STUDIES IN LANGUAGES OF NEW BRITAIN AND NEW IRELAND

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

edited by
M.D. Ross
Pacific Linguistics specialises in publishing linguistic material relating to languages of East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Linguistic and anthropological manuscripts related to other areas, and to general theoretical issues, are also considered on a case by case basis. Manuscripts are published in one of four series:

SERIES A: Occasional Papers
SERIES B: Monographs
SERIES C: Books
SERIES D: Special Publications

FOUNDING EDITOR: S.A. Wurm
EDITORIAL BOARD: T.E. Dutton (Managing Editor), A.K. Pawley, M.D. Ross, D.T. Tryon

EDITORIAL ADVISERS:
B.W. Bender University of Hawaii
David Bradley La Trobe University
Michael G. Clyne Monash University
S.H. Elbert University of Hawaii
K.J. Franklin Summer Institute of Linguistics
W.W. Glover Summer Institute of Linguistics
G.W. Grace University of Hawaii
M.A.K. Halliday University of Sydney
E. Haugen Harvard University
A. Healey Summer Institute of Linguistics
L.A. Hercus Australian National University
John Lynch University of the South Pacific
K.A. McElhanon Summer Institute of Linguistics
H.P. McKaughan University of Hawaii
P. Mühlhäusler University of Adelaide
G.N. O'Grady University of Victoria, B.C.
K.L. Pike Summer Institute of Linguistics
E.C. Polomé University of Texas
Gillian Sankoff University of Pennsylvania
W.A.L. Stokhof University of Leiden
B.K. Tsou City Polytechnic of Hong Kong
E.M. Uhlenbeck University of Leiden
J.W.M. Verhaar University of Leiden
C.L. Voorhoeve University of Leiden

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series.

All correspondence concerning Pacific Linguistics, including orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia

Copyright © The authors
Typeset by Anne Rees and the editor
Printed by Goanna Print Pty Ltd
First published 1996
Map drawn by the editor
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund. No royalties are paid on this or any other Pacific Linguistics publication.

ISSN 0078-7558
ISBN 0 85883 443 X
TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR’S FOREWORD v
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS vi
MALCOLM D. ROSS
Introduction 1

ANN CHOWNING
Relations among languages of West New Britain: an assessment of recent theories and evidence 7
1. Introduction 7
2. Non-Austronesian languages 8
3. Questions and assumptions 9
4. Previous classifications 21
5. Mixed languages and the substratum hypothesis 23
6. Vulcanism 24
7. Archaeological evidence 25
8. The Austronesian languages 27
9. Ross’s classifications 42
10. Lexical interchange 46
11. Sengseng and non-Austronesian languages 48
12. Conclusions 57

RICK GOULDEN
The Maleu and Bariai languages of West New Britain 63
1. Introduction 63
2. Phonology: consonants 66
3. Phonology: vowels 90
4. Phonology: syllable structure 103
5. Morphosyntax 109
6. Lexicon 135
7. Conclusions 142

GRAHAM HAYWOOD
A Maleu grammar outline and text 145
1. Preliminaries 145
2. Stems 148
3. Words 150
4. Phrases 161
5. Independent clauses 173
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dependent clauses</th>
<th>Co-ordinate clauses</th>
<th>Sentence linkage</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WILLIAM R. THURSTON**  
Amara: an Austronesian language of Northwestern New Britain  
1. Background  
2. The sociolinguistic erosion of Amara  
3. External relationships  
4. Phonology  
5. A grammatical outline  
6. Amara lexicon  
7. English–Amara finder list  

**WILLIAM R. THURSTON**  
The Bibling languages of northwestern New Britain  
1. Introduction  
2. Phonology  
3. A grammatical outline  
4. Lexicons: introduction  
5. Mouk lexicon  
6. English–Mouk finder list  
7. Aria lexicon  
8. English–Aria finder list  
9. Lamogai lexicon  
10. English–Lamogai finder list  

**MAP**  
Languages and locations referred to in this volume
EDITOR’S FOREWORD

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

Because New Britain is inextricably linked to New Ireland in some of its linguistic relationships, I also decided that the scope of the volume should include both islands. I knew that there was an amount of unpublished work on New Ireland languages. My solicitations met with a response which has overwhelmed me, and fresh or revised contributions have continued to reach me in the intervening years. As a result, the planned single volume has grown into at least four volumes, and it is possible that more will be needed to accommodate the project’s materials by the time their collection and editing is complete. The first two volumes are concerned with Austronesian languages of the North New Guinea cluster which are spoken on New Britain. Further volumes will contain studies of Austronesian languages of the Meso-Melanesian cluster, mostly spoken on New Ireland, and Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages, most of them spoken on New Britain.

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

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

Malcolm Ross
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
Australian National University, Canberra
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

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

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

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

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

S singular
P plural
EP exclusive plural
IP inclusive plural

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

Abbreviations used in glosses are:

ADJ adjective
AdjP adjective phrase
ADJR adjectiviser
ADV adverb
AdvP adverb phrase
BEN benefactive
C created possession classifier
CERT certainty
CJ conjunction
CJ.DUR durative conjunction
CJ.PURP purposive conjunction
CJ.RES resultative conjunction
CJ.SEQ sequential conjunction
CI clause
CMPL completive
CNT continuative
COLL collective
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSEQ</td>
<td>consequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>disjunctive (independent, focal, free) pronoun (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESID</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>disposable possession classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>exclusive (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED</td>
<td>edible possession classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>exclusive plural (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>general possession classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>holophrastic, interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>inclusive (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>intimate possession classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrument formative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRPV</td>
<td>interruptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>inclusive plural (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRED</td>
<td>i-reduplication (Mangseng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.o.</td>
<td>kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIG</td>
<td>ligature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modality marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun; neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>noun marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSR</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural (see above); possessive (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNM</td>
<td>proper noun marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PossP</td>
<td>possession phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POST</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pred</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrepP</td>
<td>preposition phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>boundary particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
R  reflexive (see above)
RCP  reciprocal
RED  reduplication
RelCl  relative clause
S  singular (see above); subject (see above)
SCE  source
sp  species of
SPEC  specifier
spp  various species of
TC  topic of conversation/cognition
TEMP  temporal
TR  transitive
V  verb
VI  intransitive verb
VP  verb phrase
VTR  transitive verb

Symbols used in lexicons in Thurston’s contributions are:
>  see also, compare with
<  derived from
=  equivalent to
≠  antonym, contrasts with
≤  taxonomic hyponym, kind of
≥  generic for list of varieties
±  optional
|  paradigm (1S, 2S, 3S, 1IP, 1EP, 2P, 3P)
...  incomplete paradigm

Abbreviations of language names are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bbl</td>
<td>Bebeli</td>
<td>Mgs</td>
<td>Mangseng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bkv</td>
<td>Bakovi</td>
<td>Mill</td>
<td>Malalamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu</td>
<td>Gitua</td>
<td>PBri</td>
<td>Proto Bariai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivg</td>
<td>Ivanga</td>
<td>PNGBri</td>
<td>Proto Ngero/Bariai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kau</td>
<td>Kaulong</td>
<td>PNGVz</td>
<td>Proto Ngero/Vitiaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>Kabana</td>
<td>POc</td>
<td>Proto Oceanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>Kilenge</td>
<td>Rto</td>
<td>Rauto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krr</td>
<td>Karore</td>
<td>Sng</td>
<td>Sengseng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lak</td>
<td>Lakalai</td>
<td>Tou</td>
<td>Tourai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lmg</td>
<td>Lamogai</td>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Tok Pisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mer</td>
<td>Meramera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The languages of New Britain
INTRODUCTION

MALCOLM D. ROSS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

2 For a survey, see Spriggs (1995).
studies of the Austronesian (Western Oceanic) languages of the North New Guinea cluster. Apart from Chowning’s contribution, the studies in the present volume describe languages that are located in the northwestern part of New Britain. All of them belong to the Ngero/Vitiaz group, one of the cluster’s three member groups (the others are the Huon Gulf and Schouten groups). However, this statement masks the diversity among these languages. Ngero/Vitiaz subdivides into the Ngero/Bariai3 and the Vitiaz groupings. The Ngero/Bariai grouping is quite close knit, and Kabana (Bariai), Lusi and Kove, described in Goulden’s contribution, all belong to it. The Vitiaz languages seem to be the outcome of a relatively ancient dialect chain, and display considerable differences among themselves, as well as from Ngero/Bariai. They include Maleu, the fourth language described by Goulden and also the language described in Haywood’s contribution (Goulden calls it ‘Kilenge’, the name of the dialect from which his data are drawn), as well as the languages which are Thurston’s subjects, namely Amara and the Bibling (Lamogai) languages. Other Vitiaz languages are described in the second volume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

REFERENCES


Bellwood, Peter, James Fox, and Darrell Tryon, eds, The Austronesians: historical and comparative perspectives. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.


1986, Refugees, traders, and other wanderers: the linguistic effects of population mixing in Melanesia.


Friederici, G., 1912, Beiträge zur Völker- und Sprachenkunde von Deutsch-Neuguinea. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten. Ergänzungsheft 5:


Ross, Malcolm D., 1988, Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia. PL, C-98.


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

ANN CHOWNING

1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

---

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

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

2. NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

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

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

2 The differences in these lists partly account for the discrepancy between rates of cognacy for Bola and
Harua estimated by Goodenough and Johnston (see Johnston 1982: 62). Re-checking Valentine’s lists,
and eliminating a few forms like ‘narrow’ that I consider difficult to elicit through Tok Pisin, I found
the languages shared about 70 percent cognates, far below the 85 percent reported by Johnston. The list
in Johnston (1980b), which contains many names of animals and cultigens as well as cultural objects,
gave a rate of 77 percent.
have disappeared entirely, at least from New Britain itself, or they may be represented only by features of languages spoken in areas that no longer contain any languages that can be classified as fully non-Austronesian. The third possibility was favoured by Capell as regards much of New Britain (§5), and it also seems to be Thurston's preference. Given that non-Austronesian speakers antedated Austronesian speakers, I think it highly probable that the former influenced the speech of the latter in a number of places and probably in different ways. Almost surely the later arrivals interbred with the earlier ones. But the difficulty is to detect even the fact, much less the details, of the influences of now vanished languages. Where non-Austronesian and Austronesian languages are still in contact, as in parts of East New Britain (Chowning 1969:21, Thurston 1982) and in the region that contains Anêm, it is much easier to make a plausible case, though there is still room for argument. Elsewhere perhaps all that can be done is to suggest and evaluate a range of possibilities.

3. QUESTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

The principal questions to be addressed are the following:

(a) Does evidence support what seems to be Ross's assumption that Lakalai and Kove, and their closest relatives, are direct descendants of the earliest pre-Proto Oceanic settlers in New Britain, who have remained near the ancestral settlement areas? (Ross 1988:386ff.). The corollary seems to be that the Oceanic languages of south New Britain, and some that reached the north coast such as Maleu, Amara, and Bebeli, represent later settlements.

(b) Have some of the languages of West New Britain been influenced by contact with speakers of non-Austronesian languages, so that (i) resemblances between them reflect a shared non-Austronesian substratum, and (ii) they cannot be considered fully Oceanic? (Thurston 1982, 1987, 1989). This theory has implications for subgrouping of the languages so labelled.

(c) Is it possible to resolve disagreements about genetic relations among various languages of southwest New Britain, and if so, on what basis?

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

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

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

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

3.2 BORROWING

In drawing conclusions about borrowing, it is necessary to distinguish between two very different situations. The point is elementary but is not always made. It leads to confusion when cultural items are involved, as they are even for the ‘basic’ wordlist used by SIL. In a number of cases in Melanesia, items are traded far away from the region in which they originated, and may be accompanied by their original name. Examples in West New Britain include both clay pots and carved wooden dishes, both originally manufactured on or near the north coast of New Guinea. The fact that the Kove names for both of these items (ulo ‘clay pot’, tavila ‘wooden dish’) derive from Proto Oceanic forms is no reason to think that
**Table 1: Comparative Lexicon**

*Note: Items 1-200 of this list are Blust's (1981) modified Swadesh list for use in Austronesian lexicostatistical study. Item 201 is my addition. I also list as items 202-246 some of the words from Th (1987) which refer to New Britain flora and fauna. I have omitted some of his items for a number of reasons: an excess of terms for different varieties, as with bamboo; absence of the particular plant or animal in certain environments; failure to elicit the term or to know the identity of certain plants and animals; or introduction of the plant. A(5) beside the term indicates that the plant is usually, and in some cases always, cultivated.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th>Lakalai</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. hand</td>
<td>vili</td>
<td>lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. left</td>
<td>(a)kos</td>
<td>meru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. right</td>
<td>apipsik(cf.94)</td>
<td>labalaba(cf.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. leg/foot</td>
<td>kive</td>
<td>vaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. to walk</td>
<td>yok; hih</td>
<td>tuga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. road/path</td>
<td>hiso, komaŋ</td>
<td>gauru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. to come</td>
<td>me(i); moi</td>
<td>go-mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. to turn</td>
<td>pakeh, puk</td>
<td>vulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. to swim</td>
<td>su(h)</td>
<td>puru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. dirty</td>
<td>soin(cf. 165); mi-sumu-iyan ('interior-dirt-y')</td>
<td>magasa-pupusi ('earth rises')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. dust</td>
<td>nekokwa; kau (cf. 146)</td>
<td>kahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. skin</td>
<td>elit; ho ('body')</td>
<td>kulikuli; vovo (=‘body’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. back</td>
<td>posiliha, musu</td>
<td>poga, poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. belly</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>tia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. bone</td>
<td>pokoin</td>
<td>tuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. intestines</td>
<td>muhulu</td>
<td>tatusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. liver</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. breast</td>
<td>sus(u)</td>
<td>susu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. shoulder</td>
<td>huwa</td>
<td>pala, beho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. to know (things)</td>
<td>haop; hion(cf.46)</td>
<td>rovi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. to think</td>
<td>kumak ('believe'), min hu ('think about')</td>
<td>gabutatala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. to fear</td>
<td>lem, noknok</td>
<td>taga, matau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. blood</td>
<td>ephik</td>
<td>kasoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. head</td>
<td>mihi, po</td>
<td>gama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. neck</td>
<td>hot; hmoŋ ('throat')</td>
<td>loho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. hair</td>
<td>yut</td>
<td>ivu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. nose</td>
<td>muhut, hut</td>
<td>maisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. to breathe</td>
<td>moyo ('breath')</td>
<td>lalahate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sengseng</td>
<td>Lakalai</td>
<td>Kove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. to sniff, smell</td>
<td>hipek, pin</td>
<td>aso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. mouth</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. tooth</td>
<td>ηi</td>
<td>livo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. tongue</td>
<td>mamai</td>
<td>kalamea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. to laugh</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>lege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. to cry</td>
<td>tinis(with tears)</td>
<td>tali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. to vomit</td>
<td>mutwok, kelaun</td>
<td>kalalua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. to spit</td>
<td>kusap, lakmo</td>
<td>kapute, kavarasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. to eat</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. to chew</td>
<td>nas</td>
<td>gari, kamuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. to cook</td>
<td>wut, kau</td>
<td>gutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. to drink</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>liu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. to bite</td>
<td>koho, tuk, kat</td>
<td>ala, tolo, koro, gari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. to suck</td>
<td>sus, slup</td>
<td>susu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. ear</td>
<td>kliŋa</td>
<td>gavusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. to hear</td>
<td>kihōŋ</td>
<td>lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. eye</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. to see</td>
<td>hion</td>
<td>hilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. to yawn</td>
<td>tak wo ('split mouth')</td>
<td>tolomaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. to sleep</td>
<td>nahuŋ</td>
<td>mavuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. to lie down</td>
<td>nok, sinok</td>
<td>mavuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. to dream</td>
<td>enu-n li('soul goes')</td>
<td>tagabara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. to sit</td>
<td>sion</td>
<td>pou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. to stand</td>
<td>sipit</td>
<td>magiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. person</td>
<td>po, po-tonus, po-tuhi</td>
<td>tau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. man/male</td>
<td>po-masaŋ</td>
<td>tahalo ('man'), hatamale ('male')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. woman/female</td>
<td>po-wala</td>
<td>tavile ('woman'), hatavile ('female')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. child</td>
<td>po-kusan</td>
<td>guliiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. husband</td>
<td>ve(cf. 184)</td>
<td>harua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. wife</td>
<td>et(cf. 184)</td>
<td>rutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. mother</td>
<td>tomi(reference), tina (address)</td>
<td>tila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. father</td>
<td>ve-tama (reference)</td>
<td>tama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sengseng</td>
<td>Lakalai</td>
<td>Kove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>mok ('family house')</td>
<td>luma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masay ('men’s house; general term')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thatch/roof</td>
<td>masay + names of different materials</td>
<td>varu ('forehead');</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya, ya</td>
<td>isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to say</td>
<td>tik (=196), yai, sakal</td>
<td>vee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>elik ('vine'); esih</td>
<td>mota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to tie up</td>
<td>vat, kan</td>
<td>kisi, solo, vuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sew</td>
<td>sihit</td>
<td>sahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>salu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hunt</td>
<td>hip</td>
<td>vanusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to shoot</td>
<td>ves</td>
<td>kapiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stab</td>
<td>ves, tak, nin</td>
<td>ubi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>wok, vi</td>
<td>kue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to steal</td>
<td>tip</td>
<td>pakali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>vi (see 72)</td>
<td>bili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to die, be dead</td>
<td>hun, hisi, lukhon</td>
<td>peho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to live</td>
<td>oŋ, mon, in</td>
<td>oio; mahuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to scratch</td>
<td>kas, niyoŋ</td>
<td>kasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut (wood)</td>
<td>vel, ut, tai, puk</td>
<td>vari, tubi, tolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>malege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to split</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>sulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>to-ŋi-n('with teeth'); mata-ken</td>
<td>kara, mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dull, blunt</td>
<td>ni-som('teeth-not'); mata-pog, -puhun, -puk</td>
<td>matatupo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to work (in garden)</td>
<td>kum, niŋ-pi</td>
<td>igo-golu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to plant</td>
<td>h(u)wa, yasi</td>
<td>galu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to choose</td>
<td>sahal</td>
<td>isu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to grow</td>
<td>nhuhum, mihit</td>
<td>tubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to swell</td>
<td>sosohom</td>
<td>sogo, buku, pore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to squeeze</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>bebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hold</td>
<td>kak-sum, kom, son-ho</td>
<td>abi, sau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to dig</td>
<td>kel</td>
<td>oli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to buy</td>
<td>kol</td>
<td>loto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to open</td>
<td>klas, las</td>
<td>kope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sengseng</td>
<td>Lakalai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93.</td>
<td>to pound</td>
<td>tut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.</td>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>psik, taŋ, tiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.</td>
<td>to fall</td>
<td>loŋ-koh, hesun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>e̱va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>eki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98.</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>ponuwat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99.</td>
<td>feather</td>
<td>yut (cf. 26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>mihit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101.</td>
<td>to fly</td>
<td>yak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102.</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>kakum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td>mali-n, keninj, luma-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104.</td>
<td>fat/grease</td>
<td>tuleŋ, moli-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105.</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>kut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106.</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>amat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>emley, mulusmanumtun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>emut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>humuk-a-kenken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110.</td>
<td>spider</td>
<td>kamukmuk, kayekye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>esma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>rotten</td>
<td>hwok, hiis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>branch</td>
<td>sa-vili-n('tree hand')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114.</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>kisanj, sa-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>kumut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116.</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>yihun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>yihun, nun('edible part')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>epluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>umat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td>sand</td>
<td>nemah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>eki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>to flow</td>
<td>sut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>hisik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td>sahuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sengseng</td>
<td>Lakalai</td>
<td>Kove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woods</td>
<td>sil, mihak, miyemwe</td>
<td>tibulu, sahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>hinjis, het-pi</td>
<td>lagi/lage, vuvuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>namih</td>
<td>taio, taka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>kihap, li-mlek</td>
<td>matatabu, motala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>avat (rare) ; hinjis, hetpi</td>
<td>gauku, mori, vuvuhi (= 128), bubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fog</td>
<td>aup, pe-kun (cf. 145)</td>
<td>gauku, veto, yauyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>pe-yai</td>
<td>hura, awaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thunder</td>
<td>pe-kluju</td>
<td>mori kumu, kuraraba, balibali i kukururu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>pe-lap</td>
<td>sima, meme, pelaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>pe-puh, pe-hokot</td>
<td>lotovi, namule (borrowed term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to blow, of win</td>
<td>puh</td>
<td>vai/vahi, lele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warm (weather)</td>
<td>neyجن</td>
<td>tivura, wanawana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold (weather)</td>
<td>nlik</td>
<td>maigi, pulipuli, lukuluku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry (general); dry up</td>
<td>heiihiyi, yat</td>
<td>tagara, masaga, mamasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet</td>
<td>wuji</td>
<td>beta, kua, petaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>magik</td>
<td>tikumu, ai uha tau ('its weight great')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>havi, eai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>tun, sut</td>
<td>goo/goho, ani(= 37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>yau-kun</td>
<td>sosobu, vosu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ash</td>
<td>epia, yau-sin</td>
<td>buburo, mola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>kuwi</td>
<td>kuru, parakuru, kasoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>plet, wok ('light')</td>
<td>kakea, kaŋakaŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>memhe, ngehgeh</td>
<td>magege, siŋiŋiŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yan, molo</td>
<td>ialalo, enjoeano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>kehen</td>
<td>lamalivoloo, kakesa, viviŋiŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>tun, titun, sakun</td>
<td>bisi, kahaku, yiyihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>apluk, nemutu</td>
<td>uru, paka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short (height)</td>
<td>hut</td>
<td>boboto, volovolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short (length)</td>
<td>huyes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>nimalak(cf. 180)</td>
<td>malau, raerae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thin (object)</td>
<td>ha, attitun</td>
<td>malauga, tavi, manipinipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thick (object)</td>
<td>nuhum</td>
<td>uru, bitolu, matolutoluo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th>Lakalai</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>158. narrow</td>
<td>min-tun</td>
<td>bisi; kapilikia (of doorway only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159. wide</td>
<td>min-apluk</td>
<td>uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160. painful, sick</td>
<td>sahi (‘sick’); man, musuk (‘to hurt’)</td>
<td>lea (‘sick’); ligi (‘to hurt’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. ashamed</td>
<td>majoji (‘shame’)</td>
<td>mahela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162. old (people)</td>
<td>hiyayan</td>
<td>uru (‘big’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163. new</td>
<td>ahoman, netinjan</td>
<td>halaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164. good</td>
<td>tonus, tuhu</td>
<td>taritigi, tigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. bad</td>
<td>soin, lenywal, lok</td>
<td>kama kokora (‘not adequate’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. correct, true</td>
<td>tihi (‘straight’); tonus, tuhu (cf. 164); hevin</td>
<td>taritigi, sesele, matata (‘straight’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167. night</td>
<td>pe-luwok</td>
<td>logo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168. day</td>
<td>siyanan</td>
<td>haro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169. year</td>
<td>pe-naju (‘dry season’)</td>
<td>leavala (‘rainy season’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170. when?</td>
<td>to-pi-ele</td>
<td>gaisa (future), alisa/alaisa (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171. to hide</td>
<td>kek</td>
<td>tari-kokovu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172. to climb tree</td>
<td>si, sopa</td>
<td>go-ata, sae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173. at</td>
<td>ho, ta</td>
<td>oio te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174. in, inside</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>o-iloto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175. above</td>
<td>ahon</td>
<td>o-ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176. below</td>
<td>ahet</td>
<td>o-talo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177. this</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-le, ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178. that</td>
<td>men, kahmen</td>
<td>aleo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179. near</td>
<td>tikayu</td>
<td>hagavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180. far</td>
<td>malak</td>
<td>malau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181. where?</td>
<td>ani, hiye</td>
<td>o-ve, oio-ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182. I</td>
<td>nua</td>
<td>nua (eau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183. thou</td>
<td>o, a</td>
<td>eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184. he/she</td>
<td>ve (M); et (F); i(N)</td>
<td>eia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185. we (I)</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>etatou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185a we (E)</td>
<td>pima</td>
<td>amiteu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186. you (P)</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>amutou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187. they</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>egiteu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188. what?</td>
<td>ele</td>
<td>(la)-rova, lava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE LEXICON (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th>Lakalai</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>189. who?</td>
<td><em>ano</em> (M), <em>eno</em> (F)</td>
<td><em>ere(i)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190. other</td>
<td><em>mak</em>, <em>maksi</em></td>
<td><em>isapoloe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191. all</td>
<td><em>lik</em></td>
<td><em>tomi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192. and</td>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td><em>me</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193. if</td>
<td><em>aka</em></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194. how?</td>
<td><em>tehe</em></td>
<td><em>mave, ilava</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195. no, not</td>
<td><em>owo</em> ('no'); <em>som</em> ('not')</td>
<td><em>ouka</em> ('no'); <em>ka(ma)</em> ('not')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196. to count</td>
<td><em>tik</em></td>
<td><em>gigi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197. one</td>
<td><em>ta</em>, <em>tahin</em></td>
<td><em>-saa, -sasa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198. two</td>
<td><em>hwo</em>, <em>ponuwal, wuon</em></td>
<td><em>-lua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199. three</td>
<td><em>miok</em></td>
<td><em>-tolu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200. four</td>
<td><em>nal</em></td>
<td><em>-va</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201. ten</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>savulu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202. banana (c)</td>
<td><em>muhuk</em></td>
<td><em>vugi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203. bat (flying fox)</td>
<td><em>yujul, piyappiyan</em></td>
<td><em>bureki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204. betelnut</td>
<td><em>kahama, sulai</em></td>
<td><em>bua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205. betelnut, wild (areca nut) (c)</td>
<td><em>ekoi, ekohpo</em></td>
<td><em>koi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206. betel pepper (c)</td>
<td><em>eman</em></td>
<td><em>toma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207. breadfruit (c)</td>
<td><em>pana</em></td>
<td><em>ulu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208. bush hen, megapode</td>
<td><em>muluŋ</em></td>
<td><em>kile</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209. butterfly</td>
<td><em>ewup</em></td>
<td><em>bebe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210. canarium</td>
<td><em>evel, miyip, leyep</em></td>
<td><em>uele</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211. cassowary</td>
<td><em>kukiyoy, eseko</em></td>
<td><em>kehu, kalisu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212. casuarina</td>
<td><em>suhup</em></td>
<td><em>lealu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213. clam</td>
<td><em>kolon</em></td>
<td><em>kasi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214. cockatoo</td>
<td><em>nalñin</em></td>
<td><em>kea</em> ('white')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215. coconut (c)</td>
<td><em>evit</em></td>
<td><em>liu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216. cordyline (c)</td>
<td><em>mimi, ilele</em></td>
<td><em>malemale</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217. crab (generic)</td>
<td><em>kahe</em></td>
<td><em>keho</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218. crocodile</td>
<td><em>aputio</em></td>
<td><em>bogea</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219. crow</td>
<td><em>k(o)hoŋ</em></td>
<td><em>kaokao</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220. cus cus</td>
<td><em>elan</em></td>
<td><em>kaupolo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221. cycad</td>
<td><em>matiti</em></td>
<td><em>rou, patola</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
they are other than borrowings. Throughout New Britain, it seems that steel knives and axes were often called by different names than those used for pre-contact cutting implements. The reason was probably not only the difference in material but in ways of hafting and using them. The distribution of certain linguistic forms affords interesting evidence for the post-

---

3 Ross has suggested that the medial consonant in *tavila* also indicates borrowing, but there seems to be some uncertainty about the medial consonants in the proto-form, from Proto Austronesian *ta(m)b[i]l*. (Editor's note: See Ross (ms) regarding this form.)
European spread of these implements, but should not be taken as evidence for earlier contact or common history. So the fact that the same word for steel knife (Sng e-pul) is found throughout southwest New Britain as far as Kilenge, and a different one (Lak viso) is shared with Mengen and the non-Austronesian languages of East New Britain, tells us nothing about prehistoric connections between speakers of these languages (also Johnston 1980b:113). The same caveat applies to plants recently introduced into New Britain such as sweet potatoes. By contrast, the shape of a word for manganese used for blackening teeth (Sulka a kät, Sng e-kit, Kove keto) throughout much of New Britain does point to prehistoric trade relations, even though the term is probably cognate with Lak kato which designates only other black things.

3.3 INTERPRETING SHARED LEXICON

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

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

---

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

5 Parkinson 1907:183, with his spelling.
which do indeed contain initial consonant clusters, represent borrowings into Lusi (in this volume). The ultimate Anêm origin of a few seems dubious, however. I earlier (Chowning 1986:426) discussed the case of Lusi ka-muru, Anêm gê-muxu ‘coo, of doves’, beside Kove and Kabana (‘Bariai’) *ka-muru* ‘whisper, murmur’. If it were not for the Kabana example, I would assume that Kove had borrowed from Lusi, but this suggests a different direction of borrowing. Another uncertain case is Anêm gê-bot, Lusi ka-vot ‘float to surface’, in which the root seems suspiciously close to Kove *poti* ‘float’, cognate with Lak *pati* and Manam *poati* (but presumably not with Sng *plot*). A third uncertain case is that of Anêm gê-siusiu, Lusi ka-siusiu ‘buzz, of cicada’. I have Kove *sisiu* defined as ‘brown grasshopper’, but it may in fact designate a cicada (though see Sng *esis* ‘grasshopper’). In Kove the verb *karō* ‘make, do, affect, etc.’ is often abbreviated to *ka*, and appears in phrases like *ka daila* ‘make (like a) frigate bird’ (telling a baby to spread its arms). If the same abbreviation occurs in Lusi, it may be that a Lusi phrase was assumed by Anêm speakers to belong to the series in which a different Lusi *ka-* was equated with Anêm *ge-*. These cases are only suggestive, but may at least point to somewhat more complex interaction than Thurston has postulated.

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

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

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

4. PREVIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS

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

The outstanding splitter of New Britain languages, Dyen, also did not suggest that they entered the island at different times and by different routes. On the contrary, he originally postulated that their degree of diversity indicated that perhaps New Britain was the homeland in which Austronesian languages originated (Dyen 1965:54). When I began to consider data much fuller than that available to Dyen, I fully expected to reduce the amount of diversity that he had found. Instead, I ended up increasing it, both because of having material on languages (my Lamogai, Thurston’s Bibling) about which he knew nothing and because of evidence that the apparent ties between Kapore (Bebeli, Banaule) and neighbouring languages were the result of borrowing (Chowning 1969). But more significant for the problems to be considered here is that some of my subgroups (“families”) have subsequently been further split by others. The case of the Whiteman languages will be discussed separately below. Ross has
demonstrated that Bali-Vitu should be separated from my Kimbe Family (Ross 1988:262-263), and that I was wrong to treat Bilur (my Birara) as only a dialect of Tolai (Chowning 1976b:366; Ross 1988:259). He has also treated as a separate language another ‘dialect’ of Tolai, Minigir (Ross 1988:257). Lincoln (and Ross) had both noted that Kilenge was more different from Bariai and Kove than I had originally assumed (see discussion in Chowning 1986), and Goulden (this volume) has since convincingly demonstrated the amount of the difference. At present, none of these languages seems closely related to any other. Neither does Amara, discovered by Thurston (this volume). Furthermore, there are still unknown languages in New Britain. One is spoken up the Via River, inland from Kove. Most probably, it will, like the Bibling language Tourai, recently found by Thurston and Goulden, turn out to belong to that subgroup, but the example of Amara shows how dangerous it is to assume that there are no other languages to be discovered that cannot be easily sub-grouped.

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

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

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

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

---

6 Ross is mistaken in thinking that he was the first to discover Bilur or to consider it a separate language (see Chowning 1976b:366), though I was one of those who thought it only a dialect of Tolai.
Ross agrees with me (Chowning 1969) that this is not closely related to any other New Britain Oceanic language. He proposes that like Tolai, it is to be derived from New Ireland, his reasons being primarily morphosyntactic but partly lexical. Doing this, however, involves him in only comparing Tomoip with the geographically nearest Oceanic language, Mengen, while ignoring other New Britain languages. For example, the deictic system is one of the criteria linking Tomoip to New Ireland, yet Ross himself attributes the same system to Meramera (Ross 1988:275, 292). When he says that Tomoip “retains a few items of basic Proto Oceanic lexicon which are lost in the New Britain languages of the North New Guinea cluster but retained on New Ireland”, and cites only reflexes of POC *boRok ‘pig’ and *buaq ‘areca nut’, he is ignoring the fact that both of these are reflected in Willaumez languages (Lak bolo and bua). Furthermore, reflexes of *buaq are found in Maleu and Bariai languages (Kove vua). Even the ‘innovative’ lo locative preposition, shared by Tomoip with New Ireland languages, is a bit suspect because a locative lo postposition is so widely distributed, occurring certainly in Arawe and possibly in Mengen (Capell 1971:268, 333; Chowning 1978a:1114). Ross does refer to the possibility of influence from South West New Britain languages as regards the personal article (1988:293). Tomoip may be a case, and perhaps not the only one, in which it is difficult to decide where the closest relatives of a language are to be found. Furthermore, it might be worth considering the possibility that Tomoip is a remnant of the Meso-Melanesian languages that originally occupied parts of the Gazelle Peninsula before they spread to New Ireland. The ancestor of Tomoip may once have occupied a much larger, or different, area, and its ties to New Ireland may only reflect common ancestry at a higher level.

5. MIXED LANGUAGES AND THE SUBSTRATUM HYPOTHESIS

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

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

6. VULCANISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Only in the interior Sengseng region, at Lolmo cave in the Arawe Islands (Gosden et al. 1994:109) and on the Willaumez Peninsula (Specht et al. 1991:282) has excavation reached preceramic levels. Pottery was not manufactured in New Britain in recent times, if ever. It may also never have been traded into certain parts of the island. Consequently it is not rare for a site to lack pottery, but in this case the Pleistocene dates from deep in what is now Sengseng territory, together with the Mopir data, suggest settlement of the interior of New Britain before pottery was made anywhere in the New Guinea region. On the other hand, the discovery at the same levels of obsidian from the Willaumez Peninsula suggests that cross-island trade was already established by this period (Specht 1980:5).
The elaborate flaked and stemmed obsidian tools found on the Willaumez Peninsula are unlike anything known to have been used by recent occupants of that region, and were no longer made after the Lapita period, though they antedate it (Specht et al. 1991:286-287).

All those interested in the prehistory of New Britain have taken it for granted that the island was originally settled by speakers of non-Austronesian languages, and these dates make it clear that they were correct. Although the non-Austronesian language of Umboi Island, Kovai, is "distantly related" to some of those spoken on the Huon Peninsula of New Guinea (McElhanon 1975:529), no such links have been found between any non-Austronesian languages of the mainland of New Britain and those of the mainland of New Guinea. The Sengseng dates indicate that New Britain was occupied earlier that 35,000 years ago, if we allow a minimum amount of time for people to have reached the interior and to have established trade links with the north coast, or even to have reached there and discovered the obsidian deposits. The actual date of initial settlement may have been considerably earlier. (A recently discovered occupation date of 33,000 BP on Buka Island has led Wickler and Spriggs (1988:703-706) to the reasonable conclusion that New Britain and New Ireland must have been occupied even before that.) 33,000 B.P. is also the date for the earliest known site in New Ireland (Allen et al. 989). Presumably the areas around the obsidian deposits on the north coast were also occupied by speakers of non-Austronesian languages, since the Whiteman Mountains make it impossible for those living in the present Sengseng area to travel directly to the north coast to exploit the resources available there. (I am doubtful about Specht's suggestion, cited in Spriggs 1985:181, that the trip was made by sea.)

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

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

8. THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

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

---

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

9 I have chosen to retain my own phonemicisation of Kove, with u and w for the sound that Goulden (1989) writes as o, and r for the sound that Ross writes as a dental fricative. In the former case, I had no opportunity to check my data in the field; in the latter, the differences are dialectal. Ross’s data are drawn from two communalects: Kapo village, where this sound was [r], and Moputu, where it varied between [z] and [0]. These are evidently dialectal variants of the consonant which Goulden, this volume, writes as z and describes as an apico-alveolar slit fricative. Sengseng words are written with what may be a prefixed article, but it is omitted in Lakalai.
alternative form with \( u^- \) makes it possible to be sure that the terms in all these languages are indeed cognate. Several other forms are possibilities, such as the word for ‘liver’ (17), if metathesis was involved in Sengseng. I have explained in Chowning (1985) why I think that Sengseng is so ‘aberrant’. It should be noted that in some cases the Sengseng lexeme, even when differing from those in Lakalai and Kove, is still derived from Proto Oceanic. Examples are words for ‘nose’, ‘vomit’, ‘dig’, and ‘burn’. There are also several cases of words not on this list which are shared by all three languages. In addition to those discussed elsewhere, they include Sengseng \textit{mal}, Lak \textit{malelei}, Kove \textit{mahan} ‘to watch performers’, which may be a word attributable at least to Ross’s Proto Western Oceanic (Chowning 1973:213); Sng \textit{masi-\textit{jin}} ‘salty, tasty’, Lak \textit{mamasi} and Kove \textit{madimasi} ‘salty’, all of which derive from POc \( *\text{maqasi} \), and probably also Lak \textit{malala}, Kove \textit{melemele} ‘plaza’, Sng \textit{mla} ‘open space’, probably from POc \( *\text{m\text{\texttextquotesingle}ala} \). My general impression, however, is that if words in the ‘married’ vocabulary, devised to avoid name taboos and so likely to involve borrowing, are excepted, Sengseng has many fewer reflexes of Proto Oceanic forms than do Lakalai and Kove.

8.1 BARIAI LANGUAGES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the beginning of the century Ross's Willaumez chain was broken physically only by a small Bebeli-speaking enclave located just to the west of Nakanai. Two of the western Nakanai branches, Ubae and Loso, did not reach the coast (nor did the non-Willaumez Mangseng; the maps in Johnston 1980b and Ross 1988 are misleading⁹). The speakers of all of these languages, including Bebeli, seem to have been culturally very much alike. The close resemblances between Meramera and Lakalai culture are evident in the writings of Hees (1915-16), and reportedly the people of the Willaumez Peninsula were once much more like the Lakalai than is now the case, when their culture has been strongly influenced by the Kove.

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

---

⁹ Editor's note: Ross's map was based in this regard on Johnston's, which shows Kukula village, three or four kilometres inland in the late 1970s, as Mangseng speaking.
8.2.1 UBAE

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

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

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

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

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

8.2.3 LAKALAI

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

11 It is not borrowed from Lakalai; compare Lakalai -uolo, Harua -ono ‘6’; Lakalai ualasiu, Harua -tio ‘9’; Lakalai savulu, Harua -ragavulu ‘10’. 
8.2.4 THE POSITION OF UBAE AND LOSO

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

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

8.3 WHITEMAN LANGUAGES

8.3.1 PASISMANUA LANGUAGES

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

---

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

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

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

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

---

13 Throop and Ross (1994), however, identify only five vowel phonemes for Kaulong.
### TABLE 2: PSOHOH (BAO) WORDLIST WITH EQUIVALENTS IN OTHER WESTERN NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psohoh: Bao dialect</th>
<th>Psohoh: other dialects</th>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th>Other west Pasismanua languages</th>
<th>Other western New Britain languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. hair</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Krr iki</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. head</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mouth</td>
<td>lito</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. nose</td>
<td>ηοri</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. eye</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. belly</td>
<td>kapi</td>
<td>Aigon kope</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bbl kapa, kepe; Mgs opo, hopo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. neck</td>
<td>luju</td>
<td>Aigon hot</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. skin</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>Aigon lut</td>
<td>lit; ho (‘body’)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. knee</td>
<td>posut</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>posut</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. man</td>
<td>pa-masang</td>
<td>pomasaŋ (masaŋ ‘men’s house’), po-tuňu (‘human being’)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. woman</td>
<td>pa-nayo</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. bird</td>
<td>e-kiŋ</td>
<td>e-ki</td>
<td>Klg e-gin</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. wing</td>
<td>i-mbrit</td>
<td>mihit</td>
<td>Krr mirit</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tail</td>
<td>pokut</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kut</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. egg</td>
<td>i kulue</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bbl i kutel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. rat</td>
<td>tansu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. louse</td>
<td>ηut</td>
<td>mut</td>
<td>Krr nut</td>
<td>Mgs nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. snake</td>
<td>i-moto</td>
<td>amat</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. mosquit</td>
<td>rumuk</td>
<td>humuk-akenken</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. ear</td>
<td>tini</td>
<td>kliŋa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. tongue</td>
<td>mamai</td>
<td>mamai</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. tooth</td>
<td>eŋi</td>
<td>ŋi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. breast</td>
<td>susu</td>
<td>susu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. hand</td>
<td>komlen</td>
<td>Aigon vilin</td>
<td>vili</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. back</td>
<td>ηgimon</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. leg</td>
<td>kebe</td>
<td>kive</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. bone</td>
<td>embu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. blood</td>
<td>egriken</td>
<td>enhik</td>
<td>Krr yrik</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. liver</td>
<td>atan</td>
<td>eta-n</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. shoulder</td>
<td>sivia</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. forehead</td>
<td>mlaŋa</td>
<td>mianŋa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. meat</td>
<td>i-malen</td>
<td>mali-n</td>
<td>Krr emalin</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. fat</td>
<td>ikamar</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Rauto kamar, Pililo kmär</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psohoh: Bao dialect</td>
<td>Psohoh: other dialects</td>
<td>Sengseng</td>
<td>Other west Pasismanua languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>fish esmañ</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>esma</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>father tama</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ve-tama</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>mother tina</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>totni (reference), tina (address)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>sister e-lut</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>et-lut</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>name e-a</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>iya, ya</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>what? e-ley</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ele</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>who? vanume ('who comes?')</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>a-no (F), e-no (F)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>when? teles</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>stone wat</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>umat</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>tree zañ</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>root kumut</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kumut</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>leaf i-ki-, kizan</td>
<td>kin, kisan</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>seed i-ugu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>yihun, yuhun</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>earth pluk</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pluk</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>mountai kalapen</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>water i-ki</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>e-ki</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>ocean isiy</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hisik</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>sun nelak</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Kr nehelak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>moon nam</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>namih</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>star kirap</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kihap</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>cloud rigis</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hijnis</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>rain e kus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>night i-vus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>i vus 'out, of fire'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>path giso</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hiso</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>fire kela</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>(yau)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>smoke i-kiñ</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>yau-kun</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>ashes kau</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kau</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>big yolot</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>holot (of cucumber)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>small tutu-ñ</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tuntun</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>red nyreknyrek</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-nehene</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>white volvol</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>volvol 'dry'?</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>black gopgop</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>akop 'dark blue (of sky)'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>yellow iyomuk</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>green yo-kirkir</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kehen, kehes</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
contrast between voiced and unvoiced stops,¹⁴ as well as a voiced flap which contrasts with both of these, and a set of fricatives as well. Sengseng has only a bilabial fricative (my /v/), which in the interior dialect has an allophone [w] before back vowels. Since Johnston also identifies a /w/ phoneme for Bao, it has six or seven more consonant phonemes than does Sengseng, a difference of some significance when borrowings are considered. For all of these differences, evidence is lacking to show that they are shared by all the divisions of Psohoh. Getmatta may be much more like Sengseng.

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

8.3.2 BEBELI (BANAULE, KAPORE)

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

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

¹⁴ This is, however, a feature of Kaulong (Throop and Ross 1994). In Sengseng I considered it more parsimonious to assume that some words contained a nasal plus stop, rather than to postulate the existence of a separate series of pre-nasalized unvoiced stops.
### TABLE 3: SENGSENG AND BEBELI PRONOUN PARADIGMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th></th>
<th>Bebeli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>o, a</td>
<td>o, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3M</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3F</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3N</td>
<td>i, li</td>
<td>i, li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>tanja, tonj</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1E</td>
<td>toha</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mom</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>hiloy</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trial</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>souk(a)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1E</td>
<td>piok</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>miok</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>hilok</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1E</td>
<td>pima</td>
<td>pim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>om, ami</td>
<td>om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>po, hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Distinction (Ross 1988: 183). What he does not discuss are Bebeli pronouns. Bebeli has singular, dual, and plural sets, and I would argue that (a) the dual looks fully as aberrant as the Sengseng dual (that is, not clearly derived from Proto Oceanic), and (b) that some of the forms in the plural resemble the Sengseng trial/paucal. In the latter case, there may be an influence from the word for ‘3’, miok in both languages (Table 3). In Sengseng, both the dual and the trial pronouns are related to their words for ‘2’ and ‘3’ (one of these words for ‘2’, vuoy). It may be worth noting that in the Kimbe languages, which flank Bebeli, “the triple set of pronouns has become the set for all numbers beyond 2” (Johnston 1980b:116). Since, however, in Kimbe languages the words for ‘2’ and ‘3’ are clearly derived from Proto Oceanic, the dual and plural forms, which include these, differ from those in Pasismanua. Bebeli has lu ‘2’, but no trace of it in the dual pronouns. Finally, as regards the question of complexity, too little material is available on Bebeli to judge the matter fully, but it can be said that the possessive system is considerably more complex in Bebeli than in Sengseng, with
its single set of separable possessive markers. As will be seen, Bebeli, like Bao, in this respect is more like some other West New Britain languages (and admittedly like the system that has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic). I would, then, deny that Sengseng is as morphologically complex as Bebeli. Like all languages, it has its peculiarities, but when I was learning the language, it struck me as no more complex than Lakalai, which Johnston (1982) regards as simple compared with other Willaumez languages.

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

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

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

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

---

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

16 For one dialect of Kaulong, Goodale (unpublished field notes) recorded a variant (*wi*) used only when a woman is speaking of a man. That independent pronoun is the same as the masculine prefix to her kinship terms. Confusingly, the Kaulong data in Throop and Throop (1980:230, 237) disagree with Goodale’s (from two widely separated Kaulong villages); their kinship terms are prefixed with *yəŋ* (‘he’).
postpositions contrasts with Sengseng, which uses only prepositions for ‘in’ and ‘under’. The possessive systems of Arawe and Bebeli also resemble each other in several respects. (1) They contain two sets of separable possessives, along with one that is suffixed. (2) The separable possessives precede the noun. (3) Some parts of the body take the separable possessives. (4) When the possessives are suffixed, in some cases the vowels of the noun shift according to the person and number of the suffix. (Presumably the shift reflects the original vowel in the suffix; however, in the singular the suffixes have all been reduced to a single consonant.) (5) In some cases, the actual shapes of the possessives are the same or very similar; compare Bbl *kok, lok ‘my’ with Avau *kok, luk. The resemblances are not so close as regards the internal vowel shifts in roots; in Arawe languages *la/ tends to become /o/ in first person singular, but /e/ in Bebeli: Arawe *moto-k, Bbl *mete-k ‘my eye’ (with both having mata in the third person singular).

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

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

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

---

17 Throop and Ross (1994) agree with my suggestion (Chowning 1985:174) that this derives from POc *qoti. If so, the fact that these languages share it may be meaningless. Ross (1988:103) gives an example containing *ket in Mangap which may be cognate.
Despite the longer word lists, the lexical items shared only between Bebeli and the Pasismanua languages, to the exclusion of all the Arawe languages, are not numerous. They include words for ‘water’ (Bbl, neki, Sng eki); ‘wrap’ (Bbl suk, Sng sukhu); ‘star’ (Bbl kirap, Sng kihap); ‘butterfly’ (Bbl bavop, Sng evup); ‘coconut’ (Bbl, Sng niom – though not the most common word in Sengseng; ‘MB/ZC’ (Bbl hevek, Sng vehej); and perhaps ‘big’ (Bbl hebuk, Sng apluk). The pronouns, although dissimilar, seem more similar to each other than to Arawe.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th>Arawe</th>
<th>comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>sinaŋ</td>
<td>sinaŋ, naŋ</td>
<td>Final consonant unexpected if from Proto Oceanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>kum</td>
<td>kum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>miok</td>
<td>moiok, miok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>me(i)</td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>kakat (of pig only)</td>
<td>kakat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope, vine</td>
<td>elik</td>
<td>alik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>hip</td>
<td>rip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>split</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>Widespread in New Britain; cf Kovpala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>amat</td>
<td>amat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>avat</td>
<td>avat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>pokus (‘charcoal’)</td>
<td>pukas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>malak</td>
<td>malak</td>
<td>From POc? See Lakalai malau, Bola malaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>tikayuŋ</td>
<td>dakainjuŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
n.d., Chowning 1985), a practice that is likely to reduce the number of directly inherited reflexes while increasing the amount of borrowing.

8.3.3 **MANGSENG**

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

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

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

9. **ROSS’S CLASSIFICATIONS**

On lexical grounds alone, there is no doubt that Lakalai belongs with the other Willaumez languages, and Sengseng, perhaps less securely, with other languages in southwest New Britain, plus Bebeli. With considerable justification, however, Ross does not like to rely upon lexicon for sub-grouping (Ross 1988:11-12). Consequently the criteria that he does use merit examination as regards the placement of these two languages. If we look at the distinctions that separate Lakalai, as a Meso-Melanesian language, from Sengseng, as a Vitiaz one (Ross 1988:164-173, 177-183, 264-280), we find that several of the innovations characteristic of one division or the other either do not have identifiable reflexes in these languages, or
show irregular ones. As regards Meso-Melanesian, Lakalai, with or without its closest kin, is specifically said not to share some of the innovations. One example is in reflexes of POc *k. Of the others: as regards the merger of POc*r and *R in Meso-Melanesian, both Lakalai and Sengseng show irregular reflexes of both protophonemes (see Chowning 1973 for Lakalai, 1985 for Sengseng). It is nevertheless true that the usual reflex of both in Lakalai is /l/; many examples, such as bolo ‘pig’, could be added to those cited by Ross. Apparently this merger also characterises all Vitiaz languages as well, with the reflex for all of Ross’s Arawel/Pasismanua languages being /r/ except in Sengseng and Kaulong, where it is /h/. No reflex is recorded for Mangseng. Since the languages of the Willaumez Peninsula also reflect these protophonemes as /r/, the merger and one of its most common reflexes do not separate the groups to which Lakalai and Sengseng belong, but they themselves differ in the specific reflexes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* As Ross recognises, some of the forms are “not diagnostic of the difference” between POc *[iJko[e] and
PNGVz *kom(u).
The third innovation, S:1S *ŋa, does indeed characterise Sengseng, along with Kove (though it is not recorded for Arawe). It is, however, found elsewhere in Oceania, according to Lincoln (1978:940), who records apparent cognates for Santa Cruz and Marshallese.

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

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

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

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

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

I find this list of features unpersuasive, though I am not adverse to the idea that Sengseng belongs to a network in Ross’s terms (1988:8), along with its neighbours. The problem is to
define its boundaries, which of course involves choosing the criteria that will separate one network from the next one. I am not actually arguing that Sengseng and Lakalai subgroup with each other, but simply pointing to some of the problems of assigning particular languages to particular groups when the criteria are innovations that are not shared by all members of the group. Sometimes when a wider context is considered, the tenuousness of such assignments is clear.

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

10. LEXICAL INTERCHANGE

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

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

---

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

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

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

In some cases phonological evidence indicates the probable direction of borrowing. mahela is an unlikely shape for a Sengseng term, and there is another word, manjin, which is more expectable. Words containing voiced stops in Kove are assumed to be borrowed; Kove basi probably comes from Bola, which is closely related to Lakalai. The case of Lak patu, Sng patuk, suggests that Lakalai borrowed from a Whiteman language, like Psohoh, which contains unvoiced medial consonants (if Lakalai were the source, the final consonant in Sengseng would be absent). Because I do not have comparable data for Willaumez Peninsula languages, except to know that the word for *Parartocarpus* is deko in Bola, I cannot say whether some of these forms may have spread into the Pasismanua from Willaumez Peninsula languages rather than from Nakanai ones. It is also impossible to detect the direction of transmission for words like so, though it does seem unlikely that they would have been borrowed without close contact between speakers of the different languages. As regards the plant and animal names, however, the possibility of an ultimate origin in an non-Austronesian language once spoken in the region between the Whiteman and Nakanai languages seems strong (§1 O.3). Alternatively, if I am right to think that Whiteman languages have been the general region of Cape Hoskins longer then Nakanai ones, then it seems most likely that the ancestors of the Lakalai learned these names from speakers of a Whiteman language who were already resident in this part of New Britain, and familiar with the local flora and fauna, before the ancestors of the Lakalai arrived.

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

---

22 I do not, however agree with Ross that in Sengseng, the pronominal endings are not actually suffixed to the *ta*- prefix. The pronunciation of /a/ in *ta-it* 'our pl. inc.' for example, is affected by the following /i/ in a way that does not occur across lexical boundaries. See Ross (1988:106); Chowning (1985:180).
Another question that needs to be dealt with as regards Pasismanua and other Whiteman languages is whether they in particular have been affected by contact with non-Austronesian languages, or indirectly, by contact with other languages that had been so affected. Thurston has proposed that they were influenced by a language related to Anêm, so that possibility will be considered first, with phonology, lexicon, and grammar, discussed separately. In making this suggestion, I suspect that Thurston was influenced by his assumption that Amara, a language that he discovered just to the east of Anêm, belonged to the Whiteman group. Apparently he has changed his mind since 1989, and now (like me) considers it an isolate (this volume). If Amara belongs with any other New Britain languages, they seem to me more likely to be those of the Bibling group (my Lamogai) than Whiteman. Lying to the west of the Whiteman range, between Pasismanua languages and Anêm, Bibling languages extend the width of New Britain, and one of the cross-island trading routes goes through their territory. If Ross is correct in subgrouping Pasismanua languages with Arawe ones, then my Whiteman (his Pasismanua/Arawe) languages extend farther west in New Britain than I had assumed, and are both closer to the region in which Anêm is now spoken and also in more direct contact with Bibling languages (the southern dialects of Lamogai) than is true for the Pasismanua dialect chain. Since it is possible that Pasismanua languages received the postulated non-Austronesian influence by way of Bibling languages, some data from there will be considered as well.

11.1 PHONOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘pant, wheeze’: Anêm, Bibling *nasnas. Compare Sng *nosnos; ‘to breathe heavily, be out of breath, sigh’.

‘firm’: Anêm, bιŋ, Bibling bιŋ. Compare Sng *penpen ‘very strong or hard’.
### Table 5: Comparison of Sengseng, Bibling and Anêm Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Sengseng</th>
<th>Bibling</th>
<th>Anêm</th>
<th>Comments, other cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>huo (ponuwal, wuŋ)</td>
<td>Aria, Tou oruo</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>If derived from POe, the final vowel is unexpected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>miok</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>bik</td>
<td>See Thurston (1987:89).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>nal</td>
<td>Aria, Tou, Moukapanal tanol</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>esip</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ēsti</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>esu</td>
<td>Mouk oxsu</td>
<td>osu</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandicoot</td>
<td>maom, milim</td>
<td>Biblingmelim</td>
<td>moum</td>
<td>Kove, Lusi maumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bat</td>
<td>piyanpiyan (yuŋul)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>abiaŋ</td>
<td>Kove, Lusiviaŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>vis</td>
<td>Mouk xis, Aria ris</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>ampip (apluk)</td>
<td>Biblingomba</td>
<td>omba</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>eki</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ēknin</td>
<td>See Thurston (1987:89).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>luk, kok</td>
<td>Tou kakuk, Mouk kakluk</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry on head</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>Mouk, Lmgsun</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb (V)</td>
<td>sehe po-n</td>
<td>Mouk sex, Tou, Lmgsers</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>See Thurston (1987:89).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>me(i), moi (2P)</td>
<td>Aria, Tou, Lmgsme</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Probably from POe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copulate</td>
<td>isi-wal (et-wal)</td>
<td>Mouk, Aria, Touisu, Lmg is</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-wal indicates mutuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>count</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>Bibling tik</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>kahe, kahkah</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kpaxe (klaklx)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>hah</td>
<td>Mouk xaxai</td>
<td>xaxai</td>
<td>Kove haha, hahai, Lusi hahai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crazy</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>Mouk, Aria maŋamaŋa</td>
<td>maŋamaŋa</td>
<td>Kove, Lusimaŋamaŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>(ŋo)hoŋ</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>ko(h)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>gëx-îl</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter</td>
<td>sup</td>
<td>Biblingsep</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear</td>
<td>lem</td>
<td>Aria, Tou, Lmglim</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>Mouk, Aria, Tou eiou</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>float</td>
<td>plot (ŋli)</td>
<td>Mouk, Lmgsles</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>kahok</td>
<td>Tou kala</td>
<td>kalo</td>
<td>Kove, Lusikalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuzz</td>
<td>kikis (sihu)</td>
<td>Lmg kisisley</td>
<td>emkis</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair, leaf, feather</td>
<td>ki- (leaf only)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>See Thurston (1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>po-kokloŋ</td>
<td>Lmg kokloŋ (kairok)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Borrowing into Lamogai?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>kek</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>lek (vi, wok, wa)</td>
<td>Biblingmluk</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Sengseng</td>
<td>Biblical</td>
<td>Aném</td>
<td>Comments, other cognates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurt</td>
<td><em>nis</em> (lit. ‘hot’)</td>
<td>Mouk <em>nisi</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>The Sengseng term is used for headache attributed to fever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intestines</td>
<td><em>muhulu-</em></td>
<td>Biblical <em>mogolu</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Kove, Lusi <em>mogali</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itchy</td>
<td><em>kalakan</em></td>
<td>Biblical <em>kaklak</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lime powder</td>
<td><em>alemiyo</em> (<em>siton</em>)</td>
<td>Lmg <em>oglum</em></td>
<td><em>glim</em></td>
<td>Both Sengseng terms also mean ‘limestone’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay apple</td>
<td><em>lahup</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>iarup</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Borrowing into Lamogai?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monitor lizard</td>
<td><em>apahiya</em></td>
<td>Mouk <em>paxia</em>, Aria, Tou, <em>paxia</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Lusi <em>paria</em>, Kove <em>pahia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td><em>humuk a-kenken</em></td>
<td>Mouk <em>lomuk</em>, Aria, Tou, Lmg <em>nomuk</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Probably from POc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moss</td>
<td><em>mumut, lumlum</em></td>
<td>Mouk, Lmg <em>olmut</em></td>
<td><em>gulumu</em></td>
<td>Kove, Lusi gulumu, Kilenge lumlum (from POc).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td><em>photpi</em> (<em>posakai</em>)</td>
<td>Mouk <em>ebet</em></td>
<td><em>èbèt</em></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net</td>
<td><em>nemkal</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>anjkal</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Borrowing into Sengseng?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penis</td>
<td><em>-si-</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>is-</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant (V)</td>
<td><em>hwa</em> (<em>phai, ya</em>)</td>
<td>Mouk <em>uasak</em>, Lmg</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pometia</td>
<td><em>elop</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>aulopo</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>See Lakalai <em>ropa</em>, Kove <em>lopi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>nak</em> (<em>ririi</em>)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Borrowing into Lamogai?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>python</td>
<td><em>amat</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>amat</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Also ‘snake (generic)’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rotten</td>
<td><em>hiis</em> (<em>‘stinking’</em>)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>èkis</em> (<em>‘wet’</em>)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sew</td>
<td><em>sihat</em></td>
<td>Lmg <em>sisir</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Arawe <em>siririqe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td><em>pat</em> (<em>hut-yes</em>)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>plitik</em></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling</td>
<td><em>-lut-</em></td>
<td>Mouk, Aria, Tou <em>luto</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td><em>si-ô</em></td>
<td>Mouk, Aria, Tou <em>doo</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skinny</td>
<td><em>tohos</em> (<em>atitun</em>)</td>
<td>Mouk <em>to tox</em></td>
<td><em>to tox</em></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell</td>
<td><em>man</em> (<em>‘odoriferous’</em>)</td>
<td>Mouk <em>mna</em>, Aria, Tou <em>amna</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sneeze</td>
<td><em>isji, kisi ji</em> (<em>kisiyo, mahiksi</em>)</td>
<td>Mouk, Aria <em>gisji</em>, Tou, Lmg <em>kisji</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear (N)</td>
<td><em>pali</em> (<em>sa ‘wood’</em>)</td>
<td>Lmg <em>beli j, bili j</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stab</td>
<td><em>tak</em> (<em>nin</em>)</td>
<td>Mouk <em>met</em>, Aria, Lmg <em>mte</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>(t)sihin</td>
<td>Biblical <em>sigi</em></td>
<td><em>sigi</em></td>
<td>Kove, Lusi <em>sigi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet potato</td>
<td><em>kihimpak</em> (<em>nowiswis</em>)</td>
<td>Lmg <em>kirimpak</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Very recent introduction into Sengseng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td><em>kut</em></td>
<td>Mouk, Aria, Tou <em>gitno</em>, Lmg <em>git</em></td>
<td><em>git-lèx</em> (<em>taba-</em>)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
English & Sengseng & Bibling & Anêm & Comments, other cognates
---|---|---|---|---
tobacco & empos & Lme ombox (usai) & ... & ...  
vomit & mutwok & Mouk mtoko, Aria, Tou mto & ... & ...
water & eki & Mouk, Aria, Touaki & ... & ...  
weep & tinis (hau) & Tou tinis & POc, with unexpectedν for η in Sengseng.

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

‘rattle’: Anêm gxongxog, Mouk gxengxen, Aria/Tourai grengren. Compare Sng kloŋ ‘sound of hitting head on a rafter’; also perhaps cf. kokloŋ ‘to fell a tree’; k(u)luŋ ‘to thunder’.

‘tinkle’: Anêm, Bibling klen. Compare Sng kliŋ ‘sound of water dropping into water’.

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

‘drip’: Anêm dtëŋtëŋ, Bibling tenden. Sng tonŋ ‘drip’; e-tonŋ ‘drop of liquid’.

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

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

---

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

25 Ross has suggested (pers. comm.) that Sengseng k(u)luŋ ‘thunder’ derives from POc *guRuq, but derivation does not accord with what I know of Sengseng reflexes of POc phonemes (Chowning 1985:176-177).
neither expected nor transparent" (1987:81). Consequently, he believes, these terms reflect a culturally distinctive way of categorising. Before the applicability of these data to Sengseng is considered, several points need to be made. First, Thurston if apparently unaware of the existence of POc *mata 'point, edge, sharp' as a lexeme different from *mata 'eye', and so interprets 'blade of knife' as literally meaning 'eye of knife' (1987:82). Second, in some cases the "extension" may simply reflect a misapprehension on the part of the local people; I have certainly received the impression that lateral fins of fish are actually thought to be ears. Third, some of the 'extensions' are made to look odd because of Thurston's choice of glosses: 'hand' and 'foot' rather than 'arm' and 'leg', 'claw' rather than 'nail', even though the English word 'nail' has both meanings. (This last one is changed in the 1989 paper.) Fourth, in one case the gloss shifts on adjacent pages; lolo in Kove and its close relatives is first translated as 'guts' but then more accurately, as 'interior' (1987:84-85). Fifth, there is no discussion of the cases which do not confirm the assertion that these languages are uniform: for example, Kove guvi means only 'heel', not 'base of foot', and goga designates only 'thumb, big toe, crab claw' (1987:85-86). Finally, it is by no means clear that similar metaphors are involved in such cases as calling the 'calf' either the 'meat', 'fruit', or 'belly' of the leg, or digits either 'digit' or 'children' of the limb (pp.83,85).* (It should be added that Kove riki 'digit' means only that, not 'child', even if Thurston is correct in deriving it from POc *(rl)iki. If the only point being made is that "these are polymorphemic lexemes" (1987:86), then they hardly illustrate a single distinctive world view; after all, English 'fingernail', 'sole of the foot', and 'calf of the leg' are equally polymorphemic. Thurston is, however, making another point about the existence of such complex terms.

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

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

---

* In Malay, 'calf' is also 'fruit' of the leg.
words for body parts as does Lakalai (or I did not record as many), the Sengseng pattern is much closer to the Lakalai one than to that described for northwest New Britain.

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

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

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

11.3 NON-AUSTRONESIAN INFLUENCE IN GENERAL

As regards grammar, the principal characteristic of Sengseng that looks non-Austronesian is the marking of gender distinctions. The nearest non-Austronesian language now spoken to the east of this region, Wasi, is not recorded as distinguishing gender distinctions (Johnston 1980b:122), but Kol and Baining of East New Britain distinguish masculine and feminine in the third person singular (Lindrud 1980:164), and Taulil distinguishes a neuter as well (Moore and Moore 1980:811). Although Anêm has a masculine/feminine distinction, it is very different from that of Sengseng in that all nouns are classified as either masculine or
feminine, and furthermore "first and second person pronouns are feminine in the singular but masculine in the plural regardless of the sex of the referent" (Thurston 1982:45). This last point of course raises questions about whether the distinctions are labelled correctly; Thurston, as he says, was influenced by the way an informant described them. In Sengseng, the gender distinctions in pronouns might be thought to be echoed in the difference between nouns that take a- and e- prefixes and those lacking either, particularly because the same prefixes respectively precede masculine and feminine proper names. But as was pointed out above, in Sengseng only human beings and some anthropomorphic spirits are masculine or feminine; everything else is neuter. Neither do the terms with prefixes agree with Anêm categories, in which, for example, axes are masculine and houses feminine. Sengseng has both eyah and atut 'axe' (the latter contrasting with etut 'Job's tears'), and the words for 'house' are simply masaj and mok, without prefix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It may be that we need to examine the supposed integrity of a Southwest New Britain network in the light of the possibility that the western languages were affected by an non-Austronesian language similar to Aném, and the eastern ones (Bibling, perhaps Eastern Arawe) by a very different non-Austronesian language, which also had different words for the local flora and fauna. Note that if pre-Lakalai did not acquire some of these terms directly from an non-Austronesian language, the lexical evidence suggests that languages related to Sengseng have been located near, or on, the north coast of New Britain as long as the ancestors of the Willaumez languages. My examination of the data suggest to me that at least when we consider the languages located east of the Whiteman range, lexical items point in different directions. Some are quite unexpected, such as the fact that the Psohoh kalango 'betelnut' has its nearest known relation in Kove kalago 'wild betelnut'. The problem of discontinuous distributions leads back to earlier comments about the danger of assuming that people have not moved around a great deal since they came to New Britain. The Bebeli oral tradition of migration from the western side of the Willaumez Peninsula does not accord with any linguistic evidence. Here I am excluding the few isoglosses that link Bebeli with Harua.
(Xarua), located just to the east. Some of these isoglosses are problematical: for example, Bebeli and Harua have *\(g\)a ‘pig’, clearly cognate with Kove *\(y\)aia and not with Lak *\(b\)olo and Psohoh *\(y\)u\(y\), Sng *\(y\)u. But forms cognate with *\(g\)a are so widely distributed in New Britain that Ross reconstructs *\(g\)aya for both Proto Mengen and, tentatively, for Proto Southwest New Britain (1988:465), while ignoring its distribution elsewhere in his Ngero/Vitiaz region (Chowning 1973:209). A few items, found not only in Bebeli but also in Sengseng, connect with languages of the Willaumez Peninsula. Examples include the reduced (from Proto Oceanic) form *\(t\)u ‘child’, and *\(y\)i ‘tooth’, both identical in Sengseng and Bola. Sengseng, Bebeli, and Willaumez Peninsula languages also have *\(t\)u ‘child’, presumably a reduction of POC *\(n\)atu, but so does Kilenge, and Mengen has *\(n\)i\(j\)i ‘tooth’. By contrast, Lakalai and Kove both reflect POC *\(n\)atu as well as *\(l\)i\(p\)on ‘tooth’.

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

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

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

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


n.d., Proto-Nakanai. MS.


RELATIONS AMONG LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN


Wickler, S. and M. Spriggs, 1988, Pleistocene human occupation in the Solomon Islands, Melanesia.
THE MALEU AND BARIAI LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN

RICK GOULDEN

1. INTRODUCTION¹

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

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

¹ I would like to thank the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada, the University of Papua New Guinea, the government of West New Britain and the Institute for Papua New Guinea Studies for their support of my research. I am also indebted to the people of West New Britain for their kindness and friendship, and to Bil Thurston, David and Dorothy Counts, Naomi McPherson, Lynn Stewart, Ann Chowning, Ali Pomponio, Jill Grant and Malcolm Ross for their encouragement, support and assistance in my work.

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

³ There is no justification for distinguishing between Kove and Kombe as the Haywoods do in their 1980 article. According to informants, Kombe is the Tok Pisin version of their name, Kove (see also Chowning 1986:430 footnote 3). I use the names Lusi and Kabana instead of Kaliai and Bariai for several reasons: (a) Kaliai is a census division, within which several other languages are found, including Anêm, Mouk and Aria. To call Lusi ‘Kaliai’ ignores the presence of the other languages spoken in Kaliai. (b) Bariai, according to informants, is a name given to them by the Germans, in the same way that the village of Kokopo (formerly Gumerta) received its name after the village in East New Britain. This choice of name represents a change from Goulden (1982). (c) The Lusi and the Kabana call themselves and their languages by these names, although the Kabana also use the name Bariai, since that is how they are generally known to outsiders. The Lusi do not call themselves ‘Kaliai’ unless they belong to a specific clan by that name (from which the census division received its name).
nonetheless, substantial differences in the ectolexica (non-basic or esoteric vocabularies) of these languages. In addition, native speakers are sensitive to minor differences in the endolexicon, such as pronominal forms, *faux amis*, non-cognate forms and the phonological shape of cognates. Such differences are perceived as emblematic features which distinguish one group linguistically (and hence culturally) from another (cf. Laycock 1982:34 and Sankoff 1980:119). Consequently, I treat Lusi, Kove, Kabana, Kilenge and Lolo as distinct languages as well, honouring the link between language and ethnic identity made by native speakers.

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

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

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

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

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

The proliferation of labels for these languages becomes somewhat confusing. ‘Bariai’ has been used to refer to (a) the Kabana language; (b) Kabana, Kove, Lusi, Kilenge and Lolo, or (c) Kabana, Kove, Lusi, Malalamai, Gitua and Tuam-Mutu. The name ‘Ngero’ was originally set up by Lincoln (1978) on the basis of a distinctive word for ‘man’ (e.g. Gitua)
found in Tuam, Mutu, Malai, Malalamai and Gitua but not in Lusi, Kove and Kabana. Ross (1988), however, extends the label to include the latter set of languages.

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

1) **Bariai** is used to refer to Lusi, Kove and Kabana. Since I have chosen, with informants' support, to use the name Kabana instead of Bariai, the label 'Bariai' is free to be used unambiguously to refer to Kabana and its closest relatives. Putative reconstructions for this group are labelled 'Proto Bariai' (PBr), as per Ross (1988), except that I am excluding Malalamai, for which I have little data.

2) following Lincoln (1978), Gitua, Tuam, Mutu, Malai and Malalamai are referred to collectively as the **Ngero** languages. This differs from Ross' use of Ngero which includes the Bariai languages, but is justified on the basis of Lincoln's original reason for this label, namely to distinguish the two groups on the basis of a word shared by this group and absent in Maleu and Bariai. I have decided to follow Lincoln and treat Malalamai as a member of this group until its placement within the Bariai group can be more firmly established.

3) the Bariai and Ngero languages taken together are simply referred to as the **Ngero/Bariai** languages. The protolanguage, then, is **Proto Ngero/Bariai** (PnBr). Proto Ngero/Bariai reconstructions are occasionally provided to account for similarities among these languages. Often these reconstructions also account for Kilenge reflexes, but lacking evidence from other Vitiaz languages, I have not posited Proto Vitiaz reconstructions to include Maleu. It may turn out that certain Proto Ngero/Bariai reconstructions apply to other Vitiaz languages and can be reconstructed at a higher level.

4) **Maleu/Bariai** is strictly a convenient geographical label to refer to Kilenge, Lolo, Kabana, Lusi and Kove at the same time. It makes no reference to genetic affiliation.

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

The data used here were collected in four separate field trips to West New Britain in 1978, 1981, 1982 and 1988. Lusi and Kabana were the foci of the data-collection, although the presence of a Kilenge bigman in Kainiaoa (a Lusi village) in 1982 allowed the collection of a body of Kilenge data as well, supplemented by the language notes taken by Jill Grant (pers.comm.), a social anthropologist who worked in Kilenge. In addition, several opportunities
arose during these fieldtrips to gather data from Kove visitors, predominantly residents of Arumigi and Tamuniai, off-shore islands located between the Lusi and the Kabana. My Lusi and Kabana data are the most complete, but Lolo must remain outside the study. Information regarding Kilenge, although relatively scant, can be assumed to apply in large part to Lolo as well, and the relationship between Kilenge and the Bariai languages is assumed to reflect that between Lolo and these languages. Kove data from Chowning’s publications or from personal communications are used where my data on Kove are lacking or where the forms I have differ from hers as the result of the influence of Lusi and Kabana on Arumigi and Tamuniai Kove, the source of my data.

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

1. Words in parentheses are not considered to be cognates of the lexemes under discussion.

2. A dash indicates a gap in the data base.

3. A hyphen (-) is used to separate additions from the root in question.

4. Verbs are presented with an initial hyphen, indicating the requirement of a subject prefix. Reflexive verbs (which require a coreferential object suffix) also have a final hyphen.

5. Noun and adjective roots with a final hyphen require a possessive suffix. These include inalienable nouns in all four languages and adjectives in Kilenge.

6. Kilenge nouns are presented without the nominal prefix na-.

7. Kilenge transitive verbs are presented without the transitive suffix -k- or obligatory object suffixes.

8. Footnotes provide extra information about the meaning of glosses and cognates in other languages.

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

2. PHONOLOGY: CONSONANTS

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

The chart below provides the consonant phonemes of Kilenge, Kabana, Lusi and Kove.
The glides w and y used in the writings of other authors are here represented by their vocalic counterparts i e o u for the reasons given in Goulden (1989).

2.1 VOICELESS STOPS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kilenge</th>
<th>Kabana</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p t k</td>
<td>p t k</td>
<td>p t k</td>
<td>p t k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b d q</td>
<td>b d q</td>
<td>b d q</td>
<td>b d q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v z g</td>
<td>v z g</td>
<td>v z g</td>
<td>v z g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s h</td>
<td>s h</td>
<td>s h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m n η</td>
<td>m n η</td>
<td>m n η</td>
<td>m n η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POc *poňu *piso* *puqun *patu *paqu

Kge pon puso- pu- pot pau-
Kbn pon piso- pu- pat pau
Lusi ponu piso- pu- patu pau
Kove ponu piso- pu- patu pau

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kilenge</th>
<th>Kabana</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kulit</td>
<td>*qauR</td>
<td>*qatoluR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulkuli-</td>
<td>kau</td>
<td>(ŋalo-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukuli-</td>
<td>kaur kau</td>
<td>kakatol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukuli-</td>
<td>kaura</td>
<td>kakatolu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulikuli-</td>
<td>kauha</td>
<td>kaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a 'bamboo flute'.
b 'panpipes made of bamboo'.
Other examples include (i) POc *raqan ‘branch’ > Kge laka- and (ii) POc *qupi ‘yam’ > Kge kiu Kbn kiu (with metathesis).

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

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

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

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

(1) initial fortis *p and *k become PNgBri *p and *k.

(2) initial lenis *p and *k become PNgBri *v and *

(3) medial *p and *k become PNgBri *v and *

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘hit’</th>
<th>‘sugarcane’</th>
<th>‘afternoon’</th>
<th>‘sister’</th>
<th>‘stonefish’</th>
<th>‘conch’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*Rapu</td>
<td>*topu</td>
<td>*Rapi</td>
<td>*lipu</td>
<td>*ŋopu</td>
<td>*tapuRi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-lau</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>leilei</td>
<td>liu-</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>lailai</td>
<td>liu-</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>leilei</td>
<td>liu-</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-hau</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>lailai</td>
<td>liu-</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘hot’</th>
<th>‘monsoon’</th>
<th>‘fathom’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*panas</td>
<td>*apaRat</td>
<td>*ropa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(nounou-ŋa)</td>
<td>eola</td>
<td>leoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>oanaoana</td>
<td>aoara</td>
<td>leoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>oanaana</td>
<td>aoara</td>
<td>leoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>oanaoana</td>
<td>aoaha</td>
<td>leoa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

b ‘rain’.

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

POc  *wataki*  *waga*  *waRoc*  *wakaR*

Kge  -otai  oga  olo  oka-

Kbn  -oatai  oaga  oaro  oaoari-

Lusi  -oatai  oaga  oaro  oaoari-

Kove  -(o)atai  oaga  oaho  oaoahi-

* PNgBri reconstruction, based on Gtu -watak and Mutu -watagi.

‘two days ago’  ‘mouth’  ‘in-law’

POc  *waRisa*  *gawa*  *rawa*

Kge  olia  ao-  lao-

Kbn  oadla  aoa-  laoa-

Lusi  oariza  aoa-  laoa-

Kove  oahiza  aoa-  laoa-

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

(i)  PNgBri *wasa 'fish with net' > Kbn -oasa Lusi -oasa Gtu -wasa, compare Kge -osa.

(ii)  PNgBri *gawa 'flee' > Kbn -eaoa Lusi -haoa Kove -haoa Gtu -gawa Mutu -gau, compare Kge -ko.

(iii) PBri *wa(e,o) 'whistle' > Kbn -oaoado Lusi -oazaze ~ -oazazo, compare Kge -ore.

(iv) PBri *wana 'flood' > Kbn ona Lusi ona Kove ona, compare Kge ona.

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

‘sand’  ‘squeeze’

POc  *drapu*  *pipi*

Kge  *(magamaga)*  -vivi

Kbn  lab  *-bib(i-ran)*

Lusi  lavu, lavu-pu  *-vivi-ri*i

Kove  lavu, lavu-pu  *-vivi-(hani)*

* ‘dust’.
  
  ‘beach.’

It is difficult to find complete sets among the four Maleu/Bariai languages which reflect the same intermediate stage of development. Since the change from *p to θ is incomplete, it has produced variation among p ~ v : b : v ~ μ/q ~ θ in the four languages and has resulted in various doublets within a given language:
THE MALEU AND BARIAI LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN

(a) \( *p > p \sim v : b : v : v \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbroot</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td><em>puli</em>a</td>
<td>'turn; mix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sapu</em>b</td>
<td>'pull off; pull on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*puaq;<em>bua</em></td>
<td>'baby coconut; betelnut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-puli-; -vuli-</td>
<td>'pull off; pull on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-pul; -bul; -sapup; -sabu-n*</td>
<td>puapua; bua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-puli; -vuli</td>
<td>puapua; vua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-puli; -vuli</td>
<td>puapua; vua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a 'turn'.

*b 'pull out'.

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

d 'fruit; betelnut'.

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

(b) \( *p > v : b : v : v \sim \emptyset \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbroot</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*pulu</td>
<td>'body hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tupa</td>
<td>'Derris'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>vurvuri-; vurvur*a</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>burburu-; burburu*; ul<em>b tua</em>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>vuvuru-; vuru<em>b; ulu</em>b tua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>vuhuvuhu; vuhu<em>b; ulu</em>b tua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a 'decorative fringe made of shredded leaves'.

*b 'taboo marker made of decorative fringe representing the skirts of a masked spirit figure.'

c vine sp., but not Derris.

(c) \( *p > p \sim w/q \sim \emptyset \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verbroot</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*potu</td>
<td>'go out, arrive; outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*patu</td>
<td>'stone; hit with stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*pose</td>
<td>'paddle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-pot- -uot; gam-pot*</td>
<td>pat; (-pop-e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-uot - ot; ga-ot*</td>
<td>pat; -oat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-otu; potu; -oatu</td>
<td>patu; poze; -ode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-otu; potu; -oatu</td>
<td>patu; poze; -ode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a 'beyond the reef'; the Bariai language forms also have this meaning.

*b Also Kbn -pa-pot (CS-appear) 'bring out of seclusion'.

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

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

(d) *p > /q ~ /ø:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>*apuR</th>
<th>*paRipa</th>
<th>*paRa</th>
<th>*sapa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>pariua</td>
<td>alo-</td>
<td>sae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>eaoa</td>
<td>paria</td>
<td>(kepe-)d</td>
<td>saoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>eaoa</td>
<td>paria</td>
<td>oala-</td>
<td>saoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>eaoa</td>
<td>pahia</td>
<td>oala-</td>
<td>saoa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The origin of the final a is unclear; the initial e is accreted.
b Proto Oceanic reconstruction based on these data, Gtu pariva 'goanna', and Motu ariha 'goanna' (Lawes 1888). Although one would expect q before a in the Kilenge form, the preceding i appears to have resulted in y
c 'drum'; semantic extension based on the drum timpanum which is made from the skin of a goanna.
d Also Kbn pol 'shoulderblade' with fortis *p.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>*kuluR</th>
<th><em>ku-</em></th>
<th>*kuron</th>
<th>*kanawe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>kulo</td>
<td>kanae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>ulo</td>
<td>kanaenae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ulo</td>
<td>anae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ulo</td>
<td>anae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>*bekas</th>
<th>*wataki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-veve</td>
<td>-otai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-bebea</td>
<td>-oatai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-vevea</td>
<td>-oatai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-vevea</td>
<td>-(o)aatai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

POC *q is usually lost in the Maleu/Bariai languages, suggesting that it merged with lenis *k more often than with fortis *k:
'brains'  'chin'  'liver'  'crocodile'

POc  *quto  *qase  *qate  *puqaya
Kge  uto-  (nolo)  ateate-  pua
Kbn  utouto-  adade-  atate-  puaea
Lusi  uto-  azeze-  atete-  puaea
Kove  uto-  azeze-  atete-  (bagele)

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

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

'spider web'  'pus'  'cut up'

POc  *lawaq  *nanaq  *totoq
Kge  —  nana-  -toto
Kbn  laoai  nanai  -totoi
Lusi  laoai  nanai  -totoi
Kove  laoai  nanai  -totoi
Gtu  lawak  nanak  -totok

a PNgbri reconstruction.
b 'cut down something that is hanging'.

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

'porpoise'  'thatch'  'Eugenia'  'basker'

Kge  kuluei  kus  pokai  tika
Kbn  uluae  usi  poai  tia
Lusi  oluae  usu  puai  tia
Kove  uluae  usu  puai  tia

'pulp'  'carry on head'  'tree sp.'  'earth oven'

Kge  kisa-  -kuri-  reko  kiamo
Kbn  sa-  -ud  deo  eamo
Lusi  sa-  -uzu  zeo  eamo
Kove  sa-  -uzu  zeo  eamo

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

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

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


e Given the irregular vowel reflexes, it is doubtful that these come from POc *qumu.
In four instances, Kilenge lacks $k$ where the other languages retain it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>'tongs'</th>
<th>'clam'</th>
<th>'chicken'</th>
<th>'basket'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>aira</td>
<td>tue</td>
<td>koako</td>
<td>alei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>kaida</td>
<td>tue ~ tue</td>
<td>kokako</td>
<td>karei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>kaiza</td>
<td>tue ~ tue</td>
<td>kokoako ~ kokako</td>
<td>karei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>kaiza</td>
<td>tue</td>
<td>kokoako ~ kokako</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Also Kove kahako.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>'mosquito'</th>
<th>'bifucation'</th>
<th>'branch'</th>
<th>'tobacco'</th>
<th>'S.E. wind'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>muginingin</td>
<td>gasa (laka-)</td>
<td>guas</td>
<td>lai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>makinkin</td>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>boga-*</td>
<td>guas</td>
<td>ragi ~ rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>(kikilamo)</td>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>voka-*</td>
<td>uasi</td>
<td>rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>makinkini</td>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>voka-*</td>
<td>uasi*</td>
<td>hai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>'fish'</th>
<th>'tail'</th>
<th>'steal'</th>
<th>'uncle'</th>
<th>'faeces'</th>
<th>'leg'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*ikan</td>
<td>*ikuR</td>
<td>*panako</td>
<td>*wa(kq)a*</td>
<td>*taqe</td>
<td>*qaqe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>(vovo-)</td>
<td>(-kop)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>tae-</td>
<td>ae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>uui-*</td>
<td>(-lub)</td>
<td>oa-</td>
<td>tae-</td>
<td>ae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>iha</td>
<td>hihiu-*</td>
<td>-panah*</td>
<td>oaha-</td>
<td>tahe-</td>
<td>ahe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>iha</td>
<td>hihiu-*</td>
<td>-panah</td>
<td>oaha-</td>
<td>tahe-</td>
<td>ahe-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Metathesis of \*i and \*u with loss of \*k. The long vowel occurs only in this word and in Kbn -uui 'swell, swollen'.
\b Metathesis of \*h and \*i.
\c Metathesis has occurred.
\d 'mother’s brother; sister’s child'. PNgBri reconstruction based on Gtu \*waga and Mutu waga-.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>'charcoal'</th>
<th>'penis'</th>
<th>'eat; food; feed'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*kaso*</td>
<td>*quti</td>
<td>*kani; *kani; *pa-kani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>asoaso; kaso*</td>
<td>kuti-</td>
<td>-kan; an; -pani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>asaso; aso*</td>
<td>uti-</td>
<td>-eap; an; -pa-eap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>oaso; asoso-*; oasaso*</td>
<td>uti-, kuti-*</td>
<td>-ani; hani-; -pa-hani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>asoaso; kasoka*</td>
<td>uti-</td>
<td>-ani; hani-; -pa-hani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE MALEU AND BARIAI LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN

75

PNgBri reconstruction, based on Mutu asoso- ‘black’ Gtu aso ‘black body paint’.

‘black’

c ‘black funeral paint, kin of dead person, mourning.’ Lusi oaso also has these meanings.

d ‘black, of pigs’.

e Baby-talk form.

‘push’ ‘mourn’ ‘no, not’ ‘flee’ ‘bamboo’

POc *sukuRani a *gosi e *mako g *gawa h *gauR

Kge (-patila) aikos b; osos c (eavo) -ko au; kau h

Kbn -susu-ran osiosi b mao -eaoa kaur ~ kau

Lusi -suk-lani aikoso b; ososi c mako f ~ mao -haoa kaura; kau i

Kove -suku-lani osiosi d mao -haoa kauha; kau h

a PBri reconstruction.

b ‘widower’; the final -o of the Lusi form is unexpected. Compare Gtu kosi ‘widower’.

c ‘unmarried, single’, hence also ‘fruitless, childless’.

d ‘widow’. Chowning (pers.comm.) also provides akosi ‘plant worn as skirt by widow’.

e PNgBri reconstruction, based on Gtu mago Mutu mao.

f Emphatic form.

g PNgBri reconstruction, based on Gtu -gawa Mutu -gau.

h ‘bamboo flute’; in Kabana, this is kau usouso {bamboo blow-NSR}.

i ‘panpipes made of bamboo’.

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

2.2 PRENASALISED STOPS

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

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

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

The lexical material indicates that at some time, the voiced stops in the proto-language that gave rise to Bariai, Kalai, and Kove all became voiced spirants in Kove, and possibly in Kalai as well. Subsequently, however, Kove acquired many words containing
voiced stops, though where POC [Proto Oceanic] forms are represented, the spirant reflexes are greatly in the majority (1973:195).

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

- Kbn lumbalumba  Lusi lubaluba  Kove lubaluba ‘moray eel.’
- Kbn dandan  Lusi dadani  Kove danidani ‘poisonous crab sp.’
- Kbn lua  Lusi luaqe  Kove luaqe ‘flying fish.’

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

- Kbn tambaia  Lusi more aisa ‘cockatoo crest’
- Kbn nagombe  Lusi gumimi ‘millipede sp.’
- Kbn minde  Lusi — ‘north wind’
- Kbn kanda  Lusi — ‘crab sp.’
- Kbn marilua  Lusi girgiri ‘variegated’
- Kbn ongu  Lusi ramu ‘lemongrass’

- Lusi butu  Kbn kuakua ‘elephantiasis’
- Lusi bidorotu  Kbn labelabe ‘epiphyte sp.’
- Lusi dikman  Kbn naroma ‘leech’
- Lusi tade  Kbn salke ‘Terminalia catappa’
- Lusi qararu-  Kbn go-go- ‘breast shell of turtle’
- Lusi -kaqrok, -qoroko  Kbn -ninigoro ‘snore’

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

- Lusi barema  Bali barema ‘Nipa palm’
- Lusi dalaña = ezapu  Bali dalaña ‘path’
- Kbn mariamba, Lusi mariaba, Kove mariaba  Bali mariaba ‘storm’
  (note the r instead of expected h in the Kove form)
- Kove balu = vauhi  Bali balu ‘dove’
- Lusi bubu ~ buburi Kove bubu ~ vuvuhi  Bali bubu ‘cloud’
- Kbn mamada Lusi mamada ‘secret men’s area’  Bakovi mada ‘meeting place’
- Kove rabolo  Bakovi rabolo ‘eel sp.’
- Kbn bagale Kove bagale  Bakovi bahele ‘crocodile’
- Kbn balubaru- Lusi balbalu- Kove balubalu-  Vitu balbalu- ‘lower jaw, mandible, chin’
- Lusi dara = saha Kove dara = saha  Vitu dara ‘Nassa snail’
Because of the relative infrequency of prenasalised stops and the lack of cognates, it is also difficult to establish a pattern of correspondence between prenasalised stops in one language and the phonemes in other languages. Furthermore, the nature of the esoteric vocabulary in which many prenasalised stops are embedded makes it difficult to find Proto Oceanic etyma for the lexica and to determine their development. In general, however, prenasalised stops tend to correspond to the 'fricative' set: Kge $v$ $r$ $g$ Kbn $b$ $d$ $g$ Lusi $v$ $z$ $g$ and Kove $v$ $z$ $g$. Reflecting the marginal phonemic status of prenasalised stops, Lusi and Kove have some doublets in which prenasalised stops alternate with fricatives:

- Kove $vazuhi$ 'dove'
- Kove $tavuahi$ 'Saccharum edule'
- Kove $vuvuhi$ 'clouds'
- Lusi $vuvuri$ 'clouds'
- Lusi $voreka$ 'fish sp.'
- Lusi $varema$ 'sago palm'
- Lusi $vatuku$ 'fish sp.'
- Lusi $vagobe$ 'pufferfish sp.'
- Lusi $virija$ 'fish sp.'
- Lusi $kiriubanja$ 'caterpillar sp.'

Doublets containing $v$ and $b$ are also found in Lusi $vovo$ 'hole' $bobonja$ 'full of holes' and Lusi $voni$ 'night' $bobonja$ 'morning' (but Kove $voni$'night' Kove $voni$'morning'), and alternation between $g$ and $q$ is found in the doublet Lusi $gololmaza$ 'Tridacna sp.' $qola$ 'smaller Tridacna sp'. In another word, Lusi has a doublet with $v$ and $b$ variants where Kabana and Kove cognates have only the oral forms: Lusi $varema$ $valema$ but Kbn $valbalema$ Kove $valevalema$ 'Nipa palm.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ironwood'</th>
<th>'pandanus sp.'</th>
<th>'lime spatula'</th>
<th>'build wall'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td><em>padra</em></td>
<td><em>jamu</em></td>
<td><em>dridrija</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td><em>vona</em></td>
<td><em>para</em></td>
<td><em>rom</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td><em>bana</em></td>
<td><em>padapada</em></td>
<td><em>dam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td><em>vona</em></td>
<td><em>pazpaza</em></td>
<td><em>zamu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td><em>bona</em></td>
<td><em>vada</em></td>
<td><em>damu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 VOICED FRICATIVES

Far more common than prenasalised stops are the fricatives in Lusi, Kove and Kilenge and the oral stops of Kabana. In the orthography, $v$ represents a voiced bilabial fricative [$b$], $g$ a voiced velar fricative [$y$] in Kilenge, Lusi and Kove or a voiced velar stop [$g$] in Kabana, and /z/ a voiced apico-alveolar slit fricative [$r$]. This last may also be pronounced as
a tap [r] in rapid speech. Since Lusi has a trill [f], the use of z avoids the problem of needing diacritics to distinguish the tap from the trill as done by Counts (1969), while providing a symbol which reflects the fricative status of the phoneme. In Kove, however, there is no trill/tap contrast and r is free to represent the fricative as done in Chowning (1973, 1978a, 1986), although I shall maintain the use of z for the purpose of this comparison. Kilenge lacks a fricative equivalent to z, having collapsed a prior fricative with r, realised as a trill [f] or a tap [r]. The tap variant of the Lusi and Kove fricative z suggests the origin of /r/ in Kilenge. Chowning's observation on Kove z is also noteworthy in this light:

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ancestor'</th>
<th>'betelnut'</th>
<th>'night'</th>
<th>'butterfly'</th>
<th>'defecate'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*tubu</td>
<td>*buaq</td>
<td>*boqi</td>
<td><em>[kali]bobon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>tivu-</td>
<td>vua</td>
<td>vol</td>
<td>vovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>tibu-</td>
<td>bua</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>bobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>tuvu-</td>
<td>vua</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>vovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>tuvu-</td>
<td>vua</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>vovo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also POc *banic 'wing' > Kge vani-.
Alternation between v (or b) and g is found in a few words, such as:

Kbn gulupa Lusi gulupa but Kove vulupa ‘wasp’.

Lusi gusamati ~ yusamati ‘name of a masked spirit figure’ (after gusa’ squid’).

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

Kbn uber ~ uger ‘wrist’.

Lusi vuvuar ~ guguar ‘vine sp.’

Lusi voropala ~ goropala ‘bird sp.’

The dental reflex set \( r : d : z : z \) developed from the merger of POC \(*d, *dr, \) and \(*j:\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POC</th>
<th>*pudi</th>
<th>*da</th>
<th>*dramwa</th>
<th>-*dri</th>
<th>*padran</th>
<th>*madriRi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>pur</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>ramo-a</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>pud</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>dama-a</td>
<td>-d</td>
<td>padapada</td>
<td>-madid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>puzi</td>
<td>-za</td>
<td>zomo-</td>
<td>-zi</td>
<td>pazpaza</td>
<td>(-gunu-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>puzi</td>
<td>-za</td>
<td>zamoha-</td>
<td>-zi</td>
<td>vada</td>
<td>(-gunu-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( a \) ‘prow’; also Kove zamo- ‘prow’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POC</th>
<th>*nuju</th>
<th>*mijak</th>
<th>*jamu</th>
<th>*jo1)a</th>
<th>*jo1)i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(vani-) meramera-</td>
<td>rom</td>
<td>roja</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>nuru-a</td>
<td>medameda-</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>do1)a</td>
<td>dodo-n-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>nuzu-</td>
<td>mezameza-</td>
<td>zomu</td>
<td>nda-o</td>
<td>nda-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>nuzu-</td>
<td>mezameza-</td>
<td>damu</td>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>ndo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( a \) The third person singular form is i-nud ‘his/her nose’, showing \( d. \)

\( b \) ‘chew betelnut’.

\( c \) ‘tooth’.

\( d \) ‘molar; metathesis has occurred.

\( e \) ‘plug made of ginger leaf’.

\( f \) ‘ginger sp.’

Also POC \(*droman ‘leech’ > Kge roma.\)

In two of Ross’ (1988) Proto Oceanic reconstructions involving \(*j\), Kilenge has \( s \) instead of the expected \( r: \) (i) POC \(*jika ‘bad’ > Kge sia-ja-, and (ii) POC \(*jiRi ‘Cordyline, Draecena’ > Kge sir ‘rattan skirts.’ Ross also gives Kbn da1)a sisid ‘grass skirts’, but this, in fact, means ‘many things’. (The Kbn word is odoa ‘rattan skirts’; sisid ‘many’ only occurs with da1)a ‘thing’ and is related to Lusi asizi ‘they’.) The phoneme \( s \) is also found in the four Maleul/Bariai languages in POC \(*kojom ‘pierce, husk’ > Kge koso-\( \)a ‘husking stick’ Kbn -koso ‘husk coconut’ Lusi -koso ‘husk coconut’ Kove -koso ‘husk coconut; spear pig; copulate’. Although Ross (1988:169) explains the development of Kilenge /s/ as conditioned by the presence of POC \(*i, \) the reflexes of \(*kojom ‘husk’ do not follow this conditioning.

POC \(*c\) also develops into the Bariai voiced dental series. In Kilenge, however, it is usually lost:
'when'  'how many'  'name'  'sibling same sex'

POc  *pción  *pción  *ICATION  *TACI
Kge  nia-ŋ  pía  (pasis)  taj-
Kbn  əda  pída  eda-  tádi-
Lusi  əza  píza  eza-  tázi-
Kove  əza  píza  eza-  tázi-

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'canoe'</th>
<th>'finger'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*waga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>oga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>oaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>oaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>oaga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The ŋ is unexpected.  行业发展

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'grow'</th>
<th>'forbid'</th>
<th>'bamboo'</th>
<th>'my'</th>
<th>'betel pepper'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*tubuq</td>
<td>*pa-tabu</td>
<td>*gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-tup</td>
<td>-pa-top</td>
<td>rop</td>
<td>-k rek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-tub</td>
<td>-pa-tob</td>
<td>rob</td>
<td>-g dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-tuvu</td>
<td>-pa-tavu</td>
<td>(sasavu)</td>
<td>-gu zogi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-tuvu</td>
<td>-pa-tavu</td>
<td>(sasavu)</td>
<td>-gu zogi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Alternation between p and v occurs in some Kilenge verbs when certain morphological rules produce final voiced fricatives: (i) -kiv-e > -kep 'do, make'. The first form occurs with the third person singular object suffix -e, and the second is the intransitive form. (ii) -sig-e ~ -sik 'give birth'; -ig-e ~ -ik 'carry'. The first form with -e indicates a singular object and the
second form without -e indicates a plural object. (iii) -pigi -a ~ -pik 'bent' (compare Lusi -pigi Kove -pigi). The first form is an adjective used as an intransitive verb with the third person singular suffix -a (§5.1.2); the second form is transitive.

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

2.4 VOICELESS FRICATIVES

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'liquid'</th>
<th>'who'</th>
<th>'what'</th>
<th>'ten'</th>
<th>'outrigger'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*suRuq</td>
<td>*sai</td>
<td>*sapa</td>
<td>*saŋapulu</td>
<td>*saman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>suli-</td>
<td>sie</td>
<td>sae</td>
<td>saŋaul</td>
<td>sama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>sulu-</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>saoa</td>
<td>saŋaul</td>
<td>saman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>suru-</td>
<td>sei</td>
<td>saoa</td>
<td>saŋapulu</td>
<td>saman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>suhu-</td>
<td>sei</td>
<td>saoa</td>
<td>saŋapulu</td>
<td>samani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'dive'</th>
<th>'sea'</th>
<th>'two days ago'</th>
<th>'paddle'</th>
<th>'rat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*suku</td>
<td>*tasik</td>
<td>*wariSa</td>
<td>*pose</td>
<td>*kusupeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-suk ^</td>
<td>tai</td>
<td>olia</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>kiu e  ^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-dug b</td>
<td>tad</td>
<td>oadla</td>
<td>pode</td>
<td>kuduke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-zugu b</td>
<td>tazi</td>
<td>oariza</td>
<td>poze</td>
<td>kuzuke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-zugu b</td>
<td>tazi</td>
<td>oahiza</td>
<td>poze</td>
<td>kuzuke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'up; go up'</th>
<th>'down; go down'</th>
<th>'breast; suckle'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*sake</td>
<td>*sipo</td>
<td>*susu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>gan/se *; sake b, -se</td>
<td>raun sio, (-raun)</td>
<td>su::-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>gal/dae;-dae</td>
<td>gadio;-dio</td>
<td>tudu::-dud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>sae;-zae</td>
<td>sio;-zio</td>
<td>tuzu; (-unu tuzu) ^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>sae;-zae</td>
<td>sio;-zio</td>
<td>tuzu::-zuzu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The correspondence set \( \theta : d : z : z \) is also found in the following sets, suggesting either an original lenis *s, or a medial *č:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘rotten’</th>
<th>‘tame’</th>
<th>‘spear’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge -vua</td>
<td>mui</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn -buda</td>
<td>mud</td>
<td>ido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi -vusa</td>
<td>muzu</td>
<td>izo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove -vusa</td>
<td>muzu</td>
<td>izo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘cry’</th>
<th>‘crying’</th>
<th>‘laugh’</th>
<th>‘laugher’</th>
<th>‘bathe’</th>
<th>‘bathing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge -taŋ</td>
<td>taŋa</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>ŋiŋa</td>
<td>-oa-liu</td>
<td>oa-liuŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn -taŋ</td>
<td>taŋaŋa</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>ŋiŋaŋa</td>
<td>-lili</td>
<td>liliudanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi -taŋi</td>
<td>taŋiza</td>
<td>-ŋiŋi</td>
<td>ŋiŋiza</td>
<td>-lili</td>
<td>liliŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi -taŋi</td>
<td>taŋza</td>
<td>-ŋiŋi</td>
<td>ŋiŋiza</td>
<td>-lili</td>
<td>liliŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The nasals are relatively stable in their development: POc *m and *mʷ > m : m : m ; POc *n and ɾ > n : n : n ; and POc *ŋ > ŋ : ŋ : ŋ .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*mate</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>-mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*manu</td>
<td>mon</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>manu</td>
<td>manu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mata</td>
<td>mota</td>
<td>mota</td>
<td>mota</td>
<td>mota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*muga</td>
<td>-muga</td>
<td>-muga</td>
<td>-muga</td>
<td>-muga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ganunu</td>
<td>anuni-</td>
<td>anunu-</td>
<td>anunu-</td>
<td>anunu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*niuR</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>niu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*panua</td>
<td>pano</td>
<td>panu</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>para</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tano</td>
<td>tatano</td>
<td>tano</td>
<td>tano</td>
<td>tano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*moñak</td>
<td>mona-</td>
<td>mona-</td>
<td>mona-</td>
<td>mona-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*poñu</td>
<td>pon</td>
<td>pon</td>
<td>pon</td>
<td>pon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The usual Kilenge word for 'shadow' is airo-, 'coconut' is niuR , 'settlement' is panua , 'ground' is tano , 'fat' is moñak , and 'turtle' is poñu .

(a) m : n

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

(ii) Lusi amovere Kbn ansere 'Hibiscus'

(b) m : ŋ

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

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

(iii) Kbn nasereseret Lusi sereserem 'fragrant plant sp.'

(c) m : p

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

(d) m : 0

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

(e) n : ŋ

Unexpected correspondences involving a nasal include:

(a) m : n

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

(ii) Lusi amovere Kbn ansere 'Hibiscus'

(b) m : ŋ

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

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

(iii) Kbn nasereseret Lusi sereserem 'fragrant plant sp.'

(c) m : p

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

(d) m : 0

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

(e) n : ŋ
(i) POc *tiCa ‘when’ > Kge njaj Kbn njeda Lusi njeda Kove njeda.
(ii) POc *tuju ‘nose’ > Kbn nunu- Lusi nuzu- Kove nuzu-.
(iii) Kbn yesyeso Lusi nosnose Kove neso ‘ant’ (compare Mutu nos Gtu nonosa).
(iv) Kge na- Kbn na- Lusi na- Kove na ‘I.’
(v) Kge sapaŋa Kbn sapaŋa Lusi sapaŋa- Kove sapaŋa ‘waist, hips’.
(vi) Lusi patna Kbn patna ‘sea cucumber sp.’

(f) *n > l
POc *malino ‘calm, of sea’ > Kbn madlo Lusi malilo Kove malilo. The opposite development (POc *l > n) is found in POc *kuluR ‘breadfruit’ > Kge kun Kbn un Lusi unu Kove unu, and in Gtu unu Mutu un.

(g) n : 0
POc *qanitu ‘ghost’ > Kge aitu Kbn antu Lusi antu Kove anitu.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘go’</th>
<th>‘three’</th>
<th>‘fly’</th>
<th>‘split’</th>
<th>‘skin’</th>
<th>‘ten’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*lako</td>
<td>*tolu</td>
<td>*laŋo</td>
<td>*pala</td>
<td>*kulit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>tol</td>
<td>laŋo</td>
<td>-pala</td>
<td>kuŋkuli-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>tol</td>
<td>laŋolao</td>
<td>-pala</td>
<td>kuŋkuli-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>tolu</td>
<td>laŋlaŋo</td>
<td>-pala</td>
<td>kuŋkuli-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>tolu</td>
<td>laŋoląŋo</td>
<td>-pala</td>
<td>kuŋkuli-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘yesterday’</th>
<th>‘hit’</th>
<th>‘fly’</th>
<th>‘rope’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*noRap</td>
<td>*Rapu</td>
<td>*Ropok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>nola</td>
<td>-lau</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>(made)</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>roro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>nora</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>roro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>noha</td>
<td>-hua</td>
<td>hoho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(1) Kilenge has r instead of l.
(2) Lusi has $h$ instead of $r$.

(3) There is uneven merging of *l, *R and *r.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kilenge</th>
<th>Bariai (Kbn)</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gariu</td>
<td>-rara</td>
<td>-rara</td>
<td>-lah(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naraña</td>
<td></td>
<td>naraña</td>
<td>naraña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kora</td>
<td></td>
<td>kora</td>
<td>kora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorou</td>
<td></td>
<td>vorou</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Compare Gtu -zarap, suggesting PNGBri *zarapi.

\[b\] ‘clean’. The Mutu form kula `clean’, with unexpected l, has the same semantic shift as Kilenge. Compare also Kge vilviliña Kbn birbiriiña Lusi viviriña Kove viviiña and Mutu bilbiliña ‘blue, green’, where Mutu has l instead of the expected r.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kilenge</th>
<th>Bariai (Kbn)</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alia b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kauruma maraoa-</td>
<td>bori</td>
<td>gerebo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahaoa- vohi</td>
<td>gehevo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Also Mutu marun, showing expected $r$.

\[b\] The second liquid has been lost.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kilenge</th>
<th>Bariai (Kbn)</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kulo</td>
<td>-logo</td>
<td>-logo-ni</td>
<td>-logo-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lilu</td>
<td>-lilu</td>
<td>-lilu</td>
<td>-lilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laoa-</td>
<td>laoa-</td>
<td>laoa-</td>
<td>laoa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laulau-</td>
<td>laulau-</td>
<td>laulau-</td>
<td>laulau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>launi-</td>
<td>launi-</td>
<td>launi-</td>
<td>launi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Also Mutu marun, showing expected $r$.

\[b\] The second liquid has been lost.
Compare Mutu ur Gtu uro.

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

PNGBri reconstruction, based on Mutu -riiu Gtu -riiu.

Compare Mutu rava- Gtu rawa-.

Compare Mutu rau- Gtu rau-.

Also (i) POc *raqan ‘branch’ > Kge laka- (Gtu rakaraka ‘twig’); and (ii) POc *tur ‘leak’ > Kbn dodolo Lusi zuzulu Kove zuzulu ‘droplet.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘house’</th>
<th>‘shoulder’</th>
<th>‘evening’</th>
<th>‘stingray’</th>
<th>‘conch’</th>
<th>‘Casuarina’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*Rumwa</td>
<td>*paRa</td>
<td>*Rapi</td>
<td>*paRi</td>
<td>*apuRi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(nia)-ulum</td>
<td>alo-</td>
<td>leilei</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>lum-uum</td>
<td>pol</td>
<td>lailai</td>
<td>pali</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>luma - lumu</td>
<td>oala-</td>
<td>leilei</td>
<td>pali</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>luma - lumu</td>
<td>oala-</td>
<td>lailai</td>
<td>pali</td>
<td>taule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Mutu rum Gtu rumwa.

b ‘men’s communal house’; compare Lakalai hulumu (Chowning 1973).

c ‘shoulderblade’.

d Compare Mutu rabrab Gtu raravi/a.

e Compare Gtu par.

f Compare Mutu tavur Gtu tavure.

g Compare Gtu iar.

h Intervocalic l has been lost.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘hunger’</th>
<th>‘body hair’</th>
<th>‘vomit’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*pitolo</td>
<td>*pulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(maik)</td>
<td>vuvuvu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>pitor</td>
<td>burburu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>(mokuja)</td>
<td>vuvuvu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>pitoho</td>
<td>vulvulvlu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Mutu pitol.

b Compare Gtu -lua Mutu -luar.
THE MALEU AND BARIAI LANGUAGES OF WEST NEW BRITAIN

'soft' 'ginger' 'dove'

POc *malumu *laqia* *baluc
Kge maruma (gena) a-vol
Kbn marum laia barur
Lusi marumu haia velis
Kove malumu haia vazuhi~balu

* Compare Gtu laea Mutu lae.

Expected: Kbn balud.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'two'</th>
<th>'S.E. monsoon'</th>
<th>'back'</th>
<th>'dugong'</th>
<th>'scrape'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td><em>rua</em></td>
<td><em>Raqi</em></td>
<td><em>muri</em></td>
<td><em>ruyu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>lua</td>
<td>lai</td>
<td>-ai/mul*</td>
<td><em>kori</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kor~; -kolkol†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>tua</td>
<td>t'ai</td>
<td>-muri-</td>
<td>liu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rui</td>
<td>-koli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kolof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>tua</td>
<td>t'ai</td>
<td>-muri-</td>
<td>liu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rui</td>
<td>-koli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kolif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>tua</td>
<td>t'ai</td>
<td>-muhi-</td>
<td>liu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rui</td>
<td>-koli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kolif</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Mutu ru Gtu rua.

* 'later'; compare Kbn muriai Lusi muriai Kove muhiai 'later'. Also Gtu mur Mutu muri.

* Compare Gtu rui.

† 'sago midrib used to scrape up litter'.

‡ 'scrape up litter with a sago midrib'.

§ 'scrape taro skin'.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'two days ago'</th>
<th>'wring'</th>
<th>'liquid, milk'</th>
<th>'Canarium'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td><em>waRisa</em></td>
<td><em>poRos</em></td>
<td><em>suRq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>olia</td>
<td>(-pis)†; polo-ŋa</td>
<td>sul-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>odba*</td>
<td>-poro; polo-ŋa</td>
<td>sul-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>oariza</td>
<td>-poro; polo-ŋa</td>
<td>suru-; sulu†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>oahiza</td>
<td>-poro; polo-ŋa</td>
<td>suhu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Mutu wariz Gtu wariza.

† Metathesis of land d.

‡ 'squeeze'. Compare Gtu -poro 'wring' and Mutu polo-ŋ 'taro pudding'.

§ From POc *pisaq.

† 'coconut bast tissue used to wring out coconut milk'.

† 'soup, liquid'. Compare Mutu sur Gtu suru.

§ Compare Gtu kaŋar ~ aŋar.
Lastly, the following are examples of mixed correspondence among \( r, \ h \) and \( l \):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'pig cage'</th>
<th>'sandfly'</th>
<th>'paint'</th>
<th>'dance'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>korol(^a)</td>
<td>kiki(\text{gamo})</td>
<td>(-gigi)</td>
<td>(-gale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>korol</td>
<td>kikiramo</td>
<td>-gele</td>
<td>-tol(^c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>karoro</td>
<td>kikilamo(^b)</td>
<td>-gere</td>
<td>-tori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>kahoho</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-tohi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Compare Mutu nakaral ‘a type of basket’, probably borrowed from Kilenge with the nominal prefix na-intact.

\(^b\) ‘mosquito’. Compare Gtu ramoramo ‘fruit fly’.

\(^c\) Compare Mutu -tor Gtu -tor.

### 'dull' 'fence/stockade' 'singe' 'parrot'

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(mate eavo)</td>
<td>sita; silasila</td>
<td>-salau</td>
<td>ai-kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>tula</td>
<td>(ala); silasila</td>
<td>-salaba</td>
<td>kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>tula ~ tura</td>
<td>(ala); silasila</td>
<td>-savara-ni</td>
<td>kara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>tula</td>
<td>(ala); silasila</td>
<td>-sava(\text{ha-ni})</td>
<td>kaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) PN\(\text{gBri} *salaba\) based on Gtu -salaba ‘singe off hair’; also Proto Philippine *sarab (Charles 1973). Lusi and Kove have undergone metathesis. Compare Lusi savara Kbn saraba ‘jellyfish’.

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

### 'cold' 'guts' 'pitpit' 'green, blue'

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>mogali-</td>
<td>(apas)</td>
<td>vilvilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>tola</td>
<td>mogali-</td>
<td>tabua(\text{l})</td>
<td>birbiria ~ bil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>toqa</td>
<td>mogari-</td>
<td>tavuari</td>
<td>viviri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>to(\text{ha})</td>
<td>mogali-</td>
<td>tavuahi</td>
<td>vivihi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Compare Gtu tola, suggesting PN\(\text{gBri} *tola\) ‘cough, cold’.

\(^b\) Compare Mutu t\(\text{aboyar}\) Gtu tabuar.

Further examples include:

(i) Lusi -pera ‘spread open’ Kove -pela ‘open out’; compare Kge pelapela-more Lusi pelapela-moze Kove pelapela-moze ‘earwig’ (where Kge more- Lusi moze- and Kove moze- mean ‘arse’). The Gitua form -pera ‘spread open’ suggests that the \( r \) form is original.

(ii) Kbn \(\text{t}\(\text{abu}\) - Lusi \(\text{t}\(\text{avu}\) - Kove \(\text{h}\(\text{avu}\) ‘middle’ but Lusi ai-lavu ‘half-full.’ The Gtu form livuga- ‘middle of body’ suggests the \( l \) form is original.

(iii) Kbn melemele Lusi melemele ‘village plaza’ Kbn meremere ‘clearing in bush; dawn’ Lusi meremere ‘illumination provided by the moon’ Kbn mere- Lusi mere- ‘clean, clear.’

(iv) Lusi salakiu Kove sahakiu ‘cuscus.’

(v) Kbn \(\text{d}\(\text{ala}\) Lusi dara Kove dara ‘Nassa shell.’

It has been mentioned that borrowing may be involved in this correspondence problem, resulting in unexpected \( r \) in Kilenge and \( h \) in Lusi. It is also noteworthy that Kabana is most often the irregular Bariai language in having \( l \) where Lusi has \( r \) and Kove has \( h \). Given the expected Kilenge correspondence \( l \) in this set, and the Kabana proximity and frequent interaction with the Maleu, there is little reason not to believe that these forms have been influenced by Kilenge in the same way that many Kilenge forms with unexpected \( r \) in place.
of *l have resulted from interaction with the Kabana or the Mutu. Ross also proposed contact as an explanation:

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘sun’</td>
<td>*qaco</td>
<td><em>maUno Kge iualo</em> (taul)</td>
<td>ado</td>
<td>aozo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘calm’</td>
<td>*malino</td>
<td>maqlo</td>
<td>malilo</td>
<td>malilo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Expected iualo ‘sun’.
* Expected: malilo ‘calm’.

Further examples include:

(i) POc *maqurip ‘live’ > Kove -maguzi ‘healthy’ (expected: -maguli).
(ii) POc *quralJ ‘prawn’ > Kove guza (expected: gula).
(iii) Kge saluli- Kbn saludi- Lusi sasaluzi- ‘sprout’ (expected: Kge saluri- or salui-).
(iv) Kge vila-ko Kbn beda-ne Lusi veza-ne Kove veza-ne ‘thus’. The suffixes are all deictic particles meaning ‘this’ (expected: Kge vira-ko or via-ko).
(v) Kge -lu Kbn -duguna Lusi -loHa Kove -loHa ‘enter’ (expected: Kbn -luluna); compare Mutu -loHa Gtu -loHa.
(vi) Kge el-ja Kbn adial Lusi aliali Kove aliali ‘obsidian’ (expected: Kbn alial)
(vii) Kge vore- ‘white’ volvole- ‘white’ (‘of pigs’) Kbn bodebode ‘white’ Lusi vozvoze ‘light-coloured, pale’ (expected: Kge vorvore-).

2.7 CONSONANTS: SUMMARY

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

(i) *p and *p" > *p;
(ii) *k and *q > *k;
(iii) *b and *b" > *b;
(iv) *d, *dr and *j > *d;
(v) \( *m \) and \( *m'' > *m \);
(vi) \( *n \) and \( *\bar{n} > *n \).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>( *p_1 )</th>
<th>( *p_2 )</th>
<th>( *\tau )</th>
<th>( *k_1 )</th>
<th>( *k_2 )</th>
<th>( *\text{wa} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( o/_a; \theta/_i,u )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
<td>( o )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( o/_a; \theta/_i,u/_o )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
<td>( oo )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( o/_a; \theta/_i,u )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( h, 0 )</td>
<td>( oo )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( o/_a; \theta/_i,u )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( h, 0 )</td>
<td>( oo )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>( *b )</th>
<th>( *d )</th>
<th>( *g )</th>
<th>( *c )</th>
<th>( *s_1 )</th>
<th>( *s_2 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( p/_# )</td>
<td>( r )</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( k/_# )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>( b )</td>
<td>( d )</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( d )</td>
<td>( s )</td>
<td>( d )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
<td>( s )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
<td>( s )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>( *m )</th>
<th>( *n )</th>
<th>( *\eta )</th>
<th>( *l )</th>
<th>( *r )</th>
<th>( *R )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( r, l )</td>
<td>( r, l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( r, l )</td>
<td>( r, l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( 0 )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( h, l )</td>
<td>( h, l )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

3. PHONOLOGY: VOWELS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'body'</th>
<th>'die'</th>
<th>'father'</th>
<th>'brains'</th>
<th>'skin'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>( *\text{tini} )</td>
<td>( *\text{mate} )</td>
<td>( *\text{tama} )</td>
<td>( *\text{uto} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>( \text{tini-} )</td>
<td>-( \text{mate} )</td>
<td>( \text{tama-} )</td>
<td>( \text{uto-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>( \text{tini-} )</td>
<td>-( \text{mate} )</td>
<td>( \text{tama-} )</td>
<td>( \text{uto-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>( \text{tini-} )</td>
<td>-( \text{mate} )</td>
<td>( \text{tama-} )</td>
<td>( \text{uto-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>( \text{tini-} )</td>
<td>-( \text{mate} )</td>
<td>( \text{tama-} )</td>
<td>( \text{uto-} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Diphthongs often result from the loss of a Proto Oceanic intervocalic consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'sugarcane'</th>
<th>'afternoon'</th>
<th>'new'</th>
<th>'faeces'</th>
<th>'sea'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc *topu</td>
<td>*Rapi</td>
<td>*paqu</td>
<td>*taqe</td>
<td>*tasik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge tou</td>
<td>leilei</td>
<td>paue-</td>
<td>tae-</td>
<td>tae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn tou</td>
<td>lailai</td>
<td>paue-</td>
<td>tae-</td>
<td>tae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi tou</td>
<td>leilei</td>
<td>paue-</td>
<td>tahe-</td>
<td>tazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove tou</td>
<td>lailai</td>
<td>paue-</td>
<td>tahe-</td>
<td>tazi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'paddle'</th>
<th>'climb'</th>
<th>'what'</th>
<th>'crocodile'</th>
<th>'defaecate'</th>
<th>'pig'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc *pose</td>
<td>*sake</td>
<td>*sapa</td>
<td>*puqaya</td>
<td>*bekas</td>
<td>*gaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge pe</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>sae</td>
<td>pua</td>
<td>-veve</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn pode</td>
<td>-dae</td>
<td>saoa</td>
<td>puaea</td>
<td>-bebea</td>
<td>gaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi poze</td>
<td>-zae</td>
<td>saoa</td>
<td>puaea</td>
<td>-vevea</td>
<td>gaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove poze</td>
<td>-zae</td>
<td>saoa</td>
<td>(bagele)</td>
<td>-vevea</td>
<td>gaea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* With an intermediate stage *poe.

 But na-sa-ŋa ‘climbing’, the nominalised form of -se.

 PNgbri reconstruction based on Gtu ngaya and Mutu ŋai.

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

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

3.1 VOWEL LOSS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'banana'</th>
<th>'cry'</th>
<th>'eat'</th>
<th>'bird'</th>
<th>'breadfruit'</th>
<th>'arrive'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc *pudi</td>
<td>*tanis</td>
<td>*kani</td>
<td>*manuk</td>
<td>*kuluR</td>
<td>*potu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge pur</td>
<td>-tan</td>
<td>-kan</td>
<td>mon</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>-pot - -uot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn pud</td>
<td>-tan</td>
<td>-eun</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>-uot - -ot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi puzi</td>
<td>-tan</td>
<td>-ani</td>
<td>manu</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>-otu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove puzi</td>
<td>-tan</td>
<td>-ani</td>
<td>manu</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>-otu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This final vowel deletion, however, is not without exception, as both Kabana and Kilenge have retained final i or u/ in some words, though not always in the same ones:
In Kilenge and Kabana, final u and i are retained when they follow a vowel, as in POc *niuR ‘coconut’ > Kge niu Kbn niu Lusi niu Kove niu. In many cases, the vowel cluster is the result of the loss of an intervocalic consonant at an earlier stage, as seen in the examples given earlier. Exceptions include (i) Kge gigi Kbn gigi Lusi gigiu Kove gigiu ‘thorn’; (ii) Kbn adi Lusi aziu ‘Tridacna sp.’; and (iii) Kbn mau Lusi mau Kove mau ‘betel mortar’.

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

Kge tini- ‘body’ > tini-k ‘my body’ tini-m ‘your body’ tini-a ‘his/her body’
Kge su- ‘breast’ > su-k ‘my breast’ su-m ‘your breast’ su-a ‘his/her breast’

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

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

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

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

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

‘spear (it)’ ‘turn it over’ ‘gather them’ ‘carry it on head’

Kge -gali-e -puli-e -pa-lupi-e a -kuri-e c
Kbn -gal -pul -lup b -ud
Lusi -gali -puli -lupu b -uzu
Kove -gali -puli -lupu b -uzu

a Compare Kge -luplup ‘gather, meet’. The final u (as found in Lusi and Kove) has changed to i in the transitive form.
b ‘gather, meet’. Compare Gtu -lupu ‘bring into a pile’.
c Compare Kge kuri- ‘head’.

Some Kilenge verbs take -i as the third person singular object pronoun instead of the expected -e. This i appears to represent the reanalysis of a stem-final high vowel in an earlier
form as found in Proto Oceanic or in cognates among the Bariai languages: Kge -kan ‘eat’ > -kan-i ‘eat it’ (from POc *kani ‘eat’); Kge -pan ‘feed’ > -pan-i ‘feed it’ (from POc *pa-kani); Kge -tun-i ‘set it on fire’ (from POc *turu ‘burn’. Kilenge has changed *u to i); Kge -kol ‘buy’ > -kol-i ‘buy it’ (Kbn -koli Lusi -koli Kove -koli ‘pay back’); Kge -gun-i ‘plant it’ (Kbn -pa-gun Lusi -gunu Kove -gunu ‘erect, stand (it) up’. Kilenge has changed /u to /i). The Kilenge forms -sip-i ‘catch it’, -ruk-i ‘fold it’, -uon-i ‘swallow it’ and -sig-i ‘give birth to him/her’ also have the -i suffix, but cognates are lacking from which to determine whether these final -i were stem-final at an earlier stage.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘spirit’</th>
<th>‘mother’</th>
<th>‘crab’</th>
<th>‘mushroom’</th>
<th>‘two days ago’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc *qanitu</td>
<td>*tina</td>
<td>*alima1Jo</td>
<td>*tali1Ja</td>
<td>*waRisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge aitu</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>almanjo</td>
<td>tal1Ja</td>
<td>oli1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn antu</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>amlanjo</td>
<td>tal1Ja</td>
<td>oadla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi antu</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>amlanjo</td>
<td>tal1Ja</td>
<td>oazira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove anitu</td>
<td>tina-</td>
<td>amlanjo</td>
<td>tal1Ja</td>
<td>oahiza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The i reappears in the Lusi reduplicated plural form titna- ‘mothers’.

‘ear’; compare Lusi kata ai-taja {wallaby its-ear} mushroom sp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘young woman’</th>
<th>‘ripe’</th>
<th>‘still, yet’</th>
<th>‘bowl’</th>
<th>‘look at/for’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge (-lpu)</td>
<td>(-kis)</td>
<td>(eavo ta)</td>
<td>tavila</td>
<td>-tilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn blala</td>
<td>blabla</td>
<td>maitne</td>
<td>tabila</td>
<td>-tilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi vilala</td>
<td>vulavula</td>
<td>maitne</td>
<td>tavila</td>
<td>-tilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove vilala</td>
<td>vulavula</td>
<td>maitne</td>
<td>tavila</td>
<td>-tilo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘coconut beginning to turn brown’.

Other examples of the loss of medial high vowels include:

(i) POc *kuRita ‘octopus’> Kge kulta.

(ii) Kbn -su=suran Lusi -suklani Kove -sukulani ‘push.’

(iii) Kge -pula Kbn -pla ‘spit.’

(iv) Kbn dledle- Lusi zilezile- Kove zilezile- ‘edge.’

(v) Kbn -man Lusi -kinani Kove -kinani ‘leave, abandon, let go, release.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘defaecate’</th>
<th>‘singe’</th>
<th>‘tongue’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc *pekas</td>
<td>*saraba</td>
<td>*maya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge -veve</td>
<td>-salau</td>
<td>mae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn -bebea</td>
<td>-salaba</td>
<td>mae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi -vevea</td>
<td>-savara-ni</td>
<td>mae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove -vevea</td>
<td>-savaha-ni</td>
<td>mae-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

b ‘cook bivalves directly on fire’.
Other examples include:

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

3.2 CHANGE OF VOWEL HEIGHT

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

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

3.2.1 \( a : e \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*qacan</td>
<td>*ropa</td>
<td>*apaRat</td>
<td>*baluc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(pasis)</td>
<td>leox(^a)</td>
<td>goala</td>
<td>a-vol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>eda-</td>
<td>leoa</td>
<td>aoara(^b)</td>
<td>barur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>eza-</td>
<td>leoa</td>
<td>aoara(^b)</td>
<td>vglis(^c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>eza-</td>
<td>leoa</td>
<td>aoaha(^b)</td>
<td>balu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) This may represent the third person singular suffix (§5.1.2).
\(^b\) 'rain'.
\(^c\) Probably a copy from Aria belis Mouk belis.

Alternation between \( a \) and \( e \) in found within the possessive paradigms of the following three nouns:

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

*name* 'fathom' 'monsoon' 'dove'

POc *gacan *ropa *apaRat *baluc
In the case of ‘spouse’, the Bariai languages replace the initial *a with e in the third person singular form: Kbn *adaoa-g Lusi *azaoa-g; Kove *azaoa-g ‘my spouse’ but Kbn i-edaoa Lusi ai-azaoa Kove ai-azaoa ‘his/her spouse’. This same change is found in the third person singular form of ‘jaw’ in Kabana: *ada-g ‘my jaw’ but i-edade ‘his/her jaw’. In the Lusi possessive paradigms of ‘liver’ and ‘jaw’, the third person singular forms replace the second e with a: azeze-gu ‘my jaw’ but ai-azaze ‘his/her jaw’; atete-gu ‘my liver’ but ai-atate ‘his/her liver.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'sweet potato'</th>
<th>'together'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge serembat</td>
<td>-ηere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn serembat</td>
<td>-ηada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi saravatne</td>
<td>-ŋeza; ŋaza*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove saravatne</td>
<td>-ŋeza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ‘apiece, each’, e.g. Lusi rua rua ŋaza ‘two apiece’.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'angry'</th>
<th>'climb up'</th>
<th>'obsidian'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge melmel</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>gl-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn malmal</td>
<td>-asi</td>
<td>adial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi malmali</td>
<td>- esi</td>
<td>aliali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove malimali</td>
<td>- esi</td>
<td>aliali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Mutu malmal.
Height assimilation also accounts for the correspondence between \( ai \) and \( ei \) diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POC</th>
<th>Rapi</th>
<th>sai</th>
<th>kita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>le'i</td>
<td>*s\i *kita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>la'li</td>
<td>gita</td>
<td>igi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>le'i</td>
<td>sgi</td>
<td>teita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>la'li</td>
<td>sgi</td>
<td>taita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Metathesis of \( e \) and \( i \).

3.2.2 \( a : o \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POC</th>
<th>saRum</th>
<th>patu</th>
<th>manuk</th>
<th>baluj</th>
<th>damu</th>
<th>pa-tabu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>s ( o )</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>m( o )</td>
<td>a-vol</td>
<td>r( o )</td>
<td>pa-tap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>salum</td>
<td>pat</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>barur</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>pa-t( o )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>salumu</td>
<td>patu</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>velis</td>
<td>zamu</td>
<td>pa-t( a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>salumu</td>
<td>patu</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>balu</td>
<td>damu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \text{fall} )</th>
<th>( \text{extract} )</th>
<th>( \text{neck} )</th>
<th>( \text{escort} )</th>
<th>( \text{green coconut} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-tap ( a )</td>
<td>-posapusu</td>
<td>goli</td>
<td>-t( o )  ( b )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-tap</td>
<td>-pasu</td>
<td>gagali</td>
<td>-tal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
<td>-pasu</td>
<td>gagali</td>
<td>-talu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
<td>-pasu</td>
<td>gagalu</td>
<td>-talu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( a \) ‘fall, of rain’.
\( b \) Also ‘put, bring, take’.
\( c \) ‘baby coconut’.

In the case of Kbn \( lua \)- Lusi \( lua \)- Kove \( luq \)- ‘trunk’, the \( o \) of the Kove form may be due to the presence of the preceding \( u \).

The \( au \) diphthong may also be raised to \( ou \):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \text{sing} )</th>
<th>( \text{spirit} )</th>
<th>( \text{saliva} )</th>
<th>( \text{hair} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-vau</td>
<td>(ano-)</td>
<td>(( \eta )au)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-bau</td>
<td>tautau-</td>
<td>mau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-vaza vo ( a )</td>
<td>tautau- ( \sim ) toutou-</td>
<td>m( g )u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-vou</td>
<td>tautau-</td>
<td>m( g )u-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( a \) {get song}; Lusi has lost the verb form -vou from which the noun \( vo \) ‘song’ is derived, and has reduced the diphthong to \( o \).

\( b \) Also ‘edible part, flesh, fruit, nut’.

\( c \) Also ‘leaf, fur, feather’.
Other examples include (i) POc *qutan 'bush' > Kge uraura ~ urqura 'bush' and (ii) POc *iau 'I' > Kge iau ~ igu.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'today'</th>
<th>'two days hence'</th>
<th>'together'</th>
<th>'pig cage'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>alavo-ko</td>
<td>voja</td>
<td>kqrol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>labo-ne</td>
<td>bonr-rua</td>
<td>toman-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>lqvo-ne</td>
<td>voq-rua</td>
<td>toq ~ toma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>lavo-nene</td>
<td>voq-hua</td>
<td>toma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The suffixes are all deictic particles meaning 'this'.

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

Other examples include (i) Kge a-kor Lusi karo 'crow'; (ii) Kbn -mokaka Lusi -mokogko 'loose'; and Lusi tgmone 'male' Kove tamone 'man, male'; and (iii) Kbn -mado 'sit, stay' Lusi -mazo 'stay' Kove -mazozo 'stay.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'snake'</th>
<th>'forehead'</th>
<th>'armpit'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*mʷata</td>
<td>*dramʷa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>mQta</td>
<td>ramQ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>mQta</td>
<td>dama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>mQta</td>
<td>zomQ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>mQta</td>
<td>zamQha-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 'prow'.

b The second syllable is unexpected.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'belly'</th>
<th>'call to'</th>
<th>'garden'</th>
<th>'taro'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*qumʷa</td>
<td>*mʷapo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>apq-</td>
<td>(-kava)</td>
<td>kumq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>apa-</td>
<td>-baba</td>
<td>uma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>apq-</td>
<td>-qvo</td>
<td>umq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>apq-</td>
<td>-qvo</td>
<td>umq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu</td>
<td>apw-a</td>
<td>-bʷa</td>
<td>umʷa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But Kbn *apo-kin* 'have a large belly, as when pregnant' (Lusi *apo- kinkinya*).

Also Lusi *ai-apo* 'his/her belly'.

call to dog'.

'work in garden'; Gtu *-gum*a.

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

(i) Kbn *paea-mao* {good-not} 'bad' Lusi *pQea* 'good' Gtu *pwa*ya 'good.'

(ii) Kbn *boga* Lusi *vQka* Kove *vQka* Gtu *b*wa*ga* 'branch'.

(iii) Kbn *bQga* Lusi *vQro* Kove *vQro* Gtu *b*waro 'egret.'

(iv) Lusi *-vQri* Kove *-vQhi* 'stick finger into Gtu *-b*wa*zi* 'move stick around in circle to make hole.'

(v) Kbn *-mQl* Lusi *-mQli* 'wind, coil' Kove *-mQli* 'curl up' Gtu *-m*wa*lik* 'curled up.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'sago'</th>
<th>'ironwood'</th>
<th>'drum'</th>
<th>'smoke'</th>
<th>'clear underbrush'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge <em>momQ</em></td>
<td><em>vQna</em></td>
<td><em>(kure)</em></td>
<td><em>(vu)</em></td>
<td><em>(eaea)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn <em>mama</em></td>
<td><em>bana</em></td>
<td>abam</td>
<td>basu</td>
<td>-deba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi <em>momQ</em></td>
<td><em>vQna</em></td>
<td>avomu</td>
<td>vQsu</td>
<td>-zeV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn <em>momQ</em></td>
<td><em>bQna</em></td>
<td><em>(kuze)</em></td>
<td>vQsu</td>
<td>-zeV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Kabana *kude* 'slit gong'.

Other examples include:

(i) Kbn *lipa* Lusi *lipQ* Kove *lipQ* 'climbing noose.'

(ii) Kbn *malQmali-* Lusi *malQmali-* Kove *malQmolu-* 'gills.'

(iii) Kbn *gigima* Lusi *gigimQ* 'star.'

(iv) Kbn *-simQ* Lusi *-semaQ* 'infect with sexual heat.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'fear'</th>
<th>'shoulder'</th>
<th>'crab sp.'</th>
<th>'finger'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc <em>matakut</em></td>
<td><em>paRa</em></td>
<td><em>alimanQ</em></td>
<td><em>gaga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge <em>matau</em></td>
<td><em>alQ</em></td>
<td>almanQ</td>
<td>gQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn <em>mataud</em></td>
<td><em>paQ</em></td>
<td>amlanQ</td>
<td>gQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi <em>matau</em></td>
<td><em>oala</em></td>
<td>amlanQ</td>
<td>gQa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove <em>matau</em></td>
<td><em>oala</em></td>
<td>alimanQ</td>
<td>gQa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 'shoulderblade'.

* 'thumb'.

---

98 RICK GOULDEN
### 3.2.3 i : e

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>njica</em></td>
<td><em>nia-</em></td>
<td><em>neda</em></td>
<td><em>ngiza</em></td>
<td><em>nega</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mijak</em></td>
<td><em>mgerama-</em></td>
<td><em>medameda-</em></td>
<td><em>megamge-</em></td>
<td><em>megamge-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pilak</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>pelaka</em></td>
<td><em>pelaka</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also (i) POc *bakiwa* ‘shark’ > Kbn *bakoa* and (ii) POc *drami* ‘lick’ > Kbn -*damg* Lusi -*zamg*.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mimiR</em></td>
<td>-<em>mail</em></td>
<td>-<em>meme</em></td>
<td>-<em>mgmg</em></td>
<td>-<em>meme</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-dri</em></td>
<td>-<em>rg</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>zi</em></td>
<td>-<em>zi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tapuRi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Compare Mutu -*mgon*.

\[b\] Compare Gtu *tavurg*.

### 3.2.4 u : o

There is little evidence of the development of POc *u* > *o*, except POc *tua* ‘older sibling’ > Kge *a-tua* Lusi *tua* Kove *tua*, found also in Gtu *toga* Mutu *tga*. Given the trend described above for the lowering of *i* before or after mid and low vowels, it may be that a similar development has occurred to produce the *u* - *o* alternations given below, and that *o* represents the innovation:
In several words, however, the presence of nearby high vowels suggests that o is raised to u:

(i) Kge kylei Kbn ulyue Lusi oluue Kove ulyue 'porpoise.'
(ii) Kge kora motu Lusi kora mutu Kove kora mutu 'pufferfish sp.'
(iii) Kbn byryku Lusi vohoku Kove vohoku 'name of a monster in stories.'
(iv) Kbn myrupo 'Venus' Lusi morupo 'Venus' Kove morupo-mo 'Southern Cross' (Chowning, pers. comm.).
(v) Lusi gomimi - gumimi Kove gumimi 'millipede.'
(vi) Lusi -momoni - mynini 'hide.'
(vii) Lusi -posi - pusi Kove -posi 'rub, wipe.'
(vii) Kbn -bysum Lusi -vosumu 'suck.'
(viii) Kbn ymisymi Lusi somsomi 'constantly.'

Several words reflect other vocalic differences which obscure the direction of the u ~ o development: (i) Kbn kubal Lusi kovoli 'knot, bump'; (ii) Kbn dodolo Lusi zuzulu Kove zuzulu 'droplet'; and (iii) Kbn kopkop 'empty' Lusi kuvu 'finished'. Likewise, it is difficult to provide a motivation for the development of POc *ko 'you (sg.)' into Kge ku- Kbn 0- Lusi u- Kove u-.

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

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

3.3.1 \( i : u \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘ancestor’</th>
<th>‘spirit’</th>
<th>‘burn’</th>
<th>‘liquid’</th>
<th>‘hair’</th>
<th>‘rat’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>(<em>tubu^a</em></td>
<td>(*qanunu</td>
<td>(*tunu</td>
<td>(*suRuq</td>
<td>(*pulu</td>
<td>(*kusupeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>(tivu-)</td>
<td>(anuni-)</td>
<td>-(tun-i^c)</td>
<td>(sul(i)</td>
<td>(vuvuri-)</td>
<td>kie(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>(tibu^b)</td>
<td>(anunu-)</td>
<td>-(tun)</td>
<td>(sulu-)</td>
<td>(burburu-)</td>
<td>kuduke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>(tuvu-)</td>
<td>(anunu-)</td>
<td>-(tunu)</td>
<td>(suru-)</td>
<td>(vuvuru-)</td>
<td>kuzuke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>(tuvu-)</td>
<td>(anunu-)</td>
<td>-(tunu)</td>
<td>(suhu-)</td>
<td>(vuhuvuhu-)</td>
<td>kuzuke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) But POc \(*tubu 'grow' > Kge -tup Kbn -tub Lusi -tuvu Kove -tuvu.\)
\(^b\) But Kbn \(tibu- > i-tub 'his/her ancestor'.\)
\(^c\) ‘set it on fire’.

POc  | \(*lipon | \(*inum |
Kge  | \((ro)\) | (-\(va\) |
Kbn  | \(l\(u\)- | -\(un\) |
Lusi | \(l\(u\)- | -\(unu\) |
Kove | \(l\(u\)- | -\(unu\) |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'kulau'</th>
<th>'gall'</th>
<th>'underpart'</th>
<th>'thatch'</th>
<th>'tame'</th>
<th>'escort'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>pogoli-</td>
<td>osi-</td>
<td>vulolo-</td>
<td>kus</td>
<td>muŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>pogal</td>
<td>asu-</td>
<td>bulolo-</td>
<td>usŋ</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>pogalu</td>
<td>oasu-</td>
<td>vilolo-</td>
<td>usu</td>
<td>muzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>asu-</td>
<td>vilolo-</td>
<td>usu</td>
<td>muzu</td>
<td>-talu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 'green drinking coconut'.
* 'baby coconut'.
* Also 'put, bring, take'.

Other examples of $i : u$ correspondences include:

(i) Kge -gunci 'plant' Kbn -pa-gun 'erect, stand something up', gunugunu 'stake' Lusi -gunu- 'stand' Kove -gunu- 'stand'.

(ii) Kge -pa-lupi 'gather, collect' Kbn -lup 'gather, meet' Lusi -lupu 'gather, meet' Kove -lupu 'gather, meet' (compare Gtu -lupu 'bring into a pile').

(iii) Kbn -kapisa Lusi -kapusia Kove -kapuse 'sneeze'.

(iv) Kbn ti-br Lusi tuvuru Kove tuvuhu 'place.'

(v) Kbn -siran 'pour', susurana 'trough used to process sago' Lusi -surani ~ -surany 'pour' Kove -suhani 'pour'.

(vi) Kbn buligaliga Lusi viligaliga Kove vuligaliga 'all over, all about.'

(vii) Kbn nunu-g Lusi nuzu- Kove nuzu-'nose' but Kbn -rud Lusi -nuŋi Kove -nuŋi 'smell' (compare Gtu -nuŋu 'smell').

(viii) Kbn malmali- Lusi malmali- Kove molymoluy- 'gills'.

(ix) Kbn musilan 'seldom' Lusi misilani 'slowly' Kove misilani 'slowly' (compare Gtu musilan 'softly, quietly').

(x) Kbn sjon Lusi sioni Kove sione 'netting shuttle'.

3.3.2 e : o

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'sleep'</th>
<th>'cut'</th>
<th>'fathom'</th>
<th>'daka'</th>
<th>'bean'</th>
<th>'whistle'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td><em>qeno</em></td>
<td><em>koti</em></td>
<td><em>ropa</em></td>
<td><em>dogi</em>†</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-kono</td>
<td>(-rev)</td>
<td>leoe</td>
<td>rek</td>
<td>veleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-eno</td>
<td>-kgi</td>
<td>leoa</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>boloae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-eno</td>
<td>-kgi</td>
<td>leoa</td>
<td>zogi</td>
<td>voluae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-eno</td>
<td>-kgi</td>
<td>leoa</td>
<td>zogi</td>
<td>voluae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† PNgbri reconstruction based on Gtu dogi Mutu dog.

Other examples include Kbn -sogo Lusi -sogo Kove -sogge 'adorn'; Kbn tamagogo Lusi tamagege Kove tamagogo ~ matagago 'starfish.'
3.4 IRREGULAR VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'veins'</th>
<th>'taro'</th>
<th>'settlement'</th>
<th>'soft'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>POc</strong></td>
<td><em>waRọ</em></td>
<td><em>m</em>าustainability</td>
<td><em>panua</em></td>
<td><em>malumu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kge</strong></td>
<td>(alislisi-)</td>
<td>ọ</td>
<td>pang*</td>
<td>marumq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kbn</strong></td>
<td>oaroari-</td>
<td>ọi</td>
<td>panua b</td>
<td>marum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lusi</strong></td>
<td>oararo-</td>
<td>ọi</td>
<td>pang b</td>
<td>marumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kove</strong></td>
<td>oahoa ho-</td>
<td>ọi</td>
<td>pang b</td>
<td>mahumu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*b* 'people'.

'shield'  'shame'  'where'  'pandanus'  'piece'

| **Kge**     | gariau   | mamag-     | sia/       | mei       | arigi-a |
| **Kbn**     | gariau   | maemaae-   | sidә       | moe       | i-adag ~ i-edag |
| **Lusi**    | gariu     | mamaae-    | soza       | moe       | vazеge |
| **Kove**    | gaihua    | mamaae-    | soza       | moe       | vazеge |

*a* Compare Gtu *maya*.

*b* Mutu *sine*.

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

*d* Also 'portion; other side'.

Other irregularities include:

(i)  Kge -pa-iti  Kbn -e-at  Lusi -ati 'copulate' (compare Gtu -gati).
(ii) Kge muggingin  Kbn makinkin  Kove makinikini 'mosquito.'
(iii) Kge koako  Kbn kokako  Lusi kokako ~ kokako  Kove kokako ~ kokako ~ kahako 'chicken.'
(iv)  Kbn nauruge  Lusi nauregi ~ naurege  Kove nařuge 'earthquake.'
(v)   Kbn kahuma  Lusi kahuma  Kove kahupa ~ kahum  'bailer.'
(vi)  Kbn marum  Lusi muhumu  Kove muhumu 'thirst' (compare Mutu *murun*).

4. PHONOLOGY: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kani</td>
<td>-kan</td>
<td>-e-an</td>
<td>-ani</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*api</td>
<td>(riŋa)</td>
<td>(diŋa)</td>
<td>(ziŋa)</td>
<td>e-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*apuR</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>e-aoa</td>
<td>e-aoa</td>
<td>e-aoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*karis</td>
<td>(-kalo)</td>
<td>-arisi</td>
<td>-asiri</td>
<td>-karisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qaco</td>
<td>iu-alo</td>
<td>ado</td>
<td>bazo</td>
<td>o-azo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*aRu</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>e-al</td>
<td>e-al</td>
<td>e-alu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From POc *kaRo ‘scratch’, which has reflexes in Kbn -o-aro Lusi -o-aro and Kove -o-aho.

Metathesis has occurred.

‘eat’ ‘fire’ ‘lime’ ‘scratch’ ‘sun’ ‘Casuarina’

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*baluj</td>
<td>a-vol</td>
<td>barur</td>
<td>velis</td>
<td>balu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tita</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>a-tita</td>
<td>a-tita</td>
<td>a-tita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tokon</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>toto</td>
<td>a-toko</td>
<td>a-toko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tuqa</td>
<td>a-tua-</td>
<td>(tadi- kapei)</td>
<td>toa-</td>
<td>toa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

b Lusi also has -gare.

c ‘black’.

d ‘black funeral paint; kin of dad person, mourning’. Lusi oaso also has these meanings.

e ‘black, of pigs’.

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

‘dove’ ‘Parinarium’ ‘stick’ ‘older sibling’

a ‘punting pole’.

b ‘walking stick’; also Lusi -toko ‘walk with stick tokonkon small branches, kindling’.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'needle'</th>
<th>'hair'</th>
<th>'fear'</th>
<th>'outrigger'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>*saRum</td>
<td>*raun</td>
<td>*matakut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>sol</td>
<td>laulau-</td>
<td>-motau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>salum</td>
<td>laun-i-</td>
<td>-mataud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>salum-u</td>
<td>laun-i-</td>
<td>-matauz-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>salum-u</td>
<td>laun-i-</td>
<td>-matauz-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

In the set Kbn kakau-ede Lusi kahaku Kove kahaku 'small' (compare Kbn kakau Lusi kakau Kove kakau 'child'), the ede suffix of the Kabana form is related to the Lusi and
Kove use of *eze with certain adjectives as an intensifier, e.g. Lusi *volvoloo eze ‘very small’ Kove *kehetau-eze ‘(just) one’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apuR</em></td>
<td><em>au</em></td>
<td><em>eao-a</em></td>
<td><em>eao-a</em></td>
<td><em>eao-a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lumut</em></td>
<td><em>lumlum</em></td>
<td><em>gu-luŋ</em></td>
<td><em>gu-lumu</em></td>
<td><em>gu-lumu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kayu</em></td>
<td><em>ai</em></td>
<td><em>ab-ei</em></td>
<td><em>av-ei</em></td>
<td><em>av-ei</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>luaq</em></td>
<td>-mala-lua</td>
<td>-ruarua</td>
<td>-lualua</td>
<td>-lualua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>muri</em></td>
<td><em>ai-mul</em></td>
<td><em>muri-ai</em></td>
<td><em>muri-ai</em></td>
<td><em>muri-ai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dramu</em></td>
<td>-dramu-a</td>
<td>-dama-</td>
<td>-dama-</td>
<td>-dama-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Kbn *kai-p* Lusi *kai-pu* Kove *kai-pu* ‘hitting stick, switch; fight, war’.

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

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

Also *zamo-‘prow’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperata</th>
<th>‘barracuda’</th>
<th>‘nothing’</th>
<th>‘bathe’</th>
<th>‘parrot’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td><em>ku</em></td>
<td><em>kalu</em></td>
<td>-oa-liu</td>
<td>ai-kalana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td><em>ku-pa</em></td>
<td><em>kalu-bia</em></td>
<td><em>sapa-ean</em></td>
<td>-liliu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td><em>u-ku</em></td>
<td><em>kalu-via</em></td>
<td><em>sapa</em></td>
<td>-liliu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td><em>u-ku</em></td>
<td><em>kalu-via</em></td>
<td><em>sapa</em></td>
<td>-liliu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also ‘empty, bald, in vain, without’.

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

In some cases, a language has a reduced form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POc</th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>qatoluR</em></td>
<td><em>(galo)</em></td>
<td><em>kakatol</em></td>
<td><em>kakatolu</em></td>
<td><em>kaka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lako</em></td>
<td>-lala</td>
<td>-lalala</td>
<td>-lalao</td>
<td>-lalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>natu</em></td>
<td>to</td>
<td>toa</td>
<td>toa</td>
<td>toa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘go’; the Kilenge and Kabana forms are reduplications of the verbs Kge -la Kbn -la ‘go’; the Lusi and Kove words for ‘go’ are also -la.

4.2 METATHESIS

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

(i) POc *qupi 'yam' > Kge kilɔ Kbn kilu.
(ii) POc *siku 'elbow' > Kge sukɔ 'elbow, knee.'
(iii) POc *tiRom 'oyster' > Lusi tilomu ~ timolu.
(iv) POc *talina 'ear' > Kove talina 'ear', tanila- 'lateral fin' (compare Kbn taŋa Lusi taŋa 'ear; lateral fin').
(v) Kbn gesgesa Lusi nosnose Kove neso 'ant', compare Gtu nonosa Mutu nos.
(vi) Kbn dalme Lusi zamle 'decorative plant sp.'
(vii) Lusi maruzi Kove mazuli 'time of plenty', compare Lakalai maru (Chowning 1973).
(viii) Kove -esi 'light' > -pasgi 'build fire.'
(x) Lusi vażege ~ vagele 'piece, portion, other side.'
(xi) Kove lago ~ loga 'hawk.'
(xii) Lusi -hazo ~ -zaho 'knock down fruit by throwing a stick or stone.'

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

### 4.3 REDUPLICATION

Words may also have differing syllable structure based on different reduplication patterns. The reduplication of C₁V₁C₂V₂ is more common in Kabana and Kove, while Lusi usually reduplicates C₁V₁C₂. In rapid speech, however, Kove may drop reduplicated interconsonantal vowels (Chowning 1986:426), producing a reduplicated form similar to that of Lusi, e.g. Kove puli=puli ~ pul=puli Lusi pul=puli 'cold'. In spite of this, Lusi-speakers describe Kove as a 'pulled' language (that is, Kove has more vowels).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Repeated</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>molo=molo</td>
<td>laŋo</td>
<td>pa=paŋa (serser-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>molo=molo</td>
<td>laŋo=laŋo</td>
<td>paŋa=paŋa mala=malan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>mol=molo</td>
<td>laŋ=laŋo</td>
<td>paŋa=paŋa mal=malani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>mol=molo</td>
<td>laŋo=laŋo</td>
<td>paŋa=paŋa mala=malani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

a 'jump'.

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

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

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

(i) POc *Rof2Qk 'fly' > Kge -1010 Kbn -roro Lusi -roro Koye -hoho (this could equally be the result of loss of *p followed by degemination).

(ii) POc *SUSl! > Lusi tuzu- 'breast' > tutu 'mommmy!' Kove tuzu- 'breast' > -zuzu 'sucke.'

(iii) POc *nisi 'laugh' > Kge -nyi Kbn -nyi Lusi -nyi Kove -nyi.

(iv) POc *nyul 'snout, nose' > Kbn nuvu-g 'my nose' but i-nud 'his/her nose' (root: nudu-), compare Lusi nuzu-, Kove nuzu-.

This pattern relates the following cognate sets:

(i) Lusi -oam-ni but Kbn -oaoa-n Kove -oaoa-ni 'wake.'

(ii) Kbn toa Lusi toa Kove toa 'punting pole'; compare Kbn -toto Lusi -toto Kove -toto 'punt'.

(iii) Lusi -suk-lani Kove -suku-lani but Kbn -susu-ran 'push.'

(iv) Lusi mohko Kove mohko 'old'; compare Lusi momo Kove momo 'grey hair.'

(v) Lusi aleke but Kge alele 'rope.'

(vi) Kge li- but Kbn baba Lusi vo vo Kove vo vo 'hole'.

(vii) Lusi gauku 'mist' but Kge yau yau 'mist' Kbn gau gau 'mist' gau gau 'dust' Kove gau gau 'mist.'

(viii) Lusi -lymu Kove -lymu 'rub' but Kge -mumi Kbn -mum (the final -u of -lymu corresponds to Kilenge i Kabana 0).

(ix) Kbn dodol Lusi zozolu; compare Kge roro-ya- 'whole, complete.'

This phenomenon relates to Blust's statement:

Among the most fundamental observations of comparative Austronesian lexicology, one first noted by Brandstetter is especially salient: the great majority of reconstructed
and attested roots are disyllabic, and where altered by reduplication, affixation, or regular phonological change this optimal canonical shape is often restored by secondary change (1977:11).

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

5. MORPHOSYNTAX

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

5.1. THE NOUN PHRASE

5.1.1 NOMINAL PREFIX

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

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

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

(a) in possessive constructions, e.g. na-pul ‘knife’ but le-k pul ‘my knife’; na-loa ‘ashes’ but na-riŋa e loa {na-fire its ashes} ‘ashes of the fire’; na-tepo ‘blood’ but tepo-k ‘my blood’.

(b) in locative phrases lacking the preposition kŋe, e.g. i-lala paele {S3S-walk beach} ‘he walked to the beach’, compare i-lala kŋe na-paele {S3S-walk LOC na-beach} ‘I walked on the beach’; ti-mai nia {S3P-come house} ‘they came home’, compare na-raun na-mai kŋe na-niu kuri-a {S1S-descend S1S-come LOC na-coconut head-O3S} ‘I came down from the top of the coconut palm.’
5.1.2 Inalienable Possession

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P1S</th>
<th>P2S</th>
<th>P3S</th>
<th>P1IP</th>
<th>P1EP</th>
<th>P2P</th>
<th>P3P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-g</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>ai-</td>
<td>-za</td>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>ai-</td>
<td>-za</td>
<td>-mai</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-zi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'my head'</td>
<td>kuri-k</td>
<td>labora-g</td>
<td>zava-gu</td>
<td>vola-gu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'your head'</td>
<td>kuri-m</td>
<td>labora-m</td>
<td>zava-mu</td>
<td>vola-mu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'his/her head'</td>
<td>kuri-a</td>
<td>i-labora</td>
<td>ai-zava</td>
<td>ai-vola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'our heads (1IP)'</td>
<td>kuri-ra</td>
<td>labora-da</td>
<td>zava-za</td>
<td>ai-vola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'our heads (1EP)'</td>
<td>kuri-em</td>
<td>labora-maiza-va-mai</td>
<td>vola-mai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'your heads'</td>
<td>kuri-mi</td>
<td>labora-mi</td>
<td>zava-mi</td>
<td>vola-mi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'their heads'</td>
<td>kuri-re</td>
<td>labora-d</td>
<td>zava-ziz</td>
<td>vola-ziz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Lusi also has a rule ai- > [a-] / _u, that is, ai- ‘P3S’ becomes a- before nouns beginning with _u_: a-uti ‘his penis’, a-ue ‘cloning sprout, cutting’, a-uvu ‘its hindlegs’, a-uru ‘his/her breath’, a-ura ‘his strength, weight’, a-uto ‘its sprout, his/her brains.'
The Bariai languages share a morphophonemic rule $o/ > [u] / i- _a$, that is, the initial $o$- of a root beginning with $oa$ changes to $[u]$ after the ‘P3S’ prefix Kbn $i$- Lusi ai- $e$- and Kove ai-, e.g. Kbn oala-g Lusi oala-gu Kove oala-gu ‘my shoulder’ but Kbn i-uala Lusi ai-uala Kove ai-uala ‘his/her shoulder.’

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

Degemination occurs when the Kilenge suffix -em ‘P1EP’ is affixed to a stem with final -e, rendering the second person singular form homophonous with the first person exclusive, e.g. vage-$m$ ‘your arm’ and vag-em ‘our arms’ < vage-em. These are segmented differently here to reflect the pronominal suffixes, and not to suggest that the stem final -e is deleted in vage-em, since it is not possible to determine which of the two instances of $e$ is lost.

Kilenge has a morphophonemic rule: $\{i,u\} > 0 / \{l,r\} \rightarrow \{r-a, -re\}$, that is, a root-final high vowel is deleted before the suffixes -ra ‘P1IP’ and -re ‘P3P’ when the consonant preceding the vowel is $l$ or $n$, e.g. gunguni-k ‘my back’ but gungun-ra ‘our backs’ gungun-re ‘their backs’; golí-k ‘my neck’ but gol-ra ‘our necks’ gol-re ‘their necks’. The resultant combination of -nr- is realised phonetically as [ndr], e.g. gungun-ra [yunyundre], gungunre [yunyundre].

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

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

Ross notes the use of possessive constructions in the derivation of adjectives from stative verbs:
One of the devices employed to use a stative verb attributively was to nominalise the verb and make the nominalisation the head of a noun phrase in which the noun being described becomes the possessor...(188:184).

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

- ‘they cooked the fish in a stone oven’
- ‘fish that has been cooked in a stone oven’

S3P-cook.in.stone.oven fish fish stone.oven.cook-adj

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

- ‘turmeric’
- ‘yellow’

POc *yaŋo *yaŋo+ŋa

Kge ŋaŋo ŋaŋo-ŋa-
Kbn eaŋo eaŋo-ŋa
Lusi eaŋo eaŋo-ŋa

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

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

- ‘green, blue’
- ‘bluebottle fly’

Kge vilvili-ŋa laŋo-vil
Kbn birbiri-ŋa, bil laŋo-bil
Lusi viviri-ŋa laŋo-viri
Kove vivihi-ŋa laŋo-vihi
5.1.3 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

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

### DS-P1S  DS-P2S  DS-P3S  DS-P1IP  DS-PIEP  DS-P2P  DS-P3P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>le-k</th>
<th>le-m</th>
<th>le-a</th>
<th>ra-c</th>
<th>l-em</th>
<th>li-m</th>
<th>re</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>le-g</td>
<td>le-m</td>
<td>e-le</td>
<td>le-da</td>
<td>le-mai</td>
<td>le-mi</td>
<td>le-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>le-gu</td>
<td>le-mu</td>
<td>e-le</td>
<td>le-za</td>
<td>le-mai</td>
<td>le-mi</td>
<td>le-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>le-gu</td>
<td>le-mu</td>
<td>e-le</td>
<td>le-za</td>
<td>le-mai</td>
<td>le-mi</td>
<td>le-zi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The expected form is **le-a.  
* The expected form is **ai+le.  
* The expected form is **le-ra.  
* Derived from *le+em through degemination.  
* The expected form is **le-mi.  
* The expected form is **le-re.

### ED-P1S  ED-P2S  ED-P3S  ED-P1IP  ED-PIEP  ED-P2P  ED-P3P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>a-k</th>
<th>a-m</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a-ra</th>
<th>em</th>
<th>a-mi</th>
<th>e-re</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>a-g</td>
<td>a-m</td>
<td>ae-a</td>
<td>a-da</td>
<td>a-mai</td>
<td>a-mi</td>
<td>a-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>a-gu</td>
<td>a-mu</td>
<td>ae-a</td>
<td>a-za</td>
<td>a-mai</td>
<td>a-mi</td>
<td>a-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>a-gu</td>
<td>a-mu</td>
<td>ae-a</td>
<td>a-za</td>
<td>a-mai</td>
<td>a-mi</td>
<td>a-zi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* From a+a.  
* Derived from *ai-a through the rule: i > [e] / a _ a.  A comparable lowering rule resulted in the realisation of POc *w as [q] before a, and POc *y as [g] before a, as in POc *qawa 'mouth' > Kbn aoa-Lusi aoa- Kove aoa- and POc *yano 'turmeric' > Kbn eano Lusi eano Kove eano.  
* The expected form is *a-em.  
* The expected form is *a-re.

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

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


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

The edible class is so named because it is commonly used with food, drink and other consumables, while the disposable class seems to be used most commonly for objects that are owned or manipulated by the possessor and can be given away or traded, also known as
"dominant possession" (Pawley 1973:158). This is a generalisation based on the most salient semantic functions of the morphemes, however, and both morphemes have other functions. For example, *a-* possession is used to indicate parts of wholes as in:

- "ladder of a house"
  - (na-)house ED.P3S ladder

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

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

- Kge ak rom ‘my lime dipper’
- Kbn ag malo ‘my cloth’
- Lusi agu alio ‘my pillow’
- Kove agu kanika ‘my basket’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>kiau</td>
<td>kiom</td>
<td>kie</td>
<td>kia</td>
<td>kiem</td>
<td>kiam</td>
<td>kire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>togau</td>
<td>togo</td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>togita</td>
<td>togai</td>
<td>togim</td>
<td>togid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>togau</td>
<td>togo</td>
<td>toni</td>
<td>togita</td>
<td>togai</td>
<td>togim</td>
<td>tozi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>togau</td>
<td>togo</td>
<td>toni</td>
<td>togita</td>
<td>togai</td>
<td>togim</td>
<td>tozi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- "my house"
  - (na-)house of.O1S
- "the pigs’ food"
  - (na-)food of.O3P pig

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>na-nia kiau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>luma togau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>luma togau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>luma togau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The order of possessum and possessor in these prepositional possessives is the reverse of that in a- or le-constructions, e.g. Lusi tama-gu aea vua {father-P1S ED.P3S betelnut} ‘my father’s betelnut’ but Lusi vua toni tama-gu {betelnut of.O3S father-P1S} ‘my father’s betelnut.’

5.1.4 Plurality

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

1) In Kilenge, the third person plural possessive suffix -re is found with several [+human] plural nouns: na-iua-re ‘woman, women’, na-minki-re ‘young women’, na-lpuki-re ‘young men’, and tuaja-re ‘children’. That the form na-iua-re can indicate both singular or plural (the form na-iue, however, can only be singular) suggests this process of plural marking is not only unproductive, but that it is losing its plural content.

2) Certain common adjectives may be optionally reduplicated to indicate plurality (see also Ross 1988:389):

   ‘big pigs’
   Kge na-ga kapor=poria
   Kbn gaea kapei=pei
   Lusi gaea pa=pazo
   Kove gaea pa=paka

   The words Lusi tapazona Kove apaka ‘bigman’ and Lusi tampazona Kove tampaka ‘bigwoman’ are contractions of Lusi ranta/tamine + pazo1Ja {man/woman + big} and Kove ava/tamine + paka {person/woman + big}. The respective plurals are Lusi papazona Kove papaka ‘bigmen’ and Lusi tamine papazona Kove tamine papaka ‘bigwomen’. Although the plurals appear to be reduplicated forms of the adjective ‘big’, it is equally possible that Lusi papazona and Kove papaka are derived from pana + pazo1Ja/paka {people + big} in the same fashion as tapazona/apaka and tampazo/tampaka.

3) Some nouns, mostly [+human] and especially kinship terms, may also be reduplicated for this purpose, e.g. Kbn tna-g ‘my mother’ > tna-ta-g ‘my mothers’; Lusi tama-gu ‘my father’ > tamta-ma-gu ‘my fathers’; Kbn asape ‘widow’ > asapesape ‘widows’; Lusi vilala ‘young woman’ > vivilala ‘young women.’

4) In a single case, plurality is lexicalised:

   ‘man’ ‘men, people’
   Kge tamta tamta mol
   Kbn eaba panua
   Lusi tanta pana
   Kove ava* pana

*a ‘man, person’. The word tamone ‘man, male’ is more commonly used for ‘man’ (Chowning, pers. comm.). The Lusi cognate tomone is only used for ‘male’. 
The forms Kbn gereirei Lusi kakalolu ~ kakamolu Kove gigihiti are used to refer to small children, as in Kbn kakau gereirei Lusi kakau kakalolu Kove kakau gigihiti. In Kabana and Lusi, these terms may be extended to refer to numbers of small items, e.g. Kbn ia gereirei ‘fish fry’ Lusi niu kakalolu ‘small, immature coconuts.’

5.2 THE PREDICATE

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

5.2.1 VERBLESS SENTENCES

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

‘That woman is my father’s sister.’

(\textit{na-})woman that father-P1S sister-P3S

Kge na-iue lo tama-ge liu-a

Kbn taine oa tama-g i-liu

Lusi tamine za tama-gu ai-liu

Kove tamine oa tama-gu ai-liu

‘Her house is yonder.’

DS-O3S \((na-)\)house yonder

Kge leva na-nia talo

Kbn ele luma gaeoa

Lusi ele luma gazaoa

Kove ele luma toduaoa

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

‘that big pig’

(\textit{na-})pig big that

Kge na-ga aiio

Kbn gaea kapei na

Lusi gaea pazona na

Kove gaea paka na

Some adjectives may act as verbs in the predicate and take the requisite subject prefixes:
5.2.2. PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

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

5.2.2.1 FREE PRONOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D1S</th>
<th>D2S</th>
<th>D3S</th>
<th>D1IP</th>
<th>D1EP</th>
<th>D2P</th>
<th>D3P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>iau</td>
<td>iom</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>iem</td>
<td>iami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>gau</td>
<td>eao</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>gia</td>
<td>gai</td>
<td>gimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>viau</td>
<td>veao</td>
<td>eai</td>
<td>teita</td>
<td>viai</td>
<td>amiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>iau</td>
<td>veao</td>
<td>veai</td>
<td>taita</td>
<td>iai</td>
<td>amiu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- ‘Who are you?’
- ‘we are not Europeans.’
- ‘He is my father.’

D2S Who

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D1EP European not</th>
<th>D3S father-P1S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kabana, the first person exclusive and the second person plural subject prefixes are identical, and so the free pronouns are frequently used to disambiguate, e.g. *gai a-la* (D1EP S1EP-go) ‘we are going’ and *gimi a-la* (D2P S2P-go) ‘you are going’. Kabana also uses *ei* ‘he, she, it’ as a third person object pronoun. This often results in a merging of a verb-final vowel and the pronoun *ei*, e.g. Kbn *na-gera-i* from *na-gera ei* (S1S-see D3S). The resultant forms often resemble the reflexive which uses a specialised suffix -i in the third person singular in the Bariai languages. The Kabana use of *ei* as an object pronoun probably reflects the origin of the specialised third person reflexive suffix -i, corroborated by the fact that the object pronouns are used reflexively in the other persons in the Bariai languages, e.g. Kbn *na-gera-gau* ‘I see myself’ (§5.2.2.3).
The use of *ei* in Kabana as an object pronoun is consistent with the fact that the free pronouns of Kabana are almost all identical with the object suffixes. Given that these free forms are cognate with the object suffixes of Lusi and Kove, it appears that Kabana has simplified its pronominal system by replacing most of its free pronouns with object pronouns, thereby reducing two distinct sets to one (with the exception of *eao* ‘D2S’).

The Kilenge form *iem* ‘D1EP’ is unique among the Maleu/Bariai languages, but has cognates in other Ngero and Vitiaz languages, such as Malalamai *yam*, Mutu *yam* Gtu *yam*. All the first person exclusive forms are derived from POc *ka/mi* ‘D1EP’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D1ID</td>
<td>ita lua = tamulua</td>
<td>gita rua</td>
<td>tarua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1ED</td>
<td>iem lua</td>
<td>gai rua</td>
<td>viarua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2D</td>
<td>iami lua = amulua</td>
<td>amirua</td>
<td>amirua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3D</td>
<td>ire lua</td>
<td>gisirua = asirua</td>
<td>asirua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1T</td>
<td>ita tol</td>
<td>gita tol</td>
<td>tatolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1ET</td>
<td>iem tol</td>
<td>gai tol</td>
<td>viatolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2T</td>
<td>iami tol</td>
<td>amitol</td>
<td>amitolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3T</td>
<td>ire tol</td>
<td>gisitol = asitol</td>
<td>asitolu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

‘Peter and his friends/kin’
Peter COLL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pita meko</td>
<td>Pita masin</td>
<td>Pita masizi</td>
<td>Pita masezi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms appear to contain reflexes of POc *ma(i)- ‘and, with’. The Lusi and Kove forms also contain a form related to their third person free pronoun *asizi*. 
5.2.2.2 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

The subject pronouns listed below are prefixed to the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1S</th>
<th>S2S</th>
<th>S3S</th>
<th>S1IP</th>
<th>S1EP</th>
<th>S2P</th>
<th>S3P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>em-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>via-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ia-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1. Kilenge and Kabana have prefixes in Kge na- Kbn na- 'S1S' where Lusi and Kove have ŋa- Kove ŋa- 'P1S'. This same split is found among the Ngero languages: Malamalai and Gitua have ŋa- while Mutu has na- (Lincoln 1977a:9).

2. The first person exclusive prefix differs in each of the four languages. The Kilenge first person exclusive prefix em- is identical in form with the first person exclusive possessive suffix -em.

3. Kbn 0- 'S2S' is unique among these languages, but Kge ku-, Lusi u- and Kove u- may optionally be deleted in imperatives. This may account for the loss of the prefix in Kabana.

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

Kabana and Lusi have a morphophonemic rule: e > 0 / i, u _ a, that is, the root-initial e of a verb beginning with -ea is deleted after a prefix with a high vowel, namely the prefixes i- 'S3S', ti- 'S3P' and Lusi u- 'S2S':

Kbn -ean 'eat'  Lusi -eamani 'repair a net'

na-ean ta-ean a-ean  ŋa-eamani ta-eamani via-eamani

ean i- a-ean u-aman i-aman

i-an ti-an i-amin i-amin

A second morphophonemic rule o > [u] / i, u _ a is shared by the three Bariai languages and converts a root-initial o followed by a to [u] after prefixes having a terminal high vowel, e.g. Kbn na-oai Lusi ŋa-oai Kove ŋa-oai 'I married' but Kbn i-uai Lusi i-uai Kove i-uai 'he married'. The nominalised forms of these verbs show that the o is original: Kbn oai-ŋa Lusi oai-ŋa Kove oai-ŋa 'marriage'. Degemination may occur in Lusi and Kove when [u] is preceded by u- '2S', such that Lusi u- '2S' + -oatai 'know' first becomes u-uatai and then is realised as uatai 'you know'. The rule does not apply to the Kabana equivalent oatai 'you know' since the second person singular is 0-.
The Lusi verb -zega ‘want; be about to; say’ is exceptional in requiring o- ‘S2S’, e- ‘S3S’ and te- ‘S3P’ instead of the usual forms u-, i- and ti-, e.g. o-zega ‘you want’, e-zega ‘s/he wants’, te-zega ‘they want’. One Kilenge verb, -mai ‘come’, changes to -moi in the second person singular: ku-moi ‘you came’.

5.2.2.3 OBJECT PRONOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O1S</th>
<th>O2S</th>
<th>O3S</th>
<th>O1IP</th>
<th>O1EP</th>
<th>O2P</th>
<th>O3P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-au</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ita</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-ami</td>
<td>-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-gau</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-gita</td>
<td>-gai</td>
<td>-gimi</td>
<td>-gid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-gau</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-gita</td>
<td>-gai</td>
<td>-gimi</td>
<td>-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-gau</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-gita</td>
<td>-gai</td>
<td>-gimi</td>
<td>-zi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S1S-hit-O3S} & \quad \text{S3S-see-O3S} & \quad \text{who S3S-bring-O3S} \\
\text{Kge} & \quad \text{na-lau-e} & \quad \text{i-li-e} & \quad \text{si-e-toli-e} ? \\
\text{Kbn} & \quad \text{na-rau-Ø} & \quad \text{i-gera-Ø} & \quad \text{sai-i-bada-Ø} ? \\
\text{Lusi} & \quad \text{ŋa-rau-Ø} & \quad \text{ŋa-kona-Ø} & \quad \text{sei-i-vaza-Ø} ? \\
\text{Kove} & \quad \text{ŋa-hau-Ø} & \quad \text{ŋa-kona-Ø} & \quad \text{sei-i-kea-Ø} ? \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S1S-cut-O3S} & \quad \text{na-tree} \\
\text{Kge} & \quad \text{na-tal-e} & \quad \text{n-ai} & \quad \text{‘I chopped down the tree.’} \\
\text{S1S-scale-O3S} & \quad \text{na-fish} \\
\text{Kge} & \quad \text{na-savaki-e} & \quad \text{na-ia} & \quad \text{‘I scaled the fish.’} \\
\text{S1S-drink-O3S} & \quad \text{na-water} \\
\text{Kge} & \quad \text{na-va} & \quad \text{na-eako} & \quad \text{‘I drank the water.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S3P-burn-O3S} & \quad \text{na-kunai} \\
\text{Kge} & \quad \text{ti-tun-i} & \quad \text{na-gu} & \quad \text{‘They burned the Imperata.’} \\
\text{S3S-come} & \quad \text{S1S-eat-O3S} \\
\text{Kge} & \quad \text{guas} & \quad \text{i-mai} & \quad \text{na-kan-i} & \quad \text{‘Give me a cigarette to smoke.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
In Kilenge, some verbs may occur without a third person object suffix to indicate a plural inanimate object:

Kge  
\[a-ig-e \quad n-ai\]  
'S Carry the tree!'  
\(S2P\)-carry-\(03S\)  
\(n-a\-tree\)

\[a-ik \quad n-ai\]  
'S Carry the trees!'  
\(S2P\)-carry  
\(n-a\-tree\)

Kge  
\[na-ruk-i \quad guas\]  
'I rolled a cigarette.'  
\(S1S\)-cover-\(03S\)  
\(tobacco\)

\[na-ruk \quad na-vul\]  
'I covered the things.'  
\(S1S\)-cover  
\(thing\)

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

Kge  
\[na-kotu-k-au \quad i-kotu-k-e\]  
'I stubbed my toe.'  
\(S1S\)-stub-\(TR\)-\(O\-1\)S  
\(S3S\)-stub-\(TR\)-\(O\-3\)S

Kbn  
\[na-lua-gau \quad i-lua-i\]  
'I returned.'  
\(S1S\)-return-\(O\-1\)S  
\(S3S\)-return-\(O\-3\)S

Lusi  
\[na-zoa-gau \quad i-zoa-i\]  
'I sat down.'  
\(S1S\)-seat-\(O\-1\)S  
\(S3S\)-seat-\(O\-3\)S

Kove  
\[na-lio-gau \quad i-lio-i\]  
'I hanged myself.'  
\(S1S\)-hang-\(O\-1\)S  
\(S3S\)-hang-\(O\-3\)S

The nominalised form of Kbn \(-lua\)- and Lusi \(-lua\)-'return' maintains the third person singular suffix, e.g. Kbn edap lua-i-\(\nu\) aea Lusi ezapu lua-i-\(\nu\) aea \{road return-\(O\-3\)S-NSR CON\} 'the return road'.

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

Kge  
\[tau-k \quad na-kiv-e\]  
'I did it myself.'  
\(self\)-\(P\-1\)S  
\(S1S\)-do-\(O\-3\)S

Lusi  
\[kekele \quad ai-tau \quad i-mosi-i\]  
'The child looks after himself.'  
\(child\)  
\(P3S\)-self  
\(S3S\)-care.for-\(O\-3\)S

Kove  
\[u-polu \quad uasi \quad ai-tau\]  
'Roll a cigarette in its own leaf.'  
\(S2S\)-fold  
\(tobacco\) \(P3S\)-self

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

Kbn  
\[na-tok \quad eau\]  
'I poured/spilled the water.'  
\(S1S\)-spill  
\(water\)

\[eau \quad i-tok-i\]  
'The water spilled.'  
\(water\)  
\(S3S\)-spill-\(O\-3\)S

Lusi  
\[na-pasu \quad moi\]  
'I pulled out the taro.'  
\(S1S\)-extract  
\(taro\)
"Her tooth fell out."

P3S-tooth S3S-extract-O3S

Kove ŋa-pala avei  'I broke firewood.'

S1S-split tree

avei i-pala-i  'The tree split.'

tree S3S-split-O3S

Kilenge has no comparable derivation:

Kge na-og-e na-eako  'I poured the water.'

S1S-pour-O3S na-water

na-eako i-lele  'The water spilled.'

na-water S3S-spill

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

S3P-extract na-taro

tooh.P3S S3S-extract

Kge na-pale n-ai  'He split the wood.'

S1S-split:3S na-tree

n-ai i-ma-pala*  'The wood split.'

na-tree S3S-stative-split

* The Kilenge stative prefix ma-, which has cognate forms in Kabana, Lusi and Kove, is not productive.

Kilenge has several compound verbs lacking in the Bariai languages, where simple verbs or verb chaining is more common (see Bradshaw 1979 on serial causatives):

Kge 'We killed him.'  'Break the coconut open.'

S1EP-kill and S3S-die S2S-hit coconut S3S-split-O3S

Kge em-lau-mati*  ku-lau-pale na-niu*

Kbn a-rau ga i-mate  rau niu i-pala-i

Lusi via-rau ga i-mate  u-rau niu i-pala-i

Kove ia-hau ga i-mate  u-hau niu i-pala-i

* (S1EP-hit-kil-O3S); the form -mati is related to -mate 'die', and is also found in the Kilenge causative form -pa-mati 'extinguish (a fire)' (Kbn -pa-mate Lusi -pa-mate Kove -pa-mate). A cognate of -laumatiŋa is found in Mutu -rab-matin 'kill'. Compare also Gtu -rap-mate-a.

b S2S-hit-split.O3S coconut.

'I knocked a mango down,'  'I tore the paper.'

S1S-knock.down mango S1S-tear paper

Kge na-gal-kere-k-e na-uoil  na-pal-sasa-k-e pepa*

Kbn na-bal kodae  na-sasaran pepa

Lusi ŋa-kozae  ŋa-sasaran Pepa

Kove  ŋa-sasaran Pepa

* S1S-spear-pluck-TR-O3S mango.

b S1S-split-tear-TR-O3S paper.

Kilenge may also incorporate the adverbs pua 'well, carefully' (compare papua- 'good') and sapa 'in vain, empty, nothing' into the verb. Kabana, Lusi and Kove lack such incorporation:
‘I carried them carefully.’
S1S-carry good
(S2S)-carry thing this good

Kge na-ik-pua-re
Kbn na-bisi kemi
Lusi ŋa-visi poea
Kove ŋa-poga doko

a S2S-carry-good-O3P.
b S2S-carry-good-O3S na-thing.

‘He ate it without (coconut gravy).’
S3S-eat nothing

Kge i-kan-sape = i-kan-i sapa
Kbn i-an sapa
Lusi i-ani sapa
Kove i-ani sapa

a S3S-eat-nothing:3S = S3S-eat-O3S nothing

5.2.3 TRANSITIVE MARKING

As a rule, Kabana, Lusi and Kove do not have a specific transitive suffix, although a non-productive suffix Kbn -n Lusi -ni Kove -ni ‘transitive’ (TR) is found on a number of verbs. This suffix is frequently preceded by Kbn -ra- -la- -a- Lusi -ra- -la- -a- Kove -ha- -la- -a-, but the conditioning factors behind these variants is not apparent. Chowning (1978a:1154) suggests this suffix may derive from the Proto Oceanic transitive suffix *-aki(ni).

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{'push'} & \text{‘pour’} & \text{‘release'}^a & \text{‘wake’} & \text{‘hide’} \\
\text{Kbn} & -susura-n & -sira-n & -na-n & -oaoa-n & -muda-n \\
\text{Lusi} & -sukla-ni & -sura-ni & -kina-ni & -oana-ni & -muza-ni \\
\text{Kove} & -sukula-ni & -suha-ni & -kina-ni & -oaoa-ni & -muza-ni \\
^a & \text{‘leave, release, let go, abandon’}. \\
\end{array}
\]

In some cases, the suffix is lacking in one or another of the languages or in doublets in one language:

‘hear’ ‘singe’ ‘stretch, extend’
Kbn -lo -salaba -pa-otoa-n \\
Lusi -lo-ni^a -savara-ni -pa-oto \\
Kove -lo-ni^a -savaha-ni^b -pa-oto \\
^a The Lusi and Kove forms can be shortened to -lo in abrupt commands. The shortened form is also found in Kbn pa-lo Lusi pa-lo Kove pa-lo ‘inform, tell’. Ross reconstructs *lo for the North New Guinea cluster (1988:189).

b ‘cook bivalves directly on fire’.

c Compare Kbn i-oto-i Lusi i-oto-i Kove i-oto-i (S3S-stretch-O3S) ‘s/he stretches’.

‘chase’ ‘squeeze’ ‘pull’
Kbn -nana-n -bibira-n -dada \\
Lusi -nana -vivira-ni -zaza \\
Kove -nana -vivi(-hani) -zaza(-hani)
Also: (i) Kbn -bili-n ‘disperse, break up’ Lusi -vili ‘disperse, scatter’; (ii) Lusi -koli ‘repay, return’ but -kolia-ni ‘replace, rebuild, replant’; and (iii) Kbn -pa-sola-n Lusi -sola-ni ‘point to, show’ but Lusi sosola ‘index finger.’

The suffix is found in the derivation of verbs from nouns in the following: (i) Kbn odoa Lusi ozoa Kove ozoa ‘rattan skirts’ > Kbn -u-odoa-n Lusi -zoa-ni Kove -zoa-ni ‘put on skirts’; and (ii) Kbn tulua Lusi tulua Kove tulua ‘bundle carried on head’ > Kbn -tutula-n Lusi -tulua-ni Kove -tulua-ni ‘tie into a bundle.’

The suffix is replaced by the reflexive suffix -i in certain intransitive constructions:

Kbn i-sasara-n avei ‘She split the wood.’
S3S-rip-TR tree
avei i-sasara-i ‘The wood split.’
tree S3S-rip-O3S

Lusi ya-gigira-ni ai-gauli ‘I throttled him.’
S1S-constrict-TR P3S-neck
luma i-gigira-i ‘The house is constricted, cramped.’
house S3S-constrict-O3S

Kove i-suha-ni eau ‘She poured the water.’
S3S-spill-TR water
eau i-suha-i ‘The water spilled.’
water S3S-spill-O3S

Although Kilenge lacks a cognate form of the above suffix, it has its own transitive suffix -k-, which is much more productive than the -n(i) counterparts of Kabana, Lusi and Kove, and which appears on a large number of transitive verbs, albeit not all. The transitive suffix -k- is always followed by an object pronominal suffix (the object suffix -ire, presumably to avoid the consonant cluster in -k-re). A few examples include:

Kge na-ule-k-e na-oga ‘I pulled the canoe.’
S1S-pull-TR-O3S na-canoe

Ku-to-k-e na-pul i-mai ‘Bring the knife.’
S2S-bring-TR-O3S na-knife S3S-come

Na-silpei-k-au ‘I combed myself.’
S1S-comb-TR-O1S

Sie i-kala-k-om? ‘Who bit you?’
who S3S-bite-TR-O2S

A number of Kilenge words with this suffix have cognates (lacking a suffix) in Kabana, Lusi or Kove:

'sweep' 'catch' 'grate' 'scrape' 'sew' 'pluck'
Kge -sile-k- -sau-k- -nau-k- -kolkol-k- -sai-k- -kere-k-
Kbn -sile -sau -nau -kolkol -saisai -kede
Lusi -sile -sau -nau -koli ( -zizi) -keze
Kove -sile -sau -nau -kolikoli -saisai -keze

A number of transitive verbs with -k- have intransitive forms lacking it (in the first
example, the verb *sopu ~ sopsop* does not take the expected S3S subject prefix):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>mata-k sopu-k-om</td>
<td>I forgot you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mata-k sopsop</td>
<td>I forgot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>na-nuni-e i-lu visi</td>
<td>I put it into the basket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na-eako i-lu-k-e kap</td>
<td>The water goes into the cup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>na-lamo-k-e na-uraura</td>
<td>I cleared the bush.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na-lamo kje na-pano</td>
<td>I cleared (the weeds) in the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>i-posposu-k-e guas</td>
<td>He took out a cigarette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na-niu i-pospos</td>
<td>A coconut came off.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the final high vowel of the root is maintained in the transitive verbs *sopu-k- 'forget' and -posposu-k- 'extract', but is lost in the intransitive forms *sopsop* and *-pospos*.

The *-k- suffix does not appear when the verb is nominalised, as in the following: (i) *-silpei-k- 'comb' > na-silpei-ŋa {na-comb-NSR} 'a comb, combing'; (ii) *-gal-kere-k- {spear-pluck-TR-} 'knock fruit off tree with a stick' > na-gal-kere-ŋa {na-spear-pluck-NSR} 'a stick used to knock fruit off tree'; and (iii) *-kisi-k- 'hold' > na-olo ki-e na-ga e kisi-ŋa {rope CON-O3S pig ED-P3S hold-NSR} 'a rope for holding onto the pig' (compare Kbn *-kisi Lusi -kisi Kove *kisi 'hold, take hold of').

5.2.4 CAUSATIVE AND RECIPROCAL

The causative prefix *-pa- (CS) is found in all four Maleu/Bariai languages, and is relatively productive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>na-malo i-gol o</td>
<td>The cloth has dried.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na-cloth S3S-dry CMPL</td>
<td>He dried the cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>apa-g i-sum</td>
<td>I am full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rais i-pa-sum apa-g</td>
<td>Rice makes me full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>kanika i-moeoeo</td>
<td>The basket is hanging.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"ηa-pa-moeoeo kanika"  S1S-CS-hang basket  ‘I’ll hang the basket.’

Kove gaea i-ani  pig  S3S-eat  ‘The pig is eating.’
i-pa-hani  gaea  S3S-CS-eat pig  ‘She fed the pig.’

In a single instance, Kbn -pa-, Lusi -pa- and Kove -pa- represents a reciprocal (RCP):
‘hit’  ‘fight’
RCP-hit

Kge  -lau  -lau pol\(^a\)
Kbn  -rau  -pa-rau
Lusi  -rau  -pa-rau
Kove  -hau  -pa-hau\(^b\)
\(^a\)  \{hit RCP\}.
\(^b\)  This is not commonly used in Kove (Chowning pers. comm.).

This appears to be a fossilised form of POc *paRi- ‘reciprocal’, which has collapsed with POc *pa- ‘causative’. Kilenge stands apart from Kabana, Lusi and Kove in having a specific reciprocal morpheme pol derived from a form such as *palu (Ross 1988:180), to which the object suffixes may be affixed (-ita ‘01IP’ is shortened to -ta, and -re ‘03P’ may be omitted). In the other languages, the preposition Kbn ηa- Lusi ηa- Kove ηa- does double-duty as a reciprocal; it follows the verb and takes the object suffixes:
‘we saw each other’
S1IP-see RCP-O1IP

Kge  ta-li pol-ta
Kbn  ta-gera ηa-gita
Lusi  ta-kona ηa-gita
Kove  ta-kona ηa-gita

In the case of Kge ta-kot pol-ta \{S1IP-stub RCP-O1IP\} ‘we bumped heads’, the verb loses the final high vowel; compare na-kotu-k-au \{S1S-stub-TR-O1S\} ‘I stubbed my toe.’

5.2.5 MODALITY

The modality system of the Maleu/Bariai languages is relatively simple. Tense is not marked and aspect may be indicated by various lexical means or by reduplication and is, by and large, optional. There is little marking of mood differences. All four languages agree quite closely in the sorts of modality marked and the means used to mark them, although the lexical items themselves often differ in form.

Although tense marking is absent, it is possible to indicate futurity (FUT) in the four Maleu/Bariai languages by means of the free morphemes Kge pa Kbn tau Lusi tau Kove tau \~ ta. This marking is optional, although Kilenge tends to make use of pa more frequently than Kabana, Lusi and Kove use tau.
'I went to the garden yesterday.'
yesterday S1S-go garden-LOC

'Tomorrow I will return.'
tomorrow (fut) S1S-return-O1S

Kge  nola na-la kumo  
Kbn  made na-la dadaña-i  
Lusi  nora ña-la zazay-a-i  
Kove  noha ña-la mona-eai  

\{yesterday S1S-go garden.\}

\{tomorrow (FUT) S1S-return S1S-come.\}

A second Kilenge form, so, has an extra desiderative (DES1D) function, e.g. so ku-moi 
kiau? \{DESID S2S-come with-O IS \} 'Do you want to come with me?'

The most basic aspect dichotomy in the Maleu/Bariai languages is between durative and 
completive. The durative aspects of progressive and habitual are largely unmarked, although 
ocasionally reduplication of the verb may be used. Continuative action may be indicated 
by repetition of the verb, or by a sequence involving a verb of motion (usually 'go') which is 
repeated after the verb, carrying the requisite subject prefix and conjoined by 'and.'

'I don't drink tea.'  
S1S-drink tea not

'I hear a man talking.'  
S1S-hear man S3S-speak

Kge  na-va ti eavo  
Kbn  na-un ti mao  
Lusi  ña-unu ti mao  
Kove  ña-unu ti mao  

\{fire S3S-eat S3S-eat.\}

The completive (CMPL) is consistently marked in all four languages by means of a 
specialised modality marker: Kge o Kbn ga kus, ŋa or o Lusi gasili Kove gasili. This 
modality marker occurs after a verb and its adjunct phrases (object or prepositional phrases). 
There appears to be no difference among the Kabana forms. Kabana kus may also be used 
to mean 'finished up, all gone', while ŋa is a demonstrative meaning 'that'; kus may be 
accompanied by either ŋa or o. The Lusi and Kove forms appear to be composed of ga 
'and' and sili 'enough' (e.g. Lusi na i-sili aoara, ta-la \{this S3S-enough rain, S1P-go\} 'to 
hell with the rain, let's go' and a-kaliana sili \{S2P-play enough\} 'you've played enough.'

'Have you eaten the fish?'  
S2S-eat(-O3S) fish CMPL

'He has died; he is dead.'  
S3S-die CMPL

Kge  ku-kan-i na-ia o?  
Kbn  ean ia ga kus?  
Lusi  u-ani iha gasili?  
Kove  u-ani iha gasili?  

\{fire S3S-eat S3S-eat.\}
‘The cloth is dry.’
cloth S3S-dry CMPL

‘They are married.’
S3P-marry CMPL

Kge na-malo i-gol o
Kbn malo i-mamasa o
Lusi malo i-mamasa gasili
Kove malo i-mamasa gasili

ti-ola o
ti-oai o
ti-oai gasili
ti-oai gasili

To express ‘not yet’, the forms Kge eavo ta Kbn maitne Lusi maitne Kove maitune occur in the same slot as the completive. The Kabana, Lusi and Kove forms are also used to mean ‘still’, but the Kilenge equivalent ta ‘still’ occurs alone. The use of mait(u)ne, hence, can be ambiguous but is clarified by context.

‘I haven’t eaten yet.’
S1S-eat not yet

‘He is still sleeping.’
S3S-sleep not yet

Kge na-kan eavo ta
Kbn na-ean maitne
Lusi ηa-ani maitne
Kove ηa-ani maitune

i-kono ta
i-eno maitne
i-eno maitne
i-eno maitune

* Or ‘He has not slept yet’.

Sequencing between clauses is indicated by several means. The first, which may be called the interruptive (INTRPV), is indicated by an adverbial meaning ‘first, for the time being’: Kge ge Kbn bua, ge Lusi muga Kove muga. This is used to indicate that an action is temporarily interrupted while another action takes place. This is often used to excuse oneself from an activity, with the implication that one will shortly return and continue the activity:

‘Let’s chew betel first.’
S1P-chew INTRPV

‘Excuse me while I go and urinate.’
S1S-go S1S-urinate INTRPV

Kge ta-soño ge
Kbn ta-soño bua
Lusi ta-soño muga
Kove ta-soño muga

na-la na-mail ge
na-la na-meme ge
ηa-la ηa-meme muga
ηa-la ηa-meme muga

The completive is used to indicate that one action is completed before another action commences. This device is particularly common in narratives:

‘After they speared the pig, they butchered it.’
S3S-spear(-O3S) pig CMPL, S3P-butcher

Kge ti-gali-e na-ga o, ti-toto
Kbn ti-gali gaea ga kus, ti-totoi
Lusi ti-gali gaea gasili, ti-totoi
Kove ti-gali gaea gasili, ti-totoi

5.2.6 NEGATION

In addition to the forms expressing ‘not yet’, the Maleu/Bariai languages have the negative morpheme Kge eavo ~ avo Kbn mao Lusi mao Kove mao. The Lusi negative has an emphatic variant mako (compare Gitua mago). The negative occurs in the same clause-final slot as the completive and the ‘not yet’ forms, all of which are mutually exclusive. The
negative is also used to express ‘or’; in Lusi, the word ge ‘or’ may also be used for this, or the two words may be used together. The Kove form mao is generally shortened to ma in this usage:

'I didn't see the woman.'
SIS-see(-03S) woman not
Kge ra-li-e na-ue eavo
Kbn na-gera taine mao
Lusi ëa-kona tamine mao
Kove ëa-kona tamine mao

'Is this food good or bad?'
food this good (or) not bad
Kge n-anio papue eavo sia?
Kbn anne kemi mao paeamao?
Lusi hanija ne poea ge (mao) sasi?
Kove hanija ne doko ma sasi?

A second negative, Kge kute Kbn padam Lusi mina Kove mina, is used in negative imperatives (‘dehortatives’: DHRT), again in the same slot as the completive:

'Don't cry.'
SIS-cry DHRT
Kge ku-taŋ kute
Kbn tan padam
Lusi u-taŋ mina
Kove u-taŋ mina

'Sit properly or you'll fall'
S2S-sit good lest S2S-fall
Kge ku-mate pua pa ku-mol
Kbn mado kemi kado tap
Lusi u-zoa-go poea kasa u-tapu
Kove u-zoa-go doko katau u-tapu

A caveat is expressed with the conjunctions Kge pa Kbn kado Lusi kasa Kove katau ‘lest’. The Kilenge form is identical to the irrealis marker; the Kabana, Lusi and Kove conjunctions are based on the verbs Kbn -kado Lusi -kazo Kove -kazo ‘do’. In Lusi and Kove, this verb is shortened to -ka and conjoined with Lusi sa ‘and then’ and Kove tau, the futurity marker. Thus these constructions are comparable to ‘if you do (what you were doing), then...’:

'Don’t beat your dogs!'
S2P-hit DS-P2P dog DHRT
Kge ku-taŋ kute
Kbn tan padam
Lusi u-taŋ mina
Kove u-taŋ mina

em-lau limi gaune kute
a-rau lemi kaua padam
a-rau lemi kaua mina
a-hau lemi kaua mina

* SIIP-go garden DHRT.

5.2.7 PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

The Maleu/Bariai languages do not possess a large inventory of prepositions or postpositions, and those that exist do not always have identical functions across these languages (those of Lusi and Kove, however, are virtually identical in use). Three prepositions are shared by all four languages, while the Bariai languages possess, in addition, one more preposition and two postpositions lacking in Kilenge. The three most basic prepositions, to which object pronominal forms are suffixed, are as follows:
The Bariai languages have a specific third person singular suffix which is affixed to these prepositions: Kbn -ni Lusi -ni Kove -ni, to produce (i) Kbn ton Lusi toni Kove toni 'POSS-O3S'; (ii) Kbn pan Lusi pani Kove pani 'BEN-O3S'; and (iii) Lusi njani Kove njani 'SCE-O3S'. In the case of the Kabana preposition njan, the suffix -n has fused to the root, and the form nj does not occur in Kabana, so njan- is used irregardless of the suffix, e.g. Kbn njan-gau 'from me' but Lusi njan-gau Kove njan-gau 'from me'. The Lusi and Kove forms toni, njani and pani may optionally be shortened to to, nj and pa before a noun phrase, e.g. Lusi njana pa(ni) tuanga {S1S-come LOC(-O3S) village} 'I came to the village', and Kove ti-lalao pa(ni) sahu {S3P-walk LOC(-O3S) bush} 'they walked to the jungle.'

Two Kabana words, lelea- 'cold' and kekele- 'alone', behave like the above prepositions in that they take object suffixes, with -n occurring in the third person singular: lelea-gau 'I am cold' lelea-go 'you are cold' but lelea-n 'he is cold' and kekele-gau 'by myself' kekele-go 'by yourself' but kekele-n 'by oneself'. The Lusi equivalent of the last is an inalienable noun: kekele- 'alone', but it too affixes -ni in the third person, along with the possessive prefix ai- 'P3S': kekele-gu 'by myself' kekele-mu 'by yourself' but ai-kekele-ni 'by oneself'. These two examples, in which words act like verbs in taking object pronouns reflect Ross' discussion on the origin of -n(i) from prepositional verbs in these and other languages (1988:112ff).

The genitive has been discussed under possession, but it should be noted that Kilenge also uses ki- as a comitative (COM). The Bariai languages, however, have a fourth prepositional construction for this purpose: Kbn toman- Lusi toma nj toma nj Kove toma nj 'with'. Again, the third person suffix -n has fused in the Kabana form, while Lusi and Kove often fuses the preposition njani to toma to produce Lusi tomani- and Kove tomani-. All four MaleulBariai languages also possess a comitative form to which pronominal prefixes are attached: Kge -nere Kbn -nada Lusi -njeza Kove -njeza'together'. In Kilenge, -nere requires subject prefixes, and so acts as a verb, whereas in the Bariai languages, the focal pronouns are affixed to the cognate forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>benefactive, locative</th>
<th>source, instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bariai languages have a specific third person singular suffix which is affixed to these prepositions: Kbn -ni Lusi -ni Kove -ni, to produce (i) Kbn ton Lusi toni Kove toni 'POSS-O3S'; (ii) Kbn pan Lusi pani Kove pani 'BEN-O3S'; and (iii) Lusi njani Kove njani 'SCE-O3S'. In the case of the Kabana preposition njan, the suffix -n has fused to the root, and the form nj does not occur in Kabana, so njan- is used irregardless of the suffix, e.g. Kbn njan-gau 'from me' but Lusi njan-gau Kove njan-gau 'from me'. The Lusi and Kove forms toni, njani and pani may optionally be shortened to to, nj and pa before a noun phrase, e.g. Lusi njana pa(ni) tuanga {S1S-come LOC(-O3S) village} 'I came to the village', and Kove ti-lalao pa(ni) sahu {S3P-walk LOC(-O3S) bush} 'they walked to the jungle.'

Two Kabana words, lelea- 'cold' and kekele- 'alone', behave like the above prepositions in that they take object suffixes, with -n occurring in the third person singular: lelea-gau 'I am cold' lelea-go 'you are cold' but lelea-n 'he is cold' and kekele-gau 'by myself' kekele-go 'by yourself' but kekele-n 'by oneself'. The Lusi equivalent of the last is an inalienable noun: kekele- 'alone', but it too affixes -ni in the third person, along with the possessive prefix ai- 'P3S': kekele-gu 'by myself' kekele-mu 'by yourself' but ai-kekele-ni 'by oneself'. These two examples, in which words act like verbs in taking object pronouns reflect Ross' discussion on the origin of -n(i) from prepositional verbs in these and other languages (1988:112ff).

The genitive has been discussed under possession, but it should be noted that Kilenge also uses ki- as a comitative (COM). The Bariai languages, however, have a fourth prepositional construction for this purpose: Kbn toman- Lusi toma nj toma nj Kove toma nj 'with'. Again, the third person suffix -n has fused in the Kabana form, while Lusi and Kove often fuses the preposition njani to toma to produce Lusi tomani- and Kove tomani-. All four MaleulBariai languages also possess a comitative form to which pronominal prefixes are attached: Kge -nere Kbn -nada Lusi -njeza Kove -njeza'together'. In Kilenge, -nere requires subject prefixes, and so acts as a verb, whereas in the Bariai languages, the focal pronouns are affixed to the cognate forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>He went with us.</th>
<th>'I'll go with Peter.'</th>
<th>'They came together.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge i-la ki-em</td>
<td>pa na-la ki-e Pita</td>
<td>ti-nere ti-mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn i-la toman-gai</td>
<td>na-la toman Pita</td>
<td>asi-nada ti-nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi i-la tomo nj-gai</td>
<td>nj-la tomo njani Pita</td>
<td>asi-njeza ti-nama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove i-la toma nj-gai</td>
<td>nj-la toma njani Pita</td>
<td>asi-njeza ti-nama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kilenge also uses ki- where the Bariai languages have a postposition aea. This is used as a binominal connective (CON) to indicate (a) a person commonly associated with a given action; (b) the function or purpose or something; (c) the source or origin of something:
'a woman who gardens a lot' 'a pig cage'
woman garden-NSR CON cage pig CON
Kge na-iue ki-e na-kumo-ŋa
Kbn taine umo-ŋa aea
Lusi tamine umo-ŋa aea
Kove tamine umo-ŋa aea
a {na-woman con-O3S garden-NSR).
b {na-cage con-O3S na-pig}.

'a bat (wingbone) needle' a fish caught by net a fish net
needle bat CON fish net CON net fish CON
Kge na-sol ki-e na-vianja
Kbn salum biaŋa aea
Lusi salumu vianja aea
Kove salumu vianja aea
a {needle CON-O3S bat}.
b {fish CON-O3S net}.
c {net CON-O3S fish}.

The use of the Kilenge genitive preposition for these purposes parallels the use of aea in the Bariai languages, in that aea is also a possessive form; in the Bariai languages, however, the possessive aea has been converted into a postposition for these specific functions.

The preposition pa- is found in all four Maleul/Bariai languages. The Kilenge forms are pagau 'BEN-O1S' pagom 'BEN-O2S' pae 'BEN-O3S' pagita 'BEN-O1IP' pagaem 'BEN-O1EP' pagami 'BEN-O2P' pagire 'BEN-O3P.' I have chosen to consider pa as the root, with a set of object prefixes similar in form to those of the Bariai languages: -gau, -gom, -gita, -gami -gaem and -gire. This choice is based on the form pae in which the suffix -e is clearly affixed to pa-. It is also an etymological choice based on comparative evidence, but it should be noted that, synchronically, the root may equally be pag-, with the addition of the regular object prefixes (the exception being the form pagaem which should, according to this analysis, be pag-em). This analysis is based on the third person singular variant form page, in which pag- is treated as the root and -e as the suffix.

The functions of pa- differ in the Maleul/Bariai languages, although all four agree in the benefactive (BEN) use:

'I gave it to you' 'she spoke to me'
S1S-give(-O3S) BEN-O2S S3S-speak BEN-O1S
Kge na-kiv-e pa-gom
Kbn na-pan ei pa-go
Lusi ŋa-pani pa-go
Kove ŋa-pani pa-go
i-ŋono pa-gau
i-posa pa-gau
i-posa pa-gau
i-posa pa-gau

Kabana frequently avoids pa- by using 'give' followed by a possessive, e.g. Kbn na-pan am gaea {S1S-give ED-P2S pig} 'I gave (you) your pork'. In Lusi and Kove, the more common construction is to affix the pronoun to the verb -pani 'give' which can be optionally shortened to -pa before the second and third person object suffixes, e.g. Lusi and Kove i-pa-gau hanĩŋa {S3S-give-O1S food} 'she gave me food' Lusi and Kove ŋa-pani ulo {S1S-give pot} 'I gave him a pot'. This alternation reflects the paradigm of the preposition
"pani" which has "pa-" before the second and third person object suffixes and "pani" as the third person singular form.

Lusi and Kove agree in using "pa-" as a general locative (LOC) 'to, at, in' etc.:

Lusi  
pu\(1\)at\(2\)u \(1\)i-ta\(2\)pu \(1\)pa(ni) \(3\)eau

Kove  
pu\(1\)at\(2\)u \(1\)i-ta\(2\)pu \(1\)pa(ni) \(3\)eau

stone \(3\)S-fall \(3\)LOC \(3\)water

Lusi  
i-\(1\)e\(2\)no \(1\)pa(ni) \(3\)ele \(3\)luma

Kove  
i-\(1\)e\(2\)no \(1\)pa(ni) \(3\)ele \(3\)luma

S3S-sleep \(3\)LOC \(DS\)-O\(3\)S \(DS\)house

Lusi  
ti-nam\(a\) \(3\)pa-gai

Kove  
ti-nam\(a\) \(3\)pa-gai

S3P-come \(LOC\)-O\(1\)EP

Locative marking in Kilenge and Kabana is more complicated. Kilenge marks a locative in one of three ways:

(1) it may be unmarked; in these cases, the nominal prefix "na-" is lost:

Kge  
ti-mai \(3\)nia

S3P-come \(3\)house

(2) a [- animate] location or goal may be marked with the preposition "k\(\gamma\)e" or, less frequently, by "pa-":

Kge  
na-pot \(3\)i-mol \(3\)k\(\gamma\)e \(3\)na-eako

na-stone \(3\)S-fall \(3\)LOC na-water

Kge  
ire \(3\)na-iuol \(3\)k\(\gamma\)e \(na\)-rogo

D3P \(3\)many \(LOC\) na-feast

Kge  
na-iapa \(3\)pa-e \(3\)na-sira

S1S-jump \(LOC\)-O\(3\)S na-fence

(3) a [+human] goal is indicated by "pa-":

Kge  
ti-mai \(3\)pa-\(3\)gaem

S3P-come \(LOC\)-O\(1\)EP

Kabana also uses "pa-" with +human goals. Otherwise a locative is marked by "\(\eta\)an" or by the locative suffix -iai ~ -eai ~ -i:

Kbn  
la pan apa

go \(LOC\) daddy

Kbn  
ti-nam \(3\)pa-gai

S3P-come \(LOC\)-O\(1\)EP

Kbn  
i-dio \(\eta\)an \(3\)tibur o\(a\)

S3S-stay \(LOC\) bush yonder

Kbn  
ta-e\(a\)rum \(moi\) \(\eta\)an le\(le\)le

S1IP-plant \(taro\) \(LOC\) wet.place

Kbn  
ti-la \(3\)tibur-\(ai\) o

S3P-go \(bush\)-LOC comp

‘Go to your father.’

‘They came to us.’

‘She’s in the bush yonder.’

‘Let’s plant the taro in swampy ground.’

‘They have gone to the jungle.’
Kbn *boŋ ti-en̂o lab-iai* ‘Last night they slept on the beach.’
night S3P-sleep beach-LOC

Lusi also possesses the locative suffix *-iai ~ -eai ~ -i* and Kove has *-iai ~ -eai* (Kilenge lacks a locative suffix). The locative allomorphs *-iai* and *-i* are morphologically conditioned, and *-eai* is an allomorph of *-iai* which occurs after mid or low vowels. Words which have lost high vowels in Kabana still reflect the high vowel by opting for the *-iai* suffix. The *-eai* form, however, is becoming productive in Kabana, and currently many words which should affix *-iai* have *-eai* instead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tibur-iai</em></td>
<td><em>tuvuru-iai</em></td>
<td><em>tuvuh-iai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>luma-eai</em></td>
<td><em>luma-eai</em></td>
<td><em>luma-eai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tua</em></td>
<td><em>tua</em></td>
<td><em>tua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mata-g-iai</em></td>
<td><em>mata-g(u)-iai</em></td>
<td><em>mata-gu-iai</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ‘in the bush’. The Kove form comes from *tuvuhu* ‘place’ with deletion of the final -u.

b Irregular form, from *tua* ‘village’ (Chowning, pers. comm.).

c The Lusi form may delete -u and be identical in form to the Kabana.

Lusi and Kove occasionally lose final vowels before the *-iai ~ -eai* suffix, e.g. (i) Lusi and Kove *vilol-eai* ‘under’ from *vilolo* ‘underpart’; and (ii) Lusi and Kove *va-lol-eai* ‘in/to the mangrove’ from *vale* ‘mangrove’ and *lolo* ‘inside’. In Kabana, the same two forms show vowel changes and loss of the final vowel: (i) Kbn *kabulel-eai* ‘under’ from *kabulolo* ‘underpart’; and (ii) Kbn *barQ-le.l-eai* ‘in/to the mangrove’ from *bare* ‘mangrove’ and *lolo* ‘inside’.

The locative suffix is much more common in Kabana than in Lusi or Kove, where *pa-* is more usual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dol i-locia-eai</em></td>
<td><em>u-talona pa tia</em></td>
<td><em>u-talona pa tia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eau i-aoa-i</em></td>
<td><em>eau ai-aoa-i = pa eau ai-aoa</em></td>
<td><em>eau ai-aoa-i = pa eau ai-aoa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* {put S3S-enter basket-LOC}.

Kilenge also uses *pa-* to indicate topic of conversation/cognition (TC) and instrument (INSTR); the Bariai languages agree with one another in the use of Kbn *lJan* Lusi *ya-* Kove *ya-* for these roles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kge</th>
<th>Kbn</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i-ŋono pa-gau pa-e na-ga</em></td>
<td><em>i-posa pa-gau yan gae</em></td>
<td><em>i-posa pa-gau yan gaea</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na-tal-e vage-k pa-e na-pu</em>l</td>
<td><em>na-ket bage-g yan didid</em></td>
<td><em>na-keti lima-gu yan uzage</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na-tal-e vage-k pa-e na-pu</em>l</td>
<td><em>na-ket bage-g yan didid</em></td>
<td><em>na-keti lima-gu yan uzage</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* S3S-speak BEN-01S TC pig
* S1S-cut hand-P1S INSTR knife

In addition, Kilenge uses *pa-* in the interrogative phrase *pa-e na-sae ‘why?’* (*‘for what?’*), where the Bariai languages use *ŋan(i)*: Kbn *ŋan saoa? ~ ŋan sa?* Lusi *ŋani saoa?* Kove *ŋani*
134  RICK GOULDEN

saoa?

‘Why did you hit me?’  ‘Why are they laughing?’
(S2S-)hit-O1S source what  S3P-laugh source what

Kge  ku-lau-au pa-e na-sae?
Kbn  rau-gau saoa?
Lusi  u-rau-gau saoa?
Kove  u-hau-gau saoa?

a  S2S-hit-O1S source-O3S na-what.
b  S3P-laugh source-O3S na-what.

All four Maleu/Bariai languages, however, agree in the use of Kge kŋe Kbn ŋan Lusi ŋani Kove ŋani to indicate source, although the Bariai languages may also use the locative suffix here:

‘he fell from the top of the coconut palm’
S3S-fall source coconut P3S-head

Kge  i-mol kŋe na-niu kuria
Kbn  i-tapu ŋan niu i-labora
Lusi  ŋa-tapu ŋani niu ai-zava
Kove  ŋa-tapu ŋani niu ai-zavazava

The following table shows the different prepositions and postpositions used to mark semantic roles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Kilenge</th>
<th>Kabana</th>
<th>Lusi</th>
<th>Kove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>toman-</td>
<td>tomo ŋa-</td>
<td>toma ŋa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>connective</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>aea</td>
<td>aea</td>
<td>aea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>0, pa-, ki-, kŋe</td>
<td>pa-, ŋan, -iai</td>
<td>pa-, -iai</td>
<td>pa-, -iai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic of conversation</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>ŋan</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>ŋan</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source</td>
<td>kŋe</td>
<td>ŋan, -iai</td>
<td>ŋa-, -iai</td>
<td>ŋa-, -iai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 SUMMARY

Syntactically, Kilenge is structured very much like the Bariai languages. Morphologically, however, Kilenge is distinct from the Bariai languages in several areas. Features of Kilenge not shared by the Bariai languages include:

(1)  the nominal prefix na-.
(2)  the third person singular suffix possessive suffix -a and the first person singular possessive suffix -ge associated with kinship terms.
(3)  the compound possessive forms with -va.
(4)  inalienable adjectives.
(5)  the use of the plural possessive suffix -re to mark plurality on several [+human] nouns.
a third person object suffix -e (or -i).

(7) compound verbs.

(8) the transitive suffix -k-.

(9) the reciprocal form pol.

(10) the form ta ‘still’ which is conjoined with eavo to form eavo ta ‘not yet’.

The Bariai languages share several features absent in Kilenge:

(1) the fossilised third person singular form -n(i) found on prepositions.
(2) the specialised reflexive suffix -i.
(3) the suffix -n(i) found on a few transitive verbs.
(4) a monomorpheme mait(u)ne to express both ‘still’ and ‘not yet’.
(5) the comitative preposition Kbn toman Lusi tomo ηα and Kove toma ηα.
(6) the postposition aea.
(7) the locative suffix -iai.

6. LEXICON

The final area where subgrouping can be clearly delineated is in the lexicon. The closest lexical relationship exists between Lusi and Kove, although they occasionally differ from each other. In these cases, one or the other may match either Kabana or Kilenge, or there can be complete disagreement among the four languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘man’</th>
<th>‘bush hen’</th>
<th>‘ringworm’</th>
<th>‘get’</th>
<th>‘good’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge tamta</td>
<td>kiau</td>
<td>pelpele</td>
<td>-tok</td>
<td>Papua-ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn eaba</td>
<td>kiau</td>
<td>pelpel</td>
<td>-bada</td>
<td>kemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi tanta</td>
<td>kiau</td>
<td>pelpel</td>
<td>-vaza</td>
<td>poeaε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove tamone</td>
<td>kio</td>
<td>kezikezi</td>
<td>-kea</td>
<td>doko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Also ‘male’. Compare Mutu tamot ‘man, person’.
b Also Kove ava ‘man, person’ Lusi eavava ‘human’.
c Also Lusi tomone ‘male’.
d Also Kge n-ai ki-e na-ga e vara-ŋa {tree con-O3S pig e-O3S carry-NSR} ‘a stick for carrying a pig’ (Kbn sig Lusi sigi Kove sigi Gtu si Mutu sig) in which -vara is cognate with the Kabana and Lusi forms. Compare also Gtu -bara Mutu -bad ‘carry’.
e Compare Mutu poia and Gtu pwaya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘heel’</th>
<th>‘run’</th>
<th>‘play’</th>
<th>‘big’</th>
<th>‘garden’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge suki-</td>
<td>-ut</td>
<td>-rikarika</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>kumo  d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn gubi-</td>
<td>-lado</td>
<td>-titiau</td>
<td>kapei</td>
<td>dadaŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi kuti-</td>
<td>-laguzi</td>
<td>-kalianaa</td>
<td>pazona</td>
<td>zazanja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove guvi-</td>
<td>-lazo</td>
<td>-kavanahi</td>
<td>paka</td>
<td>moŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Compare Gtu guvi.
b Compare Gtu -lado.
c From -kazo va {make play}.
d Also Kbn -umo Lusi -umo Kove -umo ‘work in garden’; compare Gtu um”a Mutu um ‘garden’ and Gtu -gun”a ‘work in garden’. The Kove form mo is derived from umo-ŋa {garden-NSR} with loss of u-.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'all gone'</th>
<th>'bow'</th>
<th>'want'</th>
<th>'shark'</th>
<th>'Cycas'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge: apua</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>voli-</td>
<td>sikeoa</td>
<td>patolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn: kus</td>
<td>pande</td>
<td>-kim</td>
<td>bakeoa</td>
<td>babaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi: kuvu</td>
<td>kjen</td>
<td>-zega^a</td>
<td>mogevo</td>
<td>vavaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove: bauka</td>
<td>napariña</td>
<td>-vaga</td>
<td>kaluga,</td>
<td>sioa matolo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Compare Mutu -gaze 'want'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'burn'</th>
<th>'wet'</th>
<th>'hornbill'</th>
<th>'crocodile'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge: -vava^a</td>
<td>vusavusa-</td>
<td>akŋok</td>
<td>pua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn: -ean</td>
<td>burisiña</td>
<td>oronjon</td>
<td>puaea, bagel^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi: -kau</td>
<td>kua</td>
<td>mertian</td>
<td>puaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove: -esi^b</td>
<td>petaka, kua</td>
<td>bea</td>
<td>bagel^c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Compare Mutu -lavar Gu -lava.
^b Kbn -paisi Lusi -paisi 'build a fire' is cognate with the Kove word.

In several instances, Kabana shares a cognate with Kilenge instead of Lusi and Kove:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'hawk'</th>
<th>'wallaby'</th>
<th>'litter'</th>
<th>'blow'</th>
<th>'tremble'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge: kamokiu^a</td>
<td>ruarua</td>
<td>sakir</td>
<td>-so</td>
<td>-samimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn: kamokiu^a, uloto</td>
<td>duadua</td>
<td>sakirker</td>
<td>-uso</td>
<td>-samimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi: lago, ui</td>
<td>kuta</td>
<td>volazu</td>
<td>-pupu</td>
<td>-ligligi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove: lago</td>
<td>kuta</td>
<td>volazu</td>
<td>-pupu</td>
<td>-ligligi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a From -kamo 'beckon' (found also in Kabana and Lusi) and kiue 'rat'. Since the Kabana word for 'rat' is kuduek, this indicates that the Kabana form is borrowed from Kilenge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'swollen'</th>
<th>'hand'</th>
<th>'slit gong'</th>
<th>'tie'</th>
<th>'first'</th>
<th>'left'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge: -uiui</td>
<td>vage^a</td>
<td>kure^a</td>
<td>-kaukau</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ŋas^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn: -uiui</td>
<td>bage^a</td>
<td>kude^a</td>
<td>-kaukau</td>
<td>ge, bua</td>
<td>āŋas^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi: -vini</td>
<td>lima-</td>
<td>gilamo</td>
<td>-lauzi</td>
<td>muga</td>
<td>gagala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove: -vini</td>
<td>lima-</td>
<td>gilamo</td>
<td>-lauzi</td>
<td>muga</td>
<td>gagala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Also Kove kuze 'drum, slit gong'.

^b Compare Mutu ŋas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'yam'</th>
<th>'far'</th>
<th>'itchy'</th>
<th>'old'</th>
<th>'stand'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge: kiu</td>
<td>aluae</td>
<td>-tuntun</td>
<td>muganā-</td>
<td>-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn: kiu</td>
<td>aluae</td>
<td>-tuntun</td>
<td>mugamuga</td>
<td>-madid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi: amezo</td>
<td>mazaza^a</td>
<td>-akala</td>
<td>moho</td>
<td>-gunu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove: amezo</td>
<td>avahi</td>
<td>-akala</td>
<td>moho</td>
<td>-gunu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Also 'a long time', compare Kove mamaza 'a long time'.
The Maleu and Bariai Languages of West New Britain

137

Kge  muk  goŋa  -tutu  visiŋa  tini- eavo
Kbn  mumukuŋa  goŋa  -tutu  bisiŋa  tini-ŋan mao
Lusi  ŋaraŋa  ziziki-a  -moeoeo  kanika  mana- ŋani mao
Kove  ŋahāŋa  ziziki-a  -moeoeo  kanika  mana- ŋani mao

a But Kbn man i-ae didiki (bird P3S-leg finger) ‘vine sp. with curved thorns’.  
b {body not}.  
c {body for it not}.  
d {like for it not}; mana- is an inalienable noun.

It is likely that many of these Kabana words are borrowed from Maleu. Numerous other borrowings stand out by possessing a fossilised na-, the Maleu nominal prefix. Maleu borrowings in Kabana are especially common in bush vocabulary and cultural items, e.g. napapak ‘wild Canarium sp.’, naber ‘tree sp.’, nakotkot ‘philodendron’, nakailil ‘a decorative feather worn on a masked spirit figure’ etc. In some instances, Kabana has two words, one matching Kilenge, the other matching Lusi and Kove, e.g. Kge -men Kbn -men, -sigiri Lusi -sigiri Kove -sagīhi ‘wash, scrub’ (compare Mutu -men).

Ultimately, it is Kilenge which clearly subgroups apart from the Bariai languages. Numerous examples in which a Kilenge form is distinct from a cognate set shared by the Bariai languages can be gleaned from the lexical sets given throughout this paper, including several of the syntactic functors discussed above. Some examples, already presented, include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O2S</th>
<th>O1EP</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>‘not’</th>
<th>‘this’</th>
<th>‘that’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>eavo</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-gai</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-gai</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-gai</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘young woman’ ‘push’ ‘jaw’ ‘cut’ ‘hot’

Kge  -lpu  -patila  givasi-  -rev  nounou
Kbn  blala  -susuran-a  adade-b  -ket  oaraoana
Lusi  vilala  -suklania-a  azeze-b  -keto  oarana
Kove  vilala  -sukulani-a  azeze-b  -keto  oaraoana

a Compare Gtu -zuzura ‘pull’.

b Compare Gtu aze- Mutu aze-

A few more examples from basic vocabulary are provided to show the degree to which Kilenge is lexically disparate. This list can be expanded multifold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘carry’</th>
<th>‘sky’</th>
<th>‘do’</th>
<th>‘veins’</th>
<th>‘road’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge  -ig*</td>
<td>gulvek</td>
<td>-kep</td>
<td>alisli-</td>
<td>roro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn  -bisi</td>
<td>burbur</td>
<td>-kado</td>
<td>oarari-</td>
<td>edapmata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi  -visi</td>
<td>vuvuri</td>
<td>-kazo</td>
<td>oarari-</td>
<td>ezapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove  -visi</td>
<td>vuvuhi</td>
<td>-kazo</td>
<td>oaoahi-</td>
<td>ezapu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a But Kge visi- na {carry-NSR} ‘basket’; also Gtu -bisi ‘carry on back’.

b Compare Gtu -gap.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'rain'</th>
<th>'moon'</th>
<th>'thing'</th>
<th>'strong'</th>
<th>'who (pl)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge sava</td>
<td>top</td>
<td>va, vulga</td>
<td>votvoti-</td>
<td>sime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn aoara</td>
<td>taiko</td>
<td>daña</td>
<td>matua</td>
<td>sapad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi aoara</td>
<td>taiko</td>
<td>zanga</td>
<td>matua</td>
<td>sapaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove aoaha</td>
<td>taiko</td>
<td>zanga</td>
<td>matua a</td>
<td>sapaza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a 'mature, fully-developed'. The Kabana and Lusi cognates also have this meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'tail'</th>
<th>'smoke'</th>
<th>'tomorrow'</th>
<th>'throw'</th>
<th>'eye'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge vovo-</td>
<td>vuja</td>
<td>aule</td>
<td>-parua</td>
<td>airo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn uui-</td>
<td>basu</td>
<td>sabale</td>
<td>-tado</td>
<td>mata- b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi hiihu-</td>
<td>vosu</td>
<td>savale</td>
<td>-tazo</td>
<td>mata- b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove hiihu-</td>
<td>vosu</td>
<td>savalele</td>
<td>-tazo</td>
<td>mata- b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Compare Gtu igu-.
b Compare Gtu mata- Mutu mata-.

In many of these sets, the Bariai languages have cognates in the Ngero languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ginger'</th>
<th>'smell'</th>
<th>'mucus'</th>
<th>'marry'</th>
<th>'inside'</th>
<th>'spouse'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge gena</td>
<td>kuni-</td>
<td>muni-</td>
<td>-ola</td>
<td>remo-</td>
<td>aiu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn laia</td>
<td>oadi-</td>
<td>ηοο-</td>
<td>-oai</td>
<td>lolo-</td>
<td>adaoo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi haia</td>
<td>oazi-</td>
<td>ηοο-</td>
<td>-oai</td>
<td>lolo-</td>
<td>azaoa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove haia</td>
<td>oazi-</td>
<td>ηοο-</td>
<td>-oai</td>
<td>lolo-</td>
<td>azaoa a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu laea</td>
<td>vazi</td>
<td>ηοο-</td>
<td>-vai</td>
<td>lolo-</td>
<td>azua-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu lae</td>
<td>buz</td>
<td>ηο-</td>
<td>-vai</td>
<td>lolo-</td>
<td>azua-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Chowning (1986) also gives the form azoa-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'nose'</th>
<th>'louse'</th>
<th>'egg'</th>
<th>'give'</th>
<th>'dry'</th>
<th>'urinate'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge vani-</td>
<td>gine</td>
<td>ηαο-</td>
<td>-kiv</td>
<td>-gol</td>
<td>-mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn nuzu-</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>kakatol</td>
<td>-pan</td>
<td>mamasa</td>
<td>-meme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi nuzu-</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>kakatolu</td>
<td>-pani</td>
<td>mamasa</td>
<td>-meme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove nuzu-</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>-pani</td>
<td>mamasa</td>
<td>-meme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu uz-</td>
<td>(lezak)</td>
<td>(apopor)</td>
<td>-van</td>
<td>mamasa</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu izu-</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>atulu</td>
<td>(-gam)</td>
<td>mamasa</td>
<td>-meme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chowning (1986:415-6) provides a list of isoglosses which delineate the Ngero/Bariai subgroup either lexically or through shared phonological changes from Proto Oceanic, and numerous of these isoglosses are absent in Kilenge. The following list adds Kilenge, Kabana and Lusi to Chowning’s list (which includes Kove). I have added hyphens for what are probably inalienable nouns and verb stems in MiI (Malalamai) and Gtu (Gitua), but these are absent in Chowning’s list, so they may be inaccurate in places. I have replaced Chowning’s Tuam-Mutu entries with the Mandok dialect of Mutu from Pomponio (pers. comm.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'one'</th>
<th>'head'</th>
<th>'blood'</th>
<th>'hip'</th>
<th>'drink'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge tea</td>
<td>kuri-</td>
<td>tepo-</td>
<td>givapoti-</td>
<td>-va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn ede</td>
<td>(labora-)</td>
<td>sijni-</td>
<td>bule-</td>
<td>-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi eze</td>
<td>zava-</td>
<td>sijni-</td>
<td>vole-</td>
<td>-unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove eze</td>
<td>zava-</td>
<td>sijni-</td>
<td>volevole-</td>
<td>-unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIl —</td>
<td>dawa-</td>
<td>siijn</td>
<td>bole-</td>
<td>-unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu eze</td>
<td>zava-</td>
<td>siijn</td>
<td>bwale-</td>
<td>-gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu ez</td>
<td>daba-</td>
<td>siijn</td>
<td>bole-</td>
<td>-gun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'smell'</th>
<th>'name'</th>
<th>'dance'</th>
<th>'wing'</th>
<th>'Saccharum sp.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge -loge kuni</td>
<td>-pasis</td>
<td>-gale</td>
<td>vani-</td>
<td>pas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn -nud</td>
<td>eda-</td>
<td>-tol</td>
<td>bagebage-</td>
<td>tabual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi -nuzi</td>
<td>eza-</td>
<td>-tori</td>
<td>vavgage-</td>
<td>tavuari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove -nuzi</td>
<td>eza-</td>
<td>-tohi</td>
<td>vage-</td>
<td>tavaiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIl -nuŋuizi</td>
<td>eza-</td>
<td>-tol</td>
<td>bae-</td>
<td>tambol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu -ŋuŋuizi</td>
<td>ezangani-</td>
<td>-tor</td>
<td>bage-</td>
<td>tambuar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu —</td>
<td>iza-</td>
<td>-tor</td>
<td>bage-</td>
<td>tamboyar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'red'</th>
<th>'digging stick'</th>
<th>'tie'</th>
<th>'not'</th>
<th>'come'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge kilkilua</td>
<td>-pasī</td>
<td>eavo</td>
<td>-mai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn siŋsiŋia</td>
<td>eado</td>
<td>-piti</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>-nam(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi siŋsiŋia</td>
<td>azo</td>
<td>-piti</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>-nama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove siŋsiŋia</td>
<td>oazo</td>
<td>-piti</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>-nama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIl wazo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td>-lam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu siŋsiŋia</td>
<td>yazo</td>
<td>-bitu</td>
<td>mago</td>
<td>-laim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu siŋsiŋia</td>
<td>yaz</td>
<td>-bit</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>-nim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'four'</th>
<th>'know'</th>
<th>'laugh'</th>
<th>'hit'</th>
<th>'fall'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge paŋe</td>
<td>-otai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-lau</td>
<td>-top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn paŋe</td>
<td>-oatai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>-tap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi paŋe</td>
<td>-oatai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove paŋe</td>
<td>-(o)atai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-hau</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIl paŋe</td>
<td>-wote</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-lop</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu paŋe</td>
<td>-watak</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rap</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu paŋ</td>
<td>-watagi</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rab</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 'top of a tree'.
- 'thigh'.
- 'hear.O3S smell).
- But Kge vage- ‘arm, hand’, compare Kbn bage- ‘arm, hand’.
- Kilenge lacks a word for ‘digging stick’ although the concept can be expressed by the phrase n-ai ki-e na-kumo-ña {na-tree CON-03S na-garden-NSR} ‘stick for gardening’.

In addition to these, Lincoln (1977a:15) also points out the distinctiveness of the word for ‘bone’, which is tua or tautua in the Ngero/Bariai languages, but Kge volvoli-. It must be noted, however, that there are instances where Kilenge has a cognate form with the Ngero/Bariai isoglosses provided by Chowning (1986):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'four'</th>
<th>'know'</th>
<th>'laugh'</th>
<th>'hit'</th>
<th>'fall'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge paŋe</td>
<td>-otai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-lau</td>
<td>-top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn paŋe</td>
<td>-oatai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>-tap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi paŋe</td>
<td>-oatai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rau</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove paŋe</td>
<td>-(o)atai</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-hau</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIl paŋe</td>
<td>-wote</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-lop</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu paŋe</td>
<td>-watak</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rap</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu paŋ</td>
<td>-watagi</td>
<td>-ŋiŋ</td>
<td>-rab</td>
<td>-tapu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The usual word is -mol ‘fall’, but -top is used in na-sava i-top {rain S3S-rain} ‘it is raining’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'high tide'</th>
<th>'betel pepper'</th>
<th>'good'</th>
<th>'alight'</th>
<th>'tear'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>sil</td>
<td>rek</td>
<td>papua-</td>
<td>-kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>sil</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>(kemi)</td>
<td>-eăn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>sili</td>
<td>zogi</td>
<td>poea</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>sili</td>
<td>zogi</td>
<td>(doko)</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mll</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>doi</td>
<td>poe</td>
<td>-yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>dogi</td>
<td>pwaya</td>
<td>-gan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>poia</td>
<td>-gan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'water'</th>
<th>'when'</th>
<th>'weave'</th>
<th>'sibling opp sex'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>eako</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>-pau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>eau</td>
<td>ṭeda</td>
<td>-ooaoai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>eau</td>
<td>ṭeza</td>
<td>-ooaoai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>eau</td>
<td>ṭeza</td>
<td>-ooaoai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mll</td>
<td>ieu</td>
<td>ṭeza</td>
<td>-wowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu</td>
<td>iau</td>
<td>ṭeza</td>
<td>-wovai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ṭez</td>
<td>-vovai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these, there are a few Kilenge words which have cognates with Ngero languages, while the Bariai languages do not:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'true'</th>
<th>'heavy'</th>
<th>'long'</th>
<th>'mango'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>onaona</td>
<td>pataŋa-</td>
<td>moloŋa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>tautaŋa</td>
<td>kulupu</td>
<td>mamarae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>aoatau</td>
<td>kulupu</td>
<td>voru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>aoatau</td>
<td>uha-</td>
<td>zaezae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu</td>
<td>onana,</td>
<td>tauŋa</td>
<td>pataŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu</td>
<td>onon,</td>
<td>tau</td>
<td>pataŋan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'dig'</th>
<th>'island'</th>
<th>'calm'</th>
<th>'short'</th>
<th>'dream'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kge</td>
<td>-kel</td>
<td>motmot</td>
<td>taul</td>
<td>tuktuki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbn</td>
<td>-lei</td>
<td>eru</td>
<td>madlo</td>
<td>bolobolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusi</td>
<td>-lei</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>malilo</td>
<td>volvoló</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kove</td>
<td>-lei</td>
<td>ruu</td>
<td>malilo</td>
<td>volvoló</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtu</td>
<td>-gel</td>
<td>(siesie)</td>
<td>manino</td>
<td>tuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutu</td>
<td>(-tai)†</td>
<td>mutu</td>
<td>taun</td>
<td>tuku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compare Kbn -taian 'plant' Lusi -taiani 'bury, cover with dirt'.

* Compare Kbn sia Lusi sia Kove sia 'reef' (Kge kur). The Siasi Islands probably take their name from a similar form such as siaisia (with final vowel loss typical of Mutu); 'Lusi' comes from the word for 'mountain', as does 'Lolo' (both groups were traditionally interior-dwellers), and it may be the case that the name 'Kove' is related to the Gitua word kove meaning 'sea' (the Kove dwell on numerous off-shore islands along the coast of West New Britain).
Kge  ai    pui-    -mule     lolo     vita-
Kbn  abei*  kede-    -lua-    lusi    kasiki
Lusi avei*  keze-    -lua-    lusi    kasiki
Kove  avei*  keze-    -lua-    lusi    kasiki
Gtu  ai     pug-     -mule   (ngaram)  bitate
Mutu ai     ende-    -mul   loloz     bite

These may be cognate with ai but their forms distinguish the Bariai languages from Kilenge and the Ngero languages.

Kge ip     ono     -lamo    -sun    ilapen, vaniaro
Kbn ua     oatai   -saoa    -gau    nabainaro
Lusi ua    tau     -gama    -gau    sususu
Kove ua    tau     —       -gau    sususu
Gtu ipi    wane    -lamo    -sun    (lala)
Mutu —     wan     —       —       irapej

Also Kge kolman Mutu olman ‘old man’; the Bariai languages lack a word for this.

6.1 LEXICON: SUMMARY

The differences among the Maleu/Bariai languages are quite salient in the lexicon, and it is in the lexicon that speakers of these languages themselves recognise distinctiveness. Although Lusi and Kove are quite similar, their speakers focus on the evident lexical differences as a way to define themselves as different linguistic (and cultural) peoples. Nonetheless, it is clear from the vast number of shared lexical items that Lusi and Kove are very closely related. Their next closest tie is with Kabana, which also shares a large lexical repertoire, but which also possesses numerous lexical differences. While some of these are shared by Kilenge, there is no question that Kilenge stands apart lexically from the Bariai languages. Lastly, the lexical evidence available relates the Bariai languages to the Ngero languages. Although Kilenge also possesses lexical items cognate with Ngero languages (and sometimes lacking in the Bariai languages), their number is dwarfed by the number of cognates shared by the Ngero languages and the Bariai languages and lacking in Kilenge.

The differences among the four languages can be greatly enlarged when esoteric vocabulary is taken into account. Unfortunately, there are still numerous gaps in my data bases for Kove and Kilenge, and consequently this area has not been fully explored here. Although the vocabulary available to me at this time supports the separation of Kilenge from the Bariai languages, and the separation of Kabana from Lusi and Kove, deeper analysis of the esoteric vocabulary might provide some interesting patterns of borrowing. At this level, Lusi shares more with Anêm, a neighbouring non-Austronesian language (see Thurston 1982), than it does with Kabana and, I suspect, with Kove. Kabana, on the other hand, has considerably more Maleu borrowings in this lexical realm than do Lusi and Kove (although they both have borrowed a few words from Maleu), while Kove has taken numerous lexical items from Bakovi and Bali-Vitu.
7. CONCLUSIONS

This brief descriptive account of Kilenge and the Bariai languages of West New Britain demonstrates the ways in which Kilenge (and by extension, Lolo), Kabana, Lusi and Kove relate to each other. At the phonological level, there are a few emblematic features which distinguish each language. Kove stands out from the rest in having replaced r with h. It is also the most conservative in vowel retention. Kabana is the only language of the group with oral voiced stops (although this is changing), while Lusi and Kove share prenasalised stops largely lacking in Kilenge and Kabana. Kilenge is unique in lacking a voiced alveolar phoneme equivalent to d in Kabana and z in Lusi and Kove. Lusi has no one feature that the others lack, but its combination of features distinguishes it phonologically from the others.

The Maleul/Bariai languages developed from Proto Oceanic in many similar ways. Kabana and Kilenge, however, share several changes not found in Lusi and Kove, especially (a) the loss of final high vowels, and (b) the loss of h. In other areas, however, Kabana clearly subgroups with Lusi and Kove. Kilenge stands out in several ways, outlined in §2.7. In many of these cases, however, variation can be found in the Bariai languages, and conversely, some words in Kilenge share the changes to be found in the Bariai languages. Borrowing among the four languages has blurred many of the language-specific developments.

Syntactically the Maleul/Bariai languages all belong in a Sprachbund, or language convergence area. Nonetheless, Kilenge stands out from the Bariai languages in several aspects of its morphology (§5.3). This is also the case when the lexica of the four languages are compared. While Kilenge can be separated from the Bariai languages at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels, the question of its closest relatives among the Vitiaz languages still needs to be explored. Given the large number of Kilenge lexemes that have no counterpart in the Maleul/Bariai languages, it is necessary to find isoglosses connecting such lexemes to other Vitiaz languages. If morphological evidence can also be given, then the evidence will be strong. If isoglosses connecting Kilenge to other Vitiaz languages cannot be found, then Kilenge must remain a Vitiaz isolate, as classified by Ross (1988).

The Maleu have maintained a strategic position in West New Britain for many generations. Their territory covers the whole western end of the island, from the south coast to the north coast, and so they have a long history of contact with neighbouring south coast languages, with Amara, and with the Bariai languages. Because of their geographic location, they have also been the entry point of the Siasi trade network into New Britain. Many trade goods reach the Arove, Kabana, Lusi, Kove, Bali-Vitu islanders and the Bakovi not directly from Siasi voyagers, but from Kilenge intermediaries. Such contact provides a plethora of sources for borrowing and linguistic change. The implications of such contact are twofold: (a) to understand the origin of the Maleu lexicon, one must search further afield than the Ngero/Bariai languages; and (b) it is reasonable to expect that the Maleu lexical core does not match any one given Ngero/Bariai or Vitiaz language, but will show elements from several.
REFERENCES


Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.


Lincoln, Peter, 1977a, Subgrouping across a syntactic isogloss. Mimeo.


Pawley, Andrew K., 1973, Some problems in Oceanic grammar. OL 12:103-188.


1988, Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia. PL C-98.


1. PRELIMINARIES

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Maleu is a member of the Vitiaz linkage (see Ross, this volume) spoken by over 4000 people living in the Cape Gloucester sub-province of the West New Britain Province. There are two dialects, Kilenge and Maleu.

Data for this paper were gathered in Pototpua village, whose residents speak the Maleu dialect, between 1974 and 1977. The writer lived among the Maleu in broken periods during those years. Abbreviations are listed on page vi.

1.2 PHONEME INVENTORY

Maleu has five vowels /i e a o u/. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are often phonetically [y] and [w] respectively before another vowel. The inventory of consonants is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that there are no phonemic voiced stops. The symbol g is used for the voiced velar fricative [y]. However, the voiced fricatives /v/ and /g/ vary between fricatives [β y] and stops [b g]. The (voiced) stop allophones occur only after nasals, e.g. amvįne [ambiŋe] 'big'.

---

1 An earlier version of this paper was written in 1980 as part of the author's work with the Papua New Guinea branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Grateful appreciation is extended to Michael Kataka, Robert Aigilo, Benita Maia, Barnabas Navus, Bruno Nakovai and Alphonse Narol who provided texts and helped record and transcribe them. Many other people provided very helpful answers to many questions as they patiently taught the language. Consultant help was graciously given by Robert Lee, Elizabeth Murane, and Linda Vissering (née Lauck). These colleagues provided valuable suggestions for the production of the earlier version.

2 Editor's note: Consistency would require that b, rather than v, be used for the bilabial fricative. However, v is used for the sake of consistency with Goulden (this volume).
The voiced fricatives do not occur word-finally.

The sequences /tn/ and /kn/ are pronounced as [ŋn] and [ŋn] respectively.

1.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Where a sequence of two like vowels occurs at a morpheme boundary, elision occurs, i.e. one is deleted.

- **ki- PREP: 'of' + ire D3P: 'they'** becomes **k-ire 'of them'**
- **na- NM + ai ‘tree’** becomes **n-ai ‘NM-tree’**

When the third person singular object or possessive pronoun -e is attached to a stem ending in -e, -a or -o, or in a consonant + -i, the stem-final vowel is dropped.

- **i-valpala-re** S3S-split-O3P ‘he splits them’
  - **but i-valpal-e** S3S-split-O3S ‘he splits it’
- **mata-mi** face-P1EP ‘our faces’
  - **but mat-e** face-P3S ‘his face’
- **i-toko-re** S3S-take-O3P ‘he takes them’
  - **but i-tok-e** S3S-take-O3S ‘he takes it’
- **eiña-re** big-P3P ‘big (singular)’
  - **but eiñ-e** big-P3S ‘big (plural)’
- **i-kevi-re** S3S-do-O3P ‘he does them’
  - **but i-kev-e** S3S-do-O3S ‘he does it’

The basic form for the prefixed noun marker on nouns is **na- ‘a, the’**, but it undergoes elision before stem-initial a- and becomes **ne- and no-** before i- and u- respectively.

- **na-tamta** ‘NM-man’
- **na-olo** ‘NM-rope’
- **n-ae** ‘NM-day’
- **ne-iuare** ‘NM-woman’
- **no-urata** ‘NM-work’

The first person singular subject pronoun **na-** is similarly affected:

- **ne-ik** S1S-carry ‘I am carrying’

When reduplication affects a nasal + fricative (phonetic stop) sequence, only the fricative is repeated.

- **na-ringete ‘NM-termite’ na-ringetegete [na-ringeteyete] ‘NM-termites’**

When an affix ending in -m is added to a stem with initial k, assimilation occurs, -m becoming -ŋ.

- **lem + kiamo** becomes **leŋ-kiamo** P1EP-mumu ‘our mumu’
- **em + kono** becomes **en-kono** S1EP-sleep ‘we sleep’

When the final -k of some verb stems occurs before a vowel, this -k becomes -g- [ŋ]. This may occur as the result of reduplication or by the addition of a suffix:
em-uk  S1IP-swim  ‘we swim for lobsters’
but em-uguk  S1IP-swim.CNT  ‘we swim for lobsters’
ne-ik  S1S-carry  ‘I am carrying’
but ne-ig-e  S1S-carry-O3S  ‘I am carrying it’

Some words change form within a declension. This is true of some inalienably possessed nouns.

ero-k  eye-P1S  ‘my eye’
ero-ra  eye-P1IP  ‘our eyes’
but eru-a  eye-P3S  ‘his eye’
eru-mi  eye-P2P  ‘your eyes’
goli-k  neck-P1S  ‘my neck’
but gol-ra  neck-P1IP  ‘our necks’

1.4 WORD BOUNDARIES

To determine word boundaries in Maleu three criteria are employed: the stress pattern on compounds, the occurrence of known isolated words in larger forms, and the occurrence of clitics.

1.4.1 STRESS PATTERN ON COMPOUNDS

When certain words are compounded, stress shifts to the penultimate syllable and in some cases vowels also change to effect vowel harmony. The preference in spelling is to follow the phonological form.

avo ‘not’ + ta  becomes  a’vota ‘not yet’
avo ‘not’ + la  becomes  a’vola ‘and so’
ta ‘one’ + tia ‘one’  becomes  tiatia [tiatyā] ‘one by one’
na’roro ‘NM-road’ + tne ‘his/her.mother’  becomes  naro’rotne ‘the big road’
na’voloa ‘NM-man’ + tia ‘one’  becomes  navo’latia [nabo’layta] ‘one man’
na’voloa ‘NM-man’ + lua ‘two’  becomes  navo’lalua [nabo’lalwa] ‘two men’

When ire ‘they’ and lua ‘two’ are compounded three forms may be found:
er’elua
er’emua  ‘they two’, ‘he and (one other)’
er’elmua

1.4.2 OCCURRENCE OF KNOWN ISOLATED WORDS

Where known isolated words occur within larger forms, these are treated as two words, with exceptions where stress-shift indicates a compound (§1.4.1).

Examples:
1.4.3 OCCURRENCE OF CLITICS

In this paper, higher level clitics have been separated from words to which they attach.

Examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tatano lo} \hspace{1cm} 'ground there'  
    (\textit{lo} = boundary particle)
  \item \textit{na-melamela io} \hspace{1cm} 'NM-child there'  
    (\textit{io} = boundary particle)
\end{itemize}

1.4.4 CLASSES OF PRONOMINAL MORPHEME

Five classes of pronominal morphemes are recognised here. They are, with their class abbreviations:

\begin{itemize}
  \item D \hspace{1cm} disjunctive (independent, free) pronouns (§3.6.1)
  \item P \hspace{1cm} possessive pronominal suffixes (§3.2) and possessive pronouns (§3.6.2)
  \item S \hspace{1cm} subject pronominal prefixes (§3.1)
  \item O \hspace{1cm} object pronominal suffixes (§3.1)
  \item R \hspace{1cm} reflexive pronouns (§3.6.3)
\end{itemize}

2. STEMS

Stems are simple or complex. Simple stems contain only one morpheme, complex stems more than one morpheme. Stems may be bound, not occurring without an affix; or free, able to occur without an affix.

2.1 SIMPLE STEMS

Examples of simple stems are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item bound \hspace{1cm} \textit{kuri-} \hspace{1cm} 'head'
    \textit{-mari} \hspace{1cm} 'stand'
  \item free \hspace{1cm} \textit{lolo} \hspace{1cm} 'mountain'
    \textit{mule} \hspace{1cm} 'return'
\end{itemize}
2.2 COMPOUND STEMS

2.2.1 NOUNS

Maleu has a small number of compound noun stems.

- namaga ‘sand’ + tn-e ‘mother-P3S’ becomes namagatne ‘a tiny fish’
- -roro ‘road’ + tn-e ‘mother-P3S’ becomes narorotne ‘the big road’
- au-a ‘mouth-P3S’ + nagen ‘ginger’ becomes auanagen ‘catfish’

2.2.2 VERBS

Maleu also has a number of compound verb stems.

- gal- ‘pierce’ + -pala- ‘split’ gives na-gal-pal-e ‘S1S-pierce-split-O3S’

The complex form here (‘I pierce-split it’) expresses the idea of piercing a small vine and splitting it into four parts with thumb and forefinger so that the centre of the vine may be thrown away.

2.3 DERIVED NOUN STEMS

There are a large number of verb stems which can be changed into nouns by the addition of the nominalising suffix -ηa

Examples:
- vore ‘dress up’ becomes -voreηa ‘finery’
- uavel ‘run’ becomes -uavelηa ‘running’
- nongo ‘speak’ becomes -nongoηa ‘talk’
- muga ‘go first’ becomes mugaηa ‘front, first place’
- -ηiη ‘laugh’ becomes -ηiηa ‘laughter’
- vou ‘sing’ becomes -vouηa ‘song’
- rikarika ‘play’ becomes -rikarikaηa ‘toy’
- kirime ‘follow’ becomes -kirimeηa ‘rear place’

2.4 REDUPLICATED STEMS

2.4.1 ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS AND NOUNS

Reduplication of stems may be of the whole or a part of the stem. Reduplication in nouns normally indicates plural number, while that in adjectives and adverbs indicates individuality associated with plural number.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amvīne</td>
<td>amvivīne</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaporī-a</td>
<td>kaporpori-a</td>
<td>‘small-P3S’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poki-a</td>
<td>pokpoki-a</td>
<td>‘toe-P3S’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.2 VERB STEMS

Reduplication of a verb stem may also be of the whole or a part of the stem. It can indicate that the action is intensified, continuative or durational. Very often verb stems are reduplicated when plural subject prefixes or plural object suffixes are present. (Prefixes and suffixes in these examples mark the person and number of, respectively, subject and object; see §3.1)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{na-uavel} & \text{‘I run’} \\
\text{na-muga} & \text{‘I go first’} \\
\text{na-gal-e} & \text{‘I pierce it’} \\
\text{i-maia} & \text{‘he rests’} \\
\text{na-lei-e} & \text{‘I see it’} \\
\text{na-ruk-e} & \text{‘I wrap up it’} \\
\text{na-kan-e} & \text{‘I eat it’} \\
\text{na-lik-e} & \text{‘I fasten it’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{na-uavelvel} & \text{‘I run fast’} \\
\text{na-mugamuga} & \text{‘I go in front of line or group’} \\
\text{na-galgal-e} & \text{‘I continue piercing it’} \\
\text{i-maiamai} & \text{‘he rests for a period’} \\
\text{na-leilei-re} & \text{‘I see them’} \\
\text{na-rukruki-re} & \text{‘I wrap them/it all up (i.e. food)’} \\
\text{na-kanan-e} & \text{‘I eat all of it’} \\
\text{em-likoliko} & \text{‘we fasten them’}
\end{array}
\]

More research is needed on verbal reduplication, which is glossed here simply as ‘continuative’ (CNT).

2.4.3 NUMERALS

Reduplication of numerals or numbers occurs to a limited extent in Maleu to form adverbs as follows.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
tia & \text{‘one’} \\
lua & \text{‘two’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
tiatia & \text{‘one by one’} \\
lualua & \text{‘two by two’}
\end{array}
\]

3. WORDS

3.1 VERBS

Verbs in Maleu are free forms with optional affixation. A verb in the indicative mood has a pronominal prefix indicating the person and number of the subject. An unprefixed verb expresses the imperative mood. A transitive verb also has a pronominal suffix indicating the person and number of the object.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc|cc}
\text{SUBJECT PRONOMINAL PREFIXES} & \text{SINGULAR} & \text{PLURAL} & \text{OBJECT PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES} & \text{SINGULAR} & \text{PLURAL} \\
\hline
11 & - & \text{ta-} & - & \text{-ta} \\
1E & \text{na-} & \text{em-} & \text{-ou} & \text{-em} \\
2 & \text{ku-} & \text{a-} & \text{-om} & \text{-mi} \\
3 & \text{i-} & \text{ti-} & \text{-e} & \text{-re}
\end{array}
\]

For example:
na-kan  
S1S-eat  
‘I eat’

i-rukruki-re  
S3S-wrap.up-O3P  
‘she/he wraps them up’

Note that object pronominal suffixes also occur on certain prepositions (§3.12.1).

The causative derivational prefix pa- is inserted immediately before the verb stem.

na-pa-sik-e  
S1S-CS-tie.up-O3S  
‘I tie it up’

There is no verbal tense marking in Maleu. Past and present are distinguished by the presence of a temporal (§3.5) or by context. The future tense is marked by a morpheme pa preceding the whole clause, the subject or subject prefix of a verb.

A-rene uae-m tere1Je pou pa a-la a-lu patia  
S2P-be.with friend-P2S some new FUT S2P-go S2P-go.in together”  
‘You and some of your friends too will enrol together.’

Reduplication of a verb stem may express duration or continuation, but also has other functions (§2.4.2).

na-gal-e  
S1S-pierce-O3S  
‘I pierce it’

na-gal-gal-e  
S1S-pierce.CNT-O3S  
‘I continue piercing it’

i-maia  
S3S-rest  
‘he is resting’

i-maia-maia  
S3S-rest.CNT  
‘he rests for a period’

Maleu has an interrogative verbal proform -so or -uso, meaning ‘do what’. For example:

ai-m  
i-so  
io?  
leg-P2S  
S3S-do.what PRT  
‘what is the matter with your leg?’  
(More literally, ‘What has your leg done?’)

3.2 COMMON NOUNS

Common nouns fill the HEAD slots of noun phrases (§4.2), and may be classified according to possession. Possessed nouns occur with a pronominal possessive affix indicating the person and number of the possessor. A noun may be classified according to the kind of pronominal possessive affix which occurs with it, and by whether it is obligatorily or optionally possessed. (For the syntax of possessed nouns, see §4.2.2.)

There are three kinds of possessive affix, namely possessive suffixes, intimate possessive prefixes, and non-intimate possessive prefixes, shown below. (‘1I’ means ‘first person plural inclusive’, i.e. including the addressee, whilst ‘1E’ means ‘first person exclusive’, i.e. excluding the addressee.)
### SUFFIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>-k, -ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INTIMATE PREFIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ara-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>am-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NON-INTIMATE PREFIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>lek-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lem-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix -k ‘my’ is replaced by -ge with some kin terms.

#### 3.2.1 Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

Obligatorily possessed nouns include body parts and some kin terms. They always occur with a possessive affix. For most, the possessive marker is a suffix. However, some kin terms instead take intimate possessive prefixes, and more remote kin terms take non-intimate possessive prefixes.

Examples of nouns which take a possessive suffix are kuri- ‘head’ and tivu- ‘grandparent’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kuri-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>kuri-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuri-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kuri-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some kin terms are historical compounds, and the suffix is attached to the first morpheme of the compound, as in liu- + lia ‘younger sister’ (i.e. the suffix is structurally an infix here).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>liu-ra- lia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>liu-em- lia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>liu-m- lia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>liu-a- lia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast to ‘younger sister’, the noun -tuape ‘younger brother’ occurs with an intimate possessive prefix, whilst -sasa ‘great-grandparent’ occurs with a non-intimate possessive prefix.
### 3.2.2 Optionally Possessed Nouns

Optionally possessed nouns differ from those above in that they also occur in an unpossessed form. Most (but not all) optionally possessed nouns are prefixed by the noun marker *na-* in their unpossessed form. Plural is usually not marked on the noun, but human nouns sometimes take *-re* to indicate plurality, e.g. *na-malaki-re* \{NM-young.men-P3P\} ‘young men’.

In their possessed forms, optionally possessed nouns take either the intimate or the non-intimate possessive prefixes. Nouns of a nature intimate to a person take the intimate possessive prefixes. Other nouns take the non-intimate prefixes. There is also some overlap of the subclasses, i.e. some nouns may occur with either kind of prefix. A small number of nouns taking non-intimate prefixes may also take suffixes.

Examples of optionally possessed nouns which take an intimate possessive prefix are *-gelema* ‘lobster’ and *-pasis* ‘name’.

*na-gelema* ‘NM-lobster’

*a-gelema* ‘my lobster’

*ami-gelema* ‘your lobster’

*ere-gelema* ‘their lobster’

*na-pasis* ‘NM-name’

*ak-pasis* ‘my name’

*e-pasis* ‘his/her name’

*ara-pasis* ‘our names’

*ere-pasis* ‘their names’

The nouns *-pul* ‘knife’ and *-mei* ‘sleeping mat’ take a non-intimate possessive prefix.

*na-pul* ‘NM-knife’

*lem-pul* ‘your knife; our knives’

*la-pul* ‘his/her knife’

*ra-pul* ‘our knives’

*na-mei* ‘NM-sleeping.mat’

*lek-mei* ‘my sleeping mat’

*ra-mei* ‘our sleeping mat’

*re-mei* ‘their sleeping mats’

### 3.2.3 Locative Nouns

Locative nouns are a subclass of common noun which may also fill the LOCATION slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). When they occur in this slot, they have no prefix, that is, they behave as locatives (§3.4). For example:
Locative nouns generally refer to locations which are intimately familiar to Maleu speakers. There are three categories of locative noun.

The first category consists of at least three nouns, *kumo* 'garden', *paele* 'beach', and *sapu* 'camp', which always occur unprefixed. Possession is expressed with the possessive noun phrase (2) structure (§4.2.2): *kumo ki-om* {garden PREP-02S} 'your garden'.

The second includes nouns which may also occur as optionally possessed common nouns (i.e. they may take *na-*) or as unprefixed locatives: *lolo* 'mountain', *nia* 'village, home', *ulum* 'men's house', *roro* 'road', *oga* 'canoe'. For example:

\[
\text{erelua tivu-a ti-mate kje na-lolo tia} \\
\text{they two grandfather-P3S S3P-stay at NM-mountain one} \\
\text{'He and his grandfather live on one mountain.'}
\]

The third category has only one member, *remo* 'inside', which occurs in three guises:

(i) as an optionally possessed common noun which may take *na-*;

(ii) as an obligatorily possessed noun: *remo-k* {inside-P1S} 'my inside, my thinking', *remo-mi* {inside-P2P} 'your insides, your thinking';

(iii) as the second part of a compound unprefixed locative noun: *nia-remo* 'the inside of the house', *ulum-remo* 'the inside of the men's house'; *oga-remo* 'the inside of the canoe'.

3.3 PROPER NOUNS

Proper nouns are the particular names of persons and places. They are free forms without affixation. Proper nouns occur in the same slots as basic noun phrases, and proper nouns which are the names of places may also occur in the LOCATION slots of verbal clauses.

Names of villages sometimes occur with the noun marker *na-* (i.e. are used as common nouns) or a third person plural suffix, but in such cases reference is usually being made to an inhabitant or inhabitants rather than to the place itself.

3.4 LOCATIVES

Locatives are words that fill the HEAD slot of locative phrases, which in turn fill the LOCATION slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). Unlike locative nouns (§3.2.3), which may function either as common nouns (with the noun marker *na-*) or like locatives (without affixation), the words listed here appear never to take the affixation of a common noun. Whereas locative nouns refer to specific items in the environment, locatives refer to relative locations.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{alele\text{\textsl{\textbar}}} & \text{ 'round about'} \\
\text{aluai} & \text{ 'far away'} \\
\text{eilut} & \text{ 'up above'} \\
\text{rounsio} & \text{ 'down below'} \ (< -\text{\textbar} \text{\textbar} \text{\textbar} 'go down' + -\text{\textbar} \text{\textbar} \text{\textbar} 'stop')
\end{align*}
\]
**male**  ‘outside’

For locative proforms, see §3.8. The interrogative locative is *siaŋ* ‘where?’.

### 3.5 TEMPORALS

Temporals are words that fill the **TIME** slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

- **alavoko**  ‘today’
- **noula**  ‘yesterday’
- **olia**  ‘day before yesterday’
- **muga**  ‘before’
- **utue**  ‘morning’
- **v01J**  ‘night’
- **eliatoko**  ‘now’
- **aole**  ‘tomorrow’
- **vojua**  ‘day after tomorrow’
- **eimul(e)**  ‘later’
- **leilei**  ‘afternoon, evening’

The interrogative temporal is *ηia* ‘when?’

Two of the nouns above also occur as optionally possessive common nouns with *nai*: *nai-v01J* ‘the night, the evening’ and *no-utue* morning’.

### 3.6 PRONOUNS

As well as the pronominal subject and object affixes listed in §3.1 and the pronominal possessive affixes listed in §3.2, Maleu has three classes of free pronouns: independent, possessive and reflexive.

The interrogative pronouns corresponding respectively to common and personal nouns are *na-sae* (incorporating the noun marker) ‘what’, *sei* ‘who?’ and *sei-me* (who-and) ‘who (plural)?’.

For example:

- **iom**  *sei?*
  D2S  who
  ‘Who are you?’

- **lami**  *sei-me?*
  D2P  who-and
  ‘Who are you (plural)?’

#### 3.6.1 INDEPENDENT (DISJUNCTIVE) PRONOUNS

Independent pronouns occur in the same slots as proper nouns and common noun phrases. Dual forms occur especially in comitative noun phrases (§4.2.6). The independent pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1l</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>iatu, itamila</td>
<td>itatol, itamitol</td>
<td>iem</td>
<td>iemla, emila</td>
<td>iemtol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IE</td>
<td>iou</td>
<td>iemlu, emila</td>
<td>iemtol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iami</td>
<td>amila, emila</td>
<td>iemtol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iere</td>
<td>irela, timila, erelua, iremila, eremila</td>
<td>iret, timitol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>irelula, eremula</td>
<td>iremula, eremila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The forms of the possessive pronouns are made up of the intimate or non-intimate possessive prefix and the morpheme -va. The latter predictably becomes [-ba] after /m/. It becomes -ua in the first person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTIMATE</th>
<th>NON-INTIMATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1I</td>
<td>arava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E akua</td>
<td>lekua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 eva</td>
<td>leiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the possessed noun in a possessive noun phrase belongs to the optionally possessed class (§3.2.2), two structures are possible. Firstly, the prefixed noun marker na- may be replaced by a possessive prefix, e.g. na-pasis ‘NM-name’ but ak-pasis ‘my-name’ (see §3.2.2). Secondly, a possessive pronoun may be placed before the prefixed noun marker na-, e.g.

lemva            na-vuja
P1EP.PRON NM-belongings
‘our belongings’
eva              na-la
P3S.PRON NM-small.vine
‘its small vine’

3.6.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Reflexive pronouns never occur alone. They always follow a personal pronoun or a noun.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1I</td>
<td>touk</td>
<td>1E</td>
<td>toum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>touka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>toumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toue</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>toua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

Kamo ie taua
Kamo D3S R3S
‘Kamo was by himself’

A reflexive pronoun optionally has the suffix -ŋa attached:

Kamo ie tauaŋa
Kamo D3S R3S
‘Kamo himself’
na-ga tauaŋa
NM-pig R3S
'the pig itself'

3.7 BOUNDARY PARTICLES

Boundary particles are clitics which occur phrase- or clause-finally. Further analysis is required to fully disclose their functions, but they usually occur either at the end of a clause or at the end of a long pre-verbal phrase, e.g. a phrase in the periphery of the clause (see §5.2) or a subject noun phrase. One of their functions seems to be that of marking the boundary of a phrase or clause. Two of them, ko and lo, often indicate distance in time and space and perceived by the speaker, whilst the third, io/o seems to be neutral with regard to time and space, but is quite often used to indicate that a clause is perfective.

ko ‘near (in time or space)’
lo ‘far (in time or space)’
io, o neutral, perfective

In the following example, ko marks the boundary of a clause-initial temporal phrase, and o marks the swelling as already occurring, i.e. as perfective:

leilei talo ko Kamo ai-a t-uluit o.
afternoon that PRT Kamo leg-P3S S3S-swell.CNT PRT
‘… that afternoon Kamo’s leg was already swelling.’

In the next example, ko and lo both mark the boundaries of temporal phrases, one of them close (‘this coming week’), the other further away (‘the following one’):

Pa uik eko matarai ko avota me eimul-e la na-riŋa mat-e
FUT week this ahead.of.us PRT not.yet CJ behind-P3S PRT NM-fire face-P3S
pa-e Fraide la i-sio utue Sarere.
PREP-P3S Friday CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday
‘Not this coming week but the following one, start preparing for Friday until Saturday morning.’

In the third example, both ko and lo mark clause boundaries:

Ti-ŋoro i-la ko Navus i-kava talo kye roun-sio lo.
S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT
‘They heard them fall, Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.’

3.8 DEMONSTRATIVES AND RELATED PROFORMS

Demonstratives are free forms filling the DEMONSTRATIVE slot of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1), e.g. na-ga talo {NM-pig that} ‘that pig’. They are each made up of the ligature ta (§3.12.3) and a boundary particle (§3.7).

tako ‘this (near speaker)’
taio ‘that (near hearer)’
talo ‘that (far)’

The form taio occurs more often as a conjunction (§3.12.2) than as a demonstrative.
There are sets of locative proforms, each made up of e-, ene- or si- and a boundary particle (§3.8). Their main function is to fill the LOCATION slots of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2), but their distribution is not fully understood.

- eko, eneko, siko ‘here (near speaker)’
- eio, eneio, sio ‘there (near hearer)’
- elo, enelo, silo ‘there (far)’

For example:

\[ na-vuija-tia \quad enelo \quad i-mate \quad kye \quad n-ai-lake. \]

NM-thing-one there S3S-stay PREP NM-tree-branch
‘there is something sitting on a branch’

Occasionally a member of the ta- set of demonstratives is also used in this way:

\[ iem \quad alavoko \quad em-kep \quad no-urata \quad talo \quad nia \quad ki-re \quad pura \quad lo \]
D1EP today S1EP-do NM-work there house PREP-P3P whiteman there
‘today we work at the white man’s house’

Another set of proforms made up of a stem and a boundary particle comprises the ‘consequentials’:

- vileko ‘as a consequence of this’
- vileio ‘as a consequence of that’
- vilelo ‘as a consequence of that’

For example:

\[ Kamo \quad i-kimkim-re \quad uae-a \quad \etaata \quad soge \quad ti-reyereye \quad alele\etaa \quad la \]
Kamo S3S-like.CNT-O3P friend-P3S very thus S3P-be.with.CNT around CJ.DUR
\[ uae-a \quad ta \quad vile-jo \quad pou \quad ti-kimkim-e \quad Kamo \quad \etaata. \]
friend-P3S CJ.RES CONSEQ-PRT new S3P-like.CNT-O3S Kamo very
‘Kamo liked his friends he went about with very much and consequently those friends also liked him very much.’

\[ Kamo \quad i-lo\eta-\etae \quad tam-\etae \quad i-vul-\etae \quad pa-\etae \quad na-skul-\etaa \quad ta \]
Kamo S3S-hear-O3S father-P3S S3S-tell-O3S PREP-P3S NM-school-NSR CJ.RES
\[ vile-lo \quad taio \quad i-veta \quad pue \quad tam-\etae \ldots \]
CONSEQ-PRT that S3S-ask good father-P3S
‘Kamo heard his father speak to him about schooling, and so he asked his father …’

One other consequential form has been found, consisting of vile- and the future morpheme pa (§3.1) and used in the context of a future event:

\[ Vile-pa \quad aole \quad pa \quad ta-kev-e \quad i-la \quad haus \quad sik. \]
CONSEQ-FUT tomorrow FUT S1IP-do-O3S S3S-go house sick
“In that case tomorrow we will make sure he goes to the aid-post.”

### 3.9 Adjectives

Adjectives include a large number of words which act as modifiers to nouns. An adjective usually takes a possessive suffix (§3.2) agreeing in person and number with the noun it modifies (§4.2.1). For example:
Some adjectives mark number by a contrast between a simple and a reduplicated form: In this case the reduplicated (plural) form may still take the singular possessive suffix. For example:

- na-nia
  - NM-house
  - new-P3S
  - 'new house'

- na-nia
  - NM-house
  - new-P3P
  - 'new houses'

- iou
  - D1S
  - small-P1S
  - 'I am small'

Some adjectives mark number by a contrast between a simple and a reduplicated form: In this case the reduplicated (plural) form may still take the singular possessive suffix. For example:

- na-nia
  - NM-house
  - kapori-a
  - 'small house'

- na-nia
  - NM-house
  - kaporpi-a
  - 'small houses'

3.10 MODIFIERS

Modifiers are a small class of words whose members fill the MODIFIER slot of an adjective phrase (§4.3) or the MANNER slot of a verbal clause (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

- pou
  - 'too, again' (literally 'new')

- avo
  - 'not'

- mot
  - 'very'

- nata
  - 'very'

3.11 NUMERALS

Numerals are words that fill the QUANTITY slot of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

- tia, tiavolem
  - 'one'

- lua
  - 'two'

- tol
  - 'three'

- panye
  - 'four'

- masa
  - 'five'

- sanaul
  - 'ten'

The interrogative numeral is pia 'how many?'

3.12 RELATORS

Relators may be subdivided into prepositions, conjunctions, and the ligature.

3.12.1 PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are the relators of prepositional phrases (§4.5). One of them, pa-, also serves as a subordinating conjunction (§3.12.2). The preposition khe is a free form, whilst the others take an object pronominal suffix (§3.2) agreeing in person and number with their prepositional object.

Maleu prepositions are:
3.12.2 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions may be classified as co-ordinating or subordinating.

Co-ordinating conjunctions are free forms which conjoin words, phrases, or clauses with each other. Some are simple in form, others compound. Of those listed, it appears that only me, and occasionally la, are used to conjoin words and phrases (§4.2.5). All are used to conjoin clauses.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me} & \quad \text{neutral: 'and', 'but'} \\
\text{la} & \quad \text{duration: 'and', 'and then', 'until'} \\
\text{ta, taio} & \quad \text{sequence, result: 'and', 'and then', 'and so'} \\
\text{eta, etaiio} & \quad \text{sequence: 'and then'} \\
\text{avola} & \quad \text{result: 'and so'} \\
\text{so, soge} & \quad \text{purpose: 'thus', 'so that'} \\
\text{ta-so} & \quad \text{result: 'and so'} \\
\text{me-so} & \quad \text{result: 'and so'}
\end{align*}
\]

Words and phrases may also be conjoined with avo 'or' (usually 'not'; §4.2.5).

Only two subordinating conjunctions have been indentified. One is pa 'because', used to introduce dependent clauses of reason (§6.1). The other is so (also used as a co-ordinating conjunction), which is used to introduce condition clauses (§6.1).

The forms stirene/tniere are used in contexts where English would use a comitative preposition 'with' ('Jack went with Jill') or a conjunction ('Jack and Jill went'). However, these forms seem best analysed as verbal (§6.2.1).

3.12.3 THE LIGATURE

The ligature ta has been found in only one very limited context, linking the quantitative nouns ne-iuol 'many' and ne-ijur 'all' to the noun they modify:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la-gol} & \quad \text{ta ne-iuol} \\
\text{P3S-fashion} & \quad \text{LIG NM-many} \\
\text{his many ways'} \\
\text{n-ae} & \quad \text{ta ne-ijur} \\
\text{NM-day} & \quad \text{LIG NM-all} \\
\text{every day'}
\end{align*}
\]

The ligature is also found in the forms of the demonstratives (§3.8).
3.13 REDUPLICATION OF STEMS

Certain stems are reduplicated or repeated to express a distributive meaning.

\textit{tia-tia}

one-one

‘one by one’

\textit{i-kev-e e-voro sia\text{\textit{\c{s}}}e sia\text{\textit{\c{s}}}e}

S3S-work-O3S P3S-poison bad bad

‘He works his evil poison (on the individuals).’

\textit{ti-mari mule mule ti-la k\text{\textit{\c{s}}}e re-n\text{\textit{\c{s}}}e}

S3P-stand.up return return S3P-go to P3P-place

‘They return individually to their places.’

4. PHRASES

Phrases in Maleu are of five kinds: verb phrases (§4.1), noun phrases (§4.2), adjective phrases (§4.3), locative phrases (§4.4), and prepositional phrases (§4.5).

4.1 VERB PHRASES

A verb phrase consists either of a single verb (§3.1) or of a string of verbs (a serial verb phrase; §4.1.1). It occurs in the PREDICATE slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

4.1.1 SERIAL VERB PHRASES

Maleu has a large number of verb phrases which consist of a string of two, three or even more verbs. These are serial verb phrases.

Serial verb phrases are used to express motion and direction. Normally each verb in the string carries the same subject pronominal prefix. For example:

\textit{iou alavoko m\text{\textit{a}}-la m\text{\textit{a}}-luveivei lolo}

D1S today S1S-go S1S-go.bush mountain

‘Today I go into the bush on the mountain.’

One exception to this is the stem \textit{mule} ‘to return’; which occurs as the second verb in a string without a subject pronominal marker. It may, however, take an object pronominal suffix agreeing in person and number with an express or implied object. For example:

\textit{ne-igi-re mule-re na-vira}

S1S-carry-O3P return-O3P S1S-climb

‘I carry them back (home).’

If the OBJECT or LOCATION (§5.2.1, §5.2.2) of the serial verb phrase belongs to a verb other than the last, then it intervenes in the verb phrase:
Old Patoknga returns from the garden.

If the intervening element is the OBJECT of its verb, then the subject pronominal marker of any verb which follows agrees with that OBJECT in person and number. For example:

ku-igi-re na-vua tenere ti-mai
S2S-carry-O3P NM-betelnut some S3P-come
‘You bring some betelnuts.’

4.1.2 VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

The tagmemic structure of the verb phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+HEAD₁</th>
<th>(±HEAD₂)ⁿ=1-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The indicative verb phrase has no change in pitch and each verb (except mule ‘to return’) takes a subject pronominal prefix. Only the HEAD₁ slot is obligatory, as the following examples show:

ire-lua ire-toure ti-sio
S3P-two S3P-themselves S3P-stop
‘they stay by themselves’

iem alavoko em-kep no-urata talo nia ki-re pura lo
d1ep today s1ep-do nm-work there house prep-o3p white.man prt
‘today we work at the white man’s house’

The following examples are serial verb phrases, with one or more verbs in the HEAD₂ slot. The last two examples have mule ‘return’ in this slot, which has no subject pronominal prefix.

em-molmol em-pot em-la em-molmol em-la
s1ep-walk s1ep-down s1ep-go s1ep-walk s1ep-go
‘we walk down’

i-loss i-la i-kulek-e
s3p-go.in s3p-go s3p-pull.out-o3s
‘he goes inside and pulls it out’

na-ringa i-sio i-kan
nm-fire s3p-stay s3p-eat
‘the fire keeps burning’

na-mari na-kulek-e na-la
s1s-stand.up s1s-pull.out-o3s nm-small.vine
‘I go and pull out (the small vine)’

na-mari mule na-la
s1s-stand.up return s1s-go
‘I go back, I return’
A MALEU GRAMMAR OUTLINE AND TEXT

ne-igi-re   mule-re   na-vira
S1S-carry-O3P  return-O3P  S1S-climb
'I carry them back (home)'

The imperative is signalled by a rise in pitch and no subject pronominal marker on the verb in the HEAD slot.

polo   ku-nun   ara-tai
come   S2S-fill.up   PIIP-salt.water
'Come and fill up (our coconut shells with) salt water,'

nernerki-re   na-tamta   avo
rebuke-O3P   NM-men   not
'Don't rebuke the men!'

4.2 NOUN PHRASES

Maleu noun phrase structure is quite complex. The structure of common noun phrases can be described using the tagmemic structures in §4.2.1 to §4.2.6. No attempt is made here to set up tagmemic structures for proper noun phrases, and we refer simply to proper nouns and independent pronouns as single-element structures. However, there are occasional signs in text that further research might warrant setting up a proper noun phrase. The APPOSITION slot of the following appositional noun phrase (§4.2.3) is filled by a proper noun phrase rather than by a simple proper noun:

na-vola   tako   Kamo   tako
NM-man   this   Kamo   this
'this man Kamo'

4.2.1 BASIC NOUN PHRASE

The basic noun phrase fills the SUBJECT slot of intransitive clauses (§5.2.1), the SUBJECT and OBJECT slots of transitive clauses (§5.2.3) and the SUBJECT and PREDICATE slots of non-verbal clauses (§5.1). It also occurs embedded in other phrase types, namely possessive phrases (§4.2.2), appositional phrases (§4.2.3), co-ordinate noun phrases (§4.2.5), and as well as manifesting the OBJECT of prepositional phrases (§4.5).

The tagmemic structure of the basic noun phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>± MODIFIER₁</th>
<th>± MODIFIER₂</th>
<th>± QUANTITY</th>
<th>± DEMONSTRATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>adjective phrase</td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive noun phrase (1)</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the Head slot is obligatory. While all slots may occur in a single phrase, this is very uncommon. Two or three tagmemes are normal. The following examples have a simple noun in the HEAD slot:

na-ga   na-kuril   amvine   talo
NM-pig   NM-brown   big.S   that
'That big brown pig.'
na-vuIJa neigur nata
NM-thing many very
‘very many things’

na-pur mananj vulevule
NM-banana Manang.type ripe.P
‘The ripe Manang bananas.’

In the examples below the HEAD slot is filled by a possessive phrase:

uae-ra kapori-a tako
friend-P1IP small-P3S this
‘This small friend of ours.’

uae-a na-melamela terenje pou
friend-P3S NM-children some too
‘Some of his childhood friends.’

Atem me Topi re-melamela loutave
Atem CJ Topi P3P-child firstborn
‘Atem and Topi’s firstborn child.’

An elicited example showing all five slots was considered too long for normal use:

na-ga na-kuril amvime tiavolem talo
NM-pig NM-brown big.S one that
‘that one big brown pig’

4.2.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

Maleu has two possessive noun phrase structures, which we label (1) and (2).

A possessive noun phrase (1) expresses the relationship between the HEAD (a possessed noun or a possessive pronoun), which is the thing or person possessed, and its POSSESSOR. Its distribution is similar to that of the basic noun phrase, and it may also serve as the head of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

A possessive noun phrase (1) has two tagmemic structures, one with a possessed noun (§3.2.1 and §3.2.2) as HEAD, the other with a possessive pronoun (§3.6.2) as HEAD:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± POSSESSOR</th>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>± APPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
<td>(a) possessed noun</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive noun phrase (1)</td>
<td>(b) possessive pronoun</td>
<td>noun (not possessed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appositional noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-ordinate noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In structure (a) above, ‘possessed noun’ refers to a noun with a possessive affix. This affix may be a possessive suffix or a possessive prefix, either intimate or non-intimate (§3.2). In the four examples below, the possessed noun is suffixed. In the first two, the POSSESSOR slot is filled by an independent pronoun, in the third by an appositional phrase, and in the fourth by a basic noun phrase consisting only of a common noun. The fourth example also
illustrates a common occurrence, the use of a possessive noun phrase as the object of a location prepositional phrase.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ita} & \quad \text{tama-ra} \\
& \quad \text{D1IP father-P1IP} \\
& \quad \text{‘our father’} \\
\text{ie} & \quad \text{vagi-a} \\
& \quad \text{D3S hand-P3S} \\
& \quad \text{‘his hand’} \\
\text{na-ko} & \quad \text{Gusei ai-a} \\
& \quad \text{NM-water Gusei leg-P3S} \\
& \quad \text{‘the river Gusei’s leg’} \\
\text{kje} & \quad \text{na-rene mori-a} \\
& \quad \text{PREP NM-hole bottom-P3S} \\
& \quad \text{‘in the bottom of the hole’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the following four examples, also of structure (a), the possessed noun is prefixed — in the first two examples with intimate possessive prefixes, in the third and fourth with a non-intimate possessive prefix.

In the first example, the POSSESSOR slots are empty. In the second, the POSSESSOR slot is filled by a basic noun phrase, in the third by a co-ordinate noun phrase, and in the last by an independent pronoun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ami-rago} & \quad \text{terene} \quad \text{ami-ga} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{ami-eiul} \\
& \quad \text{P2S-meat some P2S-pig CJ P2S-cassowary} \\
& \quad \text{‘Some of your meat, pig and cassowary’} \\
\text{pa-e} & \quad \text{na-ko} \quad \text{tia} \quad \text{e-pasis} \\
& \quad \text{PREP-O3S NM-water one P3S-name} \\
& \quad \text{‘along a river called...’} \\
\text{Atem} & \quad \text{me} \quad \text{Topi} \quad \text{re-melamela} \\
& \quad \text{Atem CJ Topi P3P-child} \\
& \quad \text{‘Atem and Topi’s child’} \\
\text{iou} & \quad \text{lek-uavel-na} \\
& \quad \text{D1S P1S-run-NSR} \\
& \quad \text{‘my running’}
\end{align*}
\]

Structure (b), in which the HEAD is a possessive pronoun, is similar in structure to an appositional phrase (§4.2.3), in that the noun referring to the possessed thing/person seems best understood as in APPOSITION to the HEAD. Thus in this example \text{na-ga} is in apposition to the (intimate) possessive pronoun \text{eva}.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navus} & \quad \text{eva} \quad \text{na-ga} \\
& \quad \text{Navus P3S.PRON NM-pig} \\
& \quad \text{‘Navus’ pig (meat)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the next example, the POSSESSOR slot is empty, and \text{na-pe} is in apposition to the (non-intimate) possessive pronoun \text{lava}. (The possessive noun phrase \text{lava na-pe} is in its turn the POSSESSOR of a structure (a) possessive noun phrase whose HEAD is \text{e-pasis}.)
In the final example, the POSSESSOR slot is filled by *uae-ra ne-imola* ‘our Aimola friends’ (itself an appositional noun phrase with a possessive noun phrase as its HEAD!) and the APPOSITION slot is empty. (The possessive noun phrase *uae-ra ne-imola ereva* is itself the head of a basic noun phrase, in which *amvilJe* fills the MODIFIER$_2$ slot.)

The structure of a possessive noun phrase (2) is quite different from the examples above, in that the HEAD, the possessed item, comes first, and is followed by a personal location prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *ki-* (§4.5.2.3) expressing the possessor. Its tagmemic structure is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD +</th>
<th>+ POSSESSOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
<td>personal location prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The object of the prepositional phrase is usually a human possessor. For example:

na-nga \ kapori-a \ *ki-e* \ Toplei me tam-e  
NM-pig \ small-P3S \ PREP-O3S \ Toplei CJ father-P3S  
‘the small pig belonging to Toplei and her father’

talo \ nia \ *ki-re* \ *pura* \ lo  
there \ house \ PREP-O3P \ whiteman PRT  
‘at the whiteman’s house there’

e-lo \ khe \ na-kerevat \ *ki-e* \ Aigilo me tam-e \ me \ lo  
there \ PREP \ NM-sweet.potato \ PREP-O3S \ Aigilo CJ father-P3S CJ there  
‘there in the sweet potato of Aigilo and his father’

4.2.3 APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE

An appositional noun phrase consists of two noun phrases in apposition. Its distribution is similar to that of the basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

The tagmemic structure of an appositional noun phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD +</th>
<th>+ APPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-ordinate noun phrase</td>
<td>co-ordinate noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
<td>reflexive noun phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reflexive noun phrase is usually in apposition to a proper noun. Normally only one of the two slots will be filled by a proper noun. When the HEAD slot is filled by a locative noun (§3.2.3) and the APPOSITION slot by a proper noun, this phrase fills the LOCATION slot of a verbal clause (§5.2.1, §5.2.2).

Examples of appositional noun phrases are:
Makele me e-uaneue Patokga
Makele CJ P3S-wife Patoknga
‘Makele and his wife Patoknga’

re-nia pau-a Kuntop
P3P-village new-P3S Kuntop
‘their newvillage, Kuntop’

Kamo ie tauana
Kamo D3S R3S
‘Kamo himself’

ire na-motmot
D3P NM-islanders
‘the islanders’

tam-e Topi
father-P3S Topi
‘his father Topi’

e-uaneue Patokga ti-reye la-melamela
P3S-wife Patoknga S3P-be.with P3S-children
‘his wife Patoknga with her children’

4.2.4 REFLEXIVE NOUN PHRASE

The tagmemic structure of a reflexive noun phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>+ REFLEXIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>reflexive pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

na-ga tauana
NM-pig R3S
‘the pig itself’

A reflexive noun phrase with an independent pronoun as HEAD may fill the APPOSITION slot of an appositional noun phrase (§4.2.3), as in these examples —

ire-lua ire toure ti-sio
D3P.two D3P R3P S3P-stop
‘they stay by themselves’

Kamo ie tauana
Kamo D3S R3S
‘Kamo himself’

— or the PREDICATE slot of a non-verbal clause (§5.1):

Kamo ie taua
Kamo D3S R3S
‘Kamo was by himself’
4.2.5 CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

A co-ordinate noun phrase consists of two (or more) noun phrases with various structures joined to each other with a conjunction (or conjunctions). Its distribution is similar to that of the basic noun phrase (§4.2.1).

Up to eight nouns have been found joined in this way in texts.

The tagmemic structure of a co-ordinate noun phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>(± LINK</th>
<th>+ HEAD)⁸</th>
<th>± LINK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td>appositional phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td></td>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral</td>
<td></td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

lemiva na-loulou me n-ai me n-avaga polpoli-a
your.P NM-leaves CJ NM-wood CJ NM-food little-P3S
‘your leaves and wood and small amount of food’

Makele me e-uanue Patokna
Makele CJ P3S-wife Patoknga
‘Makele and his wife Patoknga’

iou me Vulum
D1S CJ Vulum
‘Vulum and I’

ami-rago terepe ami-ga me ami-eiuul
P2P-meat some P2P-pig CJ P2P-cassowary
‘Some of your meat, pig and cassowary’

i-rulmakmak-e na-matavuvu me na-gome me na-mul
S3S-takes.off-O3S NM-shell CJ NM-Trochus CJ NM-grass.skirt
‘she takes off her shell decorations and grass skirt’

ki-e Toplei me tam-e
PREP-O3S Toplei CJ father-O3s
‘of Toplei and her father’

na-ouoi ti-kono kpe na-yua me na-piu pu-re
NM-mango S3P-sleep PREP NM-betelnut CJ NM-coconut base-P3P
‘The mangoes are lying at the base of the betelnut and coconut trees.’

It is very common to find that a co-ordinate noun phrase is also closed with a conjunction. This example, which has seven HEADS and is a list of peoples’ names, illustrates this:

Asola me Loupu me Keke me Aviua me Amom me Vulum me Sari me.
‘Asola and Loupu and Keke and Aviua and Amom and Vulum and Sari.’

An example with eight HEADS is a list of the names of eight different kinds of flower used as finery in festivals.
'They fetch [the eight kinds of flower].'

The conjunction in a co-ordinate noun phrase is almost always *me*, but occasionally *la* is found, as in this example from the text:

\textit{lom la uae-m toureng io}  
D2S CJ friend-P2P R3P PRT  
‘you and all these friends of yours’

The morpheme *avo*, otherwise ‘not’, is used to express alternation, i.e. ‘or’:

\textit{tna-ra avo tama-ra i-tol-ta ta-la ta-sio}  
mother-P1IP not father-P1IP S3S-bring-OIIP S1IP-go S1IP-stop  
‘Our mother or father will bring us to stay …’

### 4.2.6 Comitative Noun Phrase

The comitative noun phrase expresses close relationship between persons or kin. Its use is limited to cases where one party is referred to by a pronoun, the other by a noun. The pronoun is normally a dual independent pronoun (§3.6.1) which includes the party referred to by the noun.

The tagmemic structure of a comitative noun phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ GROUP</th>
<th>+ INDIVIDUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>compound pronoun</td>
<td>kin noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appositional phrase</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

\textit{ire-lua tivu-a}  
D3P-two grandfather-P3S  
‘he and his grandfather’

\textit{ere-mua e-uaneue}  
D3P-two P3S-wife  
‘he and his wife’

\textit{iami-lua Vulum}  
D2P-two Vulum  
‘you and Vulum’

Another structure which is similar in function to the comitative noun phrase is the comitative relative clause, described in §6.2.1. It uses the verb *-reje* ‘be with’ to express the linkage between the two parties.
4.3 ADJECTIVE PHRASE

The adjective phrase fills the MODIFIER slot of a basic noun phrase (§4.2.1) or the PREDICATE slot of a non-verbal clause (§5.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>± MODIFIER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>modifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most often an adjective phrase consists only of a HEAD, i.e. an adjective, but sometimes the MODIFIER slot is filled by one of a small set of modifiers (§3.10). For example:

\[\text{votvoti-a } nata\]
\[\text{strong-O3S very}\]
\[\text{'very strong'}\]

\[\text{Ne-iplaka me Navus ti-pos kye livua eko moliup-e avo.}\]
\[\text{NM-cuscus CJ Navus S3P-fell PREP hole this shallow-O3S not}\]
\[\text{’The cuscus and Navus fell into this deep hole.’}\]

4.4 LOCATIVE PHRASE

Locative phrases fill the LOCATION slots of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). Their tagmemic structure is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>± MODIFIER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>beneficiary prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The head is always a locative (§3.4), and the MODIFIER slot is rarely filled. Examples (with beneficiary prepositional phrase underlined) are:

\[\text{aluai } pag-e \quad ma-ra \quad me \quad tama-ra \quad me\]
\[\text{far PREP-P3S mother-P1IP CJ father-P1IP CJ}\]
\[\text{’far from our mothers and fathers’}\]

\[\text{rounsio } pag-ou\]
\[\text{down.below PREP-O1S}\]
\[\text{’down below me’}\]

4.5 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The various types of prepositional phrase are described separately for the sake of convenience (on prepositions, see §3.12.1). There appears to be some overlap of function of the affixed prepositions in Maleu texts. Thus the instrument/reference preposition \(pa\) and the beneficiary \(pag\) are somewhat interchangeable, and at times each of these prepositions introduces a location phrase. The instrument/reference preposition \(pa\) may also introduce a time phrase.

In all the phrase types the phrase may be manifested simply by the preposition. For example:

\[i-la \quad ki-re\]
\[\text{S3S-goes PREP-O3P}\]
\[\text{’he goes to them’}\]
4.5.1 COMMON LOCATION PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

This phrase fills the LOCATION slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). The tagmemic structure of a common location prepositional phrase is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ PREPOSITION</th>
<th>± OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kŋe</em></td>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possessive noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>appositional noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>co-ordinate noun phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The OBJECT of a common location prepositional phrase always has a common noun, usually with a non-human referent, in the OBJECT slot. For example:

\[
kŋe \text{ na-kulo eivor}
\]
PREP NM-saucepan clay
‘into the clay saucepan’

\[
kŋe \text{ n-ai- pu-a}
\]
PREP NM-tree base-P3S
‘to the base of the tree’

\[
kŋe \text{ na-motmot Aromot}
\]
PREP NM-island Aromot
‘to the Aromot islands’

\[
kŋe \text{ na-oga e-pe}
\]
PREP NM-canoe P3S-steering.place
‘on the steering place of the canoe’

\[
kŋe \text{ na-roro rolue}
\]
PREP NM-road another
‘by another road’

\[
kŋe \text{ re-nia pau-a Kuntop}
\]
PREP P3P-place new-P3S Kuntop
‘to their new place, Kuntop’

\[
kŋe \text{ na-vua me na-niu pu-re}
\]
PREP NM-betelnut CJ NM-coconut bases-P3P
‘by the betelnut and coconut trees’
4.5.2 Beneficiary, Instrument, Reference and Personal Location Prepositional Phrases

These prepositional phrase types share a single tagmemic structure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREPOSITION</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>PREP-O</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pag-‘beneficiary’</td>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-‘instrument, reference’</td>
<td>possessive noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-‘reference’</td>
<td>appositional noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-‘personal location’</td>
<td>accompaniment noun phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formulation PREP-O refers to a preposition with an object pronominal suffix (§3.12.1).

Unlike the common location prepositional phrase, these phrases allow a noun phrase with either a non-human or a human referent as OBJECT.

4.5.2.1 Beneficiary Prepositional Phrase

This phrase fills the BENEFICIARY slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). For example:

pag-ou
PREP-O1S
‘to me’

pag-e tna-ra me tama-ra me
PREP-O3S mother-P1IP CJ father-P1IP CJ
‘to (from) our mothers and fathers’

pagi-re na-malaki-re
PREP-O3P NM-young.men-P3P
‘for the young men’

4.5.2.2 Instrument and Reference Prepositional Phrases

These phrases fill the INSTRUMENT/REFERENCE slot of verbal clauses (§5.2.1, §5.2.2). For example:

pa-e vilvilia me kilkuluaje
PREP-O3S blue CJ red
‘with blue and red (dye)’

pa-e na-pul
PREP-O3S NM-knife
‘with the knife’

pa-e iou lek-uavel-ŋa
PREP-O3S D1S P1S-run-NSR
‘about my running’

ta-e Kamo ti-rene uae-a
PREP-O3S Kamo S3P-be.with friends-P3S
‘about Kamo and his friends’
4.5.2.3 PERSONAL LOCATION PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

This phrase type commonly occurs in the POSSESSOR slot of a possessive noun phrase (2) (see §4.2.2). However, as the first two examples show, it is also used in cases where a location is a human being.

\[i-la \quad ki-e \quad tiy-a\]
S3S-goes PREP-O3S grandfather-P3S
‘He goes to his grandfather’s.’

\[i-la \quad ki-re\]
S3S-goes PREP-O3P
‘He goes to them.’

\[na-ga \quad kapori-a \quad ki-e \quad Toplei \quad me \quad tam-e\]
NM-pig small-P3S PREP-O3S Toplei CJ father-P3S
‘the small pig of Toplei and her father’

\[na-sil-re \quad ki-re\]
NM-half-P3P PREP-O3P NM-child
‘the children’s half of them’

\[talo \quad nia \quad ki-re \quad pura \quad lo\]
there house PREP-O3P whiteman PRT
‘at the whiteman’s house there’

\[i-kelk-e \quad ne-il \quad na-vine \quad ki-e \quad no-ulum \quad talo\]
S3S-dig-O3S NM-posthole NM-big.S PREP-O3S NM-men’s.house that
‘He digs the large post hole of that men’s house.’

5. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

There are two basic types of independent clause: non-verbal and verbal. The latter fall into two subtypes, transitive and intransitive. Non-verbal clauses have no verb while the other two types do have verbs and there is an optional OBJECT tagmeme in the transitive clause.

5.1 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The non-verbal clause has two obligatory tagmemes, which I label SUBJECT and PREDICATE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± SUBJECT</th>
<th>+ PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
<td>basic noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive noun phrase (1)</td>
<td>possessive noun phrase (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper noun</td>
<td>reflexive noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
<td>adjective phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following examples, the PREDICATE is underlined:

\[Atem \quad me \quad Topi \quad re-melamela \quad loutave \quad na-tamta \quad e-pasis \quad Kamo\]
Atem CJ Topi P3P-child firstborn NM-man P3S-name Kamo
‘Atem and Topi’s firstborn male child’s name was Kamo.’
na-gelema na-vivije Na-kuleole
NM-lobster NM-big.P Nakuleole
'The big lobsters are called Nakuleole.'

na-si-re ki-re na-melamela
NM-half-P3P PREP-O3P NM-children
'The half of them are the children’s.'

ire amvivije mot
D3P big.P very
'They are very big ones.'

Kamo ie tawa
Kamo D3S R3S
'Kamo was by himself.'

Juxtaposition of two non-verbal clauses with adjective predicates may be used where English would use a comparative adjective:

ie amvivije iou kapori-k
D3S big.S DIS small-P3S
'He is older than I.'

Non-verbal clauses are also used idiomatically to express meanings which in English would require a verbal clause. For example:

mata-mi lemiva na-loulou me n-ai me n-an-nga polopolia
face-P2P P2P.PRON NM-leaves CJ NM-wood CJ NM-eat-NSR little
'Find your leaves, wood and a little food.'

Maleu has a number of non-verbal clause idioms whose subject is na-pano 'the earth'. For example:

na-pano na-meik
NM-earth NM-hungry
'The people are hungry.'

na-pano na-tai
NM-earth NM-sea
'This part of the sea.'

na-pano na-von
NM-earth NM-night
'It is dark.'

The word apua 'finished' (which seems to form a class on its own) also serves as the predicate of a non-verbal clause. For example:

Kamo iom na-lai eko matarai ko apua io
Kamo D2S NM-year here ahead.of.us PRT finished PRT

ku-lu kŋe skul pou o.
S2S-go.into PREP school new PRT
'Kamo, when the present year is finished, you will go into school too.'

There are also cases where a non-verbal clause consists only of a predicate. The first word of each of the following two examples is a non-verbal clause in its own right. The evidence
for this is that each is followed by a conjunction which conjoins it to the following clause (§7).

\[
\text{Na-gale-gale-na} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{i-sio} \quad \text{utue} \quad \text{Sarere}
\]
NM-dance.CNT-NSR CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday
‘The dancing lasted until Saturday morning’
(More literally ‘There was dancing until it stopped on Saturday morning.’)

\[
\text{Utue} \quad \text{taio} \quad \text{Topi} \quad \text{i-kev-e} \quad \text{Kamo} \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{i-ualiu}.
\]
morning CJ.SEQ Topi S3S-do-O3S Kamo S3S-go S3S-wash
‘In the morning Topi took Kamo to bathe.’
(More literally ‘It was morning and Topi took Kamo to bathe.’)

\[
\text{N-ag} \quad \text{taua} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{taio} \quad \text{Kamo} \quad \text{ti-renge} \quad \text{uae-a} \quad \text{pae} \quad \text{ti-la} \quad \text{ti-}
\text{luveivei}.
\]
NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S four S3P-go S3P-go.bush
‘One day Kamo went into the bush with his four friends.’
(More literally ‘There was one day and Kamo went into the bush with his four friends.’)

In the next example, *apua* ‘finished’ (see above) is similarly a single-word clause conjoined to the following clause by the conjunction *taio*. The function of *apua* here is to recapitulate the previous clause, indicating that its event was completed before the event of the next clause began.

\[
\text{Navus} \quad \text{i-kananak-e} \quad \text{ne-iplaka} \quad \text{Apua} \quad \text{taio} \quad \text{ti-mari} \quad \text{pou}.
\]
Navus S3S-hit.CNT-O3S NM-cuscus finished CJ.SEQ S3P-stand.up new
‘Navus was hitting the cuscus. After that they continued walking.’
(more literally ‘Navus was hitting the cuscus. (It was) finished and then they walked again.’

5.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

Although the tagmemic structures for transitive and intransitive clauses shown below contain respectively eight and nine tagmemes, the largest number of tagmemes found in a single clause in a text is five, and such clauses are unusual. Clauses of four and five tagmemes mainly occur in narratives, whilst procedural and hortatory texts have fewer tagmemes per clause. Clauses of two or three tagmemes are normal in narratives and procedural discourse.

Verbal clauses may be described as consisting of a core of three units. The first is the SUBJECT, the second the PREDICATE. In transitive clauses the third unit is the OBJECT, whilst in intransitive clauses there is either no third unit or, if the verb (e.g. *-la* ‘go’) requires it, there is a LOCATION. The remaining tagmemes are the periphery of the clause, which includes TIME, usually between SUBJECT and PREDICATE, and all the tagmemes which follow the core. Normally only one or two tagmemes occur in the periphery of a clause.

Tagmemes generally occur in the orders shown below, but a TIME tagmeme may occur in the post-core periphery, or, especially if it is long, at the beginning of a clause, and tagmemes of the post-core periphery may either permute, be shifted to the beginning of the clause, or (if they are short) occur in the TIME slot. However, if there is a NEGATIVE tagmeme, it occurs at the end of the clause.
5.2.1 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

The tagmemic structure of an intransitive clause is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± SUBJECT</th>
<th>± TIME</th>
<th>± PREDICATE</th>
<th>± LOCATION</th>
<th>± MANNER</th>
<th>± INSTRUMENT/REFERENCE</th>
<th>± BENEFICIARY</th>
<th>±NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see below</td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
<td>location modifier</td>
<td>instrument prepositional phrase location noun or appositional phrase with location noun as head locative phrase locative proform</td>
<td>reason clause</td>
<td>beneficiary prepositional phrase</td>
<td>avo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SUBJECT slot may be filled by a noun phrase of any of the types described in the subsections of §4.2 (except perhaps a reflexive phrase), or by a proper noun or independent pronoun. A location prepositional phrase in the LOCATION slot may be either common (§4.5.1) or personal (§4.5.2.3).

For example:

uae-a na-melamela terene pou ti-ualiuliu
friend-P3S NM-children some too S3P-wash
'Some more of his childhood friends were washing.'

Makele me e-uaneue Patoknga ti-mate saksak
Makele CJ P3S-wife Patoknga S3P-stay Sagsag
'Makele and his wife Patoknga live at Sag Sag.'

erelu a tivu-a ti-mate kye na-lolo tia
they two grandfather-P3S S3P-stay at NM-mountain one
'He and his grandfather live on one mountain.'

na-la na-uali polia paele avo
S1S-go S1S-swim a little beach not
'I don't go to the beach to swim a little.'

Kamo ti-rene uae-a patje ti-la ti-luivei
Kamo S3P-be with friend-P3S four S3P-go S3P-go.bush
'Kamo with his four friends went into the bush.'

na-vola ko i-mari ronsio pag-ou
NM-man PRT S3S-stand down below PREP O1S
'The man is down below me.'
5.2.2 TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The tagmemic structure of a transitive clause is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± SUBJECT</th>
<th>± TIME</th>
<th>+ PRED</th>
<th>± OBJECT</th>
<th>± MANNER</th>
<th>± LOCATION</th>
<th>± INSTRUMENT</th>
<th>± BENEFICIARY</th>
<th>± NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see below</td>
<td>temporal verb phrase</td>
<td>see below</td>
<td>modifier</td>
<td>location prepositional phrase</td>
<td>instrument prepositional phrase</td>
<td>beneficiary prepositional phrase</td>
<td>avo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SUBJECT and OBJECT slots may be filled by a noun phrase of any of the types described in the subsections of §4.2 (except perhaps a reflexive phrase), or by a proper noun of independent pronoun. A location prepositional phrase in the LOCATION slot may be either common (§4.5.1) or personal (§4.5.2.3).

For example:

iem alavoko em-kep no-urata talo nia ki-re pura lo
D1EP today S1EP-do NM-work there house PREP-O3P whiteman there
‘Today we work at the whiteman’s house.’

na-neinei-e eva na-la pa-e vilviliagne me kilkiliuage
S1S-boil-O3S P3S.PRON NM-small.vine PREP-O3S blue CJ red
‘I boil the small vine with the blue and red (dye).’

na-guguna i-pa-nak-e Kamo ai-a na-luvua
NM-wasp P3S-CS-shoot-O3S Kamo leg-P3S NM-cup
‘The wasp stung Kamo’s knee.’

5.2.3 THE STRUCTURE OF VERBAL CLAUSES WITH SERIAL VERB PHRASES

When a serial verb phrase (§4.1.1) occurs, a complication may be added to the structures in §5.2.1 and §5.2.2 above. It was noted in §5.2 that verbal clauses may be described as consisting of a core of three units. The third unit is the OBJECT of a transitive clause or the LOCATION of an intransitive clause. If the third unit is the OBJECT or LOCATION of a verb other than the last in the serial verb phrase, then it is inserted into the verb phrase immediately after that verb. For example:

Patoknga-iye i-gon mule kumo i-mai
Patoknega-old S3S-come.from return garden S3S-come
‘Old Patoknega returns from the garden.’
Where the third unit is the OBJECT or LOCATION of the last verb in the serial verb phrase, then no complication of structure occurs. For example:

```
ou alavoko na-la na-luveivei lolo
D1S today S1S-go S1S-go.bush mountain
'Today I go into the bush on the mountain.'
```

```
na-la na-ualiu paele polia
S1S-go S1S-swim beach a.little
'I go and swim a little at the beach.' or
'I go to the beach to swim a little.'
```

```
ou alavoko na-mari na-peinak-e n-ai
D1S today S1S-stand.up S1S-look.for-O3S NM-wood
'Today I go to look for the wood.'
```

6. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Dependent clauses fall into four categories: adverbial clauses, relative clauses, quotations, and nominalised clauses.

6.1 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses occur in slots at the periphery of independent clauses. Only two types of adverbial clause have been found in Maleu, namely reason clauses and condition clauses. In other cases where clauses are combined, they appear to be independent clauses linked with a co-ordinating conjunction (§7).

Reason clauses are introduced by pa 'because' (§3.12.2). Examples are:

```
pa na-gavola i-kukga lolo
CJ NM-vine S3S-abound mountain
'... because the vine grows plentifully on the mountain'
```

```
ti-mari mule mule ti-la kye re-nia pa na-pano na-
vueva-va
S3P-stand.up return return S3P-go PREP P3P-village PREP NM-earth NM-tired-
NSR
'... they got up and went back to their villages because they were tired.'
```

A condition clause is introduced by the conjunction so: The following are elicited examples.

```
sa ita ta-la pa ire ti-la pou
CJ D1IP S1IP-go FUT D3P S3P-go too
'If we go, they will go too.'
```
6.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause modifies a noun phrase (its ‘head’). It is formally marked as a subordinate clause only by the fact that no boundary particle marking a phrase boundary (§3.7) intervenes between the head and the relative clause. It may be followed by such a particle, which marks the boundary of the unit formed by the head and relative clause together. Examples are:

Me ne-iua-re a-la kumo pagi-re na-malaki-re ti-la
CJ NM-woman-P3P S2P-go garden PREP-P3P NM-young.man-P3P S3P-go

ti-mapmap-e na-ga lo.
S3P-try.to.get-O3S NM-pig PRT

“And you women go to your gardens (to get food) for the young men who go to try to get the pig.”

i-roun i-mai siko kje na-tatano eko ta-mate kje ko
S3S-go.down S3S-comes here PREP NM-ground here we-stay PREP PRT

‘It comes down on the ground which we live on.’

In the first of the examples above, the subject pronominal prefix ti- {S3P} is coreferential with the head of the relative clause, na-malaki-re ‘the young men’, and agrees with it in person and number. In the second example, neither the subject nor the object of the verb in the relative clause is coreferential with its head, na-tatano ‘the ground’. Instead, it is the location in the relative clause, marked by the presence of the preposition kje, that is coreferential with the head. Similarly in the following example, which contains two relative clauses, kje ie ‘to it’ is coreferential with the head skul.

Skul ta-la ta-lu kje ie e-nia rolu-e pou aluai pag-e
school S1IP-go S1IP-go.into PREP D3S P3S-village different-P3S too far PREP-P3S

tra-ra me tama-ra me.
mother-P1IP CJ father-P1IP CJ

‘The village of the school which we will go to is another (one) which is far from our mothers and fathers.’

The second relative clause of this example is a non-verbal clause whose unmanifested subject is coreferential with the head e-nia ‘its village’. The example below also contains a non-verbal relative clause.

Ne-iplaka me Navus ti-pos kje livua eko moiu-e avo.
NM-cuscus CJ Navus S3P-fall PREP hole here shallow-P3S not

‘The cuscus and Navus fell into a hole which is not shallow.’
6.2.1 COMITATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Taken together with its head noun, a comitative relative clause is similar in function to a co-ordinate or comitative noun phrase (§4.2.5, §4.2.6). It functions to link two (groups of) people and expresses the fact that they are considered together.

Structurally, it appears to be an idiomatic relative clause, but this analysis is not completely satisfactory and the topic needs further research. The relative clause always has the same verb -relJe ‘be with’. (Indeed, it seems that only the continuative form -rengerene occurs in independent clauses.) In this example, Kamo is the head noun, and the comitative relative clause is underlined.

```
N-ae ta ne-iŋur lo Kamo ti-relJe uae-a ti-rikarika
alelela.
NM-day CJ NM-all PRT Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S S3P-play.CNT
around

‘Every day Kamo played about with his friends.’
(More literally ‘Every day Kamo who was with his friends played about.’)
```

The special feature of the verb -relJe is that its subject pronominal prefix agrees in person and number with the combination of its head noun and object. This is clearer in the next example, where head noun and object have different persons. The verb ku-moi shows that the (otherwise unmentioned) head noun of the relative clause is ‘you (singular)’, whilst the implicit object of -relJe is ‘us (exclusive)’. The resultant subject prefix is ta- ‘we (inclusive)’.

```
Ti-kav-e Kamo, “Ku-moi ta-relJe ta-ualiu”
S3P-call-O3S Kamo S2S-come S1IP-be.with S1IP-wash

‘They called to Kamo, “You come and bathe with us”.’
```

In the next example, the unmentioned head is the addressee, ‘you (singular)’ and the object is uai-m, which we know from context is plural. The resulting subject prefix is a- ‘you (plural)’.

```
A-relJe uai-m terenje pou pa a-la a-lu pa-tia.
S2P-be.with friend-P2S some too FUT S2P-go S2P-go.into PREP-one

‘You and some of your friends will enrol together.’
```

The absence of a head noun in these examples calls the relative clause analysis into question. However, the only alternative which presents itself is to treat -relJe and the verb which follows as a serial verb phrase. But the presence of pa ‘future’ between the two verbs in this last example undermines this analysis.

The difficulty of analysing this structure probably arises from the fact that it is in the midst of a change, whereby ti-relJe (S3P-be.with), the most frequently occurring form, is being reanalysed as a preposition. Evidence that the form tirelJe is for some speakers losing its connection with the paradigm of -relJe ‘be with’ is provided by the metathesised form tinere, found in:

```
na-melamela tinere tra-re
NM-children with mother-P3P
‘the children with their mother’
```
6.3 QUOTATIONS

Quotations are typically direct, but both direct and indirect forms are used. Sometimes a quotation appears in a narrative without any introduction or closure, but it is more usual for a quote to be introduced with a phrase such as *i-vul* ‘he said’. Direct and indirect quotations differ from each other only in the persons of their pronouns and the like:

\[
i-vul \quad \text{“} ku-kev-e \quad \text{avo} \text{”}
\]

S3S-said S2S-do-O3S not

‘He said, “Don’t do it!”’

\[
i-vul \quad \text{so} \quad i-keve \quad \text{avo}
\]

S3S-said thus S3S-do-O3S not

‘He told him not to do it.’

Both direct and indirect quotations may be introduced by *so* or *soge* ‘thus’, used as a complementiser (suggesting that they should be analysed as nominalised clauses; see §6.4):

\[
ti-\text{nujo} \quad \text{ta-e} \quad \text{Kamo} \quad \text{ti-rene} \quad \text{uai-a} \quad \text{soge} \quad ti-palu-re
\]

S3P-speak PREP-P3S Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S thus S3P-circumcise-O3P

‘... they spoke concerning Kamo and his friends that they should be circumcised.’

Where the sequence *-vul so* or *-vul soge* ‘... said thus’ occurs introducing a quotation, it is often abbreviated to *-vu-so/-vu-soge*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Narol} & \quad \text{i-vu-so}, \quad \text{“} a-sio \text{ me } na-vir-e.\text{”} \\
\text{Narol} & \quad \text{S3S-speak-thus S2P-stop CJ S1S-climb-O3S} \\
& \quad \text{‘Narol said, “Stay here and I will climb it”’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
i-vu-soge & \quad \text{timi-lua} \quad \text{Vulum} \quad \text{ti-luveivei} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{na-guguna} \quad \text{i-panak-e}. \\
\text{S3S-speak-thus D3P-two Vulum S3P-go.bush CJ.DUR NM-wasp S3S-biteu-O3S} \\
& \quad \text{‘He told me just now he and Vulum went into the bush where a wasp bit him.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tama-ge,} \quad \text{ku-vu-soge} \quad \text{na-lu} \quad \text{kye} \quad \text{sukul...} \\
\text{father-PIS S2S-speak-thus S1S-go.into PREP school}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Father, you said I would go to school ...’

6.4 NOMINALISED CLAUSES

Certain verbs may take a dependent clause in their OBJECT slot. In the examples below, the OBJECT slot of the verb *-loj* ‘hear’ is filled by a clause. As such, it is a nominalised clause, although there is no formal marking to indicate this.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kamo} & \quad \text{i-loj-e} \quad \text{tam-e} \quad \text{i-vul-e} \quad \text{pa-e} \quad \text{na-skul-pa...} \\
\text{Kamo} & \quad \text{S3S-hear-O3S father-P3S S3S-tell-O3S PREP-P3S NM-school-NSR} \\
& \quad \text{‘Kamo heard his father speak to him about schooling ...’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ti-loj} & \quad \text{i-la} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{Navus} \quad \text{i-kava} \quad \text{talo} \quad \text{kye} \quad \text{roun-sio} \quad \text{lo.} \\
\text{S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT} \\
& \quad \text{‘They heard them fall, (and) Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.’}
\end{align*}
\]

When the verb *-kevi* is used causatively, it takes a nominalised clause in its OBJECT slot:
GRAHAM HAYWOOD

Vile-pa aole pa ta-kev-e i-la haus sik.
CONSEQ-FUT tomorrow FUT S1IP-do-O3S S3S-go house sick
‘In that case tomorrow we will take him to the aid-post.’
(More literally ‘... tomorrow we will cause him to go to the aid-post.’)

Ta Narol i-kev-e ti-kirimerime
CJSEQ Narol S3S-do-O3S S3P-follow.behind.CNT
‘So Narol followed behind with him.’
(More literally ‘So Narol caused them to follow behind’)

It is tempting to analyse the two examples above as containing a kind of serial verb phrase
(§4.1.1), but in the second example the object pronominal suffix -e {O3S} is singular,
agreeing with the following clause as a whole, not with the subject pronominal prefix of
ti-kirimerime. If this were a serial verb phrase, the object pronominal suffix would agree
in person and number with the subject pronominal prefix of the following verb (i.e. with an
intervening object ‘them’).

One verb, -uai ‘be like’ is used to express simile and may take a nominalised clause in both
its SUBJECT and OBJECT slots. The first of these two examples has a nominalised clause in the
SUBJECT slot only, the second has one in both slots.

i-uavel i-ului na-goune
S3S-runs S3S-be.like NM-dog
‘He runs like a dog.’

soge a-sio a-rika alelepa nia i-ului eliakoko a-kev-e ko avo.
CJ.PURP S2P-stop S2P-play around village S3S-be.like now S2P-do-O3S PRT not
‘... and so your (and your friends’) stopping playing around in the village will not be like
you do now.’ (i.e. ‘and so you and your friends will not play around in the village like you
do now’.)

It was noted above that the quotation clause of a verb of saying may be introduced by the
complementiser so or soge ‘thus’. Quotation clauses should probably be analysed as a variety
of nominalised clause, since soge is used to introduce the OBJECT clause of at least one other
verb, namely -kim ‘like’:

So ti-la sian kumo avo eio uai-a ti-kim soge ti-renere ne.
CJ.PURP S3P-go where garden not there friend-P3S S3P-like thus S3P-be.with.CNT
‘Whenever they went to a garden somewhere the friends liked to go together.’

7. CO-ORDINATE CLAUSES

Independent clauses (§5) often occur in sequences conjoined by co-ordinating conjunctions
(§3.12.2). This is by far the most common form of clause linkage in Maleu, as the text (§9)
illustrates.

The most neutral of the conjunctions is me ‘and, but’:
They lived there and as for Kamo he played about by himself.'

'They had distributed the food, the big men left but they (of Alia) stayed.'

The durative conjunction la conjoins two clauses where the event referred to in the first clause is viewed as lasting until the event referred to in the second clause. It is generally translatable into English by 'and then' or 'until'

'They sit down and then they cut out the pig meat and then he cuts out the bones and they all go into the mormorse's basket.'

A quite common turn of phrase is la i-sio {CJDUR S3S-stop} 'until it stopped' to emphasise the duration of an event:

'They danced through the night until morning.'

In §5.1 it was noted that apua ‘finished’ may occur as a single-word clause recapitulating the previous clause and indicating that the event of that previous clause was completed before the event of the next clause began. It is very common to find apua used in this way, but also conjoined to the previous clause with the conjunction la:

'They had finished bathing, they played about.'

(More literally ‘They bathed until (it was) finished and then they played about.’)

The sequential conjunctions ta, taio, eta and etaio also conjoin two clauses in chronological sequence. In the case of ta in particular there is sometimes the implication that the second event is the outcome of the first.

'They sleep till morning then they go up along Vakvak (a track).'</n
184 GRAHAM HAYWOOD

Ti-mate la na-pano na-meik ta ti-mule ti-la Alia.
S3P-stay CJ.DUR NM-earth NM-hungry CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go Alia
‘They stayed there and became hungry so they went back to Alia.’

Ti-mate haus sik avola Kamo ai-a popu-e etaio ti-mule ti-la nia.
S3P-stay house sick and.so Kamo leg-P3S good-P3S CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go village
‘They stayed at the aid post till Kamo’s leg was better then they went home.’

The resultative conjunction avola conjoins clauses where the event referred to by the second clause is viewed as the outcome of the event referred to by the first.

Me ti-mate avola i-rara, me ti-mate avola tortor alelenya.
CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES S3S-crawl CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES began.toddle around
‘They lived there and so he began to crawl and as they stayed he started toddling about.’

Sa and soge, which also have other uses (§6.1, §6.3), serve as conjunctions of purpose, translatable as ‘so that’, ‘in order that’. However, unlike the traditional analysis of their English counterparts, there is no reason to analyse them as dependent clauses.

The resultative conjunction avola conjoins clauses where the event referred to by the second clause is viewed as the outcome of the event referred to by the first.

Ti-takotoko n-an-1)a pagi-re eina-re soge ti-mari mule mule
S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR PREP-P3P big-P3P CJ.PURP S3P-stand.up return

Less frequently, independent clauses occur in sequences without an intervening co-ordinating conjunction.

As the tagmemic structures of independent clauses show (§5), the only tagmeme of a clause which must occur is the PREDICATE. In sequences of clauses, participants are tracked by the subject and object pronominal affixes. Thus in the first four sentences of the text (§9), Atem and Topi, the parents of the protagonist, are introduced in the first sentence, whilst the protagonist himself, Kamo, is introduced in the third. Up to and including sentence 8, Atem and Topi are tracked simply with the subject and possessive pronominal prefixes, respectively ti- {S3P} ‘they’ and re- {P3P} ‘their’. Kamo in the meantime is tracked by the subject
pronominal prefix *i-* {S3S} 'he/she/it', although he is also named again several times, being the main participant.

One consequence of this tracking mechanism is that when an independent pronoun is used in addition to a subject prefix, as in the following example, it is used to show that the subject of this verb is not the same referent as the subject of the previous verb.

*Ti-tokotoko n-ana-ña l-apua taio eina-re ti-vililil me ire ti-sio.*

S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEVERAL big-P3P S3P-leave CJ D3P S3P-stop

'When they had distributed the food, the big men left but they (of Alia) stayed.'

In this case, the verb *ti-tokotoko* refers to the people of Alia village. The next verb, *ti-vililil*, has a different subject, *eina-re* 'the big men'. The independent pronoun *ire* 'they' shows that the subject prefix of *ti-sio* is not the same as that of the previous verb, i.e. 'the big men', but refers back to the people of Alia.

8. SENTENCE LINKAGE

Sentences in narrative are often linked by recapitulation. This entails the repetition of the verb of one sentence at the beginning of the next, exemplified below by *i-panak-e* 'it bit him'.

*Ti-lala kye na-ña-pu-a so ti-roun ti-mate ko pa siyaŋ*  
S3P-go.CNT PREP NM-galip base-P3S CJ.PURP S3P-go.down S3P-stay PRT PREP where

*ta me na-guguna i-panak-e Kamo ai-a na-luvua. I-panak-e taio i-tan*  
CJ.SEQ CJ NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S Kamo leg-P3S NM-cup S3S-bite-O3S CJ.SEQ S3S-cry

'They walked to the base of the galip tree to sit down, but a wasp bit Kamo's knee. It bit him and he cried.'

In the following example, it is the verb *i-mai* 'it came' that is recapitulated. The example is more readily understood if one knows that the idiomatic expression for 'give A to B' is 'let A come to B'.

*Narol i-vul, "Iami ne-iplaka taio i-mai uai-ra kapori-a*  
Narol S3S-tell D2P NM-cuscus CJ.SEQ S3S-come friend-P1IP small-P3S

*tako i-ge eva." I-mai Kamo i-ge eva."*  
this S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON S3S-come Kamo S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON

'... Narol said, “Give the cuscus to our small friend and he can carry it for himself”. They gave it to him and Kamo carried it himself.” (More literally ‘... Narol said, “(Let) the cuscus come to our small friend and he can carry it for himself”’. It came and Kamo carried it himself.)

A technique similar in function to recapitulation is briefly described at the end of §5.1. Here *apua* 'finished' is used as a proform for a previous clause whose event has been completed.
9. TEXT

1. Atem me Topi re-melamela loutav-e na-tamta e-pasis Kamo.
   Atem CJ Topi P3P-child firstborn-P3S NM-man P3S-name Kamo
   Atem and Topi’s firstborn male child’s name was Kamo.

2. Re-nia e-pasis Alia.
   P3P-village P3S-name Alia
   Their village name was Alia.

3. Ti-mate me Kamo i-tuptup avola i-pelturtur, me ti-mate
   S3P-stay CJ Kamo S3S-grow.CNT CJ.RES S3S-turn.over.CNT CJ S3P-stay
   avola i-matete.
   CJ.RES S3S-sit.up
   They lived there and Kamo grew fat, began to turn over and as they lived there he
   began to sit up.

4. Me ti-mate avola i-rara, me ti-mate avola tortor aleleña.
   CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES S3S-crawl CJ S3P-stay CJ.RES begin.toddle around
   They lived there and then he crawled and as they stayed he started toddling about.

5. Taio ti-la kye re-nia pou-a Kuntop etaio Kamo i-lala.
   CJ.SEQ S3P-go PREP P3P-village new-P3S Kuntop CJ.SEQ Kamo S3S-go.CNT
   Then they went to their new village, Kuntop, and Kamo started walking.

6. Ti-mate me Kamo ie tauaνa i-rikarika aleleña.
   S3P-stay CJ Kamo D3S R3S S3S-play.CNT around
   They lived there and Kamo played about by himself.

   S3P-stay CJ.DUR NM-earth NM-hungry CJ.SEQ S3P-return S3P-go Alia
   They stayed there until they became hungry, and then they went back to Alia.

8. Ti-mate Alia avola ti-kan mule.
   S3P-stay Alia CJ.RES S3P-eat return
   They lived at Alia and so they were able to eat again.

9. N-ae taua lo taio eina-re ti-luplup ulum me ti-nongo at-e
   NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-met men’s.house CJ S3P-speak PREP-P3S
   Kamo ti-rege uae-a soge ti-palu-re
   Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S thus S3P-circumcise-O3P
   One day the big men met in the men’s house and they spoke about Kamo and his
   friends, that they should be circumcised.

10. Kamo tam-e i-vul-re uae-a, “Iami soge aole taio a-la
    Kamo father-P3S S3S-tell-O3P friend-P3S D2P thus tomorrow CJ.SEQ
    S2P-go
    a-manman-e na-ga kapor-i-a ki-e na-vola tako.
    S2P-try.to.get-O3S NM-pig small-P3S PREP-P3S NM-man this
    Kamo’s father told his relatives, “Tomorrow you go try to get this man’s small pig.
11. Me ne-iua-re a-la kumo pagi-re na-malaki-re ti-la
CJ NM-woman-P3P S2P-go garden PREP-P3P NM-young.man-P3P S3P-go
ti-maŋmaŋ-e na-ga lo.
S3P-try.to.get-O3S NM-pig PRT
“And you women go to your gardens (to get food) for the young men who go to try
to get the pig.

12. Mata-mi lemiva na-łoulou me n-ai me n-an-ŋa polpoli-a.
    face-P2P P2P.PRON NM-leaves CJ NM-tree CJ NM-eat-NSR little.P-P3S
“Find your mumu leaves, wood and a little food.

13. Pa uik eko matarai ko avota me eimule lo na-riŋa mat-e
    FUT week here ahead.of.us PRT not.yet CJ later PRT NM-fire face-P3S
    pa-e Fraide la i-sio utue Sarere.
    PREP-P3S Friday CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday
    “Not this coming week but the following one, start preparing for Friday until
    Saturday morning.”

14. Fonde na-ravu ti-kono me elo Fraide utue lo na-ga
    Thursday NM-food S3P-sleep CJ there Friday morning PRT NM-pig
ti-la ti-samo me ne-iuol i-raral
    S3P-go S3P-cook CJ NM-many S3S-come
    On Thursday the food was put in the mumu and then on Friday morning they went
    and cooked the pig and many people came.

15. Na-galegale-ŋa la i-sio utue Sarere etaio
    NM-dance.CNT-NSR CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning Saturday CJ.SEQ
    ti-palu-e Kamo tako ti-reŋe uae-a.
    S3P-circumcise-O3S Kamo this S3P-be.with friend-P3S
    There was dancing until Saturday morning and then they circumcised this Kamo with
    his friends.

16. Ti-palu-e l-apua taio Kamo tam-e i-ŋoŋo
    S3P-circumcise-O3S CJ.DUR-finished CJ.SEQ Kamo father-P3S S3S-speak
    pa-e n-an-ŋa.
    PREP-P3S NM-eat-NSR
    When they had circumcised him, Kamo’s father called for the food.

17. Ti-tokotoko n-an-ŋa pagi-re eĩŋa-re soge ti-mari mule
    S3P-take.CNT NM-eat-NSR PREP-P3P big-P3P CJ.PURP S3P-stand.up return
    mule ti-la kye re-nia pa na-pano na-vuevue-ŋa.
    return S3P-go PREP P3P-village PREP NM-earth NM-tired-NSR
    They distributed the food for the big men so that they could each return to their
    villages because they were all tired.
When they had distributed the food, the big men left but they (of Alia) stayed.

In the morning Topi took Kamo to bathe.

They went where some of his young friends were bathing.

Asola, Loupu, Keke, Aviua, Amom, Vulum and Sari were bathing.

They called to Kamo, “You come and bathe with us”.

Kamo stayed with his friends bathing and his father Topi returned to the village.

When they had finished bathing, they played about.

Every day Kamo played about with his friends.

One day he and Vulum went into the bush.

They walked to the base of the galip tree to sit down, but a wasp bit Kamo’s knee.
28. *I-panak-e taio i-taŋ*  
*S3S-bite-O3S CJ.SEQ S3S-cry*  
It bit him and he cried.

29. *I-taŋ  la ie mumun etaio Vulum i-vet-e Kamo,*  
*S3S-cry.CNT CJ.DUR D3S stop CJ.SEQ Vulum S3S-ask-O3S Kamo*  
"*Ku-taŋ-e na-sae o"*  
*S2S-cry-O3S NM-what PRT*  
He kept crying until he stopped, then Vulum asked Kamo, "Why are you crying?"

30. "*Tiavo me na-guguna i-panak-e ai-k.*  
don't know CJ NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S leg-P1S  
"I don't know, but a wasp bit my leg."

31. *Vile-io iom mumun me ta-mule ta-la nia pa*  
CONSEQ-PRT D2S stop CJ S1IP-return S1IP-go village PREP  
*na-pano na-vonŋ o.*  
NM-earth NM-night PRT  
"In that case you stop (crying) and we will return to the village because it's getting dark."

32. *Ti-la nia la leilei talo ko Kamo ai-a i-utui o.*  
*S3P-go village CJ.DUR afternoon that PRT Kamo leg-P3S S3S-swell.CNT PRT*  
They went to the village and that afternoon Kamo's leg was already swelling.

33. *Atem i-lei-e tu-a ai-a taio i-vet-e."*  
*Atem S3S-see-O3S child-P3S leg-P3S CJ.SEQ S3S-ask-O3S*  
Atem saw her son's leg and asked him,

34. "*Kamo, ai-m i-so io?"*  
*Kamo leg-P2S S3S-do.what PRT*  
"Kamo what is the matter with your leg?"

35. *Kamo i-taŋ me i-vul.*  
*Kamo S3S-cry CJ S3S-tell*  
Kamo cried and he said,

36. "*Iou me Vulum em-luveivei la na-guguna i-panak-e."*  
*D1S CJ Vulum S1EP-go.bush CJ.DUR NM-wasp S3S-bite-O3S*  
"Vulum and I went into the bush and then a wasp bit me."

37. *Atem i-kav-e Topi.*  
*Atem S3S-call-O3S Topi*  
Atem called Topi.

38. "*Topi ku-moi ku-lei-e tu-m ulia ai-a ge?"*  
*Topi S2S-come S2S-see-O3S child-P2S child leg-P3S PRT*  
"Topi, come and see your son's leg immediately."
39. Topi i-vet-e, “EkoAtem i-uso tako?”
   Topi S3S-ask-O3S this Atem S3S-do.what this
   Topi asked, “Here, Atem, what is the matter with this (leg)?”

40. Tiavo me i-vu-soge timi-lua Vulum ti-luveivei la na-gugura
don’t.know CJ S3S-speak-thus D3P-two Vulum S3P-go.bush CJ.DUR NM-wasp
   i-panak-e.”
   S3S-bite-O3S
   “I don’t know, but he told me just now he and Vulum went into the bush and a wasp
   bit him.”

41. Vile-pa aole pa ta-kev-e i-la haus sik.”
   CONSEQ-FUT tomorrow FUT S1IP-do-O3S S3S-go house sick
   “In that case tomorrow we will take him to the aid-post.”

42. Utue taio ti-mari ti-la haus sik.
   morning CJ.SEQ S3P-stand.up S3P-go house sick
   In the morning they went to the aid post.

43. Ti-mate haus sik avola Kamo ai-a popu-e etaoi ti-mule
   S3P-stay house sick CJ.RES Kamo leg-P3S good-P3S CJ.SEQ S3P-return
   ti-la nia.
   S3P-go village
   They stayed at the aid post and so Kamo’s leg got better, then they went home.

44. Ti-mate me Kamo uae-a eina-re ti-poutaitai-e pa-e
   S3P-stay CJ Kamo friend-P3S big-P3P S3P-teach.CNT-O3S PREP-P3S
   na-pana-ŋa me na-galsup-ŋa me no-uk-ŋa me na-vunja
   NM-shoot-NSR CJ NM-spear-NSR CJ NM-swim-NSR CJ NM-thing
   ta ne-ijur ko avola i-uotaitai tereñe.
   LIG NM-all PRT CJ.RES S3S-know.CNT some
   They lived there and Kamo’s big friends taught him shooting, spearing, swimming
   (for yabbies) and all such skills until he knew some.

45. Kamo uae-a ti-kimkim-e ŋata pa ie na-melamela popu-e
   Kamo friend-P3S S3P-like.CNT-O3S very because D3S NM-child good-
   P3S
   la la-rika-ŋa popu-e la la-gol ta ne-iuol eina-re lo
   CJ P3S-play-NSR good-P3S CJ P3S-fashion LIG NM-many big-P3S PRT
   popu-e volem.
   good-P3S only
   Kamo’s friends liked him very much as he was a good child and played well and all
   his ways were good.

46. N-ae taua lo taio Kamo ti-reñe uae-a panye ti-la ti-
   luveivei.
   NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ Kamo S3P-be.with friend-P3S four S3P-go S3P-
   go.bush
   One day Kamo went into the bush with his four friends.
47. Ti-mari utue nata t-ik er-en-ŋa pou.
   S3P-stand.up morning very S3P-carry S3P-eat-NSR too
   They started very early and carried their food too.

48. Ti-uataata-e na-roro talo ti-la liako me Kamo i-lei-e
   S3P-follow.CNT-O3S NM-road that S3P-go surprised CJ Kamo S3S-see-O3S
   ne-iplaka i-mate kŋe ne-ilato kapori-a.
   NM-cuscus S3S-stay PREP NM-nettle.tree small-P3S
   They followed that track and suddenly Kamo saw a cuscus sitting in a small nettle tree.

49. I-vul-re uae-a “Iami na-vuŋa-tia enelo i-mate kŋe n-ai-lake.”
   S3S-tell-O3P friend-P3S D2P NM-thing-one there S3S-stay PREP NM-tree-branch
   He said to his friends, “Hey you lot, there is something sitting on a branch.”

50. Uae-a ti-lei-e ta ti-vul, “Elo ne-iplaka lo.”
   friend-P3S S3P-see-O3S CJ.SEQ S3P-tell there NM-cuscus PRT
   His friends looked and said, “There is a cuscus”.

51. Narol i-vu-so, “A-sio me na-vir-e.”
   Narol S3S-speak-thus S2P-stop CJ S1S-climb-O3S
   Narol said, “Stay here and I will climb it”.

52. Navus i-vul, “Ai itami-lua ta-vir-e,”
   Navus S3S-tell hey D1IP-two S1IP-climb-O3S
   Navus said, “Hey, both of us will climb it”.

53. Ne-iuol ti-sio ti-uŋa kŋe n-ai pu-a me Narol me
   NM-many S3P-stop S3P-ready PREP NM-tree base-P3S CJ Narol CJ
   Navus ti-vir-e.
   Navus S3P-climb-O3S
   They all stayed ready at the base of the tree and Narol and Navus climbed it.

54. Ne-iplaka soge i-ko liako me Navus i-uok-e ta ti-tavul.
   NM-cuscus thus S3S-run surprised CJ Navus S3S-grab-O3S CJ.SEQ S3P-fall.down
   The cuscus was going to run away but Navus suddenly grabbed him and they fell down.

55. Narol i-sio i-mate sapa kŋe n-ai kuri-a eilut.
   Narol S3S-stop S3S-stay just PREP NM-tree head-P3S above
   Narol stayed just sitting at the top of the tree.

56. Ne-iplaka me Navus ti-pos kŋe livua eko moiouŋ-e avo.
   NM-cuscus CJ Navus S3P-fall PREP hole here shallow-P3S not
   The cuscus and Navus fell into a hole which was not shallow.

57. Ti-loge i-la ko Navus i-kava talo kŋe roun-sio lo.
   S3P-hear S3S-go PRT Navus S3S-call that PREP go.down-stop PRT
   They heard them fall, (and) Navus called out from the bottom of the hole.
58. Ne-iuol ta ti-ralqat-e Navus me ne-iplaka ti-roun ti-la.
   NM-many CJ S3P-walk-O3S Navus CJ NM-cuscus S3P-go.down S3P-go
   They all went to the place where Navus and the cuscus had fallen down.

59. Navus i-kananak-e ne-iplaka.
   Navus S3S-hit.CNT-O3S NM-cuscus
   Navus was hitting the cuscus.

60. Apua taio ti-mari pou.
    finished CJ.SEQ S3P-stand.up too
    After that they walked again.

61. Ne-iuol ti-mugamuga me Narol me Kamo ti-kirimerime.
    NM-many S3P-go.ahead.CNT CJ Narol CJ Kamo S3P-follow.behind.CNT
    The others all went first and Narol and Kamo followed behind.

62. Kamo uae-a ti-luveivei molola mata-re kye o me ie avota.
    Kamo friend-P3S S3P-go.bush long.time face-P3P PREP PRT CJ D3S not.yet
    Kamo's friends were familiar with going around in the bush but he wasn't yet.

63. Ta Narol i-kev-e ti-kirimerime
    CJ.SEQ Narol S3S-do-O3S S3P-follow.behind.CNT
    So Narol followed behind with him.

64. Ti-lala ti-pot kumo taio ti-maiamaia.
    S3P-go.CNT S3P-go.out garden CJ.SEQ S3P-rest.CNT
    They came out at a garden and then they rested.

65. Eiŋa-re ti-kep na-tou ti-ket-e nia pa-e Kamo taio
    big-P3P S3P-pull NM-sugar.cane S3P-give-O3S one PREP-P3S Kamo CJ.SEQ
    i-mate me i-kan
    S3S-stay CJ S3S-eat
    The big boys pulled out the sugar cane, gave one piece to Kamo and he sat down and ate it.

66. Apua taio Narol i-vul, "Iami ne-iplaka taio i-mai uae-ra
    finished CJ.SEQ Narol S3S-tell D2P NM-cuscus CJ.SEQ S3S-come friend-PIIP
    kaporiri-a tako i-ge eva."
    small-P3S this S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON
    Afterwards Narol said, "Give the cuscus to our small friend and he can carry it for himself".

67. I-mai Kamo i-ge eva.
    S3S-come Kamo S3S-carry.O3S P3S.PRON
    They gave it to him and Kamo carried it himself.
68. Ti-la nia taio Atem i-vet-e,
S3P-go village CJ.SEQ Atem S3S-ask-O3S
“Kamo iami alavoko a-gon sian?”
Kamo D2P today S2P-come.from where
They arrived in the village, and Atem asked, “Kamo, where did you all go today?”

69. Kamo i-vul, “Iem em-luveivei la iou na-lei-e ne-iplaka
Kamo S3S-tell D1EP S1EP-go.bush CJ.DUR D1S S1S-see-O3S NM-cuscus
la em-tok-e.”
CJ.DUR S1EP-take-O3S
Kamo said, “We went to the bush and I saw a cuscus and we caught it”.

70. Atem i-vet-e, “Vile-io ne-iplaka siaŋ i-la o”
Atem S3S-ask-O3S CONSEQ-PRT NM-cuscus where S3S-go PRT
Atem asked him, “So where did the cuscus go?”

71. Taio Kamo i-vu-so, “Ne-ig-e i-moi elo i-kono maŋe.”
CJ.SEQ Kamo S3S-speak-thus S1S-carry-O3S S3S-come there S3S-sleep outside
Then Kamo said, “I carried it home and it is outside”.

72. “Ku-la ku-tok-e i-mai me ta-lei-e.”
S2S-go S2S-take-O3S S3S-come CJ S11P-see-O3S
“Go and fetch it and we will look at it.”

73. Kamo i-tok-e i-la ta ti-sam-e.
Kamo S3S-take-O3S S3S-go CJ.SEQ S3P-cook-O3S
Kamo took it to her and they cooked it.

74. N-ae ta ne-iŋur io Kamo i-tuptup me remu-a i-naŋna.
NM-day IlG NM-all PRT Kamo S3S-grow.CNT CJ inside-P3S S3S-
learn.CNT
Every day Kamo was growing up and learning more.

75. Kamo i-kimkim-re uae-a ŋata soge ti-reŋereŋe aleleŋa la
Kamo S3S-like.CNT-O3P friend-P3S very thus S3P-be.with.CNT around
CJ.DUR
u-a ta vile-io pou ti-kimkim-e Kamo ŋata.
friend-P3S CJ.SEQ CONSEQ-PRT too S3P-like.CNT-O3S Kamo very
Kamo liked his friends very much and thus they went around together, and
consequently those friends also liked Kamo very much.

76. So ti-la siaŋ kumo avo eio uae-a ti-kim soge ti-reŋereŋe.
CJ.PURP S3P-go where garden not there friend-P3S S3P-like thus S3P-
be.with.CNT
Whenever they went to a garden somewhere the friends liked to go together.

77. Ti-reŋereŋe avola remu-a i-naŋ ŋata.
S3P-be.with.CNT CJ.RES inside-P3S S3S-learn very
They used to go together, and he learned a lot.
78. *I-sio la laue talo ta eina-re ti-luplup pou me ti-ŋoŋo.*

S3S-stop CJ.DUR time that CJ.SEQ big-P3P S3P-met too CJ P3S-speak

This went on until one time the big men met together again and talked.


NM-man this Kamo this FUT S3P-be.with friend-P3S R3P PRT S3P-see

na-kamutmut la pa-tia pou.

NM-tumbuan.mask CJ PREP-one too

This man (said) this Kamo and his friends must see the tumbuan man together.


big-P3P S3P-do-O3P CJ.DUR S3P-go S3P-go.out camp CJSEQ

ti-lei na-kamutmut.

S3P-see NM-tumbuan.mask

The big men made preparations and they went out to the camp and then they saw the tumbuan.

81. *I-sio la n-ae taua lo taio ti-gal-e na-kamutmut.*

S3S-stop CJ.DUR NM-day one PRT CJ.SEQ S3P-dance-O3S NM-

tumbuan.mask

This went on until a certain day, and then they danced a tumbuan dance.

82. *Ti-galegale von la i-sio utue.*

S3P-dance.CNT night CJ.DUR S3S-stop morning

They danced through the night till morning.

83. *Utue taio na-kamutmut i-lou-re me eina-re ti-kan*.

morning CJ.SEQ NM-tumbuan.mask S3S-hit-O3P CJ big-P3P S3P-eat

n-an-ŋa l-apua taio ti-vi-lilil.

NM-eat-NSR CJ.DUR-finished CJSEQ S3P-leave

In the morning the tumbuan hit them (the children), the big men ate the food, and when (they were) finished they left.

84. *Ire ti-sio Kamo tini-a kus o la i-lei na-kamutmut.*

D3P S3P-stop Kamo skin-P3S happy PRT CJ.DUR S3S-see NM-tumbuan.mask

pou o.

too PRT

They (the children) stayed and Kamo was very happy as he had seen the tumbuan too.

*Tumbuan* is a Tok Pisin term referring to a spirit figure represented by a masked dancer.
Every day Kamo was going around and growing up, and then they talked about schooling too.

That afternoon he went up into the house and his father spoke to him.

He said, “Kamo, when this present year is finished, you will go into school too.

You and some of your friends will enrol together.”

Kamo heard his father speak to him about schooling, and so he asked his father nicely,

“Father, you said I will enrol in school, what does that mean?”

And then his father answered him, “Schooling means this.

You and all these your friends, you play around together.
93. Na-lai eko matarai ko i-sou kye soge a-sio a-rika
   NM-year here ahead.of.us PRT S3S-be.enough PREP CJ.PURP S2P-stop
   S2P-play
   alelenga nia i-uai eliakoko a-kev-e ko avo.
   around village S3S-be.like now S2P-do-O3S PRT not
   “This present year will be enough of this, and so your (and your friends’) stopping
   and playing around in the village will not be like you do now.” (i.e. “and so you and
   your friends will not play around in the village like you do now”.)

94. Sukul ta-la ta-lu kye ie e-nia rolu-e pou aluai
   school S1IP-go S1IP-go.into PREP D3S P3S-village different-P3S too far
   pag-e tna-ra me tama-ra me.
   PREP-P3S mother-P1IP CJ father-P1IP CJ
   The village of the school which we will go to is another (one) which is far from our
   mothers and fathers.

95. Tna-ra avo tama-ra i-tol-ta ta-la ta-sio ta soge
   mother-P1IP not father-P1IP S3S-bring-01IP S1IP-go S1IP-stop CJ.SEQ thus
   ta-la lavunim io me ie i-mule i-mai kye ra-nia.
   S1IP-go first.time PRT CJ D3S S3S-return S3S-come PREP P1IP-village
   Our mother or father will bring us to stay and thus we will go first time, and then he
   will return to our village.

96. Me ita ta-sio io tama-ra avo tna-ra rolu-e o.
   CJ D1IP S1IP-stop PRT father-P1IP not mother-P1IP different-P3S PRT
   And we stay there and we will have another father or mother.
1. BACKGROUND

On the northwestern coast of New Britain, Amara is spoken by an estimated 200 people in Malaso, Siamatai, Kimbe (a small village inland from Kokopo), and Kaugo (Namatamou). It may also be spoken in several villages on the southwestern coast. One small settlement has also been established at Eivin Pio, an interior site which, according to Amara mythology, is the ancestral origin place of the Amara, the centre from which all human beings have come. An accurate count of Amara speakers is difficult to ascertain, (1) because the government census lists the Amara along with speakers of either Kabana and Anêm; and (2) because most, if not all, Amara know the language as semi-speakers. That is, although they are fluent in Amara, their dominant language seems to be Kabana. There are two dialects of Amara: Amara proper and Autie. Named after the river Mara (Gurisi), Amara proper is spoken in Kimbe, Kaugo and Siamatai. Autie is spoken by members of a patriclan that overlaps the Anêm in Malaso and the Amara in Siamatai. Unless otherwise stated, the data here reflect the language as spoken in Kimbe.2

Until this work, Amara has been discussed only briefly in Chowning (1978, 1986), Ross (1988) and Thurston (1976, 1982, 1987). In 1984, I circulated a trilingual lexicon of Amara, primarily for use by informants in New Britain; this has been corrected and revised as the basis for §6. Friederici (1912:220) provides a short list of words in a language which he, unfortunately, calls Longa. Although his list contains some Amara words, it also contains words from Mouk and, possibly, Aria (Thurston 1987:23-26). The word lōna itself, however, is a Kabana pejorative used indiscriminately in reference to all interior peoples including Mouk and Anêm and does not properly refer to any language.

Amara is an interior language in the same sociolinguistic relationship to Kabana as Anêm is to Lusi (Thurston 1982; 1987). The evidence suggests that Amara was established on New Britain long before people from the Siasi islands brought the language ancestral to Kabana, Lusi and Kove to the coastal areas of New Britain. Like the Anêm and the Mouk, the

1 This Kimbe is a village, not the large township to the east of the Willaumez Peninsula. Similarly, Kokopo is the West New Britain village once named Gumerta and renamed, according to informants, by the Germans after the better known Kokopo on the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain.

2 I am indebted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its generous support; to Mr. Peter Lingaso of Kimbe village who acted as the primary informant for Amara; and to Rick Goulden and Naomi Scaletta for assistance during the fieldwork period.

© William R. Thurston
Amara have no tradition of maritime activity – their settlements used to be well inland, away from tidal waves and saltwater crocodiles. While the coastal peoples fought with slingshots and sorcery, the Amara, like the Anêm and Mouk, battled with shields and spears. Although traditional Amara contacts with the Anêm and Mouk to the east and with the Lolo to the west are still maintained, the Amara have now been almost totally absorbed, both linguistically and socioculturally, into the Kabana community. A low level of hostility, nevertheless, is still evident in interactions between those who still identify themselves as Amara and those who consider themselves Kabana. Language and the tradition of being interior peoples are still the primary residual markers of Amara identity used for contrast with the Kabana.

2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC EROSION OF AMARA

Contact with Kabana has resulted in the decline of Amara language and culture. Linguistically, this decline takes two forms: (1) a decline in the number of people who can speak Amara at all; and (2) a drastic loss of Amara vocabulary among those who can still speak the language.

The processes leading to the reduction in the number of speakers exemplify the spread of language in general. Except as a result of the most extreme instances of imperial social organisation, such as the extinction of Beothuk and Tasmanian, languages do not spread because the speakers of one language exterminate the speakers of another language, or, as Sankoff suggests, “as a result of the differential rate of expansion of the populations speaking them and of their success in competing with other populations for material resources such as land” (1980:13), but because their languages are adopted, for reasons of prestige and economic utility, by peoples who previously spoke other languages. In this case, the Amara have been abandoning their language in favour of Kabana. On the north coast, all speakers of Amara also speak Kabana, but few Kabana speak any Amara.

Based on observations of East Sutherland Gaelic and Pennsylvania Dutch, Dorian writes about the process of language death in general:

The transition from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another language, via a period of bilingualism, is probably the commonest route to linguistic extinction.... When a speech community is in the process of language shift, individuals typically appear who show differential acquisition of the competing languages. At first, community members are likely to speak the threatened language better, and to have difficulties with the language posing the threat. With time, however, the situation reverses, and speakers appear who control the threatened language rather poorly but have acquired the other language, the one that is posing the threat, extremely well. I have used the term 'semi-speaker' to describe the last, imperfect speakers of a dying language (Dorian 1983:158).

From this perspective, the Amara are clearly semi-speakers. Like speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic, they learn their weaker language in intimate home settings and, consequently, understand it well, but speak the dominant language better. In this case, the Amara invariably speak Kabana (and even Tok Pisin) better than they speak Amara. While Dorian demonstrates substantive grammatical simplication in semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic, however, I have been able to identify only minor points of simplification in the grammar of Amara. The most salient effect of the language death process on Amara appears to be the gross loss
of vocabulary, particularly in the ectolexicon (non-core vocabulary).

Traditionally, throughout the New Britain area, a state of potential warfare continues between peoples who are not interrelated through marriage, and consequently, through trade. The normalisation of relationships between enemy groups in Melanesia almost always involves the exchange of marital partners between groups. Over generations, this exchange of hostages between antagonistic groups defuses the possibility of warfare. It also places constraints on sorcery, because a person is expected to guard all ensorcelable bodily effluvia from his or her own kin. A person who marries (distant) kin enjoys added protection. Marriages between Amara and Kabana are very common, and the children of these linguistically-mixed marriages typically choose to speak Kabana rather than Amara as their primary language of ethnic identity. As a result, the grandchildren of Amara-Kabana marriages have little exposure to Amara and have to make a special effort to learn it. For most of these children, maintaining an ethnic contrast with Kabana is not worth the work of learning Amara for at least five interconnected reasons:

1. relative to Kabana, Amara is considered too difficult to learn;
2. among coastal peoples, interior social groups are stigmatised;
3. in order to function in Amara communities, everyone must know Kabana anyway;
4. Kabana has value as a lingua franca, while Amara does not; and
5. even in Amara communities, social status is achieved through Kabana institutions.

For two major reasons, Kabana has practical value as a lingua franca. First, because of the aulu complex described below, Kabana is known in communities well outside Bariai. Second, Kabana is lexically similar to Lusi and Kove. In conversations using basic vocabulary, all three languages are mutually intelligible and can be used with a high degree of success dual-lingually across most of the the north coast of New Britain from Cape Gloucester to the base of the Willaumez peninsula. Since Amara is lexically unlike any language in the area, it cannot serve as a communicative link to any other linguistic group.

The Kabana language is embedded in the aulu complex, an institution through which an individual achieves prestige and avoids condemning his group to status of social ‘trash’ (Scaletta 1985). The aulu, a spirit figure (Tok Pisin tumbuan), mediates relationships between the living and the dead, between recently-dead ancestors and firstborn children, and between political leaders and followers. Since the aulu complex is extremely important and invasive, it is viewed with contempt as manipulative by the Aném and others to the east. Once established in a community, the obligations it imposes can never be fulfilled. People are initially obliged to participate by being coercively ‘invited’ to attend an ololo, a mortuary ritual in honour of someone’s recently-dead ancestor. During the ritual, those invited are each given one or several pigs. This places the recipient in debt to the donor. The only way to resolve the debt is for the recipient to arrange an ololo in honour of one of his own recently-dead ancestors and return an equivalent pig. Only through the resolution of this debt, is the name of the ancestor, in whose honour the first ololo was originally arranged, finally put to rest. Failure to resolve a pig debt in the proper manner is an affront to the ancestor and descendents of the original pig givers. Since it may take a decade or so to make the arrangements for an ololo, the debts incurred are inherited. A person cannot avoid getting involved in the first place without exposing himself to the dangers of war or sorcery. Just as with a chain letter in European traditions, he is threatened into full participation.

The obligation to get involved in the aulu complex also comes with the commitment to buy
the rights to perform a particular aulu spirit. In order to enforce the proper execution of the
ritual, the people from whom the aulu is purchased must have representatives at any performance
to oversee every aspect of the ritual. Even if the rights are purchased from non-Kabana, the
Kabana who originally sold them must also be present and must be compensated with pigs.
This means that, at every performance of aulu, there are paid Kabana-speakers and,
consequently, interactions in the Kabana language.

A performance of aulu coopts all the resources of a community. Special gardens are
planted to feed the aulu spirit, the guests and the pigs; special herds of pigs are raised; and
debts are carefully planted so they can be returned at the appropriate time. Special gardens
of cordylines for costume are also planted; these cordylines have genealogies corresponding
to those of the ancestors and firstborns honoured at previous ololo. Debts from other ritual
complexes must be coordinated so that the group performing the aulu can rally all its
economic resources at the appropriate time. All these material goods must be sufficient at
various stages to avoid losing face, and more importantly, to avoid the disapproval of the
overseers whose ritual is being reproduced and whose ancestors are ultimately being honoured
in each performance. Disapproval threatens to bring retaliation in the form of sorcery. The
whole ololo may take well over a decade to plan; traditionally, the actual performance took
months, but now this has been cut down to six weeks or so. When it is finished, the host
community is economically broken, but thoroughly tied into a network of social obligation
with individuals in the surrounding region.

Because it is the men's lodge of a particular group that stages an ololo, the aulu presupposes
a particular kind of social organisation. In Kabana, each men's lodge represents what is
roughly a truncated patriclan, while in Anêm and Mouk, each patriclan has two men's
lodges, one for each matrimoity. Thus aulu enforces conformity in social structure. The
complex is detailed, totally involving, obligatory and acquisitive. Once the people of a
group have performed aulu, they count on others to reciprocate. Except for some of the
Kabana who get royalties from it, everyone seems to feel trapped by the aulu into a social
bind that wastes their time and resources. The Mouk resisted until 1981, when the first aulu
was performed in Salkei. The Anêm resisted until 1986, when the people of Karaiai finally
yielded to pressure and staged a performance.

The importance of the Kabana language piggybacks on the importance of the aulu
complex. Being right next to the Kabana, the Amara are the most immediate possible targets
for warfare and sorcery and have been influenced to the highest degree and over the longest
period of time. For them, consequently, knowledge of and integration into Kabana culture is
perceived to be very much a matter of survival. The linguistic consequences of this social
assimilation have been enormous.

Perhaps as recently as 200 years ago, there were no speakers of Kabana in the Bariai
area. The entire western end of New Britain was much more densely populated, with hamlets
strung along the mountain ridges from the crocodile line on the north coast and across the
mountains to the south coast. Then, in the late nineteenth century, a tidal wave, volcanic ash
falls, an extended period of drought, and a catastrophic epidemic of smallpox thinned the
population nearly to extinction. Speakers of the language ancestral to Kove, Lusi and
Kabana probably arrived while the population of interior peoples was still high, and they
almost certainly came in small numbers. The stories told to various anthropologists working
in the region (Chowning 1986:419) speak in terms of a couple of canoes founding new and
politically-independent settlements along the northwestern coast of New Britain, not in terms
of migrations to found new colonies. Although the interior peoples considered the coastal margin unsuitable for their own village sites, the beach, nonetheless, constituted a resource-rich sector of their territory, and the newcomers were intruders. Greatly outnumbered by the autochthonous peoples, the settlers could have survived only if they had succeeded in normalising their relationship with the landowners by exchanging women in marriage. In the beginning, at least in the coastal settlements, the children of these marriages augmented the number of Kabana speakers. Since then, as the Amara have been drawn into Kabana institutions such as the aulu complex, there has been a steady conversion of Amara speakers into Kabana speakers. In this process of cultural assimilation, the genetic contribution of the original immigrants has been thoroughly diluted; that is, while modern speakers of Kabana are culturally derived from the immigrant settlers, they are biologically derived from ancestors who spoke mostly Amara (and Anêm).

In the last century, the decline of Amara has also been accelerated by contact with Europeans. When the Germans arrived on the northwestern coast of New Britain in the late eighteenth century, several groups of Amara are said to have fled to the south coast in fear. This had the effect of fragmenting the Amara, mixing them among communities speaking other languages, and reducing the critical mass of Amara speakers left in contact with Kabana. Furthermore, since contact with the outside world has always started from the coast and worked inland, Amara interactions with the Roman Catholic church and the government have been largely through Kabana-speaking intermediaries. For years, the European priest at Kokopo interacted with his parish in Tok Pisin and Kabana; and, as mentioned above, the government census counts the Amara along with Kabana in the Bariai Census Division. Outside Bariai, few people are aware of the Amara language; they think that all people in Bariai speak only the Kabana language, which they know only by the German-introduced name 'Bariai'.

In spite of the forces working against it, Amara is not extinct yet; nor is it likely to be in the immediate future, as I once believed. In 1988, teenagers were speaking Amara as an emblem of pride in their distinction from Kabana. Nevertheless, these are semi-speakers of Amara, and their language has been radically altered through contact with Kabana and through near extinction. Amara has been lexically pruned; what is etymologically Amara in modern Amara is parallel to what is Germanic in modern English. That is, much of the endolexicon (core vocabulary) of Amara is still etymologically Amara, but the ectolexicon (non-core vocabulary) has been replaced with copies from Kabana and Tok Pisin. Endolexical items were generally easy to elicit from Amara speakers, but during elicitation sessions, the call for ectolexical items usually stimulated a lengthy discussion, frequently in Kabana, in which informants searched their memories, often in vain, for the correct Amara word.

Prominent Amara men have achieved high status by climbing socially up the aulu ladder, and consequently, they have lived the most important parts of their lives in Kabana, rather than Amara. Elders of lower prestige were usually more knowledgeable about their language, but access to them was difficult without putting them at social risk; they could not yield information about their language without possibly appearing to one-up their social superiors. Consequently, the accompanying lexicon (§6) is not as complete as might be possible. It does, however, represent much of Amara as it is spoken. Using the combination of low status teenagers and high prestige elders, it represents the store of words from which Amara can be replicated among future generations.

While much of the Amara lexicon has melted away as a result of Kabana domination,
there is little evidence to suggest that the morphology or syntax has been greatly simplified. The pronominal morphology of common inalienable nouns is particularly irregular, a complexity which quickly discourages potential students of Amara. There is, however, variation in and uncertainty about the actual forms in the paradigms elicited so far, and this may be indicative of incipient simplification as expected by Dorian’s (1983) model of language death. In the Amara of Kimbe, there is minor evidence of assimilation in verbal morphology to the system used in Kabana. For example, both in Kabana and in the Amara of Kimbe, the second person singular verbal prefix is usually θ, while the Autie dialect has retained ku- or k-for the same form. Similarly, in the third person plural verbal prefix, the Amara of Kimbe frequently uses ti- like Kabana, where Autie consistently has the more conservative ki-.

In syntax, Amara is typologically almost identical to all the languages of northwestern New Britain, Austronesian and non-Austronesian alike (Thurston 1987). Any simplification in the syntax and semantics of Amara occurred well before the period of contact with Kabana, and probably as a result of contact between the Austronesian precursor to Amara and a now-extinct non-Austronesian language. In the scenario reconstructed for this area of New Britain, Amara emerged out of the contact between small immigrant groups speaking an Austronesian language and autochthonous non-Austronesian peoples whose languages were abandoned in favour of Amara in a process similar to the current conversion of Amara speakers into Kabana speakers.

The erosion of Amara evident today is the latest episode in a continuous cycle whereby sequential layers of language and culture are absorbed by peoples who biologically represent, for the most part, stable populations on the land. To reconstruct a valid prehistory from linguistic data alone, comparative-historical work leading to the ultimate classification of Amara should seek to establish connections between Austronesian languages outside the area and the precursor to Amara that came into contact with the language of the original non-Austronesian inhabitants. Without written documentation from an earlier period, this task may prove to be impossible, and is not even attempted in the following discussion.

3. EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

Lexically, Amara is clearly an Austronesian language. Below is a selection of endolexical items in Amara with POc reconstructions taken with some modifications from Ross (1988).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amara</th>
<th>POc</th>
<th>POc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akai</td>
<td>*kayu</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eivul</td>
<td>*pudi</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emen</td>
<td>*manuk</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ken</td>
<td>*kani</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulkulio</td>
<td>*kulit</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lume</td>
<td>*lima</td>
<td>'hand, five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>*ma[i]</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mete</td>
<td>*mata</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omoto</td>
<td>*mwata</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pel</td>
<td>*pári</td>
<td>'reciprocal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruo</td>
<td>*rau</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanq</td>
<td>*tanis</td>
<td>'weep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tel</td>
<td>*tou</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teme</td>
<td>*tama</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The place of Amara within a particular subgroup of Oceanic or Austronesian, however, is not obvious. For purely impressionistic reasons, I originally grouped it with the Whiteman languages (Thurston 1987). Ross (1988), the only one to attempt a truly comprehensive phyletic classification that includes Amara, places it as an isolate within the South-West New Britain Network, coordinate (1) with what I call the Bibling group (Thurston 1987) and what Chowning (1969) calls the Lamogai Family, and (2) with another subgroup that includes Chowning's Whiteman and Arove Families.

As shown in the examples below, Amara bears superficial resemblances to the Bibling languages, especially Mouk, but also Aria, which is currently not a contiguous language. At this time, it is impossible to determine whether these lexical similarities represent common ancestry or contact; and if they are primarily a result of contact, the direction of lexical copying is equally obscure.

### AMARA AND THE BIBLING LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amara</th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akai</td>
<td>akai</td>
<td>akai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akmani</td>
<td>apmi</td>
<td>apmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akjarap</td>
<td>kxanap</td>
<td>kranap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aplau</td>
<td>aplau</td>
<td>aplau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asar</td>
<td>asar</td>
<td>asar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eiki</td>
<td>eki</td>
<td>eki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eio</td>
<td>eio</td>
<td>eio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekirau</td>
<td>kxirau</td>
<td>kxirau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekie</td>
<td>kiue</td>
<td>kiue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekren</td>
<td>ekren</td>
<td>ekren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eli</td>
<td>olu</td>
<td>olu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### AMARA AND DISTANT NEW BRITAIN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kok</th>
<th>Gimi kok³</th>
<th>‘my’</th>
<th>Gimi koko³</th>
<th>‘my’</th>
<th>Gimi ka³</th>
<th>‘his’</th>
<th>Gimi lok³</th>
<th>‘my’</th>
<th>Lesing -suə³</th>
<th>‘give’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kom</td>
<td>Gimi kom³</td>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>Gimi koma³</td>
<td>‘his’</td>
<td>Gimi kum³</td>
<td>‘my house’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>Gimi ka³</td>
<td>‘his’</td>
<td>Gimi kuma³</td>
<td>‘my house’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lok</td>
<td>Gimi lok³</td>
<td>‘my’</td>
<td>Arove logev³</td>
<td>‘my house’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suŋ</td>
<td>Arove suŋ³</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>Bebeli kumun³</td>
<td>‘garden’, POC*quma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lok eivin</td>
<td>Bebeli eivin³</td>
<td>‘my house’</td>
<td>Mamusi kuman³</td>
<td>‘garden’, POC*quma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okmono</td>
<td>Arove okmov³</td>
<td>‘stone’, POC*qumur⁶</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okum</td>
<td>Bebeli ikum³; Bebeli ikum³; Uvol um³</td>
<td>‘stone’, POC*qumur⁶</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Data from Hoopert & Wakefield (1980).
⁴ Data from Johnston (1980).
⁵ Data from Rath (1980).
⁶ ‘stone oven’ from Lichtenberk (1994).
Like the other languages of northwestern New Britain, Amara show signs of contact with Anêm, the only non-Austronesian language in the area. The items listed here could be multiplied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amara</th>
<th>Anêm</th>
<th>Amara</th>
<th>Anêm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eiuek</td>
<td>itk</td>
<td>kipis</td>
<td>-kêpis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epelim</td>
<td>étêlim</td>
<td>osuk</td>
<td>esik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evid</td>
<td>puti</td>
<td>puti</td>
<td>-têŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amara also shares many words with Kabana and Tok Pisin. While Kabana items dominate the semantic domains of marine and ritual phenomena, Tok Pisin words are found primarily in areas dealing with government, religion and medicine. There is also a considerable number of words copied from Maleu. Although most Amara speakers reject words obviously copied from Tok Pisin or Kabana as non-Amara, they nevertheless use them in normal Amara conversations, particularly where ‘true’ Amara words are unavailable. Lexical copying among languages in contact is, of course, not unusual, but, in the case of Amara, the bulk of lexical resources appears to have been drawn from other languages. In this respect, Amara is like English in that the copied vocabulary overwhelms that which has been directly inherited in both languages. In sorting the copied words from the inherited words, we have the advantage of two millenia of writing in the relevant languages for English but nothing for Amara. Consequently, the history of Amara may be permanently beyond recovery.

The issue of subgrouping in general is beyond the scope of this paper, and the classification of Amara in particular must remain in the category of future research. As Ross (1988:160) points out, before this mess can be definitively sorted out, we need reasonable descriptions of the languages involved. To date, only a few of the languages of New Britain and the surrounding area are described beyond the wordlist level. The real issue in subgrouping, however, may not be the dearth of available descriptions of individual languages but the model of language change underpinning the methods used for linguistic classification (Thurston 1982, 1987). With good descriptions, phyletic subgrouping may not even be possible; and even if it does turn out to be theoretically possible, the lines of descent for particular languages may not be recoverable from current linguistic data alone. In the case of Amara, it is clear that, in order to establish an unambiguous line of descent, we must be able to identify directly-inherited resources and distinguish them from the effects of contact.

4. PHONOLOGY

Amara has 17 segmental phonemes. The 12 consonants and five vowels are tabulated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>apicoalveolar</th>
<th>dorsovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops/fricatives</td>
<td>$v$</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$g$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>$s$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$\eta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The voiced stops /b d g/ have fricative allophones [β ɣ ɣ] generally in free variation in all environments, but the fricatives are particularly frequent after vowels. The voiced bilabial fricative [β] allophone of v is particularly frequent in all environments. While phonologically it would make sense to use b for this phoneme, in deference to the judgments of my informants, I use v instead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>front unrounded</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high and mid vowels have non-syllabic allophones in the environment of lower vowels:

- iou [iou] ‘me’
- eieuk [ei̯ək] ‘leaf wrapper’
- saoa [sága] ‘clear underbrush’
- eadi [e̯âdi] ‘that one’

The syllabic canon of Amara is: (C₁) V (C₂), where C₁ can be any consonant, a sequence of any stop plus any resonant, or the sequence ks; where V stands for any vowel; and where C₂ stands for any consonant. Primary stress occurs on the penultimate syllabic vowel.

Sequences of identical vowels or consonants across morpheme boundaries are shortened to a single segment:

- i-pon ne eiki [iponêiki] ‘it’s full of water’
- ki-in [kín] ‘they drink’

Similarly, the final vowel of a proclitic is regularly deleted before a word that begins with any other vowel:

- ne akai [nákai] ‘with a stick’
- ka ongup [kóngup] ‘his coconut to eat’
- le ongup [lóngup] ‘his coconut tree’

Between a nasal and r, a voiced stop, homorganic with the the nasal, is inserted:

- am-ri [dmbri] ‘you (plural) bathe’
- naŋriŋje [dmbriŋje] ‘unripe, uncooked’

In Amara, it is useful to posit a morphophoneme A to account for regular phonologically-conditioned allomorphy in affixes with allomorphs containing a, e, or o depending on the first vowel of the stem. Schematically, this can be represented by the rule:

\[ A \rightarrow /e, o, a/ \]
\[ e/ \rightarrow \{e, i\} \]
\[ o/ \rightarrow \{o, u\} \]
\[ a/ \rightarrow \ldots \]

That is, regardless of intervening consonants or consonant clusters, the morphophoneme A is realised as e before stems where the first vowel is front, as o where the first vowel is back, and otherwise as a:

- A-la → a-la ‘I go’
- A-ri → e-ri ‘I bathe’
- A-suŋ → o-suŋ ‘I give’
5. A GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE

There are seven pronominal categories in Amara representing the intersection of person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural), with inclusive distinguished from exclusive in the first person plural.

Additional categories involving dual and trial numbers are optionally available through the inclusion of numerals, but these are neither obligatory nor basic. In the following example, the form for you two is a verbal numeral.

\[ ko-ruo \ ka-kave \ ko-k \ aguas \ imna? \]
S2P-two S2P-bring edible-P1S tobacco negative?
‘Didn’t you two bring me some tobacco?’

The seven pronominal distinctions occur with 3 paradigms: (1) the focal (disjunctive) pronouns, (2) the prefixes used to indicate verbal subjects, and (3) the suffixes used, primarily, to indicate possession with inalienable nouns. The basic forms of each are summarised below. The nominal suffixes given in the chart are only representative of the two classes discussed below; the actual suffixes are morphologically conditioned and exhibit great irregularity from noun to noun.

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>focal (disjunctive)</th>
<th>verbal subject prefixes</th>
<th>nominal suffixes class 1</th>
<th>nominal suffixes class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>iou</td>
<td>A-, -k</td>
<td>-ou, -iou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>eIJe</td>
<td>k-, ku-, θ</td>
<td>-m, -eIJe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>io</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-θ, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>ito</td>
<td>tA-</td>
<td>-do, -to, -ito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>iam</td>
<td>am-</td>
<td>-am, -imam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>emi</td>
<td>kA-</td>
<td>-mi, -imi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ide</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-de, ide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The focal pronouns have the following functions:

1. They occur in verbless sentences to indicate personal distinctions where other morphology is lacking:

\[ eIJe \ uI \ aton. \]
D2S big very
‘You’re very big.’

2. They are used redundantly with verbal subject prefixes and nominal possessive suffixes to mark contrastive emphasis:

\[ iou \ e-tilak \ io. \]
D1S S1S-push D3S
‘I am the one who pushed him.’

\[ eIJe \ lo-m \ eseve \ i-usis? \]
D2S disposable-P2S knife S3S-lost
‘Is YOUR knife lost?’
IOU suvo-k a-la
D1S alone-P1S S1S-go
‘I’m going by MYSELF.’

(3) They are used to mark the objects of verbs and prepositions:

akman adj i-kave iou.
woman that S3S-carry D1S
‘That woman gave birth to me.’

i-tel akai ne io.
S3S-chop tree PREP D3S
‘He chopped down a tree with it.’

At this preliminary stage in the analysis, it seems that Amara nouns can be classified as either alienable or inalienable. The majority of alienable nouns occur with a nominal prefix A- which is lacking in most inalienable nouns. The allomorphs of the nominal prefix are usually conditioned by the first vowel of the stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-kiue</td>
<td>'rat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-snei</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-kum</td>
<td>'stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-goune</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kman</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In possessive constructions, alienable nouns occur after the possessive auxiliary nouns ka edible or le disposable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive Auxiliary</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo-k e-snei</td>
<td>'my pig'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-k e-snei</td>
<td>'my pork'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inalienable nouns are directly bound to pronominal suffixes. In form, the possessive auxiliary nouns are inalienable nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moto-k</td>
<td>'my eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tina-k</td>
<td>'my body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para-k</td>
<td>'my jaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katkate-iou</td>
<td>'my liver'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teveli-ou</td>
<td>'my brains'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possessive constructions all include a constituent that is formally an inalienable noun. The paradigms for inalienable nouns are highly irregular. Of the 41 complete nominal paradigms collected, there are 34 different morphological patterns; no pattern is repeated for more than 3 nouns; and 17 paradigms are unique. Moreover, there are no principal parts from which other members of a paradigm can be economically predicted with any reliability. The irregularity involves not only different suffixes but also alternations in the stem. Some stems have an unpredictable loss of final vowels before some suffixes, especially in the 1IP and 3P forms; others have alternating vowels that reflect assimilation to vowels that can be partly reconstructed for the suffixes; and some have both types of alternation. The overall details of the paradigmatic irregularity, however, are usually minor, and general morphological trends are identifiable. As shown in the tabulation of page 206 there are two more-or-less distinct classes of inalienable nouns: (1) those with -k in the 1S forms and -m in the 2S
forms; and (2) those with morphology resembling the focal pronouns. These are illustrated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'foot'</th>
<th>'eye'</th>
<th>'child'</th>
<th>'spirit'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S kak ruo</td>
<td>motok</td>
<td>otuk</td>
<td>kanuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S kam ruo</td>
<td>motom</td>
<td>otum</td>
<td>kanum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S ka ruo</td>
<td>mete</td>
<td>etio</td>
<td>kanio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP kaito ruo</td>
<td>motodo</td>
<td>etido, otudo</td>
<td>kanto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP kaimimam ruo</td>
<td>metememam</td>
<td>etimam</td>
<td>karmanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P kaimi ruo</td>
<td>metemi</td>
<td>etimi</td>
<td>karuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P kaide ruo</td>
<td>metede</td>
<td>etide</td>
<td>kanumade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'chest'</th>
<th>'body'</th>
<th>'sibling'</th>
<th>'hand'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S kusuk</td>
<td>tinuk, tunuk</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>lumok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S kusum</td>
<td>tinum, tunum</td>
<td>tim</td>
<td>lumom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S kosio</td>
<td>tinio</td>
<td>tei</td>
<td>lume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP kosto</td>
<td>tinto</td>
<td>teido</td>
<td>lumodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP kosmemam</td>
<td>tiramam</td>
<td>teimam</td>
<td>lumemam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P kosmimi, kusmi</td>
<td>tirmi</td>
<td>teimi</td>
<td>lumemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P kosde</td>
<td>tinde</td>
<td>teide</td>
<td>lumede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nominal lexemes, such as 'foot', are multiradical. That is, they consist of a phrase in which two or more roots must be present. Usually one root is inflected for pronominal categories, while any others remain constant. Most of the invariant elements appear to be fossilised 3S forms. While some roots occur alone with their inflections, others occur only in conjunction with other roots, and are thus syntactically bound forms. A large portion of the Amara vocabulary is constructed by recombining such elements. Informants can usually give meanings for the uniradical forms asterisked in the following examples, but reject their use outside multiradical constructions.

akai kane 'fruit of tree' *kane
otoli-o kane 'its egg' *otoli-o
omod kane 'island' *omod
vovse-iou kane 'my lungs' *vovse-iou
kovuru-k kane 'my testicles' *kovuru-k
pi-k kane 'my vulva' *pi-k
gudu-k kane 'my head' *gudu-k
meme gudu-k 'my tongue' *meme
telje gudu-k 'my ear' *telje
ouja telje 'lateral fin of fish' *telje
vre 'it has a hole in it' *no-k, *no-k kane
no-k kane vre 'my mouth' *no-k
no-k kane vre kokokje 'my teeth' *kokokje
tinu-k kulkulio 'my skin' *kulkulio
no-k kane vre kulkulio 'my lips' *kulkulio
akai kulkulio 'bark of tree' *kulkulio
gudu-k maganio 'my neck' *maganio
ka-k ruo maganio 'my thigh' *maganio
akai maganio 'trunk of tree' *maganio
akmarej  ‘old woman’

akmarej tno-k  ‘my mother’  *
tno-k

While the majority of inalienable multiradical nominal lexemes inflect only one constituent for pronominal categories, there are a few in which either element can be inflected, depending on the pronominal category. In these, there is no consistent pattern. The paradigm for ‘head’, which follows the normal process, is given for comparison with the paradigms for ‘tongue’, ‘ear’ and ‘nose’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>‘head’</th>
<th>‘tongue’</th>
<th>‘ear’</th>
<th>‘nose’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>guduk kane</td>
<td>meme guduk</td>
<td>telge guduk</td>
<td>snorok ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>gudum kane</td>
<td>meme gudum</td>
<td>telge gudum</td>
<td>snorom ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>guda kane</td>
<td>meme gudio</td>
<td>telge gudio</td>
<td>snore ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>gudto kane</td>
<td>memeito gudio</td>
<td>telge gudio</td>
<td>snore kaito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>gudmam kane</td>
<td>meme gudmam</td>
<td>telgemam gudio</td>
<td>snore kaimam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>gudmi kane</td>
<td>meme gudi</td>
<td>telge gudi</td>
<td>snore kaimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>gudde kane</td>
<td>meme gude</td>
<td>telge gude</td>
<td>snore kaide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The edible and disposable possessive auxiliary nouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edible</th>
<th>Disposable</th>
<th>Contrastive singular</th>
<th>Contrastive plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>kok</td>
<td>lok</td>
<td>kiou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>kom</td>
<td>lom</td>
<td>kiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>kio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>kodo</td>
<td>lodo</td>
<td>kjoito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>lam</td>
<td>kjamam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>lami, lemi</td>
<td>kjeimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>kade</td>
<td>lade</td>
<td>kjeide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive auxiliary nouns have several grammatical functions in Amara:

1) First, they are used before alienable nouns to indicate simple possession, and, like most Austronesian languages, make a focal distinction between items that are construed as food and those that are not:

- lok esyei  ‘my pig’  kok esyei  ‘my pork’
- lok eivin  ‘my house’  kok akanno  ‘my food’
- lok aguas  ‘my tobacco plant’  kok aguas  ‘my tobacco (to smoke)’
- lok ongup  ‘my coconut tree’  kok ongup  ‘my coconut (to eat)’

2) In a limited number of contexts, they are used alone as possessive pronouns, while still making the focal distinction between food and non-food:

- i-sun yok akanno  ‘he gave me some food’
- i-sun yok  ‘he gave it (food) to me’
- i-sun lok esyei  ‘he gave me a knife’
- i-sun lok  ‘he gave it (non-food) to me’
(3) In deverbal nominalisations, they mark the semantic rôles of the nominal arguments of the underlying proposition. In these, \( le \) marks the agent and \( ka \) marks other rôles.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lok okolo} & \quad \text{‘my speech, what I say’} \\
kok okolo & \quad \text{‘what is said about me’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) In many common constructions, \( ka \) (but sometimes \( le \)) is used to indicate part-to-whole and other relationships:

\[
\begin{align*}
akai ka egigi & \quad \text{‘thorn of a tree’} \\
akai ka enene & \quad \text{‘sap of a tree’} \\
enen ka onuk & \quad \text{‘bird’s nest (bird of.it nest)’} \\
esenka akai kane & \quad \text{‘kidney of a pig (pig of.it tree fruit)’} \\
esenle akai kane & \quad \text{‘diaphragm of a pig (pig of.it net)’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5) In postnominal position, they are used derivationally to convert nouns to adjective-like phrases. (I have insufficient data to discern any distinction between \( ka \) and \( le \)).

\[
\begin{align*}
ovorou akman ka & \quad \text{‘love magic (magic woman for.it)’} \\
ozogou omuk ka & \quad \text{‘sorcerer (man dirt of.it)’} \\
evogin vugon ka & \quad \text{‘old house (house before from.it)’} \\
esenlei evogon le & \quad \text{‘domesticated pig (pig village of.it)’}
\end{align*}
\]

The contrastive possessive auxiliary nouns given on page 209 are used primarily for constrastive emphasis. They occur after alienable nouns and neutralise the edible-disposable distinction. With these, the reduplicated form are used after plural nouns. A few nouns, such as \( akai \) ‘tree’ are used non-emphatically, but with a shift in meaning.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aguas kiou} & \quad \text{‘MY tobacco’} \\
\text{akai kikiou} & \quad \text{‘my firewood’}
\end{align*}
\]

Amara verbs occur with one of the seven pronominal prefixes marking the person and number of the subject. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
& S1S & S2S & S3S & SPI & SPI & S2P & S3P \\
\text{‘go’} & a-la & k-la & i-la & ta-la & am-la & ka-la & ki-la \\
\text{‘follow’} & a-nasi & k-nasi & i-nasi & ta-nasi & am-nasi & ka-nasi & ki-nasi \\
\text{‘inhale’} & e-id & k-id & i-id & te-id & am-id & ke-id & ki-id \\
\text{‘bathe’} & e-ri & k-ri & i-ri & te-ri & am-ri & ke-ri & ki-ri \\
\text{‘plant’} & e-se & k-se & i-se & te-se & am-se & ke-se & ki-se \\
\text{‘throw’} & o-ud & k-ud & i-ud & to-ud & am-ud & ko-ud & ki-ud \\
\text{‘stay’} & o-su & k-su & i-su & to-su & am-su & ko-su & ki-su \\
\text{‘get’} & a-kave & \emptyset-kave & i-kave & ta-kave & am-kave & ka-kave & ki-kave \\
\text{‘light’} & e-tin & \emptyset-tin & i-tin & te-tin & am-tin & ke-tin & ki-tin \\
\text{‘sleep’} & o-kono & \emptyset-kono & i-kono & to-kono & am-kono & ko-kono & ki-kono \\
\text{‘come’} & e-me & k-ma & i-me & ta-me & amu-me & ka-me & ki-me \\
\text{‘rest’} & e-pte1) & ku-pte1) & i-pte1) & te-pte1) & am-pte1) & ke-pte1) & ki-pte1)
\end{array}
\]

These paradigms require some comment. First, ‘come’ is irregular. Second, the 2S form of ‘rest’ has \( ku-, \) retained from an earlier stage in the language, because the stem has an otherwise impermissible consonant cluster (the 2P form was, unfortunately, not elicited). Third, in 2S forms, \( \emptyset \) occurs before stops, and \( k- \) elsewhere. Finally, as shown below, although the forms given are normal in Amara, there is some variation within Amara proper.
and systematic differences between Amara and Autie. Before s in utterance-initial position, the 2S forms sometimes have 0 instead of k-.

Speakers of Amara in Kimbe often use ti- instead of ki- in the 3P forms, where the Autie consistently have only ki-; and the Amara of the Autie always has ku- or k- instead of 0 in the 2S forms. Both differences reflect assimilation in the Amara of Kimbe toward the morphology of Kabana which has 0 in 2S forms of verbs and ti- in the 3P forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amara</th>
<th>Autie</th>
<th>Kabana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-suŋ lok ~0-suŋ lok</td>
<td>ku-suŋ lok 0-pan-gau</td>
<td>‘you give it to me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-kave ~0-kave</td>
<td>ku-kave 0-bada</td>
<td>‘you get it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-la ~ ti-la</td>
<td>ki-la ti-la</td>
<td>‘they go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The current morphology of transitive and intransitive verbs hints at previous morphology that has mostly become fossilised. The majority of transitive verbs end with -e and are intrinsically transitive. That is, no object need be expressed with such verbs. A few verbs have a word-final alternation between -e or 0 and -o, the latter being used only if no explicit object noun phrase occurs in the clause:

- ikelme ‘he buried it’
- itele ‘he chopped it down’
- ikave ~ ikavo ‘he carried it’
- ikave akai ‘he carried wood’
- *ikavo akai
- iliŋo ‘he poured it’
- iliŋ eiki ‘he poured water’
- *iliŋo eiki

The majority of transitive verbs without final-e are clearly copies from surrounding languages.

There is some unsystematic morphology for deriving intransitive verbs from transitive verbs and vice versa:

- a-la o-kou. S1S-go S1S-hide ‘I’ll go and hide.’
- eiki i-motok. o-tok eiki ‘The water is spilling.’
- emelo i-mansarak. a-sarak emelo ‘The cloth is torn.’

Nouns are derived from verbs with the addition of the nominal prefix A- and the nominalising suffix -o. If the verb stem terminates in e, this is changed to o. Several deverbal nouns are irregular, and many nouns with the structure of a deverbal noun have no corresponding verb:

- i-kose ‘he husked it’ o-koso-ŋo ‘husking stick’
- i-ken ‘he eats’ a-kan-ŋo ‘food’
- i-kave ‘he carried it’ a-kavo-ŋo ‘bundle (on shoulder)’
- i-gud ‘she carried’ o-gud-ŋo ‘bundle (on head)’
Adjectives occur in postnominal position. The majority are derived from verbs with the addition of the adjectival suffix -e, but many have no corresponding verb forms:

*ama i-lip*  
‘The taro is mature.’

*ama lip-e*  
‘mature taro’

*ekre1) i-nal*  
‘The road is straight.’

*ekre1) nal-e*  
‘straight road’

A few adjectives are related to alienable nouns:

*eni1)id akma1)*  
‘the sun’

*epeno ni1)id*  
‘sunny place’

*ot-um kma1) se*  
‘your daughter’

After plural nouns, especially if they are animate, adjectives are usually reduplicated:

*ekikma1) ui ui*  
‘large women’

Amara demonstrative adjectives, pronouns and adverbs distinguish ‘near’ from ‘remote’. This system differs from that of other languages of the area, all of which have a three-way system. The demonstrative adjectives and pronouns also distinguish singular from plural number.

*akma1) ane*  
‘this woman’

*ekikma1) anane*  
‘these women’

*akma1) adi*  
‘that woman’

*ekikma1) adidi*  
‘those women’

*eane*  
‘this one’

*eanane*  
‘these ones’

*eadi*  
‘that one’

*eadidi*  
‘those ones’

*ievene*  
‘thus (like this)’

*ievero*  
‘thus (like that)’

Amara quantifiers include the cardinal numerals and a few other words and phrases. Like most of the Austronesian languages of northwestern New Britain, Amara has cardinal numerals from one to five and separate numerals for 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 and 100. The word for five is ‘hand’, and the word for 100 is ‘knee’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kapuk</th>
<th>lume kapuk</th>
<th>lume ruo</th>
<th>lume tel</th>
<th>lume pay</th>
<th>lume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other numbers are made by juxtaposing the cardinal numerals such that they add up to the required sum:

*sunjuro lume tel*  
‘28’

The numerals, especially those above 59 were difficult to elicit, because pre-contact Amara had little occasion to count this high, because counting shell money at public rituals is done in Kabana or Kove, and because most other counting, even among elders, is now done in anglicised Tok Pisin.

Grammatically, Amara quantifiers also include the following words and phrases, which occur in the same syntactic position and which are mutually exclusive with one another and with the cardinal numerals.

*kapso*  
‘some, a, one’

*kume se*  
‘a little’

*rigruo se*  
‘a few, a couple’

*silen pau*  
‘another’

*so*  
‘some’

*vuturu*  
‘many’
The syntax of Amara is relatively simple. Clauses tend to have few nominal arguments; the word order is fairly rigid; and there is little rearrangement of constituents. The syntactic categories given below should be considered tentative.

**SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abbreviation</th>
<th>category</th>
<th>examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pred</td>
<td>predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdjP</td>
<td>adjective phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdvP</td>
<td>adverb phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrepP</td>
<td>preposition phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modality marker</td>
<td>imna, ge, pau, ma...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>me, la, repe, tele...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>akmar eivin, mete...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>kmarlipne, gidana...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>melak, nalaŋ, ṭai, sosu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>diŋdiŋo, koudok, rauame...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>specifier</td>
<td>aton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>eadi, eje, io, saga...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
<td>kume se, tel, vuturu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative adjective</td>
<td>adi, ane...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>kama, la, me, vo...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phrase structure rules listed below should also be considered tentative. They are given in this form because most linguists will be familiar with the notation.

**BASIC PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES**

1. CI \(\rightarrow\) (TEMP) (NP) Pred (MOD)
2. Pred \(\rightarrow\) [NP, VP, AdjP, AdvP]
3. VP \(\rightarrow\) V (NP) (AdvP)
4. AdvP \(\rightarrow\) [PrepP, TEMP, ADV]
5. PrepP \(\rightarrow\) PREP NP
6. NP \(\rightarrow\) [N' (AdjP), PRON]
7. AdjP \(\rightarrow\) (ADJ (SPEC)) (QUANT) (DEM)
8. N' \(\rightarrow\) N (PRON) (N')

The syntactic category of predicate is used because many sentences in Amara are verbless;
they may consist of a subject noun phase followed by another noun phrase, an adverb phrase or an adjective phrase. The surface structure of Amara sentences does not even require a subject noun phrase, especially when a pronominal suffix is present.

misigi-ene?
hungry-D2S
‘Are you hungry?’

Yes/no questions are indicated by sentence intonation alone. Wh-questions require the use of one of the interrogative words below, and, again, there is no transformation of word order.

naŋai, ŋai, ADV where
naŋame TEMP ‘when?’
saga PRON ‘what?’
sei PRON ‘who (singular)?’
seinja PRON ‘who (plural)?’
usei ADJ ‘how many, how much?’
ne saga PrepP ‘why?’
sovolana ADV ‘how?’

For example:

akmaŋ di i-kave eñe?
woman that S3S-bear D2S
‘Did that woman give birth to you?’

emim adi i-ken saga?
child that S3S-eat what
‘What is that child eating?’

There is no obligatory marking of tense in Amara; it is indicated optionally with temporals. Other modality is indicated by the modality markers listed below, which are mutually exclusive

dodo incompletive, not yet, still
ge first, before (X occurs)
iaka just, only, merely
imna negative, not
kate dehortative, don’t
ma completive, already
pau again, too, also
vana inchoative, now, starting

Following are examples showing the typical functions of modality markers:

ki-kelme dodo
S3P-bury not.yet
‘They haven’t buried him yet’ OR ‘They are still burying him.’

te-meitei te-ptey soso ge
S1IP-sit S1IP-rest a.little first
‘Let’s sit down and rest a little first.’
e-leila iaka
S1S-walk just
‘I’m just walking around.’

e-ter io ne ko-k akanjo imna
S1S-put D3S PREP edible-P1S food NEGATIVE
‘I don’t put it on my food.’

k-ur io kate
S2S-throw D3S DEHORTATIVE
‘Don’t throw it.’

emi ke-ri ma?
D2P P2P-bathe CMPL
‘Have YOU already had a bath?’

ko-lojo ko-k okolojo pau?
S2P-hear edible-P1S speech also
‘Did you hear what is being said about me too?’

ki-la ki-kelme vana
S3P-go S3P-bury INCHOATIVE
‘They’ve just set off to bury him now.’

The modality markers dodo and imna can be used as holophrastic clauses.

dodo, mega am-la am-kelme vana
not.yet but S1EP-go S1EP-bury INCHOATIVE
‘Not yet, but we’re just going to bury him now.’

eye k-ma imna imna? imna, o-su
D2S S2S-come or NEGATIVE no S1S-stay
‘Are you coming or not? No, I’ll stay.’

In syntax, reciprocal constructions are similar to equivalent constructions in the languages of northwestern New Britain, and unlike most other Austronesian languages. That is, instead of using a verbal prefix, Amara has a separate pronoun pel, used in the object noun phrase position. If an explicit object noun phrase also occurs in the sentence, it is transformed into a preposition phrase with ne.

te-rei pel
S1IP-see RCP
‘We looked at one another.’

ki-kiskis pel ne lume-de
S3P-hold RCP PREP hand-P3P
‘They held each other’s hands.’

The Amara clause tends to have few nominal arguments, and, consequently, several clauses are often combined into a single sentence. This is accomplished either with zero conjunction or with the conjunctions listed below. A common construction involves the use of a single noun phrase as the object of one verb phrase and the subject of another verb phrase in the same sentence:
ki-ter akmaŋ i-la ə i-uolo
S3P-take woman S3S-go CJ S3S-marry
‘They took a woman to be married.’

The conjunctions are:

kama  lest, or
la    and, so
me    and, along with
vo    if, since, and so, so that
mega  but
imna  or

For example:

k-reirei eñe kama k-makluk
S2S-look D2S lest S2S-fall
‘Watch out or you'll fall.’

akauliŋ u1 i-me la i-repe lo-k eivin
wind big S3S-come and S3S-wreck disposable-P1S house
‘A big wind came and wrecked my house.’

sei me sei ki-la?
who with who S3P-go
‘Who went with whom?’

io la sei?
D3P and who
‘He and who else?’

eivin vugon ka vo te-repe
house before edible-P3S since S1IP-wreck
‘Since the house is old, let's wreck it.’

dodo mega am-la am-kelme vana
not, yet but S1EP-go S1EP-bury INCHOATIVE
‘Not yet, but we're going to bury him now.’

eñe k-ma imna imna?
D2S S2S-come or not
‘Are you coming or not?’

The temporals are lexemes that occur either in clause-initial position or in the slot after a verb phrase reserved for adverbial phrases. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ninid</td>
<td>‘day, dawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diŋdio</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninid puli</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reureu</td>
<td>‘afternoon, dusk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilŋon</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilŋon luatu</td>
<td>‘midnight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vugon</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebleŋ se</td>
<td>‘soon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidmeiŋo</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uerio ila</td>
<td>‘three days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uerio</td>
<td>‘two days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noro</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnigane</td>
<td>‘today, now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koudok</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voyo rvo</td>
<td>‘in two days’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voyo tel</td>
<td>‘in three days’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voyo payŋ</td>
<td>‘in four days’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voyo ume</td>
<td>‘in five days’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If there is a preposition phrase or other adverbial phrase in the same clause as the temporal, the temporal occurs in initial position.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e-dgi} & \quad \text{di'ldi'lo} \quad \text{OR} \quad \text{di'ldi'lo} \quad \text{e-dge} \\
S1S-\text{awake} & \quad \text{morning} & \quad \text{morning} & \quad S1S-\text{awake}.
\end{align*}
\]

'I wake up in the morning.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{reureu} & \quad \text{ke-ter} & \quad \text{our} & \quad \text{ne} & \quad \text{ongup} \\
\text{afternoon} & \quad S2P-\text{put} & \quad \text{sign} & \quad \text{PREP} & \quad \text{coconut} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'In the late afternoon, go put a prohibition marker on the coconuts.'

An alternate possible analysis is that temporals can constitute a holophrastic clause on their own and that what appears to be clause-initial position, is really an example of a holophrastic temporal with a zero conjunction between it and the main clause.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{reureu} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \text{ke-ter} & \quad \text{our} & \quad \text{ne} & \quad \text{ongup} \\
\text{dusk} & \quad \text{CJ} & \quad S2P-\text{put} & \quad \text{sign} & \quad \text{PREP} & \quad \text{coconut} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'When it is dusk, go put a prohibition marker on the coconuts.'

6. AMARA LEXICON

The Amara-English lexicon given in this section is based primarily on data collected and 1981 and 1982, but has been updated through written correspondence with Mr Peter Lingaso of Kimbe village and a brief period of research in 1988.

Because of numerous exceptions to the general morphological pattern, inalienable nouns are given in the P3S form, and alienable nouns are given with the nominal prefix. The entries are listed alphabetically with \( \eta \) following \( n \). The second element of each entry is an upper-case abbreviation giving the syntactic category of each lexeme, and, where relevant, this includes special syntactic conditions indicated with a slash. For example, in

\[
\text{emim} \quad \text{N/±le}_c \quad \text{child.}
\]

\( N \) indicates that \text{emim} is a noun, and \( /±le_\text{c} \) indicates that it may optionally occur after \text{le} rather than \text{ka} in possessive constructions. Additional lexical information is enclosed in square brackets. For example,

\[
\text{ekikma'l} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{women} \quad [\text{plural} > \text{akma'l}].
\]

indicates that \text{ekikma'l} is intrinsically plural and directs the reader to look up \text{akma'l}. Where available, full paradigms are listed after the symbol \( \eta \) in the order IS, 2S, 3S, 1P, 1EP, 2P, 3P. Abbreviations and symbols used in the lexicon are listed at the front of the book (page vi).
adan N 1. man [singular > adandanio, areŋ teme, akman]; 2. male [with human nouns > tamane ≠ kman]. emim adan boy.
 
adandanio N men [plural > adan, otogou, otodgoio].
adekio N back of head. adekiou back of my head.
adekio N men [Plural > adan, otogou, otodgoio].
adekto the back of our heads.
ade N neck [1 adek, adekom, adeye, adeyeito...]. ikou adeye she hanged herself [to commit suicide].
adidi DEM/S_ that > adidi, ane]. akma1) adi ikave iou that woman gave birth to me. saga adi? what is that?
adidi DEMIP _ those > adi].
advi N wave.
agaugau N fog; mist. agaugau iduk the fog is developing > duk, eiuek].
aguas N tobacco, cigarette. eini kok aguas I light my cigarette. aguas kapso ime hand me a cigarette.
aguguna N large wasp sp.
aiaugim N bamboo sp.
aia1) N wild Cordyline sp. > omore].
ai1)o ADJ yellow. emelo ai1)o yellow barkcloth.
ai1)p N club.
aia N/le_ father > areŋ teme]. lok aia my father. le aia his father.
aia N taro paddle.
akai N tree, wood, stick, firewood. akai uore leaf. akai raka branch. akai dukye a tree with flowers. akai ka egigi thorn of a tree. akai ka enene sap [sticky]. akai sirio sap [watery]. akai kane fruit. akai pagilio seeds of a tree. akai gudio canopy of a tree. akai magazio tree trunk. akai pio stump. akai kutio central shaft of tree. akai remte tree roots. akai dukio new growth of a tree. akai kuvusye knot of a tree. eklit akai kulkulio I peel the bark off a stick. akai kikioi my firewood. ikave le akai he carries his firewood.
akai mete N lime spatula.
akai kane Nka__ kidney. esnei akai kane a pig's kidneys.
akailaŋa N small house elevataed on a single post for the initiation of girls, especially firstborn girls.
akaiuor N cassowary. akaiuor ka omopmop cassowary wings.
akalanga N parrot.
akamele N mountain crest, mountain ridge.
akango N food < ken].
akango N python.
akao N a tree, Ficus sp.
akarei N food basket > aval].
akateme N village plaza.
akateme N tree sp., the bark of which is used for tying up thatch.
akauliŋ N 1. wind [generic]; 2. northwest monsoons [specific > omur].
akavokavo N elevated platform used in the initiation of children < kave].
akavoko N load [carried on shoulder by men. < kave > ogudno]. lok akavoko my load.
akion N hand-twisted double-stranded rope used to tie up pigs > enel, epitlakoŋ, ovuvno, vle]. tevle akion let's make some rope.
akloun N Calamus sp., large-leaved rattan sp. > ari].
akman N 1. woman [singular > ekikman, kman. ≠ adan]; 2. wife [≠ avadnile]; 3. female [ > kman. ≠ adan, tamane]. akman adi ikave iou that woman gave birth to me. ovorou akman ka love magic. lok akman my wife. kiter
akmaŋ ila iwolę they brought a woman
to be married. emim akmaŋ. girl.

akmareŋ N old woman.

akmareŋ tne N mother [ŋ nok, tnom, 
tne, tnode, tnomam, tneni, tnedo > areŋ 
teme, avu]. akmareŋ tnom your mother.

akŋarap N cuscus.

akŋok N hornbill.

akorol N cage, box for transporting 
Pigs.

akran N hard or tough betelnut.

akro N crow.

akua N youngman.

akunkun N small clam sp. [> oruor].

alisisio N veins, tendons [ŋ alisisiou, 
alisisiŋe, alisisio, alisisio, alisisiŋam, alisisiemi, alisiside].

ama N taro, Colocasia esculenta.

amalel N bow [and arrow > otutupi].

amanoŋ N mud, swampy place [> ovul].

amanioka N manioc, cassava, Manihot utilissima.

amarakai N brown pig which is striped
as piglet [> espei].

amasunŋ N meat, garnish, something
added to stodgy meal [< masu, > kurio, 
tome].

amatavu N shellmoney.

amikk N small frog sp. [> aval].

amsau N pitpit sp., Saccharum sp. [> 
elgo, epie, ororono].

anane DEM/P__ those [> ane].

ane DEM/S__ this [> adi, anane].

ankap N tongs.

anakum N black pig [> espei].

apa N/le__ grandmother, grandfather, 
granddaughter, grandson.

apadapada N nipa palm, Nypa fruticans.

apageiŋe N spider sp.

apala N tree ant.

apapak N mountain tree sp. [with a nut
similar to Canarium or Terminalia but
larger.

apara N top plate in house wall
construction.

apilpil N orchid.

aplau N cockatoo.

apluk N 1. bamboo; 2. jawharp made
of bamboo.

apopou N 1. bed made of saplings in
men's lodge; 2. shelf for food. omur
apopou stick bed.

apu N oral history, law [ŋ okunisnoŋo].

tanasi apu let's relate the history.

apua N crocodile.

areŋ tene N father [ŋ tok, tom, tene, 
teme, tememam, temeni, temede > 
aita, akmareŋ tne, tene]. areŋ tok my
father.

argin N yam sp., Dioscorea esculenta [≠ 
oudo].

aria N a small-leafed rattan, Calamus 
sp. [> akloko].

arnom N mangrove, Rhizophora 
mucronata.

arvu N dove.

asakir N litter [> asakirkir].

asakirkir N litter, dust, lint. osomum 
asakirkir ila I brush off the dust.

asaksak ADJ wild. espei asaksak wild
pig.

asal N rain [> mariamba]. asal iduo 
tosu teneite if rain falls, let's stay put.
asal ka emelo rainbow.

asalke N beach tree sp., Terminalia 
catappa.

asap N widow.

asapala N taro pudding.

asar N coral, reef [ŋ okur].
asarke N bed of ginger leaves for sitting on or butchering pigs on.

asasa N/zle__ great-grandparent, great-grandchild.

asaurum N flying fox, fruitbat.

asile N/zka__ fuzz, hair or small barbs on leaves. akai ka asile the fuzz of a tree.

aslak N/le__ forearm, specifically the two bones of the forearm, wrist, ankle. kak ruo le aslak my ankle. lumok le aslak ipid my wrist hurts.

asoj N charcoal.

asuak N clearings in forest as resting place along road or a place for picnics.

ata N shit, faeces [tata, paikai]. kio ueine ata it smells like shit.

ataljadi N bamboo sp.

ataje N non-firstborn child [emeretwoyo, etio, emim].

atarajjo N sago, Metroxylon sp.

atajon N ladder.

atavele N peninsula.

atavia N blowfly.

aton DEM this, contrastive. akai aton THIS tree.

aton SPEC very [tau]. eye ui aton you are very big.

aulajo N sago hammer.

auei N cloning stock. ama ka auei taro cloning stock. kla kse auei go plant taro sticks.

aulajo N rafters.

auram N young man [eulio].

avadnile N/le__ husband [akman, avagad].

avagad N widower [avadnile].

avakeua N shark.

aval N handbasket carried by men [akarei].

aval N large frog sp. [amkik].

aver N wall. eivin ka aver wall of a house.

avidavida N bedbug.

avo kane N/ka ruo__ calf. kak ruo avo kane my calf.

avu N/le__ mother. lok avu my mother [akmarey tne].

dada VTR pull, drag [it]. tadada ogomod ipaid let’s pull up the canoe.

deoa N crab sp. [red with a long lobster-like tail].

dgi VI wake up. edgi dindiyo I wake up in the morning [pone = keser].

Didlikje ADJ slippery; smooth. akai didlikje slippery tree.

dil VTR bore, drill. edil ongup I put a hole into a coconut.

dil ADV crashing sound. kolono akai imokrou la munio dil? did you hear the tree break down and make a crashing sound?

dindiyo TEMP morning. edgi dindiyo I wake up in the morning.

dodo MOD not yet; still. kikelme dodo they have not buried him yet. dodo vane there is still some left.

Dokdokje ADJ wet.

duk VI 1. sprout [new growth dukio, dukje]; 2. develop [of fog eieuk]. akai iduk the tree sprouted. agaugau iduk fog is developing.

dukio N new growth, sprout [duk, dukje]. akai dukio new growth of a tree.

dukje ADJ flower [duk, dukio]. akai dukje a tree with flowers.

Dunky VTR smell [kio]. idunky tinuk kio he smells my body odour. ogoune idunkiou the dog smells me.

eadi PRON that one [singular > eadidi, adi].
eadidi PRON those ones [plural > eadi, adi].
eanane PRON these ones [plural > eane, ane].
eane PRON this one [singular > eane, ane].
edege N raintree or jacaranda, Samanea saman or Poinciana delnis.
edge N slit gong.
edgim N flood.
edidmen N leech.
edgei N cataract [> gran]. motok kovorio edgei I’m blind with cataracts.
edgele N hairless pig [> esgei].
egelion N shield.
edge N digging stick.
egidue N/le_ tail [= egidue]. ogoune le edgim N shampoo. edgim N shrimps, prawns [especially freshwater prawns, but also lobster by extension > okureire].
eli N 1. freshwater, river; 2. water container. eiki ipun iou I’m thirsty. epe tok eiki kate don’t spill the water. eiki kopkopje an empty water container. eiki ivul the water is boiling.
eila N spear. ise esgei ne eila he speared a pig with a spear.
eilep N betel, Areca catechu. eilep ime anas hand me some betel to chew. eilep akraŋ hard betelnut. eilep mulumunjye tender betelnut. eilep kakrakye very hard betelnut.
eiou N fire. ousok eiou iken I blow on the fire so it burns.
eip N tree sp., Inocarpus fagiferus.
eier N obsidian, obsidian blade.
eiuk N 1. leaf wrapper; 2. clouds [seen to arise from a spell cast on leaves during rain magic > duk, agaagau].
eivin N 1. house; 2. village. akauiŋ u ime la irepe lok eivin a big wind blew and destroyed my house. akapin eivin I built a house. kororo eivin sweep the village. esgei eivin le a tame pig. eivin mete a door. Eivin Pio name of original Amara village in interior.
eivul N banana, Musa spp.
eivur N forest, jungle.
ekenkenjo N/±ka_ sore, tropical ulcer [> kenken]. kom ekenkenjo your sore.
ekid N louse.
eikman N women [plural > akman]. eikman vuturu many women.
ekirau N clay pot [traded in from Siasi network]. ekirau imaniŋ. the pot is cracked.
ekiriuli N panpipe [> nakiil].
ekiue N rat.
ekreŋ N footpath, road.
ele VTR drive pigs into net. kilo kiele esgei they went to drive pigs. tala teele esgei let’s go drive pigs.
eli N tree sp., Casuarina equiseti olia.
elgo N sugarcane, Saccharum officinarum [> amsau, epie, ogoroŋo].
eli N deep [≠ moko]. eiki eli deep river.
elivolio N pond in river [> eli].
emelo N barkcloth, cloth, sarong. emelo ipar the cloth is dry. lok emelo ka omuk my sarong is dirty. mariamba ka emelo = asal ka emelo rainbow.
emen N bird. emen ka onuk bird’s nest. emen vaivaio wings of a bird. emen uoruore feathers.
emenderik N little boys [plural > emim].
emensik N/żka__ comb [> sir]. kok emensik my comb.
emio N sea, ocean.
emeretuono N firstborn child [≠ atanje, etio, emim].
emese N Trochus sp.; armband made of Trochus shell.
emi PRON you [D2P. ≠ eye].
emilim N bandicoot.
emim N/żle__ child [> etio, emeretuono, atanje]. emim adan boy. emim akmaŋ girl. lok emim kapuk se I have only one child.
emirmirjo N wasp sp.
emitidjo N something to stand on [> mid]. otorokok le emitidjo ridgepole [of house, something for chickens to stand on].
emles N ginger, Zingiber officinale.
emlij N tree sp., Pometia pinnata.
enel N rope tied with knots to date events [> akiom, epitlakŋo, ovuvŋo].
enene N/żka 1. pus; 2. sap [≠ sirio]. kok enene my pus. akai ka enene sap [thick sticky sap].
eninnim N beach sandfly sp. [≠ omromo].
eninjį N sun [> ninjį].
eye PRON thou, you [D2S. ≠ emi]. eYe koruo = eŋkoruo the two of you.
eyiri N coconut grater. onou ongup ne eyiri I grate coconut with a coconut grater.
eylijo N/żka__ urine; piss [> lînlijo]. kok eylijo my urine.
epeloungo N stone oven [< peiou > okum gurio].
epelim N breadfruit, Artocarpus altilis.
epelpelŋo N/żka__ ringworm. io ka epelpelŋo he has ringworm.
epeno N 1. place; 2. season. epeno vevre a place with holes. epeno isamil lightning, thunder. epeno ninjį sunny place. epeno gidanja rainy season. epeno melak a distant place.
epero N monitor lizard.
epes N ground.
epetoro N cycad palm, Cycas circinalis.
epie N wild pitpit sp., Saccharum sp. [> amsau, elgo, ogoronjo].
epimuk N honeycomb [≠ ovon]. epimuk thee sweat bee that produces honey. epimuk sirio honey.
epitlakŋo N braided rope [< pitlak > akiom, enel, ovuvŋo]. tepitlak epitlakŋo we braid rope.
epituk N star.
epsok N/żka__ spit, saliva. iou epre koruo I spit my saliva.
epito N betel pepper, Piper betle.
eres N 1. palm sp. [used for flooring], Kertiopsis archontophoenix; 2. flooring. kaukau eres tie down the flooring.
erin N wild tree sp. [similar to kapok and used for stuffing pillows].
esere N vegetable greens sp. [cooked with pork in a stone oven > onouno].
eseremvad N sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas.
eseve N knife. esseve itele eye? did you get cut on a knife? esseve mete sharp knife. esseve mete pumpmunge dull knife. kla kukau lok esseve go look for my knife.
esik N stick for carrying pigs over shoulder; any stick supported at both ends to hold something like a pot over a fire.
esiŋo N broom.
esip N a large locust that lives on coconuts.
esiran N hourglass drum.
esjei N pig, pork (= esjei). lok esjei my pig, kok esjei my pork. (esjei) amarakai brown pig that is striped as juvenile. (esjei) osuk white pig. (esjei) egeled hairless pig. (esjei) anakum black pig. (esjei) kalonge spotted pig. esjei ivnik rotten pork.
esjei kurio lean meat of pork. esjei tamane boar.
etio N child, son, daughter [not firstborn]. otuk, otum, etio, etido = otudo, etim am, etim i, etide > atane, emeretuyo, emim]. otuk kman se my daughter. otuk se my son.
etiti N earthquake. etiti tok there was an earthquake.
etiue N mangrove clam.
etuil N mushroom.
etuilio N young unmarried woman [> auram].
eteino N thing (= ovolo). lok efeito my disposable thing. kok efeito my edible thing.
teliviou N beans [native to New Britain, similar to wing beans].
etever N hunting magic [> ovorou].
etevid N pigtusks.
etevelio N eel, [especially freshwater eel > lumbalumba].
egalaNja N shoulder [galañok, galañom, galaña...].
gasi VTR pick. agasi nok kane we kokye I pick my teeth.
ge MOD first, before... (then...). eliyin ge I should take a leak first. kukono ge go to sleep first. temeitei tepey sosog ge let’s sit down and rest a little first.
gelio N hip [geloiou, gelenė, gelio, gelto, gelmam, géliemi, gelde].
gidanja ADJ bad, poisonous [≠ naraye]. akai gidanja poisonous tree. epeno gidanja rainy season. ovorou gidanja sorcery.
gidmeiño TEMP later.
gigio N bone [gigiu, gigiñe, gigio, gigto, gigiam, gigiemi, gigde > egigi]. kak ruo gigio my leg bones. ouña gigio fish bones.
golgole N under [moloklokne]. eivin golgole under the house.
gorgorio N guts, entrails, viscera, insides [gurgruruk, gurgurum, gorgorio, gorgorio, gorgormemam, gurgurmi, gorgorde].
gorio N inside. eivin gorio inside the house. lumom gorio your palm. kam ruo gorio your sole.
gran VI blind. motok kovorio igran I’m blind [unspecific].
gud VTR carry on head [guda kane, gudio, ogudño, kave]. kigud io they carry it on their heads.
guda kane N head [guduk, gudum, guda, gudto, gudmam, gudmi, gudde > gud, gudio]. guduk kane uoruerore my hair. guduk kane isapapa I’m bald. kiklok pel ne gudde kane they bump heads. guduk maganio my neck.
gudio N head, canopy. akai gudio canopy of a tree. eiki gudio headwaters. okoro gudio hearth [stones collected for stone oven].
gurguruk > gorgorio
iaka MOD just, only, merely [sapa].
eleila iaka I’m just walking. kapuk iaka just one.
iam PRON we [D1EP. ≠ ito].
id VTR inhale. eid kok omomod I inhale my breath. kid kom omomod
you inhale your breath.

ide PRON they [D3P]. kipun pel ne ide they hit each other.

eiveno ADV thus, like this [> ievero].

ievero ADV thus, like that [> ieveno].

imna MOD 1. negative, not, no; 2. or.

iolele imna I don't know.

iouvaku aguas imna? didn't you two bring my tobacco? eye kma imna imna? are you coming or not?

in V drink. ein ogup I drink a coconut. idekiin they drink.

io PRON he, she, it, him, her [D3S]. io iuole io he married her. io ikole pogiou ne io he spoke to me about it.

io PRON I, me [D IS].

iohiole io he married her.

io ikole pogiou he spoke to me about it.

io PRON I, me [D IS].

iouiou VI swim [on surface. kritis].

iouiou I swim.

iouiou you swim.

it VTR pull [> dada]. eit io I pull it. eit ouro I pull a vine. amit ogomod ipaid we pull the canoe up.

ito PRON we, us [D1IP. katis]. ito ruo svodo tala ide kisu we two should go by ourselves. they're staying.

ka N edible possessive [k kok, kom, ka, kodo, kam, kami, kade ≠ le]. kok aguas my tobacco. Paulus ka akanjo Paul's food. suj kok give it [edible] to me. ovorou akman ka love magic. otogou omuk ka sorcerer. emelo ka omuk dirty cloth. sporom ka your nose. eivinvugony ka an old house.

ka VI flee, run away [> ad]. kika kila they run away. taka tala let's run away.

ka ruo N foot, leg [k kak ruo, kam ruo, ka ruo, kaito ruo, kaimimam ruo, kaimi ruo, kaido ruo]. kak ruo le aslak my ankle. kam ruo gorio your sole. kak ruo pio my heel. ogoune ka ruo hindleg of a dog. kak ruo maganio my thigh. kak ruo avo kane my calf. kak ruo kokknye my toes. kak ruo kokknye ui my big toe. kak ruo lilio my little toe, my pinky. kak ruo kuvusnye my knee. kak ruo murio my footprints.

kakakajo ADJ crazy.

kakoroka N river crab sp.

kakraknye ADJ hard, tough, strong [of things. ≠ urara, ui]. eilep kakraknye very hard betelnut. akai kakraknye strong wood.

kalonge N white and black spotted pig [> espei].

kaluvia N barracuda.

kama VTR make, build, do [= kapin, kep]. ikama eivin he built a house. kama eiou build a fire. eye kama saga? what are you doing?

kama CJ lest, watch out or. kama open eye watch out or I'll hit you. kreirei eye kama kmaklik careful or you'll fall

kamo kiue N hawk.

kane N 1. fruit [singular > kankane]; 2. protuberance. akai kane fruit. kope kane his belly. velanok kane my body. kak ruo avo kane my calf. ka otolio kane its egg. vururuk kane my forehead. guduk kane my head. omod kane island. parak kane my jaw [where molars are]. kok akai kane my kidney. vovseiou kane my lungs. nok kane vre my mouth. nok kane vre koknye my tooth. kovuruk kane my testicles. ogup kovure kane sprout and pithy ball inside mature coconut. pio kane her vulva.

kaninmim VI dream. akaninmim I dreamt.

kanio N spirit, shadow, soul [kanuk, kanum, kanio, kanto, kanmam, kanmi, kanumade> ovorou okunid].

kankane N fruit [plural > kane]. akai
kankane the fruit of a tree. multi kankane oranges, lemons, citrus fruit.
kapak VI split [> pele, maskak]. akai ikapak the wood splits.
kapater VI jump. ikapater he jumped.
kapin VTR make [= kama, kep]. akapin eivin I built a house.
kapora se ADJ little, small. ogoune kapora se a little dog.
kapsa QUANT one, a, a little, some [> kapuk, siley pau]. aguas kapso ime give me a little tobacco. kapso pau ime hand me some more.
kapuk QUANT one [> kapso]. kapuk iaka just one. kapuk se just one.
kari VI weed [in garden]. akari la kus vo our odo when I have finished weeding, I put up a fence.
kasiyi VI sneeze. akasiyi I sneezed.
kate MOD dehortative, don’t, let not, should not, stop...-ing. eje tok eti kate don’t spill the water. klijo kate stop pouring it. eje tilak iou kate stop pushing me. kur io kate don’t throw it. kmothou iou kate don’t be afraid of me.
katkate N liver [k katkateiou, katkateneje, katkate, katkateteito, katkatetimam, katkatateimi, katkateide].
kau VTR look for, hunt. ila ikau esjei he went hunting pigs. kla kukau lok esseve go look for my knife.
kaudama N mangrove crab sp.
kaukau VTR tie. kaukau eres tie down the flooring. kakaukau esjei tie up the pig.
kaurir VTR scratch. akaurir tinuk I scratch my skin.
kave VTR 1. carry, carry on shoulder, get, take, bring [> akavoyo, ter, pei ≠ gud]; 2. give birth to. kave you carry it. kla kave eilep ime go get some betel and bring it. koruo kakave kok aguas imna? didn’t you two bring my tobacco? iou akave I took it. sei ikave eje? who gave birth to you? akmanj adi ikavo = akmanj adi ikave io that woman gave birth to him.
kel VTR dig. kikel orur they dug a hole.
kelme VTR bury. kikelme ma they’ve buried him.
ken VI burn, light [> tin]. ousok eiou iken I’ll blow on the fire so that it’ll burn. lam iken the lamp is lit.
ken VTR eat [> kenen]. okunid ikento vana the tambaran will eat us now.
kenen VI eat [> ken]. kukenen eat!
kenken VI sore [> ekenemo]. kak ruo ikenken my leg has a sore on it.
kep VTR do [= kama, kapin, kev]. eje kep saga? = eje kukep saga? what are you doing?
kere VTR bite. ogoune ikere eje? did a dog bite you?
keser VI wake up [= dgi ≠ poye]. ekeser dijdiyo I wake up in the morning.
kev VTR build [= kama, kep, kapin]. ikev eivin he built a house.
kiki N landcrab sp. that lives near the beach.
kikio N/P neutral contrastive possessive [plural. k kikio, kikieje, kikio, kito, kikiam, kikiemi, kide < kio]. kikiou mine.
kim VI like [> kole]. iou ekim I like it.
kio N/S neutral contrastive possessive [singular. k kioou, kieje, kio, kyoito, knaimam, kneimi, kneide > kikio].
kio N smell, stink [> dupki]. tinuk kio I smell. kio uoine owja it smells like fish. kope kio wallaby [its belly stinks. = natus].
kips VI fart. ekips I farted.
kiskis VTR hold. iou ekiskis io I'm holding it. kikiskis pel ne lumede they held each other's hands.
klele VTR know. iou eklele imna I don't know.
klit VTR peel, skin (> sadid, sip, uer). eklit akai kulkulio I peel the bark off a stick. eklit epero kulkulio I skinned a monitor lizard.
klok VTR bump. kiklok pel ne gudde kane they bumped heads.
klit ADJ female (> akma1), lio]. otuk klit ADJ short. otogou klit a short man.
koko ADJ N finger, toe, tooth (singular > kokokye]. lumom kokkye your finger. kak ruo kokkye ui my big toe. nok kane vre kokkye my tooth.
kokokye N fingers, toes, teeth (plural > kokkye).
cole VI 1. speak, talk, tell (> okolopo, tit, nasi]; 2. want (> kim]. ikole pogiou ne io he spoke to me about it. iou okole ala Kavana I want to go to Kabana.
kon report VI 1. sleep, lie; 2. be located, exist (> meiter]; 3. stay (> su]. kumese vane ikono there's just a little left. lok eseve ikono nafi? where's my knife? kukonge you sleep first. okum ikono ne akai moloklokkye there's a stone under the tree.
kop VTR fold. tokop io let's fold it.
kope (kane) N 1. belly, abdomen; 2. pregnant [kopok, kopom, kope, kopodo, kopemam, kopemi, kopeide]. akmanj adi kope that woman is pregnant.
kope kio N wallaby [its belly stinks. = natus].
kopkopye ADJ empty. eiki kopkopye the water container is empty. akanjo imna epero kopkopye there is no food. the place is empty.
koposije ADJ light, lightweight.
korkor VTR scrape black off. okorcor ama I'll scrape the black off the taro.
koro VTR help. kma koro iou come help me.
kose VTR husk (> okosono]. okose ongup I husked the coconut.
kosio N chest, breast (kusuk, kusum, kosio, kosto, kosmemam, kosmimi = kusmi, kosde]. kusuk mete my sternum. kusuk papakje I'm angry. kusuk kane my heart.
kose ADJ ask (a question > nono]. ikosije iou he asked me.
kotitid VI/exp_ cold (> penpenio]. okotitid I'm cold.
kou VI hide (> volku]. ala okou I'll go and hide. kla kukou go hide.
kou adene VI commit suicide by hanging oneself. ikou adene he hung himself.
koudok TEMP tomorrow. koudok kiter enkoruo kala Glosta tomorrow they'll take you two to Gloucester.
kov VTR steal. ikov lok eseve he stole my knife.
kovorio N/mete_ eyeball (> kovure]. motok kovorio my eyeball.
kovure kane N testicle (kovuruk kane, kovurum kane, kovure kane, kovorto kane, kovormam kane, kovormemi kane, kovorde kane > kovorio]. ongup kovure kane spout and pithy ball inside mature coconut.
kusukye ADJ black.
kulkulio N/N_ skin, bark, lip, husk, shell. tinuk kulkulio my skin. eklit akai kulkulio I peeled the bark off a stick. nom kane vre kulkulio your lips.
ongup kulkulio coconut husk. euer eivul kulkulio I peeled a banana.
kulitic VI swim [underwater. ≠ iouiou].
kikutitic they swim.
kume se QUANT a little. kume se vane ikono there’s a little left.
kuritic N meat, flesh, muscle [mq, amasunjo]. kuriete the flesh of your body. kom kuritic your meat [to eat].
esseit icurito lean of pork.
lele N disposable possessive [lok, lom, le, lodo, lam, lami = lemi, lade > ka, kio, kikio]. le akai his firewood.
esseit eivinle domesticated pig.
leita VI walk. kileita kita they walked away. ileita ne opukpuk he walks with a stick. kleita omos walk carefully.
ilito N/N__ little finger, little toe. lumok lito my little finger. kak ruo (kokete) lito my little toe.
linici VI urinate, piss [eqiño, liño]. klinici ge you urinate first.
liniyo VTR pour [eqiño, tok]. iou eliyo eiki I pour water. eje kliýo kate stop pouring it.
liyo N sister, brother, sibling or parallel cousin opposite sex. lukman, my sister [man speaking. q lukman, lumman, lio kman, lido kman, limam kman, limi kman, lide kman]. luk se my brother [woman speaking. q luk se, lum se, lio se, lido se, limam se, limi se, lide se].
lipo VI; ADJ/___ ready to harvest, mature. ama ilip the taro is ready. ama lipjye mature taro. okmono lipjye = okmono ilip garden with mature crops.
lomolitic VI clear underbrush. olomolitic la kus vo etele after I have finished clearing away the underbrush, I chop down the trees.
lono VTR hear. amlono esiranc we heard the drums. kolono lok okolono pau? did you hear what I said too?
loulou V plant [mq se]. etinio la kus vo go back home.
laconday N tree sp. [with wood similar to Cordia sp. used for carving].
lam N lamp. lam imakluk la imurup the lamp fell and broke.
laumu N mangrove crab sp.
oloulou after I have burned it, I plant.

lovlovo VI play. kla klovlovo go play.

luatu > vilhoŋ.

luk > lio

lumbalumba N moray eel (> evlei).

lume N hand, arm [ lumok, lumom, lume, lumodo, lumemam, lumemi, lumede]. kikiskis pel ne lumedes they hold hands. lumok lilio my little finger. lumok kuvusye my elbow. lumok le aslak ipid my wrist hurts. lumok kokje my finger. lumok kokje ui my thumb. lumom gorio your palm. lumom vlisio your fingernails.

lume QUANT five. lume kapuk six. lume ruo seven. lume tel eight. lume paŋ. nine.

luŋluŋ VTR straighten, arrange. tolulŋ̄ omur let's straighten the bed.

luplup VI gather, collect, congregate, meet. kiluplup they congregated. tala toluplup let's go have a meeting.

ma VI come (> me).

ma MOD completive, already (> kus). emi keri ma? have you already bathed? etele la kus ma I've already finished cutting trees. kikelme ma they've buried him. otogou imo ma the man is dead. isou ma that's enough.

maganio N/N _ neck, thigh, trunk (> adenje). guduk maganio my neck. kak ruo maganio my thigh. akai maganio tree trunk.

makluk VI fall. lam imakluk la imurup the lamp fell and broke. kreirei eje kama kmakluk watch out you don't fall.

malimalio N gills. ouŋa malimalio fish gills.

mansarak VI torn (> sarak). emelo imansarak the cloth is torn.

manjiŋ VI cracked. ekirau imanjiŋ. the pot is cracked.

mariamba N storm (> asal). mariamba ka emelo rainbow.

maskak VI split [up the trunk when being chopped down > kapak, pele]. akai imaskak the tree split up the trunk.

me VI come [ eme, kma, ime, teme, amume, kame, kime ≠ la]. aguas kapso ime hand me over a cigarette. kur io ime vo asau io throw it toward me so I can catch it. oguŋ̄̄ ime eken give me a coconut to eat. suŋ̄̄ eseve ime pogiŋ̄̄ give me a knife.

me CJ and, with (> la, vo, mega). sei me sei kila? who went with whom? seija me kime? who are they coming?

me Holo yes.

mega CJ but. dodo mega amla amkelme vana not yet, but we're going to bury him now.

meitei VI 1. sit; 2. be located, stay (> kono, su); 3. subsist [ emeitei, kmeitei, imeitei, temitei, ammeitei, kemeitei, kimeitei]. temeitei teptyŋ̄̄ soso ge let's sit down and rest a little first. imeitei nangaj where is he? imeitei sapa he subsists with nothing. emeitei eivin I'm staying home. asal iduo tosu temeitei if it rains, let's stay put.

mekle > ovoire mekle

melak ADV far [≠ teuei].

melmel VI angry (> papak). kmelmel you are angry.

meme gudio N tongue [ meme guduk, meme gudum, meme gudio, memeito gudio, meme gudnam, meme gudmi, meme gudde].

memto VI vomit [ memto, kmemto, imemto...].

menene ADJ hot [≠ penpenio]. tinuk menene I'm hot.

mete N eye [ motok, motom, mete,
motodo, metememam, metemi, metede]. motok kovorio igran I'm blind. motok tektek my eyeball. motok pagilio my pupil. motok resres I remember. modok mete my anus. vaiuk mete my armpit. akai mete lime spatula. eivin mete door. parak mete my temporal mandibular joint. kutuk mete my penis. kusuk mete my sternum. eseve mete edge of a knife; a sharp knife. mete yarage it's clean.

mid VI stand, stand up [> emitidyo]. emid I'm standing. kmid stand up.
mimis VI; ADJ/__ye nice and greasy. akamyo imimis tau the food is really nice and greasy. akamyo mimisyegreasy food.

misigio N hungry. misigio I'm hungry. misigioye? are you hungry? misigio he's hungry.
mle VI return, come back, go back [> pamle]. enem e me I’ll come back. temle ito tala eivin let’s go back home.

mo VI die, dead, numb. otogou imo ma the man is dead. kak ruo imo my leg is numb.

mode N__N buttocks, rump, anus, bottom [q modok, domod, mode, mododo,modemam, modeimi, modeye]. modok parpario my buttocks. modok mete my anus. ekirau mode pio the pot is half-full.

moko ADJ shallow [≠ eli]. eiki moko shallow water.
mokrou VI break, crash down. kolono akai imokrou la munio dil? did you hear the tree break down and make a crashing sound? akai moneigye imokrou when trees are dried out, they crash down.
molmol ADJ true.

moloklokhe ADJ under [> golgole]. okum ikono ne akai moloklokhe there is a stone under the tree.
monei VI; ADJ/__ye dried, dead. akai imonei imokrou = akai moneiye imokrou when a tree is dried out, it crashes down.
mopor VI crooked, bent. ekrey imopor the road is crooked. akai imopor the stick is bent.
morop VI rotten [> vnik]. imorop it’s rotten.
motok > mete

motok VI spill [> tok, lijo]. eiki imotok the water is spilling.
motou VTR fear, afraid. eje kmutou iou kate don’t be afraid of me.
mukmuk VI; ADJ/__ye dirty [> omuk]. emelo imukmuk the cloth is dirty. emelo mukmukye dirty cloth.

mulum VI; ADJ/__ye soft, tender. eilep imulum = eilep mulumye the betelnut is tender.
munio N sound, noise. kolono akai imokrou la munio dil? did you hear the tree break down and make a crashing sound?
muntuk VI; ADJ/__ye long, tall. otogou imuntuk the man is tall. akai muntukye a long stick.
mungon VI precede, go ahead. ide kimungon kila ma they’ve already gone ahead. kmungon go ahead.
murio N footprint. kak ruo murio my footprint.
murup VI break. lam imakluk la imurup the lamp fell and broke.
a na kane vre N mouth [q nok, nom, na, nodo, nem, nemi, nede]. nok kane vre my mouth. agasi nok kane vre kokye I pick my teeth. nom kane vre kulukulo your lips.
nagalgalga N mortar for taro.
nakuil N bamboo sp.; flute made of same bamboo [> ekiriuli]; smoking
pipe made of same bamboo.

nal VI; ADJ/Adj straight. ekreng inal the road is straight. ekreng nalay a straight road.

nalay ADV outside. ikono nala. it's outside.

namkris VTR scrape. akai inamkris iou the wood scraped me.

nana VTR chase. nana ogoune chase the dog.

nayai ADV where? [> nai]. imeitei nayai? where is he? lok eseve ikono nayai? where is my knife?

nayame TEMP when? nayame ime ipod? when will he come? nayame kla? when are you going?

nayrikye ADJ 1. unripe [> sosou]; 2. uncooked, raw.

nasi VTR 1. follow; 2. tell [> kolo, tit]. anasi eje I follow you. tanasi apu let's tell a story.

natus N wallaby [Autie. = kope kio].

ne PREP to, with, on, oblique [> pogio]. apaid ne akai I climb a tree. ene kma ne sago? why did you come? eter io ne akanyo I put it on food. ikolo pogioune io it spoke to me about it. io inonon iou ne aguas he asked me for tobacco. ise esse ne eila he speared a pig with a spear. itele akai ne ogogo he chopped the tree down with an axe. kipun pel ne ide they hit one another. okunid iter ne ito the tambaran sickens us. iter our ne ogup he put a prohibition marker on the coconut palm. ileila ne opukpuk she walks with a stick. onou ongup ne enjiri I grate coconut with a grater.

nem VI suckle, nurse [> nempe]. emim inem = enem inem nem the child is suckling.

nempe N breast [k nemjok, nemjom, nemje, nemjeto, nemjemam, nemjem, nemjede > nem]. akman nempe the breasts of a woman. nempe sirio her breasts have milk.

nerekio N spine.

nesnes ADJ/mete NP think about, remember. motok nesnes eje koruo I think about you two.

nigrik ADV fast, quickly. kma nigrik come quickly.

nijid ADJ sun, sunny [> enijid]. nijid puli noon. epeno nijid a sunny place.

nis VTR boil [> peiou, some, vul]. knis essei you boil the pork.

noonon VTR ask for [> kosje]. inoonon iou ne aguas she asked me for some tobacco. inoonon aguas he asked for tobacco.

noro TEMP yesterday.

nou VTR grate. inou ongup ne enjiri she grates coconut with a grater.

nai ADV where? [> nanai]. ene kla nai? where are you going?

naile > tei, nile, avadnile

naaranye ADJ good, clean [> gidanj]. mete naaranye it looks clean. epeno naaranye the dry season. sirio naaranye it tastes good.

nas V chew betel. eilep ime agas hand me some betel to chew.

nas ADJ left hand. lumodo nas our left hands.

nile > naile, tei, avadnile

ni VI laugh. iou eni. I laughed.

o Holo no. o akanyo imma epeno kopkopje no, there's no food. the place is empty.

odo N fence. akari la kus vo our odo after I have weeded the garden, I build a fence.

oglis N mango, Mangifera indica.

ognumur N moon.
ogomod N canoe.
ogoronjo N pitpit, edible cane, *Saccharum edule* [> amsaau, elgo, epie].
ogororo N tree sp., *Octomeles sumatrana.*
ogorovo N household effects, furnishings, bridewealth.
ogoune N dog.
goru N sky.
ogu N sword grass, *Imperata* sp.
ogudjo N bundle carried by women on head [> gud, akavonjo].
ogugo N axe. ogugo itele iou I was cut with an axe. itele akai ne ogugo he chopped down the tree with an axe.
okmonjo N garden. okmonjo uakne new garden. okmonjo lipne productive garden.
okoioiu N bird sp., bush hen.
okolonyo N language, speech, gossip [<kole]. lam okolonyo our language. lok okolonyo what I say. kok okolonyo what is said about me.
okoro N ashes.
okoso N crab [generic]. okoso muli mangrove crab sp.
okosonyo N stick for husking coconuts [<kose].
okotkot N split leaf philodendron.
okotou N coconut shell. ongup ka okotou coconut shell.
okou N lime powder.
okudi N adze.
okulep N shell trumpet, *Charonia tritonis.*
okulpyo N pillow.
okum N stone. epei okum vo orup ovrunjo I’ll get a stone and crack open a canarium nut. okum gudio stones collected for stone oven.
okumid N tambaran, a spirit or monster of the forest that changes form and eats people who wander alone, particularly at night [> kanio, ovorou]; a spirit performer controlled by the men’s lodge. okunid iter ne ito the tambaran makes us sick.
okunisnowjo N story, myth, fable [> apu]. tetii okunisnowjo let’s tell stories.
okur N reef [= asar].
okureirei N lobster [> eigin].
olmud N moss, algae.
olojo N housefly.
olov N sand [= omoge].
oluajo N healing magic [> ovorou].
olusi N mountain.
omgo N smoke [= omugo]. eiou ka omgo smoke of a fire.
omod kane N island.
omoge N sand [= olov].
omoi N 1. *Pandanus* sp. with very broad leaves; 2. pandanus mat.
omokmoko N mourner.
omomod N/ka_ breath [= opuop]. eid kok omomod I inhale my breath.
omonei N fully mature coconut [<monei, ongup].
omopmop N/ka_ wing [of cassowary only. ≠ vaivaio]. akaiuor ka omopmop cassowary wings.
omore N domestic *Cordyline* sp. [≠ ainue].
omos ADV slowly, carefully. kleila omos omos walk carefully.
omoto N snake [generic].
omromo N sandfly [≠ enimnim].
omuk N 1. dirt [> mukmuk]; 2. bodily effluvia used in sorcery. emelo ka omuk dirty cloth. tinuk ka omuk I’m dirty. kok omuk my bodily effluvia used in sorcery against me. otogou omuk ka sorcerer, witch.
omuŋo N smoke [= omŋo].
omur N bed. lok omur my bed. toluyŋuŋ omur let's straighten the bed. omur apopou stick bed in men's lodge.
omur N southeast tradewinds [≠ akauliy].
omus N cave, rock shelter.
onoŋo N head pad used by women under bundles.
ononŋo N leafy vegetable green, Abelmoschus manihot [> esere].
onuk N nest. emen ka onuk bird's nest.
onunguŋ N coconut, Cocos nucifera [> opogal, omonei]. inou onunguŋ she grates coconut. iter our ne onunguŋ he put a prohibition marker on the coconut. onunguŋ ka okotou coconut shell used as water container. onunguŋ kulkulio coconut husk. onunguŋ tne coconut meat. onunguŋ kovure kane sprout and pithy ball inside mature coconut.
onur N nasal mucus, snot. kok onur my snot.
onus N cockroach.
opogal N green drinking coconut [> onunguŋ].
opogor N freshwater snails.
opoi N paddle for a canoe.
opokai N Malay apple, Eugenia Malaccensis.
opol N footnoose used for climbing tall narrow trees or palms.
open N sea turtle.
opso N waterfalls.
opudpud N net bag for food.
opukpuk N walking stick. ileila ne onukpuk he walks with a stick.
opuŋ N post.
opuo N 1. net; 2. diaphragm. le opuo its diaphragm.
opuŋŋi Nka__ breath [= omomod]. kok

opuŋŋi Nka__ breath [= omomod].
opuru N tree sp., Hibiscus tileaceus [leaves used as cigarette paper].
orgur N Alpinia sp., ginger sp.
orop N bamboo sp. with very thick stem.
orur N giant clam [> akunkun].
orur N hole [> vre, vevre]. kikel orur they dig a hole.
osi Nika__ gall bladder. ka osi its gall bladder.
omsur N foam at base of waterfalls.
osoro N woman's pubic apron, skirt.
osu N Gnetum gnemon, tree sp. [with edible leaves and bark used for making pig nets].
usuk N white pig [> esyei].
otoroŋo N people [plural > otogou].
otorogou N man [singular > ototogoio].
otorogou omuk ka sorcerer, witch.
otorokoŋka Nka__ egg. otorokokoŋka otorokoŋka chicken egg.
otoŋkoŋ N blood. ka otoŋkoŋ its blood.
otorokoŋka N chicken. otorokoŋka otorokoŋka chicken egg. otorokoŋka le emitidjo ridgepole.
otoŋ N punting pole.
ototogoio N bigman, leader, important man in the village.
otovoro N Siasi dish.
otok > etio
otoru N hermit crab.
ototupi N arrow [> amalel].
ototuvurir N large beetle sp. [bores holes in coconuts].
oudo N yam sp., Dioscorea sp. [≠ argin].
ouŋa N fish, game. kio uine ouŋa it smells like fish. ouŋa malmalio fish gills. ouŋa sovakio fish scale. ouŋa
kurio fish meat. ouŋa gigio fish bones. ouŋa rere dorsal fin. ouŋa telŋe lateral fin. itik ouŋa he gutted the fish.

ouoloŋo N married person [singular. < uole > ouoloŋo].

ouoloŋo N married people [plural > ouoloŋo].

ouro N prohibition marker. iter our ne oŋgup he put a prohibition marker on the coconut. oŋgup ka our coconut prohibition marker.

ouro N vine [generic].

ouroka N armlet.

ourum N men’s lodge.

ousi N thatch.

ovnipŋo N ridgepole [= otorokok le emitidŋo]. eivin ovnipŋo ridgepole of a house.

ovore N tree sp., Homalium foetidum.

ovore mekle N boa constrictor.

ovolo N thing [= eveŋo]. kok ovolo my edible thing. lok ovolo my disposable thing. le ovolo it's his.

ovon N wax [>] epimuk].

ovono N tree sp., ironwood, Inisia bijuga.

ovorou N 1. magic [generic > eiuek, ever, oluano]; 2. bush spirit [>] kanio, okumid]. ovorou akmany ka love magic [directed at one woman]. ovorou kide ekikmanŋ. love magic [directed at women in general]. ovorou gidanja sorcery. epeno ovorou place inhabited by a bush spirit that causes illness.

ovounjo N song. epei ovounjo I sing a song.

ovovo N butterfly.

ovrunjo N tree sp., canarium almond, Canarium polyphyllum. epei okum vo orup ovrunjo I’ll get a stone to crack open the canarium nut. ovrunjo me meat of canarium nut.

ouv N swamp [>] amananoj].

ouvnkin N mosquito.

ouvŋo N mosquito.

ouvŋo N twine, string [made by rolling fibres on thigh. < vuv]. tovuv ovunŋo let’s roll some twine.

pa- verbal prefix causative [not productive or regular]. apasogo emim I decorate the child. apamle le okolono I answered him.

padakakŋe ADJ shaven. guduk kane padakakŋe my head has been shaven.

padpad VI float. akai ipadpad the wood floats.

pagara VI lie. apagara imna I don’t lie. eje pagara you are lying.

pagilio N 1. seed; 2. pupil. akai pagilio seeds of a tree. motok pagilio my pupil.

paid VI up, go up, come up, ascend, climb [≠ tutuk]. apaid ne akai I climb a tree. tadada ogomod ipaid let’s pull the canoe up.

paikai VI defaecate, shit [>] tata, ata]. kla paikai go defaecate.

pam VI deaf. telŋe gudio ipam he’s deaf.

pamle VTR answer [>] mle]. apamle le okolono I answered his speech.

pan QUANT four. lume paŋ. nine.

papak VI; ADJ/ŋe 1. salty; 2. angry [>] melmel. akanŋo ipapak the food is salty. akanŋo papakŋe salty food. kusuk papakŋe I’m angry.

par VI dry. emelo ipar the cloth is dry.

para N jaw, cheek, mandible [parak, param, para, paraito, paramam, paraime, paraide > vese]. parak my cheek. parak kane my jaw [where the molars are]. parak mete my jaw [where it articulates with the temple].

parpario > mode
pasogo VTR dress up, ritually decorate. apasogo emim I decorate the child.
patanje ADJ heavy.
pau MOD again, too, other. eme pau I’ll come again. kapsa pau one more. sile Eq pau another one. kolonox kok okoloxo pau? did you hear what is being said about me too?

pei VTR get [kave, ter]. epei okum vo oru ovrujo I’ll get a stone to crack open the canarium nut. epei ovuongo I sing a song.

peiou VTR cook in a stone oven [eio, nis, some]. tepeiou esnej let’s cook some pork in a stone oven. ipeiou ama she’s cooking taro in a stone oven.

pel ADV cracking sound. sej ivud akai la pel adi? who snapped a branch and it made a cracking sound over there?

pel PRON reciprocal. kipun pel ne ide they hit each other. kisai pel they copulate. terei pel we look at one another. kikiskis pel ne lumede they hold each other’s hands. kirere pel they hug one another. kiklok pel ne gudde they bumped heads.

pele VTR split [kapak, maskak]. epele akai I split the wood.

pelet N plate [< TP]. kla kuasim pelet go wash the plates.

perpenio N cold [< kotitid]. eiki perpenio cold water.

perper VI; ADJ_ne skinny. esnej iperper the pig is skinny. esnej perperne skinny pig.

pid VTR hobble. tepid esnej let’s hobble the pig.

pid VI hurt. lumok ipid I have a sore hand.

pio N/N base, stump, end, origin, source. vinuk pio my back. kak ruo pio my heel. akai pio stump. ekirau mode pio the pot is half-full. EivinPio origin village of Amara. pone pio slope.

pio kane N vulva [pik kane, pim kane, pio kane...].

pise N navel, bellybutton [pisok, pisom, pise, piseito, piseam, piseimi, pisede].

pit VTR sting. amandox ipex? did a wasp bite you?

pitikuakua N tree sp., Barringtonia speciosa.

pitlak V braid [epitlako, vle, vuv]. tepitlak epitlako we braided rope.

plaulane ADJ white.

pod VI appear, arrive [= uod]. nayame ime ipod? when will he come? pod kma you come outside.

pogio N to [pogiou, pogenex, pogo, pogto, pogiam, pogem, pogde]. ikole pogio ne io he spoke to me about him. sun esevi ime pogio give me a knife. ege kuod pogio you appeared to me. iam amuod pogem we appeared to you.

pon VI full. ekirau ipon ne eiki the pot is full of water.

pone VTR wake up [dgi, keser]. kla pone akmaren xnor go wake up your mother.

pone pio N slope.

posanca ADJ dry. emelo posanca ma the cloth is already dry.

pote VTR call. pote iou you call me. topote saga? what do we call it?

pre VTR spit. epre kok epsok I spit out my saliva.

pten VI rest. eje kupten ge you rest first. temeitei teptex soso ge let’s sit down and rest a little first.

pul VTR 1. turn; 2. stir, mix [tele]. opul iou I turn [myself] around. opul akai I turn the stick over. opul akanyo I’m stirring food. opul io I turned it over.
puli > nipid

pumpumje ADJ dull. eseve mete pumpumje the knife is dull.

pun VTR hit, fight. kama opun eje watch out or I’ll hit you. kopun iou kate don’t hit me. opun io I hit him. kipun pel ne ide they’re fighting. eki ipun iou I’m thirsty.

pus VTR wash, wipe. kla pus pelet go wash the plates. pus io wipe it.

raka N branch. akai raka branch of a tree.

rarar VI crawl. emim irarar the child crawls.

re N fathom. re kapuk one fathom.

rege VTR pull out, dig up, extract. erege la kus I’ve finished digging it up. erege ama I’ll pull up some taro.

rei VTR see, look at. erei eje I see you. terei pel let’s look at one another.

reirei VTR. careful, watch out [< rei]. kreirei eje kama kmakluk watch out or you’ll fall.

remte N roots. akai remte tree roots.

repe VTR wreck. aklauqi ui ime la irepe lok eivin a big storm came and wrecked my house. eivin vugon ka vo terepe it’s an old house so let’s wreck it.

rere N dorsal fin. ouq ga rere dorsal fin of a fish.

rere VTR hug. kirere pel they’re hugging.

reureu TEMP afternoon, dusk.

ri VI bathe [§ eki, kri, iri, teri, amri, keri, kiri]. emi keri ma? have you bathed yet?

rigruo se QUANT a couple, a few [> so].

roro VTR sweep. kororo eivin sweep the village.

rou rou VI fly. emen irourou the bird flew.

ru VI enter, in. oru ala I went inside. kru kla go inside.

rum VI fat [> rumrum]. irum he’s fat.

rumrum VI swollen [> rum]. kak ruo irumrum my leg is swollen.

ruo QUANT two.

ruo VI/P_ dual. koruo kakave kok aguis imna? didn’t you two bring my tobacco? koudok kiter eikoruo kala Glosta tomorrow they’ll take you two to Gloucester.

ruo > ka ruo

ruv VTR crack, break. kla kruv io go break it. epei okum vo oru ovuru I’ll get a stone to crack open the canarium nuts.

sadid VTR peel, strip bark off stick for making rope [> klit, sip, uer]. asadid akai kululio I stripped the bark off a stick.

saga PRON what? saga adi? what’s that? eje kev saga? what are you doing? ime ne saga? why did he come?

sago VI sick. asago I’m sick. ksago? are you sick?

sai VTR make love, copulate. kisai pel they’re making love. kma asi eje come and I’ll make love to you.

samil VI thunder, lightning. epeno isamil there is thunder and lightning.

samimi VI shiver, tremble. asamimi I’m shivering. ksamimi you’re shivering.

saoa VTR clear of underbrush. tasaoa ekrej let’s clear the road.

sapa ADV with nothing, without anything. imeitei sapa he subsists with nothing. eleila sapa I was walking around without anything.

sapapa VI bald. guduk kane isapapa I’m bald.
sarak VTR tear [> mansarak]. ksrak io tear it.

sasiliie N pancreas. sasiliou my pancreas.
sau VTR catch. kur io ime asau io throw it to me and I’ll catch it.

saumoii N sea eagle.

se SPEC diminutive. kapuk se just one. seblej se kime they’ll be here soon. otuk se my son. otuk kmaaj se my daughter.

se VTR plant [> loulou]. kla kse auei go plant taro cloning sticks.

se VTR spear, shoot. ise esnej ne eila he shot a pig with a spear.

seblej se TEMP soon. seblej se kime they’ll be coming soon.

sei PRON who? [singular > seina]. sei me sei kilia? who went with whom?

seina PRON who? [plural > sei]. seina me kime? who all came?

seisei VTR sew. kiseisei emelo they sewed up the cloth.

sel N sail.

sepelo VI sprout. ongup isepelo the coconut sprouted.

serio N name [I serok, serom, serio...].

silpaunio QUANT another one [> kapso pau].

silpanajo QUANT forty.

sinilme QUANT fifty.

sip VTR peel under water [> klit, sadid,uer]. kla kisip io etiki go peel it under water.

sir VTR comb [> emensik]. esir guduk I’m combing my hair.

sirio N 1. juice [> sirsirio], milk, sap [> enene], honey; 2. taste; 3. bodily fluids [I siriou, sirene, sirio...]. muli sirio orange juice. nemne sirio her milk. akai sirio sap. epimuk sirio honey. sirio narage it tastes good.

sirsirio N watery [> sirio]. eilep sirsirio a very watery betelnut.

snore ka N nose [I snorok ka, snorom ka, snore ka, snore kaito, snore kaimam, snore kaimi, snore kaide].

so QUANT some. aguas so ime hand over some tobacco. otodogoio so a few people.

sogo VI get ritually dressed up [> pasogo].

tosogo let’s get dressed up.

sogor VTR gather, collect. kla ksogor okum go gather some stones.

some VTR 1. cook bare on fire [> nis, peiou]; 2. singe. kla ksome ama go cook some taro. kosome esnej uoruore singe the hair off the pig.

somum VTR brush off. osomum asakirkir ila brush off the dust.

s ongoing QUANT ten.

soso ADV a little. temeitei tepeuj soso ge let’s sit and rest a little first.

sosou VI ripe. oglis isosou ma the mango is ripe.

sou VI enough. isou ma that’s enough now.

sovokio N scale [of a fish]. ouja sovokio fish scale. ouja sovakvoiko fish scales.

sovolaña ADV how? ikev io sovolaña? how does he do it?

su VI stay [> meitei, kono]. asal iduo vo tosu if it rains, let’s stay. eje ksu iam amla you stay. we’re going.

suù VI full, sated. kopok isuù. I’m full.

suù VTR give, distribute. ksùù esëve ime pogiou give me a knife. osuù ka I gave it [edible] to him. osuù le I gave it [disposable] to him.

suntelio QUANT thirty.

sunguruo QUANT twenty.

suput VTR cut [> tele, tete]. eye ksuput io you cut it.
suve N alone, by oneself [suvok, suvom, suve, suvodo, suvemam, suvemi, suvede].
io suvok ala I'm going by myself.
talolo VI bend over. akai italolo the tree is bending over.
tamane ADJ male [with non-human nouns > adan]. esyei tamane a male pig.
tag VI weep, cry. atay. I cried.
tata N 1. faeces, shit; 2. remains [tat, tatam, tata, tataito, tataimam, tataimi, tataide > ata, paikai]. eiou tata remains of a fire.
tau ADV very [> aton]. akanyo imimis tau the food is very greasy.
tei N brother, sister, sibling same sex, parallel cousin same sex [tik = teik, tim = teim, tei, teido, teimam, teimi, teide]. tik se my little brother [man speaking]. tik kmag se my little sister [woman speaking]. tik nile my older brother [man speaking]. tik naile my older sister [woman speaking].
tel QUANT three.
tele VTR cut [> suput, tete], chop down, stir [in chopping fashion > pul]. eseve itele ege? did the knife cut you? itele akai ne ogugo he chopped down the tree with an axe. itele asapala he stirs the taro pudding.
telge gudio N 1. ear; 2. lateral fin [telge guduk, telge gudum, telge gudio, telge gudto, telgemam gudio, telgemi gudio, telge gudje]. telge gudio ipam he's deaf. ouga telge lateral fin of a fish.
teme N father [tok, tom, teme, temedo, tememam, tememi, temede > aren teme, aita, akmaren tne]. ito temedo our father.
ter VTR get, take, bring, put [> kave, pei]. eter io I got it. koudok kiter eykoruo kala Glosta tomorrow they'll take you two to Gloucester. kiter akman ila iuole they brought a woman to be married. iter our ne ongup he put a prohibition marker on the coconut. ime eter io ne akango hand it over so I can put it on the food. okunid iter ne ito the tambaran has made us sick.
tere VI dance. kitere they're dancing.
tete VTR butcher, carve, cut up [> tele, suput]. kitete esyei they're butchering a pig. itete ouga he's carving a fish. etete amanioka I'll cut up the cassava pudding.
teuei ADV near [≠ melak]
tevelio N brains [teveliou, tevelene, tevelio, tevelio, teveliam, teveliemi, tevelde].
tik > tei
tik VTR eviscerate, gut. itik ouga he gutted the fish.
tilak VTR push. ege tilak iou kate stop pushing me.
tin VTR burn, light [> ken]. etele la kus vo etin io when I have finished cutting [the trees], I burn it over. etin kok aguas I lit my cigarette. tin eiou light the fire.
tinio N 1. body; 2. like [tinuk = tunuk, tinum = tunum, tinio, tinto, timam, timmi, tinde > velanja cane, tinitnio].
tinuk menene I'm hot. idunji tinuk kio he smells my body odour. iou tinuk inna I don't like it.
tininio N happy [> tinio]. tinitnuk I'm happy.
tit VTR 1. count; 2. tell [> kole, nasi]. kitiit esyei they counted the pigs. tetti okunisnoyo let's tell a story.
titil VI prune, limb, trim branches off newly felled trees. etitil la kus vo etin io pau after I have finished trimming the branches off, I burn it again.
tne N/N 1. mother [tnok, tom, tne,
modo, memam, nemi, nede > akmareŋ tne, areŋ tene, avu]; 2. meat, nut [> kurio, amasungo]. kla pone akmareŋ mom go wake up your mother. ovrungo tne canarium nutmeat. ongup tne coconut meat. epimuk tne sweat bee [that produces honey].

trigane TEMP today.

togou ADJ righthand. lumodo togou our right hands.

tok VTR spill [> motok, lijo]. ege tok eiki kate don't spill the water.

totopaga ADJ red.

tre VTR string fish through gill slits. tete let's string them.

tuntun VI itchy. kak ruo tuntun my leg is itchy.

tutuk VI down, descend [≠ paid]. otutuk I went down.

uakŋe ADJ new [≠ vugonŋa]. okmungo uakŋe a new garden. eivin uakŋe a new house.

uasim N wash [< TP]. kla kuasim pelet go wash the plates.

ud VI run. oud ala I ran away [> ka].

ueine N like, as. kio ueine ouŋa it smells like fish. elele mtueine akaiuor I walk like a cassowary.

uas N hair, leaf, feather [singular > uore]. guduk kane uore a leaf. akai uore a leaf. emen uore a feather. ogoune uore a dog hair.

uorou uore N hair, leaves, feathers, fur [plural > uore]. guduk kane uoroure my hair. akai uoroure leaves. emen uoroure feathers. ogoune uoroure dog fur.

ur VI 1. throw; 2. build [fence]. kur io ime asau io throw it for me to catch. our odo I put down a fence.

urara N strong [of humans. ≠ kakrakŋe, ui]. uraraiou I'm strong.

usei ADJ how many, how much? otogou usei kimeitei? how many men are there? ise esŋei usei? how many pigs did he shoot?

usis VI lost. lok eseve iusis my knife is lost.

usok VTR blow on. kla kusok eiou go blow on the fire. oosok eiou iken I'll blow on the fire so that it will light.

vagalgalŋe ADJ scarred. kak ruo vagalgalŋe my leg is scarred.

vaio mete N armpit [≠ vaiuk mete = vaik mete, vaium mete = vaim mete, vaio mete, vaioto mete, vaiemamam mete, vaimi mete, vaiote mete > vaivoio]. ide adi vaide mete their armpits.

vaivoio N wings [> omopmop]. emen vaivoio bird's wings.

vana MOD inchoative. dodo mega amla amkelme vana not yet, but we're going to bury him now.

vane DEM there is, there are. dodo vane
there’s still some left. kumese vane ikono
there’s a little there. eseve vane there’s
a knife.
velaŋa kane N body [velajok, velajom,
velaŋa, velaŋaito, velaŋaimam,
velaŋaimi, velaŋaide > tinio].
vese N chin [vesuk, vesum, vese... >
para]. vesuk my chin.
vevre N with holes [plural > vre, orur].
epeno vevre a place with holes in it.
vilŋor TEMP night. vilŋor luatu
midnight.
vine pio N back [vinuk pio, vinum pio,
vine pio, vinto pio, vinemam pio, vinemi
pio, vinde pio].
virviriaŋa ADJ blue, green.
vivi VTR squeeze. evivi io I squeezed it.
vle VTR twist two-stranded rope by hand
[> akiom, pitlak, vuv]. tevle akiom let’s
make some rope.
vlik VI flash, blink. ivlik it flashed.
vlisio N/N__ nail, claw. lumom vlisio
your fingernails.
vnik VI rotten [> morop]. esnge ivnik
the pork is rotten.
vo CJ irrealis sequential, if, since, and
so, so that. asal iduo vo tosu if it
rains, let’s stay. eivin vugor ka vo terepe
since the house is old, let’s wreck it.
epeī okum vo oruv ovruŋo I’ll get a
stone to crack open the canarium nut.
volkou VTR hide [> kou]. ovolkou lok
eseve I hid my knife. kma volkou iou
come hide me.
vugor ruo TEMP day after tomorrow, in
two days. vugor tel in three days. vugor
panŋ in four days. vugor lume in five
days.
vorvore kane N forehead [vurvuruŋ
kane, vurvuruŋm kane, vorvore kane...].
vovse kane N lungs [vovseio, vovsenęe,
vovse, vovseto, vovseimam, vovseimi,
7. ENGLISH–AMARA FINDER LIST

a kapso
a little kume se, soso
abdomen kope
adze okudi
afraid motou
afternoon reureu
again pau
ahead, go mungog
algae olmud
all gone kus
alone suve
Alpinia sp orgur
already ma
and la, me, vo
angry melmel, papak
ankle aslak
another silen pau
answer pamle
ant sp apala
anus mode mete
appear pod, uod
apron osoro
Areca catechu eilep
arm lume
armband emese, ouroka
armpit vaio mete
arrange lunlug
arrow otutupi
Artocarpus altilis epelim
ascend paid
ashes okoro
ask kosje, nonjo
axe ogugo
back vine pio
back, come mle
back of head adekio
bad gidanja
bag, net opudpud
bald padakdakje, sapapa
bamboo spp aiaugim,
apluk, ataljadi, nakuil,
orop
banana eivul
bandicoot emilim
barbs asile
bark kulkuio
barkcloth emelo
barracuda kaluvia
Barringtonia speciosa
pitinkuakuia
base pio
basket akarei, aval
bat asaurum
bathe ri
be located kono, meitei
beans eveliou
bear child kave
bed spp apopou, asarke,
omur
bedbug avidavida
before ge, vugon
belly kope
bellybutton pise
bend talolo
bent moror
betel eilep
betel pepper epo
big ui
bigman otovoro
bird emen
bird spp akaiuor,
akañana, akjok, akrok,
aplau, arvu, okoiou,
saumo
birth, give kave
bite kere
black kusuksukje
black pig anjakum
blade eirer
blind gran
blood otopo
blow on usok

blowfly atavia
blue virviriana
boa constrictor ovoire
mekle
body tinio, velanya kane
boil nis, vul
bone gigio
bore dil
bow and arrow amalel
box akorol
boy emim
boys emenderik
braid pitlak
braided rope epitlakjo
brains tevelio
branch raka
breadfruit epelim
break mokrou, murup,
rav, vud
breast kosio, nemen
breath omomod, opuop
bride wealth ogorovo
bring kave, ter
broom esigo
brother lio, tei
brown pig amarakai
brush off somum
bubbles osmur
build kama, kev, ur
bump klok
bundle akavoro, ogudjø
burn ken, tin
bury kelme
bush hen okoiou
but mega
butcher tete
butterfly ovovo
buttocks mode padpadio
cage akorol
Calamus spp akloun, aria
calendar rope enel
calf karu Avo kane
call pote  
Canarium polyphyllum  
Canoe ogomod  
Canopy of tree gudio  
Carry on head gud  
Carry on shoulder kave  
Carrying stick esik  
Carve tete  
Cassava amanikoa  
Cassowary akaiuor  
Cassowary wing omopmop  
Casuarina equisetifolia elei  
Cataract egei  
Catch sau  
Cave omus  
Charcoal ason  
Charonia tritonis okulep  
Chase nana  
Cheek para  
Chest kosio  
Chew betel nas  
Chicken otorokok  
Child atange, emim, emeretuono, etio  
Chin vese  
Chop tele  
Cigarette aguas  
Clam spp akunkun, etiue, oruor  
Claw vlisio  
Clay pot ekirau  
Clean  
Clear lomo, saoa  
Clearing asuak  
Climb paid  
Cloning stock auei  
Cloth emelo  
Cloud eiuek  
Club aipu  
Cockatoo aplau  
Cockroach onus  
Coconut ongup, omonei, opogal  
Coconut grater enirji  
Coconut meat ongup tne  
Coconut shell okotou  
Cocos nucifera ongup  
Cold kotitid, penpenio  
Collect lupup, sogor  
Colocasia esculenta ama  
Colour, k.o. aino, kususukye, plaulauje, totopaja, virviriaja  
Comb emensik, sir  
Come me  
Come back mle  
Come up paid  
Come in ru  
Come down tutuk  
Commit suicide kou adene  
Competitive ma  
Congregate lupup  
Cook peiou, some  
Copulate sai  
Coral asar  
Cordyline spp ainun, omore  
Count tit  
Couple rigruo se  
Cousin lio, tei  
Crab okoso  
Crab spp deoa, kakaroka, kaudama, kiki, laumu, okoso mula, oturu  
Crack pel, ruv  
Cracked manji  
Crash dil, mokrou  
Crawl rarar  
Crazy kakakanjo  
Crocodile apua  
Crooked mopor  
Crow akrok  
Cry tan  
cuscus akivarap  
cut suput, tele, tete  
Cycas circinalis epetoro  
Dance tere  
Daughter etio  
Day ninja  
Dead mo, monei  
Deaf pam  
Decorate pasogo, sogo  
Deep eli  
Defaecate paikai  
Dehortative kate  
Descend tutuk  
Destroy repe  
Diaphragm opuo  
Die mo  
Dig kel  
Dig up rege  
Digging stick egete  
Diminutive se  
Dioscorea spp argin, oudo  
Dirt omuk  
Dirty mukmuk  
Dish otovro, pelet  
Disposable possessive le  
Distribute suj  
Do kama, kep  
Dog ogoune  
Don't kate  
Door eivin mete  
Dorsal rere  
Dove arvu  
Down tutuk  
Drag dada  
Dream kanimnim  
Dress up pasogo, sogo  
Dried monei  
Drill dil  
Drink in  
Drinking coconut opogal  
Drive pigs ele  
Drum esiran
dry par, posanja

dual ruo

dull pumpumye

dusk reureu

dust asakir, asakirkir

ear telje gudio

earthquake etiti

eat ken, kenen

edible possessive ka

eel evlei, lumbalumba

egg otolio kane

eight lume tel

elbow kuvusje

telers ui ui

empty kopkopje

end pio

enough sou

enter ru

eintrails gorgorio

Eugenia malaccensis

opokai

evening reureu

evviserate tik

exist kono, vane

extract rege

eye mete

eyeball mete kovorio, mete toktok

fable okunisonyo

faeces ata, tata

fall makluk

far melak

fart kipis

fast nigrik

fat rum

father aita, arej teme, teme

fathom re

fear motou

feather uore

female akmanj, kmaj

fence odo

few rigruo se

Ficus sp akao

fifty sinjime

fight pun

fin rere, telje

finger kokokje, kokje, lilio

fingermail vlsio

finished kus

fire eiou

firewood akai

first ge

firstborn emeretuojo

fish ouya

five lume

flash vlko

flee ka

flesh kurio

float padpad

flood edgim

flower dukje

fluid sirio

flute nakuil

fly atavia, olanjo, rourou

flying fox asaurum

foam osmur

fog agaugau

fold kop

follow nasi

food akamjo

food basket akarei

foot ka ruo

footnoose opol

footprint murio

forearm aslak

forehead vorvore kane

forest eivur

forty silpanjio

four paq

freshwater eiki

frog spp amkik, aval

from me

fruit kane, kankane

full pon, suŋ

fur uore, uoruore

furnishings ogorovo

fuzz asile

galip ovrujo

gall bladder osio

game ouŋa

garden okmoŋo

garnish amasujo

gather lupup, sogor

get kave, pei, ter

giant clam oruor

gills malmalio

ginger bed asarke

ginger spp emles, orgur

girl emim, eulio

give me, suŋ

give birth kave

Gnetum gnemon osu

go la

go ahead mungonj

go back mle

go down tutuk

go in ru

go up paid

gone kus

good ŋaraje

gossip okoloŋo

granddaughter,

grandfather,

grandmother, grandson

apa

grate nou

grater eniri

greasy mimis

great-grandparent,

great-grandparent, asasa

green virviriŋa

greens spp esere, ononjo

ground epes

grue virviriŋa

gut tik

guts gorgorio
hair asile, uore
hairless pig egeled
half-full mode pio
hand lume
handbasket aval
happy tintinio
hard akraj, kakraty
hawk kamo kiue
he io
head guda kane
head, bundle carried on ogudjo
head, carry on gud
head of tree gudio
head pad onono
healing magic oluano
hear lono
heart kosio kane
hearth okoro gudio
heavy pataje
help koro
hermit crab oturu
Hibiscus tiliaceus opuru
hide kou, volkou
hip gelio
history apu
hit pun
hobble pid
hold kiskis
hole orur, vevre, vre
Homalium foetidum ovoire
honey epimuk sirio
hornbill akñok
hot menene
hourglass drum esiran
house eivin
house, initiation akailaŋa
house, men's ouroŋum
housefly oloŋo
household goods ogorovo
how sovolaŋa
how much usei
hug rere
hundred kuvusŋe
hungry misigio
hunt ele, kau
hunting magic ever
hurt pid
husband avadŋile
husk kose, kulkuło
husking stick okosoŋo
I iou
if vo
Imperata sp ogu
in ne, ru
inchoative vana
inhale id
initiation house akailaŋa
initiation platform akavokoŋo
Inocarpus fagiferus eip
inside gorio
insides gorgorio
Intsia bijugu ovono
Ipomea batatas
eseremvad
ironwood ovono
island omod kane
it io
itchy untun
jacaranda edege
jaw para
jawharp apluk
juice sirio
juicy sirsiro
jump kapatere
jungle eivur
just iaka
kambang okou
Kentiopsis archontophoenix erez
kidney akai kane
kin k.o. aita, akmaŋ.
akharen tne, apa, areŋ
teme, asasa, ataeŋ,
avadŋile, avu,
emeretuŋo, emin, etio,
lio, tei, teme, te
knee kuvusŋe
knife eseve
knot kuvusŋe
know klele
kulau opogal
kunai ogu
ladder atataŋo
lamp lam
language okolono
large ui
later gidmeiŋo
lateral fin telŋe
laugh ʊiŋ
law apu
leader otovoro
leaf akai uore, uorouro
leaf wrapper eiuvek
leech edidmen
left hand gis
leg ka ruo
lest kama
lie kono, pagara
light ken, tin
lightning samil
lightweight koposoŋe
like kim, tinio, ueine
limb titil
lime powder okou
lime spatula akai mete
lint asakir, asakirkir
lip na kane vre kulkuło
listen lono
litter asakir, asakirkir
little kapor se, kume se,
se, soso
little finger lilio
liver katkate
lizard epero
load akavoyo, ogudyo
lobster eigin, okureirei
located kono, meitei
locust esip
lodge ourum
long muntuk
look at rei
look for rei, kau
lost usis
louse ekid
love, make sai
lung vovse kane
magic ever, oluano, ovorou
make kama, kapin, ter
make love sai
male adam, tamane
man adam, auram, otogou
mandible para
Mangifera indica oglis
mango oglis
mangrove arjom
mangrove clam spp etiue, kaudama, laumu
Manihot utilissima amanioka
manioc amanioka
many vuturu
marker our
married people ouolojo, ouoluojo
marry uole, uolo
mat omoi
mature lip, omonei
me iou
meat amasuyo, kurio, tne
meet luplup
men adardario
men’s lodge ourum
merely iaka
Metroxylon sp atarango
milk nemje sirio
mist agaugau
mix pul
money amatavu
monitor lizard epero
monsoons akauliŋ
moon ognumur
moray eel lumbalumba
morning diindiŋo
mortar nagalgalŋa
mosquito ovunkin
moss olmud
mother akmareŋ me, avu
mountain olusi
mountain ridge akamele
mourner omokmoko
mouth na kane vre
muddy area amanango
Mus sp eivul
muscle kurio
mushroom eul
myth okunisnoyo
nail vlisio
name serio
nasal mucus onjur
navel pise
near teuei
neck adeye, guda
maganio
negative imna
nest onuk
net opudpud, opuo
new uakge
night vilŋoŋ
nine lume paŋ
nipa palm apadapada
no imna, o
noise munio
noon ninjd puli
noise snore ka
pig box akorol
pig spp amarakai, anjakum, egeled, kalonge, osuk
pigtusks evid
pillow okuljo
pipe, smoking nakul
Piper betle epto
piss enlijno, lihlij
pitpit spp amsau, epie, ogorono
place epeno
plant loulou, se
plate pelet
platform akavokavo
play llovoko
plaza akateme
Poinciana delnis edege
poisonous gidanja
pole, punting otou
Pometia pinnata emlin
pool elivolio
pork esnej
possessive ka, kio, kikio, le
post opunj
pot, clay ekirau
pour ligo
prawn eigin
precede mungonj
pregnant kope
prohibition marker our
protuberance kane
prune titil
pubic apron osoro
pull dada, it
pull out rege
punting pole otou
pupil mete pagilio
pus enene
push tilak
put ter
python akango
quickly nigrik
rafter aulanjo
rain asal
rainbow asal ka emelo
raintree edege
rat ekiue
rattan spp akloun, aria
raw nanjiknej
ready for harvest lip
reciprocal pel
red topopajna
reef asar, okur
remains tata
remember mete nesnes
rest pjen
resting place asuak
return mle
Rhizophora mucronata arjom
ridgepole emitidjo, ovinnjo
righthand togou
ringworm epelpeljo
ripe sosou
river eiki
road ekren
rock shelter omus
roll twine vuv
root remte
rope akiom, enel, epitlakjo, ovuvno
rotten morop, vnik
run ud
run away ka
Saccharum spp amsau, elgo, epie, ogorono
sago ataranjo
sago hammer aualho
sail sel
saliva epsok
salty papak
Samanea saman edege
sand olov, omoge
sandfly enimnim, omromo
sap enene, sirio
sarong emelo
sated suj
scale sovokio
scarred vagalgajne
scrape korkor, namkris
scratch kaurir
sea emeoe
sea eagle saumoi
season epeno
see rei, reirei
seed pagilio
seven lume ruo
sew seisei
shadow kanio
shaft kutio
shallow moko
shark avakeua
shaven padakdakje
she io
shelf apopou
shell kulkulio
shell, coconut okotou
shell armband emese
shell money amatavu
shell trumpet okulep
shield egeliou
shit ata, paikai, tata
shiver samimi
shoot se
short kmusje
shoulder galanj
shoulder, carry on kave
shrimp eigin
Siassi dish otovro
sick sago
sign our
since vo
sing pei ovounjo
singe some
sister lio, tei
sit meitei
six lume kapuk
skin kli, kulkulio
skinny perper
skirt osoro
sky ogru
sleep kono
sleeping mat omoi
slippery didlikje
slit gong edge
slope pone pio
slow omos
small kapora se
smell duñki, kio
smoke omño, omuo
smoking pipe nakuil
smooth didlikje
snail opogor
snake omoto
snake sp ovoire mekle
snap vud
sneeze kasoji
snot oñur
so la, vo
soft mulum
sole ka ruo gorio
some capso, so
son etio
song ovowo
soon seblyn se
sorcerer otogou omuk ka
sorcery gidanja, omuk, ovorou
sore ekenkemo, kenken
soul kanio
sound munio
source pio
southeast tradewinds omur
speak kule
spear eila, se
speech okolono
spider sp apageigei
spill motok, tok
spine nerekio
spirit k.o. kanio, okunid, ovorou
spit epsok, pre
split kapak, maskak, pele
spotted white and black pig kalonge
sprout duk, kovure kane, sepelo
squeeze vivi
stand mid
star epituk
stay kono, meitei, su
steal kov
sternum kosio mete
stick akai
stick, cloning auei
stick, digging egete
stick, carrying esik
stick, husking okosono
stick, punting otou
stick, walking opukpuk
still dodo
sting pit
stink kio
stir pul
stone okum
stone oven epeiouwo
stop -ing kate
storm mariamba
story apu, okunisono
straight nal
straighten lunlug
string ovuvno
string fish tre
strip sadid
strong kakrakje, ui, urara
stump pio
subsist meitei
suckle nem
sugarcane elgo
suicide, commit kou adene
sun eninjd
sunny ninjd
swamp amano, ovul
sweep roro
sweet potato eseremvad
swim iouiu, kulrip
swollen rumrum
sword grass ogu
taboo amatavu, our, ovorou
tail egidue, egudio
take kave, ter
talk kule
tall muntuk
tambaran okunid
tame eivinle
taro ama
taro mortar nagalgalja
taro paddle aitar
taro pudding asapala
taro stick auei
taste sirio
tear sarak
teeth kokoke, kokje
tell kule, nasi, tit
ten sonoil
tender mulum
tendons alisoliso
Terminalia catappa asalke
testicle kovure kane
that adi, eadi
thatch ousi
there is vane
these anane, eanane
they ide
thigh maganjo
thing eveijo, ovolo
thirsty eiki
thirty sungenlo
this ane, aton, eane
thorn egigi
those adidi, eadidi
thou eje
three tel
throw ur
thumb lume kokje ui
thunder samil
thus ievene, ievero
tie kaukau
to la, lip, ne, pogio
tobacco aguas
today tnigane
toe kokokje, kokje, lilio
tomorrow koudok, voyo ruo
tongs ankap
tongue meme gudio
too pau
tooth na kane vre kokje
top vrou
top plate apara
torn mansarak	
tough akraja, kakrajkje
tradewinds omur
tree akai
tree ant apala
tree canopy gudio

Zingiber officinale emles
REFERENCES

1986, Refugees, traders, and other wanderers: the linguistic effects of population mixing in Melanesia.
1982, A Comparative Study in Anem and Lusi. PL, B-83.
1987, Processes of Change in the Languages of North-Western New Britain. PL, B99.
THE BIBLING LANGUAGES OF NORTHWESTERN NEW BRITAIN

WILLIAM R THURSTON

1. INTRODUCTION

The Bibling languages include Mouk (Mok), Aria, Tourai, Lamogai, Rauto (Murien) and Ivanga (Pulie), Austronesian languages spoken in the interior regions of the Kaliai and Kombe Census Divisions of northwestern New Britain or in the adjacent areas of the south coast. Mouk, Aria and Lamogai are first noted in the literature by Counts (1969) who collected a set of short wordlists in each language. Using Counts' data, Chowning (1969) classifies these languages as part of her Lamogai language family. Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) add confusion to the issue of names by also using Lamogai as a cover term for Lamogai, Rauto and Ivanga. In Thurston (1987), I propose the name Bibling instead of Lamogai to avoid the confusion of using the same name for three taxonomic levels. Except for the addition of Tourai, the composition of the Bibling group is essentially identical to Chowning's (1969, 1976) Lamogai language family. Following Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980), Ross collapses Lamogai, Rauto and Ivanga into the status of a single language (1988:162), but otherwise, the Lamogai Chain within his southwest New Britain network is also the same as the Bibling group, as described here.

Mouk is spoken by about 1000 people in a region that includes almost all the interior slopes of Mount Andeua except the northern area that is occupied by the Anêm. Aria and Tourai are spoken by about 1000 and 200 people respectively in the basin of the Aria river. Traditionally, Aria was spoken to the west of the river, while Tourai was spoken to the east. Lamogai is spoken by approximately 400 people in the centre of New Britain; Ivanga by about 300 people to the southwest; and Rauto by about 3000 people directly to the south of the Lamogai area. In total, there are at present approximately 6000 speakers of Bibling languages.

The neat dividing line between dialect and language is difficult to define for any group of related languages, but particularly problematic in Melanesia, where there has been no tradition of capital districts and, consequently, standardised languages. One solution has been to establish guidelines for grouping certain isoglots of an area under the heading of a single language name. This creates a more streamlined linguistic picture that is easier for a western-educated audience to cope with intellectually, but, I believe, distorts the picture significantly, because it implies a social and linguistic organisation more congruent with that of Europe.

Data for this paper were collected in 1981 and 1982 with partial support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I am grateful to the people of northwestern New Britain and to Rick Goulden for their aid in collecting the information on these languages.

than with the sociolinguistic organisation of Melanesia. In the traditional realm of northwestern New Britain, the largest unit of social organisation is what I call a patriclan". This is the closest English name, but only approximates the characteristics of the unit. Each patriclan consists of a group of about 100 people who actively exercise rights over a common piece of land. Membership is ideologically defined according to the principles of patrilineal descent, but people also have weaker legitimate claims to membership through matrilineal and affinal connections. Each patriclan has its own language, and while task-oriented alliances are more common among patriclans with the same language, each is politically and economically autonomous.

Since contact with Europeans, other levels of social organisation have been mapped onto the underlying patrician system. Patricians have become virtually synonymous with villages, and those with the same named language have emerged as ethnic groups that now tend to operate as fairly unified political blocks seeking control over institutions such as education and medical delivery. The ethnic names given by the people of the area to their own languages, then, better reflect the sociolinguistic organisation of northwestern New Britain than would an arbitrary assignment of certain dialects to the status of a language.

This does not mean, however, that the Bibling languages are exempt from subgrouping. A perusal of the appended lexicons clearly shows that the languages can be readily classified according to general similarity in morphology and lexicon. Aria and Tourai are, indeed, similar enough to one another that they could be considered dialects of a single language by standard linguistic measures such as mutual intelligibility; and, for other reasons discussed in §1.2, I have treated them together. In endolexicon, Mouk is most similar to Aria. Lamogai, Rauto and Ivanga are also similar enough to one another to be considered by Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) and by my own informants as dialects of a single language. A dendrogram based on this similarity would look as follows:

```
Bibling group
    /\   /
   Mouk  Aria    Tourai (Tou)
         /
       Lamogai (Lmg)
         /
       Ivanga
         /
    Rauto
```

Most speakers of Bibling languages are at least familiar with the languages spoken by neighbouring groups and tend to mix resources from different isoglots when speaking, but, when asked to do so, they can usually separate the features of one isoglot from those of another with a high degree of consistency. Differences among the Bibling languages are primarily lexical. Tourai differs from Aria primarily in lexical items shared with Lamogai, and Mouk differs from Aria in the greater number of words copied from Anêm. In morphology, Mouk, Aria and Tourai form a group distinct from Lamogai, Ivanga and
Rauto. Since all the Bibling languages are almost identical in syntax and semantics, however, they can be efficiently described in a single grammatical sketch, as given in §3.

1.1 MOUK

The traditional Mouk patriclans are Salkei, Aikon, Angal, Gigina and Benim. Salkei is the name of a mountain ridge running parallel to the Akiblik Aném mountain ridge Abélalu (Avelalu) which is situated to the northwest. In the 1950’s, Australian patrol officers required the villages of Salkei, Aikon and Angal to establish permanent villages on Avelalu in order to facilitate administration. This left most of the Mouk in the uneasy position of living on land to which they had no traditional claim, while leaving their own land vacant. After independence, fearing a change in the law that would require groups to actually occupy the land to which they lay claim, some Mouk groups moved back inland to reassert their landclaims and their traditional ethnicity, and, in the process, to renounce any participation in the cash economy, or public education. At the same time, other factions established new villages, such as Lumusi, closer to the north coast and began to plant coconuts with the aim of integrating themselves into the cash economy. In 1981, the official maps of the region were completely out of date with respect to the location of Mouk villages. By 1988, with the establishment of a New Tribes Mission, most of the Mouk are said to have centralised into a megavillage called Amkor.

Except for data contained in Thurston (1987), the only published material in Mouk consists of a short unanalysed wordlist given in Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980). The description presented here is based on data collected in Salkei and Lumusi, in 1981 and 1982 respectively.

1.2 ARIA AND TOURAI

The Aria river meanders inland, almost to the centre of New Britain, before it reaches the first set of rapids. Until recently, people did not live right on the river but in fortified hamlets on the overlooking mountain ridges away from the river to avoid saltwater crocodiles and to watch for raids from seafaring people. The river served as a clear boundary between the Aria on the west and the Tourai on the east. Properly, Aria is the language of Taleuaga, Kuako, Bagai, Robos, Moluo and Denga; and Tourai is the language of Upmadung and Esis (Gelei). With the virtual elimination of crocodiles and with almost a century of pacification, however, speakers of both languages have established villages right on the banks of the river which now functions more as a main highway than as a barrier, and, consequently, Aria and Tourai along the Aria river are merging both socially and linguistically. The data elicited for both Aria and Tourai in Upmadung contain a mixture of lexical items and grammatical features from both languages in the same sentences. Later, when the mixed Aria-Tourai sentences were checked, Aria speakers in Denga rejected them saying, That’s wrong; that’s the way they speak on the big river.” In every case, the corrections offered in Denga were consistent with the prescriptive features distinguishing Aria from Tourai originally given by the people of Upmadung itself. That is, while the people of Upmadung are able to consciously discriminate between Aria and Tourai when given two competing forms, they are less able to keep the two languages separate when speaking. This is possible because both languages are so similar, but it also suggests that eventually there will be a dialect of Aria spoken on the
river that is distinct from Aria spoken elsewhere by virtue of having merged with Tourai.

Outside the immediate area, Tourai is not distinguished from Aria. The form of Aria spoken in Denga, midway between the Aria and Vanu rivers, has largely avoided contact with Tourai, but has been heavily influenced by contact with Kove. Another incipient dialect of Aria has also emerged in the Akiblik Aném villages of Gogola and Bolo, but this is rejected as acceptable Aria by all other speakers of Aria, who say that the people of Bolo really speak Mouk. Meanwhile, the Mouk also disown the language of Bolo, while the people of Bolo themselves claim to speak Aném, but do so to a degree that is rejected by virtually all other Aném speakers.

The Aria data presented here were collected in Upmadung, Bagai, Denga and Bolo in 1981 and 1982, while the data for Tourai were collected in Upmadung in 1981.

1.3 LAMOGAI, IVANGA AND RAUTO

Lamogai is spoken in the villages of Bulauatne, Mokukli, Batauling, and Morou, all at the midpoint between the north and south coasts. The Lamogai data presented here come from a very short period of research in Bulauatne in 1982, and, consequently, should be treated as extremely preliminary in nature. My own data on Ivanga and Rauto are so scant that they have been omitted from this work. I am confident, however, that future research on Ivanga and Rauto will demonstrate that the grammatical outline of the Bibling languages presented here is equally applicable to these two languages.

In 1981 and 1982, Rick Goulden and I collected very brief wordlists in Ivanga and Rauto from single informants; Chinnery (1926) includes data on Ivanga under the name Pulie; Allen, Rath and Johnston (1980) have published wordlists in all three languages; and Tom Maschio, a doctoral student at McMaster University, has provided me with unanalysed fieldnotes in Rauto. These data confirm the close similarity observed by Allen, Rath and Johnston among the three languages.

2. PHONOLOGY

The Bibling languages have roughly the same phonology. All have seventeen segmental phonemes. Of the thirteen consonants tabulated below, each language has only twelve, because Mouk lacks r and the other languages lack x.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>apical</th>
<th>dorsal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops/fricatives</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced stops b d g have fricative allophones [β ɹ γ] that are particularly frequent after vowels. Mouk has a dorso-uvular trill x where the other Bibling languages have an apical trill r. In all languages, the trills are usually voiceless [ʁ ʁ] in final position, but voiced [ɾ ř] between voiced segments.
Aria  
Mouk  
Lmg  
Mouk  

Mouk  
Lmg  

Mouk  

In all the Bibling languages, but to a lesser extent in Mouk, a non-phonemic voiced stop is inserted between a nasal and $r$; the voiced stop is homorganic with the preceding nasal segment.

Mouk  
Aria  
Aria  
Lmg  
Lmg  

The syllabic canon of the Bibling languages is $(C_1)V(C_2)$, where $C_1$ can be any consonant, most sequences of stop + resonant, or the sequence $sl$; where $V$ can be any vowel; and where $C_2$ can be any consonant. Stress tends to be penultimate. Resonants in clusters after voiceless stops tend to be voiceless.

Mouk  
Mouk  
Mouk  
Aria  
Aria  
Aria  
Aria  

The five vowels common to all the Bibling languages are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high and mid vowels have non-syllabic allophones in the environment of lower vowels:

Mouk  
Mouk  
Mouk  
Aria  
Aria  
Lmg  

In Mouk, the front vowels have back unrounded allophones that occur before $x$. This also occurs sporadically with Lamogai $i$ before $r$.

Mouk  
Aria  
Aria  
Lmg  

In all the Bibling languages, but to a lesser extent in Mouk, a non-phonemic voiced stop is inserted between a nasal and $r$; the voiced stop is homorganic with the preceding nasal segment.

Mouk  
Aria  
Aria  
Lmg  
Lmg  

The syllabic canon of the Bibling languages is $(C_1)V(C_2)$, where $C_1$ can be any consonant, most sequences of stop + resonant, or the sequence $sl$; where $V$ can be any vowel; and where $C_2$ can be any consonant. Stress tends to be penultimate. Resonants in clusters after voiceless stops tend to be voiceless.

Mouk  
Mouk  
Mouk  
Aria  
Aria  
Aria  
Aria  

The syllabic canon of the Bibling languages is $(C_1)V(C_2)$, where $C_1$ can be any consonant, most sequences of stop + resonant, or the sequence $sl$; where $V$ can be any vowel; and where $C_2$ can be any consonant. Stress tends to be penultimate. Resonants in clusters after voiceless stops tend to be voiceless.
Aria \( tnam \) [t\( \tilde{n} \)am] ‘your mother’

Tou \( tjis \) [t\( \tilde{j} \)is] ‘weep’

Tou \( gruk \) [gruk] ‘grunt’

Lmg \( k\tilde{i} \) [k\( \tilde{i} \)] ‘buy’

Lmg \( ptm\tilde{a}rsek \) [p\( \tilde{m} \)\( \tilde{a} \)rsek] ‘their father’

In addition, all languages permit a word-initial syllabic nasal that never occurs with stress.

Mouk \( mgux \) [m\( \tilde{g} \)\( \tilde{u} \)x] ‘howl’

Aria \( mluk \) [m\( \tilde{l} \)\( \tilde{u} \)k] ‘hit’

Lmg \( m\tilde{l}a \) [m\( \tilde{l} \)\( \tilde{a} \)] ‘you go’

Lmg \( n\tilde{g}\tilde{o} \) [n\( \tilde{g} \)\( \tilde{o} \)] ‘he precedes’

Geminate vowels or consonants across morpheme boundaries are shortened to a single segment. In rapid speech, most vowel combinations across morpheme boundaries are subject to reduction, but there is insufficient data to determine the rule(s) governing this. The final vowel of common proclitics, however, is regularly deleted before a word beginning with any other vowel, and in constructions with the postposed inalienable possessives given in table 3.3m, an initial \( i \) in the possessive is usually deleted after words terminating with \( u \), even in slow speech.

Mouk \( bani\ a\ ina\ o\tilde{n}gup \) [bani\\( \tilde{n} \)i\( \tilde{n} \)o\( \tilde{g} \)p] ‘taro sp’

Mouk \( n\tilde{o}\-\tilde{l}ou\ \tilde{i}ne \) [n\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{l} \)\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{n} \)] ‘I’m afraid of him’

Mouk \( om-kubu\ ie \) [om\( \tilde{k} \)\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{b} \)\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{i} \)] ‘you stole it’

Mouk \( n\tilde{o}-\tilde{uxi}\ omdu \) [n\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{x} \)\( \tilde{i} \)\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{m} \)\( \tilde{d} \)\( \tilde{u} \)] ‘I threw a net’

Mouk \( upu\ eski \) [u\( \tilde{p} \)\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{s} \)\( \tilde{k} \)] ‘your taro’

Aria \( eri\ \tilde{i}ne \) [e\( \tilde{r} \)\( \tilde{i} \)\( \tilde{n} \)e] ‘his bones’

Aria \( elm\tilde{e}\ etlu \) [e\( \tilde{l} \)\( \tilde{m} \)\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{t} \)\( \tilde{l} \)\( \tilde{u} \)] ‘eight’

Aria \( ma\ em\-\tilde{g}\tilde{e}n\)e \) [m\( \tilde{m} \)\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{m} \)\( \tilde{g} \)\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{e} \)] ‘you’ll fall’

Aria \( oglou\ \tilde{i}na \) [o\( \tilde{g} \)\( \tilde{l} \)\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{n} \)] ‘old’

Lmg \( n\tilde{o}do\ a\tilde{ber} \) [n\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{d} \)\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{i} \)\( \tilde{b} \)\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{r} \)] ‘my little brother’

Lmg \( ino\ arak \) [i\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{k} \)] ‘its pus’

Lmg \( agu\ ino\\tilde{n} \) [\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{g} \)\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{o} \)\( \tilde{n} \)] ‘my neck’

Lmg \( pupu\ \tilde{i}ne \) [p\( \tilde{p} \)\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{p} \)\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{e} \)] ‘his liver’

For the Bibling languages, it is useful to posit a morphophoneme \( A \) to account for regular phonologically-conditioned allomorphy in affixes with allomorphs containing \( a \), \( e \) or \( o \) depending on the closest vowel of the stem. Schematically, this can be represented by the rule:

\[
A \rightarrow /e, o, a/
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
e & \rightarrow /e, i/ \rightarrow \{e, i\} \\
o & \rightarrow /o, u/ \rightarrow \{o, u\} \\
a & \rightarrow ...
\end{align*}
\]

That is, regardless of intervening consonants, the morphophoneme \( A \) is realised as \( e \) where the nearest vowel is front, as \( o \) where the nearest vowel is back, and otherwise as \( a \). In the application of this rule, the diphthong \( a\tilde{i} \) is usually, but not always, treated as though it were \( a \).

Mouk \( t\tilde{A}\-\tilde{la} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( t\tilde{a}\la \) ‘let’s go’
3. A GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE

Typologically, the Bibling languages have fairly rigid SOV word order with a clause-final position for modality markers. Verbs have subject-referencing prefixes, and nouns may have suffixes to indicate possession. Although few categories are marked by inflection, inalienable nouns, in particular, tend to be very irregular, making the paradigm an efficient device for describing these languages. In general, modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers follow heads in noun phrases. Each language has a single true preposition.

3.1 PRONOMINAL CATEGORIES

In the Bibling languages, there are seven pronominal categories resulting from the intersection of person (first, second, and third), and number (singular and plural), with inclusive distinguished from exclusive in the first person plural.

Additional categories involving dual and trial numbers are optionally available through the inclusion of numerals, but these are neither obligatory nor basic in any of the Bibling languages.

As in the neighbouring languages, these seven pronominal distinctions are involved in three paradigms: (1) the disjunctive pronouns, (2) the suffixes used, primarily, to indicate categories of possession with inalienable nouns (§3.3), and (3) the prefixes used to reference the subjects of verbs (§3.4). There is also a deponent set of pronominal suffixes based on the disjunctive pronouns and used to reference the objects of verbs (§3.4)

**DISJUNCTIVE PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ηοη</td>
<td>ηοη</td>
<td>ηοη</td>
<td>ηοη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>οομ</td>
<td>οομ</td>
<td>οομ</td>
<td>οομ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ιε</td>
<td>ιε</td>
<td>ιε</td>
<td>ιε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>ιτε</td>
<td>ιτε</td>
<td>ιτε</td>
<td>ιτε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>ιμι</td>
<td>ιμι</td>
<td>ιμι</td>
<td>ιμι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>ομομ</td>
<td>ομομ</td>
<td>ομομ</td>
<td>ομομ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ισακ</td>
<td>ισακ</td>
<td>ισακ</td>
<td>ισεκ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Disjunctive pronouns have the following major functions in the Bibling languages:
(1) They are used to indicate pronominal distinctions in sentences lacking both verbs and inalienable nouns.

Mouk ŋŋŋ magii, ie ŋŋle
D1S small D3S senior
‘I’m young, he’s old’ OR ‘I’m younger than he is.’

(2) They are used redundantly with pronominal affixes to indicate focus or contrastive emphasis.

Mouk uom to am-kakluk enen kodoŋ?
D2S there S2S-bear child CMPL
‘Have YOU ever had a child?’

Aria uom pmem
D2S father.P2S
‘YOUR father (not mine)’

Aria uom om-doŋ imi ima-la
D2S S2S-stay D1EP S1EP-go
‘You stay, we’re going.’

(3) Where no other morphology is available (§3.4), they are used to mark the objects of verbs and prepositions. If an affix for the pronominal category is available, the use of a disjunctive pronoun indicates contrastive emphasis.

Mouk ogu kis ie
mouth.P1S S3S.hold D3S
‘I was holding it in my mouth.’

Aria enen ipu i-te
wind blow D11P
‘The wind is blowing on us.’

Tou pelio lujon ge uom
S3S.speak oblique.P1S PREP D2S
‘He told me about you.’

(4) For a small class of nouns where one would expect a subject pronoun, the disjunctive pronouns occur as objects. Here, use of a disjunctive pronoun in subject position indicates emphasis.

Mouk lana isak ‘They want to.’
Mouk am>jja i-te ‘We’re angry.’
Aria albus i-te ‘He’s naked.’
Aria molil ŋŋŋ ‘I’m slow.’
Tou kaka uom ‘You’re crazy.’
Tou ie kaka ie ‘HE’s crazy.’

3.2 NOUNS

Although there is some overlap, most Bibling nouns can be classified according to the possessive constructions in which they occur as either alienable or inalienable. Alienable nouns, such as Mouk ninu ‘house’, constitute an open class; if they occur in possessive
constructions, the pronominal category of the possessor is indicated on a preposed morphologically inalienable noun. Inalienable nouns occur in constructions in which the pronominal category of the possessor follows. There are two types: syntactically inalienable nouns, such as Mouk agum ‘neck’, occur with the postposed possessive ine; while morphologically inalienable nouns, such as Mouk eine ‘mouth’, constitute a small closed class of highly irregular nouns that always occur fused with a suffix marking the pronominal category of the possessor. Since the possessives are nouns themselves, all possessive constructions involve at least one morphologically inalienable noun.

The resulting eight possessive-based classes are listed schematically below and described in §3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[N]</td>
<td>alienable noun, optionally possessed with either ila (DS) or ila (ED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N/ ila _]</td>
<td>alienable noun, obligatorily possessed with ila (DS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N± ila _]</td>
<td>alienable noun, optionally possessed with ila (DS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N/ ila _]</td>
<td>alienable noun, obligatorily possessed with ila (ED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N/ ± ila _]</td>
<td>alienable noun, optionally possessed with ila (ED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N/ _ ila]</td>
<td>syntactically inalienable noun with ila (POSS) obligatory in 3S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N/ ± _ ila]</td>
<td>syntactically inalienable noun with ila (POSS) optional in 3S only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N-]</td>
<td>morphologically inalienable noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Possession

At first glance, the possessive system in Bibling languages looks like the three-way possessive system typical of many Austronesian languages in Melanesia — it distinguishes disposable (DS), edible (ED) and inalienable categories.

Mouk   lugu oygup ‘my coconut palm’ {DS.P1S coconut}
Mouk   nagu oygup ‘my coconut to eat’ {ED.P1S coconut}
Mouk   omto gu ‘my eye’ {eye.P1S}

In the examples given above, however, lugu, nagu and omto gu are all morphologically inalienable nouns, and can be used independently or as the heads of possessive constructions. Virtually all morphologically inalienable nouns can be used in structurally similar constructions. In effect, the possessive system has been expanded to include distinctions other than edible and disposable.

Mouk   lugu eski ‘my taro (I planted it)’ {DS.P1S taro}
Mouk   nagu eski ‘my taro (to eat)’ {ED.P1S taro}
Mouk   lumgu opmu ‘my thumb’ {hand.P1S stone}
Mouk   lumgu talpes ‘my fingernail’ {hand.P1S nail}
Mouk   komgu talpes ‘my toenail’ {foot.P1S nail}
Mouk   komgu aimo ‘my sole’ {foot.P1S inside}
Mouk   ogu uatna ‘my teeth’ {mouth.P1S fruit}
Mouk   ogu taxna ‘my lips’ {mouth.P1S skin}

The paradigms for most of the morphologically inalienable nouns are given below along with examples illustrating their use in the various Bibling languages.
### 'HEAD'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>opogu</td>
<td>opogu</td>
<td>opugu</td>
<td>apuŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>epem</td>
<td>epem</td>
<td>epem</td>
<td>apem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>apna</td>
<td>apna</td>
<td>apna</td>
<td>apna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>apada</td>
<td>apada</td>
<td>apada</td>
<td>apada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>epemi</td>
<td>epemi</td>
<td>epimi</td>
<td>apimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>opomu</td>
<td>opomu</td>
<td>opumu</td>
<td>apumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>apaxsak</td>
<td>aparsak</td>
<td>aparsak</td>
<td>apersek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mouk           opogu uole ine     'my hair' {head.P1S hair POSS.P3S}
Aria           opogu elilo          'my hair' {head.P1S hair}
Lmg            apuŋu kolouna        'my hair' {head.P1S hair}
Mouk           ŋesex opogu           'I comb my hair' {S1S.comb head.P1S}
Aria           ŋeser opogu           'I comb my hair' {S1S.comb head.P1S}
Lmg            ŋaser apuŋu           'I comb my hair' {S1S.comb head.P1S}

### 'HAND' OR 'ARM'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>lumgu, luŋgu</td>
<td>luŋgu</td>
<td>luŋgu</td>
<td>molugu, muluŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>libep</td>
<td>libep</td>
<td>libep</td>
<td>melep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>limla, libe</td>
<td>limla</td>
<td>limla</td>
<td>meila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>limda</td>
<td>limda</td>
<td>limda</td>
<td>melte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>libmi, lipmi</td>
<td>lipmi</td>
<td>lipmi</td>
<td>melpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>lubmu, lupmu</td>
<td>lupmu</td>
<td>lupmu</td>
<td>melpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>limsak</td>
<td>lisak</td>
<td>lisak</td>
<td>melsek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mouk           lumgu agum ine      'my wrist' {hand.P1S neck POSS.P3S}
Aria           luŋgu agune         'my wrist' {hand.P1S neck.P3S}
Lmg            molugu agune        'my wrist' {hand.P1S neck.P3S}
Mouk           lumgu bune ine      'my elbow' {hand.P1S knot POSS.P3S}
Aria           luŋgu buno          'my elbow' {hand.P1S knot.P3S}
Lmg            molugu buno         'my elbow' {hand.P1S knot.P3S}
Mouk           lumgu titno         'my fingers' {hand.P1S children}
Aria           luŋgu titno        'my fingers' {hand.P1S children}
Lmg            molugu sipline      'my fingers'
Mouk           lumgu talpes        'my fingernails' {hand.P1S nail}
Aria           luŋgu talpes        'my fingernails' {hand.P1S nail}
Lmg            molugu katalpis     'my fingernails' {hand.P1S nail}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lumgu</td>
<td>lugu</td>
<td>lugu</td>
<td>Lugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opmu</td>
<td>tra</td>
<td>toun</td>
<td>toun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘FOOT’ OR ‘LEG’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>komgu</td>
<td>konju</td>
<td>kogu</td>
<td>kanggu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kebeb</td>
<td>kebeb</td>
<td>kebep</td>
<td>keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamlka</td>
<td>kamlka</td>
<td>kamlka</td>
<td>kamlka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamda</td>
<td>kamda</td>
<td>kamda</td>
<td>kamte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepmi</td>
<td>kepmi</td>
<td>kepmi</td>
<td>kampi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopmu</td>
<td>kopmu</td>
<td>kopmu</td>
<td>kampu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamsak</td>
<td>kamsak</td>
<td>kamsak</td>
<td>kamsak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘MOUTH’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ogu</td>
<td>ogu</td>
<td>ogu</td>
<td>agu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouop</td>
<td>ouop</td>
<td>ouop</td>
<td>aop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ene</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>aona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>ada</td>
<td>ada</td>
<td>aote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epmi</td>
<td>epmi</td>
<td>epmi</td>
<td>aopi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opmu</td>
<td>opmu</td>
<td>opmu</td>
<td>aopu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axsak</td>
<td>orsak</td>
<td>orsak</td>
<td>aosak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Lmg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ogu blene</td>
<td>agu blene</td>
<td>'my tongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{mouth.P1S tongue}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{\textbf{\textit{EYE}}}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>omtogu</td>
<td>omtogu</td>
<td>omtogu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>emtem</td>
<td>emtem</td>
<td>emtem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>bita</td>
<td>bita</td>
<td>bita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>amtada</td>
<td>amtada</td>
<td>amtada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>emtemi</td>
<td>emtemi</td>
<td>emtemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>omtomu</td>
<td>omtomu</td>
<td>omtomu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>amtaxsak</td>
<td>amtaxsak</td>
<td>amtaxsak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{\textbf{\textit{EAR}}}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>sla1Jagu</td>
<td>tologu</td>
<td>talagu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>sla1Jap</td>
<td>talap</td>
<td>talap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>sla1Ja</td>
<td>tala</td>
<td>tala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>sla1Jada</td>
<td>talda</td>
<td>talalite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>sla1Japmi</td>
<td>telepmi</td>
<td>talepmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>sla1Japmu</td>
<td>tolopmu</td>
<td>tolopmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>sla1Jalsak</td>
<td>talansak, talsak</td>
<td>talansak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{\textbf{\textit{FATHER}}}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ligau</td>
<td>libou</td>
<td>abo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>lemau</td>
<td>immem</td>
<td>pmem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ilau</td>
<td>timla</td>
<td>timla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>udou</td>
<td>imada</td>
<td>pmada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>limau</td>
<td>tmemi</td>
<td>pmemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>lumau</td>
<td>imomu</td>
<td>pmomu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>uxokau</td>
<td>imarak</td>
<td>pmarack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mouk forms given under 'FATHER' are contractions based on \textit{ila} + \textit{au} \{DS + father\}, \textit{au} being a kinship term copied from Anêm \textit{ai} - 'father', with an expected change in the vowel from front to back. The words glossed 'father' also refer to father's brothers and male parallel cousins, and, consequently, everyone has several fathers. Aria and Tourai have the plural \textit{titimla} 'fathers'.
The Mouk forms given under ‘MOTHER’ are contractions based on ila + ide {DS + mother}, ide being a kinship term copied from Anêm eide- ‘mother’. Mouk also has the form tna, but this is restricted to phrases such as abax tna ‘sow’ {Pig mother.P3S}. The forms glossed ‘mother’ also refer to mother’s sisters and female parallel cousins. Aria and Tourai have the plural form titna ‘mothers’.

The forms above refer to siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex, that is, to brothers, sisters or parallel cousins with a gender different from that of the possessor referenced in the suffix. Aria and Tourai also have plural forms sulutno ‘sisters, brothers’.

The forms under ‘SON’ OR ‘DAUGHTER’ normally refer to sons, but can also refer to daughters. If explicit reference is made to a female offspring, the head noun is modified with the word for female, as in Aria ergu apmaT) ‘my daughter’ {child.P1S woman}. Mouk has the separate forms mlegi for ‘son’ and ilmaT) for ‘daughter’; both occur with ila, the disposable possessive. Mouk also has the word otno meaning ‘little’, as in enenotno ‘little boy’ or apmaT) otno ‘little girl’. Aria and Tourai have a plural form titno ‘children’, as in Aria titno apmaT) ‘his daughters’ or Aria dirgu apmaT) ‘my daughters’; while Mouk uses enen ‘child’ as in Mouk lugu enen siau ‘my daughters’. In Mouk, Aria and Tourai, titno is also
used with 'hand' and 'foot' to refer to 'fingers' and 'toes' respectively, as in Mouk *lumgu nilo* 'my fingers'.

### DISPOSABLE POSSESSIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1S</th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lugu</em></td>
<td><em>lou</em></td>
<td><em>lou</em></td>
<td><em>lugu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td><em>lem</em></td>
<td><em>lem</em></td>
<td><em>lem</em></td>
<td><em>lem</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td><em>ila</em></td>
<td><em>ila</em></td>
<td><em>ila</em></td>
<td><em>ilo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td><em>uda, udo</em></td>
<td><em>udo</em></td>
<td><em>udo</em></td>
<td><em>ilo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td><em>limem</em></td>
<td><em>limem</em></td>
<td><em>limem</em></td>
<td><em>limi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td><em>lumu</em></td>
<td><em>lumu</em></td>
<td><em>lumu</em></td>
<td><em>lumu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td><em>uxok</em></td>
<td><em>urok</em></td>
<td><em>urok</em></td>
<td><em>ilek</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### EDIBLE POSSESSIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1S</th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ŋagu</em></td>
<td><em>ŋau</em></td>
<td><em>ŋau</em></td>
<td><em>ŋado, ŋodo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td><em>ŋap</em></td>
<td><em>ŋap</em></td>
<td><em>ŋap</em></td>
<td><em>ŋap</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td><em>ina</em></td>
<td><em>ina</em></td>
<td><em>ina</em></td>
<td><em>ino</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td><em>ida</em></td>
<td><em>ida</em></td>
<td><em>ida</em></td>
<td><em>ido</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td><em>ipem</em></td>
<td><em>ipem</em></td>
<td><em>ipem</em></td>
<td><em>mpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td><em>upu</em></td>
<td><em>upu</em></td>
<td><em>upu</em></td>
<td><em>mpu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td><em>ŋaxak</em></td>
<td><em>ŋarak</em></td>
<td><em>ŋarak</em></td>
<td><em>ŋarek</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although structurally the same as other morphologically inalienable nouns, the edible and disposable possessives are distinct in that they serve several special grammatical and semantic functions in the Bibling languages.

1. The edible possessive indicates that an item is construed as food, while the disposable possessive indicates that an item is construed as non-food. This is the focal distinction given by informants and covers the majority of cases. Both possessives can be used without an accompanying noun as near-equivalents to English possessive pronouns such as 'mine'. In these cases, the distinction between food and non-food is maintained.

- Mouk *ŋagu abax* 'my pork'
- Mouk *lugu abax* 'my pig'
- Mouk *ŋagu uas* 'my cigarette'
- Mouk *lugu uas* 'my tobacco plant'
- Mouk *ŋagu max* 'get mine (food)' {ED.P1S S3S.come}
- Mouk *max ŋagu* 'let me have it (food)' {S3S.come ED.P1S}
- Mouk *max lugu* 'let me have it (other)' {S3S.come DS.P1S}

2. In each of the Bibling languages, certain nouns ignore the food/non-food distinction and occur only with either the edible or disposable possessive. As there appears to be no underlying logic to this, each case must determined individually.

- Mouk *lugu akxa* 'my adze'
- Mouk *ŋagu aige* 'my axe'
- Mouk *lugu mlegi* 'my son'
- Aria *ŋau adou* 'my uncle'
- Tou *lou adou* 'my uncle'
Aria  ηau kaden  'my brother-in-law'
Tou   lou kaden  'my brother-in-law'
Mouk  ηagu maxau  'my blood'
Mouk  lugu omsok  'my saliva'

(3) The disposable possessive can indicate that the possessor is the owner of an item by virtue of having manufactured, planted or bought it. In contrast, the edible can indicate that the possessor is using the item, without specifying ownership.

Mouk  lugu saxkei  'my ginger bed (I made it)'
Mouk  ηagu saxkei  'my ginger bed (I'm sitting on it)'
Mouk  lugu akai  'my tree (I planted it) OR 'my firewood'
Mouk  ηagu akai  'my tree (I'm cutting it down or sitting on it)'
Mouk  lugu ulo  'my clay pot (to sell)'
Mouk  ηagu ulo  'my clay pot (I'm using it)'
Aria  lou merge  'my penis'
Aria  ηau merge  'my husband [vulgar]'

(4) In noun phrases where an action is implied, the disposable marks the possessor as agent of the underlying proposition, while the edible marks patient or other semantic roles.

Mouk  lugu uala  'my spear (I threw it)'
Mouk  ηagu uala  'my spear (killing me)'
Mouk  lugu uaijan  'what I say'
Mouk  ηagu uaijan  'what is said about me'
Mouk  lugu musou  'sorcery I perform'
Mouk  ηagu musou  'sorcery killing me'
Mouk  lugu teli  'my shell money (to buy things with)'
Mouk  ηagu teli  'my shell money (to pay my brideprice)'

(5) In the majority of cases, the edible possessive is used in constructions that indicate a part-to-whole relationship. In some cases, however, the disposable is used.

Mouk  ninu ina txajan  'thatch of a house'  {house ED.P3S thatch}
Mouk  ongup ina baxa  'shell of a coconut'  {coconut ED.P3S shell}
Mouk  aŋua ila xexe  'dorsal fin of a fish'  {fish DS.P3S dorsal.fin}

(6) With the edible and disposable possessives, the normal order of elements is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSESSOR</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE-PRON</th>
<th>POSSESSUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mouk</td>
<td>abax</td>
<td>ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaxoxo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>ED.P3S</td>
<td>cage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This order, however, can be transformed to indicate a habitual characteristic of the possessum thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSESSUM</th>
<th>POSSESSOR</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE-PRON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mouk</td>
<td>kaxoxo</td>
<td>abax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cage</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>ina ED.P3S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'a cage used for pigs'

This transformed construction almost always involves the edible possessive.

Mouk  bleten misuon ina  'moray eel'  {eel sea ED.P3S}
A large number of nouns, especially the names for body parts such as Mouk taxna 'skin', are syntactically inalienable. That is, they occur before a form of the postposed inalienable possessive (POSS) given under POSTPOSED INALIENABLE POSSESSIVES (page 264). With a 3S possessor, the postposed possessive is optional with some nouns, such as Mouk taxna 'skin', but obligatory with others, such as Lmg.pupu 'liver'; the subclass of each noun must be determined independently. Several syntactically inalienable nouns, such as Mouk uole 'hair' occur only with a 3S possessor, the pronominal categories of the ultimate possessor being indicated with a preposed morphologically inalienable head noun such as Mouk apna 'head'.

Mouk  gute taxna  'a man's skin'  {man skin}
Mouk  akai taxna  'bark'  {tree skin}
Mouk  taxna lugnoŋ  'my skin'  {skin POSS.P1S}
Mouk  akai uole ine  'leaves'  {tree hair POSS.P3S}
Mouk  opogu uole ine  'my hair'  {head.P1S hair POSS.P3S}
Mouk  apna uole ine  'his hair'  {head.P3S hair POSS.P3S}
Mouk  komgu talpes (ine)  'my toenails'  {foot.P1S nail}

Unlike the morphology of other inalienable nouns, the paradigm of ine resembles the set of disjunctive pronouns and has the appearance of a set of contractions based on what was formerly a preposition phrase. In Lamogai, the paradigm is entirely regular, consisting of a stem in- plus the object suffixes used with verbs (see PRONOMINAL OBJECTS, page 264). The inalienable postposed possessives also function as object markers with some verbs.

Mouk  nga-uai luguom tan gute exi kodony
SIS-speak POSS.P2S PREP man that CMPL
'I've already told you about that man.'

Mouk  ne-kximo ine
SIS-look.after POSS.P3S
'I'll look after him...'

The final -na, -ne or no of many of syntactically inalienable nouns argues that these are the surviving P3S forms of formerly morphologically inalienable nouns like Mouk bitna. The other forms of the paradigm have been replaced by the periphrastic construction with ine. The replacement of numerous irregular paradigms by a single periphrastic construction is probably the result of a period of considerable grammatical simplification during the prehistory of the Bibling languages. This earlier regularity has subsequently been eroded in many words, however, by a process of contraction that has made morphologically inalienable
nouns out of what were previously syntactically inalienable nouns. For example, Mouk *damalgon* ‘my belly’ and Mouk *damaine* ‘his belly’ point to the earlier forms *dama lugonj* and *dama ine* respectively, but both are now rejected by informants. Similarly, Mouk *keynon* ‘by myself’ and Mouk *keine* ‘by himself’ argue for the same conclusion. There are several such words in each of the Bibling languages.

3.4 VERBS

Like all of the neighbouring languages, verbs in the Bibling languages occur with an obligatory prefix referencing the pronominal category of the subject. These prefixes are given in table 3.4a. In all Bibling languages, the S3S prefix is $?$, a feature that makes it difficult, in many cases, to distinguish a verb from a noun or adjective, particularly if the verb occurs only in the S3S form.

**SUBJECT-REFERENCING PREFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>$\eta A$</td>
<td>$\eta A$</td>
<td>$\eta a$</td>
<td>$\eta a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>Am</td>
<td>Am</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>om, m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>tA</td>
<td>tA</td>
<td>tA</td>
<td>tA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>imA-, mA-</td>
<td>imA-, mA-</td>
<td>imA-, mA-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>umA-, mA-</td>
<td>umA-, mA-</td>
<td>umA-, mA-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A verb stem with its prefix can constitute a complete utterance. Disjunctive pronouns can be used redundantly with the subject-referencing prefix to place focus or contrastive emphasis on the subject.

Mouk *am-la* 'go (away)' \{S2S-go\}  
Mouk *uom am-la* ‘YOU go (away)’ \{D2S S2S-go\}

In serial verb constructions, each verb stem occurs with a redundant prefix.

Mouk *em-deite em-sep ninu om-mox*  
S2S-ascend S2S-enter house S2S-come  
‘Come up into the house.’

Most verbs are either intransitive (VI) or transitive (VTR). The object of a transitive verb is expressed either as a noun phrase (often realised as a disjunctive pronoun) or as an object suffix. Number is normally distinguished only for animates.

**PRONOMINAL OBJECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>$\eta y$</td>
<td>$\eta y$</td>
<td>$\eta y$</td>
<td>-$\eta$, $\eta y$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>uom</td>
<td>uom</td>
<td>uom</td>
<td>-om, uom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>-$e$, -$a$, -$o$, ie</td>
<td>-$e$, ie</td>
<td>-$e$, ie</td>
<td>-$e$, ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>ite</td>
<td>ite</td>
<td>ite</td>
<td>-te, ite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EP</td>
<td>imi</td>
<td>imi</td>
<td>imi</td>
<td>-mi, mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>umu</td>
<td>umu</td>
<td>umu</td>
<td>-mu, mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>isak</td>
<td>isak</td>
<td>isak</td>
<td>-sek, isek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mouk *ma-la mo-gx0l pelet*
S2P-go S2P-wash plate
‘Go wash the plate(s).’

Mouk *ma-la mo-gx0l-o*
S2P-go S2P-wash-O3S
‘Go wash them’ OR ‘Go wash it.’

All Bibling languages have an object suffix for the 3S form, but only Lamogai has a complete paradigm of object suffixes; that is, in all Bibling languages except Lamogai, objects other than the 3S form are referenced by disjunctive pronouns. The 3S object suffix is normally -e in all the Bibling languages, but Mouk also has the morphologically-conditioned allomorphs -a and -o in a few forms. In verb forms with a 3S object, contractions are normal for several common verbs. With the data in hand, Lamogai appears to be completely regular in this respect.

Mouk *mo-gro'lo* ‘wash it’
Mouk *kaluk-o* ‘he carried it’
Mouk *bak-a* ‘he split it’
Mouk *mluk-e - mko* ‘he killed him’
Mouk *kli-e - kle* ‘he bought it’
Mouk *blou-e - ble* ‘he cut it’
Aria *mluk-e - mke* ‘he killed him’

Some verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively. In other cases, there are distinctly different stems. For a large class of verbs, however, intransitive verbs can be derived from transitive verbs with the prefix nA-.

Aria *Pita bak akai*
Peter S3S.split wood
‘Peter split the wood.’

Aria *akai na-bak*
wood INTRANSITIVE-split
‘The wood split.’

Deverbal nouns are created with the nominalising suffix -\(\eta\)An. In Mouk, the allomorphs are -\(\eta\)an after verbal stems in which the last syllabic vowel is a, but -\(\eta\)en in all other forms. The word for ‘food’ in Mouk, Aria and Tourai has an irregular stem that alternates between \(\eta\)en and \(\eta\)an.

Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘eat’ \(\eta\)en\(\eta\)en ‘food’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘stink’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘odour’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘cook on stones’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘stone oven’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘speak’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘language’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘perspire’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘sweat’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘weep’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘weeping’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘bloom’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘flower’
Mouk \(\eta\)an ‘steal’ \(\eta\)n\(\eta\)an ‘theft’

The other Bibling languages have the allomorphs -\(\eta\)an after stems where the last syllabic vowel is a, -\(\eta\)en after front vowels, and -\(\eta\)on after back vowels.
Many nouns, such as Mouk kaiŋan 'Tridacna', have the structure of deverbal nouns, but no corresponding verb stem. Virtually any verb stem can be nominalised, however, in a construction with the 3S edible possessive denoting characteristic behaviour.

Mouk enen sinitjen ina 'cry baby' {child weep-nom ED.P3S}
Mouk gute tepisjen ina 'sluggard' {man lazy-nom ED.P3S}
Tou ute peliŋon ina 'chatterbox' {man speak-nom ED.P3S}
Lmg tou gamgamljan ino 'thief' {man steal-nom ED.P3S}

3.5 ADJECTIVES

The Bibling languages may not include at set of true adjectives. Since there is no morphology to distinguish adjectives from either nouns or verbs that occur only in 3S forms, without the crucial data, it is difficult to tell whether one has elicited a noun or verb. For example, it is clear that Aria itau is not a verb because one says Aria uom itau 'you are good' not *em-itau, the form that would be expected if itau were a verb, but there may be nothing to distinguish it clearly from nouns. Aria apmaŋ 'woman', for instance, is a noun, but it can be used as a modifier after a noun to mean 'female' as in Aria ergu apmaŋ 'my daughter'.

The category of adjective is retained in the description here primarily as a device for avoiding a commitment to the distinction between noun and verb that might be made differently with more data. Future research may actually indentify a class of adjectives, but, with currently available data, there is no strong argument for one.

3.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstratives (DEM) in all Bibling languages mark a focal three-way distinction that, with the exception of Amara, is universal in all the languages of the northwestern New Britain: (1) near the speaker, (2) near the hearer, or (3) remote from both. In addition, all languages have a demonstrative pointer that functions as an instruction to look in the direction indicated by the speaker's pointing with the eyes, with the index finger or, more usually, with the chin. Because of its immediacy, the pointer often has the effect of also marking progressive aspect.
3.7 Quantifiers

Quantifiers (QUANT) include numerals and a few other words and phrases, such as Mouk sesue 'how much' and Lmg yananbu 'several', that occur in noun phrases after adjectives and before demonstratives. Like all the Austronesian languages of northwestern New Britain, the Bibling languages have numerals from one to five, and separate terms for ten and one hundred. In most cases, numerals from six to nine and multiples of ten from twenty to fifty are contractions using the basic numerals. The words for 'five' are ultimately derived from the Austronesian word for 'hand'; while 'hundred' is related to 'knee'. Words for 'one', such as Mouk keine are the P3S forms of an inalienable noun meaning 'alone' or 'by oneself'.

3.7 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers (QUANT) include numerals and a few other words and phrases, such as Mouk sesue 'how much' and Lmg yananbu 'several', that occur in noun phrases after adjectives and before demonstratives. Like all the Austronesian languages of northwestern New Britain, the Bibling languages have numerals from one to five, and separate terms for ten and one hundred. In most cases, numerals from six to nine and multiples of ten from twenty to fifty are contractions using the basic numerals. The words for 'five' are ultimately derived from the Austronesian word for 'hand'; while 'hundred' is related to 'knee'. Words for 'one', such as Mouk keine are the P3S forms of an inalienable noun meaning 'alone' or 'by oneself'.

### DEMONSTRATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'this, near me'</td>
<td>ka, kade</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>oge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that, near you'</td>
<td>to, toko</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>ore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that, over there'</td>
<td>exi</td>
<td>ari</td>
<td>ari</td>
<td>ori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that, pointer'</td>
<td>bla</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aria osep ka ti-me
people pointer S3P-come
'There are people coming.'

Mouk segi sla polou axmok to?
who pointer S3S.arrive village that
'Who's that arriving in the village (there near you)?'

Tou om-gi gute ari me
S2S-call man that S3S.come
'Call yonder man over.'

Mouk lem asap sla don
DSP2S wife pointer S3S.sit
'There’s your wife.'

### NUMERALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>kaine, keine</td>
<td>kene</td>
<td>kene</td>
<td>isa, keine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'two'</td>
<td>oxuo</td>
<td>oruo</td>
<td>oruo</td>
<td>akap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'three'</td>
<td>etli</td>
<td>etlu</td>
<td>etlu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'four'</td>
<td>apeinal</td>
<td>apanal</td>
<td>apanal</td>
<td>apanal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five'</td>
<td>elme</td>
<td>elme</td>
<td>elme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'six'</td>
<td>lumakaine</td>
<td>lumakene</td>
<td>elme kene</td>
<td>elme isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'seven'</td>
<td>lumaxuo</td>
<td>lumaruo</td>
<td>elmeruo</td>
<td>elme akap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eight'</td>
<td>lumetli</td>
<td>lumetlu</td>
<td>elme etlu</td>
<td>elme etlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nine'</td>
<td>lumesnal</td>
<td>lumesnal</td>
<td>elme apanal</td>
<td>elme apanal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ten'</td>
<td>sonotno</td>
<td>sonotno</td>
<td>sonotno</td>
<td>sonotno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'twenty'</td>
<td>isoxuo</td>
<td>isoruo</td>
<td>isoruo</td>
<td>isoruo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thirty'</td>
<td>isetli</td>
<td>isetlu</td>
<td>isetlu</td>
<td>isetlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'forty'</td>
<td>isapeinal</td>
<td>isapanal</td>
<td>isapanal</td>
<td>isapanal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OTHER QUANTIFIERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'many'</td>
<td>buno</td>
<td>buno</td>
<td>puda</td>
<td>puda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'one, some'</td>
<td>si/a</td>
<td>kesa</td>
<td>gesa</td>
<td>isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'another'</td>
<td>silaŋ blaŋ</td>
<td>silaŋ</td>
<td>silaŋ</td>
<td>silaŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aria ɲau obar kesa
ED.P1S pig some
'How about some pork for me?'

3.8 MODALITY MARKERS

As described in greater detail elsewhere (Thurston 1987:74-78), all languages of northwestern New Britain have a nearly-identical system for marking distinctions of modality. Aside from the temporals discussed below, no language in the area has a system for marking tense, but all have a set of modality markers, mutually exclusive free forms that occur in clause-final position. A summary of the distinctions is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'completive'</td>
<td>kodoŋ</td>
<td>kodoŋ</td>
<td>kodoŋ</td>
<td>kodoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td>kobok</td>
<td>kobok</td>
<td>auro</td>
<td>adai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dehortative'</td>
<td>sakam</td>
<td>sakam</td>
<td>sakam</td>
<td>sokol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'not yet, still'</td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>adai no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'only, just, merely'</td>
<td>bala</td>
<td>bala</td>
<td>bala</td>
<td>bala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'first'</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>kik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'also, again'</td>
<td>blaŋ</td>
<td>blaŋ</td>
<td>blaŋ</td>
<td>sanŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the name suggests, 'completive' indicates an action or process that has been brought to completion. In most cases, the gloss 'already' is appropriate.

Mouk ępmes kodoŋ ba om-mox to-munu
night CMPL CJ S2S-come S1IP-sleep
'It's night already, so come, let's sleep.'

Lmg odük ti-gel pe itar kodoŋ
people S3P-appear PREP village CMPL
'People have already arrived in the village.'

The negative is self-explanatory.

Tou ɲa-ile anaŋ luom kobok
S1S-know name POSS.P2P NEG
'I don’t know your name.'
The dehortative is essentially a negative imperative in most cases, but can be used with all persons in the sense of 'should not', 'must not' or 'let not'.

\[ Lmg \quad m\,-\,kirpin\, sokol \]
\[ S2S\,-\,weep\, DEHORTATIVE \]
\[ 'Stop crying' \, OR \, 'Don't cry.' \]

Except for Lamogai, the forms glossed 'not yet' can also be used for 'still', the distinction being usually clear from the context. In the sense of 'still', these forms can be used in clause-initial position as temporals. Lamogai has a composite form consisting of \textit{adai} 'not' and \textit{no} 'still'. \[ Lmg \, \textit{no} \, \text{is used without the negative as a modality marker in final position, often in conjunction with temporals in initial position.} \]

\[ Aria \quad ti\,-\,polou\, kodon\, go\, dau? \]
\[ S3P\,-\,appear\, CMPL\, or\, not,yet \]
\[ 'Have they arrived yet, or not?' \]

\[ Lmg \quad roj\, ma\, ta\,-\,la\, no \]
\[ later\, CJ\, S1IP\,-\,go\, still \]
\[ 'Later, let's go.' \]

\[ Lmg \quad ka\, ma\, no \]
\[ pointer\, S3S\,-\,remain\, still \]
\[ 'There he is, still.' \]

\[ Mouk \quad dau\, mete\, kobok,\, ano\, dojn \]
\[ still\, S3S\,-\,die\, NEG\, soul.P3S\, S3S\,-\,remain \]
\[ 'He's not dead yet, his soul remains.' \]

The forms glossed as 'only' act as limiters on the clause as a whole or on any constituent within the clause.

\[ Mouk \quad no\,-\,dojn\, bala \]
\[ S1S\,-\,sit\, only \]
\[ 'I'm just sitting.' \]

\[ Aria \quad noj\, bala \]
\[ D1S\, only \]
\[ 'It's just me.' \]

\[ Lmg \quad limimi\, isa\, bala \]
\[ child.P1EP\, one\, only \]
\[ 'We have only one child.' \]

The marker glossed 'first' is used after a clause referring to the first in a sequence of events. In most cases, subsequent events are only implied.

\[ Mouk \quad om\,-\,uluj\, abax\, itau\, da,\, laki\, abax\, mudu \]
\[ S2S\,-\,check\, pig\, good\, first\, lest\, pig\, tame \]
\[ 'You must check the pig carefully first, lest it be a tame pig.' \]

In New Britain society, it is impolite to leave a group without saying anything. Usually one departs with a brief statement of intent; and the modality marker 'first' tells the group whether to expect one to return. If one starts to leave without first giving such a statement, someone is likely to ask where one is going. In order to adhere to the conventions of etiquette in New Britain society, one is often expected to mention bodily functions in a context that
would be impolite in European societies.

**Mouk**  
\( \eta a-la \) \( \eta a-\eta en \) \( eski \) \( da \)  
S1S-go S1S-eat taro first  
‘I’m going to eat some taro (then I’ll be right back).’

**Mouk**  
\( \eta a-la \) \( \eta o-duxie \) \( da \)  
S1S-go S1S-urinate first  
‘I’m going to urinate (then I’ll come back).’

The ‘first’ modality marker is also used frequently to soften abrupt commands, or suggest that the order-giver does not intend to distract the order-receiver for a long period of time.

**Mouk**  
\( om-mox \) \( da \)  
S2P-come first  
‘Come here for a minute (then continue what you were doing).’

The modality marker glossed as ‘also’ covers a wide range of related concepts, including ‘again’ and ‘more’, that must be disambiguated from the context. Normally it applies to the entire clause; if one wishes to target a single constituent of a clause, that constituent must be stated separately with the modality marker.

**Aria**  
\( ti-paur \) \( kobura \) \( blañ \)  
S3P-take copra too/again  
‘They’re taking some more copra’ OR ‘They’re taking some copra too’  
OR ‘They’re taking copra again.’

**Aria**  
\( isak \) \( blañ, \) \( ti-paur \) \( kobura \) \( blañ \)  
D3P too S3P-take copra too  
‘They too are taking copra.’

### 3.9 TEMPORALS

Temporals (TEMP) are a class of words in the Bibling languages used to locate an event in time. They occur either in the position after the verb allocated for adverb phrases or as a separate clause, optionally connected with a conjunction, before the main clause. A selection of temporals is given below. Some temporals, such as ‘night’ can also be used as nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOME TEMPORALS</th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘today, now’</td>
<td>etnika</td>
<td>etnikane</td>
<td>oku ane</td>
<td>karban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td>( \eta a-xep )</td>
<td>narep</td>
<td>narep</td>
<td>nanrop ino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘two days ago’</td>
<td>ninuox</td>
<td>ninuor</td>
<td>ninuor</td>
<td>nungo ino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
<td>masil</td>
<td>kotu</td>
<td>kotu</td>
<td>kotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘in two days’</td>
<td>gasak</td>
<td>kasak</td>
<td>kasak</td>
<td>kasak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
<td>kixui</td>
<td>kirui</td>
<td>maruñ</td>
<td>marum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>epmes</td>
<td>epmes</td>
<td>epmes</td>
<td>opmos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘soon’</td>
<td>ono blañ</td>
<td>ono masalañ</td>
<td>masilañ</td>
<td>masilañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>aloge</td>
<td>lesen</td>
<td>lesen</td>
<td>naisen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.10 BASIC SYNTAX

While the morphology of the Bibling languages is a bit messy, the syntax appears to be quite simple. Clauses tend to have few constituents and word order is fairly rigid. A minimal clause can consist of a single morpheme, such as Aria itau ‘it is good’ or Mouk axagu ‘it’s raining’, or a single stem inflected for pronominal category, such as Moukja-la ‘I’m going’ or Mouk lana-e ‘he wants to’. Longer utterances tend to consist of several conjoined clauses.

\[C_I - C_I \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad C_I - \]

Mouk ta-la ta-kamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam
S1IP-go S1IP-cook pig PREP bamboo CJ tender
‘Let’s go cook the pork in bamboo so that it will be tender.’

The syntactic categories phrase structure rules given below should be considered provisional. They seem to work for much of the data in hand, but much more research on these languages is still needed.

**PROVISIONAL SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Mouk examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clause</td>
<td>CI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predicate</td>
<td>Pred</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb phrase</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective phrase</td>
<td>AdjP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb phrase</td>
<td>AdvP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preposition phrase</td>
<td>PrepP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modality marker</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>blaj, kobok, kodoŋ, . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb, unspecified</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>donj, la, munu, nablak, . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>blak, mluk, mter, xik, . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive verb</td>
<td>VTR</td>
<td>abax, lutno, ninu, . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun (see page 257)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data on the Bibling languages presented here were collected primarily for purposes of typological and lexical comparison with the other languages of northwestern New Britain. Since conjunction, per se, was not a major category in the original checklist of features to be elicited, data attesting it is unevenly represented in the individual databases for each language. Certain patterns emerge, nevertheless. For instance, each language frequently lists simple clauses, with no conjunctive morpheme, in a series that often replicates the temporal sequence of events.

Aria \textit{am-pa\textsuperscript{1} uasi kesa me \textit{\textae-pol-e}}

S2S-ask tobacco some S3S.come S1S-roll-03S

'Ask for some tobacco to be brought for me to roll.'

The Aria sentence above can be analysed as consisting of three clauses:

(1) \textit{ampa\textsuperscript{1} uasi kesa} 'ask for some tobacco';
(2) \textit{uasi kesa me} '(let) some tobacco come'; and
(3) \textit{\textae-pol uasi kesa} 'I'll roll some tobacco'.

When conjoined, the two redundant noun phrases are deleted, leaving the remaining noun
phrase acting as the object of ampaŋ and as the subject of me. The object suffix of napole refers back to the antecedent noun phrase.

Each language has a conjunction marking an explicit temporal or conditional sequence. This conjunction also has the effect of marking the following clause as irrealis. It can also be used without an initial clause to give a warning.

Mouk  axagu duxu ba to-donŋ
Aria  arugu duru ma to-donŋ
Tou  arigu duru ma to-donŋ
Lmg  oruon kai ma ta-tir
     rain S3S.down if S1IP-stay
     ‘If it rains, then we’ll stay’ OR ‘Since it’s raining, we should stay.’

Lmg  udage rap kangu ma morou gel
     knife S3S.cut foot.P1S if blood S3S.appear
     ‘If I cut my leg on a knife, it would bleed.’

Tou  u-te pelio blañe ane ma ta-la
     man S3S.speak thus this if S1IP-go
     ‘The man said that we should go.’

Aria  ma em-gene
     lest S2S-fall
     ‘Watch out or you’ll fall.’

Other conjunctions are illustrated below, without any attempt to discriminate among them or to give comparisons with other Bibling languages.

Mouk  oklou oklou te-lila kobok i to-donŋ bala
     sun sun S1IP-walk NEG and S1IP-sit just
     ‘For days, we haven’t walked, but just sat around.’

Mouk  nenen to soulu kini itau?
     food that bad or good
     ‘How is the food?’

Mouk  ima-nan eski i saxabatne i tapiok
     S1EP-eat taro and sweet.potato and cassava
     ‘We ate taro, sweet potato and cassava.’

Mouk  enen ka balilu ki bima bauluk
     child this S3S.spin and eye.P3S S3S.turn
     ‘The child has been spining and is dizzy.’

Mouk  abax mudu naki me-kis gemle ie la
     pig tame then S1EP-hold dog D3S S3S.go
     ‘If it is a tame pig, then we hold the dogs so it can go.’

Aria  nŋe e uom
     D1S and D2S
     ‘you and I’

Yes/no questions are indicated by the intonation contour of the sentence alone. WH-questions require one of the interrogatives below. These are used without any transformation of word order.
### Interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Mouk</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Tourai</th>
<th>Lamogai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'who'</td>
<td>[PRON]</td>
<td>segi</td>
<td>sei</td>
<td>sei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'what'</td>
<td>[PRON]</td>
<td>sua</td>
<td>sua</td>
<td>sua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>[ADV]</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'how many'</td>
<td>[QUANT]</td>
<td>sesue</td>
<td>sesue</td>
<td>sesue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>[TEMP]</td>
<td>aloge</td>
<td>lesen</td>
<td>lesen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'why'</td>
<td>[PrepP]</td>
<td>tan sua</td>
<td>ke sua</td>
<td>ge sua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mouk: *Am-la Kimbe kodon?*  
S2S-go Kimbe CMPL  
‘Have you already gone to Kimbe?’

Aria: *Molo ari sua?*  
barkcloth that what  
‘What kind of barkcloth is that?’

Lmg: *Sana ka ti-mana pe itar ore?*  
what pointer S3P-stay PREP house that  
‘What are all those things in the house over there?’

Aria: *Titim sesue?*  
children.P2S how.many  
‘How many children do you have?’

Mouk: *Alogic ba ti-polu?*  
when CJ S3P-appear  
‘When will they arrive?’

Tou: *Om-lim lunon ge sua?*  
S2S-fear POSS.P1S PREP what  
‘Why are you afraid of me?’

---

### 4. Lexicons: Introduction

Lexicons are given for Mouk, for Aria and Tourai, and for Lamogai. Aria and Tourai are treated together because much of the vocabulary is the same in both languages; but, where lexical items differ, the Tourai item is indicated with the abbreviation Tou. Each lexicon is followed by an English key designed as an aid to finding the Bibling entries. Since English and the Bibling languages encode radically different cultures, English and Bibling words do not correspond neatly in a one-to-one fashion. For instance, each Bibling language has several words that translate the English ‘brother’; the information distinguishing these is given only in the main part of the lexicon.

Verbs and morphologically inalienable nouns are cited in the 3S form. The entries are listed according to the Roman alphabet with the exception that η follows η. The syntactic category of each lexeme is enclosed in square brackets and, where known, special syntactic conditions are indicated after a slash. For example,

Mouk: *Onu [N/ine] ‘gall bladder’*
indicates that *omu* is a noun meaning ‘gall bladder’ and that it occurs obligatorily before *ine*, the postposed inalienable possessive (§3.3). Additional lexical information is enclosed in brace brackets after the gloss. For example,

\[ \text{Aria } \textit{omun} [\text{N/\_ine}] \textit{‘chest’} \{= \text{Tou } \textit{ongup}\}. \]

indicates that *ongup* is the Tourai word for ‘chest’, equivalent to the Aria *omun*. Because the 3S object suffix is not predictable for Mouk transitive verbs, these are given, where known, separated from the stem by a hyphen.

Where available, full paradigms are listed after the symbol ↓ in the order 1S, 2S, 3S, 1P, 1EP, 2P, 3P.; members of each paradigm are separated by commas. For those readers using the lexicons for comparative research, the paradigms are particularly important. For instance, Mouk *bitna* ‘his eye’ may not look particularly Austronesian until it is compared with other forms in the paradigm such as Mouk *amtada* ‘our eyes’ (← POC *a-mata-da*). Abbreviations and symbols used in the lexicon are listed at the front of the book (page vi).

Botanical names given in the lexicon should be used with caution for several reasons. First, most of the botanical names have been taken from Mihalic (1971) and have been attributed to the vernaculars on the basis of their Tok Pisin translations. They may, however, represent local species which are different from those given in Mihalic, but given the same Tok Pisin name. Second, the classification of plants according to vernacular ethnotaxonomy may not match the classification according to scientific taxonomy. For instance, the various plants called kinds of *gorgor* in Tok Pisin may not all be species of the genus *Alpinia*. Finally, I am not a tropical botanist.

5. MOUK LEXICON

\[ \text{abax} \text{ N pig, pork [≥ gelet, longolongo, mexden, migel, nakum, ogu, paulik, sage]. } \text{abax axay boar [≥ poti]. } \text{abax bole} \text{ pig with tusks. } \text{kaxoxo abax ina pig cage. } \text{yala nekxim abax} \text{ I’m going to hunt for pigs. } \text{omuluny abax itau da laki abax mudu} \text{ check the pig carefully first to make sure that it is not a tame pig. } \text{omdu abax ina pig net. } \text{abax sage} \text{ pig sp with tail high on back. } \text{abax ina sow.} \]

\[ \text{abax aitabu} \text{ N lizard sp.} \]

\[ \text{abax amal} \text{ N taro sp [pig with marks]. } \text{abax sina} \text{ Niila_ armpit. } \text{lugu abax sina} \text{ my armpit.} \]

\[ \text{aboxey} \text{ N 1. taro sp; 2. sweet potato sp, } \text{Ipomea batatas} \text{ [variety that arrived with coconut].} \]

\[ \text{ada} \text{ N 1. grandfather [≠ aik]; 2. ancestors [Aném ada]. } \text{lugu ada my grandfather. } \text{uda ada} \text{ our ancestors.} \]

\[ \text{ada} > \text{eine.} \]

\[ \text{adai} \text{ ADV just, by itself, with nothing, empty [≥ bala]. } \text{akai to polou adai} \text{ that tree just appeared [no one planted it]. } \text{gute ka doy adai} \text{ this man is just subsisting [he has nothing]. } \text{axmok adai} \text{ an empty village. } \text{aixabu ka adai} \text{ this space in the middle has nothing in it.} \]

\[ \text{adali} \text{ N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [≤ agiau].} \]

\[ \text{adaj} \text{ N cultivar, wild variety of plant that is domesticated. } \text{lugu adaj} \text{ the plant that I found in the wild [and planted in my garden].} \]

\[ \text{adex} \text{ N 1. fibula [≥ exi]; 2. forearm, radius, ulna; 3. fathom division from fingertips to wrist. } \text{komgu adex ine} \text{ my} \]
fibula. *lumgu adex ine* my forearm.

*ađou N/ila:_ 1. cross cousin; 2. friend.
   *lugu adou* my friend; my cross cousin.

*aduba N* tree sp [with white sap].

*ađuol N* 1. canarium nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *aduol* canarium nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. taro sp; 2. tree sp.

*agat N* freshwater fish sp [similar to tilapia].

*agatno N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *agatno* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađuol N* 1. canarium nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *aduol* canarium nut with husk digested off.

*aduba N* tree sp [with white sap].

*ađou N* 1. cross cousin; 2. friend.
   *lugu adou* my friend; my cross cousin.

*ađuol N* 1. canarium nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *aduol* canarium nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.

*ađak N* 1. *canarium* nut that has been defecated by a bird [Anêm aziol]; 2. fourth month, possibly July [when Terminalia nuts become ripe and fall. > *taiko*. (aŋaŋa) *adak* *canarium* nut with husk digested off.
bark. akai batne stump. akai dimolo roots. akai guxno canopy of a tree. akai londo ine seeds. akai palma trunk. akai tata branch. akai uole ine leaves.

akai N k.o. dance [TP murmur].
tala todue akai tata let’s go sing murmur.

akas N taro sp.

akat ADJ 1. unripe [= osou > boleine, ulip]; 2. raw [= kluk]. obul to akat that banana is unripe. yenjen ka dau akat this food is still raw.

akau N 1. lime powder; 2. white [= eglim]; 3. lime gourd; 4. taro sp. akau uatna = akau taxna lime powder container; lime gourd.

ake ADJ slaIJa deaf [Anem ake].

akexne N bamboo [generic. = osu].

aki N 1. river; 2. fresh water [= misuon]; 3. water container. aki taxna water container. aki ka batne this water container is almost empty. aki to kakxak that water container is empty. aki ina pola top plate in wall of house [used as shelf for storing water containers]. ogu ina aki my saliva. aki bel ηογ I’m thirsty. siau ti-tip aki women fetch water. aki silmei = aki nosux waterfalls. aki bubu pond in a river. aki xaxna = aki dina river bank. tenis aki let’s follow the river inland.

aklak N/± ine 1. upper arm; 2. foreleg. aklak lugηογ my upper arm. gemle aklak ine foreleg of a dog.

akluk N/± ina_ net bag [made from inner layer of osu bark].

akluη N tree sp.

akolon N slit gong [no longer used].
akue N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [≤ agiau].
akuma N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [≤ agiau].

akxa N/± ila_ 1. adze [= okodi]; 2. banana sp [= bole]. lugu akxa my adze.
alau N cassowary. alau pera cassowary wing. mogum alau taro sp.
alau inamxi N snake sp.
alau kamna N taro sp.
albus ADJ without a handle [Aria albus nude]. elil albus knife without a handle.

alemge N/± ina_ story, fable [told at night for entertainment. > rasijen Anêm alemge].

aliba N taro sp.
aloge TEMP when. aloge ba polou? when will he arrive?
alou N small beetle sp [similar to cockroach, attacks taro. = ious > asap].
amal N/± ina_ 1. mark, decoration; 2. scar [= asuk]. abax amal taro sp. omde amal you write. komgu ina amal I have a scar on my leg.
aman N leaf used as plate [≥ pelet > uole].
amanios N taro sp.
amasai N small beads [= nagemgem > poggoge].
amenit N tree sp [bark used for eel poison].

amioka N manioc, cassava, Manihot utilissima.

amka N tree sp.
amjia N/± PRON angry, belligerent. gute amjia belligerent man. amηα ηογ ba yemtex uom since I’m angry I’ll spear you.
amsexe N tree sp, Hibiscus tileaceus [leaf used for cigarette paper. = palu].

amsi N tree sp, Inocarpus fagiferus [= oiou, iou, uange].

amtada, amtaxsak > bitna.
amum N/± ina_ 1. dirty; 2. bodily effluvia used in sorcery [≥ musou].

tipou ida amum they tied up our bodily dirt [to perform sorcery on us]. amum
ki la mogxono it's dirty so take it away and wash it.

amxa N sugarcane, Saccharum officinarum [generic].

anak N 1. pus; 2. viscous sap. egle anak ine pus of a sore. akai ina anak thick sap of a tree.

anam ADJ tender. takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam let's cook the pork in bamboo so it'll be tender.

anigele N banana sp.

ano N- 1. spirit, soul [logle, onuy, maxba]; 2. breath; 3. dream [anyoy, anuom, ano, ante, anmi, anmu, ansak].
pampamu ine, ano la kodol he is just his corpse, his soul has left already.
dau mete kobok, ano dony he hasn’t died yet, his spirit remains. anyoy tuk I’m short of breath. anyoy I had a dream.

anu N wild Cordyline sp [maxe]

Ajal N name of Mouk village and patriclan.

ajat N ochre.

ajaxi N 1. tree sp, Canarium; 2. banana sp; 3. taro sp. (ajaxi) aduol canarium nut with husk digested off by bird.

ajaxi emgis N 1. black canarium nut; 2. mole; 3. black spot in eye. bitna aja ajaxi emgis he has a black spot in his eye.

ajaxax N tree sp.

angis N mangrove crab.

ajip N ginger sp, turmeric [used as source of yellow dye or mixed with lime powder to make red paint. ≤ emles].

ajlek N honey, wax [made by stinging bee. > uame].

ajua N 1. fish [generic]; 2. game; 3. wild. ajua ila xexe dorsal fin. ajua melba ine tail fin. ajua tala kopine gill flap. ajua ila boxuai gills. ajua siyana lateral fin. mala modue ida ajua max kluk tagane you go bring our fish to cook so we can eat it.

ajxek N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [≤ agiau].

apa N ine heel [Anêm apa-nl]. komgu apa ine my heel. lumgu apa ine heel of my hand.

apada > apna.

apal ADJ/apna_ bald. epem apal you’re bald.

apay N red-tailed skink.

apas N 1. barkcloth; 2. cloth. lugu apas max npou nala yetixie bring my barkcloth to tie on so I can go dancing.

apax ADJ full. aki apax the water (container) is full.

apaxsaq > apna.

apeinal QUANT four.

aplus N tree sp.

aplau N cockatoo. sexe aplau mushroom sp.

apma N digging stick [= namyan].

apman N 1. woman [singular. > siau]; female [≠ axay]. tapaux apman we’ll escort a woman [as a bride]. apman asap widow. apman otno little girl.

apna N- head [opogu, epem, apna, apada, epemi, opomu, apaxsaq = boxo, otuk]. epem apal you’re bald. epem uole ine your hair. uensik max nesex opogu uole ine hand me a comb so I can comb my hair. opogu exi ine my skull. opogu ina baxa my forehead.

olu apna upper end of a pond [where the river is shallow enough to ford. > gitno].

apok N joke, fun [Anêm apok]. due apok tan guta te he’s making fun of that man.

apok uatna N/kamla_ calf. komgu apok uatna my calf.

apos N wallaby [= natus, sokolo].

apotn N k.o. dance [generic of TP murm  sạn hisuit, axoman, kalalan, tikten].

apua N crocodile.
asap N 1. wife [singular. > siau ≠ bogot
> asra]; 2. widow [= aikos, bogot bate];
3. bug sp [that lives in rotten wood]; 4.
large house cockroach [said to have been
brought by American soldiers. > alou,
ious]. lugu asap blaj ge la? where
has my wife gone now?
asax N 1. reef; 2. sandbar [in river
above water level > daba]; 3. shallow
place in river [where one can ford. >
taxtax].
asex N prohibition marker.
asi N smoke. eiou asi (ine) smoke of a
fire; the fire is smoking.
asingit N movement of k.o. dance [≤
apotyen].
asingix N charcoal.
askap N/ine groin.
asa N- husband, wife, spouse [3S only.
> asap, bogot]. gute maxoni asa a
headman’s wife. apman asa a woman’s
husband. asa mete one whose spouse
has died.
ason N black mourning paint [worn by
close friends and relatives (especially
widows) of a dead person]. apman to
due ason that woman is wearing black
mourning paint.
asua N shield.
asuk N scar [= amal Anêm esik]. komgu
ina amal I have a scar on my leg. ηagu
asuk my scar.
asuk N litter, trash [= samdik].
ata N ila faeces, shit [> use].
atakile N taro sp.
aten N ila 1. friend [singular. > saten,
adou]; 2. parallel cousin [> adou].
imoxuo lugu aten imala my friend and
I are going.
atikex N rattan sp [with large leaves,
used for thatch. = etikex]
atra N/ine liver.
atu N bonito [≤ TP].
atokotok N flying ant sp [that appears
after rain].
atua N ila big brother, big sister, older
sibling same sex [> agatno, lutno].
atuaxa N boiling water [≤ TP]. atuaxa
max bring some boiling water.
atun N
ato N message. yapage enen otno ka la
due ato I’ll send this child to take a
message.
atukotok N flying ant sp [that appears
after rain].
atua N ila big brother, big sister, older
sibling same sex [> agatno, lutno].
atuaxa N boiling water [≤ TP]. atuaxa
max bring some boiling water.
atun N
au > ilau.
aulas N 1. snake [generic. = oulas =
mota]; 2. python [= oulas].
aulou N tree sp.
aulu N spirit figure and k.o. dance [TP
tumbuan ≤ maxba].
auxam N single men. (osep) auxam the
single men.
axabu N tree sp.
axagu N rain. axagu duxu ba todaŋ if
it rains, let’s stay. axagu uetne rainbow.
axan N male [≠ apman > gute]. abax
axan boar. enen axan = enen otno
baby boy. lugu enen axan axan my
sons.
axbala N tree sp.
axi N fence.
axisiŋ ina ongup N taro sp.
axmax N fathom [divided into segments
starting at fingertips: adex, samepua,
balokingen, mese, paipai, nogxus, sisi,
umon, ugal].
xamok N village.
axoi N tree sp.
axoman N movement of k.o. dance [≤
apotyen].
axsak > eine.
ba CJ and, if, since, because, so, then [>
i, ki]. axagu duxu ba todaŋ if it rains,
let’s stay. aloge ba tal? when are we
going? epmes kodon ba omox tomunu
it’s night already, so come let’s sleep.
gute la lila tepis ba la due iage kobok
the man is lazy, so doesn't make gardens.
komgu nisi ba ombloue, maxau la itau
since my leg is sore, cut it and blood
will flow and make it better. eiboid ie
ba due blanje? he's just a boy, so how
can he do it? komgu egle ba yodoy
I'm staying, because I have a sore on
my leg. iagos kodoj ba donj enough
of that, let it be.

ba SPEC/CI__ contrastive, emphatic.
etaik uom kobok ba! no, I'm not lying
to you. osep to buno salai ba! my, but
there are a lot of people! yenyen ka
itau ba! this food is actually good!
yenyen to open? kobok ba, ejil is that
food cold? not at all, it's hot.

ba CAUS causative prefix [not
productive. > due, painim]. tibamsim
eiou they put out the fire [> msim].
baba N/ila__ great great grandparents
[children of aigolu parents of kamla
esleine].

babit ono ADJ short [= uanuk ono Anêm
babit stump].

baboxo N wall. ninu ina baboxo wall of
a house.

babu N/ila__ aunt, father's sister, nephew,
woman's brother's son, reciprocal.

bael N frog [generic].

baiak N banana sp.

baine VTR sell. yabaine. I sell it.

baiu N 1. clam [generic]; 2. mangrove
clam.

bak-a VTR 1. pick, break off; 2. cut,
shred; 3. split [> grum]. bak eliep
max tanas someone should pick some
betel and bring it for us to chew. oklou
bak saxaba it was dawn [= the sun
split the clouds]. tibakbak obul uole
ine they're shredding banana leaves [to
make a decorative fringe]. bak lasna
he castrated it. tabak enon otuo uetne
let's superincise the child. yabaka etlie
I split it into three parts.

bakau N 1. ginger sp, Zinziber sp [≤
emles]; 2. tree sp.

bakuak N butterfly.

bala MOD just, merely, only [> adai].
donj bala he's just sitting. oklou oklou
telila kobok i todoy bala for days, we
haven’t been walking but only sitting
around. oxou bala only two.

bale N mangrove, Rhizophora sp [> taxau].

baliil VI spin. enen ka baliil ki bitna
baultuk this child has been spinning and
is dizzy.

balimu N grass sp [TP karapa].

balokgen N 1. inner elbow [> bune]; 2.
fathom division from fingertips to inner
elbow. lumgu balokgen my inner elbow.

balu N tree sp.

baluk-o VTR push [> tapul]. tabaluko
let's push it.

bamsim VTR extinguish, put out [> msim].
tibamsim eiou they put out the fire.

bana N tree sp, ironwood.

bani ina ongup N 1. banana sp; 2. taro
sp.

bangxes VI snore.

bao N club formerly used to ritually
execute widows.

base-x-e V spill, pour. yabasex aki la I
poured the water out. yabasexe I spilled
it; I poured it. aki ka basex the water
spilled. eine olune basex he's drooling.
yagu uelinen basex I'm sweating.

batne N/± ine 1. base, origin, stump,
end, source; 2. empty. uaiyan batne
word [basis of speech]. galou batne
end of a rope. batne luggen Benim I
was born in Benim; I'm from Benim.
labu batne beach [source of sand]. akai
batne stump. aki ka batne the water
container is empty. gute ka bogot batne
this man is a widower [source of
husbands. > aikos]. eiou batne burning
stick for carrying fire.
batne VI later, follow [≠ mgo. > didi].
mongo, ɲọŋ ɲabatne you go on ahead,
I’ll follow later.

bauluk V 1. turn; 2. back, return; 3.
stir. tabauluk otuk ine ɓa munu osuk
let’s turn its prow so that it lies straight.
tibauluk omu they turned the stones
over. ɲabauluk ɲọŋ I turned over.

amunu ambauluk uom you turned over
in your sleep. ambauluk ɲen ɲen stir the
food. ɲabauluk ɲala I went back.

baup N palm sp [used as substitute for
betel].

bax V drive pigs into net by shouting

baxa N 1. coconut shell, bowl made of
coconut shell [= ɲogotou]; 2. forehead;
3. kneecap. opogu ina baxa my
telephone. komgu ina baxa my kneecap.
(ongup ina) baxa coconut shell.

baxes V dress up, decorate ritually [≠
sogo]. tabaxes aga we decorate the
children. ɲabaxes I’ll get dressed up.

baxku N 1. spirit sp [evoked to ritually
admonish a person for asocial
behaviour. ≤ maxba]; 2. taro sp.

baxna N/-ine jaw. baxna ɲugọŋ xes
my jaw is swollen. baxna ɲugọŋ uole
ine my beard.

bebe VTR release, let go of, free. embebe
elil let go of the knife.

bel VTR need. aki bel ɲọŋ I’m thirsty.

bel VI commit suicide [normally by
hanging]. apman to bel mana the
woman committed suicide by hanging.
ɲala ɲebel I’m going to hang myself.

belabela N young woman, girl. siau
belabela young women.

belis N dove. belis uxu a dove is cooing.

Benim N name of Mouk village and
patriclan.

bexik N banana sp.

bexik iaulua N banana sp.

bibitna N spiny [= gigiu, uala > bitna].
txan bitna spiny sago.

bibmi > bubno.

bidabida N bedbug [believed to have
been brought by American soldiers].

bidi N yam sp, Dioscorea esculenta [TP
mami].

biku N star.

bile N 1. betel [< Aria = eliep]; 2.
banana sp. bile ɲan ɲan ɲas bring some
betelnut for me to chew.

bilili VI scatter. dax nosluk duxu uti
bilili it comes apart and falls and scatters
[eg. bundle of sticks hung up].

bilolu N taro sp.

binigaea N boa constrictor.

bis VTR carry under arm against ribs [≠
kakluk, kis, sun]. embis uasak you were
carrying a basket under your arm.

bisik VTR 1. butcher [= ulan]; 2. tattoo
[≠ bisikjen]. embisik abax butcher the
pig. komgu bisik I have a tattoo on
my leg.

bisikjen N/-ina tattoo [≠ bisik]. ɲagu
bisikjen my tattoo.

bisnaxe N sweet potato sp, Ipomea batatas
[that arrived with coconut. < English
missionary].

bitna N- 1. eye [i ınıtọgu, emtem, bitna,
amta, amtemi, omtomu, amtaxak];
2. edge, sharp [≠ pom, telelem].
amta ila gute our pupils. bitna egei
he is blind [his eyelid is sealed]. bitna
lulul he is blind [he has cataracts]. bitna
nogxom he is blind [eyeball is missing].
bitna nopux he is blind [his eyelid is
sealed]. bitna anaxi emgis he has a
black spot in his eye. enen ka balilu ki
bitna bauluk the child has been spinning
and is dizzy. ongup bitna dim the
coconut has no eye [it is completely
sealed]. elil bitna telelem a sharp knife.
elil bitna kobok a dull knife. ninu bitna
= pugu bitna door.

bixbix N taro sp.

bixlai N tree sp.
bla DEM that, here is, there is, pointer
> ka, to, exi. segi bla polou axmok
to? who’s that arriving in the village?
Uas bla here’s the tobacco. don’ blia
mau exi it’s far away over there. idee,
Yag uas bla yodue mura exi yes, that’s
my tobacco which I had laid over there.
blak VTR squish > nablak. komgu
blak atat I stepped in shit.
blanaka ADV this way [demonstrating].
omdue blanaka do it this way.
blanja MOD also, too, again. yon yopolou
blanja I got here too. yon blanja, komgu
nisinina my leg hurts too. uas silan blan.
another cigarette. ono blan ono soon.
lain blan in five days.
blange ADV how. eiboid ie ba due
blange? he’s just a boy so how can he
do it?
blasisi N bat sp [bleik].
blasisi ila obul N banana sp.
ble > blou-e
bleik N bat [generic].
blenblen VI masturbate. limla blenblen
he masturbates.
blesu N spider sp [edible. = kamluk >
moxxuxa].
blet VI smear, stuck > notop. atale blet
don komgu shit is smeared on my foot.
bleten N eel [generic]. bleten misiuon ina
moray eel.
blou-e VTR cut. yobluwe = yoble I cut
it. eli blou yon I got cut on a knife.
apman to blou apas the woman is cutting
cloth. blou akai he cut some wood.
mobluw uetme taxna we superincised him.
mobluw omoi epxin ina we trim the edge
of the sleeping mat.
bode N 1. parakeet; 2. banana sp.
bogi N sea eagle.
bogi limla talpes N banana sp.
boglai N taro sp.
bogot N ila_ husband [asap, asna].

lugu bogot ge? where’s my husband?
bogot batne widower [aikos].
boi 1. N tree sp, Homalium sp; 2. N limla_
ring finger [limla]. lumgu boi my
ring finger.
boilo N k.o. dance [from Anêm, no
longer performed].
boitin N waves.
bokuila N aromatic herb sp.
bolbolo ADJ short. galou bolbolo ono a
short rope.
bole 1. N pig tusk; 2. N ila_ pig tusk
ornament; 3. N banana sp [akxa].
abax bole a boar with tusks. yag bole
my pig tusk ornament [made by binding
a pair of tusks and worn on string around
neck. held in teeth while dancing].
boleine ADJ not ready for harvest [ulip.
> aikat, osou].
bomsuk VI fall, drop [eg. fruit when
over-ripe. > gone].
bomsuk N mushroom sp [makue].
bon VI full [considered Aria. = apax].
aki to bon the water (container) is full.
bono 1. VI full; 2. VTR gather, collect,
meet. taiko bono full moon. tobono
pele taiui let’s meet and talk. amla
ombo bono akai go collect firewood.
bota N rack, bench, scaffold. omde
bota, akai to omgusipe make a scaffold
to chop down that tree.
boxaleme geia N taro sp [Anêm boxalem
top of his head].
boxox N tree sp.
boxo N ila_ head [apna, otuk]. boxo
lugjon my head.
boxom N banana sp.
boxuai N gills. anu ila boxuai gills of
a fish.
brum N broom (< TP = sislia, sousou).
bublo VI flame, burn, light. omu pi eiou ki bublo blow on the fire to make it light.

bubno N- grandchild [mumgu, bubup, bubno, bumdo, bibmi, bubmu, bubxok].

bubu Naki pond (> olu). aki bubu pond in a river.

bubu VTR make twine by rolling fibres on leg (> bubu). tobobu ie we roll it.

bubunik N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [agiau].

bubufjen N twine (> bubu). fjobubu I'm rolling my twine.

bubup, bubxok > bubno.

budifj exiek N ginger sp, Zinziber sp [emles]. Anêm bidiŋgi exiek red rootstock.

buk VTR burn, light, set on fire. fjobuk I light a torch. oklou efjil buk ite touelep the sun is hot and burns us so we sweat. ombuk pepa set the paper on fire. ombuk ie light it.

buk N book [< TP].

buxua N fatally wounded. uom to buxua? are you fatally wounded?

da MOD first, before ..., for a minute. omon da come here for a minute. omuluŋ abax itau da, laki abax mudu you check the pig carefully first, lest it be a tame pig. momton da rest first (before you continue what you were going to do).

da SPEC/Cl confirmative. amiakiak da of course, you're lying. naiak um kobok da no, I'm not lying to you.

daba N sandbar [asax].

dabu VI grope in river for eels and prawns.

dadik N rat sp. dadik kye ie he hiccoughed [idiom: a rat sp snared him].

daga N raintree, Poinciana delnis.

daglik ADJ slippery (> kelil). akai ka daglik the log is slippery.

daila N bird sp.

dama N hill.

damainie N- 1. front, belly [damalŋŋ, damaluom, damaine... > goline, mogolu]; 2. palm; 3. sole. damalŋŋ deite I lie belly up. damalŋŋ duxu neklip I lie face down. lumgu damaine my palm. komgu damaine sole of my foot.

damu N lime spatula.

das N dust [< TP]. josopi das tan komgu I brush dust off my leg.

dau MOD still, not yet. ṣeŋenka dau akat this food is still raw. dau mete kobok, ano doŋ he's not dead yet, his soul remains. mete dau he hasn't died yet.

dax V 1. loosen, unravel, come apart [eg. something bound into a bundle]; 2. disperse, part ways. iaiax polou ki dax tobox ki usu the monsoons blow and loosen pitpit and it bears fruit. dax nosluk duxu uti bilili it came apart and went down and scattered. tadax peli let's disperse.

daxaidana N chopped taro with coconut cream wrapped in leaves and cooked in a stone oven.

daxou N taro sp.

de > due.

deite VI 1. up, ascend, rise (= dite ≠ duxu); 2. climb (> sai); 3. wake up; 4. get well. aki nobluk dite water bubbles up. oklou dite max the sun is rising.
The Biling Languages: Mok Lexicon

- **nokum akai deite kluk eiou**: I’ll get some wood to burn up in the fire.
- **damalqon deite**: I lie belly up.
- **tidite lopa**: They climbed a tree sap.
- **emdite omox**: Come up.
- **1)ode lua1)an ine ki dite**: I performed healing magic on him so he could get better.
- **delim VI**: Swim underwater. [[sisu]]
- **demel N**: Quarter. [[Anêm ziêmêlmêl]]. **taiko demel**: Quarter moon.
- **deuei N**: Tree sap. [[sap used to glue skin onto drum]]. **₁)ala ₁)emtex deuei sep**: I’m going to tap a tree sap to put it in to glue the drum skin.
- **diaxben N**: Tree sap. **dibel VI**: Laugh, smile.
- **didi V**: 1. Follow. 2. Narrate. **emdidi ₁)01J**: You follow me. **₁Jedidi nasi1Jen**: I’ll relate some oral history.
- **didibo₁)i N**: First of three stars used to mark time at night. **doxox N**: First of three stars used to mark time at night. **didoxen N**: Flower. [[doxo = aipuxu]]. **akai to doxo**: The tree is blooming.
- **dixu N**: Edible fern sap. [[Anêm zixu]].
- **dno VI**: Lose, lost. **lugu elil dno**: My knife is lost. **₁)odno omo1) aitno**: I got lost in the forest.
- **dodolu ADJ**: Whole.
- **dogox N**: Swamp, mud. [[panpana Anêm zigox]].
- **dodux N/₁) ine**: Back. **dodux lugqon**: My back.
- **don VI**: 1. Be located, stay, remain; 2. Sit; 3. Subsist. **axagu duxu ba todo1) if it rains, let’s stay. dau mete kobok, ano don**: He hasn’t died yet, his soul remains. **don ninu aitno**: It’s inside the house. **nu bla don**: There’s an island. **omdon e, nala byebye**: You stay, I’m going. **omdue duxu don**: Put it down. **la don PudeliI**: He’s gone to stay in PudeliI. **todo1) madedet**: We squat. **dOIJ hala**: He’s just sitting. **gute ka don adai**: The man subsists without anything. **iagos kodon ba don**: That’s enough already so leave it be.
- **doxo VI**: Bloom, develop flowers. [[doxoxen]]. **akai to doxo**: The tree is blooming.
- **dixu N**: Edible fern sap. [[Anêm zixu]].
- **dno VI**: Lose, lost. **lugu elil dno**: My knife is lost. **₁)odno omo1) aitno**: I got lost in the forest.
- **dodolu ADJ**: Whole.
- **dogox N**: Swamp, mud. [[panpana Anêm zigox]].
- **dodux N/₁) ine**: Back. **dodux lugqon**: My back.
- **don VI**: 1. Be located, stay, remain; 2. Sit; 3. Subsist. **axagu duxu ba todo1) if it rains, let’s stay. dau mete kobok, ano don**: He hasn’t died yet, his soul remains. **don ninu aitno**: It’s inside the house. **nu bla don**: There’s an island. **omdon e, nala byebye**: You stay, I’m going. **omdue duxu don**: Put it down. **la don PudeliI**: He’s gone to stay in PudeliI. **todo1) madedet**: We squat. **don balo**: He’s just sitting. **gute ka don adai**: The man subsists without anything. **iagos kodon ba don**: That’s enough already so leave it be.
- **doxo VI**: Bloom, develop flowers. [[doxoxen]]. **akai to doxo**: The tree is blooming.
- **dixu N**: Edible fern sap. [[Anêm zixu]].
- **dno VI**: Lose, lost. **lugu elil dno**: My knife is lost. **₁)odno omo1) aitno**: I got lost in the forest.
- **dodolu ADJ**: Whole.
- **dogox N**: Swamp, mud. [[panpana Anêm zigox]].
- **dodux N/₁) ine**: Back. **dodux lugqon**: My back.
- **don VI**: 1. Be located, stay, remain; 2. Sit; 3. Subsist. **axagu duxu ba todo1) if it rains, let’s stay. dau mete kobok, ano don**: He hasn’t died yet, his soul remains. **don ninu aitno**: It’s inside the house. **nu bla don**: There’s an island. **omdon e, nala byebye**: You stay, I’m going. **omdue duxu don**: Put it down. **la don PudeliI**: He’s gone to stay in PudeliI. **todo1) madedet**: We squat. **don balo**: He’s just sitting. **gute ka don adai**: The man subsists without anything. **iagos kodon ba don**: That’s enough already so leave it be.
- **doxo VI**: Bloom, develop flowers. [[doxoxen]]. **akai to doxo**: The tree is blooming.
- **dixu N**: Edible fern sap. [[Anêm zixu]].
- **dno VI**: Lose, lost. **lugu elil dno**: My knife is lost. **₁)odno omo1) aitno**: I got lost in the forest.
- **dodolu ADJ**: Whole.
- **dogox N**: Swamp, mud. [[panpana Anêm zigox]].
- **dodux N/₁) ine**: Back. **dodux lugqon**: My back.
- **don VI**: 1. Be located, stay, remain; 2. Sit; 3. Subsist. **axagu duxu ba todo1) if it rains, let’s stay. dau mete kobok, ano don**: He hasn’t died yet, his soul remains. **don ninu aitno**: It’s inside the house. **nu bla don**: There’s an island. **omdon e, nala byebye**: You stay, I’m going. **omdue duxu don**: Put it down. **la don PudeliI**: He’s gone to stay in PudeliI. **todo1) madedet**: We squat. **don balo**: He’s just sitting. **gute ka don adai**: The man subsists without anything. **iagos kodon ba don**: That’s enough already so leave it be.
- **doxo VI**: Bloom, develop flowers. [[doxoxen]]. **akai to doxo**: The tree is blooming.
- **dixu N**: Edible fern sap. [[Anêm zixu]].
- **dno VI**: Lose, lost. **lugu elil dno**: My knife is lost. **₁)odno omo1) aitno**: I got lost in the forest.
- **dodolu ADJ**: Whole.
- **dogox N**: Swamp, mud. [[panpana Anêm zigox]].
- **dodux N/₁) ine**: Back. **dodux lugqon**: My back.
- **don VI**: 1. Be located, stay, remain; 2. Sit; 3. Subsist. **axagu duxu ba todo1) if it rains, let’s stay. dau mete kobok, ano don**: He hasn’t died yet, his soul remains. **don ninu aitno**: It’s inside the house. **nu bla don**: There’s an island. **omdon e, nala byebye**: You stay, I’m going. **omdue duxu don**: Put it down. **la don PudeliI**: He’s gone to stay in PudeliI. **todo1) madedet**: We squat. **don balo**: He’s just sitting. **gute ka don adai**: The man subsists without anything. **iagos kodon ba don**: That’s enough already so leave it be.
omde uas silaŋ max ŋodugume ŋajane bring me some tobacco to roll and smoke. ŋode ŋap musou I took your bodily effluvia to perform sorcery on you. ɔmdue munu exi put it over there. abax ina la due poti polou max axmok a sow goes and makes a wild boar come to the village.

dugum-e VTR cover, wrap [> eiuk]. ɔmdugume cover him [eg. with blankets]. ɛmsiŋa ŋoŋ ŋodugum ɔs iagos tauai wait while I finish rolling a cigarette then we can talk. todugum ida ŋenjen la ɔtan we wrap our food and it goes to cook in the stone oven.

dul-e VTR bore, drill hole in. ɔmdul ɔŋgup put a hole in the coconut. ɔnodekodɔn I’ve already put a hole in it.

duxie VI urinate [> mokduk].

duxu VI down, descend. axagu duxu ba todɔŋ if it rains, let’s stay. damalŋŋɔn duxu neklip I lie on my stomach. ɔmdu duxu ɔŋŋɔ put it down. akai nepli duxu gxum ninu a tree broke and fell down and smashed a house.

e SPEC/CI ___ hey [> ba, da]. ɔmdonŋ e, ŋala hey, you stay, I’m going [departure formula].

ebel mige N taro sp [Anêm ɓebel mège? how many fruit?].

ebelgi leim N taro sp [Anêm ɓelgi leim it’s fruit is good].

ebelgi leim N taro sp [≠ ebelgi leim].

ebes N earth, ground, clay, soil. ebes eibmox red soil. ebes nokup landslide. abax sex ebes a pig is rooting around in the ground.

ebet N mountain [> obxou Anêm ɓebet mountain].

ebix ADJ green, blue.

ediaŋ moi N taro sp.

ediaŋ gage N taro sp.

egei N cataracts [> bitna]. bitna eg ei he has cataracts.

gle N± ila__ sore. egle anak ine pus of a sore. komgu egle ba ŋodɔŋ since I have a sore on my leg, I’m going to stay home. lugu egle msim my sore is healing.

glelme ADJ white [= akaŋ > ogu, paulik, golu Anêm glelme lime powder]. teli eglei = teli golu white shell money [> teli].

eibmox ADJ red [= iebmox].

eiboid N boy [Anêm eiboid]. eiboid ie ba due blange? he’s just a boy so how can he do it?

eil N stake used to prop up sugarcane.

eine N- mouth [ŋ ogu, ouop, eina, ada, epmi, opmu, axak]. eine olune basek he’s drooling. gentle eina dogs’ teeth; headband decorated with dog’s teeth. ogu kis ie I hold it in my mouth. ogu uatna my teeth. ogu taxna my lips. ogu ina aki my saliva.

eiou N fire. eiou asi the fire is smoking. tibamsim eiou they put out the fire. omupi eiou bublo blow on the fire to make it light. xex eiou he built a fire. eiou gigliŋ embers. eiou mamine hearth. eiou batne burning stick used for carrying fire. kubo ila eiou taro sp. eiou msim the fire is out.

eiti SPEC very [= iiti]. kos iiti = kos eiti very long. galou ka kos eiti the rope is very long.

eiuq N 1. leaf wrapper for food [Anêm iik > dugum]; 2. tree sp [with leaf used for rolling cigarettes]; 3. paper [= pepa]; 4. letter [= pas]. ɓosogo lugu pepa I’m writing my letter.

eixabu > aixabu.

eko N 1. palm sp; 2. flooring made of this palm [flooring is not traditional].

elei N tree sp, Casuarina equisatfolia.

eliep N betel palm, Areca catechu, betelnut [> bile]. bak eliep max tanas someone
should pick some betel and bring it for us to chew.

**elil N**/± ila__ knife. elil albus knife without a handle. elil bitna kobok = elil bitna pom a dull knife. elil batne = elil ina palay handle of a knife.

**elme** QUANT five.

**emgis > anəxai emgis.**

**emlel** ADJ bland, insipid [horrible to eat. ≠ galo].

**emles N** 1. ginger, Zinziber spp [generic. ≥ anji, bakau, budij exiek, gexiy, uai]; 2. tree sp; 3. taro sp.

**emli1** N tree sp, Pomedia pinnata.

**emtem, emtemi > bitna.**

**enen N**/± ila__ 1. child [≥ agau]; 2. son, daughter [≥ mlegi, ilman]. *enen ka due aיהon* this child is having a temper tantrum. *gom ila enen i1a* he gathered his children and went. *lugu enen siau* my daughters. *lugu enen axaŋ axaŋ* my sons. *enen ka imim sisi* the child is sucking. *uom to amkakluk enen?* have you had a child?

**enen otno N** little boy, baby boy [singular. > agau titno = eiboid, enen axaŋ]. *ŋapage enen otno ka la due ato* I sent this child to take a message.

**enjil** ADJ hot [of things. ≥ uelep ≠ enep Anêm enji].

**epem, epemi > apa.**

**epen** ADJ cold [of things. ≠ ejil > ouos Anêm enep].

**epes ine N**- seed coat [= paso]. *lopə epes ine seed coat of a canarium nut.*

**epiep N** sweet potato sp, Ipomea bataatas [considered indigenous].

**epis ADJ** dry [= kakxak ≠ okus]. *didim epis taro sp.*

**epit N**/± ine vulva.

**epmes N** night. **epmes kodoŋ ba omox tomunu** it’s night already so come let’s sleep. **epmes aixabu** midnight.

**epmes ina** N snake sp, ringed boa.

**epmi > eine.**

**epxe N** pan flute [= pexex, solopet > uotuot, kau].

**epxi N** fishtail palm sp, Caryota sp. [processed like sago].

**epxiŋ N**/± ine 1. nose; 2. edge of sleeping mat. **epxiŋ lite** our noses. **moblou omoi epxiŋ ine** we trim the edge of the sleeping mat.

**esel N** indigenous bean [similar to wingbean].

**esex N**/± ine 1. thigh; 2. hindleg of animals. **gemle esex ine** hindlegs of dog.

**esis N** betel pepper, Piper betle. **esis uatrə** betel pepper catkin. **esis kambugu** domestic betel pepper [with red veins in leaves].

**eski N** taro. **tatu eski** we cook taro in a stone oven. **eski oku** taro not ready for harvest. **tala taausak eski exi ine** let’s go plant taro cloning sticks.

**eski N/ila__ brains.** *lugu eski my brains.*

**esleine > kamla esleine.**

**etikex > atikex.**

**etli QUANT three.** *ŋabaka etli* I split it into three.

**etnka** TEMP now, today [≥ gasak, ninuox, ŋaxep, masil, gusik, gusik laine, laine blaŋ]. *ŋamen ŋeile Anêm etnka kobok* I used to know Anêm, but now I don’t. **etnka yodoŋ kade** today I’ll stay here.

**etnim N** 1. tree sp; 2. grub sp that eats this tree.

**exi DEM** that, over there, yonder [≥ bla, ka, to]. *yodue muŋu exi* I put it over there. *ŋegi gute exi* I’ll call that man over there. *dong bla mana exi* it’s way over there [pointing]. *ono exi toko!* there it is right over there!

**exi N**/± ine bone. *exi lugŋon* my bones [but particularly, my spine]. *komgu exi ine* the bones of my legs. *opogu exi*
ine my skull. eski exi ine taro cloning sticks. aige exi ine handle of an axe. sel exi ine snake sp.
gabu > patu gabu.
gagasilau N taro sp.
gage > edie gage.
gala ADJ lefthand [≠ lokono]. libep to
gala that is your lefthand.
galu N banana sp.
galiki asox N taro sp.
galo ADJ sweet, salty, tasty [≠ emlel].
galou N 1. vine [generic]; 2. rope [⇒ pilaijan, bubuynen], thread [⇒ salimu].
ompou abax tan galou tie up the pig with a rope. galou bane end of a rope.
galou guxno start of a rope.
gasak TEMP 1. the day after tomorrow; 2. three days ago [⇒ etnika].
ge ADV where? lugu asap bla1 ge? where has my wife gone now?
uas ge? where shall I get some tobacco to smoke? emkli gomot ge? where did you buy the canoe?
geia > boxalem geia.
gelege N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [⇒ agiau].
egeler N hairless pig [⇒ abax].
gelme gitno N tree sp [< gemle gitno dog’s tail, with metathesis].
gemlelei N tree sp.
gemle N dog [considered Aria = oulei].
gemle aklak ine forlegs of a dog. gemle apman bitch. gemle esex ine hindlegs of a dog. gemle gitno dog’s tail. gemle mgux a dog barks. gemle neklemklem dogs are baying. gemle nejiix a dog growls.
genei N taro sp.
gesen ADJ light purple to dark blue.
getix VI happy. negetix I’m happy.
getou N tooth blackener.
gexix N ginger sp, Zinziiber sp [⇒ emles].
gi V 1. call [⇒ sux]; 2. shout; 3. marry [formerly, a man arranged his marriage with the father of a woman and then formalised the marriage by calling her name out in a public place]. negi gute exi I’ll call that man. gute exi gi that man is shouting. gi kodono he’s already married.
Gigina N name of Mouk patriclan and village.
gigiu N spiny [= bibitna, uala]. txangan gigiu spiny sago.
giglyi N embers, coals. eiou gigliy embers.
gilep-e VTR 1. pin down [eg. with a stick]; 2. straddle with tynes of a spear [⇒ metex]. negiepe I pinned it down; I straddled it with the tynes of my spear [eg. fish, and it got away].
gin VTR show, point out to. emgin nojienim show me the path.
ginali N tree sp [bears edible red fig-like fruit on trunk].
gisni VI sneeze.
ginov N tail [⇒ kitkimen]. abax ka gitno lulu the pig has a curled tail. olu gitno tail end of a pond [⇒ apna]. gelme gitno tree sp.
gix-e VTR 1. scratch; 2. sweep, clear.
ogu gix noj the sword grass scratched me. siau tigix axmok women are sweeping the village. tegix omux let’s clear the ground.
gluk N tree sp [Anêm glik].
goia N taro sp.
goline N- intestines, guts, stomach [∫ golono, goloun, goline, golte, golmi, golmu, golsak > damaine, mogolu]. gite to goline netik the man’s stomach is concave from hunger. golono uai my stomach is rumbling. nomtoko ki golono itau I’ll vomit so my stomach will feel better.
golmi, golmu, golono > goline.
golo N tree sp.
golomada N giant clam, *Tridacna spp* [used for pig plates = kaiagan].

golsak, golte > goline.

golu N± ina ___ large food basket [> uasak]. nagu golu my food basket.

golu ADJ/teli ___ white [> teli]. teli golu = teli eglim white shell money.

goluom > goline.

gom VTR collect, gather. nogom akai I'm collecting firewood. gom ila enen tla he gathered his children and left.

gomot N canoe.

gone VI fall. laki omgone watch out or you'll fall. lili gone it's dripping.

gongo N tree sp.

got VI full, sated. nogot I'm full.

gotu keine TEMP morning [= nasaksak].

gugum-e VTR clutch hidden in hand. omgugume you have it hidden in your hand.

gugupu N mist.

guigui N eighth month, possibly November [rainy season begins. > taiko].

gulupa N red wasp sp [found in ground. > mixmix].

gusik TEMP in three days [> etnika].

gusik laine TEMP in four days [> etnika].

gusip-e VTR chop down. omde bota akai to omgusipe make a scaffold to cut down that tree.

gute N 1. man, person, someone; 2. male [> axaj]; 3. pupil. gute exi gi that man over there is shouting. gute sila max kap noj a man came with me. gute yngle a senior man. gute maxoni a headman. xananoj gute my father-in-law; my son-in-law. bitna ila gute the pupil of his eye.

guxno N 1. canopy; 2. start. akai guxno canopy of a tree. galou guxno start of a rope.

gxon-o VTR wash. amum ki la mogxonjo it's dirty so take it and wash it.

gxoup N ashes, dust. ienjoin xui gxoup the wind kicked up the dust.

gxum-e VTR 1. break, snap [> nogxum]; 2. wreck. akai nepli duxu gxum ninu a tree broke off and fell down and wrecked the house. nogxum ninu I'm wrecking the house. nogxume etli I broke into three.

i CJ and, but, if [> ba, i, ki]. oklou oklou tellila kobok itodoj bala for days we haven't walked but just sat around. se axagu max itodon if rain comes, let's stay. taanj eski i saxabate i tapiok we ate taro and sweet potato and cassava.

iaba N banana sp [< Tolai].

iage N garden. todue iage we make a garden. iage kobok lazy [> tepis, xopo].

iagi N twelfth month, possibly March [> taiko].

iaigos ADJ finished, completed, all gone [> kaxanya, msa, oxmor]. aiian to iaigos kodon ba don enough of that talk, let it be. emsiña noj nodugum was iaigos tauai wait until I've finished rolling a cigarette then we'll talk. nodue iaigos I've finished it. nemjien iaigos the food is all gone.

iaiax N northwest monsoons. iaiax polou kik dax tobox ki usu the monsoons blow and loosen the pitpit and it bears fruit.

iak VTR lie [> iakiak]. amiak noj sakam don't lie to me.

iakiak VI lie [> iak]. amiakiak da oh, you're just lying.

iajou ADJ yellow.

ias-e VTR dig. amias obuk dig a hole.

iau N vine sp, *Derris uginose* [used for eel poison].
ialua > bevik iaulua.
ida > ina.
ide Nila _ mother, mother’s sister [ lugude= lugu ide, lem ide, ila ide, udeide= udu ide, limem ide, lumude= lumu ide, uxor ide > nia]. Uala ila ide ge? where is Uala’s mother? don kap ila ide lagui she’s with her mothers. uame ila ide = uame ina sweat bee.
ie PRON focal pronoun [ yag, uom, ie, ite, imi, umu, isak]. ombuk ie light it. eiboid ie he’s just a boy. ie lou ine he’s afraid of him.
ie HL yes [= kobok > iede].
iebomox ADJ red [= eibomox].
ie de HL emphatic yes [= ie]. iede! laguJ she’s with her mothers.
ie VTR know. aiyan to umu mauai, meile kobok this news you speak about, we don’t know of it. yamen yeile anem etnika kobok I used to know Aném but now I don’t. tile imi kobok they don’t know us. imeile peli kobok we do not know one another.
imal N daughter [= enen, melegi]. lugu ilman my daughter.
imelme PRON we 1EP five [= imi elme > ie].
imeti PRON we 1EP three [= imi etli > ie].
imi PRON we 1EP [= ie]. imoxuo we 1EP two. imetli we 1EP three. imi apeinal we 1EP four. imelme we 1EP five.
imoxuo PRON we 1EP two [= imi oxuo > ie]. imoxuo lugu aten imala my friend and I are going.
ina N- edible possessive [ lugu, yag, ina, ida, ipem, upu, yaaxak > ila, ine]. tipou ida amum they tie up our bodily dirt [to perform sorcery on us]. yag umai my tree [that I cut down]. lugu umai my tree [that I planted or inherited]. yag uala my spear [the one I was speared with]. lugu uala my spear [the one I use on others]. yag uaiyan what is said about me. lugu uaiyan my tree [that I cut down]. lugu ka lamen this cloth is old [from before].
imamx > alau inamxi.
ine N- 1. postposed inalienable possessive; 2. oblique [ɪ lugʊŋ, luguom, ine, lite, libmi, lubmu, lisak > ila, ina, tan]. ata lugʊŋ my liver. emklinin lugʊŋ? did you hear about me? omkole lugʊŋ you slandered me. omlou lugʊŋ? are you afraid of me? noklut lugʊŋ it grazed me. ɲedibel luguom I'm laughing at you. ɲodue logle luguom I'll perform healing magic on you. ɲauai luguom I'm talking to you. ɲauai uti luguom I'm talking about you. lumgu agum my wrist. akai bune ine knot in wood. alJua melba ine tail fin. baxlJa lugʊŋ uole ine my beard. lJakxim ine I'll look after him. neklep ine he put it against it. lJonoklo lJolJ ine I tapped on it. ɲauai ine I told him. epxilJ lite our noses. imemko otuk libmi nopu peli we bumped heads.

isu-e VTR have sexual intercourse with. ɲeisue= ɲeise= ɲaise I had sex with her.

itau ADJ 1. good [≠ soulu]; 2. clean [≠ amum]. omulụg abax itau da laki abax mudu check the pig carefully first, lest it be a tame pig. komgu nisi ba obomlou, maxau la itau my leg is sore, so cut it. it will bleed and get better. puda taxna ka itau this cloth is clean. mna itau it smells good. oklou itau the dry season [≠ iaiax].

ite PRON we 1IP [≠ ie]. itoxuo we 1IP two. itelitl we 1IP three. ite apeinal we 1IP four. itelme we 1IP five.

itelme PRON we 1IP five [= ite elme > ie].

itelitl PRON we 1IP three [= ite etli > ie].

iji SPEC very [= eiti]. kos iti = kos eiti very long. omba iti huge.

itoxuo PRON we 1IP two [= ite oxuo > ie].

ka DEM the, this [near me. > kade, to, exi, bla]. ɲemem ka dau atak this food is still raw.

kaba N/± ila_ bed. lugu kaba my bed. kaba sina under the bed.

kadai N tree sp, mango, Mangifera indica. kadanja N wooden hook on rope for hanging food basket away from rats.

kade DEM this, here [≠ ka, to, exi, bla]. etnika ɲodony kade today I'll stay here. omdon kade sit here. ono kade to there's the damn thing. ɲap leklou kade here's your portion.

kaden N±ila_ brother-in-law, sister-in-law, affine opposite sex same generation reciprocal [≠ agiap, xana].

kai N movement of Sia dance [≠ sia].

kaiainja N giant clam shell, Tridacna spp [used for pig plates. = golomada].

kaiainja VI pant [= kaiejen, neyejes].

geme kaiainja the dog is panting.

kaida N bamboo tongs [= diglou].
kaienjey VI pant [= kaiangian].
kakai VTR push to side, spread [= suxuk].
gute ka kakai kamla the man pushed aside her legs.
kakatur N banana sp [< Tolai].
kakau > ududu kakau.
kaklak ADJ itchy. komgu kaklak my leg is itchy.
kakluk-o VTR 1. take, carry [especially on shoulder. > bis, sun]; 2. give birth to. kakluk sigi he carried a stick on his shoulder. amkakluko la take it away.
apman ka kakluk enen kodonj the woman has already given birth to a child.
kakxak ADJ 1. dry [= epis � okus]; 2. empty. aki to kakxak that water container is empty.
kakxou N tree sp.
kalaisi N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [< agiau].
kalalaT}an N movement of k.o. dance P-
apotT}en].
kalaT}a N parrot sp [< libaton].
kalau N banana sp.
kale > panim kale.
kalubia N barracuda.
kaluga N shark.
kamngi N foot, leg. kamla, kamda, kepmi, kopmu, kamsak].
tomton kamda let’s rest our legs. komgu apa ine my heel. komgu apok uatna my calf. komgu ina baxa my kneecap. komgu bune ine my knee. komgu damaine my sole. komgu exi ine 1. my tibia; 2. bones of my leg. komgu titno my toes. komgu kxe ine the back of my knee. komgu noplo I slipped. komgu silimu my ankle. komgu talpes (ine) my toenails.
kamlu VTR cook [> kamno, kluk, lipma]. takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam let’s cook pork in bamboo so it’ll be tender. yokamlu ine I cooked it.
kamlu N edible spider sp [= blesu > moxoxua].
kamna > alau kamna.
kamno VTR 1. boil; 2. cook by boiling [> kamlu, kluk, lipma]. amkamno aki boil some water. amla amkamno xaix go cook some rice. kamno eski she cooked some taro.
kamsak > kamla.
kamulia N tree ant [= oxlok].
kap VTR with, accompany, and. dop kap ila ide lagul she’s with her mothers.
segii max kap uom? who came with you? yala yakap ie I’m going with him. kap ie he accompanied us. tikap ila ide ila Kandoka they went with his mother to Kandoka.
kap N cup [< TP].
kapok N tree sp, Ceiba pentandra [< TP].
kapuk N tree sp.
karasin N kerosine [< TP]. karasin msa there is no kerosine left.
kas VTR burn out centre [> kude, naxlo]. yokas kude I’m burning out the inside of a drum. yokas ie I burned it out.
kaso N foot, leg.
katan N hearth [> mamine].
kaui N foot sp.
kaux N flute sp [made of single bamboo with several holes. > epxe, pexex, solopet, wotoun].
kan VTR 1. give; 2. feed. amkax yon uas give me some tobacco. kax yon tanua he gave me some tobacco. yokax ie tan uas I gave him some tobacco. tikax abax they fed the pigs.
kaxaNa ADJ enough, good enough, sufficient [> iagos]. uon to kaxaNa kodonj that’s already enough.
kaxap N movement of k.o. dance [≥ sia].
kaxkax N trumpet bird.
kaxoki N crab [generic in Salkei, but rejected in Lumusi. Lusi karoki].
kaxoxo N 1. cage for transporting pigs; 2. litter for carrying a sick person.
kaxumkaxum N banana sp.
kebep > kamlal.
kede N bamboo sp [= sexe].
keiau N bush hen.
keine N- 1. one; 2. alone, by oneself [kelhoj, keluom, keine, kelte, kelmi, kelmu, kelsak]. buno keine one hundred. gotu keine morning [= nasaksak]. gute ka keine la the man went alone.
kekele N banana sp.
kekxek N frog sp.
kelil ADJ 1. smooth; 2. slippery [= neblen, noklot > daglik]. akai ka kelil the wood is smooth; the log is slippery.
kelisjen N taro sp.
kelmi, kelmu, kelhoj, kelsak, kelte, keluom > keine.
kemel N taro sp.
kenda N taro sp.
kenit VI whine [≥ sigit].
kepe N shell scraper [= mel].
kepmi > kamlal.
ketal N tree sp.
keksep ADV outside. donj keksep it’s outside. ompololou amla keksep go outside.
keksi N banana sp.
kexkex N/one ribs, side of body [Anêm këkkëx]. kexkex lugnoj my ribs. yodue donj kexkex lugnoj I carried her on my side [eg child].
ki CJ and, so [≥ ba, i]. enen ka balilu ki bitna bauluk the child has been spinning and is dizzy. amum ki la mogxojo it’s dirty so take it away and wash it. takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam let’s cook it in bamboo so it’ll be tender. yomtoko ki golnoj itau I vomited and my stomach feels better.
ki SPEC/C__ confirmative [≥ ba], yemjen to enil? i.e. enil ki is that food hot? yeah, sure it’s hot.
kikxe VTR 1. scrape; 2. scratch; 3. grate [≥ nou]. emkikxe eski scrape (the black off) the taro. yekikxe taxna lugnoj I scratch my skin [because it’s itchy]. kikxe eski she’s grating taro.
kilek N lory [used by women as medium in love magic].
kilongagi N taro sp.
kimbe N banana sp.
kini CJ or. yemjen to soulu kini itau? is the food bad or good?
kis VTR hold [≥ bis]. ogu kis ie I held it in my mouth. mudu naki mekis genle ie la if it’s tame then we hold the dogs so it can go. yekis ie I’m holding it. tiki limsak peli they held hands.
kisaku N lizard sp.
kikitjen N 1. frond; 2. tail of bird [≥ gitno]. ongup kikitjen coconut frond. monuk kikitjen tail of a bird.
kiue N rat. kiue ila titaijen rafter brace parallel to ridge [ratway].
kixdau N clay pot [= ulo].
kixia N small-leaved rattan sp.
kixui TEMP afternoon, late afternoon.
kle > kli.
kle VI buy [≥ klee /S]. emkli gomote ge? where did you buy the canoe? yekle I bought it.
kli VTR buy [≥ klee /S]. emkli gomote ge? where did you buy the canoe? yekle I bought it.
klijiæ > klinin.
klinin-e V 1. hear; 2. understand; 3. pay attention [≥ klinin]. emklinin? do you hear?; do you understand?; are you paying attention? emklinin lugnoj? did you hear about me? imeklinin monuk
uai we heard a bird cry. kliyine blaj
he heard it too.

kluk VI cook, burn [\> kamno, kamlu, lipma]. mala modue ida agua max
kluk tagane go get our fish and bring it
to cook so we can eat it. yokum akai
deite kluk eiou I'll get some wood to go
up and burn in the fire. eski kluk the
taro is cooking.

kjal N small leech sp [that gets into
eyes. \> dipman Anêm kjal].

kje VTR 1. snare, hook; 2. mount a
timpanum. yala gemtex deuei sep nękje
kude I'm going to tap a tree sp to glue
the drum. dadihkjeie he hiccoughed
[a rat sp snared him]. naki nękje tan
pixdèm then I snare a monitor lizard
with it. nékje lodi I hooked a fish sp.

kobi VTR light. yokobi uas I lit a cigarette.

kobok MOD negative, no [\≠ ie]. dau
mete kobok he hasn't died yet. eli bina
kobok a dull knife. axagu kobok i
tala if it doesn't rain, let's go. iage
kobok lazy. kobok aite not at all.

kodôg MOD completive, already.
pampamu ine, ano la kodôn it is his
corpse, his soul has already left. epmes
kodôn ba omox tomuru it's night already
so come let's sleep. gi kodôg he's
(already) married.

koka \> xai koka.

koklok N ginger sp, Alpinia sp \[≤ agiau].
kokolatau N banana sp.
kokkak N crow.
kokxei N woman's pubic apron, skirt.
siau tipme uxok kokxei the women put
on their pubic aprons.
kolbôno N tree sp.
kole V slander. omkole luggon you
slandered me.

kolet N husking stick.
komdujo N ridgepole \[\> ududu kakau].
ninu ina komdujo ridgepole of a house.
komgu \> kamlu.

komgu esleine N great grandparents
[children of baba].

komlou \> limla.
kopik VI jump. yokopik la yasau ie I
jumped and got it.
kopine \> tala kopine.
kopmu \> kamlu.

kos ADJ long. galou ka kos eiti this
rope is very long.
kosope N taro sp.
kotok VI stretch out, lie down. omkotok.
yon yosogo you stretch out. I'll write.
kou N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [with fruit
and tubers. Lusi titivu].
koxdo N 1. tree sp, Octomeles sumatrana;
2. banana sp.

kranjip N taro sp [Aria kranjip cuscus].
kuaço N chicken. kuako dobrumo chicken
egg. kuako titro nesiousiou chicks are
chirping. kuako to tupi yemnem the
chicken is pecking at food. maxba ila
kuako kingfisher sp.
kualolo N tree sp [similar to Ceiba, but
wild. fluff used for pillows].
kubi N tree sp.
kuko N cassowary sp. kuko ila eiou
taro sp.

kubu VTR steal \[\> kubuên]. yokubu
elil I stole a knife. omkubu ie you stole
it.

kubuên n theft \[\< kubu]. gute kubuên
ina thief.

kude N 1. hourglass drum \[\> deuei, kas,
kje, raxlo]; 2. taro sp. yekje kude I
mount a timpanum on a drum. yasapi
kude I'm carving a drum.

kukep V hide. yala yokukep I'll go
hide. yokukep lugu elil I hid my knife.
kukli N tree sp.
kukxou N banana sp.
kulaluo N adze with a concave head.
kuliep N 1. shell trumpet; 2. Charonia tritonis.
kum-e VTR get, gather. ṉala ʈokum akai deite kluk eioi I’m going to get some wood to burn on the fire. kume kodonj she’s already gotten it.
kun-e VTR smell [> mna]. gemle kun uom the dog is smelling you.
kuxu > xai kuxu.
kkam-e VTR break [especially across grain]. /repository/ŋakxam oŋgup ɲanane I cut a coconut in half to eat it. kkxame he broke it.

laki CI lest, watch out or. laki omgone careful you don’t fall. omuluj abax itau da laki abax mudu you check the pig carefully first lest it be a tame pig.
lakou N freshwater fish sp.
lam N lamp [< TP].

lana-e N/-pro like, want, agree [lana ɲonj, lana umom, lanæ, lana ite, lana imi, lana umu, lana isak > aise]. lana ɲonj ɲaise ɲala kobok I don’t want to go. gute ka lanæ the man wants to. lana ɲonj it’s alright with me.

lasra N/-± ine testicles [= lesna], tabak lasna let’s castrate it. abax ka lasna msim the pig’s castration wound is healing. gute lasna a man’s testicles. lasna lugonj my testicles.

laulau bulu N snake sp.
laupu N taro sp.
laupu xixi N taro sp.
lebei N gecko.
leim > ebelgi leim.

leklou N piece, share, portion [= emkil]. ɲap leklou kade. ɲagu leklou kade here’s your share. this is my share.

llepo N aromatic plant sp.
lem > ila.
lemau > ilau.
lemede > ide.

les VI weed. ɲeles tan omux I weed the garden.

lesna > lasra.
libatoɲ N green parrot [> kalanja].
libe, libep, libmi > limla.
libmi > ine.

lilila > ebelgi liem.
ligau > ilau.

lila VI walk. ɲelila tan otou ɲala I walked away with a walking stick. emlila molil walk slowly. ɲelila ine I dodged it [eg. ‘spear’. gute la lila tepis
WILLIAM R. THURSTON

ba due iage kobok the man is lazy so he never makes a garden.
lilie VI play. agau tililie the children are playing.
lilik > maŋamaŋa lilik.
liil N drip, leak. lilil gone it’s dripping. niru ka lilil the house leaks.
lilu N curled [> migel, okol]. abax ka gino lilil the pig has a curled tail.
limau > ilau.
limda > limla.
limine N- tongue [limeloŋ, limeluom, limeine, limeite, limelmii= limenmi, limelmii= limenmu, limelsak].
limem > ila.
limemide > ide.
limla N- hand, arm [lumgu= lungu, libep, limla= libe, limda, libmi= limpi, lubmu= lupmu, limsmsak]. lumgu adex ine my forearm. lumgu agum ine my wrist. lumgu apa ine the heel of my hand. lumgu balok ine my inner elbow. lumgu boi my ring finger. lumgu bune ine my elbow. lumgu titno my fingers. lumgu opmu my thumb. lumgu saiki my little finger. lumgu sukje my index finger. lumgu noppu komlou my middle finger. lumgu talpes (ine) my fingernails. lumgu damaine my palm. libep to gala that is your left hand. imekis libmi peli we held hands. bogi limla talpes banana sp.

liŋliŋ-e VTR wash, rinse out [> g xoŋ].
lipma ADJ cooked [≠ akai > kluk]. ŋeŋen ka lipma kodon the food is cooked.
lipmi > limla.
lipmi > limno.
lisak, lute > ine.
lodi N freshwater fish sp.

logle N 1. magic [especially healing magic. = luanan > tai, xomos]; 2. spirit sp that inhabits a specific place and causes illness [= onai TP masalai]; 3. lightning, thunder [> pelaka, uai]. ŋodue logle luguom I’ll perform healing magic on you. omux to logle that is an evil place. logle noulep lightning. logle nogxum thunder.

lokono ADJ 1. true [≠ iak]; 2. righthand [≠ gala]. amuai lokono tell the truth. libep to lokono that is your right hand.

lolon N tree sp.

loloto ADV into the forest [= tan omong aimo]. uxie loloto he threw it into the forest.

lomuk N mosquito.
londo N/± ine seed. akai londo ine seeds of a tree.

longolongo N spotted pig [> abax].

loyo N housefly. loyo nei a fly is buzzing.

lojobi N bluebottle fly.

lopa N tree sp [similar to Canarium, but with larger nut].

lou V/± ine fear, be afraid of. lou ine he is afraid of him. omlou lugon? are you afraid of me?

luu VTR 1. help with work; 2. cure, heal with magic [> luaan, logle]. omox amlua ŋon come help me.

luuaan N healing magic [= logle]. ŋode luaan ine ki dite I performed healing magic on him so he could get better.
lubmu > ine.
lubmu > limla.
ludo > lutno.
lugon > ine.
lugu > ila.
lugude > ide.
luguom > ine.
lui N dugong.
luk VTR clear garden. amla omluk lugu omux go clear my garden.
luku > lutno.

lulul ADJ/bitma blind with cataracts. bitma lulul he has cataracts.
lumakaine QUANT six.
lumau > ila.
lumaxuo QUANT seven.
lumesnal QUANT nine.
lumetli QUANT eight.
lungu > limla.
lumu > ila.
lumude > ide.
Lumusi N name of Mouk village, formerly on river Vanu.
lunju > limla.
luk N tree sp.
lup > lutno.
lupmu > limla, lutno.
lutno N- sister, brother, sibling or parallel cousin opposite sex reciprocal singular [1 luku, lup, lutno, ludo, lipmi, lupmu, lutxok > agatno, atua, sulutno].
lutxok > lutno.
madedet ADV/don_ squat. todon_ madedet we squatted.
madu N banana sp.
magit ADJ junior, little, younger [≠ ṣonle]. ṣon magit, ie ṣonle I'm younger than him. magit ṣon the little one.
maiku N taro sp.
makuba N chalk.
makwe N mushroom [generic].
makul N tree sp.
malay N taro sp.
malau N taro sp.
malolo N movement of k.o. dance [≥ sia].
malugi N taro sp.
malunlug N tree sp.
mamaian VI yawn. ṣamamaian I yawned.
mamine N/eiou_ hearth [≥ katan]. eiou mamine hearth.
mana VI 1. hang; 2. commit suicide by hanging [≥ bel]. nepekpek mana it was strewn hanging everywhere. uon to mana that is hanging. apman to bel mana the woman has committed suicide by hanging.
manaja N bat sp.
manus N banana sp.
manamanya ADJ crazy.
manamanya lilik N taro sp.
mangoxoŋ N cliff [= guglon].
masil TEMP tomorrow [≥ eni̍ka]. masil ṣala Kandoka tomorrow I'm going to Kandoka.
masilau N shellfish.
masket N rifle, shotgun [≤ TP]. timtex abax tan masket they shoot pigs with guns.
masu V garnish [≥ masuyen].
masuyen N garnish, meat, vegetable side dish [≤ masu > aqua, aitno, okux]. ida masuyen our meat.
matambuta N aromatic plant sp.
matolo N cycad palm, Cycas circinalis.
matu N/± ila_ walking stick [= otou]. lugu matu my walking stick.
mau > sobo mau.
maua ADV far [≠ uanuk]. don ṣlau maua exi it's far away over there.
murai N/± ina_ betel mortar [used by people with no teeth to mash betel mixture]. ṣagu maui my betel mortar.
max VI come [1 ṣaman, omox, max, tamax, mammix, momox, timax ≠ la > uri]. aki silaŋ max yeinim bring me some water to drink. ṣaman ṣabatne I'll come later. segi max kap uom? who came with you? duwu max he came down. sep max he came in. silaŋ max hand one over. epmes kodon ba omox tomunu it's night already so come let's sleep. omox da come here for a
minute.

maxabuk N taro sp.

maxakete N spear with single iron tip [> uala]. Yetex abax tan maxakete I speared a pig with an iron-tipped spear.

maxau N± ina__ blood. Nagu maxau my blood. Komgu nisi ba ombloue, maxau la itau my leg is sore, so cut it. When it bleeds, it will get better.

maxaxo ames N banana sp.

maxba N 1. spirit sp [TP tambaran. either a spirit figure controlled by men’s lodge or real monster in the forest and takes the form of birds and other animals. > ano, logle ≥ aulu, baxku, dimex ina]; 2. taro sp.

maxe N domestic Cordyline sp [≠ anuy].

maxexe N third month, possibly June [> taiko].

maxka N ginger sp. Alpinia sp [≤ agiau].

maxkan ADJ lightweight [≠ talu]. Lam ka maxkan the lamp is light.

maxo VI float [= mormonono, ples]. Akai maxo wood floats.

maxoni N/gute__ headman. Gute maxoni a headman. Gute maxoni asna wife of a headman.

meia N 1. banana sp; 2. taro sp.

meia solou N banana sp.

Meitabala N name of Mouk village.

mekeliņ N snake sp.

mel N shell scraper [= kepe Anêm mēl].

melba N 1. paddle; 2. tail fin. Ayua melba ine tail fin of a fish.

melbe ADJ flimsby [= meleplep, meteltel].

meleplep ADJ flimsby [= melbe, meteltel].

melim N 1. bandicoot [> podu]; 2. fontanelle. Lugu melim my fontanelle.

mepex N 1. snake sp; 2. taro sp.

Merok N name of Mouk village near south coast.

mese N 1. Trochus sp; 2. armband made of trochus; 3. fathom part [from fingertimps to middle of biceps, where armband is worn].

mesi N banana sp.

mete VI die, faint. Daue mete kobok, ano dony he hasn’t died yet, his soul remains. Asna mete one whose spouse has died. Yomlu om ki emete I’ll knock you out.

meteltel ADJ flimsby, soft [= melbe, meleplep > omuk, nagax].

mexden N brown pig that is striped when juvenile [> abax].

mexiaq N 1. hornbill; 2. banana sp.

mgo VI precede, go ahead [≠ batne]. Omgo tala let’s go, you first. Momgo, non yabatne you guys go on ahead, I’ll follow later.

mgux VI bark and howl [eg. dogs when a stranger comes into a village. > neklemklem]. Gume mgux the dogs are barking.

midau N variety of pitpit, Saccharum sp [> mixsau Anêm mixziao].

mige > ebel mige.

migel N pig sp with curled tail [> lilu, abax].

mismis N dust. Nsak pexpex mismis tan komgu I wipe chalk dust from my leg. Nsak komgu tan mismis I brush dust off my leg.

misuon N sea, ocean. Tala misuon let’s go to the sea. Osep misuon ina people who live on the beach [> omyo]. Bleten misuon ina moray eel. Palem misuon banana sp [gets tall enough to view the sea and becomes ripe].

mixmix N black wasp sp found in trees [> gulupa Anêm mixmix].

mixsau N inedible wild pitpit sp, Saccharum sp [> midau Anêm mixziao].

mixsou N tree sp.

mko > mluk.
mlegi Nīila_ son [singular. > enen, ilmay]. lugu mlegi my son.

mluk VTR hit, beat, kill by striking [= mko]_3S. ηοmmluk οm ki emete I’ll beat you to death. timko peli they’re fighting. gute sapaja mko the man is hungry. sapaja mluu ηοη I’m hungry. lugu musou mluk ηοη my sorcery backfired against me.

mna VI smell, stink [> mnayan, kun]. mna (soulu) it stinks. mna itau it smells good. eski mna the taro smells [it must be cooked and ready to eat].

mnayan N/+ ila_ smell, odour [> mna]. lugu mnayan my odour.

mododo N nineth month, possibly December [> taiko].

modou N tree sp with aromatic bark.

modouani N harbour, deep place [> pasis, sagxu].

mogolu N/+ine guts [> damaine, goline].

mogoxoxo N coral sp.

mogum alau N taro sp.

mogxen N aromatic plant sp.

moi > edian moieties.

mol VTR fold. tomol ie we fold it.

molbak N taro sp.

moli ADV below, downstream [≠ pegim > sina]. texit moli let’s bathe downstream. mura uai axmok moli he talks in his sleep [to the people of the village of the dead below].

molil ADJ slowly. emliila molil walk slowly.

moluok ADJ brown.

mon N dugout canoe [< TP = gomot].

momomo VI float [= maxo, ples]. akai momomo wood floats.

monuk N bird [generic]. monuk kitskinjen tail of bird. imekligen monuk uai we heard a bird cry. monuk ila onuk bird’s nest. monuk pena wing of bird. monuk uole ine feathers. monuk tiuxok birds fly.

mota N snake [generic. = aulas].

mouk N firebrand [burning stick used to carry fire from place to place].

Mouk N name of linguistic group. uaijan Mouk Mouk language.

mox > max.

moxduk N/+ ila_ urine [> duxie].

moxmxox N banana sp.

moxomo N sandfly.

moxopo N star that rise just before dawn.

moxotono Nīila_ firstborn child [> enen, ipem puda]. lugu moxotono my firstborn child.

moxoxua N spider [generic and specific. > blesu, kamluk]. moxoxua ieua spider web.

msa VI finished, all gone [> iagos, oxmot]. karasin msa there’s no kerosine left.

msim VI 1. dried up; 2. healed; 3. dead, out [> mete, bamsim]. lugu egl msim my sore has dried up; my sore is healing. eiou msim the fire is dead. tibamsim eiou they put out the fire.

mtex-e VTR 1. spear, stab, shoot, tap, kill by stabbing [≠ mluk]; 2. tie [≠ pou]. amna ηοη ba ηεmεtx uom since I’m angry, I’ll spear you. timitex abax tan masket they shoot pigs with guns. ηεla mtex akai I’m going to tap a tree. ηεmεtxe I tie a knot in it [eg. net].

mtoko VI vomit. ηοmtoko ki golnoŋ itau I vomited and my stomach feels better.

mton V rest [≠ suali]. momton da let’s rest a little first. tomton kamda let’s rest our legs.

mudu ADJ tame [≠ sagsagi, angua]. abax mudu a tame pig.

muli N lemon, lime, orange, Citrus spp [< TP]. muli olune orange juice.

mumgu > bubno.
mumum N banana sp.

munu VI sleep, lie, be located [> donj].
munu uai axmok moli he talks in his sleep. tabauluk otuk ine ba munu osuk let's turn its prow so it lies straight. nagu uas bla godue munu exi that's my tobacco that I laid over there.

munusaux N love potion. todue munusaux let's get some love potion.

musou N sorcery, bodily effluvia used in sorcery. gute silan due nagu musou someone is performing sorcery on me. segi de nagu musou ki napaia ka? who got hold of my bodily effluvia so that now I'm sick? lugu musou mluk nay my sorcery backfired against me. gute musou ina sorcerer. lugu musou sorcery that I perform. nagu musou sorcery performed against me.

mxii VI stand. yexke abax mxi tan omor aitno I saw a pig standing in the forest. axaxna lugyoy mxi I lay on my side [my side stands].

na SPEC/CL__ hey, just [> ba, e]. omox enen ka sinit na hey, come here, this child is crying. oxuo na just two [> bala].

nablab VI squish, mushy [< blak > nagax]. obul ka nablab the banana squished.

nabon N wax [= tilbut > uame].

nagax VI hard, tough [> meteltel, nablab]. eski ka taxna nagax this taro has a tough skin.

nagemgem N small beads [= amasai > pogpoge].

naitax N taro paddle.

nakaxkax VI creak, sound of wood breaking [> napakpak].

naki CJ then. abax mudu naki mekis gemle ie la. se sagsagi naki temtexe if it's a tame pig, then we hold the dogs so it can go. if it's wild, then we spear it.

nakila N Papuan axe.

naknyaikyai VI shout a warning.

nakum N 1. black pig [> abax]; 2. black and shiny [= box].

nakxam VI shatter [eg. glass].

nalato N 1. bamboo smoking pipe; 2. banana sp.

namane N aromatic plant sp.

namyan N digging stick [= apma].

nayam N tree sp.

nayasyas VI wheeze and pant.

nagax VI stick into and support self [eg. knife or stick thrown into the ground]. akai to nagax xax the stick is standing stuck (into the ground).

napak VI crack. tumxo napak the Siasi dish has a crack in it.

napakpak VI 1. crack, creak, snap [sound similar to nakaxkax, saxba]; 2. shred, tear into strips. akai to napakpak the trees were creaking.

nasaksak TEMP morning [= gotu keine Anêm ugekseskëk]. yedite tan nasaksak I wake up in the morning. nasaksak nouti napan uom in the morning I'll come and wake you up.

nasiyen N oral history, law [> alemge]. yediti nasiyen I'm telling oral history.

natak VI crack open, shatter.

nataktak VI splinter. akai ka nataktak the wood splintered.

natus N wallaby [= apose, sokolo].

naxlo N thorny vine used to scrape charred wood while burning the centre out of wood to make a drum [> kude, kas].

nebiy VI firmly planted or attached [eg. post in ground. = nobuy Anêm -gebyij].

neblen VI slippery [= noklot > kelil]. akai ka neblen the log is slippery.

neblik VI flash [Anêm -geblik]. uon to neblik that flashed.

nebxik VI too low [eg. bed to close to the ground or ceiling too low to stand up. Anêm -gebxtik]. kaba ka nebxik
this bed it too low.

nedioidio  VI trickle [eg. stream of rain or urine. Anêm -gêdioi].

nedip  VI 1. slip out of place [eg. when trying to tie something]; 2. fall down and kill. akai nedip ine a tree fell and killed him.

negegxe  VI cracking, popping sound [< negexe].

negigi  VI flutter, tremble [> nekekex]

negigik  VI shiver. negigik I’m shivering.

negixe  VI s sound of stick snapping [> negegxe].

nekexkex  VI flutter [ego leaves in wind. similar to negigi].

neklemklem  VI bark and bay [eg. sound dogs make when chasing pigs during a hunt. > mgux]. gemle neklemklem dogs are barking [someone is pursuing a pig].

neklex  VI 1. tinkle [Anêm -gêklex]; 2. too long or tall for some purpose.

neklep  V 1. together, alongside, aligned with and in contact [eg. sticks tied together. > neklip]; 2. cuddle. neklep ine he put it against it [parallel to it]. emneklep ong cuddle up against me.

nekler  VI speed, fast, take off suddenly [= nekxit, nepik]. nekler la he took off fast.

nekles  VI speed, fast, take off suddenly [= nekxit, nepik]. nekles la he took off fast.

neklo  VI against, cover, over and in contact [eg. flat hand over open mouth. > neklo. Anêm –gêklo]. damalgyon duxu neklo I lie on my stomach. neklo ine it covered him.

nekxe  VI collapse. ninu to nekxe duxu tan ebes the house collapsed onto the ground.

nekxes  VI sneak, slip away surreptitiously. nenekxes yala I slipped away.

nekxit  VI 1. speed, fast, take off suddenly [= nekles, nepik Anêm –gêkxit]; 2. slack. nekxit la he took off suddenly. galou ka nekxit the rope is slack.

nelemlem  VI sparkle, shimmer.

nemil  VI move [> nemilmil, nemit Anêm –gêmil].

nemilmil  VI wave back and forth [< nemil].

nemit  VI move [> nemitim, nemil Anêm –gêmit].

nemitim  VI shake [< nemit].

ningenxis  VI sniffle [= nenxegxes].

nengxes  VI pant [eg. dogs. = kaianjian].

nengxesgxes  VI sniffle [= neningxis].

nenjîmîm  VI whisper, murmur [Anêm –gêjîmîm].

nenjîsîs  VI wheeze [Anêm –gêjîsîs].

nenjîx  VI growl[> nenjîxîx Anêm –gêjîx]. gemle ka nenjîx the dog growled.

nenjîxîx  VI growl [< nenjîx]. gemle ka nenjîxîx the dog is growling.

nepekpek  VI messy. apas neppekpek mana clothes were hanging everywhere.

nepel  VI rise. taiko nepel the moon rose.

nepik  VI speed, fast, take off suddenly [= nekxit, nekles]. nepik la he took off suddenly.

nepil  VI lean [eg. ladder against house or tree that has broken but not yet fallen. Anêm –gêpîl].

nepili  VI break off; collapse. akai nepili duxu gnixu ninu a tree broke off and fell down and smashed the house. ninu nepili the house collapsed.

neplis  VI 1. snap [= notxum]; 2. straight [= osuk, odun ≠ okol Anêm –gêplis]; 3. tall. galou nepis a rope snapped. ienim ka nepis this road is straight. eliep
ka neplis this betel palm is tall.
nesiousiou VI chirp. kuako timo nesiousiou baby chicks chirp.
nesip VI set. oklou nesip the sun set.
neslikslik VI smack slips. neslikslik he kept smacking his lips.
netek VI jump. genetik I jumped.
netențen VI drip, leak [Anêm – gêtëntên].
netex VI 1. teeter, balance [eg. when cutting a tree, sometimes the trunk splits, the tree flies up and teeters before falling]; 2. sit firmly on top [eg. pole on top of post. = nobuj]. netex dong it's properly seated.
netik VI concave. gate to go line netik the man's stomach is concave from hunger.
netix VI limp [= neken Anêm – gètił]. netix la he limped away.
netxik VI sprout [< netxik].
nimuxu ADJ wet with droplets of water after rain.
niru N/± ila_ house. la niru he went home. dong niru aimo it's inside the house. niru bitna door. nogxum niru I wrecked the house. lugu niru my house. niru ina baboko wall of a house. niru ina sîjen ladder of a house. niru ina traxan thatch of a house.
ninuox TEMP two days ago [ > etnika].
ris VTR follow inland [ > misuon]. tenis aki let's follow the river inland.
 nisi N pain, hurt, sore. noŋ bîaj komgu nisi ina my leg hurts too. otuk lugnoŋ nisi I have a headache.
noblok VI become detached, fall off [eg. cucumber falling from stem. Anêm – gêblok].
nobluk VI bubble up, gurgle up. aki nobluk dite water bubbled up.
nobol VI sprout [< nobolbol]. ongup to nobol the coconut has sprouted.
nobolbol VI sprout [< nobol]. akai nobolbol the tree stump has several sprouts.
nobom VI stick up [eg. spear thrown into ground. Anêm – gêbom].
nobotbot VI bubble up [eg water springs that occur after rains. Anêm – gêbotbot].
nobuk VI plunk [sound of something heavy falling into deep water].
nobuj VI firm [= nebij > netex].
nodoxop VI sink [Anêm – gêzoop]. oklou nodoxop la the sun sank away.
noduďâŋ VI 1. butt end to end [eg slats at corner of a house. Anêm – gêduďâŋ]; 2. poke at [Anêm – gêduďâŋ]. noduďâŋ peli they butt up against one another; they poke at one another.
nogloŋ N fathom segment [from fingertips to opposite shoulder].
nogogxom VI sound of branches snapping [Anêm – gêgxom].
nogongoŋ VI gurgle, glug [sound of water pouring from shell].
nogxom VI/bîina_ blind with eyeball missing.
nogxum VI/logle_ thunder. logle nogxum there was thunder.
nogxus N fathom segment [from fingertips to armpit].
nokloŋ VI level [Anêm – gêklên]. akai ka nokloŋ the board is level.
nokloŋkloŋ VI knock, thump, tap [Anêm – gêkloŋkloŋ]. noŋokloŋkloŋ tan pugu bitna I knocked at the door. nokloŋkloŋ ine he tapped on it. akai ka nokloŋkloŋ a tree is thumping.
noklot VI 1. slippery [= neblen > kelîl Anêm – gêklot]; 2. ricochet. akai ka noklot the tree was slippery.
noklut VI graze, just miss [ > nokuklut]. noklut lugnoŋ it just missed me.
nokokok VI cluck [chickens and bush hens. > nopopot Anêm –gêkokok].
nokol VI stuck, caught up in other trees [= nekel, kxo Anêm –kêl]. akai nokol mana a tree is caught up.
nokxkok VI 1. rattle [= negxengxeg, nogxongxong]; 2. rustle, crackle [sound of walking on dry leaves. Anêm –gêkokok].
nokuk VI alarm grunt [wild pig when surprised. > kxu Anêm –gêkuk].
nokulkut VI graze [<noklut]. uala noklut lugyôn the spears grazed me.
nokup VI/lebes_ landslide. ebes nokup there was a landslide.
nokxonkxon VI squeal [sound of pig expecting food].
nokxut VI gulp [sound of drinking water, especially from a coconut shell].
nono SPEC diminutive [= ono]. enen ka otto nono this little child.
nônoyôn VI alarm cry of a cassowary [= nouoynoy].
noplo VI/kamla_ slip. komgu noplo I slipped.
noplos VI 1. slip out of place [nedip, noblok Anêm –gêplos]; 2. get away by slipping out of snare or off tynes of a spear. uala ka noplós the spear head slipped off the shaft. paxia noplós la the monitor lizard slipped out (of the noose) and got away.
nopok VI snap [sound of stick breaking. Anêm –gêpok].
nopokpok VI snap [sound of branches breaking while walking along a path. > negegxe, nopokpok].
nopopot VI quiet clucking of chickens [nokokok Anêm –gêpotpot].
nopu VI pop, explode, bump [Anêm –gépu]. oxsu nopu bamboo explodes [when burned]. imemko otuk libmi nopu peli we bumped heads. lumgu nopu komlou my middle finger.
nopus VI fart [Anêm –kêpis].
nopusyen N aromatic plant sp.
nopux VI/bitina_ blind with eyelid sealed shut.
nopxus VI splash.
noskup VI split [eg improperly felled tree that splits up trunk].
nosluk VI 1. come apart [eg. improperly tied bundle. Anêm –gésluk]; 2. fall down in numbers [eg. bananas because they are over-ripe].
nosux VI/aki_ waterfalls. aki nosux = aki silmei waterfalls.
notløktøk VI tsk [alveolar click of tongue].
nøtop VI adhere to [eg. a speck of something. > blet]. ata nøtop don komgu a speck of shit is stuck to my foot.
nøtxum VI snap [= neplis]. galou ka notxum the rope snapped.
nou VTR scrape; grate [kikxe]. omnou ongpur grate some coconut. siau tinou omoi women scrape pandanus [for sleeping mats]. onou ie kodon I’ve already grated it.
nouneløp VI/logle_ lightning [= pelaka]. logle nouneløp lightning.
nouoynoy VI alarm cry of cassowary [= nonoyon].
ru N island [= omoi omoi rejected by Lumusi in favour of ru < Kove ru].

THE BIBLING LANGUAGES: MOUK LEXICON 303

ηαμεν TEMP 1. before, in former times; 2. old [≠ uoku]. ηαμεν ἵειλε ἁνεμ ετηνικα κοβοκ I used to know Anêm but now I don’t. apas ka ηαμεν ina this cloth is old.

ηαμχι N hawk.
ηαν- VTR eat [η αναν, emen, ηαν= ηεν, ταναν, imαnan, umαnan, tινεν > ηεμεν]. emkil max ηαναν hand me a piece to eat. ηαν uas he is smoking.

ηατι saua N taro sp. [Lusi ηατι saoa
what am I eating?

A1)u-e VTR chew.

1)ap > ina.

1)aus V chew betel (=> eliep). bak eliep
max tanjas someone should pick some
betel and bring it for us to chew.

1)axax > ina.

1)axep TEMP yesterday (=> etnika). 1)axep
yep

I came here yesterday.

1)en > 1)an.

1)enyen N/+ ina_ food. 1)enyen ka dau
akat this food is still raw. ambauluk
1)enyen stir the food. todugum ida 1)enyen
la tan we wrap our food and it goes to
cook in an earth oven. 1)enyen oxmot
la the food is all eaten up.

1)innin N dogtooth headband.

1)ixi N grater [used for coconuts. 1)outis
Lusi giril].

1)iyototou N 1. coconut shell; 2. bowl
[made of coconut shell. 1)baxa].

1)ilolip N fog.

1)iyor PRON I, me D1S (=> ie).

1)iyole ADJ senior, older (≠ magiti). gute
1)iyole a bigman; an elder. 1)osep 1)iyole
bigmen. 1)siau 1)iyole senior women. 1)iyor
magiti, ie 1)iyole I’m younger than him.

1)iowo N bedbug (≡ TP = bidabida said
to have arrived with American soldiers).

1)ou N tree sp.

1)obox ADJ black [and dull. ≠ nakum].
1)otelbox black shell money (≡ telit].

1)obox N ila_ buttocks, anus [≡ teina].
1)lugu obox my anus.

1)obul N banana [generic]. 1)obul ka akat
the banana is unripe. 1)blasisi ila 1)obul
banana sp.

1)obus N/+ ine pubis. 1)obus luznow uole
ine my pubic hair.

1)obut N tree sp.

1)obxou N mountain ridge (≡ ebet].

1)odlon N obsidian.

1)oduk N 1. plug [for water shell made of
Alpinia leaves]; 2. tree sp. 1)aki ina
1)oduk ginger plug for water container.

1)odun ADJ straight (≡ nepis, osuk ≠
1)okol). 1)ienim ka 1)odun the road is straight.

1)odun SPEC very (≡ eitil]. 1)soulu 1)odun
very bad. 1)itau 1)odun very good.

1)oglut N earthworms [eaten by pigs].

1)ogu > 1)eine.

1)ogu N sword grass, Imperata spp [TP
kunai]. 1)ogu gix 1)iyor the sword grass
scratched me.

1)ogu N white pig (≡ paulik > abax, eglim,
1)akau].

1)oiou N tree sp, Inocarpus fagiferus (≡
amsi, iou, uange].

1)oklou N sun, day, season. 1)oklou aixabu
noon. 1)oklou tuk just past noon. 1)oklou
bak saxaba it was dawn. 1)oklou enjil
buk ite to uelep the sun was hot and
made us sweat. saxaba dim 1)oklou clouds
are blocking out the sun. 1)oklou dite
max the sun is rising. 1)oklou duxu la
the sun is setting. 1)oklou nesip the sun
set. 1)oklou oklou telila kobok we have
not walked for days. 1)oklou itau dry
season (≡ pakoxo, soxoi].

1)okodi N/+ ila_ adze (≡ akxa].

1)okol ADJ crooked, bent (≡ 1)odun, osuk,
nepis) akai to 1)okol the stick is bent.

1)okoli N sono hammer.

1)oku N/+ ine new [commonly used, but
considered Aria for 1)uku] 1)rinu ka 1)oku
ine this house is new.

1)oku ono ka TEMP just now.

1)okus ADJ wet, rotten (≡ epis, kakxak
Anêm ékis]. 1)uon to 1)okus that’s wet;
that’s rotten.

1)okux N meat, flesh (≡ a1)iua, masu1)on].

1)olmut N moss (≡ gulumu].

1)onyoma N banana sp.

1)olop N peninsula [particularly in a river].

1)olu N 1. pond, deep place (≡ bubu]; 2.
deep. *olu apra* upper end of of a pond where a river is shallow enough to ford. *olu gitno* lower end of a pond. *aki ka olu* this river is deep.

*olu* N banana sp.


*olut* N tree sp.

*omba* ADJ big [= *puda, umba* Anêm *omba*]. *omba* iiti very large.

*omdu* N net. *omdu abax ina* a pig net. *ŋouxi omdu* = *ŋoxomdu* I put up a net.

*omŋux* N 1. dry season [marked by the end of the red flower on the *pei* tree. > *oklou itau*]; 2. tree sp.

*omoi* N 1. pandanus sp with broad leaves; 2. pandanus sleeping mat. *siau tikikxe omoi* women scrape pandanus. *moblou omoi epnü ine* we trim the edge of the sleeping mat.

*omok* N food taboo taken on in memory of the death of a close relative or friend. *apman due omok* the woman has a food taboo. *ila omok iagos* her food taboo is finished.

*omŋŋ* N forest [usually in the form *omŋŋ aïno* > *loloto*]. *tesep omŋŋ aïno* let’s go into the forest. *ŋodno omŋŋ aïno* I got lost in the forest. *osep omŋŋ ina* people who live in the forest [≠ *osep misuon ina*]. *ŋexke abax mxi tan omŋŋ aïno* I saw a pig standing in the forest.

*omot* N island [rejected in Lumusi in favour of *mu*].


*omson* N±_ine fuzz or small barbs [>* uala*]. *akai omson ine* fuzz on a tree. *omtugu, omtomu* > *bitna*.

*omtu* N±_ine hip.

*omuk* ADJ soft, squishy [>* meteltel, nagax*]. *ongup to omuk ono* that coconut is a little soft.

*omun* N±_ine chest [>* ulan omun*].

*omus* N cave, rock shelter.

*omux* N 1. place; 2. garden. *omux to logle* a place inhabited by a spirit sp. *omux uai* thunder. *tigix omux* they cleared the ground. *ŋeles tan omux* I weed the garden. *ŋoluk lugu omux* I clear my new garden.

*on* > *uon*.

*ono* SPEC diminutive [>* nono*]. *ienim ka uanuk ono* the road is quite close. *ono kade to* here’s the damn thing. *ono toko* there it is. *ono exi* there is it (poor thing) over there. *aki ono ka basex* there is some water here that has spilled. *oxuo ono* just a few. *babit ono* quite short.

*ono blañ ono* TEMP soon. *gute exi ono blañ ono* polou that man will be here soon.

*onu* N±_ine gall bladder.

*onu bik* N taro sp [Anêm *onu bik* three men].

*onu bik gelet* N taro sp [Anêm *onu bik gelet* three hairless pigs].

*onuk* N nest. *monuk ila onuk* bird’s nest.

*omsoft* N spirit sp that inhabits a specific place and causes illness [>* logle*]. *omux to omus* that place is inhabited by a spirit sp.

ongxus N/± ila__ snot.

ohon N flood.

onon N/± ine blood clot [particularly the coagulated blood in the chest cavity of a pig during butchering].

opmu N 1. stone; 2. stone oven [= tanyan, uinen]. tituk opmu they rolled the stone. lumgu opmu my thumb.

opmu > eine.
opogu > apna.
opoine > opol.
opol N/± ine shoulder. opoline = opoine his shoulder.
opomu > apna.
opon N tree sp [used for making planks].

osep N people [>). gute]. osep auxam the bachelors. osep timax ka here come the people.

osluk N torch [Anêm èšlik]. ñobuk osluk I lit a torch.

osou ADJ ripe [± akat > boleine, ulip].
obul to osou the banana is ripe.

osuk ADJ straight [= odunj, neplis ± okol].

osun N palm sp [used for an umbrella].

otno N child, baby, small [singular. > titmo]. enen otno = enen akaxaj little boy [>). agau titno]. apmarj otno little girl. tisogo enen otno they're decorating a child [for initiation]. otno nono tiny.

otobla CJ if it is the case that, since. axagu duxu otobla todonj given that it is raining, we should stay.

otou N/± ila__ walking stick [= matu].

otu N 1. louse; 2. tree sp [used to kill lice]. otu titno nits.

otuk N/± ine head [= boxo, apna]. imemko otuk libmi nopl pedi we bumped heads. otuk lugonj wole ine my hair. olu otuk ine upper end of a pond in a river. tabauluk otuk ine ba munu osuk let's turn its prow so it lies straight.

otuou N 1. vegetable greens sp,

Abelmoschus manihot; 2. taro sp.

oulas > aulas.

oulei N dog [considered to be the real Mouk word, but gemle from Aria is commonly used instead].

oulu N stick used for hanging up a pig net.

ouop > eine.

ouos N cold [experiential. > epen ≠ uelep]. taxna lugonj ouos I'm cold.

outis N grater used for taro or cassava [>). ñiixi].

ouxit N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [with edible sprout. [± agiau].

oxen N taro sp.

oxlok N tree ant [= kamulia].

oxmot ADJ finished off, all gone [>). iagos. msa]. ñenjen oxmot la the food is all gone.

oxmun N men's lodge.

oxsu N bamboo [generic. = akexne Anêm osu]. takamlu abax tan oxsu ki anam let's cook the pork in bamboo so it'll be tender. oxsu nopl bamboo explodes [when burned].

oxuo QUANT two. lugu siau oxuo I have two wives. ñabaka oxxoe I split it into two parts. oxuo ono just a few.

padaxi N tree sp.

padidi VTR heal by massage [caress a sick person in one direction to get the blood moving]. ampadidi ñonj massage me.

padpada N pandanus sp with large edible fruit.

paglu-e VTR send. ñapage enen otno ka la due ato I sent the child to take a message.

paglus-e VTR peel back one's foreskin [in superincision].

pai-e VTR 1. heat, dry or wilt over fire or lamp [eg. tobacco or leaf to be soften as a food wrapper]; 2. burn. ñapai oxsu I burn bamboo.
paia VI sick. segi de ŋagu musou ki ŋapaia ka? who took my bodily effluvia to make me sick?

paide ADV quickly. paide malua ŋoŋ quick, help me.

painim VTR hold up water container for someone to drink [< imi]. ampainim ŋoŋ give me some water to drink.

paipai N 1. armlet; 2. fathom segment from fingertips to opposite biceps; 3. aromatic plant sp.

pakoxo N rainy season [= soxoi ≠ oklou itau].

pala1) N 1. armlet; 2. fathom segment from fingertips to opposite biceps; 3. aromatic plant sp.

palma N trunk. akai palma trunk of a tree.

palok N frog sp [= ualiep].

Palpalu N name of Mouk village inhabited by segment of Ńal patriclan.

palu N tree sp, Hibiscus tileaceus [= amsexe].

pampamu N/ine corpse. pampamu ine, ano la kodon it is just his corpse, his soul has already left.

pan-e VTR wake up [= deite]. nasaksak ŋou ti ŋapan uom in the morning, I’ll come and wake you up.

panim kale N taro sp.

papana N swamp, muddy place [= dogox].

pas N letter [< TP = pepa, eiuk]. ŋosogo lugu pas I’m writing my letter.

pasis N harbour [< TP = sagxu > modouani].

paso N seed coat [= epes]. lopa ila paso seed coat of a lopa nut.

patu gabu N taro sp.

paulik N white pig [= ogu > eglim, akau].

paut N taro sp.

paux-e VTR bring, escort. tapaux apmaŋ let’s escort the bride. ŋapaux ŋagu uas I brought my tobacco.

paxa VTR forbid, put prohibition marker on. ampaxa ŋŋup? did you put a prohibition marker on the coconuts? ŋapaux ine I forbid it.

paxa N top plate at gable end of a house [= pola].

paxia N 1. monitor lizard [= pixdem Lusi paria]; 2. tree sp.

pegim ADV on top of, upstream [= moli > sina]. donŋ kaba pegim it’s on top of the bed. tala texis pegim let’s go bathe upstream.

pei N 1. spiny tree sp with red flowers; 2. vine sp with red berries.

pelaka N lightning [= logle].

peli PRON reciprocal. tobono peli let’s get together. tadax peli let’s part. imelile peli kobok we don’t know one another. tikis limsak peli they held hands. timko peli they fought. tauai peli let’s argue.

pelim N breadfruit, Artocarpus incisa.

pelpel N/ila_ ringworm.

pen N banana sp.

pen N pen, pencil [< TP].

pera N wing. monuk pera bird’s wing.

pepa N paper, letter [< TP = eiuk].

pexex N pan flute [= epxe, solopet > epxe].

pexpex N 1. cliff face; 2. chalk. ŋasak pexpex mismis tan komgu I wipe chalk dust from my leg.

pi-e VTR out, eject, extract, pull up. empi eski pull out the taro. ŋepi omsok tan eliep I spat out the betel.
pianau N temporary bush shelter.
pidau N kingfisher.
pilai V braid.
pilaijan N three-stranded braided rope [ > galou].
pindi N aromatic plant sp.
pipi N tree sp, small mountain tree similar to Inocarpus.
pituan N aromatic plant sp.
pxdem N monitor lizard [= paxia Aném pxdém]. pxdem taxna lizard skin [used as timpanum for drum]. ṇekje tan pxdem I mount a timpanum on it.
plex VI float [= maxo, monmono]. akai plex wood floats.
plet N plate, bowl [< TP].
pma VTR clear branches in preparation for a garden. tapma akai we trim branches.
pme VTR put on. siau tipme uxok kokxei the women put on their pubic aprons.
pmi VTR ask. max pmi ṇoŋ tan ṇelil he came and asked me for a knife. ṇepmi wom I asked you.
podu N marsupial sp [smaller than a melim].
poga N eleventh month, possibly February [time to plant taro. > taiko].
pogpoge N large beads [ > amasai, nagemgem].
pola N top plate at side of house supporting rafters [ > paxa]. aki ina pola top plate used to store water containers.
pole N/ _ine stomach.
polu VI appear, arrive, happen, blow. akai to polou adai that tree just grew by itself. aloge ba polou? when will he arrive? iiaix polou the monsoons blow. ielen polou wind blows.
pom ADJ/bitna_ dull [ > bitna]. elil bitna pom the knife is dull.
pomoxou N freshwater fish similar to groper.
pongi N taro sp.
pou N turtle.
poposé N tree sp.
poxos N/ _ine lung.
posolo N sweet potato sp. Ipomea batatas [considered to be indigenous].
poti N wild boar [that mates with village sows]. abax tra la due poti max axmok the sow goes and makes the boar come into the village.
pou VTR tie. ōmpou abax tie up the pig. pou ie he tied it up. lugu apas max ṇopou ṇala getixie bring my barkcloth and I’ll tie it on and go dancing. topou xogo let’s perform a mortuary ritual.
pouos N tree sp.
pox VTR 1. wring out; 2. mix with coconut cream [ > poxpos]. ṇopox ongup I wring out coconut cream. pox ie she mixed it with coconut cream.
poxpos-e VTR wring out, squeeze. ōmpoxposee wring it out with bast tissue. ōmpoxpose komgu sakam don’t squeeze my leg.
puagelo N taro sp.
puai N malay apple, Eugenia malaccensis.
puda ADJ big [= omba].
puda N European. puda taxna woven cloth [ > apas]. ipem puda firstborn child.
pudanja N fork, crotch. akai pudanja ine crotch of a tree.
pugu bitna N door [= ninu bitna]. ṇyonoklonkloŋ tan pugu bitna I knocked at the door.
pumpum N bumpy. akai pumpum (ine) bumpy wood.
puzu N tree sp. Barringtonia speciosa.
pux-e VTR chop up. ṇopux akai I chop firewood.
sabalau N support of crossed sticks. mesin sabalau we planted crossed-stick
supports.

sage N pig with tail high on back [abax].
sagsagi ADJ wild [≠ mudu].
sagu HL dammit!
sagxu N harbour [< Arove. = pasis > modoani].
sai V climb [deite]. tisai lopa max tangane they’re climbing a lopa tree to get nuts for us to eat.

saikak N aromatic plant sp.
saiki N little finger [= seiki]. lumgu saiki my little finger.
sak VTR wipe, brush off. ṇasak pexpex mismis tan komgu I brush chalk dust off my leg. sak ie he wiped it.
sakam MOD dehortative, don’t, stop… ing. omdue sakam don’t take it. amiak ṇonj onj sakam stop lying to me.
sakua N banana sp.
sakul N song, dance. tidue sakul they sang a song.
sakul ina N snake sp.
salai > buno salai.
salimu N needle [galou].
Salkei N name of Mouk village, patriclan and mountain ridge.
samdik N litter, trash [= asuk].
samepua N fathom segment from fingertips to forearm.
samil N fish sp.
samo N banana sp.
sapanja N hunger, famine. sapanja mluk ṇonj I’m hungry. gute ka sapanja mko the man is hungry.
sapi-e VTR 1. carve; 2. erase, wipe off. ṇasapi kude I carved a drum. ṇasapi komgu I wiped off my leg. omsapie la erase it; carve it off.
saten N ila__ friends [plural. > aten]. ṇonj lugu saten me and my friends.
sau VTR catch, get. ṇokopik la ṇasau ie I jumped and got it. ṇasau uas I caught the tobacco.
saua > ṇani saua.
saxa ina akau N taro sp.
saxa IN cloud. saxaba kim oklou clouds are blocking out the sun. oklou bak saxaba it was dawn [the sun splits the clouds].
saxabatne N sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas [generic].
saxagei N tree sp.
saxba VI creak, snap [sound similar to napakpak].
saxkei N bed of Alpinia fronds laid on ground as a temporary bed or clean area for butchering a pig [Aném sakêx].
se CJ since, if. se axagu max i todoŋ if it rains, let’s stay home. se sagsagi naki temtexe if it’s wild, then we spear it.
sedik N salt ash [made by burning driftwood].
segi PRON who. segi bla polou axmok? who’s that coming into the village? lagja luguom segi? what’s your name?
seiki > saiki.
sel exi ine N snake sp.
sel la he went inside. emsep omox come in. omdue sep la put it inside. ṇesep lugu sio I put on my shirt.
sepoku N taro sp.
sepxi N taro sp.
sesue ADJ how many? ninu sesue tan axmok? how many houses are there in the village?
sex V 1. root; 2. comb. abax sex ebës pigs root around in the ground. uensik max ṇexex opogu vole ine hand me a comb to comb my hair.
sex europe bamboo sp.
sexe aplau N mushroom sp.
sia N k.o. dance [ilaide, kai, kaxap, malolo, ualai].
siau N 1. women [plural. > apmay]; 2. wives [> asap]. siau belbela young women. lugu enen siau my daughters. siau nyolje senior women. lugu siau o xo I have two wives.
sigi N carrying stick [used by pair of men to carry heavy loads on shoulders]. abax ina sigi carrying stick for a pig. kakluk ila sigi he carried his carrying stick. nagu sigi stick that I am carried on [humorous].
sik VTR chase, get rid of. emsik gemle get rid of the dog. emsik ie max yemtexe flush it out this way so I can spear it.
sikor N banana sp [< Tolai].
sikxei N tree sp.
sila DEM one, some [= sila]. uas silaŋ max hand me a cigarette. nagu uas silaŋ one cigarette for me. gute silaŋ someone. sila blay = silaŋ blay another one.
silimu N/kamla_ ankle.
silmei N/aki waterfalls. aki silmei = aki nosux waterfalls.
simbam N banana sp.
sin VTR stick in, plant. mesin sabalau we plant cross-stick supports.
sina ADJ under [> moli, pegim]. kaba sina under the bed. lugu abax sina my armpit.
siŋa V wait. emsiŋa ŋŋ ŋodugum uas iagos tauai wait while I roll a cigarette then we can talk.
siŋen N ladder. ninu ina siŋen ladder of a house.
siŋit VI weep. omox enen ka siŋit na! come, this child is crying!
siŋt N shirt [< TP]. ŋesep lugu siŋt I put on my shirt.
sisi N 1. breast; 2. fathom segment from fingertips to nipple. sisi luggong my breast. sisi olune milk. enen ka inim sisi the child is suckling.
sisi-e VTR peel, husk. ćemsisi ongup husk the coconut.
sisiŋen N husk, peeling [< sisi].
sisi-x VTR sew up. ęsisix lugu apas I sew my cloth.
sisix N taro sp [Aném sisix].
sisia N broom [= brum, sousou].
sisu VI swim on surface of water [> delim].
sisui N coconut locust. sisui ŋen komgu a bug bit my leg.
sixemsixem N aromatic ginger sp, Alpinia sp [< agiau].
sišlik N sweet potato, Ipomea batatas sp [considered indigenous].
slak VTR narrowly miss. ongup ka duxu slak ŋŋ the coconut went down and just missed me.
slaŋa N 1. ear [ŋ slaŋagu, slaŋap, slaŋa, slaŋada, slaŋapmi, slaŋapmu, slaŋalsak > tala]; 2. lateral fin. aŋua slaŋa lateral fin of a fish.
sobo mau N taro sp.
sogo VTR draw or paint designs on, write. tisogo enen otño they’re decorating a child [> baxes]. tisogo lugu eiuk I’m writing my letter.
sokolo N wallaby [= apose, natus].
solopet N pan flute [= epxe, pexex. > kaux, uotuot].
solou > meia solou.
somogu VI pregnant. uom to omsomogu? are you pregnant?
somoxo N river snails [generic].
somsom N mushroom sp.
sonotno QUANT ten. iselme sonotno sixty.
sonyoto N kindling.
sonson VI breathe [> sonsonen].
sonsonen Nilala_ breath [< sonson].
sopi > sapi._ bad [≠ itau].
sousou N broom [= brum, sisilia].
soxei > taiko soxei.

soxoi N rainy season [= pakoxo > taiko].
sua PRON what, which.  uon to sua? what is that?  omox tan sua? why did you come?
suali VI rest [particularly in reference to women putting down their loads.  > mton].  tasuali da let’s rest first.
suk VTR show, point to [considered Aria for Mouk gin > sukjen].
sukjen N/limla_ index finger [< suk].
suletso N- sisters, brothers, siblings opposite sex collective [σ suluku, sulup, sulutmo, suludo > lutno].
sun-e V carry on head [> kakluk, sunjen].

siau tisun akai women carry firewood on their heads.  abax ka polou sun the pig got caught in the net [idiom].

sunjen N bundle carried on head [by women.  < sun].
suju N colourful banded snake sp.
suoj VI run.
supi N tenth month, possibly January [pitpit season.  > taiko].
sux VTR ford.  gosux aki I forded the river.

sux VTR call, summon [> gi].  suxie he called him.

suxuk VTR push to the side [= kakai].
tabila N Siasi dish [= tumxo].
tagaiau N first month, possibly April [beginning of dry season.  > taiko].
tagaxun VI chirp.  sisui tagaxun locusts chirp.
tai VTR perform healing magic on [> logle, luayan].  natai uom I’ll heal you.
taibe N boa constrictor.
taiko N moon, month, season [months are named according to a lunar calendar that begins with the onset of the dry season, probably April.  the month names are:  tagaiau, tobou, maxexe, aduol, xai, xai koka, xai kuxu, guigui, mododo, supi, poga, iagi these names do not match neatly with similar systems in the neighbouring languages].  taiko bono full moon.  taiko demel quarter moon.  taiko nepel the moon is rising.  taiko tuk just past midnight.  taiko soxei rainy season [> soxoi].
takalou N freshwater crab sp.
tala copine N gill flap.  agua tala copine gill flap of a fish.
talde N tree sp, Terminalia catappa.
talpes N/ine claw, fingernail, toenail.
lumgu talpes (ine) my fingernail.  komgu talpes (ine) my toenail.  bogi limla talpes banana sp.
talu ADJ heavy [= maxkan].  lam ka talu the lamp is heavy.
tamaxa N tree sp, Ficus sp.
tan PREP in, to, with, because of, oblique [> ine].
takamlu abax tan oxsu we cook pork in bamboo.  tidue apok tan gute to they’re making fun of that man.  nasapi das tan komgu I brushed dust off my leg.  yedeite tan nasaksak I woke up in the morning.  kax noŋ tan uas he gave me some tobacco.  nala kobok tan axagu I’m not going because of the rain.  timtex abax tan masket they shoot pigs with a rifle.  pmi noŋ tan elil he asked me for a knife.  omox tan sua? why did you come?
tan VTR cook in a stone oven [= ui > kamlu, kamno, kluk, tanjan].
taan eski we cook taro in a stone oven.  todugum ida njenjen la tan we wrap our food and it goes to cook in the stones.
tanjjan N stone oven [< tan = opmu, uiyen].
tanguxi N jawharp.
tapago N egg cowrie, Ovum ovum, [tied in pair as pig tusks].
tapul-e VTR push [> baluk].
tapul noŋ he pushed me.
tapxe VTR throw [= uxi].

taitigel N boulder [Anêm taitigel].

tatna N branch. akai tatna branch of a
tree. tala todue akatatna let's go sing
murmur.

taxau N tree, mangrove sp, Rhizophora
[< Arove. > bale].

taxna N/± skin, body, container,
package. ogu taxna my lips. akat taxna
bark. akau taxna lime gourd. aki taxna
water container. moblou uetne taxna
we superincised him. puda taxna woven
cloth. ongup taxna coconut husk. taxna
lugnyou os I'm cold. uas taxna empty
cigarette package.

taxtax ADJ shallow [≠ olu > asax]. aki
ka taxtax the river is shallow.

tebila N taro sp [Anêm tebila dish from
Siasi].

teina N- anus, buttocks [teinañon, tainam,
teina, teinate, teinaimi, teinaumu,
teinañak = obox]. teinañon okux ine
my buttocks.

telelem ADJ/± bitna sharp [≠ pom].
elil bitna telelem sharp knife.

teli N shell money. teli eglim = teli golu
white shell money [high value]. teli
obox black shell money [low value].
lugu teli shell money that I own. ngu
teli shell money used for my bridewealth.
ngu teli kobok I have not been bought.

temo N tree sp [used for eel poison].

tepis VI lazy [> iage, tepisñen, xopo].
gute la lila tepis ba la due iage kobok
the man walks around and is lazy so he
never makes a garden.

tepisñen N laziness [> tepis]. gute to
tepisñen ina the man is lazy.

tetoga N taro sp.

ti N tea [< TP]. amla amkamno ti go
make some tea.

tiben N tree sp.

tibmi > tumdo.

tigoxou N blue-tailed skink [Anêm
tigoxo].

tik VTR 1. count; 2. distribute; 3. list [>
tikñen]. titik eski they're distributing
taro.

tikñen N k.o. dance, movement of apotñen
in which the names of all tree, animals,
etc are listed [≠ tik].

tilbut N wax [= naban > uame].

titjip N period of total darkness between
dusk and moonrise.

tin N tin can [< TP]. nodul tin I put a
hole in the tin.

tip V fetch water. siau titip (aki) women
fetch water.

tipman N fern sp.

titai V walk along [> titaiñan]. ñetitai
akai I walked along the log.

titaiñan N thing to walk along [< titai].
kiue ila titaiñan rafter brace parallel to
ridge [ratway].

titno N children [> otno, enen]. agau
titno little boys [> enen otno]. komgu
titno my toes. lumgu titno my fingers.
kuako titno nesiousiou chicks chirp. ou
titno nits.

titu N tree sp.

tix VI dribble, leave trail of water after
crossing a river.

tixgok N bow and arrow.

tixie VI dance and sing. lugu apas max
ropou ña la ñetixie bring my barkcloth
and I'll tie it on and go dancing.

trna N mother [3S only, with collocational
restrictions. > ide]. abax trna sow. dimex
tra spirit sp.

to DEM the, that near you [> ka, toko,
exi, bla]. uom to buxua? are you fatally
wounded? tidue apok tan gute to they're
making fun of that man. libep to gala
that is your left hand. ono kade to
there's the damn thing. uon to sua?
what is that?

tobla N like, as. gute to mxi tobla monuk
the man is standing like a bird.
tobou N second month, possibly May [> taiko].
tobox N pitpit, Saccharum sp.
toi N small fish sp [TP ainan].
toko ADV there near you [> to].

yagu uas toko that's my tobacco.

exi toko there it is.

right over there.

tokur N taro sp.
tokux N orchid.
tole N taro sp.
touete N taro sp.
touxen N umbrella, any plant used as an umbrella.
totox ADJ skinny [Anêm toxtox].
tuaya kubu N poisonous mushroom sp [Lusi tuaya kuvu empty village].
tubmu, tubum, tubxok > tumoo.
tudadok VI bob head while walking [ego chickens].
tui N banana sp.
tuk VI 1. turn, roll [> bauluk]; 2. just past. oklou tuk just past noon. taiko tuk just past midnight. amnjoy tuk I'm out of breath. tituk opmu they rolled the stone.
tuktuk N owl.
tumoo N mother's brother, sister's son reciprocal [¾ tumgu, tubum, tumno, tumdo, tibmi, tubmu, tubxok].
tumxu N wooden Siasi dish [= tabila].
tumxu napak the dish has a crack in it.
tupi VTR peck at. kuako to tupi yenyen the chicken is pecking at food.

txak VI have a temper tantrum [> aijon].
enenka txak this child is having a temper tantrum.

txyan N sago, Metroxylum spp [generic].
txyan bibitna spiny sago. txyan ila uala spines of sago [> gigiu, bibitna].
ninu ina txyan thatch of a house. txyan uole ine sago leaves; thatch.
uasak he's carrying his basket under his arm.

uasak VTR plant. tala tauasak eski exi ine let's go plant taro cloning sticks.

uatna N fruit. esis uatna betel pepper catkin. ogu uatna my teeth. akau uatna lime powder container; lime gourd. komgu apok uatna my calf. ongup uatna coconut.

uaxana N/ine veins, tendons. uaxana lugnoŋ my veins.

uaxax N fish sp, mudskipper.

Ubir Batne N name of Mouk village in Kandrian District.

uda > ila.
udeide > ide.
udo > ila.
udou > ilau.
ududu kakau N small ridgepole above main ridgepole (> komduŋo).

uelep VI 1. sweat (> ueleppen); 2. hot [* owos > eglil]. oklou eglil buk iee touelep the sun is hot and heats us and we sweat. omuelep? are you hot?

ueleppen N sweat(<uelep). yagu ueleppen basex I'm sweating.

uełen N/± ine pillow.

euensik N comb (> sex). euensik max nesex opogu uole ine bring me a comb to comb my hair.

uełe N/± ine penis. tabak enen otro uełe let's superincise the child. blou uełe taxna he cut his foreskin. uełe lugnoŋ my penis. gute uełe a man's penis. axagu uełe rainbow.

euexgi N earthquake.

ui VTR cook in stone oven (= tan > opmu, tanjan, uijen, kamlu, kamno). toui eski let's cook some taro in a stone oven.

uijen N stone oven(<ui = tangan, opmu).

ulay VTR cut (> blou); butcher (= bisik). omulay abax butcher the pig. omulay abax lesna castrate the pig.

ulay omun N fathom segment from fingertips to midpoint in chest.

ulegi N taro sp.

uligiu N banana sp.

ulip ADJ ready for harvest [= boleine > akat, osou]. obul to ulip that banana is ready for harvest.

ulo N clay pot [imported through Siasi network. = kixdau]. yagul uło my pot [that I'm using]. lugu uło my pot [that is for sale].

ulou VII/ine hate, dislike. ulou lugnoŋ he hates me.

ulou VTR see, check [= xik, xke]. omulou abax itau da laki abax mudu you check the pig carefully first lest it be a tame pig. ηouλυ uωm I see you.

umba ADJ big (= omba, puda).

umelme PRON you D2P five (= umu elme > ie).

umetli PRON you D2P three (= umu etli > ie).

umu PRON you D2P (> ie). kap umu he came with you.

umuxuo PRON you D2P two (= umu oxuo > ie). umuxuo upu eski this taro is for you two.

uoku ADJ new [considered proper Mouk for oku which is considered Aria, but commonly used. ≠ gamen]. uon ka dau uoku this thing is still new. eski uoku new taro.

uole N/ine hair, leaf, feather, fur. opogu uole ine = otuk lugnoŋ uole ine my hair [on my head]. obus lugnoŋ uole ine my pubic hair. akai uole ine leaves. baŋxa lugnoŋ uole ine my beard. txanə uole ine sago leaves; thatch. monuk uole ine feathers. gemle uole ine dog fur.

uom PRON you D2S (> ie).

uon N thing (= on). uon to sua? what is that? uon ka dau uoku this thing is still
new.  _omdue uon to omuxie la_ get that thing and throw it away.

_uotuot_ N flute with one or two holes made of single piece of bamboo (> _epxe, kaux, pexex, soloper_).

_uoxou_ N poisonous foxfire mushroom [glows in dark].

_upi_ VTR blow on.  _omupi eiou ki bublo_ blow on the fire to make it light.

_upu_ > _ina_.

_use_ VI defecate (> _ata_).

_usisi_ N wind and rain that blows into the house.

_usu_ VI bear fruit.

_uti_ VI 1. go, come [non-directional. > _la, max_]; 2. about.  _nasaksak_ _nouti_ _ŋapam_ _umu_ in the morning, I’ll come and wake you up.  _imesep mouti_ we went inside.  _ŋauai uti luguom_ I’m talking about you.

_uis_ N tree sp.

_uxi-e_ VTR throw [= _tapxe_].  _omdue uon to omuxie la_ get that thing and throw it away.  _ieyen uxi guoup_ the wind is kicking up dust.  _tiduxi omdu_ = _tixomdu_ they threw a net.

_uxok_ > _ila_.

_uxok_ VI fly.  _monuk tiuxok_ birds fly.

_uxokau_ > _ilau_.

_uxokide_ > _ide_.

_uxu_ VI coo.  _belis uxu_. a dove coos.

_xai_ N fifth month, possibly August (> _taiko_).

_xai koka_ N sixth month, possibly September (> _taiko_).

_xai kuxu_ N seventh month, possibly October (> _taiko_).

_xais_ N rice (< TP).  _la kamno xais_ she went to cook some rice.

_xambo_ N fern sp.


_xaxai_ VI crawl.  _enen ka xaxai_ this baby is crawling.

_xaxna_ N/±_ine_ side.  _xaxna lugŋŋŋ_ _mxi_ I sleep on my side [my side is standing up].  _aki xaxna = aki dina_ river bank.

_xegit_ N raft [Anêm _xégiti_].

_xes_ VI swollen.  _komgu xes_ my leg is swollen.

_xes_ VTR set out, arrange [especially fire].  _xes eiou_ he build a fire.  _ŋexes ie kodon_ I’ve already set it out.

_xexe_ N dorsal fin.  _anŋŋŋ ila xexe_ dorsal fin of a fish.

_xik-e_ VTR see [= _xkel_3S. = _ulug_].  _emxik nŋŋ?_ do you see me.  _ŋexke = ŋexike_ I see him.  _ŋexke abax = ŋexik abax_ I saw a pig.

_xis_ V bathe.  _tesix moli_ let’s bathe downstream.  _tixis enen_ they bathe the child.

_xisi-e_ VTR pull, drag [= _tapul_].  _tesixi gomot_ let’s pull the canoe.

_xke_ > _xik_.

_xogo_ N mortuary ritual.  _topou xogo_ let’s put on a mortuary feast.

_xomdu_ VI throw a net, hunt with a net [= _uxi omdu_].

_xomos_ VTR perform healing magic on [= _tai > logle, luayan_].  _ŋoxomos uom_ I’ll perform healing magic on you.

_xopo_ N lazy [±_iage, tepis].  _gute to xopo (ina)_ that man is lazy.

_xum_ VI fat.  _omxum you’re fat.
Abelmoschus manihot otuou.
about tan, uti.
accompany kap.
ache nisi.
accompany kap.
affine, k.o. agiap, kaden, xana.
agree lana.
Alpinia spp adali, akue, anjexk, bubunik, gelege, kalaisi, koklok, maxka, ouxit, sixemsixem.
already kodo1).
also blaj.
ancestor, k.o. ada, aigolu, baba, komgu esleine.
and ba, i, kap, ki.
angry amŋa.
ankle agum, silimu.
ant spp atokatok, kamulia, oxlok.
anus obox, teina.
appear polou.
apron kokxei.
Areca catechu eliep.
arm limla; armband mese, paipai; armpit abax sina.
aromatic plant spp bokula, telepo, matambuta, modou, mogxen, namane, nopusyen, paipai, pindi, pituan, saikak, sixemsixem.
aromat plant spp bokuila, telepo, matambuta, modou, mogxen, namane, nopusyen, paipai, pindi, pituan, saikak, sixemsixem.
arrange xes.
arrive polou.
Artocarpus altilis pelim.
as tobla.
ascend deite.
ashes goup.
asi smoke.
ask pm1. at tan.
aunt babu.
away la.
axe aige.
baby enenotno.
back dogux.
back, go bauluk.
back and forth nemilmil.
bald soulu.
bag akluk.
balance netex.
bald apal.
bamboo, generic akexne, oxsu; bamboo spp akexne, kede, oxsu, sexe.
banana, generic obul; banana spp aitno babit, akxa, anigele, anjai, baiak, bani ina ongup, bexik, bexik iaulua, bile, blasisi ila obul, bode, borg limla talpes, bole, boxom, galau, iaba, kakatur, kalau, kaxumkaxum, kekele, kexi, kimbe.
kokolatau, koxdo, kuxsou, madu, manus, maxaxo ames, meia, meia solou, mesis, mexian, moxmox, mumum, nalato, olyoma, olu, palem misuon, pen, sakua, samo, sikor, simbam, tui, uame, uligiu.
bandidooc melim, podu.
bank aki xaxna, aki dina.
barbs omsoy.
bark, dog mgux, neklemklem.
bark, tree akai taxna.
barkcloth apas.
barracuda kalubia.
Barringtonia speciosa putu.
base batne.
basket golu, ikexka, uasak.
bat, generic bleik; bat spp blasisi, bleik, mana1).
bathe xis.
bay, dogs neklemklem.
be located do1), munu.
beach labu batne.
beads spp amasai, nagemgem, pogpoge.
bean esel.
bear fruit usu.
beard baxŋa uole ine.
beat mluk.
because ba, tan.
bed kaba, saxkei.
bedbug bidabida, ṣosŋos.
beetle sp alou.
before ḣamen.
belligerent amŋa.
belly damaine.
bellow moli.
bench bota.
bent okol.
betel bile, eliep; betel mortar maul; betel pepper esis, kambuxu.
between aixabu.
big omba, puda, umba.
bigman ɲoŋle.
bird, generic monuk; bird spp alau, aplau, belis, bode, bogi, buxu, daila, kalanqa, kaxkax, keiau, kilek, kokxak, kuako, kubo, libatɔŋ, mɛxiŋ, ŋamxi, pidau, tuvtuk
birth, give kakluk.
black nakum, obox; black mourning paint așoŋ
black pig nakum; black spot anaxi emgis; blackener getau.
bladder, gall onu.
bland emlel.
blind bitna egei, bitna lulul, bitna nogxom, bitna nopux.
block dim.
blood maxau; blood clot oŋŋɔŋ
bloom doxo.
blow polou, upi.
blue ebix, gesen.
bluebottle fly logobixi.
boa constrictor spp binigae, epmes ina, taibe.
boar abax axaŋ, poti.
bob head tudadok.
body pampanu, taxna.
boil kanno.
bone exi.
bonito atun.
book buk.
bore dul, kas.
boulder ɬaŋgel.
bow and arrow tixgok.
bowl baxa, ɲogotou, plet.
boy eiboid, enen otmo; boys agau titno.
brace kiue ila titainan.
braid pilai, pilaiñaŋ.
brains eski.
branch akai tataña.
breadfruit pelim.
brake bak, gxum, kxam, nepli.
breast sisi.
breath ano, sonsoŋ; breathe sonsoŋ.
bride apman.
bring due, paux.
broom brum, sislia, sousou.
brother, terms for agatno, atua, lutno; brothers terms for agau, sulutno; brother-in-law, terms for agiap, kaden.
brown moluok; brown pig mexden.
brush off sak.
buai (TP) bile, eliep.
bubble nobluk, nobotbot.
build due.
bump nopu.
bumpy pumpon.
bundle sunyen.
burn ɬublo, buk, kas, kluk, pai; burning stick eiou batne, mouk.
bush hen keiau.
bush house pianaju.
but i, kini.
butcher bisik, ulaŋ.
butt nodunjŋ.
butterfly bakuak.
buttocks obox, teina.
buy kli.
buzz nei.
cage kaxo xo.
calf kamla apok uatna.
call gi, sux.
can tin.
Canarium spp aduol, anaxi, anaxi emgis.
canoe gomot, mon.
canopy akai guxno.
carry kakluk; carry on head sun; carry under arm bis; carrying stick sigi.
carve sapi.
Caryota sp epxi.
cassava amioka.
cassowary alau, kubo.
castrate bak lasna, ulaŋ.
Casuarina equisetifolia elei.
cataracts egei, lulul.
catch sau.
catkin uatna.
caught kxo, nekel, nokol.
causative due.
cave omus.
Ceiba pentandra kapok.
chalk makuba, pexpex.
charcoal asinjaŋ.
Charonia tritonis kuliep.
chase sik.
check ulunʒ.
chest omun.
chew ɲanja; chew betel ɲas.
chicken kuako.
child enen, ipem puda, moxotoŋo, otmo; children dimixmix, titno.
chirp nesiousiou, tagaxun.
chop gusip, pux.
cigarette uas.
Citrus spp muli.
clam, generic baiu; clam, spp baiu, golomada, kaiañan.
claw talpes.
clay ebes; clay pot ulo.
clean itau.
clear gix, luk, pma.
click notloktlok.
cliff guglof), maf)goxof), pexpex.
climb deite, sai.
cloning stick exi.
clot O)f)Of).
cloth apas, puda taxna.
clouds saxaba.
club bao.
cluck nokokok, nopotpot.
clutch in hand gugum.
coals gigliñ.
cockatoo aplau.
cockroach spp alou, asap, ious.
coconut, Cocos nucifera ongup; coconut locust sisui; coconut shell baxa, ñogotou.
cold epen, ouos.
collapse nekxek, nepli.
collect bono, gom.
collective lagul.
colour terms akau, ebix, eglim, eibmox, gesen, golu, ianou, moluok, nakum, obox.
comb sex, uensik.
come max, uti.
completed iagos.
completive kodonj.
concave netik.
confirmative da.
container taxna.
contents aímo.
coo uxu.
cook kamlu, kamno, kluk, tan, ui; cooked lipma.
coral mogoxoxo.
Cordyline spp anuy, maxe.
corpse pampamu.
count tik.
cousin, terms for adou, aten.
cover dugum, neklip.
cowrie, egg tapago.
crab, generic kaxoki.
crab sp aŋgis, takalou.
crack napak, napakpak, natak, negegxe.
crackle nokoxkox.
crawl xaxai.
crazy manjamanja.
creak nakaxkax, napakpak, saxba.
cream pox.
crocodile apua.
crooked okol.
cross cousin adou.
cross-stick support sabalau.
crotch pudanja.
crow kokxak.
cry sijit.
cultivar adan.
cup kap.
cure lua, tai, xomos.
curled lilu.
cuscus kxanap.
cut bak, blou, ulañ.
cycad palm, Cycas circinalis matolo.
daka (TP) esis, kambuxu.
dammit sagu.
dance tixie; dance, k.o. akai tatna, apotñen, asinjit, aulu, axoman, boilo, kai, kalalanjan, kaxap, malolo, sia, tikjen, ualai.
daughter enen, ilmanj daughter-in-law xana.
dawn oklou bak saxaba.
day oklou.
dead mete, msim.
defeat ake.
decorate baxes; decoration amal.
deep modoani, olu.
defecate use.
dehortative sakam.
Derris uglinosa iaú.
descend duxu.
detach noblok, nosluk.
die mete.
dig ias; digging stick apma, namñan.
diminutive nono, ono.
 Dioscorea spp bidi, kou, uada.
dirt musou; dirty amun.
discussion aíñan, uainjan.
dish masugen, tabila, tumxo.
dislike ulou.
disperse dax.
distribute tik.
dizzy bitna bauluk.
do due.
dog gemle, oulei; dogtooth headband ñimjin.
don't sakam.
door ninu bitna, pugu bitna.
dorsal fin xexe.
dove belis.
down duxu.
downstream moli.
draw sogo.
dream ano.
dress up baxes.
dribble tix.
dried up msim.
drill dul.
drink inim, painim.
drip lilil, netenjen.
drive pigs bax.
drool baxex.
drop bomsuk.
drum kude.
dry epis, kakxak, pai; dry season oklou itau, omnux.
dugong lui.
dull bitna kobok, pom.
dust das, gxoup, mismis.
eagle, sea bogi.
ear sla1)a.
earth ebes.
earthquake uexgi.
earthworms oglut.
eat yan.
edge bitna, epxin.
eel bleten, bleten misuon ina.
egg dobun.
egg cowrie tapago.
eight lumeti.
eighty iselme isetli.
eject pi.
earbit limla balok1)en, limla bune ine.
elder no1)le.
embers giglin.
empty adai, batne, kakxak.
end batne.

enough kaxa1)a.
enter sep.
erase sapi.
escort paux.
Eugenia malaccensis puai.
European puda.
explode nopu.
extinguish bamsim.
extract pi.
eye bitna.
faeces ata.
faint mete.
fall bomsuk, gone, nedip,
noblok, nosluk.
famine sapanja.
far maua, wanuk.
fart nopus.
fast nekles, nekxit, nepik, paide.
fat xum.
fatally wounded buxua.
father ilau; father-in-law xana.
fathom axmax.
fear lou.
female apman.
fence axi.
fem sp dixu.
fetch water tip.
few oxuo ono.
Ficus sp tamaxa.
fifty isapeinal.
fight mluk.
fin melba, sla1)a, xexe.
fingers limla titno; index finger limla sa1)k1)en; little finger limla sa1)k1)en; middle finger limla nopus komlou; ring finger limla boi; fingernails limla talpes.
finished iagos, msa, oxmot.
fire eiou; firebrand eiou batne, mouk; firewood akai.
firm nебi1), netex, nobu1).
first da.
firstborn ipem puda, moxoto1)o.
fish anua; fish spp agat, kalubia, lakou, lodi, pomoxou, samil, toi, waxax.
fishtail palm epxi.
five elme.

flame bublo.
flash neblik.
flesh okux.
flimbsy melbe, meleplep, meteltel.
float maxo, moromon, ples.
flood onon.
flooring ekei.
flower aipuxu, doxo, doxo1)en.
fluid olune.
flute, k.o. epxe, kaux, pepex, solopet, uotuot.
flutter negi1), nekexkex.
fly uxok.
fly, insect lojo, lojöbixi.
fog no1)l.
fold mol.
follow batne, didi; follow inland nis.
fontanelle melim.
food nen1)en; food basket golu; food taboo omok.
foot kamla.
forage dabu.
forbid paxa.
ford sux.
forearm limla adex ine.
forehead baxa.
foreleg aklak.
foreskin pali; peel back foreskin paglus.
forest omön aitno, loloto.
fork pudaga.
four apeinal.
free bebe.
friend adou, aten; friends saten.
frog bael; frog spp kekxek, kxupkxup, palok, ualiep.
frond kitkiten.
front damaine.
fruit uatna; bear fruit usu.
full aitno, apax, bon, bono, got.
fun apok.
fur uole.
fuzz omsonj.
gall bladder onu.

garden iage, omux; clear garden luk.
garnish masu, masujen.
gather bono, gom, kum.
gecko lebei.
get due, kum, sau; get up deite.
giant clam golomada, kaiagam.
gills boxuai; Gill flaps tala kopine.
ginger, Alpinia, generic agiau; ginger, Alpinia spp adali, agiau, akue, anjek, bubunik, gelege, kalaisi, koklok, maxka, ouxit, sixemsixem; ginger, Zinziber, generic emles; ginger, Zinziber spp anjip, bakau, budin exiek, gexin, waik; ginger leaf plug aki ina oduk.
girl oto.
give kax; give birth kakluk.
glug nogongonj.
go la, uti; go ahead mgo.
gong akolonj.
good itau.
gossip aigan.
gourd akau, uatna.
grandchild bubno.
grandfather ada.
grandmother aik.
grass spp balimu, ogu.
grasshopper sisui.
grate kikxe, nou.
grate rixi, ousi.
graze noklu, nokuklu.
greasy dikjen.
green ebix.
greens otuou.
groin askap.
grope dabu.
ground ebis.
growl nenix, nenixnix.
grub etnim.
grunt kxu, nokuk.

Hibiscus tiliaceus amsex, palu.
hide kupep.
hill dama.
hindleg esex.
hip omtu.
history nasijen.
hit mluk.
hold kis.
hole dul.
Homalium foetidum boi.
home ninu.
honey aqlek, olune, uame.
hook kada, khe.
hornbill mexah.
hot ejil, uelep.
hot water atuaxa.
house ninu, oxmun, piajau.
housefly lojo.
how blange.
how many sesue.
howl mgux.
hundred buno.
hunger sapaj.
hunt bax, dabu, kxe,
xomdu.
hurt nisi.
husband asna, bogot.
husk sisijen, sisi, taxra; husking stick kolet.
I noj.
if ba, i, otoba, se.
Imperata spp ogu.
in sep, tan.
index finger limla sukuj.
initiate baxes; initiation dimixmix.
inland, follow nis.
in-law, terms for agiap, kaden, xana.

Inocarpus lagiferus amsi, iou, oio, uange.
inside aitno.
insipid emlel.
intestines goline.

Ipomea batatas, generic saxabatne Ipomea spp bisnaxe, epiep, posolo, sixlik.
ironwood bana.
island nu, omot.
it ie.
itchy kaklak.
jaw baxjya.
jawharp tanguxi.
joke apok.
juice olune.
jump kopik.
junior magit.
just adai, bala.
just now oku ono ka.
kambang (TP) akau.
karapa (TP) balimu.
kerosine karasin.
killed mluk, mtex.
kine, terms for adou, agatno, agau, agiap, aigolou, aik, aikos, asap, asna, aten, atua, baba, babu, bogot, bubno, ide, ilau, ilman, ipem puda, kaden, komgu esleine, lutuo, mlegi, moxotojo, saten, sulumo, tito, tna, tunno, xana.
kindling sonoto.
kingfisher pidau.
knee kamla bune ine; kneecap kamla ina baxa.
knife elil.
knock nokloŋkloŋ.
knot akai bune ine; knotty bunbune.
know ile.
kunai (TP) ogu.
ladder sigen.
lamp lam.
landslide ebes nokup.
language uaijan.
large omba, puda, umba.
later batne.
lateral fin slaga.
laugh dibel.
law nasigen.
leaky iage kobok, lila tepis, tepisgen, xopo.
leaf aman, eiuk, uole.
leak lilil, neteņenj.
lean nepil.
leaves akai uole ine.
leech dipman, kyal.
leathand gala.
leg kamla.
lemon muli.
least laki.
letter eiuk, pas, pepa.
level nokloŋ.
lie, prevaricate iak, iakiak.
lie, recline kotok, munu.
light bublo, buk, kobi.
lightning logle, noulep, pelaka.
lightweight maxkan.
like lana.
like as, tobla.
lime muli.
lime powder akau; lime spatula damu.
limp nekey, netex.
lips eina taxna.
list tik.
litter, bed kaxoxo
litter, trash asuk, samdik.
little oto.
little finger limla saiki.
liver ana.
lizard spp abax aitabu,
kisaku, paxia, pixdem, tigoxou, uales taxna.
lobster ajen.
located doŋ, munu.
locust sisui.
long kos, nekley.
look at palem; look for kxim.
loosen dax.
lory kilek.
lose dno.
louse otu.
love potion munusaux.
low nebix.
lung popxos.
magic logle, luaŋan.
make due; make drink painim; make fun of due apok; make twine bubu.
malay apple puai.
male axaŋ, gute.
man gute.
mango, Mangifera indica kadai.
mangrove bale, taxau; mangrove clam baiu; mangrove crab aŋgis.
manioc amioka.
many bunu.
mark amal.
marry gi.
masalai (TP) logle, onuŋ.
massage padidi.
masturbate blenblen.
mat omoi.
me ŋon.
meat aitno, masuŋen, okux.
meet bono.
men's lodge oxmlun.
merely bala.
message a to.
messy nepekpek.
Metroxylum spp txaan.
middle aixabu.
middle finger limla nopu komlou.
midnight epmes aixabu.
milk olune.
miss noklui, slak.
mist gugupu.
mole ajaxi emgis.
money teli.
monitor lizard paxia, pixdem.
monsoon iaiax.
month aiko; month names 
aduol, guigui, iagi, 
maxexe, mododo, poga, 
supi, tagaiau, tobou, xai, 
xai koka, xai kuxu.
moo moon.
moray eel bleten misuon 
in.
morning gotu keine, 
naSakak.
mortar maoi.
mortuary ritual xogo.
mosquito lomuk.
moss olmut.
mother ide, ina; mother-in- 
law xana; mother's 
brother tumno.
mount timpanum kyee.
mountain ebet, obxou.
mourning asonj, omok.
mouth eine.
moves nemil, nemit, uti.
mud dogox, papanja.
mudskipper uaxax.
mumu (TP) tan, ui, uiJen.
murmur nejimJenim.
murmur (TP) spp akai 
taIna, apotmen, asint, 
axoman, kalalanJen, 
tikyen.
mushroom makue; 
mushroom spp aimou, 
bomsuk, sexe aplau, 
somsom, tuaga kubu, 
uxou.
mushy nablak.
nail talpes.
name laJga.
narrate didi.
navel dobutno.
neck agum.
need bel.
needle salimu.
negative kobok.
nephew babu.
nest onuk.
net omdu; net bag akluk.
new oku, uoku.
news aijan.
night epmes, tilJip.
nine lumesnal.
ninety iselman isapeinal.
nits otu tintro.
no kobok.
noon oklou aixabu.
nose epxin.
not kobok.
not yet dau.
now etnika.
nut aduol.
obsidian odoJen.
ocean misuon.
ochre ajat.
Octomeles sumatran 
koxdo.
odour mnaJgan.
oh aiakau.
old namen ina.
older noJle.
older sibling atua.
on top pegim.
one keine, silaj.
only bala.
or kini.
oral history nasijen.
orange tree muli.
orchid toku.
origin batne.
outside kexep.
oven omu, uijen.
Ovum ovum tapago.
owo tuktuk.
package sunjen, taxna.
paddle melba.
pain nisi.
paint ason.
palm limla damaine.
palm spp baup, ekei, epxi, 
matlo, ongup, osun.
Pandanus spp omoi, 
padpad.
pant kaianJan, naJasnas, 
nejesjes.
paper eiuk, pepa.
parakeet bode.
parallel cousin aten.
parrot kalaJen, libatot.
path ienim.
patriclan names Aikon, 
Ajal, Benim, Gijina, 
Salkei.
pay attention kijin.
peck at tupi.
peel sisi; peeling sisiJen.
pen pen.
pencil pen.
peninsula olup.
penis uete.
people osep.
person gute.
pick bak.
piece leklou.
pig abax; pig spp gelet, 
longolongo, mexden, 
migel, nakum, ogu,
paulik, sage; pig tusks bole.

pillow ueljen.

pin down gilep.
Piper betle esis.
pitpit (TP) spp midau, mixsau, tobox.
place omux.
plant sin, uasak.
plate aman, plet.
play lilie.
plug oduk.
plunk nobuk.
Poinciana delnis daga.
point olop.
point to gin, suk.
poke at nodunjun.
Pometia pirvata emlinj.
pond aki bubu, olu.
pop negex, nopu.
pork abax.
portion leklou.
possessive classifiers ila, ina, ine.
pot kixdau, ulo.
pour basex.
prawn agen.
precede mgo.
pregnant somogu.
prohibition asex, paxa.
prow otuk.
pubic apron kokxei.
pubis obus.
pull xixi; pull out pi.
pupil bitra ila gute.
purple gesen.
pus anak.
push baluk, kakai, suxuk, tapul.
put due; put on pme, sep;
put out bamsim.
python aulas.
quarter demel.

quickly paide.
rack bota.
radius adex.
raft xegit.
rafter kiue ila titaijan.

rain axagu, usisi; rainbow
axagu uetne; raintree
daga; rainy season
pakoxo, soxoi.

transitive verbs

rapid didli.
rat dadik, kiue.
rattan atikex, kixia.
rattle negxelJgxelJ,
nogxolJgxolJ, nokoxkox.
raw akat.
ready ulip.
reciprocal peli.
red eibmox.
reef asax.
release bebe.
remain don.
rest mtoj, suali.
return bauluk.
Rhizophora spp bale,
taxau.

ribs kexkex.
ricochet noklot.
rice xais.
ridge obxou.
ridgepole komdujo, ududu
kakau.

rifle masket.
righthand lokono.
rim pali.

ringfinger limla boi.
ringed boa epmes ina.
ringworm pelpel.
rinse lupilj.
ripe osou, ulip.
rise deite, nepel.
river aki.
road ienim.
rock shelter omus.

roll dugum, tuk.
root sex.
roots akai dimolo.
rope galou.
rotten okus.
run suon.
rustle nokoxkox.
Saccharum spp amxa,
midau, mixsau, tobox.
sago txanj; sago
hammer okoli.
saliva eine olune, eine ina
aki.
saltash sedik.
salty galo.
sand labu.
sandbar asax, daba.
sandfly moxomo.
sap akai olune, akai ina
anak.
sated got.
say uai.
scaffold bota.
scar amal, asuk.
scatter billili.
scrape kikxe, nou; scraper
kepe, mel.
scratch gix, kikxe.
sea misuon; sea eagle
bogi.
seal dim.

season oklou, omjux,
pakoxo, soxoi, taiko.
see uluj, xik.
seed londo; seed coat epes
ine, paso.
self keine.
sell baine.
semen olune.
send page.

senior nyole.
set duux, nesip.
seven lumaxuo.
seventy iselme isoxuo.

shell armband mese; shell money teili; shell scraper kepe, mel; shellfish spp kuliep, mese; coconut shell baxa, jogotou; shellfish masilau.

shimmer nelemlem.

slip nedip, nekxes, noplo, noplos.

slippery daglik, kelil, neblen, noklot.

slip gong akoloŋ.

slowly molil.

smear blet.

smell kun, mna, mnaIJan.

smile dibel.

smoke asi; smoke tobacco yan uas; smoking pipe nalato.

smooth kelil.

snail somoxo.

snake aulas, mota; snake spp alau inamxi, aulas, binigaea, epmes ina, laulau bulu, mekelin, mepex, sakul ina, sel exi ine, suju, taibe.

split bak.

spit omsok.

spike uai.

speak uai.
siau.
spray usisi.
spread kakai.
sprout aiboj, nobolbol, nobol.
spurt netxik.
squat madedet.
squeal nokxonxon.
squash poxpox.
squish blak, rablak.
squishy omuk.
stab mtex.
stake eil.
stand mxi.
star biku, didiboji, moxopo.
start guxno.
stay doj.
steal kubu.
stick akai; burning stick eiou batne, mouk; carrying stick sigi; cloning stick exi; digging stick apma, namyan; husking stick kolet; walking stick matu, otou.
still dau.
stink mna.
stir bauluk.
stomach goline, pole.
stone opmu; stone oven opmu, tan, ui, uijen.
stop sakam.
story alemge.
straddle gilep.
straight neplis, odug, osuk.
stretch out kotok.
stick blet, kso, nekel, nokol.
stump akai batne.
subsist doj.
suckle inim sisi.
sufficient kaxanja.
sugarcane amxa.
suicide bel, mana.
summon sux.
sun oklou.
superincise bak uetne.
support, cross-stick sabalau.
swamp dogox, panpana.
sweat ulelep, uleplejen.
sweep gix.
sweet galo.
sweet potato saxatne; sweet potato spp bisnaxe, epiel, posolo, sixlik.
swim delim, sisu.
swollen xes.
sword grass ogu.
taboo omok, paxa.
tail gitno, kitkitjen, melba.
take due, kakluk; take off nekles, nekxit, nepik.
talk aipan, uai.
tall neklen, neplis.
talon talpes.
tambaran (TP) maxba.
tame mudu.
tantrum aijon, txak.
tap mtex, noklonkloj.
taro eski; taro spp abax amal, aboxej, adxak, aibila, aiklas, akas, akau, mogum alau, alau kamna, aliba, amanios, anaj, atakile, axisij ina ongup, bani ina ongup, baxku, bilolu, bixbix, boglai, boxalem geia, daxou, didim epis, ebel mige, ebelgi leim, ebelgi liem, edian moj, edien gage, emles, didim epis, gasasilau, galiki asox, genei, goia, kamanji, kaso, kaui, kelsjen, kemel, kenda, kilongaxi, kosope, kranip, kubu ila eiou, kude, laupu, laupu xixi, maiku, malaj, malau, malugi, manamaa lilik, maxabuk, maxba, meia, mepex, mogum alau, molbak, nan sau, onu bik, onu bik gelet, otouw, oxen, panim kale, patu gabu, paut, pongi, puagelo, saxa ina akau, sepoku, sepxi, sisix, sbo mop, tebila, tetoga, tokur, tole, touete, ulegi; taro paddle naitax; taro recipe daxaidaanja.
tasteless emel.
tasty galo.
tattoo bisik, bisikjen.
teat ti.
teeer netex.
teeth eine uatna.
tell uai.
ten temper tantrum aijon, txak.
ten sonoto.
tender anam.
tendons waxana.
Terminalia catappa talde.
testicles lasna.
that bla, exi, to.
thatch txapan uole ine.
the ko, to.
thief kubuwen.
then ba, naki.
there toko.
they isak.
thigh esex.
thing uon.
thirsty aki bel.
this ka, kade; this way blanaka.
thread galou.
three eiti.
throw tapxe, uxi.
thumb limla opmu.
thump nokloŋkloŋ.
thunder logle, nogxum.
tibia kamla exi ine.
tie pou.
timpanum pixdem taxna, kye.
tin tin.
tinkle nekley.
tiny otno nono.
to ine, tan.
tobacco uas.
today enika.
toes kamla tino; toenail talpes.
together neklep.
tomorrow masil.
tongs diglou, kaida.
tongue lime.
too blan.
tooth eine uatna; tooth blackener getou.
top pegim; top plate paxa, pola.
torch osluk.
tough nagax.
trash asuk, samdik.
tree akai; tree spp aduba, adxak, akluŋ, ameit, amka, amsexe, amsi, anaxi, anaxŋax, aphas, aulou, axabuj, axbala, axoi, bakau, bale, balu, bana, bixlai, boi, boxbox, daga, deuei, diAXBen, eiuk, elei, emles, emliaŋ, etnim, gelme genie, gemelei, ginali, gluk, golo, gongo, iou, kadai, kakxou, kapok, kapuk, ketal, kolbonga, koxdo, kualolo, kubi, kukli, loloŋ, lopa, luok, makul, maluŋluŋ, mixsou, modou, muli, naŋjam, obou, obut, oduk, oiu, olut, omŋux, opon, otu, padaxi, palu, paxia, pei, pelim, pipi, popos, pouos, puai, putu, saxagei, sikxei, talde, tamaxa, taxau, temeo, tiben, titu, uales, uange, uis; tree ant kamulia, oxlok.
tremble negigi.
trickle nedioxdiox.
Tridacna sp golomada, kaijan.
trim blou, pma.
triton shell kuliep.
Trochus spp mese.
true lokono.
trumpet, shell kuliep.
trumpet bird kaxkax.
trunk akai palma.
tsk notloktlok.
turmeric aŋjip.
turn bauluk, tuk.
turtle poru.
tusk, pig's bole.
twenty isoxuo.
twine bubu, bubuŋen.
two oxuo.
ulna adex.
umbrella touxen.
under sina.
understand klinj.
unravel dax.
unripe akat, boleine.
up deite.
upper arm aklak.
upstream pegim.
urinate dutxe; urine moxduk.
veins waxana.
very eiti, iti, oduŋ.
view palem.
village axmok; village names Aikon, Aŋal, Benim, Lumusi, Meitaabela, Merok, Salkei, Ubir Batne, Palpalu.
vine galou; vine spp esis, iau, naxlo, pei.
vomit mtoko.
vulva epit.
wait sija.
wake up deite, pan.
wake up lila; walk along titi; walking stick matu, otou.
wall baboxo.
wallaby apos, natus, sokolo.
want aise, lana.
wash gxog, linliŋ.
wasp spp gulupa, mixmix.
water aki; water container aki taxna; waterfalls aki silmei, aki nosux.
wave nemilmil.
waves boitin.
wax aŋlek, nabon, tilbut.
we imi, ite.
web iewa.
weed les.
weep sijit.
well io.
wet nimuxu, okus.
what sua.
wheeze naŋasŋas, neniŋnis.
when aloge.
where ge.
whine keŋiŋ.
whisper nenimnjim.
white aŋau, eglim, golu; white pig ogu, paulik; whiteman puda.
who segi.
whole dodolu.
widow asap; widower aikos, bogot batne.
wife asap, asna; wives siau.
wild anja, sagsagi; wild pig poti.
wilt pai.
wind iaiax, iegen, usisi.
wing pena.
wipe sak, sapi.
with kap, tan.
woman apmanj, belabela;

women siau.
wood akai; wooden dish tabila, tumxo.
words uaijan batne.
worms oglut.
wounded buxua.
woven cloth puda taxna.
wow aiakau.
wrap dugum.
wrapper eiuk.
wreck gxum.
wring pox, poxpox.
wrist limla agum ine.
write due amal, sogo.
yam spp bidi, kou, uada.
yawn mamaian.
yellow ianjou.
yes ie, iede.
yesterday najep.
yet dau.
yon exi.
you umu, uom.
young woman belabela.
younger magit.
Zinziber sp emles Zinziber spp bakau, budin exiek, gexin, uaik.

7. ARIA LEXICON

abar meila koro N taro sp.
abene N tree sp.
aber N 1. rattan sp, Calamus sp [with large leaves, used for thatch]; 2. thatch [> usu]; 3. taro sp. ninu ina aber thatch of a house.
abit N tree sp.
ablip N 1. tree sp; 2. taro sp.
ablo Tou ADV empty, with nothing, by itself [= adaï]. Tou omur don ablo the place is empty.
abo Tou N my father [= libou > timla].
aboma N tree sp.
aboreï N taro sp.
ada > ene.
adada Tou N tree sp, Pometia pinnata [= emlin].
adai ADV empty, with nothing, by itself [> balâ = Tou ablo ≠ bon, onuk]. don adai he has nothing [eg. no clothes]. akai polou adai the tree grew by itself [no one planted it]. Tou gagen adai sakam I can’t eat it by itself.
adaj N/± ila__ cultivar, plant found in wild and then grown in garden [> padonon].
lou adaj the plant that I discovered. buka ila adaj taro sp. diglou ila adaj taro sp.
adaïadaj Tou ADJ happy [= kilikili]. Tou ude adaiadaj a happy man.
adar Tou ADJ hard [= nagar ≠ omuk].
adarak N tree sp, Pometia sp.
adiba N tree sp.
adigolo N banana sp.
adign Nikamla__ine tibia.
adou Niina; Tou ila__ aunt, uncle, neice, nephew, opposite-sex sibling of parent, child of opposite-sex sibling. nau adou= Tou lou adou my uncle.
agak N large bamboo sp.
agau N boys. agau aren the boys. agau auram the bachelors.
agen N 1. prawn, shimp [generic, especially freshwater]; 2. tree sp. agen misuon ina lobster.
agenagen N fleas. gemle ila agenagen a dog’s fleas.
aglok erne N rattan sp with large leaves, Calamus sp.
agra N tree sp.
agum balu N tree sp.

aia > tna.

aia Nila_ grandfather, grandmother.

aiapo Nlkamla_ calf [< Kove > okur].

aiapaga N/ine great great great grandparents [parents of sasa].

aiber N/ina_ little brother, little sister, younger sibling or parallel cousin same sex singular [> lutno, saiber, tobro]. ŋau aiber my little brother.

aidagu Nila_ cross cousin singular [> saidagu].

aiday N eel [especially freshwater. generic]. aday misuonina moray eel.

aideg N manner, habit. gute ila aideg panako a habitual thief.

aiklas N taro sp.

aikos N widower [> asap].

aile N tree sp.

aiiluk ADJ different. gute aiiluk a different man; someone else. ila dikŋen aiiluk it tastes different.

aim ADJ tame. obar aim a tame pig.

aimolmolu N gills. lodu aimolmolu gills of a fish.

aimou N banana sp.

airipa N taro sp.

aisolom N taro sp.

aisuru N taro sp.

aitno N 1. inside [> bisna, tona]; 2. guts; 3. feelings; 4. like. donš nisu aitno it’s inside the house. aitno lugonŋ my guts. aitno lugonŋ amŋa I was angry. aitno lugonŋ ine I like it. omonŋ aitno the forest.

aitou N 1. yam sp, Dioscorea sp [thorny with bitter fruit. > bidi, darpe, kukuai, mamim, oda]; 2. taro sp. kokolo aitou banana sp.

aiua N bat [generic].

akai N tree, firewood, stick, log, wood. lou akai my firewood. akai ina anak sap. akai palma trunk. akai gimo roots. akai otna fruit; seed. akai limla branch. akai tarna bark; barkcloth. akai batne stump. akai elilo leaf. akai tuturno= Tou akai elnjip sprout. akai gurno canopy. akai ila roroŋon flower; new growth.

akai apna N/ine heart [> akai otna].
akai apna lugonŋ my heart.

akai batne N banana sp.
akai otna Nila_ heart [> akai apna].
obar ila akai otna pig’s heart.
akas N taro sp.
akat ADJ 1. raw [≠ lipma]; 2. unripe [≠ sisiou]; 3. green, not dried out [Tou eprinŋ ≠ kakrak > lipma]. obul akat 1. uncooked banana; 2. unripe banana. uasi akat green tobacco.
akel N tree sp.
akerni N 1. bamboo sp [used for making butchering knives]; 2. flute sp [made of single piece of bamboo. = kaur].

aki N water, river. aki gurno headwaters. aki nosur= aki silmei= Tou aki kepiuk= Tou aki netek waterfalls. aki dina river bank. aki belŋŋ I’m thirsty. aki tna crocodile. aki bru me on this side of the river. aki bru la on that side of the river. aki bubu= Tou aki tilu pool in a river. aki tarna water container.
akluŋ N tree sp.
akom Tou N hawk [= ŋamri].
akra N adze [= kulaluo].
aku N tree sp [similar to Cordia sp, used for drums].
akuei N ginger sp, Alpinia sp.
alan ADJ long.
alanek N taro sp.
alayga N 1. taro sp.

alau N 1. cassowary; 2. banana sp.

alau ila barku casque of a cassowary.
alau ina mosmosu cassowary wing.

alau ina amkou N tree sp.

alau kamna N 1. tree sp; 2. taro sp.

albus N//pro naked, nude. albus ie he’s nude.
alau ila barku casque of a cassowary.
alau ina mosmosu cassowary wing.
alau ina amkou N tree sp.

alau ina amkou N tree sp.

alali N tree sp.
alau ila barku casque of a cassowary.
alau ina mosmosu cassowary wing.
alau ina amkou N tree sp.

alAmal N 1. scar; 2. white [the skin colour of Europeans]. ina amal his scar. puda tarna amal Europeans have white skin.
paut amal taro sp.
alAmal ADJ bald. epem almat you’re bald.

amaitou N whip snake.
amal N 1. scar; 2. white [the skin colour of Europeans]. ina amal his scar. puda tarna amal Europeans have white skin.

amAnos N taro sp.
amarmana N taro sp.
amet N tree sp.
amioka N manioc, cassava, Manihot utilissima [= kundis, manioka, tapiok]. amka N tree sp.
amkou N tree sp. alau ina amkou tree sp.
amlok N eel lure. uri amlak he threw an eel lure.
amna N//+ ine smell, odour [> kun]. amna okus it smells rotten. amna lugon my odour. uan amna itau something that smells good.
amna N anger. aitno lugon amna I’m angry. yodue amna= Tou 7adamna I’m angry.
amna N sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum.
amroN N tree sp.
amugerog N tree sp.
amum ADJ dirty [≠ itau]. tarna lugon amum lokono my skin is very dirty.
molo amum dirty cloth.
anak N tree sp.
anak N 1. pus; 2. thick sticky sap [> olu]. beberani kebep ina anak polou he’ll squeeze the pus out of your leg. akai ina anak sap.
anam ADJ mushy.
an7770 N//_une name [= an7770ine]. Tou 7770e an7770 luom kobok I don’t know your name.

andar ADJ skinny [= dabalbal].

ane DEM this, here [near me. > are, ari, ka]. omdue blan ane do it this way. oku bote ane just now. omo ane come here. enik ane today.*
anem N taro sp.
an7770 N ADJ heavy [= kodu].
an7770 N 1. spirit, soul [> malilu, mareba, egle]; 2. shadow; 3. breath; 4. dream [į an7770, anuom, ano, ante, amni, anmu, ansak]. gute ano the spirit of a man; someone’s shadow. an7770 tuk I’m out of breath. an7770 had a dream.
an7770 N tree sp.
an7770 N wild Cordyline sp [= Tou kaduk > mare].
anuom > ano.
an7770ine N name [į an7770on, an7770uom, an7770ine... = Tou an7770]. yeile an7770uom kobok I don’t know your name.
an7770uom sei? what is your name? sei sir an7770? who is calling his name?
an7770ir N 1. tree sp, Caranarium polyphyllum; 2. banana sp.
an7770 N ochre.
an7770is N mangrove crab.
an7770leN N honeycomb made by stinging wasp sp that lives in trees [> uame].
apomu N tree sp.
apada > apna.
apai > berik apai.
apanal QUANT four. elme apanal = lumasnal nine.
apare Tou N wallaby [= apose].
apare N taro sp.
apare ila eiou Tou N fog [wallaby’s fire. = gaugau, gaup].
aparsak > apna.
aplas N tree sp.
aplau N cockatoo.
aplau koa N taro sp.
apma N digging stick.
apmanj N 1. woman; [≠ gute]; 2. female [≠ aranj]. ergu apmanj my daughter.
mimi apmanj girl. apmanj barau wife of a headman.
apna N- head [1 opogu= Tou opugu, epem, apna, apada, epemi= Tou epimi, opomu= Tou opumu, aparsak > otuk]. timluk aparsak polu they bumped heads. nesine ke opogu I carry it on my head. neser opogu I comb my hair. opogu elilo my hair. akai apna lugon my heart. tajo apna taro sp.
apok N tree sp.
apolou N tree sp.
apose N wallaby [= Tou apare].
apot Nene_ sharp-tongued bigmouth. ene apot he is a sharp-tongued bigmouth.
apulpu N tree sp.
araj N male [≠ apmanj]. ergu aranj my son.
are DEM that, there [near you. > ane, ari, ka]. uom yap are there’s yours.
arebej N tree sp.
aren N/aguag_ boys. agau aren boys, bachelors.
arep N tree sp [bark used as door covering].
ari DEM that, there, over there [≠ ane, are, ka]. molo ari sua? what kind of barkcloth is that? sei ka me ari? who’s that coming over there? omdue blan ari do it that way.
arj N fence. touri ari let's build a fence.
arj N name of river and linguistic group [≠ pidau aria].
arigu Tou N rain [= arugu].
arikrik N floor joist.
arj N village [= amrok]. udo armok our village. megr armok bina sweep the village plaza. amrok boul area around a village.
arj N veins, tendons. Tou lugu arnau (ine) my wrist tendons. arnau lugon my veins.
arugu N rain [= Tou arigu]. arugu duru it’s raining. arugu ome rainbow.
asaborek N taro sp.
aseda > esna.
asal N tree sp.
asap N widow [≠ aikos].
asap Tou Niila_ wife [= esna > nanto].
asar N shallow [= tortor ≠ olu]. aki asar a shallow river.
asar N tree sp.
asas N tree sp.
asinjer N charcoal.
aslip elek N tree sp.
asu N smoke
asuabi N taro sp.
ata N faeces. lou ata= Tou ata lugon my faeces.
ata N taro sp.
ate N friend [vocative of aten].
aten Niila_ friend [≠ ate].
atok N_ine colon, rectum.
atun N bonito.
atun N tree sp.
aulou N tree sp.
aulu N spirit sp [$\geq$ tagogola, sanda, sabara, kolea, taratarabul $\leq$ mereba. TP tumbuan].
auol N banana sp.
auram N tree sp.
auram N unmarried, single, young. agau auram the bachelors. gute auram a single man.
auro Tou MOD negative, no [$= kobo$].
Tou $\eta$ala auro I’m not going.
babalango N wild sago sp used for flooring [$= galalo$].
babin VTR masturbate. babin otne he’s masturbating.
babli N tree sp.
babro N wall. ninu ina babro wall of a house.
bak VTR 1. split open [$> nabak$]; 2. pick [break off with stem. $> sisik$]; 3. tear. $\eta$abak ongup I split a coconut open. ambak bile kap paga me pick some betel with the stem and bring it. bak akai he’s splitting wood. bak pepa he tore the paper. akai bake the wood tore it.
bakuok N butterfly.
bala MOD just, only, merely [$> adai$].
don $\eta$ala he’s just sitting around.
bale N mangrove, Rhizophora spp.
bale VI quickly [$= paide$]. ambale omo come quickly.
bali VI forage, collect wild food [$> baligen$].
balilu VTR spin. $\eta$abaliu bile tarna I spun the betel husk.
balim u N grass sp [TP karapa].
baligen N wild food [$<$ bali $>$ onjua, masu$\sigma$on].
balu $>$ agum balu.

balu ADJ 1. yellow, just about ripe [$\neq$ ianju, sisiou, akat]; 2. albino. obul balu the banana is just about ripe. tarna balu he’s an albino.
bana N ironwood tree.
banda N Pandanus sp [with large edible fruit. $> buna, omoi Mouk padpada$].
bani ina ongup N taro sp.
banja N/__ine cheek, jaw.

bao N club for ritually executing widows.
bar VI hunt sp, drive pigs into net.
bara N/__ine 1. forehead [$= Tou edik$]; 2. container. bara lugog my forehead. kamla ila bara patella, kneecap. okou bara ine lime powder container.

barau N headman. gute barau headman. apman barau wife of a headman. Uala gute barau Salkei ina Uala is the headman of Salkei.

barau Tou N river spirit [$> malilu, mereba, egle$].
barku N 1. spirit sp [evoked to admonish someone for misbehaviour. $\leq$ mereba]; 2. casque. barku ene blene bullroarer [the tongue of the spirit]. alau ila barku casque of a cassowary.
baser V spill, pour. aki baser the water spilled. ambasere pour it out.
basikjen N story sp, narrative of true event [$> nasikjen$]. nedidi basikjen I told a story.
basin eiou V build a fire [$= Tou res eiou$]. amla ambasin eiou go build a fire.
batne N 1. base, reason, stump; 2. almost empty [$> tarna$]. batne sua? what is the reason for it? akai batne stump. kamla batne heel of foot. limla batne heel of hand. kiklei batne old garden. aki mana batne the water container is almost empty.
batne VI follow, come later [$> didi, mase$]. uom omgo $\eta$on $\eta$batne you go on ahead, I’ll follow later.
batne Tou TEMP later [= mase]. Tou omgo omla imi imelila batne you go ahead, we'll walk later.

bauluk VTR turn. ąbabauluk ąŋŋ I turned around. ambauluk esi turn over the taro.

beberani VTR squeeze. beberani kebep ina anak polou he'll squeeze the pus out of your leg.

bekei Tou N Malay apple, Eugenia malaccensis [= puaf].

bel VTR need, afflict. aki bel ąŋŋ I'm thirsty. ata bele he has to defecate. marai bel ąŋŋ I need to urinate.

bela N girl. bela, omo girl, come here. apmanj bela a single woman. apmanj belbela the unmarried women.

belak N banana sp.

belbela > bela.

bebis N dove. bebis noru= belis uru a dove is cooing.

belis N tree sp.

berik N banana sp.

berik apai N banana sp.

bet VTR tie up. tibet mon they tied up the canoe [so that it drifts].

biaulul N tree sp.

bidabida N bedbug.

bidi N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [TP mami > aitou, darpe, kukuai, mamim, oda].

bik VTR light, set fire to [> tin]. oklou due tebike when the sun dries it, we light it.

biku N star [= Tou gigimo].

bibil N tree sp.

bile N betel, Areca catechu. ambak bile kap paga me break off a branch of betelnuts and bring it.

bile N banana sp.

Biliku N 1. name of inlet and island near Iboki; 2. name of totem group.

bijos VI breathe. ąebijos tatuk I pant.

birkir N tree sp.

birkir N taro sp.

bisik VTR tattoo [> bisikŋen]. ġebisik ǔom I'll tattoo you.

bisikŋen N tattoo [< bisik].

bisna N under [> tora, aitno]. ninu bisna under the house. luŋgu (obar) bisna my armpit.

bitna N- 1. eye [ą omto, emtem, bitna, amtada, emtemi, omtou, amtarak]; 2. edge, point, sharp. omtou lesna my eyeball. bitna ebin he's blind. omtogu didie 1. I think about him; 2. my eyes follow him. tabele bitna peninsula. amtarak obor obor they have black eyes. ekren bitna door. megir armok bitna sweep the village plaza. gogou bitna cliff. elil bitna= elil ene a sharp knife [> pom].

blak VTR squish [> nablak]. ġablak ata I stepped in shit.

blanje MOD too, also, again. tipaur kobura blanje they're taking copra again. obar silanje blanje another pig.

blanje ADV thus [pointing. > ane, are, ari, ka]. omdue blanje ari do it that way. Tou ule pelio blanje ari ma tala the man said that we should go. blanje ari= lana ari this way.

blene Niene_ tongue. ogu blene my tongue. barku ene blene bullroarer.

blou VTR cut, carve. ąeblow esi I'm cutting taro. tiblou delei ene they're carving a design sp. elil blou ąŋŋ I got cut on a knife.

bogai N taro sp.

bogi N sea eagle.

boglai N taro sp.

boi N tree sp, Homalium foetidum. paut boi taro sp.

boko V do, work [< TP > due]. omboko ine bala just do it!

bole N/± ina_ pig tusks, pig tusk ornament.
bolo N tree sp.
bomso N/ine liver [= Tou pupu].
bomso N tree sp.
bon VI full [= onuk ≠ adai]. aka bon it is full of water.
boy VTR 1. break, snap [= krok > noboŋ]; 2. wreck, demolish. ongup boy ninu a coconut palm demolished the house. noboŋ akai I snapped the stick.
borbor N tree sp.
borom N banana sp.
borom garai N banana sp.
borom gauru N banana sp.
borom grum gomot N banana sp.
boru N 1. magic [generic]; 2. healing magic.
bota N shelf, rack.
boto SPEC diminutive, little. mimi boto one this little child. van ane daudẽ boto this is a cute little thing. isuk boto just a little. oku boto ane just now.
boul Narmok_ perifery, around. armok boul the perifery of the village.
bri VI stand. yeeti yebrĩ I stood up. bri ane he stood here. galna lugon bri I lay on my side [my side stands].
bru V cross, ford. tobru aki tala let’s cross the river. aki bru me on this side of the river. aki bru la on that side of the river.
brum V broom [< TP = gir]. mobrum armok bitna=megir armok bitna sweep the village plaza.
bublo VI light, glow, burn. emipu eiou bublo blow on the fire to make it light. edep bublo the firefly glows.
bubu N/aki_ pond, pool [= Tou tilu]. aki bubu pond in a river.
bubu V make twine by rolling fibres on leg [< bubu > prakyan].
bubuŋon N string, twine made by rolling fibres on leg [< bubu > prakyan].
buk N book [< TP]. Tou ai'nọ luŋj ge lem buk I like your book.
buka ila adai N taro sp.
bul VTR make rope by twisting fibres in hands [< bubu, prak].
buli VTR stir, with. tibuli ɲaŋon they’re stirring the food. Tou ɲaŋon rais buli ɲuja I’m eating rice and meat.
buno QUANT 1. many, all [= pula = Tou puda]; 2. hundred. buno kene one hundred. buno ruo two hundred.
buno N joint, elbow, knee, knot. lungu buno my elbow. kongu buno my knee. akai buno knotty wood.
bun VI meet [< TP]. tobuŋ let’s have a meeting.
buna N Pandanus sp [< banda, omoi].
bura VI fatally wounded. ɲabura I’m fatally wounded.
bususu N tree sp.
da MOD first, before…. omo da come here for a minute. omoike da try it first.
dabalbal ADJ skinny [= andar].
dabol N black river clam sp [$ ebiak].
dabol Tou N ginger sp, Alpinia sp [= egiau].
daga N jacaranda, Samanea saman.
daga mudu N raintree, Poiciana delnis.
daga Tou CI if. Tou daga arigu duru ma imodoy if it rains, then we’ll stay.
daikrup N owl [= Tou tuktuk].
damaine N- front, belly and chest [I damalŋoŋ, damaluom, damaine... > ongup]. kongu damaine sole of my foot. lungu damaine palm of my hand.
damkir N tree sp.
damŋa Tou VI angry [= due amŋa]. ɲadamŋa I’m angry.
damu N/ina_ lime spatula.
WILLIAM R. THURSTON

334

darou N tree sp.
darpei N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [similar to aitou but good food. > aitou, bidi, kukuai, mamim, oda].
dau MOD still, not yet. gute dau me dau the man hasn’t come yet. tipolou go dau? have they arrived yet?
daudeŋ ADJ little. van ane daudeŋ boto this is a cute little thing. eiou daudeŋ splint [little fire, for lighting a cigarette].
daunon N sick. daunon ie he’s sick. daunon due ŋoŋ I’m sick.
de > due.
de SPEC/Cl_ hey. polon tuk de hey, the end support has come off.
deka CJ and then [= Tou ma]. gute la deka la ge? the man is going and then where is he going?
delei ene N diamond pattern between circles on a shield. tiblou delei ene they carved the diamond pattern.
delim VI swim underwater [= Tou dolim > susu].
demeli N tree sp.
dereben ADJ newborn. mimi dereben newborn child.
derege N tree sp.
deeui N tree sp.
dibañal N tree sp.
dibir VTR give birth to. apman dibir mimi the woman gave birth to a child.
dibleik N taro sp.
didara VI crawl. mimi didara the child crawls.
didi VTR 1. follow [= Tou pupru > batne]; 2. tell, narrate; 3. think about. amla emdidie go follow him. omtugu didie 1. my eyes follow him; 2. I think about him. ŋadidi basikŋen I’ll tell a story.
didim N tree sp.
didim epis N taro sp.
diglik ADJ slippery [> kelil]. Tou kogu diglik I slipped.
diglou ila adanŋ N taro sp found in forest.
diglu N rapids.
digor N swamp.
dikdik N bird sp.
dikŋen N 1. greasy, moist [good to eat]; 2. taste. ŋaŋon dikŋen greasy food. ila diŋen ailuk it tastes different.
dilip N/ŋ pro ine fear, afraid of [> lim]. dilip ŋoŋ ine I’m afraid of him. Tou dilip ŋoŋ luom
dimor ADJ red.
dina N bank. aki dina river bank.
diŋŋ Tou VI return, back [= tiŋŋ = Tou lik]. tidīŋ time they came back. Tou omdiaŋ omo come back.
dipil N nettle tree [= Tou kidou].
dirgu > titno.
dogou N tree sp [similar to Canarium, but with much larger nut].
dogur N outside [≠ aino]. ompolou amla ke dogur go outside.
dogurne N back[dogurnoŋ, dogurum, dogurne, dogurte... = tou > odoŋ]. dogurnoŋ my back.
doko N tree sp, Parartocarpus venenosica [with large orange fruit similar to breadfruit].
dolim Tou VI swim underwater [= delim > susu].
don VI 1. sit; 2. be located [> muni]; 3. stay, remain; 4. subsist. don kobok he’s not here. ŋaduru ŋodoŋ I’ll sit down. imodon ma kotu imala we’ll stay and tomorrow we’ll go. don adai he just subsists [without clothes etc].
dorgo N tree sp.
doro N hurt, pain. lunagu doro my arm hurts.
doukik Tou N bird sp.
due VTR 1. do, make [= de]; 2. get, take. due amŋa he's angry. dawon due ŋoŋ I'm sick. due kilikili he's happy. due solo she's a troublemaker. nodue omos I'm carving. mimi sapaŋa due the child is hungry. omdue kodoŋ? have you gotten it yet? omdue kene kene take them one at a time. apmaŋ neŋir due the woman's menstruating. Tude de aliluet someone is whistling. tede sakul let's sing. sapaŋa de ŋoŋ I'm angry.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

due kilikili he's happy.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

2. get, take.
due kilikili he's happy.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

2. get, take.
due kilikili he's happy.

du1)omomos I'm carving.

du1)omomos I'm carving.
emles N ginger, Zinziber spp.
emles N tree sp.
elin N tree sp, Pometia pinnata [= Tou adada].
elis Tou TEMP for a long time [= tauni].
emsi N± ina_- comb.
emtem, emtemi > bitna.
end N tree sp [used to make barkcloth].
ene N- 1. mouth [ŋ ogu, ouop, ene, ada, epmi, opmu, orsak]; 2. cutting edge [> bitna, kaka, pom]. ene eri ine= ene otna teeth. ene tarna lips. ene blene tongue. ene apoŋ he's a sharp-tongued bigmouth. elil ene kaka lokono the knife is extremely sharp. ene pom= Tou ene put it's dull. barku ene blene bullroarer. delei ene diamond pattern on shield.
enti N tree sp.
en N wind. enen ipe ite the wind is blowing on us.
enil ADJ hot [≠ enen]. aki ene enil lokono this water is very hot.
enris N/une snot.
epem, epemi > apa-
epem N plant sp with banana-like leaves used for wrapping food for stone oven.
en ADJ cold [≠ enil].
ep N ringworm. tarna lugono eper I have ringworm.
enes N tree sp.
ep ADJ dry [= epis].
epiep N taro sp.
epimi > apa-
epis ADJ dry [= epi > kakrak]. nasake ma epis I'll wipe it dry. didim epis taro sp.
epis Tou N slowly, carefully [= molil]. Tou ute lila epis ie= gute lila molil the man walked slowly.
epit N vulva [= paio]. lou epit my vulva. nau epit me let my woman come [vulgar].
epmes N night.
epmi > ada.
epre Tou N pan flute [= perer].
eprim N tree sp.
epriŋ Tou ADJ green, fresh, not dried out [= akat > lipma, kakrak]. Tou uasi epriŋ uncured tobacco. samo epriŋ banana sp [< Samoa].
ergu > otna.
eri N/ine bone [eri ine= erne. eri lugono my bones. ogu eri ine= ogu otna my teeth.
eriak N/ine shoulder [= opol]. yakalke akai ke eriak lugono I carry wood on my shoulder.
erke VTR see [= pati = Tou rik]. yerke uom= yerke uom= yapatı uom I see you. erke he sees him. emerke yayo? do you see me?
erne > eri.
eser N/ine thigh.
esi N taro [generic]. apmaŋ tikamü esi the women are cooking taro. amla amusasak esi go plant some taro.
esi N/ine brains. esi lugono my brains.
esi ina sumuk N tree sp.
esis N betel pepper, Piper betle.
eslei N/lima little finger. lungu eslei my little finger.
eslei N/lila kamla_ine 1. great grandparents; 2. ancestors. lou konga eslei ine my great grandparents. lem kebep eslei ine your ancestors.
esna N- wife [= Tou asap], husband [= Tou ŋap], spouse [ŋ esŋoŋ, esuom, esna, asada...singular. > sesna]. apmaŋ esna a woman's husband.
esŋoŋ > esna.
esun N tree sp.
etepmi, etim > otno.
etlu QUANT three. sesna etlu he has three wives. elme etlu= lumeetlu eight.
etnikane TEMP today, now [= Tou oku ane kotu tomorrow. kasak in two days. kusik in three days. narep yesterday. ninuor two days ago].
emim N 1. tree sp; 2. grub sp that eats this tree.
ga Tou DEM this, that, here [pointing. = ka > ane, are, ari]. Tou pepa ga= pepa ka here’s the paper. Tou ga don’ ane! here it is!
gaga silau N taro sp.
gala ADJ left [= oduy]. limda gala our left hands.
galalo N wild sago sp used for flooring [= babalano].
gala N banana sp.
galiki N female character in stories. ninu galiki initiation house for girls.
galna N edge, side. koba galna the edge of the bed. galna lugon bri I lie on my side. nau ebes galna= Tou nay tatlak emkil my land.
galo ADJ salty, sweet.
gaol ADJ yellow in colour [= balu].
gar V bark. gemle gar osep dogs bark at people.
garai Tou N banana sp [= karai, kalana keis]. borom garai banana sp.
gaugau N fog, mist [= gaup = Tou apare ila eiov].
guap > gaugau.
gauru > borom gauru.
geTou PREP to, at, with, in; oblique [= ke, ine]. Tou aitno lugon ge lem buk I like your book. Tou omon yun ge sua? why did you break the thing? Tou la ge ie let it go to him. Tou yadue ge gitu I did it with an axe. Tou tiuri omdu ge obar the throw a net for pigs. Tou nauru emles ge uom I’ll spit ginger on you [as part of a healing ritual]. Tou omkarou yon ge yu obar give me some of my pork. Tou omli lugon ge sua? what are you afraid of for me? Tou pelio lugon ge uom he told me about you.
ge ADV where. don’ ge? where is it? Tou omla ge? where are you going?
ger N taro sp.
gelet N hairless pig [= obar].
geme N dog. gemle ila agenagen dog fleas. gemle otno puppy. gemle gar osep dogs bark at people. gemle ane kenrin this dog is snarling.

gemle N tree sp.
gene VI fall. ma emgene you’ll fall. ongup gene duru a coconut fell down.
gesa Tou QUANT one, some [= kesa > kene].
gesen Tou ADJ blue, green [= ebir > kesen].
gi VTR 1. call, call out [= sir]; 2. marry. emgi yu me ari me call that man over. Tou yagi la ge osep I called to the men. apmey gi a married woman.
gigimo Tou N star [= biku].
gigri N mountain [= muru].
gilamo N slit gong.
gigen N marriage [< gi].
gir Tou VTR scratch, scrape, sweep [= kir]. Tou kedue gir kogu a vine scratched my leg. Tou tigir omoi they’re scraping pandanus [for sleeping mats]. Tou megir armok bitna sweep the village.
gisi Tou VTR hold [= kisi]. Tou yagisi opmu I hold a stone.
ginsi VI sneeze [= Tou kisji].
git VTR pinch. emgit yon sakam stop pinching me.
gino N 1. tail; 2. roots. akai gino roots. gemle gino dog’s tail. lodu gino fish tail.
gitu Tou N/± ina_ axe [= selembo].

ŋadue ge gitu I do it with an axe.

giu N 1. tree sp; 2. banana sp; 3. taro sp.

go CJ or. tipolou kodonŋ go dau? have they arrived yet? lem uan itau go soulu? is your thing good or bad?

go > mgo.

gogo N 1. half coconut shell; 2. coconut shell tied on a rope as a rat barrier for a hanging drum or basket of food.

gogo VI congregate, meet. togo gogo lets have a meeting.

gogou (bitna) N ravine cliff face [> perper].

golo N tree sp.

golomada N giant clam, Tridacna sp.

gomot N canoe. tiriri gomot they pull a canoe. borom grum gomot banana sp [so large that it breaks the canoe].
gongon Tou N box for transporting pigs [= karoro].

gos VTR scrub. omgos molo scrub the cloth.

got VI full, sated [> bon, onuk]. Tou ŋaŋen ŋagot I eat and I’m full.
groŋ VTR wash. amla omgromke aki go wash it in the river.
group N ash [= Tou obrop].
gruk Tou VI grunt [= nokuk].
grukgruk N green aquatic frog sp.
grum VTR break [> nogrum]. omgrom akai break the wood. borom grum gomot banana sp.
gulumu N moss, algae.
gurno N head [> apna]. aki gurno headwaters of a river. akai gurno canopy.
gusip VTR fell, chop down. يةa ḳiągusip akai they went to chop down trees.
gute N man, person, someone [= Tou ute > apmanŋ]. gute ila aidiŋ panako a habitual thief. gute ano someone’s shadow. gute auram bachelor. gute barau headman. gute jonyle elder. gute sila blay someone else.
gute Tou Nila__ mother’s brother, sister’s son [= tumno].

iaba N banana sp.
iabos Tou ADJ finished, all gone, enough [= iagos].

iage N garden [= opou > kilei, purpu, omur, tanan]. iage oku new garden. iage kobok lazy.
iagim N bat sp. iagim pena bat wing bone used as needle.
iagos ADJ finished, enough [= Tou iabos].
iak V lie [> iakiak].
iakiak V lie, prevaricate [= Tou katkatu].
ialu N tree sp, Casuarina equisetifolia.

iak VTR dig. Tou taias tatik let’s break up the ground. teias obuk let’s dig a hole.
iium N tree sp.
iel VI laugh, smile.

ida > ina.

ie PRON focal pronoun [ŋ oŋ, uom, ie, iте, imи, umу, isak]. molil ie he’s slow.

ila N- disposable possessive [ŋ lou, lem, ila, udo, limum, lumu, urok > ina].

ile VTR know. teile polu we know one another.
imi PRON 1EP, we [> ie].

ina N- edible possessive [ŋ nau, ŋap, ina, ida, ipem, upu, narak > ila].

ine N- 1. inalienable possessive; 2. oblique [ŋ lugon= Tou lunon, lugon= luom, ine, lite, lipmi= Tou limi, lupmu= Tou lumu, lisak > ina, ila, ke]. uai ine kodonŋ? have you told him yet? uai lugon ine he told me about it. atinu lugon ine I like it.

inim VTR drink. ɲeinim aki I drink water. mimi inim susu the child is suckling.
Of jobu N taro sp.
ipu VTR blow. emipu eiou bulbo blow on the fire so it lights. ejen ipu ite the wind is blowing on us.
isak PRON D3P, they (> ie).

isapanal QUANT forty. iselme isapanal ninety.
iselme QUANT fifty. iselme sojotno sixty. iselme isoruo seventy. iselme isetlu eighty. iselme isapanal ninety.
isetlu QUANT thirty. iselme isetlu eighty.
isapanal QUANT forty. iselme isapanal ninety.
iselme QUANT fifty. iselme isoruo seventy. iselme isetlu eighty.
iselme QUANT twenty. iselme isapanal ninety.
isapanal QUANT forty. iselme isapanal ninety.
iselme QUANT fifty. iselme sojotno sixty. iselme isoruo seventy. iselme isetlu eighty. iselme isapanal ninety.
istlu QUANT thirty. iselme istlu eighty.

isu VTR have sex with. bela, omo yeisu uom da girl, come and I'll have sex with you first. tisu polu they're having sex.
isuk boto ADV just a little.
itau ADJ good [≠ soulu]; 2. clean [≠ amum]. amna itau it smells good. oklou itau dry season. molo itau clean cloth.

ite PRON lI P, we (> ie).

iumu N taro sp.

ka DEM this, that, pointer (= Tou ga > ane, are, ari). sei ka me ari? who's that coming? emsik obar ka la get rid of that pig. pepa ka here's the paper.

kabiu N tree sp.
kabulunju N taro sp.
kadai N mango, Mangifera indica.

kadaña N post.
kadaña N/ine back of the head.
kaden N/ina: Tou ila__ brother-in-law, sister-in-law, affine of same generation opposite sex reciprocal. nau kaden= Tou lou kaden my brother-in-law.

kaduk Tou N wild Cordyline sp (= anuj).
kaiami N tree sp.
kaida N/sa ina__ bamboo tongs.
kaium N tree sp.
kaka Tou N/pro crazy (= manjamanja).

Tou ute ane kaka ie this man is crazy.
kaka ADJ/ene__ sharp [≥ bitna, ene, pom]. elil ane ene kaka lokono this knife is very sharp.
kaka VTR lift. amkaka yonj lift me up.
kakan N large grasshopper sp [≥ makul].
kaklak ADJ itchy. Tou lugu kaklak my hand is itchy.
kaklan N tree sp.
kakruk ADJ dried out [≥ akat, lipma]. uasi ane kakruk kodon this tobacco is dried out [and therefore no longer of use].
kakrou N tree sp.
kakuk Tou VTR carry (= kalke).
kala Tou N frog (= bael).
kalakopine N gill flap. lodu kalakopine gill flap of a fish.
alona N parrot.
alona keis N banana sp (= karai = Tou garai).
kalapua N banana sp.
kalata N banana sp.
kalau N banana sp.
kalimbali N 1. fish sp; 2. totem name of group.
kalke VTR carry [especially by men, on shoulder. = Tou kakuk > sin].
kalubia N 1. barracuda; 2. totem name of group.
kaluga N shark.
kamangi N taro sp.
kamda > kamla.
kamla N foot, leg (= kongu= Tou kogu, kebep, kamla, kamda, kepmi, kopmu, kamsak). kamla okur (ine) meat of leg; calf. kamla aiapo calf [< Ko]. kamla saiki little toe. kamla otno toe. kamla titno toes [especially middle three]. kamla kuskus toes. kamla talpes (ine) toenails. kamla tua big toe. kamla ila bara patella. kamla ila ebiak outer ankle bone. kamla (ina) silimu fibula;
ankle. kamla agune ankle. kamla buno knee. kamla damainé sole. kamla adin ine tibia. kamla palma thigh. gemle kamla hindleg of a dog. kamla batne heel. kogu diglik I slipped. kogu netir I’m limping.

kamla eslei ine > eslei.

kamlu VTR cook [= lipma]. apman ti kamlu esi women cook taro.

kamna > alau kamna.

kamsak > kamla.

kamulía N tree ant.

kanil N/ine Achilles’ tendon. kanil lugoj my Achilles’ tendon.

kap VTR with, accompany. Tou ṣaŋen rais kap masunón I’m eating rice with meat. Geti kape tla Geti went with him [= kape].

kapak Tou VTR catch [= sau].

kape QUANT collective. Geti kape tla Geti and his group have gone.

kapepre N taro sp

kapo Tou VTR mix. Tou ṣakanpo pelionon I mix languages.

kar VTR give [= karou]. ṣakare ke uom I’ll give you to him [in marriage]. amkar ṣoon ke elil give me a knife. ṣakare= ṣakaroue I gave it to him. ṣakare ine I gave it [ine] to him [-e]. ṣakaroue kodonj, ke apmanj ẽri I’ve already given him, that woman. Tou oṃkarou ṣoon ge ṣau obar give me some pork.

karai N banana sp [= kahana keis = Tou garai].

karikrik N taro sp.

karlaŋ N tree sp.

karok N taro sp.

karoro N cage for transporting pigs [= Tou gongon].

karou > kar.

karu N taro sp.

karuña N vegetable greens sp.

karuña N tree sp.

kasak TEMP day after tomorrow, in two days [= etnikane].

kasiksik N tree sp.

kaso N taro sp.

kasu obor N taro sp.

katal N tree sp.

kakatu Tou VTR lie [= iak].

kakaturu N banana sp.

Kaugo N 1. name of bay near Cape Gloucester; 2. totem name of group.

kaukaui Tou N cuscus [= kraŋip]. Tou kaukaui kesine ge kogu I have a cramp in my leg.

kaulei N stranger [= matamur].

kaulei N taro sp.

kaur N flute sp [with single piece of bamboo. = akerne].

kauoko N tobacco sp [= uasi].

ke PREP at, to, in, with, oblique [= Tou ge > ine]. ṣakalke akai ke agunyone I carry wood against my neck. tononoi aki ke kap let’s fill the cup with water. la ke iage he went to the garden. amkar ṣoon ke elil give me a knife. uai ke uasi he asked for some tobacco.

kebena ADJ wild [= oŋua].

kebep > kamla.

kedue N vine, rope.

kei VI fly. monuk kei birds fly.

keiav N 1. bush hen; 2. taro sp; 3. tree sp.

keis > kahana keis.

kekele N banana sp.

kekele mate mate N tree sp.

kekrek Tou N frog sp [= roror].

kelil ADJ smooth [= diglik]. kogu kelil I slipped.

kelisene N taro sp.

kene N- alone. omdue kene kene get them one by one. kensa by themselves.
kene QUANT one. bunon kene one hundred. elme kene= luma kene six. ergu kene I have one child.

keno N taro sp.

kennin VI snarl. gémle kenren the dog is snarling.

kepis ADJ irresponsible, lazy. apman kepis an irresponsible woman.

kepiuk Tou VI 1. jump, leap [= netek]; 2. jump, be startled [= kopiuk]. Tou aki kepiuk= aki netek waterfalls. Tou kepiuk= kopiuk he jumped.

kepmi > kamla.

kere N/ine voice. kere lugon my voice. Tou nokol ge kere lugon he strangled me.

keren N/ine trachea.

kerere N dirt on skin.

kerka N± ina hand basket or small food basket [= osak > paro].

kesa QUANT one, some [= sa = Tou gesa]. uasi kesa me hand me some tobacco. ųau obar sa= ųau obar kesa some pork for me.

kesen ADJ dark blue to pink. [Tou gesen].

kesine Tou VI/kaukaui cramp. Tou kaukaui kesine ge kogu I have a cramp in my leg.

kéti ADJ/tarna black [of skin. > obor]. tarna ketti he has black skin.

kiaukiau N banana sp.

kidou Tou N nettle tree [= dipil].

kikit N aromatic plant sp.

kikle (batne) N old garden [> iage].

kilal N tree sp.

kilikili N 1. happy [= Tou adanaday]; 2. brightly coloured. due kilikili he's happy.

kindo N taro sp.

kir VTR scrape, scratch [= Tou gir]. tikir esi they're scraping taro. kedue kir konggu a vine scratched my leg. ųekirkir tarna lugon I'm scratching myself. ųekirkir konggu I'm scratching my leg.

kiria N small-leafed rattan sp, Calamus sp [used for making pubic apron. = nalia = Tou lilou].

kirkir > kir.

kirok ari N taro sp.

kirui TEMP afternoon [= Tou maruŋ].

kis VTR hold [= Tou gis]. tikis limsak polu they held hands.

kisży Tou VI sneeze [= gisyž].

kitkit N tobacco sp [≤ uasi].

kiue N rat.

kles VTR demolish [= nekles]. Tou ute kles ila ninu the man tore down his house.

kliyen V hear [= Tou tliyen) yekliyen lugon I hear you.

klijo N bean sp [similar to wingbean].

klijo N tree sp.

klok VTR open [= noklok]. yoklok tin I'll open the tin.

klou VI extend across. tete klou la the bridge goes across.

knis VI cry, weep [= Tou tnis). gute knis someone is crying.

Koa N name of a mountain ridge. aplau koa taro sp.

kobura N copra [< TP].

kodae N tree sp.

kodoy MOD already, completive. oklou duru la kodoy the sun has set. obul
lipma kodon? is the banana cooked yet?
kodu ADJ heavy [= Tou arit ≠ markan].
kogu > kamla.
kokiok VI squeal. obar kokiok a pig is squealing.
kokolo aitou N banana sp.
kokrak N crow.
kokrou N banana sp.
kolboyo N tree sp.
kole VI play. amla mokole go play.
kolea N spirit sp [≦ aulu].
koli N sago hammer.
kolia N taro sp.
kolok ADJ crooked, bent [≠ osuk]. ekren kolok a crooked road. akai kolok kolok.
bent trees.
kolpi N tree sp.
koluam N tree sp.
komanar N taro sp.
komduño N ridgepole. komduño dauden upper ridgepole.
kongu > kamla.
kopiuk VI jump, be startled [= Tou kepiuk].
kopmu > kamla.
kopos N tree sp.
kopuk VTR snap [= Tou nepls].
kordo N 1. tree sp, Octomeles sumatrana; 2. banana sp.
koro > abar meila koro.
kotkotu TEMP morning.
kotu TEMP tomorrow [＞ etnikane].
imodon ma kotu imi imala we'll stay and tomorrow we'll go.
koukou N dust, bits, crumbs. nasapirpir koukou I'll brush off the crumbs.
kounorou N tree sp.
kranip N cuscus [= Tou kaukau].
krim VTR 1. hunt; 2. look for. tikrim ojua they're hunting for meat. tekrim let's look for it.
krok VTR break, snap [= Tou boj > nokrok]. yokrok akai I snapped a stick. omkroke uan ke sua? why did you break it?
krumkrum N banana sp.
kuako N chicken. kuako tobutuno chicken egg.
kualolo N wild tree sp similar to kapok.
kubi N tree sp.
kude N± ina _ hourglass drum.
kukli N tree sp.
kukuai N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [with tuber and edible hanging fruit. > aitou, bidi, darpei, mamim, oda].
kukuop VI hide [＞ lun].
kukuop Tou V hide. Tou nakukuop ge omuny aitno I hid in the forest. Tou nakukuop nau udage I hid my knife.
kulaluo N adze [= akra].
kulipep N 1. Charonia tritonis; 2. shell trumpet.
kun VTR smell [＞ amna]. gemle kun noj the dog is smelling me.
kundis N manioc, cassava, Manihot utilissima [＝ amioka, manioka].
kuraŋi N taro sp.
kuri sikei N tree sp.
kusik TEMP in three days [＞ etnikane].
kuskus N 1. ring finger; 2. toes. lunju kuskus my ring finger. kongu kuskus my toes.
la VI go, away [¶ yala, amla= Tou omla, la, tala, (i)mala, (u)mala, ila > me, uti].
labu N sand.
ladan > paut ladan.
laine > ninur laine.
laka N like, as. lila laka alau he walks like a cassowary.
lala N rafter.
lalo V prepare a bed. talalo let's prepare our beds.
lalo V distribute ritually [= Tou muri].
lam N lamp [< TP].
lanj ADV/DEM thus. lanj ane like this. lanj are like that. lanj ari like that. lanj ge? how?
lanjani N tree sp.
langou N 1. fish sp; 2. name of totem group.
lasi N taro sp.
laupu N taro sp.
laur N tree sp.
lede N ila__ nits.
lein N tree sp.
leklou QUANT some. osep leklou some of the men.
lelei VI turn. āhabauluk ņon (ņeleleī) I turned around.
lelia N/___ine scapula.
lem > ila.
lemide N taro sp [Mouk lemide your mother].
lesen TEMP when? lesen ma me? when will he come?
lesnā N/___± ine testicles. Tou lesnā lunoj my testicles. omtōgu lesnā my eyeball.
libep > limla.
lībo > timla.
lik Tou VI back, return [= Tou dīŋ = tin]. Tou ānala ma ānik āname I'll go and then come back.
ilia VI walk.
ililou Tou N small-leafed rattan sp, Calamus sp [used for making pubic aprons. = kiria, nalia].
lim VI/___ine fear, afraid of [> dilip]. Tou omlim lunoj ge suā? why are you afraid of me? ānlim ine I'm afraid of it.
limbuŋ N floor, flooring [< TP].
limda > limla.
limi > ine.
limla N- hand, arm [ŋ lungen= Tou lugu, libep, limla, limda, lipmi, lupmu, lisak].
tikis limsak polu they held hands. Tou limla nojōn ge lugu her hand squeezed mine. limla arraud ine veins or tendons in his arm. limda galu our left hands. limda odju our right hands. limda (obar) bisnu our armpits. limla bane heel of hand. limla buno elbow. limla tinō fingers. limla tna thumb. limla eslei little finger. limla kusku finger; ring finger. limla paiapai upper arm. limla sasap maret forearm. limla seiki middle finger. limla touk index finger. limla agune wrist. limla domaine palm. limla talpes (ine) fingernails. gentle limla forelegs of a dog. akai limla branch.
limla nobol N taro sp.
limsak > limla.
lipma ADJ 1. cooked [= akat]; 2. cured, dried so that it can be used [> akat, Tou eprīŋ, kakrak]. āsi lipma kodoŋ the taro is cooked. uasi lipma kodoŋ the tobacco is cured.
lipmi > limla, ine, lutno.
lisak, lite > ine.
lodu N fish. lodu aimolmolu fish gills. lodu kalakopine gill flap of a fish. lodu gitno tail of a fish. lodu melba caudal fin of a fish. lodu tala lateral or pectoral fins of a fish. lodu ila titroŋ dorsal fin of a fish. lodu ila ola spines of a fish. lodu ila sakkar fish scales.
lugu > limla.
lokono ADJ true, very [= Tou lojono].
tarna lugom amum lokono your skin is very dirty. elil ene kaka lokono a very sharp knife.
lolo VI buzz. logo lolo a fly is buzzing. loloŋ N tree sp.
longolongo N white pig with black spots \( \leq \) obar.

logo N housefly.

logoji N bluebottle fly [considered incorrect but used. = logoji otoro, Tou logoji].

logoji Tou N bluebottle fly [= logoji otoro].

logono Tou ADJ true [= lokono].

logoji otoro N bluebottle fly [= Tou logoji].

lou > ila.

lua VTR help. omo omua yon come help me.

luga N tree sp.

lugom, lugon > ine.

lugu > limla.

lui N dugong.

luk VI clear brush from garden.

luku > lutno.

luma kene QUANT six [= elme kene].

lumaruo QUANT seven [= elme ruo].

lumesnal QUANT nine [= elme apanal].

lumetlu QUANT eight [= elme etlu].

lumu > ine.

lun VTR hide \( > \) kukuop. yolun lou elil I hid my knife.

lungu > limla.

lugon > ine.

luo ADV near \( \neq \) emia, maua.

lam > ine.

lupmu > ine, limla, lutno.

lutno N sister, brother, sibling or parallel cousin opposite sex reciprocal singular [luku, olup, lutno, lutodo, lipmi, lupmu, lutorok \( > \) aiber, sulutno, tobro].

ma CJ and, lest, if, irrealis \( > \) deka].

ma emgene (careful or) you’ll fall. Tou ute pelio blon ane ma talu the man said that we should go. Tou daga arigu duru ma imodo\( \) if it rains then we should stay. yasake ma epis I’ll wipe it dry. tenen rais ma tapiok ma esi we’ll eat rice and cassava and taro. lesen ma me? when will he come? Tou yala ma yalik \( \neq \) yame I’ll go and come back. yon ma yala I’m going. upu \( \neq \) yon ane ma magen here’s your food so eat.

maiku N tree sp. paut maiku taro sp.

maimul N banana sp.

makanda N 1. name of mountain; 2. name of totem group.

makue N mushroom [generic].

makul N 1. grasshopper sp found in coconuts \( > \) kakan]; 2. tree sp.

malan N tree sp.

malbak N 1. tree sp; 2. tobacco sp \( \leq \) uasi]; 3. banana sp.

malel N/\( \pm \) ila__ bow and arrow.

malilu N spirit sp [bird or animal that takes the form of a human monster and chases people in the forest trying to eat them. TP tambaran \( > \) barau, mereba, egle].

malobe N taro sp.

malpis N banana sp.

malugi N/\( \neq \) ine layer of fat on belly.

malugi N taro sp.

mamil ADJ big, large \( \leq \) ombo \( \neq \) dauden > mir, yonle]. gute mamil a large man.

mamim N yam sp, Dioscorea esculenta \( \leq \) TP mami \( > \) aitou, bidi, darpei, kukuai, oda].

mana batne N almost empty \( \leq \) adai].

aki mana batne the water container is almost empty.

mana reret VI squat. yamanara reret I squat.

manik VI lean down.

manim N tree sp.

manioka N cassava, manioc, Manihot utilissima \( \leq \) amioka, kundis, tapiok].
malai N ambush. tiuri malai the set up an ambush.
magama DAJ crazy [= Tou kaka].
marai N urine [= durie]. marai = hon... I must urinate.
marak N tree sp.
marakete N 1. iron-tipped spear; 2. tobacco sp [= uasi].
mara1 VI I. warm oneself by fire; 2. dry.
mara1 N blood. jau marau = marau lugom my blood. mteke marau he vomitted blood.
mare N domestic Cordyline sp [= anu].
maria N banana sp.
markan ADJ lightweight [= kodu].
maro VI float. akai maro wood floats.
maroani N taro sp.
maronga N tree sp.
maruange N tree sp [= Tou moruange].
maruk Tou N boa constrictor [= moro].
marumbe N taro sp.
maruny Tou TEMP afternoon [= kirui].
masalan TEMP soon, for a little while [= Tou masilam]. yodoy masalan I'll sit for a little while.
mase TEMP later [= Tou batne]. mase jeme I'll come later.
masikarok N tree sp.
masilam Tou TEMP soon [= masalan].
masu VTR garnish [= mason]. jamasu lodu I ate it along with fish.
musunyon N garnish, meat, side dish [= balifen, opua]. tikrim musunyon they're hunting for meat.
maturage N tree sp.
matalalo N banana sp.
mamur N citizen, someone of the village [= kaulei].
mamatata > kekele mamatata.
matisuk VI faint. jute matisuk dog the man fainted.
matolo N cycad palm, Cycas circinalis.
matu N/± ila 1. walking stick; 2. shovel.
maua ADV far [= emia ≠ luo].
maui N betel mortar [= Tou uami].
me VI come [= la > uti j jeme= Tou jame, ono, me, teme, imeme, momo, time]. aki bu me on this side of the river. emgie me call him here. uasi kesa me hand me some tobacco. polou me he came out. omurie me jasaue throw it to me and I'll catch it.
meia N banana sp.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
meila > abar meila koro.
melba N 1. paddle; 2. caudal fin. lodu melba tail fin of a fish.
meli N/± ina fart.
melim N bandicoot.
meper Tou N taro sp [= moro].
merden Tou N brown pig that is striped when young [= meren ≤ obar].
mereba N spirit sp created and controlled by men's lodge [= aulu, barku > ano, barau, malilu, egle].
meren N brown pig that is striped when young [= Tou merden ≤ obar].
meresiu N tree sp.
merge N penis [= otne]. lou merge my penis. jau merge my husband [vulgar]. merge tok he has an erection. merge tomo whore.
merge mete N tree sp [causes impotence if leaves are used as toilet paper].
merian N 1. hornbill; 2. banana sp.
mese N 1. Trochus shell; 2. armband made of Trochus.
mete VI die, faint. mete kodoy he's dead. jemete ke uasi I'm dying for a cigarette.
mgo VI precede, go ahead of in space [≠ batne]. uom omgo ŋoŋ ŋabatne you go ahead, I’ll follow. Tou mgo luom he went ahead of you.

milui N tree sp.
mimi N child [ŋo]. mimi apmaŋ girl. mimi oku= mimi dereben newborn baby. mimi boto =n this little kid.
mimi oku= mimi dereben newborn baby.
mimi boto =mimi dereben this little kid.
mimi N taro sp.
mira ADJ grey-haired [ŋo. mira]. gute mir a grey-haired man.
mirmir N wasp sp.
misual N sea, ocean [= Tou musien]. agen misual ina lobster. aidaj misual ina moray eel.
mke > mluk.
mluk N top plate at gable ends of house or parallel to gable [ŋo. pala].
mluk VTR 1. hit, strike, kill [mluke= mke > mter]; 2. break up. ṭemke I’ll hit him. timke polu they’re fighting. timluk aparsak polu they bumped heads. mluk ŋoŋ ke akai he hit me with a stick. omluk udo omur break up our garden plot. mluk ebes he broke up the earth. mke he hit him.
mo > me.
mo Tou VI sleep [= munu]. Tou ṭauti ŋamo kodoŋ I’d already gone to sleep.
modou N tree sp with aromatic bark.
mogolu N/ŋine intestines.
moli ADV below [ŋo egim].
molil N/ŋ± PRON slow, careful [= Tou epis]. omsuan molil = Tou omnoplul epis run carefully. molil ŋoŋ I’m slow.
molo N± ila 1. barkcloth [= akai tarna made of endi and otu tree spp]; 2. cloth, laplap; 3. banana sp. molo amum dirty cloth. molo itau clean cloth. molo ari sua? what kind of barkcloth is that?

molok VI bend over.
molubak N taro sp.
momoeŋ N circular pattern on shield.
omak N dugout canoe [ŋo. TP = gomot].
omonu N bird [generic]. monuk elilo feathers. monuk pena bird’s wing.
omonu N taro sp.
omajai N tree sp.
mope N tree sp.
ompio N tree sp.
omoral N tree sp.
omormor N banana sp.
omoro N boa constrictor [= Tou maruk].
omoro N taro sp [= Tou meper].
omoromo sandfly.
omoro N pig sp [ŋo. obar].
omoruanjou Tou N tree sp [= maruanjou].
omosmosu N cassowary wing [ŋo. pena]. alau ina mosmosu cassowary wing.
omota N snake [generic. = Tou uan sasi].
omotu N veranda.
omou N whirlpool [= Tou moule].
omulo Tou N whirlpool [= moule].
mtake VTR vomit. mtdake marau he vomitted blood.
mter VTR spear, stab, shoot, kill [ŋo. mluk]; 2. sew [ŋo. sisire]. mter obar he speared a pig. timter polu they fought with spears. apmaŋ mter omoi the woman is sewing up a pandanus mat.
mugou N tree sp.
mulk N taro sp.
mumil N wild Citrus sp.
mumum N dwarf banana sp.
munu VI 1. sleep, lie [ŋo. mo]; 2. be located [ŋo. doŋ]. tla timunu they went to sleep. Tou udage munu ge ninu the knife is in the house. Tou apmaŋ modue sousou munu ge udo armok women, put a broom across our village.
munusaur N love potion, love magic.
mural N tree sp.
muri Tou VI distribute ritually [= lalo].
muru > daga muru.
murulel N tree sp.
muruŋ N mountain [= gigri].
musien Tou N sea, ocean [= misuon].
muso N sorcery.

nabak VI split, tear [> bak]. akai nabak the wood is splitting. molo nabak the cloth is torn.
nablak VI squish [> blak]. kongu nablak ke ata I stepped in shit.
naggar ADJ hard [= Tou adar ≠ omuk].
naglay VI caught, hung up in other trees. akai naglay the tree is caught in the branches of other trees.
naitar N taro paddle.
nakarkar VI shiver.
nakelŋen N brace.
nakram VI break [> kram]. lam gene nakram the lamp fell and broke.
nakum N black pig [= obar].
nalato N bamboo smoking pipe.
nalia N small-leafed rattan sp, Calamus sp [= kiria, Tou lilou used for making pubic aprons].
namainjo Tou N tree sp, Ficus sp [= tamara].
namane N aromatic plant sp.
namor Tou N senior, elder [= ɲonle].
Tou ute namor= gute ɲonle an elder.
nanŋam N tree sp.
n anusñas VI pant.
nanji N tree sp.
narak > ina.
narep TEMP yesterday [> etnikane].
nasinen N oral history, law [> basikŋen].
didi nasinen he’s relating oral history.
nasukŋon N taro sp.

nebiŋ VI firm [eg. post planted in the ground].
n nebiŋ VI thump [sound of something thrown against a wall].
n eblik VI flash. egle neblik lightning.
n ebrīk VI twitch [eg. foetus in pig’s belly].

nedip VI press against [= pesi]. lugu nedip ine I pressed against it with my hand. Tou lugu nedip ge libep my hand presses against yours.
negre VI crack [eg. sound of knuckles].
negregreŋ VI rattle.

neket VI creak [sound of falling tree. = Tou nekret].
nekley VI block, occupy, be in the way.
neklep VI butt against [= Tou nekrem].
nekles VI run away quickly. nekles la he ran away quickly.
nekles VI collapse [> kles]. ninu nekles the house collapsed.
neklip VI cover, block [> klok]. omde duru neklip put the lid on it.

nekrem Tou VI butt against [= neklep].
n ekret Tou VI creak [sound of breaking wood. = neket > nokrok].
n ekrīt VI thump [sound of someone jumping onto ground].
n elemlem VI flicker [eg. unclear image of something seen through moving leaves].
nemilmil VI move, wave [= Tou Sauli].
n emit VI jump in surprise.
n eimirat VI wave back and forth, twitch.
nenjjinjin VI whisper, murmurm.
nenjir N menstruation. nenjir due apman the woman is menstruating.

nenjir ina koba N tree sp.
nenjispis VI pant [eg. from running].
Tou ute nenjispis the man is panting.
n epil VI lean up against.
neplis VI break, snap under tension [eg. rope. = Tou notup]. kedue neplis the vine snapped.

neplis Tou VTR snap [= kopuk > plis]. Tou neplise= kopuke he snapped it.

neplitplit VI thump [sound of running feet on ground].

nerim N black ant sp that inflicts a painful bite.

neser Tou VI shoot upwards [= neter].

nesik VI slip out of place. akai nesik the stick slipped out of place.

nesiusiu VI chirp [= nesuelsuel]. monuk nesiusiu the bird is chirping

nesuelsuel VI chirp [= nesiusiu].

netek VI jump. emnetek omduru jump down. emnetek emitito jump up. aki netek= Tou aki kepiuk waterfalls.

netenjen VI drip.

neter VI shoot upwards [= Tou neser].

netir VI limp. konju netir I’m limping.

nina HL mother [vocative of aia].

ninoko N small red wasp sp.

ninu N/± ila__ house. ninu ina aber rattan roofing thatch. ninu ina babro wall of a house. ninu galiki small house of post for the initiation of girls.

ninuor TEMP the day before yesterday [> etnikane].

nipu N tree sp.

nobol N sprout. anji nobol kodoj the Canarium tree has already sprouted. limla nobol taro sp.

noboj VI break, snap, self-destruct [< boj]. akai noboj the stick broke. ninu nobojo the house collapsed.

nobotobot VI spurt up [eg. leak in a canoe]. aki nobotobot water is spurting up.

noduqduj VI tap, thump.

noduqduj VI crawl up in large numbers [eg. bugs crawling up one’s legs].

nogrok VI hang down under its own weight [> puagene]. obul nogrok the banana is hanging down.

nogrom VI suddenly go into action. omnogrom emitito amla you suddenly got up and went.

nogromgrom VI rustle.

nogrum VI break, crash [< grum]. akai duru nogrum a tree crashed down. egle nogrum thunder.

noklok VI open [< klok]. tin noklok the tin is open.

noklojkloj VI sound of tree being chopped down.

nokol VI hold with two hands around [eg. holding a post to pull it up]. Tou nokol ge kere lujon he strangled me.

nokorkor VI rustle.

nokrok VI break [< krok]. akai nokrok nekret the tree broke and creaked.

nokuk VI grunt [alarm grunt of pig in flight in the forest. = Tou gruk].

nolony N tree sp.

nomuk N mosquito.

nonoi V fill. tononoi aki ke kap let’s fill the cup with water.

nonrop VI dive into water.

nonunjuy VI whisper.

noplok VI thrust in during coitus [vulgar]. nopluk ine he entered her.

noplu Tou VI run [= suaj]. Tou omnopluk epis= omsuaj molil run carefully. Tou sirba noplu the clouds are running.

nopoakap N taro sp.

nopol VI/tala__ deaf. tologu nopol I’m deaf.

nopopot VI cluck.

noprus VI splash. popul mimi la noprus I pushed the child and he went splash.

nopu VI bump [eg. sound of head against ceiling joist].
nopur VI/bitna__ blind [eye is missing or permanently closed].
noru VI coo [= uru]. belis noru a dove is cooing.
noslom VI ejaculate.
nosum VI plunge almost silently into water.
nosur > aki.
notoktok VI click tongue, tsk tsk.
notup Tou VI break under tension [= neplis].
nou VTR scrape. nou omoi she’s scraping pandanus leaves.
u N island.
νamri N hawk [= Tou akom].
νaŋo Tou N/ina__ husband [= Tou asap = esna].
νaŋon N food. uan ane νaŋon ina? is this something to eat?
νap, νau > ina.
νauri ila padoŋon N taro sp.
νen VTR eat. νen uasi he’s smoking.
νes V chew betel. okou me νenes hand me some lime powder so I can chew betel.
νiri N coconut grater.
νiri VTR grate. νiri me νeŋiri oŋgup get me the grater so I can grate some coconut.
νon PRON DIS, I, me (> ie).
νoŋle ADJ senior, elder [= Tou namor > mamil, mir]. gute νoŋle = Tou uo namor senior man. osep νoŋle the bigmen.
νoŋle N/ila__ uncle, mother’s brother [= tumno]. lou νoŋle my uncle.
obar N pig, pork [≥ gelet, longolongo, merden, moron, nakum, paulik. > bar, bole, karoro]. obar am a tame pig.
obar oŋua a wild pig. tiuri omdu ke obar they put up a net for pigs.
obar N tree sp.
obar bina> limla.
oblu N midden, litter [= tokonkon].
obluk N tree sp.
obar ADJ black [≥ nakum, keti]. amtarak obar obar they have black eyes. kasu obar taro sp. sakalat obar taro sp.
ober N/ila__ buttocks. lou obar my buttocks.
obrop Tou N ash [= group].
obrou N mountain ridge.
obuk N hole. teias obuk let’s dig a hole.
obul N banana [generic]. obul oka tiso banana. obul balu a banana that is almost ripe. obul sisiou a ripe banana.
obul sisiou N tree sp.
obut N tree sp.
oda N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [TP yam > aitou, bida, darpei, kukuai, maim].
odir N tree sp.
odoŋ N/ine backbone, spine, back. odoŋ lugon (erne) my back bone. (odoŋ) dugur ɵnoŋ = odoŋ lugon = otou lugon my back.
odoŋla ADV in the forest. gute la mina odoŋla the man got lost in the forest.
odu N bamboo sp.
oduk N tree sp.
odoŋ ADJ right [≥ gala]. limda odoŋ our right hands.
odoʊl Tou N kingfisher [= pidau].
oglou TEMP before, former times, old [≥ oku]. oglou piliso ancient. ninu oglou ina old house.
oglu N worms.
ogu > ene.
ogu N sword grass, Imperata [= ugu].
oklou N sun, day, season. oklou duru la koden the sun has set. omoi maraŋ ke oklou the pandanus is drying in the sun. oklou itau the dry season.
okou N lime powder. okou otna lime gourd. okou tarna lime powder container.

okou ADJ white [> paulik].

oku ADJ new [≠ oglou ina]. iage oku new garden. mimi oku newborn baby.

oku ane Tou TEMP today, now [= etnikane].

oku boto ane TEMP just now.

oku N meat, flesh. kamla okur ine the muscle of his leg [especially calf].

okus ADJ rotten. amna okus it stinks.

ola N 1. spear [≥ pelpel, ponio, rolol]; 2. spines. lou ola my spear. lodu ila ola dorsal spines on a fish.

olu N/ine juice, fluid, watery sap, milk. olu lugoj my milk. sisu olu ine milk.

olu ADJ deep [≠ asar, tortor]. aki olu a deep river.

oluŋ N boundary.

olu > lutno.

olut N tree sp.

omba ADJ big, large [= mamil ≠ daudej > ombatno]. kerka omba large basket. youru omba I spit strongly.

ombatno ADJ huge, very large [< omba].

omdu N net [especially a pig net]. tiuri omdu ke obar they hunt pigs with a net. prak omdu he's braiding a pig net.

omoi N Pandanus sp, sleeping mat. omoi maranj ke oklou pandanus is drying in the sun. apmag timter omoi women sew up sleeping mats. risisir omoi they strip the thorns from the pandanus. lou omoi my sleeping mat.

omoy(aitno) N forest [> odoŋla].

omos N carving, artwork. ṣodue omos I'm carving.

omos Tou N obsidian [= egloŋ].

omsok N/± ila_ spit.

omsot N fuzz or barbs on plants.

omtogi, omtomu > bitna.

omtu N/ine hip [≥ peia].

omuk ADJ soft [≠ adar, nagar].

omuj N/ine chest [= Tou oŋgup].

omur N 1. place; 2. garden plot [≥ iage]. omur doŋ adai the place is empty. omluk udo omur you break up our garden plot. omur egle place inhabited by a spirit sp [TP ples masalai].

omur N tree sp [used for making shields].

omus N cave.

oun N/ine gall bladder.

onubik N taro sp [Anem onu bik three people].

onuk N nest.

onuk ADJ full [≥ bon > got]. aki onuk the water container is full.

oŋgup N coconut, Cocos nucifera.

oŋgup Tou N/ine chest [= omuj].

oŋon N flood.

oŋon N blood clot [≥ marau]. obar ina oŋon clotted blood in chest cavity of butchered pig.

oŋua N 1. wild [≥ kebena]; 2. meat game [≥ balıjen, masuŋon]. tikrim oŋua they're hunting for meat. Tou ŋaŋen raik buli oŋua I'm eating rice with meat. obar oŋua wild pig.

opmu> ene.

opmu N 1. stone; 2. stone oven.

opogu> apaŋa.

opol N/ine shoulder [≥ eriak].

opon N tree sp, Eucalyptus sp.

opou N garden [= iage]. tala ke opou let's go to the garden.

opugu, opumu > apaŋa.

orgi N earthquake. orgi tok= orgi polou there was an earthquake.

ormun N men's lodge.

oroge N tree sp.

orok N tree sp.
orsak → ene.
oruo QUANT two. dirgu oruo I have two children. elmeruo seven.
ossak N hand basket or small food basket [= kerka > paro].
osep N people [> gute].
ous N tree sp.
osua N shield. osua otne handle of a shield.
osek ADJ straight [= Tou otou ≠ kolok].
omta N fruit, seed, teeth. akai otna seed or fruit of a tree. okou otna lime gourd.
ogu otna= ogu eri ine my teeth. obar ila akai otna heart of a pig.
onten N/± ine 1. penis [= merge]; 2. handle. babin otna he masturbates. osua otne handle of a shield. arugu otna rainbow.
onton N- child, son, daughter, offspring singular [ŋ ergu, etim, otno, ododo, etepmi, otopmu, otorok. > mimi, titno].
ergu apmaŋ my daughter. ergu araŋ my son. ergu kene I have one child.
gemle otno puppy. kamla otno toe.
ottone, otopmu, otorok > otno.
ooto N/ine back [= odon].
ootou N punting pole.
ootou Tou ADJ straight [= osuk ≠ kolok].
oatu N 1. louse; 2. tree sp [used for treating lice and for making barkcloth].
ootuk N/ine head, butt [> apna]. otuk ine his head. uasi otuk ine butt of a cigarette. eme otuk ine tree sp.
ouop > ene.
ous N cockroach.
pado VTR look for [> krim, padonoŋ].
įapado uan I’m looking for something.
pado VTR collect, gather. padok akai she’s collecting firewood.
padonoŋ N something found, cultivar [< pado > adaŋ]. eloŋ ila padonoŋ taro sp. ŋauri ila padonoŋ taro sp. ulistuŋ ila padonoŋ taro sp.
paga N branch that betelnuts grow on.
ambak bile kap paga me pick the whole branch of betelnuts and bring it.
pai VTR burn, dry out. ŋapai uasi I’m drying the tobacco [over a lamp].
pade ADV quickly [= bale]. paide omo= ambate omo come quickly.
paiο N vulva [= epit].
paipai N 1. upper arm; 2. armband worn on upper arm. lungu paipai my upper arm. lou paipai my armband.
pak N tree sp.
pakoro N rainy season.
pala N top rainy season.
apaim sp.
ortua N top plate supporting rafters [> mlokou].
apalerm VTR view, look down on from a height. ŋapalerm uum I looked down onto you.
apalerm misuon N banana sp [that grows so high that it gets a view of the ocean].
apalermu N.
palma N thigh, trunk. kogu palma my thigh. akai palma trunk of a tree.
apaloke N taro sp.
apaluu N tree sp, Hibiscus tileaceus.
apan VI buzz. trentren pan a cicada is buzzing.
apan VTR wake up. amla ampane tito go wake him up.
apanako VTR steal. gute ila aidiŋ panako the man is a habitual thief. gute panako lou eli someone stole my knife.
apani VTR light [= tin]. ŋapani uasi I lit a cigarette.
apan VTR 1. ask; 2. challenge. ampah uasi kesa me ŋopole ask for some tobacco for me to roll. ŋanap uom I challenge you.
papua N banana sp.
papara N tree sp.
paria N 1. monitor lizard; 2. taro sp.
paro N large hanging basket for food storage (> kerka, osak).
paras V lay flooring (> paras). mapas limbuya we’re laying flooring.
parasimona N taro sp.
parasan N flooring (< paras).
pata VTR see (= erke = Tou rik). yapati uom I see you. Tou osep time ma tipatie people came to see it.
paulik N white pig (< obar).
paur VTR bring, take, escort. tipaur kobura blaj they’re taking copra too. tipaur apman they escorted a woman [as a bride].
paut N taro sp.
paut amal N taro sp.
paut boi N taro sp.
paut laday N taro sp.
paut maiku N taro sp.
paut reki N taro sp.
pe N tree sp.
pei VTR lever, pry up.
peia N/ine hip joint (> omtu).
peiauke N taro sp.
pele N/ine guts, belly.
pelet N plate, dish (< TP).
pelim N breadfruit, Artocarpus altilis.
pelio Tou V speak, talk, say (= uai > peliongon). Tou pelio lunong ge uom he told me about you. Tou pelio lunong ge uasi he asked me for some tobacco. Tou uke pelio blaj ane ma tala the man said we should go. Tou tapelio polu let’s talk. Tou pelio uaike “tala” he said, “let’s go”.
peliongon Tou N speech, language (= uainan). Tou nakapo peliongon I mix languages.
pelpepi N flat spear sp made of areca palm (< ola).
penia N wing (> mosmosu). iagim pena bat’s wing bone [used as a needle]. monuk pena bird’s wing.
penau N lean-to bush shelter.
pepa N paper (< TP).
pepelaka N lightning (< Kove. = egle neblik).
perer N pan flute sp [made of a line of bamboo. = Tou epre > sasup].
perper N stone cliff face.
pesi VTR press against (= nedip). lungu pesi akai I pressed against the wood with my hand.
pi VTR dig up, extract, pull out, remove (= put). nepi akai I pulled out a bush.
pidau N kingfisher (= Tou odoul).
pidau aria N 1. kingfisher sp; 2. totem name of group.
pigine Tou N/± ine anus (= tena).
pilai VTR braid (= prak > pilainan, bubu, bul).
pilainan N braided rope (< pilai = prakjan).
piliso > oglou piliso.
pihi N tree sp.
pis VTR rub.
pisopiso N grass sp.
pitua N tree sp.
plis VTR 1. cut with single stroke; 2. snap (> neplis).
pmem, pmemi, pmomu > timla.
pogo N tree sp.
pol VTR 1. fold; 2. roll [tobacco into a cigarette]. ompol pepa fold the paper. uasi kesa me napole give me some tobacco to roll.
polon N cross supports at the end of a stick bed (> koba). tabu ina polon banana sp.
polopololo N tree sp.
polou VI appear, arrive, happen, out. akai ane polou adai this tree just grew
by itself [no one planted it]. beberani kebep ina anak polou he'll squeeze the pus out of your leg. ompolou amla ke dogur go outside. tipolou kodon go dau? have they arrived yet? orgi polou there was an earthquake [> tok].

polu PRON reciprocal. tigi polu they got married. timluk polu they're fighting. teile polou we know one another. tikis limsak polu they held hands.

pom ADJ/en_ dull [= Tou put > bitna, ene, kaka]. elil ene pom the knife is dull.

pono VTR forbid, taboo, put prohibition marker on [> ponojon]. tipono ongup they put a prohibition on the coconuts.

ponoio N 1. tree sp; 2. curved wooden spear sp [≤ ola].

ponomi N tree sp.

ponojon N prohibition marker [< pono]. ongup ponojon prohibition marker on coconut palms.

ponu N turtle [= Tou punu].

popmo Tou VI lost [= mina]. Tou napolpomo I'm lost.

popros N/ine lungs.

por VTR 1. wring; 2. cook in coconut cream. nopor lou molo I wrung out my clothes. por ongup she's wringing out coconut cream. por esi she cooked the taro in coconut cream.

pou VTR tie. pou obar he tied up the pig. topou egle let's dress the sore. mopou koba we make a litter.

prak VTR braid [> prakyan, pilaigian, bubu, bul]. yaprak omdu I'm braiding a net.

prakyan N braided rope [< prak > bubujon, bul].

pu N wasp sp [that bores into house posts].

puagene VI stand erect [> nogrok]. obul puagene the banana is standing erect.

puai N malay apple, Eugenia malaccensis [= Tou bekei].

puda N European. puda tarna amal Europeans have white skin.

puda Tou QUANT many [= buno, pula].

pul VTR push. njupul mimi la norpus I push the child and he went splash.

pula QUANT many [= Tou puda = buno]. pula kobok a few.

punu Tou N turtle [= punu].

pupru Tou VTR follow [= didi]. Tou omula ompupru go follow him.

purpua N old garden that has been reclaimed by the forest [> iage].

put VTR dig up, extract, pull out, remove [= pr]. toput esi lets pull up some taro.

put Tou ADJ/en_ dull [= pom].

putu N tree sp, Barringtonia speciosa.

rais N rice [< TP].

rana N- father-in-law; son-in-law; mother-in-law; daughter-in-law; affine one generation removed [I ranjoj, ranuom, rana...].

rarak N k.o. dance [in which shield and spear are carried].

reret > mana reret.

leri > pautleri.

res eiou Tou V build a fire [= basin eiou].

ret VTR bite.

rik Tou VTR see [= erke, pati].

rim VI fat, obese. tirim they're fat.

riri VTR pull, drag. tiriri gomot they pulled the canoe.

ris VI bathe.

rogo N mortuary feast.

roloj N flat spear sp made of palm [≤ ola].

romoi Nila_ brother-in-law.

rojon V answer.
roro VI 1. develop new growth after dying out; 2. flower (> rorojon).
rorojon N flower (< roro).
roror N frog sp (= Tou kekrek).
rumko N tree sp.
ruo > oruo.
sa QUANT some, one (= kesa).
sabairan N totem group [≥ makanda, kalubia, langou, kaugo, pidau aria, biliku, kalimbalisi].
sabara N spirit sp [≤ aulu].
sabile N tree sp.
saborek N taro sp.
sael N tree sp.
saiber N/ina_ brothers, sisters, younger siblings or parallel cousins same sex plural (> aiber).
saidagu N/ila_ cross cousins (= seidagu > aidagu).
saiki N little finger or toe (= seiki). kamla saiki little toe. limla saiki little finger.
saipumu N tree sp.
sak VTR wipe. ṭasake ma epis I’ll wipe it dry.
sakalay obor N taro sp.
sakam MOD dehortative, do not, stop...ing. Tou omtŋis sakam stop crying.
sakarkar N/ila_ fish scales. lodu ila sakarkar fish scales.
sakarkar VTR scale. Tou omsakarkar lodu scale the fish.
sakua N banana sp.
sakul N song. tede sakul let’s sing.
salalet N tree sp.
salom N tree sp.
salom solou N banana sp.
salou N tree sp.
samegei N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [similar to aitou but better].
samel N taro sp.
samo N banana sp [from Samoa].
samo eprinj N banana sp.
sanda N spirit sp [≤ aulu].
sangara N ladder.
saylou N tree sp.
sao N tree sp.
sapak N tree sp.
sapaja N hunger [< Lusi]. mimi sapaja due the child is hungry. sapaja de ŋon I’m hungry.
sapirpir VTR brush off. sapirpir koba he brushed off the bed.
sasa N tree sp.
sasa N/ina_; Tou ila_ great great grandparents [parents of kamla eslei ine]. ŋau sasa= Tou lou sasa my great great grandparents.
sasada > sesna.
sasap maret N/limla_ forearm.
sasarar > sesna.
sasi Tou ADJ bad [= soulu]. Tou uan sasi= mota snake.
sasup N flute sp made of a bundle of bamboo (> perer).
sau VTR catch [= Tou kapak].
saule N tree sp.
sauli Tou VI move, wave (= nemilmil).
saupu N clearing used as a resting spot on a road.
sauriri N large black wasp sp.
sedik N salt ash.
sei PRON who, which. sei sir ŋon? who is calling me? gute sei? which man?
seidagu > saidagu.
seiki > saiki.
selilei N grass sp.
seleomo N axe (= Tou gitu).
selibule N tree sp.
sep VI in, enter. emsep omo come in.
sar VTR comb. ṭeser opogu (elilo) I
comb my hair.

**sere** N bamboo sp.

**serebatne** N sweet potato, Ipomea batatas.

**serem** N aromatic ginger sp, Alpinia sp.

**sesra** N wives, husbands, spouses plural (> esra). **sesra etlu.** He has three wives.

**sesue** ADV how many. **osep sesue?** How many people are there?

**sigale** N tobacco sp [< uasi].

**siga** N carrying stick.

**sik** VTR chase, get rid of. **mosik obar ka la get rid of that pig.**

**sikei > kuri sikei.**

**sila blaj** QUANT another [= silaj blaj].

**silau > gaga silau.**

**silibou > titimla.**

**silimu** N 1. needle; 2. wing bone of flying fox used as needle or for divination; 3. fibula. **konju (ina) silimu my fibula.**

**silmei > aki.**

**simbam** N banana sp.

**sin** VTR carry on one's head [especially by women. > kalke, sinjen].

**sin** VTR build. **gesin lou ninu oku I'm building myself a new house.**

**sinjen** N bundle carried by women on the head [< sin].

**sipmada, sipmarak, sipmem > titimla.**

**sir** VTR 1. call by name (> gi); 2. accuse.

**sirba** N clouds.

**sisepmi > sesna.**

**sisik** VTR pick [especially one by one. > bak].

**sisil** N taro sp.

**sisilne** N brains. **sisilnoy my brains.** **sisilne his brains.**

**sisiou** ADJ fully ripe (> balu ≠ akat). **sisir VTR stip thorns from. tisisir omoi**

they're stipping the thorns from pandanus.

**sisirlik** N taro sp.

**sisopmu > sesna.**

**sisu** N/± ine breast. apman sisu ine a woman's breasts. **sisu olu ine milk. inim sisu he's suckling.**

**slip** N tree sp.

**solo** N trouble-maker, whore. apman due solo the woman is a whore.

**solou > salom solou.**

**somkur** N New Guinea walnut tree, Dracontomelon mangiferum.

**somogu** ADJ pregnant.

**somoro** N freshwater snail.

**son** VI swollen.

**sonjon** VTR lose (> mina). **yosonjon lou elil I lost my knife.**

**sonoso** N dead end bits of wood from a fire.

**sonotno** QUANT ten. **iselme sonotno sixty.**

**soulu** ADJ bad [= Tou sasi, soulu ≠ itau].

**sousou** N/± ila _ broom.

**su** N tree sp from which fibres are taken to make braided rope for pig nets.

**sua** PRON what, which. **molo ari sua?** what kind of barkcloth is that? **batne sua?** what is the cause of it? **omkroke uan ke sua?** why did you break the thing?

**suang** VI run [= Tou noplu]. **omsuaŋ molil run carefully.**

**sulutno** N sisters, brothers, siblings or parallel cousins opposite sex reciprocal plural [₁ suluku, sulup, sulutno... > lutno].

**sumu** N snake sp.

**sumuk > ese ina sumuk.**

**sunak** N tree sp [acceptable alternative to su].
William R. Thurston

Suy VTR distribute.

Susu VI swim on surface of water [delim].

Susu N banana sp.

Tabele bitna N peninsula.

Tabila N wooden dish imported via north coast from Siasi [tumoro].

Tabu ina polony N banana sp.

Tabulbul VTR roll.

Tagargare N pandanus sp.

Tagogola N spirit sp [aulu].

Taklou N crab sp found in small rivers.

Tala N-ear [tologu = tala; talap, tala, talse = talalite, telepmi = talepmi, tolopmu, talsek = talansak]; 2. lateral fin. tologu nopol I'm deaf. lodu tala lateral fin of a fish.

talemi > tala.

Talo N taro sp.

talpes N/n__ine claw, nail, talon. lungu talpes (ine) my fingernails. kongu talpes (ine) my toenails.

talsak > tala.

Tamala N pitpit sp, Saccharum sp.

Tamara N banyan tree, Ficus sp (= Tou namaijo).

Tanjan ADJ/iage new garden. lou iage tanjan my new garden.

Tanguri N jawharp.

Tanir N kingfish mackeral [TP].

Tano apna N taro sp.

Tapak N taro sp.

Tapiok N manioc, cassava, Manihot utilissima [TP = amioka, kundis, manioka].

Taratarabul N spirit sp [aulu].

Tarmai N k.o. dance.

Tarna N__ine 1. skin, body; 2. lips; 3. bark; 4. husk. 5. container; 6. empty [mana batne]. Tarna keti he has black skin. Tarna balu he's an albino. Ogu tarna my lips. akai tarna 1. bark; 2. barkcloth [molo]. Puda tarna woven cloth. bile tarna betel husk. okou tarna lime powder container. Aki tarna the water container is empty. Neikirik tarna lugo I'm scratching myself.

Taran N 1. sago sp; 2. flooring.

Tatan N earth.

Tatalk Tou N earth, ground [= ebes].

Tatuk ADV pant. nebijos tatuk I pant.

Tauui N tree sp.

Tauini ADV for a long time [= Tou emlis].

Tauo N tree sp.

Tekil N tree sp.

Telepmi > tala.

teli N shell money.

Tena N anus [temno, tenam = tenuom, tena, tente = tenalite, termi = tenalimi, termu = tenalumu, tensak = Tou pigine]. monuk tena taro sp.

Tete N bridge.

Tia N taro sp.

Tiben N tree sp.

Tik VTR count. titik teli they're counting shell money.

Tik VTR chip, flake. titik omos they're chopping obsidian.

Tikit N tree sp.

Tilu Tou /aki__ pool of water in river [= bubu]. Tou aki tilu a pool of water in a river.

Timla N father, father's brother or parallel cousin singular [libou = Tou abo, tmem = pmem, timla, tmada, tmemi = pmemi, tmonu = pmomu, tmarak > titimla].

Tin N tin can [TP].

Tin VTR light, burn, set on fire [= pani, bik]. Qapani uasi I lit a cigarette. Titin ogu they're burning kunai.
titij VI return [= dinj = Tou lik]. titij tla they went back.

tirie VI dance. apmag, motirie! women, dance!

titepmi, titim > titno.
	titimla N- fathers, father’s brothers or male parallel cousins plural [t silibou, sipmem, titimla, sipmada, sipmemi, sipmomu, sipmarak > timla].

tina N- mothers, mother’s sisters or female parallel cousins plural [t ... tinem, tina, tinada, tinemi, tinomu, tinark > tna].

titno N- 1. sons, daughters, children plural [otno dirgu, titim, titno, titodo, titepmi, titopmu, titorok]; 2. fingers, toes. dirgu oruo I have two children. kamla titno his toes [especially middle three]. limla titno fingers.

titnomu > titna.

tito VI up, ascend. emtito embri stand up.

titobro N/ina_ older siblings or parallel cousins same sex plural [= tobro].

titodo, titopmu, titorok > titno.

titroyj N dorsal fin. lodu ila titroyj dorsal fin of a fish.

tilien Tou V hear [= klien]. Tou tilien uye me I hear someone coming. Tou tilien luon I hear you.

tmada, tmarak, tmem, tmemi, tmomu > timla.
	tna N- mother, mother’s sister or female parallel cousin singular [aia, tmem, tna, tnada, tmemi, tmomu, tnark > titna, nine]; 2. thumb or big toe. (nau) aia my mother. kamla tna his big toe. lungu tna my thumb. uame tna sweat bee. aki tna crocodile.

tjis Tou VI cry, weep [= kjis]. omtjis sakam stop crying.

tobolbol N landsnail sp.

tobor N pitpit, Saccharum sp.

tobro N/ina_ older brother, older sister, older sibling or parallel cousin same sex singular [= aiber, ltno, titbro].

tobutno N/ine navel.
	tok VI happen, be active. merge tok he has an erection. orgi tok there was an earthquake.

tok VTR try. yotoke da I’ll try it first.
tokonkon N litter, scrap heap, midden [= oblu].
tologu, tolopmu > tala.
toma N banana sp.
tona N on top of [bisna, aitno]. ninu tona on top of the house.
topurne N- nose [topurjo, topuruom, topurne, topurte, topurmi, topurmu, topursak].
tortor ADJ shallow [= asar ≠ olu].
tou N/ine back [= dogor].
touk N/limla_ index finger.
trentren N cicada.

trum VTR cut down, pull down.
tui N banana sp.
tuk VI slip out of place. anjoxjuk I’m out of breath. polonjuk the end support is slipping out of place. okloujuk la the sun is setting.
tuktuk Tou N owl [= daikrup].
tumno N- mother’s brother, sister’s son [te tumgu, o, tumno, tumdo, o, o, o. > gotye, Tou gute].
tumororo N wooden dish imported from Siasi via south coast [= tabila].
tunoyj N banana sp.
turit N tree sp.
tuturno N sprout from stump after a tree has been felled [= Tou elkip].

tuai VI speak, talk, tell [= Tou pelio > uaijan]. uai ine kodon? have you told him yet? uai lugojj ine he told me about it.
The text content is in a mix of English and a language that appears to be a blend of ancient or indigenous constructions, possibly derived from a language like Wolof or a similar African language. The text includes both English words and phrases along with what appear to be linguistic terms or concepts. The text also contains what seems to be a list or dictionary of terms, possibly religious or ceremonial in nature, given the context of words such as “ambush,” “ancestor,” and “spit.”

8. ENGLISH–ARIA FINDER LIST

above egim.
accompany kap.
accuse sir.
adze akra, kulaluoo.
affine, terms for Tou asap,
esna, kaden, Tou ngap,
rana, romoi, sesna.
afflict bel.
afraid dilip, lim.
afternoon kirui, Tou marun.
again blaj.
algae gulumu.
all bunô; all gone iabos,
Tou iagos.
alone kene.
Alpinia spp akuei, Tou
egiau, serem.
also kodoj.
again blaj.
above egim.
accompany kap.
afraid dilip, lim.
affine, terms for Tou asap,
esna, kaden, Tou ngap,
rana, romoi, sesna.
again blaj.
afflict bel.
algae gulumu.
all bunô; all gone iabos,
Tou iagos.
alone kene.
Alpinia spp akuei, Tou
dabol, egiau, serem.
already kodoj.
also blaj.
the ground.
ambush manjai; set up
ambush uri manjai.
ancestors kamla eslei ine.
and deka, e, ma.
angry amja, Tou damja.
ankle kamla agune, kamla
silimu; ankle bone
kamla ebiak.
another silaj blaj, sila blaj.
answer royon.

Note: The text is complex and requires specialized knowledge to accurately interpret. It seems to include elements of religious or ceremonial language, blending English terms with indigenous or ancient linguistic constructs.
ant spp kamulia, nerim.
anus Tou pigine, tena.
appear polou.
Achilles’ tendon kanil.
Areca catechu bile.
arm limla; upper arm limla paipai;
armband mese, paipai; armpit limla obar bisna.
aromatic plant spp kikit, namane, serem.
arrive polou.
Artocarpus altilis pelim.
artwork omos.
as laka.
ascend tito.
ash group, Tou obrop;
saltash sedik.
ask pay, Tou pelio, uai.
at Tou ge, ke.
aunt adou.
away la.
axe Tou gitu, selembo.
baby dereben.
bachelors agau aren.
back dogurne, odon;
outou, tou; back of head kadaña;
backbone odon.
bad Tou sasi, soulu.
bald almat.
.bamboo spp agak, akerne, odu, seres.
banana obul; banana spp adigolo, aimou, akai batne, alau, aliba, aŋari, auol, belak, berik, berik apai, bile, borom, borom garai, borom gauru, borom grum gomot, galau, Tou garai, giu, iaba, kalaja keis, kalapua, kalata, kalau, karai, katkaturu, kekele, kiaukiau, kokolo aitou, kokrou, kordo, krumkrum, mainmul, malbak, malpis, maria, matalato, meia, meriaŋ, molo, mormor, mumum, palem misuon, papua, sakua, salom solou, samo, samo eprig, simbam, susu, tabu ina polon, toma, tui, tunon, uba, uligiu.
besticoot melim.
bank of river akidina.
banyan tamara.
barbs omson.
bark akai tarna;
barkcloth akai tarna, molo.
bark, dogs gar.
barracuda kalubia.
Barringtonia speciosa putu.
base bame.
basket spp kerka, osak, paro.
bat spp aiua, iagim.
bathe ris.
beam paleta.
beans kliŋo.
bear dibir.
bed koba; make bed lalo; bed supports polon.
bedbug bidabida.
bee uame tna.
before da, oglou.
belly damaine, malugi, pele.
below moli.
bend over molok.
bent kolok.
betel bile; betel pepper esis; betel mortar maul, Tou uami;
chew betel ʔes.
big mamil, omba; big toe kama tna;
bigman barau;
bighmouth apot.
bird monuk; bird spp Tou akom, alau, aplau, belis, bogi, daikrup, dikdik, Tou doukik, ebin, kalaja, kokrak, kuako, meriaŋ, namri, Tou oduw, pidau, pidau aria, Tou tuktuk.
birth dibir.
bite ret.
bits koukou.
black obor, keti; black pig nakum; black ant nerim.
blind bitnaebin, bitna nopur.
blink neblik.
block neklen, neklip.
blood marau; blood clot oono.
blow ipu.
blue ebin, Tou gesen, kesen.
bluebottle fly lonoabilir, lonororou, Tou losokir.
boa constrictor Tou maruk, moro.
body tarna.
bone eri.
bonito eri.
book buk.
boundary oluŋ.
bow and arrow malel.
box for pigs Tou gongon, karoro.
boys agau aren.
brace nakeljen.
braid pilai, prak; braided rope pilainan, prakjan.
brains esi, sisilne.
branch akai limla, paga.
breadfruit pelim.
break boj, grum, krok; mluk, nakram, neplis, nobon, nogrum, nokrok, Tou notup.
breast sisu.
breath ano.
breathe binos.
bridge tete.
brightly coloured kilikili.
bring due, paur.
broom brum, sousou.
brother, terms for aiber, lutno, tobro; brothers, terms for saiber, sulutno, titobro; brother-in-law kaden, romoi; mother's brother Tou gute, nogle, tumno.
brown pig Tou merden, meren.
brush off sapirpir. clear brush luk.
build sin; build fire basineiou, Tou res eiou; build fence uri ari.
bullroarer barku ene blene.
bump nopu.
bundle simen.
burn bik, bublo, pai, tin.
bush hen keiau.

butt otuk.
butt against neklep, Tou nekrem.
butterfly bakuok.
buttocks obor.
buzz lolo, pan.
cage for pigs Tou gongon, karoro.
Calamus spp aber, aglok erne, alika, kiria, Tou lilou, nalia.
calf kamla aiapo, kamla okur.
call gi, sir.
can tin.
Canarium polyphllum anari.
canoe gomot, mon.
canopy akai gurno.
careful Tou epis, molil.
carry Tou kakuk, kalke; carry on head sin; carrying stick sigi.
carve blou; carving omos.
casque of cassowary alau ila barku.
cassava amioka, kundis, manioka, tapiok.
cassowary alau; cassowary wing alau ina mosmosu.
Casuarina equisetifolia ialu.
catch Tou kapak, sau.
caudal fin melba.
caught naglaŋ.
cave omus.
challenge panj.
charcoal asinjir, sojoso.
Charonia tritonis kuliep.
chase sik.
cheek bana.

chest omuŋ, Tou ongup.
chew betel yes.
chicken kuako.
child mimi, ono; children timo.
chip tik.
chirp nesiusiu, nesuelsuel.
chop gusip.
cicada trentren.
citizen matamur.
Citrus sp mumli.
clam spp baiu, dabol, ebiak, golomada.
clavicle alik.
claw talpes.
clay pot ulo.
clean itau.
clear brush luk; clear weeds uluk.
clearing saupu.

cluck tongue notoktok.
cliff face gogou bitna, perper.
clot onoj.
cloth molo.
clouds sirba.
club bao.
club nohopot.
cockatoo aplau.
cockroach ous.
coconut, Cocos nucifera ongup; coconut shell gogo; coconut grater jiri; cook in coconut cream por.

coitus isu.
cold epen.
collapse nekles, nobon.
collect padok.
collective kape.
colon atok.
comb emsik, ser.
come me.
completive *kodoy.*
congregate *gogo.*
container *tarna, bara.*
coo *noru, uru.*
cook *kamlu;* cook in coconut cream *por.*
cooked *lipma.*
cora *kobura.*
*Cordyline* spp *anuj, Tou kaduk, mare.*
count *tik.*
cousin, terms for *aidagu, lutno, tobro;* cousins, terms for *saibor, saidagu, sulutno, titobro.*
cover *neklip.*
crab spp *angis, taklou.*
crack *negre.*
cramp *Tou kesine.*
crash *nogrum.*
crawl *didara,*
crazy *Tou kaka, manamaga.*
creak *neket, nekret.*
crocodile *akima.*
crooked *kolok.*
cross *bru.*
cross cousin *aidagu.*
crow *kokrak.*
crumbs *koukou.*
cry *kjis, Tou tjis.*
cultivar *adaŋ, padonjon.*
cured *lipma.*
cuscus *Tou kaukaui, kranip.*
cut *blou, plis, trum.*
cycad palm, *Cycas circinalis matolo.*
dance *tirie;* dance, k.o. *rarak, tarmai.*
daughter *otono;* daughters *timo;* daughter-in-law *rana.*
day *oklou.*
deaf *tala nopol.*
deep *olu.*
defecate *use.*
defortative *sakam.*
demolish *boy, kles.*
descend *duru.*
design, k.o. *dele ene, momoean.*
dethorn *sisir.*
die *mete.*
different *ailuk.*
dig *ias;* dig up *pi, put;* digging *apma.*
diminutive *boto.*
*Dioscorea* spp *aitou,*
bidi, darpei, kukuai,
mamim, oda, samegei.
dirty *amum, kerere.*
dish *pelet, tabila, tumoro.*
dislike *ulou.*
disposable possessive *ila.*
distribute *lalo, Tou muri, suŋ.*
dive *nonrop.*
do *boko, due.*
dog *gemle.*
dorsal fin *titron.*
dove *belis.*
down *duru.*
*Draccontomelon mangiferum* somkur.
drag *riri.*
dream *ano.*
dried *kakrak, lipma.*
drink *inim.*
drip *netenjeŋ.*
drive pigs into net *bar.*
drum *kude.*
dry *epi, epis, marau.*
dry season *oklou itau.*
dugong *lui.*
dugout canoe *mon.*
dull *pom, Tou put.*
dust *koukou.*
eagle *bogi.*
ear *tala.*
earth *ebes, Tou tatlak;* earthquake *orgi tok.*
eat *gen.*
edge *bitna, ene, galna.*
edible possessive *ina.*
eel *aidag* moray eel *aidag misuon ina;* eel lure *amlak.*
egg *tobutno.*
eight *elme etlu, lumetlu.*
eighty *iselme isetlu.*
ejaculate *noslom.*
elbow *limla buno.*
elder *Tou namor, noŋle.*
empty *Tou ablo, adai,*
mana *batne, tarna.*
enough *Tou iabos, iagos.*
enter *sep.*
erection *merge tok.*
escort *paur.*
eucalyptus *opon.*
*Eugenia malaccensis* "Tou bekei, puai.*
european *puda.*
extend across *klou.*
extract *pi, put.*
eye *bitna.*
faeces *ata.*
faint *matisuk, mete.*
fell *gene.*
far *emia, maua.*
fart meli.
fast bale, paide.
fat rim.
fatally wounded burua.
father Tou abo, timla;
fathers tītīmla;
father-in-law ranā.
fear dilip, lim.
feast rogo.
feather monuk elUo.
feelings aitno.
fell gusip.
female apmāj.
fence ari; build fence uri ari.
few pula kobok.
fibula kamlā silimu.
Ficus Tou namailo, tamara.
fifty iselme.
fill nonoi.
fin spp melba, tala, titrojn.
finger padsōnən.
fingers limla tītno; little finger limla eslej;
ring finger limla kuskus; middle finger limla seiki;
index finger limla touk; fingernails limla talpes.
finished Tou iabos, iagos.
fire eiou; build fire basin eiou, Tou res eiou.
firefly edep.
firewood akai.
firm nebiŋ.
first da.
fish lodu; fish spp atun, kalimalisisi, kalubia, kaluga, langou.
five elmə.
flake tik.
flash neblik.
fl eas agenagen.
flee nekles.
flash okur.
fl icker nelemlem.
float maro.
flood ōjon.
flooring ekei, limbuıı,
pasınan, tarkan; floor joist arikrik; lay flooring pas.
flower roro, rorojın.
fluid aki, olu.
flute, k.o. akerne, Tou epre, kaur, perer, tasup.
fly kei.
fly spp loño, loñojiri, loñororou, Tou loñokir, moromo.
fog Tou apare ila eiou, gaugau.
fold pol.
follow batne, didi, Tou pupru.
food yaınən; wild food baljinen; food basket paro.
foot kamlā.
forage bali.
forbid pono.
ford bru.
forearm limla sasap maret.
forehead bara, Tou edik.
foreigner kaulei.
foreleg limla.
forest omoŋ aimo; in the forest odoŋla.
f rty isapanal.
four apanal.
fresh akat, Tou epriŋ.
friend aten.
frog bael Tou kala;
f rog spp grukgruk,
Tou kekrek, roror.
front đamaine.
fruit akai ona.
full bon, onuk; full, sated got.
fur elilo.
fuzz omsonj.
gall bladder onu.
game ojua.
garden iage, opou;
garden plot omur;
old garden kiklej batne; new garden tarkan; overgrown garden purpu.
garnish masu.
gather, collect padok;
forage bali; meet duni, gogo.
gaudy kilikili.
get due.
giant clam golomada.
gill flap kalakopine;
gills aimollmolu.
ginger, Alpinia spp akuei, Tou dabol,
egiau, serem; ginger, Zinziber emles.
girl bela.
give kar; give birth dibir.
glow bublo.
go la, uti; go ahead mgo; go back Tou dig, Tou lik, tiŋ.
gong gilamo.
good itau.
gourd okou ona.
grandparent aia; great grandparents kamlā eslej ine; great great
grandparents *sasa*;
great great great grandparents *aibaga*.
grass spp *balimu, ogu, pisopiso, seleilei*.
grasshopper spp *kakan, makul*.
grate *yiri*; coconut grater *yiri*.
greasy *dikyen*.
green *ebir, Tou gesen*;
unripe *akat, Tou epriy* vegetable greens *karuya*.
grey-haired *mir*.
ground *ebes, Tou tatlak*.
grub sp *etnim*.
grunt *Tou gruk, nokuk*.
guts *aitno, pele*.
habit *aidiy*.

hair *elilo*; grey-haired *mir*; hairless pig *gelet*.

hammer, sago *koli*.
hand *limla*; hand basket *kerka, osak*.
handle *otne*.

hang *nogrok*.
happen *polou, tok*.
happy *Tou adanja, kilikili*.

hard *Tou adar, nagar*.
hate *ulou*.
hawk *Tou akon, ɳamri*.
he *ie*.

head *apna, otuk*; back of head *kadanga*;
headwaters *aki gurno*; headman *barau*.

healing magic *borou*.
hear *klinen, Tou tlinen*.
heart *akai apna, akai otna*.

hearth *tatan*.
heavy *Tou anit, kodu*.

heel *kamla batne*.
help *lua*.
here *ane*.
hey *de*.

*Hibiscus tiliaceus palu*.
hide *kukuop, lun*.
hindleg *kamla*.

hip *omtu, peia*.
history *nasijen*.

hit *mluk*.
hold *Tou gisi, kis*; hold between hands *nokol*.

hole *obuk*.

*Homalium foetidum boi*.
honeycomb *anglek, uame*.
hornbill *meriaŋ*.
hot *enil*.

hourglass drum *kude*.

house *ninu*; men’s lodge *ormun*; girl’s initiation house *ninu galiki*; lean-to shelter *peŋau*.

housefly *logo*.
how many *sesue*.

huge *ombatno*.
hundred *buno*.
hung up *nagлан*.
hunger *sapanja*.
hunt *bar, krim*.
hurt *doro*.

husband *esna, Tou ɳano*; husbands *sesna*.
husk *tarna*.

I *ɳoŋ*.
if *Tou daga, ma*.
ill *daunon*.

*Imperata ogu*.

in *Tou ge, ke*; enter *sep*; in the forest *odoŋla*.
inalienable possessive *ine*.
index finger *limla touk*.
initiation house for girls *ninu galiki*.

*Inocarpus fagiferus eitui*.
inside *aitno*.
tercourse *isu*.
testines *mogolu*.

*Ipomea batatas serbatne*.
ironwood *bana*.
irrealis *ma*.
irresponsible *kepis*.

island *nu*.
it *ie*.
itchy *kaklak*.
jacaranda *daga*.
jaw *bana*.
jawharp *tanguri*.

joint *buno*.
joist *arihrik*.
juice *olu*.

jump *Tou kepiuk, kopiuk, nemit, netek*.

jungle *omon aitno*.
just *bala*; just now *oku bota ane*.
kambang *okou*.
karapa *balimu*.

kill *mluk, mter*.
kin, terms for *Tou abo, adou, aia, aibaga, aiber, aidagu, aikos, asap, aten, kamla eslei ine, esna, Tou gute, kaden, lutno, nina, Tou ɳano, ɳoŋle, otno, rana, romoi, saiber, sasa*,

THE BIBLING LANGUAGES: ARIA LEXICON 363
sesna, sulutno, timla, titimla, titna, titno, titobro, tna, tobro, tumno.

kingfish mackeral tajir.
kingfisher Tou oduol, pidau, pidau aria.
knee kamla buno.
knife elil, Tou udage.

knife kamla buno.
lamp lam.
land ebes galna, Tou tatlak emkil.

language Tou pelionon, waiyan.
laplap molo.
large mamil, omba.
later Tou batne, mase.
lateral fin tala.

laugh ibel.

law nasiyen.
lay flooring pas.
lazy iage kobok, kepis.
leaf akai elilo.
lean manik, nepil.
lean-to shelter penjau.
leap Tou kepiuk.
lethand gala.

leg kamla.

lent ma.
lever pei.

lie, prevaricate iak, iakiak, Tou katkatu
lie, sleep munu.

lift kaka.
light bik, bublo, pani.
lightning egle neblak, pepelaka.
lightweight manikan.

like aitno.

like, as laka.
lime powder okou; lime spatula damu; lime gourd okou otua; lime container okou tarna.
limp kamla netir.
lips ene tarna.
litter, bed koba.
litter, garbage oblu, tokonkon.
little boto, daudej, isuk boto.
liver bomso.
lizard, monitor paria.
lobster agen misuonina.
located doj, munu.

log akai.

long alaq for a long time Tou emlis, tauni.
look for krim, pado;
look down onto palem.
loose sonon.
lost mina, Tou popmo.
louse otu.

love magic munusaur.
lungs popros.
lure amlak.

magic borou; love magic munusaur;
sorcery muso.

make due; make twine bubu; make rope bul; make bed lalo.

malay apple Tou bekei, puai.

male araj.
man gute, Tou ute.
mango, Mangifera indica kadai.
mangrove tree bale; mangrove crab angis; mangrove clam baiu.

manioc, Manihot utilissima amioka, kundis, manioka, tapiok.
manner aidin.

many bun, Tou puda, pula; how many sesue.

marker of prohibition pononon.
marry gi; marriage giyen.

masalai egle.
masturbate babin.
mat omoi.
me nay.
meat masu, okur, onjua.
meet buy, duni, gogo.
men' lodge ormun.
menstruation nenjir.
merely bala.
midden oblu.
middle finger limla seiki.
milk sisu olu ine.
mist Tou apare ila eiou, gaugau.

money, shell teli.

monitor lizard paria.

moray eel aidaj misuon ina.

morning kotkotu.
mortar, betel maui, Tou uami.
mortuary feast rogo.
mosquito nomuk.
moss gulumu.

mother nina, na;
mothers titna;
mother's brother Tou gute, yople, tumno;
mother-in-law rana.
mountain gigri, muruj

mountain ridge obrou.
mouth ene.
move nemilmil, Tou sauli, uti.
mucus, nasal ebris.
mumur nejin.
muscle okur.
mushroom makue.
mushy anam.
nail talpes.
naked albus.
name Tou anay, anayine.
narrate didi.
nasal mucus ebris.
navel tobutno.
near luono.
neck agune.
need bel.
needle silimu.
negative Tou auro, kobok.
neice adou.
nephew adou.
nest onuk.
net omdu.
nettle tree dipil, Tou kidou.
new oku; new garden tanan.
newborn dereben.
night epmes.
nine elme apanal, lumasnal.
ninety ise elme isapanal.
nits lede.
nose topurne.
not Tou auro, kobok; not yet dau.
nothing Tou ablo, adai.
now etnikane, Tou oku ane; just now oku boto ane.
nude albus.

obese rim.
oblue ine, ke.
obsidian eglon, Tou omos.
occupy neklen.
ocean misuon, Tou musien.
ochre anat.
Octomeles sumatran kordo.
odour amna.
old oglou ina; old garden kikle batne, purpu.
on Tou ge, ke; on top of tona.
one Tou gesa, kene, kesa, sa.
only bala.
open klok, noklok.
or go.
outside dogur.
oven, stone opmu.
owl dai krup, Tou tuktuk.
paddle melba, naitar.
pain doro.
palm of hand limla damaine.
palm spp bile, ekei, matolo, ongup.
pan flute Tou epre, perer.
Pandanus spp banda, buja, omoi, parpara, tagargare.
pant binos tatuk, nanaspas, nenjenis.
paper pepa.
Parartocarpus venenosa doko.
parrot kalanya.
patella kamlila bara.
path ekren.

peninsula tabele bitna.
penis merge, otne.
people osep.
perifery of village armok boul.
person gute, Tou ute.
pick bak, sisik.
pig obar; pig spp gelet, longolongo, Tou meren, meren, moron, nakum, paulik; pig tusks bole; pig net omdu; drive pigs bar.

pillow elio.

pinch git.
pink kesen.
pipe, smoking nalato.
Piper betle esis.
piss durie, marai.

pitpit tamala, tobor.
place omur.
plant usak.
plate pelet; top plate mlokjon, pala.

play kole.
plot, garden omur.
plunge nosum.
Poinciana delnis daga mudu.

point bima.

pointer Tou ga, ka.
Pometia pinnata Tou adada, emlii.
Pometia sp adarak.

pond, pool bubu, Tou tilu.
pork obar.
possessives ila, ina, ine.
post kada.
pot, clay ulo.
pour baser.
prawn agen.
precede mgo.
pregnant somogu.
press against nedip, pesi.
prevaricate iak, iakiak,
    Tou katatu.
prohibit pono, ponoyon.
press against nedip, pesi.
prevaricate iak, iakiak,
Tou katatu.

put; pull down trum.
pulling pole otou.
puppy gemle otno.
pus anak.
push pul.
python emei.
quick bale, paide.
quotative uaike.
rack bota.
rafter lala.

rain Tou arigu, arugu;
    rainbow arugu otno;
    rainy season pakoro.
raintree daga mudu.
rapids diglu.
rat kiue.
rattan spp aber, aglok
    erne, alika, kiria, Tou
    lilou, nalia.
rattle negrengrey.
ravine cliff face gogou
    bitina.
raw akat.
reason batne.
reciprocal polu.
rectum atok.
red dimor.
remain donj.
remove pi, put.
resting spot saupu.
return Tou dinj, Tou lik,
    tinj.
Rhizophora sp bale.
rice rais.
ridge, mountain obrou.
ridgepole komdujo.

righthand odunj.
ring finger limla kuskus.
ringworm eper.
rip nabak.
ripe balu, sisiou.
river aki; river bank
    aki dina; river spirit
    Tou barau.
road ekrej.
roll bubu, pol, tabulbul.
roots akai gitno.
rope kedue; make rope
    bul; braided rope
    pilainjan, prakjan.
rotten okus.
rub pis.
run Tou noplul, suanj
    run away quickly
    nekles.
rustle nogromgrom,
    nokorkor.
Saccharum spp amra,
    tamala, tobor.
sago spp babalago,
    galalo, tarjan, usu;
    sago hammer koli.
saltash sedik.
salty galo.
sand labu; sandfly
    moromo.
sap akai ina anak.
sated got.
say Tou pelio, uai.
scale sakarkar.
scapula leia.
scar amal.
scrape Tou gir, kir, nou.
scratch Tou gir, kir.
scrub gos.
sea misuon, Tou musien;
    sea eagle bogi.
season oklou; dry
    season oklou itau;
    rainy season pakoro.

see erke, pati, Tou rik.
seed akai otna.

set up ambush uri
    manjai.
seven elme ruo,
    lumaruo.
seventy iselme isoruo.
sew mter.
sex isu, nopluk.
shadow ano.
shallow asar, tortor.
shark kaluga.
sharp bitna, kaka.
she ie.
shelf bota.

shell, coconut gogo;
    shell trumpet, triton
    shell kuliep; trochus
    shell armband mese;
    shell money teli.
sheeler penjau.
shield osua.
shit ata, use.
shiver nakarkar.
shoot mter; shoot
    upwards neter, Tou
    neser.
shoulder eriak, opol.
shovel matu.
shrimp agen.
Siasi dish tabila,
    tumoro.
sick daunjon.
side Tou emkil, galna.
single auran, bela.
sister, terms for aiber,
    lutno, tobro; sisters,
    terms for saiber,
    sulutno, titobro;
sister-in-law kaden.
sit donj.
six elme kene, luma kene.
sixty iselme sonotno.
skin tarna.
skinny andar, dabalbal.
slow Tou epis, molil.
small daudey.
smell amna, kun.
smile ibel.
smoke asu; smoke tobacco yen uasi; smoking nalato.
smooth kelil.
slow Tou epis, molil.
small daudey.
smell amna, kun.
smile ibel.
smoke asu; smoke tobacco yen uasi; smoking nalato.
smooth kelil.

THE BIBLING LANGUAGES: ARIA LEXICON 367

sore egle.
soul ano.
spatula, lime damu.
speak Tou pelio, uai.
spear mter, ola; spear, k.o. marakete, pelpel, ponoio, rolony.
speech Tou pelionon, uaiyan.
spill baser.
spin balilu.
spine odon, ola.
spirit, k.o. ano, aulu, Tou barau, barku, egle, malilu, mereba.
spit omsok, uru.
splash noprus.
splint eiou daudey.
split bak, nabak.
spotted pig longolongo.
spouse Tou asap, esna, Tou najo; spouses sesna.
sprout akai tuturno, akai ila rorojon, Tou eljon, roro, uru.
spurt nobotbot.
squat mana reret.
squeal mana reret.
squish blak, nablak.
stab mter.
stand bri, puagene.
star biku, Tou gigimo.
startle Tou kepiuk, kopiuk, nemit.
stay doy.
steal panako.
stick akai; digging stick apma; walking stick matu; carrying stick sigi.
still dau.
stink okus.
stir buli.
stone opmu; stone oven opmu; whetstone dule; stone cliff face perper.
stop sakam.
story basikyen, nasiyen.
straight osuk, Tou otou.
stranger kaulei.
strangle Tou nokol ge kere.
strike mluk.
stump akai batne.
subsist doy.
suckle inim sisu.
sudden nogrom.
sugarcane amra.
sun oktou.
swamp digor.
sweet bee uame ma.
sweep Tou gire.
sweet galo.
sweet potato serebatne.
swim delim, Tou dolim, susu.
swollen son.
sword grass ogu.
taboo pono.
tail gito; tail fin melba.
take due, paur.
talk Tou pelio, uai.
talon talpes.
tambaran malilu, mereba.
tame aim.
tap noduynon.
taro esi; taro spp abar meila koro, aber, ablip, aboreg, aian, aiklas, airipa,aisalom, aisuru, aitou, akas, alajek, alanga, alau kamna,
alekmait, aliba,
amanios, amarmana,
anem, apare, aplau
koa, asaborek,
asuabi, ata, bani ina
ongup, birbir,
bogaia, boglai, buka
ila adaŋ, dibleik,
didim epis, diglou ila
adaŋ, ebiak, elan ila
padoŋon, epiep, gaga
silau, gegre, giu,
iojobu, iumu,
kabuluŋu, kamaŋgi,
kepepre, karikrik,
karoŋ, kaŋu, kasu
obor, kaulei,
keiu, kelispha, keno,
kindo, kiroyi, ari,
koli, komana,
kuriŋy, lasi, laupu,
ledi, limba nobol,
malobe, malugi,
maorani, marumbe,
Tou meper, mimi,
moluq, monuk tena,
moro, mulbak,
nasuky, noalakap,
ŋauri ila padoŋon,
onubik, paloke, paria,
pasmog, paut, paut
amal, paut boi, paut
laŋ, paut maiku,
paut reoli, peiauke,
saborek, sakalaŋ
obor, samel, sisil,
sisirgil, talo, tana
apna, tapak, tia,
ulegi, ulikulik ila
padoŋon, urabit, uru
la pot; taro paddle
naitar.
taste dikjya.
tattoo bisik, bisikṣen.
tear bak, nabo.
teeth ene eri ine, ene
otna.
tell didi, Tou pelio, uai.
ten sonotno.
tendon araŋu, kanil.
Terminalia catappa
talde.
testicles lesna.
that are, ari, Tou ga,
ka.
thatch aber, usu.
then deka.
there are, ari.
they isak.
thigh eres, kamla
palma.
thing uan.
think about bitna didi.
thirsty aki bel.
three iselau.
this ane, Tou ga, ka.
three elau.
throw uri.
thumb limla tna.
thump nebij, nekrit,
nepliplit, nodunjua,
noklonkloŋ.
thus blan, laŋ.
tibia kamla adinj ine.
tie bet, pou.
tin ini.
to Tou ge, ke.
tobacco uasi; tobacco
sp koaŋko, kitkit,
malbak, marakete,
sigale.
today enikan, Tou oku
ane.
toe kamla otuŋ; toes
kamla kuskus, kamla
timo; little toe kamla
saiki; big toe kamla
tna; toenails kamla
talpes.
tomorrow kou; day
after tomorrow
kasak; in three days
kusik.
tongs kaida.
tongue ene blene; click
tongue notoktok.
too blan.
top of tona; top plate
mlonkjon, pala.
totem group sabainan.
trachea keren.
tree akai; tree spp
abene, abit, ablip,
aboma, Tou adada,
adarak, adiba, agra,
agum balu, aile, ake,
aku, alau ina
amkou, alau kamna,
amei, amka, amkou,
amugroŋ, anak, anuŋ,
apari, anomu, aplas,
apok, aplou, apulpu,
arebeŋ, arep, asal,
asar, ases, aslip elek,
atu, aolu, aurum,
abli, bale, bana, Tou
bekei, belis, biaulul,
bibbil, birbir, boi,
bole, bomso, borbor,
bussus, daga, daga
mudu, damkir,
larou, demelei,
derge, deuei,
dibanjali, didim, dipil,
dogou, doko, dorgo,
egi, eglon, eiua, eiu;
emai ouk ine, emiai,
emle, emles, emlin,
endi, xir, ipes,
eprim, esi ina sumuk,
esun, enim, gle;
giu, gono, islu, iamu,
kadlu, kadi, kaimi,
kaum, kakano,
kakrou, kar lam,
kareu, kasikski,
katal, keiau, kekele
mateme, Tou bidou,
kilal, kline, kodae,
kolo, kolpi,
kalam, kopos,
kordo, kounorou, kualolo, kuki, kuri sikei, lañani, laur, lein, lolog, luga, maiku, makul, mañaj, malbak, manim, marak, maronga, maruanje, masikarok, matagege, meresiou, merge mete, milui, modou, m01)ai, mope, mopio, moral, Tou moruanje, mugou, mumli, mural, murulel, Tou naimai0, nañam, nañi, neñir ina koba, nipu, noloñ, obar, obluk, obul sisiou, obut, odir, oduk, olut, omur, opon, oroge, orok, osu, ou, pak, palu, parara, pei, pipi, pitua, pogo, polopo, ponio, ponomi, pui, putu, ramko, sabele, sael, saipumu, salalet, salom, salou, sañlou, sao, sapak, sasa, saule, selibule, slip, somkur, su, surak, talde, tamara, tauw, tauo, tekil, tibin, tikit, turit, urij tree ant kamulía.

Tridacna sp golomada. Trochus mese. troublemaker solo. true lokono, Tou loñono. trumpet shell kuliep. trunk akai palma. try tok. tsktsk notoktok. tum bauluk, lelei. turtle ponu, Tou punu.
tusks, pig bole. twenty isoruo. twine bubuñjon; make twine bubu; make rope bul. twitch nebrìk, nemìmit. two oruo. uncle adou, Tou gute, yöjle, tumno. under bisna. unmarried auram, bela. unripe akat. up tito. upper arm limla paipai. urinate durie; urine marai. vegetable greens karuña. veins arnau. veranda motubu. very lokono, Tou loñono. view palem. village armok; village perifery armok boul. vine kedue. voice kere. vomit mteke. vulva epit, paio. wake up pan. walk lila; walking stick matu. wall babro. wallaby Tou apare, apose. want uaike. warm self maraj. wash groñ. waspppp mirmir, ninoko, pu, sauriri. water aki; water container aki tarna; waterfalls aki nosur, aki silmei, Tou aki kepiuk, Tou aki netik. wave nemimil, nemìmit, Tou sauli. we imi, ite. weep kjis, Tou tjis. what sua. when lesen. where ge. whetstone dule. which sei, sua. whipsnake amaitou. whirlpool moule, Tou moulo. whisper nenjijn, norungrug. whistle Tou aliluet. white amal, okou; white pig paulik; whiteskin puda. who sei. whore merge tomo, solo. why Tou ge sua, ke sua. widow asap. widower aikos. wife Tou asap, esna; wives sesna. wild kebena, ojua; wild food baliñen. wind ejen. wing pena; cassowary wing alau ina mosmousu. wipe sak. with buli, Tou ge, kap, ke. woman apman. wood akman. work boko. worms oglu. wounded fatally burua. wreck boñ, kles. wring por.
wrist *limla agune.*
yam spp *aitou, bidi, darpei, kukuai, mamim, oda, samegei.*
yellow *balu, gaol.*
yesterday *narep; day before yesterday ninuor.*
yonder *ari.*
you *umu, uom.*

Zinziber sp *emles.*

9. LAMOGAI LEXICON

abi N rat.
adai MOD negative, not. *puda adai* few.
gel adai he hasn’t come.
adai no MOD not yet. gel adai no he hasn’t come yet.
adaine N juice, fluid [= *uri.*] *kamut adaine* sap.
ade N fence [= *ari, maňo.* > *onyku.*]
agak N large bamboo sp.
agol N leech.
agu > *aona.*
agu N/ine neck, neck and shoulder area (> *riak.*) *kamla agune* ankle. *meila agune* wrist.
ai HL hey, oh. ai. *oduk itar oge tila kaino?* hey, where have all the people of this village gone?
aiber N/ino_ brother, sister, younger sibling or parallel cousin same sex (> *toboro.*)
alañ N eel [especially freshwater eel]. *aidan musien* ino moray eel.
aiei bate N young men, bachelors. elim aiei bate the little girls.
akap QUANT two (> *kap.*) *elme akap* seven.
akat ADJ 1. unripe [= *sisiou*]; 2. raw [= *insak, lipma.*]
akenre N bamboo sp used for making flutes.
aki *tna* N crocodile [= *poka.*]
akom N hawk [= *ulakuos.*]
akra N axe.
alay ADJ big, important (> *kina bate, mamil.*) *oduk alay alay* the elders. *itar alay* a big house.
alat ADJ bald. *apra alat* he’s bald.
alei N basket sp [< *Arove.*]
alingo ADJ old (> *tanjan.*) *itar alingo* old house.
amal N scar. *kangu ino amal* I have a scar on my leg.
amat N 1. python; 2. generic for snake.
amioka N cassava, *Manihot utilissima* [= tapiok > *kondis.*]
amsak N clearing, patch for planting.
amum ADJ dirty [of people. > *muso ≠ itau.*]
an N/ine 1. soul, spirit (> *barau, totop*); 2. name; 3. breath; 4. dream. an ino la his spirit has gone. an inom gina? what is your name? an inoŋ rik pura I had a dream about Europeans.
anak N/ino _ pus.
anrang ADJ male (= *elim.*)
amimir bate N snake sp.
anit ADJ heavy (= *kadu ≠ markan.*)
amo N place, season. amo rik pura earthquake (> *titlak.*) amo itau dry season (> *pakoro.*)
anta N- eye, face \(\{\text{antu}_1Ju, \text{antem, anta, antise=anteda, animi, antumu, antese=antedak}\}\). antu1Ju barta my forehead. antem losa your eyeball. itar anta village plaza. antu1Ju barta my forehead. antem losa your eyeball. itar anta village plaza.

antse N inside. itar anto inside the house. anto N inside. itar anto inside the house. anto N inside. itar anto inside the house. blu antu1Ju barta my forehead.

ka1gu anto sole of my foot.

molugu anto my palm.

elim namormor anto amongst the bigwomen.

omo1Ju anto in the middle of the forest.

antar > anta.

antar > anta.

anu1J N wild Cordyline spp \(=\) kaduk > mare, ulu].

ata1J N tree sp, Canarium polyphyllum [TP galip].

a1Jgis N mangrove crab [::; kaso].

a1Jkal N net [especially a pig net > olu, osi].

a1Jlek N honeycomb [made by stinging bee. > uame].

a1Jon N flood.

auna N- 1. mouth \(\{\text{agu, aop, aona, aote, aopi, aopu, aosek > aine}\}; 2. sharp. agu tarru my lips. agu blene my tongue. agu kakai my teeth. udage aona the knife is sharp. udage aona put the knife is dull.

apenal QUANT four. elme apenal nine.

apare N wallaby [= airok, keneij].

apas N cloth.apas kamut tarru barkcloth. apas muso dirty cloth.

aplau N cockatoo.

apna N- head \(\{\text{apu}_1ju, \text{apem, apna, apeda, apimi, apumu, aperek}\}. apersek nopo tupulu they bumped heads. apna alat he’s bald. 尼亚ser apu1ju I comb my hair.

apumu, apu1ju > apna.

aren ADJ little and unmarried. emi aren (bate) boys, bachelors. elim aren = elim aine bate the little girls.

ari N fence [= ade, mano > onku].

aromta N cliff, ravine.

aruj N pond in a river.

asar N 1. strong river stone [used for stone oven]; 2. rapids [= didlu]; 3. reef.

asi N smoke. ei asi the fire is smoking.

asijir N charcoal.

asij N grass sp.

asoj N charred wood.

ata N/± ilo_ faeces \(>\) pipre. ata belon I need to defecate.

aten N/± ilo_ friend.

auau N sugarcane, Saccharum officinarum.

aulop N tree sp, Pometia pinnata.

babia ADJ soft [= kairak].

babro N wall of a house.

bahu N clam sp \(>\) ebiak.

bak-e VTR split, snap \(>\) nabak.

bala MOD just, merely, only.

bale N mangrove, Rhizophora sp.

bale VI quickly, hurry. ombale omo come quickly.

balimu N grass sp [similar in appearance to maize].

bana N ironwood tree.

bayne N/ine jaw, cheek.

ba1Jne N/ine jaw, cheek.

ba1Jba1J N bank. ouri ba1Jba1J river bank.

bar V drive pigs into net.

barau N spirit sp [TP masalai > an, toptop].

barta N top, forehead. anta barta his forehead. kangu barta top of my foot.

baser V 1. spill \(=\) minijir; 2. pour \(=\) ninijir. uri baser the water spilled. 尼亚ser uri I poured the water.
bate N/ine base, origin, stump. emi areŋ bate the little boys. kamla bate heel. kamut bate stump. uri mana bate the water container is half full. bate inoŋ pe Morou I was born in Morou.

bau N club for ritual execution of widows (> dalip).

bauluk VTR turn, stir, mix. ombauluke turn it over.

beine N- 1. ear [ŋ beikonŋ, beikom, beine, beinte, beikmi, beikmu, beinsek]; 2. gill flap.

bel VTR hurt, need (> rap). uri belon I’m thirsty. marai belon I need to urinate. ata belon I must defecate.

bela bate N(eli)m_ single women.

belinj N 1. spear; 2. spine [= belinj]. nagraie pe belinj I killed him with a spear. tarjan ino belinj spines on sago.

belis N 1. spear; 2. spine [= belis].

beron N meat, game, garnish [= masuŋon].

berou N magic [generic, but also hunting or love magic. > paisjen, munusaur].

bidabida N bedbug.

bile N betel, Areca catechu.

biliŋ > belinj.

bipos VI breathe.

biso N sea eagle.

bisna N/meila_ armpit.

blanka N like, as. tou ore nes blanka lau that man walks like a cassowary.

blayno ADV how. gade blayno? how do I do it?

blene N/aona_ tongue.

blu anta N midden heap.

boi N tree sp, Homalium foetidum.

bolbolo ADJ short [= eket ≠ malkat].

bole N boar. kanem bole boar.

bomse N/ine lungs.

bon ADJ full (> tṇara). uri bon the water container is full.

brane N breadfruit, Artocarpus altilis.

bris ADJ overly ripe and going rotten (> sisiou, meia).

bubla N forest [= omog].

bublo VI light, glow. ei bublo the fire is burning.

bumbo ADJ rough, bumpy (> buno).

buno N 1. knee, elbow; 2. knot. meila buno elbow. kamla buno knee. kamut buno buno knotty wood.

buno QUANT hundred.

buria VI swim.

daga N raintree or jacaranda, Poinciana delnis or Samanea saman.

dalip N club [anything used as a club. > bau].

daunon VI sick [= sar].

de VTR do, make, bring, take. omede noko bile me bring my betel. tide sakul they sang a song. gade blayno? how do I do it? omede sana? what are you making?

debele VI laugh.

degou N tree sp [similar to Terminalia, but found in mountains and bearing a nut larger than that of Canarium].

didlik ADJ slippery [and wet. > kelil].

didlu N rapids [= asar].

digor N swamp, muddy place (> ukana).

dimor ADJ red [= dimotmor].

dimotmot ADJ red [= dimor].

digara VI crawl. emi digara the child crawls.

ditai V follow upwards, climb. tadiitai obrou let’s follow the ridge of the mountain up.

dok VTR cut. midok ise we superincised him.

doko ADJ nice and greasy.
donro N - nose [dorkon, dorkom, donro, dorte, dorpmi, dorpmu, dorsck].
duriep VI urinate [> marai].
e HL yes.
ebiak N freshwater clam spp [generic. > baiu].

debir ADJ blue, green.
egiau N ginger sp, Alpinia sp.
egina PRON who plural [> gina]. egina tipaur mu? who escorted you?
egle N/± ilo_ sore. kangu egle I have a sore on my leg.
eglim ADJ white [first elicited but later rejected for kana1Jnal and pailuk > oglum].
ei N fire. omla omres ei go make a fire. 
  eime 1Jatin uasi get me a light for my cigarette. ei isum the fire died. ei asi 
  the fire is smoking. ei lublo the fire is alight. yaip ei I blew on the fire. 
  yamarag ei isa I’ll warm up a little by the fire. 
  eai asi the fire is smoking. mla 
  mres ei= mla muat ei go build a fire.
eiuk N leaf wrapper for food [= orou].
ekei N 1. palm sp; 2. flooring.
eket ADJ short [= bolbolo ≠ malkat]. 
  eket ginou quite short.
elim N 1. woman; 2. female [of people. > anrag, kina]. elim aie1J bate girls. 
  elim namormor bigwomen. tikli elim pe Morou they bought a woman at Morou. 
  elim isum esin women carry taro on their heads. orugu elim my daughter.
elme QUANT five. elme isa six. elme 
  akap seven. elme etlu eight. elme apanal 
  nine. lugu itar elme akap I have seven houses.
emi N child [> iloumi]. emi ta1Jan baby. 
  emi aren the boys.
emia ADV far [= oluo, reit].
emkil N portion, piece, share. yap emkil 
  uti uom take your piece.
emles N ginger, Zinziber spp [= sajger].
emsiik N comb [= ser].
eni > oglum eni.
engris N/± ilo_ nasal mucus, snot.
enil ADJ hot [≠ epen].
epen ADJ cold [≠ enil].
eper N ringworm.
epi ADJ wet [= eplik ≠ kakrak, popok].
eplik ADJ wet [= epi ≠ kakrak, popok].
epre N pan flute.
erei N rain [= oruon].
esin N taro.
etlu QUANT three. elme etlu eight.
gaguak ADJ yellow [= gaol].
gala ADJ lefthand [≠ odun].
galo ADJ sweet.
gam VTR steal [> gamgamjan]. tou 
  gam uage someone stole the knife. 
gamgamjan N theft [< gam]. tou 
  gamgamjan ino thief.
gaol ADJ yellow [= gaguak].
gar VTR cover, wrap. 1Jagar uasi I wrap tobacco.
gara ADJ crazy [= mananja].
gaugau N fog, mist.
ge DEM here [= oge]. gina ka me ge? 
  who’s that coming?
gegres N rattan sp, Calamus sp.
geil N shrimp, prawn [especially freshwater prawn]. geil musien ino 
  lobster.
geil VI appear, arrive, happen. omge 
  omla go outside. gel adai no he hasn’t arrived yet. 
  uc gel the wind is blowing. 
  morou gel it’s bleeding.
gigi N carrying stick.
gigimo N star.
gime N mountain.
gina PRON who singular [> egina]. an 
  inom gina? what is your name?
ginou N- child [especially son. 1 orugu, otum, ginou, ilarse... > emi, iloumi]; 2. diminutive [mait]. ilarse elim our daughters. sadi ginou. tiny. etek ginou quite short.
gis VTR hold. omgise hold it. tagi melte tupulu let’s hold hands.
gino N roots. kamut gino roots.
gito N tail.
golomada N giant clam, Tridacna.
golou ADV without anything, alone. ma golou he just subsists.
golu N net bag used for food storage [= gulu].
gomot N canoe.
gongon N cage for transporting pigs.
grai VTR spear, stab, weave. ɲagraie pe beliŋ I killed it with a spear. ɲraidiŋ kidika she’s making a basket.
gron ɲ VTR wash.
gulu > golu.
iage N garden.
ialu N tree sp, Casuarina equisetifolia.
 iarup N Malay apple, Eugenia malaccensis.
is VTR dig.
ibo > tumla.
ido > ina.
ie PRON he, she, it [ŋŋoŋ, uom, ie, ite, mi, mu, ise > ine, ilo, ino]. ŋŋoŋ sanŋ me too. mluu ŋŋoŋ help me. kaklak ŋŋoŋ I’m itchy.
ilarse > ginou.
ilok > ilo.
ilo N- disposable possessive [ŋ lugu, lem, ilo, ilo, limi, lumu, ilek > ie, ine, ino].
iloumi N- child, son, daughter [ŋ lugumi, lobomi, iloumi, iloumi, limimi, lumumi, ilek emi < ilo emi > emi, sauro].
ime ə N vine.
in V drink. ɲain ɔŋgup I drank a coconut. emi in usu the child is suckling.
iname > kina.
in N- inalienable possessive [ŋ inŋ = inŋŋ, inom = inum, ine, inte, inmi, inmu, insek > ie, ilo, ine, ino].
ine N- oblique [ŋ toronŋ, torom, ine, terte, termi, termu, tersek > ine, pe]. ɲalim ine I’m afraid of him. omkarouonŋ ine give it to me. emi lim torom the child is afraid of you. ɲapolmo torom I don’t know you. ɲakanes torom pe Geti ka me I told you that Geti would come.
ino N- edible possessive [ŋ ɲado = ɲodo, ɲap = ɲop, ino, ido, mpi, mpu, ɲarek > ie, ilo, ine]. kanem ino ɲakal the pig’s net. ɲakal kanem ino a net for pigs. ɲado kuku inom your vulva is mine to use [vulgar]. ɲado ɠsom your penis is mine to use [vulgar]. ɲap emkil uti uom your share (of food) goes to you. ɲapai ɲodo ɰadage I lost my knife.
inom, inŋŋ > ine.
insak ADJ cooked [= lipma ≠ akat].
insek, inte, inum, inŋŋ > ine.
ip VTR blow on. ɲaip ei I blew on the fire.
iri VTR bear, give birth to. elim iri emi taŋan the woman bore a new child.
is VTR have sexual intercourse with.
isa QUANT one, some. elme isa six.
isapanaal QUANT forty.
isapu > asap.
isem N- penis [ŋ isonŋ, isom, ise, isere, ismi, ismu, isrek]. orounise rainbow.
isek PRON they D3P [ie]. Pransis isek Francis and company.
iselme QUANT fifty.
isere > ise.
isetlu QUANT thirty.
ismi, ismu > ise.
isopagat > pagat.

isom, ison > ise.

isoruo QUANT twenty.

isum VI die, go out [> uren]. ei isum the fired died.

itar N=ilo 1. woman’s house [> odiep]; 2. village. oduk itar oge tila kaino? where have all the people of this village gone? elim, mumbrum ilo itar anta women, sweep our village plaza. lugu itar akap I have two houses.

itau ADJ 1. good [= soulu]; 2. clean [≠ amum, muso]. kotkotu itau good morning. oma itau ma kilik omlu sit down properly so that you won’t fall down. ano itau dry season.

ite PRON we 1IP [> ie].

ka DEM that pointing [> oge, ore, ori].

kabur N/kamla_ calf. kangu kabur my calf.

kada N=ine back of head. kada inoŋ kisis the back of my head aches.

kadai N mango, Mangifera indica.

kalaŋa N post.

kadep N betel pepper, Piper betle.

kadu N heavy [= anit ≠ markan].

kaduk N wild Cordyline sp [= anuŋ > mare, ulu].

kae > kamlu.

kai VI down, descend. ŋakai ŋala I’m going down. oron kai ma tatir if it rains, then let’s stay.

kaida N bamboo tongs [= kapijen].

kaine N- alone, by oneself [ŋ kanuŋ, kanom, kaine, kainte, kainmi, kainnu kainsek > keine]. kanuŋ ŋala I’m going alone. isek kainsek tila they went by themselves.

kaino ADV where. mutir kaino? where are you staying?

kairak ADJ hard [= kokloŋ, namor ≠ babia].

kakai N=ine bone.

kakai N/aona_ teeth.

kakan N grasshopper sp found on coconuts.

kaklak N= PRON itchy. kaklak ŋoŋ I’m itchy. mulugu kaklak my hand is itchy.

kaklon ŋ N pillow.

kakrak ADJ dry [= popok ≠ epi, eplik].

kakroŋ N crow.

kalamtit N pig barrier built at the base of a door.

kalarna N parrot.

kalapləp N butterfly.

kaluga N shark [= seua].

kambuk N cockroach sp [> aimus].

kamlu VTR cook. mukamlu tapiok ma tanen cook some tapiok so we can eat.

kamrip N tree sp, Inocarpus fagiferus.

kamulia N tree ant.

kamut N tree, wood, stick. kamut tarra bark. kamut meila branch. kamut mulo canopy of a tree. kamut gito roots. kamut ota seed, fruit. kamut leina trunk. kamut bate stump. kamut kolouna leaves. kamut ilo rororajon flowers. kamut ino uri = kamut adaine sap.

kana N=ine body. kana inoŋ mamil I’m fat.

kanem N pig, pork. kanem bole boar. kanem kina sow. kanem aim tame pig. kanem onja wild pig. (kanem) palok wild boar that sires domestic pigs. kanem ogu = kanem pailuk white pig.
maraiden brown pig. moron= nakum 
black pig. tutuli spotted pig.
kanes VI speak, talk, say. ṅakanes torom 
pe Maria ka me I told you that Maria 
is coming.
kanił N veins, tendons. molugu kanił 
veins in my arm.
kanom, kanoŋ > kaine.
kanalyal ADJ white [= pilul > eglim].
kanugu > kamlala.
kap VI dual, with, accompany, together 
[> akap]. mukap mula? are the two of 
you going? ite takap tala as for 
you and me, let’s go. takap tapopmo 
tupulu we don’t know one another.
kapak VTR catch.
kapinen N tongs [= kaida].
kabar TEMP today, now [nuŋo ino 
two days ago. nanrop ino yesterday. 
kotu tomorrow. kasak in two days]. 
kabar ma tiuris time they’ll come back 
today.
karou VTR give. omkarouŋ ine give 
it to me. karouŋ pe udage he gave 
me a knife. yakarou ine I gave (it) 
to him.
karuŋa N vegetable greens, Abelmoschus 
manihot.
kasa N/ pro happy [= kili]. kasa ŋone 
I’m happy.
kasak TEMP day after tomorrow, in 
two days [> karban].
kasakarkar N scales. oŋua ilo 
kasakarkar fish scales.
kaso N crab [generic. ≥ taklou, angis]. 
katalpis N nail, claw. kangu katalpis 
my toenail. molugu katalpis my 
fingernail.
katkatu V lie [= katu].
katu V lie, prevaricate [= katkatu].
kaukau k N cuscus.
kaur N flute sp made of single piece of 
bamboo [= pilol].
kebena ADJ wild [= oŋua].
kei VI fly. monuk kei birds fly.
kei VI want. ṅakei ma omla I want you 
to go.
keiau N bush hen.
kein V call, shout to. egina ka tikein ori 
who are they shouting over there. 
Pransis keinoŋ ma ŋala Francis shouted 
for me to go.
keine QUANT one [> isa, kaine]. iselme 
sŋotno keine sixty.
kelil ADJ smooth, slippery [> didlik].
kenen N wallaby [= airon, aper].
kidika N basket [especially handbasket]. 
kidika ŋano large basket used for food. 
ŋagrai kidika I’m weaving a basket.
kik MOD first, for a minute. omo kik 
come here first.
kili N/ pro happy [= kasa]. kili (kili) 
ŋone I’m happy.
kilik > ma kilik.
kina N- mother [i iname, kinom, kina, 
kindre, kini, kinmu, kinrek]. 
karem kina sow. uame kina sweat bee. 
kinom ka me you’re mother is coming.
kina bate N huge [> ailen, mamil]. itar 
kina bate a huge house.
kiria N rattan sp, Calamus sp.
kirimpak N sweet potato, Ipomea batatas.
kiroro N iron kettle [formerly distributed 
by government].
kirpin VI cry, weep. omkirpin sokol 
stop crying.
sisis ADJ ache, hurt, pain. tou inonŋ 
sisis I have a backache.
sisileŋ N fuzz, barbs. kamut kolouna 
sisileŋ fuzz on leaves.
siŋji VI sneeze.
kli VTR buy, pay brideprice for. tikli
elim pe Morou they bought a woman in Morou.

kliyen N small clam sp used with shell money to pay brideprice.

kobom N hourglass drum.

kodoj MOD completive, already. kodoj kodoj it's empty. nareke kodoj I already know it. me kodoj o, adaino? has he come yet?

kokloj ADJ hard [= kairak, namor ≠ babya].

kole VI play. emi tikole the children are playing.

koli N sago hammer [= kolia].

kolok ADJ crooked [= odug].

kolouna N hair, leaf, feather, fur. apersek kolouna their hair. monuk kolouna feathers. oulei kolouna dog fur. kamut kolouna leaves.

komdujo N ridgepole.

kondis N cassava sp, Manihot sp [= amioka].

kopiuk VI fall. ouri kopiuk waterfalls.

koro N woman's pubic apron.

kotkotu N morning [= kukutu]. nasasak pe kotkotu I get up in the morning.

kotu TEMP tomorrow [= kotu > karban].

kotu tala pe iage tomorrow let's go to the garden.

kounan N turtle [< Arove. = punu].

kram VTR cut. nakram molugu I cut my hand.

krijo N beans [similar to wingbean, native to New Britain]

krok VTR break [across grain].

kuako N chicken.

kualolo N tree sp [similar to kapok; produces fluff used for stuffing pillows].

kukop V hide. nala nakukop I'm going to hide. nakukop lugu udage I hid my knife.

kuku N/ine vulva. nado kuku ne her vulva is mine to use [vulgar].

kulatu N adze.

kuliep N shell trumpet, Charonia tritonis.

kun VTR smell [≈ mianan]. ulei kunyŋ the dog is smelling me.

kup VTR sweep. mukup pipia sweep up the litter.

kukutu > kotkotu.

kutu > kotu.

la VI go, away [≈ me, uti]. isek kainsek tila they went by themselves. tala taris let's go bathe. omsapirpire la brush it away. nala nako I went down. sapule la he pushed it away.

labu N sand.

laikim VTR like [< TP]. nalaikimom I like you.

lam N lamp [< TP]. lam nopluk the lamp fell.

lama N foxtail, luminescent poisonous mushroom sp.

lanj ADV/_DEM thus. omde lanj oge do it this way.

lanjo N housefly.

lanjokir N bluebottle fly, Calliphora sp.

lau N cassowary.

leina N trunk, middle. kamut leina trunk of a tree. oduk Kandoka tipaur mi pe sukuna leina the Kandokans brought us along the road.

lem > ilo.

lilia VI walk.

lilou N rattan sp with little leaves, Calamus sp [used for making coiled baskets].

lim V/ine fear. nali lim torom I'm afraid of you. emi lim ine the child is afraid of it.

limi > ilo.

limimi > iloumi.
lipma ADJ cooked [= insak ≠ akat].
lolo VTR carry (especially on shoulder. > sun). oduk tilolo kanem ka me people are carrying the pig this way. omla omlolo ei me go bring some fire.
lom VTR fold, bend. ҫalom pepa I fold paper. ҫalom kaŋgu I bend my leg.
lomomi > iloumi.
lonono ADJ true [= royan].
lopu  N pitpit, Saccharum spontaneum.
losa  N∕± ine  testicles. losa inoŋ my testicles. tou losa a man’s testicles. antuŋu losa my eyeball.
lou  V∕ine dislike. ҫalom ine I dislike it.
loup > luto.
lua  V 1. help; 2. heal, cure. omlua ŋoŋ help me.
lugu > ilo.
lugumi > iloumi.
lui  N dugong.
luku > luto.
lumu > ilo.
lumumi > iloumi.
lunjai  N small knife made of bamboo [> udage].
luto  N- sister, brother, sibling opposite sex [♀ luku, loup, luto, lutre, lutmi, lutmu, lutrek].
ma  CJ and then, so that, if [> ma kilik]. mukamulu tapiok ma taŋen cook some cassava so that we can eat. udage rap kaŋgu ma morou gel if I cut my leg on a knife, it would bleed. karban ma tiuiriş time today they will come back. an inoŋ rik pura isa ma time I dreamt that some Europeans would come. roŋ ma tala no let’s go later.
ma  VI sit, stay, live [> mana]. migel pe itar, oduk time tima pe itar adai we arrived in the village and no one was living in the village. lugu pagat ma pe iage my husband is staying in the garden. pura ma leave the European alone.
ma kilik CJ lest, watch out or. oma itau ma kilik omlu sit down properly or you’ll fall.
magu N∕± ilo_ armband.
mait SPEC very [> ginou]. bolbolo mait very short. sadi mait tiny.
makaduk VI sleep [> mlık].
makue  N mushroom.
malel  N bow [and arrow].
malkat ADJ long [≠ bolbolo, eket].
malmal  N algae.
mamil ADJ big, fat [= alan ≠ sadi]. kana inoŋ mamil I’m fat. tanjo mamil a big stone.
mamim  N yam sp, Dioscorea esculenta [TP mami > nanalj].
mana  VI stay, remain, hang [> ma]. sana ka timana pe itar ore? what are all those things in the house over there? timana they’re staying. elim ori sune ka mana that woman’s breasts are sagging.
maŋamaŋa ADJ crazy [= gara].
maŋo  N fence [= ade, ari].
marai  N∕± ilo_ urine [> duriep]. marai beloŋ I have to urinate.
maraiden  N brown pig sp that is striped with young.
marak  N spiny vine sp.
marakete  N iron-tipped spear.
marama  N sandfly. marama ṣenoŋ sandflies are biting me.
maran  EI VI get warmed up by a fire. ṣamaran  ei isa I’ll warm up a little by the fire.
mare  N domestic Cordyline sp [> anuŋ, kaduk, ulu].
markan ADJ lightweight [≠ anit, kadu]
maro  VI float [= ples].
maruk N boa constrictor.
marum TEMP afternoon.
masilang TEMP soon. masilang ma gel he’ll arrive soon.
masujon N meat, game, garnish [= berqen].
mataŋ tumla N sorcery.
mato N frog.
matawok N snake sp.
matolo N cycad palm, Cycas circinalis.
matu N walking stick.
max HL come [used to call pigs only. Mouk max].
mbrum V sweep [< TP brum broom]. elim mumbrum ilo itar anta women, sweep our village plaza.
me VI come, this way [ŋame, omo= mo, me, tame, mime, mumo, time > la, uri]. lugu kidika me bring my basket. ŋauris ŋame I’ll come back. mumo ma tala come and let’s go. mo kik come here for a minute. omsep omo come inside.
meia ADJ rotten [< bris].
meila N- hand, arm [ŋ molugu=mulugu, melep, meila, melte, melpu, melsek]. meila bisna armpit. molugu katalpis my fingernails. molugu touk my thumb. molugu singe my fingers. molugu buuo my elbow. meila anto his palm.
melba N paddle [= pode, pue].
melep > meila.
melim N bandicoot.
melpi, melpu, melsek, melte > meila.
meper N snake sp.
merian N hornbill.
mese N Trochus shell.
mi PRON we lEP [ŋe ie].
miŋan N/ŋe ino— smell, odour [ŋ kun].
migilu N fish sp.
mininjir VI spill, pour [< baser, niniŋ].
uri mininjir the water spilled.
mlok VI sleep [ŋ makaduk]. mila mimloŋ we’re going to sleep.
mlu VI fall. oma itau ma kilik omlu sit down properly or you’ll fall.
mluk VTR hit, kill. oduk timluk pulu people are fighting.
mo > me.
mogolu N intestines.
molugu > meila.
momus N cave, rock shelter.
monuk N bird. monuk kolouna feathers. monuk pera bird’s wing.
morony N black pig [= nakum].
moroŋ N blood. udage rap kangu ma morou gel if I cut myself on a knife, it would bleed.
mpi, mpu > ino.
mu PRON you D2P [ŋe ie]. mu akap = mukap you two. mu etlu. the three of you.
mul VTR clear. mula mumul amsak go clear a patch for planting.
mulo N head, canopy [ŋ apna]. kamut mulo canopy of a tree. uri mulo headwaters of river.
mulugu > meila.
munusaur N love magic [ŋ berou].
musien N sea, ocean. aidan musien ino moray eel. geil musien ino lobster.
muso ADJ dirty [of things. > amum ≠ itau]. apas muso dirty cloth.
nabak VI break, broken [< bak]. gomot nabak the canoe is broken.
naisen TEMP when. naisen ma tiuris time? when will they come back?
naitar N taro paddle.
nak VTR pull [ŋ irri]. omnake pull it.
nakakar VI shiver.
nakum N black pig [= morony].
nalato N bamboo smoking pipe.
nalia N rattan sp, Calamus sp. elim udan nalia women shred rattan [to make pubic aprons].
namaijo N banyan tree, Ficus sp.
namjen N digging stick.

namor ADJ 1. hard, strong [= kairak, koklo]; 2. important [> namormor].
morou namor kodon the blood has already coagulated. tou namor. bigman.
namormor ADJ important plural [> namor]. oduk namormor bigmen, elders. elim namormor bigwomen.

nana1) N yam sp, Dioscorea sp [TP yam > mamim].
nanrop ino TEMP yesterday [> karban].
nanrop ino mila pe iage we went to the garden yesterday.
nasi VI talk about [> nasiren]. tanasi pe ilo sekia let's talk about our ancestors.
nasiren N oral history, law. nes nasiren he's telling history.

nei VTR scrape, grate, scratch. nei parak she's scraping pandanus. nei ongup she's grating coconut. onmei onj scratch me [I'm itchy].

nes VTR tell, relate [> nasiren]. nes nasiren he's telling history.
nes VI walk [> lilia]. tou ore nes blanka lau that man walks like a cassowary.
niniko N small wasp sp.
ninjir VTR pour, spill [= baser > mininjir]. 

no MOD still. adai no. not yet. ron ma tal no later let's go. ka ma no he's still here.
nokrus ADJ enough [= sou].
nomuk N mosquito.
noplok VI fall and break. lam noplok the lamp fell.
noplvi VI run [= sonj, sionj].
nopu VI bump. apersek nopu tupulu they bumped heads.
rungo ino TEMP two days ago [> karban].

nan N thing, something. nan oge nabak this is broken.

nanabu QUANT several, quite a few [> puda]. nanabu adai not many.

najo > kidika najo.

nayon N food [> yen].

nap, narek > ino.

yen VTR eat [> nayon]. yen ombos he's smoking.

nes V chew betel.

nghi VI/± ine go ahead of, precede [≠ pupru]. nangg torom I'll go ahead of you. mgo mla you go ahead.

niri N coconut grater.

nodo > ino.

nony PRON I, me D1S [> ie].

nopy > ino.

o CJ or. nyan or a kina bate o sadi? is that huge or small? me kodon o adai no hasn't he come yet?

obor ADJ black.

obrop N ash.

obrou N mountain ridge.

obuk N hole.

obul N banana.

odiep N men's lodge [> itar].

odom N lime spatula.

oduk N people [> tou]. oduk namormor bigmen. oduk alon alon headmen. oduk timluk pulu the people are fighting.

odug ADJ 1. straight [≠ kolok]; 2. righthand [≠ gala].

oge DEM this, here near me [> ge, ore, ori, ka]. mde laŋ oge do it this way. tou oge roria this man is skinny.

oglum N lime powder [> eglim].

oglum eni N lime powder gourd.

ogu N white pig [= pailuk > kanal].
eglim].

ogu N sword grass, Imperata spp [= ougu].

okiom N tree sp, Octomeles sumatrana.

oklou N sun, day.

oku no TEMP for the first time. ṇarek mukap oku no I’m seeing you two for the first time.

okua ADJ young. oduk okua young men.

olmut N moss.

olu ADJ deep [> toto].

olu ADV near [= reit ≠ emia].

ombos N tobacco [= uasi].

omyu N/± ilo_ phlegm [> omsok].

omoy N forest [= bubla]. ṇapompo pe omoy (anto) I got lost in the forest.

omos N obsidian.

omot N island.

omsok N/± ilo_ saliva, spit [> omyu].

omtu N/± ine hip.

omu N/± ine gall bladder.

onuk N nest. monuk ilo onuk bird’s nest.

ôngup N coconut, Cocos nucifera. ôngup ino uri coconut milk. in ôngup he’s drinking a coconut. ôngup ilo opot sprout and pith of a coconut. ompor ôngup wring out the coconut cream.

ôngup N/± ine chest.

ǒŋku N palisade [> ade, ari, maŋo].

ǒŋŋoŋ N blood clot, coagulated blood in chest of butchered pig.

ǒŋua N 1. fish [> beryen, masuŋ]; 2. wild [= kebena]. oŋua ilo sapiŋ fish fin. oŋua beine gill flap of a fish. oŋua ilo rabo gills of a fish. oŋua ilo kasakarkar fish scales. kanem oŋua wild pig.

opportunità TEMP night.

opon N tree sp [used for making planks].

opot N sprout and pith. ôngup ilo opot sprout and pith of a coconut.

opus N/± ilo_ bed.

ore DEM that, there near you [> oge, ori, ka].

ori DEM that over there remote from you and me, yonder [> oge, ore, ka]. lem kanem ori? is that your pig over there?

orou N leaf wrapper [= eiuk].

orugu > ginou.

oruong N rain [= erei]. oruong kai ma tair if it rains then let’s stay. oruong ise rainbow.

osi N net sp for freshwater prawns and fish [made of imle].

osou N path [= sukuna leina].

osu N/± ine breasts [= su > in]. osune = sune her breasts. emi in usu the child is suckling.

osua N shield.

ota N fruit, seed. kamut ota seed or fruit of a tree.

otou N punting pole.

otu N louse.

otum > ginou.

ougu > ogu.

oulei N dog [= ulei]. oulei ilo umi puppy. ulei kunolŋ a dog is smelling me.

ouri > uri.

padalŋo N/± kamla_ shin.

padpada N pandanus sp with large succulent fruit.

paduk VTR gather. tipaduk ôngup they’re gathering coconuts.

pagat N/± husband. lugu pagat my husband. isopagat her husband. Maria isopagat la pe iage Maria’s husband with to the garden.

pai sakul V sing, dance [= de sakul].

paidala N pig tusks.

pailuk N 1. white [= kajalŋal > eglim];
2. white pig [= ogu].

paip VTR lose [> popmo]. ụpapaị ọdo udage I lost my knife.

pais VTR heal, cure [> paisịn]. ụpapaị um I'll cure you.

paisịn N healing magic [< pais > berou].

pakoro N rainy season [> ano itau].

palok N wild boar that sires domestic pigs.

palu N tree sp, Hibiscus tilaeaceus.

pane VI up, ascend [= sail. tapane pe gime] let’s climb the mountain. ụpapaị ọala I went up.

pangres VI snore.

parak N pandanus, pandanus mat. nei parak she’s scraping pandanus. sisir parak she’s sewing up a sleeping mat.

paria N monitor lizard.

paro N basket.

parok VI polygny, marry more than one woman. tiparok they’re in a polygynous marriage.

paur VTR bring, escort. oduk Kandoka tipaur mi pe sukuna leina the Kandokans brought us along the road. tipaurte they brought us.

pe PREP at, with, to, in. tala pe Aria let’s go to the Aria river. oduk tigel pe itar kodonọ the people have already arrived in the village. lugu pagat ma pe iage my husband is staying in the garden. ụkanes torom pe Geti ka me I told you that Geti would come. tanasi pe ilo sekia let’s talk about our ancestors. karouonọ pe udage he gave me a knife. ụnasasak pe kotkotu I get up in the morning. tou ore me pe sana? why did that man come? ụagraie pe belịnj I killed him with a spear. bate inonị pe Morou I’m from Morou.

pele N/ine belly.

pelet N plate, dish [< TP].

pena N wing. monukpena a bird’s wing.

perpen VI slow. tapenpen bala let’s just take our time.

pepa N paper [< TP].

perper N chalk.

piauke N bird sp.

pig N/ine buttocks.

pilol N flute sp made of a single piece of bamboo [= kaur].

pipia N litter [< TP = tokonkon].

pipre VI defecate [> ata].

ples VI float [= maro].

pmarsek, pmarte, pmimi, pmumu > tumla.

pode N paddle [= melba, pue].

poka N crocodile [= aki tna].

polpol N litter for carrying a sick person.

popmo VI lost [> paip]. ụpopaọmu pe omọmj I got lost in the forest. lugu udage popmo my knife is lost.

popmo VI/ine not know [> rik]. takap tapopmo tupulu we two don’t know one another. ụpopaọmu torom I don’t know you.

popok ADJ dry [= kakrak].

por VTR wring out. ompor ojjgup wring out the coconut cream.

porior VTR squeeze.

pos VI fart with little noise [> use].

pou VTR tie. mpou kanem tie up the pig.

puda QUANT many. puda adai few.

pue N paddle [= melba, pue].

pugiok VI vomit.

pulu PRON reciprocal [= tupulu]. oduk timluk pulu people are fighting. takap tapopmo tupulu we two don’t know one another. apersek nopu tupulu they bumped heads. tagis melte tupulu let’s hold hands.

punu N turtle [= kounan].

pupru VTR follow. ụpuprueom I’ll follow you.
pupu N/ine liver.
pura N European.
put VTR extract, pull out, dig up. mput esin pull up the taro.
put ADJ dull. udage aona put the knife is dull.
rabo N gills. onjua ilo rabo gills of a fish.
ray VTR heat up. murage heat it up [eg. food that is cold].
rapp VTR cut, harm. sapanu rapoŋ I'm hungry. udage rap kangu the knife cut my leg.
reit ADV close, near [= oluo ≠ emia].
rek > rik.
res VTR/_ei make a fire [= uat]. mlamres ei go make a fire.
riak N/_ine shoulder.
rik VTR 1. see [= rek]; 2. know [> popmo]; 3. that, relative [> pe], tirekte = tirikte they see us. nareke kodon I already know. aninonŋ pura isa ma time I dreamt that some Europeans would come. Rik an ine rik Riko Rick dreamt about mount Riko.
rip VTR chop down.
riji VTR/_gomot pull, drag [> nak].
 tariri gomot. let's pull the canoe.
ris VI bathe. talataris let's go bathe.
roŋ ADJ true [= longono].
roŋ TEMP/_..no later. ron ma tala no later, let's go.
roŋon VI/_ine hear. naronon torom I hear you.
roria ADJ skinny.
roro VI bloom [> roronoŋ]. kamut roro kodon the tree is already in bloom.
roronoŋ N flower [> roro]. kamut ilo roronoŋ the flowers of a tree.
sadi ADJ little. sadi ginou tiny. sadi mait very small.
sai V up, climb [= pane]. Ṉasai ongup I'll climb the tree.
saiko N moon.
sak VTR rub.
sakul N song. de sakul = pai sakul he's singing a song.
sakul tumla N snake sp.
sara PRON what. mde sana? what are you doing? tou ore me pe sana? why did that man come?
saŋ MOD again, too. ḅon saŋ me too. kanem silan oge = kanem saŋ oge there's another pig.
sanga N ladder.
sanger N ginger, Zinziber spp [= emles].
sapaiua N bat, flying fox.
sapana N hunger, famine. sapana rapte we're hungry.
sapirpir VTR brush away. omsapirpira brush it away.
sapiuŋ N fin. onjua ilo sapiuŋ fin of a fish.
sapul VTR push. msapulŋ sokol stop pushing me.
sar VI sick [= daugon].
sasak VI wake up. ḅasasak pe kotkotu I wake up in the morning.
sasup N flute sp made of a bundle of lengths of bamboo.
sau VTR hunt. sau kanem he's hunting pigs.
sauri N large wasp sp.
sauro Nilo_ children plural [> emi, ginou, iloumi]. lumu sauro aisen? how many children do you have?
sedik N salt ash.
sokia N ancestors. tanasi pe ilo sekia let's talk about our ancestors.
seŋle > siŋle.
sep VI in, enter. msep omo come in.
ser VTR comb [> emsik]. ḅaser apuŋu I comb my hair.
seua N shark [= kaluga].

silan QUANT another.

sĩle N finger, toe [= sẹẹle]. kපපu sĩle. my toes. molugu sĩle my fingers.

sioŋ > sọŋ.

sirba N cloud.

sisil N/ _ine brains.

sisiou ADJ ripe [= akat > bris].

sisir VTR sew. tisisir parak they're sewing up pandanus mats.

sokol MOD dehortative, don't, stop... ing. mkirpin sokol don't cry.

somoro N river snails.

son VI run [= noplu, sioŋ].

son VI swollen.

sonotno QUANT ten.

sopsop N point, peninsula.

sou ADJ enough [= nokrus].

soulu ADJ bad [= itau].

sousou N broom.

su > osu.

sukuna N road, path [= osou]. oduk Kandoka tipaurmi pe sukuna leina the Kandokans brought us along the road.

sumugu ADJ pregnant.

sun VTR carry on head [= lolo]. elim tisun esin women carry taro on their heads.

sunta N door. itar ino sunta door of a house.

sunju N snake sp.

tabila N wooden dish imported from Siasi islands via north coast [= tumro].

tabolbol N landsnail sp.

taklou N river crab sp [= kaso].

tanra N skin. agu tanra my lips. kamut tanra bark. apas kamut tanra cloth. oglum tanra lime powder container. uri tanra the water container is empty.

tanjan ADJ new [= alinggo]. elim iri emi tajan the woman had a new baby.

tanguri N jawharp.

taŋo N stone.

taper VTR throw. mtapere me throw it this way.

tapiok N cassava, Manihot utilissima [< TP = amioka > kondis].

tarau N tree sp, variety of mangrove found inland.

tarjan N sago, Metroxylon spp.

teker N rattan sp with large leaves, Calamus sp.

teli N shell money.

termi, termu, tersek, terte > ine.

tiku TEMP just now. tiku tigel they arrived just now.

tin VTR burn, light. gatin akenre I lit the bamboo. ei me gatin uasi hand me some fire to light a cigarette.

tir VI stand, stay. mutir kaino? where are you staying?

titik VTR count. titik telí they're counting shell money.

tilak N ground, earth [= ano].

titrak VTR scratch. marak titrakoy the vine sp scratched me.

tna > aki tna.

toboro N /ino__ brother, sister, older sibling or parallel cousin same sex [ > aiber].

tok VI shake. ano tok earthquake.

tokonkon N litter, dust.

topstop N spirit sp [TP tambaran > an, barau].

torom, toroj > ine.

toto ADJ shallow [ ≠ olu ].

tou N man, person, someone. tou namor bigman. tou pangres someone is snoring. tou gamgam ino thief.

tou N/ _ine back. tou inoj kisis I have a backache.
touk N thumb, big toe. molugu touk my thumb. kanyu touk my big toe.
tubutno N egg. kuako tubutno chicken eggs.
tultuli N white pig with black spots.
tumla N father, father’s brother [I ibo, tumom, tumla, pmarte, pmimi, pmumu, pmaresek]. matan tumla sorcery. sakul tumla snake sp.
tumro N wooden dish imported from Siasi islands via north coast (> tabita).
tupulu > pulu.
uaif VTR build. yauai itar I built a house.
uame N honeycomb [made by non-stinging bee. > anlek]. uame kina sweat bee.
uami N betel mortar.
uasek VTR plant. yala nauasek esin I’m going to plant taro.
uasi N tobacco (= ombos).
usat VTR _ei build fire (= res).
udage N large knife (> iuaj). udage aona put a dull knife. udage aona a sharp knife.
uday VTR shred. elim uday nalia the woman is shredding rattan leaves.
ue N wind. ue gel the wind is blowing.
ukaña N mud (> digor).
ul VTR marry. yaul elim akap I married two women.
ulakuos N hawk (= akom).
ulei > oulei.
ulo N clay pot.
ulu N red Cordyline (> anuy, kaduk, mare).
uom PRON you D2S (> ie).
uren VI die (> isum). tou uren someone died.
uri N 1. water, river (= ouri); 2. juice, fluid (= adaine). uri belon I’m thirsty. uri mulo headwaters of a river. uri aine mouth of a river. ouri banjan river bank. ouri kopiuk waterfalls. ongup ino uri coconut milk. uri tanra the water container is empty. uri bon the water container is full. uri mana bate the water container is half full. kamut ino uri = kamut adaine sap.
uris VI return, back. naisen ma tiuris time? when will they come back? muris mla go back.
use VI noisy fart (> pos).
usu > in, osu.
uti VI go, move [no direction. > la, me]. yep emkil uti your share should go.

10. ENGLISH–LAMOGAI FINDER LIST

about pe.
accompany kap.
ache kisis.
adze kulaluo.
afraid lim.
afternoon marum.
again saŋ.
algae malmal.
alone kaine, golou.
along leina.
Alpinia sp egiau.

already kodoŋ.
also saŋ.
amongst anto.
ancestors sekia.
and ma.
ankle kamla agune.
another siŋ.
ant kamulia.
appear gel.
apron koro.
Areca catechu bile.

arm meila; armband magu; armpit meila bisna.
arrive gel.
Artocarpus altulis brane.
as blanka.
ascend pane.
ash obrop; salt ash sedik.
at pe.
away la.
axe akra.
baby emi tayan.
bachelor aren, aiey bate.
back tou; back of head kada; go back uris.
bad soulu.
bag golu.
bald alat.
banana obul.
bandicoot melim.
bank of river uri bayban.
banyan namaijo.
barbs kisislen.
bark kamut tanra.
barkcloth apas kamut tanra.
base bate.
basket spp alei, kidika, paro.
bat sapaiua.
bathe ris.
beans krijo.
bear iri.
bed opus.
bedbug bidabida.
bee uame kina.
belly pele.
bend lom.
betel bile; betel mortar umi; betel pepper kadep; chew betel yes.
big alay, kina bate, mamil.
big toe kamla touk.
bigman tou namor.
bigwomen elim namormor.
bird monuk; bird spp akom, aplau, belis,
biso, kakroy, kalanja, keiaw, kuako, meriaj, piauke, ulakuos.
birth iri.
black obor; black pig moron, nakum.
bleed gel.
blood morou.
bloom roro.
blew gel, ip.
blue ebir.
bluebottle fly lanokir.
boa constrictor maruk.
boar bole, palok.
body kana.
bone kakai.
bow and arrow malel.
box gongon.
boys emi aren.
brains sisil.
branch kamut meila.
breadfruit brane.
break krok, nabak, nopluk.
breasts osu.
breath an.
breathe bijos.
bring de, paur.
broken nabak.
broom souso.
brother aiber, luto, toboru.
brown pig maraiden.
brush away sapirpir.
build uai.
bump nupu.
bumpy bumbai.
burn bublo, tin.
bush hen keiaw.
butterfly kalaplap.
buttocks pig.
buy kli.
by oneself kaine.
cage gongon.
Calamus spp gegres, kiria, lilou, nalia, teker.
calf kamla kabur.
call kein.
Calliphora sp lanokir.
Canarium polyphyllum aialu.
canoe gomot.
canopy kamut mulo.
carry lolo, sun; carrying stick gigi.
cassava amioka, kondis, tapiok.
cassowary lau.
Casuarina equisetifolia ialu.
catch kapak.
cave momus.
chalk perper.
charcoal asanj.
Charonia tritonis kuliep.
charred wood asoj.
cheek banje.
chest ongup.
chew betel yes.
chicken kuako.
child emi, ginou, iloumi; children sauro.
chop down rip.
clam spp baiu, ebiak, golomada, klijen.
claw katalpis.
clay pot ulo.
clean itau.
clear mul.
clearing amsak.
cliff aromta.
climb ditai, sai.
close oulu, reit.
clot oŋoŋ.
cloth apas.
clouds sirba.
club bau, dalip.
cockatoo aplanu.
cockroach aimus, kambuk.
coconut, Cocos nucifera ongup; coconut grater giri; coconut milk ongup ino uri.
cold epen.
comb emsik, ser.
come max, me.
completive kodon.
constrictor maruk.
container tanra.
cook kamlu.
cooked insak, lipma.
Cordylinae spp anuŋ, kaduk, mare, ulu.
count tiitik.
cover gar.
crab kaso; crab spp angis, taklou.
crawl digara.
crazy gara, manjamanja.
crocodile aki ina, poka.
crooked kolok.
crow kakron.
cry kirpin.
cure lua, pais.
cuscus kaukuai.
cut dok, kram, rap.
cycad palm, Cycas circinalis matolo.
dance pai sakul, de sakul.
daughter ginou elim, iloumi.
day oklou.
deep olu.
defecate pipre.
dehortative sokol.
descend kai.
die isum, uren.
different ailuk.
dig ias.
dig up put; digging stick namjen.
diminutive ginou.
Dioscorea spp mamim, nanan.
dirty amum, muso.
dish pelet, tabila, tumro.
dislike lou.
disposable possessive ilo.
do de.
dog oulel.
don't sokol.
door sunta.
dove belis.
down kai.
drag riri.
dream an.
drink in.
drive bar.
drum kobom.
dry kakrak, popok;
dry season ano itau.
dual kap.
dugong lui.
dull put.
dust tokonkon.
each other pulu.
eagle biso.
eat beine.
earth titlak;
earthquake ano tok.
et yen.
edible possessive ino.
eel aidan.
egg tubutno.
eight elme etlu.
elbow meila buno.
elder odok alan.
empty tanra.
enough nokrus, sou.
enter sep.
escort pau.
Eugenia malaccensis iarup.
European pura.
extact put.
eye anta; eyeball anta losa.
face anta.
faeces ata.
fall mlu, noplok.
famine sapanya.
far emia.
fart pos, use.
fast bale.
fat mamil.
father tumla.
fear lim.
feathers monuk kolouna.
female elim.
fence ade, ari, manjo.
few pada adai.
Ficus sp namainjo.
fifty iselme.
fight mlu.
fin sapiru.
finger meila sinle;
fingernails meila katapi.
fire ei.
first kik.
first time oku no.
fish oŋua; fish sp migilu.
five elme.
float maro, ples.
flood ayan.
flooring ekei.
glow bublo.

flower roro, rorojoj.
go la, uti; go back

fluid adaine, uri.
good itau.

flute, k.o. epre, kaur,
gourd oglum eni.
pilol, sasup.
grass spp asling, balimu,

fly kei.
lalJo, lalJokir.
graft

fly spp lajo, lajokir.
grasshopper kakan.

flying fox sapaiua.
grate nei; grater niri.

fog gaugau.
greasy doko.

fold lom.
greasy nomor.

follow pupru.

follow upward ditai.

food jàno.

foot kamla.
ground titlak.

forehead anta barta.
grue ebir.

forest bubla, omoj.
hair apna kolouna.

forty isapanal.
half-full mana bate.

four apanal.
hammer, sago koli,

foxfire lama.
hair apna kolouna.

frog matao.
hair apna kolouna.

fruit kamut ota.
happy kasa, kili.

full mana bate, bon.
happening gel.

fur kolouna.
hard kairak, koklor,

fuzz kisislel.
hair apna kolouna.

galip ajanl.
hair apna kolouna.

game bernjen, masunjon.
hair apna kolouna.

garnish bernjen,

fur kolouna.

masunjon.
gather paduk.

half-full mana bate.
gather paduk.

giant clam golomada.
gather paduk.

gill flap beine.
gather paduk.

thurston. gills rabo.
gather paduk.

ginger, Alpinia sp
gather paduk.

seigau; ginger,
inocarpus pagiferus

zinziber sp emles,

sanger.

iron kettle kiroro.
girls elim aiyo bate,

iron-tipped spear

bela bate.

marakete.
give karou.
give birth iri.
give karou.
give birth iri.

hide kukop.

hip omtu.

history nasijen.

hit mluk.

hold gis.

hole obuk.

Homalium foetidum

boi.
honeycomb ajlek,
uame.
hornbill meriaq.

hot ejil.
hourglass drum kobom.

house itar, odiep.
housefly lajo.

how blayno.

how many aisen.

huge kina bate.
hundred buno.
hunger sapaja.
hunt sau.
hurry bile.
hurt bel, kisis.
husband pagat.
I goj.

if ma.

Imperata ogu.

important alan, namor.
in pe, sep.
inalienable possessive

ine.

Inocarpus fagiferus

kamrip.

inside anto.

intestines mogolu.

Ipomea batatas

kirimpak.

iron kettle kiroro.

iron-tipped spear

marakete.

ironwood bana.

island omot.

it ie.
itchy kaklak.
liver pupu.
lizard paria.
lobster geil musien ino.
long malkat.
lose paip; lost popmo.
louse otu.
love magic munusaur.
lungs bomse.

magic berou,
munusaur, païsîn.
make de; make fire
res ei, uat ei.
malay apple iarup.
man angrâŋ.
mango kadai.
mangrove bale, tarau;
mangrove crab
angis.
manioc, Manihot
utilissima amioka,
kondis, tapirok.
many pada.
marry ul.
masalai barau.
mat parak.
me noŋ.
meat bernoŋ, masuron.
men oduk; young men
aien bate; men’s
lodge odiep.
merely bala.
Metroxylon taryan.
midden blu anta.
middle leina.
mist gaugau.
mix bauluk.
money teli.
monitor lizard paria.
mornay eel aidan musien
ino.
morning kotkotu.
mortar for betel uami.
mosquito nomuk.
moss olmut.
mother kina.
mountain gime.
mountain ridge obrou.
mouth aona.
mouth of river uri aine.
move uti.
mucus engris.
mud digor, ukaga.
mushroom makue;
mushroom sp lama.
nail katalpis.
name an.
nasal mucus engris.
near oluo, reit.
neck agu.
need bel.
negative adai.
nest onuk.
net aŋkal, osi; net bag
golu.
new tahan.
night opmos.
nine elme apanal.
nose donro.
not adai; not yet adai
no.
now karban; just now
tiku.
nurse in usu.
obiqle ine.
obsidian omos.
ocean musien.
Octomeles sumatrana
okiom.
odour mianjan.
oh ai.
old alingo.
on pe.
one isa, keine.
oneself kaine.
only bala.
or o.
origin bate.
over ripe bris.
over there ori.
paddle melba, pode, 
pue; taro paddle
naitar.
pain kisis.
palisade onju.
palm of hand meila
anto.
palm spp bile, ekei,
matolo, ongup.
pan flute epre.
Pandanus spp padpada,
parak.
paper pepa.
parrot kalanja.
path osou, sukuna.
peninsula sopsop.
penis ise.
people oduk.
person tou.
phlegm omju.
piece emkil.
pig kanem, pig spp
maraiden, moron,
nakum, ogu, pailuk,
palok, tultulipig
barrier kalamtit.pig
tusks paidala.
pillow kaklon.
pipe nalato.
Piper betle kadep.
pitpit lopu.
place ano.
plant uasek.
plate pelet.
play kole.
Poinciana delnis daga.
point sopsop.
polygyny parok.
Pometia pinnata
autop.

pond arunj.
portion emkil.
possessive ilo, ine, ino.
post kadanja.
pot kiro, ulo.
pour baser, mininir,
inijir.
prawn geil.
precede ngo.
pregnant sumugu.
proper itau.
pubic apron koro.
pull nak, riri.
pull out put.
punting pole otou.
pus anak.
push sapul.
python amat.
quickly bale.
rain erei, oruon;
rainbow oruon ise;
rainy season
pakoro.
raintree daga.
raps asar, didlu.
rat abi.
rattan spp gegres,
kiria, lilou, nalia,
tekier.
ravine aromta.
raw akat.
reciprocal pulu.
red dimor, dimotmot.
reef asar.
relate nes.
relative rik.
remain rik.
return uris.
Rhizophora bale.
ridgepole komdujo.
righthand oduj.
ringworm eper.
ripe sisiou; over ripe
bris.
river uri; river bank
uri banbang river
mouth uri aine.
road osou, sukuna.
rock shelter momus.
roots kamut gitno.
rotten bris, meia.
rough bumbai.
rub sak.
run noplu, sonj.
Saccharum officinarum
auau, Saccharum
spontaneum lopu.
sago taranj.
sago hammer koli,
kolia.
saliva omsok.
salt ash sedik.
Samanea saman daga.
sand labu.
sandfly marama.
sap kamut adaine,
kamut ino uri.
say kanes.
scales kasakarkar.
scar amal.
scape nei.
scratch nei, titrak.
sea musien.
sea eagle biso.
season ano.
see rik.
seed kamut ota.
seven elme akap.
several yanabu.
sew sisir.
sex is.
shake tok.
shallow toto.
share emkil.
shark kaluga, seua.
sharp aona.
she ie.
shell money teli.
shield osua.
shin kamla padijo.
shut ata.
shiver nakarkar.
short bolbolo, etet.
shoulder riak.
shout kein.
shred udaj.
shrimp geil.
Siasi dish tabila, tumro.
sick daunon, sar.
sing de sakul, pai sakul.
sister aiber, luto, toboro.
sit ma.
six elme isa.
skin tanra.
skinny roria.
skirt koro.
sleep makaduk, mlok.
slippery didlik, kelil.
slow penpen.
small sadi.
smell kun, mianjan.
smoke asi; smoke
tobacco yen ombos;
smoking pipe nalato.
smooth kelil.
snail spp tabolbol,
somoro.
snake amat; snake spp
animir bate, maruk,
matauok, meper,
sakul tumla, suju.

snap bak.
sneeze kisyi.
snore pangres.
snot egris.
so ma.

soft babia.
sole kamla anto.
some isa.
someone tou.
something yan.
son ginou, iloumi.
song sakul.
soon masilaj.
sorcery mataj tumla.
sore egle.
soul an.
sow kanem kina.
speak kanes.
spear belaj, grai,
marakete.
spill baser, mininjir,
ninjir.
spine belaj.
spirit an, barau, totop.
spit omsok.
spit bak.
gorot pig tultuli.
sprout opot.
squeeze porior.
stab grai.
stand tir.
star gigimo.
stay ma, mana, tir.
steal gam.
stick kamut; carrying
stick gigi; digging
stick naman;
walking stick matu.

still no.
stir bauluk.
stone asar, tanjo.
stop sokol.
straight odunj.
strong namor.
stump kamut bate.
suckle inusu.
sugarcane auau.
sun oklou.
superincise dok ise.
swamp digor.
sweat bee uame kina.
sweep kup, mbrum.
sweet galo.
sweet potato kirimpak.
swim buria.
swollen soj.
sword grass ogu.
tail gito.
take de.
talk kanes; talk about
nasi.
tame aim.
taro esin; taro paddle
naitar.
teeth aona kakai.
tell kanes, nes.
ten sogotno.
tendons kanil.
testicles losa.
that ka, ore, ori, rik.
thief gamgamjan.
there ore, ori.
they isek.
thief tou gamgamjan
ino.

thing yan.
thirsty uri bel.

thirty iselu.
this ge, oge.
three etelu.
throw taper.
thumb meila touk.
thus laj.
tie pou.
to ine, pe.
tobacco ombos, uasi.
today karban.
toe kamla sijle; big
toe kamla touk;
toenails kamla
katalpis.
together kap.
tomorrow kotu; day after tomorrow kasak.
tongs kaida, kapinen.
tongue aona blene.
too saŋ.
tooth aona kakai.
tree kamut; tree spp aŋaul, aulop, bale, bana, boi, brane, daga, degou, ialu, iarup, kadai, kamrip, kualolo, matolo, namainjo, okiom, opon, palu, tarau; tree ant kamulia.
Tridacna golomada.
Trochus mese.
true lonojo, ronj.
trumpet shell kuliep.
trunk kamut leina.
turn bauluk.
turtle kounan, punu.
twenty isoruo.
two akap, kap.
uncooked akat.
unripe akat.
up pane, sai.
urinate duriep; urine marai.
vegetable greens karunga.
veins kanil.
very mait.
village itar; village plaza itar anta.
vine inle; vine sp marak.
vomit pugiok.
vula kuku.
wake up sasak.
walk lilia, nes; walking stick matu.
wall babro.
wallaby airok, apare, keneŋ.
want kei.
warm self maraŋ ei.
wash groŋ.
wasp spp niniko, sauriri.
watch out ma kilik.
water uri; waterfalls ouri kopiuk.
we ite, mi.
weave grai.
weep kirpin.
wet epi, epilik.
what sana.
when naisen.
where kaino.
white eglim, kaŋalŋal; white pig ogu, pailuk.
who egina, gira.
why pe sana.
widow asap; widower aikos.
wife asap.
wild kebena, oŋu; wild boar palok.
wind ue.
wing pena.
with kap, pe.
without golou.
woman elim.
wood kamut; wooden dish tabila, tumro.
wrap gar.
wrapper eiuk, orou.
wrapping por.
wrists meila agune.
yam spp mamim, naraŋ.
yellow gaguak, gaol.
yes e.
yesterday nampil ino; day before yesterday nungo ino.
yonder ori.
you mu, uom.
young boys aŋ bate.
young girls elim aiaŋ bate.
Zinziber sp emles, sanger.

REFERENCES

Ross, Malcolm D., 1988, Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia. PL, C-98.
1987, Processes of Change in the Languages of North-Western New Britain. PL, B99.