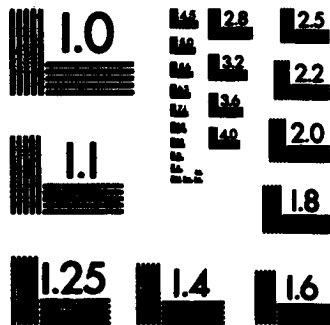
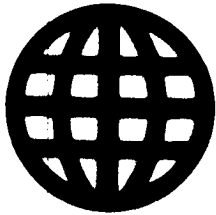


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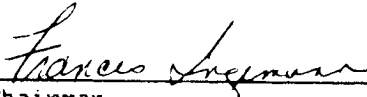
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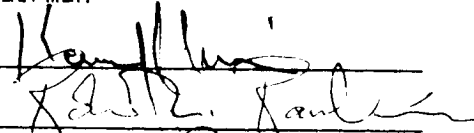

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Chairman

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Dedicated to the Memory of
Hichatut

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ABBREVIATIONS:

AG	Animate Goal
ant.	antonym
conj.	Conjunction
CGNT	Continuative Aspect
d. a.	Descriptive Adjunct
DEM	Demonstrative
der.	Derived Forms
DIM	Diminutive
DUR	Durative Aspect
EMPH	Emphatic Particle
FEM	Feminine Particle <u>hi</u>
FUT	Future Marker <u>ya</u>
HAB	Habitual Aspect
i. n.	Inalienably Possessed Noun Stem
INT	Intentional/Inchoative Marker <u>ma</u>
INTENS	Intensifier
interrog.	Interrogative
k. o.	Kind of
l. f.	Long Form
LOC	Locative
n.	Noun
n. f.	Noun Formative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominalizer
part.	Particle
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive Marker
poss.	Possibly
POT	Potential
pref.	Prefix
prep.	Preposition
PRO	Inanimate oblique object pronoun <u>ey</u>
pro.	Pronoun
prob.	Probably
RC	Relative Clause Marker
s. f.	Short Form
STAT	Stative
sub. conj.	Subordinating Conjunction
TP	Tok Pisin
trans.	Transitivizing Suffix <u>-i</u> , <u>-ani</u> , <u>-eni</u>
v. i.	Intransitive Verb
v. t.	Transitive Verb

Person/Number:

1sg	First person singular
2sg	Second person singular
3sg	Third person singular
1du	First person dual
2du	Second person dual
3du	Third person dual
1pc	First person paucal
2pc	Second person paucal
3pc	Third person paucal
1pl	First person plural
2pl	Second person plural
3pl	Third person plural
inc	Inclusive (includes hearer)
exc	Exclusive (excludes hearer)
sg	Either first or third person singular, but not second
NS	Nonsingular--includes dual, paucal and plural

ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Animate Goal
ant.	antonym
conj.	Conjunction
CONT	Continuative Aspect
d. a.	Descriptive Adjunct
DEM	Demonstrative
der.	Derived Forms
DIM	Diminutive
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EMPH	Emphatic Particle
FEM	Feminine Particle <u>hi</u>
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HAB	Habitual Aspect
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INT	Intentional/Inchoative Marker <u>ma</u>
INTENS	Intensifier
interr.	Interrogative
k. o.	Kind of
l. f.	Long Form
LOC	Locative
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n. f.	Noun Formative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominalizer
part.	Particle
PERF	Perfective
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pro.	Pronoun
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v. f.	Verb Formative
v. i.	Intransitive Verb
v. t.	Transitive Verb

ABBREVIATIONS
(continued)

Person/Number:

1sg	First person singular
2sg	Second person singular
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1du	First person dual
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1pc	First person paucal
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1pl	First person plural
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inc	Inclusive (includes hearer)
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Chapter I

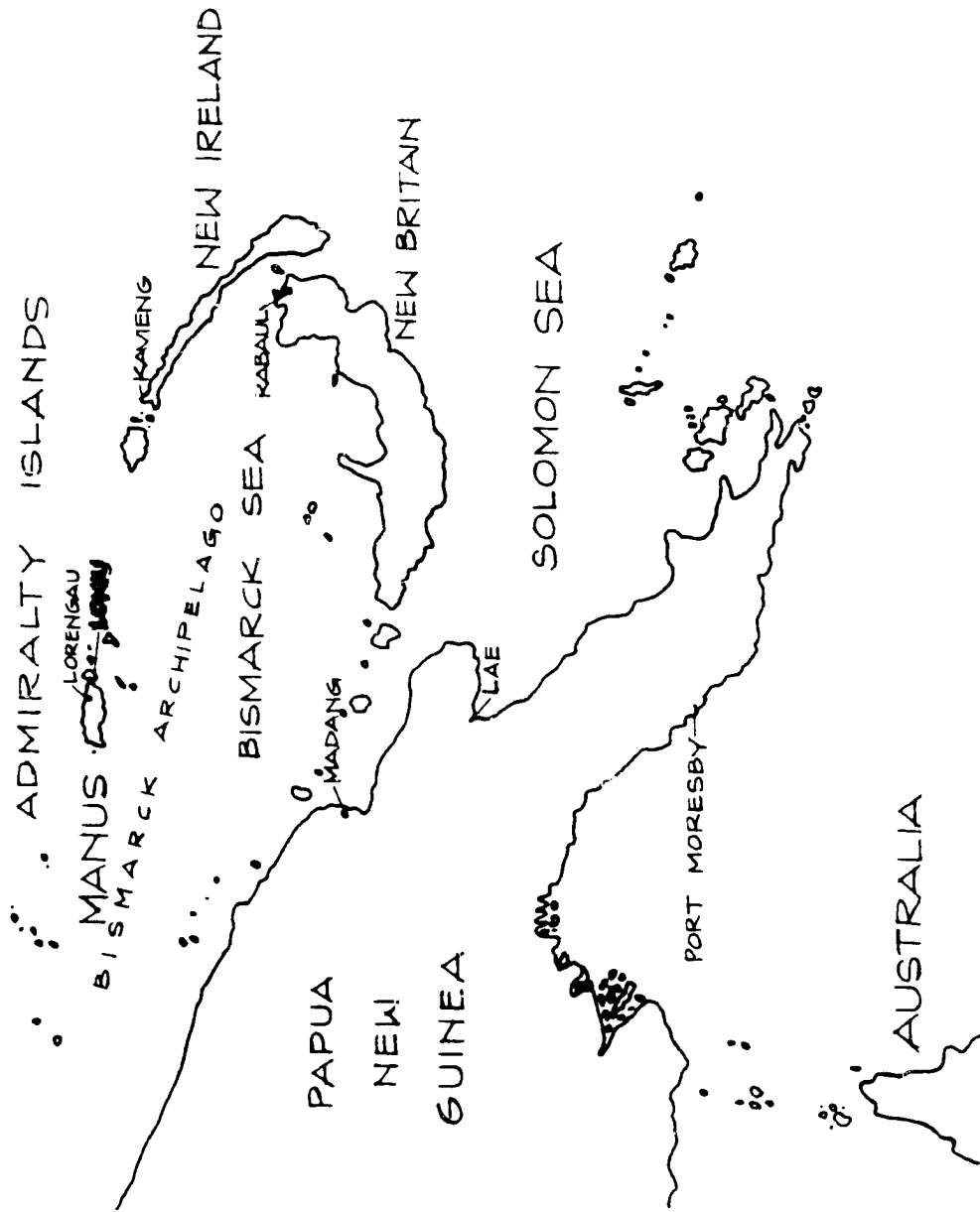
Introduction

1.1 Loniu and Its Place in the Austronesian Family

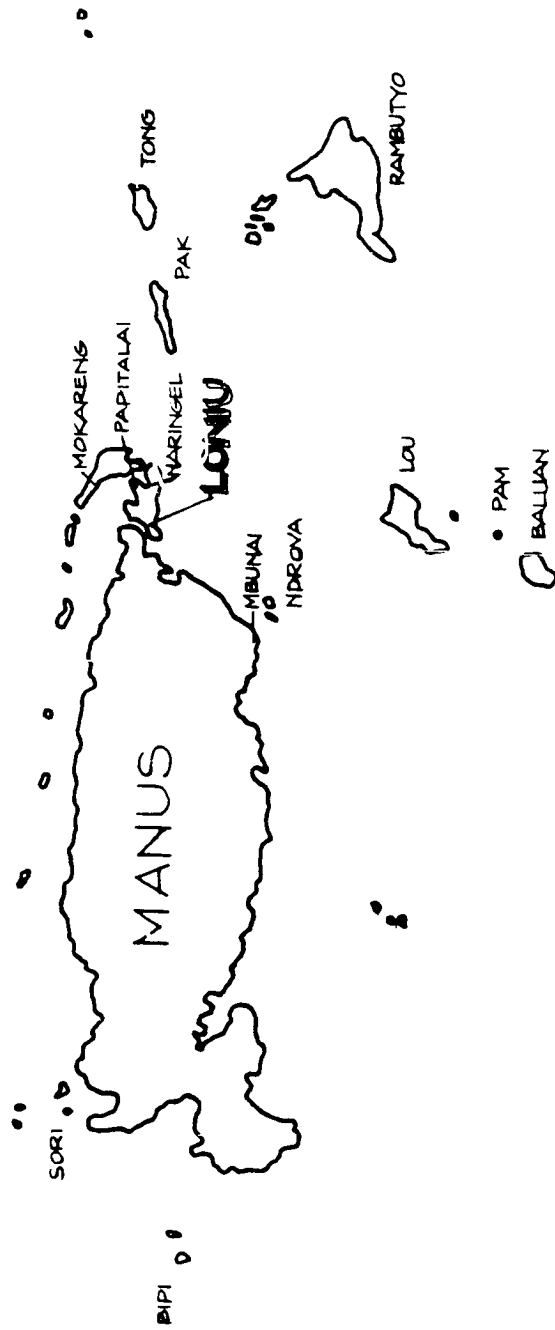
The Loniu language is spoken in Loniu and Lolak villages on the southern coast of the Los Negros section of Manus Province, Papua New Guinea, at 2° 5' S. Lat. and 147° 20' E. Long. (see Maps 1 and 2). There are said to be some 450 to 500 native speakers of Loniu, although many of these reside in other Manus villages or in cities on the mainland of Papua New Guinea.

1.1.1 Status of Research. Previous work on Loniu is scanty. Capell 1971 provides short word lists from several Admiralty Islands languages, including Loniu, and Robert Blust's The Proto-Oceanic Palatals (Blust 1978) also includes many Loniu forms. Z'graggen 1975 provides extensive word lists from twenty Admiralties languages, but does not include Loniu among them. Alan Healey (1976b) gives some indications of the structure of Loniu, and Schooling and Schooling (n.d.) contains some demographic information and lexicostatistics. However, no work has been published specifically on Loniu, and the grammar of the language has not been discussed in detail in any other study.

1.1.2 Classification. Loniu is classified as an Austronesian language, as are all of the other languages spoken in Manus Province (Healey 1976b, p.349). However, there is still some discussion as to how these languages fit into the Austronesian family as a whole. In the most recent work available on the subject, Healey¹ presents the



MAP 1



MAP 2

major viewpoints which have been published on the relationship of the Admiralty Islands group to the remainder of the Austronesian family. Most of these refer to the Admiralties languages as, for the most part, Melanesian. Healey points out, however, that 'the status and unity of the "Melanesian" languages as a stock within the Austronesian Phylum' (p. 351) is a subject of some controversy. He further states that the current status of research on the external relationships of the Admiralties languages leaves three major questions unanswered:

"(a) With which languages of Micronesia, Indonesia, and Melanesia

do the languages of the Admiralty area have the closest links?

(b) Are these links based mainly on chance similarities of lexicon and grammar, or are they the result of borrowing, or of genetic relationship?

(c) Does the division of the Admiralty area languages into two or three main groups have approximately the same time depth as the oldest divisions of the Oceanic languages?" (p. 351)

Nor has the subgrouping of the Admiralties languages been settled. Healey gives a summary of the various alternatives which have been suggested, and presents the differing classifications of several linguists, among them Meyer (1932)/Salzner (1960); Smythe (1970); and Blust (1976-77)². He then goes on to suggest his own classification, which, while similar to the others, is given as "a tentative compromise between the four viewpoints" mentioned. Since Healey's classification is the among the most recent, and Blust does not subdivide his largest group, Proto-Manus, the classification presented here is Healey's 'tentative compromise'.

Healey suggests three subgroups for the Admiralties: a Wuvulu isolate, a Ninigo family, and a Manus family. The Manus family is the largest, and is further subdivided into four subfamilies: North-West Islands, South-East Islands, East Manus, and West Manus. Loniū is listed as part of the North-West Islands sub-family.

It is of interest to note here that Loniū is located on the Southeastern coast of Manus Island, and that none of the other languages of the North-west Islands subfamily, as defined by Healey, are spoken in villages near Loniū, while the Papitalai/Mokareng language, in Healey's East Manus subfamily, is listed as being spoken in Papitalai, Mokareng, and Naringel. Naringel is geographically the closest village to Loniū, and Mokareng and Papitalai are relatively close neighbors. Contact between these villages and Loniū is very frequent. Many Loniū speakers understand the language spoken at Naringel, and will readily point to the similarities and differences between the two languages. Whether this is due to bilingualism on the part of the Loniū or to the closeness of relationship between the two languages is not yet clear. It has been suggested, however that the languages of the eastern coast of Manus, at least from Papitalai to Loniū, form a dialect chain, of which Loniū must form a link.

The fact that lexicostatistics have shown Loniū to be the language most closely related to Titan (38% cognate; Schooling and Schooling, n.d.), a language included by Healey as part of the East Manus subfamily, also calls into question his separation of Loniū in a different subfamily.

The close relationship between Sisi/Bipi and Loniū, while they

are geographically widely separated, is an interesting one, and has been commented on elsewhere (Healey, p. 360, footnote 6). One of the Loniu speakers consulted for the present work occasionally offered to provide 'the way they say it in Bipi', and explained that the people who now live in Bipi were once located at Loniu, but moved away. Exactly what the circumstances were, or when the separation took place, was not clear.

1.2 General Characteristics of Loniu

In general, Loniu appears to fit in quite readily with most of the generalizations made about New Guinea Austronesian languages, and with those more specific statements which have been made regarding Admiralty Islands languages (cf. Capell 1971, 1976a, 1976b; Healey 1976b). The order of constituents is basically SVO (Capell's AN₁), and there are prepositions. The verb morphology is not particularly complex, the only inflections being prefixes for person/number and one prefix for (potential) aspect. Transitive suffixes occur, but do not appear to be regular in use, in that stated objects may occur following unsuffixed verb roots, and verbs which contain the suffixes do not require a stated object. No passive, causative, or reciprocal forms have been identified. Subordinating conjunctions are used, but relatively infrequently; the most frequently used forms of clause conjunction are coordination and clause chaining. Within the verb phrase, co-verb constructions following the main verb (+ direct object) are very common, functioning as oblique object phrases or adverbials.

Nouns fall into one of three morphological classes--alienably

possessed, inalienably possessed, and variable (i.e. those nouns which may be possessed either alienably or inalienably). Inalienable possession is expressed for singular pronominal possessors by suffix, for plural or full NP possessors by immediately following the possessed noun with the stated possessor. Possession of objects to be eaten is expressed by a separate morpheme. There is no obligatory number marking on the noun, although nonsingular nouns may be indicated as such by the use of nonsingular pronoun determiners. There is no concord within the NP.

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

As regards the phonology, the most interesting aspect is the tendency to vowel assimilation, especially within the inflectional systems of the noun and verb. In addition, alternate long and short forms of many roots exist side by side; in many cases the short form is the extremely abbreviated version of a PAN root, with the final syllable of the original root deleted, while the longer form contains thematic revivals³ of at least part of the otherwise missing syllable in the presence of a suffix. Many of the longer forms exhibit vowel variations similar to the variations seen in the inflectional systems.

1.3 The Present Work

The present work is based on language data gathered during the author's stay in Loniu village (February-August 1982) and on data

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

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

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

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

3) the phonetic level, indicated by the use of brackets ([]), is referred to when noncontrastive variation is the point of the

discussion.

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

Chapter III describes the morphology of the language, defines and discusses word classes, and gives a brief presentation of those points of derivational morphology which have been identified. Chapter IV defines the noun phrase and its constituents, and Chapter V does the same for the verb phrase. Chapter VI describes the structure of the major sentence types, and Chapter VII the structure of sentences composed of more than one clause.

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

A list of the abbreviations used herein is provided following the Table of Contents.

Notes to Chapter I

¹ Hereafter, unless otherwise stated, "Healey" refers to Healey 1976b.

² Healey's Blust (1976-77) is here listed as Blust 1978. Healey apparently had access to the work before it was actually published.

³ Capell (1976b) uses the term 'thematic revival', and defines it as follows: "Thematic consonants are such as originally belonged to a stem, but are now lost except when a suffix is added, e.g., *tanit weep, which may become tan or tani, but when made transitive, "weep for" becomes tani-si, reviving the original final consonant as s" (p.241).

Chapter II
Phonetics and Phonology

2.1 Syllable Structure.

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

(1) <u>Syllable Type</u>	<u>Examples</u>
V	a 'still' u 'we (dual exclusive)' isi 'squeeze'
CV	ko 'land, place, village' ma 'and, with' tahapule 'forehead'
VC	ek 'grow (intransitive)' ah 'jump; get into (e.g. canoe)' in 'drink'
CVC	pat 'stone' pow 'pig' čačoh 'grandparent'

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

2.1.1 Consonant Sequences. Generally, consonant clusters do not occur except across morpheme boundaries. In one case, min 'sit' + tan 'down, below', the use of the two morphemes together is so frequent that most speakers have deleted the final -n of min, thus producing

[mitan] 'sit down' and reflecting a reinterpretation of the two morphemes as one, within which a consonant cluster may not occur.

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

(2) ey pow 'the smell of pig'

ey + n [eyn] 'its smell'

(3) ow su?u 'their (dual) bone(s)'

ow + m [own] 'your (sg) bone(s)'

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

2.1.2 Vowel Sequences. The Loniu language tends to avoid phonetic

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

There is, however, a small subset of Class I i-initial verbs (illustrated in (4)) which, when inflected for 2nd person singular, are articulated with initial diphthongs. I interpret these as vowel + consonant sequences in order to preserve the generalization regarding vowel clusters, although it constitutes an exception to what was said above (2.1.1) about consonant clusters. Alternatively one could regard these forms as exceptionally containing vowel clusters. The first choice is made for two reasons: (a) we already have the handful of exceptions to the principle of no glide + consonant clusters mentioned in 2.1.1; and (b) the glottal stop does not appear between the two elements, vowel and glide, even in slow speech.

(4)	<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	ε-	ip ^w i	εyp ^w i	'you (sg) beat'
	ε-	in	εyn	'you (sg) drink (short form)'
	ε-	inum ^w i	εynum ^w i	'you (sg) drink (long form)'
	ε-	isi	εysi	'you (sg) break wind'
	ε-	iti	εyti	'you (sg) copulate'

It should be noted here that a second subset of i-initial verb

stems does not react in the same way to the presence of the 2sg prefix ε-, but instead replaces the stem-initial i- with the prefix:

(5) <u>Prefix</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ε-	iwani	ewani	'you (sg) pull'
ε-	ip ^w iti	ep ^w iti	'you (sg) unwind'
ε-	ili	eli	'you (sg) call (trans.)'
ε-	iw	ew	'you (sg) call (intrans.)'

One further example of a diphthong was elicited as the 2nd singular form of an i-initial verb stem. Here again, however, there was considerable variation in the forms elicited. The verb stem is hus 'suck, chew'. The commonest form given for the 2nd singular was [hɔs], but two speakers gave [hɔus] as the 2nd singular form (see 3.4.3.1 for the regular 2nd person singular inflection).

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

(6) <u>Tok Pisin</u>	<u>Loniu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
rais [raɪs]	[ɛɛʔis]	'rice'
lain [laɪn]	[leʔin]	'group'
pepa [peɪpa]	[peʔepa]	'paper'
kaikai [kaɪkaɪ]	[keʔikay]~ [keʔekay]	'food'
kain [kaɪn]	[keʔin]	'kind'

The diphthongs are broken into two syllables and a glottal stop is

inserted. Only two Tok Pisin words containing a diphthong were not so treated in Loniu: taim [taim] 'time; when' and laitim [laitim] 'light'. The Loniu speakers who were recorded as using taim either maintained the diphthong, [taim], or pronounced the word as [tem]. Only one speaker was heard to use laitim, on only one occasion, and pronounced it with the diphthong.

2.2 Consonant Phonemes.

There are seven obstruent phonemes: /p p^w t ć k s h/ and nine sonorants: /m m^w n ɲ l r y w/. These are displayed in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Consonant Phonemes

	<u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
Stop	p	t		k	
Rounded Stop	p ^w				
Affricate			ć		
Fricative		s			h
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Rounded Nasal	m ^w				
Liquid					
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Approximant	w		y		

2.2.1 Obstruents.

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

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

/p/ is sometimes realized as a partially voiced [b] in rapid speech when intervocalic, as in /tupunah/ [tubunah] 'boy'.

(For the description of /pʷ/, see 2.2.3 below.)

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

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

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

(9)	/iy pihin itiyen/	[i pi'hin di'yen]	'that woman'
-----	-------------------	-------------------	--------------

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

(10)	/etow/	[ɛ'tow]	'you (pcl)'
	/etow ketɔw/	[ɛro kə'tɔw]	'you (pcl) stay'
(11)	/patan/	[pa'tan]	'its branch'
	/pata niw/	[para 'niw]	'coconut branch'

See 2.4, Neutralization of Contrasts, for a discussion of the neutralization of /t/ and /r/.

2.2.1.3 /č/ is realized as the voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate [č], and occurs in all positions¹:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (12) | /čəŋ/ | [čəŋ] | 'arrive (at destination)' |
| | /pičinah/ | [pičinah] | 'large variety of yam' |
| | /lač/ | [lač] | 'coral' |

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

- | | | | |
|------|----------|----------|-----------------------|
| (13) | /kəputu/ | [kəputu] | 'navel' |
| | /kaka/ | [kaka] | 'foot, leg' |
| | /ek/ | [ek] | 'grow (intransitive)' |

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

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (14) | /itiyen ile pakak/ | [itiyen ile pagak] | 'That part dried up'. |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|

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

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|-------------|
| (15) | /sus/ | [sus] | 'milk' |
| | /pasa/ | [pasa] | 'knowledge' |
| | /nənes/ | [nənes] | 'talk' |

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

- | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|------------|
| (16) | /hah/ | [hah] | 'you (pl)' |
| | /ehə/ | [ehə] | 'yes' |
| | /sih/ | [sih] | 'one' |

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

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| (17) | /hah ma kaw/ | [hah ma kaw]~[ha ma kaw] | 'Are you leaving?' |
| | /seh pihin/ | [seh pihin]~[se pihin] | 'the women' |

2.2.2 Sonorants.

2.2.2.1 /m/ is realized as the bilabial nasal [m] and occurs in all positions:

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

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

2.2.2.2 /n/ is realized as the alveolar nasal [n] and occurs in all positions:

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

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

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

(20) /pane/	[pane]	'mother'
/p ^w enet/	[p ^w enet]	'clay soil'
/mɔŋ/	[mɔŋ]	'yellow'
/m ^w ɔŋ/	[m ^w ɔŋ]	'pandanus tree'
/poŋ/	[poŋ]	'sea turtle'
/kuŋ/	[kuŋ]	'man's basket'
/pa ^m boŋ/	[pa ^m boŋ] ²	'k.o. ray'

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

(21) /ŋɔ/	[ŋɔ]	'nose'
/ŋeŋeɣ/	[ŋeŋeɣ]	'scarred, pockmarked'
/peŋ/	[piŋ]	'night'

Figure 2

Contrasts among the Nasals

Nasal	Initial	Medial	Final
/m/	mat 'reef'	kaman 'male'	ɔm 'k.o. snail'
/mʷ/	mʷat 'snake'	kamʷat 'ant'	-- (see 2.2.3.3)
/n/	nay 'skirt'	mana 'shell'	ɔn 'purple'
/ŋ/	nat 'melon'	yanɔʔɔh 'spit'	ɔŋ 'sea turtle'
/ŋ/	ŋah 'lime'	ɕaŋah 'door'	ɔŋ 'k.o. shell'

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

(22) /lawat/	[lawat]	'possum'
/keleŋa/	[keleŋa]	'throat'

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

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

(23) /urɔh/	[urɔh] ~ [urɔh]	'thank you'
/puret/	[puret]~ [puret]	'work'
/EWER/	[EWER] ~ [EWER]	'k.o. crab'
/yar/	[yar] ~ [yar]	'a constellation'

In initial position, /r/ is realized as a prenasalized alveolar trill [ʀ̃r]. It may also be articulated as [ʀ̃dr], with a brief stop [d] as transition between the nasal and trill elements. In addition, in five of the fifteen words elicited with initial /r/, there is free variation between [ʀ̃r] and [ʀ̃d], but only [ʀ̃r] was heard in the remaining ten words. The fifteen words with initial /r/ are listed in (24):

(24) /rakaw/	[ʀ̃rakaw]~[ʀ̃dakaw]	'pig spear'
/כאכא/	[ʀ̃כאכא]~[ʀ̃דכאכא]	'deep water'
/אכאכאכא/	[ʀ̃אכאכאכא]~[ʀ̃דאכאכאכא]	'Loniu'
/אכאכא/	[ʀ̃אכאכא]~[ʀ̃דאכאכא]	'wooden bowl'
/כאכא/	[ʀ̃כאכא]~[ʀ̃דכאכא]	'now, today'
/ruli/	[ʀ̃ruli]	'k.o. bird'
/rakey/	[ʀ̃rakey]	'man's name'
/rakɔr/	[ʀ̃rakɔr]	'place name'
/rɔkɔpʷɛn/	[ʀ̃rɔkɔpʷɛn]	'custom, usage'
/raček/	[ʀ̃raček]	'boy's name'
/rehiyaw/	[ʀ̃rehiyaw]	'k.o. fish'
/rɔka/	[ʀ̃rɔka]	'k.o. fish'
/riw/	[ʀ̃riw]	'cricket'
/rɔw/	[ʀ̃rɔw]	'mucus'
/rɔpa/	[ʀ̃rɔpa]	'Ndrova island'

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

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

(25) /purɔŋ/	[purɔŋ]~[purɔŋ]	'k.o. sago dish'
/putɔ/	[putɔ]~[putɔ]	'core'
/yar/	[yar]~[yar]	'a constellation'
/yat/	[yat]	'burn'

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

(26) /irani/	[irani]~[iʳrani]	'fasten sarong'
/ilani/	[ilani]	'taunt'
/urɔh/	[urɔh]	'thank you'
/ulu/	[ulu]	'be high tide'
/kɔɔɔ/	[kɔɔɔ]	'k.o. sago dish'
/ɔɔɔh/	[ɔɔɔh]	'bailer'

2.2.3 Rounded Consonants.

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

(27) /p ^w ɛsaw/	[p ^w ɛsaw]	'dry'
/ip ^w i/	[ip ^w i]	'pound (sago)'

In only two words was /p^w/ found preceding a rounded vowel: [p^wɔkat] 'musket' and [p^wɔmɛlɛw] 'k.o. large yam'.

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

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

/p/ - /p^w/ contrasts are exemplified in the following pairs:

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

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

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

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

(30) /m ^w anu/	[m ^w anu]~[m ^w enu]	'fire (long form)'
'm ^w ɔn/	[m ^w ɔn]	'pandanus'
/m ^w ɔn/	[m ^w ɔn]	'armband'

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

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

2.2.4 Glides /w/ and /y/.

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

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

(31) /wi/	[wi]	'k.o. fruit tree'
/was/	[was]	'rope'
/wet/	[wet]	'cut down'
/wɔh/	[wɔh]	'fly'
/wo/	[wo]	'fetch (water)'
/yaliwi/	[yaliwi]	'steer (canoe)'

/tew/	[tew]	'my feces'
/m ^w ekew/	[m ^w ekew]	'deep sea, overseas'
/lawat/	[lawat]	'possum'
/čɔweyo/	[čɔweyo]	'my thigh'
/powet/	[powet]	'k.o. bamboo'
/muwan/	[muwan]	'bad'
/čuwuh/	[čuwuh]	'k.o. fish'
/kaw/	[kaw]	'sorcery'
/kɔw/	[kɔw]	'fence'
/niw/	[niw]	'coconut'
/pow/	[pow]	'pig'
/pew/	[pew]	'shark'

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

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

(32) /yo/	[yo]	'I'
/ya/	[ya]	'future marker'
/yɛ/	[yɛ]	'be in a place'
/yer/	[yɪn]	'war'
/yɔɔsi/	[yɔʔɔsi]	'scrape'
/yiw/	[yiw]	'gather (clams)'
/tiyani/	[tiyani]	'tell (a story)'
/keyaw/	[keyaw]	'platform'

/takeye/	[takeye]	'throw'
/hayah/	[hayah]	'some'
/čoyet/	[čoyet]	'k.o. tree'
/huyan/	[huyan]	'good; adult'
/mehiyun/	[mehiyun]	'sour'
/tepeiy/	[tepe?iy]	'lift, remove'
/sey/	[sey]	'one (with trees or canoes, e.g.)'
/ey/	[ey]	'inanimate pronoun'
/mancy/	[mancy]	'k.o. fish'
/uy/	[uy]	'k.o. sago palm'
/ay/	[ay]	'blood'

There are no examples containing the sequence [oy] within a morpheme in the data, and only one instance of the sequence [yi]: [yiw] 'gather (clams)'.
 (33) /iy a ɔ ɔ um/ [i a ɔ ɔ um] 'he's still at home'

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

/puwe ke/	[puɛ ke]	'fruit of a tree'
/etow ma kala/	[ɛro ma kala]	'you (pcl) want to go'
/iy ta ɔ ke/	[i ta ɔ ke]	'he is in the forest'
/sey ke/	[se ke]	'one tree'
/ɔw ma kala/	[ɔ ma kala]	'you (dl) want to go'

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

2.2.5 The Glottal Stop.

The glottal stop in Loniu is not contrastive, but is inserted by rule to separate two vowels, and as onset for word-initial stressed vowels (see Section 2.4, Stress):

$$(34) \quad \emptyset \text{ --- } ? / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V (\#) \text{ --- } V \\ \# \text{ --- } V \\ \quad \quad \quad [+stress] \end{array} \right\}$$

(35) /suu/	[su'ʔu]	'3rd person dual'
/pien/	['piʔen]	'white'
/masʔʔne/	[masʔʔ'nɛ]	'messy'
/leŋei/	[leŋe'i]	'like, as though'
/seh amat/	[seh 'ʔamat]	'(the) men'
/lɔtiye um/	[lɔtiye 'ʔum]	'inside the house'

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

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

a) the syllable count is maintained.

(36) /sɔɔh/	[sɔʔɔh]~[sɔɔh]	'flesh'
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b) the vowels coalesce into a single short or slightly lengthened vowel, with the resulting loss of a syllable:

(37) /suu tɔ lele/	[suʔu tɔ lele]~[su: tɔ lele]	
	~[su tɔ lele]	'they are looking'

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

2.3 Vowel Phonemes

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

Figure 3

Vowel Phonemes

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
High	i		u
Mid Tense	e		o
Mid Lax	ɛ		ɔ
<u>Low</u>		a	

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

2.3.1 /i/ is usually realized as high front [i]:

- (38) /ni/ [ni] 'fish'
 /meis/ [meʔis] 'be cooked, done'
 /iw/ [iw] 'call out'

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

(39)	/min/	[min]~[mIn]	'sit'
	/čip/	[čip]~[čIp]	'window'
	/peliŋein/	[peliŋe?in]~[peliŋe?In]	'with him/her'
	/pʷič/	[pʷič]~[pʷIč]	'finish, end'
	/kip/	[kip]~[kIp]	'lie' (short form)

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

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

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

(40)	/ehe/	[ehe]	'lie down, recline, sit'
	/ke/	[ke]	'tree, wood'
	/čstew/	[čstew]	'my hip'
	/hilitey/	[hilitey]	'choose'
	/hes/	[hIs]	'jump'
	/čstem/	[čstIm]	'your hip'
	/peŋ/	[pIŋ]	'night'

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

- (41) /p^we/ [p^we]~[p^wi]~[p^wu]~[pu]~[p^wɛ] 'not, no'
 /ɛp^we/ [ɛp^we]~[ɛp^wi]~[ɛp^wu]~[ɛpu]~[əBu]~[əwu] 'only, just'

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

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

- (42) /he/ [he] 'sew'
 /hi/ [hi] 'feminine particle'
 /iy ileey/ [iy ile?ey] 'he saw it'
 /iy ili iy/ [iy ili?iy] 'he called to him'
 /tew/ [tew] 'my feces'
 /utiw/ [utiw] 'my penis'

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

- (43) /ɛkes/ [ɛ'kes] 'powdered sago pith'
 /teɛɛ/ ['teɛɛ] 'canoe (long form)'
 /ɛ/ [ɛ] 'and, on, but'
 /peti/ ['peti]~[pə'ti] 'from, for, of'
 /kesuwas/ [kesu'was]~[kəsu'was] 'k.o. plant'

A third variant of /ɛ/, [i], occurs optionally before a suffixed

nasal possessive marker, as in:

- (44) /etem/ [etem]~[etIm] 'your liver'
 /lehen/ [lehen]~[lehIn] 'its tooth'

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

pairs:

- (45) /ehe/ [ehe] 'lie down, recline, sit'
 /ɛhe/ [ɛhe] 'yes; where'

 /hes/ [hIs] 'jump'
 /ɛhes/ [ɛkes] 'powdered sago pith'

 /pet/ [pIt] 'float'
 /tet/ [tet] 'ladder'

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

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

- (46) /kaman/ [ka'man] 'male; men's house'
 /ay/ [ay] 'blood'
 /la/ [la] 'go'
 /pataman/ [pata'man]~[pata'man] 'father'

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

- (47) /ɔ/ [ɔ] 'fall, come down'
 /kɔ/ [kɔ] 'village, land'
 /pach/ [pa'ʔɔh] 'near'

/həmw/ [hə'mw]~[hə'mw] 'one (man, e.g.)'

/kəswani/ [kəswani]~[kəswani] 'adorn'

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

(48) /yesow/ [yesow] 'marry'

/yo/ [yo] 'I'

/čohok/ [čohok] 'dive'

/oč/ [oč] 'jump'

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

(49) /lot/ [lot] 'turban shell'

/lɔt [lɔt] 'skin disease, rash'

/pow/ [pow] 'pig'

/pɔw/ [pɔw] 'canoe part'

/moʔ/ [moʔo] 'my skin'

/sɔh/ [sɔh] 'edible flesh'

/ako/ [ako] 'place name'

/hək/ [hək] 'one (e.g. spear)'

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

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

(50) /huyan/	[huyan]	'good; adult'
/apulɔk/	[apulɔk]	'hang up'
/ɕuy/	[ɕuy]	'broth'
/u/	[u]	'we (du-exc)'
/sun/	[sun]	'singe (short form)'

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

pairs:

(51) /moo/	[moʔo]	'my skin'
/muun/	[muʔun]	'be hungry'
/ɕo/	[ɕo]	'k.o. fish'
/ɕu/	[ɕu]	'comb'
/toh/	[toh]	'sugar cane'
/tu/	[tu]	'house post'
/koko/	[koko]	'my leg'
/kuku/	[kuku]	'k.o. wood'

2.3.8 Contrasts among the seven vowel phonemes are shown in the

sets below:

(52) /pin/	'change into'
/peŋ/	'night'
/pen/	'k.o. taro dish'
/pan/	'k.o. bird, poss. pigeon'
/pɔn/	'purple'
/pɔŋ/	'sea turtle'
/pun/	'moon; betel pepper'

(53)	/ti/	'emphatic particle'
	/te/	'feces'
	/tete/	'infant'
	/ta/	'locative particle'
	/tɔ/	'durative/habitual/continuative aspect'
	/toh/	'sugar cane'
	/tu/	'house post'
(54)	/kiw/	'small bench for grating coconut'
	/kew/	'my bivalve muscle (if I were a clam)'
	/kewe/	'k.o. bush'
	/kaw/	'sorcery'
	/kɔw/	'fence'
	/kow/	'fish hook'
	/ku/	'cooking pot'

2.4 Neutralization of contrasts.

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

(55)	//puret//	[puret]~[purer]~[purer a yo]	'(my) work'
	//hipeta//	[hipeta]~[hipera]~[hipera]	'thus, as though'
	//ete//	[ete]~[ere]~[ere]	'animate goal marker'
	//peti//	[peti]~[peri]~[peri]	'from, for, of'
	//mata//	[mata]~[mara]~[mara]	'eye; edge'
	//hetow//	[hetow]~[herow]~[herow]	'they (pcl)'

//čitow// [čitow]~[čirow]~[čirow] 'we (pcl-inc)'

There are also many words containing intervocalic /t/ which are pronounced with either [t] or [r], but were never heard with the trill variant, e.g. /ete suu/ [ete su?u]~[ere su?u] 'their livers'.

A possible explanation for the variation among the three ([r], [t], [r]) may be that Koro, a related language spoken in nearby villages (e.g., Mokareng)³, is influencing younger speakers. The older speakers of Loniu insist that these words should be spoken with [t] rather than with [r], and suggest that, as there is a great deal of contact between the two language groups, the younger people are learning the use of [r] in these lexical items from Koro relatives and friends. They were able to cite one example, ere [ere], which is the Koro equivalent of Loniu /ete/ 'animate goal marker', and Z'graggen (1970) lists many Mokareng words which contain /r/ where Loniu has /t/. A further factor in the variation is the fact that the trill /r/ phoneme in Loniu may be realized as the alveolar tap, which is also an allophone of /t/. Younger speakers, hearing the tap, may then be reinterpreting intervocalic /t/ as /r/, and trilling it when speaking slowly and carefully.

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

(56) /um a yo/	'my house (which I use, live in)'
/um ^w ew/	'my house (which I own, built)'
/Enum a iy/	'his garden'
/Enum ^w an/	'its garden, e.g. yam garden'
/tɔp a wɔw/	'your basket (alienably possessed)'
/tapwam/	'your basket (inalienably possessed)'

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

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

(57) //p ^w ičili//	/p ^w ičili/ ~ /pučili/	'chase'
//p ^w ili//	/p ^w ili/ ~ /pu'li/	'mountain'

//m ^w ičín//	/m ^w i'čín/	~ /mu'čín/	'its husk'
//p ^w asaw//	/p ^w a'saw/	~ /pɔ'saw/	'dry'
//m ^w anu//	/m ^w ɛ'nu/	~ /mɔ'nu/	'fire (long form)'
//ɛp ^w ɛ//	/ɛp ^w ɛ/	~ /ɛpu/	'only'

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

(58) //m ^w ɔn//	/m ^w ɔn/	~ /mɔn/	'armband'
//m ^w ɔn//	/m ^w ɔn/	~ /mɔn/	'pandanus tree'
//p ^w ɔmɛlɛw//	/p ^w ɔmɛlɛw/	~ /pɔmɛlɛw/	'k.c. yam'

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

(59) /suu tɔ ɔmɔt/	'they (tend to) vomit' (verbal form)
/ɛm ^w ɛtɔ suu/	'their vomit' (possessed nominal)

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

2.4.3 Consonant Neutralization--/l/ ~ /n/. The lateral /l/ does not surface in final position, but morphological alternations indicate that final /l/ becomes /n/ (see 2.6.2.2.2 for a discussion of short

and long form stem alternants for some nouns):

(60)	/kaman/	'men's house'
	/kemelin/	'his men's house'
	/in/	'dig (short form)'
	/ili/	'dig (long form)'
	/tun/	'canoe'
	/telew/	'my canoe'
	/sun/	'singe (short form)'
	/suley/	'singe (long form)'

Several Proto-Oceanic reconstructions as given in Grace (1969) show *l where Loniu has [n] (Loniu is among those languages of the Oceanic group which have lost many final consonants, and subsequently, final vowels):

(61) <u>Proto-Oceanic</u>	<u>Loniu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
*kulu(n)	/kun/	'breadfruit'
*pula(n)	/pun/	'moon'
*sala(n)	/čan/~čalan/	'road, path'
*salu	/čan/	'cut, clear'

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

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

(62) /lametiyen/	~ /nametiyen/	'big'
/lapwanan/	~ /napwanan/	'big'
/lime/	~ /nime/	'hand'
/lɔɔna/	~ /nɔɔna/	'leaf'

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

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

(63) /lele/	[lele]	'look at'
/nenes	[nenes]	'talk'
/teli/	[teli]	'squeeze'
/teni/	[teni]	'fall upon'
/let/	[let]	'decorative belt'
/nen/	[nen]	'leaf rib used for sewing'

2.4.4 Mid-Vowel Neutralization. Lower mid /ɛ/ is optionally realized as [e] when followed by the glides /y/ and /w/, when these represent separate morphemes, i.e. y as inanimate pronoun object suffixed to ɛ-final verb stems, and w as 1st person singular possessor suffixed to ɛ-final noun stems.

- (64) /kečewehe ni/ [kečewehe ni] 'you (pl) pour out the fish'
 /iy ičewehey/ [i?ičewehey] 'he poured it out'
 /ete suu iye/ [ete su?u iye] 'their liver jumped; they were
 startled'
 /etew/ [etew] 'my liver'

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

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

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

It is possible that the distinctions between /o/ and /ɔ/ and between /e/ and /ɛ/ are among the last to be acquired, and that the younger speakers consulted have simply not yet fully learned their language.

It is also possible, however, that these distinctions are losing ground, especially in view of the relatively low functional load of the higher members of the two pairs. In fact, the older speakers comment on the "careless" speech of their children, and worry that their language is changing as a result of the lack of precision among younger speakers.

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

2.4.6 Vowel Neutralization--the variant [ə]. The lower mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, as well as low central /ɒ/, reduce in unstressed position to [ə]. In the majority of the examples containing [ə], independent

evidence is available which allows the assignment of the vowel to one of the three phonemes /ɛ/, /ɔ/ or /a/. In the case of the non-singular person/number verbal prefix, however, there are several instances where the vowel phoneme involved is not clear. These cases are discussed in 2.6.2.3.4, Optional Prefix Vowel Backing.

2.5 Stress and Intonation.

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

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

(66) Penultimate:

(C)VCV [l'ahi] 'step on'; [l'ɪɔpɔ] 'now'; [l'pupi] 'place name'

(C)VCVC [l'mʷɛnɛnʔ] 'straight'; [l'amat] 'human'; [l'ɔahow]
'appear'

(C)VCVCV [l'i'wani] 'drag'; [ma'ɲawe] 'clear'; [l'ɔa'ʔiti] 'cut'

(C)VCVCVC [ma'pitan] 'raw'; [ka'kawah] 'grave'; no V'VCVCVC
attested with penultimate stress.

(67) Final:

(C)VCV [ɛ'ku] 'pile up'; [kɔ'mu] 'word'; [tɪ'uwe] 'boil'

(C)VCVC [pi'hin] 'woman'; [ɔ'ket] 'black'; [l'ɔe'lep] 'cance
bed'

(C)VCVCV [iti'ɔ] 'this'; [tama'na] 'dance'; [yoʔo'se] 'walk'

(C)VCVCVC [čele'wan] 'many'; [petu'wet] 'fire stone'; [apu'ɬək] 'hang'

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

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

(68)	['ma:sih]	'all'
	['mu:wan]	'bad'
	['pi:ʔen]	'white'
	['i:nen]	'small'
	['pa:san]	'know; knowledge of it'
	['ke:yaw]	'ceremonial platform'
	['ka:lɔn]	'ant'
	['pɔ:li]	'as far as'
	['na:ton]	'his/her grandmother'
	['ka:mʷan]	'ashes; fireplace'

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

(69)	['nanen]	'his/her mother'
	[pane su'ʔu]	'their (dual) mother'

[i'tɔw]	'3sg stayed'
[ɲane su?u its pele'ŋan]	'their mother was in the house'
[ɲala]	'cold wind'
[ɲe'la]	'(it) is cold'
[pele'tun]	'cold'

Stress seems to play no role at the lexical level, since it may occur on different syllables depending on the structure of the word, phrase or clause, and there is apparently no phonological motivation at the lexical level for the choice of which syllable will receive the stress, whether it be primary or secondary. It is possible that stress is predictable only at the phrase or sentence level, but the rules for assignment of stress are not yet clear. It may be that stress assignment is a matter of rhythm, and that the overall contour of an utterance requires only that primary stress be penultimate or final within the utterance--whether the utterance is a single word, a phrase, or a clause. In this work, all reference to stress as it relates to other processes or forms in the language is based on only those cases where stress was clearly perceptible.

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

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

(71) 3 _____ ↓
 2 yo kuyeni iti'yo
 1

'Can I eat this?'

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

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

2.6 Morphophonemics.

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

Figure 4

Nonharmonic Roots

<u>Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Vowel Combinations</u>
čelu	'stand'	Mid front unrounded - High back rounded
hilow	'run'	High front unrounded - Mid back rounded
nohi	'fill up'	Mid back rounded - High front unrounded
čuhe	'wrap'	High back rounded - Mid front unrounded
huya	'goodness'	High back - Low central
piʔah	'itch'	High front - Low central
mahu	'tomorrow'	Low central - High back
pʷaʔi	'scold'	Low central - High front

There is a tendency to vary vowels within some morphemes if those vowels have opposite values for the features [round] and/or [low].

For example, the citation form for '1pc-1nc' is consistently given as čito, but in casual or rapid speech the pronunciation of this morpheme varies between [čito] and [čuto], and is sometimes shortened to [ču].

This tendency to harmony is also noticeable when two vowels are juxtaposed in a morpheme sequence, especially in rapid speech:

<u>Careful Speech</u>	<u>Rapid Speech</u>
(72) ɔ kaman in men's-house 'in the men's house'	ɔ kaman ~ <u>ɔ koman</u>
(73) ɔ enum in garden 'in the garden'	ɔ enum ~ <u>ɔ onum</u>
(74) seh to ta epi 3pl CONT beat sago 'they are beating sago'	seh to ta epi ~ seh to <u>ta api</u>

Given the variation in the above examples, it appears that, while the

harmony processes which are so prevalent in the inflectional systems described in 2.6.2 seem to reflect the tendency to root internal harmony along the dimensions of lowness and rounding, such processes must be considered nonautomatic and morphologically conditioned.

2.6.2 Morphophonemic variation in the inflectional systems.

2.6.2.1 Overview. Morphophonemic variation in Loniu is limited for the most part to the processes of noun inflection for possessive and verb inflection for person/number. In both these cases, the variation involves changes in stem vowels due to the presence of certain affixes. Generally, low stem vowels raise to mid vowels in the presence of non-low affix vowels. In the case of verb inflection, the non-low affix vowels are prefixes marking person/number; in the case of noun inflection, the non-low affix vowels are the result of a process of coalescence of the 1st person singular possessive suffix -w with the final vowel of the stem.

Thus the 1/3sg person/number prefix i-, when prefixed to the verb stem mat 'die', causes the low stem vowel /a/ to change to /e/:

(75) i + mat imet 'sg dies/died'

and e- '2sg' causes the low stem vowel of the verb čan 'clear, cut' to raise to /e/:

(76) e + čan ečan 'You clear/cut; Cut!'

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

(77) k + e + hineni keheneeni 'Non-singular may do/make'

In addition, if the verb stem is h- or vowel-initial, the prefix vowel assimilates to the first stem vowel, once the height of the stem vowel has been adjusted as specified above. In the verb form k + e + huti 'POT + NS + take', the non-singular mid-vowel prefix causes the stem vowel /u/ to become /ɔ/ by the process of stem-vowel lowering, and then the prefix vowel totally assimilates to the stem vowel, producing the surface form kɔhɔti 'We, you, they may make/do'.

In the case of inflection for noun possession, the 1st person singular possessive suffix -w coalesces with the stem-final vowel in certain cases, producing a mid-back rounded vowel /ɔ/ or /o/, depending on the stem (the variation between /ɔ/ and /o/ does not appear to be based on purely phonological criteria--see 2.6.2.2.1). Thus the noun stem putuwa- + the possessive -w produces the surface form putuwo 'my belly', and the noun stem kenuwe- + -w produces kenuwo 'my neck'. Many noun stems which take the inalienable possessive -w contain only low vowels. Depending on the identity of the intervening consonant in such cases, the mid-back /ɔ/ or /o/ which results from the coalescence of the -w with the stem-final -a may cause the preceding /a/ of the stem to raise to mid-back, with the same value for [tense] as the final vowel:

- (78) ma?a + -w mo?o 'my skin'
 kana + -w kɔno 'my taste/flavor'

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

- (79) mata + -w meto 'my eye'

These vowel variations, which are primarily limited to the inflection processes discussed above, are described in detail in 2.6.2.2, Morphophonemics of Noun Inflection, and 2.6.2.3, Morphophonemics of Verb Inflection.

2.6.2.2 Morphophonemics of Noun Inflection.

2.6.2.2.1 -w '1sg POSS'. The 1st person singular possessive suffix -w (see 3.1.1.2) varies considerably in its surface manifestations, dependent on the final vowel of the noun stem. All inalienably possessed noun stems are vowel-final. The stems are separated into three classes, according to the type of vowel occurring in stem-final position: front vowel-final (non-low, unrounded vowels); back vowel-final (non-low, rounded vowels); and low vowel-final (/a/ only). The suffix surfaces as follows:

a. Front vowel-final stems.

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

(80)

$$\underline{-w} \quad \text{---} \rightarrow [w] / \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-rnd} \\ \text{-low} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ } \#$$

For example:

(81) <u>Stem</u>	<u>Inflected form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
čeqi-	čeqiw	'my flesh'
kučew-	kučew	'my kidney(s)'
kelepe-	kelepew	'my tail'

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

(82) nime-	nimɔ	'my hand'
pane-	panɔ	'my mother'
palake?ime-	palake?imɔ/ palake?imew	'my tongue'
kepuwe-	kepuwɔ	'my neck'

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

(83) ɕekshene-	ɕekshenew	'related to me'
kupɛ-	kupew	'my basket'
me?ipihine-	me?ipihinew	'my groin'
m ^w ɛ-	m ^w ew	'my buttocks'
um ^w ɛ-	um ^w ew	'my house'

Also, palake?ime- 'tongue' (which may be a compound consisting of pala- 'head' + another as yet unidentified morpheme), was elicited in both forms for 1st sg: palake?imew ~ palake?imɔ. In addition, there is a stem puwe 'testicle' which is phonetically similar to the exception kepuwe-, but which takes the form puwew when inflected for 1sg. Thus it would seem that there is as yet no phonological explanation for the form the suffix takes for the four exceptions cited.

b. Rounded back vowel-final stems.

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

(84)

$$-w \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ +\text{rnd} \end{array} \right] + \text{ ____ }$$

For example:

(85) <u>Stem</u>	<u>Suffixed form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
elutu-	elutu	'my egg'
ηɔ-	ηɔ	'my nose'
močo-	močo	'I've had enough'

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

c. Low vowel-final stems.

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

(86)

$$-a + -w \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{rnd} \\ (\alpha\text{tense}) \end{array} \right] / \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{c} \\ (-\alpha\text{nasal}) \end{array} \right) \text{ ____ }$$

For example:

(87) <u>Stem</u>	<u>Inflected form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
keheya-	keheyo	'my shoulder'
putuwa-	putuwo	'my belly'

keleḡa-	keleḡa	'my back'
ḡmuna-	ḡmuna	'my place'

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

(88)	<u>Short Form</u>		<u>Long Form:</u>
	<u>Non-Possessive</u>	<u>Alienable</u>	<u>Inalienable</u>
m ^w alih 'story'	m ^w alih	a iy story POSS 3sg '3sg's story'	mwalihin story-3sg '3sg's story'
law 'relative'	law	a waw relative Poss 2sg 'your relative'	lawam relative-2sg 'your relative'

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

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

<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form + Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(89) ŋah	ŋaha+w = ŋoho	'my lime'
	ŋaham	'your lime'
	ŋahan	'3sg's lime'
(90) p ^w ahačan	p ^w ahačala+w = p ^w ahačɔɔ	'my route'
	p ^w ahačalam	'your route'
	p ^w ahačalan	'3sg's route'
(91) čim	čima+w = čimo	'my purchase'
	čimam	'your purchase'
	čiman	'3sg's purchase'

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

(92) <u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Final Vowel</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ŋay	ŋeye	ɛ	'hole'
ay	eye	ɛ	'blood'
an	enu	u	'water'
m ^w an	m ^w enu	u	'fire'
nas	nesI-5	[I]	'digging stick'
kaman	kemeli-6	i	'men's house'

In order to explain the unpredictability of the final vowel of the longer form, one must assume that the vowel was originally a part of the stem rather than part of the suffix. There is no clear way to predict which vowel will occur in the suffix on phonological grounds. Other stems have phonetically similar forms for which no short, consonant-final forms are attested. These parallel forms show the same unpredictable diversity of final vowels. A comparison of the

stems within each of the sets in (93)-(99) indicates that the final vowel is not phonologically determined. The simplest explanation of their diversity would be that they are part of the stem rather than part of the suffix.

	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Vowel</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(93)	tɔpu	--	u	'taboo'
	tɔpɔ	--	ɔ	'clarification'
	tɔp ^w a	tɔp	a	'basket'
(94)	ŋesu	--	u	'smoke'
	nesɪ	nas	[ɪ]	'digging stick'
(95)	lasɔɔ	--	ɔ	'in-law'
	ŋɔsɔɔ	--	a	'breath'
(96)	ana	--	a	'consumable object'
	enu	an	u	'water, juice'
(97)	enum ^w a	enum	a	'garden'
	um ^w e	um	ɛ	'house'
(98)	netu	--	u	'child'
	ete	--	ɛ	'liver, heart'
(99)	putɔ	--	ɔ	'core'
	kɔputu	--	u	'navel'

Once this point of view is adopted, however, the question arises as to the provenance of the low stem vowel in the set of six short-form stems listed in (92). When the alternate long form occurs,

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

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

2.6.2.2.3 Stem-final vowel neutralization. In the suffixed forms of the inalienably possessed nouns (i.e., the forms possessed by a singular pronominal possessor), stems ending in the front vowels /i e

e/ may optionally centralize or reduce to [i] in the presence of the possessive suffixes (see 2.4.5). Forms encountered in the data are quite variable:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Inflected forms</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(100) kapeni- (as in <u>kapeni menuway</u> 'the eagle's wing, eagle wing')	kapeniw, kapeniw kapeniM kapenin, kapeniN	'my wing' 'your wing' '3sg's wing'
(101) ke- (as in <u>ke puke</u> 'the clam's muscle, clam muscle')	kew kem, kiM ken, kiN	'my muscle' 'your muscle' '3sg's muscle'
(102) lehe- (as in <u>lehe mwi</u> 'dog's tooth/teeth')	lehew, lehew, lehiw leheM, lehiM lehen, lehiN	'my tooth' 'your tooth' '3sg's tooth'

In addition, /e/ may optionally become close and tense when followed by -w '1sg', thereby neutralizing the distinction between the two mid-front vowels.

(103) pase-	pasew, pasew	'my chin'
ete-	etew, etew	'my liver, heart'
kihiye-	kihiyew (only attested form)	'my firewood'

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

(104) <u>Unpossessed form</u>	<u>Attested suffixed forms</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
nas	nesIw, nesIm, nesIn	'digging stick'
---	kelipawIw, kelipawIm, kelipawIn	'jaw'

2.6.2.2.4 Vowel Harmony in Inalienable Possessives. Of the 190+ noun stems which are attested in the inalienable type of possessive phrase, twenty-three exhibit clear instances of harmonic modifications of the stem vowel(s) when the stem is inflected for 1st person singular possessor. These harmonic modifications are not found in phrases in which the possessor is a plural pronoun or a full NP, nor do any regular harmonic processes occur in the alienable type possessive phrase.

Most of the stems which are subject to harmonic modifications contain only low vowel /a/. A subset of these have consonant-final short form alternants which appear in non-possessive or alienable possessive constructions and longer, vowel-final alternants which appear in inalienable possessive constructions. Six of the low-vowel noun stems which have non-low final vowels in the inalienably possessed long form, and are subject to vowel variation in the presence of the final vowel, have been discussed in 2.6.2.2.2 and were displayed in (92). These six are not further discussed here. In this section, discussion will be limited to those noun stems whose final vowel is a. These stems are subject to vowel harmony only in the 1sg possessed forms.

(105) <u>Stem</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
maʔa	'skin'
ŋaʔa	'name'
pʷaha	'mouth'
kaka	'foot, leg'
kana	'taste'
ana	'consumable object'
kapʷana	'self'
paʔama	'father'
paʔana	'man's father-in-law'
lawa (short form <u>law</u>)	'relative, supporter'
pʷahaʔala (short form <u>pʷahaʔan</u>)	'road, route'
paʔataha	'warmth, heat'
pala	'head'
mata	'eye'
taʔʷa (short form <u>taʔ</u>)	'basket'
ŋaha (short form <u>ŋah</u>)	'lime'

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

(106) maʔa + m	= maʔam	'your skin'
paʔataha + n	= paʔatahan	'3sg's warmth'

However, when 1sg -w is present, the following changes occur:

- a. the stem-final vowel and the suffix coalesce, as in (26) above (2.6.2.2.1), repeated here for convenience:

$$(107) \quad \underline{-a} + \underline{-w} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{rnd} \\ \langle +\text{tense} \rangle \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \langle -\alpha \text{nasal} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \text{---}$$

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

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

$$(108) \quad /a/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{low} \\ +\text{rnd} \\ \langle +\text{tense} \rangle \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} \text{C}^* \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{rnd} \\ \langle +\text{tense} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

$$*\text{C} = [\text{w p}^{\text{h}} \text{h k ? m n ŋ m}^{\text{h}}]$$

(109) ma?a + w --> ma?o --> mo?o 'my skin'

 kana + w --> kano --> konɔ 'my taste'

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

(110) kap^hana + w --> kap^hano --> kapɔno⁷ --> kopɔno 'my self'

c. If the intervening consonant is not one of those listed in rule (108), i.e., if it is one of the set [p t ɕ s l r y], as in mata 'eye' and pala 'head', rule (108) does not apply.

Instead, a raising rule applies, raising and fronting the [+low] stem vowel, but with no rounding or tensing:

(111)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ___ } \text{ C* } \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{rond} \end{bmatrix}$$

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

(112) mata + w --> mato --> meto 'my eye'

pala + w --> palo --> pelo 'my head'

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

d. The polysyllabic stems natama and paŋataha in their 1sg possessed forms show that the raising rule (111), described in c. above, is blocked by relative distance from the suffix:

(113) natama + w --> natamɔ --> natamɔ 'my father'

paŋataha + w --> paŋataho --> paŋatoho 'my warmth'

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

2.6.2.3 Morphophonemics of Verb Inflection.

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

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

(114) Rule I: Stem Vowel Raising

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +low \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -low \\ -back \\ -tense \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -low \end{bmatrix} + (C) \text{ ____}$$

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

(115) Class I ča?ɛh 'cut'

	<u>Present/past</u>	<u>Potential</u>
1sg	i+ča?ɛh (~ u+ča?ɛh) ^B	k+i+ča?ɛh (~k+u+ča?ɛh)
2sg	ɛ+ča?ɛh	ɛ+ču?ɛh
3sg	i+ča?ɛh	k+i+ča?ɛh
NS	ča?ɛh	k+ɛ+ča?ɛh

On the other hand, since Class II stems take the low vowel prefix in the 2sg and in potential nonsingular forms (see 3.4.2, 5.1.1.3.1), they undergo vowel raising only in the 1sg and 3sg forms, which have a high vowel as the prefix. (116) gives a paradigm for the Class II stem mat 'die'. Note that 3sg is imet, with a raised stem vowel, while 2sg is amat, with the stem vowel unchanged:

(116) Class II stem mat 'die'

	<u>Present/past</u>	<u>Potential</u>
1sg	i+met (~u+met)	k+i+met (~k+u+met)
2sg	a+mat	a+mat
3sg	i+met	k+i+met
NS	mat	k+a+mat

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

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

(117) Rule II: Stem Vowel Lowering

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \alpha_{\text{high}} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\alpha_{\text{low}} \\ \text{\textcircled{stense}} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\alpha_{\text{low}} \\ \text{\textcircled{stense}} \end{array} \right] + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{h} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \text{---}$$

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

- (118) k+e+hineni ----> k+e+heneeni 'POT-NS-make/do'
k+e+isi ----> k+e+esi 'POT-NS-squeeze'
k+e+huti ----> k+e+huti⁹ 'POT-NS-take'
- (119) k+a+ahoy ----> k+a+ahoy 'POT-NS-draw'
k+a+enje ----> k+a+enje 'POT-NS-hear'
k+a+ehe ----> k+a+ehe 'POT-NS-lie down'
- (120) a+yesow ----> a+yasow¹⁰ 'you sg marry'

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

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

(121) Rule III: Total Assimilation

$$V \text{ ---} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] / \text{---} + (h) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \left[\text{features} \right]$$

In the examples given in (122), the operation of Rule II has allowed for the maintenance of the relative height of the prefix vowels, such that the 1sg and 3sg prefix vowels remain higher than the vowels of the 2sg and nonsingular potential forms.

(122)	Rule II	Rule III	
k+i+huti	-->	k+u+huti	'1sg/3sg may take'
k+e+huti	--> k+e+huti	--> k+ɔ+huti	'POT-NS-take'
k+i+ɔkɔche	-->	k+ɔ+ɔkɔche	'1sg/3sg may think'
k+a+ɔkɔche	--> k+a+ɔkɔche		'POT-NS-think'
k+i+ɛɛ	-->	k+e+ɛɛ	'1sg/3sg may hear'
k+a+ɛɛ	--> k+a+ɛɛ		'POT-NS-hear'

2.6.2.3.4 Optional Prefix Vowel Backing. While the previous

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

(123) Rule IV: Optional Prefix Vowel Backing

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-tense} \end{array} \right] \text{ ---} \left[\text{+back} \right] / \text{---} + C^* \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{+back} \end{array} \right]$$

C* = any consonant but /h/

- (124) ε+nɔh --> כ+nɔh 'you sg fear'
 k+ε+sɔteheyani --> k+כ+sɔteheyani 'POT-NS-stand'
 k+ε+nɔchi --> k+כ+nɔchi 'POT-NS-fill'

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

- (125) ε+lɔmʷi --> εlɔmʷi~כlɔmʷi~ələmʷi 'you sg plant'
 k+ε+lɔmʷi --> kלכlɔmʷi~kələmʷi 'POT-NS-plant'
 ε+nɔchi --> εnɔchi~כnɔchi~ənɔchi 'you sg fill'

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

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

The high-front /i/ of the 1sg and 3sg forms may also be backed and rounded. In this case, however, the harmony is even less

predictable than it is for 2sg and nonsingular potential prefix vowels. Several factors seem to influence the backing of the high vowel prefix, not all of which involve the verb stem.

First, the /i/ of both 1sg and 3sg tends to become /u/ when the stem initial consonant is labial, the first stem vowel is back and rounded, and the potential prefix k- is present:

(126)	yo kupa	'I may do'
	iy kupa	'3sg may do'
	yo kumu?un	'I may be hungry'
	iy kumu?un	'3sg may be hungry'
(127)	yo upa	'I do/did'
	iy ipa	'3sg does/did'
	yo umu?un	'I am/was hungry'
	iy imu?un	'3sg is/was hungry'

Note in (127) that the present/past forms of 3sg maintain the high front vowel as the prefix. It is likely that the subject pronouns, which immediately precede the vowel of the prefix in the present/past forms, influence the quality of the prefix vowel, even on stems whose initial consonant is not labial and/or whose initial vowel is not back and round. Thus the back rounded alternant of the prefix occurs more readily for 1sg in the present/past, preceded by the pronoun yo 'I', than for 3sg forms, preceded by the subject pronoun iy 'he, she, it'. The fact that the subject pronoun yo always occurs with the 1sg verb forms, while the 3sg subject may be a full NP, may also influence the backing (and rounding) of the person prefix. Even with full NP subjects, however, alternation between the two variants, high front

and high back rounded, is very common:

(128) yo ulɛ ~ yo ilɛ	'I go/went'
iy ilɛ	'3sg goes/went'
(129) yo uɕɛpʷɛni ~ yo iɕɛpʷɛni	'I throw/threw'
iy iɕɛpʷɛni	'3sg throws/threw'
(130) yo ma kuwɔh	'I'm going to fly'
1sg INT POT-sg-fly	
iy ma kuwɔh	'He's going to fly'
3sg INT POT-sg-fly	
netukan ya kiwɔh	'The bird will fly'
bird FUT POT-sg-fly	

The variation between front and back high vowels for 1sg and 3sg, then, is based on combinations of three factors: first, the initial consonant and vowel of the stem--when 1sg and 3sg surface (see the discussion of prefix vowel deletion in 2.6.2.3.5), they always surface as /u/ when prefixed to hu- and u- initial stems, but only sometimes do with labial consonant + back vowel stems; second, the presence and contiguity of the subject pronouns yo and iy; and third, the presence of the potential prefix, velar k-.

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

(131) V ---> Ø / # ___ + (n) V

In these cases, the vowel of the person prefix is obligatorily deleted once it has caused the harmonic modifications in the stem vowel.

These prefix vowels are deleted from most modified y-initial stems as well, although there is some variation here in the 3sg forms--note the last three examples in (132):

(132)	<u>Rule</u> I	<u>Rule</u> II	<u>Rule</u> III	<u>Deletion</u>	<u>Surface</u> <u>Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
i+ac̣	i+ec̣	--	e+ec̣	ec̣	ec̣	'1/3sg hide'
e+hoti	--	e+hoti	ɔ+hoti	hoti	hoti	'you sg take'
i+yesow	--	--	--	yesow	yesow	'1/3sg marry'
i+yeti	--	--	--	--	iyeti	'1/3sg bite'
a+yeti	--	a+yati	--	yati	yati	'you sg bite'

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

(133)	k+a+yesow	-->	k+a+yasow	-->	kasow	'POT-NS-marry'
	k+a+yeti	-->	k+a+yati	-->	kati	'POT-NS-bite'

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

2.6.2.3.7 Summary. In the verb inflectional system, the height of the prefix vowel, which carries grammatical information regarding the person and number of the subject, determines the height of the stem

vowel. The stem vowel, in the case of the weaker boundaries, determines all other features of the prefix vowel.

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

Figure 5

Prefix-Stem Vowel Combinations

Prefix	Stem		
	Low	Mid	High
High	---	X	X
Mid	---	X	X
Low	X	---	---

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

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

c. If the prefix vowel is low, the first stem vowel is low.

Nonpermissible combinations, then, are that if the prefix vowel is low, the first stem vowel cannot be mid or high, and if the prefix vowel is mid or high, the first stem vowel cannot be low.

2.6.2.4 Verbs with Long and Short Stems. There are some 56 verbs which are attested as having both a short and a long stem (3.4.1.2). In some cases, the long form is derived from the short form by the addition of one of the suffixes -ani, -eni or -i (3.8.3.4), and no other changes take place:

(134) <u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
čan	čani	'cut, clear'
čim	čimani	'buy, trade, barter'
haq	haqeni	'feed'

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

(135) <u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tuwe	tuwani	'cook boil'
suwa	suwani	'paddle (canoe)'
čene	čeneni	'pole (canoe)'
emene	emenani	'spy on'
tiye	tiyani	'tell (story)'

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

(136) <u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tawah	tuwahi	'chew (betel nut)'
eah	sehi	'carve'
čurah	čunehi	'husk (coconut)'
tawoh	tawih	'clear'
takoluh	takulih	'signal'

There is one attested a-final verb which does not fit this pattern: kah ~ kahi 'look for', and one ai-final verb which does: yan ~ yeni 'eat'.

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

(137) <u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
nak	neketi	'climb'
pah	peheyani~peheyeni	'barter'
da?e	da?iti	'cut'
pu 'bathe'	pihi	'wash (NP)'
taw	tawe~taweyani	'give, put'

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

The extra element appearing in the long form, which may be a consonant, a vowel, or a combination of the two, is probably a relic of the original stem which is deleted in the absence of a suffix. There are more than 20 verbs whose long forms clearly contain such a relic, or thematic revival (Capell: 1976b).

(138) <u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tu	tuti	'take'
ɕun	ɕulumwi	'cook'
in	inumbi	'drink'
sus	susuwi	'sew (thatch)'
luŋ	luŋuti	'catch (fish)'
hus	husuwe, husuwani	'smoke'
eŋ	eŋe, eŋeyeni	'hear, listen'
has	hase?i	'plant'
han	hane?i	'pick, break off'

tames	tamese?e	'clear'
hi	hine, hineni	'do, make'
taŋ 'cry'	taŋe?i	'mourn for'
yaw 'go'	yaweseni	'parade (NP)'
kus	kusuweni	'be angry, sulk'
yeti 'bite'	yetiŋi	'cut'

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

(139) Short Form	Long Form	Gloss
ɔlu 'stand'	ɔluweni	'stand'
e?e 'be afraid'	e?eyani	'make afraid'
ulu 'be covered with water'	uluweni	'lower into water'

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

There are two very commonly used vowel-final transitive verbs whose long forms contain a glottal stop preceding the suffix -i: ta ~ ta?i 'hit, beat, kill', and sa ~ sa?i 'pierce, shoot, dig'. Since the only other monosyllabic vowel-final short forms show a thematic revival in the long form (hu 'take' ~ huti 'take', pa 'do' ~ pa?i 'doing'), it is difficult to determine whether the glottal stop in

these cases is also a thematic revival, or is simply the strategy for adding -i to monosyllabic vowel-final stems (see 2.2.5. for discussion of the glottal stop). It should be noted here that both ta and sa may take the inanimate object suffix -y: tay, say; that the nominal forms of the two contain a glide rather than glottal stop: taya, sayya; and that a third form related to sa also contains the glide: sayeni 'put holes in, e.g., termites in wood'.

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

<u>.140) Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
εη	εηε	'hear, listen to'
hus	husuwe	'smoke'
tow	tewe	'give, put'
sun	sule	'singe'
hi	hine	'make, do'
utu	utuwe	'break open (coconut)'
wεc	wεcε	'cut down'

Of these, four have two long forms: εηε, εηεyeni; husuwe, husuweni; tewe, teweyani; and hine, hineni. The shorter of the two is the most commonly occurring, except in the case of hine, which is only attested once in the data, while hineni occurs very frequently.

2.6.2.5 Comparison of Vowel Harmony in Noun and Verb Inflection.

In the noun inflection system, the only suffix which affects the stem vowel is -w '1sg possessor', which coalesces with a stem-final a to become a mid-back /ɔ/ or /ɔ:/ (see 2.6.2.2.1), and causes a preceding low vowel in the noun stem to raise to mid (see 2.6.2.2.4). In

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

Notes to Chapter II

1 For two speakers, /ɔ/ was in free variation with /t/ in final position in the verb p^wiɔ 'be finished'; a third speaker showed variation between /ɔ/ and /y/ in final position in two words: aɔ 'hide' and laɔ 'coral'.

2 This is the only attested occurrence of [m̥b] in the data. It is a prenasalized voiced bilabial stop. The only other instance of prenasalization occurs in the word-initial variant of /n/, [m̥n]; see 2.2.2.6.

3 There is some discrepancy in the identification of those villages where the Koro language is spoken. According to Schooling and Schooling (n.d.), Koro is spoken at Horan, Labahan, and Bowat 2 (nambis), while the language of Papitalai is called Papitalai, and the language of Mokareng is called Mokareng; according to Healey (1976b), the language Papitalai is equivalent to Mokareng, and is spoken in the villages of Mokareng, Papitalai, and Naringel. Healey does not mention the name Koro. According to information provided by several Loniu speakers, Koro is the name of the language spoken at least in Mokareng. The three villages named by Healey are in a geographic chain around the coast of the Los Negros section of Manus Island (the eastern end of Manus, separated from the rest of the island by Loniu passage), and the villages of Lolak and Loniu, where Loniu is spoken, are the next two in the chain.

4 The item epwe is never stressed, and as a result the pronunciation varies quite a bit; see (41) in section 2.3.2.

5 This form is one of the few for which assignment of [I] to /i/, /e/, or /ɛ/ was not possible, due to lack of evidence (see 2.4.5). It may be that the fact that /a/ ---> /ɛ/ in the presence of this final [I] is an indication that at least here, [I] is an allophone of high front /i/. The nesI- form is attested only with the possessive suffixes: nesIw, nesIm, nesIn.

6 /i/ ---> /n/ / ___ #; see 2.4.3.

7 Optionally /pʷ/ ---> /p/ / ___

v
+back
+rnd

 ; see 2.4.2.

8 See 2.6.2.3.4 for a discussion of the /i~/u/ variation in 1/3sg prefixes.

9 Surface form [kɔhɔtɪ]; see 2.6.2.3.3, Total Assimilation.

10 Surface form [yasow]; see 2.6.2.3.5, Further Modifications.

Chapter III

Morphology

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

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

3.1 Nouns and Noun Inflection.

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

3.1.1 Possession. As in many other Austronesian languages, there

are two different possessive structures in Loniu. Although most nouns seem to occur only in one type rather than the other, some nouns may occur in both, depending on the speaker's view of the relationship between possessor and possessed (see 3.1.1.3, Variable Nouns). The two types of possession are commonly referred to in the literature as alienable and inalienable, although such terms as 'temporary/permanent' and 'dependent upon/responsible for' have also been used. The terms alienable and inalienable will be used here, although some extension of the definitions of these terms may eventually be required to cover all cases in Loniu.

3.1.1.1 Alienable Possession. Alienable possession is expressed according to the following formula:

Noun stem + Possessive Particle a + Possessor NP

For example:

- (1) p^weleyah a yo
parrotfish POSS 1sg
'my parrotfish'
- (2) se[?]e a pat
one POSS Pat
'one (plate) for Pat'
- (3) epi iy eneyan a uweh
sago 3sg food POSS 1pl-exc
'Sago is our food'
- (4) seh a pane-n
3pl POSS mother-3sg
'his/her mother's people'
- (5) kup^wen a etun
net POSS scad
'a scad net (i.e. for catching scad)'
- (6) hetow pihin a yo
3pc woman POSS 1sg
'my women'

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

These instances seem to occur as follows:

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

(7) komuwa ʔrɔɔkɔ iy ipʷe eyt; ta uweh eyt;
 word Loniu 3sg 3sg-say eyt; POSS 1pl-exc eyt;
 'In the Loniu language one says eyt; ours is eyt;

ta hah yap... putty
 POSS 2pl foreigner...putty
 yours...is 'putty.'

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

(9) ta yo kiso itiyɔ ala ti kipela
 POSS 1sg POT-stand DEM first EMPH POT-sg-cool
 'Mine can sit here a while and cool off.'

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

(10) eneyan a suʔu, ta hetow, tɔmɔn
 food POSS 3du, POSS 3pc, tomon
 'Their (two) food, theirs (3+), was tomon (a k.o. tuber)'

Due to the insistence of several older speakers on using the ta form in alienable phrases while dictating careful speech, it is

(e.g. kaman a iy 'his men's house', p^weleyah a seh 'their parrotfish'), and may have provided some pressure for the deletion of the initial t in ta. A further element may have been the tendency in Loniu to avoid consonant clusters. As discussed in 2.1, Syllable Structure, when a phrase comes to be regarded as a phonological unit, as in min 'sit' + tan 'down', the consonant cluster resulting from the extremely frequent juxtaposition of the morphemes involved may be simplified by the deletion of one of the two consonants: [mitan]. Thus such possessive phrases as kaman a iy may have been derived from *kaman ta iy by analogy with the inalienable type possessive and to avoid the -n + t- cluster.

3.1.1.2 Inalienable Possession.

3.1.1.2.1 Structure of the Inalienable Possessive. All inalienably possessed noun stems end in vowels. As mentioned earlier, there is a group of noun stems which have alternate forms: a short, consonant-final form and a long, vowel-final form (see 2.6.2.2.2). For such nouns, it is the long form which occurs in inalienable possessive phrases and compounds, while the short form occurs elsewhere. Other nouns, particularly body parts and kin terms, have only a single, vowel-final stem, and occur only in inalienable possessive constructions.

Inalienable possession is expressed as follows:

a. singular possessor:

1sg	-w ¹
2sg	-m
3sg	-n

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

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

- (15) wewe itewe čeni-n
mango 3sg-give fruit-3sg
'The mango tree gives its fruit'
- (16) lotiye putuw-o kelikan
inside belly-1sg soup
'My insides are churning, I am very angry'
- (17) kaman iy ile ete patama iy pihin
man 3sg 3sg-go AG father 3sg woman
'The man goes to the woman's father'
- (18) eye-m
blood-2sg
'your blood'
- (19) melewa amat to mat
soul man STAT die
'the soul of a dead man'

- (20) ku a yo le?i to ma?akɔɔ-m
 pot POSS 1sg PRES LOC next-to-2sg
 'My cooking pot is next to you'
- (21) iy pihin ta ma?akɔɔ um
 3sg woman LOC next-to house
 'The woman is next to the house'
- (22) ɛɛ?ɔya su?u nanɛ-n itiyen
 revenge 3du mother-3sg DEM
 'That revenge of him and his mother'
- (23) mWenu-ɔ
 fire-1sg
 'my fire'
- (24) mWenu yap
 fire foreigner
 'the foreigners' fire; matches, lighter'
- (25) heya-n
 wash-NOM-3sg
 'its washing; the washing of it'
- (26) iy pasa heya epi pWɛ
 3sg knowledge wash-NOM sago NEG
 'She has no knowledge of how to wash sago'

3.1.1.2 Possession of Consumable Objects. Like other

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

- (27) lohɔluwa kanas ana pat ɛ ɔɔ palan
 middle mullet POSS Pat and POSS-1sg head-3sg
 'The middle section of the mullet is for Pat (to eat), and for me, the head.'
- (28) su?u ɔɔ anan eneyan
 3du get POSS-3sg food
 'They got her food (for her to eat)'

- (29) u ma kala pɔ ana čuto ni
 1du-exc INT POT-NS-go get PUSS 1pc-inc fish
 'We two will go get our fish (for us to eat)'
- (30) mʷat its yaw ile lɔ ke ilc pɔ sɔʔh anan
 snake 3sg-HAB go 3sg-go in tree 3sg-go get flesh POSS-3sg
 'The snake would go to the forest to find meat (to eat)'
- (31) ana hah te itiyen
 POSS 2pl feces DEM
 'That feces is for you to eat'
- (32) anam kitɔw
 POSS-2sg POT-eg-STAT
 'They're yours, keep them (reference is to cigarettes)'

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

(33) <u>Alienable</u>	<u>Inalienable</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
an	enu	water, juice
tun	tele	canoe
kaman	kemeli	men's house
pihin	pihine	woman, female
papet	papeti/papete	boundary
kɔ	kɔhɔna	land, village
um	umʷe	house
tɔp	tapʷa	basket, carrying bag
enum	enumʷa	garden
pileŋ	pileŋa	garden

nas	nesI	digging stick
ṅay	ṅeyE	hole, cave
čan	čala	road, path
kɔw	kawa	fence
ay	eyE	blood
puret	puriya	work
komu	kɔmuwa	word, language
kup	kupE	basket
ni	niyE	fish
mʷan	mʷenu/mʷɔnu	fire

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

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

expressed by the inalienable possessive.

<u>Alienable</u>	<u>Inalienable</u>
(34) hetow pihin a yo 3pc woman POSS 1sg 'my women'	pihine-n female-3sg 'its female (of species)'
(35) ka a u land POSS 1du-exc 'our land'	ka:ka:na u land 1du-exc 'our land'

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

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

(36) topo	'my basket'
tap ^w am	'your (sg) basket'
tap ^w an	'3sg's basket'

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

- (37) topo itehe
basket-1sg where
'Where is my basket?'
- (38) tap^wa kunukun
basket carrying
'basket for carrying suspended from the head'

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

(39) hetow ne?ehin hetow to ti?i tɔp a hetow
 3pc girl 3pc CONT weave basket POSS 3pc
 'The girls are weaving their baskets'

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

(40) telew 'my canoe'
 telem 'your (sg) canoe'
 telen '3sg's canoe'

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

(41) tele ulin
 canoe ??
 'lead or point canoe in a fishing expedition'

(42) tele law
 canoe net
 'canoes which carry the nets'

(43) tele p^weleyah
 canoe parrotfish
 'canoes in a parrotfish expedition'

(44) tele nesum^wan
 canoe smoke-fire
 'motorboats'

The last example, tele nesum^wan, was clarified as tun a seh yap 'canoe of the foreigners', with a possessive of the alienable type. All other cases of possession of canoes which occur in context were of the alienable type, e.g., su?u ah ile tun a su?u 'they two jumped into their canoe(s)'.

When speakers were questioned as to the difference between the alienable and the inalienable constructions involving the variable

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

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

It is clear, however, that a distinction does exist and can be

expressed for these variable nouns. It remains to further research and analysis to clarify the nature of that distinction.

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

(45) um^we čimičim
house buying
'(trade) store'

(46) papete epi
boundary sago
'boundary of a sago plantation'

(47) tele ŋesum^wan
canoe smoke-fire
'motor boat'

(48) mwɔnu yap
fire foreigner
'matches, lighter'

- (49) niye kan
fish circumcision
'fish caught for the celebration of circumcision'
- (50) um^we ɫɔʔ ke peti m^walih
house leaf tree for story
'library'

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

- (51) tun peti peleŋan
canoe for on-top
'airplane'
- (52) tun peti p^wahačan
canoe for road
'car, truck'
- (53) pileŋ peti suwe (cf. enum a suwe 'yam garden'
garden for yam The difference in meaning
'yam garden' here is not clear.)
- (54) puret peti mačan (cf. puriya mah 'the work of
work for marriage growing taro')
'work of arranging a marriage'

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

- (55) ɫɔp ɫɔʔw
basket ti-plant
'basket with designs'

3.1.2 Pronouns.

3.1.2.1 Independent Personal Pronouns. The set of independent pronouns in Loniu show a distinction of three persons and four numbers (singular, dual, paucal, plural). In addition, the nonsingular first person pronouns distinguish between inclusive and exclusive. The pronouns are displayed in (56):

Person	Number			
	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural
1 inc	--	to?u	čito	tahah
1 exc	yo	u	uto	uweh
2	wɔw	ɔw	etow	hah
3	iy	su?u	hetow	seh

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

- (57) um a he'tow heto 'ʔamat
house POSS 3pc 3pc man
'their house' 'the men'
- (58) tun a iy i kili man
canoe POSS 3sg 3sg PERF return
'his canoe' 'he came back'
- (59) seh a iy se pihir
3pl POSS 3sg 3pl woman
'his people' 'the women'

The dual forms appear to contain the number root u 'two'; the paucal forms all contain the syllable to(w), which is probably a reflex of the PAN root *telu 'three' (POC *tolu)². As Loniu is among those languages which have lost many final syllables, the resulting monosyllabic form is not at all unusual, although the final w has not yet been explained. However, the paucal forms are not restricted to trial number, but refer to any number more than two but apparently less than ten or so. No upper limit was ever given, except that it should not be čelewan 'many'. At least two of the plural forms are similar to the root for 'four', ha. Whether these two forms tahah

'1pl-inc' and hah '2pl' are in fact related historically to the numeral root ha is not yet clear. Capell (1971) does discuss the quadruple pronouns of other Austronesian languages, e.g., Tuna (Tolai) in New Britain and Tanga-Anir in New Ireland, where the quadruple form of the pronoun is said to be derived from PAN *(e)mpat 'four'. He further states that pronouns which are quadruple in form but semantically plural exist, e.g., in Tanna, in the New Hebrides. Therefore, it is not at all unlikely that the Loniu plural pronouns, which at least in the two cases mentioned above, appear to contain the root for 'four', are in fact derived from quadruple pronoun forms.

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

3.1.2.2 Non-human object suffix -y. In the object slot, 3rd person pronoun objects which are non-human are shown in one of two ways. Most transitive verbs end in -i. When the object of such a verb is a 3sg non-human pronoun, no overt object pronoun occurs following the verb (example 60). Verbs which end in vowels other than -i show the 3sg non-human object pronoun by suffixing -y to the stem (61-64). Examples (65) and (66) are provided to show that human pronominal direct objects are expressed by the use of the independent personal pronoun rather than by the use of -y.

- (60) iy huti e iy iyew
 3sg take and 3sg 3sg-go
 'She took it and left'

- (61) su?u ma kala ta ɛpi
 3du INT POT-NS-go beat sago
 'They are going to beat sago'
- (62) su?u ma kala ta-y
 3du INT POT-NS-go beat-it
 'They are going to beat it'
- (63) yo iteWE ENEYAN ile ete iy
 1sg 1sg-give food 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'I gave food to him'
- (64) yo uteWE-y ile ete iy
 1sg 1sg-give-it 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'I gave it to him'
- (65) yo uteWE netun ile ete iy
 1sg 1sg-give child-3sg 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'I gave her child to her'
- (66) yo uteWE iy ile ete iy
 1sg 1sg-give 3sg 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'I gave her to her'

3.1.2.3 Inanimate oblique object pronoun ey. The inanimate pronoun form ey occurs in oblique object constructions such as locative, and following the prepositions peti 'for, of, about, from', pɔli 'as far as, up to', and ya 'toward, through':

- (67) iy iɕe?et ile EY
 3sg 3sg-crawl 3sg-go PRO
 'He crawled along it'
- (68) su?u to pɔ puret peti ey
 3du HAB do work for PRO
 'They do the work for it, to produce it'
- (69) su?u to lɔs ile ya EY
 3du CONT fall 3sg-go through PRO
 'They were falling through it'
- (70) manuwenan ile pɔli EY
 boundary 3sg-go as-far-as PRO
 'The boundary goes as far as there'

3.1.2.4 Reflexive and reciprocal. There are no special forms for

reflexive or reciprocal constructions. The same set of personal pronouns is used whether the subject and object are the same or different, and reciprocity can only be determined from context.

(71) iy itekeni iy ile 13 tas
3sg 3sg-throw 3sg 3sg-go in sea
'He threw himself into the sea; He threw him/her into the sea'

(72) su?u ʔa?iti su?u
3du cut 3du
'They cut themselves; they cut each other; they two cut the other two'

The reflexive may be made overt by the use of the noun kapʷana

'self' (73) or the noun mʷenen 'straight, direct, correct' (74):

(73) iy kapʷanan ipihi nimen
3sg self-3sg 3sg-cut hand-3sg
'She herself washed her hands'

(74) ...mah a su?u hipalatopon e suwe a su?u mʷenen
taro POSS 3du fem-Palatopon and yam POSS 3du straight
'...taro from the Palatopon women and their own yams'

3.2 Numerals and Numeral Classifiers.

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

(ma) + numeral root + classifier

Paradigms for all identified classifiers are given in 3.2.3.

3.2.1 The number prefix ma-. While the numeral roots are free morphemes and may occur without the prefix if one is only citing these numbers in a series, ma- is usually present when items are being counted or numbers are being cited in classificatory series, and is also present in the interrogative maʔehe 'how much/many?'. Its meaning is not clear, but it may be related to the morpheme ma 'and, with, together with', especially as it never occurs with the forms for

'one', but is only found in the numbers from 'two' on. Blust 1972 reconstructed a PAN 'number linker' of the form *na. Also Pawley (1969a) has reconstructed a number linker for Proto-Polynesian of the form *tuma.

3.2.2 Numeral Roots. The numeral roots are given in (75).

(75)	one	hV ~ sV
	two	u
	three	čulu
	four	ha
	five	lime
	six	ככח

The roots ha 'four' and ככח 'six' show no variation, and are not discussed separately. Numbers from 7 on are compounds, and are described below in 3.2.2.5.

3.2.2.1 The Root for 'one'. The number 'one' has two forms: hV and sV, depending on the classifier used. There is no clear factor, either phonological or semantic, which determines the choice of the two forms for 'one'. The hV- form is the more frequent, occurring with 18 of the 27 classifiers identified. The sV- form occurs with the remaining 9 classifiers. Some higher numbers, including 'nine', are compounds involving the sV root for 'one'. The vowel in these two forms is determined by the form of the numeral classifier formative in an anticipatory assimilation process. Thus, with the three classifiers -kap, -čum, and -kew, the hV form of 'one' becomes ha-, hu-, and he- respectively.

3.2.2.2 The Root for 'two'. There is some phonological variation

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

Furthermore, the u becomes a frequently, especially in fast speech. This is due to the preceding a of ma, the numeral prefix. Thus ma + u + pun may be either ma?upun or ma?apun; ma + u + maw may be either ma?amw or ma?umaw; and ma + u + pen is only attested as ma?apen.

Finally, the form for 'two' with the classifier -h 'see 3.2.3.2.3) is uwa~awa. The provenance of the extra syllable, wa, is unexplained.

3.2.2.3 The Root for 'three'. The root for 'three' is čulu in most combinations, but becomes čulh when in isolation or when the -h classifier is present (see 3.2.3.2.3). Thus ma + čulu + maw gives mačulumw, but ma + čulu + h gives mačulh.

3.2.2.4 The Root for 'five'. This root is most commonly lime. When the classifier is m- or m^w- initial, however, the -me syllable of the root is deleted: ma + lime + m^wat --> malim^wat; ma + lime + maw --> malimw. The e of malim^wat may be due to vowel lowering in the presence of the low-vowel classifier.

3.2.2.5 Compound Forms--the Higher Numbers. The numbers for

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

(76) ma + aru + čulu + classifier 'seven'

ma + aru + u + classifier 'eight'

ma + aru + sV + classifier 'nine'

The formative aru does not occur elsewhere in the data, and no separate meaning has been attached to it. Since it is likely that the oral counting system evolved based on finger counting (Menninger 1969, p. 35)--cf. the root lime 'five', which is based on the root nime 'hand'--it may refer to finger position (e.g. 'up', 'down', 'bent', or 'raised'³); or (less likely), it may mean something like 'left' or 'remains' (before one arrives at ten, when all fingers, or none, are involved).

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

(77) ma + classifier + numeral root + nən

In these cases, the classifier is either a longer form of the formative used for numbers one through nine, or is a different morpheme entirely (78). The classifiers which have short and long form variants of the same morpheme frequently contain a final -n in the long form, a situation which reflects the short (alienably

possessed) and long (inalienably possessed) alternants of many nouns. It is very possible that the final -n of the long alternant of such classifiers is the 3sg possessive suffix, and that, at least in these cases, the classifiers are a subset of nouns.

- (78) hakah 'one', makahansoḥon 'ten', makahanoḥon 'twenty'
hokum 'one', ma?eresoḥon 'ten', ma?ere?uḥon 'twenty'

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

- (79) masoḥon e sih
 ten and one
 'eleven'

- (80) ma?uḥon e uwch
 twenty and two
 'twenty-two'

The suffix -nat is used for hundreds. Thus ma + sV + nat --> masan^hat '100'; ma + u + nat --> ma?un^het '200' (see 3.2.3 for a discussion of the vowel variation in the classifier for 'two'); ma + čulu + nat --> mačulun^hat '300', etc. No examples of hundreds used with classifiers are attested in the data.

Thousands may be expressed by the insertion of the formative p^Win into the number word, as follows: ma + p^Win + sih '1000'; ma + p^Win + soḥon '10,000'. This formative is also used as a classifier for counting parrotfish (see 3.2.3.2.8.3).

The interrogative mačeh^he 'how much/many' is also attested with classifiers. The longer form of the classifier (see above, 77-78) follows ma- and precedes čeh^he: ma-patan-čeh^he 'how many stems?';

ma-kewan-čehē 'how many strings?'

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

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

This vowel assimilation does not occur, however, in the forms for 'three' and 'seven', where the numeral root is čulu. It is not clear why the final high vowel of the root čulu does not affect the suffix vowel, while the monosyllabic root u does. The stress in number words falls on the classifier suffix, but at least secondary stress falls on the numeral root. It may be that the u of 'two' is (secondarily) stressed, while the final -u of čulu is not, thus not triggering any assimilation.⁴ However, čulu is stressed on the second syllable in citation form. Finally, the fact that u is a monosyllabic root and čulu disyllabic may be the explanation--perhaps the two u's of čulu

reinforce each other and block the raising process. Examples of the variation in the classifier in the numbers 'two' and 'eight' are given in (81):

- (81) ma + u + p^Wan --> ma?up^Wen
 ma + aru + u + p^Wan --> ma?aru?up^Wen

Compare (81) with (82):

- (82) ma + čulu + p^Wan --> mačulup^Wan 'three'
 ma + aru + čulu + p^Wan --> ma?aručulup^Wan 'seven'

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

3.2.3.1 Classifiers with hV as the Form for 'one'.

3.2.3.1.1 čan/čalan

1	hačan	6	mawɔɔɔčan
2	ma?učen	7	ma?aručulučan
3	mačulučan	8	ma?aru?učen
4	mahačan	9	ma?arusačan
5	malimečan	10	mačalansɔɔɔɔɔɔ

These numbers are used for counting roads, paths, and boundaries (e.g., boundaries which divide gardens into sections). The classifier is based on the word for 'road, route, path', which has both a short form čan (used when the noun is not possessed or when possession is

viewed as alienable); and a long form čala (used when the noun is inalienably possessed). The form hačan is also found with the meaning of 'a very large group of men, such as an army'.

3.2.3.1.2 čaw

1	hčaw	6	mawočaw
2	ma?učaw	7	ma?aručulučaw
3	mačulučaw	8	ma?aru?učaw
4	mahačaw	9	ma?arusčaw
5	malimečaw	10	masočaw

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

3.2.3.1.3 čumWay

1	hečumWay	6	---
2	ma?ačumWay	7	ma?aručulučumWay
3	mačulučumWay	8	ma?aru?učumWay
4	mahačumWay	9	ma?arusečumWay
5	---	10	mačumWayansočaw

The čumWay series is used to count wrapping material or packets, and is based on the noun čumWeya 'wrapping, covering'.

3.2.3.1.4 kah/kahan

1	hakah	6	mawočakah
2	ma?ukeh	7	ma?aručulukah

3	mačulukah	8	ma?aru?ukeh
4	mahakah	9	ma?arusakah
5	malimekah	10	makahansɔŋɔn

This series counts water holes (an) and liquid in containers such as cups.

3.2.3.1.5 kap/kapan

1	haka	6	mawɔɔkap
2	ma?ukep	7	ma?aručulukap
3	mačulukap	8	ma?aru?ukep
4	mahakap	9	ma?arusakap
5	malimekap	10	makapansɔŋɔn

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

3.2.3.1.6 kew/kewan

1	hekew	6	mawɔɔkew
2	ma?akew	7	ma?aručuiukew
3	mačulukew	8	ma?aru?ukew
4	mahakew	9	ma?arusekew
5	malimekew	10	makewansɔŋɔn

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

- (83) lehe m^wi masan^t t^o hekew
 tooth dog 100 STAT one-string
 'There are 100 dogs' teeth on one string'

This classifier is also attested in a question:

- (84) ni mak^wan^čehe (ma^čehe 'how many/much')
 fish how-many-strings
 'How many strings of fish (did you catch)?'

3.2.3.1.7 k^w(w)/k^wh^wan/k^wʔn

1	h ^w h ^w (w)	6	ma ^w h ^w h ^w (w)
2	ma ^ʔ uk ^w (w)	7	ma ^ʔ aru ^č uluk ^w (w)
3	ma ^č uluk ^w (w)	8	ma ^ʔ aru ^ʔ uk ^w (w)
4	ma ^h ak ^w (w)	9	ma ^ʔ arus ^w h ^w (w)
5	ma ^l ime ^w (w)	10	ma ^w h ^w h ^w an ^s h ^w ʔn/ma ^w h ^w ʔn

The k^w(w) series is used to count lands/villages (k^w (short form), h^wh^wan (inalienably possessed form)), and winds (k^w): eto k^w ma^hak^w 'you four winds'. There is no example of the number 10 co-occurring with winds, of which the Loniu name only four, so it is likely that the ma^wh^wh^wan^sh^wʔn form is used only for lands or villages. The final -w of the classifier in numbers 1-9 only surfaces in careful speech or emphatic, strongly stressed phrases, and never occurs on the words for 'wind' or 'land/village'.

Numbers of this series are also attested as counting individual spears: nah h^wh^w 'one spear'; nah ma^wh^wh^wan^sh^wʔn 'ten spears'. There is a separate series for counting spears in bundles--see 3.2.3.1.8.

3.2.3.1.8 k^wʔn

1	h ^w h ^w ʔn	6	ma ^w h ^w h ^w ʔn
2	ma ^ʔ ak ^w ʔn	7	ma ^ʔ aru ^č uluk ^w ʔn
3	ma ^č uluk ^w ʔn	8	ma ^ʔ aruk ^w ʔn

below in classifiers salaha and p^Win). The form for ten is masɔɔɔɔ with humans, and masɔɔɔɔ was cited once as the form for 'ten' for fish.

3.2.3.1.11 m^Wat/m^Wetin

1	ham ^W at	6	mawɔɔɔɔm ^W at
2	ma [?] um ^W et	7	ma [?] aručulum ^W at
3	mačulum ^W at	8	ma [?] aru [?] m ^W et
4	maham ^W at	9	ma [?] arusam ^W at
5	malim ^W at	10	mam ^W etinsɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.1.12 ŋah/ŋahan

1	haŋah	6	mawɔɔɔɔŋah
2	ma [?] uŋeh	7	ma [?] aručuluŋah
3	mačuluŋah	8	ma [?] aru [?] ŋeh
4	mahaŋah	9	ma [?] arusah
5	malimeŋah	10	maŋahansɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.1.13 ŋay/ŋeyen

1	haŋay	6	mawɔɔɔɔŋay
2	ma [?] uŋey	7	ma [?] aručuluŋay
3	mačuluŋay	8	ma [?] aru [?] uŋey
4	mahaŋay	9	ma [?] arusah
5	malimeŋay	10	maŋeyensɔɔɔɔ

This classifier is based on the word ŋay 'hole, cave' (long or

inalienably possessed form neye), and is attested only for counting holes and caves.

3.2.3.1.14 pan/lemin

1	hapan	6	mawɔɔɔpan
2	maʔapɛn	7	maʔaruɕulupan
3	maɕulupan	8	maʔaruʔupɛn
4	mahapan	9	maʔarusapan
5	malimepan	10	maleminsɔɔɔɔɔɔ

This classifier is used with the types of fishing net called kup^{Me}n, which are generally of finer mesh and used for catching the smaller fish, such as sardines.

3.2.3.1.15 pat/patan

1	hapat	6	mawɔɔɔpat
2	maʔupɛt	7	maʔaruɕulupat
3	maɕulupat	8	maʔaruʔupɛt
4	mahapat	9	maʔarusapat
5	malimepat	10	mapatansɔɔɔɔɔɔ

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

(86) wɔw ulɔm^{Wi} mapatanɕehe?
2sg 2sg-plant how-many-stem?
'How many stems did you plant?'

yo ulɔm^{Wi} ile maʔupɛt ep^{Me}.
1sg 1sg-plant 3sg-go two
'I only planted two'

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

pigs'.

3.2.3.1.16 pay/peyen

1	hapay	6	mawɔɔɔpay
2	maʔapey	7	maʔaruɕulupay
3	maɕulupay	8	maʔaruʔupey
4	mahapay	9	maʔarusapay
5	malimepay	10	mapeyensɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.1.17 pot/kahat/muhun

1	hakahat	6	mawɔɔɔpot
2	maʔapot	7	maʔaruɕulupot
3	maɕulupot	8	maʔaruʔupot
4	mahapot	9	maʔarusepot
5	malimepot	10	mamuhunsɔɔɔɔ

This series occurs with mʷan 'fire', and appears to count piles of firewood, each for a single fire. The exceptional form for 'one', hakahat, is unexplained. The morpheme pot occurs independently as an intransitive verb meaning 'break'.

3.2.3.1.18 puɔ/wan/an

1	hɔpuɔ	6	mawɔɔɔpuɔ
2	maʔapuɔ	7	maʔaruɕulupuɔ
3	maɕulupuɔ	8	maʔaruʔupuɔ
4	mahapuɔ	9	maʔanusɔpuɔ
5	malimepuɔ	10	mawansɔɔɔɔn/maʔansɔɔɔɔn

These forms are used to count clusters of fruit growing on a

single branch, such as betel nut, coconut, or Malay apples.

3.2.3.1.19 put/čupun

1	hɔput	6	---
2	maʔaput	7	---
3	mačuluput	8	---
4	mahaput	9	maʔarusɔput
5	malimeput	10	mačupunsɔɔɔn

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

3.2.3.1.20 pʷan/kewan

1	hapʷan	6	mawɔnɔpʷan
2	maʔupʷen	7	maʔaručulupʷan
3	mačulupʷan	8	maʔaruʔupʷen
4	mahapʷan	9	maʔarusapʷan
5	malimepʷan	10	makewansɔɔɔn

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

3.2.3.1.21 Other Possible Classifiers. The form hayah, used as an indefinite quantifier 'some', is also attested with the meaning of 'a group of more than three, but not a large group'. However, the form

yah is not attested with any other number root. Similarly, the quantifier hepe 'a bit (of)' may be a form of the number one, but no other numbers are attested with the classifier pe. Finally, three forms are attested which include the noun pen 'night': upen 'two nights, day after tomorrow'; čulupen 'three nights, three days from today'; and hapen 'four nights, four days from today'.

3.2.3.2 Classifiers with sV as the form for 'one'

3.2.3.2.1 ay/en

1	sa?ay	6	mawɔno?ay
2	mawe?ey	7	ma?aručulu?ay
3	mačulu?ay	8	ma?aruwe?ey
4	maha?ay	9	ma?arusa?ay
5	malime?ay	10	ma?ensɔŋɔn

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

3.2.3.2.2 e/en

1	se?e	6	mawɔne?e
2	mawe?e	7	ma?aručulu?e
3	mačulu?e	8	ma?aru?u?e/ma?aruwe?e
4	maha?e	9	ma?aruse?e
5	malime?e	10	ma?ensɔŋɔn

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

3.2.3.2.3 h

1	sih	6	mawɔɔɔh
2	maʔawɔɔh/maʔuwɔɔh	7	maʔaruɔɔɔh
3	maɔɔɔh	8	maʔaruʔuwɔɔh
4	mahah	9	maʔarusih
5	malimeh	10	masɔɔɔh

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

3.2.3.2.4 hat/tapʷan

1	sahat	6	mawɔɔɔhat
2	maʔuhet/mawehet	7	maʔaruɔɔluhat
3	maɔɔluhat	8	maʔaruʔuhet
4	mahahat	9	maʔarusahat
5	malimehat	10	matapʷansɔɔɔh

The hat series is used to count woven fiber objects, such as mats, baskets, and carrying bags. Note the form tapʷan in the number ten, which is the same as the form for '3sg's basket', tapwa-n. The higher numbers in this series are used to count baskets or bags of food used for gift exchanges and payments required by custom, such as

dowries and brideprice. Thus it is possible to say tap^{wa} suwe mawɔɔɔɔɔɔ (basket yam sixty) 'sixty bags/baskets of yams', or suwe matap^{wa}mawɔɔɔɔɔɔ (yam basket-sixty).

3.2.3.2.5 hi/pi/muhun

1	sipi	6	---
2	mawihi	7	---
3	mačuluhi	8	---
4	---	9	ma?arusipi
5	---	10	mamuhunsɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.2.6 (w)em/lemin

1	sem	6	mawɔɔɔwem
2	ma?uwem	7	ma?aručuluwem
3	mačuluwem	8	ma?aru?uwem
4	mahawem	9	ma?arusem/ma?arusewem
5	malimewem	10	maleminsɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.2.7 wey/ye/ey/patan

1	sey	6	mawɔneyey
2	maʔawey/maʔuwey	7	maʔaruɕuluwey
3	maɕuluwey	8	maʔaruʔuwey
4	mahayey	9	maʔarusey
5	malimeyey	10	mapatansɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.2.8 Other sV classifiers. The remainder of the classifiers are slightly irregular, or are attested only in the higher numbers.

3.2.3.2.8.1 salaha.

salaha	'1'	maɕɔɔɔh	'6'
sih	'2'	maɕɔɔɔh e salaha	'7'
sih e salaha	'3'	mahah	'8'
maʔawɔh	'4'	mahah e salaha	'9'
maʔawɔh e salaha	'5'	malimeh	'10'

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

3.2.3.2.8.2 peʔe(n)

1	peʔesih	6	mapeʔewɔɔɔh
2	mapeʔewɔh	7	---
3	mapeʔeɕɔɔɔh	8	---
4	mapeʔehah	9	---
5	---	10	mapeʔensɔɔɔɔ

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

3.2.3.2.8.3 p^win. The formative p^win is used, as was mentioned earlier, in the formation of higher numbers, 1000 and above. Thus: map^winsih '1000'; map^winuwch '2000'. The same morpheme is used to count parrotfish, with a different meaning: map^winlimeh '5 parrotfish'. One speaker suggested that this series is used because the parrotfish is very large and highly prized, and is divided into at least ten parts for distribution and valuation.

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

3.3 Descriptive Adjuncts.

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

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

personal pronoun:

- (87) tɔʔu kala tas huyan, tas meseʔen
1du-inc POT-NS-go sea good, sea clean
'Let's go to some good water, clean water'
- (88) u hi-huya u e p^{We}
1du-exc FEM-good 1du-exc or NEG
'Are we good or not?'
- (89) ley iy p^{Wahaʔan} laʔelewen laʔelewen
Lae 3sg road long long
'Lae is very far away'
- (90) laʔelewe suʔu musih ep^{We}
long 3du same only
'They are the same length'

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

Thus it is not unlikely that the final n in this type of word is the 3sg possessive suffix, and the forms which contain it are inalienably possessed nouns. If this is in fact the case, then the instances in which these words function as descriptive adjuncts within the NP are of the structure Noun + Noun-Possessor rather than Noun + Adjective, and the -n possessor refers back to the head noun of the NP. Then the phrase tas huyan would be, literally, 'the sea its good(ness)'.

Several -n final descriptive adjuncts have short forms. Those short forms which are attested in context do not appear to differ from the long forms in either meaning or distribution. Both forms may occur within NP or as complements of verbless descriptive sentences.

These words are listed in (91), and examples of several are provided in (92-97).

(91)	<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	ɔket	ɔkɔten	'black'
	mata	metiyen	'big'
	ɔkɔw	ɔkɔwan	'yellow'
	tɔhu	tɔhuwan	'swollen'
	wɛʔis	wɛʔisɔn	'soft, comfortable'

(92) law mata leʔi tɔ nimɔ
 net big PRES STAT hand-1sg
 'the big net (which) is in my hands'

(93) sih p^wili metiyen
 one mountain big
 'a big mountain'

(94) niw ɔket
 coconut black
 'a black or ripe coconut'

(95) wɔw maʔam ɔkɔten
 2sg skin-2sg black
 'You have black skin'

(96) iy puwen tɔhu
 3sg testicle-3sg swollen
 'His testicles are swollen'

(97) wɔw puwem tɔhuwan
 2sg testicle-2sg swollen
 'Your testicles are swollen'

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

(98) <u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Example</u>
tewe 'give'	teweyan	nataman teweyan 'natural father'
ɲeti 'hurt'	ɲetiyān	kolu ɲetiyān 'I have a sore throat'
ɲatah 'be hot'	ɲatahan	an ɲatahan 'hot water, tea'
mɛʔis 'be cooked'	mɛʔisan	pow mɛʔisan 'cooked pork'

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

(99) <u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Example with Derived Form</u>
huti 'sing'	iy pasa <u>hutiya</u> wɛʔi pʷe 3sg know singing song NEG 'He doesn't know how to sing a song'
he 'wash'	iy pasa <u>heya</u> epi pʷe 3sg know washing sago NEG 'She doesn't know how to wash sago'
suwah 'fry'	iy pasa <u>suwaha</u> epi pʷe 3sg know frying sago NEG 'She doesn't know how to fry sago'

If the object of the nominalized form is omitted, the form is always

-n final:

- (100) iy pasa hutiyan pʷe
'He doesn't know how to sing'
- iy pasa heyan pʷe
'She doesn't know how to wash (it)'
- iy pasa suwahan pʷe
'She doesn't know how to fry (it)'

Thus, while it is possible that the final -n on the descriptive adjuncts is not always the possessive marker for 3sg, the evidence so far indicates that it is in many cases, and this analysis predicts that many, if not all, of those forms which are not so far attested as

occurring without the -n can in fact so occur.

3.3.2 Descriptive Adjuncts Derived from Verbs by Reduplication.

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

(101) <u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Reduplicated Form</u>
takɔluh ~ takulihi 'attract'	an kɔkɔluh water enchanted 'enchanted water'
suwah 'fry (sago)'	ɛpi susuwah sago fried 'fried sago'
ɕuhe 'wrap in leaves'	ɛpi ɕuhuɕuh sago wrapped 'baked sago'
haŋ 'feed'	paɬaman haŋahaŋ father adoptive 'adoptive father'

3.3.3 Descriptive Adjuncts which also Function as Adverbs. Many

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

(102) iy ma kile lɔŋɔw muwan
3sg INT PDT-sg-go thing bad
'He is turning into a bad thing'

wɔw ta huti muwan
2sg CONT sing bad
'You are singing badly'

(103) p^wɛleyah iy ni nap^wanan tasih uweh huti
parrotfish 3sg fish big very 1pl-exc catch
'The parrotfish is the biggest fish we catch'

yo unch napʷanan
1sg 1sg-fear big
'I was very frightened'

(104) huyan, pʷahaʕan huyan
good, road good
'It is good, the road is good'

suʔu ʔo yoʔose huyan
3du DUR walk good
'They get along well'

(105) ʔɔpu eto kapʷa yo lɔkɔw mʷelehey
taboo 2pc PDT-NS-think 1sg thing worthless
'You must not think I am a worthless thing'

iy ime lɔ um mʷelehey spʷe
3sg 3sg-come in house nothing only
'He came home emptyhanded'

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

(106) wɔw ta pʷiʕikaka menuway paɔeriyey
2sg LOC talon eagle powerful
'You are in the talons of the powerful eagle'

(107) ʕan ɔɔpʷalah
road forked
'a forked road'

3.4 Verbs and Verb Inflection.

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

3.4.1.1 Transitive Verbs. Transitive verbs are defined as those

which may be immediately followed by a direct object. Most transitive verbs end in one of the three suffixes -ani, -eni, or -i (see 3.8.3.4). These suffixes appear to be transitivizers, but their presence on a transitive verb is not obligatory. Many transitive verbs have alternate forms such that one form contains one of the three suffixes and the other does not (see 3.4.1.3), e.g., ćim ~ ćimani 'buy, trade, barter'; tuwe ~ tuwani 'cook, boil'; hu ~ huti 'take, hold in hands; sing'; han ~ haneni 'feed'. However, in only a few cases does the absence of the suffix indicate intransitivity (e.g., emot 'vomit', em^weteni 'spit out, vomit up'). Most often, both forms are used transitively: either directly followed by a pronominal or full NP object; with the object deleted but understood from context; or with the object moved to the front of the sentence. It appears, therefore, that the transitivizing function of the three suffixes is no longer as productive as it may once have been.

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

3.4.1.3 Verbs with Long and Short Forms. There are 56 verbs which are attested as having short and long alternants. Most of the long forms contain one of the transitivizing suffixes discussed in sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.8.3.4; in addition, all attested nominalized

forms of the verbs which have alternate long and short forms are based on the long form.

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

<u>(108) Short Form (Intransitive)</u>		<u>Long Form (Transitive)</u>	
čɛlu	'stand'	čɛluwɛni	'stand NP up'
ɛmɔt	'vomit'	ɛm ^w ɛtɛni ɛm ^w ɛtani	'vomit out, spit up'
ɛʔɛ	'be afraid'	ɛʔɛyani	'make afraid'
hiɓw	'run'	hiɓwɛni hiɓwani	'drive, cause to run'
iw	'call out (to make someone come)'	iwani	'pull, drag'
pu	'bathe'	pihi	'wash (NP)'
taŋ	'cry'	taŋɛsi	'mourn for'
ulu	'be covered with water'	uluwɛni	'lower (into water)'
wɔh	'fly'	wihi	'blow on (to move)'
yaw	'go (off)'	yawɛɛni	'parade (NP)'

Four of the remaining 47 verbs in this group are not attested with stated direct objects in the short forms, but a direct object does seem to be implied, and the translations are the same for both forms:

(109)	<u>Short</u>	<u>Long</u>	
	čunah	~ čunehi	'husk (coconut)'
	piliŋ	~ piliŋani	'wait (for)'
	takuwen	~ takuweli	'dig (with adze)'
	takɔluh	~ takulihi	'signal (to)'

One verb with long and short alternants appeared to be intransitive in both forms: kus ~ kusuwani ~ kusuwani 'sulk, be angry':

(110) iy kili kus ta tan
 3sg PERF sulk LOC down
 'He's sulking over there'

(111) yo up^wey ile ete iy iy kusuwani e iy iyew
 1sg 1sg-say-it 3sg-go AG 3sg 3sg be-angry and 3sg 3sg-go
 'I said something to her, she got angry and left'

(112) su?u kusuwani
 3du be-angry
 'They were angry'

The remaining 42 verbs in this group are transitive in both the long and short forms; both forms are attested as being immediately followed by a direct object, and there is no meaning difference between the two. These are listed, together with the other 14 verbs in the group, in Appendix H.

3.4.1.4 Stative/Locative Verbs. The stative/locative verbs are ɛɔ 'be in, on or at a place; stand'; ye(n) 'be in, on or at a place; sit'; and tɔ 'be in, on or at a place; stative, continuative, habitual, or durative aspect'. Each of the three may be directly followed by a locative NP.

3.4.2 Verb Classes. Verbs are divided into two morphological classes, which are distinguished by type of prefix. Class I verbs take the prefix ɛ- for all 2sg forms, and as the plural marker in the

potential aspect (113); Class II verbs take the prefix a- for all 2sg forms and for the potential plural (114):

(113) Class I stem me 'come'

	<u>Present/Past</u> ('come/came')	<u>Potential</u> ('may come')
1sg	i+me ~ u+me ⁵	k+i+me ~ k+u+me
2sg	e+me	e+me
3sg	i+me	k+i+me
NS	me	k+e+me

(114) Class II stem la 'go'

	<u>Present/Past</u> ('go/went')	<u>Potential</u> ('may go')
1sg	i+le ~ u+le ⁶	k+i+le ~ k+u+le
2sg	a+la	a+la
3sg	i+le	k+i+le
NS	la	k+a+la

3.4.3 Verb inflection.

3.4.3.1 Person/number. First and 3rd person singular are indicated by the prefix i-, which has a number of variants (see 2.6.2.3, Morphophonemics of Verb Inflection).

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

Nonsingular forms have no person/number marker in the present/past, but the prefixes e- or a- indicate nonsingular number for the potential aspect (see 2.6.2.3).

3.4.3.2 Tense/aspect. Both present/past and future time may be

expressed in the verb phrase, and potential, perfective, intentional/inchoative, continuative, durative, habitual and stative aspects are distinguished.

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

Verbs in the potential aspect (see 5.1.1.3.1), except those of 2sg (see 113 and 114 above) are prefixed with k- in addition to the person/number prefixes described in 3.4.3.1. Note that no person/number prefix occurs for the nonsingular forms unless the potential prefix is also present. If the verb is nonsingular in person/number and present/past in tense, the verb stem is unmarked. When the verb is in potential aspect, however, nonsingular person is distinguished by the presence of the prefix ε- or a- (or one of the possible alternants--see 2.6.2.3)

The perfective marker includes information regarding person/number, and precedes the uninflected verb stem (but is not prefixed to the stem, since no vowel assimilation takes place--see 2.5.2.3). The forms of the perfective are kili '1sg/3sg perfective'; εli '2sg perfective'; and kεli 'nonsingular perfective'. The form li may in fact be an auxiliary verb, and the (k)V- portion the potential prefix + person markers. However, since li does not occur without the (k)V- portion in the data, the perfective markers are considered units here. A special set of perfective markers occur with the verb la 'go': ki?i '1sg/3sg'; ε '2sg'; and kε?ε 'nonsingular'.

All other tenses and aspects are periphrastically constructed,

- (119) seh ma keme mahu
3pl INT POT-NS-come tomorrow
'They want to come tomorrow'
- (120) yo ume pinehe.
1sg 1sg-come yesterday
'I arrived yesterday'
- (121) m^wi?in ya yo kumu?un
later FUT 1sg POT-sg-be-hungry
'I'll be hungry later'
- (122) tɔʔu kɔtɔ leʔe ereneʔi puret a suʔu ala
1du-inc POT-NS-CONT see manner work POSS 3du first
'First let's watch how they work'
- (123) uweh leʔi tɔ taʔi tenih ^ʔkkɔ ile ey
1pl-exc PRES CONT catch sardine now 3sg-go PRO
'We catch sardines with it now'

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

3.5.2 Locative Adverbs. The words which function exclusively as locative adverbs are tan 'down (below)' and nɔh 'away'. The form paʔɔh 'near, nearby' most commonly functions as an adverb, but also occurs as a preposition. Other expressions of place are provided by the demonstratives and by the large group of nouns expressing spatial relationships, such as elewe 'length, far, long'; paʔaha 'underneath'; tata 'surface, on top'; tuwe 'outer side, outside'; lɔtiye 'inner side, inside' (see Appendix G). Such nouns, when preceded by locative or motion verbs and suffixed with the 3sg possessor -n, function adverbially.

- (124) yo ma kumin ep^we tan
 1sg INT POT-sg-sit only down
 'I just want to sit down'
- (125) kətə ti nəh
 POT-NS-STAT EMPH away
 'Stay well away!'
- (126) əmə hətɪ pelet kile nəh
 2sg-come 2sg-take plate POT-sg-go away
 'Come take the plates away'
- (127) iy itə tan
 3sg 3sg-STAT down-below
 'He stayed down below'

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

- (128) suʔu la paʔəh
 3du go nearby
 'They went nearby'
- (129) paʔəh ʔən iy petət a iy paʔəh ma kip^wič
 near 0ʔon 3sg strength POSS 3sg near INT POT-sg-finish
 '0ʔon's strength was nearly finished'

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

- (130) tətə keyən itipə ala tətə kəhəkən
 1du-inc POT-NS-sit here first 1du-inc POT-NS-rest
 'Let's sit here first and rest'
- (131) pun a wəw itiyə
 pepper-leaf POSS 2sg here
 'Here is your pepper leaf'
- (132) itiyən wəw he?
 there 2sg who
 'You there, who are you?'

Examples of the spatial nouns used adverbially are given in

(133-135):

(133) naton iɔŋ ime tuwen
grandmother-3sg 3sg-arrive 3sg-come outside
'Her grandmother came outside'

(134) iy ki?i la ɛLEWEN
3sg PERF go far
'He went far'

(135) ɕihi lɔŋɔw ta lɔtiyen
which thing LOC inside
'What things are inside?'

3.5.3 Manner Adverbs. The only manner adverbs which are not attested as occurring with any other function are mɛ?iyen 'quickly' and lapwe 'unsuccessfully'.

(136) ɛme mɛ?iyen
2sg-come quickly
'Come quickly!'

(137) iy iw ɛ iy iw lapwe
3sg call and 3sg call unsuccessfully
'He called and called and got no response'

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

(138) yo upwey muwan ɛ yo ma kupwey puliye
1sg 1sg-say-it badly and 1sg INT POT-sg-say-it again
'I said it wrong and I want to say it again'

(139) iy a tɔ takemeyam pitɔn
3sg still DUR moan strongly
'She is still moaning loudly'

(140) tuwenan yo yo pihin wɔw wɔw kaman
true 1sg 1sg woman 2sg 2sg man
'It is true that I am a woman and you are a man'

3.5.4 Intensifiers. The intensifiers are tasih 'very', ɛpwe 'only, just', ɛ 'right away', mWenen 'directly, exactly', and puliye 'also, again'. These always follow the word, phrase or clause they

modify. The form ti, which may occur preceding nouns, verbs, or clauses, indicates emphasis, and is discussed in 4.2.4 and 5.1.1.3.5.

- (141) iy ito ey tasih
 3sg 3sg-STAT PRO very
 'He was right there'
- (142) su?u la elewen tasih
 3du go far very
 'They went very far (away)'
- (143) iy ma kilele epWe ke?epow iy iwch ime
 3sg INT POT-sg-look only bird 3sg 3sg-fly 3sg-come
 'Just as she looked, the bird flew up to her'
- (144) nah epWe le?i to ete yo
 spear only PRES STAT AG 1sg
 'I have only the spears'
- (145) ow ketekeni kile lo ke epWe
 2du POT-NS-throw POT-sg-go in tree only
 'Throw it away only in the forest'
- (146) ya iy kime mWenen kime kakawah a yo
 FUT 3sg POT-sg-come directly POT-sg-come grave POSS 1sg
 'It will come right up from my grave'
- (147) su?u la mWenen ile ⁿrokomata me?iyen epWe
 3du go directly 3sg-go Ndrokomata quickly only
 'They went very quickly directly to Ndrokomata'

3.6 Prepositions.

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

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

There are also several verbs in Loni which occur with following

NP's in the periphery of the VP (see 5.2), and which frequently indicate the grammatical relationship between the main verb and the following NP.

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

3.6.1 peti. This preposition is invariable in form, and has a wide range of meanings: 'for, from, at, about, of, belonging to', and in two cases 'when'. peti is most often used to relate two NP's in the frame NP__NP (examples 148-153). When the second NP is human it is preceded by the animate goal marker ete. peti is also attested in the frames N__S (154), V__Adv (155), and Conj__NP/S (156-157).

- (148) yo peti kɔ ʔɔɔɔɔɔ mʔɛnɛn
 1sg from land Loniu directly
 'I am from Loniu village itself'
- (149) mʔalɪh itiyɔ peti ɛtɛ hɔmɔw pihɪn peti puʔuɕiʔey
 story DEM about AG one woman from Puʔuchiʔey
 'This story is about a woman from Puʔuchiʔey'
- (150) lɔtiye pɪlɛɲ peti ɛtɛ hɛtɔw lɔʔɔ ke
 inside garden of AG 3pc leaf tree
 'Inside their garden, there were leaves'
- (151) seh tɔ tay peti putuwa seh...
 3pl HAB beat-it for belly 3pl
 'They beat (make) it for their food...'
- (152) hɛtɔw amat peti lɛʔeya pʔɛlɛyah
 3pc man of watching-for parrotfish
 'The men in charge of watching for parrotfish'
- (153) aɲ ʔɔɔɔɔ fɛpuɛri aɲ peti ɛy mɔʔuɲɔɔ ɛ uɔɔh
 day today February day of PRO twenty and two
 'Today is February 22'

(154) iy pihin aḡ peti ḡan itḡ siḡ
 3sg woman day when sun 3sg-CONT shine
 'On a day when the sun was shining,

iy ile pḡḡḡ ḡḡ ke
 3sg 3sg-go within in tree
 the woman went into the forest'

(155) iy ile mḡḡ ime peti paḡḡḡ
 3sg 3sg-go return 3sg-come at nearby
 'He came back nearby'

(156) ε peti kḡwas ma kiyew...
 and when celebration INT POT-sg-go
 'and when the celebration was finishing up...'

(157) seh pḡkutum^{wani} hiḡ itiyen
 3pl pile-up together DEM
 'They piled it together

ε peti tun a lepeyam itiyen
 and for canoe POSS Lepeyam DEM
 and (it was) for Lepeyam's canoe'

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

(158) uweh ḡḡ tay ile puret
 1pl-exc HAB beat-it 3sg-go work
 'We make it for the celebration

peti kan kḡḡḡ...
 for circumcision, preparation of bride...
 of circumcision, preparation of the bride...'

3.6.2 pḡli. The preposition pḡli is invariable in form and is translated as 'as far as' or 'up to' (Tok Pisin inap). It is always preceded by la (lih) 'go' or me 'come', and followed by a locative NP.

(159) taya p^weleyah a yo ile pḡli ey
 catching parrotfish POSS 1sg 3sg-go as-far-as PRN
 'My area for catching parrotfish goes as far as there'

- (160) yo ile lih ɔɔli lolachu
 1sg 1sg-go ?? as-far-as Lolachu
 'I go as far as Lolachu'
- (161) su?u me ɔɔli nah itiyen
 3du come as-far-as spear DEM
 'They came as far as that spear'
- (162) itɔ itiyen ime ɔɔli p'wahalenɔ
 3sg-STAT DEM 3sg-come as-far-as beach
 'It went from there all the way up to the beach'

3.6.3 ya. The preposition ya 'toward, through' always occurs following la 'go' or me 'come' and preceding a locative NP.

- (163) su?u me ya m'welenɔ tilow e me m'welenɔ haway
 3du come through between Ndrilow and come between Hawei
 'They came through the area between Ndrilow and Hawei'
- (164) u wɔp ime ya itiyɔ
 1du-exc escape 3sg-come toward DEM
 'We ran away in this direction'
- (165) su?u tɔ lɔs ile ya ey
 3du CONT fall 3sg-go through PRO
 'They fell through it'
- (166) yo kule ya ehe e yo kume nah
 1sg POT-sg-go toward where and 1sg POT-sg-come away
 'Which way can I go to get away?'

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

- (167) etewe kanas kile lɔ ku
 2sg-put mullet POT-sg-go in pot
 'Put the mullet into the pot'
- (168) su?u netu su?u ime peleine?i su?u
 3du child 3du 3sg-come with 3du
 'Their two children came to be with them'

(169) suʔu tɔ mete lɔhɔluwan
 3du HAB sleep middle-3sg
 'They would sleep in the middle'

(170) iy ile patan e netun ile ćilin
 3sg 3sg-go trunk-3sg and child-3sg 3sg-go sprout-3sg
 'She became the trunk and her child became a sprout'

leʔi tɔ maʔakɔɔɔɔɔɔ
 PRES STAT beside-3sg
 beside her'

(171) yo tɔ pumwiʔi ɔw epwe
 1sg LOC behind 2du only
 'I am right behind you'

3.6.5 Prepositional Verbs. The verbs la 'go' and me 'come' are very commonly used to express grammatical relationships. In addition, the stative verb tɔ and the locative particle ta(h), when in construction with a following NP, express locative place. For a complete description of the use of these and similar forms, see 5.2, Verb Phrase Periphery.

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

(172) menuway iy itɔ wɔh paʔɔh pʷahaleɔ
 eagle 3sg 3sg-HAB fly near beach
 'The eagle would fly close to the beach'

(173) ɔw leʔi tɔ paʔɔh ete yo epwe
 2du PRES STAT near AG 1sg only
 'You two are right near me'

3.7 Conjunctions.

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

3.8 Derivation.

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

3.8.1 Reduplication.

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

(174)	<u>Base</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	ɕim	'buy'	ɕimiɕim	'buying'
	haŋ	'feed'	haŋahaŋ	'adoptive'
	nɔh	'to fear'	nɔhnɔh	'fear (n.)'

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

(175)	iw	'call'	iwiʔiw	'calling'
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A second set of CVC base morphemes reduplicates with a concomitant vowel change, and the epenthetic vowel is not always predictable:

(176)	kah	'hunt for'	kehekah	'hunt'
	sah	'carve (Tr)'	sehisah	'carve (Intr)'
	m ^w at	'snake'	mɔtɔm ^w at/mɔtem ^w at	'eel'

It is possible that the unpredictable epenthetic vowel was originally part of the stem, and only surfaces when the stem is reduplicated.

The raised vowel of the first syllable could then be explained by the

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

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

(177)	čɛʔɛt	'crawl'	čɛčɛʔɛt	'crawl (DUR)'
	mahun	'new'	mamahun	'very new; infant'
	tɔhu	'swollen'	tɔtɔhun	'promontory'
	piliŋ	'wait'	pipiliŋ	'waiting'
	tuwah	'chew'	tutuwah	'chew (DUR)'
(178)	čupu	'piece'	čupučupun	'lots of pieces'
	heluŋ(i)	'cover up'	heluheluŋ	'cloak, cover-all'
	ŋesu	'smoke'	ŋesuŋesu	'smoky'
	hutuŋani	'pile up'	hutuŋutuŋ	'bunch, group'

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

(179)	lemi	'root hair'	lemilemin	'lots of root hairs'
			lemilam	'fur, fuzz'
	patə	'thorn'	patəpatəɔn	'lots of thorns'
	čupət	'broken coral'	čučupət	'lots of broken coral'
(180)	mahun	'new'	mamahun	'very new; infant'
	kaman	'sweet'	kamakaman	'very sweet'
(181)	pukute	'do repeatedly'	pukupukute	'do repeatedly for a long time'
	tuwah	'chew'	tutuwah	'chew (DUR)'
(182)	yan	'eat (Tr)'	yeneyan	'eat (Intr)'
	hun	'awaken (Tr)'	hunuhun	'awaken (Intr)'
(183)	piliŋani	'wait'	pipiliŋ	'waiting'
	kawi	'ladle'	kakaw	'ladle'
	luwe	'lose, drop'	luluwe	'line for lowering sail'
(184)	təhu	'swollen'	tətəhun	'promontory'
	muči	'betel nut husk'	mučimučin	'very small betel nut'
	ycəʔuwan	'shade'	ycycəʔu	'cloudy'
	mʷiʔin	'behind'	mʷimʷiʔin	'last-born child'

3.8.2 Compounding.

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

(185) čte 'hip' + kaka 'foot'	čtekaka 'heel'
pala 'head' + kaka	palakaka 'toe'
pe?e 'handle' + kaka	pe?ekaka 'shin'
כככ 'within' + kaka	כככככ 'sole'
כככ 'within' + nime 'hand'	ככככnime 'palm'
pala 'head' + nime 'arm'	palanime 'fist'
כככ 'within' + mata 'eye'	ככככmata 'eyeball'
pusu '??' + mata 'eye'	pusumata 'eyebrow'
pa?aha 'under' + keheya 'shoulder'	pa?ahakeheya 'underarm'
mata 'eye' + ŋan 'sun'	mata ŋan 'in the sun'
pWaha 'mouth' + leŋ 'beach'	pWahaleŋ 'beach'
pWaha 'mouth' + čan 'road'	pWahačan 'road'
pala 'head' + pow 'pig'	palapow 'k.o. fish'
puwe 'seed, fruit' + yap 'foreigner'	puweyap 'beads'
pata 'trunk' + amat 'man'	pata ?amat 'old man'
pata 'trunk' + niw 'coconut'	pataniw 'k.o. fish'
pele 'in area of' + ŋan 'sun'	peleŋan 'up on top; in the house'

The compound nouns listed here are differentiated from the forms discussed in 3.1.1.3.1 based on two factors: these forms are thought of as inseparable by the speakers--as in pWahaleŋ, pWahačan; the forms leŋ and čan were cited only infrequently as the words for 'beach' and 'road' respectively, while the compound forms were much more readily offered. In the forms presented in 3.1.1.3.1, both nouns occur frequently as independent forms in the data. In addition, the forms listed in (185) contain a single primary stress when uttered in

isolation (most often on the final syllable), while the forms in 3.1.1.3.1 contain a secondary stress in the first component and a primary stress in the final component.

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

(186)	pane 'mother'	+ m ^w at 'snake'	panem ^w at 'k.o. insect'
	čuw 'k.o. fish'	+ m ^w ekew 'deep-sea'	čuwem ^w ekew 'k.o. fish'
	čili 'sprout'	+ mata 'eye' + ni 'fish'	čilimatani 'money'
	čah 'something'	+ lɔ 'in' + ke 'tree'	čalɔke 'place name'
	susu 'breast'	+ yelaw '??'	susuyelaw 'rainbow'
	ke 'tree'	+ peley 'sail'	kepeley 'mast'
	lah 'stingray'	+ an 'water'	lehe?an 'k.o. ray'
	pew 'shark'	+ an 'water'	pewi?an 'k.o. shark'

3.8.2.2 Compounds based on verbs. The verbs which most often combine with other roots to form new verbs are p^wa 'say'; pɔ 'do, make'; and ta 'beat; make; catch'.⁷ These always precede the second root in compound verbs. The second element in (187) has not been defined separately except where indicated:

(187)	p ^w a 'say' + ŋunuŋun '??'	p ^w aŋunuŋun 'whisper'
	p ^w a 'say' + sɔwe '??'	p ^w asɔwe 'name, tell origin'
	p ^w a 'say' + čelejani '??'	p ^w ačelejani 'explain'
	p ^w a 'say' + saw '??'	p ^w asaw 'joke; flatter'
	p ^w a 'say' + čɔɔya 'revenge'	p ^w ačɔɔyani 'talk back to'
	pɔ 'do' + ka?ani '??'	pɔka?ani 'straighten, pack up' (cf. yaka?ani 'hide')
	pɔ 'do' + hutuŋani '??'	pɔhutuŋani 'make into a heap' (<u>hutu^whutu^w</u> 'bunch')

po 'do' + kutum ^w ani '??'	pokutum ^w ani 'bring together in one place'
po 'do' + pičey 'squeeze??'	popičey 'squeeze with hands, e.g., sago in water'
ta 'make' + pičey 'squeeze??'	tapičey 'squeeze in cloth'
ta 'make' + peluwani '??'	tapeluwani 'turn over; turn around; change (mind)'
ta 'make' + mana 'white cowrie'	tamana 'dance (men)'
ta 'make' + kuweli 'adze'	takuweli 'dig with adze'
ta 'make' + koluh 'signal'	takoluh 'make signal'
ta 'make' + keke [?] e '??'	takeke [?] e 'tickle'
ta 'make' + sala 'split'	tasala 'split'

The verb le[?]e 'see' combines with the formative čeleyani (cf. p^wačeleyani in (187)): le[?]ečeleyani 'examine, consider'. No other verbs are attested as forming compound verbs.

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

(188) palāč[?]etay 'bridge' (pala 'head' + č[?]e[?]et 'crawl' + ay 'nominal suffix')

hitapp 'servant' (hi 'feminine marker' + ta 'CONT' + po 'do')

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

3.8.3.1 The feminine marker hi. The form hi may precede any noun referring to humans, specifying that the human referent is female; it is also the first syllable of all Loniū female names:

- (189) hi ?ehin (fem young girl) 'girl'
 hi pata-amat (fem trunk-human) 'old woman'
 hi kelaw (fem single) 'single woman'
 hi yesow-ay (fem marriage-nom. suffix ay) 'married'
 hi palatopon 'woman from Palatopon'
 hi-kalon (fem ant) woman's name
 hi-leri woman's name
 hi-lɔʔokɛs (fem leaf-plant) woman's name
 hi ɕalɔke (fem place-name) 'woman from Chaloke'

This form also occurs in the words pihin 'woman, female' and (nɛ)ehin 'girl'; the remaining portion of these words is unanalyzable.

It is important to note here that hi-, if it is in fact a prefix, does not cause a low stem-vowel /a/ to raise to /ɛ/. This may be grounds for considering hi to be a free morpheme rather than a prefix. Alternatively, it may be that the raising of stem vowels in the presence of non-low vowel affixes is limited to noun possessive inflection (2.6.2.2) and verb inflection for person/number (2.6.2.3). Or hi may be a noun (note the final -n in the forms pihin and ehin, which may be the separable 3sg -n of the inalienable possessive), in which case the forms listed in (189) are compounds. In any case hi-forms do not conform to the vowel raising tendency so prevalent in the inflection systems of the language, and thus hi is considered a separate particle in the present work.

3.8.3.2 The formative pa. Many kin terms have as the initial syllable the form pa, which is not always reconstructible as part of the original form--e.g. PAN *tama 'father', Loniu patama 'father'; PAN

*Itlumpu 'ancestor', Loniu natupu 'grandfather'. In one case, napulu 'spouse', the word was also used without na-: pulu 'spouse'.

(190)	natama	'father'
	nane	'mother'
	nato	'grandmother'
	natupu	'grandfather'
	pana	'man's father-in-law'
	napulu	'spouse'

3.8.3.3 The formative ka. Many nouns have ka as the initial syllable. Wurm and Wilson (1975) cite *ka as a noun marker in PAN. Examples of nouns containing initial ka are given in (191); where separate meanings are available for the second element, they are given, although in some cases the meaning relationships are not immediately clear:

(191)	kačam	'k.o. deep-water seaweed' (<u>čam</u> 'outrigger')
	kačan	'floor' (<u>čan</u> 'road, path')
	kačaw	'bride price' (<u>čaw</u> 'married quarters')
	kahah	'k.o. fish' (<u>hah</u> '2pl-exc; four')
	kaho	'k.o. fishing net'
	kalih	'breaking wave'
	kaman	'male; men's house'
	kam ^{Wan}	'ashes; cooking area' (<u>m^{Wan}</u> 'fire')
	kam ^{Wat}	'large black ant' (<u>m^{Wat}</u> 'snake')
	kanas	'sea mullet' (<u>nas</u> 'digging stick')
	kap ^{Wana}	'self'
	kawa	'basket'

kayaw 'drinking cup' (yaw 'go')

3.8.3.4 The verbal suffixes -i, -ani, -eni. Most transitive verbs end in one of the three suffixes -i, -ani, or -eni, which are discussed in 2.6.2.4 and 3.4.1.3. In many cases, a single verb root can occur with more than one of the three, with no apparent change in meaning. In addition, in the case of many transitive verb roots which have alternate non-suffixed and suffixed forms (see 193), either form may be used both when the direct object is stated and when it has been moved or deleted. Thus the suffixes, while clearly related to transitivity, appear to be less productive than they may have been at an earlier period in the language. Comparatists in Austronesian languages have reconstructed a transitivizer of which at least the -i portion of the Loniu suffixes is clearly a reflex: PAN * -i, POC *(C)i⁸. There are, in fact, ten identified cases where the addition of a suffix changes a verb root from intransitive to transitive (192). The additional elements in some of the transitive forms is probably a case of stem-final syllable revival in the presence of the suffix⁹; these elements and the vowel variations exhibited by some forms are discussed in 2.6.2.4.

(192) delu 'stand'	deluwani 'stand (NP) up'
emot 'vomit'	em ^w eteni 'spit up, vomit out'
e?e 'be afraid'	e?eyani 'make afraid'
hilow 'run'	helowani, helowani 'drive'
iw 'call out (to make someone come)'	iwani 'pull, drag'
pu 'bathe'	pihi 'wash (NP)'

taq 'cry'	tagesi 'mourn for'
ulu 'be covered in water'	uluweni, uluwani 'lower into the water'
wah 'fly'	wihi 'blow on (to move)'
yaw 'go (off)'	yaweseni, yawesani 'parade (NP)'

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

(193) kun ~ kuni	'carry suspended from head'
čan ~ čani	'cut, clear'
hus ~ husi	'suck, chew'
suwah ~ suwahi	'fry (sago)'
as ~ asi	'scratch'
haq ~ haqeni	'feed'
temene ~ temeneni	'ask'
pukute ~ pukuteni ~ pukutani	'do repeatedly; bewitch'
suluqi ~ suluqeni	'light (a fire)'
emene ~ emeneni ~ emenani	'spy on'
oqhe ~ oqhani	'think (of); count'
tape?iye ~ tape?iyani	'pull along the ground'
piliq ~ piliqani	'wait for'
čemeni ~ čemenani	'speak/be witness for'
čup ~ čupani	'help'

3.8.3.5 The nominalizing suffix -(y)a. Many verbs may be made into nouns with the suffix -(y)a. The form is -ya with vowel-final stems and -a with consonant-final stems. As is the case with the

transitive suffixes, the presence of the nominalizer -(y)a may sometimes cause a longer form of the stem to surface.

(194) has ~ hase?i	'plant'	hasa?a	'planting'
čan ~ čani	'clear'	čana	'clearing'
čun ~ čulum ^W i	'burn'	čulum ^W a	'burning'
he	'wash'	heya	'washing'
pətəwe	'hold'	pətəweya	'holding'
emət	'vomit'	em ^W eta	'vomit'
sə	'dig'	səya	'digging'
təwe	'give'	təweya	'giving'

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

(195) yahiti	'crumble'
yaka?an(i)	'hide'
yakulum ^W ani	'make a fist or packet'
yalesani	'wring or squeeze with hands'
yaliwi	'steer canoe'
yanchi	'mend (fishing nets)'
yəpə?əh	'spit'
yəqəqəy	'swim on surface (?)'

yarehēni	'keep in hiding'
yasa	'sharpen'
yatahani	'thatch (a roof)'
yaweseni	'parade'

3.8.3.7 The noun formative pake. Several body parts are formed with pake. The few body parts which are not inalienably possessed comprise the majority of the members, with pakeʔenime 'finger' the only inalienably possessed pake form--not surprising, since nime 'hand, arm' is inalienably possessed. However, pakemata 'thumb' is alienably possessed, which is surprising if the second element, mata, is 'eye'. No meaning can be assigned to pake alone or to the second element, except where indicated:

(196) pakeʔi	'little finger'
pakepikan	'ankle bone'
pakelɔkɔluč	'joint' (cf. <u>kɔlučunime</u> 'elbow' and <u>kɔlučukaka</u> 'leg joint')
pakemata	'thumb' (mata 'eye')
pakeʔenime	'finger' (nime 'hand')

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

Notes to Chapter III

¹ See 2.6.2.2.1 for a description of the phonologically conditioned variants of this suffix.

² Reconstructed forms are from Wurm and Wilson 1975.

³ R. L. Rankin, personal communication.

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

5 See 2.6.2.3.4 for a discussion of the /i~/u/ variation in the 1sg and 3sg prefixes.

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

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

8 Reconstructed forms are from Wurm and Wilson 1975, p. 223.

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

Chapter IV

The Noun Phrase

The order of constituents in the NP is, generally, as shown in the formula in (1) below:

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

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

4.1 Unmodified Noun as NP

The NP may minimally consist of a single unmodified noun:

- (2) ala ɔɔ kihi
2sg-go get firewood
'Go get some firewood'
- (3) hɔti ɕaŋaŋ
2sg-take door
'Open the door'
- (4) kihi iteŋe
firewood where
'Where is the firewood?'
- (5) lawat iye ey
possum 3sg-be-on PRO
'There was a possum on it'

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

4.2 Determiner in NP

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

a) personal pronouns used as definite article, indicators of nonsingular number, and/or person;

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

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

4.2.1 Personal Pronoun as Determiner. The personal pronouns which function as determiner are the same as those used as nominals for subject, object, etc. Although they co-occur with inanimate nouns, the majority of NP's in the data which contain personal pronoun determiners are animate. In addition to providing information about person, they make explicit information on number (see, for example, (7), (8) and (9)) and, possibly, definiteness. The latter is most often a function of context, and no specific marker for definiteness is consistently used. These personal pronoun determiners, however, seem to be present only in NPs which are definite, in the sense that they refer to an identifiable (although not necessarily specific)

entity or group of entities. The reverse is not true, however--not all definite NPs contain personal pronoun determiners; see above, (3) and (4), and below, (17)-(19).

(6) seh pihin seh čani uweh kaman uweh weče ake
 3pl woman 3pl clear 1pl-exc man 1pl-exc cut-down tree
 'The women clear, we men cut down the trees'

(7) seh patama uweh cf. patama uto
 3pl father 1pl-exc father 1pc-exc
 'Our fathers' 'our father'

(8) hetow tun law kili tɔ ey p^{We}
 3pc canoe net PERF LOC PRO NEG
 'The canoes without nets in them'

itiyen ŋaʔa hetow tele ulin
 DEM name 3pc canoe lead/point??
 are called lead/point canoes'

(9) um^{We} seh netukan cf. um^{We} netukan
 house 3pl bird house bird
 '(The) birds' nest(s)' 'bird's nest'

(10) iy pihin iy huti kawa
 3sg woman 3sg take basket
 'The woman takes the basket'

(11) wɔw ke leʔi tɔ itiyɔ
 2pl tree PRES LOC DEM
 'You wood, you remain here'

(12) etow kɔ ɔket etow kɔkɔh
 2pc wind black 2pc POT-NS-blow
 'You black winds, you blow'

4.2.2 Quantifier as Determiner. The quantifier type determiner may take one of two forms: the number 'one', which has a large number of variants dependent on the classification of the head noun (see 3.2), or one of the less specific quantifiers hepe 'a bit (of), a little'; hayah 'some, a few'; or neti (~ netu) 'diminutive'. The occurrence of the number 'one' preceding the head noun usually indicates that the referent is nonspecific, although this is not

always the case (see 17-19 below). Numbers used for counting normally follow the head noun.

- (13) həməw pihin ta pelegan
one woman LOC on-top
'There is a woman in the house'
- (14) sey ke elewen kili ta ey p^we
one tree long PERF LOC PRO NEG
'There was no tall tree on it'
- (15) wəw ta yan dəh? sih puwe pun
2sg CONT eat what? one fruit betel-pepper
'What are you eating? A betel pepper.'
- (16) seh tə?nani həməw tupunah
3pl send one boy
'They sent a boy'

While indefinite or nonspecific reference is the rule in this type of NP construction, several examples of 'one' + NP occur in which the reference seems to be definite. Each of the examples in (17-19) is taken from a narrative, and the object noun in each refers to an entity which has been introduced and referred to at least once prior to the occurrence of NP in the examples. It thus seems unlikely that the function of the numeral 'one' in such examples could be as indefinite article, but must rather be providing information regarding singular number, and in the case of hakahat, may be indicating that m^wan is referring to an unlit pile of firewood for a single fire, rather than to the fire itself.

- (17) čəw a yo itiyen čw kəhətī...
mat POSS 1sg DEM 2du POT-NS-take
'Here is my mat, take it...'

su?u huti sahət čəw a su?u
3du take one mat POSS 3du
'They (two) took their mat'

(18) iy uniyeni teliki...seh luwe sih teliki e
 3sg tug rope ... 3pl let-go one rope EMPH
 'She tugged on the rope...they let the rope go'

(19) iy itewe hakahat m^wan ito tan
 3sg 3sg-put one fire 3sg-LDC down
 'She put the fire down, she left the fire'

The quantifier hepe 'a bit (of), a little' usually precedes the noun (20-22); when it follows, it functions as a descriptive adjunct meaning 'small' rather than as a quantifier (23). In addition, hepe may function as a noun in the object position (24), or as an adverb modifying the verb (25):

(20) hepe toh ime ete uto
 bit-of sugar-cane 3sg-come AG 1pc-exc
 'A bit of sugar cane for us'

(21) koko hepe piton p^we
 leg-1sg bit-of strength-3sg NEG
 'My legs have little strength'

(22) hepe purat a iy p^we
 bit-of work POSS 3sg NEG
 'He doesn't do much work'

(23) ko hepe iy na[?]an inen na[?]an lapi
 land small 3sg name-3sg small name-3sg Lapi
 'A small part of the area, with the local name Lapi'

(24) yo iluwe hepe
 1sg 1sg-leave bit
 'I left out a part'

(25) su[?]u min tan hepe
 3du sit down bit
 'They sat down for a bit'

The diminutive peti (~ petu) always precedes the noun:

(26) seh tewe peti cu[?]upe peti ey
 3pl put DIM reward for PRO
 'They give a small reward for it'

- (27) neti tɔp a yo
 DIM basket POSS 1sg
 'my small basket'

The combination hepe neti occurs preceding the noun in a few examples¹:

- (28) hepe neti puret peti kɔsɔw
 bit DIM work for marriage-custom
 'A little bit of work for the marriage arrangements'
- (29) hepe netu ni metiyen p^hle
 bit DIM fish big NEG
 'A little bit of fish, not a lot'

The quantifier hayah 'some, a few' may precede the noun, as in (30), although it most commonly follows (see 4.3.5 below), as do the remainder of the quantifiers telewan 'many, much', masih 'all', pučev 'together', ep^hwe 'only' (the latter also functions as an adverb--see 3.5.4).

- (30) etiye hayah m^hwalih kime tɔp
 2sg-tell some story POT-SG-come tape
 'Tell some stories on to the tape'

The other quantifiers, including numbers used for actual counting, occur post-nominally as indicated in the formula given in (1) above, and are described and exemplified in 4.3.5.

4.2.3 čihi as Determiner. A noun may be preceded by čihi 'what(ever), which(ever), some, any':

- (31) iy tɔ ta lawat...čihi lɔkɔw peti kɔkɔ lɔ ke
 3sg HAB catch possum...whatever thing from among in tree'
 'He would catch possum...anything from the forest'
- (32) yo kukehi čihi čohona tɔ?u
 1sg POT-SG-find some place 1du-exc
 'I will find some place for the two of us'

In a single case, čihi was used in combination with a preceding quantifier:

- (33) חכמא ןיחי תופנאח חכמא ןיחי נע?עהינ קימע ככ?א ככ?א
 one any boy one any girl POT-SG-come among 1du-inc
 'If only some boy or some girl would come be with us'

ןיחי is also used in questions (see 6.7.3.5).

4.2.4 The Emphatic Particle ti. The emphatic particle ti may precede the noun:

- (34) ככ מסיח פועי תי מאח ערמא ככ עי
 land all together EMPH taro only LOC PRO
 'The whole area had only taro in it'
- (35) ןעװח תי תע תע תע תע
 wrapping EMPH feces feces feces feces
 'The wrappings were full of feces'
- (36) סווע יי תי ןעװנאן מאח יי תי ןעװנאן
 yam 3sg EMPH place-3sg taro 3sg EMPH place-3sg
 'Yams have their place, taro has its place'

This particle may also precede the verb (5.1.1.3.5) and occurs in clause initial position (6.2, (33)-(34)).

4.3 Noun Phrase Constituents in Post-Nominal Position.

The head noun of the NP may be followed by one or more of a number of NP constituents, as stated in the formula in (1), repeated here for convenience:

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

4.3.1 Possessor NP. The slot labeled Possessor NP may be filled by a possessor of either the alienable or inalienable type (see 3.1.1). The possessor may be a suffix (37), a pronoun (38), or a NP (39-40):

- (37) puriya-n
 work-3sg
 'his/her work'

- (38) puriya eneyan a su?u
work food POSS 3du
'The work of producing/making their food'
- (39) natama iy pihin
father 3sg woman
'The woman's father'
- (40) melewa amat tɔ mat
soul man STAT die
'The soul of a dead man'

4.3.2 Associated Nouns. The head noun may be followed by an associated noun, which is not a possessor, but identifies the head and in some cases describes it. Note that the possessor of the head noun may occur between the head and the associated noun (41-43):

- (41) netu tɔ?u pihin
child 1du-exc woman
'Our daughter'
- (42) netun kaman
child-3sg man
'His son'
- (43) melewan heliyan
soul-3sg holiness-3sg
'Holy Spirit'
- (44) ɔw palan
mat head-3sg
'Mat for keeping rain off'

The second noun may be the name of the first noun:

- (45) an tewi
water Tewi
'Tewi lagoon'
- (46) ka loniɔkwɔ
village Loni
'Loni village'

A descriptive adjunct modifying the head noun may precede the associated noun if it is the name of the first noun (but see 4.3.3):

- (47) kɔ ɕakin punay
 village old Mbunai
 'The old village of Mbunai'

4.3.3 Descriptive Adjuncts. The NP may contain a descriptive adjunct (see 3.3) which normally follows the head noun and any possessor and/or associated noun accompanying it (but see (47) above):

- (48) lɔŋɔw a tɔʔu huyan masih puʔey
 thing POSS 1du-inc good all together
 'All of our good things'
- (49) netun kaman nametiyeŋ
 child-3sg man big
 'Her older/taller son'
- (50) kɔlaw a yo emeʔiman
 sarong POSS 1sg red
 'My red sarong'

The descriptive adjunct may be intensified in either of two ways: with a following tasih 'very' or by reduplication:

- (51) ...ile kɔ eleweŋ tasih
 3sg-go land far very
 '...to a very far-off land'
- (52) ley iy pʷahaʕan laʔeleweŋ laʔeleweŋ
 Lae 3sg road far far
 'Lae is very far away'

4.3.4 Prepositional Phrase within NP. The head noun of a NP may be modified by a following prepositional phrase introduced by peti 'for, of, about, from' (see 3.6.1):

- (53) sɔʔɔh peti lɔ ke
 flesh from in tree
 'Meat from the forest'
- (54) iy pihin peti enum itiyen
 3sg woman of garden DEM
 The woman of this garden, who owns/planted it'

- (55) to peti ey ti sih
 pole for PRO EMPH one
 'The method of punting it (the canoe) is a special
 one'
- (56) kiw a yo peti num^{wa} niw
 bench POSS 1sg for grating coconut
 'My coconut-grating bench'
- (57) seh amat peti pehena
 3pl man of stealing
 'Thieves'

No other prepositions are attested as introducing phrases which directly modify the head noun. In 3.6, other preposition-type constructions are described, but these do not fill the prepositional phrase slot within the NP, but rather function postverbally. However, contrasting with (53) above, a few examples of a prepositional-type construction without peti occur in the data. These always involve the morpheme lɔ, which is the unsuffixed form of the inalienably possessed noun lɔ-n 'its within, inside it'. This form is very common, and is used, as are other nouns referring to spatial relationships, both adverbially and prepositionally (see 3.5 and 3.6). In only a few instances, however, did a lɔ phrase occur as a direct modifier of the noun--most often such phrases are preceded by a verb of motion or location.

- (58) wɔw hi ni lɔ tas
 2sg FEM fish in sea
 'You are a female fish from the sea, a sea creature'
- (59) seh p^{wa} su^{ʔu} ni lɔ tas
 3pl say 3du fish in sea
 'They said the two were fish from the sea/sea
 creatures'

- (60) su?u nak la peleŋan lɔ pay ma?uwɔh
 3du climb go on-top in rafter two
 'They climbed up onto two rafters'

4.3.5 Quantifier in Postnominal Position. As was mentioned in 4.2.2, some quantifiers may appear in prenominal position. Some quantifiers, however, occur only postnominally in the data, and some are found in both positions. Those which are attested only postnominally are čelewan 'many, much' (61); masih 'all' (62); pučey 'together' (63), and epwe 'only' (64). Numbers used for counting are found only once in prenominal position (65); the remaining examples (66-68) show numbers in postnominal position.

- (61) lɔnɔw čelewan ta ey
 thing many LOC PRO
 'There are many things in it'
- (62) seh kɔ masih seh la
 3pl village all 3pl go
 'All of the villages went'
- (63) iy ite?i su?u pučey
 3sg 3sg-hit 3du together
 'He hit them both'
- (64) nah epwe le?i tɔ ete yo
 spear only PRES LOC AG 1sg
 'I have only the spears'
- (65) peŋ mačulunɔn kile pwič,
 night 30 POT-SG-go finish,
 'When 30 nights have passed,
mačulunɔn peŋ mačulunɔn aŋ
 30 night thirty day
 30 nights (and) thirty days'
- (66) epi mačɔlɔh nɔn tɔ ey
 sago three needle-3sg LOC PRO
 'Three (kinds of) sago have needles on them'
- (67) netun kaman mačulumɔw
 child-3sg man three
 'His three sons'

- (68) su?u pihin a yo mahi?inɔw
 3du woman POSS 1sg two-FEM
 'My two women'

4.3.6 Relative Clause in NP. The NP may contain a relative clause, which follows the head noun, and may occur with no overt marking or may be introduced by ḥkkrɔ. The form ḥkkrɔ occurs elsewhere as a demonstrative, most often in combination with a following itiyen 'that, this' (see 4.3.7). It is possible that ḥkkrɔ also functions as a demonstrative within the relative clause structure. However, the large number of ḥkkrɔ + S structures which function as relative clauses, and the existence in some examples of a pause between the head noun and the ḥkkrɔ + S structure, indicate that ḥkkrɔ here is not just a demonstrative adjective modifying the noun, but is functioning as part of the relative clause constituent. Examples (69-72) below contain relative clauses introduced by ḥkkrɔ, while (73-76) show no overt marking of the relative clause at all.

- (69) etewe tas ε ɔɔ wi kile peline?i kanas
 2sg-put salt and leaf plant POT-SG-go with mullet
 'Put salt and "wi" leaves in with the mullet

ḥkkrɔ ta ku
 RC LOC pot
 which is in the pot'

- (70) iy itɔ ɔɔmɔtani ɔ puwe
 3sg 3sg-CONT spit juice betel
 'She was spitting out the betel juice

ḥkkrɔ itɔ pʷahan itiyen
 RC 3sg-LOC mouth-3sg DEM
 which was in her mouth'

- (71) iy pihin ḥkkrɔ kesɔwani iy iy itɔ keyaw
 3sg woman RC POT-NS-adorn 3sg 3sg 3sg-LOC platform
 'The woman who has been adorned is on the platform'

(72) itiyə ey puwe činen ʔrɔpɔ ime ehe itɔ itiyen
 DEM smell testicle demon RC 3sg-come sit 3sg-LOC DEM
 'This is the smell of the testicles of the demon who
 comes and sits there'

(73) yo tɔ urɔh ime ete wɔw ile lɔhɔw masih
 1sg CONT thank 3sg-come AG 2sg 3sg-go thing all
 'I thank you for all the things'

wɔw etɔpɛyani ime ete uto
 2sg 2sg-sent 3sg-come AG 1pc-3exc
 you sent to us.'

(74) ...ime ete amat ɔpɔ pɔret ile epi
 3sg-come AG man 3sg-do work 3sg-go sago
 '...to the man who did the work (to produce) the sago'

(75) iy ikuni epi ta kawa
 3sg 3sg-carry sago LOC basket
 'She carries the sago which is in the basket'

(76) seh tɔ tay ile pɔret masih pučey
 3pl HAB beat-it 3sg-go work all together
 'They make it for all the (kinds of) customs'

seh tɔ hineni tɔ kɔ ʔrɔɔrɔ
 3pl HAB do LOC village Loniu
 they do in Loniu village'

There was also one example of a relative clause introduced by ehe
 'where':

(77) ekehi kɔ ehe tɔʔu kala ač kile ey
 2sg-find land where 1du-exc POT-NS-go hide POT-go PRO
 'Find a place where we can go hide (in it)'

Note that examples (70), (72) and (74) contain the verbal person
 prefix i-, which may be the pronominal form of the deleted subject,
 and that (71) and (77) contain pronominal forms of the head noun in
 object position. Thus, if the relativized noun is the subject of the
 embedded verb, whether transitive or intransitive, the person prefix
 remains in the clause as trace. Of course ta, which is a particle
 rather than a verb, never takes a prefix, therefore no trace of the

deleted noun is identifiable in (75), and only ḥrapp marks the relative clause in (69).

Further, if the relativized noun is the object of a transitive verb in the embedded clause, the transitive form of the verb (with the probably frozen, no longer productive -ani / -eni suffix) is the only trace. Non -i final transitive verbs, however, take an object suffix -y when the full NP object is not stated (see 3.1.2). Thus p^{wa} 'say' becomes p^{wa}y when not followed by the direct quote; ta 'beat, pound, make' becomes tay when the direct object is not stated. The suffixed form is the one to occur in the relative clause from which the object has been deleted:

- (78) epi seh tɔ 'tay ile puret epi malimeh
sago 3pl HAB beat-3sg 3sg-go work sago five
'The sago they make for celebrations is of five types'

Finally, if the relativized noun is a locative or temporal noun in a co-verb phrase (see 5.2) in an embedded clause, the pronominal form ey is used as a trace (see 3.1.2.3). In at least one instance, however, the phrase containing the pronominal form was indicated as being optional:

- (79) an iy ma kupp puret (kile ey)...
day 3sg INT POT-SG-do work (3sg-go PRO)
'The day (on which) he wants to do the work...'

4.3.7 Demonstratives in the NP. The NP may contain a demonstrative modifier, which normally occurs in final position within the phrase. If other post-nominal modifiers co-occur with the demonstratives, they precede it.

The demonstratives are itiyen 'that (relatively distant from speaker), also translated as 'this', 'the', 'previously mentioned';

itiyo 'this (relatively near speaker)'; itipo 'this (within sight of speaker)'. The form irapo sometimes precedes one of these three, most often itiyen (84).

The demonstrative itiyen is by far the most commonly occurring both within the NP and as a sentential modifier or connector. While its occurrence within NP sometimes signals relative distance from speaker, its most common function is to mark the head noun as definite, as something which has been introduced earlier in the conversation or narrative.

- (80) su?u p^{wa} ow itiyen ow cinen e ow amat?
 3du say 2du DEM 2du demon or 2du human
 'They said "You there, are you demons or humans?"'
- (81) ke itiy^o elewen hipera sih ep^{we} itiyen
 wood DEM long as one only DEM
 'This stick is as long as that one'
- (82) iy ip^o č^oč^{ya} su?u panen itiyen
 3sg 3sg-do revenge 3du mother-3sg DEM
 'He worked that revenge (described earlier) for himself and his mother'
- (83) ow keme m^wenen kime pa^{la}č^opon itiyen
 2du POT-NS-come straight POT-SG-come point DEM
 'If you come directly to that point of land (pointed out earlier),
- ow keme ete u
 2du POT-NS-come AG 1du-exc
 you come to us'

The demonstrative itiyen may be preceded by irapo; the two together are equivalent to English 'aforementioned', and are used in discourse apparently to minimize ambiguity of reference.

(84) iy ip^we ile ete seh itiyen, seh ⁿɾɔpp itiyen,
 3sg 3sg-say 3sg-go AG 3pl DEM, 3pl DEM DEM
 'He said to them, to the ones mentioned earlier,

hetow law a iy ⁿɾɔpp itiyen...
 3pc relative POSS 3sg DEM DEM
 to those aforementioned relatives of his...'

The demonstratives itiyɔ and itipɔ indicate relative proximity to the speaker, either in space or in time. The distinction between the two is not clear. The form itiyɔ is more frequently attested in the data, and seems to imply a closer proximity, while itipɔ appears to indicate only that the referent is within sight, but not necessarily close to or in the hands of the speaker. itiyɔ is also used to indicate that the referent has recently been mentioned in the discourse. While itiyen is also used in this circumstance, the use of itiyɔ rather than itiyen makes explicit the fact that the reference has just been made, usually in the preceding sentence.

(85) ti itiyɔ paman
 tea DEM sweet
 'This tea is (too) sweet'

(86) nataman iy inenes ile kɔmu itiyɔ ile ete iy
 father-3sg 3sg 3sg-talk 3sg-go word DEM 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'Her father talked to her about this conversation'

(87) lawat sih itipɔ iy kime?is me?iyen
 possum one DEM 3sg POT-sg-done quickly
 '(Would that) this possum (in a pot nearby) would get
 done quickly

e ćuto kani
 and 1pc-inc POT-NS-eat
 and (so) we could eat (it)'

The forms itiyɔ and itipɔ occur more often in direct quotes than in narrative portions of the discourse. While this seems to imply that the noun modified by one of the two must be within the speaker's own

perceptual field, a firm statement regarding this aspect of the use of the two forms cannot yet be made. Due to the relative freedom of distribution of the demonstrative itiyen, which occurs freely in both narrative discourse and direct quotes, it is not clear how this form would fit into a distinction based on whether or not the speaker can actually perceive the referent of the head noun or not.

The three demonstratives also have short forms, which occur much less frequently in the data, and then usually in rapid speech:

(88) itiyen ~ iye ~ iyen

sih lawat iyen
 one possum DEM
 'That possum'

iy amat iyE
 3sg man DEM
 'That man'

(89) itiyɔ ~ iyɔ

iy amat iyɔ
 3sg man DEM
 'This man'

(90) itipɔ ~ ipɔ

lawat ipɔ
 possum DEM
 'This possum'

R.L. Johnston (1980) describes the deictic constituent of the NP in Nakanai (Austronesian, New Britain) as having both emphatic and non-emphatic forms. The Nakanai forms are similar to the Loniu forms although meaning diverges:

(91) "ele 'there (nearer to you than me)'

-e 'here (nearer to me than you, or equally near
 both of us)'

-o 'over there (at a distance from both of us)'

Emphatic forms are tiele, tie, and tio, matching ele,

-e, and -o above." (p. 119)

Loniu has an emphatic particle ti, used both pre-nominally and pre-verbally:

(92) law iy ti law laweyap iy ti laweyap
net 3sg EMPH net net 3sg EMPH net
'The law fishing net is one kind, the laweyap is another'

(93) ya seh kete?i p^weleyah ti čelewan
FUT 3pl POT-NS-catch parrotfish EMPH many
'They will catch a great many parrotfish'

(94) ta yo kiso itiyɔ ala ti kipela
POSS 1sg POT-sg-stand DEM first EMPH POT-sg-cool
'Mine can sit here a while and cool off'

It is thus possible that the Loniu demonstratives are (at least partially frozen) multi-morphemic forms: i-ti-yen, i-ti-ɔ. These longer forms do not appear to maintain any sense of emphasis, however, and the shorter forms appear to be fast speech variants with no concomitant change of meaning.

4.4 Coordination in the NP

Noun phrases may be conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions ɛ 'and, or, but' (95-99); ma 'and, with' (100-101); and the borrowed form ɔ 'or' (102-103).

(95) etewe tas ɛ lɔ?ɔ wi
2sg-put salt and leaf k.o.plant
'Put in some salt and wi leaves'

(96) kaman ɛ pihin su?u yo?ose huyan su?u ehe huyan
male and female 3du walk well 3du sit-down well
'The man and woman get along well, live together well'

(97) wɔw ɛ iy
2sg and 3sg
'You and he'

(98) ɔw kala ete hetow pelean
2du POT-NS-go AG 3pc up-in-house
'You two go to them in the house,

hetow netun e pulun
3pc child-3sg and spouse-3sg
to his children and his wife'

(99) mačehē? mačulumɔw e mahamɔw
how-many? three or four
'How many were there? There were three or four.'

(100) iy ile tewe nanen ma um
3sg 3sg-go put mother-3sg and house
'He put his mother and the house

ile ɔɔ?ɔ čaŋa ke...
3sg-go within center tree
into the center of the tree'

(101) seh huti puh ma ni e seh la p^wahalen
3pl take trap and fish and 3pl go beach
'They took the trap and the fish and they went to the
beach'

(102) ...hipiri mačɔɔɔɔɔ ɔ mahah
like three or four
'...about three or four'

(103) iy kičē?iti kile čupučupun ɔ eɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ itiyen
3sg POT-sg-cut POT-sg-go little-bits and pieces DEM
'she would cut him up into little bits and pieces now'

In a series of more than two NP's, the coordinator e normally occurs only once, preceding the final NP of the series (104). The conjunctions ma and ɔ, however, are normally repeated preceding each NP in the series (105-107).

(104) menuway iy iwɔh uwene ɔɔ masih, p^wahalen,
eagle 3sg 3sg-fly until land all, beach,
'The eagle flew to all the lands, to the coast,

pete ɔɔ e pete pučɔ
near village and near off-shore-island
near the villages and near the off-shore islands'

(105) wɔw ma napulum ma netum etow masih etow huyan
 2sg and spouse-2sg and child-2sg 2pc all 2pc well
 'You and your husband and children, are you all well..?'

(106) naton ipɔtɔwe iy... ma teliki
 grandmother-2sg 3sg-take 3sg...with rope-of-dog-teeth
 'Her grandmother takes her..., with her ropes of dog's

a iy ma epi a iy...
 POSS 3sg and sago poss 3sg
 teeth and her sago...'

(107) su?u tɔ hilite su?u amat ma?amɔw
 3du HAB choose 3du man two
 'they choose two men

ɔ hetow maɕulumɔw ɔ mahamɔw
 or 3pc three or four
 or three or four'

Prepositional phrases within the NP may be coordinated. There is only one example of prepositional phrases conjoined by ma (109):

(108) ɛ hipiti kɔmu peti kɔ ɛ peti taya
 and like word from land and for catching
 'So the story about Loni and catching

p^weleyah hipiti itiyen
 parrotfish like DEM
 parrotfish is thus'

(109) seh tay peti putuwa seh ma peti hepe hepe a seh
 3pl beat-it for belly 3pl and for bit bit POSS 3pl
 'They make it for their food and for many traditional uses'

The conjuncts need not be parallel in structure. Sentence (107) contains a prepositional phrase in coordination with a preceding and following NP:

(110) pɔta tupunah ɔ peti teweya teliŋ ɔ ana pihin...
 doing boy or for piercing ear or food woman
 'Circumcision or for piercing ears or as food for women...'

NP's may also be coordinated with no overt conjunction. In such cases, the context determines which type of coordination is intended:

(111) seh kaman seh pihin seh keli lom^{wi} epi keli p^{we}
 3pl male 3pl female 3pl PERF plant sago PERF NEG
 'The men and women have finished planting the sago'

(112) hipiti masanat ma?unet
 like one-hundred two-hundred
 'about one or two hundred'

(113) ...m^{wat} ito yaw...ile ta anan lawat
 snake 3sg-HAB go 3sg-go kill food-3sg possum
 'The snake would go kill his food, possum,

lpsow pelimat netukan peti ls ke
 bush-rat flying-fox bird of in tree
 bush rat, flying fox, (and) forest birds'

There is also a pronoun + noun construction which is a type of coordination without overt conjunction. This consists of a dual personal pronoun followed by a noun which names one of the two individuals involved:

(114) éphona su?u naner
 revenge 3du mother-3sg
 'The revenge of him and his mother'

(115) u pat u ma kepihi nime u
 1du-exc Pat 1du-exc INT POT-NS-wash hand 1du-exc
 'Pat and I want to wash our hands'

This construction appears to be limited to human beings, and to pairs rather than larger groups.

Notes to Chapter IV

¹ The combination neti hepe also occurs, both adverbially (a) and nominally (b) and (c):

a) ya yo kuhunan neti hepe ala
 FUT 1sg POT-3sg-rest DIM bit first
 'I'll rest a little while first'

b) yo huti neti hepe
 1sg take DIM bit
 'I got a little bit'

c) neti hepe ep^{we} iy ile hutⁱ ime
DIM bit only 3sg 3sg-go take 3sg-come
'Just a little bit he went and brought back'

Note in c) that the phrase neti hepe ep^{we} is the direct object of the verb hutⁱ, and has been fronted for emphasis.

Chapter V

The Verb Phrase

For purposes of description, the VP here is divided into two parts: the nucleus and the periphery. The nucleus consists of the main verb stem and the person/number prefixes as well as the pre-verbal tense and aspect markers. If the main verb is transitive, any stated direct object is also considered to be part of the nucleus.

The periphery consists of any co-verbs and co-verb phrases which follow the nucleus.

5.1 The VP Nucleus.

5.1.1 Pre-verbal Constituents. The pre-verbal constituents include the person/number prefixes, which are obligatory, and various auxiliaries and particles which are used to indicate tense and/or aspect, in accordance with the formula given in (1) below:

$$(1) \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{FUTURE} \\ \text{INCHOATIVE} \end{array} \right) \text{ PERSON/} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{POTENTIAL} \\ \text{PERFECTIVE} \end{array} \right) \text{ (AUX) (VERB)}$$

NUMBER

5.1.1.1 Person/Number. Person/number is shown by a prefix, which is the only obligatory pre-verbal constituent. The prefixes are listed in (2) below. The variation in form of the prefixes is due to verb stem class (3.4.2) and vowel assimilation rules (2.6.2.3).

(2) i- ~ u-	1st or 3rd person singular
ε- ~ ɔ- ~ a-	2nd person singular
∅ ~ -ε- ~ -a-	non-singular

While the non-singular prefix is shown as ∅ above, it does surface as

a non-high vowel in the potential forms (5.1.1.3.1) and in the perfective marker for non-singular (5.1.1.3.2).

The prefixes, when overt, are attached to the main verb only in the absence of any auxiliary verb or perfective marker (3):

(3)	Stem	<u>me</u>	'come'
	1sg	ime ~ u ^h me	'I come/came'
	2sg	eme	'You come/came; Come!'
	3sg	ime	'He/she/it comes/came'
	NS	me	'We/you/they come/came'

If the auxiliary verb occurs with no preceding perfective marker, it will receive the marking for person. The perfective marker, which varies in form depending on person, carries the only person marker in a perfective verb phrase.

- (4) yo uta min tan
1sg 1sg-CONT sit down'
'I was sitting down'
- (5) su?u keli ta mete
3du PERF CONT sleep
'They slept, were sleeping'

Thus, person marking is as follows: if a perfective marker occurs, its form marks person. If no perfective marker is present, the first verb in the nucleus receives the prefix--if an auxiliary verb is present, it is inflected for person; if not, the main verb receives the prefix. If the auxiliary particle ta 'CONT' is present, there is no person prefix on either the auxiliary or the main verb.

5.1.1.1.1 Function of the Minimal VP. When the main verb occurs with only the obligatory prefix, and no other pre-verbal constituent, the tense/aspect indicated is present or past, depending on context.

If present, the meaning is usually habitual rather than progressive:

- (6) seh la לֹרֶנְגָּו
3pl go Lorengau
'They go to Lorengau (often, periodically)'
- (7) iy ipɔ ana suʔu ni
3sg 3sg-do food 3du fish
'He catches their fish (for their food)'

Thus this form, when present tense in meaning, does not indicate a single event, but is a general statement of behavioral patterns.

Chafe (1970) has called such usage 'generic', and terms it an inflectional unit on the verb.

If the form is used as a past tense (which is determined by context, rather than by inflection), however, no such habitual aspect is implied:

- (8) iy ileʔe ay a iy ɔ
3sg 3sg-see blood POSS 3sg spill'
'She saw her blood spill out'
- (9) seh la לֹרֶנְגָּו
3pl go Lorengau
'They went to Lorengau (yesterday, e.g.)'

5.1.1.2 Auxiliaries in the VP Nucleus. Auxiliaries are of two types: verbs (which take person prefixes and may take the potential prefix k-) and particles (which take no affixes). The verbs which may function as auxiliaries are listed in (10):

- (10) la 'go'
me 'come'
yaw 'go (away)'
tɔ 'be in or at a place; durative, continuative, habitual'

ye 'be in/on a place; sit'
 sɔ 'be in/on a place; stand'

The particles which may occur as pre-verbal aspect markers are listed in (11):

(11) ta 'continuative'
 leʔi 'present continuative, simulfactive'

The particle a 'still' also may occur in the auxiliary slot, but only preceding tɔ, ta, or sɔ, or combinations which include one of these.

The possible combinations of these verbs and particles within the auxiliary slot may be characterized by the following scheme:

(12)

la	({	tɔ	})
			sɔ		
			ta		
me			(tɔ)		
(a)	(leʔi)		({	tɔ
					sɔ
)
ye					
ta					
yaw			({	la
					tɔ
)

Each auxiliary verb or particle may occur as the sole auxiliary, or may occur in combination with one or another of the other constituents of the auxiliary slot, as depicted in (12) above. The functions of the various verbs and particles and their combinations are discussed in 5.1.1.2.1 below. Examples of each of the auxiliaries and the attested combinations are given below (13-28):

- (13) la: seh la lɔmʷi epi
 3pl go plant sago
 'They go/went to plant sago'
- (14) la tɔ: hetow la tɔ pukute kupʷen
 3pc go CONT mend net
 'They are mending nets (over there)'
- (15) la sɔ: suʔu kala sɔ čɛlu ey
 3du POT-NS-go stand stand PRO
 'They would go stand there'
- (16) la ta: hah la ta yeni
 2pl go CONT eat
 'You people are eating'
- (17) me: hah me huti u
 2pl come take 1du-exc
 'You came and caught us'
- (18) me tɔ: suʔu me tɔ lɔmʷi epi
 3du come CONT plant sago
 'They came (and) are planting sago'
- (19) lɛʔi: uto lɛʔi min epʷe
 1pc-exc PRES sit only
 'We are just sitting here'
- (20) tɔ: yo utɔ mete
 1sg 1sg-CONT sleep
 'I am/was sleeping'
- (21) sɔ: iy a isɔ čɛlu
 3sg still 3sg-stand stand
 'She was still standing there'
- (22) lɛʔi tɔ: yo lɛʔi tɔ ehe
 1sg PRES CONT lie-down
 'I am lying down'
- (23) lɛʔi sɔ: yo a lɛʔi sɔ čɛlu
 1sg still PRES stand stand
 'I am still standing'
- (24) ye: hah keye in an
 2pl POT-NS-sit drink water
 'Help yourselves to water'

- (25) yaw: su?u yaw mɔn
 3du go return
 'They come/came back'
- (26) yaw la: uto yaw la mete
 1du-exc go go sleep
 'We went to go to sleep'
- (27) yaw tɔ: su?u yaw tɔ tuwe
 3du go CONT cook
 'They went (and) were there cooking (it)'
- (28) ta: nane su?u iy ta hanen su?u ile ey
 mother 3du 3sg CONT feed 3du 3sg-go PRO
 'Their mother was feeding them with it'

Examples (29-31) show the use of a 'still' with tɔ and ta (see also

(21) and (23) above for the use of a with sɔ):

- (29) palan a tɔ neti
 head-3sg still CONT hurt
 'His head is still hurting'
- (30) iy a ta lele
 3sg still CONT look
 'He's still alive/aware'
- (31) iy a le?i tɔ yerɛyan
 3sg still PRES CONT eat
 'He's still eating'

The auxiliary verbs la, me, tɔ, ye, sɔ, and yaw may also occur as main verbs, and as co-verbs in the VP periphery (5.2). The particle ta may also occur without a following verb, in which case the meaning is locative rather than continuative:

- (32) nanen ta peleŋan
 mother-3sg LOC on-top
 'Her mother is up in the house'

These two uses of ta may in fact represent homophones rather than a single morpheme, but probably do not, given the use of verbs, such as tɔ, with both locative and progressive meanings.

5.1.1.2.1 Functions of the Auxiliaries. The various verbs and particles of the auxiliary function as aspect markers. There are overlapping areas in the translations, and it is not always possible to make a clear and consistent distinction, particularly in the case of ta and ta. These two are compared and contrasted in their aspectual function later in this section.

The motion verbs la 'go' and me 'come' are used to indicate movement toward the activity expressed by the main verb. If the activity is located away from a point of reference, la is used; if located at or near the point of reference, me is used. Thus if the speaker is in the house, she will say ala lɔm^{wi} epi 'Go plant (the) sago!' (The gardens are located at a distance from the houses). If she is in the garden, she might call out eme lɔm^{wi} epi 'Come plant (the) sago!' Only when the addressee is actually in the sago garden would she say ɔlɔm^{wi} epi 'Plant (the) sago!' Such use of la and me also implies relative distance from the speaker--see (14) above, in which la indicates that the actual motion toward the activity of mending nets has been completed and ta indicates that the mending itself is ongoing at the moment of speech, at some distance from the speaker.

The point of reference is not always the speaker, however, but may be a character or place in a story. In such cases, the narrator may use la and me to change the audience's focus from one character or place to another. This is a discourse function of the two motion verbs, and is beyond the purview of the present work.

The auxiliary verb yaw 'go' also indicates motion away from a

point of reference, but does not imply that there is a specific destination or purpose. The verb la, on the other hand, normally does, and when it functions as main or co-verb (see 5.2), can be followed immediately by a NP of destination or goal; yaw is never directly followed by a NP of destination or goal, but may be followed by la or to + NP.

It is likely, therefore, that the use of yaw as pre-verbal auxiliary in most cases implies that the speaker does not know or is not interested in expressing the destination of the yaw type of going, or that the subject of the yaw + main verb construction has no specific destination. Thus in (25) above, su?u yaw mɔn 'they came back', the place to which they went and from which they are returning is neither implied nor important in the narrative; in (27), su?u yaw to tuwe 'they went (somewhere, and) were (there) cooking (it)', the two persons referred to by su?u are in some unidentified place some distance from where they were before, in the process of cooking something; in (26), uto yaw la mete, the translation in English might be something like 'We took off and went to bed' or 'We went off to bed'. In the example below, (33), the idea of no specific purpose is made clear by the use of yaw, although in context no motion was implied:

(33) uto la la?o a uto ...iy ile mete
 1pc-exc go shed POSS 1pc-exc...3sg 3sg-go sleep
 'We went to our shed...he went to sleep

ε uto yaw la tah itiyen
 and 1pc-exc go go LOC DEM
 and we stayed sitting there.

...an sih pipehe itiyen
...day one yesterday DEM
...The whole day yesterday

uto yaw taw e taw e uto taw itiyen
ipc-exc go stay and stay and ipc-exc stay DEM
we sat around, we just sat around there'

The verbs ye and se are used as auxiliaries to indicate the location of the subject at the site of the activity expressed by the main verb, and may imply some duration. The verb ye usually implies longer duration, and an informal or relaxed atmosphere--it is often translated as 'sit'. The verb se tends to imply a more temporary stay, usually in a standing position. As a pre-verbal auxiliary, se is only used with the main verb čelu 'stand', but as a co-verb (see 5.2) se occurs alone with the same meaning 'stand'. The combination of se čelu is thus 'stand for a short time':

(34) waw es čelu ey
2sg 2sg-stand stand PRO
'You stand on it (for a short time)'

The verb ta (which has a longer form taw when functioning as a stative main verb or as a co-verb with no following NP (see 5.2)) functions as an aspect marker in the auxiliary slot of the VP. When it occurs with no other optional pre-verbal constituents, it may indicate continuative, durative, or habitual aspect:

(35) haw he ta tan
one who 3sg-CONT cry
'Who is crying?'

(36) u ta čan enum a u
1du-exc CONT clear garden POSS 1du-exc
'We were clearing out garden'

- (37) seh tɔ pɔ puret ile ey
 3pl DUR do work 3sg-go PRO
 'They used to do the work (to produce) it'
- (38) kɔ itiyen iy inɔh ...e itɔ p^waɕerahani iy
 wind DEM 3sg 3sg-blow...and 3sg-DUR toss 3sg
 'The wind blew...and it was tossing her'
- ...itɔ tipiyani iy
 ...3sg-DUR roll 3sg
 ... (and) rolling her around'
- (39) pew itɔ neni amat
 shark 3sg-HAB eat human
 'Sharks eat people'
- (40) hetow tɔ yeneyan ile suwe itiyen
 3pc HAB eat 3sg-go yam DEM
 'They would eat these yams (their diet consisted of yams)'

The verb tɔ also co-occurs with the verbal prefix k- for potential aspect and with the perfective marker kili (~ keli ~ ɛli):

- (41) nato u ma kitɔ yaw
 grandmother 1du-exc INT POT-sg-CONT go
 'Our grandmother was about to go'
- kile lɔ um e u me
 POT-sg-go in house and 1du-exc come
 into the house when we came'
- (42) himomɔn iy ɔ^we ya iy kitɔ kelewe
 Himomɔn 3sg 3sg-say FUT 3sg POT-sg-DUR care-for
 'Himomɔn said she would look out for'
- um a yo
 house POSS 1sg
 my house'
- (43) etow kɔtɔ ɕulum^{wi} kɔ kile ey
 2pc POT-NS-DUR burn village POT-sg-go PRO
 'You will be able to burn villages with it'
- (44) seh keli tɔ p^way ile ete iy
 3pl PERF CONT say-it 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'They were telling it to him'

Example (44) is the only example of an affirmative sentence with the perfective marker co-occurring with the tɔ aspect marker. Normally

such sentences are negative:

- (45) su?u keli tɔ pɔ purət piton pʷe
3du PERF HAB do work hard NEG
'They didn't do any hard work'

(See 6.6 for a description of negative sentences.)

The particle ta, when in pre-verbal position, always indicates continuative aspect, either present or past. ta never co-occurs with other pre-verbal constituents except the auxiliary la as indicated in (16) above. When ta is alone as auxiliary, the person of the verb is determined by a stated subject noun or pronoun.

- (46) palan ta hunan hepe
head-3sg CONT rest bit
'His headache is a bit better (lit. his head
is resting a bit)'
- (47) hetow netu ta mete
3pc child-1sg CONT sleep
'My children were sleeping'
- (48) seh ta tamana seh ta ta temey
3pl CONT dance 3pl CONT beat drum
'They were dancing, they were beating the drums'

The auxiliaries tɔ and ta overlap in this function (as present/past continuative), and there is no clear distinction between them. (See also 5.2 The VP Periphery and 6.1 The Verbless Sentence.)

The form leʔi 'present continuative, simultactive, witnessed' is used to indicate that the activity of the main verb is ongoing at the moment of speech and implies that the speaker is or has been a witness to the current activity. In the majority of the attested occurrences of leʔi, it is in combination with the aspect marker tɔ; this is not always the case, however--see (19) above.

(49) čelewan uweh a le?i to pətəwey
many 1pl-exc still PRES-CONT CONT hold
'Many of them we are still using (lit. still holding)'

(50) iy le?i to mete
3sg PRES-CONT CONT sleep
'She is sleeping (I saw her)'

See also (22) above.

le?i may also indicate that the activity or state expressed by the verb is or was simultaneous with some other activity:

(51) yo utə kantin; yo le?i to kantin itiyen
1sg 1sg-STAT canteen; 1sg SIM STAT canteen DEM
'I was at the canteen; while I was at the canteen,

Taya?epi ime
Taya?epi 3sg-come
Taya?epi came.

5.1.1.3 Other Pre-verbal Constituents. The remaining pre-verbal constituents are Potential, Perfective, Future, and Inchoative/Intentional.

5.1.1.3.1 Potential. In potential constructions, the prefix k- occurs on forms prefixed for 1st and 3rd singular:

(52) yo kutiyani čah?
1sg POT-sg-tell what
'What shall I tell? (what story?)'

(53) iy kile man kime
3sg POT-sg-go return POT-sg-come
'He will go and then come back'

The 2nd person singular potential forms do not contain the potential prefix k-, but rather are the same forms which occur in the non-potential (i.e. present/past) verb phrase:

(54) wəw ma_eme pətə yo?
2sg INT 2sg-come with 1sg
'Do you want to come with me?'

- (55) ala huti iy
 2sg-go take 3sg
 'Go take her, pick her up'

The example in (55) is the imperative use of the potential form--see 6.6 The Imperative Construction.

The non-singular forms in the potential have the prefix k- and a non-high vowel which functions as the person prefix. This vowel, which is not present in non-singular forms of the present/past, is the same vowel which appears for 2nd person singular forms for the same verb.

- (56) ɕuto ka?aɕ
 1pc-inc POT-NS-hide
 'We will hide'
- (57) su?u kala pu ey
 3du POT-NS-go wash PRO
 'They would go wash in it'
- (58) mahu seh kahase?i wɔs
 tomorrow 3pl POT-NS-plant taro-stem
 'Tomorrow they will plant the taro'
- (59) etow keme yeneyan
 2pc POT-NS-come eat
 'Come eat!'

The example in (59) is the non-singular imperative use of the potential--see 6.6 The Imperative Construction.

5.1.1.3.2 Perfective. The perfective construction is marked by the presence of kili '1st/3rd sg'; eli '2nd sg'; or keli 'non-singular'. The respective forms used with the verb la 'go' are ki?i, ɛ, and ke?ɛ. When the perfective marker occurs, the verb and any other accompanying auxiliaries are in the base form, with neither person nor potential prefix; a co-verb following the main verb may also receive the perfective marking (see 5.2.4).

(60) mʷat iyeti hɔmɔw amat ɛ iy kili lɔs ta tar
 snake 3sg-bite one man and 3sg PERF fall LOC down
 'The snake bit a man and he has fallen down'

(61) seh keli ɕaʔiti
 3pl PERF cut
 'They had chopped it up'

(62) wɔw eli yeneyan keli pʷe ɛ pʷe
 2sg PERF eat PERF NEG or NEG
 'Have you finished eating or not?'

The perfective also occurs in negative constructions (see 6.5).

The uses of keli pʷe (62) and the intransitive verb pʷiɕ as constituents of the VP Periphery which indicate perfective or completive aspect are described in 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 respectively.

5.1.1.3.3 Future. Future is marked by the presence of the pre-verbal constituent ya, which co-occurs with the potential form of the verb:

(63) ya mʷiʔin yo kuposowey ŋaʔan
 FUT later 1sg POT-sg-name name-3sg
 'Later I will give its names'

(64) ya yo kule lɔʔŋow mahu
 FUT 1sg POT-sg-go Lorengau tomorrow
 'I will go to Lorengau tomorrow'

(65) hetow pʷa ya hetow ketuwani mah a ɕuto
 3pc say FUT 3pc POT-NS-cook taro POSS 1pc-inc
 'They said they would cook our taro'

The ya future marker normally precedes the subject pronoun, but may follow it:

(66) seh ya keme ɛte u
 3pl FUT POT-NS-come AG 1du-exc
 'They will come to (visit) us'

5.1.1.3.4 Inchoative/Intentional. Inchoative or intentional aspect are marked by the presence of pre-verbal ma, which also must co-occur with the potential form of the verb. It is translated as

'want to, going to, about to' as well as 'when':

(67) seh ma kala iwani puh a seh
3pl INT POT-NS-go pull trap POSS 3pl
'They were about to go pull up their (fish) trap'

(68) e iy ma kiyo?ose?
and 3sg INT POT-sg-walk
'And does she want to leave?'

(69) wɔw ma yani e p^we
2sg INT 2sg-eat or NEG
'Are you going to eat or not?'

(70) hetow ma kala, pu ^ʔɪɾɔpɔ itiyen iy ki?ɪ la
3pc INT POT-NS-go, banana DEM DEM 3sg PERF go
'When they went, that banana had become

hɔmɔw hi amat
one FEM human
a human female'

The forms ya and ma also occur in negative sentences in combination with the perfective marker:

(71) ya yo kili p^way kili me ete wɔw p^we
FUT 1sg PERF say-it PERF come AG 2sg NEG
'I will not tell it to you'

(72) su?u p^wa tet ma kili me tan p^we
3du say ladder INT PERF come down NEG
'They said the ladder wasn't to be lowered'

In verbless sentences, ma occurs with the meaning 'when':

(73) su?u ma ne?ehin ep^we...
3du when girl only
'When they were just girls...'

5.1.1.3.5 The Emphatic Particle ti. The emphatic particle ti is attested in two instances in a preverbal position (74-75), and twice preceding a noninitial clause (6.2, (33)-(34)); all other instances of this particle occur in prenominal position (4.2.4).

(74) iy ti weče kapenin hapay
3sg EMPH break wing-3sg one
'He broke his wing'

(75) ...ta yo kiss itiyɔ ala ti kinela
POSS 1sg POT-sg-stand DEM first EMPH POT-sg-cool
'...mine can stay here awhile and cool off'

5.1.2 The Main Verb.

5.1.2.1 The Intransitive VP. The intransitive VP in Lonu consists minimally of an intransitive verb with a person/number prefix attached either to the main verb or to a co-occurring pre-verbal auxiliary:

(76) iy ilɔs
3sg 3sg-fall
'He fell'

(77) su?u kɛli yaw
3du PERF go-away
'They left'

5.1.2.2 The Transitive VP. The transitive VP consists minimally of a transitive verb, a person/number prefix as above, and a following direct object NP. The direct object may be realized as a full NP (78), a personal pronoun (79), a 3sg inanimate pronominal object suffix -y (80), or may be implied or understood from context (81). Most transitive verbs end in -ani, -eni, or simply -i (see 3.8.3.4). These verbs do not take the pronominal suffix -y. Only those transitive verbs ending in vowels other than -i take this suffix. It is not clear whether sentences like (81) are the result of deletion of the direct object NP, or whether the lack of an overt direct object is the result of a phonological process by which i + y becomes i.

- (78) yo utɔ leʔe pʷičik
 1sg 1sg-CONT see hole
 'I see holes (through it)'
- (79) mʷan ičulumʷi iy
 fire 3sg-burn 3sg
 'The fire burned him'
- (80) yo ileʔe-y
 1sg 1sg-see-it
 'I see it'
- (81) mʷan ičulumʷi
 fire 3sg-burn
 'The fire is burning (something)'

Other than the suffixes -i, -ani, or -eni, nothing may intrude between the transitive verb and its stated direct object.

The direct object may also be realized as a full sentence in the case of at least four transitive verbs: le'e 'see'; pʷa 'say, think'; yeliŋi 'like, want'; hineni 'make, do, cause'.

- (82) iy ipʷe yo ketemeneni wɔw kile ey
 3sg 3sg-say 1sg POT-sg-ask 2sg POT-sg-go PRO
 'She said I should ask you about it'
- (83) yo upʷe iy kili nuti epʷe
 1sg 1sg-think 3sg PERF take only
 'I thought she had taken it away'
- (84) yo yeliŋi wɔw eme meʔiyen
 1sg 1sg-want 2sg 2sg-come quickly
 'I want you to come soon'
- (85) iy ileʔe ay a iy ɔ
 3sg 3sg-see blood POSS 3sg 3sg-spill
 'She saw her blood spill out'
- (86) henenɪ iy kuhunan tilen
 2sg-make 3sg POT-sg-rest crying
 'Make him stop crying'

There is some difficulty in determining whether other verbs may also take sentential objects, due to the structure of the post-main verb constituents (see below, 5.2). In most of these, the co-verb is

in the 3rd singular form with no stated subject, and unless the main verb has a 3rd singular subject, there is no person/number agreement between the subject of the main verb and the co-verb(s). In some cases, however, there is agreement between the object of the main verb and the co-verb. In these cases the structure following the main verb may in fact be a sentential object:

(87) eli iy kime in an
 2sg-call 3sg POT-sg-come drink water
 'Call him to come drink water'

(88) seh ketʔunani uto ma kala לוֹרֵנְגָו
 3pl POT-NS-send 1pc-exc INT POT-NS-go Lorengau
 'They will send us to Lorengau'

In (87) the underlined portion has the structure of a complete sentence, as does the underlined portion of (88). Under one interpretation, iy and uto are the direct objects of their respective main verbs, ili 'call' and toʔunani 'send', and the remaining portions are co-verb constructions. Under the other possible interpretation, the two are subjects of the following verbs, and the sentences of which they are the subjects are the direct objects of the preceding main verbs. In any case, the structures of (87) and (88) are, on the surface, syntactically parallel to the structures of (82)-(86).

5.2 Verb Phrase Periphery.

5.2.1 Constituents of the VP Periphery. Post-verbal adjuncts of various structures and functions may follow both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb (+ direct object) structures. These post-main verb structures involve, for the most part, the same set of verbs which may occur in the pre-main verb auxiliary slot of the VP nucleus, and are listed in (89) below. This set of verbs are here referred to

as co-verbs, and the structures in which they occur in the VP periphery are referred to as co-verb phrases.

(89) la	'go'
me	'come'
ta(w)	'stative, locative'
yaw	'go (away)'
ye(n)	'be in or at a place'
sa(w)	'stand'
man	'return'
pwic	'finish, complete'

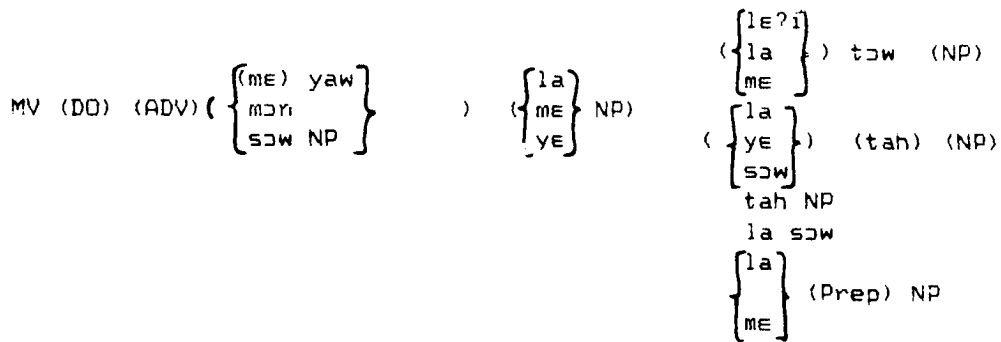
Note that man 'return' is the only verb of the set which is not attested as occurring as auxiliary in the VP nucleus. In addition to the verbs listed in (89), the stative/locative particle ta(h) may also occur in the VP periphery, and will be included in the general discussion of co-verbs, even though it is not attested as taking any verbal affixes, and is thus termed a particle rather than a verb. The pre-verbal aspect marker le?i 'present continuative, simultative' may also function in the co-verb phrase. In pre-verbal position, le?i is attested as occurring with several verbs (sa(w) 'be in, on or at a place', min 'sit', and ta(w) 'stative, locative'), but it is attested only with ta(w) in the VP periphery.

With the exception of man, these co-verbs and particles may combine with each other and are attested in the following combinations:

(90) ME tɔw
 la tɔw
 lɛʔi tɔw
 la tah
 ye tah
 sɔw tah
 ME yaw
 la sɔw

Most of the co-verbs and combinations, including tah when it occurs alone (i.e. without la, ye or sɔw), may be followed by a NP. The co-verb structures which are not attested as occurring with a following NP are (ME) yaw, מכח, and la sɔw (sɔw alone or sɔw tah may have a following NP, however).

More than one co-verb phrase may occur in the VP periphery, in a serial-type construction. The possible combinations and the relative ordering are presented in the following scheme:



Note that if the main verb (MV) is transitive with a stated direct object (DO), that DO must immediately follow the MV and precede any constituents of the VP periphery. There may be an adverbial element in the periphery, such as MEʔiyen 'quickly', puliye 'also,

again', and epwe 'only, just', which may immediately follow the nucleus of the VP (and thus precede the co-verb phrase(s)) or may occur at the end of the periphery.

The possible co-verb phrases and combinations are quite complex. There may be as many as three and possibly more co-verb phrases in a single VP, each introduced by a co-verb. The most commonly occurring co-verb phrases involve la 'go', me 'come', or tc(w) 'stative, locative'. As noted above, these may be followed by a NP (91-93), or may not (94-96):

- (91) iy inek ile keyaw
 3sg 3sg-climb 3sg-go platform
 'He climbed onto the platform'
- (92) naton icɔŋ ime tuwen
 grandmother-3sg 3sg-arrive 3sg-come outside-3sg
 'Her grandmother came outside'
- (93) ɔw kɔɔm^wi yo kitɔ ma?akɔɔ kalipap
 2du POT-NS-plant 1sg POT-3sg-STAT next-to Kalipap
 'Bury me next to Kalipap'
- (94) amey isisimi ile
 Amey 3sg-think 3sg-go
 'Ame thought about it'
- (95) iy ile huti ime
 3sg 3sg-go take 3sg-come
 'He went and brought it back'
- (96) iy icɛlep^weni epi itɔw
 3sg 3sg-lose sago 3sg-STAT
 'He dropped the sago (and left it there)'

The co-verb tcw may also be preceded by me or la:

- (97) etewey ime tc tan
 2sg-put-it 3sg-come STAT down
 'Put it down'

(98) um isɔ ile ile tɔw,
 house 3sg-sway 3sg-go 3sg-go STAT
 'The house swayed one way

um isɔ ime ime tɔw
 house 3sg-sway 3sg-come 3sg-come STAT
 and then swayed back'

The particle leʔi may also precede the co-verb tɔw:

(99) hetow law ...keli me leʔi tɔw
 3pc relative...PERF come PRES STAT
 'The relatives ... have come (and are here)'

The combinations exemplified in (97)-(99) must occur in final position in the series. That is, they are attested as being preceded by other co-verb phrases, but not as being followed by any further co-verb expressions in the same VP.

The verb yaw 'go (away)' also functions frequently as a co-verb in the VP periphery, but is never directly followed by a NP (see above, 5.1.1.2.1):

(100) yo kili ɕalap^{weni} kili yaw
 1sg PERF lose PERF go-away
 'I threw it away'

As stated earlier, more than one co-verb or co-verb phrase may occur in a single verb phrase. The possible co-occurring verbs and combinations are as indicated in the scheme given above (5.2.1). The following generalizations about the order of co-verb elements may be made. If (me) yaw occurs, it is always the first in the series, and is usually followed by a la (NP) or me (NP) phrase, or occurs with no following constituents at all:

(101) eɕep^{weni} kijew
 2sg-throw POT-sg-go-away
 'Throw it away'

(102) nesum^{Wan} itɔ lɔ ke ime yaw
 smoke 3sg-STAT in forest 3sg-come go
 'The smoke was inland, coming out'

ime p^Wahalen
 3sg-come beach
 toward the coast'

See also (140) and (162) below

Emphatic particles or intensifiers may also follow the co-verb

yaw:

(103) iy iwɔh iyew e
 3sg 3sg-fly 3sg-go-away EMPH
 'He flew right off'

(104) hah keɕelep^Weni kiyew tasih
 2pl POT-NS-lose POT-3sg-go-away INTENS
 'Get rid of it completely!'

The verb mɔn may occur alone following the main verb, or may in turn be followed by a la or me phrase. Like yaw, mɔn occurs in first position in the co-verb series of the periphery. The verbs yaw and mɔn are not attested as co-occurring as co-verbs, and neither may take a directly following NP.

(105) iy ta yoʔose imɔn
 3sg CONT walk 3sg-return
 'He is walking back'

(106) iy iyew imɔn ime um a hetow
 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-return 3sg-come house POSS 3pc
 'He went back to their house'

(107) u kaw kumɔn kala m^Wanus
 1du-exc POT-NS-go POT-sg-return POT-NS-go Manus
 'We will go back to Manus'

The sentence in (107) is an interesting one, for it shows potential marking on all three verbs. Recall that when an auxiliary verb occurs in pre-verbal position, the potential (if present) and person/number will be prefixed to the auxiliary, and the main verb will be in its

base form. On the other hand, if either an auxiliary or the main verb is marked for potential, the co-verbs are also so marked in the majority of such clauses. Thus it would seem in (107) that the main verb is yaw (k-NS-yaw = kaw), and kumɔn and kala are co-verbs. Note the lack of concord between the subject and the co-verb kumɔn, but the agreement in person/number between the subject and the co-verb kala, which is difficult to explain (but see 5.2.4 for a discussion of agreement in the VP).

Compare (108) below with (107):

(108) yo kile mɔn kime
 1sg POT-sg-go return POT-sg-come
 'I will come back'

In (108), mɔn is clearly the main verb, the form kile a pre-verbal auxiliary, and kime a co-verb.

Co-verb expressions involving tah (NP) may be preceded by other co-verb expressions, but are not attested as being followed by anything other than a demonstrative. The form tah may occur alone or with a preceding la, ye, or ɛw (recall that final /h/ may be deleted when followed by a consonant-initial morpheme):

(109) su?u to pet ta peleŋan ɛpwe
 3du CONT float LOC on-top only
 'They were floating right on the surface'

(110) su?u pɔ wɔs ɪle ta su?u
 3du do taro-stalk 3sg-go LOC 3du
 'They got some taro stalks (for planting) for them'

(111) ala le?e laweyap kile tah
 2sg-go see fish-net POT-sg-go LOC
 'Go see (about) the fish net over there'

- (112) yo ume tewey isɔ ta teke ke
 1sg 1sg-come put-it 3sg-stand LOC base tree
 'I put it down at the base of a tree'

There are no attested examples of tah alone (i.e. without a preceding la, ye, or sɔw and without a following NP).

Co-verb phrases with ye 'be in a place, sit', may occur as the only co-verb expression, or may be either preceded or followed (or both) by further co-verb phrases. The co-verb ye must be accompanied by a following NP--there are no examples of sentence-final ye or ye tah in the data.

- (113) iy ime tewey iyɛ palaketun
 3sg 3sg-come put-it 3sg-sit veranda
 'He came and put it on the veranda'

- (114) iy ime ačɛɛʔet itiyen ime mata tas itiyen
 3sg 3sg-come crawl DEM 3sg-come edge sea DEM
 'He came crawling right to the edge of the water,

iyɛ ɔ tas iyɛ ɔʔɔ pʷinah
 3sg-sit in sea 3sg-sit within vine
 right to the sea, among the vines'

- (115) ɛto kala hutɪ pun a yo ile ɔʔɔ
 2pc POT-NS-go get pepper POSS 1sg 3sg-go within
 'Go get my pepper which is among

pu a yo iyɛ ta palaketun
 banana POSS 1sg 3sg-sit loc veranda
 my bananas over on the veranda'

The morpheme sɔw in co-verb expressions may be followed by a further co-verb phrase. In clause-final position, it may combine with a following tah (NP) or with a preceding la. In the latter case, there are no attested examples of a following NP:

(116) ana hi pawı nanen ε nataman tewe iy
 INDEF FEM Pawi mother-3sg and father-3sg put 3sg
 'A Pawi girl, her mother and father put her into

ısɔ ɔ ɔɔw
 3sg-LOC in mat
 isolation'

(117) iy yeka?ani netun ısɔ ma?akɔɔ um
 3sg 3sg-hide child-3sg 3sg-LOC next-to house
 'She hid her child next to the house

ıtɔ ɔɔ?ɔ kuh
 3sg-STAT among bush
 among the bushes'

(118) eto kala hutı humey ısɔ tan itıyen
 2pc POT-NS-go get fruit 3sg-LOC LOC DEM
 'Go get some fruit from over there'

(119) yo ma kehen wewe ıle ɔɔw
 1sg INT POT-sg-pick mango 3sg-go LOC
 'I want to pick a/some mango(s) over there'

See also (112) above.

There are no examples of ɔɔw NP preceded by another co-verb expression.

Both la and me may occur with or without a following NP, either in first position in a series, medially, or in a series final position. In the latter case, the directional preposition ya may introduce a locative expression:

(120) su?u tɔ ɔɔs ıle ya ey
 3du CONT fall 3sg-go through PRO
 They were falling through it'

(121) ya yo kiyo?ose kıme ya itıyɔ
 fut 1sg POT-sg-walk POT-sg-come toward DEM
 'I'll walk in this direction, toward here'

Both me and la may combine with most other co-verbs or particles. The exceptions, for which no examples are attested, are as listed in (122):

(122)*ile mɔn

*ime mɔn

*ile yaw

*ime tah

*ime sɔw

*leʔi me

*leʔi la

There are also no examples of the two combining with each other. The lack of examples of at least some of the combinations listed above may simply be due to lacunae in the corpus.

la and me are thus the least restricted of the co-verbs. Furthermore, la is much the more frequent of the two, and plays a wider variety of roles (see 5.2.5).

5.2.2 keli p^we. The phrase keli p^we (~ kali p^we) is used clause-finally to emphasize that the action of the main verb is completed. The constituents appear to be a form of the perfective marker followed by the negative p^we. While this phrase is most often preceded by a perfective form of the main verb (62 above, 123 below), it may occur with a nonperfective main verb in questions (124). In addition, the phrase keli/kali p^we itiyen is often used at the end of a narrative (125):

(123) yo kili ɕaʔiti keli p^we
1sg PERF cut PERF NEG
'I finished eating my yams'

(124) iy yetahanı um a iy kali p^we ɛ p^we?
3sg put-on sago-thatch POSS 3sg PERF NEG or NEG
'Has he finished putting on his sago-thatch or not?'

- (125) keli pWe itiyen (~ kali pWe itiyen)
 PERF NEG DEM
 'That's all; that's the end'

5.2.3 The intransitive verb pWič. The intransitive verb pWič 'be complete, be finished' may occur as the main verb. In most attested examples of this use of pWič, it is preceded by the auxiliary la 'go' (127):

- (126) puret a uweh kaman ma kipWič
 work POSS 1pl-exc male 3sg-go be-finished.
 'The work of the men is almost finished'

- (127) peŋ mačuluŋon kile pWič...
 night thirty PDT-sg-go be-finished
 'When thirty nights have passed...'

itiyen e wɔw eMe
 DEM and 2sg 2sg-come
 then you come...'

The presence of pWič indicates that some activity has been completed, usually before a second activity begins/began. Thus the phrase ile pWič '3sg-go be-finished' at the beginning of a sentence is frequently used to relate the new sentence to the preceding sentence:

- (128) uto tuwe ti, uto in. ile pWič,
 1pc-exc boil tea, 1pc-exc drink. 3sg-go be-finished,
 'We made tea and we drank it. When we had finished,

yo uto kantin
 1sg 1sg-STAT canteen
 I was in the canteen for a while'

- (129) iy hačalay ay a iy ile ay.
 3sg pour blood POSS 3sg 3sg-go PRO
 'She poured her blood into it.'

ile pWič, iy itewe ay a iy
 3sg-go be-finished, 3sg 3sg-take blood POSS 3sg
 When it was full, she took her blood

its p^wep^we poke iy itewey
 3sg-STAT shell clam 3sg 3sg-take-3sg
 which was in the clam shell and put it

ile k?k čaga čw
 3sg-go within middle?? mat
 into the center of the mat'

The verb p^wič may also occur as a co-verb in the VP periphery. Here, however, it does not always co-occur with a preceding la. Again, the presence of p^wič indicates the completion of an activity--in this case that activity expressed by the main verb:

(130) seh me tamana ile p^wič. seh me
 3pl come dance 3sg-go be-finished. 3pl come
 'They came and danced. They came

ε seh kəli yaw
 and 3pl PERF go
 and they went away..'

(131) iy ili ile p^wič ε iy ma kile
 3sg dig 3sg-go be-finished and 3sg INT POT-sg-go
 'He finished digging (them), and when he was going

ili tu k?č?ut...
 dig post back-of-house
 to dig the posts at the back...'

(132) iy ili tu mese?en ip^wič
 3sg dig post front-of-house 3sg-be-finished
 'He finished digging up the front posts

ε iy ma kime ili tu k?č?ut...
 and 3sg INT POT-sg-come dig post back-of-house
 and was about to come dig up the back posts...'

(Examples (131) and (132) are from versions of the same story, told by two different speakers.)

(133) čito kani kani kani kip^wič,
 1pc-inc POT-NS-eat POT-sg-be-finished,
 'We'll eat and eat until we finish, (and then)

čito kaw
 1pc-inc POT-NS-go
 'we'll leave'

(134) hetow yan ipwič ɛ su?u pʷa etɔw
 3pc eat 3sg-be-finished and 3du say 2pc-STAT
 'They finished eating and the two said "Stay here"'

Note that pwič as a co-verb does not co-occur with any other co-verbs except la. And, unlike the other co-verbs, the phrase ilɛ pwič may occur sentence-initially, preceding both the subject and the verb of the main clause.

5.2.4 Agreement in the VP. Note that the potential form of the main verb in (93) above, kɔɔkɔwɪ, is reflected in the repetition of the potential prefix on the co-verb kitɔ, and that the perfective in (100) occurs both with the main verb and with the co-verb. This type of tense/aspect sequencing, or 'harmony', is very common, and includes the repetition of pre-verbal ma 'intentional/inchoative' (5.1.1.3.1) in co-verb phrases:

(135) su?u ma kelele ma kile če?ɛrekɔw
 3du INT POT-NS-look INT POT-go Che'erekow
 'They were looking toward Che'erekow'

However, this repetition of tense/aspect marking is not obligatory. There are attested examples in which the tense/aspect is not the same in the two parts of the VP, nucleus and periphery.

(136) yo ma kunenes ilɛ puret peti epi
 1sg INT POT-sg-talk 3sg-go work for sago
 'I want to talk about the procedures for making sago'

(137) iy kili eku itɔw
 3sg PERF pile-up 3sg-STAT
 'He sat down and stayed there'

(138) su?u iw ma kile ete iy epwe
 3du NS-call INT POT-go AG 3sg only
 'They called out to her'

(139) seh yaleteni pun ki?i la
 3pl NS-divide pepper-leaf PERF go
 'They divided out the pepper leaf'

It is thus not a rigid rule that if the main verb is in one tense/aspect, all accompanying co-verbs must also be in the same tense/aspect. However, it is most generally true that all verb forms in a given VP are in the same tense/aspect, at least as far as potential, perfective, or intentional/inchoative are concerned. There is no indication that preverbal auxiliaries tɔw, tah, le?i, yaw, ɔw or ye are repeated in the co-verb expressions, and there is no attested example of a repeated ya 'future'.

As regards person agreement between the main verb and the co-verb(s), however, the situation is not so easily stated. Most often, the co-verb forms are in the 1st/3rd singular--that is, they are prefixed with i-/u- (see 5.1.1.1). This is commonly true even when the subject of the main verb and/or the direct object of a transitive main verb is 2sg or non-singular. There are cases, though, where there appears to be person/number agreement, such that the subject of an intransitive main verb, or the direct object of a transitive main verb, are reflected in the person of the co-verb:

(140) ya?ase yaw
 2sg-walk 2sg-go
 'Get out of here'

(141) seh la mɔn me
 3pl NS-go return NS-come
 'They came back'

(142) uto kɔʔɔluwani wɔw ala tan
 1pc-exc POT-NS-lower 2sg 2sg-go down
 'We'll lower you down'

(143) seh nak la peleran
 3pl NS-climb NS-go on-top
 'They climbed up into the house'

In view of these and other examples of person/number agreement between a preceding NP and the co-verb, it is possible to suggest that wherever the subject of an intransitive main verb (144) or the direct object of a transitive main verb (145) is 1st/3rd singular, and the co-verb is also 1st/3rd singular, there is person/number concord:

(144) lawat iɕeʔet ile ey ile ete hetow
 possum 3sg-crawl 3sg-go PRO 3sg-go AG 3pc
 'The possum crawled along it toward them'

(145) ɔw kɔlɔmʷa yo kitɔ maʔakɔsɔ kalipap
 2du POT-NS-plant 1sg POT-sg-STAT next-to Kalipap
 'Bury me next to Kalipap'

However, there are so many cases where the co-verb is 1st/3rd singular and the possible governing NP's are not, that one must look elsewhere for an explanation of the form of the co-verb(s). There is support in studies of other related languages for the hypothesis that co-verbs may evolve into frozen monomorphemic forms which serve as post-verbal particles and as prepositions (cf. Johnston 1980, Bradshaw 1979).

Examine the following:

(146) suʔu tɔ lɔs ile ya ey
 3du NS-CONT fall 3sg-go through PRO
 'They were falling through it'

(147) seh seʔehi seh ime tun
 3pl NS-carry-on-shoulder 3pl 3sg-come canoe
 'They carried them to the canoe on their shoulders'

(148) su?u yeneyan itɔw ε su?u mete
 3du NS-eat 3sg-STAT and 3du NS-sleep
 'They ate and then, later, they slept'

(149) su?u yay me?iyen epWe iyew ule, ile peheka
 3du NS-wade quickly only 3sg-go 3sg-go, 3sg-go Peheka
 'They waded very quickly straight to Peheka'

Clearly there is no concord between any preceding NP and the co-verbs in the above sentences. Thus the status of the co-verb forms as verbs seems to be changing, such that they are no longer required to agree with a subject in person/number, and further, that they seem to be 'freezing' into an invariable 1st/3rd singular form.

5.2.5 Functions of the Co-verb Phrases in the VP Periphery.

In this section, the various category labels (e.g., Locative Goal/Place, Purpose, Instrumental, etc.) are intended only to indicate the wide variety of relationships between the main verb of a sentence and any oblique object NP's, which may be expressed by the use of one or another of the possible co-verb phrases. These categories should therefore be understood as functional rather than formal.

5.2.5.1 Locative Place. The stative/locative verb tɔ(w) and the stative/locative particle ta(h) function in the VP periphery as indicators of locative place. The verb tɔ(w) may be followed directly by NP (153-154), or the place may be contextually determined or unspecified (150-152). In the latter case, additional aspectual information is also provided by the co-verb construction, which tends to indicate durative aspect, in the sense of 'remain' or 'stay':

(150) amey ime, ime at itɔw
 Amey 3sg-come, 3sg-come hide 3sg-STAT
 'Amey came and hid (and stayed hidden)'

- (151) iy ičelep^{weni} epi itəw
 3sg 3sg-lose sago 3sg-STAT
 'He dropped the sago (and left it)'
- (152) hetow law a netukəmpu keli me le?i təw
 3pc relative POSS grandchild-1sg PERF come PRES STAT
 'My grandson's relatives have come (and are still here)'
- (153) iy iyew itə taken
 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-STAT base-3sg
 'He went and stayed at its base'
- (154) əw kəlkə^{wi} yo kitə ma?akəwə kalipap
 2du POT-NS-plant 1sg POT-sg-STAT next-to Kalipap
 'Bury me next to Kalipap'

When tah occurs without a preceding co-verb, such as la or me, it must be followed by a NP:

- (155) su?u tə pet ta pelenan ep^{wə}
 3du CONT float LOC on-top only
 'They were floating right on top'
- (156) yo ma kipesani čihi ləkəw ep^{wə}
 1sg INT POT-know which thing only
 'I want to know what things

wəw yaka?ani ta lətiyə təp
 2sg hide LOC inside basket
 you hid in the basket'

With a preceding co-verb, however, no following NP is necessary with tah:

- (157) yo utu?uŋi čəŋah a su?u ile tah
 1sg 1sg-close door POSS 3du 3sg-go LOC
 'I closed their door over there'
- (158) etow kala huti humey isə tah itiyen
 2pc POT-NS-go take fruit 3sg-be LOC DEM
 'Go pick some "humey" fruit over there'

The verb ye 'be in a place, sit', which must be followed by a stated NP, also functions as locative place:

(159) iy ime tewey iyE palaketun
 3sg 3sg-come put-it 3sg-sit veranda
 'He came (and) put it on the veranda'

Locative place can also be indicated by (la) scw (NP):

(160) iy ile taputi?i iscw p^wElen
 3sg 3sg-go come-across 3sg-be in-center-3sg
 'He came across (it) up in the center (of a tree)'

(161) yo ma kehen wawe ile scw
 1sg INT POT-sg-pick mango 3sg-go LOC
 'I'm going to pick a mango over there'

The la scw, la tah, and la tcw/me tcw forms combine direction with location, indicating motion toward or away from a point of reference, and a stay of some duration at the point of destination:

(162) su?u iwani iy iyew ile tcw lcw tas
 3du NS-drag 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-go STAT in sea
 'They dragged him into the sea (and left him)'

(163) ap^wa etewey ime tcw tan
 2sg-say 2sg-put-it 3sg-come STAT down
 'Say "Put it down (and leave it here)!"'

See also (157) and (161).

5.2.5.2 Locative Goal/Direction. A small class of the motion verbs which may occur as co-verbs serve as directional indicators. These verbs are la 'go (away from X)'; me 'come (toward X)'; mcr 'return, reverse direction'; and yaw 'go away (direction unspecified). Neither yaw nor mcr may be followed directly by any type of NP. Both la and me may be followed by a NP of location. When no locative NP is stated, the action of the main verb either has no specific locative goal or that goal is understood from context.

(164) iy iwch iyew
 3sg 3sg-fly 3sg-go away
 'He flew off'

- (165) iy ta yo?ose imɔn
 3sg CONT walk 3sg-return
 'He is walking back'
- (166) yo kile mɔn kime
 1sg POT-sg-go return POT-sg-come
 'I will come back'
- (167) iy iyew imɔn ime lo um
 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-return 3sg-come in house
 'He came back home'
- (168) su?u yo?ose ile ile ile
 3du walk 3sg-go 3sg-go 3sg-go
 'They walked for some distance'
- (169) piɲehe yo eh ile tan
 yesterday 1sg 1sg-jump 3sg-go down
 'Yesterday I jumped down'
- (170) ɔpɔ an kile sih pelet,
 2sg-do water POT-sg-go one plate,
 'Put some water into a dish,
 hɔti kime
 2sg-take POT-sg-come
 (and) bring it here'
- (171) seh takeni kumum ile yaw
 3pl throw spear 3sg-go go-away
 'They threw the spears (and hit nothing)'
- (172) iy itekeni ile kapenin hapay
 3sg 3sg-throw 3sg-go wing-3sg one
 'He threw it at his wing (and hit it)'
- (173) ketipiyeni iy kiyew kile tan pahali
 POT-NS-roll 3sg POT-sg-go POT-sg-go down downhill
 'Roll him down to the bottom of the hill'
- (174) iy ime tepeluwani imɔn, iy imɔn
 3sg 3sg-come turn-around 3sg-return, 3sg 3sg-return
 'He turned (himself) around (and) came back'

All other functions of the co-verb phrases involve la/me + NP constructions.

5.2.5.3 Animate Goal. Nouns introduced by la or me may function as Animate Goal (traditionally termed Indirect Object or Bene-

factive). Such la or me + NP constructions are similar to the Locative Goal constructions (5.2.5.2 above), with the exception that the NP is human, or is one of a small class of nonhuman animates (including mwi 'dog' and pon 'turtle', but not pow 'pig' or lawat 'possum'). The members of this subset of NP's are always preceded by the particle ete when in construction with a preceding la or me and functioning as an Animate Goal:

(175) lawat iče?et ile ey ile ete hetow
 possum 3sg-crawl 3sg-go PRO 3sg-go AG 3pc
 'The possum crawled along it to them'

(176) u kečeweneni pōtan kime ete wōw
 1du-exc POT-NS-show doing-3sg POT-sg-come AG 2sg
 'We will show you how to do it'

(177) ew kile ete iy kime
 2sg-call POT-sg-go AG 3sg POT-sg-come
 'Call him to come'

(178) iy ip^wey ime ete yo
 3sg 3sg-say-it 3sg-come AG 1sg
 'He said it to me, he told me'

If the NP is 1st or 2nd person, me is normally the co-verb used in the Animate Goal phrase. Otherwise, la is generally used, although me may be used for 3rd person if the speaker wishes to make a point of focus:

(179) su?u ili netu su?u pihin ime ete su?u
 3du NS-call child 3du woman 3sg-come AG 3du
 'They called their daughter to them'

(180) iy ip^wey ime ete su?u
 3sg 3sg-say-it 3sg-come AG 3du
 'He answered them'

In both (179) and (180), the speaker is identifying with or focusing on the su?u of the Animate Goal, and thus uses me 'motion toward' rather than la 'motion away from'.

5.2.5.4 Factitive. In constructions which function as factitives, the NP introduced by la or me has come into being as a result of the action of the main verb:

(181) iy ćilimatan ime ek ile niw,
 3sg eyeball-3sg 3sg-come grow 3sg-go coconut,
 'His eyeballs grew into coconuts,

ile niw ma?uwey
 3sg-go coconut two
 into two coconut trees'

(182) sih ime ćahow ime netukan
 one 3sg-come appear 3sg-come bird
 'One had become a bird,

sih ime ćahow ile m^wat
 one 3sg-come appear 3sg-go snake
 the other had become a snake'

(183) seh ti?i ile puh
 3pl weave 3sg-go fish-trap
 'They wove (it) into a fish trap'

5.2.5.5 Purpose. Generally, if la or me as co-verb introduce a subordinate VP rather than a NP, the function will be purpose, telling why the action of the main verb takes place. Purpose may also be indicated by la/me + NP:

(184) iy huti ketuŋ ime yetiŋi palar ile ey
 3sg take club 3sg-come split head-3sg 3sg-go PRO
 'He took the club to split his head with it'

(185) iy iyew ile nu
 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-go bathe
 'He went to take a bath'

(186) iy iputi iy ile ćani putan
 3sg 3sg-take 3sg 3sg-go cut umbilical-cord-3sg
 'She took him in order to cut the umbilical cord'

(187) seh tɔ tay ile puret
 3pl HAB beat-it 3sg-go work
 'They produce it for traditional uses'

(188) etow kohati peti?o itiyen kile wake
 2pc POT-NS-take bone-1sg DEM POT-sg-go ornament
 'Take this bone of mine as an ornament'

5.2.5.6 Result. There are a great many examples of constructions in which the direct object of the main verb is (or can be construed as being) the subject of the co-verb. This is a kind of serial causative construction, in which the first verb is the cause, and the second is the result. Note that the direct object need not be overtly expressed--in such cases, it is understood from context.

(189) pane su?u ito tuwani ile me?isan
 mother 3du 3sg-HAB cook 3sg-go done
 'Their mother would cook it until it was done'

(190) ya iy kihineni to?u kile muwan
 FUT 3sg POT-sg-do 1du-inc POT-sg-go bad
 'He will do us harm'

(191) iy iyeni puton ile huyan
 3sg 3sg-eat core-3sg 3sg-go good
 'She ate the core and it was good (she didn't get ill)'

The remainder of the identified functions involve only la + NP.

5.2.5.7 Time. Co-verb phrases expressing passage of time are introduced by the co-verb la 'go':

(192) su?u min tan ile elewen hepe
 3du sit down 3sg-go long bit
 'They sat down for a while'

(193) כּוּ כּוּתָּו כּוּתָּוּ אַן אַ יוּ
 2du POT-NS-CONT count day POSS 1sg
 'Count my days'

kile weney an malimeh
 POT-sg-go until day five
 until they reach five'

Other expressions of time are described in 3.5.1, Temporal Adverbs.

5.2.5.8 Reason. Reason phrases are introduced by ile çah (lit. 'goes to what'), which is equivalent to English 'because' or 'why'.

čah 'what, something' is used also in information questions (see 6.7.3.2), and may function as a noun.

- (194) tele ulin hipiri ma?awey ɔ mačuluwey...
 canoe lead/point?? like two or three...
 'There are about two or three lead or point canoes...'

ile čah law mata itɔ yelini tun čelewan
 3sg-go what net big 3sg-HAB like canoe many
 because the big net likes/needs many canoes.'

- (195) yo le?i tɔ hine ile čah čačah ipwey
 1sg PRES CONT do 3sg-go what father 3sg-say-it
 'I'm doing it because my father told me to'

- (196) yo kili nihi kolaw a yo pwe
 1sg PERF wash clothes POSS 1sg NEG
 'I didn't wash my clothes'

ile čah an čelewan pwe
 3sg-go what water plenty NEG
 because there wasn't enough water'

5.2.5.9 Theme. Some intransitive verbs of mental or verbal activity, such as nenes 'talk' or ɔŋɔ?ɔŋɔhe 'think', may take a NP argument which expresses the content of the activity; these NP's are here termed 'theme', and are introduced by ile:

- (197) nataman iy inenes ile komu itiyɔ ile ete iy
 father-3sg 3sg 3sg-talk 3sg-go word DEM 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'Her father spoke to her about these words/this conversation'

- (198) seh tɔ ɔŋɔ?ɔŋɔhe ile puret peti epi
 3pl HAB think 3sg-go work for sago
 'They think about the procedures for making sago'

The idiom kɔlu+Possessor cut 'throat-possessor close' means 'to forget'. The theme in a 'forget' construction is also introduced by

la:

- (199) ya kɔlu ɔw kili tut ki?i la ey pwe
 FUT throat 2du PERF close PERF go PRO NEG
 'You must not forget about it'

5.2.5.10 Instrument. The instrument NP is introduced by la:

(200) eyp^{wi} kile _____ mumum
2sg-beat POT-sg-go pole
'Beat it with poles'

(201) uweh le?i to ta?i kanas ile ey
1pl-exc PRES HAB catch mullet 3sg-go PRO
'We catch mullet with it'

5.2.5.11 Manner. One further function of the la + NP co-verb phrase may be labelled manner:

(202) hetow ta?iy ile _____ hetow ep^we
3pc catch-it 3sg-go thinking POSS 3pc only
'They catch them according to their own ideas'

(203) su?u keli yesow ki?i la _____ su?u p^we
3du PERF marry PERF go thinking POSS 3du NEG
'They do not (ever?) marry according to their own ideas'

5.2.5.12 Miscellaneous. Some instances of the la + NP co-verb phrase are not easily categorized, and do not seem to fit under any of the above headings. These miscellaneous functions are exemplified in (204)-(209) below:

(204) iy to ha?eni su?u ile _____
3sg HAB feed 3du 3sg-go meat
'She would feed them with meat'

(205) hetow to yeneyan ile _____
3pc HAB eat 3sg-go yam DEM
'They would eat these yams (as a dietary staple)'

(206) ko ile tehita ile _____ amat
village 3sg-go fill-up 3sg-go people
'The village filled up with people'

(207) eto kesuwa epi kile _____
2pc POT-NS-fry sago POT-sg-go coconut
'Fry the sago with coconut (meat)'

(208) ya seh kele?ey kile _____ ep^we itayen
FUT 3pl POT-NS-see POT-sg-go sign pole only DEM
'They can tell just from the clue of the punting poles'

(209) iy iputi patanyohun ile napulun
 3sg 3sg-take Patanyohun 3sg-go spouse-3sg
 'She took Patanyohun as her husband'

Note the example in (205), in which the intransitive form of the verb 'eat' is used--yeneyan, which is a reduplicative form of the transitive verb root yan 'eat' (see 3.8.1, Reduplication). The transitive equivalent of this sentence is hetow to yan suwe 'They are/were eating yams'. The difference between the two seems to be the emphasis, in (205), on the central role of yams in the habitual diet, while the transitive version does not imply such a role, and can be understood as continuative rather than habitual.

5.2.6 Coordination of VP and Co-verb Phrases

5.2.6.1 Coordination of VP's. Normally, coordination of clauses with the same subject involves repetition of the subject following each occurrence of a conjunction. There are however three clear examples in which the subject of the noninitial clause has been deleted under identity with the subject of the initial clause:

(210) E wdw ele _____ lih elewen e ele
 and 2sg 2sg-PERF-go ?? long on 2sg-PERF-go
 'And did you go far'

lih puwan
 ?? short
 or near??

(211) kd itow e ma kile _____ keheyah...
 land 3sg-STAT and INT POT-sg-go afternoon
 'It was getting to be afternoon...'
 (Tok Pisin: Ples i stap i laik go apinun)

(212) wdw to yaw e to yaw...
 2sg HAB go-off and HAB go-off
 'You keep going off...'

There are other examples which may in fact be of the type

exemplified in (210)-(212). However, in these other cases, the verbs involved are in the 3sg form. In most sentences which are composed of several clauses, each of which has as its subject the 3sg pronoun iy, the pronoun is clearly present, but there are some in which it is not clear whether the iy is present in the noninitial clauses or not. When iy precedes the 1/3sg verbal prefix i-, the two together are pronounced in various ways: [iy i], [i?i], [i:], or [i]. When there is a single vowel, with no lengthening (as in (213)-(214)), it is difficult to determine if the 3sg pronoun has been deleted under identity with the subject of the initial clause, or is present but not not clearly perceptible.

(213) pokowey ile čon pow e ile čon ile čon...
 Pokowey 3sg-go hunt pig and 3sg-go hunt 3sg-go hunt
 'Pokowey went to hunt pig, and he hunted for a while...'

(214) tamey iten e iten e iten e seh la pileŋ
 drum 3sg-cry and 3sg-cry and 3sg-cry and 3pl go garden
 'The drum beat and beat and beat and they went to the garden'

In the absence of more examples of coordinated VP's in which the verbs are different, and of examples with a plural subject, it is impossible to make a definite statement here as to whether such sentences as 'They ate and went to sleep' (which would be *hetow yeneyan e mete) are possible in Loniu. Certainly no sentences of this type are attested in the texts and conversations which make up the data on which the present work is based. My intuition tells me that these are not possible in Loniu, and that the subject pronoun would have to be repeated: hetow yeneyan e hetow mete; such coordination of complete sentences is very common (see 7.2).

A construction composed of a verb phrase with no stated subject, similar to the coordinated verb phrases exemplified above (210-214), is frequently attested in multiple clause sentences. These constructions differ, however, in that the verb is most often unmarked for person, and the subject cannot always be understood as being deleted under identity with a preceding NP. These constructions are described in 7.1, Paratactic Structures.

5.2.6.2 Coordination of Co-verb Phrases. Co-verb phrases within the VP may be conjoined with either ε 'and, or' (215, 216) or ɔ 'or' (217). However, overt coordination is not a commonly used strategy for joining co-verb phrases; normally, such phrases are simply juxtaposed in a series, with no overt connector (218).

(215) wɔw etekeni kile ε kile mwekew
 2sg 2sg-throw POT-sg-go and POT-sg-go deep-sea
 'I go as far as the boundary at Ncrova,

(216) puh itiyen kile takeni kile pat
 trap DEM POT-sg-go throw POT-sg-go stone
 'If the trap hits against stones

ε kile te?ewɔn
 or POT-sg-go sand
 or against sand...

(217) iy inek ile keyaw ɔ ile tun
 3sg 3sg-climb 3sg-go platform or 3sg-go canoe
 'She climbs up onto a platform or onto a canoe'

(218) iy ito ɔalapwɛni ile tan ine peleanan
 3sg 3sg-CONT toss 3sg-go down 3sg-come on-top
 'He was waving (it) up and down'

Chapter VI

Sentence Types

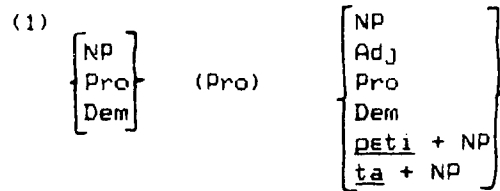
The sentence in Loniu is here defined as the subject-predicate construction, which may be of several types: the verbless sentence (6.1.), in which the predicate consists of a NP, a prepositional phrase, or a locative phrase; the simple verbed sentence (6.2), in which the predicate consists of a single verb phrase (see Chapter 5); and the comparative sentence (6.4). Also included as major sentence types are the negative constructions (6.5), imperatives (6.6), and interrogatives (6.7). Complex or multiple-clause sentences are described in Chapter VII, Coordination, Subordination, and Sentence Connectors.

The unmarked order of constituents in a sentence is Subject - (Verb) - Object/Complement. However, the direct object may be fronted for purposes of focus (6.8). Clauses without a stated subject also occur, and are described in 7.1, Paratactic Structures. In many clauses, a pronominal copy of the subject occurs between the subject and verb (6.3).

6.1 The Verbless Sentence.

The verbless sentence in Loniu has a structure in which the subject, which may be a full NP, a personal pronoun (modified or unmodified), or a demonstrative pronoun, is followed by a predicator consisting of either a full NP, a personal pronoun (one example), an adjective (but see 3.3), a demonstrative pronoun, a peti + NP phrase (see 3.6.1), or a ta + NP phrase (see 5.2). There may also be a

pronoun copy of the subject between the subject and predicator (see 6.3). The structure of the verbless sentence may be schematized as follows:



Depending on the semantic content of the constituents, the verbless sentence is understood as equative, descriptive, possessive, or locative in meaning. There is no specific syntactic marking to distinguish among these possibilities.

6.1.1 The Equative Verbless Sentence. The equative sentence most often contains two NP's, the second of which is a further identification or classification of the first:

- (2) nap^wanan peti ey p^weleyah
 big-one of PRO parrotfish
 'The biggest of these is the parrotfish'
- (3) yo yo amat
 1sg 1sg human
 'Me, I am human'
- (4) tuwenan yo netukan
 true 1sg bird
 'It is true that I am a bird'
- (5) yo ŋoʔo menuway
 1sg name-1sg eagle
 'I am called eagle'
- (6) hepe epwe yo netu amat
 bit only 1sg child human
 'But I am the child of a human'
- (7) epi iy eneyan a uweh peti ko ᵐrakow
 sago 3sg food POSS 1pl-exc from land Loniū
 'Sago is the food of us Loniū people'

6.1.2 The Descriptive Verbless Sentence. The predicate of a descriptive verbless sentence consists most commonly of a descriptive adjunct (3.3) or a peti + NP phrase (3.6.1). While it may have the same structure as the NP, the descriptive verbless sentence is distinguishable from simple NP's by intonation (there may be a slight pause between the subject and the complement) and by context.

(8) yo peti ko ŋɔɔɔkɔw mʷenən
1sg from land Loniu straight
'I am from Loniu village itself'

(9) u maʔamɔw u musih
1du-exc two 1du-exc same
'We two, we are the same/just alike'

(10) maʔam piʔən
skin-2sg white
'Your skin is white'

(11) čumɔw iy piʔən
k.o.crab 3sg white
'The "chumow" crab is white'

6.1.3 The Possessive Verbless Sentence. In addition to the possessive constructions described in 3.1.1, possession may be expressed in a verbless sentence. Note that the second NP in this type of sentence is a predication about, rather than an identification or classification of, the first NP:

(12) wɔw ereneʔim muwan
2sg attitude-2sg bad
'You have a bad attitude'

(13) wɔw itiyən wɔw ɲetum
2sg DEM 2sg child-2sg
'You here, you have a child/you are pregnant'

(14) u tun pʷe
1du-exc canoe NEG
'We have no canoe'

- (15) suwe iy ti cōhōnan
yam 3sg EMPH place-3sg
'Yams have their own place'

6.1.4 The Locative Verbless Sentence. In locative sentences, the predicate consists of a demonstrative (see 3.5.2 and 4.3.7) or a NP of location introduced by the locative particle ta (which is not categorized as a verb, because it never takes verbal inflections of any kind).

- (16) pun a wōw itiyō
pepper-leaf POSS 2sg DEM
'Here is your pepper leaf'

- (17) nānō ta pelejan
mother-1sg LOC up-in-the-house
'My mother is in the house'

6.1.5 The Verbal Noun pasan. The lexeme pasan 'knowledge' seems to require special treatment; it is categorized as a noun based on the separability of the final -n, which appears to be the 3rd person singular possessive suffix. The suffix, in the case of pasa-n, refers to the fact of which one has the knowledge (18), but may be replaced by a noun expressing what it is that one knows (19) or by a personal pronoun when knowledge of a human being is indicated (20).

- (18) wōw pasan
2sg knowledge-3sg
'You know (it)'
- (19) hōmōw pasa ŋaʔan p^we
one knowledge name-3sg NEG
'No one knows her name'
- (20) he pasa iy
who knowledge 3sg
'Who knows/understands him?'

It is likely that a literal translation of, e.g., the sentence in (18) would be something like 'you have knowledge of it' (cf. (12) in 6.1.3,

The Possessive Verbless Sentence). There is no example of pasa- with either the 1st or 2nd singular possessive suffix. Although pasa- does not occur with verbal prefixes, there is a related form which does. This form, pesani, is derived by suffixing the -ani transitive ending (see 3.8.3.4) on the pasa- root, and occurs when a specific tense or aspect is present in a sentence involving the acquisition of knowledge:

- (21) iy kilɪ pesani kali p^we
 3sg PERF know PERF NEG
 'He found out'
- (22) yo ma kupesani komu a kɔ
 1sg INT POT-sg-know language POSS land
 'I want to know the Loni language'
- (23) putuwa ɔw kipesani
 belly 2du POT-sg-know
 'Your bellies will come to know it, become accustomed to it'

This is the only example of an inalienably possessed noun from which a verb is derived by means of the -ani suffix.

6.1.6 Coordination of Verbless Predicates. The predicate in a verbless sentence may be compound:

- (24) ɔ papulum huyan ɛ muwarɪ
 oh spouse-2sg good or bad
 'Oh, is your husband handsome or ugly?'
- (25) itiyen ni p^we ɛ amat
 DEM fish NEG but human
 'That is not a fish, but a human being'
- (26) eyn ta ɛtɛ wɔw ɛ ta ɛtɛ seh law a wɔw
 smell-3sg LOC AG 2sg and LOC AG 3pl relative POSS 2sg
 'Her smell is on you and on your relatives'

6.2 The Simple Verbed Sentence.

The simple or minimal construction which contains a verb and fits

the definition given above for the category sentence consists of a subject NP (as defined and described in Chapter 4) followed by a single VP (as defined and described in Chapter 5). Sentences of this type are exemplified, with the VP underlined, in (27) through (32):

- (27) yo up^wε kɔmu peti kɔ
 1sg 1sg-speak language from land
 'I speak the local language (Loniu)'
- (28) seh tɔ tay peʔesih peti peʔesih
 3pl HAB beat-it one-time after one-time
 'They make it (sago) all the time'
- (29) yo ma kuneres kile m^walih peti ɛpɪ
 1sg INT POT-sg-talk POT-sg-go story about sago
 'I want to tell the story of sago'
- (30) ɛ iy pihin ʔ^rɔpɔ kesɔwani iy iy itɔ keyaw
 and 3sg woman RC adorn 3sg 3sg 3sg-STAT platform
 'And the woman who has been adorned is on the platform.'
- (31) itiyen ɛ wen itewe wen ile ɔ ɔw
 DEM and sibling-3sg 3sg-put sibling-3sg 3sg-go in mat
 'And so the brother put his sister into ritual isolation'
- (32) seh peti p^wahaɕaɕ seh petɔt
 3pl of mouth-net 3pl be-firm
 'Those at the mouth of the net are firm'

This type of minimal construction is not the most common sentence type, especially in connected discourse. Most often, strings of clauses of this type occur, as described in Chapter VII, Coordination, Subordination, and Sentence Connectors.

6.3 The Pronoun Copy.

Both verbed and verbless sentences may contain a pleonastic subject; that is, the subject, whether a full NP, a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative pronoun, may be followed by a personal pronoun which copies the person and number of the subject. This pronoun copy

is then followed by the predicate of the sentence.

In order to determine whether or not the pronoun copy is predictable (by rule or co-occurrence restrictions, e.g.), the following possible distinctions were investigated for both verbed and verbless sentences:

- a. The internal syntactic structure of the subject, i.e. person/number, immediate constituency, and relative size.
- b. The type of predicate, i.e. descriptive, equative, possessive, or locative for verbless sentences, transitive or intransitive for verbed sentences; further considerations such as tense/aspect and type of verb affixation were also compared.
- c. Semantic distinctions such as the specificity of the subject; the definiteness of the subject, especially as regards previous vs. first mention; reference to wholes or to parts of a whole; and/or whether the subject can be said to contrast with some other referent in the immediate context.

None of these distinctions appear to be related to the presence or absence of the pronoun copy. However, if the subject is a modified personal pronoun, the pronoun tends to be repeated immediately preceding the predicate:

(35) u puliye u hipeta itiyen puliye
 idu-exc also idu-exc like DEM also
 'We too, we are like that'

- (36) tɔʔu itiyɔ tɔʔu kala ehe?
 1du-inc DEM 1du-inc POT-NS-go where
 'We two here, where can we go?'

Unmodified pronoun subjects are only repeated if special emphasis is intended:

- (37) yo yo pihin wɔw wɔw kaman
 1sg 1sg woman 2sg 2sg man
 'Me, I am a woman, you, you are a man'

Otherwise, with unmodified, non-emphatic pronoun subjects, there is no pronoun copy:

- (38) u hi amat
 1du-exc fem human
 'We are humans (female)'
- (39) wɔw ala tah e wɔw eli yaw?
 2sg 2sg-go LOC or 2sg 2sg-PERF go
 'Are you there or have you gone away?'

If the subject NP contains a noun modified by a pronominal determiner (which is a personal pronoun--see 4.2), the subject tends to be followed by a pronoun copy, especially in verbless sentences:

- (40) iy amat itiyen iy amat a kaw
 3sg man DEM 3sg man POSS sorcery
 'That man is a sorcerer'
- (41) seh petu tahah seh la pɔ puret
 3pl child 1pl-inc 3pl go do work
 'Our children went to work'
- (42) uweh kaman uweh weɕe ake
 1pl-exc male 1pl-exc cut tree
 'We men, we cut down the trees'

There are, however, a small number of verbed sentences which are counter to this pattern, and contain no pronoun copy:

- (43) iy pihin huti petuwet
 3sg woman 3sg-take fire-stone
 'The woman took a fire stone'

(44) su?u amat puliye tɔ hilite su?u amat...
 3du man also HAB choose 3du man
 'Another two men choose two men...'

In no other cases was there any evidence that the internal structure of the subject had any bearing on the presence or absence of the pronoun copy.

As far as the type of predicate is concerned, neither verbless nor verbed sentences show any indication of a pattern for the occurrence or nonoccurrence of a pronoun copy. Nor does variation of tense or aspect appear to trigger the pronoun copy.

In verbed sentences, the majority of those which do not contain pronoun copies (53 of 60 examples) have singular subjects, while those which do are fairly evenly divided between singulars and plurals (51 of 107 examples with singular subjects, 56 of 107 with plural subjects). This is not surprising, since the singular subjects require an overt prefix to be present on the verb, while the plural subjects have a 0- prefix. The inclusion of a pronoun copy of the singular subject could provide a total of three separate indications of person/number, and would be therefore less likely to occur than the plural pronoun copies, which provide only a second marking for person/number, and in some cases provide the only syntactic marking for plurality:

(45) hipwetu e amey su?u tɔw
 Hipwetu and Amey 3du STAT
 'Hipwetu and Amey remained'

(46) natama su?u ma nane su?u hetow pasan...
 father 3du and mother 3du 3pc knowledge-3sg
 'Their mothers and fathers know...'

In example (46), the reference could be ambiguous without the pronoun

copy, since the NP subject could refer to the father of the two siblings and the mother of the two siblings, in which case the pronoun copy would have been su?u rather than hetow. The presence of hetow makes it clear that the subject refers to the fathers and mothers of two unrelated children.

Neither definiteness, specificity, nor part/whole distinctions are consistently marked by the presence of a pronoun copy. The copy is attested for both first-mention NP's and previously mentioned NP's (47-48); for both specific and non-specific NP's (49-50); and for both partitive and non-partitive NP's (51-52):

(47) First Mention:

ɔw kele?e lɔŋɔw ya iy kime čahow...
 2du POT-NS-see thing FUT 3sg POT-sg-come appear
 'You will see a thing (which) will come up...'

(48) Previous Mention:

...m^walih peti epi. epi iy eneyan a uweh
 story about sago. sago 3sg food POSS 1pl exc
 '...a story about sago. Sago is our food.'

(49) Specific:

ke?ipow iy iwɔh iyew
 k.o. bird 3sg 3sg-fly 3sg-go
 'The bird flew away'

(50) Non-Specific:

suwe iy ke?ek...
 yam 3sg POT-sg-grow
 'When the yams grow...'

(51) Part:

ɔw kele?e su?u, sih iy kime čahow..
 2du POT-NS-see 3du, one 3sg POT-sg-come appear..
 'You will see the two, one will come up..'

ε sih iy kime čahow...
and one 3sg POT-3sg-come appear
and one will come up...'

(52) Whole:

suwe iy ti čohnan, mah iy ti čohnan
yam 3sg EMPH place-3sg, taro 3sg EMPH place-3sg
'Yams have their place, and taro has its place'

Nor does the absence of the pronoun copy seem to follow a pattern based on any one of these three distinctions. There are similar pairs of sentences which contain no pronoun copy for either type within each pair.

Finally, neither the presence nor the absence of the pronoun copy can be seen to imply any kind of contrast between two or more NP's.

In view of the negative results of the various tests and comparisons mentioned, including the internal structure of the subject, the type of predicate, and the several semantic distinctions investigated, the conclusion that the pronoun copy is an optional constituent in the Loniu sentence seems unavoidable. It is not impossible, however, that in-depth analysis of discourse strategies or pragmatic factors may provide evidence for a rule predicting the occurrence of the copy. Such analysis is, however, beyond the purview of the present description.

6.4 Comparison.

6.4.1 Relationships of Equality. There are several ways to indicate similarity or equality between two objects or activities. The adjective musih is roughly equivalent to English 'alike', and compares nouns. Both nouns precede musih, which functions as the complement:

- (53) suwe ε pičinah musih epwe
 little-yam and big-yam alike only
 'The small yams and the big yams are alike.'
- (54) seh amat masih seh musih epwe.
 3pl man all 3pl alike only
 'All men are alike.'
- (55) iy ε waw jaw ma'amaw jaw musih
 3sg and 2sg 2du two 2'iu alike
 'You and he, the two of you, are alike (physically).'

To indicate that one thing is like another, usually relative to a single parameter, hipeta (variants hipiti, hipera, hipiri) is used. The NP being compared precedes hipeta, the standard of comparison follows:

- (56) metiyen čah? metiyen hipeta um itiyen.
 big what? big like house DEM
 'How big is it?' 'As big as that house.'
- (57) lomwa pičinah hipeta lomwa suwe epwe
 planting big-yam like planting small-yam only
 'The way to plant the big yams is the same as the way to plant the small ones.'
- (58) ke itiyɔ əlewen hipeta sih epwe itiyen
 wood DEM long like one only DEM
 'This stick is as long as that one.'

hipeta may also be used more generally, like musih:

- (59) popwa iy hipeta pataman epwe
 Popwa 3sg like father-3sg only
 'Popwa is just like his father.'
- (60) ko a su?u hipeta pupi itiyen
 land POSS 3du like Pupi DEM
 'Their land was like Pupi here.'

The hipeta construction is parallel to the comparative construction (see below), with the formula:

Item compared - hipeta - Standard

while the musih constructions contain the two items compared as the

subject of a verbless sentence, of which musih is the descriptive complement.

A third possibility for stating similarity is the form lene?i, which is most often used to compare clauses or activities rather than objects (see also 7.3.1):

(61) hetow hine puriyan peti ey lene?i suwe epwe.
 3pc do work-3sg for PRO like small-yam only
 'They did the work for it just like (they did for)
 small yams'

(62) mWat ito yeni lene?i nane su?u.
 snake 3sg-HAB eat like mother 3du
 'The snake would eat the way their mother did.'

(63) nrekepwen a iy iy lene?i pa?oh iy ma kile
 behavior POSS 3sg 3sg like near 3sg INT POT-sg-go
 'His behavior is such that he is close to becoming

logow muwan
 thing bad
 an evil thing'

Both lene?i and hipeta are used in constructions other than equatives, and are discussed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2.

6.4.2 Comparative Relationships. The comparative construction consists of the following structure:

Item compared - (Verb) - Parameter - $\left. \begin{array}{c} \{ \text{ile} \\ \text{ime} \} \end{array} \right\}$ - Standard

The variation between ile and ime is dependent on the speaker's focus. Normally, if the standard is 1st or 2nd person, ime is used. However, the speaker may use either one, to indicate a closer (ime) or a more distant (ile) relationship, either spatial or psychological, between the items/persons compared and the speaker.

- (64) ke itiyɔ elewen ile ke itiyen
wood DEM long 3sg-go wood DEM
'This stick is longer than that stick.'
- (65) jonah iy pata amat ile ete timoti
Jonah 3sg old man 3sg-go AG Timothy
'Jonah is older than Timothy.'
- (66) wɔw ɕeɲim malahan ime ete yo
2sg flesh-2sg broad 3sg-come AG 1sg
'You are fatter than I am.'
- (67) epi a hetow ɕelewan ime ta uto
sago POSS 3pc much 3sg-come POSS 1pc-exr
'They made more sago than we did.'
- (68) netun iy ime hanɔ ime ete netu
child-3sg 3sg 3sg-come before 3sg-come AG child-1sg
'Her child was born before mine.'
- (69) ku itiyɔ iy huyan ile paɲataha an ɲatahan
pot DEM 3sg good 3sg-go heat water hot
'This pot is better for heating water
ile ku sih ile tah puliye
3sg-go pot one 3sg-go LOC a so
than that other one over there.'

Note that the parameter may be a single word (ɕelewan, hanɔ, etc.), or a phrase, as in huyan ile paɲataha an ɲatahan in (69).

A superlative meaning is implied when the standard of comparison consists of a defined group:

- (70) jonah iy pata amat ile famili a hetow
Jonah 3sg old man 3sg-go family POSS 3pc
'Jonah is the oldest in their family.'
- (71) fransis iy inen ile ete hetow maɕulumɔw puɕey
Francis 3sg small 3sg-go AG 3pc three together
'Francis is the smallest/youngest of the three'

Compare (71) with (72):

- (72) fransis iy inen ile ete hetow maɕulumɔw
Francis 3sg small 3sg-go AG 3pc three
'Francis is smaller than those three.'

A different construction, without ile or ime, also indicates

superlative. This construction includes a stated parameter modified by an intensifier, and a standard which takes the form of a relative clause modifying the parameter:

(73) lolɔ iy ni nap^wanan tasih tɔ laman
 whale 3sg fish big INTENS STAT deep-sea
 'The whale is the biggest fish in the ocean.'

(74) moyap iy dɛŋin nap^wanan tasih lɛʔi tɔ kɔ
 Moyap 3sg flesh-3sg big INTENS PRES STAT village
 'Moyap is the biggest/fattest man in the village.'

In both (73) and (74) it is possible to rephrase the sentence in such a way that a noun phrase occurs in the slot between the intensifier tasih and the relative clause, and the ile/ime forms are present. A paraphrase for, e.g., (75), would be (76):

(75) p^weleyah iy ni nap^wanan tasih uweh huti
 parrotfish 3sg fish big INTENS 1pl-exc catch
 'The parrotfish is the biggest fish we catch'

(76) p^weleyah iy ni nap^wanan ile ni (masih)
 parrotfish 3sg fish big 3sg-go fish (all)
 'The parrotfish is the biggest of (all) the fish

uweh huti
 1pl-exc catch
 we catch.

Compare (75-76) and (77):

(77) p^weleyah itiyɔ iy nap^wanan ile masih
 parrotfish DEM 3sg big 3sg-go all
 'This parrotfish is the biggest of all.'

In (77), masih is previously defined and restricted to a group of several parrotfish which had been caught. In (75) and (76), however, the standard of comparison is the entire set of fish species regularly caught by the Loniu.

6.5 Negation.

The negators in Loniu are pWe 'not, no' and ma sow 'not yet'.

Each may be used alone in response to a request or question:

(78) eme tɔʔu kanayan. ma sow.
2sg-come 1du-inc POT-NEG-eat. not yet.
'Come, let's eat.' 'Not yet.'

(79) sara ile tah? pWe.
Sara 3sg-go LOC? NEG
'Is Sara there?' 'No.'

To negate a verbless sentence or sentence fragment, the negator is placed following the sentence or phrase negated:

(80) itiyɔ kɔ a wɔw pWe, kɔ a yo puliye pWe
DEM land POSS 2sg NEG, land POSS 1sg also NEG
'This is not your land, nor is it mine.'

(81) itiyɔ ɔ pʷaha ɔʔuka pWe,
DEM in mouth bird NEG,
'That was not the call of the chawka bird,

itiyɔ ɔ pʷaha we tɔʔu
DEM in mouth sibling 1du-inc
that was the voice of our sister.'

(82) iy ipʷe puret ma sow
3sg 3sg-say work not yet
'She said "Don't do the work yet".

(83) ti paman pWe
tea sweet NEG
'The tea is not sweet (enough).'

(84) hepe netu ni, metiyən pWe
bit DIM fish, big NEG
'Just a little piece of fish, not a big one.'

(85) ley laʔelewen paʔɔh pWe
Lae far near NEG
'Lae is far away, not near.'

(86) hɔmɔw pasa ŋaʔan pWe
one knowledge name-3sg NEG
'No one knows her name.'

Only one example of a non-final negative occurs in the data (87); in

this sentence, the phrase kɔmu pʷe ʔɔkɔw was an intonational unit:

- (87) itɔ tɛpʷi kɔmu pʷe ʔɔkɔw
3sg-STAT chepwi word NEG Loniu
'"ito chepwi" is not a Loniu phrase.'

Verbed sentences are negated by placing the appropriate perfective marker (kili/eli/keli) in pre-verb position, and adding the negative at the end of the clause:

- (88) iy kili tɔ mete pʷe
3sg PERF CONT sleep NEG
'She isn't sleeping'
- (89) seh keli taʔi pʷeleyah pʷe
3pl PERF catch parrotfish NEG
'They didn't catch any parrotfish.'
- (90) iy kili yat ma sow
3sg PERF burn not yet
'It isn't lit yet'
- (91) yo kili inap pʷe ɛ yo kili hɔpim pʷe
1sg PERF able NEG and 1sg PERF open NEG
'I'm not strong (enough) and I can't open it'

If there is a co-verb, it also receives the perfective marker:

- (92) yo kili tewe tet kiʔi la tan pʷe
1sg PERF put ladder PERF go down NEG
'I didn't put the ladder down.'
- (93) mʷat iy kili tɔ hutɪ hepe ɕah
snake 3sg PERF HAB take bit something
'The snake would never bring anything

kili me lɔ um pʷe
PERF come in house NEG
home'

For negations of future or potentially occurring events, the future marker ya or the inchoative or intentional ma are used in conjunction with the perfective marker and the negator:

- (94) ya yo kili yaw pWe, yo kutɔw
 FUT 1sg PERF go NEG, 1sg POT-sg-STAT
 'I won't go anywhere, I'll stay here.'
- (95) ya kɔlu ɔw kili tut kiʔi la ey pWe
 FUT throat 2du PERF close PERF go PRO NEG
 'You must not forget about it.'
- (96) etow ma kanayan ɛ pWe?
 2pc INT POT-NS-eat or NEG
 'Do you want to eat or not?'
- pWe, uto ma keli yeneyan ma sow
 NEG, 1pc-exc INT PERF eat not yet
 'No, we don't want to eat yet.'
- (97) pWe. suʔu pWa tet ma kili me tan pWe
 NEG. 3du say ladder INT PERF come down NEG
 'No. They said not to put the ladder down.'

There are several examples in the data of negative sentences containing tɔ 'habitual, durative or continuative aspect', in which, rather than the full perfective forms kili tɔ, keli tɔ, or eli tɔ, a shortened k+vowel+tɔ (equivalent to the potential prefix + tɔ) occurs. When speakers notice this, however, they generally reject it in favor of the full perfective marker:

- (98) seh kɔtɔ mete pWe / seh keli tɔ mete pWe
 3pl POT-NS-HAB sleep NEG 3pl PERF HAB sleep NEG
 'They don't sleep.' (Both sentences attested, same meaning)
- (99) ni nɔɔɔ itiyen iy kitɔ ni pWe
 fish DEM DEM 3sg POT-sg-STAT fish NEG
 'That fish was no longer a fish.'
- (100) suʔu kɔtɔ hilow puʔun tan pWe
 3du POT-NS-STAT run underneath-3sg down NEG
 'They were not swimming under water.'

This variation occurs only with tɔ. It is not clear whether the shorter form is an abbreviation of the full perfective + tɔ construction or is in fact the potential form of tɔ.

6.6 The Imperative Construction.

The imperative in Loni consists of the potential form of the verb. It is most frequent in 2nd person, but 1st person non-singular imperatives also occur. No 3rd person imperatives are attested. The personal pronoun is frequently omitted for 2nd singular, but is usually present for the non-singular forms, which could be ambiguous due to the fact that the same verb form is used for all non-singular persons.

- (101) enenes
2sg-talk
'Talk! Say something!'
- (102) aw kataw
2du POT-NS-stat
'You two stay (here).'
- (103) etow kala hutu umey
2pc POT-NS-go take k.o.fruit
'Go get some "umey" fruit.'
- (104) hah keme itiyu
2pl POT-NS-come DEM
'Come here!'
- (105) ta?u keyeni e
1du-inc POT-NS-eat EMPH
'Let's eat now!'

Negative imperatives are formed with the word tapu (variant form tapu), followed by the potential form of the verb:

- (106) tapu awaw eme pelean
NEG 2sg 2sg-come on-top
'You cannot/Don't come up here!'
- (107) eyn muwan tapu eyn
smell-3sg bad NEG 2sg-drink
'It smells bad, don't drink it!'

6.7 Interrogatives.

6.7.1 The Yes-No Question. There are two ways to ask a yes-no

question in Loniu. The most common form involves only a modification of the intonation pattern. In terms of pitch levels, the basic intonation contour for a declarative sentence is (1)221 with a falling intonation, while that for a yes-no question is (2)332 with less of a falling off of pitch at the final juncture. Thus:

- (108) 3
 2 yo to yan ni ↓
 1
 'I am eating fish.'
- (109) 3
 2 yo kuyeni itiyɔ ↓
 1
 'Can I eat this?'

The salient perceptual cue to the interrogative nature of the yes-no question appears to be a combination of higher pitch level within the utterance, and less of a falling off of pitch at the terminal juncture.

The second type of yes-no question indicates that the speaker expects an affirmative answer (a type of "leading" yes-no question), and is formed by adding the question particle ε following a typically declarative sentence intonation:

- (110) 3
 2 itiyen ta wɔw ε ↑
 1
 'This is yours, right?'

The pitch of the question particle is generally somewhat higher than the intonation peak of the preceding sentence. (This particle is translated laka? in Tok Pisin, roughly equivalent to English 'Right?').

There is one attested example of a negative question, which was

levels of pitch in the intonation contour:

(115) 3
 2 ni kili me?is e ma sow ↓
 1
 fish PERF be-cooked or not yet
 'Is the fish ready yet?'

(116) 3
 2 wɔw moɔom e ma sow ↓
 1
 2sg enough-2sg or not yet
 'Are you finished yet?/Have you had enough yet?'

A third form of alternative question is formed by stating the alternatives, with or without an intervening conjunction:

(117) 3
 2 epi čikan epi we?ison ↓
 1
 sago tough sago soft
 'Is the sago tough or soft?'

(118) 3
 2 ɔ: napulum huyan e muwan ↓
 1
 oh spouse-2sg good or bad
 'Oh, is your husband handsome or ugly?'

The key feature here seems to be the fall at the end of the first alternative with a subsequent rise in the second. In addition, the fall in pitch in the first alternative does not appear to be to as low a level as the terminal fall, thus indicating, perhaps, the continuation of the utterance.

6.7.3 Information Questions. The interrogative words in Loniu are as follows:

he	'who'
čah	'what'
peti čah	'why (purpose)'
(k)ile čah	'why (reason)'

čihi	'which'
mačehe	'how many, how much'
ehe	'where (origin, destination)'
itehe	'where (location)'
tukehe	'when'
tetape	'how'
hitape	'how'

Generally, information questions are formed by placing the appropriate interrogative word in the same position in the sentence which could be occupied by the corresponding response--that is to say, there is no WH-Movement transformation in Lomi. Variations of the general formula occur for peti čah and tukehe, and are discussed in 6.7.3.3 and 6.7.3.7 respectively.

The intonation of the information question is most commonly the same as that of the declarative statement ((1)221↓), but examples of the higher pitch levels common to the yes-no and alternative questions do occur.

6.7.3.1 The Interrogative he. This form is used to ask 'who' and may be used to question any human NP in an utterance:

(119) he to takeni pat
 who CONT throw stone
 'Who is throwing stones?'

(120) mWi iyeti he
 dog 3sg-bite who
 'Who did the dog bite?'

(121) yo upWey ile ete he
 1sg 1sg-say-it 3sg-go PG who
 'Who did I say it to?'

(122) u kala ete he
 1du-exc POT-NS-go AG who
 'Who can we go to?'

(123) ay a he le?i to ete yo
 blood POSS who PRES STAT AG 1sg
 'Whose blood is on me?'

(124) etow he
 2pc who
 'Who are you people?'

The form həməw he is a variant of he, attested in only one example:

(125) həməw he ta taŋ
 one who CONT cry
 'Who is crying?'

Interrogative he may also occur in combination with the 3rd dual personal pronoun su?u, to ask "in addition to X, who else...?" This parallels the pronoun + noun construction described in 4.4,

Coordination in the NP.

(126) itiyen su?u he iye ta itiyen e təmeyan iy ta taŋ
 DEM 3du who 3sg-be LOC DEM and drum-3sg 3sg CONT cry
 'He and who else are over there beating the drums?'

6.7.3.2 The Interrogative čah. The form čah is used to question non-human NP's (127-131). There are no clear examples involving non-human animates, but on one occasion, a Loniu friend, upon seeing a new kitten in the house, asked in surprise, "itiyen čah?" 'What's that?'

(127) čah ile ete iy
 what 3sg-go AG 3sg
 'What's the matter with him?'

(128) yo kutiyani čah
 1sg POT-sg-tell what
 'What shall I tell about?'

(129) enenes komuwa ćah
2sg-talk word what
'Talk about what?'

(130) itiyō ey ćah
DEM smell what
'What is this smell?'

(131) puriyam ćah
work-2sg what
'What is your work?'

There are no examples of ćah as oblique object except for those which question cause or purpose (see 6.7.3.3); that is, no examples of the type 'What did you do it with?', questioning the instrumental NP.

6.7.3.3 The Interrogatives (k)ile ćah and peti ćah. Although it is not clear that there is a consistent distinction between the two, it seems to be most commonly the case that (k)ile ćah questions cause, while peti ćah questions purpose. The phrase (k)ile ćah, literally 'go to what', occurs at the end of the sentence:

(132) wow ta iw ile ćah? o: ċinen ime...
2sg CONT call why? oh demon 3sg-come
'Why did you call out?' 'Oh, a demon came...!'

(133) itiyen wow ta hine ma kile ćah?
DEM 2sg CONT do INT POT-why
'Why are you doing that?'

yo le?i to hine ile ćah ċaċah ipWay
1sg PRES CONT do reason papa 3sg-say-it
'I'm doing it because Papa told me to'

Unlike (k)ile ćah, which is a co-verb phrase, the prepositional phrase peti ćah may occur both initially and finally:

(134) peti ćah iy iteċ ċelewan?
for what 3sg 3sg-cry much
'Why does she cry so much?'

ma?in, kap^{wa} iy homow hipiti itiyen.
 don't-know, maybe 3sg one like DEM
 'I don't know, maybe she's just like that.'

(135) "brush" itiyen peti eah?
 brush DEM for what
 'What is that brush for?'

peti nihiya kamana
 for wash-NOM shell
 'For washing shells.'

6.7.3.4 The Interrogatives ehe and itehe. The form ehe questions place of origin or destination. The form itehe (possibly from ito ehe 'it is where'; see (143)) most often questions location (but see (140), which may be questioning origin). Both occur in final position.

(136) komuwa ehe? komuwa ^{loniu}lonokow.
 language where? language Loniu
 'Where is the language from?' 'It's from Loniu.'

(137) waw peti ehe? yo peti kansas
 2sg from where? 1sg from Kansas
 'Where are you from?' 'I am from Kansas.'

(138) ow ma kala ehe? u ma kala ^mManus
 2du INT POT-NS-go where? 1du-excl INT POT-NS-go Manus
 'Where are you going?' 'We are going to Manus.'

(139) yo kule ya ehe e yo kume ^{toh}
 1sg POT-sg-go toward where and 1sg POT-sg-come away
 'Where can I go to get away (from this)?'

(140) waw ala usun kihi itehe
 2sg 2sg-go carry firewood where
 'Where did you get your wood from?'

(141) waw itiyen e te?im itehe
 2sg DEM and sister-2sg where
 'You are here but where is your sister?'

(142) um^{we} hetow itehe
 house 3pc where
 'Where are their houses?'

In one case, both itɔ ehe and itehe were given as alternatives:

- (143) hileri itɔ ehe? hileri itehe?
Hileri 3sg-STAT where? Hileri where
'Where is Hileri?'

6.7.3.5 The Interrogative ċihi. The form ċihi occurs in prenominal position, and questions 'which':

- (144) ċihi kɔ ta ɲɔh? hay ta ɲɔh
which wind CONT blow? west-wind CONT blow
'Which wind is blowing?' 'The west wind is blowing.'
- (145) kansas tɔ ċihi kɔ
Kansas STAT which land
'Kansas is in which land?'
- (146) wɔw ta ɲɔ ċihi puriyam
2sg CONT do which work-2sg
'Which of your jobs/tasks are you doing?'
- (147) ċihi lomata komu ya yo kupwey puliye
which kind word FUT 1sg POT-sg-say-it again
'What other kinds of words can I say? What else can I say?'

In the last example, the direct object has been fronted, or topicalized, leaving the -y object suffix as trace (see 6.8).

See 4.2.3 for a discussion of the use of ċihi as determiner in the noun phrase.

6.7.3.6 The Interrogative mačehɛ. The form mačehɛ follows the noun, asking 'how much' or 'how many':

- (148) ɲesumʷan a wɔw čumweyan mačehɛ?
smoke POSS 2sg packet-3sg how-many
'How many packets of cigarettes do you have?'
- (149) hetow amat mačehɛ la tɔ kɔ?
3pc human how-many go STAT land
'How many people are there in the village?'
- (153) wɔw ɔlomwi pe?ɛ wɔs a wɔw mačehɛ?
2sg 2sg-plant handle taro POSS 2sg how many
'How many taro stems did you plant?'

- (151) an maʕehe ta ete wɔw
 water how-much LOC AG 2sg
 'How much water do you have?'

6.7.3.7 The Interrogative tukehe. While the form tukehe was readily provided as the equivalent for English 'when' (Tok Pisin wanem taim), it occurs only three times in connected speech in the data: twice in direct questions and once in an embedded question.

- (152) tukehe u kɔpɔʔɔnɔsani netu u?
 when 1du-exc POT-NS-adorn child 1du-exc
 'When shall we adorn our daughter?'
- (153) lɔhɔliyan tukehe hetow me
 period-of-time when 3pc come
 'When did they come?'
- (154) ta ete wɔw epwe hipiti wɔw ɔpwa tukehe
 POSS AG 2sg only so 2sg 2sg-think when
 'It's entirely up to you, whenever you think
- tɔʔu kɔwɔp
 1du-inc POT-NS-escape
 we should escape.'

Temporal adverbials, whether a single word or a phrase, may occur either preceding or following the sentence nucleus (subject - verb - object):

- (155) mahu tɔʔu kɔwɔp
 tomorrow 1du-inc POT-NS-escape
 'Tomorrow we'll escape.'
- (156) yo ule lɔʔɔŋow piŋehe
 1sg 1sg-go Lorengau yesterday
 'I went to Lorengau yesterday.'

Although there are no examples of tukehe in final position in the recorded and transcribed data, my recollections of conversations and general day-to-day exchanges among the Loniu people are that tukehe may also occur in final position.

6.7.3.8 The Interrogatives tetape and hitape. The interrogative

words tetape and hitape question manner. The form tetape tends to occur when the question involves non-human nouns (157) or activities (158), while hitape occurs most often in situations where the condition of human referents is the subject of inquiry (159-160):

- (157) puriyan tetape?
 work-3sg how
 'What does one do with it? How does one use/do it?'
- (158) ya yo kip^{wey} kile ete iy tetape?
 FUT 1sg POT-sg-say-it POT-sg-go AG 3sg how
 'How can I tell it to him?'
- (159) w^{ow} hitape w^{ow} tewe p^{waham}?
 2sg how 2sg put mouth-2sg
 'What's the matter with you, that you cried out?'
- (160) hetow hitape hetow keli me p^{we}?
 3pc how 3pc PERF come neg
 'What happened to them, that they didn't come?'

However, the two are not strictly separate. One speaker gave hitape as the form to use when asking what was wrong with the radio, and said as well that both forms would be acceptable in the frame:

- (161) ya w^{ow} ap^{wa} k^{omu} itiy _____?
 FUT 2sg 2sg-say word DEM how
 'How would you say this word?'

A third form, kihitate, occurs in a recurrent phrase indicating annoyance (162). It is similar to a 1sg/3sg potential verb form (see 5.1.1.3.1). However, it is not clear what the actual components of this form are.

- (162) ma kihitate kime ete w^{ow}
 and how POT-come AG 2sg

This was translated as Maski long yu! in Tok Pisin--the English equivalent is something like 'Who cares about you!'.

The form tetape is also found in sentence-initial position, with

a falling intonation and a clear pause preceding the remainder of the utterance, which is in the form of an alternative question:

(163) tetape, tuwenan e sehisah?
 how, true or false
 'How is it, true or false?'

(164) tetape, pe?esih tɔ?u kala mʷanus e pʷe?
 how, one-time 1du-inc POT-NS-go Manus or NEG
 'What do you think, will we go to Manus some day?'

6.8 Object Fronting and Copying

Both direct objects and oblique objects may be moved to the initial position in the sentence. This strategy appears to be used for purposes of focus or topicalization, and occurs frequently in connected discourse. In the case of the movement of the direct object, generally the form of the verb indicates its transitivity (see 3.4.1.1), and in some cases the pronominal suffix -y occurs in the position vacated by the direct object (168, 169).

(165) e lɔŋɔw itiyɔ etow keme sɔ?i kile lɔ tas
 and thing DEM 2pc POT-NS-come throw POT-sg-go in sea
 'And this thing you come and throw into the sea'

(166) ma?in ɕihɪ ʔrekepʷen ya iy kihineni
 maybe which behavior FUT 3sg POT-sg-do
 'I don't know what he will do'

(167) su?u pʷa paŋ itiyen ya u kɔhɔti...
 3du say spear DEM FUT 1du-exc POT-NS-take
 'They said "These spears we will take..."'

(168) epi seh patupu uweh seh patama uweh seh tay
 sago 3pl grandfather 1pl-exc 3pl father 1pl-exc 3pl beat-it
 'Sago, our fathers and grandfathers made it'

(169) ɕelewan kili lɔs e ɕelewan uweh le?i tɔ pɔtɔwey
 many PERF fall and many 1pl-exc PRES CONT hold-it
 'Many are gone and many we still have.'

One example of a fronted sentential object is attested; in this case, the main verb contains the inanimate object suffix -y:

- (170) pinehe yo hineni čah yo le?e čah ya yo kup^{wey}
 yesterday 1sg do what 1sg see what FUT 1sg POT-sg-say-it
 'What I did yesterday, what I saw, I will tell it'

If the fronted direct object is human, a pronominal trace occurs in the post-verbal position:

- (171) ε netun r^{ro}pp itiyen su?u to haŋ iy...
 and child-3sg DEM DEM 3du CONT feed 3sg
 'And that child, they were feeding him...'
- (172) su?u me ko r^{ro}pp nato su?u su?u luwe iy,
 3du come village RC grandmother 3du 3du leave 3sg
 'They came to the village where their grandmother, they had left her,
- iy a its ey itiyen
 3sg still 3sg-STAT PRO DEM
 she was still there.'

When an inanimate oblique object is fronted, the pronoun ey occurs in the original position:

- (173) čihi p^wahačan ɔw ma ka?ase kile ey
 which road 2du INT POT-NS-walk POT-sg-go PRO
 'Whatever you decide (lit. whatever road you walk on)
- yo to pum^{wi}?i ɔw
 1sg CONT behind 2du
 I am behind you'
- (174) epi puret peti ey hipeta itiyɔ
 sago work for PRO like DEM
 'Sago, the way to prepare it, is like this'

Objects may also be copied in sentence initial position:

- (175) ε ni, su?u la ni ma?amɔw ŋa?an kem^wa?ay
 and fish, 3du go fish two name-3sg red-cod
 'And fish, they became two fish called red cod'
- (176) epi heno seh natupu uweh
 sago before 3pl grandfather 1pl-exc
 'Sago, before, our grandfathers
- seh lom^{wi} epi malimeyey
 3pl plant sago five
 planted five kinds of sago palms'

Chapter VII

Coordination, Subordination, and Sentence Connectors

7.1 Paratactic Structures

The majority of multiple-clause constructions in Loniu are paratactic in nature, strings of independent clauses which are simply juxtaposed, contain no overt subordinator or coordinator, and are intonationally a unit. The chained clauses usually consist of a series of activities which are named in the order in which they occur (or would occur) chronologically.

- (1) (a) iy pihin iy nuti kawa
3sg woman 3sg 3sg-take basket
'The woman takes the basket,
- (b) iy ikuni epi ta kawa
3sg 3sg-carry sago LOC basket
carries the sago in the basket,
- (c) ikuni ile pase an
3sg-carry 3sg-go chin water
carries it to the water's edge
- (d) iy itewey ile kup^{w1}
3sg 3sg-out-it 3sg-go trough
and puts it into the trough'

The example in (1) contains four separate clauses, three of which (a,b,d) contain both a subject and a verb phrase predicate, and one of which (c) lacks a stated subject. The four clauses were spoken with no pauses between them, and with a slightly rising intonation at the end of each nonfinal clause. The falling intonation characteristic of the final portion of a declarative sentence in Loniu (2.5.2) does not occur until the end of the final clause.

There were also no significant pauses in (2):

(2) (a) huyan nana pe?asih yo kuwah
 good mother-1sg one-time 1sg POT-sg-fly
 'OK, mother, tomorrow I will fly

kile ko elewen
 POT-sg-go land far
 to far-away lands

(b) yo kukehi ċihi ċohona to?u
 1sg POT-sg-search-for which place 1du-inc
 I will search for some place for us

(c) ya to?u kala ač kile ey
 FUT 1du-inc POT-NS-go hide POT-sg-go PRO
 where we can go hide.'

The sentence-medial intonations at the ends of each of the two non-final clauses (a,b) in (2) were slightly rising. Not until the phrase kile ey in (c) did the sentence-final falling intonation occur.

The subjects of the chained clauses are not necessarily the same. In those cases where the subjects are different, the activities described may be interpreted as occurring simultaneously rather than chronologically:

(3) kečepwe ito ta kečepwe hisuwe ito in suwe
 Kečepwe 3sg-CONT catch bat Hisuwe 3sg-CONT dig yam
 'Kečepwe was catching bats, Hisuwe was digging yams.'

(4) waw itipō ċineri ime lih ete waw?
 2sg DEM demon 3sg-come ?? AG 2sg
 'You were here and the demon came to you?'

In addition, many clauses which occur in chains like those exemplified above contain no stated subject. These are often translated into Tok Pisin with the subject unstated as well, and only in some cases can the subject be understood to be a NP stated with an earlier verb in the same sentence. In (5), for example, the brother, not the sister who is in ritual isolation, is doing the cooking. Yet

the brother is not mentioned in this sentence, except as the 3rd singular possessive suffix on the noun wE- 'sibling of the opposite sex'.

- (5) wen its lɔ ɕw mapeŋ ep^{we}
 sibling-3sg 3sg-STAT in mat morning only
 'His sister was in isolation, it was morning,

tuwani man a iy, tuwani lɔ?ɔn a iy
 boil taro POSS 3sg, boil leaf-3sg POSS 3sg
 he boiled her taro, boiled her vegetables,

its lɔ ku itɔw
 3sg-STAT in pot 3sg-STAT
 and left them in the pot'

In the absence of any nonsingular pronoun, the verb tuwani would seem to be unmarked for person, but it is clear from the context of the story that the brother is the one doing the cooking. Thus if deletion under identity is the explanation for lack of subject here, it goes beyond the limits of the sentence, and relies on discourse level analysis for comprehension.

- (6) su?u kɔɕwɛni iy, epi ime lɔ um,
 3du adorn 3sg, sago 3sg-come in house,
 'They adorn her, the sago comes to the house,

tewe epi ile pele um
 put sago 3sg-go near house
 (they) put the sago near the house,

kɔɕwani iy pihɪn, netow yawesani iy
 adorn 3sg woman, 3pc parade 3sg
 (they) adorn the woman, they parade her

itewe papuwe, tewe lɔmu-kuh, tewe ɕelaw,
 3sg-put headdress, put feathers, put cloth
 put on a headdress, feathers, put a cloth

tewe ile palan, yawesani iy
 put 3sg-go head-3sg, parade 3sg
 on her head, (they) parade her

ile sipi ime sipi
 3sg-go half 3sg-come half
 up and down'

In (6), the stated subject of the verb kɔsɔwɛni is suʔu, and was translated as Tok Pisin entupela. However, the first occurrence of the verbs tewe and kɔsɔwani were given ɔl '3pl' as their subjects in the translation. The stated subject of the first occurrence of yawesani is hetow, which was also translated as ɔl. As for the remainder of the subjectless clauses, no subject was stated in the Tok Pisin translation. These may well be examples of a kind of impersonal or passive-type construction, for which the actual actor is not important. Instead, the series of activities is the focus.

Frequently, when an early clause in a series contains a potential verb form (5.1.1.3.1), it is equivalent to a 'when' or 'if' clause. Especially when the intentional/inchoative particle ma (5.1.1.3.4) is present, the interpretation is often 'when' (7-9):

- (7) itow itow iy ma kumɔn ma kilɛ
 3sg-STAT 3sg-STAT 3sg INT POT-sg-return INT POT-sg-go
 'Time passed, and when she returned,

suʔu mɔpɔhwe sih ile laʔelewen sih ile puwɔn
 3du break-open one 3sg-go long one 3sg-go short
 the two were broken open, one was long and one short'

- (8) hilepepohoɕ ʔrɔpɔ itiyen iy ma kime lele
 Hilepepohoch DEM DEM 3sg INT POT-sg-come look
 'When Hilepepohoch was waking up,

eye wen iy kili huti iy
 blood sibling-3sg 3sg PERF take 3sg
 her brother's blood had gotten on her.'

- (9) itiyen e hetow la hetow ma kala
 DEM and 3pc go 3pc INT POT-NS-go
 'And so they went, and when they went,

pu ʔnɔpɔ itiyen iy kiʔi la hɔmɔw hi amat
 banana DEM DEM 3sg PERF go one fem human
 that banana had become a human female.'

However, it is not the case that all ma + potential forms are interpreted as 'when' clauses:

(10) yo kutɔw yo ma kuɲɛk kɪle ɪɔ pɔv
 1sg POT-sg-STAT 1sg INT POT-sg-climb POT-sg-go in rafter
 'I'll stay here, I'm going to climb up into the rafters,

ɛ ɕinen iy ma kɪmɛ ɪw
 and demon 3sg INT POT-sg-come call
 and when the demon comes and calls

itiyen etewɛ tɛt kɪle tan
 DEM 2sg-put ladder POT-sg-go down
 then you put the ladder down'

Nor is it the case that only ma + potential forms are interpreted as 'when' clauses. 'When' clauses can also be clauses introduced by kɪle, containing the potential verb form without ma (see also (18)-(20) below):

(11) kɪle ni kɪmɛʔɪs etow kesuwa ɛpi
 POT-sg-go fish POT-sg-be-done 2pc POT-NS-fry sago
 'When the fish is done, fry up some sago.'

or clauses with the verb in the non-potential form:

(12) tɛn heluɲɪ iy hetow pasan
 feces-3sg cover 3sg 3pc knowledge-3sg
 'When the feces cover it, they know

pʷɛleyah iy kɪli mat
 parrotfish 3sg PERF die
 the parrotfish has died

A 'when' interpretation is also made possible by the use of an 'day' in clause-initial position. The presence of an makes the clause which it introduces dependent--it must be followed by a further clause in order for the sentence to be complete (see also (79) in Chapter IV for a relative clause construction which is similar to the structure

of (13) below):

(13) an its ek ile now, itiyen sen pinin
day 3sg-CONT grow 3sg-go stake, DEM 3pl woman
'When it grows up the stake, then the women

seh la hakeleyani ile now
3pl go wind 3sg-go stake
go and wind it around the stake'

The form given originally for the sentence in (13), in the taped narrative, was Tok Pisin taim instead of Loniu an, but an was substituted in the dictated version, as the speaker wanted to avoid the use of Tok Pisin.

'When' clauses are also introduced by lenE?i or hipeta, which are discussed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 respectively.

Without ma, but with the potential form of the verb (and in at least one case, (15), the perfective with ya), the interpretation may be 'if':

(14) napulu iy kipwe ehe ya komu a u
spouse-1sg 3sg POT-sg-say yes FUT word POSS 1du-exc
'If my wife says "Yes", our words will

kime tahow kime ete wdw
POT-sg-come appear POT-sg-come AG 2sg
come to you,

u ke?eli wdw wdw eme
1du-exc POT-NS-call 2sg, 2sg 2sg-come
we will call you, (and then) you come'

(15) sih ya hetow keli le?e pwe
one FUT 3pc PERF see NEG
'...The other case is if they don't see anything,

hetow tele law mwenen hetow le?e
3pc canoe net straight 3pc see
the men in the canoes with the nets will
themselves see,

hetow ta?iy ile kəḵə?əḵə a hetow epWe
 3pc catch-them 3sg-go thought POSS 3pc only
 and they fish according to their own opinions'

The 'if' clause may contain no verb at all:

- (16) mahu mWa?ay yo kučəč
 tomorrow calm 1sg POT-sg-body-surf
 'If tomorrow is nice, I'll body surf.'
- (17) ḥrəḵə lenin pWe, čuto kala kəḵəḵə
 today rain NEG, 1pc-inc POT-NS-go Lorengau
 'If it doesn't rain today, we'll go to Lorengau'

The form kile is used by some younger speakers to introduce both 'if' and 'when' clauses (see also (11) above):

- (18) uto pasan pWe. kile čanəḥ
 1pc-exc knowledge-3sg NEG. POT-sg-go Chanəḥ
 'We don't know. When Chanəḥ
- kile iy pasan
 POT-sg-come 3sg knowledge-3sg
 comes (he's expected), he knows,
- ya iy kipWey
 FUT 3sg POT-sg-say-it
 he'll tell us.'
- (19) kile keyləb kitə itiyə ya iy kipwey
 POT-sg-go Caleb POT-sg-STAT DEM FUT 3sg POT-sg-say-it
 'If Caleb were here (but he isn't), he would tell us.'
- (20) kile hipeta yo ikat kə
 POT-sg-go Ilike 1sg sg-have land
 'If I had land (but I don't),

ya yo kičən enum a yo
 FUT 1sg POT-sg-clear garden POSS 1sg
 I would clear a garden for myself

kile ey
 POT-sg-go PRO
 on it'

Note that (19) and (20) are 'contrary-to-fact' sentences; these are the only two examples of this type attested.

While there is no specific, consistent syntactic marking nor

overt morphological cue indicating any dependency between or among juxtaposed clauses, there may be close semantic relationships such as 'cause-effect', 'if-then', etc., which speakers may or may not interpret as being present in a given series of clauses. There may in fact be clues to indicate whether such meanings are intended, but they are neither syntactic nor morphological in nature, and do not appear to be intonational/phonological. Thus a single sentence may have several possible interpretations. In several instances, speakers offered alternative translations of a sentence:

(21) ya yo kuhujan ala yo kuisisimi huyan
 FUT 1sg POT-sg-rest first 1sg POT-sg-think well
 'I'll rest first and I'll think well'
 OR 'I'll rest first so that I can think well'

(22) iy iyew itc mcmctani pɔ puwe
 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-CONT spit-out juice betel-nut
 'As she went down she was spitting out the betel nut
 juice'
 OR 'She went down and she was spitting out the betel nut
 juice'

ʔɪpɔpɔ itc pʷahan
 RC 3sg-STAT mouth-3sg
 which was in her mouth'

7.2 Coordination.

There are three coordinate conjunctions which may be used to conjoin clauses in Loniu: ɛ 'and, or, but'; ma 'and, with, together with'; ɛpʷe or hepe ɛpʷe 'but'. In addition, the Tok Pisin form o 'or' has been borrowed into Loniu, and is attested in one instance as 'and' rather than 'or'. However, coordination need not be overtly stated, at least in the case of 'and' or 'but' (there are no attested examples of the meaning 'or' without an overt conjunction).

Coordination of constituents smaller than a clause are discussed

elsewhere: coordination of nouns and NP's, as well as of prepositional phrases, in 4.4; of VP's and co-verb phrases, in 5.2.6; and coordination of nonverbal predicates in 6.1.6.

7.2.1 The Coordinating Conjunction ɛ. Statistically the most commonly occurring of the coordinating conjunctions, ɛ can mean 'and', 'or', or 'but'. In addition to conjoining sentences, as exemplified in (23) through (27) below, it is attested as conjoining NP's and prepositional phrases; VP's and co-verb phrases; and non-verbal predicates. It may also be used sentence initially (28, 29). Normally, the meaning is 'and', but both 'but' and 'or' are attested translations of ɛ.

(23) peʔekakan wak ɛ ŋɔn ŋeŋey
 shin-3sg bowed and nose-3sg pocked
 'He has bowed legs and a pock-marked nose'

(24) yo yeliŋi hah ɛ yo ma kuto ete hah ala
 1sg like 2pl and 1sg INT POT-sg-STAT AG 2pl first
 'I like you and I want to stay with you now,

ɛ ya yo kili yaw pWe
 and FUT 1sg PERF go NEG
 and I will not go away.'

(25) itiyen ni pWe ɛ itiyen teʔiw
 DEM fish NEG but DEM sibling-1sg
 'That is not a fish, but is my sister.'

(26) suʔu hi amat ɛ suʔu hi ċinen?
 3du fem human or 3du fem demon
 'Are they human women or are they demons?'

(27) ko ito peŋ ɛ yo uto pun
 land 3sg-CONT night and 1sg 1sg-CONT sew
 'It was nighttime and I was sewing

ɛ lamp ito yat...
 and lamp 3sg-CONT burn
 and the lamp was lit...'

(28) ϵ hipiti komu peti ka ϵ peti taya
 and like word from land and for catching
 'So the story about Loniu and catching

p^weleyah hipiti itiyen
 parrotfish like DEM
 parrotfish is thus'

(29) ϵ waw e ϵ lih elewen...?
 and 2sg 2sg-PERF-go ?? far
 'And did you go far...?'

7.2.2 The Coordinating Conjunction ma. The conjunction ma was translated as 'and' and 'with'. When the meaning is 'and', speakers indicated that both ϵ and ma may be used, at least in some instances. In addition to conjoining clauses (30-31), ma is also attested as conjoining NP's, and there is one example of prepositional phrases conjoined by ma. However, there are no examples of co-verb phrases, verbs, VP's, or non-verbal predicates conjoined with ma.

Note that the conjunction ma differs from the intentional/inchoative particle ma in that the former occurs in the frames NP__NP, S__S, and PP__PP, while the latter occurs only in preverbal position, preceding the potential form of the verb. Of course, the meanings also differ.

(30) su?u tewe komu a iy, ta petu su?u
 3du put word POSS 3sg, POSS child 3du
 'They give their child's answer

...ma su?u mon
 ...and 3du return
 ...and they return'

(31) petu su?u kaman iy ip^we ehe yo yeliŋi
 child 3du male 3sg 3sg-say yes 1sg like
 'Their son says "Yes, I like it",

ma loḥḥa iy yo'ose
 and thing 3sg walk
 and the agreement is reached'

7.2.3 The Coordinating Conjunction ɔ. The conjunction ɔ is borrowed from Tok Pisin, and while it occurs quite frequently in the taped narratives, and was heard regularly in conversations in the village, Loniū speakers are aware that it is not an original Loniū word, and prefer to replace it with Loniū ɛ in the dictated versions of narratives. In addition to conjoining clauses (32-33), ɔ is used to conjoin NP's, prepositional phrases, and co-verb phrases. There are no examples of ɔ used to conjoin VP's or non-verbal predicates.

(32) hetow tene ɔ hetow suwani tun
 3pc paddle or 3pc pole canoe
 'They paddle or pole the canoe'

(33) seh leʔe wenev... ɔ seh leʔe kili wenev pʷe
 3pl see 3sg-enough...or 3pl see PERF enough NEG
 '(If) they see it is enough...or (if) they see it isn't enough'

7.2.4 The Coordinating Conjunction (hepe) epʷe. This form is used only to conjoin clauses, and means 'but, however'. This phrase may be composed of hepe '(a) bit' and epʷe 'only, just', but none of the speakers who used it suggested such a connection. The variation between hepe epʷe and epʷe appears to be unpredictable.

(34) an a yo iy kile paʔh,
 day POSS 1sg 3sg POT-sg-go near,
 'My time is almost over,

hepe epʷe ya yo kili yaw pʷe
 but FUT 1sg PERF go NEG
 but I won't go away,

yo kuto ete han ala
 1sg POT-sg-STAT AG 2pl first
 I'll stay with you now.'

(35) $\eta a^?a$ nametiye η $\eta a^?an$ $\dot{c}i^?ih$ $\underline{ep^?we}$ law iy ti law
 name big name-3sg net but net 3sg EMPH net
 'the cover term is "chi'ih", but the "law" net is
 one kind
 laweyap iy ti laweyap
 k.o.net 3sg EMPH k.o.net
 the "laweyap" net is another kind.'

(36)...iy $\eta ahan$ η iy le $\eta e^?i$ $\eta ipeta$ ile $\dot{c}ipitan$
 3sg sour or 3sg like like 3sg-go bitter
 '..it was sour or like it was bitter,

\underline{hepe} $\underline{ep^?we}$ iy $e\eta eyan$ a $\eta etow$ $\eta etow$ to yeni
 but 3sg food POSS 3pc 3pc HAB eat
 but it was their food and they would eat it'

In one case, the taped version of a narrative contained only the form $\underline{ep^?we}$, but the speaker supplied the full $\underline{hepe ep^?we}$ in the dictated version:

(37) $su^?u$ to yeni. (\underline{hepe}) $\underline{ep^?we}$ $su^?u$ to yeni
 3du HAB eat but 3du HAB eat
 'They would eat it. But when they ate it

$su^?u$ to $e\eta et$
 3du HAB vomit
 they would vomit.'

7.2.5 Coordination with No Overt Conjunction. In multiple clause sentences composed of clauses which occur in a series, with no coordinator or subordinator (see 7.1), a particular type of coordination may be implied. In such cases, the context allows for interpretation of the type of coordination intended--'and' or 'but'. There are no examples of an implied 'or'; all cases of disjunction are overtly marked by the use of either \underline{e} or $\underline{\eta}$.

(38) \underline{e} iy e ηe \underline{e} \underline{imete} iy \underline{kili} \underline{mete} $\underline{p^?we}$
 and 3sg lie-down and 3sg-sleep 3sg PERF sleep NEG
 'And she lay down to sleep but she didn't sleep,

itɔ mamat ep^we, aŋ ɪselay
 3sg-STAT awake only, day 3sg-break
 she stayed awake until daybreak.

- (39) kaman e pihin su?u yo?ose huyan su?u ehe huyan
 male and female 3du walk good 3du lie-down good
 'The man and woman get along well (and) live together
 well'

7.3 Subordination

In addition to the paratactic juxtaposition of clauses in a chain and the use of coordinating conjunctions to join clauses, the Loniu language employs three forms which are used as clause subordinators: lene?i, hipeta, and weney. The first two, lene?i and hipeta, share many structures and functions, while the third, weney, is much more limited in both distribution and meaning.

7.3.1 The Subordinator lene?i. When this form is followed by NP, it is used as a comparative (see also 6.4):

- (40) m^wi?in ɔw ke?e?iti ke lene?i nas
 later 2du POT-NS-cut wood like digging-stick
 'Then you cut a piece of wood like a digging stick'
- (41) ay a iy ime ɕahow lene?i eletu netukan
 blood POSS 3sg 3sg-come appear like egg bird
 'Her blood became like a bird's egg'
- (42) m^wat itɔ yeni lene?i nane su?u
 snake 3sg-HAB eat like mother 3du
 'The snake would eat like their mother did'

lene?i may also introduce a full sentence, and in such constructions has the meanings 'such that' or 'as though':

- (43) n^rekewen a iy lene?i pa?ɕh iy ma kile
 behavior POSS 3sg like near 3sg INT pot-sg-go
 'His behavior is as if he may become

לכחן muwan
 thing bad
 an evil thing'

(44) tun ma?uwey iy lene?i hetow masɔŋɔn sih
 canoe two 3sg like 3pc ten one
 'There are two canoes, such that there are ten men

hetow masɔŋɔn sih
 3pc ten one
 in each one'

(45) ɔ itiyɔ lene?i amat tɔ kɔ sipi itiyɔ
 oh DEM like human STAT land one DEM
 'Oh, it looks like there are people over there'

(46) ya yo kupwey lene?i nah ma ka?anej
 FUT 1sg POT-sg-say-it like 2pl INT POT-pl-hear-it
 'I'll tell (about) it so that you can hear it'

Thus lene?i may connect an NP with a following NP (40), an S with a following NP (41, 42); an NP with a following S (43-45); or two S's (46).

Two speakers used the form lene?i to mean 'when' (see also 7.1). In most of the examples of this type, the word used initially was Tok Pisin taim, and the lene?i form was substituted in the dictated version as preferable to the Tok Pisin and as equivalent in meaning:

(47) ɛ lene?i seh la seh keli ta?i pweleyah pwe
 CONJ like 3pl go 3pl PERF catch parrotfish NEG
 'And when they go and they don't catch any fish,

seh la mon
 3pc go return
 they come back'

(48) seh ɔa?iti neti ke inen lene?i suwe ime ek
 3pl cut DIM wood small like yam 3sg-come grow
 'They cut a small piece of wood when the yams come up,

itiyen neti ke inen seh tɔ pɔsɔwe now
 DEM DIM wood small 3pl HAB call stake
 a little piece of wood they call a stake'

While not every instance of lene?i as 'when' is a dictated substitute for the spontaneous use of Tok Pisin taim, the majority are. One of the speakers who uses lene?i as 'when' also uses it to mean 'like,

such that', which is the more common usage.

The same speaker also used the form an 'day' to replace tam (see (13) above). The difference may be related to the specificity of the time period involved, such that an is used when a particular day is indicated while lene?i is used when a more general time period is involved. However, due to the scarcity of examples and to the limited use of lene?i as a temporal subordinator, no definite statements can be made at this point. It is very possible that the temporal use of lene?i is a relatively recent expansion of its functions, perhaps in response to pressure or influence from the Tok Pisin syntactic strategies of subordination (see, for example, Ingemann (forthcoming)).

7.3.2 The Subordinator hipeta. The form hipeta and its variants hipiti, hipera, and hipiri may be used in comparative constructions. Like lene?i, they may compare two NP's, indicating that one NP is like the other (see also 6.4):

(49) itiyɔ hipeta itiyɔ
 lene?i
 DEM like DEM
 'This one is like that one'

One speaker indicated that "sometimes" lene?i and hipeta are the same in meaning. It seems likely that this type of comparative construction is one of those times.

The form hipeta may also be used to introduce a clause or sentence, and in such constructions has the general meaning 'like, so (that)':

(50) lele peti ey hipeta nato u
 look of PRO like grandmother 1du-exc
 'It looks like our grandmother

iy a ile tah
 3sg still 3sg-go LOC
 is still there'

(lene?i was also accepted in place of hipeta in (50)).

(51) yo ta čumwi komu a wɔw epwe hipeta tɔ?u
 1sg CONT agree word POSS 2sg only so 1du-inc
 'I agree with what you say, so let's

ke?eli netu tɔ?u pihin iy kime
 POT-NS-call child 1du-inc female 3sg POT-sg-come
 call our daughter to come'

(52) seh la hutu ime e hipeta ŋa?a seh seh le?i tɔ
 3pl go take 3sg-come and so name 3pl 3pl PRES STAT
 'They brought them back, and thus their names are still
 used'

(53) e hipeta ile mWenen ile aŋ malimeh su?u ma
 and thus 3sg-go straight 3sg-go day five 3du INT
 'And thus right on the fifth day, when they

kele?ey ime čahow mWenen
 POT-NS-see-it 3sg-come appear straight
 went to look, it was rising night up

ile kakawah a iy
 3sg-go grave POSS 3sg
 out of his grave'

(54) hetow tow tow tow hipeta hetow masih hetow mat
 3pc STAT STAT STAT thus 3pc all 3pc die
 'They lived there for a long time, and thus they all
 died

hipwetu e amey su?u tow
 Hipwetu and Amey 3du STAT
 and only Hipwetu and Amey remained'

There are also a number of sentences in which the meaning of
hipeta was given as 'if' or 'when':

(55) iy amat itiyen..iy kilī me hipeta iy kile
 3sg man DEM ... 3sg PERF come if 3sg POT-sg-go
 'When that man comes, if he

iwi?iw ...wɔw eɔumwi iy
 call-out... 2sg 2sg-answer 3sg
 calls out, ...you answer him'

(56) ka a u itiyɔ e hipiri tɔ?u
 land POSS 1du-exc DEM and if 1du-inc
 'This is our land (my grandmother & me) and if we
 (you and I)

ka?ase hipiri itiyɔ
 POT-NS-walk like DEM
 walk this way,

ya tɔ?u keme ay
 FUT 1du-inc POT-NS-come PRG
 we will come to it'

(57) ɔw kolɔmwi yo..
 2du POT-NS-plant 1sg...
 'Bury me...

hipeta ɔw kolɔmwi yo kile pwiɕ,
 when 2du POT-NS-plant 1sg POT-sg-go be-finished,
 when you have finished burying me,

ɔw kɔtɔ ɔɔɔne aɔ a yo
 2du POT-NS-CONT count day poss 1sg
 you must count my days...'

(58) huyan iɛ?i tɔw e hipiri ɔw ma kaw epwe
 good PRES STAT and when 2du INT POT-NS-go only
 'OK, leave them here, and when you are ready to go,

ɔw keme
 2du POT-NS-come
 come here'

There were also several instances of hipeta for which no clear gloss
 was forthcoming:

(59) itiyen hipiri ŋan itiyɔ ile tɔ lon
 DEM like sun DEM 3sg-go STAT inside-3sg
 'Then the sun is/would be going down'

(60) koconay a uweh p^wahataalan ^hrekep^{wen} peti ey
 marriage POSS 1pl-exc road-3sg behavior of PRO
 'Our marriage ceremonies, the procedures, the customs
 involved,

hipeta yo ma kunenes kile ey
 ?? 1sg INT POT-sg-talk POT-sg-go PRO
 I am going to talk about them

nah ka[?]aney huyan
 2pl POT-NS-hear-it well
 you listen well'

There are a number of examples of sentences which include hipeta in combination with one of the other two subordinators, lene[?] or weney (see 7.3.3):

(61) an a iy iy lene[?] hipeta iy ma kimet
 day POSS 3sg 3sg like 3sg INT POT-sg-die
 'His days were such that he was dying'

(62) hetow tow tow tow hipeta lene[?]
 3pc STAT STAT STAT such-that
 'They stayed there so long that

hetow to tow itiyen
 3pc STAT give-birth DEM
 they had children'

(Tok Pisin: 'Ol i stap i stap olsem ol laik stap kanim
 pikinini nau.')

(63) seh puti lotay weney hipeta suwe ep^we
 3pl pull weed 3sg-until so yae only
 'They pull out the weeds so that only the yams

iy kime ma
 3sg POT-sg-come ripe
 get ripe'

The combinations of hipeta with lene[?] or weney seem to have the meanings of either one or the other of the two combined forms. When weney is involved, the Tok Pisin was usually inap olsem; when lene[?] co-occurred with hipeta, the Tok Pisin was usually just olsem

It should also be pointed out that both hipeta and lene[?] may

occur following the coordinating conjunction *g*--see examples (47), (52), (53), (56) and (58).

7.3.3 The Subordinator *weney*. The form *weney* is classified as a verb, since it occurs with the normal verbal inflections and can serve as the main verb of a sentence, with the meaning 'be able, be sufficient':

(64) yo kili weney p^we
1sg PERF able NEG
'I am unable (physically); I can't'

(65) petot a iy iweney
strength POSS 3sg 3sg-sufficient
'His strength is sufficient'

ile huti lo^gow itiyen
3sg-go take thing DEM
'to pick up that thing'

(66) hipeta manu deni hetow kile buyan
if tomorrow flesh 3pc POT-3sg-go good
'If they are better tomorrow,

hetow kweney hetow keme sukul
3pc POT-NS-able 3pc POT-NS-come school
'if they are able, they will come to school'

This verb is also used in co-verb constructions (see 5.2). When it is followed by a NP, the meaning is 'up to, until, as far as':

(67) iy ite?eqani iweney a^g malimeh
3sg 3sg-wait 3sg-until day five
'She waited until the fifth day'

(68) iy icē?iti m^wat iweney dupun masaqat
3sg 3sg-cut snake 3sg-until piece 100
'She cut the snake up into 100

o dupun ma?uqet
or piece 200
or 200 pieces'

(69) kaw a su?u hilow wENEY ko masin pu?ey
 spell POSS 3du run 3sg-until land all together
 'The spell reached as far as all the lands'

(70) titiye peti ko ?aloke... ime wENEY
 story of land Chaloke...3sg-come 3sg-until
 'The story about Chaloke...comes as far as (and
 includes)

ime n?okom?opun
 3sg-come grandchild-3sg
 the grandchildren'

The verb wENEY may also function as a sentence connector. In such cases, the two sentences involved are each independent main clause constructions and could stand alone with no modification. The presence of wENEY between the two indicates a causal relationship between them, in the sense that the first sentence provides the circumstances for the second to be true:

(71) w?w le?i to p?wi?ikaka menuway naperiye
 2sg PRES STAT talon eagle powerful
 'You are in the talons of the powerful eagle,

wENEY ya w?w eli lbs p?we
 3sg-able FUT 2sg PERF fall NEG
 so you can't fall'

(72) ey te?iw ta ste w?w
 smell sibling-1sg LOC AG 2sg
 'The smell of my sister is on you

wENEY ya w?w eli me pelenan p?we
 3sg-able FUT 2sg perf come on-top NEG
 so you cannot come up here'

There is a group of sentences containing wENEY in which the verb of the main clause is le?e 'see'. In these sentences, wENEY was translated as 'be suitable/sufficient (for S)':

(73) iy ile?e wENEY ya su?u naren
 3sg 3sg-see 3sg-suitable FUT 3du mother-3sg
 'He saw that it was suitable for him and his mother

su?u ka?ač kile ey
 3du POT-NS-hide pot-sg-go PRO
 'to hide there'

(74) uweh le?e iwENEY ya uweh
 1pl-exc see 3sg-sufficient FUT 1pl-exc
 'If/when we see that there is enough space, we can

ketekeni kile ey
 POT-NS-throw POT-sg-go PRO
 'throw it (the net) into it'

In these sentences, the wENEY verb is subordinate to le?e and is part of the first clause:

(74a) (((uweh) (le?e (iwENEY))) (ya uweh ketekeni kile ey))
 S₁S₂NP NP VP S₃ S₃VPS₂S₄ S₄S₁

The subject of the embedded S, the subject, that is, of the verb wENEY, is not stated in 73 and 74, but it may be:

(75) su?u kele?e ko iwENEY itiyen
 3du POT-NS-see land 3sg-sufficient DEM
 'If/when they see that there is enough space

ya su?u ketekeni aŋo kile ey
 FUT 3du POT-NS-throw k.o.net POT-sg-go PRO
 'they can throw the net into it'

In other cases, the subject of wENEY may be understood to be an earlier NP, mentioned in a preceding sentence.

These sentences with le?e are, with a single exception, the only ones in which wENEY is followed by an affirmative sentence. The exception is:

(76) himomɔn iy ipwe ya iy kitɔ
 Himomɔn 3sg 3sg-say FUT 3sg POT-sg-STAT
 'Himomɔn said she would

kelewe um a yo
 care-for house POSS 1sg
 'take care of my house'

ma loḡow a yo e pusi puliye
 and thing POSS 1sg and cat also
 and my things and my cat as well,

uwēney yo kile mon kime
 3sg-until 1sg POT-sg-go return POT-sg-come
 until I come back'

Unlike examples (71)-(72), the wēney in the le?e sentences is not clearly separable from the first clause. The first clause is not an independent clause in five of the six le?e sentences: le?e requires a stated object, either in the form of a following NP or S, or as the objective suffix -y. This suffix does not occur in the five sentences mentioned, thus indicating that the wēney construction is a NP or S, serving as the object of the verb le?e. (See 7.3.5, Sentential Objects.)

7.3.4 The Subordinator ile ḡah. This form, which is composed of the 3sg form of the verb 'go' and the word for 'what, something', is used to introduce reason clauses, and also serves as the interrogative 'why' (see 6.7.3, Information Questions). The gloss for ile ḡah will be given as 'reason'

(77) e tele ulin hipini...maḡulūwey o mahayey
 and canoe lead/point like three or four
 'And there are three or four lead or point canoes

ile ḡah law mata itiyen ito yeliḡi tun ḡelewan
 reason net big DEM 3sg-HAB like canoe many
 because the big "law" net requires many canoes,

(78) uwen tewe kow a suwe ile ḡah pow,
 1pl-exc put fence POSS yam reason pig
 'We put up a fence for the yams, because the pigs

pow iy kiyeni suwe piḡinah epwe
 pig 3sg POT-sg-eat little-yam big-yam only
 will eat the yams.'

(79) yo leʔi to hine ile čah čačah ipWay
 1sg PRES CONT do reason papa 3sg-say-it
 'I am doing it because Papa told me to'

7.3.5 Sentential Objects. Full sentences may function as the direct object of the verb in the case of four transitive verbs: leʔe 'see', pʷa 'say', yelinɪ 'like, want', and hinenɪ 'make, do, cause'. Examples of this type of construction are given in 5.1.2.2, The Transitive VP. There are no sentential subjects attested.

7.3.6 Summary. The data available indicate that the most common method for conjoining clauses is simple parataxis, while the use of the subordinators hipeta, weney, leneʔi, and ile čah provides additional strategies to make overt some of the possible dependency relationships between clauses. Of the subordinators, hipeta is the most frequently occurring and has the broadest semantic field, ranging from 'like, thus, so that' to 'when, if, until'. leneʔi has the same syntactic distribution as hipeta, and has some semantic overlap as well, especially in prenominal position. However, only hipeta is used to mean 'thus' or 'if'. The 'when' meaning of hipeta is always future, while the 'when' meaning of leneʔi is normally habitual, and this use of leneʔi is an equivalent for Tok Pisin ɬaim, which appears to be a relatively recent innovation and is limited in use.

The verb weney is much more restricted in distribution and semantic content, but appears to be expanding to include at least those structures and meanings for which Tok Pisin inap has been borrowed into the Loniu. The pressure from the syntactic patterns of Tok Pisin, with its subordinators ɬaim and inap, seems to be causing or encouraging modifications of Loniu syntax to allow for the overt

expression of a wider range of the semantic dependency relationships between clauses.

7.4 Sentence Connectors

Among the most frequent strategies for cohesion in Loniu discourse is a sentence-initial reference to a preceding sentence. The form hipeta (7.3.2) may be used sentence and clause initially with the meaning 'thus, so', indicating that the new sentence is in some way a result or effect of the preceding one (see examples (51)-(55) above). Preceding sentences may also be referred to in other ways: part or all of the preceding sentence may be repeated (80); the intransitive verb p^wit 'be completed, finished' may begin the sentence, indicating that the activity of the preceding sentence has been completed before the activity of the new sentence begins (81); and the phrase itiyen e, literally 'that and', may introduce the new sentence, and appears to be roughly equivalent to English 'and so, and then' (82).

(80) ...e seh se?ehi seh ime _____ tun itiyen. seh se?ehi
 ...and 3pl carry 3pl 3sg-come canoe DEM. 3pl carry
 '...and they carry them to the canoe. They carry

seh ime _____ tun e hipiti seh le?e
 3pl 3sg-come canoe and so 3pl see
 them to the canoe, and so they see

iweneŋ, seh ta?i sipi ep^we tun masih
 3sg-enough, 3pl catch half only canoe all
 if they have caught enough to make the canoe

iy lon. tun masih iy lon e itiyen
 3sg down. canoe all 3sg down and DEM
 ride low. If the canoe rides low, then

ε seh mən.
and 3pl return
they go back (home)'

(81) uto tuwe ti, uto in. ile p^wič,
1pc-exc cook tea, 1pc-exc drink. 3sg-go finish,
'We made tea and drank it. After that,

yo utə kantiŋ.
1sg 1sg-STAT canteen
'I was in the canteen for a while.'

(82) hetow min tan ile um a hetow. itiyen ε iy
3pc sit down 3sg-go house POSS 3pc. DFM and 3sg
'They sat down in their house. And then he

itewe kamu ile m^weleŋa hetow
3sg-put word 3sg-go between 3pc
'put the matter before them.'

Lexicon

Introduction

I. Alphabetization. Alphabetization follows the standard Roman alphabet except as follows:

- a) č replaces c;
- b) ɛ precedes e;
- c) nasals are alphabetized in the following order: m m^w n n^w;
- d) ɟ precedes o;
- e) ɣ precedes ɣ^w;
- f) ɾ, the variant of /r/ in initial position, follows ɣ^w;

II. Format. The format of the entries is generally as follows:
main entry/variant(s) (grammatical class) definition [derivation];
long or short form; derived forms; (synonyms or
antonyms).

Question marks (?) indicate lack of information or uncertainty.

Variants are included when the main entry was attested with more than a single form.

The grammatical class of verbs includes the Class I (ɛ- prefix) or Class II (a- prefix) membership (see 3.4.2) where clearly established. Nouns which are inalienably possessed are indicated by (i.n.).

Where a definition is not clear, and the Tok Pisin (TP) translation may be helpful for clarification, it is included.

The derivation of polymorphemic forms is indicated by brackets ([]); in many cases, the analysis is speculative, and these cases are indicated by inclusion of a question mark following the left bracket. Roots which are probable bases in a derivation, but are not attested as independent forms, are indicated with an asterisk (*). Derivations which are exclusively reduplicational are indicated by the phrase 'redup. of (base)'. Nouns which are nominalizations of verbs are so identified, by use of the phrase 'nom. of (verb)'; where the nominalization is achieved by suffixation of -(y)a, no further morphological analysis is provided--see 3.8.3.5.

The abbreviations s.f. (short form) and l.f. (long form) in an entry refer to the long or short alternant of the main entry. Nouns with long and short forms are discussed in 2.6.2.2.2 and 3.1.1.3, and Verbs with long and short forms in 2.6.2.4 and 3.4.1.3.

Forms which are derived from the main entry are indicated by the abbreviation der. (derived forms). Derivation in general is discussed in 3.8.

Entries which have identified synonyms or antonyms contain reference to these forms as the last part of the entry, in parentheses.

The abbreviation cf. is used to indicate that the form which follows it is semantically related to the main entry, and may provide the reader with further material for comparative work.

Main entries do not include personal names or Tok Pisin borrowings. Names of fish species which were attested independently with the same referent from more than one speaker are indicated by the

term 'probably (prob.); where the source was a single speaker, or where the definitions differed among speakers, the term 'possibly' (poss.) is used. Names of fish were, for the most part, obtained based on identification of illustrations in Ian S. R. Munro's very helpful book, The Fishes of Papua New Guinea.

a	(part.) still.
a/ta	(part.) alienable possessive marker (see 3.1.1.1).
ač/ay	(v.i. Class II) hide.
ačaŋ	(n.) gloss unclear; poss. a stick used as a kind of tool.
ačaŋačaŋan	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. the type of leaf which is deeply scalloped around the edge [a 'ʔ' + redup of *čaŋa 'ʔ'] .
ačəčəʔet	(v.i. Class I) crawl [a- 'ʔ'+čə 'redup'+čəʔet 'crawl'].
ah	(n.) placenta.
ah	(n.) central stem of sago leaf, possibly of any palm leaf.
ah	(n.) k. o. cane.
ah	(v.i. Class II) jump, step into, embark.
ahan	(n.) beauty, beautiful; nom. of <u>ahi</u> 'beautify'.
ahani	(v.t. Class II?) beautify [ʔ <u>ahi</u> 'beautify' + <u>ani</u> 'trans.']
ahani	(v.t. Class ?) put to bed; spread out (as covers on a bed).
ahi	(v.t. Class II) step on, usually with some force; also may be short form of <u>ahani</u> 'beautify', but is attested only in phrases which indicate sarcasm: <u>itiyo čah, ehi wəw?</u> 'What's that?! It makes you look ridiculous!'
akalakan	(v.i. Class II) grope; feel around without seeing [ʔa 'ʔ' + redup of *kal 'ʔ?'].
akapata	(i.n.) frond; vine, e.g., of yam plant; [<u>aka</u> 'ʔ' + <u>pata</u> 'stem, branch'].
ake	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. group of trees [ʔa 'ʔ' + <u>ke</u> 'tree'] .

akihye	(i.n.) firewood fetcher and carrier [<u>a '?</u> + <u>kihiye</u> 'firewood (i.n.)'].
ako	(n.) name of point of land near Loniu village.
akuwen	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. sprat.
aley	(n.) line around edge of fishing net to which floats or sinkers are attached.
aman	(n.) k.o. coconut, apparently the most common type.
aman	(n.?) red (syn. <u>me?imar</u>).
amat	(n.) human being, person; often used to refer only to males.
amey	(n.) k.o. bird, possibly the purple swamphen.
am ^w isi	(v.t. Class I) infect, poison, cause to itch or swell; fig. to give someone the creeps; ?der. <u>emusun</u> 'poisonous'.
an	(n.) fresh water, lake, river; (l.f.) <u>enu</u> 'water, juice'.
an	(n.) termite.
an	(v.t. Class ?) gather certain kinds of molluscs.
ana	(i.n.) consumable possession; see 3.1.1.2.2.
ana	(n.) unspecified person, as in <u>ana hi paw</u> 'a woman from Pawi'.
ana	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. herring or pilchard.
apelipan	(v.1. Class ?) crawl on all fours; [<u>a '?</u> + redup. of <u>pan</u> 'crawl on all fours'].
an	(n.) day; in the phrase <u>amat an</u> , means living human, as opposed to <u>amat su</u> 'spirit, ghost'.
anjo	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. fishing net.
apa?ahan	(n.) bottom portion of a tree trunk, felled and divided along its length [<u>a '?</u> + <u>pa?aha</u> 'area underneath' + <u>-n</u> '3sg possessor']; cf. <u>atatan</u> .

ape/yape	formative in questions, possibly short form of <u>tetape</u> 'how'.
apeti	(v.t. Class II) press down, put together; steer canoe with pole or paddle held straight, close in to side of canoe; cf. <u>yaliwi</u> 'steer with pole held out from canoe'.
apo	(n.) k.o. tree, which in Loniu has some traditional restrictions as to its use for firewood.
apow	(n.) small sparse plant with ivy-shaped leaf, used for weaving carrying bags or baskets.
apuʔo	(n.) Loniu name for the island Rambutsyo.
apulok	(v.i.?) hang up.
apulupun	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. k.o. eel or longtom [<u>a</u> '?' + redup of * <u>pul</u> '??'] .
ap ^w esi	(v.t. Class II) take off, poss. get rid of.
arikoko	(n.) k.o. shell with leg-like projections, prob. family Strombidae or Murecidae [? <u>ari</u> '?' + <u>koko</u> 'my leg'].
as	(v.t. Class II) scratch; l.f. <u>asi</u> [<u>as</u> + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']
atatan	(n.) top half of tree trunk, felled and divided along its length [<u>a</u> '?' + <u>tata</u> 'upper surface' + <u>-n</u> '3sg possessor']; (ant. <u>apaʔahan</u> 'bottom half of tree trunk').
atay	(n.) side of canoe without outrigger; rope or line used on sailing canoes.
awah	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. squirrel fish.
ay	(n.) blood; l.f. <u>eye</u> .
aya	(n.) nom. of <u>aʔe</u> 'split' [ʔaʔe + <u>ya</u> 'NOM'].
aʔah	(n.) lookout, spy.
aʔat/eyt	(n.) caulking; the hard, inedible fruit from which the caulking is made.

a?En	(n.) name of place not far from Loniu village.
a?ε/ya?ε	(v.t. Class II) split or separate a tree trunk lengthwise; der. <u>aya</u> .
čaćah	(n.) intimate or vocative for <u>patama</u> 'father', as well as other close relationships (not clearly defined); cf. <u>čáčoh</u> , <u>čapoh</u> , <u>yaya</u> .
čáčoh	(n.) intimate or vocative for <u>nato</u> 'grandmother', as well as father's sisters, children of ego's older sister who are older than ego; cf. <u>čaćah</u> , <u>čapoh</u> , <u>yaya</u> .
čah/čika	(interr. pro.) what; something; see 6.7.3.2.
čah	(n.) k.o. tree/wood, used for making canoe attachments.
čahan/čahow/tahow	(part.?) used only with <u>me</u> 'come': appear, come up, come out successfully.
čakalut	(n.) rubbish, junk, garbage.
čakelijew	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. herring or bream.
čakilikin	(v.i.) jump around, wriggle, throw a fit [?ča '?'] + redup. of *kil '?'].
čakin	(d.a.) old, dirty, used.
čakopu?epi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of goatfish.
čakuputi	(v.i. Class ?) run away, escape (syn. <u>wop</u>).
čala	(i.n.) path, road; s.f. <u>čan</u> .
čalap ^w eni	(v.t. Class I) lose, throw away, leave behind (for good).
čalɔke	(n.) place name, section of Loniu village; forest debris [<u>čah</u> 'something' + <u>ɔ</u> 'in' + <u>ke</u> 'tree'].
čam/yam	form used to indicate hesitation.
čam	(n.) outrigger portion of canoe; l.f. <u>čama</u> .
čama	(i.n.) outrigger portion of canoe; s.f. <u>čan</u> .

čama	(v.i. Class ?) swell, abcess; get dry (e.g., reef).
čamelehon	(n.) place name of a section of Loniu village.
čameti	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of goatfish.
čamWat	(n.) k.o. fish, sweetlips or sea perch.
čamWa?aw	(n.) a soft rain, a drizzle.
čan	(n.) path, road; l.f. <u>čala</u> ; der. <u>p^wahačan</u> .
čan	(v.t. Class I) cut, clear; l.f. <u>čani</u> ; der. <u>čana</u> .
čana	(i.n.) cutting, clearing; nom. of <u>čan</u> 'cut, clear'.
čani	(v.t. Class I) clear, cut down (bush or sugar cane, e.g.); [<u>čan</u> 'clear' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
čaņa petuwet	(n.) arrangement of stones or tins used for holding pots over the fire.
čaņaħ	(n.) door.
čaņaħ	(v.t. Class ?) ask for.
čapaņ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. tang or surgeonfish.
čaƨeruwa	(n.) name of a section of Loniu village.
čapoh	(n.) intimate or vocative for <u>natupu</u> 'grandfather' cf. <u>čačaħ</u> , <u>čačoħ</u> , <u>yaya</u> .
čapWa	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. sea bream; has large eyes.
čapWatapWat	(v.i.) jump up, be startled [<u>ča</u> '?' + redup. of <u>*p^wat</u> '?']
čapWeni	(v.t. Class I) toss, throw gently (something which is intended to be recoverable).
čapWē?imam	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of wrasse.
čapWiyani	(v.t. Class I) to beat sago; one of the various steps or methods for beating the sago pulp in the production of edible sago.

čarem/čarewa	(part.) must, should; apparently a hortative form, not commonly used; e.g., <u>čarem leŋin kime</u> 'The rain must come!'
čatop	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. false scorpionfish, roguefish, waspfish.
čaw	(n.) married housing; area where married women live.
čaway	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sardine or anchovy.
čay	(n.) variety of Malay apple (syn. <u>me?e</u>).
ča?a	(n.) gloss unclear; attested only in the phrase <u>meto kili ča?a</u> 'hay bilong me i no moa slip nau.'
ča?ača	(v.i.) wither, dry, as when a leaf dies or turns color on a ripening yam plant.
ča?ako/ča?akoh	(n.) dusk; almost dark [? ča?a '?' + ko 'land'].
ča?eh	(v.t. Class I) cut into pieces.
ča?e	(v.t. Class I) cut; l.f. <u>ča?iti</u> .
ča?i?i	(v.t. Class I) cut; [<u>ča?it</u> (s.f. <u>ča?e</u>) 'cut' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']
čēt	(v.i. Class ?) skip across surface of water; body surf.
čēče	(n.) stain caused by fluid from a sore.
čēče?et	(v.i. Class I) crawl [<u>čē</u> 'redup.' + <u>čē?et</u> 'crawl']; der. <u>ačēče?et</u> .
čehemetiyen	(d.a.) very large, huge [<u>čēhe</u> '?' + <u>metiyen</u> 'big'].
čehit	(n.) a kind of sago palm with powdery substance on the branches; variety of the <u>pamat</u> type of sago palm.
čekehene	(i.n.) part of; related to, e.g., <u>iy čekeheneŋ</u> 'What relationship is she (<u>iy</u>) to you (<u>-m</u>)?'.
čekenan	(v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. mutter.

čela tun	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. canoe route through reef [? čala 'road' + tun 'canoe'].
čelaw	(n.) piece of cloth used as woman's headress; clothing (syn. <u>kɔlaw</u>).
čelehey	(n.) k.o. small white bird. poss. k.o. tern.
čelem ^{wa}	(i.n.) pitiful thing; usually used with 3sg possessive suffix: čelem ^{wan} ; but also occurs without: <u>seh čelem^{wa} usiyay</u> 'the poor highland people!'
čeleŋat	(n.) water from ground pool, used for washing only.
čelep	(n.) bed of the canoe.
čelewa	(i.n.) many, much.
čeli	(v.t. Class I) slap.
čelipuh	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. triggerfish; <u>čelipuh kɔʔɔ</u> whitebanded triggerfish.
čeliti	(v.t. Class ?) trace, track, follow signs.
čelu	(v.i. Class I) stand, get up; l.f. <u>čeluweni</u> .
čeluweni	(v.t. Class I) stand (NP) up [čeluw (s.f. <u>čelu</u>) 'stand' + <u>eni</u> 'trans.']
čeme	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. unicornfish.
čemena	(n.) witnessing, supporting; nom. of <u>čemeni</u> 'witness, support, speak for'.
čemenani	(v.t. Class ?) to witness, speak up for someone [<u>čemeni</u> + <u>ani</u> 'trans.'].]
čemeni	(v.t. Class ?) to witness, speak up for someone; support (physically); l.f. <u>čemenani</u> .
čen	(v.t. Class I) show, point out; l.f. <u>čenewani</u> .
čene	(v.t. Class I) punt a canoe with punting pole; l.f. <u>čeneri</u> .
čeneri	(v.t. Class I) punt a canoe [<u>čene</u> + <u>eni</u> 'trans.'].]

čənewani	(v.t. Class I) show, point out [čənew (s.f. čən) 'show, point out' + -ani 'trans.'].]
čəŋi	(i.n.) fruit; body or flesh; especially good yams used for feasts and gift exchanges.
čəperitewi/čəperitewi	(n.) name of mountain and tree on Rambutsyo Island, occurs in a Loniu legend.
čəpwi	(v.t.) collect, e.g., bats by beating at a tree with a long stick; l.f. čəpwiyani; ?der. kəčəpwe 'bat'.
čəpwiyani	(v.t.) collect [čəpwi (s.f. čəpwi) 'collect' + -ani 'trans.'].]
čərikow	(n.) k.o. bird with large eyes, said to cry at night, and to take the souls of the dead; prob. k.o. owl.
čərow	(n.) carving; attested only in the phrase amat a čərow 'a carver'.
čəwehe	(v.t. Class I) pour or put (into a container).
čəweneni/čəwenani	(v.t. Class ?) show, demonstrate.
čəwetī/sewetī	(v.t. Class I) fasten or sew with rope or twine.
čəwi	(i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of revenge (?syn. čə?uya).
čə?en	(i.n.?) gloss unclear, poss. variant of čī?e woman's sister-in-law.
čə?ət	(v.i. Class I) crawl, move along a narrow way, such as a branch or tree trunk; der. čəčə?ət, ačəčə?ət; also, to look for mangrove crabs (when used with la 'go').
čə?iča	(v.i. Class ?) ripen, wither; variant of ča?ača.
čə?ih	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. trevally; poss. k.o. orchid.
čə?ekas	(n.) fiber used to fasten wooden pieces together; used specifically with roof parts; [čə?e '?' + kas 'k.o. bamboo'].]
čə?e ta pučən	(n.) house supports.

čeʔi	(n.) k.o. of bush or tree.
či	(v.i. Class ?) bleed.
čič	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. garfish; <u>čič kəhəh</u> flying fish.
čičiŋew	(v.i.?) ache; attested only in the phrase <u>taŋə</u> <u>čičiŋew</u> 'my ears ache from so much noise'.
čičiʔən	(n.) k.o. shell, prob. mud whelk, <i>Terebralia palustris</i> Linnaeus, of the family Potamididae.
čihi	(interr. pro.) which, what, nonspecific (see 6.7.3.5).
čihi	(n.) small parrot.
čika	(n.) variant of <u>čah</u> 'what, something'.
čikan	(d.a.) tough, uncooked.
čikičik	(v.i.) be arrogant, boast; redup. of <u>čikiya</u> .
čikiya	(i.n.) arrogance, boasting; der. <u>čikičik</u> , <u>čikiyani</u> .
čikiyani	(v.t.) gloss unclear; apparently related to <u>čikiya</u> [<u>čikiya</u> 'arrogance' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
čili	(i.n.) sprout, esp. banana shoot.
čilim	(n.) k.o. fruit-eating bird.
čilimata	(i.n.) eye ball or socket; [<u>čili</u> 'sprout' + <u>mata</u> 'eye'] <u>čilimata ni</u> , lit. 'fish eyeball/socket', may be slang for 'money'.
čilim ^w ekew	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. bream or jobfish [<u>čili</u> 'sprout' + <u>m^wekew</u> 'deep sea'].
čim	(v.t. Class I) buy, sell, barter; l.f. <u>čimani</u> . (n.) purchase; der. <u>čima</u> .
čima	(i.n.) purchase; buying, paying for; nom. of <u>čim(ani)</u> .
čimani	(v.t. Class I) buy, sell, barter [<u>čim</u> 'buy' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]

ćimenat	(n.) small bushy tree with gluey sap.
ćin	(n.) canoe masts.
ćinen	(n.) ceremonial platform, similar to but not as important as the <u>kelew</u> type. Each area of the village has one of each type.
ćiner	(n.) a demon or spirit.
ćiniti	(v.t. Class ?) fasten together; possibly the line used to do the fastening. Used specifically with nets.
ćip	(n.) window.
ćipetun	(n.) wood chips and shavings from making a canoe.
ćipići	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. have some form of illness.
ćipitan	(d.a.) spicy, bitter, strong-tasting.
ćipɔɔmʷan	(n.) charcoal [<u>ći</u> '??' + <u>ɔɔ</u> 'within' + <u>mʷan</u> 'fire'].
ćipʷan	(n.) crossbars fixed to edge of canoe bed for holding punting poles.
ćito/ćuto/ćuro/ću	(pro.) 1st person paucal inclusive.
ći?e/će?e?	(i.n.) woman's sister-in-law.
ći?ih	(n.) general term for fishing nets.
ćɔ	(n.) foolish or crazy person.
ćɔɔmʷi	(v.t. Class I) sharpen, make a point on.
ćɔɔ?ɔtani	(v.t.) gloss unclear, poss. gather food together for meal.
ćɔhɔna	(i.n.) place.
ćɔlay	(n.) sailfish, marlin, poss. also swordfish.
ćɔmun	(n.) dish, plate from which one eats.
ćɔmuna	(i.n.) place for sitting or sleeping; possibly also a place where the possessor belongs.

ḥumwēya	(i.n.) packet; variant of <u>ḥumwēya</u> .
ḥonay	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. bananafish, black-tip fusilier.
ḥoṇ	(v.i. Class ?) arrive, enter.
ḥoṇ	(v.t. Class ?) hunt (for wild pig).
ḥoṇ	(??) in the phrase <u>yo kili mat ḥoṇ</u> 'I am dying of hunger', seems to be equivalent to 'hunger', although it is not attested elsewhere with this meaning.
ḥoṇḥani	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. thread (a needle).
ḥoṇḥon	(n.) k.o. fish, mackerel or sea pike.
ḥoṇḥot	(v.i. Class ?) be overdone, charred, burned; also attested in the phrase <u>kaw iḥoṇḥot</u> 'the spell produced no results'.
ḥoṇḥoṇ/ḥoṇḥoṇ	(n.) water jug made of clay.
ḥoṇu/ḥoṇu	(i.n.) piece; der. <u>ḥoṇuḥap</u> , <u>ḥoṇuḥoṇu</u> .
ḥoṇuḥap	(n.) dust mote [<u>ḥoṇu</u> 'piece' + *ḥap 'poss. s.f. of <u>ḥoṇu</u> --this would then be a reduplicated form].
ḥoṇuḥoṇu	(i.n.) small bits of trash or dirt; redup. <u>ḥoṇu</u> .
ḥote/ḥote	(i.n.) hip.
ḥotekaka	(i.n.) heel [<u>ḥote</u> 'hip' + <u>kaka</u> 'foot, leg'].
ḥow	(n.) mat woven of natural leaves and fibers; (l.f.) <u>ḥowa</u> ; <u>ḥow tutuh</u> 'mat for sleeping; <u>ḥow palian</u> 'mat for keeping rain off'; <u>ḥow ḥow</u> literally 'inside the mat', a term used to refer to the traditional isolation of a young women at puberty.
ḥowa	(i.n.) mat; s.f. <u>ḥow</u> .
ḥowēya/ḥewēya	(i.n.) thigh.
ḥoyet	(n.) k.o. tree/wood.

čʔk	(v.i. Class ?) burn down, as fire when there is no more flame.
čʔuka	(n.) k.o. bird, indigenous to Manus Island, appears on the Manus Provincial flag; called 'chauka' in Tok Pisin; poss. of the kingfisher or flycatcher type, has a very distinctive call.
čʔuya/čʔɔya	(i.n.) repayment, revenge; <u>čʔuyan</u> 'to repay'.
čɔ	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of longtom.
čɔčow	(n.) k.o. bird, described as building nests on tree branches.
čohok	(v.i. Class ?) dive.
čor	(n.) k.o. long, thin fish, prob. pike.
čowoh	(n.) variant of <u>čuwuh</u> k.o. fish.
ču	(n.) traditional type of comb, similar to an Afro pick.
ču	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. longtom; <u>ču kachoh</u> prob. long-finned garfish; <u>ču mas</u> prob. garpike.
ču	(pro.) variant of <u>čito</u> first person paucal inclusive.
čuču	(n.) variant of <u>čunuču</u> covering; redup. <u>čuhē</u> .
čučum	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of garfish.
čučupat	(n.) variant of <u>čupupat</u> little pieces; loose change [<u>ču</u> 'redup.' + <u>ču(pu)</u> 'piece' + <u>pat</u> 'store'].
čučupe	(v.t.?) help, give aid to; redup. <u>čup(ani)</u> 'help'.
čučuye/čučuʔuye	(n.) exchange; change of clothing. (v.t. Class ?) exchange [<u>ču</u> 'redup.' + <u>čuye</u> 'exchange'].
čuh	(n.) kind of mollusc, TP <u>mataporo</u> ; in the phrase <u>čwe čuh</u> , 'shell of čuh', refers to a cutting tool made from the sharpened half of a bivalve shell (TP <u>blaklip sel</u>).

čuhε	(v.t. Class I) make a packet, wrap; der. <u>čuhučuh</u> , <u>čuhuva</u> . (?syn. <u>čumWε(y)</u>).
čuhučuh/čučuh	(n.) wrapping, covering [redup. <u>čuhε</u> 'wrap']; <u>εpi čuhučuh</u> 'sago baked in palm leaves'.
čuhuya	(i.n.) wrapping; nom. of <u>čuhε</u> 'wrap'.
čuli	(v.i. Class ?) call out, esp. in surprise or anger.
čulumWa	(i.n.) cooking; nom. of <u>čulumWi</u> 'cook'.
čulumWi	(v.t. Class I) cook over fire, burn [čulum ^W (s.f. <u>čun</u> 'cook' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.')] ; der. <u>čulumWa</u> .
čuluŋi	(v.t. Class I) cover, close, put a lid on.
čumow	(n.) k.o. crab with a white shell.
čumWε	(v.t. Class I) wrap, usually with leaves; der. <u>čumWεya</u> ; (?syn. <u>čuhε</u>).
čumWεya/čɔrWεya	(i.n.) wrapping, covering, usually of leaves; nom. of <u>čumWε</u> 'wrap'.
čumWi	(v.t. Class I) catch; agree with.
čun	(v.t. Class I) cook over fire; l.f. <u>čulumWi</u> .
čunah	(v.t. Class I?) to husk (a coconut); l.f. <u>čunehi</u> ; der. <u>čunaha</u> .
čunaha	(i.n.) husking; nom. of <u>čunah</u> .
čunehi	(v.t. Class I?) husk (coconut) [<u>čunah</u> 'husk' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
čuguhani	(v.t. Class ?) put on (clothes).
čup	(n.) aid; l.f. <u>čupani</u> , der. <u>čučupe</u> .
čupani	(v.t. Class ?) help, aid [<u>čup</u> 'help' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
čupat	(n.) broken-up coral, used on paths and around houses [<u>ču</u> 'piece?' + <u>pat</u> 'stone'] der. <u>čučupat/čupupat</u> .

čupu	(i.n.) variant of <u>čupu</u> piece.
čupučupuri	(i.n.) variant of <u>čupučupuri</u> small bits.
čupapat/čučupapat	(n.) lots of small bits of broken coral [čupu 'piece' + pat 'stone'].
čurey	(n.) k.o. bird, possibly a k.o. small blue kingfisher.
čuro/čuto	(pro.) variants of <u>čito</u> first person paucal inclusive.
čutup ^{we}	(n.) a word used to refer to tea when it was first introduced into the culture; now most people use the Tok Pisin forms <u>ti</u> or <u>lipti</u> .
čuwem ^{wekew}	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. hornpike long-tom [čuwe 'longtom' + <u>m^{wekew}</u> 'deep sea']
čuweni	(v.t. Class ?) turn or twist, as in <u>čuweni kakan</u> 'twist one's ankle'.
čuwep	(n.) spike made from the outer covering of the sago palm branch, used in the construction of the trough used for washing sago.
čuwuh/čowoh	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. red-throated rainbowfish.
čuy	(n.) broth.
čuyani	(v.t. Class ?) change, exchange [čuye 'exchange' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.']
čuye/ču?uye	(v.t. Class?) exchange; change (clothes); l.f. <u>čuyani</u> ; der. <u>čučuye</u> .
ε	(conj.) and, or, but.
ε	(part.) now, about to; emphatic marker.
ε	(n.) small crack (e.g., in a canoe).
ε	(part.) the 2nd person form of the perfective used with the verb <u>la</u> 'go'.
εčε	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. unicornfish.

ečey	(n.) order, command.
ehe	(part.) yes.
ehe	(interr. pro.) where; see 6.7.3.4.
ehin	(n.) young girl; more commonly <u>ne?ehin</u> .
ek	(v.i. Class?) grow.
ekes	(n.) the last bit of powdery sago pulp which is tapped or scraped from the inside of the emptied trunk of the sago palm.
ekesa	(i.n.) collarbone.
eki	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. trevally or scad.
eku	(v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. pile up, poss. sit.
elelih	(v.i.) you (sg.) went; [e '2nd sg perfective' + <u>la</u> 'go' + <u>lih</u> '??']; appears to be a phonological word, although the perfective is not normally prefixed to the verb.
elewen	(d.a.) long, far; der. <u>la?elewe</u> .
elɛ?iliye	(n.) part of the traditional procedures for marriage involving a presentation to the bride's family by the groom's, preceding the main part called <u>mačah</u> .
eleke/elike	(n.) coconut oil.
eli	(part.) 2nd sg perfective marker.
elimaŋ	(n.) k.o. mangrove crab.
elɔn	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of silver-biddy.
elučemu	(n.) lobster or crayfish, poss. inedible.
elutu	(i.n.) egg.
emen	(n.) lightning.

emenani	(v.t. Class I) peep at, spy on [<u>emene</u> 'peep at' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].
emene	(v.t. Class I) peep at, spy on; l.f. <u>emenani</u> .
emete?i	(i.n.) owner, person in charge; inhabitant.
eme?iman	(n.) k.o. nocturnal red crab, abundant on the roads at night. [<u>ε</u> '?' + <u>me?iman</u> 'red'].
emi?emi	(i.n.) gloss unclear; either 'odor' or 'trace' of something; redup. of * <u>emi</u> .
emɔt	(v.i. Class II) vomit; der. <u>em^weta</u> , l.f. <u>em^weteni</u> , <u>em^wetani</u> .
emusun	(n.) poison; prob. related to <u>am^wisi</u> 'infect', but relationship unclear.
emu?un	(d.a.) wet [<u>*emu?u</u> (s.f. <u>em^wa</u> 'be wet') + <u>-n</u> '3sg possessor'].
em ^w a	(v.i. Class ?) be wet; der. <u>emu?un</u> .
em ^w es	(v.i. Class ?) be magic, have magic powers; der. <u>em^wesi</u> .
em ^w esi	(v.t. Class ?) magically attract [<u>em^wes</u> 'be magic' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
em ^w eta	(i.n.) vomit; nom. of <u>emɔt</u> 'to vomit'.
em ^w eteni	(v.t. Class ?) vomit out, throw up [<u>emɔt</u> 'vomit' + <u>-eni/-ani</u> 'trans.'] (syn. <u>mɔmɔtani</u>).
ene	(n.) thing; poss. borrowed term.
eneyan	(n.) food.
enu	(i.n.) liquid, juice, water; s.f. <u>an</u> 'fresh water'.
enum	(n.) garden; l.f. <u>enum^wa</u> ; (syn. <u>pilen</u>).
enumata	(i.n.) tears [<u>enu</u> 'water' + <u>mata</u> 'eye'].
enumenan	(n.) seed yam used for planting.
enum ^w a	(i.n.) garden; s.f. <u>enum</u> .

enɔw	(n.) hibiscus.
en/ene	(v.t. Class II) hear, listen; l. f. <u>eneveni</u> ; der. <u>ene?en</u> .
eney	(n.) k.o. tree (Tok Pisin <u>golip</u>).
eneyeni	(v.t. Class ?) hear, listen; [<u>eney</u> (s.f. <u>en(ε)</u>) 'hear' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
enε?en	(v.i.?) listen; redup. <u>en(ε)</u> 'listen to'.
enisa	(i.n.) resentment.
eniseni	(v.t. Class ?) to resent [<u>enisa</u> 'resentment' + <u>eni</u> 'trans.'].]
epi	(n.) sago, both the palm and the processed pulp.
epwe	(conj) only, just.
eraw	(v.i. Class ?) sway.
erena	(i.n.) way, method, manner.
erene?i	(i.n.) attitude; look, appearance.
ete/ere	(part.) animate goal marker.
ete	(i.n.) liver.
etipun	(n.) k.o. salt water crab.
etow	(pro.) 2nd person paucal.
etun	(n.) k.o. small fish, prob. scad; Tok Pisin <u>melambur</u> .
ew	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. cod.
ewet/ewer	(n.) k.o. red saltwater crab.
ewetay	(n.) game; [<u>ɔw</u> 'play' + ?? + <u>ay</u> 'NOM']; attested once as <u>eweta</u> : <u>eweta iy</u> 'her playing'.
ewi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish, garfish or pike.

hane?i	(v.t. Class II) pick (fruit) [<u>hane</u> (s.f. <u>han</u>) 'pick (fruit)' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
hanc/hanc/henc	(adv.) before, first.
hanuwani/hancwani	(v.t. Class II?) teach, try.
han	(v.t. Class I) feed, give food to; l.f. <u>henehi</u> ; der. <u>hanahan</u> .
hanahan	(d.a.) adoptive; attested only in the phrases <u>nanen hanahan</u> 'adoptive mother' and <u>nataman hanahan</u> 'adoptive father'; redup. of <u>han</u> .
haneni	(v.t. Class I) feed, give food to [<u>han</u> 'feed' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
hanetuwe	(v.t. Class ?) sense, feel, perceive.
hanqatow	(v.?) gloss unclear, poss. related to <u>hanetuwe</u> .
has	(v.t. Class II) plant; used with plants such as taro, banana, coconut palm, which are stood up in the ground; l.f. <u>hase?iy</u> ; der. <u>hasa?a</u> .
hasa?a	(i.n.) planting; nom. of <u>has(e?iy)</u> [<u>hase?</u> (s.f. <u>has</u>) 'plant' + <u>-a</u> 'NOM'].]
hasewani/hasawani	(v.t. Class ?) name; give name to, call by a name.
hase?iy	(v.t. Class II) plant [<u>hase?</u> (s.f. <u>has</u>) 'plant' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
hasuwe	(v.t. Class II) nurse, care for (e.g., a child); may refer to breast-feeding.
hat	(v.t. Class II) break up (firewood); pick or break off (corn, but not fruit).
hati	(v.t. Class II?) carry on the back, carry piggy-back.
hawan	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. nook or cranny in reef where fish sleep or hide.
haway	(n.) name of off-shore island north of Lorengau.
hay	(n.) west wind.

he	(v.t. Class I) wash (sago); one of the steps in the production of edible sago from the pulp; involves pouring water over the sago pulp and filtering out the powder, which is then dried, stored, and used as food; der. <u>heya</u> .
helesay	(v.i. Class ?) be happy.
heliya	(i.n.) spirit, sacredness; <u>melewan heliyan</u> 'holy spirit'.
heloweni/helowani/halaweni/helaweni	(v.t. Class II) run; drive (a vehicle); carry away [<u>hilow</u> 'run' + <u>-eni/-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
heluhelug	(n.) cloak, cover-up; redup. of <u>heluna</u> .
heluna	(i.n.) cover(s), e.g., for sleeping.
heluni	(v.t. Class II) cover, put cover over [<u>heluna</u> 'cover' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
heneheneWE	(v.i. Class ?) learn, try; [<u>hene</u> 'redup' + * <u>heneWE</u> '??'--prob. related to <u>hanuwani</u> 'teach'] .
henc	(adv.) variant of <u>hang</u> .
hep ^{We}	(n.?) gloss unclear, poss. 'out of (something)'; attested in the phrase <u>ncschc hep^{We}</u> 'I'm out of breath' (lit. 'my breath + ??'); possibly related to p ^{We} 'no, not'.
hewin	(d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. crooked.
heya	(i.n.) nom. of <u>he</u> .
heyah	(n., adv.) today, now.
heyew	(d.a.) of the same age.
he	(interr. pro.) who; see 6.7.3.1.
hepe	(n., det., adv.) a bit (of), a part.
hepe ep ^{We}	(conj) but, however; lit. 'a bit only'
hes	(v.i. Class I) jump.
hetow	(pro.) third person paucal.

hi	(part) female; the first syllable of all women's names in Loniū; occurs preminally to make the female gender of the referent overt.
hi	(v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow; l.f. <u>hine</u> , <u>hineni</u> .
hič	(v.i. Class ?) become united or fastened together.
hičele/hičeli	(n.) name of a constellation.
hičemičemitɔɔ	(n.) late afternoon, sunset [ʔhi 'FEM? make, do?' + redup. of <u>čemi</u> 'ʔ' + tɔɔ 'ʔ']
hikupwi	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of mullet [ʔhi 'FEM' + kupwi 'sago trough'].
hikurɔw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. greenbacked or brown-banded mullet.
hilite	(v.t. Class ?) choose.
hiliyeni	(v.t. Class I) avoid due to traditional taboo, especially referring to customary behavior around in-laws.
hilow	(v.i. Class I) run, fly, swim; generally, move rapidly, whether on the ground, in the water, or in the sky; flow; der. <u>helɔweni</u> .
himwa	(n.?) gloss unclear, poss. (female?) twins.
hine	(v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow; s.f. <u>hi</u> , l.f. <u>hineni</u> ; der. <u>hineya</u> .
hineni	(v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow [<u>hine</u> 'make' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.']; der. <u>hininiya</u> .
hineya	(i.n.) making, doing; nom. of <u>hine</u> .
hininiya	(i.n.) making, doing; nom. of <u>hineni</u> .
hipehena	(n.) name of a star which rises and sets early in the evening; a Loniū legend says that this star sets early because it is going to steal all the belongings of the other stars [ʔhi 'FEM' + pehena 'steal'].

hipelit	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. fresh-water, poss. species of perch [?hi 'FEM' + pelit 'ghost'].
hipeta	(sub. conj.) like, as, thus, so that, until; variant forms <u>hipiti</u> , <u>hipera</u> , <u>hipiri</u> ; Tok Pisin <u>olsem</u> .
hitape	(interr. pro.) how, what happened; cf. <u>tetape</u> ; see 6.7.3.8).
hitapo	(n.) female servant [hi 'female' + ta 'CDNT' + po 'do'].
hitotsʔaŋ	(n.) time of day near dawn [?hi 'FEM? make, do?' + <u>tots</u> '?' + aŋ 'day'].
hitupu	(i.n.) woman's mother-in-law [?hi 'FEM' + <u>tupu</u> '?'--but cf. <u>natupu</u> 'grandfather'].
hiwene	(v.i. Class ?) have a picnic, relax.
hoh	(v.i. Class I?) be open; win out; go or arrive first.
homey/umey	(n.) k.o. inedible fruit.
hu	(v.t. Class I) take, hold, carry in hands; when used with <u>wɛ'i</u> 'song', means 'sing'; l.f. <u>huti</u> .
huh/huhu	(n.) sea swell.
huni	(v.t. Class ?) to awaken; der. <u>hunuhun</u> , <u>huniya</u> .
huniya	(i.n.) awakening; nom. of <u>huni</u> .
hunuhun	(v.i. Class ?) to awaken of one's own accord; redup. of <u>huni</u> 'awaken (someone)'
hugaŋ	(v.i. Class I) rest; relax; (v.t. Class I?) stop what one is doing.
huga	(v.t. Class I) smell.
hus	(v.t. Class I) suck or chew (e.g. sugar cane); l.f. <u>husi</u> .
hus	(v.i. Class ?) be smoking or curing over fire'; l.f. <u>husuwe</u> ; der. <u>husuhus</u> .

husi	(v.t. Class I) tie together, fasten with rope or twine, bind, der. <u>husiya</u> ; suck, chew [<u>hus</u> 'suck' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']
husiya	(i.n.) tying, binding, fastening with rope or twine; nom. of <u>husi</u> .
husuhus	(v.i. Class ?) be smoking or curing over fire redup. of <u>hus</u> .
husuwe	(v.t. Class ?) smoke, e.g., fish, over fire; s.f. <u>hus</u> , l.f. <u>husuweni</u> .
husuweni	(v.t. Class ?) smoke [<u>husuwe</u> 'smoke' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.'].
huti	(v.t. Class I) take, hold, carry in hands; catch; bring; open door or window; sing (with <u>wɛ?i</u> song); [<u>hut</u> (s.f. <u>hu</u>) 'take' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']; der. <u>hutiya</u> .
hutiya	(i.n.) carrying, taking, singing; nom. of <u>huti</u> .
hutuhutug	(n.) bunch; very large group, as in a large school of fish; redup. of <u>hutug(ani)</u> .
hutun	(d.a.) thick, heavy.
hutugani	(v.t. Class ?) make a heap, put into a pile [<u>*hutug</u> 'heap?' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].
huya	(i.n.) goodness, niceness; cf. <u>huyan</u> .
huyan	(n.) adult; (d.a.) good, right, correct, nice [<u>huya</u> 'goodness' + <u>-n</u> , '3sg possessor'].
ičiŋi	(v.t. Class ?) break, e.g., a spear.
ilani	(v.t. Class ?) taunt, slander, insult [<u>?ili</u> 'call' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].
ile čah	(sub. conj.) because, why [<u>i-</u> '3sg' + <u>la</u> 'go, čah 'what']; see 6.7.3.3, 7.3.4.
ili	(v.t. Class I) call to.
ili	(v.t. Class I) dig, harvest, e.g., tubers [<u>in</u> 'dig' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']; der. <u>iliya</u> .

iliya	(i.n.) calling; nom. of <u>ili</u> .
imeman	(n.?) gloss unclear; attested only in the phrase <u>wan imeman</u> 'be tired of, annoyed with', in which the form <u>wan</u> is apparently '3rd sg's body'.
im ^w ani	(v.t. Class I) get water (syn. <u>wo</u>).
in	(v.t. Class I) drink; l.f. <u>inum^wi</u> .
in	(v.t. Class I) dig, harvest tubers; l.f. <u>ili</u> .
inen/ninen	(d.a.) small.
ini	(v.t. Class ?) gather, collect, usually fruits which have fallen from the tree.
inum ^w ay	(n.) drinking; nom. of <u>inum^wi</u> .
inum ^w i/ilum ^w i	(v.t. Class I) drink; also, with <u>nesum^wan</u> 'cigarette': smoke; [<u>inum^w</u> (s.f. <u>in</u>) 'drink' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
ip ^w i/up ^w i	(v.t. Class I) pound sago pulp with long poles; one of the steps in the production of edible sago from pulp [<u>up^w</u> 'pound' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
ip ^w iti	(v.t. Class I) separate, unwind, untangle, untie.
irani/i ⁿ rani	(v.t. Class I) fasten sarong [<u>ire</u> 'fasten' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
ire	(v.t. Class I) fasten sarong; l.f. <u>irani</u> .
isi	(i.n., v.i. Class I) fart.
isi	(v.t. Class I) wring out (clothes).
ite	(interjection) Is that so?
itehe	(intern. pro.) where (location); possibly combination of <u>it^o</u> <u>ehe</u> '3sg-stative where'; see 6.7.3.4.
iti	(v.t. Class I) have sexual relations with.
itip ^o	(dem.) here, this; near speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

itiyen	(dem.) there, that; relatively distant from speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).
itiyo	(dem.) here, this; near speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).
iw	(v.i. Class I) call out; der. <u>iwani</u> , <u>iwi?iw</u> .
iwani	(v.t. Class I) pull, drag, pull out or up [<u>iw</u> 'call out' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
iwi?iw	(n.) calling out, counting; nom. of <u>iw</u> .
iy	(pro.) third person singular.
iya	(interjection) Let's do it!, Let's go!
iye(n)	(dem.) this, here; possibly prefixed form of <u>ye(n)</u> 'be in a place', poss. short form of <u>itiyen</u> (see 4.3.7).
ka	(n.) k.o. bush.
kačam	(n.) k.o. deep water seaweed [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>čam</u> 'outrigger'].]
kačan	(n.) floor [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>čan</u> 'road'].]
kačaw	(n.) bride price [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>čaw</u> 'married quarters']; l.f. <u>kečewa</u> .
kah	(v.t. Class I) search for, find; l.f. <u>kahi</u> ; der. <u>kehekah</u> .
kahah	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish or garfish [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>hah</u> '2pl-exc.'].]
kahatay	(n.) grated coconut meat; especially, the dish made by mixing grated coconut with sago.
kahi	(v.t. Class I) search for, find; [<u>kah</u> 'search for' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
kaho	(n.) k.o. two-man fishing net.
kaka	(i.n.) foot, leg.

kakaw	(n.) long-handled ladle for pouring water on sago pulp during the production of edible sago; redup. of <u>kawi</u> 'ladle, scoop up'; spear made of black palm (Tok Pisin <u>spia limbum</u>).
kakawah	(n.) grave.
kalama	(i.n.) accompanied by, in addition to (used only with food).
kalajat	(n.) k.o. bird, poss. pigeon.
kalapulin	(n.) k.o. hardwood tree, prob. iron-wood; Tok Pisin <u>kuila</u> .
kalih	(n.) breaking wave with foamy crest [<u>ka</u> '?' + <u>lih</u> '?'].
kalipuwey	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. tasseled wobbygong [<u>kali</u> '?' + <u>puwey</u> 'crocodile'].
kali?aw/kaliyaw	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of wrasse; <u>kali?aw ma?aw</u> k.o. fish.
kalon	(n.) ant [<u>ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>lon</u> 'in' + <u>n</u> '3sg possessor'].
kalun	(n.) pillow; originally wooden block used as pillow, now extended to mean the feather or filled cloth kind [<u>ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>lun</u> '?'].
kamakaman	(d.a.) sweet; redup. of *kaman (syn. <u>naman</u>).
kamalay	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of rainbowfish.
kaman	(n.) male; men's house; l.f. <u>kemeli</u> .
kamana	(n.) shells of the cowrie type, fam. Cypraeidae; also, general term for shells [<u>ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>mana</u> 'white cowrie'].
kamWan	(n.) ashes; area near fire where food preparation takes place [<u>ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>mWan</u> 'fire'].
kamWat	(n.) large black ant [<u>ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>mWat</u> 'snake'].
kamWet	(n.) decorative body tattoos, normally for women.

kan	(n.) circumcision; also, the ceremony and celebration accompanying circumcision; food.
kana	(i.n.) taste.
kanas	(n.) sea mullet [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>nas</u> 'digging stick'].
kanaw	(n.) k.o. bird with black body and white head and beak; possibly a kind of noddy.
kap	(n.) a k.o. tree which produces a natural fiber used to make string or thread, which is then used to make belts and to string beads and dogs' teeth.
kapara	(??) like; attested only in the phrase <u>kapara itiyen</u> 'like that'; may be related to <u>nipeta</u> , but the relationship is not clear.
kapeni	(i.n.) wing [<u>ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>peni</u> 'wing'].
kap ^w ana	(i.n.) self; used as emphatic reflexive: <u>w^w kap^wanam w^w eputi?</u> 'Did you yourself do it?'.
karuli/ ⁿ ruli	(n.) k.o. bird said to walk on the beach, possibly a species of plover [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + ⁿ ruli 'k.o. bird'].
kas	(n.) k.o. bamboo.
kasi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. pennant coralfish or Moonish idol.
katah	(n.) large black seabird with white markings; dives to feed [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>tah</u> 'k.o. shell'].
katam ^w an	(n.) bits of charred wood left when fire has burned down [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>ta</u> 'LOC' + <u>m^wan</u> 'fire'].
katu ^g	(n.) thunder.
katu [?] uhe	(v.i. Class ?) bend down [<u>ka</u> '?' + <u>tu[?]uhe</u> 'bend over'].
kaw	(n.) sorcery; spell done with betel pepper leaf to foretell future events or locate people.

kawa	(n.) a kind of woven bag, normally used for storing food, esp. sago.
kawa	(i.n.) fence; s.f. <u>kaw</u> .
kawi	(v.t. Class I) ladle or scoop liquid; der. <u>kakaw</u> .
kayaw	(n.) a drinking cup, usually with handles, but also may be a coconut shell used for drinking [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>yaw</u> 'go'] .
ka?ah	(n.) cloud [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>ah</u> 'k.o. cane'].
ka?ah pati pat	(n.) k.o. edible crab [<u>ka?ah</u> 'cloud'; <u>pati</u> 'of'; <u>pat</u> 'stone'].
ka?ahay	(n.) part of the coconut palm: the woody, pod-like appendage which grows above a new bunch of coconuts; used in fires.
ka?oh	(n.) the slanted side of a roof.
ka?up ^w en	(n.) k.o fish, poss. species of spinefoot.
ke	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. gold-striped sea perch.
kečepu?u	(i.n.) the underside of [<u>keče</u> '?' + <u>pu?u</u> 'bottom'].
kečep ^w e	(n.) species of small bat [<u>?ke</u> '?' + <u>čep^wi</u> 'collect (bats)'].
kečewa	(i.n.) bride price; s.f. <u>kačaw</u> .
kečilew	(n.) area to the rear of the house.
kehekah	(v.i. Class I) go hunting, go on a search for something; redup. of <u>kah</u> 'search for'.
keheya	(i.n.) shoulder.
keheyah	(n.) afternoon [<u>?ke</u> '?' + <u>heyah</u> 'now, today'].
kehise?iŋan	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. open up (e.g. a meeting) to public; poss. related to getting food.
kekuluh	(n.) variant of <u>kakuluh</u> signal.

kekepah	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. sharp-nosed rainbowfish [<u>?ke</u> 'redup.' + <u>ke</u> '?' + <u>nah</u> 'spear'] .
kelaw	(n.) unmarried person [<u>?ke</u> '?' + <u>law</u> 'relative'].
kelaw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish.
kelepa	(i.n.) back (body part).
kelepe	(i.n.) tail.
kelew	(n.) ceremonial platform; cf. <u>éinen</u> .
kelewe	(v.t.) take care of, look out for, care for.
keli	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of rock-cod.
keli	(part.) nonsingular form of the perfective marker.
keli	(v.t. Class I) cook, boil; used figuratively: <u>putuwo iy ile keli tasih</u> 'My guts boiled; I got very very angry.'
kelikan	(n.) hot sago soup or gruel, often made with shellfish, and with healing properties similar to those attributed to chicken soup in other parts of the world; ?redup. of <u>kan</u> 'food'.
kelimata	(i.n.) cheek [<u>keli</u> '?' + <u>mata</u> 'eye'].
kelipap	(n.) place name; possibly name of one of the mens' houses in Loniu; also glossed as the side of a mountain at its base; a dark cloud foretelling illness or death.
kelipawI	(i.n.) jaw.
keli?aman	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. k.o. rock-cod [<u>?keli</u> '?' + <u>aman</u> 'red'].
kemeli	(i.n.) mens' house; the male of a species; s.f. <u>kamar</u> .
kemey	(n.) flavor.
keneya	(i.n.) method of cooking, using or eating a food.

keniye	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. related to eating.
kenukan	(n.) variant of <u>kanukan</u> dust or small bits of matter which can be carried on the air (but not dust from the road).
kepuwe	(i.n.) neck.
kepu?u	(v.?) gloss unclear, possibly 'sneeze', but cf. <u>yesin</u> .
kepase	(i.n.) chin [<u>ke</u> '?' + <u>pase</u> 'chin'].
kepeley	(n.) canoe mast [<u>ke</u> 'wood' + <u>peley</u> 'sail'].
kepera	(??) variant of <u>kapara</u> .
kepe?e	(i.n.) curving portion of the side of a canoe [<u>ke</u> '?' + <u>pe?e</u> 'source; handle'].
kepuliŋ	(n.) the area underneath a house which is built on posts or stilts.
kepe?eten	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. underarm, but cf. <u>pa?ahakeheya</u> .
keray	(n.) operculum, esp. of the shells of fam. Turbinidae
kerinaway	(n.) frog; attested once as <u>karandaway</u> .
kesi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperon.
kesiŋay	(n.) sneeze [<u>ke</u> '?' + <u>yesin</u> 'sneeze (v.i.)' + <u>-ay</u> 'n.f.'].
kesow	(n.) variant of <u>kosow</u> marriage.
kesuwas	(n.) a bushy plant which grows along the beach, the leaves of which are used to produce a liquid for curing both coughing and diarrhea.
keti	(n.) edge (of a water hole, e.g.).
ketiyat	(n.) betel nut; said to be an 'older' way to say <u>puwe</u> betel nut.
ketuŋ	(n.) wooden club.

kewesay	(v.i.) walk around, with no particular destination or purpose [ʔke 'ʔ' + <u>yawes(ani)</u> 'go' + -ay 'n.f.'].
kewe	(n.) k.o small bush, with lime green leaves sometimes used with betel nut.
keyaw	(n.) platform, table, bed.
keʔe	(part.) nonsingular form of the perfective marker used with the verb <u>la</u> 'go'.
keʔemet	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sea-perch; also, poss. a k.o. plant.
keʔeniye	(n.) variant of <u>keʔoniye</u> crumbs (of food).
keʔeŋ	(n.) k.o. parrot.
keʔeŋaŋay	(n.) k.o. bird, possibly a wader; identified by one speaker as a little whimbrel.
keʔipow/kariŋow	(n.) k.o. bird, prob. a reef egret.
keʔiwch	(n.) k.o. insect: lime-green, small grasshopper-like, 1 to 1 1/2" long.
ke	(n.) tree, wood, piece of wood.
ke	(i.n.) edible portion of bivalve mollusc.
keʔew	(n.) small bit of mucus in eye.
keh	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of sea perch or bream.
kemey	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of mackerel.
kem ^w aʔay	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. red cod or snapper [ʔke 'wood' + <u>m^waʔay</u> 'peace']
kepaw	(n.) place where long paddle is secured on rim of canoe [<u>ke</u> 'wood' + <u>paw</u> 'paddle']
kes	(n.) k.o. plant with red branches, the leaves of which are fragrant and are used in ceremonial dress.
kih	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperon.

kihi	(n.) firewood; l.f. <u>kihiye</u> .
kihitate	(??) gloss unclear; attested in the phrase <u>ma kihitate kime ete wɔw</u> 'Who cares about you?!' (TP maski long yu); cf. <u>tetape</u> , <u>hitape</u> .
kihiye	(i.n.) firewood; s.f. <u>kihi</u> .
kikiw	(n.) k.o. bird, possibly a swift.
kile/kile ala	(idiom) you go (now); equivalent to English "good-bye"; cf. <u>etaw</u> 'you stay'.
kili/ki?i	(part.) first and third person singular form of the perfective marker.
kilim	(n.) clean water, used for cooking and drinking; cf. <u>čelenat</u> .
kilim	(n.) tool made from spine of palm leaf, used in production of coconut oil, poss. for stirring.
kilim	(n.) sign, trace, clue; l.f. <u>kilima</u> .
kilima	(i.n.) sign, trace, clue; s.f. <u>kilim</u> .
kiniw	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. bird.
kip	(v.t. Class ?) lie to; l.f. <u>kipani</u> .
kipani	(v.t. Class ?) lie to [<u>kip</u> 'lie to' + <u>tani</u> 'trans.'].]
kit	(n.) octopus.
kiw	(n.) small bench which has a neck with a serrated edge, used for scraping or grating coconut.
kiyeč/kiyey	(n.) the poles which attach the outrigger to the canoe.
ki?am	(n.) long slender tool used for placing lime in the mouth while chewing betel nut.
ki?i	(n.) k.o. plant which produces small berries used to produce a medication for treating earache.
ki?i	(part.) the variant of <u>kili</u> , 1sg/3sg perfective, which used with the verb <u>la</u> 'go'.

kɔ	(n.) land, village, place; l.f. <u>kɔhɔna</u> ; <u>kɔ tan</u> 'earth', <u>kɔ lan</u> 'heaven'.
kɔ	(n.) wind.
kɔtɔ	(n.) in the phrase <u>motow kɔtɔ</u> , a kind of long knife similar to a machete.
kɔha	(n.) chicken.
kɔhɔh	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish; cf. <u>čič kɔhɔh</u> prob. flying fish.
kɔhɔn	(n.) large, shallow clay or metal dish used for frying or baking over fire; also a deeper, more rounded dish for making <u>kelikan</u> a kind of sago soup.
kɔhɔna	(i.n.) land, village, place; s.f. <u>kɔ</u> .
kɔhu	(i.n.) side, trunk of body; in the phrase <u>kɔhun upuh a yo</u> he misses me.
kɔka	(i.n.) part of a plant, possibly bark (but cf. <u>kulihi</u>).
kɔkɔluh/kekɔluh	(n.) sign; (d.a.) enchanted; redup. of * <u>kɔluh</u> , poss. nom. of <u>takɔluh</u> .
kɔkɔne	(n.) spoiled (child).
kɔlaw	(n.) clothes, esp. sarong (syn. <u>čɛlaw</u> , <u>kɔlɔʔu</u>).
kɔlɔ/kɔlu	(i.n.) handle or shaft, esp. of canoe paddle or spear.
kɔlɔkɔn	(n.?) gloss unclear, poss. related to caring for or serving someone; redup. of * <u>kɔl</u> .
kɔlɔpʷaw	(n.) k.o. fish [ʔkɔlɔ 'handle' + pʷaw 'k.o. fruit'].
kɔlɔʔu	(i.n.) clothing; (syn. <u>kɔlaw</u> , <u>čɛlaw</u>).
kɔlu	(i.n.) throat; der. <u>pukɔlu</u> .
kɔlučukaka/kuličukaka	(i.n.) ankle [<u>kɔluču</u> 'joint??' + <u>kaka</u> 'leg, foot'].

kolučunime	(n.) elbow [<u>koluču</u> 'joint??' + <u>nime</u> 'hand, arm'].
koluḥ	(n.) sign, signal given to attract attention or to cause someone to come; der. <u>kulihi</u> , <u>kakoluḥ</u> ; used with verbal formative <u>ta</u> .
kolum	(n.) corn (prob. borrowed).
komu	(n.) word, talk, language; l.f. <u>komuwa</u> .
komupala	(i.n.) skull [<u>komu</u> 'word' + <u>pala</u> 'head']; also given once as 'hair', but see <u>komupala</u> .
komuwa	(i.n.) word, talk, language; s.f. <u>komu</u> .
konā	(i.n.) gloss unclear, attested in the phrases <u>konā komu</u> 'Cut out the chatter!' and <u>konan</u> 'It doesn't matter'; TP <u>maski</u> .
konā	(i.n.) bit of (food); der. <u>konukonun</u> .
konāḥ	(n.) peace offering; gifts to family of deceased person; l.f. <u>konāḥa</u> .
konukan/kenukan	(n.) dust or small bits of matter which can be carried on the air (but not dust raised by passing cars).
konukonun	(n.) little bits, usually of food; redup. of <u>konā</u> , bit of (food).
konukomatan	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. morning star; may be [<u>konu</u> '?' + <u>mata</u> 'eye' + <u>-n</u> '3sg possessor'].
konukw	(n.) k.o. taro; k.o. fish, poss. catfish or catfish-eel.
konu	(n.) bowl made by coiling slender bundles of natural fiber.
konuča	(n.) mangrove tree.
konuḥ	(i.n.) navel.
konu?a	(i.n.) dirty, esp. water.
konuwiliḡ/kepuliḡ	(n.) area under house which is built on posts or stilts.

כזכא	(n.) k.o. small yam.
כזככס	(n.) sago fried with coconut oil.
כזככ	(i.n.) close-to, next-to; most commonly occurs in the compound <u>maʔakכככ</u> 'next to, beside'.
כזככנא	(n.) marriage, poss. also married person [ʔככככ 'marriage' + -(nʔ)ay 'n.f.']
כזכככ/ככככ	(n.) part of the procedure of marriage involvings the adorning of the bride on the wedding day; der. <u>ככככני</u> .
כזככני	(v.t. Class ?) adorn the bride.
כזכ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of cod; der. <u>melekכזכ</u> .
כזכ	(n.) fence; l.f. <u>kawa</u> .
כזככס	(n.) friend; celebration.
כזככסsun/כזכככsun	(n.) coconut in the intermediate stage of maturity, neither green nor at the copra stage.
כזכככ/כזכככ	(n.) k.o. shell.
כזכככkaw	(n.) sweet potato; borrowed from TP <u>kaukau</u> .
כזככככ	(v.i. Class ?) have chills, as with malaria.
כזכככניye/ככככניye	(i.n.) crumbs (of food); bits and pieces (of trees or plants).
כזככככ	(n.) foodstuffs, incl. betel nut, grown in garden.
כזככככat	(n.) Loniu name for Coronat.
כזככככtan	(n.) bundle (e.g., of spears or bamboo).
כזככככtut	(n.) rear portion of the interior of a house.
כזככככow	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of jobfish or emperor.
כזכככum	(n.) bamboo water jug.

kɔʔun	(n.) yams for daily eating, i.e. neither for celebrations nor planting; also, the left side.
kohowa	(i.n.) repayment, return for favor or help received.
kokopelos	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. beaked leatherjacket.
kow	(n.) hook used for fishing.
ku	(n.) pot, saucepan used for boiling foods; traditionally of clay, obtained from Hus or Mbuke.
kuče	(i.n.) kidney.
kučum	(n.) a short pointed stake stuck in the ground, used for husking coconuts.
kuh	(n.) k.o. plant with fragrant leaves.
kuku	(n.) k.o. tree/wood used for making digging sticks (<u>nas</u>).
kuličukaka	(i.n.) variant of <u>kɔlučukaka</u> ankle.
kulihi	(i.n.) bark; skin (of crocodile); cf. <u>kɔkɔ</u> , <u>maʔa</u> .
kulihi	(n.) with verbal formative <u>ta</u> , to signal; s.f. <u>kɔluh</u> .
kulupačow	(n.) rope; k.o. sea snake, poss. harlequin snake-eel or culverin.
kumum	(n.) a length of wood used to throw up into tress to cause the fruit to fall; also used in fighting.
kum ^w et	(n.) part of the floor supports of a house.
kun	(n.) breadfruit tree, its fruit, and the wood from it, which is used in canoe building.
kun	(v.t. Class I) carry suspended from the head; l.f. <u>kuni</u> , der. <u>kunukun</u> .
kuni	(v.t. Class I) carry suspended from the head [<u>kun</u> 'carry' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']. .

kunukun	(n.) carrying; redup. of <u>kun</u> .
kup	(n.) flat, woven basket normally carried by men; l.f. <u>kupE</u> .
kupE	(i.n.) flat, woven basket, normally carried by men; s.f. <u>kup</u> .
kup	(n.) the east wind.
kup ^w en	(n.) type of fishing net.
kup ^w i	(n.) trough in which sago is pounded [<u>?ka</u> 'n.f.' + <u>up^wi</u> 'pound sago'].
kus	(v.i. Class ?) sulk; l.f. <u>kusuweni</u> , <u>kusuwani</u> .
kusuweni/kusuwani	(v.i. Class ?) sulk [<u>kusuw</u> (s.f. <u>kus</u>) 'sulk' + <u>-eni/-ani</u> 'trans.']; note that this verb does not appear to be transitive, in spite of the transitivizing suffixes--see 3.4.1.3).
kut	(n.) louse.
kutukutupelijaw	(n.) k.o. sea snake, black with white stripes [<u>kutu</u> 'redup' + <u>kutu</u> '?' + <u>pelijaw</u> 'k.o. fish'].
kutukutup ^w ahalen	(n.) gloss unclear, may refer to sandy bottom area within reef [<u>kutu</u> 'redup' + <u>kutu</u> '?' + <u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>len</u> 'beach'].
kutupapay	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. winged dragonfish, razorfish, or shrimpfish.
kutuwalas	(n.) freshwater seahorse [<u>?kutu</u> '?' + <u>walas</u> 'sea grass'].
kuwe	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot.
kuwen	(n.) adze-type tool, used for breaking up core of sago palm to extract pulp; der. <u>takuweli</u> ; also poss. a type of fishing net.
kuwepat	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot [<u>kuwe</u> 'k.o. fish' + <u>pat</u> 'stone'].
ku?u	(i.n.) loud, thundering noise, as of breaking waves or thunder.

ku?u	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of squirrelfish.
la	(v.i. Class II) go (to a destination); motion away from.
lač	(n.) coral.
lah	(n.) various species of ray; der. <u>lehe?an</u> , <u>lehepat</u> .
lahah	(n.) white spot (skin disease which causes whitish blotches to appear on skin).
lakahani	(v.t. Class II) touch, feel (e.g. the edge of a knife) for sharpness [<i>*lakah</i> 'feel' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.']; poss. der. <u>akalakan</u> feel around without seeing.
lala	(n.) k.o. fish.
laman	(n.) deep water area, where no bottom is visible.
laman puket	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. high seas (TP) <u>biqwana</u> ; cf. <u>marapuket</u> .
lametiyen	(d.a.) variant of <u>metiyen</u> big.
lan	(n.) south wind.
laŋ	(n.) sky; <u>ko laŋ</u> 'heaven; lit. land (of the) sky'.
laŋah	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. wrasse.
lapak	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of sole.
lapan	(n.) leader; God.
lapʷanan/napʷanan	(d.a.) big; not used with fish, but otherwise appears to be interchangeable with (la) <u>metiyen</u> .
lapʷe	(part.) with no purpose or result; poss. related to <u>pʷe</u> 'no, not'.
lasɔɔ	(i.n.) man's mother-in-law and sisters-in-law (no age specified).

law	(n.) type of large fishing net; der. <u>laweyap</u> .
law	(n.) family, supporters, relatives (TP <u>lain</u>), l.f. <u>lawə</u> .
lawə	(i.n.) family, supporters, relatives; s.f. <u>law</u> .
lawat	(n.) possum.
laweyap	(n.) type of fishing net [<u>lawə</u> (s.f. <u>law</u>) 'fishing net' + <u>yap</u> 'foreigner'].
la?elewe	(i.n.) length [<u>la</u> '?go' + <u>ə.ewen</u> 'long, far'].
la?o	(n.) small open-sided structure near main house.
lehe	(i.n.) tooth; poss. der. <u>lehetu</u> .
lehepat	(n.) k.o. ray [<u>lehe</u> (s.f. <u>lah</u>) 'ray' + <u>pat</u> 'stone'].
lehetu	(n.) part of house frame [<u>lehe</u> 'tooth' + <u>tu</u> 'house post'].
lehe?an	(n.) k.o. ray [<u>lehe</u> (s.f. <u>lah</u>) 'ray' + <u>an</u> 'water'].
lekehi	(v.t. Class I) grope or feel around for [<u>*lakah</u> '?feel' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']; l.f. <u>lakahani</u> ; der. <u>akalakan</u> .
leken	(n.) sore, wound, scratch.
lele	(v.i. Class I) look.
lelen	(d.a.) nice; light-colored; pretty.
lemeti	(v.t. Class I) remove the root hairs of yams and other tubers [<u>*lemet</u> (s.f. <u>lemi</u> / <u>*lam</u>) 'root hair' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
lemi	(i.n.) short hairs, fur; root hair of yams and other tubers; der. <u>lemeti</u> , <u>lemilam</u> , <u>lemilemin</u> .
lemilam	(n.) fur; lots of little hairs; poss. redup. of <u>*lam</u> or <u>lemi</u> ; k.o. fish, poss. pennantfish or plumed trevally.

lemilemi	(i.n.) root hairs of yams and other tubers; the hair-like growth on the husk of the coconut; redup. of <u>lemi</u> , indicates plurality.
leŋ	(n.) beach; der. <u>p^wahaleŋ</u> .
leŋeʔi	(sub. conj.) like, as, as though; when.
leŋin	(n.) rain.
lepekanay	(n.) name used to refer to or address someone whose name either one may not mention due to tabus or one does not know.
let	(n.) belt; prob. borrowed from TP.
leʔi/leʔe	(part.) present continuative, simulfactive.
leʔin	(n.) from TP <u>lain</u> ; 'group, relatives, supporters'.
len	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of wrasse or rainbowfish; <u>len sas</u> [<u>len</u> + <u>sas</u> '?'] poss. zig-zag wrasse; <u>len maʔaw</u> [<u>len</u> + <u>maʔaw</u> '?'] poss. Gaimard's rainbowfish; <u>len kun</u> [<u>len</u> + <u>kun</u> 'breadfruit'] poss. green-blocked wrasse; <u>len p^pwilow</u> [<u>len</u> + <u>p^pwilow</u> 'butterfly'] poss. red-throated rainbowfish.
leʔe	(v.t. Class I) see, look at; der. <u>leʔeya</u> , <u>leʔeʔeʔeliye</u> , <u>leʔeʔeʔeyani</u> , <u>leʔeʔeliye</u> .
leʔeʔeʔeliye	(n.) examination [<u>leʔe</u> 'see' + <u>ʔe</u> 'redup.' + <u>ʔeliye</u> '?'].
leʔeʔeʔeyani	(v.t. Class I?) consider carefully [<u>leʔe</u> 'see' + <u>ʔeliye</u> '?' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.']
leʔeʔeliye	(v.t. Class I?) consider carefully, examine [<u>leʔe</u> 'see' + <u>ʔeliye</u> '?']; l.f. <u>leʔeʔeʔeyani</u> .
leʔeya	(i.n.) seeing; nom. of <u>leʔe</u> .
lih	(part.) gloss unclear, poss. indicates some immediacy regarding the activity referred to by the main verb; used with <u>la</u> 'go' and <u>me</u> 'come'; may be suffix, but does not appear to cause the stem-vowel raising common to affixation, except in the case of <u>elelih</u> (which cf.).

לכ	(i.n.) inside of, within the boundaries or limits of (an object or a period of time); <u>לכ ke</u> 'the bush, the forest'; used frequently in place names, e.g., <u>לכניו</u> ; der. <u>לכku</u> , <u>לכלכ</u> , <u>לכטיע</u> .
לכ לכ	(phrase) literally 'inside the mat', refers to the traditional custom of isolating the pubescent girl in a type of rite of passage. The girl is dressed in a woven mat (cf. <u>לככ</u>), stays in the house for a period of up to two to three months, and comes out only at night, still dressed in the mat, to bathe. While in isolation, she does not prepare her own food nor wash her own clothes, but is cared for by relatives. Traditionally, the girl's ears are pierced just prior to the isolation period.
לכhayen	(n.) place name, now called Lolak.
לכחליyan	(n.) a (possibly indefinite) period of time.
לכחלכluwa	(i.n.) middle portion of, part in between two extremities; e.g., <u>לכחלכluwa karas</u> 'the middle portion of the mullet (neither head nor tail)'; middle child; index finger.
לככנ	(n.) more than enough; excellent.
לככטuq	(n.) support underneath the bed of the canoe, runs parallel to canoe edge.
לכku	(n.) traditional gifts and celebration by mother's family for the first-born child [<u>לכ</u> 'inside' + <u>ku</u> 'cooking pot']; cf. <u>sa'כנ</u> .
לככ	(n.) whale; cf. <u>מככwam</u> .
לככנ	(n.) planting; prob. redup. of <u>לכ</u> 'inside of'.
לככw	(n.) k.o. cane plant.
לככwa	(i.n.) scent, odor, smell; (?syn. <u>ey</u>).
לכלumlum	(n.) place name [<u>לכ</u> 'inside' + <u>lum</u> 'redup.' + <u>lum</u> '?']
לכmata	(i.n.) kind, type.
לכמכt	(n.) name of a section of Loniu village.

לכמ	(i.n.) body hair, fur of animal, feather; der. <u>לכמukan</u> , <u>לכמלכמ</u> , <u>לכמupala</u> .
לכמukan/לכמukan	(n.) feather [<u>לכמ</u> 'fur, feather' + * <u>kan</u> '?bird' (cf. <u>netukan</u> 'bird')].
לכמלכמ	(i.n.) lots of hair or fur; redup. of <u>לכמ</u> .
לכמupala	(i.n.) hair of the head [<u>לכמ</u> 'hair' + <u>pala</u> 'head'].
לכמWa	(i.n.) planting; nom. of <u>לכמWi</u> .
לכמ'i	(v.t. Class I) plant; der. <u>לכמWa</u> .
לכניw	(n.) Loniu [<u>לכ</u> 'inside' + <u>niw</u> 'coconut palm']; name used to refer to the <u>לכניw</u> people, their language and their village. They themselves use this term when speaking Tok Pisin or English, but use the term <u>לכניw</u> when speaking their language
לכניw	(n.) thing; l.f. <u>לכניw</u> .
לכניw	(i.n.) thing; s.f. <u>לכניw</u> ; <u>לכניw ככניw</u> <u>לכניw ke</u> the things of the bush, wild life [<u>לכניw</u> 'thing' + <u>ככניw</u> 'within' + <u>לכניw</u> 'inside' + <u>ke</u> 'tree']
לכניw	(n.) name of an area near the beach at Loniu village.
לכניwun	(n.) place name, Lombrum.
לכניw	(v.i. Class I) fall down, land, go down (e.g. moon or month).
לכניw	(n.) short-tailed animal, prob. bushrat, bandicoot, or marmot; Tok Pisin <u>mumut</u> .
לכניw	(n.) skin disease involving heavy rash; possibly a type of ringworm.
לכניw	(n.) weeds.
לכניw	(i.n.) inside of or within [<u>לכניw</u> 'inside' + <u>tiye</u> 'interior, insides'].
לכניw	(n.) place name; Lawes.
לכניw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. bright-saddled goatfish.

כ?כ	(i.n.) leaf; l.f. כ?כna; der. כ?כke, כ?כnow, כ?כput, poss. כ?כuyan.
כ?כke	(n.) paper, paper money [כ?כ 'leaf' + ke 'tree'].
כ?כna/כ?כna	(i.n.) leaf; s.f. כ?כ; כ?כ niw is equivalent to כ?כna niw 'coconut leaf' (both occur); only the long form may be suffixed: כ?כnan but not *כ?כn.
כ?כnow	(n.) Lorengau [כ?כ 'leaf' + now 'k.o. plant'].
כ?כput	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. lesser fantail ray [כ?כ 'leaf' + put 'k.o. plant'].
כ?כu	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. short-bodied mackerel.
כ?כuyan	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. banded scad or herring trevally [כ?כ 'leaf' or כ?כu 'k.o. fish' + yan 'k.o. plant'].
lolow	(n.) spy, thief.
lot	(n.) shells of the family Turbinidae, turbans.
low	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. sweetlips or sea bream; name of off-shore island visible to the south of Loniu village, near Baluan and Pak.
luluwe	(n.) line used to raise the sail; poss. redup. of luwe 'lose, let go'.
luŋ	(v.t. Class ?) catch (fish); l.f. lunuti.
luŋuti	(v.t. Class ?) catch (fish) [luŋut (s.f. luŋ) 'catch' + -i 'trans.'].]
lus	(n.) nit.
lus	(n.) shallow wooden bowl with a flat bottom, traditionally used for men's food.
luwe	(v.t. Class I) lose, drop, let go, leave; wait; poss. der. luluwe.
luwin	(n.) white sandy ocean floor, esp. with no stones or coral.

ma	(conj.) and, with, together with (see 7.2.2).
ma	(v.i. Class ?) ripen.
ma	(part.) intentional or inchoative marker (see 3.4.3.2, 5.1.1.3.4).
ma	(pref.) number formative (see 3.2.1).
ma sow	(neg. phrase) not yet (see 6.5).
mačan/mečan	(n.) one of the major steps in the marriage procedures involving preparation of feast and presentation of gifts between the bride's and the groom's family; takes place after the birth of at least the first child.
mačaw	(n.) ocean passage between two islands.
mačehe	(intern. pro.) how much, how many (see 6.7.3.6).
mah	(n.) taro.
mahu	(adv.) tomorrow.
mahun	(d.a.) new, newborn; (syn. <u>mamahun</u>).
mak	(n.) oarlock.
makɔʔɔhun	(n.) pre-dawn, not enough light to see well.
malahan	(d.a.) wide, broad.
malin	(n.) k.o. wood which floats, poss. balsa.
malɔɔɔmʷan	(n.) time of morning when sun is coming up, there is just enough light to see; about 4:30 a.m.; [?TP <u>malolo</u> 'rest' + <u>mʷan</u> 'fire'].
mam	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of wrasse.
mamahun	(d.a.) new, new-born; redup. of <u>mahun</u> .
maman/mamaʔan	(n.) newborn child.
mamat	(v.i.?) be awake.
mamɔʔan	(d.a.) fresh; (syn. <u>manʷemʷeʔan</u>).

mam ^{Wa} /m ^{Wam} Wa	(v.i.?) , be sorry , have pity; attested in the phrases <u>kɔlu mam^{Wa} a wɔw</u> (lit. 'my throat <u>mam^{Wa}</u> POSS you) 'I am sorry for you' and <u>putuwo m^{Wam}Wa a wɔw</u> (lit. my belly <u>mam^{Wa}</u> POSS you) 'I am angry with you'.
mam ^{Wem} W ^e ?an	(d.a.) fresh; (syn. <u>mamɔ?an</u>).
mam ^{Wene} ?en	(d.a.) whole, entire, not cut into pieces.
mam ^{Wi} ?in/mam ^{Wim} Wi?in	(d.a.) alive [ma '?' + m ^{Wi} ?in 'afterwards'].
mana	(n.) white egg cowrie, <i>Ovula ovum</i> Linnaeus; used as penis ornament in one of the traditional Manus dances; der. <u>kamana</u> , <u>tamana</u> .
manaw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. purple-headed parrotfish.
manunuwe	(v.i. Class ?) sway back and forth.
manuweran	(n.) boundary.
manjawe	(v.i. Class ?) be clear, open, have long-range visibility.
mapen	(n.) morning [ma '?' + <u>pen</u> 'night'].
mapitan	(d.a.) raw.
marā	(n.?) in the area of, around, near; may be variant of <u>mata</u> 'eye, edge'.
marā	(aux.?) poss. a modal verb meaning 'might, may, must'.
marakečey	(n.) gloss unclear, may be related to fastening parts of canoe together; poss. <u>matakečey</u> .
marapuket	(n.) area near the reef.
maron	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of herring or bream.
mas	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of garpike or longtom.
masa	(v.i. Class ?) dawn; time of day when there is enough light to see; later than <u>malɔlom^{Wan}</u> , about 5:30-6:00 a.m. [ma '?' + <u>sa</u> 'be cleared'].

masɔʔɔne	(n.?) a mess, messy.
mat	(n.) reef.
mat	(v.i. Class II) die.
mata	(v.i. Class I) be or become big; grow up.
mata	(i.n.) eye; edge; lid (of pot).
mata	(d.a.) big; attested only in the phrase <u>ɔwn mata</u> 'his big bone, his spine'; poss. l.f. <u>metiyen</u> .
mata ɕip	(n.) window frame.
matakapʷa	(i.n.) bunch or cluster (of fruit, e.g.); ground vine.
mataluh	(n.) k.o. shell, poss. fam. Turbinidae; said to have a black operculum; also, money [<u>mata</u> 'eye' + <u>luh</u> '?']. <u>luh</u> '?'].
matapupʷilin	(n.) anus [<u>mata</u> 'eye' + <u>pu</u> '?redup' + <u>pʷilin</u> '?mountain'].
mataʔan	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. talk without knowing, invent.
may	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish, poss. poison-spined fish of some type.
maʔa	(i.n.) skin; close to, as in <u>maʔa paɕ</u> 'close to the stone(s)'; der. <u>maʔa+kɔsɔ</u> .
maʔakɔsɔ/maʔaŋɔsɔ	(i.n.) beside, near [<u>maʔa</u> 'skin' + <u>kɔsɔ</u> 'next-to'].
maʔaw	(n.) formative used in fish names, no specific gloss available; cf. <u>ien maʔaw</u> , <u>kaiiʔaw maʔaw</u>
maʔin	(part.) maybe; Tok Pisin <u>ating</u> .
me	(v.i. Class I) come, motion toward.
mehiyun	(d.a.) bad-tasting, sour (e.g., old sago).
mekehen	(d.a.) thin.

mekeyan	(n.) mollusc of the fam. Volutidae, <i>auilicina vespertilio</i> Linnaeus.
melaʔan	(n.?) big, open area, with no mountains, from which you can see the ocean in all directions; cf. <u>malahan</u> , of which this may be a variant form.
melekat	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of cod [mele 'ʔ' + <u>kat</u> 'k.o. fish'].
melemun	(d.a.) soft, overripe.
melen	(n.) k.o. plant whose leaves are used as vegetable; Tok Pisin <u>aipika</u> .
melesewa	(i.n.) man's brothers-in-law and his sisters-in-law who are older than his wife; also, woman's brothers-in-law who are older than her husband.
melewa	(i.n.) spirit, soul.
meliwi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. surgeonfish or tang.
memesu	(v.i. Class ?) hiccough.
memey	(n.) k.o. plant or natural fiber used for making baskets.
menih	(n.) large black bee; k.o. deep water seaweed which stings.
menuway	(n.) eagle; k.o. ray, poss. duckbill-ray or spotted eagle-ray.
meseʔen	(n.) front portion of the interior of a house.
messʔen	(n.) clean (water).
metepow	(n.) long two-man pole used for carrying things suspended between shoulders (cf. <u>si'hi</u>); pole placed at the edge of the canoe bed to ease the feeding of the net into the water; poles arranged under the roof of the house, used for storage; may be made from palm-leaf stalks.
metiput	(n.) cross-pieces in a canoe.
metiyen/lametiyen/nametiyen	(d.a.) large, big; may be l.f. of <u>mata</u> big; der. <u>cehemetiyen</u> .

metɔ	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of emperor.
meʔ	(n.) brown-skinned (person).
meʔEME	(n.) type of fishing net, used to catch mullet.
meʔesan	(d.a.) cooked, done; nom. of <u>meʔis</u> .
meʔEW	(n.) k.o. fruit.
meʔipihine/metipihine	(1.n.) groin [<u>meʔi/meti</u> 'ʔ' + <u>pihine</u> (s.f. <u>pihin</u> 'female')].
meʔiman	(d.a.) red; (syn. <u>yamaʔam</u> , <u>aman</u>).
meʔiqat	(??) gloss unclear, poss. be or become rotten.
meʔis	(v.i. Class I) become cooked, done.
meʔiyen	(adv.) quickly, hurriedly.
mete	(v.i. Class I) sleep; der. <u>meteteri</u> , <u>meteʔewɔh</u> , <u>meteʔiw</u> .
meteteri	(v.i. Class?) sleep heavily, poss. redup. of <u>mete</u> (but see 3.8.1.1; reduplication is normally pre-root rather than post root).
meteʔewɔh	(n.) day before yesterday [<u>mete</u> 'sleep' + <u>ewɔh</u> 'two'].
meteʔiw	(n.) sleeping; nom. of <u>mete</u> .
meʔe	(n.) k.o. fruit, prob. variety of Malay apple (syn. <u>ɕay</u>).
mimim	(v.i. Class I?) urinate.
min	(v.i. Class I) sit; most often in the phrase <u>min tan</u> 'sit down'.
misimisiye	(v.i. Class ?) chant for extended period; redup. of <u>misiye</u> .
misiyeni	(v.t. Class ?) praise (an accomplishment) [<u>misiye</u> 'chant' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.']. .
misiye	(v.i. Class ?) chant, esp. in praise of someone's accomplishment; der. <u>misimisiye</u> , <u>misiyeni</u> .

misuwa	(v.t. Class ?) fill; l.f. <u>misuwani</u> .
misuwani	(v.t. Class ?) fill up a large area, e.g., the village with food [misuwa 'fill' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
miʔi	(n.) k.o. small ant.
מכקעʔען	(n.) Mokareng.
מכלכמ	(n.) whale; cf. <u>כלכל</u> .
מכמ	(n.) line used to adjust the sail.
מכמכ	(i.n.) liquid; <u>מכמכ niw</u> 'coconut water'.
מכמכמכ	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be in a hurry.
מכמכטני	(v.t. Class ?) spit out, vomit; (syn. <u>em^weteni</u>).
מכמ ^w אכ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. cuttlefish.
מכמ	(v.i. Class I) return; reverse direction.
מכמ	(n.) a very long outrigger canoe.
מכמ	(n.) variant of <u>m^wכמ</u> beaded or woven arm band.
מכמכ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. long-snouted unicornfish.
מכמ	(d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. yellow-colored, but cf. <u>מכמכ</u> yellow.
מכמכמכ	(n.) k.o. small yam with purplish flesh; redup. of <u>מכמ</u> .
מכמכמכ	(v.i. Class ?) break open, e.g., an egg [מכ '??' + <u>מכמכ</u> 'broken up'].
מכמ	(n.) k.o. bird, poss. a variety of swift.
מכמכ/מכמכ?מכמכ	(v.i. Class ?) be scattered about, to go or be here and there, as molluscs among the mangrove roots.
מכמ	(v.i. Class ?) be broken, break.

mɔtɔm ^{Wat} /mɔtem ^{Wat}	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of reef eels, poss. spotted snake-blenny; redup. of <u>m^{Wat}</u> 'snake'; <u>mɔtɔm^{Wat} kɔʔkɔ</u> 'brown moray'; <u>mɔtɔm^{Wat} kɔʔtɔlutun</u> 'Arabian pike-eel or asher conger-eel'.
mo	(n.) variant of <u>mu</u> k.o. fish.
moɔo/ŋoɔo	(i.n.) enough, sufficiency.
motow	(n.) k.o. knife or cutting tool.
moʔɔhow	(n.) k.o. plant, natural fiber for basket making.
mu/mo	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of spinefoot.
muçi	(i.n.) variant of <u>m^{Wi}çe</u> husk of betel nut or coconut.
muçumuç	(n.) variant of <u>m^{Wi}çim^{Wi}ç</u> very small betel nut.
mulow	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. silver spinefoot or black trevally [ʔmu 'k.o. fish' + low 'k.o. fish'].
mumuçay	(n.) k.o. very small fish.
mumum	(n.) long poles used for pounding sago in <u>kup^{Wi}</u> trough.
musih	(d.a.) alike.
muwan	(d.a.) bad, evil.
muʔu	(i.n.) stern, rear end; poss. related to <u>m^{Wi}ʔin</u> 'afterwards'.
muʔu	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. harlequin sweetlips.
muʔun	(v.i. Class I) be hungry.
m ^{Wal} iat	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of albacore.
m ^{Wal} ih	(n.) story; repeated three or four times to begin a story; l.f. <u>m^{Wal}ihi</u> .
m ^{Wal} ihi	(i.n.) story; l.f. <u>m^{Wal}ihi</u> .

m ^W am ^W a	(v.i. Class ?) variant of <u>mam^Wa</u> be sorry or angry.
m ^W am ^W aw	(n.) k.o. fish.
m ^W an	(n.) fire; l.f. <u>m^Wenu</u> ; der. <u>kam^Wan</u> , <u>čipɔʔɔm^Wan</u> , <u>katam^Wan</u> , <u>malɔɔɔm^Wan</u> , <u>sulunam^Wan</u> .
m ^W anus	(n.) Manus; coastal people of Manus.
m ^W asas	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of goatfish.
m ^W at	(n.) snake; der. <u>mɔtɔm^Wat</u> .
m ^W at	(n.) k.o. large yam.
m ^W at	(n.) wounds resulting from accident.
m ^W atahatah	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be in a hurry; said not to be used with first person [ʔm ^W a 'ʔ' + <u>taha</u> redup. + <u>tah</u> 'LOC'] .
m ^W ati	(n.) ax.
m ^W ay	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of angelfish, poss. spotted surgeonfish.
m ^W aʔay	(n.) peace, calm.
m ^W aʔen	(d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. alive or be alive; poss. der. <u>mam^Weneʔen</u> , <u>mam^Wem^Weʔan</u> .
m ^W aʔusuwe	(v.i. Class ?) twist and turn about, e.g. to avoid smoke.
m ^W e	(i.n.) buttocks.
m ^W ečepu/m ^W ičepu	(n.) last born child; last bit of something.
m ^W ekelikeliye	(v.i. Class ?) be uneasy, queasy [ʔm ^W e 'ʔ' + <u>keli</u> redup. + <u>keli</u> 'boil' + ye 'ʔ'] .
m ^W ekew	(n.) deep sea; overseas.
m ^W ełehe	(d.a.) emptyhanded, useless; plain, water with no flavoring.

m ^w ɛlɛŋa	(i.n.) the area in between two objects or persons.
m ^w ɛli	(i.n.) canoe with built-up sideboards; also used to refer to large trucks; der. <u>m^wɛlip^wɛ</u> .
m ^w ɛlip ^w ɛ	(n.) small canoe; also used for small vehicles such as Jeeps; [<u>m^wɛli</u> 'canoe with built-up sideboards' + <u>p^wɛ</u> 'no, not'].
m ^w ɛnɛn	(d.a.) straight, correct; der. <u>m^wɛniyɛni</u> .
m ^w ɛniyani/m ^w ɛneyani	(v.i. Class ?) be easy, soft; [<u>m^wɛniyɛ</u> 'easily, softly' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].
m ^w ɛniyɛ	(adv.) easily, softly, carefully, gently; l.f. <u>m^wɛneyani</u> ; (v.t. Class ?) straighten; poss. s.f. <u>m^wɛnɛn</u> ; <u>m^wɛniyɛni</u> , <u>m^wɛniyani</u> .
m ^w ɛniyɛni/m ^w ɛniyani	(v.t. Class ?) straighten, arrange [<u>m^wɛniyɛ</u> 'straighten' + <u>-eni/-ani</u> 'trans.'].
m ^w ɛnu/m ^w ɔnu/mɔnu	(i.n.) fire; s.f. <u>m^wɛn</u> ; der. <u>m^wɔnuɔp</u> .
m ^w ɛnɛ?iyɛ	(v.i.) move, reposition oneself.
m ^w ɛy	(n.) k.o. beach crab.
m ^w ɛi	(n.) dog.
m ^w ɛi	(n.) k.o. sea bird with webbed feet.
m ^w ɛiɛ/muɕi/m ^w ɛiɕi	(i.n.) husk of betel nut or coconut.
m ^w ɛiɕi	(i.n.) variant of <u>m^wɛiɛ</u> husk of betel nut or coconut.
m ^w ɛiɕim ^w ɛiɕ/muɕumuɕ	(n.) very small betel nut.
m ^w ɛiɕiŋat	(v.i.?) be hot [<u>m^wɛiɕi</u> 'husk' + <u>natah</u> 'be hot'].
m ^w ɛiɕiŋɛni	(v.t. Class ?) reprove, reject.
m ^w im ^w i?in	(n.) youngest child; redup. of <u>m^wi?in</u> 'afterwards'.
m ^w i?in	(adv.) afterwards, later; der. <u>pum^wi?i</u> , <u>m^wim^wi?in</u> .

m ^w i?iw	(n.) grass.
m ^w כn/mכn	(n.) beaded or woven arm or leg band.
m ^w כnu	(i.n.) variant of <u>m^wenu</u> fire.
m ^w כnuyap/mכnoyap	(n.) matches, lighter [m ^w כnu 'fire' + <u>yap</u> 'foreigner']
m ^w כn	(n.) k.o. fruit, prob. pandanus.
nametiyen	(d.a.) variant of <u>metiyen</u> big.
nap ^w anan	(d.a.) variant of <u>lap^wanan</u> big.
nas	(n.) digging stick; l.f. <u>nesI</u> .
nay	(n.) short ornamented skirt.
nen	(n.) part of the palm leaf, used for sewing palm leaf thatch.
nen	(v.i. Class I?) crawl on the belly, e.g.; a snake.
nenes	(v.i. Class I) talk.
nesI	(i.n.) digging stick; s.f. <u>nas</u> .
neti	(v.t. Class I) divide up a garden plot into sections for planting.
ne?ehin	(n.) young woman [ne '?' + <u>ehin</u> 'girl']; l.f. <u>ne?ehiye</u> .
ne?ehiye	(i.n.) young woman; s.f. <u>ne?ehin</u> .
ne?i	(i.n.) clothes, dress.
ni	(n.) general term for fish; l.f. <u>nive</u> .
nihiyani	(v.t. Class ?) dream about.
nime/lime	(i.n.) hand, arm.
nin	(n.) spike, nail.
ninen	(d.a.) variant of <u>inen</u> small.

nini	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of trevally, esp. bluefin trevally; redup. of <u>ni</u> fish.
niniye may/niniye mač	(n.) k.o. anemonefish or clownfish [<u>ni</u> redup. + <u>niye</u> (s.f. <u>ni</u>) fish + <u>may</u> 'k.o. fish']
niniye mɔluč	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. similar to <u>niniye mač</u> .
nipaŋ	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. rainbowfish, wrasse or parrotfish [<u>ni</u> 'fish' + paŋ '?'].
niw	(n.) coconut, both the palm and the fruit.
niw aman	(n.) species of coconut, most common type [<u>niw</u> 'coconut' + <u>aman</u> 'red'].
niw mami	(n.) species of coconut, very sweet [<u>niw</u> 'coconut' + <u>mami</u> 'TP: type of yam'] .
niw pa	(n.) species of coconut, whose fruits cluster on a single branch [<u>niw</u> 'coconut' + <u>pa</u> 'k.o. plant'].
niw paʔaŋ	(n.) species of coconut with red shoots [<u>niw</u> 'coconut' + <u>paʔaŋ</u> 'k.o. bird'] .
niw pelewa	(n.) species of short coconut palm, with small round reddish coconuts [<u>niw</u> 'coconut' + <u>pelewa</u> 'k.o. fish'] .
niye	(i.n.) fish; s.f. <u>ni</u> .
niye pat	(n.) general term for fish which feed on the reef [<u>niye</u> (s.f. <u>ni</u>) 'fish' + <u>pat</u> 'stone'].
niye tin	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. the fish caught or prepared for the family of a deceased person.
nɔh	(v.i. Class I) be afraid; der. <u>nɔhɔhɔh</u> .
nɔh	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. poison; poss. species of butterfly-cod, turkeyfish, or scorpion-cod.
nɔhɔhɔh	(n.) fear; redup. of <u>nɔh</u> be afraid.
nɔhʔna	(i.n.) variant of <u>nɔhʔna</u> leaf.
nɔhʔnɔhʔ	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of woman's headdress.

now	(n.) small stake around which yam vines are wound.
nah	(n.) spear.
načun	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. fusilier or bananafish.
nak	(v.t. Class ?) climb, go up onto or into; (v.i. Class ?) go up, e.g. a house; der. <u>nakoh</u> , <u>neketa</u> .
nako	(n.) k.o. bird which sings at night and, traditionally, heralds a death; may be a night heron or curlew.
nakokon	(n.) basket made of bark.
nakoh	(n.) rope or cloth used for climbing palm trees [<u>nak</u> 'climb' + <u>oh</u> '?'].
nala	(n.) cold wind; (v.i. Class ?) be or become cold; der. <u>peletun</u> .
naman	(d.a.) sweet; sharp (syn. <u>kamakaman</u>).
naman	(n.) lard, fat, grease.
namon	(n.) mosquito.
nan	(v.i. Class ?) crawl on all fours; der. <u>anelipan</u> .
nana	(i.n.) man's father-in-law.
nane	(i.n.) mother.
panem ^W at	(n.) k.o. insect, approx. 6" long, flexible body and large wings; found in the upper parts of trees [<u>pane</u> 'mother' + <u>m^Wat</u> 'snake'].
pani	(v.t. Class II) variant of <u>yani</u> 'eat'.
panay	(n.) k.o. sea grass.
pana [?] e/pana [?] i	(v.t. Class I) peel off outer bark.
paperye	(d.a.) large in size and powerful, esp. in reference to <u>menway</u> 'eagle'.
papič	(n.) k.o. deep water crab, has very strong claws.

napɔn	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish.
napulu	(i.n.) spouse [<u>na</u> 'n.f.' + <u>pulu</u> 'spouse'].
nap ^w elekew	(n.) canoe part, parallel to the poles which attach to the outrigger.
nat	(n.) melon; <u>nat kun</u> 'pumpkin'; <u>nat ɔɔɔ</u> 'papaya'.
natama	(i.n.) father; father's brothers.
nato	(i.n.) grandmother.
natupu	(i.n.) grandfather; woman's father-in-law; man's nieces and nephews on his wife's side.
neheti	(v.t. Class I?) divide large bunches of fruit into smaller bunches.
neketa	(n.) climbing; nom. of <u>neketi</u> .
neketi	(v.t. Class I?) climb; prob. l.f. of <u>nak</u> .
nekuwan	(d.a.) good-tasting, sweet, e.g. fruit; (ant. <u>nemulen</u>).
neletun	(d.a.) cold; prob. l.f. of <u>naja</u>
nemulen/pumulen	(d.a.) sour (e.g. fruit); (ant. <u>nekuwan</u>).
neti/netu	(det.) diminutive marker.
netu	(i.n.) offspring, child; woman's brothers-in-law who are younger than her husband, man's sisters-in-law who are younger than his wife.
netukan	(n.) bird [<u>netu</u> 'child' + * <u>kan</u> 'bird' (cf. <u>ɔɔmukan</u>)]
netukemepu/netukɔmɔpu/ɔkɔmɔpu	(i.n.) grandchild [<u>netu</u> 'child' + <u>kemepu</u> '??'].
netum ^w an	(n.) young man [<u>netu</u> 'child' + * <u>m^wan</u> '??'].
netupoke	(n.) illegitimate child [<u>netu</u> 'child' + <u>poke</u> '??'].
netut	(n.) k.o. tree/wood used for canoe building.

netuweneyan	(n.) middle-sized [<u>netu</u> 'child' + <u>weneyan</u> '?'].
nihl	(v.t. Class I) wash, bathe; [<u>nuh</u> (s.f. <u>nu</u>) 'bathe' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']; der. <u>nhiya</u> .
nhiya	(i.n.) washing; nom. of <u>nhi</u> .
nikipik	(n.) gloss unclear, possibly a kind of picnic; redup. of * <u>nik</u> .
nikiti	(v.t. Class I) remove food from cooking pot.
nipinip	(n.) small, lapping waves; redup. of * <u>nip</u> .
netukemepu	(i.n.) variant of <u>netukemepu</u> grandchild.
netukemepu	(v.t. Class I) variant of <u>nana?e</u> peel or scrape off bark.
netukemepu	(n.) mahogany.
netukemepu	(i.n.) sweat (syn. <u>nono?o</u>).
netukemepu	(i.n.) variant of <u>nono?o</u> sweat.
netukemepu/hokh	(v.t. Class I) fill basket with food, e.g. yams der. <u>nohonoh</u> .
nohonoh	(v.i.) fill a basket; redup. of <u>nohi</u> .
nohonoh/etukemepu	(i.n.) sweat, perspiration (syn. <u>netukemepu</u>).
nu	(v.i. Class I) bathe oneself, wash; der. <u>nuhay</u> , <u>nhi</u> .
nuhay	(n.) washing; nom. of <u>nu</u> .
nuk	(n.) squid or cuttlefish.
numulen	(d.a.) variant of <u>nemulen</u> sour.
numwa	(i.n.) grating; nom. of <u>numwa</u> .
numwa	(v.t. Class I) scrape, grate (e.g. coconut); der. <u>numwa</u> .
nuwelaw	(v.i. Class ?) swim underwater [<u>nu</u> 'bathe' + * <u>welaw</u> '?']. der. <u>nuwelaw</u> .

ŋah	(n.) lime, used with betel nut; l.f. <u>ŋaha</u> .
ŋahan	(n.) fathom.
ŋahan	(d.a.) hot, spicy.
ŋan	(n.) sun; time.
ŋan	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. barracuda.
ŋara	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. opening or hole.
ŋatah	(v.i. Class ?) be hot, feel hot; der. <u>nataha</u> , <u>ŋatehi</u> , <u>panataha</u> .
ŋatahan	(d.a.) hot; prob. l.f. of <u>ŋatah</u> .
ŋatehi/ŋetehi	(v.t. Class ?) heat [<u>ŋatah</u> 'be hot' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
ŋay	(n.) hole, esp. in the ground; cave; l.f. <u>ŋEYE-</u>
ŋay	(n.) k.o. water bird, swims or floats on surface; poss. k.o. duck or booby.
ŋaʔa	(i.n.) name.
ŋelepu/ŋelipu	(n.) fly.
ŋeŋey	(d.a.) scarred, pocked from disease; prob. redup. of <u>ŋEYE</u> 'hole'.
ŋesu	(i.n.) smoke; most often <u>ŋesumʔan</u> ; der. <u>ŋESUNESUN</u> .
ŋesumʔan	(n.) smoke; cigarette [<u>ŋesu</u> 'smoke' + <u>ʔan</u> 'fire'].
ŋesunesun	(d.a.) smoky; redup. of <u>ŋesu</u> .
ŋetehi	(v.t. Class ?) variant of <u>ŋatehi</u> heat.
ŋeti	(v.i. Class ?) hurt, be painful; der. <u>ŋetiyan</u> .
ŋetiyan	(n.) pain; nom. of <u>ŋeti</u> hurt.
ŋeye	(i.n.) hole; s.f. <u>ŋay</u> ; der. <u>ŋEŋEY</u> .
ŋeʔe	(n.) when used with man's father's name, 'Mr.'; cf. <u>so</u> 'Miss'.

כה	(i.n.) nose, beak.
כהח	(part.) away, out.
כהח	(v.i. Class I) blow (e.g. wind).
כהחכה	(n.) crazy person (syn. <u>כַּחְה</u> , <u>כַּח</u>).
כהחכה	(i.n.) breath [כַּח 'nose' + base of <u>כַּחְהני</u> 'blow out'].
כהחעה	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. diagonal-banded sweetlips.
כהחח	(n.) bow of a canoe [כַּח 'nose' + <u>חח</u> 'canoe'].
כהח	(n.) crazy person.
כהח/כַּחְה/כַּחְה	(i.n.) root.
כהח	(i.n.) variant of <u>כַּחְה</u> enough.
כ	(v.i. Class ?) wither, fall, come down; pour down (e.g. water); poss. also come to an end.
כ	(conj.) or; prob. borrowed from Tok Pisin.
כח	(v.t. Class II) draw, write, adorn with designs; l.f. <u>כַּחְה</u> ; der. <u>כַּחְה</u> .
כחח	(v.t. Class II) draw, write, adorn with designs; s.f. <u>כַּח</u> .
כחח/כחח	(n.) dust; powdery substance found on branches of one species of sago palm (esp. <u>כַּחְה pamat</u>); der. <u>כַּחְהכַּחְה</u> , <u>כַּחְה</u> .
כחחכַּחְה	(i.n.) dust, car exhaust [<u>כַּחְה</u> redup. + *כַּחְה (l.f. <u>כַּחְה</u>)]
כַּחְה	(n.) mature coconut, at the stage when copra is extracted; black, l.f. <u>כַּחְה</u> .
כַּחְה	(d.a.) black, s.f. <u>כַּחְה</u> .
כַּחְה	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. gold-spotted trevally.
כַּחְה	(n.) wooden bailer.

ɔlow	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. demoiselle or sergeant-major.
ɔŋɔhɔni	(v.t. Class II?) think of; count [ɔŋɔhe 'think of' + -ani 'trans.']. ɔŋɔhe
ɔŋɔhe	(v.t. Class II) think of; count; der. <u>ɔŋɔhɔni</u> , <u>ɔŋɔ?ɔŋɔhe</u> .
ɔŋɔwa	(i.n.) yellow, fair-skinned; (?syn. <u>ɔŋɔ</u>).
ɔŋɔ?ɔŋɔhe	(v.i. Class ?) think; (n.) thought, opinion; redup. of <u>ɔŋɔhe</u> .
ɔpah	(n.) the celebration which is held upon the birth of a child.
ɔpukaka	(i.n.) ankle [ɔpu '??' + <u>kaka</u> 'leg, foot']; (syn. <u>ɔluɔukaka</u>).
ɔpunime	(i.n.) hand [ɔpu '??' + <u>nime</u> 'hand, arm'].
ɔw	(v.i. Class I?) play; ?der. <u>ɛwɛɔay</u> .
ɔw	(pro.) second person dual.
ɔwak/ɔɔwak	(n.) k.o. tree/wood used in canoe building.
ɔwan	(n.) shade.
ɔwatas	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. anchovy.
ɔwɔɔun	(n.) place name, Rosun.
ɔwɔh	(v.i. Class I) draw, write; redup. of <u>ɔh</u> .
ɔwɔhu	(i.n.) dust, exhaust; redup. of * <u>ɔhu</u> (l.f. <u>ɔhuwɛn</u>); (syn. <u>ɔhu?ɔhu</u>).
ɔwɔwan	(d.a.) green, blue; ?redup. of <u>ɔwan</u> shade.
ɔɔ	(v.i. Class I?) jump.
ɔw	(n.) k.o. fish trap.
ɔw	(i.n.) bone.

pa	(n.) poles running parallel to canoe, part of the structure which attaches the outrigger to the canoe (cf. <u>kıyeç</u> , <u>nap^weiekew</u>)
pa	(n.) k.o. plant with long slender leaf; coconut species.
paç	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sardine or pilchard.
paçspow	(n.) toilet facility built out over the water; (syn. <u>pala[?]ah</u>).
paçiçi?i	(v.t. Class ?) sweep.
paçilew	(n.) screen woven from palm fronds, used as filter.
pah	(n.) k.o. plant whose fibers are used for weaving baskets.
pah	(n.) market; l.f. <u>peheyani</u> , <u>peheyeni</u> .
paha	(n.) k.o. tree.
paha	(v.i. Class ?) be careful.
paha	(i.n.) front (of).
pahali	(n.) downhill.
pahapıçalay	(n.) place name, Papıtalaı.
pahatç?çpaŋ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flutemouth or trumpetfish.
pahaw	(n.) long, two-man paddle; l.f. <u>pahawe</u> .
pahun	(n.) cuttlebone; l.f. <u>pahune</u> .
pakak	(v.i. Class ?) dry up, e.g. reef when the tide is out.
pakow/pakow	(n.) k.o. tray or serving plate.
pakow	(n.) species of wild banana.
pala	(i.n.) head, skull; in the phrase <u>pala komu</u> , the point of a speech.

palace?etay	(n.) wooden log used as bridge [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>ce?et</u> 'crawl' + <u>-ay</u> 'n.f.'].]
palatɔpɔn	(n.) point, promontory [<u>?pala</u> 'head' + <u>ɔpɔn</u> 'water jug']].
palakaka pɔkemata	(i.n.) toe [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>kaka</u> 'leg' + <u>pɔkemata</u> 'thumb']].
palakeɔɔ/palakoɔɔ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of gudgeon or blenny [<u>?pala</u> 'head' + <u>kɔɔ</u> 'k.o. knife']].
palaketun	(n.) veranda, porch [<u>?pala</u> 'head' + <u>ketun</u> 'wooden club']].
palake?ime	(i.n.) tongue [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>ke?ime</u> '?']].
palaken	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of trevally [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>ken</u> '?']].
palalaw	(n.) k.o. sago palm with a long leaf, not used for thatch; a variety of the <u>pamat</u> type of sago [<u>?pala</u> 'head' + <u>law</u> 'fish net']].
palanime	(i.n.) fist [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>nime</u> 'hand, arm']].
palapap	(n.) betel pepper leaf, poss. slang term (syn. <u>pun</u>).
palapa/pelapa	(i.n.) branch, esp. of palm tree.
palapow	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of mullet [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>pow</u> 'pig']].
palaputuwehe	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>putuwe</u> '?belly' + <u>he</u> '?']].
palap ^w eleyah	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of parrotfish [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>p^weleyah</u> 'parrotfish']].
palatɔpɔn	(n.) place name [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>ɔpɔ</u> 'point' + <u>-n</u> '3sg possessor']].
palawati	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of parrotfish [<u>pala</u> 'head' + <u>wati</u> 'lizard']].
pala?ah	(n.) toilet facility built over water (syn. <u>pa?epow</u>).

paɛʔun	(n.) species of coconut with relatively little meat; not used for grating.
pamat	(n.) species of sago palm, has no thorns; cf. <u>ĉehit</u> , <u>palalaw</u> .
pa ^m boŋ	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. a species of ray; not a food fish; NB: this is the only occurrence of a prenasalized bilabial stop in the data.
pan	(n.) k.o. bird, said to eat berries whole; poss. Pacific imperial pigeon or helmeted friar bird.
panah	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. garfish; TP <u>ponpon</u> .
paŋɔh	(n.) ground cover made of leaves, used to hold sago pulp during processing.
paŋataha	(i.n.) heating, boiling; [pa 'ʔ' + <u>natah</u> 'be hot' + <u>-a</u> 'nom.']. .
papaha	(v.i. Class ?) inform, explain; poss. redup. of <u>paha</u> be careful.
papan	(n.) k.o. plant, whose leaf is used for making packets; poss. redup. of <u>pan</u> k.o. bird.
papaʔɔh	(adv.) very near; redup. of <u>paʔɔh</u> near.
papet	(n.) borderline, boundary of stones in garden; l.f. <u>papeti</u> .
papeti/papete	(i.n.) boundary; s.f. <u>papet</u> .
papuwe	(n.) base of palm leaf stalk, used as plate, fan, cover for food; part of bride's headdress.
paramanan	(n.) green coconut, from which coconut water is extracted.
parepit	(n.) species of small yam with white flesh.
pasa	(i.n.) knowledge, understanding; der. <u>pesari</u> .
pase/pase	(i.n.) chin, edge; der. <u>kepase</u> .
pasisi	(n.) k.o. fern.
nat	(n.) stone.

pata	(i.n.) stem, branch, trunk .
patah	(n.) trough with a system of filters for washing sago and extracting sago powder.
patahuyan/patapatahuyan	(n.) older adult [<u>pata</u> redup. + <u>pata</u> 'stem' + <u>huyan</u> 'adult']; (syn. <u>pata?amat</u>).
patakɔ/petekɔ	(n.) big or main island [<u>pata</u> 'trunk' + <u>ɔ</u> 'land'].
pataniw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor [<u>pata</u> 'stem' + <u>niw</u> 'coconut'].
patapeley	(n.) k.o. plant with vines used as twine [<u>pata</u> 'stem' + <u>peley</u> 'sail'].
patapow	(n.) k.o. wood whose inner bark is used to make traditional skirt [<u>pata</u> 'stem' + <u>pow</u> 'pig'].
pata?amat	(n.) old person [<u>pata</u> 'stem' + <u>amat</u> 'human'].
pateč	(n.) gift given in return for participation and help in a celebration, such as betel nut, betel pepper, food.
pay	(n.) shelf, rafter.
pa?a	(??) gloss unclear, possibly 'in the area of'.
pa?aha	(i.n.) area underneath; under.
pa?ahakeheya	(i.n.) underarm [<u>pa?aha</u> 'under' + <u>keheya</u> 'shoulder'].
pa?ahan	(n.) right hand, right side [<u>pa?aha</u> 'under' + <u>-n</u> '3sg. possessor'].
pa?aŋ	(n.) species of coconut with red shoots.
pa?aŋ	(n.) k.o. white seabird which flies over the sea and feeds on small fish; poss. variety of tern or heron.
pa?at	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of grunter.
pa?ɔh	(adv.) near, close by; der. <u>papa?ɔh</u> .
pa?ɔn	(n.) small lean-to near main house.

pečuču	(n.) k.o. plant with a leaf used for medicinal purposes.
pehe	(v.i. Class I?) defecate.
pehena	(n.) gecko; nom. of <u>pehena</u> steal.
pehena	(v.t. Class ?) steal.
peheyani/peheyeni	(v.t. Class I) barter, shop for [<u>pa</u> 'market' + <u>-ani/-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
pele	(i.n.) area to the side of, near, around.
peleŋan	(n.) up in the house (houses are traditionally built on stilts or posts); up in the air; on top. [<u>pele</u> 'near' + <u>nan</u> 'sun'].]
pelewa	(n.) species of coconut.
pelewa	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. anchovy.
peley	(n.) sail.
peley	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. razorfish or shrimpfish.
pele?ip	(n.) tongs made from bamboo strips, used as a cooking utensil.
pelih	(n.) the very top; the zenith of the sun.
pelimat	(n.) flying fox.
peleŋe?i/pileŋe?i	(i.n.) relation, accompaniment, companion; with.
pelit	(n.) ghost, spirit.
pelewa/peluwa	(n.) Baluan (off shore island south of Loniu).
peleway	(n.) opposite side, other side; toward.
peleway	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. tuna or mackerel.
peluwani	(v.t. Class I) head off, change direction of (including one's thinking); der./syn. <u>tapeluwani</u> .
pen	(n.) taro mashed with coconut oil.

peni	(i.n.) wing; der./syn. <u>kapeni</u> .
pepa?a	(v.i. Class ?) go to sleep (e.g. a leg or arm).
pepe	(n.) k.o. plant.
pesani	(v.t. Class I) know [<u>pasa</u> 'knowledge' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.']; see 6.1.5.
peteko	(n.) variant of <u>patako</u> big or main island.
petepučo/perepučo	(n.) off-shore islands [<u>pete</u> '?' (? <u>pata</u> 'stem' + <u>pučo</u> 'island').
peti	(prep.) from, of, about, after, for; see 3.6.1.
peti čah	(interr.) why; see 6.7.3.3.
petim ^{wes}	(n.) k.o. seed from a tree, used in ornaments.
petin	(n.) k.o. tree, whose leaves are used as filters in the processing of sago.
petitupuwe	(i.n.) body.
peti?o	(i.n.) bone; (syn. <u>ow</u>).
petnt	(v.i. Class I) insist, be firm, argue; (n.) strength.
petuhe	(n.) place name.
petuwet	(n.) firestones or tins used in the fire as supports for cooking pots.
pew	(n.) shark; <u>pew čupela?uwon</u> poss. hammerhead [<u>čupela</u> '?' <u>uwon</u> 'two']; <u>pew inay</u> poss. tawny shark; <u>pew kelewey</u> poss. black-tip or mullet shark; <u>pew kōpōw</u> poss. tasseled wobbegong (but cf. <u>kalipuwey</u>) [<u>kōpōw</u> 'k.o. fish']; <u>pew m^wetamat</u> poss. epaulette shark or Freycinet's shark; <u>pew peliyaw</u> poss. Macleot's shark or gray whaler shark [<u>peliyaw</u> 'k.o. fish']; <u>pew pusuwan</u> poss. tiger shark [<u>pusuwan</u> 'uncircumsized']; <u>pew seleyaw</u> poss. whale shark or Tufi whaler-shark; <u>pew wati</u> poss. banded wobbegong or carpet shark [<u>wati</u> 'lizard']; <u>pewi?an</u> poss. white-cheeked whaler-shark [<u>pewi</u> 'l.f. of pew shark' + <u>an</u> 'fresh water'] .

pe?e	(i.n.) source (of river, creek); brain (?); handle (of knife); stem (of taro plant).
pe?ekaka	(i.n.) shin, lower leg [pe?e 'stem' + <u>kaka</u> 'leg'].
pe?epa	(n.) paper (from TP <u>pepa</u>).
pe?ic	(n.) cutting tool made of sharpened bamboo; lime used with betel nut (syn. <u>nah</u>).
peŋ	(n.) night, dark.
pepe?eh	(n.) woven screen used for keeping rain out.
pet	(v.i. Class I) float, drift.
pey	(n.) k.o. mud whelk, fam. Potamididae, telescopium telescopium Linnaeus.
picelalan	(n.?) gloss unclear, poss. chest.
picale	(n.) raised wooden platform, bed.
picay	(v.t. Class I) squeeze; der. <u>ppicay</u> , <u>tapicay</u> .
picilow	(n.) obsidian spear point.
picilu	(n.) place name, Pitilu.
picinah	(n.) k.o. large yam.
pihin	(n.) woman, female; l.f. form <u>pihine</u> .
pihine	(i.n.) woman; s.f. <u>pihin</u> .
pileŋ	(n.) garden; l.f. <u>pilena</u> ; (syn. <u>enum</u>).
pilena	(i.n.) garden; s.f. <u>pileŋ</u> .
piliŋ/peliŋ	(v.i. Class I) wait; der. <u>pilinani</u> , <u>pipilin</u> .
pilinani/pelēŋeni	(v.t. Class I) wait for [<u>piliŋ</u> 'wait' + <u>-ani/-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
piliŋa?a	(i.n.) name [<u>pili</u> '?' + <u>na?a</u> 'name'].
piloh	(n.) lightning bug.
pin	(v.i. Class ?) sway; change into.

pini	(n.) soft shelled clam, found among mangrove roots; also described as a k.o. shellfish.
pinɔ	(i.n.) season, time for planting or work.
pinɔɔɔɔɔ/pinɛɔɔɔ	(n.) time for playing, relaxation [<u>pinɔ</u> 'season' + <u>ɔɔɔɔ</u> 'be eager'].
pinɛhɛ	(adv.) yesterday.
pinɛ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. sardine or sprat.
pipɛtɔw	(n.) in the phrase <u>motow pipɛtɔw</u> , ax-type tool used for making canoes.
pipilin	(n.) wait; nom. of <u>pilin</u> [<u>pi</u> redup. + <u>pilin</u> 'wait']
pinɔw	(n.) kind of caterpillar, somewhat poisonous.
pisili	(v.t. Class I) push over, push down.
piti	(n.) star.
piti	(n.) container.
pito	(i.n.) strength, ability.
piyesi?i	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. small-toothed squirrelfish.
pi?ah	(v.i. Class ?) be itchy.
pi?en	(d.a.) white.
pi?ihIt	(n.) k.o. shell.
pi?iti	(v.t. Class I) screen off with woven screen.
pi?iw	(??) gloss unclear; poss. body part with first person singular possessor <u>-w</u> .
pɔ	(v.t. Class I) do, make, get, gather, catch; der. <u>pɔtɛ</u> .
pɔ	(i.n.) juice or water, e.g., of coconut; (syn. <u>ɔɔɔɔ</u>).
pɔhɔwe	(d.a.) broken up, not worth mending; der. <u>ɔɔɔhɔwe</u>

pphutugani	(v.t. Class I?) pile together into a heap [pʰ 'make' + #hutun 'heap' + -ani 'trans.'].]
ppkaʔani	(v.t. Class I) straighten up, pack [pʰ 'do' + kaʔani 'ʔ']; see also yakaʔani hide.
ppkaleyani/pʰakaleyani	(v.t.) contradict, disobey [pʰ 'do'/pʰa 'say' + kaley 'ʔ' + -ani 'trans.'].]
ppkelckluč	(n.) bone joint [pʰke 'ʔ' (see 3.8.3.8) + lʰ 'in' + kluč 'ʔjoint'--klučunime elbow, klučukaka ankle].]
ppkemata	(i.n.) thumb [pʰke 'ʔ' + mata 'eye'].]
ppkepikan	(n.) ankle bone [pʰke 'ʔ' + pikan 'ʔ'].]
ppkeʔenime	(i.n.) finger [pʰke 'ʔ' + e 'ʔand' + nime 'hand'].]
ppkeʔi	(n.) little finger [pʰke 'ʔ' + i 'ʔ'].]
ppketak	(n.) the bottom of the net (where the sinkers are) [pʰke 'ʔ' + tak 'sinker'].]
ppkit	(d.a.) saltwater colored.
ppkimet	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. a person in a trance-like or zombie-like state, who only eats and sleeps but does not talk.
ppkutumʰani	(v.t. Class) pile packets into a single place.
ppli	(prep.) as far as, up to.
ppmalk/purck	(n.) a kind of sago soup made with coconut oil.
ppm	(n.) k.o. colorful snail which lives among the rocks at low tide mark.
ppmene	(v.t. Class I) care for, cuddle, caress (a child).
ppn	(d.a.) purple.
ppnckani	(v.t. Class I?) clear out, sweep, straighten up a garden after heavy clearing is completed; trim trunk of tree before chopping up.

קכ	(n.) k.o. of reef grass; may have been used in the preparation of pigment for painting canoe.
קכ	(n.) k.o. small shell.
קכקכsus	(n.) large round basket for food, poss. made from palm leaves.
קכ	(n.) sago with coconut cream.
קכקכey	(v.t. Class I?) squeeze (e.g. sago in water) [קכ 'do' + <u>קכey</u> 'squeeze'].
קכקכte	(v.i. Class ?) do repeatedly, do for some time; work on [קכ redup. + <u>קכte</u> '?do (s.f. קכ)'].
קכ ^w alah	(d.a.) branched or forked, attested only with <u>can</u> 'road, path'.
קכ ^w ilow	(n.) butterfly.
קכ	(n.) paddle, oar; der. <u>קכקכkuli</u> , <u>קכקכtun</u> ; cf. <u>pahaw</u> .
קכקכkuli	(n.) rudder, steering paddle [קכקכ (s.f. קכ) 'paddle' + <u>kuli</u> '?'].
קכקכqani	(v.t. Class I) gloss unclear, poss. wipe out or get rid of.
קכקכtun	(n.) small paddle or pole [קכקכ (s.f. קכ) 'paddle' + <u>tun</u> 'canoe'].
קכקכwe	(v.t. Class I) variant of <u>qwasowe</u> give name to, call.
קכקכwen	(d.a.) dried up; poss. l.f. of <u>qwasaw</u> 'get dry'.
קכta	(i.n.) way to do, method; nom. of קכ do.
קכte [?] iy	(n.) sago thorn, used as needle for sewing [קכte [?] 'thorn' + <u>iy</u> '?'].
קכ	(i.n.) thorn.
קכch	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of container.
קכקכq	(n.) cockroach; attested once as <u>קכקכq</u> .

תקצקצק	(n.) k.o. sago palm with thorns [<u>קצק</u> 'thorn' + <u>תקצק</u> ''].]
קצקקצק	(i.n.) thorns; redup. of <u>קצק</u> .
קצקע	(v.t. Class ?) hold, grab, keep; der. <u>קצקעע</u> .
קצקעע	(i.n.) holding; nom. of <u>קצקע</u> .
קצק	(n.) small crossbars, part of the structure which attaches the outrigger to the canoe.
קצק	(i.n.) within, among, mixed in with.
קצקצקצק	(n.) center, e.g., of a mat [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>צקצק</u> 'door'].
קצקצק	(i.n.) bedding [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>צק</u> 'mat'].
קצקקצק	(i.n.) sole of foot [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>קצק</u> 'foot'].
קצקקע	(i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. provision or support for a family.
קצקמאמ	(i.n.) 'Excuse me (for blocking your view, standing in front of you)' [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>מאמ</u> 'eye' + <u>-m</u> '2sg possessor'].
קצק	(n.) k.o. rot in tree or other wood.
קצקנימ	(i.n.) palm of hand [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>נימ</u> 'hand'].
קצקנימ/קצקנימ	(v.t. Class I?) adorn, decorate.
קצקקצק	(i.n.) nose; point of land [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>קצק</u> 'nose'].
קצקקצק	(i.n.) lip; rim of canoe [<u>קצק</u> 'within' + <u>קצק</u> ''].]
קצקנימ	(v.t. Class I?) variant of <u>קצקנימ</u> adorn.
קצק	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of triggerfish.
קצקקצק/קצקקצק	(v.t. Class I?) separate.
קצקun/קצק	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. gobies.

pohow	(n.) sago waste (after powder has been washed and filtered out).
pon	(n.) sea turtle.
pot	(v.i. Class?) be broken; be chopped down (e.g., tree).
pow	(n.) pig.
powet	(n.) k.o. bamboo.
powo	(n.) material used for making baskets.
po?owan	(d.a.) rotten, smelly.
pu	(n.) banana (both the plant and the fruit); <u>pu ay</u> k.o. banana with red skin [<u>ay</u> 'blood].
pu	(i.n.) back of, behind; der. <u>pumwi?in</u> , <u>pukelena</u> .
puče	(v.i. Class ?) tear, rip.
pučey/pučey	(quant.) together.
pučiliya	(i.n.) chasing; nom. of <u>pwičili</u> .
pučo	(n.) island.
pučon	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. rat.
puh	(v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear; used in the phrases <u>kəhun upuh a yo</u> 'He misses me', <u>kəhu upuh</u> 'I'm exhausted'.
puh	(n.) woven fish trap.
puhut	(n.) fence posts.
pukelena	(i.n.) behind one's back [<u>pu</u> 'behind' + <u>kelena</u> 'back'].
puke	(n.) k.o. clam.
pukəlu	(i.n.) throat [<u>pu</u> 'behind' + <u>kəlu</u> 'throat'].
pukupukute	(v.i. Class ?) redup. of <u>pukute</u> do repeatedly, implies duration.

pukuta	(i.n.) curse; nom. of <u>pukute</u> do repeatedly.
pukutani/pikuteni	(v.t. Class ?) ensorcel, curse [<u>pukute</u> 'do repeatedly' + <u>-ani/-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
pukute	(v.i. Class ?) keep doing, do repeatedly in the same way; der. <u>pukutani</u> , <u>pikuteni</u> , <u>pukupukute</u> .
pule?ut	(n.) k.o. taro.
puli	(n.) variant of <u>pWili</u> mountain.
puliyan	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. mound, heap; poss. l.f. of <u>pWili</u> .
puliye	(adv.) again, also, additionally.
pulu	(i.n.) spouse; der. <u>napulu</u> .
pulut	(n.) k.o. vine used to fasten some parts of canoe together; used in making tools and bowls.
pun ^W i?i	(i.n.) area behind, in back of [<u>pu</u> 'behind' <u>m^Wi?in</u> 'behind'].
pun	(n.) part of roof.
pun	(n.) betel pepper plant, leaf, and fruit.
pun	(n.) moon.
pun	(n.) wooden blocks used to hold shape of canoe while it is being hollowed.
pun	(n.) chambered nautilus.
pup	(n.) k.o. fish; poss. variant of <u>pon</u> 'sea turtle'.
pugew	(n.) k.o. tree, wood used for canoes; poss. raintree.
pugey	(n.) roof of a house.
puret/purer	(n.) work, job, activity (esp. traditional or custom); l.f. <u>puriya</u> .
puriya	(i.n.) work; s.f. <u>puret</u> .

purɔn	(n.) variant of <u>puɔɔm</u> k.o. soup made with sago and coconut oil.
pusani	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. like, enjoy, embrace [?p ^w is 'embrace' + -ani 'trans.'].]
pusesa	(i.n.) lung; poss. also heart.
pusumata	(i.n.) eyebrow, eyelash [pusu '?' + mata 'eye'].
pusuwan	(d.a.) uncircumcised.
put	(n.) k.o. tree and its fruit, which is used for stunning fish.
put	(n.) fishing net floats.
puta	(v.i. Class ?) be loose, be falling off (e.g., sarong).
putele	(n.) very large mollusc shell, used as gong for calling pigs.
puti/p ^w iti	(v.t. Class I) take from one place to another; hold and walk with someone; marry.
putiyeme?is	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. orange-banded rainbowfish.
putɔ	(i.n.) core, esp. of coconut; umbilical cord.
putɔhaw	(v.i. Class ?) belch.
putɔɔuɔ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of sergeant-major.
putuwa	(i.n.) belly, guts.
putuwapuwɔkɔp	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally or snub-nosed dart [putuwa 'belly' + <u>puwɔkɔp</u> '?'].
putu?uhe	(v.i. Class ?) be face or head down [?pu 'back of' + <u>tu?uhe</u> 'bend over'].
puwe	(i.n.) testicle; fruit, seed.
puwekuh	(n.) poss. feather, esp. bird of paradise [?puwe 'fruit' + <u>kuh</u> 'k.o. plant'].

puwlan	(n.) k.o. sago palm with many thorns [<u>puwe</u> 'fruit' + <u>lan</u> 'south wind'].
puweni	(i.n.) mother's brother.
puwepat	(n.) k.o. large yam [<u>puwe</u> 'fruit' + <u>pat</u> 'stone']; cf. <u>pičinah</u> .
puwepičinah	(n.) k.o. large yam [<u>puwe</u> 'fruit' + <u>pičinah</u> 'yam'].
puwepe	(n.) sago dish made with commercial cooking oil and coconut meat.
puwetin	(n.) ear ornament [<u>puwe</u> 'fruit' + <u>tin</u> '?'].
puwey	(n.) crocodile.
puweyap	(n.) store-bought beads, trade beads; ornaments made of beads and dogs' teeth [<u>puwe</u> 'seed' + <u>yap</u> 'foreigner'].
puwe?epi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. sunrise goatfish [<u>puwe</u> 'fruit' + <u>epi</u> 'sago'].
puwe?e/pu?e	(i.n.) dislike.
puwe?uy	(n.) k.o. of sago palm with small thorns [<u>puwe</u> 'fruit' + <u>uy</u> 'k.o. sago'].
puwe	(n.) betel nut palm, and its fruit.
puwɔn	(d.a.) short; round.
pu?is	(n.) k.o. vine used in construction of sago washing trough.
pu?u	(i.n.) root, base, bottom.
pu?uči?ey	(n.) swampy area; poss. not a Loniu word.
pu?uhu	(n.) k.o. red pigment made from clay and coconut oil, used as part of ornamentation of bride.
p ^w a	(v.t. Class II) say; think; der. <u>p^wasɔwe</u> , <u>p^wačelevani</u> , <u>p^wačɔʔɔyani</u> , <u>p^waŋununun</u> , <u>p^wasaw</u> .
p ^w a	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. bream or herring.

p ^w ačeleya	(i.n.) explanation; nom. of <u>p^wačeleyani</u> .
p ^w ačeleyani	(v.t. Class I) explain; cf. <u>le?ečeliye</u> 'examine' [<u>p^wa</u> 'say' + <u>čeleyani</u> '?detail'].
p ^w ačerahani	(v.t. Class ?) toss about, push here and there.
p ^w ač ^o č ^o yani	(v.t.) talk back to, contradict [<u>p^wa</u> 'say' + <u>č^oč^oya</u> 'repayment, revenge' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
p ^w ah	(n.) mouth; l.f. <u>p^waha</u> .
p ^w ah	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of wrasse; <u>p^wah aman</u> 'Diana's wrasse'; also poss. species of perch or hussar.
p ^w aha	(i.n.) mouth; s.f. <u>p^wah</u> .
p ^w ahačala/p ^w ahačane	(i.n.) path, footpath or private route; also route of action [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>čala</u> (s.f. <u>čan</u>) 'road']; s.f. <u>p^wahačan</u> .
p ^w ahačan	(n.) road, path, public path [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>čan</u> 'road']; l.f. <u>p^wahačala</u> .
p ^w ahačanah	(n.) doorway [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' <u>čanah</u> 'door'].
p ^w ahač ^o č ^o č ^o	(n.) point of land [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>č^oč^oč^o</u> '?'].
p ^w ahaketuŋ	(n.) the middle of the canoe [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>ketuŋ</u> 'wooden club']; attested once as <u>p^wahaketuŋ</u> (<u>tun</u> 'canoe').
p ^w ahaleŋ	(n.) beach [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' <u>leŋ</u> 'beach'].
p ^w ahaliyam	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of trevally.
p ^w ahal ^o č ^o an	(n.) Loniu Passage, a waterway which divides the Los Negros section of Manus from the remainder [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>č^o</u> 'inside' + <u>an</u> 'fresh water'].
p ^w ahamesa	(n.) opening or mouth of a river [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>mesa</u> '?'].
p ^w ahat ^o č ^o č ^o ŋa	(i.n.) central chest area, breastbone [<u>p^waha</u> 'mouth' + <u>t^oč^oč^oŋa</u> '?'].
p ^w ahen	(n.) k.o. small yam.

p ^w eku	(d.a.) head down and buttocks in the air.
p ^w eie	(i.n.) top or crown (of tree).
p ^w eleyah	(n.) parrotfish.
p ^w em/p ^w em	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of coralfish.
p ^w enat	(v.i. Class ?) rot; poss. nom. <u>p^wenetun</u> .
p ^w enet	(n.) clay soil.
p ^w enetun	(d.a.) overripe, not edible; poss. nom. of <u>p^wenat</u> .
p ^w ep ^w e	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of tang or triggerfish; poss. redup. of <u>p^we</u> shell.
p ^w ep ^w e/p ^w ep ^w e	(i.n.) container made from a shell; redup. of <u>p^we</u> .
p ^w eram	(n.) k.o. large yam.
p ^w esi	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. maternal cousins.
p ^w e	(i.n.) variant of <u>p^we</u> shell.
p ^w e	(part.) negative; no, not.
p ^w ekasi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of coralfish or boarfish [?p ^w e 'shell' + <u>kasi</u> 'k.o. fish'].
p ^w emačaw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. k.o. herring or bream [?p ^w e 'shell' + mačaw 'ocean passage'].
p ^w ep ^w e	(i.n.) variant of <u>p^wep^we</u> container made from shell.
p ^w i	(i.n.) female genitalia.
p ^w ič	(v.i. Class ?) be finished.
p ^w ič	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of demoiselles or sergeant-majors
p ^w ičepak	(n.) unglossed.
p ^w ičik	(n.) hole through something.

p ^w ičikatay	(n.) snail; green land snail indigenous to Manus only; fam. Camaenidae, <i>papustyla pulcherrima</i> Rensch [p ^w iči 'claw' + katay '?'].
p ^w ičikaka	(i.n.) talon, claw, toenail [p ^w iči 'claw' + kaka 'leg, foot'].
p ^w ičili	(v.t. Class I) chase, run off; der. pučiliya.
p ^w ičinime	(i.n.) fingernail, claw [p ^w iči 'claw' + nime 'hand'].
p ^w ičip ^w ičin/pučipučin	(n.) fish scales; k.o. skin disease (TP <u>grile</u>); redup. of p ^w iči 'claw'.
p ^w ihi	(v.t. Class I) gut (e.g., fish).
p ^w ikaw	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. coconut shell used as cup; also used to refer to bald or shaved head.
p ^w ili/puli	(n.) mountain; poss. der. puliyan.
p ^w ili	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. toadfish or puffer; p ^w ili <u>pačapč</u> freckled porcupinefish.
p ^w iliyah	(n.) small wooden crosses which form part of the structure attaching the outrigger to the canoe.
p ^w inah	(n.) fiber-woven armbands, legbands, belts.
p ^w is	(v.i.? Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. kiss or embrace; poss. der. pušani.
p ^w isip ^w is	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. nom. of p ^w is.
p ^w isi?i	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of squirrelfish.
p ^w i?e	(n.) trunk of sago palm when pulp has been removed; in the phrase <u>lɔ p^wi?e</u> 'in the trunk', refers to the area where the men do the felling of the sago palm and the breaking up of the core of the trunk in the preparation of sago.
p ^w ɔkat	(n.) musket; poss. a borrowed term.
p ^w ɔmɛlew	(n.) k.o. large yam.

ḥraček	(n.) man's name
ḥrakaw	(n.) pig spear
ḥrakey	(n.) man's name
ḥrakor	(n.) place name.
ḥrehiyaw	(n.) k.o. fish
ḥrekeḥwen	(n.) behavior, custom, usage
ḥriw	(n.) cricket
ḥraka	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. bluefin tuna.
ḥraka	(n.) depth, deep water, ocean.
ḥrakor/ḥrakor	(n.) Loniu name for themselves, their village and their language.
ḥrakor	(n.) deep wooden bowl with rounded bottom; traditionally used for serving women's food when they are <u>ḥrakor</u> 'in ritual isolation'.
ḥrapa	(n.) place name, Ndrova, an off-shore island southwest of Loniu.
ḥrakor/ḥrakor	(adv.) today, now (variant form ḥrakor); used often to introduce relative clauses, and in the phrase <u>ḥrakor itiyen</u> 'aforementioned'.
ḥraw	(n.) mucus.
ḥraw	(n.) k.o. very hard wood, poss. mahogany (but cf. <u>ḥraw</u>).
ḥruli/karuli	(n.) k.o. bird, poss. eastern golden plover.
ḥv-	(num.) root for 'one'; the vowel is determined by the vowel of the numeral classifier--see 3.2.2.
ḥsa	(v.i. Class ?) be cleared (e.g. land or garden).
ḥsah	(v.t. Class I?) chop, carve, sharpen, whittle; l.f. <u>ḥshi</u> , der. <u>ḥhisah</u> .
ḥsahasah	(v.i.?) poss. variant of <u>ḥhisah</u> 'carve'.

sala	(v.t. Class I?) cut open, split, slit, break; der. <u>tasala</u> , <u>salay</u> .
salay	(v.i. Class ?) break, e.g., <u>an iselay</u> 'day breaks' [<u>sala</u> 'break' + <u>-y</u> '?'].
salay	(n.) large crack in canoe [<u>sala</u> 'break' + <u>-y</u> '?'].
saput	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. yellow spotted emperon.
sas	(n.) k.o. tree.
sasa	(n.) a constellation of ten stars; the rising and setting of this constellation are used to determine passage of time.
sasaw	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. clear surface water when all sediment has settled to the bottom.
saʔɔŋ	(n.) celebration and traditional gifts (usually fish) from father's side for the first-born child; cf. <u>lɔku</u> .
seh	(pro.) third person plural.
sehi	(v.t. Class I) chip, carve, sharpen, whittle [<u>sah</u> 'chop' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']; <u>sehiya</u> .
sehi	(v.t. Class I) lie; der. <u>sehisah</u> .
sehisah	(v.i. Class I) carve, whittle; redup. of <u>sah</u> .
sehisah	(n., v.i. Class I) lie [?sehi redup. + * <u>sah</u> 'lie'].
sehiya	(i.n.) carving; nom. of <u>sehi</u> .
sen	(v.t. Class I?) chop with ax, e.g. firewood.
sepwi	(v.t. Class I) dry off.
sesema	(n., v.i. Class ?) cough.
seweti	(v.t. Class I) fasten with rope or vines; variant of <u>seweti</u> .
sewe	(v.i. Class I?) dance (women's dancing).

sawi	(v.t. Class I) remove ornaments; skim off clean surface water.
seyani	(v.t. Class I?) argue about, debate.
se?e	(v.t. Class I) shred leaves or bark for making skirts or ornaments.
sikey	(n.) k.o. large insect with large wings, hangs in trees; poss. also called <u>nanem</u> ^{Wat.}
siliŋ	(v.t. Class I) break or chop into many small pieces, e.g., firewood, the core of a tree trunk in canoe building, the meat in a coconut shell; l.f. <u>silini</u> , der. <u>silina</u> .
silina	(i.n.) chopping; nom. of <u>silin</u> .
silini	(v.t. Class I) break or chop into pieces [<u>silin</u> 'chop' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
siliyani/siliyeni	(v.t. Class I) survey, look over carefully.
sliŋ	(v.i. Class ?) shine, be bright (see 2.4.5 regarding [I]).
sipi	(num.) half; form of 'one' used for halves or parts.
sisimi	(v.t. Class ?) think of, remember.
sisiya	(i.n.) holding shape.
si?ihi	(v.t. Class I?) carry suspended from shoulder or from pole.
sɔ	(v.t. Class ?) throw away, get rid of; l.f. <u>sɔ?i</u> .
sɔ	(v.i. Class ?) sway, rock back and forth.
sɔ	(n.) when used with a girl's father's name, means 'Miss'.
sɔ	(v.t. Class I) put or dig a hole in, esp. with a stick; pierce or spear; gut (a pig); l.f. <u>sɔ'i</u> ; der. <u>sɔsɔ</u> .
sɔw/sow	(v.i.) be temporarily in a place, usually standing.

סכ?ח	(n.) edible flesh, meat.
סכ?חח	(v.t. Class I) blow out from nose; l.f. <u>סכ?חחני</u> ; poss. der. <u>חכסכח</u> 'breath'.
סכ?חני	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be confused or mixed up; der. <u>סכסכ?חני</u> .
סכ?ח	(n.) shells used as beads.
sonat	(n.) diagonal poles used to support house.
sow	(part.) in the phrase <u>ma sow</u> , 'not yet'.
su	(n.) in the phrase <u>amat su</u> spirit, ghost (ant. (<u>amat</u>) <u>an</u>).
suhani/suḡani	(v.t. Class I) blow (on fire).
sule	(v.t. Class ?) singe to remove fur or bristles; l.f. of <u>sun</u> .
suluḡa	(i.n.) lighting; nom. of <u>suluni</u> ; <u>suluḡa</u> <u>mʷan</u> 'lamplighting time'.
suluḡani/suluḡeni	(v.t. Class I) blow on a fire to cause it to burn [<u>*sulun</u> 'light' + <u>-ani/-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
suluḡi	(v.t. Class I) kindle fire [<u>*sulun</u> 'light' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
sun ^{Wili}	(v.t. Class I) close up, e.g. nose against a bad smell.
sun	(v.t. Class ?) singe; l.f. <u>sule</u> .
sun	(v.t. Class I) scoop with hands; l.f. <u>suni</u> .
sunani	(v.t. Class I) push from one place to another [<u>?sun</u> 'scoop' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
suni	(v.t. Class I) scoop; s.f. <u>sun</u> .
suḡani	(v.t. Class I) variant of <u>suhani</u> blow on fire.
suḡusuḡ	(n.) markings or designs: <u>suḡusuḡ inen</u> [<u>inen</u> 'small'] speckles; <u>suḡusuḡ nap^{Wanan}</u> [<u>nap^{Wanan}</u> 'big'] dots or spots; <u>suḡusuḡ elewen</u> [<u>elewen</u> 'long'] or <u>suḡusuḡ ceceḡen</u> [<u>ceceḡen</u> '?'] stripes.

sus	(n.) milk; l.f. <u>susu</u> .
sus	(v.t. Class I) sew sago leaves into thatch; l.f. <u>susuwi</u> .
susu	(i.n.) breast; s.f. <u>sus</u> .
susuwa	(i.n.) sewing thatch; nom. of <u>susuwi</u> .
susuwah	(d.a.) plain, with no additives, esp. sago; redup. of <u>suwah</u> fry.
susuwi	(v.t. Class I) sew sago leaves into thatch [<u>susuw</u> (s.f. <u>sus</u>) 'sew thatch' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
susuyelaw	(n.) rainbow [<u>susu</u> 'breast' + <u>yelaw</u> '?'].]
sut	(v.t. Class ?) pull out (weeds); l.f. <u>suti</u> .
suti	(v.t. Class ?) pull out (weeds) [<u>sut</u> 'pull out' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
suwa	(i.n.) paddling; nom. of <u>suwe</u> 'paddle (canoe)'.]
suwah	(v.t. Class I) fry sago; l.f. <u>suwehi</u> ; der. <u>susuwah</u> .
suwaha	(i.n.) frying; nom. of <u>suwah</u> .
suwani	(v.t. Class I?) paddle (canoe) [<u>suwe</u> 'paddle canoe' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
suwe	(n.) k.o. small yam.
suwe	(v.t. Class I?) paddle (canoe); l.f. <u>suwani</u> .
suwehi	(v.t. Class I) fry (sago) [<u>suwah</u> 'fry' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
su?u	(pro.) third person dual.
ta	(n.) k.o. fish.
ta	(v.t. Class II) pierce or cut ear for ornamentation; cut along the length of a tree to split it; beat, pound, catch, kill; l.f. <u>ta'i</u> ; der. <u>taya</u> .

ta	(part.) variant of alienable possessive marker <u>a</u> (see 3.1.1.1).
ta	(part.) variant of <u>tah</u> locative.
ta	verbal formative, possibly indicates human agent (see 3.8.2.2).
ta	(part.) continuative aspect marker.
tah/ta	(part.) locative.
tah	(n.) Pacific triton or trumpet shell, fam. Cymatiidae, Charonia tritonis Linnaeus; used as a signal horn.
tah	(n.) coconut fiber screen used for filtering sago powder.
tahah	(pro.) first person plural inclusive.
tahapule	(i.n.) forehead, face; der. <u>tahapulekaka</u> , <u>tahapulen</u> .
tahapulekaka	(i.n.) knee [<u>tahapule</u> 'forehead' + <u>kaka</u> 'leg'].
tahapulen	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. blue-girdled angelfish [<u>tahapule</u> 'forehead' + <u>-n</u> '3sg possessor'].
tahasuwe	(v.t. Class ?) dry or smoke over fire [<u>ta</u> 'human agent?' + <u>husuwe</u> 'smoke'].
tahilisi	(v.t. Class ?) take after, become like, grow to be like.
tahitay	(v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. fight.
tahiti	(v.t. Class I?) gloss unclear, poss. divide up.
tahohoy	(v.i. Class II?) grunt or pant while working.
tahow	(v.i.) come in sight, appear; variant of <u>çahan</u> .
tak	(n.) weights or sinkers for fish nets; l.f. <u>teke</u> .
takeke?e	(v.t. Class I) tickle.
takemes/takemes	(v.t. Class ?) wish (for).

takemeyam	(v.i. Class ?, n.) groan, cry (in or of pain).
takeni	(v.t. Class I) throw, e.g., spear or fishing net [ʔtakeye 'throw' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.'].
takeye	(v.t. Class I) throw; der. <u>takeni</u> , <u>tekeya</u> .
takeʔeŋ	(n.) k.o. tree/wood, used in canoe construction [ʔta 'kill' + <u>kɛʔeŋ</u> 'parrot'].
takeʔi	(v.i. Class I?) wink.
takilim	(v.t. Class II?) leave a trace or sign [ta 'human agent' + <u>kilim</u> 'sign'].
takɔkɔw/takokow	(v.i. Class ?) wonder, ask oneself, be surprised, bemoan.
takɔluh	(v.i. Class II?) make signal [ta 'human agent' + <u>kɔluh</u> 'signal']; l.f. <u>takulihi</u> .
takʔo(w)	(v.i. Class ?) cry out, usually in anger.
takulihi	(v.t. Class II?) signal to someone [ta 'human agent' + <u>kɔluh</u> 'signal' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
takuwela	(i.n.) digging with adze; nom. of <u>takuwen</u> .
takuweli	(v.t. Class I) dig with adze [ta 'human agent' + <u>kuwen</u> 'adze' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
takuwen	(v.t. Class I) dig or chop with adze [ta 'human agent' + <u>kuwen</u> 'adze'].
talas	(n.) species of taro.
talas	(n.) drying rack; l.f. <u>telesa</u> .
tamana	(v.i. Class ?) dance (men's dancing) [ta 'human agent' + <u>mana</u> 'white cowrie'] .
tames	(v.t. Class I) clear off the bottom portion of tree trunk before felling; l.f. <u>tameseʔe</u> .
tameseʔe/tameseʔe	(v.t. Class I) clear; s.f. <u>tames</u> .
tameti/tametiʔi	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. weaken.
tan	(adv.?) down, on the ground; <u>kɔ tan</u> 'earth'.

tan	(n.) k.o. shell, prob. fam. Trochidae; collected and used for ornaments and buttons.
tansnes	(v.t. Class ?) make fire by rubbing sticks together
tane?iye	(v.t. Class I) clear up area by dragging all bits and pieces together into a pile; slide something across the ground; long form <u>tane?iyani</u> .
tane?iyani	(v.t. Class I) clear [<u>tane?iye</u> 'clear' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
taŋ	(v.i. Class ?) cry; sound out (e.g., drumbeats); l.f. <u>tanesi</u> .
taŋ	(part.) poss. locative, as in <u>...ime taŋ ime</u> <u>itivy</u> '...comes up to here'.
taŋesi	(v.t. Class ?) mourn, grieve for [<u>tanes</u> (s.f. <u>taŋ</u>) 'cry' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
taŋe?eyani	(v.t. Class ?) tell on, disclose (e.g. secret or hiding place) [<u>taŋ</u> 'sound out' + <u>e?ey</u> '?' <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
taŋini	(n.) k.o. fish.
tapelihani	(v.t. Class I) take (canoe, e.g.) around a point of land.
tapeluwani	(v.t. Class I) variant of <u>peluwani</u> head off, change direction of (including one's thinking).
taperenani	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. push.
tapeyani	(v.t. Class I?) send (inanimate object).
tapiŋey	(v.t. Class I?) squeeze, wring; deliver (e.g., the placenta) [<u>ta</u> 'human agent' + <u>piŋey</u> 'squeeze'].]
taputi?i	(v.t. Class ?) come across, discover.
tap ^{wa}	(i.n.) basket, string bag; s.f. <u>tap</u> .
tap ^{wey}	(n.) variant of <u>tup^{wey}</u> , k.o. crab.
tas	(n.) sea, ocean, salt water, salt.

tasala	(v.t. Class I?) split (open) [ta 'human agent' + <u>sala</u> 'split'].
tasih	(adv. intens.) very.
tasus	(n.) small piece of wood supporting canoe mast.
tata	(i.n.) top, area above, upper surface.
tawa	(v.i. Class ?) be heavy, be tired.
tawan	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of perch or grunter.
tawayah	(n.) (ear-)piercing.
tawihi	(v.t. Class I) clear the large growth from an area to make a garden [<u>tawoh</u> 'clear' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
tawiwi	(n.) fan; der. <u>tawiwoh</u> .
tawiwih	(v.t. Class I) fan [<u>tawiwi</u> 'fan' + <u>-oh</u> '?' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
tawiwoh	(v.t. Class I) fan [<u>tawiwi</u> 'fan' + <u>-oh</u> '?']; l.f. <u>tawiwih</u> .
tawoh	(v.t. Class I) clear the large growth from an area to make a garden; cut down but not carry away; l.f. <u>tawihi</u> .
taya	(i.n.), beat, catch, kill; nom. of <u>ta</u> .
ta?as	(v.i.?) fall over backwards, be flat on one's back.
ta?ay	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of squirrelfish or silver-biddy
ta?egan	(n.) birth, the giving of birth.
ta?i	(v.t. Class I) kill, fight, hit, beat; catch (fish) [<u>ta</u> 'kill' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
ta?i	(v.t. Class I) put one thing on top of another.
te	(part.) and, or; prob. borrowed form, cf. <u>ε</u> .
tehta/tehita	(v.i. Class I) fill up (with), be full.

tət	(n.) small step ladder used at the door of a house on posts.
tətape	(interr. pro.) how; see 6.7.3.8.
tətə	(n.) infant.
tətəhi	(v.t. Class I) tap on outer sides of emptied trunk of sago palm to dislodge remaining powder.
tətemene	(v.t.) gloss unclear; redup. of <u>TEMENE</u> ask.
tətey	(n.) part of canoe, possibly long piece placed on rim.
təwə/təwə	(v.t. Class I) give, put, place; s.f. <u>tow</u> ; der. <u>təwəya</u> .
təwəya	(i.n.) gift, arrangement; nom. of <u>təwə</u> .
təʔəŋani	(v.t. Class I) wait for; (syn. <u>pilinani</u>).
təʔəwɔŋ	(n.) sand, sandy soil.
təʔi	(i.n.) sibling of same sex; cf. <u>wə</u> .
təʔi	(i.n.) the upper surface of; der. <u>təʔitun</u> .
təʔin	(n.) bark-fiber rope used in fence building.
təʔitun	(n.) platform or deck of canoe [<u>təʔi</u> 'upper surface' + <u>tun</u> 'canoe'].
təʔɔʔsani	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. throw down.
tə	(i.n.) feces; waste (e.g., <u>tə mʷan</u> 'ashes or remains of the fire').
ti	(part.) emphatic particle, uniqueness marker; see 4.2.4, 5.1.1.3.5.
tič	(v.i. Class ?) sweat, perspire.
tihičay	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. second-born child.
tihow	(n.) first born male child.
tiken	(n.) some, a bit of, small amount.

tikɔ an	(phrase) mid-day; may be used as greeting [tikɔ?ɔ 'middle of' + an 'day'].
tikɔ pen	(phrase) midnight [tikɔ?ɔ 'middle of' + pen 'night'].
tikɔ?ɔ	(i.n.) waist, middle of.
tikɔ?ɔn	(n.) name of a central section of Loniu village.
tilen	(n.) crying; also attested: <u>tilinin</u> .
tilow	(n.) place name, Ndrilow, an off-shore island on the northern coast of Manus.
timata	(n.) k.o. tree with edible fruit and leaf; wood used for making digging stick to plant taro.
tinani	(v.t. Class I) clean up, clean out (e.g., garden).
tiyan	(d.a.) huge, wide open.
tipe?i	(v.t. Class I) open, start up; move aside.
tipiyani/tipiyeni	(v.t. Class I?) push over, roll something long and thin, like a log, a body, a cigarette.
titiye	(v.t. Class I) tell (a story); talk about; redup. of <u>tiye</u> . (n.) story, esp. a true story.
titi?i	(n.) k.o. tree; wood used for digging sticks to plant taro.
tiw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. sunrise goatfish.
tiyan	(v.i. Class I) give birth.
tiyani	(v.t. Class I) tell (a story) [<u>tiye</u> 'tell' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
tiye	(v.t. Class I) tell (especially a true story), talk about; l.f. <u>tiyani</u> ; der. <u>titiye</u> .
tiye	(i.n.) interior, inside of; der. <u>lotiye-</u> .
ti?i	(v.t. Class I) weave; der. <u>ti?iya</u> .

ti?ihi	(v.t. Class ?) pick or break off (flowers or leaves).
ti?iqi	(v.t. Class ?) make sound, beat on, e.g., large shell (<u>putele</u>), for calling pigs.
ti?itin	(v.i. Class I) peer, look (through).
ti?iya	(i.n.) weaving; nom. of <u>ti?i</u> weave.
to	(n.) punting pole.
to	(aux.) continuative, durative or habitual aspect; l.f. <u>to</u> .
tsh	(n.) ridge pole of roof.
tshu	(d.a.) swollen; l.f. <u>tshuwa</u> .
tshuwa	(i.n.) swelling.
tok	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. black trevally.
tolaw	(n.) north wind.
tolus	(n.) variant of <u>telus</u> k.o. tree.
tomatake	(n.) tree stump [<u>to</u> '??' + <u>mata</u> 'eye' + <u>ke</u> 'tree'].
tomon	(n.) k.o. tuber, staple diet of the Loniu in earlier times.
tomon	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. blue-spot or blue-tail mullet.
top	(n.) basket, string bag; l.f. <u>topwa</u> .
topo	(i.n.) point, clarification, explanation; attested only preceded by <u>owa</u> 'say, speak'.
topohowani/topowani	(v.t. Class I) throw down and break [<u>to</u> '??' + <u>ohowe</u> 'break' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.']; slap, hit.
topokow	(n.) part of house.
topokow	(n.) k.o. fish.
topotap	(n.?) gloss unclear, poss. high water, big seas.

təpəkʷani	(v.t.) variant of <u>təpəkʷani</u> break.
təkʷətə/tepʷətə	(i.n.) upper chest, over the heart.
təkpu/təp	(i.n.) taboo; negative imperative marker; see 6.6.
təkʷəhun	(n.) promontory; skin disease with large, prominent scales; redup. of <u>təhu</u> swollen.
təkʷətəʔə	(adv.?) very early morning, c. 2:00-3:00 a.m.
təkʷətum	(n.) torch.
tək	(v.i. Class I) be in a place; stay, remain, live; s.f. <u>tək</u> .
təkʷə	(v.t. Class I) variant form of <u>təwə</u> give.
təkʷətəhət	(n.) k.o. skin disease; a small, very painful rash.
təkʷənani/təkʷənani	(v.t. Class I) send, cause to go (human object).
təkʷət	(n.) ti plant; also given as <u>təkʷət</u> , which is poss. a Koro word (see 2.4.1); k.o. basket with designs woven in.
təkʷənani	(v.t. Class ?) align.
təkʷət	(pro.) first person dual inclusive.
təh	(n.) sugar cane.
təw	(v.t. Class I) give, put; give birth to; l.f. <u>təwə</u> .
tə	(n.) k.o. mollusc, prob. clam.
tə	(n.) posts or stilts of a house.
təhu	(v.t. Class ?) drown.
təkʷətə	(interr. pro.) when; see 6.7.3.7.
təkʷən	(v.t. Class ?) prod with foot; knock (at door) [<u>təkʷən</u> '?noise' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]

tukutuk	(n.) noise, esp. unwelcome noise (e.g. in a taboo situation, such as when someone dies); redup. of *tuk, poss. s.f. of <u>tukun</u> .
tukuwani	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. throw away, e.g. trash.
tukuwey	(v.t. Class ?) break open (e.g. coconut).
tuma?aw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally.
tun/ton	(n.) canoe; l.f. <u>tele</u> .
tun peti peleŋan	(n.) airplane; lit. canoe for near the sun.
tun peti p ^W ahačan	(n.) car, truck; lit. canoe for the road.
tun peti tas	(n.) ship, warship; lit. canoe for the (deep) ocean.
tup	(n.) k.o. plant; a vine used for binding bundles.
tupa	(i.n.) variant of <u>tupu</u> , attested from a single speaker.
tupunah	(n.) young male, boy; ?s.f. <u>tupune</u> .
tupunan/tupunani/tupuneni	(v.t.) call in debts, ask for payment of obligations; der. <u>tuputupune</u> .
tupune	(i.n.) boy; ?l.f. <u>tupunah</u> .
tupunetu	(i.n.) children of one's ancestors; predecessors.
tupune?ey	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. half-banded sea perch.
tuputupune	(v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. call in obligations, either of family or supporters; related to <u>tupunani</u> .
tup ^W ey/tapwey	(n.) k.o. crab.
tus	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.
tut	(v.i. Class ?) be closed (e.g. door); close in with; in the phrase <u>kalu tut</u> (lit. throat closed), to forget.

tutuh	(n.) cover, lid; a leaf used as a lid; l.f. <u>tutuha</u> .
tutuha	(i.n.) cover; s.f. <u>tutuh</u> .
tutukun	(n?) noise; redup. of * <u>tukun</u> ; der. <u>tukutuk</u> , <u>tukuni</u>
tutupu	(n.) k.o. sago dish, baked with coconut over hot stones, covered with leaves.
tutut	(n.) one of the lines attached to the sail of a canoe.
tutuwah	(v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); redup. of <u>tuwah</u> , may imply duration.
tuwah	(v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); l.f. <u>tuwehi</u> , der. <u>tutuwah</u> .
tuwan	(d.a.) heavy; poss. l.f. of <u>tawa</u> .
tuwani	(v.t. Class I) cook [<u>tuwe</u> 'cook' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
tuwe	(n.) outside, outer part of a curve, the outer or ocean side of a point of land.
tuwehi	(v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); spray with betel nut juice [<u>tuwah</u> 'chew' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
tuwenan	(n.) truth, real thing.
tuwes	(n.) k.o. mollusc, prob. a small clam.
tuwey	(n.) fresh-water eel, family Anguillidae.
tuwe	(v.t. Class I) boil, cook in water; l.f. <u>tuwani</u> .
tu?uhe	(v.i. Class I) bend over; put down, land; der. <u>katu?uhe</u> , <u>putu?uhe</u> .
tu?uqi	(v.t. Class ?) cover over with thin layer of earth; close.
u	(pro.) first person dual exclusive.
u	(v.i. Class ?) go down (e.g., into a hole).

u	(interj.) agreement, generally spoken with high rising pitch.
u	(num.) root form for 'two'.
uleh	(n.) k.o. fish with long, thin nose, which feeds on reef, poss. long-nosed parrotfish; poss. <u>uley</u> .
uley	(n.) k.o. cane plant; (d.a.) spoiled, said of baby which cries a lot.
uli	(v.t.) pull out (e.g. stake or spear).
ulin	(n.) the canoe(s) in a fishing expedition, esp. for parrotfish, which carries the men who look out for the fish and will beat the water with poles to herd the fish into the nets; the <u>tele law</u> 'net canoes' carry the fishing nets.
ulu	(v.i. Class ?) be at high tide, be covered with water (e.g., the reef); l.f. <u>uluwani</u> .
uluwani/uluwani	(v.t. Class I) lower into the water and/or pull up out of the water on a rope; poss. long form of <u>ulu</u> .
um	(n.) house; house thatch made from sago palm leaves; l.f. <u>um^{we}</u> .
umey/homey	(n.) k.o. fruit; k.o. sago palm without thorns.
umcw	(num.) (<u>u</u> 'two' + <u>mcw</u> 'classifier') some, a few, a bit of; see 3.2.3.1.
um ^{we}	(i.n.) house; s.f. <u>um</u> .
un	(n.) maggot.
uniyeni	(v.t. Class I) tug on (a rope).
up	(v.t. Class I) pound sago with long poles; l.f. <u>ip^{wi}</u> ; der. <u>up^{wiya}</u> .
upen	(adv.) day after tomorrow [<u>u</u> 'two' + <u>pen</u> 'night'].
up ^{wiya}	(i.n.) pounding sago with long pole; nom. of <u>up</u> .

uput	(n.) some, a few [<u>u</u> 'two' + <u>put</u> 'classifier']; see 3.2.3.1.
urch	(part.) thank you; when used at the beginning of a speech, 'welcome'.
usiyay	(n.) people of the interior or highlands of Manus; also given as people of the off-shore islands such as Lou, Baluan, etc.
usun	(v.t. Class I?) carry in a canoe, or any transport; l.f. <u>usuni</u> .
usun	(v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. itch or have rash.
usuni	(v.t. Class I?) carry in canoe [<u>usun</u> 'carry' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']. <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
usu?us	(n.) sago cooked in the form of a pancake; redup. of <u>*us</u> .
uti	(i.n.) penis.
uti	(v.t. Class I) pack a carrying basket, e.g., with sago.
uto	(pro.) first person paucal exclusive.
utu	(v.t. Class I) split open (e.g. coconut); l.f. <u>utuwe</u> .
uweh	(pro.) first person plural exclusive.
uwch	(quant.) some (lit. 'two').
uy	(n.) k.o. sago palm with thorns.
u?e	(v.i. Class ?) variant of <u>e?e</u> tremble.
wa	(i.n.) flesh, body; meat (e.g. unprocessed sago pulp).
wahaw	(n.) k.o. cane plant.
wak	(d.a.) bowlegged (poss. resulting from yaws).
wake	(n.) ornament.

walaŋ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. thumb-print emperor.
walas	(n.) k.o. long sea grass which grows in sandy area near shore.
waleley	(n.) k.o. large yam; cf. <u>pićinah</u> .
wamata	(n.) a line which goes from the mast to the stern of the canoe, prob. a stay.
wanaw	(v.i. Class ?) leave, go away; used only with first person singular.
was	(n.) rope made of vines.
wati	(n.) lizard.
wawa	(i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. coconut waste.
we	(i.n.) sibling of the opposite sex; also, children of ego's paternal uncles or maternal aunts who are of the opposite sex from ego; cf. <u>te?i</u> .
we	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. tarwhine or ashen drummer.
weć	(v.t. Class I) cut down, fell (a tree), break; l.f. <u>weće</u> .
wećić	(n.) broom made of palm leaf spines or stiff reeds.
welen	(n.) k.o. bird, poss. pigeon or dove; may have webbed feet.
weley	(n.) anchor.
welैया	(i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. nom. of <u>welैयाni</u> ; attested in phrases such as: <u>welैयाm purət</u> 'You yourself take care of the work'; <u>welैयाo iy kilī mat</u> 'My arms are dead', <u>iy welैयाn</u> 'She is not good'.
welैयाni/welैयाeni	(v.t. Class ?) fasten.
weney	(v.i. Class I) be able, be sufficient or suitable for; TP <u>inap</u> ; see 7.3.3.
wesiw	(n.) cane, rattan.

WEWE	(n.) mango, mango tree.
WE?i	(n.) song.
WE?is	(d.a.) smooth, soft, not stiff; l.f. <u>WE?isɔ</u> .
WE?isɔ	(i.n.) smoothness, gentleness, softness, comfort; s.f. <u>WE?is</u> .
wi	(n.) k.o. plant with small green-skinned fruit whose flesh is greenish-white, fibrous, and crunchy, and whose leaves are used as seasoning.
wihi	(v.t. Class I) blow with mouth, esp. to move something [<u>wɔh</u> 'fly' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]
wilaw	(n.) spider.
wi?i	(n.) dolphin.
wɔh	(v.i.) fly; der. <u>wihi</u> .
wɔkwɔkwɔ	(n.) little pieces; any little bits of rubbish; redup. of <u>*wɔkwɔ</u> .
wɔkwɔ	(num.) root for 'six'; see 3.2.
wɔp	(v.i. Class I?) escape, run away.
wɔs	(n.) the stem of the taro, used for planting.
wɔw	(pro.) second person singular; s.f. <u>wɔ</u> .
wɔ	(v.t. Class I?) fetch (water).
wɔ	(v.i. Class ?) heal.
wɔ	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of angelfish.
ya	(part.) future marker.
ya	(prep.) toward, through, over.
yahiti/yahati	(v.t. Class II) break up with hand; crumble.
yaka?an/yaka?ani	(v.t. Class II) hide [<u>ya</u> 'v.f.' + <u>ka?an</u> '?' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].]

yakulum ^w ani	(v.t. Class I) make a fist; make a package with cloth around grated coconut for squeezing in the production of coconut cream or oil.
yalesani	(v.t. Class II?) wring or squeeze with hands, esp. coconut meat.
yalateni	(v.t. Class II?) gloss unclear, poss. partition, apportion.
yaliwi	(v.t. Class II?) steer with paddle held away from the side of the canoe; cf. <u>apeti</u> .
yam	(interj.) sound made in hesitation; cf. <u>cam</u> .
yama'am	(v.i. Class ?) be red, turn red, esp. leaves of the yam plant.
yamiyam	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. violet-lined Maori-wrasse.
yan	(v.t. Class II) eat; l.f. <u>yani</u> , <u>yeneyan</u> .
yani	(v.t.) eat [<u>yan</u> 'eat' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.']; variant form <u>pani</u> .
yanohi	(v.t. Class ?) mend (fishing nets).
yaŋo'oh	(v.i. Class II) spit.
yaŋ	(n.) k.o. plant with large green leaves which are made into fringe and used as ornamentation in traditional dress.
yaŋ	(n.) k.o. spider shell, prob. fam. Strombidae.
yaŋaŋay	(v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. swim on surface.
yap	(n.) k.o. sickness, poss. cough.
yap	(n.) foreigner, esp. Europeans; der. <u>m^wonuyap</u> , <u>puweyap</u> .
yape	(part.?) cf. <u>ape</u> , <u>tetape</u> .
yarehēni	(v.t. Class II) keep in hiding, isolate.

yas	(n.) the small canoe-shaped trough into which the sago powder is filtered during the processing of sago pulp.
yasa	(v.t. Class II) sharpen (a cutting edge).
yat	(v.i. Class ?) burn, be lit.
yataha	(n.) putting thatch on roof; nom. of <u>yetehe</u> .
yatahani	(v.t. Class II) put thatch on roof; [<u>yetehe</u> 'put thatch on' + <u>-ani</u> 'trans.'].]
yaw	(v.i. Class II) go, leave (direction/destination unspecified); l.f. <u>yaweseni</u> .
yaw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. fairy cod or lunar-tailed cod.
yaweseni	(v.t. Class II) to carry someone or something while walking about; to parade someone, esp. a bride [<u>yawese</u> (s.f. <u>yaw</u>) 'go' + <u>-eni</u> 'trans.'].]
yawese	(v.i. Class I) go; s.f. <u>yaw</u> .
yay	(v.i. Class ?) swim, esp. on the surface; wade.
yaya	(n.) vocative or intimate form for mother or mother's sisters; cf. <u>ca'cah</u> , <u>ca'coh</u> , <u>ca'poh</u> .
ya?e	(v.t. Class II?) variant of <u>a?e</u> split.
ye	(v.i. Class I) be in a place (esp. sitting), stay, live in a place (implies comfort and/or long duration).
ye	(v.i. Class I?) jump from surprise.
yehuh	(v.i.?) be a gray or dull day due to "color of the sun".
yehut/yehur/yphut/ye?uh	(v.i. Class I) sulk (syn. <u>kus(uwani)</u>).
yelimaw	(v.i. Class ?) yawn.
yeliŋ	(v.t. Class II?) want, desire, like, prefer; l.f. <u>yelini</u> ; der. <u>yevelin</u> .

yeliŋi	(v.t. Class II) want [<u>yeliŋ</u> 'want' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
yen	(v.i. Class ?) lie down; prob. related to <u>ye</u> .
yeneyan	(v.i. Class I?) eat; redup. of <u>yan</u> .
yesehe	(v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. coax.
yesin	(v.i. Class ?) sneeze; poss. l.f. <u>yesini</u> ; der. <u>kesinay</u> .
yesiŋi	(v.t. Class ?) burn (sun as agent); irritate, as the smoke from a fire irritates [?yesin 'sneeze' + <u>-i</u> 'trans.'].
yesow	(v.i. Class II) get married; (n.) marriage.
yessoway	(n.) married male; <u>hi yessoway</u> , married female [<u>hi</u> 'FEM' + <u>yessow</u> 'marry' + <u>-ay</u> 'n.f.'].
yetahe	(v.t. Class II?) put sago-leaf thatch on roof; l.f. <u>yatahani</u> ; der. <u>yataha</u> .
yeti	(v.t. Class II) bite.
yetiŋ	(v.t. Class II) cut (meat) into pieces; cause pain or illness (from eating too much coconut); long form <u>yetiŋi</u> .
yeyeliŋ	(n.) liking, desire, preference; nom. of <u>yeliŋ</u> .
yen	(n.) a fight or battle; war.
yiw	(v.t. Class ?) search for and gather clams.
yɔyɔʔu	(d.a.) cloudy, no sun; redup. of <u>yɔʔu(wa)</u> .
yɔʔɔsi	(v.t. Class I) scrape; peel with shell.
yɔʔuwa	(i.n.) shade; der. <u>yɔyɔʔu</u> .
yo	(pro.) first person singular.
yoʔose	(v.i. Class II) walk.

English to Loniu Finderlist
and Appendices

This finderlist is provided specifically to facilitate the work of comparatists searching for cognate forms. It is not complete, in the sense that not all forms which occur in the Loniu to English lexicon are referred to here; it is hoped, however, that sufficient English entries are provided to guide the researcher to those forms most likely to be useful in comparative work. In addition, eight appendices follow the finderlist. Seven of these are organized according to semantic field:

Appendix A	Plant and Tree Names
Appendix B	Bird Names
Appendix C	Shell Names
Appendix D	Canoe Parts and Related Terms
Appendix E	Fish Names
Appendix F	Body Parts and Kin Terms
Appendix G	Inalienably Possessed Nouns Expressing Spatial Relationships

Appendix H contains as many of those roots which have been identified as having both long and short forms. These are, for the most part, nouns and verbs, but a few roots identified as descriptive adjuncts are also attested with two forms.

Appendices A - E do not contain glosses, since in most cases the translations are not definite; and those forms which have definite translations, such as coconut, eagle, or parrotfish, are included in the finderlist. All of the forms listed in each appendix are also included in the Loniu to English lexicon, with the most complete definition available.

ache	(v.i.?) čičiḡew; see also pain.
adoptive	(d.a.) haḡahaḡ.
adorn	(v.t.) kɔʔkɔsani~kɔʔkɔsani; kɔsɔweni.
adult	(n.) huyan; patahuyan.
adze	(n.) kuwen; (v.t.) tɔkuweli.
afraid	(v.i.) nɔh; see also fear.
after	(prep.) peti.
afternoon	(n.) keḡyah.
afterwards	(adv.) mʷiʔin.
again	(adv.) puliye.
agree (with)	(v.t.) čumʷi.
aipika	(n.) melen.
align	(v.t.) tɔʔɔwani.
alike	(d.a.) musih.
alive	(d.a.) mamʷiʔin, mamʷimʷiʔin; aḡ.
allergy (to cause)	(v.i.) amʷisi; see also poison, rash, skin disease.
allow	(v.t.) hine(ni).
also	(adv.) puliye.
anchor	(n.) welsy.
and	(conj.) s; ma; te; see 7.2.
angry	(phrase) putuwa mamʷa; cf. sorry.
animal	(phrase) kɔkɔw a kɔʔkɔ kɔ ke 'things of the forest'.
animate goal	(part.) ete; see 5.2.5.3.
ankle	(i.n.) ɔpukaka.

ankle bone	(n.) pɔkɛpikan.
ankle joint	(i.n.) kɔluɕukaka.
ant	(n.) miʔi, kamʷat, kalɔn.
anus	(n.) matapupʷilin.
appear	(part.) tahow, ɕahɔw, ɕahan.
appearance	(i.n.) ɛrɛnɛʔi.
arm	(i.n.) nime; peni.
around	(i.n.?) mara (poss. mata); paʔa.
arrive	(part.) ɕɔŋ.
arrogance	(i.n.) ɕikiya; be arrogant: ɕikiyani.
as	(sub.conj.) hipeta; leŋɛʔi.
as far as	(prep.) pɔli.
ash	(n.) kamʷan; (i.n.) te.
ask	(v.t.) tetemene, temenani, temeneni.
ask for	(v.t.) ɕaŋaw.
attitude	(i.n.) ɛrɛnɛʔi.
aunt	(n.) yaya.
avoid	(v.t.) hiliyeni.
awake	(v.i.?) mamat.
away	(adv.) ŋɔh.
ax	(n.) mʷati; motow pipetow.
baby	see infant; child.
bad	(d.a.) muwan.
back	(i.n.) keleŋa.

back (of house)	(n.) kečilew; kəʔətut.
bailer	(n.) olch.
bald	(d.a.) p ^w ikəw.
balsa	(n.) malin.
bamboo	(n.) kas; powet.
banana	(n.) pu.
bark	(i.n.) kulihi; kəkə; see also skin.
barter	(v.t.) peheyani, peheyeni; čim(ani); see also market, buy.
base	(i.n.) teke.
basket	(n.) tək (i.n. tap ^{wa}); pəkəsus; kawa; (i.n.) kup.
bathe	(v.i.) pu; see also wash, swim.
bat	(n.) kečep ^{we} .
beach	(n.) leŋ; p ^{wa} haleŋ.
bead	(n.) səʔun; puweyap.
beat	(v.t.) ta; taya; ip ^{wi} ; čap ^{wi} yani; tiʔiŋi; see also hit, kill.
beautify	(v.t.) ahi; ahani.
beauty/beautiful	(n.) ahan.
because	(phrase) ile čah, peti čah (see 6.7.3.3, 7.3.4); because of or due to, (i.n.) tele.
bedding	(phrase) čəw tutuh; (i.n.) pəkəčəwə.
bee	(n.) menih.
before	(adv.) hanə (~henc~hamə).
behind	(i.n.) pu; pum ^{wi} ʔi.
belch	(v.i.) putčhaw.
belly	(i.n.) putuwa.

belt	(n.) let; p ^w inah.
bench	(n.) kiw; keyaw; čmuna.
bend	(v.i.) tu [?] uhe; katu [?] uhe; putu [?] uhe; p ^w eku.
betel nut	(n.) puwe, ketiyat, kewe, m ^w ičim ^w ič.
betel pepper	(n.) pun.
between	(i.n.) m ^w eləŋa.
big	(d.a.) metiyen [~] lametiyen [~] nametiyen; mata; nap ^w anan [~] lap ^w anan; mela [?] an; see also huge.
bird	(n.) ŋetukan.
birth	(n.) ta [?] əŋan; give birth (v.i.) tiyan; (v.t.) tow [~] təwe.
birth celebration	(n.) ɔpah; sa [?] ɔŋ; lɔku.
bit	(part.) hepe; (i.n.) čupu; ɔkɔkɔɔ.
bite	(v.t.) yeti.
bitter	(d.a.) čipitan; see also sour.
black	(d.a.) ɔket, ɔkɔten.
bleed	(v.i.) či.
blood	(n.) ay; (i.n.) eye.
blow	(v.t.) suhani [~] sugani; wihi; ɔɔ [?] ɔhani; (v.i.) ŋɔh.
blue	(d.a.) ɔɔwan.
body	(i.n.) patitupuwe; čəŋi.
boil	(v.t.) tuwe, tuwani; keli; see also cook, heat.
bone	(i.n.) ow; peti [?] o.
bore (holes)	(v.t.) ɔɔyani, ɔɔyani
borrow	(v.i.) čučuye; see also exchange.

bottom	(i.n.) pu?u; kečepu?un; apa?ahan; pcketak; see also base.
boundary	(i.n.) papeti; manuwenan.
bowl	(n.) kcpu; lus; nrclw; pckcsus; see also basket.
bowlegged	(d.a.) wak.
boy	(n.) tupunah (i.n. tupune); netum ^W an; see also child.
brain	(i.n.) pe?e.
branch	(i.n.) palapa~pelapa.
breadfruit	(n.) kun.
break	(v.t.) yahiti; tckpckwani; tiweč(e); ičiqi; tukuwey; tasala; (v.i.) salay; mck; pot; mckpckwe.
break wind	(v.i.) isi.
breast	(i.n.) susu; see also milk.
breath	(i.n.) ckckha.
bride price	(n.) kačaw; ełe?iliye; (i.n.) kečewa; čima pihin; see also marriage.
bridge	(n.) palače?etay.
broken	(d.a.) pckckwey; see also break.
broom	(n.) wečič.
brother	see <u>sibling</u> .
brother-in-law	(i.n.) melesewa.
brown-skinned	(n.) mey
bunch	(n.) matakap ^W a; hutuhutuq.
bundle	(n.) ck?cktan.
burn	(v.t.) yesiqi; čulum ^W i; (v.i.) yat; čckck; čck.

bush rat	(n.) lɔsow.
butterfly	(n.) pɔp ^w ilow.
buttocks	(i.n.) m ^w ɛ.
buy	(v.t.) čim [~] čimani; see also barter.
call	(v.t.) ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ; ili; taŋɛ [?] eyani; (v.i.) iw; čuli.
call in (debts)	(v.t.) tupunani, (tupu)tupune.
calm	(n.) m ^w a [?] ay.
cane	(n.) wesiw, ah, lɔɔɔɔɔ, uley, wahaw.
canoe	(n.) tun; (i.n.) tɛɛɛ.
care for	(v.t.) ɔɔmɛnɛ; kɛɛɛɛɛ; kɔkɔkɔkɔ.
careful	(v.i.?) (tɔ) paha.
carry	(v.t.) hu(ti); usun(i); si [?] ihi; kun(i); hati.
carve	(v.t.) sah, sehi, sehisah.
carver	(phrase) amat a čerɔw.
carving	(n.) sahasah.
catch	(v.t.) ɔɔ; ta, ta [?] i; luŋ(uti).
caterpillar	(n.) pipow.
caulking	(n.) eyt [~] et [~] a [?] at.
cause	(v.t.) hine(ni).
celebration	(n.) ɔɔpah; sa [?] ɔɔŋ, lɔku; kan; mačah; kɔɔɔɔɔ; kowas; see also marriage.
center	(i.n.) ɔɔ [?] čaŋa(h).
change	(v.i.) pin; čuye, čuyani; see also exchange, turn.
chant	(v.i.) (misi)misiye; (v.t.) misiyeni.

charcoal	(n.) čipəʔəmʷan; katamʷan.
chase	(v.t.) pʷičili; (n.) pučiliya.
cheek	(i.n.) kəlimata.
chest	(i.n.) təkəʔetəʔetəʔetə; pʷahatəkəkə.
chew	(v.t.) tuwah, tutuwah, tuwehi; hus(i).
chicken	(n.) kəha.
child	(i.n.) pətu; (n.) tihow; mʷečepu; mʷimʷiʔin; see also infant.
chin	(i.n.) pase, kəpase.
chip	(n.) čipetun.
choose	(v.t.) hilite.
chop	(v.t.) wəč(ə); siliŋ(i); sen; sah; see also carve, cut.
circumcision	(n.) kan.
clam	(n.) puke, pini, tu, tuwes.
clarification	(i.n.) təkə.
claw	(i.n.) pʷičikaka, pʷičinime.
clay	(n.) pʷenət.
clean	(d.a.) meseʔən.
clear	(v.t.) čan(i); tawoh, tawih; tames(eʔey); təpəʔiye, təpəʔiyani; tinani; (v.i.) sa; masa; maŋawe.
climb	(v.t.) pak, nekəti; (ač)čəʔət.
climbing rope	(n.) pakoh.
close	(v.t.) čuluŋi; sumʷili; tuʔuŋi; (v.i.) tut; sək.
clothes	(i.n.) kəkəkəʔu; nəʔi; (n.) kəkəw; čəlaw; čučuh.
cloud	(n.) kaʔah.

cloudy	(d.a.) yɔyɔʔu; see also shade.
club	(n.) ketuŋ; mumum.
cockroach	(n.) pətʃɔŋ
coconut	(n.) niw; kahatay; ɔket; kaʔahay; pelewa; paramanan; kowesun.
coconut water	(n.) mɔmɔ niw; pɔ niw; enu niw.
coconut oil	(n.) eleke.
cold	(v.i.) pala; (d.a.) peletun.
cold wind	(n.) pala.
collarbone	(i.n.) ekesa.
collect	(v.t.) čep ^{wi} (yani); ini; yiw; pɔ; see also gather.
comb	(n.) ču.
come	(v.i.) me.
comfort	(i.n.) weʔisɔ.
command	(n.) ečey.
conjunction	(coordinate) e, ma, te, ɔ, hepe ep ^{wi} (see 6.4.2); (subordinate) hipeta, leŋeʔi, wene(y), ile čah (see 7.3).
consider	(v.i.) leʔečeliye.
constellation	(n.) hičele, sasa, yar, poŋ e pew.
consumable possession	(i.n.) ana (see 3.1.1.2.2).
container	(n.) kup ^{wi} ; piti; p ^{wep} wi; see also bowl, basket, jug.
contradict	(v.t.) pɔkeleyani.
cook	(v.t.) suwah, suwehi; čun, čulum ^{wi} ; tuwe, tuwani; keli; (v.i.) meʔis.
copulate	(v.t.) iti.

coral	(n.) lač; čupat.
core	(i.n.) puto.
corn	(n.) kɔlum (prob. borrowed).
cough	(v.i., n.) seseɱa.
count	(v.t.) ɔŋɔhe, ɔŋɔhani.
cousin	(n.) p ^w esi.
cover	(i.n.) heluŋa; čuhuya; (n.) tutuh(a); heluhelun; paŋɔh; (v.t.) tu [?] uŋi; heluŋi; čuhs.
cowrie	(n.) mana.
crab	(n.) tup ^w ey~tap ^w ey; etipun; eliman; čumow; eme [?] iman; ewet; ka [?] ah peti pat; m ^w ey; napič.
crack	(n.) ɛ; salay.
crawl	(v.i.) ŋan, aŋelipan; nen; (ačɛ)čɛ [?] et.
crayfish	(n.) elučemu.
crazy	(n.) ŋɔw, ŋɔŋɔŋ; čɔ.
cricket	(n.) nriw.
crocodile	(n.) puwey.
crown (of tree)	(i.n.) p ^w eɛɛ.
cry	(v.i.) taŋ; (n.) tilen, tilinjin.
cup	(n.) sɔɔɔɔɔ; kayaw; p ^w ikɔw.
curse	(v.t.) pukutani, pukuteni; (i.n.) pukuta.
custom	(n.) ⁿ rekep ^w en.
cut	(v.t.) čan(i); yetiŋ(i); weč(ɛ); ča [?] eh; ča [?] iti; sah; siliŋi; ta; see also break, chop, carve.
cuttle-bone	(i.n.) pahune.

dance	(v.i.) tamana; sewe.
dawn	(n.) masa; malɔɔmʷan; (v.i.) salay.
day	(n.) aŋ.
day before yesterday (adv.)	meteʔewɔh.
debate	(v.t.) seyani.
debris (forest)	(n.) ɕalɔke.
deep sea	(n.) mʷekew; laman; ʱɔɔkɔ.
defecate	(v.i.) pehe.
deliver	(v.t.) tapiɕey; see also squeeze.
demon	(n.) ɕinen.
descendant	(i.n.) tupunetu; see also child, grandchild.
die	(v.i.) mat.
dig	(v.t.) takuweli; sɔ(ʔi); ili.
digging stick	(n.) nas; (i.n.) nesɪ.
dirt/dirty	(i.n.) sɔsɔ; kɔpuʔa.
discover	(v.t.) taputiʔi.
dish	(n.) kɔhɔn.
dislike	(i.n.) pu(we)ʔe.
dive	(v.i.) ɕohok; see also jump.
divide	(v.t.) neti; peheti.
do	(v.t.) pɔ; hine(ni); ta.
dog	(n.) mʷi.
doing	(i.n.) pɔta; hineyaʰhininiya.
dolphin	(n.) wiʔi.
door	(n.) ɕaŋah.

doorway	(n.) p ^w ahačəŋəh.
down	(adv?) tan.
downhill	(n.) pahali.
draw	(v.t.) חכ(כ?)ח, חכצ.
dream about	(v.t.) nihiyani.
drink	(v.t.) in(um ^w i).
drinking	(n.) inum ^w ay.
drive	(v.t.) haluwēni.
drown	(v.t.) tuhu; (v.i.) emət(?).
drum	(n.) temey; (i.n.) temeya.
dry	(v.i.) pakak; p ^w asaw; čama; (d.a.) כסכסען; (v.t.) sep ^w i.
drying rack	(n.) talas; (i.n.) telesa.
dull	(d.a.?) yehuh.
dusk	(n.) ča?akə
dust	(i.n.) כחכח, חכחכח; (n.) chuwēn; kenukan כנukan; čpučap.
eager	(v.i.) סכס.
eagle	(n.) menuway.
ear	(i.n.) telīŋa.
ear ornament	(n.) puwetin.
earth	(phrase) kə tan; see also land.
east wind	(n.) kup; see also wind.
easy, easily	see gently.
eat	(v.t.) yan(i)~nani; (v.i.) yēneyan.

eating	(i.n.) keneya.
edge	(i.n.) mata; pase; keti; pele; see also side.
eel	(n.) mətəm ^W at.
egg	(i.n.) elutu.
elbow	(i.n.) kəlučunime.
embrace	(v.t.) pusani; (v.i., n.) (p ^W isi)p ^W is.
emphasis	(part.) ti; e.
empty-handed	(d.a.) m ^W e ^{le} he(y).
enter	see arrive.
entwine	(v.t.) hakeleyani.
escape	(v.i.) wəp.
examire	(v.t.) le [?] ečeliye.
examination	(n.) le [?] ečečeliye.
excellent	(d.a.) ləkən.
exchange	(v.t.) čuye; (n.) čučuye.
excuse me	(phrase) pə [?] matam.
exhausted	(v.i.) puh; see also miss.
explain	(v.t.) p ^W ačelejani.
explanation	(n.) p ^W ačeleja.
eye	(i.n.) mata; pə [?] matamata.
eyeball/socket	(i.n.) čilimata.
eyebrow/lash	(i.n.) pumata.
fall	(v.i.) ɔ; ləɔ.
fall on	(v.t.) teni.

fan	(n.) tawiwi; (v.t.) tawiwoh, tawiwihi.
far	(d.a.) elewen; see also long.
fart	(i.n.) isi; (v.i.) isi.
fasten	(v.t.) weleyani; čeweti; irani; hus(i); apeti; činiti.
fastening	(i.n.) husiya.
fat	(n.) naman; (d.a.) malahan; see also big.
father	(i.n.) natama; (n.) čačah.
father-in-law	(i.n.) pana.
fathom	(n.) nahan.
feather	(n.) lomukan~lemukan.
fear	(n.) nohnoh; see also afraid.
feces	(i.n.) te.
feed	(v.t.) haq(eni).
feel	(v.t.) naqetuwe; lakahani.
female	(n.) pihin(ε); hi; (nε?)ehin.
fence	(n.) kaw; (i.n.) kawa.
fetch (water)	(v.t.) wo; imWani.
fiber	(n.) kap; če?ekas; see also Appendix A.
fight	(v.t.) ta?i; (n.) yen.
fill	(v.t.) pohi; misuwa(ni); see also full.
filter	(n.) tah.
find	(v.t.) kah(i); see also hunt.
finger	(i.n.) pake?enime; pake?i.
finished	(v.i.) pWič.

fire	(n.) m ^W an; (i.n.) m ^W enu~m ^W onu; see also kindle.
firestone	(n.) petuwet.
firewood	(n.) kihi; (i.n.) kihiye.
fish	(n.) ni; (i.n.) niye.
fishing net	(n.) law; me [?] eme; laweyap; kuwen; kup ^W en; kaho; ċi [?] ih; pake tak, aḡo.
fish trap	(n.) puh; ow.
fist	(i.n.) palanime; make a fist: yakulum ^W ani.
five	(num.) lime.
flesh	(n.) sa [?] ch; (i.n.) wa.
float	(v.i.) pet; (n.) put.
floor	(n.) kačan.
fly	(v.i.) wch; (n.) ḡelepū.
flying fox	(n.) pelimat.
food	(n.) kan; eneyan; ka [?] ch [?] an.
foolish	(n.) ċ; see also crazy.
foot	(i.n.) kaka.
for	(prep) peti.
forehead	(i.n.) tahapule.
foreigner	(n.) yap.
forest	(phrase) lo ke.
fork	(n.) sa [?] sa.
forked	(d.a.) p [?] alah.
four	(num.) ha.
fresh	(d.a.) mam ^W em ^W e [?] an; mam [?] an.

friction (firemaking) (v.i.)	tanenes.
friend	(n.) kawas.
frog	(n.) kerinaway.
front of	(i.n.) paha.
fruit	(i.n.) čeŋi; puwe.
fry	(v.t.) suwah, suwehi.
full	(v.i.) teheta; sop.
fur	(i.n.) (lomu)lomu; see also feather, hair.
future	(part.) ya.
game	(n.) eweta(y).
garden	(n.) pileŋ, enum; (i.n.) pileŋa, enum ^{wa} .
gather	(v.t.) ɔɔ; yiw; an; in, ili; ini; see also collect.
gecko	(n.) pehena; see steal.
gently	(adv.) m ^{we} eniye.
ghost	(n.) pelit; amat su.
gift	(n.) pateč; saʔɔŋ; loku; (i.n.) teweya; kɔɔha; see also celebration.
girl	(n.) (neʔ)ehin; (i.n.) neʔehiye.
give	(v.t.) tow, tewe.
giving	(i.n.) teweya.
give birth	(v.i.) tiyan.
go	(v.i.) la; yaw; wanaw.
God	(n.) lapan.
good	(n.) huya; (d.a., adv.) huyan.

good-bye	(phrase) kile ala; (k)ετω.
grandchild	(i.n.) petukemεpu~תוכוכוכו.
grandfather	(i.n.) natupu; (n.) εapoh.
grandmother	(i.n.) nato; (n.) εaεoh.
grass	(n.) m ^w i?iw; קוק; see also seaweed.
grate	(v.t.) num ^w i.
grave	(n.) kakawan.
green	(d.a.) כ?כwan.
grieve for	(v.t.) tagesi.
groin	(i.n.) me?ipihine.
grope	(v.i.) akalakan; (v.t.) lekehi.
grow	(v.i.) mata; εk.
gut	(i.n.) putuwa; (v.t.) סכ; p ^w ihi.
hair	(i.n.) kumu(pala); lemi; (n.) lemilam; see also feather, fur.
half	(num.) sipi; peliway.
hand	(i.n.) nime; כpunime.
handle	(i.n.) pe?ε; כככ~ככlu.
hang	(v.i.) apuiכk.
head	(i.n.) pala.
headdress	(n.) papuwe; כככ?ככ; see also ornament.
heal	(v.i.) wo.
heap	(v.i.) εku; (v.t.) (כ) hutuγani; (n.) hutuhutuγ; puliyan.
hear	(v.t.) εγε(yeni); see also listen.

heart	(i.n.) pusesa.
heat	(n.) ŋatah; (i.n.) paŋataha.
heaven	(phrase) ko laŋ; see also sky, land.
heavy	(d.a.) tuvan; (v.i.) tawa.
heel	(i.n.) četekaka.
hello	(phrase) 2nd person PERF me, lit. 'you have come'.
help	(v.t.) čupani; čučupe; (n.) čup.
here	(dem.) itipɔ; itiyɔ; iyɛ(n).
hibiscus	(n.) epɔw.
hiccough	(v.i.) memesu.
hide	(v.t.) yakaʔan(i); yareheni; (v.i.) ač~ay.
high tide	(v.i.) ulu.
hip	(i.n.) čste.
hit	(v.t.) ta; taʔi; see also beat, kill.
hold	(v.t.) pɔtɔwe; hu(ti).
hole	(n.) pwičik; ŋay; (i.n.) ŋeye.
hole (make a)	see bore, pierce, dig.
hook	(n.) kow.
hot	(d.a.) mwičinat; ŋatah(an); (v.i.) ŋatah.
house	(n.) um; (i.n.) umwe.
house parts	(n.) kumwet; lehetu; meseʔen; koʔɔtut; čeʔe ta pučɔn; koʔwiliŋ; tu; tɔpɔkɔw; see also floor, roof, door(way), window(frame).
how	(interr.) tetape; hitape; (y)ape.
how much/many	(interr.) mačehe.

huge	(d.a.) čehemetiyen; tiŋan.
human	(n.) amat.
hungry	(v.i.) muʔun; čəŋ.
hunt	(v.t.) čəŋ; (v.i.) kehekah; see also fiŋu.
nusk	(v.t.) funan, funehi; (i.n.) mʷiči~muči.
husking post	(n.) kučum.
illegitimate child	(n.) netupoke.
in	(i.n.) ɫ.
infant	(n.) tete, maman, mamaʔan; see also child.
inform	(v.i.) papaha.
insect	(n.) keʔiwəh; piloh; sikey; nanemʷat; see also cockroach, ant, bee, caterpillar, fly, mosquito, worm.
inside	(i.n.) (ɫ)tiye.
insist	(v.i.) petət.
intensifier	(part.) tasih.
intentional/inchoative	(part.) ma.
ironwood	(n.) kalapulin.
island	(n.) pučɫ(n); patakɫ; petepučɫ.
isolation	(phrase) ɫ čəw.
itch	(v.i.) piʔah.
jaw	(i.n.) kelipawɫ.
joint	(i.n.) kɫluču(kaka)~kuliču(kaka); pəkɫɫɫɫluč.
joke	(v.i.) pʷasaw.

jug	(n.) čopog; kɔʔum.
jump	(v.i.) hes; ah; oč; čapʷatapʷat; ye.
just	(part.) epʷe.
kidney	(i.n.) kuče.
kill	(v.t.) taʔi; taya; see also beat.
kind	(i.n.) lɔmata.
kindle	(v.t.) suluŋ(en)i; nenes.
knee	(i.n.) tahapulekaka.
knife	(n.) motow; motow kɔčɔ; motow pipetow; see also ax.
knock	(v.t.) tukuni.
know	(v.t.) pesani; pasan.
knowledge	(i.n.) pasa.
ladder	(n.) tet.
ladle	(v.t.) kawi; (n.) kakaw.
land	(n.) kɔ; (i.n.) kɔhɔna.
land	(v.i.) tuʔuhe.
language	(n.) komu; (i.n.) komuwa.
last-born child	(n.) (hi)mʷečepu; (hi)mʷimʷiʔin.
laugh	(v.i.) han; helesay.
leader	(n.) lapan.
leaf	(i.n.) kɔkɔ(na); kɔʔna; see also branch.
lean-to	(n.) laʔo; paʔn.

learn	(v.t.) henehene; see also teach.
left (side)	(n.) ka?un.
leg	(i.n.) kaka.
library	(phrase) um ^w e ka?un ke peti m ^w alih (lit. 'house of leaves for stories').
lid (of pot)	(i.n.) mata (ku); see also eye.
lie	(v.t.) sehi; kip(ani); (v.i., n.) sehisah.
lie (down)	(v.i.) ehe; ye(n); see also sit, sleep.
lift (up)	(v.t.) tepe?i.
light	see kindle.
light (colored)	(d.a.) lelen; see also yellow, white.
lightening	(n.) emen.
like	(v.t.) pusani; see also want.
like	see as.
lime	(n.) pe?ic; nah; (i.n.) naha.
lip	(i.n.) ka?unusu.
listen	(v.i.) en(e), ene?en; see also hear.
live	(v.i.) ta(w); ye(n).
liver	(i.n.) etc.
lizard	(n.) wati; see also gecko.
locative	(part.) ta(h); see also live, stay, sit, stand.
long, length	(n.) la?elewe; see also far.
look	(v.i.) lele; see also see.
look	see appearance.
looking for	(i.n.) le?eya.

loose	(v. i.) puta.
lose	(v. t.) luwe; čalap ^w eni.
louse	(n.) kut; see also nit.
lower	(v. t.) uluweni.
lung	(i. n.) pusesa; see also heart.
maggot	(n.) un.
mahogany	(n.) כוכב; פוכב.
make	(v. t.) po; hine(ni); see also do, allow, cause.
making	(i. n.) pota; hineya.
malaria (to have)	(v. i.) ככ?כא.
Malay apple	(n.) čay, me?e.
male	(n.) kaman; (i. n.) kemeli.
mango	(n.) wewe.
mangrove	(n.) kocuča.
many	(d. a., n.) čelewan.
market	(n.) pah; um ^w e čimičim; see also barter, buy.
marriage	(n.) mačah; kosow; tep ^w eča; yesow; kosonay;
married	(n.) (hi)yesoway.
married housing	(n.) čaw.
mast (canoe)	(n.) kepeley; čin.
mat	(n.) čow.
matches/lighter	(n.) m ^w onuyap; see also fire, foreigner.
maybe	(part.?) ma?in.
men's house	(n.) kaman; (i. n.) kemeli.

mend (nets)	(v.t.) yanohi.
mess(y)	(d.a.?) masoʔone.
method	(i.n.) pcta; erena.
midday	(phrase) tiko aŋ
middle	(i.n.) tikoʔa; lohluwa.
middle-sized	(n.) netuweneyan.
midnight	(phrase) tiko peŋ.
midrib (of leaf)	(n.) ah; papuwe.
milk	(n.) sus; see also breast.
miss	(v.i.) puh.
miss	(title) so; see also mister.
mister	(title) ŋeʔe; see also miss.
mix (with)	(v.i.) soʔoʔiyɛ.
moan	(v.i.) takemeyam; takokow.
modal	(part.?) carem, carewa; (aux.) mara~mera.
mollusc	(i.n.) ke; see also clam.
money	(n.) (ɕu)ɕupat; loʔa ke; ɕilimata ni.
moon	(n.) pun.
morning	(n.) mapen; toʔa aŋ; makʔohun; malɕomʔan.
mosquito	(n.) pamɕn.
mother	(i.n.) nane; (n.) yaya.
mother-in-law	(i.n.) lasɕo, soʔo.
mountain	(n.) pʔili~puli.
mourn	(v.t.) taŋesi.
mouth	(i.n.) pʔaha.

mouth (of river)	(n.) p ^w ahamesa.
move	(v.i.) m ^w e ^{ne} ?iye.
mucus	(n.) ^ו ר ^כ ו; kečew.
mullet	(n.) kanas.
mushroom	(n.) eke.
musket	(n.) p ^w ok ^{at} .
mutter	(v.i.) čekenan.
nail	(n.) nin; (i.n.) p ^w ičikaka, p ^w ičinime.
name	(v.t.) haseweni, p ^w asowe; (i.n.) ŋa?a, piliŋa?a.
navel	(i.n.) k ^o putu.
near	(adv.) (pa)pa?oh.
neck	(i.n.) ke ^{nu} we; k ^o lu, p ^u k ^o lu.
necklace	(n.) puweyap.
needle	(n.) nen.
net	see fishing net.
new	(d.a.) (ma)mahun.
next to	(i.n.) ma?a, k ^o so.
night	(n.) peŋ.
nit	(n.) lus.
noise	(i.n.) ku?u; (n.) tukutuk.
no, not	(part.) p ^w e.
nonsense	(v.i.?) p ^w asaw.
north wind	(n.) k ^o law.
nose	(i.n.) k ^o ŋ; k ^o ŋk ^o ŋ.

not yet	(phrase) ma sow.
now	(adv., dem.) ככככ~ככככ.
nurse	(v.t.) hasuwe.
oarlock	(n.) mak.
ocean	(n.) ככככ, tas; see also deep sea.
of	(prep.) peti.
old (inanimate)	(d.a.) čakIn.
old (animate)	(n.) pata.
only	see just.
open	(v.i.) חכח; (v.t.) hu(ti); tipe?i.
origin	(i.n.) teke.
ornament	(n.) wake; אכככ?ככ; מכככ; papuwe; let.
out	(part.) חכח.
out (of something)	(part.?) hepWe.
outrigger	(n.) čam; (i.n.) čama.
outside	(i.n.) tuwe.
overripe	(d.a.) melemun.
owner	(i.n.) emete?i.
pack	(v.t.) pakka?ani.
packet	(i.n.) čumWeya; make a packet: yakulumWani.
paddle	(v.t.) suwe, suwani; (n.) pahaw(ε); כככ(כ).
pain	(n.) ŋetijan; (v.i.) ŋeti.
palm (of hand)	(i.n.) כככ?ככime.

palm (tree)	(n.) niw; epi.
pandanus	(n.) məkə.
pant	(v.i.) tahəhəy.
papaya	(n.) nat kəkək.
parrot	(n.) keʔeŋ.
parrotfish	(n.) pʷeleyah.
passage	(n.) mačaw.
peace	(n.) mʷaʔay.
peel	(v.t.) papaʔe, kəkəkʔi.
peer	(v.i.) tiʔitin.
penis	(i.n.) uti.
perfective	(part.) kili, keli, eli; kiʔi, ke.ε, ε.
period (of time)	(n.) ləhəliyan.
pick	(v.t.) han; hat; tiʔihi.
picnic	(v.i.) hiwene.
piece	(i.n.) (čupu)čupu; kaʔəniye~keʔəniye; kəkək; (n.) kəkəkənən; kəkəkəkək.
pierce	(v.t.) ta; səkʔi; səkeli; səkəkəkʔi.
piercing	(i.n.) səkya; tawayah.
pig	(n.) pow.
pigeon	(n.) pan.
pile (up)	(v.t.) kəkəkətumʷani; see also heap.
pillow	(n.) kaluŋ.
pitiful	(n.) čelemʷa.
place	(i.n.) kəkəkəkə; čəkəkəkə; čəkəkəkəkə; hawan.

placenta	(n.) ah.
plain	(d.a.) m ^w elehe(y).
plant	(v.t.) l ^m wi; has(ε?i).
planting	(i.n.) l ^m wa; hasa?a; (n.) l ^m l ^m .
plate	(n.) č ^m mun.
platform	(n.) pičele; keyaw; kelew; činen.
play	(v.i.) w.
point	(n.) p ^w ahač ^m ok; k ^m ok; see also promontory.
point (out)	(v.t.) čen(ewani); čeweneni.
poison	(d.a.) emusun; see also allergy.
pole	(n.) kumum; metep ^m w; mumum; nas; t ^m .
possessive	(part.) a, ta; ana; see 3.1.1.
possum	(n.) lawat.
post	(n.) tu; puhut.
post office	(phrase) um ^w e pε?εpa (lit. 'house of paper').
pot	(n.) ku; see also bowl, dish, plate, jug.
pour	(v.t.) hačele; čewehe(y); (v.i.) w.
powder	(n.) č ^m uwen; see also dust.
powerful	(d.a.) p ^m aperiye.
praise	(v.t.) misiyeni; see also chant.
press down	(v.t.) apeti.
promontory	(n.) t ^m č ^m h ^m un; palač ^m ok.

pronouns, personal	1sg	yo
	2sg	wɔw
	3sg	iy
	1du-inc	tɔʔu
	1du-exc	u
	2du	ɔw
	3du	suʔu
	1pc-inc	ɕito
	1pc-exc	uto
	2pc	etow
	3pc	hetow
	1pl-inc	tahah
	1pl-exc	uweh
	2pl	hah
	3pl	seh

pronoun (inanimate oblique object) ey.

pull (v.t.) iwani; uli; see also tug.

punt (v.t.) ɕene(ni).

punting pole (n.) tɔ.

purple (d.a.) pɔn.

push (v.t.) pisili; sunani; taperenani.

put (v.t.) tow, tewe; uti.

put on (v.t.) ɕuɕuhani.

put to bed (v.t.) ahani.

queasy (v.i.) m^wekelikeliye.

quickly (adv.) meʔiyen.

rain (n.) leɕin; ɕam^waʔaw.

rainbow (n.) susuyelaw.

rash (n.) tɔʔɕhaɕ; tɔtɕhun.

raw (d.a.) mapitan.

ray	(n.) lah, lehe.
recline	(v.i.) ehe; ta?as.
red	(d.a.) aman; me?iman; yama?am.
red paint	(n.) pu?uhu.
reef	(n.) mat; marapuket.
reject	(v.t.) m ^w ičiŋeni.
related (to)	(i.n.) čekehene.
relatives	(n.) law; (i.n.) lawa.
remove	(v.t.) sewi; puti.
repayment	(i.n.) kohowa; ča?uya.
repeat	(v.t.) pukute.
reprove	(v.t.) see reject.
resent	(v.t.) eŋiseni.
resentment	(n.) eŋisan.
rest	(v.i.) huŋaŋ.
return	(v.i.) m ^w an; (v.t.) m ^w ča?uya(n).
revenge	(i.n.) čewi; ča?uya.
rid	(v.t.) m ^w .
ridge pole	(n.) toh; see also roof, house parts.
right (side)	(n.) pa?ahan.
ripe	(v.i.) ma; ča?ača; see also red.
road	(n.) (p ^w aha)čan; (i.n.) (p ^w aha)čala.
roll	(v.t.) tipiyeni, tipiyani.
roof	(n.) puŋey; pun; ka?oh; sohan; toh; see also house parts.

root	(i.n.) (pu)קכ?כ.
root hair	(i.n.) (lemi)lemi.
rope	(n.) wamata; was; tutut; teliki; kulupačow; מומ; aley; luluwe; atay; te?in.
rot	(v.i.) pWa?a, pWe?at; (n.) קכ?כ.
rotten	(d.a.) pWe?etun, קכ?כwan.
round	(v.t.) tapelihani.
round	(d.a.) puwan; see also moon.
rub	(v.t.) soliyeni.
rubbish	(n.) čakalut.
run	(v.i.) hilow; (v.t.) haluweni.
run away	(v.i.) čakuputi; see also escape.
sago	(n.) epi; ekes.
sago, cooked	(n.) usu?us; tutupu; kahatay; קכק; susuwah; puwepe; קכככ; čuhučuh; קכככ~puron; kelikan.
sago waste	(n.) pohow.
sail	(n.) peley.
salt	(n.) tas.
saltwater color	(n.) קכIt.
same	see alike.
same age	(d.a.) heyew.
sand	(n.) te?ewon; luwin.
sardine	(n.) tenih.
say	(v.t.) pWa; pWasowe.
scales (fish)	(n.) pWičipWičin.

scarred	(d. a.) ʔeʔeʔy.
scattered	(v. i.) mɔsɔʔɔʔe.
scold	(v. t.) pʷaʔi.
scoop	(v. t.) sun(i); see also take.
scrape	(v. t.) ʔɔʔɔsi; see also peel.
scratch	(v. t.) asi.
screen	(n.) pepeʔeh; pačilew; (v. t.) piʔiti.
sea	(n.) tas; see also ocean, deep sea.
sea turtle	(n.) poʔ.
season	(i. n.) piɔ.
season	(i. n.) piɔ; piɔsɔsɔ.
seaweed	(n.) paɳay; walas; kačam; menih; see also grass.
see	(v. t.) leʔe.
seed	(i. n.) puwe.
self	(i. n.) kapʷana.
sell	see buy, barter.
send	(v. t.) ɔʔɔnani~ɔʔunani; tapeyani.
separate	(v. t.) ipʷiti; ɔsɔʔɔʔaʔani.
sew	(v. t.) sus(uwi); čeweti; see also fasten.
shade	(n.) ɔwan; (i. n.) ʔɔʔuwa.
shark	(n.) pew~pewi.
sharp	(d. a.) paman.
sharpen	(v. t.) tehi; yasa(y); ččɔmʷi.
shelf	(n.) pay.
shell	(i. n.) (pʷɛ)pʷɛ, kamana.

shin	(i. n.) pe?ekaka.
shine	(v. i.) siŋ.
short	(d. a.) puwɔn.
shoulder	(i. n.) keheya.
show	(v. t.) čewəneni; see also point (out).
shred	(v. t.) se?e.
sibling	(i. n.) te?i, we.
sickness	(n.) yap; sesema; kɔ?ɔkɔ.
side	(i. n.) kepe?e; pele; kɔhu; (n.) peliway.
sign	(i. n.) kilima; (n.) kilim, (kɔ)kɔluh, (ke)keluh.
signal	(v. t.) takɔluh, takulihi.
sing	(v. t.) hu(ti) we?i.
singe	(v. t.) sun, suley.
sinker	(n.) tak; see also bottom.
sister	see sibling.
sister-in-law	(i. n.) melesewa; či?e~če?e.
sit	(v. i.) min (tan); ye(n).
skin	(i. n.) ma?a; mʷiči~muči; see also bark.
skin disease	(n.) iɔt; laha; pʷičipʷičin; tɔ?ɔhač; tɔtɔhun.
skirt	(n.) nay.
sky	(n.) laŋ; see also heaven.
slap	(v. t.) čeli.
sleep	(v. i.) mete; meteten; pepa?a.
sleeping	(n.) mete?iw.

slit	(v.t.) sala.
small	(d.a.) inen~ninen; peti.
small	(i.n.) ey; lolowa; (v.t.) nuge.
smoke	(i.n.) ηesu(m ^W an); (v.t.) tahasuwe, husuwe, (v.i.) (husu)hus.
snail	(n.) p ^W ičikatay; pɔm.
snake	(n.) m ^W at.
sneeze	(v.i.) yesiq; kepu?u; (n.) kesiqay.
soft	(d.a.) we?is; see also comfort.
sole (of foot)	(i.n.) pɔ?ɔkaka.
some	(num.) hayah; uwɔh; uput; umɔw; (n.) tiken.
someone	(n.) ana.
song	(n.) we?i.
sorcery	(n.) kaw; em ^W es; (v.t.) em ^W esi; see also curse.
sore	(n.) leken; m ^W at.
sorry	(phrase) kɔlu mam ^W a; see also angry.
soup	(n.) pɔlɔm~purnɔn; čuy; kelikan.
sour	(d.a.) pemulen~pumulen; mehiyun.
source	(i.n.) pe?e.
south wind	(n.) lan.
spear	(v.t.) sɔ(?i); (n.) nah; ŋrakaw; kakaw; pičilow.
spicy	(d.a.) čipitan; ŋahan.
spider	(n.) wilaw.
spike	(n.) čuwep.
spirit	(i.n.) melewa; heliya; su; see also ghost.

spit	(v. i.) yapoʔoh; mamotani.
split	(v. t.) (ta)sala; (y)aʔe; utu(we).
spoiled (child)	(n.) uley; kakone.
spouse	(i. n.) (na)pulu.
spread (out)	(v. t.) ahani.
sprout	(i. n.) čili, puto.
spy	(v. t.) emene, emenani; (n.) aʔah.
squeeze	(v. t.) pičey, tapičey; popičey; teli; see also wring.
stain	(n.) čeče.
stake	(n.) now.
stand	(v. i.) so(w); čelu; (v. t.) soteheyani; čuluweni.
star	(n.) piti; see also constellation.
stay	(v. i.) ye(n); to(w).
steal	(v. t.) pehenc.
steer	(v. t.) yaliwi; apeti.
stem	(i. n.) pata.
step (on)	(v. t.) ahi.
stern (of canoe)	(i. n.) muʔu.
still	(part.) a.
stone	(n.) pat; see also coral.
story	(n.) mʷalih; titiyē; (i. n.) mʷalihı.
straight	(adv.) mʷenen.
straighten	(v. t.) mʷeniye, mʷeniyani; ponsani; pokaʔani.
strength	(i. n.) pito.

string	(n.) sɔri; teliki.
stump (of tree)	(n.) tɔmatake.
suck	(v.t.) hus(i).
sufficiency	(i.n.) moɔo~ŋoɔo.
sugar cane	(n.) toh.
sulk	(v.i.) yehut; kus(uweni).
sun	(n.) ŋan.
support	(n.) sonat; ɕemena; see also witness.
surf	(v.i.) ɕeɕ.
surface (of water)	(n.) sasaw.
survey	(v.t.) siliyani.
swamp	(n.) pu?uɕi?ey.
sway	(v.i.) eraw; sɔ; pin; manunuwe.
sweat	(i.n.) nɔ?ɕhiye; ɔoɔo?o; (v.i.) tiɕ.
sweep	(v.t.) paɕiɕi?i.
sweet	(d.a.) kamakaman; ɔaman.
swell	(v.i.) ɕama.
swelling	(i.n.) tɕhuwa.
swim	(v.i.) yaŋaŋay; yay; see also surf.
swollen	(d.a.) tɕhu.
table	see platform.
taboo	(i.n.) tɕpu~tɕpɔ.
tail	(i.n.) kelepe.
take	(v.t.) hu(ti); puti; nikiti; ap ^w esi.

take after	(v.t.) tahilisi.
talk	(v.i.) nenes.
talk back	(v.t.) p ^w ačɔʔɔyan.
talk nonsense	(v.i.) p ^w asaw.
talon	(i.n.) p ^w ičikaka.
tap	(v.t.) tetehi.
taro	(n.) man, kɔɔɔ, puleʔut, talas.
taro (mashed)	(n.) pen.
taste	(i.n.) kana; keme(y).
tattoo	(n.) kam ^w et.
taunt	(v.i.) ilani.
tea	(n.) čutup ^w e.
teach	(v.t.) hanuwani; see also show, point out.
tear	(i.n.) enumata.
tear	(v.i.) puče.
tell	(v.t.) (ti)tiye, tiyani.
termite	(n.) an.
testicle	(i.n.) puwe.
thank you	(part.) urɔh.
that	(dem.) itiyen, iyen.
thatch	(v.t.) yetehe, yatahani; (n.) um, yatana.
there	(dem.) itiyen.
thick	(d.a.) hutun.
thief	(n.) lolow; amat peti pehena; see also spy.
thigh	(i.n.) čoweya.

thin	(d. a.) mekehen.
thing	(n.) אכחכל.
think	(v. t.) p ^{wa} ; sisimi; חקחח, חקחחני; (v. i.) חקחח?חקחח.
this	(dem.) itiy, itip.
thorn	(i. n.) חקח; חקח?iy.
three	(num.) čulu.
throat	(i. n.) חכל; חקחכל; חקחחח.
throw	(v. t.) takeni; takeye; čalap ^{we} ni; see also toss.
thumb	(n.) חקחמחח.
thunder	(n.) katu.
ti	(n.) חקח?
tickle	(v. t.) takeke?e.
tie	(v. t.) husi; see also fasten.
tired	(v. i.) tawa; (phrase) wan imeman.
today	(adv.) חקחח; (n.) heyah.
toe	(i. n.) palakaka חקחמחח.
together	(v. i.) hič; (quant.) pučey.
toilet	(n.) pala?ah; pačepow.
tomorrow	(adv.) mahu.
tongs	(n.) peč?ip.
tongue	(i. n.) palake?ime.
tool	(n.) kilim; pe?ič; ki?am.
tooth	(i. n.) leha.
top	(i. n.) tata; te?i; (n.) atatan.

torch	(n.) tɔtuʔum.
toss	(v.t.) čapʷeni; pʷačerahani.
tough	(d.a.) čikan.
toward	(prep.) ya.
trace	(v.t.) čeliti; (i.n.) emiʔemi.
tray	(n.) pakɔw.
tree	(n.) ke.
tremble	(v.i.) eʔe; (v.t.) eʔeya(ni).
trim	(v.t.) pɔncsani.
trough	(n.) patah; yas; kupʷi.
true, truth	(n.) tuwenan.
trunk	(n.) pʷiʔe; see also stem.
try	(v.t.) hanuweni.
tug	(v.t.) uŋiyeni; see also pull.
turn	(v.t.) (ta)peluwani.
twist	(v.t.) čuweni; (v.i.) mʷaʔusuwe.
umbilical cord	(i.n.) puts.
uncircumcized	(d.a) pusuwan.
uncle	(i.n.) puweni.
under	(i.n.) paʔaha.
under (house)	(n.) kɔpʷiliŋ.
underarm	(i.n.) paʔahakeheya.
unmarried	(n.) (hi) kelaw.
unsuccessfully	(adv.) lapʷe.

up in the house	(n.) peleḡan.
urinate	(v.i.) mimim.
useless	(d.a.) m ^w elehe(y).
veranda	(n.) palaketuḡ.
village	(n.) ko; see also land.
vine	(i.n.) akapata; matakap ^w a; (n.) pu [?] is.
vomit	(v.i.) emot; (v.t.) em ^w eteni; see also spit.
waist	see middle.
wait	(v.t.) piliḡani; te [?] ḡani; (v.i.) piliḡ; luwe; (n.) pipi [?] iḡ.
wake	(v.t.) huni; (v.i.) huruhun.
walk	(v.i.) yo [?] ose; kewesay; (v.t.) yawese, yaweseni;
want	(v.t.) yeliḡ(i); (n.) yeyeliḡ; see also like.
wash	(v.t.) he; tehi; nihi; see also bathe.
washing	(i.n.) heya; nihiya; nuhay.
waste	(i.n.) ko [?] niye [~] ke [?] eniye; te; wawa; (n.) pohow; see also rubbish.
water	(n.) an; (i.n.) enu; (n.) kilim, čeleḡat, tas, sɔs; see also ocean, deep sea, wave.
wave	(n.) pipipip; huh, huhu; kalih; (v.t.) see signal.
weave	(v.t.) ti [?] i.
weed	(n.) lotay; (v.t.) sut(i).
west wind	(n.) hay.
wet	(v.i.) em ^w a; (d.a.) emu [?] un.

whale	(n.) ɪɔɔ; mɔɪɔwam.
what	(interr. pro.) ɕah; ɕika.
when	(interr. pro.) tukehe.
where	(interr. pro.) ehe, itehe.
which	(interr. pro.) ɕihɪ.
whisper	(v. i.) pʷagunʷun.
white	(d. a.) piʔen.
who	(interr) he.
whole	(d. a.) mamʷeneʔen.
why	(interr) ile ɕah; peti ɕah.
wide	(d. a.) malahan.
wind	(n.) kɔ; lan, tolaw, kup, hay.
wind	(v. t.) hakeleyani.
window	(n.) ɕip.
window frame	(n.) mataɕip.
wing	(i. n.) (ka)peni.
wipe (out)	(v. t.) pɔɔɔɔani.
wish (for)	(v. t.) takemes.
with	(i. n.) peliŋeʔi; kalama.
within	(i. n.) pɔʔɔ; ɪɔ.
witness	(v. t.) ɕemeni, ɕemenani.
woman	(n.) pihin; see also female.
wonder	(v. i.) takɔkɔw.
wood	(n.) ke; kini(ye).
word	(n.) komu; see also language.

work	(n. i.) puret; (i. n.) puriya.
work on	(v. t.) pɔpɔte.
worm	(n.) tɛkelim ^w et.
wrap	(v. t.) čum ^w e; čuhe; see also cover.
wrapping	(i. n.) čum ^w eya; čuhuya; (n.) čuhučuh.
wriggle	(v. i.) čakilikin.
wring	(v. t.) isi; yalesani; see also squeeze.
write	see draw.
yam	(n.) suwe; pičinah; enumenan; čeŋi; kɔʔun.
yawn	(v. i.) yelimaw.
yell	(v. i.) takɔʔo(w); čuli; see also call.
yellow	(n.) ɔŋɔwa.
yes	(part.) ehe; u.
yesterday	(adv.) piŋehe.
zenith	(n.) pelih.

Appendix A

Plant and Tree Names

Food Plants:

cocoanut	niw, aman, kowosun, mami, oket, pa, pale?un, paramanan, pa?an, pelewa, puts.
fruit-bearing plants	čay, kun, me?ew, me?e, mʷok, nat kun, nat kokk, pakow, pʷaw, pu, pun, puwe, pu?ay, timeta, wewe, wi.
sago	epi, pamat, pamat čehit, pamat palalaw, kokokan, puwelan, puwe?uy, umey, uy.
taro	mah, kokow, pule?ut, talas, wos.
yams	pičinah, mʷat, puwepat, puwepičinah, pʷaokhowan, pʷomelew, waleley.
	suwe, kow, kokokan, parepit, pʷahen, pʷakah.
other food plants	melen, pʷatay, telus, tomn.

Other Plants:

bamboo	kas, powet.
betel nut	puwe, ketiyat, kewe, mʷičimʷi~mučumuč.
betel pepper	pun, palapan.
cane	ah, lolow, toh, uley, wahaw, wesiw.
seaweed	kačam, menih, nanay, walas.
trees used for canoe building	čah, kur, netut, ok, (k)owak, puŋew, take?en.
other trees	če?i, čoyet, eney, umey, kalapulin, kad, kopuča, malin, paha.
vines	patapeley, pulut, pu?is, tup, telipe?e.
miscellaneous	ake, apk, apow, če?ih, čimenat, epow, eyt, ka, kesuwas, ke?emet, kes, ki?i, ku(h), kuku, memey, mo?okhow, pa(h), papan, pasisi, patapow, pečuču, pepe, petimʷes, petin, powo, put, nrow, sas, titi?i, to?ok, yon.

Appendix B

Bird Names

amey	ke?eηaηay
čelehey	ke?ipow okoten
čerikow	ke?ipow pi?en
čihi	kikiw
čilim	kiniw
čočow	menuway
čə?uka	mɔre
čurey	m ^w i
kalajat	nako
kanaw	ηay
karuli ^w ruli	pan
katah	pa?aη
ke?eη	welen

Appendix C

Shells

arikoko	pi?ihIt
čiči?כח	pכm
čuh	pכח
kamana	puke
keray	pun
ככ?כč	outele
lot	pWak
mana	(pWe)pWe
mataluh	pWičikatay
mekeyaח	tah
pey	tan
pini	tu
pi?ihit	tuwes
pכm	yaח

Appendix D
Canoe Parts and Related Words

aley	pahaw(ε)
amat a tele	peley
atay	כס כסככuli
čam(a)	כס כסככtun
čelep	כס
čin	כס?כ?usu tun
čip ^w an	p ^u n
kepahaw	pwahaketuŋ
kepe?en	p ^w iliyah
kiyeč~kiyey	tasus
kohun	tele
לכככtuŋ	tele law
luluwe	tele ŋ ^ε sum ^w an
mak	tele p ^w eleyah
metiput	tele ulin
כככ	teliki
כככ	tetey
mu?utun	te?i tun
m ^w elin	tun
m ^w elip ^w e	tun peti pelerjan
nap ^w ełekew	tun peti p ^w ahačan
ככ tun	tun peti tas
כככ	tutut
pa	wamata

Appendix E
Fish Names

- a: akuwen, ana, apulupun, awah
- č: čakelijew, čakapu?epi, čameti, čamWat, čapan, čapWa, čapWe?imam, čatop, čaway, čaway palamata, čelipuh, čelipuh ko?o, čelipuh pi?en, čeme, če?ih, čič, čič kochh, čilimWekew, čolay, čonay, čočoh, čo, čor, ču, ču kochh, ču mas, čučum, čuwemWekew, čuwuh
- e: eče, eki, elon, etun, ew, ewi, e?ah
- h: han, hikapWi, hikuraw, hipelit
- k: kahah, kalipuwey, kali?aw, kali?aw ma?aw, kamalay, kanas, kasi, ka?upWen, kekenah, ke?emet, kelaw, keli, keli aman, kesi, keh, kemey, kemWa?ay, kih, kit, kochh, kolokWaw, kokaw, kot, kochow, kokopelos, kulupač(w), kutukutupelijaw, kutunay, kutuwalas, kuwe, kuwepat, ku?u, ku?uwaniw
- l: lah, lala, lajah, lapak, lehe?an, lehepat, lemilam, len, loč, lowi, ločput, lo?u, lo?uyan, low
- m: mam, manaw, maron, mas, may, ma?aw, melekot, meliwi, menuway, meto, molowam, momWak, monay, motomWat, motomWat kochtulutun, motomWat ko?o, mo, mulow, mumučay, mu?u
- mW: mWalat, mWamWaw, mWasas, mWasas etiw, mWay
- n: ni, nini, niniye mač, niniye moluč, nipan, niye, niye mWekew, niye o, niye pat, niye pun, noh
- ŋ: ŋačun, ŋapoh, ŋuk
- ŋ: ŋan, ŋoteyan
- o: olen, olow, owatas
- p: pač, pahatočpan, palaken, palakoč, palapow, palaputuwehe, palapWeleyah, palawati, pamboh, panah, pataniw, pa?at, pelawa, peley, peliyaw, pew, pew čupela?uwoh, pew inay, pew keleyey, pew kopow, pew mWetamat, pew peliyaw, pew pusuwan, pew seleyaw, pew wati, pewi?an, piŋe, piyesi?i, pčot, pčun, pun, putiyeme?is, putučuč, putuwaruwakow, puwe?epi
- pW: pWa, pWah, pWahaliyam, pWeleyah, pWem, pWemačaw, pWepWe, pWič, pWekasi~pukasi, pWili~puli, pWili potokot, pWisi?i

n: nrehiyaw, nroka, nrokw

s: sput

t: ta, tahapulen, taqini, tawan, ta?ay, tenih, tiw, tok, tomn,
tppkw, tuma?aw, tupu?ey, tus, tuw?y

u: uleh, uley

w: walaq, we, wi?i, wo

y: yamiyam, yaw

Appendix F
Plant Parts, Body Parts, and Kin Terms

Plant Parts:

<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
akapata	vine	ŋɔʔɔ~puŋɔʔɔ	root
čeŋi	fruit	palapa~pelapa	branch
čili	sprout	pata	stem, trunk
koko	?bark	peʔe	stalk
kulihı	bark	patɔ	thorn
lemi	root hair	putɔ	cone, sprout
ɔʔɔ(na)	leaf	puwe	fruit, seed
matakap ^{wa}	cluster	p ^w ele	crown (of tree)
m ^w iči~muči	husk	teke	base (of tree)
	wa		flesh, esp. of sago

Body Parts:

<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ay~eye	blood	kaperi ~ peni	wing
čeŋi	flesh	keheya	shoulder
čilimata	eyeball/socket	keleŋa~pukeleŋa	back
čote	hip	kelepe	tail
čotekaka	heel	kelimata	cheek
čoweya	thigh	kelipawı	jaw
ekesa	collarbone	kepuwe	neck
ete	liver	kohu	side
kaka	leg, foot	kolu~pukolu	throat

<u>Loniu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Loniu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kolučukaka	ankle joint	petitupuwe	body
kolučunime	elbow	petiʔo	bone
koputu	navel	peʔekaka	shin
kuče	kidney	pičelalan	?chest
lehe	tooth	pokelokoluč	joint
lomu ~ lemu	fur	pokemata	thumb
lomupala	hair	pokepikan	?ankle bone
(lo)tiye	insides	pokeʔenime	finger
mata	eye	pokeʔi	little finger
matapupʷilin	anus	kokʔakaka	sole
naʔa	skin	kokʔomata	eye
neʔipihine	groin	kokʔonime	palm
mʷe	buttocks	kokʔonusu	lip
nime	hand, arm	pusesa	lung, heart
ko ~ puŋkʔo	nose	puseumata	eyebrow, eyelash
opukaka	ankle	puto	umbilical cord
opunime	hand	putuwa	belly
ow	bone	puwe	testicle
pala	head	pʷaha	mouth
palakaka pokemata	toe	pʷahatopŋa	breastbone
palakeʔime	tongue	pʷi	female genitalia
paianime	fist	pʷiči	scale (of fish)
pase ~ kepase	chin	pʷičikaka	claw, toenail
paʔahakeheya	underarm	pʷičinime	claw, fingernail

<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
susu	breast	telija	ear
tahapule	forehead	tapo?ete	upper chest
tahapulekaka	knee	uti	penis

Kin Terms:

<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Loni</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
cahah	father	napulu ~ pulu	spouse
cahoh	grandmother	patama	father
capoh	grandfather	pato	grandmother
ci?e~ce?e	sister-in-law	natupu	grandfather
hitupu	mother-in-law	nstu	child
lascho	in-law	netukemepu	grandchild
law(a)	relative	puweni	in-law
melesewa	in-law	soso	in-law
pana	father-in-law	te?i	sibling, same sex
pane	mother	tupupetu	descendant
yaya	mother	we	sibling, opposite sex

Appendix G

Inalienably Possessed Nouns Expressing
Spatial Relationships

<u>Loniu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Loniu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kohu	?side	pu	behind
koso	near, next to	pukeleŋa	behind, at the back
lo	in	pumʷiʔi	behind
loholuwa	middle	puʔu	bottom, underside
lotiye	inside (<u>lo</u> 'in' + <u>tiye</u> 'inside')		
maʔakoso	next to	pʷele	?center of
mʷeleŋa	between	tata	on top of
neʔiketɪ	side of	teke	base of
paʔaha	underneath of	teʔi	top of
pase	edge, chin	tikoʔo	middle
pele	near, in area of	tiye	inside of
peŋeʔi	with, accompanying	tuwe	outside of
poʔo	within, mixed with		

Appendix H
Roots with Short and Long Alternants

Verbs (A gloss is provided for the short form only when it differs from that of the corresponding long form):

<u>Short</u>	<u>Long</u>
ča?e	ča?iti 'cut'
čelu 'stand'	čeluweni 'stand (NP) up'
čun	čulumwi 'cook'
čurah	čunehi 'husk'
emɔt 'vomit'	emweteni 'vomit up, spit out'
eŋ	eŋe, eŋeyeni 'hear'
e?e 'be afraid'	e?eyani 'make afraid'
han	hane?i 'pick'
haŋ	haŋeni 'feed'
has	hase?i 'plant'
hi	hine, hineni 'make, do'
hilow 'run'	heloweni, helowani 'drive'
hu	huti 'take, hold'
nus	husuwe 'smoke over fire'
in	ili 'dig'
in	inumwi 'drink'
kus	kusuweni 'sulk'
luŋ	luŋuti 'catch (fish)'
nak	neketi 'climb (tree)'
nu 'bathe'	nihı 'wash (NP)'

Short

ɔh
pah
pɔ 'do'
sah
sɔ
sun
sus
suwah
ta
takɔluh
takuwen
tames
taŋ 'cry'
tawoh
tow
tuwah
ulu 'be covered in water'
up
utu
wɔh 'fly'
yan

Long

ɔhɔ 'write, draw'
peheyani 'barter'
pɔta 'doing'
sehɪ 'carve'
sɔʔi, sɔyeni 'make holes'
sule 'singe'
susuwɪ 'sew thatch'
suwehɪ 'fry'
taʔi 'hit, kill'
takulihɪ 'signal'
takuwelɪ 'dig with adze'
tameseʔe 'clear'
taŋesɪ 'mourn for'
tawihɪ 'clear'
tewe 'give, put'
tuwehɪ 'chew (betel nut)'
uluwenɪ 'lower into water'
upwɪ~ɪpɪ 'pound sago'
utuwe 'split open'
wihɪ 'blow on (to move)'
yeni 'eat'

Nouns:

<u>Short</u>	<u>Long</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ay	eye	blood
an	enu	water
cam	camá	outrigger
can	cala	road, path
cik	čikiya	arrogance
čim	čima	buying
enum	enumwa	garden
kačaw	kečewa	bride price
kaman	kemeli	male; men's house
kihí	kihiye	firewood
kilim	kilim	signal
ko	kočona	land, village
komu	komuwa	language
kočon	kočona	gift
koč	kawa	fence
kup	kupé	basket
lah	lehe	ray
law	lawa	relative
law	lawe	fishing net
lo?o	lo?ona	leaf
mWalih	mWalihí	story
mWar	mWenu	fire
nas	nesí	digging stick

<u>Short</u>	<u>Long</u>	
ne?ehin	ne?ehiye	girl
ni	niye	fish
nele	neletun	cold
nah	naha	lime
nay	neye	hole, cave
oket	okoten	black
pahaw	pahawe	paddle
papet	papete/papeti	boundary
pew	pewi	shark
pihin	pihine	female
pilen	pilena	garden
poc	poca	paddle
puret	puriya	work
p'wah	p'hana	mouth
sus	susu	breast
telin	telina	ear
top	tap'wa	basket
tun	tele	canoe
tupunah	tupune	boy
um	um'we	house
we.ey	weleya	anchor?
we?is	we?iso	gentle (ness)

TEXTS

Text 1: Making a Yam Garden

This text, a conversational narrative, was spoken by Matthew Kaping, a man about 45 years of age.

enum a suwe. seh pihin seh čani.
 garden POSS yam. 3pl woman 3pl clear
 'A yam garden. The women clear away the bushes.

seh tawihi ile p^{wi}č, uweh kaman
 3pl clear 3sg-go finished, 1pl-exc male
 When they finish clearing the area, we men

uweh weče ake. uweh weče ake
 1pl-exc cut-down trees. 1pl-exc cut-down trees
 we cut down the trees. When we have finished cutting the trees

ile p^{wi}č, pncsani ile p^{wi}č, uweh ča?iti ke,
 3sg-go finish, trim 3sg-go finish, 1pl-exc cut-up tree
 down, (and) trimming them, we cut up the trees,

uweh tewe kow a suwe, ile čah pow, pow iy
 1pl-exc put fence POSS yam, 3sg-go what pig, pig 3sg
 we make a fence for the yams, because pigs, a pig

kiyeni suwe e pičinah ep^we. uweh ča?iti ke,
 POT-sg-eat small-yam and big-yam only. 1pl-exc cut-up tree, just
 will eat small yams and big yams. We cut up the trees,

uweh sčteheyani puhut, čani te?in peti husiyan,
 1pl-exc stand-up post, cut rope for binding-3sg,
 stand the posts up, cut rope for binding them,

husiyan te?in ep^we. kow ile p^{wi}č,
 binding-3sg rope only. fence 3sg-go finish,
 only bark fiber rope is used. When the fence is finished,

iy kaman ɔ pihin uweh tewe kow ile p^{wi}č, e seh pihin
 3sg man or woman 1pl-exc put fence 3g-go finish and 3pl woman
 when we men or women finish putting up the fence, and the women

seh pačiči?i lotiye enum, itiyen seh pihin seh peheti hačan hačan
 3pl sweep inside garden, DEM 3pl woman 3pl divide one one
 sweep inside the garden, then the women divide (it) into sections

aḡ uweh kaman uweh ma kɔɔɔy, uweh ma
day 1pl-exc male 1pl-exc INT POT-NS-dig-it, 1pl-exc INT
When we men want to dig (the holes for planting), then we

kala hepe enum itiyen, pileḡ itiyen, enum itiyen;
POT-NS-go bit garden DEM, garden DEM, garden DEM;
go to that particular garden;

iy ma kile hepe puret, itiyen ikat kɔʔnɔn ɕelewan.
3sg INT POT-sg-go bit work, DEM 3sg-got foodstuffs many.
if it is intended for use in ritual exchanges, then there is a
lot of food involved:

suwehi epi, eleke ile ey, tɔ keli pɔɔɔm, uweh tɔ sɔ
fry sago, oil 3sg-go PRO, CONT boil soup, 1pl-exc CONT dig
(they) fry sago with coconut oil, (they) boil soup, we are digging

suwe, e uweh tɔ huti eneyan peti ey. uweh kaman
yam, and 1pl-exc CONT take food for PRO. 1pl-3xc male
yams, and we get food for it. We men,

uweh sɔʔi e seh pihin seh lomwi. enumanan epwe.
1pl-exc dig and 3pl woman 3pl plant. seed-yam only.
we dig, and the women plant. Only seed yams.

lomwi ile pwiɕ, itɔw. puret a uweh kaman
plant 3sg-go finished, 3sg-STAT. work POSS 1pl-exc male
When the planting is finished, that's it. Our (men's) work

ile pwiɕ. puret a uweh kaman ile pwiɕ
3sg-go finished. work POSS 1pl-exc male 3sg-go finished
is finished. When our work is finished,

e seh pihin epwe. seh ɕaʔiti peti ke inen,
and 3pl woman only. 3pl cut DIM wood small,
only the women (are working). They cut small pieces of wood,

leḡeʔi suwe ime ek, itiyen peti ke inen seh tɔ pɔɔwey
when yam 3sg-come grow, DEM DIM wood small 3pl HAB call
when the yams come up, then the small piece of wood they call

now, seh sɔteheyani. seh sɔteheyani ile
stake, 3pl drive-into-ground. 3pl drive-into-ground 3sg-go
a stake, they drive it into the ground. They set up a stake

ey ile pwiɕ, aḡ itɔ ek ile now, itiyen
PRO 3sg-go finished, day 3sg-CONT grow 3sg-go stake, DEM
for each plant, (and) when they are growing up the stakes, then

čegin, suwe itiyen pōhi ile tōp, huti tōp ile
fruit-3sg, yam DEM fill 3sg-go basket, take basket 3sg-go The
Good yams, these yams are put into baskets, (they) take baskets to

pōhi ile ey, iy pihin peti enum itiyen, peti pileŋ
fill 3sg-go PRO, 3sg woman of garden DEM, of garden
fill up with them, the woman of this garden

ya iy kip^wey seh pihin seh kala kuni kime
FUT 3sg POT-sg-say-it 3pl woman 3pl POT-NS-go carry POT-sg-come
will tell the other women to help her carry them to

lō um. itiyen, ime lō um ile puret a iy.
in house. DEM, 3sg-come in house 3sg-go work POSS 3sg.
(her) home. Thus, they come to the house for her celebrations.

pōta tupunah ɔ peti teweya telin ɔ ana pihin,
doing boy or for piercing ear or POSS woman,
For circumcision or for ear-piercing or for ritual isolation,

purēt mačlōh ta ey. enumanan, iputi lemilemin ile ŋch,
work three LOC PRO. seed-yam, 3sg-take root-hairs 3sg-go away,
it has three uses. The seed yam, (she) takes off the root
hairs,

ikuni ime lō um, itewe ile ŋan ip^wesaw.
3sg-carry 3sg-come in house, 3sg-put 3sg-go sun 3sg-dry.
carries them home, and puts them in the sun to dry.

itiyen, peti lōlōn m^{wi}?in ya iy kipo nupela pileŋ peti ey,
DEM, for planting later FUT 3sg POT-sg-do new garden for PRO
These, for planting, later she will make a new garden for them,.

enum^wan. iweney hipeta enum itiyen ya iy kiredi
garden-3sg. 3sg-until so garden DEM FUT 3sg POT-sg-ready
a new garden. Until that garden is ready for them,

itiyen e suwe a iy enumanan itiyen ipōhi itōw.
DEM and yam POSS 3sg seed.yam DEM 3sg-fill 3sg-STAT.
(so?) her yams, these seed yams, she puts them in baskets to
keep.

ks?un, iy kile tuwani ile pelinē?i peti puke a iy
food.yam, 3sg POT-sg-go boil 3sg-go with DIM clam POSS 3sg
The yams for daily consumption, she will boil them with her small
clams,

ile hetow netun papulun he iy ime ya hetow
 3sg-go 3pc child-3sg spouse-3sg who 3sg 3sg-come FUT 3pc for her
 for her children, her husband, whoever comes, they

kani. puret a enum ile p^{wi}č itiyen. keli p^{We}.
 POT-NS-eat. work POSS garden 3sg-go finished DEM. PERF NEG.
 can eat (it). The work of the garden is finished now. That's
 all.

Text 2: The Turtle and the Shark

This text is a traditional story told by Hičatut, a woman of over 80 years of age. It is a legend about two women who are transformed into a turtle and a shark. It is not uncommon to find such transformations from human to animal or fish, or from plant to human, taking place in Loniu stories.

m^{Walih} m^{Walih} m^{Walih} m^{Walih} ε.
 story story story story EMPH.
 'I'm going to tell a story. (Standard introduction to any story).

ana hi loto?ow...ana hi loto?ow ε ana hi pawi...
 some FEM Loto?ow...some FEM Loto?ow and some FEM Pawi...
 A Loto?ow girl... a Loto?ow girl and a Pawi girl...

ana hi loto?ow ana hi pawi ε, ana hi pawi nanen
 some Fem Loto?ow some FEM Pawi EMPH, some FEM Pawi mother-3sg
 there was a Loto?ow girl and a Pawi girl, the Pawi girl's mother

ε pataman su?u tewe iy isɔ ɔ ɔ
 and father-3sg 3du put 3sg 3sg-LOC in mat.
 and father put her into ritual isolation.

ehe ε ana hi loto?ow nanen ε pataman tewe iy
 yes and some FEM Loto?ow mother-3sg and father-3sg put 3sg
 Yes, and the Loto?ow girl's mother and father put her

isɔ ɔ ɔ. itiyen ε su?u tɔ ɔ ɔ ehe ε hetow
 3sg-LOC in mat. DEM and 3du STAT in mat yes and 3pc
 into ritual isolation. So the two were in isolation, and the

mahamɔw hetow tɔ pah, hetow tɔ pah ile m^{Manus}.
 four 3pc LOC market, 3pc LOC market 3sg-go Manus.
 four (parents) were at the market, they were at the market in Manus
 (Pere)

hetow to pah pe?asih hetow to pah pe?asih hetow to
3pc LOC market time-one 3pc LOC market time-one 3pc LOC
They were at the market for several days,

pah.. pe?asih e pe?asih.. ana hi loto?ow e napulun
market..time-one and time-one..some FEM Loto?ow and spouse-3sg
day after day they were there..the Loto?ow woman and her husband

su?u peheyani napulu netu su?u. e ana hi paw
3du barter spouse child 3du and some FEM Pawi
arranged for a husband for their child. And the Pawi woman

ipeheyeni napulu netun nrokw itiyen. e su?u ma?amow
3sg-barter spouse child-3sg DEM DEM. and 3du two
arranged for her child's husband. And they were two,

e su?u me e ana hi pawi nrokw itiyen ile?e napulun
and 3du come and some FEM Pawi DEM DEM 3sg-see spouse-3sg
and they came and that Pawi girl saw (that) her husband

pe?ekakan wak nrokw nrokw. itiyen e iy ime ete
shin-3sg bowed nose-3sg pocked. DEM and 3sg 3sg-come AG
was bowlegged with a pockmarked nose. So she came to

ana hi loto?ow iy ipwe kkw! napulum huyan e muwan?
some FEM Loto?ow 3sg 3sg-say oh! spouse-2sg good or bad?
the Loto?ow girl and said "Oh! Is your husband handsome or ugly?"

iy ipwe napulu, u ma?amow, u musih epwe.
3sg 3sg-say spouse-3sg, 1du-exc two, 1du-exc alike just.
The Loto?ow girl said, "My husband, the two of us, we are just
alike."

e yo, ta yo pe?ekakan wak ehe e nrokw nrokw.
and 1sg, POSS 1sg shin-3sg bowed yes and nose-3sg pocked.
(The first one said) "And me, mine is bowlegged and has a pockmarked
nose.

ehe to?u ma kaw epwe. itiyen e iy iteq.
yes 1du-inc INT POT-NS-go only. DEM and 3sg 3sg-cry.
Yes, we must go away." And then (the other girl) cried.

ana hi loto?ow nrokw itiyen iteqesi nrokw e
some FEM Loto?ow DEM DEM 3sg-mourn mother-3sg and
This Loto?ow girl mourned for her mother and

pataman. pwe, ya yo kili yaw pwe. iy ipwe pwe,
father-3sg. NEG, FUT 1sg PERF go NEG. 3sg 3sg-say NEG,
father. "No, I won't go." The Pawi girl said, "No,

tc?u mahi?imcw le?i tc hič tc?u ma kaw epWe.
1du-inc two-fem PRES STAT together 1du-inc INT POT-NS-go only
we two are together, we must go away."

iy ipetct ipetct itiyen e su?u yaw itiyen.
3sg 3sg-insist 3sg-insist DEM and 3du go DEM.
She insisted and insisted, so the two took off.

su?u ti?ihi epcw a su?u, su?u uti kamWan a su?u
3du pick hibiscus POSS 3du, 3du pack ash POSS 3du
They picked their hibiscus, they packed their ashes,

su?u la hepe su?u la tewe epcw sih e kamWan umcw,
3du go bit 3du go put hibiscus one and ash some
they went a ways, they went and dropped a hibiscus (flower) and
a bit of ash,

su?u la tewe epcw sih e kamWan umcw.
3du go put hibiscus one and ash some.
they went along dropping hibiscus flowers and bits of ash.

itc kc tc kc tc kc e su?u la čnq.
3sg-STAT do STAT do STAT do STAT do and 3du go arrive.
This went on for a long time, and they arrived.

itiyen e ana hi lctk?cw iy a isč čelu
DEM and some FEM Loto?ow 3sg still 3sg-LOC stand
So the Loto?ow girl was still standing there,

ehe ana hi pawi iy ile epWe iy ile čohok e iy
yes some FEM Pawi 3sg 3sg-go only 3sg 3sg-go dive and 3sg
and the Pawi girl no sooner arrived that she dove in and she

ki?i la pew. su?u la an kckcluh an kckcluh
PERF go shark. 3du go water enchanted water enchanted
became a shark. They went to an enchanted lake, the enchanted
lake

itekulihi su?u. itiyen e ana hi lctk?cw nrcpk itiyen
3sg-signal 3du. DEM and some FEM Loto?ow DEM DEM
called to them. Then this Loto?ow girl

itegesi nanen e nataman e itiyen e iy a
3sg-mourn mother-3sg and father-3sg and DEM and 3sg still
mourned for her mother and father, and so she was still

isč čelu e su?u la su?u taq su?u tc tanesi iy ile
3sg-LOC stand and 3du go 3du cry 3du CONT mourn 3sg 3sg-go
standing there, and they went, they cried, they were mourning for
her as they went

itiyen. iy a isɔ ɕelu e itiyen e iy inenes
DEM. 3sg still 3sg-LOC stand and DEM and 3sg 3sg-talk
along. She was still standing there, and so she said

ile ete su?u ɔw ma?amɔw ipetɔt petɔt iy iputi yo
3sg-go AG 3du 2du two 3sg-insist insist 3sg 3sg-take 1sg to
them, "You two, she insisted and insisted, she took me,

e u me an kɔkɔluh kili pɔtɔwe u itiyɔ,
and 1du-exc come water enchanted PERF hold 1du-exc DEM,
and we came, the enchanted water took hold of us here,

yo kule ya ehe e yo kume ɲɔh?
1sg POT-sg-go toward where and 1sg POT-sg-come away?
where can I go to get away?

iy kili ɕohok e iy ki?i la pew. ehe yo a le?i sɔ
3sg PERF dive and 3sg PERF go shark. yes 1sg still PRES LOC
She dove in and became a shark. Yes, I am still standing

ɕelu, yo unenes ime ete ɔw ɕɔw a yo itiyen ɔw
stand, 1sg 1sg-talk 3sg-come AG 2du mat POSS 1sg DEM 2du
here, I tell you, my mat here,

kɔhɔti, ehe yo ma kuɕohok yo ma kule pɔɲ.
POT-NS-take, yes 1sg INT POT-sg-dive 1sg INT POT-sg-go turtle.
you take it, I am going to dive in, I'm going to become a turtle.

yo kule pɔɲ e etow ma kala pah kile 1sg
1sg POT-sg-go turtle and 2pc INT POT-NS-go market POT-sg-go
I'll become a turtle, and when you go the market in

mManus etow kepeheyeni ni masih ehe e sih pɔɲ
Manus 2pc POT-NS-barter fish all yes and one turtle
Manus, you can buy all (kinds) of fish, but if there is a turtle

e sih pew tɔpu etow kepeheyeni itiyen u.
and one shark taboo 2pc POT-NS-barter DEM 1du-exc.
and a shark, you must not buy them, that is us!"

su?u taɲ. su?u huti sahat ɕɔw a su?u su?u yaw
3du cry. 3du take one mat POSS 3du 3du go
They cried. They took their one mat and they left

e iy iɕohok e iy ile pɔɲ itiyen. kali p^we
and 3sg 3sg-dive and 3sg 3sg-go turtle DEM. PERF?? NEG
and she dove in and became a turtle. That's

itiyen.
DEM
all.'

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