

## INTRODUCTION TO THE LABU LANGUAGE

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Orientation

Labu is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 1500 people in Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea. Most Labu speakers live in three villages on the Huon Gulf across the mouth of the Markham River, south of Lae city. The villages are Labubutu (pop. 703), Labumeti (411), and Labutali (408) (McElhanon 1983:17). There is also a new settlement near Markham Bridge called Lupu.

The Labu people's traditional name for themselves is Hapa [hapa]. The name Labu comes from the word [labuʔ], the neighbouring Bukawac speakers' name for the Hapa. Each Hapa village consists of a separate clan. The Hapa names for these villages are the clan names: [dusuku] (Labubutu), [kakala] (Labutali), and [ɬhalɔ] (Labumeti).

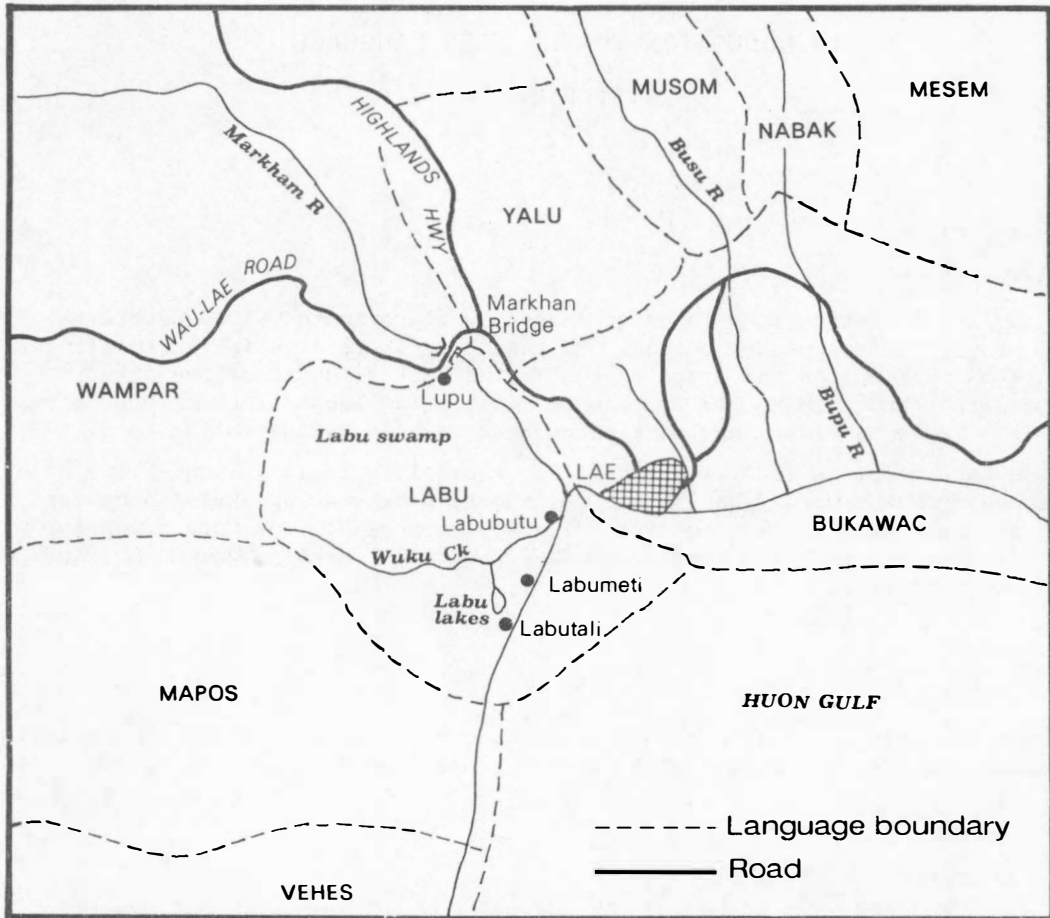
##### 1.1.1 Dialects

There is only one dialect of Labu, although a few lexical items in Labutali and Labumeti differ from those of Labubutu. (See page 154).

##### 1.1.2 Neighbouring languages

The Bukawac area is to the north-east of Labu, across the mouth of the Markham. Bukawac is a member of the Huon Gulf Group of the Vitiazan Sub-family of the Siasi Family of Austronesian language (McElhanon 1983). The Lae language was also spoken in this area but it is now extinct.

To the north and west are the Yalu and Wampar languages, both members of the Adzera Family. To the south and south-west is the Mapos language, a member of the Buang Family (McElhanon 1983).



Location of Labu villages and neighbouring languages

### 1.1.3 Contact with other languages

Like most villagers of the Huon Gulf, the Labu have been influenced by the German missionaries. Most older people know Yabem, the Lutheran lingua franca of the area. Yabem is still used for church services, but it is not taught in the schools and it has been superseded by Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) as a lingua franca. Thus, among the younger generation it is largely confined to the domain of the church.

Because they live so close to Lae, virtually all Labu speakers have contact with Tok Pisin and English. Many of the men work in Lae and commute daily by canoe. The women also spend a great deal of time at the Lae market, selling fish and lime (for chewing betelnut) which they manufacture from shells.

## 1.2 Previous research

Labu is listed as Labo by both Schmitz (1960:446) and Salzer (1960). It is written as Labu' by Capell (1949:198; 1962:85).

The only previous linguistic work done on Labu has been the collection of word lists (Capell 1949, Fischer 1966, Hooley 1971).

On the basis of these word lists, Labu has been classified by Hooley (1976:341) as a member of the Gulf Sub-family of the Siasi family of Austronesian languages in the Morobe Province. However, Bradshaw (1978) suggests that on the basis of sound correspondences, Labu must be assigned an uncertain status with regard to subgrouping. He says, "It seems as likely to be a Siasified Azera language as an Azerafied Siasi language" (1978:54).

## 1.3 This study

### 1.3.1 Background

I began the study of Labu in 1977 with Geoff Smith while we were both members of the Department of Language and Social Science at the Papua New Guinea University of Technology at Lae. The research was funded by the university.

We began working with informants John Kosu and Conelly Aima at the university and also conducted field work at Labubutu. From 1978 until the end of 1981 I continued the project on my own. During this time I worked with Keith Kamake from Labubutu, a technical officer in the Department of Electrical and Communications Engineering at the University. It was Keith's interest and skill as an informant that made this work possible.

However, in no way is this introduction meant to be a definitive study of Labu. I had to leave Papua New Guinea before completing work on the language, but I wanted what I had accomplished to be available to those wishing to begin learning Labu or those studying related languages. Thus, I decided to write this preliminary sketch. There are many areas needing further study and clarification. Some of these gaps will be pointed out in the text. Others will probably be conspicuous.

### 1.3.2 Organisation

The presentation of this study is organised as follows. First, there is a short description of the phonology of Labu and the orthography used. Following this are three sections on the various types of phrases in Labu: noun phrase, verb phrase, and prepositional and temporal phrases. These sections first present the morphology associated with the phrase and then go on to the syntax of the phrase. There is also some discussion of the semantic functions of the latter types of phrases.

The next three sections deal with sentences. The first discusses the predicate and simple sentences. The second deals with sentences with verb serialisation and secondary verb phrases. Since this is an interesting area of Labu grammar, some theoretical background discussion is also included. The final section describes coordinate and complex sentences.

### 1.3.3 Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Research Committee of the PNG University of Technology for supporting this research. I would also like to thank Pete Lincoln, Joel Bradshaw, Andrew Taylor, Peter Silzer, John Lynch, and Walter Seiler for their comments on earlier versions of this work. However, I alone am responsible for any shortcomings. Finally, thanks most of all to Keith Kamake for his patience in introducing me to Labu.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

This section briefly describes the sound system of Labu and the orthography which has been adopted for this study.

Labu has 17 consonants and 7 vowels as shown in the tables below:

Table 1: Consonants				
	bilabial	alveolar	velar	postvelar
voiceless stops	p	t	k	
voiced stops	b	d	g	
prenasalised stops	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d	<sup>ŋ</sup> g	
nasals	m	n	ŋ	
fricatives		s		h
lateral flap		l		
semivowels	w	y		

	front	centre	back
high (close)	i		u
high (open)	ɪ		ʊ
mid	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

## 2.1 Consonants

The consonants of Labu appear in Table 1 above.

Labu is basically an open syllable language. All consonants can occur either initially or medially. The one exception is that the velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs finally in one word /apaŋ/ *always*. There are no consonant clusters.

/b/ is relatively rare. It occurs medially in only two items collected and initially in only one, not including loan words. In each case it occurs before back vowels.

Other consonants have been found occurring with all vowels except for the following: \* /de/, /dɔ/, /<sup>m</sup>bɔ/, /<sup>n</sup>dɔ/, /<sup>ŋ</sup>gɔ/, /ŋu/, and /ye/.

When /k/ precedes /a/ medially, the voiceless velar stop [k] occurs in free variation with a voiceless velar fricative [x]:

- (1) /yakadi/ [yakadi ~ yaxadi] (*I*) *returned*

When /d/ precedes /i/, the voiced alveolar stop [d] occurs in free variation with a voiced palatal stop [ɟ]:

- /di/ [di ~ ɟi] *spear, blood*

The prenasalised labial and alveolar stops /<sup>m</sup>b/ and /<sup>n</sup>d/ become devoiced [ᵐp] and [ᵑt] medially preceding /u/ in the following (the only two examples recorded):

- (3) /a<sup>m</sup>bu/ [a<sup>m</sup>pu] *grease*  
 /a<sup>n</sup>du/ [a<sup>n</sup>tu] *lump*

## 2.2 Vowels

The Labu vowels are shown in Table 2 above. The open high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ actually extend into the upper mid range: [ɪ ~ e] and [ʊ ~ o].

All vowels can occur with all consonants with the exceptions noted above. A vowel can also occur alone to make up a syllable. There are also several common words composed of only a single vowel:

- |     |     |             |     |               |
|-----|-----|-------------|-----|---------------|
| (4) | /a/ | <i>sun</i>  | /ɔ/ | <i>bridge</i> |
|     | /ɿ/ | <i>fish</i> | /ʊ/ | <i>crab</i>   |
|     | /i/ | <i>axe</i>  | /u/ | <i>rain</i>   |

Clusters: A maximum of two syllabic vowels can occur together. Only certain clusters have been found. First are the geminate clusters which occur for all vowels except /ɛ/:

- |     |        |                 |         |   |
|-----|--------|-----------------|---------|---|
| (5) | /aale/ | <i>jump</i>     | /tuu/   | <i>broken</i>                               |
|     | /tii/  | <i>stand up</i> | /dikuu/ | <i>back bundle of two carried on a pole</i> |
|     | /ɿɿɿ/  | <i>axe</i>      | /pɔɿɔɿ/ | <i>hair (of head)</i>                       |

The most frequent clusters include /a/ as a member. It appears that /a/ can be followed by all vowels except /u/:

- |     |       |                    |       |                |
|-----|-------|--------------------|-------|----------------|
| (6) | /lae/ | <i>line, queue</i> | /haɔ/ | <i>toenail</i> |
|     | /mat/ | <i>waves</i>       | /hau/ | <i>new</i>     |

/ai/ becomes a glide [a<sup>i</sup> ~ a<sup>l</sup>] forming the nucleus of one syllable:

- |     |      |                   |          |         |                      |             |
|-----|------|-------------------|----------|---------|----------------------|-------------|
| (7) | /ai/ | [a <sup>i</sup> ] | <i>I</i> | /maipi/ | [ma <sup>i</sup> pi] | <i>five</i> |
|-----|------|-------------------|----------|---------|----------------------|-------------|

/a/ follows all vowels except /ɛ/:

- |     |         |                      |       |                     |
|-----|---------|----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| (8) | /pia/   | <i>fall</i>          | /pua/ | <i>sweet potato</i> |
|     | /kiabu/ | <i>hibiscus</i>      | /gua/ | <i>canoe</i>        |
|     | /amɔa/  | <i>2nd born male</i> |       |                     |

Other vowel combinations are shown in the following examples:

- |     |        |                  |        |                         |
|-----|--------|------------------|--------|-------------------------|
| (9) | /upui/ | <i>loincloth</i> | /ɿo/   | <i>bonefish</i>         |
|     | /guɿ/  | <i>take</i>      | /ɿtio/ | <i>spotted trevally</i> |

The back vowels become nonsyllabic before /a/ or /ɿ/. Thus:

- |      |        |                     |                         |
|------|--------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (10) | /gua/  | [g <sup>u</sup> a]  | <i>canoe</i>            |
|      | /guɿ/  | [g <sup>u</sup> ɿ]  | <i>take</i>             |
|      | /kua/  | [k <sup>u</sup> a]  | <i>bandicoot</i>        |
|      | /ŋgua/ | [ŋg <sup>u</sup> a] | <i>future modal</i>     |
|      | /amɔa/ | [am <sup>ɔ</sup> a] | <i>second born male</i> |

## 2.3 Suprasegments

### 2.3.1 Tonal contrasts

Tone (or pitch) is phonemically significant in Labu. The tones differ, however, only in relative pitch, and thus according to Ladefoged (1975:227), Labu could be described as a register tone language. There is only one phonemic tonal contrast and that is between relative high and low tone.

Below is a list of minimal pairs distinguished by such tonal contrast. Syllables with low tone [+ low] are marked with a grave accent [ ` ]:

- |      |        |                    |        |                                 |
|------|--------|--------------------|--------|---------------------------------|
| (10) | /a/    | <i>sun</i>         | /à/    | <i>tree, wood</i>               |
|      | /ani/  | <i>centipede</i>   | /ànì/  | <i>one (indefinite article)</i> |
|      | /apì/  | <i>side</i>        | /àpì/  | <i>sago</i>                     |
|      | /di/   | <i>spear;</i>      | /dì/   | <i>blood; beard;</i>            |
|      |        | <i>wooden bowl</i> |        | <i>sugar cane</i>               |
|      | /hana/ | <i>turtle</i>      | /hanà/ | <i>footprint</i>                |
|      | /maya/ | <i>shame</i>       | /mayà/ | <i>dead</i>                     |



Also, again because of Labu speakers' preferences, /a<sup>n</sup>du/ and /a<sup>m</sup>bu/ (see example 3 above) are written as follows:

- (14) ant<sup>â</sup>            *lump*  
 amp<sup>â</sup>            *grease*

With regard to tone, [+ low] syllables will be marked with a grave accent as above, also a convention of Yabem.

### 3. NOUN PHRASE (NP)

This section describes first the various constituents of the noun phrase and then the structure of the simple noun phrase.

#### 3.1 Nouns

Nouns (N) are defined as the class of words which may stand alone as the only constituent of a noun phrase.

Nouns can be divided according to their referents into two major classes: animate and inanimate. Only animate nouns can be replaced by personal pronouns.

##### 3.1.1 Animate nouns

Animate nouns can be further subdivided into human and non-human:

- |                     |                |                        |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| (15) animate/human: | <i>hêna</i>    | <i>woman</i>           |
|                     | <i>du</i>      | <i>people</i>          |
|                     | <i>ama</i>     | <i>father</i>          |
|                     | <i>angi</i>    | <i>third born male</i> |
|                     | <i>ainialô</i> | <i>son, boy</i>        |
| animate/non-human:  | <i>iya</i>     | <i>dog</i>             |
|                     | <i>ma</i>      | <i>bird</i>            |
|                     | <i>ênôpô</i>   | <i>shark</i>           |
|                     | <i>anolô</i>   | <i>offspring</i>       |
| inanimate:          | <i>sapa</i>    | <i>moon</i>            |
|                     | <i>pisì</i>    | <i>Markham River</i>   |
|                     | <i>pôgwa</i>   | <i>knife</i>           |
|                     | <i>ôpàlà</i>   | <i>belch</i>           |
|                     | <i>ka</i>      | <i>taro</i>            |

##### 3.1.2 Temporal nouns

A temporal noun (TN) is an inanimate noun which can be the only constituent of a temporal phrase (TP) or the head noun of a NP which makes up the TP (see section 5.2):

- |             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| (16) sawahê | <i>morning</i>            |
| pêhala      | <i>afternoon, evening</i> |
| pêsê        | <i>night</i>              |
| ndêlene     | <i>yesterday</i>          |
| takêsi      | <i>today, now</i>         |





## 3.1.2 Formation of nouns

There is no productive way of forming nouns from verbs. However, there are some nouns which are made up of a verb stem plus a suffix -ya (cf. Numbami -ŋa) which may be the vestige of a morphological nominaliser. Some examples of verb-noun pairs are:

(21)	molo	<i>to be afraid</i>	moloya	<i>fear</i>
	sulu	<i>to scoop</i>	suluya	<i>scoop net</i>
	sôhô	<i>to build</i>	sôhôya	<i>builder</i>
	sêni	<i>to plug up</i>	sêniya	<i>a plug</i>
	tangô	<i>to swallow</i>	tangôya	<i>glutton</i>

Some nouns such as nama *hand*, ê *fish*, and ma *bird* appear in many compounds:

(22)	namaaho	<i>upper arm</i>	namao	<i>finger nail</i>
	namakôsô	<i>wrist</i>	namapôô	<i>thumb</i>
	namakaku	<i>finger</i>	namatô	<i>elbow</i>
(23)	êgwa	<i>eel</i>	ênôpô	<i>shark</i>
	êku	<i>prawn, lobster</i>	êti	<i>trevally</i>
	ênê	<i>mackerel</i>	êyigu	<i>tuna</i>
(24)	malêsa	<i>flying fox</i>	malô	<i>cockatoo</i>
	masundu	<i>bird of paradise</i>		

Nouns for parts of the leg contain a bound morpheme ha-. (The words for leg is akapô in Labubutu and hakapô in Labumeti and Labutali.)

(25)	hatê	<i>calf</i>	hao	<i>toenail</i>
	hakôsô	<i>ankle</i>	hapôô	<i>big toe</i>
	hakaku	<i>toe</i>	hatô	<i>knee</i>

## 3.2.1 Demonstratives (Qdem)

There are five free demonstratives, two of which are emphatic, two non-emphatic, and one both emphatic and non-emphatic.

(26)	emphatic	non-emphatic	
	lene	le	<i>this, these (near the speaker)</i>
	lênê	lê	<i>that, those (near addressee)</i>
	laê	laê	<i>that, those (near neither speaker nor addressee)</i>

Some examples are:

(27)	a.	hanô	lene	b.	amêna	ŋatô	le
		<i>house</i>	<i>that</i>		<i>man</i>	<i>old</i>	<i>this</i>
		<i>that house</i>			<i>this old man</i>		

These demonstratives may also occur as the head of a NP in the predicate (see example 82e).

There are also two bound demonstratives which occur suffixed to the 3S pronoun:

(28)	ini-ne	<i>this one (near speaker)</i>
	ini-lê	<i>this one (near addressee)</i>

## 3.2.2 Limiters (Qlim)

The following are examples of limiters:

- (29) lô            *self*  
       lôkô         *self*  
       tôgwatô     *one, alone*

These are illustrated as follows:

- (30) a. ai lô    ya-gwê                    b. ai lôkô ya-gwê  
       *I self 1S.PT-take*                *I only 1S.PT-take*  
       *I took (it) myself.*               *Only I took (it).*
- c. ai tôgwatô ya-gwê  
       *I one 1S.PT-take*  
       *I alone took (it).*

## 3.3 Modifiers (M)

Modifiers in a NP describe the head noun, immediately following it, with the exception of pronouns already noted. A modifier can also occur as the main constituent of the predicate of a non-verbal sentence (see section 6.2.2). In addition, certain modifiers can describe a verb in a verbal sentence (see section 4.6.). There are two types of modifiers: qualitative and quantitative.

## 3.3.1 Qualitative modifiers (MQual)

Some examples of qualitative modifiers are as follows:

- (31) anamô        *big*  
       haô           *new*  
       mbamba      *crazy*  
       aselele      *dry*

## 3.3.2 Quantitative modifiers (MQuan)

There are two types of quantitative modifiers: definite and indefinite. The definite category consists of numerals. The Labu counting system is similar to many in Papua New Guinea, based on five, for the digits of each hand or foot, and on twenty, for the number of digits of one person. The numerals one through five are:

- (32) tôgwatô     *one*  
       salu         *two*  
       sidi         *three*  
       sôha        *four*  
       maipi       *five*

There are three alternatives for the numerals 6 through 9:

- (33) maipi anêndi tôgwatô }  
       haipi anêndi tôgwatô } *six*  
       maipa tômôlô }

maipi anêndi salu }  
 haipi anêndi salu } seven  
 maipa salu }

and so on. Other numerals which illustrate the system are as follows:

(34)	nômusu		ten
	nômusu tôgwatô		eleven
	nômusu	{ maipi anêndi sisi haipi anêndi sisi maipa sisi }	eighteen
	asamôni		twenty
	asamôni salu		twenty-two
	asamô nômusu		thirty
	asamô salu		forty
	asamô salu nômusu		fifty
	asamô sisi		sixty

Some of these numerals are most probably derived from names for body parts. For example, maipi may come from nama *hand* plus ipi *part*. ha- is the prefix used for parts of the leg. Thus, the maipi/haipi alternatives may indicate counting on either the fingers or the toes. Other elements can be glossed as follows: anêndi *fruit* or *offspring*, and by extension, *something in addition*. Also, asamôni *twenty* may be derived from samô *whole* (i.e. person) plus àni *one*.

It should be noted that numbers over five are rarely used in Labu. Tok Pisin numbers often take their place.

The indefinite quantitative modifiers are only two in number. Here they are with examples:

(35)	akô	some
	àni	one, (indefinite article)
	du akô	some people
	pêhala àni	one afternoon

### 3.4 Possessive markers

The possessive markers are used in the possessive NP (see section 3.5.2). They refer to the person, number, and exclusiveness of the possessor. There are two types of possessive markers: genitive (POS) and nominal (POSN):

	singular		plural (D,T,P)	
	POS	POSN	POS	POSN
1X	nda	ndêêna	mê	mêêna
1I	--	--	la	lêêna
2	na	nôôna	mê	môôna
3	na	nêêna	sê	sêêna

The nominal possessive marker is clearly of verbal origin. Its different forms are those that would be derived from a verb class 1 stem *-êna* with the appropriate subject/tense/modality marking prefixes (see section 4.1). Perhaps such a verb stem once existed with a meaning something like *possess (it)* or *be associated with (it)*. However, it cannot be synchronically analysed as a verb because it cannot occur as the only constituent of a verb phrase. Examples of both possessive markers are given in section 3.5.2 below.

### 3.5 The structure of the noun phrase

#### 3.5.1 The simple NP

The simple NP has a noun as its head and no embedded sentence. The head noun (except for a pronoun) may be followed by one or more optional constituents.

NP → N (MQual) (MQuan) (Q)

Some examples are as follows:

- (36) a. gwà kege ànì                      b. hanô anamô maipi lene  
           *canoe small one*                      *house big five these*  
           *a small canoe*                        *these five big houses*

#### 3.5.2 The possessive NP

Labu has a relatively uncomplicated system of possession for an Austronesian language. There are no alienable-inalienable or edible-inedible distinctions and no productive possessive suffixes. (A vestige of a typical Oceanic possessive suffix, however, may exist in the alternate referential form for *ana* *father* and *ama* *mother*: *namu* and *amamu*.)

There are two types of possessive noun phrase (PNP): the genitive and the nominal.

##### 3.5.2.1 The genitive PNP

The genitive PNP has the following structure:

PNP → NP<sub>1</sub> POS NP<sub>2</sub>

NP<sub>1</sub> is the possessor and NP<sub>2</sub> is that which is possessed. The possessive marker (POS) refers to the person, number, and exclusiveness of the head noun of NP<sub>1</sub>:

- (37) a. ai yu-dumala kô yê na ana  
           *I 1S.PT-look.at you 2S.POS mother*  
           *I saw your mother.*
- b. amêna natô salu le sê hanô nda mênâ  
           *man old two this 3P.POS house stay village*  
           *These two old men's house was in the village.*

The possessor NP<sub>1</sub> may be deleted in a possessive phrase if it occurs earlier in the discourse and if it is clear who the possessor is:

- (38) ini ya iya tê ya na ainialô  
           *he 3S.PT.hit dog then 3S.PT.hit 3S.POS son*  
           *He hit the dog and then hit his son.*

If the head noun of the deleted NP<sub>1</sub> is inanimate, then a special possessive marker êna is used:

- (39) êmôha mô-kôna    êna taiya mê-nda nôsôlô  
 we.XD 1X-look.at POS tyre 1P-stay rubbish  
*We looked at its tyre in the rubbish dump.*

This refers to the tyre of a boat trailer mentioned in the preceding sentence of the discourse.

The possessive NP is used for certain locative expressions:

- (40) a. ai nda    mba nê-nda    hanô na    lôpôsô  
 I 1S.POS pig 3S.NR-stay house 3S.POS area.under  
*My pig is under the house.*
- b. nameko nê-nda    à na    ahô  
 N. 3S.NR-stay tree 3S.POS base  
*Nameko is under (at the base of) the tree.*
- c. amêna sê-nda    hanô na    wahê  
 man 3P.NR-stay house 3S.POS top  
*The men are on top of the house.*

Other common expressions make use of the possessive NP:

- (41) a. ai nda    lêtanahi mba ànì  
 I 1S.POS desire pig one  
*I want a pig.*
- b. ai nda    ôpà    puyu    ini  
 I 1S.POS thoughts (3S.PT-)shoot him  
*I thought of him.*

In fast speech, the possessive marker is sometimes deleted, especially in locative expressions and idioms:

- (42) a. ini ate    pô (na)    anungu  
 she (3S.PT-)go.down water (3S.POS) inside  
*She went down into the water.*
- b. ye (na)    opa    nu-puyu    ai  
 you (2S.POS) thoughts 3S.IR-shoot me  
*Think of me.*

### 3.5.2.2 Nominal PNP

The nominal possessive phrase is used when what is possessed is not stated. It has the following structure:

PNP → NP<sub>1</sub> POSN

where NP<sub>1</sub> is the possessor and POSN is the nominal possessive marker (see section 3.4):

- (43) a. ini gwê    yê nôôna  
 he (3S.PT-)take you 2S.POSN  
*He took yours.*
- tawala lene hanô lènê nêêna  
 door this house that 3S.POSN  
*This door is that house's.*

As with genitive possessive phrases, the possessor NP can be deleted if its identity is clear from the discourse:

- (44) ai ya-gwê ndêêna  
 I 1S.PT-take 1S.POSN  
 I took mine.

### 3.5.3 Coordination of NPs

Two NPs may be joined as follows:

NP → NP<sub>1</sub> { salu } NP<sub>2</sub>  
 kê

where *salu* *two* here can be glossed as *and* and *kê* as *or*. Thus:

- (45) a. jon salu lasatô John and his older brother  
 b. jon kê pita John or Peter

Another way to coordinate NPs is with a plural pronoun plus another NP (human). For example:

- (46) êmalu stimiŋ me and Stimming  
 we.XD S.

## 4. VERB PHRASE (VP)

This section describes verbs and other constituents which make up the verb phrase.

### 4.1 Verbs (Vb)

Verbs are the class of words which consist of a verbal prefix (as described below) plus a verb stem and which can be the only constituent of a verb phrase.

#### 4.1.1 Intransitive and transitive verbs

There are two classes of verbs: intransitive, which do not take a noun phrase as a syntactic direct object, and transitive, which may or may not take such an object. The two classes are not marked in any way.

Some examples of verb stems from the two classes are:

- | (47) intransitive |                   | transitive |                     |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|
| -mahanô           | <i>die</i>        | -gwê       | <i>take</i>         |
| -gololê           | <i>dress up</i>   | -pa        | <i>go inside</i>    |
| -lôwalo           | <i>rest</i>       | -mataya    | <i>wait (for)</i>   |
| -towi             | <i>be hanging</i> | -êndi      | <i>hang up</i>      |
| -dumala           | <i>see, look</i>  | -kôna      | <i>see, look at</i> |
| -molo             | <i>be afraid</i>  | -mêla      | <i>frighten</i>     |

## 4.1.2 Tense and modality

Labu classifies actions or events in time according to two tenses: past and nonpast. Past tense (PT) refers to events which took place prior to the speech event. Nonpast events are further classified according to modality, that is according to whether or not the event has been actualised. Nonpast realis (NR) refers to events simultaneous with the speech event or to habitual events. Nonpast irrealis (IR) refers to events which have not been actualised, that is to events which may or may not take place after the speech event. Tense and modality are indicated by verbal prefixes as described below.

## 4.1.3 STM prefixes

The subject/tense/modality (STM) verbal prefix indicates the person, number, and exclusiveness of the subject. Distinction in number is made only between singular (S) and plural (P) which includes dual and trial.

The STM prefix indicates tense (past or nonpast) for all singular subjects and modality (NR or IR) for second and third person singular.

The STM prefixes are shown in Table 5 below, where V stands for any vowel. The realisation of this vowel is determined by which of two verb classes the verb stem is a member of and by various morphophonological rules.

S	IR	NR	PT
1 S	ndV-	ndV-	yV-
2 S	nô-	ŋô-	ô-
3 S	nV-	ŋV-	∅
P (D,T,P)		IR,NR,PT	
1XP		mV-	
1IP		lV-	
2 P		mô-	
3 P		sV-	

## 4.1.3.1 Verb class 1 (V1)

In verb class 1 (VI) the vowel of the prefix is ô in second person (2S and 2P), but for other persons the vowel harmonises with the first vowel of the verb stem according to these rules.

$$v \rightarrow \hat{e} / \_ \#(C) \begin{bmatrix} v \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$v \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} v \\ +\text{back} \\ \alpha \text{ height} \end{bmatrix} / \_ \#(C) \begin{bmatrix} v \\ +\text{back} \\ \alpha \text{ height} \end{bmatrix}$$



According to the above rules, the vowel in the prefix is realised as ê when the first vowel in the stem is i, ê, e, or a. Otherwise the vowel is u, ô, or o corresponding to the first vowel of the stem.

Table 6 below shows the forms of three V1 verbs: -nô *drink*, -pê *shoot* (*long range*) and -su *deal out one at a time*:

Table 6: Examples of V1									
S	IR			NR			PT		
1 S	ndônô	ndêpê	ndusu	ndônô	ndêpê	ndusu	yônô	yêpê	yusu
2 S	nônô	nôpê	nôsu	ɲônô	ɲôsê	ɲôsu	ônô	ôpê	ôsu
3 S	nônô	nêpê	nusu	ɲônô	ɲêpê	ɲusu	nô	pê	su
P (D,T,P) IR,NR,PT									
1XP		mônô	mêpê	musu					
1IP		lônô	lêpê	lusu					
2 P		mônô	môpê	môsu					
3 P		sônô	sêpê	susu					

#### 4.1.3.2 Verb class 2 (V2)

In verb class two, the vowel in the prefix is again ô for second person except for second person singular nonpast (both IR and NR) where it is a. It is also a in all other instances except for third person plural past and non-past realis where it is ê. Table 7 below shows all the forms of a V2 verb -kadi *return (to)*.

Table 7: Example of V2			
	IR	NR	KD
1 S	ndakadi	ndakadi	yakadi
2 S	nakadi	ɲakadi	ôkadi
3 S	nakadi	ɲakadi	kadi
1XP	makadi	makadi	makadi
1IP	lakadi	lakadi	lakadi
2 P	môkadi	môkadi	môkadi
3 P	sakadi	sêkadi	sêkadi

A few verbs in each class have an irregular form such as -gwê *take* (V2) for which third person plural past is sôgwe instead of the expected sêgwê.

## 4.1.3.3 Stems beginning with vowels

For verb stems beginning with a vowel, the initial vowel is deleted after rules for determining the vowel of the prefix have been applied. Thus, the initial vowel is realised only in the third person past form where the prefix is  $\emptyset$ . In the case of verb stems beginning with a geminate vowel cluster, the first of the pair is deleted. For V1 verbs, when the vowel of the prefix is  $\hat{o}$  in second person, the first of the pair in the stem is deleted and the second becomes  $\hat{o}$ . Here are some examples:

(48)	stem	1S.PT	2S.PT	3S.PT	gloss
	-ate (V2)	yate	$\hat{o}$ te	ate	<i>go down</i>
	-êêlê (V1)	yêêlê	$\hat{o}$ êlê	êêlê	<i>search for</i>
	-aale (V2)	yaale	$\hat{o}$ aale	aale	<i>jump</i>

## 4.1.3.4 Homophonous verb stems distinguished by class

Some homophonous verb stems are distinguished by the verb class to which they belong. Some examples are:

(49)	-kô (V1)	<i>make</i>	-kô (V2)	<i>go</i>
	-pê (V1)	<i>shoot</i>	-pê (V2)	<i>defecate</i>

## 4.1.4 Irregular verbs (Virreg)

There are a few verbs which are irregular in that both the stem and the prefix do not follow the consistent pattern of other verbs. The third person singular past form is used here to identify these verbs, but this form is not necessarily the stem (as it is with regular verbs). In Tables 8 and 9 below the forms of two important irregular verbs are given: -ya *do with force, hit, eat* and -eme *come (to where the speaker is)*.

Table 8: -ya <i>do with force, hit, eat</i>			
	IR	NR	PT
1 S	ndêna	ndaŋa	yêgi
2 S	wa/môa	ŋamôa	ôgi
3 S	na	ŋaŋa	ya
1XP	mêna	maŋa	mêgi
1IP	lêna	laŋa	lêgi
2 P	mômôa	môgi	môgi
3 P	sêna	sêya	sêgi

Note that for second person singular only there are alternate forms which distinguish two of the meanings of -ya:

- (50) a. môa mba *eat the pig*  
 b. wa mba *hit the pig*

	IR	NR	PT
1 S	ndame	---	yame
2 S	nawê	ŋawê	ôwe
3 S	name	ŋame	eme
1XP	mame	mame	mame
1IP	lame	lame	lame
2 P	mawê	mawê	môwe
3 P	same	seme	seme

#### 4.1.5 The imperative

The second person irrealis forms are used for the imperative. Some examples are:

- (51) nô-pêsa sema                      b. mô-nô                      ni  
 2S.IR-make fast                      2P-drink coconut  
*Make (it) quickly.                      (You all) drink some coconut.*

#### 4.1.6 The counterfactual prefix (CTF)

For events contrary to fact, a counterfactual second rank prefix (CTF) is inserted between the STM prefix and the stem. The STM prefix indicates the nonpast irrealis. The CTF prefix has the form -kV- where the realisation of the vowel V follows the same rules as for the vowel in the STM prefix. The exceptions are for second and third person singular for which the irrealis prefix nV- simply becomes kV-. An example is:

- (52) yê na                      iya mba ka-me                      kô ai, ai nda-ka-gwê                      mba d\l  
 you 2S.POS dog SUB 2S.CTF-come to me I 1S.IR-CTF-take pig close  
*If your dog had come to me, I would have caught the pig.*

(For additional examples see section 8.2.3.8.)

#### 4.1.7 Phrasal verbs

A phrasal verb in Labu is the combination of a verb stem and an adjunct (usually a noun) which together have a meaning different from that of either alone. The verb stem of a phrasal verb, called a pro-verb (Lang 1975:85), has a general meaning and can also occur independently. The incorporated adjunct (INC) may also occur independently, but in the phrasal verb it most often cannot be interpreted according to its usual reference (see Bradshaw 1982:42). Furthermore, since an incorporated noun, for example, is part of the verb, it cannot be qualified or modified as a noun. Some incorporated adjuncts, however, do not occur independently.

The most common pro-verb in phrasal verbs is *-ya eat, hit, do with force*. (See Bradshaw 1982:45 for Numbami examples with the cognate *-lapa* < POC \*(dR)apat.) Other pro-verbs are *-kô make* and *-gwê take*.

These phrasal verbs contain incorporated adjuncts which do not occur independently:

(53)	<i>-gwê malu</i>	<i>sleep</i>
	<i>-ya mi</i>	<i>tell stories</i>
	<i>-ya hono</i>	<i>steal</i>
	<i>-ya nono</i>	<i>set a date</i>
	<i>-ya palê</i>	<i>not know</i>
	<i>-ya tolo</i>	<i>fight</i>

The following phrasal verbs have incorporated nouns with other references (given in brackets) when used outside a phrasal verb:

(53)	<i>-kô molo</i>	[carving]	<i>boast</i>
	<i>-ya hêna</i>	[woman]	<i>marry</i> (for male subject)
	<i>-ya masi</i>	[gift]	<i>make holy</i>
	<i>-ya môgi</i>	[husband]	<i>marry</i>
	<i>-ya nama</i>	[hand]	<i>wave</i>
	<i>-ya mà</i>	[mark]	<i>mark out</i>
	<i>-ya wè</i>	[song]	<i>do traditional singing and dancing</i>
	<i>-ya yo</i>	[boss]	<i>look after, manage</i>

Here are some examples (for convenience, both the pro-verb and the INC will be glossed):

- (55) a. *ini ya masi kô a*  
*he 3S.PT.hit gift to day*  
*He made the day holy.*
- b. *êsôha sêgi hono kô mba*  
*they.P 3P.PT.hit theft of pig*  
*They stole the pig.*

See also examples (65a) and (67g) below.

Although the phrasal verbs above do not take a direct object, at least one example has been recorded of one which does: *-ya alôhô start up, establish something*:

- (56) *ini ya alôhô bisnis*  
*he 3S.PT.hit start business*  
*He started up a business.*

#### 4.1.8 The structure of the verb

In summary, the Labu verb is made up as follows:

Vb → STM (-CTF) -stem (INC)

#### 4.2 Aspect markers (Asp)

Aspect, unlike tense and modality, is not indicated by verb morphology. Rather, independent aspect markers (Asp) optionally follow the verb in the VP. The most common are:

- (57) (pa) sô }  
 mênà } completive: *finished* (COMP)  
 lè }  
 papa durative: *keep on ... or continuous* (DUR)

Some examples:

- (58) a. ai yô-kô gwà pasô.  
 I 1S.PT-make canoe COMP  
 I finished making the canoe.
- b. ini ya ê lè  
 he 3S.PT.hit fish COMP  
 He's already caught the fish.
- c. yà ɲa-ɲaɲa hanô papa  
 fire 3S.NR-burn house DUR  
 The house is on fire.

#### 4.3 Resultatives (R)

Resultatives follow the verb or its object and indicate the result of the action of the verb, usually upon the object. They are common in other related languages of the area such as Iwal, Numbami and Yabem (Bradshaw 1982:37).

The resultatives are most probably descended from verbs (e.g. *hônô killed* from POC \**punu strike, kill, extinguish*) which were part of causative serial constructions (see Bradshaw 1982). Serial verb constructions still exist in Labu (see Chapter 6), but the resultatives differ from verbs used in serial constructions in that they do not take STM prefixes.

The most common resultatives in Labu are:

- (59) *hônô* killed  
*kêsê* cut through  
*tuu* broken off  
*poso* broken (of a container)  
*dì* brought close  
*sô* open  
*sê* closed

Some resultatives, such as *tuu*, *poso*, and *sê*, co-occur with a limited number of verbs:

- (60) a. ai ngwa ndê-kela kêlêpê tuu  
 I FUT 1S.IR-break.with.hands pencil broken.off  
 I'll break the pencil.
- b. ai ngwa nda-taka ni poso  
 I FUT 1S.IR-cut.with.tool coconut broken  
 I'll break (open) the coconut.
- c. ini ya tawala sê  
 he 3S.IR.hit door closed  
 He closed the door.

Others have wider, and sometimes idiomatic, usage, for example *kêsê*:

- (61) a. ini si gu kêsê  
*he (3S.PT-)pull rope cut.through*  
*He broke the rope.*
- b. ai y-aale yà kêsê  
*I 1S.PT-jump fire cut.through*  
*I jumped over the fire.*
- c. yê na ana hane pô kêsê  
*you 2S.POS mother (3S.PT-)cross water cut.through*  
*Your mother crossed the river.*
- d. êmalu mêgi à kêsê  
*we.XP 1XP.PT.hit wood cut.through*  
*We cut the firewood.*
- e. êmalu mêgi ỏ kêsê  
*we.XP 1XP.PT.hit garden cut.through*  
*We checked the garden (e.g. for thieves).*

The resultative particle *dì* brought close can also be used to mean *know how to* or *usually do something*:

- (62) a. ai yê-kiha ini dì  
*I 1S.PT-hold her close*  
*I embraced her.*
- b. ai nda-pe pôpỏ sê ahỏ yupa dì tê  
*I 1S.IR-talk whiteman 3P.POS language foreign close then*  
 rjgwa haya  
 FUT good  
*If I knew how to speak the whiteman's language (here meaning Tok Pisin), it would be good.*

#### 4.6 Adverbs (ADV)

Adverbs further describe the action of the verb by indicating time or frequency. Some examples of adverbs are:

- (63) a. hamu later  
 sa first  
 apaŋ always  
 ini na mì apaŋ  
*he (3S.IR-)hit story always*  
*He'll always tell stories.*

#### 4.7 Modifiers in the verb phrase

Qualitative modifiers (MQual) can also be found in the verb phrase where they describe the verb acting as adverbs of manner. There are semantic restrictions, of course, as to which modifiers can be used in the verb phrase.

Some examples are:

- |      |                     |                |                         |
|------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| (64) |                     | in NP          | in VP                   |
|      | sema                | <i>fast</i>    | <i>quickly</i>          |
|      | piapia }<br>papia } | <i>slow</i>    | <i>slowly</i>           |
|      | haya                | <i>good</i>    | <i>well</i>             |
|      | apêsa               | <i>careful</i> | <i>carefully, again</i> |
|      | samê                | <i>whole</i>   | <i>completely</i>       |
- (65) a. ana ya yo kô êmaha apêsa  
*mother 3S.PT.hit boss to us.XP carefully*  
*Mother looked after us carefully.*
- b. êmaha mô-sôhô hanô sema  
*we.XP 1XP-build house fast*  
*We built the house quickly.*

#### 4.8 The structure of the simple VP

In summary, the simple verb phrase is made up as follows:

VP → Vb (NP) (R) (Adv) (MQual) (Asp)

### 5. PREPOSITIONAL AND TEMPORAL PHRASES

#### 5.1 Prepositional phrase (PP)

The prepositional phrase is made up of a preposition (Prep) and a noun phrase.

PP → Prep NP

There are only a few Labu prepositions. They are:

- |      |      |                                  |
|------|------|----------------------------------|
| (66) | kô   | <i>to, for, with</i>             |
|      | dê   | <i>from (with inanimate NPs)</i> |
|      | dêhi | <i>from (with animate NPs)</i>   |
|      | ame  | <i>until</i>                     |
|      | hêta | <i>during, at the time of</i>    |

These prepositions are most probably diachronically derived from verbs (as will be discussed in section 7.3). The difference between prepositions and verbs in Labu is a formal one: prepositions do not take verbal prefixes.

PPs with each of these prepositions will now be described.

##### 5.1.1 PPs with kô

The most common preposition with the most functions is kô. PPs with kô are most often found in the predicate marking the following relationships: accusative, instrumental, benefactive, and referential. It can also be used in comparative and temporal constructions. Examples of each follow:

- (67) ACCUSATIVE: a. du so-molo kô la  
*people 3P-fear of spirits*  
*People are afraid of the spirits.*
- b. ai yu-dumala kô gwà  
*I 1S.PT-look at canoe*  
*I looked at the canoe.*
- INSTRUMENTAL: c. ai yu-tutu iya kô hu  
*I 1S.PT-fire.at dog with stone*  
*I hit the dog with the stone.*
- d. amêna taka ai kô namatê  
*man (3S.PT-)cut me with axe*  
*The man cut me with an axe.*
- BENEFACTIVE: e. ini ñô-sôhò hanô kô ai  
*he 3S.NR-build house for me*  
*He's building the house for me.*
- f. ai yêgi hônô kô amêna  
*I 1S.PT.hit killed for man*  
*I killed (it) for the man.*
- REFERENTIAL: g. ai ñgwa ndêna mî kô ôpa  
*I FUT 1S.IR.hit story about crocodile*  
 gwê sapu  
*(3S.PT-)take S.*  
*I'll tell the story about the crocodile taking*  
*Sapu.*
- COMPARATIVE: h. ini na nêhê hñni kô ai nda nêhê  
*he 3S.POS skin different than I 1S.POS skin*  
*He is different from me (in appearance).*
- TEMPORAL: i. ndêlene kô a ai yô-kôna êsalu  
*yesterday during sun I 1S.PT-see them.D*  
*Yesterday during the day I saw them.*

### 5.3.2 PPs with dê and dêhi

These prepositions are used for the ablative *from*, dê with NPs with inanimate referents and dêhi with animate referents:

- (68) a. salu sê-nda dê apiahô sê-nda idi  
*3D 3P.PT-stay from river.mouth 3P.PT-stay back*  
*They moved from the mouth of the river and back.*
- b. yê ôwê dê epe  
*you 2S.PT.come from where*  
*Where did you come from?*
- c. ini gwê kakala dêhi ainialô  
*he (3S.PT-)take chicken from boy*  
*He took the chicken from the boy.*
- d. awa gwê ai dêhi ama  
*maternal.uncle (3S.PT-)take me from father*  
*Uncle got me from father.*



- e. ai yêgi kè dêhi apô  
 I 1S.PT.eat food from grandmother  
 My grandmother provides food for me.  
 (Lit. I eat food from grandmother.)

### 5.1.3 PPs with ame and hêta

Prepositional phrases with *ame until* and *hêta during, at the time of* are used in temporal phrases. The NP must have a temporal noun. Some examples are:

- (69) a. amêna salu sô-kô gwà sê-nda ame pêsê  
 man two 3P.PT-make canoe 3P.PT-stay until night  
 The two men were working on the canoe until night.
- b. Jon salu lasatô sê-di wè sê-nda  
 J. two elder.brother 3P.PT-do singsing 3P.PT-stay  
 ame sawahê  
 until morning  
 John and his elder brother danced (traditionally) until dawn.
- c. yê ô-kô sani hêta sundatô  
 you 2S.PT-do what during Christmas  
 What did you do during Christmas?

### 5.2 Temporal phrase (TP)

The temporal phrase indicates the time or frequency of the action of the clause. All TPs contain a temporal noun. This TN alone may constitute the TP (as shown in Section 3.1.1.1). It may be followed by a modifier (example 18) or by a temporal PP with *kô* (5.1.1 ex. 67i), or it may be part of a PP with *ame* or *hêta* (5.1.3 ex. 69). Some other examples are:

- (70) a. sundatô ai ya-kô mênâ  
 Christmas I 1S.PT-go village  
 I went to the village for Christmas.
- b. yala mô pôa pe anamô  
 year old sweet.potato (3S.PT-)become big  
 Last year the sweet potato crop was big.

Another TN is *pepe time, occasion* which is used with a quantitative modifier in a TP of frequency:

- (71) ai ya-na pepe salu  
 I 1S.PT-go time two  
 I went two times.

The pro-temporal *tê* is often used in this type of TP:

- (72) ai ya-kô walemu pepe tê sidi  
 I 1S.PT-go Lae time then three  
 I went to Lae three times.

## 6. SIMPLE SENTENCES

Simple sentences are made up of only one clause. A clause is defined as a NP (grammatical subject) plus a predicate (PRED). However, once the subject NP has been established in a discourse, it may be optionally deleted in following clauses.

This section first describes the constituents of the PRED and then goes on to describe the various types of simple sentences. Finally, there is a section on negation.

## 6.1 The constituents of the predicate

The predicate must consist of at least one of the following constituents: a verb phrase, a noun phrase, a modifier, or a prepositional phrase. It may also contain any of the optional elements described below in this section.

## 6.1.1 Modals (MOD)

The optional modals are the first element of the PRED. They indicate the likelihood of the event or state being actualised. The modals are:

- |      |      |            |       |
|------|------|------------|-------|
| (73) | ngwa | future     | (FUT) |
|      | wa   | dubitative | (DUB) |
|      | mba  | potential  | (POT) |

The first two modals can be used for all types of PRED. The potential modal is used for intentional or desiderative simple verbal sentences and also for negative simple sentences. Verbs in a PRED with the FUT or DUB modal will be in the nonpast irrealis:

- |      |    |     |      |         |         |                                       |
|------|----|-----|------|---------|---------|---------------------------------------|
| (74) | a. | ai  | ngwa | ndêna   | mì      |                                       |
|      |    | I   | FUT  | 1S.IR.  | hit     | story                                 |
|      |    |     |      |         |         | <i>I will tell a story.</i>           |
|      | b. | ai  | wa   | nda-di  | pô      |                                       |
|      |    | I   | DUB  | 1S.IR.  | swim    | water                                 |
|      |    |     |      |         |         | <i>I might go swimming.</i>           |
|      | c. | ini | mba  | nô-kôna | gwà     |                                       |
|      |    | he  | POT  | 3S.IR.  | look.at | canoe                                 |
|      |    |     |      |         |         | <i>He wants to look at the canoe.</i> |

The first two modals, wa and ngwa can co-occur in one predicate, but neither can co-occur with mba in a simple sentence. The order is (wa) (ngwa):

- |      |    |     |      |        |                              |
|------|----|-----|------|--------|------------------------------|
| (75) | ai | wa  | ngwa | nda-kô | walêmu                       |
|      | I  | DUB | FUT  | 1S.IR. | go                           |
|      |    |     |      |        | <i>Lae</i>                   |
|      |    |     |      |        | <i>Maybe I'll go to Lae.</i> |

## 6.1.2 Other constituents

The predicate can also contain a prepositional phrase and temporal phrase as described in Section 5. (The secondary verb phrase, also an optional constituent, will be described in section 7.)

### 6.1.3 PRED structure

The predicate, then, has the following structure:

$$\text{PRED} \rightarrow (\text{MOD}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{M} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} (\text{PP}) (\text{TP})$$

## 6.2 Types of simple sentences

A simple sentence has this structure:

$$\text{S} \rightarrow (\text{TP}) \text{NP} \text{PRED.}$$

There are two types of simple sentences: verbal and non-verbal. Each of these can also be interrogative.

### 6.2.1 Verbal sentences

The most common simple sentences are the verbal sentences which have a VP in the predicate. They can be either transitive or intransitive. Examples are given in Section 4.1.

### 6.2.2 Non-verbal sentences

Non-verbal sentences have a noun phrase, a modifier, or a prepositional phrase as the main element of the predicate.

#### 6.2.2.1 NP complements

Examples of NP complements are as follows:

- (76) a. ini amêna haya  
*he man good*  
*He's a good man.*
- b. ai nda lêtanahi mba ànì  
*I 1S.POS desire pig one*  
*I want a pig. (Lit. My desire is a pig.)*

#### 6.2.2.2 Modifier complements

Examples of M complements are:

- (77) a. hanô lene kege  
*house this small*  
*This house is small.*
- b. sapa na anawê haya  
*moon 3S.POS brightness good*  
*The moon was bright.*

M complements with natô *able, like, measure up to* have a variety of meanings. (Compare Tok Pisin *inap*.) Note that natô can occur only in the predicate. (See also section 8.2.3.7.)

- (78) a. ai natô  
I able  
I'm able. (I can do it.)
- b. mabele natô kô alo malata  
marble like to leaf green  
The marble is like a green leaf (i.e. in colour).

### 6.2.2.3 PP complements

Examples of PP complements are as follows:

- (79) a. kê lene kô ini      b. ini dê ai nda kapôa  
thing this for him      he from I 1S.POS tribe  
This is for him.      He's from my tribe.

### 6.2.3 Interrogative sentences

#### 6.2.3.1 Yes-no questions

There are three ways to ask yes-no questions. The first is simply with rising intonation at the end of the sentence. The second and third are with question tags put at the end of the sentence. These are *e eh* and *kê naki* or *not*. Both use lower intonation than the sentence to which they are appended:

- (80) a. yê nawe e  
you 2S.IR.come eh  
You'll come, eh?
- b. ini tia sô kê naki  
he (3S.PT-)know COMP or not  
Does he know (already) or not?

#### 6.2.3.2 Information questions

An information question is a sentence which has final rising intonation and an interrogative marker in the place of the constituent about which information is required. The interrogative markers are:

- (81) sa(ni)      what, which  
epe      where  
ase      who  
hihi      how much, how many  
hêtape      when (in past)      (also hêta tê epe)  
nêtape      when (in future)      (also nêta tê epe)  
asa      how

The PP with *kô* and *sani* as the NP has the meaning *why* or *how*.

Some examples of information questions are:

- (82) a. yê nê-kô sani  
you 2S.NR-work what  
What are you doing?

- b. à sani  
tree which  
Which tree (is it)?
- c. yê na ama nê-nda epe  
you 2S.POS father 3S.NR-stay where  
Where is your father?
- d. ase eme  
who 3S.PT.come  
Who came?
- e. ase na gwà lene  
who 3S.POS canoe this  
Whose canoe is this?
- f. pepe tê hihi yê ô-kô salamaua  
time then how.many you 2S.PT-go S.  
How many times have you gone to Salamaua?
- g. ndêlene yê ô-gwê malu hêtape  
yesterday you 2S.PT-take sleep when  
When did you go to sleep yesterday?
- h. yê ngwa nô-kô asa  
you FUT 2S.IR-work how  
How will you do it?
- i. êsôha sô-nô pô kô sani  
they 3P-drink water for what  
Why did they get drunk? (Lit. Why did they drink water?)

### 6.3 Negation

In negative simple sentences the predicate obligatorily begins with the DUB or POT modal (most often the POT) and ends with a negative marker, -ki (NEG). This negative marker is descended from a verb stem as it takes the third person STM prefixes *na-* NR and *na-* IR, depending on the tense and modality of the event in verbal sentences. However, the negative marker cannot be classified synchronically as a verb as it cannot stand alone in a VP. Thus, the negative markers are:

- (83) naki irrealis (in imperative and dubitative sentences)  
 naki nonpast realis (for present and habitual events)  
 ki past (for past events and non-verbal completions)

Some examples are:

- (84) a. ai mba yô-nô ni ki  
I POT 1S.PT-drink coconut NEG  
I didn't drink the coconut.
- b. ai mba ndu-dumala kô gwà naki  
I POT 1S.NR-look at canoe NR.NEG  
I'm not looking at the canoe. or I don't see the canoe.
- c. yê mba nu-kusu naki  
you POT 2S.IR-spit IR.NEG  
Don't spit.

- d. hanô lènê mba kege ki  
*house that POT small NEG*  
*That house isn't small.*
- e. pita wa ηgwa na-sê gwà naki  
*P. DUB FUT 3S.IR-go.up canoe IR.NEG*  
*Peter might not get on the canoe.*

#### 6.4 Fragmentary sentences

Fragmentary sentences are reduced simple sentences in that they lack either a subject or predicate. They can be greetings, short answers to questions, commands, and interjections (INTJ). Some examples are:

- (85) pèhala haya *good afternoon*  
 haya *good (also used as reply to greeting)*  
 ôwe *(You've) come. (greeting)*  
 wa tawala sê *Close the door.*  
 kê *Yes*  
 (ηa)ki *No*  
 ôhô *No! that's not right! (INTJ)*  
 wambô *INTJ of surprise*  
 iana *O mama! INTJ for pain*

### 7. SECONDARY VERB PHRASES

#### 7.1 Background

Verb serialisation occurs in Labu as it does in other New Guinea Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages (Johnston 1978; Bradshaw 1980, 1982; Foley and Olson in press). It is also common in many languages of West Africa, especially of the Kwa group (Lord 1973; George 1976), and in languages of South-East and East Asia (Clark 1978; Li and Thompson 1974). Serial verb constructions in languages related to Labu "are characterised by the stringing together in one clauselike intonation unit of finite verb phrase without any markers of subordination or coordination" (Bradshaw 1982:25). Some examples from Labu are as follows:

- (86) a. êmaha ma-taya yê lê mê-nda hanô  
*we.XP 1XP-wait you COMP 1XP.stay house*  
*We waited for you at the house.*
- b. ai ya-ale ya-sê à  
*I 1S.PT-jump 1S.PT-go.up tree*  
*I climbed the tree.*
- c. kôma li à pia  
*wind (3S.PT-)blow tree (3S.PT-)fall.down*  
*The wind blew the tree down.*
- d. ai yô-kôna ô ànì suu nda idiawa  
*I 1S.PT-see crab one (3S.PT-)crawl (3S.PT-)stay mangrove*  
*I saw a crab crawling in the mangroves.*

These examples illustrate the two basic types of serial constructions. In the 'same subject' construction (a. and b.), the grammatical subject of the first

verb is also the subject of the following verb. In the 'switch subject' construction, the object of the first verb becomes the subject of the following verbs or verbs (c. and d.).

Linguists studying serialising languages have debated whether the VPs in serial constructions form a single clause or whether they represent separate clauses. Dempwolff described the serial construction in Yabem as the simplest type of conjoined sentence without boundary markers. But he went on to say that from the psychological point of view the conjoined sentence has only a single prepositional structure (Bradshaw 1980:13). Lord (1973:269) also says about the Kwa languages that "in the serial construction the verb phrases necessarily refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event". These semantic factors seem to indicate that serial verb constructions are not derived from separate clauses.

In addition, there is syntactic evidence to support the single clause point of view. Bradshaw (1982:28) points out:

- (a) there is no intonational or morphological clause boundary marker;
- (b) choice of subject in successive VPs is highly restricted;
- (c) successive VPs may not contrast with regard to negativity, tense/aspect, or polarity.

Foley and Olson (in press) also show how a single clause can be made up of "multiple predicate units" which are formed by what they call "nuclear or core junctures". They differentiate this serial verb construction from conjoined structures which they say result from "peripheral junctures", and are thus multi-clausal.

Bamgbose (1973) also proposes two types of serial constructions. The first, called the linking type, can be derived from two or more clauses. The second, the modifying type, can be derived from only a single clause. Modifying verbs in a serial construction merely modify the main verb of the sentence.

This is basically the point of view I am taking to describe Labu. Some serial constructions result from coordination between separate clauses which is morphologically unmarked. However, others result from a VP used as the grammatical means of expressing semantic or grammatical relationships that in other languages may be expressed with case markers, aspect markers, prepositions, or adverbs.

In Labu, dative, locative, comitative, and comparative relationships, as well as durative aspect, can be expressed with a VP in a serial construction. The relationship expressed by such a VP in a serial construction is secondary to the main proposition of the clause, expressed by the main, or primary VP. Thus, the term 'secondary verb phrase' refers to a VP in a serial construction which cannot be considered the main verb of the clause because of its mainly functional role.

A secondary verb phrase (hereafter VP') also differs from a primary one in that it is reduced to only two possible elements, a secondary verb (Vb') and an optional NP:

VP' → Vb' (NP)

The Vb', however, is still inflected with the STM prefix.

The rest of this section considers the various functions of secondary verb phrases in Labu and looks at a possible origin for the case marking prepositions.

## 7.2 Secondary verb phrases

## 7.2.1 The dative/benefactive and the verb -ta

The verb -ta *sit (on), stay (at), reach* is used in a VP' to express the dative/benefactive where the object of the VP' is the receiver of the object of the primary VP. On superficial analysis it would appear that ta is a preposition, but further examples show that it is the 3S PT form of -ta which has the zero STM prefix. In other tenses and when there is a first or second person object of the main verb, -ta is inflected:

- (87) a. ini pe ta ai nanôa  
*he (3S.PT-)say (3S.PT-)reach me 2S.IR.go*  
*He said to me, "Go".*
- b. ini yô ênê ta mba  
*he (3S.PT-)give taro.skins (3S.PT-)reach pig*  
*He gave taro skins to the pig.*
- c. ini ngô-yô ênê ngê-ta mba  
*he 3S.NR-give taro.skins 3S.NR-reach pig*  
*He gives taro skins to the pig.*
- d. ama yô ai yê-ta awa  
*father (#S.PT-)give me 1S.PT-reach maternal.uncle*  
*Father gave me to uncle.*
- e. ai ndô-yô yêmôha mô-ta pôpô  
*I 1S.IR-give you.P 2P-reach white.man*  
*I'll give you to the whiteman.*
- f. ini ngwa mala nê-ta ainialô  
*he FUT guardian 3S.IR-reach boy*  
*He'll be guardian for the boy.*

Here are some examples of -ta used as a primary verb:

- (88) a. nô-ta lê  
*2S.IR-sit.on that*  
*Sit on that.*
- dusuku sê-ta mēna mô  
*Labubutu.people 3P.PT-stay village old*  
*The Labubutu people stayed in the old village.*

## 7.2.2 The allative and the verb -kô

The verb -kô (V2) *go (to), move to or towards* is used to express the allative. In 3S PT it is homophonous with the Prep kô, but with other persons and tense it is inflected:

- (89) a. ai nda mba eme kô ai  
*I 1S.POS pig 3S.PT.come (3S.PT-)move.to me*  
*My pig came to me.*
- b. êmalu ma-gwê lê mē-nda idi ma-kô walêmu  
*we.XD 1XP-take COMP 1XP-come back 1XP-move.to Lae*  
*We got it and came back to Lae.*



- c. sapu ɲame      ɲa-ndê      mēna      haô sô  
*S. 3S.NR.come 3S.NR-sleep village new COMP*  
 ɲa-kadi      ɲa-kô      mēna      mô  
*3S.NR-return 3S.NR-move.to village old*  
*Sapu comes and sleeps at the new village and returns*  
*to the old village.*

### 7.2.3 Locative and the verb -nda

The most common secondary verb phrases are those that express location using the verb -nda *stay, come to stay*:

- (90) a. ai yu-dumala yê na      ana      nda      walêmu  
*I 1S.PT-see you 2S.POS mother (3S.PT-)stay Lae*  
*I saw your mother in Lae.*
- b. êmaha ma-taya yê lê      mē-nda      hanô  
*we.XP 1XP-wait you COMP 1XP-stay house*  
*We waited for you at the house.*
- c. ama      sôsô      ai mba ndêna      kole ndê-nda      ò  
*father (3S.PT-)force me SUB 1S.IR.hit work 1S.IR-stay garden*  
*Father forced me to work in the garden.*

Here is an example of -nda used as a primary verb followed by another locative verb -pilipi *be near* used as a secondary verb:

- (91) pita ɲê-nda      ɲê-pilipi      pô  
*P. 3S.NR-stay 3S.NR-be.near water*  
*Peter is near the water.*

### 7.2.4 The durative and the verb -nda

The verb -nda *stay* can also express the durative (compare Tok Pisin | *stap*):

- (92) a. êmalu mē-êlê      mē-nda  
*we.XD 1XP-search 1XP-stay*  
*We were searching for it.*
- b. êsôha sô-kô gwà sê-nda ame pêsê  
*they.P 3P-make canoe 3P-stay until night*  
*They were making the canoe until night.*

### 7.2.5 Directionals

Several verbs are used in secondary verb phrases to indicate direction of movement:

- (93) -sê      go up  
 -ate      go down  
 -pa      go inside  
 -hê      come out

Some examples are:

- (94) a. ai ya-ale ya-sê gwà  
 I 1S.PT-jump 1S.PT-go.up canoe  
 I jumped onto the canoe.
- b. ai ya-ne ya-te kakala  
 I 1S.PT-sail 1S.PT-go.down Labutali  
 I went down to Labutali.
- c. êmalu ma-kadi ma-pa yuni  
 we.XD 1XP-return 1XP-go.inside university  
 We returned to the university.
- d. ai ndô-kôna a ŋa-hê tawala nalô  
 I 1S.NR-see sun 3S.NR-come.out door small  
 I see the sun through the window.

### 7.2.6 The comitative with the verb -hi

The verb -hi *accompany, be with* is used for the comitative:

- (95) a. ini ndê hi hêna  
 he (3S.PT-)lie (3S.PT-)be.with woman  
 He slept with a woman.
- b. yê nô-hi ama na-te kêpi  
 you 2S.IR-go.with father 3S.IR-go.down bush  
 Go with your father to the bush.
- c. ai yê-hi amêna ya-te kêpi  
 I 1S.PT-go.with man 1S.PT-go.down bush  
 I went with the men to the bush or  
 I went to the bush with the men.

### 7.2.7 The comparative and the verb -kêlêlê

The verb -kêlêlê *win* is used for the comparative as in this example:

- (96) meri watê kêlêlê ainialô  
 M. tall (3S.PT-)win boys  
 Mary is taller than the boys.

### 7.2.8 Temporals

A VP' can also mark a temporal relationship. An example is given with -mô *lead, come first*:

- (97) ai ndô-kô gwà na-mô  
 I 1S.IR-make canoe 3S.IR-go.first  
 I'll work on the canoe first.

### 7.3 Prepositions and secondary verb phrases

As mentioned in Section 5.1, Labu prepositions are most probably derived from verbs. More specifically, they are derived from secondary verbs in serial constructions. (The same holds true for the negative markers, mentioned in Section 6.3.)

The reanalysis of verbs as prepositions has been described for Chinese (Li and Thompson 1974), for South-East Asian languages (Clark 1978, 1979a, 1979b), and for West African languages (Lord 1973; Givón 1975). For the Kwa languages of West Africa, and for Labu, the main criterion for the reanalysis is the loss of the ability to take verbal affixes.

The common Labu preposition *kô* is homophonous with two verb stems: *-kô* (V1) *do, make* and *-kô* (V2) *go, move to*. The latter is the most probable source for the preposition *kô* in its accusative and dative usages, and the former for its instrumental usage. The second syllable of *dêhi from* could possibly be traced back to *-hi accompany, be with*. The two temporal interrogatives *hêtape* and *nêtape* (Section 6.2.4.2), one past and one nonpast (with *nV-* as the nonpast prefix), suggest a verbal origin for the temporal preposition *hêta*. And *ame until* appears to be closely related to the irregular verb *-eme come*.

It is noteworthy that when *-kô* (V2) is a secondary verb, its meaning is still basically the same as when it is a primary verb. However, the preposition *kô* has only a vague semantic connection to its verbal antecedent.

Clark (1979b:4) has described stages in the process of derivation of prepositions from verbs. During the second stage, both the verb and its derived preposition occur synchronically. In Labu, *kô* as both a preposition and a verb occur, but they have different functions. However, there is one verb in Labu for which a homophonous preposition may be just evolving. The verb *-ta sit, go to be situated (at)* is often used in a secondary verb phrase with a dative function (see example 87). However, it is sometimes not inflected where one would expect it to be. For example, both these sentences are acceptable:

- (98) a. *ama yô ai yê-ta awa*  
*father (3S.PT-)give me 1S.PT-reach maternal.uncle*
- b. *ama yô ai ta awa*  
*father (3S.PT-)give me to [?] maternal.uncle*  
*Father gave me to uncle.*

Thus, a preposition *ta* may be evolving. It is also noteworthy that this usage of *-ta* as a secondary verb has diverged semantically from its usage as a primary verb.

## 8. COORDINATE AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

Coordinate and complex sentences are derived from more than one simple sentence.

### 8.1 Coordinate sentences

There are two types of coordinate sentences: those conjoined with intonational but not morphological markers (juxtaposed sentences) and those conjoined with coordinating conjunctions.

For both types, there is equi-NP deletion so that if the NP which is the subject of the second sentence is identical to that of the first sentence, it must be deleted.

### 8.2.1 Juxtaposed sentences

In juxtaposed sentence coordination, the sentence boundary is marked by a pause in the flow of speech. Example (99) below shows the most common type of juxtaposition, used for sequential sentences. The first sentence ends with the completive aspect marker, *sô* which is pronounced with rising intonation and followed by a pause (cf. Tok Pisin sentence juxtaposition with *pinis*).

- (99) ôpa            ànì dê            katalehe    watê sô  
*crocodile one (3S.PT-)lie steep.bank long COMP*  
 aale                eme  
 (3S.PT-)jump 3S.PT.come  
*A crocodile which had been lying on the long steep river bank  
 jumped up and came.*

In many cases the juxtaposed construction could alternatively be made with morphological markers. For example the following juxtaposed construction could also be made with a complex temporal phrase introduced by *hêta* *when* (see section 8.2.1):

- (100) yê ô-na        Walêmu êmaha mô-nô        bia  
*you 2S.PT-go Lae we.XP 1XP.PT-drink beer*  
*When you went to Lae, we drank beer.*

### 8.1.2 Coordination with conjunctions

There are four coordinating conjunctions in Labu.

- (101) a            *and*  
 kê            *or* (in alternative sentences)  
 tê            *then, at the time* (in sequential coordination)  
 ka            *as, at the time, and*

Two of these, *tê* and *ka*, can co-occur with *a*.

There is generally a break in the flow of speech before either *a* or *kê* and the vowel of each is lengthened.

Some examples of these conjunctions in coordinate sentences:

- (102) a. Koneli ya            ka a ai yêgi            ami  
*K. 3S.PT.eat taro and I 1S.PT.eat yam*  
*Conelly ate taro and I ate yams.*  
 b. ai ngwa nda-kô    Walêmu kê ngwa nda-na    nda-gwê ê  
*I FUT 1S.IR-go Lae or FUT 1S.IR-go 1S.IR-get fish*  
*I'll go to Lae or I'll go get fish.*  
 c. ini ya            ainialô mô            pasô tê ya iya  
*he 3S.PT.hit boy (3S.PT-)be.first COMP then hit dog*  
*He hit the boy first, then hit the dog.*

- d. êsôha sê-kêlêlê a tê sô-nô pô  
*they 3P.PT-win and then 3P.PT-drink water*  
*They won and then got drunk (Lit. drank water).*
- e. u anamô a tê êmaha mê-yi ma-kadi  
*rain big and then we.XP 1XP.PT-run.away 1XP.PT-return*  
*There was a heavy rain and then we ran back.*

## 8.2 Complex sentences

Three categories of complex sentences in Labu will be discussed here: those with complex temporal phrases, those with relative clauses, and those with subordinate clauses introduced by mba.

### 8.2.1 Complex temporal phrases

Complex temporal phrases are introduced by hêta *during, when* or ame *until* as in the following examples:

- (104) a. hêta kolenalô ani laê daa mênà êmalu  
*when Saturday one that (3S.PT-)leave COMP we.XD*  
 stimiŋ ma-te mênà mô-kôna  
*S. 1XP.PT-go.down village 1XP.PT-look.at*  
 pinasê na troli  
*speedboat 3S.POS trolley*  
*On last Saturday Stimming and I went down to the village  
 and looked at the speedboat's trolley (trailer).*
- b. ai ndê-nda ame ama name  
*I 1S.IR-stay until father 3S.IR.come*  
*I'll stay until father comes.*

Time is also expressed with a complex TP with hêta:

- (105) ai ya-di malu hêta awanô ma sôha  
*I 1S.PT-do sleep when hour mark four*  
*I slept at four o'clock.*

### 8.2.2 Relative clauses

The general relative clause introducer (REL) is lake. It is invariable for person and number. Here are some examples of various types of relative clause constructions. In the first set the object of the main clause is the head noun of the relative clause, but it is not expressed in the relative clause. (This type is called the 'gap type' by Comrie 1981:140.)

- (106) Head NP as subject of relative clause:
- a. ai yô-kôna hêna lake sê-nda dusuku  
*I 1S.PT-see woman REL 3P-stay Labubutu*  
*I saw women who live in Labubutu.*

- b. amêna ya ainalê lake ya hono kô kakala  
 man 3S.PT.hit boy REL 3S.PT.hit theft of chicken  
*The man hit the boy who stole the chicken.*

(107) Head NP as object of relative clause:

ini ainalô lake ai yô-kôna  
 he boy REL I 1S.PT-see  
*He's the boy whom I saw.*

(108) Head NP as object of VP' in relative clause:

ai yô-kôna hanô lake amêna yô  
 I 1S.PT-see house REL man (3S.PT-)give  
 kakala ta  
 chicken (3S.PT-)reach  
*I saw the house which the man brought the chicken to.*

(109) Head NP as object of instrumental PP (with Prep kô deleted):

ai yô-kôna à lake amêna ya ainalô  
 I 1S.PT-see stick REL man 3S.PT.hit boy  
*I saw the stick which the man beat the boy (with).*

In the following example, a pronoun referring to the head NP is included in the relative clause (pronoun retention type):

(110) Head NP as NP of PP in the relative clause:

ai yô-kôna ainalô lake amêna gwê kakala dêhi ini  
 I 1S.PT-see boy REL man (3S.PT-)take chicken from him  
*I saw the boy whom the man got the chicken from.*

In the following examples, the subject of the main clause is the head NP of an embedded relative clause. But it is debatable whether this is true embedding because the relative clause is followed by the sequential coordinating conjunction *tê*. (Further research is needed in this area.)

- (111) a. amêna lake ya hono kô kakala tê ya ainalô  
 man REL 3S.PT.hit theft of chicken then 3S.PT.hit boy  
*The man who stole the chicken (then) hit the boy.*
- b. amêna lake yô kakala ta ai tê  
 man REL (3S.PT-)give chicken (3S.PT-)reach me then  
 nâ ainalô mahanô  
 3S.POS son (3S.PT-)die  
*The son of the man who gave the chicken to me died.*

Relative clauses are also used for a complex type of locative phrase:

- (112) ai yê-lênda ha gê-ti kôma  
 I 1S.PT-leave string.bag 3S.PR-be.located.at place  
 lake aha lô-lôwalo  
 REL we.IP 1IP.PT-rest  
*I left my string bag at the place where we rested.*

Finally the relativiser *lake* plus the pro-temporal *tê* is another way of introducing complex temporal phrases: *lake tê* at that time, when:

- (113) ini na ya kê pasô mba na-kadi lake tê  
*he (3S.PT-)go 3S.PT.eat food COMP POT 3S.IR-return REL then*  
 tatawa anamô eme wa kôma sê  
*cloud big 3S.PT.come (3S.PT-)cover place (3S.PT- go.up*  
*He had eaten and was about to return when big clouds came*  
*and covered the place.*

### 8.2.3 Complex sentences with mba

A variety of complex sentence types include constructions with the general subordinating conjunction *mba*. Related languages have similar subordinators but they are morphologically verbs, e.g. Yabem *-be* and Numbami *-ngo*, both glossed as *say* (Bradshaw 1980:19).

#### 8.2.3.1 Adversatives

In Labu adversative clauses are introduced by *tôgwatô one* (and here *but*) plus *mba*:

- (114) a. ini yo haya tôgwatô mba ainialô  
*he boss good but SUB boy*  
*He's a good boss but too young.*
- b. ai mba nda-na ndê-êlê ê tôgwatô mba u  
*I SUB 1S.IR-go 1S.IR-look.for fish but SUB rain*  
 anamô ya  
*big 3S.PT.hit*  
*I want to go look for fish, but a big rain hit.*

#### 8.2.3.2 Purposives

The use of *mba* for purposives is closely related to the desiderative and intentional. The complement in purposives takes the irrealis nonpast STM prefix:

- (115) a. mba haya mba lêna  
*pig good SUB 1IP.eat*  
*The pig is good for us to eat.*
- b. konda yô pu ta pita  
*K. (3S.PT- give betelnut (3S.PT-)reach P.*  
 mba nô-yô nê-ta ainialô  
*SUB 3S.IR-give 3S.IR-reach boy*  
*Konda gave betelnut to Peter to give to the boy.*
- c. ini kadi kô mêna mô mba na kê  
*he (3S.IR-)return (3S.PT-)go village old SUB 3S.IR.eat food*  
*He returned to the old village to eat.*

## 8.2.3.3 Reason clauses

Reason clauses are introduced by the preposition *kô* for plus *mba*:

- (116) *êsôha sô-nô pô kô mba êsôha sê-kêlêlê sêsê*  
*they.P 3P.PT-drink water for SUB they 3P.PT-win game*  
*They got drunk (lit. drank water) because they won the game.*

## 8.2.3.4 Quotatives

Both direct and indirect quotations are introduced by *mba*. However, it is optional for direct quotations:

(117) indirect:

- a. *na-pe mba ini na tawala sô*  
*2S.IR-tell SUB he 3S.IR.hit door open*  
*Tell him to open the door.*
- b. *ini pe ta ai mba nda-na*  
*he (3S.PT-)tell (3S.PT-)reach me SUB 1S.IR-go*  
*He told me to go.*

(118) direct:

- ini pe ta ai (mba) nanao*  
*he (3S.PT-)tell (3S.PT-)reach me (SUB) 2S.IR.go*  
*He told me, "Go."*

## 8.2.3.5 Causatives

The complement (in the irrealis nonpast) is introduced by *mba* in some causative-like constructions. For example:

- (119) a. *ama sôsô ai mba ndêna kolê ndê-nda ô*  
*father (3S.PT-)force me SUB 1S.IR.hit work 1S.IR-stay garden*  
*Father forced me to work in the garden.*
- b. *ai yô-sôsô amele mba nê-pêsa kopi*  
*I 1S.PT-force A. SUB 3S.IR-make coffee*  
*I made Ampre make coffee.*

## 8.2.3.6 Negatives

Section 6.2.5 showed how *mba* is used in negative simple sentences. It is also used with two negative verbs: *-le not want (to do something)* and the phrasal *-ya palê not know*. Complements are not restricted in tense. Some examples are:

- (120) a. *ai ya-le mba ndêna ê*  
*I 1S.PT-not.want SUB 1S.IR.eat fish*  
*I don't want to eat fish.*
- b. *ai yêgi palê mba ngwa nda-di pô*  
*I 1S.PT.hit not.know SUB FUT 1S.IR-swim water*  
*I don't know if I'll go swimming.*



## 8.2.3.7 Abilitatives

Abilitatives have a subordinate clause following *natô* *able*, *measure up to*:

- (121) a. ai natô mba ndô-kôna gwà  
 I able SUB 1S.PR-see canoe  
 I can see the canoe.
- b. ai mba natô mba ndô-kôna gwà ki  
 I POT able SUB 1S.IR-see canoe  
 I can't see the canoe.

## 8.2.3.8 Conditionals and counterfactual sentences

Conditionals and counterfactual sentences (with unrealised if-clauses) differ from other complex sentences in that the initial clause is subordinated. In conditional sentences, the irrealis STM prefix is used and the sequential conjunction *tê* is optional. Verbs in counterfactual sentences also have the CTF prefix (see Section 4.1.6). Some examples are:

- (122) a. yê mba nô-yô pù nê-ta ini tê  
 you SUB 2S.IR-give betelnut 3S.IR-reach him then  
 ngwa lêta haya  
 FUT belly good  
 If you give the betelnut to him, then he'll be happy.
- b. mba nô-kôna pinasê neme tê aha la-kô walêmu  
 SUB 2S.IR-see speedboat 3S.IR.come then we.IP 1IP-go.to Lae  
 If you see the speedboat come, then we'll go to Lae.
- c. ai mba ndô-nô ni ai nda nê-nê aiyana na-hê  
 I SUB 1S.IR-drink coconut I 1S.POS body strong 3S.IR-become  
 If I drink coconuts, my body will become strong.
- d. ai mba ndô-kô-nô ni ai nda nê-nê  
 I SUB 1S.IR-CTF-drink coconut I 1S.POS body  
 aiyana ka-hê  
 strong 3S.CTF-become  
 If I had drunk coconuts, my body would have become strong.

## 9. TEXT

This text is from Keith Kamake of Labubutu. First the text is given with interlinear morpheme glosses. This is followed by a free English translation.

Double slashes indicate pauses in the discourse marking complex sentence boundaries between coordinate clauses. Verbs with the  $\emptyset$  STM prefix are 3S.PT, although in this text they are not glossed as such.

ai ngwa ndêna mî kô ôpa gwê sapu // hêta tê mêna dusuku  
 I FUT 1S.IR.hit story about crocodile take Sapu when then village Labubutu  
 sê-ta mêna mô sô sê-na o sô-kô mêna haô a  
 3P.PT-sit village old COMP 3P.PT-go.for sweat 3P.PT-make village new and

du aniani sê-ta mêna mô // sapu ini ɲame ɲa-ndê mêna  
*people a.few 3S.PT-sit village old Sapu he 3S.PR.come 3S.PR-sleep village*  
 haô sô / ɲa-kadi ɲa-kô mêna mô ɲa-na mba na kê //  
*new COMP 3S.PR-return 3S.PR-go village old 3S.PR-go SUB 3S.IR.eat food*  
 pêhala àni ini nda mêna haô sô / kadi kô mêna mô mba na  
*evening one he stay village new COMP return go village old SUB 3S.IR.eat*  
 kê // hêta tê ini la pô na lake sapa na anawê haya // ini  
*food when then he paddle water go REL moon 3S.POS brightness good he*  
 na ya kê pasô mba na-kadi lake tê tatawa anamô // tatawa sê eme  
*go eat food COMP POT 3S.IR-return REL then cloud big cloud go.up come*  
 wa kôma sê kôma akese // ini eme uwi gwà sô / gwê hi  
*cover place closed place dark he come drag.over canoe COMP take paddle*  
 mba na-la // la pepe tê salu dê nama ki sô / ka hi  
*SUB 3S.IR-paddle paddle time then two lie hand left COMP cut paddle*  
 hi mba na-la dê nama wahê // ôpa àni dê katalehe watê  
*changed SUB 3S.IR-paddle lie hand right crocodile one lie steep.bank long*  
 sô aale eme // gwê ini ate nama ki namaaho lêngê tê gwê lê  
*COMP jump come take him go.down arm left upper.arm that then take COMP*  
 ate pô anungu // na nda wa nda natô kô awanô ma samô // salu  
*go-down water inside go stay DUB stay able for hour mark whole they*  
 sê-nda dê piahô sê-nda idi sê-pa sô sê-hê lake tê sapu  
*3P-stay from river.mouth 3P-stay back 3P-go.in COMP 3P-come.out REL then Sapu*  
 saê mba ôpa gwê ini // salu seme sê-hê piahô lêngê /  
*feel SUB crocodile take him they 3P.come 3P.come.out river.mouth that*  
 ini na akapô na taa ma tê ôhô lo  
*he 3S.POS leg go touch sandy.spot.where.water.gets.shallow then step.on self*  
 sô dê ôpa na ahônggu lê salala kô eme sê pô anosô //  
*COMP from crocodile 3S.POS mouth this quickly go come go.up water surface*  
 tê kalê di di / ôpa ɲi kêsê li pô anungu papa  
*then start swim swim crocodile dive out.through move.fast water inside DUR*  
 na sê ipi ỏ // taka ini eme / sapu dumala kô têngê tê / ɲi sê  
*go go.up side bank cut he come Sapu look at there then dive go.up*  
 ate pô anungu // ôpa li pô wahê / salu so-so  
*go.down water inside crocodile move.fast water top they 3P-miss*  
 lo ini eme ka dumala mba sapu pa ỏ na tê ahana hê di  
*one.another he come and look SUB Sapu go.in shore go then hot become swim*  
 kadi hê // salu sô-kô kô têngê ame sapu na pe pane kô  
*return come.out they 3P-make like that until Sapu go become near go*  
 ma tê kalê aale sê na // ɲia ɲia tê nôhona  
*shallow.place then start jump go.up go cry.out cry.out then sisters*  
 sôa seme sêya lê // hêta tê lêngê tê sapu na namaaho  
*all.relative 3P.come 3P.hit help when then then then Sapu 3S.POS upper.arm*  
 lêngê tê pa tuu // ôpa na nahe gwê ini na apisi asi //  
*that then go.in broken crocodile 3S.POS teeth take he 3S.POS flesh a.little*

nôhona seme sô-gwe lê tadia ama kô nôhona sô-gwê lê sê-na  
 sisters 3P.come -take COMP naked like.nothing go sisters 3P-take COMP 3S-go  
 pêsê tôgwatô lènê tê nôhona sôa sô-gwê lê sê-hê kôma  
 night one.same that then sisters all.relatives 3P-take COMP 3P-come.out place  
 miya haô lene seme // eme nda nama haya hê takêsi lene sapu gê-nda  
 sick new this 3P.come come stay arm good become now this Sapu 3S.PR-stay  
 ngwa lu-dumala kô ini na namaaho lene pe kako / tê êna ahô  
 FUT 1IP-look at he 3S.POS upper.arm that become crooked then its reason  
 lene //  
 this

*I'll tell a story about the crocodile taking Sapu.*

*When the Labubutu people had left the old village and made the new village, a few people still lived at the old one. Sapu used to sleep in the new village and go back to the old village to eat.*

*One evening, having been in the new village, he left for the old village to have his meal. When he paddled across the water, the moon was bright. He finished eating and wanted to return when a big cloud covered the moon and made everything dark. He dragged the canoe into the water and took the paddle to start paddling across. He paddled twice with his left hand and changed the paddle to his right hand.*

*A crocodile sleeping on the long steep bank jumped up and came near. It grabbed his upper left arm and pulled him down into the water. It went on maybe for an hour. They ended up at the river mouth and then back inside and then out again when Sapu felt that the crocodile was going to really take him down. They came out to the river mouth and Sapu's foot touched a shallow spot. Then he braced himself on the sand, got his arm out of the crocodile's mouth, and quickly got to the surface. Then he started swimming.*

*The crocodile kept cutting through the water to the bank. It cut towards Sapu and he saw it and dove down into the water as the crocodile shot up so that they just missed each other. The crocodile came to see if Sapu had got to shore and angry now swam back out. They went on like this until Sapu got close to a shallow spot and started climbing out of the water.*

*He cried out and cried out and all his sisters and cousin sisters came to help. At that time Sapu's arm was broken and the crocodile's teeth had taken some flesh. His sisters came and got him naked out of the water. That same night they took him to the new hospital. The arm is all right nowadays.*

*Sapu is still around. If we see his arm is crooked, that's the reason.*

## LABU-ENGLISH WORD LIST

## A

- a<sup>1</sup> and  
 a<sup>2</sup> CONTR of aha we (1IP)  
 a<sup>3</sup> sun; day  
 à tree; wood: à hapo walking stick;  
 à hata wooden pillow  
 -aale (V2) jump  
 adô aunt: mother's older sister or  
 wife of father's older brother  
 aha we, us (1IP)  
 ahala flower  
 ahalô 1. testicles; 2. seed  
 ahana hot  
 ahata wall; plank; any flat piece  
 of wood  
 ahe Malay apple (*Yambosa gomata*)  
 ahêna daughter; niece (man's  
 brother's daughter)  
 ahênasê niece (daughter of man's  
 sister or of woman's brother or  
 sister)  
 ahihi price  
 aho fat; thick (of round things)  
 ahô<sup>1</sup> base; bottom; reason  
 ahô<sup>2</sup> language: ahô yupa foreign  
 language  
 ahômômô mute  
 ahônôhô cold  
 ahôngu mouth  
 ahôsulu saliva  
 ahu<sup>1</sup> heart  
 ahu<sup>2</sup> conch shell  
 ai<sup>1</sup> I; me (1S)  
 ai<sup>2</sup> son; nephew (man's brother's  
 son)  
 aimanda orphan  
 ain iron (>E)  
 ainialô young boy  
 aisê nephew (son of man's sister  
 or woman's brother or sister)  
 aitu bastard  
 aka shoots (of plants)  
 akaka stubborn  
 akana sweet  
 akapô leg  
 akatô straight  
 akese dark  
 ako covering: ako anêndi shirt;  
 ako tahô trousers; ù ako lid of  
 a pot  
 akô some  
 akôlôhô egg  
 alamô younger brother or sister  
 (of male or female)  
 alani wife of husband's brother  
 alanja noise  
 alê side of canoe without outrigger  
 alêta stomach (CONTR lêta)  
 alo leaf  
 alomala<sup>1</sup> green  
 alomala<sup>2</sup> eggs of lice  
 alôhô (INC) -ya alôhô start  
 alôma empty; worthless: yà alôma  
 a lie; hanô alôma empty house;  
 kok alôma only a Coke (there's  
 no Bacardi in it)  
 alôpônggi heavy  
 alu we, us (1ID)  
 alugu bone  
 ama<sup>1</sup> father  
 ama<sup>2</sup> for nothing, in vain

amala <sup>1</sup>	uncle: father's younger brother or husband of mother's younger sister	ànì	one (indefinite article)
amala <sup>2</sup>	sharp	aniani	a few
amala <sup>3</sup>	1. first; 2. (INC)-ya mala be first (e.g. in a line)	anoso	surface of the water
amamu	(someone else's) father	anôhônô	1. hair (of hand, leg, armpit, genitals); 2. fur of animal; 3. feathers of birds
amatô	uncle: father's older brother or husband of mother's older sister	anôsô	end of something (e.g. rope)
ambênê	thick	antô	lump (on something)
ame	(PREP) until	anungu	the inside of something
amê	firstborn female	angi	third born male
amêna	man	angô	fourth born male
amênamu	sixth born female	angu	ripe
ami	yam	apalia	stink
amika	tapioca	apana	1. twigs; 2. wood shavings
ampô	grease; animal fat	apaŋ	always
amoa	second born male	apaŋa	name
ana <sup>1</sup>	mother	apapô	rubbish (small pieces which might have later use)
ana <sup>2</sup>	pus	apê	side: apê alugu rib
anaha	empty: pù anaha betelnut husk; ni anaha coconut shell	àpê	sago
anahô	hollow; hole	apêsa <sup>1</sup>	careful(ly)
anale	ember; anything red-hot	apêsa <sup>2</sup>	again
analô	non-human offspring	apiahô	mouth of a river (CONTR piahô)
anama	handle	apisi	flesh; meat
anamô	big	apo	dorsal fin
anaŋa	edge; side	apolo	sago roof
anaso	skin; bark; peel: ni anaso coconut husk	apô	1. grandmother, grandfather; 2. grand-daughter, grandson
anatê	1. liver; 2. lungs; 3. sweetheart	apôane	head: à apôane tree stump
anawê	1. clean; 2. clearness; 3. brightness	asa	how
anêndi <sup>1</sup>	1. fruit; 2. solution (to a problem); 3. addition	asakê	sour
anêndi <sup>2</sup>	true	asama	weapon, such as club
andi	dirty	asàmà	fast
ani	centipede	asamôni	twenty: asamô sulu forty; asamô sidi sixty; asamô sôha eighty
		ase	who
		asele	chin; jaw

aselele dry  
 asesi a little bit  
 asêkato tail  
 asênesia itchy; causing itchiness  
 asêpe sneeze (INC with -ya)  
 asi<sup>1</sup> hole  
 asi<sup>2</sup> a little  
 asisi 1. scrotum; 2. soft inside  
     part of a sprouted coconut  
 aso firstborn male  
 asôlô 1. eighth born male;  
     2. seventh born female  
 asôlô<sup>1</sup> juice (of meat or fruit);  
     soup  
 asôlô<sup>2</sup> 1. seventh born male;  
     2. sixth born female  
 asôsô corner  
 atahu smoke (of fire)  
 -ate (V2) go down  
 atêkê thin  
 atikato chest  
 atôtôhô wet  
 awa 1. father's sister; 2. father's  
     sister's husband; 3. mother's  
     brother; 4. mother's brother's  
     wife  
 awahê warm  
 awanô<sup>1</sup> 1. shadow; 2. reflection;  
     3. ghost (of humans)  
 awanô<sup>2</sup> period of time  
 awasi horse  
 awawu in a roundabout way: ini na  
     ahôngu awawu he talks in circles  
 awê<sup>1</sup> nest  
 awê<sup>2</sup> causing itchiness; itchy: ka  
     awê taro which causes the throat  
     to itch  
 awôwa root  
 aya third born female  
 ayalê energy

ayaña strength  
 ayañi odour  
 ayaño 1. shadow; 2. reflection  
     (of objects)  
 ayêpo lateral fin or tail of fish  
 ayo wave of the hand

## B

bo ball (>E)  
 bôlê pronged spear for fishing

## D

-daa (V2) get spoiled; break down  
 dala metal drum (e.g. for petrol)  
     (>E drum)  
 dange thank you (> German *Danke*)  
 dasa lie, falsehood  
 -dê (V2) lie, be at a place  
 dê (PREP) from  
 dêhi (PREP) from (a person)  
 -di (V1) do some action; fly; swim;  
     catch  
 di<sup>1</sup> spear  
 di<sup>2</sup> 1. big variety of betelnut;  
     2. fruit of a palm  
 di<sup>3</sup> wooden bowl  
 dî<sup>1</sup> sugar cane  
 dî<sup>2</sup> blood  
 dî<sup>3</sup> beard  
 dî<sup>4</sup> (R) brought close: ai yêkiha  
     ini dî 'I held her close.'  
 -dia (V1) action of using a scoop  
     net  
 dikôô the back bundle of two being  
     carried on each end of a pole  
     (see kêno)  
 dôngôndô fog

du<sup>1</sup> people  
 du<sup>2</sup> shield  
 dukêla leader  
 -dumala (V1) look, see

## E

-eme (Virreg) come (to place where speaker is)  
 -eje (V1) peep  
 epe which; where  
 ê fish: êgwa eel; êhata ray; êku prawn, lobster, crayfish; êmulumu salmon; ênê mackerel; ênôpô shark; ênôpô su epaulette shark; ênôpô panemala tiger shark; ênôpô pusaya hammerhead shark; êsapulu blue marlin; êsôa mullet; êtaa king prawn; êtêtê garfish; êti trevally; êyigu tuna

-êêlê (V1) search for  
 êkato sky  
 êmaha we, us (LXP) (CONTR maha)  
 êmalu we, us (LXD) (CONTR malu)  
 êmidi we, us (LXT) (CONTR midi)  
 êna (POS) its  
 -êndi (V1) be hanging  
 ênê rubbish skin of taro  
 êpê bow  
 êsa way  
 êsalu they, them (3D) (CONTR salu)  
 êsatô road  
 êsidi<sup>1</sup> we, us (LIT) (CONTR sisi)  
 êsidi<sup>2</sup> they, them (3T) (CONTR sisi)  
 êsôha they, them (3P) (CONTR sôha)  
 êta fourth born female  
 êtê something generally melon shaped: êtê pôpô watermelon; êtê koso cucumber

## G

gasugasu whale  
 -gololê (V2) dress up  
 gololo all  
 -gu (V1) answer  
 gu<sup>1</sup> date (day)  
 gu<sup>2</sup> rope  
 gulu hat  
 gulumu back side (for locating animate subjects) ini heta hanô na gulumu 'He's sitting behind the house.'  
 gwà canoe  
 gwaô car  
 -gwê (V2) take; pick; bring

## H

ha bag (e.g. string bag)  
 ha- (prefix for parts of the leg):  
 hakaku toes; hakêpê heel; hakôsô ankle; halakê hip; hapalô upper part of the foot; hapo shin; hapôô big toe; hasôkê little toe; hatê calf; hatô knee; haata sole; hao toenail  
 hahêna man's brother's wife  
 hamu afterwards, later  
 hana large turtle  
 hanà footprint  
 -hane (V2) 1. cross (bridge, river); 2. shoot  
 hanô house  
 hapa Labu people's name for themselves  
 hata pillow  
 haô new  
 haya good, well  
 -hê (V2) 1. come out; 2. become (not permanent)

hêna 1. woman; 2. (INC)-ya hêna  
 'get married (male subject);  
 hênamu fifth born female  
 hêndi hunger: hêndi ya ai 'I'm  
 hungry.'  
 hêta<sup>1</sup> something right (not wrong)  
 hêta<sup>2</sup> (PREP, CONJ) during, at the  
 time of  
 hêtape when (in the past)?  
 -hi<sup>1</sup> (Vi) weave (basket, mat)  
 -hi<sup>2</sup> (V1) accompany; be with  
 -hi<sup>3</sup> (V1) stick in the ground so  
 that it stands up  
 hi<sup>1</sup> paddle; fin of a fish  
 hi<sup>2</sup> (R) turned or changed (used  
 with ka) ini yaka hi hi 'He  
 changed the paddle (to the other  
 side).'  
 hihi 1. how much, how many;  
 2. (INC)-ya hihi 'buy'  
 hininôpô firefly  
 hiya second born female  
 hono (INC)-ya hono 'steal'  
 -hô<sup>1</sup> (V1) step on  
 -hô<sup>2</sup> (V2) write  
 hô banana  
 hôgwa market; trading  
 hône different  
 hônô (R) killed  
 -hu (V1) blow  
 hu 1. stone; hu nalô small stone,  
 gravel; 2. money  
 huku the middle of something  
 -huggu (V1) eat meat only  
 husê swollen

i<sup>1</sup> axei<sup>2</sup> raft

idi back (to someplace)  
 idiawa mangrove  
 igu driftwood  
 ini he, him, she, her, it (3S)  
 ini-lê this one (near the addressee)  
 ini-ne this one (near the speaker)  
 ipi part, area, half  
 iya dog  
 iyamônga wallaby

## K

-ka (V2) 1. break; cut; tear:  
 ka...poso tear: ai yaka upu poso  
 'I tore the cloth.'; 2. turn:  
 ka...hi turned; changed: ai yaka  
 upu hi 'I turned the cloth (put  
 it on inside out).'  
 ka<sup>1</sup> taro  
 ka<sup>2</sup> (CONJ) as, at the same time,  
 and  
 -kadi (V2) return  
 kahini yellow  
 kaka<sup>1</sup> lazy  
 kaka<sup>2</sup> hard  
 kakala chicken  
 kako crooked (not straight)  
 kalaka scales: amêna kalaka man  
 with ringworm  
 -kalê<sup>1</sup> (V2) scratch  
 -kalê<sup>2</sup> (V2) start  
 kalô grass skirt: hêna na kalô ate  
 'The woman is menstruating.'  
 (lit. The woman's grass skirt is  
 down.)  
 kalôsamba gills  
 -kalu (V2) bite (grab on with the  
 teeth)  
 kalu small crabs found along the  
 beach (ghost crab)



- kalumba hermit crab  
kanôla small variety of seagull  
kapama light (not heavy)  
kapô kapok (>E)  
kapôa tribe  
kapuma soft  
kasa fight (INC with -ya)  
-kasi (V2) bite (into pieces)  
kata 1. row of houses; 2. level of a house: kata wahe upper floor  
katakô 1. mainland; 2. inland area  
katalahe steep bank cut by a river  
kataya wall  
kate wife's sister's husband  
kato tip of something  
katô straight (not crooked)  
kawala spider  
kege small  
kekele bell  
kela (V1) break (with two hands), snap (used with R *tuu* 'broken')  
*ai ngwa ndêkela kêlêpê tuu* 'I'll break the pencil.'  
keno meat or seafood served with a meal  
kese dark  
-kê (V2) dig  
kê<sup>1</sup> yes  
kê<sup>2</sup> (CONJ) or  
kê<sup>1</sup> thing: kê awano movie (lit. thing of reflections)  
kê<sup>2</sup> food: kê aka greens; kê akana sugar (lit. something sweet); kê asakê tea (lit. something sour); kê masi food (with no keno)  
kêabu hibiscus  
-kêki (V1) kick  
kêla rudder  
kêlaya false
- kêlê (diminutive): ha-kêlê small string bag; iya-kêlê runt  
kêlêgu back (of animate N)  
kêlêkê pandanus found near the beach  
-kêlêlê (V1) 1. to be plenty or become plenty; 2. win  
-kêlêlê (V1) knock  
kêmuhu large variety of seagull  
kêno the front bundle of two being carried on each end of a pole (see *dikôô*)  
kêpi bush, jungle  
kêsê (R) cut through  
kêta greedy  
-ki (V1) carry in hand  
ki<sup>1</sup> 1. (INTJ) no; 2. (NEG) negative marker  
ki<sup>2</sup> grub found in sago  
ki<sup>3</sup> left: nama ki left hand  
kiakwa temple (part of face)  
-kiha (V1) hold; hug  
kikia 1. tongs (for holding hot stones); 2. scissors  
kikili deep place  
kilimamô white heron  
ko court (>E) hanô ko court house  
koko Chinese  
kole work (noun)  
kolenalô Saturday  
kolepemaipi Friday  
kolepesalu Tuesday  
kolepesidi Wednesday  
kolepesôha Thursday  
kolo one's own  
kombo round  
-kô<sup>1</sup> (V1) work; make: -kô dasa lie (tell falsehoods); -kô lidia cough; -kô molo brag; -kô sêsê play; -kô yà talk

-kô<sup>2</sup> (V2) go to; go towards  
 kô 1. (PREP) at, to, of, with,  
 for, about, during; 2. (CONJ)  
 for, because  
 kôa<sup>1</sup> a boil  
 kôa<sup>2</sup> bandicoot: kôa hanô rat  
 kôakôa red  
 kôkô necklace  
 -kôla (V1) dress up  
 kôla slit gong  
 kôlakôla loose (not secured)  
 -kôlôlô (V1) descend  
 kôma<sup>1</sup> 1. wind: kôma nêli wind  
 blows; 2. weather: kôma haya  
 good weather  
 kôma<sup>2</sup> place: kôma kapia office;  
 kôma miya hospital; kôma mu  
 sacred or haunted place  
 -kôna (V1) look (at); see  
 kôpôa tradition; custom  
 kôsumu back of the head  
 -ku (V2) 1. carry on head; 2. shade  
 eyes with hand  
 ku small shell like scallops  
 kù women's fishing net made from  
 cane  
 kuluku louse  
 kuluya joint  
 -kusu (V1) spit  
 kutu fresh-water lake  
 kwa reeds used for arrows  
 kwà wild reed found on river banks

## L

la<sup>2</sup> pandanus found in swampy areas;  
 the root of pandanus used to tie  
 sago leaves for roofing  
 la (POS) LIP possessive marker  
 lae line, queue (>E)  
 laê that (near neither speaker or  
 addressee)  
 lahadi slipper lobster  
 -lake (V2) roam, move around  
 lake (REL) relative clause  
 introducer  
 lala mosquito net  
 -lalanji (V1) cry, weep  
 lame (Virreg) LIP of -eme come  
 lanja (Virreg) LIP NR of -ya eat,  
 hit  
 lapô holy, sacred: lô lapô church  
 lasala younger brother of male  
 lasatô older brother of male  
 lasinala younger sister of female  
 lasinalamatô older sister of  
 female  
 -le (V2) refuse, not want to do  
 something  
 lene this (near both speaker and  
 addressee)  
 lê (COMP) completive aspect marker  
 lêgi (Virreg) LIP PT of -ya eat,  
 hit  
 lêna (Virreg) LIP IR of -ya eat,  
 hit  
 -lênda (V1) leave, lose  
 -lêndi (V1) hear  
 lêné that (near addressee but not  
 speaker)  
 lêta belly; seat of emotions  
 (CONTR of alêta)  
 lêtanahi want; desire (noun)  
 -li (V1) run; blow (of the wind)  
 -lidi (V1) put around the neck  
 (e.g. necklace)

-la<sup>1</sup> (V1) cry  
 -la<sup>2</sup> (V2) paddle  
 la<sup>1</sup> ancestral spirit

lidi 1. sand, gravel; 2. weight  
 put on something to keep it from  
 blowing away

lidia cough

-lindi (V1) shake

lo reflexive pronoun

lô<sup>1</sup> self (limiter): ai yataka ai lô  
 cut myself; amêna lô widower

lo<sup>2</sup> room

lô school

lôkô by oneself (Mlim)

-lôlô (V1) leak out

lôpôsô area underneath a house on  
 stilts

-lôwalo (V1) rest

-lu (Vi) 1. fill (liquid) into  
 something; 2. string fish (or  
 game)

lu water bottle; container

lù 1. rope for stringing fish;  
 2. special vine for pulling a  
 log out of the bush to make a  
 canoe

lugu father-in-law; lugu hêna  
 mother-in-law

-lumu (V1) 1. smell; 2. follow

lundu island

lusa a lot; frequently

## M

ma<sup>1</sup> CONTR of êmalu or êmaha we  
 (1XD, 1XP)

ma<sup>2</sup> bird: malêsa flying fox; malô  
 cockatoo; masundu bird of  
 paradise

ma<sup>3</sup> mat

ma<sup>4</sup> shallow place in the water

mà 1. line; mark; 2. (INC) -ya ma  
 mark out

madi widowed: hêna madi widow

maê waves

magaho cow

maha CONTR of êmaha we (1XP)

-mahanô (V1) die

maikêsê broken (string, rope, etc)

maipa (numeral clitic) five plus:  
 maipa tômôlô six; maipa salu  
 seven; maipa sidi eight; maipa  
 sôha nine

maipi five: maipi anêndi tôgwatô  
 six; maipi anêndi salu seven;  
 maipi anêndi sidi eight; maipi  
 anêndi sôha nine

mala guardian: ini mala ta ainialô  
 She looks after the child.

malahô 1. eye; malahô sêgê blind  
 man; 2. face

malaka sprout

malamê vein

malano<sup>1</sup> front: ai nda malano in  
 front of me

malano<sup>2</sup> tears

malapalô eyelid

malapaje cheek

malapo forehead

malasê medicine (>E)

malasêgê blind man

malasêsê eyelash

malata 1. unripe; 2. green

malatô eyebrow

malu<sup>1</sup> CONTR of êmalu we (1XD)

malu<sup>2</sup> (INC) -gwê malu sleep

mamaŋi laugh

mambele marble (>E)

mandawa torch (electric)

mame (Virreg) 1XP of -eme come

mandi tongue

maŋa (Virreg) 1XP IR of -ya eat, hit

mangula small striped ray

masi<sup>1</sup> dried up (e.g. coconut)  
masi<sup>2</sup> 1. gift; 2. (INC)-ya masi  
make holy: ini ya masi kô a He  
keeps the day holy.  
matô old woman  
mawê (Virreg) 2P nonpast of -eme  
come  
maya shame  
mayà dead  
mayapô low tide  
mayê general name for seafood from  
mangrove areas (shellfish, etc.)  
mba<sup>1</sup> (POT) potential modal  
mba<sup>2</sup> (SUB) subordinating conjunc-  
tion  
mba<sup>3</sup> pig  
mbamba crazy  
mê (POS) LXP 2P possessive marker  
mêgi (Virreg) LXP PT of -ya eat,  
hit  
-mêla (V1) frighten  
mêna<sup>1</sup> (Virreg) LXP IR of -ya eat,  
hit  
mêna<sup>2</sup> village  
mênà (COMP) completive aspect  
marker  
-mêna (V2) drop  
mêsôhô full  
mêtana morning star  
mêtê religious  
mi 1. kind of pandanus and its  
long red fruit (Tok Pisin marita);  
2. mat made from the leaves of  
this pandanus  
mì (INC)-ya mì tell stories  
miṅgalô smallish turtle, speckled  
miṅgalô meeting  
miya sickness  
-molo (V1) be afraid  
molo carving

moloya fear  
mose big  
-mô (V2) lead; go first  
mô old  
-môa (V2) wipe  
-môa (V2) praise  
môa (Virreg) 2S IR of -ya eat  
môdi CONTR of êmôdi you three (2T)  
môgi<sup>1</sup> (Virreg) 2P NR, PT of -ya  
eat, hit  
môgi<sup>2</sup> 1. husband; 2. (INC)-ya môgi  
get married (female subject)  
môha CONTR of êmôha you all (2P)  
-môhô<sup>1</sup> (V1) hide  
-môhô<sup>2</sup> (V1) awaken  
môlu CONTR of êmôlu you two (2D)  
mômô a person who can't speak or  
who is quiet and keeps to himself  
mômôa (Virreg) 2P IR of -ya eat,  
hit  
mônda Monday  
môtô man's sister's husband  
môwê (Virreg) 2P PT of -eme come  
mu spirit belonging to a particular  
clan  
mula north-east wind  
muluposo broken into pieces (pot,  
egg, glass, etc.)

## N

-na (Virreg) go (for a purpose):  
-na o vacate the village for a  
new location; -na yà find fish  
with a torch  
na<sup>1</sup> (Virreg) 3S IR of -ya eat, hit  
na<sup>2</sup> (POS) 3S possessive marker  
nahe teeth: nahe huku front teeth;  
nahe katahô back teeth  
naki NR negative marker

nalô 1. small; 2. child	nênê body, skin
nama hand: namaaho upper arm; namahata palm of hand; namahuku middle fingers; namakaku finger; namakôsô wrist; namao fingernail; namapalô upper part of hand; namapôô thumb; namasukê little finger; namatô elbow	nênêngwa fly (insect)
namatê axe	nênêyôlô blood (mainly menstrual blood)
name (Virreg) 3S IR of -eme come	nênêse sore; pain; sickness
nani goat (>E nanny)	nênga wife's sister's husband
naŋa ear: naŋa kato tip of the ear; naŋa pele pierced ear; naŋa tôô deaf	nêtape when (nonpast)?
naŋaso nylon string	ni coconut: ni akalo very young coconut; ni amalako sprouted coconut; ni ampô green drinking coconut; ni masi mature coconut; ni saŋata almost mature coconut
natô able, like, measure up to	-no (V1) scape (coconut)
natôkolo the same; identical	nono (INC) -ya nono set a date
nawê (Virreg) 2S IR of -eme come	-nô <sup>1</sup> (V1) drink
-naya (V2) ask	-nô <sup>2</sup> (V2) go to a place where the speaker and addressee are not at but where the addressee has been or will be
-nda (V1) stay, come to stay, be at	nôhô brother of female
nda (POS) 1S possessive marker	nôhônâ sister of male
-ndaa (Virreg) be forgotten, left out	nômusu ten
ndame (Virreg) 1S IR of -eme come	nôŋôlô dust
ndaŋa (Virreg) 1S NR of -ya eat, hit	nôpô grandson; grand-daughter
-ndê (V2) sleep, lay	nôsôlô rubbish; waste
ndêlene yesterday	-nu (V2) vomit
-ndêna (V1) put in a line; line up	-nunu (V1) kiss
ndêna (Virreg) 1S IR of -ya eat, hit	ŋ
-ndi <sup>1</sup> (V1) sharpen	-ŋa (Virreg) open (mouth, basket, etc.)
-ndi <sup>2</sup> (V1) push	ŋa ladder; stairs
-ndi <sup>3</sup> (V2) cook	ŋahê flooded
-ndi <sup>4</sup> (V2) urinate	ŋaki IR negative marker
ndi mountain	ŋame (Virreg) 3S NR of -eme come
ndia large red ant	ŋamôa (Virreg) 2S NR of -ya eat, hit
ndumuli Jew's harp	ŋaŋa (Virreg) 3S NR of -ya eat, hit
-ne (V2) sail	
nene half coconut shell; cup	

ɲataka bitter (> -taka cut)  
 ɲatô old man  
 ɲawê (Virreg) 2S NR of -eme come  
 -ɲe (V2) sing; call out to  
 ɲêndi useful; valuable  
 ɲgôa ulcer  
 ɲgu snake  
 ɲgwa (FUT) future modal  
 -ɲi (V2) tie, fasten  
 -ɲi (V2) dive  
 -ɲia (V2) call out  
 -ɲô (V1) ask (for something)  
 ɲô New Guinea walnut (*Dracontomelon  
 magniferum*)

## 0

o<sup>1</sup> perspiration  
 o<sup>2</sup> bridge  
 ô hook  
 ô<sup>1</sup> breadfruit  
 ô<sup>2</sup> crab: ôlô large crab (trawl  
 crab?); ôlô ulu sand crab; ôni  
 coconut crab  
 ô garden  
 ôhô<sup>1</sup> (INTJ) No! That's not right!  
 ôlô<sup>2</sup> black  
 ôlô small brown tree kangaroo  
 ôlôndi fifth born male  
 ôpa 1. crocodile; 2. the 1 kina  
 coin (which has an illustration  
 of a crocodile on it)  
 ôpà thoughts  
 ôpàlà belch  
 ôta<sup>1</sup> ground, earth  
 ôta<sup>2</sup> vagina  
 ôwê (Virreg) 2S PT of -eme come

## P

-pa (V2) go inside: -pa o go to  
 shore; go to the garden;  
 -pa...tuu break (go broken)  
 -paa (V2) cook, put on the fire  
 padi rice (>E paddy)  
 pake bucket (>E)  
 pake wing  
 pakê beach alongside the village  
 pakia shoulder  
 palahe lips  
 pale (INC)-ya pale not know  
 paloa ninth born male  
 pane 1. short; 2. nearby  
 papa (DUR) durative aspect marker  
 papia slow(ly)  
 -pase (V2) 1. read; 2. count  
 pase navel  
 pasô (COMP) completive aspect  
 marker  
 -pe<sup>1</sup> (V2) talk  
 -pe<sup>2</sup> (V2) become  
 -pegu (V2) ripen  
 pele plate; eating utensils  
 (>E plate)  
 pelee 1. swampy; 2. soft: ainialô  
 pelee baby  
 pepe time: pepe salu two times  
 pepele veranda  
 -peselele (V2) dry up  
 -pê (V1) shoot (long range w/ bow  
 or gun)  
 -pê (V2) defecate  
 pêhala afternoon; evening  
 -pêla (V1) carry on shoulder  
 -pêlêpê (V1) roll (something)  
 pêmômô plenty  
 -pêsa (V1) build, construct

pêsê night	pupuyu rainbow
-pêtê (V2) wake up, arise	-puyu (V1) shoot (with a spear at close range)
-pi (V1) break	
pi <sup>1</sup> animals for eating (pig, cow, sheep)	
pi <sup>2</sup> bird similar to a cockatoo	S
-pia (V1) fall	-sa <sup>1</sup> (V2) carve out or shape (e.g. canoe)
piapia slowly	-sa <sup>2</sup> (V2) lean or lie down
-pilipi (V1) be near	sa <sup>1</sup> first
pinasê speedboat	sa <sup>2</sup> what, which
pipi butterfly: pipi komape moth	sa <sup>3</sup> outrigger
pisi <sup>1</sup> white	sa <sup>4</sup> basket made of coconut fronds
pisi <sup>2</sup> cat	saasê grass
pisì Markham River	-saê (V2) feel
poloo hair of the head	sahô nose: sahô anahô nostril; sahô anôhônô moustache
poso broken (egg, glass, etc)	sala comb
pô water	salala (R) missed, misfired, done too quickly
pôa sweet potato	sale broom
pôa coral	-sale (V2) sell
pôadi neck: pôadi alugu nape of the neck; pôadi antô Adam's apple	salu 1. two; 2. CONTR of êsalu they (3D)
pôane head	same (Virreg) 3P IR of -eme come
pôgwa knife: pôgwa atô bush knife; pôgwaya knife for peeling taro	-samô (V2) 1. stroke, pet; 2. sweep
pôkôa armband; bracelet	samô whole, completely
pôlôpa swordgrass	sani which, what
pôni heap	sanônô pilchard
pôpô <sup>1</sup> small yams	-saŋa (V2) chew
pôpô <sup>2</sup> children's game shooting mangrove seeds	-sapa (V2) 1. follow; 2. stick; become stuck
pôpô <sup>3</sup> whiteman	sapa <sup>1</sup> 1. moon; 2. month
pôsô under part or lower part	sapa <sup>2</sup> leafstalk of the sago (Tok Pisin pangal)
pôsôahô thigh; groin	sapô fishing net: sapô suluya scoop net for prawns
-pu (V1) pull out (a plant or tree)	sawahê morning
pu nuts of a tree found along the Markham River	sawî lizard
pù betelnut	
pupu white tree kangaroo	

- se<sup>1</sup> bandicoot trap  
 se<sup>2</sup> canvas, sail (>E sail)  
 se tree with red fruit (used for facial decoration)  
 sema fast, quickly  
 seme (Virreg) 3P NR, PT of -eme come  
 sese bad  
 -sê (V2) go up  
 sê<sup>1</sup> (R) closed, blocked  
 sê<sup>2</sup> (POS) 3P possessive marker  
 sê<sup>3</sup> floor  
 sê<sup>4</sup> lightning  
 -sêê (V1) point at (w/ finger)  
 sêê fence  
 -sêgê (V1) stare at  
 sêgi (Virreg) 3P PT of -ya eat, hit  
 sena<sup>1</sup> (Virreg) 3P IR of -ya eat, hit  
 sena<sup>2</sup> love charm  
 -sêni (V1) plug up  
 sêniya plug  
 -sêsê (V1) pour  
 sêsê game  
 sêya (Virreg) 3P NR of -ya eat, hit  
 -si<sup>1</sup> (V1) pull (facing the object being pulled)  
 -si<sup>2</sup> (V1) have a fit  
 -si<sup>3</sup> (V2) fill something (into a container)  
 -si<sup>4</sup> (V2) make noise with something  
 -sia (V2) knock down fruit from a tree with a stick  
 sia post  
 -siapô (V2) wash (oneself)  
 sidi 1. three; 2. CONTR of êsidi they (3T)
- sisi<sup>1</sup> high tide  
 sisi<sup>2</sup> legend, tale  
 -so<sup>1</sup> (V1) miss (e.g. the boat)  
 -so<sup>2</sup> (V1) cut into small pieces  
 so<sup>1</sup> something wrong  
 so<sup>2</sup> needle  
 sò rattan, cane (*Calamus*)  
 -sô (V2) put in heaps  
 sô<sup>1</sup> (COMP) completive aspect marker (CONTR of pasô)  
 sô<sup>2</sup> corner of the room for putting food or sleeping  
 sô<sup>3</sup> stick for winding fishing line  
 sô<sup>4</sup> shoe (>E)  
 sô arrow  
 -sôa (V2) get rid of  
 sôa all (for relatives)  
 sôala 1. mother's younger sister; 2. wife of father's younger brother  
 sôha 1. four; 2. CONTR of êsoha they (3P)  
 -sôhô<sup>1</sup> (V1) build  
 -sôhô<sup>2</sup> (V1) put down a load  
 -sôhô<sup>3</sup> (V1) cover  
 sôhôya builder  
 sôkôla frog; toad  
 sôlô roof  
 -sôma (V1) wash (something)  
 sônô dusk  
 -sôô (V1) 1. bury; 2. cover with leaves for cooking  
 -sôsô (V1) 1. force; 2. push  
 sôsôna armpit  
 sôsôpô dawn  
 -su<sup>1</sup> (V1) deal out one at a time  
 -su<sup>2</sup> (V1) take out (e.g. a splinter) with a needle



-su<sup>3</sup> (V1) be insufficient for:  
 pô ŋusu ai I'm thirsty. (lit.  
 Water isn't enough for me.)  
 su<sup>1</sup> seaweed  
 su<sup>2</sup> breast: su palahe nipple  
 sugu cassowary  
 suka sugar (>E)  
 -sulu (V1) scoop up (fish, animal)  
 with net or cloth  
 suluya scoop net  
 sumundu big, reddish possum  
 sumusi mosquito  
 sunda 1. Sunday; 2. week  
 sundatô Christmas  
 susuni small possum which eats  
 coconuts  
 -suu (V1) crawl

## T

-ta (V1) sit; be situated at  
 ta<sup>1</sup> sail  
 ta<sup>2</sup> bag; coconut leaf basket for  
 betelnut  
 ta<sup>3</sup> excrement  
 -taa (V2) slap, touch  
 taa star  
 -taase (V2) find  
 tabôalô penis  
 tadi buttocks  
 tadia naked  
 taê there (not near the speaker or  
 the addressee)  
 tahô buttocks  
 tahu 1. smoke; 2. village tobacco  
 (Tok Pisin brus)  
 taiya tyre (>E)  
 -taka (V2) 1. cut (as with a knife  
 or axe); 2. be bitter, spicy

takêsi now: takêsi lene just now  
 -tala (V2) 1. carve; 2. go up a  
 tree to trim branches  
 tala gun  
 tamayê big basket  
 tamêngasu seahorse  
 -tani (V2) throw  
 taŋasô<sup>1</sup> big blue fly  
 taŋasô<sup>2</sup> catfish  
 -taŋgô (V2) swallow  
 taŋgôya glutton  
 tapana anus  
 tapôamingi twins  
 tase cup  
 tatakû sandfly  
 tatawa cloud  
 tatô big  
 tatôlamu speaker of the same  
 language (Tok Pisin wantok)  
 tawala door: tawala nalo window  
 -taya (V2) wait for  
 tebo table (>E)  
 tene here (near speaker, not  
 addressee)  
 tê then (pro-temporal)  
 -têkê (V1) send  
 -têndia (V1) feel with hands  
 tênê there (near speaker, not  
 addressee)  
 têô table (>E)  
 têpê rope  
 -ti<sup>1</sup> (V1) be located (at)  
 -ti<sup>2</sup> (V2) peel  
 ti tin (>E)  
 -tia (V1) know  
 tidia<sup>1</sup> general term for bivalve  
 shellfish  
 tidia<sup>2</sup> earthquake

-tiha (V1) teach  
 -tii (V1) stand up  
 tindia mushroom  
 -tipi (V2) 1. jump around (like a fish out of water); 2. act impulsively  
 titinalô ant  
 to torch  
 tolo (INC)-ya tolo fight  
 tô small bamboo used for spear  
 -tôa (V1) 1. strike something in anger; 2. knock dirt off (feet) before entering a house  
 tôa lime spatula  
 tôgwatô 1. one, only; 2. (CONJ) but  
 tôtô one at a time; one each  
 -tôwi (V1) be hanging  
 tu land breeze  
 tulumu back side of (for inanimate subjects)  
 tupu pepper fruit chewed with betelnut (Tok Pisin daka)  
 -tutu (V1) fire something at (e.g. throw a stone at)  
 tuu (R) broken

## U

u rain  
 ù pot  
 ulu 1. sea; 2. beach; 3. salt  
 uluke blue (like sea)  
 upu sarong  
 upui 1. G-string; 2. Japanese  
 -uwi (V1) 1. pull canoe out of water; 2. drag something over something else; 3. scratch (back)

## W

-wa (V2) block  
 wa<sup>1</sup> (Virreg) 2S IR of -ya hit  
 wa<sup>2</sup> (MOD) dubitative modal  
 wa<sup>3</sup> lime (for betelnut)  
 wa<sup>4</sup> platform of a canoe  
 wa<sup>5</sup> maternal uncle (not the speaker's)  
 -wahe (V2) mention  
 wahê<sup>1</sup> right (opposite of left)  
 wahê<sup>2</sup> top  
 wahê<sup>3</sup> weeds  
 wakô hourglass-shaped drum (Tok Pisin kundu)  
 walê supports for outrigger  
 wambô INTJ of surprise  
 -wasê (V2) Plant  
 wasôa sister's husband (not the speaker's); wasoa hena brother's wife  
 watê tall; long  
 wawi small turtles (fresh-water)  
 wè traditional singing and dancing  
 -wêsi (v1) carry on back in string bag  
 -wêti (V1) pull something behind  
 wili penis  
 wowa thunder

## Y

-ya (Virreg) (3S PT) eat, hit, do with force: -ya alôhô start; -ya asêpê sneeze; -ya amala be at the beginning; -ya ê go fishing; -ya hêna get married (for male subject); -ya hini buy; -ya hono steal; -ya mà mark out; -ya masi make holy; -ya mî tell stories; -ya môgi get married (female)

subject); -ya nama wave the hand;	yasê closed
-ya nono set a date; -ya palê not	yàsê charcoal
know; -ya tolo fight; -ya wè do	yasô open
traditional singing and dancing;	yaya yellow
-ya yao forbid; -ya yo take care of	yê you (1S)
yà <sup>1</sup> fire	yêgi (Virreg) 1S PT of -ya eat,
yà <sup>2</sup> talk	hit
yà <sup>3</sup> sea breeze	yêmôha you all (2P)
yaka bottle; broken glass	yêmudi you three (2T)
yakato midday; afternoon	yêmulu you two (2D)
yala <sup>1</sup> young girl	yêngu mast
yala <sup>2</sup> shell found on mangrove trees	-yi <sup>1</sup> (V1) covet
yalà year	-yi <sup>2</sup> (V1) run away from
yàla lamp (kerosene)	yi outside
yale smoke of a fire	yo boss
yalê Tahitian chestnut (Tok Pisin	-yô (V1) give; put
galip)	-yôôhô (V1) shout; talk loudly
yame (Virreg) 1S PT of -eme come	yôwi mango
yanalô girl	yupa foreigner
yao 1. something forbidden, taboo;	
2. (INC) -ya yao forbid	

## ENGLISH-LABU WORD LIST

## A

able natô	ankle hakoso
accompany -hi	answer -gu (VI)
Adam's apple pôadi antô	ant titnalô; ndia (large red ant)
addition anêndi	anus tapana
afternoon pêhala (late); yakato	area ipi
(early)	arm namaaho (upper arm)
again apêsa	armband pôkôa
all gololo; sôa (for relatives)	armpit sôsôna
always apan	arrow sô
and a; ka	ask -naya (V2); -nô (V1) (ask for
animal pi (for eating; e.g. pig,	something)
cow, sheep)	as kâ
	at kô

aunt adô (mother's older sister or wife of father's older brother);  
awa (father's sister; mother's brother's wife); sôala (mother's younger sister or wife of father's younger brother)

awaken -môhô (VI)

axe i; namatê

## B

baby anialô pelee

back kêlêgu (person's); gulumu (side); tulumu (side); idi (returning)

bad sese

bag ha (string bag); ta (for betelnut)

ball bo

bamboo tô (small variety used for spears)

banana hô

bandicoot kôa

bark anaso (of tree)

base ahô

basket sa (made of coconut fronds); ta (made of coconut leaves for betelnut); tamaye (large variety)

bastard aitu

bat malêsa

beach ulu; pakê (alongside the village)

beard dî

become -pê (V2); -hê (V2) (not permanent)

belch ôpâlâ

bell kekele

betelnut pù; di (big variety)

big anamô; mose; tatô

bird ma

bird of paradise masundu

bite -kalu (V2) (grab with teeth);  
-kasi (V2) (bite into pieces)

bitter ɲataka

black ôlô

blind malahô sêgê (blind man);  
malasêgê

block -wâ (V2)

blood di; nênyôlô (menstrual blood)

blow -hu (V1)

blue uluke (like the sea)

boast -kô molo (INC)

body nêné

boil kôa (on the body)

bone alugu

boss yo

bottle yaka

bottom ahô

bow êpê

bowl di (wooden)

boy ainialô

bracelet pôkôa

breadfruit ô

break -ka (V2); -kela (V1) (break with two hands)

break down -daa (V2)

breast su

breeze tu (land breeze); yà (sea breeze)

bridge o

bring -gwê (V2)

broken maikêsê (string, rope, etc.);  
muluposo (of containers: pot, egg, glass, etc.); poso (R) (of containers); tuu (R) broken off (of sticks, rope, etc.)

broom sale

brother lasala (younger brother of male); lasatô (older brother of male); nõhô (of female)



crawl -suu (V1)  
 crazy mbamba  
 crocodile ôpa (V2)  
 crooked kako  
 cross -hane (V2)  
 cry -la (V1); -lalaŋi (V1)  
 cucumber êtê koso  
 cup tase; nene (made from coconut shell)  
 custom kôpôa  
 cut -ka (V2); -so (V1) (into small pieces); -taka (V2) (with knife or axe); kêsê (R) (cut through)

drag -uwi (V1)  
 dress -kôla (V1); -gololê (V2) (in finery)  
 driftwood igu  
 drink -nô (V1)  
 drop -mêŋa (V2)  
 drum wakô (musical); dala (metal container)  
 dry aselele; masi (desiccated)  
 dry up -peselele (V2)  
 during hêta  
 dusk sônô  
 dust nôŋôlô

## D

daka tupu  
 dark akase; kese  
 date gu (day)  
 daughter ahêna  
 dawn sôsôpô  
 day a  
 dead mayà  
 deaf naŋa tôtô  
 deal -su (V1)  
 deep kikili (place)  
 defecate -pê (V2)  
 descend -kôlôlô (V1)  
 desire lêtanahi (N)  
 die -mahanô (V1)  
 different hône  
 dig -kê (V2)  
 dirty andi  
 dive -ŋi (V2)  
 do -di (V1)  
 dog iya  
 door tawala

## E

ear naŋa; naŋa kato (tip of the ear); naŋa pele (pierced ear)  
 earth ôta  
 earthquake tidia  
 eat -ya (Virreg) (see section 4.1.4)  
 edge anaŋa  
 eel êgwa  
 egg akôlôhô; alomala (of lice)  
 eight maipa sidi; maipa anêndi sidi  
 eighty asamô sôha  
 elbow namatô  
 ember anale  
 empty alôma; anaha (container)  
 end anôsô (of something, e.g. a rope)  
 energy ayalê  
 establish -ya alôhô (INC)  
 evening pêhala  
 excrement ta  
 eye malahô  
 eyebrow malatô  
 eyelash malasêsê  
 eyelid malapalô

## F

face malahô  
 fall -pia (V1)  
 false kêlaya  
 fast asàmà; sema  
 fasten -ŋi (V2)  
 fat aho  
 father ama; amamu (someone's  
     else's)  
 father-in-law lugu  
 fear moloya  
 feathers anôhônô  
 feel -saê (V2); -têndia (V1) (with  
     hands)  
 fence sêê  
 fight kasa; -ya tolo (INC)  
 fill -lu (V1) (liquid); -si (V2)  
     (something into a container)  
 fin hi; apo (dorsal); ayêpô  
     (lateral)  
 find -taase (V2)  
 finger namakaku; namahuku (middle  
     fingers); namasukê (little  
     finger)  
 fingernail namao  
 fire yà (N); -tutu (V1) (e.g. fire  
     a gun, stone from a slingshot)  
 firefly hininôpô  
 first amala (in order); sa (in  
     time)  
 fish ê  
 five maipi  
 flesh apisi  
 flooded ŋahê  
 floor sê  
 flower âhâlâ  
 fly -di (V1)  
 fly nêhêgwa (insect); taŋasô  
     (big blue variety)

flying fox malêsa  
 fog dôŋôndô  
 follow -lumu (V1); -sapa (V2)  
 food kê  
 foot akapô  
 footprint hanà  
 for kô  
 forbid -ya yao (INC)  
 forbidden yao  
 force -sôsô  
 forehead malapo  
 foreigner yupa  
 forgotten -ndaa (Virreg)  
 forty asamô sulu  
 four sôha  
 frequently lusa  
 Friday kolepemaipi  
 frighten -mêla (V1)  
 frightened -molo (V1)  
 frog sôkôla  
 from dê; dêhi (a person)  
 front malano  
 fruit anêndi  
 full mêsôhô  
 fur anôhônô

## G

G-string upui  
 galip yalê  
 game sêsê  
 garden ô  
 ghost awanô  
 gift masi  
 gills kalôsamba  
 girl yanalô; yala (young girl)

give -yô (V1)  
 glutton tangôya  
 go -ate (V2) (go down); -na (Virreg)  
 (go for a purpose); -pa (V2) (go  
 inside); -se (V2) (go up)  
 goat nani  
 good haya  
 grand-daughter apô; nôpô  
 grandfather apô môgi  
 grandmother apô êna  
 grandson apô; nôpô  
 grass saasê; pôlôpa (swordgrass)  
 grass skirt kalô  
 gravel lidi  
 grease ampô  
 greedy kêta  
 green alomala  
 groin pôsôahô  
 ground ôta  
 guardian mala  
 gun tala

## H

hair poloo (of head); anôhônô  
 (body hair)  
 handle anama  
 hand nama; namapalô (upper part)  
 hang -tôwi (V1)  
 hanging -êndi (V1)  
 hard kaka  
 hat gulu  
 head apôane; pôane; kôsumu (back  
 of the head)  
 heap pôni  
 hear -lêndi (V1)  
 heart ahu  
 heavy alôpôngi

heel hakêpê  
 he ini  
 here tene (near speaker, not  
 addressee)  
 hermit crab kalumba  
 heron kilimamô (white heron)  
 hibiscus kêabu  
 hide -môhô (V1)  
 hip halakê  
 hit -ya (Virreg) (see section 4.1.4)  
 hold -kiha (V1)  
 hole anahô; asi  
 hollow anahô  
 holy lapô  
 hook ô  
 horse awasi  
 hospital kôma miya  
 hot ahana  
 house hanô  
 how asa  
 how many hihi  
 how much hihi  
 hug -kiha (V1)  
 hunger hêndi  
 husband môgi  
 husk ni anaso (coconut); pù anaha  
 (betelnut)

I

identical natôkolo  
 I ai  
 inside anungu  
 insufficient -su (V1) (be insuffi-  
 cient for)  
 iron ain; aiŋe  
 island lundu



itchy asênesia; awê  
its êna

## J

jaw asele  
Jew's harp ndumuli  
joint kuluya  
juice asôlô  
jump -aale (V2); -tipi (V2) (jump  
around like a fish out of water)  
jungle kêpi  
kapok kapô  
kick -kêki (V1)  
killed hônô (R)  
kiss -nunu (V1)  
knee hatô  
knife pôgwa; pôgwa atô (bush knife);  
pôgwaya (knife for peeling taro)  
knock -kêlêlê  
know -tia

## L

ladder ña  
lake kutu (fresh water)  
lamp yala  
language ahô  
later hamu  
laugh mamaña; -ndia (ma)manji (V2)  
lay -ndê (V2)  
lazy kaka  
lead -mô (V2)  
leader dukêla  
leaf alo  
leak -lôlô (V1)  
lean -sa (V2)

leave lênda (V1)  
left ki (opposite of right)  
leg akapô  
legend sisi  
level kata (of house)  
lid ù ako (of a pot)  
lie dasa (falsehood); yà alôma  
lie down -ndê (V2)  
light kapama (not heavy)  
lightning sê  
lime wa (for betelnut)  
line up -ndêna (V1)  
lips palahe  
liver anatê  
lizard sawi  
lobster êku; lahadi (slipper  
lobster)  
located -ti (V1)  
loner mômô  
long watê  
look -dumala (V1); kôna (V1)  
loose kôlakôla (not secured)  
lose -lênda (V1)  
louse kuluku  
lump antô  
lungs anatê

## M

mackerel ênê  
mainland katahô  
make -kô (V1)  
Malay apple ahe  
man amêna  
mango yôwi  
mangrove idiawa

marble mambele  
 market hógwa  
 mark mà  
 marry -ya hêna (INC) (male subject);  
 -ya môgi (INC) (female subject)  
 mast yêngu  
 mat ma; mi (made from pandanus  
 with long red fruit)  
 me ai  
 meat apisi  
 medicine malasê  
 meeting mingalô  
 mention -wahe (V2)  
 midday yakato  
 middle huku  
 miss -so  
 missed salala (R)  
 Monday mônda  
 money hu  
 month sapa  
 moon sapa  
 morning sawahê  
 morning star mêtana  
 mosquito sumusi  
 mosquito net lala  
 mother ana; namu (someone else's)  
 mother-in-law lugu hêna  
 moth pipi komapê  
 mountain ndi  
 moustache sahô anôhônô  
 mouth ahôngu; apiahô (of river)  
 mullet êsôa  
 mushroom tindia  
 mute ahômômô

N

naked tadia  
 name apana  
 navel pase  
 nearby pane  
 neckless kôkô  
 neck pôadi  
 needle so  
 nephew ai (son of man's brother);  
 aisê (son of man's sister or  
 woman's brother or sister)  
 nest awê  
 net sapô (fishing net); kù (women's  
 fishing net made from cane);  
 suluya (scoop net)  
 new haô  
 niece ahêna (daughter of man's  
 brother); ahênasê (daughter of  
 man's sister or of woman's  
 brother or sister)  
 night pêsê  
 nine maipa sôha; maipi anêndi sôha  
 nipple su palahe  
 noise alanja  
 no ki  
 nose sahô  
 nostril sahô anahô  
 now takêsi

0

odour ayanji  
 office kôma kapia  
 offspring analô (nonhuman)  
 of kô  
 old mô (nonhuman)  
 old man natô  
 old woman matô

one tōgwatô; ànì (indefinite MQuan)  
 only tōgwatô  
 open yasô; sô (R); -ŋa (Virreg)  
 (open mouth, basket, etc.)  
 or kê  
 orphan aimanda  
 outrigger sa  
 outside yi

P

paddle hi (N); -la (V2)  
 pain nênesese  
 palm namahata (of hand)  
 pandanus kêlêkê (found near beach);  
 la (found in swampy areas); mi  
 (with long red fruit)  
 part ipi  
 peel anaso (N); -ti (V2)  
 peep -eŋe (V1)  
 penis tabôalô; wili  
 people du  
 perspiration o  
 pick -gwê (V2)  
 pig mba  
 pilchard sanônô  
 pillow hata; à hata (wooden)  
 place kôma  
 plank ahata  
 plant -wase (V2)  
 plate pele  
 platform wa (of canoe)  
 play -kô sêsê  
 plenty pêmômô  
 plug sêniya (N); -sêni (V1)  
 point -sêê (V1)  
 possum sumundu (big, reddish  
 variety); susuni (small variety  
 which eats coconuts)

post sia  
 pot ù  
 pour -sêsê (V1)  
 praise -môa (V2)  
 prawn êku  
 price ahihi  
 pull -si (V1) (facing the object  
 being pulled); -wêti (V1) (pull  
 something behind)  
 pull out -pu (V1) (a plant)  
 pus ana  
 push -ndi (V1)  
 put -yô (V1)

Q

queue lae  
 quickly sema

R

raft i  
 rainbow pupuyu  
 rain u  
 rat kôa hanô  
 rattan sô  
 ray êhata (fish)  
 read -pase (V2)  
 reason ahô  
 red kôakôa  
 reflection awanô (of a person);  
 ayaŋo (of an object)  
 refuse -le (V2)  
 religious mêtê  
 rest -lôwalo (V1)  
 return -kadi (V2)  
 rib apê alugu  
 rice padi

rid -sôa (V2) (get rid of)  
 right hêta (not wrong); wahê  
 (opposite of left)  
 ripe angu  
 ripen -pegu (V2)  
 riverbank katalehe (steep bank cut  
 by a river)  
 road êsatô  
 roam -lake (V2)  
 roll -pêlêpê (V1)  
 roof sôlô; apolo (made of sago)  
 room lô  
 root awôwa  
 rope gu; têtê; lù (for stringing  
 fish)  
 round kombo  
 row kata (of houses)  
 rubbish apapô; nôsôlô  
 rudder kêla  
 run -li (V1)  
 run away -yi (V1)  
 runt iyakêlê

## S

sacred lapô  
 sago grub ki  
 sago àpê  
 sail ta; se (canvas sail); -ne (V2);  
 saliva ahôsulu  
 salt ulu  
 sandfly tatau  
 sand lidi  
 sarong upu  
 Saturday kolenalô  
 scales kalaka  
 school lô

scoop -sulu (V1) (scoop up (fish,  
 animal) with net or cloth)  
 scrape -no (V1) (coconut)  
 scratch -kalê (V2)  
 scrotum asisi  
 sea ulu  
 seafood mayê (from mangrove areas)  
 seagull kêmuhu (large); kanôla  
 (small);  
 seahorse tamêngasu  
 search -êlê (V1)  
 seaweed su  
 see -dumala (V1); -kona (V1)  
 seed ahalô  
 sell -salê (V2)  
 send -têkê (V2)  
 seven maipa salu; maipi anêndi  
 salu  
 shadow awanô (of a person); ayaŋo  
 (of an object)  
 shake -lindi (V1)  
 shallow ma (shallow place in the  
 water)  
 shame maya  
 shark ênôpô  
 sharp amala  
 sharpen -ndi (V1)  
 she ini  
 shell ku (small shell like  
 scallops); nene (half coconut  
 shell used as cup); ni anaha  
 (coconut); tidia (general term  
 for bivalve shellfish); yala  
 (variety found on mangrove trees)  
 shin hapo  
 shirt ako anêndi  
 show sô  
 shoot -hane (V2); -pê (V1) (long  
 range with bow or gun); -puyu  
 (V1) (with a spear at close  
 range)

shoots aka (of plants)	spatula toa (for lime for chewing betelnut)
short pane	speak -pe
shoulder pakia	spear di; bole (pronged spear for fishing)
shout -yôôhô (V1)	speedboat pinase
sickness miya	spider kawala
side apê anaŋa (edge)	spirit la (ancestral spirit); mu (belonging to a particular clan)
sing -ŋe (V2)	spit -kusu (V1)
singsing wê	spoil -daa (V2)
sister-in-law alani (husband's brother's wife); hahêna (woman's brother's wife); wasôa hêna (man's brother's wife)	sprout malaka
sister lasinala (younger sister of female); lasinalamatô (older sister of female); nôhônâ (of male)	stairs ŋa
sit -ta (V1)	stand -tii (V1)
six maipa tômôlô; maipi anêndi tôgwâtô	stare -sêgê (V1)
sixty asamô sidi	star taa
skin anaso (of plants); nêhê (of humans)	start -kalê (V2)
sky êkato	start -ya alôhô (INC)
slap -taa (V2)	stay -nda (V1)
slit gong kôla	steal -ya hono (INC)
slow papia; piapia	step on -hô (V1)
small kege; nalô	stick -sapa (V2)
smell -lumu (V1)	stink apalia
smoke atahu; tahu; yale (of fire)	stomach alêta; lêta
snake ŋgu	stone hu
sneeze asêpe	straight akatô; katô (not crooked)
soft kapuma; pelee	strength ayaŋa
sole haata	strike -ya (Virreg) (see section 4.1.4); -tôa (V1) (in anger)
solution anêndi	string naŋaso (nylon)
some akô	stroke -samô (V2)
son ai	stubborn akaka
sore nêhêsese	stump à apôane (of a tree)
soup asôlô	sugar suka
sour asakê	sugar cane dî
	sun a
	Sunday sunda
	surface anoso (of water)

swallow -tango (V2)  
 swampy pelee  
 sweat o  
 sweep -samô (V2)  
 sweet akana  
 sweet potato pôa  
 sweetheart anatê  
 swim -di (V1)  
 swollen husê

## T

table têô; tebo  
 tail asêkato; ayêpô (of a fish)  
 take -gwê (V2)  
 talk yà (N); -kô yà  
 tall watê  
 tapioca amika  
 taro ka  
 teach -tiha (V1)  
 tear -ka (V2)  
 tears malano  
 tell stories -ya mî (INC)  
 temple kiakwa  
 ten nômusu  
 testicles ahalô  
 thank you darge  
 that lêngê (near addressee but not speaker); laê (near neither speaker nor addressee)  
 then tê  
 there têngê (near speaker, not addressee); taê (not near the speaker or the addressee)  
 they êsalu (3D); êsidi (3T); êsôha (3P); sôha (CONTR of êsôha (3P)); salu (CONTR of êsalu (3D)); sidi (CONTR of êsidi (3T));

thick aho (of round things); ambênê (of rectangular things)  
 thigh pôsôahô  
 thin atêkê  
 thing kê  
 this lene (near both speaker and addressee)  
 three sidi  
 throw -tani (V2)  
 thumb namapôô  
 thunder wowa  
 Thursday kolepesôha  
 tide mayapô (low tide); sisi (high tide)  
 tie -ŋi (V2)  
 time awanô (period); pepe (occasion)  
 tin ti  
 tip kato  
 toad sôkôla  
 tobacco tahu (grown in village)  
 toe hakaku; hapôô (big toe); hasôkê (little toe)  
 toenail hao  
 to kô  
 tongs kikia  
 tongue mandi  
 tooth nahe; nahe huku (front teeth); nahe katahô (back teeth)  
 top wahê  
 torch to; mandawa (electric)  
 touch -taa (V2)  
 trading hôgwa  
 trap se (for bandicoots)  
 tree kangaroo ôlô (small brown variety); pupu (white variety)  
 tree a  
 trevally êti  
 tribe kapôa

trousers ako tahô  
 true anêndi  
 Tuesday kolepesalu  
 tuna êyigu  
 turtle hana (large); miḡalô (small,  
 speckled); wawi (small, fresh  
 water)  
 twenty asamôni  
 twigs apana  
 twins tapôamingi  
 two salu  
 tyre taiya

## U

ulcer ḡḡôa  
 uncle amala (father's younger  
 brother or husband of mother's  
 younger sister); amatô (father's  
 older brother or husband of  
 mother's older sister); awa  
 mother's brother; father's  
 sister's husband; wa (maternal  
 uncle not the speaker's)  
 unripe malata  
 urinate -ndi (V2)  
 useful ḡêndi

## V

vagina ôta  
 valuable ḡêndi  
 vein malamê  
 veranda pepele  
 village mēna  
 vomit -nu (V2)

## W

wait -taya (V2)

wake up -pêtê  
 wallaby iyamôḡa  
 wall ahata; kataya  
 want lêtanahi  
 wantok tatôlamu  
 warm awahê  
 wash -sôma (V1) (something); -siapô  
 (V2) (oneself)  
 waste nôsôlô  
 watermelon êtê pôpô  
 water pô  
 wave ya nama (INC) (hand)  
 waves maê  
 way êsa  
 we êmaha (LXP); ma(ha) (CONTR of  
 êmaha (LXP)); êmalu (LXD);  
 ma(lu) (CONTR of êmalu (LXD));  
 êmidi (LXT); êsidi (LIT); a  
 (CONTR IIP); aha (IIP); alu (IID);  
 weather kôma  
 weave -hi (V1)  
 Wednesday kolepesidi  
 weeds wahê  
 week sunda  
 weep -lalaḡi (V1)  
 wet atôtôhô  
 whale gasugasu  
 what sani; sa  
 when hêtape (past); nêtape (non-  
 past)  
 where epe  
 which epe; sa(ni)  
 white pisi  
 white man pôpô  
 who ase  
 whole samô  
 widow hēna madi  
 widower amēna lô  
 win -kêlêlê (V1)

wind	kôma; mula (north-east)	write	-hô (V2)
window	tawala nalô	wrong	so (something wrong)
wing	pakê	yam	ami; pôpô
wipe	-môa (V2)	year	yala
with	kô (instrumental)	yellow	kahini; yaya
woman	hêna	yes	kê
wood	à	yesterday	ndêlene
work	kole (N); -kô (V1)	you	yê (1S); môdi (CONTR of yêmôdi (2T)); môha (CONTR of yêmôha (2P)); môlu (CONTR of yêmôlu (2D)); yêmôha (2P); yêmudi (2T); yêmulu (2D)
worthless	alôma		
wrist	namakôsô		

## PLACE NAMES IN LABU

dusuku	Labubutu
êhalo	Labumeti
gamahu	entrance to Labu lakes
hapa	the Labu people's name for themselves
kakala	Labutali
kutu	the ox-bow lake
lupu	the new settlement near Markham bridge
pisahô	bank at the mouth of the Markham River on the Labubutu side
pisì	Markham River
pisô	Busu River
tôhi	bank of the Markham River on the Lae side
walêmu	Lae
yapê	Yabem

## VOCABULARY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VILLAGES

Labubutu	Labutali and Labumeti	gloss
ahônggu	ahingì	<i>mouth</i>
akapô	hakapô	<i>leg</i>
alugu	aligi	<i>bone</i>
bo	ba	<i>ball</i>
nalô	nalô	<i>small</i>
pegu	pegi	<i>ripe</i>



## ABBREVIATIONS

>	derived from	POS	genitive possessive marker
1	first person		
2	second person	POSN	nominal possessive marker
3	third person		
Adv	adverb	POT	potential modal
Asp	aspect marker	PP	prepositional phrase
C	consonant	PRED	predicate
COMP	completive aspect	Prep	preposition
CONJ	conjunction	PRO	pronoun
CONTR	contraction	PT	past tense
CTF	counterfactual prefix	Q	noun qualifier
D	dual	Qdem	demonstrative
DUB	dubitative modal	Qlim	limiter
DUR	durative aspect	R	resultative
E	English	REL	relativiser
FUT	future modal	S	singular
I	inclusive	STM	subject/tense/modality prefix
INC	incorporated adjunct in phrasal verb	SUB	subordinator
INTJ	interjection	T	trial
intrans	intransitive	TN	temporal noun
IR	nonpast irrealis	TP	temporal phrase
M	modifier	trans	transitive
MOD	modal	V	vowel
MQual	qualitative modifier	Vb	verb
MQuan	quantitative modifier	Vb'	secondary verb
N	noun	Virreg	irregular verb
NEG	negative marker	V1	verb class 1
NP	noun phrase	V2	verb class 2
NR	nonpast realis	VP	verb phrase
P	plural	VP'	secondary verb phrase
PNP	possessive noun phrase	X	exclusive
POC	Proto-Oceanic		

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