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This volume is essentially an exercise in salvage linguistics. Of the four Erromangan languages for which data will be presented, two are now extinct, a third is likely to become so in the very near future, while the one viable Erromangan language has not really attracted the attention of linguists in the last half-century. I am therefore aiming to present as complete a description as possible of these historically important languages within the limits of the data available. It is my hope that the presentation of these data will stimulate further studies in the languages of the region.

The major part of this volume is taken up with a grammatical description of Sie, the sole surviving viable language of Erromango, and with a presentation of Sie lexical data. These two papers are preceded by a general discussion of the Erromangan linguistic situation, and are followed by descriptions, based on very limited data, of the moribund Ura and the extinct Utaha and Sorung. The last chapter is an attempt to begin the reconstruction of the language ancestral to these languages.

I am happy to be able to acknowledge the assistance of a number of people and institutions in the preparation of this volume. Initial research was funded by the East-West Center, and later research by the University of Papua New Guinea; final writing-up was carried out while on research leave from the University of Papua New Guinea at the Australian National University. I am grateful to these three institutions for their support. I am also grateful to a number of colleagues who have commented either on drafts of these papers or on drafts of earlier versions of them: I should instance particularly here Terry Crowley, George Grace, Jacques Guy, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Darrell Tryon, and David Walsh, as well as Les Groube, Sione Lâtûkefu, and Matthew Spriggs, who commented on various non-linguistic matters dealt with particularly in the first chapter. A number of people in Vanuatu were of special assistance to the efficient conduct of my fieldwork, and among these I would like to thank Mr and Mrs Bob Paul, Père A. Sacco, and Mr and Mrs John Stock.

I owe a particular debt to Dr A. Capell, my first teacher in linguistics. He encouraged me to conduct research on the languages of the Southern Vanuatu region, and has allowed me to make full use of his manuscript grammars, vocabularies, and textual data in the preparation of this volume. I am pleased that he has been able to co-author with me two of the major chapters in this volume.

Finally, I am especially grateful to those Erromangan people who helped me in collecting the data upon which much of the present volume is based: James Foto, Tom Kiri, Simeon Louo, William Mete, and John Naupa. I hope that this volume will show what a rich linguistic tradition once existed on their island.

Canberra
August 1982
ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations will be used in the grammar sketches in this volume:

1, 2, 3,  first, second, third  LOC  locative
   person
A  set A person-marker  MP  mid past
B  set B person-marker  NEG  negative
   (see section 2.1.2. of  NOM  nominaliser
   Sie grammar outline)
   PF  perfective
BENF  benefactive
CAUS  causative
COM  comitative
COND  conditional
DAT  dative
DU  dual
ES  echo-subject
EXC  exclusive
FP  far past
ID  identificatory prefix
INC  inclusive
INS  instrumental
INT  intensive
IRR  irrealis
k.o.  kind of
PL  plural
POSS  possessive
PRES  present
PREF  previous reference
PRIV  privative
PURP  purposive
Q  question-marker
REFL  reflexive
REL  relative
SG  singular
SEP  separative
sp.  species
TMP  temporary action
TR  transitive

In the sections on morphology and syntax, data will be presented according to the following scheme:

first, the phrase or sentence in the language, with all word-initial morpheme-breaks indicated by hyphens;
second, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, with corresponding hyphens; and
third, in quotes, a free translation.

Glosses separated by a colon in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses represent multi-word English glosses of a single Erromangan-language morpheme.

There is a problem on how best to represent various grammatical morphemes which condition certain morphophonemic changes. For example, there is a rule in Sie which inserts a vowel between two consonants in word-initial position; if one of the consonants is a velar, the vowel inserted is /o/. Underlying g-tai (3s-hit:it) he hit it is phonemically /gotai/, with epenthetic /o/. In general, we have followed the rule that these epenthetic vowels will be written in in the examples we give; we thus prefer to write go-tai rather than g-tai, since this is certainly more readable. The reader needs to bear in mind, however, that the prefix go- is an allomorph of the prefix g-, and that only the prefix g- will be listed in the discussion on verbal prefixes.
CHAPTER 1

THE LANGUAGES OF ERROMANGO

Erromango is the third most southerly of the major islands of Vanuatu (see map 1). Known in the mission literature as 'The Martyr Isle', Erromango saw not only the violent deaths of a number of Presbyterian missionaries, but also massive depopulation of the Erromangan people themselves. This depopulation has had a drastic effect on the Erromangan linguistic situation, as this chapter will show.

1. THE ERROMANGAN LANGUAGES AT EUROPEAN CONTACT

The Southern Vanuatu region has been settled for at least three thousand years and possibly considerably longer. A single language ancestral to the present-day languages of Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum began to diversify as its speakers dispersed among these three southern islands, though at what date this dispersal took place — and, in particular, at what date Erromango itself was first settled — is not known. Man has probably been living on Erromango for at least two thousand years, however, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Erromango may well have been in excess of five thousand (see below).

1.1. Depopulation

The relative tranquility of life on Erromango was shattered on 27 July, 1774, by the visit of James Cook, who landed on the north-east coast. Cook almost began the massive slaughter of the Erromangans, but his "Musquet at the critical Moment refused to perform its part" (Beaglehole 1961:479). However, the discovery of sandalwood on Erromango by Peter Dillon in 1825, and the arrival (and subsequent death at the hands of the Erromangans) of the Presbyterian missionary John Williams in 1893, initiated the process of close contact between Erromangans and Europeans, a contact which was to have disastrous effects on the people of Erromango.

The story of the sandalwooders, labour-traders, and missionaries in southern Vanuatu has been told elsewhere, and need not be repeated here. What is of particular concern here is the effect of this outside contact upon the population of Erromango itself. In the report of the first census of Vanuatu (then the New Hebrides) in 1967, McArthur and Yaxley (1968:4) give the following figures, from various sources, for the population of the island:
1850: 5,000  
1860: c.6,000  
1865: 4-5,000  
1872: 1-2,000  
1875: 2,000  
1889: 2,550  
1893: c.1,000  
1898: 1,500  
1910: 800  
1921: 484  
1924: 513  
1926: 474  
1927: 463  
1929: 439  
1930: 421  
1931: 381

The figure of 381 in 1931 was the all-time low: the population climbed back over 400 in the mid-thirties, and reached 500 in the sixties. The 1967 census gave a population of 595 for Erromango; however, only 436 of these were born on Erromango, although there were an additional 72 Erromangan-born people enumerated on other islands in the group, giving a total of 508. The most recent census (1979) gives a population of 945.

1.2. Languages

Although the Presbyterian missionaries, for practical purposes, concentrated their linguistic efforts on only one speech-form — that spoken around Dillon’s Bay on the west coast — most early writers noticed some linguistic diversity. Gabelentz (1861) recorded data from two speech-forms, 'Erromango' and 'Nord-Sprache'. Turner (1861:494) stated that

there are two dialects on the island, differing widely from each other, but the one is only partially known on the north-east end of the island, and among a tribe which numbers but a few people.

Robertson (1902:2) was at the same time less specific and more accurate in his estimate of the linguistic diversity, noting that, although on Aneityum "there is only one language, for the island is small, ... on each of the other two (i.e., Tanna and Erromango) there are several".

Most later published accounts (e.g. Ray 1893, 1926; Capell 1972) list five named speech-forms, and this statement derives from data provided by the missionary J.D. Gordon. His 'Sketch of the Eromangan Grammar' (1889: 61-84) listed the following 'dialects' and approximate populations in the 1860s or early 1870s:

1. Yoku or Enyau 1,000?  
2. Sorung or Sie 2,000?  
3. Ura 500?  
4. Utaha 50?  
5. Novul-Amleng Extinct

Yoku, Enyau, and Sorung are all terms meaning 'my, mine'; Sie means 'what?'. The others are, apparently, names for the speech-forms themselves; the novul in Novul-Amleng probably means word, language (cf. Ura novul language, novulu word). Yoku was the major mission language, spoken in the Dillon's Bay region — Gabelentz' 'Erromango'. Ura is virtually identical with Gabelentz' 'Nord-Sprache' and is probably Turner's partially-known north-east dialect.

Humphreys (1926), however, gives both a partially different set of names and a different number of speech-forms. He states that
there are six or possibly even seven dialectal groups in the island, but there is no evidence of more than one fundamental linguistic stock in Eromanga, and no reason to believe that the survival of an early non-Austronesian tongue may be found today. The native names for six of the dialects are Eniau, Etio, Adiau, Sorung, Seimo, and Tanempenum. There is a seventh, but no one recalls the name of it. (Humphreys 1926:191).

Humphreys' Eniau and Sorung clearly correspond to two of Gordon's speech-forms; Etio and Adiau are respectively Utaha and Ura (cf. Utaha etiyo, Ura ari-yau, both meaning my, mine). The others I am unable to explain, although one at least may be the same as Gordon's Novul-Amleng.

It seems clear, then, that there were at least five named speech-forms spoken on the island around the middle of the last century. There may have been more than five, as Humphreys suggests. However, although Gordon backs up his distinction between the various speech-forms with data, Humphreys does not, and at this stage I would be unwilling to accept Humphreys' Seimo, Tanempenum, and the seventh 'dialect' without corroborative data.

What is not completely clear is whether these speech-forms were distinct languages. On this question, we have two kinds of evidence which we can use: the terms used by early writers to describe the speech-forms, and the linguistic data available.

Gordon (1889:78-84) labels his section on Ura, Utaha and Sorung 'Eromangan Dialects', and nowhere discusses their linguistic status. Robertson, however, clearly refers to several 'languages' on both Tanna and Erromango (in contrast to one 'language' on Aneityum), and since both the Tanna and Aneityum situations are reported correctly, it is my contention here that the five named speech-forms were in fact different languages. Humphreys' (1926:191) reference to 'dialectal groups' but only 'one fundamental linguistic stock' corresponds to similar remarks of his about neighbouring Tanna: "there are two distinct dialects in the island, so different in fact as to lead one to think that they may be really distinct languages" (Humphreys 1926:102). Humphreys, then, appears to use the term 'dialect' to refer to distinct, though closely related, languages. His statement that there are (or were) six or seven dialectal groups on Erromango is thus not inconsistent with the view expressed here that these were in fact distinct languages.

Later writers are not particularly clear as to the status of the different speech-forms. Ray (1926:172) discusses them under the heading 'Dialects', and makes no comment on the degree of differentiation. Capell (1972:49, 51) refers to "more than one form of Eromangan", and suggests that Ura, at least, "differs so widely from the others that it may prove to be worthy of language status". Again, these remarks, though inconclusive, do not invalidate the hypothesis.

An examination of the available data on the various speech-forms also tends to confirm the hypothesis. Although there is not a great deal of information available on Ura, and very little indeed on Utaha and Sorung, the following statements can be made with reasonable certainty:

(a) Modern Ura has been compared with Modern Sie, the descendant of the earlier Yoku (see section 2 below), by Tryon (1976) and myself (Lynch 1978a). Tryon, using a 300-word list, computed a lexicostatistical cognate percentage of 59%; using a slightly modified Swadesh 200-word list, I found a cognate percentage of 44%. In either case, Ura and Sie can be classed as lexicostatistically quite distinct languages.
(b) Fifty-two words found on Gordon's Utaha list are found on most basic vocabulary lists. Comparison of these with Ura gives a percentage of around 65-70%, while comparison with Sie (i.e. Yoku) gives around 68-72%. Thus again, at least on lexicostatistical evidence, Utaha is linguistically distinct from both Ura and Sie.

(c) Available structural data suggest that Sie, Ura, and Utaha, show grammatical differences which are not merely dialectal, although they are clearly languages of a similar type.

(d) The little information available on Sorung suggests that the variations between it and the other speech-forms are, as far as I can tell, too great to be classed as differences between dialects of the same language.

This somewhat impressionistic approach tends to confirm the view that Gordon's and Humphreys' 'dialects' are in fact distinct, though reasonably closely related, languages. I conclude therefore that there were at least five distinct languages spoken on Erromango at the time of European contact.

1.3. Location

Where were these languages spoken? Most sources which mention their locations at all agree that Yoku was spoken in the west, Sorung in the south, and Ura in the north, though few details are given. There has been some confusion, however, regarding the location of Utaha: Capell (1962:221) refers to "a southern dialect (Ifo, replacing the older Utaha)", but a map in another paper (Capell 1972:50) shows Utaha on the east coast, and his grammatical sketch of Sie (Capell MSa:7) refers to "Utaha or eastern dialect".

However, the most detailed — and thus probably the most reliable — description of the location of these languages comes from an anonymous nineteenth-century manuscript, 'Languages of Eromanga, New Hebrides'. Probably written by one of the Gordons, it gives the following locations of the languages:

(a) Eniau (Yoku): spoken in Dillon's Bay and extending about eight miles north and ten miles south of Dillon's Bay; it intermingles with Utaha on the north and Sorung on the south and south-east.

(b) Sorung: spoken between Unepang, twelve miles south of Dillon's Bay, and Traitor's Head, a distance of about fifty miles; it intermixes with Eniau on the one hand and Ura on the other.

(c) Ura: spoken from Portinia [Potnuma] Bay to Uarringrie [Warengi?], about twenty-five miles more or to where it mixes with Eniau.

(d) Utaha: spoken by a small tribe about five miles north of Dillon's Bay, but even then all but extinct.

Map 2 shows the probable locations of these four languages in the middle of the nineteenth century. No data on where the then extinct Novul-Amleng was spoken are available.
MAP 2: ERROMANGAN LANGUAGES
MID – NINETEENTH CENTURY

Approximate Language Boundary
YOKU Language Name
2. CHANGES IN THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION

The most recent survey of the languages of Vanuatu (Tryon 1976, 1978) shows that two languages are currently spoken on Erromango: Ura, with about ten speakers, and Sie, spoken by the remainder of the population. From an examination of the current situation it is clear that:

(a) Novul-Amleng had already died out in Gordon's day.

(b) Utaha, which Gordon labelled as "nearly extinct", has since become extinct; and

(c) Ura is also heading towards extinction, with no more than ten speakers. My Ura informant, then aged about sixty, claimed in 1977 that he was the youngest surviving Ura-speaker, and that only six people still remembered the language.

What is not clear is what happened to the two largest languages in Gordon's day, Yoku and Sorung. Capell, for example, has remarked that

at the present day, there is considerable dialect confusion which is still spreading. The use of /h/ has spread. In the Mission texts, for example, the usual form for "woman" is /na'sivən/, but /na'hivən/ is even more often heard. This represents a southern dialect, which gained influence through the establishment of an "ideal Christian" village in the south called Nuru Navosavos, "Happy Land"... . It may be noted that this dialect, where the Yoku s becomes h seems to be gaining ground at present. (Capell 1972:51).

In Modern Sie, contrast between /s/ and /h/ has indeed been lost, and although Sie-speakers still appear to retain [s] in some words and [h] in others, [h] appears to be gaining ground. A comparison of earlier Yoku forms with forms in Modern Sie shows a strong tendency for earlier /s/ to become Sie /h/ in final position, and a weaker tendency for earlier /s/ to become Sie /h/ initially and medially (see chapter 2).

However, despite this spread of /h/, modern Sie does not appear to be a continuation of the old southern language Sorung, although it seems to have been strongly influenced by that language. We have available only twenty words in Sorung, but these are sufficient to show the basic identity of modern Sie with older Yoku rather than with Sorung. The useful comparisons are as follows:

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<td>te</td>
<td>ete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etni</td>
<td>netni</td>
<td>nitni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>hai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahiven</td>
<td>nasiven</td>
<td>nahiven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nin</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sat</td>
<td>sat, ur</td>
<td>ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sie</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siklim</td>
<td>sukrim</td>
<td>sukrim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilik</td>
<td>virog</td>
<td>virog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the $s > h$ change, Sie lexical items appear to show clear continuation of the original Yoku rather than the original Sorung forms; note especially hai one, ur bad, sukrim five, and virog small.
On the other hand, the establishment of the mission station at Happy Land, and presumably other factors as well, may have been responsible for considerable Sorung influence on Yoku, yielding not only the $s > h$ change, but also other changes. It is clear, for example, that Sie has acquired an extra set of alienable possessives from Sorung. Almost the only grammatical data on Sorung given by Gordon (1889:80) is the following alienable possessive paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>sorug</td>
<td>sorit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 exc.</td>
<td>sorum</td>
<td>soremam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>isen</td>
<td>isenda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gordon (1889:69) and Capell (MSa:32), on the other hand, are quite clear that Yoku also possessed only one set of alienable possessives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>enogkos</td>
<td>enogkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>enyau</td>
<td>enogkik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>enogkik</td>
<td>enogkimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>enirora</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, I recorded two sets of possessives in Sie, which are apparently used in free variation with each other. One set clearly derives from Yoku, the other from Sorung. The forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Set 2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>eniau</td>
<td>enogkoh</td>
<td>horen</td>
<td>horuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>enogkik</td>
<td>enogkam</td>
<td>hormam</td>
<td>hormi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>enogkik</td>
<td>enogkimi</td>
<td></td>
<td>ihen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>eniror</td>
<td>ihed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, minor, differences between Yoku and Sie grammar may well also be due to Sorung influence: with virtually no information available on Sorung, this question is now impossible to answer.

However, the demographic question remains. It is understandable that Utaha, with only fifty speakers in the mid-nineteenth century, should have disappeared as the island's population declined. Similarly, it is also understandable that Yoku, which acquired prestige as the language of the mission, was able to survive the devastation of the population with a reasonable number of speakers. What is difficult to understand is why Ura, small even in Gordon's day, managed to cling onto existence, while Sorung, twice the size of any other Erromangan language in the 1860s, should have disappeared altogether. One possible answer seems to be that it was quite closely related to Yoku, that Sorung-speakers found it both necessary (for religious reasons) and easy to learn Yoku, and that, as the population declined, Sorung-speakers grew up in Yoku-speaking mission stations, using their own version of Yoku. Modern Sie thus appears to be a continuation of a Sorung-influenced Yoku — i.e. Sorung, to some extent at least, still survives in Modern Sie.

The fate of Gordon's five named languages can thus be diagrammed as follows:
3. The Present Study

This volume brings together a number of papers which present all the grammatical and lexical information available on the extinct Utaha and Sorung, as well as similar information on Sie and Ura. Since the publication of Gabelentz (1861-73), J.D. Gordon (1889), Kern (1906), and Ray (1926), almost nothing has appeared in print on the Erromangan languages: Capell (1957, 1972) and Lynch (1975, 1978a) are the only publications which look at phonology and grammar in any detail at all, and even these are only brief studies of certain aspects of grammar. Hence the need for a collection of available data.

The data on which the various studies in this volume are based vary considerably in both quality and quantity. Data on Ura, Utaha, and Sorung come mainly from Gordon (1889), with additional information from Capell (MSa, MSb) and Ray (1893, 1926). For Ura, these data are supplemented by my own fieldnotes and notes collected by Capell. The description of Sie grammar and vocabulary combine Capell's grammar sketch (MSa) and comparative dictionary (MSb) with my own extensive fieldnotes.

There are, naturally, considerable gaps in the data, even in the case of Sie, which is by far the best known of the Erromangan languages. Despite these gaps, I have felt it a worthwhile exercise to collect these studies together in one volume as a stimulation to further descriptive and comparative research.

Notes

1 See, for example, Spriggs 1981 for a discussion of some of the archaeological evidence, and Lynch 1978a for the linguistic evidence.

2 Cook named the island, according to oral tradition, after pointing to the ground. The Erromangans, believing that he was questioning the quality of some yams they had brought to present to him, protested 'armai-go' (good-plural) they're good!. Various spellings of the name of the island have been adopted in various sources, the commonest variations being between single and double r, and between final a and final o. I follow the standard usage of Tryon and Gély (1979).

3 See especially Shineberg (1967), and MacClancy (n.d.).
Reliable population data for the early years are extremely scanty: the various figures at different times were provided by different people whose closeness to the real situation varied considerably. Similarly, data on the effects of various epidemics are also scanty. McArthur and Yaxley (1968:8-10), however, briefly discuss the effects of (i) a dysentery epidemic in 1842, said to have killed off one-third of the population (Turner 1861:494); (ii) a hurricane followed by measles and dysentery in 1861 which the missionary G.N. Gordon (1861) felt had killed two-thirds of the population in some settlements; (iii) another hurricane in 1862, exacerbating the already serious food shortage; (iv) an epidemic resembling diphtheria in 1867; and (v) influenza outbreaks in 1873-4 and 1882, neither particularly serious. In addition, Matthew Spriggs (pers. comm.) believes that there is evidence for another epidemic in the 1830s, which certainly ravaged Aneityum and may well have affected Erromango as well.

There are also some doubts on the reliability of what early population figures there are:

There is reason to doubt that the population before the sandalwood era was as large as might be inferred from some of the early estimates. The basis for Gordon's estimate of 5,000 in 1859 ... was never explained. ... What was interpreted as depopulation may have been merely redistribution of population. (McArthur and Yaxley 1968:9).

But whether or not the figures are wholly accurate is really irrelevant here. What is clear from the figures is that the devastation of the population of Erromango is comparable to that which took place in Aneityum (McArthur 1974, Spriggs 1981), and that a population numbering some thousands in the middle of the last century had dropped to less than four hundred within a century.

I use the term 'speech-form' to refer to named or identified linguistic varieties while the question of whether they are to be classed as distinct languages or merely as dialects of one language is under discussion.

I am grateful to Darrell Tryon for the use of his notes on this reference.

The Yoku data are from Capell's manuscript dictionary (MSb) while the Sie data are from my own notes. Only nine of the twenty extant Sorung words may be usefully compared with Yoku/Sie.

Some of Capell's data appeared in Tryon (1976), while the then available data on Ura were summarised in Lynch (1982a).
CHAPTER 2
SIE GRAMMAR OUTLINE

0. INTRODUCTION

As noted in the previous chapter, Sie is the sole surviving viable language of Erromango, representing a continuation of Yoku, the prestige mission language of the west coast, but affected to an unknown extent by Sorung, a now extinct language once spoken in the south and east of the island.

0.1. Sie dialects

Little work has been carried out on dialect differentiation in Sie. Lists collected by Capell at Dillon's Bay in the central west, Ifo in the south, and Potnarvin in the north-east, show the following cognate percentages:

Dillon's Bay: Potnarvin - 91%
Dillon's Bay: Ifo - 91%
Potnarvin: Ifo - 95%

Phonologically, these dialects are very similar, with Dillon's Bay final /g/ corresponding with Ifo and Potnarvin final /k/ or, occasionally, Ø, and with many occurrences of Dillon's Bay /s/ corresponding with Ifo and Potnarvin /h/ (cf. 1.3. below). What little structural information there is available on Ifo and Potnarvin shows virtually no variation from the Dillon's Bay dialect, which forms the basis for the present study.

0.2. Genesis of the present study

In 1928, one of us (Capell) wrote a more comprehensive grammar sketch of Sie than that published in Ray (1926), but still a sketch based on the mission translations. This manuscript was later substantially revised after World War II when he was able to collect a certain amount of first-hand information on the Erromangan languages. However, neither this manuscript, simply titled 'Eromanga', nor its companion, 'An Eromangan Comparative Dictionary', has ever been published, although certain parts of them have appeared in other works of Capell's.

During the 1960s and 1970s, while carrying out fieldwork on Lenakel and other languages of the neighbouring island of Tanna, Lynch was also able to collect a certain amount of information on Sie. Again, very little of this information has been published.
Neither of us has felt that the amount of material we had independently collected was sufficient to allow for the publication of a 'respectable' grammar of Sie. Particularly since the language is not of the common type found in the better-known Eastern Oceanic areas of Melanesia, we felt that a detailed treatment was necessary. However, we now believe that a joint production is desirable at this stage, since linguistic activity on Erromango in recent years has been minimal, and is likely to remain so for some time. This joint production will at the very least allow what information is available on this historically important Austronesian language to see the light of day, and will point up areas — of which, needless to say, there are many — in which further research is urgently needed.

Accordingly, we have attempted to combine Capell's manuscript grammar with Lynch's unpublished analyses. The aim of this study is thus to present in as clear a form as possible what we do know about Sie. Where at all possible, example sentences are given from elicited data or spoken texts rather than the mission translations since these, especially in orthography, are not of good quality. In addition, areas of disagreement between our analyses have been highlighted rather than played down, since they may throw light either on dialect differences or, more probably, possible language change in the period between Capell's and Lynch's fieldwork.

Throughout the text, the first person plural indicates that both of us basically agree on a particular grammatical interpretation; the first person singular reflects only Lynch's interpretations of the grammatical data. Where possible or desirable, comparison has been made with what is known of other languages of Erromango, and with other languages of the Southern Vanuatu region. Cases of possible grammatical or phonological change in recent times have also been noted.

1. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY OUTLINE

This section presents an outline of the segmental phonology of Sie, together with a brief comment on Sie orthography. Previously published accounts of various aspects of the language (e.g. Ray 1926, Capell 1972) pay little attention to the phonology, and Ray's work in particular suffers from a number of inaccuracies, due in no small part to the poor orthography developed by the Presbyterian missionaries during the last century (see 1.7. below).

1.1. The phonemes

Twenty-three phonemes are recognised in Sie, eighteen consonants and five vowels. The phonemes are listed in chart form below.
### TABLE I: Sie consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Velarised Bilabials</th>
<th>Bilabials</th>
<th>Dentals</th>
<th>Alveolars</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velars</th>
<th>Post-Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
<td>pw</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>mw</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE II: Sie vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front Unround</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back Round</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three sets of phonemes need to be justified before the allophones of the phonemes are discussed. These are the velarised bilabials /pw/ and /mw/, the voiced stop /d/, and the semivowels /y/ and /w/.

The velarised bilabial phonemes /pw/ and /mw/ are established as unit phonemes (as opposed to sequences of stop or nasal phoneme + /w/) largely in response to phonotactic pressure. The phonotactics of Sie are discussed in detail in 1.4. below, but what is relevant here are the following rules: first, initial consonant clusters are normally not permitted (although a few exceptional cases do result from the loss of a vowel in historical times); and second, the phonotactic rules of Sie normally allow medial clusters of no more than two consonants, the only exceptions being medial three-consonant clusters whose first two members are a nasal and a homorganic voiceless stop. However, [p^m] and [m^w] may occur initially:
and clusters of consonant + /pw/ may occur medially:

(2) /nelpwonoru-ŋ/ [nɛlŋpɔnɔrʊŋ] my arm
/pwagahpwagah/ [pɔwɔrɑphɔwɔra] midday

(Note that /mw/ is rare in Sie, and no medial clusters involving /mw/ have been observed.) For these reasons, then, [pw] and [mw] are treated as unit phonemes /pw/ and /mw/.²

There is only one voiced stop, /d/, which is also the only prenasalised stop in the language. Contrast between /t/ and /d/ is clear in all environments:

(3) /ta-n/ [tɑn] his skin
/dan/ [dn̥ɑn] day
/netukus/ [nɛtukus] salt
/nedu/ [nɛn̥du] k.o. tree
/novlimet/ [nɔβɔlɪmɛtʰ] eyebrow
/dinme-d/ [n̥dɪn̥mɛn̥d] their mother

There is also clear contrast medially and finally between a cluster of /n/ + /t/ and the prenasalised stop /d/:

(4) /tantop/ [tɑn̥topʰ] long
/mado/ [mɑn̥dɔ] kava-bowl
/dinme-nt/ [n̥dɪn̥mɛntʰ] our (inc.) mother
/dinme-d/ [n̥dɪn̥mɛn̥d] their mother

Since there is no non-prenasalised [d] in Sie, it is clear that /d/ is a unit phoneme.

As will be seen in 1.2., the high vowels /i/ and /u/ have non-syllabic allophones in certain environments. Nevertheless, semivowel phonemes /ɣ/ and /w/ are also posited. Sequences of consonant + non-syllabic high vowel are always accompanied by close transition, whereas consonant + semivowel sequences are usually accompanied by open transition (symbolised here by a raised [ɜ] — see sections 1.4. and 1.5. for further discussion). Examples:

(5) /orofenuo/ [ɔrɔfɛnuo] k.o. yam
/nevenwane/ [nɛtɛwɛnɛ] k.o. fish
/netuo/ [n̥ɛtuo] fowl
/elwa/ [ɛl̥wa] to vomit
1.2. Allophones

In the tables below are given the allophones of the Sie phonemes, together with a phonetic description and a statement of distribution. The consonant allophones are given in Table III. It will be seen that all the voiceless stops follow the same pattern (aspirated finally and after nasals, lenis unaspirated elsewhere); the bilabial fricatives also both behave identically (labiodental before /a/, bilabial elsewhere).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pw/</td>
<td>[pʰw]</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated velarised bilabial stop</td>
<td>Finally and after a nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop</td>
<td>Finally and after a nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated dental stop</td>
<td>Finally and after a nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated velar stop</td>
<td>Finally and after a nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[dʰ]</td>
<td>Voiceless prenasalised alveolar stop</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>Voiceless labiodental fricative</td>
<td>Before /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[fʰ]</td>
<td>Voiceless velarised labiodental fricative</td>
<td>In free variation with [f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[fʰw]</td>
<td>Voiceless velarised bilabial fricative</td>
<td>In free variation with [f]; rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>Voiced labiodental fricative</td>
<td>Before /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[vʰ]</td>
<td>Voiced velarised labiodental fricative</td>
<td>In free variation with [v]; rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial fricative</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[βʷ]</td>
<td>Voiced velarised bilabial fricative</td>
<td>In free variation with [β]; rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>Voiced dental fricative</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[γ]</td>
<td>Voiced velar fricative</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>Voiceless glottal fricative</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>Voiceless velar fricative</td>
<td>Sporadically, in free variation with [h] finally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mw/</td>
<td>[mʷ]</td>
<td>Voiced velarised bilabial nasal</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial nasal</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar nasal</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>Voiced velar nasal</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar lateral</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar flap</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>Voiced alveolar trill</td>
<td>In free variation with [ɾ] after /t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>Voiced high back rounded semivowel</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>Voiced high front unrounded semivowel</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allophones of the vowel phonemes are given in Table IV below. A number of vowel allophone environments require a brief description of syllable-types in Sie. Briefly, closed syllables end in consonants and open syllables in vowels. A non-final vowel followed by CV ends an open syllable, whereas a non-final vowel followed by CCV forms the nucleus of a closed syllable. It will be seen that identical tensing and laxing rules apply to the two high vowels; however, the mid vowels behave differently from each other and from the high vowels in the matter of tensing/laxing. All vowels may occasionally reduce to [ɔ] in a pretonic syllable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>High front tense unrounded non-syllabic vowel</td>
<td>Adjacent to another vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɪ]</td>
<td>High front tense unrounded vowel</td>
<td>In open syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɨ]</td>
<td>High front lax unrounded vowel</td>
<td>In closed syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>Mid front tense unrounded vowel</td>
<td>Before /y/ or a vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>Mid front lax unrounded vowel</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[ɑ]</td>
<td>Low central lax unrounded vowel</td>
<td>All environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>Mid back tense rounded vowel</td>
<td>Before a vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>Mid back lax rounded nasalised vowel</td>
<td>Before a nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>High back tense rounded non-syllabic vowel</td>
<td>Adjacent to another vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>High back tense rounded vowel</td>
<td>In open syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>High back tense rounded nasalised vowel</td>
<td>In free variation with [u] before a nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>High back lax rounded vowel</td>
<td>In closed syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>High back lax rounded nasalised vowel</td>
<td>In free variation with [u] before a nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3. Contrast

Evidence is given in this section to show that the phonemes listed in the previous sections contrast with one another. For reasons of space, only pairs or groups of phonemes with a certain amount of phonetic similarity are contrasted in the examples below.

Contrast between the five vowel phonemes can be established from a number of sets like the following:

(6) /navanavan/ [navaˈnavaˈn] fugitive
     /nevar/ [nəˈvaɾ] load, burden
     /nival/ [niˈvaɾ] mast
Examples of contrast between pairs or groups of phonetically similar consonant phonemes are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pair</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) <code>/p/</code></td>
<td><code>/pw/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/pwoŋkvi/</code></td>
<td><code>/pwɔŋkvi/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/poŋvat/</code></td>
<td><code>/pɔŋvat/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/foŋfati/</code></td>
<td><code>/foŋfati/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/voŋi/</code></td>
<td><code>/voŋi/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/wołu/</code></td>
<td><code>/wołu/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/pwɔtnti/</code></td>
<td><code>/pwɔtnti/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/patmonu/</code></td>
<td><code>/patmonu/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/fani/</code></td>
<td><code>/fani/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/vawgɔm/</code></td>
<td><code>/vawgɔm/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/waŋki/</code></td>
<td><code>/waŋki/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) <code>/m/</code></td>
<td><code>/mw/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/morɪ/</code></td>
<td><code>/mɔrɪ/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/mwɔr/</code></td>
<td><code>/mɔr/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/wɔragi/</code></td>
<td><code>/wɔragi/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) <code>/t/</code></td>
<td><code>/d/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/t̚an/</code></td>
<td><code>/t̚an/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/dan/</code></td>
<td><code>/dʌn/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/ra/</code></td>
<td><code>/ra/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) <code>/t/</code></td>
<td><code>/s/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/tempeleɪ/</code></td>
<td><code>/tempeleɪ/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/sempeleɪ/</code></td>
<td><code>/sempeleɪ/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/tompoɪ/</code></td>
<td><code>/tompoɪ/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/sompɔɡ/</code></td>
<td><code>/sompɔɡ/</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(11) /d/:/n/
   /dogu/  [ⁿdóγu]  axe
   /nogut/  [ⁿγytʰ]  louse
   /deve/  [ⁿděβe]  how many?
   /neven/  [ⁿβen]  freshwater eel

(12) /l/:/n/:/r/
   /tal/  [tá1]  taro
   /ta-n/  [tán]  his skin
   /tar/  [táɾ]  to fight

(13) /k/:/g/
   /kimi/  [kími]  you (pl.)
   /gimpit/  [ɣímpʰɪtʰ]  k.o. fish
   /kuri/  [kúɾi]  dog
   /gumpam/  [ɣímpʰam]  yam sp.

(14) /g/:/h/
   /noguog/  [ⁿγγuγγ]  earthquake
   /nohuo/  [ⁿhuo]  yam sp.

(15) /g/: no phoneme
   /dogu/  [ⁿdóγu]  axe
   /dou/  [ⁿdóu]  ship, boat

(16) /h/: no phoneme
   /hai/  [há1]  one
   /ai/  [á1]  blunt

(17) /n/: /ŋ/
   /noura-n/  [ⁿóuɾan]  his bone
   /noura-ŋ/  [ⁿóuɾŋ]  my bone

Variation between /s/ and /h/ was mentioned in the previous chapter, and also in section 0.1. above. There is a sound change in progress in Sie, by which /s/ and /h/ are merging, as [h]. Contrast between /s/ and /h/ is clear from the work of earlier scholars, and Capell's manuscript dictionary (MSb), for example, shows such forms as horobj powerful in contrast with sorobj to seek for. It seems to me that /s/ changed to /h/ first in final position, then non-finally before non-front vowels, especially /a/. Influence of non-standard dialects, or of now dead languages, has variously been held as the cause of the change, but the reasons for and the history of the change are still obscure. It should be noted, however, that a similar change, though far less advanced in its effects, seems to be taking place in the languages of Tanna.²
Since the change is still in progress in Sie, it is on the one hand impossible to say that /s/ has merged with /h/, and on the other hand difficult to give minimal pairs for the two phonemes, since most Sie-speakers will accept—even if they do not themselves necessarily produce—forms containing either /s/ or /h/. A form such as /vetmis/ sky, for example, will be more often heard as [βétʰmʰs], but [βétʰmʰh] is also acceptable; while a form like /hai/ one, written sāi in earlier works, will normally be heard as [haɪ], but [sāi] will be accepted. The amount of individual variation is not clear, and further research is needed to document the nature and process of the change. In this work, we write /h/ in words where [h] is heard more frequently than [s], and /s/ where [s] is more frequent.

1.4. Phonotactics

A syllable in Sie normally requires a vowel, and may contain two vowels, providing that one of them is non-syllabic (i.e. the [i] or [y] allophones of /i/ and /u/). A syllable may begin with a single consonant, and may end with either a single consonant or a homorganic nasal + stop cluster. Thus medial consonant clusters are generally of no more than two consonants, but three-consonant medial clusters may occur if the first two consonants are nasal + homorganic stop. Some examples of the syllable structure of words are given below; the period in the phonetic representation indicates the syllable-boundary.

(18) /ehapi/ [ɛ.há.pi] to count
/netuo/ [né.tuo] foul
/nam/ [nám] word
/empgo/ [ɪmpʰ.γο] to dance
/isut/ [f.sutʰ] far
/urait/ [ú.ɾaitʰ] rope
/novlaimpg-o-n/ [nɔβ.ɾái̯m̩pʰ.γɔn] its tail

A handful of words, however, show initial two-consonant clusters. A list of these is given below, together with the form in which they are given in Capell's manuscript dictionary (MSb):

(19) Forms with initial CC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Capell (MSb)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dvat/</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>devat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dve/ — /deve/</td>
<td>how many?</td>
<td>deve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mran/</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>mran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nmah/</td>
<td>clothes, sail</td>
<td>nemas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nmah/</td>
<td>low tide</td>
<td>nemas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nmaph/</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>nemap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nmar/</td>
<td>breadfruit</td>
<td>nmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nraga-gon/</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nva-/</td>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>nevan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nvaq/</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>nevaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nvat/</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>nevat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nworopatevi/</td>
<td>condemnation</td>
<td>nworopatevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pruv-gum/</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>pruvogom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Capell's MS also notes that a number of these forms were (irregularly) stressed on the final syllable. It seems to me that, possibly because of this final stress, pretonic /e/ weakened first to [æ] and was then lost, with original [nɔmɔr] breadfruit, for example, becoming first [nɔmɔr] and then [nɔmr] (or, more accurately, [nɔmɔr] with open transition between [n] and [m]). Something similar seems to be taking place now with /deve/ how many?, which I recorded on different occasions as [nɔdəβε], [nɔdeβε] and [nɔdəβε].

Supporting evidence for this hypothesis comes from another regular feature of Sie phonotactics, to which we now turn. Although geminate consonant clusters do not occur, there appear to be very few restrictions on the composition of two-consonant clusters. The phonemes /pw/, /mw/, and /f/ are of low frequency in Sie, and this makes it difficult to provide a complete general statement. However, the first consonant of a cluster may be any consonant except /pw/, /f/, /mw/, /w/, and /y/, while the second consonant of a cluster may be any consonant except /d/ and /mw/. Clusters of homorganic consonants involve close transition, while heterorganic clusters involve open transition, with an epenthetic schwa-vowel which, however, is not relevant to the assignment of stress. Compare:

(20) /tampot/  [tɔntɔpʰ]  long
/sompat/  [sɔmpʰatʰ]  to shut
/gumpam/  [γumpʰam]  yam sp.

with

(21) /novlimet/  [nɔβ³lɛmɛtʰ]  eyebrow
/warki/  [wʌr³ki]  strong
/nelvc-n/  [nɛl³βɛn]  his tooth
/pwatni/  [pˈwat³ni]  banana sp.

In such cases of epenthesis, when the first member of the consonant cluster is /h/, then the epenthetic vowel is not [a] but a copy of the preceding vowel:

(22) /mehkai/  [mɛh³kai]  six
/nahvυ/  [náh³Bu]  turtle

All vowels occur initially, medially, and finally. All consonants also occur initially and medially, and all except /pw/, /v/, /mw/, /w/, and /y/ also occur finally. Geminate vowels do not occur. All other combinations of two vowels may occur within Sie morphemes, with the exception of clusters of mid vowels (*/eo/, */oe/) and clusters involving /a/ + mid vowel (*/ae/, */ao/).

1.5. Stress

Apart from a handful of words with stress on the final syllable, primary stress in Sie falls on the vowel of a monosyllable and the penultimate vowel of a polysyllable:

(23) /nup/  [nʊpʰ]  yam
/nomu/  [nɔmʊ]  fish
/umole/  [umɔlɛ]  ant
Epenthetic vowels inserted to break up heterorganic consonant clusters are not stressed, nor are they counted as syllabic in the assignment of stress:

(24) \(/\text{nelve-n}/ \) [nɛlβɛn] \(\text{his tooth}\)

\(/\text{novlaimpgo-n}/ \) [nɔβlɛmphɔn] \(\text{its tail}\)

\(/\text{mehkai}/ \) [mɛhɛkai] \(\text{six}\)

Secondary stress occurs on the initial syllable of words of more than three syllables:

(25) \(/\text{orutenmoqi}/ \) [ɔrʌtenmɔgi] \(\text{to sink (trans.)}\)

\(/\text{osavlahakqi}/ \) [ɔsaβlahakɔqi] \(\text{to turn over (trans.)}\)

1.6. Morphophonemics

Sie morphemes undergo a considerable amount of morphophonemic variation. Most of these processes are peculiar to one grammatical context, and will be dealt with in the appropriate section of the grammar. There is, however, one process which is more general in application, and that process is discussed here.

There is a rule of Sie phonology that an unacceptable underlying consonant cluster occurring across a morpheme-boundary is broken up by the insertion of a vowel. At the present stage of research, we are unable to define precisely which such clusters are unacceptable. Certainly, medial three-consonant clusters are unacceptable, and the vowel is inserted between the second and third of these consonants. In addition, final two-consonant clusters are unacceptable. (In both these cases, of course, a homorganic nasal + stop cluster is an exception to these general statements.) However, certain medial two-consonant clusters are also unacceptable, and it is in this area where our uncertainty lies.

Whatever the exact environment, the rule itself is clear. The inserted vowel is /\(0/\) if one of the consonants involved is a velar; otherwise, the inserted vowel is /\(e/\).

\begin{align*}
\text{(26) Underlying} & \quad \text{Surface} \\
/g-okil-g/ & \quad /gokiłog/ \quad \text{he knew you (sg.)} \\
/g-tai/ & \quad /gotaï/ \quad \text{he hit it} \\
/sukrim-duru/ & \quad /sukrimeduru/ \quad \text{seven} \\
/kok-l-n-eni/ & \quad /kokleneni/ \quad \text{we (inc.) will eat}
\end{align*}

1.7. Orthography

The original (in more than one sense) Presbyterian mission orthography for the Erromangan languages included such exoticisms as \(\ddot{\text{i}}\) for the sequence \(/\text{ai}/\), \(x\) for \(/\text{au}/\), and \(c\) for \(/\text{oi}/\). These, fortunately, were soon abandoned. However, no version of the mission orthography recognised the velarised bilabials \(/\text{pw}/\) and \(/\text{mw}/\), nor was a distinction made between the velar stop \(/\text{k}/\) and the velar fricative \(/\text{g}/\). As in many other areas of Oceania, the symbol \(\ddot{\text{g}}\) was used to represent the velar nasal \(/\ddot{\text{g}}/\).
Perhaps the only significant points regarding the orthography used here are the symbolisation of the velar fricative (g) and the velar nasal (q). We have avoided the use of g as a symbol for either of these phonemes, since its use is likely to cause some confusion. A previous attempt to use x for the velar fricative (Lynch 1974) was not well received by Erromangans, and the use of gh for /q/ would also lead to confusion, many Erromangans treating this as /q/ + /h/. Although the symbol c is used in Anejom (Aneityumese) for the velar fricative, we have not thought this convention worth introducing.

2. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE VERB PHRASE

We begin the discussion of Sie grammar with its most complex area, the morphological structure of the verb, and in this section we also examine the structure of the verb phrase, which is relatively simple.

2.1. Verb morphology

The verb in Sie consists of a complex of affixes attached to a verb root. These affixes refer, inter alia, to the person and number of the subject and the object, tense and aspect, negativity, and various modalities. The system is complicated by fairly complex morphophonemics, including consonant alternation within the verb root itself. The general structure of the verb will not be given at this stage, since different tense/aspects require different structures. However, it can be pointed out at this stage that prefixes to the verb root include those marking person and number of subject, negativity, and tense/aspect; while suffixes include those marking person and number of object, transitivity, and completion.

2.1.1. Verb root

Over half the verb roots in Sie, as in all the other non-Polynesian languages of Southern Vanuatu, are vowel-initial. This vowel is perhaps most often /a/, /e/, or /o/; /i/- and /u/-initial verbs are quite rare. Historical evidence shows that this initial vowel is an accretion to an original consonant-initial root; compare the following Sie verb roots (many including the transitive suffix -i) with their original forms in Proto-Oceanic (POC):

(27) Sie       POC
    atki       *tuki       pound
    avan       *pano       walk, go
    elua       *luaq       vomit
    etri       *tuRi       sew
    oghi       *kita       see
    orqi       *doçoR       hear

Whatever functions this initial vowel might once have had, it no longer has any function in modern Sie.4

A number of Oceanic languages show variant forms of the verb root, one form occurring in what might loosely be termed the realis mode, and the other in the irrealis mode. These variants generally involve alternation between nasal and
non-nasal consonants, or between oral and prenasalised consonants, or between
the reflexes (often fricative) of POC oral grade consonants and the reflexes
(often stop) of POC nasal grade consonants. In Sie, this oral/nasal alternation
occurs, in various forms, with a large number of verb roots, though not all. The
oral grade is used in the past tenses and the past conditional, while the nasal
grade is used in the non-past tenses (present, future, and future conditional
tenses) — i.e. the distinction can loosely be termed a realis/irrealis distinc­
tion. For example:

(28) General past tense: Oral grade  Future tense: Nasal grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral grade</th>
<th>Nasal grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he saw</td>
<td>he will see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he turned</td>
<td>he will turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he heard</td>
<td>he will hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he stayed</td>
<td>he will stay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For convenience, we refer to 'past' and 'non-past' tenses in discussing this
alternation in Sie.

It should be obvious from (28) above that not only is there a change from
oral grade to nasal grade in the first consonant of the verb root, but there is
also a change in vowel quality in the initial, historically accreted, vowel. Thus the past/non-past alternations in Sie verb roots involve not only consone­
tantal alternations of the kind g/o, v/m, r/d, etc., but also vowel alternations
of the kind o/a, e/a, etc. Although, as mentioned earlier, not all verb roots
undergo these alternations, it will be convenient to show the nature of these
alternations first in tabular form, and then discuss their operation in more
detail. The alternations, with examples, are given in Table V below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE V: Verb root alternations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial segment(s) of verb root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past &gt; Non-Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v- amp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov- amp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ev- amp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t- nt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot- ant-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et- ant-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or- ad-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogh- agh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og- aŋk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok- aŋk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternation rules shown in Table V are partly ordered: i.e. the rule
ogh- > agh- precedes the rule og- > aŋk-, since this latter rule applies to all
og-initial verb roots except those in which the initial og- is followed by h.
The rules clearly involve.

a) change of the initial vowel to /a/; and
b) addition of a nasal before the first consonant of the root
if that consonant was an obstruent; non-stopped obstruents change to stops in this environment (thus v > amp-, for example). Presumably, the case of ogh- > agh- (for excepted **agkh-) involves later deletion of the /k/ before /h/ for reasons which are not clear at this stage.

Vowel-initial verb roots which do not fit the structural description of any of the rules in Table V add /n/ to the past form to form the non-past form: thus avan > n-avan walk, isor > n-isor copulate, ouyoq > n-ouyoq awaken, etc. There are very few examples of consonant-initial verb roots where the consonant is not /t/ because of the historical process of initial vowel-accretion discussed earlier; of these, almost all fit the structural description of one of the rules in Table V. Of those which do not, a vowel seems to be prefixed to the past to form the non-past. I have found a few verb roots with initial /s/ and /y/ which add /e/ to form the non-past (sag > e-sag go up, yevi > e-yevi pull), and a couple of verbs with initial /m/ which add /a/ to form the non-past (mah > a-mah die).

There are, however, a number of exceptions to these rules — i.e. verb roots which fit the structural description of one of the rules in Table V but, instead of undergoing the alternation, simply add /n/. Some of the more common verb roots which are exceptional are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(29) Past Root</th>
<th>Expected Non-Past</th>
<th>Actual Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ovi</td>
<td>**ampi</td>
<td>n-ovi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orei</td>
<td>**adei</td>
<td>n-orei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oravi</td>
<td>**adavi</td>
<td>n-oravi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oral</td>
<td>**adal</td>
<td>n-oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esomsah</td>
<td>**asomsah</td>
<td>n-esomsah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elgavi</td>
<td>**algavi</td>
<td>n-elgavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elimsi</td>
<td>**alimi</td>
<td>n elimsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni</td>
<td>**ani</td>
<td>n-eni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historically, the explanation for these irregularities may well be that the initial vowel of these verb roots is not in fact the accreted prefix but is the first vowel of the root itself. Thus eni eat derives from POC *kani, and orei scratch may well derive from POC *kori; in each case, verb-initial *k has been lost, and the vowel which is now verb-initial is in fact part of the original root. Whether or not this historical explanation is accurate, however, is largely irrelevant to the present discussion; what is relevant is that the process of alternation is probably no longer productive in Sie. That is, given any verb root which fits the structural description of one of the rules in Table V, one cannot predict whether that verb will in fact undergo the alternation.

2.1.2. Subject and tense/aspect prefixes

The marking of person and number of subject and tense/aspect in the Sie verb is quite complex. The simplest way of proceeding here is first to give paradigms of the various tenses in all persons and numbers, and then to give an analysis. Accordingly, Table VI sets out the paradigms for the verb oghi (non-past aghi) see. It should be noted that, as well as being morphologically complex, there are also complex morphophonemic processes involved; these will be discussed in the course of the establishment of the various prefixes.
The tense/aspects which have been identified for Si e verbs are as follows:

1. general past, which is used to refer either to an action which took place in the recent past, or to an action which took place at some unspecified time in the past;
2. mid past, which refers to an action which took place not recently but not long ago (some informants suggest that this can be used for any time between, say, 'last week' and 'last year', but this has not been adequately tested as yet);
3. far past, which refers to an action which took place much longer ago than those referred to by the mid past tense;
4. present, referring to an action which is taking place at the moment of speaking, or to a habitual action;
5. future, referring to an action which has not as yet taken place; and
6. conditional, of which both past and non-past forms occur, and which is used in certain syntactic environments which will be discussed in section 6 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE VI: Verbal paradigms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subject-marking prefixes mark the same persons and numbers as are marked in the focal pronouns (cf. 3.2.1. below), with the addition of first person inclusive dual and first person exclusive dual, for which there are no corresponding focal pronominal forms. Certain subject + tense/aspect forms are bracketed together, indicating that modern Sie-speakers show some variation between the two forms involved.
Person and number prefixes. The marking of the person and number of the subject by prefixes to the verbs involves some complications: there are two distinct sets of person-marking prefixes, and the number-marking prefixes also exhibit some unusual features.

The two sets of prefixes marking person of subject are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>'Subject Prefixes'</th>
<th>Set B</th>
<th>'Short Pronouns'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>yag-</td>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>yau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc. non-sg.</td>
<td>kok-</td>
<td>1 inc. non-sg.</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc. non-sg.</td>
<td>kak-</td>
<td>1 exc. non-sg.</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>d-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Subject Prefixes' are distinguished from 'Short Pronouns' because of the much greater similarity of the latter to the focal pronouns (cf. 3.2.1. below). Set A subject prefixes are used with the more 'basic' tenses: general past, present, and future; Set B short pronouns are used with the mid and far past and the two conditional tenses. Note the identity of the second and third person singular and plural Set A forms, and the second person singular and plural Set B forms. Note also that the third person Set B forms have an allo-morph Ø in the conditional.

Number prefixes. Singular is unmarked. Non-singular subjects are marked as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(31)</th>
<th>u-</th>
<th>1st dual, 2nd and 3rd plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>1st plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the combination of person and number prefixes gives the following complex of markers for the non-singular Set A forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(32)</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>kok- u-</td>
<td>kok - 1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>kak- u-</td>
<td>kak - 1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>k - u-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>g - u-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and a similar table can be drawn up for the Set B forms.

Imperative. Although both person and number prefixes are normally required, person prefixes are deleted in the imperative, which uses the base (oral form) of the verb root, and prefixes u- (with accompanying morphophonemic changes) in the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(33)</th>
<th>Singular Imperative</th>
<th>Plural Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oghi</td>
<td>see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enwi</td>
<td>say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāi</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍagri</td>
<td>say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yevi</td>
<td>pull</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Tense/aspect prefixes.** The different tense/aspects are marked as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/aspect</th>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Form of Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Past</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Past</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far Past</td>
<td>m-.em-</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Conditional</td>
<td>pe-</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>am-</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Conditional</td>
<td>pe-.am-</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conditional uses a prefix pe-, with the non-past conditional compounding this with the present prefix am-. The other complex tense marking is in the far past, which uses the mid past prefix m- plus a further prefix em-.

The order of the prefixes in the verb complex, and the various morphophonemic changes which take place, will be held over until section 2.1.4. below.

### 2.1.3. Other prefixes

In addition to prefixes marking person and number of the subject and tense/aspect, there is a number of other prefixes to the verb root in Sie. These are briefly discussed below.

**Echo-subject prefix.** The echo-subject prefix m- replaces the person prefix when a verb has the same subject as the previous verb in a sentence. The syntax of this marker will be discussed in detail in 6.2. below; at this stage, only one or two examples are necessary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(35)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>narai y-agan m-tai retpo-n m-etni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Narai 3SG:A-angry ES-kill wife-his ES-burn</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narai was angry and killed his wife and burned her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo m-u-velam m-u-ve empatap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Narai and Numpwat 3PL:B-PL-come:out Unwo ES-PL-come ES-PL-go north</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narai and Numpwat came out (of the ground) at Unwo and came and then went north</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative.** The underlying form of the negative prefix is tu-, although it appears as etu- in the singular imperative. (However, there is a possibility that the e- in etu- may in fact be an old singular imperative marker.)

Some examples of imperative forms are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(36)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular imperative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural imperative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affirmative</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oghi</td>
<td>etughi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>etutai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yevi</td>
<td>etuyevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqri</td>
<td>etaqri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orgi</td>
<td>etorgi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen from the above examples that, in the imperative, the negative prefix follows the marker of number of subject.
This is the case also in the indicative forms: the negative comes fairly late in the array of prefixes. For convenience, Table VII gives the negative paradigms which correspond to the affirmative paradigms of Table VI. No far past negative exists; the mid past negative is used to negate both mid past and far past verbs.

**TABLE VII: Verbal paradigms: negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>yogotughi</td>
<td>yogotuagh</td>
<td>yogotumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>kotughi</td>
<td>kotuagh</td>
<td>kotumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>gotughi</td>
<td>gotuagh</td>
<td>gotumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc. du.</td>
<td>kokutughi</td>
<td>kokutaugh</td>
<td>kokutumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc. du.</td>
<td>kakutughi</td>
<td>kakutaugh</td>
<td>kakutumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc. pl.</td>
<td>{{ koletughi</td>
<td>koletuagh</td>
<td>koletumlaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kutughi</td>
<td>kutaugh</td>
<td>kutumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>gutughi</td>
<td>gutuagh</td>
<td>gutumaghi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mid Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>yaumetughi</td>
<td>yaupetugh</td>
<td>yaupetumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>kimetughi</td>
<td>kipetugh</td>
<td>kipetumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>yetughi</td>
<td>petugh</td>
<td>petumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc. du.</td>
<td>komutughi</td>
<td>koputugh</td>
<td>koputumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc. du.</td>
<td>kamutughi</td>
<td>kaputugh</td>
<td>kaputumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc. pl.</td>
<td>komletughi</td>
<td>kopletugh</td>
<td>kopletumlaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc. pl.</td>
<td>kamletughi</td>
<td>kapletugh</td>
<td>kapletumlaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>kimutughi</td>
<td>kiputugh</td>
<td>kiputumaghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>dutughi</td>
<td>putugh</td>
<td>putumaghi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reflexive.** There is a reflexive prefix pen- whose use is not as yet clearly understood. The form does not appear in Capell's MS, and I only elicited a few examples:

(37) yogo-pen-tai-yau  yogo-pen-ogh-iyau
1SG:A-REFL-hit-me  1SG:A-REFL-see-me
I hit myself  I saw myself

go-pen-tai-ð  
3SG:A-REFL-hit-him
He hit himself

**Other prefixes.** A number of other prefixes are listed in Capell's MS. However, further analysis shows that these forms are really verbs, which participate in one of three constructions — verb serialisation, clause chaining with identical subjects (the second clause taking the echo-subject prefix m-), or verb + nominalised verb as object. Each of these types will be discussed in detail in the appropriate sections below.
2.1.4. Structure and morphophonemics of prefixes

We have no information on the position of the reflexive prefix in the verb, apart from what is obvious from the examples in (37) – that it follows the person prefixes. The discussion which follows is thus restricted to the person markers (including the echo-subject marker m-), number prefixes, tense/aspect prefixes, and the negative prefix.

The basic structure of verbal prefixes seems to be:

(38)  subject + tense/aspect + number + negative

but there are a number of exceptions. We can first catalogue those tense/aspects which do follow this basic order:

General Past: subject + number + negative
Future: subject + number + negative
Mid Past: subject + m + number + negative
Past Conditional: subject + pe + number + negative

The remaining three tenses, however, show some variation. In particular, the number prefix l- (plural of first person) often appears in a different position from the number prefix u- (dual of first person, plural of non-first person).

Further, the present tense/aspect prefix occurs in a different position from the other tense/aspect prefixes. The structure of these tense/aspects is:

Present: subject + u + negative + am + l
Far Past: subject + m + u + em + l
Non-Past Conditional: subject + pe + u/l + negative + am + l

Note further that in the non-past conditional the plural marker for first person, l-, is repeated: it occurs once in the regular 'number' slot, and again following the non-past marker am-.

A considerable number of morphophonemic changes occur in verbs when prefixes are attached to verb roots; unfortunately, these have not been well enough studied for us to give a comprehensive account of their nature. The remarks below, therefore, must be considered as preliminary, and the morphophonemics of the verb is a subject that requires further study.7

(a) The vowel-insertion rules discussed in section 1.6. can be seen to operate in a number of cases in verbal forms; that is, certain consonant clusters containing a velar consonant require the insertion of epenthetic /o/, and other clusters require the insertion of epenthetic /e/. Examples (from Tables VI and VII):

(39)  Underlying | Surface
      ko-ml-tu-ogh-i  komletughi  we (inc.) didn't see (it)
g-tu-ogh-i       gotughi    he didn't see (it)
k-tu-am-agh-i    kotumaghi  you (sg.) don't see (it)

The /o/ inserted by this rule has a 'spreading' effect. It spreads back to the vowel of the first person singular prefix yag-, changing this to yog- either when the verb itself is o-initial, or when /o/ has been inserted by regular rule:
This spreading has a paradigmatic effect in the first person singular, such that verbs with initial /e/ change this to /o/, and this in turn affects the vowel of the prefix:

This in turn spreads through the paradigm, such that in the general past of eni eat, for example, the verb appears as oni in those forms where it is immediately preceded by a velar (and also in the third person plural):

(b) Vowel elision is common in the prefixes when two vowels come together. Specifically, the following changes take place:

i) verb-initial /e/ and the initial vowel of the prefixes am- 'present' and em- 'far past' are lost when preceded by the number-marker u- 'first person dual/non-first person plural' or the negative marker tu-; examples:

ii) The present prefix am- loses the initial vowel when immediately preceded by the conditional prefix pe- in the non-past conditional:

In other environments, pe- becomes p- before a vowel:
Other morphophonemic changes affect individual person- or tense/aspect-markers:

i) The third person singular and plural markers are lost before the conditional prefix pe-: cf. the past conditional poghi (sg.), pughi (pl.).

ii) The mid past marker m- is lost in the third person singular and plural; this extends to the far past, which is normally marked by mid past m- + em-; examples:

iii) The third person singular short pronoun y- appears as either yi- or i- before a consonant-initial root: thus underlying y-tai (from y- m-tai, 3SG:B-MP-hit) is either itai or yitai.

iv) The combination of /k/ + /l/ in kok-l (1:INC.-PL) and kak-l (1:EXC.-PL) tends to be avoided, by dropping the /k/. The resultant ko-l, ka-l forms are being reinterpreted as person-markers kol-, kal-, as an examination of the present negative will show.

2.1.5. Object and transitive suffixes

Sie has two transitive suffixes: -i and -qi (which since most verb roots are consonant-final, appears as -qi by the regular insertion of epenthetic /o/ before the velar consonant /q/). However, we do not have sufficient information to tell whether there is any semantic or syntactic difference between these two suffixes. Evidence from the few verbs which may be used both transitively and intransitively is inconclusive: ogol dig has a transitive ogl-i, while on the other hand amet fear and oruh wash have transitive forms amt-it-oqi and oru-oqi. Verbs like tavlavi grope and tami converse appear to have suffix -i, but they also occur with suffix -qi, as tavoqi grope after and tamiqi tell. This is one area where considerably more work needs to be done.

When the object of a verb is a noun, the transitive suffix appears on the verb:

(47) yag-am-aqkil-i etm-en
1SG:S-PRES-IRR:know-TR father-his
I know his father

yag-org-i nompgahi enoqik
1SG:A-hear-TR pig POSS:your:SG
I heard your (sg.) pig

g-amtit-oqi lui
3SG:A-fear-TR Lui
He was frightened of Lui
When the object is a pronoun, however, free/focal pronouns are not used; instead, special object forms are suffixed to the verb. The basic forms of these object suffixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(48)</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>-yau</td>
<td>-goh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>-yau</td>
<td>-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-or</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note therefore that the third person singular is marked by the transitive suffix, whereas the other persons are marked by individual suffixes; note also that the third person singular object form is $\theta$ after a verb ending in /i/.) Normal vowel epenthesis occurs before consonant-initial suffixes (thus /o/ is inserted before g-initial suffixes); in addition, /i/ is optionally inserted between a root-final consonant and -yau me. The paradigm below illustrates the use of these suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(49) Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-yau</td>
<td>gokilyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-g</td>
<td>gokillog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-i</td>
<td>gokili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-goh</td>
<td>gokilogoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-gam</td>
<td>gokilogam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-gum</td>
<td>gokilogum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-okil-or</td>
<td>gokilor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he knew me
he knew you (sg.)
he knew him
he knew us (inc.)
he knew us (exc.)
he knew you (pl.)
he knew them

When the verb root itself ends in /q/, g-initial suffixes become k-initial, and the second person suffix is dropped in favour of a form identical with the free form kik:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(50) Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-yau</td>
<td>goriqiyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-g</td>
<td>goriqik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-i</td>
<td>gorqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-goh</td>
<td>goriqkoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-gam</td>
<td>goriqkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-gum</td>
<td>goriqkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-oriq-or</td>
<td>goriqor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he heard me
he heard you (sg.)
he heard him
he heard us (inc.)
he heard us (exc.)
he heard you (pl.)
he heard them

When the verb ends in the transitive suffix -qi, further changes occur: the sequence $\eta + g$ becomes $\eta k$, as above, but in the first person singular and third person plural, the $\eta$ of the suffix becomes $g$ and, in addition, the third person plural suffix changes from -or to -od:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(51) Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-yau</td>
<td>gotalogoyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-g</td>
<td>gotalogik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-i</td>
<td>gotalogi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-goh</td>
<td>gotalogkoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-gam</td>
<td>gotalogkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-gum</td>
<td>gotalogkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-taloq-or</td>
<td>gotalogod</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he killed me
he killed you (sg.)
he killed him
he killed us (inc.)
he killed us (exc.)
he killed you (pl.)
he killed them
Occasionally, the termination -ogoyau is shortened to -oyau under conditions that are not very clear at present: e.g. gamitoyau he was afraid of me, from g-amtitog-yau, for expected **gamitogoyau.

Finally, Capell notes a suffix -amtoqi indicating action against something, giving the following examples:

(52) sompat to close
     etur to stand
sompatamtoqi to shut in, shut out
eturamtoqi to stand up against

2.1.6. Other suffixes

Other suffixes follow the pronoun object suffixes and, in general, follow the transitive suffixes as well. There are a number of groups of suffixes.

Perfective. The perfective suffix is -su, which is identical in form to the plural suffix to nouns (cf. section 3.1.1. below). Although most usually used with past tenses (and in particular the general past), it may be used also with the future, and with the present as a kind of stative. Examples:

(53) g-ogh-or-su
    y-eni-su
3SG:A-see-them-PF
3SG:B-eat-PF
He has seen them
He had eaten (it)

yag-agh-i-su penuri yag-agh-og
1SG:A-IRR:see-TR-PF before 1SG:A-IRR:see-you:SG
I will have seen him before I see you (sg.)

yag-am-agh-i-su
1SG:A-PRES-IRR:see-TR-PF
I have already seen it (i.e. I know where it is)

Directionals. Two directional suffixes, -sag upwards and -sep downwards, occur with verbs:

(54) vai take
     vai-sag take up
     vai-sep take down

An interrogative directional suffix -ya where? is also found:

(55) ki-m-ogh-or-ya?
    2SG:B-MF-see-them-where
Where did you (sg.) see them?

Locative relative. A suffix -wi is used with anaphoric locative reference:

(56) yag-am-agh-i-wi
    1SG:A-PRES-IRR:see-him-LOCREL
I see him there; ... where I see him

y-eti-wi retpo-n
3SG:B-burn-TR-LOCREL wife-his
He burned his wife there; ... where he burned his wife

Other suffixes. Two other suffixes appear in Capell's MS grammar. One of these, -lap, indicates temporary action: Capell gives as examples such forms as ovqi-lap (give-TMP) lend, ete-lap-wi (stay-TMP-INT) just stay a bit and ko-l-agh-i-lap (1EXC:A-PL-IRR:see-TR-TMP) let us (exc.) just see.
The other suffix, -go, has a force which "is a little more difficult to define. Its main use is separative, disjunctive" (Capell MSa:62). Capell's examples include ve-go (go-SEP) go off on one's own, velam-go (come-SEP) turn aside, and via-go (pass:away-SEP) pass away by itself.

2.1.7. Verb serialisation

Verb serialisation plays an important part in Sie, but again this is an aspect which is at present poorly understood. A number of forms identified in Capell's grammar as verbal prefixes are in fact verbs, and some of these occur in series with a following verb (as opposed to occurring with a following verb with its own prefixes in a different clause). In addition, a causative-like construction is also formed by verb serialisation.

The forms identified by Capell as prefixes but which, it appears, are verbs appearing as the first member of a serial construction, are ovum precede, tor (with allomorphs ror and gor) perform freely, morog temporarily assume a state, and vlu perform an action by coming and going. Some examples from Capell's MS grammar:

(57) g-ampum-ampelam y-ovum-tor-ogoh
He will come first He led us (inc.) first
k-w-tor-vai yi-morog-avan-lap
You (pl.) have received freely He advanced a little
ior d-u-m-vlu-senti iyi ra lou
they 3PL:B-PL-MP-come:and:go-escort him LOC ship
They escorted him to the ship

The causative construction uses a kind of verb serialisation, employing the verb vi make + pronoun object + verb. I have few examples of this construction, and Capell's examples tend to concentrate on the one verb 'save'. A description of the causative in Sie is complicated by a number of morphophonemic peculiarities:

1. Although the base of the first verb is vi, this form does not occur as a free form; the verb make in Sie is ompi (apparently the irrealis form of **vi), but ompi has its own irrealis form n-ompi.

2. The form of the causative verb changes depending on both the tense and the following pronoun. Capell's MS gives the following list of forms:
   evi- before yau me
   am- before all except -yau, in future
   om- before second person, first person non-singular, past tense
   ov- before third person, past tense

3. The third person pronouns have special forms -gor (sg.) and -goror (pl.) in this construction.

Using the verb eyowar save, the following examples can be given:

(58) g-am-evi-yau-eyowar yag-am-kik-eyowar
He saves me I will save you (sg.)

This construction needs further study.
2.2. Verb phrase structure

Given the extraordinary complexity of the verb itself, it will come as a relief to know that the verb phrase is very simple in structure: basically, most verb phrases consist of a verb alone, but the verb may be followed within the phrase by adjectives or other adverbial elements. Very few examples of verb phrases like these have actually been elicited, largely because so much information expressed in other languages by adverbials can be incorporated into the verb itself in Sie. Only one or two examples of verb + adjective/adverbial will be given here:

(59)  
yag-am-n-omp-i armai       g-omp-i ur  
1SG:S-PRES-IRR-do-TR good  3SG:A-do-TR bad  
I do it well                He did it badly

3. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE NOUN PHRASE

This section examines the structure of the noun phrase in Sie, and the morphological structure of elements which compose or appear in the noun phrase, including nouns themselves, pronouns, numerals, demonstratives, and adjectives. In addition, the grammar of possession and the structure of coordinate noun phrases will also be examined in this section.

3.1. Nouns

Over sixty percent of Sie nouns will be found in the accompanying vocabulary with initial \( n \). This \( n \) was historically an article (deriving from Proto-Oceanic *na) which, however, has become fused with the noun in Sie, as indeed it has in the other languages of Southern Vanuatu. Thus fusion, then, means that noun-initial \( n \) is no longer analysable as an article; and although there is evidence that noun-initial \( i \) and \( u \) may also have functioned as articles at some stage, these have also fused with the following noun. There are thus no articles in Sie.⁹

3.1.1. Pluralisation

Three forms of the plural are possible for most nouns: a collective plural suffix -su, an indefinite plural prefix ovn- (becoming ov- before noun-initial \( n \)), and a definite plural marked by both the prefix ovn- and the suffix -su. Examples:

(60)  
nur        (a) place  
nur-su     every place, all places, everywhere  
ovn-nur    places  
ovn-nur-su the places

Pluralising affixes are not used, however, when the plurality of the noun is marked in some other way in the noun phrase, as, for example, by a numeral:

(61)  
lov-lou     1ou duru  
PL-canoe    canoe two  
Canoes      Two canoes
Nouns which are kinship terms have a special plural formation, involving the suffixation of -me and the optional prefixation of r- (becoming re- before a consonant: see 1.6. above). Neither of us is aware of any semantic distinction carried by the presence or absence of r-. The examples below show noun roots with possessive pronominal suffixes (which are discussed in 3.6. below) and the plural affix:

(62) itm-ed their father  
itm-ed-me their fathers  
r-itm-ed-me their fathers  
vevn-uq my sister  
vevn-uq-me my sisters  
re-vevn-uq-me my sisters

The noun dinm- mother is exceptional in allowing only the suffix -me but not the prefix r-:

(63) dinm-ed their mother  
dinm-ed-me their mothers  
*re-dinm-ed-me

Although my own data suggest that the noun nit- child may not take this form of pluralisation at all, Capell's MS shows this noun used with suffix -me (though not with the prefix r-):

(64) nit-ni his son  
nit-ni-me his sons  
*re-nit-ni-me

Other personal nouns show a number of irregular plural formations, generally involving loss of the fused article n and the prefixing of ov- (not ovn-); examples:

(65) nete me man ovateme  
nahiven woman ovahiven  
nalau child ovalau  
nalalau young child ovalalau

3.1.2. Formation

A verb or adjective may be nominalised by prefixing n- (c.f. the discussion regarding noun-initial n above). Examples:

(66) avan to walk n-avan a walk, walking  
omurep to be alive n-omurep life

Instrumental nouns are formed by prefixing wor- to verbs:

(67) wor-ogh (INS-see) something for seeing, telescope  
wor-avan (INS-walk) shoes  
wor-tai (INS-hit) something for hitting  
wor-eiti (INS-tie) a bond

A possible change in progress is loss of initial /w/:

(68) or-ahuwo (INS-paddle) a paddle
A number of other nouns with initial or- have been recorded, but thus far no corresponding verb has been elicited: oretete broom, orisampwui comb, orsentu crutch, ortamprag pillow.

3.2. Pronouns

Two major pronoun types may be recognised in Si: personal and interrogative. Members of other word-classes (especially numerals and demonstratives) may often function pronominally, as the result of the deletion of the head noun of a noun phrase in a particular context, but these are specialised uses and will not be discussed here. This section concentrates on the pronouns proper.

3.2.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns occur in Si in a number of forms. Suffixes marking the person and number of the possessor will be discussed in section 3.6. below; prefixes marking (inter alia) person and number of the subject, and suffixes marking person and number of the object, were discussed in connection with other aspects of verbal morphology in section 2. We are thus concerned here with the free or 'focal' pronouns only.

The focal pronouns in Si may function as the sole constituent of a noun phrase subject, or a disjunctive noun phrase. As subject, they are optional, since person and number of the subject are also marked, obligatorily, by verbal prefixes. When they do occur in this position, they are emphatic, as the following examples illustrate:

(69)  
\[ \text{yog-ogh-i} \quad \text{yau yog-ogh-i} \]
I saw it  
I saw it, It was me who saw it

The focal pronouns in Si distinguish singular and plural numbers and, within the plural, distinguish inclusive and exclusive first person. The focal pronouns are:

(70)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>kik</td>
<td>kimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>iyi</td>
<td>iro or</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the languages of Tanna and Aneityum, no dual or trial pronoun forms occur. The plural pronouns may be followed by a numeral — e.g. koh duru we two (inc.), iro or dehel they three — but these forms are not distinct pronouns, merely pronoun followed by numeral in exactly the same way as their English translations.10

Like nouns, focal pronouns may take the collective plural suffix -su (though not the plural prefix ov-) . Compare kimi you (pl.) with kimi-su all of you.

There are no reflexive pronoun forms as such. Reflexive constructions are usually encoded (a) by the verbal prefix pen- (cf. 2.1.3. above) or (b) by using subject prefixes and object suffixes of the same person and number, as in:
A reflexive sense, probably emphatic, is also apparently conveyed by the use of the particle pe between repeated forms of the focal pronoun, as in yau pe yau I myself. Unfortunately, there are no clear examples of this usage in Capell's MS, and I did not encounter it in my own work.

3.2.2. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are me who? and se what?. The pronoun me functions, without any formal change, as subject, object, and possessive:

(72) me ə-gogh-o:go? k-ogh-i me?
who 3SG:A-see-us:INC 2SG:A-see-TR who
Who saw us (inc.)? Whom did you (sg.) see?
nimo en me?
house POSS who
Whose house?

Capell gives a form me-e-me for the plural of me, as well as forms wa-me (singular), wa-me-e-me (plural) meaning who of us?.

The interrogative se what? was apparently originally tie (or sie). Again, it is used in all grammatical contexts without formal change:

(73) se mah? se ə-g-am-n-o:mp-i?
what PREF what 3SG:A-PRES-IRR-do-TR
What is that? What is he doing?

No plural form is known. Capell gives a form mu(n)tie what else?, which would presumably be muse or munse if indeed it still occurs in the language.

3.3. Demonstratives

Capell's and my data disagree on the position of the demonstratives within the noun phrase, as will become clear below. There is also not complete agreement between us on the forms of the demonstratives. However, it seems safe to say that at least the following can be recognised:

(74) iyimo ə-imo this, near speaker
iyihi this, here, near speaker
mori nimpe this/that, near addressee
iyuwi that, at some distance
iyempe that, yonder
mah this/that, previously referred to, given information
mori this/that, previously referred to, given information

Examples:

(75) nimo iyimo ov-nimo iyimo
house this PL-house this
This house These houses
The demonstratives mah and mori produce a certain amount of confusion. Capell does not list mah, although he does give a form ima that which I think is the same form. On the other hand, I have only found mori used in the role of relative pronoun (cf. 6.1.2.), which is only one of the roles Capell assigns to it. Capell does not illustrate mori in its purely demonstrative use, so we cannot give examples of that form. Examples of mah from my own data are given below:

(76) nimo mah
house PREF
This house (i.e. the one you know I'm going to)

nete me mah
man PREF
That man (you know who I'm talking about)

se mah?
what PREF
What is that? What about it?

3.4. Numerals and quantifiers
3.4.1. Numerals

Sie possesses an imperfect decimal system, with the numerals 'seven' to 'nine' being formed by compounds on the base sukrim five, but with separate forms for 'six' and 'ten'. The basic numerals are:

(77) hai ∼ sai one mehkai six
duru two sukrim-duru seven
dehel three sukrim-dehel eight
dvat four sukrim-dvat nine
sukrim five narwolem ten

Numerals between 11 and 19 are formed with the linking particle tavoqi, which may be the verb tavoqi to groove for. Examples:

(78) narwolem-tavoqi-hai 11
narwolem-tavoqi-sukrim-dvat 19

Numerals above 20 are formed by narwolem + numeral, as narwolem duru for 20, narwolem dehel for 30, etc.

In addition to the form hai ∼ sai for one, two other forms should be noted: haimo is used for one only in counting; haiteven is one and only one.

The forms in (77) show what appears to be a prefix d- to the numerals two, three and four. This prefix also occurs on the interrogative quantifier deve ∼ dve how many/much?, and may well be historically related to the third person plural (Set B) verbal subject prefix.11

Apart from a special form ra novum first, the ordinals are formed by suffixing -oqi (probably the transitive suffix) to the cardinal forms, e.g.:
(79) dur-oqi  
    second (note vowel deletion)
    deheo-oqi  
    third
    dvat-oqi  
    fourth

A distributive suffix -go may be added to the cardinal numerals, and also to the interrogative deve:

(80) duru-go  
    two of each
    deve-go  
    how many of each?

3.4.2. Quantifiers

The interrogative quantifier deve how many/much?, with its alternative form deve, has already been mentioned in 3.4.1. above. Its use is illustrated below:

(81) talnevie deve k-am-agkil-i n-ogh-i?
    taro how:much 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR
    How much taro can you (sg.) see?
    deve lou?
    how:much canoe
    How many canoes?

Other quantifiers are:

(82) ovon  
     all
    omwisu  
     all
    tamah  
     many
    oroq-tou  
     many
    noqkon  
     some
    tawi-oroq veh  
     few
    ton-tamah  
     few
    tawi  
     no, none

3.5. Adjectives

Adjectives in Sie generally follow the noun they qualify (as in nimo virog (house small) a small house). Unlike other languages of Southern Vanuatu, where adjectives may take verbal prefixes or particles and, in some cases, are often difficult to distinguish from verbs, Sie adjectives form a distinct class, and may not take verbal affixes. There are, however, three aspects of the morphology of adjectives which require discussion.

Pluralisation of adjectives is optional in noun phrases, as such phrases as ov-nimo virog (PL-house small) small house have been recorded. An adjective may be pluralised, however, by

(a) the suffix -go, which reduces to -o after a root ending in o;
(b) the prefix ovn-, becoming ov- before n and o- before v;
(c) a combination of ovn- and -go.
Examples:

(83) | Singular | Plural |
--- | --- | --- |
| potgon | short | potgon-go, ovn-potgon, ovn-potgon-go |
| agumsu | black | agumsu-go, ovn-agumsu, ovn-agumsu-go |
| virog | small | virog-go, o-virog, o-virog-go |
| orog | big | orog-o, ovn-orog, ovn-orog-o |

One exception to these rules is the following:

(84) metetalam old | ovotetalam-go |

Examples:

(85) ov-nimo orog | big house |

We do not know what semantic difference there is, if any, between the various forms of the plural.

The second point which requires discussion is the prefix it-. We are unable to give a clear meaning for this prefix, which often occurs on adjectives both in citation forms and in text. The following examples, however, give some clues:

(86) virog | small |

| nom | quick |

| it-virog | younger child, father's brother |

| it-nom | speed |

This prefix is also found changing nouns into adjectives:

(87) natman | man |

| nahiven | woman |

| it-natman | male |

| it-nahiven | female |

Historically, this prefix it- seems to be related to the adjectival prefixes ir-, il- in Lenakel and South-west Tanna respectively. In those languages, the prefix serves an identificatory function, as in Lenakel owas old, ir-owas the old one; vi new, ir-vi the new one; etc. (cf. Lynch 1978b, 1982b). The problem in Sie appears to be that a number of adjectives have fused this prefix, such that the root no longer seems to occur freely; for example, we can identify the adjectives itvau new and itroŋko straight, but no corresponding forms *vau and *roŋko.

The third point concerns a prefix n-, probably the nominalising prefix (cf. 3.1.2. above). Most adjectives, or at least most vowel-initial adjectives, are given in citation form with initial n, and this n is sometimes retained when adjectives are used in noun phrases:

(88) kuri agumsu or kuri n-agumsu |

dog black |

| dog NOM?-black |

A black dog |

Comparison of adjectives uses the form momu more placed before the adjective, with the locative preposition ra (Ira- before a pronoun suffix) translating than:
A superlative sense is conveyed by placing the adverb *wocon* *only* or *idowi* *always* after *momu* + adjective; no data is at hand on the marking of the following prepositional phrase.

3.6. Possession

As in most languages of Oceania, the grammar of possession is not simple. The alienable/inalienable distinction, so common in Melanesia, is found also in Sie. Sie does not, however, show the same kind of complexity of alienable possessive structures as do other Oceanic languages, although the Sie system does show evidence of apparent dialect-mixture, or even of influence from the extinct Sorung. Like other Melanesian languages, Sie shows suffixation of pronominal forms directly to nouns in inalienable constructions, and suffixation of these pronominal forms to possessive morphemes in alienable constructions. Possession of nouns by nouns is handled somewhat differently, and it will be convenient to divide this treatment of possession into two sections, concerned respectively with pronoun and noun possessors. When the basic grammar of possession has been discussed, we will then examine the complex morphophonemic changes involved.

3.6.1. Pronominal possession

**Inalienable.** Inalienable possession of a noun by a pronoun requires the suffixation to the noun of special pronominal forms. These forms are:

\[(90)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-mam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are illustrated in the following possessive paradigm of the noun *noru* - *hand*:

\[(91)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>noru-nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>noru-ŋ</td>
<td>noru-mam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>noru-m</td>
<td>noru-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>noru-n</td>
<td>noru-d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alienable.** Alienable possession of a noun by a pronoun requires the suffixation of pronominal forms to a possessive morpheme, this compound following the noun. Unlike the other non-Polynesian languages of Southern Vanuatu, Sie does not distinguish between eating, drinking, and general alienable possessive subtypes.\(^{12}\) It does, however, show two distinct possessive morphemes which, as far as we are able to tell, are in free variation with each other, at least as far as pronominal possession is concerned. One is the form *hor* - (with an allomorph *ihe* - in the third person), which takes the suffixes in (90) above,
(with certain vowel additions when the suffix is a single consonant); the other is the morpheme en-, which takes suffixes which are closer in form to object suffixes to verbs. The forms of each are:

(92) | Singular | Plural |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>horug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>hormam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>horim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ihed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted above, these forms follow the possessed nouns in alienable possessive constructions; examples:

(93) nimo horug } my house | lou ihed } their canoe
nimo eniau

3.6.2. Nominal possession

Inalienable. When a noun is possessed inalienably by another noun, the possessed noun takes the third person pronominal suffix corresponding in number to the possessor noun; the order of elements is possessed + possessor. Examples:

(94) noru-n neteme | ov-noru-d ovateme
hand-his man | PL-hand-their PL:man
The man's hand | The men's hands

Alienable. Alienable possessive constructions also show the order possessed + possessor. In these constructions, however, the two nouns are linked by the possessive particle en. Examples:

(95) nimo en neteme | ovn-lou en ovateme
house POSS man | PL-canoe POSS PL:man
The man's house | The men's canoes

Neither Capell's nor my data show any particle corresponding to the horug or ihen forms of the pronominal possessive being used in nominal constructions in Sie.

3.6.3. Morphophonemics and irregularities

A number of morphophonemic changes take place when certain of the suffixes, which are consonant-initial, are attached to noun or possessive-morpheme roots which are consonant-final. This section deals with those changes, and also with certain other irregularities in possessive forms in Sie.

Regular morphophonemic changes. There are a number of regular morphophonemic changes which take place in the context of the suffixation of pronominal forms to nominal or possessive bases. These are detailed below.

(a) Regular vowel insertion.

In section 1.6. above, we noted that there is a regular vowel-insertion rule in Sie by which /e/ (or /o/ if one of the consonants is a velar) is inserted between two members of an unacceptable consonant cluster. Two such unacceptable clusters in Sie are final CC and final Cnt; in each case, a vowel must be inserted after the first C of the cluster. Thus possessive suffixes like
-ŋ '1SG', -m '2SG', -n '3SG', -nt '1INC:PL', and -d '3PL' would require that such a vowel be inserted after a consonant-final root. In the case of the last three of the suffixes mentioned above, this is what in fact happens:

(96) Underlying | Surface  
|---------------|--------  
| etm-n          | etmen   | his father  
| dimm-d         | dimmed  | their mother 
| nelam-nt       | neluament | our (inc.) tongues  

The suffixes -ŋ '1SG' and -m '2SG', however, do not behave regularly as far as this vowel insertion is concerned. The normal expectation would be for /e/ to be inserted before -m and for /o/ to be inserted before the velar -ŋ. In fact, the vowels so inserted are /u/ before -ŋ and /o/ before -m. Examples:

(97) Underlying | Surface  
|---------------|--------  
| vevn-          | vevnuq  | my sister  
| nit-           | nituq   | my child   
| nimt-          | nimtuq  | my eye     
| vevn-m         | vevnom  | your (sg.) sister 
| nit-m          | nitom   | your (sg.) child  
| nimt-m         | nimtom  | your (sg.) eye 

(b) /n/-final roots

Roots which end in /n/ lose this /n/ before any suffix which begins either with /n/ or a prenasalised stop (with initial phonetic [n]—i.e. before -n '3SG', -nt '1INC:PL', and -d '3PL'. The examples below show the first and second persons singular as 'control' forms, and then the affected forms.

(98) Underlying | Surface  
|---------------|--------  
| vevn-ŋ         | vevnuq  | my sister  
| vevn-m         | vevnom  | your (sg.) sister 
| vevn-n         | vevn    | his sister 
| vevn-nt        | vevent  | our (inc.) sister 
| vevn-d         | veved   | their sister 
| man-ŋ          | manuq   | my brother 
| man-m          | manom   | your (sg.) brother  
| man-n          | man     | her brother 
| man-nt         | mant    | our (inc.) brother  
| man-d          | mad     | their brother 

(c) /v/-final roots

Roots which end in /v/ change this /v/ to /p/ before any suffix which begins with /m/—i.e. before -m '2SG', -mam '1EXC:PL', and -mi '2PL'. In this environment, the second person singular suffix -m has an allomorph -mu. Examples are given below, with the first and third singular forms as 'controls'.

(99) Underlying | Surface  
|---------------|--------  
| nogv-ŋ         | nogvuq  | my hand   
| nogv-n         | nogven  | his hand 
| nogv-m         | nogopmu | your (sg.) hand  
| nogv-mam       | nogopmam | our (exc.) hands  
| nogv-mi        | nogopmi | your (pl.) hands
Underlying | Surface  |  
|------------|---------|  
| av-ŋ-hai   | avughai | my brother  
| av-n-hai   | avenhai | his brother  
| av-m-hai   | apmuhai | your (sg.) brother  
| av-mam-hai | apmamhai | our (exc.) brother  
| av-mi-hai  | apmihai | their brother  

(d) /m/-final roots  
Roots which end in /m/ lose this /m/ before a suffix beginning with /m/.  
Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| etm-d      | etmed   | their father  
| etm-m      | etom    | your (sg.) father  
| etm-mam    | etmam   | our (exc.) father  
| etm-mi     | etmi    | your (pl.) father  
| dinm-d     | dinmed  | their mother  
| dinm-m     | dinom   | your (sg.) mother  
| dinm-mam   | dinmam  | our (exc.) mother  
| dinm-mi    | dinmi   | your (pl.) mother  

(e) /t/-final roots  
Two noun roots, whose underlying forms are nit- child and nɪmt- eye, show a number of irregularities, and the full paradigms are quoted here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nit- child</td>
<td>nɪmt- eye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1 sg.      | nituŋ    | nɪmtuŋ  
| 2 sg.      | nitom    | nɪmtom  
| 3 sg.      | nitnิ    | nɪpni   
| 1 inc.pl.  | nitnìnt | nɪmìnt  
| 1 exc.pl.  | nitnomam | nɪmtomam  
| 2 pl.      | nitnì   | nɪmtomì + nɪmetmı  
| 3 pl.      | nitnìd  | nɪmìd  

These forms show a number of irregularities, but one area of consistency is the third person singular allomorph -nī. Thus nit- + -n > nitnì, and nɪmt- + -n probably went first to **nɪmtnì, with later assimilatory and other changes giving nɪpni.

Irregularities. Certain irregularities were alluded to immediately above, in the paradigms for nit- child and nɪmt- eye: in both forms, note particularly the intrusive /o/ (for expected /e/) in the first exclusive plural; with nit-, there is an intrusive /n/ in all plural forms except the second person; with nɪmt-, there is loss of /t/ in the first inclusive and third persons, and variable forms for the second person plural. Some other irregularities are:

a) The forms etm- father and dinm- mother show irregular vocative-like forms for the first person singular possessed form. Instead of the expected **etmuŋ and **dinmuŋ, the forms nate my father and namou my mother are used, not only as address terms, but also as reference terms.

b) The noun dinm- mother shows an irregular third person singular form dinme (for expected **dinmen).

c) The noun mogop- grandchild shows an irregular second person singular form mogum (for expected **mogopom, or perhaps **mogopmu).
d) The noun 'tongue' shows apparent morphological conditioning of the root. The forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>neluapmug</td>
<td>neluament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>neluapmug</td>
<td>neluapmam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>neluapmu</td>
<td>neluapmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>neluamen</td>
<td>neluamed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third singular, first inclusive, and third plural forms suggest a root neluam-. The two second person forms and the first inclusive form would be consistent with roots of the form neluap-, neluapm-, or neluam-. The first singular form suggests a root neluapm-.

Full paradigms are not available for a great number of nouns. The number of irregular forms may indeed be greater than given here, and other morphophonemic processes may also be operating. Again, further research is necessary in this area of Sie grammar.

3.7. Noun phrase structure

A number of statements regarding the structure of the noun phrase have already been made in connection with the various word classes discussed above, and quite a few examples of noun phrases of various types have already been given. This section discusses in more detail the structure of the noun phrase in Sie.

As was mentioned in connection with the discussion on demonstratives above (section 3.3.), Capell's and my data disagree on the position of the demonstratives within the noun phrase: Capell states that the demonstratives usually precede the noun they qualify, whereas my data show demonstratives following the noun. Thus Capell has phrases like imo neteme (this man), ima nei (that tree), whereas I have phrases like neteme imo (man that), nei mah (tree that), that tree. Since I am using examples largely from my own data in this sketch, I will follow the analysis I have proposed; the reader should, however, be aware of the conflict involved.

Generally, the head noun of the noun phrase is the first element in the phrase, with demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, and possessives following the noun. There are, however, a few cases of such items preceding the head noun of a noun phrase. These are:

(a) hai, the numeral one, which is also used to mark indefiniteness, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(103)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai neteme go-velam</td>
<td>one man 3SG:A-come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A man came</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) deve (or dve), the interrogative quantifier how much?, how many? may optionally precede the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(104)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deve lou k-am-aqkil-i n-ogh-i?</td>
<td>how:many canoe 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How many canoes can you (sg.) see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lou deve k-am-aqkil-i n-ogh-i?</td>
<td>canoe how:many 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How many canoes can you (sg.) see?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With these exceptions, the non-nominal components of noun phrases follow the head noun of the phrase.

Data regarding lengthy noun phrases in Sie are limited. It is, I believe, a fairly general feature of Oceanic languages that noun phrases normally do not contain more than a couple of adjectives and other nominal modifiers, and this is certainly the case in Sie. Where there is more than one modifier in a phrase, the available data suggest that there is no strict ordering relationship: in the first example below, we see the order noun + adjective + demonstrative, but the second has noun + demonstrative + adjective:

(105)  
yag-am-agkil-i n-ogh-i ovateme o-virog yempe  
1SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR PL:man PL-small that  
I can see those two small men

yau-m-etr-i nimo imo virog  
1SG:B-MP-build-TR house this small  
I built this small house

I am not clear whether the order is merely free, or whether there is semantic significance in the relative position of adjective and demonstrative.

Numerals and possessives generally follow demonstratives and adjectives in the noun phrase, with possessives usually at the end of the phrase:

(106)  
yau-m-etr-i nimo imo virog duru  
1SG:B-MP-build-TR house this small two  
I built these two small houses

nompgahi virog duru eniau  
pig small two POSS:my  
My two small pigs

While both examples in (106) are grammatical, they are not common construction-types: the clustering of a number of postnominal elements within a single noun phrase tends to be avoided, as we mentioned earlier. The most common way of avoiding this clustering is to affix the identificatory prefix it- to the adjective, and to move this constituent outside the noun phrase as another noun phrase in apposition with the first. Thus the examples in (107) would be more acceptable and natural than those in (106):

(107)  
yau-m-etr-i nimo imo duru it-virog  
1SG:B-MP-build-TR house this two ID-small  
I built these two houses, the small ones

nompgahi duru eniau it-virog  
pig two POSS:my ID-small  
My two pigs, the small ones

In context, noun phrases may occur without a head noun or pronoun, and in such cases numerals, quantifiers, possessives, or demonstratives may function as the head of a noun phrase. Examples:

(108)  
yog-ogh-i noqkon  
1SG:A-see-TR some  
I saw some

ovo-yau duru!  
give-me two  
Give (sg.) me two!
4. OTHER PHRASES

This section examines other kinds of phrases which may appear in Sie clauses — locative phrases, temporal phrases, and so on. Since many of these phrases are noun phrases introduced by prepositions, we begin this section with an examination of the morphology of the Sie prepositions.

4.1. Prepositions

On the basis of their behaviour with a following pronoun, Sie prepositions fall into three morphological classes: those which take a possessive suffix, those which take an objective pronominal suffix, and those which take no suffix.

4.1.1. Prepositions taking possessive suffixes

A number of Sie prepositions take pronominal possessive suffixes when the noun phrase which follows consists of a pronoun. These prepositions are listed below:

(109)      ra, ira-      locative, causative
           nisgo-      benefactive
           nimi-      benefactive
           netriho-   behind (a long way)
           nogori-   near, between

The last four forms take the appropriate possessive suffix when the goal is a pronoun, and take a third person possessive suffix of the appropriate number when the goal is a noun phrase. Examples:

(110)  ompi nisgo-nt      armai nimi-s-n-eni
       do BENF-our:INC      good BENF-its NOM-eat
       Do it for us (inc.)   Good for eating

       netriho-n nimo      nogori-n iyi
       far:behind-its house  near-his he
       A long way behind the house Near him

The remaining preposition in this group occurs as ra (rai with some speakers) before non-pronouns:

(111)  go-va i ra nimo      yag-ampe rai stoa
       3SG:A-take LOC house 1SG:A-IRR:go LOC store
       He took it from the house I'll go to the store

With a following pronoun, however, the form of the preposition to which possessive suffixes are attached is ira-:

(112)  mampum ira-n      yag-ampe ira-n
       front LOC-my      1SG:A-IRR:go LOC-his/its
       In front of me     I'll go to it/him
4.1.2. Prepositions taking object suffixes

Three prepositions take objective pronominal suffixes when their goal is a pronoun:

(113)  
qi, oqi  
towni  
pog

instrumental  
privative (animate)  
dative

The forms used with noun phrase goals are qi, towoni, and pog or pog respectively:

(114)  
yag-am-adv-i nei qi nake
1SG:A-PRES-IRR:cut-TR tree INS axe
I am cutting the tree with an axe

go-vai towoni etm-en
3SG:A-take PRIV father-his
He took it from his father

When the goal of these prepositions is a pronoun, however, they take object suffixes. The actual forms are:

(115)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Privative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>wogoyau</td>
<td>towoniyaup</td>
<td>pogau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>wogkik</td>
<td>tommog</td>
<td>pogog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>oqi</td>
<td>towoni</td>
<td>pog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.pl.</td>
<td>wogkikoh</td>
<td>towonogoh</td>
<td>pogkoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.pl.</td>
<td>wogkm</td>
<td>towonogam</td>
<td>pogkm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>wogkm</td>
<td>towonogum</td>
<td>pogkm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>wonor</td>
<td>tommor</td>
<td>ponor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

(116)  
y-em-tai-yau qi telingomti mori y-em-tai av-en-hai oqi
3SG:B-FF-hit-me INS club REL 3SG:B-FF-hit his:brother INS:it
He hit me with the club he hit his brother with

g-ampai tommog                    enwi pogkam
He will take it from you (sg.)  Tell us

Capell also gives marogi from, but this is probably a verb.

4.1.3. Prepositions without suffixes

Other prepositions apparently either cannot govern a pronominal goal or, if they do, do not take a pronominal suffix. These are:

(117)  
ilat                    outside
unisoq                   inside
du, dal                   comitative
potpot                   near
isut                     far from
hoqkuse                  like, as
taqkau                    opposite
Examples:

\[(118)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near house</td>
<td>unisoq nimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near the house</td>
<td>inside house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potpot kik</td>
<td>du yau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near you:SG</td>
<td>COM I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near you (sg.)</td>
<td>With me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hogkuse veven</td>
<td>like sister:his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like his sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. Locative phrases

Locative phrases are of two basic structural types: those which are introduced by a preposition, and those which are unmarked. We will examine the latter type first.

4.2.1. Locational noun phrases

Locative phrases which occur without an introductory preposition are noun phrases of a special type: they contain as the head noun either the name of a place or a locational noun such as igko here. Examples:

\[(119)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG:B-come here</td>
<td>yi-velam igko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He came here</td>
<td>yi-ve empag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He went south</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will go to Vila</td>
<td>yag-ampempe vila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1SG:A-IRR:go Vila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locational nouns may be divided for convenience into a number of groups. First, there are the demonstrative locatives:

\[(120)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>igko, iyih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just there</td>
<td>nimpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (nearby)</td>
<td>iyuwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over there</td>
<td>ilampe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (away)</td>
<td>iyempe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>mayu, mayuwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>empelamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where?</td>
<td>iya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names for compass points also function as locational nouns:

\[(121)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>north(wards)</td>
<td>empatape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>south(wards)</td>
<td>empag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west(wards)</td>
<td>unelogompne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east(wards)</td>
<td>unug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of locationals with an apparent prefix u-:
and others with an apparent prefix ra- or rat-, which may be the locative preposition:

Other locational nouns, which do not fit into any of the groups given above, include:

We could also note here a place-name prefix pot-. A number of these names are listed in Tryon and Gély (1979); we might instance here Potnarvin (cf. narvin sand), Potlusi, Potnuma, and Potnumla.

4.2.2. Preposition + noun phrase

Other locative phrases are introduced by prepositions, as some of the examples in section 4.1. above showed. The most common of these prepositions is ra/rai/ira-, which has both locative and directional force (depending on the semantics of the verb of the clause):

(125) neteme yi-ve ra lou du yau
man 3SG:B-go LOC canoe COM I
The man went in a canoe with me
nate g-am-ade ra denug
my:father 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:stay LOC garden
My father is (staying) in the garden
yag-am-ame ra nimo
1SG:A-PRES-IRR:go LOC house
I am going home
yi-vai ra nimo
3SG:B-take LOC house
He took it from the house
In addition, ra is used with a wide range of nouns to form what have been called in other Oceanic languages 'compound prepositions' – forms translating such English prepositions as 'under', 'above', 'beside', and so on. Morphologically, such compounds are of two types: ra + noun, and noun + ra. The former type is exemplified by the following:

(126) ra nta-  
     ra noqu-  
     ra nompu-  
     ra netgo-  
     ra mompo-  

behind  
in front of  
on top of  
under(neath)  
under(neath)  

For example:

(127) g-ote ra nta-ŋ  
     iyı ra nompu-n nimo  
     3SG:A-stand LOC back-my  
     he LOC top-its house  
     He stood behind me  
     He is on top of the house  

The other type, noun + ra, includes a number of unsuffixable prepositions which optionally take a following ra, as well as some other nouns:

(128) potpot (ra)  
     isut (ra)  
     mampum (ra)  

near  
far from  
in front of  

For example:

(129) tog isut (ra) nimo  
     sea far (LOC) house  
     The sea is a long way from the house  
     iyı potpot iau or iyı potpot ira-ŋ  
     he near me or he near LOC-my  
     He is near me  

Other prepositions with a locative function are netriho- (+ possessive) a long way behind, ilat outside, unisog inside, nogori- (+ possessive) near between, and taqkau opposite.

4.3. Temporal phrases

Temporal phrases are not marked by prepositions – at least, this seems true from the available data. A temporal phrase consists either of a temporal noun, or of a noun (with time reference) + modifiers. Examples of temporal nouns are:

(130) nigoi  
     marima  
     marima-go  
     ire  
     mran  
     ninu  
     etuai  
     itetuai  

when  
now  
immediately  
today  
tomorrow  
yesterday  
a short time ago  
long ago  

ra tawi-tantop  
mitnoq  
ratunemis  
penuri  
yetunemis  
ratemran  
idowi  

soon  
early  
early  
late, after  
at midnight  
on the next day  
always  

Days beyond tomorrow and yesterday are expressed by identical roots but different prefixes, we- or wi- for the future and no- for the past:
(131) we-meh        day after tomorrow
    no-meh        day before yesterday
    wi-na        in three days' time
    no-na        three days ago
    wi-mpe        in four days' time
    no-mpe        four days ago
    wi-sas        in five days' time
    no-sas        five days ago

The same form, nementoŋ, is used with both past and future reference: six days ago or in six days' time. The days of the week are also temporal nouns. The first two are direct borrowings from Bislama, but the others are native compounds:

(132) mode          Monday
    tuste         Tuesday
    semsimah      Wednesday
    dan dvat      Thursday (= day four)
    dan sukrim    Friday (= day five)
    dan eworum    Saturday
    dan mido      Sunday

Examples of temporal phrases of both types are given in the following sentences:

(133) kak-l-ampelam tawi-tantop        nígɔi  ngaŋ-og?
    We (exc.pl.) will come soon          When will he see you (sg.)?
    g-oghi nate pumrog                  g-ampelam nevi hai
    3SG:A-see-TR my:father night         3SG:A-IRR:come year one
    He saw my father at night            He will come next year

4.4. Other phrases

The structure and marking of a number of other phrase types will be briefly examined here.

4.4.1. Dative phrases

Dative phrases are normally marked by the preposition poŋi:

(134) yag-am-n-am poŋ av-uŋ
    1SG:A-PRES-IRR-talk DAT friend-my
    I am talking to my friend
    owi poyau
    leave DAT:me
    Leave it for me

The verb ovoŋi give, however, which appears morphologically related to the preposition poŋi, does not use a preposition to mark the dative:
The preposition towoni introduces a privative phrase, which may be considered as a kind of dative phrase. Examples:

136) go-vai tommog  
3SG:A-take PRIV:you:SG  
He took it from you (sg.)

yag-ampai towoni dinme  
1SG:A-IRR:take PRIV mother:his  
I will take it from his mother

4.4.2. Instrumental phrases

Instrumental phrases are introduced by the preposition qi (ogi with third singular pronoun object):

137) yog-orvi-su nei qi nake enoqik  
1SG:A-cut-PF tree INS axe POSS:your:SG  
I cut down the tree with your (sg.) axe

yog-oruw-ogi noru-q ogi  
1SG:A-wash-TR hand-my INS:it  
I washed my hands with it

4.4.3. Causative phrases

Causative phrases are introduced by the preposition ra:

138) g-am-n-amarat ra nomu  
3SG:A-PRES-IRR-sick CAUS fish  
He is sick because of the fish (which he ate)

4.4.4. Benefactive phrases

Benefactive phrases are introduced by one of two prepositions, nisgo- or nimsi-, both of which take possessive pronominal suffixes. The difference between the two forms is not clear. Both may be used with a human goal, as in (139):

139) yi-tai lou nisgo-m  
3SG:B-make canoe BENF-your:SG  
He made a canoe for you (sg.)

y-ompi nisgo-n neteme  
3SG:B-do BENF-his man  
He did it for the man

armai nimsi-m  
good BENF-your:SG  
It's good for you (sg.)

Only nimsi-, however, seems to be used with a non-human goal:

140) armai nimsi-n n-eni  
good BENF-its NOM-eat  
It's good for eating

*armai nisgo-n n-eni  
good BENF-its NOM-eat

Further investigation is needed to establish the nature of the semantic difference between these two forms.
4.4.5. Comitative phrases

Comitative phrases are introduced by the preposition du:

(141) yi-ve ra lou du yau  
3SG:B-go LOC canoe COM me  
He went in a canoe with me

Capell's MS states that du occurs only with singular goals, and that dal is used with non-singular goals, and may also be used with singular goals as well:

(142) d-u-m-ve dal iyi potnarvin  
3PL:B-PL-FP-go COM him Potnarvin  
They went with him to Potnarvin

However, the form du was the only one which I elicited, and this area requires further checking.

4.4.6. Similative phrases

Similative phrases are introduced by hoŋkuse as, like:

(143) naŋku k-em-anpe iywi k-agh-i nvat g-am-antur hoŋkuse nete me  
if 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:go there 2SG:A-IRR:see-TR stone 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:  
stand like person

If you (sg.) go there, you will see a stone standing like a person.

4.5. Intensive enclitics

Brief mention should be made here of a number of intensive enclitics, which may be added to any kind of phrase (although they usually occur on noun or verb phrases). The enclitics identified are:

(144) -wi general intensive  
-veh meliorative intensive  
-sag meliorative intensive, augmentative  
-idi pejorative intensive  
-sat pejorative intensive

Some examples:

(145) n-omurep life n-omurep-wi true life  
orog power orog-veh majesty  
azor call out asor-sag shout aloud  
neteme man netem-idi bad man  
elasivian to wantelasivian-sat to lust

5. CLAUSES

With the exception of serial verbs as briefly discussed in section 2.1.7., clauses in Sie contain no more than one verb. Two general types of clauses are discussed in this section: verbless clauses are examined in section 5.1., and verbal clauses in 5.2.
5.1. Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses usually contain two phrases. Most commonly, the first of these is a noun phrase acting as topic, and the second is a phrase acting as comment. The comment phrase may be an adjective, a possessive, a locative phrase, a temporal phrase, or another noun phrase; other kinds of phrases occur rarely in this position. Some examples are given below, with phrase-boundaries marked by slashes:

5.1.1. Examples of verbless clauses

(146) nimo imo / viro\n       house this / small
This house is small, whose house is it?

yomug / potpot telqo-n\nmosquito / near ear-his
There is a mosquito near his ear, he is here.

lui / ra denug\nLui / LOC garden
Lui is in the garden, n-evip / ninu
NOM-rain / yesterday
There was rain yesterday.

what / that
What is that?

When the comment is a temporal phrase, the order comment + topic is at least as common as topic + comment:

5.1.2. Examples of verbless clauses with temporal comment

(147) ninu / tawi n-evip\nyesterday / no NOM-rain
Yesterday there was no rain.

Similarly, when the locative phrase is an interrogative locative, this generally precedes rather than follows the topic NP:

(148) iya / iyi?\nwhere / he
Where is he?

5.2. Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses are, however, much more common in Sie. In this section we first examine the basic intransitive and transitive clause types, and then discuss expanded clauses.

5.2.1. Basic intransitive clauses

The basic intransitive clause has the structure Subject + Verb. Where the subject is a pronoun, or a noun phrase which has appeared in an earlier part of the discourse, it may be omitted, since the person and number of the subject are marked by prefixes to the verb. Indeed, in this context, a subject is normally present only when the speaker wishes to place strong emphasis on it, as in

(149) yau yogo-velam\nyau yogo-velam\nyau yogo-velam
I 1SG:A-come
I came; It was me who came
Some examples of basic intransitive clauses are given in (150) below:

(150)  
narai y-a-gan  
Narai 3SG:B-angry  
Narai was angry  
yoyo-tu-ampe  
I won't go  

5.2.2. Basic transitive clauses

The basic transitive clause has the structure Subject + Verb + Object. As we saw in 5.2.1., when the subject is a pronoun or a noun phrase which has already been mentioned, it may be deleted, and usually is. Similarly, when the object is a pronoun, it appears as a suffix to the verb and not as a free noun phrase; and when the object is a noun phrase which has already been mentioned, it may be omitted, though the transitive suffix remains. Thus the simplest form of the basic transitive clause is, simply, a verb.

Some examples of basic transitive clauses are given below in (151):

(151)  
etm-en yi-tai lou  
father-his 3SG:B-make canoe
His father made a canoe  
narai y-etni retpo-n  
Narai 3SG:B-burn wife-his  
Narai burned his wife  
yag-am-n-eni nup  
1SG:A-PRES-IRR-eat yam
I am eating yam  
go-vai naif eniau  
3SG:A-take knife POSS:my  
He took my knife  
neteme mah g-am-agkil-og  
man that 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-you:SG  
That man knows you  
g-ogh-or  
3SG:A-see-them  
He saw them  

5.2.3. Expansions

Basic intransitive and transitive clauses are expanded by the addition of other types of phrases (cf. section 4). The most general statement that can be made is that other phrases follow the verb in an intransitive clause and the overt object in a transitive clause. Exceptions to this general statement will be discussed later. The data we have available are insufficient to decide whether there is any rigid ordering of the phrases which follow the verb or
object; my experience with other Southern Vanuatu languages suggests that the ordering of these phrases is probably not all that significant. Some examples of expanded clauses are given below:

(152)  
yag-am-n-eni nup marima  
1SG:A-PRES-IRR-eat yam now  
I am eating yam now

nahiven go-tu-ve vila  
woman 3SG:A-NEG-go Vila  
The woman didn’t go to Vila

d-u-m-n-am poq av-uŋ  
3PL:B-PL-PRES-IRR-talk DAT friend-my  
They are talking to my friend

go-ve ra sto a nü su  
3SG:A-go LOC store yesterday  
He went to the store yesterday

nalau g-am-adu-oqi noru-n qi sop  
child 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:wash-TR hand-his INS soap  
The child washes his hands with soap

nete me mah yi-tai sau nisgo-n av-uŋ-hai  
man PREF 3SG:B-make spear BENF-his brother:my  
That man made a spear for my brother

The unmarked dative with verbs like ovoŋ give was discussed above in section 4.4.1. The question of the order of phrases is irrelevant if the dative phrase is a pronoun, since the dative is marked by object suffixes to the verb and the direct object occurs as a separate noun phrase:

(153)  
g-ovo-yau naif ninu  
3SG:A-give-me knife yesterday  
He gave me a knife yesterday

When the dative phrase is a noun phrase, however, both direct object + dative and dative + direct object orders are possible:

(154)  
g-ovo-oqi nvaŋ hai neteme  
yag-ampo-qi simeon nompgahi dehe  
3SG:A-give-TR food one man  
1SG:A-IRR:give-TR Simeon pig three  
He gave a man food  
I will give Simeon three pigs

Presumably, it is the animacy hierarchy, and not the position in the clause, which determines which of two unmarked postverbal noun phrases is the direct object and which is the indirect object.

In general, then, the structure of a Sie verbal clause is (Subject) + Verb + (Object) + (other phrases). Apart from the variations discussed above, there are two other exceptions to this general rule. One involves the fronting of certain interrogative elements, and is best left to the discussion on questions in section 6.2.3. below. The other involves temporal phrases which in Sie, as in perhaps most of the world’s languages, are highly mobile. In particular, although other phrases are generally restricted to post-verbal position, temporal phrases may often occur sentence-initially as well:
6. SENTENCES

Sie sentences consist of one or more clauses. In this section, we first examine expanded noun phrases, some of which contain an overt embedded clause, and others of which consist of conjoined noun phrases. We then move in section 6.2. to an examination of sentence-types, using simple (one-clause) sentences as basic illustrative data. Section 6.3. looks at complex multi-clause sentences of various kinds, while the final section briefly examines sentence-introducers and other, mainly discourse-level, phenomena.

6.1. Noun phrase expansions

6.1.1. Conjoined noun phrases

Conjunction of noun phrases is of two types: coordination and alternation. Coordinate noun phrases are joined by m:

(156) narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo
Narai and Numpwat 3PL:B-PL-come:out Unwo
Narai and Numpwat come out (of the ground) at Unwo

yog-oni nup m tal
1SG:A-eat yam and taro
I ate yam and taro

Alternative noun phrases are joined by ku:

(157) k-ogh-i tom ku lui?
2SG:A-see-TR Tom or Lui
Did you see Tom or Lui?

netene mah g-oni nup ku tal?
man that 3SG:A-eat yam or taro
Did that man eat yam or taro?

6.1.2. Relativisation

The relative clause introducer in Sie is mori. As far as our data show, mori occurs initially in the relative clause immediately following the antecedent, and the position remains constant whether mori is the subject or the object of the verb in the relative clause:

(158) k-em-agkil-i netene mori g-am-n-amarat?
Do you (sg.) know that man who is sick?

yogo-sevasi talnevie mori yau-m-owi
1SG:A-sell taro REL 1SG:B-MP-plant
I sold the taro which I planted
6.2. Sentence-types

In this section we briefly examine the various sentence-types in Sie: statements, commands, questions, and what for want of a better term we might call subjunctive sentences. Wherever possible we have restricted the examples of each sentence-type to single-clause sentences, to allow for ease in interpretation; however, essentially the same remarks apply to multi-clause sentences.

6.2.1. Statements

Statements in Sie (as in most languages) form the unmarked class of sentences: there are no distinguishing features which mark a sentence as a statement, and most of the sentences used so far in this sketch as examples are statements. A few more examples:

(159)  
yag-ampè unisog nimo  
1SG:A-IRR:go inside house  
I'll go inside the house  

namou go-velam-su  
my:mother 3SG:A-come-PF  
My mother has come  

go-tai nompgha eniau  
3SG:A-kill pig POSS:my  
He killed my pig  

6.2.2. Commands

Imperative sentences differ little from statements. The major differences are (a) absence of overt subject (although a vocative introduction to the sentences is possible), and (b) the absence of person or tense/aspect prefixes to the verb. The verb in a command may, however, take negative and number prefixes and, as far as we can tell, may also take the full range of suffixes. Some examples:

(160)  
velam  
Come  
Come (sg.)!  
etu-am ponor  
NEG-talk DAT:them  
Don't (sg.) talk to them!  
u-tu-ovoq-i ovatene mah nompgha enoqkoh  
PL-NEG-give-TR PL:man that pig POSS:our:INC  
Don't (pl.) give those people our pigs!  
u-ogh-or (becoming ughor by morpho-phonemic rules)  
PL-see-them  
Look (pl.) at them!

6.2.3. Questions

Two general types of questions can be identified in Sie: those which use interrogative words, and ask for specific information, and those which ask for confirmation or denial.

Information questions use one of a number of interrogative morphemes, the most common of which are listed below:
Certain of these forms show a tendency to violate the regular word order of clauses and phrases found, for example, in statements. Thus normal word order in a clause is Subject + Verb + Object + other phrases, and normal word order in a noun phrase is Noun + modifiers. However, se what?, nigoi when?, iya where?, ra se or ra se mah why?, and nimsi-n se why? show a preference for sentence-initial position (though this is by no means a hard-and-fast rule), while deve how much/many? has also been shown to occur either before or after the noun (section 3.7. above).

Leaving aside for the moment the two forms iya and -ya where?, the examples in (162) illustrate some of the other Sie interrogatives:

(162) mei go-velam? who 3SG:A-come
k-ogh-i mei? 2SG:A-see-TR who
Who came? Whom did you (sg.) see?

se k-oni? nigoi g-ampe eromaga?
What did you (sg.) eat? When will he go to Erromango?

nigoi ko-velam? neteme iogo g-omp i mah?
when 2SG:A-come man which 3SG:A-do that
When did you (sg.) come? Which man did that?

ra se mah g-am-n-omp i?
CAUS what that 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:do
Why is he doing it?

d-u-tai nompgahi deve? (or deve nompgahi)
3PL:B-PL-kill pig how:many
How many pigs did they kill?

nimsi-n se k-oni nup enia u?
BENF-its what 2SG-eat yam POSS:my
Why did you (sg.) eat my yam?

The forms iya and -ya are both used in locative questions, the former as a locational noun and the latter as a verbal suffix. The locational noun iya has a preference for sentence-initial position. A locative interrogative sentence may contain either or both of iya and -ya, as the following illustrate:

(163) iya k-agh-or where 2SG:A-IRR:see-them
k-agh-or-ya? 2SG:A-IRR:see-them-where
Where will you (sg.) see them? Where will you (sg.) see them?
iya k-agh-or-ya?
where 2SG:A-IRR:see-them-where
Where will you (sg.) see them?
The second type of question, yes-no questions, generally either ask for confirmation or denial (as in English "Did he go?") or, in a slightly expanded version, present a limited range of possible answers (as in English "Will you come on Monday or Tuesday?"). This type of question may be marked in a number of different ways in Sie:

1. No change in sentence structure at all, but with rising rather than falling intonation at the end of the sentence:

   \[(164)\]
   \[\text{g-ampelam mran?} \]
   \[3SG:A-IRR:come tomorrow\]
   \[Will he come tomorrow?\]

2. Using sentence-initial se (probably identical with se what?) before the statement:

   \[(165)\]
   \[\text{se neteme g-ampelam?} \]
   \[Q \text{man} 3SG:A-IRR:come\]
   \[Will the man come?\]

   \[\text{se k-ogh-i lou duru?} \]
   \[Q 2SG:A-see-TR canoe two\]
   \[Did you (sg.) see two canoes?\]

3. Placing the phrase ku tawi or not after the statement:

   \[(166)\]
   \[\text{tom go-ve vila ku tawi?} \]
   \[Tom 3SG:A-go Vila or not\]
   \[Did Tom go to Vila (or not)?\]

   In normal speech, this question-tag is generally shortened simply to ku:

   \[(167)\]
   \[\text{k-am-amit-oyau ku?} \]
   \[2SG:A-PRES-fear-me or\]
   \[Are you (sg.) frightened of me?\]

   \[\text{simeon m lui d-u-velam ku?} \]
   \[Simeon and Lui 3PL:B-PL-come or\]
   \[Did Simeon and Lui come?\]

4. Some questions have been recorded which use features (2) and (3) together: i.e. sentence-initial se along with sentence-final ku:

   \[(168)\]
   \[\text{se g-am-ampelam ku?} \]
   \[Q 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:come or\]
   \[Is he coming?\]

   \[\text{se k-ogh-i lou duru ku?} \]
   \[Q 2SG:A-see-TR canoe two or\]
   \[Did you (sg.) see two canoes?\]

   The semantic difference between se, ku, and se...ku, if any, is not known to us.

5. As we saw above in section 6.1.1., a question may also be encoded by using ku or between two noun phrases; see the examples in (157).

6. Similarly, a question may be encoded by using ku between two clauses – essentially the kind of structure of which type (3) above is a reduction. Example:

   \[(169)\]
   \[\text{etom go-ve vila ku go-tedowi eromanga?} \]
   \[your:father 3SG:A-go Vila or 3SG:A-stay Erromango\]
   \[Did your (sg.) father go to Vila or did he stay on Erromango?\]

6.2.4. Subjunctive sentences

Subjunctive sentences generally use one of the conditional tenses and are often introduced by an adverb indicating that there is some doubt in the speaker's mind. Some examples:
A similar sense is conveyed by nigoi with non-conditional verbs. Although we have seen nigoi as the temporal interrogative when?, in this sense it has a dubitative meaning (often translating Bislama mait perhaps):

(171) nigoi yag-ampelam mran
    perhaps 1SG:A-IRR:come tomorrow
    I might come tomorrow

nigoi go-ve vila ninu
    perhaps 3SG:A-go Vila yesterday
    He might have gone to Vila yesterday

6.3. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of more than one clause. The relationships between the clauses are varied, and in this section we examine as many types of complex sentences for which we have a reasonable amount of data.

6.3.1. Coordination

The coordinate conjunction linking clauses is im and. However, im is rarely used. The most common conjunctive mechanisms in Sie are (i) juxta-position of clauses with no conjunction, and (ii) the use of the echo-prefix m-. In many coordinate sentences, both features are used simultaneously.

Echo-subject. The prefix m- marks a verb as having the same subject as the previous verb. This form of coordination is not quite totally obligatory, but is used in almost all cases when the subjects of two (or more) clauses are identical. When the echo-subject prefix is used, it replaces the expected person-of-subject prefix; tense/aspect markers are usually deleted under identity, but number and negative prefixes are not deleted. Some examples are given below:

(172) yag-ampelam vila m-aqh-i ay-uq-hai
    I will go to Vila and see my brother

g-amtit-oyau m-alou
    3SG:A-fear-me ES:run:away
    He got frightened of me and ran away

narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo m-u-velam m-u-ve empatap
Narai and Numpwat 3PL:B-PL-omptes out Unwo ES-PL-omptes ES-PL-go north
Narai and Numpwat came out (of the ground) at Unwo and came and went north

When the subject of a clause is different from that of the previous clause, however, the echo-subject prefix cannot be used. Examine the following sentences which show some verbs marked with m- and others marked with a person prefix:

(173) hai neteme go-velam m-omproq-gi noute enior d-u-agan
    Someone came and stole their things and they got angry
yogo-tu pruv gum lui go-velam m-etipe hai sesai
1SG:A-get:up morning Lui 3SG:A- come ES-leave one something
I got up in the morning and (found that) Lui had come and
left something

narai y-ağan m-tai retpo-n m-etn-i y-au
Narai 3SG:B- angry ES- kill: TR wife-his ES-cook- TR 3SG-burn
m-ogako go m-am-antur nvat
ES- harden ES-PRES- IRR: stand stone

Narai was angry and killed his wife and burned her, and she
burned and hardened and now stands there as a stone

This last example is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. Note
firstly that the switch of subjects requires the use of the person prefix (thus
y-au and not m-au), but that once the subject switch has been made, the
succeeding clauses now have the same subject as the subject of the clause of
which y-au is the verb, and the echo-subject prefix can again be used. The last
clause is also of interest since it shows the use of the echo-subject prefix with
a change of tense (m-am-antur present tense, following a string of general past
tense verbs).

Other coordination. The examples given in (172) and, especially, (173)
point up another feature of coordinate sentences in Sie: that conjunctions
linking coordinate clauses do not normally appear. Capell’s biblical examples
show a few occurrences of the conjunction im, as the following example from the
"Prodigal Son" story shows:

(174) y-etur m-velam pog etm-en, im etm-en y-ogh-i ...
3SG:B- stand ES- come DAT father-his, and father-his 3SG:B- see- TR ...
He arose and came to his father, and his father saw him ...

However, im is found far more frequently, both in Capell’s textual data and my
own, as a sentence introducer, somewhat equivalent to the English 'and then...'.

Coordinate sentences therefore rely heavily on juxtaposition of clauses
without formal connectors, but with the echo-subject prefix being used to mark
identity of subjects across clauses. (It should be noted here that the echo-
subject prefix is used only across clause-boundaries when the clauses are of
equal status; it is not used if one clause is dependent on another.)

6.3.2. Disjunction and alternation

Clauses which are disjunctive are joined by the connector kou but.
Examples:

(175) yog-oni nup kou yogo-tu-agai-qi-veh
1SG:A-eat yam but 1SG:A- NEG- like- TR- INT
I ate yam but I didn’t like it much

simeon go-ve vila kou lui go-tedwi eromaga
Simeon 3SG:A-go Vila but Lui 3SG:A-stay Erromango
Simeon went to Vila but Lui stayed in Erromango

Clauses in an alternative relationship are linked by the connector ku or.
Some examples of this type of complex sentence were given in 6.2.3. above.
6.3.3. Temporal clauses

The most common introducer of temporal clauses is nempqon when, as illustrated in the following examples:

(176)  nempqon yau-m-velam, yau-m-ogh-i
        when 1SG:B-MP-come, 1SG:B-MP-see-TR
        When I came, I saw him

nempqon yag-am-ampelam, yag-agh-i
when 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:come, 1SG:A-IRR:see-TR
When I come, I'll see him

The connector penuri after implies a sequence of events which is not necessarily implied by the use of nempqon:

(177)  yi-velam penuri yau-m-enwi pogi
        3SG:B-come after 1SG:B-MP-say DAT:him
        He came after I told him to

In Capell's MS, a number of other temporal connectors are listed: polku while, maveli until, and kuntawi or kutawi lest. (For the last, cf. ku or, tawi not).

6.3.4. Locative clauses

The few examples of locative clauses elicited are introduced by ra nur mori (LOC place REL) where:

(178)  yi-velam ra nur mori yau-m-enwi pogi m-ogu g-ampelam-wi
        He came to the place where I told him to come to

6.3.5. Causal clauses

In Capell's MS, three conjunctions are translated as for, because: it, popopowo, and itepopowo (possible it-popow). Unfortunately, we have no data on the use of any of these. My data show the use of the form ra — already illustrated as locative, instrumental, and causative preposition — being used to introduce causal clauses; e.g.:

(179)  yi-velam ra yau-m-enwi pogi
        3SG:B-come because 1SG:B-MP-tell DAT:him
        He came because I told him to

Even more common, however, is the simple juxtaposition of two clauses, the second of which stands in a causal relationship with the first:

(180)  neteme-tavu go-velam m-ogh-iyau yag-am-n-amarat
doctor 3SG:A-come ES-see-me 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:sick
        The doctor came to see me (because) I am sick

g-alou yogo-tai
3SG:A-run:away 1SG:A-hit:TR
        He ran away (because) I hit him
6.3.6. Purpose clauses

Clauses of purpose are, according to Capell's MS, introduced by ma or ma soŋku:

(181) ᵇ-aŋ-ˌp-semibold  ma s-China ᵇ-oŋ-ˌtaloŋ-kik
     lSG:INS-come purp purp lSG:INS-kill-you:SG
     I shall come in order to kill you (sg.)

6.3.7. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by naŋku if. A distinction must be made between future or real conditions and past or unreal conditions. Real conditional clauses use naŋku + present or future of the verb in the condition, and the future in the result:

(182) naŋku ᵇ-aŋ-ˌp-semibold, ᵇ-oŋ-ˌaŋh-i ᵇate
     if lSG:INS-come, lSG:INS-see-TR my:father
     If I come, I won't see my father

naŋku ᵇ-oŋ-ˌtaloŋ, ᵇ-oŋ-ˌaŋh-i ᵇate
     if lSG:INS-see-TR my:father
     If I don't come, I won't see my father

naŋku ᵇ-aŋ-ˌp-semibold, ᵇ-oŋ-ˌtaloŋ, ᵇ-oŋ-ˌaŋh-i ᵇate
     if lSG:INS-come, lINC:INS-PL-see-TR pig
     If I come, we (inc.) will kill (the) pig(s)

Unreal conditions, on the other hand, require the use of the conditional tense/aspect prefix pe-. As far as we can work out on the basis of data presently available, the condition, introduced by naŋku, takes pe- + present tense, while the result takes pe- and the oral form of the verb. Examples:

(183) naŋku ᵇ-aŋ-ˌpe-½-semibold, ᵇ-oŋ-ˌaŋh-i ᵇate
     if lSG:INS-COND-come, lSG:INS-COND-see-TR my:father
     If I had come, I would have seen my father

naŋku ᵇ-aŋ-ˌpe-½-semibold, ᵇ-oŋ-ˌaŋh-i ᵇate
     if lSG:INS-COND-come, lSG:INS-COND-NEG-see-TR my:father
     If I hadn't come, I wouldn't have seen my father

6.3.8. Complementation

Sentential complements are extremely common in Sie textual data, especially in object position. There are a number of different ways of encoding clauses as objects of other clauses, and these will be briefly examined in this section.

Nominalisation. A clause may function as a sentential object of another clause when the verb of the object clause is nominalised by the prefix n-. In these cases, no other structural changes are apparent — the nominalised clause may contain objects, datives, locatives, etc. — apart from the deletion of the subject of the clause:

(184) ᵇ-aŋ-ˌq-number l-n-oŋ-ˌh-i ½-ovateme ½-o-viŋ-g yempe
     lSG:INS-come know-TR NOM-see-TR PL:man PL-small that
     I can see those small people
I want to run away now

I kept on looking at it

It will be clear from these examples, however, that the option of nominalisation is available only if the subject of the embedded clause is identical with the subject of the matrix clause.

**Juxtaposition.** When the subjects of the two clauses are different, nominalisation is ungrammatical. Instead, the two clauses are simply juxtaposed:

(185)  
\[
\text{yag-am-n-agay-oqi n-alou marima} \\
1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR NOM-run:away now \\
I want to run away now \\
\text{yau-m-an-teg:i n-ogh-i} \\
1SG:B-MP-keep:on-TR NOM-see-TR \\
I kept on looking at it
\]

This kind of juxtaposition of clauses may also occur when the subjects are identical. For example:

(186)  
\[
\text{yag-am-n-agay-oqi n-alou marima} \\
1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR NOM-run:away now \\
I want to run away now \\
\text{yau-m-an-teg:i n-ogh-i} \\
1SG:B-MP-keep:on-TR NOM-see-TR \\
I kept on looking at it
\]

It is clear that juxtaposition is the most common option when the subjects of the clauses are different. When the subjects are identical, however, there are two options: juxtaposition and nominalisation. From the data available, it seems that juxtaposition expresses a certain amount of urgency, whereas nominalisation is more matter-of-fact. Informants suggested to me, for example, that the last sentence in (186) above implied that I want to swim right now; the nominalised version, \text{yag-am-n-agay-oqi n-oruh} \(1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR NOM-swim\), is a rather more general statement, possibly better expressed in English as 'I like swimming' or 'I like to swim'.

**Quotation.** The quotative verb in Sie is \text{ogu} (irrealis form \text{a}g\text{ku}). Its primary use is to introduce direct or indirect quotations. In this regard, it is almost always preceded by a verb of saying, and thus appears with the echo-subject prefix \text{m-}. Examples:

(187)  
\[
\text{yi-velam ra nur mori yau-m-enwi pog'i g-ampelam-wi} \\
3SG:B-come LOC place REL 1SG:B-MP-say DAT:him ES-say 3SG:A-IRR:come-LOCREL \\
\text{He came to the place where I told him to come to} \\
\text{nur mah iyuwi g-u-m-ampr-oqi m-agku 'y-etn-i-wi retpo-n'} \\
\text{And they call that place 'He-burnt-his-wife-there'}
\]
Quotative as conjunction. As in a number of other languages of Melanesia (including Bislama), the quotative verb may be used not only after verbs of saying, but also after other verbs which have a clausal object (verbs like know, think, and so on). Although the distribution and limits of this usage in Sie have not yet been fully worked out, it is clear that this function of ogu is present in the language:

nompunowai y-em-agay-oqi m-ogu go-ntalog-i netemaghi
Nompunowai wanted to kill his brother-in-law

y-okil-i m-ogu netemaghi go-mah
3SG:B-know-TR ES-say brother;in:law 3SG:A-die
He knew that his brother-in-law was dead

6.4. Sentence introducers

Since neither of us have collected a great deal of textual material, there is not much that we can say at this stage on the matter of sentence introducers. In previous sections, we have noted the use of nigoi to introduce subjunctive sentences (6.2.4.), and we have referred to the use of im and (6.3.1.) in introducing connected action sentences in texts. Other sentence introducers are:

(189) ima then, and then
kou but, but then
penuri afterwards
maveli later

7. TEXTS

In this section, two Sie texts are given. The first was told to me by John Naupa, and the second by Tom Kiri. In each case, the text is given first morpheme-by-morpheme in Sie with interlinear English morpheme glosses. The text is followed by a fairly free English translation.

7.1. Narai and Numpwat

narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo m-u-velam m-u-ve empapatap.
nemlap m nedog d-u-ve empag d-u-alaqavalau m-u-ti nedu, nemi.
nempon nai y-em-mi m-em-ve ralifati y-ompoglaq navwolu m-tor-i
when Narai 3SG:B-FP-leave ES-FP-go Ralifati 3SG:B-marry Navwolu ES-lead-TR
nahiven eni m-em-ve ralifati. retpo-n y-em-tar-oqi idowi nur
woman POSS:his ES-FP-go Ralifati. wife-his 3SG:B-FP-think-TR always place
eni navwolu m-ete-qi n-alaqkau. narai y-agan m-tai
retpo-n m-etn-i y-au m-oŋkoŋko m-am-antur nvat. nagku
wife-his ES-cook-TR 3SG:B-burn ES-harden ES-PRES-IRR:stand stone. if
Narai and Numpwat came out of the ground at Unwo and came and went north. Nemlap and Nendong went south and produced two children, Nendu and Nemi. When Narai left and went to Ralifati he got married at NavwoZu and brought his wife and went to Ralifati. His wife was always thinking about her place, NavwoZu, and kept looking round. Narai got angry and killed his wife and burned her, and she burned and hardened and stands as a stone. If you go there you will see a stone standing like a person. And that place there they call 'Yetniwi Retpon' (the place where he burned his wife). He killed his wife there and burned her and left and went back to Ralifati.

7.2. John Williams


Netem i-velam mammals m-ampro:gi ov-route enirow pai m-alou man 3SG:B-PL-first ES-see-TR PL-thing POSS:their then ES-run:away

yet-nor qi torani talagod. nempgon iror d-u-m-ute m-ogh-i 3SG:B-shoot-them INS gun kill:them. when they 3PL:B-PL-PP-stay ES-see-TR


Maveli d-u-te nevi orog-tou. maveli d-u-te m-ogh-i hai tavoquoi later 3PL:B-PL-stay year many. later 3PL:B-PL-PP-stay ES-see-TR one teacher


Hai netemeni-n uven yi-vai ovatene eni pai m-velam one man name-his Uven 3SG:B-take:TR PL:man POSS:his then ES-come

M-ogh-i dou yi-velam tanti ra novahap. dan nempgon ES-see-TR ship 3SG:B-come anchored LOC bay. day when

D-u-semsimogod ikri dan tavoquoi y-em-yep ikri 3PL:B-PL-gather:together:them shore day teacher 3SG:B-PP-climb:down shore
I want to tell a story about John Williams (Presbyterian missionary, killed on Erromango in 1839). Williams died long ago. When he came the people were angry at him because one man had come before him and stole their things and ran away, and shot them with his gun and killed them. When they were there, they saw that they were angry with him, and said that he had come to steal their things. Later they stayed a long time, they stayed and saw a teacher come. They said that the man had come to steal their things. They said they would kill him, but they saw that there were few of them, and they sent word to Louitinatman saying that the people should come and kill him.
One man, named Uven, brought his people and came and saw the ship anchored in the bay. When they gathered together on the shore, and when the teacher climbed down on to the shore, they took a stick and blocked his path, and said that if he kept going and passed the stick which was blocking his way they would kill him. When he came ashore and stood on a rock, they said to him, "If you keep going and pass the stick we will kill you". But he kept going and passed the stick, and they said they would shoot him; he took up the Bible and when he had prayed he passed the stick, and they shot him with a gun, and he fell dead into the river. His blood flowed into the river.

When he had died they carried him out of the river and cut him up and divided him amongst them, and they took him and went to their own places. The Luitnatman people took their share and went home. When they went they arrived at a place called 'Where the big man's blood from his inside flowed'. When they arrived at their place, some men went and cooked their meat in their own places. One stupid man saw John Williams' shoes and took them and went to his place and tried to cook and eat them, and saw that they were hard, so he took them and tied them and hung them up inside, so that when they stank they would be ready to eat. The end.

NOTES

This decision finds reinforcement in the fact that all other known members of the Southern Vanuatu subgroup also show contrast between simple and velarised bilabial stops and nasals.

The southern communalects of Sie tend to show a greater frequency of /h/, and have /h/ in a number of words where the western dialect still retains /s/. A similar shift of /s/ to /h/ seems to be beginning in Tanna as well; Lenakel, for example, allows final /s/ to be pronounced as [s] or [h], and other Tanna languages also seem to be adopting the rule (cf. Lynch 1978b).

I recorded one case of /ao/, in /naoleh/ coconut-grater, but I suspect that this may be a transcription error; note Capell's transcription /noete/ things, goods, possessions was recorded by me as /noute/.

Fifty-one percent of verbs are vowel-initial: 17% begin with /e/, 15% with /o/, and 14.5% with /a/. The most frequent verb-initial phoneme, however, is /t/; almost 25% of verbs in the accompanying vocabulary begin with /t/.

These changes were examined in some detail in Lynch 1975, where some historical explanation was attempted. The fact that the function of this oral/nasal alternation in Sie differs from its function in other Oceanic languages is not relevant to the present discussion.

Capell (MSa:57) suggests that there is a singular imperative prefix e- which alternates, in some unspecified way, with a zero prefix. If correct, this would suggest that the form etu- in the negative imperative singular is in fact e- (imperative singular) + tu- (negative).

It should be further noted that there appears to be considerable variation in Sie verbal forms: both Capell and I have recorded not only variation in certain forms between different individuals, but also variation in the same
individual's speech — particularly in the first person non-singular forms, and particularly in tenses (like the far past) which are not used very frequently.

It is possible, however, that -i is the 'close' transitive suffix ( <POC *-i) and -qi is the 'remote' transitive suffix ( <POC *aki[ni]) (Pawley 1973). The formal similarity between transitive suffix -qi and instrumental preposition qi suggests that this interpretation may well be correct; however, lack of adequate data — or language change? — makes it impossible to make a decision at present.

Capell lists a locative prefix u- in forms such as neai sky, u-neai in the sky. Whether this prefix is still productive is a matter for further investigation; however, numerous locative nouns are u-initial: Capell lists, for example, unimne fortified place, and uneveyegom birthplace, but also notes a number of other words which have an apparent u- prefix but which are not locative: ulaq a fly, unitar rainbow, urivine moth, and a number of others. Similarly, initial i- or y- occurs frequently, and in circumstances which suggest that it may have been a prefix, but again with no clearly discernible meaning or function (Capell MSa:14-15).

The dual and trial pronouns in Tanna, for example, show a pronoun root, which may never occur alone, followed by a numeral suffix which, though historically related to the numerals 'two' and 'three', can not be considered even as a shortened form of the numeral; in Lenakel, for example, the numerals are klu two and k+sil three, while the dual and trial suffixes are respectively -lau and -hel.

As we saw above (section 2.1.2.), there is a distinction between dual and plural in the first person forms of the verbal subject-marking prefixes. This suggests that Sie may well have once had at least a singular/dual/plural distinction in the pronouns, but that this has subsequently been lost.

Sie thus shares with the Tanna languages a numeral prefix which is homophonous with the third person non-singular verbal prefix, the form in all the Tanna languages being k-.

Note, for example, Lenakel nien n+kok my coconut (as food), nien n+mwok my coconut (as drink), and nien tahak my coconut (general) as examples of this distinction.

Capell gives this form as eni, which is identical to the third person singular form of the possessive. His MS grammar also gives eni+r as a plural form: nimo eni+r ovateme the men's houses. I did not record either of these two usages.

Compare this with similar developments in the other Southern Vanuatu languages. In Lenakel, for example, the regular epenthetic vowel inserted between unacceptable consonant clusters is /i/ (phonetically a mid or high central vowel, depending on the previous consonant). However, in possessive constructions, -k my requires that a preceding epenthetic vowel be /o/, while -m your (sg.) requires the epenthetic vowel to be /a/.

The form av-...-hai brother is a compound of av- friend + hai one, with the possessive pronoun being suffixed to av-.

Capell states that the comitative preposition du occurs with singular noun phrases, with dal being used with both singular and non-singular noun phrases. I have not recorded dal.
Capell gives tie, which is probably an older form. One of my informants used sie rather than se, suggesting a probable historical sequence tie > sie > se which is not yet complete.

The most complete treatment of the idea of the echo-subject prefix in the Southern Vanuatu languages may be found in Lynch in press. There it is shown that, in Lenakel at least, a kind of switch-reference similar to that encountered in Papuan languages also operates in at least some of the languages of Southern Vanuatu, though, since these languages have SVO order rather than the SOV order common in Papuan languages, the superficial resemblances between the two systems are slight. All of the Southern Vanuatu languages for which some kind of echo-subject marking has been recorded use the prefix m-, which is obviously historically related to POC *ma and. Whether m- results from the contraction of conjuctions such as Sie im, however, is another question.
CHAPTER 3

SIE VOCABULARY

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents all the Sié lexical data that are available at the present time. These data derive from Capell's manuscript dictionary (Capell MSb) and from information collected by Lynch, some of which has been published elsewhere (Lynch 1974). Section 1 is a Sié-English listing, while section 2 comprises an English-Sié finderlist.

0.1. Orthography

The orthography used in this wordlist is that established in chapter 1. However, there are certain problems which need to be drawn to the attention of the reader, and certain orthographic decisions which have been taken which need to be mentioned here. These mainly concern rephonemicisation or respelling of forms listed in Capell (MSb) and not recorded by Lynch.

Vowel epenthesis, discussed in section 1 of the grammar, causes a number of problems. There are a number of cases where Capell shows a form with interconsonantal e where Lynch recorded only open transition, and in at least some of these cases Capell also records antepenultimate stress, indicating that his e is truly epenthetic. In cases where Lynch has not recorded an equivalent form, but where other evidence suggests that an interconsonantal e is epenthetic, (for example, the stress pattern, the presence of related forms without the e, and so on) this has been omitted from the form. Thus Capell's tevase ri, for example, is rewritten tevas ri. Similarly, some cases of apparently epenthetic u before w and i before y have also been omitted.

Variation between s and h, also discussed in section 1 of chapter 1, has been handled in the following way: (a) where no variation has been recorded, that form is listed; (b) where one form is predominant (usually the form with h), only that form has been given; (c) where true variation has been recorded, both forms are given.

Various diacritics used by Capell (e.g. stress marks, u for the nasalised allophone of /o/, ò for the lax allophone of /o/, etc., have been ignored here as subphonemic variants.
0.2. Abbreviations and conventions

The following abbreviations are used in both sections of the vocabulary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisl.</td>
<td>Bislama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td>compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem.</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esp.</td>
<td>especially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introd.</td>
<td>introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.o.</td>
<td>kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pro.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp.</td>
<td>species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sth.</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans.</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usu.</td>
<td>usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>very, verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>var.</td>
<td>variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w.</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0.2.1. Sie-English listing

A number of abbreviations and conventions used in section 1, the Sie-English list, should be briefly explained here. The list itself is organised as follows: first the Sie morpheme or (idiomatic) phrase, then an indication of its grammatical category, then a source, and finally the English glosses with cross-referencing and other information.

Sie morphemes are given in their root form. In Capell's MS, a number of verbs are given with initial in (the nominalising prefix); this has been omitted in this list, but the abbreviation [n] at the end of the English gloss indicates that it was so written in Capell (MSb). Two homophonous morphemes with unrelated meanings are distinguished by following numerals; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sie Morpheme</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esevi 1.</td>
<td>fill up (hole in ground)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esevi 2.</td>
<td>gather fruit, pluck fruit from tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where a morpheme has two different but probably semantically related glosses, these are distinguished by numerals only in the gloss portion of the entry, and grammatical abbreviations and sourcing are only entered in later parts of the entry if they differ from the first such entry; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sie Morpheme</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agan</td>
<td>1. be bitter, sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meluglug</td>
<td>1. soft, flexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. speak kindly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compounds or idioms involving the form are entered under the main form and indented; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sie Morpheme</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>armai</td>
<td>good [C:aremai]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armai-veh</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam armai</td>
<td>advice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grammatical information is given following the form. The following abbreviations for grammatical categories are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av</td>
<td>adverb (excluding temporals and locationals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A question mark is used where the category is unclear. No indication of grammatical category is given for affixes or for (idiomatic) phrases.

The source of the item is given in the next column. The following abbreviations are used:

- **L** recorded by Lynch
- **C** recorded by Capell and found in Capell (MSa,b)
- **CR** recorded by Capell (MSb) and marked by him as having been recorded by the missionary Rae

Where a form listed in Capell (MSb) has been orthographically modified according to the principles laid down in 0.1. above, this is indicated by an asterisk (thus C*, CR*). Where no source is given, this indicates that both of us agree on the spelling of the form.

A considerable amount of cross-referencing has been attempted in the English glosses. The following examples will serve to illustrate this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avgat</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>fight, war</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aseviogqi</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>scatter, throw</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amurep</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>live, be alive</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av-...-hai</td>
<td></td>
<td>sibling of same sex, brother of man,</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sister of woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. avughai my brother, avenhai his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>Bisl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The avgat example shows both that Capell has recorded a different form (avogat) from that recorded by Lynch (avgat), and also that he listed it with initial n (n/avogat). In the aseviogqi example, following the cross-reference to seviogqi, the symbol [n] indicates that this verb was recorded by Capell with the nominalising prefix n-; the root, however, is listed without the n-. The next example shows that the form amurep has a variant omurep. The av-...-hai example gives a complex discussion of a grammatical irregularity. Finally, the abbreviation Bisl. in the aks example indicates that the word has been borrowed from Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English).
0.2.2. English-Sie listing

The English-Sie section of the vocabulary is a finderlist and not a dictionary. In many cases, a number of Sie forms are given as equivalent to a single English form; the exact range of meaning of each of these forms should be checked in the Sie-English section. Because it is a finderlist, little grammatical or sourcing information has been given. Where necessary, however, English words have been marked according to their part of speech.

1. SIE-ENGLISH

A
afeyodoqi v C hire
afiafi v C entwine
agan v 1. be bitter, sour
2. be angry
novse-n n-agan C enemy
agau av C aimlessly, amiss, at random [n]
agayogi v L want
agigi v CR pretent to strike by raising hand [n]
ago a sharp
agumsu a black
agur v C mourn, lament [also akur]
ahararah a L smooth
ahau n L husband [cf. ahawo-]
ahawo- n L husband [C:asu-o-n?]
ahor v L call out, cry out [C:asor]
ahorsag v C* shout aloud [cf. ahor + -sag]
ahuwo v L paddle, row [C:asuwo L:orahuwo = 'a paddle']
or-ahuwo n L a paddle [wor-ahuwo?]
ai v L blunt [cf. aiye]
aiip a C thin, meagre [n]
ail v L shed the skin (e.g. of crab)
aintuugu v L very blunt [cf. ai]
aiye v C blunt [cf. ai]
aiyog v C crouched [n]
aks n L axe [Bisl.]
alam v 1. swell, swell up
2. grow up, be full grown
3. come to a head (of boil)
nam alam C law, statute
selatalam n C street
alaqalau v L beget
alaqkau v L look around, turn the head [C:n/elaqkau]
alawoqi v C vomit, spew [cf. elua] [n]
alegep v C embrace [n]
alegolegi v C obey, keep an order [n]
alegon v C reap, gather [n]
aloni v L lie down [C:ale]
alei-patemos v C* fall sound asleep [cf. alei]
aleipo v L sleep [C:ale-yepo; cf. alei]
alni v C fold up [cf. talni]
alou v L run, flee [C:alo]
alisi v L chew [C:alesi]
algug v L flow quickly
alul v L play
aluo- n child of sibling of opposite sex, niece, nephew
am v say, speak
amarat v L be sick
ametet v L fear [C:n/emetet]
amitap v C perish, be extinct [n]
amlai v L lie, tell lies [cf. am]
amlu v L be crazy
amon v C 1. hide, be hidden
va C 2. secret, private [n]
amprog v L steal, thieve [C: n/umporogoti]
ampuni v C suck, give suck [n]
amsi v L oomb
amsog av C openly
amtioqi v L fear (trans.) [C: n/imtetogi; cf. ametet]
amurep v L live, be alive [var. of omurep]
amwap v CR yawn [n]
angaihag v L float [cf. orgaisag?] agesau a C barbed [n]
aqka n L anchor [Bisl.]
aqkau v C 1. go round [n]
a C 2. crooked aqon a C wild, savage [n]
agot v L itch
agri v L cry, weep, shed tears [C:ageri]
apa a C abundant, plentiful
aragai v C be angry [n]
aragkowi v L bend
are v C make excuses
arekigi v C* make light of [C: are kigi]
arekisah v C* do evil [C:are kisah]
arenowan v C* quarrel [C:are nowan]
aregu v C feast [n]
ari v C rule [n]
arimram n L banana sp.
arivoiyu a C cool [n]
ariki v L break
armai a L good [C:aremai]
armai-veh a L beautiful
nam armai C* advice
arolim a C numb [n]
aromgor a C poor [n]
aroqi v C clean a road of under-growth [n]
aropon v C hide [n]
aroven v C trim the lamp wick
arowin v C clean fish [n]
arufi v sing
arvarve a L light (in weight) [n]
asai v C open (trans.)
asevioqi v C scatter, throw [cf. seviogoti] [n]
asiasye a CR smooth, level [n]
asioqi v C refuse, begrudge
asoki v C mount, go aboard, leap on [cf. sokii]
asomperi v C pick out, select
asul n L husband
atevanai v C foam at the mouth
atki v strike, pound
atkisa v L keep going, strive, try, be determined [C:n/atekisah]
atnati v C blast, wither (trans.)
atnemi v C visit
atgap v L 1. taste, sip [cf. atejavui] 2. take soundings [C:n/ategap]
atjavui v C* taste, sip [cf. atgap, tejawii]
ator a C arranged, in line [n]
atovnin v C name
atuitui a C envious [n]
atutin v C foam at the mouth [n]
au v L 1. burn, cook (intr., or trans. if subject is fire)
2. be cooked
aueselogwi v C feel griefed [n]
auterimlu v C drunk, be (esp. w. kava) [n]
aueyauwi v C signal by waving [n]
auwaruwi v C quarrel, contend [n]
av- n friend

av-...-hai n L sibling of same sex, brother of man, sister of woman [cf. hai; possessive suffixes added between av- and -hai, e.g. avuhai 'my brother', avenhai 'his brother'][C:avensal]

ava i C indeed!

avan v walk

avan-go v C walk another way

avan-wi v C pass by

avanavan v C be unstable, insecure

avatar n C destruction

aveni v C 1. be last, be finished n C 2. end

averi v C aid

avgat v L fight, war [C:n/avgat]

aviaviya a C bald, smooth [n]

avitol v L answer

avlar a L red [C:n/avilar]

avlesi v C surround [n]

avloqi v C 1. wonder [n]

  2. be wonderful [n]

avogoni v C feed, suckle, nourish [n]

avoret va C accursed [n]

avoroqi v L blow a gale (of the wind)

avos v C rejoice

avrimoqi v C place together, join, unite

avrivu v C encompass, surround [n]

avrug v L cough

avsi v squeeze, wring out

avsilni a C withered, shrunken (as limb) [n]

avisorog a C stout, fat, sleek [n]

avtar v C decay

avtit v C meet one on the road

avui v C sprinkle with water [also n/avuwi]

awau va L warm

D

dal p C with, in company with
dan n day (= period of time)
dan dvat L Thursday
dan eworum C Saturday
dan hai C* some day, sometime
dan mido L Sunday
dan namarinu L peacetime
dan su C always, everyday
dan sukim L Friday
dau n C banana leaf wrapping
de n blood
dehel q L three [C:desel]
dehel-oqi q L third(ly) [C:desel-oqi]
denmori n L banana sp.
denug n L garden, field [C:denuo]
denyug n C reed, cane grass
detewo- n C father's sister
deve q how many?, how much?
devsi C near, in the direction of
devulmoleh n L rice
dinm- n L mother [3rd singular is dinme] [C: dineme]

  dinme pelag C* mother's sister
  [C has dineme]
divkau n L fishhook
dogu 1. n L shoulder-blade [C: togu]
dogu 2. n L axe
domo 1. n C stranger, foreigner
domo 2. a 1. hard (= not soft)
  strong, firm 2. wild
domo-su a L difficult, hard (= not easy)
domp- n L liquid, oil [C: dompon]
domp-ni- n L milk [C: dompon ni]
elintevi v C tear with teeth [n]
elintogi v C love
elintoroqi v C hold with teeth
elioqsi v C light up, enlighten [n]
elioqsiqi v C light up, enlighten [n]
elirau a CR active, brisk [n]
elki v tie, tie up, tie and hang up
elkiwan v C* hang oneself [n]
elog a thin, lean [n]
eltirit v C clenched the teeth [n]
elua v L vomit [C:n/eluo]
elvog a dark [n]
elvogvat a L 1. dark 2. blue
(C:elevogevat; cf. elvog)
emasotompun v C bring forth (of earth) [n]
emedog v L rest [C:n/medog]
emeviag v dream
emlu 1. a C mad [n]
emlu 2. a C tame [n]
emolsep a C calm, gentle [n]
empag n L 1. south
1 L 2. southwards
empaiamtoqi v C hedge round [cf. nempai] [n]
empasewogi v C order, salute, farewell [n]
empatap n L 1. north
1 L 2. northwards
empavik v L mumble
empelamp 1 L there
empen v L smell (intr.)
empen-sat a C evil-smelling [n]
empen-veh a L fragrant, sweet-smelling [Cin/empenes]
nei-empen n L sandalwood
empgo v dance
empu v L smell (intr.)
emsoq a C forked [also imsoq] [n]
en L possessive-marker [C:eni]
enempon a C dumb [n]
eni 1. v eat, bite
eni 2. his, her, its [cf. en]
eninvaq v L eat [cf. eni + nvaq]
enom v L run, flow
enompe v L run, flow
enor v L sweat, perspire
entume v C remember
enuasomperi 1. v C 1. explain
2. reveal, show
enuatompeni 2. v C accuse
enuatompeni 3. v C remit, forego [n]
enuavsoqi v C encourage, exhort
enwi v L speak [C:enwi]
epoipo v C get strong
erautiti v L break into small pieces
eravlugi a C battered, smashed [n]
ereveni v C draw, pull, attract [n]
eseriva v L buy
esepau a C ignorant [n]
eseraqi v C laugh for joy
eserem v C fall (of leaves, rain)
[also aserem]
eseri a C broken, split [n]
esesau v C fight, riot, quarrel [n]
esesi 1. v C fill up (hole in ground)
esesi 2. v C gather fruit, pluck fruit from tree
esevoli v C rub with hand [n]
esigo v C envy [n]
esitu v C help, assist [n]
esomsah v L breathe
etaiyi v C carve [n]
ete v L live, dwell
etegohevo v C* become white [n]
ethep v L sit [C:tesep]
eteluogi v L pass (by) [cf. oseluogi]
etenom v L dive
etegeram v C rise up and attack
etepi v C pare (as orange)
eterimlimlu a C weak [n]
etetalam v L be old (of persons)
etevogom v C fast from food [n]
etevuraveh a CR* ready [n]
etiompene a C secret, hidden [n]
etiompnunar a C mysterious [cf. etiompene] [n]
etior v C sweep [n]
etm- n L father [C:teme-n]
etnitovom v L cook, roast [cf. otni, tovom]
etogoli v L swallow
etovtam va CR well-dressed [n]
etpont a L cold [C:n/etepont]
etpont-vat-su L very cold, frozen [cf. nvat + su]
etri v L 1. stab 2. shoot with gun or stone 3. sew, mend, fasten [C:teri]
etromoro v L be lazy [cf. netromoro]
etu v L heal
etur v L stand [C:ter]
eturatomeni v C appear [n]
etutavniri a C faithless, sceptical [n]
etuai t C* a short time ago (near past)
etvani v L spit, expectorate [C: n/etevani]
evarevarivi a C brisk [n]
evatum v C inherit [n]
even a C empty [n]
evi eyeyeve v C care for oneself [n]
evievor a C safe [var. of eyowar] [n]
eviommug v L be thirsty
evip v L rain [C:n/evip]
evivat a L thick [n]
evlami v L urinate
evlogi v C beat against, dash against [n]
evoregor v C tremble [n]
evovu v C feed animals [n]
eveseveyemoqi v C prophesy, foretell [n]
evsi v C pull out (as weeds)
evuli v C bespatter with mud
eworum C cf. dan eworum, Saturday
eyep v L descend, go down
eyetavvisi v C tie on
eyevan v C stretch out the hand
eyevi v C comfort
eyi i no [cf. ei 2.]
eyoimpeliqi v C err [n]
eyogri v C* harass, worry [C: eyoguri] [n]
eyowor a C safe
eyugyekri v C blot out, annihilate
eyumparum va C wide awake [n]

F
fan n flesh, substance
fan lou C* chief
fan lou nusian C* high chief
fan nahiven C* nice-looking woman
fan nam C meaning of a word
fan nau itu Za C* blade of a knife
fan neteme C 1. healthy, well-made man 2. a man able to do sth.
fan nimt- L face
fan nmap C* arable ground
fan noki L coconut
fan nomurep C living, long life
fetnapu n C fingernail, toenail [cf. fewonamu]
fewonamu n CR fingernail, toenail [cf. fetnapu]
fonfati n L tree sp.

-G

gimpit n L fish sp.
gulpe n L fish sp.
gumen n L fish sp.
gumpam n L yam sp.
guneyai n L banana sp.

-H

hai q one, other, a certain, different [also sai]
dan hai C* some day, sometime
hai im hai C each [also sai im sai]
hainq q L one (only in counting) [also saimo]
hainomu q L once more [cf. momu]
hai sesai L something [C:sai se sai 'anyone (of persons)']
haiteven q one only [also saiteven]
haiteven-go q C one of each [also saiteven-go]
nempqon hainomu L once more, once again
hoqkuse av L 1. how? p L 2. like [cf. soqku]

idav v C annoy
-idi C bad, evil [intensive suffix]
idowit t always
ikri a L 1. shallow [C:ikeri] n L 2. shallow water, shore, reef at low tide [C: ikeri]
nempou ikri CR scorpion [cf. nempou; CR:nempo ikeri]
ilampe 1 C there
ilasivrevor v C be in trance [n]
ilaswi a C bright, clear, beautiful [n]
ilat 1 L 1. out, outside p L 2. outside
ilepalam av C slowly
ilevog C cf. tog ilevog, inlet of sea
ilpalam a L deep
iluvau 1 L in the desert
iluwa v CR make a light by means of a torch
iluwawi n CR grassland, plateau
ilvote- n L in the middle, between [C:ilevoteven]
im c and
ima 1. d C that (dem.pro.) [= mah 2.]
ima 2. c L then, and then
imeluoc 1 above
tantop imeluoc C depth
imlaq v C be divided, set at variance [n]
imo d this, near speaker [var. of iyimo?]
imamu n C infant
impirigi v C betray, deceive [n]
impwap n C bottom, underneath
imrog a C timid [n]
imru a C averse, contrary [n]
imtarogrog v CR collapse, faint [n]
imtei a C blind [n]
imtemas v C shut an eye, as in aiming [n]
imtipat a L blind [n]
imtodi a C weak-eyed [n]
inhar n C fir tree
igat v C 1. be firm, be hard to move [n] 2. labour with child [n]
igelelau n C family, kindred
igko 1 here
igkraitog n L fish sp.
io gevhap v C stir up water [cf. yeovicap] [n]
iowe i C alas!
ipat a L blind, deaf
ipe-kik i C 'that was your concern'
ira- p form of ra, q.v.
iranse av C* why? [C: irantie]
iraugah v L jump, leap [C: n/irausah]
ire t today
iri v CR 1. hover (as a bird) [n] 2. hesitate [n]
iror pr they
iror-go they alone
isor v L copulate
isuma ? enough, ended, quite
isut 1 1. far
   p 2. far from
it c C for, because
it- L adjectival prefix
itaih 1. n L moon [also itais 1.]
itaih 2. n L grandfather [also itais 2.]
itais 1. n moon [also itaih 1.]
itais 2. n grandfather [also itaih 2.]
itale a C tired, wearied
itemaghi n C* father-in-law [cf. netemaghi]
itemam n C father-in-law
itemas n C gift
itemas pau C love gift, grace
itemelepon a C easy [possibly it- + melepon/melpon]
itemelogwi n C back of knee
iteovugi a C abominable, exceedingly evil
itepelum a C easy
iterovat a C worn out, old
itetuai 1. t 1. before, long ago, in the past
   a 2. ancient [cf. etuai]
itnahiven a L female [cf. it- + nahiven; C: itnasiven]
itnasiven C also [itnahiven?]
itnatman a L male [cf. it- + natman; C: itnatman]
itnesog a C true
itnetemepe a C firstborn (of males)
itnimpris a C ancient
itnumpogon n C maiden
itogo a L which?
itpelag n C* exterior [cf. pelag]
itse a C beaten
nmah-itse n C* native cloth [C: nemasitse]
itsoqku a C crude
ituqga a L foreign [C: itoqa]
nau ituqga L knife [C: naitoqa]
ituremas a C dead
itvirog 1. n L father's brother [cf. it- + virog]
itvirog 2. n L younger child [cf. it- + virog; C: itevirog]
iya 1 where? [C also gives ia, yei]
iyauyau a C haughty, proud, having swinging gait [n]
iye 1 C where (rel.adv.)
iyempa n L fish sp.
iyempe d L 1. that 1 L 2. there
iyevi v C bicker
iyevwo 1. v C* make fire by rubbing sticks [CR:eiwuvos] [n]
iyevwo 2. v C* promise [cf. viwos] [n]
iiyi pr he, she, it
iyihi d 1. this 1 L 2. here
iyimo d L this, near speaker
iyur a C variegated [n]
iyywi d C 1. that (at some distance) 1 C 2. there [also yuy]

K
kam pr we exc. [C also gives ka]
kapel n C tin vessel, mug
kavrag va L hidden
kesitah n C piece (of money)
kik pr you sg.
kik-e-pau i C greeting, lit. 'you are dear'
kik-pe-kik i C 'please yourself'
kilikil n L fishhook [C:kiwikil]
kimi pr you pl.
kineduavu i C 'you empty fellow!' [cf. eduavu]
kirikiriri n C beads, necklace (of beads)
kitan 1 C behind, backwards
kou c but
ko 1 C 'yes, it's true'
koh pr L we inc. [C:kos, ko]
kom n L comb [Bisl.]
kosai ? C alone [cf. sai]

ku c 1. or 2. question-tag
kumala n L sweet potato [also kumara]
kumara n L sweet potato [also kumala]
kuntawi c C except, in order not [also kutawi]
kuri n dog
kurimatau n C animal, bull, bullock, cow [cf. kuri]
kuttawi c C except, in order not [also kuntawi]
kutivin n L fish sp.

L
lale C cf.nete, lale, bow of boat
-lap temporary action
las C cf. netegon las, ocean bed
lat n L fat [cf. nelat]
latorgowut n L lungs
lau a dry
laulau a L hard (=not soft) [cf.lau]
lavalava n L lavalava [Bisl.]
lawasisi a L rotten
leiri n L banana sp.
leleha n L rope
ompi leleha L braid rope
letereme n L fish sp.
levi-tantop n L middle finger
lili n L sweet potato sp.
lou n L 1. canoe [C:lo] 2. kingdom, people [C:lo]
fan lou c* chief
fan lou nusian C* high chief
louveli n L canoe
nompu-n lou c* multitude
wai lou c* paddle a canoe
louko n L yam sp.
lovosmosop a L rotten
lugulugeve v C make merry

m c and
ma c C that (purposive) (=in order that)
mado n L bowl for mixing kava
mah 1. v L die [C:mas]
mah 2. d L this, that, previously referred to
maiv a C dim, almost blind, not seeing clearly
malia n L yam sp.
malogol v C 1. offend, be offensive
n 2. offence
mampum n L 1. in front (of)
a L 2. first
man- n L brother of woman [C:man]
maqipai v C mock
marima t now
marima-go t C immediately
marog n L yam sp.
maroñi v C 1. quit, leave, rebel
p C 2. from
mas n L mast [Bisl.]
masiqi v C die (?) [C quotes Genesis 49:5; cf. mah]
masumperi v C spread out
masuri n C heel
matuitui 1. v C envy
matuitui 2. v C be obstinate, persistent
maveli c L later, then, next,
till, to [C:mafeli]
mavrempor n C closed grave
mayu 1 L there
mayuwi 1 L there
mehkai q L six [C:mesekai]
mei pr L who? [C:mei]

meima pr L who? [cf. mei]
meluglug a L 1. soft, flexible
n [C:melolo]
V C 2. speak kindly [C has melolo]
melyar a L yellow
menug n L bird [C:menuo]
menug sat C* the swallow [C has menuo sat]
meseigi av C directly, without delay
mesen n L fish sp.
mesesiai ? C utmost
mesi n L pawpaw (papaya)
meveh n? L right (hand) [C:mevis]
mido L cf. dan mido, Sunday
mitnoq t V early
mode t L Monday [Bisl.]
mogop- n L grandchild [C:mogopon]
mogopunap n L worm
mompo- n L roof [usu. mompon-n nimo]
mompon n C opening (in ground), entrance
ra mompon C inside, under
mompono- n L foot [cf.no-]
momu a more [esp. in comparatives]
monogowo i C yes! (emphatic)
mogkevu n C ashes
mogkum n L fish sp.
mori 1. n L tree sp. [=C:more, 'acacia used for bow-making'?]
mori 2. d this, that, previously referred to...[functions as a relative pronoun]
mori nimpe C that - the one over there
morugo a C stronger
mosi n star, planet
mosi talimet CR star
mou n L liver
movog n L 1. outrigger boom 2. rafter
mowap n L fog, mist [C:moap]
mran t tomorrow
muri v C follow

MW
mwor n? L left hand [C:mor]

N
n- nominaliser
nadimai 1. n CR black soil
nadimai 2. n CR rheumatios
nadmai n L tree sp. [CR: nadimai]
nafini- n C forehead
nafioqi n C occupation, trade
nafog n C bud, budding
nafolian n C an exceptionally fair person
nagah n L cold season (May-July) [C: nagas]
nagan n C anger, enmity [cf. agan]
nagave n L 1. kava [C: negave]
   va C* 2. drunk [C: negave]
nagle- n C egg [as in naglen netuo 'hen's egg']
nagop n C 1. cloud
   a C 2. cloudy, dull (of weather
nagur n C 1. mourning
   2. grave memorial [cf. agur]
nahiven n L woman [C: nasiven]
   fan nahiven C* nice-looking woman
nahiven tavu C* sorceress
nahividi n C* bad woman [cf. -idi; C: nasividi]
nahor n ory [cf. ahor; C: nasor]
nahorsag n C* loud shout [cf. ahor]
nahvu n L turtle [also navu]
naiis n C calm, abatement of storm
naitompun n C cf. naitompun sensemag, gathering, flock, shoal
naiwa n L tree sp.
nake n L axe
nakik n foam
nal n mud, mire, bog
nalalau n young child [cf. nalau]
nalam n CR tumor, boil [cf. alam]
nalau n child, infant
   nalau ra topavo C illegitimate child
   nalau virog L young child
nale L cf. novuan nale, immature coconut
nalegolegi n C obedience [cf. alegolegi]
nalegon n C harvest time [cf. alegon]
naleipo n sleep [cf. aleipo]
nalimaq n L egg
nalinoh n L dog
naliq 1. n C son
naliq 2. n C surname
naliniwar n C bowels, entrails
nalpe n L tree sp.
nalul n L game(s), play [cf. alul]
naluvien n C longing for food
nam n word, message, language, speech [cf. am]
   fan nam C meaning of a word
nam alam C statute, law
nam armai C* advice
nam nagkauintan C allegory, parable
nam nompuvsog C testimony
nam oroq C* boast (n)
namsag n C* bravado [cf. nam, -sag]
nam semet C the last word
nam umesuli C apology
nam unam C oath
nam wogon C boast
nipmi nam C tittle, iota, jot
oseluogi nam C* ignore
potgon nam C a few words
selnivi nam C law
sevet nam C* boast (n & v)
naman n L tree sp.
namarat n sickness [cf. amarat]
namarinu n L calm, calm sea [C: nimorinu]
dan marinu L peacetime
namen n C little piece
namen nvag C* crumb
nametet n L fear [cf. ametet; C:nemetet]
namlai n lie, falsehood [cf. amlai]
namolin n C shadow
namon n L circumcision
ompi namon C circumcise
namonamon n C form, image
namou n L mother! my mother; uncle!
my mother's brother; aunt! my
mother's sister [C:namo]
nampelet n C hanger-on, parasite
nampo- n L place, situation [C: nampo/n]
nampom-pentop C cooking place
[cf. pentop]
nampontan n C cornerstone [also nampotan]
nampontan n C cornerstone [also nampotan]
namponunevau n C bottle
namponoveau n C bottle
nampog n C fruit good on outside
but bad inside
namprog n L thief [cf. amprog; C:nmporog]
namri n C ague, rigor
namtah n C dam, obstruction,
shutter
namte 1. n L coconut past stage
of ripeness; flesh hard to eat
namte 2. n C a lie
namtimte n C 1. seaweed
2. sponge
namtitogi n fear [cf. amtitogi; C:nimtitogi]
namurep n L life [cf. amurep]
nanon n mat made of coconut leaves
ompi nalom L weave
naqai n canarium sp. ('almond')
naqaiwaine n L fish sp.
naqal n L 1. tree sp. 2. arrow
(made from naqal tree?)
naqelau n C work that is difficult,
thrile, travail
naqesau n C arrow [cf. aqesau]
naki- n L vagina
naqkau n C error [cf. aqkau]
naqkauintan C cf. nam naqkauintan
allegory, parable
naqkaugoi ? C around [cf. aqkau]
naqkrai n L flying fox [C: noqkerai]
naqku c 1. if
2. when (future) [prob-
ably n- + irrealis
form of ogu 'say']
aqri n C* lamentation [cf. aqri; C:nageri]
aqoleh n L coconut grater
naporoqi n L fishing line [C: neforoqi]
naputan n C 1. outside corner, ridge of house 2. keel
naragai n C anger [cf. aragai]
naragar n C jealousy
naram n L banana sp.
narar n C flat surface
narekidi n C persistent evildoer [cf. -idi]
narep n artery, vein, sinew
nariqari n C feast, festival, banquet
nariqi n C praise, fame, renown
narioven n C sound of wind
nariovoiyu n C gentle breeze, zephyr [cf. ariovoiyu]
narisag n C* ruler, chief, master [cf. ari, -sag]
narogas n C brimstone
naromprom n C shame, bashfulness
narufo n C song [cf. arufo]
narvin n L sand [C:narevo]
narweri n C air, atmosphere
narwolem q L ten [C:narolim]
narwotu n L east wind [C:norowatu]
nasau n C distress, sorrow, trouble
nasemnuo n C gardener, farmer
nasimnalam n C wife of chief, mistress
nasiwan n C under the chin [possibly nasiwa- ?]
naspi n C a lick
natau n C 1. anything hanging down 2. a swing [cf. tainatau] 3. amulet
nate n L father! my father; uncle! (father's brother)
natemas n C spirit, ghost
atemasvai n C 1. stone brought to the island & used in sorcery 2. sorcery [cf. natemas]
atemonog n C chief

datemovot n C mist
natipotni n C beginning [cf. potni]
natki n C a blow, boxing [cf. atki]
natkisa n compulsion, effort [cf. atkisa; C:natekisah]
natmahidou n L ring finger
natman n L 1. man, male 2. male, masculine [C: nateman]
natogeves n C juice (dried) of the nagai tree
nator n C arrangement [cf. ator]
natorevam n C coconut shell armlet
natuqa n L south wind
nau n 1. bamboo 2. knife
fan nau ituqa C* blade of knife
nau ituqa L knife [C:naiitoga]
nauengomwi n C contention, quarrel
nauerogis n C bamboo whistle [cf. nau]
nauvitavu n C before the dawn
nauor n C discussion, debate
naupe n L swamp [cf. also naipeh; C:naupe]
naupwon n L fishing net [C: nogonon]
nauwarogi n CR debate (friendly)
navanavan n C fugitive, wanderer [cf. avan]
navelah n C stone money (not now in use)
naveri n C helper [cf. averi]
naverimpur n C burial mound [cf. nmaprimpur]
navgat n L war, battle [cf. avagat; C:nagat]
navia- n 1. voice 2. sound
navia-n-sag n C* loud voice or sound
naviat n soul, spirit

naviat-idí n C evil spirit [cf. -idi]

navivon n C dust

navivon nei C* sawdust

navivon naq C* crumb of bread

navles n C keeper, guard [cf. avlesi]

navloqi n C wonder [cf. avloqi]

navlutnin n C 1. tip 2. head of arrow 3. fingertip 4. end of a road

navnaqai n L fog, mist, haze

navoret n C plague [cf. avoret]

navos n C joy [cf. avos]

navra- n L mouth [C:navera/n]

navra-nur L:hole C:valley [C has navevanuru]

navranowa- n L neck, throat

navrasi- n L anus [cf. si-]

navrimoqi n C union, alliance [cf. avrimoqi]

navrug n C cough [cf. averug]

navu n L turtle [also nahvu; C: navau]

navugvug n L bread

nawipeh n L pool, lake [cf. also naupe; C: nauipe]

ne 1. n L produce children

ne 2. C* cf. nehkil ra ne, bèche-de-mer

neai n C sky, firmament

neat n C bundle, sheaf

nedog n L tree sp.

nedrap n L hibiscus sp.

nedu n L tree sp.

neduavu n C nonsense [cf. eduavu]

nefani n bow (weapon) [cf. also nevani]

defaroqi n C bond, cord

nefatí n C scaffolding, altar

nefieloqeoi n C pardon, forgiveness [cf. efieleqoqi]

neforefari ? C out of the way

neforoqi n C thief, robber

nehawati n L volcano

nehe n C rain

neherop n L ripe coconut [C: neserop coconut milk]

nehkil n L snake [C: nesekil]

nehkil ovuq C* centipede

nehkil ra ne C* bèche-de-mer

nei n L 1. tree 2. firewood [C: ne]

domp-on nei L sap, gum [C: dompon ne]

dogorogo-nei n L twig, small branch [C: dogorogon ne]

navivon nei C* sawdust

nei-empen n L sandalwood

nelompoi nei n C* large piece of wood, beam [C:...ne]

neko 1. n C beetle

neko 2. n C small piece of wood for beating cloth

nelampalam n C eyesight [cf. elampalam]

nlas n C bowstring

nlasamroqi va CR changeable

nlasivian n C desire, lust [cf. elasivian]

nelasivian-sat n C* lust

nlaswoni n C heavy weakness in sickness

nelat n L 1. meat, flesh [cf. lat]

n C 2. prey, human flesh for cannibal feast

nelavenuri n C understanding

nelegon n C wisdom [cf. elegon]

nelempwohe- n L trunk (of tree)
neleliki n C serious illness
nelintogi n C love [cf. elintogi]
nelit n CR axe handle
neliwo n L fish sp.
nelman n L outrigger float
nelni n CR 1. small hole in ground
                 2. eye of needle
nelompoi nei n C* large piece of
     wood, beam [cf. nei]
nelogelogveh n C* grace, kindness
nelpat n CR bar at river mouth
             built up of stones
nelpavinu- n L forehead
nelponvat n CR* cliff [CR: nelponnevat]
elponta- n L back
nelpwo-noru- n L arm
elu- n L penis
neluam- n L tongue [C:neluamen]
       neluam-en nom C blaze
nelve- n L tooth
nelvogvat n L darkness [cf. elvogvat; C:nelevogvat]

demand- n L chest (part of body)

demand n L rest [cf. emedog; C:emidoq]

nemeluglug n L softness [cf. meluglug; C: nemelogelo]
nemementog t L six days ago/hence

demetu n C dead wood, firewood

demeviag n C dream [cf. emeviag]

dema n CR something that falls off

nemlap n L tree sp.

nemlewogo n C thornbush [cf. nemliwa-]

nemli cf. novuan nemli, anklebone

nemliwa- n L 1. thorn [cf. nemlewogo]
                  n CR* 2. spur on fowl's leg
                     [CR: nemliuo/n]

demolsep 1. n C ease, patience
                  [cf. emolsep]

demolsep 2. n C tableland, plateau

nemote n C village

nempai n C fence

dempaimamtoqi n C round
                  enclosure [cf. empaimamtoqi]

dempaiveh n C* 1. good fence
                  2. blessing [cf. nempai]

nempalegi n C threat

nempari n C grass sp. carried in
      hands as charm

nempasewoqi n C order, salute, farewell [cf. empasewoqi]

nempati n C 1. canine tooth of
      pig 2. horn of animal

nempes n C oyster shell

nempgo n C dance [cf. emgo]

nempgu- n L buttocks

nempilior n C faeces, excrement

nemplaq n butterfly

       nemplag-empo n L k.o. large
           butterfly

nempqon n 1. time
      c L 2. when

nempqon haimomu L once again

nempogelah n C marriage

nempou n L shark [C:empo]

       nempou ikri CR* scorpion [cf. ikri; CR:empo ikeri]

nempri- n L rib

nemratau n CR thorny parasitical
       plant

nemsoq n C confluence of rivers
      [cf. emsoq]

nemetagi n L wind [C: nemetagi]

nemetagi netpont C* cold wind
       [C: nemetagi netepont]

nemetagi orog hurricane, strong

nemtempes ? C one-eyed wind
nemtorilki n C* backslider, apostate [cf. torilki]

nen n 1. sun, sunshine
 n C 2. dryness, drought

nen-otni n C scorching sun [cf. otni]

nipmi nen C orb of rising or setting sun

nenempar n C fair weather

nenman n L dew, moisture [C: neneman]

nenom n L high tide

nenomsep n L swamp

nenor n C perspiration, sweat [cf. enor]

nenparati n L peace

nenuapogofo n C grumbling, murmuring

nenum n L wet season (January-April)

nenumimpwap n L dry season (August-December)

nepoipo n C* restored to health [cf. epoipo, C has nepoipo]

nesegar n C feast

neseparer n C oversight, error

nesepau n C stranger [cf. esepau]

nesesau n C riot, fight, quarrel [cf. esesau]

nesesim n C 1. backbone
  2. diameter

nesevi n C gathering of fruit [cf. esevi 2.]

nesip n L kidney(s)

nesitu n C aid, assistance [cf. esitu]

nesituesitu n C in succession

nesomsah n C sigh, shortness of breath [cf. esomsah]

yevi nesomsah L be short of breath [cf. yevi 1.]

nesuriaru n CR two baskets supported by a stick across shoulder

nesusah C cf. nu nesusah, boiling water

nesuvlog n C stretcher, portable bed

net- n L egg

netagli n C* obstruction, stumbling block

netai n L 1. tattoo 2. book, esp. bible [cf. netaiyi]

netaiyi n C 1. writing 2. book [cf. etaiyi; cf. also netai]

netausep n C clothes, dress

nete n C abode, residence [cf. ete]

nete lala n C bow of a boat

nete nur n C 1. abode 2. field

nompu-n nete C* stony ground, heap of stones

netegon n C bottom, base, foundation [possibly netgo-]

netegon las C ocean bed [possibly netgo-n las]

netemaghi n L father-in-law, son-in-law [C: netemagesi; cf. itemaghi]

neteme n person, man (=human being)

fan neteme C 1. healthy, well-made man
  L 2. a man able to do sth.

neteme taviar C magician

neteme-tavu n L medicine man [C: netemtavu]

tavu neteme n C witchdoctor, sorcerer

netemohog n L brother-in-law (wife’s brother, sister’s husband)

netegon p C underneath, below

netevaru n C thought, meditation

netevote n C goods, possessions

netevulul n C an invalid
netiomponuar n C mystery [cf. etiomponuar]
netivurah n C serving, distribution
netnim n C belly
  netnim tog C depths of the sea
netnivri n C commonest sort of native club
  novuan netnivri C round-headed club
netgo- n L the inside of sth.
netoetiği n C loincloth, belt
netoutau n L range of mountains
netpeh n L body of water not open to sea; pool, lake
netpont n cold [cf. etpont; C: netepont]
  nemtaqi netpont C* cold wind [C:nemetaqi netepont]
netralam n CR dropsy
netriho- p L far behind
netromoro n C trouble, distress [cf. etromoro?]
netsieti n L yam sp.
netuavtar n C immortality
netukus n L salt [C: natukus]
netuo n fowl, chicken
netuo- n L aunt, father's sister
neturapum n C giant, very tall man
neturarki n C* spy
neturatomeni n C apparition [cf. eturatomeni]
neumparum n C cross, made w. two pieces of wood
neumtau n L tree sp.
nevaiddi n C bad feeling, quarrel
nevaiveh n? C* blessed
nevani n L bow (weapon) [cf. also nefani]
nevar n C load, burden
evasi n C trade, commerce
nevatum n C goods enclosed in receptacle [cf. evatum]
nevelam n C* arrival [cf. velam]
nevelevale n C remembrance, meditation
neveli n C cave
neven n L eel (freshwater)
nevenoki n C* empty coconut [cf. even, noki]
  nevenoki-nompum n C* skull [cf. nompum]
nevenouki n L kava plant
nevente n C departure
nevenwane n L fish sp.
nevi 1. n year
  nevi 2. n childless married person, widow after a few months, girl (L), marriageable young person (C)
  neviarep n C young man
  neviompuwi n C widow
nevietivesep n C commendation, laud
nevievri n C accusation
nevieveyeve n C preservation [cf. evieveyeve]
nevievayar n C safety [var. of neyowar; cf. evievayar]
nevip n L rain [cf. evip; C: neviv]
nevivak ? C looking displeased
nevlah n L crab
nevlog n bed, table, shelf
nevlogo- n L arm, wing 2. branch
nevlon n bracelet, necklace
nevlogkon n C piece, division, part
nevnamel n L marrow
nevoregor n C trembling [cf. evoregor]
nevsem 1. n C joint, hinge
nevsem 2. n C underchief

nevsi n C extraction (e.g., of tooth) [cf. evsi]

nevuvent n C wall [cf. novuvent]

neworekireki n C narrow road, small gate

neworemisat n C jealousy, murmuring

neyo n L tree sp.

neyoimpeli 1. n C mischief, disturbance

neyoimpeli 2. n C lowering (of sky)

neyoimpeligi n C error, false report [cf. eyoimpeligi]

neyori n C nuisance, bother

neyowar n C safety [cf. eyowar]

ni- 1. n breast(s)

  domp-ni- n L milk [C:dompon ni-]

  nipmi ni- C nipple, teat

ni- 2. n name

nidemah n L tree sp.

nie n C stringy edible root resembling yam

nielogelog C* cf. nmah nielogelog sackcloth

nievuos n C promise

nilar n 1. light, daylight, day

  2. lamp

  nilarveh n bright light

nilaru n L tree sp.

nilas n C worm, grub, maggot

nilasilaswi n C beauty, glory [cf. nilaswi]

nilasivrevor n C meditation, reverie [cf. ilasivrevor]

nilaswi n C brightness [cf. ilaswi]

nilorogon n C thorn

nilpalam n L deep water [CR:ilpalum 'deep water, anchorage'; cf. ilpalam]

niluwo n C torch made of dried coconut leaves [cf. iliwa?]

nimalgep n C* house unfit for habitation [cf. nimo]

nimlag n C disagreement, broken friendship [cf. imlag]

nimo n C house

  nimo noqkoqko C prison [cf. noqkoqko]

nimo tantop C tower

nimo tempor C church

nimo utam C shrine

nimpe 1. C beyond, nearby

  mori nimpe C that - the one over there

  noqkon nimpe C on the other side

nimpen n C sparrow (?)

nimpiau n C wave, swell of sea

nimpiri n C betrayer, false friend [cf. impirigi]

nimram n L tree sp.

nimroq 1. n C want of courage [cf. imroq]

nimroq 2. n C abomination, thing to which one is imru (q.v.)

nimru n C refusal [cf. imru]

nimsi- p benefactive, for

nimt- 1. n eye, face [3rd sing. form nipmi]

  fan nimt- L face

  nipmi nam C tittle, iota, jot

  nipmi nen C orb of rising or setting sun

  nipmi ni- C nipple, teat

  novse-n nimt- C eye [cf. novse-, nims-]

  ta-n nimt- C* eyelid [C:tan nipmi]

  tantevi nimt- C to insult

nimt- 2. n price, reward [3rd sing. form nipmi]

nimtei n C blindness [cf. imtei]
ninomu n L tree sp. [C:nimonu]
nintelep n C river, valley
ninu t yesterday
niţako n L fat, oil, grease [C:niţaku]
niţaverag n C lizard
niţeven n C scale, scab
niţoi t 1. when? C L 2. perhaps
nipiese n L tree sp.
nipleple n L tree sp.
niram n L club [C:nirum]
niromunta- n L dorsal fin
nis n CR front teeth of upper & lower jaw
nisa L cf. ra nisa, last, behind [C:ra nesah]
nisgo- p benefactive, for
nisoq n L inside
nit- n child, son, daughter, child of sibling of same sex [3rd sing. form netni]
nitelog n C gourd, pumpkin
niteve- n L skin, tibia
nival 1. n L areca, betel nut
nival 2. n L mast [C:neval]
nivili n C earring
nivorig n L width (?)
nivuo 1. n steering paddle, rudder
nivuo 2. n C underchief
niyar n C meat, flesh (animals and fish)
nmah 1. n L 1. clothes [C:nemas] 2. sail of canoe or boat [C: nemas]
nmah-itsê n C* native cloth [C:nemasiitsê; cf. itse]
nmah niţelogelog C* sackcloth
nmah 2. n L low tide
nmah 3. n C* death [cf. mah]
nmap n L earth, ground [C:nemap]
fan nmap C* arable ground
nmaprimpor n CR* cemetery [cf. naverimpor]
nmar n L breadfruit (fruit & tree) [C:nemar, mar, mara]
no- n L foot, leg [C:nowo/n]
dogerogo-no- n L toe [C: dogerogon nowan]
ta-n no- C* instep [C:tan nowan]
nog i L yes
nogesam n C a hard polishable wood
nogesenpup n C sign, evil omen [cf. nogesinepup]
nogesinepup n C a wonder [cf. nogesenpup]
noghi n sight, vision [cf. oghi]
noghisat n C* hatred [cf. -sat]
nogil n C dry coconut
nogini n C damage, injury
nogo n L tree sp.
nogoi L cf. novuan nogoi, banana sp.
nogol n C hole [cf. ogol]
nogolaq n C grubbing (as a pig) [cf. ogol?]
nogolenta- n L skin
nogoletni- n L belly, stomach
nogolista- n C skin [n]
nogoloq- n L lip [C:nogolono/n]
nogolowog n C pigeon
nogopon n C aunt; nephew, niece
nogopurum n C serpent
nogori- n L 1. side, edge, border, horizon [C:nogore/n] p L 2. between, near
ra nogori- beside
nogorogi ? C across [cf. ogorogi]
nogowo av C how?
nogugo n L road
octopus, squid
flea, louse
hand [C:nogove/n]
tributary (of a river)
rope, string
1. tree sp., yielding red dye
2. the dye so yielded
pain, sorrow, grief, trouble [cf. ohoru]
yam sp.
wise man
coconut tree [C:nogi]
knowledge [cf. okili]
fire
blaze
fast, quick (ly) [C: it/num]
day before yesterday [C:noweme]
salt
earthquake [C:nomiog]
dry coconut [C:nomgai]
gall bladder
to crouch (as animal)
drinking, drunkenness [cf. onmonki]
valley, glade
warrior
four days ago [cf. nowumpi]
grass skirt, characteristic of Erromangan women
crown of head
alms, blessing
pig [C:nompegasi]
expense, charge, burden [cf. ompguntom]
action [cf. ompi]
evil deed, evildoer [cf. -idi]
pandanus
feeling of heaviness [cf. ompog]
earth oven
brain
deep
furnace
west wind
sea-shell
head
multitude
stony ground, heap of stones
1. point
2. beak
headland, cape
knee [C:nompuneteri/n, kneecap]
ear, shoulder
thigh [C:nompun nevan, thigh-joint]
grass [cf. topavo]
island
garland, crown
old age [cf. ompumetuo]
friend, neighbour [C:nompun naran]
deed, work, action [cf. ompuraggi]
misdeeds
good deeds
chief cornerstone
witness, testimony [cf. ompuvsoh]
testimony
nompuwo n L mountain [C:nompuo]
nompwau n L cloud, mist [C: nompuau]
nomtidan n C daybreak [n- + omti + dan]
nomu n fish
nomukam n L sun
nomuklevieh n L fish sp. [cf. nomu]
nomunagen n L fish sp. [cf. nomu]
nomurep n life [cf. omurep]
fan nomurep C living, long life
nomutra n L fish sp. [cf. nomu]
nona t L three days ago [C: nowima]
ngenog C cf. nomn mi ngenog, to crouch (as animal)
noqkli- n L leaf [C: noqkeli/n]
noqklinadimai n CR* ailment akin to rheumatism [cf. nadimal 2.]
noqkon q some, remainder
noqkon nimpe C on the other side
noqkon noqkon C halves of a thing
noqkon ogo su C goods
noqo-nom n L smoke [C: noqon nom; cf. nom 1.]
noqoti n beche-de-mer, sea-slug
noqoukoupwa n L banana sp.
noqu- n L 1. tooth [C: noqo/n; cf. ogu]
 n C* 2. beak
nompu-n nogu-n C* 1. point
2. beak
nompu-n nogu-n nu C* headland, cape
nogun n L entrance [cf. nogu-?]
nogunselat n L 1. door, doorway [C: noqon selat 'doorway']
2. road 3. passage, bay, harbour [cf. selat]
noraiyu n C shadow, shady place
norari n C flow (of a river) [cf. orari]
noremismis ? C flickering (of a flame)
norituqa n L north wind
norivgai n L fence
norivsau n C ladder
norgi n C* hearing, feeling [cf. orgi]
norgisat n C anxiety [cf. orgisat]
norgompunu n C* grief, distress, bereavement [cf. organgompunu]
noroi tu n C hurricane
noror n C something only heard of
noru- n L 1. hand 2. branch
donorono-noru- n L finger
nompu-noru- n L elbow, shoulder
noru-n nei L branch of a tree
norowo n C* swimming [cf. oruwo]
noruwogi n C* washing [cf. oruwogi]
nosas t L five days ago [C: nowisas]
noura- n L bone [C: noira/n]
nousam n L tree sp.
nousap n C* flood [cf. ousap]
sil-nousap C drain, ditch
Nousensi- n L guts, bowels, intestines [C: novinsi/n]
noute n L things, possessions, cargo, goods [C: noete]
novahap n L bay, harbour [C: novasap, nevasep]
novar n L wall
novelranu n L fish sp. [cf. novle]
novkilien n C husk, chaff
novlaimpgo- n L tail
novlaivi- n L tail
novlesenti n C escort
novli- 1. n sore, ulcer
novli- 2. n L feather
novlimet n L eyelashes, eyebrows
   [cf. CR: novlimit]
novlira- n L body hair, fur
   [C: novelira/n]
novlitmi n CR eyebrow
novlohuo n L seaweed
novlompu- n L hair of head
   [cf. nompu-; C: novlimpu]
novloq- n beard
novlovsi n L grass
novnen n L a particular star
novo 1. n C grass sp., long and thin
novo 2. i C swearword ('it's hanging down')
novoh n L banana (fruit and tree)
   [C: novos]
novogon n C flower
novosi n L smoke [cf. ovosi?]
novse- n L seed
novse-n n-agan C enemy [cf. agan]
novse-nietu- n L testicles
novse-n nipmi C eye [cf. nimit-]
novse-n togesoveli C enemy
novsirian ? C least
novsoguampe- n L jaw [C: novsogwmamp]
novo n L god [C: nobu]
novu- n L fruit
novua- n L fruit 2. seed
novuan nale L immature coconut
novuan nemli C anklebone
novuan netnivri C round-headed club
novuan nogoi L banana
novum C cf. ra novum, first
novuvent n C stonewall [cf. nevuvent]
nowa- n neck
tai nowan C to comfort
nowatni- n L root [C: noatni/n]
nowomti ? C one-legged [cf. ogwomti]
nowomti duru C legless
nraqagon n L animal
nu n L water
nogve-n nu CR tributary (of a river)
nuitogli n C well [cf. ogli]
nulimt- n L tears [3s is nulipmi; cf. nimit-]
nu nesusah C boiling water
nunmah n L low tide [cf. nu, nambah 2.; C: nunemmas]
telgo-n nu C* bank of a river
nuf a L fat
nufwaki n C worship [cf. ufwaki]
nugumori n L yam sp.
nulogon n C variety, species
numera n C arithmetic [Introd.]
numpulou n L tree sp.
numureh n L fish sp. [possibly nomu]; cf. nomu]
nunu L cf. omomki nunu, suckle (as child)
nugonom n L tobacco [cf. nom 1.]
nup n L yam
nur n L place, land [C: nuru]
ete nur C* 1. abode 2. field
nur wogon C* desert
nurag n L land animal [C:nurah]
nurah n C thing, article, object
nurian n C judge, court [cf.urian]
nurie n C follower
nuru C cf. tai nuru, to be at the point of death

nusian a C 1. large, plenteous [n-usian?] 2. high 3. powerful
fan lou nusian C* high chief
nuval n C fat
nuvnei n L manioc, tapioca, cassava [cf. nup, nei; C:nup ne]
nuwa n L digging stick, adze
nva- n C* thigh [C:neva/n] nompu-nva- n L thigh [C:nompun nevan, thigh-joint]

nvag n C* food
namen nvag C* crumb
navivon nvag C* crumb of bread

nvat n L stone [C:nevat]
etpont-vat-su L very cold, frozen [cf. etpont, -su L]

mworopatevi n C condemnation [cf. woropatevi]

qi p instrumental preposition, with, by (means of)

-qi transitive suffix

O

o i yes
oetet a C lame [n]
ogalar va C fixed, fast, aground
ogep v fly
ogeritwi v C wonder, be amazed at
oghai v L look at [cf. oghi]
oghi v L look, see, find [C: ogesi]

oghidi v C* despise, disparage
oghigo ra C* look out through
oghisat v C* despise, hate
oghiveh v C* receive favourably, desire greatly

goli v L dig (trans) [cf. ogol; C:ogeli]
ogol v L dig (intrans) [cf. ogli]
ogoloqo v C prostrate oneself [cf. ogol?] ogoroqo a C broad [n]
ogote v C stay for a short time [cf. ete]

ogovsep v L come ashore
ogowomti a C maimed [n]
oguroqo v L put sth. in the way so as to block the path

ogu v L say (esp. quotations)
ohori 1. v L be broken
ohori 2. v L be bald
ohoroqo v L look for
ohoru v L be in pain [C:n/esoru]

ohovgi v L ruf

ohovo a L white [cf. ehevo]
okili v L 1. know 2. know how to, be able (to) [C:ogili]

okilisevat v C* doubt, hesitate

okini v C entice, draw away (trans)

olaviagoni v C devour

olehera- n L body [C:nogilisira/n]
olen v C blow (a shell trumpet)
oltayou n L little finger
omaniu nam v L breathe

omagku v L call, name

omkon v L 1. drown (intr.), sink (intr.) [C:amgon, transitive sense] va L 2. drowned [C:n/omgon]

omnug a L wet
omgai a ignorant, stupid, foolish
omgol a C deaf [n]
omiyu a C cool, lukewarm [n]
omoni v L drink [C:monog]
omoni nunu L suckle (as child)
omolog 1. v L clean sth. [C:nomolog]
omolog 2. v L thank [C:nomolog]
ompi a C mad [n]
omelo v C join, unite, repair [n]
omlul v C be drowned [n]
omeriti a C aged [n]
ompguntom a L heavy [cf. ompog]
omp v v do, make
omp leleh L braid rope
omp namon a C crownoise
omp nanom L weave
ompode n C wild bird sp. [cf. ompen]
ompo a C heavy [cf. ompguntom] [n]
omplag l v L marry
ompon n C wild bird sp. of dove variety [cf. ompode]
omposti a C excellent [n]
ompu a L sweet
ompulepe a C bald [n]
ompumeto a C old [n]
ompuraggi v L work (esp. in garden), to garden
ompuvosog v C bear witness [n]
ompwelvi n L whale [C:umpelwi]
omp a C 1. broken 2. ended [n]
ompentwi a L rotten [cf. ompti?]  
omurep v v live, be alive [n]
omwisi q L all [cf. -su 1.]
omwol v L 1. fall [C:mol, omol]  
2. be born
on v L be lost

om v v abound, increase [n]
omi p cf. qi, instrum. preposition
-om transitive suffix [cf.-qi]
onko a L straight, erect, upright [C:n/onko]
onkoko a 1. hard, strong [C:n/onkoko]  
a C 2. perverse, abstruse
nimo onkoko C prison [n]
onkur va C afraid, puzzled [n]
onu v C gnash the teeth [cf. nogu-] [n]
opiopii n C yam- & -cabbage pudding
oral v L flow
oramal a C meek [n]
oraqi i C interjection to attract attention of one person
oraqkau v L be in pain
orari v L flow (of river)
oras a C oval [n]
orasivsiv v C hold firmly
orai v L scratch
oremlemu a C feeble [n]
orenau n L tree sp.
oretete n L broom
orerev 1. v C stretch
orerev 2. v C draw water
orgai v L swim, float [C:orogai]
orgaisag v L float
orgon v L squeeze
ori va C bewildered [n]
orioki v L carry
orisampuwi n L comb
orugi v C lift
orgi v L perceive; thus hear, smell, feel [C:origi]
orgiqi v C* take heed
orgisat v C 1. be anxious  
2. feel sick, feel bad about
3. repent [cf. -sat]
orgogi v C* take heed [var. of orgioqi q.v.]
orgompunu v C* be sorry, mourn [cf. orgi]
orofenuo n L yam sp.
oroglaq n L nose [C:worogelaq]
orogole v C stay, lodge, sojourn
orokilen v C wash the hands
orog a L 1. big, great, powerful [C:horog]
  n L 2. power, might
nam'orog C* boast (n)
nemtaiq orog hurricane
orog eni L 'it's wide'
orogtou q L many
orogveh a C* restored to health, well
tawi-orog-veh L few
orsentu n L staff, stick, crutch, walking-stick [C:woresentur]
ortamprag n L pillow [C: woretamporah]
oruh v L swim, bathe [C:oruwo]
oruleki v C sette, grasp, restrain
oruntvi v L pinch
orusevi v C break into small pieces
orutenmoqi v L sink, drown (trans)
oruwogi v wash (clothes)
orvi v L cut, hew out [C:orevi]
osavlahagi v L turn sth. over
oseluogi v L pass (by), hurry on [cf. eteluogi; C:salewogi]
  oseluogi nam C* ignore
otavrivri v L forget [cf. tavrivri]
oteqilaq n L fly whisk
oti v L give birth (to)
otihep v L put
otni v L cook, burn (trans., human subject) [C:atni]
nen-otni n C scorching sun [cf. nen]
ousap v L flow very fast, be in flood [C:olsap]
ouyoq v L awaken s.o., wake s.o.up
ova i C indeed?, is that so?
ovanian eni n? C arrow
ovasi v L buy
ovgah v L defecate
ovkisag v C* lift up
ovkisep v C lower, put down
ovlaqka u v C turn a corner [n]
ovli v C bristle [n]
ooli v L turn
ovolivoli v C keep turning over, roll
ovon q L all
ovogi v give
  ovogilap v C give temporarily, lend
ovogovoq v C determine
ovorivori v C bore [also avorevore]
ivosi v L blow, w. mouth,
  2. blow a fire
ovraqi i C interjection to attract several people's attention
ovravsoqi v C exhort, counsel
ovrogi v C call
ovsen v C cover over [n]
oversor v L awaken, wake up (intr.)
ovtar a C rotten [n]
ovuaki v L pray
ouvair v L be full (of person or thing)
  ouvaroqi v C* fill
ovunisog v L enter, go in [cf. nisog]
ourog C* cf. nehkil ovurog, centipede
ovwi v C cut w. knife
owampat a C dumb [n]
owi 1. v C leave
    owilap v C leave temporarily
    owisep v C leave behind
owi 2. v plant
oworepatevoqi v C substitute [n]
owun v L leave

pah i C lo!, behold!
pai c L then
palsi n C race, age, generation
pam a C dumb, mute
paq n L banyan [C:nimpaq]
pap n L fish sp.
patinunuwap n L tree sp.
patmonu n L heart
pau a C dear
    itemas pau C love gift, grace
    kik-e-pau i C greeting lit. 'you are dear'
pe ? C self [cf. pen-]
    kik-pe-kik i C 'please yourself'
pelag 1 C away, out [C:pelah]
    dinme pelag C* mother's sister [cf. dinm-]
pen- L reflexive prefix, self [cf. pe]
penatpu n L thumb [C:potatpu]
pentop n ashes, dust
    nampo-n pentop C cooking place [cf. nampo-]
penuri t after, then, later
pete n L yam sp.
pogop n C sky, heavens
poki n L salt-water eel
pokitampet n L door [C:pugetampet]
pol c C then

polie n L sugarcane [cf. also poria]
polku c C when, while (past) [cf. polsoqku]
polsoqku c C when (past) [cf. polku, soqku]
pog p L dative preposition, to
    pog p to + third person
pogipogi n C sheep
pogvat a L thick
popowo c C because
poraporap n C evening [cf. pwarap]
poren n L yam sp.
poria n L sugarcane [cf. also polie; C:poriya]
pot c C for
    pot- C place of [prefix of place
potgon 1 L 1. near [cf. potpot] name
    a L 2. short [cf. potpot]
    potgon nam C a few words
potnavlo n L fish sp.
potnewon n C foundation
potni n C 1. beginning
    2. ancestors
    3. stump of tree
    potnimpris n C autochthones of the island, 'the ancients'
potnomputuo n C platform, throne
potpot p L 1. near
    t L 2. near
    a L 3. short
    v C* 4. approach [cf. potgon, C:potipot]
pouwel n L tree sp.
pruvgum n L morning [C:pruvogom 'evening']
pumrog n L night
    pumrog ratunemis C midnight
purou n L hat
PW

pwagah n L day, daytime, daylight [C:pwagas 'forenoon, morning']
pwagah-pwagah n C* noon, midday
pwarap n evening [cf. poraporap]
pwatni n L banana sp.
pwoqku n L tree sp.

R

ra p 1. locative and causative preposition; thus to, in, at, on, because of [also rai, ira-]
c 2. because
ra monpon C 1. inside 2. under
ra nisa L behind, last [C: ra nesah]
ra nogori- beside
ra novum C first
rai p var. of ra (q.v.)
rampu- n L 1. in front (of) 2. on top (of)
ranta- n L behind [cf. ra, ta- 2.]
rategomesag 1 C* upwards
rategomeyep 1 C to the bottom
rategompe 1 C beyond
ratelvo 1 C outwards
ratemran t C on the next day [cf. mran]
ratevetui n C hope [cf. tevetui]
ratilat 1 C to the outside [cf. ilat]
ratunemis t C early
  pumrog ratunemis C midnight
ratunisoq 1 C* inside [cf. nisoq]
ravseve v C close up
retp- n L wife [C: retepo/n]
rori v C capture
rovoro- n C daughter-in-law [n]
ru v stay, remain, tarry

S

safeti v C push [var. of saveti?] safi n C sign, mark, picture
safigi v C measure up, liken, compare
sag v L 1. climb, ascend, go up [C:sah]
  v C* 2. increase [C:sah]
  L 3. up [C:sah]
sag L upwards [C:-sah]
sagelevogi v C hang
sagumulep v C suffer
sai cf. hai
  sai im sai cf. hai im hai
  sai sesai cf. hai sesai
saimo cf. haimo
saimomu cf. haimomu
saiteven cf. haiteven
saitevengo cf. haitevengo
salekilegon v C coil round
sam n C foreskin
sapwotu n L fish sp.
sar v C conceive (a child)
sari v C attach oneself to, cleave
sariari v C remit (?) to
sarisari v CR hang about, be afraid
to come near
sat a C 1. bad, evil
  n C 2. sin
  menug sat C* swallow, the [C has menuo sat]
sat C intensive pejorative suffix
satemoqi v C reject
satevogi v C drive away, divorce
satevrorau a C comely, good, well-developed
satidi v C 1. do evil
  n C 2. evildoer
sau n spear
sauselogo 1. v C flutter (as flag, as quickening in pregnancy)
sauselog 2. v C 1. wrestle
   n C 2. wrestling
save n L flying fish
savet v C push [var. of saveti?]
saveti v push [cf. also savet, safeti]
savutah n C clan, people of same place
se 1. pr L what? [C:tie]
   sema pr L what?
se 2. v C face, withstand
sedavoni v C persuade
sedio g n C first intimation
sediugiveh v C* listen, attend, be obedient
sediwar n C dislocation of joint
sedogon v C roll in the hand, thresh, crush
sedogye v C 1. influence for evil
   2. mock, ridicule
sedomi s v C cleanse
sedori v C unsheath, pull out [also asidori]
sefaiintan v C set in uproar
sei 1. v L stab, shoot w. arrow
   or spear [CR:se nomu 'spear fish']
sei 2. n L stick
sekil n C proof
selah v C slumber, be drowsy
selai v C shine
selamegis va C 1. overgrown
   n C 2. overgrown track
   seldom used
selat n C 1. road, path, way
   n 2. door
   selatalam n C street
   tai selat C stumble, grope about
   telgo-n selat C* side of road
selemog n C crossroads
selevlevi v C open up, bud, spread out (as sail)
selgon v C slacken, be out of joint (of bone)
selieli v C force, compel [cf. telieili]
selni vi n C inside ridge of house
   selni vi nam C law
selog v C overflow
seluamen nom C flames of fire
semelmel n C expert (at shooting, spearing, etc.)
semet a C topmost, upper
   nam semet C the last word
semevisi v C 1. warn
   n C 2. scout, sentry
semoimo a CR 1. lost
   n CR 2. lost person or animal
sempeleyogog v C walk w. a stoop
sempelgi s v C persuade
sempelog n C joist, beam
   sempeloge ogi v C place underneath
sempelu o n C nest
sempesempe n C gale, tempest
sempia n C fool, idiot
sempiri n C deceiver
sempiyomti n L Southern Cross
seplauon n C garment
sensemang v C 1. gather
   n C 2. gathering, flock, congregation
semsempari n C shield, protector
semsi v C extract
semsimah t L Wednesday
semsimogi v C collect
semp umpum v C scent (as a dog)
seni v C hide
senigi v C beg, beseech [also esenigi]
senipmi v L go against the wind
   [cf. nimit-]
senteri v C 1. seek out in order to kill
n C 2. one who seeks out in order to kill
senterompeni v C reach, arrive at
senteroqi v C overtake
senti v C cleanse
sentgolal v L 1. hicough [C: sentigole]
n L 2. hicough [C: sentigole]
sepop v L tie
sentur v C see s.o. off on a journey
sentivi v L 1. wipe, rub
2. be clean and dry [C: sentivi]
saranousen n L yam sp.
sirim v C gush out
serogoqi v C agree w.
sesai n L thing, something
hai sesai L something
sesegoe v C be open, break (a dam, etc.)
esenenagon n C poison
esi v show
esieveh v C* 1. revere, honour
n C* 2. reverence, honour
sesimaqsi n L index finger [cf. sesi show]
esiuiwai v C 1. prop up 2. be against, be leaning on
sevasi v C exchange
sevet nam C* boast (n & v)
sevi 1. n CR painful swelling
sevi 2. v CR break up, destroy
seviogqi v C scatter, sow seed [cf. aseviogqi]
seyemoemo v C dare
seyevo v C stumble
seyewani v C quit, leave, wander about
seyoiva n C v. small basket
seyoviap v C undress, take off clothes
si- n L excrement
sikat va C many
silevog n C room [cf. ilevog]
sil n? C ochannel(?) [cf. next two entries]
sil-nousap n C* ditch, drain [cf. nousap]
sil-novanu n C deep channel worn by water
siman v C prepare
simanlo n house in nakamal for visitors, men's house
simsi va C cold
siouguqi v C keep
siompu n L comb
sogomulep v C torment, agonize
sogowar 1. v C bewitch
sogowar 2. n C offering, sacrifice
sogowavi v C haul
soki v L olimb up, go aboard [C: sogi, sugi; cf. asoki]
sompat v L 1. shut, close
2. be shut, be closed [C: sompwat]
 v C* 3. avert, baffle [C: sompwat]
sompatamtoqi v C* shut out, shut in [cf. sompat]
sompelaq v C search eagerly
sompeli v C eat ravenously like a pig (insulting)
sompelulya v C mix, confuse, be muddled
somplug n L nest [C: somplog]
sompog v C 1. snore
 n C 2. snoring
sompoli v C annul, cancel, destroy, change
sompogum v C splinter sth.
sompum netre C* kneel [C:sompum netere/n; cf. nompu-netru-]
sog v C come up (of plant)
sogkelau v C  1. look down from a height
  n C  2. cliff, precipice
sogkelowi v C gaze at
sogkori v C touch
sogku c C as, like, same, also
  [cf. hokuse]
sogu v C kiss
sor v C arise
soremelmel v C search (intr.)
sorogi v C seek for
sorwavo n L fish sp.
soveli v C preserve, embalm
-su 1. plural-marker, all
-su 2. perfective marker
sukilkilwi v C protect, save, deliver
sukrim q five
dan sukrim L Friday
sukrim-dehel q eight
sukrim-duru q seven
sukrim-dvat q nine
sukrimoqi q C fifth
suli v C free, set free

ta- 1. n L skin, bark
  ta-n nei L bark of a tree [C: tan ne]
  ta-n nimt- C* eyelid [C:tan nipmi]
  ta-n no- C* instep [C:tan nowan]
ta- 2. n C back [cf. nelponta-]
  ra ta-n C on, on top of
 tadamsag v C* increase, multiply, be abundant
tadgo n C messenger
tadi v C make smooth, shave, plane
tadogon v C bruise, pulverise
tafqi v throw, throw away
tagli v C stumble
tagose v C clear oneself
tahi v L wrap up
tai v hit, strike, fight
tai iran C exchange
tai nowan C comfort
tai nuru C be at point of death
tai selat C stumble, grope about
taintimne n C storey (of house)
taiki n L banana sp.
tainar n C boundary line, mark, heap (of stones)
tainatau n C swing [cf. natau]
taipelah v L open, be open
  [C:taipelah]
taipotonei n L yam sp.
taisep 1. v C take down w. one hand
taisep 2. abate (of sea, flood)
taitan v C* overwork, overdrive
taitemne n C* deck, terrace
taiwi v C punish
taki v C row
tal n L taro [C:netal]
talam va C grown up, adult [cf. alam]
talepasi v C collapse, faint
talet va C tangled (as a fishing line)
talevie n L taro sp., 'Fiji taro'
tali 1. v C satisfy
tali 2. n L shadow
talimet v C wink
  mosi talimet CR* star
taliqi v 1. fill
   v C 2. draw water
talni v C fold, roll up [cf. alni]
talogogqi v C present, offer, give
talog v C measure out
talogi v C kill	
tamah a L many, big, great,
   abundant [C: tamas]
tamoli v L send [C: tamuli]
tampalau n C adultery
tampalsag v C* have in abundance
tampeli n C native cabbage
tampenemoqi v C succeed s.o.
tampeniqi v C punish	
tampenum 1. v C 1. substitute
   n C 2. substitute
tampenum 2. n C inheritance
tampi v C 1. converse
   n C 2. conversation
tampigi v C tell
tampignon va C mixed, confused
tampili av L finished
tamplin n L sister-in-law (WZ, BW)
tampoli v C choose
tampompie n C yam and fowl pie
tamprup v C blow the nose
tampup v C bow down, stoop
tamsal v C take offence
tamsi v C answer
tamtag v C masticate audibly, graze
   (of animals)
tamtam n L drum
tamtel n L tree sp.
tanepogon v C be in time
tanmitno- n L foot [cf. no-]
tanogkon av C throughout, from end
to end
tanowa- n L neck, nape of neck
   [cf. nowa-]
tanpo a C 1. good, right, just
   n C 2. goodness, justice
tanterompeni v C come through,
   go through
tanterum va C 1. unoccupied
   n C 2. space, room
tantevagepe v C 1. overcome
   n C 2. person of high status
tantevi v C cut off
   tantevi nimt- C to insult
tanti 1. v C 1. constrain, check
   v 2. anchor, be anchored
tanti 2. v C invite as a guest
tantieni v C carry on the shoulder
   (by two men)
tantiogompug v L conceive (a
   child), be pregnant [C: tadyogompug]
tantop a long, far
   levi-tantop n L middle finger
   nimo tantop C tower
tantop imeluo C depth
tantop umnuri C length
tantopvirog a L narrow [cf.
   virog]
tawi-tantop t L soon
tagele v C swallow
tagesag n C* heap
taugkau p C opposite
tagkli v L 1. ask
   n L 2. question [C: tagkeli]
tapmetvem v C* refresh
tapmi v 1. try, test
   n C 2. trial, temptation
tar v L fight
taranoiyor v C collapse
tareferogi v C raven, prey
tari v cut up, cut (fruit) w.
   knife, lance
ta'rikirgon v C fall and break into pieces
tarqi v C think (of), consider
  [cf. taru]
taru v 1. think, wish
  n C 2. thought, will
taseviowi v C neglect, overlook purposely	
tasi 1. v C take off (e.g. a roof)
tasi 2. v C alight (e.g. as a bird)
tasiasye 1. n C peace
tasiasye 2. n C complete preparation	
tasiqi v C cross over
tasigitasigi va C spotted, variegated
tasisi v 1. to flower (of a plant)
  n 2. flower
tasomperi va C eloquent
tasongesog va C light (in weight)
taste v C perch, roost
tatevote n C goods, belongings
tatevotegi v C 1. carry round
  n C 2. something carried round	
tau n C fruit sp., grape-like, w.
  rough skin & large seed
tavegarar v C crawl, walk on four legs
tavelvel v C* shake w. wind
tavelveli v C* fan
tavelvelom n C* fan
tavenu n C* fan
tavenepon v C 1. treasure
  n C 2. treasured possession
tavesves v C prepare, get ready
tavi v C catch in the hands
taviar n C magic
  neteme taviar C magician
tavioguji v C dip into water, saturate
tavlipmi v L go with the wind
  [cf. nimt-]
tavlogi v L split, cut open
  [C: tavelogi]
tavogi v L 1. lose
  v C 2. grope after
tavogones v C cross over, repeat
tavri v C select, choose, discern
tavrivri v C 1. waver, stagger
  va C 2. be forgetful, absent-minded
  [cf. otavrivri]
tavsimogi v C 1. place small things together
  ? C 2. alternately
tavsoqi v 1. teach, learn
  n L 2. teacher
tavtavi v C grope
tavtiti v v smash up
tavturu v C reach a place, escape to
tavu n C witchdoctor, sorcerer
  nahiven tavu n C* sorceress
  neteme-tavu n L medicine man
  [C: netemtavu]
tavu neteme n C witchdoctor, sorcerer
  tavuadasag v C* well up (as a spring)
tavulu n C weeds sprouting in a garden
tavuntan v C talk secretly against

tawi q no, not, none
  tawi-orong-veh L few
  tawi-tantop t L soon
tei v C be, exist
tedowi v C stay, dwell
teglisau n L fish sp.
telasep v C bow the head
tele v C grow up
telemte v L blue, green [C:telimte]
teli n L tree sp.
telieli v C force, oblige [cf. selieli]
telieni n C* young tree
telienlo n C growing youth
telifogate va C middle-aged
telinagkau n C outside corner [cf. naŋkauog]
telinisoq n C* inside corner [cf. nisoq]
teligomtii n L club [C:telonghomtii, star club]
telix n L sling
telqipat va L deaf [C:telogipat]
telgo- n L ear [C:telogo/n]
telgongmol va C* partly deaf [cf. omgol]
telgo-n nu C* bank of a river
telgo-n ra tog C* sea coast
telgo-n selat C* side of road
telogi v C swallow
telogoni n C sea beach
telvi v L suck
temah va L 1. be hungry
n L 2. hunger [C:temas]
temelmel n C good shot
temetmetogii v C hope for
temne n L village
tempelii a L smooth
tempent v C block, ambush
tempoqon n C adultery [var. of tempogon]
tempresovo a C grey
temser v C start in one’s sleep
teneageugovii v C 1. beokon
v C 2. gather (as a hen her children)
tenatemah n C* graveyard
tenimpe v C allow, permit
tenisvi v C* overshadow, choke (of plants), submerge
tenmi v L bury [C:tenumi]
tensompatamtoqi v C* shut door against [cf. sompatamtoqi]
tentom v C 1. sound
n C 2. sound
tentuo n C host, multitude
tenutenu a C slow
tegawvi v C sip [cf. atgavvi]
teperesevo a C scarlet, purple
tepu v C become
terale v C be in a place ( = French se trouver)
terarehi v C watch s.o. or sth.
terelh n L banana sp.
terimsag n C* hill
tesagnafinen v C lift eyebrows indicating 'yes'
tesiqii v C dine
tesu v C lean against, thrust oneself to
tesuwas v C invoke, swear
teteliiqii n C crowd, throng
tetevnim n C calm, quiet (of mind)
tevagi ? C spare
tevaqepii v C divide into sections
tevasri v C* tear
tevavui v C separate
tevilquni v C dismiss
tevilgi v C torment
teventeroqi v C get married
tevetui v C 1. await
n C 2. hope, trust [cf. ratevetui]
tevi v C inhabit
tevilgoni v C send away from
tevigser v C threaten
tevilqi v C strip leaves off tree
tevivat v C angry-looking
tevreorui v C doubt
tevrevuwi v C be amazed
tevui v C strip
tevulvul v C be faint with hunger
tevureveh v C* restore
tevutui n C* bushland
tiali v C overshadow
timmamgis ? C desolate
timne n C cleared space of ground
tinepe v C give up
tiompeni v C conceal
tipe v C get, have
tiuntimne n C lofty place, height, altitude [cf. timne]
tivavtiti v C wipe out, destroy
tivurag v C distribute, administer
tofop v L laugh [C:tufop]
tog n L sea
   netnim tog C depths of the sea
telgo-n ra tog C* sea coast
tog ilevog C inlet of sea
togintan v C 1. be tossed at sea
   n C 2. swell of sea
tompoi n L bush
tompoqon n C adultery [var. of tempoqon]
tempor a C tabu, forbidden, holy
   nimo tempor C church
tomurep v C escape alive [cf. omurep]
tontamah q L few [cf. tamah]
togqagri v C* 1. howl, yell, bemoan
   [cf. togi, agri]
   n C* 2. lamentation
togesovel i v C 1. pity
   n C 2. pity
   novse-n togesovel i C enemy
togi v C weep, cry
togon v C kindle; yetogon naraqai
   eni - kindled his anger
topavo n L grass [C:topavu]
nalau ra topavo C* illegitimate child
nompu-n topavo L grass
touri-topavo n L weeds
topotnemi v C look intently
torah av C up
torani n L gun
toratorogi v L drag
torefog n C 1. thief
   2. extortion
toreforogi v C take by force
torenwisag v C* cry out, preach
   [cf. enwi, -sag]
torepsi v C overturn, capsize
tori 1. v C lead
   torigo v C lead aside a little
tori 2. n C terrace of land as seen from a distance
toriki v C go astray
toril i v L return, come back, go back [cf. torilki]
torilki v L come back, turn back
   [cf. torilli; C:torileki]
toriluo v L belch
torimpe v C go in, enter
torimsesag n C* high place
toris v C 1. disfigure
   n C 2. wound
toritori va C striped
torpis n L lightning [C:turpis]
toruqat 1. v a C in good health
toruqat 2. n C servant in house
touri v L hunt
touri-topavo n L weeds
tovat n C cliff
tovatarogi v C worry, be anxious
tovogum v C to fast
tovom v L roast, cook [C:tovum]
tovroqi v C marry
tovu n L conch, shell trumpet
   [C:tovui]
tovuni v L make a fire
tovura n L whale
tovutovu n C small solitary shrub
towoni p L privative preposition,
   from [C: tovuni, for]
turamtoqi v C withstand [cf. etur]
tuste t L Tuesday [Bisl.]

U
u p C locative preposition, usually prefixed
uamwus v C reprove [n]
ufle n C sweet yam
ufwaki v C worship [n]
ulakis n L rat
ulag n fly
   ulagtomtom n C bluebottle fly
ulaveri n C ground orchid
ulevog n L chronic sore
ulouki n L basket for carrying
   crops [C:ulologi]
umlahme n C* twins
umamrap v L hunt
umanmin n L fish sp.
umanmin v L fish sp.
umelegom n C wild bird
umenum v C rush
   umenumutenem v C assault
umese va CR scorched
umesuli C cf. nam umesuli, apology
umgai va C ripe
umitar n rainbow
umkeya n L worm
umlat va C barren, fruitless
umnuri C cf. tantop umnuri,
   length
umole n L ant [C:mole]
umon v C bake
umovuo n C crop of fruit
umpunpun n L fish sp.
umpwoyou n L fish sp.
umranor n C falling sickness
umrogeri n C inability to walk
unam va C firm, unchanged
   nam unam C oath
unam- 1 L at one's place, at home
unavonavo 1 C in the field
uneai 1 C high above earth, in
   the sky [cf. neai]
unelogompne 1 L east [C:
   nelegompe 'west']
umisoq 1 L 1. inside
   p L 2. inside [cf. nisoq;
   C:unesog]
unmap 1 L below [cf. nmap]
unoris n C headland
untompoi 1 C in the bush [cf. tompoi]
untopavo 1 L in the bush [cf.
   topavo]
umug 1 L west [C:unuru, 'inland,
   east from Dillon's Bay']
umuwames n C conscience
ur a bad [C suggests 'horrible',
   stronger than sat]
urait n L rope
ure v C dispute, argue [n]
ureiwan n L fish sp.
urekis a C small, little
uremis av C gently
urian v C judge, adjudge [n]
urivnei n C* tree insect, moth
   [cf. nei]
urtayo n L broom
urtovi n L basket (more stylish than ulouki q.v.) [C:woretovi]
urugo av C rather badly
uruves n C plant sp.
urva n L river
usil n C trochus shell
usom n C clam shell
utam C cf. nimo utam, shrine
utaginvet n C eye socket
utgoi n L chin
utuga av C* afar
ututu n L hibiscus sp.
utvel n C* axe
uvar n L stingray
uvilyoru n L gentle breeze
uvnomu n L fingernail, toenail [C:uvenomu]
uvovu v L play
uvrah n L brain
uvrami n C soldier, warrior, army
uvrog n C temporary hut [possibly u + virog?] 
uvruni a C everlasting, eternal
uvum av C continually
uvumle n C early inhabitants of the island
uvuvu v L 1. tell a story
 n L 2. story
uwog n L fish sp.
uwovnavlar n L fish sp.
uye n L grasshopper
uyevi v C reprove
uyomug n L mosquito [C:uyomuo]

vaimpelam v C* bring [cf. velam]
vaioni v C put around, clothe
vaipelag v C* take away [cf. pelag]
vaisag v L lift up [C:vaisah]
vaisep v C put down
vaitorilki v C* bring back [cf. torilki]
vaiveh v C* do good
vaiveh nowan v C* repent
vaiesesat v C neglect sth. or s.o.
valegi v C threaten
valogi v C mend
vamon av C secretly
vamonki v C* thirst for [cf. omonki]
vau a new
vavgom n L fan
ve v go
vedoQoQi v C pay attention to
-veh L meliorative intensive suffix [C:-ves]
veilar v L go out
velam v L 1. come
  2. be born [C:velum]
veleruperup a C wide, broad
velesi v C follow, stick to
veli n C cave
velirivu n C cave stretching back into darkness
velitenmi n C* cave for the dead [cf. tenmi]
velogi v C break down, break in
venu v C take one's rest
vetmih n L sky [also vetmis]
vetmis n L sky [also vetmih]
vetunam n C rock
vevn- n L sister of man [C:vive/n]
vewon n C anything temporarily empty
veyu n C basket
veyuği v C hire, buy
veyuo v C grow cold in affection
via v C pass away
vieni v C go hungry
viete v C lie opposite
vietivsep v C glorify
vievsorasag v C* raise
viodki v C lose, forfeit
virog a little, small, narrow
nalau virog L young child
tantopviroga L narrow [cf. tantop]
viruği v C rebuke
vitur v C halt
vitursag v C* raise up, cause to stand
viwos v C promise [cf. iyevwos]
vogareki v C press on, crowd around
volyaq a L yellow
voqi v C shed, yield fruit
vulet v C give way, burst
vuli v C gum, stick
vuni v C suckle
vuo v C grow, of plants

w
wai 1. v C put feet on anything
wai lou C* paddle a canoe
wai 2. v C bite (of frost)
waine n L fish sp.
walevat a C secret [n]
walisevram n CR thorny vine w. large spines
waliswalis n CR mussel
warepo n CR elephantiasis in leg
warki a L strong

wasisar v C slip, be slippery [n]
waunog- n L cheek [C:waunog-]
wavirat n L fish sp.
wavran a C* 1. wide, broad [n]
n CR 2. wide door, wide gate
welga n L tree sp.
wemeh t L day after tomorrow [C:wemi]
weve n L tree sp. [C:wevi, tree similar to roseapple]
-wi 1. intensive suffix
-wi 2. locative suffix
wimpe t four days hence
wina t L three days hence [C: winaq]
wiou n L grandmother [C:uyô]
isas t five days hence
wofi n C leaf insect, locust
wogon av L very, only
nam wogon C boast
nur wogon C* desert
wolatop n C black ant
wolu n L tree sp.
woramal n C lizard
woragi v C laugh at sth. bad
woravan n L boots [cf. wor- + avan; waravan also recorded]
worhevi n C oven stick
woreiti n C bond [cf. eiti]
worenvau n C* pandanus
woretovtam n C* treasure, valuables [cf. etovtam]
woropatevi n C condemn [n]
worowi n C seedtime [cf. owi 2.]
worumnog n C windpipe
worwo i C* 'what does it matter?'
woselegi v C pour out, shed
wosila n L banana sp.
Y

yalegvi n C  tree of mistletoe
family
yalipe n C 1. glow-worm
a C 2. beautiful
yalit n L  fish sp.
yalogoi n L  tree sp.
yalulu n C  white of eye
yaluworog n C  pupil and iris
of eye
yarmis n L  banana sp.
yatrilua n L  spider
yau pr I, me
yauqa n C  elbow
yava n C  pus
yelogi n L  lobster, crayfish
yena n L  fish sp.
yeovgap v C  stir up (water) [cf.
iogevhap]
yep n L  climb down

yerog n L  a particular star
yerset n L  tree sp.
yetah n L  fish sp.
yetunemis t C  midnight [cf.
pumrog ratunemis]
yevi 1. v L  pull, drag
   yevi nesomsah L  be short of
   breath
   yevi 2. v C  annoy, tease, rebuke
[also iyevi]
yevle n C  arrowroot
yimsog n C  branch of river
yomput n  navel
yomulyomul v C  1. be rough, of sea
   n C  2. rough sea, tide,
   rips
yogi v C  rouse up
youp n C  1. cooked yams 2. bread
yowar n  thunder

2. ENGLISH-SIE

A
abate (of sea, flood) taisep
abatement of storm naiis
able, be okili
abode nete, nete nur
abominable iteovug i
abomination nimroq
abound og
above imeluo
absent-minded tavrivri
abstruse ogkoqko
abundance, have in tampalsag
abundant apa, tadamsag, tamah
accursed avoret
accusation nevievri
accuse enuatompeni
accross nogorogi
action nompurag, nompi
active elirau
adjudge urian
administer tivurag
adult talam
adultery tampalau, tempoqon,
tempoqon
advice nam armai
adze nuwa
afar utuqa
afraid ogkur, sarisari (to come near)
after penuri
against sesiuwai
age palsi
aged omperitwi
ago etuai (a short time ago)
agonize sogomulep
agree w. serogogi
aground ogalar
ague namri
aid (v) averi
aid (n) nesitu
ailment (rheumatism?) nogkladimai
aimlessly agau
air narweri
alas! iowe
alight (as bird) tasi
alive, be omurep, amurep
all omwisu, ovon, -su
allegory nam nangkauintan
alliance navrimogi
allow tenimpe
almond naqai
alms nompeleves
alone kosai
also sogku, itnasiven
altar nefati
alternately tavsimoqi
altitude tiuntimme
always dan su, idowi
amazed tevrevuwi, ogeritwi (at)
ambush tempent
amiss agau
amulet natau
ancestors potni
anchor (n) agka
anchor (v), be anchored tanti
ancient itnimpris, itetuai
'ancients, the' potnimpris

and im, m, ima (and then)
anger nagan, naragai
angry agan, aragai
angry-looking tevivat
animal nraaqgon, kurimatau, nurag
anklebone novuan nemli (land)
amnihilate eyuguyek i
annoy yevi, idav
annul sompoli
answer (v) tamsi, avitol
ant umole, wolatop (black)
anus navrasi-
anxiety norqisat
anxious tovataroqi, orqisat
anything temporarily empty vewon
apart elepon
apology nam umesuli
apostate nemtorilki
apparition neturatompeni
appear eturatompeni
approach potpot
arable ground fan nmap
areca nival
argue ure
arise sor
arithmetic numeru
arm nevlogo-, nelpwo-noru-
armlet of coconut shell nato revam
army uvrami
around nangkaugri
arranged ator
arrangement nator
arrival nevelam
arrive at senterompeni, elgavi
arrow ovanian eni, naqal, nagesau
arrowroot yevel
artery narep
artic Le
nu rah
as
sOlJku
ascend sa�
ashes pen top, mO lJkevu
ask ta�kli
assault umenumutenem
assist esitu
assistance nesitu
at ra, rai
atmosphere narweri
attach oneself to sari
attack eteqeveram
attend sediugiveh
attention, pay * to vedogoji
attract ereveni
aunt nogopon, detewo-, dinme pelag, namou, netuo-
autochthones of the island potnimpris
averse imru
avert sompat
avoid elani
await tevetui
awake elampe, eyumparum (wide *)
awaken ovsor (intr.), ouyoq (tr.)
away pelag
axe dogu, utvel, nake, aks
axe handle nelit

bad woman nahividi
badly, rather urugo
baffle sompat
bake umon
bald ompulepe, aviaviya, ohori
bamboo nau
bamboo whistle nauerojis
banana (fruit and tree) novoh
banana sp. arimram, denmori, doenon, guneyai, leiri, naram, nogoukoupwa, novuan nogoi, p watni, taiki, tereh, wosila, yarmis
banana leaf wrapping dau
band nelegi
bank of a river telgo-n nu
banquet nariigi
banyan pag
bar at river mouth nelpat
barbed agesau
bark ta-, ta-n nei
barren umlat
base netegon
bashfulness naromprom
basket urtovi, ulouki, veyu, seyoiva, nesuriaru
bathe oruh
battered eravlugi
battle navigat
bay novahap, nogunselat
be te, terale (in a place), tanepoqon (in time)
beach, sea telogoni
beads kirikiri
beak noqu-, nompu-n noqu-n
beam nelompoi nei, sempelog
bear witness ompuvsog
beard novloq-
beat against evlogi
beaten  itse
beautiful  armai-veh, yalipe, ilaswi
beauty  nilasilaswi
because  popowo, it, ra, rai
bêche-de-mer  nogoti, nehil ra ne
beckon  tenagevogevi
become  tepu
   become white  etegosevo
bed  nevlog
   bed, portable  nesuvlog
   bed of the ocean  netegon las
beetle  neko
before  itetuai
beg  seniqi
beget  alaqalau
beginning  natipotni, potni
begrudge  asiqi
behind  ranta-, ra nisa, kitan,
   netriho- (far)
behold!  pah
belch  toriluo
belly  nogolehti, netnim
belongings  tatevole
below  unmap, netegon
belt  netoetiqi
bemoan  toqaqri
bend  araqkowi
benefactive  nimi-, nisgo-
bereavement  norgompunu
beseech  seniqi
beside  ra nogori-
bespatter w. mud  evuli
betelnut  nival
betray  impiriqi
   betrayer  nimpiri
between  ilvote-, nogori-
bewildered  ori
bewitch  sogowar
beyond  nimpe, rategompe
Bible  netai
bicker  iyevi
big  orog, tamah
bind  eiti
bird  menug
   bird sp. wild  umelegom, ompon,
      ompode
birth, give * (to)  oti
bite  eni, elatop; wai (of frost)
bitter  agan
black  agumsu
black soil  nadimai
blade (of knife)  fan nau ituqa
blast  atnatati
blaze (n)  neluam-en nom
blessed  nevaiveh
blessing  nompeleveh, nempaiveh
blind  ipat, imtipat, imtei
   almost blind  maii
blindness  nimtei
block  tempent, oguroqi
blood  de
blot out  eyuguyeki
blow (v)  ovoisi (w. mouth), olen
      (shell trumpet), elimsi (wind),
      avoroqi (a gale), tamprup (the
      nose)
blow the nose  tamprup
blow (n)  natki
blue  elvogvat, telemtë
bluebottle fly  ulaqtomtom
blunt  ai, aiye
boast (n)  nam wogon, sevet nam, nam
boast (v)  sevet nam
body  olehera-
   body of water not open to
      sea  netpeh
body hair  novlira-

bog nal

boil (n) nalam

boiling water  nu nesusah

bond  nefarogi, nelegi, woreiti

bone  noura-

book  netaiyi, netai

boom of outrigger  movog

boots  woravan

border  nogori-

bore  ovorivori

born, be  omwol, velam

borrow  vailap

both  duru-su

bother  neyori

bottle  namponunevau

bottom  impwap, netegon

to the bottom  rategomeyep

boundary line  tainar

bow (n) (weapon)  nevani, nefani
(of boat)  nete lale

bow (v) (down)  tampup
(the head)  telasep

bowels  nalininiwar, nousensi-

bowl for mixing kava  mado

bowstring  nelas

boxing  natki

bracelet  nevlon

braid rope  ompi leleh

brain  uvrab, nomporei

branch  noru-, nevlogo-, dogorogo-,
dogorogo-nei, noru-n nei

branch of river  yimosq

bravado  namsag

bread  navugvug, youp

breadfruit (fruit & tree)  nmar

break  arki, sesegoe (a dam)

break down  velogi

break in  velogi

break into small pieces  orusevi,
erautiti

break up  sevi

fall and break into pieces  tarikirgon

breast(s)  ni-

breathe  esomsah, omanuinam

breeze, gentle  uvilyoru, nariovoiyu

bright  ilaswi

brightness  nilaswi

brimstone  narogas

bring  vaiipelam

bring back  vaitorilki

bring forth (of earth)  emaietompun

brisk  evarevarivi, elirau

bristle (v)  ovli

broad  veleruperup, ogorogi, waveran

broken  ohori, eseri, omti

broken friendship  nimlaq

broom  urtayo, oretete

brother (of man)  av-...-hai
(of woman)  man-

brother-in-law  netemohog

bruise  tadogon

bud (n)  nafog
(v)  selevlevi

budding  nafog

bull, bullock  kurimatau

bundle (n)  neat

burden (n)  nevar, nompunom

burial mound  naverimpor

burn (intr., of fire)  au
(trans., human subject)  otni

burst  vulet

bury  tenmi

bush  tompoi

bushland  tevutui
in the bush untopavo, untompoi

but kou

butterfly nemplaŋ, nemplaŋ-empo
(large)

buttocks nemgu-

buy eseivasi, ovasi, veyuqi

by (means of) ni

C

cabbage, native tampeli
call omagku, ovroqi
call out ahor
calm (n) tetevnim, naiis (= calm sea) namarinu
calm (adj.) emolsep

canarium sp. naga

cancel sompoli
cane grass denyuŋ
canine tooth of pig nempati
canine lou, louveli
cape nompu-n noqu-n nu
capsize torepsi
capture rori
care for oneself evieyeyeye
cargo noete
carry orioki, tantieni (on shoulders)
carry back efitorilki
carry round tatevoteği
carve etaiyi
cassava nuvnei
catch elgavi, tavi

causative prefix efi-
cause to keep or be kept efefinte
cave neveli, veli
cave for the dead velitenmi
cave stretching into darkness velirivu
cemetery nmaprimpor
centipede nehkil ovurog
certain, a hai
chaff novkiliën
change sompoli
changeable nelasamroq
channel silnovanu
charge (n) nompguntom
check tanti
cheek waunoq-

chest (part of body) nemedq-

chew alsii

chicken netuo

chief natemonog, fan lou, narisag

child nit-, nalau, nalalau (young), itvirog (younger), aluo- (of sibling of opposite sex)

chin utgoi

chin, under the nasiwan

choke (of plants) tenisvi

choose tampoli, tavri

church nimo tompor

circumcise ompi namon
circumcision namon

clam shell usom
clan savutah

clean (v, adj.) sentvi, ompaloqi
clean fish arovin
clean road of undergrowth aronqi
cleanse sedomsi, senti
clear (adj.) ilaswi
cleared space of ground timne
clear oneself tagose
cleave to sari
clench the teeth eltirit

cliff sogkelau, nelponvat, tovat
climb sag
climb down yep
climb up soki
close (v) sompat

close up ravsevse

closed, be sompat

closed grave mavrempor

cloth, native nmah-itse

clothe vaiqi

clothes netausep, nmah

cloud nompwaun, nagop

cloudy nagop

club niram, netnivri, telingomti (star club?), novuan netnivri (round headed)

coast, sea telgo-n ra tog

coconut (fruit) fan noki (tree) noki (dry) nomkai, nogil (empty) nevenoki (immature) novuan nale (ripe) neherop (past ripeness) namte

coconut grater naoleh

cocoanut shell armlet natorevam

coil round salekilegon

cold (adj.) etpont, simsi
cold season (May-July) nagah
cold wind nemtaii netpont

cold (n) netpont

collapse talepasi, taranoiyor, imtarogroq

collect sensimogoi

comb (n) siompu, orisampuwi, kom
comb (v) amsi

come velam

come ashore ogovsep
come back torili, torilki
come through tanterompeni
come to a head (of boil) alam
come up (of plant) soq
comely satevrorau

comfort (v) tai nowan, eyevi

commendation nevietivesep
commerce nevasi
compare safiqi
compel selieli
compulsion natkisa
conceal tiompeni
conceive (a child) tantiogompug, sar

conch tovu
condemn woropatevi
condemnation nworopatevi
confluence of rivers nemson
confuse sompelulya
confused tampigon
congregation semsemag
conscience unuwames
consider taroqi
constrain efiiari, tanti
contend auwaruwi
contention nauegomwi
continually uvum
contrary imru
conversation tampi
converse tampi

cook etnitovom, tovom, au (intr.), otni (human subject)
cooking place nampo-n-pentop
cooked, be au
cooked yams youp

cool omoiyu, ariovoiyu
copulate isor
cord nefaroqi

corner telinisog (inside), telinaqkau (outside), naputan (outside)
cornerstone nampotan, nampontan, nomputan nimo (chief)
cough (v) avrug
cough (n) navrug
counsel (v) ovravsoqi
count ehapi
court (n) nurian
cover over ovsen
cow kurimatau
crab nevlah
crawl tavegarar
crayfish yeloqi
crazy amlu
crooked agkau
crop of fruit umovuo
cross (n) neumparum
cross over tavogones, tasiqi
crossroads selemsqog
crouch (as animal) nommi nogenog
crouched aiqog
crowd (n) tetelioqi
crowd round vogareki
crown (n) nompuapgor (= garland)
nompelepes (of head)
crude itsogku
crumb namen nvaq, navivon nvaq
crush sedogon
crutch orsentu
cry (v) toqi, agri, ahor, torenwisag
cry (n) nahor
curse (v) vaiidi
cut orvi, tari (cut fruit w. knife)
  ovwi (w. knife)
  cut off tantevi
  cut open tavloqi
  cut up tari

dam (n) namtah
damage (n) nogini
dance (v) empgogo
dance (n) nempigo
dare seyemoemo
dark elvog, elvogvat
darkness nelvogvat
dash against evloqi
daughter nit-
daughter-in-law rovogo-
dawn, before the * nauevitavu
day pwagah, dan (= period of time)
nilar (= daylight)
six days ago nementog
five days ago nosas
four days ago nompe
three days ago nona
day before yesterday nomeh
day after tomorrow wemeh
three days hence wina
four days hence winpe
five days hence wisas
six days hence nementog
every day dan su
on the next day ratemran
daybreak nomtidan
daylight pwagah, nilar
daytime pwagah
deaf ituremas
deaf ipat, telgipat, omgol
  partly deaf telgomgol
dear pau
death nmah
  be at point of death tai nuru
debate (n) nauor, nauwarogi
decay (v) avtar
deceive impiriqi
deceiver sempiri
deck (v) taitemne
deed nompurag
  evil deed(s) nompidi
good deed(s) nompuragveh
deep (adj.) ilpalam
deep (n), deep water nilpalam, nompou
defecate ovghah
deliver sukilkilwi
departure nevente
depth tantop imelu
  depths of the sea netnim tog
descend eyep
desert (n) nur wogon
  in the desert iluvau
desire (n) nelasivian
desire greatly oghiveh
desolate timnamgis
despise oghidi, oghisat
destroy tivavtiti, sompoli, sevi
destruction avatar
determine ovogovoq
determined, be atkisa
devour olaviagoqi
dew nenman
diameter nesesin
die mah, masiqi (?)
different hai
difficult domo-su
dig ogol (intr.), ogli (trans.)
digging stick nuwa
dim maii
dine tesiqi
dip into water tavioguqi
directly meseiqi
dirty eliluo
disagreement nimlaq
discern tavri
discussion nauor
disfigure toris
dislocation of joint sediwar
dismiss teveliuni
disparage oghidi
dispute ure
distress nasau, norgompunu, netromoro
distressed, be efogerauru
distribute tivurag, efioqi
distribution netivurah
disturbance neyoimpeli
ditch sil-nousap
dive etenom
divide efiegodogi, tevapegi
  (into sections)
divided, be imlaq
division nevloqkon
divorce (v) satevogi
do ompi
  do evil are kisah, satidi
do good vaiveveh
dog kuri, nalinoh
door selat, pokitampet, nogunselat, wavran (wide)
doorway nogunselat
dorsal fin niromunta-
doubt (v) tevrevoruwi, okilisevat
doubt, be in efogerauru
dove sp. ompon
drag yevi, toratorogi
drain (n) sil-nousap
draw ereveni
  draw away (trans.) okini
draw back the hand efalimput
draw water taligi, oreveni
dream (v) emeviaq
dream (n) nemeviaq
dress (n) netausep
drink omonki
drinking nomonki
drive away satavoği
dropsy netralam
drought nen
drown omkon (intr.), orutenmoği(trans.)
drowned omkon, ompelut
drowsy selah
drum tamtam
drunk nagave, aueterimlu (esp. w. kava)
drunkenness nomonki
dry lau, sentvi
dry coconut nogil, nomkai
dry season (August-December) nenumimpwap
dry (v) sentvi
dryness nen
dull (of weather) nagop
dumb pam, owampat, enempon
dust pentop, navivon
dwell ete, tedowi
dye, red nohorat

each hai im hai
ear telgo-
early ratunemis, mitnog
earring nivili
earth nmap
earth oven nompompunum
earthquake nomiug
ease nemolsep
east, eastward unelogompne
east wind narwotu
easy itepulum, itemelepon
eat eni, eninvag, sompeli (ravenously like a pig)
edge nogori-
eel neven (freshwater), poki (salt-water)
effect natkisa
egg nalimaq, net-, nagle-
eight sukrim-dehel
elbow nompu-noru-, yauga
elephantiasis in leg warepo
eloquent tasomperi
embalm soveli
embrace alegep
empty even
    anything temporarily empty vewon
    empty coconut nevenoki
enlosure, round nempaiamtoğī
encourage avrivu
encourage enuavsoğī
end (n) aven, navlutnin (of road)
ended isuma, omti
enemy novse-n n-agen, novse-n togeso-
enlighten eliosgi, eliosi veli
enmity nagan
enough isuma
enter ovunisoq, torimpe
entice okini
entrails nälninìwar
entrance noğun, mompon
entwine afiafi
envious atuitui
envy (v) matuitui, esıgo
erect (adj.) oŋko
err eyoimpeliği
error neseparer, nağkau, neyömpeliği
escape elani
    escape alive tomurep
    escape to tavruru
escort (n) novlesenti
eternal uvruni
evening pwarap, poraporap
everlasting uvruni
every day dan su

evil sat, -idi

evil deed nompidi
evildoer satidi, nompidi, narekidi (persistent)
evil omen nogesenpup
evil-smelling nempensat
evil spirit naviatidi
exceedingly evil iteovugi

excellent omposti
except, in order not kutawi, kuntawi
exchange (v) sevasi, tai iran
excrement si-, nempilior
exhibit vaitompeni
exhort enuavsoqi, ovravsogi
exist te
expectorate etvani
expense nompguntom
expert semelmel
explain enuasomperi
exterior itpelag
extinct, be amiap
extortion torefog
extract semsi

extraction (as tooth) nevsi
eye nmt-, novse-n nipmi
   pupil and iris of eye yaluworog
   white of eye yalulu
   eye of needle nelni

eye socket utaqinvet
eyebrow novlitmi, novlimet
eyelashes novlimet
eyelid ta-n nmt-
eyesight nelampalam

face (n) fan nmt-, nmt-
face (v) se
faeces nempilior
fail to find elasapun
faint (v) imtarogrog, talepasi
   faint w. hunger, be tevulvul
fair weather nenempar
faithless etutavniri
fall omwol, eserem (of leaves, rain)
   fall and break into pieces tarikirgon
   fall sound asleep alei-patemos
   falling sickness umranor
false friend nimpiri
false report neyoimpeligi
falsehood namlai
fame nariqi
family iqelelau
fan (n) vavgom, tavelveloum
fan (v) tavelveli
far isut, tantop
   far behind netriho-
   far from isut
farewell (n) nempasewogi
farewell (v) empasewogi
farmer nasemnuo
fast (adj./adv.) ogalar, nom
fast (v) tovogum, etevogom
fasten etri
fat (adj.) nuf, avsorog
fat (n) nigako, lat, nuval
father etm-, nate (voc.)
   father's brother itvirog
   father's sister detewo-
   father-in-law netemaghi, itemam, itemaghi
fear (v) ametet, amlitoqi
fear (n) nametet, namititoqi
feast (n) nariجري, nesegar
feast (v) aregu
feather novli-
feeble oremlemu
feed avoŋoni, evovu
feel orgi
   feel grieved aueselogwi
   feel sick or bad about orgisat
feeling norgi, nompog (of heaviness), nevalidi (bad)
female (adj.) itnahiven
fence norivgai, nempai, nempaiveh (good)
festival nariجري
few tawi-orοŋ-veh, tontamah
field denuŋ, nete nur
   in the field unavonavo
fifth sukrимiŋi
fight (v) tai, tar, avgat, esesau
fight (n) nesesau
'Fiji taro' talevive
fill taliŋi, ovuarogi
   fill up hole in ground esevi
fin, dorsal niromunta-
find oghi
finger wogoroŋo-, wogoroŋo-noru-
   index finger sesimaŋsi
   little finger oltayou
   middle finger levi-tantop
   ring finger natmahidou
fingermal uvnому, fewonamu, fetnapu
fingertip navluntnin
finished, be aveni, tampli
fir tree inyar
fire nom
firewood nei, nemetu

firm (be) domo, unam, iŋar
firmament neai
first ra novum, mampum
firstborn (of males) itnetemepi
fish nomu
fish sp. gimpit, ɬulpei, eumen,
   ɬŋkraitop, iyempta, kutivin,
   letremte, mesen, monkum,
   nagaiwayne, neliwo, nevenwane,
   nomuklevieh, nomukrinen, nomunagan,
   nomutra, novelranu, novle, numureh,
   pap, potnavlogan, sapwotu, save,
   sorwavo, teglisau, umanmin,
   umpunpun, umpwoyou, ureiwan,
   uwog, uwovnavlar, waine, wavirat,
   yalit, yena, yetah

fishhook divkau, kilikil
fishing line naporori
fishing net naupwan
five sukrim
   five days ago nosas
   five days hence wisas
fixed ogalar
flames of fire seluamen nom
flat surface narar
flea nogut
flee alou
flesh fan, nelat, niyar
flexible meluglug
flickering (of a flame) noremismis
float (v) orgai, orgaisag, angaihag
float (n) of outrigger nelman
lock (n) semsemag, naitompum
   semsemag
flood (n) nousap
   flood, be in ousap
flow (v) oral, orari, alug
   (quickly), ousap (v. fast), enom,
   enompe
flow (n) of a river norari
flower (n) tasişi, novogon
flower (v) tasişi
flutter sauselogi
fly (n) ulaq, ulaqtomtom (bluebottle)
fly (v) ogep
fly whisk otegilaq
flying fish save
flying fox naqkrai
foam (n) nakik
foam (v) ekik
    foam at the mouth atevanai, atutu
    noqum
fog mowap, navnaqai
fold talni, alni
follow velesi, muri
follower nurie
food nvaq
fool sempia
foolish omqai, eduavu
foot no-, tanmitno-, mompono-
    for nimsi-, nisgo-, pot, it
forbidden tompor
force (v) telieli, selieli
forego enuatompeni
forehead nelpavinu-, nafini-
foreign ituga
foreigner domo
foreskin sam
foretell evsemevsemoqi
forfeit viqki
forget otavrivri
forgetful, be tavrivri
forgive efieletonqi
forgiveness nefielentogi
forked emsoq
form (n) namonamon
foundation potnewon, netegen
four dvat
    four days ago nompe
four days hence wimpe
fourth(ly) dvat-oqi
fowl netuo
fragrant empen-veh
free (v) suli
Friday dan sukrim
friend av-, numpunaran
    false friend nimpiri
    broken friendship nimlaq
from maroqi, towoni
front, in * (of) rampu-, mampum
frozen etpont-vat-su
fruit novua-, novu-, nampaq
    fruit sp. tau
fruitless umlat
fugitive navanavan
full ovuar
    full-grown, be alam
fur novlira-
    furnace nompou

G
gale (n) sempesempe
    gale, blow a avoroqi
gall bladder nomni
game(s) nalul
garden (v) opuraggi
    garden (n) denug
gardener nasemnuo
garland nompuapgor
garment semplauon
gate neworekireki (small), wavran
    (wide)
gather semsemag, alegon,
    tenagevogevi, semsimogi
    gather fruit esevi
gathering semsemag, naitompun
    semsemag
gathering of fruit nesevi
go up sag
go with the wind tavlipmi
god novu

good armai, tanpo, satevrorau
good shot temelmel
goodness tanpo
goods noute, tatevole,
etevote, nokgon ogo su, nevatum
gourd nitelog
grace itemas pau, nelologongveh
grandchild mogop-
grandfather itais, itaih
grandmother wiuo
grap oruleki
glass novlovi, topavo, nompu-n topavo

glass sp. nempari, novo
glass skirt nempelat
glasshopper uye
glassland iluwawi
grater naoleh
grave mavrempor
grave memorial nagur
grey yevamorph

green telemte
greeting kik-e-pau
grey tempresovo
gripe nohoru, norgompunu
grieve aueselogwi
grip elgavi
grope tattavi, tai selat,
tavoqi
ground nmap, timne (cleared),
nompu-n nete (stony)
grow alam, tele, vuo
grow cold in affection veyuo
grow dim ei
grown up talam
grub (n) nilas
grubbing (as a pig) nogolaq
grumble elavogeog
grumbling nenuapogefo
guard (n) navles
gum (n) dompon ne
gum (v) vuli
gun torani
gush out serim
guts nousensi-

have tipe
have in abundance tampalsag
having swinging gait iyauyau
haze navnaqai
he iyi
head nompu-, navlutnin (of arrow)
headland nompu-n nogu-n nu, unoris
heal etu
healthy, well-made man fan neteme
in good health torugat
heap (n) taqesag, tainar (stones)
nompu-n nete (stones)
hear orgi
hearing norqi
heart patmonu
heavens pogop
heaviness, feeling of nompog
heavy ompguntom, ompog
hedge round empaiamtoqi
heel masuri
height tiuntimne
help esitu
helper naveri
her (poss.) eni
here iŋko, iyihi
hesitate okilisevat, iri
hew out orvi
hibiscus sp. nedrap, ututu
hicough (v & n) sentgolal
hidden kavrag, etiompene, amon,
elesagepon
hide aropon, seni, amon
high nusian, uneai
high place torimsesag
high chief fan lou nusian
high tide nenom
hill terimsag
hinge nevsem
hire veyuqi, afeyodogri
his eni
hit tai
hold elgavi, oravsivsi (firmly)
elintoroq (w. teeth)
hole navranur, nogol, nelni
holy tompor
home, at unampon-
honour (n & v) sesieveh
hook divkau, kilikil
hope (n) ratevetui, tevetui
hope (v) temtemetoq
horizon nogori-
horn of animal nempati
host tentuo
house nimo, simanlo, nimalgep
hover iri
how? hoqkuse, nogowo
how many? deve, dve
how much? deve, dve
howl (v) toqagri
hunger temah
hungry temah, vieni
hunt umamprap, touri
hurricane nemtaqi orog, noroitu
hurry on oseluogri
husband ahau, ahawo-, asul
husk (n) novkilien
hut uvrog

I
I yau
idiot sempia
if naqku
ignorant omqai, esepau
ignore oseluogri nam

illegitimate child nalau ra topavo
illness nelileki
image namonamon
immediately marima-go
immortality netuavtar
impure eliluo
in ra, rai
inability to work umrogeri
increase sag, tadamsag, og
indeed ava, ova
index finger sesimaqsi
infant nalau, impamu
influence for evil sedogyeye
inhabit tevi
early inhabitants uvumle
inhabit evatum
inheritance tampenum
injury nogini
inland cf. unug
inlet of sea tog ilevog
insect wofi, urivnei
insecure avanavan
inside nisoq, ratunisoq, unisoq, ra
instep ta-n no-
mompon, netuo-
insult (v) tantevi nimt-
interjections oragi (attracting
attention), kik-e-pau (greeting),
iowe (alas), ei, eyi (no), novo
(swearword), pah (behold), ava, ova (indeed), kik-pe-kik (is that
so?), ipe-kik, worwo, ko,
kineduavu
intestines nousensi-
intimation sediog
invalid (n) netevulul
invite tanti
invoke tesuawai
iota nipmi nam
iris of eye yaluworog
island nompuahai
it iyи
itch (v) aqot
its eni

J
jaw novsoguamapo-
jealousy naragar, neworemisat
join avrimoni, ompelogi
joint nevsem
joist sempelog
jot (n) nipmi nam
joy navos
judge (n) nurian
judge (v) urian
juice (dried) of nagai tree
  natogoves
jump irauhag
just (adj.) tanpo
justice tanpo

K
kava nagave
  kava mixing bowl mado
  kava plant nevenouki
keel naputan
keep sioguи, alegolegi (an order)
  keep going atkisa
keeper navles
kidney(s) nesip
kill talogi
kindle toqon
kindness nelogelogveh
kindred iгеlelau
kingdom lou
kiss soqu
knee nompu-netru-
kneel sompum netru-
knife nau, nau ituqа
know, know how to okili
knowledge nokili

L
labour w. child ingа
ladder norivsau
lake netpeh, nawipeh
lane oetet
lament akur
lamentation tangаri, naqri
lamp nilar
lance (v) tari
land (n) nur
language nam
large nusan
last ra nisa
  be last aveni
later penuri, maveli
laud nevietivesep
laugh tofop, eserangi, woraги (at sth. bad)
lavalava lavalava
law selnivi nam, nam alam
lazy etromoro
lead tori, toriго (aside a little)
leaf noqkli-
  leaf insect wofi
lean (adj) eloq
lean (v) tesuo
LEANING ON SESIUWAI
lead irauhag, asoki (on)
learn tavsoqi
least novsirian
leave maroги, seyewani, owi, owun,
  owisep (behind), owilap (temporarily)
left (hand) mwor
leg no-
   legless nowomti duru
lend ovoqilap
length tantop umnuri
level (adj.) asiasye
licentious elasivian
lick naspi
lie (n) namlai, namte
lie (v) (= lie down) alei, efaliliput (in foetal position)
   lie opposite viete
lie (= tell lies) amlai
life namurep, nomurep
lifting oriqi, tesagnafinen
   (eyebrows)
   lift up ovkisag, vaisag
light (n) nilar
   bright light nilarveh
light (in weight) arvarve, tasogesog
light up elionsi, elionsgi
lightning torpis
like (prep.) sonku, hongkuse
likin safiqi
line
   boundary line tainar
   fishing line naporogi
   in line ator
lip nogoloq-
liquid domp-
listen sediugiveh
little viroq, urekis
   little finger oltayou
live (= be alive) omurep, amurep
   living, long life fan nomurep
live (= dwell) ete
liver mou
lizard nigaverag, woramal
lo! pah
load nevar
lobster yelogi
locust wofl
lodge orogole
lofty place tiuntimne
loincloth netoetiqi
long (adj.) tantop
   long ago itetuai
longing for food naluviun
look oghi
   look around alakkau
   look at oghai
   look down from a height soqkelau
   look for ohorogi
   look intently topotnemi
   look intently at elarki
   look out through oghi ra
   look up elasag
   looking displeased nevivak
lose tavogi, viogki, ei (sight of eye)
lost on
   lost person or animal semoimo
loud voice or sound navian-sag
louse nogut
love (v) elintoqi
love (n) nelintoqi
   love gift itemas pau
low tide nmah, nunmah
lower ovkisep
   lowering (of sky) neyimpeli
lukewarm omoiyu
lungs latorgowut
lust nelasivian, nelasivian-sat
mad emlu, ompaviaq
maggot nilas
magic taviar
magician neteme taviar
maiden itnumpogon
maimed ogowomti
make omi
make a fire tovuni, iyevwos
make a light iluwa
make excuses are
make light of are kiqi
make merry luqulugeve
make smooth tadi
male (adj.) natman, itnatman
male (n) natman
man (= human being) neteme
man (= male) natman
wise man nointanwi
young man neviarep
manioc nuvnei
many tamah, oroqtou, sikat
mark (n) tainar, safi
marriage nempogelah
marrow nevnamel
marry teventoroqi, ompoglag
tovroqi
masculine natman
mast nival, mas
master narisag
masticate audibly tamtag
mat nanom
me yau
meagre aiip
meaning of a word fan nam
measure talog (out), safiqi (up)
meat nelat, niyar

medicine man neteme-tavu
meditation nevellele, netevaru, nilasivrevor
meek oramel
meet on the road avtit
men's house simanlo
mend etri, valogi
message nam
messenger tadgo
midday pwaqahpwaqah
middle ilvote-
middle finger levi-tantop
middle-aged telifogate
midnight yetunemis, pumrog ratunemis
might (n) oroq
milk domp-ni-
mire nal
mischief neyoimpeli
misdeeds nompuragidi
mist mowap, nompwau, navnaqai, natemovot
mistletoe (?) yalegvi
mistress nasimnalam
mix sompelulya
mixed tampignon
mock maqipai, sedogye
moisture nenman
Monday mode
money (stone) navelah
moon itais, itaih
more momu
morning pruvgum
mosquito uyomug
moth urivnei
mother dinm-, namou (voc.)
mother's sister dinme pelag
mound (burial) naverimpor
mount (v) asoki
mountain nompuwo
range of mountains netouta
mourn agur, orgompunu
mournng nagur
mouth navra-
mud nal
muddled sompelulya
mug kapel
multiply tadamsag
multitude nompu-n lou, tentuo
mumble empavik
murmur elavogevo
murmuring neworemisat, nenuapogefo
mussel waliswalis
mute pam
mysterious etiomponuar
mystery netiomponuar

name (n) ni-
name (v) omagku, atovnin
nappe of neck tanowa-
narrow virog, tantopvirog
navel yomput
near potpot, potgon, devsi, nogori-
    nearby nimpe
neck tanowa-, nowa-, navranowa-
necklace nevlon, kirikiri
neglect (v) taseviowi, elesagepon, vaiesesat
neighbour nompunaran
nephew aluo-, nogopon
nest somplug, sempelu
net (fishing) naupwan
new vau
next maveli

on the next day ratemran
nice-looking woman fan nahiven
niece nogopon, aluo-
night pumrog
nine sukrim-dvat
nipple nipmi ni-
no tawi, eyi, ei
none tawi
nonsense neduavu
noon pwagahpwagah
north, northwards empatap
    north wind norituqa
nose oroglaq
not tawi
nourish avogoni
now marima
nuisance neyori
numb arolin

oath nam unam
obedience nalegolegi
obedient, be sediugiveh
obey alegolegi
object (n) nurah
oblige teliel
obstinate, be matuitui
obstruction namtah, netagli
occupation nafioni
ocean bed netegon las
octopus nuguog
offence malogol
    take offence tamsal
offend, be offensive malogol
offer talogoni
offering sogowar
oil domp-, niŋako
old etetalam, iterovat, ompumetu
old age nompumetu
omen (evil) nogesenpup
on, on top of ra ta-n
once again haimomu, nemqon haimomu
one hai, haimo
one of each haitevengo
one only haiteven
one who seeks out to kill senteri
one-eyed nemtempes
one-legged nowomti
only wogon
open (v) taipelah, asai
open the eyes elampalam
open up selevi
open (adj.) taipelah, sesegoe
opening (in ground) mompon
openly amsog
opposite taŋkau
lie opposite viete
or ku
orb of sun nipmi nen
orchid ulaveri
order (v) empasewoqi
order (n) nempasewoqi
other hai
out ilat, pelag
be out of joint (of bone) selgon
out of the way neforefari
outwards ratelvo
outrigger boom movog
outrigger float nelman
outside ilat
to the outside ratilat
oval (adj.) oras
oven nompompunum
oven stick worehuvi
overcome tantevagepe
overdrive taitan
overflow selog
overgrown selameqis
overlook purposely taseviowi
overshadow tialti, tenisvi
oversight neseparer
overtake senterogi
overturn torepsi
overwork taitan
oyster shell nempes

P
paddle (v) ahuwo, wai lou
paddle (n) or-ahuwo, nivuo (steering paddle)
pain (n) nohoru
be in pain ohoru, oraŋkau
pandanus nomplat, worenvau
parable nam naŋkauintan
parasite nampet
pardon (n) nefielentogi
pare etepi
part (n) nevlogkon
part (v) efiegodogi
pass oseluogi, avan-wi, eteluogi
pass away via
passage nogunselat
past, in the itetuai
path selat
patience nemolsep
pawpaw (papaya) mesi
pay attention to vedongqi
peace nenparati, tasiasye
peacetime dan namarinu
penis nelu-
people lou
people of same place savutah

perceive orgi
perch (v) taste
perhaps nigoi
perish amiap
permit tenimpe
persistent, be matuitui
person neteme
(exceptionally fair) nafolian
(married but childless) nevi
(of high status) tantevagepe
perspiration nenor
perspire enor
persuade semp eligi, sedavotni
perverse oŋkoŋko
pick out asomperi
picture safi
pie tampompie
piece nevloŋkon, kesitaŋ (of money),
nelompoi nei (large piece of wood),
namen (small)
pig nompgahi
pigeon nogolowog
pillow ortamprag
pinch oruntvi
pity (v & n) togesoveli
place (n) nur, nampo-, unampo-
  high place torimsesag, tiuntimne
  place of pot-
place (v) avrimoŋi (together),
sempelogepiŋi (underneath),
tavsimoŋi (small things together)
plague navoret
plane (v) tadi
planet mosi
plant (v) owi
plant sp. uruves, nemratau
plateau nemolsep, iluwawi
platform potnomputuo
play (v) uvovu, alul
play (n) nalul
plentiful, plenteous nusian, apa
pluck fruit from tree esevi
point (n) nompu-n nogu-n
poison (n) sesenagon
pool netpeh, nawipeh
poor aromgor
possessions noute, netevote,
tavenepon (specially valued)
pound atki
pour out woseligi
power oroŋ
powerful oroŋ, nusian
praise (n) nariŋ
pray ovuaki
preach torenuwisag
precipice sogkelau
pregnant, be tantiogompug
preparation (complete) tasiasye
prepare siman, tavesves
present (v) talogoŋi
preservation neviyeveyeve
preserve soveli
press on vogareki
pretend to strike agiŋi
prey (v) tareferoŋi
prey (n) nelat
price nimit-
prison nimo noŋkoŋko
private amon
produce children ne
promise (v) viwos, iyevwos
promise (n) niëvuos
proof sekil
prop up sesiuwai
prophesy evsemevsemoqi
prostrate oneself ogologi
protect sukilkilwi
protector semsempari
proud iyauyau
pudding opiopi
pull yevi, ereveni
  pull out sedori, evsi
pulverise tadorog
pumpkin nitelog
punish taiwi, tampeniqi
pupil and iris of eye yaluworog
purple teperesevo
pursue elesi
pus yava
push saveti, safeti, savet
put otihep
  put around vaiqi
  put down ovkisep, vaisep
  put feet on wai
  put in the way oguroqi
puzzled oqkur, efogeronu

Q
quarrel (v) esesau, auwaruwi, are
  nowan
quarrel (n) nevaiidi, nesesau, nauegomwi
question (n) tagkli
quick(ly) nom
quiet (of mind) tetevnim
quit seyewani, maroqi
quite isuma

R
race (n) palsi
rafter movog
rain (n) nehe, nevip

rain (v) evip
rainbow umitar
raise (up) vievsorasag, efitur, vitursag
random, at agau
range of mountains netoutau
rat ulakis
raven (v) tareferogi
ravenous, be elatop
reach senterompeni
  reach a place tavuru, elgavi
read ehapi
ready etevuraves
  get ready tavesves
reap alegon
rebel (v) maroqi
rebuke (v) viruqi, yevi
receive vai
  receive favourably oghiveh
red avlar
reed denyuq
reef at low tide ikri
refresh tapmetveh
refusal nimru
refuse (v) asioqi
reject satemoqi
rejoice avos
remain ru
remainder nogkon
remember entume
remembrance neveelele
remit enuatompeni, sariari
renown nariqi
repair ompelogi
repeat tavogones
repent vaiveh nowan, orqisat
report, false neyoimpeliqi
reprove uyevi, uamwus
residence nete
rest (v) emedoq
take one's rest venu
rest (n) nemedog
restore tevureveh
restored to health nepoipo, oroqveh
restrain oruleki
return torili
reveal enuatompeni
revere sesieveh
reverence sesieveh
reverie nilasivrevor
reward nimb-
rheumatic, rheumatism nadimai, noqklinadimai
rib nempri-
rice devulmoleh
ridge of house naputan, selnivi (inside)
ridicule (v) sedogye
right tanpo
right (hand) meveh
rigor namri
ring finger natmahidou
riot (n) nesesau
riot (v) esesau
ripe umgai
ripe coconut neherop
rips (n) yomulyomul
rise up and attack etegeveram
river urva, nintelep
road nogunjo, nogunselat, selat, neworekireki
roadside telgo-n selat
roast tovom, entitovom
robber neforoji
rock vetunam

roll ovolivoli, sedogon (in hand),
  talni (up)
roof mompo-
room tanterum, silevog
roost (v) taste
root nowatni-, nie (k.o.)
rope noh, leleh, urait
rotten lovomosop, lawasisi, omtimti, ovtar
rough (of sea), rough sea yomulyomul
rouse up yoji
row (v) ahuwo, taki
rub ohovgi, sentvi, esevoli
rudder nivuo
rule (v) ari
ruler narisaq
run alou, ehe, enompe, enom
rush umenum

S
sackcloth nmah nielqeloq
sacrifice (n) sogowar
safe eyowar, evieyowar
safety neyowar, nevieyowar
sail (n) nmah
salt netukus, nominmin
salute (v) empasewoigi
salute (n) nempasewoigi
same sogku
sand narvin
sandalwood nei-empen
sap dorm-
satisfy tali
saturate tavioguigi
Saturday dan eworum
savage agon
save efefinte, sukilkilwi
sawdust navivon ne
say am, ogu
scab nigeven
scaffolding nefati
scale (n) nigeven
scarlet teperesevo
scatter seviogoni, asevioqi
scent (as a dog) semupmpup
sceptical etutavniri
scorched umese
    scorching sun nen-otni
scorpion nempou ikri
scout (n) semevisi
scratch orei
sea tog, namarinu (calm),
    yomulyomul (rough)
sea-shell nompri
sea-slug nogoti
search soremelimel, sompelag
    (eagerly)
season nagah (cold), nenumimpwap
    (dry), nenum (wet)
seaweed novlohuo, namtimte
second dur-oqi
secret (adj.) walevat, amon,
    etiompene
    secretly vamon
see oghi
    see off on a journey sentur
    not seeing clearly maii
seed novse-, novua-
    seedtime worowi
seek for sorogi, senteri
    (in order to kill)
seize oruleki
select asomperi, tavri
self pen-, pe
send tamoli, teviloqoni (away
    from)

sentry semevsi
separate (v) tevatvui
separate (adj.)? elepon
serpent nogopurum
servant torugat
serving netivurah
set at variance imlaq
set free suli
set in uproar sefaiintan
seven sukrim-duru
sew etri
shadow tali, namolin, noraiyu
shady place noraiyu
shake w. wind tavelvel
shallow, shallow water ikri
shame (n) noromprom
shark nempou
sharp ago
shave tadi
she iyi
sheaf neat
shed (v) woseliçi, voqi
    shed tears aqi
    shed the skin ail
sheep pozipoqi
shelf nevlog
shell (n) nompri, usom (clam),
    usil (trochus), waliswali
    (mussel)
    shell trumpet tovu
shield (n) saseumpari
shin niteve-
shine selai
ship dou
shoal naitompun semsemag
shoot (v) sei (w. arrow or spear),
    etri (w. gun or stone)
shore ikri
short potpot, potgon
a short time ago etuai
short of breath, be yevi nesomsah
shortness of breath nesomsah
shot, good tememelm
shoulder nompu-noru-
shoulder-blade dogu
shout (v) nasorasag
shout (n) asorasag
show sesi, enuatomeni
shrine nimo utam
shrub tovotovu
shrunk en avsilni
shut (v & adj.) sompat
  shut door against tensopatamtoq
  shut eye, as in aiming imtemas
  shut in sompatamtoq
  shut out sompatamtoq
shutter namtah
sibling of same sex av-...-hai
sick amarat (be), orgisat (feel)
sickness namarat, umranor (falling *)
side ngori-, telgo-n selat
  (of road)
  on the other side nogkon nimpe
sigh nesomsah
sight noghi, nelampalam
sign nogesepup, safi
signal by waving aueyauwi
sin sat
sinew narep
sing arufo
sink omkon (intr.), orutenmoq (trans.)
sip (v) atgap, tegavwi, atgavui
sister (of man) vevn-
  (of woman) av-...-hai

sister-in-law tamplin
sit etehep
situation nampom-
six mehkai
six days ago/hence nementoq
skin (n) ta-, nogolenta-, nogolista-
skirt nampelat
skull nevenoki-nompum
sky vetmis, vetmih, pogop, neai
  in the sky uneai
slacken selgon
sleek avsorog
sleep (v) aleipo
sleep (n) naleipo
sling telip
slip wasisar
slippery, be wasisar
slow tenutenu
slowly ilepalam
slumber selah
small virog, urekis
smash up tavititi
  smashed eravluli
smell (v) empen (intr.), empu (intr.), orgi (trans.)
smoke (n) novosi, no-go-nom
smooth aharahar, tempelei, aviaviya, asiasye
  make smooth tadi
snake nehki
snare (v) elgavi
snore sompog
  snoring sompog
socket of eye utaqinvet
soft meluglug
softness nemeluglug
soil, black, nadimai
sojourning, orogole
soldier, uvrami
some, noqkon
   some day, dan hai
something, hai, sesai, sesai
   something, carried round, tatevotegi
   something, heard of, noror
   something, that falls off, nemlaq
sometime, dan hai
son, nit-, naliq
   son-in-law, netemaghi
song, narufo
soon, tawi-tantop
sorcerer, tavu, tavu, neteme
   sorceress, nahiven, tavu
sorcery, natemasvai
sore, novli-, ulevog, (chronic)
sorrow, nasau, nohoru
sorry, orgompunu
soul, naviat
sound, (v), tentom, eli, (a shell trumpet)
sound, (n), navia-, tentom, narioven
   (of wind)
sour, agan
south, southwards, empag
   south wind, natuqa
Southern Cross, sempiyomti
sow seed, seviogogi
space, tanterum
spare, tevagi
sparrow, nimpen
speak, am, enwi, meluglug, (kindly)
spear, (n), sau
species, nuloqon
speech, nam
spew, alawogi
spider, yatrilua
spirit, naviat, natemas, naviatidi
   (evil)
spit, etvani
splitter, (v), somprogum
split, tavlogi, eseri
sponge, (n), namtimte
spotted, tasiqitasigi
spread out, masumperi, selevlevi
sprinkle, w. water, avui
spur, on, fowl's, leg, nemliwa-
spy, (n), neturarki
squeeze, orgon, avsi
squid, noguog
stab, etri, sei
staff, orsentu
stagger, ta, vivri
stand, etur
   cause to stand, vitursag
star, mosi, mosi, talimet
   a particular star, novnen, yerog
star club, teligomti
start, in, one's, sleep, temsor
statute, nam, alam
stay, ru, orogole, tedowi
   stay, for, a, short, time, ogote
steal, amprog
steering paddle, nivuo
stick, (v), vuli
   stick, to, velesi
stick, (n), sei, orsentu
oven stick, worehuvi
stingray, uvar
stir up, (water), yeovgap, ioghevap
stomach, nogoletni-
stone, nvat
   stone money, navelah
stone used in sorcery natemasvai
stonewall novuvent
stony ground nompu-n nete
stoop tampup
walk w. a stoop sempeleyogyog
storey (of house) taientimne
story uvuvu
tell a story uvuvu
stout avsorog
straight ongko
stranger domo, nesepau
street selatalam
stretch oreveni
stretch out hand eyevan
stretcher nesuvlog
strike tai, atki
string (n) noh
strip tevu
strip leaves off tree tevioleta
striped toritori
strive atkisa
strong domo, warki, ongko
stranger morugo
stumble tai selat, tagli, seyevotina
stumbling block netagli
stump of tree potni
stupid omgai
submerge tenisvi
substance fan
substitute (v) tampenum, oworepatevoqi
substitute (n) tampenum
succeed s.o. tampenemoqi
succession, in * nesituesitu
suck telvi, ampuni
give suck ampuni
suckle vuni, avogoni, omonki nunu
suffer sagumulep
sugarcane poria, polie
sun nen, nomukam
scorching sun nenotni
Sunday dan mido
sunshine nen
surname naliq
surround avrivu, avlesi
swallow (v) etogoli, telogi, tagele
swallow (n) menug sat
swamp nenomsep, naupe
swear tesuwai
swearword novo
sweat (v) enor
sweat (n) nenor
sweep etior
sweet ompu
sweet-smelling empen-vhe
sweet potato kumara, kumala
k.o. sweet potato lili
sweet yam ufle
swell (v) alam
swell up alam
painful swelling sevi
swell (n) of sea togintan, nimpiau
swim orgai, oruh
swimming noruwo
swing (n) natau, tainatau
swamp
T

table nevlog
tableland nemolsep
tabu tompor
tail novlaivi-, novlaimpgo-
take vai
take away vaipelah
take by force toreforoqi
take down eleli, taisep
take heed orgiogi, orgoigi

take off asi (roof), seyoviap (clothes)

take offence tamsal

take one’s rest venu

take soundings atgap

talk secretly against tavuntan

take one’s rest venu

take soundings atgap

talk secretly against tavuntan

tame emlu

tangled talet

tapioca nuvnei

taro tal, talevie ('Fiji taro')
tarry ru
taste (v) atgap, atgavui
tattoo (n) netai

teach tavsoqi

teacher tavsoqi

tear tevasri, elintevi (w. teeth)
tears nulimit-
tease yevi

teat nipmi ni-
tell tampigi, uvuvu (a story)
tell lies amlai

tempest sempesempe

temporary action -lap

temptation tapmi

ten narwolem

terrace taitemne, tori
test (v) tapmi

testicles novse-nietu-
testimony nompuvsog, nam nompuvsog

thank ompaloqi

that iyempe, iyuwii, ima, mah, mori, mori nimpe

then penuri, maveli, pol, ima, pai

there mayuwii, mayu, ilampe, empelamp, iyuwii, iyempe

they iror

they alone iror-go

thick pogvat, evivat

thief neforogi, torefog, namprog

thieve amprog

thigh nompu-nva-, nva-

thin elog, eholon, aiip

thing sesai, nurah, nimrog

things noute

think taru, tarogi

third(ly) dehel-oqi

thirst for vamonki

thirsty, be eviomnug

this iyihii, iyimo, imo, mah, mori

thong neleqi

thorn nemliwa-, nilorogon

thornbush nemlewono

thought netevaru, taru

threat nempalegi

threaten teviqker, valegi

three dehel

three days ago none

three days hence wina

thresh sedogon

throat navranowa-

throne potnomputuo

throng tetelioqi

throughout tanqkon

throw tafqi, aseviqoi

throw away tafqi

thrust oneself to tesuo

thumb penatpu

thunder yowar

Thursday dan dvat

tibia niteve-
tide yomulyomul

high tide nenom

low tide nmah, nunmah
tie eiti, sentop, elki
  tie on eyetavsivi
  tie up elki
till maveli
time nemqon
timid imrog
tin vessel kapel
tip (n) navlutnин
tired itale
tittle nipmi nam
to rai, ra, poq, poqi, maveli
tobacco nuгonом
today ire
toe dogoro-go-, dogoro-go-no-
toenail uvному, fewonамu, fetnapu
tomorrow mran	
tongue nelуam-
tooth nelve-, nogu-
  canine tooth of pig nempati
  front teeth nis
top
  on top of ra ta-n, rampu-
topmost semet	
torch of coconut leaves nilуwo
torment (v) teveloqi, sogomulep
tossed at sea, be togintan	
touch sogkori
tower nimo tantop
track, overgrown selameqis
trade (n) nevasi, nafioqi
trance, be in ilasivrewor
travail (n) nagelau
treasure (v) tavenepon
treasure (n) woretovtam
treasured possession tavenepon
tree nei
tree sp. fonfatи, inyar, mori,
  nadmai, naiwa, nalpe, namam,
  naqal, nedоq, nedu, nemlap,
neumtau, neyo, nidemah, nilaru,
nimram, nimoum, nипiесе, nipleple,
nogo, nohorat, nosam, numpulou,
orenoвu, patинунуwap, powel,
pwoŋku, tamtel, telи, wеlqa, weve,
wolu, yaleгvi, yaloğa, yerset
young tree тelienei

tree insect urivnei
tremble evoregor
  trembling nevoregor
trial tapmi
tributary of river nοgve-n nu
trim lap wick aрoven
trochus shell usil
trouble (n) nagelau, nasau,
  netromoro, nohoru
troubled, be efogeraru
true иtnesoq
trumpet, shell тovu
trunk (of tree) nelempwohe-
trust (n) tevetui
try atkisa, tapmi
Tuesday тuste
tumor nalam
turn ovoli
  turn a corner овлaŋkau
  turn away elampiа
  turn back torилki
  turn sth. over osавlаŋhакi
  turn the head алаŋkau
  keep turning over oвolivoli
turtle нaνu, nahву
twig dogoro-go-neи
twins уmалme
two duru
  two of each duru-ŋo
uloer novli-
unchanged unam
unole (paternal) itvirog, nate
(voc.)
unole (maternal) namou (voc.).
unolean eliluo
under ra mompon
under the chin nasiwan
underchief nivuo, nevsem
underneath impwap, netegon
understanding nelavenuri
undress seyoviap
union navrimogi
unite avrimogi, ompelogi
unoccupied tanterum
unsheath sedori
unstable avanavan
up sag, torah
upper semet
upright oqko
upwards rategomesag
urinate evlami
utmost mesesiai

v
vagina naqi-
vain eduavu
valley nintelep, nomorun, navra-n
nur
valuables woretovtam
variegated tasigitasigi, iyur
variety nulogon
vein narep
very wogon
very blunt aintuagu
very cold etpont-vat-su

village temne, nemote
vine sp. walisevram
vision noghi
visit atnemi
voice navia-
voloano nehawati
vomit elua, alawoji

w
wake up ouyoq (trans.), ovsor (intr.)
walk avan
inability to walk umrogeri
walk another way avan-go
walk on four legs tavegarar
walk w. a stoop sempeleyogyog
walking-stick orsantu
wall novar, nevuvent
stone wall novuvent
wallow elimiselu
wander about seywani
wanderer navanavan
want (v) agayogi
want (n) (of courage) nimroq
war (v) avgat
war (n) navgat
warm awau
warn semevi
warrior nompago, uvrami
wash oruwoqi (sth.), orokilen (hands)
washing noruwoqi
watch (v) terarehi
water nu
boiling water nu nesusah
deep water nilpalam
shallow water ikri
water not open to sea netpeh
wave (n) nimpiau
wave (v) as a signal aueyauwi
waver tavrivri
way selat
we exc. kam
we inc. koh
weak eterimlimlu
weak-eyed imtodi
weakness (in sickness) nelaswoni
wearied itale
weather, fair nenempar
weave ompi nanom
Wednesday semsimah
weeds touri-topavo, tavulu
weep agri, toqi
well (n) nuitogli
well (adj./adv.) orogveh
well up tavuadasag
well-developed satevrorau
well-dressed etovtam
west, westwards unug
west wind nompravu
wet omnug
wet season nenum
whale tovura, ompwelvi
what? se, sema
when nempngon, naqku, polku, polsongku
when? nigoi
where iye
where? iya
which? itogo
while polku
whisper elavogevoğ
whistle, bamboo nauroqis
white ohovo, ehevo
become white etegohevo
white of eye yalulu
who? mei, meima
why? iranse
wide waveran, veleruperup, oroq eni
wide awake eyumparum
widow neviompwu, nevi
width nivorig
wife retp-
wife of a chief nsimnalam
wild domo, aqon
wild bird umelegom
will (n) taru
wind nemtaqi
east wind narwotu
north wind norituğa
south wind natuğa
west wind nompravu
windpipe worumnog
wing nevlogo-
wink talimet
wipe sentvi
wipe out tivavtiti
wisdom nelegon
wise elegon
wise man nointanwi
wish taru
witchdoctor tavu, tavu neteme
with (comitative) du, dal
with (instrumental) qì
wither atnatnati
withered avsilni
without delay meseqi
withstand turamtoqi, se
witness (n) ompuvsoğ
bear witness ompuvsoğ
woman nahiven
bad woman nahirivi
wonder (v) ogeritwi, avloqi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tahi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wonder (n)</td>
<td>navloqi, nogesinepup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonderful</td>
<td>avloqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood nei</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>k.o. wood</td>
<td>nogesam</td>
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<tr>
<td>dead wood</td>
<td>nemetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small piece of wood</td>
<td>neko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word nam</td>
<td>the last word nam semet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a few words</td>
<td>potgon nam</td>
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<td>work (v)</td>
<td>ompuragggi</td>
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<td>work (n)</td>
<td>nompurag</td>
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<td>difficult work</td>
<td>nagelau</td>
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<td>word nam</td>
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<td>worn out</td>
<td>iterovat</td>
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<td>worry (v)</td>
<td>tavotaroqi, eyoqri</td>
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<td>worship (v)</td>
<td>ufwaki</td>
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<td>worship (n)</td>
<td>nufwaki</td>
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<td>wound (n)</td>
<td>toris</td>
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<td>wrap up</td>
<td>tahi</td>
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<td>wrapping</td>
<td>dau</td>
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<tr>
<td>wrestle</td>
<td>sauselogo</td>
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<tr>
<td>wrestling</td>
<td>sauselogo</td>
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<tr>
<td>wring out</td>
<td>avsi</td>
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<td>writing</td>
<td>netaiyi</td>
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<td>yam nup</td>
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<td>yam sp.</td>
<td>gumpam, louko, malia,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>marog, netsieti, nohbu, sugusnu,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taipotone, ufle</td>
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<tr>
<td>cooked yams</td>
<td>youp</td>
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<td>yawn amwap</td>
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<tr>
<td>year nevi</td>
<td></td>
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<td>yell toagri</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yellow volyaq,</td>
<td>melyar</td>
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<tr>
<td>yes o, noq,</td>
<td>monogowo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>ninu</td>
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<tr>
<td>yield fruit</td>
<td>vungi</td>
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<td>you pl. kimi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>you sg. kik</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>young child</td>
<td>nalau virog, nalalau</td>
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<tr>
<td>young man</td>
<td>neviarep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young marriageable person</td>
<td>nevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young tree</td>
<td>telienei</td>
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<td>youth, growing</td>
<td>telienlo</td>
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<tr>
<td>zephyr</td>
<td>nariovoiuyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4
URA GRAMMAR SKETCH AND VOCABULARY

Just as a recent paper (Lynch 1982) appeared, summarising what was then known of Ura, a moribund language of northern Erromango, Arthur Capell made available to me his notes on the language. These notes contained two texts, the only extant textual data in Ura apart from a translation of the Lord's Prayer (Gordon 1889). The availability of these texts has allowed both the grammatical and lexical sections of my 1982 paper to be considerably expanded. ¹

1. PHONOLOGY

Analysis of the available data suggests the phonemic system given below. The consonant phonemes are given in Table I, and the vowel phonemes in Table II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE I: Ura consonant phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velarised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalised voiced stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonants.** The voiced stops are clearly prenasalised medially, but less so initially. It seems clear that /mw/ contrasts with /m/, but the data are insufficient to establish whether separate velarised bilabial stops /pw/ and /bw/ have phonemic status, as might be expected from an examination of Sie and other Southern Vanuatu languages. The fricatives /f/ and /v/ are bilabial, while /r/ is a flap. There is some confusion between Capell's and my data regarding /l/ and /r/: in some cases I have [l] where Capell has [r], while in a few cases I have [l] where Capell has non-prenasalised [d]. I have generally relied on my own transcriptions in this paper.

**Vowels.** The vowel [ə] occurs in some words in both Capell's and my data. A number of these occurrences are clearly cases of open transition between members of non-homorganic consonant clusters, and these have been ignored here. Other cases, however, do not fit this description, and there may be a case for a sixth vowel phoneme in Ura (as in the Tanna languages).

**Phonotactics.** Ura has a similar phonotactic system to Sie: both open and closed syllables are permitted, and although consonant clusters may not normally occur initially or finally, clusters of two consonants may occur medially. Vowel clusters may also occur. Stress tends to be penultimate.

2. MORPHOLOGY

This section is a considerable expansion of the grammar section of Lynch (1982).

2.1. Focal pronouns

Ura pronouns occur in a number of forms: as verbal prefixes marking subject (2.7.); as suffixes to verbs and some prepositions marking object (2.7.); as suffixes to some nouns, possessive morphemes, and some prepositions marking possessive case (3.1.1.); and in a free or focal form, acting as emphatic noun phrase subject. The focal pronouns distinguish singular and plural number only. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>gis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>gim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>iyi</td>
<td>leil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2. Nouns

As in SIE, the great majority of nouns begin with n, although a number of nouns referring to persons begin with y and some nouns referring to animals begin with u. These may once have been separate or separable prefixes (cf. the reconstructed articles Proto-Oceanic *na, Proto-Austronesian *i), but they are now fused with the noun.

Nouns may be pluralised with a prefix ovn- (becoming ov- before an n-initial noun), or by a suffix -ye. Examples:

(2) Singular  
- livsau  servant  
- nalalau  boy, child  
- netevote  possession, thing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>livsau</td>
<td>ovn-livsau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalalau</td>
<td>ov-nalalau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netevote</td>
<td>netevote-ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is some evidence that personal/kinship nouns are pluralised with a prefix l-; cf. ahuro my friend, l-ahuro my friends.

Nouns are formed from verbs by the prefix n- (ne- before consonants):

(3)  
- arufa  to sing  
- oromorop  to live  
- ohumus  to be hungry  
- revnip  to rain

There is also evidence of an instrumental prefix wor-, as in wor-enogo (INS-walk) shoes; cf. also or-asua (INS?-paddle) a paddle.

2.3. Deictics

The following deictics have been identified:

(4)  
- erema this (near speaker)  
- imo this, that (near addressee?)  
- mori this, that, previous reference  
- yuwi that, yonder

Of these, all but imo follow the noun (cf. 3.1.2.).

2.4. Numerals and quantifiers

The forms of the numerals given in the three major sources are listed below:

(5)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gordon (1889)</th>
<th>Capell (MSa,b)</th>
<th>Lynch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>netai, sakai</td>
<td>saigaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gelu</td>
<td>gelu</td>
<td>gelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gehele</td>
<td>gehele</td>
<td>gehele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>lemelu</td>
<td>lemelu</td>
<td>lemelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>suorem</td>
<td>suelem</td>
<td>suorem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>misai</td>
<td>misai</td>
<td>misikai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>simhelu</td>
<td>misai</td>
<td>misikai-saiagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>simheli</td>
<td>misai</td>
<td>misikai-gelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sinivat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>lurem</td>
<td></td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There appears to have been a basic systemic change in the Ura numeral system in fairly recent times: lemelu four has been lost, suorem five has become four, while misika six has become five and the base for the numerals above five; in addition, lurem ten appears to have been replaced by the Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English) form ten.

Gordon also gave some examples of numerals above ten:

(6)  
11  lurem mitaperiŋi pa sai
12  lurem mitaperiŋi pa gelu
20  lurem gelu
100 lurem lurem

In addition to the numerals, we can identify two sets of quantifiers. One set comprises those which precede the noun, including lelen other, degen some, sai a, a certain, and davau no, none; the other set comprises those which follow the noun, including suat many, alauriekia all, dahamas many, and davaudi-dahamas few.

The interrogative quantifier give how many?, how much? should also be mentioned here. However, I have no example of its use in a noun phrase.

2.5. Adjectives

Most adjectives are given in citation form with a prefix aru-, which becomes arw- before a vowel and ar- before y; for example, the citation forms of mogum green, ai blunt, and yarmon male are respectively aru-mogum, arw-ai, and ar-yrmon. This is apparently an identificatory prefix, cognate in form and function with Sie it-; i.e. aru-mogum is probably 'the green one'.

I have no data on the pluralisation of adjectives in Ura. In all of the examples of plural noun phrases containing an adjective, that adjective shows no marking for plural.

2.6. Prepositions

As in Sie, certain prepositions with a pronoun object take a pronominal suffix, whereas others take the focal pronoun. Those which clearly take suffixes are:

(7) ra locative, causative (the form with the suffix is ara-)
    bohqi dative

Other prepositions are listed below in (8). From the available evidence it is not clear whether marugi and gi :bg take focal or suffixed pronouns.

(8) marugi from
    burubut near
    san benefactive
    gi, ogi instrumental
    dal comitative
    li comitative
2.7. Verbs

As in Sie, verbs form the most complex area of Ura morphology. Because of this, however, and because of the small amount of data available, it is difficult to be confident about the analysis which follows. Nevertheless, an examination of the available data shows a verbal system not essentially different from that of Sie.

Oral/nasal alternation. There are a number of examples of the same kind of oral/nasal alternation in Ura verb roots which takes place in Sie. Some roots show prefixation of *n- in the present and future:

(9)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Root</th>
<th>Present/Future Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agaiqi</td>
<td>n-agaiqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogori</td>
<td>n-ogori</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Past Root  Present/Future Root

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iva</td>
<td>eba</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovohoqi</td>
<td>abohoqi</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obu</td>
<td>abu</td>
<td>make, do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tani</td>
<td>dani</td>
<td>take, hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadek</td>
<td>dadek</td>
<td>arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otai</td>
<td>adai</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eta</td>
<td>eda</td>
<td>stay, be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oghi</td>
<td>aghi</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogo</td>
<td>ago</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keni</td>
<td>geni</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subject- and tense-marking. From an examination of textual data, and from the paradigms given by Gordon (1889), we can draw the following conclusions regarding the marking of subject and tense/aspect in the Ura verb.

First, the prefixes marking person-of-subject in the various tense/aspects are as follows:

(11) General Past and Future  Present  Mid Past and Far Past

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>yau-</td>
<td>Yag-</td>
<td>yau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sg.</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg.</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.pl.</td>
<td>kul-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.pl.</td>
<td>kak-, ul-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>kil-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl.</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td>il-</td>
<td>il-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second, the prefixes marking tense/aspect (which follow the subject prefixes), and the form of the verb root used for each tense/aspect, are shown below:
(12)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Verb Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am- (a- before irrealis n-)</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø- (3rd person), m-</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(elsewhere)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em-/om- (3rd person)</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mid and far past tense/aspects seem to behave similarly to the same tense/aspects in Sie. The mid past is marked by m- in first and second person, but this is lost in the third person; in the far past, the third person is marked by em- or om- (conditioning not established), suggesting that, in the other persons, the marking (like Sie) is m-em- (or m-om-).

Other affixes. A number of other verbal affixes have been identified, many of which correspond to similar affixes in Sie. These are merely listed here with some indication of their functions, as the information on many of them is limited.

First, the following verbal prefixes have been identified:

(13)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>echo-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etu-</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esebin-</td>
<td>spontaneity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osen-</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wor-</td>
<td>infinitive/purposive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second, the following object pronominal suffixes have been identified:

(14)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st inc.</th>
<th>1st exc.</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gys</td>
<td>-yau</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-i, -Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gis</td>
<td>-gim</td>
<td>-imj (-nimid?)</td>
<td>-l, (-il)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also the following non-pronominal verbal suffixes:

(15)  

| -i, -qi, -oqi, -iqli | transitive |
| -ye                  | perfective |
| -du                  | locative interrogative |
| -sep                 | motion downwards |

Finally, the following forms, probably intensive enclitics, have been identified:

(16)  

| -ves | meliorative intensive |
| -sat | pejorative intensive |
| -wi  | general intensive |
3. SYNTAX

3.1. Phrase structure

There is little to add on the structure of verb phrases, since virtually all examples merely consist of a verb. However, in this section we will discuss briefly possessive phrases, noun phrases, and other phrase types.

3.1.1. Possession

Ura shows a difference in structure between inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, although it also appears that the original inalienable possessive system may have given way to a more simplified system.

What was apparently the original inalienable system, involving the suffixation of possessive pronominal forms to nouns, has been identified only in the singular and only with three roots:

(17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>foot/leg</th>
<th>brother</th>
<th>child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>nouk</td>
<td>avuksai</td>
<td>neruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sg.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>ahmusai</td>
<td>nerum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg.</td>
<td>nowin</td>
<td>avinsai</td>
<td>nehi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, two of these three roots, the forms for 'brother' and 'child', are also irregular, or at least involve morphophonemic changes, in Ura (and in Sie) — which may be the reason why these forms have been retained. In any case, it appears that the original system was one in which pronominal suffixes, markedly different in form from the focal pronouns, were suffixed directly to nouns; these suffixes in the singular were probably -k 'my', -m 'your' and -n 'his'.

This original system, however, appears to have undergone change, as follows: the original inalienably possessed noun has accreted the original third person singular possessive suffix -n as part of the stem; the following forms are then added to that stem:

(18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>-yau</td>
<td>-kim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus an original form **delje- ear has, with the fusion of the third singular suffix, become modern Ura deljen. To this base are added the suffixes given in (18) above, e.g. deljen-yau my ear, deljen-ka your (sg.) ear, deljen his ear, etc.

Only one type of alienable or active possessive construction occurs, using the possessive morpheme arī. The pronominal forms are:

(19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>ariyau, arau</td>
<td>arigis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>ariyau, arau</td>
<td>arigim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>arika, arka</td>
<td>arigimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ariyi</td>
<td>ahleil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is little data on possessor noun phrases, but the following two examples show that the system appears to be basically the same as Sie:

(20) nehn i nani ovn-livsau ari dera
    child:its goat PL-servant POSS father:vocative
    A kid Dad's servant

3.1.2. Noun phrases

As far as can be ascertained, the only items that can precede a noun in a noun phrase are the set of quantifiers mentioned in 2.4. above and the deictic imo. Examples:

(21) legen nei sai umek
    some coconut a snake
    Some coconuts A snake
    ra imo nemgen davau neveg ari-gimi?
    LOC this time no food POSS-you:PL
    At this time Have you (pl.) no food?

All other items must follow the noun in a noun phrase. It appears that the order is Noun + Adjective + Possessive + Numeral/Quantifier + Deictic, although there are no examples with more than a couple of these constituents.

(22) ovn-livsau ari-yi gelu yalu saiagan
    PL-servant POSS-his two boy one
    His two servants A/one boy
    neveg erema
    food this
    This food

3.1.3. Other phrases

A number of other phrase-types will be briefly discussed here; these generally consist of noun phrases preceded by a preposition.

Temporal phrases. Temporal phrases are of two types: an unmarked phrase containing a temporal noun, or a noun phrase introduced by the preposition ra:

(23) iydi y-ovo-yau neveg ahaninu
    she 3SG-give-me food yesterday
    She gave me food yesterday
    ra imo nemgen y-em-ogs-il ov-nalalau gelu il-em-en
    LOC this time 3SG-FP-see-them PL-boy two 3PL-FP-eat
    Then he saw the two boys eating

Temporal nouns which may stand alone in a temporal phrase include the following:

(24) yera today
    ahaninu yesterday
    marima now
    uvu always
    atiruai before
    gigei when?
Locative phrases. A locative phrase may consist merely of a locational noun, like the following:

(25)  
| ihi    | here |  
| yuwi   | there |  
| ompeyok | over there |  
| dua     | where? |

or of a phrase, like dua nivenu where? (lit. where place).

Other locative phrases are introduced by prepositions. The common locative preposition is ra which, when followed by a pronoun object, has the form ara- and takes possessive suffixes. Examples:

(26)  
| y-em-ogs-i ra naiki     | il-o homem ra dena |
| 3SG-FP-see-TR LOC mat   | 3PL-lie:down LOC ground |
| He looked on the mat     | They lay down on the ground |
| He saw it on the mat     |
| y-em-tavol-i ra nera nivenu...  |
| 3SG-FP-send-him LOC place land... |
| He sent him to a place... |
| rimin y-ogs-i soku iyi isut m-em-osen-tavarili ara-n |
| father 3SG-see-him when he far ES-FP-greatly-pity LOC-his |
| His father saw him when he was far away, and took great pity on him |

There is a preposition burubut near:

(27)  
| burubut nivat      |
| near stone         |
| Near the stone     |

Gordon also gives a locative preposition maruqi from, though Capell treats this as the verb leave.

I have only one example of the use of ra + inalienably possessed noun functioning as a compound preposition, and that involves the noun diye the underneath (of):

(28)  
| umek y-o homem m-ihili ra diye nivat |
| snake 3SG-lie:down ES-crawl LOC underneath stone |
| The snake crawled away under a stone |

Dative phrases. Indirect objects are encoded by pronominal suffixes to the verb, with direct objects following them:

(29)  
| iyi g-oboyau neveq  |
| she 3SG-IRR:give-me food |
| She will give me food |

Other dative phrases are introduced by the preposition bohqi, which takes pronominal object suffixes:

(30)  
| y-em-ovili bohqi rimin ... | wi g-ovili bohqi-im ... ? |
| 3SG-FP-say DAT father ... | who 3SG-say DAT-you:PL ... |
| He said to his father ... | Who told you (pl.) ... |
| ko rimin y-em-ovili bohqi-il ovn-liv sau ari-yi ... |
| but father 3SG-FP-say DAT-them PL-servant POSS-his ... |
| But his father said to his servants ... |
Benefactive phrases. Benefactive phrases are introduced by the preposition san. When the object is a pronoun, free (focal) forms of the pronouns are used.

Examples:

\[(31)\] y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau, im sai san iyi
3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy, and one BENF he
He threw down three coconuts for the boys, and one for himself
ovo-yau legen netevote san yau
give-me some goods BENF I
Give me some of the goods owing to me

Instrumental phrases. The instrumental preposition is qi (in one case the form oqi was observed). Examples:

\[(32)\] yau-ni-mis qi n-ohumus
1SG-IRR(?)-die INS NOM-hungry
I am dying of hunger
m-em-asivie-qi netevote-ye yuwi oqi nogesi
ES-MP-waste-TR goods-PL there INS ill:living
And wasted all his goods there with ill-living

Comitative phrases. Two comitative prepositions have been identified, li and dal. I have no evidence regarding any semantic difference between them.

Examples:

\[(33)\] ... mo soku yau-p-avos-wi dal l-ahuro
... so that 1SG-COND-rejoice-INT COM PL-my:friend
... so that I could rejoice with my friends
neruk, ga li yau uvu
son:my, you:SG COM I always
My son, you are with me always

Similative phrases. Similative phrases are introduced by the preposition soku like, as:

\[(34)\] obu-yau soku ovn-livsau ari-ka
make-me as PL-servant POSS-your:SG
Make me one of your (sg.) servants

Causative phrases. One example from the text in 4.1. suggests that ra ~ ara- functions as a causative preposition as well as a locative preposition (as its cognate form does in Sie):

\[(35)\] ara-da gimi gelu kil-am-geni neveq ari-yau?
CAUS-what you:PL two 2PL-PRES-IRR:eat food POSS-my
Why are you two eating my food?

3.2. Sentences

This section examines first the internal structure of sentences, largely by examining simple statements, commands, and questions. We then move to a brief examination of some complex sentence-types in Ura.
3.2.1. Statements and basic sentence order

Verbless sentences are generally of the form topic + comment. Some examples of verbless sentences appear in (21) and (33) above. Other examples are given below:

(36) ... popowo nii dahamas, yau urkris bagan
... because tree big, I small very
... because the tree is big, and I am very small
imo nemgen davau neveq ah-leil
this time no food POSS-their
hihi nup
here yam
Now they had no food
Here is a yam

Although one of the texts in section 4 has a number of 'biblical' inversions, with object before verb or verb before subject, the basic order of phrases in the Ura sentence is subject + verb (+ object). Examples:

(37) yalu saiagan yi-venim
child one 3SG-come
Another child came
we:exc 1exc-see-tr food
We (exc.) saw the food
gak-em-geni
yi yi-tan-i lenau
You (sg.) are eating
he 3SG-take-Tr knife
You took the knife

Other phrases normally occur after the verb (in intransitive sentences) or after the object (in transitive sentences). Examples:

(38) leil il-om-ovovu nemgen urkris
they 3PL-FP-play time small
They played for a short time
leil il-om-arap ra diqe nii
they 3PL-FP-sit LOC underneath tree
iyi y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau
he 3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy
He threw down three coconuts for the boys
I gave you food yesterday
iyi y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau
he 3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy
He threw down three coconuts for the boys

However, temporal phrases may also occur sentence-initially, as may interrogatives:

(39) ra imo nemgen y-em-ogs-il ov-nalalau gelu il-em-eni
LOC this time 3SG-FP-see-them PL-boy two 3PL-FP-eat
Then he saw the two boys eating
ara da gimi gelu kil-geni neveq ari-yau?
CAUS what you:PL two 2PL-IRR:eat food POSS-my
Why are you two eating my food?

3.2.2. Commands

Affirmative commands differ from statements only in the omission of person-of-subject prefixes to the verb and, in most cases, in the absence of any subject pronoun or noun phrase. Examples:

(40) ovo-yau legen netevote san yau
give-me some goods BENF I
Give me some of the goods owing to me
In a plural affirmative command, the prefix il- (which may be the third person plural prefix) occurs on the verb:

(41)  
\[
\text{il-iva} \\
\text{PL-go} \\
\text{Go (pl.)}
\]

A negative command is similar to an affirmative command in structure, except that the verb also contains the negative prefix:

(42)  
\[
\text{il-etu-teti yera} \\
\text{PL-NEG-come:back today} \\
\text{Don't (pl.) come back today}
\]

3.2.3. Questions

Yes-no questions in the textual data available consist of a statement clause followed by the question-tag ku or. I have no data on the intonation pattern in these questions. Examples:

(43)  
\[
\text{davau neve} \text{g} \text{ari-gimi ku?} \\
\text{not food POSS-your:PL Q} \\
\text{Have you (pl.) no food?}
\]

\[
\text{degin nei g-am-edu ku?} \\
\text{some coconut 3SG-PRES-IRR:stay Q} \\
\text{Are there any coconuts?}
\]

\[
\text{ga k-abo-kim sai neve} \text{g ku?} \\
\text{you:SG 2SG-IRR:give-1EXC:PL one food Q} \\
\text{Will you (sg.) give us some food?}
\]

Information questions are marked by one of the following interrogative words:

(44)  
\[
\text{wi} \quad \text{who?} \\
\text{da} \quad \text{what?} \\
\text{wima} \quad \text{what?} \\
\text{ara-da} \quad \text{why? (= CAUS-what)} \\
\text{give} \quad \text{how much, how many?} \\
\text{dua} \quad \text{where?} \\
\text{-du} \quad \text{where? (verbal suffix)} \\
\text{gi} \text{gei} \quad \text{when?}
\]

Examples:

(45)  
\[
\text{wi g-ovili boh-i} \text{mi wor-tani neve} \text{g ari-yau?} \\
\text{who 3SG-say DAT-2PL INS-take food POSS-my} \\
\text{Who told you (pl.) to take my food?}
\]

\[
\text{da imo?} \\
\text{what this?} \\
\text{What's this}
\]

\[
\text{ara-da gimi gelu kil-am-geni neve} \text{g ari-yau?} \\
\text{CAUS-what you:PL two 2PL-PRES-IRR:eat food POSS-my} \\
\text{Why are you two eating my food?}
\]

\[
\text{k-o} \text{gsi-du?} \\
\text{2SG-see-where} \\
\text{Where do you see it?}
\]
3.2.4. Relativisation

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun mori. Example:

(46) ov-nalalau il-tani neveq mori ehinen y-ovohq-il
PL-boy 3PL-take food REL mother 3SG-give-3PL
The boys took the food which the mother had given them

3.2.5. Other complex sentences

Despite the very limited data, some statements regarding various kinds of complex sentences in Ura can be made with at least a certain degree of confidence.

**Coordination.** A number of morphemes serve to coordinate, in one way or another, two clauses in Sie:

(47) im, mo, m and\(^5\)
de and then
ko but
gise but

In addition, the echo-subject prefix m- occurs with, apparently, identical functions as the same prefix in Sie. Examples:

(48) iyi yi-tadek m-venim bohqi rimin, im rimin y-ogo\(\)i
he 3SG-arise ES-go DAT father, and father 3SG-see
He arose and went to his father, and his father saw him

iyi y-iva m-ovlehegi av-in-sai mampum ari-\(\)yi m iyi yi-venim
he 3SG-go ES-call brother:his before POSS-his and he 3SG-come

m-em-eki nii mori
ES-FP-climb tree PREF

He went and called his older brother and he came and climbed the tree

y-em-ovohqi de\(\)qin av-in-sai de gelu il-em-\(\)eni
3SG-FP-give some brother:his and:then two 3PL-FP-eat
He gave some to his brother and then the two of them ate

ko rimin y-em-ovili bohqi-\(\)l ovn-livsau ari-\(\)yi ... 
but father 3SG-FP-say DAT-3PL PL-servant POSS-his ... 
But the father said to his servants ...

iyi y-em-ogo\(\)i ra naiki gise davau wor-ogo\(\)i neveq erema
he 3SG-FP-see LOC mat but not INS-see food this
He looked on the mat but could not see the food

Clauses are often coordinated merely by juxtaposition, with no overt conjunctive morpheme:

(49) nii dahamas, yau urkris b\(\)a\(\)\(n\)
\(\)tree big, I small very
It's a big tree, and I am very small

**Cause.** Causal clauses are introduced by popow\(\)o because:

(50) yau davau nivan erema wor-e\(\)ki imo\(\)ni, popow\(\)o nii dahamas
I not flesh man INS-climb this tree, because tree big
I can't climb this tree, because it's a big tree
Temporal clauses. Temporal clauses are introduced by soku when:

(51)  
\[
\text{soku neveq y-omo, yalu saiagan y-em-ogo ...}
\]
\[
\text{when food 3SG-finished, child one 3SG-FP-say ...}
\]
\[
\text{When the food was finished, one boy said ...}
\]

Purpose. Clauses of purpose are introduced by mo soku:

(52)  
\[
k-otu-ovo-yau sai nehn i nani mo soku yau-p-avos-wi
\]
\[
2SG-NEG-give-1SG one child:its goat PURP PURP 1SG-COND-
\]
\[
dal l-ahuro
\]
\[
\text{rejoice-INT COM PL-friend:my}
\]
\[
\text{You (sg.) did not give me one kid so that I could celebrate with my friends}
\]

A common construction in both texts in section 4 is the use of a kind of infinitive of purpose introduced by the instrumental nominaliser wor- (cf. 2.2. above). Examples:

(53)  
\[
iyi y-em-tavoli ra nera nivenu wor-ovos-il ov-nimg\text{as}
\]
\[
\text{he 3SG-FP-send LOC place land INS-feed-3PL PL-pig}
\]
\[
\text{He sent him to a place to feed the pigs}
\]
\[
\text{wi g-ovili bohq-imi wor-tani neveq ari-yau?}
\]
\[
\text{who 3SG-say DAT-2PL INS-take food POSS-my}
\]
\[
\text{Who told you (pl.) to take my food?}
\]

Conditions. Conditions are introduced by nagko if. However, there are so few examples of conditions in the textual data that I am not able to make any serious comment on their syntax.

4. TEXTS

Two Ura texts are presented below. Both come from Capell's fieldnotes, and in neither case was any attempt made to provide morpheme glosses. I have edited the texts, translated them into the phonological system as outlined in section 1, changed the spelling of those words which differed from forms I elicited, and provided morpheme breaks. A few cases, where I have been unable to identify a particular morpheme, have been marked with ?? Each text is given first with morpheme breaks in Ura with interlinear morpheme-glosses, and then in free translation.

4.1. The Boy and the Coconuts

This is a standard text which Capell used for elicitation purposes in a number of Pacific languages. What follows, then, is a translation and not a free text.

\[
yalu urkris y-ereqi neveq. y-ereqi ra naiki. yalu saiagan yi-venim.
\]
\[
\text{child small 3SG-have food. 3SG-put LOC mat. child one 3SG-come.}
\]
\[
y-oqsi neveq mi-tani. y-em-ovohqi deqin av-in-sai, de gelu il-em-eni.
\]
\[
3SG-see food ES-take. 3SG-FP-give some brother:his, and:then two 3PL-FP-eat.
\]
\[
\text{behnuri yalu ra nopum y-omi-teti. iyi y-em-oqsi ra naiki gise davau}
\]
\[
after child LOC first 3SG-FP-come:back. he 3SG-FP-see LOC mat but not}
wor-ogsi neveq erema. ra imo nemgen y-em-ogsi-l ov-nalalau gelu il-em-eni.
INS-see food PREF. LOC this time 3SG-PP-see-3PL PL-boy two 3PL-PP-eat.
'ara-da gimy gelu kil-am-geni neveq ari-yau?', iy1 y-em-taleqi-l.
'CAUS-what you:PL two 2PL-PRES-IRR:eat food POSS-my?', he 3SG-PP-ask-3PL.
'davau neveq ari-gimi ku?'
'not food POSS-your:PL Q?'
'davau neveq ari-gim, ga k-em-geni'.
'not food POSS-our:EXC, you:SG 2SG-PRES-IRR:eat'.
'wi g-ovili bohq-imi wor-tani neveq ari-yau?'
'who 3SG-say DAT-you:PL INS-take food POSS-my?'
'davau sai. gim kak-ogsi neveq, ul-agaiqi, mi-tani'.
'not one. we:EXC 1EXC:PL-see food, 1EXC:PL-want, ES-take'.
'ko yau y-a-n-agaiqi, ari-yau'.
'but I 1SG-PRES-IRR-want, POSS-my'.
'y-am-o-ka, gis alaurie kul-geni'.
'1SG-PRES-IRR:give-2SG, we:INC all 1INC-IRR:eat'.

leil il-em-ereavui neveq m-arap ra naiki m-em-eni. soku neveq
they 3PL-PP-divide food ES-sit LOC mat ES-FF-eat. when food
y-omo, yalu saiagan y-em-ogo, 'y-a-n-agaiqi momu. degin nei
3SG-finished, child one 3SG-FF-say, '1SG-PRES-IRR-want more. some coconut
g-am-edu ku?'
3SG-PRES-IRR:stay Q?'.
'o, nei g-am-edu ra bohni nii, naqko k-a-n-agaiqi
'yes, coconut 3SG-PRES-IRR:stay LOC stump tree, if 2SG-PRES-IRR-want
ki-n-eki'.
2SG-IRR-climb'.

'yau davau nivan erema wor-eki imo nii, popowo nii dahamas, yau urkris
'I not flesh man INS-climb this tree, because tree big, I small
bag-aan. ko av-uk-sai mammun nivan erema wor-eki ma-dani neherop san
very. but brother:my before flesh man INS-climb ES-IRR:take ripe:coconut BENF
gis'.
we:INS'.

iyi y-iva m-ovlehegi av-in-sai mammum ari-yi, m iyi yi-venim
he 3SG-go ES-call brother:his before POSS-his, and he 3SG-ome
m-em-eki nii mori. iyi y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau im
ES-FF-climb tree PREF. he 3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy
and sai san iy1. iyi yi-tani lenau m-om-alvi nei, leil il-amwui ne. behnuri
one BENF he. he 3SG-take knife ES-FF-out coconut, they 3PL-drink water. after
leil il-antenni neveq m-em-eni. leil il-om-ovovu nemgen urkris, leil
they 3PL-scrape:out food ES-FF-eat. they 3PL-PP-play time small, they
il-atalahamus. leil il-ohomol ra dena m-ahaleiba. soku leil il-am-leipa,
3PL-feel:sleepy. they 3PL-lie:down LOC ground ES-sleep. when they 3PL-FF-wake,
il-ohomus. imo nemgen davau neveq ah-leil. sai yalu y-em-o\-go, 'yau-eba 3PL-hungry. this time not food POSS-their. one child 3SG-FP-say, '1SG-IRR:go m-aqsi ula; iyi g-obo-yau neveq'. ES-IRR:see mother; she 3SG-IRR:give-lSG food'.

yalu sai somu y-ovili m-om-o\-go, 'yau-eba soku; iyi y-ovo-yau child one more 3SG-speak ES-FP-say, '1SG-IRR:go also; she 3SG-give-lSG neveq ahaninu'.

food yesterday'.

leil-ye il-iva m-ogsi ehinen. 'ula, kul-a-n-agai\-i\-gi neveq', sai they-PL 3PL-go ES-see mother. 'mother, 1EXC:PL-PRES-IRR-want food', one yalu y-ovili. 'ga k-abo-kim sai neveq ku?'.
child 3SG-speak. 'you:SG 2SG-IRR:give-1EXC:PL one food Q?'.

'ihi nup. armai yag-ahoho-im\-i\-gi alauriekia ku? yau-ovoho-im\-i neveq 'here yam. good 1SG-IRR:give-2PL all Q? 1SG-give-2PL food ahaninu. na\-gko kit-a-n-agai\-i\-gi neveq, il-iva m-are\-kabu ari\-gimi.
yesterday. if 2PL-PRES-IRR-want food, PL-go ES-find POSS-your:PL.
il-etu-teti yera!'. PL-NEG:come:back today'.

ov-nalalau il-tani neveq mori ehinen y-ovoho-il m-il-emivai. leil PL-boy 3PL-take food REL mother 3SG-give-3PL ES-PL-go:away. they il-om-arap ra diqe nii m-em-arihophonin wor-eni neveq. ra imo nemgen 3PL-FP-sit LOC under\-neath tree ES-FP-begin INS-eat food. LOC this time sai yalu y-em-o\-go, 'yau-mom-ogsi sa\-i umek'.
one child 3SG-FP-say, '1SG-??-see one snake'.

legen il-em-taleqi m-om-o\-go, 'k-ogsi-du?'
other 3PL-FP-ask ES-FP-say, '2SG-see-where?'.

'ompeyok, burubut nivat. ra-dani!' 'over:there, near stone. ??-IRR:take!'

ko ov-nalalau il-em-ivani umek, m-etu-agai\-i\-qi ri\-l-eba burubut. yalu but PL-boy 3PL-FP-fear snake, ES-NEG-want ??-IRR:go near. child sai\-agan y-em-o\-go, 'marima umek g-aqsi-gis m-ivani-gis'.
one 3SG-FP-say, 'now snake 3SG-IRR:see-1INC:PL ES-fear-1INC:PL'.
umek y-ohomol m-ihili ra diqe nivat, m ov-nalalau snake 3SG-lie:down ES-crawl LOC under\-neath stone, and PL-boy il-om-etu-ogsi nem\-gen sai somu. leil il-em-arihophonin wor\-avoya bagan 3PL-FP-NEG-see time one more. they 3PL-FP-begin INS-walk:about very m-are\-kabu dahami la wor-ovovu.
ES-find thing ?? INS-play.
Free translation
(Note: In some cases I have made minor changes in the English version of Capell's text in order to fit the sense of the Ura version better.)

A little boy had some food. He put it on a mat. Another boy came along. He saw the food and took it. He gave some to his brother, and the two of them ate it. Then the first boy came back. He looked on the mat but could not see the food. Then he saw the two boys eating. "Why are you two eating my food?", he asked. "Have you none of your own?".
"We have no food, and you were eating".
"Who told you to take my food?".
"No-one. We saw the food and we wanted it, so we took it".
"But I want it; it's mine".
"I will give you some back, and then we can all eat".

They divided the food and sat on the mat and ate it. When the food was finished, one boy said, "I want more. Are there any coconuts?".
"Yes, there are coconuts on that tree, if you want to climb".
"I cannot climb that tree, because it's a big tree, and I am very small. But my big brother can climb it and get ripe coconuts for us".

He went and called his older brother, and he came and climbed the tree. He threw down three coconuts for the boys, and one for himself. He got a knife and cut the coconuts, and they drank the water. Then they scraped out the meat and ate it. They played for a short time, then they felt sleepy. So they lay down on the ground and slept. When they woke up they were hungry. Now they had no food. One boy said, "I will go to see Mum; she will give me food".

Another boy said, "I will go too; she gave me food yesterday".

They all went to see his mother. "Mum, we want some food", one boy said. "Will you give us some food?".
"Here is a (some?) yam. Must I feed you all? I gave you food yesterday. If you want food, go and find your own. Don't come back today!".

The boys took the food which the mother had given them and went away. They sat under a tree and began to eat the food. Then one boy said, "I can see a snake".
The others asked, "Where do you see it?".
"Over there, near the stone. Let's catch it!".

But the boys were afraid of the snake, and did not want to go near it. One boy said, "Now the snake can see us and he's frightened of us".

The snake crawled away under a stone, and the boys didn't see it any more. They began to walk about looking for something to play with.

4.2. The Prodigal Son

This second text, again from Capell's fieldnotes, is an Ura version of the Prodigal Son story. It appears to be an almost direct translation of the original Yoku Bible version, which is not really a satisfactory example of natural speech: the inverted style of the English version, as in 'There came a great hunger to the land', is faithfully represented in both the Yoku and Ura versions, despite the fact that both these languages never, in normal speech,
place the subject after the verb. Nevertheless, I include this text here as another useful example of the Ura language — mainly because there is so little information of any kind available.

sai erema ov-namla ari-yi gelu ov-narmon. erema urkris y-em-ovili one man PL-child POSS-his two PL-male. man small 3SG-FP-speak
bohgi rimin m-em-ogo, 'dera, ovo-yau legen netevote san yau'. m iyi DAT father ES-FP-say, 'father, give-1SG some goods BENF I'. and he
y-em-erapurak-gi leil netevote ari-yi.
3SG-FP-divide-TRANS them goods POSS-his.

behnuri, davau nelin suat, erema urkris y-em-esebin-ta after, not day many, man small 3SG-FP-spontaneously-gather
netevote-ye m-iva ra nivenu ituqa m-em-asiviegi netevote-ye yuwi ogi goods-PL ES-go LOC land foreign ES-FP-waste goods-PL there INS
nogesi. im soku iyi y-em-iviehinie-ye, yi-venim n-ohomus dahamas ra illi:living and when he 3SG-FP-finish-PP, 3SG-come NOM-hungry big LOC
nivenu yuwi m iyi g-aribohonin m-um-ohomus, m-em-iva m-em-esebin-sari land there and he 3SG-begin ES-??-hungry, ES-FP-go ES-FP-spontaneously-
attach:self
ara-n sai erema ra nivenu yuwi, m iyi y-em-tavoli ra nera nivenu LOC-his one man LOC land there, and he 3SG-FP-send LOC place land
wor-ovos-il ov-nimgas, m iyi y-a-n-agaiiçi wor-eni dan nivan ov-nimgas INS-feed-3PL PL-pig, and he 3SG-PRES-IRR-want INS-eat skin fruit PL-pig
il-em-eni, davau sai y-em-ovohgi neveq. 3PL-FP-eat, not one 3SG-FP-give food.

ari dera dahamas, leil il-am-dabeliak neveq, im yau-ni-mis POSS father many, they 3PL-PRES-IRR:have:in:abundance food, and 1SG-IRR-die
qi n-ohomus. ya-dadek m-eba bohgi dera, m-amli bohgi m-ago, INS NOM-hungry. 1SG-IRR:arise ES-IRR:go DAT father, ES-say DAT:3SG ES-IRR:say,
'dera, yau-m-abu-sat ra bogup mu nihimi-ga, davau yau armai mo soku 'father, 1SG-MP-do-INT LOC heaven and eye-2SG, not I good PURP PURP
il-amli m-ago yau ner-um. obu-yau soku ovn-livsau ari-ka'.
3PL-say ES-IRR:say I son-2SG. make-1SG like PL-servant POSS-your:SG'.

iyi yi-tadek mi-venim bohgi rimin, im rimin y-ogsi soku iyi isut, he 3SG-arise ES-come DAT father, and father 3SG-see when he far,
ehnir ari-yi y-em-ovili bohgi m-em-ogo, 'dera, yau-m-abu-sat ra bogup son:his POSS-his 3SG-FP-say DAT:3SG ES-FP-say, 'father, 1SG-MP-do-INT LOC heaven
mu nihimi-ga; davau yau armai mo soku il-amli m-ago yau ner-um'. and eye-2SG; not I good PURP PURP 3PL-say ES-IRR:say I son-2SG'.

ko rimin y-em-ovili bohgi-l ovn-livsau ari-yi m-em-ogo, 'eleki m-venim
but father 3SG-FP-say DAT-3PL PL-servant POSS-his ES-FP-say, 'take ES-some
cloth namlauan laupe, nusian armai, ma-vaii gi iyi, m-ovki-sep natorvan ra deng
ar-iyi, im wor-enoro ra nowin, m-eleki m-venim kaf nuval mi-tai;
POSS-his, and INS-walk LOC leg:his, ES-take ES-some calf ES-kill;
ul-geni m-im-avos, popowo imo ner-uk yi-mis m-om-omorop,
INC:PL-IRR:eat ES-??-rejoice, because this son-my 3SG-die ES-??-alive,
m-iviegi m-om-ogsi'. leil il-em-aribohonin wor-avos.
ES-lost ES-??-see'. they 3PL-FP-begin INS-rejoice.

nehni belek ari-yi ra duhmus; yi-venim mo-burubut suqai m-em-elgi
son:his elder POSS-his LOC garden; 3SG-some ES-address house ES-FP-hear
n-arufa im n-empgo. iyi y-em-ovlehegi sai livsau m-em-talegi m-em-ogo,
Nom-sting and Nom-dance. he 3SG-FP-call one servant ES-FP-ask ES-FP-say,
'da imo?'. m iyi y-em-ovili m-em-ogo, 'iyi yi-venim ah-mu-sai,
rimin 'what this?'. and he 3SG-FP-say ES-FP-say, 'he 3SG-some brother:your:SG, father
y-i-tai kaf nuval, popowo iyi yi-tani iyi m-omorop im horog-ves'.
3SG-kill calf fat, because he 3SG-get he NOM-alive and strong-INT

m iyi y-em-aragai m-etu-va banaq, im rimin yi-venim ariye bohgi,
and he 3SG-FP-angry ES-NEG-go inside, and father 3SG-some outside DAT:3SG,
m-em-tesok ara-n. ko iyi y-em-tamsi m-em-ovili bohgi rimin m-em-ogo,
ES-FP-beg LOC-his. but he 3SG-FP-answer ES-FP-say DAT father ES-FP-say,
'elgi! namqainiliya suat yau-m-entorog ara-ga, ya-m-etu-arek sai
'hear! year many 1SG-PRES-IRR:serve LOC-2SG, 1SG-MP-NEG-break one
nebasewoqi ari-ka. im k-otu-ovo-yau sai nehnai nani mo soku
order POSS-your:SG. and 2SG-NEG-give-1SG one child:its goat PURP PURP
yau-p-avos-wi
dal 1-ahuro. ko soku yi-venim imo ner-um
1SG-COND-rejoice-INT COM PL-friend:my. but when 3SG-some this son-your:SG
mori y-ilaviagoqi neveg ari-ka gaheli ov-narvin dabuni, ki-tai san
REL 3SG-waste food POSS-your:SG with PL-woman misleading, 2SG-kill BENF
iyi kaf nuval'.
hel calf fat'.

m iyi y-om-ovili bohgi m-em-ogo, 'ner-uk, ga li yau uu, m
and he 3SG-FP-say DAT:3SG ES-FP-say, 'son-my, you:SG COM I always, and
ari-ka ov-dahami-da ari-yau alauriekia. eregi armai m-elegeleg-ves
POSS-your:SG PL-thing-?? POSS-my all. stay good ES-be:glad-INT
m-em-avos-wi, popowo iyi ah-mu-sai yi-mis m-om-in-omorop, m-iviegi
ES-??-rejoice-INT, because he brother:your:SG 3SG-die, ES-??-??-alive, ES-loss
m-om-ogsi'.
ES-??-see'.
Free translation

A man had two sons. The younger said to his father, "Father, give me some of the goods belonging to me". And he divided his goods between them.

Not many days later, the younger son gathered his goods together and went to a foreign land and there he wasted his goods through ill-living. And when he had gone through everything, a great famine came to that land, and he began to get hungry, and he went and attached himself to one man in that country there, who sent him to a place to feed pigs, and he wanted to eat the skins of the fruit that the pigs ate, but there was no-one to give him food.

He pondered on this and said to himself, "My father has many servants, and they have plenty of food, while I will die of hunger. I will arise and go to my father and say to him, 'Father, I have done evil in the sight of heaven and in your eyes, and I am not worthy to be called your son. Make me like your servants'".

He arose and came to his father, and his father saw him when he was still a long way off, and greatly pitied him, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him. The son said to him, "Father, I have done evil in the sight of heaven and in your eyes; I am not worthy to be called your son".

But his father said to his servants, "Bring long garments, large and fine, and clothe him, and put rings on his hands and shoes on his feet, and bring the fatted calf and kill it; let us eat and rejoice, because this my son was dead and is alive, was lost and is found". And they began to celebrate.

His older son was in the garden; he came near to the house and heard singing and dancing. He called a servant and asked, "What's this?". And he replied, "Your brother has come, and your father has killed the fatted calf, because he has got him back alive and well".

And he was angry and did not go inside, and his father came outside to him, and pleaded with him. But he answered his father and said, "Listen! Many years I am serving you, and I did not break one of your orders. Yet you did not give me one kid so that I could celebrate with my friends. But when this son of yours comes, who has wasted your food with women of ill repute, you kill the fatted calf for him".

And he replied to him, "My son, you are with me always, and all my things are yours. You should rejoice and be glad, because your brother was dead, and is alive, was lost and is found".
5. VOCABULARY

The word lists given below represent all the Ura lexical data that are presently available. They have been taken (in order of quantity) from Capell's fieldnotes, my own fieldnotes, Gordon 1889, and Ray 1893. The first section, Ura-English, lists all the Ura items in alphabetical order; q has been ordered after g and q after n; ǝ (which may or may not be phonemic) is ordered after i. Items which are unsourced are those which I recorded; if the same forms are recorded elsewhere, this has not been noted. The sources for other items are marked (C=Capell, G=Gordon, R=Ray). Similar conventions are used as were used in the Sie vocabulary in the preceding chapter. The second section is an English-Ura index.

5.1. Ura-English

abare G keep, save, protect
abas heavy
ade 1. stand [C:w/ade]
ade 2. cry [nasalised form of root? If so, the root may be ote or are]
afire run [cf. avire; C:afide]
ahuro C my friend [G:afro]
agaegat sharp
agaiqi C want
agum black
ahalei lie down [C:ahale]
ahaleiba sleep [C:ahale:ba, im/aleibo, G:n/ahleimpa]
ahali stab, sew
ahaninu C yesterday
ai blunt
al rotten
alam old
alaurie C all
alauriekia all
ale swim, wash (oneself)
algayek float (v)
altali wash (sth.) [C:ateli]
alua vomit
alvi out [C:alevi]
amaniq C cry, weep

amli C speak [cf. ovili, li] [n]
ampohol turn [nasalised consonant suggests that root may well be avohol or ovohol]
amwni 1. drink
2. suck [C:amweni]
anompugon C woman, girl
antenni C scrape out
aqka straight
aqkau lake
ara- C form of ra, locative/causative preposition [note G has arani-, dative preposition]
ara-da C why [cf. ra, da]
arat C be angry
arap sit
arari C sweet
arek C break
arekabu C look for
aribohonin C begin [n]
arlye C outside
armai good [CG:aremai]
armai-ves smooth
arqap C* to taste [C:arqap]
arufa sing
arvani spit [C:n/aluvan]
arvasi shoot [C:arevasi]
arvu hit
asivieği C to waste

ador C* call out, cry out [C: n/asor]
asua to paddle [cf. orasua]
at 1. bad [C:w/at 'sin, bad'] 2. dirty
atalahamus C feel sleepy
atam G power
atiruai C before
auau hot
av-....-sai C brother [cf. avinsai, 'his brother', avuksai 'my brother', etc.]
avatura C hold
avire flow [cf. afire]
avogat C fight [n]
avos C rejoice
avowat-ur G bad [cf. at]
avoya C walk around
avurkris C* young man [cf. urkris]
avin C husband [G:auin]

B

bagan C very
baluwalip C evening, night
banaq C inside
barmonuk heart
behnuri C then, next (conj.)
belek C elder
belmela night [C:benbela]
bentop ashes
bogup C sky
bohni C stump (?)
bohqi C dative preposition, to, for [G:bu-, locative preposition]
bolagis C midday
burubut 1. short 2. near (prep. and adv.) 3. come near, approach

davitavi C feel [possibly tavitavi?]
dayali C shadow
del C and, and then (joining clauses)
deni C hand, finger
degin C some [cf. leqen]
dera father! (voc.) [C also dega. I elicited dera used both vocatively and referentially – dera ariyi 'his father' – but C records the referential rimin (q.v.))
deverwiyarau wet
diye- C 1. underneath 2. shade [cf. diye nil, shade of a tree]
dompurwai 1. grass 2. forest, bush
dorpis C* lightning [C:doṛpis]
dovon belly
dua where?, which? (of place)
dua nivenu where? (=which place)
duhmus C garden [G:duhmus 'plantation']

E
eda 1. G be, abide, remain
   [possibly eta?]
eda 2. that
ehelip red
ehinen C mother [R:ihnin]
eki C climb
elei scratch [C:n/ele]
elek thick
eleki C take
eleki m-venim C bring
eleniqi G forgive [maybe efeleniqi??]
elenele-ves C glad, be
elepa C wake up (intr.)
elepele C wake up (intr.)
eligi hear [C:etegi]
emetet fear, be afraid
emivai C go away
empgo C* dance (v) [C:n/emp̣go]
eni 1. C eat [cf. keni]
eni 2. burn
enim come [cf. venim]
erekep C* fly (v) [C:yem/erekep]
erema 1. man [C:nerema, G:yirema]
erema 2. this, that (previous reference?)
eregi C 1. have 2. put
erevavui C divide up
eri C throw down
erigi G be, stay
eriği G try, strive [cf. neriğiğen]
etepurakgi C divide
etoroq C serve
eyi C no, not

G
ga you (sg.)
gaheli C with
gehi three [CG:geheli]
gelu two
gim we (exc.)
gimi you (pl.)
giçi when?, which? (of time)
giçi nelin when? (=which time)
gis we (inc.)
gise C but
give C how many?
givin mouth [C:'tooth']

gan only [as in saiagan 'one';
cf. sai. G gives gan which in
his orthography = gan; C suggests
that gan is probably correct]

H
horog C strong

I
ibin smell (intr.)
ihi C here
ihili C crawl
ilaviagoqi C waste (v)
im CG and (joining clauses??)
imo C that
iniiri tie
ip C go down, descend [n]
irais C grandfather
ispi C count
isut C far
itais C moon
italiau C full
itansis C dance (v) [Bisl.]
itaotao C dry
ituka C foreign, strange
iva C go
ivani C fear, be afraid
iviegi C be lost
iviehinie C to finish
iýi C he, she, it

àbelefi C whale
àrakunai C fog

K
kaf C calf [Eng./Bisl.]
keni C eat [cf. eni]
ko C but
ku C 1. or 2. question-tag
kumala C sweet potato [Bisl.?]

L
lakih C rat
lama 1. C sugaroane
lama 2. C hard, strong, tight
lamapa C large
lat C fat (n) [cf. nalat]
laupe C long [cf. G:lauepe 'tall']
leil C they [G:lel]
lemelu C four [cf. section 2.4.]
lenau C knife [cf. nau]
legeleqin C finger [cf. legen]
legen 1. C wing [C:'hand'; cf. logun, legeleqin]
legen 2. C others [cf. deqin]
les C hunt
li 1. C say [cf. amli, owili]
li 2. C with (comitative)
livan C wife
livsau C servant
logun C hand [cf. legen]
lurem G ten

M
m C and [var. of im before a vowel]
mama C mother
mampum C before (?), older (?)
magkam C sun [C:magam; G:nihmi umugkum]
magkilemil C liver
marima C now
marugi C leave [G:'from']
melile C smooth
melyeq C yellow [cf. uniaq]
menuku C bird
meves C right (hand)
milik C breast [Bisl.]
mis C die
misikai C five [CG:misai 'six'; cf. section 2.4.]
misikai-gelu C seven
misikai-saiagan C six
mo 1. C more [= momu?]
mo 2. C and (joining noun phrases?)
mogum C green
momu C more
mor C left (hand)
mori C previous reference, relative pronoun [C:'the afore-said']
mosi 1. C star [cf. umse]
mosi 2. C to/towards (?)
mova C outrigger float
**MW**

**mwagas** pig [C:numâgasî]

**N**

nafunin C forehead

nahalin C* egg [possibly naharini?]

nahavan seed

naiki C* mat

naïqi thing

naiyai G sky

nalalau CG boy

nalampon C fish-net

nalat meat [cf. lat]

nalinowe dog [C:nadinowe, natinowe]

naluamen tongue

namas clothes

namdoda C moss

namla C child

namlauan C garment

namgainiliya C year(s) [cf. niliya,
namgainin; G:numqai niliya 'years'?]

nampainin year [G: numqai niliya
'years'?]

nampaveg fire [R:nampevaq]

nampurokelin C dawn

nan neok

nanbut C* sour [C:nanb̩but]

nani C goat [Bisl.]

nâqko if [C:nagu]

napare C lime

nareki G action, deed

nari G feast

namron C* male

narufa C song, singsing [cf. arufa]

naruman C oven

narvin sand [C:nalevin]

natorvan C armlet, ring

nau spear (n) [cf. lenau]

naituqä C* knife [cf. ituqä]

naveligen C hair [cf. noveligen]

navian C* voice [C: havian is a
typographical error?]

naviat C spirit (=being)

navlaivin C tail

navraq C* mouth [C:navraq]

ne water

nebasewogi C order (n)

neherop C ripe coconut

nehi C cf. ner-

nei C coconut

nelai G canoe, ship

nelelam road

nelepon nima C roof

nelihimi C tears [cf. nihimi]

neliman C outrigger

nelin 1. day, time

gigêi nilin when? (=which time)

nelin 2. nose

nelo G kingdom

nelven tooth

nemaniop C river

nemgen C time

ner- C son, child [cf. section
3.1.1. possessive forms; 3rd
sg. is nehni]

nerenvip C rain (n) [cf. revnip,
nevip]

neriçiyeg C will (n) [cf.
eriçiyeg; G:neriçiyek]

netai 1. C one [cf. sai]

netai 2. C young man

netan C rafter

netevote C goods

netukus C salt

nevelogon C wing
neveq C food [G:neven]
nevip rain (n) [C:neviv,G:nebip; cf. revnip]
nevivilau C leaf
nibilen C thin
nibiligen C leaf
nihimi eye [cf. G:nihmi umugkum 'sun' = eye + sun?]
nihimuroegovor C door
nininampis C dark
nii tree [C: ni, G:nyi]
ilaswi G glory
niligen C root
niliya C year [cf. namgainiliya]
nima C house
nelepon nima C roof
nimal R breadfruit
nimep C dream (n?)
nimerovul C a lie [cf. novul]
nimgas C pig [cf. mwagas]
nimil R fruit
nimpi sugarcane [C:nibi]
ninin C father
nivan 1. C flesh
  nivan erema C kind of man able to do sth.
nivan 2. 1. fruit [C:navani]
  C 2. flower
nivan 3. name [G:nivana]
nivani C fear (n) [cf. ivan]
nivat stone
nivenu 1. earth, land 2. a place
dua nivenu where? (=which place)
nivivat C thick
nivoris big
nøvøun flower [C:nouøon]
nobuau cloud
nogesi C ill-living
nogolesidan C* skin [cf. dan]
nohomus C hunger [cf. ohomus]
nohumunetren knee
nokologun C lip
nomolip C quiet
nomorop C life [cf. omorop]
nompua mountain [C:nbu:a]
nompumetuo C old man
nompun head [C:nbun]
nompunaran C friend
nomu fish [C:unomu 'fish, bird']
nopum C front
  ra nopum C first
noriogmpunu C grief
nou- leg, foot [cf. section 3.1.1. re possessive forms; 3rd sg. is nowin]
noveligen C feather [cf. naveligen]
noviri C sore (n)
novlinompun hair on head [cf. nompun]
novliran hair on body
novlogun C* beard [C:novølogun]
novoluman C egg
novsiak C pus
novul C language [cf. novulu]
novulu CG word [cf. novul]
nowahanin root
nowe rope
nowin 1. C fire
nowin 2. C cf. nou-
nowiran bone
nuqainøm dust
nuqonom-ra-dena smoke (n) [cf. dena]
nup yam
nusian C large
nuval C fat (n)
O

o yes [C:oo]

obu C do, make [G:ubu; may be
omp - cf. ompurak]

ogo C say (quotative)

ogoli dig [C:m/ogòri]

ogori know [C:yem/ogori; G:ogori]

ogsi see [C:ogòsi]

ohomol 1. fall
   C 2. lie down

ohomus C be hungry

omo C be finished

omorop live, be alive [C:n/omorop]

ompeyok C over there

ompurak to work [cf. obu]

ogkorua laugh [C:d/ugkorowo]

orasua paddle [cf. asua]

ormonuk C nest (?)

orvogot walking-stick, crutch, staff

otai kill [C:yan/adai; prob. nasa-lied nonpast form]

ovgor walk [C:ovogon]

ovili C say [cf. li, amli]

ovki-sep C put down

ovlehegi C call

ovoholou hold
   ovoholou-lama squeeze

ovohqi CG give [ovo- w. some object
ovosi 1. blow (as a fire) pronouns]

ovosi 2. C feed

ovovu play

P

poholit 1. bite

poholit 2. burn

popolevo C morning

popowo C because [G:popowosa]

pulau C lazy

R

ra locative preposition [G also
has ara]

revnip to rain [cf. nerevnip,
nevip]

rimin C father [G:rimen]

S

sahalegat liver

sai another, different, a certain
   [CG:'one']
   sai somu C another, one more

saigan one [cf. sai, gan]

sakai C one

samleil some [cf. leil]

san- benefactive preposition

sari C attach oneself

saveti push

simanlou C men's house

simheli G eight

simhelu G seven

sinivat G nine

soku C 1. also, as, too 2. when

somu C again, more
   sai somu C another, one more

soqu C to kiss

-su G plural-marker, all

suat C many

suelem C five [cf. suorem]

sugai C house

suorem four [G:'five'; cf. suelem;
   cf. also section 2.4.]

suva white

T

ta C gather together

tabeliak C have in abundance

tabuni G lead
tadek C arise
Tai C kill
taleq C ask
tamsi C answer
Tani C take, hold, catch
taru C think
tavarili C to pity
tavleheq C split
tavoli C send
ten ten [Bisl.]
tesok C beg
teti C come back
tompor C holy

U
ubeu C shark
uhnomu G guts, intestines
uhnomun fingernail
ula C mother (voc.)
uleq C fly (n)
ulpon cold [C:urpwon]
umek snake, worm
umitar G rainbow
umova G moon
umše CG star [cf. mosi]
umuwe C prawn
uniq C yellow [cf. melyeq]
umomu C bird [cf. fish]
umogabavin C smoke (n)
ugka blood
uverekek C house
uyo 1. C grandmother
uyo 2. G God

V
vai-iq C clothe, put on (clothes)
vaseviv C grass skirt
vau new
venim C come [cf. enim]
vēmis sky [C:fetmis]
vin sister
vogot walk with a crutch [cf.
orvogot 'walking-stick', suggesting
verb vogot]
vu rub

W
wavilau wind [C:wavilau, G:wavelau]
wi who?
wima what?
wis C octopus, squid
wit louse
worade C staff [cf. ade]
woreno go C shoe

Y
yalide C lobster, crayfish
yalu child
yaremis C spirit (=ghost)
yarmon boy [C:ar/iaramun 'male, man']
yarumne G chief
yarvin woman [C:yasevin, ar/iarevin,
yareven; G:ar/iareven]
yau I
yauuq C elbow
yavu C turtle
-ye C plural-marker
yera C today [G:yeraba]
5.2. English-Ura

A

abide  eda
abundance, have in tabeliak
action  nareki
afraid  emetet, ivani
again  somu
alive  omorop
all  alaurie, alauriekia, -su
also  soku
always  uvu
and  im, mo, m
  and then  de
angry  aragai
another  sai, sai somu
answer  tamsi
approach  burububut
arise  tadek
armlet  natorvan
as  soku
ashes  bentop
ask  taleqi
attach oneself  sari

B

back  dan
bad  at, avowat-ur
be  eriği, eda
beard  novloğun
because  popowo
before  atiruai, mampum (?)
beg  tesok

yorpa  far
yuwi  c
  1. that
  2. there

begin  aribohonin
belly  dovon
benefactive preposition  san-
big  dahamas, nivoris
bird  menuku, unomu
bite  poholit
black  agum
blood  uğka
blow (as a fire)  ovosi
blunt  ai
bone  nowiran
boy  nalalau, yarmon
breadfruit  nimal
break  arek
breast  milik
bring  eleki m-venim
brother  av-...-sai
burn  eni, poholit
bush  dompurwai
but  ko, gise

c

C

calf  kaf
call  ovlehegi, asor
canoe  nelai
catch  tani
certain, a sai
chief  yarumne
child  namla, ner-, yalu
climb  eki
clothe vai-iqi
clothes namas
cloud nobau
coconut nei
   ripe coconut neherop
cold ulpon
come enim, venim
come back teti
come near burubut
count ispi
crawl ihili
crayfish yalide
crutch orvogot
cry amaniq, ade
cry out asor
cut alvi

dance (v) empgo, itanis
dark nihinampis
dative preposition bohaq

dawn nampurokelin
day nelin
deed nareki
descend ip
die mis
different sai
dig ogoli
dirty at
divide etepurakqi, erevavui
do obu
dog nalinowe
door nihimurogovor
dream (n?) nimep
drink amwni
dry itaotao
dust nuguinam

ear delgen
earth dena, nivenu
eat keni, eni
egg nahlain, novoluman
eight simheli
elbow yaugga
elder beleq
evening baluwalip
eye nihimi

fall ohomol
far yorpa, isut
fat (n) lat, nuval
father rimin, ninin, dera
fear (v) emetet, ivani
   (n) nivani
feast nari
feather noveligen
feed ovosi
feel davitavi
   feel sleepy atalahanus
few davaui-dahamas
fight avogat
finger deqen, legelegin
fingernail uhuromun
finish (v) iviehinie
   be finished omo
fire nowin, nampaveq
first ra nopum
fish nomu
fish-net nalampon
five misikai, suelem
flesh nivan
float (v) algayek
   outrigger float mova
flow avire
flower nāvgun, nivan
fly (n) uleŋ
(v) erekp
fog drākunaiai
food neveŋ
foot nou-
forehead nafunin
foreign ituŋa
forest dompurwai
forgive elenigi
four suorem, lemelu
fowl urua
friend nompunaran, ahuro
front nopum
fruit nivan, nimil
full italiau

G
gather together ta
garden duhmu
garment namlauan
ghost yaremisi
girl anompugon
give ovoqi

glad, be elegeleq-ves
glory nilaswi
go iva
  go away emivai
  go down ip
goat nani
God uyo
good armai
goods netevote
grandfather irais
grandmother uyo
grass dompurwai

grass skirt vasiviu
green mogum
grief norigompun
ground dena
guts uhnomu

H
hair naveliŋen
(on body) novliran
(on head) novlinompun
hand logun, degen
hard lama
have ereqi
  have in abundance tabeliak
he iyi
head nompun
hear elqi
heart barmonuk
heavy abas
here ihii
hit arvu
hold ovoholouŋ, tani, avatura
holy tompor, uvuhnumu
hot auau
house nima, uvurek, sugai
  men's house simanlou
how many? give
hunger nohomus
  be hungry ohomus
hunt les
husband awin

I
I yau
if naŋko
ill-living nogesi
inside banaŋ
intestines uhnomo
it iyi

K
keep abare
kill tai, otai, dahalini
kingdom nelo
kiss (v) soqu
knee nohumunetren
knife naitunsana, lenau
know ogori

L
lake aqkau
land nivenu
language novul
large nusian, lamapa
laugh ogkorua
lazy pulau
lead tabuni
leaf nibenugen
leave marugi
left (hand) mor
leg now-
lie (n) nimerovul
lie down ahalei, ohomol
life nomorop
lightning dorpis
lime napare
lip nokologun
live omorop
liver sahalegat, magkilemil
lobster yalide
locative preposition ra
long laupu
look for arekabu
lost, be iviegi

louse wit

M
make obu
male narmon
man erema
kind of a man nivan erema
men's house simanlou
old man nompumetuo
many dahamas, suat
mat naiki
meat nalat
midday bolagis
misleading dabunis
moon itais, umova
more somu, momu, mo
one more sai somu
morning popolevo
mosquito yomog
moss namdoda
mother ehinen, ula, mama
mountain nompua
mouth givin, navrag

N
name nivan
narrow urkris
navel yobut
near (prep. & adv.) burubut
neck nan
nest (?) oromnuk
net nalampon
new vau
next (conj.) behnuri
night belmela, baiwalip
nine sinivat
no eyi, davaui
sea de
see oksi
seed nahavan
send tavoli
servant livsau
serve etoroq
seven misikai-gelu, simhelu
sew ahali
shade dige-
shadow dayali
shark ubeu
sharp agaegat
she iyi
ship nelai
shoe wor-enogo
shoot arvasi
short burubut
sing arufa
singsing narufa
sister vin
sit arap
six misikai-saiagan
skin dan, nogolesidan
skirt vasiviu
sky vetmis, bogup, naiyai
sleep ahaleiba
    feel sleepy atalahamus
    small urkris
smell (intr.) ibin
smoke (n) nugonom-ra-dena, unognabavin
smooth armai-ves, melile
snake umek
some smaleil, deqin
son ner-
song narufa
sore (n) noviri
sour nanbut

speak amli
spear nau
spirit naviat (=being), yaremis (=ghost)
spit arvani
split tavleheçi
squeeze ovoholouŋ-lama
squid wis
stab ahali
staff orvogot, worade
stand ade
star mosi, umse
stay eriqi
stick (=walking stick) orvogot
stone nivat
straight aqka
strange ituŋa
strive eriqiyeg
strong lama, horog
stump bohni
suck amwni
sugarcane nimpi, lama
sun maŋkam
sweet arari
sweet potato kumala
swim ale

t
tail navlaivin
take tani, eleki
taro dal
taste (v) arqap
tears nelihimi
temptation dahmi
ten lurem, ten
that eda, erema, imo yuwi
then behnuri
there yuwi
over there ompeyok
y
they leil
thick elek, dahamas, nivivat
thin nevivilau
thing nauni, dahami
think taru
this erema
three gehli
throw davaqi
throw down eri
tie iniri
tight lama
time nelin, nemgen
to/towards (?) mosi
today yera
tongue naluamen
too soku
tooth nelven
tree nii
try eriigiyeq
turn ampohol
turtle yavu
two gelu

underneath dige-

very bagan
village dahalua
voice navian
vomit alua

walk up (intr.) elepa, elepele
walk ovgor

walk around avoya
walk with a crutch vogot
walking-stick orvogot
want agaiqi
war ureverek
wash (oneself) ale
(sth.) altali
waste (v) asiviq, ilaviagogi
water ne
we (exc.) gim
we (inc.) gis
weep amaniq
wet deverwiyau
whale  ámbefi
what? wima, da
when soku
when? gigi, gigi nelin
where? dua, dua nivenu
which? dua (of place), gigi (of time)
white suva
who? wi
why? ara-da
wife livan
will (n) nerigiyeq
wind wavlau
wing legen, nevelogon
with gaheli, li
woman yarvin, anompugon
word novu
work (v) ompurak
worm umek

y

yam nup
year namgainin, niliya, namgainiiliya
yellow melyeq, uniaq
yes o
yesterday ahaninu
you (pl.) gimi
you (sq.) ga
young man netai, avurkris

NOTES

1 The data on which this paper is based are derived in large part from Gordon (1889), fieldnotes of A. Capell (some of the lexical items of which were published in Tryon 1976), and my own fieldnotes.

2 Unfortunately, the time available to both Capell and myself was far too short to even begin to collect verbal paradigms, while Gordon's scanty paradigms are often unglossed and, where glossed, often inconsistent - e.g. yau no8gori is given as the past, future, and (probably) present of know!

3 The analysis given here thus relies almost exclusively on the textual data in section 4.

4 The form for brother, like its cognate in Sie, is a compound of a root probably meaning friend, to which the possessive pronoun is attached, plus the form one - presumably, the one true friend.

5 Capell gives ariyau, arika for the first and second singular, while I recorded arau, arka.

6 The form m appears to be used before a vowel, while im (and more rarely mo or even mu) occurs before a consonant.
Utaha, now extinct, was spoken in the north-west of Erromango. It was almost extinct when Gordon published his 1889 sketch of Yoku, and that sketch included only brief samples of Utaha. Available lexical data are presented in section 3 below, and these largely form the basis for the discussion of the phonology in section 1. Some attempt is also made to reconstruct the grammatical system (section 2), based in part on the only textual data, the Lord's Prayer (section 4).

1. PHONOLOGY

Gordon (1889) uses a similar orthography for Utaha as he does for the other Erromangan languages, including i for /ai/, x for /au/, and c for /oi/. If we presume that his Utaha orthography is consistent with his orthography for the other Erromangan languages, then his g represents /g/ and his g (‘hard g’) represents a prenasalised voiced velar stop. Macrons and other diacritics over vowels appear to mark non-phonemic differences in vowel quality; they are used irregularly and inconsistently, were largely ignored by Ray and especially Capell, and will likewise be ignored here.

Gordon makes absolutely no statement about Utaha pronunciation at all, and so any discussion depends on his orthography, on the orthography he uses for Sie (Yoku) and Ura, and on what we know of the phonology of those two languages. From these data, we can propose a phonological system something like that shown below:

```
(1)  p  t  k  j  u
    b  d  g  e  o
    f  s  h  a
    v  n  g
    m  n  q
    l  r
    w  y
```

The voiced stops were probably prenasalised: there is a little internal grammatical evidence that the velar stop was prenasalised, and the only occurrence of d in Gordon's lists is preceded by n; however, the only occurrence of b is not preceded by m, which confuses the issue. But since Ura has prenasalised voiced
stops contrasting with simple voiceless stops, and since modern Sie has a prenasalised voiced alveolar stop and no other voiced stops, it seems likely that Utaha b, d, and g were prenasalised.

Evidence for the velar fricative g rests solely on Capell's retranscription of Gordon's data: Capell writes some of Gordon's k's as k and others as g. Since Ura and Sie have a voiced velar fricative, and since Gordon did not orthographically distinguish this sound from k in either of those two languages, it is likely that Capell is correct.

The Utaha consonant system thus corresponds very closely with that established for Sie and, especially, for Ura. The only major difference is the absence of the velarised bilabials pw and mw. However, these are rare phonemes in all the Erromangan languages, and given the paucity of data, they may well have existed in Utaha.

The vowel system, consonant clustering, and the general phonotactic pattern seem to be very similar to both Ura and Sie. Because of the nature of the data, nothing can be said about stress or other suprasegmental phenomena.

2. GRAMMAR

The amount of grammatical information given by Gordon is minimal, and little can be deduced from the translation of the Lord's Prayer (section 4). The general impression, however, is that Utaha grammar is similar to that of Sie and Ura.

Pronouns. In the pronouns, the distinction between singular and plural, inclusive and exclusive first person, and subject/focal, object, and possessive forms occurs in much the same way as in the other Erromangan languages. The forms of the focal and (suffixed) object pronouns appear to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Focal</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>gis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>iyi</td>
<td>yoril</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphatic pronouns require a morpheme pe:

(3)  yo im pe yo  I myself
     kom peq ko  thou thyself
     iyi pe iyi  he himself
     yoril im pe yoril  they themselves

The distinction between inalienable or direct possession and alienable or active possession appears to have been maintained, although there is not much data on the former type. Direct possession is by suffixation to the noun; active possession involves a possessive morpheme, whose underlying form is probably ete, plus a free pronoun. As in other Erromangan languages, there is only one set of alienable possessives. The forms isolated are:
In addition, the following possessive-like forms have been identified:

(5) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ira-mim</td>
<td>to/against us (exc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-mu</td>
<td>thy (as in namu nelo thy kingdom)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns. Pluralisation of nouns is expressed by a suffix -yu; there is no evidence of a prefix corresponding to Sie, Ura ovn-, although the phrase uvum nevi-yu in the Lord's Prayer, which is the plural of nevi year, shows a form uvum which may be a plural prefix. There is some evidence of a personal plural prefix 1: compare av-en-sogoi his brother with l-av-uq-sogoi my brothers.

Prepositions. Prepositional forms are similar to those in Sie and Ura. There is a locative ra (which may have the form ira- before pronouns — cf. (5) above), a dative (?) pi-, a benefactive nise- or nese-, and a form malini from. The forms pi- and nise-/nese- take pronoun suffixes (whether object or possessive is not easy to determine).

Verbs. Verbs are constructed on the same lines as those of Sie and Ura: person of subject, tense/aspect, and negative are marked by prefixes, and person of object by suffixes. The verb undergoes the common Erromangan feature of prefixation of n- to the root or nasalisation of the first consonant of the root in the non-past tenses. The verbal data given by Gordon, however, are so sparse as to prevent any serious analysis; most of his paradigms have no English translations, which makes the tense-markers somewhat difficult to identify. However, there is a prefix m- or vowel + m- marking present tense, a negative prefix etu-, and an echo-subject prefix m-. Person-of-subject markers appear to be something like:

(6) Singul ar Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Ø- (?)</td>
<td>el-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal nouns are formed with a prefix n-.

None of these statements regarding verbs — or, indeed, any other word-class — is inconsistent with the nature of Sie or Ura grammar, and many of the forms involved are cognate. Morphologically, then, Utaha is, as one might expect, an Erromangan-type language; there appear to be no real surprises for the linguist which are not already found in Sie.

Syntax. Since the sole piece of continuous text is a translation of the Lord's Prayer, almost nothing can be said about Utaha syntax. However, the following statements might be made:

(a) object follows verb, indirect object being marked by a pronoun suffix:

(7) efieling-kum eturat-yu ete-kum

Forgive us:EXC sin-PL POSS-our:EXC

Forgive us our trespasses
(b) adjective follows noun:
(8) nevoq aramai
    food good
    Good food (translates bread in Lord's Prayer)

(c) active/alienable possessive follows noun:
(9) eturat-yu ete-yoril
    sin-PL POSS-their
    Their trespasses

3. VOCABULARY

The list below gives all the Utaha lexical items that survive in the written records. Gordon's orthography has been modified in accordance with the phonology outlined in section 1 above. Additional items found in Ray (1893) or Capell (MSa, MSb) are marked as such by R or C; where the item is found only in the Lord's Prayer, and its gloss can thus only be approximate, this is indicated by the presence of 'p' following the item. Finally, an asterisk indicates that Gordon's original orthography has been modified by Capell; in such cases, Gordon's original form is given with the abbreviation G.

3.1. Utaha-English

aha where?
ahlumraq sleep
aramai p good
atnelo 1. his canoe
        2. his people [cf. nelol]
auwo day after tomorrow
avensogoi * his brother [G: avensokoi]
    lavuqsoqoi * my brothers
efieliniqi p forgive
enim p come
etninu yesterday
    etnuwoseme day before yesterday
    etnuwosimpe three days ago
etura p be, stay
eturat p sin [cf. rat]
etuwi whose? [cf. uwi]
gis we (inc.)
horoq p power
idowi p always

im p and [joining NPs only]
iriis R moon
iso spear (n)
iyi he, she, it
kalu two
kihili three
kimi you (pl.)
ko 1. you (sg.)
ko 2. p but
kum we (exc.)
lemelu four
levenahan bow (n., weapon)
malini p from
misegai C six [cf. simsoqoi]
mori C previous reference, relative pronoun [C:'the aforesaid']
narolem ten
    narolem-kalu twenty
    narolem-otam-nugosogoi * eleven [G:...nugosokoi]
natekimoresah C 1. compulsion, effort
C 2. determined
nelin day
nelo kingdom [cf. atnelo]
nesekar feast
nevi p year
nevoq p* food [G:nevuq]
ilasuwi p glory
nimnim oğkum * sun [G:nimmim uğkum]
impeyi go now
nin name
nise- benefactive preposition
[also nese-]
noguwait * tree [G:nokuwai]
nogo * when? [G:nugo]
navau coconut
novil word
novonau sea
okori know
ompu * do [G:umpu]
oviqi p give
pe reflexive, self
pi- dative preposition
polebu tomorrow [Note: G's medial b without supporting m may re-
represent either /b/, /p/, or perhaps /w/]
popowose p because
ra p locative preposition
rat sin [cf. eturat]
simnalu seven
simni heli eight
simnivat nine
simsimpari p keep, protect, save
simsogoi * six [G:simsokoi; cf. misegai]
sogoi * one [G:sokoi]
som p* holy [G:sum]
sogku p* as, like [G:sogku]
sukrim five
tapmi p temptation
taru p want, wish
tavewe not
timen father
timo father! (voc.)
toregi p lead
tupmis garden [G:'plantation']
ude blood
umse stars
umu fish
unpokup p heaven, sky, (or in
heaven, in the sky)
utuvoregil * war [G:utuvorekil]
uvum p plural, all
uwi who (pl.)?
uyo God
uyu water
wi who (sg.)?
yamu this
yatumu chief
yo I
yore today
yoril they
yu p plural, all
yugi * here [G:yuki]
yumu that
yumu-yu those [G:'these']
yumup p earth
3.2. English-Utaha

**all** yu, uvum

**always** idowi

**and** im

**as** soŋku

**be** etura

**because** popowose

benefactive preposition nise-

blood ude

**bow** (n., weapon) levenahan

**brother** avensogoi, lavuŋsogoi

**but ko**

canoe atnelo

**chief** yatumu

**coconut** novau

**come enim**

**compulsion** natekimosesah

dative preposition pi-

day nelin

  **day after tomorrow** auwo

  **day before yesterday** etnuwoseme

  **three days ago** etnuwosimpe

determined natekimosesah

do ompu

earth yumup

effort natekimosesah

eight simnheli

eleven narolem-otam-nuŋosogoi

**father** timen, timo (voc.)

**feast** nesekar

**fish** umu

**five** suŋkrim

**food** nevoŋ

**forgive** efielinini

**four** lemelu

**from** malini

garden tupmis

give oviți

**glory** nilasuwi

God uyo

good aramai

he iyi

heaven unpokup

here yugi

holy som

I yo

it iyi

keep simsimpari

**kingdom** nelo

know okori

lead toregi

like soŋku

locative preposition ra

moon iriis

name nin

nine simhivat

not tavewa

now nimpeyiŋo

one soŋgoi

people atnelo

plural yu, uvum

power horoŋ

previous reference mori

**protect** simsimpari

reflexive pe

relative pronoun mori

save simsimpari

sea novonau

seven simnhalu

she iyi

sin rat, eturat

six misegai, simsoŋgoi

sky unpokup
A translation of the Lord's Prayer in Utaha was given in Gordon's appendix (Gordon 1889:84). This is reproduced here with the orthographic changes noted above. I have also attempted to give some idea of morphological boundaries in the text.

timen-kum unpokup; etura som nin ete-ko; enim na-mu nelo;
father-our:EXC in:sky; be holy name POSS-thy; come thy(?) kingdom;
ete-n-ompu natekimoresah m-in-tarur ra yumup sogku pe unpokup; oviq-kum
?-IRR-do effort ES-IRR-want LOC earth as ? in:sky; give-us:EXC
yore pe nelin nevoq aramai nise-kum; efieliniq-kum eturat-yu ete-kum
today ? day food good BENF-us:EXC forgive-us:EXC sin-PL POSS-our:EXC
sogku kutem-afieliniq-kor eturat-yu ete-yoril mori el-ompu eturat ira-mim;
as 1EXC:PL:?-forgive-them sin-PL POSS-their PREF 3PL-do sin LOC-us:EXC;
m-etu-toreq-kum ra tapmi, ko simsimpari ira-mim malini eturat;
ES-NEG-lead-us:EXC LOC temptation, but save LOC-us:EXC from sin;
popowose na-mu nelo, im horoq, im nilasuwi ete-ko, uvum nevi-yu, idowi,
because thy(?) kingdom, and power, and glory POSS-thy, PL(?) year-PL, always,

cannot
always. amen.
CHAPTER 6
SORUNG

Sorung, once the largest of the Erromangan languages, occupied the south­eastern half of the island. Like Utaha, it has become extinct, and almost no extant data on it are available. What is available is summarised below.

1. PHONOLOGY

From the small amount of lexical and grammatical data, it is impossible to dignify what follows with the title 'phonological statement'. Nevertheless, we can at least say that the following letters were used to represent Sorung sounds:

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This resembles in many respects the sound systems of the other Erromangan languages, although it lacks f and y, and one might also expect to find evidence of dw and nw. While d is probably prenasalised (cf. isenda their), the absence of b and g may have one of two explanations: either (a) there is merely insufficient data, and Sorung, like Ura and Utaha, had the full set of prenasalised stops; or (b) Sorung phonology was more like Sie, which has a prenasalised voiced alveolar stop d, but lacks such stops in bilabial and velar positions.

2. GRAMMAR

The sole pieces of evidence regarding Sorung grammar are a few phrases from the Lord's Prayer and an alienable-active possessive paradigm. The possessive paradigm is:

(2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.</td>
<td>sorung</td>
<td>sorit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.</td>
<td>isen</td>
<td>soremam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>isendam</td>
<td>soremi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>isenda [=iseda?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unfortunatley, the few phrases from the Lord's Prayer, reproduced below as (3), give us a little more information on possession but on almost nothing else:

(3) eni tumpora nin sorum -- taru sorum -- sao-su soremam --
    be holy name POSS:thy -- wish POSS:thy -- sin-PL POSS:our:EXC --
    it sorum lo
    because (?) POSS:thy kingdom

Hallowed be thy name -- thy will -- our sins -- because thine is the
kingdom

It does seem, however, that the alienable possessive constituent may precede or follow the noun.

3. VOCABULARY

Extant Sorung lexical data are presented below. Forms from Gordon's (1889) sketch are marked G, from his Lord's Prayer Gp, and forms from Capell (MSa, MSb) are marked C. The orthographic decisions made for Utaha apply equally here.

eti G* to stay, be
etni G son
hu G one
irasie G for what?
it G* because
lo G* kingdom
munsie C. what else?
nahiven G woman
naviran C companion
nelin diogives C love, favour
nempatap C the north
nin G* name

oviun sie G things, effects, property
sat G* bad, sin
sevani C lost person or animal
sie G what?
siema G that which
siklim G five
sosowi C to hold with two hands
su G* plural
taru G* will (n), to wish
tumpora G* holy
vilik G little
CHAPTER 7
PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON PROTO-ERROMANGAN

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper represents a first attempt at reconstructing the language ancestral to the Erromangan languages which have been described in this volume. Obviously, the great variation in the quantity and quality of data available on those languages make it impossible to accomplish this task with a high degree of adequacy and accuracy. Nevertheless, it seems important to go as far as possible in reconstructing Proto-Erromangan, not least because the languages of this region diverge more than most from the common Oceanic type.

The reconstruction of Proto-Erromangan (PER) is done from the bottom up. That is, the evidence of the daughter-languages has been the major consideration in the reconstruction of the proto-language. I have paid little attention to earlier, well-attested reconstructed proto-languages like Proto-Austronesian (PAN) or Proto-Oceanic (POC), or to Proto-Erromangan's nearest ancestor, Proto-Southern Vanuatu (PSV). Further work on the history of the languages of Tanna and Aneityum will doubtless lead to refinements in what has been presented below.1

Since the data are so scanty, no subgrouping hypothesis can be adequately tested. However, I am assuming for the purposes of this chapter that the two languages for which we have the greatest amount of data, Sie and Ura, belong to different first-order subgroups of Proto-Erromangan. I also assume that Utaha is most closely related to Ura, and Sorung to Sie. That is, I am proposing the following family tree for the Erromangan languages:

(1)

```
Proto-Erromangan
  /   \\
 /     \
Northern Subgroup Southern Subgroup
   /         \         /         \ 
  Ura        Utaha     Sie        Sorung
```

The basis for these assumptions will now be examined briefly. First, Ura and Utaha share both a numeral prefix (Ura ɣ- or gV- Utaha k- or kV-) and an innovative form lemulu for four (though retaining a reflex of POC ʰpat four in the compound form for nine);2 Sie has a numeral prefix d- or dV- and retains ʰpat as four:
Second, Ura and Utaha make considerable use of a fused article $\gamma V$- on personal nouns, whereas Sie does not appear to distinguish this from the general fused article $\eta V$-; e.g. Ura yaremis, Sie natmas spirit, ghost; Ura yarumne, Utaha yatumu, Sie natemonog chief; Ura yarvin, Sie nahiven woman; and so on. Ura and Utaha also share a few grammatical morphemes which are not cognate with the Sie forms, including Ura, Utaha wi who? (cf. Sie mei), and Ura arî-, Utaha etî- (or ete) alienable possession marker (cf. Sie en-, hör-, Sorung sor-). Finally, both Ura and Utaha have accreted PER *at as a prefix (?) to the PER form *ninu yesterday: Ura ahaninu, Utaha etninu, Sie ninu. While these data are by no means conclusive, they tend to support the hypothesis proposed in (1) above.

One other assumption made by the family tree in (1) is that Proto-Erromangan, as described there, is a closed subgroup consisting only of the Erromangan languages. This was justified briefly in Lynch (1978a), and needs little further comment here: the closest relatives of the Erromangan languages are in Tanna and Anéityum, but the Erromangan languages themselves share many phonological developments, grammatical morphemes and lexical items exclusive of the Tanna languages and Anéjom.

The procedure in the following sections has been to reconstruct Proto-Erromangan phonology, grammar, and lexicon almost exclusively on the basis of comparisons between Sie and Ura. Utaha data have been used, where available, in support of the various reconstructions, but because of the limited data available, Utaha has generally not been considered diagnostic for any but a few lexical reconstructions. Sorung data have been ignored.

1. PHONOLOGY

The reconstructed phoneme system of Proto-Erromangan is given below in (3); symbols in parentheses are proto-phonemes for which the evidence is not particularly strong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>Voiceless stops</th>
<th>Voiced prenasalised stops</th>
<th>Voiceless fricatives</th>
<th>Voiced fricatives</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Liquids</th>
<th>Semivowels</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\ast pw$</td>
<td>$\ast p$</td>
<td>$\ast t$</td>
<td>$\ast k$</td>
<td>$\ast m$</td>
<td>$\ast l$, $\ast r$, $\ast L$</td>
<td>$\ast w$</td>
<td>$\ast i$, $\ast e$, $\ast a$, $\ast o$, $\ast u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\ast b$</td>
<td>$\ast d$</td>
<td>$\ast z$</td>
<td>$\ast g$</td>
<td>$\ast m$</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$\ast f$</td>
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<td>$\ast s$</td>
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<td>$\ast n$</td>
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<td>$\ast v$</td>
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The consonant system reconstructed is similar in most respects to the systems of Sie and, especially, Ura. The major differences involve the reconstruction of $\ast z$ and the third liquid $\ast L$. The latter particularly, however, is well attested, as the discussion below will show.

These reconstructed proto-phonemes rest on the sound correspondences listed in Table 1 and discussed in detail in the rest of this section. All Utaha (UTH) correspondences should be considered tentative at this stage. Conditioned variants are given in square brackets; tentative reflexes are in parentheses.
TABLE 1: Erromangan sound correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PER</th>
<th>*pw</th>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*b</th>
<th>*t</th>
<th>*d</th>
<th>*k</th>
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<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
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<td>b</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>(p-, -mp-)</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>(t)</td>
<td>k</td>
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<th>*v</th>
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<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTH</td>
<td>k; (g)</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
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<tr>
<th>PER</th>
<th>*mw</th>
<th>*m</th>
<th>*n</th>
<th>*q</th>
<th>*l</th>
<th>*r</th>
<th>*l</th>
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<td>n</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URA</td>
<td>mw; (m)</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td>l</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(l-)</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(l-, -r-, -l)</td>
<td>(w)</td>
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<table>
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<th>*o</th>
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<td>a; [o, e]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a; [e, i]</td>
<td>o; [e]</td>
<td>u; [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

1.1. Consonants

The reconstructed Proto-Erromangan consonants and the consonant correspondences given in Table 1 are exemplified in this section.

**PER *pw > SIE pw-, -mpw-; URA b, (mp); UTH No data**

**Initial:**
SIE pwarap, URA baluwalip *evening*; SIE pwagah, URA bolagis *midday*.

**Medial:**
SIE ompwelvi, URA ʒbelefį *whale*; SIE naupwan, URA nalampon *net*; SIE nompwau, URA nobuau *cloud*.

**PER *p > SIE, URA, UTH p**

**Initial:**
SIE, URA popowo, UTH popowo/se *because*.

**Medial:**
SIE torpis, URA dorpis *lightning*; SIE, URA empgo *to dance*; SIE ehai, URA ispi *count*.

**Final:**
SIE etehep, URA arap *sit*; SIE atgap, URA argap *to taste*; SIE pogop, URA bogup, UTH un/pokup *sky*.

**Conditioned variant:**
PER *p is reflected as URA h when immediately followed by m: SIE, UTH tapmi, URA dahmi *try, test*; SIE nipmi, URA nihimi *his eye*; URA duhmus, UTH tupmis *garden*. Note also SIE nompu-netru-, URA nohumunetre/n *knee*.
PER *b > SIE p-, -mp-; URA b; (UTH p-, -mp- ?)

Initial: SIE patmonu, URA barmonuk heart; SIE pentop, URA bentop ashes; SIE potni, URA bohni stump; SIE pogop, URA bogup, UTH un/pokup sky.
Medial: SIE empen, URA ibin to smell (intrans); SIE empasewoji to order; URA nebasewoji an order; SIE ompi, URA obu, UTH ompu do, make; SIE yomput, URA yobut navel; SIE nempou, URA ubeu shark.
Conditioned It is possible that the SIE reflex of PER *b is p when immediately preceded by a consonant: cf. SIE potpot, URA burubut near, close, approach.

PER *t > SIE t; URA t-, -r-, -t; UTH t

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH taru think wish; SIE, URA tamsi answer; SIE, URA tempor holy, sacred.
Medial: SIE etehep, URA arap sit; SIE atgap, URA argap to taste; SIE etvani, URA arvani to spit; SIE patmonu, URA barmonuk heart; SIE neteme, URA erema man.
Final: SIE sat, URA at, UTH rat bad; SIE avgat, URA avogat to fight; SIE, URA isut far.
Conditioned PER *t is reflected as URA h when immediately before l or n; in most cases, the vowel preceding this h is then copied as an echo-vowel immediately following the h (i.e. *Vjtl becomes VjhVjll): URA ahaninu, UTH etninu, [SIE ninu] yesterday; SIE etri, URA ahali stab, sew; SIE potni, URA bohni stump; SIE nitni, URA nehni his son; SIE nowatni-, URA nowahani/n root; SIE temah, URA ohomus be hungry.

PER *d > SIE t; URA d-, -t-; (UTH t)

Initial: SIE tal, URA dal taro; SIE ta-, URA da/n back, skin; SIE telgo-, URA delge/n ear; SIE, UTH tapmi, URA dahmi test, tempt; SIE torpis, URA dorpis lightning.
Medial: SIE tavytavi, URA davitavi feel; SIE ametet, URA emetet be afraid; SIE, URA ituqa foreign; SIE, URA netevote goods, possessions; SIE, URA netukus salt; SIE, URA umitar rainbow.

PER *k > SIE, URA, UTH k (sporadic Ø)

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH k- 2SG verbal prefix; SIE, URA kak- EXC:PL verbal prefix; SIE, URA ku or, question-tag; SIE kou, URA, UTH ko but.
Medial: SIE oqko, URA aqka straight; SIE soki, URA eki climb; SIE ulakis, URA lakah rat; SIE, URA netukus salt; SIE, URA ovki-sep put down; SIE urekis, URA urkris small; SIE mehkai, URA misikai, [UTH misegai] six.
Final (?): SIE arki, URA arek break; SIE umkeya worm, URA umek snake.
Note the following cases of sporadic Ø. Initial: SIE eni, URA keni eat. Medial: SIE noki, URA nei coconut; SIE omonki, URA amwni drink; SIE, UTH sukrim, URA suorem five Final: SIE patmonu, URA barmonuk heart; SIE kik, URA ga, UTH ko you sg.

PER *g > SIE k-, -gk-; URA g; UTH k, (g)

Initial: SIE koh, URA, UTH gis we incl.; SIE kam, URA gim, UTH kum we excl.; SIE, UTH kimi, URA gimi you pl.; SIE kik, URA ga, UTH ko you sg.; URA gelu, UTH kalu two; URA gehli, UTH kihili three.
Medial: SIE arufo, URA arufa sing; SIE efielenogi, URA efielenigi forgive; SIE nafini-, URA nafuni/n forehead.

Note, however, the following irregular correspondences: SIE tafogi, URA davaqi (or tavaqi) throw; SIE ompwelvi, URA ðbelefì whale; SIE fan, URA nivan flesh.

PER *h > SIE, URA f, (UTH f)

Initial: SIE, URA vau new; SIE vetmis or vetmih, URA vetmis sky; SIE vin-, URA vin man's sister; SIE vai-oqi, URA vai-iqi clothe.

Medial: SIE orvi, URA alvi cut; SIE etvani, URA arvani spit; SIE avgat, URA avogat fight; SIE movog outrigger boom, URA moa outrigger float; SIE nvaq, URA neveq, UTH nevoq food; SIE ovoqi, URA ovohqi, UTH oviqi give.

Tendency > -p; note: SIE n-emev/iaq, URA nimep a dream.

Tendency > URA h before n: SIE u-vnomu, URA uhunomu/n fingermail.

PER *s > SIE s ~ h, URA s, UTH s

Initial: SIE hoqkuse, URA soku like, as; SIE, URA sari attach oneself to; SIE, URA soqo to kiss; SIE sikat, URA suat many; SIE ohovo, ehevo, URA suva white; SIE hai, URA sai, UTH sogoi one.

Medial: SIE ahuwo, URA asua to paddle; SIE ehapi, URA ispi count; SIE, URA isut far; SIE, URA mosi star; SIE, URA ovosi blow.

Final: SIE, URA avos rejoice; SIE tamah, URA dahamas many; SIE torpis, URA dorpis lightning; SIE meveh, URA meves right (hand); SIE, URA netukus salt.

PER *z > SIE s; URA ø-, -ø ~ -y-

Initial: SIE sat, URA at bad, sin; SIE sau, URA n/au spear; SIE semplauon, URA n/amlaulan garment; SIE semsempari, URA abare protect; SIE soki, URA eki climb.

Medial: SIE -su, URA -ye plural, perfective; SIE tasiasye, URA daiyaiye peace; SIE orgaisag, URA algayek to float.

PER *h > SIE ø (sporadic h); URA h; (UTH h)

Initial: SIE ooroq, URA, UTH horoq strong, power(ful).

Medial: SIE alei, URA ahalei lie down; SIE talogi, URA dahalini kill; SIE penuri, URA behnuri after; SIE aveni, URA iviehinie finish(ed); SIE omwoi, URA ohomol fall; SIE ovoli, URA ampohol (or avohol?) turn.

Cases of sporadic h in SIE: SIE, URA neherop ripe coconut; SIE d/ehel, URA g/ehli, UTH k/ihili three.

PER *g > SIE g; URA g-, -g-, -ø; (UTH k?)

Initial: SIE, URA g- 3SG preverbal prefix

Medial: SIE agayoqi, URA agailigi want; SIE agum-su, URA agum black; SIE, URA aragai angry; SIE pogop, URA bogup, UTH unpokup sky.

Final: SIE tog, URA de sea; SIE movog, URA moa outrigger; SIE natemonog, URA yarumne, UTH yatimu chief.

Irregular (?) final URA reflexes: SIE uyomug, URA yomog mosquito; SIE orgaisag, URA algayek to float; SIE menug, URA menuku bird. Note also SIE -g, URA -ka, UTH -ko you sg. obj.
PER *mw > SIE mw (sporadic m); URA mw (sporadic m)

Initial: SIE mwor, URA mor left (hand).
Medial: SIE omwol, URA ohomol fall; SIE omonki, URA amw ni drink; SIE nompgahi, URA mwa gas (also nim gas) pig

PER *m > SIE, URA UTH m

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH mori previous reference; SIE, URA marima now; SIE meveh, URA meves right (hand); SIE meng, URA menaku bird; SIE mah, URA mis die.
Medial: SIE, URA armai, UTH aramai good; SIE, UTH tapmi, URA dahmi test, tempt; SIE, URA nomu, UTH umu fish; SIE domo, URA l ama hard, strong; SIE nimo, URA nima house.
Final: SIE kam, URA gam, UTH kum we excl.; SIE, UTH suk rim, URA suorem five; SIE agum-su, URA agum black; SIE, URA mampum in front, before.

PER *n > SIE, URA, UTH n

Initial: SIE nvaq, URA neveq, UTH nevoq food; SIE nimo, URA nima house; SIE nei, URA nii tree; SIE nvat, URA nivat stone.
Medial: SIE ninu, URA ahaninu, UTH etninu yesterday; SIE potni, URA bohni stump; SIE etvani, URA arvani spit; SIE meng, URA menaku bird; SIE uv nomu, URA uhun nomu/n fingernail.
Final: SIE empen, URA ibin to small (intr.); SIE, URA narvin sand; SIE nel man, URA nel man outrigger; SIE dan, URA, UTH nel in day, time.

PER *q > SIE, URA, UTH q

Initial: SIE, URA qi instrumental preposition.
Medial: SIE oqko, URA aqka straight; SIE atqap, URA arqap to taste; SIE telgo, URA delge/n ear; SIE orq, URA elqi hear; SIE, URA ituga foreign; SIE n/iqoi, URA g/iqei, UTH n/oqo when.
Final: SIE oroq, URA, UTH horoq strong, power(ful); SIE nvaq, URA neveq, UTH nevoq food; SIE ulaq, URA uleq a fly.

PER *l > SIE d-, -1-, -1; URA 1; (UTH -1-)

Initial: SIE domo, URA l ama strong, hard; SIE dogoroqo-, URA leg elegi/n finger; SIE dan, URA nel in day, time; SIE du, URA li comitative preposition.
Medial: SIE alei, URA ahalei lie down; SIE elua, URA alua vomit; SIE tali, URA dayali shadow; SIE telgo, URA delge/n ear; SIE ompwelvi, URA obel ei whale; SIE, URA nalau boy, child; SIE novlaivi-, URA navlaivi/n tail; SIE, URA nilaswi, UTH nilasuwi brightness.
Final: SIE tal, URA dal taro; SIE, URA nuval fat (n); SIE omwol, URA ohomol fall; SIE, URA dal comitative preposition. And note also SIE d/ehel, URA g/ehli, UTH k/ihili three.
Possible SIE, URA lat fat (n); SIE lou, URA nelo kingdom; SIE ulakis, URA exceptions: lakih rat.

PER *r > SIE, URA, UTH r

Initial: SIE, URA aragai angry; SIE arki, URA arek break; SIE, URA armai, UTH aramai good; SIE arufo, URA arufa sing; SIE penuri, URA behnuri after; SIE torpis, URA dorpis lightning; SIE oroq, URA, UTH horoq strong, power(ful); SIE, URA narvin sand.
Final: SIE ur, URA avowat-ur bad; SIE mwor, URA mor left (hand); SIE, URA tem por holy, sacred; SIE, URA umitar rainbow.
PER *L > SIE r; URA l; (UTH l-, -r-, -l?)

Initial: SIE r-, URA, UTH l- personal plural marker.
Medial: SIE etri, URA ahali stab, sev; SIE orgisag, URA algayek to float; SIE orvi, URA alvi cut; SIE orei, URA elei scratch; SIE orgi, URA elgi hear; SIE novli-, URA noviri a sore; SIE ovroqi, URA ovlehegi to call; SIE d/uru, URA g/elu, UTH k/alu two.
Final: SIE nmar, URA nimal breadfruit; SIE iror, URA leil, [UTH yoril] they; SIE -or, URA -l, -il, UTH -kor them obj.

PER *w > SIE w; URA w; (UTH w); (sporadic u)

Initial: SIE, URA wor- instrumental nominaliser; SIE, URA wi intensive enclitic.
Medial: SIE iyuwi, URA yuwi there (mid); SIE n-empassewoqi, URA nebasewoqi an order; SIE, URA nileswi, UTH nileswi brightness; SIE nowati-, URA nowahani/n root; SIE, URA popowo, UTH popowose because.
Note also: SIE ahuwo, URA asua to paddle; SIE awau, URA auau hot; SIE nompuwo, URA nompua mountain; SIE wiou, URA uyo grandmother; SIE tawi, URA davaui, UTH tavewe not, no.

PER *y > SIE, URA, UTH y (sporadic i)

Initial: SIE yauqa, URA yauqa elbow; SIE, URA yevi pull; SIE yomput, Ura yobut navel; SIE, URA yau, UTH yo I.
Medial: SIE eyi, ei, URA eyi no; SIE vol/yaq, URA mel/yeq, un/iaq yellow; SIE, URA -yau, UTH -yo me obj.
Note also: SIE iyuwi, URA yuwi there (mid); SIE uyomug, URA yomog mosquito; SIE ire, URA yera, UTH yore today; SIE agayoni, URA agaligi want; SIE wiou, URA uyo grandmother; SIE eyep, URA ip go down.

Of the proto-consonants reconstructed above, a number require no further discussion; these include *p, *b, *t, *d, *k, *v, *s, *m, *n, *q, *l, *r, *L, *w, and *y. Two other proto-consonants, *pw and *mw, are postulated on the basis of only a few correspondence sets, but seem required by the fact that Sie and Ura— as indeed all other languages of Southern Vanuatu— show a phonemic distinction between simple and velarised stops and nasals. Four of the reconstructed consonants, however, require a brief note here:

(a) *g occurs in correspondence sets which are almost exclusively restricted to pronominal forms. It has been retained as a proto-phoneme largely on the basis of the reconstructible contrast between simple and prenasalised stops in other positions.

(b) *f is rare, and in addition there are some contradictory cases (e.g. where Sie has f corresponding to Ura v, or vice versa). My suspicion is that in Proto-Erromangan, and probably Proto-Southern Vanuatu, a voiceless labial fricative may have been an allophone of some other phoneme (*p or *v) but may have been developing phonemic status at the time the languages split. We should treat *f as a doubtful phoneme for the present.

(c) *z is also not conclusive, although the correspondence sets seem more secure than for *f. The problem here is that there is no voicing contrast between alveolar fricatives in any of the modern Erromangan languages; that is, we are attributing to the proto-language a contrast which does not occur in any daughter-languages. The evidence for *z, however, seems reasonably adequate.

(d) The evidence for *g in non-final position seems quite secure, but in final position there is considerable variation.
1.2. Vowels

Table 1 shows that a five-vowel system has been reconstructed for Proto-Eromangan. Before discussing the reflexes of these vowels, however, there are a number of features of the vowel system in general which require consideration.

First, vowels in the Southern Vanuatu languages generally are unstable. It has been shown (Lynch 1978a) that final ancestral vowels were generally lost, and unstressed vowels in non-final position were also often subject to loss. We have also seen in earlier chapters in this volume (i) the insertion of epenthetic vowels, for example /o/ adjacent to velars and /e/ elsewhere in certain environments in Sie, and (ii) the fact that some linguists have recorded the presence of vowels in certain words while others have not. Thus vowel loss and vowel epenthesis should be kept in mind as both the vowel correspondences themselves, and the reconstruction of individual vowels in particular grammatical or lexical items, are discussed.

Second, most Eromangan morphemes show an historical accretion. Many nouns begin with a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic article *na, and others show what appears to have been initial *ya (or *ia) or initial *u; but in many cases the vowel of these prefixes appear to have undergone change, frequently in ways which I am not able to adequately explain. Similarly, most verbs have accreted an initial a, which was once probably a verb-marker; this too has undergone change in various environments in the Eromangan languages.

With these factors in mind, we turn now to an examination of the reflexes of the Proto-Eromangan vowels. In each case, the conditioned reflexes will be given first, with the 'elsewhere' reflexes at the end. Utaha data are insufficient to be properly considered here.

**PER *i**

*i > SIE e, URA i before labial obstruent: SIE aseviong, URA asiviegi waste, scatter; SIE empen, URA lbin to smell (intr.); SIE eyep, URA ip go down; SIE evivat, URA n/ivivat thick; SIE d/eye, URA g/ive how much.*

*i > SIE, URA i elsewhere: SIE ninu, URA ahaninu yesterday; SIE, URA armai good; SIE penuri, URA behnuri after; SIE torpis, URA dorpis lightning; SIE ulakis, URA lakih rat; SIE, URA narvin sand; SIE kimi, URA gimi you pl.; SIE, URA qi instrumental preposition; SIE, URA im and.*

**PER *e**

*e > SIE o, URA e adjacent to q, before g: SIE telgo-, URA delge/n ear; SIE dogorogo-, URA legelenq/n finger; SIE nigoi, URA giqei when?; SIE ovroq, URA ovlehegi call; SIE tog, URA de sea; SIE ogep, URA ereqep to fly; SIE natemonog, URA yatunog chief. This correspondence also occasionally occurs before k: SIE sok, URA eki climb; SIE noki, URA nei coconut.*

*e > SIE, URA e elsewhere: SIE pentop, URA bentop ashes; SIE, URA empgo to dance; SIE, URA eyi no, not; SIE nelve-, URA nelve/n tooth; SIE meveh, URA meves right (hand); SIE, URA yevi pull; SIE, URA eni eat.*

**PER *a**

*a > SIE a, URA e before word-final q: SIE vol/yag, URA mal/yeg yellow; SIE nvaq, URA neveq food; SIE ulaq, URA uleq a fly.*
*a > SIE a, URA i before final consonant followed historically by a POC high front vowel: SIE pwarap, URA baluwali evening (cf. POC *Rapī); SIE dan, URA nelin day, time (cf. POC *dranī); SIE kam, URA gim we excl. (cf. POC *kami). The environment may extend to a following mid front vowel: SIE mah, URA mis die, and SIE natmas, URA yarimis spirit (cf. POC *mate).

*a > SIE o, URA a finally, especially after labial consonant or back vowel: SIE domo, URA lama hard, strong; SIE oŋko, URA aŋka straight; SIE nimo, URA nima house; SIE ohovo, ehevo, URA suva white; SIE arufo, URA arufa sing; SIE ahuwo, URA asua to paddle; SIE netuo, URA urua foul.

Verb-initial *a > SIE e, URA a before alveolars (?): SIE etri, URA ahali stab, sew; SIE elua, URA alua vomit; SIE etehep, URA arap sit; SIE etvani, URA arvani spit.

*a > SIE, URA a elsewhere: SIE agum-su, URA agum black; SIE, URA ai blunt; SIE am, URA am-li speak; SIE, URA aragai angry; SIE, URA armai good; SIE sat, URA at bad; SIE ahor, URA asor call out; SIE tamah, URA dahamas big, many.

PER *o

*o > SIE, URA o: SIE ahor, URA asor call out; SIE oronj, URA horonj big, power(ful); SIE, URA momu more; SIE nogolista-, URA nogolesida/n skin; SIE, URA nomu fish; SIE omwol, URA ohomol fall; SIE oghi, URA ogsi see; SIE ovoqi, URA ovohqi give; SIE yomput, URA yobut navel; SIE, URA ovn- plural.

Note also: URA ə corresponds with SIE o in the only two cognates containing ə: SIE ompwelvi, URA əbelefi whale; SIE novogon, URA nəvəgun flower.

PER *u

*u > SIE, URA u: SIE agum-su, URA agum black; SIE, URA netukus salt; SIE, URA urva river; SIE ulaq, URA uleg a fly; SIE, URA nup yam; SIE, URA ituqa foreign; SIE ninu, URA ahaninu yesterday; SIE, URA momu more; SIE, URA nomu fish; SIE uvouvu, URA ovouvu play; SIE, URA soqo to kiss.

Note: Despite a number of comparisons like the last five in absolute final position, there appears to be a tendency for *u to become URA e finally in contexts as yet not describable; e.g.: SIE oruh, URA ale swim, bathe; SIE nu, URA ne water; SIE -su, URA -ye plural perfective: SIE nompu-netru-, URA nohumu-netre/n knee.

There are numerous less frequent correspondence sets involving vowels. In many cases, some kind of conditioning can be tentatively established, but — as with the case of final *u immediately above — there is contradictory evidence. It is probable that, as the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Vanuatu proceeds, at least some of these correspondence sets may be explained.

2. RECONSTRUCTION PROCEDURES

Generally, I have reconstructed a form for Proto-Erromangan if cognates occur in Sie and Ura; in a few lexical items, however, forms have been reconstructed on the basis of cognates in Sie and Utaha. However, especially in the grammar section, Utaha data has not normally been considered as diagnostic of any reconstruction, since we have so little information available on that language. Further, since Ura and Utaha probably subgroup together, no Proto-Erromangan reconstruction can be made on evidence from Ura and Utaha only.
Reconstructions are given in the Proto-Erromangan orthography given in the
preceding section. In the alphabetical lexical lists in section 4, *g follows
*k, *m follows *l, *mw follows *m, *n follows *n, and *pw follows *p.

In addition, the following conventions will be followed:

(a) A single phoneme in parentheses indicates that there is evidence supporting
reconstructions with and without that phoneme; thus *ak(a) would indicate
that both *ak and *aka are supported.

(b) Two phonemes in parentheses indicate that reconstructions with either are
supported; thus *ak(ai) would indicate that both *aka and *akiki are supported.

(c) A single phoneme in square brackets indicates that that phoneme may have
occurred in an earlier stage, but does not occur in any modern forms. This
convention is used particularly with reference to the fronting and raising
of *a when the next syllable contained *i. Thus the *[i] in PER *gam[i] we
exclusive is reconstructed to explain the raising of *a in the Ura reflex:
the forms are SIE kam, URA gim.

(d) Two or more phonemes in square brackets indicate that there is support for
forms both including and excluding the material so enclosed; thus *[an]aka
implies support for both *aka and *anaka. Sequences of phonemes separated
by a comma and enclosed in square brackets indicate that there is support
for the forms on either side of the comma: thus *[wi,uy]a implies support
for both *wia and *uya. Empty square brackets are used to indicate that
additional material may have been present in the proto-form, but the exact
nature of that material cannot be reconstructed.

(e) Because of the fusion of an initial article to nouns and an initial prefix
to verbs, many nouns and verbs are reconstructed as being bimorphemic.
Nouns will generally be reconstructed with a prefix *na-, though in many
cases the vowel will differ, and in some cases *n- or *nv- (with indeter-
minate vowel) will be reconstructed; some nouns are reconstructed with a
prefix *u-. Similarly, many verbs will be reconstructed with a prefix *a-,
but again in many cases the vowel so reconstructed will either be some
other vowel or an indeterminate *v-.

3. GRAMMAR

In this section I attempt to reconstruct both grammatical structures and
grammatical morphemes in Proto-Erromangan. Given the paucity of data from
languages other than Sie, there will naturally be a number of gaps in the recon-
structions; but nevertheless the task is not entirely fruitless, and indeed many
of these gaps may be filled when the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Vanuatu is
undertaken. The reconstruction of the form of grammatical morphemes follows the
procedures outlined in section 2 above.

3.1. Sentence

A number of statements about Proto-Erromangan sentence structure and
sentence-level morphology can be made:

(1) PER had the order Topic + Comment in verbless sentences.
(2) PER had the order (Temporal) + Subject + Verb + (Object) + (Peripheral phrases) in verbal sentences; the Temporal phrase could occur initially or after the object.

(3) Questions were marked either by interrogative words, or by a question-tag *ku (SIE, URA ku). Only two interrogative words can be reconstructed:

\*-iègei when? < SIE n/iègei, URA g/iègei, UTH nuço.
\*-ive how much?, how many? < SIE d/ive, URA g/ive.³

(4) The following coordinating conjunctions can be reconstructed for PER:

\*m, *im and < SIE m, im, URA m, im, mo, UTH im.
\*ku or, identical to question-tag above.
\*ko(u) but < SIE kou, URA, UTH ko.

(5) The following subordinators may be reconstructed:

\*mori relative pronoun < SIE, URA, UTH mori (cf. (23) below).
\*behnuri after < SIE penuri, URA behnuri.
\*popowo because < SIE, URA popowo, UTH popowo/se.
\*m(ao) so(g)ku purpose < SIE ma soğuku, URA mo soku (cf. (35) below).
\*o-g(ou) quotative verb < SIE ogu, URA ogo.
\*nàg(ou) conditional < SIE nàgku, URA nàgko.⁴

3.2. Verb phrase and verb morphology

The Proto-Eromangan verb phrase consisted of a verb, which was occasionally followed by adverbial particles. The verb itself was morphologically complex, consisting of a series of prefixes and suffixes and a root which underwent oral/nasal alternation depending on the tense.

Oral/nasal alternation. Proto-Eromangan verbs underwent a change in the root when the tense was non-past. These changes in both Sie and Ura were discussed in some detail in earlier chapters of this volume. The changes appear to derive from the prefixing of initial *n- to the root to mark non-past; other concomitant changes, however, also took place, as follows:

(6) Some initial consonants combined with this prefixed *n- to produce a nasalised consonant. In the non-past, root-initial *v > *b, *t > *d, *k > *g, *g > *q / _____ *s, and *q > *g elsewhere.⁵

(7) It seems clear that a PER 'verb-marker', probably *a, needs to be reconstructed. This is done largely on the basis of comparative evidence: a large number of reconstructed POC verbs appear in PER (and all other Southern Vanuatu languages) with an initial vowel. It is clear that the process of nasalisation also caused some qualitative changes in this vowel; however, the nature of these and other changes in the 'verb-marker' must wait for more comparative work in other branches of the family.

Verb structure. The Proto-Eromangan verb consisted of a verb root with a number of affixes, some obligatory, the others optional. A verb in an indicative clause probably had the following structure:

(8) Subject - Tense/Aspect - (Number) - (Negative) - ROOT - (Transitive/ Object) - (Other Suffixes)

Number prefixes have been identified for Sie only; however, cognate forms of one of the Sie number prefixes can be found on what were identified as subject
markers in Ura: these probably consist of subject-marker + number-marker. We now turn to the reconstruction of the affixes.

Subject-markers. It is clear that Proto-Erromangan possessed two sets of subject-markers, one used with one set of tense/aspects and the other with another set. Because of the quality of the data, however, we cannot fully reconstruct both sets, although we can, on the basis of Sie evidence, decide to which set each reconstructed form belongs. The reconstructed subject-markers are given below:

(9)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>*yag-</td>
<td>*yau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>*k-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>*g-</td>
<td>*γ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.pl.</td>
<td>*k(ou)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exc.pl.</td>
<td>*kak-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>*ki-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>(No reconstruction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, the echo-subject prefix *m-, which takes the place of the subject-marker in a switch-reference type context, can be reconstructed on the basis of SIE, URA, UTH m-.

Tense/aspect-markers. The following tense/aspect system can be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

(10) General Past: Ø (SIE, URA Ø)  
Mid Past: *m- (SIE, URA m-)  
Far Past: *m-em- (SIE m-em-; URA m-em-, m-om-)  
Present: *am (SIE, URA am-)  
Future: Ø (SIE, URA Ø)  
Conditional: *pe- (SIE pe-; URA p-)

Other prefixes. Singular number was unmarked in PER. It seems possible to reconstruct a plural prefix, although the complex situation referred to in section 2.1.2. of chapter 2 regarding the number-prefixes in Sie is not matched, in the limited data available, by a similar situation in Ura. Thus:

(11) *l- plural prefix < SIE l-; URA ku/l- 1 inc.pl., ki/l- 2 pl, i/l- 3 pl.

In addition, a negative prefix can also be reconstructed:

(12) *edu- negative < SIE, URA, UTH etu-

Transitive suffixes. Two transitive suffixes can be reconstructed, although the semantic difference between them has probably been lost in all the daughter-languages:

(13) *-i transitive < SIE, URA -i  
*qi transitive < SIE, URA -qi

Object suffixes. The following set of object suffixes may be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

(14)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>*-yau</td>
<td>&lt; SIE, URA -yau; UTH -yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>*-g(a)</td>
<td>&lt; SIE -g; URA -ka; UTH -ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>*-i, *-ø</td>
<td>&lt; SIE, URA, UTH -i; SIE, URA ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inc.pl.</td>
<td>*-(gg)as[i]</td>
<td>&lt; SIE -goh; URA -gis; UTH -kis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 exc.pl.  *-(gg)am[i] < SIE -gam; URA -gim; UTH -kum
2 pl.  *-(gg)(iu)mi < SIE -gum; URA -imi; UTH -kimi
3 pl.  *-(oi)L < SIE -or; URA -l, -il; UTH -k/or

Other suffixes. Only two other suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto­Erromangan, although the presence of several others in Sie suggests that it is only the sparsit y of data from Ura which prevents the reconstruction of additional suffixes:

(15)  *-zu perfective < SIE -su; URA -ye
* -sep direction downwards < SIE, URA -sep

3.3. Noun phrase and nominal morphology

The Proto-Erromangan noun phrase consisted of a head (either a focal pronoun or a noun), optionally preceded by a small subset of deictics, and optionally followed by adjectives, numerals, possessives, and the remaining deictics.

Focal pronouns. The focal pronoun system distinguished only two numbers, singular and plural. The forms reconstructed are:

(16)  1 sg.  *yau < SIE, URA yau; UTH yo
2 sg.  *g[ ] < SIE kik; URA ga; UTH ko
3 sg.  *iyi < SIE, URA, UTH iyí
1 inc.pl.  *gas[i] < SIE koh; URA, UTH gis
1 exc.pl.  *gam[i] < SIE kum; URA gim; UTH kum
2 pl.  *gimi < SIE, UTH kimi; URA gimi
3 pl.  *iL(eo)L < SIE iror; URA leil; UTH yoril

Nominal affixes. Affixes relating to possessive morphology are dealt with in section 3.4. below. A number of other affixes to nouns, however, can be reconstructed:

(17)  *ovn- indefinite plural < SIE, URA ovn- (cf. (25) below)
(18)  *L- personal/kin plural < SIE r-...-me; URA, UTH l-
(19)  *-zu collective plural < SIE -su; URA -ye; UTH -yu
(20)  *n- general nominaliser < SIE, URA n-
(21)  *wor- instrumental nominaliser < SIE, URA wor-

Deictics. Only two deictics can be reconstructed:

(22)  *imo this near speaker < SIE, URA imo; UTH yamu
(23)  *mori previous reference < SIE, URA, UTH mori (cf. (5) above)

Numerals. Although the Ura numeral system has undergone a systemic change in fairly recent times, sufficient early data are available to allow us to reconstruct what is basically a quinary system, with a form for ten and another form for six which is unrelated to the form for five and only partly related to the form for one. The forms are given below in (24). It should be pointed out that certain of the numerals show a fused prefix which is d- or dv- in Sie, g- or gV- in Ura, and k- or kV- in Utaha. The Sie prefix would derive from *l- while the Ura and Utaha prefixes would derive from *g-. These numerals have thus been reconstructed with an initial hyphen, since the original form of the prefix cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan.
The numerals 7, 8, and 9 were formed by compounding: 5-2, 5-3, and 5-4.

Adjectives. Two aspects of the morphology of adjectives can be reconstructed:

(25) *ovn- pluraliser < SIE, URA ovn- (cf. (17) above)
(26) *(ai)t(u)- identificatory prefix < SIE it-; URA aru-

3.4. Possessive morphology

Proto-Erromangan showed a distinction between direct (or inalienable) and active (or alienable) possessive structures. Direct/inalienable possession was marked by suffixation of a possessive pronominal form to the noun; only the following suffixes can be reconstructed:

(27) 1 sg.  *-ŋ < SIE, UTH -ŋ; (URA -k?)
     2 sg.  *-m < SIE, URA -m
     3 sg.  *-n < SIE, URA, UTH -n
     1 exc.pl. *-[ ]am < SIE -mam; URA -kam; UTH -kum

Active/alienable possession was marked by suffixing a different set of pronominal forms to a possessive morpheme. This possessive morpheme cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan. The suffixed forms are virtually identical to the focal pronouns:

(28) 1 sg.  *-yau < SIE -iau; URA -yau; UTH -yo
     2 sg.  *-q[ ] < SIE -qkik; URA -ka; UTH -ko
     3 sg.  *-(y)i < SIE -i; URA, UTH -yi
     1 inc.pl. *-gas[i] < SIE -qkoh; URA, UTH -gis
     1 exc.pl. *-gam[i] < SIE -qkam; URA -gim; UTH -kum
     2 pl.  *-gimi < SIE -qkumi; URA -gimi; UTH -kimi
     3 pl.  *-iL(eo)L < SIE -ilor; URA -leil; UTH -yoril

3.5. Prepositions

The following prepositions can be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

(29) *ra locative/causative, with allomorph *(ia)ra- before pronominal forms, which occur as direct possessive suffixes < SIE ra ~ rai, ira-; URA ra, ara-; UTH ra, (ira-).
(30) *bohçi dative < SIE poq, poqû; URA bohçi; (UTH pi-?).
(31) *qi instrumental < SIE, URA qi
(32) *nisge- benefactive < SIE nisgo-; UTH nise- or nese-
(33) *l(iu) comitative < SIE du; URA li
A number of other reconstructions may be discussed most conveniently here. First, three intensive encitics to both noun and verb phrases may be reconstructed for Proto-Eromangan:

(39) *-wi general intensive < SIE, URA -wi
    *-sat pejorative intensive < SIE, URA -sat
    *-ves meliorative intensive < SIE -veh; URA -ves

Second, two locative adverbs can be reconstructed:

(40) *yuwi there (mid) < SIE i/yuwi; URA yuwi
    *(eo)mpe there (far) < SIE y/empe; URA ompe/yok

Finally, a number of temporal adverbials are reconstructible for Proto-Eromangan:

(41) *marima now < SIE, URA marima
    *(ai)d(ei)tuai long ago < SIE itetuai; URA atiruai
    *i-era today < SIE i-ra; URA yera; UTH yore
    *[at]ninu yesterday < SIE ninu; URA ahaninu, UTH etninu

This completes the grammatical reconstruction section of the paper. Presumably, once more detailed comparisons are made between the Eromangan languages and the languages of Tanna and Aneityum, further (top-down) reconstructions of Proto-Eromangan grammatical morphemes will be made.

4. LEXICON

Something over 200 Proto-Eromangan lexical items can be reconstructed on the basis of cognates in Sie, Ura, and Utaha. These items are given in an alphabetical listing below. In general, glosses are given for forms in the daughter-languages only where they differ from the gloss given for the protoform. The following conventions are used:

(a) Known or presumed morpheme-breaks are marked in PER forms by a hyphen. Similarly, nouns which are normally inalienably possessed are written with a final hyphen.

(b) Verbs and adjectives which are vowel initial have this vowel separated from the stem by a hyphen, since the vowel derives from an historical verb-marker *a-.

(c) Transitive verbs ending in -i or -qi have this separated from the root by a hyphen, since it is a fused transitive suffix.
(d) Nouns beginning with \( n + \) vowel are generally segmented after the vowel, since this is a reflex of an historical article \(*na\). In some cases, particularly where there is evidence from Proto-Oceanic that the vowel was once part of the root, the segmentation is made after the \( n \). An historical article \(*u-\) is also recognised.

(e) Other conventions are as outlined in section 2 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Erromangan</th>
<th>Sie</th>
<th>Ura</th>
<th>Utaha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a-gay-qi want</td>
<td>agayog (i)</td>
<td>agaiqi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-gum black</td>
<td>agum/su</td>
<td>agum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-hlei lie down</td>
<td>alei</td>
<td>ahalei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-hlei-ba sleep</td>
<td>alei-po</td>
<td>ahalei-ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-i blunt</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-lam old</td>
<td>etet/alam</td>
<td>alam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-lua vomit</td>
<td>elua</td>
<td>alua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-Le-i scratch</td>
<td>orei</td>
<td>elei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-Lgai-zag to float</td>
<td>orgai-sag</td>
<td>algayek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-Lg-i hear</td>
<td>orgi</td>
<td>elgi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-Lu(s) wash, swim</td>
<td>oruh</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-Lv-i out</td>
<td>orvi</td>
<td>alvi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-m speak</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-medet to fear</td>
<td>ametet</td>
<td>emetet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-m(ou)r(eo)p to live, be alive</td>
<td>amurep, omurep</td>
<td>mororop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-mwon(k)-i drink</td>
<td>omonki</td>
<td>amwni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-ŋqa straight</td>
<td>oŋko</td>
<td>aŋka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-ragai angry</td>
<td>aragai</td>
<td>aragai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-[re]gep to fly</td>
<td>ogep</td>
<td>erekep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-rek break</td>
<td>arki</td>
<td>arek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-rmai good</td>
<td>armai</td>
<td>armai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-rufa sing</td>
<td>arufa</td>
<td>arufa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a[sal]w(io)- husband</td>
<td>ahawo-</td>
<td>awi/n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-sivie-qi to waste, scatter</td>
<td>asevioqi</td>
<td>asivieqi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-sor call out</td>
<td>ahor</td>
<td>asor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-suva white</td>
<td>ohovo, ehevo</td>
<td>suva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-su(w)a to paddle</td>
<td>ahuwo</td>
<td>asua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-ta[se]p sit</td>
<td>etehep</td>
<td>arap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a-tek-i make an effort</td>
<td>atki/sa try, strive</td>
<td>n/ateki/moresah effort</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Erromangan</td>
<td>Sie</td>
<td>Ura</td>
<td>Utaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*a-(eo)m(au)s</code> be hungry</td>
<td>temah</td>
<td>ohomus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*a-ti-botni</code> begin</td>
<td>n-atipotni</td>
<td>aribohoni/n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*a-</code></td>
<td>etri</td>
<td>ahali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*a-tgap</code> taste</td>
<td>atgap</td>
<td>arqap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*a-tvani</code> spit</td>
<td>etvani</td>
<td>arvani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*a-(uw)au</code> warm, hot</td>
<td>awau</td>
<td>auau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*av-.sa[ka]i</code> brother</td>
<td>av-.hai</td>
<td>av-.sai</td>
<td>av/en/sogoi</td>
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<td><code>*a-vogat</code> to fight</td>
<td>avgat</td>
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<td>olvli</td>
<td>ampohol</td>
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<td><code>*a-vos</code> rejoice</td>
<td>avos</td>
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<td><code>*a-yip</code> go down</td>
<td>eyep</td>
<td>ip</td>
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<td><code>*batmonu(gk)</code> heart</td>
<td>patmonu</td>
<td>barmonuk</td>
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<td><code>*bentop</code> ashes</td>
<td>pentop</td>
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<td><code>*[-b(oe)u</code> shark</td>
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<td>pogop</td>
<td>bogup</td>
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<td><code>*botni</code> stump</td>
<td>potni</td>
<td>bohni</td>
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<td><code>*b(ou)tb(ou)t</code> near, short, approach</td>
<td>potpot</td>
<td>burubut</td>
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<td><code>*da-</code> back</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>da/n</td>
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<td><code>*da-</code> skin</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>da/n</td>
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<td><code>*(dt)aahl-qi</code> kill</td>
<td>taloqi</td>
<td>dahalini</td>
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<td><code>*dahmas</code> big, many</td>
<td>tamah</td>
<td>dahamas</td>
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<td><code>*dal</code> tara</td>
<td>tal</td>
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<td><code>*dapmi</code> try, test, temptation</td>
<td>tapmi</td>
<td>dahmi</td>
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<td>tafoqi</td>
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<td>tavitavi grope</td>
<td>davitavi feel</td>
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<td><code>*da[yalli]</code> shadow</td>
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<td><code>*daziazye</code> peace</td>
<td>tasiasye</td>
<td>daiyaiye</td>
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<td><code>*deg</code> sea</td>
<td>tog</td>
<td>de</td>
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<td>telgo-</td>
<td>delge/n</td>
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<td><code>*domp[ur]wai</code> bush</td>
<td>tompoi</td>
<td>dompurwai</td>
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<td><code>*(dt)or-[i,ni]</code> lead</td>
<td>tori</td>
<td>toregi</td>
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<td><code>*dor(ou)q[ ]</code> serve</td>
<td>torugat servant</td>
<td>etorog</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proto-Eromangan</td>
<td>Sie</td>
<td>Ura</td>
<td>Utaha</td>
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<td>*dorpis lighting</td>
<td>torpis</td>
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<td>*e-basewo-ŋi order</td>
<td>empasewoŋi</td>
<td>n-ebasewoŋi</td>
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<tr>
<td>*e-da be, dwell</td>
<td>te, ete</td>
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<td>etur stand</td>
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<td>*efi-e-len(t)-ŋi3 forgive</td>
<td>efielentoŋi</td>
<td>elepa to wake up (intr.)</td>
<td>efielinigi</td>
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<td>*e-l(ae)mpa be awake, to awake</td>
<td>elampe awake</td>
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<td>*e-mpgo dance</td>
<td>empgo</td>
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<td>*e-tevap-[i,ŋi] to divide</td>
<td>tevapeŋi</td>
<td>erevavui</td>
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<tr>
<td>*e-tim- father</td>
<td>etm-</td>
<td>rimi/n</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*e-vip to rain</td>
<td>evip</td>
<td>n-evip</td>
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<tr>
<td>*eyi no</td>
<td>eyi, ei</td>
<td>eyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>*[ ] gan only</td>
<td>wo/gon</td>
<td>gan</td>
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<tr>
<td>*horoQ big, powerful</td>
<td>oroŋ</td>
<td>horoŋ (also strong)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>*ibin smell (intr.)</td>
<td>empen</td>
<td>ibin</td>
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<tr>
<td>*idais moon10</td>
<td>itais ~ itaih</td>
<td>itais</td>
<td>(iriis?)</td>
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<td>*iduga foreign</td>
<td>ituغا</td>
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<td>*ilaswi bright11</td>
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<td>n-ilaswi glory</td>
<td>n-ilasuwi glory</td>
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<td>*i-mep[ ] to dream</td>
<td>emev/iag</td>
<td>n-imep</td>
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<td>*[ ] in(m)- mother</td>
<td>dinm-</td>
<td>ehine/n</td>
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<tr>
<td>*isut far away</td>
<td>isut</td>
<td>isut</td>
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<td>*itais grandfather10</td>
<td>itais ~ itaih</td>
<td>irais</td>
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<td>*(k)en-i eat</td>
<td>eni</td>
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<td>*lama hard, strong, tight</td>
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<td>lama</td>
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<tr>
<td>*lat fat (n)</td>
<td>lat</td>
<td>lat</td>
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<tr>
<td>*legelege- finger</td>
<td>dogorogo-</td>
<td>legelegĩ/n</td>
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<td>*Li(dt)(p)a- wife</td>
<td>retp-</td>
<td>liva/n</td>
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<td>*mampum before, in front</td>
<td>mampum</td>
<td>mampum</td>
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<tr>
<td>*[ ]-map earth, land, ground</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mar(u)-ŋi leave</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mas[i] die</td>
<td>mah</td>
<td>mis</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mel yellow</td>
<td>mel/yar</td>
<td>mel/yeq</td>
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<tr>
<td>*menug(u) bird</td>
<td>menug</td>
<td>menuku</td>
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<tr>
<td>*meves right (hand)</td>
<td>meveh</td>
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<td>Proto-Eromangangan</td>
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<tr>
<td>*momu more</td>
<td>momu</td>
<td>momu</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mosi star</td>
<td>mosi</td>
<td>mosi</td>
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<tr>
<td>*movag outrigger boom</td>
<td>movog</td>
<td>mova</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mwor left (hand)</td>
<td>mwor</td>
<td>mor</td>
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<tr>
<td>*[na]-díqe- under, underneath</td>
<td>netgo-</td>
<td>díqe-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-doreva(mn) armlet</td>
<td>natorevam</td>
<td>natorvan</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-fini- forehead</td>
<td>nafini-</td>
<td>nahuni/n</td>
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<td>*na-(gh)l(ei)- egg</td>
<td>nagle-</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-gut louse</td>
<td>nogut</td>
<td>wit</td>
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<tr>
<td>*naiyi sky</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td>naiyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-la(iu) canoe</td>
<td>lou</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-lan[i] day, time</td>
<td>dan</td>
<td>nelin</td>
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<td>*na-(IL)(au)pwan net</td>
<td>naupwan</td>
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<td>*na-li-[ ] dog</td>
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<td>nelo</td>
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<td>*na-luam- tongue</td>
<td>neluam-</td>
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<td>*na-mas cloth(es)</td>
<td>nmah</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-m(aq)kmam sun</td>
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<tr>
<td>*nau knife</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>le/nau, nau-ituqa</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-via- voice</td>
<td>navia-</td>
<td>navia/n</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na-viat spirit, soul</td>
<td>naviat</td>
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<td>*na-vlaivi- tail</td>
<td>novlaivi-</td>
<td>navlaivi/n</td>
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<td>*na-vra- mouth</td>
<td>navra-</td>
<td>navra/q</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proto-Erromangan</td>
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<td>nou- (oz nou-)</td>
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<td>*no-vi(lr)i-</td>
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<td>novlompu</td>
<td>novlinompun</td>
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<td>novlira/n</td>
<td>body hair</td>
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<td>Proto-Erromangan</td>
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<td>*no-vloq- beard</td>
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<td>novloq/un</td>
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<td>n̄av̄un</td>
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<td>*no-watni- root</td>
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<td>nowahani/n</td>
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<td>*no-w(i)ra- bone</td>
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<td>nowira/n</td>
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<td>ne</td>
<td>uyu</td>
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<td>*n-ul-imt- tears</td>
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<td>*n-up yam</td>
<td>nup</td>
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<td>*nusian large</td>
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<td>*nu-val fat (n)</td>
<td>nusian</td>
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<td>*o yes</td>
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<td>*o-gs-i see</td>
<td>ogi</td>
<td>ogsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-hmwo fall</td>
<td>omwol</td>
<td>ohomol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-mpumetuo old, of persons</td>
<td>ompumetuo</td>
<td>n-ompumetuo</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-mpurag work</td>
<td>ompurag-i</td>
<td>ompurak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*opwelevi whale</td>
<td>ompwelvi</td>
<td>ãbelefí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*or-a-su(w)a a paddle</td>
<td>or-ahuwo</td>
<td>or-asua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-vk-i-sep put down</td>
<td>ovki-sep</td>
<td>ovki-sep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-vle-hqi call</td>
<td>ovroqi</td>
<td>ovlehegi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-voh-qi give</td>
<td>ovoqi</td>
<td>ovohegi</td>
<td>oviqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o-vos-i blow with mouth</td>
<td>ososi</td>
<td>ososi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(ou)-vovu play</td>
<td>uvovu</td>
<td>ovovu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pwa[(1L)a]gas[i] midday</td>
<td>pwagahpwaqah</td>
<td>bolagrids</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pwaLap evening</td>
<td>pwarap</td>
<td>baluwalip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ra no(pv)um first</td>
<td>ra novum</td>
<td>ra nopum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*V-sap-i count</td>
<td>ehepi</td>
<td>ispi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sari-i attach oneself</td>
<td>sari</td>
<td>sari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*savaed-i push</td>
<td>saveti</td>
<td>saveti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*siman-lo(u) men’s house</td>
<td>simanol</td>
<td>simanol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s(iu)kat many</td>
<td>sikat</td>
<td>suat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*soqu kiss</td>
<td>soqu</td>
<td>soqu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tab(ael)zag have in abundance</td>
<td>tampalsag</td>
<td>tabeliaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Erromangan</td>
<td>Sie</td>
<td>Ura</td>
<td>Utaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tai hit, kill</td>
<td>tai</td>
<td>t'ai</td>
<td>otai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ta(mv)ol-i send</td>
<td>tamoli</td>
<td>tavoli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tams-i to answer</td>
<td>tamsi</td>
<td>tamsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*taru think, wish</td>
<td>taru</td>
<td>taru</td>
<td>taru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tavlehe-gi split</td>
<td>tavloqi</td>
<td>tavlehegi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ ]-t(eu)moneg chief</td>
<td>natemonog</td>
<td>yarumne</td>
<td>yatumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ ]-tman man=male</td>
<td>natman</td>
<td>narmon, yarmon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ ]-t-mas[i] spirit, ghost^{21}</td>
<td>natmas</td>
<td>yaremis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tompor sacred, holy</td>
<td>tompor</td>
<td>tompor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ ]-tua fowl</td>
<td>netuo</td>
<td>urua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-lakis rat</td>
<td>ulakis</td>
<td>lakih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-laq a fly</td>
<td>ulaq</td>
<td>uleg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-mek[ ] worm, snake</td>
<td>umk/eya</td>
<td>umek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-midar rainbow</td>
<td>umitar</td>
<td>umitar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ur bad</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>avowat-ur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*urek(r)is small</td>
<td>urekis</td>
<td>urkris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-rva river</td>
<td>urva</td>
<td>urva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-vnomu- fingernail</td>
<td>uvnomu</td>
<td>uhunomu/n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u-yom(ou)g mosquito</td>
<td>uyomug</td>
<td>yomog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[uy,wi]o(u) grandmother</td>
<td>wiou</td>
<td>uyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*V-va go</td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>iva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vai-qi clothe</td>
<td>vaiogi</td>
<td>vaiigi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vau new</td>
<td>vau</td>
<td>vau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vedmis sky</td>
<td>vetmis</td>
<td>vetmis</td>
<td>vetmis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ve[ ]m come</td>
<td>velam</td>
<td>venim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*V-v(i)ehn-i finish, be finished</td>
<td>aveni</td>
<td>iviehinie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vin- man's sister</td>
<td>vin-</td>
<td>vin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ ]-vu turtle</td>
<td>navu ~ nahvu</td>
<td>yavu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yaq yellow</td>
<td>vol/yaq</td>
<td>mel/yeg, un/iaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yau(u)qa elbow</td>
<td>yauqa</td>
<td>yauuqa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yev-i pull</td>
<td>yevi</td>
<td>yevi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yobut navel</td>
<td>yomput</td>
<td>yobut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*zat bad</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>rat (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*zeki climb (up)</td>
<td>soki</td>
<td>eki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*zinzipar-i keep, save, protect</td>
<td>semsempari</td>
<td>abare</td>
<td>simsimpari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shield, protector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. ENGLISH INDEX OF RECONSTRUCTIONS

This index contains reconstructed forms from both the grammatical and lexical sections (sections 3 and 4 above).

English - Proto-Eromangan

adjective pluraliser *ovn-
after *behnuri
alive *a-m(ou)r(eo)p
and *m, *im
angry *a-ragai
answer *tams-i
approach *b(ou)tb(ou)t
armlet *na-doreva(mn)
article *n, (*na-, *nV-), *u-
aves *bentop
attach self *sar-i
awake(n) *e-l(ae)mpa
back *da-
bad *zat, *ur
be *e-da
beard *no-vlog-
because *popowo
before *mampum
begin *a-ti-botni
benefactive preposition *nisge-
big *dahmas, *horog
bird *menu(u)
black *a-gum
blow *o-vos-i
blunt *a-i
bone *no-w(i)ra-
breadfruit *ni-maL
break *a-rek
bright *ilaswi
brother *av...-sa[ka]i
bush *domp[ur]wai
but *ko(u)
call *o-vLeh-qi, *a-sor
canoe *na-la(iu)
causative preposition *ra,
*(ia)ra-
chief *[ ]-t(eu)monen
child *na-lau, *n(ei)t-
climb *zeki
cloth(es) *na-mas
clothe *vai-qi
cloud *no-pwau
coconut *ne-ki, *ne-herop
come *ve[ ]m
comitative preposition *l(iu),
*[ ]al
conditional *pe-, *naqk(ou)
count *V-sap-i
cut *a-Lv-i
dance *e-mpgo
dative preposition *bohgi
day *na-lan[i]
die *mas[i]
dig *o-gol-i
divide *e-tevap-[i,gi]
do *o-bu
dog *na-li-[ ]
downwards *-sep
dream *i-mep[ ]
drink *a-mwon(k)-i
dwell *e-da
ear *delqe-
earth *[ ]-map
eat *(k)en-i
echo-subject *m-
egg *na-(gh)l(ei)-
elbow *yau(u)ga
evening *pwalap
eye *ni-mt-, *ni-pmi
fall *o-hmwol
far *isut, *isut ra
far past *m-em-
fat (n) *lat, *nu-val
father *e-tim-
fear *a-medet
feast *na-ri, *ne-segar
feel *davidavi
fight *a-vogat
finger *legeleqe-
fingernail *u-vnomu-
finish(ed) *V-v(i)ehn-i
fire *no-m
first *ra no(pv)um
fish *no-mu
five *sukr(ei)m
flesh *ni-van
float (v) *a-Lgai-zag
flower *no-vog(ou)n
fly (n) *u-laq
fly (v) *a-[re]gep
food *ne-vaq
foot *n-o(u)
forehead *na-fini-
foreign *iduqa
forgive *efi-e-len(t)-qi
four *vat
fowl *[ ]-tua
friend *no-mpu-na-ran
future *Ø-
garment *na-zam(p)lauan
general past *Ø-
give *no-voh-qi
go *V-va
go down *a-yip
good *a-ramai
goods *ne-devode
grandfather *itaif
grandmother *[uy,wi]o(u)
grief *no-riqompunu
grope *davidavi
ground *[ ]-map
hair (body) *no-vli-ra-
hair (head) *no-vli-no-mpu-
hard *lama
have in abundance *tab(ae)lzag
he/she/it *iyi, *g-, *y-
head *no-mpu-
hear *a-Lq-i
heart *batmonu(gk)
him/her/it *-i, *-Ø
his/her/its *-n, *-(y)i
hit *tai
holy *tompor
hot *a-(uw)au
house *n-ima
how many? *-ive
hungry *a-t(eo)m(au)s
husband *a[sa]w(io)-
I *yau, *yag-, *yau-
identificatory prefix *(ai)t(u)-
in front *mampum
instrumental preposition *qi
intensive enclitics *-wi, *-ves,
keep *zimzimpar-i
kill *tai, *(dt)ahl-qi
kingdom *na-lo(u)
kiss *souq
knee *no-mpu-ne-tru-
knife *n-au
right (hand) *meves
river *u-rva
root *no-watni-
sacred *tempor
salt *ne-dukus
sand *na-rvin
save *zimzimpar-i
scatter *a-sivie-qi
scratch *a-Le-i
sea *deg
see *o-gs-i
send *ta(mv)ol-i
serve *-dor(ou)q[ ]
sew *a-tL-i
shadow *da[yal]i
shark *[ ]-b(eo)u
short *b(ou)tb(ou)t
similative preposition *so(q)ku
sing *a-rufa
sister (man) *vin-
sit *a-ta[se]p
six *m(ei)sikai
skin *da-, *no-gol(ei)s-da-
sky *bog(ou)p, *n-aiyai, *vedmis
sleep *a-hlei-ba
small *urek(r)is
smell (intr) *ibin
smoke *n-(ou)go-no-m
snake *u-mek[ ]
son *n(ei)t-
sore (n) *no-vi(1r)i-
speak *a-m
spear (n) *na-zau
spirit *[ ]-t-mas[i], *na-viat
spit *a-tvani
split *tavle-h-qi
stab *a-tL-i

stand *e-(dt)ur
star *mosi
stay *e-(dt)ur
stone *ni-vat
straight *a-gka
strong *lama
stump *botni
sun *na-m(au)(q)kam
swim *a-Lu(s)
tail *na-vlai-vi-
taro *dal
taste *a-tgap
tears *n-ul-imt-
tempt(ation) *dapmi
ten *na-Lu(o)(1r)em
test *dapmi
their *-iL(eo)L
them *-(oi)L
there *(eo)mpe, *yuwi
they *iL(eo)L
think *taru
this *imo
three *-hel(i)
throw *(dt)ava-qi
tight *lama
time *ne-m(p)gen, *na-lan[i]
today *i-era
tongue *na-luam-
tooth *ne-lve-
transitive *-i, *-qi
tree *n-ei
turn *a-vohl-i
turtle *[ ]-vu
two *-Lu
under *ra [na-]dige-
underneath *[na-]dige-
us exc. *-(gg)am[i]
Of the languages of Southern Vanuatu, we have available a considerable amount of grammatical and lexical information for Sie, Lenakel, South-west Tanna, Kwamera, and Anejom. The reconstruction of Proto-Southern Vanuatu on the basis of these data should allow a considerable number of additions to be made to what has been reconstructed here for Proto-Erromangan, using comparisons between Sie and other Southern Vanuatu languages.

Ura g-, Utaha k- would derive from *g-, whereas Sie d- would derive from *l-. Note also the remarks on changes in the Ura numeral system in section 2.4. of chapter 4 above.

The prefixes d- and g- are the same as those discussed earlier in relation to the numerals.

This form may well be a nominalisation of the irrealis (nasalised) form of the quotative verb *o-g(ou) discussed immediately above; if so, it is morphologically *n-a-gk(ou).

I have found no Ura cognates of the Sie or- > ad- alternation.

This form consists of a root *av-, to which possessive pronominal suffixes are attached, followed by a form *-sa[ka]i one.

It is probable that the Ura form is in fact the nasalised irrealis form; the oral or base form would be ovohol.
8 Cf. also (37) above in section 3.
9 This form may contain a causative prefix *efi-; cf. section 2.1.7. of chapter 2.
10 The similarity in form between *idais moon and *itais grandfather suggests that these may possibly be one and the same form, and that the Ura itais moon may be a loan from Sie.
11 This form (a) may contain the verb-marker *i- and (b) may contain the intensive suffix *-wi. Thus the form may be *i-las-wi or *i-laswi or *ilas-wi.
12 Ura also has a form umse, cognate with Utaha umse, which may derive from *u-mosi.
13 In reconstructing the semantics of both *movag outrigger-boom and also *ne-liman outrigger-float I treat the Sie glosses as diagnostic. Ura mova is glossed outrigger-float and neliman simply as outrigger.
14 Ura shows unexplained loss of *g and subsequent breaking of *u as wi.
15 Cf. also *lat fat (n).
16 These forms contain as the final element the non-cognate morphemes Sie noh, Ura nowe rope.
17 The reconstruction may well be *garî: initial /q/ is rare in both Sie and Ura, with the instrumental preposition qî being about the only q-initial morpheme in either language. The apparently reduplicated Sie form suggests the possibility that *q may be reflected initially as n.
18 The irregular third person singular possessed form *ni-pmi can be reconstructed on both Sie and Ura evidence. It is assumed that the root form is *ni-mt-, on the basis of both the Sie form and the behaviour of /t/ in this kind of environment in Ura.
19 This form includes the morpheme *da- skin (q.v.).
20 This form is probably a compound of *n-u water and *ni-mt- eye; the intrusive *i is unexplainable.
21 This form includes the morpheme *mas[i] die.
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