. *lume kapuk* six. *lume ruo* seven. *lume tel* eight. *lume paŋ* nine.

luŋluŋ VTR straighten, arrange. *toluŋluŋ omur* let's straighten the bed.

luplup VI gather, collect, congregate, meet. *kiluplup* they congregated. *tala toluplup* let's go have a meeting.

ma VI come [> *me*].

ma MOD completive, already [> *kus*]. *emi keri ma?* have you already bathed? *etele la kus ma* I've already finished cutting trees. *kikelme ma* they've buried him. *otogou imo ma* the man is dead. *isou ma* that's enough.

maganio N/N__ neck, thigh, trunk [> *adeŋe*]. *guduk maganio* my neck. *kak ruo maganio* my thigh. *akai maganio* tree trunk.

makluk VI fall. *lam imakluk la imurup* the lamp fell and broke. *kreirei eŋe kama kmakluk* watch out you don't fall.

malmalio N gills. *ouŋa malmalio* fish gills.

mansarak VI torn [> *sarak*]. *emelo imansarak* the cloth is torn.

maŋiŋ VI cracked. *ekirau imaŋiŋ*. the

pot is cracked.

mariamba N storm [> *asal*]. *mariamba ka emelo* rainbow.

maskak VI split [up the trunk when being chopped down > *kapak, peŋe*]. *akai imaskak* the tree split up the trunk.

me VI come [¶ *eme, kma, ime, teme, amume, kame, kime* ≠ *la*]. *aguas kapso ime* hand me over a cigarette. *kur io ime vo asau io* throw it toward me so I can catch it. *ongup ime eken* give me a coconut to eat. *suŋ eseve ime pogiou* give me a knife.

me CJ and, with [> *la, vo, mega*]. *sei me sei kila?* who went with whom? *seiŋa me kime?* who are they coming?

me Holo yes.

mega CJ but. *dodo mega amla amkelme vana* not yet, but we're going to bury him now.

meitei VI 1. sit; 2. be located, stay [> *kono, su*]; 3. subsist [¶ *emeitei, kmeitei, imeitei, temeitei, ammeitei, kemeitei, kimeitei*]. *temeitei tepteŋ soso ge* let's sit down and rest a little first. *imeitei naŋai?* where is he? *imeitei sapa* he subsists with nothing. *emeitei eivin* I'm staying home. *asal iduo tosu temeitei* if it rains, let's stay put.

mekle > *ovoire mekle*

melak ADV far [≠ *teuei*].

melmel VI angry [> *papak*]. *kmelmel* you are angry.

meme gudio N tongue [¶ *meme guduk, meme gudum, meme gudio, memeito gudio, meme gudmam, meme gudmi, meme gудde*].

memto VI vomit [¶ *ememto, kmemto, imemto...*].

menene ADJ hot [≠ *penpenio*]. *tinuk menene* I'm hot.

mete N eye [¶ *motok, motom, mete,*

- motodo, metememam, metemi, metede*].
motok kovorio igran I'm blind. *motok tektek* my eyeball. *motok pagilio* my pupil. *motok nesnes* I remember. *modok mete* my anus. *vaiuk mete* my armpit. *akai mete* lime spatula. *eivin mete* door. *parak mete* my temporal mandibular joint. *kutuk mete* my penis. *kusuk mete* my sternum. *eseve mete* edge of a knife; a sharp knife. *mete naraje* it's clean.
- mid* VI stand, stand up [> *emitidno*].
emid I'm standing. *kmid* stand up.
- mimis* VI; ADJ/___*ne* nice and greasy.
akanjo imimis tau the food is really nice and greasy. *akanjo mimisne* greasy food.
- misigio* N hungry. *misigiou* I'm hungry.
misigiene? are you hungry? *misigio* he's hungry.
- mle* VI return, come back, go back [> *pamle*]. *enle eme* I'll come back. *temle ito tala eivin* let's go back home.
- mo* VI die, dead, numb. *otogou imo ma* the man is dead. *kak ruo imo* my leg is numb.
- mode* N/___N buttocks, rump, anus, bottom [¶ *modok, modom, mode, mododo, modemam, modeimi, modede*]. *modok parpario* my buttocks. *modok mete* my anus. *ekirau mode pio* the pot is half-full.
- moko* ADJ shallow [≠ *eli*]. *eiki moko* shallow water.
- mokrou* VI break, crash down. *kolojo akai imokrou la munio dil?* did you hear the tree break and make a crashing sound? *akai moneine imokrou* when trees are dried out, they crash down.
- molmol* ADJ true.
- moloklokne* ADJ under [> *golgole*]. *okum ikono ne akai moloklokne* there is a stone under the tree.
- monei* VI; ADJ/___*ne* dried, dead. *akai imonei imokrou* = *akai moneine imokrou* when a tree is dried out, it crashes down.
- mopor* VI crooked, bent. *ekreñ imopor* the road is crooked. *akai imopor* the stick is bent.
- morop* VI rotten [> *vnik*]. *imorop* it's rotten.
- motok* > *mete*
- motok* VI spill [> *tok, lijo*]. *eiki imotok* the water is spilling.
- motou* VTR fear, afraid. *eje kmotou iou kate* don't be afraid of me.
- mukmuk* VI; ADJ/___*ne* dirty [> *omuk*].
emelo imukmuk the cloth is dirty. *emelo mukmukne* dirty cloth.
- mulum* VI; ADJ/___*ne* soft, tender. *eilep imulum* = *eilep mulumne* the betelnut is tender.
- munio* N sound, noise. *kolojo akai imokrou la munio dil?* did you hear the tree break down and make a crashing sound?
- muntuk* VI; ADJ/___*ne* long, tall. *otogou imuntuk* the man is tall. *akai muntukne* a long stick.
- mungoñ* VI precede, go ahead. *ide kimungoñ kila ma* they've already gone ahead. *kmungoñ* go ahead.
- murio* N footprint. *kak ruo murio* my footprint.
- murup* VI break. *lam imakluk la imurup* the lamp fell and broke.
- na kane vre* N mouth [¶ *nok, nom, na, nodo, nem, nemi, nede*]. *nok kane vre* my mouth. *agasi nok kane vre kokne* I pick my teeth. *nom kane vre kulkulio* your lips.
- nagalgalña* N mortar for taro.
- nakuil* N bamboo sp.; flute made of same bamboo [> *ekiriuli*]; smoking

pipe made of same bamboo.

nal VI; ADJ/_*ne* straight. *ekreŋ inal* the road is straight. *ekreŋ nalne* a straight road.

nalaŋ ADV outside. *ikono nalaŋ*. it's outside.

namkris VTR scrape. *akai inamkris iou* the wood scraped me.

nana VTR chase. *nana ogoune* chase the dog.

naŋai ADV where? [> *ŋai*]. *imeitei naŋai?* where is he? *lok eseve ikono naŋai?* where is my knife?

naŋame TEMP when? *naŋame ime ipod?* when will he come? *naŋame kla?* when are you going?

naŋrikne ADJ 1. unripe [≠ *sosou*]; 2. uncooked, raw.

nasi VTR 1. follow; 2. tell [> *kole*, *tit*]. *anasi eŋe* I follow you. *tanasi apu* let's tell a story.

natus N wallaby [Autie. = *kope kio*].

ne PREP to, with, on, oblique [> *pogio*]. *apaid ne akai* I climb a tree. *eŋe kma ne saga?* why did you come? *eter io ne akanjo* I put it on food. *ikole pogiou ne io* she spoke to me about it. *io inoŋoŋ iou ne aguas* he asked me for tobacco. *ise esŋei ne eila* he speared a pig with a spear. *itele akai ne ogugo* he chopped the tree down with an axe. *kipun pel ne ide* they hit one another. *okunid iter ne ito* the tambaran sickens us. *iter our ne oŋgup* he put a prohibition marker on the coconut palm. *ileila ne opukpuk* she walks with a stick. *onou oŋgup ne eŋiri* I grate coconut with a grater.

nem VI suckle, nurse [> *nemne*]. *emim inem* = *emim inemnem* the child is suckling.

nemne N breast [¶ *nemŋok*, *nemŋom*, *nemne*, *nemneito*, *nemnemam*, *nemnem*,

nemne > *nem*]. *akmaŋ nemne* the breasts of a woman. *nemne sirio* her breasts have milk.

nerekio N spine.

nesnes ADJ/*mete*_NP think about, remember. *motok nesnes eŋe koruo* I think about you two.

nigrik ADV fast, quickly. *kma nigrik* come quickly.

niŋid ADJ sun, sunny [> *eniŋid*]. *niŋid puli* noon. *epeno niŋid* a sunny place.

nis VTR boil [> *peiou*, *some*, *vul*]. *knis esŋei* you boil the pork.

noŋoŋ VTR ask for [> *kosŋe*]. *inoŋoŋ iou ne aguas* she asked me for some tobacco. *inoŋoŋ aguas* he asked for tobacco.

noro TEMP yesterday.

nou VTR grate. *inou oŋgup ne eŋiri* she grates coconut with a grater.

ŋai ADV where? [> *naŋai*]. *eŋe kla ŋai?* where are you going?

ŋaile > *tei*, *ŋile*, *avadŋile*

ŋaraŋe ADJ good, clean [≠ *gidana*]. *mete ŋaraŋe* it looks clean. *epeno ŋaraŋe* the dry season. *sirio ŋaraŋe* it tastes good.

ŋas V chew betel. *eilep ime aŋas* hand me some betel to chew.

ŋas ADJ left hand. *lumodo ŋas* our left hands.

ŋile > *ŋaile*, *tei*, *avadŋile*

ŋiŋ VI laugh. *iou eŋiŋ*. I laughed.

o Holo no. *o akanjo imna epeno kopkopne* no, there's no food. the place is empty.

odo N fence. *akari la kus vo our odo* after I have weeded the garden, I build a fence.

oglis N mango, *Mangifera indica*.

ognumur N moon.

- ogomod* N canoe.
- ogoroŋo* N pitpit, edible cane, *Saccharum edule* [> *amsau*, *elgo*, *epie*].
- ogororo* N tree sp., *Octomeles sumatrana*.
- ogorovo* N household effects, furnishings, bridewealth.
- ogoune* N dog.
- ogru* N sky.
- ogu* N sword grass, *Imperata* sp.
- ogudŋo* N bundle carried by women on head [> *gud*, *akavoŋo*].
- ogugo* N axe. *ogugo itele iou* I was cut with an axe. *itele akai ne ogugo* he chopped down the tree with an axe.
- okmoŋo* N garden. *okmoŋo uakŋe* new garden. *okmoŋo lipŋe* productive garden.
- okoïou* N bird sp., bush hen.
- okoloŋo* N language, speech, gossip [< *kole*]. *lam okoloŋo* our language. *lok okoloŋo* what I say. *kok okoloŋo* what is said about me.
- okoro* N ashes.
- okoso* N crab [generic]. *okoso muli* mangrove crab sp.
- okosoŋo* N stick for husking coconuts [< *kose*].
- okotkot* N split leaf philodendron.
- okotou* N coconut shell. *ŋgup ka okotou* coconut shell.
- okou* N lime powder.
- okudi* N adze.
- okulep* N shell trumpet, *Charonia tritonis*.
- okulŋo* N pillow.
- okum* N stone. *epei okum vo orup ovruŋo* I'll get a stone and crack open a canarium nut. *okum gudïo* stones collected for stone oven.
- okunïd* N tambaran, a spirit or monster of the forest that changes form and eats people who wander alone, particularly at night [> *kanïo*, *ovorou*]; a spirit performer controlled by the men's lodge. *okunïd iter ne ito* the tambaran makes us sick.
- okunïsoŋo* N story, myth, fable [> *apu*]. *tetit okunïsoŋo* let's tell stories.
- okur* N reef [= *asar*].
- okureirei* N lobster [> *eigin*].
- olmud* N moss, algae.
- ololoŋo* N housefly.
- olov* N sand [= *omoge*].
- oluaŋo* N healing magic [> *ovorou*].
- olusi* N mountain.
- omŋo* N smoke [= *omuoŋo*]. *eiou ka omŋo* smoke of a fire.
- omod kane* N island.
- omoge* N sand [= *olov*].
- omoi* N 1. *Pandanus* sp. with very broad leaves; 2. pandanus mat.
- omokmoko* N mourner.
- omomod* N/ka__ breath [= *opuop*]. *eid kok omomod* I inhale my breath.
- omonei* N fully mature coconut [< *monei*, *ŋgup*].
- omopmop* N/ka__ wing [of cassowary only. ≠ *vaivaio*]. *akaiuor ka omopmop* cassowary wings.
- omore* N domestic *Cordyline* sp. [≠ *ainuŋ*].
- omos* ADV slowly, carefully. *kleila omos omos* walk carefully.
- omoto* N snake [generic].
- omromo* N sandfly [≠ *enimnim*].
- omuk* N 1. dirt [> *mukmuk*]; 2. bodily effluvia used in sorcery. *emelo ka omuk* dirty cloth. *tinuk ka omuk* I'm dirty. *kok omuk* my bodily effluvia used in sorcery against me. *otogou omuk ka* sorcerer, witch.

omuŋo N smoke [= *omŋo*].
omur N bed. *lok omur* my bed. *toluŋluŋ omur* let's straighten the bed. *omur apopou* stick bed in men's lodge.
omur N southeast tradewinds [≠ *akauliŋ*].
omus N cave, rock shelter.
onoŋo N head pad used by women under bundles.
onouŋo N leafy vegetable green, *Abelmoschus manihot* [> *esere*].
onuk N nest. *emen ka onuk* bird's nest.
oŋgup N coconut, *Cocos nucifera* [> *opogal, omonoi*]. *inou oŋgup* she grates coconut. *iter our ne oŋgup* he put a prohibition marker on the coconut. *oŋgup ka okotou* coconut shell used as water container. *oŋgup kulkulio* coconut husk. *oŋgup me* coconut meat. *oŋgup kovure kane* sprout and pithy ball inside mature coconut.
oŋur N nasal mucus, snot. *kok oŋur* my snot.
oŋus N cockroach.
opogal N green drinking coconut [> *oŋgup*].
opogor N freshwater snails.
opoi N paddle for a canoe.
opokai N malay apple, *Eugenia Malaccensis*.
opol N footnoose used for climbing tall narrow trees or palms.
opon N sea turtle.
opso N waterfalls.
opudpud N net bag for food.
opukpuk N walking stick. *ileila ne opukpuk* he walks with a stick.
opuŋ N post.
opuo N 1. net; 2. diaphragm. *le opuo* its diaphragm.
opuop N/ka__ breath [= *omomod*]. *kok*

opuop my breath.
opuru N tree sp., *Hibiscus tileaceus* [leaves used as cigarette paper].
orgur N *Alpinia* sp., ginger sp.
orop N bamboo sp. with very thick stem.
oruor N giant clam [> *akunkun*].
orur N hole [> *vre, vevre*]. *kikel orur* they dig a hole.
osio N/ka__ gall bladder. *ka osio* its gall bladder.
osmur N foam at base of waterfalls.
osoro N woman's pubic apron, skirt.
osu N *Gnetum gnemon*, tree sp. [with edible leaves and bark used for making pig nets].
osuk N white pig [> *esnei*].
otodgoio N people [plural > *otogou*].
otogou N man [singular > *otodgoio*]. *otogou omuk ka* sorcerer, witch.
otolio kane N/ka__ egg. *otorokok ka otolio kane* chicken egg.
otopo N blood. *ka otopo* its blood.
otorokok N chicken. *otorokok ka otolio kane* chicken egg. *otorokok le emitidŋo* ridgepole.
otou N punting pole.
otovoro N bigman, leader, important man in the village.
otovro N Siasi dish.
otuk > *etio*
oturu N hermit crab.
otutupi N arrow [> *amalel*].
otuvurir N large beetle sp. [bores holes in coconuts].
oudo N yam sp., *Dioscorea* sp. [≠ *argin*].
ouŋa N fish, game. *kio ueine ouŋa* it smells like fish. *ouŋa malmalio* fish gills. *ouŋa sovokio* fish scale. *ouŋa*

- kurio* fish meat. *ouja gigio* fish bones.
ouja rere dorsal fin. *ouja telje* lateral fin. *itik ouja* he gutted the fish.
- ouoloŋo* N married person [singular. < *uole* > *ouoluoloŋo*].
- ouoluoloŋo* N married people [plural > *ouoloŋo*].
- our* N prohibition marker. *iter our ne oŋgup* he put a prohibition marker on the coconut. *oŋgup ka our* coconut prohibition marker.
- ouro* N vine [generic].
- ouroka* N armllet.
- ourum* N men's lodge.
- ousi* N thatch.
- ovniŋjo* N ridgepole [= *otorokok le emitidŋo*]. *eivin ovniŋjo* ridgepole of a house.
- ovoire* N tree sp., *Homalium foetidum*.
- ovoire mekle* N boa constrictor.
- ovolo* N thing [= *eveiŋjo*]. *kok ovolo* my edible thing. *lok ovolo* my disposable thing. *le ovolo* it's his.
- ovon* N wax [> *epimuk*].
- ovono* N tree sp., ironwood, *Intsia bijuga*.
- ovorou* N 1. magic [generic > *eiuek, ever, oluaŋo*]; 2. bush spirit [> *kano, okunid*]. *ovorou akmaŋ ka* love magic [directed at one woman]. *ovorou kide ekikmaŋ*. love magic [directed at women in general]. *ovorou gidana* sorcery. *epeno ovarou* place inhabited by a bush spirit that causes illness.
- ovouŋo* N song. *epeiovouŋo* I sing a song.
- ovovo* N butterfly.
- ovruŋo* N tree sp., canarium almond, *Canarium polyphyllum*. *epei okum vo orup ovruŋo* I'll get a stone to crack open the canarium nut. *ovruŋo me* meat of canarium nut.
- ovul* N swamp [> *amanajo*].
- ovunkin* N mosquito.
- ovuvŋo* N twine, string [made by rolling fibres on thigh. < *vuv*]. *tovuv ovuvŋo* let's roll some twine.
- pa-* verbal prefix causative [not productive or regular]. *apasogo emim* I decorate the child. *apamle le okoloŋo* I answered him.
- padakdakŋe* ADJ shaven. *guduk kane padakdakŋe* my head has been shaven.
- padpad* VI float. *akai ipadpad* the wood floats.
- pagara* VI lie. *apagara imna* I don't lie. *eŋe pagara* you are lying.
- pagilio* N 1. seed; 2. pupil. *akai pagilio* seeds of a tree. *motok pagilio* my pupil.
- paid* VI up, go up, come up, ascend, climb [≠ *tutuk*]. *apaid ne akai* I climb a tree. *tadada ogomod ipaid* let's pull the canoe up.
- paikai* VI defaecate, shit [> *tata, ata*]. *kla paikai* go defaecate.
- pam* VI deaf. *telje gudio ipam* he's deaf.
- pamle* VTR answer [> *mle*]. *apamle le okoloŋo* I answered his speech.
- paŋ* QUANT four. *lume paŋ*. nine.
- papak* VI; ADJ/___ŋe 1. salty; 2. angry [> *melmel*]. *akano ipapak* the food is salty. *akano papakŋe* salty food. *kusuk papakŋe* I'm angry.
- par* VI dry. *emelo ipar* the cloth is dry.
- para* N jaw, cheek, mandible [¶ *parak, param, para, paraito, paraimam, paraimi, paraide* > *vese*]. *parak* my cheek. *parak kane* my jaw [where the molars are]. *parak mete* my jaw [where it articulates with the temple].
- parpario* > *mode*

pasogo VTR dress up, ritually decorate.
apasogo emim I decorate the child.

pataje ADJ heavy.

pau MOD again, too, other. *eme pau*
 I'll come again. *kapso pau* one more.
sileŋ pau another one. *koloŋo kok*
okoloŋo pau? did you hear what is
 being said about me too?

pei VTR get [> *kave, ter*]. *epei okum*
vo oruv ovruŋo I'll get a stone to crack
 open the canarium nut. *epei ovouŋo* I
 sing a song.

peiou VTR cook in a stone oven [>
eiou, nis, some]. *tepeiou esŋei* let's
 cook some pork in a stone oven. *ipeiou*
ama she's cooking taro in a stone oven.

pel ADV cracking sound. *sei ivud akai*
la pel adi? who snapped a branch and
 it made a cracking sound over there?

pel PRON reciprocal. *kipun pel ne ide*
 they hit each other. *kisai pel* they
 copulate. *terei pel* we look at one
 another. *kikiskis pel ne lumede* they
 hold each other's hands. *kirere pel* they
 hug one another. *kiklok pel ne gudde*
 they bumped heads.

pele VTR split [> *kapak, maskak*]. *epele*
akai I split the wood.

pelet N plate [< TP]. *kla kuasim pelet*
 go wash the plates.

penpenio N cold [> *kotitid*]. *eiki penpenio*
 cold water.

perper VI; ADJ/___ŋe skinny. *esŋei*
iperper the pig is skinny. *esŋei perperŋe*
 skinny pig.

pid VTR hobble. *tepid esŋei* let's hobble
 the pig.

pid VI hurt. *lumok ipid* I have a sore
 hand.

pio N/N__ base, stump, end, origin, source.
vinuk pio my back. *kak ruo pio* my
 heel. *akai pio* stump. *ekirau mode*
pio the pot is half-full. *EivinPio* origin

village of Amara. *poŋe pio* slope.

pio kane N vulva [ŋ *pik kane, pim kane,*
pio kane...].

pise N navel, bellybutton [ŋ *pisok, pisom,*
pise, piseito, pisemam, piseimi, pisede].

pit VTR sting. *amandonŋ ipit eŋe?* did a
 wasp bite you?

pitiŋkuakua N tree sp., *Barringtonia*
speciosa.

pitlak V braid [> *epitlakŋo, vle, vuv*].
tepitlak epitlakŋo we braided rope.

plaulauŋe ADJ white.

pod VI appear, arrive [= *uod*]. *naname*
ime ipod? when will he come? *pod*
kma you come outside.

pogio N to [ŋ *pogiou, pogeŋe, pogio,*
pogto, pogiam, pogemi, pogde]. *ikole*
pogiou ne io he spoke to me about
 him. *suŋ eseve ime pogiou* give me a
 knife. *eŋe kuod pogiou* you appeared
 to me. *iam amuod pogemi* we appeared
 to you.

pon VI full. *ekirau ipon ne eiki* the pot
 is full of water.

poŋe VTR wake up [> *dgi, keser*]. *kla*
poŋe akmareŋ tnom go wake up your
 mother.

poŋe pio N slope.

posanŋa ADJ dry. *emelo posanŋa ma* the
 cloth is already dry.

pote VTR call. *pote iou* you call me.
topote saga? what do we call it?

pre VTR spit. *epre kok epsok* I spit out
 my saliva.

pteŋ VI rest. *eŋe kupteŋ ge* you rest
 first. *temeitei tepteŋ soso ge* let's sit
 down and rest a little first.

pul VTR 1. turn; 2. stir, mix [> *tele*].
opul iou I turn [myself] around. *opul*
akai I turn the stick over. *opul akanŋo*
 I'm stirring food. *opul io* I turned it
 over.

puli > *nijid*

pumpumje ADJ dull. *eseve mete pumpumje* the knife is dull.

pun VTR hit, fight. *kama opun eye* watch out or I'll hit you. *kopun iou kate* don't hit me. *opun io* I hit him. *kipun pel ne ide* they're fighting. *eiki ipun iou* I'm thirsty.

pus VTR wash, wipe. *kla pus pelet* go wash the plates. *pus io* wipe it.

raka N branch. *akai raka* branch of a tree.

rarar VI crawl. *emim irarar* the child crawls.

re N fathom. *re kapuk* one fathom.

rege VTR pull out, dig up, extract. *erege la kus* I've finished digging it up. *erege ama* I'll pull up some taro.

rei VTR see, look at. *erei eye* I see you. *terei pel* let's look at one another.

reirei VTR careful, watch out [*< rei*]. *kreirei eye kama kmakluk* watch out or you'll fall.

remte N roots. *akai remte* tree roots.

repe VTR wreck. *akaulij ui ime la irepe lok eivin* a big storm came and wrecked my house. *eivin vugonj ka vo terepe* it's an old house so let's wreck it.

rere N dorsal fin. *ouja rere* dorsal fin of a fish.

rere VTR hug. *kirere pel* they're hugging.

reureu TEMP afternoon, dusk.

ri VI bathe [*eri, kri, iri, teri, amri, keri, kiri*]. *emi keri ma?* have you bathed yet?

rigruo se QUANT a couple, a few [*> so*].

roro VTR sweep. *kororo eivin* sweep the village.

rourou VI fly. *emen irourou* the bird

flew.

ru VI enter, in. *oru ala* I went inside. *krukla* go inside.

rum VI fat [*> rumrum*]. *irum* he's fat.

rumrum VI swollen [*> rum*]. *kak ruo irumrum* my leg is swollen.

ruo QUANT two.

ruo VI/P__ dual. *koruo kakave kok aguas imna?* didn't you two bring my tobacco? *koudok kiter enkoruo kala Glosta* tomorrow they'll take you two to Gloucester.

ruo > *ka ruo*

ruv VTR crack, break. *kla kruv io* go break it. *epei okum vo oruv ovrugo* I'll get a stone to crack open the canarium nuts.

sadid VTR peel, strip bark off stick for making rope [*> klit, sip, uer*]. *asadid akai kulkulio* I stripped the bark off a stick.

saga PRON what? *saga adi?* what's that? *eye kev saga?* what are you doing? *ime ne saga?* why did he come?

sago VI sick. *asago* I'm sick. *ksago?* are you sick?

sai VTR make love, copulate. *kisai pel* they're making love. *kna asai eye* come and I'll make love to you.

samil VI thunder, lightning. *epeno isamil* there is thunder and lightning.

samimi VI shiver, tremble. *asamimi* I'm shivering. *ksamimi* you're shivering.

saoa VTR clear of underbrush. *tasaoa ekrej.* let's clear the road.

sapa ADV with nothing, without anything. *imeitei sapa* he subsists with nothing. *eleila sapa* I was walking around without anything.

sapapa VI bald. *guduk kane isapapa* I'm bald.

sarak VTR tear [> *mansarak*]. *ksarak io* tear it.

sasilie N pancreas. *sasliou* my pancreas.

sau VTR catch. *kur io ime asau io* throw it to me and I'll catch it.

saumoi N sea eagle.

se SPEC diminutive. *kapuk se* just one. *sebleŋ se kime* they'll be here soon. *otuk se* my son. *otuk kmaŋ se* my daughter.

se VTR plant [> *loulou*]. *kla kse auei go* plant taro cloning sticks.

se VTR spear, shoot. *ise esŋei ne eila* he shot a pig with a spear.

sebleŋ se TEMP soon. *sebleŋ se kime* they'll be coming soon.

sei PRON who? [singular > *seiŋa*]. *sei me sei kila?* who went with whom?

seiŋa PRON who? [plural > *sei*]. *seiŋa me kime?* who all came?

seisei VTR sew. *kiseisei emelo* they sewed up the cloth.

sel N sail.

sepelo VI sprout. *oŋgup isepelo* the coconut sprouted.

serio N name [ŋ *serok, serom, serio...*].

sileŋ pau QUANT another one [> *kapsou pau*].

silpaŋio QUANT forty.

siŋilme QUANT fifty.

sip VTR peel under water [> *klit, sadid, uer*]. *kla ksip io eiki go* peel it under water.

sir VTR comb [> *emensik*]. *esir guduk* I'm combing my hair.

sirio N 1. juice [> *sirsirio*], milk, sap [> *enene*], honey; 2. taste; 3. bodily fluids [ŋ *siriou, sireŋe, sirio...*]. *muli sirio* orange juice. *nemŋe sirio* her milk. *akai sirio* sap. *epimuk sirio* honey. *sirio ŋaraŋe* it tastes good.

sirsirio N watery [> *sirio*]. *eilep sirsirio* a very watery betelnut.

ŋjore ka N nose [ŋ *ŋjorok ka, ŋjorom ka, ŋjore ka, ŋjore kaito, ŋjore kaimam, ŋjore kaimi, ŋjore kaide*].

so QUANT some. *aguas so ime* hand over some tobacco. *otodgoio so* a few people.

sogo VI get ritually dressed up [> *pasogo*]. *tosogo* let's get dressed up.

sogor VTR gather, collect. *kla ksogor okum go* gather some stones.

some VTR 1. cook bare on fire [> *nis, peiou*]; 2. singe. *kla ksome ama go* cook some taro. *kosome esŋei uoruore* singe the hair off the pig.

somum VTR brush off. *osomum asakirkir ila* brush off the dust.

soŋjoul QUANT ten.

soso ADV a little. *temeitei tepteŋ soso ge* let's sit and rest a little first.

sosou VI ripe. *oglis isosou ma* the mango is ripe.

sou VI enough. *isou ma* that's enough now.

sovokio N scale [of a fish]. *ouŋa sovokio* fish scale. *ouŋa sovokvokio* fish scales.

sovolana ADV how? *ikev io sovolana?* how does he do it?

su VI stay [> *meitei, kono*]. *asal iduo vo tosu* if it rains, let's stay. *eŋe ksu iam amla* you stay. we're going.

suŋ VI full, sated. *kopok isuŋ*. I'm full.

suŋ VTR give, distribute. *ksuŋ eseve ime pogiou* give me a knife. *osuŋ ka* I gave it [edible] to him. *osuŋ le* I gave it [disposable] to him.

suntelio QUANT thirty.

sujuruo QUANT twenty.

suput VTR cut [> *tele, tete*]. *eŋe ksupt io* you cut it.

suve N alone, by oneself [¶ *suvok, suvom, suve, suvodo, suvemam, suvemi, suvede*].
iou suvok ala I'm going by myself.

talolo VI bend over. *akai italolo* the tree is bending over.

tamane ADJ male [with non-human nouns > *adan*]. *esjei tamane* a male pig.

taŋ VI weep, cry. *ataŋ*. I cried.

tata N 1. faeces, shit; 2. remains [¶ *tatak, tatam, tata, tataito, tataimam, tataimi, tataide* > *ata, paikai*]. *eiou tata* remains of a fire.

tau ADV very [> *aton*]. *akanjo imimis tau* the food is very greasy.

tei N brother, sister, sibling same sex, parallel cousin same sex [¶ *tik = teik, tim = teim, tei, teido, teimam, teimi, teide*]. *tik se* my little brother [man speaking]. *tik kmaŋ se* my little sister [woman speaking]. *tik ŋile* my older brother [man speaking]. *tik ŋaile* my older sister [woman speaking].

tel QUANT three.

tele VTR cut [> *suput, tete*], chop down, stir [in chopping fashion > *pul*]. *eseve itele eŋe?* did the knife cut you? *itele akai ne ogugo* he chopped down the tree with an axe. *itele asapala* he stirs the taro pudding.

telŋe gudio N 1. ear; 2. lateral fin [¶ *telŋe guduk, telŋe gudum, telŋe gudio, telŋe gudto, telŋemam gudio, telŋemi gudio, telŋe gudde*]. *telŋe gudio ipam* he's deaf. *ouŋa telŋe* lateral fin of a fish.

teme N father [¶ *tok, tom, teme, temedo, tememam, tememi, temede* > *areŋ teme, aita, akmareŋ tne*]. *ito temedo* our father.

ter VTR get, take, bring, put [> *kave, pei*]. *eter io* I got it. *koudok kiter eŋkoruo kala Glosta* tomorrow they'll take you two to Gloucester. *kiter akmaŋ*

ila iuole they brought a woman to be married. *iter our ne ongup* he put a prohibition marker on the coconut. *ime eter io ne akanjo* hand it over so I can put it on the food. *okunid iter ne ito* the tambaran has made us sick.

tere VI dance. *kitere* they're dancing.

tete VTR butcher, carve, cut up [> *tele, suput*]. *kitete esjei* they're butchering a pig. *itete ouŋa* he's carving a fish. *etete amarioka* I'll cut up the cassava pudding.

teuei ADV near [≠ *melak*]

tevelio N brains [¶ *teveliou, teveleŋe, tevelio, tevelto, teveliam, teveliemi, tevelde*].

tik > *tei*

tik VTR eviscerate, gut. *itik ouŋa* he gutted the fish.

tilak VTR push. *eŋe tilak iou kate* stop pushing me.

tin VTR burn, light [> *ken*]. *etele la kus vo etin io* when I have finished cutting [the trees], I burn it over. *etinkok aguas* I lit my cigarette. *tin eiou* light the fire.

tinio N 1. body; 2. like [¶ *tinuk = tunuk, tinum = tunum, tinio, tinto, tinmam, tinmi, tinde* > *velaŋa kane, tintinio*]. *tinuk menene* I'm hot. *iduŋki tinuk kio* he smells my body odour. *iou tinuk imna* I don't like it.

tintinio N happy [> *tinio*]. *tintinuk* I'm happy.

tit VTR 1. count; 2. tell [> *kole, nasi*]. *kitit esjei* they counted the pigs. *tetit okunisnoŋo* let's tell a story.

titiil VI prune, limb, trim branches off newly felled trees. *etitiil la kus vo etin io pau* after I have finished trimming the branches off, I burn it again.

tne N/N__ 1. mother [¶ *tnok, tnom, tne*,

- modo, nemam, nemi, nede* > *akmareŋ tne, areŋ teme, avu*]; 2. meat, nut [> *kurio, amasuŋo*]. *kla poŋe akmareŋ mom* go wake up your mother. *ovruŋo tne* canarium nutmeat. *ongup tne* coconut meat. *epimuk tne* sweat bee [that produces honey].
- tnigane* TEMP today.
- togou* ADJ righthand. *lumodo togou* our right hands.
- tok* VTR spill [> *motok, liŋo*]. *eŋe tok eiki kate* don't spill the water.
- toptopaŋa* ADJ red.
- tre* VTR string fish through gill slits. *tetre* let's string them.
- tuntun* VI itchy. *kak ruo ituntun* my leg is itchy.
- tutuk* VI down, descend [\neq *paid*]. *otutuk* I went down.
- uakŋe* ADJ new [\neq *vugoŋ ka*]. *okmoŋo uakŋe* a new garden. *eivin uakŋe* a new house.
- uasim* N wash [< TP]. *kla kuasim pelet* go wash the plates.
- ud* VI run. *oud ala* I ran away [> *ka*].
- ueine* N like, as. *kio ueine ouŋa* it smells like fish. *eleila ueine akaiuor* I walk like a cassowary.
- uer* VTR peel [> *klit, sadid, sip*]. *euer eivul kulkulio* I peeled a banana. *kuer io* peel it.
- uerio* TEMP two days ago, the day before yesterday. *uerio ila* three days ago.
- ui* ADJ big, large, strong [\neq *urara, kakrakŋe*]. *eŋe ui aton* you're very big. *eivin ui* a big house. *ide ui ui* they're big; the big ones; village elders. *kak ruo kokŋe ui* my big toe. *lumom kokŋe ui* your thumb. *akauliŋ ui ime la irepe lok eivin* a strong wind came and wrecked my house.
- uod* VI appear, arrive [= *pod*]. *eŋe kuod pogiou* you appeared to me.
- uole* VTR marry [> *uolo, ouoloŋo*]. *io iuole io* she married him.
- uolo* VI marry [> *uole, ouoloŋo*]. *kiuolo* they married. *kiter akmaŋ ila iuolo* they took a woman to be married.
- uore* N hair, leaf, feather [singular > *uoruore*]. *guduk kane uore* my hair. *akai uore* a leaf. *emenuore* a feather. *ogoune uore* a dog hair.
- uoruore* N hair, leaves, feathers, fur [plural > *uore*]. *guduk kane uoruore* my hair. *akai uoruore* leaves. *emen uoruore* feathers. *ogoune uoruore* dog fur.
- ur* VTR 1. throw; 2. build [fence]. *kur io ime asau io* throw it for me to catch. *our odo* I put down a fence.
- urara* N strong [of humans. \neq *kakrakŋe, ui*]. *uraraio* I'm strong.
- usei* ADJ how many, how much? *otogou usei kimeitei?* how many men are there? *ise esŋei usei?* how many pigs did he shoot?
- usis* VI lost. *lok eseve iusis* my knife is lost.
- usok* VTR blow on. *kla kusok eiou* go blow on the fire. *ousok eiou iken* I'll blow on the fire so that it will light.
- vagalgalŋe* ADJ scarred. *kak ruo vagalgalŋe* my leg is scarred.
- vaio mete* N armpit [¶ *vaiuk mete* = *vaik mete, vaium mete* = *vaim mete, vaio mete, vaito mete, vaimemam mete, vaimi mete, vaide mete* > *vaivaio*]. *ide adi vaide mete* their armpits.
- vaivaio* N wings [> *omopmop*]. *emen vaivaio* bird's wings.
- vana* MOD inchoative. *dodo mega amla amkelme vana* not yet, but we're going to bury him now.
- vane* DEM there is, there are. *dodo vane*

- there's still some left. *kumese vane ikono*
there's a little there. *eseve vane* there's
a knife.
- velaŋa kane* N body [ŋ *velaŋok, velaŋom,*
velaŋa, velaŋaito, velaŋaimam,
velaŋaimi, velaŋaide > *tinio*].
- vese* N chin [ŋ *vesuk, vesum, vese...* >
para]. *vesuk* my chin.
- vevre* N with holes [plural > *vre, orur*].
epeno vevre a place with holes in it.
- vilŋoŋ* TEMP night. *vilŋoŋ luatu*
midnight.
- vine pio* N back [ŋ *vinuk pio, vinum pio,*
vine pio, vinto pio, vinemam pio, vinemi
pio, vinde pio].
- virviriŋa* ADJ blue, green.
- vivi* VTR squeeze. *evivi io* I squeezed it.
- vle* VTR twist two-stranded rope by hand
[> *akiom, pitlak, vuv*]. *tevle akiom* let's
make some rope.
- vlik* VI flash, blink. *ivlik* it flashed.
- vlisio* N/N__ nail, claw. *lumom vlisio*
your fingernails.
- vnik* VI rotten [> *morop*]. *esŋei ivnik*
the pork is rotten.
- vo* CJ irrealis sequential, if, since, and
so, so that. *asal iduo vo tosu* if it
rains, let's stay. *eivin vugon ka vo terepe*
since the house is old, let's wreck it.
epei okum vo oruv ovruŋo I'll get a
stone to crack open the canarium nut.
- volkou* VTR hide [> *kou*]. *ovolkou lok*
eseve I hid my knife. *kma volkou iou*
come hide me.
- voŋo ruo* TEMP day after tomorrow, in
two days. *voŋo tel* in three days. *voŋo*
paŋ in four days. *voŋo lume* in five
days.
- vorvore kane* N forehead [ŋ *vurvuruk*
kane, vurvurum kane, vorvore kane...].
- vovse kane* N lungs [ŋ *vovseiou, vovseŋe,*
vovse, vovseto, vovseimam, vovseimi,
vovseide]. *vovseiou kane* my lungs.
- vre* N/N__ hole [singular > *vevre, orur*].
nok kane vre my mouth.
- vrou* ADV on top of. *okum ikono vrou*
ne akai a stone is on top of the log.
- vud* VTR snap, break. *sei ivud akai la*
pel adi? who snapped a branch and it
made a cracking sound there? *ovud*
akai I broke the stick.
- vugon* TEMP former times, the past.
vugon ka old, from former times [≠
uakŋe]. *emelo vugon ka* old barkcloth.
- vul* VI boil [> *nis*]. *eiki ivul* the water is
boiling.
- vuturu* QUANT many. *ekikmaŋ vuturu*
many women.
- vuv* VTR make twine or string by rolling
two strands of fibre on thigh [> *akiom,*
ovuvŋo, pitlak, vle]. *tovuv ovuvŋo* let's
make some twine.

7. ENGLISH-AMARA
FINDER LIST

- a *kapso*
 a little *kume se, soso*
 abdomen *kope*
 adze *okudi*
 afraid *motou*
 afternoon *reureu*
 again *pau*
 ahead, go *munḡoḡ*
 algae *olmud*
 all gone *kus*
 alone *suve*
Alpinia sp *orgur*
 already *ma*
 and *la, me, vo*
 angry *melmel, papak*
 ankle *aslak*
 another *sileḡ pau*
 answer *pamle*
 ant sp *apala*
 anus *mode mete*
 appear *pod, uod*
 apron *osoro*
Areca catechu *eilep*
 arm *lume*
 armband *emese, ouroka*
 armpit *vaio mete*
 arrange *luḡluḡ*
 arrow *otutupi*
Artocarpus altilis *epelim*
 ascend *paid*
 ashes *okoro*
 ask *kosḡe, noḡoḡ*
 axe *ogugo*
 back *vine pio*
 back, come *mle*
 back of head *adekio*
 bad *gidana*
 bag, net *opudpud*
 bald *padakdakḡe, sapapa*
 bamboo spp *aiaugim, apluk, atalḡadi, nakuil, orop*
 banana *eivul*
 bandicoot *emilim*
 barbs *asile*
 bark *kulkulio*
 barkcloth *emelo*
 barracuda *kaluvia*
Barringtonia speciosa
pitiḡkuakua
 base *pio*
 basket *akarei, aval*
 bat *asaurum*
 bathe *ri*
 be located *kono, meitei*
 beans *eveliou*
 bear child *kave*
 bed spp *apopou, asarke, omur*
 bedbug *avidavida*
 before *ge, vugḡoḡ*
 belly *kope*
 bellybutton *pise*
 bend *talolo*
 bent *mopor*
 betel *eilep*
 betel pepper *epto*
 big *ui*
 bigman *otovoro*
 bird *emen*
 bird spp *akaiuor, akalana, akḡok, akrok, aplau, arvu, okoioi, saumoi*
 birth, give *kave*
 bite *kere*
 black *kusuksukḡe*
 black pig *anjakum*
 blade *eirer*
 blind *gran*
 blood *otopo*
 blow on *usok*
 blowfly *atavia*
 blue *virviriana*
 boa constrictor *ovoire mekle*
 body *tinio, velaḡa kane*
 boil *nis, vul*
 bone *gigio*
 bore *dil*
 bow and arrow *amalel*
 box *akorol*
 boy *emim*
 boys *emenderik*
 braid *pitlak*
 braided rope *epitlakḡo*
 brains *tevelio*
 branch *raka*
 breadfruit *epelim*
 break *mokrou, murup, ruv, vud*
 breast *kosio, nemḡe*
 breath *omomod, opuop*
 bridewealth *ogorovo*
 bring *kave, ter*
 broom *esiḡo*
 brother *lio, tei*
 brown pig *amarakai*
 brush off *somum*
 bubbles *osmur*
 build *kama, kev, ur*
 bump *klok*
 bundle *akavono, ogudḡo*
 burn *ken, tin*
 bury *kelme*
 bush hen *okoioi*
 but *mega*
 butcher *tete*
 butterfly *ovovo*
 buttocks *mode padpadio*
 cage *akorol*
Calamus spp *akloun, aria*
 calendar rope *enel*
 calf *ka ruo avo kane*

- call *pote*
Canarium polyphyllum
ovrujo
 canoe *ogomod*
 canopy of tree *gudio*
 careful *omos*
 carry on head *gud*
 carry on shoulder *kave*
 carrying stick *esik*
 carve *tete*
 cassava *amanioka*
 cassowary *akaiuor*
 cassowary wing *omopmop*
Casuarina equisetifolia
elei
 cataract *egei*
 catch *sau*
 cave *omus*
 charcoal *asorj*
Charonia tritonis *okulep*
 chase *nana*
 cheek *para*
 chest *kosio*
 chew betel *nas*
 chicken *otorokok*
 child *ataŋe, emim,*
emeretuŋo, etio
 chin *vese*
 chop *tele*
 cigarette *aguas*
 clam spp *akunkun, etiue,*
oruor
 claw *vlisio*
 clay pot *ekirau*
 clean *ŋarane*
 clear *lomo, saoa*
 clearing *asuak*
 climb *paid*
 cloning stock *aeui*
 cloth *emelo*
 cloud *eiuek*
 club *aipu*
 cockatoo *aplau*
 cockroach *oŋus*
 coconut *oŋgup, omeinei,*
opogal
 coconut grater *eŋiri*
 coconut meat *oŋgup tne*
 coconut shell *okotou*
Cocos nucifera *oŋgup*
 cold *kotitid, penpenio*
 collect *luplup, sogor*
Colocasia esculenta *ama*
 colour, k.o. *aiŋo,*
kusuksukŋe, plaulaŋe,
toptopaŋa, virviriaŋa
 comb *emensik, sir*
 come *me*
 come back *mle*
 come up *paid*
 come in *ru*
 come down *tutuk*
 commit suicide *kou adene*
 completive *ma*
 congregate *luplup*
 cook *peiou, some*
 copulate *sai*
 coral *asar*
Cordyline spp *ainuŋ,*
omore
 count *tit*
 couple *rigruo se*
 cousin *lio, tei*
 crab *okoso*
 crab spp *deoa, kakaroka,*
kaudama, kiki, laumu,
okoso muli, oturu
 crack *pel, ruv*
 cracked *maŋiŋ*
 crash *dil, mokrou*
 crawl *rarar*
 crazy *kakakaŋo*
 crocodile *apua*
 crooked *mopor*
 crow *akrok*
 cry *taŋ*
 cuscus *akŋarap*
 cut *suput, tele, tete*
Cycas circinalis *epetoro*
 dance *tere*
 daughter *etio*
 day *niŋid*
 dead *mo, monei*
 deaf *pam*
 decorate *pasogo, sogo*
 deep *eli*
 defaecate *paikai*
 dehortative *kate*
 descend *tutuk*
 destroy *repe*
 diaphragm *opuo*
 die *mo*
 dig *kel*
 dig up *rege*
 digging stick *egete*
 diminutive *se*
Dioscorea spp *argin, oudo*
 dirt *omuk*
 dirty *mukmuk*
 dish *otovro, pelet*
 disposable possessive *le*
 distribute *suŋ*
 do *kama, kep*
 dog *ogoune*
 don't *kate*
 door *eivinmete*
 dorsal *rere*
 dove *arvu*
 down *tutuk*
 drag *dada*
 dream *kanimnim*
 dress up *pasogo, sogo*
 dried *monei*
 drill *dil*
 drink *in*
 drinking coconut *opogal*
 drive pigs *ele*
 drum *esiran*

dry *par, posaja*
 dual *ruo*
 dull *pumpumje*
 dusk *reureu*
 dust *asakir, asakirkir*
 ear *telje gudio*
 earthquake *etiti*
 eat *ken, kenen*
 edible possessive *ka*
 eel *evlei, lumbalumba*
 egg *otolio kane*
 eight *lume tel*
 elbow *kuvusje*
 elders *ui ui*
 empty *kopkopje*
 end *pio*
 enough *sou*
 enter *ru*
 entrails *gorgorio*
Eugenia malaccensis
 opokai
 evening *reureu*
 eviscerate *tik*
 exist *kono, vane*
 extract *rege*
 eye *mete*
 eyeball *mete kovorio,*
 mete toktok
 fable *okunisnojo*
 faeces *ata, tata*
 fall *makluk*
 far *melak*
 fart *kipis*
 fast *nigrik*
 fat *rum*
 father *aita, arej teme,*
 teme
 fathom *re*
 fear *motou*
 feather *uore*
 female *akmaj, kmaj*
 fence *odo*
 few *rigruo se*

Ficus sp *akao*
 fifty *sijlme*
 fight *pun*
 fin *rere, telje*
 finger *kokokje, kokje,*
 lilio
 fingernail *vlisio*
 finished *kus*
 fire *eiou*
 firewood *akai*
 first *ge*
 firstborn *emeretuono*
 fish *ouja*
 five *lume*
 flash *vlik*
 flee *ka*
 flesh *kurio*
 float *padpad*
 flood *edgim*
 flower *dukje*
 fluid *sirio*
 flute *nakuil*
 fly *atavia, olojo, rourou*
 flying fox *asaurum*
 foam *osmur*
 fog *agaugau*
 fold *kop*
 follow *nasi*
 food *akanyo*
 food basket *akarei*
 foot *ka ruo*
 footnoose *opol*
 footprint *murio*
 forearm *aslak*
 forehead *vorvore kane*
 forest *eivur*
 forty *silpanjo*
 four *paŋ*
 freshwater *eiki*
 frog spp *amkik, aval*
 from *me*
 fruit *kane, kankane*

full *pon, sun*
 fur *uore, uoruore*
 furnishings *ogorovo*
 fuzz *asile*
 galip *ovrujo*
 gall bladder *osio*
 game *ouja*
 garden *okmojo*
 garnish *amasujo*
 gather *luplup, sogor*
 get *kave, pei, ter*
 giant clam *oruor*
 gills *malmalio*
 ginger bed *asarke*
 ginger spp *emles, orgur*
 girl *emim, euilio*
 give me, *sun*
 give birth *kave*
Gnetum gnemon *osu*
 go *la*
 go ahead *mungon*
 go back *mle*
 go down *tutuk*
 go in *ru*
 go up *paid*
 gone *kus*
 good *naraje*
 gossip *okolojo*
 granddaughter,
 grandfather,
 grandmother, grandson
 apa
 grate *nou*
 grater *ejiri*
 greasy *mimis*
 great-grandparent,
 great-grandchild *asasa*
 green *virviriana*
 greens spp *esere, onoujo*
 ground *epes*
 grue *virviriana*
 gut *tik*
 guts *gorgorio*

hair *asile, uore*
 hairless pig *egeled*
 half-full *mode pio*
 hand *lume*
 handbasket *aval*
 happy *tintinio*
 hard *akraŋ, kakrakŋe*
 hawk *kamo kiue*
 he *io*
 head *guda kane*
 head, back of *adekio*
 head, bundle carried on
 ogudŋo
 head, carry on *gud*
 head of tree *gudio*
 head pad *onoŋo*
 healing magic *oluano*
 hear *loŋo*
 heart *kosio kane*
 hearth *okoro gudio*
 heavy *patane*
 help *koro*
 hermit crab *oturu*
Hibiscus tileaceus *opuru*
 hide *kou, volkou*
 hip *gelio*
 history *apu*
 hit *pun*
 hobble *pid*
 hold *kiskis*
 hole *orur, vevre, vre*
Homalium foetidum
 ovoire
 honey *epimuk sirio*
 hornbill *akŋok*
 hot *menene*
 hourglass drum *esiran*
 house *eivin*
 house, initiation *akailaŋa*
 house, men's *ourum*
 housefly *oloŋo*
 household goods *ogorovo*
 how *sovolana*

how much *usei*
 hug *rere*
 hundred *kuvusŋe*
 hungry *misigio*
 hunt *ele, kau*
 hunting magic *ever*
 hurt *pid*
 husband *avadŋile*
 husk *kose, kulkulio*
 husking stick *okosoŋo*
 I *iou*
 if *vo*
Imperata sp *ogu*
 in *ne, ru*
 inchoative *vana*
 inhale *id*
 initiation house *akailaŋa*
 initiation platform
 akavokavo
Inocarpus fagiferus *eip*
 inside *gorio*
 insides *gorgorio*
Intsia bijuga *ovono*
Ipomea batatas
 eseremvad
 ironwood *ovono*
 island *omod kane*
 it *io*
 itchy *tuntun*
 jacaranda *edege*
 jaw *para*
 jawharp *apluk*
 juice *sirio*
 juicy *sirsirio*
 jump *kapater*
 jungle *eivur*
 just *iaka*
 kambang *okou*
Kentiopsis
 archontophoenix eres
 kidney *akai kane*

kin k.o. *aita, akmaŋ, akmareŋ tne, apa, areŋ teme, asasa, atane, avadŋile, avu, emeretuŋo, emim, etio, lio, tei, teme, tne*
 knee *kuvusŋe*
 knife *eseve*
 knot *kuvusŋe*
 know *klele*
 kulau *opogal*
 kunai *ogu*
 ladder *atatano*
 lamp *lam*
 language *okoloŋo*
 large *ui*
 later *gidmeiŋo*
 lateral fin *telŋe*
 laugh *ŋiŋ*
 law *apu*
 leader *otovoro*
 leaf *akai uore, uoruore*
 leaf wrapper *eiuek*
 leech *edidmen*
 lefthand *ŋas*
 leg *ka ruo*
 lest *kama*
 lie *kono, pagara*
 light *ken, tin*
 lightning *samil*
 lightweight *koposŋe*
 like *kim, tinio, ueine*
 limb *titil*
 lime powder *okou*
 lime spatula *akai mete*
 lint *asakir, asakirkir*
 lip *na kane vre kulkulio*
 listen *loŋo*
 litter *asakir, asakirkir*
 little *kapora se, kume se, se, soso*
 little finger *lilio*
 liver *katkate*

lizard <i>epero</i>	milk <i>nemje sirio</i>	not <i>imna</i>
load <i>akavono, ogudjo</i>	mist <i>agaugau</i>	not yet <i>dodo</i>
lobster <i>eigin, okureirei</i>	mix <i>pul</i>	nothing <i>sapa</i>
located <i>kono, meitei</i>	money <i>amatavu</i>	now <i>vana</i>
locust <i>esip</i>	monitor lizard <i>epero</i>	numb <i>mo</i>
lodge <i>ourum</i>	monsoons <i>akaulin</i>	nurse <i>nem</i>
long <i>muntuk</i>	moon <i>ognumur</i>	nut <i>tne</i>
look at <i>rei</i>	moray eel <i>lumbalumba</i>	<i>Nypa fruticans</i>
look for <i>rei, kau</i>	morning <i>diŋdiŋo</i>	<i>apadapada</i>
lost <i>usis</i>	mortar <i>nagalgalŋa</i>	obsidian <i>eirer</i>
louse <i>ekid</i>	mosquito <i>ovunkin</i>	ocean <i>emeo</i>
love, make <i>sai</i>	moss <i>olmud</i>	<i>Octomeles sumatrana</i>
lung <i>vovse kane</i>	mother <i>akmareŋ tne, avu</i>	<i>ogororo</i>
magic <i>ever, oluano,</i> <i>ovorou</i>	mountain <i>olusi</i>	old <i>vugon ka</i>
make <i>kama, kapin, ter</i>	mountain ridge <i>akamele</i>	old woman <i>akmareŋ</i>
make love <i>sai</i>	mourner <i>omokmoko</i>	on <i>ne</i>
malay apple <i>opokai</i>	mouth <i>na kane vre</i>	one <i>kapso, kapuk</i>
male <i>adan, tamane</i>	muddy area <i>amanano</i>	oneself <i>suve</i>
man <i>adan, auram, otogou</i>	<i>Musa</i> sp <i>eivul</i>	only <i>iaka</i>
mandible <i>para</i>	muscle <i>kurio</i>	or <i>imna, kama</i>
<i>Mangifera indica</i> <i>oglis</i>	mushroom <i>euil</i>	oral history <i>apu</i>
mango <i>oglis</i>	myth <i>okunisnoŋo</i>	orchid <i>apilpil</i>
mangrove <i>arŋom</i>	nail <i>vlisio</i>	origin <i>pio</i>
mangrove clam spp <i>etiue,</i> <i>kaudama, laumu</i>	name <i>serio</i>	other <i>pau</i>
<i>Manihot utilissima</i>	nasal mucus <i>onŋur</i>	outside <i>nalanŋ, pod</i>
<i>amanioka</i>	navel <i>pise</i>	oven <i>epeiounjo</i>
manioc <i>amanioka</i>	near <i>teuei</i>	pad, head <i>onoŋo</i>
many <i>vuturu</i>	neck <i>adeŋe, guda</i> <i>maganio</i>	paddle <i>aitar, opoi</i>
marker <i>our</i>	negative <i>imna</i>	palm spp <i>apadapada,</i> <i>epetoro</i>
married people <i>ouoloŋo,</i> <i>ouoluoloŋo</i>	nest <i>onuk</i>	palm of hand <i>lume gorio</i>
marry <i>uole, uolo</i>	net <i>opudpud, opuo</i>	pancreas <i>sasilie</i>
mat <i>omoi</i>	new <i>uakŋe</i>	pandanus <i>omoi</i>
mature <i>lip, omonei</i>	night <i>vilŋonŋ</i>	panpipe <i>ekiriuli</i>
me <i>iou</i>	nine <i>lume paŋ</i>	parrot <i>akalaŋa</i>
meat <i>amasuŋo, kurio, tne</i>	nipa palm <i>apadapada</i>	path <i>ekreŋ</i>
meet <i>luplup</i>	no <i>imna, o</i>	peel <i>klit, sadid, sip, uer</i>
men <i>adandanio</i>	noise <i>munio</i>	peninsula <i>atavele</i>
men's lodge <i>ourum</i>	noon <i>nijid puli</i>	penis <i>kutio</i>
merely <i>iaka</i>	northwest monsoons <i>akaulin</i>	people <i>otodgoio</i>
<i>Metroxylon</i> sp <i>atarano</i>	nose <i>sŋore ka</i>	philodendron <i>okotkot</i>
		pick <i>gasi</i>
		pig <i>esŋei</i>

pig box *akorol*
 pig spp *amarakai, aḡakum, egeled, kalonge, osuk*
 pigtusks *evīd*
 pillow *okulḡo*
 pipe, smoking *nakuil*
Piper beetle *epio*
 piss *enḡiḡo, liḡliḡ*
 pitpit spp *amsau, epie, ogoroḡo*
 place *epeno*
 plant *loulou, se*
 plate *pelet*
 platform *akavokavo*
 play *lovlovo*
 plaza *akateme*
Poinciana delnis *edege*
 poisonous *gidana*
 pole, punting *otou*
Pometia pinnata *emliḡ*
 pool *elivolio*
 pork *esḡei*
 possessive *ka, kio, kikio, le*
 post *opuy*
 pot, clay *ekirau*
 pour *liḡo*
 prawn *eigin*
 precede *muḡḡoḡ*
 pregnant *kope*
 prohibition marker *our*
 protuberance *kane*
 prune *titil*
 pubic apron *osoro*
 pull *dada, it*
 pull out *rege*
 punting pole *otou*
 pupil *mete pagilio*
 pus *enene*
 push *tilak*
 put *ter*
 python *akanḡo*

quickly *nigrik*
 rafter *aulaḡo*
 rain *asal*
 rainbow *asal ka emelo*
 raintree *edege*
 rat *ekiue*
 rattan spp *akloun, aria*
 raw *naḡrikḡe*
 ready for harvest *lip*
 reciprocal *pel*
 red *toptopana*
 reef *asar, okur*
 remains *tata*
 remember *mete nesnes*
 rest *ptey*
 resting place *asuak*
 return *mle*
Rhizophora mucronata *arḡom*
 ridgepole *emitidḡo, ovniḡḡo*
 righthand *togou*
 ringworm *epelpelḡo*
 ripe *sosou*
 river *eiki*
 road *ekreḡ*
 rock shelter *omus*
 roll twine *vuv*
 root *remte*
 rope *akiom, enel, epitlakḡo, ovuvḡo*
 rotten *morop, vnik*
 run *ud*
 run away *ka*
Saccharum spp *amsau, elgo, epie, ogoroḡo*
 sago *ataranaḡo*
 sago hammer *auaḡo*
 sail *sel*
 saliva *epsok*
 salty *papak*
Samanea saman *edege*
 sand *olov, omoge*

sandfly *enimnim, omromo*
 sap *enene, sirio*
 sarong *emelo*
 sated *sunḡ*
 scale *sovokio*
 scarred *vagalgalḡe*
 scrape *korkor, namkris*
 scratch *kaurir*
 sea *emeo*
 sea eagle *saumoi*
 season *epeno*
 see *rei, reirei*
 seed *pagilio*
 seven *lume ruo*
 sew *seisei*
 shadow *kanio*
 shaft *kutio*
 shallow *moko*
 shark *avakeua*
 shaven *padakdakḡe*
 she *io*
 shelf *apopou*
 shell *kulkulio*
 shell, coconut *okotou*
 shell armband *emese*
 shell money *amatavu*
 shell trumpet *okulep*
 shield *egeliou*
 shit *ata, paikai, tata*
 shiver *samimi*
 shoot *se*
 short *kmusḡe*
 shoulder *galana*
 shoulder, carry on *kave*
 shrimp *eigin*
 Siasi dish *otovro*
 sick *sago*
 sign *our*
 since *vo*
 sing *pei ovouḡo*
 singe *some*
 sister *lio, tei*

sit *meitei*
 six *lume kapuk*
 skin *klit, kulkulio*
 skinny *perper*
 skirt *osoro*
 sky *ogru*
 sleep *kono*
 sleeping mat *omoi*
 slippery *didlikŋe*
 slit gong *edge*
 slope *poŋe pio*
 slow *omos*
 small *kapora se*
 smell *dunŋi, kio*
 smoke *omŋo, omuŋo*
 smoking pipe *nakuil*
 smooth *didlikŋe*
 snail *opogor*
 snake *omoto*
 snake sp *ovoire mekle*
 snap *vud*
 sneeze *kasŋi*
 snot *oŋur*
 so *la, vo*
 soft *mulum*
 sole *ka ruo gorio*
 some *kapso, so*
 son *etio*
 song *ovouŋo*
 soon *sebleŋ se*
 sorcerer *otogou omuk ka*
 sorcery *gidanŋa, omuk,*
 ovorou
 sore *ekenkenŋo, kenken*
 soul *kanio*
 sound *munio*
 source *pio*
 southeast tradewinds *omur*
 speak *kole*
 spear *eila, se*
 speech *okoloŋo*
 spider sp *apageigei*

spill *motok, tok*
 spine *nerekio*
 spirit k.o. *kanio, okunid,*
 ovorou
 spit *epsok, pre*
 split *kapak, maskak, pele*
 spotted white and black pig
 kalonŋe
 sprout *duk, kovure kane,*
 sepelo
 squeeze *vivi*
 stand *mid*
 star *epituk*
 stay *kono, meitei, su*
 steal *kov*
 sternum *kosio mete*
 stick *akai*
 stick, cloning *aeui*
 stick, digging *egete*
 stick, carrying *esik*
 stick, husking *okosoŋo*
 stick, punting *otou*
 stick, walking *opukpuk*
 still *dodo*
 sting *pit*
 stink *kio*
 stir *pul*
 stone *okum*
 stone oven *epeiouŋo*
 stop -ing *kate*
 storm *mariamba*
 story *apu, okunisoŋo*
 straight *nal*
 straighten *luŋluŋ*
 string *ovuvŋo*
 string fish *tre*
 strip *sadid*
 strong *kakrakŋe, ui,*
 urara
 stump *pio*
 subsist *meitei*
 suckle *nem*
 sugarcane *elgo*

suicide, commit *kou adeŋe*
 sun *eniŋid*
 sunny *niŋid*
 swamp *amananŋo, ovul*
 sweep *roro*
 sweet potato *eseremvad*
 swim *iouiou, kultip*
 swollen *rumrum*
 sword grass *ogu*
 taboo *amatavu, our,*
 ovorou
 tail *egidue, egudio*
 take *kave, ter*
 talk *kole*
 tall *muntuk*
 tambaran *okunid*
 tame *eivinle*
 taro *ama*
 taro mortar *nagalgalŋa*
 taro paddle *aitar*
 taro pudding *asapala*
 taro stick *aeui*
 taste *sirio*
 tear *sarak*
 teeth *kokokŋe, kokŋe*
 tell *kole, nasi, tit*
 ten *soŋoul*
 tender *mulum*
 tendons *alislisio*
Terminalia catappa
 asalke
 testicle *kovure kane*
 that *adi, eadi*
 thatch *ousi*
 there is *vane*
 these *anane, eanane*
 they *ide*
 thigh *maganio*
 thing *eveiŋo, ovolo*
 thirsty *eiki*
 thirty *suntelio*
 this *ane, aton, eane*

thorn *egigi*
 those *adidi, eadidi*
 thou *eje*
 three *tel*
 throw *ur*
 thumb *lume kokje ui*
 thunder *samil*
 thus *ievene, ievero*
 tie *kaukau*
 to *la, lip, ne, pogio*
 tobacco *aguas*
 today *trigane*
 toe *kokokje, kokje, lilio*
 tomorrow *koudok, vojo*
 ruo
 tongs *ankap*
 tongue *meme gudio*
 too *pau*
 tooth *na kane vre kokje*
 top *vrou*
 top plate *apara*
 torn *mansarak*
 tough *akraj, kakrakje*
 tradewinds *omur*
 tree *akai*
 tree ant *apala*
 tree canopy *gudio*
 tree spp *akao, akateme,*
 apadapada, apapak,
 arjom, asalke, atarajo,
 edege, eilep, eip, elei,
 emlij, epelim, epetoro,
 eres, erin, lakendaŋ,
 oglis, ogororo, oŋgup,
 opokai, opuru, osu,
 ovoire, ovono, ovruŋo,
 pitiŋkuakua
 tremble *samimi*
 trim *titiŋ*
 Trochus sp *emese*
 tropical sore *ekenkenjo*
 true *molmol*
 trumpet shell *okulep*
 trunk *maganio*

tug *it*
 turn *pul*
 turtle *opon*
 twenty *sujuruo*
 twine *ovuvŋo, vuv*
 twist rope *vle*
 two *ruo*
 ulcer *ekenkenjo*
 uncooked *nanrikje*
 under *golgole,*
 moloklokje
 underbrush, clear *lomo*
 unripe *nanrikje*
 up *paid*
 urinate *lijlij*
 urine *eŋlijo*
 veins *alislisio*
 very *aton, tau*
 village *eivin*
 village plaza *akateme*
 vine *ouro*
 viscera *gorgorio*
 vomit *memto*
 vulva *pio kane*
 wake up *dgi, keser, poje*
 walk *leila*
 walking stick *opukpuk*
 wall *aver*
 wallaby *kope kio, natus*
 want *kole*
 wash *pus, ri*
 wasp spp *aguguna,*
 emirmirjo
 watch out *reirei*
 water *eiki*
 waterfalls *opso*
 watery *sirsirio*
 wave *advam*
 wax *ovon*
 we *iam, ito*
 weed garden *kari*
 weep *taŋ*
 wet *dokdokje*

what *saga*
 when *naname*
 where *nanai, ŋai*
 white *plaulauje*
 white and black spotted pig
 kalonje
 white pig *osuk*
 who *sei, seiŋa*
 widow *asap*
 widower *avagad*
 wife *akmaj*
 wild *asaksak*
 wind *akaulij, omur*
 wing *omopmop, vaivaio*
 wipe *pus*
 witch *otogou omuk ka*
 witchcraft *ovorou*
 with *me, ne*
 woman *akmaj, akmareŋ,*
 eulio
 women *ekikmaj*
 wood *akai*
 wooden dish *otovro*
 wrapper *eiuek*
 wreck *repe*
 wrist *aslak*
 yam spp *argin, oudo*
 yellow *aiŋo*
 yes *me*
 yesterday *noro, uerio*
 yet *dodo*
 you *emi, eŋe*
 young man *akua, auram*
 young woman *eulio*
Zingiber officinale emles

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THE BIBLING LANGUAGES OF NORTHWESTERN NEW BRITAIN

WILLIAM R THURSTON

1. INTRODUCTION¹

The Bibling languages include Mouk (Mok), Aria, Tourai, Lamogai, Rauto (Murien) and Ivanga (Pulie), Austronesian languages spoken in the interior regions of the Kaliai and Kombe Census Divisions of northwestern New Britain or in the adjacent areas of the south coast. Mouk, Aria and Lamogai are first noted in the literature by Counts (1969) who collected a set of short wordlists in each language. Using Counts' data, Chowning (1969) classifies these languages as part of her Lamogai language family. Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) add confusion to the issue of names by also using Lamogai as a cover term for Lamogai, Rauto and Ivanga. In Thurston (1987), I propose the name Bibling instead of Lamogai to avoid the confusion of using the same name for three taxonomic levels. Except for the addition of Tourai, the composition of the Bibling group is essentially identical to Chowning's (1969, 1976) Lamogai language family. Following Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980), Ross collapses Lamogai, Rauto and Ivanga into the status of a single language (1988:162), but otherwise, the Lamogai Chain within his southwest New Britain network is also the same as the Bibling group, as described here.

Mouk is spoken by about 1000 people in a region that includes almost all the interior slopes of Mount Andeua except the northern area that is occupied by the Anêm. Aria and Tourai are spoken by about 1000 and 200 people respectively in the basin of the Aria river. Traditionally, Aria was spoken to the west of the the river, while Tourai was spoken to the east. Lamogai is spoken by approximately 400 people in the centre of New Britain; Ivanga by about 300 people to the southwest; and Rauto by about 3000 people directly to the south of the Lamogai area. In total, there are at present approximately 6000 speakers of Bibling languages.

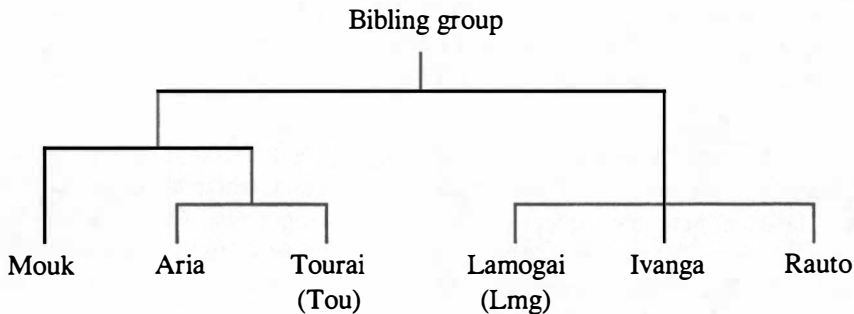
The neat dividing line between dialect and language is difficult to define for any group of related languages, but particularly problematic in Melanesia, where there has been no tradition of capital districts and, consequently, standardised languages. One solution has been to establish guidelines for grouping certain isoglots of an area under the heading of a single language name. This creates a more streamlined linguistic picture that is easier for a western-educated audience to cope with intellectually, but, I believe, distorts the picture significantly, because it implies a social and linguistic organisation more congruent with that of Europe

¹ Data for this paper were collected in 1981 and 1982 with partial support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I am grateful to the people of northwestern New Britain and to Rick Goulden for their aid in collecting the information on these languages.

than with the sociolinguistic organisation of Melanesia. In the traditional realm of northwestern New Britain, the largest unit of social organisation is what I call a patriclan". This is the closest English name, but only approximates the characteristics of the unit. Each patriclan consists of a group of about 100 people who actively exercise rights over a common piece of land. Membership is ideologically defined according to the principles of patrilineal descent, but people also have weaker legitimate claims to membership through matrilineal and affinal connections. Each patriclan has its own language, and while task-oriented alliances are more common among patriclans with the same language, each is politically and economically autonomous.

Since contact with Europeans, other levels of social organisation have been mapped onto the underlying patriclan system. Patriclans have become virtually synonymous with villages, and those with the same named language have emerged as ethnic groups that now tend to operate as fairly unified political blocks seeking control over institutions such as education and medical delivery. The ethnic names given by the people of the area to their own languages, then, better reflect the sociolinguistic organisation of northwestern New Britain than would an arbitrary assignment of certain dialects to the status of a language.

This does not mean, however, that the Bibling languages are exempt from subgrouping. A perusal of the appended lexicons clearly shows that the languages can be readily classified according to general similarity in morphology and lexicon. Aria and Tourai are, indeed, similar enough to one another that they could be considered dialects of a single language by standard linguistic measures such as mutual intelligibility; and, for other reasons discussed in §1.2, I have treated them together. In endolexicon, Mouk is most similar to Aria. Lamogai, Rauto and Ivanga are also similar enough to one another to be considered by Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) and by my own informants as dialects of a single language. A dendrogram based on this similarity would look as follows:



Most speakers of Bibling languages are at least familiar with the languages spoken by neighbouring groups and tend to mix resources from different isoglots when speaking, but, when asked to do so, they can usually separate the features of one isoglot from those of another with a high degree of consistency. Differences among the Bibling languages are primarily lexical. Tourai differs from Aria primarily in lexical items shared with Lamogai, and Mouk differs from Aria in the greater number of words copied from Anêm. In morphology, Mouk, Aria and Tourai form a group distinct from Lamogai, Ivanga and

Rauto. Since all the Bibling languages are almost identical in syntax and semantics, however, they can be efficiently described in a single grammatical sketch, as given in §3.

1.1 MOUK

The traditional Mouk patriclans are Salkei, Aikon, Angal, Gigina and Benim. Salkei is the name of a mountain ridge running parallel to the Akiblik Anêm mountain ridge Abêlalu (Avelalu) which is situated to the northwest. In the 1950's, Australian patrol officers required the villages of Salkei, Aikon and Angal to establish permanent villages on Avelalu in order to facilitate administration. This left most of the Mouk in the uneasy position of living on land to which they had no traditional claim, while leaving their own land vacant. After independence, fearing a change in the law that would require groups to actually occupy the land to which they lay claim, some Mouk groups moved back inland to reassert their landclaims and their traditional ethnicity, and, in the process, to renounce any participation in the cash economy, or public education. At the same time, other factions established new villages, such as Lumusi, closer to the north coast and began to plant coconuts with the aim of integrating themselves into the cash economy. In 1981, the official maps of the region were completely out of date with respect to the location of Mouk villages. By 1988, with the establishment of a New Tribes Mission, most of the Mouk are said to have centralised into a megavillage called Amkor.

Except for data contained in Thurston (1987), the only published material in Mouk consists of a short unanalysed wordlist given in Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980). The description presented here is based on data collected in Salkei and Lumusi, in 1981 and 1982 respectively.

1.2 ARIA AND TOURAI

The Aria river meanders inland, almost to the centre of New Britain, before it reaches the first set of rapids. Until recently, people did not live right on the river but in fortified hamlets on the overlooking mountain ridges away from the river to avoid saltwater crocodiles and to watch for raids from seafaring people. The river served as a clear boundary between the Aria on the west and the Tourai on the east. Properly, Aria is the language of Taleuaga, Kuako, Bagai, Robos, Moluo and Denga; and Tourai is the language of Upmadung and Esis (Gelei). With the virtual elimination of crocodiles and with almost a century of pacification, however, speakers of both languages have established villages right on the banks of the river which now functions more as a main highway than as a barrier, and, consequently, Aria and Tourai along the Aria river are merging both socially and linguistically. The data elicited for both Aria and Tourai in Upmadung contain a mixture of lexical items and grammatical features from both languages in the same sentences. Later, when the mixed Aria-Tourai sentences were checked, Aria speakers in Denga rejected them saying, "That's wrong; that's the way they speak on the big river." In every case, the corrections offered in Denga were consistent with the prescriptive features distinguishing Aria from Tourai originally given by the people of Upmadung itself. That is, while the people of Upmadung are able to consciously discriminate between Aria and Tourai when given two competing forms, they are less able to keep the two languages separate when speaking. This is possible because both languages are so similar, but it also suggests that eventually there will be a dialect of Aria spoken on the

river that is distinct from Aria spoken elsewhere by virtue of having merged with Tourai.

Outside the immediate area, Tourai is not distinguished from Aria. The form of Aria spoken in Denga, midway between the Aria and Vanu rivers, has largely avoided contact with Tourai, but has been heavily influenced by contact with Kove. Another incipient dialect of Aria has also emerged in the Akiblîk Anêm villages of Gogola and Bolo, but this is rejected as acceptable Aria by all other speakers of Aria, who say that the people of Bolo really speak Mouk. Meanwhile, the Mouk also disown the language of Bolo, while the people of Bolo themselves claim to speak Anêm, but do so to a degree that is rejected by virtually all other Anêm speakers.

The Aria data presented here were collected in Upmadung, Bagai, Denga and Bolo in 1981 and 1982, while the data for Tourai were collected in Upmadung in 1981.

1.3 LAMOGAI, IVANGA AND RAUTO

Lamogai is spoken in the villages of Bulauatne, Mokukli, Batauling, and Morou, all at the midpoint between the north and south coasts. The Lamogai data presented here come from a very short period of research in Bulauatne in 1982, and, consequently, should be treated as extremely preliminary in nature. My own data on Ivanga and Rauto are so scant that they have been omitted from this work. I am confident, however, that future research on Ivanga and Rauto will demonstrate that the grammatical outline of the Bibling languages presented here is equally applicable to these two languages.

In 1981 and 1982, Rick Goulden and I collected very brief wordlists in Ivanga and Rauto from single informants; Chinnery (1926) includes data on Ivanga under the name Pulie; Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) have published wordlists in all three languages; and Tom Maschio, a doctoral student at McMaster University, has provided me with unanalysed fieldnotes in Rauto. These data confirm the close similarity observed by Allen, Rath and Johnston among the three languages.

2. PHONOLOGY

The Bibling languages have roughly the same phonology. All have seventeen segmental phonemes. Of the thirteen consonants tabulated below, each language has only twelve, because Mouk lacks *r* and the other languages lack *x*.

	labial	apical	dorsal
voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
voiced stops/fricatives	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
voiceless fricative		<i>s</i>	
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
lateral		<i>l</i>	
trill		<i>r</i>	<i>x</i>

The voiced stops *b d g* have fricative allophones [β ɹ ɣ] that are particularly frequent after vowels. Mouk has a dorso-uvular trill *x* where the other Bibling languages have an apical trill *r*. In all languages, the trills are usually voiceless [ɽ χ] in final position, but voiced [r ʀ] between voiced segments.

Aria	<i>obar</i>	[óβaɾ]	'pig'
Mouk	<i>abax</i>	[áβax]	'pig'
Lmg	<i>obrop</i>	[óβrop]	'ash'
Mouk	<i>mixmix</i>	[múɾmɯɾ]	'wasp sp'

The five vowels common to all the Bibling languages are:

	front	central	back
	unrounded	unrounded	rounded
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

The high and mid vowels have non-syllabic allophones in the environment of lower vowels:

Mouk	<i>aikos</i>	[áɪkos]	'widower'
Mouk	<i>ouop</i>	[óɯop]	'your mouth'
Mouk	<i>lanae</i>	[lánaɛ]	'he wants'
Aria	<i>sao</i>	[sáɔ]	'tree sp'
Aria	<i>eiou</i>	[éɪou]	'fire'
Lmg	<i>aona</i>	[áɔna]	'his mouth'

In Mouk, the front vowels have back unrounded allophones that occur before *x*. This also occurs sporadically with Lamogai *i* before *r*.

Mouk	<i>basex</i>	[básɯɾ]	'pour'
Mouk	<i>pixdem</i>	[púɾdem]	'coconut grater'
Mouk	<i>mixmix</i>	[múɾmɯɾ]	'wasp sp'
Mouk	<i>nekexkex</i>	[nekýxkɯɾ]	'flutter'
Lmg	<i>ɲatir</i>	[ɲátɯɾ]	'I stand'

In all the Bibling languages, but to a lesser extent in Mouk, a non-phonemic voiced stop is inserted between a nasal and *r*; the voiced stop is homorganic with the preceding nasal segment.

Mouk	<i>ɲamxi</i>	[ɲámbrɪ]	'I stand'
Aria	<i>emris</i>	[émbris]	'you bathe'
Aria	<i>eɲris</i>	[éɲgris]	'nasal mucus'
Lmg	<i>tanra</i>	[tándra]	'his skin'
Lmg	<i>tumro</i>	[túmbro]	'Siasi dish'

The syllabic canon of the Bibling languages is (C₁) V (C₂), where C₁ can be any consonant, most sequences of stop + resonant, or the sequence *sɻ*; where V can be any vowel; and where C₂ can be any consonant. Stress tends to be penultimate. Resonants in clusters after voiceless stops tend to be voiceless.

Mouk	<i>kɲal</i>	[kɲal]	'leech'
Mouk	<i>slaɲa</i>	[sláɲa]	'his ear'
Mouk	<i>blak</i>	[blak]	'squish'
Mouk	<i>dno</i>	[dno]	'lost'
Aria	<i>kɲis</i>	[kɲis]	'weep'
Aria	<i>groɲ</i>	[groɲ]	'wash'
Aria	<i>pmem</i>	[pɾmem]	'your father'

Aria	<i>tnam</i>	[tɲam]	'your mother'
Tou	<i>tɲis</i>	[tɲis]	'weep'
Tou	<i>gruk</i>	[gruk]	'grunt'
Lmg	<i>kli</i>	[kʎi]	'buy'
Lmg	<i>pmarsek</i>	[pɲáɾsek]	'their father'

In addition, all languages permit a word-initial syllabic nasal that never occurs with stress.

Mouk	<i>mgux</i>	[m̩gúχ]	'howl'
Aria	<i>mluk</i>	[ɲlúk]	'hit'
Lmg	<i>m̩la</i>	[ɲlá]	'you go'
Lmg	<i>ɲgo</i>	[ɲgó]	'he precedes'

Geminate vowels or consonants across morpheme boundaries are shortened to a single segment. In rapid speech, most vowel combinations across morpheme boundaries are subject to reduction, but there is insufficient data to determine the rule(s) governing this. The final vowel of common proclitics, however, is regularly deleted before a word beginning with any other vowel, and in constructions with the postposed inalienable possessives given in table 3.3m, an initial *i* in the possessive is usually deleted after words terminating with *u*, even in slow speech.

Mouk	<i>bani ina oɲgup</i>	[baninóɲgup]	'taro sp'
Mouk	<i>ɲo-lou ine</i>	[ɲoloune]	'I'm afraid of him'
Mouk	<i>om-kubu ie</i>	[omkúβje]	'you stole it'
Mouk	<i>ɲo-uxi omdu</i>	[ɲoxómdu]	'I threw a net'
Mouk	<i>upu eski</i>	[upéski]	'your taro'
Aria	<i>eri ine</i>	[érine]	'his bones'
Aria	<i>elme etlu</i>	[elmétlu]	'eight'
Aria	<i>ma em-gene</i>	[mamgéne]	'you'll fall'
Aria	<i>oglou ina</i>	[oglóuna]	'old'
Lmg	<i>ɲodo aiber</i>	[ɲodáibɛɾ]	'my little brother'
Lmg	<i>ino anak</i>	[inának]	'its pus'
Lmg	<i>agu inoɲ</i>	[agúnoɲ]	'my neck'
Lmg	<i>pupu ine</i>	[pupúne]	'his liver'

For the Biblical languages, it is useful to posit a morphophoneme *A* to account for regular phonologically-conditioned allomorphy in affixes with allomorphs containing *a*, *e* or *o* depending on the closest vowel of the stem. Schematically, this can be represented by the rule:

$$\begin{aligned}
 A &\rightarrow /e, o, a/ \\
 e^* / _ \$ \{e, i\} \\
 o^* / _ \$ \{o, u\} \\
 a / \dots
 \end{aligned}$$

That is, regardless of intervening consonants, the morphophoneme *A* is realised as *e* where the nearest vowel is front, as *o* where the nearest vowel is back, and otherwise as *a*. In the application of this rule, the diphthong *ai* is usually, but not always, treated as though it were *a*.

Mouk	<i>tA-la</i>	→	<i>tala</i>	'let's go'
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Mouk	<i>tA-sep</i>	→	<i>tesep</i>	'let's enter'
Mouk	<i>tA-xis</i>	→	<i>texis</i>	'let's bathe'
Mouk	<i>tA-doj</i>	→	<i>today</i>	'let's stay'
Mouk	<i>tA-uxi-e</i>	→	<i>touxie</i>	'let's throw it'
Aria	<i>sin-ŋAn</i>	→	<i>sinŋen</i>	'bundle'
Aria	<i>uai-ŋAn</i>	→	<i>uaiŋan</i>	'language'
Aria	<i>bubu-ŋAn</i>	→	<i>bubuŋon</i>	'twine'

3. A GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE

Typologically, the Bibling languages have fairly rigid SOV word order with a clause-final position for modality markers. Verbs have subject-referencing prefixes, and nouns may have suffixes to indicate possession. Although few categories are marked by inflection, inalienable nouns, in particular, tend to be very irregular, making the paradigm an efficient device for describing these languages. In general, modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers follow heads in noun phrases. Each language has a single true preposition.

3.1 PRONOMINAL CATEGORIES

In the Bibling languages, there are seven pronominal categories resulting from the intersection of person (first, second, and third), and number (singular and plural), with inclusive distinguished from exclusive in the first person plural.

Additional categories involving dual and trial numbers are optionally available through the inclusion of numerals, but these are neither obligatory nor basic in any of the Bibling languages.

Lmg *mu-kap mu-la pe iage kodon?*
 S2P-two S2P-go PREP garden CMPL
 'Have you two gone to the garden?'

As in the neighbouring languages, these seven pronominal distinctions are involved in three paradigms: (1) the disjunctive pronouns, (2) the suffixes used, primarily, to indicate categories of possession with inalienable nouns (§3.3), and (3) the prefixes used to reference the subjects of verbs (§3.4). There is also a deponent set of pronominal suffixes based on the disjunctive pronouns and used to reference the objects of verbs (§3.4)

DISJUNCTIVE PRONOUNS

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>ŋon</i>	<i>ŋon</i>	<i>ŋon</i>	<i>ŋon</i>
2S	<i>uom</i>	<i>uom</i>	<i>uom</i>	<i>uom</i>
3S	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>
1IP	<i>ite</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>ite</i>
1EP	<i>imi</i>	<i>imi</i>	<i>imi</i>	<i>mi</i>
2P	<i>umu</i>	<i>umu</i>	<i>umu</i>	<i>mu</i>
3P	<i>isak</i>	<i>isak</i>	<i>isak</i>	<i>isek</i>

Disjunctive pronouns have the following major functions in the Bibling languages:

- (1) They are used to indicate pronominal distinctions in sentences lacking both verbs and inalienable nouns.

Mouk *ŋoŋ magit, ie ŋoŋle*
 D1S small D3S senior
 'I'm young, he's old' OR 'I'm younger than he is.'

- (2) They are used redundantly with pronominal affixes to indicate focus or contrastive emphasis.

Mouk *uom to am-kakluk enen kodon?*
 D2S there S2S-bear child CMPL
 'Have YOU ever had a child?'

Aria *uom pmem*
 D2S father.P2S
 'YOUR father (not mine)'

Aria *uom om-don imi ima-la*
 D2S S2S-stay D1EP S1EP-go
 'You stay, we're going.'

- (3) Where no other morphology is available (§3.4), they are used to mark the objects of verbs and prepositions. If an affix for the pronominal category is available, the use of a disjunctive pronoun indicates contrastive emphasis.

Mouk *ogu kis ie*
 mouth.P1S S3S.hold D3S
 'I was holding it in my mouth.'

Aria *eŋen ipu ite*
 wind blow D1IP
 'The wind is blowing on us.'

Tou *pelio luŋon ge uom*
 S3S.speak oblique.P1S PREP D2S
 'He told me about you.'

- (4) For a small class of nouns where one would expect a subject pronoun, the disjunctive pronouns occur as objects. Here, use of a disjunctive pronoun in subject position indicates emphasis.

Mouk *lana isak* 'They want to.'
 Mouk *amŋa ite* 'We're angry.'
 Aria *albus ie* 'He's naked.'
 Aria *molil ŋoŋ* 'I'm slow.'
 Tou *kaka uom* 'You're crazy.'
 Tou *ie kaka ie* 'HE's crazy.'

3.2 NOUNS

Although there is some overlap, most Bibling nouns can be classified according to the possessive constructions in which they occur as either alienable or inalienable. Alienable nouns, such as Mouk *ninu* 'house', constitute an open class; if they occur in possessive

constructions, the pronominal category of the possessor is indicated on a preposed morphologically inalienable noun. Inalienable nouns occur in constructions in which the pronominal category of the possessor follows. There are two types: syntactically inalienable nouns, such as Mouk *agum* 'neck', occur with the postposed possessive *ine*; while morphologically inalienable nouns, such as Mouk *eine* 'mouth', constitute a small closed class of highly irregular nouns that always occur fused with a suffix marking the pronominal category of the possessor. Since the possessives are nouns themselves, all possessive constructions involve at least one morphologically inalienable noun.

The resulting eight possessive-based classes are listed schematically below and described in §3.3.

[N]	alienable noun, optionally possessed with either <i>ila</i> (DS) or <i>ila</i> (ED)
[N/ <i>ila</i> __]	alienable noun, obligatorily possessed with <i>ila</i> (DS)
[N/± <i>ila</i> __]	alienable noun, optionally possessed with <i>ila</i> (DS)
[N/ <i>ila</i> __]	alienable noun, obligatorily possessed with <i>ila</i> (ED)
[N/ ± <i>ila</i> __]	alienable noun, optionally possessed with <i>ila</i> (ED)
[N/ __ <i>ila</i>]	syntactically inalienable noun with <i>ila</i> (POSS) obligatory in 3S
[N/ __± <i>ila</i>]	syntactically inalienable noun with <i>ila</i> (POSS) optional in 3S only
[N-]	morphologically inalienable noun

3.3 POSSESSION

At first glance, the possessive system in Bibling languages looks like the three-way possessive system typical of many Austronesian languages in Melanesia — it distinguishes disposable (DS), edible (ED) and inalienable categories.

Mouk	<i>lugu ongup</i>	'my coconut palm'	{DS.P1S coconut}
Mouk	<i>ŋagu ongup</i>	'my coconut to eat'	{ED.P1S coconut}
Mouk	<i>omtogu</i>	'my eye'	{eye.P1S}

In the examples given above, however, *lugu*, *ŋagu* and *omtogu* are all morphologically inalienable nouns, and can be used independently or as the heads of possessive constructions. Virtually all morphologically inalienable nouns can be used in structurally similar constructions. In effect, the possessive system has been expanded to include distinctions other than edible and disposable.

Mouk	<i>lugu eski</i>	'my taro (I planted it)'	{DS.P1S taro}
Mouk	<i>ŋagu eski</i>	'my taro (to eat)'	{ED.P1S taro}
Mouk	<i>lumgu opmu</i>	'my thumb'	{hand.P1S stone}
Mouk	<i>lumgu talpes</i>	'my fingernail'	{hand.P1S nail}
Mouk	<i>komgu talpes</i>	'my toenail'	{foot.P1S nail}
Mouk	<i>komgu aitno</i>	'my sole'	{foot.P1S inside}
Mouk	<i>ogu uatna</i>	'my teeth'	{mouth.P1S fruit}
Mouk	<i>ogu taxna</i>	'my lips'	{mouth.P1S skin}

The paradigms for most of the morphologically inalienable nouns are given below along with examples illustrating their use in the various Bibling languages.

'HEAD'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>opogu</i>	<i>opogu</i>	<i>opugu</i>	<i>apuŋu</i>
2S	<i>epem</i>	<i>epem</i>	<i>epem</i>	<i>apem</i>
3S	<i>apna</i>	<i>apna</i>	<i>apna</i>	<i>apna</i>
1IP	<i>apada</i>	<i>apada</i>	<i>apada</i>	<i>apada</i>
1EP	<i>epemi</i>	<i>epemi</i>	<i>epimi</i>	<i>apimi</i>
2P	<i>opomu</i>	<i>opomu</i>	<i>opumu</i>	<i>apumu</i>
3P	<i>apaxsak</i>	<i>aparsak</i>	<i>aparsak</i>	<i>apersek</i>
Mouk	<i>opogu uole ine</i>	'my hair'		{head.P1S hair POSS.P3S}
Aria	<i>opogu elilo</i>	'my hair'		{head.P1S hair}
Lmg	<i>apuŋu kolouna</i>	'my hair'		{head.P1S hair}
Mouk	<i>ŋesex opogu</i>	'I comb my hair'		{S1S.comb head.P1S}
Aria	<i>ŋeser opogu</i>	'I comb my hair'		{S1S.comb head.P1S}
Lmg	<i>ŋaser apuŋu</i>	'I comb my hair'		{S1S.comb head.P1S}

'HAND' OR 'ARM'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>lumgu, luŋgu</i>	<i>luŋgu</i>	<i>lugu</i>	<i>molugu, muluŋu</i>
2S	<i>libep</i>	<i>libep</i>	<i>libep</i>	<i>melep</i>
3S	<i>limla, libe</i>	<i>limla</i>	<i>limla</i>	<i>meila</i>
1IP	<i>limda</i>	<i>limda</i>	<i>limda</i>	<i>melte</i>
1EP	<i>libmi, lipmi</i>	<i>lipmi</i>	<i>lipmi</i>	<i>melpi</i>
2P	<i>lubmu, lupmu</i>	<i>lupmu</i>	<i>lupmu</i>	<i>melpu</i>
3P	<i>limsak</i>	<i>lisak</i>	<i>lisak</i>	<i>melsek</i>
Mouk	<i>lumgu agum ine</i>	'my wrist'		{hand.P1S neck POSS.P3S}
Aria	<i>luŋgu agune</i>	'my wrist'		{hand.P1S neck.P3S}
Lmg	<i>molugu agune</i>	'my wrist'		{hand.P1S neck.P3S}
Mouk	<i>lumgu bune ine</i>	'my elbow'		{hand.P1S knot POSS.P3S}
Aria	<i>luŋgu buno</i>	'my elbow'		{hand.P1S knot.P3S}
Lmg	<i>molugu buno</i>	'my elbow'		{hand.P1S knot.P3S}
Mouk	<i>lumgu titno</i>	'my fingers'		{hand.P1S children}
Aria	<i>luŋgu titno</i>	'my fingers'		{hand.P1S children}
Lmg	<i>molugu siŋle</i>	'my fingers'		
Mouk	<i>lumgu talpes</i>	'my fingernails'		{hand.P1S nail}
Aria	<i>luŋgu talpes</i>	'my fingernails'		{hand.P1S nail}
Lmg	<i>molugu katalpis</i>	'my fingernails'		{hand.P1S nail}

Mouk	<i>lumgu opmu</i>	'my thumb'	{hand.P1S stone}
Aria	<i>lungu tna</i>	'my thumb'	{hand.P1S mother.P3S}
Lmg	<i>molugu touk</i>	'my thumb'	

'FOOT' OR 'LEG'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>komgu</i>	<i>konngu</i>	<i>kogu</i>	<i>kanngu</i>
2S	<i>kebep</i>	<i>kebep</i>	<i>kebep</i>	<i>kaep</i>
3S	<i>kamla</i>	<i>kamla</i>	<i>kamla</i>	<i>kamla</i>
1IP	<i>kamda</i>	<i>kamda</i>	<i>kamda</i>	<i>kamte</i>
1EP	<i>kepmi</i>	<i>kepmi</i>	<i>kepmi</i>	<i>kampi</i>
2P	<i>kopmu</i>	<i>kopmu</i>	<i>kopmu</i>	<i>kampu</i>
3P	<i>kamsak</i>	<i>kamsak</i>	<i>kamsak</i>	<i>kamsek</i>
Mouk	<i>komgu bune ine</i>	'my knee'		{foot.P1S knot POSS.P3S}
Aria	<i>konngu bunu</i>	'my knee'		{foot.P1S knot}
Lmg	<i>kanngu bunu</i>	'my knee'		{foot.P1S knot}
Mouk	<i>komgu titno</i>	'my toes'		{foot.P1S children}
Aria	<i>konngu titno</i>	'my toes'		{foot.P1S children}
Lmg	<i>kanngu sigle</i>	'my toes'		
Mouk	<i>komgu talpes</i>	'my toenails'		{foot.P1S nail}
Aria	<i>konngu talpes</i>	'my toenails'		{foot.P1S nail}
Lmg	<i>kanngu katalpis</i>	'my toenails'		{foot.P1S nail}
Mouk	<i>komgu agum ine</i>	'my ankle'		{foot.P1S neck POSS.P3S}
Aria	<i>konngu agune</i>	'my ankle'		{foot.P1S neck.P3S}
Lmg	<i>kanngu agune</i>	'my ankle'		{foot.P1S neck.P3S}
Mouk	<i>komgu apa ine</i>	'my heel'		{foot.P1S heel.P3S}
Aria	<i>konngu batne</i>	'my heel'		{foot.P1S base}
Lmg	<i>kanngu bate</i>	'my heel'		{foot.P1S base}

'MOUTH'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>ogu</i>	<i>ogu</i>	<i>ogu</i>	<i>agu</i>
2S	<i>ouop</i>	<i>ouop</i>	<i>ouop</i>	<i>aop</i>
3S	<i>eine</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>aona</i>
1IP	<i>ada</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>aote</i>
1EP	<i>epmi</i>	<i>epmi</i>	<i>epmi</i>	<i>aopi</i>
2P	<i>opmu</i>	<i>opmu</i>	<i>opmu</i>	<i>aopu</i>
3P	<i>axsak</i>	<i>orsak</i>	<i>orsak</i>	<i>aosek</i>
Mouk	<i>ogu uatna</i>	'my teeth'		{mouth.P1S fruit}
Aria	<i>ogu otna</i>	'my teeth'		{mouth.P1S fruit}
Aria	<i>ogu erine</i>	'my teeth'		{mouth.P1S bone.P3S}
Lmg	<i>agu kakai</i>	'my teeth'		{mouth.P1S bone}
Mouk	<i>ogu taxna</i>	'my lips'		{mouth.P1S skin}
Aria	<i>ogu tarna</i>	'my lips'		{mouth.P1S skin}
Lmg	<i>agu tanra</i>	'my lips'		{mouth.P1S skin}

Aria	<i>ogu blene</i>	'my tongue'	{mouth.P1S tongue}
Lmg	<i>agu blene</i>	'my tongue'	{mouth.P1S tongue}

'EYE'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>omtogu</i>	<i>omtogu</i>	<i>omtogu</i>	<i>antuju</i>
2S	<i>emtem</i>	<i>emtem</i>	<i>emtem</i>	<i>antem</i>
3S	<i>bitna</i>	<i>bitna</i>	<i>bitna</i>	<i>arta</i>
1IP	<i>amtada</i>	<i>amtada</i>	<i>amtada</i>	<i>antise, anteda</i>
1EP	<i>emtemi</i>	<i>emtemi</i>	<i>emtemi</i>	<i>antimi</i>
2P	<i>omtomu</i>	<i>omtomu</i>	<i>omtomu</i>	<i>antumu</i>
3P	<i>amtaxsak</i>	<i>amtarak</i>	<i>amtarak</i>	<i>antesek, antedak</i>

'EAR'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>slajagu</i>	<i>tologu</i>	<i>talagu</i>	<i>beikonj</i>
2S	<i>slajap</i>	<i>talap</i>	<i>talap</i>	<i>beikom</i>
3S	<i>slaja</i>	<i>tala</i>	<i>tala</i>	<i>beine</i>
1IP	<i>slajada</i>	<i>talda</i>	<i>talalite</i>	<i>beinte</i>
1EP	<i>slajapmi</i>	<i>telepmi</i>	<i>talepmi</i>	<i>beikmi</i>
2P	<i>slajapmu</i>	<i>tolopmu</i>	<i>tolopmu</i>	<i>beikmu</i>
3P	<i>slajalsak</i>	<i>talansak, talsak</i>	<i>talansak</i>	<i>beinsek</i>

'FATHER'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>ligau</i>	<i>libou</i>	<i>abo</i>	<i>ibo</i>
2S	<i>lemau</i>	<i>tmem</i>	<i>pmem</i>	<i>tumom</i>
3S	<i>ilau</i>	<i>timla</i>	<i>timla</i>	<i>tumla</i>
1IP	<i>udou</i>	<i>tmada</i>	<i>pmada</i>	<i>pmarte</i>
1EP	<i>limau</i>	<i>tmemi</i>	<i>pmemi</i>	<i>pmimi</i>
2P	<i>lumau</i>	<i>tmomu</i>	<i>pmomu</i>	<i>pmumu</i>
3P	<i>uxokau</i>	<i>tmarak</i>	<i>pmarak</i>	<i>pmarsek</i>

The Mouk forms given under 'FATHER' are contractions based on *ila + au* {DS + father}, *au* being a kinship term copied from Anêm *ai-* 'father', with an expected change in the vowel from front to back. The words glossed 'father' also refer to father's brothers and male parallel cousins, and, consequently, everyone has several fathers. Aria and Tourai have the plural *tiimla* 'fathers'.

'MOTHER'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>lugude</i>	<i>aia</i>	<i>aia</i>	<i>iname</i>
2S	<i>lemide</i>	<i>tnem</i>	<i>tnem</i>	<i>kinom</i>
3S	<i>ilaide</i>	<i>tna</i>	<i>tna</i>	<i>kina</i>
1IP	<i>udeide</i>	<i>tnada</i>	<i>tnada</i>	<i>kinre</i>
1EP	<i>limemide</i>	<i>tnemi</i>	<i>tnemi</i>	<i>kinmi</i>
2P	<i>lumude</i>	<i>tnomu</i>	<i>tnomu</i>	<i>kinmu</i>
3P	<i>uxokide</i>	<i>tnarak</i>	<i>tnarak</i>	<i>kinrek</i>

The Mouk forms given under 'MOTHER' are contractions based on *ila* + *ide* {DS + mother}, *ide* being a kinship term copied from Anêm *eide*- 'mother'. Mouk also has the form *tna*, but this is restricted to phrases such as *abax tna* 'sow' {pig mother.P3S}. The forms glossed 'mother' also refer to mother's sisters and female parallel cousins. Aria and Tourai have the plural form *tina* 'mothers'.

'OPPOSITE SEX SIBLING'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>luku</i>	<i>luku</i>	<i>luku</i>	<i>luku</i>
2S	<i>lup</i>	<i>olup</i>	<i>olup</i>	<i>loup</i>
3S	<i>lutno</i>	<i>lutno</i>	<i>lutno</i>	<i>luto</i>
1IP	<i>ludo</i>	<i>lutodo</i>	<i>lutodo</i>	<i>lutre</i>
1EP	<i>lipmi</i>	<i>lipmi</i>	<i>lipmi</i>	<i>lutmi</i>
2P	<i>lupmu</i>	<i>lupmu</i>	<i>lupmu</i>	<i>lutmu</i>
3P	<i>lutxok</i>	<i>lutorok</i>	<i>lutorok</i>	<i>lutrek</i>

The forms above refer to siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex, that is, to brothers, sisters or parallel cousins with a gender different from that of the possessor referenced in the suffix. Aria and Tourai also have plural forms *sulutno* 'sisters, brothers'.

'SON' OR 'DAUGHTER'

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	—	<i>ergu</i>	<i>ergu</i>	<i>orugu</i>
2S	—	<i>etim</i>	<i>etim</i>	<i>otum</i>
3S	—	<i>otno</i>	<i>otno</i>	<i>ginou</i>
1IP	—	<i>otodo</i>	<i>otodo</i>	<i>ilarse</i>
1EP	—	<i>etepmi</i>	<i>etepmi</i>	...
2P	—	<i>otopmu</i>	<i>otopmu</i>	...
3P	—	<i>ototok</i>	<i>otorok</i>	...

The forms under 'SON' OR 'DAUGHTER' normally refer to sons, but can also refer to daughters. If explicit reference is made to a female offspring, the head noun is modified with the word for female, as in Aria *ergu apmaj* 'my daughter' {child.P1S woman}. Mouk has the separate forms *mlegi* for 'son' and *ilmaj* for 'daughter'; both occur with *ila*, the disposable possessive. Mouk also has the word *otno* meaning 'little', as in *enenotno* 'little boy' or *apmaj otno* 'little girl'. Aria and Tourai have a plural form *timo* 'children', as in Aria *titno apmaj* 'his daughters' or Aria *dirgu apmaj* 'my daughters'; while Mouk uses *enen* 'child' as in Mouk *lugu enen siau* 'my daughters'. In Mouk, Aria and Tourai, *timo* is also

used with 'hand' and 'foot' to refer to 'fingers' and 'toes' respectively, as in Mouk *lumgu timo* 'my fingers'.

DISPOSABLE POSSESSIVES

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>lugu</i>	<i>lou</i>	<i>lou</i>	<i>lugu</i>
2S	<i>lem</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>lem</i>
3S	<i>ila</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>ilo</i>
1IP	<i>uda, udo</i>	<i>udo</i>	<i>udo</i>	<i>ilo</i>
1EP	<i>limem</i>	<i>limem</i>	<i>limem</i>	<i>limi</i>
2P	<i>lumu</i>	<i>lumu</i>	<i>lumu</i>	<i>lumu</i>
3P	<i>uxok</i>	<i>urok</i>	<i>urok</i>	<i>ilek</i>

EDIBLE POSSESSIVES

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>ɲagu</i>	<i>ɲau</i>	<i>ɲau</i>	<i>ɲado, ɲodo</i>
2S	<i>ɲap</i>	<i>ɲap</i>	<i>ɲap</i>	<i>ɲap</i>
3S	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ino</i>
1IP	<i>ida</i>	<i>ida</i>	<i>ida</i>	<i>ido</i>
1EP	<i>ipem</i>	<i>ipem</i>	<i>ipem</i>	<i>mpi</i>
2P	<i>upu</i>	<i>upu</i>	<i>upu</i>	<i>mpu</i>
3P	<i>ɲaxak</i>	<i>ɲarak</i>	<i>ɲarak</i>	<i>ɲarek</i>

Although structurally the same as other morphologically inalienable nouns, the edible and disposable possessives are distinct in that they serve several special grammatical and semantic functions in the Bibling languages.

- (1) The edible possessive indicates that an item is construed as food, while the disposable possessive indicates that an item is construed as non-food. This is the focal distinction given by informants and covers the majority of cases. Both possessives can be used without an accompanying noun as near-equivalents to English possessive pronouns such as 'mine'. In these cases, the distinction between food and non-food is maintained.

Mouk	<i>ɲagu abax</i>	'my pork'	
Mouk	<i>lugu abax</i>	'my pig'	
Mouk	<i>ɲagu uas</i>	'my cigarette'	
Mouk	<i>lugu uas</i>	'my tobacco plant'	
Mouk	<i>ɲagu max</i>	'get mine (food)'	{ED.P1S S3S.come}
Mouk	<i>max ɲagu</i>	'let me have it (food)'	{S3S.come ED.P1S}
Mouk	<i>max lugu</i>	'let me have it (other)'	{S3S.come DS.P1S}

- (2) In each of the Bibling languages, certain nouns ignore the food/non-food distinction and occur only with either the edible or disposable possessive. As there appears to be no underlying logic to this, each case must be determined individually.

Mouk	<i>lugu akxa</i>	'my adze'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu aige</i>	'my axe'
Mouk	<i>lugu mlegi</i>	'my son'
Aria	<i>ɲau adou</i>	'my uncle'
Tou	<i>lou adou</i>	'my uncle'

Aria	<i>ɲau kaden</i>	'my brother-in-law'
Tou	<i>lou kaden</i>	'my brother-in-law'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu maxau</i>	'my blood'
Mouk	<i>lugu omsok</i>	'my saliva'

- (3) The disposable possessive can indicate that the possessor is the owner of an item by virtue of having manufactured, planted or bought it. In contrast, the edible can indicate that the possessor is using the item, without specifying ownership.

Mouk	<i>lugu saxkei</i>	'my ginger bed (I made it)'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu saxkei</i>	'my ginger bed (I'm sitting on it)'
Mouk	<i>lugu akai</i>	'my tree (I planted it)' OR 'my firewood'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu akai</i>	'my tree (I'm cutting it down or sitting on it)'
Mouk	<i>lugu ulo</i>	'my clay pot (to sell)'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu ulo</i>	'my clay pot (I'm using it)'
Aria	<i>lou merge</i>	'my penis'
Aria	<i>ɲau merge</i>	'my husband [vulgar]'

- (4) In noun phrases where an action is implied, the disposable marks the possessor as agent of the underlying proposition, while the edible marks patient or other semantic roles.

Mouk	<i>lugu uala</i>	'my spear (I threw it)'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu uala</i>	'my spear (killing me)'
Mouk	<i>lugu uaiŋan</i>	'what I say'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu uaiŋan</i>	'what is said about me'
Mouk	<i>lugu musou</i>	'sorcery I perform'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu musou</i>	'sorcery killing me'
Mouk	<i>lugu teli</i>	'my shell money (to buy things with)'
Mouk	<i>ɲagu teli</i>	'my shell money (to pay my brideprice)'

- (5) In the majority of cases, the edible possessive is used in constructions that indicate a part-to-whole relationship. In some cases, however, the disposable is used.

Mouk	<i>ninu ina txanŋan</i>	'thatch of a house'	{house ED.P3S thatch}
Mouk	<i>oŋgup ina baxa</i>	'shell of a coconut'	{coconut ED.P3S shell}
Mouk	<i>aŋua ila xexe</i>	'dorsal fin of a fish'	{fish DS.P3S dorsal.fin}

- (6) With the edible and disposable possessives, the normal order of elements is:

	POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE-PRON	POSSESSUM
Mouk	<i>abax</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>kaxoxo</i>
	pig	ED.P3S	cage
	'the pig's cage'		

This order, however, can be transformed to indicate a habitual characteristic of the possessum thus:

	POSSESSUM	POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE-PRON
Mouk	<i>kaxoxo</i>	<i>abax</i>	<i>ina</i>
	cage	pig	ED.P3S
	'a cage used for pigs'		

This transformed construction almost always involves the edible possessive.

Mouk	<i>bleten misuon ina</i>	'moray eel'	{eel sea ED.P3S}
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Mouk	<i>gute musou ina</i>	'sorcerer'	{man sorcery ED.P3S}
Mouk	<i>gute kubu-ŋen ina</i>	'thief'	{man steal-nom ED.P3S}

A large number of nouns, especially the names for body parts such as Mouk *taxna* 'skin', are syntactically inalienable. That is, they occur before a form of the postposed inalienable possessive (POSS) given under POSTPOSED INALIENABLE POSSESSIVES (page 264). With a 3S possessor, the postposed possessive is optional with some nouns, such as Mouk *taxna* 'skin', but obligatory with others, such as Lmg *pupu* 'liver'; the subclass of each noun must be determined independently. Several syntactically inalienable nouns, such as Mouk *uole* 'hair' occur only with a 3S possessor, the pronominal categories of the ultimate possessor being indicated with a preposed morphologically inalienable head noun such as Mouk *apna* 'head'.

Mouk	<i>gute taxna</i>	'a man's skin'	{man skin}
Mouk	<i>akai taxna</i>	'bark'	{tree skin}
Mouk	<i>taxna lugŋoŋ</i>	'my skin'	{skin POSS.P1S}
Mouk	<i>akai uole ine</i>	'leaves'	{tree hair POSS.P3S}
Mouk	<i>opogu uole ine</i>	'my hair'	{head.P1S hair POSS.P3S}
Mouk	<i>apna uole ine</i>	'his hair'	{head.P3S hair POSS.P3S}
Mouk	<i>komgu talpes (ine)</i>	'my toenails'	{foot.P1S nail}

POSTPOSED INALIENABLE POSSESSIVES

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>lugŋoŋ</i>	<i>lugoŋ</i>	<i>luŋoŋ</i>	<i>inoŋ</i>
2S	<i>luguom</i>	<i>lugom</i>	<i>luom</i>	<i>inom</i>
3S	<i>ine, ?</i>	<i>ine, ?</i>	<i>ine, ?</i>	<i>ine, ?</i>
1IP	<i>lite</i>	<i>lite</i>	<i>lite</i>	<i>inte</i>
1EP	<i>libmi</i>	<i>lipmi</i>	<i>limi</i>	<i>irni</i>
2P	<i>lubmu</i>	<i>lupmu</i>	<i>lummu</i>	<i>irnu</i>
3P	<i>lisak</i>	<i>lisak</i>	<i>lisak</i>	<i>insek</i>

Unlike the morphology of other inalienable nouns, the paradigm of *ine* resembles the set of disjunctive pronouns and has the appearance of a set of contractions based on what was formerly a preposition phrase. In Lamogai, the paradigm is entirely regular, consisting of a stem *in-* plus the object suffixes used with verbs (see PRONOMINAL OBJECTS, page 264). The inalienable postposed possessives also function as object markers with some verbs.

Mouk *ŋa-uai luguom tan gute exi kodon*
 S1S-speak POSS.P2S PREP man that Cmpl
 'I've already told you about that man.'

Mouk *ŋe-kxim ine*
 S1S-look.after POSS.P3S
 'I'll look after him..'

The final *-na*, *-ne* or *no* of many of syntactically inalienable nouns argues that these are the surviving P3S forms of formerly morphologically inalienable nouns like Mouk *bitna*. The other forms of the paradigm have been replaced by the periphrastic construction with *ine*. The replacement of numerous irregular paradigms by a single periphrastic construction is probably the result of a period of considerable grammatical simplification during the prehistory of the Bibling languages. This earlier regularity has subsequently been eroded in many words, however, by a process of contraction that has made morphologically inalienable

nouns out of what were previously syntactically inalienable nouns. For example, Mouk *damalɲoŋ* 'my belly' and Mouk *damaine* 'his belly' point to the earlier forms **dama lugɲoŋ* and *dama ine* respectively, but both are now rejected by informants. Similarly, Mouk *kelɲoŋ* 'by myself' and Mouk *keine* 'by himself' argue for the same conclusion. There are several such words in each of the Bibling languages.

3.4 VERBS

Like all of the neighbouring languages, verbs in the Bibling languages occur with an obligatory prefix referencing the pronominal category of the subject. These prefixes are given in table 3.4a. In all Bibling languages, the S3S prefix is ʔ , a feature that makes it difficult, in many cases, to distinguish a verb from a noun or adjective, particularly if the verb occurs only in the S3S form.

SUBJECT-REFERENCING PREFIXES

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>ɲA-</i>	<i>ɲA-</i>	<i>ɲa-</i>	<i>ɲa-</i>
2S	<i>Am-</i>	<i>Am-</i>	<i>om-</i>	<i>om-, m-</i>
3S	ʔ-	ʔ-	ʔ-	ʔ-
1IP	<i>tA-</i>	<i>tA-</i>	<i>tA-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
1EP	<i>imA-, mA-</i>	<i>imA-, mA-</i>	<i>imA-, mA-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
2P	<i>umA-, mA-</i>	<i>umA-, mA-</i>	<i>umA-, mA-</i>	<i>mu-</i>
3P	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-</i>

A verb stem with its prefix can constitute a complete utterance. Disjunctive pronouns can be used redundantly with the subject-referencing prefix to place focus or contrastive emphasis on the subject.

Mouk	<i>am-la</i>	'go (away)'	{S2S-go}
Mouk	<i>uom am-la</i>	'YOU go (away)'	{D2S S2S-go}

In serial verb constructions, each verb stem occurs with a redundant prefix.

Mouk	<i>em-deite</i>	<i>em-sep</i>	<i>ninu</i>	<i>om-mox</i>
	S2S-ascend	S2S-enter	house	S2S-come
	'Come up into the house.'			

Most verbs are either intransitive (VI) or transitive (VTR). The object of a transitive verb is expressed either as a noun phrase (often realised as a disjunctive pronoun) or as an object suffix. Number is normally distinguished only for animates.

PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
1S	<i>ɲoŋ</i>	<i>ɲoŋ</i>	<i>ɲoŋ</i>	<i>-oŋ, ɲoŋ</i>
2S	<i>uom</i>	<i>uom</i>	<i>uom</i>	<i>-om, uom</i>
3S	<i>-e, -a, -o, ie</i>	<i>-e, ie</i>	<i>-e, ie</i>	<i>-e, ie</i>
1IP	<i>ite</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>-te, ite</i>
1EP	<i>imi</i>	<i>imi</i>	<i>imi</i>	<i>-mi, mi</i>
2P	<i>umu</i>	<i>umu</i>	<i>umu</i>	<i>-mu, mu</i>
3P	<i>isak</i>	<i>isak</i>	<i>isak</i>	<i>-sek, isek</i>

Mouk *ma-la mo-gxoŋ pelet*
 S2P-go S2P-wash plate
 'Go wash the plate(s).'

Mouk *ma-la mo-gxoŋ-o*
 S2P-go S2P-wash-O3S
 'Go wash them' OR 'Go wash it.'

All Bibling languages have an object suffix for the 3S form, but only Lamogai has a complete paradigm of object suffixes; that is, in all Bibling languages except Lamogai, objects other than the 3S form are referenced by disjunctive pronouns. The 3S object suffix is normally *-e* in all the Bibling languages, but Mouk also has the morphologically-conditioned allomorphs *-a* and *-o* in a few forms. In verb forms with a 3S object, contractions are normal for several common verbs. With the data in hand, Lamogai appears to be completely regular in this respect.

Mouk	<i>mo-groŋ-o</i>	'wash it'
Mouk	<i>kaluk-o</i>	'he carried it'
Mouk	<i>bak-a</i>	'he split it'
Mouk	<i>mluk-e ~ mko</i>	'he killed him'
Mouk	<i>kli-e ~ kle</i>	'he bought it'
Mouk	<i>blou-e ~ ble</i>	'he cut it'
Aria	<i>mluk-e ~ mke</i>	'he killed him'

Some verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively. In other cases, there are distinctly different stems. For a large class of verbs, however, intransitive verbs can be derived from transitive verbs with the prefix *nA-*.

Aria	<i>Pita bak akai</i>	
	Peter S3S.split wood	
	'Peter split the wood.'	
Aria	<i>akai na-bak</i>	
	wood INTRANSITIVE-split	
	'The wood split.'	

Deverbal nouns are created with the nominalising suffix *-ŋAn*. In Mouk, the allomorphs are *-ŋan* after verbal stems in which the last syllabic vowel is *a*, but *-ŋen* in all other forms. The word for 'food' in Mouk, Aria and Tourai has an irregular stem that alternates between *ŋen* and *ŋan*.

Mouk	<i>ŋan</i>	'eat'	<i>ŋenŋen</i>	'food'
Mouk	<i>mna</i>	'stink'	<i>mnaŋan</i>	'odour'
Mouk	<i>tan</i>	'cook on stones'	<i>tanŋan</i>	'stone oven'
Mouk	<i>uai</i>	'speak'	<i>uaiŋan</i>	'language'
Mouk	<i>uelep</i>	'perspire'	<i>uelepŋen</i>	'sweat'
Mouk	<i>siŋit</i>	'weep'	<i>siŋitŋen</i>	'weeping'
Mouk	<i>doxo</i>	'bloom'	<i>doxoŋen</i>	'flower'
Mouk	<i>kubu</i>	'steal'	<i>kubuŋen</i>	'theft'

The other Bibling languages have the allomorphs *-ŋan* after stems where the last syllabic vowel is *a*, *-ŋen* after front vowels, and *-ŋon* after back vowels.

Aria	<i>prak</i>	'braid'	<i>prakŋan</i>	'braided rope'
Aria	<i>bali</i>	'forage'	<i>balinŋen</i>	'wild food'
Aria	<i>sin</i>	'carry on head'	<i>sinŋen</i>	'woman's bundle'
Aria	<i>masu</i>	'garnish'	<i>masuŋon</i>	'meat'
Aria	<i>bubu</i>	'twist'	<i>bubuŋon</i>	'twine'
Tou	<i>pelio</i>	'speak'	<i>pelioŋon</i>	'language'
Lmg	<i>gam</i>	'steal'	<i>gamgamŋan</i>	'theft'
Lmg	<i>nasi</i>	'recount'	<i>nasiŋen</i>	'oral history'
Lmg	<i>roro</i>	'bloom'	<i>roroŋon</i>	'flower'

Many nouns, such as Mouk *kaiŋan* 'Tridacna', have the structure of deverbal nouns, but no corresponding verb stem. Virtually any verb stem can be nominalised, however, in a construction with the 3S edible possessive denoting characteristic behaviour.

Mouk	<i>enen sinŋinŋen ina</i>	'cry baby'	{child weep-nom ED.P3S}
Mouk	<i>gute tepisŋen ina</i>	'sluggard'	{man lazy-nom ED.P3S}
Tou	<i>ute pelioŋon ina</i>	'chatterbox'	{man speak-nom ED.P3S}
Lmg	<i>tou gamgamŋan ino</i>	'thief'	{man steal-nom ED.P3S}

3.5 ADJECTIVES

The Bibling languages may not include a set of true adjectives. Since there is no morphology to distinguish adjectives from either nouns or verbs that occur only in 3S forms, without the crucial data, it is difficult to tell whether one has elicited a noun or verb. For example, it is clear that Aria *itau* is not a verb because one says Aria *uom itau* 'you are good' not **em-itau*, the form that would be expected if *itau* were a verb, but there may be nothing to distinguish it clearly from nouns. Aria *apmaj* 'woman', for instance, is a noun, but it can be used as a modifier after a noun to mean 'female' as in Aria *ergu apmaj* 'my daughter'.

The category of adjective is retained in the description here primarily as a device for avoiding a commitment to the distinction between noun and verb that might be made differently with more data. Future research may actually identify a class of adjectives, but, with currently available data, there is no strong argument for one.

3.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstratives (DEM) in all Bibling languages mark a focal three-way distinction that, with the exception of Amara, is universal in all the languages of the northwestern New Britain: (1) near the speaker, (2) near the hearer, or (3) remote from both. In addition, all languages have a demonstrative pointer that functions as an instruction to look in the direction indicated by the speaker's pointing with the eyes, with the index finger or, more usually, with the chin. Because of its immediacy, the pointer often has the effect of also marking progressive aspect.

DEMONSTRATIVES

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
'this, near me'	<i>ka, kade</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>oge</i>
'that, near you'	<i>to, toko</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>ore</i>
'that, over there'	<i>exi</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>ori</i>
'that, pointer'	<i>bla</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ka</i>
Aria	<i>osep ka</i>	<i>ti-me</i>		
	people pointer	S3P-come		
	'There are people coming.'			
Mouk	<i>segi bla</i>	<i>polou</i>	<i>axmok to?</i>	
	who pointer	S3S.arrive	village that	
	'Who's that arriving in the village (there near you)?'			
Tou	<i>om-gi gute</i>	<i>ari me</i>		
	S2S-call man	that S3S.come		
	'Call yonder man over.'			
Mouk	<i>lem asap bla</i>	<i>doŋ</i>		
	DS.P2S wife pointer	S3S.sit		
	'There's your wife.'			

3.7 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers (QUANT) include numerals and a few other words and phrases, such as Mouk *sesue* 'how much' and Lmg *ŋanabu* 'several', that occur in noun phrases after adjectives and before demonstratives. Like all the Austronesian languages of northwestern New Britain, the Biling languages have numerals from one to five, and separate terms for ten and one hundred. In most cases, numerals from six to nine and multiples of ten from twenty to fifty are contractions using the basic numerals. The words for 'five' are ultimately derived from the Austronesian word for 'hand'; while 'hundred' is related to 'knee'. Words for 'one', such as Mouk *keine* are the P3S forms of an inalienable noun meaning 'alone' or 'by oneself'.

NUMERALS

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
'one'	<i>kaine, keine</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>isa, keine</i>
'two'	<i>oxuo</i>	<i>oruo</i>	<i>oruo</i>	<i>akap</i>
'three'	<i>etli</i>	<i>etlu</i>	<i>etlu</i>	<i>etlu</i>
'four'	<i>apeinal</i>	<i>apanal</i>	<i>apanal</i>	<i>apanal</i>
'five'	<i>elme</i>	<i>elme</i>	<i>elme</i>	<i>elme</i>
'six'	<i>lumakaine</i>	<i>lumakene</i>	<i>elme kene</i>	<i>elme isa</i>
'seven'	<i>lumaruo</i>	<i>lumaruo</i>	<i>elmeruo</i>	<i>elme akap</i>
'eight'	<i>lumetli</i>	<i>lumetlu</i>	<i>elme etlu</i>	<i>elme etlu</i>
'nine'	<i>lumesnal</i>	<i>lumesnal</i>	<i>elme apanal</i>	<i>elme apanal</i>
'ten'	<i>soŋotno</i>	<i>soŋotno</i>	<i>soŋotno</i>	<i>soŋotno</i>
'twenty'	<i>isoxuo</i>	<i>isoruo</i>	<i>isoruo</i>	<i>isoruo</i>
'thirty'	<i>isetli</i>	<i>isetlu</i>	<i>isetlu</i>	<i>isetlu</i>
'forty'	<i>isapeinal</i>	<i>isapanal</i>	<i>isapanal</i>	<i>isapanal</i>

'fifty'	<i>iselme</i>	<i>iselme</i>	<i>iselme</i>	<i>iselme</i>
'hundred'	<i>buno</i>	<i>buno</i>	<i>buno</i>	<i>buno</i>

Other numerals are constructed by listing the appropriate elements from the largest to the smallest so that they add up to the required sum, as, for example, in Aria *iselme soŋotno lumetlu* 'sixty-seven'.

OTHER QUANTIFIERS

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
'many'	<i>buno</i>	<i>buno</i>	<i>puda</i>	<i>puda</i>
'one, some'	<i>silā</i>	<i>kesa</i>	<i>gesa</i>	<i>isa</i>
'another'	<i>silāŋ blaŋ</i>	<i>silāŋ</i>	<i>silāŋ</i>	<i>silāŋ</i>

Aria *ŋau obar kesa*
 ED.P1S pig some
 'How about some pork for me?'

3.8 MODALITY MARKERS

As described in greater detail elsewhere (Thurston 1987:74-78), all languages of northwestern New Britain have a nearly-identical system for marking distinctions of modality. Aside from the temporals discussed below, no language in the area has a system for marking tense, but all have a set of modality markers, mutually exclusive free forms that occur in clause-final position. A summary of the distinctions is given below.

MODALITY MARKERS

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
'completive'	<i>kodoŋ</i>	<i>kodoŋ</i>	<i>kodoŋ</i>	<i>kodoŋ</i>
'negative'	<i>kobok</i>	<i>kobok</i>	<i>auro</i>	<i>adai</i>
'dehortative'	<i>sakam</i>	<i>sakam</i>	<i>sakam</i>	<i>sokol</i>
'not yet, still'	<i>dau</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>adai no</i>
'only, just, merely'	<i>bala</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>bala</i>
'first'	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kik</i>
'also, again'	<i>blaŋ</i>	<i>blaŋ</i>	<i>blaŋ</i>	<i>saŋ</i>

As the name suggests, 'completive' indicates an action or process that has been brought to completion. In most cases, the gloss 'already' is appropriate.

Mouk *epmes kodoŋ ba om-mox to-munu*
 night CMPL CJ S2S-come S1IP-sleep
 'It's night already, so come, let's sleep.'

Lmg *oduk ti-gel pe itar kodoŋ*
 people S3P-appear PREP village CMPL
 'People have already arrived in the village.'

The negative is self-explanatory.

Tou *ŋa-ile anaŋ luom kobok*
 S1S-know name POSS.P2P NEG
 'I don't know your name.'

The dehortative is essentially a negative imperative in most cases, but can be used with all persons in the sense of 'should not', 'must not' or 'let not'.

Lmg *m-kirpin sokol*
S2S-weep DEHORTATIVE
'Stop crying' OR 'Don't cry.'

Except for Lamogai, the forms glossed 'not yet' can also be used for 'still', the distinction being usually clear from the context. In the sense of 'still', these forms can be used in clause-initial position as temporals. Lamogai has a composite form consisting of *adai* 'not' and *no* 'still'. Lmg *no* is used without the negative as a modality marker in final position, often in conjunction with temporals in initial position.

Aria *ti-polou kodon go dau?*
S3P-appear CMPL or not.yet
'Have they arrived yet, or not?'

Lmg *ron ma ta-la no*
later CJ S1IP-go still
'Later, let's go.'

Lmg *ka ma no*
pointer S3S.remain still
'There he is, still.'

Mouk *dau mete kobok, ano don*
still S3S.die NEG soul.P3S S3S.remain
'He's not dead yet, his soul remains.'

The forms glossed as 'only' act as limiters on the clause as a whole or on any constituent within the clause.

Mouk *no-don bala*
S1S-sit only
'I'm just sitting.'

Aria *non bala*
D1S only
'It's just me.'

Lmg *limimi isa bala*
child.P1EP one only
'We have only one child.'

The marker glossed 'first' is used after a clause referring to the first in a sequence of events. In most cases, subsequent events are only implied.

Mouk *om-ulun abax itau da, laki abax mudu*
S2S-check pig good first lest pig tame
'You must check the pig carefully first, lest it be a tame pig.'

In New Britain society, it is impolite to leave a group without saying anything. Usually one departs with a brief statement of intent; and the modality marker 'first' tells the group whether to expect one to return. If one starts to leave without first giving such a statement, someone is likely to ask where one is going. In order to adhere to the conventions of etiquette in New Britain society, one is often expected to mention bodily functions in a context that

would be impolite in European societies.

Mouk *ŋa-la ŋa-ŋen eski da*
S1S-go S1S-eat taro first
'I'm going to eat some taro (then I'll be right back).'

Mouk *ŋa-la ŋo-duxie da*
S1S-go S1S-urinate first
'I'm going to urinate (then I'll come back).'

The 'first' modality marker is also used frequently to soften abrupt commands, or suggest that the order-giver does not intend to distract the order-receiver for a long period of time.

Mouk *om-mox da*
S2P-come first
'Come here for a minute (then continue what you were doing).'

The modality marker glossed as 'also' covers a wide range of related concepts, including 'again' and 'more', that must be disambiguated from the context. Normally it applies to the entire clause; if one wishes to target a single constituent of a clause, that constituent must be stated separately with the modality marker.

Aria *ti-paur kobura blaŋ*
S3P-take copra too/again
'They're taking some more copra' OR 'They're taking some copra too'
OR 'They're taking copra again.'

Aria *isak blaŋ, ti-paur kobura blaŋ*
D3P too S3P-take copra too
'They too are taking copra.'

3.9 TEMPORALS

Temporals (TEMP) are a class of words in the Bibling languages used to locate an event in time. They occur either in the position after the verb allocated for adverb phrases or as a separate clause, optionally connected with a conjunction, before the main clause. A selection of temporals is given below. Some temporals, such as 'night' can also be used as nouns.

SOME TEMPORALS

	Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
'today, now'	<i>etnika</i>	<i>etnikane</i>	<i>oku ane</i>	<i>karban</i>
'yesterday'	<i>ŋaxep</i>	<i>narep</i>	<i>narep</i>	<i>nanrop ino</i>
'two days ago'	<i>ninuox</i>	<i>ninuor</i>	<i>ninuor</i>	<i>nunŋo ino</i>
'tomorrow'	<i>masil</i>	<i>kotu</i>	<i>kotu</i>	<i>kotu</i>
'in two days'	<i>gasak</i>	<i>kasak</i>	<i>kasak</i>	<i>kasak</i>
'afternoon'	<i>kixui</i>	<i>kirui</i>	<i>maruŋ</i>	<i>marum</i>
'night'	<i>epmes</i>	<i>epmes</i>	<i>epmes</i>	<i>opmos</i>
'soon'	<i>ono blaŋ ono</i>	<i>masalaŋ</i>	<i>masilaŋ</i>	<i>masilaŋ</i>
'when'	<i>aloge</i>	<i>lesen</i>	<i>lesen</i>	<i>naisen</i>

Lmg	<i>karban ma ti-uris ti-me</i> today CJ S3P-return S3P-come 'They'll come back today.'
Lmg	<i>ti-uris ti-me karban</i> S3P-return S3P-come today 'They'll come back today' OR 'They came back today.'
Mouk	<i>aloge ba polou?</i> when CJ S3S.appear 'When will he arrive?'
Aria	<i>lesen ma me?</i> when CJ come 'When will he come?'
Mouk	<i>namen ne-ile Anem, etnika kobok</i> before S1S-know Anêm now NEG 'I used to know Anêm, but now I don't.'

3.10 BASIC SYNTAX

While the morphology of the Bibling languages is a bit messy, the syntax appears to be quite simple. Clauses tend to have few constituents and word order is fairly rigid. A minimal clause can consist of a single morpheme, such as Aria *itau* 'it is good' or Mouk *axagu* 'it's raining', or a single stem inflected for pronominal category, such as Mouk *ŋa-la* 'I'm going' or Mouk *lana-e* 'he wants to'. Longer utterances tend to consist of several conjoined clauses.

	CI —	CI —————	CI —
Mouk	<i>ta-la</i>	<i>ta-kamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam</i>	
	S1IP-go	S1IP-cook pig PREP bamboo CJ tender	
	'Let's go cook the pork in bamboo so that it will be tender.'		

The syntactic categories phrase structure rules given below should be considered provisional. They seem to work for much of the data in hand, but much more research on these languages is still needed.

PROVISIONAL SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

Category	Abbreviation	Mouk examples
clause	CI	
predicate	Pred	
verb phrase	VP	
noun phrase	NP	
adjective phrase	AdjP	
adverb phrase	AdvP	
preposition phrase	PrepP	
modality marker	MOD	<i>blaj, kobok, kodoŋ, . . .</i>
verb, unspecified	V	
intransitive verb	VI	<i>doŋ, la, munu, nablak, . . .</i>
transitive verb	VTR	<i>blak, mluk, mter, xik, . . .</i>
noun (see page 257)	N	<i>abax, lutno, ninu, . . .</i>

preposition	PREP	<i>tan</i>
adjective	ADJ	<i>ebix, gala, omba, . . .</i>
temporal	TEMP	<i>aloge, gasak, ηamen, . . .</i>
specifier	SPEC	<i>iti</i>
pronoun	PRON	<i>ηoη, uom, ie, . . .</i>
quantifier	QUANT	<i>buno, elme, oxuo, . . .</i>
demonstrative	DEM	<i>bla, ka, to, . . .</i>
conjunction	CJ	<i>ba, ki, laki, . . .</i>

PROVISIONAL PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

- (1) Cl → (TEMP) (NP) Pred (MOD)
- (2) Pred → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{VP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\}$
- (3) VP → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VI} \\ \text{VTR NP} \end{array} \right\}$ (AdvP)
- (4) AdvP → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PrepP} \\ \text{TEMP} \\ \text{ADV} \\ \text{ADJ} \end{array} \right\}$
- (5) PrepP → PREP NP
- (6) NP → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N}' (\text{AdjP}) \\ \text{PRON} \end{array} \right\}$
- (7) AdjP → (ADJ (SPEC)) (QUANT) (DEM)
- (8) N' → N (PRON) (N')

The data on the Bibling languages presented here were collected primarily for purposes of typological and lexical comparison with the other languages of northwestern New Britain. Since conjunction, *per se*, was not a major category in the original checklist of features to be elicited, data attesting it is unevenly represented in the individual databases for each language. Certain patterns emerge, nevertheless. For instance, each language frequently lists simple clauses, with no conjunctive morpheme, in a series that often replicates the temporal sequence of events.

Aria *am-paη uasi kesa me ηa-pol-e*
 S2S-ask tobacco some S3S.come S1S-roll-O3S
 'Ask for some tobacco to be brought for me to roll.'

The Aria sentence above can be analysed as consisting of three clauses:

- (1) *ampaη uasi kesa* 'ask for some tobacco';
 (2) *uasi kesa me* '(let) some tobacco come'; and
 (3) *ηapol uasi kesa* 'I'll roll some tobacco'.

When conjoined, the two redundant noun phrases are deleted, leaving the remaining noun

phrase acting as the object of *ampaŋ* and as the subject of *me*. The object suffix of *ŋapole* refers back to the antecedent noun phrase.

Each language has a conjunction marking an explicit temporal or conditional sequence. This conjunction also has the effect of marking the following clause as irrealis. It can also be used without an initial clause to give a warning.

- Mouk *axagu duxu ba to-doŋ*
 Aria *arugu duru ma to-doŋ*
 Tou *arigu duru ma to-doŋ*
 Lmg *oruon kai ma ta-tir*
 rain S3S.down if S1IP-stay
 'If it rains, then we'll stay' OR 'Since it's raining, we should stay.'
- Lmg *udage rap kaŋgu ma morou gel*
 knife S3S.cut foot.P1S if blood S3S.appear
 'If I cut my leg on a knife, it would bleed.'
- Tou *ute pelio blaŋ ane ma ta-la*
 man S3S.speak thus this if S1IP-go
 'The man said that we should go.'
- Aria *ma em-gene*
 lest S2S-fall
 'Watch out or you'll fall.'

Other conjunctions are illustrated below, without any attempt to discriminate among them or to give comparisons with other Bibling languages.

- Mouk *oklou oklou te-lila kobok i to-doŋ bala*
 sun sun S1IP-walk NEG and S1IP-sit just
 'For days, we haven't walked, but just sat around.'
- Mouk *ŋenŋen to soulu kini itau?*
 food that bad or good
 'How is the food?'
- Mouk *ima-ŋan eski i saxabatne i tapiok*
 S1EP-eat taro and sweet.potato and cassava
 'We ate taro, sweet potato and cassava.'
- Mouk *enen ka balilu ki bitna bauluk*
 child this S3S.spin and eye.P3S S3S.turn
 'The child has been spinning and is dizzy.'
- Mouk *abax mudu naki me-kis gemle ie la*
 pig tame then S1EP-hold dog D3S S3S.go
 'If it is a tame pig, then we hold the dogs so it can go.'
- Aria *ŋoŋ e uom*
 D1S and D2S
 'you and I'

Yes/no questions are indicated by the intonation contour of the sentence alone. WH-questions require one of the interrogatives below. These are used without any transformation of word order.

INTERROGATIVES

		Mouk	Aria	Tourai	Lamogai
'who'	[PRON]	<i>segi</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>gina, egina</i>
'what'	[PRON]	<i>sua</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>sana</i>
'where'	[ADV]	<i>ge</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>kaino</i>
'how many'	[QUANT]	<i>sesue</i>	<i>sesue</i>	<i>sesue</i>	<i>aisen</i>
'when'	[TEMP]	<i>aloge</i>	<i>lesen</i>	<i>lesen</i>	<i>naisen</i>
'why'	[PrepP]	<i>tan sua</i>	<i>ke sua</i>	<i>ge sua</i>	<i>pe sana</i>
Mouk	<i>am-la Kimbe kodon?</i> S2S-go Kimbe CMPL 'Have you already gone to Kimbe?'				
Aria	<i>molo ari sua?</i> barkcloth that what 'What kind of barkcloth is that?'				
Lmg	<i>sana ka ti-mana pe itar ore?</i> what pointer S3P-stay PREP house that 'What are all those things in the house over there?'				
Aria	<i>titim sesue?</i> children.P2S how.many 'How many children do you have?'				
Mouk	<i>aloge ba ti-polou?</i> when CJ S3P-appear 'When will they arrive?'				
Tou	<i>om-lim lujon ge sua?</i> S2S-fear POSS.P1S PREP what 'Why are you afraid of me?'				

4. LEXICONS: INTRODUCTION

Lexicons are given for Mouk, for Aria and Tourai, and for Lamogai. Aria and Tourai are treated together because much of the vocabulary is the same in both languages; but, where lexical items differ, the Tourai item is indicated with the abbreviation Tou. Each lexicon is followed by an English key designed as an aid to finding the Bibling entries. Since English and the Bibling languages encode radically different cultures, English and Bibling words do not correspond neatly in a one-to-one fashion. For instance, each Bibling language has several words that translate the English 'brother'; the information distinguishing these is given only in the main part of the lexicon.

Verbs and morphologically inalienable nouns are cited in the 3S form. The entries are listed according to the Roman alphabet with the exception that *ŋ* follows *n*. The syntactic category of each lexeme is enclosed in square brackets and, where known, special syntactic conditions are indicated after a slash. For example,

Mouk *onu* [N/___ine] 'gall bladder'

indicates that *onu* is a noun meaning 'gall bladder' and that it occurs obligatorily before *ine*, the postposed inalienable possessive (§3.3). Additional lexical information is enclosed in brace brackets after the gloss. For example,

Aria *omuŋ* [N/___ine] 'chest' {= Tou *oŋgup*}.

indicates that *oŋgup* is the Tourai word for 'chest', equivalent to the Aria *omuŋ*. Because the 3S object suffix is not predictable for Mouk transitive verbs, these are given, where known, separated from the stem by a hyphen.

Where available, full paradigms are listed after the symbol ¶ in the order 1S, 2S, 3S, 1IP, 1EP, 2P, 3P.; members of each paradigm are separated by commas. For those readers using the lexicons for comparative research, the paradigms are particularly important. For instance, Mouk *bina* 'his eye' may not look particularly Austronesian until it is compared with other forms in the paradigm such as Mouk *amtada* 'our eyes' (< POc **a-mata-da*). Abbreviations and symbols used in the lexicon are listed at the front of the book (page vi).

Botanical names given in the lexicon should be used with caution for several reasons. First, most of the botanical names have been taken from Mihalic (1971) and have been attributed to the vernaculars on the basis of their Tok Pisin translations. They may, however, represent local species which are different from those given in Mihalic, but given the same Tok Pisin name. Second, the classification of plants according to vernacular ethnotaxonomy may not match the classification according to scientific taxonomy. For instance, the various plants called kinds of *gorgor* in Tok Pisin may not all be species of the genus *Alpinia*. Finally, I am not a tropical botanist.

5. MOUK LEXICON

abax N pig, pork [≥ *gelet*, *longolongo*, *mexden*, *migel*, *nakum*, *ogu*, *paulik*, *sage*]. *abax axaŋ* boar [> *poti*]. *abax bole* pig with tusks. *kaxoxo abax ina* pig cage. *ŋala ŋekxim abax* I'm going to hunt for pigs. *omuluŋ abax itau da laki abax mudu* check the pig carefully first to make sure that it is not a tame pig. *omdu abax ina* pig net. *abax sage* pig sp with tail high on back. *abax tna* sow.

abax aitabu N lizard sp.

abax amal N taro sp [pig with marks].

abax sina N/ila__ armpit. *lugu abax sina* my armpit.

aboxeŋ N 1. taro sp; 2. sweet potato sp, *Ipomea batatas* [variety that arrived with coconut].

ada N 1. grandfather [≠ *aik*]; 2.

ancestors [Anêm *ada*]. *lugu ada* my grandfather. *uda ada* our ancestors.

ada > *eine*.

adai ADV just, by itself, with nothing, empty [> *bala*]. *akai to polou adai* that tree just appeared [no one planted it]. *gute ka doŋ adai* this man is just subsisting [he has nothing]. *axmok adai* an empty village. *aixabu ka adai* this space in the middle has nothing in it.

adali N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [≤ *agiau*].

adaŋ N cultivar, wild variety of plant that is domesticated. *lugu adaŋ* the plant that I found in the wild [and planted in my garden].

adex N 1. fibula [> *exi*]; 2. forearm, radius, ulna; 3. fathom division from fingertips to wrist. *komgu adex ine* my

- fibula. *lumgu adex ine* my forearm.
- adou* N/ila__ 1. cross cousin; 2. friend.
lugu adou my friend; my cross cousin.
- aduba* N tree sp [with white sap].
- aduol* N 1. canarium nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm *aziol*]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when *Terminalia* nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*]. (*aŋaxi*) *aduol* canarium nut with husk digested off.
- adxak* N 1. taro sp; 2. tree sp.
- agat* N freshwater fish sp [similar to tilapia].
- agatno* N/ila__ brother, sister, younger sibling same sex [singular. > *agau*, *lutno*].
- agau* N/±ila__ brothers, sisters, younger siblings same sex [collective. > *agatno*]; 2. children [especially uninitiated boys. > *enen*, *otno*]. *tabaxes agau* we decorated the children. *agau tililie* the children are playing. *agau titno* the little boys [collective. > *enen otno*].
- agen* N prawn, shrimp, lobster.
- agiap* N/ila__ brother-in-law, sister-in-law, affine of same generation same sex reciprocal [> *kaden*, *xana*. Anêm *agiap*].
- agiau* N ginger sp, *Alpinia* spp, generic [≥ *adali*, *agiau*, *akue*, *aŋxek*, *bubunik*, *gelege*, *kalaisi*, *koklok*, *maxka*, *ouxit*, *sixemsixem* > *emles*].
- agum* N/__ine 1. neck [Anêm *agîm-k3*]; 2. wrist; 3. ankle. *agum lugŋoŋ* my neck. *lumgu agum ine* my wrist. *komgu agum ine* my ankle.
- aiakau* HL oh, wow.
- aibila* N taro sp.
- aiboŋ* N/±ine well-developed sprout [> *nobol*].
- aige* N/±ina__ axe. *ŋagu aige* my axe. *aige exi ine* handle of an axe.
- aigolu* N/__ine 1. great great great grandparents [parents of *baba*]; 2. ancestors.
- aik* N/ila__ grandmother [> *ada*].
- aiklas* N taro sp.
- Aikon* N name of Mouk village and patriclan.
- aikos* N widower [= *bogot batne*]. *gute ka aikos* this man is a widower.
- aimou* N mushroom sp.
- aiŋan* N news, discussion, gossip. *aiŋan to iagos* enough of that talk. *aiŋan to umu mauai*, *meile kobok* that news that you're talking about, we don't know it.
- aiŋon* N/due__ temper tantrum [= *txak*]. *enen ka due aiŋon* this child is having a temper tantrum.
- aipuxu* N/±ine flower [= *doxoŋen* > *doxo* Lusi *aipuru*]. *akai to aipuxu ine* the flowers of that tree.
- aise* VI want [> *lana*]. *ŋaise ŋaŋan uas* I want to smoke. *lana ŋoŋ ŋaise ŋala kobok* I don't want to go.
- aitno* N/__±ine in, insides [> *sep* > *tan* ≠ *kexep*]; contents [> *taxna*]; full, meat [> *masuŋen*, *okux*]. *uas aitno* full package of cigarettes. *oŋgup aitno* coconut meat. *ŋodno omoŋ aitno* I got lost inside the forest [> *loloto*]. *doŋ ninu aitno* it's in the house.
- aitno babit* N banana sp [with short fruit].
- aixabu* N 1. middle; space between [= *eixabu* Lusi *airavu*]. *oklou aixabu* noon. *epmes aixabu* midnight. *aixabu ka adai* this space between (us) is empty.
- akai* N tree, wood, firewood, stick. *ŋogrum akai ka* I snapped this stick. *ŋopux akai* I chop firewood. *gusip akai* he chopped down a tree. *akai pudana ine* crotch of a tree. *akai aipuxu ine* flower of a tree. *akai bune ine* knot. *lugu akai* a tree that I planted. *ŋagu akai* a tree that I'm cutting down. *udo akai* our firewood. *akai olune* thin sap. *akai ina anak* viscous sap. *akai taxna*

bark. *akai batne* stump. *akai dimolo* roots. *akai guxno* canopy of a tree. *akai londo ine* seeds. *akai palma* trunk. *akai tatna* branch. *akai uole ine* leaves.

akai tatna N k.o. dance [TP *murmur*]. *tala todue akai tatna* let's go sing *murmur*.

akas N taro sp.

akat ADJ 1. unripe [\neq *osou* > *boleine*, *ulip*]; 2. raw [\neq *kluk*]. *obul to akat* that banana is unripe. *nenjen ka dau akat* this food is still raw.

akau N 1. lime powder; 2. white [= *eglim*]; 3. lime gourd; 4. taro sp. *akau uatna* = *akau taxna* lime powder container; lime gourd.

ake ADJ/*slanja*__ deaf [Anêm *ake*]. *slanagu ake* I'm deaf.

akexne N bamboo [generic. = *oxsu*].

aki N 1. river; 2. fresh water [\neq *misuon*]; 3. water container. *aki taxna* water container. *aki ina oduk* ginger leaf plug for water container. *aki apax* the water container is full. *aki ka batne* this water container is almost empty. *aki to kakxak* that water container is empty. *aki ina pola* top plate in wall of house [used as shelf for storing water containers]. *ogu ina aki* my saliva. *aki bel non* I'm thirsty. *siau ti-tip aki* women fetch water. *aki silmei* = *aki nosux* waterfalls. *aki bubu* pond in a river. *aki xaxna* = *aki dina* river bank. *tenis aki* let's follow the river inland.

aklak N/__*ine* 1. upper arm; 2. foreleg. *aklak lugnon* my upper arm. *gemle aklak ine* foreleg of a dog.

akluk N/±*ina*__ net bag [made from inner layer of *osu* bark].

akluj N tree sp.

akolonj N slit gong [no longer used].

akue N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [\leq *agiau*].

akuma N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [\leq *agiau*].

akxa N/±*ila*__ 1. adze [= *okodi*]; 2. banana sp [= *bole*]. *lugu akxa* my adze.

alau N cassowary. *alau pena* cassowary wing. *mogum alau* taro sp.

alau inamxi N snake sp.

alau kamna N taro sp.

albus ADJ without a handle [Aria *albus* nude]. *elil albus* knife without a handle.

alemge N/±*ina*__ story, fable [told at night for entertainment. > *nasijen* Anêm *alemge*].

aliba N taro sp.

aloge TEMP when. *aloge ba polou?* when will he arrive?

alou N small beetle sp [similar to cockroach, attacks taro. = *iou* > *asap*].

amal N/±*ina*__ 1. mark, decoration; 2. scar [= *asuk*]. *abax amal* taro sp. *omde amal* you write. *komgu ina amal* I have a scar on my leg.

aman N leaf used as plate [> *pelet* > *uole*].

amanios N taro sp.

amasai N small beads [= *nagemgem* > *pogpoge*].

ameit N tree sp [bark used for eel poison].

amioka N manioc, cassava, Manihot utilissima.

amka N tree sp.

amja N/__± PRON angry, belligerent. *gute amja* belligerent man. *amja non ba nemtex uom* since I'm angry I'll spear you.

amsexe N tree sp, *Hibiscus tileaceus* [leaf used for cigarette paper. = *palu*].

amsi N tree sp, *Inocarpus fagiferus* [= *oiou*, *iou*, *uanje*].

amtada, *amtaksak* > *bitna*.

amum N/±*ina*__ 1. dirty; 2. bodily effluvia used in sorcery [> *musou*]. *tipou ida amum* they tied up our bodily dirt [to perform sorcery on us]. *amum*

- ki la mogxoŋo* it's dirty so take it away and wash it.
- amxa* N sugarcane, *Saccharum officinarum* [generic].
- anak* N 1. pus; 2. viscous sap. *egle anak ine* pus of a sore. *akai ina anak* thick sap of a tree.
- anam* ADJ tender. *takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam* let's cook the pork in bamboo so it'll be tender.
- anigele* N banana sp.
- ano* N- 1. spirit, soul [> *logle, onuŋ, maxba*]; 2. breath; 3. dream [*ŋ anŋoŋ, anuom, ano, ante, armi, anmu, ansak*]. *pampamu ine, ano la kodoŋ* it is just his corpse, his soul has left already. *dau mete kobok, ano doŋ* he hasn't died yet, his spirit remains. *anŋoŋ tuk* I'm short of breath. *anŋoŋ I* had a dream.
- anuŋ* N wild *Cordyline* sp [> *maxe*]
- Aŋal* N name of Mouk village and patriclan.
- aŋat* N ochre.
- aŋaxi* N 1. tree sp, *Canarium*; 2. banana sp; 3. taro sp. (*aŋaxi aduol* canarium nut with husk digested off by bird.
- aŋaxi emgis* N 1. black canarium nut; 2. mole; 3. black spot in eye. *bitna aŋaxi emgis* he has a black spot in his eye.
- aŋaxŋax* N tree sp.
- aŋgis* N mangrove crab.
- aŋip* N ginger sp, turmeric [used as source of yellow dye or mixed with lime powder to make red paint. ≤ *emles*].
- aŋlek* N honey, wax [made by stinging bee. > *uame*].
- aŋua* N 1. fish [generic]; 2. game; 3. wild. *aŋua ila xexe* dorsal fin. *aŋua melba ine* tail fin. *aŋua tala kopine* gill flap. *aŋua ila boxuai* gills. *aŋua slaŋa* lateral fin. *mala modue ida aŋua max kluk taŋane* you go bring our fish to cook so we can eat it.
- aŋxek* N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [≤ *agiau*].
- apa* N/_ine heel [Anêm *apa-nI*]. *komgu apa ine* my heel. *lumgu apa ine* heel of my hand.
- apada* > *apna*.
- apal* ADJ/*apna*__ bald. *epem apal* you're bald.
- apaŋ* N red-tailed skink.
- apas* N 1. barkcloth; 2. cloth. *lugu apas max ŋopou ŋala ŋetixie* bring my barkcloth to tie on so I can go dancing.
- apax* ADJ full. *aki apax* the water (container) is full.
- apaxsak* > *apna*.
- apeinal* QUANT four.
- aplas* N tree sp.
- aplau* N cockatoo. *sexe aplau* mushroom sp.
- apma* N digging stick [= *namŋan*].
- apmaŋ* N 1. woman [singular. > *siau*]; female [≠ *axaŋ*]. *tapaux apmaŋ* we'll escort a woman [as a bride]. *apmaŋ asap* widow. *apmaŋ otno* little girl.
- apna* N- head [*ŋ opogu, epem, apna, apada, epemi, opomu, apaxsak = boxo, otuk*]. *epem apal* you're bald. *epem uole ine* your hair. *uensik max ŋesex opogu uole ine* hand me a comb so I can comb my hair. *opogu exi ine* my skull. *opogu ina baxa* my forehead. *olu apna* upper end of a pond [where the river is shallow enough to ford. > *gitno*].
- apok* N joke, fun [Anêm *apok*]. *due apok tan gute to* he's making fun of that man.
- apok uatna* N/*kamla*__ calf. *komgu apok uatna* my calf.
- apose* N wallaby [= *natus, sokolo*].
- apotŋen* N k.o. dance [generic of TP *murmur* ≥ *asiŋit, axoman, kalalaŋan, tikŋen*].
- apua* N crocodile.

asap N 1. wife [singular. > *siau* ≠ *bogot* > *asna*]; 2. widow [≠ *aikos*, *bogot batne*]; 3. bug sp [that lives in rotten wood]; 4. large house cockroach [said to have been brought by American soldiers. > *alou*, *iou*s]. *lugu asap blaŋ ge la?* where has my wife gone now?

asax N 1. reef; 2. sandbar [in river above water level > *daba*]; 3. shallow place in river [where one can ford. > *taxtax*].

asex N prohibition marker.

asi N smoke. *eiou asi (ine)* smoke of a fire; the fire is smoking.

asiŋit N movement of k.o. dance [≤ *apotŋen*].

asiŋix N charcoal.

askap N/___ine groin.

asna N- husband, wife, spouse [3S only. > *asap*, *bogot*]. *gute maxoni asna* a headman's wife. *apmaŋ asna* a woman's husband. *asna mete* one whose spouse has died.

ason N black mourning paint [worn by close friends and relatives (especially widows) of a dead person]. *apmaŋ to due ason* that woman is wearing black mourning paint.

asua N shield.

asuk N scar [= *amal* Anêm *esik*]. *komgu ina amal* I have a scar on my leg. *ŋagu asuk* my scar.

asuk N litter, trash [= *samdik*].

ata N/± *ila*___ faeces, shit [> *use*].

atakile N taro sp.

aten N/ila___ 1. friend [singular. > *saten*, *adou*]; 2. parallel cousin [> *adou*]. *imoxuo lugu aten imala* my friend and I are going.

atikex N rattan sp [with large leaves, used for thatch. = *etikex*]

atna N/___ine liver.

ato N message. *ŋapage enen otno ka la due ato* I'll send this child to take a message.

atokatok N flying ant sp [that appears after rain].

atua N/ila___ big brother, big sister, older sibling same sex [> *agatno*, *lutno*].

atuaxa N boiling water [< TP]. *atuaxa max* bring some boiling water.

atun N bonito [< TP].

au > *ilau*.

aulas N 1. snake [generic. = *oulas* = *mota*]; 2. python [= *oulas*].

aulou N tree sp.

aulu N spirit figure and k.o. dance [TP *tumbuan* ≤ *maxba*].

auxam N single men. (*osep*) *auxam* the single men.

axabuŋ N tree sp.

axagu N rain. *axagu duxu ba todon* if it rains, let's stay. *axagu uetne* rainbow.

axaŋ N male [≠ *apmaŋ* > *gute*]. *abax axaŋ* boar. *enen axaŋ* = *enen otno* baby boy. *lugu enen axaŋ axaŋ* my sons.

axbala N tree sp.

axi N fence.

axisiŋ ina ongup N taro sp.

axmax N fathom [divided into segments starting at fingertips: *adex*, *samepua*, *balokŋen*, *mese*, *paipai*, *nogxus*, *sisi*, *ulaŋ omun*, *nogloŋ*].

axmok N village.

axoi N tree sp.

axoman N movement of k.o. dance [≤ *apotŋen*].

axsak > *eine*.

ba CJ and, if, since, because, so, then [> *i*, *ki*]. *axagu duxu ba todon* if it rains, let's stay. *aloge ba tala?* when are we going? *epmes kodon ba omox tomunu* it's night already, so come let's sleep.

gute la lila tepis ba la due iage kobok the man is lazy, so doesn't make gardens.
komgu nisi ba ombloue, maxau la itau since my leg is sore, cut it and blood will flow and make it better. *eiboid ie ba due blange?* he's just a boy, so how can he do it? *komgu egle ba ηodoη* I'm staying, because I have a sore on my leg. *iagos kodoη ba doη* enough of that, let it be.

ba SPEC/CI__ contrastive, emphatic.
ηaiak uom kobok ba! no, I'm not lying to you. *osep to buno salai ba!* my, but there are a lot of people! *ηenηen ka itau ba!* this food is actually good! *ηenηen to epen?* *kobok ba, eηil* is that food cold? not at all, it's hot.

ba- CAUS causative prefix [not productive. > *due, painim*]. *tibamsim eiou* they put out the fire [> *msim*].

baba N/ila__ great great grandparents [children of *aigolu* parents of *kamla esleine*].

babit ono ADJ short [= *uanuk ono* Anêm *babît* stump].

baboxo N wall. *ninu ina baboxo* wall of a house.

babu N/ila__ aunt, father's sister, nephew, woman's brother's son, reciprocal.

bael N frog [generic].

baiak N banana sp.

baine VTR sell. *ηabaine*. I sell it.

baiu N 1. clam [generic]; 2. mangrove clam.

bak-a VTR 1. pick, break off; 2. cut, shred; 3. split [> *grum*]. *bak eliep max tanas* someone should pick some betel and bring it for us to chew. *oklou bak saxaba* it was dawn [= the sun split the clouds]. *tibakbak obul uole ine* they're shredding banana leaves [to make a decorative fringe]. *bak lasna* he castrated it. *tabak enen otno uetne* let's superincise the child. *ηabaka etlie* I split it into three parts.

bakau N 1. ginger sp, *Zinziber* sp [≤ *emles*]; 2. tree sp.

bakuak N butterfly.

bala MOD just, merely, only [> *adai*].
doη bala he's just sitting. *oklou oklou telila kobok i todoη bala* for days, we haven't been walking but only sitting around. *oxuo bala* only two.

bale N mangrove, *Rhizophora* sp [> *taxau*].

balilu VI spin. *enen ka balilu ki bitna bauluk* this child has been spinning and is dizzy.

balimu N grass sp [TP *karapa*].

balokηen N 1. inner elbow [> *bune*]; 2. fathom division from fingertips to inner elbow. *lumgu balokηen* my inner elbow.

balu N tree sp.

baluk-o VTR push [> *tapul*]. *tabaluko* let's push it.

bamsim VTR extinguish, put out [> *msim*].
tibamsim eiou they put out the fire.

bana N tree sp, ironwood.

bani ina oηgup N 1. banana sp; 2. taro sp.

bangxes VI snore.

bao N club formerly used to ritually execute widows.

basex-e V spill, pour. *ηabasex aki la* I poured the water out. *ηabasexe* I spilled it; I poured it. *aki ka basex* the water spilled. *eine olune basex* he's drooling. *ηagu ueleηen basex* I'm sweating.

batne N/_± ine 1. base, origin, stump, end, source; 2. empty. *uaiηan batne* word [basis of speech]. *galou batne* end of a rope. *batne lugηoη Benim* I was born in Benim; I'm from Benim. *labu batne* beach [source of sand]. *akai batne* stump. *aki ka batne* the water container is empty. *gute ka bogot batne* this man is a widower [source of husbands. > *aikos*]. *eiou batne* burning stick for carrying fire.

batne VI later, follow [\neq *mgo.* > *didi*].
momgo, ɲoŋ ɲabatne you go on ahead, I'll follow later.

bauluk V 1. turn; 2. back, return; 3. stir. *tabauluk otuk ine ba munu osuk* let's turn its prow so that it lies straight. *tibauluk opmu* they turned the stones over. *ɲabauluk ɲoŋ* I turned over. *amunu ambauluk uom* you turned over in your sleep. *ambauluk ɲenɲen* stir the food. *ɲabauluk ɲala* I went back.

baup N palm sp [used as substitute for betel].

bax V drive pigs into net by shouting

baxa N 1. coconut shell, bowl made of coconut shell [= *ɲogotou*]; 2. forehead; 3. kneecap. *opogu ina baxa* my forehead. *komgu ina baxa* my kneecap. (*oŋgup ina*) *baxa* coconut shell.

baxes V dress up, decorate ritually [> *sogo*]. *tabaxes agau* we decorate the children. *ɲabaxes* I'll get dressed up.

baxku N 1. spirit sp [evoked to ritually admonish a person for asocial behaviour. \leq *maxba*]; 2. taro sp.

baxɲa N/___ine jaw. *baxɲa lugɲoŋ xes* my jaw is swollen. *baxɲa lugɲoŋ uole ine* my beard.

bebe VTR release, let go of, free. *embebe elil* let go of the knife.

bel VTR need. *aki bel ɲoŋ* I'm thirsty.

bel VI commit suicide [normally by hanging]. *apmaŋ to bel mana* the woman committed suicide by hanging. *ɲala ɲebel* I'm going to hang myself.

belabela N young woman, girl. *siau belbela* young women.

belis N dove. *belis uxu* a dove is cooing.

Benim N name of Mouk village and patriclan.

bexik N banana sp.

bexik iaulua N banana sp.

bibitna N spiny [= *gigiu, uala* > *bitna*]. *txaŋan bibitna* spiny sago.

bibmi > *bubno*.

bidabida N bedbug [believed to have been brought by American soldiers].

bidi N yam sp, *Dioscorea esculenta* [TP *mami*].

biku N star.

bile N 1. betel [< *Aria* = *eliep*]; 2. banana sp. *bile max ɲaŋas* bring some betelnut for me to chew.

bilili VI scatter. *dax nosluk duxu uti bilili* it comes apart and falls and scatters [eg. bundle of sticks hung up].

bilolu N taro sp.

binigaea N boa constrictor.

bis VTR carry under arm against ribs [> *kakluk, kis, sun*]. *embis uasak* you were carrying a basket under your arm.

bisik VTR 1. butcher [= *ulaŋ*]; 2. tattoo [> *bisikɲen*]. *embisik abax* butcher the pig. *komgu bisik* I have a tattoo on my leg.

bisikɲen N/±*ira* ___ tattoo [< *bisik*]. *ɲagu bisikɲen* my tattoo.

bisnaxe N sweet potato sp, *Ipomea batatas* [that arrived with coconut. < English missionary].

bitna N- 1. eye [ɸ *omtogu, emtem, bitna, amtada, emtemi, omtomu, amtaxsak*]; 2. edge, sharp [> *pom, telemlem*]. *amtada ila gute* our pupils. *bitna egei* he is blind [his eyelid is sealed]. *bitna lulul* he is blind [he has cataracts]. *bitna nogxom* he is blind [eyeball is missing]. *bitna nopux* he is blind [his eyelid is sealed]. *bitna aŋaxi emgis* he has a black spot in his eye. *enen ka balilu ki bitna bauluk* the child has been spinning and is dizzy. *oŋgup bitna dim* the coconut has no eye [it is completely sealed]. *elil bitna telemlem* a sharp knife. *elil bitna kobok* a dull knife. *niru bitna* = *pugu bitna* door.

bixbix N taro sp.

bixlai N tree sp.

bla DEM that, here is, there is, pointer [$>$ *ka, to, exi*]. *segi bla polou axmok to?* who's that arriving in the village? *uas bla* here's the tobacco. *doŋ bla maua exi* it's far away over there. *iede, ŋagu uas bla ŋodue munu exi* yes, that's my tobacco which I had laid over there.

blak VTR squish [$>$ *nablak*]. *komgu blak ata* I stepped in shit.

blanaka ADV this way [demonstrating]. *omdue blanaka* do it this way.

blañ MOD also, too, again. *ŋoŋ ŋopolou blaŋ* I got here too. *ŋoŋ blaŋ, komgu nisi ina* my leg hurts too. *uas silañ blaŋ* another cigarette. *ono blaŋ ono* soon. *laine blaŋ* in five days.

blañge ADV how. *eiboid ie ba due blaŋge?* he's just a boy so how can he do it?

blasisi N bat sp [$>$ *bleik*].

blasisi ila obul N banana sp.

ble $>$ *blou-e*

bleik N bat [generic].

blenblen VI masturbate. *limla blenblen* he masturbates.

blesu N spider sp [edible. = *kamluk* $>$ *moxoxua*].

blet VI smear, stuck [$>$ *notop*]. *ata blet doŋ komgu* shit is smeared on my foot.

bleten N eel [generic]. *bleten misuon ina moray* eel.

blou-e VTR cut. *ŋobloue = ŋoble* I cut it. *elil blou ŋoŋ* I got cut on a knife. *apmaŋ to blou apas* the woman is cutting cloth. *blou akai* he cut some wood. *moblou uetme taxna* we superincised him. *moblou omoi epxiŋ ine* we trim the edge of the sleeping mat.

bode N 1. parakeet; 2. banana sp.

bogi N sea eagle.

bogi limla talpes N banana sp.

boglai N taro sp.

bogot N/± *ila*__ husband [$>$ *asap, asna*]. *lugu bogot ge?* where's my husband? *bogot batne* widower [= *aikos*].

boi 1. N tree sp, *Homalium* sp; 2. N/limla__ ring finger [$>$ *limla*]. *lumgu boi* my ring finger.

boilo N k.o. dance [from Anêm, no longer performed].

boitin N waves.

bokuila N aromatic herb sp.

bolbolo ADJ short. *galou bolbolo ono* a short rope.

bole 1. N pig tusk; 2. N/± *ina*_ pig tusk ornament; 3. N banana sp [= *akxa*]. *abax bole* a boar with tusks. *ŋagu bole* my pig tusk ornament [made by binding a pair of tusks and worn on string around neck. held in teeth while dancing].

boleine ADJ not ready for harvest [\neq *ulip*. $>$ *akat, osou*].

bomsuk VI fall, drop [eg. fruit when over-ripe. $>$ *gone*].

bomsuk N mushroom sp [$>$ *makue*].

bon VI full [considered Aria. = *apax*]. *aki to bon* the water (container) is full.

bono 1. VI full; 2. VTR gather, collect, meet. *taiko bono* full moon. *tobono peli tauai* let's meet and talk. *amla ombono akai* go collect firewood.

bota N rack, bench, scaffold. *omde bota, akai to omgusiŋe* make a scaffold to chop down that tree.

boxalem geia N taro sp [Anêm *boxalêm* top of his head].

boxbox N tree sp.

boxo N/__ *ine* head [= *apna, otuk*]. *boxo lugŋoŋ* my head.

boxom N banana sp.

boxuai N gills. *aŋua ila boxuai* gills of a fish.

brum N broom [$<$ TP = *sislia, sousou*].

bublo VI flame, burn, light. *omupi eiou ki bublo* blow on the fire to make it light.

bubno N- grandchild [¶ *mumgu, bubup, bubno, bumdo, bibmi, bubmu, bubxok*].

bubu N/aki__ pond [> *olu*]. *aki bubu* pond in a river.

bubu VTR make twine by rolling fibres on leg [> *bubuŋen*]. *tobubu ie* we roll it.

bubunik N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [≤ *agiau*].

bubuŋen N twine [> *bubu*]. *ŋobubu lugu bubuŋen* I'm rolling my twine.

bubup, bubxok > *bubno*.

budiŋ exiek N ginger sp, *Zinziber* sp [≤ *emles*]. Anê̄m *bîdîŋgî êxiê̄k* red rootstock].

buk VTR burn, light, set on fire. *ŋobuk osluk* I light a torch. *oklou eŋil buk ie touelep* the sun is hot and burns us so we sweat. *ombuk pepa* set the paper on fire. *ombuk ie* light it.

buk N book [< TP].

bukxu N bird sp.

bumdo > *bubno*.

bunbune N knotty [> *bune*]. *akai ka bunbune (ine)* the wood is knotty.

bune N/_± ine 1. knot; 2. elbow [> *balokŋen*]; 2. knee. *akai bune ine* knot. *lumgu bune ine* my elbow. *komgu bune ine* my knee.

buno QUANT 1. many; 2. hundred. *osep to buno salai ba!* my, but there are a lot of people! *buno keine* hundred.

buxua N fatally wounded. *uom to buxua?* are you fatally wounded?

da MOD first, before ..., for a minute. *omox da* come here for a minute. *omuluŋ abax itau da, laki abax mudu* you check the pig carefully first, lest it be a tame pig. *momtoŋ da* rest first (before you continue what you were going to do).

da SPEC/Cl__ confirmative. *amiakiak*

da of course, you're lying. *ŋaiak uom kobok da* no, I'm not lying to you.

daba N sandbar [> *asax*].

dabu VI grope in river for eels and prawns.

dadik N rat sp. *dadik kŋe ie* he hiccupped [idiom: a rat sp snared him].

daga N raintree, *Poinciana delnis*.

daglik ADJ slippery [> *kelil*]. *akai ka daglik* the log is slippery.

daila N bird sp.

dama N hill.

damaine N- 1. front, belly [¶ *damalŋoŋ, damaluom, damaine... > goline, mogolu*]; 2. palm; 3. sole. *damalŋoŋ deite* I lie belly up. *damalŋoŋ duxu nekliŋ* I lie face down. *lumgu damaine* my palm. *komgu damaine* sole of my foot.

damu N lime spatula.

das N dust [< TP]. *ŋosopi das tan komgu* I brush dust off my leg.

dau MOD still, not yet. *ŋenŋen ka dau akat* this food is still raw. *dau mete kobok, ano doŋ* he's not dead yet, his soul remains. *mete dau* he hasn't died yet.

dax V 1. loosen, unravel, come apart [eg. something bound into a bundle]; 2. disperse, part ways. *iaiax polou ki dax tobox ki usu* the monsoons blow and loosen pitpit and it bears fruit. *dax nosluk duxu uti bilili* it came apart and went down and scattered. *tadax peli* let's disperse.

daxaidana N chopped taro with coconut cream wrapped in leaves and cooked in a stone oven.

daxou N taro sp.

de > *due*.

deite VI 1. up, ascend, rise [= *dite* ≠ *duxu*]; 2. climb [> *sai*]; 3. wake up; 4. get well. *aki nobluk dite* water bubbles up. *oklou dite max* the sun is rising.

ɲokum akai deite kluk eiou I'll get some wood to burn up in the fire. *damalɲoɲ deite* I lie belly up. *tidite lopa* they climbed a tree sp. *omdue dite* put it up. *emdite omox* come up. *ɲedite tan nasaksak* I wake up in the morning. *ɲode luanan ine ki dite* I performed healing magic on him so he could get better.

delim VI swim underwater [> *sisu*].

demel N quarter [Anêm *ziêmêlmêl*]. *taiko demel* quarter moon.

deuei N tree sp [sap used to glue skin onto drum]. *ɲala ɲemtex deuei sep ɲekɲe kude* I'm going to tap a tree sp to put it in to glue the drum skin.

diaxben N tree sp.

dibel VI laugh, smile. *ɲedibel luguom* I'm laughing at you.

didi V 1. follow [> *batne*]; 2. narrate. *emdidi ɲoɲ* you follow me. *ɲedidi nasiɲen* I'll relate some oral history.

didiboɲi N first of three stars used to mark time at night.

didim epis N taro sp.

didli N rapids.

diglou N bamboo tongs [= *kaida*].

dikɲen N moist and greasy. *abax ka dikɲen* this pork is nice and moist.

dim V block, seal off. *oɲgup bitna dim* the coconut has no hole in it. *saxaba dim oklou* clouds are blocking out the sun.

dimex tna N spirit sp [≤ *maxba* Anêm *mukmuk*].

dimixmix N children kept in men's lodge during affiliation [Anêm *zimix*].

dimolo N root. *akai dimolo* roots of tree.

dina N bank [= *xaxna*]. *aki dina* river bank.

dipman N large leech sp [> *kɲal*].

dite > *deite*.

dixu N edible fern sp [Anêm *zixu*].

dno VI lose, lost. *lugu elil dno* my knife is lost. *ɲodno omoɲ aitno* I got lost in the forest.

dobutno N/_±ine 1. egg; 2. navel. *kuako dobutno* chicken egg. *dobutno lugɲoɲ* my navel.

dodolu ADJ whole.

dogox N swamp, mud [= *paɲpaɲa* Anêm *ziogox*].

dogux N/_ine back. *dogux lugɲoɲ* my back.

doɲ VI 1. be located, stay, remain; 2. sit; 3. subsist. *axagu duxu ba todoɲ* if it rains, let's stay. *dau mete kobok, ano doɲ* he hasn't died yet, his soul remains. *doɲ ninu aitno* it's inside the house. *nu bla doɲ* there's an island. *omdoɲ e, ɲala* byebye [you stay, I'm going]. *omdue duxu doɲ* put it down. *la doɲ Pudeliɲ* he's gone to stay in Pudêlîɲ. *todoɲ madedet* we squat. *doɲ bala* he's just sitting. *gute ka doɲ adai* the man subsists without anything. *iagos kodon ba doɲ* that's enough already so leave it be.

doxo VI bloom, develop flowers [> *doxoɲen*]. *akai to doxo* the tree is blooming.

doxoɲen N flower [< *doxo* = *aipuxu*]. *akai ila doxoɲen* flower of a tree.

due VTR 1. do, make; 2. get, take, bring, put; 3. causative [ɣ *ɲodue* = *ɲode*, *omdue* = *omde*, *due* = *de*, *todue* = *tode*... > *ba*]. *omdue blanaka* do it this way. *todue ninu* let's build a house. *omde amal* you write. *ɲode logle ine ki dite* I'll perform magic on him so he can get up. *tidue apok tan gute to* they're making fun of that man. *apmaɲ to due asoɲ* the woman has put on black mourning paint. *gute to due omok* the man is honouring a food taboo. *enen ka due aiɲon* the child is having a temper tantrum. *tidue sakul* they're singing. *la due ato* he went to take a message.

omde uas silañ max ñodugume ñañane bring me some tobacco to roll and smoke. *ñode ñap musou* I took your bodily effluvia to perform sorcery on you. *omdue munu exi* put it over there. *abax tna la due poti polou max axmok* a sow goes and makes a wild boar come to the village.

dugum-e VTR cover, wrap [> *eiuk*]. *omdugume* cover him [eg. with blankets]. *emsina ñoñ ñodugum uas iagos tauai* wait while I finish rolling a cigarette then we can talk. *todugum ida ñenñen la tan* we wrap our food and it goes to cook in the stone oven.

dul-e VTR bore, drill hole in. *omdul ongup* put a hole in the coconut. *ñodule kodoñ* I've already put a hole in it.

duxie VI urinate [> *moxduk*].

duxu VI down, descend. *axagu duxu ba todoñ* if it rains, let's stay. *damañoñ duxu neklip* I lie on my stomach. *omde duxu doñ* put it down. *akai nepli duxu gxum ninu* a tree broke and fell down and smashed a house. *oklou duxu la* the sun is setting.

e SPEC/Cl__ hey [> *ba, da*]. *omdoñ e, ñala* hey, you stay, I'm going [departure formula].

ebel mige N taro sp [Anêm *êbêl mîgê?* how many fruit?].

ebelgi leim N taro sp [Anêm *êbêlgi leim* it's fruit is good].

ebelgi liem N taro sp [≠ *ebelgi leim*].

ebes N earth, ground, clay, soil. *ebes eibmox* red soil. *ebes nokup* landslide. *abax sex ebes* a pig is rooting around in the ground.

ebet N mountain [> *obxou* Anêm *êbêt* mountain].

ebix ADJ green, blue.

ediañ moi N taro sp.

ediañ gage N taro sp.

egei N cataracts [> *bitna*]. *bitna egei* he

has cataracts.

egle N/± *ila*__ sore. *egle anak ine* pus of a sore. *komgu egle ba ñodoñ* since I have a sore on my leg, I'm going to stay home. *lugu egle msim* my sore is healing.

eglim ADJ white [= *akau* > *ogu, paulik, голу* Anêm *glîm* lime powder]. *teli eglim* = *teli голу* white shell money [> *teli*].

eibmox ADJ red [= *iebmox*].

eiboid N boy [Anêm *eiboid*]. *eiboid ie ba due blañge?* he's just a boy so how can he do it?

eil N stake used to prop up sugarcane.

eine N- mouth [¶ *ogu, ouop, eine, ada, epmi, opmu, asxak*]. *eine olune basex* he's drooling. *gemle eine* dogs' teeth; headband decorated with dog's teeth. *ogu kis ie* I hold it in my mouth. *ogu uatna* my teeth. *ogu taxna* my lips. *ogu ina aki* my saliva.

eiou N fire. *eiou asi* the fire is smoking. *tibamsim eiou* they put out the fire. *omupi eiou bublo* blow on the fire to make it light. *xex eiou* he built a fire. *eiou giglij* embers. *eiou mamine* hearth. *eiou batne* burning stick used for carrying fire. *kubo ila eiou* taro sp. *eiou msim* the fire is out.

eiti SPEC very [= *iti*]. *kos iti* = *kos eiti* very long. *galou ka kos eiti* the rope is very long.

eiuk N 1. leaf wrapper for food [Anêm *iîk* > *dugum*]; 2. tree sp [with leaf used for rolling cigarettes]; 3. paper [= *pepa*]; 4. letter [= *pas*]. *ñosogo lugu pepa* I'm writing my letter.

eixabu > *aixabu*.

ekei N 1. palm sp; 2. flooring made of this palm [flooring is not traditional].

elei N tree sp, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

eliép N betel palm, *Arōca catechu*, betelnut [> *bile*]. *bak eliép max tañas* someone

should pick some betel and bring it for us to chew.

elil N/± *ila*__ knife. *elil albus* knife without a handle. *elil bitna kobok* = *elil bitna pom* a dull knife. *elil batne* = *elil ina palaŋ* handle of a knife.

elme QUANT five.

emgis > *aŋaxi emgis*.

emlel ADJ bland, insipid [horrible to eat. ≠ *galo*].

emles N 1. ginger, *Zinziber* spp [generic. ≥ *aŋip*, *bakau*, *budiŋ exiek*, *gexiŋ*, *uaik*]; 2. tree sp; 3. taro sp.

emliŋ N tree sp, *Pometia pinnata*.

emtem, *emtemi* > *bitna*.

enen N/± *ila*__ 1. child [> *agau*]; 2. son, daughter [> *mlegi*, *ilmaŋ*]. *enen ka due aiŋon* this child is having a temper tantrum. *gom ila enen tla* he gathered his children and went. *lugu enen siau* my daughters. *lugu enen axaŋ axaŋ* my sons. *enen ka inim sisi* the child is suckling. *uom to amkakluk enen?* have you had a child?

enen otno N little boy, baby boy [singular. > *agau titno* = *eiboid*, *enen axaŋ*]. *ŋapage enen otno ka la due ato* I sent this child to take a message.

eŋil ADJ hot [of things. > *uelep* ≠ *epen* Anêm *eŋiŋ*].

epem, *epemi* > *apna*.

epen ADJ cold [of things. ≠ *eŋil* > *ouos* Anêm *epen*].

epes ine N- seed coat [= *paso*]. *lopa epes ine* seed coat of a canarium nut.

epiep N sweet potato sp, *Ipomea batatas* [considered indigenous].

epis ADJ dry [= *kakxak* ≠ *okus*]. *didim epis* taro sp.

epit N/___ *ine* vulva.

epmes N night. *epmes kodoŋ ba omox tomunu* it's night already so come let's sleep. *epmes aixabu* midnight.

epmes ina N snake sp, ringed boa.

epmi > *eine*.

epxe N pan flute [= *pexex*, *solopet* > *uotuot*, *kaux*].

epxi N fishtail palm sp, *Caryota* sp. [processed like sago].

epxiŋ N/___ *ine* 1. nose; 2. edge of sleeping mat. *epxiŋ lite* our noses. *moblou omoi epxiŋ ine* we trim the edge of the sleeping mat.

esel N indigenous bean [similar to wingbean].

esex N/___ *ine* 1. thigh; 2. hindleg of animals. *gemle esex ine* hindlegs of dog.

esis N betel pepper, Piper betle. *esis uatna* betel pepper catkin. *esis kambuxu* domestic betel pepper [with red veins in leaves].

eski N taro. *tatan eski* we cook taro in a stone oven. *eski oku* taro not ready for harvest. *tala tauasak eski exi ine* let's go plant taro cloning sticks.

eski N/___ *ila*__ brains. *lugu eski* my brains.

esleine > *kamla esleine*.

etikex > *atikex*.

etli QUANT three. *ŋabaka etlie* I split it into three.

etnika TEMP now, today [> *gasak*, *ninuox*, *ŋaxep*, *masil*, *gusik*, *gusik laine*, *laine blaŋ*]. *ŋamen ŋeile Anem etnika kobok* I used to know Anêm, but now I don't. *etnika ŋodoŋ kade* today I'll stay here.

etnim N 1. tree sp; 2. grub sp that eats this tree.

exi DEM that, over there, yonder [> *bla*, *ka*, *to*]. *ŋodue munu exi* I put it over there. *ŋegi gute exi* I'll call that man over there. *doŋ bla maua exi* it's way over there [pointing]. *ono exi toko!* there it is right over there!

exi N/___ *ine* bone. *exi lugŋoŋ* my bones [but particularly, my spine]. *komgu exi ine* the bones of my legs. *opogu exi*

ine my skull. *eski exi ine* taro cloning sticks. *aige exi ine* handle of an axe. *sel exi ine* snake sp.

gabu > *patu gabu*.

gagasilau N taro sp.

gage > *edien gage*.

gala ADJ lefthand [\neq *lokono*]. *libep to gala* that is your lefthand.

galau N banana sp.

galiki asox N taro sp.

galo ADJ sweet, salty, tasty [\neq *emlel*].

galou N 1. vine [generic]; 2. rope [$>$ *pilainjan, buburjen*], thread [$>$ *salimu*]. *ompou abax tan galou* tie up the pig with a rope. *galou batne* end of a rope. *galou guxno* start of a rope.

gasak TEMP 1. the day after tomorrow; 2. three days ago [$>$ *etnika*].

ge ADV where? *lugu asap blaŋ ge la?* where has my wife gone now? *ŋaŋan uas ge?* where shall I get some tobacco to smoke? *emkli gomot ge?* where did you buy the canoe?

geia > *boxalem geia*.

gelege N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [\leq *agiau*].

gelet N hairless pig [$>$ *abax*].

gelme gitno N tree sp [$<$ *gemle gitno* dog's tail, with metathesis].

gemelei N tree sp.

gemle N dog [considered *Aria* = *oulei*]. *gemle aklak ine* forelegs of a dog. *gemle apmaŋ* bitch. *gemle esex ine* hindlegs of a dog. *gemle gitno* dog's tail. *gemle mgux* a dog barks. *gemle neklemklem* dogs are baying. *gemle neŋix* a dog growls.

genei N taro sp.

gesen ADJ light purple to dark blue.

getix VI happy. *ŋegetix* I'm happy.

getou N tooth blackener.

gexin N ginger sp, *Zinziber* sp [$>$ *emles*].

gi V 1. call [$>$ *sux*]; 2. shout; 3. marry [formerly, a man arranged his marriage with the father of a woman and then formalised the marriage by calling her name out in a public place]. *ŋegi gute exi* I'll call that man. *gute exi gi* that man is shouting. *gi kodoŋ* he's already married.

Gigina N name of Mouk patriclan and village.

gigi N spiny [= *bibitna, uala*]. *txaŋan gigi* spiny sago.

gigliŋ N embers, coals. *eiou gigliŋ* embers.

gilep-e VTR 1. pin down [eg. with a stick]; 2. straddle with tynes of a spear [\neq *mtex*]. *ŋegilepe* I pinned it down; I straddled it with the tynes of my spear [eg. fish, and it got away].

gin VTR show, point out to. *emgin ŋoŋ ienim* show me the path.

ginali N tree sp [bears edible red fig-like fruit on trunk].

gisni VI sneeze.

gitno N tail [$>$ *kitkitŋen*]. *abax ka gitno lilu* the pig has a curled tail. *olu gitno* tail end of a pond [$>$ *apna*]. *gelme gitno* tree sp.

gix-e VTR 1. scratch; 2. sweep, clear. *ogu gix ŋoŋ* the sword grass scratched me. *siau tigix axmok* women are sweeping the village. *tegix omux* let's clear the ground.

gluk N tree sp [Anêm *glík*].

goia N taro sp.

goline N- intestines, guts, stomach [ŋ *golŋoŋ, goluom, goline, golte, golmi, golmu, golsak* > *damaine, mogolu*]. *gute to goline netik* the man's stomach is concave from hunger. *golŋoŋ uai* my stomach is rumbling. *ŋomtoko ki golŋoŋ itau* I'll vomit so my stomach will feel better.

golmi, golmu, golŋoŋ > *goline*.

golo N tree sp.

golomada N giant clam, *Tridacna* spp
[used for pig plates. = *kaiayan*].

golsak, golte > *goline*.

golu N/± *ina*__ large food basket [> *uasak*]. *ηagu golu* my food basket.

golu ADJ/*teli*__ white [> *teli*]. *teli golu*
= *teli eglim* white shell money.

goluom > *goline*.

gom VTR collect, gather. *ηogom akai*
I'm collecting firewood. *gom ila enen*
ila he gathered his children and left.

gomot N canoe.

gone VI fall. *laki omgone* watch out or
you'll fall. *lili gone* it's dripping.

gongo N tree sp.

got VI full, sated. *ηogot* I'm full.

gotu keine TEMP morning [= *nasaksak*].

guglon N cliff [= *manxoxon*].

gugum-e VTR clutch hidden in hand.
omgugume you have it hidden in your
hand.

gugupu N mist.

guigui N eighth month, possibly November
[rainy season begins. > *taiko*].

gulumu N algae [> *olmut*].

gulupa N red wasp sp [found in ground.
> *mixmix*].

gusik TEMP in three days [> *etnika*].

gusik laine TEMP in four days [> *etnika*].

gusip-e VTR chop down. *omde bota*
akai to omgusipe make a scaffold to
cut down that tree.

gute N 1. man, person, someone; 2.
male [> *axan*]; 3. pupil. *gute exi gi*
that man over there is shouting. *gute*
sila max kap ηon a man came with me.
gute ηonle a senior man. *gute maxoni*
a headman. *xananon gute* my father-
in-law; my son-in-law. *bitna ila gute*
the pupil of his eye.

guxno N 1. canopy; 2. start. *akai guxno*
canopy of a tree. *galou guxno* start of
a rope.

gxon-o VTR wash. *amum ki la mogxono*
it's dirty so take it and wash it.

gxoup N ashes, dust. *iejen uxi gxoup*
the wind kicked up the dust.

gxum-e VTR 1. break, snap [> *nogxum*];
2. wreck. *akai nepli duxu gxum ninu* a
tree broke off and fell down and
wrecked the house. *ηogxum ninu* I'm
wrecking the house. *ηogxume etli* I
broke into three.

i CJ and, but, if [> *ba, i, ki*]. *oklou*
oklou telila kobok i todoη bala for days
we haven't walked but just sat around.
se axagu max i todoη if rain comes,
let's stay. *tanan eski i saxabatne i tapiok*
we ate taro and sweet potato and
cassava.

iaba N banana sp [< Tolai].

iage N garden. *todue iage* we make a
garden. *iage kobok lazy* [> *tepis, xopo*].

iagi N twelfth month, possibly March [>
taiko].

iagos ADJ finished, completed, all gone
[> *kaxana, msa, oxmot*]. *aijan to iagos*
kodoη ba doη enough of that talk, let it
be. *emsiηa ηon ηodugum uas iagos*
tauai wait until I've finished rolling a
cigarette then we'll talk. *ηodue iagos*
I've finished it. *ηenjen iagos* the food
is all gone.

iaiax N northwest monsoons. *iaiax polou*
ki dax tobox ki usu the monsoons blow
and loosen the pitpit and it bears fruit.

iak VTR lie [> *iakiak*]. *amiak ηon*
sakam don't lie to me.

iakiak VI lie [> *iak*]. *amiakiak da oh*,
you're just lying.

iaηou ADJ yellow.

ias-e VTR dig. *amias obuk* dig a hole.

iau N vine sp, *Derris uglinose* [used for
eel poison].

iaulua > *bexik iaulua*.

ida > *ina*.

ide N/*ila*__ mother, mother's sister [¶ *lugude*= *lugu ide*, *lem ide*, *ila ide*, *udeide*= *uda ide*, *limem ide*, *lumude*= *lumu ide*, *uxok ide* > *tra*]. *Uala ila ide ge?* where is Uala's mother? *doŋ kap ila ide lagul* she's with her mothers. *uame ila ide* = *uame tra* sweat bee.

ie PRON focal pronoun [¶ *ŋoŋ*, *uom*, *ie*, *ite*, *imi*, *umu*, *isak*]. *ombuk ie* light it. *eiboid ie* he's just a boy. *ie lou ine* he's afraid of him.

ie HL yes [≠ *kobok* > *iede*].

iebmox ADJ red [= *eibmox*].

iede HL emphatic yes [> *ie*]. *iede! ŋagu uas bla ŋodue munu exi* yes! that's my tobacco that I put over there.

ienim N road, path. *emgin ŋoŋ ienim* show me the path. *ienim ka neplis* the road is straight.

ieŋen N wind. *ieŋen polou* the wind is blowing. *ieŋen uxi gxoup* the wind is kicking up dust.

ieua N web. *moxoxua ieua* spider web.

ikexka N/±*ina*__ basket [> *uasak*, *golu*].

ila N- disposable possessive [¶ *lugu*, *lem*, *ila*, *uda*= *udo*, *limem*, *lumu*, *uxok* > *ina*, *ine*]. *bitra ila gute* his pupil. *monuk ila onuk* bird's nest. *lugu siau oxuo* I have two wives. *max lugu* let me have it. *lugu uala* my spear [that I use]. *ŋagu uala* my spear [with which I am killed]. *lugu ulo* my pot [that I sell]. *ŋagu ulo* my pot [that I am using]. *uda ada* our ancestors. *udo akai* our firewood. *tauai udo* let's talk about our business.

ilaide > *ide*.

ilau N- father [¶ *ligau*, *lemau*, *ilau*, *udou*, *limau*, *lumau*, *uxokau* < *ila au* Anêm *ei* > *ide*]. *Uala ilau ge?* where's Uala's father?

ile VTR know. *aiŋan to umu mauai, meile kobok* this news you speak about, we don't know of it. *ŋamen ŋeile anem etnika kobok* I used to know Anêm but now I don't. *tile imi kobok* they don't know us. *imeile peli kobok* we do not know one another.

ilmaŋ N daughter [> *enen*, *mlegi*]. *lugu ilmaŋ* my daughter.

imelme PRON we 1EP five [= *imi elme* > *ie*].

imetli PRON we 1EP three [= *imi etli* > *ie*].

imi PRON we 1EP [> *ie*]. *imoxuo* we 1EP two. *imetli* we 1EP three. *imi apeinal* we 1EP four. *imelme* we 1EP five.

imoxuo PRON we 1EP two [= *imi oxuo* > *ie*]. *imoxuo lugu aten imala* my friend and I are going.

ina N- edible possessive [¶ *ŋagu*, *ŋap*, *ina*, *ida*, *ipem*, *upu*, *ŋaxak* > *ila*, *ine*]. *tipou ida amum* they tie up our bodily dirt [to perform sorcery on us]. *ŋagu akai* my tree [that I cut down]. *lugu akai* my tree [that I planted or inherited]. *ŋagu uala* my spear [the one I was speared with]. *lugu uala* my spear [the one I use on others]. *ŋagu uaiŋan* what is said about me. *lugu uaiŋan* what I say. *ŋagu musou* sorcery against me. *lugu musou* the sorcery I perform. *ŋagu teli* the shell money with which my brideprice is paid. *lugu teli* my shell money [that I spend]. *ida eski* our taro [to eat]. *ida uaiŋan* talk about us. *omdu abax ina* a net for catching pigs. *abax ina omdu* the pig's net. *ogu ina aki* my saliva. *bleten misuon ina* moray eel. *abax ina kaxoxo* a pig's cage. *kaxoxo abax ina* a cage for pigs. *osep misuon ina* people who live on the sea. *gute musou ina* sorcerer. *gute kubuŋen ina* thief. *apas ka ŋamen ina* this cloth is old [from before].

inamxi > *alau inamxi*.

ine N- 1. postposed inalienable possessive; 2. oblique [¶ *lugɲoŋ*, *luguom*, *ine*, *lite*, *libmi*, *lubmu*, *lisak* > *ila*, *ina*, *tan*]. *atna lugɲoŋ* my liver. *emkliɲin lugɲoŋ?* did you hear about me? *omkole lugɲoŋ* you slandered me. *omlou lugɲoŋ?* are you afraid of me? *noklut lugɲoŋ* it grazed me. *ɲedibel luguom* I'm laughing at you. *ɲodue logle luguom* I'll perform healing magic on you. *ɲauai luguom* I'm talking to you. *ɲauai uti luguom* I'm talking about you. *lumgu agum ine* my wrist. *akai bune ine* knot in wood. *aɲua melba ine* tail fin. *baxɲa lugɲoŋ uole ine* my beard. *ɲaxxim ine* I'll look after him. *neklep ine* he put it against it. *ɲonokloŋkloŋ ine* I tapped on it. *ɲauai ine* I told him. *epxiɲ lite* our noses. *imemko otuk libmi nopu peli* we bumped heads.

inim-e V drink. *aki silaɲ max ɲeinim* bring me some water to drink. *inime* he drank it. *ampainim ɲoŋ* hold the water for me to drink [> *painim*]. *enen ka inim sisi* the child is suckling.

io HL well then. *io. tala* well then, let's go.

iou N tree sp, *Inocarpus fagiferus* [= *amsi*, *oiou*, *uange*].

ious N small variety of bush cockroach [= *alou* > *asap*].

ipem > *ida*.

ipem puda N firstborn child [> *moxotoŋo*].

isak PRON they D3P [> *ie*]. *isak oxuo* the two of them. *isak etli* the three of them.

isapeinal QUANT forty. *iselme isapeinal* ninety.

ise > *aise*, *isu*.

iselme QUANT fifty. *iselme soŋotno* sixty. *iselme isoxuo* seventy. *iselme isetli* eighty. *iselme isapeinal* ninety.

isetli QUANT thirty. *iselme isetli* eighty.

isoxuo QUANT twenty. *iselme isoxuo* seventy.

isu-e VTR have sexual intercourse with. *ɲeisue= ɲeise= ɲaise* I had sex with her.

itau ADJ 1. good [≠ *soulu*]; 2. clean [≠ *amum*]. *omuluɲ abax itau da laki abax mudu* check the pig carefully first, lest it be a tame pig. *komgu nisi ba ombloue, maxau la itau* my leg is sore, so cut it. it will bleed and get better. *puda taxna ka itau* this cloth is clean. *mna itau* it smells good. *oklou itau* the dry season [≠ *iaiax*].

ite PRON we 1IP [> *ie*]. *itoxuo* we 1IP two. *itetli* we 1IP three. *ite apeinal* we 1IP four. *itelme* we 1IP five.

itelme PRON we 1IP five [= *ite elme* > *ie*].

itetli PRON we 1IP three [= *ite etli* > *ie*].

iti SPEC very [= *eiti*]. *kos iti = kos eiti* very long. *omba iti* huge.

itoxuo PRON we 1IP two [= *ite oxuo* > *ie*].

ka DEM the, this [near me. > *kade*, *to*, *exi*, *bla*]. *ɲenɲen ka dau akat* this food is still raw.

kaba N/±*ila*__ bed. *lugu kaba* my bed. *kaba sina* under the bed.

kadai N tree sp, mango, *Mangifera indica*.

kadaɲa N wooden hook on rope for hanging food basket away from rats.

kade DEM this, here [> *ka*, *to*, *exi*, *bla*]. *etnika ɲodoŋ kade* today I'll stay here. *omdoŋ kade* sit here. *ono kade to* there's the damn thing. *ɲap leklou kade* here's your portion.

kaden N/*ila*__ brother-in-law, sister-in-law, affine opposite sex same generation reciprocal [> *agiap*, *xana*].

kai N movement of Sia dance [> *sia*].

kaiɲan N giant clam shell, *Tridacna* spp [used for pig plates. = *golomada*].

kaiɲiaɲ VI pant [= *kaiɲieɲ*, *neɲesɲes*]. *gemle kaiɲiaɲ* the dog is panting.

kaida N bamboo tongs [= *diglou*].

kaiejiej VI pant [= *kaiəŋjaŋ*].
kakai VTR push to side, spread [= *suxuk*].
gute ka kakai kamla the man pushed
 aside her legs.
kakatur N banana sp [< Tolai].
kakau > *ududu kakau*.
kaklak ADJ itchy. *komgu kaklak* my
 leg is itchy.
kakluk-o VTR 1. take, carry [especially
 on shoulder. > *bis, sun*]; 2. give birth
 to. *kakluk sigi* he carried a stick on his
 shoulder. *amkakiluko la* take it away.
apmaŋ ka kakluk enenkodoŋ the woman
 has already given birth to a child.
kakxak ADJ 1. dry [= *epis* ≠ *okus*]; 2.
 empty. *aki to kakxak* that water
 container is empty.
kakxou N tree sp.
kalaisi N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [= *agiau*].
kalalaŋan N movement of k.o. dance [≥
apotŋen].
kalaja N parrot sp [≥ *libatoŋ*].
kalau N banana sp.
kale > *panim kale*.
kalubia N barracuda.
kaluga N shark.
kamaŋgi N taro sp.
kambuxu > *esis*.
kamda > *kamla*.
kamla N- foot, leg. [ŋ *komgu, kebeb,*
kamla, kamda, kepmi, kopmu,
kamsak]. *tomtoŋ kamda* let's rest our
 legs. *komgu apa ine* my heel. *komgu*
apok uatna my calf. *komgu ina baxa*
 my kneecap. *komgu bune ine* my knee.
komgu damaine my sole. *komgu exi*
ine 1. my tibia; 2. bones of my leg.
komgu tiino my toes. *komgu kxe ine*
 the back of my knee. *komgu noplo* I
 slipped. *komgu silimu* my ankle. *komgu*
talpes (ine) my toenails.
kamlu VTR cook [≥ *kamno, kluk, lipma*].
takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam let's

cook pork in bamboo so it'll be tender.
ŋakamlu ine I cooked it.
kamluk N edible spider sp [= *blesu* >
moxoxua].
kamna > *alau kamna*.
kamno VTR 1. boil; 2. cook by boiling
 [≥ *kamlu, kluk, lipma*]. *amkamno aki*
 boil some water. *amla amkamno xais*
 go cook some rice. *kamno eski* she
 cooked some taro.
kamsak > *kamla*.
kamulia N tree ant [= *oxlok*].
kap VTR with, accompany, and. *doŋ*
kap ila ide lagul she's with her mothers.
segi max kap uom? who came with
 you? *ŋala ŋakap ie* I'm going with
 him. *kap ite* he accompanied us. *tikap*
ila ide ita Kandoka they went with his
 mother to Kandoka.
kap N cup [< TP].
kapok N tree sp, *Ceiba pentandra* [<
 TP].
kapuk N tree sp.
karasin N kerosine [< TP]. *karasin msa*
 there is no kerosine left.
kas VTR burn out centre [≥ *kude, naxlo*].
ŋakas kude I'm burning out the inside
 of a drum. *ŋakas ie* I burned it out.
kasu N taro sp.
katan N hearth [≥ *mamine*].
kau N taro sp.
kau N flute sp [made of single bamboo
 with several holes. > *epxe, pexex,*
solopet, uotuot].
kax VTR 1. give; 2. feed. *amkax ŋoŋ*
uas give me some tobacco. *kax ŋoŋ*
tanuas he gave me some tobacco. *ŋakax*
ie tan uas I gave him some tobacco.
tikax abax they fed the pigs.
kaxaja ADJ enough, good enough,
 sufficient [≥ *iagos*]. *uon to kaxaja*
kodoŋ that's already enough.

kaxap N movement of k.o. dance [\geq *sia*].

kaxkax N trumpet bird.

kaxoki N crab [generic in Salkei, but rejected in Lumusi. Lusi *karoki*].

kaxoxo N 1. cage for transporting pigs; 2. litter for carrying a sick person.

kaxumkaxum N banana sp.

kebep > *kamla*.

kede N bamboo sp [= *sexe*].

keiau N bush hen.

keine N- 1. one; 2. alone, by oneself [q *kelŋoŋ, keluom, keine, kelte, kelmi, kelmu, kelsak*]. *buno keine* one hundred. *gotu keine* morning [= *nasaksak*]. *gute ka keine la* the man went alone.

kekele N banana sp.

kekkek N frog sp.

kelil ADJ 1. smooth; 2. slippery [= *neblen, noklot* > *daglik*]. *akai ka kelil* the wood is smooth; the log is slippery.

kelisŋen N taro sp.

kelmi, kelmu, kelŋoŋ, kelsak, kelte, keluom > *keine*.

kemel N taro sp.

kenda N taro sp.

keŋit VI whine [\geq *siŋit*].

kepe N shell scraper [= *mel*].

kepmi > *kamla*.

ketal N tree sp.

kexep ADV outside. *doŋ kexep* it's outside. *ompolou amla kexep* go outside.

kexi N banana sp.

kexkex N/___ine ribs, side of body [Anêm *kêxkêx*]. *kexkex lugŋoŋ* my ribs. *ŋodue doŋ kexkex lugŋoŋ* I carried her on my side [eg child].

ki CJ and, so [\geq *ba, i*]. *enen ka balilu ki bitna bauluk* the child has been spinning and is dizzy. *amum ki la mogxoŋo* it's dirty so take it away and wash it.

takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam let's cook it in bamboo so it'll be tender. *ŋomtoko ki golŋoŋ itau* I vomited and my stomach feels better.

ki SPEC/CL__ confirmative [\geq *ba*]. *ŋenŋen to eŋil?* ie. *eŋil ki* is that food hot? yeah, sure it's hot.

kikxe VTR 1. scrape; 2. scratch; 3. grate [\geq *nou*]. *emkikxe eski* scrape (the black off) the taro. *ŋekikxe taxna lugŋoŋ* I scratch my skin [because it's itchy]. *kikxe eski* she's grating taro.

kilek N lory [used by women as medium in love magic].

kilongaxi N taro sp.

kimbe N banana sp.

kini CJ or. *ŋenŋen to soulu kini itau?* is the food bad or good?

kis VTR hold [\geq *bis*]. *ogu kis ie* I held it in my mouth. *mudu naki mekis gemle ie la* if it's tame then we hold the dogs so it can go. *ŋekis ie* I'm holding it. *tikis limsak peli* they held hands.

kisaku N lizard sp.

kitkitŋen N 1. frond; 2. tail of bird [\geq *gitno*]. *oŋgup kitkitŋen* coconut frond. *monuk kitkitŋen* tail of a bird.

kiue N rat. *kiue ila titaiŋen* rafter brace parallel to ridge [ratway].

kixdau N clay pot [= *ulo*].

kixia N small-leafed rattan sp.

kixui TEMP afternoon, late afternoon.

kle > *kli*.

kli VTR buy [= *kle/___3S*]. *emkli gomot ge?* where did you buy the canoe? *ŋekle* I bought it.

kliŋen > *kliŋin*.

kliŋin-e V 1. hear; 2. understand; 3. pay attention [= *kliŋen*]. *emkliŋen?* do you hear?; do you understand?; are you paying attention? *emkliŋin lugŋoŋ?* did you hear about me? *imekliŋin monuk*

- uai* we heard a bird cry. *klijine blaj* he heard it too.
- kluk* VI cook, burn [> *kamno, kamlu, lipma*]. *mala modue ida ajuwa max kluk tajane* go get our fish and bring it to cook so we can eat it. *ɲokum akai deite kluk eiou* I'll get some wood to go up and burn in the fire. *eski kluk* the taro is cooking.
- kjal* N small leech sp [that gets into eyes. > *dipman Anêm kjal*].
- kje* VTR 1. snare, hook; 2. mount a timpanum. *ɲala ɲemtex deuei sep ɲekje kude* I'm going to tap a tree sp to glue the drum. *dadik kje ie* he hiccoughed [a rat sp snared him]. *naki ɲekje tan pixdem* then I snare a monitor lizard with it. *ɲekje lodi* I hooked a fish sp.
- kobi* VTR light. *ɲokobi uas* I lit a cigarette.
- kobok* MOD negative, no [≠ *ie*]. *dau mete kobok* he hasn't died yet. *elil bima kobok* a dull knife. *axagu kobok i tala* if it doesn't rain, let's go. *iage kobok lazy*. *kobok aite* not at all.
- kodoŋ* MOD completive, already. *pampamu ine, ano la kodoŋ* it is his corpse, his soul has already left. *epmes kodoŋ ba omox tomuru* it's night already so come let's sleep. *gi kodoŋ* he's (already) married.
- koka* > *xai koka*.
- koklok* N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [≤ *agiau*].
- kokolatau* N banana sp.
- kokxak* N crow.
- kokxei* N woman's pubic apron, skirt. *siau tipme uxok kokxei* the women put on their pubic aprons.
- kolboŋo* N tree sp.
- kole* V slander. *omkole lugŋoŋ* you slandered me.
- kolet* N husking stick.
- komduŋo* N ridgepole [> *ududu kakau*]. *niŋu ina komduŋo* ridgepole of a house.
- komgu* > *kamla*.
- komgu esleine* N great grandparents [children of *baba*].
- komlou* > *limla*.
- kopik* VI jump. *ɲokopik la ɲasau ie* I jumped and got it.
- kopine* > *tala kopine*.
- kopmu* > *kamla*.
- kos* ADJ long. *galou ka kos eiti* this rope is very long.
- kosope* N taro sp.
- kotok* VI stretch out, lie down. *omkotok. ɲoŋ ɲosogo* you stretch out. I'll write.
- kou* N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [with fruit and tubers. Lusi *titivu*].
- koxda* N 1. tree sp, *Octomeles sumatrana*; 2. banana sp.
- kraŋip* N taro sp [Aria *kraŋip* cuscus].
- kuako* N chicken. *kuako dobutno* chicken egg. *kuako titno nesiousiou* chicks are chirping. *kuako to tupi ɲenɲen* the chicken is pecking at food. *maxba ila kuako* kingfisher sp.
- kualolo* N tree sp [similar to *Ceiba*, but wild. fluff used for pillows].
- kubi* N tree sp.
- kubo* N cassowary sp. *kubo ila eiou* taro sp.
- kubu* VTR steal [> *kubuŋen*]. *ɲokubu elil* I stole a knife. *omkubu ie* you stole it.
- kubuŋen* N theft [< *kubu*]. *gute kubuŋen ina* thief.
- kude* N 1. hourglass drum [> *deuei, kas, kje, naxlo*]; 2. taro sp. *ɲekje kude* I mount a timpanum on a drum. *ɲasapi kude* I'm carving a drum.
- kukep* V hide. *ɲala ɲokukep* I'll go hide. *ɲokukep lugu elil* I hid my knife.
- kukli* N tree sp.
- kukxou* N banana sp.
- kulaluo* N adze with a concave head.

kuliep N 1. shell trumpet; 2. *Charonia tritonis*.

kum-e VTR get, gather. *ɲala ɲokum akai deite kluk eiou* I'm going to get some wood to burn on the fire. *kume kodonj* she's already gotten it.

kun-e VTR smell [> *mna*]. *gemle kun uom* the dog is smelling you.

kuxu > *xai kuxu*.

kxam-e VTR break [especially across grain]. *ɲakxam onɟup ɲaɲane* I cut a coconut in half to eat it. *kxame* he broke it.

kxaɲap N cuscus.

kxe > *kamla*.

kxim V/___± *ine* 1. look for; 2. hunt; 3. look after. *ɲekxim abax* I hunt pigs. *ɲekxim ine* I'll look after him [eg. child].

kxo VI stuck, caught up on other trees [= *nokol*, *nekel*]. *akai to kxo* the tree is stuck.

kxu VI grunt, snort [> *nokuk*]. *abax to kxu* that pig snorted.

kxupkxup N frog sp.

la VI go, away [ɣ *ɲala*, *amla*, *la*, *tala*, *imala*= *mala*, *umala*= *mala*, *ila* ≠ *max* > *uti*]. *la due ato* he went to take a message. *ambasex aki la* pour the water out. *ɲabauluk ɲala* I'm going back. *omuxie la* throw it away. *duxu la* he went down. *sep la* he went inside. *amkakluko la* take it away. *gom ila enen ila* he gathered his children and went. *la niru* he went home. *tala misuon* let's go to the sea.

labu N sand. *labu batne* beach.

lagɲa N/___± *ine* name. *gi gute exi lagɲa* he called that man's name. *lagɲa luguom segi?* what's your name? *lagɲa lugɲonj Uala* my name is Uala.

lagul QUANT collective. *donj kap ila ide lagul* she's staying with her mothers.

laine blaɲ TEMP in five days [> *etnika*]. *gusik laine* in four days.

laki CJ lest, watch out or. *laki omgone* careful you don't fall. *omuluɲ abax itau da laki abax mudu* you check the pig carefully first lest it be a tame pig.

lakou N freshwater fish sp.

lam N lamp [< TP].

lana-e N/___pro like, want, agree [ɣ *lana ɲonj*, *lana uom*, *lanae*, *lana ite*, *lana imi*, *lana umu*, *lana isak* > *aise*]. *lana ɲonj ɲaise ɲala kobok* I don't want to go. *gute ka lanae* the man wants to. *lana ɲonj* it's alright with me.

lasna N/___± *ine* testicles [= *lesna*]. *tabak lasna* let's castrate it. *abax ka lasna msim* the pig's castration wound is healing. *gute lasna* a man's testicles. *lasna lugɲonj* my testicles.

laulau bulu N snake sp.

laupu N taro sp.

laupu xixi N taro sp.

lebei N gecko.

leim > *ebelgi leim*.

leklou N piece, share, portion [= *emkil*]. *ɲap leklou kade. ɲagu leklou kade* here's your share. this is my share.

lelepo N aromatic plant sp.

lem > *ila*.

lemau > *ilau*.

lemide > *ide*.

les VI weed. *ɲeles tan omux* I weed the garden.

lesna > *lasna*.

libatoɲ N green parrot [> *kalaɲa*].

libe, *libep*, *libmi* > *limla*.

libmi > *ine*.

liem > *ebelgi liem*.

ligau > *ilau*.

lila VI walk. *ɲelila tan otou ɲala* I walked away with a walking stick. *emlila molil* walk slowly. *ɲelila ine* I dodged it [eg. spear]. *gute la lila tepis*

ba due iage kobok the man is lazy so he never makes a garden.

lilie VI play. *agau tililie* the children are playing.

lilik > *manjamaŋa lilik*.

lilil N drip, leak. *lilil gone* it's dripping. *ninu ka lilil* the house leaks.

lilu N curled [> *migel, okol*]. *abax ka gitno lilu* the pig has a curled tail.

limau > *ilau*.

limda > *limla*.

lime-ine N- tongue [¶ *limelŋoŋ, limeluom, limeine, limeite, limelmi= limermi, limelmu= limermu, limelsak*].

limem > *ila*.

limemide > *ide*.

limla N- hand, arm [¶ *lumgu= lungu, libep, limla= libe, limda, libmi= lipmi, lubmu= lupmu, limsak*]. *lumgu adex ine* my forearm. *lumgu agum ine* my wrist. *lumgu apa ine* the heel of my hand. *lumgu balokŋen* my inner elbow. *lumgu boi* my ring finger. *lumgu bune ine* my elbow. *lumgu titno* my fingers. *lumgu opmu* my thumb. *lumgu saiki* my little finger. *lumgu sukŋen* my index finger. *lumgu nopu komlou* my middle finger. *lumgu talpes (ine)* my fingernails. *lumgu damaine* my palm. *libep to gala* that is your left hand. *imekis libmi peli* we held hands. *bogi limla talpes* banana sp.

liŋliŋ-e VTR wash, rinse out [> *gxon*].

lipma ADJ cooked [≠ *akat* > *kluk*]. *ŋeŋen ka lipma kodoŋ* the food is cooked.

lipmi > *limla*.

lipmi > *lutno*.

lisak, lite > *ine*.

lodi N freshwater fish sp.

logle N 1. magic [especially healing magic. = *luanŋan* > *tai, xomos*]; 2. spirit sp that inhabits a specific place and causes illness [= *oruŋ* TP *masalai*]; 3. lightning,

thunder [> *pelaka, uai*]. *ŋodue logle luguom* I'll perform healing magic on you. *omux to logle* that is an evil place. *logle noulep* lightning. *logle nogxum* thunder.

lokono ADJ 1. true [≠ *iak*]; 2. righthand [≠ *gala*]. *amuai lokono* tell the truth. *libep to lokono* that is your right hand.

loloŋ N tree sp.

loloto ADV into the forest [= *tan omoŋ aitno*]. *uxie loloto* he threw it into the forest.

lomuk N mosquito.

londo N/___± *ine* seed. *akai londo ine* seeds of a tree.

longolongo N spotted pig [> *abax*].

loŋo N housefly. *loŋo nei* a fly is buzzing.

loŋobixi N bluebottle fly.

lopa N tree sp [similar to *Canarium*, but with larger nut].

lou V/___*ine* fear, be afraid of. *lou ine* he is afraid of him. *omlou lugŋoŋ?* are you afraid of me?

lua VTR 1. help with work; 2. cure, heal with magic [> *luanŋan, logle*]. *omox amlua ŋoŋ* come help me.

luanŋan N healing magic [= *logle*]. *ŋode luanŋan ine ki dite* I performed healing magic on him so he could get better.

lubmu > *ine*.

lubmu > *limla*.

ludo > *lutno*.

lugŋoŋ > *ine*.

lugu > *ila*.

lugude > *ide*.

luguom > *ine*.

lui N dugong.

luk VTR clear garden. *amlu omluk lugu omux* go clear my garden.

luku > *lutno*.

lulul ADJ/*bima*___ blind with cataracts. *bima lulul* he has cataracts.

lumakaine QUANT six.

lumau > *ila*.

lumaxuo QUANT seven.

lumesnal QUANT nine.

lumetli QUANT eight.

lungu > *limla*.

lumu > *ila*.

lumude > *ide*.

Lumusi N name of Mouk village, formerly on river Vanu.

lungu > *limla*.

luok N tree sp.

lup > *lutno*.

lupmu > *limla*, *lutno*.

lutno N- sister, brother, sibling or parallel cousin opposite sex reciprocal singular [ɟ *luku*, *lup*, *lutno*, *ludo*, *lipmi*, *lupmu*, *lutxok* > *agatno*, *atua*, *sulutno*].

lutxok > *lutno*.

madedet ADV/*doŋ*__ squat. *todoŋ madedet* we squatted.

madu N banana sp.

magit ADJ junior, little, younger [≠ *ŋoŋle*]. *ŋoŋ magit*, *ie ŋoŋle* I'm younger than him. *magit ono* the little one.

maiku N taro sp.

makuba N chalk.

makue N mushroom [generic].

makul N tree sp.

malaj N taro sp.

malau N taro sp.

malolo N movement of k.o. dance [≥ *sia*].

malugi N taro sp.

malunluŋ N tree sp.

mamaiaŋ VI yawn. *ŋamamaiaŋ* I yawned.

mamine N/*eiou*__ hearth [> *katan*]. *eiou*

mamine hearth.

mana VI 1. hang; 2. commit suicide by hanging [> *bel*]. *nepekpek mana* it was strewn hanging everywhere. *uon to mana* that is hanging. *apmaŋ to bel mana* the woman has committed suicide by hanging.

manaŋi N bat sp.

manus N banana sp.

maŋamaŋa ADJ crazy.

maŋamaŋa lilik N taro sp.

mangoxoŋ N cliff [= *gugloŋ*].

masil TEMP tomorrow [> *etmika*]. *masil ŋala Kandoka* tomorrow I'm going to Kandoka.

masilau N shellfish.

masket N rifle, shotgun [< TP]. *timtex abax tan masket* they shoot pigs with guns.

masu V garnish [> *masuŋen*].

masuŋen N garnish, meat, vegetable side dish [< *masu* > *aŋua*, *aitno*, *okux*]. *ida masuŋen* our meat.

matambuta N aromatic plant sp.

matolo N cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis*.

matu N/± *ila*__ walking stick [= *otou*]. *lugu matu* my walking stick.

mau > *sobo mau*.

maua ADV far [≠ *uanuk*]. *doŋ bla maua exi* it's far away over there.

maui N/± *ina*__ betel mortar [used by people with no teeth to mash betel mixture]. *ŋagu maui* my betel mortar.

max VI come [ɟ *ŋamax*, *omox*, *max*, *tamax*, *mamax*, *momox*, *timax* ≠ *la* > *ui*]. *aki silaŋ max ŋeinim* bring me some water to drink. *ŋamax ŋabatne* I'll come later. *segi max kap uom?* who came with you? *duxu max* he came down. *sep max* he came in. *silaŋ max* hand one over. *epmes kodoŋ ba omox tomunu* it's night already so come let's sleep. *omox da* come here for a

minute.

maxabuk N taro sp.

maxakete N spear with single iron tip [> *uala*]. *netex abax tan maxakete* I speared a pig with an iron-tipped spear.

maxau N/± *ina* __ blood. *ngau maxau* my blood. *komgu nisi ba ombloue*, *maxau la itau* my leg is sore, so cut it. when it bleeds, it will get better.

maxaxo ames N banana sp.

maxba N 1. spirit sp [TP *tambaran*. either a spirit figure controlled by men's lodge or real monster that chases people in the forest and takes the form of birds and other animals. > *ano*, *logle* ≥ *aulu*, *baxku*, *dimex tna*]; 2. taro sp.

maxe N domestic *Cordyline* sp [≠ *anun*].

maxexe N third month, possibly June [> *taiko*].

maxka N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [≤ *agiau*].

maxkan ADJ lightweight [≠ *talu*]. *lam ka maxkan* the lamp is light.

maxo VI float [= *monmono*, *ples*]. *akai maxo* wood floats.

maxoni N/*gute* __ headman. *gute maxoni* a headman. *gute maxoni asna* wife of a headman.

meia N 1. banana sp; 2. taro sp.

meia solou N banana sp.

Meitabala N name of Mouk village.

mekelij N snake sp.

mel N shell scraper [= *kepe* Anêm *mêl*].

melba N 1. paddle; 2. tail fin. *añua melba ine* tail fin of a fish.

melbe ADJ flimbsy [= *meleplep*, *meteltel*].

meleplep ADJ flimbsy [= *melbe*, *meteltel*].

melim N 1. bandicoot [> *podu*]; 2. fontanelle. *lugu melim* my fontanelle.

mepex N 1. snake sp; 2. taro sp.

Merok N name of Mouk village near south coast.

mese N 1. *Trochus* sp; 2. armband

made of trochus; 3. fathom part [from fingertimps to middle of biceps, where armband is worn].

mesis N banana sp.

mete VI die, faint. *dau mete kobok*, *ano doŋ* he hasn't died yet, his soul remains. *asna mete* one whose spouse has died. *ngomluk uom ki emete* I'll knock you out.

metetel ADJ flimbsy, soft [= *melbe*, *meleplep* > *omuk*, *nagax*].

mexden N brown pig that is striped when juvenile [> *abax*].

mexiaŋ N 1. hornbill; 2. banana sp.

mgo VI precede, go ahead [≠ *batne*]. *omgo tala* let's go, you first. *momgo*, *ngŋ ngabatne* you guys go on ahead, I'll follow later.

mgux VI bark and howl [eg. dogs when a stranger comes into a village. > *neklemklem*]. *gemle mgux* the dogs are barking.

midau N variety of pitpit, *Saccharum* sp [> *mixsau* Anêm *miziao*].

mige > *ebel mige*.

migel N pig sp with curled tail [> *lilu*, *abax*].

mismis N dust. *ngasak pexpex mismis tan komgu* I wipe chalk dust from my leg. *ngasak komgu tan mismis* I brush dust off my leg.

misuon N sea, ocean. *tala misuon* let's go to the sea. *osep misuon ina* people who live on the beach [> *omog*]. *bleten misuon ina* moray eel. *palem misuon* banana sp [gets tall enough to view the sea and becomes ripe].

mixmix N black wasp sp found in trees [> *gulupa* Anêm *mixmix*].

mixsau N inedible wild pitpit sp, *Saccharum* sp [> *midau* Anêm *mixziao*].

mixsou N tree sp.

mko > *mluk*.

mlegi N/ila__ son [singular. > *enen, ilmanj*]. *lugu mlegi* my son.

mluk VTR hit, beat, kill by stiking [= *mko/*_3S. ≠ *mtex*]. *ηomluk uom ki emete* I'll beat you to death. *mko* he hit him. *timko peli* they're fighting. *gute sapaņa mko* the man is hungry. *sapaņa mluk ηoη* I'm hungry. *lugu musou mluk ηoη* my sorcery backfired against me.

mna VI smell, stink [> *mnaņan, kun*]. *mna (soulu)* it stinks. *mna itau* it smells good. *eski mna* the taro smells [it must be cooked and ready to eat].

mnaņan N/±*ila*__ smell, odour [< *mna*]. *lugu mnaņan* my odour.

mododo N ninth month, possibly December [> *taiko*].

modou N tree sp with aromatic bark.

modouani N harbour, deep place [> *pasis, sagxu*].

mogolu N/__*ine* guts [> *damaine, goline*].

mogoxoxo N coral sp.

mogum alau N taro sp.

mogxen N aromatic plant sp.

moi > *ediaņ moi*.

mol VTR fold. *tomol ie* we fold it.

molbak N taro sp.

moli ADV below, downstream [≠ *pegim* > *sina*]. *tesis moli* let's bathe downstream. *munu uai axmok moli* he talks in his sleep [to the people of the village of the dead below].

molil ADJ slowly. *emlila molil* walk slowly.

moluok ADJ brown.

mon N dugout canoe [< TP = *gomot*].

monmono VI float [= *maxo, ples*]. *akai monmono* wood floats.

monuk N bird [generic]. *monuk kitkitņen* tail of bird. *imekliņin monuk uai* we heard a bird cry. *monuk ila onuk* bird's nest. *monuk pena* wing of bird. *monuk*

uole ine feathers. *monuk tiuxok* birds fly.

mota N snake [generic. = *aulas*].

mouk N firebrand [burning stick used to carry fire from place to place].

Mouk N name of linguistic group. *uaiņan Mouk* Mouk language.

mox > *max*.

moxduk N/±*ila*__ urine [> *duxie*].

moxmox N banana sp.

moxomo N sandfly.

moxopo N star that rise just before dawn.

moxotoņo N/ila__ firstborn child [> *enen, ipem puda*]. *lugu moxotoņo* my firstborn child.

moxoxua N spider [generic and specific. > *blesu, kamluk*]. *moxoxua ieu* spider web.

msa VI finished, all gone [> *iagos, oxmot*]. *karasin msa* there's no kerosine left.

msim VI 1. dried up; 2. healed; 3. dead, out [> *mete, bamsim*]. *lugu egle msim* my sore has dried up; my sore is healing. *eiou msim* the fire is dead. *tibamsim eiou* they put out the fire.

mtex-e VTR 1. spear, stab, shoot, tap, kill by stabbing [≠ *mluk*]; 2. tie [> *pou*]. *amņa ηoη ba ηemtex uom* since I'm angry, I'll spear you. *timtex abax tan masket* they shoot pigs with guns. *ηala mtex akai* I'm going to tap a tree. *ηemtexe* I tie a knot in it [eg. net].

mtoko VI vomit. *ηomtoko ki golηoη itau* I vomited and my stomach feels better.

mtoņ V rest [> *suali*]. *momtoņ da* let's rest a little first. *tomtoņ kamda* let's rest our legs.

mudu ADJ tame [≠ *sagsagi, aņua*]. *abax mudu* a tame pig.

muli N lemon, lime, orange, *Citrus* spp [< TP]. *muli olune* orange juice.

mumgu > *bubno*.

mumum N banana sp.

munu VI sleep, lie, be located [> *doŋ*].
munu uai axmok moli he talks in his sleep. *tabauluk otuk ine ba munu osuk* let's turn its prow so it lies straight. *ŋagu uas bla ŋodue munu exi* that's my tobacco that I laid over there.

munusaux N love potion. *todue munusaux* let's get some love potion.

musou N sorcery, bodily effluvia used in sorcery. *gute silaŋ due ŋagu musou* someone is performing sorcery on me. *segi de ŋagu musou ki ŋapaia ka?* who got hold of my bodily effluvia so that now I'm sick? *lugu musou mluk ŋoŋ* my sorcery backfired against me. *gute musou ina* sorcerer. *lugu musou* sorcery that I perform. *ŋagu musou* sorcery performed against me.

mxi VI stand. *ŋexke abax mxi tan omoŋ aitno* I saw a pig standing in the forest. *xaxna lugŋoŋ mxi* I lay on my side [my side stands].

na SPEC/CI__ hey, just [> *ba, e*]. *omox enen ka siŋit na* hey, come here, this child is crying. *oxuo na* just two [> *bala*].

nablak VI squish, mushy [< *blak* > *nagax*].
obul ka nablak the banana squished.

nabon N wax [= *tilbut* > *uame*].

nagax VI hard, tough [> *meteltel, nablak*].
eski ka taxna nagax this taro has a tough skin.

nagemgem N small beads [= *amasai* > *pogpoge*].

naitax N taro paddle.

nakaxkax VI creak, sound of wood breaking [> *napakpak*].

naki CJ then. *abax mudu naki mekis gemle ie la. se sagsagi naki temtexe* if it's a tame pig, then we hold the dogs so it can go. if it's wild, then we spear it.

nakila N Papuan axe.

nakŋaikŋai VI shout a warning.

nakum N 1. black pig [> *abax*]; 2. black and shiny [≠ *obox*].

nakxam VI shatter [eg. glass].

nalato N 1. bamboo smoking pipe; 2. banana sp.

namane N aromatic plant sp.

namŋan N digging stick [= *apma*].

nanam N tree sp.

nanasŋas VI wheeze and pant.

nanŋax VI stick into and support self [eg. knife or stick thrown into the ground]. *akai to nanŋax mxi* the stick is standing stuck (into the ground).

napak VI crack. *tumxo napak* the Siasi dish has a crack in it.

napakpak VI 1. crack, creak, snap [sound similar to *nakaxkax, saxba*]; 2. shred, tear into strips. *akai to napakpak* the trees were creaking.

nasaksak TEMP morning [= *gotu keine Anêm ugêsêksêk*]. *ŋedite tan nasaksak* I wake up in the morning. *nasaksak ŋouti ŋapan uom* in the morning I'll come and wake you up.

nasijen N oral history, law [> *alemge*].
ŋedidi nasijen I'm telling oral history.

natak VI crack open, shatter.

nataktak VI splinter. *akai ka nataktak* the wood splintered.

natus N wallaby [= *apose, sokolo*].

naxlo N thorny vine used to scrape charred wood while burning the centre out of wood to make a drum [> *kude, kas*].

nebiŋ VI firmly planted or attached [eg. post in ground. = *nobuŋ Anêm -gêbîŋ*].

neblen VI slippery [= *noklot* > *kelil*].
akai ka neblen the log is slippery.

nebliŋ VI flash [Anêm -*gêbliŋ*]. *uon to nebliŋ* that flashed.

nebxik VI too low [eg. bed too close to the ground or ceiling too low to stand up. Anêm -*gêbxîk*]. *kaba ka nebxik*

this bed it too low.

nedioxdiox VI trickle [eg. stream of rain or urine. Anêm -gêzioxziox].

nedip VI 1. slip out of place [eg. when trying to tie something]; 2. fall down and kill. *akai nedip ine* a tree fell and killed him.

negegxe VI cracking, popping sound [< *negxe*].

negigi VI flutter, tremble [> *nekexkex*].

negigik VI shiver. *negigik* I'm shivering.

negxe VI s sound of stick snapping [> *negegxe*].

negxengxex VI rattle [= *nogxongxox*, *nokoxkox* Anêm -gêgxongxox].

nei VI buzz. *loŋo nei* houseflies buzz.

nekel VI caught up in other trees [= *nokol*, *kxo*]. *akai to nekel* the tree is caught up.

nekeŋ VI limp [= *netix*]. *nekeŋ la* he limped away.

nekexkex VI flutter [eg. leaves in wind. similar to *negigi*].

neklemklem VI bark and bay [eg. sound dogs make when chasing pigs during a hunt. > *mgux*]. *gemle neklemklem* dogs are barking [someone is pursuing a pig].

nekeŋ VI 1. tinkle [Anêm -gêkleŋ]; 2. too long or tall for some purpose.

neklep V 1. together, alongside, aligned with and in contact [eg. sticks tied together. > *neklip*]; 2. cuddle. *neklep ine* he put it against it [parallel to it]. *emneklep ŋoŋ* cuddle up against me.

nekles VI speed, fast, take off suddenly [= *nekxit*, *nepik*]. *nekles la* he took off fast.

neklip VI against, cover, over and in contact [eg. flat hand over open mouth. > *neklep*. Anêm -gêklîp]. *damalŋoŋ duxu neklip* I lie on my stomach. *neklip ine* it covered him.

nekxek VI collapse. *nînu to nekxek duxu*

tan ebes the house collapsed onto the ground.

nekxes VI sneak, slip away surreptitiously. *ŋenekxes ŋala* I slipped away.

nekxit VI 1. speed, fast, take off suddenly [= *nekles*, *nepik* Anêm -gêkxît]; 2. slack. *nekxit la* he took off suddenly. *galou ka nekxit* the rope is slack.

nelemlem VI sparkle, shimmer.

nemil VI move [> *nemilmil*, *nemit* Anêm -gêmîl].

nemilmil VI wave back and forth [< *nemil*].

nemit VI move [> *nemitmit*, *nemil* Anêm -gêmît].

nemitmit VI shake [< *nemit*].

neniŋxis VI sniffle [= *neŋxesgxes*].

neŋesŋes VI pant [eg. dogs. = *kaiariari*].

neŋxesgxes VI sniffle [= *neniŋxis*].

neŋimŋim VI whisper, murmur [Anêm -gêŋimŋîm].

neŋisŋis VI wheeze [Anêm -gêŋîsŋîs].

neŋix VI growl [> *neŋixŋix* Anêm -gêŋîx]. *gemle ka neŋix* the dog growled.

neŋixŋix VI growl [< *neŋix*]. *gemle ka neŋixŋix* the dog is growling.

nepekpek VI messy. *apas nepekpek mana* clothes were hanging everywhere.

nepel VI rise. *taiko nepel* the moon rose.

nepik VI speed, fast, take off suddenly [= *nekxit*, *nekles*]. *nepik la* he took off suddenly.

nepil VI lean [eg. ladder against house or tree that has broken but not yet fallen. Anêm -gêpîl].

nepli VI break off; collapse. *akai nepli duxu gxum nînu* a tree broke off and fell down and smashed the house. *nînu nepli* the house collapsed.

neplis VI 1. snap [= *notxum*]; 2. straight [= *osuk*, *oduŋ* ≠ *okol* Anêm -gêplis]; 3. tall. *galou neplis* a rope snapped. *ienim ka neplis* this road is straight. *eliep*

ka neplis this betel palm is tall.
nesiousiou VI chirp. *kuako timo nesiousiou* baby chicks chirp.
nesip VI set. *oklou nesip* the sun set.
neslikslik VI smack slips. *neslikslik* he kept smacking his lips.
netek VI jump. *netetik* I jumped.
netenɛɛɛ VI drip, leak [Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
netex VI 1. teeter, balance [eg. when cutting a tree, sometimes the trunk splits, the tree flies up and teeters before falling]; 2. sit firmly on top [eg. pole on top of post. = *nobuɲ*]. *netex doɲ* it's properly seated.
netik VI concave. *gute to goline netik* the man's stomach is concave [from hunger].
netix VI limp [= *nekeɲ* Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛ].
netix la he limped away.
netxik VI spurt [> *netxiktɛɛɛ*].
netxiktɛɛɛ VI splash around [< *netxik*].
nimuxu ADJ wet with droplets of water after rain.
ninu N/± *ila*__ house. *la ninu* he went home. *doɲ ninu aitrɔ* it's inside the house. *ninu bitna* door. *ɲogxum ninu* I wrecked the house. *lugu ninu* my house. *ninu ina baboxo* wall of a house. *ninu ina siɲen* ladder of a house. *ninu ina txanɲan* thatch of a house.
ninuoɁ TEMP two days ago [> *etnika*].
nis VTR follow inland [> *misuon*]. *tenis aki* let's follow the river inland.
nisi N pain, hurt, sore. *ɲoɲ blaɲ komgu nisi ina* my leg hurts too. *otuk lugɲoɲ nisi* I have a headache.
noblok VI become detached, fall off [eg. cucumber falling from stem. Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
nobluk VI bubble up, gurgle up. *aki nobluk dite* water bubbled up.
nobol VI sprout [> *nobolbol*]. *oɲɲup to nobol* the coconut has sprouted.

nobolbol VI sprout [< *nobol*]. *akai nobolbol* the tree stump has several sprouts.
nobom VI stick up [eg. spear thrown into ground. Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
nobotbot VI bubble up [eg. water springs that occur after rains. Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
nobuk VI plunk [sound of something heavy falling into deep water].
nobuɲ VI firm [= *nebiɲ* > *netex*].
nodoxop VI sink [Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
oklou nodoxop la the sun sank away.
noduɲduɲ VI 1. butt end to end [eg. slats at corner of a house. Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ]; 2. poke at [Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ]. *noduɲduɲ peli* they butt up against one another; they poke at one another.
nogloɲ N fathom segment [from fingertips to opposite shoulder].
nogogxom VI sound of branches snapping [Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
nogonɲoɲ VI gurgle, glug [sound of water pouring from shell].
nogxom VI/*bitna*__ blind with eyeball missing.
nogxonɲxonɲ VI rattle [= *negxɛɲɲxɛɲ*, *nokoxkox* Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ].
nogxum VI/*logle*__ thunder. *logle nogxum* there was thunder.
nogxus N fathom segment [from fingertips to armpit].
nokloɲ VI level [Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ]. *akai ka nokloɲ* the board is level.
nokloɲkloɲ VI knock, thump, tap [Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ]. *ɲonokloɲkloɲ tan pugu bitna* I knocked at the door. *nokloɲkloɲ ine* he tapped on it. *akai nokloɲkloɲ* a tree is thumping.
noklot VI 1. slippery [= *neblen* > *kelil* Anêm –gêɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ]; 2. ricochet. *akai ka noklot* the tree was slippery.
noklut VI graze, just miss [> *nokuklut*].
noklut lugɲoɲ it just missed me.

nokokok VI cluck [chickens and bush hens. > *nopotpot* Anêm -*gêkokok*].

nokol VI stuck, caught up in other trees [= *nekel*, *kxo* Anêm -*kêl*]. *akai nokol mana* a tree is caught up.

nokoxkox VI 1. rattle [= *negxexgxeŋ*, *nogxoŋgxoŋ*]; 2. rustle, crackle [sound of walking on dry leaves. Anêm -*gêkoxkox*].

nokuk VI alarm grunt [wild pig when surprised. > *kxu* Anêm -*gêkuk*].

nokuklut VI graze [< *noklut*]. *uala noklut lugŋoŋ* the spears grazed me.

nokup VI/*ebes*__ landslide. *ebes nokup* there was a landslide.

nokxonkxon VI squeal [sound of pig expecting food].

nokxut VI gulp [sound of drinking water, especially from a coconut shell].

nono SPEC diminutive [= *ono*]. *enen ka otno nono* this little child.

noŋoŋoŋ VI alarm cry of a cassowary [= *nouoŋoŋoŋ*].

noplo VI/*kamla*__ slip. *komgu noplo* I slipped.

noplos VI 1. slip out of place [> *nedip*, *noblok* Anêm -*gêplos*]; 2. get away by slipping out of snare or off tynes of a spear. *uala ka noplos* the spear head slipped off the shaft. *paxia noplos la* the monitor lizard slipped out (of the noose) and got away.

nopok VI snap [sound of stick breaking. Anêm -*gêpok*].

nopokpok VI snap [sound of branches breaking while walking along a path. > *negegxe*, *nopokpok*].

nopotpot VI quiet clucking of chickens [> *nokokok* Anêm -*gêpotpot*].

nopu VI pop, explode, bump [Anêm -*gêpu*]. *oxsu nopu* bamboo explodes [when burned]. *imemko otuk libmi nopu peli* we bumped heads. *lumgu nopu komlou* my middle finger.

nopus VI fart [Anêm -*kêpîs*].

nopusŋen N aromatic plant sp.

nopux VI/*bitna*__ blind with eyelid sealed shut.

nopxus VI splash.

noskup VI split [eg improperly felled tree that splits up trunk].

nosluk VI 1. come apart [eg. improperly tied bundle. Anêm -*gêsluk*]; 2. fall down in numbers [eg. bananas because they are over-ripe].

nosux VI/*aki*__ waterfalls. *aki nosux* = *aki silmei* waterfalls.

notloktlok VI tsk [alveolar click of tongue].

notop VI adhere to [eg. a speck of something. > *blet*]. *ata notop doŋ komgu* a speck of shit is stuck to my foot.

notxum VI snap [= *neplis*]. *galou ka notxum* the rope snapped.

nou VTR scrape; grate [> *kikxe*]. *omnou oŋgup* grate some coconut. *siau tinou omoi* women scrape pandanus [for sleeping mats]. *ŋonou ie kodonŋ* I've already grated it.

noulep VI/*logle*__ lightning [= *pelaka*]. *logle noulep* lightning.

nouoŋoŋoŋ VI alarm cry of cassowary [= *noŋoŋoŋoŋ*].

nu N island [= *omot omot* rejected by Lumusi in favour of *nu* < Kove *nu*].

ŋagu > *ina*.

ŋamen TEMP 1. before, in former times; 2. old [≠ *uoku*]. *ŋamen ŋeile anem etrika kobok* I used to know Anêm but now I don't. *apas ka ŋamen ina* this cloth is old.

ŋamxi N hawk.

ŋan-e VTR eat [ŋ *ŋaŋan*, *emŋen*, *ŋan=ŋen*, *taŋan*, *imaŋan*, *umaŋan*, *tiŋen* > *ŋenŋen*]. *emkil max ŋaŋane* hand me a piece to eat. *ŋan uas* he is smoking.

ŋani saua N taro sp. [Lusi *ŋaani saoa*

- what am I eating?)
ŋaju-e VTR chew.
ŋap > *ina*.
ŋas V chew betel [> *eliep*]. *bak eliep max taŋas* someone should pick some betel and bring it for us to chew.
ŋaxak > *ina*.
ŋaxep TEMP yesterday [> *etnika*]. *ŋaxep ŋamax kade* I came here yesterday.
ŋen > *ŋan*.
ŋenŋen N/±*ina*__ food. *ŋenŋen ka dau akat* this food is still raw. *ambauluk ŋenŋen* stir the food. *todugum ida ŋenŋen la tan* we wrap our food and it goes to cook in an earth oven. *ŋenŋen oxmot la* the food is all eaten up.
ŋinŋin N dogtooth headband.
ŋixi N grater [used for coconuts. > *outis* Lusi *ŋiri*].
ŋogotou N 1. coconut shell; 2. bowl [made of coconut shell. = *baxa*].
ŋolip N fog.
ŋoŋ PRON I, me DIS [> *ie*].
ŋoŋle ADJ senior, older [≠ *magit*]. *gute ŋoŋle* a bigman; an elder. *osep ŋoŋle* bigmen. *siau ŋoŋle* senior women. *ŋoŋ magit, ie ŋoŋle* I'm younger than him.
ŋosŋos N bedbug [< TP = *bidabida* said to have arrived with American soldiers].
obou N tree sp.
obox ADJ black [and dull. ≠ *nakum*]. *teli obox* black shell money [> *teli*].
obox N/*ila*__ buttocks, anus [= *teina*]. *lugu obox* my anus.
obul N banana [generic]. *obul ka akat* the banana is unripe. *blasisi ila obul* banana sp.
obus N/*ine* pubis. *obus lugŋoŋ uole ine* my pubic hair.
obut N tree sp.
obxou N mountain ridge [> *ebet*].
odloŋ N obsidian.
oduk N 1. plug [for water shell made of *Alpinia* leaves]; 2. tree sp. *aki ina oduk* ginger plug for water container.
oduŋ ADJ straight [= *neplis, osuk* ≠ *okol*]. *ienim ka oduŋ* the road is straight.
oduŋ SPEC very [> *eit*]. *soulu oduŋ* very bad. *itau oduŋ* very good.
oglut N earthworms [eaten by pigs].
ogu > *eine*.
ogu N sword grass, *Imperata* spp [TP *kunai*]. *ogu gix ŋoŋ* the sword grass scratched me.
ogu N white pig [= *paulik* > *abax, eglim, akau*].
oiou N tree sp, *Inocarpus fagiferus* [= *amsi, iou, uanŋe*].
oklou N sun, day, season. *oklou aixabu* noon. *oklou tuk* just past noon. *oklou bak saxaba* it was dawn. *oklou eŋil buk ite to uelep* the sun was hot and made us sweat. *saxaba dim oklou* clouds are blocking out the sun. *oklou dite max* the sun is rising. *oklou duxu la* the sun is setting. *oklou nesip* the sun set. *oklou oklou telila kobok* we have not walked for days. *oklou itau* dry season [≠ *pakoxo, soxoi*].
okodi N/±*ila*__ adze [= *akxa*].
okol ADJ crooked, bent [≠ *oduŋ, osuk, neplis*] *akai to okol* the stick is bent.
okoli N sago hammer.
oku N/*ine* new [commonly used, but considered Aria for *uoku*] *ninu ka oku ine* this house is new.
oku ono ka TEMP just now.
okus ADJ wet, rotten [≠ *epis, kakxak* Anêm êkîs]. *uon to okus* that's wet; that's rotten.
okux N meat, flesh [> *aŋua, masuŋon*].
olmut N moss [> *gulumu*].
olŋoma N banana sp.
olop N peninsula [particularly in a river].
olu N 1. pond, deep place [> *bubu*]; 2.

deep. *olu apna* upper end of of a pond where a river is shallow enough to ford. *olu gitno* lower end of a pond. *aki ka olu* this river is deep.

olu N banana sp.

olune N- fluid, juice, sap, milk, semen, honey. *akai olune* sap [> *anak*]. *eine olune basex* he's drooling. *gute olune* semen. *sisi olune* milk. *muli olune* orange juice. *ongup olune* coconut milk. *uame olune* honey.

olut N tree sp.

omba ADJ big [= *puda*, *umba* Anêm *omba*]. *omba iti* very large.

omdu N net. *omdu abax ina* a pig net. *noxu omdu* = *noxomdu* I put up a net.

omnux N 1. dry season [marked by the end of the red flower on the *pei* tree. > *oklou itau*]; 2. tree sp.

omoi N 1. pandanus sp with broad leaves; 2. pandanus sleeping mat. *siau tikixe omoi* women scrape pandanus. *moblou omoi epxiη ine* we trim the edge of the sleeping mat.

omok N food taboo taken on in memory of the death of a close relative or friend. *apmaj due omok* the woman has a food taboo. *ila omok iagos* her food taboo is finished.

omoj N forest [usually in the form *omoj aitno* > *loloto*]. *tesej omoj aitno* let's go into the forest. *nodno omoj aitno* I got lost in the forest. *osep omoj ina* people who live in the forest [≠ *osep misuon ina*]. *hexke abax mxi tan omoj aitno* I saw a pig standing in the forest.

omot N island [rejected in Lumusi in favour of *nu*].

omsok N/± *ila*__ spit [> *pi*]. *lugu omsok* my spit. *ηepi omsok tan eliep* I spit out betel.

omsoj N/__ine fuzz or small barbs [> *uala*]. *akai omsoj ine* fuzz on a tree.

omtogu, *omtomu* > *bitna*.

omtu N/__ine hip.

omuk ADJ soft, squishy [> *metetel*, *nagax*]. *ongup to omuk ono* that coconut is a little soft.

omun N/__ine chest [> *ulaη omun*].

omus N cave, rock shelter.

omux N 1. place; 2. garden. *omux to logle* a place inhabited by a spirit sp. *omux uai* thunder. *tigix omux* they cleared the ground. *ηeles tan omux* I weed the garden. *ηoluk lugu omux* I clear my new garden.

on > *uon*.

ono SPEC diminutive [> *nono*]. *ienim ka uanuk ono* the road is quite close. *ono kade to* here's the damn thing. *ono toko* there it is. *ono exi* there is it (poor thing) over there. *aki ono ka basex* there is some water here that has spilled. *oxuo ono* just a few. *babit ono* quite short.

ono blaη ono TEMP soon. *gute exi ono blaη ono polou* that man will be here soon.

onu N/__ine gall bladder.

onu bik N taro sp [Anêm *onu bik* three men].

onu bik gelet N taro sp [Anêm *onu bik gelet* three hairless pigs].

onuk N nest. *monuk ila onuk* bird's nest.

onuj N spirit sp that inhabits a specific place and causes illness [= *logle*]. *omux to onuj* that place is inhabited by a spirit sp.

ongup N coconut, *Cocos nucifera*. *ongup aitno* coconut meat. *ongup ina baxa* coconut shell. *ongup kitkitηen* coconut frond. *ongup nobol* the coconut is sprouting. *ongup olune* coconut milk. *ηopox ongup* I wring out coconut milk. *ongup taxna* coconut husk. *emsisi ongup* husk the coconut. *ongup uatna* a coconut. *bani ina ongup* 1. banana sp; 2. taro sp. *axisiη ina ongup* taro sp.

oŋgxus N/± *ila*__ snot.

oŋon N flood.

oŋoŋ N/___± *ine* blood clot [particularly the coagulated blood in the chest cavity of a pig during butchering].

opmu N 1. stone; 2. stone oven [= *tanŋan*, *uiŋen*]. *tituk opmu* they rolled the stone. *lumgu opmu* my thumb.

opmu > *eine*.

opogu > *apna*.

opoine > *opol*.

opol N/___*ine* shoulder. *opol ine* = *opoine* his shoulder.

opomu > *apna*.

opon N tree sp [used for making planks].

osep N people [> *gute*]. *osep auxam* the bachelors. *osep timax ka* here come the people.

osluk N torch [Anêm êslík]. *ŋobuk osluk* I lit a torch.

osou ADJ ripe [≠ *akat* > *boleine*, *ulip*]. *obul to osou* the banana is ripe.

osuk ADJ straight [= *oduŋ*, *neplis* ≠ *okol*].

osun N palm sp [used for an umbrella].

otno N child, baby, small [singular. > *titno*]. *enen otno* = *enen axaŋ* little boy [> *agau titno*]. *apmaŋ otno* little girl. *tisogo enen otno* they're decorating a child [for initiation]. *otno nono* tiny.

otobla CJ if it is the case that, since. *axagu duxu otobla todoŋ* given that it is raining, we should stay.

otou N/± *ila*__ walking stick [= *matu*].

otu N 1. louse; 2. tree sp [used to kill lice]. *otu titno* nits.

otuk N/___*ine* head [= *boxo*, *apna*]. *imemko otuk libmi nopu peli* we bumped heads. *otuk lugŋoŋ uole ine* my hair. *olu otuk ine* upper end of a pond in a river. *tabauluk otuk ine ba munu osuk* let's turn its prow so it lies straight.

otuou N 1. vegetable greens sp,

Abelmoschus manihot; 2. taro sp.

oulas > *aulas*.

oulei N dog [considered to be the real Mouk word, but *gemle* from Aria is commonly used instead].

oulu N stick used for hanging up a pig net.

ouop > *eine*.

ouos N cold [experiential. > *epen* ≠ *uelep*]. *taxna lugŋoŋ ouos* I'm cold.

outis N grater used for taro or cassava [> *ŋixi*].

ouxit N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [with edible sprout. [≠ *agiau*].

oxen N taro sp.

oxlok N tree ant [= *kamulia*].

oxmot ADJ finished off, all gone [> *iagos*, *msa*]. *ŋenŋen oxmot la* the food is all gone.

oxmun N men's lodge.

oxsu N bamboo [generic. = *akexne* Anêm *osu*]. *takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam* let's cook the pork in bamboo so it'll be tender. *oxsu nopu* bamboo explodes [when burned].

oxuo QUANT two. *lugu siau oxuo* I have two wives. *ŋabaka oxuoe* I split it into two parts. *oxuo ono* just a few.

padaxi N tree sp.

padidi VTR heal by massage [caress a sick person in one direction to get the blood moving]. *ampadidi ŋoŋ* massage me.

padpada N pandanus sp with large edible fruit.

page VTR send. *ŋapage enen otno ka la due ato* I sent the child to take a message.

paglus-e VTR peel back one's foreskin [in superincision].

pai-e VTR 1. heat, dry or wilt over fire or lamp [eg. tobacco or leaf to be soften as a food wrapper]; 2. burn. *ŋapai oxsu* I burn bamboo.

paia VI sick. *segi de ηagu musou ki ηapaia ka?* who took my bodily effluvia to make me sick?

paide ADV quickly. *paide malua ηoη* quick, help me.

painim VTR hold up water container for someone to drink [< *inim*]. *ampainim ηoη* give me some water to drink.

paipai N 1. armband; 2. fathom segment from fingertips to opposite biceps; 3. aromatic plant sp.

pakoxo N rainy season [= *soxoi* ≠ *oklou itau*].

palaη N handle [< TP]. *elil ina palaη = elil bame* handle of a knife.

palem VI look at a view from a height.

palem misuon N banana sp [grows tall and becomes ripe when it gets a view of the ocean].

pali N 1. foreskin; 2. rim in the lip of a drum into which the lizard skin is glued. *ηoblou ina pali* I cut his foreskin; I'm carving the rim of the drum.

palma N trunk. *akai palma* trunk of a tree.

palok N frog sp [= *ualiep*].

Palpalu N name of Mouk village inhabited by segment of Aηal patriclan.

palu N tree sp, *Hibiscus tileaceus* [= *amsexe*].

pampamu N/_ine corpse. *pampamu ine, ano la kodoη* it is just his corpse, his soul has already left.

pan-e VTR wake up [> *deite*]. *nasaksak ηouti ηapan uom* in the morning, I'll come and wake you up.

panim kale N taro sp.

panpana N swamp, muddy place [= *dogox*].

pas N letter [< TP = *pepa, eiuk*]. *ηosogo lugu pas* I'm writing my letter.

pasis N harbour [< TP = *sagxu* > *modouani*].

paso N seed coat [= *epes*]. *lopa ila paso* seed coat of a *lopa* nut.

patu gabu N taro sp.

paulik N white pig [= *ogu* > *eglim, akau*].

paut N taro sp.

paux-e VTR bring, escort. *tapaux apman* let's escort the bride. *ηapaux ηagu uas* I brought my tobacco.

paxa VTR forbid, put prohibition marker on. *ampaxa oηgup?* did you put a prohibition marker on the coconuts? *ηapaxa ine* I forbid it.

paxa N top plate at gable end of a house [> *pola*].

paxia N 1. monitor lizard [= *pixedem Lusi paria*]; 2. tree sp.

pegim ADV on top of, upstream [≠ *moli* > *sina*]. *doη kaba pegim* it's on top of the bed. *tala texis pegim* let's go bathe upstream.

pei N 1. spiny tree sp with red flowers; 2. vine sp with red berries.

pelaka N lightning [> *logle*].

pele PRON reciprocal. *tobono pele* let's get together. *tadax pele* let's part. *imelile pele kobok* we don't know one another. *tikis limsak pele* they held hands. *timko pele* they fought. *tauai pele* let's argue.

pelim N breadfruit, *Artocarpus incisa*.

pelpel N/± *ila*__ ringworm.

pen N banana sp.

pen N pen, pencil [< TP].

pena N wing. *monuk pena* bird's wing.

pepa N paper, letter [< TP = *eiuk*].

pexex N pan flute [= *epxe, solopet* > *epxe*].

pexpex N 1. cliff face; 2. chalk. *ηasak pexpex mismis tan komgu* I wipe chalk dust from my leg.

pi-e VTR out, eject, extract, pull up. *empi eski* pull out the taro. *ηepi omsok tan eliep* I spat out the betel.

- pianau* N temporary bush shelter.
- pidau* N kingfisher.
- pilai* V braid.
- pilainan* N three-stranded braided rope [> *galou*].
- pindi* N aromatic plant sp.
- pipi* N tree sp, small mountain tree similar to *Inocarpus*.
- pituan* N aromatic plant sp.
- pixdem* N monitor lizard [= *paxia* Anêm *pîxdêm*]. *pixdem taxna* lizard skin [used as timpanum for drum]. *nekne tan pixdem* I mount a timpanum on it.
- ples* VI float [= *maxo, monmono*]. *akai ples* wood floats.
- plet* N plate, bowl [< TP].
- pma* VTR clear branches in preparation for a garden. *tapma akai* we trim branches.
- pme* VTR put on. *siau tipme uxok kokxei* the women put on their pubic aprons.
- pmi* VTR ask. *max pmi noj tan elil* he came and asked me for a knife. *nepmi uom* I asked you.
- podu* N marsupial sp [smaller than a *melim*].
- poga* N eleventh month, possibly February [time to plant taro. > *taiko*].
- pogpoge* N large beads [> *amasai, nagemgem*].
- pola* N top plate at side of house supporting rafters [> *paxa*]. *aki ina pola* top plate used to store water containers.
- pole* N/_ine stomach.
- polou* VI appear, arrive, happen, blow. *akai to polou adai* that tree just grew by itself. *aloge ba polou?* when will he arrive? *iaiax polou* the monsoons blow. *iejen polou* wind blows.
- pom* ADJ/*bitna*__ dull [> *bitna*]. *elil bitna pom* the knife is dull.
- pomoxou* N freshwater fish similar to *groper*.
- pongi* N taro sp.
- ponu* N turtle.
- popos* N tree sp.
- popxos* N/_ine lung.
- posolo* N sweet potato sp, *Ipomea batatas* [considered to be indigenous].
- poti* N wild boar [that mates with village sows]. *abax tna la due poti max axmok* the sow goes and makes the boar come into the village.
- pou* VTR tie. *ompou abax* tie up the pig. *pou ie* he tied it up. *lugu apas max nopou nala netixie* bring my barkcloth and I'll tie it on and go dancing. *topou xogo* let's perform a mortuary ritual.
- pouos* N tree sp.
- pox* VTR 1. wring out; 2. mix with coconut cream [> *poxpox*]. *nopox ongup* I wring out coconut cream. *pox ie* she mixed it with coconut cream.
- poxpox-e* VTR wring out, squeeze. *ompoxpoxe* wring it out with bast tissue. *ompoxpox komgu sakam* don't squeeze my leg.
- puagelo* N taro sp.
- puai* N malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*.
- puda* ADJ big [= *omba*].
- puda* N European. *puda taxna* woven cloth [> *apas*]. *ipem puda* firstborn child.
- pudana* N fork, crotch. *akai pudana ine* crotch of a tree.
- pugu bitna* N door [= *ninu bitna*]. *nonoklonjlonj tan pugu bitna* I knocked at the door.
- pumpum* N bumpy. *akai pumpum (ine)* bumpy wood.
- putu* N tree sp, *Barringtonia speciosa*.
- pux-e* VTR chop up. *nopux akai* I chop firewood.
- sabalau* N support of crossed sticks. *mesin sabalau* we planted crossed-stick

- supports.
- sage* N pig with tail high on back [> *abax*].
- sagsagi* ADJ wild [≠ *mudu*].
- sagu* HL dammit!
- sagxu* N harbour [< Arove. = *pasis* > *modoani*].
- sai* V climb [> *deite*]. *tisai lopa max tarjane* they're climbing a *lopa* tree to get nuts for us to eat.
- saikak* N aromatic plant sp.
- saiki* N little finger [= *seiki*]. *lungu saiki* my little finger.
- sak* VTR wipe, brush off. *ņasak pexpex mismis tan komgu* I brush chalk dust off my leg. *sak ie* he wiped it.
- sakam* MOD dehortative, don't, stop...-ing. *omdue sakam* don't take it. *amiak ŋoŋ sakam* stop lying to me.
- sakua* N banana sp.
- sakul* N song, dance. *tidue sakul* they sang a song.
- sakul ina* N snake sp.
- salai* > *buno salai*.
- salimu* N needle [> *galou*].
- Salkei* N name of Mouk village, patriclan and mountain ridge.
- samdik* N litter, trash [= *asuk*].
- samepua* N fathom segment from fingertips to forearm.
- samil* N fish sp.
- samo* N banana sp.
- sapaŋa* N hunger, famine. *sapaŋa mluk ŋoŋ* I'm hungry. *gute ka sapaŋa mko* the man is hungry.
- sapi-e* VTR 1. carve; 2. erase, wipe off. *ņasapi kude* I carved a drum. *ņasapi komgu* I wiped off my leg. *omsapie la* erase it; carve it off.
- saten* N/ila__ friends [plural. > *aten*]. *ŋoŋ lugu saten* me and my friends.
- sau* VTR catch, get. *ņokopik la ŋasau ie* I jumped and got it. *ņasau uas* I caught the tobacco.
- saua* > *ņani saua*.
- saxa ina akau* N taro sp.
- saxaba* N cloud. *saxaba kim oklou* clouds are blocking out the sun. *oklou bak saxaba* it was dawn [the sun splits the clouds].
- saxabatne* N sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas* [generic].
- saxagei* N tree sp.
- saxba* VI creak, snap [sound similar to *napakpak*].
- saxkei* N bed of *Alpinia* fronds laid on ground as a temporary bed or clean area for butchering a pig [Anêm *sakêx*].
- se* CJ since, if. *se axagu max i todoŋ* if it rains, let's stay home. *se sagsagi naki temtexe* if it's wild, then we spear it.
- sedik* N salt ash [made by burning driftwood].
- segi* PRON who. *segi bla polou axmok?* who's that coming into the village? *lagŋa luguom segi?* what's your name?
- seiki* > *saiki*.
- sel exi ine* N snake sp.
- sep* V in, enter. *sep la* he went inside. *emsep omox* come in. *omdue sep la* put it inside. *ņesep lugu siot* I put on my shirt.
- sepoku* N taro sp.
- sepxi* N taro sp.
- sesue* ADJ how many? *ninu sesue tan axmok?* how many houses are there in the village?
- sex* V 1. root; 2. comb. *abax sex ebes* pigs root around in the ground. *uensik max ŋesex opogu uole ine* hand me a comb to comb my hair.
- sexe* N bamboo sp.
- sexe aplau* N mushroom sp.
- sia* N k.o. dance [≥ *ilaide, kai, kaxap, malolo, ualai*].

- siau* N 1. women [plural. > *apman*]; 2. wives [> *asap*]. *siau belbela* young women. *lugu enen siau* my daughters. *siau nɔŋle* senior women. *lugu siau oxuo* I have two wives.
- sigi* N carrying stick [used by pair of men to carry heavy loads on shoulders]. *abax ina sigi* carrying stick for a pig. *kakluk ila sigi* he carried his carrying stick. *ŋagu sigi* stick that I am carried on [humorous].
- sik* VTR chase, get rid of. *emsik gemle* get rid of the dog. *emsik ie max ŋemtexe* flush it out this way so I can spear it.
- sikor* N banana sp [< Tolai].
- sikxei* N tree sp.
- silan* DEM one, some [= *sila*]. *uas silan max* hand me a cigarette. *ŋagu uas silan* one cigarette for me. *gute silan* someone. *sila blan* = *silan blan* another one.
- silimu* N/kamla__ ankle.
- silmei* N/__aki waterfalls. *aki silmei* = *aki nosux* waterfalls.
- simbam* N banana sp.
- sin* VTR stick in, plant. *mesin sabalau* we plant cross-stick supports.
- sina* ADJ under [> *moli*, *pegim*]. *kaba sina* under the bed. *lugu abax sina* my armpit.
- siŋa* V wait. *emsinŋa nɔŋ nɔdugum uas iagos tauai* wait while I roll a cigarette then we can talk.
- siŋen* N ladder. *ninu ina siŋen* ladder of a house.
- siŋit* VI weep. *omox enen ka siŋit na!* come, this child is crying!
- siot* N shirt [< TP]. *ŋesep lugu siot* I put on my shirt.
- sisi* N 1. breast; 2. fathom segment from fingertips to nipple. *sisi lugnɔŋ* my breast. *sisi olune* milk. *enen ka inim sisi* the child is suckling.
- sisi-e* VTR peel, husk. *emsisi onɔgup* husk the coconut.
- sisinen* N husk, peeling [< *sisi*].
- sisix-e* VTR sew up. *ŋesisix lugu apas* I sew my cloth.
- sisix* N taro sp [Anêm *sîsîx*].
- sislia* N broom [= *brum*, *sousou*].
- sisu* VI swim on surface of water [> *delim*].
- sisui* N coconut locust. *sisui ŋen komgu* a bug bit my leg.
- sixemsixem* N aromatic ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [≤ *agiâu*].
- sixlik* N sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas* sp [considered indigenous].
- slak* VTR narrowly miss. *onɔgup ka duxu slak nɔŋ* the coconut went down and just missed me.
- slan* N- 1. ear [ŋ *slanagu*, *slanap*, *slan*, *slanada*, *slanapmi*, *slanapmu*, *slanalsak* > *tala*]; 2. lateral fin. *anua slan* lateral fin of a fish.
- sobo mau* N taro sp.
- sogo* VTR draw or paint designs on, write. *tisogo enen otno* they're decorating a child [> *baxes*]. *ŋosogo lugu eiuk* I'm writing my letter.
- sokolo* N wallaby [= *apose*, *natus*].
- solopet* N pan flute [= *epxe*, *pexex*. > *kaux*, *uotuot*].
- solou* > *meia solou*.
- somogu* VI pregnant. *uom to omsomogu?* are you pregnant?
- somoxo* N river snails [generic].
- somsom* N mushroom sp.
- soŋotno* QUANT ten. *iselme soŋotno* sixty.
- soŋoto* N kindling.
- soŋsoŋ* VI breathe [> *soŋsoŋen*].
- soŋsoŋen* N/ila__ breath [< *soŋsoŋ*].
- sopi* > *sapi*.
- soulu* ADJ bad [≠ *itau*].

sousou N broom [= *brum*, *sislia*].
soxei > *taiko soxei*.
soxoi N rainy season [= *pakoxo* > *taiko*].
sua PRON what, which. *uon to sua?* what is that? *omox tan sua?* why did you come?
suali VI rest [particularly in reference to women putting down their loads. > *mtoŋ*]. *tasuali da* let's rest first.
suk VTR show, point to [considered Aria for Mouk *gin* > *sukŋen*].
sukŋen N/limla__ index finger [< *suk*].
sulutno N- sisters, brothers, siblings opposite sex collective [¶ *suluku*, *sulup*, *sulutno*, *suludo*... > *lutno*].
sun-e V carry on head [> *kakluk*, *sunŋen*]. *siau tisun akai* women carry firewood on their heads. *abax ka polou sun* the pig got caught in the net [idiom].
sunŋen N bundle carried on head [by women. < *sun*].
sunu N colourful banded snake sp.
suon VI run.
supi N tenth month, possibly January [pitpit season. > *taiko*].
sux VTR ford. *ŋosux aki* I forded the river.
sux VTR call, summon [> *gi*]. *sux ie* he called him.
suxuk VTR push to the side [= *kakai*].
tabila N Siasi dish [= *tumxo*].
tagaiiau N first month, possibly April [beginning of dry season. > *taiko*].
tagaxun VI chirp. *sisui tagaxun* locusts chirp.
tai VTR perform healing magic on [> *logle*, *luanŋan*]. *ŋatai uom* I'll heal you.
taibe N boa constrictor.
taiko N moon, month, season [months are named according to a lunar calendar that begins with the onset of the dry season, probably April. the month

names are: *tagaiiau*, *tobou*, *maxexe*, *aduol*, *xai*, *xai koka*, *xai kuxu*, *guigui*, *mododo*, *supi*, *poga*, *iagi* these names do not match neatly with similar systems in the neighbouring languages]. *taiko bono* full moon. *taiko demel* quarter moon. *taiko nepel* the moon is rising. *taiko tuk* just past midnight. *taiko soxei* rainy season [> *soxoi*].
takalou N freshwater crab sp.
tala kopine N gill flap. *anua tala kopine* gill flap of a fish.
talde N tree sp, *Terminalia catappa*.
talpes N/__±*ine* claw, fingernail, toenail. *lumgu talpes (ine)* my fingernail. *komgu talpes (ine)* my toenail. *bogi limla talpes* banana sp.
talu ADJ heavy [≠ *maxkan*]. *lam ka talu* the lamp is heavy.
tamaxa N tree sp, *Ficus* sp.
tan PREP in, to, with, because of, oblique [> *ine*]. *takamlu abax tan oxsu* we cook pork in bamboo. *tidue apok tan gute* to they're making fun of that man. *ŋasapi das tan komgu* I brushed dust off my leg. *ŋedeite tan nasaksak* I woke up in the morning. *kax ŋon tan uas* he gave me some tobacco. *ŋala kobok tan axagu* I'm not going because of the rain. *timtex abax tan masket* they shoot pigs with a rifle. *pmi ŋon tan elil* he asked me for a knife. *omox tan sua?* why did you come?
tan VTR cook in a stone oven [= *ui* > *kamlu*, *kamno*, *kluk*, *tanŋan*]. *tatan eski* we cook taro in a stone oven. *todugum ida ŋenŋen la tan* we wrap our food and it goes to cook in the stones.
tanŋan N stone oven [< *tan* = *opmu*, *uiŋen*].
tanŋuxi N jawharp.
tapago N egg cowrie, *Ovum ovum*, [tied in pair as pig tusks].
tapul-e VTR push [> *baluk*]. *tapul ŋon* he pushed me.

tapxe VTR throw [= *uxi*].

tatigel N boulder [Anêm *tatigêl*].

tatna N branch. *akai tatna* branch of a tree. *tala todue akai tatna* let's go sing murmur.

taxau N tree, mangrove sp, *Rhizophora* [< Arove. > *bale*].

taxna N/___± *ine* skin, body, container, package. *ogu taxna* my lips. *akai taxna* bark. *akau taxna* lime gourd. *aki taxna* water container. *moblou uetne taxna* we superincised him. *puda taxna* woven cloth. *ongup taxna* coconut husk. *taxna lugnoŋ ouos* I'm cold. *uas taxna* empty cigarette package.

taxtax ADJ shallow [≠ *olu* > *asax*]. *aki ka taxtax* the river is shallow.

tebila N taro sp [Anêm *tebila* dish from Siasi].

teina N- anus, buttocks [¶ *teinaŋoŋ*, *tainam*, *teina*, *teinate*, *teinaimi*, *teinaumu*, *teinaisak* = *obox*]. *teinaŋoŋ okux ine* my buttocks.

telemlem ADJ/___*bitna* sharp [≠ *pom*]. *elil bitna telemlem* sharp knife.

tehi N shell money. *tehi eglim* = *tehi golu* white shell money [high value]. *tehi obox* black shell money [low value]. *lugu tehi* shell money that I own. *ŋagu tehi* shell money used for my bridewealth. *ŋagu tehi kobok* I have not been bought.

temeo N tree sp [used for eel poison].

tepis VI lazy [> *iage*, *tepisŋen*, *xopo*]. *gute la lila tepis ba la due iage kobok* the man walks around and is lazy so he never makes a garden.

tepisŋen N laziness [< *tepis*]. *gute to tepisŋen ina* the man is lazy.

tetoga N taro sp.

ti N tea [< TP]. *amla amkamno ti* go make some tea.

tiben N tree sp.

tibmi > *tumdo*.

tigoxou N blue-tailed skink [Anêm

tigoxo].

tik VTR 1. count; 2. distribute; 3. list [> *tikŋen*]. *titik eski* they're distributing taro.

tikŋen N k.o. dance, movement of *apotŋen* in which the names of all tree, animals, etc are listed [< *tik*].

tilbut N wax [= *nabon* > *uame*].

tilŋip N period of total darkness between dusk and moonrise.

tin N tin can [< TP]. *ŋodul tin* I put a hole in the tin.

tip V fetch water. *siau titip (aki)* women fetch water.

tipman N fern sp.

titai V walk along [> *titaiŋan*]. *ŋetitai akai* I walked along the log.

titaiŋan N thing to walk along [< *titai*]. *kiue ila titaiŋan* rafter brace parallel to ridge [ratway].

titno N children [> *otno*, *enen*]. *agau titno* little boys [> *enen otno*]. *komgu titno* my toes. *lumgu titno* my fingers. *kuako titno nesiousiou* chicks chirp. *otu titno* nits.

titu N tree sp.

tix VI dribble, leave trail of water after crossing a river.

tixgok N bow and arrow.

tixie VI dance and sing. *lugu apas max nopou ŋala ŋetixie* bring my barkcloth and I'll tie it on and go dancing.

ma N mother [3S only, with collocational restrictions. > *ide*]. *abax ma* sow. *dimex ma* spirit sp.

to DEM the, that near you [> *ka*, *toko*, *exi*, *bla*]. *uom to buxua?* are you fatally wounded? *tidue apok tan gute to* they're making fun of that man. *libep to gala* that is your left hand. *ono kade to* there's the damn thing. *uon to sua?* what is that?

tobla N like, as. *gute to mxi tobla monuk* the man is standing like a bird.

tobou N second month, possibly May [> *taiko*].

tobox N pitpit, *Saccharum* sp.

toi N small fish sp [TP *ainan*].

toko ADV there near you [> *to*]. *ono toko* there it is. *ɲagu uas toko* that's my tobacco. *ono exi toko* there it is right over there.

tokur N taro sp.

tokux N orchid.

tole N taro sp.

touete N taro sp.

touxen N umbrella, any plant used as an umbrella.

toxtox ADJ skinny [Anêm *toxtox*].

tuɲa kubu N poisonous mushroom sp [Lusi *tuɲa kuvu* empty village].

tubmu, tubum, tubxok > *tumno*.

tudadok VI bob head while walking [eg. chickens].

tui N banana sp.

tuk VI 1. turn, roll [> *bauluk*]; 2. just past. *oklou tuk* just past noon. *taiko tuk* just past midnight. *anyon tuk* I'm out of breath. *tituk opmu* they rolled the stone.

tuktuk N owl.

tumno N- mother's brother, sister's son reciprocal [ɣ *tumgu, tubum, tumno, tumdo, tibmi, tubmu, tubxok*].

tumxo N wooden Siasi dish [= *tabila*]. *tumxo napak* the dish has a crack in it.

tupi VTR peck at. *kuako to tupi ɲenɲen* the chicken is pecking at food.

txak VI have a temper tantrum [> *aijon*]. *enenka txak* this child is having a temper tantrum.

txaɲan N sago, *Metroxylum* spp [generic]. *txaɲan bibitna* spiny sago. *txaɲan ila uala* spines of sago [> *gigiu, bibitna*]. *niru ina txaɲan* thatch of a house. *txaɲan uole ine* sago leaves; thatch.

uada N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [TP *yam*].

uai V speak, say, talk, tell, make a noise [> *uainan, didi*]. *munu uai axmok moli* he's talking in his sleep. *tobono peli tauai udo* let's meet and talk about our concerns. *ɲauai luguom tan gute exi* I told you about that man. *ɲauai uti luguom* I'm talking about you. *ɲauai ine* I told him. *tauai peli* we argued. *golɲon uai* my stomach is rumbling. *lonjo uxok uai* a housefly is flying and buzzing [> *nei*].

uaik N ginger sp, *Zinziber* sp [> *emles*].

uainan N speech, language, discussion [< *uai*]. *lugu uainan* what I say. *ɲagu uainan* what is said about me. *uainan mouk* the Mouk language. *uainan batne* words.

uala N spear, spine. *lugu uala* my spear [that I use]. *ɲagu uala* my spear [with which I am killed]. *txaɲan ila uala* spines of sago [> *gigiu, bibitna*].

ualai N k.o. dance, movement of *sia*.

uales N tree sp.

uales taxna N lizard sp.

ualiep N frog sp [= *palok*].

uame N honeycomb [made by sweat bee. > *aylek*]. *uame olune* honey. *uame ila ide* sweat bee.

uame N banana sp.

uanuk ADJ 1. near [≠ *maua*]; 2. short [= *babit*]. *ienim ka uanuk ono* the path is quite close. *uanuk ono* quite short.

uanɲe N tree sp, *Inocarpus fagiferus* [= *amsi, iou, oiou* Anêm *uanɲe*].

uas N tobacco, cigarette. *ɲan uas* he smokes tobacco. *uas aitno* full package of cigarettes. *uas taxna* empty cigarette package. *ɲodugum ɲagu uas* I'm rolling myself a cigarette. *ɲokobi uas* I lit a cigarette. *uas oxmot la* there is no tobacco left.

uasak N/± *ina* ___ handbasket [> *golu, ikexka*]. *ɲagu uasak* my basket. *bis*

- uasak* he's carrying his basket under his arm.
- uasak* VTR plant. *tala tauasak eski exi ine* let's go plant taro cloning sticks.
- uatna* N fruit. *esis uatna* betel pepper catkin. *ogu uatna* my teeth. *akau uatna* lime powder container; lime gourd. *komgu apok uatna* my calf. *ongup uatna* coconut.
- uaxana* N/___ine veins, tendons. *uaxana lugnon* my veins.
- uaxax* N fish sp, mudskipper.
- Ubur Batne* N name of Mouk village in Kandrian District.
- uda* > *ila*.
- udeide* > *ide*.
- udo* > *ila*.
- udou* > *ilau*.
- ududu kakau* N small ridgepole above main ridgepole [> *komduŋo*].
- uelep* VI 1. sweat [> *uelepŋen*]; 2. hot [\neq *ouos* > *enil*]. *oklou enil buk ite touelep* the sun is hot and heats us and we sweat. *omuelep?* are you hot?
- uelepŋen* N sweat [< *uelep*]. *ŋagu uelepŋen basex* I'm sweating.
- uelŋen* N/±ina__ pillow.
- uensik* N comb [> *sex*]. *uensik max ŋesex opogu uole ine* bring me a comb to comb my hair.
- uetne* N/___±ine penis. *tabak enen otno uetne* let's superincise the child. *blou uetne taxna* he cut his foreskin. *uetne lugnon* my penis. *gute uetne* a man's penis. *axagu uetne* rainbow.
- uexgi* N earthquake.
- ui* VTR cook in stone oven [= *tan* > *opmu*, *tanŋan*, *uiŋen*, *kamlu*, *kamno*]. *toui eski* let's cook some taro in a stone oven.
- uiŋen* N stone oven [< *ui* = *tanŋan*, *opmu*].
- ulaŋ* VTR cut [> *blou*]; butcher [= *bisik*]. *omulaŋ abax* butcher the pig.
- omulaŋ abax lesna* castrate the pig.
- ulaŋ omun* N fathom segment from fingertips to midpoint in chest.
- ulegi* N taro sp.
- uligiu* N banana sp.
- ulip* ADJ ready for harvest [\neq *boleine* > *akat*, *osou*]. *obul to ulip* that banana is ready for harvest.
- ulo* N clay pot [imported through Siasi network. = *kixdau*]. *ŋagu ulo* my pot [that I'm using]. *lugu ulo* my pot [that is for sale].
- ulou* VI/___ine hate, dislike. *ulou lugnon* he hates me.
- uluŋ* VTR see, check [= *xik*, *xke*]. *omuluŋ abax itau da laki abax mudu* you check the pig carefully first lest it be a tame pig. *ŋouluŋ uom* I see you.
- umba* ADJ big [= *omba*, *puda*].
- umelme* PRON you D2P five [= *umu elme* > *ie*].
- umeli* PRON you D2P three [= *umu etli* > *ie*].
- umu* PRON you D2P [> *ie*]. *kap umu* he came with you.
- umuxuo* PRON you D2P two [= *umu oxuo* > *ie*]. *umuxuo upu eski* this taro is for you two.
- uoku* ADJ new [considered proper Mouk for *oku* which is considered Aria, but commonly used. \neq *ŋamen*]. *uon ka dau uoku* this thing is still new. *eski uoku* new taro.
- uole* N/___ine hair, leaf, feather, fur. *opogu uole ine* = *otuk lugnon uole ine* my hair [on my head]. *obus lugnon uole ine* my pubic hair. *akai uole ine* leaves. *baxŋa lugnon uole ine* my beard. *taxan uole ine* sago leaves; thatch. *monuk uole ine* feathers. *gemle uole ine* dog fur.
- uom* PRON you D2S [> *ie*].
- uon* N thing [= *on*]. *uon to sua?* what is that? *uon ka dau uoku* this thing is still

- new. *omdue uon to omuxie la* get that thing and throw it away.
- uotuot* N flute with one or two holes made of single piece of bamboo [> *epxe, kaux, pexex, solopet*].
- uoxou* N poisonous foxfire mushroom [glows in dark].
- upi* VTR blow on. *omupi eiou ki bublo* blow on the fire to make it light.
- upu* > *ina*.
- use* VI defecate [> *ata*].
- usisi* N wind and rain that blows into the house.
- usu* VI bear fruit.
- uti* VI 1. go, come [non-directional. > *la, max*]; 2. about. *nasaksak ηouti ηapan uom* in the morning, I'll come and wake you up. *imesep mouti* we went inside. *ηauai uti luguom* I'm talking about you.
- utis* N tree sp.
- uxi-e* VTR throw [= *tapxe*]. *omdue uon to omuxie la* get that thing and throw it away. *iejen uxi gxoup* the wind is kicking up dust. *tiduxi omdu = tixomdu* they threw a net.
- uxok* > *ila*.
- uxok* VI fly. *monuk tiuxok* birds fly.
- uxokau* > *ilau*.
- uxokide* > *ide*.
- uxu* VI coo. *belis uxu*. a dove coos.
- xai* N fifth month, possibly August [> *taiko*].
- xai koka* N sixth month, possibly September [> *taiko*].
- xai kuxu* N seventh month, possibly October [> *taiko*].
- xais* N rice [< TP]. *la kamno xais* she went to cook some rice.
- xambo* N fern sp.
- xana* N-/__pro father-in-law, son-in-law, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, affine one generation upper or lower reciprocal [¶ *xanηoη = xana ηoη, xana uom, xana, xana ite, xana imi, xana umu, xana sak > agiap, kaden*]. *xana ηoη apmaη* my mother-in-law; my daughter-in-law. *xana ηoη gute* my father-in-law; my son-in-law.
- xaxai* VI crawl. *enen ka xaxai* this baby is crawling.
- xaxna* N/__± *ine* side. *xaxna lugηoη mxi* I sleep on my side [my side is standing up]. *aki xaxna = aki dina* river bank.
- xegit* N raft [Anêm *xêgît*].
- xes* VI swollen. *komgu xes* my leg is swollen.
- xes* VTR set out, arrange [especially fire]. *xes eiou* he build a fire. *ηexes ie kodoη* I've already set it out.
- xexe* N dorsal fin. *anau ila xexe* dorsal fin of a fish.
- xik-e* VTR see [= *xke/__3S. = uluη*]. *emxik ηoη?* do you see me. *ηexke = ηexike* I see him. *ηexke abax = ηexik abax* I saw a pig.
- xis* V bathe. *texis moli* let's bathe downstream. *tixis enen* they bathe the child.
- xixi-e* VTR pull, drag [≠ *tapul*]. *texixi gomot* let's pull the canoe.
- xke* > *xik*.
- xogo* N mortuary ritual. *topou xogo* let's put on a mortuary feast.
- xomdu* VI throw a net, hunt with a net [= *uxi omdu*].
- xomos* VTR perform healing magic on [= *tai > logle, luanan*]. *ηoxomos uom* I'll perform healing magic on you.
- xopo* N lazy [> *iage, tepis*]. *gute to xopo (ina)* that man is lazy.
- xum* VI fat. *omxum* you're fat.

6. ENGLISH-MOUK FINDER LIST

- Abelmoschus manihot*
otuou.
 about *tan, uti.*
 accompany *kap.*
 ache *nisi.*
 adhere *notop.*
 adze *akxa, kulaluo,*
okodi.
 affine, k.o. *agiap, kaden,*
xana.
 afraid *lou.*
 afternoon *kixui.*
 again *blaj.*
 against *neklip.*
 agree *lana.*
 algae *gulumu.*
 all *buno*; all gone *iagos,*
msa, oxmot.
 alone *keine.*
 alongside *neklep.*
Alpinia spp *adali, akue,*
ajxek, bubunik, gelege,
kalaisi, koklok, maxka,
ouxit, sixemsixem.
 already *kodoj.*
 also *blaj.*
 ancestor, k.o. *ada,*
aigolu, baba, komgu
esleine.
 and *ba, i, kap, ki.*
 angry *amja.*
 ankle *agum, silimu.*
 ant spp *atokatok,*
kamulia, oxlok.
 anus *obox, teina.*
 appear *polou.*
 apron *kokxei.*
Areca catechu *eliep.*
 arm *limla*; armband
mese, paipai; armpit
abax sina.
- aromatic plant spp
bokuila, lelepo,
matambuta, modou,
mogxen, namane,
nopusjen, paipai,
pindi, pituan, saikak,
sixemsixem.
- arrange *xes.*
 arrive *polou.*
Artocarpus altilis *pelim.*
 as *tobla.*
 ascend *deite.*
 ashes *gxoup.*
 asi *smoke.*
 ask *pmi.*
 at *tan.*
 aunt *babu.*
 away *la.*
 axe *aige.*
 baby *enen otno.*
 back *dogux.*
 back, go *bauluk.*
 back and forth *nemilmil.*
 bad *soulu.*
 bag *akluk.*
 balance *netex.*
 bald *apal.*
 bamboo, generic *akexne,*
oxsu; bamboo spp
akexne, kede, oxsu,
sexe.
- banana, generic *obul*;
 banana spp *aitno*
babit, akxa, anigele,
ajaxi, baiak, bani ina
onjup, bexik, bexik
iaulua, bile, blasisi ila
obul, bode, bogi limla
talpes, bole, boxom,
galau, iaba, kakatur,
kalau, kaxumkaxum,
kekele, kexi, kimbe,
- kokolatau, koxdo,*
kukxou, madu, manus,
maxaxo ames, meia,
meia solou, mesis,
mexiaŋ, moxmox,
mumum, nalato,
olŋoma, olu, palem
misuon, pen, sakua,
samo, sikor, simbam,
tui, uame, uligiu.
- bandicoot *melim, podu.*
 bank *aki xaxna, aki dina.*
 barbs *omsoj.*
 bark, dog *mgux,*
neklemklem.
 bark, tree *akai taxna.*
 barkcloth *apas.*
 barracuda *kalubia.*
Barringtonia speciosa
putu.
 base *batne.*
 basket *golu, ikexka,*
uasak.
 bat, generic *bleik*; bat
 spp *blasisi, bleik,*
manaji.
 bathe *xis.*
 bay, dogs *neklemklem.*
 be located *doj, munu.*
 beach *labu batne.*
 beads spp *amasai,*
nagemgem, pogpoge.
 bean *esel.*
 bear fruit *usu.*
 beard *baxja uole ine.*
 beat *mluk.*
 because *ba, tan.*
 bed *kaba, saxkei.*
 bedbug *bidabida, ŋosŋos.*
 beetle sp *alou.*
 before *ŋamen.*
 belligerent *amja.*

- belly *damaine*.
 below *moli*.
 bench *bota*.
 bent *okol*.
 betel *bile, eliep*; betel mortar *maui*; betel pepper *esis, kambuxu*.
 between *aixabu*.
 big *omba, puda, umba*.
 bigman *ɲoŋle*.
 bird, generic *monuk*; bird spp *alau, aplau, belis, bode, bogi, bukxu, daila, kalaŋa, kaxkax, keiau, kilek, kokxak, kuako, kubo, libatoŋ, mexiaŋ, ɲamxi, pidau, tuktuk*.
 birth, give *kakluk*.
 black *nakum, obox*; black mourning paint *ason*
 black pig *nakum*; black spot *aŋaxi emgis*; blackener *getou*.
 bladder, gall *onu*.
 bland *emlel*.
 blind *bitna egei, bitna lulul, bitna noxom, bitna nopux*.
 block *dim*.
 blood *maxau*; blood clot *oŋoŋ*.
 bloom *doxo*.
 blow *polou, upi*.
 blue *ebix, gesen*.
 bluebottle fly *loŋobixi*.
 boa constrictor spp *binigaea, epmes ina, taibe*.
 boar *abax axaŋ, poti*.
 bob head *tudadok*.
 body *pampamu, taxna*.
 boil *kamno*.
 bone *exi*.
 bonito *atun*.
 book *buk*.
 bore *dul, kas*.
 boulder *tatigel*.
 bow and arrow *tixgok*.
 bowl *baxa, ɲogotou, plet*.
 boy *eiboid, enen otno*; boys *agau titno*.
 brace *kiue ila titaiŋan*.
 braid *pilai, pilaiŋan*.
 brains *eski*.
 branch *akai tatna*.
 breadfruit *pelim*.
 break *bak, gxum, kxam, nepli*.
 breast *sisi*.
 breath *ano, soŋsoŋen*; breathe *soŋsoŋ*.
 bride *apmaŋ*.
 bring *due, paux*.
 broom *brum, sislia, sousou*.
 brother, terms for *agatno, atua, lutno*; brothers terms for *agau, sulumto*; brother-in-law, terms for *agiap, kaden*.
 brown *moluok*; brown pig *mexden*.
 brush off *sak*.
 buai (TP) *bile, eliep*.
 bubble *nobluk, nobotbot*.
 build *due*.
 bump *nopu*.
 bumpy *pumpum*.
 bundle *sunŋen*.
 burn *bublo, buk, kas, kluk, pai*; burning stick *eiou batne, mouk*.
 bush hen *keiau*.
 bush house *piaŋau*.
 but *i, kini*.
 butcher *bisik, ulaŋ*.
 butt *noduŋduŋ*.
 butterfly *bakuak*.
 buttocks *obox, teina*.
 buy *kli*.
 buzz *nei*.
 cage *kaxoxo*.
 calf *kamla apok uatna*.
 call *gi, sux*.
 can *tin*.
Canarium spp *aduol, aŋaxi, aŋaxi emgis*.
 canoe *gomot, mon*.
 canopy *akai guxno*.
 carry *kakluk*; carry on head *sun*; carry under arm *bis*; carrying stick *sigi*.
 carve *sapi*.
Caryota sp *epxi*.
 cassava *amioka*.
 cassowary *alau, kubo*.
 castrate *bak lasna, ulaŋ*.
Casuarina equisetifolia *elei*.
 cataracts *egei, lulul*.
 catch *sau*.
 catkin *uatna*.
 caught *kxo, nekel, nokol*.
 causative *due*.
 cave *omus*.
Ceiba pentandra *kapok*.
 chalk *makuba, pexpex*.
 charcoal *asinix*.
Charonia tritonis *kuliep*.
 chase *sik*.
 check *uluŋ*.
 chest *omun*.
 chew *ɲaŋu*; chew betel *ɲas*.
 chicken *kuako*.
 child *enen, ipem puda, moxotoŋo, otno*; children *dimixmix, titno*.
 chirp *nesiousiou, tagaxun*.
 chop *gusip, pux*.
 cigarette *uas*.
Citrus spp *muli*.

- clam, generic *baiu*; clam, spp *baiu*, *golomada*, *kaiangan*.
- claw *talpes*.
- clay *ebes*; clay pot *ulo*.
- clean *itau*.
- clear *gix*, *luk*, *pma*.
- click *notloktlok*.
- cliff *gugloŋ*, *maŋgoxoŋ*, *pexpex*.
- climb *deite*, *sai*.
- cloning stick *exi*.
- clot *oŋoŋ*.
- cloth *apas*, *puda taxna*.
- clouds *saxaba*.
- club *bao*.
- cluck *nokokok*, *nopotpot*.
- clutch in hand *gugum*.
- coals *giglij*.
- cockatoo *aplau*.
- cockroach spp *alou*, *asap*, *ious*.
- coconut, *Cocos nucifera* *oŋgup*; coconut locust *sisui*; coconut shell *baxa*, *ŋogotou*.
- cold *epen*, *ouos*.
- collapse *nekses*, *nepli*.
- collect *bono*, *gom*.
- collective *lagul*.
- colour terms *akau*, *ebix*, *eglim*, *eibmox*, *gesen*, *golu*, *iaŋou*, *moluok*, *nakum*, *obox*.
- comb *sex*, *uensik*.
- come *max*, *uti*.
- completed *iagos*.
- completive *kodoŋ*.
- concave *netik*.
- confirmative *da*.
- container *taxna*.
- contents *aitno*.
- coo *uxu*.
- cook *kamlu*, *kamno*, *kluk*, *tan*, *ui*; cooked *lipma*.
- coral *mogoxoxo*.
- Cordyline* spp *anuŋ*, *maxe*.
- corpse *pampamu*.
- count *tik*.
- cousin, terms for *adou*, *aten*.
- cover *dugum*, *neklip*.
- cowrie, egg *tapago*.
- crab, generic *kaxoki*.
- crab sp *aŋgis*, *takalou*.
- crack *napak*, *napakpak*, *natak*, *negegxe*.
- crackle *nokoxkox*.
- crawl *xaxai*.
- crazy *maŋamaŋa*.
- creak *nakaxkax*, *napakpak*, *saxba*.
- cream *pox*.
- crocodile *apua*.
- crooked *okol*.
- cross cousin *adou*.
- cross-stick support *sabalau*.
- crotch *pudaya*.
- crow *kokxak*.
- cry *siŋit*.
- cultivar *adaŋ*.
- cup *kap*.
- cure *lua*, *tai*, *xomos*.
- curled *lilu*.
- cuscus *kxaŋap*.
- cut *bak*, *blou*, *ulaŋ*.
- cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis* *matolo*.
- daka (TP) *esis*, *kambuxu*.
- dammit *sagu*.
- dance *tixie*; dance, k.o. *akai tatna*, *apotŋen*, *asiŋit*, *aulu*, *axoman*, *boilo*, *kai*, *kalalaŋan*, *kaxap*, *malolo*, *sia*, *tikŋen*, *ualai*.
- daughter *enen*, *ilmaŋ*
- daughter-in-law *xana*.
- dawn *oklou bak saxaba*.
- day *oklou*.
- dead *mete*, *msim*.
- deaf *ake*.
- decorate *baxes*; decoration *amal*.
- deep *modoani*, *olu*.
- defecate *use*.
- dehortative *sakam*.
- Derris uglinosa* *iau*.
- descend *duxu*.
- detach *noblok*, *nosluk*.
- die *mete*.
- dig *ias*; digging stick *apma*, *namŋan*.
- diminutive *nono*, *ono*.
- Dioscorea* spp *bidi*, *kou*, *uada*.
- dirt *musou*; dirty *amum*.
- discussion *aiŋan*, *uaiŋan*.
- dish *masuŋen*, *tabila*, *tumxo*.
- dislike *ulou*.
- disperse *dax*.
- distribute *tik*.
- dizzy *bitna bauluk*.
- do *due*.
- dog *gemle*, *oulei*; dogtooth headband *ŋinŋin*.
- don't *sakam*.
- door *ninu bitna*, *pugu bitna*.
- dorsal fin *xexe*.
- dove *belis*.
- down *duxu*.
- downstream *moli*.
- draw *sogo*.
- dream *ano*.
- dress up *baxes*.
- dribble *tix*.
- dried up *msim*.
- drill *dul*.
- drink *inim*, *painim*.
- drip *lilil*, *neteŋteŋ*.

drive pigs *bax*.
 drool *basex*.
 drop *bomsuk*.
 drum *kude*.
 dry *epis, kakxak, pai*; dry season *oklou itau, omɲux*.
 dugong *lui*.
 dull *bitna kobok, pom*.
 dust *das, gxoup, mismis*.
 eagle, sea *bogi*.
 ear *slaɲa*.
 earth *ebes*.
 earthquake *uexgi*.
 earthworms *oglut*.
 eat *ɲan*.
 edge *bitna, epxiɲ*.
 eel *bleten, bleten misuon ina*.
 egg *dobutno*.
 egg cowrie *tapago*.
 eight *lumetli*.
 eighty *iselme isetli*.
 eject *pi*.
 elbow *limla balokɲen, limla bune ine*.
 elder *ɲoɲle*.
 embers *gigliɲ*.
 empty *adai, batne, kakxak*.
 end *batne*.
 enough *kaxaɲa*.
 enter *sep*.
 erase *sapi*.
 escort *paux*.
Eugenia malaccensis *puai*.
 European *puda*.
 explode *nopu*.
 extinguish *bamsim*.
 extract *pi*.
 eye *bitna*.
 faeces *ata*.
 faint *mete*.
 fall *bomsuk, gone, nedip,*

noblok, nosluk.
 famine *sapaɲa*.
 far *maua, uanuk*.
 fart *nopus*.
 fast *nekles, nekxit, nepik, paide*.
 fat *xum*.
 fatally wounded *buxua*.
 father *ilau*; father-in-law *xana*.
 fathom *axmax*.
 fear *lou*.
 feather *uole*.
 feed *kax*.
 female *apmaɲ*.
 fence *axi*.
 fern sp *dixu*.
 fetch water *tip*.
 few *oxuo ono*.
Ficus sp *tamaxa*.
 fifty *isapeinal*.
 fight *mluk*.
 fin *melba, slaɲa, xexe*.
 fingers *limla titno*; index finger *limla sukɲen*; little finger *limla saiki*; middle finger *limla nopu komlou*; ring finger *limla boi*; fingernails *limla talpes*.
 finished *iagos, msa, oxmot*.
 fire *eiou*; firebrand *eiou batne, mouk*; firewood *akai*.
 firm *nebiɲ, netex, nobuɲ*.
 first *da*.
 firstborn *ipem puda, moxotoɲo*.
 fish *aɲua*; fish spp *agat, kalubia, lakou, lodi, pomoxou, samil, toi, uaxax*.
 fishtail palm *epxi*.
 five *elme*.

flame *bublo*.
 flash *neblik*.
 flesh *okux*.
 flimbsy *melbe, meleplep, metetel*.
 float *maxo, monmono, ples*.
 flood *oɲon*.
 flooring *ekei*.
 flower *aipuxu, doxo, doxoɲen*.
 fluid *olune*.
 flute, k.o. *epxe, kaux, pepex, solopet, uotuot*.
 flutter *negigi, nekexkex*.
 fly *uxok*.
 fly, insect *loɲo, loɲobixi*.
 fog *ɲolip*.
 fold *mol*.
 follow *batne, didi*; follow inland *nis*.
 fontanelle *melim*.
 food *ɲenɲen*; food baxket *golū*; food taboo *omok*.
 foot *kamla*.
 forage *dabu*.
 forbid *paxa*.
 ford *sux*.
 forearm *limla adex ine*.
 forehead *baxa*.
 foreleg *aklak*.
 foreskin *pali*; peel back foreskin *paglus*.
 forest *omɲaitno, loloto*.
 fork *pudaɲa*.
 four *apeinal*.
 free *bebe*.
 friend *adou, aten*; friends *satēn*.
 frog *bael*; frog spp *kekkek, kxupkxup, palok, ualiep*.
 frond *kitkitɲen*.

- front *damaine*.
 fruit *uatna*; bear fruit *usu*.
 full *aitno, apax, bon, bono, got*.
 fun *apok*.
 fur *uole*.
 fuzz *omsoŋ*.
 gall bladder *onu*.
 game *aŋua*.
 garden *iage, omux*; clear garden *luk*.
 garnish *masu, masuŋen*.
 gather *bono, gom, kum*.
 gecko *lebei*.
 get *due, kum, sau*; get up *deite*.
 giant clam *golomada, kaiŋan*.
 gills *boxuai*; gill flap *tala kopine*.
 ginger, *Alpinia*, generic *agiau*; ginger, *Alpinia* spp *adali, agiau, akue, aŋxek, bubunik, gelege, kalaisi, koklok, maxka, ouxit, sixemsixem*; ginger, *Zinziber*, generic *emles*; ginger, *Zinziber* spp *aŋip, bakau, budij exiek, gexij, uaik*; ginger leaf plug *aki ina oduk*.
 girl *otno*.
 give *kax*; give birth *kakluk*.
 glug *nogonŋoŋ*.
 go *la, uti*; go ahead *mgo*.
 gong *akoloŋ*.
 good *itau*.
 gossip *aiŋan*.
 gourd *akau, uatna*.
 grandchild *bubno*.
 grandfather *ada*.
 grandmother *aik*.
 grass spp *balimu, ogu*.
 grasshopper *sisui*.
 grate *kikxe, nou*.
 grater *ŋixi, outis*.
 graze *noklut, nokuklut*.
 greasy *dikŋen*.
 green *ebix*.
 greens *otouou*.
 groin *askap*.
 grope *dabu*.
 ground *ebes*.
 growl *neŋix, neŋixŋix*.
 grub *etnim*.
 grunt *kxu, nokuk, noŋoŋoŋ, nouoŋuoŋ*.
 gulp *nokxut*.
 gun *masket*.
 gurgle *nobluk, nogonŋoŋ*.
 guts *goline, mogolu*.
 hair *uole*; hairless pig *gelet*.
 hammer *okoli*.
 hand *limla*; hand basket *uasak*.
 handle *albus, exi, palaŋ*.
 hang *bel, mana*.
 happen *polou*.
 happy *getix*.
 harbour *modoani, pasis, sagxu*.
 hard *nagax*.
 hate *ulou*.
 hawk *ŋamxi*.
 he *ie*.
 head *apna, boxo, otuk*; headband *ŋinŋin*.
 headman *maxoni*.
 heal *lua, padidi, tai, xomos*; healed *msim*; healing magic *luŋan*.
 hear *kliŋin*.
 hearth *katan, mamine*.
 heat *buk, pai*.
 heavy *talu*.
 heel *kamla apa ine*.
 help *lua*.
 here *kade*.
 hey *e*.
Hibiscus tileaceus *amsexe, palu*.
 hide *kukep*.
 hill *dama*.
 hindleg *esex*.
 hip *omtu*.
 history *nasijen*.
 hit *mluk*.
 hold *kis*.
 hole *dul*.
Homalium foetidum *boi*.
 home *ninu*.
 honey *aŋlek, olune, uame*.
 hook *kadaŋa, kŋe*.
 hornbill *mexiaŋ*.
 hot *eŋil, uelep*.
 hot water *atuaxa*.
 house *ninu, oxmun, piaŋau*.
 housefly *loŋo*.
 how *blange*.
 how many *sesue*.
 howl *mgux*.
 hundred *buno*.
 hunger *sapaŋa*.
 hunt *bax, dabu, kxim, xomdu*.
 hurt *nisi*.
 husband *asna, bogot*.
 husk *sisijen, sisi, taxna*; husking stick *kolet*.
 I *ŋoŋ*.
 if *ba, i, otabla, se*.
Imperata spp *ogu*.
 in *sep, tan*.
 index finger *limla sukŋen*.
 initiate *baxes*; initiation *dimixmix*.
 inland, follow *nis*.

- in-law , terms for *agiap*,
kaden, *xana*.
- Inocarpus fagiferus amsi*,
iou, *oiou*, *uange*.
- inside *aitno*.
- insipid *emlel*.
- intestines *goline*.
- Ipomea batatas*, generic
saxabatne Ipomea spp
bisnaxe, *epiep*, *posolo*,
sixlik.
- ironwood *bana*.
- island *nu*, *omot*.
- it *ie*.
- itchy *kaklak*.
- jaw *baxŋa*.
- jawharp *tanguxi*.
- joke *apok*.
- juice *olune*.
- jump *kopik*.
- junior *magit*.
- just *adai*, *bala*.
- just now *oku ono ka*.
- kambang (TP) *akau*.
- karapa (TP) *balimu*.
- kerosine *karasin*.
- kill *mluk*, *mtex*.
- kin , terms for *adou*,
agatno, *agau*, *agiap*,
aigolu, *aik*, *aikos*, *asap*,
asna, *aten*, *atua*, *baba*,
babu, *bogot*, *bubno*, *ide*,
ilau, *ilmanŋ*, *ipem puda*,
kaden, *komgu esleine*,
lutno, *mlegi*, *moxotoŋo*,
satén, *sulutno*, *timo*, *tna*,
tumno, *xana*.
- kindling *sojoto*.
- kingfisher *pidau*.
- knee *kamla bune ine*;
kneecap *kamla ina*
baxa.
- knife *elil*.
- knock *nokloŋkloŋ*.
- knot *akai bune ine*; knotty
bunbune.
- know *ile*.
- kunai (TP) *ogu*.
- ladder *siŋen*.
- lamp *lam*.
- landslide *ebes nokup*.
- language *uaiŋan*.
- large *omba*, *puda*, *umba*.
- later *batne*.
- lateral fin *slaja*.
- laugh *dibel*.
- law *nasinŋen*.
- lazy *iage kobok*, *lila tepis*,
tepisŋen, *xopo*.
- leaf *aman*, *eiuk*, *uole*.
- leak *lilil*, *netenŋen*.
- lean *nepil*.
- leaves *akai uole ine*.
- leech *dipman*, *kŋal*.
- lefthand *gala*.
- leg *kamla*.
- lemon *muli*.
- lest *laki*.
- letter *eiuk*, *pas*, *pepa*.
- level *nokloŋ*.
- lie, prevaricate *iak*, *iakiak*.
- lie, recline *kotok*, *munu*.
- light *bublo*, *buk*, *kobi*.
- lightning *logle*, *noulep*,
pelaka.
- lightweight *maxkan*.
- like *lana*.
- like *as*, *tobla*.
- lime *muli*.
- lime powder *akau*; lime
spatula *damu*.
- limp *nekeŋ*, *netix*.
- lips *eine taxna*.
- list *tik*.
- litter, bed *kaxoxo*
- litter, trash *asuk*, *samdik*.
- little *otno*.
- little finger *limla saiki*.
- liver *atna*.
- lizard spp *abax aitabu*,
kisaku, *paxia*, *pixdem*,
tigoxou, *uales taxna*.
- lobster *agen*.
- located *doŋ*, *munu*.
- locust *sisui*.
- long *kos*, *nekleŋ*.
- look at *palem*; look for
kxim.
- loosen *dax*.
- lory *kilek*.
- lose *dno*.
- louse *otu*.
- love potion *munusaux*.
- low *nebxik*.
- lung *popxos*.
- magic *logle*, *luanŋan*.
- make *due*; make drink
painim; make fun of
due apok; make twine
bubu.
- malay apple *puai*.
- male *axaŋ*, *gute*.
- man *gute*.
- mango, *Mangifera indica*
kadai.
- mangrove *bale*, *taxau*;
mangrove clam *baiu*;
mangrove crab *ŋgis*.
- manioc *amioka*.
- many *buno*.
- mark *amal*.
- marry *gi*.
- masalai (TP) *logle*, *onuŋ*.
- massage *padidi*.
- masturbate *blenblen*.
- mat *omoi*.
- me *ŋoŋ*.
- meat *aitno*, *masuŋen*, *okux*.
- meet *bono*.
- men's lodge *oxmun*.
- merely *bala*.

message *ato*.
 messy *nepekpek*.
Metroxylum spp *txajan*.
 middle *aixabu*.
 middle finger *limla nopu komlou*.
 midnight *epmes aixabu*.
 milk *olune*.
 miss *noklut, slak*.
 mist *gugupu*.
 mole *aŋaxi emgis*.
 money *teli*.
 monitor lizard *paxia, pixdem*.
 monsoon *iaiax*.
 month *taiko*; month names *aduol, guigui, iagi, maxexe, mododo, poga, supi, tagaiaw, tobou, xai, xai koka, xai kuxu*.
 moon *taiko*.
 moray eel *bleten misuon ina*.
 morning *gotu keine, nasaksak*.
 mortar *maui*.
 mortuary ritual *xogo*.
 mosquito *lomuk*.
 moss *olmut*.
 mother *ide, tna*; mother-in-law *xana*; mother's brother *tumno*.
 mount timpanum *kŋe*.
 mountain *ebet, obxou*.
 mourning *ason, omok*.
 mouth *eine*.
 move *nemil, nemit, uti*.
 mud *dogox, paŋpaŋa*.
 mudskipper *uaxax*.
 mumu (TP) *tan, ui, uiŋen*.
 murmur *neŋimjim*.
 murmur (TP) spp *akai tatna, apotrŋen, asiŋit, axoman, kalalaŋan,*

tikŋen.
 mushroom *makue*;
 mushroom spp *aimou, bomsuk, sexe aplau, somsom, tuaja kubu, uoxou*.
 mushy *nablak*.
 nail *talpes*.
 name *lagŋa*.
 narrate *didi*.
 navel *dobutno*.
 neck *agum*.
 need *bel*.
 needle *salimu*.
 negative *kobok*.
 nephew *babu*.
 nest *onuk*.
 net *omdu*; net bag *akluk*.
 new *oku, uoku*.
 news *aŋan*.
 night *epmes, tilŋip*.
 nine *lumesnal*.
 ninety *iselme isapeinal*.
 nits *otu titno*.
 no *kobok*.
 noon *oklou aixabu*.
 nose *epxiŋ*.
 not *kobok*.
 not yet *dau*.
 now *etnika*.
 nut *aduol*.
 obsidian *odloy*.
 ocean *misuon*.
 ochre *aŋat*.
Octomeles sumatrana *koxdo*.
 odour *mnaŋan*.
 oh *aiakau*.
 old *ŋamen ina*.
 older *ŋoŋle*.
 older sibling *atua*.
 on top *pegim*.
 one *keine, silaŋ*.

only *bala*.
 or *kini*.
 oral history *nasŋen*.
 orange tree *muli*.
 orchid *tokux*.
 origin *bame*.
 outside *kexep*.
 oven *opmu, uiŋen*.
Ovum ovum *tapago*.
 owl *tuktuk*.
 package *sunŋen, taxna*.
 paddle *melba*.
 pain *nisi*.
 paint *ason*.
 palm *limla damaine*.
 palm spp *baup, ekei, epxi, matolo, oŋgup, osun*.
Pandanus spp *omoi, padpada*.
 pant *kaiariŋ, naŋasŋas, neŋesŋes*.
 paper *eiuk, pepa*.
 parakeet *bode*.
 parallel cousin *aten*.
 parrot *kalaja, libatoŋ*.
 path *ienim*.
 patriclan names *Aikon, Aŋal, Benim, Gigina, Salkei*.
 pay attention *kliŋin*.
 peck at *tupi*.
 peel *sisi*; peeling *sisŋen*.
 pen *pen*.
 pencil *pen*.
 peninsula *olop*.
 penis *uetne*.
 people *osep*.
 person *gute*.
 pick *bak*.
 piece *leklou*.
 pig *abax*; pig spp *gelet, longolonŋo, mexden, migel, nakum, ogu,*

paulik, sage; pig tusks bole.
 pillow *ueljen.*
 pin down *gilep.*
Piper betle esis.
 pitpit (TP) spp *midau, mixsau, tobox.*
 place *omux.*
 plant *sin, uasak.*
 plate *aman, plet.*
 play *lilie.*
 plug *oduk.*
 plunk *nobuk.*
Poinciana delnis daga.
 point *olop.*
 point to *gin, suk.*
 poke at *nodunđun.*
Pometia pinnata emliņ.
 pond *aki bubu, olu.*
 pop *negegxe, nopu.*
 pork *abax.*
 portion *leklou.*
 possessive classifiers *ila, ina, ine.*
 pot *kixdau, ulu.*
 pour *basex.*
 prawn *agen.*
 precede *mgo.*
 pregnant *somogu.*
 prohibition *asex, paxa.*
 prow *otuk.*
 pubic apron *kokxei.*
 pubis *obus.*
 pull *xixi; pull out pi.*
 pupil *bitna ila gute.*
 purple *gesen.*
 pus *anak.*
 push *baluk, kakai, suxuk, tapul.*
 put *due; put on pme, sep; put out bamsim.*
 python *aulas.*
 quarter *demel.*

quickly *paide.*
 rack *bota.*
 radius *adex.*
 raft *xegit.*
 rafter *kiue ila titaiņan.*
 rain *axagu, usisi; rainbow axagu uetne; raintree daga; rainy season pakoxo, soxoi.*
 rapids *didli.*
 rat *dadik, kiue.*
 rattan *atikex, kixia.*
 rattle *negxengxen, nogxongxon, nokokox.*
 raw *akat.*
 ready *ulip.*
 reciprocal *pele.*
 red *eibmox.*
 reef *asax.*
 release *bebe.*
 remain *doņ.*
 rest *mtoņ, suali.*
 return *bauluk.*
Rhizophora spp *bale, taxau.*
 ribs *kexkex.*
 ricochet *noklot.*
 rice *xais.*
 ridge *obxou.*
 ridgepole *komduņo, ududu kakau.*
 rifle *masket.*
 righthand *lokono.*
 rim *pali.*
 ringfinger *limla boi.*
 ringed boa *epmes ina.*
 ringworm *pelpel.*
 rinse *liņliņ.*
 ripe *osou, ulip.*
 rise *deite, nepel.*
 river *aki.*
 road *ienim.*
 rock shelter *omus.*

roll *dugum, tuk.*
 root *sex.*
 roots *akai dimolo.*
 rope *galou.*
 rotten *okus.*
 run *suon.*
 rustle *nokokox.*
Saccharum spp *amxa, midau, mixsau, tobox.*
 sago *txaņan; sago hammer okoli.*
 saliva *eine olune, eine ina aki.*
 saltash *sedik.*
 salty *galo.*
 sand *labu.*
 sandbar *asax, daba.*
 sandfly *moxomo.*
 sap *akai olune, akai ina anak.*
 sated *got.*
 say *uai.*
 scaffold *bota.*
 scar *amal, asuk.*
 scatter *bilili.*
 scrape *kikxe, nou; scraper kepe, mel.*
 scratch *gix, kikxe.*
 sea *misuon; sea eagle bogi.*
 seal *dim.*
 season *oklou, omņux, pakoxo, soxoi, taiko.*
 see *uluņ, xik.*
 seed *londo; seed coat epes ine, paso.*
 self *keine.*
 sell *baine.*
 semen *olune.*
 send *page.*
 senior *ņoņle.*
 set *duxu, nesip.*
 seven *lumaxuo.*

- seventy *iselme isoxuo*.
 sew *sisix*.
 sex *isu*.
 shake *nemitmit*.
 shallow *asax, taxtax*.
 share *leklou*.
 shark *kaluga*.
 sharp *bitna telemlem*.
 shatter *nakxam, natak*.
 she *ie*.
 shell armband *mese*; shell
 money *tehi*; shell
 scraper *kepe, mel*;
 shellfish spp *kuliep*,
 mese; coconut shell
 baxa, ηogotou; shellfish
 masilau.
 shield *asua*.
 shimmer *nelemlem*.
 shirt *siot*.
 shit *ata*.
 shiver *negigik*.
 shoot *mtex*.
 short *babit, bolbolo, uanuk*.
 shotgun *masket*.
 shoulder *opol*.
 shout *gi, nakjajkjai*.
 show *gin, suk*.
 shred *bak*.
 shrimp *agen*.
 Siasi dish *tabila, tumxo*.
 sibling, terms for *agatno*,
 atua, lutno; siblings,
 terms for *agau, sulutno*.
 sick *paia*.
 side *kexkex, xaxna*; side
 dish *masuηen*.
 since *ba, otobla*.
 sing *due sakul*.
 singlemen *auxam*.
 sink *nodoxop*.
 sister *agatno, atua, lutno*;
 sisters *agau, sulutno*;
 sister-in-law *agiap*,
 kaden; sister's son
 tumno.
 sit *doη*.
 six *lumakaine*.
 sixty *iselme soηotno*.
 skin *taxna*.
 skink *apaη, togoxou*.
 skinny *toxtox*.
 skirt *kokxei*.
 skull *apna exi ine*.
 slack *nekxit*.
 slander *kole*.
 sleep *munu*; sleeping mat
 omoi.
 slip *nedip, nekxes, noplo*,
 noplos.
 slippery *daglik, kelil*,
 neblen, noklot.
 slit gong *akoloη*.
 slowly *molil*.
 smack lips *neslikslik*.
 small *omo*.
 smear *blet*.
 smell *kun, mna, mnanjan*.
 smile *dibel*.
 smoke *asi*; smoke tobacco
 ηan uas; smoking pipe
 nalato.
 smooth *kelil*.
 snail *somoxo*.
 snake *aulas, mota*; snake
 spp *alau inamxi, aulas*,
 binigaea, epmes ina,
 laulau bulu, mekelij,
 mepex, sakul ina, sel exi
 ine, surju, taibe.
 snap spp *gxum, napakpak*,
 negxe, neplis, nogogxom,
 nopok, nopokpok,
 notxum, saxba.
 snare *kηe*.
 sneak *nekxes*.
 sneeze *gisni*.
 sniffle *neningxis*,
 nengxesgxes.
 snore *banjxes*.
 snort *kxu*.
 snot *oηgxus*.
 so *ba, ki*.
 soft *metetel, omuk*.
 soil *ebes*.
 sole *kamla damaine*.
 some *silaj*.
 someone *gute*.
 son *enen, mlegi*; son-in-
 law *xana*.
 song *sakul*.
 soon *ono blaj ono*.
 sorcery *amum, musou*.
 sore *egle*.
 soul *ano*.
 sound *uai*.
 source *batne*.
 sow *abax tna*.
 sparkle *nelemlem*.
 speak *uai*.
 spear *maxakete, mtex*,
 uala.
 speech *uaiηan*.
 speed *nekles, nekxit, nepik*.
 spider *moxoxua*; spider
 spp *blesu, kamluk*,
 moxoxua.
 spill *basex*.
 spin *balilu*.
 spine *uala*; spiny *bibitna*,
 gigiu.
 spirit, k.o. *ano, aulu*,
 baxku, dimex tna, logle,
 maxba, onuη.
 spit *omsok*.
 splash *netxiktik, nopxus*.
 splinter *nataktak*.
 split *bak, noskup*.
 spot *aηaxi emgis*; spotted
 pig *longolongo*.
 spouse *asap, asna, bogot*,

- siau.*
 spray *usisi.*
 spread *kakai.*
 sprout *aibon, nobolbol, nobol.*
 spurt *netxik.*
 squat *madedet.*
 squeal *nokxonkxon.*
 squeeze *poxpox.*
 squish *blak, nablak.*
 squishy *omuk.*
 stab *mtex.*
 stake *eil.*
 stand *mxi.*
 star *biku, didibonji, moxopo.*
 start *guxno.*
 stay *doŋ.*
 steal *kubu.*
 stick *akai*; burning stick *eiou batne, mouk*; carrying stick *sigi*; cloning stick *exi*; digging stick *apma, namjan*; husking stick *kolet*; walking stick *matu, otou.*
 still *dau.*
 stink *mna.*
 stir *bauluk.*
 stomach *goline, pole.*
 stone *opmu*; stone oven *opmu, tan, ui, uijen.*
 stop *sakam.*
 story *alemge.*
 straddle *gilep.*
 straight *neplis, oduŋ, osuk.*
 stretch out *kotok.*
 stuck *blet, kxo, nekel, nokol.*
 stump *akai batne.*
 subsist *doŋ.*
 suckle *inim sisi.*
 sufficient *kaxaŋa.*
 sugarcane *amxa.*
 suicide *bel, mana.*
 summon *sux.*
 sun *oklou.*
 superincise *bak uetne.*
 support, cross-stick *sabalau.*
 swamp *dogox, paŋpaŋa.*
 sweat *uelep, uelepjen.*
 sweep *gix.*
 sweet *galo.*
 sweet potato *saxabatne*; sweet potato spp *bisnaxe, epiep, posolo, sixlik.*
 swim *delim, sisu.*
 swollen *xes.*
 sword grass *ogu.*
 taboo *omok, paxa.*
 tail *gitno, kitkitjen, melba.*
 take *due, kakluk*; take off *nekles, nexit, nepik.*
 talk *aijan, uai.*
 tall *neklen, neplis.*
 talon *talpes.*
 tambaran (TP) *maxba.*
 tame *mudu.*
 tantrum *aijon, txak.*
 tap *mtex, noklonkloŋ.*
 taro *eski*; taro spp *abax amal, aboxeŋ, adxak, aibila, aiklas, akas, akau, mogum alau, alau kamna, aliba, amanios, aŋaxi, atakile, axisiŋ ina ongup, bani ina ongup, baxku, bilolu, bixbix, boglai, boxalem geia, daxou, didim epis, ebel mige, ebelgi leim, ebelgi liem, ediaŋ moi, edieŋ gage, emles, didim epis, gagasilau, galiki asox, genei, goia, kamaŋgi, kaso, kaui, kelisjen,*
kemel, kenda, kilongaxi, kosope, kranjip, kubo ila eiou, kude, laupu, laupu xixi, maiku, malaŋ, malau, malugi, maŋamaŋa lilik, maxabuk, maxba, meia, mepex, mogum alau, molbak, ŋani saua, onu bik, onu bik gelet, otouou, oxen, panim kale, patu gabu, paut, pongi, puagelo, saxa ina akau, sepoku, sepxi, sisix, sobo mau, tebila, tetoga, tokur, tole, touete, ulegi; taro paddle naitax; taro recipe daxaidanja.
 tasteless *emlel.*
 tasty *galo.*
 tattoo *bisik, bisikjen.*
 tea *ti.*
 teeter *netex.*
 teeth *eine uatna.*
 tell *uai.*
 temper tantrum *aijon, txak.*
 ten *sojotmo.*
 tender *anam.*
 tendons *uaxana.*
Terminalia catappa talde.
 testicles *lasna.*
 that *bla, exi, to.*
 thatch *txaŋan uole ine.*
 the *ka, to.*
 theft *kubujen.*
 then *ba, naki.*
 there *toko.*
 they *isak.*
 thigh *esex.*
 thing *uon.*
 thirsty *aki bel.*
 this *ka, kade*; this way *blanaka.*
 thread *galou.*

three *etli*.
 throw *tapxe, uxi*.
 thumb *limla opmu*.
 thump *noklorḡklorḡ*.
 thunder *logle, nogxum*.
 tibia *kamla exi ine*.
 tie *pou*.
 timpanum *pixdem taxna, kḡe*.
 tin *tin*.
 tinkle *nekleḡ*.
 tiny *otno nono*.
 to *ine, tan*.
 tobacco *uas*.
 today *etnika*.
 toes *kamla titno*; toenail *talpes*.
 together *neklep*.
 tomorrow *masil*.
 tongs *diglou, kaida*.
 tongue *lime*.
 too *blaḡ*.
 tooth *eine uatna*; tooth blackener *getou*.
 top *pegim*; top plate *paxa, pola*.
 torch *osluk*.
 tough *nagax*.
 trash *asuk, samdik*.
 tree *akai*; tree spp *aduba, adxak, aklurḡ, ameit, amka, amsexe, amsi, aḡaxi, aḡaxḡax, apłas, aulou, axabuḡ, axbala, axoi, bakau, bale, balu, bana, bixlai, boi, boxbox, daga, deuei, diaxben, eiuk, elei, emles, emliḡ, etnim, gelme gitno, gemelei, ginali, gluk, golo, gongo, iou, kadai, kakxou, kapok, kapuk, ketal, kolboḡo, koxdo, kualolo, kubi, kukli,*

lolorḡ, lopa, luok, makul, malurḡlurḡ, mixsou, modou, muli, naḡam, obou, obut, oduk, oiou, olut, omḡux, opon, otu, padaxi, palu, paxia, pei, pelim, pipi, popos, pouos, puai, putu, saxagei, sikxei, talde, tamaxa, taxau, temeo, tiben, titu, uales, uanḡe, utis; tree ant *kamulia, oxlok*.

tremble *negigi*.
 trickle *nedioxdiox*.
Tridacna sp *golomada, kaiḡanḡan*.
 trim *blou, pma*.
 triton shell *kuliep*.
Trochus spp *mese*.
 true *lokono*.
 trumpet, shell *kuliep*.
 trumpet bird *kaxkax*.
 trunk *akai palma*.
 tsk *notloktlok*.
 turmeric *anjip*.
 turn *bauluk, tuk*.
 turtle *ponu*.
 tusk, pig's *bole*.
 twenty *isoxuo*.
 twine *bubu, bubuḡen*.
 two *oxuo*.
 ulna *adex*.
 umbrella *touxen*.
 under *sina*.
 understand *kliḡin*.
 unravel *dax*.
 unripe *akat, boleine*.
 up *deite*.
 upper arm *aklak*.
 upstream *pegim*.
 urinate *duxie*; urine *moxduk*.
 veins *uaxana*.

very *eiti, iti, oduḡ*.
 view *palem*.
 village *axmok*; village names *Aikon, Aḡal, Benim, Lumusi, Meitabala, Merok, Salkei, Ubur Batne, Palpalu*.
 vine *galou*; vine spp *esis, iau, naxlo, pei*.
 vomit *mtoko*.
 vulva *epit*.
 wait *siḡa*.
 wake up *deite, pan*.
 walk *lila*; walk along *titai*; walking stick *matu, otou*.
 wall *baboxo*.
 wallaby *apose, natus, sokolo*.
 want *aise, lana*.
 wash *gxorḡ, liḡliḡ*.
 wasp spp *gulupa, mixmix*.
 water *aki*; water container *aki taxna*; waterfalls *aki silmei, aki nosux*.
 wave *nemilmil*.
 waves *boitin*.
 wax *aḡlek, nabon, tilbut*.
 we *imi, ite*.
 web *ieua*.
 weed *les*.
 weep *siḡit*.
 well *io*.
 wet *nimuxu, okus*.
 what *sua*.
 wheeze *naḡasḡas, neḡisḡis*.
 when *aloge*.
 where *ge*.
 whine *keḡit*.
 whisper *neḡimḡim*.
 white *akau, eglim, golu*; white pig *ogu, paulik*; whiteman *puda*.

who <i>segi</i> .	women <i>siau</i> .	yam spp <i>bidi, kou, uada</i> .
whole <i>dodolu</i> .	wood <i>akai</i> ; wooden dish <i>tabila, tumxo</i> .	yawn <i>mamaian</i> .
widow <i>asap</i> ; widower <i>aikos, bogot batne</i> .	words <i>uaiŋan batne</i> .	yellow <i>iaŋou</i> .
wife <i>asap, asna</i> ; wives <i>siau</i> .	worms <i>oglut</i> .	yes <i>ie, iede</i> .
wild <i>aŋua, sagsagi</i> ; wild pig <i>poti</i> .	wounded <i>buxua</i> .	yesterday <i>ŋaxep</i> .
wilt <i>pai</i> .	woven cloth <i>puda taxna</i> .	yet <i>dau</i> .
wind <i>iaiax, ieŋen, usisi</i> .	wow <i>aiakau</i> .	yon <i>exi</i> .
wing <i>pena</i> .	wrap <i>dugum</i> .	you <i>umu, uom</i> .
wipe <i>sak, sapi</i> .	wrapper <i>eiuk</i> .	young woman <i>belabela</i> .
with <i>kap, tan</i> .	wreck <i>gxum</i> .	younger <i>magit</i> .
woman <i>apmaŋ, belabela</i> ;	wring <i>pox, poxpox</i> .	Zinziber sp <i>emles Zinziber</i> spp <i>bakau, budij exiek,</i> <i>gexiŋ, uaik</i> .
	wrist <i>limla agum ine</i> .	
	write <i>due amal, sogo</i> .	

7. ARIA LEXICON

<i>abar meila koro</i> N taro sp.	<i>lou adan</i> the plant that I discovered. <i>buka</i> <i>ila adan</i> taro sp. <i>diglou ila adan</i> taro sp.
<i>abene</i> N tree sp.	<i>adanadan</i> Tou ADJ happy [= <i>kilikili</i>]. Tou <i>ute adanadan</i> a happy man.
<i>aber</i> N 1. rattan sp, <i>Calamus</i> sp [with large leaves, used for thatch]; 2. thatch [> <i>usu</i>]; 3. taro sp. <i>ninu ina aber</i> thatch of a house.	<i>adar</i> Tou ADJ hard [= <i>nagar</i> ≠ <i>omuk</i>].
<i>abit</i> N tree sp.	<i>adarak</i> N tree sp, <i>Pometia</i> sp.
<i>ablip</i> N 1. tree sp; 2. taro sp.	<i>adiba</i> N tree sp.
<i>ablo</i> Tou ADV empty, with nothing, by itself [= <i>adai</i>]. Tou <i>omur doŋ ablo</i> the place is empty.	<i>adigolo</i> N banana sp.
<i>abo</i> Tou N my father [= <i>libou</i> > <i>timla</i>].	<i>adiŋ</i> N/ <i>kamla</i> __ine tibia.
<i>aboma</i> N tree sp.	<i>adou</i> N/ <i>ina</i> ; Tou <i>ila</i> __ aunt, uncle, neice, nephew, opposite-sex sibling of parent, child of opposite-sex sibling. <i>ŋau adou</i> = Tou <i>lou adou</i> my uncle.
<i>aboreŋ</i> N taro sp.	<i>agak</i> N large bamboo sp.
<i>ada</i> > <i>ene</i> .	<i>agau</i> N boys. <i>agau aren</i> the boys. <i>agau</i> <i>auram</i> the bachelors.
<i>adada</i> Tou N tree sp, <i>Pometia pinnata</i> [= <i>emliŋ</i>].	<i>agen</i> N 1. prawn, shimp [generic, especially freshwater]; 2. tree sp. <i>agen misuon ina</i> lobster.
<i>adai</i> ADV empty, with nothing, by itself [> <i>bala</i> = Tou <i>ablo</i> ≠ <i>bon, onuk</i>]. <i>doŋ adai</i> he has nothing [eg. no clothes]. <i>akai</i> <i>polou adai</i> the tree grew by itself [no one planted it]. Tou <i>ŋaŋen adai sakam</i> I can't eat it by itself.	<i>agenagen</i> N fleas. <i>gemle ila agenagen a</i> dog's fleas.
<i>adan</i> N/± <i>ila</i> __ cultivar, plant found in wild and then grown in garden [> <i>padoŋon</i>].	<i>aglok erne</i> N rattan sp with large leaves, <i>Calamus</i> sp.
	<i>agra</i> N tree sp.

agum balu N tree sp.

agune N- neck [¶ *agunjoŋ*, *agunuom*, *agune*, *agunte*, *agunmi*, *agunmu*, *agunsak*]. *ŋakalke akai ke agunjoŋ* I carry wood against my neck. *koŋgu agune* my ankle. *lungu agune* my wrist.

aia > *tna*.

aia N/*ila*__ grandfather, grandmother.

aiaŋ N taro sp.

aiapo N/*kamla*__ calf [< Kove > *okur*].

aibaga N/___*ine* great great great grandparents [parents of *sasa*].

aiber N/*ina*__ little brother, little sister, younger sibling or parallel cousin same sex singular [> *lutno*, *saiber*, *tobro*]. *ŋau aiber* my little brother.

aidagu N/*ila*__ cross cousin singular [> *saidagu*].

aidan N eel [especially freshwater. generic]. *adan misuonina* moray eel.

aidiŋ N manner, habit. *gute ila aidiŋ panako* a habitual thief.

aiklas N taro sp.

aikos N widower [> *asap*].

aile N tree sp.

ailuk ADJ different. *gute ailuk* a different man; someone else. *ila dikŋen ailuk* it tastes different.

aim ADJ tame. *obar aim* a tame pig.

aimolmolu N gills. *lodu aimolmolu* gills of a fish.

aimou N banana sp.

airipa N taro sp.

aisolom N taro sp.

aisuru N taro sp.

aitno N 1. inside [> *bisna*, *tona*]; 2. guts; 3. feelings; 4. like. *doŋ ninu aitno* it's inside the house. *aitno lugoŋ* my guts. *aitno lugoŋ amŋa* I was angry. *aitno lugoŋ ine* I like it. *omoŋ aitno* the forest.

aitou N 1. yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [thorny with bitter fruit. > *bidi*, *darpei*, *kukuai*,

mamim, *oda*]; 2. taro sp. *kokolo aitou* banana sp.

aiua N bat [generic].

akai N tree, firewood, stick, log, wood. *lou akai* my firewood. *akai ina anak* sap. *akai palma* trunk. *akai gitno* roots. *akai otna* fruit; seed. *akai limla* branch. *akai tarna* bark; barkcloth. *akai batne* stump. *akai elilo* leaf. *akai tuturno*= Tou *akai elŋip* sprout. *akai gurno* canopy. *akai ila roroŋon* flower; new growth.

akai apna N/___*ine* heart [> *akai otna*]. *akai apna lugoŋ* my heart.

akai batne N banana sp.

akai otna N/*ila*__ heart [> *akai apna*]. *obar ila akai otna* pig's heart.

akas N taro sp.

akat ADJ 1. raw [≠ *lipma*]; 2. unripe [≠ *sisiou*]; 3. green, not dried out [Tou *epriŋ* ≠ *kakrak* > *lipma*]. *obul akat* 1. uncooked banana; 2. unripe banana. *uasi akat* green tobacco.

ake N tree sp.

akerne N 1. bamboo sp [used for making butchering knives]; 2. flute sp [made of single piece of bamboo. = *kaur*].

aki N water, river. *aki gurno* headwaters. *aki nosur*= *aki silmei*= Tou *aki kepiuk*= Tou *aki netek* waterfalls. *aki dina* river bank. *aki bel ŋoŋ* I'm thirsty. *aki tna* crocodile. *aki bru me* on this side of the river. *aki bru la* on that side of the river. *aki bubu*= Tou *aki tilu* pool in a river. *aki tarna* water container.

akluŋ N tree sp.

akom Tou N hawk [= *ŋamri*].

akra N adze [= *kulaluo*].

aku N tree sp [similar to *Cordia* sp, used for drums].

akuei N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp.

alaŋ ADJ long.

alaneŋ N taro sp.

alanga N taro sp.

alau N 1. cassowary; 2. banana sp.
alau ila barku casque of a cassowary.
alau ina mosmosu cassowary wing.

alau ina amkou N tree sp.

alau kamna N 1. tree sp; 2. taro sp.

albus N/___*pro* naked, nude. *albus ie*
 he's nude.

alekmait N taro sp.

aliba N 1. banana sp; 2. taro sp.

alík N/___*ine* clavicle.

alika N rattan sp with small leaves,
Calamus sp.

aliluet Tou N whistle. Tou *ute de aliluet*
 someone is whistling.

almat ADJ bald. *epem almat* you're
 bald.

amaitou N whipsnake.

amal N 1. scar; 2. white [the skin colour
 of Europeans]. *ina amal* his scar. *puda*
tarna amal Europeans have white skin.
paut amal taro sp.

amanios N taro sp.

amarmana N taro sp.

ameit N tree sp.

amioka N manioc, cassava, *Manihot*
utilissima [= *kundis*, *manioka*, *tapiok*].

amka N tree sp.

amkou N tree sp. *alau ina amkou* tree
 sp.

amlak N eel lure. *uri amlak* he threw
 an eel lure.

amna N/___± *ine* smell, odour [> *kun*].
amna okus it smells rotten. *amna lugon*
 my odour. *uan amna itau* something
 that smells good.

amŋa N anger. *aitno lugon amŋa* I'm
 angry. *ŋodue amŋa*= Tou *ŋadamŋa*
 I'm angry.

amra N sugarcane, *Saccharum*
officinarum.

amrok > *armok*.

amtada, *amtarak*, *amtarsak* > *bitna*.

amugron N tree sp.

amum ADJ dirty [≠ *itau*]. *tarna lugon*
amum lokono my skin is very dirty.
molo amum dirty cloth.

anak N tree sp.

anak N 1. pus; 2. thick sticky sap [>
olu]. *beberani kebep ina anak polou*
 he'll squeeze the pus out of your leg.
akai ina anak sap.

anam ADJ mushy.

anaŋ Tou N/___*ine* name [= *aŋaine*]. Tou
ŋaile anaŋ luom kobok I don't know
 your name.

andar ADJ skinny [= *dabalbal*].

ane DEM this, here [near me. > *are*,
ari, *ka*]. *omdue blaŋ ane* do it this
 way. *oku boto ane* just now. *omo ane*
 come here. *etnik ane* today.*

anem N taro sp.

anit Tou ADJ heavy [= *kodu*].

ano N- 1. spirit, soul [> *malilu*, *mareba*,
egle]; 2. shadow; 3. breath; 4. dream
 [ŋ *anŋon*, *anuom*, *ano*, *ante*, *armi*, *anmu*,
ansak]. *gute ano* the spirit of a man;
 someone's shadow. *anŋon tuk* I'm out
 of breath. *anŋon* I had a dream.

anuy N tree sp.

anuy N wild *Cordyline* sp [= Tou *kaduk*
 > *mare*].

anuom > *ano*.

aŋaine N name [ŋ *aŋanŋon*, *aŋanuom*,
aŋanine... = Tou *anaŋ*]. *ŋeile aŋanuom*
kobok I don't know your name.
aŋanuom sei? what is your name? *sei*
sir aŋaine? who is calling his name?

aŋari N 1. tree sp, *Canarium polyphyllum*;
 2. banana sp.

aŋat N ochre.

aŋgis N mangrove crab.

aŋlek N honeycomb made by stinging
 wasp sp that lives in trees [> *uame*].

- aŋomu* N tree sp.
apada > *apna*.
apai > *berik apai*.
apanal QUANT four. *elme apanal* = *lumasnal* nine.
apare Tou N wallaby [= *apose*].
apare N taro sp.
apare ila eiou Tou N fog [wallaby's fire. = *gaugau*, *gaup*].
aparsak > *apna*.
aplas N tree sp.
aplau N cockatoo.
aplau koa N taro sp.
apma N digging stick.
apmaŋ N 1. woman; [≠ *gute*]; 2. female [≠ *araŋ*]. *ergu apmaŋ* my daughter. *mimi apmaŋ* girl. *apmaŋ barau* wife of a headman.
apna N- head [¶ *opogu*= Tou *opugu*, *epem*, *apna*, *apada*, *epemi*= Tou *epimi*, *opomu*= Tou *opumu*, *aparsak* > *otuk*]. *timluk aparsak polu* they bumped heads. *ŋesine ke opogu* I carry it on my head. *ŋeser opogu* I comb my hair. *opogu elilo* my hair. *akai apna lugon* my heart. *taŋo apna* taro sp.
apok N tree sp.
apolou N tree sp.
apose N wallaby [= Tou *apare*].
apot N/ene__ sharp-tongued bigmouth. *ene apot* he is a sharp-tongued bigmouth.
apulpu N tree sp.
araŋ N male [≠ *apmaŋ*]. *ergu araŋ* my son.
are DEM that, there [near you. > *ane*, *ari*, *ka*]. *uom ŋap are* there's yours.
arebeŋ N tree sp.
aren N/agau__ boys. *agau aren* boys, bachelors.
arep N tree sp [bark used as door covering].
ari DEM that, there, over there [> *ane*,
are, *ka*]. *molo ari sua?* what kind of barkcloth is that? *sei ka me ari?* who's that coming over there? *omdue blaŋ ari* do it that way.
ari N fence. *touri ari* let's build a fence.
Aria N name of river and linguistic group [> *pidau aria*].
arigu Tou N rain [= *arugu*].
arikrik N floor joist.
armok N village [= *amrok*]. *udo armok* our village. *megir armok bitna* sweep the village plaza. *amrok boul* area around a village.
arnau N veins, tendons. Tou *lugu arnau (ine)* my wrist tendons. *arnau lugon* my veins.
arugu N rain [= Tou *arigu*]. *arugu duru* it's raining. *arugu otne* rainbow.
asaborek N taro sp.
asada > *esna*.
asal N tree sp.
asap N widow [> *aikos*].
asap Tou N/ila__ wife [= *esna* > *ŋaŋo*].
asar N shallow [= *tortor* ≠ *olu*]. *aki asar* a shallow river.
asar N tree sp.
ases N tree sp.
asiŋir N charcoal.
aslip elek N tree sp.
asu N smoke
asuabi N taro sp.
ata N faeces. *lou ata*= Tou *ata luŋon* my faeces.
ata N taro sp.
ate N friend [vocative of *aten*].
aten N/ila__ friend [> *ate*].
atok N/ine__ colon, rectum.
atun N bonito.
atun N tree sp.
aulou N tree sp.

aulu N spirit sp [\geq *tagogola, sanda, sabara, kolea, taratarabul* \leq *mereba*. TP *tumbuan*].

auol N banana sp.

auram N tree sp.

auram N unmarried, single, young. *agau auram* the bachelors. *gute auram* a single man.

auro Tou MOD negative, no [= *kobok*].
Tou *gala auro* I'm not going.

babalajo N wild sago sp used for flooring [= *galalo*].

babin VTR masturbate. *babin otne* he's masturbating.

babli N tree sp.

babro N wall. *ninu ina babro* wall of a house.

bael N frog [= Tou *kala*].

baiu N mangrove clam sp. [\leq *ebiak*].

bak VTR 1. split open [$>$ *nabak*]; 2. pick [break off with stem. $>$ *sisik*]; 3. tear. *gabak ongup* I split a coconut open. *ambak bile kap paga me* pick some betel with the stem and bring it. *bak akai* he's splitting wood. *bak pepa* he tore the paper. *akai bake* the wood tore it.

bakuok N butterfly.

bala MOD just, only, merely [$>$ *adai*].
doj bala he's just sitting around.

bale N mangrove, *Rhizophora* spp.

bale VI quickly [= *paide*]. *ambale omo* come quickly.

bali VI forage, collect wild food [$>$ *baliyen*].

balilu VTR spin. *gabaliu bile tarna* I spun the betel husk.

balimu N grass sp [TP *karapa*].

baliyen N wild food [$<$ *bali* $>$ *onua, masujon*].

balu $>$ *agum balu*.

balu ADJ 1. yellow, just about ripe [\neq *iajou, sisiou, akat*]; 2. albino. *obul balu* the banana is just about ripe. *tarna balu* he's an albino.

banana N ironwood tree.

banda N *Pandanus* sp [with large edible fruit. $>$ *buja, omoi* Mouk *padpada*].

bani ina ongup N taro sp.

barja N/_ine cheek, jaw.

bao N club for ritually executing widows.

bar VI hunt sp, drive pigs into net.

bara N/_ine 1. forehead [= Tou *edik*]; 2. container. *bara lugonj* my forehead. *kamla ila bara* patella, kneecap. *okou bara ine* lime powder container.

barau N headman. *gute barau* headman. *apmanj barau* wife of a headman. *Uala gute barau Salkei ina* Uala is the headman of Salkei.

barau Tou N river spirit [$>$ *malilu, mereba, egle*].

barku N 1. spirit sp [evoked to admonish someone for misbehaviour. \leq *mereba*]; 2. casque. *barku ene blene* bullroarer [the tongue of the spirit]. *alau ila barku* casque of a cassowary.

baser V spill, pour. *aki baser* the water spilled. *ambasere* pour it out.

basikjen N story sp, narrative of true event [$>$ *nasijen*]. *nedidi basikjen* I told a story.

basin eiou V build a fire [= Tou *res eiou*]. *amla ambasin eiou* go build a fire.

batne N 1. base, reason, stump; 2. almost empty [$>$ *tarna*]. *batne sua?* what is the reason for it? *akai batne* stump. *kamla batne* heel of foot. *limla batne* heel of hand. *kiklel batne* old garden. *aki mana batne* the water container is almost empty.

batne VI follow, come later [$>$ *didi, mase*]. *uom omgo nonj gabatne* you go on ahead, I'll follow later.

batne Tou TEMP later [= *mase*]. Tou
omgo omla imi imelila batne you go
ahead, we'll walk later.

bauluk VTR turn. *ɲabauluk ɲoŋ* I turned
around. *ambauluk esi* turn over the
taro.

beberani VTR squeeze. *beberani kebeb
ina anak polou* he'll squeeze the pus
out of your leg.

bekei Tou N Malay apple, *Eugenia
malaccensis* [= *puai*].

bel VTR need, afflict. *aki bel ɲoŋ* I'm
thirsty. *ata bele* he has to defecate.
marai bel ɲoŋ I need to urinate.

bela N girl. *bela, omo* girl, come here.
apmaŋ bela a single woman. *apmaŋ
belbela* the unmarried women.

belak N banana sp.

belbela > *bela*.

belis N dove. *belis noru= belis uru* a
dove is cooing.

belis N tree sp.

berik N banana sp.

berik apai N banana sp.

bet VTR tie up. *tibet mon* they tied up
the canoe [so that it drifts].

biaulul N tree sp.

bidabida N bedbug.

bidi N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [TP *mami*
> *aitou, darpei, kukuai, mamim, oda*].

bik VTR light, set fire to [> *tin*]. *oklou
due tebike* when the sun dries it, we
light it.

biku N star [= Tou *gigimo*].

bilbil N tree sp.

bile N betel, *Areca catechu*. *ambak bile
kap paga me* break off a branch of
betelnuts and bring it.

bile N banana sp.

Biliku N 1. name of inlet and island
near Iboki; 2. name of totem group.

biŋos VI breathe. *ɲebiŋos tatuk* I pant.

birbir N tree sp.

birbir N taro sp.

bisik VTR tattoo [> *bisikŋen*]. *ɲebisik
uom* I'll tattoo you.

bisikŋen N tattoo [< *bisik*].

bisna N under [> *tona, aitno*]. *ninu bisna*
under the house. *lungu (obar) bisna*
my armpit.

bitna N- 1. eye [ɲ *omtogu, emtem, bitna,
amtada, emtemi, omtomu, amtarak*]; 2.
edge, point, sharp. *omtogu lesna* my
eyeball. *bitna ebin* he's blind. *omtogu
didie* 1. I think about him; 2. my eyes
follow him. *tabele bitna* peninsula.
amtarak obor obor they have black
eyes. *ekreŋ bitna* door. *megir armok
bitna* sweep the village plaza. *gogou
bitna* cliff. *elil bitna= elil ene* a sharp
knife [> *pom*].

blak VTR squish [> *nablak*]. *ɲablak
ata* I stepped in shit.

blaŋ MOD too, also, again. *tipaur
kobura blaŋ* they're taking copra again.
obar silaŋ blaŋ another pig.

blaŋ ADV thus [pointing. > *ane, are,
ari, ka*]. *omdue blaŋ ari* do it that
way. Tou *ute pelio blaŋ ane ma tala*
the man said that we should go. *blaŋ
ane= laŋ ane* this way.

blene N/ene__ tongue. *ogu blene* my
tongue. *barku ene blene* bullroarer.

blou VTR cut, carve. *ɲoblou esi* I'm
cutting taro. *tiblou delei ene* they're
carving a design sp. *elil blou ɲoŋ* I got
cut on a knife.

bogaia N taro sp.

bogi N sea eagle.

boglai N taro sp.

boi N tree sp, *Homalium foetidum*. *paut
boi* taro sp.

boko V do, work [< TP > *due*]. *omboko
ine bala* just do it!

bole N/± *ina*__ pig tusks, pig tusk
ornament.

bolo N tree sp.

bomso N/___ine liver [= Tou *pupu*].

bomso N tree sp.

bon VI full [= *onuk* ≠ *adai*]. *aki bon* it is full of water.

boŋ VTR 1. break, snap [= *krok* > *noboŋ*]; 2. wreck, demolish. *oŋgup boŋ ninu* a coconut palm demolished the house. *ŋoboŋ akai* I snapped the stick.

borbor N tree sp.

borom N banana sp.

borom garai N banana sp.

borom gauru N banana sp.

borom grum gomot N banana sp.

borou N 1. magic [generic]; 2. healing magic.

bota N shelf, rack.

boto SPEC diminutive, little. *mimi boto ane* this little child. *uan ane daudeŋ boto* this is a cute little thing. *isuk boto* just a little. *oku boto ane* just now.

boul N/armok___ periphery, around. *armok boul* the periphery of the village.

bri VI stand. *ŋetito ŋebri* I stood up. *bri ane* he stood here. *galna lugoŋ bri* I lay on my side [my side stands].

bru V cross, ford. *tobru aki tala* let's cross the river. *aki bru me* on this side of the river. *aki bru la* on that side of the river.

brum V broom [< TP = *gir*]. *mobrum armok bitna*=*megir armok bitna* sweep the village plaza.

bublo VI light, glow, burn. *emipu eiou bublo* blow on the fire to make it light. *edep bublo* the firefly glows.

bubu N/aki___ pond, pool [= Tou *tilu*]. *aki bubu* pond in a river.

bubu V make twine by rolling fibres on leg [> *bubuŋon*, *bul*, *prak*].

bubuŋon N string, twine made by rolling fibres on leg [< *bubu* > *prakŋan*].

buk N book [< TP]. Tou *aitno luŋoŋ ge lem buk* I like your book.

buka ila adan N taro sp.

bul VTR make rope by twisting fibres in hands [> *bubu*, *prak*].

buli VTR stir, with. *tibuli ŋaŋon* they're stirring the food. Tou *ŋaŋen rais buli oŋua* I'm eating rice and meat.

buno QUANT 1. many, all [= *pula* = Tou *puda*]; 2. hundred. *buno kene* one hundred. *buno ruo* two hundred.

buno N joint, elbow, knee, knot. *lungu bunu* my elbow. *koŋgu bunu* my knee. *akai bunu* knotty wood.

buŋ VI meet [< TP]. *tobuŋ* let's have a meeting.

buŋa N *Pandanus* sp [> *banda*, *omoi*].

burua VI fatally wounded. *ŋaburua* I'm fatally wounded.

bususu N tree sp.

da MOD first, before.... *omo da* come here for a minute. *omtoke da* try it first.

dabalbal ADJ skinny [= *andar*].

dabol N black river clam sp [≤ *ebiak*].

dabol Tou N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [= *egiau*].

daga N jacaranda, *Samanea saman*.

daga mudu N raintree, *Poiciana delnis*.

daga Tou CJ if. Tou *daga arigu duru ma imodoŋ* if it rains, then we'll stay.

daikrup N owl [= Tou *tuktuk*].

damaine N- front, belly and chest [ŋ *damalŋoŋ*, *damaluom*, *damaine*... > *oŋgup*]. *koŋgu damaine* sole of my foot. *lungu damaine* palm of my hand.

damkir N tree sp.

damŋa Tou VI angry [= *due amŋa*]. *ŋadamŋa* I'm angry.

damu N/±ina___ lime spatula.

- darou* N tree sp.
- darpei* N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [similar to *aitou* but good food. > *aitou*, *bidi*, *kukuai*, *mamim*, *oda*].
- dau* MOD still, not yet. *gute dau me dau* the man hasn't come yet. *ipolou go dau?* have they arrived yet?
- daudeŋ* ADJ little. *uan ane daudeŋ boto* this is a cute little thing. *eiou daudeŋ splint* [little fire, for lighting a cigarette].
- dauŋon* N sick. *dauŋon ie* he's sick. *dauŋon due ŋoŋ* I'm sick.
- de* > *due*.
- de* SPEC/Cl__ hey. *poloŋ tuk de* hey, the end support has come off.
- deka* CJ and then [= *Tou ma*]. *gute la deka la ge?* the man is going and then where is he going?
- delei ene* N diamond pattern between circles on a shield. *tiblou delei ene* they carved the diamond pattern.
- delim* VI swim underwater [= *Tou dolim* > *susu*].
- demelei* N tree sp.
- dereben* ADJ newborn. *mimi dereben* newborn child.
- derege* N tree sp.
- deuei* N tree sp.
- dibaŋal* N tree sp.
- dibir* VTR give birth to. *apmaŋ dibir mimi* the woman gave birth to a child.
- dibleik* N taro sp.
- didara* VI crawl. *mimi didara* the child crawls.
- didi* VTR 1. follow [= *Tou pupru* > *batne*]; 2. tell, narrate; 3. think about. *amla emdidie go* follow him. *omtugu didie* 1. my eyes follow him; 2. I think about him. *ŋadidi basikŋen* I'll tell a story.
- didim* N tree sp.
- didim epis* N taro sp.
- diglik* ADJ slippery [> *kelil*]. *Tou kogu diglik* I slipped.
- diglou ila adaŋ* N taro sp found in forest.
- diglu* N rapids.
- digor* N swamp.
- dikdik* N bird sp.
- dikŋen* N 1. greasy, moist [good to eat]; 2. taste. *ŋaŋon dikŋen* greasy food. *ila diŋen ailuk* it tastes different.
- dilip* N/___pro ine fear, afraid of [> *lim*]. *dilip ŋoŋ ine* I'm afraid of him. *Tou dilip ŋoŋ luom*
- dimor* ADJ red.
- dina* N bank. *aki dina* river bank.
- diŋ* Tou VI return, back [= *tiŋ* = *Tou lik*]. *tidiŋ time* they came back. *Tou omdiŋ omo* come back.
- dipil* N nettle tree [= *Tou kidou*].
- dirgu* > *titno*.
- dogou* N tree sp [similar to *Canarium*, but with much larger nut].
- dogur* N outside [≠ *aimo*]. *ompolou amla ke dogur* go outside.
- dogurne* N back [ŋ *dogurŋoŋ*, *doguruom*, *dogurne*, *dogurte...* = *tou* > *odoŋ*]. *dogurŋoŋ* my back.
- doko* N tree sp, *Parartocarpus venenosa* [with large orange fruit similar to breadfruit].
- dolim* Tou VI swim underwater [= *delim* > *susu*].
- doŋ* VI 1. sit; 2. be located [> *munu*]; 3. stay, remain; 4. subsist. *doŋ kobok* he's not here. *ŋoduru ŋodoŋ* I'll sit down. *imodoŋ ma kotu imala* we'll stay and tomorrow we'll go. *doŋ adai* he just subsists [without clothes etc].
- dorgo* N tree sp.
- doro* N hurt, pain. *luŋgu doro* my arm hurts.
- doukik* Tou N bird sp.

due VTR 1. do, make [= *de*]; 2. get, take. *due amŋa* he's angry. *daŋon due ŋoŋ* I'm sick. *due kilikili* he's happy. *due solo* she's a troublemaker. *ŋodue omos* I'm carving. *mimi sapaŋa due* the child is hungry. *omdue kodoŋ?* have you gotten it yet? *omdue kene kene* take them one at a time. *apmaŋ neŋir due* the woman's menstruating. Tou *ute de aliluet* someone is whistling. *tede sakul* let's sing. *sapaŋa de ŋoŋ* I'm hungry. *omde duru neklip* put it [the lid] on.

dule N light rough stone used as a whetstone.

duni VTR meet, get together. *tiduni polu* they met.

durie V urinate [> *marai*].

duru VI down, descend. *arugu duru* it's raining. *ŋoduru ŋodoŋ* I'll sit down. *oklou duru la kodoŋ* the sun has set.

e CJ and. *ŋoŋ e uom* you and I.

ebes N ground, earth [= Tou *tatlak*]. *ŋau ebes galna* my land.

ebiak N clam [generic. ≥ *baiu, dabol*]; 2. ankle bone. *koŋgu ebiak* my outer ankle bone.

ebiak N taro sp.

ebin N nectar-eating bird sp.

ebin N/*bitna*__ blind. *omtogu ebin* I'm blind.

ebir ADJ blue, green [= Tou *ebir, gesen*].

edep N firefly. *edep bublo* fireflies glow.

edik Tou N/*__ine* forehead [= *bara*].

egi N tree sp.

egiau N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp [= Tou *dabol*].

egim ADV above [≠ *moli*].

egle N sore. *luŋgu ina egle* I have a sore on my arm. *tipou egle* they're dressing sores.

egle N spirit sp [inhabits a definite place and causes illness. TP *masalai* > *ano, malilu, mereba*]. *omur egle* a place inhabited by a spirit. *egle neblik* lightning. *egle nogrum* thunder.

egloŋ N obsidian [= Tou *omos*].

egloŋ N tree sp.

eie HL I think so.

eiou N fire. *emres eiou bublo* build up the fire so it lights. *eiou daudeŋ* splint [small fire for lighting a cigarette]. Tou *apare ila eiou* fog [= *gaugau, gaup*].

eiua N tree sp.

eiui N tree sp, *Inocarpus fagiferus*.

ekei N palm sp [used for flooring].

ekreŋ N path, road. *ekreŋ bitna* door.

elaŋila padoŋon N taro sp.

elek > *aslip elek*.

elil N knife [= *Toudage*]. *lou elil mina* my knife is lost. *elil ene= elil bitna* a sharp knife.

elilo N hair, leaf, feather, fur. *ŋeser opugu elilo* I comb my hair. *akai elilo* leaf. *monuk elilo* feather. *gemle elilo* dog fur.

elio N±*ina*__ pillow. *ŋau elio* my pillow. *apmaŋ elio ina* whore.

elme QUANT five. *elme kene= luma kene* six. *elme ruo= lumaru* seven. *elme etlu= lumetlu* eight. *elme apanal = lumasnal* nine.

elnip Tou N sprouts [that grow in stump after felling a tree. = *tuturno*].

emei N python.

emei otuk ine N tree sp.

emia ADV far [= *maua ≠ luo*]. *amla emia* go away.

emiak N tree sp.

emkil Tou N piece, side [= *galna*]. Tou *ŋau tatlak emkil = ŋau ebes galna* my land.

emle N tree sp.

emles N ginger, *Zinziber* spp.
emles N tree sp.
emliŋ N tree sp, *Pometia pinnata* [= Tou *adada*].
emlis Tou TEMP for a long time [= *tauni*].
emsik N/± *ina*__ comb.
emtem, *emtemi* > *bitna*.
endi N tree sp [used to make barkcloth].
ene N- 1. mouth [ŋ *ogu*, *ouop*, *ene*, *ada*, *epmi*, *opmu*, *orsak*]; 2. cutting edge [> *bitna*, *kaka*, *pom*]. *ene eri ine*= *ene otna* teeth. *ene tarna* lips. *ene blene* tongue. *ene apot* he's a sharp-tongued bigmouth. *elil ene kaka lokono* the knife is extremely sharp. *ene pom*= Tou *ene put* it's dull. *barku ene blene* bullroarer. *delei ene* diamond pattern on shield.
entir N tree sp.
eŋen N wind. *eŋen ipu ite* the wind is blowing on us.
eŋil ADJ hot [≠ *eŋen*]. *aki ane eŋil lokono* this water is very hot.
eŋris N/__*ine* snot.
epem, *epemi* > *apna*.
epem N plant sp with banana-like leaves used for wrapping food for stone oven.
epen ADJ cold [≠ *eŋil*].
eper N ringworm. *tarna lugon eper* I have ringworm.
epes N tree sp.
epi ADJ dry [= *epis*].
epiep N taro sp.
epimi > *apna*.
epis ADJ dry [= *epi* > *kakrak*]. *ŋasake ma epis* I'll wipe it dry. *didim epis* taro sp.
epis Tou N slowly, carefully [= *molil*]. Tou *ute lila epis ie*= *gute lila molil* the man walked slowly.

epit N vulva [= *paio*]. *lou epit* my vulva. *ŋau epit me* let my woman come [vulgar].
epmes N night.
epmi > *ada*.
epre Tou N pan flute [= *perer*].
eprim N tree sp.
epriŋ Tou ADJ green, fresh, not dried out [= *akat* > *lipma*, *kakrak*]. Tou *uasi epriŋ* uncured tobacco. *samo epriŋ* banana sp [< Samoa].
ergu > *otno*.
eri N/__*ine* bone [*eri ine*= *erne*. *eri lugon* my bones. *ogu eri ine*= *ogu otna* my teeth.
eriak N/__*ine* shoulder [= *opol*]. *ŋakalke akai ke eriak lugon* I carry wood on my shoulder.
erke VTR see [= *pati* = Tou *rik*]. *ŋerke uom*= *ŋarke uom*= *ŋapati uom* I see you. *erke* he sees him. *emerke ŋon?* do you see me?
erne > *eri*.
eser N/__*ine* thigh.
esi N taro [generic]. *apmaŋ tikamlu esi* the women are cooking taro. *amla amuasak esi* go plant some taro.
esi N/__*ine* brains. *esi lugon* my brains.
esi ina sumuk N tree sp.
esis N betel pepper, *Piper betle*.
eslei N/*limla*__ little finger. *lugu eslei* my little finger.
eslei N/*ila kamla*__*ine* 1. great grandparents; 2. ancestors. *lou kongu eslei ine* my great grandparents. *lem kebeb eslei ine* your ancestors.
esna N- wife [= Tou *asap*], husband [= Tou *ŋaŋo*], spouse [ŋ *esŋon*, *esuom*, *esna*, *asada*... singular. > *sesna*]. *apmaŋ esna* a woman's husband.
esŋon > *esna*.
esun N tree sp.

etepmi, etim > *otno*.

etlu QUANT three. *sesna etlu* he has three wives. *elme etlu*= *lumetlu* eight.

etnikane TEMP today, now [= Tou *oku ane kotu* tomorrow. *kasak* in two days. *kusik* in three days. *narep* yesterday. *ninuor* two days ago].

etum N 1. tree sp; 2. grub sp that eats this tree.

ga Tou DEM this, that, here [pointing. = *ka* > *ane, are, ari*]. Tou *pepa ga*= *pepa ka* here's the paper. Tou *ga doŋ ane!* here it is!

gaga silau N taro sp.

gala ADJ left [≠ *oduy*]. *limda gala* our left hands.

galalo N wild sago sp used for flooring [= *babalaŋo*].

galau N banana sp.

galiki N female character in stories. *ninu galiki* initiation house for girls.

galna N edge, side. *koba galna* the edge of the bed. *galna luŋoŋ bri* I lie on my side. *ŋau ebes galna*= Tou *ŋau tatlak emkil* my land.

galo ADJ salty, sweet.

gaol ADJ yellow in colour [> *balu*].

gar V bark. *gemle gar osep* dogs bark at people.

garai Tou N banana sp [= *karai, kalaŋa keis*]. *borom garai* banana sp.

gaugau N fog, mist [= *gaup* = Tou *apare ila eiou*].

gaup > *gaugau*.

gauru > *borom gauru*.

ge Tou PREP to, at, with, in; oblique [= *ke, ine*]. Tou *aitno luŋoŋ ge lem buk* I like your book. Tou *omboŋ uan ge sua?* why did you break the thing? Tou *la ge ie* let it go to him. Tou *ŋadue ge gitu* I did it with an axe. Tou *tiuri omdu ge obar* the threw a net for pigs. Tou *ŋauru emles ge uom* I'll spit

ginger on you [as part of a healing ritual]. Tou *omkarou ŋoŋ ge ŋau obar* give me some of my pork. Tou *omlim luŋoŋ ge sua?* what are you afraid of me for? Tou *pelio luŋoŋ ge uom* he told me about you.

ge ADV where. *doŋ ge?* where is it? Tou *omla ge?* where are you going?

gegre N taro sp.

gelet N hairless pig [≤ *obar*].

gemle N dog. *gemle ila agenagen* dog fleas. *gemle otno* puppy. *gemle gar osep* dogs bark at people. *gemle ane kenrin* this dog is snarling.

gemle N tree sp.

gene VI fall. *ma emgene* you'll fall. *ongup gene duru* a coconut fell down.

gesa Tou QUANT one, some [= *kesa* > *kene*].

gesen Tou ADJ blue, green [= *ebir* > *kesen*].

gi VTR 1. call, call out [> *sir*]; 2. marry. *emgi gute ari me* call that man over. Tou *ŋagi la ge osep* I called to the men. *apmaŋ gi* a married woman.

gigimo Tou N star [= *biku*].

gigri N mountain [= *muruy*].

gilamo N slit gong.

gijen N marriage [< *gi*].

gir Tou VTR scratch, scrape, sweep [= *kir*]. Tou *kedue gir kogu* a vine scratched my leg. Tou *tigir omoi* they're scraping pandanus [for sleeping mats]. Tou *megir armok bitna* sweep the village.

gisi Tou VTR hold [= *kisi*]. Tou *ŋagisi opmu* I hold a stone.

gisŋi VI sneeze [= Tou *kisŋi*].

git VTR pinch. *emgit ŋoŋ sakam* stop pinching me.

gitno N 1. tail; 2. roots. *akai gitno* roots. *gemle gitno* dog's tail. *lodu gitno* fish tail.

gitu Tou N/± *ina*__ axe [= *selembo*].
ɲadue ge gitu I do it with an axe.

giu N 1. tree sp; 2. banana sp; 3. taro sp.

go CJ or. *tipolou kodoŋ go dau?* have they arrived yet? *lem uan itau go soulu?* is your thing good or bad?

go > *mgo*.

gogo N 1. half coconut shell; 2. coconut shell tied on a rope as a rat barrier for a hanging drum or basket of food.

gogo VI congregate, meet. *togogo* lets have a meeting.

gogou (bitna) N ravine cliff face [> *perper*].

golo N tree sp.

golomada N giant clam, *Tridacna* sp.

gomot N canoe. *tiriri gomot* they pull a canoe. *borom grum gomot* banana sp [so large that it breaks the canoe].

gongon Tou N box for transporting pigs [= *karoro*].

gos VTR scrub. *omgos molo* scrub the cloth.

got VI full, sated [> *bon, onuk*]. Tou *ɲaŋen ɲagot* I eat and I'm full.

groŋ VTR wash. *amla omgroŋe ke aki* go wash it in the river.

group N ash [= Tou *obrop*].

gruk Tou VI grunt [= *nokuk*].

grukgruk N green aquatic frog sp.

grum VTR break [> *nogrum*]. *omgrum akai* break the wood. *borom grum gomot* banana sp.

gulumu N moss, algae.

gurno N head [> *apna*]. *aki gurno* headwaters of a river. *akai gurno* canopy.

gusip VTR fell, chop down. *ila tigusp akai* they went to chop down trees.

gute N man, person, someone [= Tou *ute* > *apman*]. *gute ila aidin panako a*

habitual thief. *gute ano* someone's shadow. *gute auram* bachelor. *gute barau* headman. *gute ɲoŋle* elder. *gute sila blaŋ* someone else.

gute Tou N/ila__ mother's brother, sister's son [= *tumno*].

iaba N banana sp.

iabos Tou ADJ finished, all gone, enough [= *iagos*].

iage N garden [= *opou* > *kilei, purpu, omur, taŋan*]. *iage oku* new garden. *iage kobok* lazy.

iagim N bat sp. *iagim pena* bat wing bone used as needle.

iagos ADJ finished, enough [= Tou *iabos*].

iak V lie [> *iakiak*].

iakiak V lie, prevaricate [= Tou *katkatu*].

ialu N tree sp, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

ias VTR dig. Tou *taias tatlak* let's break up the ground. *teias obuk* let's dig a hole.

iaum N tree sp.

ibel VI laugh, smile.

ida > *ina*.

ie PRON focal pronoun [ɲ *ɲoŋ, uom, ie, ite, imi, umu, isak*]. *molil ie* he's slow.

ila N- disposable possessive [ɲ *lou, lem, ila, udo, limem, lumu, urok* > *ina*].

ile VTR know. *teile polu* we know one another.

imi PRON 1EP, we [> *ie*].

ina N- edible possessive [ɲ *ɲau, ɲap, ina, ida, ipem, upu, narak* > *ila*].

ine N- 1. inalienable possessive; 2. oblique [ɲ *lugoŋ*= Tou *luŋoŋ, lugom*= *luom, ine, lite, lipmi*= Tou *limi, lupmu*= Tou *lummu, lisak* > *ina, ila, ke*]. *uai ine kodoŋ?* have you told him yet? *uai lugoŋ ine* he told me about it. *aitno lugoŋ ine* I like it.

inim VTR drink. *ɲeinim aki* I drink water. *mimi inim susu* the child is suckling.

iojobu N taro sp.

ipu VTR blow. *emipu eiou bublo* blow on the fire so it lights. *ejen ipu ite* the wind is blowing on us.

isak PRON D3P, they [> *ie*].

isapanal QUANT forty. *iselme isapanal* ninety.

iselme QUANT fifty. *iselme sojotno* sixty. *iselme isoruo* seventy. *iselme isetlu* eighty. *iselme isapanal* ninety.

isetlu QUANT thirty. *iselme isetlu* eighty.

isoruo QUANT twenty. *iselme isoruo* seventy.

isu VTR have sex with. *bela, omo ŋeisu uom da* girl, come and I'll have sex with you first. *tisu polu* they're having sex.

isuk boto ADV just a little.

itau ADJ good [≠ *soulu*]; 2. clean [≠ *amum*]. *amna itau* it smells good. *oklou itau* dry season. *molo itau* clean cloth.

ite PRON 1IP, we [> *ie*].

iumu N taro sp.

ka DEM this, that, pointer [= Tou *ga > ane, are, ari*]. *sei ka me ari?* who's that coming? *emsik obar ka la* get rid of that pig. *pepa ka* here's the paper.

kabiu N tree sp.

kabuluŋu N taro sp.

kadai N mango, *Mangifera indica*.

kadaŋa N post.

kadaŋa N/_ine back of the head.

kaden N/ina; Tou *ila* brother-in-law, sister-in-law, affine of same generation opposite sex reciprocal. *ŋau kaden*= Tou *lou kaden* my brother-in-law.

kaduk Tou N wild *Cordyline* sp [= *anun*].

kaiami N tree sp.

kaida N/± *ina* bamboo tongs.

kaium N tree sp.

kaka Tou N/_pro crazy [= *maŋamaŋa*]. Tou *ute ane kaka ie* this man is crazy.

kaka ADJ/ene__ sharp [> *bitna, ene, pom*]. *elil ane ene kaka lokono* this knife is very sharp.

kaka VTR lift. *amkaka ŋoŋ* lift me up.

kakan N large grasshopper sp [> *makul*].

kaklak ADJ itchy. Tou *lugu kaklak* my hand is itchy.

kaklaŋ N tree sp.

kakrak ADJ dried out [> *akat, lipma*]. *uasi ane kakrak kodon* this tobacco is dried out [and therefore no longer of use].

kakrou N tree sp.

kakuk Tou VTR carry [= *kalke*].

kala Tou N frog [= *bael*].

kalakopine N gill flap. *lodu kalakopine* gill flap of a fish.

kalaja N parrot.

kalaja keis N banana sp [= *karai* = Tou *garai*].

kalapua N banana sp.

kalata N banana sp.

kalau N banana sp.

kalimbalisi N 1. fish sp; 2. totem name of group.

kalke VTR carry [especially by men, on shoulder. = Tou *kakuk > sin*].

kalubia N 1. barracuda; 2. totem name of group.

kaluga N shark.

kamangi N taro sp.

kamda > kamla.

kamla N- foot, leg [ŋ *kongu*= Tou *kogu, kelep, kamla, kamda, kepmi, kopmu, kamsak*]. *kamla okur (ine)* meat of leg; calf. *kamla aiapo* calf [< Ko]. *kamla saiki* little toe. *kamla otno* toe. *kamla titno* toes [especially middle three]. *kamla kuskus* toes. *kamla talpes (ine)* toenails. *kamla tra* big toe. *kamla ila bara* patella. *kamla ila ebiak* outer ankle bone. *kamla (ina) silimu* fibula;

ankle. *kamla agune* ankle. *kamla buno* knee. *kamla damaine* sole. *kamla adiŋ* *ine* tibia. *kamla palma* thigh. *gemle kamla* hindleg of a dog. *kamla batne* heel. *kongu diglik* I slipped. *kongu netir* I'm limping.

kamla eslei ine > *eslei*.

kamlu VTR cook [> *lipma*]. *apmaŋ ti kamlu esi* women cook taro.

kamna > *alau kamna*.

kamsak > *kamla*.

kamulia N tree ant.

kanil N/_ine Achilles' tendon. *kanil lugon* my Achilles' tendon.

kap VTR with, accompany. Tou *ŋaŋen rais kap masuŋon* I'm eating rice with meat. *Geti kape tla* Geti went with him [> *kape*].

kapak Tou VTR catch [= *sau*].

kape QUANT collective. *Geti kape tla* Geti and his group have gone.

kapepre N taro sp

kapo Tou VTR mix. Tou *ŋakapo pelioŋon* I mix languages.

kar VTR give [= *karou*]. *ŋakare ke uom* I'll give you to him [in marriage]. *amkar ŋoŋ ke elil* give me a knife. *ŋakare= ŋakaroue* I gave it to him. *ŋakare ine* I gave it [*ine*] to him [-e]. *ŋakaroue kodon, ke apmaŋ ari* I've already given him, that woman. Tou *omkarou ŋoŋ ge ŋau obar* give me some pork.

karai N banana sp [= *kalaja keis* = Tou *garai*].

karikrik N taro sp.

karlaŋ N tree sp.

karok N taro sp.

karoro N cage for transporting pigs [= Tou *gongon*].

karou > *kar*.

karu N taro sp.

karuŋa N vegetable greens sp.

karuŋua N tree sp.

kasak TEMP day after tomorrow, in two days [> *etrikane*].

kasiksik N tree sp.

kasu N taro sp.

kasu obor N taro sp.

katal N tree sp.

katkatu Tou VTR lie [= *iak*].

katkaturu N banana sp.

Kaugo N 1. name of bay near Cape Gloucester; 2. totem name of group.

kaukai Tou N cuscus [= *kraŋip*]. Tou *kaukai kesine ge kogu* I have a cramp in my leg.

kaulei N stranger [≠ *matamur*].

kaulei N taro sp.

kaur N flute sp [with single piece of bamboo. = *akerne*].

kauroko N tobacco sp [≤ *uasi*].

ke PREP at, to, in, with, oblique [= Tou *ge* > *ine*]. *ŋakalke akai ke agunŋoŋ* I carry wood against my neck. *tononoi aki ke kap* let's fill the cup with water. *la keiage* he went to the garden. *amkar ŋoŋ ke elil* give me a knife. *uai ke uasi* he asked for some tobacco.

kebena ADJ wild [= *oŋua*].

kebep > *kamla*.

kedue N vine, rope.

kei VI fly. *monuk kei* birds fly.

keiau N 1. bush hen; 2. taro sp; 3. tree sp.

keis > *kalaja keis*.

kekele N banana sp.

kekele matemate N tree sp.

kekrek Tou N frog sp [= *roror*].

kelil ADJ smooth [> *diglik*]. *kongu kelil* I slipped.

kelisŋen N taro sp.

kene N- alone. *omdue kene kene* get them one by one. *kensak* by themselves.

kene QUANT one. *buno kene* one hundred. *elme kene*= *luma kene* six. *ergu kene* I have one child.

keno N taro sp.

kenrin VI snarl. *gemle kenren* the dog is snarling.

kepis ADJ irresponsible, lazy. *apman kepis* an irresponsible woman.

kepiuk Tou VI 1. jump, leap [= *netek*]; 2. jump, be startled [= *kopiuk*]. Tou *aki kepiuk*= *aki netek* waterfalls. Tou *kepiuk*= *kopiuk* he jumped.

kepmi > *kamla*.

kere N/___ine voice. *kere lugon* my voice. Tou *nokol ge kere lugon* he strangled me.

keren N/___ine trachea.

kerere N dirt on skin.

kerka N/± *ina*___ hand basket or small food basket [= *osak* > *paro*].

kesa QUANT one, some [= *sa* = Tou *gesa*]. *uasi kesa me* hand me some tobacco. *ηau obar sa*= *ηau obar kesa* some pork for me.

kesen ADJ dark blue to pink. [> Tou *gesen*].

kesine Tou VI/*kaukai*___ cramp. Tou *kaukai kesine ge kogu* I have a cramp in my leg.

keti ADJ/*tarna*___ black [of skin. > *obor*]. *tarna keti* he has black skin.

kiaukiau N banana sp.

kidou Tou N nettle tree [= *dipil*].

kikit N aromatic plant sp.

kikle (*batne*) N old garden [> *iage*].

kilal N tree sp.

kilikili N 1. happy [= Tou *adanadan*]; 2. brightly coloured. *due kilikili* he's happy.

kindo N taro sp.

kir VTR scrape, scratch [= Tou *gir*]. *tikir esi* they're scraping taro. *kedue*

kir kongu a vine scratched my leg. *ηekirkir tarna lugon* I'm scratching myself. *ηekirkir kongu* I'm scratching my leg.

kiria N small-leaved rattan sp, *Calamus* sp [used for making pubic apron. = *nalia* = Tou *lilou*].

kirkir > *kir*.

kirok ari N taro sp.

kirui TEMP afternoon [= Tou *maruη*].

kis VTR hold [= Tou *gis*]. *tikis limsak polu* they held hands.

kisji Tou VI sneeze [= *gisji*].

kitkit N tobacco sp [≤ *uasi*].

kiue N rat.

kles VTR demolish [> *nekles*]. Tou *ute kles ila ninu* the man tore down his house.

kliηen V hear [= Tou *tliηen*] *ηekliηen lugom* I hear you.

kliηo N bean sp [similar to wingbean].

kliηo N tree sp.

klok VTR open [> *noklok*]. *ηoklok tin* I'll open the tin.

klou VI extend across. *tete klou la* the bridge goes across.

knjs VI cry, weep [= Tou *tnjs*]. *gute knjs* someone is crying.

Koa N name of a mountain ridge. *aplau koa* taro sp.

koba N/± *ila*___ 1. bed; 2. sticks forming the surface of a bed [> *poloη*]; 3. litter for carrying a sick person. *mopou koba* let's make a litter. *neηir ina koba* tree sp.

kobok MOD no, not, negative [= Tou *auro*]. *iage kobok* he's lazy. *pula kobok* a few. *doη kobok* he's not here.

kobura N copra [< TP].

kodae N tree sp.

kodoη MOD already, completive. *oklou duru la kodoη* the sun has set. *obul*

- lipma kodon?* is the banana cooked yet?
- rodu* ADJ heavy [= Tou *arüt* ≠ *markan*].
kogu > *kamla*.
- kokiok* VI squeal. *obar kokiok* a pig is squealing.
- kokolo aitou* N banana sp.
- kokrak* N crow.
- kokrou* N banana sp.
- kolbojo* N tree sp.
- kole* VI play. *amla mokole* go play.
- kolea* N spirit sp [≤ *aulu*].
- koli* N sago hammer.
- kolia* N taro sp.
- kolok* ADJ crooked, bent [≠ *osuk*]. *ekrej kolok* a crooked road. *akai kolok kolok* bent trees.
- kolpi* N tree sp.
- koluam* N tree sp.
- komanar* N taro sp.
- komdujo* N ridgepole. *komdujo daudej* upper ridgepole.
- kongu* > *kamla*.
- kopiuk* VI jump, be startled [= Tou *kepiuk*].
- kopmu* > *kamla*.
- kopos* N tree sp.
- kopuk* VTR snap [= Tou *neplis*].
- kordo* N 1. tree sp, *Octomeles sumatrana*; 2. banana sp.
- koro* > *abar meila koro*.
- kotkotu* TEMP morning.
- kotu* TEMP tomorrow [> *etnikane*].
imodon ma kotu imi imala we'll stay and tomorrow we'll go.
- koukou* N dust, bits, crumbs. *gasapirpir koukou* I'll brush off the crumbs.
- kounorou* N tree sp.
- kranjip* N cuscus [= Tou *kaukai*].
- krim* VTR 1. hunt; 2. look for. *tikrim onua* they're hunting for meat. *tektime* let's look for it.
- krok* VTR break, snap [= Tou *boj* > *nokrok*]. *ηokrok akai* I snapped a stick. *omkroke uan ke sua?* why did you break it?
- krumkrum* N banana sp.
- kuako* N chicken. *kuako tobutno* chicken egg.
- kualolo* N wild tree sp similar to *kapok*.
- kubi* N tree sp.
- kude* N/± *ina*__ hourglass drum.
- kukli* N tree sp.
- kukuai* N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [with tuber and edible hanging fruit. > *aitou*, *bidi*, *darpei*, *mamim*, *oda*].
- kukuop* VI hide [> *lun*].
- kukuop* Tou V hide. Tou *ηakukuop ge omuη aitno* I hid in the forest. Tou *ηakukuop ηau udage* I hid my knife.
- kulaluo* N adze [= *akra*].
- kuliep* N 1. *Charonia tritonis*; 2. shell trumpet.
- kun* VTR smell [> *amna*]. *gemle kun ηoη* the dog is smelling me.
- kundis* N manioc, cassava, *Manihot utilissima* [= *amioka*, *manioka*].
- kuranj* N taro sp.
- kuri sikei* N tree sp.
- kusik* TEMP in three days [> *etnikane*].
- kuskus* N 1. ring finger; 2. toes. *lungu kuskus* my ring finger. *kongu kuskus* my toes.
- la* VI go, away [¶ *ηala*, *amla*= Tou *omla*, *la*, *tala*, (*i*)*mala*, (*u*)*mala*, *ila* > *me*, *uti*].
- labu* N sand.
- ladanj* > *paut ladanj*.
- laine* > *ninur laine*.
- laka* N like, as. *lila laka alau* he walks like a cassowary.

lala N rafter.

lalo V prepare a bed. *talalo* let's prepare our beds.

lalo V distribute ritually [= Tou *muri*].

lam N lamp [< TP].

laŋ ADV/___DEM thus. *laŋ ane* like this. *laŋ are* like that. *laŋ ari* like that. *laŋ ge?* how?

laŋani N tree sp.

laŋgou N 1. fish sp; 2. name of totem group.

lasi N taro sp.

laupu N taro sp.

laur N tree sp.

lede N/ila__ nits.

lein N tree sp.

leklou QUANT some. *osep leklou* some of the men.

lelei VI turn. *ŋabauluk ŋoŋ (ŋelelei)* I turned around.

lelia N/___ine scapula.

lem > *ila*.

lemide N taro sp [Mouk *lemide* your mother].

lesen TEMP when? *lesen ma me?* when will he come?

lesna N/___± *ine* testicles. Tou *lesna luŋoŋ* my testicles. *omtogu lesna* my eyeball.

libep > *limla*.

libou > *timla*.

lik Tou VI back, return [= Tou *diŋ* = *tiŋ*]. Tou *ŋala ma ŋalik ŋame* I'll go and then come back.

lila VI walk.

lilou Tou N small-leafed rattan sp, *Calamus* sp [used for making pubic aprons. = *kiria, nalia*].

lim V/___ine fear, afraid of [> *dilip*]. Tou *omlim luŋoŋ ge sua?* why are you afraid of me? *ŋelim ine* I'm afraid of it.

limbuŋ N floor, flooring [< TP].

limda > *limla*.

limi > *ine*.

limla N- hand, arm [ŋ *lungu*= Tou *lugu, libep, limla, limda, lipmi, lupmu, lisak*]. *tikis limsak polu* they held hands. Tou *limla noŋon ge lugu* her hand squeezed mine. *limla arnau ine* veins or tendons in his arm. *limda gala* our left hands. *limda oduŋ* our right hands. *limda (obar) bisna* our armpits. *limla batne* heel of hand. *limla buno* elbow. *limla titno* fingers. *limla tna* thumb. *limla eslei* little finger. *limla kuskus* finger; ring finger. *limla paipai* upper arm. *limla sasap maret* forearm. *limla seiki* middle finger. *limla touk* index finger. *limla agune* wrist. *limla damaine* palm. *limla talpes (ine)* fingernails. *gemle limla* forelegs of a dog. *akai limla* branch.

limla nobol N taro sp.

limsak > *limla*.

lipma ADJ 1. cooked [≠ *akat*]; 2. cured, dried so that it can be used [> *akat*, Tou *eprin, kakrak*]. *esi lipma kodoŋ* the taro is cooked. *uasi lipma kodoŋ* the tobacco is cured.

lipmi > *limla, ine, lutno*.

lisak, lite > *ine*.

lodu N fish. *lodu aimolmolu* fish gills. *lodu kalakopine* gill flap of a fish. *lodu gitno* tail of a fish. *lodu melba* caudal fin of a fish. *lodu tala* lateral or pectoral fins of a fish. *lodu ila titroŋ* dorsal fin of a fish. *lodu ila ola* spines of a fish. *lodu ila sakarkar* fish scales.

logu > *limla*.

lokono ADJ true, very [= Tou *loŋono*]. *tarna lugom amum lokono* your skin is very dirty. *elil ene kaka lokono* a very sharp knife.

lolo VI buzz. *loŋo lolo* a fly is buzzing.

lolou N tree sp.

loŋgolonŋo N white pig with black spots
[≤ *obar*].

loŋo N housefly.

loŋobiri N bluebottle fly [considered
incorrect but used. = *loŋororou*, Tou
loŋokir].

loŋokir Tou N bluebottle fly [= *loŋororou*].

loŋono Tou ADJ true [= *lokono*].

loŋororou N bluebottle fly [= Tou
loŋokir].

lou > *ila*.

lua VTR help. *omo omlua ŋoŋ* come
help me.

luga N tree sp.

lugom, *lugoŋ* > *ine*.

lugu > *limla*.

lui N dugong.

luk VI clear brush from garden.

luku > *lutno*.

luma kene QUANT six [= *elme kene*].

lumaruo QUANT seven [= *elme ruo*].

lumesnal QUANT nine [= *elme apanal*].

lumetlu QUANT eight [= *elme etlu*].

lumu > *ine*.

lun VTR hide [> *kukuop*]. *ŋolun lou elil*
I hid my knife.

luŋgu > *limla*.

luŋoŋ > *ine*.

luo ADV near [≠ *emia*, *maua*].

luom > *ine*.

lupmu > *ine*, *limla*, *lutno*.

lutno N- sister, brother, sibling or parallel
cousin opposite sex reciprocal singular
[¶ *luku*, *olup*, *lutno*, *lutodo*, *lipmi*, *lupmu*,
lutorok > *aiber*, *sulutno*, *tobro*].

ma CJ and, lest, if, irrealis [> *deka*].
ma emgene (careful or) you'll fall. Tou
ute pelio blaŋ ane ma tala the man said
that we should go. Tou *daga arigu*
duru ma imodoŋ if it rains then we

should stay. *ŋasake ma epis* I'll wipe it
dry. *teŋen rais ma tapiok ma esi* we'll
eat rice and cassava and taro. *lesen*
ma me? when will he come? Tou *ŋala*
ma ŋalik ŋame I'll go and come back.
ŋoŋ ma ŋala I'm going. *upu ŋaŋon*
ane ma maŋen here's your food so eat.

maiku N tree sp. *paut maiku* taro sp.

maimul N banana sp.

makanda N 1. name of mountain; 2.
name of totem group.

makue N mushroom [generic].

makul N 1. grasshopper sp found in
coconuts [> *kakan*]; 2. tree sp.

malaŋ N tree sp.

malbak N 1. tree sp; 2. tobacco sp [≤
uasi]; 3. banana sp.

malel N/± *ila*__ bow and arrow.

malilu N spirit sp [bird or animal that
takes the form of a human monster
and chases people in the forest trying
to eat them. TP *tambaran* > *barau*,
mereba, *egle*].

malobe N taro sp.

malpis N banana sp.

malugi N/_ *ine* layer of fat on belly.

malugi N taro sp.

mamil ADJ big, large [= *omba* ≠ *daudeŋ*
> *mir*, *ŋoŋle*]. *gute mamil* a large man.

mamim N yam sp, *Dioscorea esculenta*
[= *bidi* TP *mami* > *aitou*, *bidi*, *darpei*,
kukuai, *oda*].

mana batne N almost empty [> *adai*].
aki mana batne the water container is
almost empty.

mana reret VI squat. *ŋamana reret* I
squat.

manik VI lean down.

manim N tree sp.

manioka N cassava, manioc, *Manihot*
utilissima [= *amioka*, *kundis*, *tapiok*].

manjai N ambush. *tiuri manjai* the set up an ambush.
manjamaŋa ADJ crazy [= Tou *kaka*].
marai N urine [> *durie*]. *marai bel ŋoŋ* I must urinate.
marak N tree sp.
marakete N 1. iron-tipped spear; 2. tobacco sp [\leq *uasi*].
maray VI 1. warm oneself by fire; 2. dry. *tamaray* let's get warm by the fire. *omoi maray ke oklou* pandanus is drying in the sun.
marau N blood. *ŋau marau*= *marau lugoŋ* my blood. *mteke marau* he vomitted blood.
mare N domestic *Cordyline* sp [> *anuŋ*].
maria N banana sp.
markan ADJ lightweight [\neq *kodu*].
maro VI float. *akai maro* wood floats.
maroani N taro sp.
maroŋgea N tree sp.
maruange N tree sp [= Tou *moruange*].
maruk Tou N boa constrictor [= *moro*].
marumbe N taro sp.
maruŋ Tou TEMP afternoon [= *kirui*].
masalay TEMP soon, for a little while [= Tou *masilay*]. *ŋodoŋ masalay* I'll sit for a little while.
mase TEMP later [= Tou *batne*]. *mase ŋeme* I'll come later.
masikarok N tree sp.
masilay Tou TEMP soon [= *masalay*].
masu VTR garnish [> *masuŋon*]. *ŋamasu lodu* I ate it along with fish.
masuŋon N garnish, meat, side dish [> *balinŋen, oŋua*]. *tikrim masuŋon* they're hunting for meat.
matagege N tree sp.
matalato N banana sp.
matamur N citizen, someone of the village [\neq *kaulei*].

matemate > *kekele matemate*.
matisuk VI faint. *gute matisuk doŋ* the man fainted.
matolo N cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis*.
matu N/ \pm *ila* __ 1. walking stick; 2. shovel.
maua ADV far [= *emia* \neq *luo*].
maui N betel mortar [= Tou *uami*].
me VI come [\neq *la* > *uti* ɣ *ŋeme*= Tou *ŋame, omo, me, teme, imeme, momo, time*]. *aki bru me* on this side of the river. *emgie me* call him here. *uasi kesa me* hand me some tobacco. *polou me* he came out. *omurie me ŋasaue* throw it to me and I'll catch it.
meia N banana sp.
meila > *abar meila koro*.
melba N 1. paddle; 2. caudal fin. *lodu melba* tail fin of a fish.
meli N/ \pm *ina* __ fart.
melim N bandicoot.
meper Tou N taro sp [= *moro*].
merden Tou N brown pig that is striped when young [= *meren* \leq *obar*].
mereba N spirit sp created and controlled by men's lodge [\geq *aulu, barku* > *ano, barau, malilu, egle*].
meren N brown pig that is striped when young [= Tou *merden* \leq *obar*].
meresiou N tree sp.
merge N penis [= *otne*]. *lou merge* my penis. *ŋau merge* my husband [vulgar]. *merge tok* he has an erection. *merge tomo* whore.
merge mete N tree sp [causes impotence if leaves are used as toilet paper].
meriaŋ N 1. hornbill; 2. banana sp.
mese N 1. *Trochus* shell; 2. armband made of *Trochus*.
mete VI die, faint. *mete kodoŋ* he's dead. *ŋemete ke uasi* I'm dying for a cigarette.

mgo VI precede, go ahead of in space [\neq *batne*]. *uom omgo ŋoŋ ŋabatne* you go ahead, I'll follow. *Tou mgo luom* he went ahead of you.

milui N tree sp.

mimi N child [$>$ *otno*]. *mimi apmaŋ* girl. *mimi oku*= *mimi dereben* newborn baby. *mimi boto ane* this little kid.

mimi N taro sp.

mina VI lost [$>$ *popmo, soŋon*]. *gute la mina odoŋla* the got lost in the forest. *lou elil mina* my knife is lost.

mir ADJ grey-haired [$>$ *mamil, ŋoŋle*]. *gute mir* a grey-haired man.

mirmir N wasp sp.

misuon N sea, ocean [= Tou *musien*]. *agen misuon ina* lobster. *aidaŋ misuon ina* moray eel.

mke $>$ *mluk*.

mlokŋon N top plate at gable ends of house or parallel to gable [$>$ *pala*].

mluk VTR 1. hit, strike, kill [*mluke*=*mke* $>$ *mter*]; 2. break up. *ŋemke* I'll hit him. *timke polu* they're fighting. *timluk aparsak polu* they bumped heads. *mluk ŋoŋ ke akai* he hit me with a stick. *omluk udo omur* break up our garden plot. *mluk ebes* he broke up the earth. *mke* he hit him.

mo $>$ *me*.

mo Tou VI sleep [= *munu*]. *Tou ŋauti ŋamo kodoŋ* I'd already gone to sleep.

modou N tree sp with aromatic bark.

mogolu N/___*ine* intestines.

moli ADV below [\neq *egim*].

molil N/___ \pm PRON slow, careful [= Tou *epis*]. *omsuaŋ molil* = Tou *omnoplu epis* run carefully. *molil ŋoŋ* I'm slow.

molo N/ \pm *ila*___ 1. barkcloth [= *akai tarna* made of *endi* and *otu* tree spp]; 2. cloth, laplap; 3. banana sp. *molo amum* dirty cloth. *molo itau* clean cloth. *molo ari sua?* what kind of barkcloth is that?

molok VI bend over.

molubak N taro sp.

momoeaŋ N circular pattern on shield.

mon N dugout canoe [$<$ TP = *gomot*].

monuk N bird [generic]. *monuk elilo* feathers. *monuk pena* bird's wing.

monuk tena N taro sp.

moŋai N tree sp.

mope N tree sp.

mopio N tree sp.

moral N tree sp.

mormor N banana sp.

moro N boa constrictor [= Tou *maruk*].

moro N taro sp [= Tou *meper*].

moromo N sandfly.

moron N pig sp [\leq *obar*].

moruaŋge Tou N tree sp [= *maruaŋge*].

mosmosu N cassowary wing [$>$ *pena*]. *alau ina mosmosu* cassowary wing.

mota N snake [generic. = Tou *uan sasi*].

motubu N veranda.

moule N whirlpool [= Tou *moule*].

moulo Tou N whirlpool [= *moule*].

mteke VTR vomit. *mteke marau* he vomitted blood.

mter VTR spear, stab, shoot, kill [$>$ *mluk*]; 2. sew [$>$ *sisire*]. *mter obar* he speared a pig. *timter polu* they fought with spears. *apmaŋ mter omoi* the woman is sewing up a pandanus mat.

mugou N tree sp.

mulbak N taro sp.

mumli N wild *Citrus* sp.

mumum N dwarf banana sp.

munu VI 1. sleep, lie [$>$ *mo*]; 2. be located [$>$ *doŋ*]. *tla timunu* they went to sleep. *Tou udage munu ge ninu* the knife is in the house. *Tou apmaŋ modue sousou munu ge udo armok* women, put a broom across our village.

munusaur N love potion, love magic.
mural N tree sp.
muri Tou VI distribute ritually [= *lalo*].
muru > *daga muru*.
murulel N tree sp.
muruy N mountain [= *gigri*].
musien Tou N sea, ocean [= *misuon*].
muso N sorcery.
nabak VI split, tear [> *bak*]. *akai nabak* the wood is splitting. *molo nabak* the cloth is torn.
nablak VI squish [> *blak*]. *konngu nablak ke ata* I stepped in shit.
nagar ADJ hard [= Tou *adar* ≠ *omuk*].
naglan VI caught, hung up in other trees. *akai naglan* the tree is caught in the branches of other trees.
naitar N taro paddle.
nakarkar VI shiver.
nakeljen N brace.
nakram VI break [> *kram*]. *lam gene nakram* the lamp fell and broke.
nakum N black pig [≤ *obar*].
nalato N bamboo smoking pipe.
nalia N small-leaved rattan sp, *Calamus* sp [= *kiria*, Tou *lilou* used for making pubic aprons].
namaiyo Tou N tree sp, *Ficus* sp [= *tamara*].
namane N aromatic plant sp.
namor Tou N senior, elder [= *nojle*].
 Tou *ute namor* = *gute nojle* an elder.
nanam N tree sp.
nanasnas VI pant.
nani N tree sp.
narak > *ina*.
narep TEMP yesterday [> *etnikane*].
nasijen N oral history, law [> *basikjen*].
didi nasijen he's relating oral history.
nasukjon N taro sp.

nebij VI firm [eg. post planted in the ground].
nebij VI thump [sound of something thrown against a wall].
neblik VI flash. *egle neblik* lightning.
nebrik VI twitch [eg. foetus in pig's belly].
nedip VI press against [= *pesi*]. *lugyu nedip ine* I pressed against it with my hand. Tou *lugu nedip ge libep* my hand presses against yours.
negre VI crack [eg. sound of knuckles].
negrengejen VI rattle.
neket VI creak [sound of falling tree. = Tou *nekret*].
neklej VI block, occupy, be in the way.
neklep VI butt against [= Tou *nekrem*].
nekles VI run away quickly. *nekles la* he ran away quickly.
nekles VI collapse [> *kles*]. *ninu nekles* the house collapsed.
neklip VI cover, block [> *klok*]. *omde duru neklip* put the lid on it.
nekrem Tou VI butt against [= *neklep*].
nekret Tou VI creak [sound of breaking wood. = *neket* > *nokrok*].
nekrit VI thump [sound of someone jumping onto ground].
nelemlem VI flicker [eg. unclear image of something seen through moving leaves].
nemilmil VI move, wave [= Tou *sauli*].
nemit VI jump in surprise.
nemitmit VI wave back and forth, twitch.
nejnjin VI whisper, murmur.
nejir N menstruation. *nejir due apman* the woman is menstruating.
nejir ina koba N tree sp.
nejisjis VI pant [eg. from running].
 Tou *ute nejisjis* the man is panting.
nepil VI lean up against.

neplis VI break, snap under tension [eg. rope. = Tou *notup*]. *kedue neplis* the vine snapped.

neplis Tou VTR snap [= *kopuk > plis*].
Tou *neplise= kopuke* he snapped it.

neplitplit VI thump [sound of running feet on ground].

nerim N black ant sp that inflicts a painful bite.

neser Tou VI shoot upwards [= *neter*].

nesik VI slip out of place. *akai nesik* the stick slipped out of place.

nesiusiu VI chirp [= *nesuelsuel*]. *monuk nesiusiu* the bird is chirping

nesuelsuel VI chirp [= *nesiusiu*].

netek VI jump. *emnetek omduru* jump down. *emnetek emtito* jump up. *aki netek=* Tou *aki kepiuk* waterfalls.

netenjen VI drip.

neter VI shoot upwards [= Tou *neser*].

netir VI limp. *kongu netir* I'm limping.

nina HL mother [vocative of *aia*].

ninoko N small red wasp sp.

ninu N/± *ila*__ house. *ninu ina aber* rattan roofing thatch. *ninu ina babro* wall of a house. *ninu galiki* small house of post for the initiation of girls.

ninuor TEMP the day before yesterday [> *emikane*].

nipu N tree sp.

nobol N sprout. *anjari nobol kodoŋ* the *Canarium* tree has already sprouted. *limla nobol* taro sp.

noboŋ VI break, snap, self-destruct [< *boŋ*]. *akai noboŋ* the stick broke. *ninu noboŋ* the house collapsed.

nobotbot VI spurt up [eg. leak in a canoe]. *aki nobotbot* water is spurting up.

noduŋduŋ VI tap, thump.

noduŋduŋ VI crawl up in large numbers [eg. bugs crawling up one's legs].

nogrok VI hang down under its own weight [> *puagene*]. *obul nogrok* the banana is hanging down.

nogrom VI suddenly go into action. *omnogrom emtito amla* you suddenly got up and went.

nogromgrom VI rustle.

nogrum VI break, crash [< *grum*]. *akai duru nogrum* a tree crashed down. *egle nogrum* thunder.

noklok VI open [< *klok*]. *tin noklok* the tin is open.

nokloŋkloŋ VI sound of tree being chopped down.

nokol VI hold with two hands around [eg. holding a post to pull it up]. Tou *nokol ge kere luŋoŋ* he strangled me.

nokorkor VI rustle.

nokrok VI break [< *krok*]. *akai nokrok nekret* the tree broke and creaked.

nokuk VI grunt [alarm grunt of pig in flight in the forest. = Tou *gruk*].

noloŋ N tree sp.

nomuk N mosquito.

nonoi V fill. *tononoi aki ke kap* let's fill the cup with water.

nonrop VI dive into water.

nonuŋnuŋ VI whisper.

noplok VI thrust in during coitus [vulgar]. *noplok ine* he entered her.

noplu Tou VI run [= *suaŋ*]. Tou *omnoplu epis= omsuaŋ molil* run carefully. Tou *sirba noplu* the clouds are running.

nopoakap N taro sp.

nopol VI/*tala*__ deaf. *tologu nopol* I'm deaf.

nopotpot VI cluck.

noprus VI splash. *ŋopul mimi la noprus* I pushed the child and he went splash.

nopu VI bump [eg. sound of head against ceiling joist].

nopur VI/*bitna*__ blind [eye is missing or permanently closed].

noru VI coo [= *uru*]. *belis noru* a dove is cooing.

noslom VI ejaculate.

nosum VI plunge almost silently into water.

nosur > *aki*.

notoktok VI click tongue, tsk tsk.

notup Tou VI break under tension [= *neplis*].

nou VTR scrape. *nou omoi* she's scraping pandanus leaves.

nu N island.

ŋamri N hawk [= Tou *akom*].

ŋaŋo Tou N/*ina*__ husband [≠ Tou *asap* = *esna*].

ŋaŋon N food. *uan ane ŋaŋon ina?* is this something to eat?

ŋap, ŋau > *ina*.

ŋauri ila padoŋon N taro sp.

ŋen VTR eat. *ŋen uasi* he's smoking.

ŋes V chew betel. *okou me ŋeŋes* hand me some lime powder so I can chew betel.

ŋiri N coconut grater.

ŋiri VTR grate. *ŋiri me ŋeŋiri oŋgup* get me the grater so I can grate some coconut.

ŋoŋ PRON D1S, I, me [> *ie*].

ŋoŋle ADJ senior, elder [= Tou *namor* > *mamil, mir*]. *gute ŋoŋle*= Tou *ute namor* senior man. *osep ŋoŋle* the bigmen.

ŋoŋle N/*ila*__ uncle, mother's brother [> *tumno*]. *lou ŋoŋle* my uncle.

obar N pig, pork [≥ *gelet, longolonggo, merden, moroŋ, nakum, paulik*. > *bar, bole, karoro*]. *obar aim* a tame pig. *obar oŋua* a wild pig. *tiuri omdu ke obar* they put up a net for pigs.

obar N tree sp.

obar bisna > *limla*.

oblu N midden, litter [= *tokonkon*].

obluk N tree sp.

obor ADJ black [> *nakum, keti*]. *amtarak obor obor* they have black eyes. *kasu obor taro* sp. *sakalaŋ obor taro* sp.

obor N/*ila*__ buttocks. *lou obor* my buttocks.

obrop Tou N ash [= *group*].

obrou N mountain ridge.

obuk N hole. *teias obuk* let's dig a hole.

obul N banana [generic]. *obul akat* unripe banana. *obul balu* a banana that is almost ripe. *obul sisiou* a ripe banana.

obul sisiou N tree sp.

obut N tree sp.

oda N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [TP *yam* > *aitou, bidi, darpei, kukuai, mamim*].

odir N tree sp.

odoŋ N/*ine* backbone, spine, back. *odoŋ lugoŋ (erne)* my back bone. (*odoŋ dugur ŋoŋ*= *odoŋ lugoŋ*= *otou lugoŋ* my back.

odongla ADV in the forest. *gute la mina odongla* the man got lost in the forest.

odu N bamboo sp.

oduk N tree sp.

oduŋ ADJ right [≠ *gala*]. *limda oduŋ* our right hands.

oduol Tou N kingfisher [= *pidau*].

oglou TEMP before, former times, old [> *oku*]. *oglou piliso* ancient. *niru oglou ina* old house.

oglu N worms.

ogu > *ene*.

ogu N sword grass, *Imperata* [= *ugu*].

oklou N sun, day, season. *oklou duru la kodoŋ* the sun has set. *omoi maraŋ ke oklou* the pandanus is drying in the sun. *oklou itau* the dry season.

okou N lime powder. *okou otna* lime gourd. *okou tarna* lime powder container.

okou ADJ white [> *paulik*].

oku ADJ new [≠ *oglou ina*]. *iage oku* new garden. *mimi oku* newborn baby.

oku ane Tou TEMP today, now [= *etnikane*].

oku boto ane TEMP just now.

okur N meat, flesh. *kamla okur ine* the muscle of his leg [especially calf].

okus ADJ rotten. *amna okus* it stinks.

ola N 1. spear [≥ *pelpel*, *ponoio*, *rolonj*]; 2. spines. *lou ola* my spear. *lodu ila ola* dorsal spines on a fish.

olu N/___ine juice, fluid, watery sap, milk. *olu lugonj* my milk. *sisu olu ine* milk.

olu ADJ deep [≠ *asar*, *tortor*]. *aki olu* a deep river.

olunj N boundary.

olup > *lutno*.

olut N tree sp.

omba ADJ big, large [= *mamil* ≠ *dauden* > *ombatno*]. *kerka omba* large basket. *jouru omba* I spit strongly.

ombatno ADJ huge, very large [< *omba*].

omdu N net [especially a pig net]. *tiuri omdu ke obar* they hunt pigs with a net. *prak omdu* he's braiding a pig net.

omoi N *Pandanus* sp, sleeping mat. *omoi maran ke oklou* pandanus is drying in the sun. *apmanj timter omoi* women sew up sleeping mats. *tisisir omoi* they strip the thorns from the pandanus. *lou omoi* my sleeping mat.

omoj (*aitno*) N forest [> *odonjla*].

omos N carving, artwork. *nodue omos* I'm carving.

omos Tou N obsidian [= *eglonj*].

omsok N/± *ila*___ spit.

omsonj N fuzz or barbs on plants.

omtogu, *omtomu* > *bitna*.

omtu N/___ine hip [> *peia*].

omuk ADJ soft [≠ *adar*, *nagar*].

omunj N/___ine chest [= Tou *ongup*].

omur N 1. place; 2. garden plot [> *iage*]. *omur doj adai* the place is empty. *omluk udo omur* you break up our garden plot. *omur egle* place inhabited by a spirit sp [TP *ples masalai*].

omur N tree sp [used for making shields].

omus N cave.

onu N/___ine gall bladder.

onubik N taro sp [Anêm *onu bik* three people].

onuk N nest.

onuk ADJ full [= *bon* > *got*]. *aki onuk* the water container is full.

ongup N coconut, *Cocos nucifera*.

ongup Tou N/___ine chest [= *omunj*].

onjon N flood.

onjonj N blood clot [> *marau*]. *obar ina onjonj* clotted blood in chest cavity of butchered pig.

onjua N 1. wild [= *kebena*]; 2. meat game [> *baliyen*, *masujonj*]. *tikrim onjua* they're hunting for meat. Tou *nanen rais buli onjua* I'm eating rice with meat. *obar onjua* wild pig.

opmu > *ene*.

opmu N 1. stone; 2. stone oven.

opogu > *apna*.

opol N/___ine shoulder [= *eriak*].

opon N tree sp, *Eucalyptus* sp.

opou N garden [= *iage*]. *tala ke opou* let's go to the garden.

opugu, *opumu* > *apna*.

orgi N earthquake. *orgi tok= orgi polou* there was an earthquake.

ormun N men's lodge.

oroge N tree sp.

orok N tree sp.

orsak > *ene*.

oruo QUANT two. *dirgu oruo* I have two children. *elmeruo* seven.

osak N hand basket or small food basket [= *kerka* > *paro*].

osep N people [> *gute*].

osu N tree sp.

osua N shield. *osua otné* handle of a shield.

osuk ADJ straight [= Tou *otou* ≠ *kolok*].

otna N fruit, seed, teeth. *akai otna* seed or fruit of a tree. *okou otna* lime gourd. *ogu otna*= *ogu eri ine* my teeth. *obar ila akai otna* heart of a pig.

otne N/___ine 1. penis [= *merge*]; 2. handle. *babin otne* he masturbates. *osua otne* handle of a shield. *arugu otne* rainbow.

otno N- child, son, daughter, offspring singular [¶ *ergu, etim, otno, ododo, etepmi, otopmu, otorok*. > *mimi, tiino*]. *ergu apmaj* my daughter. *ergu araj* my son. *ergu kene* I have one child. *gemle otno* puppy. *kamla otno* toe.

otodo, otopmu, otorok > *otno*.

otou N/___ine back [= *odonj*].

otou N punting pole.

otou Tou ADJ straight [= *osuk* ≠ *kolok*].

otu N 1. louse; 2. tree sp [used for treating lice and for making barkcloth].

otuk N/___ine head, butt [> *apna*]. *otuk ine* his head. *uasi otuk ine* butt of a cigarette. *emei otuk ine* tree sp.

ouop > *ene*.

ous N cockroach.

pado VTR look for [> *krim, padoŋon*]. *ŋapado uan* I'm looking for something.

padok VTR collect, gather. *padok akai* she's collecting firewood.

padoŋon N something found, cultivar [< *pado* > *adaj*]. *elaj ila padoŋon taro*

sp. *ŋauri ila padoŋon taro* sp. *ulikulik ila padoŋon taro* sp.

paga N branch that betelnuts grow on. *ambak bile kap paga me* pick the whole branch of betelnuts and bring it.

pai VTR burn, dry out. *ŋapai uasi* I'm drying the tobacco [over a lamp].

paide ADV quickly [= *bale*]. *paide omo*= *ambale omo* come quickly.

paio N vulva [= *epit*].

paipai N 1. upper arm; 2. armband worn on upper arm. *lungu paipai* my upper arm. *lou paipai* my armband.

pak N tree sp.

pakoro N rainy season.

pala N top plate supporting rafters [> *mlokŋon*].

palem VTR view, look down on from a height. *ŋapalem uom* I looked down onto you.

palem misuon N banana sp [that grows so high that it gets a view of the ocean].

paletua N beam.

palma N thigh, trunk. *kongu palma* my thigh. *akai palma* trunk of a tree.

paloke N taro sp.

palu N tree sp, *Hibiscus tileaceus*.

pan VI buzz. *trentren pan* a cicada is buzzing.

pan VTR wake up. *amla ampame tito* go wake him up.

panako VTR steal. *gute ila aidij panako* the man is a habitual thief. *gute panako lou elil* someone stole my knife.

pani VTR light [= *tin*]. *ŋapani uasi* I lit a cigarette.

panj VTR 1. ask; 2. challenge. *ampanj uasi kesa me ŋopole* ask for some tobacco for me to roll. *ŋapanj uom* I challenge you.

papua N banana sp.

parara N tree sp.

paria N 1. monitor lizard; 2. taro sp.
paro N large hanging basket for food storage [> *kerka*, *osak*].
pas V lay flooring [> *pasjan*]. *mapas limbuŋ* we're laying flooring.
pasimoŋa N taro sp.
pasjan N flooring [< *pas*].
pati VTR see [= *erke* = Tou *rik*]. *ŋapati uom* I see you. Tou *osep time ma tipatie* people came to see it.
paulik N white pig [≤ *obar*].
paur VTR bring, take, escort. *tipaur kobura blaŋ* they're taking copra too. *tipaur apmaŋ* they escorted a woman [as a bride].
paut N taro sp.
paut amal N taro sp.
paut boi N taro sp.
paut ladaŋ N taro sp.
paut maiku N taro sp.
paut reri N taro sp.
pei N tree sp.
pei VTR lever, pry up.
peia N/___ine hip joint [> *omtu*].
peiauke N taro sp.
pele N/___ine guts, belly.
pelet N plate, dish [< TP].
pelim N breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*.
pelio Tou V speak, talk, say [= *uai* > *pelioŋoŋ*]. Tou *pelio luŋoŋ ge uom* he told me about you. Tou *pelio luŋoŋ ge uasi* he asked me for some tobacco. Tou *ute pelio blaŋ ane ma tala* the man said we should go. Tou *tapelio polu* let's talk. Tou *pelio uaike* "tala". he said, "let's go".
pelioŋon Tou N speech, language [= *uaiŋan*]. Tou *ŋakapo pelioŋon* I mix languages.
pelpel N flat spear sp made of areca palm [≤ *ola*].

pena N wing [> *mosmosu*]. *iagim pena* bat's wing bone [used as a needle]. *monuk pena* bird's wing.
peŋau N lean-to bush shelter.
pepa N paper [< TP].
pepelaka N lightning [< Kove. = *egle neblik*].
perer N pan flute sp [made of a line of bamboo. = Tou *epre* > *sasup*].
perper N stone cliff face.
pesi VTR press against [= *nedip*]. *lungu pesi akai* I pressed against the wood with my hand.
pi VTR dig up, extract, pull out, remove [= *put*]. *ŋepi akai* I pulled out a bush.
pidau N kingfisher [= Tou *oduol*].
pidau aria N 1. kingfisher sp; 2. totem name of group.
pigine Tou N/___±ine anus [= *tena*].
pilai VTR braid [= *prak* > *pilaiŋan*, *bubu*, *bul*].
pilaiŋan N braided rope [< *pilai* = *prakŋan*].
piliso > *oglou piliso*.
pipi N tree sp.
pis VTR rub.
pisopiso N grass sp.
pitua N tree sp.
plis VTR 1. cut with single stroke; 2. snap [> *neplis*].
pmem, *pmemi*, *pmomu* > *timla*.
pogo N tree sp.
pol VTR 1. fold; 2. roll [tobacco into a cigarette]. *ompol pepa* fold the paper. *uasi kesa me ŋapole* give me some tobacco to roll.
poloŋ N cross supports at the end of a stick bed [> *koba*]. *tabu ina poloŋ* banana sp.
polopolo N tree sp.
polou VI appear, arrive, happen, out. *akai ane polou adai* this tree just grew

- by itself [no one planted it]. *beberani ke bep ina anak polou* he'll squeeze the pus out of your leg. *ompolou amla ke dogur* go outside. *tipolou kodoŋ go dau?* have they arrived yet? *orgi polou* there was an earthquake [> *tok*].
- polu* PRON reciprocal. *tigi polu* they got married. *timluk polu* they're fighting. *teile polou* we know one another. *tikis limsak polu* they held hands.
- pom* ADJ/ene__ dull [= Tou *put* > *bitna, ene, kaka*]. *elil ene pom* the knife is dull.
- pono* VTR forbid, taboo, put prohibition marker on [> *ponoŋon*]. *tipono ongup* they put a prohibition on the coconuts.
- ponoio* N 1. tree sp; 2. curved wooden spear sp [≤ *ola*].
- ponomi* N tree sp.
- ponoŋon* N prohibition marker [< *pono*]. *ongup ponoŋon* prohibition marker on coconut palms.
- ponu* N turtle [= Tou *ponu*].
- popmo* Tou VI lost [= *mina*]. Tou *ŋapopmo* I'm lost.
- popros* N/_ine lungs.
- por* VTR 1. wring; 2. cook in coconut cream. *ŋopor lou molo* I wrung out my clothes. *por ongup* she's wringing out coconut cream. *por esi* she cooked the taro in coconut cream.
- pou* VTR tie. *pou obar* he tied up the pig. *topou egle* let's dress the sore. *mopou koba* we make a litter.
- prak* VTR braid [> *prakŋan, pilaiŋan, bubu, bul*]. *ŋaparak omdu* I'm braiding a net.
- prakŋan* N braided rope [< *prak* > *bubuŋon, bul*].
- pu* N wasp sp [that bores into house posts].
- puagene* VI stand erect [> *nogrok*]. *obul puagene* the banana is standing erect.
- puai* N malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis* [= Tou *bekei*].
- puda* N European. *puda tarna amal* Europeans have white skin.
- puda* Tou QUANT many [= *buno, pula*].
- pul* VTR push. *ŋopul mimi la noprus* I push the child and he went splash.
- pula* QUANT many [= Tou *puda* = *buno*]. *pula kobok* a few.
- punu* Tou N turtle [= *ponu*].
- pupru* Tou VTR follow [= *didi*]. Tou *omla ompupru* go follow him.
- purpua* N old garden that has been reclaimed by the forest [> *iage*].
- put* VTR dig up, extract, pull out, remove [= *pi*]. *toput esi* lets pull up some taro.
- put* Tou ADJ/ene__ dull [= *pom*].
- putu* N tree sp, *Barringtonia speciosa*.
- rais* N rice [< TP].
- rana* N- father-in-law; son-in-law; mother-in-law; daughter-in-law; affine one generation removed [ŋ *ranyoŋ, ranuom, rana...*].
- rarak* N k.o. dance [in which shield and spear are carried].
- reret* > *mana reret*.
- rer* > *paut reri*.
- res eiou* Tou V build a fire [= *basin eiou*].
- ret* VTR bite.
- rik* Tou VTR see [= *erke, pati*].
- rim* VI fat, obese. *tirim* they're fat.
- riri* VTR pull, drag. *tiriri gomot* they pulled the canoe.
- ris* VI bathe.
- rogo* N mortuary feast.
- roloŋ* N flat spear sp made of palm [≤ *ola*].
- romoi* N/ila__ brother-in-law.
- roŋon* V answer.

roro VI 1. develop new growth after dying out; 2. flower [> *roroŋon*].

roroŋon N flower [< *roro*].

roror N frog sp [= Tou *kekrek*].

rumko N tree sp.

ruo > *oruo*.

sa QUANT some, one [= *kesa*].

sabaiŋan N totem group [≥ *makanda*, *kalubia*, *langou*, *kaugo*, *pidau aria*, *biliku*, *kalimbalisi*].

sabara N spirit sp [≤ *aulu*].

sabele N tree sp.

saborek N taro sp.

sael N tree sp.

saiber N/*ina*__ brothers, sisters, younger siblings or parallel cousins same sex plural [> *aiber*].

saidagu N/*ila*__ cross cousins [= *seidagu* > *aidagu*].

saiki N little finger or toe [= *seiki*]. *kamla saiki* little toe. *limla saiki* little finger.

saipumu N tree sp.

sak VTR wipe. *ŋasake ma epis* I'll wipe it dry.

sakalaŋ obor N taro sp.

sakam MOD dehortative, do not, stop...-ing. Tou *omŋis sakam* stop crying.

sakarkar N/*ila*__ fish scales. *lodu ila sakarkar* fish scales.

sakarkar VTR scale. Tou *omsakarkar lodu* scale the fish.

sakua N banana sp.

sakul N song. *tede sakul* let's sing.

salalet N tree sp.

salom N tree sp.

salom solou N banana sp.

salou N tree sp.

samegei N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [similar to *aitou* but better].

samel N taro sp.

samo N banana sp [from Samoa].

samo eprij N banana sp.

sanda N spirit sp [≤ *aulu*].

sanga N ladder.

saŋlou N tree sp.

sao N tree sp.

sapak N tree sp.

sapaŋa N hunger [< Lusi]. *mimi sapaŋa due* the child is hungry. *sapaŋa de ŋoŋ* I'm hungry.

sapirpir VTR brush off. *sapirpir koba* he brushed off the bed.

sasa N tree sp.

sasa N/*ina*__; Tou *ila*__ great great grandparents [parents of *kamla eslei ine*]. *ŋau sasa*= Tou *lou sasa* my great great grandparents.

sasada > *sesna*.

sasap maret N/*limla*__ forearm.

sasarak > *sesna*.

sasi Tou ADJ bad [= *soulu*]. Tou *uan sasi*= *mota* snake.

sasup N flute sp made of a bundle of bamboo [> *perer*].

sau VTR catch [= Tou *kapak*].

saule N tree sp.

sauli Tou VI move, wave [= *nemilmil*].

sapu N clearing used as a resting spot on a road.

saŋiriri N large black wasp sp.

sedik N salt ash.

sei PRON who, which. *sei sir ŋoŋ?* who is calling me? *gute sei?* which man?

seidagu > *saidagu*.

seiki > *saiki*.

seleilei N grass sp.

selembo N axe [= Tou *gitu*].

selibule N tree sp.

sep VI in, enter. *emsep omo* come in.

ser VTR comb. *ŋeser opogu (elilo)* I

- comb my hair.
- sere* N bamboo sp.
- serebatne* N sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas*.
- serem* N aromatic ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp.
- sesna* N- wives, husbands, spouses plural [*> esna*]. *sesna etlu*. he has three wives.
- sesue* ADV how many. *osep sesue?* how many people are there?
- sigale* N tobacco sp [*≤ uasi*].
- sigi* N carrying stick.
- sik* VTR chase, get rid of. *mosik obar ka la* get rid of that pig.
- sikei* *> kuri sikei*.
- sila blay* QUANT another [= *silaŋ blay*].
- silau* *> gaga silau*.
- silibou* *> titimla*.
- silimu* N 1. needle; 2. wing bone of flying fox used as needle or for divination; 3. fibula. *koŋgu (ina) silimu* my fibula.
- silmei* *> aki*.
- simbam* N banana sp.
- sin* VTR carry on one's head [especially by women. *> kalke, sinŋen*].
- sin* VTR build. *ŋesin lou ninu oku* I'm building myself a new house.
- sinŋen* N bundle carried by women on the head [*< sin*].
- sipmada, sipmarak, sipmem* *> titimla*.
- sir* VTR 1. call by name [*> gi*]; 2. accuse.
- sirba* N clouds.
- sisepmi* *> sesna*.
- sisik* VTR pick [especially one by one. *> bak*].
- sisil* N taro sp.
- sisilne* N- brains. *sisilŋoŋ* my brains. *sisilne* his brains.
- sisiou* ADJ fully ripe [*> balu ≠ akat*].
- sisir* VTR stip thorns from. *tisisir omoi* they're stippling the thorns from pandanus.
- sisirglik* N taro sp.
- sisopmu* *> sesna*.
- sisu* N/___± *ine* breast. *apmaŋ sisu ine* a woman's breasts. *sisu olu ine* milk. *inim sisu* he's suckling.
- slip* N tree sp.
- solo* N trouble-maker, whore. *apmaŋ due solo* the woman is a whore.
- solou* *> salom solou*.
- somkur* N New Guinea walnut tree, *Dracontomelon mangiferum*.
- somogu* ADJ pregnant.
- somoro* N freshwater snail.
- soŋ* VI swollen.
- soŋon* VTR lose [*> mina*]. *ŋosoŋon lou elil* I lost my knife.
- soŋoso* N dead end bits of wood from a fire.
- soŋotno* QUANT ten. *iselme soŋotno* sixty.
- soulu* ADJ bad [= Tou *sasi, soulu ≠ itau*].
- sousou* N/± *ila*___ broom.
- su* N tree sp from which fibres are taken to make braided rope for pig nets.
- sua* PRON what, which. *molo ari sua?* what kind of barkcloth is that? *batne sua?* what is the cause of it? *omkroke uan ke sua?* why did you break the thing?
- suaŋ* VI run [= Tou *noplu*]. *omsuaŋ molil* run carefully.
- sulutno* N- sisters, brothers, siblings or parallel cousins opposite sex reciprocal plural [*¶ suluku, sulup, sulutno... > lutno*].
- sumu* N snake sp.
- sumuk* *> esi ina sumuk*.
- sunak* N tree sp [acceptable alternative to *su*].

suŋ VTR distribute.
susu VI swim on surface of water [> *delim*].
susu N banana sp.
tabele bitna N peninsula.
tabila N wooden dish imported via north coast from Siasi [> *tumoro*].
tabu ina poloj N banana sp.
tabulbul VTR roll.
tagargare N pandanus sp.
tagogola N spirit sp [≤ *aulu*].
taklou N crab sp found in small rivers.
tala N- ear [ŋ *tologu*= Tou *talagu*, *talap*, *tala*, *talda*= *talanta*= Tou *talalite*, *telepmi*= Tou *talepmi*, *tolopmu*, *talsak*= *talansak*]; 2. lateral fin. *tologu nopol* I'm deaf. *lotu tala* lateral fin of a fish.
talde N tree sp, *Terminalia catappa*.
talepmi > *tala*.
talo N taro sp.
talpes N/r_± *ine* claw, nail, talon. *luŋgu talpes (ine)* my fingernails. *koŋgu talpes (ine)* my toenails.
talsak > *tala*.
tamala N pitpit sp, *Saccharum* sp.
tamara N banyan tree, *Ficus* sp [= Tou *namaiŋo*].
tanjan ADJ/*iage*_ new garden. *lou iage tanjan* my new garden.
tanguri N jawharp.
tanjir N kingfish mackerel [< TP].
tanjo apna N taro sp.
tapak N taro sp.
tapiok N manioc, cassava, *Manihot utilissima* [< TP = *amioka*, *kundis*, *manioka*].
taratarabul N spirit sp [< *aulu*].
tarmai N k.o. dance.
tarna N/_± *ine* 1. skin, body; 2. lips; 3. bark; 4. husk. 5. container; 6.

empty [> *mana batne*]. *tarna keti* he has black skin. *tarna balu* he's an albino. *ogu tarna* my lips. *akai tarna* 1. bark; 2. barkcloth [= *molo*]. *puda tarna* woven cloth. *bile tarna* betel husk. *okou tarna* lime powder container. *aki tarna* the water container is empty. *ŋekirkir tarna lugoj* I'm scratching myself.
tarjan N 1. sago sp; 2. flooring.
tatan N hearth.
tatlak Tou N earth, ground [= *ebes*].
tatuk ADV pant. *ŋebiŋos tatuk* I pant.
tauiui N tree sp.
tauni ADV for a long time [= Tou *emlis*].
tauo N tree sp.
tekil N tree sp.
telepmi > *tala*.
teli N shell money.
tena N- anus [ŋ *tenjoŋ*, *tenam*= *tenuom*, *tena*, *tente*= *tenalite*, *termi*= *tenalimi*, *ternu*= *tenalumu*, *tensak* = Tou *pigine*]. *monuk tena* taro sp.
tete N bridge.
tia N taro sp.
tiben N tree sp.
tik VTR count. *titik teli* they're counting shell money.
tik VTR chip, flake. *titik omos* they're chipping obsidian.
tikit N tree sp.
tilu Tou N/*aki*_ pool of water in river [= *bubu*]. Tou *aki tilu* a pool of water in a river.
timla N- father, father's brother or parallel cousin singular [ŋ *libou*= Tou *abo*, *tmem*= *pmem*, *timla*, *tmada*, *tmemi*= *pmemi*, *tmomu*= *pmomu*, *tmarak* > *titimla*].
tin N tin can [< TP].
tin VTR light, burn, set on fire [= *pani*, *bik*]. *ŋapani uasi* I lit a cigarette. *titin ogu* they're burning kunai.

tij VI return [= *dij* = Tou *lik*]. *titiŋ tla* they went back.

tirie VI dance. *apmaŋ, motirie!* women, dance!

titepmi, titim > *titno*.

titimla N- fathers, father's brothers or male parallel cousins plural [¶ *silibou, sipmem, titimla, sipmada, sipmemi, sipmomu, sipmarak* > *timla*].

titna N- mothers, mother's sisters or female parallel cousins plural [¶ ..., *titnem, titna, titnada, titnemi, titnomu, titnarak* > *tna*].

titno N- 1. sons, daughters, children plural [> *otno* ¶ *dirgu, titim, titno, titodo, titepmi, titopmu, titorok*]; 2. fingers, toes. *dirgu oruo* I have two children. *kamla titno* his toes [especially middle three]. *limla titno* fingers.

titnomu > *titna*.

tito VI up, ascend. *emtito embri* stand up.

titobro N/ina__ older siblings or parallel cousins same sex plural [> *tobro*].

titodo, titopmu, titorok > *titno*.

titroŋ N dorsal fin. *lodu ila titroŋ* dorsal fin of a fish.

tiŋen Tou V hear [= *kliŋen*]. Tou *ŋatliŋen ute me* I hear someone coming. Tou *ŋatliŋen luom* I hear you.

tmada, tmarak, tmem, tmemi, tmomu > *timla*.

tna N- mother, mother's sister or female parallel cousin singular [¶ *aia, tnem, tna, tnada, tnemi, tnomu, tnarak* > *titna, nina*]; 2. thumb or big toe. (*ŋau*) *aia* my mother. *kamla tna* his big toe. *luŋgu tna* my thumb. *uame tna* sweat bee. *aki tna* crocodile.

tnis Tou VI cry, weep [= *knis*]. *omtnis sakam* stop crying.

tobolbol N landsnail sp.

tobor N pitpit, *Saccharum* sp.

tobro N/ina__ older brother, older sister,

older sibling or parallel cousin same sex singular [> *aiber, lutno, titobro*].

tobutno N egg. *kuako tobutno* chicken egg.

tobutno N/_ine navel.

tok VI happen, be active. *merge tok* he has an erection. *orgi tok* there was an earthquake.

tok VTR try. *ŋotoke da* I'll try it first.

tokonkon N litter, scrap heap, midden [= *oblu*].

tologu, tolopmu > *tala*.

toma N banana sp.

tona N on top of [> *bisna, aitno*]. *ninu tona* on top of the house.

topurne N- nose [¶ *topurŋoŋ, topuruom, topurne, topurte, topurmi, topurmu, topursak*].

tortor ADJ shallow [= *asar* ≠ *olu*].

tou N/_ine back [= *dogor*].

touk N/limla__ index finger.

trentren N cicada.

trum VTR cut down, pull down.

tui N banana sp.

tuk VI slip out of place. *anŋoŋ tuk* I'm out of breath. *poloŋ tuk* the end support is slipping out of place. *oklou tuk la* the sun is setting.

tuktuk Tou N owl [= *daikrup*].

tumno N- mother's brother, sister's son [¶ *tumgu, 0, tumno, tumdo, 0, 0, 0*. > *ŋoŋle, Tou gute*].

tumoro N wooden dish imported from Siasi via south coast [> *tabila*].

tunoy N banana sp.

turit N tree sp.

tuturno N sprout from stump after a tree has been felled [= Tou *elŋip*].

uai VI speak, talk, tell [= Tou *pelio* > *uaiŋan*]. *uai ine kodon?* have you told him yet? *uai lugoŋ ine* he told me about it.

uaike VI 1. want; 2. quotative. *ηauaike ηala* I want to go. Tou *pelio uaike*, “*tala*” he said, “let’s go”.

uainan N language, speech.

uame N honeycomb [made by *uame tna*, a sweat bee. > *anlek*].

uami Tou N betel mortar [= *maui*].

uan N thing, something. *uan amna itau* something smells good. *ηapado uan* I’m looking for something. *uan ane ηanjon ina* this is something to eat.

uan sasi Tou N snake [= *mota*].

uasi N tobacco, cigarette [generic ≥ *kauroko*, *kitkit*, *marakete*, *sigale*]. *ηemete ke uasi* I’m dying for a smoke. *ηen uasi* he’s smoking

uba N banana sp.

udage Tou N/± *ila*__ knife [= *elil*].

udo > *ila*.

ugu > *ogu*.

ulegi N taro sp.

uligiū N banana sp.

ulikulik ila padojon N taro sp.

ulo N clay pot.

ulou V dislike, hate. *ulou lugon* he dislikes me.

uluk VTR clear weeds. *omuluk ebes* clear

the ground.

umu PRON you D2P [> *ie*].

uom PRON you D2S [> *ie*].

upu > *ina*.

urabit N taro sp.

uri VTR throw. *omurie me ηasaue* throw it to me and I’ll catch it. *uri amlak* he threw an eel lure. *touri ari* let’s build a fence. *tiuri manjai* they set up an ambush.

uriŋ N tree sp.

uru VI resprout after dying out.

uru V spit. Tou *ηauru emles ge uom* I’ll spit ginger on you [as part of a healing ritual]. *ηouru omba* I spit strongly.

uru VI coo [= *noru*]. *belis uru* a dove is cooing.

uru la pot N taro sp.

usak VTR plant. *omusak esi* plant some taro.

use VI defecate [> *ata*].

usu N sago leaflets used as thatch [> *aber*]. *ninu ina usu* the thatch of a house.

ute Tou N man, person, someone [= *gute*].

uti VI go, move [non-directional. > *la*, *me*]. Tou *ηauti ηamo kodoŋ* I’d already gone to sleep.

8. ENGLISH-ARIA FINDER LIST

above *egim*.

accompany *kap*.

accuse *sir*.

adze *akra*, *kulaluo*.

affine, terms for Tou *asap*, *esna*, *kaden*, Tou *ηaŋo*, *rana*, *romoi*, *sesna*.

afflict *bel*.

afraid *dilip*, *lim*.

afternoon *kirui*, Tou *maruŋ*.

again *blaŋ*.

albino *balu*.

algae *gulumu*.

all *buno*; all gone *iabos*,

Tou *iagos*.

alone *kene*.

Alpinia spp *akuei*, Tou *dabol*, *egiau*, *serem*.

already *kodoŋ*.

also *blaŋ*.

ambush *manjai*; set up

ambush *uri manjai*.

ancestors *kamla eslei ine*.

and *deka*, *e*, *ma*.

angry *amŋa*, Tou *damŋa*.

ankle *kamla agune*, *kamla silimu*; ankle bone *kamla ebiak*.

another *silan blaŋ*, *sila blaŋ*.

answer *roŋon*.

- ant spp *kamulia, nerim*.
 anus Tou *pigine, tena*.
 appear *polou*.
 Achilles' tendon *kanil*.
 Areca catechu *bile*.
 arm *limla*; upper arm
limla paipai;
 armband *mese*,
paipai; armpit *limla*
obar bisna.
 aromatic plant spp *kikit*,
namane, serem.
 arrive *polou*.
Artocarpus altilis
pelim.
 artwork *omos*.
 as *laka*.
 ascend *tito*.
 ash group, Tou *obrop*;
 saltash *sedik*.
 ask *paŋ*, Tou *pelio, uai*.
 at Tou *ge, ke*.
 aunt *adou*.
 away *la*.
 axe Tou *gitu, selembo*.
 baby *dereben*.
 bachelors *agau aren*.
 back *dogurne, odoŋ*,
otou, tou; back of
 head *kadaŋa*;
 backbone *odoŋ*.
 bad Tou *sasi, soulu*.
 bald *almat*.
 bamboo spp *agak*,
akerne, odu, sere.
 banana *obul*; banana
 spp *adigolo, aimou*,
akai batne, alau,
aliba, aŋari, auol,
belak, berik, berik
apai, bile, borom,
borom garai, borom
gauru, borom grum
gomot, galau, Tou
garai, giu, iaba,
kalaŋa keis, kalapua,
kalata, kalau, karai,
kataturu, kekele,
kiaukiau, kokolo
aitou, kokrou, kordo,
krumkrum, maimul,
malbak, malpis,
maria, matalato,
meia, meriaŋ, molo,
mormor, mumum,
palem misuon, papua,
sakua, salom solou,
samo, samo eprij,
simbam, susu, tabu
ina poloŋ, toma, tui,
tunoŋ, uba, uligiu.
 bandicoot *melim*.
 bank of river *aki dina*.
 banyan *tamara*.
 barbs *omsoŋ*.
 bark *akai tarna*;
 barkcloth *akai tarna*,
molo.
 bark, dogs *gar*.
 barracuda *kalubia*.
Barringtonia speciosa
putu.
 base *bame*.
 basket spp *kerka, osak*,
paro.
 bat spp *aiua, iagim*.
 bathe *ris*.
 beam *paleta*.
 beans *kliŋo*.
 bear *dibir*.
 bed *koba*; make bed
lalo; bed supports
poloŋ.
 bedbug *bidabida*.
 bee *uame tna*.
 before *da, oglou*.
 belly *damaine, malugi*,
pele.
 below *moli*.
 bend over *molok*.
 bent *kolok*.
 betel *bile*; betel pepper
esis; betel mortar
maui, Tou *uami*;
 chew betel *ŋes*.
 big *mamil, omba*; big
 toe *kamla tna*;
 bigman *barau*;
 bigmouth *apot*.
 bird *monuk*; bird spp
 Tou *akom, alau*,
aplau, belis, bogi,
daikrup, dikdik, Tou
doukik, ebin, kalaŋa,
kokrak, kuako,
meriaŋ, ŋamri, Tou
oduol, pidau, pidau
aria, Tou *tuktuk*.
 birth *dibir*.
 bite *ret*.
 bits *koukou*.
 black *obor, keti*; black
 pig *nakum*; black
 ant *nerim*.
 blind *bitna ebin, bitna*
nopur.
 blink *neplik*.
 block *nekleŋ, nekliŋ*.
 blood *marau*; blood
 clot *oŋoŋ*.
 blow *ipu*.
 blue *ebir*, Tou *gesen*,
kesen.
 bluebottle fly *loŋobiri*,
loŋororou, Tou
loŋokir.
 boa constrictor Tou
maruk, moro.
 body *tarna*.
 bone *eri*.
 bonito *atun*.
 book *buk*.
 boundary *oluŋ*.
 bow and arrow *malel*.

box for pigs Tou
gongon, karoro.
 boys *agau aren.*
 brace *nakeljen.*
 braid *pilai, prak;*
 braided rope
pilainan, praknan.
 brains *esi, sisilne.*
 branch *akai limla,*
paga.
 breadfruit *pelim.*
 break *boŋ, grum, krok,*
mluk, nakram, neplis,
noboŋ, nogrum,
nokrok, Tou notup.
 breast *sisu.*
 breath *ano.*
 breathe *biŋos.*
 bridge *tete.*
 brightly coloured
kilikili.
 bring *due, paur.*
 broom *brum, sousou.*
 brother, terms for
aiber, lutno, tobro;
 brothers, terms for
saiber, sulumto,
titobro; brother-in-
 law *kaden, romoi;*
 mother's brother Tou
gute, ŋoŋle, tumno.
 brown pig Tou *merden,*
meren.
 brush off *sapirpir.* clear
 brush *luk.*
 build *sin;* build fire
basin eiou, Tou res
eiou; build fence *uri*
ari.
 bullroarer *barku ene*
blene.
 bump *nopu.*
 bundle *simjen.*
 burn *bik, bublo, pai, tin.*
 bush hen *keiau.*

butt *otuk.*
 butt against *neklep, Tou*
nekrem.
 butterfly *bakuok.*
 buttocks *obor.*
 buzz *lolo, pan.*
 cage for pigs Tou
gongon, karoro.
Calamus spp *aber,*
aglok erne, alika,
kiria, Tou lilou, nalia.
 calf *kamla aiapo,*
kamla okur.
 call *gi, sir.*
 can *tin.*
Canarium polyphyllum
aŋari.
 canoe *gomot, mon.*
 canopy *akai gurno.*
 careful Tou *epis, molil.*
 carry Tou *kakuk, kalke;*
 carry on head *sin;*
 carrying stick *sigi.*
 carve *blou;* carving
omos.
 casque of cassowary
alau ila barku.
 cassava *amioka, kundis,*
manioka, tapiok.
 cassowary *alau;*
 cassowary wing *alau*
ina mosmosu.
Casuarina equisetifolia
ialu.
 catch Tou *kapak, sau.*
 caudal fin *melba.*
 caught *naglan.*
 cave *omus.*
 challenge *paŋ.*
 charcoal *asiŋir, soŋoso.*
Charonia tritonis
kuliep.
 chase *sik.*
 cheek *baŋa.*

chest *omuŋ, Tou oŋgup.*
 chew betel *ŋes.*
 chicken *kuako.*
 child *mimi, otno;*
 children *timo.*
 chip *tik.*
 chirp *nesiusiu,*
nesuelsuel.
 chop *gusip.*
 cicada *trentren.*
 citizen *matamur.*
Citrus sp *mumli.*
 clam spp *baiu, dabol,*
ebiak, golomada.
 clavicle *alik.*
 claw *talpes.*
 clay pot *ulo.*
 clean *itau.*
 clear brush *luk;* clear
 weeds *uluk.*
 clearing *saupu.*
 click tongue *notoktok.*
 cliff face *gogou bitna,*
perper.
 clot *oŋoŋ.*
 cloth *molo.*
 clouds *sirba.*
 club *bao.*
 cluck *nopotpot.*
 cockatoo *aplau.*
 cockroach *ous.*
 coconut, *Cocos nucifera*
oŋgup; coconut shell
gogo; coconut grater
ŋiri; cook in coconut
 cream *por.*
 coitus *isu.*
 cold *epen.*
 collapse *nekles, noboŋ.*
 collect *padok.*
 collective *kape.*
 colon *atok.*
 comb *emsik, ser.*
 come *me.*

- completive *kodoŋ*.
 congregate *gogo*.
 container *tarna, bara*.
 coo *noru, uru*.
 cook *kamlu*; cook in
 coconut cream *por*.
 cooked *lipma*.
 copra *kobura*.
Cordyline spp *anuŋ, Tou*
kaduk, mare.
 count *tik*.
 cousin, terms for
aidagu, lutno, tobro;
 cousins, terms for
saiber, saidagu,
sulutno, titobro.
 cover *neklip*.
 crab spp *aŋgis, taklou*.
 crack *negre*.
 cramp Tou *kesine*.
 crash *nogrum*.
 crawl *didara,*
noduŋduŋ.
 crazy Tou *kaka,*
maŋamaŋa.
 creak *neket, nekret*.
 crocodile *aki tna*.
 crooked *kolok*.
 cross *bru*.
 cross cousin *aidagu*.
 crow *kokrak*.
 crumbs *koukou*.
 cry *kŋis, Tou tŋis*.
 cultivar *adaŋ, padoŋon*.
 cured *lipma*.
 cuscus Tou *kaukai,*
kraŋip.
 cut *blou, plis, trum*.
 cycad palm, *Cycas*
circinalis matolo.
 dance *tirie*; dance, k.o.
rarak, tarmai.
 daughter *otno*;
 daughters *titno*;
 daughter-in-law
rana.
 day *oklou*.
 deaf *tala nopol*.
 deep *olu*.
 defecate *use*.
 dehortative *sakam*.
 demolish *boŋ, kles*.
 descend *duru*.
 design, k.o. *delei ene,*
momoeaŋ.
 dethorn *sisir*.
 die *mete*.
 different *ailuk*.
 dig *ias*; dig up *pi, put*;
 digging *apma*.
 diminutive *boto*.
Dioscorea spp *aitou,*
bidi, darpei, kukuai,
mamim, oda,
samegei.
 dirty *amum, kerere*.
 dish *pelet, tabila,*
tumoro.
 dislike *ulou*.
 disposable possessive
ila.
 distribute *lalo, Tou*
muri, suŋ.
 dive *nonrop*.
 do *boko, due*.
 dog *gemle*.
 dorsal fin *titroŋ*.
 dove *belis*.
 down *duru*.
Dracontomelon
mangiferum somkur.
 drag *riri*.
 dream *ano*.
 dried *kakrak, lipma*.
 drink *inim*.
 drip *neteŋteŋ*.
 drive pigs into net *bar*.
 drum *kude*.
 dry *epi, epis, maraŋ*
 dry season *oklou*
itau.
 dugong *lui*.
 dugout canoe *mon*.
 dull *pom, Tou put*.
 dust *koukou*.
 eagle *bogi*.
 ear *tala*.
 earth *ebes, Tou tatlak*;
 earthquake *orgi tok*.
 eat *ŋen*.
 edge *bitna, ene, galna*.
 edible possessive *ina*.
 eel *aidaŋ moray eel*
aidaŋ misuon ina; eel
 lure *amlak*.
 egg *tobutno*.
 eight *elme etlu, lumetlu*.
 eighty *iselme isetlu*.
 ejaculate *noslom*.
 elbow *limla buno*.
 elder Tou *namor, ŋoŋle*.
 empty Tou *ablo, adai,*
mana batne, tarna.
 enough Tou *iabos,*
iagos.
 enter *sep*.
 erection *merge tok*.
 escort *paur*.
 eucalyptus *opon*.
Eugenia malaccensis
 Tou *bekei, puai*.
 european *puda*.
 extend across *klou*.
 extract *pi, put*.
 eye *bitna*.
 faeces *ata*.
 faint *matisuk, mete*.
 fall *gene*.
 far *emia, maua*.

- fart *meli*.
 fast *bale, paide*.
 fat *rim*.
 fatally wounded *burua*.
 father Tou *abo, timla*;
 fathers *tiimla*;
 father-in-law *rana*.
 fear *dilip, lim*.
 feast *rogo*.
 feather *monuk elilo*.
 feelings *aitno*.
 fell *gusip*.
 female *apmaj*.
 fence *ari*; build fence
 uri ari.
 few *pula kobok*.
 fibula *kamla silimu*.
Ficus Tou *namaiŋo,*
 tamara.
 fifty *iselme*.
 fill *nonoi*.
 fin spp *melba, tala,*
 titroŋ.
 find *padonon*.
 fingers *limla titno*; little
 finger *limla eslei*;
 ring finger *limla*
 kuskus; middle
 finger *limla seiki*;
 index finger *limla*
 touk; fingernails
 limla talpes.
 finished Tou *iabos,*
 iagos.
 fire *eiou*; build fire
 basin eiou, Tou res
 eiou.
 firefly *edep*.
 firewood *akai*.
 firm *nebiŋ*.
 first *da*.
 fish *lodu*; fish spp
 atun, kalimbalisi,
 kalubia, kaluga,
 langou.
- five *elme*.
 flake *tik*.
 flash *neplik*.
 fleas *agenagen*.
 flee *nekles*.
 flesh *okur*.
 flicker *nelemlem*.
 float *maro*.
 flood *oŋon*.
 flooring *ekei, limbuŋ,*
 pasnan, tarŋan; floor
 joist *arikrik*; lay
 flooring *pas*.
 flower *roro, roroŋon*.
 fluid *aki, olu*.
 flute, k.o. *akerne, Tou*
 epe, kaur, perer,
 sasup.
 fly *kei*.
 fly spp *loŋo, loŋobiri,*
 loŋororou, Tou
 loŋokir, moromo.
 fog Tou *apare ila eiou,*
 gaugau.
 fold *pol*.
 follow *batne, didi, Tou*
 pupru.
 food *ŋaŋon*; wild food
 balinŋen; food basket
 paro.
 foot *kamla*.
 forage *bali*.
 forbid *pono*.
 ford *bru*.
 forearm *limla sasap*
 mareŋ.
 forehead *bara, Tou*
 edik.
 foreigner *kaulei*.
 foreleg *limla*.
 forest *omoy aitno*; in
 the forest *odonla*.
 forty *isapanal*.
 four *apanal*.
- fresh *akat, Tou eprij*.
 friend *aten*.
 frog *bael Tou kala*;
 frog spp *grukgruk,*
 Tou *kekrek, roror*.
 front *damaine*.
 fruit *akai otna*.
 full *bon, onuk*; full,
 sated *got*.
 fur *elilo*.
 fuzz *omsoŋ*.
 gall bladder *onu*.
 game *oyua*.
 garden *iage, opou*;
 garden plot *omur*;
 old garden *kiklei*
 batne; new garden
 taŋan; overgrown
 garden *purpu*.
 garnish *masu*.
 gather, collect *padok*;
 forage *bali*; meet
 duni, gogo.
 gaudy *kilikili*.
 get *due*.
 giant clam *golomada*.
 gill flap *kalakopine*;
 gills *aimolmolu*.
 ginger, *Alpinia* spp
 akuei, Tou dabol,
 egiau, serem; ginger,
 Zinziber emles.
 girl *bela*.
 give *kar*; give birth
 dibir.
 glow *bublo*.
 go *la, uti*; go ahead
 mgo; go back Tou
 dij, Tou lik, tiŋ.
 gong *gilamo*.
 good *itau*.
 gourd *okou otna*.
 grandparent *aia*; great
 grandparents *kamla*
 eslei ine; great great

grandparents *sasa*;
 great great great
 grandparents *aibaga*.
 grass spp *balimu, ogu,*
pisopiso, seleilei.
 grasshopper spp *kakan,*
makul.
 grate *ɲiri*; coconut
 grater *ɲiri*.
 greasy *dikɲen*.
 green *ebir*, Tou *gesen*;
 unripe *akat*, Tou
epriɲ vegetable
 greens *karuɲa*.
 grey-haired *mir*.
 ground *ebes*, Tou *tatlak*.
 grub sp *etnim*.
 grunt Tou *gruk, nokuk*.
 guts *aitno, pele*.
 habit *aidiɲ*.
 hair *elilo*; grey-haired
mir; hairless pig
gelet.
 hammer, sago *koli*.
 hand *limla*; hand
 basket *kerka, osak*.
 handle *otne*.
 hang *nogrok*.
 happen *polou, tok*.
 happy Tou *adaɲadaɲ,*
kilikili.
 hard Tou *adar, nagar*.
 hate *ulou*.
 hawk Tou *akom, ɲamri*.
 he *ie*.
 head *apna, otuk*; back
 of head *kadaɲa*;
 headwaters *aki*
gurno; headman
barau.
 healing magic *borou*.
 hear *kliɲen*, Tou *tliɲen*.
 heart *akai apna, akai*
otna.

hearth *tatan*.
 heavy Tou *anit, kodu*.
 heel *kamla batne*.
 help *lua*.
 here *ane*.
 hey *de*.
Hibiscus tileaceus palu.
 hide *kukuop, lun*.
 hindleg *kamla*.
 hip *omtu, peia*.
 history *nasinɲen*.
 hit *mluk*.
 hold Tou *gisi, kis*; hold
 between hands *nokol*.
 hole *obuk*.
Homalium foetidum
boi.
 honeycomb *anglek,*
uame.
 hornbill *meriaɲ*.
 hot *enɲil*.
 hourglass drum *kude*.
 house *ninu*; men's lodge
ormun; girl's
 initiation house *ninu*
galiki; lean-to shelter
peɲau.
 housefly *loɲo*.
 how many *sesue*.
 huge *ombatno*.
 hundred *buno*.
 hung up *naglaɲ*.
 hunger *sapaɲa*.
 hunt *bar, krim*.
 hurt *doro*.
 husband *esna*, Tou
ɲaɲo; husbands
sesna.
 husk *tarna*.
 I *ɲoɲ*.
 if Tou *daga, ma*.
 ill *daunɲon*.
Imperata ogu.

in Tou *ge, ke*; enter
sep; in the forest
odonɲla.
 inalienable possessive
ine.
 index finger *limla touk*.
 initiation house for girls
ninu galiki.
Inocarpus fagiferus
eiui.
 inside *aitno*.
 intercourse *isu*.
 intestines *mogolu*.
Ipomea batatas
serebatne.
 ironwood *bana*.
 irrealis *ma*.
 irresponsible *kepisi*.
 island *nu*.
 it *ie*.
 itchy *kaklak*.
 jacaranda *daga*.
 jaw *baja*.
 jawharp *taɲguri*.
 joint *buno*.
 joist *arikrik*.
 juice *olu*.
 jump Tou *kepiuk,*
kopiuk, nemit, netek.
 jungle *omɲaitno*.
 just *bala*; just now *oku*
boto ane.
 kambang *okou*.
 karapa *balimu*.
 kill *mluk, mter*.
 kin, terms for Tou *abo,*
adou, aia, aibaga,
aiber, aidagu, aikos,
asap, aten, kamla
eslei ine, esna, Tou
gute, kaden, lutno,
nina, Tou ɲaɲo,
ɲoɲle, otno, rana,
romoi, saiber, sasa,

sesna, sulutno, timla,
titimla, titna, titno,
titobro, tna, tobro,
tumno.
 kingfish mackerel *tañir.*
 kingfisher Tou *oduol,*
pidau, pidau aria.
 knee *kamla buno.*
 knife *elil, Tou udage.*
 knot *buno.*
 know *ile.*
 kunai *ogu.*
 ladder *sanğa.*
 lamp *lam.*
 land *ebes galna, Tou*
tatlak emkil.
 language Tou *pelioñon,*
uainan.
 laplap *molo.*
 large *mamil, omba.*
 later Tou *batne, mase.*
 lateral fin *tala.*
 laugh *ibel.*
 law *nasijen.*
 lay flooring *pas.*
 lazy *iage kobok, kepis.*
 leaf *akai elilo.*
 lean *manik, nepil.*
 lean-to shelter *peñau.*
 leap Tou *kepiuk.*
 lefthand *gala.*
 leg *kamla.*
 lest *ma.*
 lever *pei.*
 lie, prevaricate *iak,*
iakiak, Tou katkatu
 lie, sleep *munu.*
 lift *kaka.*
 light *bik, bublo, pani.*
 lightning *egle neblik,*
pepelaka.
 lightweight *markan.*
 like *aitno.*

like, as *laka.*
 lime powder *okou;* lime
 spatula *damu;* lime
 gourd *okou otna;*
 lime container *okou*
tarna.
 limp *kamla netir.*
 lips *ene tarna.*
 litter, bed *koba.*
 litter, garbage *oblu,*
tokonkon.
 little *boto, daudeñ, isuk*
boto.
 liver *bomso.*
 lizard, monitor *paria.*
 lobster *agen misuon ina.*
 located *doñ, munu.*
 log *akai.*
 long *alay* for a long
 time Tou *emlis, tauni.*
 look for *krim, pado;*
 look down onto
palem.
 lose *soñon.*
 lost *mina, Tou popmo.*
 louse *otu.*
 love magic *munusaur.*
 lungs *popros.*
 lure *amlak.*
 magic *borou;* love
 magic *munusaur;*
 sorcery *muso.*
 make *due;* make twine
bubu; make rope
bul; make bed *lalo.*
 malay apple Tou *bekei,*
puai.
 male *arañ.*
 man *gute, Tou ute.*
 mango, Mangifera
indica kadai.
 mangrove tree *bale;*
 mangrove crab
añgis; mangrove
 clam *baiu.*

manioc, Manihot
 utilissima *amioka,*
kundis, manioka,
tapiok.
 manner *aidiñ.*
 many *buno, Tou puda,*
pula; how many
sesue.
 marker of prohibition
ponoñon.
 marry *gi;* marriage
gijen.
 masalai *egle.*
 masturbate *babin.*
 mat *omoi.*
 me *ñon.*
 meat *masu, okur, oñua.*
 meet *buñ, duni, gogo.*
 men' lodge *ormun.*
 menstruation *nejir.*
 merely *bala.*
 midden *oblu.*
 middle finger *limla*
seiki.
 milk *sisu olu ine.*
 mist Tou *apare ila eiou,*
gaugau.
 money, shell *tehi.*
 monitor lizard *paria.*
 moray eel *aidañ misuon*
ina.
 morning *kotkotu.*
 mortar, betel *maui, Tou*
uami.
 mortuary feast *rogo.*
 mosquito *nomuk.*
 moss *gulumu.*
 mother *nina, tna;*
 mothers *titna;*
 mother's brother Tou
gute, ñoñle, tumno;
 mother-in-law *rana.*
 mountain *gigri, muruñ*
 mountain ridge
obrou.

- mouth *ene*.
 move *nemilmil*, Tou
sauli, uti.
 mucus, nasal *ejris*.
 mumu *opmu*.
 murmur *nejinjin*.
 muscle *okur*.
 mushroom *makue*.
 mushy *anam*.
 nail *talpes*.
 naked *albus*.
 name Tou *anaŋ, aŋaine*.
 narrate *didi*.
 nasal mucus *ejris*.
 navel *tobutno*.
 near *luo*.
 neck *agune*.
 need *bel*.
 needle *silimu*.
 negative Tou *auro*,
kobok.
 neice *adou*.
 nephew *adou*.
 nest *onuk*.
 net *omdu*.
 nettle tree *dipil*, Tou
kidou.
 new *oku*; new garden
taŋan.
 newborn *dereben*.
 night *epmes*.
 nine *elme apanal*,
lumasnal.
 ninety *iselme isapanal*.
 nits *lede*.
 nose *topurne*.
 not Tou *auro, kobok*;
 not yet *dau*.
 nothing Tou *ablo, adai*.
 now *etnikane*, Tou *oku*
ane; just now *oku*
boto ane.
 nude *albus*.
 obese *rim*.
 oblique *ine, ke*.
 obsidian *egloŋ*, Tou
omos.
 occupy *nekleŋ*.
 ocean *misuon*, Tou
musien.
 ochre *aŋat*.
Octomeles sumatrana
kordo.
 odour *amna*.
 old *oglou ina*; old
 garden *kiklel batne*,
purpu.
 on Tou *ge, ke*; on top
 of *tona*.
 one Tou *gesa, kene*,
kesa, sa.
 only *bala*.
 open *klok, noklok*.
 or *go*.
 outside *dogur*.
 oven, stone *opmu*.
 owl *daikrup*, Tou
tuktuk.
 paddle *melba, naitar*.
 pain *doro*.
 palm of hand *limla*
damaine.
 palm spp *bile, ekei*,
matolo, oŋgup.
 pan flute Tou *epre*,
perer.
Pandanus spp *banda*,
buŋa, omoi, parpara,
tagargare.
 pant *biŋos tatuk*,
naŋasŋas, neŋisŋis.
 paper *pepa*.
Parartocarpus venenosa
doko.
 parrot *kalaja*.
 patella *kamla ila bara*.
 path *ekreŋ*.
 peninsula *tabele bitna*.
 penis *merge, otne*.
 people *osep*.
 periphery of village
armok boul.
 person *gute*, Tou *ute*.
 pick *bak, sisik*.
 pig *obar*; pig spp *gelet*,
longolonggo, Tou
merden, meren,
moron, nakum,
paulik; pig tusks
bole; pig net *omdu*;
 drive pigs *bar*.
 pillow *elio*.
 pinch *git*.
 pink *kesen*.
 pipe, smoking *nalato*.
Piper betle esis.
 piss *durie, marai*.
 pitpit *tamala, tobor*.
 place *omur*.
 plant *usak*.
 plate *pelet*; top plate
mlokŋon, pala.
 play *kole*.
 plot, garden *omur*.
 plunge *nosum*.
Poinciana delnis daga
mudu.
 point *bitna*.
 pointer Tou *ga, ka*.
Pometia pinnata Tou
adada, emliŋ
Pometia sp *adarak*.
 pond, pool *bubu*, Tou
tilu.
 pork *obar*.
 possessives *ila, ina, ine*.
 post *kadaŋa*.
 pot, clay *ulo*.
 pour *baser*.
 prawn *agen*.
 precede *mgo*.

- pregnant *somogu*.
 press against *nedip, pesi*.
 prevaricate *iak, iakiak*,
 Tou *kakatu*.
 prohibit *pono, ponoŋon*.
 pry up *pei*.
 pull *riri*; pull up *pi*,
 put; pull down *trum*.
 punting pole *otou*.
 puppy *gemle otno*.
 pus *anak*.
 push *pul*.
 python *emei*.
 quick *bale, paide*.
 quotative *uaike*.
 rack *bota*.
 rafter *lala*.
 rain Tou *arigu, arugu*;
 rainbow *arugu otno*;
 rainy season *pakoro*.
 raintree *daga mudu*.
 rapids *diglu*.
 rat *kiue*.
 rattan spp *aber, aglok*
 erne, alika, kiria, Tou
 lilou, nalia.
 rattle *negreŋgreŋ*.
 ravine cliff face *gogou*
 bitna.
 raw *akat*.
 reason *batne*.
 reciprocal *polu*.
 rectum *atok*.
 red *dimor*.
 remain *doŋ*.
 remove *pi, put*.
 resting spot *saupu*.
 return Tou *diŋ, Tou lik*,
 tij.
Rhizophora sp *bale*.
 rice *rais*.
 ridge, mountain *obrou*.
 ridgepole *komduŋo*.
 righthand *oduŋ*.
 ring finger *limla kuskus*.
 ringworm *eper*.
 rip *nabak*.
 ripe *balu, sisiou*.
 river *aki*; river bank
 aki dina; river spirit
 Tou *barau*.
 road *ekreŋ*.
 roll *bubu, pol, tabulbul*.
 roots *akai gitno*.
 rope *kedue*; make rope
 bul; braided rope
 pilainan, prakŋan.
 rotten *okus*.
 rub *pis*.
 run Tou *noplu, suar*
 run away quickly
 nekles.
 rustle *nogromgrom*,
 nokorkor.
Saccharum spp *amra*,
 tamala, tobor.
 sago spp *babalaŋo*,
 galalo, tarŋan, usu;
 sago hammer *koli*.
 saltash *sedik*.
 salty *galo*.
 sand *labu*; sandfly
 moromo.
 sap *akai ina anak*.
 sated *got*.
 say Tou *pelio, uai*.
 scale *sakarkar*.
 scapula *lelia*.
 scar *amal*.
 scrape Tou *gir, kir, nou*.
 scratch Tou *gir, kir*.
 scrub *gos*.
 sea *misuon*, Tou *musien*;
 sea eagle *bogi*.
 season *oklou*; dry
 season *oklou itau*;
 rainy season *pakoro*.
 see *erke, pati*, Tou *rik*.
 seed *akai otna*.
 senior Tou *namor*,
 ŋoŋle.
 set up ambush *uri*
 maŋai.
 seven *elme ruo*,
 lumaruo.
 seventy *iselme isoruo*.
 sew *mter*.
 sex *isu, noplok*.
 shadow *ano*.
 shallow *asar, tortor*.
 shark *kaluga*.
 sharp *bitna, kaka*.
 she *ie*.
 shelf *bota*.
 shell, coconut *gogo*;
 shell trumpet, triton
 shell *kuliep*; trochus
 shell armband *mese*;
 shell money *teli*.
 shelter *peŋau*.
 shield *osua*.
 shit *ata, use*.
 shiver *nakarkar*.
 shoot *mter*; shoot
 upwards *neter*, Tou
 neser.
 shoulder *eriak, opol*.
 shovel *matu*.
 shrimp *agen*.
 Siasi dish *tabila*,
 tumoro.
 sick *daŋon*.
 side Tou *emkil, galna*.
 single *auram, bela*.
 sister, terms for *aiber*,
 lutno, tobro; sisters,
 terms for *saiber*,
 sulutno, titobro;
 sister-in-law *kaden*.
 sit *doŋ*.

- six *elme kene, luma kene*.
- sixty *iselme sojotno*.
- skin *tarna*.
- skinny *andar, dabalbal*.
- sleep Tou *mo, munu*;
sleeping mat *omoi*.
- slip *kamla diglik, kamla kelil*; slip out of place *nesik, tuk*;
slippery *diglik*.
- slit gong *gilamo*.
- slow Tou *epis, molil*.
- small *daudej*.
- smell *amna, kun*.
- smile *ibel*.
- smoke *asu*; smoke tobacco *jen uasi*;
smoking *nalato*.
- smooth *kelil*.
- snail spp *somoro, tobolbol*.
- snake *mota*, Tou *uan sasi*; boa constrictor Tou *maruk, moro*;
python *emei*; snake sp *sumu*.
- snap *boj, kopuk, krok, neplis, noboj, plis*.
- snarl *kenrin*.
- sneeze *gisji*, Tou *kisji*.
- snot *ejris*.
- soft *omuk*.
- sole *kamla damaine*.
- some Tou *gesa, kesa, lekou, sa*.
- someone *gute*, Tou *ute*.
- something *uan*.
- son *otno*; sons *titno*;
son-in-law *rana*.
- song *sakul*.
- soon *masalaj*, Tou *masilaj*.
- sorcery *muso*.
- sore *egle*.
- soul *ano*.
- spatula, lime *damu*.
- speak Tou *pelio, uai*.
- spear *mter, ola*; spear, k.o. *marakete, pelpel, ponoio, roloj*.
- speech Tou *peliojjon, uaijan*.
- spill *baser*.
- spin *balilu*.
- spine *odoj, ola*.
- spirit, k.o. *ano, aulu*,
Tou *barau, barku, egle, malilu, mereba*.
- spit *omsok, uru*.
- splash *noprus*.
- splint *eiou daudej*.
- split *bak, nabak*.
- spotted pig *longolongo*.
- spouse Tou *asap, esna*,
Tou *najo*; spouses *sesna*.
- sprout *akai tuturno, akai ila rorojjon*, Tou *eljip, roro, uru*.
- spurt *nobotbot*.
- squat *mana reret*.
- squeal *kokiok*.
- squeeze *beberani*.
- squish *blak, nablak*.
- stab *mter*.
- stand *bri, puagene*.
- star *biku*, Tou *gigimo*.
- startle Tou *kepiuk, kopiuk, nemit*.
- stay *doj*.
- steal *panako*.
- stick *akai*; digging stick *apma*; walking stick *matu*; carrying stick *sigi*.
- still *dau*.
- stink *okus*.
- stir *buli*.
- stone *opmu*; stone oven *opmu*; whetstone *dule*; stone cliff face *perper*.
- stop *sakam*.
- story *basikjen, nasijen*.
- straight *osuk*, Tou *otou*.
- stranger *kaulei*.
- strangle Tou *nokol ge kere*.
- strike *mluk*.
- stump *akai batne*.
- subsist *doj*.
- suckle *inim sisu*.
- sudden *nogrom*.
- sugarcane *amra*.
- sun *oklou*.
- swamp *digor*.
- sweat bee *uame ma*.
- sweep Tou *gir*.
- sweet *galo*.
- sweet potato *serebatne*.
- swim *delim*, Tou *dolim, susu*.
- swollen *soj*.
- sword grass *ogu*.
- taboo *pono*.
- tail *gitno*; tail fin *melba*.
- take *due, paur*.
- talk Tou *pelio, uai*.
- talon *talpes*.
- tambaran *malilu, mereba*.
- tame *aim*.
- tap *nodunduj*.
- taro *esi*; taro spp *abar meila koro, aber, ablip, aborej, aiaj, aiklas, airipa, aisolom, aisuru, aitou, akas, alajek, alanga, alau kamna*,

alekmait, aliba,
amarios, amarmana,
anem, apare, aplau
koa, asaborek,
asuabi, ata, bani ina
ongup, birbir,
bogaia, boglai, buka
ila adaŋ, dibleik,
didim epis, diglou ila
adaŋ, ebiak, elan ila
padoŋon, epiep, gaga
silau, gegre, giu,
ioŋobu, iumu,
kabuluŋu, kamanggi,
kapepre, karikrik,
karok, karu, kaso,
kasu obor, kaulei,
keiau, kelisŋen, keno,
kindo, kirok ari,
kolia, komanar,
kuraŋi, lasi, laupu,
lemide, limla nobol,
malobe, malugi,
maorani, marumbe,
Tou meper, mimi,
molubak, monuk tena,
moro, mulbak,
nasukŋon, nopoakap,
ŋauri ila padoŋon,
onubik, paloke, paria,
pasimoŋa, paut, paut
amad, paut boi, paut
ladaŋ, paut maiku,
paut reri, peiauke,
saborek, sakalaŋ
obor, samel, sisil,
sisirglik, talo, taro
apna, tapak, tia,
ulegi, ulikulik ila
padoŋon, urabit, uru
la pot; taro paddle
naitar.

taste *dikŋen.*
 tattoo *bisik, bisikŋen.*
 tear *bak, nabak.*
 teeth *ene eri ine, ene*
otna.
 tell *didi, Tou pelio, uai.*

ten *soŋotno.*
 tendon *arnau, kanil.*
Terminalia catappa
talde.
 testicles *lesna.*
 that *are, ari, Tou ga,*
ka.
 thatch *aber, usu.*
 then *deka.*
 there *are, ari.*
 they *isak.*
 thigh *eser, kamlā*
palma.
 thing *uan.*
 think about *bitna didi.*
 thirsty *aki bel.*
 thirty *isetlu.*
 this *ane, Tou ga, ka.*
 three *etlu.*
 throw *uri.*
 thumb *limla tna.*
 thump *nebiŋ, nekrit,*
neplitplit, noduŋduŋ,
nokloŋkloŋ.
 thus *blaŋ, laŋ.*
 tibia *kamlā adiriŋ ine.*
 tie *bet, pou.*
 tin *tin.*
 to *Tou ge, ke.*
 tobacco *uasi; tobacco*
spp kauroko, kitkit,
malbak, marakete,
sigale.
 today *etnikane, Tou oku*
ane.
 toe *kamlā otno; toes*
kamlā kuskus, kamlā
tiŋno; little toe kamlā
saiki; big toe kamlā
tna; toenails kamlā
talpes.
 tomorrow *kotu; day*
 after tomorrow
kasak; in three days
kusik.

tongs *kaida.*
 tongue *ene blene; click*
 tongue *notoktok.*
 too *blaŋ.*
 top of *tona; top plate*
mlokŋon, pala.
 totem group *sabaiŋan.*
 trachea *keren.*
 tree *akai; tree spp*
abene, abit, ablip,
aboma, Tou adada,
adarak, adiba, agra,
agum balu, aile, ake,
akluŋ, aku, alau ina
amkou, alau kamna,
ameit, amka, amkou,
amugroŋ, anak, anuŋ,
aŋari, aŋomu, aplas,
apok, aplou, apulpu,
arebeŋ, arep, asal,
asar, ases, aslip elek,
atun, aulou, auram,
babli, bale, bana, Tou
bekei, belis, biaulul,
bilbil, birbir, boi,
bolo, bomso, borbor,
bususu, daga, daga
muđu, damkir,
darou, demelei,
derege, deuei,
dibayał, didim, dipil,
dogou, doko, dorgo,
egi, egloŋ, eiua, eiui,
emei otuk ine, emiak,
emle, emles, emliŋ,
endi, entir, epes,
eprim, esi ina sumuk,
esun, etnim, gemle,
giu, golo, ialu, iaum,
kabiu, kadai, kaiami,
kaium, kaklaŋ,
kakrou, karlaŋ,
karuŋua, kasiksik,
katal, keiau, kekele
matemate, Tou kidou,
kilal, kliŋo, kodae,
kolboŋo, kolpi,
koluam, kopos,

- kordo, kounorou, kualolo, kubi, kukli, kuri sikei, lanjani, laur, lein, lolon, luga, maiku, makul, malaŋ, malbak, manim, marak, maroŋgea, maruanŋe, masikarok, matagege, meresiou, merge mete, milui, modou, moŋai, mope, mopio, moral, Tou moruanŋe, mugou, mumli, mural, murulel, Tou namaiŋo, naŋam, naŋi, neŋir ina koba, nipu, nolon, obar, obluk, obul sisiou, obut, odir, oduk, olut, omur, opon, oroge, orok, osu, otu, pak, palu, parara, pei, pipi, pitua, pogo, polopolo, ponoio, ponomi, puai, putu, rumko, sabele, sael, saipumu, salalet, salom, salou, sanlou, sao, sapak, sasa, saule, selibule, slip, somkur, su, sunak, talde, tamara, tauiu, tauo, tekil, tiben, tikit, turit, urij tree ant kamulia.*
- Tridacna sp golomada. Trochus mese. troublemaker solo. true lokono, Tou loŋono. trumpet shell kuliep. trunk akai palma. try tok. tsktsk notoktok. turn bauluk, lelei. turtle ponu, Tou punu.*
- tusks, pig bole. twenty isoruo. twine bubuŋon; make twine bubu; make rope bul. twitch nebrik, nemitmit. two oruo. uncle adou, Tou gute, ŋoŋle, tumno. under bisna. unmarried auram, bela. unripe akat. up tito. upper arm limla paipai. urinate durie; urine marai. vegetable greens karuŋa. veins arnau. veranda motubu. very lokono, Tou loŋono. view palem. village armok; village periphery armok boul. vine kedue. voice kere. vomit mteke. vulva epit, paio. wake up pan. walk lila; walking stick matu. wall babro. wallaby Tou apare, apose. want uaike. warm self maraŋ. wash groŋ. wasp spp mirmir, ninoko, pu, sauriri. water aki; water container aki tarna; waterfalls aki nosur,*
- aki silmei, Tou aki kepiuk, Tou aki netik. wave nemilmil, nemitmit, Tou sauli. we imi, ite. weep kŋis, Tou tŋis. what sua. when lesen. where ge. whetstone dule. which sei, sua. whipsnake amaitou. whirlpool moule, Tou moulo. whisper neŋinŋin, nonuŋnuŋ. whistle Tou aliluet. white amal, okou; white pig paulik; whiteskin puda. who sei. whore merge tomo, solo. why Tou ge sua, ke sua. widow asap. widower aikos. wife Tou asap, esna; wives sesna. wild kebena, oŋua; wild food balinŋen. wind eŋen. wing pena; cassowary wing alau ina mosmosu. wipe sak. with buli, Tou ge, kap, ke. woman apmaŋ. wood akai. work boko. worms oglu. wounded fatally burua. wreck boŋ, kles. wring por.*

wrist <i>limla agune</i> .	yellow <i>balu, gaol</i> .	yonder <i>ari</i> .
yam spp <i>aitou, bidi, darpei, kukuai, mamim, oda, samegei</i> .	yesterday <i>narep</i> ; day before yesterday <i>ninuor</i> .	you <i>umu, uom</i> .
	yet <i>dau</i> .	Zinziber sp <i>emles</i> .

9. LAMOGAI LEXICON

- abi* N rat.
- adai* MOD negative, not. *puda adai* few. *gel adai* he hasn't come.
- adai no* MOD not yet. *gel adai no* he hasn't come yet.
- adaine* N juice, fluid [= *uri*]. *kamut adaine* sap.
- ade* N fence [= *ari, manjo*. > *onku*].
- agak* N large bamboo sp.
- agol* N leech.
- agu* > *aona*.
- agu* N/___ine neck, neck and shoulder area [> *riak*]. *kamla agune* ankle. *meila agune* wrist.
- ai* HL hey, oh. *ai. oduk itar oge tila kaino?* hey, where have all the people of this village gone?
- aiber* N/ino___ brother, sister, younger sibling or parallel cousin same sex [> *toboro*].
- aidaŋ* N eel [especially freshwater eel]. *aidaŋ musien ino* moray eel.
- aieŋ bate* N young men, bachelors. *elim aieŋ bate* the little girls.
- aikos* N widower [> *asap*].
- ailuk* ADJ different. *mu antumu ailuk silaŋ* your eyes are different.
- aim* ADJ tame. *kanem aim* tame pig.
- aimus* N cockroach sp [> *kambuk*].
- aine* N mouth of a river [> *aona*]. *Por aine* the mouth of the river Por.
- airok* N wallaby [= *apare, keney*].
- aisen* ADJ how many. *lumu sauro aisen?* how many children do you have?
- akap* QUANT two [> *kap*]. *elme akap* seven.
- akat* ADJ 1. unripe [≠ *sisiou*]; 2. raw [≠ *insak, lipma*].
- akenre* N bamboo sp used for making flutes.
- aki tna* N crocodile [= *poka*].
- akom* N hawk [= *ulakuos*].
- akra* N axe.
- alaŋ* ADJ big, important [> *kina bate, mamil*]. *oduk alaŋ alaŋ* the elders. *itar alaŋ* a big house.
- alat* ADJ bald. *apna alat* he's bald.
- alei* N basket sp [< Arove].
- alingo* ADJ old [≠ *taŋan*]. *itar alingo* old house.
- amal* N scar. *kaŋgu ino amal* I have a scar on my leg.
- amat* N 1. python; 2. generic for snake.
- amioka* N cassava, *Manihot utilissima* [= *tapiok* > *kondis*].
- amsak* N clearing, patch for planting.
- amum* ADJ dirty [of people. > *muso* ≠ *itau*].
- an* N/___ine 1. soul, spirit [> *barau, toptop*]; 2. name; 3. breath; 4. dream. *an ine la* his spirit has gone. *an inom gina?* what is your name? *an inoŋ rik pura* I had a dream about Europeans.
- anak* N/± *ino*___ pus.
- angraŋ* ADJ male [≠ *elim*].
- animir bate* N snake sp.
- anit* ADJ heavy [= *kadu* ≠ *markan*].
- ano* N place, season. *ano tok* earthquake [> *titlak*]. *ano itau* dry season [> *pakoro*].

anta N- eye, face [¶ *antuŋu*, *antem*, *anta*, *antise*=*anteda*, *antimi*, *antum*, *antesek*=*antedak*]. *antuŋu barta* my forehead. *antem losa* your eyeball. *itar anta* village plaza. *blu anta* midden heap.

anto N inside. *itar anto* inside the house. *kaŋgu anto* sole of my foot. *molugu anto* my palm. *elim namormor anto* amongst the bigwomen. *omoy anto* in the middle of the forest.

antuŋu > *anta*.

anuŋ N wild *Cordyline* spp [= *kaduk* > *mare*, *ulu*].

aŋaul N tree sp, *Canarium polyphyllum* [TP *galip*].

aŋgis N mangrove crab [≤ *kaso*].

aŋkal N net [especially a pig net > *golu*, *osi*].

aŋlek N honeycomb [made by stinging bee. > *uame*].

aŋon N flood.

aona N- 1. mouth [¶ *agu*, *aop*, *aona*, *aote*, *aopi*, *aopu*, *aosek* > *aine*]; 2. sharp. *agu tanra* my lips. *agu blene* my tongue. *agu kakai* my teeth. *udage aona* the knife is sharp. *udage aona put* the knife is dull.

apanal QUANT four. *elme apanal* nine.

apare N wallaby [= *airok*, *keney*].

apas N cloth. *apas kamut tanra* barkcloth. *apas muso* dirty cloth.

aplau N cockatoo.

apna N- head [¶ *apuŋu*, *apem*, *apna*, *apeda*, *apimi*, *apumu*, *apersek*]. *apersek nopu tupulu* they bumped heads. *apna alat* he's bald. *ŋaser apuŋu* I comb my hair.

apumu, *apuŋu* > *apna*.

aren ADJ little and unmarried. *emi aren* (*bate*) boys, bachelors. *elim aren* = *elim aienj bate* the little girls.

ari N fence [= *ade*, *maŋo* > *oŋku*].

aromta N cliff, ravine.

aruŋ N pond in a river.

asap N/± *ilo*__ 1. wife [> *pagat*]; 2. widow [> *aikos*]. *lugu asap akap* I have two wives. *isapu* his wife. *Geti isapu la pe iage* Geti's wife went to the garden.

asar N 1. strong river stone [used for stone oven]; 2. rapids [= *didlu*]; 3. reef.

asi N smoke. *ei asi* the fire is smoking.

asiŋir N charcoal.

asliŋ N grass sp.

ason N charred wood.

ata N/± *ilo*__ faeces [> *pipre*]. *ata beloy* I need to defecate.

aten N/± *ilo*__ friend.

auau N sugarcane, *Saccharum officinarum*.

aulop N tree sp, *Pometia pinnata*.

babia ADJ soft [≠ *kairak*].

babro N wall of a house.

baiu N clam sp [> *ebiak*].

bak-e VTR split, snap [> *nabak*].

bala MOD just, merely, only.

bale N mangrove, *Rhizophora* sp.

bale VI quickly, hurry. *ombale omo* come quickly.

balimu N grass sp [similar in appearance to maize].

bana N ironwood tree.

baŋne N/__*ine* jaw, cheek.

baŋbaŋ N bank. *ouri baŋbaŋ* river bank.

bar V drive pigs into net.

barau N spirit sp [TP *masalai* > *an*, *toptop*].

barta N top, forehead. *anta barta* his forehead. *kaŋgu barta* top of my foot.

baser V 1. spill [= *miniŋir*]; 2. pour [= *niŋir*]. *uri baser* the water spilled. *ŋabaser uri* I poured the water.

- bate* N/___±*ine* base, origin, stump. *emi areŋ bate* the little boys. *kamla bate* heel. *kamut bate* stump. *uri mana bate* the water container is half full. *bate inoŋ pe Morou* I was born in Morou.
- bau* N club for ritual execution of widows [*> dalip*].
- bauluk* VTR turn, stir, mix. *ombauluke* turn it over.
- beine* N- 1. ear [ŋ *beikoŋ, beikom, beine, beinte, beikmi, beikmu, beinsek*]; 2. gill flap.
- bel* VTR hurt, need [*> rap*]. *uri beloŋ* I'm thirsty. *marai beloŋ* I need to urinate. *ata beloŋ* I must defecate.
- bela bate* N/*elim*___ single women.
- beliŋ* N 1. spear; 2. spine [= *biliŋ*]. *ŋagraie pe beliŋ* I killed him with a spear. *taryan ino beliŋ* spines on sago.
- belis* N dove.
- berŋen* N meat, game, garnish [= *masuŋon*].
- berou* N magic [generic, but also hunting or love magic. *> paisŋen, munusaur*].
- bidabida* N bedbug.
- bile* N betel, *Areca catechu*.
- biliŋ* *> beliŋ*.
- biŋos* VI breathe.
- biso* N sea eagle.
- bisna* N/*meila*___ armpit.
- blaŋka* N like, as. *tou ore nes blaŋka lau* that man walks like a cassowary.
- blaŋno* ADV how. *ŋade blaŋno?* how do I do it?
- blene* N/*aona*___ tongue.
- blu anta* N midden heap.
- boi* N tree sp, *Homalium foetidum*.
- bolbolo* ADJ short [= *eket* ≠ *malkat*].
- bole* N boar. *kanem bole* boar.
- bomse* N/___*ine* lungs.
- bon* ADJ full [*> tanra*]. *uri bon* the water container is full.
- brane* N breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*.
- bris* ADJ overly ripe and going rotten [*> sisiou, meia*].
- bubla* N forest [= *omoy*].
- bublo* VI light, glow. *ei bublo* the fire is burning.
- bumbu* ADJ rough, bumpy [*> buno*].
- buno* N 1. knee, elbow; 2. knot. *meila buno* elbow. *kamla buno* knee. *kamut buno buno* knotty wood.
- buno* QUANT hundred.
- buria* VI swim.
- daga* N raintree or jacaranda, *Poinciana delnis* or *Samanea saman*.
- dalip* N club [anything used as a club. *> bau*].
- dauŋon* VI sick [= *sar*].
- de* VTR do, make, bring, take. *omde ŋodo bile me* bring my betel. *tide sakul* they sang a song. *ŋade blaŋno?* how do I do it? *omde sana?* what are you making?
- debel* VI laugh.
- degou* N tree sp [similar to *Terminalia*, but found in mountains and bearing a nut larger than that of *Canarium*].
- didlik* ADJ slippery [and wet. *> kelil*].
- didlu* N rapids [= *asar*].
- digor* N swamp, muddy place [*> ukaya*].
- dimor* ADJ red [= *dimotmot*].
- dimotmot* ADJ red [= *dimor*].
- digara* VI crawl. *emi digara* the child crawls.
- ditai* V follow upwards, climb. *taditai obrou* let's follow the ridge of the mountain up.
- dok* VTR cut. *midok ise* we superincised him.
- doko* ADJ nice and greasy.

donro N- nose [¶ *dorkoŋ, dorkom, donro, dorte, dorpmi, dorpmu, dorsek*].

duriep VI urinate [> *marai*].

e HL yes.

ebiak N freshwater clam spp [generic. > *baiu*].

ebir ADJ blue, green.

egiau N ginger sp, *Alpinia* sp.

egina PRON who plural [> *gina*]. *egina tipaur mu?* who escorted you?

egle N/± *ilo*__ sore. *kangu egle* I have a sore on my leg.

eglim ADJ white [first elicited but later rejected for *kaŋalŋal* and *pailuk* > *oglum*].

ei N fire. *omla omres ei* go make a fire. *ei me ŋatin uasi* get me a light for my cigarette. *ei isum* the fire died. *ei asi* the fire is smoking. *ei bublo* the fire is alight. *ŋaip ei* I blew on the fire. *ŋamaran ei isa* I'll warm up a little by the fire. *ei asi* the fire is smoking. *mle mres ei= mle muat ei* go build a fire.

eiuk N leaf wrapper for food [= *orou*].

ekei N 1. palm sp; 2. flooring.

eket ADJ short [= *bolbolo* ≠ *malkat*]. *eket ginou* quite short.

elim N 1. woman; 2. female [of people. > *angan, kina*]. *elim aien bate* girls. *elim namormor* bigwomen. *tikli elim pe Morou* they bought a woman at Morou. *elim tisun esin* women carry taro on their heads. *orugu elim* my daughter.

elme QUANT five. *elme isa* six. *elme akap* seven. *elme etlu* eight. *elme apanal* nine. *lugu itar elme akap* I have seven houses.

emi N child [> *iloumi*]. *emi tajan* baby. *emi aren* the boys.

emia ADV far [≠ *oluo, reit*].

emkil N portion, piece, share. *ŋap emkil uti uom* take your piece.

emles N ginger, *Zinziber* spp [= *sanger*].

emsik N comb [> *ser*].

eni > *oglum eni*.

engris N/± *ilo*__ nasal mucus, snot.

enil ADJ hot [≠ *epen*].

epen ADJ cold [≠ *enil*].

eper N ringworm.

epi ADJ wet [= *eplik* ≠ *kakrak, popok*].

eplik ADJ wet [= *epi* ≠ *kakrak, popok*].

epre N pan flute.

erei N rain [= *oruon*].

esin N taro.

etlu QUANT three. *elme etlu* eight.

gaguak ADJ yellow [= *gaol*].

gala ADJ lefthand [≠ *oduŋ*].

galo ADJ sweet.

gam VTR steal [> *gamgamjan*]. *tou gam udage* someone stole the knife.

gamgamjan N theft [< *gam*]. *tou gamgamjan ino* thief.

gaol ADJ yellow [= *gaguak*].

gar VTR cover, wrap. *ŋagar uasi* I wrap tobacco.

gara ADJ crazy [= *manamaŋa*].

gaugau N fog, mist.

ge DEM here [= *oge*]. *gina ka me ge?* who's that coming?

gegres N rattan sp, *Calamus* sp.

geil N shrimp, prawn [especially freshwater prawn]. *geil musien ino* lobster.

gel VI appear, arrive, happen. *omgel omla* go outside. *gel adai no* he hasn't arrived yet. *ue gel* the wind is blowing. *morou gel* it's bleeding.

gigi N carrying stick.

gigimo N star.

gime N mountain.

gina PRON who singular [> *egina*]. *an inom gina?* what is your name?

ginou N- child [especially son. ¶ *orugu, otum, ginou, ilarse... > emi, iloumi*]; 2. diminutive [> *mait*]. *ilarse elim* our daughters. *sadi ginou*. tiny. *eket ginou* quite short.

gis VTR hold. *omgise* hold it. *tagis melte tupulu* let's hold hands.

gitno N roots. *kamut gitno* roots.

gito N tail.

golomada N giant clam, *Tridacna*.

golou ADV without anything, alone. *ma golou* he just subsists.

golu N net bag used for food storage [= *gulu*].

gomot N canoe.

gongon N cage for transporting pigs.

grai VTR spear, stab, weave. *ηagraie pe beliη* I killed it with a spear. *grai kidika* she's making a basket.

groη VTR wash.

gulu > *golu*.

iage N garden.

ialu N tree sp, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

iarup N Malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*.

ias VTR dig.

ibo > *tumla*.

ido > *ino*.

ie PRON he, she, it [¶ *ηoη, uom, ie, ite, mi, mu, isek > ine, ilo, ino*]. *ηoη saη* me too. *mlua ηoη* help me. *kaklak ηoη* I'm itchy.

ilarse > *ginou*.

ilek > *ilo*.

ilo N- disposable possessive [¶ *lugu, lem, ilo, ilo, limi, lumu, ilek > ie, ine, ino*].

iloumi N- child, son, daughter [¶ *lugumi, lomomi, iloumi, iloumi, limimi, lumumi, ilek emi < ilo emi > emi, sauro*].

imle N vine.

in V drink. *ηain oηgup* I drank a coconut. *emi in usu* the child is suckling.

iname > *kina*.

ine N- inalienable possessive [¶ *inoη= inuη, inom= inum, ine, inte, inmi, inmu, insek > ie, ilo, ine, ino*].

ine N- oblique [¶ *toroη, torom, ine, terte, termi, termu, tersek > ine, pe*]. *ηalim ine* I'm afraid of him. *omkarouoη ine* give it to me. *emi lim torom* the child is afraid of you. *ηapopmo torom* I don't know you. *ηakanes torom pe Geti ka me* I told you that Geti would come.

ino N- edible possessive [¶ *ηado= ηodo, ηap= ηop, ino, ido, mpi, mpu, ηarek > ie, ilo, ine*]. *kanem ino aηkal* the pig's net. *aηkal kanem ino* a net for pigs. *ηado kuku inom* your vulva is mine to use [vulgar]. *ηado isom* your penis is mine to use [vulgar]. *ηap emkil uti uom* your share (of food) goes to you. *ηapai ηodo udage* I lost my knife.

inom, inoη > *ine*.

insak ADJ cooked [= *lipma ≠ akat*].

insek, inte, inum, inuη > *ine*.

ip VTR blow on. *ηaip ei* I blew on the fire.

iri VTR bear, give birth to. *elim iri emi taηan* the woman bore a new child.

is VTR have sexual intercourse with.

isa QUANT one, some. *elme isa* six.

isapanal QUANT forty.

isapu > *asap*.

ise N- penis [¶ *isoη, isom, ise, isere, ismi, ismu, isrek*]. *oruonise* rainbow.

isek PRON they D3P [> *ie*]. *Pransis isek* Francis and company.

iselme QUANT fifty.

isere > *ise*.

isetlu QUANT thirty.

ismi, ismu > *ise*.

isopagat > *pagat*.

isom, ison > *ise*.

isuroo QUANT twenty.

isum VI die, go out [> *uren*]. *ei isum*
the fired died.

itar N±ilo__ 1. woman's house [> *odiep*];
2. village. *oduk itar oge tila kaino?*
where have all the people of this village
gone? *elim, mumbrum ilo itar anta*
women, sweep our village plaza. *lugu*
itar akap I have two houses.

itau ADJ 1. good [≠ *soulu*]; 2. clean [≠
amum, muso]. *koikotu itau* good
morning. *oma itau ma kilik omlu* sit
down properly so that you won't fall
down. *ano itau* dry season.

ite PRON we IIP [> *ie*].

ka DEM that pointing [> *oge, ore, ori*].

kabur N/*kamla*__ calf. *kanju kabur*
my calf.

kada N/___ine back of head. *kada inon*
kisis the back of my head aches.

kadai N mango, *Mangifera indica*.

kadaja N post.

kadep N betel pepper, *Piper betle*.

kadu ADJ heavy [= *anit* ≠ *markan*].

kaduk N wild *Cordyline* sp [= *anuy* >
mare, ulu].

kaep > *kamla*.

kai VI down, descend. *ηakai ηala* I'm
going down. *oruon kai ma tatir* if it
rains, then let's stay.

kaida N bamboo tongs [= *kapiηen*].

kaine N- alone, by oneself [¶ *kanon*,
kanom, kaine, kainte, kainmi, kainmu
kainsek > *keine*]. *kanon ηala* I'm going
alone. *isek kainsek tila* they went by
themselves.

kaino ADV where. *mutir kaino?* where
are you staying?

kairak ADJ hard [= *koklon*, *namor* ≠
babia].

kakai N/___ine bone.

kakai N/*aona*__ teeth.

kakan N grasshopper sp found on
coconuts.

kaklak N/___± PRON itchy. *kaklak non*
I'm itchy. *mulugu kaklak* my hand is
itchy.

kaklon N pillow.

kakrak ADJ dry [= *popok* ≠ *epi, eplik*].

kakron N crow.

kalamtit N pig barrier built at the base
of a door.

kalaja N parrot.

kalaplap N butterfly.

kaluga N shark [= *seua*].

kambuk N cockroach sp [> *aimus*].

kamla N- foot, leg [¶ *kanju, kaep, kamla,*
kamte, kampi, kampu, kamsek]. *kamla*
sinle toes. *kamla touk* big toe. *kamla*
katalpis toenails. *kamla anto* sole of
foot. *kamla agune* ankle. *kamla barta*
top of foot. *kamla padijo* shin. *kamla*
kabur calf. *kamla bate* heel. *kamla*
buno knee. *kanju ino amal* I have a
scar on my leg.

kamlu VTR cook. *mukamlu tapiok ma*
tajen cook some tapiok so we can eat.

kamrip N tree sp, *Inocarpus fagiferus*.

kamulia N tree ant.

kamut N tree, wood, stick. *kamut tanra*
bark. *kamut meila* branch. *kamut mulo*
canopy of a tree. *kamut gitno* roots.
kamut ota seed, fruit. *kamut leina* trunk.
kamut bate stump. *kamut kolouna*
leaves. *kamut ilo roroηon* flowers.
kamut ino uri = *kamut adaine* sap.

kana N/___ine body. *kana inon mamil*
I'm fat.

kanem N pig, pork. *kanem bole* boar.
kanem kina sow. *kanem aim* tame pig.
kanem onua wild pig. (*kanem*) *palok*
wildboar that sires domestic pigs. *kanem*
ogu = *kanem pailuk* white pig.

maraiden brown pig. *morou= nakum* black pig. *tultuli* spotted pig.

kanes VI speak, talk, say. *ɲakanes torom pe Maria ka me* I told you that Maria is coming.

kanil N veins, tendons. *molugu kanil* veins in my arm.

kanom, kanou > kaine.

kaŋalŋal ADJ white [= *pailuk > eglim*].

kaŋgu > kamla.

kap VI dual, with, accompany, together [> *akap*]. *mukap mula?* are the two of you going? *ite takap tala* as for you and me, let's go. *takap tapopmo tupulu* we don't know one another.

kapak VTR catch.

kapiŋen N tongs [= *kaida*].

karban TEMP today, now [*nunŋo ino* two days ago. *nanrop ino* yesterday. *kotu* tomorrow. *kasak* in two days]. *karban ma tiuris time* they'll come back today.

karou VTR give. *omkarouŋ ine* give it to me. *karouŋ pe udage* he gave me a knife. *ɲakaroue (ine)* I gave (it) to him.

karuŋa N vegetable greens, *Abelmoschus manihot*.

kasa N/___pro happy [= *kili*]. *kasa ŋou* I'm happy.

kasak TEMP day after tomorrow, in two days [> *karban*].

kasakarkar N scales. *ouua ilo kasakarkar* fish scales.

kaso N crab [generic. \geq *taklou, aŋgis*].

katalpis N nail, claw. *kaŋgu katalpis* my toenail. *molugu katalpis* my fingernail.

katkatu V lie [= *katu*].

katu V lie, prevaricate [= *katkatu*].

kaukau N cuscus.

kaur N flute sp made of single piece of bamboo [= *pilol*].

kebena ADJ wild [= *ouua*].

kei VI fly. *monuk kei* birds fly.

kei VI want. *ɲakei ma omla* I want you to go.

keiau N bush hen.

kein V call, shout to. *egina ka tikein ori* who are they shouting over there. *Pransis keinoŋ ma ɲala* Francis shouted for me to go.

keine QUANT one [> *isa, kaine*]. *iselme soŋotno keine* sixty.

kelil ADJ smooth, slippery [> *didlik*].

keneŋ N wallaby [= *airok, apare*].

kidika N basket [especially handbasket]. *kidika ɲaŋo* large basket used for food. *ɲagrai kidika* I'm weaving a basket.

kik MOD first, for a minute. *omo kik* come here first.

kili N/___pro happy [= *kasa*]. *kili (kili) ŋou* I'm happy.

kilik > ma kilik.

kina N- mother [$\{$ *iname, kinom, kina, kindre, kinmi, kinmu, kinrek*]. *kanem kina* sow. *uame kina* sweat bee. *kinom ka me* you're mother is coming.

kina bate N huge [> *alaŋ, mamil*]. *itar kina bate* a huge house.

kiria N rattan sp, *Calamus* sp.

kirimpak N sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas*.

kiroro N iron kettle [formerly distributed by government].

kirpin VI cry, weep. *omkirpin sokol* stop crying.

kisis ADJ ache, hurt, pain. *tou inou kisis* I have a backache.

kisisleŋ N fuzz, barbs. *kamut kolouna kisisleŋ* fuzz on leaves.

kisŋi VI sneeze.

kli VTR buy, pay brideprice for. *tikli*

- elim pe Morou* they bought a woman in Morou.
- klijen* N small clam sp used with shell money to pay brideprice.
- kobom* N hourglass drum.
- kodoŋ* MOD completive, already. *tarra kodoŋ* it's empty. *ŋareke kodoŋ* I already know it. *me kodoŋ o, adaino?* has he come yet?
- kokloŋ* ADJ hard [= *kairak*, *namor* ≠ *babia*].
- kole* VI play. *emi tikole* the children are playing.
- koli* N sago hammer [= *kolia*].
- kolia* N sago hammer [= *koli*].
- kolok* ADJ crooked [≠ *oduŋ*].
- kolouna* N hair, leaf, feather, fur. *apersek kolouna* their hair. *monuk kolouna* feathers. *oulei kolouna* dog fur. *kamut kolouna* leaves.
- komduŋo* N ridgepole.
- kondis* N cassava sp, *Manihot* sp [> *amioka*].
- kopiuk* VI fall. *ouri kopiuk* waterfalls.
- koro* N woman's pubic apron.
- kotkotu* N morning [= *kutkutu*]. *ŋasasak pe kotkotu* I get up in the morning.
- kotu* TEMP tomorrow [= *kutu* > *karban*]. *kotu tala pe iage* tomorrow let's go to the garden.
- kounan* N turtle [< Arove. = *punu*].
- kram* VTR cut. *ŋakram molugu* I cut my hand.
- kriŋo* N beans [similar to wingbean, native to New Britain]
- krok* VTR break [across grain].
- kuako* N chicken.
- kualolo* N tree sp [similar to kapok; produces fluff used for stuffing pillows].
- kukop* V hide. *ŋala ŋakukop* I'm going to hide. *ŋakukop lugu udage* I hid my knife.
- kuku* N/___ine vulva. *ŋado kukune* her vulva is mine to use [vulgar].
- kulaluo* N adze.
- kuliep* N shell trumpet, *Charonia tritonis*.
- kun* VTR smell [> *miaŋan*]. *ulei kunoŋ* the dog is smelling me.
- kup* VTR sweep. *mukup pipia* sweep up the litter.
- kukutu* > *kotkotu*.
- kutu* > *kotu*.
- la* VI go, away [> *me*, *uti*]. *isek kainsek tila* they went by themselves. *tala taris* let's go bathe. *omsapirpire la* brush it away. *ŋala ŋakai* I went down. *sapule la* he pushed it away.
- labu* N sand.
- laikim* VTR like [< TP]. *ŋalaikimom* I like you.
- lam* N lamp [< TP]. *lam noplok* the lamp fell.
- lama* N foxfire, luminescent poisonous mushroom sp.
- laŋ* ADV/___DEM thus. *omde laŋ oge* do it this way.
- laŋo* N housefly.
- laŋokir* N bluebottle fly, *Calliphora* sp.
- lau* N cassowary.
- leina* N trunk, middle. *kamut leina* trunk of a tree. *oduk Kandoka tipaur mi pe sukuna leina* the Kandokans brought us along the road.
- lem* > *ilo*.
- lilia* VI walk.
- lilou* N rattan sp with little leaves, *Calamus* sp [used for making coiled baskets].
- lim* V/___ine fear. *ŋalim torom* I'm afraid of you. *emi lim ine* the child is afraid of it.
- limi* > *ilo*.
- limimi* > *iloumi*.

lipma ADJ cooked [= *insak* ≠ *akat*].

lolo VTR carry [especially on shoulder. > *sun*]. *oduk tilolo kanem ka me* people are carrying the pig this way. *omla omlolo ei me* go bring some fire.

lom VTR fold, bend. *yalom pepa* I fold paper. *yalom kangu* I bend my leg.

lomomi > *iloumi*.

loṅono ADJ true [= *roṅ*].

lopu N pitpit, *Saccharum spontaneum*.

losa N/___ ± *ine* testicles. *losa inoṅ* my testicles. *tou losa* a man's testicles. *antuṅu losa* my eyeball.

lou V/___ *ine* dislike. *yalou ine* I dislike it.

loup > *luto*.

lua V 1. help; 2. heal, cure. *omlua ṅoṅ* help me.

lugu > *ilo*.

lugumi > *iloumi*.

lui N dugong.

luku > *luto*.

lumu > *ilo*.

lumumi > *iloumi*.

luṅai N small knife made of bamboo [> *udage*].

luto N- sister, brother, sibling opposite sex [¶ *luku*, *loup*, *luto*, *lutre*, *lutmi*, *lutmu*, *lutrek*].

ma CJ and then, so that, if [> *ma kilik*]. *mukamlu tapiok ma taṅen* cook some cassava so that we can eat. *udage rap kangu ma morou gel* if I cut my leg on a knife, it would bleed. *karban ma tiuiris time* today they will come back. *an inoṅ rik pura isa ma time* I dreamt that some Europeans would come. *roṅ ma tala no* let's go later.

ma VI sit, stay, live [> *mana*]. *migel pe itar, oduk time tima pe itar adai* we arrived in the village and no one was living in the village. *lugu pagat ma pe*

iage my husband is staying in the garden. *pura ma* leave the European alone.

ma kilik CJ lest, watch out or. *oma itau ma kilik omlu* sit down properly or you'll fall.

magu N/± *ilo*__ armband.

mait SPEC very [> *ginou*]. *bolbolo mait* very short. *sadi mait* tiny.

makaduk VI sleep [> *mlok*].

makue N mushroom.

malel N bow [and arrow].

malkat ADJ long [≠ *bolbolo*, *eket*].

malmal N algae.

mamil ADJ big, fat [= *alay* ≠ *sadi*]. *kana inoṅ mamil* I'm fat. *taṅo mamil* a big stone.

mamim N yam sp, *Dioscorea esculenta* [TP *mami* > *nanan*].

mana VI stay, remain, hang [> *ma*]. *sana ka timana pe itar ore?* what are all those things in the house over there? *timana* they're staying. *elim ori sune ka mana* that woman's breasts are sagging.

maṅamaṅa ADJ crazy [= *gara*].

maṅo N fence [= *ade*, *ari*].

marai N/± *ilo*__ urine [> *duriep*]. *marai beloṅ* I have to urinate.

maraiden N brown pig sp that is striped with young.

marak N spiny vine sp.

marakete N iron-tipped spear.

marama N sandfly. *marama ṅenoṅ* sandflies are biting me.

maray ei VI get warmed up by a fire. *ṅamaray ei isa* I'll warm up a little by the fire.

mare N domestic *Cordyline* sp [> *anuṅ*, *kaduk*, *ulu*].

markan ADJ lightweight [≠ *anit*, *kadu*]

maro VI float [= *ples*].

- maruk* N boa constrictor.
- marum* TEMP afternoon.
- masilaŋ* TEMP soon. *masilaŋ ma gel* he'll arrive soon.
- masuŋon* N meat, game, garnish [= *berŋen*].
- mataŋtumla* N sorcery.
- matao* N frog.
- matauok* N snake sp.
- matolo* N cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis*.
- matu* N walking stick.
- max* HL come [used to call pigs only. Mouk *max*].
- mbrum* V sweep [< TP *brum* broom]. *elim mumbrum ilo itar anta* women, sweep our village plaza.
- me* VI come, this way [ŋ *ŋame*, *omo*=*mo*, *me*, *tame*, *mime*, *mumo*, *time* > *la*, *uti*]. *lugu kidika me* bring my basket. *ŋauris ŋame* I'll come back. *mumo ma tala* come and let's go. *mo kik* come here for a minute. *omsep omo* come inside.
- meia* ADJ rotten [> *bris*].
- meila* N- hand, arm [ŋ *molugu*=*mulugu*, *melep*, *meila*, *melte*, *melpi*, *melpu*, *melsek*]. *meila bisna* armpit. *molugu katalpis* my fingernails. *molugu touk* my thumb. *molugu siŋle* my fingers. *molugu buno* my elbow. *meila anto* his palm.
- melba* N paddle [= *pode*, *pue*].
- melep* > *meila*.
- melim* N bandicoot.
- melpi*, *melpu*, *melsek*, *melte* > *meila*.
- meper* N snake sp.
- meriaŋ* N hornbill.
- mese* N *Trochus* shell.
- mi* PRON we 1EP [> *ie*].
- miaŋan* N/± *ino*__ smell, odour [> *kun*].
- migilu* N fish sp.
- miniŋir* VI spill, pour [> *baser*, *niŋir*].
- uri miniŋir* the water spilled.
- mlok* VI sleep [> *makaduk*]. *mila mimlok* we're going to sleep.
- mlu* VI fall. *oma itau ma kilik omlu* sit down properly or you'll fall.
- mluk* VTR hit, kill. *oduk timluk pulu* people are fighting.
- mo* > *me*.
- mogolu* N intestines.
- molugu* > *meila*.
- momus* N cave, rock shelter.
- monuk* N bird. *monuk kolouna* feathers. *monuk pena* bird's wing.
- moroy* N black pig [= *nakum*].
- morou* N blood. *udage rap kangu ma morou gel* if I cut myself on a knife, it would bleed.
- mpi*, *mpu* > *ino*.
- mu* PRON you D2P [> *ie*]. *mu akap* = *mukap* you two. *mu etlu*. the three of you.
- mul* VTR clear. *mula mumul amsak* go clear a patch for planting.
- mulo* N head, canopy [> *apna*]. *kamut mulo* canopy of a tree. *uri mulo* headwaters of river.
- mulugu* > *meila*.
- munusaur* N love magic [> *berou*].
- musien* N sea, ocean. *aidaŋ musien ino* moray eel. *geil musien ino* lobster.
- muso* ADJ dirty [of things. > *amum* ≠ *itau*]. *apas muso* dirty cloth.
- nabak* VI break, broken [< *bak*]. *gomot nabak* the canoe is broken.
- naisen* TEMP when. *naisen ma tiuris time?* when will they come back?
- naitar* N taro paddle.
- nak* VTR pull [> *riri*]. *omnake* pull it.
- nakarkar* VI shiver.
- nakum* N black pig [= *moroy*].
- nalato* N bamboo smoking pipe.

nalia N rattan sp, *Calamus* sp. *elim uday nalia* women shred rattan [to make pubic aprons].

namaiŋo N banyan tree, *Ficus* sp.

namjen N digging stick.

namor ADJ 1. hard, strong [= *kairak, kokloy*]; 2. important [> *namormor*]. *morou namor kodoŋ* the blood has already coagulated. *tou namor*. bigman.

namormor ADJ important plural [< *namor*]. *oduk namormor* bigmen, elders. *elim namormor* bigwomen.

nanaj N yam sp, *Dioscorea* sp [TP *yam* > *mamim*].

nanrop ino TEMP yesterday [> *karban*]. *nanrop ino mila pe iage* we went to the garden yesterday.

nasi VI talk about [> *nasiŋen*]. *tanasi pe ilo sekia* let's talk about our ancestors.

nasiŋen N oral history, law. *nes nasiŋen* he's telling history.

nei VTR scrape, grate, scratch. *nei parak* she's scraping pandanus. *nei oŋgup* she's grating coconut. *omneioŋ* scratch me [I'm itchy].

nes VTR tell, relate [> *nasiŋen*]. *nes nasiŋen* he's telling history.

nes VI walk [> *lilia*]. *tou ore nes blaŋka lau* that man walks like a cassowary.

niniko N small wasp sp.

niŋir VTR pour, spill [= *baser* > *miniŋir*]. *ŋaniŋir uri* I poured the water.

no MOD still. *adai no*. not yet. *roŋ ma tal no* later let's go. *ka ma no* he's still here.

nokrus ADJ enough [= *sou*].

nomuk N mosquito.

noplok VI fall and break. *lam noplok* the lamp fell.

noplu VI run [= *soŋ, sioŋ*].

nopu VI bump. *apersek nopu tupulu* they bumped heads.

nunjo ino TEMP two days ago [> *karban*]. *ŋado* > *ino*.

ŋan N thing, something. *ŋan oge nabak* this is broken.

ŋanabu QUANT several, quite a few [> *puda*]. *ŋanabu adai* not many.

ŋaŋo > *kidika ŋaŋo*.

ŋaŋon N food [> *ŋen*].

ŋap, ŋarek > *ino*.

ŋen VTR eat [> *ŋaŋon*]. *ŋen ombos* he's smoking.

ŋes V chew betel.

ŋgo VI __± *ine* go ahead of, precede [≠ *pupru*]. *ŋaŋgo torom* I'll go ahead of you. *mgo mla* you go ahead.

ŋiri N coconut grater.

ŋodo > *ino*.

ŋoŋ PRON I, me D1S [> *ie*].

ŋop > *ino*.

o CJ or. *ŋan ori kina bate o sadi?* is that huge or small? *me kodoŋ o adai no* hasn't he come yet?

obor ADJ black.

obrop N ash.

obrou N mountain ridge.

obuk N hole.

obul N banana.

odiep N men's lodge [> *itar*].

odom N lime spatula.

oduk N people [> *tou*]. *oduk namormor* bigmen. *oduk alaŋ alaŋ* headmen. *oduk timluk pulu* the people are fighting.

oduŋ ADJ 1. straight [≠ *kolok*]; 2. righthand [≠ *gala*].

oge DEM this, here near me [> *ge, ore, ori, ka*]. *mde laŋ oge* do it this way. *tou oge roria* this man is skinny.

oglum N lime powder [> *eglim*].

oglum eri N lime powder gourd.

ogu N white pig [= *pailuk* > *kaŋalŋal*,

- eglim*].
- ogu* N sword grass, *Imperata* spp [= *ougu*].
- okiom* N tree sp, *Octomeles sumatrana*.
- oklou* N sun, day.
- oku no* TEMP for the first time. *ɲarek mukap oku no* I'm seeing you two for the first time.
- okua* ADJ young. *oduk okua* young men.
- olmut* N moss.
- olu* ADJ deep [> *toto*].
- oluo* ADV near [= *reit* ≠ *emia*].
- ombos* N tobacco [= *uasi*].
- omɲu* N/± *ilo* phlegm [> *omsok*].
- omɔŋ* N forest [= *bubla*]. *ɲapopmo pe omɔŋ (anto)* I got lost in the forest.
- omos* N obsidian.
- omot* N island.
- omsok* N/± *ilo* saliva, spit [> *omɲu*].
- omtu* N/___ *ine* hip.
- onu* N/___ *ine* gall bladder.
- onuk* N nest. *monuk ilo onuk* bird's nest.
- oŋgup* N coconut, *Cocos nucifera*. *oŋgup ino uri* coconut milk. *in oŋgup* he's drinking a coconut. *oŋgup ilo opot* sprout and pith of a coconut. *ompor oŋgup* wring out the coconut cream.
- oŋgup* N/___ *ine* chest.
- oŋku* N palisade [> *ade, ari, maŋo*].
- oŋoŋ* N blood clot, coagulated blood in chest of butchered pig.
- oŋua* N 1. fish [> *berɲen, masuŋon*]; 2. wild [= *kebena*]. *oŋua ilo sapiuŋ* fish fin. *oŋua beine* gill flap of a fish. *oŋua ilo rabo* gills of a fish. *oŋua ilo kasakarkar* fish scales. *kanem oŋua* wild pig.
- opmos* TEMP night.
- opon* N tree sp [used for making planks].
- opot* N sprout and pith. *oŋgup ilo opot* sprout and pith of a coconut.
- opus* N/± *ilo* bed.
- ore* DEM that, there near you [> *oge, ori, ka*].
- ori* DEM that over there remote from you and me, yonder [> *oge, ore, ka*]. *lem kanem ori?* is that your pig over there?
- orou* N leaf wrapper [= *eiuk*].
- orugu* > *ginou*.
- oruon* N rain [= *erei*]. *oruon kai ma tatir* if it rains then let's stay. *oruon ise* rainbow.
- osi* N net sp for freshwater prawns and fish [made of *imle*].
- osou* N path [= *sukuna leina*].
- osu* N/___ *ine* breasts [= *su* > *in*]. *osune = sune* her breasts. *emi in usu* the child is suckling.
- osua* N shield.
- ota* N fruit, seed. *kamut ota* seed or fruit of a tree.
- otou* N punting pole.
- otu* N louse.
- otum* > *ginou*.
- ougu* > *ogu*.
- oulei* N dog [= *ulei*]. *oulei ilo umi* puppy. *ulei kunɔŋ* a dog is smelling me.
- ouri* > *uri*.
- padiŋo* N/kamla___ shin.
- padpada* N pandanus sp with large succulent fruit.
- paduk* VTR gather. *tipaduk oŋgup* they're gathering coconuts.
- pagat* N/ilo___ husband. *lugu pagat* my husband. *isopagat* her husband. *Maria isopagat la pe iage* Maria's husband with to the garden.
- pai sakul* V sing, dance [= *de sakul*].
- paidala* N pig tusks.
- pailuk* N 1. white [= *kaŋalɲal* > *eglim*];

2. white pig [= *ogu*].
- paip* VTR lose [> *popmo*]. *ɲapaip ɲodo udage* I lost my knife.
- pais* VTR heal, cure [> *paisɲen*]. *ɲapais uom* I'll cure you.
- paisɲen* N healing magic [< *pais* > *berou*].
- pakoro* N rainy season [> *ano itau*].
- palok* N wild boar that sires domestic pigs.
- palu* N tree sp, *Hibiscus tilaeaceus*.
- pane* VI up, ascend [= *sai*]. *tapane pe gime* let's climb the mountain. *ɲapane ɲala* I went up.
- pangres* VI snore.
- parak* N pandanus, pandanus mat. *nei parak* she's scraping pandanus. *sisir parak* she's sewing up a sleeping mat.
- paria* N monitor lizard.
- paro* N basket.
- parok* VI polygny, marry more than one woman. *tiparok* they're in a polygynous marriage.
- paur* VTR bring, escort. *oduk Kandoka tipaur mi pe sukuna leina* the Kandokans brought us along the road. *tipaurte* they brought us.
- pe* PREP at, with, to, in. *tala pe Aria* let's go to the Aria river. *oduk tigel pe itar kodon* the people have already arrived in the village. *lugu pagat ma pe iage* my husband is staying in the garden. *ɲakanes torom pe Geti ka me* I told you that Geti would come. *tanasi pe ilo sekia* let's talk about our ancestors. *karouon pe udage* he gave me a knife. *ɲasasak pe kotkotu* I get up in the morning. *tou ore me pe sana?* why did that man come? *ɲagraie pe beliɲ* I killed him with a spear. *bate inon pe Morou* I'm from Morou.
- pele* N/___ine belly.
- pelet* N plate, dish [< TP].
- pena* N wing. *monukpena* a bird's wing.
- perpen* VI slow. *tapenpen bala* let's just take our time.
- pepa* N paper [< TP].
- perper* N chalk.
- piauke* N bird sp.
- pig* N/___ine buttocks.
- pilol* N flute sp made of a single piece of bamboo [= *kaur*].
- pipia* N litter [< TP = *tokenkon*].
- pipre* VI defecate [> *ata*].
- ples* VI float [= *maro*].
- pmarsek, pmarte, pmimi, pmumu > tumla.*
- pode* N paddle [= *melba, pue*].
- poka* N crocodile [= *aki tna*].
- polpol* N litter for carrying a sick person.
- popmo* VI lost [> *paip*]. *ɲapopmo pe omon* I got lost in the forest. *lugu udage popmo* my knife is lost.
- popmo* VI/___±ine not know [> *rik*]. *takap tapopmo tupulu* we two don't know one another. *ɲapopmo torom* I don't know you.
- popok* ADJ dry [= *kakrak*].
- por* VTR wring out. *ompor ongup* wring out the coconut cream.
- porior* VTR squeeze.
- pos* VI fart with little noise [> *use*].
- pou* VTR tie. *mpou kanem* tie up the pig.
- puda* QUANT many. *puda adai* few.
- pue* N paddle [= *melba, pode*].
- pugiok* VI vomit.
- pulu* PRON reciprocal [= *tupulu*]. *oduk timluk pulu* people are fighting. *takap tapopmo tupulu* we two don't know one another. *apersek nopu tupulu* they bumped heads. *tagis melte tupulu* let's hold hands.
- punu* N turtle [= *kounan*].
- pupru* VTR follow. *ɲapupruom* I'll follow you.

- pupu* N/___ine liver.
- pura* N European.
- put* VTR extract, pull out, dig up. *mput esin* pull up the taro.
- put* ADJ dull. *udage aona put* the knife is dull.
- rabo* N gills. *oŋua ilo rabo* gills of a fish.
- raŋ* VTR heat up. *muraŋe* heat it up [eg. food that is cold].
- rap* VTR cut, harm. *sapaŋa rapoŋ* I'm hungry. *udage rap kaŋgu* the knife cut my leg.
- reit* ADV close, near [= *oluo* ≠ *emia*].
- rek* > *rik*.
- res* VTR/___ei make a fire [= *uat*]. *mla mres ei* go make a fire.
- riak* N/___ine shoulder.
- rik* VTR 1. see [= *rek*]; 2. know [> *popmo*]; 3. that, relative [> *pe*]. *tirekte* = *tirikte* they see us. *ŋareke kodoŋ* I already know. *an inoŋ rik pura isa ma time* I dreamt that some Europeans would come. *Rik an ine rik Riko* Rick dreamt about mount Riko.
- rip* VTR chop down.
- riri* VTR/___± *gomot* pull, drag [> *nak*]. *tariri gomot*. let's pull the canoe.
- ris* VI bathe. *tala taris* let's go bathe.
- roŋ* ADJ true [= *loŋono*].
- roŋ* TEMP/___...no later. *roŋ ma tala no* later, let's go.
- roŋon* VI/___± *ine* hear. *ŋaroŋon torom* I hear you.
- roria* ADJ skinny.
- roro* VI bloom [> *roroŋon*]. *kamut roro kodoŋ* the tree is already in bloom.
- roroŋon* N flower [< *roro*]. *kamut ilo roroŋon* the flowers of a tree.
- sadi* ADJ little. *sadi ginou* tiny. *sadi mait* very small.
- sai* V up, climb [= *pane*]. *ŋasai oŋgup* I'll climb the tree.
- saiko* N moon.
- sak* VTR rub.
- sakul* N song. *de sakul* = *pai sakul* he's singing a song.
- sakul tumla* N snake sp.
- sana* PRON what. *mde sana?* what are you doing? *tou ore me pe sana?* why did that man come?
- saŋ* MOD again, too. *ŋoŋ saŋ* me too. *kanem silaŋ oge* = *kanem saŋ oge* there's another pig.
- saŋga* N ladder.
- saŋger* N ginger, *Zinziber* spp [= *emles*].
- sapaiua* N bat, flying fox.
- sapaŋa* N hunger, famine. *sapaŋa rapte* we're hungry.
- sapirpir* VTR brush away. *omsapirpire la* brush it away.
- sapiuŋ* N fin. *oŋua ilo sapiuŋ* fin of a fish.
- sapul* VTR push. *msapulon sokol* stop pushing me.
- sar* VI sick [= *daŋon*].
- sasak* VI wake up. *ŋasasak pe kotkotu* I wake up in the morning.
- sasup* N flute sp made of a bundle of lengths of bamboo.
- sau* VTR hunt. *sau kanem* he's hunting pigs.
- sauriri* N large wasp sp.
- sauro* N/ilo___ children plural [> *emi, ginou, iloumi*]. *lumu sauro aisen?* how many children do you have?
- sedik* N salt ash.
- sekia* N ancestors. *tanasi pe ilo sekia* let's talk about our ancestors.
- seŋle* > *siŋle*.
- sep* VI in, enter. *msep omo* come in.
- ser* VTR comb [> *emsik*]. *ŋaser apuŋu* I comb my hair.

seua N shark [= *kaluga*].
silanj QUANT another.
single N finger, toe [= *seple*]. *kangu single*. my toes. *molugu single* my fingers.
sioŋ > *soŋ*.
sirba N cloud.
sisil N/___ine brains.
sisiou ADJ ripe [≠ *akat* > *bris*].
sisir VTR sew. *tisisir parak* they're sewing up pandanus mats.
sokol MOD dehortative, don't, stop...-ing. *mkirpin sokol* don't cry.
somoro N river snails.
soŋ VI run [= *noplu*, *sioŋ*].
soŋ VI swollen.
soŋotno QUANT ten.
sopsop N point, peninsula.
sou ADJ enough [= *nokrus*].
soulu ADJ bad [≠ *itau*].
sousou N broom.
su > *osu*.
sukuna N road, path [= *osou*]. *oduk Kandoka tipaurmi pe sukuna leina* the Kandokans brought us along the road.
sumugu ADJ pregnant.
sun VTR carry on head [> *lolo*]. *elim tisun esin* women carry taro on their heads.
sunta N door. *itar ino sunta* door of a house.
suŋu N snake sp.
tabila N wooden dish imported from Siasi islands via north coast [> *tumro*].
tabolbol N landsnail sp.
taklou N river crab sp [≤ *kasu*].
tanra N skin. *agu tanra* my lips. *kamut tanra* bark. *apas kamut tanra* cloth. *oglum tanra* lime powder container. *uri tanra* the water container is empty.
tanŋan ADJ new [≠ *aliŋgo*]. *elim iri emi*

tanŋan the woman had a new baby.
tanguri N jawharp.
tano N stone.
taper VTR throw. *mtapere me* throw it this way.
tapiok N cassava, *Manihot utilissima* [< TP = *amioka* > *kondis*].
tarau N tree sp, variety of mangrove found inland.
tarŋan N sago, *Metroxylon* spp.
teker N rattan sp with large leaves, *Calamus* sp.
teŋi N shell money.
termi, *termu*, *tersek*, *terte* > *ine*.
tiku TEMP just now. *tiku tigel* they arrived just now.
tin VTR burn, light. *ŋatin akenre* I lit the bamboo. *ei me ŋatin uasi* hand me some fire to light a cigarette.
tir VI stand, stay. *mutir kaino?* where are you staying?
titik VTR count. *titik teŋi* they're counting shell money.
titlak N ground, earth [> *ano*].
titrak VTR scratch. *marak titrakonŋ* the vine sp scratched me.
tna > *aki tna*.
toboro N/ino___ brother, sister, older sibling or parallel cousin same sex [> *aiber*].
tok VI shake. *ano tok* earthquake.
tokonkon N litter, dust.
toptop N spirit sp [TP *tambaran* > *an, barau*].
torom, *toronŋ* > *ine*.
toto ADJ shallow [≠ *olu*].
tou N man, person, someone. *tou namor* bigman. *tou pangres* someone is snoring. *tou gamgam ino* thief.
tou N/___ine back. *tou inonŋ kisis* I have a backache.

touk N thumb, big toe. *molugu touk* my thumb. *kan̄gu touk* my big toe.

tubutno N egg. *kuako tubutno* chicken eggs.

tultuli N white pig with black spots.

tumla N- father, father's brother [¶ *ibo*, *tumom*, *tumla*, *pmarte*, *pmimi*, *pmumu*, *pmarsek*]. *matan̄ tumla* sorcery. *sakul tumla* snake sp.

tumro N wooden dish imported from Siasi islands via north coast [> *tabila*].

tupulu > *pulu*.

uai VTR build. *ηauai itar* I built a house.

uame N honeycomb [made by non-stinging bee. > *an̄lek*]. *uame kina* sweat bee.

uami N betel mortar.

uasek VTR plant. *ηala ηauasek esin* I'm going to plant taro.

uasi N tobacco [= *ombos*].

uat VTR/ __ei build fire [= *res*].

udage N large knife [> *luηai*]. *udage aona put* a dull knife. *udage aona* a sharp knife.

udaη VTR shred. *elim udaη nalia* the woman is shredding rattan leaves.

ue N wind. *ue gel* the wind is blowing.

ukana N mud [> *digor*].

ul VTR marry. *ηaul elim akap* I married two women.

ulakuos N hawk [= *akom*].

ulei > *oulei*.

ulo N clay pot.

ulu N red *Cordyline* [> *anuη*, *kaduk*, *mare*].

uom PRON you D2S [> *ie*].

uren VI die [> *isum*]. *tou uren* someone died.

uri N 1. water, river [= *our̄i*]; 2. juice, fluid [= *adaine*]. *uri belon̄* I'm thirsty. *uri mulo* headwaters of a river. *uri aine* mouth of a river. *ouri ban̄ban̄* river bank. *ouri kopiuk* waterfalls. *ongup ino uri* coconut milk. *uri tanra* the water container is empty. *uri bon* the water container is full. *uri mana bate* the water container is half full. *kamut ino uri* = *kamut adaine* sap.

uris VI return, back. *naisen ma tiuris time?* when will they come back? *muris mla* go back.

use VI noisy fart [> *pos*].

usu > *in*, *osu*.

uti VI go, move [no direction. > *la*, *me*]. *ηap emkil uti* your share should go.

10. ENGLISH-LAMOGAI FINDER LIST

about *pe*.

accompany *kap*.

ache *kisis*.

adze *kulaluo*.

afraid *lim*.

afternoon *marum*.

again *saj*.

algae *malmal*.

alone *kaine*, *golou*.

along *leina*.

Alpinia sp *egiau*.

already *kodon̄*.

also *saj*.

amongst *anto*.

ancestors *sekia*.

and *ma*.

ankle *kamla agune*.

another *silaη*.

ant *kamulia*.

appear *gel*.

apron *koro*.

Areca catechu *bile*.

arm *meila*; armband

magu; armpit *meila*

bisna.

arrive *gel*.

Artocarpus altilis *brane*.

as *blaηka*.

ascend *pane*.

ash *obrop*; salt ash *sedik*.

at *pe*.

away *la*.

axe *akra*.

- baby *emi tajan*.
 bachelor *aren, aiej bate*.
 back *tou*; back of head *kada*; go back *uris*.
 bad *soulu*.
 bag *golu*.
 bald *alat*.
 bamboo spp *agak, akenre*.
 banana *obul*.
 bandicoot *melim*.
 bank of river *uri banjan*.
 banyan *namaijo*.
 barbs *kisislej*.
 bark *kamut tanra*.
 barkcloth *apas kamut tanra*.
 base *bate*.
 basket spp *alei, kidika, paro*.
 bat *sapaiua*.
 bathe *ris*.
 beans *krijo*.
 bear *iri*.
 bed *opus*.
 bedbug *bidabida*.
 bee *uame kina*.
 belly *pele*.
 bend *lom*.
 betel *bile*; betel mortar *uami*; betel pepper *kadep*; chew betel *jes*.
 big *alaj, kina bate, mamil*.
 big toe *kamla touk*.
 bigman *tou namor*.
 bigwomen *elim namormor*.
 bird *monuk*; bird spp *akom, aplau, belis, biso, kakron, kalaŋa, keiau, kuako, meriaŋ, piauke, ulakuos*.
 birth *iri*.
 black *obor*; black pig *moron, nakum*.
 bleed *gel*.
 blood *morou*.
 bloom *roro*.
 blow *gel, ip*.
 blue *ebir*.
 bluebottle fly *lanjokir*.
 boa constrictor *maruk*.
 boar *bole, palok*.
 body *kana*.
 bone *kakai*.
 bow and arrow *malel*.
 box *gongon*.
 boys *emi aren*.
 brains *sisil*.
 branch *kamut meila*.
 breadfruit *brane*.
 break *krok, nabak, noplok*.
 breasts *osu*.
 breath *an*.
 breathe *biŋos*.
 bring *de, paur*.
 broken *nabak*.
 broom *sousou*.
 brother *aiber, luto, toboro*.
 brown pig *maraiden*.
 brush away *sapirpir*.
 build *uai*.
 bump *nopu*.
 bumpy *bumbu*.
 burn *bublo, tin*.
 bush hen *keiau*.
 butterfly *kalaplap*.
 buttocks *pig*.
 buy *kli*.
 by oneself *kaine*.
 cage *gongon*.
 Calamus spp *gegres, kiria, lilou, nalia, teker*.
 calf *kamla kabur*.
 call *kein*.
 Calliphora sp *lanjokir*.
 Canarium polyphyllum *anaul*.
 canoe *gomot*.
 canopy *kamut mulo*.
 carry *lolo, sun*; carrying stick *gigi*.
 cassava *amioka, kondis, tapiok*.
 cassowary *lau*.
 Casuarina equisetifolia *ialu*.
 catch *kapak*.
 cave *momus*.
 chalk *perper*.
 charcoal *asinjir*.
 Charonia tritonis *kuliep*.
 charred wood *asonj*.
 cheek *banje*.
 chest *ongup*.
 chew betel *jes*.
 chicken *kuako*.
 child *emi, ginou, iloumi*; children *sauro*.
 chop down *rip*.
 clam spp *baiu, ebiak, golomada, kliŋen*.
 claw *katalpis*.
 clay pot *ulo*.
 clean *itau*.
 clear *mul*.
 clearing *amsak*.
 cliff *aromta*.
 climb *ditai, sai*.

- close *oluo, reit*.
 clot *oŋoŋ*.
 cloth *apas*.
 clouds *sirba*.
 club *bau, dalip*.
 cockatoo *aplau*.
 cockroach *aimus, kambuk*.
 coconut, *Cocos nucifera* *oŋgup*; coconut grater *ŋiri*; coconut milk *oŋgup ino uri*.
 cold *epen*.
 comb *emsik, ser*.
 come *max, me*.
 completive *kodoŋ*.
 constrictor *maruk*.
 container *tanra*.
 cook *kamlu*.
 cooked *insak, lipma*.
Cordyline spp *anuŋ, kaduk, mare, ulu*.
 count *titik*.
 cover *gar*.
 crab *kaso*; crab spp *anggis, taklou*.
 crawl *digara*.
 crazy *gara, maŋamaŋa*.
 crocodile *aki tna, poka*.
 crooked *kolok*.
 crow *kakroŋ*.
 cry *kirpin*.
 cure *lua, pais*.
 cuscus *kaukai*.
 cut *dok, kram, rap*.
 cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis* *matolo*.
 dance *pai sakul, de sakul*.
 daughter *ginou elim, iloumi*.
 day *oklou*.
 deep *olu*.
 defecate *pipre*.
 dehortative *sokol*.
 descend *kai*.
 die *isum, uren*.
 different *ailuk*.
 dig *ias*.
 dig up *put*; digging stick *namŋen*.
 diminutive *ginou*.
Dioscorea spp *mamim, nanan*.
 dirty *amum, muso*.
 dish *pelet, tabila, tumro*.
 dislike *lou*.
 disposable possessive *ilo*.
 do *de*.
 dog *oulei*.
 don't *sokol*.
 door *sunta*.
 dove *belis*.
 down *kai*.
 drag *riri*.
 dream *an*.
 drink *in*.
 drive *bar*.
 drum *kobom*.
 dry *kakrak, popok*; dry season *ano itau*.
 dual *kap*.
 dugong *lui*.
 dull *put*.
 dust *tokenkon*.
 each other *pulu*.
 eagle *biso*.
 ear *beine*.
 earth *titlak*; earthquake *ano tok*.
 eat *ŋen*.
 edible possessive *ino*.
 eel *aidaŋ*.
 egg *tubutno*.
 eight *elme etlu*.
 elbow *meila buno*.
 elder *oduk alaŋ*.
 empty *tanra*.
 enough *nokrus, sou*.
 enter *sep*.
 escort *paur*.
Eugenia malaccensis *iarup*.
 European *pura*.
 extract *put*.
 eye *anta*; eyeball *anta losa*.
 face *anta*.
 faeces *ata*.
 fall *mlu, noplok*.
 famine *sapaŋa*.
 far *emia*.
 fart *pos, use*.
 fast *bale*.
 fat *mamil*.
 father *tumla*.
 fear *lim*.
 feathers *monuk kolouna*.
 female *elim*.
 fence *ade, ari, maŋo*.
 few *puda adai*.
Ficus sp *namaiŋo*.
 fifty *iselme*.
 fight *mluk*.
 fin *sapiuŋ*.
 finger *meila siŋle*; fingernails *meila katalpis*.
 fire *ei*.
 first *kik*.
 first time *oku no*.
 fish *oŋua*; fish sp *migilu*.
 five *elme*.
 float *maro, ples*.
 flood *aŋon*.

flooring *ekei*.
 flower *roro, roroŋon*.
 fluid *adaine, uri*.
 flute, k.o. *epre, kaur, pilol, sasup*.
 fly *kei*.
 fly spp *lanjo, lanjokir*.
 flying fox *sapaiua*.
 fog *gaugau*.
 fold *lom*.
 follow *pupru*.
 follow upward *ditai*.
 food *ŋaŋon*.
 foot *kamla*.
 forehead *anta barta*.
 forest *bubla, omoŋ*.
 forty *isapanal*.
 four *apanal*.
 foxfire *lama*.
 friend *aten*.
 frog *matao*.
 fruit *kamut oia*.
 full *mana bate, bon*.
 fur *kolouna*.
 fuzz *kisisleŋ*.
 galip *aŋaul*.
 gall bladder *onu*.
 game *berŋen, masuŋon*.
 garden *iage*.
 garnish *berŋen, masuŋon*.
 gather *paduk*.
 giant clam *golomada*.
 gill flap *beine*.
 gills *rabo*.
 ginger, *Alpinia* sp *egiau*; ginger, *Zinziber* sp *emles, saŋger*.
 girls *elim aieŋ bate, bela bate*.
 give *karou*.
 give birth *iri*.

glow *bublo*.
 go *la, uti*; go back *uris*; go out *isum*.
 good *itau*.
 gourd *oglum eni*.
 grass spp *asliŋ, balimu, ogu*.
 grasshopper *kakan*.
 grate *nei*; grater *ŋiri*.
 greasy *doko*.
 green *ebir*.
 greens *karuŋa*.
 ground *tiitak*.
 grue *ebir*.
 hair *apna kolouna*.
 half-full *mana bate*.
 hammer, sago *koli, kolia*.
 hand *meila*.
 hang *mana*.
 happen *gel*.
 happy *kasa, kili*.
 hard *kairak, kokloŋ, namor*.
 harm *rap*.
 hawk *akom, ulakuos*.
 he *ie*.
 head *apna*; back of head *kada*; carry on head *sun*; headwaters *uri mulo*; head of tree *kamut mulo*.
 heal *lua, pais*; healing magic *paisŋen*.
 hear *roŋon*.
 heat up *raŋ*.
 heavy *anit, kadu*.
 heel *kamla bate*.
 help *lua*.
 here *ge, oge*.
 hey *ai*.
Hibiscus tileaceus *palu*.

hide *kukop*.
 hip *omtu*.
 history *nasiŋen*.
 hit *mluk*.
 hold *gis*.
 hole *obuk*.
Homalium foetidum *boi*.
 honeycomb *aŋlek, uame*.
 hornbill *meriaŋ*.
 hot *enil*.
 hourglass drum *kobom*.
 house *itar, odiep*.
 housefly *lanjo*.
 how *blaiŋno*.
 how many *aisen*.
 huge *kina bate*.
 hundred *buno*.
 hunger *sapaŋa*.
 hunt *sau*.
 hurry *bale*.
 hurt *bel, kisis*.
 husband *pagat*.
 I *ŋoŋ*.
 if *ma*.
Imperata *ogu*.
 important *alaŋ, namor*.
 in *pe, sep*.
 inalienable possessive *ine*.
Inocarpus fagiferus *kamrip*.
 inside *anto*.
 intestines *mogolu*.
Ipomea batatas *kirimpak*.
 iron kettle *kiroro*.
 iron-tipped spear *marakete*.
 ironwood *bana*.
 island *omot*.
 it *ie*.

- itchy *kaklak*.
 jacaranda *daga*.
 jaw *bayne*.
 jawharp *tanguri*.
 juice *adaine, uri*.
 just *bala*; just now
 tiku.
 kambang *oglum*.
 kill *mluk*.
 kin, terms for *aiber*,
 aikos, asap, aten,
 ginou, iloumi, luto,
 pagat, sauro, sekia,
 toboro, tumla.
 knee *kamla buno*.
 knife *luṅai, udage*.
 knot *kamut buno*.
 know *rik*; not know
 popmo.
 ladder *sanṅa*.
 lamp *lam*.
 later *roṅ.. no*.
 laugh *debel*.
 law *nasijen*.
 leaf *kamut kolouna*.
 leaf wrapper *eiuk,*
 orou.
 leech *agol*.
 lefthand *gala*.
 leg *kamla*.
 lest *ma kilik*.
 lie *katu, katkatu*.
 light *bublo, ei, tin*.
 lightweight *markan*.
 like *blanṅka, laikim*.
 lime powder *oglum*;
 lime gourd *oglum*
 eni; lime spatual
 odom.
 lips *aona tarra*.
 litter *pipia, tokonkon*.
 litter, bed *polpol*.
 little *sadi*.
 live *ma*.
 liver *pupu*.
 lizard *paria*.
 lobster *geil musien ino*.
 long *malkat*.
 lose *paip*; lost *popmo*.
 louse *otu*.
 love magic *munusaur*.
 lungs *bomse*.
 magic *berou,*
 munusaur, paisjen.
 make *de*; make fire
 res ei, uat ei.
 malay apple *iarup*.
 male *anṅraṅ*.
 man *tou*.
 mango *kadai*.
 mangrove *bale, tarau*;
 mangrove crab
 aṅgis.
 manioc, *Manihot*
 utilissima amioka,
 kondis, tapiok.
 many *puda*.
 marry *ul*.
 masalai *barau*.
 mat *parak*.
 me *ṅoṅ*.
 meat *berṅen, masuṅon*.
 men *oduk*; young men
 aieṅ bate; men's
 lodge *odiep*.
 merely *bala*.
Metroxylon tarṅan.
 midden *blu anta*.
 middle *leina*.
 mist *gaugau*.
 mix *bauluk*.
 money *teli*.
 monitor lizard *paria*.
 moon *saiko*.
 moray eel *aidanṅ musien*
 ino.
 morning *kotkotu*.
 mortar for betel *uami*.
 mosquito *nomuk*.
 moss *olmut*.
 mother *kina*.
 mountain *gime*.
 mountain ridge *obrou*.
 mouth *aona*.
 mouth of river *uri aine*.
 move *uti*.
 mucus *eṅgris*.
 mud *digor, ukaga*.
 mushroom *makue*;
 mushroom sp *lama*.
 nail *katalpis*.
 name *an*.
 nasal mucus *eṅgris*.
 near *oluo, reit*.
 neck *agu*.
 need *bel*.
 negative *adai*.
 nest *onuk*.
 net *aṅkal, osi*; net bag
 golu.
 new *tarṅan*.
 night *opmos*.
 nine *elme apanal*.
 nose *donro*.
 not *adai*; not yet *adai*
 no.
 now *karban*; just now
 tiku.
 nurse *in usu*.
 oblique *ine*.
 obsidian *omos*.
 ocean *musien*.
Octomeles sumatrana
 okiom.
 odour *mianṅan*.
 oh *ai*.
 old *alingo*.
 on *pe*.
 one *isa, keine*.
 oneself *kaine*.
 only *bala*.

- or *o*.
 origin *bate*.
 over ripe *bris*.
 over there *ori*.
 paddle *melba, pode, pue*; taro paddle *naitar*.
 pain *kisis*.
 palisade *oŋku*.
 palm of hand *meila anto*.
 palm spp *bile, ekei, marolo, oŋgup*.
 pan flute *epre*.
Pandanus spp *padpada, parak*.
 paper *pepa*.
 parrot *kalaja*.
 path *osou, sukuna*.
 peninsula *sopsop*.
 penis *ise*.
 people *oduk*.
 person *tou*.
 phlegm *omju*.
 piece *emkil*.
 pig *kanem*, pig spp *maraiden, moroŋ, nakum, ogu, pailuk, palok, tultuli*. pig barrier *kalamtit*. pig tusks *paidala*.
 pillow *kakloŋ*.
 pipe *nalato*.
Piper betle *kadep*.
 pitpit *lopu*.
 place *ano*.
 plant *uasek*.
 plate *pelet*.
 play *kole*.
Poinciana delnis *daga*.
 point *sopsop*.
 polygyny *parok*.
Pometia pinnata *aulop*.
 pond *aruŋ*.
 portion *emkil*.
 possessive *ilo, ine, ino*.
 post *kadaŋa*.
 pot *kiroro, ulo*.
 pour *baser, miniŋir, niŋir*.
 prawn *geil*.
 precede *ŋgo*.
 pregnant *sumugu*.
 proper *itau*.
 pubic apron *koro*.
 pull *nak, riri*.
 pull out *put*.
 punting pole *otou*.
 pus *anak*.
 push *sapul*.
 python *amat*.
 quickly *bale*.
 rain *erei, oruon*;
 rainbow *oruon ise*;
 rainy season *pakoro*.
 raintree *daga*.
 rapids *asar, didlu*.
 rat *abi*.
 rattan spp *gegres, kiria, lilou, nalia, teker*.
 ravine *aromta*.
 raw *akat*.
 reciprocal *pulu*.
 red *dimor, dimotmot*.
 reef *asar*.
 relate *nes*.
 relative *rik*.
 remain *mana*.
 return *uris*.
Rhizophora *bale*.
 ridgepole *komduŋo*.
 righthand *oduŋ*.
 ringworm *eper*.
 ripe *sisiou*; over ripe *bris*.
 river *uri*; river bank *uri baŋbaŋ* river mouth *uri aine*.
 road *osou, sukuna*.
 rock shelter *momus*.
 roots *kamut gitno*.
 rotten *bris, meia*.
 rough *bumbu*.
 rub *sak*.
 run *noplu, soŋ*.
Saccharum officinarum *auau*, *Saccharum spontaneum* *lopu*.
 sago *taryan*.
 sago hammer *koli, kolia*.
 saliva *omsok*.
 salt ash *sedik*.
Samanea saman *daga*.
 sand *labu*.
 sandfly *marama*.
 sap *kamut adaine, kamut ino uri*.
 say *kanes*.
 scales *kasakarkar*.
 scar *amal*.
 scrape *nei*.
 scratch *nei, titrak*.
 sea *musien*.
 sea eagle *biso*.
 season *ano*.
 see *rik*.
 seed *kamut ota*.
 seven *elme akap*.
 several *ŋanabu*.
 sew *sisir*.
 sex *is*.
 shake *tok*.
 shallow *toto*.
 share *emkil*.
 shark *kaluga, seuu*.

- sharp *aona*.
 she *ie*.
 shell money *teli*.
 shield *osua*.
 shin *kamla padijo*.
 shit *ata*.
 shiver *nakarkar*.
 short *bolbolo, eket*.
 shoulder *riak*.
 shout *kein*.
 shred *udaj*.
 shrimp *geil*.
 Siasi dish *tabila, tumro*.
 sick *daunjon, sar*.
 sing *de sakul, pai sakul*.
 sister *aiber, luto, toboro*.
 sit *ma*.
 six *elme isa*.
 skin *tanra*.
 skinny *roria*.
 skirt *koro*.
 sleep *makaduk, mlok*.
 slippery *didlik, kelil*.
 slow *penpen*.
 small *sadi*.
 smell *kun, miayan*.
 smoke *asi*; smoke tobacco *jen ombos*; smoking pipe *nalato*.
 smooth *kelil*.
 snail spp *tabolbol, somoro*.
 snake *amat*; snake spp *animir bate, maruk, matauok, meper, sakul tumla, sunju*.
 snap *bak*.
 sneeze *kisji*.
 snore *pangres*.
 snot *ejgris*.
 so *ma*.
 soft *babia*.
 sole *kamla anto*.
 some *isa*.
 someone *tou*.
 something *nan*.
 son *ginou, iloumi*.
 song *sakul*.
 soon *masilaj*.
 sorcery *matan tumla*.
 sore *egle*.
 soul *an*.
 sow *kanem kina*.
 speak *kanes*.
 spear *belij, grai, marakete*.
 spill *baser, minijir, nijir*.
 spine *belij*.
 spirit *an, barau, toptop*.
 spit *omsok*.
 split *bak*.
 spotted pig *tultuli*.
 sprout *opot*.
 squeeze *porior*.
 stab *grai*.
 stand *tir*.
 star *gigimo*.
 stay *ma, mana, tir*.
 steal *gam*.
 stick *kamut*; carrying stick *gigi*; digging stick *namjen*; walking stick *matu*.
 still *no*.
 stir *bauluk*.
 stone *asar, tanjo*.
 stop *sokol*.
 straight *odun*.
 strong *namor*.
 stump *kamut bate*.
 suckle *in usu*.
 sugarcane *auau*.
 sun *oklou*.
 superincise *dok ise*.
 swamp *digor*.
 sweat bee *uame kina*.
 sweep *kup, mbrum*.
 sweet *galo*.
 sweet potato *kirimpak*.
 swim *buria*.
 swollen *soj*.
 sword grass *ogu*.
 tail *gito*.
 take *de*.
 talk *kanes*; talk about *nasi*.
 tame *aim*.
 taro *esin*; taro paddle *naitar*.
 teeth *aona kakai*.
 tell *kanes, nes*.
 ten *sojotno*.
 tendons *kanil*.
 testicles *losa*.
 that *ka, ore, ori, rik*.
 theft *gamgamjan*.
 there *ore, ori*.
 they *isek*.
 thief *tou gamgamjan ino*.
 thing *nan*.
 thirsty *uri bel*.
 thirty *isetlu*.
 this *ge, oge*.
 three *etlu*.
 throw *taper*.
 thumb *meila touk*.
 thus *laj*.
 tie *pou*.
 to *ine, pe*.
 tobacco *ombos, uasi*.
 today *karban*.
 toe *kamla sijle*; big toe *kamla touk*; toenails *kamla katalpis*.

- together *kap*.
 tomorrow *kotu*; day after
 tomorrow *kasak*.
 tongs *kaida, kapiṇen*.
 tongue *aona blene*.
 too *saŋ*.
 tooth *aona kakai*.
 tree *kamut*; tree spp *aṇaul*,
aulop, bale, bana, boi,
brane, daga, degou, ialu,
iarup, kadai, kamrip,
kualolo, matolo,
namaiŋo, okiom, opon,
palu, tarau; tree ant
kamulia.
Tridacna golomada.
Trochus mese.
 true *loṇono, roŋ*.
 trumpet shell *kuliep*.
 trunk *kamut leina*.
 turn *bauluk*.
 turtle *kounan, punu*.
 twenty *isoruo*.
 two *akap, kap*.
 uncooked *akat*.
 unripe *akat*.
 up *pane, sai*.
 urinate *duriep*; urine
marai.
 vegetable greens *karuŋa*.
 veins *kanil*.
 very *mait*.
 village *itar*; village plaza
itar anta.
 vine *imle*; vine sp *marak*.
 vomit *pugiok*.
 vulva *kuku*.
 wake up *sasak*.
 walk *lilia, nes*; walking
 stick *matu*.
 wall *babro*.
 wallaby *airok, apare, keneŋ*.
 want *kei*.
 warm self *maran ei*.
 wash *groŋ*.
 wasp spp *niniko, sauriri*.
 watch out *ma kilik*.
 water *uri*; waterfalls *ouri*
kopiuk.
 we *ite, mi*.
 weave *grai*.
 weep *kirpin*.
 wet *epi, eplik*.
 what *sana*.
 when *naisen*.
 where *kaino*.
 white *eglim, kaŋalŋal*;
 white pig *ogu, pailuk*.
 who *egina, gina*.
 why *pe sana*.
 widow *asap*; widower
aikos.
 wife *asap*.
 wild *kebena, oŋua*; wild
 boar *palok*.
 wind *ue*.
 wing *pena*.
 with *kap, pe*.
 without *golou*.
 woman *elim*.
 wood *kamut*; wooden dish
tabila, tumro.
 wrap *gar*.
 wrapper *eiuk, orou*.
 wring *por*.
 wrist *meila agune*.
 yam spp *mamim, nananŋ*.
 yellow *gaguak, gaol*.
 yes *e*.
 yesterday *nanrop ino*; day
 before yesterday *nurjo*
ino.
 yonder *ori*.
 you *mu, uom*.
 young boys *aieŋ bate*;
 young girls *elim aian*
bate.
Zinziber sp *emles, saŋger*.

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