A GRAMMAR AND LEXICON OF LONIU, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Patricia J. Hamel
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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
HICATUT
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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

AG animate goal
ANT antonym
AUX auxiliary
C consonant
CONJ conjunction
CONT continuative aspect
DA descriptive adjunct
DEM demonstrative
DER derived forms
DIM diminutive
DUR durative aspect
EMPH emphatic aspect
FEM feminine particle hi
FUT future marker ya
HAB habitual aspect
IN inalienably possessed noun stem
INDEF indefinite
INT intentional/inchoative marker ma
INTENS intensifier
INTERR interrogative
INTR intransitive
k.o. kind of
l.f. long form
LOC locative
N noun
NF noun formative
NEG negative
NOM nominaliser
NP noun phrase
OBL inanimate oblique object pronoun ey
PART particle
PERF perfective
POSS possessive marker
poss. possibly
POT potential
PP prepositional phrase
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREF</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prob.</td>
<td>probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>relative clause marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.f.</td>
<td>short form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB.CONJ</td>
<td>subordinating conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Tok Pisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitivising suffix -i, -ani, -eni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vtr</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PERSON/NUMBER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>third person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU</td>
<td>first person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>second person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>third person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PCL</td>
<td>first person paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PCL</td>
<td>second person paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PCL</td>
<td>third person paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>first person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>second person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>third person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive (includes hearer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>exclusive (excludes hearer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>either first or third person singular, but not second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>non-singular – includes dual, paucal and plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 LONIU AND ITS PLACE IN THE AUSTRONESIAN FAMILY

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

1.1.1 STATUS OF RESEARCH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LONIU

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

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

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

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

The verb morphology is not particularly complex, the only inflections being prefixes for person/number and one prefix for (potential) aspect. Transitive suffixes occur (Ross B.iv), but appear to be losing their productivity, in that stated objects may occur following unsuffixed verb roots, and verbs which contain the suffixes do not require a stated object. The tense/aspect system includes markings, both proclitic and enclitic, for future, perfective, habitual, continuative, durative, potential, intentional/inchoative, and stative, and more than one tense/aspect may be marked in a single verb phrase (Ross B.v). No passive, causative, or reciprocal forms have been identified. Subordinating conjunctions are used, but relatively infrequently; the most frequently used forms of clause conjunction are coordination and clause chaining. Within the verb phrase, co-verb constructions following the main verb (+ direct object) are very common, functioning as oblique object phrases or adverbials (Ross B.vi).
As regards the phonology, the most interesting aspect is the tendency to vowel assimilation, especially within the inflectional systems of the noun and verb. In addition, alternate long and short forms of many roots exist side by side; in many cases the short form is the extremely abbreviated version of a Proto Austronesian root, with the final syllable of the original root deleted, while the longer form contains thematic revivals\(^2\) of at least part of the otherwise missing syllable in the presence of a suffix. Many of the longer forms exhibit vowel variations similar to the variations seen in the inflectional systems.

1.3 THE PRESENT WORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^2\) Capell (1976b:241) uses the term "thematic revival", and defines it as follows: “Thematic consonants are such as originally belonged to a stem, but are now lost except when a suffix is added, e.g. *tagi\(\) 'weep', which may become tag or tagi, but when made transitive, 'weep for' becomes tagi-si, reviving the original final consonant as s'.”
same for the verb phrase. Chapter 6 describes the structure of the major sentence types, and Chapter 7 the structure of sentences composed of more than one clause.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>a: still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u: we (DU.EXC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>isi: squeeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ko: land, place, village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma: and, with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tahapule: forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>ek: grow (INTR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ah: jump; get into (e.g. canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in: drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>pat: stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pow: pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čaćoh: grandparent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.1.1 CONSONANT SEQUENCES

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

The non-syllabic approximants /yl/ and /wl/, hereafter termed 'glides', are classed as consonants in this analysis. They pattern with the true consonants, occurring both syllable-initially and word-finally; in only four examples do they occur preceding another consonant within a word. Two of these examples are bimorphemic, and two are suspect due to the variation of pronunciations elicited for them. In the case of the bimorphemic glide + consonant sequences, the stems end in glides, and are followed by a possessive suffix that takes the form of a nasal consonant (see 3.1.1.2 for a description of the possessive suffixes).
The third exception is the Loniu word for a hard, inedible fruit and the caulking compound made from it. This word was variously heard as [eyt], [e:t], [et], and [a?at]. Finally, the word for mushroom was variously heard as [eyke], [eke], and [Eke]. In view of the bimorphemic nature of the first two examples, and the variation in pronunciation of the last two, these are not considered to be sufficient evidence to challenge the analysis of /y/ and /w/ as consonant phonemes, nor the generalisation that there are no morpheme-internal consonant clusters in Loniu.

### 2.1.2 Vowel Sequences

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Stem Surface form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e- ipwi eypwi</td>
<td>you (SG) beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- in eyn</td>
<td>you (SG) drink (short form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- inumwi eynumwi</td>
<td>you (SG) drink (long form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- isi eysi</td>
<td>you (SG) break wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- iti eyti</td>
<td>you (SG) copulate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Stem Surface form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e- iwani ewani</td>
<td>you (SG) pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- ipwiti epwiti</td>
<td>you (SG) unwind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- ili eli</td>
<td>you (SG) call (TR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- iw ew</td>
<td>you (SG) call (INTR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One further example of a diphthong was elicited as the second person singular form of an h-initial verb stem. Here again, however, there was considerable variation in the forms elicited. The verb stem is hus ‘suck, chew’. The commonest form given for the second person singular was [hɔs], but two speakers gave [hoys] as the second person singular form (see 3.4.3.1 for the regular second person singular inflection).

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

(6) Tok Pisin    | Loniu    | Gloss
---|---|---
rais  | [raiʃ] | [ɛɾɛʔis] | rice
lain  | [laɪn] | [leʔin] | group
pepa  | [pepepa] | [pɛʔepa] | paper
kaikai | [kaikai] | [keʔikay] | food
kain  | [kaɪn] | [keʔin] | kind

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

2.2 CONSONANT PHONEMES

There are seven obstruent phonemes: /p pʰ t c k s h/ and nine sonorants: /m mʰ n n̥ n̥̄ ɾ ɹ y w/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rounded stop</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n̥</td>
<td>n̥̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rounded nasal</td>
<td>mʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1: CONSONANT PHONEMES

2.2.1 OBSTRUENTS

2.2.1.1 /p/ is realised as the voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop [p] and occurs in all positions (word-initially, medially, and finally).
/p/ is sometimes realised as a partially voiced [b] in rapid speech when intervocalic, as in /tubunah/ [tubunah] 'boy'. (For the description of /pʰ/, see 2.2.3 below.)

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

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

(9) /iy pihin itiyEn/ [i pi'hin di'yrn] that woman

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

(10) /etow/ [etow] you (PCL)
    /etow kêtow/ [ero kâ'tow] you (PCL) stay

(11) /patan/ [pa'tan] its branch
    /pata niw/ [para 'niw] coconut branch

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

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

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

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

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

---

3 For two speakers, /č/ was in free variation with /t/ in final position in the verb pʰič ‘be finished’; a third speaker showed variation between /č/ and /y/ in final position in two words: ač ‘hide’ and lač ‘coral’.
2.2.1.5 /s/ has only one variant, voiceless alveolar fricative [s], which occurs in all positions.

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.2 SONORANTS

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

(18) /masih/       [masih]       all
/umeiy/       [umeiy]       k.o. sago palm
/pom/       [pom]       k.o. sea snail

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

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

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

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

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

(20) /pane/       [pane]       mother
/pwepet/       [pwepet]       clay soil
/mion/       [mion]       yellow
/mwon/       [mwon]       pandanus tree
/pop/       [pop]       sea turtle
/kup/       [kup]       man's basket
/pamboj/       [pamboj]       k.o. ray

---

4 This is the only attested occurrence of [m b] in the data. It is a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. The only other instance of prenasalisation occurs in the word-initial variant of /h/, [hr]; see 2.2.2.6.
2.2.2.4 /ŋ/ is realised as the velar nasal [ŋ], and occurs in all positions.

(21) /ŋo/ [ŋo] nose
/ŋeŋeŋ/ [ŋeŋeŋ] scarred, pockmarked
/ŋeŋ/ [ŋ] night

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>reef</td>
<td>kaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mʷ/</td>
<td>mʷat</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>kamʷat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>nay</td>
<td>skirt</td>
<td>mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n̩/</td>
<td>n̩at</td>
<td>melon</td>
<td>yapoʔoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ̩/</td>
<td>ŋ̩ah</td>
<td>lime</td>
<td>čaŋah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 2: CONTRASTS AMONG THE NASALS**

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

(22) /lawatl/ [lawatl] possum
/kleɡa/ [kleɡa] throat

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

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

(23) /uroh/ [uroh] ~ [uroh] thank you
/puret/ [puret] ~ [puret] work
/ewer/ [ewer] ~ [ewer] k.o. crab
/yr/ [yr] ~ [yr] a constellation

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

(24) /ɾakaw/ [ⁿɾakaw] ~ [ⁿdakaw] pig spear
/roko/ [ⁿroko] ~ [ⁿdoko] deep water
/rolo̊kəw/ [ⁿrolo̊kəw] ~ [ⁿdolo̊kəw] Loniu
/rolo̊w/ [ⁿrolo̊w] ~ [ⁿdolo̊w] wooden bowl
/ropo/ [ⁿropo] ~ [ⁿdopo] now, today
/ruli/ [ⁿruli] k.o. bird
/rakey/ [ⁿrakey] man’s name
/rakor/ [ⁿrakor] placename
/rekəpʷenə/ [ⁿrekəpʷenə] custom, usage
One instance of intervocalic [pr] in free variation with [r] was encountered: [indrani] ~ [iran] ‘to fasten cloth sarong’. The [r] form was preferred by all speakers consulted, but several indicated that [pr] was also possible. It is due to this variation, and to the otherwise complementary distribution of the two, that this analysis includes [pr] as a variant of /r/, rather than positing it as a separate phoneme or as a cluster.

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

(25) /puron/ ~ [puron] k.o. sago dish
/puto/ ~ [puro] core
/yar/ ~ [yar] a constellation
/yat/ burn

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

(26) /irani/ ~ [irani] fasten sarong
/ilani/ taunt
/uroh/ thank you
/ulu/ be high tide
/koros/ k.o. sago dish
/oloh/ailer

2.2.3 ROUNDED CONSONANTS

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

(27) /p\wesaw/ [p\wesaw] dry
/ip\w/ [ip\w] pound (sago)

In only two words was /p\w/ found preceding a rounded vowel: [p\wokat] ‘musket’ and [p\womelew] ‘k.o. large yam’.

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

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

/p/ ~ /p\w/ contrasts are exemplified in the following pairs:
(28) /piti/ [piti] star
/ip^iti/ [ip^iti] unwind, separate
/patah/ [patah] sago trough
/p^watay/ [p^watay] k.o. tree
/pay/ [pay] shelf, rafter
/p^way/ [p^way] say it

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

(29) /m^wi/ [m^wi] dog
/kam^wet/ [kam^wet] tattoo

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

(30) /m^wanu/ [m^wanu] ~ [m^wenu] fire (long form)
/m^wop/ [m^wop] pandanus
/m^won/ [m^won] armband

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

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

2.2.4 GLIDES /w/ AND /y/

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

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

(31) /wi/ [wi] k.o. fruit tree
/was/ [was] rope
/we^t/ [we^t] cut down
/woh/ [woh] fly
/wo/ [wo] fetch (water)
/yaliwi/ [yaliwi] steer (canoe)
/tew/ [tew] my faeces
/m^we^kew/ [m^we^kew] deep sea, overseas
/lawat/ [lawat] possum
/çowe^yo/ [çowe^yo] my thigh
/powet/ [powet] k.o. bamboo
/muwan/ [muwan] bad
/čuwuh/ \[čuwuh\] k.o. fish
/kaw/ \[kaw\] sorcery
/kow/ \[kow\] fence
/niw/ \[niw\] coconut
/pow/ \[pow\] pig
/pew/ \[pew\] shark

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

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

(32) /yo/ \[yo\] I
/ya/ \[ya\] future marker
/ye/ \[ye\] be in a place
/yen/ \[yn\] war
/yöösı/ \[yoösı\] scrape
/yiw/ \[yiw\] gather (clams)
/tiyani/ \[tiyani\] tell (a story)
/keyaw/ \[keyaw\] platform
/takeyə/ \[takeye\] throw
/hayah/ \[hayah\] some
/ćøyət/ \[ćoyet\] k.o. tree
/huyan/ \[huyan\] good; adult
/mehiyun/ \[mehiyun\] sour
/tepeiy/ \[tepeïy\] lift, remove
/sey/ \[sey\] one (e.g. with trees or canoes)
/ey/ \[ey\] inanimate pronoun
/monoy/ \[monoy\] k.o. fish
/uy/ \[uy\] k.o. sago palm
/ay/ \[ay\] blood

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

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

(33) /iy a to lo um/ \[i a ro lo um\] he’s still at home
/puwe ke/ \[pue ke\] fruit of a tree
/etow ma kala/ \[ero ma kala\] you (PCL) want to go
/iy ta lo ke/ \[i ta lo ke\] he is in the forest
/sey ke/ \[se ke\] one tree
/ow ma kala/ \[o ma kala\] you (DU) want to go

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

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

\[
(34) \quad \emptyset \rightarrow ? / \begin{cases} V (\#) \quad V \\ # \quad V \quad [+\text{stress}] \end{cases}
\]

\[
(35) \quad /\text{suu}/ \quad [\text{su}^\prime \text{u}] \quad \text{third person dual} \\
/\text{pien}/ \quad ['\text{pi}^\prime \text{en}] \quad \text{white} \\
/\text{masoone}/ \quad [\text{maso}^\prime \text{o}^\prime \text{ne}] \quad \text{messy} \\
/\text{leqe}/ \quad ['\text{leqe}^\prime \text{i}] \quad \text{like, as though} \\
/\text{seh amat}/ \quad [\text{seh} \ ^\prime \text{amat}] \quad \text{(the) men} \\
/\text{lotiye um}/ \quad [\text{lotiye} \ ^\prime \text{um}] \quad \text{inside the house}
\]

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

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

(a) The syllable count is maintained.

\[
(36) \quad /\text{sooh}/ \quad [\text{so}^\prime \text{oh}] \sim [\text{sooh}] \quad \text{flesh}
\]

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

\[
(37) \quad /\text{suu to lele}/ \quad [\text{su}^\prime \text{u} \, \text{to lele}] \sim [\text{su} \, \text{to lele}] \sim [\text{su} \, \text{to lele}] \quad \text{they are looking}
\]

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

2.3 VOWEL PHONEMES

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

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

**FIGURE 3: VOWEL PHONEMES**

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

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

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

(39) /min/ [min] ~ [mn] sit
/čip/ [čip] ~ [čip] window
/pelíē̄in/ [peliē̄in] ~ [peliē̄in] with him/her
/pwiss/ [pwiss] ~ [pwiss] finish, end
/kip/ [kip] ~ [kip] lie (short form)

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

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

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

(40) /ehe/ [ehe] lie down, recline, sit
/ke/ [ke] tree, wood
/čotew/ [čotew] my hip
/hile/ [hile] choose
/hes/ [hes] jump
/čotem/ [čotem] your hip
/pen/ [pen] night

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

(41) /pʷe/ [pʷe] ~ [pʷe] ~ [pʷu] ~ [p] ~ [pʷe] not, no
/epʷe/ [epʷe] ~ [epʷe] ~ [epʷu] ~ [ep] ~ [ḁu] ~ [ḁu] only, just

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

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

(42) /he/ [he] sew
/hi/ [hi] feminine particle
/iy ileey/ [iy ileey] he saw it
2.3.3 /e/ is realised as the lower mid-front vowel [e], and occurs in all positions. In
unstressed syllables, especially in rapid speech, /e/ may be reduced and centralised to [ə].

(43) /ekes/ [e'kes] powdered sago pith
/tele/ [te'le] canoe (long form)
/le/ [lə] and, or, but
/peti/ [peti] ~ [pə'ti] from, for, of
/kəsuwas/ [kəsu'was] ~ [kəsu'was] k.o. plant

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

(44) /etem/ [etem] ~ [etm] your liver
/lehen/ [lehen] ~ [lehn] its tooth

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

(45) /ehe/ [ehe] lie down, recline, sit
/eh/ [ehe] yes; where
/hes/ [his] jump
/eke/ [eke] powdered sago pith
/pet/ [pet] float
/tet/ [tet] ladder

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

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

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

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

(47) /o/ [o] fall, come down
/kol/ [ko] village, land
/paoh/ [pə'oh] near
/homow/ [ho'mow] ~ [ho'mow] one (e.g. man)
/kəso'wani/ [kəso'wani] ~ [kəso'wani] adorn
2.3.6 /o/ is realised as a very high mid-back rounded vowel, perceptibly higher and more rounded than is commonly represented by the use of this symbol. Unlike the mid-front /e/, mid-back /o/ has no centralised variant.

(48) /yesow/  [yesow]  marry
    /yo/        [yo]       I
    /cohok/     [cohok]    dive
    /o/         [o]        jump

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

(49) /lot/     [lot]    turban shell
    /lot/     [lot]    skin disease, rash
    /pow/     [pow]    pig
    /pow/     [pow]    canoe part
    /mool/    [moo]    my skin
    /sooh/    [soo]    edible flesh
    /ako/     [ako]    placename
    /hoko/    [hoko]   one (e.g. spear)

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

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

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

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

(51) /moo/     [moo]    my skin
    /muun/     [muun]   be hungry
    /co/       [co]     k.o. fish
    /cu/       [cu]     comb
    /toh/      [toh]    sugarcane
    /tu/       [tu]     house post
    /koko/     [koko]   my leg
    /kuku/     [kuku]   k.o. wood
2.3.8 Contrasts among the seven vowel phonemes are shown in the sets below.

(52) /pin/ change into
 /peŋ/ night
 /pɛn/ k.o. taro dish
 /pan/ k.o. bird, poss. pigeon
 /pon/ purple
 /pop/ sea turtle
 /pun/ moon; betel pepper

(53) /ti/ emphatic particle
 /te/ faeces
 /teː/ infant
 /ta/ locative particle
 /to/ durative/habitual/continuative aspect
 /toː/ sugarcane
 /tu/ house post

(54) /kiw/ small bench for grating coconut
 /kew/ my bivalve muscle (if I were a clam)
 /kewe/ k.o. bush
 /kaw/ sorcery
 /kow/ fence
 /kow/ fish hook
 /ku/ cooking pot

2.4 NEUTRALISATION OF CONTRASTS

2.4.1 CONSONANT NEUTRALISATION – /t/ ~ /r/

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

(55) /pɛɾɛ/ [pɛɾɛ] ~ [pɛɾɛ] ~ [pɛɾɛ a yo] (my) work
 /hiːpɛɾə/ [hiːpɛɾə] ~ [hiːpɛɾə] ~ [hiːpɛɾə] thus, as though
 /ɛɾɛ/ [ɛɾɛ] ~ [ɛɾɛ] ~ [ɛɾɛ] animate goal marker
 /peɾi/ [peɾi] ~ [peɾi] ~ [peɾi] from, for, of
 /maɾa/ [maɾa] ~ [maɾa] ~ [maɾa] eye; edge
 /heɾoɾ/ [heɾoɾ] ~ [heɾoɾ] ~ [heɾoɾ] they (PCL)
 /čiɾoɾ/ [čiɾoɾ] ~ [čiɾoɾ] ~ [čiɾoɾ] we (PCL.INC)

There are also many words containing intervocalic /t/ which are pronounced with either [t] or [r], but were never heard with the trill variant, for example, /ɛɾɛ suʔu/ [ɛɾɛ suʔu] ~ [ɛɾɛ suʔu] ‘their livers’.

A possible explanation for the variation among the three ([r]), [t], [r]) may be that Koro, a related language spoken in nearby villages (for example, Mokoreng5), is influencing younger

---

5 There is some discrepancy in the identification of those villages where the Koro language is spoken. According to Schooling and Schooling (1988), Koro is spoken at Horan, Labahan, and Bowat 2 (nambis), while the language of Papitalai is called Papitalai, and the language of Mokoreng is called
speakers. The older speakers of Loniu insist that these words should be spoken with [t] rather than with [r], and suggest that, as there is a great deal of contact between the two language groups, the younger people are learning the use of [r] in these lexical items from Koro relatives and friends. They were able to cite one example, ere [ere], which is the Koro equivalent of Loniu /ete/ ‘animate goal marker’, and Z’graggen (1970) lists many Mokoreng words which contain /r/ where Loniu has /l/. A further factor in the variation is the fact that the trill /l/ phoneme in Loniu may be realised as the alveolar tap, which is also an allophone of /l/. Younger speakers, hearing the tap, may then be reinterpreting intervocalic /l/ as /r/, and trilling it when speaking slowly and carefully.

2.4.2 CONSONANT NEUTRALISATION – /p/ ~ /pʷ/, /m/ ~ /mʷ/

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

(56) /um a yol/ my house (which I use/live in)

/umʷew/ my house (which I own/built)

/enum a iy/ his garden

/enumʷan/ its garden (e.g. yam garden)

/top a wow/ your basket (alienably possessed)

/tapʷam/ your basket (inalienably possessed)

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

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

(57) //pʷičili// /pʷičiılı/ ~ /pučiılı/ chase

//pʷili// /pʷiılı/ ~ /pulı/ mountain

//mʷičin// /mʷičın/ ~ /mučın/ its husk

//pʷasaw// /pʷaśaw/ ~ /pośaw/ dry

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

(58) //m^w^n// /m^w^n/ ~ /m^n/ armband
//m^w^on// /m^w^on/ ~ /m^on/ pandanus tree
//p^w^omelew// /p^w^omelew/ ~ /pomelew/ k.o. yam

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

(59) /suu to omot/ they (tend to) vomit (verbal form)
/emw^eta suu/ their vomit (possessed nominal)

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

2.4.3 CONSONANT NEUTRALISATION – //l// ~ //n//

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

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

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

(61) Proto Oceanic Loniu Gloss
*ku1uR /kun/ breadfruit
*pulan /pun/ moon
*salan /čan/ ~ /čalan/ road, path
*salu /čan/ cut, clear

---

6 The item //ep^w^e// is never stressed, and as a result the pronunciation varies quite a bit; see example (41) in 2.3.2.
In addition, Tok Pisin *pensil* ‘pencil’ was heard as [pensı̃] when used in Loniu conversation, but as [pensıl] when Tok Pisin was used. Thus many final /n/ in Loniu can be seen to be variants of /n/ when there is synchronic morphological variation to prove it. In all other cases, however, even where historical evidence suggests a change from */l/* to [n], final [n] is considered to be /n/.

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

(62) /nametiyen/ ~ /nametiyen/ big
/lapwunan/ ~ /lapwunan/ big
/lime/ ~ /lime/ hand
/noona/ ~ /noona/ leaf

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

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

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

### 2.4.4 MID-VOWEL NEUTRALISATION

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

(64) /kečewehe ni/ [kečewehe ni] you (PL) pour out the fish
/iy ičewehey/ [iʔičewehey] he poured it out
/ete suu iye/ [ete suʔu iye] their liver jumped; they were startled
/etew/ [etew] my liver

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

Many younger speakers, particularly pre-adolescents, commonly neutralise the contrasts between mid-front vowels /e/ and /e/ and between mid-back vowels /a/ and /a/, in all positions. When questioned, for example, about the difference in pronunciation between the words for ‘yes’ /ehe/ and ‘lie down’ /ehe/, many younger speakers said that there is no difference, and pronounced both morphemes as [ehe]. The same was true for other pairs, for example, /kow/ ‘fence’ and /kow/ ‘fish hook’. Other words containing these vowels, which have no attested minimal pair counterparts, are commonly pronounced with the lower of the mid-vowel pairs by the younger Loniu. For example:
It is possible that the distinctions between /o/ and /o/ and between /e/ and /e/ are among the last to be acquired, and that the younger speakers consulted have simply not yet fully learned their language. It is also possible, however, that these distinctions are losing ground, especially in view of the relatively low functional load of the higher members of the two pairs. In fact, the older speakers comment on the 'careless' speech of their children, and worry that their language is changing as a result of the lack of precision among younger speakers.

### 2.4.5 Vowel Neutralisation — The Variant [i]

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

### 2.4.6 Vowel Neutralisation — The Variant [a]

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

### 2.5 Stress and Intonation

#### 2.5.1 Stress

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

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

(C)VCV ['ahi] 'step on'; ['nro po] 'now'; ['pupi] 'placename'
(C)VCVC ['mwenen] 'straight'; ['amat] 'human'; ['cahaw] 'appear'
(C)VCVCV [i'wan] 'drag'; [ma'ñawe] 'clear'; [ča?iti] 'cut'
(C)VCVCVC [ma'pitan] 'raw'; [ka'kawah] 'grave'; no V'VCVCVC attested with penultimate stress.

(67) Final:

(C)VCV [E'ku] 'pile up'; [ko'mu] 'word'; [tu'we] 'boil'
(C)VCVC [pi'hin] 'woman'; [o'ket] 'black'; [če'lep] 'canoe bed'
(C)VCVCV [iti'yo] 'this'; [tama'na] 'dance'; [yo?'ose] 'walk'
(C)VCVCVC [če'le'wan] 'many'; [petu'wet] 'fire stone'; [apu'lok] 'hang'

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

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

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

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

(69) ['nanen] his/her mother
[nane su'?'u] their (DU) mother
[i'tow] 3SG stayed
[nane su'?'u ito pele'yan] their mother was in the house
['nala] cold wind
[ine'la] (it) is cold
[nele'tun] cold

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

2.5.2 INTONATION

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

(70)  
1 2 yo to yan ни ↓  
I am eating fish
3

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

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

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

2.6 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.6.1 MORPHEME STRUCTURE

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Vowel combinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čelo</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>mid front unrounded – high back rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilow</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>high front unrounded – mid back rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pohi</td>
<td>fill up</td>
<td>mid back rounded – high front unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čuhe</td>
<td>wrap</td>
<td>high back rounded – mid front unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huya</td>
<td>goodness</td>
<td>high back – low central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi?ah</td>
<td>itch</td>
<td>high front – low central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahu</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>low central – high back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwa?i</td>
<td>scold</td>
<td>low central – high front</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 4: NON-HARMONIC ROOTS
There is a tendency to vary vowels within some morphemes if those vowels have opposite
group as [cito] and [cuto], and is sometimes shortened to [cuto].

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Careful speech</th>
<th>Rapid speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo kaman</td>
<td>lo kaman ~ lo kaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in men’s house</td>
<td>in the men’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo enum</td>
<td>lo enum ~ lo onum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in garden</td>
<td>in the garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seh to ta epi</td>
<td>seh to ta epi ~ seh to ta api</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL CONT beat sago</td>
<td>they are beating sago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.6.2 MORPHOPHONEMIC VARIATION IN THE INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS

2.6.2.1 OVERVIEW

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

Thus the prefix i- ‘1/3SG’, when prefixed to the verb stem mat ‘die’, causes the low stem
vowel /a/ to change to /e/.

i + mat      imet  SG dies/died
(75)         and e- ‘2SG’ causes the low stem vowel of the verb čan ‘clear, cut’ to raise to /e/.
(76)  ě + čan     ěčen  You clear/cut; Cut!

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

(77)  ke + e + hinenei  keheneni  NS may do/make

In addition, if the verb stem is h- or vowel-initial, the prefix vowel assimilates to the first
stem vowel, once the height of the stem vowel has been adjusted as specified above. In the
verb form $k + \epsilon + \textit{huti} \text{ 'POT + NS + take'},$ the non-singular mid-vowel prefix causes the stem vowel /u/ to become /a/ by the process of stem-vowel lowering, and then the prefix vowel totally assimilates to the stem vowel, producing the surface form $\textit{kohoti} \text{ 'we, you, they may make/do'}. $

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(78) \quad & ma'\alpha + -w \quad mo'\alpha \quad \text{my skin} \\
& kana + -w \quad kono \quad \text{my taste/flavour}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(79) \quad & mata + -w \quad meto \quad \text{my eye}
\end{align*}
\]

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

### 2.6.2.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS OF NOUN INFLECTION

#### 2.6.2.2.1 -w ‘1SG.POSS’

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

(a) **Front vowel-final stems**

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

\[
(80) \quad -w \rightarrow [w] / \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \text{ -round} \\ \text{ -low} \end{bmatrix} + \quad #
\]

For example:

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\text{Stem} & \text{Inflected form} & \text{Gloss} \\
\hline
\textit{čepi-} & \textit{čepiw} & \text{my flesh} \\
\textit{kuče-} & \textit{kučew} & \text{my kidney(s)} \\
\textit{kelepe-} & \textit{kelepew} & \text{my tail} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
The \(-w\) coalesces with a stem-final \(e\)- to \(-\circ\) in four stems, three of which have nasal consonants preceding the stem final \(-e\).

\[\text{(82)}\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nime-} & \text{nim}\text{o} \\
\text{pane-} & \text{pano} \\
\text{palake\text{'}ime-} & \text{palake\text{'}imo/palake\text{'}imew} \\
\text{ke\text{'}uwe-} & \text{ke\text{'}uwo}
\end{array}
\]

my hand  \\
my mother  \\
my tongue  \\
my neck

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

\[\text{(83)}\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{čekehene-} & \text{čekehene\text{'}ew} \\
\text{kupu-} & \text{kupew} \\
\text{me\text{'}ipiwhine-} & \text{me\text{'}ipiwhinew} \\
\text{m\text{'}we-} & \text{m\text{'}we\text{'}ew} \\
\text{um\text{'}we-} & \text{um\text{'}we\text{'}ew}
\end{array}
\]

related to me  \\
my basket  \\
my groin  \\
my buttocks  \\
my house

Also, \(\text{palake\text{'}ime}\) ‘tongue’ (which may be a compound consisting of \(\text{pala}\) ‘head’ + another as yet unidentified morpheme), was elicited in both forms for first person singular: \(\text{palake\text{'}imew} \sim \text{palake\text{'}imo}\). In addition, there is a stem \(\text{puwe}\) ‘testicle’ which is phonetically similar to the exception \(\text{ke\text{'}uwe-}\), but which takes the form \(\text{puwew}\) when inflected for first person singular. Thus it would seem that there is as yet no phonological explanation for the form the suffix takes for the four exceptions cited.

(b) Rounded back vowel-final stems

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

\[\text{(84)}\]
\[-w \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} V \\ +\text{round} \end{array} + \_\_\_\_\_
\]

For example:

\[\text{(85)}\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{elutu-} & \text{elutu} & \text{my egg} \\
\text{qo-} & \text{qo} & \text{my nose} \\
\text{mo\text{'}o-} & \text{mo\text{'}o} & \text{I’ve had enough}
\end{array}
\]

It is important to note here that the sequences \(-uw-, -\circw(-),\) and \(-\circw(-)\) do occur elsewhere in the language, for example, \(\text{cuwuh} \ ‘k.o. fish’, \text{kow} \ ‘fence’, \text{and} \text{pow} \ ‘pig’.

(c) Low vowel-final stems

\(-w\) coalesces with stem-final \(-a\), becoming a mid-back rounded vowel. If the stem-final \(-a\) is preceded by a nasal, the resulting vowel is the lower mid lax \(\text{}/\circ/\). If the preceding consonant is not a nasal, the resulting vowel is the higher mid tense \(\text{}/\circ/\).
For example:

(87) Stem Inflected form Gloss
keheya- keheyo my shoulder
putuwa- putuwo my belly
keleqa- kelejo my back
domuna- domuno my place

2.6.2.2 NOUN STEMS WITH LONG AND SHORT FORMS

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

(88)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-possessive</td>
<td>Alienable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwalih</td>
<td>mwalih a iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>story</td>
<td>story POSS 3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>law a wow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>relative POSS 2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your relative</td>
<td>your relative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(89)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form + suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qah</td>
<td>qaha + w = goho</td>
<td>my lime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaham</td>
<td>your lime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qahan</td>
<td>3SG’s lime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(90)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form + suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pwahačan</td>
<td>pwahačala + w = pwahačolo</td>
<td>my route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwahačalam</td>
<td>your route</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwahačalan</td>
<td>3SG’s route</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The problem arises in a group of stems containing low vowels, whose final vowel is non-low in the long form:

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

---

7 This form is one of the few for which assignment of [i] to /i/, /ei/, or /e/ was not possible, due to lack of evidence (see 2.4.5). It may be that the fact that /el/ → /el/ in the presence of this final [i] is an indication that at least here, [i] is an allophone of high front /i/. The nesi form is attested only with the possessive suffixes: nesiw, nesim, nesin.

8 n/ → n/ / __ #; see 2.4.3.
Once this point of view is adopted, however, the question arises as to the provenance of the low-stem vowel in the set of six short-form stems listed in (92). When the alternate long form occurs, and the final non-low vowel is present, the preceding stem vowel(s) is also non-low; when the final vowel is deleted to derive the short, consonant-final form, the stem vowel(s) is [+low]. Given the otherwise motivated raising rule (see 2.6.2.3.1), it would seem in keeping with this analysis to suggest that the presence of the stem-final non-low vowel causes the preceding stem vowels to become [-low] as well, and that, in its absence, the [+low] stem vowel remains unchanged. This would further imply, though, that this stem-final vowel was, at some point in the past, a separate morpheme (or part of one). In addition, the sets of intervening consonants as stated in the rules for raising (and rounding) given in 2.6.2.3.1 below would have to be modified, and the raising and rounding process would not be clearly limited to specific consonant + a sequences.

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

2.6.2.2.3 STEM-FINAL VOWEL NEUTRALISATION

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Inflected forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(100) kapeni-</td>
<td>kapeniw, kapeniw</td>
<td>my wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapenim</td>
<td>your wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapenin, kapeni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(101) ke-</td>
<td>kew</td>
<td>my muscle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kem, kim</td>
<td>your muscle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ken, kin</td>
<td>3SG's muscle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(102) lele-</td>
<td>lehew, lehew, lehw</td>
<td>my tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lehem, lehim</td>
<td>your tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lehen, lehin</td>
<td>3SG's tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(103) pase-</td>
<td>pasew, pasew</td>
<td>my chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ete-</td>
<td>etew, etew</td>
<td>my liver, heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kihiyye-</td>
<td>kihiyew</td>
<td>my firewood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed form</th>
<th>Attested suffixed forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nas</em></td>
<td><em>nesiw, nesim, nesim</em></td>
<td>digging stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kelipawim, kelipawim, kelipawin</em></td>
<td>jaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.2.2.4 VOWEL HARMONY IN INALIENABLE POSSESSIVES

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma?a</em></td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ga?a</em></td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pwaha</em></td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaka</em></td>
<td>foot, leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kana</em></td>
<td>taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ana</em></td>
<td>consumable object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapana</em></td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>natama</em></td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pana</em></td>
<td>man's father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lawa</em> (short form <em>law</em>)</td>
<td>relative, supporter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pwa haca·la</em> (short form <em>pwa hakan</em>)</td>
<td>road, route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>paqataha</em></td>
<td>warmth, heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pala</em></td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mata</em></td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tapwa</em> (short form <em>top</em>)</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qaha</em> (short form <em>gah</em>)</td>
<td>lime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the presence of -m ‘2SG possessor’ or -n ‘3SG possessor’, the stems in (105) exhibit no vowel variation; for example:
However, when first person singular -w is present, the following changes occur:

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

\[(107) \quad -a + -w \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{round} \\ <\alpha \ \text{tense}> \end{bmatrix} / <\alpha \ \text{nasal}> ___ \]

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

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

\[(108) \quad /a/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{low} \\ +\text{round} \\ <\text{+tense}> \end{bmatrix} / ___ C* \]

\[
*C = [w \ pʰ \ h \ k \ ? \ m \ n \ ŋ \ mʰ]\]

\[(109) \quad ma'?a + w \rightarrow ma'?o \rightarrow mo'?o \quad \text{my skin}
\]

\[(kana + w \rightarrow kana \rightarrow kono \quad \text{my taste}\]

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

\[(110) \quad kapwana + w \rightarrow kapwano \rightarrow kapon^9 \rightarrow kopono \quad \text{my self}\]

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

\[(111) \quad \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} / ___ C* \]

\[
C* = [p \ t \ ć \ s \ l \ r \ y] \quad \text{(any C other than those in (108))}
\]

\[^9\quad \text{Optionally } /pʰ/ \rightarrow /p/ \quad / ___ \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} ; \text{ see 2.4.2}\]
(112) \( \text{mata} + w \rightarrow \text{mato} \rightarrow \text{meto} \) my eye
\( \text{pala} + w \rightarrow \text{palo} \rightarrow \text{pelo} \) my head

An exception to this rule is \( \text{pa}^{w}\text{ahačalo} \) 'my route' (\( \text{pa}^{w}\text{ahačala} + w \)). The difference in vowel change between \( \text{pa}^{w}\text{ahačalo} \) and \( \text{pe}^{o} \) 'my head' may be due to the fact that \( \text{pa}^{w}\text{ahačala} \) has a short form, \( \text{pa}^{w}\text{ahačan} \), which is derived from \( \text{pa}^{w}\text{ahačala} \) by deleting the final vowel, thus placing the /l/ in final position— all /l/ become [n] in final position. It may be the presence of this nasal which triggers the application of rule (110) rather than rule (111). It is of interest to note here that the form \( \text{pe}^{o} \) was also heard and transcribed as \( [pæ\text{lo}] \). Since this is the only instance of a rounded front vowel in the data, the implications are not clear.

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

(113) \( \text{natama} + w \rightarrow \text{natamo} \rightarrow \text{natomo} \) my father
\( \text{paŋataha} + w \rightarrow \text{paŋataho} \rightarrow \text{paŋatoho} \) my warmth

The fact that the form \( \text{kopono (kap}^{w}\text{ana} + w \) contains a rounded vowel in the antepenult is probably due to the rounded consonant which follows it, and which apparently encourages the transmission of the rounding of the suffix beyond its normal range.

2.6.2.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS OF VERB INFLECTION

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

2.6.2.3.1 STEM VOWEL RAISING

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

(114) \text{Rule I: Stem Vowel Raising} \[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{tense} \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ -\text{low} \end{array} \right] + (C) \]

In (115) below, the stem is Class I \( \text{ca}^{k}\text{eh} \) 'cut', and since all of the prefixes for Class I stems are non-low vowels (see 3.4.2), all of the prefixed forms are affected (the potential prefix is \( k- \); see 5.1.1.3.1).
Class I  čaʔeh 'cut'

Present/past          Potential
1SG  i + čeʔeh (~ u + čeʔeh)\(^{10}\)  k + i + čeʔeh (~ k + u + čeʔeh)
2SG  e + čeʔeh               e + čeʔeh
3SG  i + čeʔeh               k + i + čeʔeh
NS   čaʔeh                   k + e + čeʔeh

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

Class II stem mat 'die'

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

2.6.2.3.2 STEM VOWEL LOWERING

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{rule II: stem vowel lowering} \\
\begin{bmatrix}
V \\
\text{ghi} \\
\text{low}
\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \\
\begin{bmatrix}
V \\
\text{ghi} \\
\text{low}
\end{bmatrix} / \\
\begin{bmatrix}
V \\
\text{ghi} \\
\text{low}
\end{bmatrix} +
\end{array}
\]

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

\(^{10}\) See 2.6.2.3.4 for a discussion of the /i/ ~ /u/ variation in first/third person singular prefixes.
The two rules given so far, Stem Vowel Raising and Stem Vowel Lowering, are progressive harmony rules, affecting the first stem vowel. All further modifications are anticipatory in nature, and affect the vowel of the prefix.

2.6.2.3.3 TOTAL ASSIMILATION

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

(121) Rule III: Total Assimilation

\[ V \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ features}] / \_ \_ \_ + (h) [\alpha \text{ features}] \]

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

(122) Rule II Rule III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Rule II</th>
<th>Rule III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(k+i+huti)</td>
<td>(k+i+huti)</td>
<td>1SG/3SG may take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k+e+huti)</td>
<td>(k+e+huti)</td>
<td>POT-NS-take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k+i+o\mu\text{hohe})</td>
<td>(k+i+o\mu\text{hohe})</td>
<td>1SG/3SG may think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k+a+o\mu\text{hohe})</td>
<td>(k+a+o\mu\text{hohe})</td>
<td>POT-NS-think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k+i+e\text{ge})</td>
<td>(k+i+e\text{ge})</td>
<td>1SG/3SG may hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k+a+e\text{ge})</td>
<td>(k+a+e\text{ge})</td>
<td>POT-NS-hear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.2.3.4 OPTIONAL PREFIX VOWEL BACKING

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

---

11 Surface form [kohot\(\text{i}\)]; see 2.6.2.3.3 (Total assimilation).
12 Surface form [yasow]; see 2.6.2.3.5 (Further modifications).
(123) Rule IV: Optional Prefix Vowel Backing

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{V} \\
-\text{high} \\
-\text{low} \\
-\text{tense}
\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{back}] / \quad + \quad C^* \begin{bmatrix}
\text{V} \\
-\text{high} \\
-\text{low} \\
+\text{back}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

\(C^*\) = any consonant but /h/

(124) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\varepsilon + \text{noh} & \rightarrow \text{a+noh} \quad \text{you SG fear} \\
k + \varepsilon + \text{ototehiani} & \rightarrow k + \text{a+ototehiani} \quad \text{POT.NS.stand} \\
k + \varepsilon + \text{phohi} & \rightarrow k + \text{a+phohi} \quad \text{POT.NS.fill}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(125) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\varepsilon + \text{lo} + \text{mi} & \rightarrow \text{lo} + \text{mi} - \text{a} + \text{lo} + \text{mi} \quad \text{you SG plant} \\
k + \varepsilon + \text{lo} + \text{mi} & \rightarrow k + \text{lo} + \text{mi} - k + \text{lo} + \text{mi} \quad \text{POT-NS-plant} \\
\varepsilon + \text{phohi} & \rightarrow \text{a} + \text{phohi} - \text{a} + \text{phohi} \quad \text{you SG fill}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

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

(126) 
\[
\begin{align*}
yo \ kupo & \quad \text{I may do} \\
iy \ kupo & \quad \text{3SG may do} \\
yo \ kumu?un & \quad \text{I may be hungry} \\
iy \ kumu?un & \quad \text{3SG may be hungry}
\end{align*}
\]

(127) 
\[
\begin{align*}
yo \ upo & \quad \text{I do/did} \\
iy \ ipo & \quad \text{3SG does/did} \\
yo \ umu?un & \quad \text{I am/was hungry} \\
iy \ imu?un & \quad \text{3SG is/was hungry}
\end{align*}
\]
Note in (127) that the present/past forms of third person singular maintain the high front vowel as the prefix. It is likely that the subject pronouns, which immediately precede the vowel of the prefix in the present/past forms, influence the quality of the prefix vowel, even on stems whose initial consonant is not labial and/or whose initial vowel is not back and round. Thus the back rounded alternant of the prefix occurs more readily for first person singular in the present/past, preceded by the pronoun yo ‘I’, than for third person singular forms, preceded by the subject pronoun iy ‘he, she, it’. The fact that the subject pronoun yo always occurs with the first person singular verb forms, while the third person singular subject may be a full noun phrase, may also influence the backing (and rounding) of the person prefix. Even with full noun phrase subjects, however, alternation between the two variants, high front and high back rounded, is very common.

(128)  
\begin{align*}
\text{yo ule} & \sim \text{yo ile} \\
\text{iy ile} & \quad \text{I go/went} \\
\text{iy ile} & \quad \text{3SG goes/went}
\end{align*}

(129)  
\begin{align*}
\text{yo učepweni} & \sim \text{yo ičepweni} \\
\text{iy ičepweni} & \quad \text{I throw/threw} \\
\text{iy ičepweni} & \quad \text{3SG throws/threw}
\end{align*}

(130)  
\begin{align*}
\text{yo ma kuwoh} & \quad \text{I'm going to fly.} \\
\text{1SG INT POT-SG-fly} & \\
\text{iy ma kuwoh} & \quad \text{He's going to fly.} \\
\text{3SG INT POT-SG-fly} & \\
\text{jetukan ya kiwoh} & \quad \text{The bird will fly.} \\
\text{bird FUT POT-SG-fly} & \\
\end{align*}

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

2.6.2.3.5 FURTHER MODIFICATIONS

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

(131) $V \rightarrow \emptyset / \# \_ + (h) \ V$

In these cases, the vowel of the person prefix is obligatorily deleted once it has caused the harmonic modifications in the stem vowel. These prefix vowels are deleted from most modified y- initial stems as well, although there is some variation here in the third person singular forms – note the last three examples in (132).
The final modification affects the y-initial stems only. These stems are all Class II, a-prefixing. When the potential non-singular prefix ka- is present, the initial ya of the stem is deleted.

\[(133)\]
\[
k+a+yewow \rightarrow k+a+yasow \rightarrow kasow \quad \text{POT-NS-marry}
\]
\[
k+a+yeweti \rightarrow k+a+yati \rightarrow kati \quad \text{POT-NS-bite}
\]

2.6.2.3.6 RULE ORDERING

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

2.6.2.3.7 SUMMARY

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 5: PREFIX-STEM VOWEL COMBINATIONS**

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

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

(c) If the prefix vowel is low, the first stem vowel is low. Non-permissible combinations, then, are that if the prefix vowel is low, the first stem vowel cannot be mid or high, and if the prefix vowel is mid or high, the first stem vowel cannot be low.
2.6.2.4 VERBS WITH LONG AND SHORT FORMS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>can</td>
<td>cani</td>
<td>cut, clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čim</td>
<td>čimani</td>
<td>buy, trade, barter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haj</td>
<td>hajeni</td>
<td>feed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuwe</td>
<td>tuwani</td>
<td>cook, boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suwe</td>
<td>suwani</td>
<td>paddle (canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čene</td>
<td>čeneni</td>
<td>pole (canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emene</td>
<td>emenani</td>
<td>spy on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiye</td>
<td>tiyani</td>
<td>tell (story)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuwah</td>
<td>tuwehi</td>
<td>chew (betel nut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sah</td>
<td>sehi</td>
<td>carve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čunah</td>
<td>čunehi</td>
<td>husk (coconut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawoh</td>
<td>tawahi</td>
<td>clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takoluh</td>
<td>takulahi</td>
<td>signal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āpak</td>
<td>āpoketi</td>
<td>climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pah</td>
<td>peheyanı ~ peheyeni</td>
<td>barter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ča?e</td>
<td>ča?iti</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu 'bathe'</td>
<td>ñihi</td>
<td>wash (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tow</td>
<td>tewi ~ teweyani</td>
<td>give, put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(138)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td>huti</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čun</td>
<td>čulumwi</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>inumwi</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sus</td>
<td>susuwi</td>
<td>sew (thatch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lug</td>
<td>luguti</td>
<td>catch (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hus</td>
<td>husuwe, husuweni</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eg</td>
<td>ege, egeyeni</td>
<td>hear, listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has</td>
<td>hase?i</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>hane?i</td>
<td>pick, break off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tames</td>
<td>tamese?e</td>
<td>clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>hine, hineni</td>
<td>do, make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag</td>
<td>tagesi</td>
<td>mourn for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaw</td>
<td>yaweseni</td>
<td>parade (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kus</td>
<td>kusuweni</td>
<td>be angry, sulk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeti</td>
<td>yetini</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(139)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čelu</td>
<td>čeluweni</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e?e</td>
<td>e?eyani</td>
<td>make afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulu</td>
<td>uluweni</td>
<td>lower into water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Finally, seven long forms do not appear to contain one of the three suffixes, but rather end in e.
(140)  Short form    Long form    Gloss

\textit{eg} \quad \textit{ege}    \quad \text{hear, listen to}
\textit{hus} \quad \textit{husuwe}    \quad \text{smoke}
\textit{tow} \quad \textit{tewe}    \quad \text{give, put}
\textit{sun} \quad \textit{sule}    \quad \text{sing}
\textit{hi} \quad \textit{hine}    \quad \text{make, do}
\textit{utu} \quad \textit{utuwe}    \quad \text{break open (coconut)}
\textit{we\text{\'{e}}} \quad \textit{we\text{\^{e}}}    \quad \text{cut down}

Of these, four have two long forms: \textit{ege}, \textit{ege\text{\'{e}}}; \textit{husuwe}, \textit{husuweni}; \textit{tewe}, \textit{tewe\text{\'{e}}}i; and \textit{hine}, \textit{hineni}. The shorter of the two is the most commonly occurring, except in the case of \textit{hine}, which is only attested once in the data, while \textit{hineni} occurs very frequently.

### 2.6.2.5 COMPARISON OF VOWEL HARMONY IN NOUN AND VERB INFLECTION

In the noun inflection system, the only suffix which affects the stem vowel is \textit{-w} ‘1SG possessor’, which coalesces with a stem-final \textit{a} to become a mid-back \textit{a}' or \textit{a}/ (see 2.6.2.2.1), and causes a preceding low vowel in the noun stem to raise to mid (see 2.6.2.2.4). In addition, the presence of non-low final vowels on stems with long (vowel-final) and short (consonant-final) forms causes the low vowel of the stem to raise (see 2.6.2.2.2). The same raising process occurs when the person/number prefixes of the verb are higher than the first vowel of the verb stem, and in the presence of the transitivising suffix \textit{-i}. Thus the low vowel \textit{a}/ is always raised in the presence of a non-low affix. Whether it is raised to the front \textit{a}/ or to [+back] \textit{a}/ or \textit{a}/ is dependent on the quality of the determining vowel and the relative strength of the boundary between the two. The overriding tendency is to avoid any sequence of non-low vowel affixes preceded or followed by a low vowel stem. This avoidance of [+low] and [-low] vowels in contiguous syllables in inflected forms reflects the tendency identified above in lexical roots to contain either all [+low] or all [-low] vowels. The secondary process of assimilation to [round] and [back] is also consistent with root-internal harmonic tendencies. It seems, however, that the harmonic tendencies identified are not completely productive in the language as it is spoken today.
There are four major word classes: nouns (including pronouns and numerals), verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. Descriptive adjuncts do not form a clearly definable class, but are in most cases nominals. The classes of adverb and preposition are small, but many spatial nouns may also function prepositionally or adverbially. Such cross-category functions will be described in the appropriate sections below.

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

3.1 Nouns and Noun Inflection

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

3.1.1 Possession

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

3.1.1.1 Alienable Possession

Alienable possession is expressed according to the following formula:

\[
\text{noun stem} + \text{possessive particle } a + \text{possessor noun phrase.}
\]
For example:

(1) \( p^w e l e y a h \ a \ yo \)
parrotfish POSS 1SG
my parrotfish

(2) \( s e ? e \ a \ Pat \)
one POSS Pat
one (plate) for Pat

(3) \( e p i \ i y \ e n e y a n \ a \ u w e h \)
sago 3SG food POSS 1PL.EXC
Sago is our food.

(4) \( s e h \ a \ p a n e - n \)
3PL POSS mother-3SG
his/her mother's people

(5) \( k u p ^ w e n \ a \ e t u n \)
net POSS scad
a scad net (i.e. for catching scad)

(6) \( h e t o w \ p i h i n \ a \ yo \)
3PCL woman POSS 1SG
my women

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

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

(7) \( k o m u w a \ " r o l o k o \ i y \ ip ^ w e \ e y t ; \ ta \ u w e h \ e y t ; \ ta \)
word Loniu 3SG 3SG.say eyt POSS 1PL.EXC eyt POSS

\( h a h \ y a p \ ... \ putty \)
2PL foreigner ... putty
In the Loniu language one says eyt; ours is eyt; yours...is 'putty'.

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

(8) \( t a \ w o w \ k i t o w \)
POSS 2SG POT.SG.stay
It's yours, you keep it.

(9) \( t a \ y o \ k i s o \ i t i y o \ a l a \ ti \ k i p e l a \)
POSS 1SG POT.stand DEM first EMPH POT.SG.cool
Mine can sit here a while and cool off.
(10)  

eneya a su\textsuperscript{?}u,  
\(ta\) hetow, tomon  
food POSS 3DU POSS 3PCL tomon  
Their (two) food, their (3+), was tomon (a kind of tuber).

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

(11)  
\(top\) itiyo \(ta\) homow pihin ito \(lo\) čow  
basket DEM POSS one woman 3SG.STAT in mat  
This basket belongs to a woman who is in isolation.

(12)  
\(iy\) logow itiyen \(ta\) wow  
3SG thing DEM POSS 2SG  
Is this thing yours?

(13)  
\(iy\) amat itiyen \(iy\) \(ta\) po?o \(lo\) ke  
3SG man DEM 3SG LOC within in tree  
That man is in the forest.

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

In (11) and (12), which are possessive sentences, \textit{ta} is followed by an animate noun phrase; in (13) and (14) which are locative, \textit{ta} is followed by an inanimate noun phrase. E.V. Clark (1978) discusses this kind of relationship between possession and location, and points out the possibility that the possessive is a locative with an animate nominal, or is derived from such locative phrases. It is likely, therefore, that the Loniu possessive marker \textit{a} is derived from the older form \textit{ta}. It may be that such a derivation was influenced by the fact that a very large proportion of the inalienably possessed noun stems end in \textit{-a} (e.g. \textit{putuwa} – ‘belly’, \textit{kaka} – ‘leg, foot’, \textit{kelepa} – ‘back’, \textit{patama} – ‘father’). These forms, when possessed by a non-singular possessor or by a full noun phrase, are immediately followed by the appropriate pronoun or noun phrase: \textit{putuwa} su\textsuperscript{?}u ‘their (DU) bellies’, \textit{kaka} m\textit{wi} ‘the dog's leg’. Such inalienable possessive phrases are phonetically parallel to the alienable phrases (e.g. \textit{kaman} a \(iy\) ‘his men's house’, \textit{p\textsuperscript{2}eleyah} a \(seh\) ‘their parrotfish’), and may have provided some pressure for the deletion of the initial \textit{t} in \textit{ta}. A further element may have been the tendency in Loniu to avoid consonant clusters. As discussed in 2.1 (Syllable structure), when a phrase comes to be regarded as a phonological unit, as in \textit{min} ‘sit’ + \textit{tan} ‘down’, the consonant cluster resulting from the extremely frequent juxtaposition of the morphemes involved may be simplified by the deletion of one of the two consonants: [mitan]. Thus such possessive phrases as \textit{kaman} a \(iy\) may have been derived from \(*\textit{kaman} ta\ iy\) by analogy with the inalienable type possessive and to avoid the \textit{-n + t-} cluster.

3.1.1.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

3.1.1.2.1 STRUCTURE OF THE INALIENABLE POSSESSIVE

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

(a) Singular possessor:

1SG -\(w\)^{13}
2SG -\(m\)
3SG -\(n\)

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

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

(15) \(\text{wewe itewe } \overset{\text{\(\text{\(c\}}\)}}{-n}\text{ mango }3SG\text{ give fruit-3SG}\)

\(\text{The mango tree gives its fruit.}\)

(16) \(\text{lotiyu putuw-o kelikan}\)

\(\text{inside belly-1SG soup}\)

\(\text{My insides are churning, I am very angry.}\)

(17) \(\text{kaman iy ile ete patama iy pihin}\)

\(\text{man 3SG go AG father 3SG woman}\)

\(\text{The man goes to the woman's father.}\)

(18) \(\text{eye-m}\)

\(\text{blood-2SG}\)

\(\text{your blood}\)

(19) \(\text{melewawa amat to mat}\)

\(\text{soul man STAT die}\)

\(\text{the soul of a dead man}\)

(20) \(\text{ku a yo le\(\text{"}\) to ma?akos-\(\text{"}\)}\)

\(\text{pot POSS 1SG PRES STAT next-to-2SG}\)

\(\text{My cooking pot is next to you.}\)

(21) \(\text{iy pihin ta ma?akos-\(\text{"}\) um}\)

\(\text{3SG woman LOC next-to house}\)

\(\text{The woman is next to the house.}\)

\[^{13}\text{See 2.6.2.2.1 for a description of the phonologically conditioned variants of this suffix.}\]
Like other Oceanic languages (cf. Capell 1949; Lynch 1973), Loniu has a special construction for expressing the possession of objects to be consumed. The inalienably possessed noun stem ana is followed by the possessor; the consumable object may precede or follow the ana + possessor construction.

3.1.1.2.2 POSSESSION OF CONSUMABLE OBJECTS

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

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3.1.1.3 VARIABLE NOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(33)</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>enu</td>
<td>water, juice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tun</td>
<td>tele</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaman</td>
<td>kemeli</td>
<td>men's house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihin</td>
<td>pihine</td>
<td>woman, female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papet</td>
<td>papet/papete</td>
<td>boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kokona</td>
<td>land, village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um</td>
<td>umwe</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>tapwa</td>
<td>basket, carrying bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enum</td>
<td>enumwa</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pileq</td>
<td>pileqa</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nas</td>
<td>nesi</td>
<td>digging stick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gay</td>
<td>geye</td>
<td>hole, cave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can</td>
<td>cala</td>
<td>road, path</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kow</td>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>fence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puret</td>
<td>puriya</td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komu</td>
<td>komuwa</td>
<td>word, language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kup</td>
<td>kupye</td>
<td>basket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>niye</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwan</td>
<td>mwenu/mwenu</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(34)</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hetow</td>
<td>pihin</td>
<td>pihine-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PCL</td>
<td>woman POSS 1SG</td>
<td>female-3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my women</td>
<td></td>
<td>its female (of species)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The difference between the two in (35), although not clearly expressed in the glosses, may be the difference between 'our home area' (ko a u) and 'our holding, our land' (kohona u).

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

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

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

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

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

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

(39) hetow ne'ehehinetow to ti'i top a hetow 3PCL girl 3PCL STAT weave basket POSS 3PCL
The girls are weaving their baskets.

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

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

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

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

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

(43) tele pwelyah canoe parrotfish
canoes in a parrotfish expedition
The last example, *tele ɲesumʷan*, was clarified as *tun a seh yap* ‘canoe of the foreigners’, with a possessive of the alienable type. All other cases of possession of canoes which occur in context were of the alienable type, for example, *suʔu ah ile tun a suʔu* ‘they two jumped into their canoe(s)’.

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

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

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

**3.1.1.3.1 COMPOUNDS**

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

(45) *umʷe čimičim*

house buying
(trade) store
(46) *papete epi*
boundary  sago
boundary of a sago plantation

(47) *tele gesumwan*
canoe  smoke.fire
motor boat

(48) *m\textsuperscript{w}onu yap*
fire  foreigner
matches, lighter

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

(50) *um\textsuperscript{w}e lo?o ke peti m\textsuperscript{w}alih*
house leaf  tree for story
library

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

(51) *tun peti pele\textsuperscript{g}an*
canoe  for on.top
airplane

(52) *tun peti p\textsuperscript{w}aha\textsuperscript{c}an*
canoe  for road
car, truck

(53) *pileq peti suwe*  
(garden for yam  
yam garden

(54) *puret peti ma\textsuperscript{c}ah*  
(work for marriage  
work of arranging a marriage

The difference in meaning here is not clear.)

(55) *top to?ow*
basket  ti.plant
basket with designs

3.1.2 PRONOUNS

3.1.2.1 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The set of independent pronouns in Loniu shows a distinction of three persons and four numbers (singular, dual, paucal, plural). In addition, the non-singular first person pronouns distinguish between inclusive and exclusive. The pronouns are displayed in (56).
(56) | Person | Singular | Dual | Pauca| Plural |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 INC</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>toʔu</td>
<td>čito</td>
<td>tahah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 EXC</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>uto</td>
<td>uweh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wow</td>
<td>ow</td>
<td>etow</td>
<td>hah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iy</td>
<td>suʔu</td>
<td>hetow</td>
<td>seh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(57) | um a heʔow | hetoʔamat |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house POSS 3PCL</td>
<td>3PCL man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their house</td>
<td>the men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(58) | tun a iy | i kili mon |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>canoe POSS 3SG</td>
<td>3SG PERF return</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his canoe</td>
<td>he came back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(59) | seh a iy | se pihin |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL POSS 3SG</td>
<td>3PL woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his people</td>
<td>the women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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14 Reconstructed forms from Ross (1988).
3.1.2.2 NON-HUMAN OBJECT SUFFIX -y

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

(60) iy huti e iy iyew
3SG take and 3SG 3SG.go
She took it and left.

(61) su?u ma kala ta epi
3DU INT POT.NS.go beat sago
They are going to beat sago.

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

(63) yo itewe eneyan ile ete iy
1SG 1SG.give food 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave food to him.

(64) yo utewe-y ile ete iy
1SG 1SG.give-it 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave it to him.

(65) yo utewe petun ile ete iy
1SG 1SG.give child.3SG 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave her child to her.

(66) yo utewe iy ile ete iy
1SG 1SG.give 3SG 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave her to her.

3.1.2.3 INANIMATE OBLIQUE OBJECT PRONOUN ey

The inanimate pronoun form ey occurs in oblique object constructions such as locative, and following the prepositions peti ‘for, of, about, from’, poli ‘as far as, up to’, and ya ‘toward, through’.

(67) iy icetet ile ey
3SG 3SG.crawl 3SG.go PRO
He crawled along it.

(68) su?u to po puret peti ey
3DU STAT do work for PRO
They do the work for it, to produce it.
(69)  *suʔu to los ile ya ey*
3DU STAT fall 3SG.go through PRO
They were falling through it.

(70)  *manuwenan ile poli ey*
boundary 3SG.go as.far.as PRO
The boundary goes as far as there.

### 3.1.2.4 Reflexive and Reciprocal

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

(71)  *iy itekeni iy ile lo tas*
3SG 3SG.throw 3SG 3SG.go in sea
He threw himself into the sea./He threw him/her into the sea.

(72)  *suʔu čaʔiti suʔu*
3DU cut 3DU
They cut themselves./They cut each other./They two cut the other two.

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

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

(74)  ...
... *mah a suʔu hipalatopon e suwe a suʔu mwenen*
3DU POSS 3DU FEM.Palatopon and yam POSS 3DU straight
...taro from the Palatopon women and their own yams.

### 3.2 Numerals and Numeral Classifiers

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

\[(ma) + \text{numeral root} + \text{classifier.}\]

Paradigms for all identified classifiers are given in 3.2.3.

#### 3.2.1 The Number Prefix *ma-*

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

3.2.2 NUMERAL ROOTS

The numeral roots are given in (75).

(75)  
one  \( hV \sim sV \)  
two  \( u \)  
three  \( āulu \)  
four  \( ha \)  
five  \( lime \)  
six  \( wono \)  

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

3.2.2.1 THE ROOT FOR 'ONE'

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

3.2.2.2 THE ROOT FOR 'TWO'

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

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

Finally, the form for 'two' with the classifier -h is \( uwō \sim awō \) (see 3.2.3.2.3). The provenance of the extra syllable, \( wō \), is unexplained.
3.2.2.3 THE ROOT FOR ‘THREE’

The root for ‘three’ is *culu in most combinations, but becomes *colo when in isolation or when the -h classifier is present (see 3.2.3.2.3). Thus ma + *culu + mow gives maculumow, but ma + *culu + h gives macolo$h$.

3.2.2.4 THE ROOT FOR ‘FIVE’

This root is most commonly *lime. When the classifier is m- or mʷ- initial, however, the -me syllable of the root is deleted: ma + *lime + mʷat ➝ malemʷat; ma + *lime + mow ➝ malimow. The e of malemʷat may be due to vowel lowering in the presence of the low-vowel classifier.

3.2.2.5 COMPOUND FORMS – THE HIGHER NUMBERS

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

(76) ma + *aru + *culu + classifier ‘seven’
    ma + *aru + u + classifier ‘eight’
    ma + *aru + sV + classifier ‘nine’

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

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

(77) ma + classifier + numeral root + gon

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

(78) hakah ‘one’, makahansongon ‘ten’, makahanuŋon ‘twenty’
    hokum ‘one’, maʔeresonon ‘ten’, maʔereʔuŋon ‘twenty’

Units above ten (i.e. 11, 24, 36, and so on) are formed by stating the number for the preceding multiple of ten and adding the phrase ‘and (number)’ (the higher numbers most often contain the classifier -h – see 3.2.3.2.3).
The suffix -gat is used for hundreds. Thus ma + sV + gat —> masagat '100'; ma + u + gat —> ma'tugat '200' (see 3.2.3 for a discussion of the vowel variation in the classifier for 'two'); ma + čulu + gat —> mačulugat '300', and so on. No examples of hundreds used with classifiers are attested in the data.

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

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

3.2.3 THE CLASSIFIER FORMATIVES

The classifiers which occur with the numbers from one to nine are for the most part monosyllabic. The exceptions are -h, salaha, and pepe (see below). As was mentioned earlier, the classifiers for 'ten' and multiples of ten are longer forms of the monosyllable, or may be different morphemes entirely (see (78) above). In many cases, one form of the classifier, usually the long form, is the same as an independent noun which can be counted by that classifier. Some of these nouns are attested as having long and short forms in possessive phrases as well – see 2.6.2.2.

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

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

15 Stress does not appear to play a role in other vowel assimilation processes: the person/number prefixes on the verb are not stressed, yet they cause the sometimes stressed stem vowels to change (see 2.6.2.3); the final vowel of inflected nouns is stressed in most cases, and causes modifications in the unstressed vowel(s) of the noun stem (see 2.6.2.2).
\[(81) \quad ma + u + \textit{p\textsuperscript{w}an} \rightarrow ma\textsuperscript{?}up\textsuperscript{w}en \\
ma + aru + u + \textit{p\textsuperscript{w}an} \rightarrow ma\textsuperscript{?}aru\textsuperscript{?}up\textsuperscript{w}en\]

Compare (81) and (82):

\[(82) \quad ma + \textit{čulu} + \textit{p\textsuperscript{w}an} \rightarrow mačulup\textsuperscript{w}an \quad \text{‘three’} \\
ma + aru + \textit{čulu} + \textit{p\textsuperscript{w}an} \rightarrow ma\textsuperscript{?}aručulup\textsuperscript{w}an \quad \text{‘seven’}\]

The following sections list the classifiers, which are divided into two groups: those which combine with \(h\textit{VN}\) to form the number ‘one’ and those which combine with \(s\textit{V}\). For each classifier, the complete series from one to ten is given, as well as a statement regarding the types of objects which are attested as being counted with that classifier. A dash in the lists of numbers indicate that the form is not attested.

### 3.2.3.1 Classifiers with \(h\textit{VN}\) as the Form for ‘One’

#### 3.2.3.1.1 \(č\textit{an}/č\textit{alan}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hač\textit{an}</th>
<th></th>
<th>mawonoč\textit{an}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}uč\textit{en}</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}aručuluč\textit{en}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mačuluč\textit{an}</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}aručuluč\textit{an}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mahač\textit{an}</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}arusac\textit{an}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>malimeeč\textit{an}</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>mačalanso\textit{en}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>maso\textit{en}</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>mačalanso\textit{en}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

#### 3.2.3.1.2 \(č\textit{ow}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hoč\textit{ow}</th>
<th></th>
<th>mawonoč\textit{ow}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}uč\textit{ow}</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}aručuluč\textit{ow}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mačuluč\textit{ow}</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}aru\textsuperscript{?}uč\textit{ow}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mahač\textit{ow}</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{?}arusoč\textit{ow}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>malimeč\textit{ow}</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>maso\textit{ow}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>maso\textit{ow}</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>maso\textit{ow}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the form for ten given here does not include any form of the classifier; no higher numbers are attested for this series. This classifier is attested only with sets of wooden drums, a set consisting of approximately five or more drums of varying size. This classifier does not appear to be based on the word for drum, \textit{temey}. No word is attested for ‘a set of drums’.
The **cumway** series is used to count wrapping material or packets, and is based on the noun *cumweya* ‘wrapping, covering’.

### 3.2.3.3 **cumway**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hecumway</th>
<th></th>
<th>ma?achumway</th>
<th></th>
<th>mačulucumway</th>
<th></th>
<th>mahačumway</th>
<th></th>
<th>mačumweyansoŋon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hecumway</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>maaruculucumway</td>
<td></td>
<td>maarusecumway</td>
<td></td>
<td>mačumweyansoŋon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.4 **kah/kahan**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hakah</th>
<th></th>
<th>ma?ukeh</th>
<th></th>
<th>mačulukah</th>
<th></th>
<th>mahakah</th>
<th></th>
<th>malimekah</th>
<th></th>
<th>makahansoŋon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hakah</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>mawonokah</td>
<td></td>
<td>maaruculukah</td>
<td></td>
<td>maarusekah</td>
<td></td>
<td>makahansoŋon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 3.2.3.5 **kap/kapan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hakap</th>
<th></th>
<th>ma?ukep</th>
<th></th>
<th>mačulukap</th>
<th></th>
<th>mahakap</th>
<th></th>
<th>malimekap</th>
<th></th>
<th>makapansoŋon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hakap</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>mawonokap</td>
<td></td>
<td>maaruculukap</td>
<td></td>
<td>maarusekap</td>
<td></td>
<td>makapansoŋon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 3.2.3.6 **kew/kewan**

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>hekew</th>
<th></th>
<th>ma?akew</th>
<th></th>
<th>mačulukew</th>
<th></th>
<th>mahakew</th>
<th></th>
<th>malimekew</th>
<th></th>
<th>makewansoŋon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hekew</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>mawonokew</td>
<td></td>
<td>maaruculukew</td>
<td></td>
<td>maarusekew</td>
<td></td>
<td>makewansoŋon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(83) lehe mwí masagat to hekew  
  tooth dog 100 STAT one.string  
  There are 100 dogs' teeth on one string.

This classifier is also attested in a question:
(84) \textit{ni makewanehe} \quad (\textit{maçehe} ‘how many/much’)

fish how many strings

How many strings of fish (did you catch)?

3.2.3.1.7 \textit{ko(w)/kohonan/kö?on}

1 \textit{hoko(w)} \quad 6 \textit{mawonoko(w)}
2 \textit{ma?uko(w)} \quad 7 \textit{ma?aručuluko(w)}
3 \textit{mačuluko(w)} \quad 8 \textit{ma?aru?uko(w)}
4 \textit{mahako(w)} \quad 9 \textit{ma?arusoko(w)}
5 \textit{malimeko(w)} \quad 10 \textit{makohonansonon/mako?onsovon}

The \textit{ko(w)} series is used to count lands/villages (\textit{ko} (short form), \textit{kohonan} (inalienably possessed form)), and winds (\textit{ko}): \textit{eto ko mahako} ‘you four winds’. There is no example of the number ten co-occurring with winds, of which the Loniu name only four, so it is likely that the \textit{makohonansonon} form is used only for lands or villages. The final -w of the classifier in numbers 1–9 only surfaces in careful speech or emphatic, strongly stressed phrases, and never occurs on the words for ‘wind’ or ‘land/village’.

Numbers of this series are also attested as counting individual spears: \textit{nah hoko} ‘one spear’; \textit{jah mako?onsovon} ‘ten spears’. There is a separate series for counting spears in bundles – see 3.2.3.1.8 below.

3.2.3.1.8 \textit{ko?ot}

1 \textit{hoko?ot} \quad 6 \textit{mawonoko?ot}
2 \textit{ma?ako?ot} \quad 7 \textit{ma?aručuluko?ot}
3 \textit{mačuluko?ot} \quad 8 \textit{ma?aru?uko?ot}
4 \textit{mahako?ot} \quad 9 \textit{ma?arusoko?ot}
5 \textit{malimeko?ot} \quad 10 \textit{masonon}

This series is used to count bundles of long thin items such as spears, sugarcane, bamboo, firewood, or palm thatch. The classifier is base on the word for ‘bundle’, \textit{ko?otan}. Note that the classifier does not appear in the form for ‘ten’. However, in the counting of individual spears, the form for ‘ten’ was given as \textit{mako?onsovon} (see 3.2.3.1.7), with a classifier, \textit{ko?on}, which appears to be related to \textit{ko?otan}.

(85) \textit{jah hoko?ot} \quad one bundle of spears (in this case, ten)

3.2.3.1.9 \textit{kum/ere}

1 \textit{hokum} \quad 6 \textit{mawonokum}
2 \textit{ma?ukum} \quad 7 \textit{ma?aručulukum}
3 \textit{mačulukum} \quad 8 \textit{ma?aru?ukum}
4 \textit{mahakum} \quad 9 \textit{ma?arusokum}
5 \textit{malimekum} \quad 10 \textit{ma?eresonon} (also given: \textit{masonon})

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

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>homow</td>
<td>ma?amow/ma?umow</td>
<td>mačulumow</td>
<td>mahamow</td>
<td>malemow/malimow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.1.11 *m^wat/m^wetin*

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<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ham^wat</td>
<td>ma?um^wat</td>
<td>mačulum^wat</td>
<td>maham^wat</td>
<td>malim^wat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.1.12 *gah/pahan*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hagah</td>
<td>ma?uŋeh</td>
<td>mačuluŋah</td>
<td>mahanajah</td>
<td>malimeŋah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.1.13 *gay/ŋeyeŋ*

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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hapay</td>
<td>ma?uŋey</td>
<td>mačuluŋay</td>
<td>mahanay</td>
<td>malimeŋay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.1.14 *pan/lemin*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hapan</td>
<td>ma?apen</td>
<td>mačulupan</td>
<td>mahapan</td>
<td>malemepan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This classifier is based on the word *gah* 'fathom', and is used only to count fathoms.

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

This classifier is based on the word *gah* 'fathom', and is used only to count fathoms.

This classifier is based on the word *gah* 'fathom', and is used only to count fathoms.

This classifier is based on the word *gah* 'fathom', and is used only to count fathoms.
This classifier is used with the types of fishing net called *kupwen*, which are generally of finer mesh and used for catching the smaller fish, such as sardines.

### 3.2.3.15 *pat/patan*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>hapat</em></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ma?upet</em></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>mačulupat</em></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>mahapat</em></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>malimepat</em></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(86) a. *wow olomwi mapatančehe*  
2SG 2SG.plant how.many.stem  
How many stems did you plant?

b. *yo ulomwi ile ma?upet epwe*  
1SG 1SG.plant 3SG.go two only  
I only planted two.

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

### 3.2.3.16 *pay/peyen*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>hapay</em></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ma?apey</em></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>mačulupay</em></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>mahapay</em></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>malimepay</em></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 3.2.3.17 *pot/kahat/muhun*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>hakahat</em></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ma?apot</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>mačulupot</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>mahapot</em></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>malimepot</em></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>hōpun</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>maʔapun</em></th>
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<th><em>mačulupun</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>mahapun</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>malimepun</em></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mawonopun</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>maʔručulupun</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>maʔaruʔupun</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>maʔarusopun</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mawonoson/maʔanoson</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.19  *put/čupun*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>hōput</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>maʔaput</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>mačuluput</em></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th><em>malimeput</em></th>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.20  *pʷan/kewan*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>hapʷan</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>maʔupʷen</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>mačulupʷan</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>mahapʷan</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>malimepʷan</em></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mawonopʷan</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>maʔaručulupʷan</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>maʔaruʔupʷen</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>maʔarusapʷan</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>makewonoson</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.21  OTHER POSSIBLE CLASSIFIERS

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

3.2.3.2.1 ay/en

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>saʔay</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>mawonoʔay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maweʔey</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>maʔaručuluʔay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mačuluʔay</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>maʔaruweʔey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mahaʔay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>maʔarusaʔay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>malimeʔay</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>maʔensoŋon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.2.2 e/en

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>seʔe</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>mawoneʔe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maweʔe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>maʔaručuluʔe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mačuluʔe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>maʔaruʔuʔe/maʔaruweʔe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mahaʔe</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>maʔaruseʔe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>malimeʔe</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>maʔensoŋon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.2.3 h

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sih</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>mawonoḥ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maʔawoh/maʔuwoh</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>maʔaručoloh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mačoloh</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>maʔaruʔuwoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mahah</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>maʔarushih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>malimeh</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>masoŋon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.2.4 hat/tapʷan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sahat</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>mawonoḥat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maʔuhet/mawehet</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>maʔaručuluhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mačuluhat</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>maʔaruʔuhet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mahahat</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>maʔarushahat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>malimehat</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>matapʷansoŋon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The hat series is used to count woven fibre objects, such as mats, baskets, and carrying bags. Note the form tap\'wan in the number ten, which is the same as the form for ‘3SG’s basket’, tapwa-n. The higher numbers in this series are used to count baskets or bags of food used for gift exchanges and payments required by custom, such as dowries and bride price. Thus it is possible to say tap\'wa suwe mawonogon (basket yam sixty) ‘sixty bags/baskets of yams’, or suwe matap\'wanwonogon (yam basket-sixty).

3.2.3.2.5 hi/pi/muhun

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sipi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mawihj</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ma'uluhi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>9 ma'arusipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10 mamuhunsogon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.2.6 (w)em/lemin

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sem</td>
<td>6 mawonwem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ma?uwem</td>
<td>7 ma?aru'uluwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ma'uluwem</td>
<td>8 ma?aru'uwem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mahawem</td>
<td>9 ma?arusem/ma?arsewem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>malimewem</td>
<td>10 maleminsogon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.2.7 wey/yey/ey/patan

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sey</td>
<td>6 mawoneyey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ma?awaye/ma?uwey</td>
<td>7 ma?aru'uluwey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ma'uluwey</td>
<td>8 ma?aru'uwey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mahayey</td>
<td>9 ma?arusey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>malimeye</td>
<td>10 mapatansogon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.2.8 OTHER sV CLASSIFIERS

The remainder of the classifiers are slightly irregular, or are attested only in the higher number.
This series is used as a counter for certain kinds of fish, including scad and sea bream. It is possible, given the method of counting with salaha, that it may refer to pairs or halves. There is a verb sala ‘split, cut open’, which may be related.

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

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

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

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

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

(87) to?u kala tas huvan, tas mese?en
1DU.INC POT.NS.go sea good sea clean
Let's go to some good water, clean water.

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

(89) seh ni la?elewen seh ta lo tas
3PL fish long 3PL LOC in sea
The long fish (which) are in the sea.

(90) la?elewe su?u musih epwe
long 3DU same only
They are the same length.

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

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

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

(91) Short form Long form Gloss
oket okoten black
mata metiyen big
opow opowan yellow
tohu tohuwan swollen
we?is we?ison soft, comfortable

(92) law mata le?i to nimo
net big PRES STAT hand.1SG
the big net (which) is in my hands

---

16 I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.
(93)  sih  pwili  metiyen
one mountain big
a big mountain

(94)  niw  oket
coconut  black
a black or ripe coconut

(95)  wow  ma'am  okoten
2SG  skin.2SG  black
You have black skin.

(96)  iy  puwen  tohu
3SG  testicle.3SG  swollen
His testicles are swollen.

(97)  wow  puwem  tohuwan
2SG  testicle.2SG  swollen
Your testicles are swollen.

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

(98)  Verb stem  Derived form  Example
tewe  give  teweyan  pataman teweyan
natural father
geti  hurt  getiyan  kolu getiyan
I have a sore throat
qatah  be hot  qatahan  an qatahan
hot water, tea
me\'is  be cooked  me\'isan  pow me\'isan
cooked pork

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

(99)  Verb stem  Example with derived form
huti  sing  iy pasa  hutiya  we\'i  p\'we
3SG  know  singing  song  NEG
He doesn't know how to sing a song.
he  wash  iy pasa  heya  epi  p\'we
3SG  know  washing  sago  NEG
She doesn't know how to wash sago.

suwah  fry  iy pasa  suwaha  epi  p\'we
3SG  know  frying  sago  NEG
She doesn't know how to fry sago.

If the object of the nominalised form is omitted, the form is always -n final:
While these forms are similar in construction to the first group described, it is likely that the source of the -n in this case is the POC nominalising suffix *(a)na.17

3.3.2 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS DERIVED FROM VERBS BY REDUPLICATION

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

(101) Verb stem          Reduplicated form
     takoluh - takulihi  an kokoluh  water enchanted
                      enchanted water
     suwah               epi susuwah  sago fried
                      fried sago
     čuhe                epi čułučuh    sago wrapped
                      baked sago
     haq                 patamaŋ haqahaŋ father adoptive
                      adoptive father

3.3.3 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS WHICH ALSO FUNCTION AS ADVERBS

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

(102) a. iy ma kile logow muwan
       3SG INT POT.SG.go thing bad
       He is turning into a bad thing.

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

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

17 Again, I owe the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.
b. yo unoh \textit{nap\textsuperscript{\text{wanan}}} \\
1SG 1SG.fear big \\
I was very frightened.

(104) a. \textit{huyan, p\textsuperscript{\text{waha\c{c}an}} huyan} \\
good road good \\
It is good, the road is good.

b. su\?u to yo\?ose \textit{huyan} \\
3DU STAT walk good \\
They get along well.

(105) a. \textit{topu eto kap\textsuperscript{\text{wa}} yo log\textsuperscript{\text{ow}} m\textsuperscript{\text{welehey}}} \\
taboo 2PCL POT.NS.think 1SG thing worthless \\
You must not think I am a worthless thing.

b. \textit{iy ime lo um m\textsuperscript{\text{welehey}} ep\textsuperscript{\text{we}}} \\
3SG 3SG.come in house nothing only \\
He came home emptyhanded.

3.3.4 OTHER DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS

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

(106) \textit{wow ta p\textsuperscript{\text{wi\c{c}ikaka}} menuway naperiyey} \\
2SG LOC talon eagle powerful \\
You are in the talons of the powerful eagle.

(107) \textit{\text{can} pop\textsuperscript{\text{walah}}} \\
road forked \\
a forked road

3.4 VERBS AND VERB INFLECTION

3.4.1 TYPES OF VERBS

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

3.4.1.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs are defined as those which may be immediately followed by a direct object. Most transitive verbs end in one of the three suffixes \textit{-ani, -eni, or -i} (see 3.8.3.4). These suffixes appear to be transitivisers, but their presence on a transitive verb is not obligatory. Many transitive verbs have alternate forms such that one form contains one of the three suffixes and the other does not (see 3.4.1.3), for example, \textit{\=cim ~ c\text{\=i}mani} ‘buy, trade, barter’; \textit{tuwe ~ tuwani} ‘cook, boil’; \textit{hu ~ huti} ‘take, hold in hands; sing’; \textit{ha\=g ~ h\text{\=a}geni}
‘feed’. However, in only a few cases does the absence of the suffix indicate intransitivity (e.g. emot ‘vomit’, emweteni ‘spit out, vomit up’). Most often, both forms are used transitively: either directly followed by a pronominal or full noun phrase object; with the object deleted but understood from context; or with the object moved to the front of the sentence. It appears, therefore, that the transitivising function of the three suffixes is no longer as productive as it may once have been.

3.4.1.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

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

3.4.1.3 VERBS WITH LONG AND SHORT FORMS

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(108)</th>
<th>Short form (intransitive)</th>
<th>Long form (transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ĉelu</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>ĉeluweni stand (NP) up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emot</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>emweteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e?e</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>e?eyani make afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilow</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>heloweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw</td>
<td>call out (to make</td>
<td>iwani pull, drag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>someone come)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>pihi wash (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>tanesi mourn for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulu</td>
<td>be covered with water</td>
<td>uluweni lower (into water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woh</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>wihin blow on (to move)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaw</td>
<td>go (off)</td>
<td>yaweseni parade (NP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four of the remaining 46 verbs in this group are not attested with stated direct objects in the short forms, but a direct object does seem to be implied, and the translations are the same for both forms.
The remaining 42 verbs in this group are transitive in both the long and short forms; both forms are attested as being immediately followed by a direct object. While most cases show no clear difference between the two (110a-b below), there are a few examples in which the direct object following the short form is non-specific (111a)–(112a). However, as the long form may also be followed by a non-specific direct object (112b), it is not clear that such a distinction can be made between the two. (For a list of all attested verbs with both long and short forms, see Appendix H; see also 3.8.3.4 for further discussion of the transitive suffixes.)

(110) a. yo to yethe ?um a yo
   lSG STAT thatch house POSS lSG
   I am thatching my house.

   b. iy yetahani ?um a iy kali p\textsuperscript{w}e e p\textsuperscript{w}e
   3SG thatch house POSS 3SG PERF NEG or not
   Has he finished thatching his house or not?

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

   b. kohosi toh a etow kip\textsuperscript{wič}
   POT.NS.suck sugarcane POSS 2PCL POT.SG.be.finished
   Finish sucking your sugarcane.

(112) a. yo ma kutiy\textsuperscript{e} m\textsuperscript{w}alih. e
   lSG INT POT.SG.tell story now
   I want to tell a story now.

   b. yo kutiy\textsuperscript{ani} čah
   lSG POT.SG.tell what
   What (story) shall I tell?

3.4.1.4 STATIVE/LOCATIVE VERBS

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

3.4.2 VERB CLASSES

Verbs are divided into two morphological classes, which are distinguished by type of prefix. Class I verbs take the prefix e- for all second person singular forms, and as the plural
marker in the potential aspect (113); Class II verbs take the prefix a- for all second person singular forms and for the potential plural (114).

(113) Class I stem me 'come'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/past ('come/came')</th>
<th>Potential ('may come')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG i + me ~ u + me</td>
<td>k + i + me ~ k + u + me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG e + me</td>
<td>e + me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG i + me</td>
<td>k + i + me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS me</td>
<td>k + e + me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(114) Class II stem la 'go'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/past ('go/went')</th>
<th>Potential ('may go')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG i + le ~ u + le</td>
<td>k + i + le ~ k + u + le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG a + la</td>
<td>a + la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG i + le</td>
<td>k + i + le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS la</td>
<td>k + a + la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.3 VERB INFLECTION

3.4.3.1 PERSON/NUMBER

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

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

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

3.4.3.2 TENSE/ASPECT

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

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

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

---

18 See 2.6.2.3.4 for a discussion of the /i/ ~ /u/ variation in the first and third person singular prefixes.
19 See 2.6.2.3.1 for a discussion of the raising of /a/ to /e/ in the verb stem.
however, non-singular person is distinguished by the presence of the prefix e- or a- (or one of the possible alternants – see 2.6.2.3).

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

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

3.5 ADVERBIALS

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

3.5.1 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

The temporal adverbs are listed in (115).

(115)  
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{hano} & \sim \text{heno} & \text{before} \\
    \text{mpropo} & \sim \text{mpropo} & \text{now, today} \\
    \text{heyah} & & \text{today} \\
    \text{mahu} & & \text{tomorrow} \\
    \text{pinehe} & & \text{yesterday} \\
    \text{ala} & & \text{first, meanwhile} \\
    \text{mwi?in} & & \text{later, after}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(116)  
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{seh la po puret ile} & \sim \text{mwekew ete seh yap heno} & \text{3PL go do work 3SG.go overseas AG 3PL foreigner before} \\
    \text{They went to work overseas for the foreigners before.}
\end{align*}
\]

(117)  
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{mpropo yo ma kutiyani mwalih} & \text{now 1SG INT POT.SG.tell story} & \text{Now I want to tell a story.}
\end{align*}
\]

(118)  
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{cuto ma kenen na heyah kilo puret peti epi} & \text{1PCL.INC INT POT.NS.talk today POT.SG.go work for sago} & \text{We want to talk today about the work of producing sago.}
\end{align*}
\]
(119) seh ma kene mahu
3PL INT POT.NS.come tomorrow
They want to come tomorrow.

(120) yo ume pinehe
1SG 1SG.come yesterday
I arrived yesterday.

(121) mwiiin ya yo kumu?un
later FUT 1SG POT.SG.be.hungry
I'll be hungry later.

(122) to?u koto le?e erene?i puret a su?u ala
1DU.INC POT.NS.STAT see manner work POSS 3DU first
First let's watch how they work.

(123) uweh le?i to ta?i tenih prop ile ey
1PL.EXC PRES STAT catch sardine now 3SG.go PRO
We catch sardines with it now.

There are also many temporal phrases, such as lo ag ‘during the day’; lo peg ‘at night’; ag iyew ‘the next day’ (lit. ‘day goes’), which function adverbially. A very common phrase is sih peti pe?esih ‘one time after another, time after time, over and over again’ (see 3.2.3.2.8.2 for a discussion of the number classifier pe?e). These phrases normally occur initially or finally in a clause.

3.5.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

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

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

(125) koto ti noh
POT.NS.STAT EMPH away
Stay well away!

(126) eme hoti pelet kile noh
2SG.come 2SG.take plate POT.SG.go away
Come take the plates away.

(127) iy ito tan
3SG 3SG.STAT down.below
He stayed down below.
When used as an adverb, pa?oh may occur clause-initially or finally, and is attested once between the subject and verb.

(128)  
\[ \text{su?u la pa?oh} \]  
3DU go nearby  
They went nearby.

(129)  
\[ \text{pa?oh o?on iy petot a iy pa?oh ma kip\text{\v{w}i}c} \]  
near O\text{\v{on}} 3SG strength POSS 3SG near INT POT.SG.finish  
O\text{\v{on}}'s strength was nearly finished.

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

(130)  
\[ \text{to?u keyen itiyo ala to?u kohopag} \]  
1DU.INC POT.NS.sit here first 1DU.INC POT.NS.rest  
Let's sit here first and rest.

(131)  
\[ \text{pun a wow itiyo} \]  
pepper.leaf POSS 2SG here  
Here is your pepper leaf.

(132)  
\[ \text{itiyen wow he} \]  
there 2SG who  
You there, who are you?

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

(133)  
\[ \text{paton ičog ime tuwen} \]  
grandmother.3SG 3SG.arrive 3SG.come outside  
Her grandmother came outside.

(134)  
\[ \text{iy ki?i la eleven} \]  
3SG PERF go far  
He went far.

(135)  
\[ \text{čihi logow ta lotiyen} \]  
which thing LOC inside  
What things are inside?

3.5.3 MANNER ADVERBS

The only manner adverbs which are not attested as occurring with any other function are me?iyen 'quickly' and lap\text{\v{w}}e 'unsuccessfully'.

(136)  
\[ \text{eme me?iyen} \]  
2SG.come quickly  
Come quickly!

(137)  
\[ \text{iy iw e iy iw lap\text{\v{w}}e} \]  
3SG call and 3SG call unsuccessfully  
He called and called and got no response.
Other manner adverbials are nouns which may function adverbially, such as *huyan* ‘good, well’, *muwan* ‘bad(ly)’, *piton* ‘strong(ly)’, *tuwenan* ‘truth, truly’.

(138) *yo upp*wey *muwan e yo ma kup*wey *puliy*e
1SG 1SG.say.it badly and 1SG INT POT.SG.say.it again
I said it wrong and I want to say it again.

(139) *iy a to takemeyam piton*
3SG still STAT moan strongly
She is still moaning loudly.

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

### 3.5.4 INTENSIFIERS

The intensifiers are *tasih* ‘very’, *ep*we ‘only, just’, *e* ‘right away’, *mwenen* ‘directly, exactly’, and *puliy* ‘also, again’. These always follow the word, phrase or clause they modify. The form *ti*, which may occur preceding nouns, verbs, or clauses, indicates emphasis, and is discussed in 4.2.4 and 5.1.1.3.5.

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

(142) *su?u la elewen tasih*
3DU go far very
They went very far (away).

(143) *iy ma kilele ep*we ke?epow iy iwoh ime*
3SG INT POT.SG.look only bird 3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.come
Just as she looked, the bird flew up to her.

(144) *pah ep*we le?i to e*te yo*
3DU go far very
I have only the spears.

(145) *ow ketekeni kile lo ke ep*we*
2DU POT.NS.throw POT.SG.go in tree only
Throw it away only in the forest.

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

(147) *su?u la m*wenen ile *nrokomata me?iyen ep*we*
3DU go directly 3SG.go Ndrokomata quickly only
They went very quickly directly to Ndrokomata.
3.6 PREPOSITIONS

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

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

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

Finally, the form *pa?oh* ‘near, nearby’ is attested with a prepositional function in a few instances (3.6.6).

3.6.1 *peti*

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

(148) yo *peti* kō *ñoloko m̃enen*  
1SG from land Loniu directly  
I am from Loniu village itself.

(149) *m̃alih itiyo peti* ete homow pihin *peti* pu?uci?ey  
story DEM about AG one woman from Pu?uci?ey  
This story is about a woman from Pu?uci?ey.

(150) *lotiye pileg peti* ete hetow loʔo ke  
inside garden of AG 3PCL leaf tree  
Inside their garden, there were leaves.

(151) *seh* to *tay peti putuwa seh*...  
3PL STAT beat.it for belly 3PL  
They beat (make) it for their food...

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

(153) *a.g ñropo fepueri a.g peti* ey maʔuŋon e uwoh  
day today February day of PRO twenty and two  
Today is February 22.

(154) *iy pihin a.g peti* ŋan ito sīŋ iy ile  
3SG woman day when sun 3SG.STAT shine 3SG 3SG.go
On a day when the sun was shining, the woman went into the forest.

He came back nearby.

and when the celebration was finishing up...

They piled it together and (it was) for Lepeyam's canoe.

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

My area for catching parrotfish goes as far as there.

I go as far as Lolacu.

They come as far as that spear.

It went from there all the way to the beach.

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

My area for catching parrotfish goes as far as there.

I go as far as Lolacu.

They come as far as that spear.

It went from there all the way to the beach.

The preposition *ya* 'toward, through' always occurs following *la* 'go' or *me* 'come' and preceding a locative noun phrase.
They came through the area between Ndrilow and Hawei.

They ran away in this direction.

They fell through it.

Which way can I go to get away?

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

Put the mullet into the pot.

Their two children came to be with them.

She became the trunk and her child became a sprout beside her.

I am right behind you.

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

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

(172)  
\[
\text{menuway iy ito woh } \text{*pa?oh* p\textsuperscript{w}ahale\textsuperscript{γ}} \\
\text{eagle 3SG 3SG.STAT fly near beach} \\
The eagle would fly close to the beach.
\]

(173)  
\[
\text{ow le?i to } \text{*pa?oh* ete yo ep\textsuperscript{w}e} \\
\text{2DU PRES STAT near AG 1SG only} \\
You two are right near me.
\]

3.7 CONJUNCTIONS

The coordinating conjunctions are *e* ‘and, or, but’; (*hepe*) ep\textsuperscript{w}e ‘but’; *ma* ‘and, (together) with’. In addition, the form *o* ‘or’, borrowed from Tok Pisin *o* ‘or’, is used occasionally. These forms are discussed and exemplified in 7.2 (Coordination).

3.8 DERIVATION

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

3.8.1 REDUPLICATION

3.8.1.1 FORM

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

(174)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Base} & \text{Gloss} & \text{Derived form} & \text{Gloss} \\
\text{c\textit{im}} & \text{buy} & \text{c\textit{im}i\textit{cim}} & \text{buying} \\
\text{ha\textit{ŋ}} & \text{feed} & \text{ha\textit{ŋ}a\textit{ŋ}} & \text{adoptive} \\
\text{n\textit{oh}} & \text{to fear} & \text{n\textit{oh}on\textit{oh}} & \text{fear (N)}
\end{array}
\]

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

(175)  
\[
\text{iw} \quad \text{call} \quad \text{iwi?iw} \quad \text{calling}
\]

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

(176)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{kah} & \text{hunt for} & \text{kebek\textit{ah}} & \text{hunt} \\
\text{sah} & \text{carve (TR)} & \text{sehisah} & \text{carve (INTR)} \\
\text{m\textsuperscript{w}at} & \text{snake} & \text{motom\textsuperscript{w}at/motem\textsuperscript{w}at} & \text{eel}
\end{array}
\]

It is possible that the unpredictable epenthetic vowel was originally part of the stem, and only surfaces when the stem is reduplicated. The raised vowel of the first syllable could then be explained by the overall tendency in the language to raise low stem vowels in the presence of
high-vowel affixes or within the same morpheme, and cases such as those in (176) would be parallel to the case of the six noun stems which vary between a monosyllabic low-vowel short form and a disyllabic mid-vowel long form – see 2.6.2.2.2.

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

(177)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>če?et</td>
<td>crawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahun</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohu</td>
<td>swollen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piliŋ</td>
<td>wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuwah</td>
<td>chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>če?et</td>
<td>crawl (DUR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamahun</td>
<td>very new; infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totohun</td>
<td>promontory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piliŋ</td>
<td>waiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutuah</td>
<td>chew (DUR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(178)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čupu</td>
<td>piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heluŋ(i)</td>
<td>cover up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>̣gesu</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hutuŋani</td>
<td>pile up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čupučupun</td>
<td>lots of pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heluheluŋ</td>
<td>cloak, cover-all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>̣gesụgesun</td>
<td>smoky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hutuhutuŋ</td>
<td>bunch, group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8.1.2 FUNCTION

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

(179)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lemi</td>
<td>root hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poto</td>
<td>thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čupat</td>
<td>broken coral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemilemin</td>
<td>lots of root hairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemilam</td>
<td>fur, fuzz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potopoton</td>
<td>lots of thorns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čučupat</td>
<td>lots of broken coral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(180)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mahun</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaman</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamahun</td>
<td>very new; infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamakaman</td>
<td>very sweet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(181)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pukute</td>
<td>do repeatedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuwah</td>
<td>chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukupukute</td>
<td>do repeatedly for a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutuah</td>
<td>chew (DUR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(182)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yan</td>
<td>eat (TR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hun</td>
<td>awaken (TR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeneyan</td>
<td>eat (INTR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunuhun</td>
<td>awaken (INTR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(183)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piligani</td>
<td>wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawi</td>
<td>ladle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luwe</td>
<td>lose, drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pililiŋ</td>
<td>waiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakaw</td>
<td>ladle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lulule</td>
<td>line for lowering sail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(184)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tohu</td>
<td>swollen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muči</td>
<td>betel nut husk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo?uwan</td>
<td>shade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʷi?in</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totohun</td>
<td>promontory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mučimučin</td>
<td>very small betel nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoyo?u</td>
<td>cloudy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʷimʷi?in</td>
<td>last-born child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.8.2 COMPOUNDING

3.8.2.1 NOUN + NOUN

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

(185) ĉote 'hip' + kaka 'foot'  ĉotekaka  heel
     pala 'head' + kaka  palakaka  toe
     peʔe 'handle' + kaka  peʔekaka  shin
     poʔo 'within' + kaka  poʔokaka  sole
     poʔo 'within' + nimə 'hand'  poʔonime  palm
     pala 'head' + nimə 'arm'  palanime  fist
     poʔo 'within' + mata 'eye'  poʔomata  eyeball
     pusu '??' + mata 'eye'  pusumata  eyebrow
     paʔaha 'under' + keheya 'shoulder'  paʔahakeheya  underarm
     mata 'eye' + ɡan 'sun'  matan  in the sun
     pʷaha 'mouth' + leq 'beach'  pʷahaleq  beach
     pʷaha 'mouth' + ćan 'road'  pʷahacan  road
     pala 'head' + pow 'pig'  palapow  k.o. fish
     puwe 'seed, fruit' + yap 'foreigner'  puwe yap  beads
     pata 'trunk' + amat 'man'  pataʔamat  old man
     pata 'trunk' + niw 'coconut'  pataniw  k.o. fish
     pele 'in area of' + ɡan 'sun'  peleɡan  up on top; in the house

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

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

(186) ɲane 'mother' + ʍat 'snake'  ɲanemʷat  k.o. insect
     ĉuw 'k.o. fish' + mʷekew 'deep-sea'  ɕuwemʷekew  k.o. fish
     ɕili 'sprout' + mata 'eye' + ni 'fish'  ɕilimatani  money
     ɕah 'something' + ɬo 'in' + ke 'tree'  ɕaloke  placename
     susu 'breast' + yelaw '??'  susuyelaw  rainbow
     ke 'tree' + peleʔy 'sail'  kepeley  mast
     lah 'stingray' + an 'water'  leheʔan  k.o. ray
     pew 'shark' + an 'water'  pewiʔan  k.o. shark
3.8.2.2 COMPOUNDS BASED ON VERBS

The verbs which most often combine with other roots to form new verbs are \( p^\text{wa} \) ‘say’; \( p^\text{o} \) ‘do, make’; and \( t^\text{a} \) ‘beat; make; catch’.\(^{20}\) These always precede the second root in compound verbs. The second element in (187) has not been defined separately except when indicated.

(187)  \[
\begin{align*}
  p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{gununun ‘??’} & p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{asowé ‘??’} & p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{čeleyani ‘??’} \\
  p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{saw ‘??’} & p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{čeleyani ‘??’} & p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{čo?oya ‘revenge’} \\
  p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{kát?ani ‘??’} & p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{saw ‘??’} & p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} & + \text{kát?ani ‘??’} \\
  p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} & + \text{hutu?ani ‘??’} & p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} & + \text{kutumwani ‘??’} & p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} & + \text{pičey ‘squeeze??’} \\
  p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} & + \text{peluwani ‘??’} & p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} & + \text{pičey ‘squeeze??’} & p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} & + \text{peluwani ‘??’} \\
  p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} & + \text{mana ‘white cowrie’} & p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} & + \text{kutu? ‘signal’} & p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} & + \text{keke?e ‘??’} \\
  p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} & + \text{sal? ‘split’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\( p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} \) whisper  
\( p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} \) name, tell origin  
\( p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} \) explain  
\( p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} \) joke; flatter  
\( p^\text{wa} \text{‘say’} \) talk back to  
\( p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} \) straighten, pack up  
\( p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} \) make into a heap  
\( p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} \) bring together in one place  
\( p^\text{o} \text{‘do’} \) squeeze with hands,  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) squeeze in cloth  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) turn over; turn around; change (mind)  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) dance (men)  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) dig with adze  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) make signal  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) tickle  
\( p^\text{ta} \text{‘make’} \) split

The verb \( l^\text{e?e} \) ‘see’ combines with the formative \( čeleyani \) (cf. \( p^\text{wa}čeleyani \) in (187)): \( l^\text{e?e}čeleyani \) ‘examine, consider’. No other verbs are attested as forming compound verbs.

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

(188)  \[
\begin{align*}
  p^\text{ala}č?etay ‘bridge’ & (p^\text{a} ‘head’ + č?et ‘crawl’ + ay ‘nominal suffix’) \\
  h^\text{ita}p^\text{o} ‘servant’ & (hi ‘feminine marker’ + ta ‘CONT’ + p^\text{o} ‘do’) \\
\end{align*}
\]

3.8.3 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

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

3.8.3.1 THE FEMININE MARKER \( h^\text{i} \)

The form \( h^\text{i} \) may precede any noun referring to humans, specifying that the human referent is female; it is also the first syllable of all Loniu female names.

---

\(^{20}\) Ta may be historically related to PAN *tawu ‘man, person’; all verbs involving \( t^\text{a} \) normally also involve human actors. Capell (1976c:561) cites the form \( t^\text{au} \)- as a human agent prefix in Wedau.
This form occurs in the words *pihin* ‘woman, female’ and *(ne)ehin* ‘girl’; the remaining portion of these words is unanalysable.

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

### 3.8.3.2 THE FORMATIVE *na*

Many kin terms have as the initial syllable the form *na*, which is not always reconstructible as part of the original form – for example, PAN *tama* ‘father’, Loniu *natama* ‘father’; PAN *tjumpu* ‘ancestor’, Loniu *natupu* ‘grandfather’. In one case, *papulu* ‘spouse’, the word was also used without *na*:- *pulu* ‘spouse’.

### 3.8.3.3 THE FORMATIVE *ka*

Many nouns have *ka* as the initial syllable. Wurm and Wilson (1975) cite *ka* as a noun marker in PAN. Examples of nouns containing initial *ka*, for which separate meanings are available for the second element of the noun, are given in (191). Further examples, for which such meanings have not been determined, can be found in the lexicon.
Most transitive verbs end in one of the three suffixes -i, -ani, or -eni, which are discussed in 2.6.2.4 and 3.4.1.3. In many cases, a single verb root can occur with more than one of the three, with no apparent change in meaning. In addition, in the case of many transitive verb roots which have alternate non-suffixed and suffixed forms (see (193)), either form may be used both when the direct object is stated and when it has been moved or deleted. Thus the suffixes, while clearly related to transitivity, appear to be less productive than they may have been at an earlier period in the language. Comparatists in Austronesian languages have reconstructed a transitiviser of which at least the -i portion of the Loniu suffixes is clearly a reflex: PAN *-i, POC *-(C)i.21 There are, in fact, ten identified cases where the addition of a suffix changes a verb root from intransitive to transitive (192). The additional elements in some of the transitive forms are probably cases of stem-final syllable revival in the presence of the suffix;22 these elements and the vowel variations exhibited by some forms are discussed in 2.6.2.4.

(192) ċelu stand ċeluweni stand (NP) up
emot vomit emweteni spit up, vomit out
e?e be afraid eyenani make afraid
hilow run heloweni, helowani drive
iw call out (to make someone come) iwni pull, drag
jnu bathe pihi wash (NP)
taq cry tagesi mourn for
ulu be covered in water uluweni, uluwani lower into the water
woh fly wihi blow on (to move)
yaw go (off) yaweseni, yawesani parade (NP)

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

(193) kun ~ kuni carry suspended from head
čan ~ čani cut, clear
hus ~ husi suck, chew
suwah ~ suwehi fry (sago)
as ~ asi scratch
haq ~ haqeni feed
temene ~ temeneni ask
pukute ~ pukuteni ~ pukutani do repeatedly; bewitch
sulupi ~ sulupeni light (a fire)
emene ~ emeneni ~ emenani spy on
opohe ~ opohani think (of); count
tapeiye ~ tapeiyanini pull along the ground
piliq ~ pilipani wait for
čemeni ~ čemenani speak/be witness for
čup ~ čupani help

---

21 Reconstructed forms are from Wurm and Wilson (1975:223).
22 As is mentioned elsewhere in the text, Loniu is among those Austronesian languages in which final consonants, and in many cases final syllables, have been lost.
3.8.3.5 THE NOMINALISING SUFFIX -(y)a

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

(194) has ~ hase’i          plant                      hasa? a          planting
ćan ~ ćani          clear                      ćana          clearing
ćun ~ ċulum wi          burn                      ċulum wi a          burning
he          wash                      heya          washing
potowe          hold                      potoweya          holding
emot          vomit                      emweta          vomit
so          dig                      soya          digging
tewe          give                      teweya          giving

3.8.3.6 THE VERBAL FORMATIVE ya-

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

(195) yahiti          crumble
yaka?an(i)          hide
yakulumu wani          make a fist or packet
yalesani          wring or squeeze with hands
yalawi          steer canoe
yanohi          mend (fishing nets)
yano?oh          spit
yapayapay          swim on surface (?)
yarehena          keep in hiding
yas a          sharpen
yatahania          thatch (a roof)
yaweseni          parade

3.8.3.7 THE NOUN FORMATIVE poke

Several body parts are formed with poke. The few body parts which are not inalienably possessed comprise the majority of the members, with poke?enime ‘finger’ the only inalienably possessed poke form – not surprising, since nime ‘hand, arm’ is inalienably possessed. However, pokemata ‘thumb’ is alienably possessed, which is surprising if the second element, mata, is ‘eye’. No meaning can be assigned to poke alone or to the second element, except where indicated.
(196)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pokeʔi</td>
<td>little finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokeʔikan</td>
<td>ankle bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokeʔelokoluč</td>
<td>joint (cf. kolučunime 'elbow' and kolučukaka 'leg joint')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokemata</td>
<td>thumb (mata 'eye')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokeʔenime</td>
<td>finger (nime 'hand')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a form composed of poke and tak ‘sinker, weight’: poke tak ‘at the bottom of the net (where the sinkers are)’.
CHAPTER 4
THE NOUN PHRASE

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

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

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

4.1 UNMODIFIED NOUN AS NOUN PHRASE

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

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

(3) hoti ḗanah
    2SG.take door
    Open the door.

(4) kihi ihe
    firewood where
    Where is the firewood?

(5) lawat iye ey
    possum 3SG.be.on PRO
    There was a possum on it.

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

4.2 DETERMINER IN NOUN PHRASE

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

(a) personal pronouns used as definite article, indicators of non-singular number, and/or person;
(b) quantifiers, including any of the the set of words meaning ‘one’ (see 3.2 (Numerals and numerical classifiers)), as well as the small group of less specific quantifiers such as peti ‘diminutive’, hepe ‘a bit (of), a little’ and hayah ‘some, a few’. The latter two may well be forms of the number ‘one’, although in neither case are there any higher numbers attested with the same classifier (which, based on the other -h- initial forms for ‘one’, would be -pe and -yah):

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

4.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUN AS DETERMINER

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

(6) seh pihin seh čani uweh kaman uweh weče ake
3PL woman 3PL clear 1PL.EXC man 1PL.EXC cut.down tree
The women clear, we men cut down the trees.

(7) seh patama uweh cf. patama uto
3PL father 1PL.EXC father 1PCL.EXC
our fathers our father

(8) hetow tun law kili to ey pwe itiyrn qa?a hetow
tele ulin
canoe net PERF STAT PRO NEG DEM name 3PCL
canoe lead/point??
The canoes without nets in them are called lead/point canoes.

(9) umwé seh netukan
cf. umwé netukan
house 3PL bird
(the) birds’ nest(s)

(10) iy pihin iy huti kawa
3SG woman 3SG take basket
The woman takes the basket.

(11) wow ke le?i to itiyó
2SG tree PRES STAT DEM
You wood, you remain here.

(12) etow ko oket etow kogoh
2PCL wind black 2PCL POT.NS.blow
You black winds, you blow.
4.2.2 QUANTIFIER AS DETERMINER

The quantifier type determiner may take one of two forms: the number ‘one’, which has a large number of variants dependent on the classification of the head noun (see 3.2), or one of the less specific quantifiers hepe ‘a bit (of), a little’; hayah ‘some, a few’; or petic (~ petu) ‘diminutive’. The occurrence of the number ‘one’ preceding the head noun usually indicates that the referent is non-specific, although this is not always the case (see (17)–(19) below). Numbers used for counting normally follow the head noun.

(13) homow pihin ta pelegan
    one woman LOC on.top
    There is a woman in the house.

(14) sey ke eleven kili to ey pwe
    one tree long PERF STAT PRO NEG
    There was no tall tree on it.

(15) wow ta yan čah sii puwe pun
    2SG CONT eat what one fruit betel.pepper
    What are you eating? A betel pepper.

(16) seh to?onani homow tupunah
    3PL send one boy
    They sent a boy.

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

(17) čow a yo itiyan ow kohoti...
    mat POSS 1SG DEM 2DU POT.NS.take
    suʔu huti sahat čow a suʔu
    3DU take one mat POSS 3DU
    Here is my mat, take it...They (two) took their mat.

(18) iy upiweni teliki ... seh luwe sii teliki e
    3SG tug rope ... 3PL let.go one rope EMPH
    She tugged on the rope...they let the rope go.

(19) iy itewe hakahat mwan ito tan
    3SG 3SG.put one fire 3SG.STAT down
    She put the fire down, she left the fire.

The quantifier hepe ‘a bit (of), a little’ usually precedes the noun (20)–(22); when it follows, it functions as a descriptive adjunct meaning ‘small’ rather than as a quantifier (23). In addition, hepe may function as a noun in the object position (24), or as an adverb modifying the verb (25):
(20) **hepe** toh ime ate uto
bit.of sugarcane 3SG.come AG 1PCL.EXC
A bit of sugarcane for us.

(21) koko **hepe** piton p\\^we
leg.1SG bit.of strength.3SG NEG
My legs have little strength.

(22) **hepe** puret a iy p\\^we
bit.of work POSS 3SG NEG
He doesn't do much work.

(23) ko **hepe** iy qa?an inen qa?an lapi
land small 3SG name.3SG small name.3SG Lapi
A small part of the area, with the local name Lapi.

(24) yo iluwe **hepe**
1SG 1SG.leave bit
I left out a part.

(25) su?u min tan **hepe**
3DU sit down bit
They sat down for a bit.

The diminutive *peti* (– petu) always precedes the noun:

(26) seh tewe **peti** čučupe peti ey
3PL put DIM reward for PRO
They give a small reward for it.

(27) **peti** top a yo
DIM basket POSS 1SG
my small basket

The combination *hepe peti* occurs preceding the noun in a few examples:23

(28) **hepe** peti puret peti kosow
bit DIM work for marriage.custom
A little bit of work for the marriage arrangements.

(29) **hepe** petu ni metiyen p\\^we
bit DIM fish big NEG
A little bit of fish, not a lot.

---

23 The combination *peti hepe* also occurs, both adverbially (a) and nominally (b) and (c):

(a) ya yo kuhugag **peti** hepe ala
FUT 1SG POT.SG.rest DIM bit first
I'll rest a little while first.

(b) yo **huti** **peti** hepe
1SG take DIM bit
I got a little bit.

(c) **peti** hepe ep\\^we iy ile huti ime
DIM bit only 3SG 3SG.go take 3SG.come
Just a little bit he went and brought back.

Note in (c) that the phrase *peti hepe ep\\^we* is the direct object of the verb *huti*, and has been fronted for emphasis.
The quantifier *hayah* ‘some, a few’ may precede the noun, as in (30), although it most commonly follows (see 4.3.5 below), as do the remainder of the quantifiers *celewan* ‘many, much’, *masih* ‘all’, *pucey* ‘together’, *epwe* ‘only’ (the latter also functions as an adverb – see 3.5.4).

(30)  
\[
\text{etiye } \underline{\text{hayah}} \text{ } m^w\text{ali} \text{h } \text{kime } \text{tep} \\
2\text{SG.tell some story POT.SG.come tape}
\]
Tell some stories on to the tape.

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

4.2.3 *ćihi* AS DETERMINER

A noun may be preceded by *ćihi* ‘what(ever), which(ever), some, any’:

(31)  
\[
\text{iy to ta lawat ... } \underline{\text{ćihi}} \text{ } \text{lo}p\text{ow peti po?o } \text{lo ke} \\
3\text{SG STAT catch possum ... whatever thing from among in tree}
\]
He would catch possum...anything from the forest.

(32)  
\[
\text{yo kukehi } \underline{\text{ćihi}} \text{ } \text{ cohona to?u} \\
1\text{SG POT.SG.find some place ID U.EXC}
\]
I will find some place for the two of us.

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

(33)  
\[
\text{homow } \underline{\text{ćihi}} \text{ } \text{tupunah homow } \underline{\text{ćihi}} \text{ } \text{ne}?'\text{ehin kime } \text{po?o to?u} \\
\text{one any boy one any girl POT.SG.come among 1DU.INC}
\]
If only some boy or some girl would come be with us.

The word *ćihi* is also used in questions (see 6.7.3.5).

4.2.4 THE EMPHATIC PARTICLE *ti*

The emphatic particle *ti* may precede the noun:

(34)  
\[
\text{ko } \text{masih pučey } \underline{\text{ti}} \text{ } \text{mah epwe to ey} \\
\text{land all together EMPH taro only STAT PRO}
\]
The whole area had only taro in it.

(35)  
\[
\text{čučuh } \underline{\text{ti}} \text{ } \text{te te te te} \\
\text{wrapping EMPH faeces faeces faeces faeces}
\]
The wrappings were full of faeces.

(36)  
\[
\text{suwe iy } \underline{\text{ti}} \text{ } \text{cohonan mah iy } \underline{\text{ti}} \text{ } \text{cohonan} \\
\text{yam 3SG EMPH place.3SG taro 3SG EMPH place.3SG}
\]
Yams have their place, taro has its place.

This particle may also precede the verb (5.1.1.3.5) and occurs in clause initial position (6.2, (33)–(34)).
4.3 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS IN POST-NOMINAL POSITION

The head noun of the noun phrase may be followed by one or more of a number of noun phrase constituents, as stated in the formula in (1), repeated here for convenience:

\[
\text{(Det) Noun (Possessor NP) (Associated NP) (Descriptive Adjunct) (Quantifier) (Prepositional Phrase) (Relative Clause) (Demonstrative)}
\]

4.3.1 POSSESSOR NOUN PHRASE

The slot labelled ‘possessor noun phrase’ may be filled by a possessor of either the alienable or inalienable type (see 3.1.1). The possessor may be a suffix (37), a pronoun (38), or a noun phrase (39)–(40).

(37) \text{puriya-}n
work-3SG
his/her work

(38) \text{puriya eneyan a } su?u
work food POSS 3DU
The work of producing/making their food.

(39) \text{natama iy } pihin
father 3SG woman
The woman's father.

(40) \text{melewa amat to } mat
soul man STAT die
The soul of a dead man.

4.3.2 ASSOCIATED NOUNS

The head noun may be followed by an associated noun, which is not a possessor, but identifies the head and in some cases describes it. Note that the possessor of the head noun may occur between the head and the associated noun (41)–(43).

(41) \text{petu to}u\text{ pihin}
child 1DU.EXC woman
our daughter

(42) \text{petun kaman}
child.3SG man
his son

(43) \text{melewan heliyan}
soul.3SG holiness.3SG
Holy Spirit

(44) \text{cow palan}
mat head.3SG
mat for keeping rain off
The second noun may be the name of the first noun:

(45)  \textit{an tewi}

water Tewi
Tewi lagoon

(46)  \textit{ko } \textit{rolokow}

village Loniu
Loniu village

A descriptive adjunct modifying the head noun may precede the associated noun if it is the name of the first noun (but see 4.3.3).

(47)  \textit{ko } \textit{čakin } \textit{punay}

village old Mbunai
The old village of Mbunai.

4.3.3 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS

The noun phrase may contain a descriptive adjunct (see 3.3) which normally follows the head noun and any possessor and/or associated noun accompanying it (but see (47) above).

(48)  \textit{logow a } \textit{to?u } \textit{huyan masih pučey}

thing POSS 1DU.INC good all together
All of our good things.

(49)  \textit{petun } \textit{kaman } \textit{nametiven}

child.3SG man big
Her older/taller son.

(50)  \textit{kolaw a } \textit{yo } \textit{eme?iman}

sarong POSS 1SG red
My red sarong.

The descriptive adjunct may be intensified in either of two ways: with a following \textit{tasih} 'very' or by reduplication.

(51)  \ldots \textit{ile } \textit{ko } \textit{elewen } \textit{tasih}

3SG.go land far very
...to a very far-off land

(52)  \textit{ley iy p\textbackslash{w}ahačan la\textasciitilde{}elewen la\textasciitilde{}elewen}

Lae 3SG road far far
Lae is very far away.

4.3.4 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITHIN NOUN PHRASE

The head noun of a noun phrase may be modified by a following prepositional phrase introduced by \textit{peti} 'for, of, about, from' (see 3.6.1).

(53)  \textit{so?oh peti } \textit{lo } \textit{ke}

flesh from in tree
Meat from the forest.
(54)  
\textit{iy pihin peti enum itiyen}  
3SG woman of garden DEM  
The woman of this garden, who owns/planted it.

(55)  
\textit{to peti ey ti sih}  
pole for PRO EMPH one  
The method of punting it (the canoe) is a special one.

(56)  
\textit{kiw a yo peti num\textsuperscript{wa} niw}  
bench POSS 1SG for grating coconut  
My coconut-grating bench.

(57)  
\textit{seh amat peti pehena}  
3PL man of thieves  
No other prepositions are attested as introducing phrases which directly modify the head noun. In 3.6, other preposition-type constructions are described, but these do not fill the prepositional phrase slot within the noun phrase, but rather function post-verbally. However, contrasting with (53) above, a few examples of a prepositional-type construction without peti occur in the data. These always involve the morpheme \textit{lo}, which is the unsuffixed form of the inalienably possessed noun \textit{lo-n} ‘its within, inside it’. This form is very common, and is used, as are other nouns referring to spatial relationships, both adverbially and prepositionally (see 3.5 and 3.6). In only a few instances, however, did a \textit{lo} phrase occur as a direct modifier of the noun – most often such phrases are preceded by a verb of motion or location.

(58)  
\textit{wow hi ni lo tas}  
2SG FEM fish in sea  
You are a female fish from the sea, a sea creature.

(59)  
\textit{seh p\textsuperscript{wa} su?u ni lo tas}  
3PL say 3DU fish in sea  
They said the two were fish from the sea/sea creatures.

(60)  
\textit{su? pak la pele\textsuperscript{nan} lo pay ma?u\textsuperscript{w}oh}  
3DU climb go on.top in rafter two  
They climbed up onto two rafters.

4.3.5 QUANTIFIER IN POST-NOMINAL POSITION

As was mentioned in 4.2.2, some quantifiers may appear in pre-nominal position. Some quantifiers, however, occur only post-nominally in the data, and some are found in both positions. Those which are attested only post-nominally are \textit{\textsuperscript{\textit{cele\textsuperscript{wan}}} ‘many, much’ (61); mash\textit{‘all’ (62); pu\textsuperscript{ce\textit{y}}} ‘together’ (63), and ep\textsuperscript{\textit{we}}} ‘only’ (64). Numbers used for counting are found only once in pre-nominal position (65); the remaining examples (66)–(68) show numbers in post-nominal position.

(61)  
\textit{lo\textsuperscript{gow cele\textsuperscript{wan} ta ey} }  
thing many LOC PRO  
There are many things in it.
The noun phrase may contain a relative clause, which follows the head noun, and may occur with no overt marking or may be introduced by nropo. The form nropo occurs elsewhere as a demonstrative, most often in combination with a following itiyan ‘that, this’ (see 4.3.7). It is possible that nropo also functions as a demonstrative within the relative clause structure. However, the large number of nropo+S structures which function as relative clauses, and the existence in some examples of a pause between the head noun and the nropo+S structure, indicate that nropo here is not just a demonstrative adjective modifying the noun, but is functioning as part of the relative clause constituent. Examples (69)–(72) below contain relative clauses introduced by nropo, while (73)–(76) show no overt marking of the relative clause at all.

(69) etewe tas e lo?o wi kile peli?eni kanas nropo ta ku
2SG.put salt and leaf plant POT.SG.go with mullet RC LOC pot
Put salt and wi leaves in with the mullet which is in the pot.

(70) iy ito momotani po puwe nropo ito pwa?an itiyan
3SG 3SG.STAT spit juice betel RC 3SG.LOC mouth.3SG DEM
She was spitting out the betel juice which was in her mouth.

(71) iy pihin nropo kesowani iy iy ito keyaw
3SG woman RC POT.NS.adorn 3SG 3SG 3SG.STAT platform
The woman who has been adorned is on the platform.
This is the smell of the testicles of the demon who comes and sits there.

I thank you for all the things you sent to us.

...to the man who did the work (to produce) the sago.

She carries the sago which is in the basket.

The sago they make for celebrations is of five types.

Further, if the relativised noun is the object of a transitive verb in the embedded clause, the transitive form of the verb (with the probably frozen, no longer productive -ani / -eni suffix) is the only trace. Non-i final transitive verbs, however, take an object suffix -y when the full noun phrase object is not stated (see 3.1.2). Thus pwa 'say' becomes pway when not followed by the direct quote; ta 'beat, pound, make' becomes tay when the direct object is not stated. The suffixed form is the one to occur in the relative clause from which the object has been deleted.

The sago they make for celebrations is of five types.

Finally, if the relativised noun is a locative or temporal noun in a co-verb phrase (see 5.2) in an embedded clause, the pronominal form ey is used as a trace (see 3.1.2.3). In at least one instance, however, the phrase containing the pronominal form was indicated as being optional.
4.3.7 DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase may contain a demonstrative modifier, which normally occurs in final position within the phrase. If other post-nominal modifiers co-occur with the demonstratives, they precede it.

The demonstratives are itiyen ‘that (relatively distant from speaker)’, also translated as ‘this’, ‘the’, ‘previously mentioned’; itiyo ‘this (relatively near speaker)’; itipo ‘this (within sight of speaker)’. The form nropo sometimes precedes one of these three, most often itiyen (84).

The demonstrative itiyen is by far the most commonly occurring both within the noun phrase and as a sentential modifier or connector. While its occurrence within the noun phrase sometimes signals relative distance from speaker, its most common function is to mark the head noun as definite, as something which has been introduced earlier in the conversation or narrative.

(80) su?u pwa ow itiyen ow cinen e ow amat
3DU say 2DU DEM 2DU demon or 2DU human
They said, “You there, are you demons or humans?”

(81) ke itiyo elewen hipera sih epwe itiyen
wood DEM long as one only DEM
This stick is as long as that one.

(82) iy ipo co?oya su?u nanen itiyen
3SG 3SG.do revenge 3DU mother.3SG DEM
He worked that revenge (described earlier) for himself and his mother.

(83) ow keme mw?nen kime palacopon itiyen ow
2DU POT.NS.come straight POT.SG.come point DEM 2DU
keme ete u
POT.NS.come AG 1DU.EXC
If you come directly to that point of land (pointed out earlier), you come to us.

The demonstrative itiyen may be preceded by nropo; the two together are equivalent to English ‘aforementioned’, and are used in discourse apparently to minimise ambiguity of reference.

(84) iy ipwe ile ete seh itiyen, seh nropo itiyen
3SG 3SG.say 3SG.go AG 3PL DEM 3PL DEM DEM
hetow law a iy nropo itiyen...
3PCL relative POSS 3SG DEM DEM
He said to them, to the ones mentioned earlier, to those aforementioned relatives of his...

The demonstratives itiyo and itipo indicate relative proximity to the speaker, either in space or in time. The distinction between the two is not clear. The form itiyo is more...
frequently attested in the data, and seems to imply a closer proximity, while *itiyo* appears to indicate only that the referent is within sight, but not necessarily close to or in the hands of the speaker. *Itiyo* is also used to indicate that the referent has recently been mentioned in the discourse. While *itiyen* is also used in this circumstance, the use of *itiyo* rather than *itiyen* makes explicit the fact that the reference has just been made, usually in the preceding sentence.

(85)  
*ti itiyo naman*

tea DEM sweet  
This tea is (too) sweet.

(86)  
*nataman iy inenes ile komu itiyo ile ete iy*

father.3SG 3SG 3SG.talk 3SG.go word DEM 3SG.go AG 3SG  
Her father talked to her about this conversation.

(87)  
*lawat sih itipo iy ki m£?is m£?iyrn £ cuto kani*

possum one DEM 3SG POT.SG.done quickly and 1PCL.INC POT.NS.eat  
(Would that) this possum (in a pot nearby) would get done quickly and (so) we could eat (it).

The forms *itiyo* and *itipo* occur more often in direct quotes than in narrative portions of the discourse. While this seems to imply that the noun modified by one of the two must be within the speaker's own perceptual field, a firm statement regarding this aspect of the use of the two forms cannot yet be made. Due to the relative freedom of distribution of the demonstrative *itiyen*, which occurs freely in both narrative discourse and direct quotes, it is not clear how this form would fit into a distinction based on whether or not the speaker can actually perceive the referent of the head noun or not.

The three demonstratives also have short forms, which occur much less frequently in the data, and then usually in rapid speech.

(88)  
*itiyen ~ iye ~ iyen*

*sih lawat iyen*

one possum DEM

That possum.

(89)  
*itiyo ~ iyo*

*iy amat iye*

3SG man DEM

That man.

(90)  
*itipo ~ ipo*

*lawat ipo*

possum DEM

This possum.

Johnston (1980:119) describes the deictic constituent of the noun phrase in Nakanai (Oceanic, New Britain) as having both emphatic and non-emphatic forms. The Nakanai forms are similar to the Loniu forms although meaning diverges.
(91) "ele there (nearer to you than me)
    -e here (nearer to me than you, or equally near both of us)
    -o over there (at a distance from both of us)

Emphatic forms are tiele, tie, and tio, matching ele, -e, and -o above."

Loniu has an emphatic particle ti, used both pre-nominally and pre-verbally.

(92) law iy ti law laweyap iy ti laweyap
    net 3SG EMPH net 3SG EMPH net
    The law fishing net is one kind, the laweyap is another.

(93) ya seh kete?i pweleyah ti celewan
    FUT 3PL POT.NS.catch parrotfish EMPH many
    They will catch a great many parrotfish.

(94) ta yo kiso itiyo ala ti kinel
    POSS 1SG POT.SG.stand DEM first EMPH POT.SG.cool
    Mine can sit here a while and cool off.

It is thus possible that the Loniu demonstratives are (at least partially frozen) multi-morphemic forms: i-ti-yen, i-ti-yo. These longer forms do not appear to maintain any sense of emphasis, however, and the shorter forms appear to be fast speech variants with no concomitant change of meaning.

4.4 COORDINATION IN THE NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrases may be conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions e 'and, or, but' (95)–(99); ma ‘and, with’ (100)–(101); and the borrowed form o ‘or’ (102)–(103).

(95) etewe tas e lo?o wi
    2SG.put salt and leaf k.o. plant
    Put in some salt and wi leaves.

(96) kaman e pihin su?u yo?ose huyan su?u ehe huyan
    male and female 3DU walk well 3DU sit down well
    The man and woman get along well, live together well.

(97) wow e iy
    2SG and 3SG
    You and he.

(98) ow kala ete hetow peleqan betow netun e pulun
    2DU POT.NS.go AG 3PCL up.in.house 3PCL child.3SG and spouse.3SG
    You two go to them in the house, to his children and his wife.

(99) ma?ehe ma?ulumow e mahamow
    how.many three or four
    How many were there? There were three or four.

(100) iy ile tewe nanen ma um ile po?o ceapa ke...
    3SG 3SG.go put mother.3SG and house 3SG.go within centre tree
    He put his mother and the house into the centre of the tree.
They took the trap and the fish and they went to the beach.

...like three or four
...about three or four.

They would cut him up into little bits and pieces now.

In a series of more than two noun phrases, the coordinator e normally occurs only once, preceding the final noun phrase of the series (104). The conjunctions ma and o, however, are normally repeated preceding each noun phrase in the series (105)–(107).

The eagle flew to all the lands, to the coast, near the villages and near the offshore islands.

You and your husband and children, are you all well...?

Her grandmother takes her... with her ropes of dog's teeth and her sago...

They choose two men or three or four.

Prepositional phrases within the noun phrase may be coordinated. There is only one example of prepositional phrases conjoined by ma (109).

So the story about Loniu and catching parrotfish is thus.

The conjuncts need not be parallel in structure. Example (110) contains a prepositional phrase in coordination with a preceding and following noun phrase.
(110) *pota tupunah o peti teweya teling o ana pihin...*
doing boy or for piercing ear or food woman
Circumcision or for piercing ears or as food for women...

Noun phrases may also be coordinated with no overt conjunction. In such cases, the context determines which type of coordination is intended.

(111) `seh kaman seh pihin seh keli lomwi epi keli pwe`
3PL male 3PL female 3PL PERF plant sago PERF NEG
The men and women have finished planting the sago.

(112) *hipiti masanat ma?unet*
like one.hundred two.hundred
about one or two hundred

(113) ...
*mwat ito yaw ... ile ta anan lawat*
snake 3SG.STAT go ... 3SG.go kill food.3SG possum

*losow pelimat netukan peti lo ke*
bush.rat flying.fox bird of in tree
The snake would go kill his food, possum, bush rat, flying fox, (and) forest birds.

There is also a pronoun + noun construction which is a type of coordination without overt conjunction. This consists of a dual personal pronoun followed by a noun which names one of the two individuals involved.

(114) *cohona su?u panen*
revenge 3DU mother.3SG
The revenge of him and his mother.

(115) *u pat u ma kepahi nime u*
1DU.EXC Pat 1DU.EXC INT POT.NS.wash hand 1DU.EXC
Pat and I want to wash our hands.

This construction appears to be limited to human beings, and to pairs rather than larger groups.
CHAPTER 5
THE VERB PHRASE

For purposes of description, the verb phrase here is divided into two parts: the nucleus and the periphery. The nucleus consists of the main verb stem and the person/number prefixes as well as the pre-verbal tense and aspect markers. If the main verb is transitive, any stated direct object is also considered to be part of the nucleus.

The periphery consists of any co-verbs and co-verb phrases which follow the nucleus.

5.1 THE VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS

5.1.1 PRE-VERBAL CONSTITUENTS

The pre-verbal constituents include the person/number prefixes, which are obligatory, and various auxiliaries and particles which are used to indicate tense and/or aspect, in accordance with the formula given in (1) below:

(1) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{FUTURE} & \quad \text{PERSON/NUMBER} \\
\text{INCHOATIVE} & \quad \text{POTENTIAL} \quad \text{(AUX)} \quad \text{(VERB)} \\
\text{PERFECTIVE} &
\end{align*}
\]

5.1.1.1 PERSON/NUMBER

Person/number is shown by a prefix, which is the only obligatory pre-verbal constituent. The prefixes are listed in (2) below. The variation in form of the prefixes is due to verb stem class (3.4.2) and vowel assimilation rules (2.6.2.3).

(2) \[
\begin{align*}
i- & \sim u- \quad \text{first or third person singular} \\
e- & \sim o- \sim a- \quad \text{second person singular} \\
\emptyset & \sim -e- \sim -a- \quad \text{non-singular}
\end{align*}
\]

While the non-singular prefix is shown as $\emptyset$ above, it does surface as a non-high vowel in the potential forms (5.1.1.3.1) and in the perfective marker for non-singular (5.1.1.3.2).

The prefixes, when overt, are attached to the main verb only in the absence of any auxiliary verb or perfective marker (3).

(3) Stem \textit{me} ‘come’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1SG} & \quad \textit{ime} \sim \textit{ume} \quad \text{I come/came} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \textit{eme} \quad \text{You come/came; Come!} \\
\text{3SG} & \quad \textit{ime} \quad \text{He/she/it comes/came} \\
\text{NS} & \quad \textit{me} \quad \text{We/you/they come/came}
\end{align*}
\]
If the auxiliary verb occurs with no preceding perfective marker, it will receive the marking for person. The perfective marker, which varies in form depending on person, carries the only person marker in a perfective verb phrase.

(4)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Yo uto} \\
\text{min tan}
\end{array}
\]
1SG 1SG.STAT sit down
I was sitting down.

(5)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Su?u keli to mete}
\end{array}
\]
3DU PERF STAT sleep
They slept/were sleeping.

Thus, person marking is as follows: if a perfective marker occurs, its form marks person. If no perfective marker is present, the first verb in the nucleus receives the prefix – if an auxiliary verb is present, it is inflected for person; if not, the main verb receives the prefix. If the auxiliary particle ta ‘CONT’ is present, there is no person prefix on either the auxiliary or the main verb.

5.1.1.1.1 FUNCTION OF THE MINIMAL VERB PHRASE

When the main verb occurs with only the obligatory prefix, and no other pre-verbal constituent, the tense/aspect indicated is present or past, depending on context. If present, the meaning is usually habitual rather than progressive.

(6)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Seh la lo?ogow}
\end{array}
\]
3PL go Lorengau
They go to Lorengau (often, periodically).

(7)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Iy ipo ana su?u ni}
\end{array}
\]
3SG 3SG.go food 3DU fish
He catches their fish (for their food).

Thus this form, when present tense in meaning, does not indicate a single event, but is a general statement of behavioural patterns. Chafe (1970) has called such usage ‘generic’, and terms it an inflectional unit on the verb.

If the form is used as a past tense (which is determined by context, rather than by inflection), however, no such habitual aspect is implied.

(8)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Iy ile?e ay a iy o}
\end{array}
\]
3SG 3SG.see blood POSS 3SG spill
She saw her blood spill out.

(9)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Seh la lo?ogow}
\end{array}
\]
3PL go Lorengau
They went to Lorengau (e.g. yesterday).

5.1.1.2 AUXILIARIES IN THE VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS

Auxiliaries are of two types: verbs (which take person prefixes and may take the potential prefix \( k^- \)) and particles (which take no affixes). The verbs which may function as auxiliaries are listed in (10).
The particles which may occur as pre-verbal aspect markers are listed in (11).

(11) ta
ta
dominative

le?i

present dominative, simultaneous

The particle a ‘still’ also may occur in the auxiliary slot, but only preceding to, ta, or so, or combinations which include one of these.

The possible combinations of these verbs and particles within the auxiliary slot may be characterised by the following scheme.

(12)

\[
\begin{align*}
la & \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
to \\
so \\
ta
\end{array} \right. \\
me & \quad (to) \\
(a) & \quad (le?i) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
to \\
so
\end{array} \right. \\
ye & \quad ta \\
yaw & \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
la \\
to
\end{array} \right.
\end{align*}
\]

Each auxiliary verb or particle may occur as the sole auxiliary, or may occur in combination with one or another of the other constituents of the auxiliary slot, as depicted in (12) above. The functions of the various verbs and particles and their combinations are discussed in 5.1.1.2.1 below. Examples of each of the auxiliaries and the attested combinations are given below (13) – (28).

(13) \[ la : seh \ la \ lomwi \ epi \]
3PL go plant sago
They go/went to plant sago.

(14) \[ la \ \text{to} : \ hetow \ la \ to \ \underline{\text{pukue}} \ \underline{\text{kupw}} \text{en} \]
3PCL go STAT mend net
They are mending nets (over there).

(15) \[ la \ \text{so} : \ su\text{?u} \ kala \ \text{so} \ \text{celu} \ ey \]
3DU POT.NS.go stand stand PRO
They would go stand there.

(16) \[ la \ \text{ta} : \ hah \ la \ \text{ta} \ \underline{\text{yen}} \]
2PL go CONT eat
You people are eating.
Examples (29) – (31) show the use of a 'still' with to and ta (see also (21) and (23) above for the use of a with so).

(29) palan a to neti
    head.3SG still STAT hurt
    He head is still hurting.
The auxiliary verbs *la, me, to, ye, so,* and *yaw* may also occur as main verbs, and as co-verbs in the verb phrase periphery (5.2). The particle *ta* may also occur without a following verb, in which case the meaning is locative rather than continuative:

(32) *panen ta peleyan*

mother.3SG LOC on.top

Her mother is up in the house.

These two uses of *ta* may in fact represent homophones rather than a single morpheme, but probably do not, given the use of verbs, such as *to,* with both locative and progressive meanings.

### 5.1.1.2.1 Functions of the Auxiliaries

The various verbs and particles of the auxiliary function as aspect markers. There are overlapping areas in the translations, and it is not always possible to make a clear and consistent distinction, particularly in the case of *to* and *ta.* These two are compared and contrasted in their aspectual function later in this section.

The motion verbs *la* 'go' and *me* 'come' are used to indicate movement toward the activity expressed by the main verb. If the activity is located away from a point of reference, *la* is used; if located at or near the point of reference, *me* is used. Thus if the speaker is in the house, she will say *ala lomwi epi* 'Go plant (the) sago!' (The gardens are located at a distance from the houses). If she is in the garden, she might call out *eme lomwi epi* 'Come plant (the) sago!' Only when the addressee is actually in the sago garden would she say *olomwi epi* 'Plant (the) sago!' Such use of *la* and *me* also implies relative distance from the speaker – see (14) above, in which *la* indicates that the actual motion toward the activity of mending nets has been completed and *to* indicates that the mending itself is ongoing at the moment of speech, at some distance from the speaker.

The point of reference is not always the speaker, however, but may be a character or place in a story. In such cases, the narrator may use *la* and *me* to change the audience's focus from one character or place to another. This is a discourse function of the two motion verbs, and is beyond the purview of the present work.

The auxiliary verb *yaw* 'go' also indicates motion away from a point of reference, but does not imply that there is a specific destination or purpose. The verb *la,* on the other hand, normally does, and when it functions as main or co-verb (see 5.2), can be followed immediately by a noun phrase of destination or goal; *yaw* is never directly followed by a noun phrase of destination or goal, but may be followed by *la* or *to* + noun phrase.

It is likely, therefore, that the use of *yaw* as pre-verbal auxiliary in most cases implies that the speaker does not know or is not interested in expressing the destination of the *yaw* type
of going, or that the subject of the yaw + main verb construction has no specific destination. Thus in (25) above, suʔu yaw mon ‘they came back’, the place to which they went and from which they are returning is neither implied nor important in the narrative; in (27), suʔu yaw to tuwe ‘they went (somewhere, and) were (there) cooking (it)’, the two persons referred to by suʔu are in some unidentified place some distance from where they were before, in the process of cooking something; in (26), uto yaw la mete, the translation in English might be something like ‘We took off and went to bed’ or ‘We went off to bed’. In the example below, (33), the idea of no specific purpose is made clear by the use of yaw, although in context no motion was implied.

(33) uto la laʔo a uto ... iy ile mete ε
1PCL.EXC go shed POSS 1PCL.EXC ... 3SG 3SG go sleep and
uto yaw la tah itiyen ... aŋ sih pipehe itiyen
1PCL.EXC go go LOC DEM ... day one yesterday DEM
uto yaw tow ε tow ε uto tow itiyen
1PCL.EXC go stay and stay and 1PCL.EXC stay DEM
We went to our shed...he went to sleep and we stayed sitting there.
...The whole day yesterday we sat around, we just sat around there.

The verb ye and so are used as auxiliaries to indicate the location of the subject at the site of the activity expressed by the main verb, and may imply some duration. The verb ye usually implies longer duration, and an informal or relaxed atmosphere – it is often translated as ‘sit’. The verb so tends to imply a more temporary stay, usually in a standing position. As a pre-verbal auxiliary, so is only used with the main verb čelu ‘stand’, but as a co-verb (see 5.2) so occurs alone with the same meaning ‘stand’. The combination of so čelu is thus ‘stand for a short time’.

(34) wow eso čelu ey
2SG 2SG stand stand PRO
You stand on it (for a short time).

The verb to (which has a longer form tow when functioning as a stative main verb or as a co-verb with no following noun phrase (see 5.2)) functions as an aspect marker in the auxiliary slot of the verb phrase. When it occurs with no other optional pre-verbal constituents, it is labelled stative, but may also indicate continuative, durative, or habitual aspect.

(35) homow he ito tan
one who 3SG STAT cry
Who is crying?

(36) u to čan enum a u
1DU.EXC STAT clear garden POSS 1DU.EXC
We were clearing our garden.

(37) seh to po puret ile ey
3PL STAT do work 3SG go PRO
They used to do the work (to produce) it.

(38) ko itiyen iy igoŋ ... ε ito pronəčerahani iy
wind DEM 3SG 3SG blow ... and 3SG STAT toss 3SG
... ito **tipiyani iy**
... 3SG.STAT roll 3SG
The wind blew...and was tossing her...(and) rolling her around.

(39) **pew ito peni amat**
shark 3SG.STAT eat human
Sharks eat people.

(40) **hetow to veneyan ile suwe itiyen**
3PCL STAT eat 3SG.go yam DEM
They would eat these yams (their diet consisted of yams).

The verb *to* also co-occurs with the verbal prefix *k-* for potential aspect and with the perfective marker *kili* (~ *keli ~ eli*).

(41) **npato u ma kito yaw kile lo**
grandmother 1DU.EXC INT POT.SG.STAT go POT.SG.go in
*um e u me*
house and 1DU.EXC come
Our grandmother was about to go into the house when we came.

(42) **himomon iy ip\^w e ya iy kito kelewe um**
Himomon 3SG 3SG.say FUT 3SG POT.SG.STAT care.for house
*a yo*
POSS 1SG
Himomon said she would look out for my house.

(43) **etow koto $\mathrm{\ddot{c}ulumw}i$ ko kile ey**
2PCL POT.NS.STAT burn village POT.SG.go PRO
You will be able to burn villages with it.

(44) **seh keli to \(p^\text{we} \text{ile} \text{ete iy}\)**
3PL PERF STAT say.it 3SG.go AG 3SG
They were telling it to him.

Example (44) is the only example of an affirmative sentence with the perfective marker co-occurring with the *to* aspect marker. Normally such sentences are negative.

(45) **su?u keli to \(po \text{puret piton } p^w e\)**
3DU PERF STAT do work hard NEG
They didn't do any hard work.

(See 6.6 for a description of negative sentences.)

The particle *ta*, when in pre-verbal position, always indicates continuative aspect, either present or past. *Ta* never co-occurs with other pre-verbal constituents except the auxiliary *la* as indicated in (16) above. When *ta* is alone as auxiliary, the person of the verb is determined by a stated subject noun or pronoun.

(46) **palan ta hunan hepe**
head.3SG CONT rest bit
His headache is a bit better. (lit. his head is resting a bit)
(47) hetow petu ta mete  
3PCL child.1SG CONT sleep  
My children were sleeping.

(48) seh ta tamana seh ta ta temey  
3PL CONT dance 3PL CONT beat drum  
They were dancing, they were beating the drums.

The auxiliaries to and ta overlap in this function (as present/past continuative), and there is no clear distinction between them. (See also 5.2 (The verb phrase periphery) and 6.1 (The verbless sentence).)

The form le?i ‘present continuative, simulactive, witnessed’ is used to indicate that the activity of the main verb is ongoing at the moment of speech and implies that the speaker is or has been a witness to the current activity. In the majority of the attested occurrences of le?i, it is in combination with the aspect marker to; this is not always the case, however – see (19) above.

(49) čelewan uweh a le?i to potowey  
many 1PL.EXC still PRES.CONT STAT hold  
Many of them we are still using (lit. still holding).

(50) iy le?i to mete  
3SG PRES.CONT STAT sleep  
She is sleeping (I saw her).

See also (22) above.

Le?i may also indicate that the activity or state expressed by the verb is or was simultaneous with some other activity.

(51) yo uto kantin; yo le?i to kantin itiyen taya?epi  
1SG 1SG.STAT canteen 1SG SIM STAT canteen DEM Taya?epi ime  
3SG.come  
I was at the canteen; while I was at the canteen, Taya?epi came.

5.1.1.3 OTHER PRE-VERBAL CONSTITUENTS

The remaining pre-verbal constituents are potential, perfective, future, and inchoative/intentional.

5.1.1.3.1 POTENTIAL

In potential constructions, the prefix k- occurs on forms prefixed for first and third person singular.

(52) yo kutiyani čah  
1SG POT.SG.tell what  
What shall I tell? (what story?)
The second person singular potential forms do not contain the potential prefix *k-* but rather are the same forms which occur in the non-potential (i.e. present/past) verb phrase.

The non-singular forms in the potential have the prefix *k-* and a non-high vowel which functions as the person prefix. This vowel, which is not present in non-singular forms of the present/past, is the same vowel which appears for second person singular forms for the same verb.

The perfective construction is marked by the presence of *kili* ‘1SG/3SG’; *elu* ‘2SG’; or *keli* ‘non-singular’. The respective forms used with the verb *la* ‘go’ are *ki?i, e, and ke?e*. When the perfective marker occurs, the verb and any other accompanying auxiliaries are in the base form, with neither person nor potential prefix; a co-verb following the main verb may also receive the perfective marking (see 5.2.4).

The snake bit a man and he has fallen down.
They had chopped it up.

Have you finished eating or not?

The perfective also occurs in negative constructions (see 6.5).

The uses of keli p\textsuperscript{we} (62) and the intransitive verb p\textsuperscript{wič} as constituents of the verb phrase periphery which indicate perfective or completive aspect are described in 5.2.2. and 5.2.3 respectively.

5.1.1.3.3 FUTURE

Future is marked by the presence of the pre-verbal constituent ya, which co-occurs with the potential form of the verb.

Later I will give its names.

I will go to Lorengau tomorrow.

They said they would cook our taro.

They will come to (visit) us.

The ya future marker normally precedes the subject pronoun, but may follow it.

They were about to go pull up their (fish) trap.

They said they would leave.

Are you going to eat or not?
When they went, that banana had become a human female.

The forms *ya* and *ma* also occur in negative sentences in combination with the perfective marker.

I will not tell it to you.

They said the ladder wasn't to be lowered.

In verbless sentences, *ma* occurs with the meaning 'when':

When they were just girls...

5.1.1.3.5 THE EMPHATIC PARTICLE *ti*

The emphatic particle *ti* is attested in two instances in a pre-verbal position (74) – (75), and twice preceding a non-initial clause (6.2, (33) – (34)); all other instances of this particle occur in pre-nominal position (4.2.4).

He broke his wing.

...mine can stay here awhile and cool off.

5.1.2 THE MAIN VERB

5.1.2.1 THE INTRANSITIVE VERB PHRASE

The intransitive verb phrase in Loniu consists minimally of an intransitive verb with a person/number prefix attached either to the main verb or to a co-occurring pre-verbal auxiliary.

He fell.

They left.
5.1.2.2 THE TRANSITIVE VERB PHRASE

The transitive verb phrase consists minimally of a transitive verb, a person/number prefix as above, and a following direct object noun phrase. The direct object may be realised as a full noun phrase (78), a personal pronoun (79), a third person singular pronominal object suffix -y (80), or may be implied or understood from context (81). Most transitive verbs end in -ani, -eni, or simply -i (see 3.8.3.4). These verbs do not take the pronominal suffix -y. Only those transitive verbs ending in vowels other than -i take this suffix. It is not clear whether sentences like (81) are the result of deletion of the direct object noun phrase, or whether the lack of an overt direct object is the result of a phonological process by which i + y becomes i.

(78) yo uto le?e pwičik
  1SG 1SG.STAT see hole
  I see holes (through it).

(79) mwan ičulumwi iy
  fire 3SG.burn 3SG
  The fire burned him.

(80) yo ile?e-y
  1SG 1SG-see.it
  I see it.

(81) mwan ičulumwi
  fire 3SG.burn
  The fire is burning (something).

Other than the suffixes -i, -ani, or -eni, nothing may intrude between the transitive verb and its stated direct object.

The direct object may also be realised as a full sentence in the case of at least four transitive verbs: le?e ‘see’; pwa ‘say, think’; yeligi ‘like, want’; hinemi ‘make, do, cause’.

(82) iy ipwê yo ketemenenî wow kîle ev
  3SG 3SG.say 1SG POT.SG.ask 2SG POT.SG.go PRO
  She said I should ask you about it.

(83) yo upwê iy kîli hutî epwê
  1SG 1SG.think 3SG PERF take only
  I thought she had taken it away.

(84) yo yeligi wow ême me'îyen
  1SG 1SG.want 2SG 2SG.come quickly
  I want you to come soon.

(85) iy ile?e ay a iy o
  3SG 3SG.see blood POSS 3SG 3SG.spill
  She saw her blood spill out.

(86) hinemi iy kuhunan tilen
  2SG.make 3SG POT.SG.rest crying
  Make him stop crying.
There is some difficulty in determining whether other verbs may also take sentential objects, due to the structure of the post-main verb constituents (see 5.2 below). In most of these, the co-verb is in the third person singular form with no stated subject, and unless the main verb has a third person singular subject, there is no person/number agreement between the subject of the main verb and the co-verb(s). In some cases, however, there is agreement between the object of the main verb and the co-verb. In these cases the structure following the main verb may in fact be a sentential object.

\[(87)\]
\[
\text{eli iyi kime in an} \\
\text{2SG.call 3SG POT.SG.come drink water} \\
\text{Call him to come drink water.}
\]

\[(88)\]
\[
\text{seh ketounani uto ma kala lo\text{o}ngow} \\
\text{3PL POT.NS.send 1PCL.EXC INT POT.NS.go Lorengau} \\
\text{They will send us to Lorengau.}
\]

In (87) the underlined portion has the structure of a complete sentence, as does the underlined portion of (88). Under one interpretation, iyi and uto are the direct objects of their respective main verbs, ili 'call' and to\text{?}unani 'send', and the remaining portions are co-verb constructions. Under the other possible interpretation, the two are subjects of the following verbs, and the sentences of which they are the subjects are the direct objects of the preceding main verbs. In any case, the structures of (87) and (88) are, on the surface, syntactically parallel to the structures of (82) – (86).

5.2 VERB PHRASE PERIPHERY

5.2.1 CONSTITUENTS OF THE VERB PHRASE PERIPHERY

Post-verbal adjuncts of various structures and functions may follow both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb (+ direct object) structures. These post-main verb structures involve, for the most part, the same set of verbs which may occur in the pre-main verb auxiliary slot of the verb phrase nucleus, and are listed in (89) below. This set of verbs is here referred to as co-verbs, and the structures in which they occur in the verb phrase periphery are referred to as co-verb phrases.

\[(89)\]
\[
\text{la go} \\
\text{me come} \\
\text{to(w) stative, locative} \\
\text{yaw go (away)} \\
\text{ye(n) be in or at a place} \\
\text{so(w) stand} \\
\text{mon return} \\
\text{p\text{wi}c finish, complete}
\]

Note that mon 'return' is the only verb of the set which is not attested as occurring as auxiliary in the verb phrase nucleus. In addition to the verbs listed in (89), the stative/locative particle ta\(h\) may also occur in the verb phrase periphery, and will be included in the general discussion of co-verbs, even though it is not attested as taking any verbal affixes, and is thus termed a particle rather than a verb. The pre-verbal aspect marker le\text{i} 'present continuative, simultative' may also function in the co-verb phrase. In
pre-verbal position, le?i is attested as occurring with several verbs (so(w) 'be in, on or at a place', min 'sit', and to(w) 'stative, locative'), but it is attested only with to(w) in the verb phrase periphery.

With the exception of mon, these co-verbs and particles may combine with each other and are attested in the following combinations:

(90)  
me tow
la tow
le?i tow
la tah
ye tah
sow tah
me yaw
la sow

Most of the co-verbs and combinations, including tah when it occurs alone (i.e. without la, ye or sow), may be followed by a noun phrase. The co-verb structures which are not attested as occurring with a following noun phrase are (me) yaw, mon, and la sow (sow alone or sow tah may have a following noun phrase, however).

More than one co-verb phrase may occur in the verb phrase periphery, in a serial-type construction. The possible combinations and the relative ordering are presented in the following scheme:

\[
\text{MV} \quad \text{(DO)} \quad \text{(ADV)} \quad (\text{me) yaw} \quad \text{mon} \quad \text{sow NP}) \quad (\text{la} \quad \text{ye}) \quad \text{NP}) \quad (\text{la} \quad \text{ye} \quad \text{sow}) \quad \text{tah} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{la sow} \quad \text{la me} \quad \text{(Prep) NP}
\]

Note that if the main verb (MV) is transitive with a stated direct object (DO), that direct object must immediately follow the main verb and precede any constituents of the verb phrase periphery. There may be an adverbial element in the periphery, such as me?iwen 'quickly', puliye 'also, again', and epwe 'only, just', which may immediately follow the nucleus of the verb phrase (and thus precede the co-verb phrase(s)) or may occur at the end of the periphery.

The possible co-verb phrases and combinations are quite complex. There may be as many as three and possibly more co-verb phrases in a single verb phrase, each introduced by a co-verb. The most commonly occurring co-verb phrases involve la 'go', me 'come', or to(w) 'stative, locative'. As noted above, these may be followed by a noun phrase (91) – (93), or may not (94) – (96).
(91)  
*iyle*  
3SG 3SG.climb 3SG.go platform  
He climbed onto the platform.

(92)  
*paton ime tuwen*  
grandmother.3SG 3SG.arrive 3SG.come outside.3SG  
Her grandmother came outside.

(93)  
*ow kolomwi yo kito ma?akoso kalipap*  
2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG POT.SG.STAT next.to Kalipap  
Bury me next to Kalipap.

(94)  
*amey isisimi ile*  
Amey 3SG.think 3SG.go  
Amey thought about it.

(95)  
*iyle huti ime*  
3SG 3SG.go take 3SG.come  
He went and brought it back.

(96)  
*iyle ičelwepweni epi itow*  
3SG 3SG.lose sago 3SG.STAT  
He dropped the sago (and left it there).

The co-verb to(w) may also be preceded by *me* or *la*.

(97)  
*etevey ime to tan*  
2SG.put.it 3SG.come STAT down  
Put it down.

(98)  
*um iso ile ile tow, um iso*  
house 3SG.sway 3SG.go 3SG.go STAT house 3SG.sway  
3SG.come 3SG.come STAT  
The house swayed one way and then swayed back.

The particle *leʔi* may also precede the co-verb tow:

(99)  
*hetow law ... keli me leʔi tow*  
3PCL relative ... PERF come PRES STAT  
The relatives...have come (and are here).

The combinations exemplified in (97) – (99) must occur in final position in the series. That is, they are attested as being preceded by other co-verb phrases, but not as being followed by any further co-verb expressions in the same verb phrase.

The verb *yaw* ‘go (away)’ also functions frequently as a co-verb in the verb phrase periphery, but is never directly followed by a noun phrase (see 5.1.1.2.1 above).

(100)  
*yo kili čalapweni kili yaw*  
1SG PERF lose PERF go.away  
I threw it away.

As stated earlier, more than one co-verb or co-verb phrase may occur in a single verb phrase. The possible co-occurring verbs and combinations are as indicated in the scheme
The following generalisations about the order of co-verb elements may be made. If *(me)* yaw occurs, it is always the first in the series, and is usually followed by a *la* (NP) or *me* (NP) phrase, or occurs with no following constituents at all.

1. *eeepweni kiyew* 2SG.throw POT.SG.go.away
   Throw it away.

2. *gesumwan ito lo ke ime yaw ime pwa*hali* smoke 3SG.STAT in forest 3SG.come go 3SG.come beach
   The smoke was inland, coming out toward the coast.

See also (140) and (162) below.

Emphatic particles or intensifiers may also follow the co-verb *yaw*:

3. *iy iwoh iyew* 3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.go.away EMPH
   He flew right off.

4. *hah ke*kele*pweni kiyew* tasih 2PL POT.NS.lose POT.3SG.go.away INTENS
   Get rid of it completely!

The verb *mon* may occur alone following the main verb, or may in turn be followed by a *la* or *me* phrase. Like *yaw*, *mon* occurs in first position in the co-verb series of the periphery. The verbs *yaw* and *mon* are not attested as co-occurring as co-verbs, and neither may take a directly following noun phrase.

5. *iy ta yo*?ose *imon* 3SG CONT walk 3SG.return
   He is walking back.

6. *iy iyew imon ime um a he*to*w* 3SG 3SG.go 3SG.return 3SG.come house POSS 3PCL
   He went back to their house.

7. *u kaw kumon kala mwanus* 1DU.EXC POT.NS.go POT.SG.return POT.NS.go Manus
   We will go back to Manus.

The sentence in (107) is an interesting one, for it shows potential marking on all three verbs. Recall that when an auxiliary verb occurs in pre-verbal position, the potential (if present) and person/number will be prefixed to the auxiliary, and the main verb will be in its base form. On the other hand, if either an auxiliary or the main verb is marked for potential, the co-verbs are also so marked in the majority of such clauses. Thus it would seem in (107) that the main verb is *yaw* (*k-*NS-*yaw* = *kaw*), and *kumon* and *kala* are co-verbs. Note the lack of concord between the subject and the co-verb *kumon*, but the agreement in person/number between the subject and the co-verb *kala*, which is difficult to explain (but see 5.2.4 for a discussion of agreement in the verb phrase).

Compare (108) below with (107):
(108) yo kile mon kime
1SG POT.SG.go return POT.SG.come
I will come back.

In (108), mon is clearly the main verb, the form kile a pre-verbal auxiliary, and kime a co-verb.

Co-verb expressions involving tah (NP) may be preceded by other co-verb expressions, but are not attested as being followed by anything other than a demonstrative. The form tah may occur alone or with a preceding la, ye, or sow (recall that final /h/ may be deleted when followed by a consonant-initial morpheme).

(109) su'1u to pet ta pelepan epwe
3DU STAT float LOC on.top only
They were floating right on the surface.

(110) su'1u po wos ile ta su'1u
3DU do taro.stalk 3SG.go LOC 3DU
They got some taro stalks (for planting) for them.

(111) ala le?e laweyap kile tah
2SG.go see fish.net POT.SG.go LOC
Go see (about) the fish net over there.

(112) yo ume tewey iso ta teke ke
1SG 1SG.come put.it 3SG.sit LOC base tree
I put it down at the base of a tree.

There are no attested examples of tah alone (i.e. without a preceding la, ye, or sow and without a following noun phrase).

Co-verb phrases with ye ‘be in a place, sit’, may occur as the only co-verb expression, or may be either preceded or followed (or both) by further co-verb phrases. The co-verb ye must be accompanied by a following noun phrase – there are no examples of sentence-final ye or ye tah in the data.

(113) iy ime tewey iye palaketun
3SG 3SG.come put.it 3SG.sit veranda
He came and put it on the veranda.

(114) iy ime ačečet itiyen ime mata tas itiyen iye
3SG 3SG.come crawl DEM 3SG.come edge sea DEM 3SG.sit
lo tas iye po?o p'winah
in sea 3SG.sit within vine
He came crawling right to the edge of the water, right to the sea, among the vines.

(115) eto kala hut i pun a yo ile po?o pu
2PCL POT.NS.go get pepper POSS 1SG 3SG.go within banana
a yo iye ta palaketun
POSS 1SG 3SG.sit LOC veranda
Go get my pepper which is among my bananas over on the veranda.
The morpheme so(w) in co-verb expressions may be followed by a further co-verb phrase. In clause-final position, it may combine with a following tah (NP) or with a preceding la. In the latter case, there are no attested examples of a following noun phrase.

(116) ana hi pawi panen e pataman tewe iy
INDEF FEM Pawi mother.3SG and father.3SG put 3SG
iso lo ewo
3SG.LOC in mat
A Pawi girl, her mother and father put her into isolation.

(117) iy yeka?ani petun iso ma?akoso um ito
3SG 3SG.hide child.3SG 3SG.LOC next.to house 3SG.STAT
po?o kuh
among bush
She hid her child next to the house among the bushes.

(118) eto kala huti humey iso tah ititwen
2PCL POT.NS.go get fruit 3SG.LOC LOC DEM
Go get some fruit from over there.

(119) yo ma kehen wewe ile sow
1SG INT POT.SG.pick mango 3SG.go LOC
I want to pick a/some mango(s) over there.

See also (112) above.

There are no examples of so(w) (NP) preceded by another co-verb expression.

Both la and me may occur with or without a following noun phrase, either in first position in a series, medially, or in a series final position. In the latter case, the directional preposition ya may introduce a locative expression.

(120) su?u to los ile ya ey
3DU STAT fall 3SG.go through PRO
They were falling through it.

(121) ya yo kiyo?ose kime ya itiiyo
FUT 1SG POT.SG.walk POT.SG.come toward DEM
I'll walk in this direction, toward here.

Both me and la may combine with most other co-verbs or particles. The exceptions, for which no examples are attested, are as listed in (122).

(122) *ile mon
*ime mon
*ile yaw
*ime tah
*ime sow
*le?i me
*le?i la

There are also no examples of the two combining with each other. The lack of examples of at least some of the combinations listed above may simply be due to lacunae in the corpus.
La and me are thus the least restricted of the co-verbs. Furthermore, la is much the more frequent of the two, and plays a wider variety of roles (see 5.2.5).

5.2.2 keli p\(^w\)e

The phrase keli p\(^w\)e (~ kali p\(^w\)e) is used clause-finally to emphasise that the action of the main verb is completed. The constituents appear to be a form of the perfective marker followed by the negative p\(^w\)e. While this phrase is most often preceded by a perfective form of the main verb ((62) above, (123) below), it may occur with a non-perfective main verb in questions (124). In addition, the phrase keli/kali p\(^w\)e itiyen is often used at the end of a narrative (125).

(123) yo kili ča?iti keli p\(^w\)e
1SG PERF cut PERF NEG
I finished eating my yams.

(124) iy yetahani um a iy kali p\(^w\)e e p\(^w\)e
3SG put.on sago.thatch POSS 3SG PERF NEG or NEG
Has he finished putting on his sago-thatch or not?

(125) keli p\(^w\)e itiyen (~ kali p\(^w\)e itiyen)
PERF NEG DEM
That's all; that's the end.

5.2.3 THE INTRANSITIVE VERB p\(^w\)ič

The intransitive verb p\(^w\)ič 'be complete, be finished' may occur as the main verb. In most attested examples of this use of p\(^w\)ič, it is preceded by the auxiliary la 'go' (127).

(126) puret a uweh kaman ma kip\(^w\)ič
work POSS 1PL.EXC male 3SG.got POT.SG.be.finished
The work of the men is almost finished.

(127) peŋ mačulupon kile p\(^w\)ič ... itiyen e wow eme...
night thirty POT.SG.be.finished ... DEM and 2SG 2SG.come
When thirty nights have passed...then you come...

The presence of p\(^w\)ič indicates that some activity has been completed, usually before a second activity begins/began. Thus the phrase ile p\(^w\)ič '3SG.go be.finished' at the beginning of a sentence is frequently used to relate the new sentence to the preceding sentence.

(128) uto tuwe ti, uto in. ile p\(^w\)ič, yo
1PCL.EXC boil tea 1PCL.EXC drink 3SG.be.finished 1SG
uto kantin
1SG.STAT canteen
We made tea and we drank it. When we had finished, I was in the canteen for a while.

(129) iy hečeyey ay a iy ile ey. ile p\(^w\)ič.
3SG pour blood POSS 3SG 3SG.be.finished
The verb *pwič* may also occur as a co-verb in the verb phrase periphery. Here, however, it does not always co-occur with a preceding *la*. Again, the presence of *pwič* indicates the completion of an activity – in this case that activity expressed by the main verb.

(130) seh me tamana ile *pwič* seh me e seh keli yaw...
3PL come dance 3SG.go be.finished 3PL come and 3PL PERF go
They came and danced. They came and they went away...

(131) iy ili ile *pwič* e iy ma kile ili tu
3SG dig 3SG.go be.finished and 3SG INT POT.SG.go dig post
ko?otut ...
back.of.house
He finished digging (them), and when he was going to dig the posts at the back...

(132) iy ili tu mese’en *ipwič* e iy ma kime
3SG dig post front.of.house 3SG.be.finished and 3SG INT POT.SG.come
ili tu ko?otut...
dig post back.of.house
He finished digging up the front posts and was about to come dig up the back posts...

(Examples (131) and (132) are from versions of the same story, told by two different speakers.)

(133) čito kani kani kani *kipwič*
1PCL.INC POT.NS.eat POT.NS.eat POT.NS.eat POT.SG.be.finished
čito kaw
1PCL.INC POT.NS.go
We’ll eat and eat until we finish, (and then) we’ll leave.

(134) hetow yan *ipwič* e su?u pʷa etow
3PCL eat 3SG.be.finished and 3DU say 2SG.STAT
They finished eating and the two said ‘Stay here’.

Note that *pwič* as a co-verb does not co-occur with any other co-verbs except *la*. And, unlike the other co-verbs, the phrase *ile pwič* may occur sentence-initially, preceding both the subject and the verb of the main clause.

5.2.4 AGREEMENT IN THE VERB PHRASE

Note that the potential form of the main verb in (93) above, *kolomʷi*, is reflected in the repetition of the potential prefix on the co-verb *kito*, and that the perfective in (100) occurs both with the main verb and with the co-verb. This type of tense/aspect sequencing, or
'harmony', is very common, and includes the repetition of pre-verbal ma 'intentional/inchoative' (5.1.1.3.1) in co-verb phrases.

(135) su?u ma kelele ma kile če?erekow
3DU INT POT.NS.look INT POT.go Ce?erekow
They were looking toward Ce?erekow.

However, this repetition of tense/aspect marking is not obligatory. There are attested examples in which the tense/aspect is not the same in the two parts of the verb phrase, nucleus and periphery.

(136) yo ma kunenes ile puret peti epi
1SG INT POT.SG.talk 3SG.go work for sago
I want to talk about the procedures for making sago.

(137) iy kili eku itow
3SG PERF pile.up 3SG.STAT
He sat down and stayed there.

(138) su?u iw ma kile ete iy epiwer
3DU NS.call INT POT.go AG 3SG only
They called out to her.

(139) seh yaleteni pun ki?i la
3PL NS.divide pepper.leaf PERF go
They divided out the pepper leaf.

It is thus not a rigid rule that if the main verb is in one tense/aspect, all accompanying co-verbs must also be in the same tense/aspect. However, it is most generally true that all verb forms in a given verb phrase are in the same tense/aspect, at least as far as potential, perfective, or intentional/inchoative are concerned. There is no indication that pre-verbal auxiliaries tow, tah, le?i, yaw, sow or ye are repeated in the co-verb expressions, and there is no attested example of a repeated ya 'future'.

As regards person agreement between the main verb and the co-verb(s), however, the situation is not so easily stated. Most often, the co-verb forms are in the first/third person singular - that is, they are prefixed with i-/u- (see 5.1.1.1). This is commonly true even when the subject of the main verb and/or the direct object of a transitive main verb is second person singular or non-singular. There are cases, though, where there appears to be person/number agreement, such that the subject of an intransitive main verb, or the direct object of a transitive main verb, are reflected in the person of the co-verb.

(140) ya?ase yaw
2SG.walk 2SG.go
Get out of here.

(141) seh la mon me
3PL NS.go return NS.come
They came back.

(142) uto ko?oluweni wow ala tan
1PCL.EXC POT.NS.lower 2SG 2SG.go down
We'll lower you down.
They climbed up into the house.

In view of these and other examples of person/number agreement between a preceding noun phrase and the co-verb, it is possible to suggest that wherever the subject of an intransitive main verb (144) or the direct object of a transitive main verb (145) is first/third person singular, and the co-verb is also first/third person singular, there is person/number concord.

The possum crawled along it toward them.

The possum crawled along it toward them.

The possum crawled along it toward them.

However, there are so many cases where the co-verb is first/third person singular and the possible governing noun phrases are not, that one must look elsewhere for an explanation of the form of the co-verb(s). There is support in studies of other related languages for the hypothesis that co-verbs may evolve into frozen monomorphemic forms which serve as postverbal particles and as prepositions (cf. Johnston 1980; Bradshaw 1979). Examine the following:

They were falling through it.

They carried them to the canoe on their shoulders.

They ate and then, later, they slept.

They waded very quickly straight to Peheka.

Clearly there is no concord between any preceding noun phrase and the co-verbs in the above sentences. Thus the status of the co-verb forms as verbs seems to be changing, such that they are no longer required to agree with a subject in person/number, and further, that they seem to be ‘freezing’ into an invariable first/third person singular form.

5.2.5 FUNCTIONS OF THE CO-VERB PHRASES IN THE VERB PHRASE PERIPHERY

In this section, the various category labels (for example, locative goal/place, purpose, instrumental, and so on) are intended only to indicate the wide variety of relationships between the main verb of a sentence and any oblique object noun phrases, which may be expressed by the use of one or another of the possible co-verb phrases. These categories should therefore be understood as functional rather than formal.
5.2.5.1 LOCATIVE PLACE

The stative/locative verb to(w) and the stative/locative particle ta(h) function in the verb phrase periphery as indicators of locative place. The verb to(w) may be followed directly by noun phrase (153) – (154), or the place may be contextually determined or unspecified (150) – (152). In the latter case, additional aspectual information is also provided by the co-verb construction, which tends to indicate durative aspect, in the sense of ‘remain’ or ‘stay’.

(150) amey ime, ime ač itow
Amey 3SG.come 3SG.come hide 3SG.STAT
Amey came and hid (and stayed hidden).

(151) iy ičelepweni epi itow
3SG 3SG.lose sago 3SG.STAT
He dropped the sago (and left it).

(152) hetow law a petukomopu keli me leʔi tow
3PCL relative POSS grandchild.1SG PERF come PRES STAT
My grandson's relatives have come (and are still here).

(153) iy iyew ito teken
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.STAT base.3SG
He went and stayed at its base.

(154) ow kolomwi yo kito maʔakoso kalipap
2DU POT.NS. plant 1SG POT.SG.STAT next.to Kalipap
Bury me next to Kalipap.

When tah occurs without a preceding co-verb, such as la or me, it must be followed by a noun phrase:

(155) suʔu to pet ta pelepan epwe
3DU STAT float LOC on.top only
They were floating right on top.

(156) yo ma kipesani čihi logow epwe wɔw yakaʔani ta
1SG INT POT. know which thing only 2SG hide LOC

lɔtiye top
inside basket
I want to know what things you hid in the basket.

With a preceding co-verb, however, no following noun phrase is necessary with tah:

(157) yo utuʔuŋi čaʔah a suʔu ile tah
1SG 1SG.close door POSS 3DU 3SG.go LOC
I closed their door over there.

(158) etow kala huti humey iso tah itiyen
2PCL POT.NS.go take fruit 3SG.be LOC DEM
Go pick some humey fruit over there.

The verb ye ‘be in a place, sit’, which must be followed by a stated noun phrase, also functions as locative place:
He came (and) put it on the veranda.

Locative place can also be indicated by (*la*) *sow* (*NP*):

3SG go come across 3SG be in centre. 3SG
He came across (it) up in the centre (of a tree).

I'm going to pick a mango over there.

The *la* *sow*, *la* *tah*, and *la* *tow/me* *tow* forms combine direction with location, indicating motion toward or away from a point of reference, and a stay of some duration at the point of destination:

They dragged him into the sea (and left him).

Say 'Put it down (and leave it here)'.

See also (157) and (161).

5.2.5.2 LOCATIVE GOAL/DIRECTION

A small class of the motion verbs which may occur as co-verbs serve as directional indicators. These verbs are *la* 'go (away from x)'; *me* 'come (toward x)'; *mon* 'return, reverse direction'; and *yaw* 'go away (direction unspecified)'. Neither *yaw* nor *mon* may be followed directly by any type of noun phrase. Both *la* and *me* may be followed by a noun phrase of location. When no locative noun phrase is stated, the action of the main verb either has no specific locative goal or that goal is understood from context.

He flew off.

He is walking back.

He is walking back.

He came back home.
They walked for some distance.

Yesterday I jumped down.

Put some water into a dish, (and) bring it here.

They threw the spears (and hit nothing).

He threw it at his wing (and hit it).

Roll him down to the bottom of the hill.

He turned (himself) around (and) came back.

5.2.5.3 ANIMATE GOAL

Nouns introduced by la or me may function as animate goal (traditionally termed indirect object or benefactive). Such la or me + noun phrase constructions are similar to the locative goal constructions (5.2.5.2 above), with the exception that the noun phrase is human, or is one of a small class of non-human animates (including mwi 'dog' and pop 'turtle', but not pow 'pig' or lawat 'possum'). The members of this subset of noun phrases are always preceded by the particle ete when in construction with a preceding la or me and functioning as an animate goal.

The possum crawled along it to them.

We will show you how to do it.

Call him to come.

All other functions of the co-verb phrases involve la/me + noun phrase constructions.
If the noun phrase is first or second person, *me* is normally the co-verb used in the animate goal phrase. Otherwise, *la* is generally used, although *me* may be used for third person if the speaker wishes to make a point of focus.

In both (179) and (180), the speaker is identifying with or focusing on the *su?u* of the animate goal, and thus uses *me* 'motion toward' rather than *la* 'motion away from'.

### 5.2.5.4 FACTITIVE

In constructions which function as factitives, the noun phrase introduced by *la* or *me* has come into being as a result of the action of the main verb.

(181) \[ iy \ chilimatan \ ime \ ek \ ile \ niw, \ ile \ niw \]

\[ 3SG \ eyeball.3SG \ come \ grow \ 3SG.go \ coconut \ 3SG.go \ coconut \]

\[ ma?uwey \]

His eyeballs grew into coconuts, into two coconut trees.

(182) \[ sih \ ime \ chahow \ ime \ petukan \ sih \ ime \ chahow \]

\[ one \ 3SG.come \ appear \ 3SG.come \ bird \ one \ 3SG.come \ appear \]

\[ ile \ mwat \]

\[ 3SG.go \ snake \]

One had become a bird, the other had become a snake.

(183) \[ seh \ ti?i \ ile \ puh \]

\[ 3PL \ weave \ 3SG.go \ fish.trap \]

They wove (it) into a fish trap.

### 5.2.5.5 PURPOSE

Generally, if *la* or *me* as co-verb introduce a subordinate verb phrase rather than a noun phrase, the function will be purpose, telling why the action of the main verb takes place. Purpose may also be indicated by *la/me + noun phrase*.

(184) \[ iy \ huti \ ketuŋ \ ime \ yetini \ palan \ ile \ ey \]

\[ 3SG \ take \ club \ 3SG.come \ split \ head.3SG \ 3SG.go \ PRO \]

He took the club to split his head with it.
5.2.5.6 RESULT

There are a great many examples of constructions in which the direct object of the main verb is (or can be construed as being) the subject of the co-verb. This is a kind of serial causative construction, in which the first verb is the cause, and the second is the result. Note that the direct object need not be overtly expressed – in such cases, it is understood from context.

The remainder of the identified functions involve only la + noun phrase.

5.2.5.7 TIME

Co-verb phrases expressing passage of time are introduced by the co-verb la ‘go’.

The identified functions involve only la + noun phrase.
Other expressions of time are described in 3.5.1 (Temporal adverbs).

5.2.5.8 REASON

Reason phrases are introduced by *ile čah* (lit. 'goes to what'), which is equivalent to English 'because' or 'why'. The word čah 'what, something' is used also in information questions (see 6.7.3.2), and may function as a noun.

(194) *tele ulin hipiri ma?awey o mačuluwey...*  
*canoe lead/point?? like two or three*  
*ile čah law mata ito velini tun čelewan*  
3SG.go what net big 3SG.STAT like canoe many  
There are about two or three lead or point canoes...because the big net likes/needs many canoes.

(195) *yo le?i to hine ile čah čačah ipwewey*  
1SG PRES STAT do 3SG.go what father 3SG.say.it  
I'm doing it because my father told me to.

(196) *yo kili pithi kolaw a yo pwe ile čah an*  
1SG PERF wash clothes POSS 1SG NEG 3SG.go what water  
čelewan pwe  
plenty NEG  
I didn’t wash my clothes because there wasn’t enough water.

5.2.5.9 THEME

Some intransitive verbs of mental or verbal activity, such as *nenes* ‘talk’ or *oŋo?oŋohe* ‘think’, may take a noun phrase argument which expresses the content of the activity; these noun phrases are here termed ‘theme’, and are introduced by *ile*.

(197) *pataman iy inenes ile komu itiyo ile ete iy*  
father.3SG 3SG 3SG.talk 3SG.go word DEM 3SG.go AG 3SG  
Her father spoke to her about these words/this conversation.

(198) *seh to oŋo?oŋohe ile purēt peti epi*  
3PL STAT think 3SG.go work for sago  
They think about the procedures for making sago.

The idiom *kolu + possessor tut* 'throat-possessor close' means 'to forget'. The theme in a 'forget' construction is also introduced by *la*.

(199) *ya kolu ow kili tut ki?i la ey pwe*  
FUT throat 2DU PERF close PERF go PRO NEG  
You must not forget about it.
5.2.5.10 INSTRUMENT

The instrument noun phrase is introduced by *la*:

(200) \( eyp^w_1 \ kile \ mumum \)
2SG.beat POT.SG.go pole
Beat it with poles.

(201) \( uweh \ le?i \ to \ ta?i \ kanas \ ile \ ey \)
1PL.EXC PRES STAT catch mullet 3SG.go PRO
We catch mullet with it.

5.2.5.11 MANNER

One further function of the *la* + noun phrase co-verb phrase may be labelled manner:

(202) \( hetow \ ta?iy \ ile \ opo?opohey \ a \ hetow \ ep^w_e \)
3PCL catch.it 3SG.go thinking POSS 3PCL only
They catch them according to their own ideas.

(203) \( su?u \ keli \ yesow \ ki?i \ la \ opo?opohey \ a \ su?u \ p^w_e \)
3DU PERF marry PERF go thinking POSS 3DU NEG
They do not (ever?) marry according to their own ideas.

5.2.5.12 MISCELLANEOUS

Some instances of the *la* + noun phrase co-verb phrase are not easily categorised, and do not seem to fit under any of the above headings. These miscellaneous functions are exemplified in (204) – (209) below:

(204) \( iy \ to \ hageni \ su?u \ ile \ so?oh \)
3SG STAT feed 3DU 3SG.go meat
She would feed them with meat.

(205) \( hetow \ to \ yenyan \ ile \ suwe \ itiven \)
3PCL STAT eat 3SG.go yam DEM
They would eat these yams (as a dietary staple).

(206) \( ko \ ile \ tehita \ ile \ amat \)
village 3SG.go fill.up 3SG.go people
The village filled up with people.

(207) \( eto \ kesuwa \ epi \ kile \ niw \)
2PCL POT.NS.fry sago POT.SG.go coconut
Fry the sago with coconut (meat).

(208) \( ya \ seh \ kele?ey \ kile \ kilima \ to \ ep^w_e \ itiven \)
FUT 3PL POT.NS.see POT.SG.go sign pole only DEM
They can tell just from the clue of the punting poles.

(209) \( iy \ iputi \ patanohun \ ile \ nipulun \)
3SG 3SG.take Patanyohun 3SG.go spouse.3SG
She took Patanyohun as her husband.
Note the example in (205), in which the intransitive form of the verb ‘eat’ is used – *yemeyan*, which is a reduplicative form of the transitive verb root *yan* ‘eat’ (see 3.8.1 (Reduplication)). The transitive equivalent of this sentence is *hetow to yan suwe* ‘They are/were eating yams’. The difference between the two seems to be the emphasis, in (205), on the central role of yams in the habitual diet, while the transitive version does not imply such a role, and can be understood as continuative rather than habitual.

5.2.6 COORDINATION OF VERB PHRASE AND CO-VERB PHRASES

5.2.6.1 COORDINATION OF VERB PHRASES

Normally, coordination of clauses with the same subject involves repetition of the subject following each occurrence of a conjunction. There are however three clear examples in which the subject of the non-initial clause has been deleted under identity with the subject of the initial clause:

(210) e wow ele lih eleven e ele lih puwnon
     and 2SG 2SG.PERF.go ?? long or 2SG.PERF.go ?? short
     And did you go far or near?

(211) ko itow e ma kile keheyah...
     land 3SG.STAT and INT POT.SG.go afternoon
     It was getting to be afternoon...
     (Tok Pisin: *Ples i stap i laik go apinun...*)

(212) wow to yaw e to yaw...
     2SG STAT go.off and STAT go.off
     You keep going off...

There are other examples which may in fact be of the type exemplified in (210)–(212). However, in these other cases, the verbs involved are in the third person singular form. In most sentences which are composed of several clauses, each of which has as its subject the third person singular pronoun *iy*, the pronoun is clearly present, but there are some in which it is not clear whether the *iy* is present in the non-initial clauses or not. When *iy* precedes the third person singular verbal prefix *i-*, the two together are pronounced in various ways: *[iy i], *[i?i], *[i:], or *[i]. When there is a single vowel, with no lengthening (as in (213)–(214), it is difficult to determine if the third person singular pronoun has been deleted under identity with the subject of the initial clause, or is present but not clearly perceptible.

(213) pokowey ile cong pow e ile cong ile cong...
     Pokowey 3SG.go hunt pig and 3SG.go hunt 3SG.go hunt
     Pokowey went to hunt pig, and he hunted for a while...

(214) temey iten e iten e iten e seh la pilep
     drum 3SG.cry and 3SG.cry and 3SG.cry and 3PL go garden
     The drum beat and beat and beat and they went to the garden.

In the absence of more examples of coordinated verb phrases in which the verbs are different, and of examples with a plural subject, it is impossible to make a definite statement here as to whether such sentences as ‘They ate and went to sleep’ (which would be *hetow yemeyan e mete*) are possible in Loniu. Certainly no sentences of this type are attested in the texts and conversations which make up the data on which the present work is based. My
intuition tells me that these are not possible in Loniu, and that the subject pronoun would have to be repeated: hetow yeneyan ε hetow mete; such coordination of complete sentences is very common (see 7.2).

A construction composed of a verb phrase with no stated subject, similar to the coordinate verb phrases exemplified above (210) – (214), is frequently attested in multiple clause sentences. These constructions differ, however, in that the verb is most often unmarked for person, and the subject cannot always be understood as being deleted under identity with a preceding noun phrase. These constructions are described in 7.1 (Paratactic structures).

5.2.6.2 COORDINATION OF CO-VERB PHRASES

Co-verb phrases within the verb phrase may be conjoined with either ε ‘and, or’ (215), (216) or ο ‘or’ (217). However, overt coordination is not a commonly used strategy for joining co-verb phrases; normally, such phrases are simply juxtaposed in a series, with no overt connector (218).

(215) wow etekeni kile ε kile m^ekew
2SG 2SG.throw POT.SG.go and POT.SG.go deep.sea
Throw it far out to sea.

(216) puh itiyen kile takeni kile pat ε kile
trap DEM POT.SG.go throw POT.SG.go stone or POT.SG.go te?ewon...
sand
If the trap hits against stones or against sand...

(217) iy ineke ile keyaw o ile tun
3SG 3SG.climb 3SG.go platform or 3SG.go canoe
She climbs up onto a platform or onto a canoe.

(218) iy ito c^alapweni ile tan ime pelepan
3SG 3SG.STAT toss 3SG.go down 3SG.come on.top
He was waving (it) up and down.
CHAPTER 6
SENTENCE TYPES

The sentence in Loniu is here defined as the subject-predicate construction, which may be of several types: the verbless sentence (6.1), in which the predicate consists of a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a locative phrase; the simple verbed sentence (6.2), in which the predicate consists of a single verb phrase (see Chapter 5); and the comparative sentence (6.4). Also included as major sentence types are the negative constructions (6.5), imperatives (6.6), and interrogatives (6.7). Complex or multiple-clause sentences are described in Chapter 7 (Coordination, subordination, and sentence connectors).

The unmarked order of constituents in a sentence is Subject – (Verb) – Object/Complement. However, the direct object may be fronted for purposes of focus (6.8). Clauses without a stated subject also occur, and are described in 7.1 (Paratactic structures). In many clauses, a pronominal copy of the subject occurs between the subject and verb (6.3).

6.1 THE VERBLESS SENTENCE

The verbless sentence in Loniu has a structure in which the subject, which may be a full noun phrase, a personal pronoun (modified or unmodified), or a demonstrative pronoun, is followed by a predicator consisting of either a full noun phrase, a personal pronoun (one example), an adjective (but see 3.3), a demonstrative pronoun, a peti + NP phrase (see 3.6.1) or a ta + NP phrase (see 5.2). There may also be a pronoun copy of the subject between the subject and predicator (see 6.3). The structure of the verbless sentence may be schematised as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{NP} \} & \quad \{ \text{PRO} \} \quad \{ \text{ADJ} \} \\
\{ \text{PRO} \} \quad \{ \text{DEM} \} & \quad \{ \text{PRO} \} \quad \{ \text{DEM} \} \\
\{ \text{peti + NP} \} & \quad \{ \text{peti + NP} \} \\
\{ \text{ta + NP} \} & \quad \{ \text{ta + NP} \}
\end{align*}
\]

Depending on the semantic content of the constituents, the verbless sentence is understood as equative, descriptive, possessive, or locative in meaning. There is no specific syntactic marking to distinguish among these possibilities.

6.1.1 THE EQUATIVE VERBLESS SENTENCE

The equative sentence most often contains two noun phrases, the second of which is a further identification or classification of the first:

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The predicate of a descriptive verbless sentence consists most commonly of a descriptive adjunct (3.3) or a peti + NP phrase (3.6.1). While it may have the same structure as the noun phrase, the descriptive verbless sentence is distinguishable from simple noun phrases by intonation (there may be a slight pause between the subject and the complement) and by context.

(8) yo peti ko nrolokow mwenen
1SG from land Loniu straight
I am from Loniu village itself.

(9) u ma?amow u musih
1DU.EXC two 1DU.EXC same
We two, we are the same/just alike.

(10) ma?am pi?en
skin.2SG white
Your skin is white.

(11) cumow iy pi?en
k.o. crab 3SG white
The cumow crab is white.

6.1.3 THE POSSESSIVE VERBLESS SENTENCE
In addition to the possessive constructions described in 3.1.1, possession may be expressed in a verbless sentence. Note that the second noun phrase in this type of sentence is a predication about, rather than an identification or classification of, the first noun phrase:
(12) *wow ere?en mawan*
2SG attitude.2SG bad
You have a bad attitude.

(13) *wow itiyen wow petum*
2SG DEM 2SG child.2SG
You here, you have a child/you are pregnant.

(14) *u tun pwe*
1DU.EXC canoe NEG
We have no canoe.

(15) *suwe iy ti òohonan*
yam 3SG EMPH place.3SG
Yams have their own place.

6.1.4 THE LOCATIVE VERBBLESS SENTENCE

In locative sentences, the predicate consists of a demonstrative (see 3.5.2 and 4.3.7) or a noun phrase of location introduced by the locative particle *ta* (which is not categorised as a verb, because it never takes verbal inflections of any kind).

(16) *pun a wow itiyo*
pepper.leaf POSS 2SG DEM
Here is your pepper leaf.

(17) *jano ta pelegan*
mother.1SG LOC up.in.the.house
My mother is in the house.

6.1.5 THE VERBAL NOUN *pasan*

The lexeme *pasan* ‘knowledge’ seems to require special treatment; it is categorised as a noun based on the separability of the final *-n*, which appears to be the third person singular possessive suffix. The suffix, in the case of *pasa-n*, refers to the fact of which one has the knowledge (18), but may be replaced by a noun expressing what it is that one knows (19) or by a personal pronoun when knowledge of a human being is indicated (20).

(18) *wow pasan*
2SG knowledge.3SG
You know (it).

(19) *homow pasa naan pwe*
one knowledge name.3SG NEG
No one knows her name.

(20) *he pasa iy*
who knowledge 3SG
Who knows/understands him?

It is likely that a literal translation of, for example, the sentence in (18) would be something like ‘you have knowledge of it’ (cf. (12) in 6.1.3 (The possessive verbless sentence)). There is no example of *pasa-* with either the first or second person singular possessive
suffix. Although pasa- does not occur with verbal prefixes, there is a related form which does. This form, pesani, is derived by suffixing the -ani transitive ending (see 3.8.3.4) on the pasa- root, and occurs when a specific tense or aspect is present in a sentence involving the acquisition of knowledge:

\[(21)\] iy kili pesani kali p\textsuperscript{we} \\
3SG PERF know PERF NEG
He found out.

\[(22)\] yo ma kupesani komu a ko \\
1SG INT POT.SG.know language POSS land
I want to know the Loniu language.

\[(23)\] putuwa ow kipesani \\
belly 2DU POT.SG.know
Your bellies will come to know it, become accustomed to it.

This is the only example of an inalienably possessed noun from which a verb is derived by means of the -ani suffix.

6.1.6 COORDINATION OF VERBLESS PREDICATES

The predicate in a verbless sentence may be compound:

\[(24)\] o napulum huyan e muwan \\
oh spouse.2SG good or bad
Oh, is your husband handsome or ugly?

\[(25)\] itiyen ni p\textsuperscript{we} e amat \\
DEM fish NEG but human
That is not a fish, but a human being.

\[(26)\] eyn ta ete wow e ta ete seh law a wow \\
smell.3SG LOC AG 2SG and LOC AG 3PL relative POSS 2SG
Her smell is on you and on your relatives.

6.2 THE SIMPLE VERBED SENTENCE

The simple or minimal construction which contains a verb and fits the definition given above for the category sentence consists of a subject noun phrase (as defined and described in Chapter 4) followed by a single verb phrase (as defined and described in Chapter 5). Sentences of this type are exemplified, with the verb phrase underlined, in (27) through (32):

\[(27)\] yo up\textsuperscript{we} komu peti ko \\
1SG 1SG.speak language from land
I speak the local language (Loniu).

\[(28)\] seh to tay pes\textsubscript{esih} peti pes\textsubscript{esih} \\
3PL STAT beat.it one.time after one.time
They make it (sago) all the time.
I want to tell the story of sago.

And the woman who has been adorned is on the platform.

And so the brother put his sister into ritual isolation.

Those at the mouth of the net are firm.

This type of minimal construction is not the most common sentence type, especially in connected discourse. Most often, strings of clauses of this type occur, as described in Chapter 7 (Coordination, subordination, and sentence connectors).

6.3 THE PRONOUN COPY

Both verbed and verbless sentences may contain a pleonastic subject; that is, the subject, whether a full noun phrase, a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative pronoun, may be followed by a personal pronoun which copies the person and number of the subject. This pronoun copy is then followed by the predicate of the sentence.

In order to determine whether or not the pronoun copy is predictable (by rule or co-occurrence restrictions, for example), the following possible distinctions were investigated for both verbed and verbless sentences:

(a) The internal syntactic structure of the subject, that is, person/number, immediate constituency, and relative size.

(b) The type of predicate, that is, descriptive, equative, possessive, or locative for verbless sentences, transitive or intransitive for verbed sentences; further considerations such as tense/aspect and type of verb affixation were also compared.

(c) Semantic distinctions such as the specificity of the subject; the definiteness of the subject, especially as regards previous versus first mention; reference to wholes or to parts of a whole; and/or whether the subject can be said to contrast with some other referent in the immediate context.

None of these distinctions appear to be related to the presence or absence of the pronoun copy. However, if the subject is a modified personal pronoun, the pronoun tends to be repeated immediately preceding the predicate:

(35)  
We too, we are like that.

(36)  
We two here, where can we go?
Unmodified pronoun subjects are only repeated if special emphasis is intended:

(37) \textit{yo \text{ } yo \text{ } pihin \text{ } wow \text{ } wow \text{ } kaman} \\
\text{1SG \text{ } 1SG \text{ } woman \text{ } 2SG \text{ } 2SG \text{ } man} \\
Me, I am a woman, you, you are a man.

Otherwise, with unmodified, non-emphatic pronoun subjects, there is no pronoun copy:

(38) \textit{u \text{ } hi \text{ } amat} \\
\text{1DU.EXC \text{ } FEM \text{ } human} \\
We are humans (female).

(39) \textit{wow \text{ } ala \text{ } tah \text{ } e \text{ } wow \text{ } eli \text{ } yaw} \\
\text{2SG \text{ } 2SG.go \text{ } LOC \text{ } or \text{ } 2SG \text{ } 2SG.PERF \text{ } go} \\
Are you there or have you gone away?

If the subject noun phrase contains a noun modified by a pre-nominal determiner (which is a personal pronoun – see 4.2), the subject \textit{tends} to be followed by a pronoun copy, especially in verbless sentences:

(40) \textit{iy \text{ } amat \text{ } itiyen \text{ } iy \text{ } amat \text{ } a \text{ } kaw} \\
\text{3SG \text{ } man \text{ } DEM \text{ } 3SG \text{ } man \text{ } POSS \text{ } sorcery} \\
That man is a sorcerer.

(41) \textit{seh \text{ } petu \text{ } tahah \text{ } seh \text{ } la \text{ } po \text{ } puret} \\
\text{3PL \text{ } child \text{ } 1PL.INC \text{ } 3PL \text{ } go \text{ } do \text{ } work} \\
Our children went to work.

(42) \textit{uweh \text{ } kaman \text{ } uweh \text{ } we\text{\textae} \text{ } ake} \\
\text{1PL.EXC \text{ } male \text{ } 1PL.EXC \text{ } cut \text{ } tree} \\
We men, we cut down the trees.

There are, however, a small number of verbed sentences which are counter to this pattern, and contain no pronoun copy:

(43) \textit{iy \text{ } pihin \text{ } huti \text{ } petuwet} \\
\text{3SG \text{ } woman \text{ } 3SG.take \text{ } fire.stone} \\
The woman took a fire stone.

(44) \textit{su\text{?}u \text{ } amat \text{ } puliye \text{ } to \text{ } hilit\text{e} \text{ } su\text{?}u \text{ } amat...} \\
\text{3DU \text{ } man \text{ } also \text{ } STAT \text{ } choose \text{ } 3DU \text{ } man} \\
Another two men choose two men...

In no other cases was there any evidence that the internal structure of the subject had any bearing on the presence or absence of the pronoun copy.

As far as the type of predicate is concerned, neither verbless nor verbed sentences show any indication of a pattern for the occurrence or non-occurrence of a pronoun copy. Nor does variation of tense or aspect appear to trigger the pronoun copy.

In verbed sentences, the majority of those which \textit{do not} contain pronoun copies (53 of 60 examples) have singular subjects, while those which \textit{do} are fairly evenly divided between singulars and plurals (51 of 107 examples with singular subjects, 56 of 107 with plural subjects). This is not surprising, since the singular subjects require an overt prefix to be present on the verb, while the plural subjects have a $\theta$-prefix. The inclusion of a pronoun copy of the singular subject could provide a total of three separate indications of
person/number, and would be therefore less likely to occur than the plural pronoun copies, which provide only a second marking for person/number, and in some cases provide the only syntactic marking for plurality:

(45)  hipwetu e amey su?u tow  
     Hipwetu and Amey 3DU STAT  
     Hipwetu and Amey remained.

(46)  patama su?u ma pane su?u hetow pasan...  
     father 3DU and mother 3DU 3PCL knowledge.3SG  
     Their mothers and fathers know...

In example (46), the reference could be ambiguous without the pronoun copy, since the noun phrase subject could refer to the father of the two siblings and the mother of the two siblings, in which case the pronoun copy would have been su?u rather than hetow. The presence of hetow makes it clear that the subject refers to the fathers and mothers of two unrelated children.

Neither definiteness, specificity, nor part/whole distinctions are consistently marked by the presence of a pronoun copy. The copy is attested for both first-mention noun phrases and previously mentioned noun phrases (47)–(48); for both specific and non-specific noun phrases (49)–(50); and for both partitive and non-partitive noun phrases (51)–(52).

(47)  First mention:  
      ow kele?e  logow ya iy kime  čahow...  
      2DU POT.NS.see thing  FUT 3SG POT.SG.come appear  
      You will see a thing (which) will come up...

(48)  Previous mention:  
      ...mwalih peti epi. epi iy eneyan a uweh  
      story about sago sago 3SG food POSS 1PL.EXC  
      ...a story about sago. Sago is our food.

(49)  Specific:  
      ke?ipow iy iwoh iyew  
      k.o. bird 3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.go  
      The bird flew away.

(50)  Non-specific:  
      suwe iy ke?ek...  
      yam 3SG POT.SG.grow  
      When the yams grow...

(51)  Part:  
      ow kele?e su?u, sih iy kime  čahow...  
      2DU POT.NS.see 3DU one 3SG POT.SG.come appear  
      e sih iy kime  čahow...  
      and one 3SG POT.SG.come appear  
      You will see the two, one will come up...and one will come up...
Nor does the absence of the pronoun copy seem to follow a pattern based on any one of these three distinctions. There are similar pairs of sentences which contain no pronoun copy for either type within each pair.

Finally, neither the presence nor the absence of the pronoun copy can be seen to imply any kind of contrast between two or more noun phrases.

In view of the negative results of the various tests and comparisons mentioned, including the internal structure of the subject, the type of predicate, and the several semantic distinctions investigated, the conclusion that the pronoun copy is an optional constituent in the Loniu sentence seems unavoidable. It is not impossible, however, that in-depth analysis of discourse strategies or pragmatic factors may provide evidence for a rule predicting the occurrence of the copy. Such analysis is, however, beyond the purview of the present description.

6.4 COMPARISON

6.4.1 RELATIONSHIPS OF EQUALITY

There are several ways to indicate similarity or equality between two objects or activities. The adjective *musih* is roughly equivalent to English ‘alike’, and compares nouns. Both nouns precede *musih*, which functions as the complement:

(53) **suwe** _e_ **pičinah musih epwe**
    little.yam and big.yam alike only
    The small yams and the big yams are alike.

(54) **seh amat masih seh musih epwe**
    3PL man _all_ 3PL alike only
    All men are alike.

(55) **iy _e_ wow ow ma?amow ow musih**
    3SG and 2SG 2DU _two_ 2DU alike
    You and he, the two of you, are alike (physically).

To indicate that one thing is like another, usually relative to a single parameter, *hipeta* (variants *hipiti*, *hipera*, *hipiri*) is used. The noun phrase being compared precedes *hipeta*, the standard of comparison follows:

(56) **metiyen čah? metiyen hipeta um itiyen**
    big what big like house DEM
    How big is it? As big as that house.

(57) **lomwa pičinah hipeta lomwa suwe epwe**
    planting big.yam like planting small.yam only
    The way to plant the big yams is the same as the way to plant the small ones.
(58) ke itiyo elewen hipeta sih epwe itiyen
    wood DEM long like one only DEM
This stick is as long as that one.

*Hipeta* may also be used more generally, like *musih*:

(59) popwa iy hipeta nataman epwe
    Popwa 3SG like father.3SG only
    Popwa is just like his father.

(60) ko a su?u hipeta pupi itiyen
    land POSS 3DU like Pupi DEM
    Their land was like Pupi here.

The *hipeta* construction is parallel to the comparative construction (see below), with the formula:

```
Item compared – hipeta – Standard
```

while the *musih* constructions contain the two items compared as the subject of a verbless sentence, of which *musih* is the descriptive complement.

A third possibility for stating similarity is the form *lene?i*, which is most often used to compare clauses or activities rather than objects (see also 7.3.1):

(61) hetow hine puriyan peti ey *lene?i* suwe epwe
    3PCL do work.3SG for PRO like small.yam only
    They did the work for it just like (they did for) small yams.

(62) *mwa* at ito yeni *lene?i* pane su?u
    snake 3SG.STAT eat like mother 3DU
    The snake would eat the way their mother did.

(63) *nrekepwen* a iy iy *lene?i* pa?oh iy ma kile
    behaviour POSS 3SG 3SG like near 3SG INT POT.SG.go
    thing bad
    His behaviour is such that he is close to becoming an evil thing.

Both *lene?i* and *hipeta* are used in constructions other than equatives, and are discussed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2.

6.4.2 COMPARATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

The comparative construction consists of the following structure:

```
Item compared – (Verb) – Parameter – { ile } – Standard
                  { ime }
```

The variation between *ile* and *ime* is dependent on the speaker's focus. Normally, if the standard is first or second person, *ime* is used. However, the speaker may use either one, to indicate a closer (*ime*) or a more distant (*ile*) relationship, either spatial or psychological, between the items/persons compared and the speaker.
This stick is longer than that stick.

Jonah is older than Timothy.

You are fatter than I am.

They made more sago than we did.

Her child was born before mine.

This pot is better for heating water than that other one over there.

Note that the parameter may be a single word (čelewan, hano, etc.), or a phrase, as in huyan ime pagataha an gatahan ile in (69).

A superlative meaning is implied when the standard of comparison consists of a defined group:

Jonah is the oldest in their family.

Francis is the smallest/youngest of the three.

Francis is smaller than those three.

Francis is the smallest/youngest of the three.

A different construction, without ilé or ime, also indicates superlative. This construction includes a stated parameter modified by an intensifier, and a standard which takes the form of a relative clause modifying the parameter:

The whale is the biggest fish in the ocean.
In both (73) and (74) it is possible to rephrase the sentence in such a way that a noun phrase occurs in the slot between the intensifier *tasih* and the relative clause, and the *ile/ime* forms are present. A paraphrase of, for example (75), would be (76):

(75) *pwelejah iy ni napwanan tasih uweh huti*
parrotfish 3SG fish big INTENS 1PL.EXC catch
The parrotfish is the biggest fish we catch.

(76) *pwelejah iy ni napwanan ile ni (masih) uweh huti*
parrotfish 3SG fish big 3SG.g o fish (all) 1PL.EXC catch
The parrotfish is the biggest of (all) the fish we catch.

Compare (75)–(76) and (77):

(77) *pwelejah itiyo iy napwanan ile masih*
parrotfish DEM 3SG big 3SG.g o all
This parrotfish is the biggest of all.

In (77), *masih* is previously defined and restricted to a group of several parrotfish which had been caught. In (75) and (76), however, the standard of comparison is the entire set of fish species regularly caught by the Loniu.

### 6.5 Negation

The negators in Loniu are *pwe* ‘not, no’ and *ma sow* ‘not yet’. Each may be used alone in response to a request or question:

(78) *eme to?u kanayan. ma sow*
2SG.come 1DU.INC POT.NS.eat not yet
Come, let’s eat. Not yet.

(79) *sara ile tah? pwe*
Sara 3S G.go LOC NEG
Is Sara there? No.

To negate a verbless sentence or sentence fragment, the negator is placed following the sentence or phrase negated:

(80) *itiyo ko a woh pwe, ko a yo puliye pwe*
DEM land POSS 2SG NEG land POSS 1SG also NEG
This is not your land, nor is it mine.

(81) *itiyo lo pwhaaho ko?uka pwe, itiyo lo pwhaaho we to?u*
DEM in mouth bird NEG DEM in mouth sibling 1DU.INC
That was not the call of the chawka bird, that was the voice of our sister.

(82) *iy ipwe puret ma sow*
3SG 3SG.say work not yet
She said ‘Don’t do the work yet’.
(83) *ti jaman* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**The tea is not sweet (enough).**

(84) *hepe petu ni, metiyen* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**Just a little piece of fish, not a big one.**

(85) *ley la?eleven pa?oh* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**Lae is far away, not near.**

(86) *homow pasa pa?an* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**No one knows her name.**

Only one example of a non-final negative occurs in the data (87); in this sentence, the phrase *komu* \(^{p^w_e}\) *nrokow* was an intonational unit:

(87) *ito cepw'i komu* \(^{p^w_e}\) *nrokow*  
**Loniu**  
*Ito cepw'i* is not a Loniu phrase.

Verbed sentences are negated by placing the appropriate perfective marker (*kili/el/keli*) in the pre-verb position, and adding the negative at the end of the clause:

(88) *iy kili to mete* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**She isn't sleeping.**

(89) *seh keli ta?i* \(^{p^weleyah}\)  
**They didn't catch any parrotfish.**

(90) *iy kili yat ma sow*  
**It isn't lit yet.**

(91) *yo kili inap* \(^{p^w_e}\) *e yo kili hopim* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**I'm not strong (enough) and I can't open it.**

If there is a co-verb, it also receives the perfective marker:

(92) *yo kili tewe tet ki?i la tan* \(^{p^w_e}\)  
**I didn't put the ladder down.**

(93) *m^wat iy kili to huti hepe čah kili me lo*  
**The snake would never bring anything home.**

For negations of future or potentially occurring events, the future marker *ya* or the inchoative or intentional *ma* are used in conjunction with the perfective marker and the negator:
(94) *ya yo kili yaw p\textsuperscript{we}, yo kutow*  
FUT 1SG PERF go NEG 1SG POT.SG.STAT  
I won't go anywhere, I'll stay here.

(95) *ya kolu ow kili tut ki\textsuperscript{?i} la ey p\textsuperscript{we}*  
FUT throat 2DU PERF close PERF go PRO NEG  
You must not forget about it.

(96) *etow ma kanayan e p\textsuperscript{we} p\textsuperscript{we}, uto ma keli*  
2PCL INT POT.NS.eat or NEG NEG 1PCL.EXC INT PERF  
yeneyan ma sow  
eat not yet  
Do you want to eat or not? No, we don't want to eat yet.

(97) *p\textsuperscript{we}, su\textsuperscript{?u} p\textsuperscript{wa} tet ma kili me tan p\textsuperscript{we}*  
NEG 3DU say ladder INT PERF come down NEG  
No. They said not to put the ladder down.

There are several examples in the data of negative sentences containing to ‘stative, habitual, durative or continuative aspect’, in which, rather than the full perfective forms *kili to, keli to,* or *eli to,* a shortened *k + vowel + to* (equivalent to the potential prefix + *to*) occurs. When speakers notice this, however, they generally reject it in favour of the full perfective marker:

(98) *seh koto mete p\textsuperscript{we} / seh keli to mete p\textsuperscript{we}*  
3PL POT.NS.STAT sleep NEG 3PL PERF STAT sleep NEG  
They don't sleep. (Both sentences attested, same meaning.)

(99) *ni nropo itiyen iy kito ni p\textsuperscript{we}*  
fish DEM DEM 3SG POT.SG.STAT fish NEG  
That fish was no longer a fish.

(100) *su\textsuperscript{?u} koto hilow pu\textsuperscript{?un} tan p\textsuperscript{we}*  
3DU POT.NS.STAT run underneath 3SG down NEG  
They were not swimming underwater.

This variation occurs only with to. It is not clear whether the shorter form is an abbreviation of the full *perfective + to* construction or is in fact the potential form of to.

6.6 THE IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The imperative in Loniu consists of the potential form of the verb. It is most frequent in second person, but first person non-singular imperatives also occur. No third person imperatives are attested. The personal pronoun is frequently omitted for second singular, but is usually present for the non-singular forms, which could be ambiguous due to the fact that the same verb form is used for all non-singular persons.

(101) *enenes*  
2SG.talk  
Talk! Say something!
Negative imperatives are formed with the word *topu* (variant form *tupo*), followed by the potential form of the verb:

(106)  

```
  topu wow eme pelegan
  NEG 2SG 2SG.come on.top
```

You cannot/don't come up here!

(107)  

```
  eyn muwan topu eyn
  smell.3SG bad NEG 2SG.drink
```

It smells bad, don't drink it!

### 6.7 INTERROGATIVES

#### 6.7.1 THE YES-NO QUESTION

There are two ways to ask a yes-no question in Loniu. The most common form involves only a modification of the intonation pattern. In terms of pitch levels, the basic intonation contour for a declarative sentence is (1)221 with a falling intonation, while that for a yes-no question is (2)332 with less of a falling off of pitch at the final juncture. Thus:

(108)  

```
  3
  2  yo to yan ni ↓
  1
```

I am eating fish.

(109)  

```
  3
  2  yo kuyen i tyo ↓
  1
```

Can I eat this?

The salient perceptual cue to the interrogative nature of the yes-no question appears to be a combination of higher pitch level within the utterance, and less of a falling off of pitch at the terminal juncture.

The second type of yes-no question indicates that the speaker expects an affirmative answer (a type of 'leading' yes-no question), and is formed by adding the question particle *ε* following a typically declarative sentence intonation:
This is yours, right?

The pitch of the question particle is generally somewhat higher than the intonation peak of the preceding sentence. (This particle is translated *laka?* in Tok Pisin, roughly equivalent to English 'Right?).

There is one attested example of a negative question, which was used with the expectation of an answer confirming the negative proposition:

(111)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FUT 2SG PERF go NEG yes FUT 1SG PERF go NEG} \\
\text{Aren't you going? Yes, I'm not going.}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that the answer in (111) is 'yes, I am not...', agreeing with the propositional content of the question, while in English the expected response would be 'no, I am not...'.

6.7.2 ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

There are three types of alternative questions. The most common of these involves the addition of the phrase *E pWe* 'or not' at the end of a sentence:

(112)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{2SG 2SG see bit 3PCL or not} \\
\text{Have you had a glimpse of them (or not)?}
\end{align*}
\]

The pitch falls on the last syllable of the statement portion, then rises again on *E* and falls on *pWe*. The pitch levels involved in this type of question may be the same as for a declarative statement, involving only levels 1 and 2, or may parallel the yes-no question intonation:

(113)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1DU.EXC FEM good 1DU.EXC or not} \\
\text{Are we good-looking or not?}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, the *ema sow?* 'or not yet' type of questions are signalled by the presence of the tag, but may also involve higher levels of pitch in the intonation contour:

(114)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{DEM POSS 2SG or not} \\
\text{Is this yours or not?}
\end{align*}
\]
A third form of alternative question is formed by stating the alternatives, with or without an intervening conjunction:

(117) 3  
2 epi čikan epi we?ison ↓  
1 sago tough sago soft  
Is the sago tough or soft?

(118) 3 ↓  
2 o: nàpulum huyan e muwan ↓  
1 oh spouse.2SG good or bad  
Oh, is your husband handsome or ugly?

The key feature here seems to be the fall at the end of the first alternative with a subsequent rise in the second. In addition, the fall in pitch in the first alternative does not appear to be as low a level as the terminal fall, thus indicating, perhaps, the continuation of the utterance.

6.7.3 INFORMATION QUESTIONS

The interrogative words in Loniu are as follows:

- he
- čah
- peti čah
- (k)ile čah
- čihi
- mačehe
- ehe
- itehe
- tukehe
- tetape
- hitape

who
what
why (purpose)
why (reason)
which
how many, how much
where (origin, destination)
where (location)
when
how
how
Generally, information questions are formed by placing the appropriate interrogative word in the same position in the sentence which could be occupied by the corresponding response—that is to say, there is no WH-movement transformation in Loniu. Variations of the general formula occur for peti čah and tukehe, and are discussed in 6.7.3.3 and 6.7.3.7 respectively.

The intonation of the information question is most commonly the same as that of the declarative statement ((1)221), but examples of the high pitch levels common to the yes-no and alternative questions do occur.

6.7.3.1 THE INTERROGATIVE he

This form is used to ask ‘who’ and may be used to question any human noun phrase in an utterance:

(119) he to takeni pat
      who CONT throw stone
      Who is throwing stones?

(120) mwi iyeti he
dog 3SG.bite who
      Who did the dog bite?

(121) yo upwey ile ete he
      1SG 1SG.say.it 3SG.go AG who
      Who did I say it to?

(122) u kala ete he
      1DU.EXC POT.NS.go AG who
      Who can we go to?

(123) ay a he le?i to ete yo
      blood POSS who PRES STAT AG 1SG
      Whose blood is on me?

(124) etow he
      2PCL who
      Who are you people?

The form homow he is a variant of he, attested in only one example:

(125) homow he ta tag
      one who CONT cry
      Who is crying?

Interrogative he may also occur in combination with the third dual personal pronoun su?u, to ask ‘in addition to X, who else...?’ This parallels the pronoun + noun construction described in 4.4 (Coordination in the noun phrase).

(126) itiyen su?u he iye ta itiyen e temeyan iy ta tag
      DEM 3DU who 3SG.be LOC DEM and drum.3SG 3SG CONT cry
      He and who else are over there beating the drums?
6.7.3.2 THE INTERROGATIVE čah

The form čah is used to question non-human noun phrases (127)–(131). There are no clear examples involving non-human animates, but on one occasion, a Loniu friend, upon seeing a new kitten in the house, asked in surprise, ‘itiyen čah?’ ‘What’s that?’.

(127) čah ile ete iy
what 3SG.go AG 3SG
What's the matter with him?

(128) yo kutiyanı čah
1SG POT.SG.tell what
What shall I tell about?

(129) enenes komuwa čah
2SG.talk word what
Talk about what?

(130) itiyo ey čah
DEM smell what
What is this smell?

(131) puriyam čah
work.2SG what
What is your work?

There are no examples of čah as oblique object except for those which question cause or purpose (see 6.7.3.3); that is, no examples of the type ‘What did you do it with?’, questioning the instrumental noun phrase.

6.7.3.3 THE INTERROGATIVES (k)ile čah AND peti čah

Although it is not clear that there is a consistent distinction between the two, it seems to be most commonly the case that (k)ile čah questions cause, while peti čah questions purpose. The phrase (k)ile čah, literally ‘go to what’, occurs at the end of the sentence:

(132) wow ta iw ilečah? o: činen ime...
2SG CONT call why oh demon 3SG.come
Why did you call out? Oh, a demon came...!

(133) itiyen wow ta hine ma kile čah? yo le?i to hine
DEM 2SG CONT do INT POT.why 1SG PRES STAT do
ilečah cačah ipwyey
reason papa 3SG.say.it
Why are you doing that? I'm doing it because Papa told me to.

Unlike (k)ile čah, which is a co-verb phrase, the prepositional phrase peti čah may occur both initially and finally:

(134) peti čah iy iteŋ čelewan
for what 3SG 3SGcry much
Why does she cry so much?
I don't know, maybe she's just like that.

What is that brush for? For washing shells.

The form *ehe* questions place of origin or destination. The form *itehe* (possibly from *ito ehe* 'it is where'; see (143)) most often questions location (but see (140), which may be questioning origin). Both occur in final position.

Where is the language from? It's from Loniu.

Where are you from? I am from Kansas.

Where are you going? We are going to Manus.

Where can I go to get away (from this)?

Where did you get your wood from?

You are here but where is your sister?

Where are their houses?

In one case, both *ito ehe* and *itehe* were given as alternatives:

Where is Hileri?

The form *čihi* occurs in prenominal position, and questions 'which':

Hileri 3SG.STAT where Hileri where

Where is Hileri?
(144) čihi ko ta goh hay ta goh
which wind CONT blow west.wind CONT blow
Which wind is blowing? The west wind is blowing.

(145) kansas to čihi ko
Kansas STAT which land
Kansas is in which land?

(146) wow ta po čihi puriyam
2SG CONT do which work.2SG
Which of your jobs/tasks are you doing?

(147) čihi lomata komu ya yo kupwey puliye
which kind word FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it again
What other kinds of words can I say? / What else can I say?

In the last example, the direct object has been fronted, or topicalised, leaving the -y object suffix as trace (see 6.8).

See 4.2.3 for a discussion of the use of čihi as determiner in the noun phrase.

6.7.3.6 THE INTERROGATIVE mačehe

The form mačehe follows the noun, asking ‘how much’ or ‘how many’:

(148) gesumwan a wow čumweyan mačehe
smoke POSS 2SG packet.3SG how.many
How many packets of cigarettes do you have?

(149) hetow amat mačehe la to ko
3PCL human how.many go STAT land
How many people are there in the village?

(150) wow olomwij pepe wos a wow mačehe
2SG 2SG.plant handle taro POSS 2SG how.many
How many taro stems did you plant?

(151) an mačehe ta ete wow
water how.much LOC AG 2SG
How much water do you have?

6.7.3.7 THE INTERROGATIVE tukehe

While the form tukehe was readily provided as the equivalent for English ‘when’ (Tok Pisin wanem taim), it occurs only three times in connected speech in the data; twice in direct questions and once in an embedded question.

(152) tukehe u kopo?onosani petu u
when 1DU.EXC POT.NS.adorn child 1DU.EXC
When shall we adorn our daughter?

(153) loholiyan tukehe hetow me
period.of.time when 3PCL come
When did they come?
Temporal adverbials, whether a single word or a phrase, may occur either preceding or following the sentence nucleus (subject – verb – object):

(155) **mahu to?u kowop**

tomorrow 1DU.INC POT.NS.escape

Tomorrow we'll escape.

(156) **yo ule lo?opow piphe**

1SG 1SG.go Lorengau yesterday

I went to Lorengau yesterday.

Although there are no examples of *tukehe* in final position in the recorded and transcribed data, my recollections of conversations and general day-to-day exchanges among the Loniu people are that *tukehe* may also occur in final position.

### 6.7.3.8 THE INTERROGATIVES tetape AND hitape

The interrogative words *tetape* and *hitape* question manner. The form *tetape* tends to occur when the question involves non-human nouns (157) or activities (158), while *hitape* occurs most often in situations where the condition of human referents is the subject of inquiry (159)–(160):

(157) **puriyan tetape**

work.3SG how

What does one do with it? / How does one use/do it?

(158) **ya yo kipwey kile ete iy tetape**

FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it POT.SG.go AG 3SG how

How can I tell it to him?

(159) **wow hitape wow tewe pweaham**

2SG how 2SG put mouth.2SG

What's the matter with you, that you cried out?

(160) **hetow hitape hetow keli me pwe**

3PCL how 3PCL PERF come NEG

What happened to them, that they didn't come?

However, the two are not strictly separate. One speaker gave *hitape* as the form to use when asking what was wrong with the radio, and said as well that both forms would be acceptable in the frame:

(161) **ya wow apwa komu itiyo****

FUT 2SG 2SG.say word DEM how

How would you say this word?
A third form, *kihitape*, occurs in a recurrent phrase indicating annoyance (162). It is similar to a first/third person singular potential verb form (see 5.1.1.3.1). However, it is not clear what the actual components of this form are.

(162)  

\[ \text{ma kihitape kime ete wow and how POT.come AG 2SG} \]

This was translated in Tok Pisin as *Maski long yu!* – the English equivalent is something like ‘Who cares about you!’.

The form *tetape* is also found in sentence-initial position, with a falling intonation and a clear pause preceding the remainder of the utterance, which is in the form of an alternative question:

(163)  

\[ \text{tetape. tuwenan e sehisah how true or false} \]

(164)  

\[ \text{tetape. pe?esih to?u kala mwanus e pwe how one.time 1DU.INC POT.NS.go Manus or NEG What do you think, will we go to Manus some day?} \]

6.8 OBJECT FRONTING AND COPYING

Both direct objects and oblique objects may be moved to the initial position in the sentence. This strategy appears to be used for purposes of focus or topicalisation, and occurs frequently in connected discourse. In the case of the movement of the direct object, generally the form of the verb indicates its transitivity (see 3.4.1.1), and in some cases the pronominal suffix -y occurs in the position vacated by the direct object (168) and (169).

(165)  

\[ \text{e lopow itiyo etow keme so?i kile lo tas and thing DEM 2PCL POT.NS.come throw POT.SG.go in sea And this thing you come and throw into the sea.} \]

(166)  

\[ \text{ma?in cihi nrekepwen ya iy kihineni maybe which behaviour FUT 3SG POT.SG.do I don't know what he will do.} \]

(167)  

\[ \text{su?u pwa nah itiyen ya u kohoti... 3DU say spear DEM FUT 1DU.EXC POT.NS.take They said ‘These spears we will take...’.} \]

(168)  

\[ \text{epi seh natupu uweh seh patama uweh seh tay sago 3PL grandfather 1PL.EXC 3PL father 1PL.EXC 3PL beat.it Sago, our fathers and grandfathers made it.} \]

(169)  

\[ \text{celewan kili los e celewan uweh le?i to potowey many PERF fall and many 1PL.EXC PRES STAT hold.it Many are gone and many we still have.} \]

One example of a fronted sentential object is attested; in this case, the main verb contains the inanimate object suffix -y:
If the fronted direct object is human, a pronominal trace occurs in the post-verbal position:

(171) e netun nbrero itiyen su?u to hap iy...
And child.3SG DEM DEM 3DU STAT feed 3SG
And that child, they were feeding him...

(172) su?u me ko nbrero nato su?u su?u luwe iy, 3DU come village RC grandmother 3DU 3DU leave 3SG iy a ito ey itiyen 3SG still 3SG.ST AT PRO DEM
They came to the village where their grandmother, they had left her, she was still there.

When an inanimate oblique object is fronted, the pronoun ey occurs in the original position:

(173) čihi pwašačan ow ma ka?ase kile ey yo which road 2DU INT POT.NS.walk POT.SG.go PRO 1SG to pumwi?i ow STAT behind 2DU
Whatever you decide (lit. whatever road you walk on) I am behind you.

(174) epi puret peti ey hipeta itiyo sago work for PRO like DEM Sago, the way to prepare it, is like this.

Objects may also be copied in sentence initial position:

(175) e ni, su?u la ni ma?amow ya?an kemwa?ay and fish 3DU go fish two name.3SG red.cod And fish, they became two fish called red cod.

(176) epi heno seh patupu uveh seh lomwi epi malimeyey sago before 3PL grandfather 1PL.EXC 3PL plant sago five Sago, before, our grandfathers planted five kinds of sago palms.
7.1 PARATACTIC STRUCTURES

The majority of multiple-clause constructions in Loniu are paratactic in nature, strings of independent clauses which are simply juxtaposed, contain no overt subordinator or coordinator, and are intonationally a unit. The chained clauses usually consist of a series of activities which are named in the order in which they occur (or would occur) chronologically.

Example (1) contains four separate clauses, three of which (a., b., and d.) contain both a subject and a verb phrase predicate, and one of which (c.) lacks a stated subject. The four clauses were spoken with no pauses between them, and with a slightly rising intonation at the end of each non-final clause. The falling intonation characteristic of the final portion of a declarative sentence in Loniu (2.5.2) does not occur until the end of the final clause.

There were also no significant pauses in (2):

Example (1) contains four separate clauses, three of which (a., b., and d.) contain both a subject and a verb phrase predicate, and one of which (c.) lacks a stated subject. The four clauses were spoken with no pauses between them, and with a slightly rising intonation at the end of each non-final clause. The falling intonation characteristic of the final portion of a declarative sentence in Loniu (2.5.2) does not occur until the end of the final clause.

There were also no significant pauses in (2):
The sentence-medial intonations at the ends of each of the two non-final clauses in (2a) and (2b) were slightly rising. Not until the phrase *kile ey* in (2c) did the sentence-final falling intonation occur.

The subjects of the chained clauses are not necessarily the same. In those cases where the subjects are different, the activities described may be interpreted as occurring simultaneously rather than chronologically:

(3)  
kečepe ito ta kečepe hisuwe ito in suwe
Kecepwe 3SG.STAT catch bat Hisuwe 3SG.STAT dig yam
Kecepwe was catching bats, Hisuwe was digging yams.

In addition, many clauses which occur in chains like those exemplified above contain no stated subject. These are often translated into Tok Pisin with the subject unstated as well, and only in some cases can the subject be understood to be a noun phrase stated with an earlier verb in the same sentence. In (5), for example, the brother, not the sister who is in ritual isolation, is doing the cooking. Yet the brother is not mentioned in this sentence, except as the third person singular possessive suffix on the noun *we* ‘sibling of the opposite sex’.

(5)  
wen ito lo čow mapen epwe tuwani mah a
sibling.3SG 3SG.STAT in mat morning only boil taro POSS
iy, tuwani lo?on a iy ito lo ku itow
3SG boil leaf.3SG POSS 3SG 3SG.STAT in pot 3SG.STAT
His sister was in isolation, it was morning, he boiled her taro, boiled her vegetables, and left them in the pot.

In the absence of any non-singular pronoun, the verb *tuwani* would seem to be unmarked for person, but it is clear from the context of the story that the brother is the one doing the cooking. Thus if deletion under identity is the explanation for the lack of subject here, it goes beyond the limits of the sentence, and relies on discourse level analysis for comprehension.

(6)  
su?u kosoweni iy, epi ime lo um, tewe epi ile
3DU adorn 3SG sago 3SG.come in house put sago 3SG.go
pele um kosowani iy pihin, betow yawesani iy itewe
near house adorn 3SG woman 3PCL parade 3SG 3SG.put
papuwe, tewe lomu-kuh, tewe čelaw, tewe ile palan,
headdress put feathers put cloth put 3SG.go head.3SG
yawesani iy ile sipi ime sipi parade 3SG 3SG.go half 3SG.come half
They adorn her, the sago comes to the house, (they) put the sago near the house, (they) adorn the woman, they parade her, put on a headdress, feathers, put a cloth on her head, (they) parade her up and down.

In example (6), the stated subject of the verb *kosoweni* is *su?u*, and was translated as Tok Pisin *entupela*. However, the first occurrence of the verbs *tewe* and *kosowani* were given *ol ‘3PL’* as their subjects in the translation. The stated subject of the first occurrence of
yawesani is hetow, which was also translated as ol. As for the remainder of the subjectless clauses no subject was stated in the Tok Pisin translation. These may well be examples of a kind of impersonal or passive-type construction, for which the actual actor is not important. Instead, the series of activities is the focus.

Frequently, when an early clause in a series contains a potential verb form (5.1.1.3.1), it is equivalent to a ‘when’ or ‘if’ clause. Especially when the intentional/inchoative particle ma (5.1.1.3.4) is present, the interpretation is often ‘when’ (7)–(9):

(7) itow itow iy ma kumon ma kite
3SG.STAT 3SG.STAT 3SG INT POT.SG.return INT POT.SG.go
su?u mopolowem ihe la?eleven ihe ile puwon
3DU break.open one 3SG.go long one 3SG.go short
Time passed, and when she returned, the two were broken open, one was long and one short.

(8) hilepepohoc nrobo itiyen iy ma kime lele eye
Hilepepohoc DEM DEM 3SG INT POT.SG.come look blood
wen iy kili huti iy
sibling.3SG 3SG PERF take 3SG
When Hilepepohoc was waking up, her brother’s blood had gotten on her.

(9) itiyen e hetow la hetow ma kala pu nrobo itiyen
DEM and 3PCL go 3PCL INT POT.NS.go banana DEM DEM
iy ki?i la homow hi amat
3SG PERF go one FEM human
And so they went, and when they went, that banana had become a human female.

However, it is not the case that all ma + potential forms are interpreted as ‘when’ clauses:

(10) yo kutow yo ma kunek kite be pay
1SG POT.SG.STAT 1SG INT POT.SG.climb POT.SG.go in rafter
e cinen iy ma kime iw itiyen etewe tet
and demon 3SG INT POT.SG.come call DEM 2SG.put ladder
kite tan
POT.SG.go down
I’ll stay here, I’m going to climb up into the rafters, and when the demon comes and calls then you put the ladder down.

Nor is it the case that only ma + potential forms are interpreted as ‘when’ clauses. ‘When’ clauses can also be clauses introduced by kil, containing the potential verb form without ma (see also (18)–(20) below):

(11) kil ni kime?is etow kesuwa epi
POT.SG.go fish POT.SG.be.done 2PCL POT.NS.fry sago
When the fish is done, fry up some sago.

or clauses with the verb in the non-potential form:

(12) ten helupi iy hetow pasan pwelyah iy
faeces.3SG cover 3SG 3PCL knowledge.3SG parrotfish 3SG
When the faeces cover it, they know the parrotfish has died.

A ‘when’ interpretation is also made possible by the use of *ag* ‘day’ in clause-initial position. The presence of *ag* makes the clause which it introduces dependent – it must be followed by a further clause in order for the sentence to be complete (see also (79) in Chapter 4 for a relative clause construction which is similar to the structure of (13) below):

(13) **ag iko ek ile now, itiyen seh pihin seh la**

day 3SG.STAT grow 3SG.go stake DEM 3PL woman 3PL go

**hakeleyani ile now**
wind 3SG.go stake

When it grows up the stake, then the women go and wind it around the stake.

The form given originally for the sentence in (13), in the taped narrative, was Tok Pisin *taim* instead of Loniu *ag*, but *ag* was substituted in the dictated version, as the speaker wanted to avoid the use of Tok Pisin.

‘When’ clauses are also introduced by *lege?i* or *hipeta*, which are discussed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 respectively.

Without *ma*, but with the potential form of the verb (and in at least one case, (15) the perfective with *ya*), the interpretation may be ‘if’:

(14) **napulu iy kipiwe ehe ya komu a u**

spouse.1SG 3SG POT.SG.say yes FUT word POSS 1DU.EXC

**kime tahow kime ete wow u ke?eli**

POT.SG.come appear POT.SG.come AG 2SG 1DU.EXC POT.NS.call

wow wow **eme**

2SG 2SG 2SG.come
If my wife says ‘Yes’, our words will come to you, we will call you, (and then) you come.

(15) **...sih ya hetow keli le?e pwe hetow tele law mwem**

one FUT 3PCL PERF see NEG 3PCL canoe net straight

**hetow le?e hetow ta?iy ile ogo?ogohe a hetow epwe**

3PCL see 3PCL catch.them 3SG.go thought POSS 3PCL only

...the other case is if they don't see anything, the men in the canoes with the nets will themselves see, and they fish according to their own opinions.

The ‘if’ clause may contain no verb at all:

(16) **mahu mw?a?ay yo ku?e?e**

tomorrow calm 1SG POT.SG.surf
If tomorrow is nice, I'll body-surf.

(17) **propo lepin pwe, ceuto kala lo?ognow**

today rain NEG 1PCL.INC POT.NS.go Lorengau
If it doesn't rain today, we'll go to Lorengau.

The form *kile* is used by some younger speakers to introduce both ‘if’ and ‘when’ clauses (see also (11) above):
(18) uto pasan pwe.  kile canoh kime
1PCL.EXC knowledge.3SG NEG POT.SG.go Canoh POT.SG.come
iy pasan ya iy kipwey
3SG knowledge.3SG FUT 3SG POT.SG.say.it
We don't know. When Canoh comes (he's expected), he knows, he'll tell us.

(19)  kile keyleb kito itiyo ya iy kipwey
POT.SG.go Caleb POT.SG.STAT DEM FUT 3SG POT.SG.say.it
If Caleb were here (but he isn't), he would tell us.

(20)  kile hipeta yo ikat ko ya yo kichen
POT.SG.go like 1SG SG.have land FUT 1SG POT.SG.clear
enum a yo kile ey
garden POSS 1SG POT.SG.go PRO
If I had land (but I don't), I would clear a garden for myself on it.

Note that (19) and (20) are 'contrary-to-fact' sentences; these are the only two examples of this type attested.

While there is no specific, consistent syntactic marking nor overt morphological cue indicating any dependency between or among juxtaposed clauses, there may be close semantic relationships such as 'cause-effect', 'if-then', which speakers may or may not interpret as being present in a given series of clauses. There may in fact be clues to indicate whether such meanings are intended, but they are neither syntactic nor morphological in nature, and do not appear to be intonational/phonological. Thus a single sentence may have several possible interpretations. In several instances, speakers offered alternative translations of a sentence:

(21)  ya yo kuhuŋa ala yo kusisimi huyan
FUT 1SG POT.SG.rest first 1SG POT.SG.think well
I'll rest first and I'll think well. / I'll rest first so that I can think well.

(22)  iy iyew ito momotani po puwe nopo ito
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.STAT spit.out juice betel.nut RC 3SG.STAT
pwahan
mouth.3SG
As she went down she was spitting out the betel nut juice which was in her mouth. / She went down and she was spitting out the betel nut juice which was in her mouth.

7.2 COORDINATION

There are three coordinate conjunctions which may be used to conjoin clauses in Loniu: e 'and, or, but'; ma 'and, with, together with'; epwye or hepe epwye ‘but’. In addition, the Tok Pisin form o 'or' has been borrowed into Loniu, and is attested in one instance as 'and' rather than 'or'. However, coordination need not be overtly stated, at least in the case of 'and' or 'but' (there are no attested examples of the meaning 'or' without an overt conjunction).
Coordination of constituents smaller than a clause are discussed elsewhere: coordination of nouns and noun phrases, as well as of prepositional phrases, in 4.4; of verb phrases and co-verb phrases, in 5.2.6; and coordination of non-verbal predicates in 6.1.6.

7.2.1 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION \( \varepsilon \)

Statistically the most commonly occurring of the coordinating conjunctions, \( \varepsilon \) can mean ‘and’, ‘or’, or ‘but’. In addition to conjoining sentences, as exemplified in (23) through (27) below, it is attested as conjoining noun phrases and prepositional phrases; verb phrases and co-verb phrases; and non-verbal predicates. It may also be used sentence initially ((28), (29)). Normally, the meaning is ‘and’, but both ‘but’ and ‘or’ are attested translations of \( \varepsilon \).

(23) \textit{pe\^ekakan wak \( \varepsilon \) gon gepey}  
shin.3SG bowed and nose.3SG pocked  
He has bowed legs and a pockmarked nose.

(24) \textit{yo yeligi hah \( \varepsilon \) yo ma kuto ete hah ala \( \varepsilon \)}  
1SG like . 2PL and 1SG INT POT.SG.STAT AG 2PL first and  
ya yo kili yaw p\( ^{w} \)e  
FUT 1SG PERF go NEG  
I like you and I want to stay with you now, and I will not go away.

(25) \textit{itiyen ni p\( ^{w} \)e \( \varepsilon \) itiyen te\( ^{i} \)iw}  
DEM fish NEG but DEM sibling.1SG  
That is not a fish, but is my sister.

(26) \textit{su\( ^{u} \)u hi amat \( \varepsilon \) su\( ^{u} \)u hi \( \varepsilon \) \( \varepsilon \)en?}  
3DU FEM human or 3DU FEM demon  
Are they human women or are they demons?

(27) \textit{ko ito pe\( ^{g} \) \( \varepsilon \) yo u\( ^{o} \) pun \( \varepsilon \) lamp}  
land 3SG.STAT night and 1SG 1SG.STAT sew and lamp  
it\( ^{o} \) yat...  
3SG.STAT burn  
It was night-time and I was sewing and the lamp was lit...

(28) \textit{\( \varepsilon \) hipiti komu peti ko \( \varepsilon \) peti taya p\( ^{w} \)eleyah hipiti itiyen}  
and like word from land and for catching parrotfish like DEM  
So the story about Loniu and catching parrotfish is thus.

(29) \textit{\( \varepsilon \) wow ele \( \varepsilon \) lih elewen...}  
and 2SG 2SG.PERF.go ?? far  
And did you go far...?

7.2.2 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION \( ma \)

The conjunction \( ma \) was translated as ‘and’ and ‘with’. When the meaning is ‘and’, speakers indicated that both \( \varepsilon \) and \( ma \) may be used, at least in some instances. In addition to conjoining clauses ((30)–(31)), \( ma \) is also attested as conjoining noun phrases, and there is one example of prepositional phrases conjoined by \( ma \). However, there are no examples of co-verb phrases, verbs, verb phrases, or non-verbal predicates conjoined with \( ma \).
Note that the conjunction *ma* differs from the intentional/inchoative particle *ma* in that the former occurs in the frames NP—NP, S—S, and PP—PP, while the latter occurs only in preverbal position, preceding the potential form of the verb. Of course, the meanings also differ.

(30) *suʔu tewe komu a iy, ta *petu *suʔu ... *ma *suʔu mon*

3DU put word POSS 3SG POSS child 3DU and 3DU return
They give their child's answer...and they return.

(31) *petu *suʔu *kaman iy *ipwe *ehe yo *yeliŋi *ma *loŋow iy yoʔose*

child 3DU male 3SG 3SG.say yes 1SG like and thing 3SG walk
Their son says ‘Yes, I like it’, and the agreement is reached.

7.2.3 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION ø

The conjunction ø is borrowed from Tok Pisin, and while it occurs quite frequently in the taped narratives, and was heard regularly in conversations in the village, Loniu speakers are aware that it is not an original Loniu word, and prefer to replace it with Loniu e in the dictated versions of narratives. In addition to conjoining clauses ((32)—(33)), ø is used to conjoin noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and co-verb phrases. There are no examples of ø used to conjoin verb phrases or non-verbal predicates.

(32) *hetow ñene ø hetow suwani tun*

3PCL paddle or 3PCL pole canoe
They paddle or pole the canoe.

(33) *seh leʔe iwene yan ø seh leʔe kili weney pwe*

3PL see 3SG.enough or 3PL see PERF enough NEG
(If) they see it is enough...or (if) they see it isn't enough.

7.2.4 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION (hepe) epwe

This form is used only to conjoin clauses, and means ‘but, however’. This phrase may be composed of hepe ‘(a) bit’ and epwe ‘only, just’, but none of the speakers who used it suggested such a connection. The variation between hepe epwe and epwe appears to be unpredictable.

(34) *aq a yo iy kile paʔoh, hepe epwe ya*

day POSS 1SG 3SG POT.SG.go near but FUT

*yo kiliyaw pwe yo kuto ete hah ala*

1SG PERF go NEG 1SG POT.SG.STAT AG 2PL first

My time is almost over, but I won't go away, I'll stay with you now.

(35) *ŋaʔa nametiyen ŋaʔan ćiʔih epwe law iy ti law*

name big name.3SG net but net 3SG EMPH net

*laweyap iy ti laweyap*

k.o. net 3SG EMPH k.o. net

The cover term is ćiʔih, but the law net is one kind, the laweyap net is another kind.
In one case, the taped version of a narrative contained only the form $\text{ep}^w$, but the speaker supplied the full $\text{hepe ep}^w$ in the dictated version:

(37) $su\?u$ to $yeni$. ($hepe) ep^w$ $su\?u$ to $yeni$ $su\?u$ to $emo\dot{t}$

$3DU$ $STAT$ eat but $3DU$ $STAT$ eat $3DU$ $STAT$ vomit

They would eat it. But when they ate it they would vomit.

7.2.5 COORDINATION WITH NO OVERT CONJUNCTION

In multiple clause sentences composed of clauses which occur in a series, with no coordinator or subordinator (see 7.1), a particular type of coordination may be implied. In such cases, the context allows for interpretation of the type of coordination intended – ‘and’ or ‘but’. There are no examples of an implied ‘or’; all cases of disjunction are overtly marked by the use of the $\varepsilon$ or $\sigma$.

(38) $\varepsilon$ $iy$ $ehe$ $\varepsilon$ $imete$ $iy$ $kili$ $mete$ $p^w$ $ito$

and $3SG$ lie.down and $3SG$.sleep $3SG$ PERF sleep NEG $3SG$.STAT

$mamat$ $ep^w$, $ag$ $iselay$

awake only day $3SG$.break

And she lay down to sleep but she didn’t sleep, she stayed awake until daybreak.

(39) $kaman$ $e$ $pihin$ $su\?u$ $yo\?ose$ $huyan$ $su\?u$ $ehe$ $huyan$

male and female $3DU$ walk good $3DU$ lie.down good

The man and woman get along well (and) live together well.

7.3 SUBORDINATION

In addition to the paratactic juxtaposition of clauses in a chain and the use of coordinating conjunctions to join clauses, the Loniu language employs three forms which are used as clause subordinators: $\text{lepe}^i$, $\text{hipeta}$, and $\text{wene\dot{y}}$. The first two, $\text{lepe}^i$ and $\text{hipeta}$, share many structures and functions, while the third, $\text{wene\dot{y}}$, is much more limited in both distribution and meaning.

7.3.1 THE SUBORDINATOR $\text{lepe}^i$

When this form is followed by a noun phrase, it is used as a comparative (see 6.4):

(40) $m^w$ $in$ $ow$ $ke\dot{e}$ $iti$ $ke$ $\text{lepe}^i$ $nas$

later $2DU$ POT.NS.cut wood like digging.stick

Then you cut a piece of wood like a digging stick.

(41) $ay$ $a$ $iy$ $ime$ $\dot{c}$ ahow $\text{lepe}^i$ $eletu$ $netukan$

blood POSS $3SG$ $3SG$.come appear like egg bird

Her blood became like a bird’s egg.
(42) mwat ito yeni lepe'i pane su'u
snake 3SG.STAT eat like mother 3DU
The snake would eat like their mother did.

Lepe'i may also introduce a full sentence, and in such constructions has the meanings ‘such that’ or ‘as though’:

(43) *rekepwen a iy lepe'i pa?oh iy ma kile
behaviour POSS 3SG like hear 3SG INT POT.SG.go
logow muwan
thing bad
His behaviour is as if he may become an evil thing.

(44) tun ma?uwey iy lepe'i hetow masongan sих hetow
canoe two 3SG like 3PCL ten one 3PCL
masongan sих
ten one
There are two canoes, such that there are ten men in each one.

(45) o itiyo lepe'i amat to ko sipi itiyo
oh DEM like human STAT land one DEM
Oh, it looks like there are people over there.

(46) ya yo kupWey lepe'i hah ma ka?agey
FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it like 2PL INT POT.PL.hear.it
I'll tell (about) it so that you can hear it.

Thus lepe'i may connect a noun phrase with a following noun phrase (40), a sentence with a following noun phrase (41), (42); a noun phrase with a following sentence (43)–(45); or two sentences (46).

Two speakers used the form lepe'i to mean ‘when’ (see 7.1). In most of the examples of this type, the word used initially was Tok Pisin taim, and the lepe'i form was substituted in the dictated version as preferable to the Tok Pisin and as equivalent in meaning:

(47) e lepe'i seh la seh keli ta?i pweleyah pwe seh la mon
CONJ like 3PL go 3PL PERF catch parrotfish NEG 3PCL go return
And when they go and they don't catch any fish, they come back.

(48) seh ča'iti neti ke inen lepe'i suwe ime ek itiyen
3PL cut DIM wood small like yam 3SG.come grow DEM
neti ke inen seh to posowe now
DIM wood small 3PL STAT call stake
They cut a small piece of wood when the yams come up, a little piece of wood they call a stake.

While not every instance of lepe'i as ‘when’ is a dictated substitute for the spontaneous use of Tok Pisin taim, the majority are. One of the speakers who uses lepe'i as ‘when’ also uses it to mean 'like, such that', which is the more common usage.

The same speaker also used the form ag ‘day’ to replace taim (see (13) above). The difference may be related to the specificity of the time period involved, such that ag is used when a particular day is indicated while lepe'i is used when a more general time period is
involved. However, due to the scarcity of examples and to the limited use of *lege?i* as a temporal subordinator, no definite statements can be made at this point. It is very possible that the temporal use of *lege?i* is a relatively recent expansion of its functions, perhaps in response to pressure or influence from the Tok Pisin syntactic strategies of subordination (see, for example, Ingemann 1985).

7.3.2 THE SUBORDINATOR *hipeta*

The form *hipeta* and its variants *hipiti, hipera,* and *hipiri* may be used in comparative constructions. Like *lege?i,* they may compare two noun phrases, indicating that one noun phrase is like the other (see 6.4):

(49) \[ \text{itiyo } \{ \text{hipeta } \text{lege?i} \} \text{itiyo} \]
DEM like DEM
This one is like that one.

One speaker indicated that ‘sometimes’ *lege?i* and *hipeta* are the same in meaning. It seems likely that this type of comparative construction is one of those times.

The form *hipeta* may also be used to introduce a clause or sentence, and in such constructions has the general meaning ‘like, so (that)’: 

(50) \[ \text{lele peti ey } \text{hipeta } \text{nato } \text{u } \text{iy } \text{a } \text{ile } \text{tah} \]
look of PRO like grandmother 1DU.EXC 3SG still 3SG.go LOC
It looks like our grandmother is still there.

(*Lege?i* was also accepted in place of *hipeta* in (50).)

(51) \[ \text{yo ta } \text{cumwi } \text{komu a } \text{wow } \text{ep}^{w} \text{e } \text{hipeta } \text{to}^{?} \text{u} \]
1SG CONT agree word POSS 2SG only so 1DU.INC
\[ \text{ke?eli } \text{nietu } \text{to}^{?} \text{u } \text{pihin } \text{iy } \text{kime} \]
POT.NS.call child 1DU.INC female 3SG POT.SG.come
I agree with what you say, so let’s call our daughter to come.

(52) \[ \text{seh la } \text{huti } \text{ime } \epsilon \text{ hipeta } \text{ga}^{?} \text{a } \text{seh } \text{seh } \text{le?i } \text{to} \]
3PL go take 3SG.come and so name 3PL 3PL PRES STAT
They brought them back, and thus their names are still used.

(53) \[ \epsilon \text{ hipeta } \text{ile } \text{m}^{w} \text{en} \text{en} \text{ile } \text{aq } \text{malimeh } \text{su}^{?} \text{u } \text{ma} \]
and thus 3SG.go straight 3SG.go day five 3DU INT
\[ \text{kele?ey } \text{ime } \text{cahow } \text{m}^{w} \text{en} \text{en} \text{ile } \text{kakawah } \text{a } \text{iy} \]
POT.NS.see.it 3SG.come appear straight 3SG.go grave POSS 3SG
And thus right on the fifth day, when they went to look, it was rising right up out of his grave.

(54) \[ \text{hetow } \text{tow } \text{tow } \text{tow } \text{hipeta } \text{hetow } \text{masih } \text{hetow } \text{mat } \text{hipwetu} \]
3PCL STAT STAT STAT STAT thus 3PCL all 3PCL die Hipwetu
\[ \epsilon \text{ amey } \text{su}^{?} \text{u } \text{tow} \]
and Amey 3DU STAT
They lived there for a long time, and thus they all died and only Hipwetu and Amey remained.
There are also a number of sentences in which the meaning of *hipeta* was given as ‘if’ or ‘when’:

(55) *iy amat itiyen ... iy kili me* **hipeta** *iy kile*
3SG man DEM 3SG PERF come if 3SG POT.SG.go
*iwi?iw ... wow ečumwi iy*
call.out 2SG 2SG.answer 3SG
When that man comes, if he calls out...you answer him.

(56) **ko a u itiyo e** **hipiri to?u ka?ase**
land POSS 1DU.EXC DEM and if 1DU.INC POT.NS.walk
**hipiri itiyo ya to?u keme ey**
like DEM FUT 1DU.INC POT.NS.come PRO
This is our land (my grandmother and me) and if we (you and I) walk this way, we will come to it.

(57) **ow kolomwi yo ... hipeta ow kolomwi yo kile**
2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG when 2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG POT.SG.go
*pwič, ow koto o{Johe ag a yo...*
be.finished, 2DU POT.NS.STAT count day POSS 1SG
Bury me...when you have finished burying me, you must count my days...

(58) **huyan le?i tow e** **hipiri ow ma kaw epwe**
good PRES STAT and when 2DU INT POT.NS.go only
**ow keme**
2DU POT.NS.come
OK, leave them here, and when you are ready to go, come here.

There were also several instances of *hipeta* for which no clear gloss was forthcoming:

(59) **itiyen hipiri gan itiyo ile to lon**
DEM like sun DEM 3SG.go STAT inside.3SG
Then the sun is/would be going down.

(60) **kosonay a uweh p*ahačalan *rekep*en peti ey** **hipeta**
marriage POSS 1PL.EXC road.3SG behaviour of PRO ?
**yo ma kunenes kile ey hah ka?agey huyan**
1SG INT POT.SG.talk POT.SG.go PRO 2PL POT.NS.hear.it well
Our marriage ceremonies, the procedures, the customs involved, I am going to talk about them, you listen well.

There are a number of examples of sentences which include *hipeta* in combination with one of the other two subordinators, *lepe?t* or *wene?* (see 7.3.3.):

(61) **ag a iy iy** **lepe?t** **hipeta iy ma kimet**
day POSS 3SG 3SG such.that 3SG INT POT.SG.die
His days were such that he was dying.

(62) **hetow tow tow tow** **hipeta lepe?t** **hetow to tow itiyen**
3PCL STAT STAT STAT such.that 3PCL STAT give.birth DEM
They stayed there so long that they had children.

(Tok Pisin: *Oli stap i stap olsen ol laik stap karim pikinini nau.*)
They pull out the weeds so that only the yams get ripe.

The combinations of hipeta with lege?i or weney seem to have the meanings of either one or the other of the two combined forms. When weney is involved, the Tok Pisin was usually inap olsem; when lege?i co-occurred with hipeta, the Tok Pisin was usually just olsem.

It should also be pointed out that both hipeta and lege?i may occur following the coordinating conjunction e – see examples (47), (52), (53), (56) and (58).

7.3.3 THE SUBORDINATOR weney

The form weney is classified as a verb, since it occurs with the normal verbal inflections and can serve as the main verb of a sentence, with the meaning ‘be able, be sufficient’:

(64) yo kili weney pwe
1SG PERF able NEG
I am unable (physically); I can’t.

(65) petot a iy iwmey ile huti logow itiyen
strength POSS 3SG 3SG.sufficient 3SG.go take thing DEM
His strength is sufficient to pick up that thing.

(66) hipeta mahu čeŋi hetow kile huyan hetow keweney
if tomorrow flesh 3PCL POT.SG.go good 3PCL POT.NS.able
hetow keme sukul
3PCL POT.NS.come school
If they are better tomorrow, if they are able, they will come to school.

This verb is also used in co-verb constructions (see 5.2). When it is followed by a noun phrase, the meaning is ‘up to, until, as far as’:

(67) iy iteŋani iwmey an malimeh
3SG 3SG.wait 3SG.until day five
She waited until the fifth day.

(68) iy iče?iti mwat iwmey čupun masagat o čupun ma?uget
3SG 3SG.cut snake 3SG.until piece 100 or piece 200
She cut the snake up into 100 or 200 pieces.

(69) kaw a su?u hilow uwmey ko masih pučey
spell POSS 3DU run 3SG.until land all together
The spell reached as far as all the lands.

(70) tiriye peti ko čaloke ... ime iwmey ime pokomopun
story of land Caloke 3SG.come 3SG.until 3SG.comes grandchildren.3SG
The story about Caloke...comes as far as (and includes) the grandchildren.

The verb weney may also function as a sentence connector. In such cases, the two sentences involved are each independent main clause constructions and could stand alone with no modification. The presence of weney between the two indicates a causal relationship between them, in the sense that the first sentence provides the circumstances for the second to be true:
You are in the talons of the powerful eagle, so you can’t fall.

The smell of my sister is on you so you cannot come up here.

There is a group of sentences containing *weney* in which the verb of the main clause is *le?e* ‘see’. In these sentences, *weney* was translated as ‘be suitable/sufficient (for Sentence)’:

He saw that it was suitable for him and his mother to hide there.

If/when we see that there is enough space, we can throw it (the net) into it.

The subject of the embedded sentence, the subject, that is, of the verb *weney*, is not stated in (73) and (74a), but it may be:

If/when they see that there is enough space they can throw the net into it.

In other cases, the subject of *weney* may be understood to be an earlier noun phrase, mentioned in a preceding sentence.

These sentences with *le?e* are, with a single exception, the only ones in which *weney* is followed by an affirmative sentence. The exception is:

Himomon 3SG 3SG.say FUT 3SG POT.SG.STAT care.for house POSS a yo ma logow a yo e pusi puliye *weney* yo POSS 1SG and thing POSS 1SG and cat also 3SG.until 1SG
Himomon said she would take care of my house and my things and my cat as well, until I come back.

Unlike examples (71) and (72), the weney in the leʔe sentences is not clearly separable from the first clause. The first clause is not an independent clause in five of the six leʔe sentences: leʔe requires a stated object, either in the form of a following noun phrase or sentence, or as the objective suffix -y. This suffix does not occur in the five sentences mentioned, thus indicating that the weney construction is a noun phrase or sentence, serving as the object of the verb leʔe. (See 7.3.5 (Sentential objects).)

7.3.4 THE SUBORDINATOR ile 'cah

This form, which is composed of the third person singular form of the verb 'go' and the word for 'what, something', is used to introduce reason clauses, and also serves as the interrogative 'why' (see 6.7.3 (Information questions)). The gloss for ile 'cah will be given as 'reason'.

(77) e tele ulin hipiri ... mačuluwey o mahayey ile 'cah
and canoe lead/point like three or four reason
law mata ityen ito yeliʔi tun čelewan
net big DEM 3SG.STAT like canoe many
And there are three or four lead or point canoes because the big law net requires many canoes.

(78) uweh tewe kow a suwe ile 'cah pow, pow iy kiyen
1PL.EXC put fence POSS yam reason pig pig 3SG POT.SG.eat
suwe pičinah ep'we
little,yam big,yam only
We put up a fence for the yams, because the pigs will eat the yams.

(79) yo leʔi to hine ile 'cah čaʔah ip'wey
1SG PRES STAT do reason papa 3SG.say.it
I am doing it because Papa told me to.

7.3.5 SENTENTIAL OBJECTS

Full sentences may function as the direct object of the verb in the case of four transitive verbs: leʔe 'see', pwa 'say', yeliʔi 'like, want', and hineni 'make, do, cause'. Examples of this type of construction are given in 5.1.2.2 (The transitive verb phrase). There are no sentiential subjects attested.

7.3.6 SUMMARY

The data available indicate that the most common method for conjoining clauses is simple parataxis, while the use of the subordinators hipeta, weney, legeʔi, and ile 'cah provides additional strategies to make overt some of the possible dependency relationships between clauses. Of the subordinators, hipeta is the most frequently occurring and has the broadest semantic field, ranging from 'like, thus, so that' to 'when, if, until'. Legeʔi has the same
syntactic distribution as *hipeta*, and has some semantic overlap as well, especially in prenominal position. However, only *hipeta* is used to mean ‘thus’ or ‘if’. The ‘when’ meaning of *hipeta* is always future, while the ‘when’ meaning of *lege*i is normally habitual, and this use of *lege*i is an equivalent for Tok Pisin *taim*, which appears to be a relatively recent innovation and is limited in use.

The verb *weney* is much more restricted in distribution and semantic content, but appears to be expanding to include at least those structures and meanings for which Tok Pisin *inap* has been borrowed into the Loniu. The pressure from the syntactic patterns of Tok Pisin, with its subordinators *taim* and *inap*, seems to be causing or encouraging modifications of Loniu syntax to allow for the overt expression of a wider range of the semantic dependency relationships between clauses.

7.4 **Sentence Connectors**

Among the most frequent strategies for cohesion in Loniu discourse is a sentence-initial reference to a preceding sentence. The form *hipeta* (7.3.2) may be used sentence and clause initially with the meaning ‘thus, so’, indicating that the new sentence is in some way a result or effect of the preceding one (see examples (51)–(55) above). Preceding sentences may also be referred to in other ways: part or all of the preceding sentence may be repeated (80); the intransitive verb *pwić* ‘be completed, finished’ may begin the sentence, indicating that the activity of the preceding sentence has been completed before the activity of the new sentence begins (81); and the phrase *itiyen* e, literally ‘that and’, may introduce the new sentence, and appears to be roughly equivalent to English ‘and so, and then’ (82).

(80)  ...

(81)  ...

(82)  ...

... and they carry them to the canoe. They carry them to the canoe, and so they see if they have caught enough to make the canoe ride low. If the canoe rides low, then they go back (home).

We made tea and drank it. After that, I was in the canteen for a while.

They sat down in their house. And then he put the matter before them.
INTRODUCTION

Alphabetisation following the standard Roman alphabet except as follows:

(a) e replaces c;
(b) e precedes e;
(c) nasals are alphabetised in the following order: m m' n p y;
(d) o precedes o;
(e) p precedes p';
(f) r, the variant of /tr/ in initial position, follows p'.

The format of the entries is generally as follows:

main entry.variant(s) (grammatical class) definition [derivation]; long or short form; derived forms; (synonyms or antonyms).

Question marks (?) indicate lack of information or uncertainty.

Variants are included when the main entry was attested with more than a single form.

The grammatical class of verbs includes the Class I (e-prefix) or Class II (a-prefix) membership (see 3.4.2) where clearly established. Nouns which are inalienably possessed are indicated by (i.n.).

Where a definition is not clear, and the Tok Pisin (TP) translation may be helpful for clarification, it is included.

The derivation of polymorphemic forms is indicated by square brackets ([ ]); in many cases, the analysis is speculative, and these cases are indicated by inclusion of a question mark following the left bracket. Roots which are probable bases in a derivation, but are not attested as independent forms, are indicated with an asterisk (*). Derivations which are exclusively reduplicational are indicated by the phrase 'redup. of (base)'. Nouns which are nominalisations of verbs are so identified, by use of the phrase 'nom. of (verb)'; where the nominalisation is achieved by suffixation of -(y)a, no further morphological analysis is provided – see 3.8.3.5.

The abbreviations s.f. (short form) and l.f. (long form) in an entry refer to the long or short alternant of the main entry. Nouns with long and short forms are discussed in 2.6.2.2.2 and 3.1.1.3, and verbs with long and short forms in 2.6.2.4 and 3.4.1.3.
Forms which are derived from the main entry are indicated by the abbreviation der. (derived forms). Derivation in general is discussed in 3.8.

Entries which have identified synonyms or antonyms contain reference to these forms as the last part of the entry, in parentheses.

The abbreviation cf. is used to indicate that the form which follows it is semantically related to the main entry, and may provide the reader with further material for comparative work.

Main entries do not include personal names or Tok Pisin borrowings. Names of fish species which were attested independently with the same referent from more than one speaker are indicated by the term 'probably' (prob.); where the source was a single speaker, or where the definitions differed among speakers, the term 'possibly' (poss.) is used. Names of fish were, for the most part, obtained based on identification of illustrations in Ian S.R. Munro’s very helpful book, The fishes of Papua New Guinea.

The following abbreviations are also used in the lexicon and finderlist:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>n.f. noun formative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant.</td>
<td>antonym</td>
<td>neg. phrase negative phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aux.</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td>num. number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>part. particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.a.</td>
<td>demonstrative adjective</td>
<td>prep. preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem.</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>pro. pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>det.</td>
<td>determiner</td>
<td>quant. quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.n.</td>
<td>inalienably possessed</td>
<td>sub.conj. subordinating conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>interjection</td>
<td>syn. synonym</td>
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<tr>
<td>interr.</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>trans. transitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>interr.pro.</td>
<td>interrogative pronoun</td>
<td>v.i. intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>v.t. transitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a (part.) still.

a/ta (part.) alienable possessive marker (see 3.1.1.1).

ačlay (v.i. Class II) hide.
ačaŋ (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a stick used as a kind of tool.
ačaŋačaŋ (n.) gloss unclear, poss. the type of leaf which is deeply scalloped around the edge [a ‘?’ + redup. of *ćaga ‘?’].
ačečehet (v.i. Class I) crawl [a- ‘?’ + če ‘redup’ + ĉehet ‘crawl’].
ah (n.) placenta.

ah (n.) central stem of sago leaf, possibly of any palm leaf.

ah (n.) k.o. cane.

ah (v.i. Class II) jump, step into, embark.

ahan (n.) beauty, beautiful; nom. of ahi ‘beautify’.

ahani (v.t. Class II?) beautify [ahi ‘beautify’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

ahani (v.t. Class ?) put to bed; spread out (as covers on a bed).
ahi (v.t. Class II) step on, usually with some force; also may be short form of ahani ‘beautify’, but is attested only in phrases which indicate sarcasm: itiyo εah, εhi wow? ‘What’s that? It makes you look ridiculous!’

akalakan (v.i. Class II) grope; feel around without seeing [ʔa ‘?’ + redup. of *kal ‘??’].

akapata (i.n.) frond; vine, e.g. of yam plant; [aka ‘?’ + pata ‘stem, branch’].
akew (n.) gloss unclear, poss. group of trees [ʔa ‘?’ + ke ‘tree’].
akitiye (i.n.) firewood fetcher and carrier [a ‘?’ + kitiye ‘firewood (i.n.)’].
ako (n.) name of point of land near Loniu village.
akuwen (n.) k.o. fish, prob. sprat.
aley (n.) line around edge of fishing net to which floats or sinkers are attached.

aman (n.) k.o. coconut, apparently the most common type.
aman (n.? ) red (syn. meʔiman).
amat (n.) human being, person; often used to refer only to males.
amey (n.) k.o. bird, poss. the purple swamphen.
amwisi (v.t. Class I) infect, poison, cause to itch or swell; fig. to give someone the creeps; ?der. emusun ‘poisonous’.
an (n.) fresh water, lake, river; (l.f.) enu ‘water, juice’.
an (n.) termite.
an (v.t. Class ?) gather certain kinds of molluscs.
ana (i.n.) consumable possession; see 3.1.1.2.2.
anah (n.) unspecified person, as in ana hi pawi ‘a woman from Pawi’.
anana (n.) k.o. fish, poss. herring or pilchard.
apelipan (v.i. Class ?) crawl on all fours; [a ‘?’ + redup. of pan ‘crawl on all fours’].

an (n.) day; in the phrase amat an, means living human, as opposed to amat su ‘spirit, ghost’.
ago (n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. fishing net.
apah (n.) bottom portion of a tree trunk, felled and divided along its length [a ‘?’ + paʔaha ‘area underneath’ + -n ‘3SG possessor’]; cf. atatan.
apa/ yape formative in questions, poss. short form of tetape ‘how’.
apeti (v.t. Class II) press down, put together; steer canoe with pole or paddle held straight, close in to side of canoe; cf. yaliwi ‘steer with pole held out from canoe’.
apo (n.) k.o. tree, which in Loniu has some traditional restrictions as to its use for firewood.
apow (n.) small sparse plant with ivy-shaped leaf, used for weaving carrying bags or baskets.
apuce (n.) Loniu name for the island Rambutsyo.
apulok (v.i.? ) hang up.
apulupun (n.) k.o. fish, poss. k.o. eel or long-tom [a ‘?’ + redup. of *pul ‘??’].
apwesi (v.t. Class II) take off, poss. get rid of.
arikoko (n.) k.o. shell with leg-like projections, prob. family Strombidae or Muricidae [? ari ‘?’ + koko ‘my leg’].
as (v.t. Class II) scratch; l.f. asi [as + -i ‘trans.’].
atatan (n.) top half of tree trunk, felled and divided along its length [a ‘?’ + tata ‘upper surface’ + -n ‘3SG possessor’]; (ant. apa?ahan ‘bottom half of tree trunk’).
atay (n.) side of canoe without outrigger; rope or line used on sailing canoes.
awah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. squirrel fish.
ay (n.) blood; l.f. eye.
aya (n.) nom. of a?e ‘split’ [a?e + ya ‘NOM’].
ayah (n.) lookout, spy.
ayat/eyt (n.) caulking; the hard, inedible fruit from which the caulking is made.
ayen (n.) name of place not far from Loniu village.
ayeh / ya?e (v.t. Class II) split or separate a tree trunk lengthwise; der. aya.

cacah (n.) intimate or vocative for patama ‘father’, as well as other close relationships (not clearly defined); cf. čacoh, čapoh, yaya.
cacoh (n.) intimate or vocative for pato ‘grandmother’, as well as father’s sisters, children of ego’s older sister who are older than ego; cf. čacah, čapoh, yaya.
cah / čika (interr. pro.) what; something; see 6.7.3.2.
čah (n.) k.o. tree/wood, used for making canoe attachments.
cahan / cahow / tahow (part. ?) used only following me ‘come’: appear, come up, come out successfully.
cakulut (n.) rubbish, junk, garbage.
cakeliyew (n.) k.o. fish, poss. herring or bream.
cakilikin (v.i.) jump around, wriggle, throw a fit.
cakin (d.a.) old, dirty, used.
cakopu?epi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of goatfish.
cakuputi (v.i. Class ?) run away, escape (syn. wop).
cala (i.n.) path, road; s.f. čan.
calapwendi (v.t. Class I) lose, throw away, leave behind (for good).
caloke (n.) placename, section of Loniu village; forest debris [čah ‘something’ + lo ‘in’ + ke ‘tree’].
cam / yam form used to indicate hesitation.
cam (n.) outrigger portion of canoe; l.f. čama.
čama (i.n.) outrigger portion of canoe; s.f. čam.
čama (v.i. Class ?) swell, abcess; get dry (e.g. reef).
cameleho (n.) placename of a section of Loniu village.

çaanya (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of goatfish.

camwat (n.) k.o. fish, sweetlips or sea perch.

çamwapaw (n.) a soft rain, a drizzle.

çan (n.) path, road; l.f. çala; der. pwahaçan.

çaana (v.t. Class I) cut, clear; l.f. çani; der. çana.

çana (i.n.) cutting, clearing; nom. of çan 'cut, clear'.

çani (v.t. Class I) clear, cut down (bush or sugarcane, e.g.); [çan 'clear' + -i 'trans.'].

çaja petuwet (n.) arrangement of stones or tins used for holding pots over the fire.

çapah (n.) door.

çapaw (v.t. Class ?) ask for.

çapap (n.) k.o. fish, poss. tang or surgeonfish.

çaperuwa (n.) name of a section of Loniu village.

çapoh (n.) intimate or vocative for natupu 'grandfather' cf. çañah, çañoh, yaya.

çapwa (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sea bream; has large eyes.

çapwatapwa (v.i.) jump up, be startled.

çawan (v.t. Class I) toss, throw gently (something which is intended to be recoverable).

çapwe?imam (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of wrasse.

çapwiyani (v.t. Class I) to beat sago; one of the various steps or methods for beating the sago pulp in the production of edible sago.

çaremçarewa (part.) must, should; apparently a hortative form, not commonly used; e.g. çarem lepin kime 'The rain must come!'

çatop (n.) k.o. fish, poss. false scorpionfish, roguefish, waspfish.

çaw (n.) married housing; area where married women live.

çaway (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sardine or anchovy.

çay (n.) variety of Malay apple (syn. me?e).

ça? (n.) gloss unclear; attested only in the phrase meto kili çà? 'hay bilong mi i no moa slip nau'.

ça?aça (v.i.) wither, dry, as when a leaf dies or turns colour on a ripening yam plant.

çà?ako/çà?akoh (n.) dusk; almost dark [? çà? '?' + kə 'land'].

ça?eh (v.t. Class I) cut into pieces.

ça?e (v.t. Class I) cut; l.f. çahiti.

ça?iti (v.t. Class I) cut; [ça?iti (s.f. çà?e) 'cut' + -i 'trans.']

çee (v.i. Class ?) skip across surface of water; body-surf.

çeeëet (v.i. Class I) crawl [çë 'redup.' + çëëet 'crawl']; der. açeeëet.

çehemetiyen (d.a.) very large, huge [çee '?' + metiyen 'big'].

čehit (n.) a kind of sago palm with powdery substance on the branches; variety of the pamat type of sago palm.

čekehene (i.n.) part of; related to, e.g. iy čekehene ‘What relationship is she (iy) to you (-m) ?’.

cekenan (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. mutter.

čela tun (n.) gloss unclear, poss. canoe route through reef [? čala ‘road’ + tun ‘canoe’].

čelaw (n.) piece of cloth used as woman’s headdress; clothing (syn. kolaw).

čelehey (n.) k.o. small white bird, poss. k.o. tern.

čelemwa (i.n.) pitiful thing; usually used with 3SG possessive suffix: čelemwa, but also occurs without: seh čelemwa usiyay ‘the poor highland people’

čelelagat (n.) water from ground pool, used for washing only.

čelep (n.) bed of the canoe.

čelewa (i.n.) many, much.

čeli (v.t. Class I) slap.

čeleipuh (n.) k.o. fish, prob. triggerfish; čeleipuh ko?o whitebarred triggerfish.

čeleti (v.t. Class ?) trace, track, follow signs.

čelu (v.i. Class I) stand, get up; l.f. čeluweni.

čeluweni (v.t. Class I) stand, stand (NP) up [čeluw (s.f. ċelu) ‘stand’ + eni ‘trans.’].

čeme (n.) k.o. fish, prob. unicornfish.

čemenana (n.) witnessing, supporting; nom. of čemeni ‘witness, support, speak for’.

čemenanani (v.t. Class ?) to witness, speak up for someone [čemeni + ani ‘trans.’].

čemeni (v.t. Class ?) to witness, speak up for someone; support (physically); l.f. čemenani.

čen (v.t. Class I) show, point out; l.f. čenewani.

čene (v.t. Class I) punt a canoe with punting pole; l.f. čeneni.

čeneni (v.t. Class I) punt a canoe [čene + eni ‘trans.’].

čenewani (v.t. Class I) show, point out [čenew (s.f. čen) ‘show, point out’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

čeni (i.n.) fruit; body or flesh; especially good yams used for feasts and gift exchanges.

čeperitewi/čaperitewi (n.) name of mountain and tree on Rambutsyo Island, occurs in a Loniu legend.

čepwi (v.t.) collect, e.g. bats by beating at a tree with a long stick; l.f. čepwiyanai; ?der. kečepwe ‘bat’.

čepwiyanai (v.t.) collect [čepwiy (s.f. čepwi) ‘collect’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

čerikow (n.) k.o. bird with large eyes, said to cry at night, and to take the souls of the dead; prob. k.o. owl.

čerow (n.) carving; attested only in the phrase amat a čerow ‘a carver’.

čewehe (v.t. Class I) pour or put (into a container).
čeweneni/čewenani (v.t. Class ?) show, demonstrate.
čeweti/seweti (v.t. Class I) fasten or sew with rope or twine.
čewi (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of revenge (?syn. čo’uyet).
čεʔen (i.n.?) gloss unclear, poss. variant of čiʔe woman’s sister-in-law.
čεʔet (v.i. Class I) crawl, move along a narrow way, such as a branch or tree trunk; der. čεʔet, ačεʔet; also, to look for mangrove crabs (when used with la ‘go’).
čεʔiča (v.i. Class ?) ripen, wither; variant of čaʔača.
čεʔih (n.) k.o. fish, poss. trevally; poss. k.o. orchid.
čεʔekas (n.) fibre used to fasten wooden pieces together; used specifically with roof parts; [čεʔe ‘?’ + kas ‘k.o. bamboo’].
čεʔe ta pučon (n.) house supports.
čεʔi (n.) k.o. bush or tree.
či (v.i. Class ?) bleed.
čič (n.) k.o. fish, poss. garfish; čič kohoh ‘flying fish’.
čičiŋew (v.i.?) ache; attested only in the phrase teliŋo čičiŋew ‘my ears ache from so much noise’.
čičiʔon (n.) k.o. shell, prob. mud whelk, Terebralia palustris (Linnaeus), of the family Potamididae.
čih (interr. pro.) which, what, non-specific (see 6.7.3.5).
čih (n.) small parrot.
čika (n.) variant of čah ‘what, something’.
čikan (d.a.) tough, uncooked.
čikičik (v.i.) be arrogant, boast; redup. of čikiya.
čikiya (i.n.) arrogance, boasting; der. čikičik, čikiyani.
čikiyani (v.t.) gloss unclear; apparently related to čikiya [čikiya ‘arrogance’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
čili (i.n.) sprout, especially banana shoot.
čilim (n.) k.o. fruit-eating bird.
čilimata (i.n.) eyeball or socket; [čili ‘sprout’ + mata ‘eye’] čilimata ni, lit. ‘fish eyeball/socket’, may be slang for ‘money’.
čilimwekew (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bream or jobfish [cf. mwekew ‘deep sea’].
čim (v.t. Class I) buy, sell, barter; l.f. čimani. (n.) purchase; der. čima.
čima (i.n.) purchase; buying, paying for; nom. of čim(ani).
čimani (v.t. Class I) buy, sell, barter [čim ‘buy’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
čimenat (n.) small bushy tree with gluey sap.
čin (n.) canoe masts.
činen (n.) ceremonial platform, similar to but not as important as the kelew type. Each area of the village has one of each type.
činen (n.) a demon or spirit.
činiti (v.t. Class 2) fasten together; possibly the line used to do the fastening. Used specifically with nets.

čip (n.) window.

čipetun (n.) wood chips and shavings from making a canoe.

čipići (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. have some form of illness.

čipitan (d.a.) spicy, bitter, strong-tasting.

čipo?omwǎn (n.) charcoal [či ‘??’ + po?o ‘within’ + mwǎn ‘fire’].

čipwǎn (n.) crossbars fixed to edge of canoe bed for holding punting poles.

čito/čuto/čuro/ču (pro.) first person paucal inclusive.

či?e/če?e (i.n.) woman’s sister-in-law.

či?ih (n.) general term for fishing nets.

čo (n.) foolish or crazy person.

čočomwi (v.t. Class I) sharpen, make a point on.

čočotani (v.t.) gloss unclear, poss. gather food together for meal.

čohona (i.n.) place.

čolay (n.) sailfish, marlin, poss. also swordfish.

čomun (n.) dish, plate from which one eats.

čomuna (i.n.) place for sitting or sleeping; possibly also a place where the possessor belongs.

čomwēya (i.n.) packet; variant of čumwēya.

čoway (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bananafish, black-tip fusilier.

čon (v.i. Class ?) arrive, enter.

čon (v.t. Class ?) hunt (for wild pig).

čon (v.? in the phrase yo kili mat čon ‘I am dying of hunger’, seems to be equivalent to ‘hunger’, although it is not attested elsewhere with this meaning.

čonohani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. thread (a needle).

čonon (n.) k.o. fish, mackerel or sea pike.

čonot (v.i. Class ?) be overdone, charred, burned; also attested in the phrase kaw ičonot ‘the spell produced no results’.

čopon/čopon (n.) water jug made of clay.

čopu/čopu (i.n.) piece; der. čopučap, čopučpun.

čopučap (n.) dust mote [čopu ‘piece’ + *čap poss. s.f. of čopu – this would then be a reduplicated form].

čopučpun (i.n.) small bits of trash or dirt; redup. čopu.

čošte/čošte (i.n.) heel [čošte ‘hip’ + kaka ‘foot, leg’].

čow (n.) mat woven of natural leaves and fibres; (l.f.) čowa; čow tutuh ‘mat for sleeping’; čow palan ‘mat for keeping rain off’; lo čow, lit. ‘inside the mat’, a term used to refer to the traditional isolation of a young woman at puberty.
čowa (i.n.) mat; s.f. čow.
coweya/ceweya (i.n.) thigh.
čoyet (n.) k.o. tree/wood.
čo? (v.i. Class ?) burn down, as fire when there is no more flame.
čo?uka (n.) k.o. bird, indigenous to Manus Island, appears on the Manus Provincial flag; called ‘chauka’ in Tok Pisin; poss. of the kingfisher or flycatcher type, has a very distinctive call.
čo?uya/Čo?oya (i.n.) repayment, revenge; po čo?ayan ‘to repay’.
čo (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of long-tom.
čočow (n.) k.o. bird, described as building nests on tree branches.
čohok (v.i. Class ?) dive.
čor (n.) k.o. long, thin fish, prob. pike.
čowoh (n.) variant of čuwuh k.o. fish.
ču (n.) traditional type of comb.
ču (n.) k.o. fish, prob. long-tom; ču kohoh prob. long-finned garfish; ču mas prob. garpike.
ču (pro.) variant of čito first person paucal inclusive.
čučuh (n.) variant of čuhučuh covering; redup. čuhe.
čučum (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of garfish.
čučupat (n.) variant of čupupat little pieces; loose change [ču ‘redup.’ + ču(pu) ‘piece’ + pat ‘stone’].
čučupe (v.t.) help, give aid to; redup. čup(ani) ‘help’.
čučuye/Čučuyaye (n.) exchange; change of clothing. (v.t. Class ?) exchange [ču ‘redup.’ + čuye ‘exchange’].
čuh (n.) kind of mollusc, TP mataporo; in the phrase pве čuh, ‘shell of čuh’ refers to a cutting tool made from the sharpened half of a bivalve shell (TP blaklip sel).
čuhe (v.t. Class 1) make a packet, wrap; der. čučučuh, čuhuya. (?syn. čumwe(y)).
čučučuh/Čučuh (n.) wrapping, covering [redup. čuhe ‘wrap’]; epi čučučuh ‘sago baked in palm leaves’.
čuhuya (i.n.) wrapping; nom. of čuhe ‘wrap’.
čuli (v.i. Class ?) call out, especially in surprise or anger.
čulumwǝa (i.n.) cooking; nom. of čulumwi ‘cook’.
čulumwi (v.t. Class 1) cook over fire, burn [čulumw (s.f. čun ‘cook’) + -i ‘trans.’]; der. čulumwǝa.
čulugi (v.t. Class 1) cover, close, put a lid on.
čumow (n.) k.o. crab with a white shell.
čumwe (v.t. Class I) wrap, usually with leaves; der. čumweya; (?syn. čuhe).
čumweya/Čomweya (i.n.) wrapping, covering, usually of leaves; nom. of čumwe ‘wrap’.
čumwi (v.t. Class 1) catch; agree with.
čun (v.t. Class I) cook over fire; l.f. čulumiwi.
čunah (v.t. Class I?) to husk (a coconut); l.f. čunehi; der. čunaha.
čunaha (i.n.) husking; nom. of čunah.
čunehi (v.t. Class I?) husk (coconut) [čunah ‘husk’ + -i ‘trans.’].
čuŋuhani (v.t. Class ?) put on (clothes).
čup (n.) aid; l.f. čupani, der. čučupe.
čupani (v.t. Class ?) help, aid [čup ‘help’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
čupat (n.) broken-up coral, used on paths and around houses [ču ‘piece’? + pat ‘stone’] der. čučupat/cučupat.
čupu (i.n.) variant of čopu piece.
čučupun (i.n.) variant of čopučopun small bits.
čučupat/cučupat (n.) lots of small bits of broken coral [čup ‘piece’ + pat ‘stone’].
čurey (n.) k.o. bird, possibly a k.o. small blue kingfisher.
čuro/cuto (pro.) variants of čito first person paucal inclusive.
čutupwe (n.) a word used to refer to tea when it was first introduced into the culture; now most people use the Tok Pisin forms ti or lipti.
čuwemwekew (n.) k.o. fish, prob. hornpike long-tom [čuwe ‘?long-tom’ + mwekew ‘deep sea’].
čuweni (v.t. Class ?) turn or twist, as in čuweni kakan ‘twist one's ankle’.
čuwep (n.) spike make from the outer covering of the sago palm branch, used in the construction of the trough used for washing sago.
čuwuh/cowoh (n.) k.o. fish, poss. red-throated rainbowfish.
čuy (n.) broth.
čuyani (v.t. Class ?) change, exchange [čuye ‘exchange’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
čuye/ču?uye (v.t. Class ?) exchange; change (clothes); l.f. čuyani; der. čučuye.
ė (conj.) and, or, but.
ė (part.) now, about to; emphatic marker.
ė (n.) small crack (e.g. in a canoe).
ė (part.) the second person form of the perfective used with the verb la ‘go’.
ėčė (n.) k.o. fish, prob. unicornfish.
ėčey (n.) order, command.
ehe (part.) yes.
ehe (interr. pro.) where; see 6.7.3.4.
ehin (n.) young girl; more commonly ne?ehin.
ek (v.i. Class ?) grow.
ekes (n.) the last bit of powdery sago pulp which is tapped or scraped from the inside of the emptied trunk of the sago palm.
ekesa (i.n.) collarbone.
eki (n.) k.o. fish, poss. trevally or scad.
eku (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. pile up, poss. sit.

elelih (v.i.) you (SG) went; \([e ‘2SG perfective’ + la ‘go’ + lih ‘??’]\); appears to be a phonological word, although the perfective is not normally prefixed to the verb.

elewen (d.a.) long, far; der. la?elewe.

ele?iliye (n.) part of the traditional procedures for marriage involving a presentation to the bride’s family by the groom’s, preceding the main part called macah.

eleke/eleke (n.) coconut oil.

eli (part.) 2SG perfective marker.

elimaŋ (n.) k.o. mangrove crab.

elon (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of silver-biddy.

elucemu (n.) lobster or crayfish, poss. inedible.

elutu (n.) coconut oil.

emenani (v.t. Class I) peep at, spy on [emen ‘peep at’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

emen (v.t. Class I) peep at, spy on; l.f. emenani.

emete?i (i.n.) owner, person in charge; inhabitant.

eme?iman (n.) k.o. nocturnal red crab, abundant on the roads at night. \([e ‘?’ + me?iman ‘red’]\).

emi?emi (i.n.) gloss unclear; either ‘odour’ or ‘trace’ or something; redup. of *eni.

emot (v.i. Class II) vomit; der. emweta, l.f. emweteni, emwetani.

emusun (n.) poison; prob. related to amwis ‘infect’, but relationship unclear.

emu?un (d.a.) wet \([*emu?un (s.f. emw ‘be wet’) + -n ‘3SG possessor’]\).

emwa (v.i. Class ?) be wet; der. emu?un.

emwes (v.i. Class ?) be magic, have magic powers; der. emwesi.

emwesi (v.t. Class ?) magically attract [emwes ‘be magic’ + -i ‘trans.’].

emweta (i.n.) vomit; nom. of emot ‘to vomit’.

emweteni (v.t. Class ?) vomit out, throw up [emot ‘vomit’ + -eni/-ani ‘trans.’] (syn. momotani).

ene (n.) thing; poss. borrowed term.

eneyan (n.) food.

enu (i.n.) liquid, juice, water; s.f. an ‘fresh water’.

enum (n.) garden; l.f. enumwa; (syn. pilep).

enumata (i.n.) tears [enu ‘water’ + mata ‘eye’].

enumenan (n.) seed yam used for planting.

enumwa (i.n.) garden; s.f. enum.

epow (n.) hibiscus.

epye (v.t. Class II) hear, listen; l.f. epeyeni; der. epeye.

epey (n.) k.o. tree (TP golip).
egeyen (v.t. Class ?) hear, listen; [egey (s.f. ey(e)) 'hear' + -eni 'trans.'].
ege?e (v.i.? ) listen; redup. ey(e) 'listen to'.
episa (i.n.) resentment.
episen (v.t. Class ?) to resent [episa 'resentment' + eni 'trans.'].
epi (n.) sago, both the palm and the processed pulp.
epwe (conj.) only, just.
eraw (v.i. Class ?) sway.
erena (i.n.) way, method, manner.
erene?i (i.n.) attitude; look, appearance.
ete/ere (part.) animate goal marker.
ete (i.n.) liver.
etipun (n.) k.o. salt-water crab.
etow (idiom.) you stay; equivalent to English 'good-bye', said by one who is leaving.
etow (pro.) second person paucal.
etun (n.) k.o. small fish, prob. scad (TP melambur).
ew (n.) k.o. fish, poss. cod.
ewet/ewer (n.) k.o. red salt-water crab.
ewetay (n.) game; [?ow 'play' + ?? + ay 'NOM'] attested once as ewera: eweta iy 'her playing'.
ewi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish, garfish or pike.
ey (pro.) third person inanimate pronoun used in oblique NP's, especially locative phrases.
ey (i.n.) smell.
eye (i.n.) blood; s.f. ay.
e?ah (n.) k.o. large fish with white mouth which feeds near beach at night; poss. Painted Sweetlips.
e?e/u/e/we?e (v.i. Class ?) be afraid; tremble or shiver from fear or cold; der. e?eya(ni).
e?eya (v.t.) to frighten: yo kili e?eya iy 'I frightened him'; l.f. e?eyani [e?eya (s.f. e?e) + -ani 'trans.'].
eche (v.i. Class II) lie down, sit, recline.
eke/ke/ke/eyke (n.) k.o. edible mushroom
ete/t/eyt/a?at (n.) k.o. hard, round brown fruit and the caulking made from its grated pulp.

hV- (num.) root for 'one'; (the vowel varies according to the form of the numeral classifier – see 3.2); cf. also sV-.
ha (num.) root for 'four'.
ha?ele (v.t. Class II) pour something into a container to the point of filling it.
hah (pro.) second person plural.
hakeleyani  (v.t. Class II) wind or twist something around a pole or post.
hamo  (adv.) variant of hano.
han  (v.t. Class II) pick (fruit); l.f. hane?i.
han  (v.i. Class II) laugh.
han  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish or tang.
hane?i  (v.t. Class II) pick (fruit) [hane (s.f. han) 'pick (fruit)' + -i 'trans.'].
hano/hano/heno  (adv.) before, first.
hanuweni/hanowani  (v.t. Class II?) teach, try.
haŋ  (v.t. Class I) feed, give food to; l.f. hegani; der. haŋahap.
haŋahap  (d.a.) adoptive; attested only in the phrases janen haŋahap 'adoptive mother' and nataman haŋahap 'adoptive father'; redup. of haŋ.
haŋeni  (v.t. Class I) feed, give food to [haŋ 'feed + -eni 'trans.'].
hapetuwe  (v.t. Class ?) sense, feel, perceive.
hapotonow  (v.? ) gloss unclear, poss. related to hapetuwe.
has  (v.t. Class II) plant; used with plants such as taro, banana, coconut palm, which are stood up in the ground; l.f. hase?iy; der. hasa?a.
hasa?a  (i.n.) planting; nom. of has(e?iy) [hase? (s.f. has) 'plant' + -a 'NOM'].
haseweni/hasaweni  (v.t. Class ?) name; give name to, call by a name.
hase?iy  (v.t. Class II) plant [hase? (s.f. has) 'plant' + -i 'trans.'].
hep\textsuperscript{\textdagger}e (n.? ) gloss unclear, poss. ‘out of (something)’; attested in the phrase gosoho hep\textsuperscript{\textdagger}e ‘I’m out of breath’ (lit. ‘my breath’ + ??); possibly related to p\textsuperscript{\textdagger}e ‘no, not’.

he win (d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. crooked.
he ya (i.n.) washing; nom. of he.
he yah (n., adv.) today, now.
he yew (d.a.) of the same age.
he (interr. pro.) who; see 6.7.3.1.
he pe (n., det., adv.) a bit (of), a part.
he pe ep\textsuperscript{\textdagger}e (conj.) but, however; lit. ‘a bit only’.
hes (v.i. Class I) jump.
hetow (pro.) third person paucal.
hi (part.) female; the first syllable of all women’s names in Loniu; occurs prenominally to make the female gender of the referent overt.
hi (v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow; l.f. hine, hineni.
hič (v.i. Class ?) become united or fastened together.
hičele/hičeli (n.) name of a constellation.
hičemičemitoʔo (n.) late afternoon, sunset.
hikup\textsuperscript{\textdagger}i (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of mullet.
hikurow (n.) k.o. fish, poss. greenbacked or brown-banded mullet.
hilite (v.t. Class ?) choose.
hiliyeni (v.t. Class I) avoid due to traditional taboo, especially referring to customary behaviour around in-laws.
hilow (v.i. Class I) run, fly, swim; generally, move rapidly, whether on the ground, in the water, or in the sky; flow; der. heloweni.
him\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a (n.? ) gloss unclear, poss. (female?) twins.
hine (v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow; s.f. hi, l.f. hineni; der. hineya.
hineni (v.t. Class I) make do, cause, allow [hine ‘make’ + -eni ‘trans.’]; der. hininiya.
hineya (i.n.) making, doing; nom. of hine.
hininiya (i.n.) making, doing; nom. of hineni.
hipehena (n.) name of a star which rises and sets early in the evening; a Loniu legend says that this star sets early because it is going to steal all the belongings of the other stars [‘FEM’ + pehena ‘steal’].
hipelit (n.) k.o. fish, prob. freshwater, poss. species of perch [‘FEM’ + pelit ‘ghost’].
hipeta (sub. conj.) like, as, thus, so that, until; variant forms hipiti, hipera, hipiri (TP olsem).
hitape (interr. pro.) how, what happened; cf. tetape; see 6.7.3.8).
hitapo (n.) female servant [hi ‘FEM’ + ta ‘CONT’ + po ‘do’].
hitotoʔaq (n.) time of day near dawn.
hitupu (i.n.) woman's mother-in-law ['hi 'FEM' + tupu 'grandfather'].

hiwene (v.i. Class ?) have a picnic, relax.

hoh (v.i. Class I) be open; win out; go or arrive first.

homey/umey (n.) k.o. inedible fruit.

hu (v.t. Class I) take, hold, carry in hands; when used with we?i 'song', means 'sing'; l.f. huti.

huh/huhu (n.) sea swell.

huni (v.t. Class ?) to awaken; der. hunuhun, huniya.

huniya (i.n.) awakening; nom. of huni.

hunuhun (v.i. Class ?) to awaken of one's own accord; redup. of huni 'awaken (someone)'.

hugag (v.i. Class I) rest; relax; (v.t. Class I?) stop what one is doing.

huge (v.t. Class I) smell.

hus (v.t. Class I) suck or chew (e.g. sugarcane); l.f. husi.

hus (v.i. Class ?) be smoking or curing over fire; l.f. husuwe; der. husuhus.

husi (v.t. Class I) tie together, fasten with rope or twine, bind; der. husiya; suck, chew [hus 'suck' + -i 'trans.'].

husiya (i.n.) tying, binding, fastening with rope or twine; nom. of husi.

husuhus (v.i. Class ?) be smoking or curing over fire; redup. of hus.

husuwe (v.t. Class ?) smoke, e.g. fish, over fire; s.f. hus, l.f. husuweni.

husuweni (v.t. Class ?) smoke [husuwe 'smoke' + -eni 'trans.'].

huti (v.t. Class I) take, hold, carry in hands; catch; bring; open door or window; sing (with we?i song); [hut (s.f. hu) 'take' + -i 'trans.']; der. hutiya.

hutiya (i.n.) carrying, taking, singing; nom. of huti.

hutuhutuŋ (n.) bunch; very large group, as in a large school of fish; redup. of hutuŋ(ani).

hutun (d.a.) thick, heavy.

hutuŋani (v.t. Class ?) make a heap, put into a pile [*hutuŋ 'heap?' + -ani 'trans.'].

huya (i.n.) goodness, niceness; cf. huyan.

huyan (n.) adult; (d.a.) good, right, correct, nice [huya 'goodness' + -n '3SG possessor'].

içigi (v.t. Class ?) break, e.g. a spear.

ilani (v.t. Class ?) taunt, slander, insult [?ili 'call' + -ani 'trans.'].

ilečah (sub. conj.) because, why [i- '3SG' + la 'go', čah 'what']; see 6.7.3.3, 7.3.4.

ili (v.t. Class I) call to.

ili (v.t. Class I) dig, harvest, e.g. tubers [in 'dig' + -i 'trans.']; der. iliya.
iliya  (i.n.) calling; nom. of ili.

imeman  (n.?) gloss unclear; attested only in the phrase wan imeman 'be tired of, annoyed with', in which the form wan is apparently '3SG's body'.

imwani  (v.t. Class I) get water (syn. wo).

in  (v.t. Class I) drink; l.f. inumwi.

in  (v.t. Class I) dig, harvest tubers; l.f. ili.

inen/ninen  (d.a.) small.

ini  (v.t. Class ?) gather, collect, usually fruits which have fallen from the trees.

inumway  (n.) drinking; nom. of inumwi.

inumwi/ilumwi  (v.t. Class I) drink; also, with pesumwan 'cigarette': smoke; [inumw (s.f. in) 'drink' + -i 'trans.'].

ipw/iupwi  (v.t. Class I) pound sago pulp with long poles; one of the steps in the production of edible sago from pulp [upw 'pound' + -i 'trans.'].

ipwiti  (v.t. Class I) separate, unwind, untangle, untie.

irani/irrani  (v.t. Class I) fasten sarong [ire 'fasten' + -ani 'trans.'].

ire  (v.t. Class I) fasten sarong; l.f. irani.

isi  (i.n., v.i. Class I) fart.

isi  (v.t. Class I) wring out (clothes).

ite  (interjection) Is that so?

itehe  (interr. pro.) where (location); possibly combination of ito ehe '3SG-stative where'; see 6.7.3.4.

itti  (v.t. Class I) have sexual relations with.

itipo  (dem.) here, this; near speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

itiyen  (dem.) there, that; relatively distant from speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

itiyο  (dem.) here, this; near speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

iw  (v.i. Class I) call out; der. iwani, iwi?iw.

iwani  (v.t. Class I) pull, drag, pull out or up [iw 'call out' + -ani 'trans.'].

iwi?iw  (n.) calling out, counting; nom. of iw.

iy  (pro.) third person singular.

iya  (interjection) Let's do it!, Let's go!

iye(n)  (dem.) this, here; possibly prefixed form of ye(n) 'be in a place', poss. short form of itiyen (see 4.3.7).

ka  (n.) k.o. bush.

kačam  (n.) k.o. deepwater seaweed.

kačan  (n.) floor ['ka 'n.f.' + čan 'clear'].

kačaw  (n.) bride price ['ka 'n.f.' + čaw 'married quarters']; l.f. kečewa.

kah  (v.t. Class I) search for, find; l.f. kahi; der. kehekah.

kahah  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish or garfish.
kahatay  (n.) grated coconut meat; especially the dish made by mixing grated coconut with sago.

kahi  (v.t. Class I) search for, find; [kah ‘search for’ + -i ‘trans.’].

kaho  (n.) k.o. two-man fishing net.

kaka  (i.n.) foot, leg.

kakaw  (n.) long-handled ladle for pouring water on sago pulp during the production of edible sago; redup. of kawi ‘ladle, scoop up’; spear made of black palm (TP spia limbum).

kakawah  (n.) grave.

kalama  (i.n.) accompanied by, in addition to (used only with food).

kalanat  (n.) k.o. bird, poss. pigeon.

kalapulin  (n.) k.o. hardwood tree, prob. ironwood (TP kuila).

kalih  (n.) breaking wave with foamy crest.

kalipuwey  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. tasselled wobbygong [kali ‘?’ + puwey ‘crocodile’].

kali?aw/kaliyaw  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of wrasse; kali?aw ma?aw k.o. fish

kalon  (n.) ant.

kalu{)  (n.) pillow; originally wooden block used as pillow, now extended to mean the feather or filled cloth kind.

kamakaman  (d.a.) sweet; redup. of *kaman (syn. jaman).

kamalay  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of rainbowfish.

kaman  (n.) male; men’s house; l.f. kemeli.

kamana  (n.) shells of the cowrie type, fam. Cypraeidae; also general term for shells [?ka ‘n.f.’ + mana ‘white cowrie’].

kamwan  (n.) ashes; area near fire where food preparation takes place [ka ‘n.f.’ + mwan ‘fire’].

kamwat  (n.) large black ant [ka ‘n.f.’ + mwat ‘snake’].

kamwet  (n.) decorative body tattoos, normally for women.

kan  (n.) circumcision; also the ceremony and celebration accompanying circumcision; food.

kana  (i.n.) taste.

kanas  (n.) sea mullet.

kanaw  (n.) k.o. bird with black body and white head and beak; possibly a kind of noddy.

kap  (n.) a k.o. tree which produces a natural fibre used to make string or thread, which is then used to make belts and to string beads and dogs' teeth.

kapara  (??) like; attested only in the phrase kapara itiym ‘like that’; may be related to hipeta, but the relationship is not clear.

kapeni  (i.n.) wing [ka ‘n.f.’ + peni ‘wing’].

kapwana  (i.n.) self; used as emphatic reflexive: wow kapwanam wow eputi? ‘Did you yourself do it?’. 
karuli (n.) k.o. bird said to walk on the beach, possibly a species of plover [?ka ‘n.f.’ + ruli ‘k.o. bird’].

kas (n.) k.o. bamboo.

kasi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. pennant coralfish or Moorish idol.

katah (n.) large black seabird with white markings; dives to feed [?ka ‘n.f.’ + tah ‘k.o. shell’].

katamwan (n.) bits of charred wood left when fire has burned [?ka ‘n.f.’ + ta ‘LOC’ + mwan ‘fire’].

katun (n.) thunder.

katu?uhe (v.i. Class ?) bend down [ka ‘?’ + tu?uhe ‘bend over’].

kaw (n.) sorcery; spell done with betel pepper leaf to foretell future events or locate people.

kawa (n.) a kind of woven bag, normally used for storing food, esp. sago.

kawa (i.n.) fence; s.f. kow.

kawi (v.t. Class 1) ladle or scoop liquid; der. kakaw.

kayaw (n.) a drinking cup, usually with handles, but also may be a coconut shell used for drinking.

ka?ah (n.) cloud.

ka?ah peti pat (n.) k.o. edible crab [ka?ah ‘cloud’; peti ‘of’; pat ‘stone’].

ka?ahay (n.) part of the coconut palm: the woody, pod-like appendage which grows above a new bunch of coconuts; used in fires.

ka?oh (n.) the slanted side of a roof.

ka?upwen (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot.

kë (n.) k.o. fish, poss. gold-striped sea perch.

keëpu?u (i.n.) the underside of [keë ‘?’ + pu?u ‘bottom’].

keëpwe (n.) species of small bat [?ke ‘?’ + ëp’i ‘collect (bats)’].

keëewa (i.n.) bride price; s.f. kačaw.

keëilew (n.) area to the rear of the house.

kehekah (v.i. Class 1) go hunting, go on a search for something; redup. of kah ‘search for’.

keheyaa (i.n.) shoulder.

keheyah (n.) afternoon [?ke ‘?’ + heyah ‘now, today’].

kehise?ihan (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. open up (e.g. a meeting) to public; poss. related to getting food.

kekeluuh (n.) variant of kokoluuh signal.

kekepah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sharp-nosed rainbowfish [?ke ‘redup.’ + ke ‘?’ + pah ‘spear’].

kelaw (n.) unmarried person [?ke ‘?’ + law ‘relative’].

kelaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish.

keleqa (i.n.) back (body part).

kelepe (i.n.) tail.
\textit{kelew} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} ceremonial platform; cf. \textit{cinen}.
\textit{kelewe} \hspace{1em} \text{(v.t.)} take care of, look out for, care for.
\textit{keli} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} k.o. fish, poss. various species of rock-cod.
\textit{keli} \hspace{1em} \text{(part.)} non-singular form of the perfective marker.
\textit{keli} \hspace{1em} \text{(v.t. Class I)} cook, boil; used figuratively: \textit{putuwo iy ile keli tasih} ‘My guts boiled; I got very very angry’.
\textit{kelikan} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} hot sago soup or gruel, often made with shellfish, and with healing properties similar to those attributed to chicken soup in other parts of the world; ?redup. of \textit{kan} ‘food’.
\textit{kelimata} \hspace{1em} \text{(i.n.)} cheek [\textit{keli} ‘?’ + \textit{mata} ‘eye’].
\textit{kelipap} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} placename; possibly name of one of the mens’ houses in Loniu; also glossed as the side of a mountain at its base; a dark cloud foretelling illness or death.
\textit{kelipawt} \hspace{1em} \text{(i.n.)} jaw.
\textit{keli?aman} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} k.o. fish, prob. k.o. rock-cod [\textit{?keli} ‘?’ + \textit{aman} ‘red’].
\textit{kemeli} \hspace{1em} \text{(i.n.)} mens’ house; the male of a species; s.f. \textit{kaman}.
\textit{kemeniye} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} method of cooking, using or eating a food.
\textit{kemenye} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} gloss unclear, poss. related to eating.
\textit{kenukan} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} variant of \textit{konukan}, dust or small bits of matter which can be carried on the air (but not dust from the road).
\textit{kepu?u} \hspace{1em} \text{(v.?)} gloss unclear, poss. ‘sneeze’, but cf. \textit{yesig}.
\textit{kepase} \hspace{1em} \text{(i.n.)} chin [\textit{ke} ‘?’ + \textit{pase} ‘chin’].
\textit{kepeley} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} canoe mast [\textit{?ke} ‘wood’ + \textit{peley} ‘sail’].
\textit{kepera} \hspace{1em} \text{(??) variant of \textit{kapara}.}
\textit{kepe?e} \hspace{1em} \text{(i.n.)} curving portion of the side of a canoe.
\textit{kepulig} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} the area underneath a house which is built on posts or stilts.
\textit{kepweten} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} gloss unclear, poss. underarm, but cf. \textit{pa?ahakheya}.
\textit{keray} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} operculum, especially of the shells of family \textit{Turbinidae}.
\textit{kerinaway} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} frog; attested once as \textit{karandaway}.
\textit{kesi} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.
\textit{kesi?ay} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} sneeze [\textit{?ke} ‘?’ + \textit{yesig} ‘sneeze (v.i.)’ + -\textit{ay} ‘n.f.’].
\textit{keseow} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} variant of \textit{kosow} marriage.
\textit{keseuwas} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} a bushy plant which grows along the beach, the leaves of which are used to produce a liquid for curing both coughing and diarrhoea.
\textit{keti} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} edge (e.g. of a water hole)
\textit{keti?yat} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} betel nut; said to be an ‘older’ way to say \textit{puwe} betel nut.
\textit{ketu} \hspace{1em} \text{(n.)} wooden club.
\textit{kewesay} \hspace{1em} \text{(v.i.)} walk around, with no particular destination or purpose [\textit{?ke} ‘?’ + \textit{yawes(ani)} ‘go’ + -\textit{ay} ‘n.f.’].
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**kewe**
(n.) k.o. small bush, with lime green leaves sometimes used with betel nut.

**keyaw**
(n.) platform, table, bed.

**ke?e**
(part.) non-singular form of the perfective marker used with the verb *la* 'go'.

**ke?emet**
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sea-perch; also poss. a k.o. plant.

**ke?eniye**
(n.) variant of *ko?oniye* crumbs (of food).

**ke?eq**
(n.) k.o. parrot.

**ke?eqapay**
(n.) k.o. bird, poss. a wader; identified by one speaker as a little whimbrel.

**ke?ipow/karipow**
(n.) k.o. bird, prob. a reef egret.

**ke?iwoh**
(n.) k.o. insect: lime-green, small grasshopper-like, 1 to 1 1/2 inches long.

**ke**
(n.) tree, wood, piece of wood.

**ke**
(i.n.) edible portion of bivalve mollusc.

**kečew**
(n.) small bit of mucus in eye.

**keh**
(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of sea perch or bream.

**kemey**
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of mackerel.

**kemwa?ay**
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. red cod or snapper.

**kepahaw**
(n.) place where long paddle is secured on rim of canoe [ke 'wood' + pahaw 'paddle'].

**kes**
(n.) k.o. plant with red branches, the leaves of which are fragrant and are used in ceremonial dress.

**kih**
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.

**kihi**
(n.) firewood; l.f. *kihiye*.

**kihitape**
(??) gloss unclear; attested in the phrase *ma kihitape kime etc wow* 'Who cares about you!' (TP *maski long yu*); cf. tetapt:, hitapt:.

**kihiye**
(i.n.) firewood; s.f. *kihi*.

**kikiw**
(n.) k.o. bird, possibly a swift.

**kile/kileala**
(idiom) you go (now); equivalent to English 'good-bye'; cf. *etow* 'you stay'.

**kili/ki?i**
(part.) first and third person singular form of the perfective marker.

**kilim**
(n.) clean water, used for cooking and drinking; cf. *čeleqat*.

**kilim**
(n.) tool made from spine of palm leaf, used in production of coconut oil, poss. for stirring.

**kilim**
(n.) sign, trace, clue; l.f. *kilima*.

**kilima**
(i.n.) sign, trace, clue; s.f. *kilim*.

**kiniw**
(n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. bird.

**kip**
(v.t. Class ?) lie to; l.f. *kipani*.

**kipani**
(v.t. Class ?) lie to [*kip 'lie to' + -ani 'trans.'*].

**kit**
(n.) octopus.
kiw  (n.) small bench which has a neck with a serrated edge, used for scraping or grating coconut.

kiyeczy/kiyey  (n.) outrigger boom.

ki?am  (n.) long slender tool used for placing lime in the mouth while chewing betel nut.

ki?i  (n.) k.o. plant which produces small berries used to produce a medication for treating earache.

ki?i  (part.) the variant of kili, 1SG/3SG perfective, which is used with the verb la 'go'.

ko  (n.) land, village, place; l.f. kohona; ko tan 'earth', ko lag 'heaven'.

ko  (n.) wind.

ko?co  (n.) in the phrase motow ko?co, a kind of long knife similar to a machete.

koha  (n.) chicken.

kohoh  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish; cf. čič kohoh prob. flying fish.

kohon  (n.) large, shallow clay or metal dish used for frying or baking over fire; also a deeper, more rounded dish for making kelikan, a kind of sago soup.

kohona  (i.n.) land, village, place; s.f. ko.

kohu  (i.n.) side, trunk of body; in the phrase kohun upuh a yo 'he misses me'.

kok?o  (i.n.) part of a plant, poss. bark (but cf. kulihi).

kokoluh/kekeluh  (n.) sign; (d.a.) enchanted; redup. of *kolu, poss. nom. of takolu.

kokone  (n.) spoiled (child).

kola?w  (n.) clothes, especially sarong (syn. čelaw, kolo?u).

kolo/kolu  (i.n.) handle or shaft, esp. of canoe paddle or spear.

kolokon  (n.? gloss unclear, poss. related to caring for or serving someone; redup. of *kol.

kolopwaw  (n.) k.o. fish.

kolo?u  (i.n.) clothing; (syn. kola?w, čelaw).

kolu  (i.n.) throat; der. pukolu.

kolucukaka/  (i.n.) ankle [koluču 'joint??' + kaka 'leg, foot'].
kuličukaka  

kolucunime  (n.) elbow [koluču 'joint??' + nime 'hand, arm'].

kolu  (n.) sign, signal given to attract attention or to cause someone to come; der. kulihi, kolu; used with verbal formative ta.

kolum  (n.) corn (prob. borrowed).

komu  (n.) word, talk, language; l.f. komuwa.

komupala  (i.n.) skull [?komu 'word' + pala 'head']; also given once as 'hair', but see lomupala.

komuwa  (i.n.) word, talk, language; s.f. komu.
kona
(i.n.) gloss unclear, attested in the phrases kona komu ‘Cut out the chatter!’ and konan ‘It doesn’t matter’ ; TP maski.

kon (i.n.) bit of (food); der. konukonun.

konah (n.) peace offering; gifts to family of deceased person; l.f. konoha.

konukan/kenukan (n.) dust or small bits of matter which can be carried on the air (but not dust raised by passing cars).

konukonun (n.) little bits, usually of food; redup. of kono, bit of food.

kopomatan (n.) gloss unclear, poss. morning star.

kopow (n.) k.o. taro; k.o. fish, poss. catfish or catfish-eel.

kopo (n.) bowl made by coiling slender bundles of natural fibre.

kopuča (n.) mangrove tree.

koputu (i.n.) navel.

kopuša (i.n.) dirty, especially water.

kopwili (n.) area under house which is built on posts or stilts.

koro (n.) k.o. small yam.

koroš (n.) sago fried with coconut oil.

koro (i.n.) close to, next to; most commonly occurs in the compound ma?akoso ‘next to, beside’.

kosonay (n.) marriage, poss. also married person ['kosow ‘marriage’ + -(n?)ay ‘n.f.’].

kosow/kesow (n.) part of the procedure of marriage involving the adorning of the bride on the wedding day; der. kosoweni.

kosoweni (v.t. Class ?) adorn the bride.

kot (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of cod; der. melekoē.

kow (n.) fence; l.f. kawa.

kowas (n.) friend; celebration.

kowesun/kowosun (n.) coconut in the intermediate stage of maturity, neither green nor at the copra stage.

kōdō/kōsoc (n.) k.o. shell.

kōkaw (n.) sweet potato; borrowed from TP kaukau.

kōkō (v.i. Class ?) have chills, as with malaria.

kōniye/ke?eniye (i.n.) crumbs (of food); bits and pieces (of trees or plants).

kōnon (n.) foodstuffs, including betel nut, grown in garden.

kōpatat (n.) Loniu name for Coronaët.

kōpatan (n.) bundle (e.g. of spears or bamboo).

kōpatut (n.) rear portion of the interior of a house.

kōpowow (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of jobfish or emperor.

kōum (n.) bamboo water jug.

kōun (n.) yams for daily eating, i.e. neither for celebrations nor planting; also, the left side.

kohowa (i.n.) repayment, return for favour or help received.
kokopelos (n.) k.o. fish, poss. beaked leatherjacket.
kow (n.) hook used for fishing.
ku (n.) pot, saucepan used for boiling foods; traditionally of clay, obtained from Hus or Mbuke.
kuče (i.n.) kidney.
kućum (n.) a short pointed stake stuck in the ground, used for husking coconuts.
kuh (n.) k.o. plant with fragrant leaves.
kuku (n.) k.o. tree/wood used for making digging sticks (nas).
kuličukaka (i.n.) variant of kolucukaka ankle.
kulihi (i.n.) bark; skin (of crocodile); cf. koko, ma?a.
kulihi (n.) with verbal formative ta, to signal; s.f. koluh.
kulupačow (n.) rope; k.o. sea-snake, poss. harlequin snake-eel or culverin.
kumum (n.) a length of wood used to throw up into trees to cause the fruit to fall; also used in fighting.
kumwet (n.) part of the floor supports of a house.
kun (n.) breadfruit tree, its fruit, and the wood from it, which is used in canoe building.
kun (v.t. Class I) carry suspended from the head; l.f. kuni, der. kunukun.
kuni (v.t. Class I) carry suspended from the head [kun ‘carry’ + -i ‘trans.’].
kunukun (n.) carrying; redup. of kun.
kup (n.) flat, woven basket normally carried by men; l.f. kupša.
kupa (i.n.) flat, woven basket, normally carried by men; s.f. kupɔ.
kup (n.) the east wind.
kupwɛn (n.) type of fishing net.
kupwi (n.) trough in which sago is pounded [ʔka ‘n.f.’ + upwi ‘pound sago’].
kus (v.t. Class ?) sulk; l.f. kusuwɛni, kusuwani.
kusuweni/kusuwani (v.i. Class ?) sulk [kusuw (s.f. kus) ‘sulk’ + -ɛni/-ani ‘trans.’]; note that this verb does not appear to be transitive, in spite of the transitivising suffixes – see 3.4.1.3).
kut (n.) louse.
kutukutupeliyaw (n.) k.o. sea-snake, black with white stripes; cf. peliyaw ‘k.o. fish.’
kutukutupwahaleg (n.) gloss unclear, may refer to sandy bottom area within reef; cf. pwaheleg ‘beach’.
kutuŋapay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. winged dragonfish, razorfish, or shrimpfish.
kutuwalas (n.) freshwater seahorse [ʔkutu ‘ʔ’ + walas ‘sea grass’].
kuwake (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot.
kuwen (n.) adze-type tool, used for breaking up core of sago palm to extract pulp; der. takuweli; also poss. a type of fishing net.
kuwepat (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot [kuwe ‘k.o. fish’ + pat ‘stone’].
ku?u (i.n.) loud, thundering noise, as of breaking waves or thunder.
ku?u (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of squirrelfish.

la (v.i. Class II) go (to a destination); motion away from.
lač (n.) coral.
lah (n.) various species of ray; der. lehe?an, lehepat.
lakah (n.) white spot (skin disease which causes whitish blotches to appear on skin).
lakahani (v.t. Class II) touch, feel (e.g. the edge of a knife) for sharpness [ *lakah ‘feel’ + -ani ‘trans.’ ]; poss. der. akalakan ‘feel around without seeing’.
lala (n.) k.o. fish.
laman (n.) deepwater area, where no bottom is visible.
lamanpuket (n.) gloss unclear, poss. high seas (TP bigwara); cf. marapuket.
lametiyen (d.a.) variant of metiyen big.
lan (n.) south wind.
lag (n.) sky; ko lag ‘heaven’, lit. ‘land (of the) sky’.
lagah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. wrasse.
lapak (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of sole.
lapan (n.) leader; God.
lapwanan/napwanan (d.a.) big; not used with fish, but otherwise appears to be interchangeable with (la)metiyen.
lapw (part.) with no purpose or result; poss. related to pwe ‘no, not’.
lasoho (i.n.) man’s mother-in-law and sisters-in-law (no age specified).
law (n.) type of large fishing net; der. laweyap.
law (n.) family, supporters, relatives (TP lain), l.f. lawa.
lawa (i.n.) family, supporters, relatives; s.f. law.
lawat (n.) possum.
laweyap (n.) type of fishing net [lawe (s.f. law) ‘fishing net’ + yap ‘foreigner’].
la?elewe (i.n.) length [la ‘go’ + elewen ‘long, far’].
la?o (n.) small open-sided structure near main house.
lehe (i.n.) tooth; poss. der. lehu.
lehepat (n.) k.o. ray [lehe (s.f. lah) ‘ray’ + pat ‘stone’].
lehu (n.) part of house frame [?lehe ‘tooth’ + tu ‘house post’].
lehe?an (n.) k.o. ray [lehe (s.f. lah) ‘ray’ + an ‘water’].
lekehi (v.t. Class I) grope or feel around for [ *lakah ‘feel’ + -i ‘trans.’ ]; l.f. lakahani; der. akalakan.
leken (n.) sore, wound, scratch.
lele (v.i. Class I) look.
lelen (d.a.) nice; light-coloured; pretty.
**lemeti**  (v.t. Class I) remove the root hairs of yams and other tubers [? *lemet* (s.f. *lemi/*lam) 'root hair' + -i 'trans.'].

**lemi**  (i.n.) short hairs, fur; root hair of yams and other tubers; der. *lemeti*, *lemilam*, *lemilemin*.

**lemilam**  (n.) fur; lots of little hairs; poss. redup. of *lam* or *lemi*; k.o. fish, poss. pennantfish or plumed trevally.

**lemilemi**  (i.n.) root hairs of yams and other tubers; the hair-like growth on the husk of the coconut; redup. of *lemi*, indicates plurality.

**leg**  (n.) beach; der. *p³aheleg*.

**lege?i**  (sub. conj.) like, as, as though; when.

**legen**  (n.) rain.

**lepekayanay**  (n.) name used to refer to or address someone whose name either one may not mention due to tabus or one does not know.

**let**  (n.) belt; prob. borrowed from TP.

**le?i/le?e**  (part.) present continuative, simulactive.

**le?in**  (n.) from TP lain, 'group, relatives, supporters'.

**len**  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of wrasse or rainbowfish; *len sas* poss. zig-zag wrasse; *len ma³aw* poss. Gaimard's rainbowfish; *len kun [len + kun 'breadfruit']* poss. green-blocked wrasse; *len pop³ilow [len + pop³ilow 'butterfly']* poss. red-throated rainbowfish.

**le?e**  (v.t. Class I) see, look at; der. *le?eya*, *le?e³e³iye*, *le?e³e³eyani*, *le³e³iye*.

**le?e³e³iye**  (n.) examination [le?e 'see' + ³³e³ 'redup.' + ³³iye '?]'.

**le?e³e³eyani**  (v.t. Class I?) consider carefully [le?e 'see' + ³³iye '?' + -ani 'trans.'].

**le?e³e³iye**  (v.t. Class I?) consider carefully, examine [le?e 'see' + ³³iye '?']; l.f. *le³e³eyani*.

**le³eya**  (i.n.) seeing; nom. of *le?e*.

**lih**  (part.) gloss unclear, poss. indicates some immediacy regarding the activity referred to by the main verb; used with *la* 'go' and *me* 'come'; may be suffix, but does not appear to cause the stem-vowel raising common of affixation, except in the case of *ele³ih* (which cf.).

**lo**  (i.n.) inside of, within the boundaries or limits of (an object or a period of time); *lo ke* the bush, the forest; used frequently in place names, e.g. *loniw*; der. *loku*, *lolon*, *lotiye*.

**lo ³ow**  (phrase) lit. 'inside the mat', refers to the traditional custom of isolating the pubescent girl in a type of rite of passage. The girl is dressed in a woven mat (cf. ³ow), stays in the house for a period of up to two to three months, and comes out only at night, still dressed in the mat, to bathe. While in isolation, she does not prepare her own food nor wash her own clothes, but is cared for by relatives. Traditionally, the girl's ears are pierced just prior to the isolation period.

**lohayen**  (n.) placename, now called Lolak.

**loholiyan**  (n.) a (possibly indefinite) period of time.
loholuwa (i.n.) middle portion of, part in between two extremities; e.g. loholuwa kanas ‘the middle portion of the mullet (neither head nor tail)’; middle child; index finger.

lokon (n.) more than enough; excellent.

lokotuŋ (n.) support underneath the bed of the canoe, runs parallel to canoe edge.

loku (n.) traditional gifts and celebration by mother’s family for the first-born child [lo ‘inside’ + ku ‘cooking pot’]; cf. saʔoŋ.

lolo (n.) whale; cf. molowam.

lon (n.) planting.

lolo (n.) k.o. cane plant.

lolowa (i.n.) scent, odour, smell; (?syn. ey).

lololumum (n.) placename.

lomata (i.n.) kind, type.

lomot (n.) name of a section of Loniu village.

lomu (i.n.) body hair, fur of animal, feather; der. lomukan, lomulomu, lomupala.

lomukan/lomukan (n.) feather [lomu ‘fur, feather’ + *kan ‘bird’ (cf. petukan ‘bird’)].

lomulomu (i.n.) lots of hair or fur; redup. of lomu.

lomupala (i.n.) hair of the head [lomu ‘hair’ + pala ‘head’].

lomw’a (i.n.) planting; nom. of lomw’i.

lomw’i (v.t. Class I) plant; der. lomw’a.

loniw (n.) Loniu [lo ‘inside’ + niw ‘coconut palm’]; name used to refer to the nroloko people, their language and their village. They themselves use this term when speaking Tok Pisin or English, but use the term nroloko when speaking their language.

loŋow (n.) thing; l.f. loŋowa.

loŋowa (i.n.) thing; s.f. loŋow; loŋowa poʔo lo ke ‘the things of the bush, wild life’ [loŋowa ‘thing’ + poʔo ‘within’ + lo ‘inside’ + ke ‘tree’].

loupetaah (n.) name of an area near the beach at Loniu village.

lopun’un (n.) placename, Lombrum.

lɔs (v.i. Class I) fall down, land, go down (e.g. moon or month).

lɔsow (n.) short-tailed animal, prob. bushrat, bandicoot, or marmot; (TP mumut).

lot (n.) skin disease involving heavy rash; possibly a type of ringworm.

lotay (n.) weeds.

lotiye (i.n.) inside of or within [lo ‘inside’ + tiye ‘interior, insides’].

lowes (n.) placename; Lawes.

łowi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bright-saddled goatfish.

loʔo (i.n.) leaf; l.f. loʔona; der. loʔoke, loʔonow, loʔoput, poss. loʔuyap.

loʔoke (n.) paper, paper money [loʔo ‘leaf’ + ke ‘tree’].
lo?ona/na?ona (i.n.) leaf; s.f. lo?o; lo?o niw is equivalent to lo?ona niw ‘coconut leaf’ (both occur); only the long form may be suffixed: lo?onan but not *lo?on.

lo?ogow (n.) Lorengau [lo?o ‘leaf’ + gow ‘k.o. plant’].

lo?oput (n.) k.o. fish, poss. lesser fantail ray [lo?o ‘leaf’ + put ‘k.o. plant’].

lo?u (n.) k.o. fish, poss. short-bodied mackerel.

lo?uyag (n.) k.o. fish, poss. banded scad or herring trevally [lo?o ‘leaf’ or lo?u ‘k.o. fish’ + yag ‘k.o. plant’].

lolow (n.) spy, thief.

lot (n.) shells of the family Turbinidae, turbans.

low (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sweetlips or sea bream; name of offshore island visible to the south of Loniu village, near Baluan and Pak.

luwwe (n.) line used to raise the sail; poss. redup. of luwe ‘lose, let go’.

lug (v.t. Class ?) catch (fish); l.f. luguti.

luguti (v.t. Class ?) catch (fish) [lugut (s.f. lug) ‘catch’ + -i ‘trans.’].

lus (n.) nit.

lus (n.) shallow wooden bowl with a flat bottom, traditionally used for men’s food.

luwe (v.t. Class I) lose, drop, let go, leave; wait; poss. der. luwwe.

luwin (n.) white sandy ocean floor, esp. with no stones or coral.

ma (conj.) and, with, together with (see 7.2.2).

ma (v.i. Class ?) ripen.

ma (part.) intentional or inchoative marker (see 3.4.3.2, 5.1.1.3.4).

ma (pref.) number formative (see 3.2.1).

ma sow (neg. phrase) not yet (see 6.5).

mačah/mečah (n.) one of the major steps in the marriage procedures involving preparation of feast and presentation of gifts between the bride’s and the groom’s family; takes place after the birth of at least the first child.

mačaw (n.) ocean passage between two islands.

mačehe (interr. pro.) how much, how many (see 6.7.3.6).

mah (n.) taro.

mahu (adv.) tomorrow.

mahun (d.a.) new, newborn; (syn. mamahun).

mak (n.) oarlock.

mako?ohun (n.) pre-dawn, not enough light to see well.

malahan (d.a.) wide, broad.

malin (n.) k.o. wood which floats, poss. balsa.

malolomwan (n.) time of morning when sun is coming up, there is just enough light to see; about 4.30 a.m.; [TP malolo ‘rest’ + mwan ‘fire’].

mam (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of wrasse.
mamahun (d.a.) new, newborn; redup. of mahun.
maman/mama?an (n.) newborn child.
mamat (v.i.?) be awake.
mamo?an (d.a.) fresh; (syn. mamwemwe?an).
mamwa/mwamwa (v.i.?) be sorry, have pity; attested in the phrases kolu mamwa a wow 'I am sorry for you' (lit. 'my throat mamwa POSS you'), and putuwo mwamwa a wow 'I am angry with you' (lit. my belly mamwa POSS you').
mamwemwe?an (d.a.) fresh; (syn. mamo?an).
mamwe ne?en (d.a.) whole, entire, not cut into pieces.
mamwimi?in/ mawimwimwi?in (d.a.) alive.
mana (n.) white egg cowrie, Ovula ovum Linnaeus; used as penis ornament in one of the traditional Manus dances; der. kamana, tamana.
manaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. purple-headed parrotfish.
manunuwe (v.i. Class ?) sway back and forth.
manuwenan (n.) boundary.
majawne (v.t. Class ?) be clear, open, have long-range visibility.
mep (n.) morning [ma ‘?’ + pep ‘night’].
mapitan (d.a.) raw.
mara (n.?) in the area of, around, near; may be variant of mata ‘eye, edge’.
mara (aux.?) poss. a modal verb meaning ‘might, may, must’.
marakecy (n.) gloss unclear, may be related to fastening parts of canoe together; poss. matakecy.
mrapuket (n.) area near the reef.
maron (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of herring or bream.
mas (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of garpike or long-tom.
masa (v.i. Class ?) dawn; time of day when there is enough light to see; later than malolomwan, about 5.30 – 6.00 a.m.
maso?one (n.?) a mess, messy.
mat (n.) reef.
mat (v.i. Class II) die.
mata (v.i. Class I) be or become big; grow up.
mata (i.n.) eye; edge; lid (of pot).
mata (d.a.) big; attested only in the phrase own mata ‘his big bone, his spine’; poss. l.f. metiyen.
matacyp (n.) window frame.
matakapwa (i.n.) bunch or cluster (e.g. of fruit); ground vine.
mataluh (n.) k.o. shell, poss. fam. Turbinidae; said to have a black operculum; also, money.
matapinwulin (n.) anus.
mata'an  (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. talk without knowing, invent.
may      (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish, poss. poison-spined fish of some type.
ma?a     (i.n.) skin; close to, as in ma?a pat 'close to the stone(s)'; der. ma?a + koso.
ma?akoso/ma?aposo  (i.n.) beside, near [ma?a 'skin' + koso 'next to'].
ma?aw     (n.) formative used in fish names, no specific gloss available; cf. len ma?aw, kali?aw ma?aw.
ma?in     (part.) maybe; TP ating.
me         (v.i. Class I) come, motion toward.
mehiyun   (d.a.) bad-tasting, sour (e.g. old sago).
mekehen   (d.a.) thin.
mekeyag   (n.) mollusc of the family Volutidae, Aulicina vespertilio (Linnaeus).
mela?an   (n.?) big, open area, with no mountains, from which you can see the ocean in all directions; cf. malahan, of which this may be a variant form.
melekot   (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of cod [mele '?' + kot 'k.o. fish'].
melemun   (d.a.) soft, overripe.
melen     (n.) k.o. plant whose leaves are used as a vegetable, TP aipika.
melesewa  (i.n.) man's brothers-in-law and his sisters-in-law who are older than his wife; also, woman's brothers-in-law who are older than her husband.
melewaw   (i.n.) spirit, soul.
meliwi     (n.) k.o. fish, poss. surgeonfish or tang.
memesu    (v.i. Class ?) hiccough.
memey     (n.) k.o. plant or natural fibre used for making baskets.
menih      (n.) large black bee; k.o. deep water seaweed which stings.
menuway    (n.) eagle; k.o. ray, poss. duckbill-ray or spotted eagle-ray.
meses?en  (n.) front portion of the interior of a house.
meses?en  (n.) clean (water).
metepow    (n.) long two-man pole used for carrying things suspended between shoulders (cf. si?ihi); pole placed at the edge of the canoe bed to ease the feeding of the net into the water; poles arranged under the roof of the house, used for storage; may be made from palm-leaf stalks.
metiput   (n.) crosspieces of a canoe.
metiyen/lametiyen/ nametiyen   (d.a.) large, big; may be l.f. of mata 'big'; der. chehmetiyen.
meto      (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of emperor.
mey       (n.) brown-skinned (person).
me?eme?   (n.) type of fishing net, used to catch mullet.
me?esan   (d.a.) cooked, done; nom. of me?is.
me?ew     (n.) k.o. fruit.
meʔipihine/meʔipihine (i.n.) groin [ʔmeʔi/meti ‘?’ + pihine (s.f. pihin ‘female’)].
meʔiman (d.a.) red; (syn. yamaʔam, aman).
meʔiŋat (??) gloss unclear, poss. be or become rotten.
meʔis (v.t. Class I) become cooked, done.
meʔiyen (adv.) quickly, hurriedly.
mete (v.i. Class I) sleep; der. meteten, meteʔewoh, meteʔiw.
meteten (v.i. Class ?) sleep heavily, poss. redup. of mete (but see 3.8.1.1; reduplication is normally pre-root rather than post root).
meteʔewoh (n.) day before yesterday [mete ‘sleep’ + uwoh ‘two’].
meteʔiw (n.) sleeping; nom. of mete.
meʔe (n.) k.o. fruit, prob. variety of Malay apple (syn. čay).
mimim (v.i. Class I ?) urinate.
min (v.i. Class I) sit; most often in the phrase min tan ‘sit down’.
misimisiye (v.i. Class ?) chant for extended period; redup. of misiye.
misiyen (v.t. Class ?) praise (an accomplishment) [misiye ‘chant’ + -eniy ‘trans.’].
misiye (v.i. Class ?) chant, esp. in praise of someone's accomplishment; der. misimisiye, misi yen.
misuwa (v.t. Class ?) fill; l.f. misuwani.
misuwani (v.t. Class ?) fill up a large area, e.g. the village with food [misuwa ‘fill’ + -anini ‘trans.’].
miʔi (n.) k.o. small ant.
mokeʔeg (n.) Mokoreng.
molowam (n.) whale; cf. lolo.
mom (n.) line used to adjust the sail.
momo (i.n.) liquid; momo niw ‘coconut water’.
momohone (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be in a hurry.
momotani (v.t. Class ?) spit out, vomit; (syn. emweiteni).
momwak (n.) k.o. fish, poss. cuttlefish.
mom (n.) a very long outrigger canoe.
om (n.) variant or mEwak beaded or woven armband.
monoy (n.) k.o. fish, poss. long-snouted unicornfish.
mon (d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. yellow-coloured, but cf. ənəwa ‘yellow’.
monomun (n.) k.o. small yam with purplish flesh; redup. of mon.
moʔohowe (v.i. Class ?) break open, e.g. an egg [mo ‘?’ + pohowe ‘broken up’].
more (n.) k.o. bird, poss. a variety of swift.
mosəʔe/mosəŋ (v.i. Class ?) be scattered about, to go or be here and there, as molluscs among the mangrove roots.
mut (v.i. Class ?) be broken, break.
motom\textsuperscript{at}/motem\textsuperscript{at} (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of reef eels, poss. spotted snake-blenny; redup. of \textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{at} ‘snake’; motom\textsuperscript{at} ko?o ‘brown moray’; motom\textsuperscript{at} ko?otulutun ‘Arabian pike-eel or ashen conger-eel’.

mo (n.) variant of \textsuperscript{mu} k.o. fish.

mo\textsuperscript{oko}/\textsuperscript{ho\textsuperscript{oko}} (n.) enough, sufficiency.

motow (n.) k.o. knife or cutting tool.

mo?\textsuperscript{ohow} (n.) k.o. plant, natural fibre for basket making.

mu/mo (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of spinefoot.

mu\textsuperscript{ci} (i.n.) variant of \textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}ici\textsuperscript{e} husk of betel nut or coconut.

mu\textsuperscript{cimu\textsuperscript{e}} (n.) variant of \textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}ici\textsuperscript{mi\textsuperscript{e}} very small betel nut.

mulow (n.) k.o. fish, poss. silver spinefoot or black trevally.

mumu\textsuperscript{cay} (n.) k.o. very small fish.

mumum (n.) long poles used for pounding sago in \textsuperscript{kup}\textsuperscript{w}i trough.

musih (d.a.) alike.

muwan (d.a.) bad, evil.

mu?\textsuperscript{u} (i.n.) stern, rear end.

mu?\textsuperscript{u} (n.) k.o. fish, poss. harlequin sweetlips.

mu?\textsuperscript{un} (v.i. Class I) be hungry.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}alat (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of albacore.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}alih (n.) story; repeated three or four times to begin a story; l.f. \textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}alihi.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}alihi (i.n.) story; s.f. \textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}alih.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}am\textsuperscript{wa} (v.i. Class ?) variant of \textsuperscript{mam}\textsuperscript{wa} ‘be sorry or angry’.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}am\textsuperscript{m}aw (n.) k.o. fish.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}an (n.) fire; l.f. \textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{wen\textsuperscript{u}}; der. kam\textsuperscript{wan}, čip\textsuperscript{om\textsuperscript{wan}}, katam\textsuperscript{wan}, malolom\textsuperscript{wan}, sulugam\textsuperscript{wan}.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}anus (n.) Manus; coastal people of Manus.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}as\textsuperscript{as} (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of goatfish.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}at (n.) snake; der. motom\textsuperscript{at}.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}at (n.) k.o. large yam.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}at (n.) wounds resulting from accident.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}atahatah (v.i.? ) gloss unclear, poss. be in a hurry; said not be used with first person.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}ati (n.) axe.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}ay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of angelfish, poss. spotted surgeonfish.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}a?\textsuperscript{ay} (n.) peace, calm.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}a?\textsuperscript{en} (d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. alive or be alive; poss. der. \textsuperscript{mam}\textsuperscript{w}ene?\textsuperscript{en}, \textsuperscript{mam}\textsuperscript{w}em\textsuperscript{w}e?\textsuperscript{an}.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}a?\textsuperscript{usu\textsuperscript{we}} (v.i. Class ?) twist and turn about, e.g. to avoid smoke.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}e (i.n.) buttocks.

\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{čepu}/\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{w}ičepu (n.) last-born child; last bit of something.
mwekelikeliye (v.i. Class ?) be uneasy, queasy [?mwe ‘?’ + keli redup. + keli ‘boil’ + ye ‘?’].
mweke\textsubscript{w} (n.) deep sea; overseas.
mwel\textsubscript{e} (d.a.) emptyheaded, useless; plain, water with no flavouring.
mwel\textsubscript{e}ga (i.n.) the area in between two objects or persons.
mweli (i.n.) canoe with built-up sideboards; also used to refer to large trucks; der. mwelip\textsubscript{w}e.
mwelip\textsubscript{w}e (n.) small canoe; also used for small vehicles such as jeeps; [mweli ‘canoe with built-up sideboards’ + p\textsubscript{w}e ‘no, not’].
mwen\textsubscript{e}n (d.a.) straight, correct; der. mw\textsubscript{e}niyani.
mwen\textsubscript{e}niyani/ mwen\textsubscript{e}neyani (v.i. Class ?) be easy, soft; [mw\textsubscript{e}niy\textsubscript{e} ‘easily, softly’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
mwen\textsubscript{e}niye (adv.) easily, softly, carefully, gently; l.f. mw\textsubscript{e}ney\textsubscript{ani}; (v.t. Class ?) straighten; poss. s.f. mw\textsubscript{e}nen; mw\textsubscript{e}niy\textsubscript{e}ni; mw\textsubscript{e}niy\textsubscript{ani}.
mwen\textsubscript{e}niy\textsubscript{e}ni/ mwen\textsubscript{e}niy\textsubscript{ani} (v.t. Class ?) straighten, arrange [mw\textsubscript{e}niy\textsubscript{e} ‘straighten’ + -eni/-ani ‘trans.’].
mwenu/mw\textsubscript{on}u/ monu (i.n.) fire; s.f. mw\textsubscript{an}; der. mw\textsubscript{on}uy\textsubscript{ap}.
mwe\textsubscript{p}e\textsubscript{ni}ye (v.i.) move, reposition oneself.
mwe\textsubscript{y}ey (n.) k.o. beach crab.
m\textsubscript{w}i (n.) dog.
m\textsubscript{w}i (n.) k.o. seabird with webbed feet.
mwic\textsubscript{e}/mu\textsubscript{c}i/mwic\textsubscript{i} (i.n.) husk of betel nut or coconut.
mwic\textsubscript{i} (i.n.) variant of mwic\textsubscript{e} husk of betel nut or coconut.
mwic\textsubscript{im}wic\textsubscript{e}/mu\textsubscript{c}umuc\textsubscript{i} (n.) very small betel nut.
mwic\textsubscript{in}at (v.i.?) be hot [mwic\textsubscript{e} ‘husk’ + qatah ‘be hot’].
mwic\textsubscript{in}eni (v.t. Class ?) reprove, reject.
mwim\textsubscript{w}i?in (n.) youngest child; redup. of mw\textsubscript{i}?in ‘afterwards’.
mwi?in (adv.) afterwards, later; der. pwim\textsubscript{w}i?i, mwim\textsubscript{w}i?in.
mwi?iw (n.) grass.
mw\textsubscript{on}/mon (n.) beaded or woven arm or leg band.
mw\textsubscript{on}u (i.n.) variant of mw\textsubscript{e}nu ‘fire’.
mw\textsubscript{on}uy\textsubscript{ap}/monoy\textsubscript{ap} (n.) matches, lighter [mw\textsubscript{on}u ‘fire’ + yap ‘foreigner’].
mw\textsubscript{on} (n.) k.o. fruit, prob. pandanus.
nam\textsubscript{et}i\textsubscript{y}en (d.a.) variant of met\textsubscript{y}en ‘big’.
nap\textsubscript{w}an\textsubscript{an} (d.a.) variant of lap\textsubscript{w}an\textsubscript{an} ‘big’.
nas (n.) digging stick; l.f. nest.
nay (n.) short ornamented skirt.
nen (n.) part of the palm leaf, used or sewing palm leaf thatch.
nen (v.i. Class I?) crawl on the belly, e.g. a snake.
nēnes—(v.i. Class I) talk.
nēst—(i.n.) digging stick; s.f. nas.
nēti—(v.t. Class I) divide up a garden plot into sections for planting.
neʔehin—(n.) young woman [ne ‘?’ + ehin ‘girl’]; l.f. neʔehiyē.
nenhiye—(i.n.) young woman; s.f. neʔehin.
nēʔi—(i.n.) clothes, dress.
ni—(n.) general term for fish; l.f. niye.
nihiyani—(v.t. Class ?) dream about.
nime/lime—(i.n.) hand, arm.
nin—(n.) spike, nail.
ninin—(d.a.) variant of inen ‘small’.
nini—(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of trevally, esp. bluefin trevally; redup. of ni ‘fish’.
ninīye may/ ninīye mać—(n.) k.o. anemone fish or clownfish [ni ‘redup.’ + niye (s.f. ni) ‘fish’ may ‘k.o. fish’].
ninīye moluć—(n.) k.o. fish, poss. similar to ninīye mać.
niŋaŋ—(n.) k.o. fish, prob. rainbowfish, wrasse or parrotfish [ni ‘fish’ + paŋ ‘?’].
niw—(n.) coconut, both the palm and the fruit.
niṃ aman—(n.) species of coconut, most common type [niw ‘coconut’ + aman ‘red’].
niṃ mami—(n.) species of coconut, very sweet [?niw ‘coconut’ + mami ‘TP: type of yam’].
niṃ pa—(n.) species of coconut, whose fruits cluster on a single branch [?niw ‘coconut’ + pa ‘k.o. plant’].
niṃ paʔaŋ—(n.) species of coconut with red shoots [?niw ‘coconut’ + paʔaŋ ‘k.o. bird’].
niṃ pelewa—(n.) species of short coconut palm, with small round reddish coconuts [?niw ‘coconut’ + pelewa ‘k.o. fish’].
niye—(i.n.) fish; s.f. ni.
niye pat—(n.) general term for fish which feed on the reef [niye (s.f. ni) ‘fish’ + pat ‘stone’].
niye tin—(n.) gloss unclear, poss. the fish caught or prepared for the family of a deceased person.
noh—(v.i. Class I) be afraid; der. nohonoh.
noh—(n.) k.o. fish, poss. poison; poss. species of butterfly-cod, turkeyfish, or scorpion-cod.
nohonoh—(n.) fear; redup. of noh ‘be afraid’.
noʔona—(i.n.) variant of loʔona ‘leaf’.
noʔonow—(n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of woman’s headdress.
now—(n.) small stake around which yam vines are wound.
Flah

Flakun

Flak

Flako

Flakokon

Flakoh

Flala

Flaman

Flamaon

Flam

Flama

Flane

FlanemWat

Flam

Fl8J1ay

FlilJ1a ? elJ1 ofl

Flaperiye

Flapic

Flapon

Flapulu

Flapwe1ekew

Flat

Flatama

Flato

Flatupu

Fleheti

Fl-t:keti

Flekuwan

Flumulen

Flemulen

Fletil fletu

Fletu

Fletukan

Flah (n.) spear.

Flakun (n.) k.o. fish, poss. fusilier or bananafish.

Flak (v.t. Class ?) climb, go up onto or into; (v.i. Class ?) go up, e.g. a house; der. Pakoh, peketa.

Flako (n.) k.o. bird which sings at night and, traditionally, heralds a death; may be a night heron or curlew.

Flakokon (n.) basket made of bark.

Flakoh (n.) rope or cloth used for climbing palm trees [pak ‘climb’ + oh ‘?’].

Flala (n.) cold wind; (v.i. Class ?) be or become cold; der. peletun.

Flaman (d.a.) sweet; sharp (syn. kamakaman).

Flaman (n.) lard, fat, grease.

Flamaon (n.) mosquito.

Flam (v.i. Class ?) crawl on all fours; der. apelinam.

Flama (i.n.) man’s father-in-law.

Flane (i.n.) mother.

FlanemWat (n.) k.o. insect, approximately six inches long, flexible body and large wings; found in the upper parts of trees [nane ‘mother’ + mWat ‘snake’].

Flani (v.t. Class II) variant of yani ‘eat’.

Flanay (n.) k.o. seagrass.

Flanay/enonayi (v.t. Class I) peel off outer bark.

Flaperiye (d.a.) large in size and powerful, esp. in reference to menuway ‘eagle’.

Flapic (n.) k.o. deepwater crab, has very strong claws.

Flapon (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish.

Flapulu (i.n.) spouse [pa ‘n.f.’ + pulu ‘spouse’].

Flapwe1ekew (n.) canoe part, parallel to the poles which attach to the outrigger.

Flat (n.) melon; nat kun ‘pumpkin’; nat popo ‘papaya’.

Flatama (i.n.) father; father’s brothers.

Flato (i.n.) grandmother.

Flatupu (i.n.) grandfather; woman’s father-in-law; man’s nieces and nephews on his wife’s side.

Flaheti (v.t. Class I?) divide large bunches of fruit into smaller bunches.

Fleketa (n.) climbing; nom. of fleketi.

Fleketi (v.t. Class I?) climb; prob. l.f. of Flak.

Flekuwan (d.a.) good-tasting, sweet, e.g. fruit; (ant. pemulen).

Fleetun (d.a.) cold; prob. l.f. of Flala.

Femulen/jumulen (d.a.) sour (e.g. fruit); (ant. Fekuwan).

Feti/jetu (det.) diminutive marker.

Fetu (i.n.) offspring, child; woman’s brothers-in-law who are younger than her husband, man’s sisters-in-law who are younger than his wife.

Fetu (n.) bird [? Fetu ‘child’ + *kan ‘bird’ (cf. lomukan)].
(i.n.) grandchild [petu 'child' + kemepu '?’].

(jetumwan) (n.) young man [petu 'child' + *mwan '?’].

(jetupoke) (n.) illegitimate child [petu 'child' + poke '?’].

(jetut) (n.) k.o. tree/wood used for canoe building.

(jetuweneyan) (n.) middle-sized [?petu 'child' + weneyan '?’].

(jihi) (v.t. Class I) wash, bathe; [‘*juh (s.f. ju) 'bathe' + -i 'trans.']; der. jihiya.

(jihiya) (i.n.) washing; nom. of jihi.

(n.) gloss unclear, possibly a kind of picnic; redup. of *nik.

(nikii) (v.t. Class I) remove food from cooking pot.

(nipip) (n.) small, lapping waves; redup. of *pip.

(pokomupu) (i.n.) variant of petukemepu ‘grandchild’.

(pora\i) (v.t. Class I) variant of papa\e 'peel or scrape off bark'.

(now) (n.) mahogany.

(pohohiye) (i.n.) sweat (syn. pohoho).

(pohopo) (v.t.) variant of pohopo 'sweat'.

(pohohi) (i.n. Class I) fill basket with food, e.g. yams; der. pohojah.

(pohohoj) (v.i.) fill a basket; redup. of pohoi.

(pohopo\opohopo) (i.n.) sweat, perspiration (syn. pohohiye).

(n.) washing; nom. of nu.

(nuk) (n.) squid or cuttlefish.

(n.) sour; d.a. variant of nemen 'sour'.

(jumwa) (i.n.) grating; nom. of jumwi.

(jumwi) (v.t. Class I) scrape, grate (e.g. coconut); der. jumwa.

(juwelaw) (v.i. Class I) swim underwater [?nu 'bathe' + *welaw '?’].

(n.) lime, used with betel nut; l.f. gaha.

(n.) fathom.

(n.) hot, spicy.

(n.) sun; time.

(n.) k.o. fish, prob. barracuda.

(n.) gloss unclear, poss. opening or hole.

(gatah) (v.i. Class I) be hot, feel hot; der. gataha, gatehi, pagataha.

(gatahan) (d.a.) hot; l.f. of gatah.

(gatehi\getehi) (v.t. Class I) heat [gatah 'be hot' + -i 'trans.'].

(n.) hole, esp. in the ground; cave; l.f. neye.
gay
(n.) k.o. water bird, swims or floats on surface; poss. k.o. duck or booby.

n'a?a
(i.n.) name.

galepu/gelipu
(n.) fly.

gepey
(d.a.) scarred, pocked from disease; prob. redup. of gepey ‘hole’.

gesu
(i.n.) smoke; most often gesumwan; der. gesunesun.

gesumwan
(n.) smoke; cigarette[gesu ‘smoke’ + mwan ‘fire’].

gesunesun
(d.a) smoky; redup. of gesu.

gatehi
(v.t. Class ?) variant of gatehi ‘heat’.

geti
(v.i. Class ?) hurt, be painful; der. getiyen.

getiyen
(n.) pain; nom. of geti ‘hurt’.

geye
(i.n.) hole; s.f. gay; der. gepey.

ge'e
(n.) when used with man's father's name, ‘Mr’; cf. so ‘Miss’.

go
(i.n.) nose, beak.

go
(part.) away, out.

gh
(v.i) Class I) blow (e.g. wind).

gohon
(n.) crazy person (syn. gh, go).

gosoha
(i.n.) breath [?go ‘nose’ + base of so?ohani ‘blow out’].

goteyan
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. diagonal-banded sweetlips.

gotun
(n.) bow of a canoe [go ‘nose’ + tun ‘canoe’].

gow
(n.) crazy person.

go/pugu
(i.n.) root.

go'o
(i.n.) variant of mo'o ‘enough’.

o
(v.i. Class ?) wither, fall, come down; pour down (e.g. water); poss. also come to an end.

o
(conj.) or; prob. borrowed from Tok Pisin.

oh
(v.t. Class II) draw, write, adorn with designs; l.f. ohoy; der. o'oh.

ohoy
(v.t. Class II) draw, write, adorn with designs; s.f. oh.

ohuwen/ohowen
(n.) dust; powdery substance found on branches of one species of sago palm (esp. epi pamat); der. ohu?ohu, o'ohu.

ohu?ohu
(i.n.) dust, car exhaust [ohu redup. + *ohu (l.f. ohuwen)].

oket
(n.) mature coconut, at the stage when copra is extracted; black, l.f. oketen.

okoten
(d.a) black, s.f. oket.

olen
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. gold-spotted trevally.

olo'h
(n.) wooden bailer.

olow
(n.) k.o. fish, poss. demoiselle or sergeant-major.

ono'hani
(v.t. Class II?) think of; count [onohe ‘think of’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

onohe
(v.t. Class II) think of; count; der. onohani, ono?onohe.
ogowa  (i.n.) yellow, fair-skinned; (?syn. mon).
ogoh (v.i. Class ?) think; (n.) thought, opinion; redup. of ogoh.
opah (n.) the celebration which is held upon the birth of a child.
opukaka (i.n.) ankle [opu ‘?’ + kaka ‘leg, foot’]; (syn. kolučukaka).
opunime (i.n.) hand [opu ‘?’ + nime ‘hand, arm’].
ow  (v.i. Class I?) play; ?der. etetay.
ow (pro.) second person dual.
owak/kowak  (n.) k.o. tree/wood used in canoe building.
owan (n.) shade.
owatas (n.) k.o. fish, poss. anchovy.
o?con (n.) placename, Rosun.
o?oh (v.i. Class I) draw, write; redup. of oh.
o?ohu (i.n.) dust, exhaust; redup. of *ohu (l.f. ohuwen); (syn. ohu?ohu).
o?owan (d.a.) green, blue; ?redup. of owan ‘shade’.

ogo (v.i. Class I?) jump.
ow (n.) k.o. fish trap.
ow (i.n.) bone.

pa  (n.) poles running parallel to canoe, part of the structure which attaches the outrigger to the canoe (cf. kiyeč, napwelukew)
pa (n.) k.o. plant with long slender leaf; coconut species.
pač (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sardine or pilchard.
pačepow  (n.) toilet facility built out over the water; (syn. pala?ah).
pačiči?i  (v.t. Class ?) sweep.
pačilew  (n.) screen woven from palm fronds, used as filter.
pah  (n.) market; l.f. peheyani, peheyeni.
paha (n.) k.o. tree.
paha  (v.i. Class ?) be careful.
paha (i.n.) front (of).
pahali (n.) downhill.
pahapičalay  (n.) placename, Papitalai.
pahato?opaj  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flutemouth or trumpetfish.
pahaw  (n.) long, two-man paddle; l.f. pahawe.
pahun  (n.) cuttlebone; l.f. pahune.
pakak  (v.i. Class ?) dry up, e.g. reef when the tide is out.
pakow/pakow  (n.) k.o. tray or serving plate.
pakow  (n.) species of wild banana.
pala  (i.n.) head, skull; in the phrase pala komu, ‘the point of a speech’. 
pałačɛ?etay  (n.) wooden log used as bridge [pala ‘head’ + čɛʔet ‘crawl’ + -ay ‘n.f.’].

pałačopon  (n.) point, promontory.

pałakaka pokemata  (i.n.) toe [pala ‘head’ + kaka ‘leg’ + pokemata ‘thumb’].

pałakečo/palakočo  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of gudgeon or blenny.

pałaketunj  (n.) veranda, porch.

pałakeʔime  (i.n.) tongue [pala ‘head’ + keʔime ‘?’].

pałaken  (i.n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of trevally.

pałalaw  (n.) k.o. sago palm with a long leaf, not used for thatch; a variety of the pamat type of sago.

pałanime  (i.n.) fist [pala ‘head’ + nime ‘hand, arm’].

pałanap  (n.) betel pepper leaf, poss. slang term (syn. pun).

pałapa/pelapa  (i.n.) branch, esp. of palm tree.

pałapow  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of mullet [pala ‘head’ + pow ‘pig’].

pałaputuwehe  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally.

pałapw él eyah  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of parrotfish [pala ‘head’ + pweleyah ‘parrotfish’].

pałatapon  (n.) placename [pala ‘head’ + topo ‘point’ + -n ‘3SG possessor’].

paławati  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of parrotfish [pala ‘head’ + wati ‘lizard’].

pałaʔah  (n.) toilet facility built over water (syn. pačepow).

pałeʔun  (n) species of coconut with relatively little meat; not used for grating.

pałmat  (n.) species of sago palm, has no thorns; c.f. čehit, palalaw.

pałmbon  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. a species of ray; not a food fish; Note: this is the only occurrence of a prenasalised bilabial stop in the data.

pan  (n.) k.o. bird, said to eat berries whole; poss. Pacific imperial pigeon or helmeted friar bird.

pałnah  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. garfish; TP ponpon.

paŋoh  (n.) ground cover made of leaves, used to hold sago pulp during processing.

paŋataha  (i.n.) heating, boiling; [pa ‘?’ + gatah ‘be hot’ + -a ‘nom.’].

pañana  (v.i. Class ?) inform, explain; poss. redup. of paha ‘be careful’.

pañana  (n.) k.o. plant, whose leaf is used for making packets; poss. redup. of pan ‘k.o. bird’.

paŋoʔoh  (adv.) very near; redup. of paʔoh ‘near’.

pałpet  (n.) borderline, boundary of stones in garden; l.f. papeti.

pałpeti/papete  (i.n.) boundary; s.f. papet.

pałpuwe  (n.) base of palm leaf stalk, used as plate, fan, cover for food; part of bride’s headdress.

pałramanan  (n.) green coconut, from which coconut water is extracted.

paɾepit  (n.) species of small yam with white flesh.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pasa</td>
<td>(i.n.) knowledge, understanding; der. pesani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pase/pase</td>
<td>(i.n.) chin, edge; der. kepase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasisi</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>(n.) stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata</td>
<td>(i.n.) stem, branch, trunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patah</td>
<td>(n.) trough with a system of filters for washing sago and extracting sago powder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patahuyan</td>
<td>(n.) older adult (pata \text{‘redup.’} + pata \text{‘trunk’} + huyan \text{‘adult’}); (syn. pata?amat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patahuyan</td>
<td>(n.) older adult (pata \text{‘redup.’} + pata \text{‘trunk’} + huyan \text{‘adult’}); (syn. pata?amat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patako/patek</td>
<td>(n.) big or main island (pata \text{‘trunk’} + ko \text{‘land’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pataniw</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor (pata \text{‘stem’} + niw \text{‘coconut’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patapeley</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. plant with vines used as twine (pata \text{‘stem’} + peley \text{‘sail’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patapow</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. wood whose inner bark is used to make traditional skirt (pata \text{‘stem’} + pow \text{‘pig’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata?amat</td>
<td>(n.) old person (pata \text{‘trunk’} + amat \text{‘human’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pateć</td>
<td>(n.) gift given in return for participation and help in a celebration, such as betel nut, betel pepper, food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay</td>
<td>(n.) shelf, rafter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?a</td>
<td>(??) gloss unclear, possibly \text{‘in the area of’}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?aha</td>
<td>(i.n.) area underneath; under.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?ahakehya</td>
<td>(i.n.) underarm (pa?aha \text{‘under’} + keheya \text{‘shoulder’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?ahan</td>
<td>(n.) right hand, right side (\text{[?pa?aha ‘under’ + -n ‘3SG possessor’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?aq</td>
<td>(n.) species of coconut with red shoots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?aq</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. white seabird which flies over the sea and feeds on small fish; poss. variety of tern or heron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?at</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of grunter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?oh</td>
<td>(adv.) near, close by; der. papa?oh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?on</td>
<td>(n.) small lean-to near main house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pečuču</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. plant with a leaf used for medicinal purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehe</td>
<td>(v.i. Class I?) defecate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehena</td>
<td>(n.) gecko; nom. of peheno \text{‘steal’}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peheno</td>
<td>(v.t. Class ?) steal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peheyani/peheyen</td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) barter, shop for (pah \text{‘market’} + -ani/-eni \text{‘trans.’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pele</td>
<td>(i.n.) area to the side of, near, around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peleGAN</td>
<td>(n.) up in the house (houses are traditionally built on stilts or posts); up in the air; on top. (pele \text{‘near’} + tan \text{‘sun’}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelewa</td>
<td>(n.) species of coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelewa</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, poss. anchovy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peley</td>
<td>(n.) sail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peley</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, poss. razorfish or shrimpfish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pele?ip</td>
<td>(n.) tongs made from bamboo strips, used as a cooking utensil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>pelih</em></td>
<td>(n.) the very top; the zenith of the sun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pelimat</em></td>
<td>(n.) flying fox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pelige?i/pilige?i</em></td>
<td>(i.n.) relation, accompaniment, companion; with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pelit</em></td>
<td>(n.) ghost, spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peliwa/peluwa</em></td>
<td>(n.) Baluan (offshore island south of Loniu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peliway</em></td>
<td>(n.) opposite side, other side; toward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peliyaw</em></td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, poss. tuna or mackerel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peluwani</em></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) head off, change direction of (including one's thinking); der./syn. <em>tapeluwani</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pen</em></td>
<td>(n.) taro mashed with coconut oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peni</em></td>
<td>(i.n.) wing; der./syn. <em>kapeni</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pepa?a</em></td>
<td>(v.i. Class ?) go to sleep (e.g. a leg or arm).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pepe</em></td>
<td>(n.) k.o. plant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pesani</em></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) know [*pasa 'knowledge' + -ani 'trans.']; see 6.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peteko</em></td>
<td>(n.) variant of <em>patako</em> big or main island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petepu?o/perepu?o</em></td>
<td>(n.) offshore islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peti</em></td>
<td>(prep.) from, of, about, after, for; see 3.6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peti?ah</em></td>
<td>(interr.) why; see 6.7.3.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petimwes</em></td>
<td>(n.) k.o. seed from a tree, used in ornaments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petin</em></td>
<td>(n.) k.o. tree, whose leaves are used as filters in the processing of sago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petitupuwe</em></td>
<td>(i.n.) body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peti?a</em></td>
<td>(i.n.) bone; (syn. ow).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petot</em></td>
<td>(v.i. Class I) insist, be firm, argue; (n.) strength.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petihe</em></td>
<td>(n.) placename.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>petuwet</em></td>
<td>(n.) firestones or tins used in the fire as supports for cooking pots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pew</em></td>
<td>(n.) shark; <em>pew āpela?uwoh</em> poss. hammerhead [*āpela ?' uwoh 'two']; <em>pew igay</em> poss. tawny shark; <em>pew kelwey</em> poss. black-tip or mullet shark; <em>pew kopow</em> poss. tasselled wobbegong (but cf. <em>kalipuwey</em>) [kopow 'k.o. fish']; <em>pew m?wetamat</em> poss. epaulette shark or Freycinet's shark; <em>pew peliyaw</em> poss. Maclot's shark or gray whaler shark [*peliyaw 'k.o. fish']; <em>pew pusuwan</em> poss. tiger shark [*pusuwan 'uncircumcised']; <em>pew seleyaw</em> poss. whale shark or Tufi whaler-shark; <em>pew wati</em> poss. banded wobbegong or carpet shark [*wati 'lizard']; <em>pewi?an</em> poss. white-cheeked whaler-shark [<em>pewi 'l.f. of pew shark' + an 'fresh water']</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pe?e</em></td>
<td>(i.n.) source (of river, creek); brain (?); handle (of knife); stem (of taro plant).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pe?ekaka</em></td>
<td>(i.n.) shin, lower leg [<em>pe?e 'stem' + kaka 'leg'</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pe?epa</em></td>
<td>(n.) paper (from TP <em>pepa</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pe?i?ic</em></td>
<td>(n.) cutting tool made of sharpened bamboo; lime used with betel nut (syn. <em>pah</em>).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
peñ (n.) night, dark.
pepe?eh (n.) woven screen used for keeping rain out.
pet (v.i. Class I) float, drift.
pey (n.) k.o. mud whelk, fam. Potamididae, Telescopium telescopium (Linnaeus).
pičelalan (n.?) gloss unclear, poss. chest.
pičele (n.) raised wooden platform, bed.
pičey (v.t. Class I) squeeze; der. popičey, tapičey.
pičilow (n.) obsidian spear point.
pičilu (n.) placename, Pitilu.
pičinah (n.) k.o. large yam.
pihin (n.) woman, female; l.f. form pihine.
pihine (i.n.) woman; s.f. pihin.
pileg (n.) garden; l.f. pileg; (syn. enum).
pilega (i.n.) garden; s.f. pileg.
piliŋ/pelĩŋ (v.i. Class I) wait; der. pilĩŋani, pipılıŋ.
pilĩŋani/pelegni (v.t. Class I) wait for [piliŋ ‘wait’ + -ani/-eni ‘trans.’].
piliŋa? (i.n.) name [pili ‘?’ + ga?a ‘name’].
piloh (n.) lightning bug.
pin (v.i. Class ?) sway; change into.
pini (n.) soft shelled clam, found among mangrove roots; also described as a k.o. shellfish.
pinoso/pineso (n.) season, time for planting or work.
pinoso/pineso (n.) time for playing, relaxation [pino ‘season’ + soso ‘be eager’].
pijehe (adv.) yesterday.
pipe (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sardine or sprat.
pipetow (n.) in the phrase motow pipetow, axe-type tool used for making canoes.
pipiliŋ (n.) wait; nom. of piliŋ [pi ‘redup.’ + piliŋ ‘wait’].
pipow (n.) kind of caterpillar, somewhat poisonous.
pisili (v.t. Class I) push over, push down.
piti (n.) star.
piti (n.) container.
pito (i.n.) strength, ability.
piyesi?i (n.) k.o. fish, poss. small-toothed squirlfish.
pi?ah (v.i. Class ?) be itchy.
pi?en (d.a.) white.
pi?ihit (n.) k.o. shell.
pi?iti (v.t. Class I) screen off with woven screen.
pi?iw (??) gloss unclear; poss. body part with first person singular possessor -w.

po (v.t. Class I) do, make, get, gather, catch; der. pota.

po (i.n.) juice or water, e.g. of coconut; (syn. momo).

pohowe (d.a.) broken up, not worth mending; der. mopohowe.

pohutu?ani (v.t. Class I?) pile together into a heap [po ‘make’ + *hutu? ‘heap’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

poka?ani (v.t. Class I) straighten up, pack [po ‘do’ + ka?ani ‘?’]; see also yaka?ani ‘hide’.

pokeleyani/ p?akeleyani (v.t.) contradict, disobey [po ‘do’/p?a ‘say’ + keley ‘?’ + -ani ‘trans.’].

pokelokolu?e (n.) bone joint [poko ‘?’ (see 3.8.3.8) + lo ‘in’ + koluc ‘?joint’ – kolucunime ‘elbow’, kolucukaka ‘ankle’].

pokemata (i.n.) thumb.

pokepikan (n.) ankle bone.

poke?enime (i.n.) finger [poko ‘?’ + e ‘?and’ + nime ‘hand’].

poke?i (n.) little finger.

poketak (n.) the bottom of the net (where the sinkers are) [poko ‘?’ + tak ‘sinker’].

pokit (d.a.) saltwater coloured.

pokimet (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a person in a trance-like or zombie-like state, who only eats and sleeps but does not talk.

pokutumwani (v.t. Class I) pile packets into a single place.

poli (prep.) as far as, up to.

polom/puron (n.) a kind of sago soup made with coconut oil.

pom (n.) k.o. colourful snail which lives among the rocks at low tide mark.

pomene (v.t. Class I) care for, cuddle, caress (a child).

pon (d.a.) purple.

ponosani (v.t. Class I?) clear out, sweep, straighten up a garden after heavy clearing is completed; trim trunk of tree before chopping up.

po?i (n.) k.o. reef grass; may have been used in the preparation of pigment for painting canoe.

po? (n.) k.o. small shell.

po?osus (n.) large round basket for food, poss. made from palm leaves.

pop (n.) sago with coconut cream.

popicey (v.t. Class I?) squeeze (e.g. sago in water) [po ‘do’ + pi?ey ‘squeeze’].

popote (v.i. Class ?) do repeatedly, do for some time; work on [po ‘redup.’ + pote ‘?do (s.f. po)’].

popwalah (d.a.) branched or forked, attested only with ?an ‘road, path’.

popwilow (n.) butterfly.

pos (n.) paddle, oar; der. posokuli, posotun; cf. pahaw.
posokuli (n.) rudder, steering paddle \([poso \text{ (s.f. } pos) \text{ ‘paddle’ } + \text{kuli ‘?’ }]\).
posonyani (v.t. Class I) gloss unclear, poss. wipe out or get rid of.
posotun (n.) small paddle or pole \([poso \text{ (s.f. } pos) \text{ ‘paddle’ } + \text{tun ‘canoe’ }]\).
posowe (v.t. Class I) variant of \(p\text{wasowe ‘give name to, call’ }\).
posowen (d.a.) dried up; poss. l.f. of \(p\text{wasaw ‘get dry’ }\).
pota (i.n.) way to do, method; nom. of po ‘do’.
poteiy (n.) sago thorn, used as needle for sewing \([?poto \text{ ‘thorn’ } + iy ‘?’ ]\).
poto (i.n.) thorn.
potoh (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of container.
potoho (n.) cockroach; attested once as topoho.
potopan (n.) k.o. sago palm with thorns \([poto \text{ ‘thorn’ } + pan ‘?’ ]\).
potopoto (i.n.) thorns; redup. of poto.
potowe (v.t. Class ?) hold, grab, keep; der. potoweya.
potoweya (i.n.) holding; nom. of potowe.
pow (n.) small crossbars, part of the structure which attaches the outrigger to the canoe.
po?o (i.n.) within, among, mixed in with.
po?ocagah (n.) centre, e.g. of a mat \([?po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{caagah ‘door’ }]\).
po?ocowa (i.n.) bedding \([po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{cow ‘mat’ }]\).
po?okaka (i.n.) sole of foot \([po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{kaka ‘foot’ }]\).
po?okaye (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. provision or support for a family.
po?omatam (i.n.) ‘Excuse me (for blocking your view, standing in front of you)’ \([po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{mata ‘eye’ } + -m \text{ ‘2SG possessor’ }]\).
po?on (n.) k.o. rot in tree or other wood.
po?onime (i.n.) palm of hand \([po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{nime ‘hand’ }]\).
po?ogo (i.n.) nose; point of land \([po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{go ‘nose’ }]\).
po?ogusu (i.n.) lip; rim of canoe \([po?o \text{ ‘within’ } + \text{gusu ‘?’ }]\).
po?ot (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of triggerfish.
po?un/pon (n.) k.o. fish, prob. gobies.
pohow (n.) sago waste (after powder has been washed and filtered out).
pop (n.) sea turtle.
pot (v.i. Class ?) be broken; be chopped down (e.g. tree).
pow (n.) pig.
powet (n.) k.o. bamboo.
powo (n.) material used for making baskets.
po?owan (d.a.) rotten, smelly.

pu (n.) banana (both the plant and the fruit); pu ay k.o. banana with red skin [ay ‘blood’].

pu (i.n.) back of, behind; der. pumw?i?in, pukelega.

puče (v.i. Class ?) tear, rip.

pučey/pučey (quant.) together.

pučiliya (i.n.) chasing; nom. of pwičili.

pučo (n.) island.

pučon (n.) gloss unclear, poss. rat.

puh (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear; used in the phrases kohun upuh a yo ‘He misses me’, kohu upuh ‘I’m exhausted’.

puh (n.) woven fish trap.

puhut (n.) fence posts.

pukelega (i.n.) behind one’s back [pu ‘behind’ + kelega ‘back’].

puke (n.) k.o. clam.

pukolu (i.n.) throat [pu ‘behind’ + kolu ‘throat’].

pukupukute (v.i. Class ?) redup. of pukute ‘do repeatedly’, implies duration.

pukuta (i.n.) curse; nom. of pukute ‘do repeatedly’.

pukutani/pukuteni (v.t. Class ?) ensorcel, curse [pukute ‘do repeatedly’ + -ani/-eni ‘trans.’].

pukute (v.i. Class ?) keep doing, do repeatedly in the same way; der. pukutani, pukuteni, pukupukute.

pule?ut (n.) k.o. taro.

puli (n.) variant of pwičili ‘mountain’.

puliyan (n.) gloss unclear, poss. mound, heap; poss. l.f. of pwičili.

puliye (adv.) again, also, additionally.

pulu (i.n.) spouse; der. Jlapulu.

pulut (n.) k.o. vine used to fasten some parts of canoe together; used in making tools and bowls.

pumw?i?i (i.n.) area behind, in back of [pu ‘behind’ mwičin ‘behind’].

pun (n.) part of roof.

pun (n.) betel pepper plant, leaf, and fruit.

pun (n.) moon.

pun (n.) wooden blocks used to hold shape of canoe while it is being hollowed.

pun (n.) chambered nautilus.

pun (n.) k.o. fish; poss. variant of pon ‘sea turtle’.

punew (n.) k.o. tree, wood used for canoes; poss. raintree.

puqe (n.) roof of a house.

puret/purer (n.) work, job, activity (esp. traditional or custom); l.f. puriya.

puriya (i.n.) work; s.f. puret.
puron (n.) variant of polom k.o. soup made with sago and coconut oil.
pusani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. like, enjoy, embrace ['pwis 'embrace' + -ani 'trans.'].
pusesa (i.n.) lung; poss. also heart.
pusumata (i.n.) eyebrow, eyelash [pusu ‘?’ + mata ‘eye’].
pusuwan (d.a.) uncircumcised.
put (n.) k.o. tree and its fruit, which is used for stunning fish.
put (n.) fishing net floats.
puta (v.i. Class ?) be loose, be falling off (e.g. sarong).
putele (n.) very large mollusc shell, used as gong for calling pigs.
puti/pwiti (v.t. Class I) take from one place to another; hold and walk with someone; marry.
putiye?is (n.) k.o. fish, poss. orange-banded rainbowfish.
puto (i.n.) core, esp. of coconut; umbilical cord.
putohaw (v.i. Class ?) belch.
putoqüč (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of sergeant-major.
putuwa (i.n.) belly, guts.
putuwapuwokop (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally or snub-nosed dart [putuwa ‘belly’ + puwokop ‘?’].
putu?uhe (v.i. Class ?) be face or head down ['pu 'back of' + tu?uhe 'bend over'].
puwe (i.n.) testicle; fruit, seed.
puwekuh (n.) poss. feather, especially bird of paradise ['puwe ‘fruit’ + kuh ‘k.o. plant’].
puwelan (n.) k.o. sago palm with many thorns ['puwe ‘fruit’ + lan ‘south wind’].
puweni (i.n.) mother’s brother.
puwepat (n.) k.o. large yam ['puwe ‘fruit’ + pat ‘stone’]; cf. pičinah.
puwepičinah (n.) k.o. large yam ['puwe ‘fruit’ + pičinah ‘yam’].
puwepe (n.) sago dish made with commercial cooking oil and coconut meat.
puwetin (n.) ear ornament.
puwey (n.) crocodile.
puweyap (n.) store-bought beads, trade beads; ornaments made of beads and dogs' teeth ['puwe ‘seed’ + yap ‘foreigner’].
puwe?epi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sunrise goatfish ['puwe ‘fruit’ + epi ‘sago’].
puwe?eu/pu?e (i.n.) dislike.
puwe?uy (n.) k.o. sago palm with small thorns ['puwe ‘fruit’ + uy ‘k.o. sago’].
puwe (n.) betel nut palm, and its fruit.
puwon (d.a.) short; round.
pu?is (n.) k.o. vine used in construction of sago washing trough.
pu?u (i.n.) root, base, bottom.
pu?uči?ey (n.) swampy area; poss. not a Loniu word.
pu?uhu (n.) k.o. red pigment made from clay and coconut oil, used as part of ornamentation of bride.
Pwa (v.t. Class II) say; think; der. Pwasowe, Pwačeyani, Pwačo?oyani, Pwaunjunun, Pwasaw.
Pwa (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bream or herring.
Pwačeleya (i.n.) explanation; nom. of Pwačeyani.
Pwačeleyani (v.t. Class I) explain; cf. lečeleye ‘examine’ [Pwa ‘say’ + čeleyani ‘detail’].
Pwačerahani (v.t. Class ?) toss about, push here and there.
Pwačo?oyani (v.t.) talk back to, contradict [Pwa ‘say’ + čo?oya ‘repayment, revenge’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
Pwah (n.) mouth; l.f. Pwaha.
Pwah (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of wrasse; Pwah aman ‘Diana’s wrasse’; also poss. species of perch or hus Sar.
Pwaha (i.n.) mouth; s.f. Pwah.
Pwahačala/Pwahačane (i.n.) path, footpath or private route; also route of action [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + čala (s.f. čan) ‘road’]; s.f. Pwahačan.
Pwahačan (n.) road, path, public path [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + čan ‘road’]; l.f. Pwahačala.
Pwahačaqah (n.) doorway [Pwaha ‘mouth’ čaqah ‘door’].
Pwahačopon (n.) point of land [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + čopon ‘?’].
Pwahaketug (n.) the middle of the canoe [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + ketug ‘wooden club’]; attested once as Pwahaketun (tun ‘canoe’).
Pwahaleq (n.) beach [Pwaha ‘mouth’ leg ‘beach’].
Pwahaliyam (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of trevally.
Pwahalotan (n.) Loniu Passage, a waterway which divides the Los Negros section of Manus from the remainder [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + lo ‘inside’ + an ‘fresh water’].
Pwahamesa (n.) opening of mouth of a river [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + mesa ‘?’].
Pwahatopoga (i.n.) central chest area, breastbone [Pwaha ‘mouth’ + topoga ‘?’].
Pwahen (n.) k.o. small yam.
Pwak (n.) k.o. shell, used for money and bride-price payments, found on the west coast of Manus (TP tambu).
Pwakah (n.) k.o. small yam with white flesh.
Pwanam (n.) placename, Ponam.
Pwaunjunun (v.i. Class II?) whisper [Pwa ‘say’ + junun ‘redup.’ + *gun ‘?’].
Pwapohowan (n.) k.o. large yam.
Pwasaw (v.i. Class ?) dry up (e.g. reef); poss. nom. posowen.
Pwasaw (v.i. Class II?) have fun, laugh a bit, talk nonsense [Pwa ‘say’ + saw ‘?’]; Pwasoweye, Pwasowyani, Pwasowesoweye and
\(pw\text{asowesoweye}\) are all variant forms of the meanings 'have fun, laugh a bit'. The distinctions among these forms are not clear.

\(pw\text{asoweye}\) (v.i. Class II?) have fun [\(pw\text{a} \text{'say'} + \text{soweye} \text{(s.f. saw)} \text{?'J}].

\(pw\text{asowe/pasowe}\) (v.t.) give name to, say out loud, read.

\(pw\text{asowesoweye}\) (v.i.? ) have fun [\(pw\text{a} \text{'say'} + \text{sowe} \text{redup.' + soweye} \text{(s.f. saw)} \text{?'J}].

\(pw\text{asoweyani}\) (v.i.? Class II?) have fun [\(pw\text{a} \text{'say'} + \text{sowe} \text{redup.' + soweye} \text{(s.f. saw)} \text{?'J} + -ani \text{'trans.'}].

\(pw\text{atay}\) (n.) k.o. tree, with large dark green leaves and an edible nut (TP paw).

\(pw\text{aw}\) (n.) k.o. fruit which grows in clusters.

\(pw\text{a?a}\) (v.i.? ) stink, rot.

\(pw\text{a?i}\) (v.t. Class I) be cross with, scold.

\(pw\text{e/pwe}\) (i.n.) empty shell of any type, including clam, snail, or coconut; der. \(pw\text{epwe}\).

\(pw\text{eku}\) (d.a.) head down and buttocks in the air.

\(pw\text{ele}\) (i.n.) top or crown (of tree).

\(pw\text{eleyah}\) (n.) parrotfish.

\(pw\text{em/pwem}\) (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of coralfish.

\(pw\text{epat}\) (v.i. Class ?) rot; poss. nom. \(pw\text{epetun}\).

\(pw\text{epet}\) (n.) clay soil.

\(pw\text{epetun}\) (d.a.) overripe, not edible; poss. nom. of \(pw\text{epat}\).

\(pw\text{e/pwep}\) (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of tang or triggerfish; poss. redup. of \(pw\text{e} \text{'shell'.}\)

\(pw\text{e/pwep}\) (i.n.) container made from a shell; redup. of \(pw\text{e}\).

\(pw\text{eram}\) (n.) k.o. large yam.

\(pw\text{esi}\) (n.) gloss unclear, poss. maternal cousins.

\(pw\text{e}\) (i.n.) variant of \(pw\text{e} \text{'shell'}\)

\(pw\text{e}\) (part.) negative; no, not.

\(pw\text{ekasi}\) (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of coralfish or boarfish.

\(pw\text{emačaw}\) (n.) k.o. fish, poss. k.o. herring or bream.

\(pw\text{epew}\) (i.n.) variant of \(pw\text{epew} \text{'container made from shell'.}\)

\(pw\text{i}\) (i.n.) female genitalia.

\(pw\text{ič}\) (v.i. Class ?) be finished.

\(pw\text{ič}\) (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of demoiselles or sergeant-majors.

\(pw\text{ičepak}\) (n.) unglossed.

\(pw\text{ičik}\) (n.) hole through something.

\(pw\text{ičikatay}\) (n.) snail; green land snail indigenous to Manus only: fam. \(Camaenidae, papustyla pulcherrima Rensch \[pw\text{iči '?'claw' + katay '?'\}].

\(pw\text{ičikaka}\) (i.n.) talon, claw, toenail [\(pw\text{iči '?'claw' + kaka 'leg, foot'}.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p'wicili</th>
<th>(v.t. Class I) chase, run off; der. pučiliya.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'wicinime</td>
<td>(i.n.) fingernail, claw [p'wici 'claw' + nime 'hand'].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'wici\p'wicin/</td>
<td>(n.) fish scales; k.o. skin disease (TP grile); redup. of p'wici 'claw'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>pučipučin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wihi</td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) gut (e.g. fish).</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wikow</td>
<td>(n.) gloss unclear, poss. coconut shell used as cup; also used to refer to bald or shaved head.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wili/puli</td>
<td>(n.) mountain; poss. der. puliyan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wili</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, prob. toadfish or puffer; p'wili potopot 'freckled porcupinefish'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wiliyah</td>
<td>(n.) small wooden crosses which form part of the structure attaching the outrigger to the canoe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'winah</td>
<td>(n.) fibre-woven armbands, legbands, belts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wis</td>
<td>(v.i.? Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. kiss or embrace; poss. der. pusani.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wisip'wis</td>
<td>(n.) gloss unclear, poss. nom. of p'wis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'wisipi</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of squirrelfish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'wi?e</td>
<td>(n.) trunk of sago palm when pulp has been removed; in the phrase lo p'wi?e ‘in the trunk’, refers to the area where the men do the felling of the sago palm and the breaking up of the core of the trunk in the preparation of sago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'wokat</td>
<td>(n.) musket; poss. a borrowed term.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'womelew</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. large yam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>n'racek</td>
<td>(n.) man's name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'rakaw</td>
<td>(n.) pig spear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'rakey</td>
<td>(n.) man's name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'raror</td>
<td>(n.) placename.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'rehiyaw</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'rekepwen</td>
<td>(n.) behaviour, custom, usage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'rriw</td>
<td>(n.) cricket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'roka</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, poss. bluefin tuna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'roke</td>
<td>(n.) depth, deep water, ocean.</td>
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<tr>
<td>n'roloko+n'roko</td>
<td>(n.) Loniu name for themselves, their village and their language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'rolow</td>
<td>(n.) deep wooden bowl with rounded bottom; traditionally used for serving women's food when they are lo čow ‘in ritual isolation’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ropa</td>
<td>(n.) placename, Ndrova, an offshore island southwest of Loniu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ropo+n'ropa</td>
<td>(adv.) today, now (variant form n'rolopo); used often to introduce relative clauses, and in the phrase n'ropo iityen ‘aforementioned’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'row</td>
<td>(n.) mucus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>n'row</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. very hard wood, poss. mahogany (but cf. p'ow).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ruli/karuli</td>
<td>(n.) k.o. bird, poss. eastern golden plover.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sV-  (num.) root for 'one'; the vowel is determined by the vowel of the
numeral classifier – see 3.2.2.
sa  (v.i. Class ?) be cleared (e.g. land or garden).
sah  (v.t. Class I?) chop, carve, sharpen, whittle; l.f. sehi, der. sehisah.
sahasah  (v.i.? ) poss. variant of sehisah 'carve'.
sala  (v.t. Class I?) cut open, split, slit, break; der. tasala, salay.
salay  (v.i. Class ?) break, e.g. ap iselay 'day breaks' [sala 'break' + -y '?'].
salay  (n.) large crack in canoe [sala 'break' + -y '?'].
saput  (n.) k.o. fish, prob. yellow spotted emperor.
sas  (n.) k.o. tree.
sasa  (n.) a constellation of ten stars; the rising and setting of this
constellation are used to determine passage of time.
sasaw  (n.) gloss unclear, poss. clear surface water when all sediment has
settled to the bottom.
sa?on  (n.) celebration and traditional gifts (usually fish) from father's side for
the first-born child; cf. loku.
seh  (pro.) third person plural.
sehi  (v.t. Class I) chip, carve, sharpen, whittle [sah 'chop' + -i 'trans.'];
der. sehiya.
sehi  (v.t. Class I) lie; der. sehisah.
sehisah  (v.i. Class I) carve, whittle; redup. of sah.
sehiya  (n., v.i. Class I) lie ['sehi 'redup.' + *sah 'lie'].
seh  (i.n.) carving; nom. of sehi.
se  (v.t. Class I?) chop with axe, e.g. firewood.
sepwi  (v.t. Class I) dry off.
seasma  (n., v.i. Class ?) cough.
seweti  (v.t. Class I) fasten with rope or vines; variant of ċeweti.
sewe  (v.i. Class I?) dance (women's dancing).
sewi  (v.t. Class I) remove ornaments; skim off clean surface water.
seyani  (v.t. Class I?) argue about, debate.
se?e  (v.t. Class I) shred leaves or bark for making skirts or ornaments.
sikey  (n.) k.o. large insect with large wings, hangs in trees; poss. also called
panemwat.
siliq  (v.t. Class I) break or chop into many small pieces, e.g. firewood, the
core of a tree trunk in canoe building, the meat in a coconut shell; l.f.
siliq, der. siliq.
silia  (i.n.) chopping; nom. of siliq.
si  (v.t. Class I) break or chop into pieces [siliq 'chop' + -i 'trans.'].
siliyani/siliyeni  (v.t. Class I) survey, look over carefully.
setq  (v.i. Class ?) shine, be bright (see 2.4.5 regarding [I]).
sipi (num.) half; form of 'one' used for halves or parts.
sisimi (v.t. Class I?) think of, remember.
sisiya (i.n.) holding shape.
si?ihi (v.t. Class I?) carry suspended from shoulder or from pole.
si (v.t. Class I?) throw away, get rid of; l.f. so?i.
si (v.t. Class I?) sway, rock back and forth.
si (n.) when used with a girl's father's name, means 'Miss'.
si (v.t. Class I) put or dig a hole in, esp. with a stick; pierce or spear; gut (a pig); l.f. so?i; der. sososo.
sow/sow (v.i.) be temporarily in a place, usually standing.
sohan (n.) roof supports.
soliyeniseolyani (v.t. Class I) rub, crumble with hands.
solo sono (n.) drinking cup; prob. redup. of *sol.
sop (v.i. Class I?) close, be closed or enclosed; be full, stuffed, stopped up.
sopo?oti (v.t. Class I?) pierce, scrape.
sori (n.) long string of shell money (TP tambu).
sos (n.) water coloured red from making sago.
sos (v.i. Class I?) be eager; der. pinososo.
soso (i.n.) wife's brother-in-law, older sister of man's wife; also used generally for some distant relationships.
soso (n.) fork or other pronged tool; redup. of so 'pierce'.
soso (i.n.) soiled, dirty.
sososelehein (n.) splotches, mottles.
soso?iye (v.i. Class I?) mix with, be among.
soso?oyani (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be confused or mixed up; redup. of so?oyani.
soteheyani (v.t. Class I?) drive into or stand up in the ground, e.g. a stake.
sotowe (v.t. Class I?) gloss unclear, poss. beach a canoe, park a car.
soweli (v.t. Class I?) pierce and sew.
soya (i.n.) putting a hole in; nom. of so.
soyani/soyeni (v.t. Class I?) bore (holes), e.g. termites eating wood [so 'dig' + y '?' + -ani/-eni 'trans.'].
so?i (v.t. Class I) put or dig a hole in; pierce or spear [so 'dig' + -i 'trans.'].
so?oh (n.) edible flesh, meat.
so?ohan (v.t. Class I) blow out from nose; l.f. so?ohani; poss. der. goso ha 'breath'.
so?oyani (v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. be confused or mixed up; der. sososo?oyani.
so?un (n.) shells used as beads.
sonat (n.) diagonal poles used to support house.
sow (part.) in the phrase ma sow 'not yet'.
su  (n.) in the phrase amat su 'spirit, ghost' (ant. (amat) aŋ).

suhani/suŋani  (v.t. Class I) blow (on fire).

sule  (v.t. Class ?) singe to remove fur or bristles; s.f. sun.

sulugə  (i.n.) lighting, nom. of sulugə; sulugə mwan 'lamp-lighting time'.

sulugani/sulugeni  (v.t. Class I) blow on a fire to cause it to burn [*sulug 'light' + -ani/eni 'trans.'].

sulugi  (v.t. Class I) kindle fire [*sulug 'light' + -i 'trans.'].

sumwili  (v.t. Class I) close up, e.g. nose against a bad smell.

sun  (v.t. Class ?) singe; l.f. sule.

sun  (v.t. Class I) scoop with hands; l.f. suli.

sunani  (v.t. Class I) push from one place to another [*sun 'scoop' + -ani 'trans.'].

suni  (v.t. Class I) scoop; s.f. sun.

suŋani  (v.t. Class I) variant of suhani 'blow on fire'.

sususug  (n.) markings or designs: sususug inen [inen 'small'] speckles; sususug napwanan [napwanan 'big'] dots or spots; sususug elewen [elewen 'long'] or sususug čečen [čečen '?'] stripes.

sus  (n.) milk; l.f. susu.

sus  (v.t. Class I) sew sago leaves into thatch; l.f. susuwani.

susu  (i.n.) breast; s.f. susi.

sususa  (i.n.) sewing thatch; nom. of susuwi.

susuwah  (d.a.) plain, with no additives, esp. sago; redup. of suwah 'fry'.

susuwi  (v.t. Class I) sew sago leaves into thatch [susuw (s.f. sus) 'sew thatch' + -i 'trans.'].

susuyelaw  (n.) rainbow.

sut  (v.t. Class I) pull out (weeds); l.f. suti.

suti  (v.t. Class ?) pull out (weeds) [sut 'pull out' + -i 'trans.'].

suwa  (i.n.) paddling; nom. of suwe 'paddle (canoe)'.

suwah  (v.t. Class I) fry plain sago; l.f. suwehi; der. susuwah.

suwaha  (i.n.) frying; nom. of suwah.

suwani  (v.t. Class I?) paddle (canoe) [suwe 'paddle (canoe) + -ani 'trans.'].

suwe  (n.) k.o. small yam.

suwe  (v.t. Class I?) paddle (canoe); l.f. suwani.

suwehi  (v.t. Class I) fry (sago) [suwah 'fry' + -i 'trans.'].

su'u  (pro.) third person dual.

ta  (n.) k.o. fish.

ta  (v.t. Class II) pierce or cut ear for ornamentation; cut along the length of a tree to split it; beat, pound, catch, kill; l.f. ta?i; der. taya.

ta  (part.) variant of alienable possessive marker a (see 3.1.1.1).

ta  (part.) variant of tah locative.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ta</strong></td>
<td>verbal formative, possibly indicates human agent (see 3.8.2.2.).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ta</strong></td>
<td>(part.) pre-verbal continuative aspect marker.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tah/ta</strong></td>
<td>(part.) locative.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tah</strong></td>
<td>(n.) Pacific triton or trumpet shell, fam. Cymatiidae, Charonia tritonis (Linnaeus); used as a signal horn.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tah</strong></td>
<td>(n.) coconut fibre screen used for filtering sago powder.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahah</strong></td>
<td>(pro.) first person plural inclusive.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahapule</strong></td>
<td>(i.n.) forehead, face; der. tahapulekaka, tahapulen.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahapulekaka</strong></td>
<td>(i.n.) knee [tahapule ‘forehead’ + kaka ‘leg’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahapulen</strong></td>
<td>(n.) k.o. fish, poss. blue-girdled angelfish [tahapule ‘forehead’ + -n ‘3SG possessor’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahasuwe</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class ?) dry or smoke over fire [ta ‘human agent?’ + husuwe ‘smoke’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahilisi</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class ?) take after, become like, grow to be like.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahitay</strong></td>
<td>(v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. fight.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahiti</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I?) gloss unclear, poss. divide up.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahohoy</strong></td>
<td>(v.i. Class II?) grunt or pant while working.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tahow</strong></td>
<td>(v.t.) come in sight, appear; syn. čahan.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tak</strong></td>
<td>(n.) weights or sinkers for fish nets; l.f. teke.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takeke?e</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) tickle.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takemes/takemes</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class ?) wish (for).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takemeyam</strong></td>
<td>(v.i. Class ?, n.) groan, cry (in or of pain).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takeni</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) throw, e.g. spear or fishing net [?takeye ‘throw’ + -eni ‘trans.’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takeye</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) throw; der. takeni, tekeya.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>take?eq</strong></td>
<td>(n.) k.o. tree/wood, used in canoe construction.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>take?i</strong></td>
<td>(v.i. Class I?) wink.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takilim</strong></td>
<td>(v.i. Class II?) leave a trace or sign [ta ‘human agent’ + kilim ‘sign’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takokow/takokow</strong></td>
<td>(v.i Class ?) wonder, ask oneself, be surprised, bemoan.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takoluh</strong></td>
<td>(v.i. Class II?) make signal [ta ‘human agent’ + koluh ‘signal’]; l.f. takulih.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tako?o(w)</strong></td>
<td>(v.i Class ?) cry out, usually in anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>takulih</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class II?) signal to someone [ta ‘human agent’ + koluh ‘signal’ + -i ‘trans.’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>takuwela</strong></td>
<td>(i.n.) digging with adze; nom. of takuwen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>takuweli</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) dig with adze [ta ‘human agent’ + kuwen ‘adze’ + -i ‘trans.’].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>takuwen</strong></td>
<td>(v.t. Class I) dig or chop with adze [ta ‘human agent’ + kuwen ‘adze’].</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>talas</strong></td>
<td>(n.) species of taro.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>talas</strong></td>
<td>(n.) drying rack; l.f. telesa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tamana (v.i. Class ?) dance (men's dancing) [ta ‘human agent’ + mana ‘white cowrie’].
tames (v.t. Class I) clear off the bottom portion of tree trunk before felling; l.f. tamese?
tamese?e/tamese?e (v.t. Class I) clear; s.f. tames.
tameti/tameti?i (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. weaken.
tan (adv.?) down, on the ground; ko tan ‘earth’.
tan (n.) k.o. shell, prob. fam. Trochidae; collected and used for ornaments and buttons.
tanenes (v.t. Class ?) make fire by rubbing sticks together.
tape?iye (v.t. Class I) clear up area by dragging all bits and pieces together into a pile; slide something across the ground; l.f. tape?iyani.
taq (v.i. Class ?) cry; sound out (e.g. drumbeats); l.f. tagesi.
taq (part.) poss. locative, as in ...ime taq ime itiyo ‘...comes up to here’.
tagesi (v.t. Class ?) mourn, grieve for [tagesi (s.f. taq) ‘cry’ + -i ‘trans.’].
tape?eyani (v.t. Class ?) tell on, disclose (e.g. secret or hiding place) [?tag ‘sound out’ + e?ey ‘?’ -ani ‘trans.’].
taqini (n.) k.o. fish
tapelihani (v.t. Class I) take (e.g. canoe) around a point of land.
tapeluwani (v.t. Class I) variant of peluwani head off, change direction of (including one's thinking).
taperenani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. push.
tapeyani (v.t. Class I?) send (inanimate object).
tapičey (v.t. Class I?) squeeze, wring; deliver (e.g. the placenta) [ta ‘human agent’ + pičey ‘squeeze’].
taputi?i (v.t. Class ?) come across, discover.
tapw (i.n.) basket, string bag; s.f. top.
tapwey (n.) variant of tupwey, k.o. crab.
tas (n.) sea, ocean, salt water, salt.
tasala (v.t. Class ?) split (open) [ta ‘human agent’ + sala ‘split’].
tasih (adv. intens.) very.
tasus (n.) small piece of wood supporting canoe mast.
tata (i.n.) top, area above, upper surface.
tawa (v.i. Class ?) be heavy, be tired.
tawan (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of perch or grunter.
tawayah (n.) (ear-)piercing.
tawihi (v.t. Class I) clear the large growth from an area to make a garden [tawoh ‘clear’ + -i ‘trans.’].
tawiwi (n.) fan; der. tawiwoh.
tawiwihi (v.t. Class I) fan [tawiwi ‘fan’ + -oh ‘?’ + -i ‘trans.’].
tawiwoh (v.t. Class I) fan [tawiwi ‘fan’ + -oh ‘?’]; l.f. tawiihi.
tawoh (v.t. Class I) clear the large growth from an area to make a garden; cut down but not carry away; l.f. tawiihi.
taya (i.n.) beat, catch, kill; nom. of ta.
taʔas (v.i.? ) fall over backwards, be flat on one's back.
taʔay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of squirrellfish or silver-biddy.
taʔegan (n.) birth, the giving of birth.
taʔi (v.t. Class I) kill, fight, hit, beat; catch (fish) [ta ‘kill’ + -i ‘trans.’].
taʔi (v.t. Class I) put one thing on top of another.
et (part.) and, or; prob. borrowed form, cf.  e.
tehet/tehitata (v.i. Class I) fill up (with), be full.
tehi (v.t. Class I) wash (in salt water without soap).
tehi/tihi (v.t.) sharpen or form wood.
teke (i.n.) bottom, base; origin; poss. s.f. tak.
tekelimwet (n.) earthworm [?tekeli ‘?’ + mwat ‘snake’].
tekeya (n.) throwing; nom. of takeye.
tele (i.n.) because of, due to.
tele (i.n.) canoe; s.f. tun.
telas (i.n.) structure for hanging things; s.f. talas.
teli (v.t. Class I?) squeeze coconut in cloth to extract oil.
teliki (n.) string of dogs' teeth, used in ceremonial exchanges; line used to attach sail to mast.
teliga (i.n.) ear.
telipe?e (n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. ground vine with morning glory type flower.
telus (n.) k.o. tree with edible nut, prob. Terminalia catappa.
temenani/temenenii (v.t. Class I) ask [temene ‘ask’ + -ani/-eni ‘trans.’].
temene (v.t. Class I) ask; l.f. temenani, temenenii; der. tetemene.
terneya (n.) drum; l.f. terneya.
terneya (i.n.) drum; s.f. terney.
teni (v.t. Class I?) fall on (top of); used only with inanimate subject.
tenih (n.) k.o. fish, prob. sardine.
tepʔi (v.t. Class I?) lift up (e.g. floor boards).
tepwεça (i.n.) k.o. marriage arrangement, poss. a type of dowry.
tet (n.) small step ladder used at the door or a house on posts.
tetape (interr. pro.) how; see 6.7.3.8.
tete (n.) infant.
tetehe (v.t. Class I) tap on outer sides of emptied trunk of sago palm to dislodge remaining powder.
tetime (v.t.) gloss unclear; redup. of temene ‘ask’.
tetey  (n.) part of canoe, possibly long piece placed on rim.
tewe/towe  (v.t. Class I) give, put, place; s.f. tow; der. teweya.
teweya  (i.n.) gift, arrangement; nom. of tewe.
te?e?ani  (v.t. Class I) wait for; (syn. piligani).
te?e?ewon  (n.) sand, sandy soil.
te?i  (i.n.) sibling of same sex; cf. we.
te?i  (i.n.) the upper surface of; der. te?itun.
te?in  (n.) bark-fibre rope used in fence building.
te?i?itun  (n.) platform or deck of canoe [te?i ‘upper surface’ + tun ‘canoe’].
te?o?osani  (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. throw down.
te  (i.n.) faeces; waste (e.g. te mwan ‘ashes or remains of the fire’).
ti  (part.) emphatic particle, uniqueness marker; see 4.2.4, 5.1.1.3.5.
ti?c  (v.t. Class ?) sweat, perspire.
tihi?cay  (n.) gloss unclear, poss. second-born child.
tihow  (n.) first born male child.
tiken  (n.) some, a bit of, small amount.
tiko?a?  (phrase) midday; may be used as greeting [tiko?o ‘middle of’ + a? ‘day’].
tiko?pe?  (phrase) midnight [tiko?o ‘middle of’ + pe? ‘night’].
tiko?o  (i.n.) waist, middle of.
tiko?on  (n.) name of a central section of Loniu village.
tileg  (n.) crying; also attested: tiligin.
tilow  (n.) placename, Ndrilow, an offshore island on the northern coast of Manus.
timeta  (n.) k.o. tree with edible fruit and leaf; wood used for making digging stick to plant taro.
tinani  (v.t. Class I) clean up, clean out (e.g. garden).
tigan  (d.a.) huge, wide open.
tipe?i  (v.t. Class I) open, start up; move aside.
tipiyani/tipiyen?i  (v.t. Class I?) push over, roll something long and thin, like a log, a body, a cigarette.
tititye  (v.t. Class I) tell (a story); talk about; redup. of tiye. (n.) story, especially a true story.
titi?i  (n.) k.o. tree; wood used for digging sticks to plant taro.
tiw  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sunrise goatfish.
tiyan  (v.i. Class I) give birth.
tiyani  (v.t. Class I) tell (a story) [tiye ‘tell’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
tiye  (v.t. Class I) tell (especially a true story), talk about; l.f. tiyani; der. titiye.
tiye  (i.n.) interior, inside of; der. lotiye-.
ti?i  (v.t. Class I) weave; der. ti?iya.
ti?ihi  (v.t. Class ?) pick or break off (flowers or leaves).
ti?ipi  (v.t. Class ?) make sound, beat on, e.g. large shell (*putele*), for calling pigs.
ti?itin  (v.t. Class I) peer, look (through).
ti?iya  (i.n.) weaving; nom. of *ti?i* ‘weave’.
to  (n.) punting pole.
to  (aux.) stative, continuative, durative or habitual aspect; l.f. *tow*.
toh  (n.) ridge pole of roof.
tohu  (d.a.) swollen; l.f. *tohuwa*.
tohuwa  (i.n.) swelling.
tok  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. black trevally.
tolaw  (n.) north wind.
tolus  (n.) variant of *telus* ‘k.o. tree’.
tomatake  (n.) tree strump [*to* ‘?’ + *mata* ‘eye’ + *ke* ‘tree’].
tomon  (n.) k.o. tuber, staple diet of the Loniu in earlier times.
tomon  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. blue-spot or blue-tail mullet.
top  (n.) basket, string bag; l.f. *tapwa*.
topo  (i.n.) point, clarification, explanation; attested only preceded by *pwa* ‘say, speak’.
topohowani/topowani  (v.t. Class I) throw down and break [*to* ‘?’ + *pohowe* ‘break’ + -ani ‘trans.’]; slap, hit.
topokow  (n.) part of house.
topokow  (n.) k.o. fish.
topotap  (n.?) gloss unclear, poss. high water, big seas.
topowani  (v.t.) variant of *topohowani* ‘break’.
topo?ete/tepwe?ete  (i.n.) upper chest, over the heart.
topu/tupo  (i.n.) taboo; negative imperative marker; see 6.6.
totohun  (n.) promontory; skin disease with large, prominent scales; redup. of *tohu* ‘swollen’.
toto?aj  (adv.?) very early morning, about 2.00 – 3.00 a.m.
totu?um  (n.) torch.
tow  (v.i. Class I) be in a place; stay, remain, live; s.f. *to*.
towe  (v.t. Class I) variant form of *tewe* ‘give’.
to?ohač  (n.) k.o. skin disease; a small, very painful rash.
to?onani/to?unani  (v.t. Class I) send, cause to go (human object).
to?ow  (n.) *ti* plant; also given as *torow*, which is poss. a Koro word (see 2.4.1); k.o. basket with designs woven in.
to?owani  (v.t. Class ?) align.
to?u  (pro.) first person dual inclusive.
toh  (n.) sugarcane.
tow (v.t. Class I) give, put; give birth to; l.f. tewe.
tu (n.) k.o. mullusc, prob. clam.
tu (n.) posts or stilts of a house.
tuhu (v.t. Class ?) drown.
tukehe (interr. pro.) when; see 6.7.3.7.
tukuni (v.t. Class ?) prod with foot; knock (at door).
tukutuk (n.) noise, esp. unwelcome noise (e.g. in a taboo situation, such as when someone dies).
tukuwani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. throw away, e.g. trash.
tukuwey (v.t. Class ?) break open (e.g. coconut).
tuma?aw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally.
tun/on (n.) canoe; l.f. tele.
tun peti peleqa?an (n.) airplane; lit. canoe for near the sun.
tun peti pwaha?an (n.) car, truck; lit. canoe for the road.
tun peti tas (n.) ship, warship; lit. canoe for the (deep) ocean.
tup (n.) k.o. plant; a vine used for binding bundles.
tupo (i.n.) variant of topu, attested from a single speaker.
tupunah (n.) young male, boy; s.f. tupune.
tupunan/tupunani/
tupuneni (v.t.) call in debts, ask for payment of obligations; der. tuputupune.
tupune (i.n.) boy; ?l.f. tupunah.
tupunetu (i.n.) children of one's ancestors; predecessors.
tupunwe?ey (n.) k.o. fish, poss. half-banded sea perch.
tuputupune (v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. call in obligations, either of family or supporters; related to tupunani.
tupwe?ey/tapwe?ey (n.) k.o. crab.
tus (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.
tut (v.i. Class ?) be closed (e.g. door); close in with; in the phrase kolu tut (lit. throat closed), to forget.
tutuh (n.) cover, lid; a leaf used as a lid; l.f. tutuha.
tutuha (i.n.) cover; s.f. tutuh.
tutukun (n.?) noise; der. tukutuk, tukuni.
tutupu (n.) k.o. sago dish, baked with coconut over hot stones, covered with leaves.
tutut (n.) one of the lines attached to the sail of a canoe.
tutuwah (v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); redup. of tuwah, may imply duration.
tuwah (v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); l.f. tuwehi, der. tutuwah.
tuwан (d.a.) heavy; poss. l.f. of tawa.
tuwani (v.t. Class I) cook [tuwe ‘cook’ + -ani ‘trans.’].
tuwe (n.) outside, outer part of a curve, the outer or ocean side of a point of land.
tuwehi (v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); spray with betel nut juice [tuwah 'chew' + -i 'trans.'].
tuwenan (n.) truth, real thing.
tuwares (n.) k.o. mollusc, prob. a small clam.
tuwey (n.) fresh-water eel, family Anguillidae.
tuwe (v.t. Class I) boil, cook in water; l.f. tuwani.
tu?uhe (v.i. Class I) bend over; put down, land; der. katu?uhe, putu?uhe.
tu?uqi (v.t. Class ?) cover over with thin layer of earth; close.

u (pro.) first person dual exclusive
u (v.i. Class ?) go down (e.g. into a hole).
u (interj.) agreement, generally spoken with high rising pitch.
u (num.) root form for 'two'.
uleh (n.) k.o. fish with long, thin nose, which feeds on reef, poss. long-nosed parrotfish; poss. uley.
uley (n.) k.o. cane plant; (d.a.) spoiled, said of baby which cries a lot.
uli (v.t.) pull out (e.g. stake or spear).
ulin (n.) the canoe(s) in a fishing expedition, esp. for parrotfish, which carries the men who look out for the fish and will beat the water with poles to herd the fish into the nets; the telelaw 'net canoes' carry the fishing nets.
ulu (v.i. Class ?) be at high tide, be covered with water (e.g. the reef); l.f. uluwani.
uluwani/uluweni (v.i. Class I) lower into the water and/or pull up out of the water on a rope; poss. long form of ulu.

um (n.) house; house thatch made from sago palm leaves; l.f. umwê.
umey/homey (n.) k.o. fruit; k.o. sago palm without thorns.
umow (num.) (u 'two' + mow 'classifier') some, a few, a bit of; see 3.2.3.1.
umwê (i.n.) house; s.f. um.
un (n.) maggot.
ugiyeni (v.t. Class I) tug on (a rope).
up (v.t. Class I) pound sago with long poles; l.f. ipwî; der. ipwîya.
upeq (adv.) day after tomorrow [u 'two' + peq 'night'].
upwîya (i.n.) pounding sago with long pole; nom. of up.
uput (n.) some, a few [u 'two' + put 'classifier']; see 3.2.3.1.
uroh (part.) thank you; when used at the beginning of a speech, 'welcome'.
usiyay (n.) people of the interior or highlands of Manus; also given as people of the offshore islands such as Lou, Baluan, etc.
usun (v.t. Class I?) carry in a canoe, or any transport; l.f. usuni.
usun (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. itch or have rash.
usuni (v.t. Class I?) carry in canoe [usun 'carry' + -i 'trans.'].
usu?us  (n.) sago cooked in the form of a pancake.
uti  (i.n.) penis.
uti  (v.t. Class I) pack a carrying basket, e.g. with sago.
uto  (pro.) first person paucal exclusive.
utu  (v.t. Class I) split open (e.g. coconut); l.f. utuwe.
uweh  (pro.) first person plural exclusive.
uwoh  (quant.) some (lit. ‘two’).
uy  (n.) k.o. sago palm with thorns.
u?e  (v.t. Class I) variant of e?e tremble.
wa  (i.n.) flesh, body; meat (e.g. unprocessed sago pulp).
wahaw  (n.) k.o. cane plant.
wak  (d.a.) bowlegged (poss. resulting from yaws).
wake  (n.) ornament.
walag  (n.) k.o. fish, poss. thumb-print emperor.
walas  (n.) k.o. long seagrass which grows in sandy area near shore.
waleley  (n.) k.o. large yam; cf. pičinah.
wamata  (n.) a line which goes from the mast to the stem of the canoe, prob. a stay.
wanaw  (v.i. Class ?) leave, go away; attested only with first person singular.
was  (n.) rope made of vines.
wa?i  (n.) lizard.
wawa  (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. coconut waste.
we  (i.n.) sibling of the opposite sex; also, children of ego’s paternal uncles or maternal aunts who are of the opposite sex from ego; cf. te?i.
we  (i.n.) k.o. fish, poss. tarwhine or ashen drummer.
weč  (v.t. Class I) cut down, fell (a tree), break; l.f. weče.
wečič  (n.) broom made of palm leaf spines or stiff reeds.
welen  (n.) k.o. bird, poss. pigeon or dove; may have webbed feet.
weley  (n.) anchor.
weleya  (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. nom. of weleyani; attested in phrases such as: weleyam puret ‘you yourself take care of the work’; weleyo iy kili mat ‘my arms are dead’, iy weleyan ‘she is not good’.
weleyani/weleyeni  (v.t. Class ?) fasten.
wemy  (v.i. Class I) be able, be sufficient or suitable for; TP inap; see 7.3.3.
wesiw  (n.) cane, rattan.
wewe  (n.) mango, mango tree.
we?i  (n.) song.
we?is  (d.a.) smooth, soft, not stiff; l.f. we?iso.
we?iso  (i.n.) smoothness, gentleness, softness, comfort; s.f. we?is.
wi (n.) k.o. plant with small green-skinned fruit whose flesh is greenish-white, fibrous, and crunchy, and whose leaves are used as seasoning.

wihi (v.t. Class I) blow with mouth, esp. to move something [woh ‘fly’ + -i ‘trans.’].

wilaw (n.) spider.

wi?i (n.) dolphin.

woh (v.i.) fly; der. wihi.

wolowolon (n.) little pieces; any little bits of rubbish.

wono (num.) root for ‘six’; see 3.2.

wop (v.i. Class I?) escape, run away.

wos (n.) the stem of the taro, used for planting.

wow (pro.) second person singular; s.f. wo.

wo (v.t. Class I?) fetch (water).

wo (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of angelfish.

ya (part.) future marker.

ya (prep.) toward, through, over.

yahit/yahati (v.t. Class II) break up with hand; crumble.


yakulumwani (v.t. Class I) make a fist; make a package with cloth around grated coconut for squeezing in the production of coconut cream or oil.

yalesani (v.t. Class II?) wring or squeeze with hands, esp. coconut meat.

yaleteni (v.t. Class II?) gloss unclear, poss. partition, apportion.

yaliwi (v.t. Class II?) steer with paddle held away from the side of the canoe; cf. apeti.

yam (interj.) sound made in hesitation; cf. čam.

yama?am (v.i. Class ?) be red, turn red, esp. leaves of the yam plant.

yamiyam (n.) k.o. fish, poss. violet-lined Maori-wrasse.

yan (v.t. Class II) eat; l.f. yani, yenyan.

yani (v.t.) eat [yan ‘eat’ + -i ‘trans.’]; variant form pani.

yanohi (v.t. Class ?) mend (fishing nets).

yano?oh (v.i. Class II?) spit.

yag (n.) k.o. plant with large green leaves which are made into fringe and used as ornamentation in traditional dress.

yaŋ (n.) k.o. spider shell, prob. fam. Strombidae.

yaŋaŋay (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. swim on surface.

yap (n.) k.o. sickness, poss. cough.

yap (n.) foreigner, esp. Europeans; der. mwoonyap, pweyap.

yape (part.? cf. ape, tetape.
yareheni (v.t. Class II) keep in hiding, isolate.

yas (n.) the small canoe-shaped trough into which the sago powder is filtered during the processing of sago pulp.

yasa (v.t. Class II) sharpen (a cutting edge).

yat (v.i. Class ?) burn, be lit.

yataha (n.) putting thatch on roof; nom. of yetehe.

yatahani (v.t. Class II) put thatch on roof; [yetehe 'put thatch on' + -ani 'trans.'].

yaw (v.i. Class II) go, leave (direction/destination unspecified); l.f. yaweseni.

yaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. fairy cod or lunar-tailed cod.

yaweseni (v.t. Class II) to carry someone or something while walking about; to parade someone, esp. a bride [yawese (s.f. yaw) 'go' + -eni 'trans.'].

yawese (v.i. Class I) go; s.f. yaw.

yay (v.i. Class ?) swim, esp. on the surface; wade.

yaya (n.) vocative or intimate form for mother or mother's sisters; cf. čačah, čačoh, čapoh.

ya?e (v.t. Class II?) variant of a?e 'split'.

ye (v.i. Class I) be in a place (esp. sitting), stay, live in a place (implies comfort and/or long duration).

yehuh (v.i. Class I?) jump from surprise.

yehut/yehur/ yohut/ye?uh (v.i. Class I) sulk (syn. kus(uwani)).

yelimaw (v.i. Class ?) yawn.

yeliŋ (v.t. Class II?) want, desire, like, prefer; l.f. yeliŋ; der. yeyeliŋ.

yeliŋi (v.t. Class II) want [yeliŋ 'want' + -i 'trans.'].

yen (v.i. Class ?) lie down; prob. related to ye.

yeneyan (v.i. Class I?) eat; redup. of yan.

yeséhe (v.i. Class ?) sneeze; poss. l.f. yesiŋ; der. kesiŋay.

yesiŋi (v.t. Class ?) burn (sun as agent); irritate, as the smoke from a fire irritates [?yesiŋ 'sneeze' + -i 'trans.'].

yesow (v.i. Class II) get married; (n.) marriage.

yesoway (n.) married male; hi yesoway, married female [hi 'FEM' + yesow 'marry' + -ay 'n.f.'].

yetehe (v.t. Class II?) put sago-leaf thatch on roof; l.f. yatahani; der. yataha.

yeti (v.t. Class II) bite.

yetiŋ (v.t. Class II) cut (meat) into pieces; cause pain or illness (from eating too much coconut); long form yetiŋ.

yeyeliŋ (n.) liking, desire, preference; nom. of yeliŋ.
yen (n.) a fight or battle; war.
yiw (v.t. Class ?) search for and gather clams.
yoyo?u (d.a.) cloudy, no sun; redup. of yo?u(wa).
yo?osi (v.t. Class I) scrape; peel with shell.
yo?uwa (i.n.) shade; der. yoyo?u.
yo (pro.) first person singular.
yo?ose (v.i. Class II) walk.
This finderlist is provided specifically to facilitate the work of comparatists searching for cognate forms. It is not complete, in the sense that not all forms which occur in the Loniu to English lexicon are referred to here; it is hoped, however, that sufficient English entries are provided to guide the researcher to those forms most likely to be useful in comparative work. In addition, eight appendices follow the finderlist. Seven of these are organised according to semantic field:

Appendix A Plant and tree names
Appendix B Bird names
Appendix C Shell names
Appendix D Canoe parts and related terms
Appendix E Fish names
Appendix F Body parts and kin terms
Appendix G Inalienably possessed nouns expressing spatial relationships

Appendix H contains as many of those roots which have been identified as having both long and short forms. These are, for the most part, nouns and verbs, but a few roots identified as descriptive adjuncts are also attested with two forms.

Appendices A – E do not contain glosses, since in most cases the translations are not definite; and those forms which have definite translations, such as coconut, eagle, or parrotfish, are included in the finderlist. All of the forms listed in each appendix are also included in the Loniu to English lexicon, with the most complete definition available.

ache (v.i.? ) čičiŋew; see also pain.
adoptive (d.a.) haŋahaŋ.
adorn (v.t.) poʔonosani ~ poʔosani; kosoweni.
adult (n.) huyan; patahuyan.
adze (n.) kuwer; (v.t.) takuweli.
afraid (v.i.) noh; see also fear.
after (prep.) peti.
afternoon (n.) keheyah.
afterwards (adv.) mwiʔin.
again (adv.) puliye.
agree (with) (v.t.) čumwi.
aipika (n.) meleŋ.
align (v.t.) toʔowani.
alike (d.a.) musih.
alive (d.a.) mamwini, mamwimwini, ag.
allergy (to cause) (v.i.) amwisisi; see also poison, rash, skin disease.
allow (v.t.) hine(ni).
also (adv.) puliye.
anchor (n.) weley.
and (conj.) qa, ma, te, see 7.2.
angry (phrase) putuwa manwa; cf. sorry.
animal (phrase) logowa po?o lo ke 'things of the forest'.
animate goal (part.) ete, see 5.2.5.3.
ankle (i.n.) opukaka.
ankle bone (n.) pokepikan.
ankle joint (i.n.) kol ucukaka.
ant (n.) mi?i, kamwat, kalon.
anus (n.) matapupwilin.
appear (part.) tahow, cahow, cahan.
appearance (i.n.) ere nei.
arm (i.n.) nime, peni.
around (i.n.?) mara (poss. mata); pa?a.
arrive (part.) c On.
arrogance (i.n.) cikiya; be arrogant: cikiyani.
as (sub.conj.) hipeta, lege?i.
as far as (prep.) poli.
ash (n.) kamawan; (i.n.) te.
ask (v.t.) tetemene, temenani, temeneni.
ask for (v.t.) cagaw.
attitude (i.n.) ere nei.
aunt (n.) yaya.
avoid (v.t.) hiliyeni.
awake (v.i.?) mamat.
away (adv.) 1o h.
axe (n.) mwati, motow pipetow.

baby see infant; child.
bad (d.a.) muwan.
back (i.n.) kele ng a.
back (of house) (n.) kecil e w; ko?otut.
bailer (n.) ho lo h.
bald (d.a.) pwikow.
balsa (n.) malin.
bamboo (n.) kas; powet.
banana (n.) pu.
bark (i.n.) kul i hi; ko ko; see also skin.
barter (v.t.) peheyani, peheyeni; čim(ani); see also market, buy.
base (i.n.) teke.
basket (n.) top ((i.n.) tapw)a; poqosus; kawa; (i.n.) kuf.
bathe (v.i.) pu; see also wash, swim.
bat (n.) kečepwe.
beach (n.) leg; pwaahalep.
bead (n.) soqun; puweyap.
beat (v.t.) ta; taya; ipwi; čapwiyan; ti?igi; see also hit, kill.
beautify (v.t.) ahi; ahani.
beauty/beautiful (n.) ahan.
because (phrase) ile čah, peti čah (see 6.7.3.3., 7.3.4); because of or due to,
(i.n.) tele.
bedding (phrase) čow tutuh; (i.n.) poqčowa.
bee (n.) menih.
before (adv.) hano (~ heno ~ hamo).
behind (i.n.) pu; pumwi?i.
belt (n.) let; pwinah.
bench (n.) kiw; keyaw; čówna.
bend (v.i.) tu?uhe; katu?uhe; putu?uhe; (d.a.) pweku.
betel nut (n.) puwe, ketiyat, kewe, mwičimwič.
betel pepper (n.) pun.
between (i.n.) mwelage.
big (d.a.) metiyen ~ lametiyen ~ nametiyen; mata; napwanan ~ lapwanan;
mela?an; see also huge.
bird (n.) petukan.
birth (n.) ta?egan; give birth (v.i.) tiyan; (v.t.) tow ~ twe.
birth celebration (n.) opah; saqog, loku.
bit (part.) hepe; (i.n.) čupu; wolowolon.
bite (v.t.) yeti.
bitter (d.a.) čipitan; see also sour.
black (d.a.) oket, okoten.
bleed (v.i.) či.
blood (n.) ay; (i.n.) eye.
blow (v.t.) suhani ~ suhani; wihi; so?hani; (v.i.) goh.
blue (d.a.) o?owan.
body (i.n.) petitupuwe; čeni.
boil (v.t.) tuwe, tuwani; keli; see also cook, heat.
bone (i.n.) ow; peti?o.
bore (holes) (v.t.) soyeni, soyani.
borrow (v.i.) čucuye; see also exchange.
bottom (i.n.) pu?ur, kečepu?un; apa?ahan; poketak; see also base.
boundary (i.n.) papeti; manuwenan.
bowl (n.) kopur, lus; ḃrolow; pọjosus; see also basket.
bowlegged (d.a.) wak.
boy (n.) tupunah (i.n.) tupune; ḃnetumwun; see also child.
brain (i.n.) pe?e.
branch (i.n.) palapa - pelapa.
breadfruit (n.) kun.
break (v.t.) yahiti; topohowani, tiweč(e); ičiŋi; tukuwey; tasala; (v.i.) salay; mot; pot; mopohowe.
brack wind (v.i.) isi.
brast (i.n.) susu; see also milk.
breath (i.n.) pọsoha.
bridge (n.) kakaw; ele?iliye; (i.n.) kečewa; čima pihin; see also marriage.
braken (d.a.) pohowey; see also break.
broom (n.) wečič.
brother see sibling.
brother-in-law (i.n.) melesewa.
brown-skinned (n.) mey.
bunch (n.) matalapwun; hutuhutun.
bundle (n.) ko?otan.
burn (v.t.) yesigį; čulämwi; (v.i.) yat; čogot; čo?o.
bush rat (n.) losow.
butterfly (n.) popwilon.
buttocks (i.n.) mwe.
buy (v.t.) čim ~ čimani; see also barter.
call (v.t.) posowe; ili; tage?eyani; (v.i.) iw; čuli.
call in (debts) (v.t.) tupunani, (tuput)upune.
calm (n.) mwa?ay.
cane (n.) wesigį, ah, lojav, uly, wahaw.
canoe (n.) tun; (i.n.) tele.
care for (v.t.) pomene, kelewe; (n.?) kolokon.
careful (v.i.)? (to) paha.
carry (v.t.) hu(ti); usun(i); si?hi; kun(i); hati.
carve (v.t.) sah, sehi, sehisah.
carver (phrase) amat a čerow.
carving (n.) sahasah.
catch (v.t.) po; ta, ta?i; lug(uti).
caterpillar (n.) pjobow.
caulking (n.) eyt ~ et ~ a?at.
cause (v.t.) hine(ni).

celebration (n.) opah; sa?oq, loku, kan; mačah; kosow; kowas; see also marriage.

centre (i.n.) po?čaqa(h).

change (v.i.) pin; čuye, čuyani; see also exchange, turn.

chant (v.i.) (misi)misiye; (v.t.) misiyeni.

charcoal (n.) čipo?omwan; katamwan.

chase (v.t.) pwičili; (n.) pučiliya.

cheek (i.n.) kelimača.

chest (i.n.) topo?ete ~ tepwete; pwhatopona.

chew (v.t.) tuwah, tutuwah, tuwehi; hus(i).

chicken (n.) kohadakha.

child (i.n.) jetut; (n.) tihow; mwčepur; mwimwini; see also infant.

chin (i.n.) pase, kepase.

chip (n.) čipetun.

choose (v.t.) hilite.

chop (v.t.) weč(e); silig(i); sez, sala; see also carve, cut.

circumcision (n.) kan.

clam (n.) puke, pini, tu, tuwes.

clarification (i.n.) topo.

claw (i.n.) pwičikaka, pwičiničme.

clay (n.) pwepet.

clean (d.a.) mesečen.

clear (v.t.) čan(i); tawoh, tawihiko; tames(e?ey); taneiye, taneiyani; tinani;

(v.i.) sa, masa; maćawe.

climb (v.t.) paka, peketi; (v.i.) (ače)če?et.

climbing rope (n.) pakoch.

close (v.t.) čuluçi; sumwili; tu?uji; (v.i.) tut; sop.

clothes (i.n.) koļou; neh; (n.) kolaw; čelaw; čučuh.

cloud (n.) ka?ah.

cloudy (d.a.) yoyo?u; see also shade.

club (n.) ketuq; mumum.

cockroach (n.) potohoč.

coconut (n.) niw; kahatay; oket; ka?ahay; pelewa; paramanan; kowesun.

coconut water (n.) momo niw; po niw; enu niw.

coconut oil (n.) eleke.

cold (v.i.) pala; (d.a.) peletun.

cold wind (n.) pala.

collarbone (i.n.) ekosa.

collect (v.t.) čepwi(yani); ini; yiwi; po; see also gather.

comb (n.) ču.

come (v.i.) me.

comfort (i.n.) we?iso.
command (n.) ečey.
conjunction (coordinate) e, ma, te, o, hepe epʷe (see 6.4.2.); (subordinate) hipeta, legeʔi, weney, ile čah (see 7.3.).
consider (v.i.) leʔečeliye.
constellation (n.) hičele, sasa, yar, pōp e pew.
consumable possession (i.n.) ana (see 3.1.1.2.2).
container (n.) kupʷi, piti, pʷepʷe; see also bowl, basket, jug.
contradict (v.t.) pokeleyani.
cook (v.t.) suwah, suwehi, čun, čulumʷi, tuwe, tuwani; kelfi; (v.i.) meʔis.
copulate (v.t.) iti.
coral (n.) lač; cupat.
core (i.n.) puto.
corn (n.) kolum (prob. borrowed).
cough (v.i., n.) sesema.
count (v.t.) ogohe, ogohani.
cousin (n.) pʷesi.
cover (i.n.) heluŋa, čuhuya; (n.) tutuh(a); heluhelug, pano؛ (v.t.) tuʔuŋi; heluŋi, čuhe.
cowrie (n.) mana.
crab (n.) tupʷey ~ tapʷey, etipug, elimag, čumow, emeʔimani, ewet; kaʔah peti pat, mʷey, napič.
crack (n.) e, salay.
crawl (v.i.) ħan, apelipan; nen; (ače)čeʔet.
crayfish (n.) elučemu.
crazy (n.) gow, gogoy, čo.
cricket (n.) nriw.
crocodile (n.) puwey.
crown (of tree) (i.n.) pʷele.
cry (v.i.) taq, (n.) tleq, tiliqin.
cup (n.) soloson; kayaw, pʷikow.
curse (v.t.) pukutani, pukuteni; (i.n.) pukuta.
custom (n.) nrekepʷen.
cut (v.t.) čan(i); yetiq(i); weč(e); čaʔeh; čaʔiti; sah; siliqi; ta; see also break, chop, carve.
cuttle-bone (i.n.) pahune.
dance (v.i.) tamana; sewe.
dawn (n.) masa; malolomʷan; (v.i.) salay.
day (n.) ap.
day before yesterday (adv.) meteʔewoh.
debate (v.t.) sestani.
debris (forest) (n.) čaloke.
deep sea (n.) mʷekew, laman, nroko.
defecate (v.i.) pehe.
deliver (v.t.) tapicéy; see also squeeze.
demon (n.) činen.
descendant (i.n.) tupunetu; see also child, grandchild.
die (v.i.) mat.
dig (v.t.) takuweli; so(?i); ili.
digging stick (n.) nas; (i.n.) nesi.
dirt/dirty (i.n.) sosó; kopu?a.
discover (v.t.) taputíni.
dish (n.) kohon.
dislike (i.n.) pu(we)?e.
dive (v.i.) čohok; see also jump.
divide (v.t.) neti; peheti.
do (v.t.) po; hine(ni); ta.
dog (n.) mwì.
doing (i.n.) pòta; hineya ~ hininiya.
dolphin (n.) wi?ì.
door (n.) čaŋah.
doorway (n.) pwàhačaŋah.
down (adv.??) tan.
downhill (n.) pahali.
draw (v.t.) (o?o)h, ohoy.
dream about (v.t.) nihiyani.
drink (v.t.) in(umwìi).
drinking (n.) inumwìay.
drive (v.t.) haluwéni.
drown (v.t.) tuhu; (v.i.) emot (?). 
drum (n.) temey; (i.n.) temeya.
dry (v.i.) pakak; pwàsaw; čama; (d.a.) posowen; (v.t.) sepwì.
drying rack (n.) talas; (i.n.) telesa.
dull (d.a.?) yehuh.
dusk (n.) ča?ako.
dust (i.n.) o?ohu; ohu?ohu; (n.) ohuwen; kenukan ~ konukan; čopučap.
eager (v.i.) soso.
eagle (n.) menuway.
ear (i.n.) telìga.
ear ornament (n.) puwetin.
earth (phrase) ko tan; see also land.
est wind (n.) kup, see also wind.
easy, easily see gently.
eat (v.t.) yan(i) ~ nani; (v.i.) yeneyan.
eating (i.n.) keneya.
edge (i.n.) mata; pase; keti; pele; see also side.
eel (n.) motomwat.
egg (i.n.) elutu.
elbow (i.n.) kolučunime.
embrace (v.t.) pusani; (v.i., n.) (p"isi)p"is.
emphasis (part.) ti; e.
empty-handed (d.a.) m"elehe(y).
enter see arrive.
entwine (v.t.) hakeleyani.
escape (v.i.) wop.
examine (v.t.) le"ečelive.
examination (n.) le"ečelive.
excellent (d.a.) lokon.
exchange (v.t.) čuye; (n.) čučuye.
excuse me (phrase) po?omatam.
exhausted (v.i.) puh; see also miss.
explain (v.t.) pwačelayani.
explanation (n.) pwačelaya.
eye (i.n.) mata; po?omata.
eyeball/socket (i.n.) čilimata.
eyebrow/lash (i.n.) pusumata.
fall (v.i.) o; los.
fall on (v.t.) teni.
fan (n.) tawiwi; (v.t.) tawiwoh, tawiwihi.
far (d.a.) elewer; see also long.
fart (i.n.) isi; (v.i.) isi.
fasten (v.t.) weleyani; čeweti; irani; hus(i); apeti; činiti.
fastening (i.n.) husiya.
fat (n.) jaman; (d.a.) malahan; see also big.
father (i.n.) jatama; (n.) čačah.
father-in-law (i.n.) jana.
fathorn (n.) jahan.
feather (n.) lomukan ~ lemukan.
fear (n.) nohonoh; see also afraid.
faeces (i.n.) te.
feed (v.t.) hag(eni).
feel (v.t.) hagetuwe, lakahani.
female (n.) pihin(e); hi; (ne?)chin.
fence (n.) kow; (i.n.) kawa.
fetch (water) (v.t.) wo; imwani.
fibre  (n.) kap, čeʔekas; see also Appendix A.
fight  (v.t.) taʔi; (n.) yen.
fill  (v.t.) pohi; misuwa(ni); see also full.
filter  (n.) tah.
find  (v.t.) kah(i); see also hunt.
finger  (i.n.) pokeʔenime, pokeʔi.
finished  (v.i.) pwčč.
fire  (n.) mʷan, (i.n.) mʷenu ~ mʷonu; see also kindle.
firestone  (n.) petuwet.
firewood  (n.) kihi; (i.n.) kihije.
fish  (n.) ni; (i.n.) niye.
fishing net  (n.) law, meʔemee, laweyap, kuwen; kupʷen; kaho; čiʔih, poke tak, apo.
fish trap  (n.) puh; ow.
fist  (i.n.) palanime; make a fist: yakulumʷani.
five  (num.) lime.
flesh  (n.) soʔoh; (i.n.) wa.
float  (v.i.) pet; (n.) put.
floor  (n.) kačan.
fly  (v.i.) woh; (n.) ẹlepu.
fly fox  (n.) pelimat.
food  (n.) kan; eneyan; koʔonon.
foolish  (n.) čo; see also crazy.
foot  (i.n.) kaka.
for  (prep.) peti.
forehead  (i.n.) tahapule.
foreigner  (n.) yap.
forest  (phrase) lo ke.
fork  (n.) sosó.
forked  (d.a.) popʷalah.
four  (num.) ha.
fresh  (d.a.) mamʷenίmʷeʔan, mamoʔan.
friction (firemaking)  (v.i.) tanenes.
friend  (n.) kowas.
frog  (n.) kerinaway.
front of  (i.n.) paha.
fruit  (i.n.) čęgi; puwe.
fry  (v.t.) suwah, suwehi.
full  (v.i.) teheta; sop.
fur  (i.n.) (lomu) lomu; see also feather, hair.
future  (part.) ya.
game (n.) eweta(y).
garden (n.) pileŋ, enum; (i.n.) pileŋa, enumerate.
gather (v.t.) po; yiw; am, in, ili, ini; see also collect.
gecko (n.) pehena; see steal.
gently (adv.) mwenyie.
ghost (n.) pelit; amat su.
gift (n.) pateč; saʔor, loku; (i.n.) teweya; konoha; see also celebration.
girl (n.) (neʔ)ehin; (i.n.) neʔehiyé.
give (v.t.) tow, tewe.
giving (i.n.) teweya.
give birth (v.i.) tiyan.
go (v.i.) la; yaw; wanaw.
God (n.) lapan.
good (n.) huya; (d.a., adv.) huyan.
good-bye (phrase) kile ala; (k)etow.
grandchild (i.n.) petukemepu ~ pokomopu.
grandfather (i.n.) natupu; (n.) čapoh.
grandmother (i.n.) nato; (n.) čačoh.
grass (n.) mwiʔiw; pog; see also seaweed.
grate (v.t.) jumwi.
grave (n.) kakawah.
green (d.a.) oʔowan.
grieve for (v.t.) tagesi.
groin (i.n.) meʔipihine.
grope (v.i.) akalakan; (v.t.) lekehi.
grow (v.i.) mata; ek.
gut (i.n.) putuwa; (v.t.) so, pwihi.
hair (i.n.) lomu (pala); lemi; (n.) lemilam; see also feather, fur.
half (num.) sipi; peliway.
hand (i.n.) nime; opunime.
handle (i.n.) peʔe, kolo ~ kolu.
hang (v.i.) apulok.
head (i.n.) pala.
headress (n.) papue, noʔonow; see also ornament.
heal (v.i.) wo.
heap (v.i.) ekur; (v.t.) (po) hutuŋani; (n.) hutuhutuŋ; puliyam.
hear (v.t.) ege(yeni); see also listen.
heart (i.n.) pusesa.
heat (n.) ʔatah; (i.n.) papataha.
heaven (phrase) ko lag; see also sky, land.
heavy (d.a.) tuwan; (v.i.) tawa.
heel (i.n.) ćotekaka.
hello (phrase) wow eli me, lit. ‘you have come’.
help (v.t.) čupani; čučupe, (n.) čup.
here (dem.) itipo; itiyo; iye(n).
hibiscus (n.) gnow.
hiccough (v.i.) memesu.
hide (v.t.) yaka’an(i); yareheni; (v.i.) ač ~ ay.
high tide (v.i.) ulu.
hip (i.n.) čote.
hit (v.t.) ta; ta?i, see also beat, kill.
hold (v.t.) potowe; hu(ti).
hole (n.) pwičik; ɡay; (i.n.) ɡeye.
hole (make a) see bore, pierce, dig.
hook (n.) kow.
hot (d.a.) mwičiŋat; ɡatah(an); (v.i.) ɡatah.
house (n.) um; (i.n.) umw’e.
house parts (n.) kum’et; lehetur, mese?en; ko?otut; če?e ta pučon; kopwilij; tu, topokow; see also floor, roof, door(way), window(frame).
how (interr.) tetape; hitape; (y)ape.
how much/many (interr.) mačehe.
huge (d.a.) čehemetiyen; tiğan.
human (n.) amat.
hungry (v.i.) mu/hun; čog.
hunt (v.t.) čog; (v.i.) kehekah, see also find.
husk (v.t.) čunah, čunehi; (i.n.) mwiči ~ muči.
husking post (n.) kučum.
illegitimate child (n.) jetupoke.
in (i.n.) lo.
infant (n.) tete, maman, mama’an; see also child.
inform (v.i.) papaha.
insect (n.) ke?iwoh; piloh; sikey; janem’wat; see also cockroach, ant, bee, caterpillar, fly, mosquito, worm.
inside (i.n.) (lo)tiye.
insist (v.i.) petot.
itensifier (part.) tasih.
itentional/inchoative (part.) ma.
ironwood (n.) kalapulin.
island (n.) pučo(n); patako; petepučo.
isolation (phrase) lo čow.
itch (v.i.) pi?ah.
jaw (i.n.) kelipawi.
joint  (i.n.) kołuču(kaka) ~ kuliču(kaka); pokelokoluč.
joke  (v.i.) p'wasaw.
jug  (n.) čopor; ko?um.
jump  (v.i.) hes; ah; oč; čap'watap'wat; ye.
just  (part.) ep'we.

kidney  (i.n.) kuče.

kill  (v.t.) ta?i; taya; see also beat.

kind  (i.n.) lomata.

kindle  (v.t.) suluŋ(en)i; nenes.

knee  (i.n.) tahapulekaka.

knife  (n.) motow; motow kočo, motow pipetow; see also axe.

knock  (v.t.) tukuni.

know  (v.t.) pesani; pasan.
knowledge  (i.n.) pasa.

ladder  (n.) tet.

ladle  (v.t.) kawi; (n.) kakaw.

land  (n.) ko; (i.n.) kohona.

language  (n.) komu; (i.n.) komuwa.

last-born child  (n.) (hi)mweel; (hi)mwimwi?in.

laugh  (v.i.) han; helesay.

leader  (n.) lapan.

leaf  (i.n.) lo?o(na); no?ona; see also branch.

lean-to  (n.) la?o, pa?on.

learn  (v.t.) henehenewe; see also teach.

left (side)  (n.) ko?un.

leg  (i.n.) kaka.

library  (phrase) um'we lo?o ke peti m'walih (lit. ‘house of leaves for stories’).

lid (of pot)  (i.n.) mata (ku); see also eye.

lie  (v.t.) sehi; kip(ani); (v.i., n.) sehisah.

lie (down)  (v.i.) ehe; ye(n); see also sit, sleep.

lift (up)  (v.t.) tep'ei.

light  see kindle.

light (coloured)  (d.a.) lelen; see also yellow, white.

lightning  (n.) emen.

like  (v.t.) pusani; see also want.

like  see as.

lime  (n.) pe?ič; gah; (i.n.) gaha.

lip  (i.n.) po?ogusu.

listen  (v.i.) ep(en), ep'ep; see also hear.
live (v.i.) to(w); ye(n).
liver (i.n.) ete.
lizard (n.) wati; see also gecko.
locative (part.) ta(h); see also live, stay, sit, stand.
long, length (n.) la?elewe; see also far.
look (v.i.) lele; see also see.
looking for (i.n.) le?eya.
look see appearance.
loose (v.i.) puta.
lose (v.t.) luwe, čalapweni.
louse (n.) kut; see also nit.
lower (v.t.) uluwemi.
lung (i.n.) puse; see also heart.
maggot (n.) un.
mahogany (n.) ñow, ñrow.
make (v.t.) po; hine(ni); see also do, allow, cause.
making (i.n.) pota; hineya.
malaria (to have) (v.i.) ko?oko.
Malay apple (n.) čay, me?e.
male (n.) kaman; (i.n.) kemeli.
mango (n.) wewe.
mangrove (n.) kopusi.a.
many (d.a., n.) čelewan.
market (n.) pah, umwé čimičim; see also barter, buy.
marrige (n.) mačah; kosow, tepwẹča; yesow; kosonay.
marrned (n.) (hi)yesoway.
marrned housing (n.) čaw.
mast (canoe) (n.) kepeley, čin.
matt (n.) čow.
matches/lighter (n.) mównuyap; see also fire, foreigner.
maybe (part.?) ma?in.
mens house (n.) kaman; (i.n.) kemeli.
mend (nets) (v.t.) yanohi.
mess(y) (d.a.? mato?one.
method (i.n.) pota; erena.
midday (phrase) tikoaŋ.
middle (i.n.) tiko?o; loholuwa.
middle-sized (n.) petuweneyan.
midnight (phrase) tiko peŋ.
midrib (of leaf) (n.) ah, papuwe.
milk (n.) sus; see also breast.
miss (v.i.) *puh.*
miss (title) *so,* see also mister.
mister (title) *Georgia,* see also miss.
mix (with) (v.i.) *soso*?iy e.
moan (v.i.) *takemeyam,* *takokow.*
modal (part.?) *čarem,* *čarewa,* (aux.) *mara ~ mera.*
mollusc (i.n.) *ke,* see also clam.
money (n.) *(ču)*čupat; *lo?o ke,* *čilimata ni.*
morn ing (n.) *mapeq,* *toto ay,* *mako?ohun,* *malolomw* an.
mosquito (n.) *namon.*
mother (i.n.) *jane,* (n.) *yaya.*
mother-in-law (i.n.) *lasoko,* *soso.*
mountain (n.) *pWili ~ puli.*
mourn (v.t.) *tagesi.*
mouth (i.n.) *pWaha.*
mouth (of river) (n.) *pWahamesa.*
move (v.i.) *mWene*?iy e.
mucus (n.) *row,* *kečew.*
mullet (n.) *kanas.*
mushroom (n.) *eko.*
musket (n.) *pWokat.*
mutter (v.i.) *čekenan.*
nail (n.) *nin;* (i.n.) *pWčičaka,* *pWčičime.*
name (v.t.) *haseweni,* *pWasowe,* (i.n.) *ja?o,* *pilina?o.*
navel (i.n.) *koputu.*
near (adv.) *(pa) pa?ohe.*
neck (i.n.) *kejune,* *kolu,* *pukuolu.*
ecklace (n.) *puwe yap.*
needle (n.) *nen.*
et see fishing net.
new (d.a.) *(ma)mahun.*
next to (i.n.) *ma?o,* *koso.*
night (n.) *peg.*
nit (n.) *lus.*
noise (i.n.) *ku?u;* (n.) *tukutuk.*
no, not (part.) *pWe.*
nonsense (v.i.?') *pWasaw.*
north wind (n.) *tolaw.*
nose (i.n.) *go,* *po?ono.*
not yet (phrase) *ma sow.*
| now | (adv., dem.) ⁿropo ~ ⁿrolopo. |
| nurse | (v.t.) hasuwe. |
| oarlock | (n.) mak. |
| ocean | (n.) ⁿroko, tas; see also deep sea. |
| of | (prep.) peti. |
| old (inanimate) | (d.a.) čakti. |
| old (animate) | (n.) pata. |
| only | see just. |
| open | (v.i.) hoh; (v.t.) hu(ti), tipeti. |
| origin | (i.n.) teke. |
| ornament | (n.) wake, noʔonow; ᵐwɔn; papuwe, let. |
| out | (part.) ɡoh. |
| out (of something) | (part.?) hepwe. |
| outrigger | (n.) čam; (i.n.) čama. |
| outside | (i.n.) tuwe. |
| overripe | (d.a.) melemun. |
| owner | (i.n.) emeteʔi. |
| pack | (v.t.) pokαιani. |
| packet | (i.n.) čumweya; make a packet: yakulumwani. |
| paddle | (v.t.) suwe, suwani; (n.) pahaw(e); pos(o). |
| pain | (n.) .jetiyan; (v.i.) .jeti. |
| palm (of hand) | (i.n.) poʔonime. |
| palm (tree) | (n.) niw; epi. |
| pandanus | (n.) ᵐon. |
| pant | (v.i.) tahohoy. |
| papaya | (n.) ɲat popo. |
| parrot | (n.) keʔeq. |
| parrotfish | (n.) pwεleyah. |
| passage | (n.) mačaw. |
| peace | (n.) ᵐwaʔay. |
| peel | (v.t.) ɲapaʔe, ɲənoʔi. |
| peer | (v.i.) tiʔitim. |
| penis | (i.n.) uti. |
| perfective | (part.) kili, keli, eli; kiʔi, keʔe, e. |
| period (of time) | (n.) loholiyan. |
| pick | (v.t.) han; hat; tiʔihi. |
| picnic | (v.i.) hiwene. |
| piece | (i.n.) (čupu)čupu; koʔoniye ~ keʔeniye; konɔ; (n.) konukonun; wolowolon. |
| pierce | (v.t.) ta; soʔi; soweli; sopʔoʔi. |
piercing  (i.n.) soya; tawayah.
pig  (n.) pow.
pigeon  (n.) pan.
pile (up)  (v.t.) pokutumwani; see also heap.
pillow  (n.) kalug.
pitiful  (n.) čelemwa.
place  (i.n.) kohona; čohona; čomuna; hawan.
placenta  (n.) ah.
plain  (d.a.) mwelehe(y); susuwah
plant  (v.t.) lom'i; has(e)i).
planting  (i.n.) lom'wa; hasa?a; (n.) lolon.
plate  (n.) čomun.
platform  (n.) pičele; keyaw; kelew; činen.
play  (v.i.) ow.
point  (n.) p'ahacenton; po?opa; see also promontory.
point (out)  (v.t.) čen(ewani); čeweneni.
poison  (d.a.) emusun; see also allergy.
pole  (n.) kumum; metepow; mumum; nas; to.
possessive  (part.) a, ta; ana; see 3.1.1.
posssum  (n.) lawat.
post  (n.) to; puhut.
pot office  (phrase) umwe pe?epa (lit. 'house of paper').
pot  (n.) ku; see also bowl, dish, plate, jug.
pour  (v.t.) hače; čewehe(y); (v.i.) o.
powder  (n.) ohuwen; see also dust.
powerful  (d.a.) naperiye.
praise  (v.t.) misiye; see also chant.
press down  (v.t.) apeti.
promontory  (n.) totohun; palačeton.
pronouns, personal  1SG  yo
2SG  wow
3SG  iy
1DU.INC  to?u
1DU.EXC  u
2DU  ow
3DU  su?u
1PCL.INC  čito
1PCL.EXC  uro
2PCL  etow
3PCL  hetow
1PL.INC  tahah
1PL.EXC  uweh
2PL  hah
3PL  seh
pronoun (inanimate oblique object)  ey

pull (v.t.) iwani; uli; see also tug.
punt (v.t.) čene(mi).
punting pole (n.) to.
purple (d.a.) pon.
push (v.t.) pisili; sunani; tapanani.
put (v.t.) tow, tewe; uti.
put on (v.t.) čuqhani.
put to bed (v.t.) ahani.

queasy (v.i.) mwekelikeliye.
quickly (adv.) me?iyen.

rain (n.) legin; čamwa?aw.
rainbow (n.) susuyelaw.
rash (n.) toʔohač; toʔohun.
raw (d.a.) mapitan.
ray (n.) lah, lehe.
recline (v.i.) ehe; taʔas.
red (d.a.) aman; meʔiman; yamaʔam.
red paint (n.) puʔahu.
reef (n.) mat; marapuket.
reject (i.n.) mwičiğeni.
related (to) (i.n.) čekchene.
relatives (n.) law; (i.n.) lawa.
remove (v.t.) sewi; puti.
repayment (i.n.) kohowa; čoʔuya.
repeat (v.t.) pukute.
reprove (v.t.) see reject.
resent (v.t.) episeni.
resentment (n.) episan.
rest (v.i.) hukan.
return (v.i.) mon; (v.t.) po čoʔuya(n).
revenge (i.n.) čewi; čoʔuya.
rid (v.t.) so.
ridge pole (n.) toh; see also roof, house parts.
right (side) (n.) paʔahan.
ripe (v.i.) ma; čaʔača; see also red.
road (n.) (pwaha)čan; (i.n.) (pwaha)čala.
roll (v.t.) tipiyeni, tipiyani.
roof (n.) puqey; pun; kaʔoh; sohan; toh; see also house parts.
root

root hair

rope

rot

rotten

round

rub

rubbish

run

run away

sago

sago, cooked

sago waste

sail

salt

saltwater colour

same

same age

sand

sardine

say

scales (fish)

scarred

scattered

scold

scoop

scrape

scratch

screen

sea

sea turtle

season

seaweed

see

seed

self

sell

send
separate (v.t.) *ip̂witi*; *poso?ogana*ani.
sew (v.t.) *sus(uwi)*; *ĉeweti*; see also fasten.
shade (n.) *owan*; (i.n.) *yo?uwa*.
shark (n.) *pew ~ pewi*.
sharp (d.a.) *n'aman*.
sharpen (v.t.) *tehi*; *yasa(y)*; *čočomwii*.
shelf (n.) *pay*.
shell (i.n.) (*p̂we)p̂we, *kamana*.
shine (i.n.) *pejekaka*.
short (d.a.) *puwon*.
shoulder (i.n.) *keheya*.
show (v.t.) *čeweneni*; see also point (out).
shred (v.t.) *seje*.
sibling (i.n.) *te?i, we*.
sickness (n.) *yap, sesema, ko?oko*.
side (i.n.) *kepeje, pele, kohur*; (n.) *peliway*.
sign (i.n.) *kilima*; (n.) *kilim, (ko)koluh, (ke)keluh*.
signal (v.t.) *takoluh, takulihi*.
sing (v.t.) *hu(ti) we?i*.
singe (v.t.) *sun, sulen*.
sinker (v.t.) see sibling.
sister (i.n.) *melesewa; čiše ~ čeje*.
sister-in-law (i.n.) *melesewa, čiše ~ čeje*.
sit (v.i.) *min (tan); ye(n)*.
skin (i.n.) *ma?a; mwiči ~ muči*; see also bark.
skin disease (n.) *lot, lahah; p̂wičipwičin; to?oča; totohun*.
skirt (n.) *nay*.
sky (n.) *lag, see also heaven*.
slap (v.t.) *čeli*.
sleep (v.i.) *mete, meteten; pepa?a*.
sleeping (n.) *mete?iw*.
slit (v.t.) *sala*.
small (d.a.) *inen ~ ninen, neti*.
smell (i.n.) *ey; lolowa*; (v.t.) *hupe*.
smoke (i.n.) *gesu(mw'an)*; (v.t.) *tahasuwe, husuwe, (v.i.) (husu)hus*.
snail (n.) *p̂wičikatay; pom*.
snake (n.) *m̂wat*.
sneeze (v.i.) *yesi?; kep?u; (n.) kesi?ay*.
soft (d.a.) *wejis; see also comfort*.
sole (of foot) (i.n.) *po?okaka*.
some (num.) *hayah, uwoh, uput; umow*; (n.) *tiken*. 
someone
song
sorcery
sore
sorry
soup
sour
source
south wind
spear
spicy
spider
spike
spirit
spit
split
spoiled (child)
spouse
spread (out)
sprout
spy
sprout
stain
stake
stand
star
stay
steal
steer
stem
step (on)
sterm (of canoe)
still
stone
story
straight
straighten
strength
string
stump (of tree)
suck
sufficiency
(n.) ana.
(n.) we?i.
(n.) kaw; emwes; (v.t.) emwesi; see also curse.
(n.) leken; mwat.
(phrase) kolu mamwa; see also angry.
(n.) polom ~ puron; čuy; kelikan.
(d.a.) nemulen ~ nulemelen; mehiyun.
(i.n.) pefe.
(n.) lan.
(v.t.) so(?i); (n.) nah; prakaw; kakaw; pičilow.
(d.a.) čipitan; ġahen.
(n.) wilaw.
(n.) čuwep.
(i.n.) melewa; heliya; su; see also ghost.
(v.i.) yaño?oh; (v.t.) momotani.
(v.t.) (ta)sala; (y)a?e; utu(we).
(n.) uley; kokoene.
(i.n.) (f)apulpu.
(v.t.) ahani.
(i.n.) čili, puto.
(v.t.) emene, emenani; (n.) a?ah.
(v.t.) pičey, tapičey, popičey; teli; see also wring.
(n.) čeče.
(n.) now.
(v.i.) so(w); čelu; (v.t.) soteheyani; čuluwena.
(n.) piti; see also constellation.
(v.i.) ye(n); to(w).
(v.t.) peheno.
(v.t.) yaliwi; apeti.
(i.n.) pata.
(v.t.) ahi.
(i.n.) mu?u.
(part.) a.
(n.) pat; see also coral.
(n.) mwalih; titiye; (i.n.) mwalihii.
(d.a.) mwemen.
(v.t.) mweniye, mweniyan; ponosani; pokani.
(i.n.) pito.
(n.) sori; teliki.
(n.) tomakate.
(v.t.) hus(i).
(i.n.) moče ~ noče.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>(n.) toh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulk</td>
<td>(v.i.) yehut; kus(uweni).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>(n.) ụna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support</td>
<td>(n.) sonat; čemenas; see also witness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surf</td>
<td>(v.i.) čeč.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surface (of water)</td>
<td>(n.) sasaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>survey</td>
<td>(v.t.) siliyani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swamp</td>
<td>(n.) pućuči?ey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sway</td>
<td>(v.i.) craw; ọx, ọn, manunuwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweat</td>
<td>(i.n.) pọ?ohiye; pọgi?ọ, (v.i.) tič.</td>
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<td>sweep</td>
<td>(v.t.) pačiči?i.</td>
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<tr>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>(d.a.) kamakaman; naman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swell</td>
<td>(v.i.) čama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swelling</td>
<td>(i.n.) tohuwa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>(v.i.) yagagay; yay; see also surf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swollen</td>
<td>(d.a.) tohu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>table</td>
<td>see platform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taboo</td>
<td>(i.n.) topu ~ tupo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>(i.n.) kelepe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>(v.t.) hu(ti); puti; pikiti; apwesí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take after</td>
<td>(v.t.) tahilisi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk</td>
<td>(v.i.) nenes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk back</td>
<td>(v.t.) pwaćo?oyan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk nonsense</td>
<td>(v.i.) pwaśaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talon</td>
<td>(i.n.) pwičikaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td>(v.t.) tetehi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>(n.) mah, kopo, pule?ut, talas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro (mashed)</td>
<td>(n.) pen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste</td>
<td>(i.n.) kana; keme(y).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tattoo</td>
<td>(n.) kama?et.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taunt</td>
<td>(v.i.) ilani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tea</td>
<td>(n.) čutupwé.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach</td>
<td>(v.t.) hanuweni; see also show, point out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tear</td>
<td>(i.n.) enumata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tear</td>
<td>(v.i.) puče.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell</td>
<td>(v.t.) (ti) tiye, tiyani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>termite</td>
<td>(n.) an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testicle</td>
<td>(i.n.) puwe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>thank you</td>
<td>(part.) uroh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>(dem) itiwen, iyen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thatch</td>
<td>(v.t.) yetehe, yatahani; (n.) um, yataha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
there (dem.) *itiyen.
thick (d.a.) *hutun.
thief (n.) *lolow; amat peti pehena; see also spy.
thigh (i.n.) *coweya.
thin (d.a.) *mekehen.
thing (n.) *longow.
think (v.t.) *pwa, sisimi; *ojohe, *ojohani; (v.i.) *ojo?ojohe.
this (dem.) *itiyo, *itipoo.
thorn (i.n.) *poto, *pote?iy.
three (num.) *culu.
throat (i.n.) *kolu, *pukolu; kekuwe.
throw (v.t.) *takeni; takeye; *calapweni; see also toss.
thumb (n.) *pokemata.
thunder (n.) *katug.
ti (plant) (n.) *to?ow.
tickle (v.t.) *takeke?e.
tie (v.t.) husi; see also fasten.
tired (v.i.) tawa; (phrase) wan imeman.
today (adv.) *ropo; (n.) heyah.
toe (i.n.) palakaka *pokemata.
together (v.i.) hic; (quant.) pučey.
toilet (n.) *pala?ah; *pačepow.
tomorrow (adv.) mahu.
tongs (n.) *pele?ip.
tongue (i.n.) palake?ime.
tool (n.) kilim, pe?ič; ki?am.
tooth (i.n.) lehe.
top (i.n.) *tata; te?i; (n.) atatan.
torch (n.) *toto?um.
toss (v.t.) *capweni; *pwačerahani.
tough (d.a.) *čikan.
toward (prep.) ya.
trace (v.t.) *čeliti; (i.n.) *emi?emi.
tray (n.) *pakow.
tree (n.) *ke.
tremble (v.i.) *e?e; (v.t.) e?eya(ni).
trim (v.t.) *ponosani.
trough (n.) *patah; yas; kupa?i.
true, truth (n.) *tuwenan.
trunk (n.) *pwa?e; see also stem.
try (v.t.) *hanuweni.
tug (v.t.) *uniyeni; see also pull.
turn (v.t.) (ta)peluwani.
twist (v.t.) čuweni; (v.i.) m\textsuperscript{w}a?usuwe.

umbilical cord (i.n.) puto.
uncircumcised (d.a.) pusuwan.
uncle (i.n.) puweni.
under (i.n.) pa?aha.
under (house) (n.) kop\textsuperscript{w}iliq.
underarm (i.n.) pa?ahakeheya.
unmarried (n.) (hi) kelaw.
unsuccessfully (adv.) lap\textsuperscript{w}e.
up in the house (n.) pele\textsuperscript{g}an.
urinate (v.i.) mimim.
useless (d.a.) m\textsuperscript{w}elehe(y).

veranda (n.) palaketup.
village (n.) ko; see also land.
vine (i.n.) akapata; matakap\textsuperscript{wa}; (n.) pu\textsuperscript{is}.
vomit (v.i.) emot; (v.t.) em\textsuperscript{w}eteni; see also spit.
waste (n.) k\textsuperscript{e}; see also rubbish.
water (n.) an; (i.n.) enu; (n.) kilim, čele\textsuperscript{g}at, tas, sos; see also ocean, deep sea, wave.
wave (n.) nipipip; huh; hahu; kalih; (v.t.) see signal.
weave (v.t.) ti?i.
weed (n.) lotay; (v.t.) sut(i).
west wind (n.) hay.

wet (v.i.) em\textsuperscript{w}a; (d.a.) emu?un.
whale (n.) lolo; molowam.
what (interr. pro.) čah; čika.
when (interr. pro.) tukehe.
where (interr. pro.) ehe, itehe.
which (interr. pro.) čihi.
whisper (v.i.) p\textsuperscript{w}agununuŋun.
white (d.a.) pi?en.
who (interr.) *he.*
whole (d.a.) *mamwene?en.*
why (interr.) *ile čah; peti čah.*
wide (d.a.) *malahan.*
wind (n.) *ko; lan, tolaw, kup, hay.*
wind (v.t.) *hakeleyani.*
window (n.) *čip.*
window frame (n.) *matačip.*
wing (i.n.) *(ka)peni.*
wipe (out) (v.t.) *poso?ani.*
wish (for) (v.t.) *takemes.*
with (i.n.) *peliję?i, kalama.*
within (i.n.) *po?o; lo.*
witness (v.t.) *čemeni, čemenani.*
woman (n.) *pihin; see also female.*
wonder (v.i.) *tako?okow.*
wood (n.) *ke, kihi(ye).*
word (n.) *komu; see also language.*
work (n.i.) *puret; (i.n.) puriya.*
work on (v.t.) *popote.*
worm (n.) *tekelimwet.*
wrap (v.t.) *ćumwe, čuhe; see also cover.*
wrapping (i.n.) *ćumweya; čuhuya; (n.) čuhučuh.*
wriggle (v.i.) *čakilikin.*
write (v.t.) *isi; yalesani; see also squeeze.*
write see draw.
yarn (n.) *suwe, pičinah; enumenan; čenji; ko?un.*
yawn (v.i.) *yelimaw.*
yell (v.i.) *tako?o(w); čuli; see also call.*
yellow (n.) *o?owawa.*
yes (part.) *ehe, u.*
yesterday (adv.) *pi?ehe.*
zenith (n.) *pelih.*
APPENDIX A: Plant and tree names

FOOD PLANTS:

coconut  
niw, aman, kowosun, mami, oket, pa, pale?un, paramanan, pa?aq, pelewa, puto

fruit-bearing plants  
čay, kun, me?ew, m ś ọ , nat kun, nat popo, pakow, p w aw, pu, pun, puwe, pu?ay timeta, wewe, wi

sago  
epi, pamat, pamat čehit, pamat palalaw, potopaj, puwelan, puwe?uy, umey, uy

taro  
mah, kopow, pule?ut, talas, wos

yams  
pičinah, m w at, puwepat, puwepićinah, p w apohowan, p w omelew, waleley, suwe, koro, monomon, parepit, p w ahen, p w akah

other food plants  
melen, p w atay, telus, tomon

OTHER PLANTS:

bamboo  
kas, powet

betel nut  
puwe, ketiyat, kewe, m w ičimwi ~ mučumuč

betel pepper  
pun, palaŋap

cane  
ah, loloŋ, toh, ulye, wahaw, wesw

seaweed  
kačam, menih, naŋay, walaš

trees used for canoe building  
čah, kun, petuw, ṭow, (k)owak, pugew, take?eq

other trees  
če?i, čoyet, epey, umey, kalapulin, kap, kopuča, malin, paha

vines  
patapeley, pulut, pu?is, tup, telipe?e

miscellaneous  
ake, apo, apow, če?ih, čimenat, epow, eyt, ka, kesuwas, kemet, kes, ki?i, ku(h), kuku, memey, mo?ohow, pa(h), papan, pasisi, patapow, pečuču, pepe, petimwes, petin, powo, put, ńrow, sas, titi?i, to?ow, yan

APPENDIX B: Bird names

amey  
kanaw  
menuway
čelehey  
kari?i ~ ṭulami  
more
čerikow  
katah  
mwi
čihi  
ke?eq  
nako
čilim  
ke?eqanay  
ŋay
čočow  
ke?iŋow okoten  
pan
čo?uka  
ke?iŋow pi?en  
pa?aq
čurey  
kikwi  
wen
kalaŋat  
kiniw
APPENDIX C: Shells

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arikoko</td>
<td>mekeyaŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>čičiʔon</td>
<td>pey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čuh</td>
<td>pini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamana</td>
<td>piʔihiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keray</td>
<td>pom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koʔoč</td>
<td>poŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lot</td>
<td>puke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>pun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mataluh</td>
<td>putele</td>
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APPENDIX D: Canoe parts and related words

<table>
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<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aley</td>
<td>mon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amat a tele</td>
<td>muʔutun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atay</td>
<td>mʷelin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čam(a)</td>
<td>mʷelipʷe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čelep</td>
<td>napʷelekew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin</td>
<td>go tun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čipʷan</td>
<td>oloh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kekahaw</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepeʔen</td>
<td>pahaw(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyev ~ kiyey</td>
<td>peley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohun</td>
<td>pos posokuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokotuŋ</td>
<td>pos posotun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luluwe</td>
<td>pow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak</td>
<td>poʔonusu tun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metiput</td>
<td>pun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mom</td>
<td>pʷahaketuiŋ</td>
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</table>


APPENDIX E: Fish names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>akuwen, ana, apulupun, awah</td>
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<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>čakeliyew, čakapuʔepi, čameti, čamʷat, čapaŋ, čapʷa, čapʷeʔimam, čatop, čaway, čaway palamata, čelipuh, čelipuh koʔo, čelipuh piʔeŋ, čeme, čeʔih, čič, čič kokoh, čilimʷekew, čolay, čonay, čonon, čo, čor, ču, ču kohoh, ču mas, čučum, čuwemʷekew, čuwuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>eče, eki, elon, etun, ew, ewi, eʔah</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>han, hikupʷi, hikuroń, hipelit</td>
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APPENDIX F: Plant parts, body parts, and kin terms

PLANT PARTS:

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<tr>
<th>Loniu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Loniu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akapata</td>
<td>vine</td>
<td>palapa~pelapa</td>
<td>branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cēpi</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>pata</td>
<td>stem, trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čili</td>
<td>sprout</td>
<td>pe'ē</td>
<td>stalk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko</td>
<td>?bark</td>
<td>poto</td>
<td>thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulihi</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>puto</td>
<td>core, sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemi</td>
<td>root hair</td>
<td>puwe</td>
<td>fruit, seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo?o(na)</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>p'wele</td>
<td>crown (of tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matakapa'w</td>
<td>cluster</td>
<td>teke</td>
<td>base (of tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'wiči~muči</td>
<td>husk</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>flesh, esp. of sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'o~puño'o</td>
<td>root</td>
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BODY PARTS AND KIN TERMS:

...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Gloss</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ay ~ eye</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeį</td>
<td>flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šilimata</td>
<td>eyeball/socket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čote</td>
<td>hip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čotekaka</td>
<td>heel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čoweya</td>
<td>thigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekesa</td>
<td>collarbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ete</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>leg, foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapeni ~ peni</td>
<td>wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keheya</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keleja ~ pukeleja</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelepe</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelimata</td>
<td>cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelipawi</td>
<td>jaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepůwe</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohu</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolu ~ pukolu</td>
<td>throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolučukaka</td>
<td>ankle joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolučunime</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koputu</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuče</td>
<td>kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lehe</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomu ~ lemū</td>
<td>fur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomupala</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lo)tiye</td>
<td>insides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matapupūlin</td>
<td>anus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma?a</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me?ipihine</td>
<td>groin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwe</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nime</td>
<td>hand, arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo ~ puno?o</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opukaka</td>
<td>ankle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opunime</td>
<td>hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>ow</td>
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<td>pala</td>
<td>head</td>
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<tr>
<td>palakaka pokemata</td>
<td>toe</td>
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<tr>
<td>palake?ime</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palanime</td>
<td>fist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pase ~ kepase</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?ahakeheya</td>
<td>underarm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petitupuwe</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peti?o</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe?ekaka</td>
<td>shin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pičelalan</td>
<td>?chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokelokoloč</td>
<td>joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokemata</td>
<td>thumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokepikan</td>
<td>?ankle bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poke?enime</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poke?i</td>
<td>little finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po?okaka</td>
<td>sole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po?omata</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po?onime</td>
<td>palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po?opusu</td>
<td>lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusesa</td>
<td>lung, heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusumata</td>
<td>eyebrow, eyelash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puto</td>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putuwa</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puwe</td>
<td>testicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaha</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwahatoponja</td>
<td>breastbone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwï</td>
<td>female genitalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwïči</td>
<td>scale (of fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwïčikaka</td>
<td>claw, toenail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwïčinime</td>
<td>claw, fingernail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapule</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapulekaka</td>
<td>knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telīga</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topo?ete</td>
<td>upper chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uti</td>
<td>penis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KIN TERMS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loniu Gloss</th>
<th>Loniu Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čačah</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čačoh</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čapoh</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či?e ~ če?e</td>
<td>sister-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hituru</td>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasoho</td>
<td>in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law(a)</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melesewa</td>
<td>in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pane</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napulu - pulu</td>
<td>spouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX G: Inalienably possessed nouns expressing spatial relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loniu Gloss</th>
<th>Loniu Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kohu</td>
<td>?side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koso</td>
<td>near, next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loholuwa</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lotei</td>
<td>inside (lo ‘in’ + tiye ‘inside’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma?akoso</td>
<td>next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mweleqa</td>
<td>between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne?iketi</td>
<td>side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa?aha</td>
<td>underneath of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pase</td>
<td>edge, chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pele</td>
<td>near, in area of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peline?i</td>
<td>with, accompanying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po?o</td>
<td>within, mixed with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX H: Roots with short and long alternants

VERBS (A gloss is provided for the short form only when it differs from that of the corresponding long form):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ča?e</td>
<td>ča?iti</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čelu ‘stand’</td>
<td>čeluweni</td>
<td>stand (NP) up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čun</td>
<td>čulemwi</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čunah</td>
<td>čunehi</td>
<td>husk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emot ‘vomit’</td>
<td>em?eteni</td>
<td>vomit up, spit out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOUNS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>enu</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čam</td>
<td>čama</td>
<td>outrigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čan</td>
<td>čala</td>
<td>road, path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik</td>
<td>čikiya</td>
<td>arrogance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čim</td>
<td>čima</td>
<td>buying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enum</td>
<td>enumwa</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kačaw</td>
<td>kečewa</td>
<td>bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaman</td>
<td>kemeli</td>
<td>male; men's house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kihı</td>
<td>kihye</td>
<td>firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilim</td>
<td>kilima</td>
<td>signal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kohon'a</td>
<td>land, village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komu</td>
<td>komuwa</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konoh</td>
<td>konoha</td>
<td>gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kow</td>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kup</td>
<td>kupe</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lah</td>
<td>lehe</td>
<td>ray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>lawa</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawe</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>fishing net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo?o</td>
<td>lona</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwa'lih</td>
<td>mwa'lihi</td>
<td>story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwan</td>
<td>mwenu</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nas</td>
<td>nesi</td>
<td>digging stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne?ehin</td>
<td>ne?ehiye</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>niye</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nala</td>
<td>ne'letun</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naha</td>
<td>naha</td>
<td>lime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñay</td>
<td>ñeye</td>
<td>hole, cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñket</td>
<td>ñkoten</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahaw</td>
<td>pahawe</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papet</td>
<td>papete/papeti</td>
<td>boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pew</td>
<td>pewi</td>
<td>shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihin</td>
<td>pihine</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pileŋ</td>
<td>pilepa</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pos</td>
<td>poso</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puret</td>
<td>puriya</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwah</td>
<td>pwaha</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sus</td>
<td>susu</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telipŋ</td>
<td>telipa</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>tapwa</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tun</td>
<td>tele</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupunah</td>
<td>tupune</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um</td>
<td>umwe</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weley</td>
<td>weleya</td>
<td>anchor?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we?is</td>
<td>we?iso</td>
<td>gentle(ness)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This text, a conversational narrative, was spoken by Matthew Kaping, a man about 45 years of age.

 enum a suwe. seh pihin seh čani.
 garden POSS yam 3PL woman 3PL clear
 A yam garden. The woman clear away the bushes.

 seh tawihi ile pwič, uweh kaman
 3PL clear 3SG.go finished 1PL.EXC male
 When they finish clearing the area, we men

 uweh weče ake. uweh weče ake
 1PL.EXC cut.down trees. 1PL.EXC cut.down trees
 we cut down the trees. When we have finished cutting the trees

 ile pwič, ponosani ile pwič, uweh ča?iti ke,
 3SG.go finish trim 3SG.go finish 1PL.EXC cut.up tree
down. (and) trimming them, we cut up the trees,

 uweh tewe kow a suwe, ile čah pow, pow iy
 1PL.EXC put fence POSS yam 3SG.go what pig pig 3SG
 we make a fence for the yams, because pigs, a pig

 kiyeni suwe e pičinah epwe. uweh ča?iti ke,
 POT.SG.eat small.yam and big.yam only 1PL.EXC cut.up tree
 will eat small yams and big yams. We cut up the trees,

 uweh soteheyani puhut, čani te?in peti husiyan,
 1PL.EXC stand.up post cut rope for binding.3SG
 stand the posts up, cut rope for binding them,

 husiyan te?in epwe. kow ile pwič,
 binding.3SG rope only fence 3SG.go finish
 only bark fibre rope is used. When the fence is finished,

 iy kaman o pihin uweh tewe kow ile pwič, e seh pihin
 3SG man or woman 1PL.EXC put fence 3SG.go finish and 3PL woman
 when we men or women finish putting up the fence, and the women

 seh pačiči?i lotiye enum, itiye seh pihin seh neheti hačan hačan
 3PL sweep inside garden DEM 3PL woman 3PL divide one one
 sweep inside the garden, then the women divide (it) into sections
When we men want to dig (the holes for planting), then we go to that particular garden;

iy ma kile hepe puret, itiyen ikat ko?onon ćelewan. 3SG INT POT.SG.go bit work DEM 3SG.got foodstuffs many it it is intended for use in ritual exchanges, then there is a lot of food involved:

suweh epi, eleke ile ey, to keli polom, uweh to so fry sago oil 3SG.go PRO STAT boil soup 1PL.EXC STAT dig (they) fry sago with coconut oil, (they) boil soup, we are digging

suwe, e uweh to huti eneyan peti ey. uweh kaman yam and 1PL.EXC STAT take food for PRO 1PL.EXC male yams, and we get food for it. We men,

uweh so?i e seh pihin seh lom\w. enumeran ep\w.e. 1PL.EXC dig and 3PL woman 3PL plant seed.yam only we dig, and the women plant. Only seed yams.

lom\w.i ile p\w.ic, itow. puret a uweh kaman plant 3SG.go finished 3SG.STAT work POSS 1PL.EXC male When the planting is finished, that’s it. Our (men’s) work

ile p\w.ic. puret a uweh kaman ile p\w.ic 3SG.go finished work POSS 1PL.EXC male 3SG.go finished is finished. When our work is finished,

e seh pihin ep\w.e. seh ća?iti peti ke inen, and 3PL woman only 3PL cut DIM wood small only the women (are working). They cut small pieces of wood,

lege\w.i suwe ime ek, itiyen peti ke inen seh to posowey when yam 3SG.come grow DEM DIM wood small 3PL STAT call when the yams come up, then the small piece of wood they call

now, seh soteheyani. seh soteheyani ile stake 3PL drive.into.ground 3PL drive.into.ground 3SG.go a stake, they drive it into the ground. They set up a stake

ey ile p\w.ic, aq ito ek ile now, itiyen PRO 3SG.go finished day 3SG.STAT grow 3SG.go stake DEM for each plant, (and) when they are growing up the stakes, then

seh pihin seh la hakeleyani ile now, seh la husi was 3PL woman 3PL go wind 3SG.go stake 3PL go bind rope the woman go and wind (the plants) around the stakes, they tie a rope around each one.

And they grow. Their work, they pull the weeds.
Grass, small trees which come up, plants, they pull them out.

Those things they call weeds. Until only the yams become ripe.

They watch for when the yams get ripe, their leaves wither,

Those things they call weeds. Until only the yams become ripe.

They watch for when the yams get ripe, their leaves wither,
This text is a traditional story told by Hičatut, a woman of over 80 years of age. It is a legend about two women who are transformed into a turtle and a shark. It is not uncommon to find such transformations from human to animal or fish, or from plant to human, taking place in Loniu stories.

**TEXT 2: THE TURTLE AND THE SHARK**

This text is a traditional story told by Hičatut, a woman of over 80 years of age. It is a legend about two women who are transformed into a turtle and a shark. It is not uncommon to find such transformations from human to animal or fish, or from plant to human, taking place in Loniu stories.

**mwalih mwalih mwalih mwalih e.**

I'm going to tell a story. (Standard introduction to any story.)

**ana hi loto?ow ... ana hi loto?ow e ana hi pawi...**

some FEM Loto?ow some FEM Loto?ow and some FEM Pawi

A Loto?ow girl...a Loto?ow girl and a Pawi girl...

**ana hi loto?ow ana hi pawi e, ana hi pawi nanen**

some FEM Loto?ow some FEM Pawi EMPH some FEM Pawi mother.3SG

there was a Loto?ow girl and a Pawi girl, the Pawi girl's mother.
and father.3SG 3DU put 3SG 3SG.LOC in mat and father put her into ritual isolation.

Yes, and some FEM Loto?ow mother.3SG and father.3SG put 3SG 3SG.LOC in mat and father put her into ritual isolation. So the two were in isolation, and the four 3PCL STAT market 3PCL STAT market 3SG.go Manus four (parents) were at the market, they were at the market in Manus (Pere).

They were at the market for several days,

Yes and the Loto?ow girl's mother and father put her into ritual isolation. So the two were in isolation, and the

four 3PCL STAT market 3PCL STAT market 3SG.go Manus four (parents) were at the market, they were at the market in Manus (Pere).

They were at the market for several days,

market time.one some FEM Loto?ow and spouse.3SG day after day they were there...the Loto?ow woman and her husband

3DU barter spouse child 3DU and some FEM Pawi arranged for a husband for their child. And the Pawi woman

3SG.barter spouse child.3SG DEM DEM and 3DU two arranged for her child's husband. And they were two,

and 3DU come and some FEM Pawi DEM 3SG.see spouse.3SG and they came and that Pawi girl saw (that) her husband

3SG bowed nose.3SG pocked OEM and 3SG 3SG. come AG was bowlegged with a pockmarked nose. So she came to

some FEM Loto?ow 3SG 3SG.say oh spouse.2SG good or bad the Loto?ow girl and said: "Oh! Is your husband handsome or ugly?"

The Loto?ow girl said: "My husband, the two of us, we are just alike."

And me and nose.3SG pocked 3SG. say spouse.3SG 1DU.EXC two 1DU.EXC alike just

The Loto?ow girl said: "My husband, the two of us, we are just alike."

and 1SG POSS 1SG shin.3SG bowed yes and nose.3SG pocked (The first one said): "And me, mine is bowlegged and has a pockmarked nose.

1SG POSS 1SG shin.3SG bowed yes and nose.3SG pocked (The first one said): "And me, mine is bowlegged and has a pockmarked nose.

Yes, we must go away." And then (the other girl) cried.
some FEM Loto?ow DEM DEM 3SG.mourn mother.3SG and father.3SG
This Loto?ow girl mourned for her mother and father.
pw?e, ya yo kil?i yaw p?w?e, iy ipw?e pw?e,
NEG FUT 1SG PERF go NEG 3SG 3SG.say NEG
"No, I won't go." The Pawi girl said, "No,
1DU.INC two.FEM PRES STAT together 1DU.INC INT POT.NS.go only
we two are together, we must go away."

iy ipetot ipetot itiyan e su?u yaw itiyan.
3SG 3SG.insist 3SG.insist DEM and 3DU go DEM
She insisted and insisted, so the two took off.
3DU pick hibiscus POSS 3DU 3DU pack ash POSS 3DU
They picked their hibiscus, they packed their ashes,
su?u la hepe su?u la teve ep?ow sih e kamwan um?ow,
3DU go bit 3DU go put hibiscus one and ash some
they went a ways, they went and dropped a hibiscus (flower) and a bit of ash,
su?u la teve ep?ow sih e kamwan um?ow.
3DU go put hibiscus one and ash some
they went along dropping hibiscus flowers and bits of ash.
ito po to po to po to po e su?u la ?oh.
3SG.STAT do STAT do STAT do STAT do and 3DU go arrive
This went on for a long time, and they arrived.
itiyan e ana hi loto?ow iy a iso ?elu
DEM and some FEM Loto?ow 3SG still 3SG.LOC stand
So the Loto?ow girl was still standing there,
ehe ana hi pawi iy ile epw?e iy ile ?ohok e iy
yes some FEM Pawi 3SG 3SG.go only 3SG 3SG.go dive and 3SG
and the Pawi girl no sooner arrived that she dove in and she
ki?i la pew. su?u la an kokoluh an kokoluh
PERF go shark 3DU go water enchanted water enchanted
became a shark. They went to an enchanted lake, the enchanted lake
itekulihi su?u. itiyan e ana hi loto?ow n?opo itiyan
3SG.signal 3DU DEM and some FEM Loto?ow DEM DEM
called to them. Then this Loto?ow girl
itegesi p?anen e p?ataman e itiyan e iy a
3SG.mourn mother.3SG and father.3SG and DEM and 3SG still
mourned for her mother and father, and so she was still
iso ?elu e su?u la su?u tan su?u to tanesi iy ile
3SG.LOC stand and 3DU go 3DU cry 3DU STAT mourn 3SG 3SG.go
standing there, and they went, they cried, they were mourning for her as they went
**Itiyen.** iy a iso čelu e itiyen e iy inenes
DEM 3SG still 3SG.LOC stand and DEM and 3SG 3SG.talk along. She was still standing there, and so she said

ile e te su?u ow ma?amow ipetot petot iy iputi yo
3SG.go AG 3DU 3DU two 3SG.insist insist 3SG 3SG.take 1SG to them, “You two, she insisted and insisted, she took me,

e u me an kokolu kili potowe u itiyo,
and 1DU.EXC come water enchanted PERF hold 1DU.EXC DEM and we came, the enchanted water took hold of us here,

yo kule ya ehe e yo kume ṭoh?
1SG POT.SG.go toward where and 1SG POT.SG.come away where can I go to get away?

iy kili čohok e iy ki?i la pew. ehe yo a le?i so
3SG PERF dive and 3SG PERF go shark yes 1SG still PRES LOC She dove in and became a shark. Yes, I am still standing

čelu, yo uenes ime e te ow čow a yo itiyen ow
stand 1SG 1SG.talk 3SG.come AG 2DU mat POSS 1SG DEM 2DU here, I tell you, my mat here,

kohoti, ehe yo ma kučohok yo ma kule pop.
POT.NS.take yes 1SG INT POT.SG.dive 1SG INT POT.SG.go turtle you take it, I am going to dive in, I'm going to become a turtle.

yo kule pop e etow ma kala pah kile
1SG POT.SG.go turtle and 2PCL INT POT.NS.go market POT.SG.go I'll become a turtle, and when you go to the market in

Mwanus etow kepeheyeni ni masih ehe e sih pop
Manus 2PCL POT.NS.barter fish all yes and one turtle Manus, you can buy all (kinds) of fish, but if there is a turtle

e sih pew topu etow kepeheyeni itiyen u.
and one shark taboo 2PCL POT.NS.barter DEM 1DU.EXC and a shark, you must not buy them, that is us!”

su?u taq. su?u huti sahat čow a su?u su?u yaw
3DU cry 3DU take one mat POSS 3DU 3DU go They cried. They took their one mat and they left

e iy ičohok e iy ile pop itiyen. kali pwe itiyen.
and 3SGF 3SG.dive and 3SG 3SG.go turtle DEM PERF?? NEG DEM and she dove in and became a turtle. That's all.

---
REFERENCES


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