Proto-Micronesian Reconstructions—I

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Part 1 presents some 980 reconstructions for Proto-Micronesian, Proto-Central Micronesian, and Proto-Western Micronesian. Part 2 (to appear in volume 42 [2]) gives reconstructions for two additional subgroups within Proto-Micronesian: Proto-Pohnpeic and Proto-Chuukic, and their immediate ancestor, Proto-Pohnpeic-Chuukic. A handful of putative loans are also identified, and a single English finder list is provided for all of the reconstructions.

INTRODUCTION. Lexical data for a number of Micronesian languages began to be collected systematically in the mid-1960s as part of the development of language lessons for the U.S. Peace Corps and in connection with other Micronesian language projects that followed at the University of Hawai‘i. These data were stored on a main-frame computer using programs then being developed (Hsu and Peters 1984), and eventually dictionaries were published for a number of the languages included in this study (Elbert 1972, Abo et al. 1976, Lee 1976, Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976, Harrison and Albert 1977, Jensen 1977, Rehg and Sohl 1979, Goodenough and Sugita 1980, Jackson and Mark 1991). Comparative work using these data began with Marck 1977, focusing on the group of languages referred to as Nuclear Micronesian. In the next several years, the authors of the current study put the initial data on computer and substantially added to them by directly eliciting information from speakers of Micronesian languages who were students in the Bilingual Education Project for Micronesia at the University of Hawai‘i. Hsu (1976) was especially helpful in cognate searches. This early activity culminated in a printout identified as Bender et al. 1984. Preliminary findings and some of the computer programs being used in the comparative work are summarized in Bender and Wang 1985. More recent work and the initial compilation of this presentation of the data have been done primarily by the second author.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBGROUPINGS IN NUCLEAR MICRONESIAN.

In this etymological dictionary we attribute to Proto-Micronesian (PMc) an inherited lexical item shared between a Chuukic or a Pohnpeic language, or Marshallese or Kiri-

1. One name, that of Robert W. Hsu, really belongs here with ours, but he has demurred. Certainly, without his initiative and assistance at every turn, this article and many of the dictionaries upon which it is based would not have appeared in their present form—if they appeared at all.

bati (Gilbertese), on the one hand, and Kosraean (Kusaiean), on the other. We have also attributed to PMC some lexical items in only one Micronesian language that are shared with some other Austronesian language and cannot be attributed to borrowing, although a systematic search for such items has not been made. Following Jackson (1983), we attribute to Proto-Central Micronesian (PCMC) items shared by Kiribati and any other Micronesian language lower in the tree of figure 1, but not found in any other Austronesian language, and we attribute to Proto-Western Micronesian (PWMc) items shared by Marshallese and any other language lower in the tree, but not found in any other Austronesian language. (Micronesian languages not shown in figure 1 include Sonsorolese [SNS] and Tobi [TOB] [which should be positioned on a par with PUA], the Tanapag dialect of Carolinian [CRN] [which should be included with PUL, CHK, and MRT within PECK], and Pingelapese [PNG] [which should be included with PON and MOK under PPC]). Protoforms from all three languages—PMC, PCMC, and PWMc—are interspersed in a single alphabetized list in part 1 of this dictionary. Part 2 (in a future issue) will give protoforms for Proto-Chuukic (PCK), Proto-Pohnpeic (PPON), and Proto-Pohnpeic-Chuukic (PPC) for which no higher-level reconstructions are now possible. Consonant correspondences are given in tables 3 and 4. Vowel correspondences receive preliminary discussion in Jackson 1983:321–323 and Goodenough 1992.

Work for the future includes a careful review of evidence of loanwords from Marshallese and Kiribati not only in Kosraean but also in the Pohnpeic and Chuukic languages (see Rehg and Bender 1990). The seafaring atoll dwellers of the Marshall and Kiribati islands were frequent voyagers to the high islands of Kosrae and Pohnpei to their west. There were Polynesian-speaking settlers there as well—or at least there were Polynesian contacts—attested to by loanwords such as Pohnpeian *sakaw* ('kava' < PN *ta-kawa*) and *Sangaro* ('a god' < PN *Tangaroa*). There has been, moreover, massive borrowing into Kiribati from Samoan and to a lesser extent, more recently, from Tuvaluan. Kiribati speakers have expanded their settlements both southward into northern Tuvalu and northward into the southern Marshall Islands in the past few hundred years. Marshallese shows what are clearly loanwords from Kiribati (Bender 1981). Marck (1994) has reconstructed some Proto-Chuukic and even a few Proto-Micronesian forms where irregularities of sound correspondences raise the possibility that they result from a chain of borrowings rather than being inherited cognates. Such differences are noted under the forms in question. Complicating the problem are some forms that appear to be preserved as inherited cognates in some Micronesian languages and to have been reintroduced from them as loans into other Micronesian languages. Doublets, related forms such that one of them fits the pattern of sound correspondences in the inherited vocabulary and the other does not, attest to such internal borrowing as well.

ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS USED. In order to facilitate comparison, the velar nasal symbol (ŋ) is used in the protolanguages PMC, POC, PCK, and UAN (Dempwolff's *Uraustronesisch*), and in the nuclear languages being compared in lieu of the *ng*, *g*, *ñ*, and so forth used in their orthographies. The *w* of labiovelars in the various languages is made superscript, and this is substituted for the primes of *p'* and *m'* used by Marck (1977, 1994) and Jackson (1983). We use *ñ* to represent the palatal nasal of PPC,

PMC, POC, and UAN; we use *R* to represent the retroflex continuant of Puluwatese, CRN Carolinian, and Satawalese, but otherwise as standardly used in PEO, POC, PMP or UAN, and PAN. We use *á*, *é*, *ó*, and *ú* to represent the low front unrounded, the mid central unrounded, the low back rounded, and the high central unrounded or rounded vowels of the various Chuukic languages. We use *ε* for the lax mid front vowel of Pohnpeian and Pingelapese; Mokilese *e* and *ε* are both written as *e*, following Harrison and Salich (1977). We use *ɔ* for the lax mid back rounded vowel that is written *α* in all of the Pohnpeic languages. For Marshallese, we use the phonemic transcription of Abo et al. (1976), but substitute *b^w* for *b*, *m^w* for *η*, *ŋ* for *g*, *k^w* for *q*, and we use superscript *w* to show the rounding of *ŋ^w*, *ŋ^w*, *l^w*, and *r^w*. For Kosraean, we have rewritten the digraph vowels to make their phonetic value more transparent, as shown in table 1. Our orthography for POC is that of Ross (1988), to which we add *S* to his *s*. Our orthography for PCK is that of Jackson (1983), to which we add *y*. Our orthography for PMC is that of Jackson (1986), except that we substitute *s* for his *d* and *S* for his *z*, and we add *y* and *Z*. The symbol # marks an entry that we consider to be an analogical back formation.

TABLE 1. KOSRAEAN VOWEL SYMBOLS

	LEE 1976:			OUR REPLACEMENTS:		
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i	ih	u	i	i	u
UPPER MID	e	uc	o	e	ə	o
LOWER MID	ac	uh	oh	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
LOW	ah	a	oa	æ	a	ɒ

FIGURE 1. HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE MICRONESIAN SUBGROUP OF OCEANIC (adapted from Jackson 1983:fig. 6)

TABLE 2. CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES:
LABIALS, VELARS, AND GLIDES

POc ¹	mp	mp,ɲp ²	p ³	m	m,ɲm ²	k	ŋk	ŋ	y	w
PMc	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k	x	ŋ	y	w
KSR	p	f	θ ⁴	m	w,m ⁵	k	k,θ ⁶	ŋ	θ	θ
PCMc	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k	x	ŋ	y	w
KIR	b	b ^w	θ	m	m ^w	k,θ ⁷	θ	ŋ	θ	w
PWMc	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k	x	ŋ	y	w
MRS	p	b ^w	y	m	m ^w	k,k ^w ⁸	θ	ŋ, ɲ ^w ⁸	y	w
PPC	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k	r,θ ¹¹	ŋ	y	w
PPON	p ⁹	p ^w	p,θ ¹⁰	m	m ^w	k	r,θ ¹¹	ŋ	y	w
PON	p	p ^w	p,θ ¹⁰	m	m ^w	k	r,θ ¹¹	ŋ	θ,y	w
MOK	p	p ^w	p,θ ¹⁰	m	m ^w	k	r,θ ¹¹	ŋ	θ,y	w
PNG	p	p ^w	p,θ ¹⁰	m	m ^w	k	r,θ ¹¹	ŋ	θ,y	w
PCk	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k	θ	ŋ	y	w
MRT	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k,θ ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
CHK	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k,s{ _i },θ ¹²	θ	ŋ,n ¹³	θ,y	w
PUL	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k,θ ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
CRN	p	b ^w	f	m	m ^w	g,θ ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
CRL	p	b ^w	f	m	m ^w	gh,θ ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
STW	p	p ^w	f	m	m ^w	k,θ ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
WOL	p	b	f	m	m ^w	g ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
PUA	p	p ^w	d[ð]	m	m ^w	k ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
SNS	p	b ^w	f	m	m ^w	k ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w
ULI	p	b	f	m	m ^w	g ¹²	θ	ŋ	θ,y	w

1 See Ross (1988) for general discussion of POc, and for detailed reconstructions.

2 POc *mp and *m became labiovelars in PMc before round vowels and in some other forms.

3 POc *p was lost in PMc before round vowels.

4 See Jackson 1983:329–330 for explanation of apparent exceptions.

5 PMc *m^w merged with *m in final position (when it stood before a final vowel that was lost) to yield KSR -m; see Jackson 1983:332–334.

6 PMc *x is usually lost in Ksr before *u; see Jackson 1983:331.

7 PMc *k is sometimes lost in KIR morphemes that also reflect PMc *t (see footnote 7 to table 3 and Jackson 1983:310).

8 When PMc *k and *ŋ are preceded and/or followed by *o or *u, their MRS reflexes are rounded (k^w and ɲ^w, respectively), except in disyllables where *u in one of the two syllables is the sole such conditioning factor (the vowel of the other syllable being *i, *e, or *a).

9 In the Pohnpeic languages, geminate obstruents are realized as homorganic nasal-obstruent clusters.

10 PMc *f is often lost in PPON before *i; see Jackson 1986:202.

11 PMc *x is r before *a, and θ elsewhere.

12 PMc *k is often reflected as CHK s before *i (and occasionally *u), and is regularly reflected as θ before low and mid vowels when not also preceded by a high vowel. “The geminate reflex of [PMc] *k is a lengthened velar stop *kk* in all [Chu]kic languages” (Jackson 1983:175). See Jackson 1983:175–185 for more on these complex developments in all the Chuukic languages.

13 PMc *ŋ sometimes becomes CHK n before *i; see Jackson 1983:171.

TABLE 3. CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES: CORONALS

POc	t		s, nj ¹	ns, j ¹	j ²	nt,nd	d,R ³	l	n	ñ
PMc	t	T ⁴	s	S	Z	c	r	l	n	ñ
KSR	t,s ⁵	s	t,s ⁵	θ	s	sr	l,r ⁶	l	n	θ
PCMc	t	T	s	s	z	c	r	l	n	ñ
KIR	t,θ ⁷	t	r	r	r	r	θ	n	n	n
PWMc	t	T	s	s	θ	c	r	l	n	ñ
MRS	j	j	t	t	θ	d	r,r ^{w8}	l,l ^{w8}	n,n ^{w8}	n
PPC	t	T	d	d	θ	c	r	l	n	ñ
PPon	j,θ ⁹	j	d ¹⁰	d ¹⁰	θ	c	r	l	n	θ,n
PON	s,θ{ _{i,u,e} } ¹¹	s	d ¹⁰	d ¹⁰	θ	t ¹⁰	r	l	n	θ
MOK	j,θ{ _{i,u,e} } ¹¹	j	d ¹⁰	d ¹⁰	θ	s	r	l	n	θ,n{V _{hi} ...}
PNG	s,θ{ _{i,u,e} } ¹¹	s	d ¹⁰	d ¹⁰	θ	s	r	l	n	θ,n{V _{hi} ...}
PCk	t	T	d	d	θ	c ¹²	r	l	n	ñ
MRT	s{ _a },θ	s{ _{-V_{low}} }	t	t	θ	sh;shsh	r	l	n	n
CHK	s{ _a },θ	s{ _{-V_{low}} }	t	t	θ	ch;chch	r	n	n	n
PUL	h{ _a },θ	h{ _{-V_{low}} }	t	t	θ	R;cch	r	l	n	n
CRN	h{ _a },θ	h{ _{-V_{low}} }	t	t	θ	R;tch	r	l	n	n
CRL	s{ _a },θ	s{ _{-V_{low}} }	t	t	θ	sh;tch	r	l	l	l
STW	s{ _a },θ	s{ _{-V_{low}} }	t	t	θ	R;chch	r	l,n;nn ¹³	n,l;nn ¹³	n
WOL	s,t{ _a },θ	s	t	t	θ	sh;cch	r	l;nn	l;nn	l
PUA	d,t{ _a },θ	d	t	t	θ	s;ss	l	n	n	n
SNS	d,t{ _a },θ	d	t	t	θ	s;ss	l	r;nn	r;nn	r
ULI	s,t{ _a },θ	s	th	th	θ	c;cc	r	l	l	l

1 Refer to PEO phonemes (see Jackson 1983:342–348 and Geraghty 1983).

2 Refers to PEO *j reconstructed by Geraghty (1983:149–153); PMc *Z is employed in only two etyma in this compilation: PMc *kiaZo and PMc *laZe.

3 The conditions for when POc *R merged with POc *r and when it was lost are unclear; see Jackson (1986:203).

4 See PMc *T in Jackson 1983:326 and 1986:203 and see fn. 5 in Goodenough 1992:112.

5 KSR reflects PMc *t and *s as s before *i and *e; see Jackson 1983:338–342.

6 KSR l is the regular reflex of PMc *r; KSR r is diagnostic of loans; see Jackson 1983:335–338.

7 PMc *t is sometimes lost in KIR morphemes that also reflect PMc *k (see footnote 7 to table 2 and Jackson 1983:310).

8 The three sets of MRS consonants (light, heavy, and rounded) are discussed in Bender 1969:xiii–xxi. Light consonants (e.g., l and n) are the unmarked or default set. Heavy l and η reflect *l and *n, respectively, when followed by *a (or, less often, *o), unless the vowel in a contiguous syllable is *i or *u. The heavy consonants r; l, and η may be rounded to r^w, l^w, and η^w, respectively, by the same conditioning factors that round k and η to k^w and η^w, respectively (see footnote 8 to table 2).

9 In the Pohnpeic languages, geminate obstruents are realized as homorganic nasal-obstruent clusters.

10 In the Pohnpeic languages d stands for a voiceless apico-dental stop, while in Pohnpeian t stands for a voiceless lamino-alveolar stop.

11 The reflex is θ sporadically before PMc *e.

12 The spelling of geminate reflexes in each of the Chuukic languages is given following the semicolons below.

13 PMc *l and *n are reflected as Stw l and n, respectively, in a majority of instances; in roughly 25%, however, the reflexes of the two are switched without obvious conditioning factors, or both are found as variants. As in WOL and SNS, geminates of the two are merged as nn.

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PROTO-MICRONESIAN²

PMC ***-a** (obj. pm.) 'him, her, it': CHK -y, -ye-, -w, -we-, WOL -ya, -wa; PUA -a; PCK ***-a**; KIR -a; PEO ***-a**; PKB ***-a**; POC ***-a** (Ross 1988).

PMC ***-a**, **-Ta** 'reality mode marker (suffixed to subj. pm.)': CHK -a; MRT -a; PUL -ya; CRL -a; STW -a, -ya; WOL -sa, -ya; ULI -a; PUA -da; PCK ***-a**, -Ta; MRS *-jah*; KIR -a; KSR *ta*; PEO ***-ta** (SAA -'a 'present or general time'). Problems here.

PCMc ***aa-**, **aa-ni-** 'alienable object (with poss. suf.), acquire an a. o.': CHK *aa-* 'general class of a. o.', *áá-ni* 'own or acquire ownership of an a. o.', *aaya* 'use an a. o.'; PUL *yaa-*, *yáá-ni*, *yááyá*; CRL *aa-*, *yáá-li*, *yááyá*; CRN *aa-*, *áá-ni*; STW *yááyá*; WOL *yaa-*, *yaa-li(i)*, *yaayaa*; PUA *yaa-*; PCK **yaa-*, *yaa-ni-*, *yaayaa*; PON *aa-*, *ε-* 'a. o.'; MRS *haha-*; KIR *a-* 'a. o.', *ana-a* 'to take or get (s.t.)'. Cf. Fij *kaa* 'thing'; UAN **kaya* 'possession'.

PCMc ***aap^wa** 'no': CHK *aap^w*; PUL *yaap^w*; WOL *yeebe*; ? PON *aap^w* 'but'; MRS *yahab^w*.

PMC ? ***ae**, 'crawl': CHK *á*, *áá-* 'swim, be swimming'; KIR *ae* 'crawl' and *ae-(rake)* 'go ashore'. Cf. POC **jaRa* 'move, creep, flow, spill' (Ross 1988) (KWA *tala-(fafa)* 'shallow, swim close to the surface', *tala-[ʔe'enia]* 'arrive at a place, wash up'). Cf. PCMc ***afe** 'swim'.

2. Includes PCMc and PWMc as well as PMC.

Language abbreviations and sources: ARE, 'Are'are (Geerts 1970) (no instances in PMC section); ARO, Arosi (Fox 1970); BUG, Bugotu (Ivens 1940); CHK, Chuukese or Trukese (Goodenough and Sugita 1980, 1990; Goodenough 1963, 1992); CHM, Chamorro (Topping, Ogo, and Dungca 1975); CRL and CRN, Saipan Carolinian and Saipan Carolinian Tanapag (Jackson and Marck 1991); Fij, Fijian (Capell 1957; Geraghty 1983); JAB, Jabêm; KIR, Kiribati or Gilbertese (Bingham 1908); KSR, Kosraean or Kusaican (Lee 1976); KWA, Kwaio (Keesing 1975); LAK, Lakalai or West Nakanai (Chowning and Goodenough, n.d.); LAU, Lau (Fox 1974); MAP, Old Mapian (Kubary 1889); MOK, Mokilese (Harrison and Albert 1977); MRS, Marshalllese (Abo et al. 1976); MRT, Mortlockese (Bender et al. 1984); NGG, Nggela (Fox 1955); NGK, Ngatchikese (Bender et al. 1984); PAL, Palauan (Josephs 1950); PAN, Proto-Austronesian (Blust 1980–89); PCK, Proto-Chuukic or Proto-Trukic (Jackson 1983, Marck 1994); PCM, Proto-Central Micronesian (in classification of Jackson 1983 and Marck 1994); PCP, Proto-Central Pacific (Marck 1994); PEO, Proto-Eastern Oceanic, including PCO (Geraghty 1983, 1990); PKB, Proto-Kimbe (Goodenough 1997); PLK, Proto-Lakalai (Goodenough 1997); PMC, Proto-Micronesian (Bender et al. 1984; Bender and Wang 1985; Jackson 1983; Marck 1991, 1994); PMP, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1980–1989), also UAN; PNG, Pingilapese (Pingelapese) (Bender et al. 1984); PNK, Proto-Nakanai (Goodenough 1997); PON, Pohnpeian or Ponapeian (Rehg and Sohl 1979; Sohl, Rehg, and Andreas, forthcoming); POC, Proto-Oceanic (Ross 1988; Blust 1970, 1978; Grace 1969); PPC, Proto-Pohnpeic-Chuukic; PPN, Proto-Polynesian (Walsh and Biggs 1966; Biggs, Walsh, and Waqa 1970); PPN, Proto-Pohnpeic; PUA, Pulo-Annan (Oda 1977); PUL, Puluwatese (Elbert 1972); PWM, Proto-Willaumez (Goodenough 1997); PWMc, Proto-Western Micronesian (Jackson 1983; Marck 1994), see PPC; ROT, Rotuman (Churchward 1940); ROV, Roviana; SAA, Sa'a (Ivens 1918); SAM, Samoan (Milner 1966); SNS, Sonsorolese (Oda 1977; Bender et al. 1984); STW, Satawalese (Bender et al. 1984); TAG, Tagalog; TOB, Tobi (Kubary 1989); TOK, Tokelau (Bender et al. 1984); TON, Tongan (Churchward 1959); UAN, Uraustronesisch (Dempwolff 1934–38; Dyen 1951, 1953), also PMP; ULA, Ulawan (Ivens 1918); ULI, Ulithian (Bender et al. 1984); WOL, Woleaian (Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976); YAP, Yapese (Jensen 1977).

L refers to the section on loans to be included in part 2.

V is sometimes used for a reconstructed vowel of indeterminate quality.

Vowel diacritics are ignored in alphabetizing.

Square brackets enclose two possibilities for protophonemes where the evidence is ambiguous or contradictory (e.g., [sS]); the first is used for purposes of alphabetization.

“(sic)” ‘so, thus’ may follow a form that differs from the expected reflex in some way in order to assert that a copying mistake has not occurred.

PMC ?**ae*, 'this': KIR *ae* 't. here, the one that'; POC ? *aRe* (LAK *ale* 't., the one that'; FIJ [ko]-*yaa*, [a]-*yaa* 'that [distant], the one that'). Cf. KIR *are* 'who, which, that yonder'.

PMC **afafi* 'coconut crab': CHK *ef*, #*ee*-; CRL *áf*, *áf*-; WOL *yaffi*; PCK **affi*; PON *emp*; KIR (te)-*aai*; KSR *ei*.

PMC **afanji* 'north': CHK *efen*, *efen* 'n., trade wind season', *efeni*-(*nap*) 'due n., n. wind'; MRT *efé-é*-(*n*) 'toward the n.', (le)-*efé-é* 'dry season'; PUL *yefán*, *yefen*- 'n., be n. (of wind or direction), trade wind season'; CRL *éfán*, *áfán*; STW *effán* 'n.', (le)-*éfán* 'winter, trade wind season'; WOL *yefan* 'n., northern direction, trade wind season'; PUA (i)-*edani*; PCK **yafan*; PON (pali)-*epen*; MRS *yan*, (yi)-*yén* 'n.', (hapien)-*yan* 'wintertime, dry season'; KIR (me)-*aay*. Cf. KSR *epay* glossed as 'south' in dictionary looks like a loan (*p* unexpected, see PPC **aúru* 'south'). Cf. Marck's (1994:310–323) PPC **fani* 'dry season'.

PMC **afara* 'shoulder': CHK *afar*, *afara*-(*n*) 's., his s.', (éwúw)-*éfar* 's. carrying pole', (éwúw)-*éfara* 'carry (s.t.) on a pole'; MRT *awúfar*, *awúfara*-(*n*); PUL *yefar* 's.', *yayéfar* 's., load carried on the s.'; CRL *aifar*, *aifár*, *ayúfar*, *aifara*-(*l*) 's., carry a load on the s., his s.'; STW *efar*, *éfara*-(*n*); WOL *yefare*, *yafara*-(le); PUA *yadala* 's.', *yadadala* 'carry on the s.'; PCK **yafara*; PON *apere* 'his s.'; MOK *apɔ* 'his s.'; PNG *aper*; MRS *hayer*, *hayeray*; PEO **qafaRa* (Geraghty 1990); POC **qapaRa*, *qabaRa* (ULA 'apala' 's.'; PKB *[kq]apala); PAN **qabaRa* (Ross 1988). There appears to have been corruption of the word for 'shoulder carrying pole' and its reinterpretation as 'shoulder' in MRT, PUL, and CRL. Cf. KSR *pælpæl* 'carry on the shoulder', *polo-ŋ* 'carry (s.t.) on the shoulders with a pole'; ARO *abara* 'carry under the arm'.

PCMC **afe* 'swim': PUL *yaf*, *yáfe*-; STW *yaaf* (sic); WOL *yafe*; ULI *eaf*; CRL *áf*, *áfe*-; PUA *yada*; PCK **yafe*; MRS *haheh*; KIR (te)-*ae* 'driftwood'. Cf. KIR *uaau* 'swim', SAM 'a'au 'swim', and PMC ?**ae*, 'crawl'.

PMC **afi*, 'fire': CHK *áf*, *efi*-; PUL *yáf*; CRL (a-*ghúu*)-*áf* 'light a signal fire'; CRN (a-*ghúu*)-*áf* 'light a signal fire'; WOL *yafifi*, *yafi*-; PUA *yaadi*, *yadi*-; SNS *yaafi*; PCK **yafi*; PON *aay*; MOK *ɔy*; PNG *ey*; KIR (te)-*ai*; KSR *e*; POC **api* (Ross 1988) (PPN **afi*; PNk **havi*); UAN **apuy*.

PMC **afi*, 'pull on a line': CHK *ef*, *efiyef* 'p. on a l. (as in fishing)', *efi-i*-(*y*) 'p. on (a line)'; PUL *yáf* (sic), *yáfi-i*-(*y*); CRL *áf-i*-(*y*) 'p. it in (as a fish on a line)'; PUA *yadiadi* 'p. as a rope'; SNS *yafiefi* 'p. on a rope'; PCK **yafi*, *yafiyafi*; PON *api-i* 'p. (s.t., usually with a rope)'; MOK *ɔppɔp*, *oppɔp* 'p.', *ópi* 'p. at'; PPC **afi*, *afi-i*-; PEO **Raf*[ei] 'p.' (Geraghty 1990). Cf. MRS *hayik* 'tow (as a boat), pull, draw', *hayik-ey* 'tow s.t.'; KIR *aa-i* 'to tow', *aeae-a* 'to tow, drag (s.t.)', (te)-*aeae-a* 'a towing'.

PMC **afi*, *afi-Si*- 'carry on the hip or under the arm': MRT *afiyaf* 'c. under the arm', *afi-ti* 'c. (a child) on the hip'; PUL *yafi-ti*-(*y*) 'to c. (a child) on one's side'; CRL *afi-ti*, *áf-ti* 'c. (a child or object) on one's side'; STW *áfíyáf* 'c. on the hip (as a baby)', *áf-ti* 'c. (a child) in the arms on the side'; WOL *yafiyefi* 'c. under one arm'; *yafi-ti*-(*i*) 'c. it under the arm'; PUA *yadi-ti* 'c. it under the arm'; PCK **afiafi*, *afi-di*-; PON *api-d* 'to c. (s.t.) on one's side or under one's arm'; MOK *api-d* 'c. (s.t.) under arm'; KSR *ε* 'to hold on the hip', *ei* 'hold or carry (s.t.) on the hip'; PEO **afi* (BUG *avi-ni* 'carry in the arms'). Cf. MRS *hab*^w-*jayjéy* 'c. tucked under one arm'; BUG *achi* 'carry under the arm'. Cf. also PEO *[qθ]afi-ŋa 'armpit' (Geraghty 1983). Cf. PCK **api*.

PMC **aki* 'passive suffix': CRL (*ripis*)-*ágh* 'to be broken into pieces, shattered' (*ripiti* 'to shatter s.t.'), (*piles*)-*ágh* 'to become blocked, clogged' (*pileey* 'to close, cover up, put the lid on s.t.'); WOL (*liuwet*)-*ag* 'tossed' (*liuweti* 'toss s.t.'), (*m^wulot*)-*ag* 'crumpled' (*m^wulot-i* 'crumple s.t.', (*feshin*)-*eg* 'picked' (*feshin-i* 'pick s.t.'); PCK **aki*; PON (*dier*)-*ek* 'to be found' (*dier* 'to find'), (*em^wir*)-*ek* 'to be crumpled' (*am^wir* 'to crumple'); MRS (*wék^wt*)-*ak* 'be changed' (*wiket-ey* 'change s.t.'), (*wéki*)-*ak* 'be overturned, capsized' (*wikej* 'overturn s.t.'); KIR (*arir*)-*aki* 'pulled tight' (*arir-a* 'to pull s.t. tight'); KSR (*otwe*)-*yak* 'woven' (*otwe* 'to weave'), (*usruk*)-*yak* 'be shaken' (*usruk* 'to shake'). Reflexes of this suffix that have been recorded for CHK (see examples under PMC **aki-ni* below) all have it followed by reflexes of *-*ni*; see the statement about CHK -*ási* (-*esi*) in Goodenough and Sugita 1980.

PMC **aki-ni* 'passive suffix': CHK -*ási-ni*, -*esi-ni* (suf. to verb bases) 'be ~ because of (s.o. or s.t.), be ~ on account of (s.o. or s.t.), be ~ with (s.o. or s.t.)', (*sááwá*)-*ási-ni* 'be embarrassed

because of him'; PUL *-yáki-n-*, *yeki-n-*; CRL (*kkapasá*)-*ághi-li* 'to intercede on behalf of someone' (*kkapas* 'word, speech, talk, language, to speak'), (*fasá*)-*ághá-li* 'to laugh at, make fun of someone, mock' (*ffas* 'to laugh'); WOL *-yagi-li-(i)*, *-agi-li-(i)*; PUA *-aki-ni*; PCK **-aki-ni*; KIR *-aki-na* 'transitive suffix' (Bender et al. 1984); KSR *-kí-n* 'fossilized transitive suffix' (Bender et al. 1984); PEO **-aki-ni* (SAA *-ái-ni* [sic]; BUG *-agi-ni*).

PWMC ? **aki*, *akiaki* 'to hide, hidden': PON *ekiek* 'to be hidden, concealed', *eki-i-(la)* 'h. it away'; MRS (*til*)-*yékýék* 'h., be obscured'.

PMC **ako* 'tie together': CHK *óóyó* 'strap or rope handle, carrier made of rope or line'; PUL *yóóyó* 'coarse sennit used for lashing and calking, to calk'; WOL *yagoyago* 'to t. together, bind'; PCK **yakoyako*; PEO **Rak[ou]-t* 't., fasten' (Geraghty 1990) (LAK *lao-a* 'to clasp, have sexual intercourse with', *lakolako* 'to stick fast (as adhesive tape)'). Note that the LAK forms can also be cognate with FIJ *rako*, *rakorako* 'fitting or suiting well'; UAN **Dakep* 'join together'.

PMC **ako*, *akoako* 'steer a boat': WOL (*ga*)-*ago*; PUA (*ka*)-*ako*; PCK **(ka)-ako*; KSR *ikwik* 'rudder, tiller, to s.'. Cf. MRS *kahiyékw*, *kahiyékw* 's. directly for'.

PMC **ala*, 'path, road': CHK *aan*, *ane-(n)* 'p., r., route, p. of'; MRT *aal*, *ala-(n)* 'r., his r.'; PUL *yaal*, *yela-(n)* 'p., r., street, his p.'; CRL *aal*, *ala-(l)* 'p., r., his p.'; STW *yaan*, *ena-(n)* 'r., his r.'; WOL *yaale*, *yela-(li)* 'p., r., p. of', *yen-(nape)* (< **yala-lapa*) 'p., roadway'; PUA *yaana*, *yana-* 'way, r., track'; SNS *yaara* 'r., p., way'; PCK **yala*; PON *aal* 'p., r., trail'; MOK and PNG *al*; MRS *yiyal*, *yiyyal*. Cf. PEO **zala* 'p.' (Geraghty 1983); POC **salan* 'p.' (Ross 1988) (FIJ *sala*; PPN **hala*; SAA *tala*; BUG *hatha-[utu]* 'a way'; LAU *tala*, 'way, p.'; ARO *tara-[na]*; KWA *tala*; PKB **dala*, *zala*); PAN **Zalan*. See also Marck (1994:321) PMC **ala*.

PMC **ala*, 'to take, get': PON *ale* 't., g., (s.t.)', *alaal-(di)* 'be taken or gotten'; MOK *alo* 'g., t., gather (s.t.)', *alool* 'g., t., gather'; KIR *ana-(a)* 'to t.'; POC **ala-(p)* 'take'; UAN **ala-(p)* 'take'. Cf. MRS *haley* 'provisions, storehouse', *haley* 'fish caught by encircling'.

PMC **alal[iu]*, *alalal[iu]* 'long': CHK *ány*, *ányey* 'l., tall, length', *ányey-(n)* 'length or height of', *-náány* 'l.'; PUL *yáláy*, *yelay* 'l. (as hair)', 'length, height', *yelaye-(n)* 'length or height of', *láláláy* 'be l., tall, last l.'; CRL *láláláy* 'be l., tall', *álláy*, *aláláláy*, *aláláláy* 'be very l.'; WOL *yelai*, *yelai-(li)* 'length, length of', *yemai* 'be l., extended'; PUA *yanai* 'be l.'; PCK **yalayi*, *yalalayi*, *layalayi*; MRS *leyelley* 'a great distance, far'; KIR *anau*, *anancu* 'l.', *(te)-anau*, *(te)-anancu* 'length'; POC **[ao]lau*, *[ao]latau* PKB **(ma)-laqu* 'l., tall, far'. Cf. PON *aged* 'l., tall'; KSR *loes* 'l., tall', *loe-loes* 'very l. or tall'.

PCMC **ale* 'kind of coral': CHK *án*, *áni-(n)* 'k. of c. (live, white, and branching), c. of', *áne-(p^wo)* 'a k. of c.'; PUL *yáál*, *yále-(y)*; CRL *yáál*, *áál*; PCK **ale*; KIR *(te)-ane* 'live c.' Cf. PCMC **laxa* 'kind of coral' and PMC ? **laZe* 'kind of coral'.

PMC **alele* 'to reckon, sing': CHK *ánáyá*, *ánneya* 'to read, count (s.t.), reading, counting'; PUL *yalley* 'to think about, decide', *yalleya* 'to read, count (s.t.)'; WOL *yanne* 'to be wise, smart'; PCK **alle*, *alle-a*; MRS *hal* 's., song, music'; KIR *anene* 'to sing', *anene-a* 'to sing (a song, hymn, etc.)'; KSR *ælallal* 'to sing'; PEO **alele* (SAA *alele* 'be jubilant, rejoice in song'; ARO *arere* 'be joyful', *arere-hi* 'be joyful on account of'). Cf. FIJ *lele* 'dirge'; ARO *are*, *areare* 'call on a ghost'; KWA *lala*, *lale* 'make rustling noises'. There is no basis for relating KIR *anene* to PEO **taReRe* 'rejoice', as suggested by Geraghty (1990). Cf. also PPC ? **kaúlú* 'sing, song' and PCK **alle* 'count, enumerate'. Cf. also BUG *sale* 'to sing, a song', *sale-a* 'to sing (s.t.)'. There may be two different roots here.

PWMC **-ali*, *-aliali*, *m^wa-aliali* 'circle, circling, dizzy': CHK *fá-án* 'go in a c.', *fá-ániyen* 'a c., ring, to talk round a subject', *eni-(kes)* 'winding the warp threads', *m^wá-ániyen* 'dizziness, be d.'; MRT *fá-áli* 'form a c.'; PUL *fá-aliyál* 'a c.', *m^wá-áliyel* 'be d., confused'; CRL *m^wá-áliyál* 'd.'; CRN *fa-aliyel* 'round, circular, spherical'; STW *(á)-fá-án* 'make a c.', *fá-ániyán* 'go in a c.'; WOL *fa-aliyeli* 'to c., go round', *b^wa-aliyeli* 'go in a c., be round', *bba-aliyeli* 'round', *m^wa-ali-yeli* 'be d., giddy, dazed'; PUA *da-anieni* 'to c., go around'; PCK **-ali*, *aliali*, *fa-aliali*, *m^wa-aliali*; PON *m^wa-aliei* 'be d.', *m^wa-aliei* 'his brain', *sa-aliei* 'd., mentally ill or retarded'; MOK *m^we-elel* 'd.', *m^we-elel-(la)* 'unconscious'; MRS (*hajji*)-*m^wa-halhal* 'd., sway back and forth, nod'. Cf. SAA *káli* 'to surround', *kálikeli* 'around'; LAU *gali* 'round, around'; KWA *gali* 'c., round, around'. See also PCK **ka-falli* 'be careful of, attend to', PCK **m^waali* 'confused, mistaken'.

PMC ***ali-maŋo** 'mangrove crab': CHK *áni-mónj*; CRL *ali-moŋ* 'large sea c. with red orange shell'; PON *eli-məŋ*; MOK *el-məŋ* 'lobster (sic) variety'; PPC ***ali-maŋo**; PMP ***qali-maŋaw** (Blust 1980:39). Cf. KSR *et* 'c.' where we would expect ***acl**.

PMC ***al[iu]ta** 'beard': CHK *enis*, *enisa-(n)* 'b., whiskers, mustache, his b.'; MRT *alús* 'b., mustache, whiskers'; PUL *yálúh*, *yálúha-(n)* (sic); CRL *alús*, *aalis*, *alis*, *alúsa-(l)*; CRN *alúh*; WOL *yalúse*, *yalúsa-(le)*; PUA *yanúda* 'sideburns'; PCK ***yalúta**; PON *alis*, *elise* 'b., mustache, his b.'; MOK *aliŋ oljo* 'b., mustache, his b.'; KSR *alte-(l)* 'his b.', *ælut* 'bearded'. Note PUA *d* instead of expected *t*; there may be a problem here.

PMC ***alo** 'sun': CHK (*nee*)-*yóno-(was)* 'midday, noon' (lit. 'high sun time'), (*nee-kkanu*)-*yón* 'late afternoon' (lit. 'sun turning time'); MRT *yóól*, *Wóól*; PUL *yóól*, *yólo-(n)* 's., s. of', (*le*)-*yólo-(wah)* 'noon'; CRL (*lee*)-*alo-(was)*, (*lee*)-*ólo-(was)* 'high noon'; STW (*lee*)-*yólo-(was)* 'at noon'; WOL *yaalo*, *yalo-*; ULI *yal*; PUA *yaano*, *yano-*; SNS *yaaro*; PCK ***yalo**; MRS *haŋ*; PEO ***qalo** (SAA *saló* 'sky, heaven, clouds'; LAU *saló* 'cloud, storm'; ARO *aro* 'sky, heavens'; KWA *lalo* 'sky'). YAP *yaal* 'sun' is probably a loan from ULI. See also PCK ***yalle-p^wuta** 'a tree (Pittosporum)' and cf. PCK ***yaado** 'legendary woman', PMC ***a[sS]o** 'time'.

PMC ***alo, aloalo, alo-[fʊ]i** 'to wave, beckon': PON *alɔl* 'to w., to signal', *ɔle* to w. or signal to'; MOK (*jei*)-*ɔl*, (*jei*)-*ɔli* 'to w., w. at (s.o.)'; MRS (*jeŋya*)-*haŋ* 'b. with downward motion of hand or by waving arm'; KIR *anoano* 'to b.', (*te*)-*anoano* 'beckoning', *ano-a* 'to b. to (s.o.)', *ano-i-(a)* 'b. him'; PEO ***qalo**, *qalo-fi* (Fij *yalo*, *yalo-va* 'b.'; TON (*ta*)-*alo* 'to w., b.'; SAA *saló* 'to b., invite'; BUG *athoatho*, *atho-vi* 'to b., signal'; ARO *saro* 'to b.'; BAU *karo-hi* 'to b. to'); PMP ***qalep** 'b., w.' (Blust 1989:123). The MOK form appears to be a loan from MRS. Cf. LAU *saló-fi* 'to prepare, clear a path, sweep'.

PCMC ***amata** 'undercooked, raw': CHK *amas*, *amasa-*; MRT *ames*; PUL *yemah*; WOL *yemate*; PUA *yamete*; PCK ***am[ae]ta**; PON *amas*; MRS *haméj*; KIR *amata*. Cf. KSR (*tæ*l)-*m^wek*, (*tæk*)-*m^wek* 'r., uncooked'. Cf. also POC ***mataq** (Ross 1988) (PPN ***mata**; KWA *ma'a*); UAN ***ma(n)taq**, *mentaq*.

PCMC ***am^wa** 'pertaining to nurture': CHK *fa-am^w* 'giving birth, parturition, delivery', (*a*)-*fa-am^wa* 'deliver it (a baby)'; WOL *fa-am^we* 'to adopt a child, be adopted, cared for', *fa-am^wa-(a)* 'adopt him/her'; PUA *da-am^wa* 'to adopt a child, take care of him/her'; PCK ***fa-am^wa**; KIR (*te*)-*am^wa-(rake)* 'food'. Cf. Fij *yaga* 'useful, valuable, necessary'.

PMC ? ***[aʊ]m^wi**, **[aʊ]m^wi-ni** 'to wash one's hands': PON *em^wiem^w*, *am^wi-n*; MRS *ham^win*, *ham^win-iy*; KSR *wínwín*, *wínwín-i*. There may be loans here.

PCMC ***am^wii** 'bunch or cluster of nuts': PON *em^wii* 'bunch of it (palm nuts)'; PNG *em^wi*; KIR *am^wii* 'full bunch or cluster'. Could be loans in PON and PNG from KIR.

PMC ***aneane** 'to wish, need': CHK *ányán*, *áneyán* 'to w.'; PUL *yániyán* 'to w.'; WOL *yaleyale* 'to w.'; PCK ***aneane**; PON *anaan* 'be necessary, indispensable', *anaane* 'to n., require (s.t.)'; MOK *anaane* 'to n., want (s.t.)'; MRS (*k*)-*eqahan* 'want, like, w.'; KSR *enená* 'to n. (s.t.), be necessary', *nene* 'to n. (s.t.)'; PEO ***ane** (Fij *yana* 'to take another's goods without his consent').

PMC ***anitu** 'god, spirit': CHK *énú*, *énúú-(n)*, *anú*, *anúú-(n)* 'god, sky spirit, g. of'; MRT *anú*, *anúú-(n)* 'ghost, g. of'; PUL *yanú* 'ancient god'; CRL *anú*, *anúú-(l)* 'spirit, ghost, s. of'; CRN *anú* 'spirit, ghost'; STW *anú*, *anúú-(n)* 'ghost, g. of'; WOL *yalúsú* 'god, spirit, ghost'; PUA *yanúdí* 'god, spirit, ghost'; SNS *yarúdí* 'spirit, ghost'; PCK ***yanútu**; PON *eni* 'ghost'; MOK *eni* 'demon, ghost'; PNG *eni* 'ghost, spirit'; MRS *hanij* 'god', *hanijini* 'spell, enchantment, magic, sorcery', *haniji(n-iy)* 'cast a spell on s.o.'; KIR (*te*)-*anti* 'god, spirit, ghost'; KSR *inut* 'god, spirit, ghost', *inti* 'to enchant, cast a spell on (s.o.)'. UAN ***anitu**; PAN ***qaNitu** (Wolff 1993). Cf. UAN ***qantu** and PPN ***aitu**. See also PCK ***faúru-anútu** 'recite a spell'.

PMC ***anu[sS]a** 'small, uninhabited island': WOL *yalúte* 's. uninhabited i.'; STW *yalút* 's. uninhabited i.'; PCK ***anuda**; PON *and* 'name of an atoll west of Pohnpei'; POC ***anusa** 'i.'; PEO *** (q)anuza** (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *yanuca*). Cf. UAN ***nusa** 'island'. Cf. also PMC ***fanua** 'inhabited land', and Marck's (1994:307) ***anu[sz]a** 'small island'.

PMC ***aŋa**, 'to have or take in hand, to handle': CHK *aŋá-(tá)* 'hand up, have in hand reaching up', *aŋe-e-(y)* 'take (s.t.) in hand, take hold of', *aŋa-(m^wáán)* 'take without permission', *aŋa-s* 'be adept'; *aŋa-(ta)* 'work too hard, work to the point of collapse', *aŋa-(kkáy)*

'handle quickly', *aŋa*-(*may*) 'catch fish by means of a stone fish trap', *aŋa*-(*maaw*) 'snatch, take in hand roughly', *aŋa*-(*mmaŋ*) 'take in hand slowly', *aŋa*-(*ŋŋaw*) 'handle a thing badly or clumsily', *aŋaŋ* 'work', *aŋaŋa* 'put (s.o.) to work', *aŋaŋa*-(*ffat*) 'work without pay'; MRT *yaŋaŋ* 'work'; PUL *yaŋ* 'to take', *yaŋa*-(*ta*) 'be tired (as from work)', *yáŋa*-(*tá*), *yáŋe*-(*tá*) 'to reach up', *yaŋa*-*a*-(*y*) 'to bring, take (s.t.)', *yaŋaŋ* 'work, to work'; CRL *aŋaŋ*, *eŋaŋ* 'work, to work', *aŋ*-(*ŋeli*) 'to reach for (s.t.)', *aŋe*-*eti*, *aŋé-éti* 'to touch (s.o. or s.t.)'; STW *yaŋaŋ* 'work'; WOL *yaŋe* 'to put one's hand out, to reach, extend one's hand', *yaŋe*-(*kkúwe*) 'to touch things constantly', *yaŋŋe*-(*ŋŋaw*) 'do s.t. imperfectly, be clumsy, sloppy', *yeŋaŋe* 'work, to work', *yeŋa*-*si* 'to reach for it, touch it'; PUA *yaŋe* 'to reach out for'; PCK **yaŋa*, *yaŋaŋa*, *yaŋa*-*ti*; PON *eŋ*- 'to reach for'; MOK *eŋ* 'to reach by stretching'; KIR (*ka*)-*aŋaŋa* 'difficult to do', (*ua*)-*aŋa*, *aŋa*-(*ua*) 'ambidextrous', *aŋa*-(*maiŋ*) 'left-handed', *aŋa*-(*atai*) 'right handed', *aŋa*-(*bai*) 'pass loads from hand to hand', *aŋa*-(*ra*) 'awkward (as when using the left hand)'; PEO **aŋa*, *aŋa*-*ti* (SAA *aŋa*-*i* 'to carry, act as a porter'; LAU *aŋa*-*i* 'to lift, carry'; ARO *aŋa* 'a carrying bag, to have in a bag', *aŋa*-*i* 'to lift up'; KWA *aŋa*-[*luaa*] 'to put back in position when carrying').

PMC **aŋa*₂ or **yaŋa* 'spider shell (*Strombidae*): CHK *ne-yaŋ*, *nne-yaŋ* 'any true conch s. (genus *Strombus* or genus *Lambis*)'; PUL *le-yaŋ*, *le-yaŋa*-(*y*) 's. s., s. s. of'; CRL *li-yaŋ* 's. s.'; WOL *le-yaŋe* 'kind of sea s.'; PCK **le-yaŋa*; PON *la-aŋ* 'spider conch sp.'; MOK *le-eŋ* 's. with spike-like protrusions'; PPC **le-aŋa*; MRS *yaŋ* 's. of family *Strombidae*'; KSR *eŋ* 'kind of s.'; PEO **Raŋa* (Geraghty 1990) (Fij *yaga*; ARO *raŋa*).

PMC **aŋi*, *aŋiaŋi* 'wind': CHK *eni-*, *eniŋen* 'wind, blowing'; MRT *yááŋ* 'soft breeze'; PUL *yááŋ*, *yáŋiyáŋ*; CRL *ááŋ*, *yááŋ*, *yáŋi-*; STW *yááŋ*; WOL *yaŋi*, *yaŋi-*, *yaŋiyeni*; PUA *yaŋi*, *yaŋiyani*; PCK **aŋi*, *aŋiaŋi*; PON *aŋ*, *eŋieŋ*; MOK *eŋ*; PNG *eŋ*; MRS *haŋ*; KIR (*te*)-*aŋ*, *aŋi-*; KSR *eŋ*, *eŋyeŋ*; PEO **yaŋi* (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *cagi*; PPN **aŋi*; SAA *dáŋi*; ARO *daŋi*); UAN **hanjin*. See also Marck (1990:310) PMC **aŋi*.

PMC **aŋo* 'curcuma, turmeric, ginger, yellow': CHK #*óŋi*-(*n*) (? <**aŋo*-*ni*) 'C. plant'; CRL *óŋeyóŋ*, *yóŋeyóŋ* 'yellow, be colored yellow', *óŋo*-(*shigh*) 'leaves and flowers of the ginger plant'; STW *yóŋoyóŋ* 'pale light haze on the horizon'; WOL *yaaŋo* 'gardenia, cape jasmine', *yaŋŋe* 'ginger', *yaŋo*-(*shigi*) 'C. plant', *yaŋoyayo* 'be yellow, yellowish'; TOB (*tene*)-*oŋ* 't.' (Kubary); PCK **yaŋo*-, *yaŋoyano*; PON *ɔŋ*, *ɔŋe*-(*n*) 't.', *ɔŋɔŋ* 'yellow', *ɔŋe* 'its yolk'; MOK *ɔŋ* 't.'; KIR (*te*)-*aŋo* 'a tree (Bender et al. 1984: '*Premna* sp.', yellow substance derived from its roots)'; KSR *æŋ* 'kind of plant'; PEO **yaŋo* 'k. of ginger' (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *cago* 't. plant [*C. longa*]'; TON *aŋo* 'a ginger [*C. longa*]'; BUG *aŋoŋo* 'yellow'; PKB *[i]aŋo 'yellow'); UAN **(za)*-*Raŋaw* 'a plant'. Cf. PMC **reŋa* 'turmeric color'; PCK **yaloyalo*. Cf. also LAK *lagu* 'yellow face paint'; and cf. SAA *saosaola* 'yellow', aro 'wild ginger'; KWA *sa'o* 'a tree with sweet smelling yellow flowers'.

PWMc **apara* 'make alignment': CHK #*para*- 'aligned, oriented', *apar*, *áper* 'aim, make an alignment (as with posts or plants)', *apara*, *ápera* 'aim at, line (s.t.) up, align', #(*kk*)-*áper* 'be aimed, aim', #*pere*-(*yijjin*) 'turn on one's side, lean or tip sideways, list, slip between things by turning one's body, sidle', #*pere*-(*yiniin*) 'be square or rectangular'; PUL *yepar* 'calculation (for navigation), aim (as of a gun), *yepare*-(*kacc*) 'to aim well'; WOL *yepar* 'a sign for locating where one is in navigation'; PCK **yapara*; MRS *hapar* 'stone markers along road'. Cf. PEO **baRa* 'fence' (Geraghty 1990). Note that CHK seems to have reinterpreted this form as having a causative prefix and derived the secondary forms marked # accordingly. The WOL and MRS forms cannot be understood as having a causative prefix.

PMC **apili* 'a fish': PON *epil* 'goatfish'; MOK *ɔpil* 'goatfish'; MRS *yapil* 'a f.'; KSR *apil* 'a kind of f.' (a probable loan from MRS).

PMC **ara-mata* 'person, people': See PMC **mata*, *ara-mata* 'person, people'.

PMC **are*, *are-ki* 'haul, pull, tow': CHK *ár* 'be selected, chosen'; MRS *yar* 'h. a canoe or vessel up on shore', *yare-k* 'h. (a boat) up on shore'; KIR *aeae-a* 'to tow, drag (s.t.)', *ae-ka* 'take (a passenger) ashore in a canoe, to take (food) from the fire'; KSR *æla-k* 'to lift, pull, scoop (s.t.)'. The following forms would indicate a low stem vowel instead, as PMC **ara*: KIR *aa-i* 'to tow'; PEO **ara* (Fij *yara*, *yara-ka* 'to h., drag'; SAA *ara-na* 'to move (a thing) on'; BUG *jara-ha*

'fishing net ten fathoms long drawn between two canoes'; ARO *ara*, *ara-si* 'to set a net'; KWA *ala* 'fish by setting large net with multiple operators', *ala-si*-[a] 'lift [fish] from water in a large net').

PMC ***ar[eo]ŋu** 'coconut cream, scraped coconut meat': CHK *arúŋ*, *arúŋú*-(n) 'c. c., c. c. for (a food)'; (a)-*arúŋ* 'breadfruit pudding served with c. c.'; MRT *yarúŋ* 'c. c.'; PUL *yarúŋ* 'c. c.', *yarúŋú*-(w) 'mix it with c. c.'; CRL *arúŋ* 'c. c.', *arúŋú*-(w) 'add c. c. to (a food)'; WOL *yareŋú* 'c. c.'; PUA *yalaŋú* 'c. milk'; SNS *yaléŋú* 'c. c.'; PCK **yareŋú*; PON *erij* 'ripe c.'; MOK *ɔrij* 'brown stage of c.'; KIR (te)-*aoŋ* 'scraped c. mixed with other food', *aoŋ* 'seasoned with scraped c.'. Cf. MRS *yaŋ*, *yaŋi* 'c. milk'; KSR *el* 'c. milk'.

PMC ***ari** 'to scoop up': PUL *yeri*-(y) 'to s. (s.t.) out (as coconut flesh)'; CRL *ári-ti* 'to stir (s.t.) from the bottom up to the top (as when cooking), to scoop up from the bottom of the pot'; WOL *yariyeri* 'to s. up, dig up (from a shell)', *yere-ti*-(i) (sic) 'to s. it up, dig it out'; PCK **ari*; MRS *harhar*, *harhar*^w 'pick out food from teeth, pick out splinters, extricate (as meat from a clam)', *har^wi-ji* (i) 'pick s.t. out'; PEO **ari* (Fij *yari*, *yari-a* 'to scrape off the soft flesh of a drinking coconut with the thumb'); Cf. BUG *jari* 'a dug channel'. Rounding in MRS forms unexplained; possible contamination by reflexes of PMC **aru*, which are now near homonyms with MRS reflexes cited here. Semantics of CRL form help explain possible confusion between these two etyma, PMC **ari* and **aru*.

PMC ***aro-** 'shore, beach, vicinity': CHK *óor*, *óru*-(n) 'v., immediate surroundings, environs, v. of; outer surface of skin, his o. s.', (wini)-*yór* 'v., neighborhood', *óro*-(s-set), *aro*-(s-set) 'shore, coast, seaside'; PUL *yero-*; CRL *aro-* 'about, around, near'; WOL *yaro*-(li) 'v. of, near'; PCK **yaro-*; PON *ɔɔɔɔ* 's., land near the ocean, landing place for boats'; MOK *ɔɔɔɔ* 's.'; MRS *har*, *hare*-(n) 'lagoon beach', KIR (te)-*ao*-(ataata) 'beach above the high water line'; KSR *yɔɔɔ*-(l) 'his v.', *yuru*-(n) 'v. of'. Cf. PMC **Soru-* 'near, beside'.

PMC ***aroroŋ** 'a Carangid fish, pompano, skipjack': CHK *arorŋ*, *órorŋ*, *arorŋ*-(n) 'sp. of p. f., p. f. of'; CRN *arorŋ* 'fourth of five growth stages of the s.'; WOL *yarorŋ* 'a kind of f. (*C. melampygus*)'; PCK **aroroŋ*; PON *ororŋ* 'blue jack crevally (*C. melampygus*)'; MRS *hareŋ*^w 'African p. (*Hynnis cubensis*)'; KIR (te)-*aoŋ* 'a jackfish (*C. lugubria*)'; PEO **aroroŋ* (TON *aloroŋ* 'kind of shark with head like that of a stingray'). Cf. KSR *lorŋ* 'a kind of f.'; TON *loroŋ* 'a shark'.

PMC ***aru**, **aruaru**, **aru-ti-** 'to stir': CHK *éruwér* 'stirring stick, to s. with a stick or spoon', *éru-ú*-(w) 's. (s.t.) with a stick'; MRT *arúyar* 'be stirring', *arú* 'stir it'; PUL *yarú*-(w) 'to s. (a liquid)'; CRL *áriár* 'utensil to s. with, to s. things', *arú*-(w) 'to s. it'; CRN *arú* 'to s. (soup or stew)'; STW *yari-yar* 'to s.', *yariú*-(w) 's. it'; WOL *yariyerú* 'stirring stick, to s.'; *garu-su* 'to mix, blend, fuse'; PUA *yaliyaliú* 'to s.', *yaliú-dú* 'to s. (s.t.)'; PCK *yariyarú*, *yarú-ti-*; PON *erier* 'to s., to probe', *ari-i* 'to s. (s.t.)'; MRS *harhar* 's. or poke food or fire with a stick', *har^wi-j* 's. or poke (s.t.)'; KIR *ai-a*, *aiai-a* 'to swing (s.t.) round and round'; KSR *æryær* 'to s.', *æra-k* 's., poke (s.t.)'. Note that the initial *g* of the WOL *garusu* is unexpected, unless the form is a misrendering of **(ga)-aru-su* with a causative prefix. Cf. MOK *ɔrrɔ* 'to dismantle an earth oven', *ɔri* 'to dismantle (an earth oven)'.

PMC ***asi** 'gallbladder, gall': CHK *eti-n* 'g.' (Käser 1990:28); PUL *yáát* 'spleen, g.'; CRL *áát*, *áti*-(l) 'g., his g.'; STW *yáát*, *yáti*-(n) 'g., his g.' (Bender et al. 1984); PCK **yadi*; PON *edi* 'his bile'; MOK and PNG *ad* 'bile' (Bender et al. 1984); MRS *hati-* 'g.'; KIR (te)-*ari* 'gall, g.'; KSR *es* 'g.'. Cf. PEO **qas*[iu] (TON **ahu* 'g.'; NGG *ahu* 'g.'; ARO *asu* 'be angry', *ahu-* 'belly, heart, mind').

PMC ***a[s]ja** 'to grate, scrape': CHK (ma)-*ataat* 'be rough to the touch (but not to the eye)', (a-ma)-*ata* 'to g. (s.t.)'; PUL (a-ma)-*at* 'to g. s.t. (such as raw taro)', (a-ma)-*ata* 'to g. it'; CRL (a-ma)-*at* 'to g., s., or mash s.t.'; PUA *yatata* (sic) 'to rub'; PCK **(ma)-ada*, (ma)-*adaada*; PON *adaad* 'to sharpen, put an edge on s.t.', *ede* 'to sharpen (s.t.)'; PPC **ada*, *adaada*; PEO **[qθ]aza* 'grind' (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *yaca*, *yaca-a* 'to g., grind'; SAA *sata*-[a'i] 'to chafe, rub'; BUG *aaha* 'to g., rub down on a stone'; ARO *ata*, *ata-i* 'to scrape, rub').

PMC ***a[s]je** 'jaw, chin': CHK *#et*, *#eti-n* 'c., c. of'; PUL *yáát*; CRL *áát*, *áte-i*; STW *yáát*; WOL *yate*, *yate-li*; PUA *yate*, *yate-*; SNS *yate*; PCK **ate*; MRS *hat*-(laŋ) 'lower j.', *hat*-(léŋ) 'upper j.'; KIR (te)-*are*-(i-eta) 'upper set of teeth', (te)-*are*-(i-nano) 'lower set of teeth'; POC **qase* (Ross 1988) (SAA *sasate*; KWA *late*; BUG *ahe*, *atheathe* 'breathe'; PKB **haze* 'mouth'). Note the expected CHK forms are **áát*, *áti-n*.

PMC ***asi** 'spathe, unopened bud': CHK *#eet*, *eti-(n)* 'unopened sheath or pod of a coconut or banana, u. s. of'; PUL *yát*, *yáti-(n)* (sic) 'first stage of formation of certain fruits (as banana), flower (of various taros), s. (of coconut), b. (of hibiscus), s. of'; WOL *yaati*, *yati-* 'coconut s.', *yati* 'to bear flowers or fruit, to b.'; PCK **yadi*; KIR *(te)-ari* 'coconut s.'

PMC ***a[sS]jo** 'time': CHK *ótu-(n)*, *atu-(n)* 't. of or for (s.t.)'; PUL *yoto-(n)* 't. of, duration of'; CRL *ato-(l)* 't. of'; CRN *ato-(n)* 't. of'; WOL *yato-(li)* 'time of, at the t. when'; PCK **yado-*; PEO **qazo* 'sun, day' (Geraghty 1983) (TON **aho* 'day'; SAA *sato* 'sun, sunshine'; BUG *aho* 'sun'; LAU *saso* 'sun'; ARO *ato-(aa)* 'noon' (lit. 'high sun'); PKB **hazo* 'sun, day'); UAN **qa(n)jaw* 'day, sun'. Cf. KIR *(te)-aro*, *(te)-arocar* 'custom, way, manner'; PMC **alo* 'sun'.

PMC ***a[sS]ju** 'smoke': CHK *éet*, *étú-(n)* 's., s. of', *ét*, *étúwét* 'to s., be smoky', *(a)-atú* 'to smoke or steam (s.t.)'; MRT *éet*, *étú-(n)* 's., s. of', *etiyet* 'smoky'; PUL *yaat* 's.', *yatiyat*, *yatiúyat* 's. foam, be smoky, be foam-coated'; CRL *(araa-lú)-út* 'smell of s.', *(b^a)-at* 'smoky', *(b^a)-atiyat* 'be smoking lightly'; STW *yátiyát* 'smoky'; WOL *yatú* 'to splash water, dash water about', *(gera)-atú* 'be smoky, foggy', *(gera)-atúyetú* 'mist, dust, fog, cloud'; PUA *(b^a)-atú* (sic) 'be smoky'; PCK **adú*; PON *adi* 'its vapor, s., mist', *edied* 'cloudy, blurred, smoky'; MRS *(b^a)-hathat* 'to s.', *hathiiti* 'to s., dry fish or copra by heat'; KIR *(b^a)-ari* 'odor of smoke; odoriferous; fragrant from having been smoked [as in magic rites], scorched, having a scorched smell', *ari-(a)* 'to inhale a smoky inhalation; to perfume s.o. or s.t.'; PEO **qazu* 's.' (Geraghty 1983) (PPN **qahu*; SAA *sásu*, *sá'usesu* and ULA *saisesu*; BUG *ahu*; LAU *sasu*; ARO *asu-[na]* 'its s.', *asu-'a* 'smoky', *sasu* 'cloudy, smoky'); POC **qasu* (Ross 1988); UAN **qasu(h)*. Cf. KWA *lasu* 's.' See also Marck (1994:324) PMC **asu*.

PMC ***aSiŋi** 'kind of crab': MOK *aadiŋ* 'c. sp.' (loan from Mrs ?); MRS *hatiŋ* 'brown land c.'; KSR *eiŋ* 'coconut c.'.

PMC ***ata** 'upper part, top': CHK *aas* 'u. p., t., summit, eastern side', *asa-(n)* its u. s., above him', -yas, -ya 'high, east'; MRT -yas 'up, east'; PUL *yáh* 'be tall, high, upper, easterly', *yeho-(n)*, *yaaha-(n)* 'above (s.t.)', *yeyah* 'be easterly'; CRL -as 'high, on t.'; STW *yáas* 't., on land', -yas 'up, east'; WOL -yase 'up, upside', *(i)-yate* 'above, topside'; PCK **yata*; PON *yyasa-(da)* 'to be risen'; MRS -yéj (suffix in place names) 'u., eastern'; KIR *(i)-eta* 'up, on high, above', *(te)-ata-(ŋa)* 'an u. plank in a canoe', *(te-ao)-ataata* 'beach above the high water line'; KSR *yat* 'eastern part of a village', *(falw)-et* 'high, lofty'; POC **qatas* 'summit' (Ross 1988) (ARO *[ato]-aa* 'noon' [lit. 'high sun']; PNK **ata* 'up'); UAN **qa(n)tas*. Cf. SAA *'a'a* 'rise up clear (of the moon)'. See Marck (1994:323) PMC **ata*.

PMC ***ata-i-** 'to know': PON *ese* 'to k., understand (s.t.)', *(se)-ese* 'to not k.'; MOK *(je)-ejo* 'to be ignorant of, not to k. (s.t.)' (Bender et al. 1984); MRS *(j)-ahjéy* 'not k.'; KIR *ata-i* 'to k., have knowledge', *ata-a* 'k. (s.t.)'; KSR *eta* 'k., understand (s.t.)', *eta-(tween)* 'understanding, kind, sympathetic, helpful', *(se)-eta-(tween)* 'not understanding, not perceiving'.

PMC ***atarei** 'child': MRS *hajriy* 'c., kid, toddler'; KIR *ataei* 'c., children'. Cf. PMC **tari* 'child'.

PMC ***ate** 'liver': CHK *yáyáyá*; MRT *wáá-(n)* (sic) 'his l.'; PUL *yáyáyá*; CRL *áse-(l)* 'his l.'; STW *yáyáyá-(n)* 'his l.'; WOL *yaase*, *yase-*; PUA *yaade*, *yade-*; SNS *yaade*; PCK **yate*; PON *ee* 'his l.'; MOK *aj*, *ajó* 'l., his l.'; MRS *yaj* 'l., spleen'; KIR *(te)-ato* (the *o* is unexpected); KSR *es*, *esyé-(l)* 'l., his l.'; POC **qate* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *ate*; PPN **qate*; SAA *sae* 'heart, mind, chest, l.'; BUG *ate*; ARO *sae* 'mind, heart, thought, l. of a pig'; KWA *sae-[founa]*; PKB **hate*); UAN **qatay*.

PMC ***atu** 'tuna, bonito': CHK *éwín* 't., albacore'; PUL *yawúul* (sic); CRL *asúl-(lé)* 'small sp. of t.'; CRN *asúl-(léy)* 'a small sp. of t.'; STW *yaas* (Bender et al. 1984); WOL *yaúle*; PCK **atú*, *atúla*; MRS *hajiy-(lewed)* 'school of b. trapped in a lagoon'; KIR *(te)-ati*; PEO **qatu* (FIJ *yatu*; BUG *atu*; SAA *sáu*; KWA *sau*); POC **qatun*. The **l* of the PCK reconstruction depends entirely on the PUL and CRN forms, which may result from loans.

PMC ***aTo** 'thatch': CHK *óós*, *ósu-(n)* 't. section, roof, t. s. of', *ósu-ni*, *óssu-ni* 'to t., apply t. to (a house)'; MRT *yóós* 't. roof'; PUL *yóóh*, *yóho-(n)*, *yeho-(n)*; CRL *óós* 't.', *óse-(y)* 'to t. (s.t.)'; CRN *óóh*; STW *yóós*, *yóso-* 'roof'; WOL *yaaso*, *yaso-*; PUA *yaado*, *yado-* 't., roof'; SNS *yaado*; PCK **yaTo*; PON *as* 'ivory nut palm' (a source of t.); MOK *aj* 't., roof'; PNG *as* 'dry pandanus leaves used for t.'; MRS *haj* 'thatch'; KIR *(te)-ato* 'thatch'; POC **qato* (PPN **qato* 't.'; SAA *sa'o*

'sago palm'; BUG *ato* 'sago palm, sago t.'; LAU *sao* 'sago palm, t.'; ARO *ao* 'sago palm'; LAK *hato* 'sago palm, t.'; PAN *qatep 'sago t.' (Ross 1988).

PMC *-**au** (suf. obj. prn.) 'me': CHK -yey, -yeyi-, -wey, -weyi-; CRL -yáy; WOL -yai; PUA -ei; PCK *-ai; PON -yē; MRS yéh; KIR -au; KSR -ya; POC *-au (FIJ -au, SAA -áu; ARO -au; PKB *-au).

PCMC *-**au**- 'appearance, condition, shape': CHK éwú- 'width, thickness', éwú-(chik) 'slender, narrow, thin'; PUL yawú- 'physical characteristic', yawú-(Rik) 'be physically small', yawú-(RiRRik) 'be thin'; CRL ai-(shigh) 'be thin, skinny, slender'; CRN ai-(Rig) 'be thin, skinny, slender'; STW yaú-(chchán) 'atmosphere'; WOL yaú- 'a, c., s.', yaú-(shigi) 'be skinny, thin, slender, narrow', yaú-re 'size (used with long, thin objects), thickness', yaú-(chchaali) 'atmosphere, weather condition' yaú-(libongi) 'atmospheric condition at night'; PUA yaú 'air, climate. condition, a.', yaú-(siki) 'be long, narrow, skinny, thin', yaú-(lani) 'weather, firmament, air'; PCK *yaú; PON ey-(paay) 'walking with swinging arms'; MRS hayi-(dik) 'skinny, thin of body'; KIR ai-(n-toa) 'powerful, of great muscular strength', ai-(baba) 'foolish'. This does not seem to be cognate with PEO *[qɔ]JaRu 'dew' (Geraghty 1990). See also L: CHK éwú-ni-yár.

PMC *-**aua** 'k. of fish': PUL yááwúwó-(túr), -(túrí-) (sic) 'a lagoon f. much desired for food, probably a milkfish', yawúwa-(chch), -(chchi-) 'k. of small lagoon f.', yawúwa-(túr), -(túre-) 'larger growth stage of latter f.'; STW yawuw 'k. of mullet'; WOL yaúwe 'k. of fish'; KIR *aua* 'a f.'; PEO *qaRua 'f., juvenile mullet' (Geraghty 1990).

PMC *-**awo** 'fishline': CHK óó, óó-; PUL yóó; CRL yóó; STW yóó; WOL yóó, yóó-; PUA yaawa, yawo-; PCK *yawo; MOK *o*; MRS yew; KIR (te)-ao; KSR æ; PEO *afo (PPN *afo).

PMC *-**ayu**, **ayuSa** 'current': CHK éwút, éwúta- 'current' and éwú-(rá), éwú-(wé) 'river' or 'brook'; PUL yawút 'current'; WOL yaute 'current'; PCK *yaú, yaúda; PON *aad*; MOK *aad*; MRS hayey, hayét; KIR (te)-aira; KSR yó 'gush'; PEO *qaRu[cs] (Geraghty 1990); UAN *qaRus.

PMC *-**ca** '1st pl. incl. poss. prn., of us, our': CHK -ch; MRT -sh; PUL -R; CRL -sh; CRN -R; STW -R; (suf to n.) WOL -she; PUA -sa; PCK *-ca; PON -t; MRS -d; KIR -ra; KSR -sr; POC *-da (TON *ta*; FIJ -da; SAA -ka; BUG -da; ARO -ga; LAK -ga-[tou]).

PCMC *-**ca**- 'state of being': CHK *che*, *che*, *cho*, *chó*, *chche*, -ch; PUL *cca*-n 'to be'; CRL *sha*-(apaapa) 'be very flat (as a board)'; CRN *Ra*-(apaap) 'be very flat'; WOL *sha*-(apaape) 'become flat, be flat', *chchaa*-li 'exist, be available'; PCK *-ca-, *cca*- *cca*[a]-ni; MRS *de*-(pakpak) 'wide, broad', *de*-(kem) 'noisy'; KIR *ra*-(itiiti) 'glitter' ([te]-iti 'lightning'), *ra*-(baba) 'broad'. Cf. PON *tete*- or *tete*-n in such honorific expressions as *tetempala*, *tetensik*. See PCMC *cafifi 'twisted, tangled', PCK *ca-riwariwa 'be shiny, glossy, bright, glitter', PCK *cééú 'continuously widespread', PCK *cappa 'be turned face down', PCK *coroŋo 'noisy condition', PCK *caapaapa 'flattened'.

PMC *-**caa**, **cacaa** 'blood, be bloody': CHK *chcha*, *chchaa*-; MRT *shshaa* (sic); PUL *cca*, *ccaa*-; CRL *tcha*, *tchaa*-; STW *chcha*, *chchaa*-; WOL *chchaa*; PUA *ssa*; SNS *ssaa*; PCK *ccaa; PON *nta*, *ntaa*-; MOK *insa*, *insaa*-; PNG *inda*; MRS *dah*, *ddah*; KIR (te)-*raraa*; KSR *sræ*; PEO *draRa (Geraghty 1990); POC *nraRaq (Ross 1988) (FIJ *draa*; PKB *dara); UAN *[dD]JaRa.

PCMC *-**cafifi** 'twisted, tangled': CHK -*chef* 'classifier for counting tentacles of octopus or squid'; WOL *shaffi*; PCK *caffi; KIR *raai* (sic) 'twist and tangle easily'. See PCMC *-*ca*- 'state of being', PCK *ffi, *fifi* 'tangled'.

PCMC *-**cai** 'to spread': WOL *shee* 's. out (as news), be announced (of s.t. that had been lost), get through an object, discover'; KIR *rai-a* 'to s. over (s.t.)'. Cf. KIR *rakerake* 'to s. about (as an odor)'.

PCMC *-**cakai** 'stone, coral': CHK *chee* 'kind of small, sharp c.'; PUA *sakai* 'egg'; PCK *cakai; PON *takay* 's., rock', *takay*-(p^{et}) c. head'; MOK *sakay* 's., rock, c.'; MRS *dekay* 's., rock, gravel'; KIR *rakai* 'c. shoal in lagoon, reef'. The KIR form also reflects PMC *sakau 'reef', the two reflexes apparently having become homonyms closely similar in meaning, as noted by Marck (1994:317), who reconstructs this as PMC *t^{akau}.

PMC *-**calo**, **calocalo** 'dark, black': CHK *chón*, *chóchchón* (<*cónócón) 'd., b.', *chóno*-(kkich), *chónu*-(kkich), *chóne*-(kkich) 'very d., jet b.'; MRT *shól* 'b.'; PUL *Róól*, *Rólu*-(n) 'soot, s. of', *Róól*-(kiR) 'be b.'; CRL *shól* 'be d., b. all over', *shótchól* 'b.'; CRN *Ról* 'be d., b. all over', *dótchól* 'b.'; STW *Ról*; WOL *sóólo*, *chchóchchóólo* 'be b.'; PUA *saano*, *sano*- 'charcoal',

sano ‘mark on it, write on it’; PCK *calo, caccalo (<*calocalo); PON *təol* ‘coal’, *təntəl* (<*təttəl, <*təltəl) ‘b.’; MOK *səl* ‘b.’; MRS *dawal* ‘dye’; KSR *srol* ‘paint’, *srolsrol* ‘b.’.

PMC *cam^wa ‘forehead, brow’: CHK *chaam^w*, *cham^wa-(n)* ‘f., brow, his f.’, -*cham^w* ‘counting classifier for foreheads, brows, visors, etc.’, (*éwú*)-*cham^w* ‘cross-beam of house’; MRT *sham^we-(n)* ‘his f.’; PUL *Raam^w* ‘f.’, (*yee*)-*Ram^w*, (*yeyi*)-*Ram^w* ‘cross-beam of house’; CRN *Raam^w*, *Ram^wa-(n)* ‘f., his f., house gable’; WOL (*geú*)-*sham^we* ‘tie beam of house’; PUA (*kaú*)-*samu* (sic) ‘end purlins of house’; PCK *cam^wa; PON *taam^w*, *tem^we* ‘f., his f.’; MOK *səm^w*, *səm^we*, *səm^wə-(n)* ‘f., his f., f. of’, *sam^w* ‘gable’; MRS *dam^w*, *dem^wa-* ‘f., brow, gable’; KIR (*te*)-*ram^wa* ‘f., gable end’; KSR (*moton*) *sro-(n)* ‘f. of’; PEO *dam^wa (Fij *daga* ‘throw the head well back as in shaving or putting drops in one’s eyes’; LAK *gama* ‘head’). Cf. SAA *dara* ‘f.’; LAU *dara* ‘f.’; ARO *dara* ‘f.’; KWA *dala* ‘f.’; and cf. POC *dram^wa ‘f.’ (Ross 1988). Cf. also PCK *kaú-cam^wa ‘tie beam’.

PMC *cam^w[ai], cam^w[ai]-ti ‘to lick’: PON *tam^we* ‘to l. (s.t.)’; MOK *sam^wsam^w* ‘to l.’, *sam^we* ‘to l. (s.t.)’; PNG *sam^we* ‘to l. (s.t.)’; MRS *dam^wdém^w* ‘to l.’, *dam^wi-j* ‘l. (s.t.)’. Cf. Fij *drami*, *drami-ca* ‘to lap, l.’.

PMC *canu-, cacan^w, canucanu ‘fresh water’: CHK *chaan*, *chénú-* ‘f. w., liquid’, *chchén* (<*chéchéché) ‘wet’, *chéchéché* (<*chéchéché) ‘wet’; MRT *shaan*; PUL *Raan*, *ráni-*; CRL *shaal*, *shalú-* ‘w., clear liquid’; CRN *Ran* ‘w., clear liquid’; STW *Raan*, *Raal*, *Ranú-*; WOL *shaalú*, *shalú-* ‘liquid, f. w.’, (*le*)-*chchalú* ‘in w.’, *chechchalú* ‘filled with w.’; PUA *saanú*, *sanú-*; PCK *canú, ccanú, caccanú; MRS *dan*, *dandan* ‘w., liquid, juice’; KIR (*te*)-*ran* ‘f. w., sap’, *raran* ‘leaky’, *ranran* ‘juicy, full of sap’; KSR *sro-no*; POC *nranum, ranum (PPN *lanu; Fij *dranu*; SAA *dánu* ‘draw w.’, *dánu-i* ‘sprinkle with w.’; PKB *naLu); UAN *[dD]anum. Cf. KWA *talú-*. See also Marck (1994:309) PMC *t^wanu ‘f.w., nonsaline flowing liquids in general’.

PCMC *caña ‘move quickly’: CHK *chaj* ‘to fly, be flying (as a bird)’; PON *taɲ* ‘to run, to flee, to swim (as a fish)’, *teɲe* ‘to run to (s.t.)’; KIR *raja-ti* ‘move fast’, *raja-ta* ‘to hasten (s.o.)’, *make* (s.o.) walk fast’. Cf. SAA *raja* ‘to rise (of the moon)’.

PMC *cañi ‘be loved, dear’: CHK *chen* ‘be l., cherished’, (*e*)-*cheni* ‘to love him/her’, (*á*)-*chengicheng* (loan from another dialect) ‘love, favoring, cherishing, to be dear’; PUL (*á*)-*Ráni-(y)* ‘to love him/her’; WOL *shañi* ‘be l.’, (*ge*)-*shanisheni* ‘be loving’; PCK *cañi; KIR (*ka*)-*raɲ* ‘flattery, engage in flattery’.

PCMC *cao ‘group, group member’: CHK *chóó*, *chóó-* ‘group, member (of group)’ *chóóchó* ‘be heavily populated’; PUL *Róó-(n)* ‘person of’; CRL *shóó* ‘clan, work force, team, member of a group’; CRN *Róó* ‘clan, work force, team, member of a group’; STW *Róó-* ‘group, person of’; WOL *shóó*, *shóó-* ‘person, crew’; PUA *saao*, *sao-* ‘people’; PCK *cao; PON *too-(n)* ‘member of’; MOK *soo-(n)*; MRS *dewe-(n)* ‘followers of’; KIR *rao-(na)* ‘his companion, friend’. Cf. YAP *choo-(n)* ‘member of’. Cf. also PEO *joRa ‘mate, partner’ (Geraghty 1983) (PPN *soa ‘friend’; ARO *hoa* ‘friend’).

PWMC *capa, caca^wa ‘adhere’: see PWMC *paca, papaca.

PWMC *capi ‘beginning, origin, base’: CHK *chááp*, *chepi-(n)* ‘genitals, his g.’, (*nee*)-*chepi-(n)* ‘(at the) b. of it’; PUL *Rápi-(n)* ‘its lower trunk (of a tree)’, *Rápi-(n) ppalú* ‘an initiated navigator’; CRL *shááp*, *shepi-l* ‘base, trunk, source, core, b. of’; CRN *Rááp*, *Repi-n* ‘base, trunk, source, core, b. of’; STW *Rápi-(n)* ‘b. of’; WOL *shaapi*, *shapi-* ‘b., origin, ancestor, base, bottom, foundation’, *shapi* ‘begin, start’, *shapi-i-(ye)* ‘begin it’; PUA *saapi*, *sapi-* ‘trunk’; PCK *capi; PON *tapi* ‘its b., base (of a tree)’, *tep* ‘to begin, start’; MOK *sap*, *sapi-(n)* ‘small of the back’; MRS *dapi-* ‘base, foundation, bottom, stem, trunk’. Cf. KSR *sro-po-(n)* ‘trunk of’.

PMC *cau ‘leaf’: CHK *chéé*, *chéé-*; PUL *Réé*; CRL *shéé*; CRN *Réé*; STW *Réé*; WOL *shéé*, *shéé-*; PUA *saau*, *saú-*; SNS *saawú*; PCK *caú; PON *tee*; MOK *sə*; PNG *sə*; KIR (*te*)-*rai* ‘flat board’; KSR *sra*; PEO *nrau, rau (PPN *lau; Fij *drau*; SAA *ráu* ‘leaf used as food wrapper’; ARO *rau*; PKB *Lau); POC *raun and PAN *daSun (Ross 1988), but PMP *Dahun (Dyen 1953). Cf. PMC *cau-, cau-lapa ‘wide, width’.

PMC *cau-, cau-lapa ‘wide, width’: CHK *chéé-* ‘width (of flat objects)’, *chéé-kis* ‘narrow’, *chéé-nap* ‘w., broad’, *chéé-(péép)*, *ché-(péép)*, *chéé-(chéép)* ‘broad’; PUL *RééRée-(ló)* ‘spread far (as news, people)’, *Rée-(paap)* (<*Rée-apaap) ‘be flat (as a fish)’; WOL *shéé-giti* ‘be narrow’,

shéé-lape 'be w., broad, spacious'; PCK *caú-, caú-kīTi, cau-lapa; PON *tēē-(tik)* 'narrow', *tēē-lap* 'w.'; KSR *sra-(læp)* 'wide'. Cf. MRS *de-(pakpak)* 'w., broad'; PKB *Lau 'far'; PMP *Za[hø]uq (Dyen 1953). Cf. PMC *cau 'leaf'.

PMC **cawa* 'slow, late': CHK *chchaw*; PUL *Raw, ccau*; PUA *sawa*; PCK **cawa, ccau*; KIR *rawa* 'to refuse'; KSR *ra* 'linger'.

PMC **cawu, cacawu, cawucawu* 'heavy, heaviness': CHK *chchow, chchowu-* 'h., heaviness, angry', *chowuchow* 'pressing, weighed down'; MRT *shshow*; PUL *ccówa, ccówú-* (sic); CRL *tchów*; STW *chchów*; WOL *chchau*; PUA *ssau*; SNS *ssawu*; PCK **ccau*; PON *towtow* 'h.', *taw-r* 'weigh down'; MOK *sówsów*; MRS *ddew*; KIR *rarau* 'swoon', *rarau-(aki)* 'be satisfied, have enough food'. Note also KIR *rarái* 'sulky'.

PMC **cece, cecece* 'shake, tremble': CHK *chcheech, chechche-(n)* 'quake, tremor, q. of, shake, shiver, tremble'; MRT *shésh*; PUL *ceec, cece-(n)*; CRL *shetch*; CRN *detch* (sic); STW *cec, cecece*; WOL *chchechche*; PCK **cec, cecece*; KIR *rere* 'to dart quickly'; POC **dede* (SAM *tete*). Cf. also PPC **cee, cecece* 'move quickly', PMC **cici* 'tremble', PMC **rere* 'tremble (with fear)', PCK **caka-i, ccaka-i* 'chase, pursue'.

PMC **cení, cecení* 'strand tree': CHK *chchen*; PUL *ccen* 'a t. (*Messerschmidia argentea*)'; CRL *tchel*; CRN *tchen*; STW *chchen*; WOL *chcheli*; ULI *ché*; PCK **cceni*; PON *titin*; MOK *sisin*; MRS *(ki)-den*; KIR *(te)-ren* 'a tree'; KSR *srarsan* 'a kind of tree'. Note that the vowel *e* in the CHK form is unexpected (we expect *i*). YAP *cheen* 'a beach heliotrope' appears to be a loan from a Chuukic source. Cf. FIJ *danidani* 'a shrub (*Nothopanax fruticosum*)'.

PMC **cepa, cecepa* 'Carangid fish': CHK *chchep* 'kind of pompano f.'; PUL *ccip* (sic) 'stage in growth of skipjack f.'; CRL *tchep* 'smallest of five stages of growth of the skipjack'; WOL *chchepe* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **ccep[ae]*; PON *teep* 'a skipjack (*Caranx*)'; MRS *ddép* 'a f.'; KIR *(te)-rereba* 'a young jack (*Caranx*)'; KSR *srap* 'skipjack'.

PMC **cia* 'give voice': CHK *chi* 'g. v., utter', *chiye-(tá)* 'be begin (as a vocalization)'; WOL *shii-(tage)* 'begin, start (as a prayer)'; PCK **ci[ai]*; PON *tia-k* 'to start a song'; KIR *(te)-ria* 'a lip'; KSR *sriasra* 'to lead or start a song'.

PMC **cici* 'tremble': MRS *(wi)-diddid* 't., quake', *ddi-(pikpik)* 'flutter, flop around', *ddi-(pipipin)* 'throb'; KIR *(ma)-riri* 'feel cold' (but see SAM *lili* 'shiver, t.' from which it may be a loan); POC **didi* (LAK [*ma*]-*gigi* [< PNk *(ma)-didi] 'to shake as in epilepsy'). Cf. SAA *árirí* 't.'; BUG *ariri* 'shake'; LAU *ariri* 'be shaken'; ARO *ariri* 't.'; KWA *alili* 't.'. Cf. also PMC **cece, cecece* 'shake, tremble', PMC **cucu* 'tremble, shake', PMC **rere* 'tremble (with fear)'.

PMC **cicini* 'inscribe, tattoo': PON *ntij* 'to write, to t.', *ntiji-i* 'to write or t. (s.t.)'; MOK *insij* 'letter of the alphabet, mark, t.', *insiji-(n daip)* 'printing', *insije* 'to write, mark, or t. (s.t.)'; PNG *iisij* 'writing'; KSR *srisrij* 't.', *srisriji* 'mark (the skin) with a t.'.

PMC ? **ciilee* 'swelling': PON *tiile* 'sty, have a sty'; KSR *srol* 'lump, mass, clot'. See also PMC ? **cili* 'have a sty in the eye'.

PMC **ciki* 'small, little': CHK *-chik, -chis, -sich, chikichiiki-*; PUL *Rik, (ya)-RikiRik*; CRL *-shigh*; WOL *-shigi*; PUA *-siki*; PCK **ciki*; PON *tikitik*; MOK *siksik*; MRS *dik, (wi)-ddik*; KIR *(wa)-riki* 'narrow'; KSR *srik, srísrik*; POC **nriki, riki* (PPN **riki* 'small'; LAK [*gu*]-*lilili, [gu]-likilili* 'child, children but not one's offspring'); UAN **Diki[hq]*. Cf. KIR *(ua)-rereke* 'small'.

PMC ? **cili* 'have a sty in the eye': CHK *chin* 'h. a s.', *chini-(n maas)* 's. of the eye'; MOK *sil* 's.'; KSR *srol* 's., have a s.'. There seems to be a problem with the vowel of the KSR form. See also PMC ? **ciilee* ? 'swelling'.

PMC **cim^we* 'tip up, raise up, nod, bob': CHK *chiim^w, chim^wa-n* 'head, his h., *chim^w, chim^wechim^w* 'n. the head', *chim^we-(tá)* 't. the head back, look up in the air'; PUL *Rim^w* 'head', *Rim^weRim^w* 'n. repeatedly, toss up and down (of a canoe)', *Rim^wo-(tá)* 'get up (as in the morning)'; CRL *shiim^w, shim^wa-l* 'head, his h.', *shim^we-ri* 'greet or signal (s.o.) by nodding or raising the head'; CRN *Rim^w* 'n. or r. the head', *Rim^we-ri* 'greet or signal (s.o.) by nodding or raising the head'; WOL *shiim^we, shim^we-* 'head, convex shape', *shim^weshim^we, chchich-chim^we* 'move up and down, be in balance'; PUA *siim^wa, sim^wa-* 'head', *sim^wa* 'n. the head', *sim^wa-(take)* 'to get up'; PCK **cim^we, cim^we-cim^we, cim^we-(dake)*; MRS *dim-(tak)* 'jerk a fish line to hook a fish'; KSR *srím* 'bow', *srímsríim* 'n., bob'. Cf. KIR *(te)-rimwa* 'ridge at the side

of a plank caused by its having a greater thickness than the adjoining plank', *rim*^w*a* 'be thicker than the adjoining plank'.

PMC ***cip**^w**a**₁ 'curve, bend inward': CHK *chip*^w*echip*^w 'c., arch, bow', *chchip*^w 'be warped or bent by fire', *chiip*^w 'divination by bending (breaking) the midrib of a coconut leaflet back and forth across the palm of one's hand', *chip*^w*e-yi* 'divine for it', *chip*^w*a-(η)* 'be tired, weary (from work)'; WOL *shiibe*, *shibe*- 'bay, inward curve, kind of divination', *shibe* 'be embayed, c. inward', *shiba-a* 'divine for it'; PCK **chip*^w*a*; PON *tip*^w 'be broken (of any long object)', *tip*^w*a-η* 'break it (a long object)', *cip*^w*e-ge-(n pee)* 'crook of the arm'; MOK *sip*^w, *sip*^w*e-(n)* 'bend (as in a road), joint, j. of'; PPC **cip*^w*a*, *cip*^w*a-ŋa*; PEO **ntip*^w*a* (ARO *diwa*, *didiwa* 'the u-shaped groove at top of the main post in which the ridgepole rests'; KWA *dikwa*, [*ma*]-*dikwa* 'broken, break'). See also PMC **cip*^w*a*₂ 'tongs'. Cf. PMC **kup*^w*e*, *kup*^w*e-li* 'be bent, to bend (s.t.)'.

PMC ***cip**^w**a**₂ 'tongs': CRL *tchib*^w 't., poker, animal prod, stick used in the roasting of breadfruit', *tchib*^w*e-e-y* 'to nudge, prod, or poke (s.t.)'; WOL *shibeshibe* 'to take up with a fork', *shibe-i-(e)* 'take it up with a fork', *shibe-t-(agi)* 'be lifted up'; PUA *sip*^w*a* 'to pick up with chopsticks or forks', *sip*^w*asip*^w*a* 'chopsticks'; PCK **cip*^w*a*, *cip*^w*acip*^w*a* 'lifting sticks'; PON *tiip*^w 'pair of sticks used to pick up hot rocks from an earth oven'; KSR *sɾɿf* 'pliers, pincers, t.', *sɾɿfi* 'hold or pick up with pliers, pincers, t.'. Reference may originally have been to a green stick that was bent (broken) to make tongs. See also PMC **cip*^w*a*₁ 'curve, bend inward'.

PMC ***ciwa** 'pertaining to the ear': see PMC **cuwa*, *cuacua*.

PCMC ? ***co**[wɒ]a- 'a fish': see PCMC **tawu*.

PMC ***cowu**, **cowu**-**ki** 'hand net': CHK *cheew*, *chuu*-, #*cheewi*- 'hand net, constellation Corona borealis, month name', *chuu*-*ni* 'catch (fish) with a net'; PUL *Roow*, 'hand net, star and month name'; CRL *shéw*, *shoow* 'dipping net', *shoow* 'star and month name', *shoo-ghi* 'dip up (small fish) with a net'; CRN *Reew* 'dipping net', *Reu*-*ni* 'dip up (small fish) with a net'; WOL *shoou*, *shou*- 'scoop net, Corona borealis', *shoushou* 'be capturing, scooping up', *shou-gi-(i)* 'capture it, scoop it', *shou-gegi* 'be captured, scooped'; PUA *soou*, *sou*- 'net'; PCK **ceewu* (?), *cowu*-, *cowu*-*ki*; PON *towtow* 'scoop out'; MOK *sooso* 'scoop up with a net', *sao-k* 'to scoop (s.t.) up with a net'; PNG *sowsow* 'catch with a net'; MRS *déw* 'net for washing arrowroot and soaking breadfruit'. Cf. BUG *jau* 'fishnet; ARO *tau* 'small handnet'.

PMC ***cuwa**, **cuacua** or ***ciwa** 'pertaining to the ear': PUL *Ruwa*- 'possessive classifier for earrings', *RúwaRú* 'wear as earrings', *Rúwa*-*ni-(y)* 'own as earrings'; WOL *shúwa*- 'poss. cl. for earrings', *shúweshúwe* 'wear in one's ears', *shúwe-li-(i)* 'have as one's earrings'; PUA *súúe*, *súe*- 'earrings', *súesúe* 'to wear earrings'; PCK **cúwa*-, *cúwacúwa*, *cúwa*-*ni*; PON *tia-ti* 'to wear earrings', *tie* 'classifier for earrings'; MOK *si*, *sio*, *sie-(n)* 'ear, his e., e. of', *siasi* 'classifier for things worn in the ear'; MRS *diyédéy* 'wear earrings', *diye*- 'possessive classifier for things worn on the ears', *die-k* 'wear (earrings)'; KSR *srwe*- 'ear, poss. cl. for ear decorations', *srwesra* 'put flowers behind the ears', *srwe* 'wear it behind the ear'.

PMC ***cucu** 'tremble, shake': CHK *chchú*-*ni* 'to possess him/her (of a spirit)', *chchú*-*nó* 'shade, shadow (representing a person's bad soul)'; PON *tí* 'to possess or inhabit a human body (of a spirit)'; KIR *ruru*, *rurururu* 'to t.', *ru-a* 'to change, alter, take the place of (s.o.)'; KSR (*ku*)-*srusr* 't., quake, vibrate'. Cf. MRS *tiwey* 'be possessed (by evil spirit), to possess'; KSR *sra*, *sruo-k* 'hold, catch'. Cf. also PMC **cece*, *cecece* 'shake, tremble', PMC **cici* 'tremble', PMC **rere* 'tremble (with fear)'.

PWMC ***cuu**, **cuu**-**ŋi** 'meet, encounter': CHK *chu* 'meet, come together', *chuu*-*ri* 'meet, encounter, or join him/her'; MRT *shuat*-*ŋi*; PUL *Ru*, *Ruu*-*ri*; CRL *shuu* 'meeting', *shuat*-*ŋi* 'meet, encounter (s.o.)'; CRN *Ruu*, *Ruu*-*ŋi*; STW *Ruu*, *Ruu*-*ŋi*, *Ruu*-*Ru* 'meet with (s.o.)'; WOL *shuu*, *shuat*-*ŋi-(i)*; PCK **cuu*, *cuu*-*ŋi*; PON *tu*; MOK *su* 'be met, reached', *su-ŋ* 'meet (s.o.)'; PNG *su-ŋ*; MRS *diw* 'gather to dance'. KSR *su-n* 'to meet (s.o.), arrive at (a place)' is presumably a loan.

PMC ***cuyi**- 'bone': CHK *chúú*, *chúú*- 'bone'; *chúúchú* 'bony, skinny'; PUL *cúú*; CRL *shúú*; STW *Rúú*; WOL *shúú*, *shúú*-; PUA *ssi* 'bone, thorn'; SNS *sii*; PCK **cúy*; PON *iii* 'his bone'; MOK *si*, *sii*-; MRS *diy*, *diy*-; KIR (*te*)-*rii*, *rii*-; KSR *sri*; PEO **du*Ri (Geraghty 1990). Cf. PEO *zu*Ri (Geraghty 1983) and **cu*Ri (Geraghty 1990) (Fij *sui*; SAA *suli*; BUG *huli*; KWA *suli*-[*na*]); POC **su*Ri (Ross 1988). Cf. UAN *[dD]uRi. See also PCK **cúyicúy* 'yard, boom (of canoe)'. Note that this

example, along with PMC *m^wotu, m^wotu-Si 'cut, sever, break off', shows that pre-POC *ns merged with Pre-POC *nd and *nt as POC *d, contrary to present reconstructions for POC (Grace 1969, Ross 1988). For further discussion and examples, see Goodenough (1992 fn. 6, 1997).

PMC *e- 'he, she, it (subj. marker)': CHK *e-*, *i-* (before high vowel); MRT *e-*; PUL *ye-*; CRL *e-*; STW *e-*; WOL *ye-*; PUA *e-*; PCK **e-*; PON *e*; MRS *yé-*; KIR *e-*; PEO **e-* (SAA *e-*; BUG *e-*; LAU *e-*). Cf. KSR *el* 'he, she'.

PMC ***ecieci** 'stinging, smarting': see PMC **[fə]eci[fə]eci*.

PMC ***ee** 'here, this near speaker': MRT *ye* 'n. s.'; STW *ye* 'this n. s.'; WOL *yee* 'this n. me'; PUA *ye* 'this by s.'; PCK **yee*; PON *-e* 'this by me'; MOK *-e*, *-i* 'this'; MRS *yéy* 'this'; KIR (*nako mai*) *ee* 'come here by me'; KSR *ɛ* 'this n. s.', (*in*)-*e* 'this, here, now'. Cf. LAK *-e* 'here'.

PMC ***ena** 'this, that': CHK *een* 't. (near person addressed and speaker or next to come up)'; PUL *yeen*; CRL *yeel* 't. close to speaker', (*i*)-*yeel* 't. one (emphatic)'; CRN (*i*)-*yeen* 't. one (emphatic)'; WOL *yeele* 't. here near me'; PUA *yena* (sic) 't. here'; PCK **yeena*; PON *-en* 'that, by you'; MRS *yep* 'that'; KSR (*in*)-*en* 'that, those'.

PCMC ***epaepa** 'lee platform of sailing canoe, platform on side opposite to outrigger float': CHK *epeep*, *epeepe*-(n) 'l. p., l. p. of'; PUL *yepēep*, *epeepe*-(n); CRL *epeep*, *epiyep*; WOL *yepēpe*, *epeepe*-(li); PCK **epeepe*; KIR (*te*)-*ebaeba* 'a raft or float'. Cf. TON *epa* 'mats given to a bride'; SAA *epa-si* 'to spread over (s.t.)'; ARO *eba* 'to spread (as news)', *eba-si* 'to extend, over-spread (s.t.)'; KWA *eba* 'sleeping mat', *eba-a* 'spread out taro dough for pudding'; PEO **qeba* 'sleeping mat' (Geraghty 1983).

PMC ***etieti** 'to peel with the teeth': MOK *ejjej* 'to p. with the t.', *iji-r* 'to husk (a coconut) with the t.'; PNG *esies* 'to p. or husk with the t.', *esi-r*; MRS *yējyēj* 'use mouth to husk coconuts, strip off or p. one layer at a time'; KSR *esyes* 'p. with the t.', *esyesi* 'p. (s.t.) with the t.'. See also PCK **[kə]aTe-i*, **[kə]aTTe-i* 'tear or peel with the teeth'.

PMC ***fa-** 'reciprocal': CHK *fe-*, *ffe-* 'm.', *ffe-ŋen*, *fe-ŋenni* 'toward one another, together', *fe-seen*, *fe-senni* 'away from each other'; MRT *fé-ŋén*; PUL *fé-ŋann*, *fe-háŋŋ*; CRL *fe-ŋáll*, *fe-sáŋ*; CRN *fe-ŋánn*; STW *fe-ŋán*; WOL *fe-*, *fe-ŋanni*, *fe-taŋi*; PCK **fe-*, *fe-nganni*, *fe-taŋ[ŋ]i*; PON *pē-seŋ* 'away from each other', *pē-(nē)* 'toward each other'; PPC **fe-*, *fe-taŋ[ŋ]i*; KIR *a-(taŋa)* 'mutual friendship'; POC **pa-* (PKB **va-* 'do m.'). Note CRL *sefáŋŋ*, *sefáŋ* and CRN *hefáŋ* are metathasized forms of *fe-sáŋŋ* and **fe-háŋŋ* respectively. Cf. LAU *fai* 'do with, help'; BUG *fai-* 'pref. of reciprocity'; ARO *hai-*, *hei-*, *hi-* 'mutual action'; KWA *fa-(na)* 'for, with, to him', *fa-(i)* 'for it'. Cf. also PEO **faRi* 'reciprocal action' (Geraghty 1990).

PMC ***-faa** 'where?': CHK *i-fa*, *i-faa*; MRT *-fa* 'which (located where)?'; PUL *i-fa*; CRL *i-fa*; STW *i-fa*; WOL *i-faa*; PUA *i-daa* 'which?'; PCK **i-faa*; MOK ? *i-paa* 'near him, with him, in his possession'; KIR *i-aa*; KSR *o-ye*, *yē*. Cf. PPN **fēa* 'where?'. Cf. FIJ *e-vei*; SAA *i-hei*; BUG *i-vei*; LAU *i-fai*; ARO *i-hei*; KWA *i-fai*; LAK *-ve*. See also PCMC **iaa* 'where?', PCMC **maia* 'from where?'.
 PMC ***faa-** 'underside, under': CHK *faa-(n)*, *fáá-(n)* 'his u. or under him, u. of, under'; MRT *fáá-(n)* 'under it'; PUL *faa-(n)*, *fáá-(n)*; CRL *faa-(l)*; STW *faa-(l)*; WOL *faa-(le)*, *faa-(li)*; PUA *da-(ni)* (sic); PCK **faa-*; PON *paa*, *paa-n*; MOK *paa*, *pee-(n)*; MRS ? *yaw-(m^wi-)*, *yew-(m^wi-)*; KIR (*i*)-*aa-(na)*, (*i*)-*aa-(n)*; KSR (*y*)-*ē-(l)*, (*y*)-*ē-(n)*. Cf. PEO **fafa* 'u., under' (SAA *haha* 'down side', [*i*]-*haha* 'below, underside'; KWA [*olo*]-*fa-[na]* 'under, underneath'); PAN *babaq* 'u.'. Cf. also POC **paqal* 'thigh, leg, stem' (Ross 1988) (PPN **paqa* 'thigh'; FIJ *yava-[na]* 'foot, leg'; LAK *vaha* 'leg, foot'); UAN **paqa* 'leg, stem'; and cf. LAU (*i*)-*fara-* 'underneath'. Cf. also PMC **faa*, *faa-[sS]* 'apply the sole of the foot', PCK **fa[ae]fa[ae]* 'footbrace in the form of a stationary block of wood under the warp beam of a loom', PCK **faa-raki* 'use one's foot'.

PMC ***faa-, fa-** 'four' (prefixed to classifier): CHK *fā-*, *fē-*, *fo-*, *f-*; MRT *faa-*, *fēé-*; PUL *fa-*, *faa-*, *fē-*, *fo-*, *f-*; CRL *faa-*; STW *faa-*; WOL *faa-*; PUA *daa-*; PCK **faa-*, *fa-*; PON *paa-*; MOK *paa*-PNG *paa-*; MRS *ya-*; KIR *a-*; KSR *æ-*, *yo-*; PEO **faa*, *fati* (cf. Geraghty 1983); POC **paat*, *pat* (Ross 1988) (PPN *fai vaa*; SAA *hai*; BUG *vati*; LAU *fai*; ARO *hai*; KWA *fai*; PKB **vaa*); UAN **epat*, *empat*. See also PMC **faij* 'the number four' (in serial counting).

PMC ***faa, faasa** 'string, be strung': CHK *ffaāt* 'be s. (of fish)', *-ffaāt* 'strings of fish' (counting classifier), *ffaate-(n)*, *faate-(n)* 's. of', *faate-ni* 'to s. it on a line'; MRT *faat* 's. for hanging fish'; PUL *fááte-ni-(y)* 'to pierce it, penetrate it, s. it (as fish)'; CRL *ffaāt*, *faat*, *ffáti-(l)* 'stringer of fish, s.

of f. of'; WOL *faa* 's., cord', *-faat* 'numerical classifier for strung objects', *faata-li-(i)* 's. it'; PUA *data* (sic) 's., to stab through a s.', *-data* (sic) 'counting classifier for strings of s.t.'; PCK **faa*, *faada*, *faada-ni*; KSR æ 's., fishing line, rope, cord', æt 'dangle, hang', ætæt 'dangling, hanging'. Note also: WOL *faate* 'special food (including fish) set aside for a chief'; PUA *data* (sic) 'special food, chief's food'. Cf. PMC **awo* 'fishline'.

PMC **faa*, *faa-[sS]i* 'apply the sole of the foot': CHK *faa-* 'pertaining to the s. of the f.', *ffa*, *ffa* 'kick with the s. of the f.', *fáá-ti* 'kick it'; CRL *ffa* 'to kick', *fáá-ti* 'kick (s.o.)'; WOL *faafaa* 'kick', *faa-ti-(i)* 'kick it'; PCK **faa*, *faa-di*; PON *paa-d* 'to push with one's foot'; MOK *paa-d* 'push with the feet', *paa-dek* 'push (s.t.) with the feet'; PPC **faa*, *faa-di*; PEO * [pv]aRa-z 'tread on, step on' (Geraghty 1990:66) (Fij *vaa*, *vaa-ca* 'tread softly'). Cf. KIR *wae* 'foot, leg, walk'. Cf. also PMC **faa-* 'underside, under', PCK **fa[ae]fa[ae]* 'footbrace in the form of a stationary block of wood under the warp beam of a loom', PCK **faa-raki* 'use one's foot'.

PCMC **faa-i-lanji*, *faa-ni-lanji* 'lower region of sky': CHK *fáá-n náán*, *fáá-yi-nen* 'lower heaven'; WOL *faa-i-lenji* 'the earth, the globe, the world'; PCK **faa-i-lanji*; KIR *aa-n-nan* 'the atmosphere just below the clouds'. See PMC **faa-* 'underside, under' and PMC **lanji* 'sky, heaven, storm'.

PMC **facā* 'pandanus': CHK *faach*, *fache-(n)* 'p., p. of'; MRT *faash*; PUL *faaR*, *faRá-(n)*; CRL *faash*, *fasha-(l)*, *#faasha-(l)*; CRN *faaR*, *fara-(n)*; STW *faaR*; WOL *faash*, *fesha-(li)*; PUA *daasa*, *dasa-*; PCK **facā*; MRS *yed-(wahan)* 'wild p.'; KIR *ara-* 'p.' (in variety names); PEO **fanra* (PPN **fara*; Fij *vadra*); PAN **panDan*, *paŋeDan* (Blust 1984–85).

PCMC **facō* 'constantly': CHK *-ffōch* 'c., all the time, always'; PUL *fōRófōRó-(ló)* 'do c., do steadily'; CRL *-ffōsh* 'all the way to a destination'; WOL *ffasho* 'to go through to the end, be complete, come to an end'; PCK **facofaco*, *ffaco*; PON *potəpət* 'everlasting, constant, permanent'; KIR *(te)-aro* 'way, manner, custom'.

PMC **fafia* 'firewood': WOL *fafiye* 'f.', *fafiya-(a)* 'put f. in it'; KIR *(te)-aia*; PEO **fafi[ae]* (PPN **fafie* 'f.'). See also PUA *dadia* and SNS *fafia* 'uncultivated land'.

PMC **fai*, *fai-a* 'rayfish, stingray': CHK *ffey*, *ffeyi-(n)* 's., s of', *feyiye-(nap)*, *fayiye-(nnifaro)*, *feyiye-(p'úk)* 'species of s.'; MRT *faye*; PUL *fáyi*; CRL *feyi*, *feyi*, *ffey*, *fáyi* 'r., skate'; STW *fayi*; WOL *faiye* 'r.', *faiye-(getafe)* 'kind of r.', *faiye-(li-shéé-li-gilifé)* 'kind of r.'; PUA *daila*; PCK **fai-a*; PON *pee-(pərok)* 'a large r.', *pee-(wəewe)* 'manta ray'; MOK *pə*; MRS *yayi-(b'ik'iy)* 'kind of r.'; KSR ε 'a kind of fish'; PEO **faiRi* (Geraghty 1990); POC **paRi[qə]* (Ross 1988) (PPN **fai*; Fij *vai*; SAA *hali*; ARO *hari*; KWA *fali*; LAK *pai-[le-kova]* 'spine [of the s.]'); PAN **paRiS* (Blust 1984–85). Note that the *l* of PUA form is unexpected. KSR *(sii)-fe* 'devilish, ray' is an apparent loan. See also CHK *fáráyap* 'manta ray', PUL *fááriyáp*, WOL *fairiyape*, PUA *daila*.

PWMc **fai-Tongo* 'kiss by rubbing noses': CRL *fái-son* and CRN *fei-hon* 'k., r. n.'; STW *fai-son* 'k., r. n.'; WOL *fai-son* 'k. by rubbing n. together', *fai-son-o-(we)* 'k. him'; ULi *fá-son* (sic); PCK **fai-Tongo*; MRS *ya-teŋ* 'smell (s.t.)'. Note PEO **faRi-* 'reciprocal, plural action' (Geraghty 1990). Cf. PPN **soŋi* 'touch noses, smell'. Cf. PMC **fa-* 'reciprocal'. MRS *i* is unexplained.

PMC **faifine* 'woman': CHK *feefin*; WOL *faifile*; PUA *deidine*; SNS *feyifini*; PCK **faifine*; PON *peyn* 'woman', *peyna-(kap'')* (*kap''* 'new') 'young w.'; MOK *peyn*, *peyn (kap'')*; PNG *(sere)-peyn* 'girl'; PPN **peine*; KIR *(te)-aiine*; KSR *en*; UAN **bayi* and **binayi*. Cf. PPN **fafine*; POC **papine* (Ross 1988).

PMC ? **faiSa* 'do what, what?': CHK *feet* 'do what'; PUL *féet*; CRL *(b'e)feita* 'why? (in disagreement), what happened?'; WOL *feitaa* (sic) 'what happened?'; PUA *deita* 'how is it? what happens?'; PCK **faida*; PON *payd* 'who else?'; MRS *yet* 'do what?'; KIR *aera* 'what ... doing?'; KSR ε 'what?'. Note KIR *e* instead of expected *i*. See PMC *-*Saa*, *mee-Saa* 'interrogative suffix'. Note also PPC **fee* 'engage in sexual intercourse, perform an action'. Cf. Fij *cava* 'what?'; BUG *hava* 'what?'; LAK *rova* 'what?'. See also PMC *-*Saa*, *mee-Saa* 'interrogative suffix'.

PMC **fakaafi* 'evening': CHK *fááf*, *fááfi-* 'e.', *(nee)-fááf* 'time of e. meal'; MRT *(lee)-fááf*; PUL *fáf*, *fáfi-* (sic) 'e. meal', *(lee)-fáf* (sic) 'time of e. meal'; CRL *fááf*, *fááfi*; WOL *fegaafi*; PUA *dakadi*; SNS *fakafi*; PCK **fakaafi*; KSR *ekā*. Cf. PEO **Rafi* 'e.' (Geraghty 1990); POC **Rapi* (Ross 1988) (SAA [*sáu*]-*lehi*; PKB **Lavi*); PAN **Rabi* 'e. meal' (Blust 1989:160). See also Marck (1994:312) PMC **faka-afi*.

PMC ***fale** 'meeting house': CHK *fáán*, *fáni*-(*n*), 'meeting house, m. h. of'; PUL *fáál*; CRL *fala*- 'in names of meeting houses'; WOL *faale*, *fale*-(*li*); PUA *daane*, *dane*-; SNS *faane*; PCK ***fale**; PEO ***fale** (PPN ***fale**; FIJ *vale*; SAA *hale* 'shed'; BUG *vathe*; ARO *hare*); Pre-POC ***pale** (Ross 1988); UAN ***balay**. Note: MRS *pal* 'house' and KIR *bare*-(*aka*) 'boathouse' are apparent loans, in the KIR case clearly from a Polynesian source.

PMC ***fali** 'taboo, sacred': CHK *fén* 't., restricted, engage in worship', *fáán* 'church worship'; MRT *fél* 'be t., to worship traditional gods'; PUL *fél* 's.', *fáál* 'church worship'; STW *fál* 'to worship traditional gods'; WOL *fali* 'be restricted, t.'; PCK ***fali**; PON *pel* 'be in a t. relationship'; KSR *dl*-(*kin*) 'place (s.t.) under t.'; UAN ***pali**.

PWMC ***fa-liku**, **fa-liku-ri**- 'turn away, ignore the presence of others': WOL *fa-lúgú* 'to be isolated, face away from society, t. a. from people'; MRS *ya-lk^wi-r* 't. one's back on (s.o.)', *#yal-k^wirk^wir* 'to t. one's back on s.o.'. See also KIR (*tina*)-*niku-a* 'sit or stand in front of (s.o.), ignore (one who was once a friend)'. See PMC ***liku** 'outside' and UAN ***likud**.

PMC ***falu** 'bruised': CHK *fén*, *fěffén* 'be b., bleed', (*é*)-*fén* 'boxing, striking with the fist', (*é*)-*fénú* 'strike him with the fist'; PUL *faal*; CRL *faal* 'a bruise', *fall* 'be b., hurt', *falla*-(*ló*), *fal*-(*ló*) 'be very swollen, severely infected'; WOL *falú* 'be scratched, to bruise, (ge)-*falú*-(*ú*) 'hit him, scratch him'; PCK ***falú**, *fallú*; UAN ***palu** 'strike'. Cf. PWMC ***falu**, 'prick, pointed object'.

PWMC ***falu** 'prick, pointed object': CHK *fén*, *fénúfén* 'any instrument used to strike a thorn or sharp object and cause it to puncture', *ffén*, *ffénú*-(*n*) 'thorn, t. of', *fénú*-(*u*)-(*w*) 'prick, tattoo'; MRT *falúfál* 'tattooing'; PUL *faal*, *falú*-, *falúfál* 'spur (on a rooster), burr, thorn, spine on a fish'; STW *falú*-(*w*) 'pierce (s.t.), tattoo (s.o.)'; WOL *#faale*, *#fela*-(*sic*) 'spur (on a rooster)', (ge)-*falú* 'thing with spines, blades, thorns', *falú*-(*u*)-(we) 'pierce it, tattoo him'; PUA *danú* (sic) 'tattoo it, write it', *danúdanú* 'tattoo, writing'; PCK ***falú**, *falúfálú*, *falú*-(*u*); PON *pelipel* 'tattoo, to tattoo', *pali*-(*i*) 'to tattoo'; MRS *yiliy* 'to pierce' (vowel raising of the sort in first syllable happens sporadically). Cf. MRS *yél* 'cult that tattooed and practiced magic' (with unexplained heavy *l*), PMC ***falu**, 'bruised', PCK ***cúyi**-*falú* 'nail (in carpentry)'.

PCMC ***fanaa** 'a kind of needlefish': CHK *fana*, *fanaa*-(*n*) 'a small n. f., n. f. of'; PUL *fana* 'a lagoon f., probably a n. f.'; CRL *fela* 'halfbeak'; CRN *fana* 'halfbeak'; WOL *felaa* 'a kind of n. f.'; PCK ***fanaa**; KIR *anaa* 'a f.'.

PMC ***fanau** 'advise, instruction': CHK *#ffén*, *#fféna*-(*n*) 'a., correction, scolding, a. to him', *féné*-(*é*)-(w) 'advise, correct scold him', *fféné*-(*neni*) 'instruct, correct, admonish (s.o.)', (*a*)-*fanafan* 'formal talk, lecture, sermon, speech' (*a*)-*fanafana* 'deliver or give (a talk, etc.)'; MRT *ffan* 'advise, instruct', *fané* 'advise him'; PUL *#féné*-(*y*) 'my punishment (that I suffered)', *féné*-(*w*) (sic) 'discipline, punish, advise, (s.o.)', *fénú*-(we)-(er) (sic) 'punishment given by them'; CRL *#ffél* 'give a. or instruction, lecture or preach', *félé*-(*é*)-(w) 'advise, instruct, counsel (s.o.)'; CRN *#ffén* 'give a., etc.', *féné*-(*é*)-(y) 'advise, etc. (s.o.)'; WOL *felaú* 'sermon, discipline', *felaú*-(we), *foloo*-(we) 'advise or preach to him', *fala*-(*aute*) 'talk, discipline, tradition', *fala*-(*auta*-(a)) 'talk about it'; PUA *danaú* and SNS *fanaú* 'lesson, precept, commandment'; PCK ***fana**, *fanaú*; PON *penew* 'be advised, panawi-i 'to advise him'; MOK *pənw* 'give advice', *pənw* 'advise (s.o.)'; MRS *yenaw*, *yeṅaw* 'to scold, punish, spank', *yen*-(*ak*) 'to suspect'. There may be two different roots here, or the East Chuukic languages have developed ***fana**- and ***fféna**- as analogical derivations. Cf. FIJ *vunau* 'admonish, harangue, make a speech, preach'; TON *fono* 'give strict or solemn instruction, charge, command, direct, enjoin'; PPN ***fono** 'deliberative assembly'; LAK *vulo* 'customs'.

PMC ***[fɒ]ani[fɒ]ani** 'to bail': MRS *yanyén*; KIR *anan* (sic) or (Bender et al. 1984) *annan*; KSR *enyen*.

PMC ***fanua** 'inhabited land': CHK *fénú*, *fénúwa*-; MRT *fanéw*, *faniúwa*-PUL *fanú*, *faniúwa*-; CRL *falúw*; CRN *fanú*; STW *falú*, *faliúwa*-; WOL *faliúwe*; PUA *danúa*; PCK ***fanúa**; MRS *yanéy*, *yénéy*; KIR *anna* (<***ania**) 'dry l.'; KSR *en*; POC ***panua** (PPN ***fanua**; FIJ *vanua*; SAA *hānuē*; LAK *valua* 'men'); UAN ***banua**. Cf. PMC ***anusa** 'small island'. See also Marck (1994:307) PMC ***fanua** 'land, island'.

PMC ***faṅa** 'hand over, give': CHK *faṅ* 'be handed over', *faṅa*-(*na*)- 'thing handed over, gift', *faṅa*-(*nó*) 'hand or give away', (*ni*)-*ffāṅ* 'gift', (*ni*)-*ffāṅe*-(*ni*) 'make a gift to'; MRT *faṅa*-(*la*)

'give away'; PUL *faŋ* 'give, allow', (*li*)-*ffaŋ* 'gift'; CRL *faŋ* 'to give, send', (*li*)-*ffaŋ* 'gift, present'; STW *faŋa*-(*ló*) 'give away'; WOL *fape* 'give, allow'; PUA *daŋa* 'gift, give'; PCK **faŋa*; PON *paŋa*-(*la*) 'betray, give away'; KIR *aŋa*-(*ni*) 'give to'. Cf. BUG *vaŋa* 'to eat, vegetable food'; ARO *haŋa*, *haŋa-ni* 'to feed, nourish'; KWA *faŋa* 'to eat, food', *faŋa-li*-(*a*) 'to feed'. KSR (*li*)-*peŋ* 'give to curry favor' is presumably a loan from a Chuukic language.

PCMc **faŋi* 'to preserve by smoking': PUL *fáŋ*, *faŋi*-(*y*) 'to smoke (as fish or copra)'; WOL *faŋi* 'to be smoked (as fish)', *faŋi-i*-(*ye*) 'smoke it'; PUA *daŋidaŋi* 'to smoke fish'; PCK **faŋi*; KIR *aŋ*, *aŋi*-(*bue*) 'warm', *aŋa* 'to warm (s.t.)'.

PMc **faŋi* 'the number four' (in serial counting): CHK *fáán*; MRT *fáán*; PUL *fáán*; CRL *fáál*; CRN *fáán*; STW *fáán*; WOL *faŋi* (sic); PCK **faŋi*; PON (*ε*)-*peŋ*; MOK (*ɔ*)-*pɔŋ*; MRS -*yaŋ* 'four (suf. to pronouns); KIR *aŋ* 'eight (in counting by twos); KSR *aŋ*. See also PMc **faa*-, *fa*-'four' (prefixed to classifier).

PCMc ? **[aŋ]g[ou]-si* 'blow (one's nose)': CHK *foŋo-ti* 'b. (one's n.)', *foŋo*-(*p*)-*éét* 'b. one's n.'; MRT *foŋo-ti*, *foŋo*-(*p*)-*oot*; PUL (*yó*)-*foŋeŋ*; CRL (*ó*)-*foŋoŋ* 'b. one's n.', *fiuŋu-ri* 'to b. (the n.)'; PCK **foŋo*, *foŋo-di*; PON *paŋi-d* 'to b. (one's n.)', *peŋid-ek* 'to b. one's n.'; KIR *oŋi-ra* 'to b. (the n.)'. Cf. PPN **[aŋ]ju* 'b. through one's n.'. Cf. KSR *pæŋosr* 'disease of the n., speak through one's n.'. Problems here. Cf. also PCMc **won*[*iu*]-*si* 'wring out', PCK **ŋúTú*, *ŋúTú*-, *ŋúTú-ri* 'to snort, blow one's nose'.

PWMC **faŋu* 'be loved, well liked': CHK *féŋú*-(*n*) 'love off/for him or her'; PUL *fang* 'be loved', *fangú*-*n* 'love off/for him or her'; CRL *faŋ* 'be very popular with the opposite sex, be a Don Juan, be sexually promiscuous (of a woman)'; CRN *faŋ* 'be proper, well behaved, well liked (of people)'; WOL *faŋé-é*-(*we*) 'to love him or her'; PCK **faŋú*; MRS ? *wəŋ* 'be homesick'. Note that we expect WOL **fangú-ú*-(*we*).

PMc **faŋu*, *faŋu-ni* 'awakened, awaken': CHK *féŋúféŋ* 'arouse from sleep, wake s.o. up', *féŋú-ni* 'wake him up'; MRT *faŋú-né* 'waken, rouse (s.o.)'; STW *faŋú-i* 'awaken (s.o.)'; WOL *faŋú* 'be awakened, aroused', *faŋú-li*-(*i*) 'wake him up'; PUA *daŋú* 'be awakened', *daŋú-nú* 'wake him up'; PCK **faŋú*, *faŋu*-[*nl*]; PON *mpeŋ* 'be awakened', *paŋi-n* 'to awaken'; MOK *pəŋpəŋ* 'awaken', *paŋi-n* 'to awaken (s.o.)'; PPC **faŋú*, *faŋú-ni*; PEO **faŋu-n* (SAM *fafagu*); UAN **baŋun*. Cf. CRL *lifaŋ*, *lifaŋa* 'wake up'; MRS *yaŋiŋŋin*, *yaŋiŋŋin* 'call by name'.

PMc **fara* 'core (of breadfruit, coconut, pandanus)': CHK *faar*, *fara*-(*n*) 'c. of a breadfruit, its c.', *faré*-(*seyin*) 'spongy c. of ripe coconut'; MRT *faar* 'copra sponge'; PUL *faar*, *ferá*-(*n*) 'c. of breadfruit, sponge of coconut, c. of'; CRL *faar*, *fara*-(*l*) 'c., heart, pit of a fruit, c. of'; WOL *faare*, *fera*-(*li*) 'c. of a breadfruit, c. of', (*shoo*)-*far* 'sprouted brown coconut'; PUA *daala*, *dala* 'copra sponge'; PCK **fara*; PON *paar* 'spongy center of sprouting coconut', *par* 'to sprout (of coconuts)', *peri*-(*n* *maay*) 'breadfruit tree sprout'; MOK *par* 'sprouting coconut'; MRS *yar* 'pandanus c.'; KIR (*te*)-*aa* 'the c. base of the pandanus bunch'; PEO **fara* (FIJ *vara*). MRS *pér* 'small sprouted coconut is presumably a loan from PON or MOK. Cf. PMc **far*[*ae*] 'lungs'.

PMc ? **[fp]ara* ? 'hoarse': PON *par* 'abnormal sounding (as of the voice or an instrument)'; PEO **faRa* 'h.' (Geraghty 1990) (PPN **faa*); PAN *paRak* (Blust 1970:135). Cf. PCMc **pekopeko* or **kopekope* 'cough, to cough'.

PMc **far*[*ae*] 'lungs': CHK *fara-wa*; PUL *fára-wa*; CRL *fáre-wa*, *fare-wa*, *fáre-waa*-(*l*); WOL *fare-waa* 'native sponge', *fari-yawe*; PUA *dale-wa*; PCK **fare-waa*; MOK *pər*; MRS *yar*; PEO **faRa* (Geraghty 1990). Cf. YAP *war-rum*, *wor-rum* 'sponge, l.'. Cf. also PMc **fara* 'core (of breadfruit, coconut, pandanus)'.

PWMC ? **farafa* 'windward platform on outrigger booms next to hull of sailing canoe': CHK *faraf*, *farafe*-(*n*) 'w. p., w. p. of'; PUL *faraf*, *farafe*-(*n*); CRL *peraf*; WOL *perafe*; PCK **[fp]arafa*; PON *parap*; MRS *yerey*.

PCMc **fari*- 'less than ...': WOL *fari*- 'pref. that shifts meaning in the opposite direction or makes it less than it would otherwise be' (e.g., *fari-m* "oshom" osho 'become tall or long', lit. 'other than or away from short'); KIR *ai*- 'prefix to kin terms for ascending and descending relationships to indicate non-lineal connection' (e.g., *tina-u* 'my mother, my female relative one generation senior' and *ai-tina-u* 'my mother's or father's sister'). Cf. PCK **fari*, 'already, just now'.

PCMc **faro*, *faro-ki*, *faro-ka* 'hold tightly': CHK *fóro*-(*pach*), *fara*-(*pach*) 'to embrace',

fóru-si 'embrace him, strangle him, hang him by the neck'; CRN *fore-y* 'to hang oneself'; WOL *ffaro* 'be tight', (*ge*)-*faro*-(*o*) 'make it tight'; *faro-gi*-(*i*) 'tie it tight, bind it, hug her'; PCK **faro*, *faro-ki*; PON *paro-k* 'to catch s.t. animate, to arrest'; MRS *hare-k* 'miserly, covetous, greedy, stingy'; KIR *ao-ka* 'to deny or refuse (a request)'. KSR *fær fær* 'hold, embrace' and *færo-s* 'embrace or hug him or her' appear to be loans from CHK. MRS should have rounded *r*.

PMC ***fa[sS]ua** 'child of sibling of opposite sex': STW *fatúw*; WOL *fatúwe*; PCK **fadúa*; PEO **vasu* + *a* (FIJ **vasu* 'child of man's sister'; TON *fahu* 'child of a man's sister'). Cf. LAU *fasisu* 'give suck to'; and cf. KWA *fasu* 'segment, sprout, shoot off'.

PMC ***faSale** 'walk, move around': CHK *fátán*, *fátánátán* 'walking, movement, course, progress, w., proceed, going on and on (as verbal suffix)'; MRT *fétal* 'w. about'; PUL -*fetál* 'here and there, everywhere'; CRL *fetál* 'around, somewhere, randomly, (*fara*)-*fetál* 'about to take a w.'; CRN *fatal* 'to w., journey, take a w.'; STW *fetál*, *fetán* 'w.'; WOL *fetale* 'move by its own power, go, around and about (as verbal suffix)'; PUA *datane* 'to w. around'; PCK **fadale*; MRS *yetal* 'w.'; KSR *el* 'march, parade'.

PMC ***faSo, fafaSo, faSo-ki, faSo-ka** 'planted, to plant, a planted thing': CHK *fóto* 'planting', *ffót* 'be p.', *fótu-ki* 'p. it', *fóta-a* 'thing p. (by s.o.)'; MRT *ffót*, *fato-ki*; PUL *fót*, *fóto-ki*-(*y*); CRL *ffót*, *fóto-ghi*, *fóót*; CRN *fato-gi*; STW *ffót*, *fóto-ki*, *fóót*; WOL *fato*, *ffato*, *fato-gi*-(*i*), *fato-go*; PUA *dato*, *dato-ki*, *dato-ko*; PCK **fado*, *fafado*, *fado-ki*, *fado-ka*; PON *pod*, *podo-k*; MOK *podo-k*; MRS *hathat* 'p., vine'; KIR *aro-ka* 'cultivated plant'; KSR *yok* 'to p.', *ikwi*, *yuki* 'to p. (s.t.)'. Cf. POC **pasoq* 'p., tuber' (Ross 1988). Cf. also KSR *ɔ-ki*, *ɔ-ki* 'set up, erect'; PMP **pacek* 'drive in (as a post)' (Blust 1986:66).

PMC ***faSu** 'eyebrow': CHK *faat*, *fétú*; MRT *fatú*; PUL *faat*, *fatú*; CRL *faat*, *fáat*, *fatú*; STW *faat*, *fatú*; WOL *faatú*, *fatú*; PUA *daati*, *dati*; PCK **fadú*; PON *padi*; MOK *padi*; MRS *yat*; KIR (*te*)-*ari*; KSR (*inn*)-*ye*; POC **pazu* (FIJ *vacu*, PKB **vazu* 'forehead'); PMP **pasu* 'cheekbone' (Blust 1983–84:93).

PMC ***fata** 'platform, nest': CHK *faas*, *fasa*-(*n*) 'n., its n.'; PUL *faah* 'n.'; CRL (*a*)-*fasafas* 'n.'; CRN (*a*)-*fahafah* 'n.'; STW *fasefas* 'n.'; WOL *ffate* 'n.'; PUA *dadata* 'n.', *daata*, *data*- 'shelf'; PCK **faat*, *fata*; PON *paas*, *pese* 'n., its n., litter or rack for carrying large yams', *pasapas* 'p., shelf'; MOK *paj*, *paji*-(*n*), *paje*-(*n*) 'n., n. of'; PPC **fata*; PEO **fata* (PPN **fata* 'shelf', FIJ *vata* 'shelf'; SAA *ha'a* 'p. for storing yams'; BUG *fata* 'tier'; ARO *haa* 'p.'; KWA *faa*-[*laji*] 'raised plank floor'. Cf. PMC **fata*, *fata-ŋa* 'tree trunk'.

PMC ***fata, fata-ŋa** 'tree trunk': CHK (*nee*)-*fasa-ŋ* 'torso, trunk'; PUA *daata*, *data*; PCK **fata*, *fata-ŋa*; POC **patan*.

PCMC ***fato, fato-ŋi** 'to call, summon': CHK *fowu*-(*nó*), *féwú*-(*nó*) 'be much talked about, be famous', *féwú*-(*n*) 'spoken of, known for', *féwu-ni* 'to c. or speak the n. of (s.o.), to talk about (s.o.) positively'; PUL (*yite*)-*fáye*-(*ló*) 'be famous, well known', *fáyi-ŋi*-(*y*), *fáyi-ŋa*-(*a*) 'to c., s., invite (s.o.)'; CRL *ffay* 'to c., beckon', *fai-ŋi* 'to c. or beckon to (s.o.)'; STW *fay* 'to c.'; WOL *ffaso* (sic) 'to c.', *fase-ŋú-ú* 'to c. (s.o.)'; ULI *fesa-ŋé* 'c. (s.o.)'; PUA *dadadada* 'to c.', *dada-ŋú* 'to c. (s.o.)'; SNS *fada-ŋú* 'c. (s.o.)'; PCK **ffat*[eo], *fat*[eo]-*ŋ*[jú]; KIR *ato-ŋa* 'to utter, to say (s.t.)'. Cf. PON *pasapeŋ* 'to respond, to answer'.

PMC ***fatu** 'stone': CHK *faaw*, *féwú*-, *féw*-, *fey* 's., rock, coral, globular object (as classifier)'; *féwíféw* 'stony'; MRT *faaw* 'stone, rock'; PUL *fawú* (sic) 's., coral, rock', *fawú*-(*má*) 'dead coral'; CRL *faay*, *faaú*, *fáyú*-(*l*) 's., rock, seed, testicles, s. of'; STW *faay* 's., rock'; WOL *faaú*, *faiú*-, *faasú*, *fasú*- 's., rock'; PUA *daadú*, *dadú*- 's., rock, coral', *-daú* 'round object (in counting)'; PCK **fatú*, *-faú*; PON *paay* 'coral', *peey* 'big seed (as in a mango)', *pey*-(*teel*) 'big flat pounding s.', *pay* 'the stones used in an earth oven'; MRS *hajji*-(*kad*) 'throw stones repeatedly'; KIR (*te*)-*ati* 'seed, s. heated for cooking', (*te*)-*ati*-(*ib'u*) 's., coral stone', *ati-ati* 'full of seeds'; KSR *yot*; POC **patu* (PPN **fatu*; FIJ *vatu*; SAA *háu*; LAU *fou*; ARO *hau*; KWA *fou*; PKB **vatu*); UAN **batu*. KSR *pæt* 'cornerstone' must be construed as a loan. Cf. MOK *pej* 'pandanus cud'. See also Marck (1994:315) PMC **fatu* 'rock, stone'.

PMC ***fatu, fatufatu** 'to weave, plait': CHK *féwíféw* 'plaiting, do plaiting, be plaited', *féwú-wa*-(*n*) 'thing plaited by her', (*a*)-*fféw* 'unifying or joining two things so as to make one (but not groups of people), splicing rope, translating, interpreting', (*a*)-*fféwú* 'to unify, join, splice

(s.t.); MRT *faWúfaW* 'do weaving or plaiting', *faWé* 'to w. (s.t.)'; PUL *fayi*, *fayifayi* (sic) 'to p.', (*ya*)-*fféwú* (sic) 'to interpret, translate, to splice (as rope)'; CRL *fayfay* 'w., do weaving', *fáyú*, *faú*, *fáyí* 'to w. or p. (s.t.)'; STW *fayfay* 'to w.', *fáyú* 'w. it'; WOL *faúfaú* 'to w.', *faú*-(we) 'w. it'; ULI *fas-fos*, *faséfasé* 'to w.', *fasu*-(y) 'w. it'; PUA *dadúdadú* 'to w.'; SNS *fadúfédú* 'to w.'; PCK **fatú*, *fatú-fatú*; PON *peypey* 'to w.', *pa* 'to w. (s.t.)'; MOK *pəypəy* 'to weave', *pa* 'weave (s.t.)'; MRS *yaj* 'w., darn, knit'; KIR *ati* 'w.', *ata* 'to w., braid (s.t.)'; KSR *otwot* 'w.', *otwe* 'w. (s.t.)'; PEO **fatu* (PPN **fatu* 'w., compose'; SAA *ha'u*, *ha'u-si* 'to p.'; ARO *hau*, *hau-ri* 'to p.'). The *r* in the PNG form *per* 'w.', reported by Bender et al. 1984, is unexpected. Cf. BUG *vao* 'to p.'; LAU *fao*, *faofao* 'to w., p.'; KWA *fao* 'w., knit, p.'; POC **pai* 'w.' (Ross 1988). See also PMc **fau*, *fau-Si* 'tie, bind'.

PCMc ? **fatuku* 'head': PUA *dadúkú*; SNS *fadúkú*; KIR (*te*)-*atuu*. Note loss of *k* after *t* rather than expected loss of *t* before *k* in the KIR form. Cf. PEO **bʷatu* 'head' (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *qá'u*; BUG *pau*; LAU *gwau*, *gwau*; ARO *bʷau*; KWA *gou*).

PMc **fau* 'hibiscus': CHK (*sini*)-*fé*, (*sini*)-*fée*-, 'hibiscus'; PUL (*kili*)-*fé*; CRL (*ghúlú*)-*fé*, (*ghili*)-*fé*; STW (*kili*)-*fé*; WOL (*gili*)-*fée*; PUA (*kini*)-*daú*; PCK *(*kili*)-*faú*; KIR (*te*-*ki*)-*ai-ai* 'a tree'; PEO **faRu* (Geraghty 1990) (PPN **fau*; FIJ *vau*; ARO *haru* 'tree sp.'). PMP **baRu* (Blust 1984–85).

PMc **fau*, *fau-Si* 'tie, bind': CHK *féefé*, *fée-ti*; PUL *féefé*, *fée-ti*-(y); CRL *fée-tagh* and CRN *fée-tag* 'set an anchor, tie up a boat'; WOL *féeféfé*, *fée-ti*-(i); PUA *daúdaú* 'to weave'; SNS *faúfaú* 'to weave'; PCK **faúfaú*, *faú-di*; PON *pei* 'be tied up (of boat)'; MRS *yawyéw* 'bind, lash', *yawi-t* 'bind or lash (s.t.)'; KIR (*te*)-*ai-ai* 'ribs of a craft's hull'; KSR *ayá* 'tie, bind', *awi* 'tie it'; PEO **faqu-z* 'tie, bind' (Geraghty 1983) (PPN **faqu*; FIJ *vau*, *vau-ca*). Although it might appear that MRS *pawpéw* 'bind, tie', *pawi-t* 'bind s.t.' and KSR *píp* 'bind', *pʷi* 'bind (s.t.)' could be loans from a PN source such as SAM *faufau* 'bind', the MRS pairs *yawyéw*/*pawpéw* and their transitives *yawi-t*/*pawi-t* have the marks of ancient doublets, with the reduplicated pair exhibiting an *a/é* alternation, something not found in PN, but expected in MRS **CaCu* or **CaCi* reduplication, and also found in KSR (Bender 1973). Other *y/p* doublets in MRS include *yewyew* 'stroke, caress', *pewpew* 'sweep, brush off' and *yir* 'deviate', *pir* 'slip down'. These doublets point to an origin as oral/nasal grade alternants (**p*/*mp*) in POC. KSR *ayw/píp* and *awip/pʷi* could have this same origin (Bender 1973:463). Cf. PNk **avu*, *avu-a* 'to wrap, bandage, medicate'; UAN **Rapus*. See also PMc **fatu*, *fatufatu* 'to weave, plait'.

PMc **fauru* 'do, make': CHK *féeri* 'do it, make it', *fээр*, *fээрú*-(n) deed, action, his d.', *ffээр*, *ffээрú*-(n) 'making, manufacture, production, m. of (a place)'; MRT *fээр*; PUL *fээр*, *fээрú*-(y); CRL *ffээр* 'to do, m.', *ffээрú* 'to do or m. (s.t.)'; STW *fээрú*; WOL *foori*-(i) 'm. it, do it, build it'; PUA *daúli* 'behavior, deed, to behave, do, m.', *daúli*-(aki) 'be made'; PCK **faúri*; KSR *ora* 'do, m., perform'. See also PCK **faúri*-*anúti* 'recite a spell'.

PMc **fawo* 'surface, on': CHK *fóó*-(són) 'region of slightly higher, fairly level ground back from the shore', *fóó*-(nu-pi) 'Pohnpei Island'; PON *poo*-(n) 'on', *powe* 'on it, above it', *poo*-(n) *pey* 'Pohnpei Island'; MRS (*yi*)-*yewe*-, *yewe*- 'on, upon, top, s., over'; KIR (*i*)-*ao*-(na) 'on top of it, on it'; POC **papo* (PPN **fafo* 'exterior, outside'; SAA *haho* 'above, top'; ARO *haho*- 'above, upon, over'; KWA *fofo*- 'on, on top of'; PNk *-*vovo* 'skin of entire body'); UAN *babaw*. Cf. BUG *popo* 'above, top'. See also PCK **wawo*- 'face, surface, upside, on'.

PMc **faxo* 'to punt, punting pole': CRL *foo* 'pole for pushing boats and canoes'; PUA *daao*, *dao*- 'pole', *dao* 'to pole a canoe', *dao*-(data) 'a raft'; PCK **fao*; PON -*pər* 'counting classifier for long thin pieces or strips of s.t.'; KIR (*te*)-*ao* 'punting pole', *aoao* 'to engage in propelling a canoe with a pole', *aoao-a* 'to propel (a canoe) with a pole'; KSR *æk* 'pole, stick', *æki* 'to pole (a canoe)'; POC **pago* (PKB **vago* 'to pole a canoe', *v*-(il)-*ago* 'punting pole').

PMc *[fʰ]eci[fʰ]eci 'stinging, smarting': MRS *yidyid* 's. s., to sting'; KIR (*ta*)-*erieri* 'be smarting, stinging' (*ta*- 'of its own accord'); KSR *isrisr* 'burning or s. s., be smarting, pricking, stinging'.

PMc **feraki*, *feraki-ni*- 'to spread': CRL *ferágh* 'to be s. out (of mats and cloth)', *fferágh* 'to s. out flat things', *ferághá-li* 's. it out'; WOL *feragi* 's., unfold', *feragi-li*-(i) 's. it, unfold it', *fferagi* 'be s., unfolded'; PUA *dalaki-ni* and SNS *falaki-ni* 'to be scattered, sp., to scatter or s. (s.t.)'; PCK *[fʰae]raki, [fʰae]raki-[ln]i; PON *perek* 'to unroll (as a mat)', *pereki* 'to unroll (s.t.)';

MRS *yerek*, *yerek* 'to s. mats'; KSR *elak* 's.', *laki-n* 'to s., unroll (s.t.)'. Cf. PON *par* 'be fecund, s. about, sprout (of coconuts)'; MOK *par*-(*pijəŋ*) 'be s. around'.

PMC ***fi-** 'mutually': CHK *fi-* 'do m.', *fi-(ti)* 'to go with or accompany (s.o.)', *fi-(yuuw)* 'to fight'; PUL *fii-(yoow)* (sic) 'to fight'; CRL *fi-(ti)* 'to go with or accompany (s.o.)', *fi-(yoow)* 'to fight s.o.'; WOL *fi-(tii)* 'to go with, accompany'; PCK ***fi-**; PON *pi-(siken)* 'push each other'; KIR *i-(tau)* 'to box, to fight with the fists'; POC ***pi-** (LAK *vi-[lapu]* 'take hostages from one another as part of peace settlement'). See PMC ***fiSi** 'accompany', PCK ***fi-di-** 'wrap, mix', PWMc ***fiŋi-[sS]i** 'to twist, twirl'.

PMC ***fiago** 'story, tell a story': PUL *fiyag*, *fiyago-(n)* 't. a s., a s., s. of'; STW *fiyóg* 's.'; WOL *fiyago* 's., legend'; PuA *diago* 's., t. a s.'; PCK ***fiago**; KIR (te)-*iaŋo* 'consideration, deliberation', *iaŋo* 'to reflect, consider, ponder, meditate', *iaŋo-a* 'to think about, consider, ponder, meditate on (s.t.)'; KSR *aŋwe* 'to say, tell'. Cf. MRS *yinaŋ*, *yineŋ* 'legend, folkloristic s.'.

PCMCK ***fica** 'a strip of fiber for plaiting': CHK *fiche-(n)* 's. of (pandanus, coconut, or other palm leaf prepared for plaiting mats', *-fich* 'counter for such strips'; MRT *fisha-(n)* 's. or leaf used in weaving'; PUL *-fiR* 'counter for blades'; PCK ***fica**; PON *pit*, *pite-(n)* 'classifier for strips and strands'; MRS *yid* 'strands for weaving garlands or stringing leis'; KIR (te)-*ira* 'a pandanus leaf for braiding, a hair'.

PMC ***fici**, ***fici-ki** 'snip, cut, snap, flick': CHK *fichi-i-(y)* 'snip it, c. it (with scissors), snap it (of a photograph)', *fichi-(paat)* 'be continually snipping', *ffich* 'scissors, camera trigger, be c., snipped, or snapped (of a picture)'; PUL *fiRifiR* 'to c. (as hair), knock, thump, snap', *fiRi-i-(y)* 'to c. it, knock it, thump it, snap it'; CRL *ffish* 'scissors, to have a sudden sharp pain, rise suddenly without warning', *fishi* 'to c. (s.t.), to play or strum a (stringed instrument), to strike (a light), to shoot (a weapon)'; CRN *ffiR* 'scissors', *fiRi* 'to play or strum (a stringed instrument), to strike (a light), to shoot (a weapon)'; WOL *fishi-i-(ye)* 'pierce or lance it (of a boil), knock it, snap it', *ffishi* 'be unbuckled, snap off from what it was tied to (as a rope), be knocked', (*ligaa*)-*fishi-i-(ye)* 'spear it, lance (a boil)'; PuA *disi-ŋi* 'break it in two'; PCK ***fici**; MRS *yidi-k* 'to shake (a hand)'; PEO ***fidi-k** (PPN ***fiti** 'spring up'; FIJ *vidi*, *vidi-ka* 'jump, spring, fly up'; KWA *fidi* [obs.] 'slap, smack'). There appear to be two homonymous PMC roots here bearing a relationship in meaning associations like that in English between snip (with scissors or a knife) and snap (a picture or one's fingers). Cf. PMP ***bitik** 'jerk, spring up suddenly' (Blust 1980:55). See also PMC ***pici**, **pici-ki** 'snap, vibrate'.

PMC ***fili**, ***filiŋi** 'choose': CHK (ni)-*finifin* 'a matter of choice, a choosy person', *fini* 'c. it, select it', *ffin* 'be chosen'; MRT *fili* 'c. him', *file* 'c. (s.t.)', *ffil* 'make a choice'; PUL (li)-*filifil* 'matter, be fussy, choosy', *fili-(i-y)* 'c. it'; CRL *ffil* 'to c., select', *fili* 'c. it', (li)-*filifil* 'be choosy', (se li)-*filifil* 'does not matter' ('not a matter of choice'); STW *fil* 'c.', (li)-*filifil* 'choosy', *fili-(y)* 'c. him'; WOL *fili-(i)* 'c. it', *ffili* 'c., decide'; PCK ***fini**, **ffini**; PON *pilpil* 'c., select', *pil* 'c. (s.t.)'; MOK *pilpil* 'c.', *pil* 'c. (s.t.)'; MRS (kka)-*yalyél* 'c.'; PEO ***fili** (PPN ***fili** 'select, c.'; ROT *hili*, *hilihili* 'pick out, choose, select'; SAA *hili*, *hili-si* and ULA *ili-si* 'c.'; BUG *vili* 'c.'). UAN ***piliq**. KSR *fil-(wel)* 'guess, conjecture, random choice' is a loan or unrelated.

PWMc ***fiŋi-[sS]i** 'to twist, twirl': PuA *diŋi-ti* 'to twist, wring, squeeze (s.t.)'; SNS *fiŋi-ti* 'to twist, wring, squeeze (s.t.)'; MRS *yinyiy* 'twirl, turn round and round, wind, be kinky (of hair)', *yiy-ték* 'be twisted, squirm', *yinyiy-ték* 'wiggle, wriggle'. See PMC ***fi-** 'mutually'.

PMC ***fira**, ***fira-[kx]i** 'to twist': CHK *fire-s*, *fiŋe-s* 'a braid, to braid', *fire-si-(ni)* 'braid it', *ffire-s* 'a braid, be braided', *ffire-si* 'braid it'; PUL *firá-k* 'strong rope (as used for caulking)', *firá-ki-(ló)* 'to spread out (as a mat), to braid a rope'; WOL *fire-gi* 'string, thin rope used to connect or secure the sides of a canoe', *fire-gi-(i)* 'to weave it (as a lei)', *ffire* 'to weave (a lei or a strap)'; PuA *dila* 'to braid'; PCK ***fira**, **fira-ki**; PON *pir* 'to turn, to spin, to twist', *pire-r* 'to turn, spin, twist (s.t.)', *pirapir* 'to tie, to wear a belt, a belt'; KSR *wor* 'to turn, wriggle' *worwor* 'wiggle', *uro-k* 'to turn, twist (s.t.)', *wirwiro-k* 'to turn (s.t.) continuously'. Note, also, MRS *pirekrék*, 'to braid (of hair or handle of a basket), plait', *pirekéy* 'braid (s.t.)'; KIR *bira* 'to braid (something, as hair or rope)'; KSR *pirak* 'braid', *piraki* 'braid (s.t.)'. Of these the KIR form can be accounted for as a loan from SAM ***fili** (PPN ***firi**) 'to braid, plait', and the MRS and KSR forms as loans from associated KIR forms ***biri**, *biraki*. The other MC forms can be accounted

for as formed from the passive and transitive (with object expressed) forms of a PEO *firi; POC *pīri 'twist' (Ross 1988) (PPN *firi; SAA *hiri* 'to lap with a string, to bind'; BUG *firi* 'lap with string, bind', *fiifiri* 'to twine', *virī* 'twisted, tangled'; KWA *fili-si-[a]* 'braid together'; PKB *vi[rz]i 'to twist, wind up'). YAP *fireg*, *firgiy* 'weave' are loans from a Chuukic source as is CHM *filak* 'braid, plait, weave'. Cf. UAN *biling 'turn, twist' and PAN *pi[dDr]i[Ct] 'twist, plait' (Blust 1970:135).

PMC *fi[sS]a- 'how many': CHK *fite-*; MRT *fite-*; PUL *fite-*; CRL *fita-*, *fite-* *fiti-*; STW *fiú-*; WOL *fita-*; ULi *fetha-*; PUA *dite-*; PCK *fida-; KIR *ira-*; PEO *viza (Geraghty 1983); POC *pija (Blust 1978:108) (PPN *fiha; FIJ *vica*; PKB *viza, *ziva*); PAN *pija (Blust 1978:96). Cf. POC *pican (Ross 1988).

PMC *fiSi 'accompany': CHK *fiti* 'go with him/her, a. him/her, attend it, join it', *fiti-(pach)* 'stay with one another constantly'; PUL *fiti-(y)*; CRL *fiti*; WOL *fiti-(i)*; PCK *fidi; PON *pid* 'to pertain to, to concern (s.t.)'; KIR *iri* 'to go in company', *ira* 'to a., go with (s.o.)'; KSR *wi* 'a., travel by'. Cf. MRS *yijiy* 'sexual intercourse', *yijiy* 'have sexual intercourse with (s.o.)'. See PMC *fi- 'mutually'.

PMC *fiSiko 'flesh': CHK *fiutuk*, *fiutuke-n*, *fiutukonuk* 'flesh, f. of, be fleshy'; MRT *fiutuko* (final *o* voiceless); PUL *fitik*, *fitiko-*; CRL *fiúg*, *fitugh*; CRN *fiutug*; STW *fiutuk*; WOL *fitigo*; PUA *ditiko*; PCK *fidiko; PON *uduk*; MOK *uduk*, *uduko-*; MRS *yitek* 'whale meat'; KIR *(te)-iriko*; KSR *ikoe-(n)* 'flesh of' (showing metathesis); PEO *fiziko; POC *pisiko (Ross 1988) (FIJ *viciko*). Cf. SAA *hási* 'o 'body f.'; ARO *hasi'o*; KWA *fasi'o-(na)*.

PCMC *fitaki 'to struggle': WOL *fitegi* 'war, fighting', *(ga)-fitegitegi* 'to compete'; PUA *diteki* and SNS *fiteki* 'to work'; PCK *fi[dt]eki; PON *pidek* 'to go around', *pideki-i* 'go around (s.t.)'; MOK *pidek* 'move around, surround', *pideki* surround (s.t.)'; KIR *iakiaki* 'act of struggling (as a child), great activity in work, to struggle to free oneself, to be in spasms, to strike again and again on a shoal, to pound' (showing loss of *t before *k).

PMC *fiti 'flash (of light)': CHK *fi* 'f., throw a spark (of lightning, electricity)', *fiifi* 'flashing, sparkling, lightning, radiance, to be flashing (as a light or lightning)', *(e)-fiifi* 'shock a person with taboo language', *fiú-si* 'to transfer fire to (s.t.), set (s.t.) afire', *(ine)-fi* 'lightning'; CRL *fiifi* 'to do burning', *fiú-ghi* 'to burn or set fire to (s.t.)'; CRN *fiú-gi* 'to burn or set fire to (s.t.)'; WOL *fiúú* 'to spark, blink (as light), make a short interval (as of falling rain), be lighted', *(ga)-fiúú-(ú)* 'light it, make it f.'; PUA *didi* 'flashing'; PCK *fiti, *fiti-ki*; PON *ipip* 'lightning without thunder (metathesis?)'; KIR *(te)-iti* 'lightning'; PEO *viti (BUG *viti-li* 'to flash through'). Cf. PON *pir* 'to f.'; MRS *yit* 'strike a match'. Note that KSR *særom* 'light, electricity, lightning' and MOK *jórom* 'lightning' are loans from MRS *ja^wem* 'electricity, lightning, electric shock, punch, hit'. See also PCK *fiti, *fiti-ki* 'apply fire'.

PMC *fit[ou]u 'star': CHK *fiú*, *fiúwe-(n)*, *fiúú-(n)* 'star, s. of'; MRT *fiú*; PUL *fiú*; CRL *fiú*, *fiúú-(l)*; STW *fiú*, *fiúú-(n)*; WOL *fiúú*, *fiúú-(li)*; PUA *didi*; SNS *fidi*; PCK ? *fúúú; PON *usu*; MOK *ujú*, *ujúu-(n)* MRS *yijiw*; KIR *(te)-itói*; KSR *iti*; POC *pituqun (Ross 1988). See Marck (1994:307) PMC *fituu. Cf. PPN *fetuqen; UAN *bituqen. Cf. also SAA *he'u*; ARO *hi'u*; KWA *bo'u*.

PMC *fitu, *fitu-ua* 'seven': CHK *fiúú*, *fiúú*, *fusu-uw*, *fisu-uw* 'seven' and *fii-k* 'seventy'; MRT *fiúú*, *fiúú*, *fusu-uw*; PUL *fiúú*, *fiúú*, *féhu-uw* and *fii-k*; CRL *fiús*, *fisu-*, *fisú-*, *fisi-*, *fisa-*, *fisu-uw* and *fisi-igh*; STW *fiúú*, *fisu-uw*; WOL *fiúú*, *fisi-*, *fisu-(uwe)* and *fisi-ige*; PUA *didi-*, *didi-(ow)* and *didi-iki*; SNS *fidu*; PCK *fitú, *fitu-uwa* and *fiti-ike; PON *(e)-is*, *isi-*, *isu-u*; MOK *iji-*, *iju-w*; KIR *iti-*, *itu-ua*, *iti-ua*; KSR *iti*; POC *pitu (Ross 1988) (PPN *fitu; ROT *hifu*; FIJ *vitú*; SAA *hiú*; BUG *viú*; KWA *fiu*; PKB *-vitu). Note that the *é* instead of *ú* in PUL *féhu-(uw)* is unexpected.

PMC *fou 'feel cold': CHK *fféw* 'c., be c.', *fféféw* 'chills', *(a)-fféw* 'be c. to the touch', *(a)-fféwú* 'make c., chill'; MRT *fféw* 'c.'; CRL *ffox*, *fféy* 'f. c.'; STW *féy* 'c.'; WOL *féú* 'be c., cool, shiver', *(gari)-fféú* 'be c., chilly'; PUA *ddéú* 'to be c. (the whole body)', *(kali)-ddéú* 'c. (of things)'; SNS *fféú* 'c.'; PCK *fféú; PON *pow* 'feeling c., cool, chilly', *(ko)-pow* 'c., cool, chilly'; MOK *pow* 'feel c.', *(ko)-pow* 'feel c. (of people)'; MRS *(pi)-yaw*, *(pi)-yawyéw* 'chilly, cool'; KSR *yu*, *yau* 'c., chilly'.

PMC *futu 'tree (*Barringtonia asiatica*)': PON *wii*; MOK *wi*; POC *putu. Cf. PMC ? *[t]upa 'fish poison', *PMC *upa 'derris vine', PMC ? *iwu 'tree (*Barringtonia asiatica*)'.

PMC *i- 'at (locative)': CHK *i-* (no longer productive, used with demonstratives); MRT *i-*;

PUL *yi-*; CRL *i-*; STW *yi-*; WOL *i-*; PUA *i-*; PCK **i-*; PON *i-* 'w. pointing demonstratives'; MRS *yi-*; *yi-*; KIR *i-*; KSR *i-*; PEO **i-* (SAA *i-*; BUG *i-*).

PMC **-i-* 'of': CHK *-yi-*; PUL *-yi-*; WOL *-i-*; PUA *-i-*; PCK **-i-*; MRS (*waytiwe*)-y 'land tract of'; PEO **i* (FU *i*). Possible doublet of PMC **-ni* 'of, pertaining to': generic elements in MRS place names show alternation: *bek^we-n*, *bek^we-y* 'sandspit of', *wede-n*, *wede-y* 'coral head of', etc.

PCMC **i* 'I (1st sg. subj. marker)': CHK *wú-*; MRT *i-*; PUL *wú-*, *yi-*; CRL *i-*; STW *i-*; WOL *i-*; PUA *i-*; PCK **i-*; PON *i-*; MRS *yi-*; KIR *i-*, *n-(na)*. Now a prefix; earlier a clitic.

PMC **ia* 'he, she, it (independent pronoun)': CHK *i-yi*; MRT *yi-yi*; PUL *yi-yi*; CRL *ii*; STW *i-yi*; WOL *i-yi*; PUA *ii*; PCK **ia*; PON *ii*; MOK *ii*; MRS *yéy*; KIR (*ŋa*)-*ia*; POC **ia* (Ross 1988) (PPN **ia*, BUG *ii* 'she', *ia-[ani]* 'this'; PKB **ia*); UAN **iya*. Cf. KSR *el*.

PCMC **iaa* 'where?': CHK *iya*, *iya-(n)* 'w., its whereabouts'; PUL *yiya*; CRL *iya*; WOL (*i*)-*iyaa*; PUA (*i*)-*iyaa*; PCK **iaa*; PON *yaa*; MOK *yaa*; MRS *yi'yah*; KIR *iaa*. See PMC **-faa* 'where?', PCMC **maia* 'from where?'.

PCMC **iTo* 'a float on a net, light wood': CRL *úús*, *úsa-* 'f. on a net'; STW *wuus*, *wuso-(l)*, *wusu-(l)* 'a f., any kind of wood that floats well, its f., f. of'; PCK **wuTo*; PON *uus* 'f. as for a fishing net'; MOK *uj-(pey)* 'f. for a net'; MRS *wéj*, *wij* 'balsa driftwood, cork'; KIR (*te*)-*ito* 'very light driftwood'.

PWMC **ii-* 'proceed': CHK *ii-* 'to head, tend, have a course (as the wind or a boat)' (used with dir. suf., *ii-[nó]* 'head or tend away', *ii-[tá]* 'head or tend up or east', *ii-[tiw]* 'head or tend down or west', *ii-[to]* 'head or tend hither'); PON *ii-* 'to come or go directly', *ii-(la)* 'directly go away', *ii-(do)* 'directly come hither'; MRS *yi-(lakw)* 'go away (of humans)', *yi-(tak-lak^w)*, *yi-(tah-lak^w)* 'go eastward', *yi-(téw)* 'go westward', *yi-(téw)-yi-(tak)* 'travel, go back and forth'; *yi-tekw* 'come here (of humans)'.

PMC **ika*, *ika-na-* 'fish': CHK *iik*, *ike-(n)*, *ike-ne-(n)* 'f., f. of'; MRT *iik*, *ika-(n)*; PUL *iik*, *ika-(n)*; CRL *iigh*; CRN *iig*; STW *iik*; WOL *iige*, *iga-(li)*, *iga-le*, *ige-la-(li)*; PUA *iika*, *ika-(ni)*; PCK **ika*, *ika-na-* (in cpds. only); MOK *ike*, *ikó-* (in cpds. only); PNG *ik-* (in cpds. only); MRS *yék*, *yike-(n)*; KIR *iika*, (*te*)-*ika*, *ika-(ni-)*; KSR *ik*, *ike-(n)*; POC **ikan*, *ikan-a* (Ross 1988) (PPN **ika*; FU *ika*; SAA *i'e*; ULA *i'a*; BUG *iga*; LAU *ia*; KWA *i'a*; PKB **iqa*); PAN **ikan* (Ross 1988).

PCMC **ika-ni-p^wonj* 'any fish that can be caught at night': CHK *ike-ni-p^win*; WOL *ige-li-boŋj*; PCK **ika-ni-p^wonj*; KIR *ika-ni-b^wonj* 'a kind of f.'. See PMC **ika*, *ika-na-* 'fish', PMC **p^wonj* 'night'.

PCMC **i-ka-* 'at place' (as designated): CHK *i-ka-*, *i-ke-* 'at p.', *i-ka* 'here (by me)', *i-ke-ey*, *i-ke-y* 'here (by me)', *i-ka-na*, *i-ke-na* 'there (by you)', *i-ka-an* 'here (near us)', *i-ka-naan*, *i-ke-naan* 'there yonder', *i-ke-m^wuum* 'there (not far from us)', *i-ke-we* 'there (out of sight, in the past)'; PUL *yi-ka*, *yi-ke-ey*, *yi-ka-na*, *yi-ke-na*, *yi-ka-naan*, *yi-ke-naan*, *yi-ko-m^wuum*; CRL *i-gha*, *i-ghe-ey*, *i-ghi-la*, *i-gha-al*, *i-ghi-laal*, *i-ghi-m^wuul*, *i-ghi-we*; WOL *i-ga-a*, *i-ge-iye*, *i-ga-ale*, *i-ge-laale*, *i-ge-m^wuu*, *i-ge-m^wuule*, *i-ga-wee*; PUA *i-ka-ana*, *i-ka-nana*; PCK **i-ka*, *i-ka-iy[ae]*, *i-ka-ana*, *i-ka-naa*, *i-ka-naana*, *i-ka-m^wuu*, *i-ka-muun[ae]*, *i-ka-wee*; KIR *i-ka-i* 'here', *i-ka-nne* 'there (not far)', *i-ke-kei* 'yonder'.

PMC **iku* 'tail': CHK *wúík*, *wúkú-(n)* 't., its t.'; MRT *úká-(n)*; PUL *wúík*, *wúkú-*; STW *yúká-(l)*; WOL *úúgú*, *úgú-*; PCK **úkú*; PON *iki* 'its t., end'; MOK *ik*, *iki-(n)*; PNG *ik*; KSR *ikwik* 'rudder, tiller, helm'; PEO **ikuR* (Ross 1988) (PPN **iku*; BUG *iúgu*; PKB **iku*); PAN **ikuR* (Ross 1988). Cf. POC **siku* (Blust 1993:286). Cf. SAA *'u'u'i*; KWA *'i'i*, *ki'i*. Cf. also PPC **úkú* 'end', PCK **úkúúkú*, *úkú-fi* 'cut off, chop off'.

PWMC **ila* 'come to land': CHK *in*, *ine(nó)* 'be docked, brought to land'; PUL *yil*, *ile-(ló)*; WOL *ile*; PCK **ila*; PON *ila-(pas)* 'make a nest'; MOK *ilail* 'make a nest'; PNG *ilail* 'nest made by pigs'; MRS *yél* 'nest'. Cf. UAN **qilan* 'vanish, disappear'.

PMC **ili* 'sprout, shoot (of plants)': CHK *ini-*, *-in* 'young shoot (counting classifier)', *iniin* 'offspring, scion'; CRL *ilil* (? **ili-(l)*) 'young taro sprouts', *ili-(as)* 'head hair' (respect usage, lit. 'high sprout'); WOL *ili*, *ili-* 'young shoots surrounding an old plant'; PUA *inni* 'banana shoot'; PCK **ili*; PON *ili* 'its sucker (of banana, breadfruit, taro)'; MRS *yil*, *yili-* 'taro sprout'; POC **qili* (LAK *hili* 'get sprouts for planting'). Cf. PMC **[t]ulu-* 'young shoot, sprout'.

PMC **im^wa* 'house': See PMC **um^wa*, *im^wa*.

PMC ? ***inu** or ***uni** ‘coconut cloth’: PUL *wúni*-(*i-nú*); WOL *úúlú*, *úúlú* ‘coconut screen, coconut husk, leaf of a tree’; ULI *úl*; PUa *úúnú* ‘c. c., leaf of a tree’; PCK **únú*; PON *ini*-(*pal*); Mok *im*-(*pal*); MRS *yin*-(*pél*); KSR *in*-(*pal*) (loan from MRS?); PEO **Runuk* (Geraghty 1990). Cf. KIR *(te)-ij* ‘fibrous, porous envelope at the base of the coconut leaf or frond’. Cf. also FIJ *vulo* ‘c. c.’.

PMC ***inu**, **(i)nu-mi**, **(i)nu-ma** ‘drink’: CHK *wún* ‘to drink, smoke’, *wúnú-mi* ‘d. it, s. it’, *wúnú-ma*-(*n*) ‘his thing to d. or s.’; PUL *wún*, *wúnú-mi*-(*y*), *wúnú-ma*-(*n*); CRL *úl*, *úúlú-mi*, *úúlú-ma*-(*n*); CRN *ún*, *únú-mi*; WOL *úúlú*, *úúlú-mi*-(*i*), *úúlú-ma*-(*le*); PUa *únú*, *únú-mi*; PCK **únú*, *únú-mi*, *únú-ma*; PON *ni-m*, *ni-me*; MOK *ni-m* ‘to d.’, *ni-m* ‘d. (s.t.)’; MRS *ni-me*, *li-me* ‘(one’s) thing to d.’; KIR *ni-ma*, *nini-ma* ‘to d. (s.t.)’, *(te)-nini-ma* ‘a d.’; KSR *n̄m̄n̄m̄* ‘to d.’, *n̄-m* ‘d. (s.t.)’, *n̄-me*-(*l*) ‘his d.’; PEO **inu-m* (PPN **[i]u*nu; SAA *inu*, *inuinu*; LAK *liu*, which Geraghty [1990] misassigns to PEO **[q̥]iRu*-f ‘sip, sup’; PKB **inu*); UAN and PMP **inum*. Cf. FIJ *gunu*. Cf. also PMC **nima*- ‘drinkable object: possessive classifier’.

PMC ***iji** ‘dorsal fin’: CHK *ini*-(*n*) ‘its f. (of a fish)’, *ini*-(*m*’*áán*) ‘d. f.’ *iniin* ‘ridge, edge’, (*pere*)-*yiniin* ‘be square or rectangular in shape’, (*pere*)-*yijijij* ‘be on one side, lean or tip sideways’; MRT *yijij*; PUL *yijij* ‘d. f.’, *yijijij* ‘side (as of a person)’; CRL *ijj*, *iji*-(*l*) ‘d. f.’, *ijijij* ‘top of a gorge, precipice, sharp slope, ridge, rafters supporting the ridgepole in a house’; CRN (*pere*)-*ijijij* ‘top of a gorge, precipice, sharp slope, rafters supporting ridgepole of a house’; WOL *ijij*, *iji*- ‘f. of a fish’, *ijijij* ‘be sharp (of edges), have many corners’; PUa *ijij*, *iji*-; SNS *yijij*; PCK **iji*; PON *iji* ‘its pectoral f.’; MOK *ijijij* ‘dorsal or anal f.’; MRS *yéj*, *yéji*-(*n*) ‘f., d. f.’, *yij* ‘spines on a fish’; KIR *(te)-iji*-(*eta*) ‘d. f.’; KSR ? *ɛjwɛ*-(*n*) ‘f. of’. Cf. LAK *iri*-(*le-kova*) ‘spine of the stingray’.

PCMC ***igu**, **iguigu** ‘loud sound’: CHK *wún*, *wúnúún* ‘sound (as a trumpet)’; KIR *igu*, *ijijgu* ‘roar (as distant thunder)’.

PMC ***ira** ‘they (independent pronoun), them (suf. obj. prn.), their (suf. poss. prn.)’: CHK *iir*, -;*y*; MRT *iir*; PUL *yiiir*; CRL *iir*; STW *yiiir*; WOL *iire*, -;*re*; PUa *iila*; PCK **ira*; PON *iir*; MOK *iir*; MRS *yér*; KIR (*ŋa*)-*iia*, -*ia*; PEO **ira* (FIJ *ira*, *ra*; SAA *[ik]-ire*; ULA *[ik]-ira*; BUG *iira* ‘they’, *ira*-(*ani*) ‘these’; ARO *ira*). UAN **siDa*.

PMC ***iraira** ‘part, portion’: PUL *ireer*, *ireerá*-(*n*) ‘parts (as of the body), goods, articles’; WOL *ireire* ‘parts of one’s body’; PCK **iraira*; PON *irayr* ‘portion, event, topic’; MOK *irayr* ‘limited, restricted, divided, partitioned’; KSR *ilɛl* ‘to part, separate’, *ila*-(*ŋ*) ‘part (the hair), separate (things), spread (things) out, shift (things) around’.

PMC ***iri**, **iriiri** ‘rub, scrub’: WOL *iriiri* ‘r., s., daub’; PCK **iri*, *iriiri*; PON *iriir*-(*la*) ‘be erased’, *iri-s* ‘r., erase (s.t.)’, *iri-sek* ‘r., erase’; MOK *iri-j* ‘r., erase (s.t.)’, *iri-jek* ‘r., erase’; MRS *yir-yir* ‘r., friction, scrape’, *yiriy* ‘r. it’; KIR *ii-a* ‘to grate, grind’; KSR *il*, *ilil* ‘grind, grate, whet, r.’, *ii* ‘r., erase, wipe (s.t.)’. Cf. UAN **qiriR* ‘stir, move, fan’; LAK *isi* ‘grate coconut, r. smooth’. Geraghty’s (1990) equation of KIR *ii-a* (his *ia*) with PEO **ŋkuRu* is not supported, but see PCK ? **fa-ia* ‘file, rub, sharpen’. Cf. also PCK ? **faiira* ‘to grate’.

PMC ***iri**, **iri-pi** ‘to fan’: MRT *uru*-(*pé*); STW *uru*-(*pé*); ULI *ri*-(*péú*); PUa *úúlú*-(*paú*); PCK **úrú*-(*paú*); PON *iriir* ‘to f.’, *iri-p* ‘to f. (s.t.)’; MOK *iri-p* ‘to f.’; PPC **iri*, *iri-pi*; PEO **irip* (FIJ *iri*, *iri-va* ‘to f.’). Note that KIR *iri-bi* ‘to fan’, *iri-ba* ‘to fan (s.t.)’ is an apparent loan from a PN source, e.g., SAM *ili* ‘a fan’. YAP *ripóy* ‘to fan’ is presumably a loan from ULI. Cf. SAA *tere-hi* ‘to f.’; BUG *veveri* ‘to f.’; LAU *tere-fi* ‘to move as a f., to f.’; ARO *tere*, *tere-hi* ‘a f., to f.’; KWA *telu-fi*-(*a*) ‘to fan (a flame)’. Cf. PMC **pahu*, L: CHK *á-áni-pé*.

PMC ***isa**, **isa-ŋi** ‘to press down’: CHK *iteyit* ‘p., weigh down’, *ite-ni* ‘to press or weigh down on (s.t.)’, *ite*-(*tiw*) ‘to p. d.’; MRT *ite*-(*téw*) ‘p. d.’, *ita-ŋe* ‘p. on it’, *itená-á*-(*téw*) ‘p. d. on it’; PUL *yite*-(*tiw*) ‘apply pressure with the hands’, *yite-ŋi*-(*y*) ‘p. d. lightly on (s.t.)’; STW *ite-ŋi* ‘p. d. on it’, *ite-e*-(*y*) ‘p. on it’; PCK **ida-ŋi*; PON *idayd* ‘to be under pressure, to be mashed’, *ida-ŋ* ‘to apply pressure to, to mash (s.t.)’; MOK and PNG *idayd* ‘to p.’, *ida-ŋ* ‘to p. (s.t.)’; KSR *etɛt* ‘to p., smear’, *ita-ŋ* ‘to p. on, run over, overcome (s.t.)’. Geraghty’s (1990) deriving this from his PEO **Ra[cs]i* is questionable. Cf. also PCMC ? **iso* ‘make fire by fire plow method’.

PCMC ? ***isi-fi**, **esi-fi** ‘dip it up, dip it out, scoop it up’: CHK *étú-fi*, *atú-fi*, *iti-fi*, *eti-fi*; PUL *yáti-fi*-(*y*); CRL *iti-fi* ‘to fetch it (of water)’; WOL *itiiti* ‘spoon, scoop, to s., d., draw, take up or out with a scoop’, *iti-fi*-(*i*) ‘s. it out, d. it, draw it (water)’; PUa *itiri* (sic) ‘spoon made of fishbone

or turtle shell'; PCK ?*idi, idi-fi; PON *idi-p* 'draw or fetch (water)'; MOK *id*, *edded*, *idi-p* 'draw or fetch water'; KIR *eri-a* 'a spoon or s., to s. up (s.t.), take up with a spoon or scoop'. Cf. CRL *ifi-i*-(y) and CRN *ifi* 'to pull up or dip (water)'; also PON *iid* 'to fetch or draw (liquids)' Mrs *itē-k*, *ititē-k* 'draw (water)'; KSR *yaya* 'to s.', *yau-k* 's. (s.t.)'; SAM *asu* 'to ladle, s.'; UAN *[hɔ]jansu. Cf. also PAN *qিদus 'ladle, dipper' (Blust 1980:78). Note that KIR *iti-a* ([isi-a]) 'to s. up (water), to d., to ladle' is presumably a loan (we do not expect *t* here).

PCMC ?*iso 'make fire by fire plow method': CHK *wúúúú* 'f. p., m. f. by the f. p. method', *wúúú-ú*-(w) 'm. (a f.)'; PUL *wúúúú* 'rub sticks to m. a f. with a f. p.'; PCK *úúú, úúúúú; PON *id* 'to m. f. by rubbing a stick in a trough of wood', *idi-ŋ* 'to m. (f.)'; PNG *idi*-(kal) 'm. f. by rubbing sticks'; Mrs *yit* 'strike a match'; KIR *iro* 'to ignite', *ire*-(ai) 'm. f. by rubbing sticks', *ireire* 'to rub, wash', *ire-a* 'to rub, wash (s.t.)'. See also WOL *úúúúú* 'be erased, wiped out, effaced'. Cf. PMC *isa, isa-ŋi- 'to press down'.

PMC *iSa, aSa 'name': CHK *iit*, *ita-*, *ite-*; MRT *ita-*; PUL *yüü*, *yita-*, *yitá-*; CRL *iit*, *ita-*; STW *ita-*; WOL *iite*, *ita-*; PUA *iita*, *ita-*; SNS *iita*; PCK *ida; PON *aad*, *ede-*; NGK *ede-*; MOK *ad*, *ɔdɔ-*; PNG *ad*; Mrs *yat*; KIR *ara-*; KSR *e*; PEO *[qɔ]jiza, qaza; POC *[qɔ]jican, qacan (Ross 1988) (Fij *yaca*; BUG *aha*; SAA *sata*; KWA *lata*; PKB *isa); UAN *[hɔ]ajan). Cf. PEO *aza* (Geraghty 1983); PAN *ɽajan (Blust 1978).

PMC *ita, itaita 'deposit, pile up': CHK *iseyis* 'be deposited, stored, put away', *ise-ni* 'd. it, store it, put it away'; MRT *isená-á*-(téw) 'put it down'; PUL *yiháyih* 'keep save, d.', *yihá-ni*-(y) 'to keep, save'; *yihel-ló* 'keep, store away'; CRL *isiis* 'to save or keep s.t. for future use', *isá-li*-(i-ló) 'put or store it away'; STW *isen*-(tiw) 'put down'; WOL *iseise* 'put away, keep, store', *ise-li*-(i) 'put it away, keep it, store it'; PUA *ite*-(tio) 'put it down'; PCK *itaita, ita-ni; PON *isays* 'pay tribute, repay a service or good deed, tribute, gift, reward' *ise* 'to pay (tribute), to repay or reward (a service or good deed)'; Mrs *yeyej* 'build up, pile up, erect, build'; KSR *ətɔr* 'pile up stones'. Cf. PCK *itano 'deposited, put away'.

PCMC *-itaki 'counter for tens': PON *-isek* 'c. for t.', (*e*)-*isek* 'ten', (*rie*)-*isek* 'twenty', (*sili*)-*isek* 'thirty'; MOK *-ijek*, (*e*)-*ijek*, (*rie*)-*ijek*, (*jili*)-*ijek*; KIR (*ua*)-*iaki* 'twenty in counting fish and rolls of dried pandanus paste'. Cf. PMC *-ŋawulu 'unit of ten (in counting)', PPC *-ik[ae] 'counter for tens'.

PMC ?*itau 'Callophyllum inophyllum': PON *isow*; MOK *ijɔw*; Mrs *jijéw*; KIR (*te*)-*itai*; KSR *ita*. Cf. ROT *hefau* 'C. tree'; Fij *vetau*, *uwitao* 'Calysaccion tinctorum tree'; PMP *bitaquR 'C. i.' (Blust 1984–85).

PCMC ?*[tɔ]i 'hand of bananas' (counting classifier): CHK *-i*, *iye-iya*-(n); PUL *-yii* (sic); CRL *isi-i*-(y) and CRN *eyi* 'to cut off or break off (fruit that grows in bunches)'; WOL *-isi*; PCK *it[eɪ]; PON *ii* 'hand of bananas'; KIR (*te*)-*ii*-(na) 'one (counting divisions of pandanus)'. Cf. Mrs *hajjen* 'h. of b., bunch of pandanus keys'.

PMC ?*iwu 'tree (Barringtonia asiatica)': CHK (*wuwáá-nú*)-úw 'B. a., whose fruit is used as fish poison and to cauterize wounds'; UAN *ipuq 'tree used for arrow poison'. Cf. PMC ?*[t]upa 'fish poison', *PMC *upa 'derris vine', PMC *futu 'tree (Barringtonia asiatica)'.

PWMC *iyaa 'rainbow': MAP *yya*; PON *aaya*, *yaaya*; MOK *yaaya*; Mrs 'yiyah 'r.', *yiyahyahyey* 'r. colored'. See also Marck (1994:310) PWMC *iaa. Cf. KIR *wirara* 'rainbow'.

PMC *ka- 'causative prefix, pref. forming ordinal numerals': CHK *a-*, *á-*, *e-*, *é-*, *o-*, *ó-*, *-ka-*, *kka-*, *akka-*, *ákká-*, *ékké-*, *ókko-*, *ókkó-*; PUL *ya-*, *yá-*, *yé-*, *yó-*, *-ka-*, *kka-*, *akka-*, *ákká-*; CRL *a-*, *á-*, *ó-*, *kka-*, *akka-*; WOL *ga-*, *ge-*, *kka-*, *kke-*, *kkekka-*; PUA *ka-*, *kka-*, *kakka-*; PCK *ka-, kka-, kakka-; PON *ka-*; MOK *ka-*; Mrs *ka-*; KIR *ka-*; PEO *ka- (Fij *ka-* 'pref. forming o. n.'). KSR *æk-* is presumably from PMC *fa-ka.

PCMC *ka-, kaka- 'pl. pref. for dem. prns.': CHK *kka-*; PUL *kka-*; CRL *kka-*; STW *kka*; WOL *kka-*; ULI *kka-*; PUA *ka-*; PCK *ka-, kka-; PON *ka-*; Mrs *kéyin* 'these' (cf. *yin* 'this'); KIR (*a*)-*ka*-(*nne*) 'those' (cf. *a-nne* 'that one').

PWMC *ka[aɔ]mami, -kamami 'we (exclusive)': CHK *ám* 'we (excl.)', *-keem*, *-kem*, *-keemi-*, *-kemi-* 'us (excl.)'; MRT *yáámem*; PUL *yáámem*; CRL *yáámem*, *-ghámem*; CRN *ám*, *-gem*; STW *yáámem*, *káámem*; WOL *gaamami*, *-gemami*; PUA *kamami*, *-kamami*; PCK *ka[aɔ]mami, -kamami; MOK *kam*; Mrs *kémém* (eastern dialect). Cf. Fij *keimami*. Cf. also

POC *kami (SAA 'ami; LAU gami; BUG gami; LAK ami-[*teu*]). See Jackson 1986:206. Cf. PWMc *kami 'we (exclusive), us'.

PMC ***kāaSu, kakaaSu** 'to scratch': CHK *kkéet* 'itch, s. an itch', (*a*)-*kéttú*, (*é*)-*kéttú* 's. it', (*fisi*)-*kéet*, -*kéttú* 's. a lot, scratching'; PUL *kéet* 'to itch'; CRL *kkéet*, 'to be scratchy, itchy'; WOL *kkéénú* 'be itchy (from eating raw a kind of nonswamp taro)'; PUA *kkatú* (sic) 'itch, an itchy feeling'; PCk *kkaadú; KIR *kaari(a)* 's. it, scrape it'; KSR *kaka* 'to s.', *kawi* 'to s. (s.t.)'. Cf. PON *pitikiida* 'be itchy from s.t.'.

PMC ***kacawa** 'open space between': CHK *achaw* 'basaltic rock' (presumably from *féwú-n achaw* 'rock of heaven'), *achaw* 'place in the sky world' (latterly identified with Kosrae), (*sowu*)-*kachaw* 'Lord of Achaw' (a powerful spirit and dynastic ancestor), (*tona*)-*achaw* 'basalt peak' (a place on Wééné that was sacred to the cult of *sowukachaw*); PUL *yaraw* 'volcanic rock'; CRL *ashaw* 'hard basaltic rock, rocky cliff', *ashaw* 'place in the sky world' (now identified with Kosrae); CRN *araw* 'hard basaltic rock, rocky cliff'; WOL *geshaweshawe* 'big flat rock at seaside' (i.e., beachrock); PCk *kacawa; PON *kataw* 'mythical place now identified with Kosrae', (*dau*)-*kataw* 'a sky god'; KIR *karawa* 'sky'; KSR *kasrao* 'heaven', (*pe*) *kushra* 'horizon'; PEO (*ka*)-*dawa* (FIJ *dawa*-[*ka*] 'to extend as far as'); Pre-POC *nsawaj; PAN *sawaj 'atmosphere, distance' (Blust 1970:141).

PMC ***kacawu** 'cloud, rain': CHK *kuchu*, *kuchuu(n)* 'c., c. of'; MRT *woshow* 'c.'; PUL *woRow* 'white c.'; CRL *ushow* 'r.'; STW *woRow*, *oRow* 'r., r. c.'; WOL *goshou* 'r., rainfall, shower, downpour'; PUA *kosou* 'r. c.'; PCk *kocou; PON *ketew* 'r., to r.'; MOK *kəɔw* 'c.'; MRS *kedaw* 'c., overcast'; KIR *karau* 'to r.', (*te*)-*karau* 'rain-water, r.'. See also Marck (1994:311) PMC *kat'awu. There is a problem with the CHK forms.

PMC ***kace** 'throw': CHK *áche-e(y)* 't. it'; MRT *ashe*; PUL *yáRe-(y)*; CRL *akkesh*, *akkásh*, *ákkesh* 'to t.', *ashe-(y)*, *ashe-e-(y)* 'to t. (s.t.)'; CRN *akkaR* 'to t.', *aRe-(y)* 'to t. (s.t.)'; STW *yaRe-(i)*; WOL *gashe-e-(ye)*; PUA *kase-di*; SNS *kase-fi* (sic); PCk *kace, *kace-ti*; PON *kate* 'to stone, t. rocks at'; MOK *kaskas* 'to t.', *kasə* 't. (s.t.)'; MRS *kadkad* 'use a throwing net', *kad*, *kadey* 't. (a net)'; KIR *kare* 'engage in throwing', *kare-a* 't. (s.t.)'. Cf. KSR *osrwosr*; *osrak* 't.'. Cf. also PCk *kace 'to tack (in sailing)'.

PMC ***kaci** 'a large black ant': CHK *wu-kech*, *wu-kechi-(n)* 'species of l. a., a. of'; PUL *wu-keR*, *wu-keRe-(n)*; CRL *wu-gesh*; CRN *u-geR*; WOL *u-geshi*; PUA *u-kesi*; PCk *wu-keci; PON *kaat* 'a.', *keti*-(*tik*) 'a small a.'; MRS *kai-(lep)* < *kad-(lep) 'big b. a.'; KSR *kasr-(kín)*, *kasr-(lep)* 'a kind of a.'; PEO *kadi (FIJ *kadi* 'a large kind of b. a. that stings').

PMC ***kai₁** 'bite': CRL *ghey* 'to tear off the husk of coconut or sugarcane with the teeth', *ghéi-tji*, *ghéi-tji* 'to husk (s.t.) with the teeth'; WOL *géigéi* 'to b. with the teeth, husk coconuts into smaller layers'; PON *keykey* 'to b.', *ke* 'b. it'; MOK *keykey* 'to b.', *ko* 'b. (s.t.)'; PPC *kai; PEO *ka-i (PPN *kai 'food, to eat'; SAA *a-[na]* 'his food to eat'; BUG *ga-[gna]* 'his food to eat'; KWA *a-[na]* 'a piece for him'); UAN *ka. CRN *ahéy* 'to husk (s.t.) with the teeth' is an apparent loan from CRL. Cf. PUA *nei-di* 'bite it (of meat)'. See also PMC *kanj, PMC *kana.

PMC ***kai₂** 'to inform': PON *kai-r* 'news', *kai-reeki* 'to inform'; PNG *kai-reki-n* 'to notify'; MRS *kahyi-tj*, *kahyi-tji* 'send a command to, inform', *key-yaj* 'announcement'; KSR *kai* 'to warn, advise, admonish (s.o.)'. There is a possibility that some of these are loans. Cf. FIJ *kai-naki* 'be said', *kay-a* 'to say', *i-kaikai* 's.t. said'; TON *ai* 'tell, inform'. Cf. PCk *kae- or *kaya- 'speak, tell', PCk *yari 'a fish'.

PMC ***kai-peti** 'driftwood': CHK *á-piipi* 'driftwood, flotsam'; PUL *yá-peyipeyi* (sic) 'd.'; CRL *a-peipey* 'd.', *peipey* 'flotsam, d.'; STW *yá-peyipey* 'd.'; PUA *ka-peipei* 'd.'; PCk *ka-peipei; PON *kəe-pey* 'd.'; MOK *kəə-peepe* 'd.'; KIR (*te*)-*kai-beti* 'd.'. The KIR form makes sense as *kai* 'wood' and *beti* 'drift'. The PCk form has reinterpreted the initial element meaning wood as a causative prefix and shortened the vowel accordingly. See PMC *peti, pepeti, pe(t)ipeti 'to float'.

PMC ***kaila** 'be strong': PUL *kel* (sic); WOL *kkaile* 's., healthy', (*ge*)-*kkaile(a)* 'strengthen it, make it s.'; PCk *kkaila; PON *keel* 'strength', *keelayl* (<*kailaila) 's., healthy, powerful'; PNG *keel* 'strength'; KIR *kaina*-(*matoa*) 'implacable'; PEO *kaila 's., firm' (SAA *a'aila*-[*a*] 'firm, s.'; ARO *a'aira*-[*a*] 's., firm'). Cf. BUG *kakai* 'be firm, steady, faithful'.

PMC ?***kaka**₁ 'cracked, split': CHK (*sa*)-*kkak* 'to split, crack, check (of wood or skin)' (*sa*- 'of its own accord'); Mrs *kek*, *kék* 'c., s., chink'; PEO ***kaka** (Fij *ka-ca* 'c., s.', *kaka-ca* 'c. or s. in many places'; ARO *kaka* 'to split', *kaka-si* 'to s. (s.t.)'). Cf. PMC ***kaka**₂ 'to make an intruding or interrupting sound'.

PMC ***kaka**₂ 'to make an intruding or interrupting sound': CHK *kak*, *kkak*, *kakkak* 'ring (as a bell), caw (as a bird), break (as a voice in speaking), sound of ringing'; MRT *kaak* 'sound of cracking'; PCK ***kaka**, *kkaka*, *kakka*; KIR (*te*)-*kaka* 'a kind of bird'; PEO ***kaka** (Fij *kaka* 'to stammer, stutter', *kakaa* 'any of several sp. of parrot'). Cf. PMC ?***kaka**₁ 'cracked, split'.

PMC ***kaka**, **ka-Si**, **kaka-Si** 'tie thatch': CHK *kket* 'tie t. to rafters', *kketi* 't. it, tie t. to it'; PUL *káti*-(y) 'tie (as sennit to t.)'; CRL *kkát*, *kket* 'stringers used to tie t. to a roof'; WOL *kkati* 'be tied, tie, bind', *kkati-i*-(ye) 'tie it, bind it'; PCK ***kkadi**; Mrs *kéykéy* 'to sew, stitch', *kkétahak* 'attachment, joint'; KIR *kakari* 'to sew or tie on t.'; KSR *kæk* 'tie t. to the roof', *ká* 'tie (it)'; PEO ***ka-si** (Fij *kasi*, *kasi-na* 'tie a lot of things together, string things together'); UAN ***ka(ñ)**cinj 'fastener'.

PCMC ***kakanj** 'sharp': CHK *kken*; MRT *kkaj*; PUL *kkáj*; CRL *kkáj*; CRN *kkej*; STW *kkáj*; WOL *kkanj*; PUA *kkanj*; PCK ***kkanj**; PON *kej*; MOK *injkej*; Mrs *kkanj*; KIR *kakanj*. Cf. KSR (*kæl*)-*kaj* 'smart, intelligent, sharp, quick witted' (probably a borrowing from PON).

PMC ***kala**, **ma-kala** 'break, cut, scatter': CRL *ma-ghal* 'to s. in different directions, disperse', *ma-ghalaghal* 'to be smashed', (*b^w*iti)-*ghalle*-(ló) 'to be mangled, torn, smashed, shredded (of flesh, meat, rotten vegetables)'; CRN *ma-galagal* 'to be smashed; WOL *me-gale* 'split, c., divide, b., be dispersed', *me-galegale* 's., disperse, be cracked up, be broken into pieces'; PUA *ma-kana* 'be destroyed, broken, destroy, b.'; PCK ***ma-kala**; KIR *ma-kanakana* 'easily broken, not firm, weak, frail'; KSR *kal*, *kalkal* 'c., shear, scissor, clip', *kalkal* 'fence, to separate or divide with fences'; POC ***kala** (SAA '*ala* 'b. off, lop, bite'; LAU *ala* 'bite'; ARO *kara* 'to c.'; KWA '*ala* 'bite'; LAK *kala*-(*hoho*) 'bite down hard'). See also PEO ***kaRa-t** 'bite, hold in teeth' (Geraghty 1990). Cf. Mrs (*peda*)-*kilkil* 'crumbled, shattered, broken in bits'.

PCMC ***kalo** 'roll or twist fiber into rope': CHK *óna* 'r. or t. (fiber) into cord or rope', *kkón* 'to r. or be rolled on the thigh (of fibers)', *kónne-e*-(y) 'to r. or t. (fibers) together'; PUL *yólólól* 'sennit rope, to braid sennit', *yóle-e*-(y) 'to braid (sennit)'; WOL *galogalo* 'sennit rope', *galo-o* 'make it into sennit'; PUA *kanokano* 'sennit cord'; PCK ***kalo**, *kalokalo*; PON *kole* 'to make (sennit)'; MOK *kolkol* 'to t. strands of coconut fiber to make string', *kolo* 'to t. (strands), r. (a cigarette)'; Mrs *k^wkal* 'coconut fiber sennit, make sennit'; KIR *kanoa* 'engage in twisting strands', *kanoa-a* 'to t. (strands of rope) together'. There is a problem with the added final *a* of the KIR form. Cf. UAN ***galij** 'to roll, twist'. See also PWMc ***kalo** 'loin cloth, skirt'.

PWMc ***kalo** 'loin cloth, skirt': CHK *ón*-(*nom^w*), *ón*-(*nom^w*u)-(n) 'men's l. c., l. c. of (a given type)' (*nom^w* 'stripping skin, bark, or leaves'); PUL *wól*-(*lom^w*) 'woman's l. c.', *wól*-(*lom^w*o-ni-y) 'to use or own as a l. c.'; PCK ?*[*k*θ]alo-(*lom^w*o); PON *kcol* 'grass skirt worn by men', *kol* 'to wear a grass skirt'; MOK *kol* 'skirt made of leaves or grass'; Mrs *kal* 'l. c., diaper'. Cf. YAP *gaal* 'hibiscus tree, l. c. or any cloth made of hibiscus bark'. See also PCMC ***kalo** 'roll or twist fiber into rope'. Mrs final consonant would call for final *a* in reconstructed form.

PWMc ***kami** 'we (exclusive), us': CHK *ám*; CRN *ám*; PCK ***kami**; MOK *kam*- (root for dual and trial series); Mrs *kém* (western dialect), *kém^w* (eastern dialect). See Jackson 1986:206. Cf. PWMc ***ka[aθ]mami** 'we (exclusive), us'.

PCMC ***kamii** 'you (pl.)': CHK *áámi* 'y. (pl.)', *-kemi*, *-keemii* 'y. (pl. object)'; MRT *káámi*, *-kámi*; PUL *yáámi*; CRL *áámi*, *-ghámi*; CRN *áámi*, *-geni*; STW *kámi*, *-gamii*; PUA *kaamii*, *-kamii*; PCK ***kaamii**, *-kamii*; Mrs *kemiy*; KIR (*η*)-*kamii* 'y. (pl.)', *-kamii* 'y. (pl. obj.)'. Cf. also PMC ***kam^w**u 'you (pl.)'.

PMC ***kam^w**u 'you (pl.)': PON *kom^w*, *kom^wi* 'y. (honorific)'; Mrs *k^wém^w*; KIR *kam^w*; KSR *kom*; PEO ***kam[iθ]u** (Geraghty 1983) (BUG *gamu* 'y.'). Cf. POC ***kam[iθ]u** (Fij *kemu*-(*dou*), *kemu*-(*ni*); SAA '*amu*'; LAU *gamu*; BUG *gamu*; LAK *amu*-(*tou*)). Cf. PON *kum^w*a 'y. (dual)', *kum^w*a-(*il*) 'y. (pl.)'; MOK *kam^w*a 'y. (dual)', *kam^wai* 'you (pl.)'. See also PCMC ***kamii** 'you (pl.)'.

PMC ***kana** 'food', ***kani** 'eat (s.t.)': CHK *ana*-(n) 'his cooked f. (to eat)'; PUL *yana*-(n); CRL *ala*-(l); CRN *ana*-(n); WOL *gala*-, *gan*-(ne); PUA *kana*-, PCK ***kana**; PON *kana*- 'poss. cl. for f.'; MOK *kana*-(a), *kene*-(n) 'his f., f. of'; Mrs *kan* 'e. (s.t.)', *#kkan* 'f.'; KIR *kana*-(na) 'his f.', *kana*

'e. (s.t.)', *kann-a* (<**kani-a*) 'e. it'; POC **kana*, *kani* (PPN **kani* 'e.'; FIJ *kana* 'e.'; BUG *gani* 'e.'; LAU *ani* 'e.'; KWA '*ani*-[a] 'e. [s.t.]'; PKB **qani* 'e.', [il]-*ali* 'f.'). Cf. SAA '*a*-(*na*)' 'for him to e.'; BUG *ga*-(*gna*) his f. to eat'; UAN **ka*, *kaen*). Cf. PMC **kaŋi* 'eat (s.t.)', PMC **kai*, 'bite'.

PCMC **kana*, *kai* 'habit, tendency': CHK *kan*, *kayi* 'be wont to, be in the habit of, be one's lot to, happen to'; PUL *kán*, *káy* 'ordinarily, commonly, for the moment'; CRL *ghal* and CRN *gan* 'usually, regularly, habitually'; STW *kan* 'usually'; WOL *galega* 'usually, habitually, only'; PUA *kae* 'often, usually', *kana* 'be only'; PCK **kana*, *kai*; MRS *kén*, *kkéyiniy* 'used to (former habit)', *kkay* 'repeatedly, usually, tend to, apt to', *kkéyiniy* 'to frequent, stay in touch with (distributive in form)'; KIR *kan* 'nearly, almost, soon', *kan*, *kani* 'want to, wish to', *kai* 'easily, without difficulty, soon, readily'. There are problems here.

PMC **kanawa* 'a tree (*Cordia subcordata*)': CHK *anaw*; PUL *yaanaw*; PCK *[kθ]anawa; MOK *kanaw* 't. sp.'; MRS *keŋew*; KIR (te)-*kanawa* 'a t.'; PMP **kanawa* 'Cordia spp.' (Blust 1984–85). Cf. KSR *kənye* 'banyan tree'. Cf. L: CHK *anné*.

PMC **kaŋi* 'eat (s.t.)': CHK *áni*, *eni*; MRT *aŋe*; PUL *yapi*-(y) 'nibble, munch, e. it'; CRL *aŋi*; STW *aŋi*; WOL *gaŋi*-(i); PUA *kaŋi*; PCK **kaŋi*; PON *kaŋ*; MRS *kaŋ*; KIR *kaŋ* 'e. (things, pl. of *kana*)', *kaŋkaŋ* 'palatable, tasty', KSR *kaŋ* 'e.', *kaŋkaŋ* 'e. a little at a time'. Cf. PMC **kana* 'food', **kani* 'eat (s.t.)', PMC **kai*, 'bite'.

PMC **kapa* 'bundle of s.t.': WOL *gaape*, *gepa*-(li) 'a kind of woven cloth that has only two stripes and is not well woven'; PON *kapakap* 'bundle, sheaf'; *kepe*-(n) 'b. of', *kepe* 'to carry a b.', -*kap* 'classifier for b. or sheafs in counting'; MRS *kap* 'roll or bolt of cloth'; KSR *kæp* 'b., sheaf, faggot'.

PMC **kapi* 'bottom, butt end': CHK *epi*-, -*kepi*-; MRT *aap*, *api*- 'b.'; PUL *yááp*, *yápi*-; CRL *ááp*, *ápi*- 'buttocks, hip, keel or b. of a canoe'; STW *yááp*, *yápi*- 'b., buttocks'; WOL *gaapi*, *gapi*- 'keel or b. (of canoe), hip (of person)'; PUA *kaapi*, *kapi*- 'end, hip, buttocks'; PCK **kapi*; PON *kapi*-; MOK *kap*, *kapi*-; PNG *kapi*- 'b., end, south'; MRS *kapi*-; KIR (te)-*kabi*; KSR *kapi*-(n) 'b. of, end of'. See also PCK **kapilipili* 'elbow, heel'.

PCMC **kapi-sa*, *kapi-si* 'oil for skin or hair, anoint': CHK *epi*-t, *epi*-ta-(n) 'hair o., his/her h. o.', *epi*-ti 'a. him/her with o. or perfume', *kkepi*-t 'be anointed, perfumed'; MRT *api*-te 'to oil, a.'; PUL *yapi*-ta- 'hair o.', *yapi*-ti-(y) 'a. him/her'; CRL *ápi*-ti 'a. (s.o.)', *kkápi*-t 'be anointed', *ákkápi*-t 'o. for anointing the body or hair'; WOL *gapigepi* 'coconut o. for anointing', *gapi*-ta-(le) 'his/her anointing o.', *gapi*-ti 'o. the body, a.', *gapi*-ti-(i) 'apply lubricant to it, a. it'; PCK **kapi*, *kapi*-da, *kapi*-di; PON *key* 'to a., apply to the skin as lotion', *keye* 'to a. (s.o.)'; MRS *#pitpit*, *kkapi*-t 'rub with oil as a medical treatment, massage', *kapi*-t 'rub (s.o.) with o.', *kapi*-te- 'oil' (with possessive suffix); KIR *kabi*-ra 'anointing o., to a. (s.o.)', *kabi*-ri-a 'a. him/her'. Irreg. loss of [sS] in PON. Cf. FIJ *kabi*, *kabi*-ta 'adhere, stick to'.

PCMC **kap^wu*, *kakap^wu* 'dull': CHK *kkop^w*, *kkop^wu*-; PUL *kóp^w*; CRL *kkób^w*; CRN *kkob^w*; WOL *kkabu*; PCK **kap^wu*, *kkap^wu*; MRS *kkéb^w*; KIR *kab^wub^wu*.

PMC **kara*, *kakara* 'burnt': CHK *kkar* 'be b., scorched', (a)-*kkar* 'sun' (lit. 'scorcher'), (a)-*kkara* 'cause it to be b.'; PUL *kkar*; CRL *kkar*; WOL *kkare*; PUA *kkala*; PCK **kkara*; PEO **kaRa*-t 'burn (s.t.)' (Geraghty 1990); UAN **ga*(rR)aŋ.

PMC **kara*, *kara-si*, *kara-sa* 'to scrape': MRS *kar* 's.', *karkar* 'cut out copra meat from the shell', *kera*-t 'cut (it) out'; KIR *kaa*-ra 's., cut with a draw knife, grave or groove (s.t.)', *kaa*-ri-(a) 's. it'; KSR ? *karwere* 's., sharpen, scratch', *kare*-t 's., sharpen, scratch (s.t.)'; POC **kara*-si 'to peel (a sweet potato)' (Ross 1988) (SAA *kara*, *kara-si*, '*ara*-si 'to s.'; KWA '*ala*'*ala* 'rough, scratchy' '*ala*-si-a 'to s., scratch'; PKB **ka[rz]a* 'sharp, piercing'). Cf. UAN **karkar*. Cf. also PMC **rau*, *ka-rau*, *ka-rau*-si 'scraped, to scrape', PMC **kari* 'to scratch', PMC **karu* 'to scrape, grate'.

PMC **karakara* 'tern': CHK *araar* 'white t.'; PUL *yaraar* 'a king or sooty t.'; CRL *araar* 'species of small, black bird'; WOL *garegare* 'gray-backed t.'; PCK **karakara*; KIR (te)-*kaakaa* 'a bird'; PEO **kaRa* 'parrot' (Geraghty 1990). Cf. MRS *keyyar* 'crested t.'; FIJ *kara* 'to scold, to cry (of a parrot), to bark (of a dog)'; SAA '*a*'*a* 'large green parrot'.

PCMC **karani* 'near, close': PON *keren* 'n., c.', *karani*-i 'be n. or c. to'; MOK *kəɾən*; KIR *kaan* 'n., c. to', *kaani*-a 'to approach (s.o. or s.t.)'. Cf. CHK *kan* 'be n., c.' (? <**kanni* <**karni*); MRS *karwahan* 'be with, accompany'; ROT '*ele*, '*ele*-a 'be near, be near to'.

PCMC ***karau** 'heron': CHK *éré, éréé(-n)* 'h., h. of'; WOL *géréé*; PCk ? **karaú*; KIR *(te)-kaai*.

PMC ***kari** 'to scratch': CHK *erikeri* 's. it', *(fa)-ariker* 's. lightly on a person's leg (as a signal)', *(p^weyi)-ker* 'coconut grater'; MRT *aikér* 'be scratched', *aikare* 's. (s.t.)'; PUL *yáriker, keriker* 's.', *keri(-y)* 's. it'; CRL *gherigher, gheregher* 'to s.', *gheri* 's. or grate (s.t.)'; STW *keriker*; WOL *gerigeri* 's., rub'; PUA *kelikeli*; PCk **karikari*; PON *keri(-p^wud)* 's. (as when itching)', *kari(-p^wude)* 'scratch (an itch)'; MOK *kari(-p^wod)* 'to s.', *kari(-p^wodo)* 's. (s.t.)'; MRS ? *kar* 's., scrape' (but see PMC **kara, kara-si, kara-sa* 'to scrape' and PMC **karu* 'to scrape, grate'); POC **kariis* (Ross 1988) 's.' (Fij *kari* 'to scrape, especially a coconut'; BUG *kari* 'to scrape, of coconut; a rasp'); UAN **garis*. Cf. PKB **kasi* 'to scrape, scratch'; KWA *koli* 'to scratch'. Cf. also PMC **rau, ka-rau, ka-rau-si* 'scraped, to scrape', PMC **kara, kara-si, kara-sa* 'to scrape', PMC **karu* 'to scrape, grate', PWMc **ñani* 'to, toward'.

PCMC ***kari** 'tired, exhausted': CHK *er, kker* 'be t. of doing s.t.', *(kká)-ár* 'running race', *(kká)-ári(-n waa-jétún)* 'paddle-canoe race'; CRL *ghár* 'be very t., e. (as from carrying a heavy load)', *kkár, kker* 'give up, surrender (as when tired of arguing), be fed up, frustrated'; CRN *gár* 'be t., e. (as from carrying a heavy load)'; WOL *gari* 'be t. of, be sick of'; PCk **kari*; KIR *kai* 'be in trouble, in straits, in difficulty'. Cf. KWA *(kwaikwai)-'ali-i* 'to race, compete with (*kwaí* 'mutually'), *'ali-a* 'to best in competition, outdo'.

PMC ***karu** 'to scrape, grate': CHK *(a)-arú(-ñi)* 'grind one's teeth'; PUL *yarú(-ñiy)* 'click one's teeth', *kérúkér* 'g. or s. (as coconut or breadfruit), shave', *kéru(-u-w)* 'g., s., shave (s.t.)'; CRL *ghúrí, ghéru* 'to s. or g. (s.t.)', *ghúríghúr* 'to s. or g.'; WOL *gerú(-ú)* 'grind it, shave it, crush it', *gerú-gerú* 'grind, be ground, shave, crush'; PUA *kalúkalú* 'coconut grater'; PCk **karú*; PEO **karu* (SAA *káru, kánikeru* 'to scratch with the nails'); UAN **garus* 'scratch'. Cf. KIR *keru* 'make a gnawing sound', *(kama)-kerukeru* 'grind the teeth' (presumably a loan from a PN source). Cf. also CRN *(aha)-ñínú* 'to grind (s.t.) with the teeth'. Cf. also PMC **rau, ka-rau, ka-rau-si* 'scraped, to scrape', PMC **kara, kara-si, kara-sa* 'to scrape', PMC **kari* 'to scratch'.

PMC ***karuki** 'white sand crab or ghost crab': MRT *(li)-kkérúk*; PUL *yárik, yárike(-n)* 'a kind of small edible c.'; CRL *arigh, árigh* and CRN *arig*; WOL *garipi* 'beach c.' (given as *gariki* in Bender et al. 1984); SNS *kaliki* 'kind of c.'; PCk **karúki*; MRS *karik*; KIR *kauki*; KSR *kuluk*; PEO **kuRuiki* 's. c.' (Geraghty 1990); PAN **kaRuki* (Blust 1983–84:64). Cf. CHK *ni-kké* 'w. s. c.'.

PMC ***kaseki** 'a fish': CHK *etik, etiki(-n)* 'lethrinid f. (good eating), f. of'; CRL *átigh* 'sp. of edible f. found outside reef'; PCk **[kø]ad[ei]ki*; PON *kadek* 'f. sp.'; MOK *kadek* 'f. sp., kind of emperor f.'; MRS *katek* 'wrasse (*Epibulus insidiator*)'; KSR *kætək* 'a kind of f.'. Cf. CHK *feysisiyuu* 'a fish (*Epibulus insidiator*)'.

PMC ***ka[sS]i[sS]ifa** 'spit, spittle': CHK *óttif, ótiffa(-n)* 'saliva, spittle, to spit, spit at, his s.' (var.: *óttuf, attof, ótof*), *óttifa, attofa, atufa* 'to spit at it', *óttife(-yiti), óttofe(-yiti)* 'to spit on him/her'; PUL *yóttíf* 'saliva, sputum', *óttúfe* 'to spit', *óttúfe(-yiti-y)* 'to spit on it'; CRL *óttuf* 'saliva, to spit'; PCk **kaddifa*; PON *kendip* 'to spit'; MOK *andip* 'to spit'; PPC **kadidifa*; POC **kasip + a* (Fij *kasivi* 'to spit', *kasivi-ta* 'spit on or at'; KWA *'asi* 'to spit on, spray'). Cf. ULA *ásihe* 'to sneeze'; ARO *'asihe* 'to sneeze'.

PMC ***ka[sS]o** 'rafter': MRT *óót* 'pole or beam used in building a house'; PUL *yóót* 'verticle house rafter'; STW *yóót* 'diagonal rafter'; WOL *gaato, gato* 'thatch rafter of a house'; PCk **kado*; MOK *kad(-dal)* 'rafter' (loan from MRS?); MRS *kat(-tal)* 'horizontal rafter'; POC **kaso* (Ross 1988) (PPN **kaso*; Fij *[i]-kaso* 'outrigger boom'; SAA *'ato*; BUG *gaho*; KWA *'ato*; LAK *aro*); UAN **kasaw*.

PMC ***kata** 'talk loudly': CHK *kasakas* 't. aloud'; MRT *kasakas* 'loud talking'; CRL *kkas, kkasa(-l)* 'language, speech, his language'; WOL *kkase* 'foreign language, speak a foreign language'; PCk **kata*; PON *kaas* (sic) 'speak in anger, boast'; MRS *kaj, kkaikaj* 'idiom, language, motto, pun, saying, slang'; KIR *kaka(-rabakau)* 'conspire, plot insurrection' (showing *t to k after *k); KSR *kæs* 'word, speech, language, chirp, cheep', *kæskæs* 'talk, chirp repeatedly'; PEO **kata* (PPN **kata* 'to laugh'). Cf. PUA *kada(-mmani)* 'be funny, amusing' (*mmani* 'laugh'); MOK *kójói* 'a story'; Fij *kara* 'scold, object, rebuke'; LAK *(vi)-kara* 'to speak, lan-

guage'; PAN *kaRi 'speak, language' and PAN *keraq 'chattering of monkeys' (Blust 1970:129). Cf. also BUG *gaegahe* 'to boast'. YAP *gaas* 'speak a foreign language' appears to be a loan from a Chuukic source.

PWMC ***katama** 'doorway, entrance, gateway': CHK *asam*; MRT *asam*; PUL *yaham*; CRL *asam*; CRN *aham*; STW *asam*; WOL *getame*; PUA *katama*; PCK **katama*; MRS *kejam*.

PMC ***katea** 'lee side of a sailing canoe': CHK *ásá*; PUL *yáhá* 'l. s. of a s. c.', *yáhá*, *yákkáhá* 'steer before the wind'; STW *ákkásá* 'canoe helm, rudder'; WOL *gáaa*; PCK **katea* or **katae*; PON *kasaa* 'its (canoe's) side opposite the outrigger'; MRS *kejah*, *kejaha*-(n); KIR (te)-*katea*; PEO **katea* (PPN **katea*). Cf. CRL *ásá* 'a voyage by canoe, to sail a canoe or voyage by canoe' (interpreted as a causative constructed from *sády*). Note that the KIR form could be a loan from a PN source as well as directly inherited from PMC. KSR (fa)-*kata* 'turn a ship to port' is an apparent loan.

PMC ***katau** 'mast (of a canoe)': see PMC **kautu*.

PWMC ***kau**, **kakau**, **kau-ri**, **kakau-ri** 'call, call to': CHK *kké*, *kkéé*-(wu), *kékké* 'c., cry, shout', *kkéé-ri* 'c. to, shout to'; PUL *kékké* 'to c., crow'; CRL *ghékké*, *kkékké* and CRN *géké* 'to crow (of rooster)'; WOL *kkéé*, *kkékkéé* 'crow (as a rooster)'; PUA *kkaú* 'salute, greet'; PCK **kkaú*; PON *kee-r* 'to c. (as in to give s.o. a bad name), to badmouth'; MOK *kee-re* 'to bow to, pay homage to (s.o.)', *kee-reek* 'bow, pay homage'; MRS *kki-r* 'c., crow, invitation, summons'. Cf. PON *eker* 'to c., to summon'. Cf. also BUG *kuakuala* 'cry out, c.'. There are problems with the MRS vowel.

PMC ***kau**, **kau-ti**, **kau-ta** 'fishhook, catch with hook': CHK *éé*. *éé* 'f.', *éé-yi* 'hook it'; PUL *kéé*, *yéé* 'f.', *yéé-yá*-(á-tiw) 'hook it down (in picking breadfruit)'; CRL *ghéé*; CRN *gée*; STW *kéé*; WOL *gée*, *géeé* 'f.', *géeé-si*-(i) 'hook it', *géeé-tagí* 'be hooked'; PUA *kkaú*, *kkaú*-(i); SNS *kkaú*; PCK **kkaú*, *kkaú-ti*; PON *kee-s*, *kee-se* 'f., hook it'; MOK *kəw-s*; MRS *kaya-j*, *kay-ji* 'f.', *kaw-jék* 'caught on a hook'; KIR (ua)-*kai* 'two f.'; KSR *ka* 'f.', *ka-i* 'catch with a hook'; PEO **kawi*-t (BUG *kau* 'be caught, hung up, entangled'; ARO 'awi 'a hook'); UAN **kawit*. Cf. PAN **kawin* or **kawil* (Wolff 1993). Cf. also PCK ? **kauita* 'sibling-in-law of same sex, affinal relative'.

PCMC ***ka-uae** 'whistle': See PCMC **uae*, *ka-uae* 'to whistle (of humans)'.

PCMC ***kausaa** 'a pelagic fish': CHK *owuta* 'sp. of tuna (skipjack)'; CRL *owuta* 'sp. of edible f. found outside reef'; PCK **[kʰ]awudaa*; KIR (te)-*kairaa* 'a f.'.

PMC **k[ao]ut[ae]** 'blanket, coverlet': CHK *kuus*, *kuusa*-(n) 'c. or cover of woven material, sheet, b., her c.'; PUL *woowúh*, *woowuhá*-(n) (sic) (?**wowúh*) 'b., sheet, loomed cloth used as a cover'; CRL *óus* 'cover, b.', *óuse*-(y) 'to cover (s.o.)'; CRN *óuh* 'cover, b.'; WOL *gouse* 'lavalava that covers a dead person, covering'; PCK **kout[ae]*; MRS *kawaj*, *kawje* 'b., b. of (poss. classifier)', *kawajwéj* 'use a b.'; KSR *kəot* 'c., b., sheet'. Note that KIR (te)-*kouti* 'small mat worn over the shoulders' appears to be loan from English coat.

PMC ? ***kautiwa** 'east': CHK *éétiw* 'e.', *éétiwá*-(áfen) 'northeast'; PUL *éétiw*, *éétiwa*-(afán); WOL *gootuwe*, *gootuwa*-(afáni); PUA *katiwa* (sic); PCK ? **ka[uʔ]d[ɪu]wa*; MRS *kawtéw* 'northeast tradewind'; KSR *kata*-(lep).

PMC ***kautu** or ***katau** 'mast (of a canoe)': CHK *éwú*, *éwúú*-(u); MRT *aWú*; PUL *yaawu* (sic), *yaayiw* (sic); CRL *ayú*; STW *yau*; WOL *gaúsú*; PUA *kauú*; PCK **kauú*; PON *keew*; MOK *keew*; MRS *kajiw*, *kijiw*; KIR *kautu* 'top part of a tree, a chief of high rank'; KSR *kʷesu*. MRS and KSR reflect the second reconstruction; note that the KSR form may be a loan because KSR lacked a local sailing tradition.

PMC ***kawa**, **kawakawa** 'a fish': MRT *awaaw* 'a reef f.'; WOL *gawegawe* 'a fish (*Chlorurus pulchellus*)'; PCK **kawakawa*; PON *kooko* 'dolphin' f. (*Coryphoena hippurus*) (loan from MRS?); MOK *kooko* 'dolphin' f. (loan from MRS?); MRS *kéwkéw* 'dolphin f. (*Coryphoena hippurus*)'; KIR (te)-*kawa*-(riki) 'a f.'; KSR *kwewe*-(n lot) 'dolphin'; PEO **kawakawa* (PPN **kawakawa* 'a sp. of f.'). Cf. PUL *yawé* 'snapper' f. Cf. also PMP **qawa* 'milkfish' (Blust 1984–85).

PCMC ***ka[wʔ]o** 'newly born, infant': CHK (ni)-*kkó* 'baby girl', (wu)-*kkó* 'baby boy', *kóókó* 'baby (up to three mos.)'; PUL (li)-*kkó*, (wu)-*kkó*; CRL *ghóóghó*; CRN *góógó*; WOL (li)-*kkóó*, *kkókkóó*; PCK **-kkóó*, *kóókóó*; MRS *kaw* 'fetus, embryo, still-born baby'; KIR (te)-*kao* 'umbilical cord'.

PWMC ? ***kaye** 'hurry, move quickly': CHK *kkáy*; *kákkáy* 'be fast, be quick, h.', *kkáye*-(*nó*), *kkáyi*-(*nó*) 'h. away', *kkáye*-(*to*), *kkáyi*-(*to*) 'h. hither'; PUL *kkay* 'be fast', *kkayi*-(*to*) 'come q.'; CRL *kkáy* and CRN *kkay* 'be prompt, fast, quick, rapid'; WOL *kkeye* 'travel far, fly (by the force of some agent)'; PCK **kkaye*; PON *key*-(*do*) 'move toward speaker', *kay*-(*do*) 'move (s.t.) toward speaker'; MRS *kay* 'turn, shift, change (as of wind)'. Possible problems here.

PMC ***kayi** 'we (excl., subj. marker)': CHK *áyí*-; PUL *yáy*; CRL *ay*; STW *yáy*; WOL *gai*; PUA *kai*; PCK **kayi*; PEO **kai* (Fij *kai*- 'we [excl.]' [Geraghty 1983]. See PCK **kawú* 'you (pl., subj. marker)').

PMC ***kayinaga** 'clan, folk, tribe, stock': CHK *eyinaŋ*, *eyinaŋ*-(*n*) 'matrilineal c. or sib., c. of'; MRT *ainaga*-(*n*); PUL *yáinaŋ*; CRL *ailaŋ*; CRN *ainaŋ*; STW *ailaŋ*-(*n*); WOL *gailaŋ* 'clan, tribe, tribal division'; PUA *kainaŋa* 'family, land, home, village, estate'; PCK **kayinaga*; PEO **kainaga* (HAW *ainana*; TIK *kainaŋa*). Cf. PON *keynek* 'lineage, extended family, clan'. Note that KIR *kaaiŋa* 'ancestral residence' is a loan from SAM, as is KIR *kaaina* 'inhabitant, occupant, citizen'.

PMC ***kayu** 'wood, pole': CHK *eyi*-(*ni*-*wow*) 'pole for carrying', *éwú*-(*cham*) 'crossbeam of a house'; PUL *yéé*-(*Ram*), *yéé*-*yi*-*Ram* 'house beam'; CRL *gháyí*-, *ghayú*- 'penis' (men's talk); WOL *gaat*, *gai*- 'penis', *geú*-(*sham*) 'tie-beam of a house'; PUA *kaai*, *kai*- 'penis'; PCK **kai*, *kayu*-; MRS *kaya*-*n*, *kéyi*-*n* 'tree, tree trunk, torso'; KIR (*te*)-*kai*-(*ni*-) (in cps.) 'stick for', (*te*)-*kai*-(*na*) 'pandanus tree' (the important food tree historically); PEO *kayu* 'wood' (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *kacu* 'wood' [Geraghty 1983]; SAA 'ai 'a tree'; BUG *gai* 'tree, spear shaft'; ARO 'ai 'tree'; KWA 'ai 'tree, branch, stick'; PKB **qai* 'tree'); UAN **kahi*w (Dyen), **kayu* (Dempwolff). Cf. YAP *gaak*'iy 'tree, wood, shrub, plant'.

PMC ***keli**, **keli-ŋi** 'dig': CHK *ssin* 'dig up root crops', *sin-ni*, *sini-ni* 'dig it up (of root crops)'; PUL *kel*, *keli-ŋi*-(*y*); CRL *kel* dig a hole with a digging implement', *kkeli-ŋi* 'dig (a hole) with an implement', *gheli-ŋi* 'dig up (s.t.)'; STW *kel* 'dig'; WOL *keli*, *keli-ŋi*-(*i*); PUA *keni-ŋi*; PCK **keli*, *keli-ŋi*-, KIR *keniken* 'dig'; KSR *kalkal* 'dig, turn up', *kila-ŋ* 'dig (s.t.)'; POC **keli* (PPN **keli*, Fij *keli*, *keli-a*, *keli-ca*; SAA 'eli 'dig', 'eli-ŋa 'digging'; PWM **Keli*). Cf. LAK *oli*, *oli-a* 'dig with a shovel'.

PMC ***ki**, **kiki** 'move, be moved': CHK *ki*, *kii*- 'be lifted, moved', *kkik* 'm., change location'; PUL *kiki*-(*tiw*) (sic), 'slip and fall'; WOL *kki* 'happen, occur, show up, come', *kki*-(*togo*) 'come (to speaker)'; PCK **kki*, *kikiki*; KIR *ki* (sic) 'go', *ki*-(*wati*) 'stand away, give place', *ki*-(*mai*) 'come here'; KSR *ki* 'm.'.

PCMC ***kiakia** 'white or fairy tern': CHK *esiyes*, *ekiyek* (showing metathesis); PUL *kiyekiy*; CRL *ghiyeghi*; CRN *giyegi*; WOL *giyegiye*; PUA *kiekie* 'butterfly'; PCK **kiakia*; KIR *kiakia* 'a bird'.

PMC ***kiazo** 'outrigger boom': CHK *kiyó*, *kiyóó*-; MRT *siye*; PUL *kiyó*; CRL *ghiyó*, *ghiyóó*, *kkiyó*; STW *kiyó*; WOL *giyóó*; PUA *kiao*; PCK **kiao*; PON *kiay* 'strut supporting outrigger'; MOK *kia* 'struts on outrigger'; PNG *kia*; MRS *kiyé*; KIR (*te*)-*kiaro*; KSR *kiyes*; POC **kiajo*, *kiado* (Ross 1988) (PPN **kiato*). Cf. UAN **katiR*. For discussion of POC **j* (there **z*), see Goodenough (1992, fn. 8). See also Ross (1988:79, 344).

PMC ***kica** 'we (inclusive), us': CHK *kiich*, *-kich*; MRT *kiish*, *-kish*; PUL *kiiR*, *-kiR*; CRL *ghiiish*; CRN *giir*; STW *kiiR*, *-kiR*; WOL *giishe*, *-gishe*; PUA *kiisa*; PCK **kica*; PON *kiit*, *-kit*; MOK *kiis*; PNG *kiis*; KIR (*ŋa*)-*ira*; PEO **kida* (PPN **kita*; Fij *keda*). Note that MRS *kéj* and KSR *kat*, *kite*-(*l*) indicate a PMC doublet **kita*; PEO **kita* (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *ki'e*; ULA *ki'a*; BUG *gita*); POC **kita* (Ross 1988); UAN **kita*. Pohnpeic reflexes are for 'we (exclusive)'.

PMC ***kie**, **kiekie** 'plaited mat': CHK *kiyeki*, *kiye*-, *kiya*-'plaited pandanus mat, m. of'; MRT *kiyeké* (sic); PUL *kiyeki*, *kiye*-, CRL *ghiyé*-, CRN *giya*-, STW *kiyeki*; WOL *giyegiye*; PUA *kiia*, *kia*-, PCK **kiye*; PON *kie*- 'thing to sleep on'; MOK *kiz*, *kie*-(*n*) 'his m., m. of'; MRS ? *kiyi*- 'side of a house, wall'; KIR (*te*)-*kie*; KSR *kie*-, *kia-ka*; PEO **kiRe* (Geraghty 1990) (PPN **kiekie* 'pandanus'; SAA *ile* 'Pandanus odoratissimus'; ARO *kire* 'pandanus'; KWA *ile* 'pandanus variety'). Cf. SAA 'i'e-li 'to plait'.

PMC ***kiep**u 'spider lily': CHK *siip*-, #*sip*-'p'-*e*-(*n*), *kiyop*-, *kiyop*u-(*n*) 'variety of s. l., s. l. of'; MRT *kiyop*-, PUL *kiyop*-, *kiyop*u-(*n*) 'a broad-leafed s. l.'; CRL *ghiyob*-, CRN *giyob*-, STW *kiyop*u-, WOL *giyebu* 'a land plant (*Crinum* sp.)', *giyobu* 'broad-leafed s. l., white l.'; PUA *kiyop*u

's. l.': PCK *kiep^wu; PON *kiep^w* 'l. sp.>'; MRS *kiyé^b* 'a plant (*Crinum asiaticum*)'; KIR (*te*)-*kieb^w* 'a l.>'; KSR *kiyá^f* 's. l.'. Note that CHK *kiyap^w* is an apparent loan from MRT or PUL.

PMC ? ***kiiV, kiV-** 'adze': PON *kii* 'shell a. made from the shell of the giant clam'; PEO **kiRa* (Geraghty 1990) (SAA '*ile* 'stone axe'; BUG *kiekile* 'tomahawk set on a long handle for fighting, axe, a.>'; LAU *kila* 'stone axe'; ARO '*ira* 'stone axe or a.>'; KWA '*ila* 'flint, flint tool'; PKB **qila* 'a.'). Cf. CHK *kii-* 'pertaining to shell fish or other marine life'.

PMC ***kila, kila-a, kila-i** 'to know': CHK *sine* 'k. how (to do s.t.), be skilled', *sine-e* (*fichi-i-y*) 'k. it well', *sine-e* (y) 'k. him/her/it (a person, idea, intention)', *sine-e* (ya-n) 'his knowledge (based on verbal explanation)'; MRT *kúle-e* (y) 'k. him'; PUL *kúle-e* (y) 'find it, k. it, understand it'; CRL *ghule* 'to k., learn', *ghule-e* (y) 'to k. (s.o. or s.t.), be acquainted with (s.o.)', (*a*)-*ghule-e* (y) 'to let (s.o.) k. s.t.', (*yaké*)-*kkúle-e* (y) 'teach (s.o.)'; CRN *gule* 'to k., to learn', *gule-e* (y) 'to k. (s.o. or s.t.), be acquainted with (s.o.)'; STW *kúle-e* (y) 'k. him'; WOL *gile* 'be clear, seen clearly, recognized'; PCK **kila, kila-i, kula, kula-a, kula-i*; PON *kila*-(*ŋ*) 'to see, discern, look at, observe, examine'; MRS *kiley* 'recognize, realize, distinguish, be familiar with, identify, notice, perceive'; KIR *kina-a* 'recognize, k.', *kina-i*-(*a*) 'r. him'; KSR (*a*)-*kile*-(*n*) 'notice' (tr.), (*se-a*)-*kile*-(*n*) 'unable to recognize'; PEO **kila* (Fij *kila, kila-a* 'to know, understand'); PAN **kilat, kulat* 'open the eyes wide' (Blust 1989:145). Cf. PAN **keNa* 'recognize at a glance, understand' (Wolff 1993). Cf. also PMC **kilala* 'sign, symbol'.

PMC ***kilala** 'sign, symbol': CHK *siin, sissiin* 'known as fact', (*e*)-*sissin, (e)*-*sissinna*-(*n*) 's., symbol, s. of it', (*e*)-*sinna, (e)*-*sissinna* 'signify it, symbolize it, guess it (of a riddle)', PUL *kikkil* 'mark with a taboo'; WOL *ginne* 'mark, visible symbol', (*ga*)-*ginne* 'omen'; PCK **killa*; PON *kilel* 's., mark, picture', *kilele* 'photograph it'; MOK *kilel* 'picture, photograph', *kilele* 'take a picture of', *kilele-e*-(*di*) 'mark for reciprocal bad treatment'; MSR (*ka*)-*kelley* 's., symbol'; POC **kilala* (SAA *ilala* 'take an augury'; LAU *inala* 'discern by casting lots'; BUG *githatha* 'to know, be aware of, recognize'; ARO '*irara* 'to know, understand, perceive, divination'; LAK *ilala* 'time or date of an event'). Cf. also CRL *ghilighil* and CRN *giligil* 'be marked for later use or recognition'. Cf. also PMC **kila, kila-a, kila-i* 'to know'.

PMC ***kima** 'tridachna clam': CHK *siim, #siime*-(*n*), *#simme*-(*n*) 'medium sized t. shell, t. shell of'; PUL *hiim, himá*-(*n*); CRL *siim* (said to be loan from CHK); WOL *súime, súma*-(*li*); MOK *kim* 'c. sp.>'; KIR *kiima, (te)*-*kima*; PEO **kima* (SAA '*ima* 'bear's-paw c.>'); UAN **kima*. It looks as if the CHK, MOK, and KIR forms are inherited reflexes of the UAN, whereas the PUL, CRL, and WOL are loans from CHK. Cf. YAP *kiim* 'giant c.>'; PAL *kim* 'type of large c.>'. Cf. also MRS *kkim* 'close tight (as a c.)', *kimi-j* 'close it tight'.

PMC ***kina, kina-ta** 'cut, wound, sore, scar': CHK *kinas* 'a c., c. w., be c. or wounded', (*e*)-*kinasa* 'c. or w. him'; PUL *kinah* 'open sore, w., scar, be c. or wounded'; CRL *ghilas* 'a w., c.>'; CRN *ginah* 'a w., c.>'; WOL *gilate* 'be wounded, injured'; PCK **kilata*; MRS *kiné-j* 'w., scar', *kinéj-néj* 'be wounded, marred'; KIR *kina* 'nicked, marred, defaced', *kinaka* 'disease of the skin, be afflicted with this disease' (*t > k after k); KSR *kinet* 'w., c., scar'.

PWMC ***kinia** 'coarse mat': CHK *sini, kini* (in cps. only) 'made of coconut frond matting', *kini, kiniye*-(*n*), *#kini*-(*n*) 'kind of m. (made of coconut leaves with midribs down the middle of the m., m. of, to be made of such matting)'; PUL *kinii, kiniyá*-(*n*) 'coarse matting of coconut leaves, m. of'; CRL *ghili* and CRN *gini* 'type of woven coconut leaf m.>'; WOL *giliye* 'outdoor m., coconut leaves used as outdoor m.>'; PUA *kinie-* 'poss. classifier for mats'; PCK **kinia*; MRS *kiniiye-* 'poss. classifier for mats'.

PMC ***kini, kini-ti, kini-ta** 'pick, pinch off': CHK *kin* 'be cut, separated, segmented, picked (of fruit)', *kinikin* 'partition, division, section', *kini-i*-(y) 'cut it, divide it, p. it'; PUL *kinikin* 'part, section, division', *kini*-(y) 'divide it, slice, break it into pieces, break it off'; CRL *ghill* 'to p. fruit from a tree', *ghili* 'to harvest or pick (fruit or leaves from a tree)'; CRN *gin* 'to p. fruit from a tree'; WOL *gili* 'to p., pluck with the hands', *giligili* 'divide into small pieces, slice, apportion, woman's cutter for banana fibers', *gili-i*-(ye) 'cut it, slice it, apportion it'; PUA *kini* 'to p. up (fruit)', *kini*-(e) 'section of a house marked off by a partition', *kini-di* 'p. it up'; PCK **kini, kini-ti*; PON *kinikin* 'to pinch', *kini*-(i) 'to pinch (s.t.)'; MOK *kin, kinkin* 'pinch with the nails, cut grass, pluck feathers, pick flowers', *kini* 'pinch, etc. (s.t.)'; MRS *kin-ji*-(y) 'pinch with fingernails'; KIR

kini-ka, kinikini-ka 'to nip (s.t.)' (*t > k after k); KSR *kīn* 'p., pinch', *kīni-s* 'p. or pinch (s.t.)'; POC *kinit (FIJ *kini, kini-ta* 'pinch with the nails'; SAM *'ini* 'pinch, nip'; SAA *'ini* 'pinch, pluck'; LAU *ini* 'to pinch'; KWA *'ini* 'pinch, squeeze'; PKB *qini 'to p. leaves, to weed'); PAN *kinit (Blust 1986:51). Cf. POC *kiñit 'pinch' (Blust 1978:59).

PCMC ? *kio, *kio-ri* 'burn': CHK *kú* 'catch fire, be lit (of a fire), glow (of a coal)', *kúú-ri* 'burn it, scorch it', (*é-kúú-w*) 'light it (a fire), cause it to glow'; MRT (*a-kú* 'tend a fire'; PUL *kú* 'be burning but not flaming'; CRL *ghú* and CRN *gú* 'be alight, smolder, be burning'; WOL *gúú* 'burn, glow', (*ga-gúú-(we)* 'set fire to it, light it'; UL1 ? *gus* 'burn' (Bender et al. 1984); PUA *kúú* 'burn'; PCK ? *kú[tθ]ú, *kú[tθ]ú-ri*; KIR *kio-i* 'burn furiously with leaping flames'. The *s* of the UL1 form is unexpected.

PMC *kisi 'small, little': PUL *kitikit*; CRL *ghit, ghikkit, ghitighiit*; CRN *git, gitigiit*; WOL *giti, gitigiiti, kkiti* 's., l.', -*giti* 's. piece (counting classifier)'; PCK *kidi; PON *kisi-* 'small piece, fragment'; MOK *kij* 'bit, piece'; KIR *kirikiri* 'fine gravel'; KSR *kīti-(n)* 'a little, a few, some'; PEO *kisi (TON *kihi* 'stunted, dwarfed'). See also PPC *ki[st][ai] 'little bit'.

PMC *kiSa 'strong': CHK *kit, kitekit* 's., firm, steady', (*e-kita* 'make a s. effort at (s.t.)', (*e-kitekit* 'persevere, be zealous'; MRT *kitakit*; PCK *kida, *kidakida*; MRS *kket* 's., great capacity'; KSR *kl* 's., healthy, well, powerful, stout'. Cf. SAA *'ite* 'to find fault with, reject'.

PMC *kita 'we (inclusive), us': See PMC *kica 'we (inclusive), us'.

PMC *ko-, *koe* 'you (sg. subj. marker)': CHK *ke, ké-, ko-, ka-, ká-kó-* and *ko, wo* (vocalic honorific); MRT *ó-*; PUL *wo-* and *ka, wo* (voc. hon.); CRL *gho-* (archaic), *u-*; WOL *go-* and *go* (sentential voc.); PUA *ko* and *ka(e)* (polite); PCK *ko-, koe*; PON *ke* and *koo, kowé* (independent pm.); MOK *kəə, kəwə* (independent pm.); MRS *k^we-* and *k^wey* (independent pm.); KIR *ko-* and *η-koe* (voc. and independent pm.); PEO *ko, *koe* (PPN *koe; BUG -*go* 'thee'; PWM *Koe), UAN *kaw.

PCMC *koca 'coconut fiber': CHK *kochokoch* 'short hairs on top of forehead (especially of women)', (*more-ni*)-*koch* 'thread of any kind used on a loom'; PUL *woor, koor, kaRo-(y)* 'c. f. prepared for rope making, c. f. of'; CRL *ghoosh* 'f. from c. husk used in making rope', *ghoshosh* 'stringy pulp that develops in old yams and sweet potatoes'; CRN *oor, goor* 'f. from c. husk used in making rope'; WOL *goosha, gosha-* 'dry c. f. used for making rope'; PCK *koco; PON *koot* 'hibiscus f.'; MOK *kəs, kəsi-(n)* 'a weave, f.'; MRS *k^wed* 'coconut husk, fiber'; KIR (*te*)-*kora* 'c. f. rope', *kora-n* 'thread or f. of a c. husk'. Cf. PMC *koco, 'to cut', PMC *kota 'cut, break', PMC ? *koo, *koo-na* 'tentacle, strand of hair or fiber'.

PMC *koca, *oca* 'eat raw food': CHK *wochooch, woche-e-(y), wocha-a-(n)* 'eat (of fish, meat or uncooked food), eat it, his food'; MRT *woshe-e-(y), wosha-a-(n)*; PUL *woRaR, woRe-e-(y), woRa-a-(n)*; CRL *ushóosh, ushe-e-(y)*; CRN *uRóóR, uRe-e-(y)*; STW *oRa-(n)* (sic); WOL *goshoshe* (< **goshaosha*), *gosha-(a-le)*; PUA *kosa-*; PCK *koca; MOK *wasaus, wəəs*; KIR *oraora, ora-(ia)*; KSR *osræs; osre*; PEO *koda, *qoda* (FIJ *koda*, PPN *qota); UAN *qo(n)ta. Cf. SAA *oko* 'eat raw food'. It is evident that we have doublets in PMC as well as PEO, reflecting both PEO initial *k and initial *q. See discussion by Geraghty (1983:161).

PMC *koco, 'to cut': CHK *woche-e-(y)* 'c. a slice off of (the bound coconut spathe in making toddy)', *woche-(ni)* 'notch it, c. notches in it'; PUL *woRo-(n), woRe-(e-y)* 'slice off (the end of a coconut spathe to c. toddy)'; CRL *ghosh* 'to c. a coconut spathe in making toddy', *ghoshe-e-(y)* 'to c. (a spathe)'; CRN *oR* 'to c. a coconut spathe in making toddy'; WOL *goshe* 'to c. a toddy tap', *goshe-(e-ye)* 'c. it (in cutting for toddy)'; PUA *koso* 'to slice thinly', *koso-di* 'slice it thinly'; SNS *koso-fi* 'slice it thinly'; PCK *koco; PON *kotokot* (honorific) be given a haircut, a haircut', *kote* 'c. a girl's hair straight across at the bottom, to c. down', *kote-(keep)* 'first feast of the yam season'; MOK *koskos* 'c. into s.t.', *koso* 'c. into it'; KIR *korokoro* 'engage in cutting', *kore-a* 'to c. s.t.', *koro-(atu)* 'engage in hair cutting' (*atu* 'head'); KSR *kəsɾ* 'sharp edged, sharp', *kəsri* 'to circumcize (s.o.)'; POC *konso, *koso* (FIJ *koso, koso-va* 'to c. with a bivalve shell'; LAK *korokoro, koro-a* 'to c.'). Cf. PEO *koti (PPN *koti, *kokoti* 'c., clip'; ARO *'oi* 'c. off tops of taro for planting'). Cf. also PCMC *koca 'coconut fiber', PMC *kota 'cut, break'.

PMC *koco, 'slow growing, durable': CHK *woch* 'well preserved, long-lived, durable', *woche-(n)* 'durability of'; WOL *gosho* 'to endure, be resistant, last long'; PCK *koco; PON *kat* 'in

good condition, young looking, slow in maturing, stuck'; KIR *koro-(ulu)* 'unripe'; KSR *kəsrəkəsr* 'be preventing, blockading, blocking, obstructing', *kəsrə* 'to prevent, block, obstruct, blockade (s.t.)'.

PCMc ***kona** 'to arrive, be able': CRL *ghola, ghula* 'to reach it, reach and touch (s.t.), arrive at (a place)'; WOL *gola-a* 'to arrive at, reach, land at, come to (shore)'; PCk **ko[ln]a*; POn *kəna* 'to catch up with (s.o.), be on time for (an event)'; KIR *kona* 'can, be able', *kona-(a)* 'be able to do'. See also PMc ***kona** 'a catch (as of fish), to catch'.

PMc ***kōna** 'a catch (as of fish), to catch': PUL *kon* 'to c. fish', *kono-(n)* 'a c. of'; CRL *ghola, ghula* '(for a disease) to take (a person)'; STW *kona* 'to c. (s.t.)'; WOL *gola-(a)* 'c. it, grab it, capture it, seize it', *gola-a-ya-* 'thing caught by (s.o.)'; ULI *gola-(a)* 'to c. (s.t.)'; PUA *kona* 'to c. and have (s.t.) in one's possession'; PCk ***kōna**; MOK *kónó-(ó)* 'his c.', *kónó-(n)* 'c. of'; MRS *k^wəŋa-* '(poss. classifier) a c. (of fish, crabs, or birds)'; KIR *(te)-kōna* 'a c.' (Bender et al. 1984); KSR *kōno-(n)* 'c. of'; PEO ***kōna** (Kwa **ona* 'to own, hold title to'). See also PCMc ***kōna** 'to arrive, be able'.

PMc ? ***koo, koo-na** 'tentacle, strand of hair or fiber': CHK *óó* 'tentacle of octopus or squid'; -yé 'thread, hair (in counting)', *éé-n, éé-ne-(n)* 'fiber thread in weaving, s. of h., f. t. of', *(ni)-kééké* 'person who can't be separated from the company of his or her spouse' (lit. 'fastened one'); PUL *yóón* 'tentacle'; CRL *ghoo-(l)* 'its tentacle'; WOL *géégéé* 'fasten with straps'; PUA *kéékéé* 'bandage'; PCk **kéé, kéékéé*; MRS *kew* 'tentacle, s. of rope or wire'; KIR *koo* 'firmly bound', *(ka)-koo-(a)* 'fasten', *(te)-ko-na* (sic) 'cord or twine made of coconut fiber'; KSR *kə* 'stripe, line, fiber, string figure'. Cf. FIJ *koa* 'hair on the buttocks'. Cf. PCMc ***koca** 'coconut fiber'.

PCMc ***kopekope** 'cough, to cough': see PCMc ***pekopepe**.

PMc ***koro** 'pubic hair': CHK *kkor, kkora-(n)* 'underarm h., his u. h.'; PUL *kor* (sic) 'p. or underarm h.'; CRL *ghoor* 'p. h.', *kkor* 'be especially hairy in the p. area'; CRN *goor*; WOL *gooro, goro*; PUA *kolo*; PCk ***koro**; PEO ***koRo** (Geraghty 1990). Cf. PCMc ***koca** 'coconut fiber'.

PMc ***koso, koso-mi** 'to husk coconuts': CHK *wot, wote-(n)* 'coconut husking stick, digging stick used in cultivation', *wotoot* 'do husking, do clearing of vegetation, weeding, gardening', *wote-(e-y)* 'h. it, clear it of vegetation'; MRT *wotoot, wote-e-(y)* 'do husking, h. it'; PUL *wote-(y)* 'to husk (a coconut)'; CRL *ghoot* 'coconut husking stick', *ghote-e-(y)* 'to h. (a coconut)', *ghotoot* 'act of husking'; CRN *oto-(maR)* 'coconut husking stick', *ote-(y)* 'to h. (a coconut)', *otoot* 'act of husking'; STW *kotoot, kote-(y)* 'do husking, h. it'; WOL *goto-(ŋi-i)* 'h. it, skin it'; PUA *kotokoto* 'coconut husking stick, to h. with a husking stick'; PCk ***kodo, kodokodo**; POn *kadokod* 'to h. with a stick', *kodo-(m)* 'to h. (a coconut)'; MOK *kod, kodkod, kodo-(m)* 'husking stick, h. with a husking stick, h. it'; KIR *(te)-koro* 'stick for husking coconuts'; KSR *kətkət* 'to scrub, rub off, scour', *kote* 'to scrub, scour, or rub (s.t.) off'; POC *kojo-mi* 'to h., pierce' (Ross 1988).

PCMc ***koso** 'go aground, run on a reef': CHK *wot*; CRL *ghot, ghoto-(tá)*; CRN *got*; PCk ***kodo**; KIR *koro* 'aground, stranded'. Cf. FIJ *kasa* 'go aground'.

PMc ***kota** 'cut, break': CHK *wos, wosoos* 'be c. in half', *wose-e-(y)* 'c. it in half'; PUL *wohe-e-(y)* 'to halve husked coconuts, *wohóh* (sic) (?*wohóóh*) 'b. coconut shells in two'; CRL *wos* 'to c. and gather firewood, to crack a coconut shell in half', *wose-e-(y)* 'c. and gather (firewood), crack (a coconut shell) into halves'; CRN *ohe-(y)* 'c. and gather (firewood), crack (a coconut shell) in half'; WOL *gota-(a)* 'crack it, knock it, split it', *gotó-óte* 'to crack, knock, split'; PUA *kodokodo* 'to b., snap (branches)', *kodo-di* 'b. or snap (s.t.)'; PCk ***kota, kotakota, kota-ti**; KSR *kətkət* 'to b. apart', *kote* 'to b. (s.t.)'; POC ***kotas**; UAN *gefñóŋas*. Cf. PMc ***koco**, 'to cut'.

PMc ***koyi** 'bivalve shell, shell knife or grater': CHK *kii-* 's.' (in names of shellfish); POn *koykoy* 'be shaved (of the head), be scraped on a grater (of coconut)', *koo-ke* 'grate (s.t.) on a grater'; MOK (*məŋ*) *koykoy* 'have a shaved head', *ko* 'to grind (as coconuts), shave', *koo-kó* 'to grind (coconuts)'; MRS (*raan*)*kéy* 'grate coconuts, grater; cog, gear, ratchet'; KIR *(te)-koikoi* 'bivalve s. used in scraping food', *koa* 'to scrape (a coconut) with a shell'; KSR *koe, koekoe* 'scrape, grate, smooth out, plane'; PEO ***koRi** 'grater' (Geraghty 1990) (PPN ***koi** 'sharp'). MRS rounded *k^w* expected. Cf. FIJ *kai* 'bivalve s.'; SAA *ole* 'to scrape with a s., get the skin off yams'. Cf. also POC ***kori** 'scrape' (Ross 1988:461).

PMc ***ku, kuku, ku-ti, kuku-ti** 'bite': CHK *kkúk, kúkkúk* 'b., be wont to b.', *kkú-ú-(w)* 'b. it', *sisis, sissi-* 'b. s.t. off or in two', *ssi-i-(y)* 'b. it off'; MRT *kúúúú* 'b.', *kú-ú-(w)* 'b. it'; PUL *kkú-ú*

'to b.', *kká-ú-wá-(n)* 'the b. suffered by', (*ya*)-*kúúká* 'cause to b.'; CRL *ghú* 'to feed together at the surface of the water (of fish), to eat together from the same dish (of people)', *ghú-ú-(w)* 'to b. (s.t. or s.o.)', *kkáúghú* 'be in the habit of biting', *ghuughu* 'b. repeatedly, be biting'; CRN *kká* 'to b. (s.t. or s.o.)', *gúkká* 'be in the habit of biting'; STW *kúúká* 'to b.', *kú-ú-(W)* 'b. (s.t.)'; WOL *kúkká* 'to b., sting (as mosquitoes)', *gúúgúú* 'b., chew, hold, squeeze', *gú-ú-(w)* 'b. or chew it'; PUA *kúká*, *#kúúká* 'to b., sting', *ká-dú* 'b. it'; PCk **kkú*, *kúkká*, *kú-tú*, *kúúká*; MRS *kik* 'b.', *kki-j* 'b.', *ki-jiy* 'b. (s.t.)'; UAN **gugut* 'nibble off'. Cf. Fij *kua*, *kua-ta* 'to b.'.

PCMc **kua* 'porpoise': CHK *kúúw*, *kúú*, *#kúúwe-(n)* 'p., p. of, a constellation of stars', (*ñi-ni*)-*kú* 'a star' (lit. 'tooth of p. '); MRT *kúú*; PUL *kúúw*, *kúwá-(n)* 'p., p. of, a constellation'; CRL *ghúúw*; CRN *gúú*; STW *kúúw* 'p., constellation (Cassiopeia)'; WOL *gúúwe*, *gúwa-* 'p., a star'; PUA *kúe-(siki)*; PCk **kúa*; PON (*laydini*)-*ki* 'porpoise' (*laydini* 'fish of'); MRS *kéy*; KIR (*te*)-*kua* 'a whale', (*te-b^wuki-ni*)-*kua* 'a constellation' (Bender et al. 1984). Cf. TON *kui* 'kind of fish'.

PMC **kuku* 'fingernail, toenail, claw': CHK *#kkú*, *#wúúú*, *kkú-(n)*, *#wúúkkú-(n)* 'f., t., c., his f.'; MRT *kkú*, *kkú-(n)*; PUL *#kkúú*, *kkú-(n)*; CRL *#kkú*, *kkú-(l)*, *#úkk*, *#úkkú-(l)*; STW *#kkú*; WOL *#kkú*, *kkú-(le)*; PUA *#kkú*; PCk **kkú*, *kkú-*; PON *kiik*, *kiki-(n pée)*; MOK *kiki-(n)*; MRS *hakkiy*, *hakkiyi-(n pay)*; KIR *uuki*, *uki-(na)*; KSR (*to*)-*ku-(n pəo)* 'fingernail'; POC **kuku* 'claw, nail, finger' (Ross 1988) (PPN **kuku* 'claw, nail'; Fij [*tau*]-*kuku*; BUG *gugu-* 'hoof, claw', *guugugu-* 'fingernail, toenail'; PKB **kuku* 'finger'); PAN **kutkut* 'finger' (Ross 1988). MRS rounded *k^w*s expected.

PMC **kuli* 'skin, bark': CHK *siin*, *sini-*; MRT *kiil*, *kili-*; PUL *kiil*, *kili-*; CRL *ghüil*, *ghili-*; CRN *giil*, *gili-*; STW *kili-*; WOL *giili*, *gili-*; PUA *kiini*, *kini-*; PCk **kili*; PON *kiil*, *kili-*; MOK *kil*, *kili-*; MRS *kil*; KIR (*te*)-*kun*, *kuni-*; KSR *kulu-(k)*, *kolo-(l)* 'my skin, his/her s.'; POC **kulit* (Ross 1988) (PPN **kili*; Fij *kuli*; BUG *gúguli*; PKB **kuli*); UAN **kulit*. See also PCk **m^a*-*kilikili* 'tickling or pleasant feeling'.

PMC **kulu* 'kind of bird': PON *kulu* 'golden plover'; MOK *kaul* 'b. sp.'; MRS *k^wel* 'semipalmate sandpiper', *k^wél-(yéj)* 'golden plover'; KIR (*te*)-*kun* 'a b.', *kunikun* 'abounding in such birds'; KSR *kulul* 'kind of b., sandpiper'. Note PON form has unexpected expression of final vowel. Cf. PPC ? **koyikoyi* 'piping or whistling sound, piping bird', PCk **kul[ju]ŋa* 'plover'.

PWMc **kulu* 'grab': PUL *kaul* 'take freely (as leftovers)'; CRL *ghul* and CRN *gul* 'to try frantically to get as much as possible'; WOL *gulu* 'to take freely'; PCk **kulu*; PON *kul* 'to grab, seize', *kuli-i* 'grab, seize (s.t.)'; MRS *k^wiwil* 'to grab, squeeze, choke, embrace'.

PMC **kum^wu* 'have liquid in the mouth': CHK -*kum* 'mouthful or swallow of liquid (counting classifier)', *kumu-u-(w)* 'hold or swish it in the m. (of liquid)', *kumukum* 'hold or swish a fluid in the m.', -*kkum^w* 'portion of premasticated food (counting classifier)'; MRT *kum^wukum^w* 'rinse out m.'; CRL *ghom^wu-u-(w)*, *ghum^wu-u-(w)* 'to swish (water) around in the m., to rinse it'; STW *kum^wukum^w* 'suck'; WOL -*gum^wu* 'mouthful of liquid (counting classifier)', *gum^wu-u-(we)* 'suck it, draw it up (of liquid)', *gum^wugum^wu* 'put liquid in one's m., suck, slurp', *kkum^w* 'mouthful'; PCk **kum^wu*, *kkum^wu*, *kum^wukum^wu*; UAN **kumuR*. We cannot account for the *m* of CHK instead of expected *m^w*.

PMC **kum^wukum^wu* 'a thudding noise': PON *kum^wukum^wu*; MRS *kkim^wkim^w* 'fast beating of the heart'; KSR *kímkim* 'having a thudding sound'; POC **kumu* (LAK *umu* 'to quake, shake'). Cf. KIR *b^wuki* 'to resound', *b^wukib^wuki* 'to beat or throb (as the heart)'.

PMC **kunu* 'extinguished': CHK *kun*, *kunu-(nó)* 'be e., go out (of fire, stove, lamp)', *kunukun* 'extinguishing', *kunu-(u-w)* 'extinguish it'; PUL *kun*, *kunu-(ló)* 'to burn out, go out (as fire or electricity)'; CRL *ghul* 'to go out, be e.', *ghulughul* 's.t. that extinguishes a fire', *ghulu-u-(w)* 'to put out, extinguish (a fire)'; CRN *gun*, *gunugun*, *gunu*; WOL *gulu* 'be e., blotted out, destroyed', *gulu-gulu* 'to destroy, extinguish', *gulu-(u-we)* 'extinguish it, destroy it'; PUA *kunu* 'to be e., blotted out, destroyed', *kunukunu* 'to destroy, extinguish'; PCk **kunu*, *kunukunu*; PON *kun* 'to be e., to be turned off (of lights and motors)'; MRS *k^win* 'extinguish, go out (of a light), put out a fire, deflate'; KSR *kun* 'e., blind, dead (as a fire)', *kuni* 'to extinguish (s.t.), put out, turn off, make blind'. Cf. KWA *unu* 'spoiled (of food)'.

PMC **kup^we*, *kup^we-li* 'be bent, to bend (s.t.)': PON *kup^we-lek* 'be b. (of s.t. rigid)', *kup^we-l*

'to b. (s.t.)'; Mok *kíp^we-lek* 'be b., twisted, break with a snap', *kíp^we-l* 'to b., twist (s.t.)'; Mrs *k^wéby^w* 'b., curved, buckled, stooped', *k^wéby^we-l* 'to b. (s.t.)'; KSR *kuf* 'a curve, b.', *kaf* 'to curve', *kífa-s* 'to curve, b., turn (s.t.)'. Cf. PMC **cip^wa_i* 'curve, bend inward'.

PWMC **kura, kura-ti, kura-ta* 'pulled back, pull back (of foreskin or eyelid)': CHK *kkur* 'be p. b. (of foreskin)', *kúre-e(y)* 'pull it b. (of the foreskin), circumcize'; PUL *kúre-e(y)*; CRL *kkúr*; *kkúri-(ló)* 'be p. b. (of the foreskin), be circumcized'; WOL *kkúre, gúre-e(ye)*; PUA *kkula* 'penis'; PCK **kkúra, kúra-[tʃ]i-(a)*; PON *kire-e(di)* 'peel off, pull down an eyelid, lip, or foreskin', *kíre-s-(ek)* 'penis (slang)'; Mrs *k^wíra-j* 'pull b. the foreskin'. Cf. Mrs *wéréy* 'pull b. the foreskin'.

PMC ? **kurakura* 'to tickle': Mrs *kirkir* 'to t.', *kirkirey* 't. (s.o.)'; KSR (*wa*)-*korkor*. Cf. CHK *m^we-kinikin* 'tickling'; FU *kiri, kiri-ca* 't. under the armpits'.

PMC **kurer[ae]* 'to belch': PUL *kúré, kúrére-(y)* 'a b., to b., b. of'; WOL *gúrere* 'to burp, b.'; PCK **kúrer[ae]*; PON *kírer* 'to burp, b.'; KSR *kírar* 'to b.'.

PMC **kutu* 'louse': CHK *kúú, kúú-(n), #kúúwe-(n)* 'l. or flea, l. of'; MRT *kúú*; PUL *kúúw*; *#kúúwá-(n)*; CRL *ghúúw*; CRN *gúú*; STW *kúúw*; WOL *gúúsú, gúsú-* 'l., vermin'; ULi *gus* (sic) (Bender et al. 1984); PUA *kúúú, kúúu-*; PCK **kútú*; Mrs *kij* 'l., bacterium, bug, flea'; KIR (*te*)-*uti*; KSR *kut*; POC **kutu* (PPN **kutu*; FU *kutu*; BUG *gutú*; PKB **qutu*); PAN **kuCu* [Ross 1988].

PCMC **kuu* 'any of several kinds of fish': CHK *kúú-(nú-féw)* 'sp. of small bass f.'; CRN *gú-(nú-fey)* 'sp. of grouper'; PCK **kuu-*; KIR (*te*)-*kuu, (te)-kuu-(beibeti)* 'any of several species of squirrel f. (*Holocentrus*)'.

PMC **kuyita* 'octopus': CHK *kúús, kúúsa-*; PUL *kúúh*; CRL *ghúús*; CRN *gúúh*; STW *kúús*; WOL *gúúse, gúúsa-*; PUA *kiita*; SNS *kiita*; PCK **kúyita*; PON *kiis*; Mok *kij*; PNG *kiis*; Mrs *k^wéyét*; KIR (*te*)-*kiika*; KSR *koet*; PEO **kuRita* (Geraghty 1990) (FU *kúita*); PMP **kuRita* (Blust 1984–85). Note PMC **t > KIR k* {kV(V)_}. Note Mrs *t* for expected *j*.

PWMC **laka* 'star(s) in Pegasus': CHK *naa* 'a s. in P., a sidereal month'; PUL *la* (sic) 's. in P., a sidereal month'; STW *laa, naa*; WOL *laage*; PUA *nnaka* 'a sidereal month equated with July'; PCK **laka*; Mrs *lak* 'a constellation comprising beta, mu, and lambda P.'. Cf. KIR *nakara* 'the star Regulus' (Bender et al. 1984). Cf. also PCK **lake* 'bracelet'.

PMC **laka-laka* 'appearance': CHK *naŋa-, naka-, naŋanaŋ* 'a., shape', *naŋa-(ttam), naka-(ttam)* 'length, height, long, tall'; PUL *laye-tá* 'stand, rise above, be higher, rise up (of airplane)'; WOL *nnage* 'turn out, appear, come to view'; PCK **la[kŋ]a*; Mrs *laklak* 'swagger, strut'; PEO **laka* 'step' (Geraghty 1983) (TON *lalaka* 'to walk, step along', *laka-si* 'to pass, go beyond', *laka-laka* 'to walk quickly, hurry on ahead'; SAM *la'a* 'to step, march', *la'asi-a* 'to step over, go beyond'; SAA *la'a* 'up'; KWA *la'a* 'go up, climb'). Cf. PMC **lako, laa* 'go, proceed, (as directional) away', PCK **nna* 'appear'.

PMC **lako, laa* 'go, proceed, (as directional) away': CHK *nó, -nó, -nóó-, ná, -náá-, -naa-* 'go, proceed away from place of reference', (*a*)-*naa-(noŋ)* 'spear-throwing stick' (lit. 'cause going in'), (*ché*)-*naa-(n)* 'his companion, buddy', (*ke*)-*náá mey* 'you come from where?'; MRT *la* 'go'; PUL *ló, la*; WOL *lago, -lago, la* (sic); PUA *nako, -nako, na* (sic); PCK **lako, *laa*; PON *-la* 'away from me and you'; Mok *inla* 'go away', *-la* 'away from you and me'; Mrs *lak^w* 'directional postposition, toward a third party, neither speaker nor hearer; (*pey*)-*lak^w* 'drift away'; KIR *nako*; KSR *le* 'onward', *læ* 'away from a place'; PEO **lako* (FU *lako*; SAA *la'o* 'approach, steer or go toward'; LAU *lalao* 'to run'; PWM **laxo* 'to walk'). Cf. UAN **laku*.

PMC **lalo₁* 'deep': CHK (*i*)-*nón* 'underwater', *nónnón, (ó)-nón, (ó)-nónnón* 'be d. (underwater), far down'; (*ó*)-*nóna, (ó)-nónnóna* 'deepen it'; MRT (*i*)-*lól* 'underwater'; PUL *léllól* 'be d. (as the sea), a d. place'; CRL *lólólól* 'be d., very d.'; STW (*i*)-*lól* 'underwater'; WOL *lalo* 'd.', (*i*)-*lalo* 'ocean bottom, underwater'; PCK **lalo*; PON *lól*; Mok *lól*; Mrs *lał* 'below, bottom; down, downward', (*m^wi*)-*lał* 'deep, profound'; KIR *nano*; KSR *lól*. Mrs initial *l* expected. Cf. UAN **Dalem* 'depth, inside'. See also PMC **lalo₂* 'inside'.

PMC **lalo₂* 'inside': CHK *nnó-(n), #nóó-(n)* 'i. of it'; MRT *lló-(n)*; PUL *lló-(n)*; 'i. of it'; CRL *lló-(l)* 'i. of it'; CRN *nmó-(n)* 'i. of it'; STW *nmó-(n)*; WOL *lalo*; PUA *nano-* 'in, i.'; PCK **lalo*; PON *lólé* 'i. of him/her/it'; KIR (*i*)-*nano-(na)* 'in it, i. of it'; PEO **lalo* (SAA [*i*]-*lalo* 'i.'). Cf. PAN **lem* (Blust 1970:132). Note also Mrs (*i*)-*lew, (i)-lewah* 'in, i.'; KSR *lœ* 'i.', *lu-(n)* 'i. of'; LAU *lao* 'in'; LAK *ilo* 'i., interior, underside'. See also PMC **lalo₁* 'deep'.

PMC ***laloua** 'disgusted': CHK *nnoow* 'be d. or repelled by', *nnoowe-esi-ni*, *nnoowá-ási-ni* 'be d. or repelled by (s.t.)', (ó)-*nnoow* 'be disgusting, repellent, repugnant, a disgusting thing', *nnoowu*-(p)p^w*ún* 'athlete's foot'; PUL *llow* (sic) 'be revolted, disgusted', (yó)-*llow* 'feces (polite), to defecate'; CRL *lloow* 'be revolted, d.', (a)-*lloow* 'feces, excrement, to defecate'; WOL *mnou* (sic) 'feel like vomiting'; PCK **lloow*[ao]; PON *lólou* 'heartsick (of a man who has lost his wife)'; KIR *nanoua* 'homesick'; KSR *lalo* 'depressed, downhearted, heavy hearted', *lalo-i* 'do not like the thought of, shudder at the thought of (s.t.)'. Cf. MRS *llahwew* 'be seasick, d.'; MOK *lóléid* 'be lonely, homesick'.

PMC ***lama**₁ 'thought, be in mind': CHK *nam*, *nem* 'be in m., be on one's m.', *name-ni* 'think about (s.t.), have (s.t.) on one's m.', *neme*-(feefin) 'have women on one's m.', *neme*-(seni) 'be forgotten', *namanam* 'religion, doctrine, philosophy, ideology'; PUL *lamalam* 'religion, t.'; CRL *lamalam* 'beliefs, morals, ethics, religion'; PCK **lama*, *lamalama*; PON *lamalam* 't., idea, opinion, common sense, religious belief'; MOK *lamlam*, *lemlem* 't., to think', *leme* 'think (s.t.)', *lemee*-(da) 'remember (s.t.)'; KSR *lama* 'think it, picture (s.t.) in one's m.'. Cf. YAP *leam* 't., feeling'. Cf. also PCK **ñama* 'in control, responsible', PMC **lama*- 'shape, appearance'.

PMC ***lama**₂ 'lagoon, lake': MOK *lam* 'lagoon'; MRS *lam* 'bay'; KIR (te)-*nama* 'lagoon, lake'; PEO **lama* (SAA *lama* 'lake'; ARO *rama* 'water between reef and shore'). Cf. PUA *nama*-*nama* 'hole, cave'. Cf. also PMC **nam*^wo 'lagoon, harbor'.

PMC ***lama**- 'shape, appearance': CHK *namanam* 'character, quality, morals, behavior, deportment'; PUL *lamalam* 'character, condition'; CRL *lamalam* 'good deeds'; PUA *nama*-(takínú) 'to be round' (lit. 'egg shaped'), *nama*-(takínni) 'circle'; PCK **lama*; MRS *lam*, *lama*- 'shape'; KSR *luna*-(n) 'shape of', *lunæ*-(l) 'his appearance, behavior'. Cf. PCK **ñama* 'in control, responsible', PMC **lama*, 'thought, be in mind'.

PMC ***lanji** 'sky, heaven, storm': CHK *náán*, *neni*- 'spirit place, h. or sky (in construction)' *náán*, *neji*- 'h., sky' (loan from other dialect); MRT *láián*, *lái**ji*-(n) 'sky, h.'; PUL *láián*, *lái**ji*- 'sky, rain'; CRL *láián* 'h.'; CRN *láián* 'h., have bad weather'; CRL *láián* and CRN *lejilej* 'have bad weather'; STW *láián* 'sky, h.'; WOL *laaji*, *laji*- 'sky, typhoon, rainstorm, wind'; PUA *naaji*, *naji*- 'sky, h.'; PCK **lanji*; PON *laaji* 'sky, h.', *laji*-(n) 'bad weather'; MOK *lanj* 'sky', *laji*-(n) 'omen of, sudden rain shower taken to be a presage of'; PNG *lenj* 'sky, h.'; MRS *lanj* sky, weather, h., #*lanj* 'storm, typhoon', ##*lanji*-(n), *lajæ*-(n) *yirewej* 'rain storm that is the sign of a chief coming (archaic)'; KIR (te)-*naaj* 'cloud', *najinaj* 'be cloudy'; KSR *lanj* 'sky, h.'; POC **lanjit* (PPN **lanji*; FIJ *laji*; SAA *lái**ji* 'raised up', (i)-*laji* 'sky, h.'; LAU *laji*; KWA *laji* 'high, great, up'; PNK **lanji*; UAN **lanjit*. See also Marck (1994:308) PMC **lanji*. In some lgs. (e.g., CRL, PON, and MRS), 'bad weather' meanings are to be found primarily in derived forms. Note that MRS *lanji*-(n) has contrastive heavy *l* where light *l* would be expected, with *i* in next syllable, whereas heavy *l* is to be expected in the *lajæ*-(n) of a popular saying. Why the second vowel of this latter form is lowered in not understood, but it provides an explanation for the heavy *ls* in the MRS 'bad weather' forms.

PMC ***lanjo**, 'fly (insect)': CHK *nóónj*, *nnóónj*, *nóónu*-(n) 'f., f. of'; MRT *lóónj*, *lóónu*-(n); PUL *lóónj*, *lóónu*-(n) (sic); CRL *lóónj* 'housefly', *llóónj* 'be swarming with flies'; STW *llóónj* 'infested with flies'; WOL *laajo*, *lajo*-; PUA *naajo*, *najo*-; SNS *raajo*; PCK **lanjo*; PON *lónj*; MOK and PNG *lanj*; MRS *lanj*^w, *lanj*^w 'fly'; KIR *naajo*, (te)-*najo*; KSR *lanj*; POC **lanjo* (PPN **lango*; FIJ *lago*; SAA *lajo*; BUG *thajo*; KWA *lajo* 'large fly'; PNK **rajo* 'large fly'); UAN **lanjaw*. Cf. YAP *laal* 'fly'.

PMC ***lanjo**, 'prop': CHK *nónj*, *nónj*^w-*nónj* 'be propped up', *nóónu*-*ni* 'p. it up'; MRT *lóónj* 'canoe roller'; PUL *lóónj*, *lóónu*-(n) 'p., p. of' *lóónj*-(e-y) 'elevate it, p. it up'; CRL *lóónj*, *lóónu*-(l) 'p., brace, support, platform'; WOL *laajo*, *lajo*- 'canoe roller, fulcrum', *lajo* 'be raised with supporters, be rolled'; PUA *naajo*, *najo*- 'cross beam under floor of house'; PCK **lanjo*; PON *lanj* 'be placed across another thing', *lanjæ* 'place (s.t.) across another thing'; MOK *lanj* 'support beam running parallel to the ground, prop', *lanjlanj* 'to raise with a p.', *lanjæ* 'raise (s.t.) with a p.', (dau)-*lanj* 'canoe rollers'; PNG (daa)-*lanj* 'canoe rollers'; MRS *lanj*^w, *lanj*^w 'roller for launching a canoe'; KIR (te)-*najo*-(a) 's.t. put under as a protection or rest, a base', *najo*-(a) 'to place a rest or protection under (s.t.)'; PEO **lanjo* (FIJ *lago*, *lago*-na 'place rollers under a canoe'; TON *lajo* 'p. up or support by placing s.t. underneath').

PMC ***lanja** 'skipjack, Carangid fish': PUL *lanj* 'a kind of f. (perhaps a crevalle) caught by

trolling'; CRL *laŋú* 'third of five growth stages of the skipjack'; WOL *laŋúwe* 'a kind of f.'; ULI *laŋúy* 'kind of f.'; SNS *raŋúya* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **laŋúa*; MRS *laŋéy* 'skipjack (*C. lessonii*)'; KSR *loŋ* 'kind of f.'. Loss of second vowel in PUL and KSR forms is a problem. MRS rounded *ŋ** expected.

PMC ***lapa** 'big, main': CHK *nap*, *nnap*, *napanap* 'b., large, great, principal, m.', *napa*-(n) 'his older brother, her older sister'; MRT *lap*; PUL *lap*; CRL and CRN *lap*; *llape*-(n); STW *lap*; WOL *lape*, *nnap*, *lapelap*; PUA *napa*; PCK **lapa*, *lalapa*, *lapalapa*; PON *lap*, *lapalap*; MOK *lap*; MRS *lap*, *laplap*, *llap* 'b., great, large, plenty', (*ha*)-*lap* 'lineage head, maternal uncle, old man'; KIR *naba* 'also, too, in addition', (*rii*)-*naba* 'spine, backbone' (lit. 'm. bone'); KSR *lɛlap* 'b., large, huge', *lap* 'elder brother or sister, high tide'; PEO **laba*, *lafa* (SAA *laha* 'b.' [*a*]-*laha* 'a chief'; BUG *thaba*); UAN **laba*. See also PCK **lúkú-lapa* 'ocean side (of an island or reef)' (lit. 'great outside').

PMC ? ***lape** 'red clay': PUL *láp*, *lápi*-(n) (sic) 'red dye made from earth (used on canoes), r. d. of'; STW *lááp*, *lápe*-(l), *lápe*-(y) 'red clay (used for caulking), r. c. of, apply r. c. to'; WOL *laape*, *lepa*-(li) 'red clay (used as a pigment), r. c. of' (said to be a loan from ULI); PCK **lape*, *lape-yi*; KSR *lap* 'a kind of clay', *lapi* 'to paint (s.t.) with r. c.'. See also Marck (1994:316) PMC **lape*.

PCMC ***lap**[ou]so 'moray eel': CHK *nop**ut, *nnap**ut, *nop**ute-(n) 'eel, e. of'; MRT *lóp**ot 'moray eel'; WOL *labuto* 'eel, snake, worm'; PUA *nap**uto 'moray eel, sea snake'; SNS *rab**uto 'moray eel'; PCK **lap**udo; PON *lap**ed, *lap**ede-(n) 'saltwater eel'; MOK *lap**ed 'kind of eel'; KIR (*te*)-*rab**ono (with metathesis of *r* and *n*) 'eel'. Cf. FIJ *labo*, (*vaka*)-*labo*-ca 'jump out and attack suddenly'.

PMC ? ***laSa** 'coconut shell, skull': PON *daal* 'coconut cup, dish, plate'; MOK *dal* 'c. s.' (metathesis in Pohnpeic); MRS *lat* 'skull, c. s.'; KSR (*æ*)-*la* 'bowl, skull, husk, shell'. Cf. YAP *leq* 'c. s., cup', *lóg* 'skull, coconut shell'.

PMC ***lau** 'pool, have liquid': CHK *né* 'be liquified, melted', *néé* 'p., pond, flooded place', *nééné* 'l. contents, have l. contents, be flooded'; MRT *léélé* 'flooded area, be flooded'; PUL *léélé* 'be full of l.'; CRL *léélé* 'puddle, lake, pond'; STW *lée* 'p., pond'; WOL *lée* 'dugout well on sea-side of an island (used for bathing)', *lééléé* 'be filled with water or l.'; PCK **lée* or *laú*; PON *lee* 'p., lake'; MOK *le* 'bog, small taro patch'; MRS *l'éy* 'small p. on reef at low tide or in interior of island'; KIR (*te*)-*nei*, (*te*)-*neinei* 'a fresh water p. or pond', *neinei* 'be l., fluid'; KSR *lala* 'pond, shallow lagoon, having little water'; POC **laur* 'sea' (Ross 1988) (FIJ *lau* 'waterhole in a reef'; BUG *lau* 'beach, seashore, seaward, south'; PNK *-*lau* 'seaward'); UAN **laud* 'open sea'. See also PMC **tokolau* 'northerly, from the north'. See Marck (1994:313) PMC **lau*.

PMC *[**lau**]tuu 'tomorrow': CHK *néwú*; PUL *layú*; CRL *laayú*, *laay*; WOL *laúú*; PCK **laúú*; MRS (*yi*)-*ljiw*; KSR *lutu*. Cf. PMC **ñañoa* 'yesterday'. See also Marck (1994:312) PMC *[**lau**]tua.

PMC ? ***[ao]u** 'cool': PON *low* 'c., cooled off'; MOK (*m**)*o*-*low* 'cold (of things)'; MRS (*m**)*é*-*léw*; PEO **lau* (KWA *lau-fi*-[a] 'make or keep [s.t.] cool'). Cf. BUG *ma-thaho* 'to feel cold'. The MOK form could be a loan from MRS.

PMC ***lawa** 'hibiscus': PON (*ke*)-*lew*, *ko-low* '*H. tiliaceus*', (*ke*)-*lew*-(n and) '*H. sp. (Klein-hovia hospita)*' (lit. 'h. of Ant [an atoll]'); MOK (*ke*)-*lew* 'sea h.'; PNG (*ka*)-*law* 'sea h.'; MRS *law* '*H. tiliaceus*'; KSR *lo* 'young *H. tiliaceus*'; PEO **lawa* (FIJ *lawa* 'fishing net made from h. fiber'; SAA *lawa* 'spider web'; ARO *rawa* 'a small net, spider web, spider'; KWA *lakwalakwa* 'spider web, string of two or three lengths of shell money', *lakwa*-[*le'enia*] 'to spread [a net] out in the sun'); UAN **lawa* 'spider web'. Cf. KIR (*te*)-*karai* 'thread'.

PCMC ***laxa** 'kind of coral': PON *raar* 'finger c.' (with assimilation of initial **l* to following *r*); MOK *lar* 'branching c.'; MRS *lay* 'gravel', [*a*-(*jjidik*)] 'a c. (brown or white, several branches, smooth)'; KIR (*te*)-*naa* 'loose rocks or stones on a flat'. Cf. FIJ *laqere* 'gravel below surface soil'.

PMC ? ***laya** 'a sail': see PMC **lea*.

PMC ? ***laZe** 'kind of coral': KSR *læs* 'a k. of c.', *læslæs* 'covered with c.'; PEO **laje* 'c.' (Geraghty 1983) (PSS **lade*, ROT *laje*, FIJ *lase*, PPN **lase*). Cf. PCMC **ale* 'kind of coral', PCMC **laxa* 'kind of coral'. See also Marck (1994:313) PMC **lajae*.

PMC ***le**, **lee** 'polite term of address': CHK *ne*, *nee* 'sir, madam'; MRS *ley* 'ma'am', *#ley* 'sir'; PEO **le*, *lee* (FIJ *le*, *lee* 'polite term in kava ceremony').

PMC ? ***lea** or ***laya** 'a sail': MRS (*wéj*)-*lay*, (*wij*)-*lay* 'a s.'; PEO **laya* 's.' (Geraghty 1983)

(Fij *laca*; PPN *laa*; ROT *lae*); UAN **layaR* (YAP *laay* 'a sail'; CHM *lay'ak*, *layak* 'a sail'; PAL *ears* 'a sail'). Cf. KSR *nes* 'a sail'. Note that KIR (*te*)-*raa* 'one width of a mat sail' is an apparent loan from SAM *laa*. See also PMC *[sS]aku-laara 'swordfish, marlin'.

PWMC ? **lee-*, *law-* 'at, in' (with a noun base): CHK *ne-*, *nee-* 'at', *nee-(set)* 'sea, at sea', *nee-(mataw)* 'on the open sea', *nee-(nóm^w)* 'in the lagoon', *nee-(p^win)* 'at night', *nee-(fasaŋ)* 'torso', *nee-(wúŋ)* 'chest (of body)'; PUL *le-*, *lee-*, *lo-* 'at', *le-(het)* 'sea, in the sea', *lee-(p^woŋ)* 'at night', *lo-(p^woŋ ewe)* 'last night', *lee-(hapan)* 'cheek'; CRL *lee-* 'at', *lee-(set)* 'at the ocean or sea', *lee-(b^woŋ)* 'night-time', *lee-(b^wel)* 'taro patch'; CRN *le-* 'at' *le-(het)* 'at the ocean or sea'; WOL *le-* (with doubling of following consonant) 'at', *le-(tteti)* 'sea, in the sea'; *le-(nnam^wo)* 'in the lagoon'; PUA *na-(ni)* 'in, at', *na-(ni im^wa)* 'at home'; PCK ? **le-*, *lee-*; MRS *law-*, *lew-* 'at; prefix in place names and body parts', *law-(jét)* 'ocean, sea', *law-(metew)* 'ocean, sea'; *law-(jé)*, *law-(jiye-)* 'stomach'. See also PMC **ni[ae]* 'place'. KSR *in-* has much the same distribution: place names, topographic features, body parts (but also forms personal names, as does *ni*).

PCMC **lele* 'perfect': PON *lel*, *lel-(tii)* 'p., just right (slang)'; (kase)-*lel* 'precious, beautiful, p., fine'; Mok *lel* 'beautiful (of people), fit (of clothes)'; MRS (*pew*)-*lel* 'complete, satisfy, p.'; KIR *nene* 'firm, immovable, fixed, steady (of wind)'. KIR *rerei* 'good, excellent' is a loan from SAM *lelei* 'be good'. Cf. BUG *thethe-(ngura)* 'to bear plentifully'.

PWMC **leleki* 'a fish': CHK *nnis* 'a reef fish'; PUL *llek*, *lleki-n* 'young stage of a reef fish'; CRL *llegh* 'an edible fish with poisonous spines'; WOL *nnegi* 'a fish'; PCK **lleki*; Mok *lik* 'fish sp., kind of spinefoot'; MRS *yéllek* 'rabbit fish'. Cf. KSR *lalak* 'a fish'; PON *ilek* 'fish sp.' (loan from MRS?); MRS *m^wa-lék^wlék^w* 'a stingray'.

PCMC **lelesa* 'true, real': CHK *nnet*, *nnete-n*, *nneti-n* 'be t., truth of', *e-nnet* 'be honest, truthful', *á-nnetá* 'determine the truth of it'; PUL *llet* 'right, correct, t., yá-lleá 'assert it as t.'; CRL and CRN (*e*)-*llet* 'be correct, t., honest'; WOL *nnetá* 'be t., sure, r.'; PCK **lled[ae]*; KIR *nenera* 'inquire carefully (about s.t.), search out (s.t.)'. Cf. PCK **nne-* or **lle-* 'look'.

PCMC **[eo]ŋu* 'ant': CHK *núŋ* 'ant', *núŋ* 'infested with ants'; PUL *léŋ*, *léŋi-(n)* 'ant, ant of'; CRL *léŋ*; WOL *léŋú*, *leŋú*; PCK **leŋú*; MRS *l^wéŋ^w* 'ant'. Cf. KIR *kinogo* 'ant'. Cf. also PEO **loRo* 'ant' (Geraghty 1983, 1990) (Fij *lolo* 'small ant'; TON *loo* 'ant'; SAA *lolo* 'red ants'; BUG *thotho* 'red ant'; KWA *lolo* 'ant'; LAK *lolo* 'large red ant', but PKB **noLo*). Cf. PMC ? **liŋoliŋo* 'cricket'.

PMC **lewe* 'tongue': CHK *newenew*, *newenewa-(n)* 'pronunciation, accent, his pronunciation'; MRT *léwa-(n)* 'his t.', *léwaléw* 'accent'; STW *lewe-(l)* 'his t.'; WOL *leewe*, *lewe-(m^wu)* 't., your t.', *lewelewe* 'lick, eat', *lewe-gi-(i)* 'lick or eat it'; PUA *neewe*, *newe-*; PCK **lewe*; PON *laaw*, *loo* 't.', *lewe* 'his t.'; MOK *law*, *law*, *law*, *law*-(*n*) 't., his t., t. of'; MRS *lew*, *lewe-*; KIR (*te*)-*newe* 't.', *newe-a* 'to lick (s.t.) with the t.'; KSR *lō*, *lō*-(*l*) 't., his t.'. Cf. BUG *thapi* 't.'.

PCMC **li-* 'agentive prefix indicating "one who (does, is given to doing)" (like English suffix *-er*)': CHK *ní*- PUL *li-*; WOL *li-*; PUA *ni-*; PCK **li-*; PON *li-*; MOK *li-*; KIR *ní-*.

PWMC **lia-* 'female person': CHK *niye*, *niya-* (with demonstrative suffixes) 'female person, woman', *niye-(rá)* 'girl'; MRT *liya-*; PUL *liye-*; CRL *liye*, *liya-*; PCK ? **liya-*; PON *lii*, *lie* 'woman'; MOK *li* 'woman'; MRS *liye-* (with dem. suf.) 'female, woman'. Cf. KIR *nei-* (with dem. suf.) 'female, woman'.

PMC ? **lici* 'feel a loss': CHK *nich*, *núch* 'be disappointed'; PUL *liiR* (*sic*), *liRi-* 'grieve (as over a death), regret (as stolen objects)'; CRL *lish*, *lúsh* 'miss or long for s.o. or s.t.'; WOL *lishi* 'to miss s.o. or s.t. very much'; PCK **lici*; POC **lidi* (PKB **lidi* 'throb, hurt, be painful').

PMC **liki*, *likiliki*, *liki-Si* 'to strain, sift': MOK *liki-d*, *liki-dek* 'to strain (s.t.)'; PNG *liki-d*, *liki-dek* 'to make flour out of wheat, develop film'; MRS *liklik* 'to sift, strain, filter, digest', *liklikiy* 'to sift, etc. (s.t.)'; KSR *likik* 'to sift, screen, sieve, separate', *likiliki* 'to sift, etc. (s.t.)'. This could be the same root as PMC **liki*, *liki-Sa*, *liki-Si* 'discarded, discard'.

PMC **liki*, *liki-Sa*, *liki-Si* 'discarded, discard': CHK *nik* 'be d., rejected, disliked', *niki-t*, *niki-ta-(n)* 'left-over, its l.', *niki-ti* 'leave it behind, discard it'; MRT *liki-te* 'leave it alone'; PUL *liki-ti-(y)* 'leave it'; CRL *lighi-ti* and CRN *ligi-ti* 'leave (s.t.) behind, stop using (s.t.), leave (s.t.) for s.o. else'; STW *liki-ti-(y)* 'leave it behind'; WOL *ligiligi* 'to put things down, set aside, leave', *ligi-ti-(i)* 'leave it, let it be'; PUA *nikiniki* 'to leave, throw, save (money), keep back', *niki-ti* 'leave him, throw him'; PCK **liki*, *liki-di*, *liki-da*; PON *liki-d* (*melielela*)

‘to abandon, forget’, *liki*-(*di*) ‘to spit (honorific)’; MOK *lik*, *liki-d* ‘to lay eggs’; MRS *lik* ‘to set (of hens), lay eggs’, *llik*, *liki-t* ‘leave, put, deposit’; KIR (*te*)-*niki-ra*-(*n-roro*) ‘unmarried woman’ (lit. ‘left-over of a generation’), (*te*)-*niki-ra* ‘food for guests’ (i.e., food that is given away); KSR *liki* ‘to leave, put down’. See also PMC **liki*, *likiliki*, *liki-Si* ‘to strain, sift’.

PCMc **liko* ‘haul, pull, tow, troll’: CHK *nuk*, *nukunuk* ‘h. on a line, tr. for small fish’, *nuke-yi*, *nuki-i*-(*y*) ‘h. it, p. it, t. it, bring it, take him along’, *nuke-e*-(*y*) ‘carry it’, *nukó*-(*már*) ‘p. on a line and back up at the same time’, *nuku*-(*mei*) ‘h. a breadfruit log from where it was felled to where it will be worked’; PUL *liik* (*sic*), *liko*- ‘to tr.’, *liko-wii-y* (*sic*) ‘t. it’; CRL *lugh* ‘to tr. for fish’, *luge-e*-(*y*), *lughé-é*-(*y*) ‘to t. (s.t.)’; CRN *lug* ‘to tr. for fish’; WOL *lugo* ‘to p., tug, draw, drag, trail’, *lugo-si*-(*i*) ‘p. it up, tug on it’; PCK **liko*, *liko-ti*; PON *luk* ‘to be invited, to be towed, to tr. for fish’, *luke* ‘to invite, to t.’; MOK *luk*, *luke* ‘to invite’; KIR (*te*)-*niko* ‘trigger of a gun’. Cf. MOK *aik-iek* ‘to t.’, *aiki* ‘t. (s.t.)’; MRS *hayik* ‘t., pull’; LAK *luku-a* ‘pull up a plant’.

PMC **liku* ‘outside’: CHK *núku*-(*n*) ‘its exterior, o., o. surface, outer edge, immediate environs, surface of skin’, (*i*)-*núk* ‘outer or ocean side’; MRT *lúkú*-(*n*); ‘o. of’; PUL *lúkú*-(*n*) ‘its o.’, *lúkúlúkú*-(*n*) ‘cover of’; CRL *lughu*-(*l*), *lúghú*-(*l*) ‘o. of’; CRN *lugu*-(*n*) ‘o. of’; STW *lúkú*-(*n*) ‘o. it’; WOL *lúgú*-(*le*) ‘its o. or backside’, *lúgúlúgú* ‘cover the head and body with a sheet or cloth’; PUA *núkú*-(*na*); PCK **lúkú*-(*n*); PON *liki* ‘o. of s.t.’; MOK *lik*, *liki*-(*n*) ‘o., o. of’; PNG (*i*)-*lik* ‘shore facing open sea’; MRS *lik* ‘behind, in back of, o. of, ocean side of’, *likiy* ‘ocean side of’; KIR (*mai*)-*niku* ‘east’ (i.e., ocean side); KSR *lik*, *liké*-(*n*) ‘o., near the beach, o. of’; EOC **liku* (TON *liku* ‘cliff-bound coast, at the back of an island’); UAN **likud* ‘back, rear’ and **li(ŋ)kup* ‘surround, enclose’. See also PCMc **fa-liku*, *fa-liku-ri* ‘turn away, ignore the presence of others’, PCK **lúkú-lapa* ‘ocean side (of an island or reef)’ (lit. ‘great outside’).

PWMc **liku* ‘be ready, prepared’: CHK *núk* ‘be r., p.’, *núkúnúké*-(*éch*) ‘be well p.’, *núkúnúkú*-(*ŋgaw*) ‘be ill p.’; WOL *lúgúlúgú* ‘expect, anticipate, look to’, *lúgú-ú*-(*we*) ‘expect it, depend upon it’, *lúgúlúgú*-(*ŋgawe*) ‘to neglect, be uncooperative’; PUA *núkúnúkú* ‘make certain’; PCK **lúkú*, *lúkúlúkú*, *lúkú-ú*; MRS *léké*-(*k*) ‘be p. for the task at hand’, *liké*-(*k*) ‘preparedness’. Cf. PMC *[*iu*]ku ‘trust, believe, be confident’.

PMC *[*iu*]ku- ‘somewhat, slightly’: CHK *núkú*- ‘a little, a bit’, *núkú*-(*chéchchén*) ‘be moist, damp’ (lit. ‘a bit wet’); PUL *lúkú*-(*cécaan*), *lúkú*-(*Récaan*) (*sic*) ‘be wet, humid, damp’; WOL *lúgú*- ‘slightly, superficially’, *lúgú*-(*ffééú*) ‘be a bit chilly, cool’; PCK **lúkú*; KSR *lúka*-(*n*) ‘almost, nearly’.

PMC *[*iu*]ku ‘trust, believe, be confident’: CHK *núúk* ‘faith, belief’, *núkúnúk* ‘be convinced’, *núkú-ú*-(*w*) ‘b., have faith in’; PUL *lúkúlúk* ‘have faith, be c., faith, confidence’, *lúkú-ú*-(*w*) ‘b., have faith in’; CRL *lúghúlúgh* ‘to b., think’, *lúghú-ú*-(*w*) ‘to b. or t. (s.o.)’; CRN *lúgúlúg* ‘to b., think’, *lúgú* ‘to b. or t. (s.o.)’; STW *lúkúlúk* ‘have faith’, *lúkú-ú*-(*w*) ‘b. it’; WOL *lúgúlúgú* ‘be c., feel secure’, *lúgú-ú*-(*we*) ‘expect it, depend on it’; PUA *núkúnúkú* ‘be secure’; PCK **lúkúlúkú*, *lúkú-ú*-(*a*); PON *liki-lik* ‘trustworthy’, *liki-i* ‘to t.’; MRS *llik* ‘consider, construe’; KSR *lúka*-(*k*) ‘easy to convince, credulous, gullible’. Cf. PCK **nekú*, *nekúnékú*, PWMc **liku* ‘be ready, prepared’.

PMC **lima*, *lima-ua*, *lim-manu*, *lima-ŋawulu* ‘five, five (general), five (animate), fifty’: CHK *niim*, *nime*-. *nima*- ‘the number f.’, *nimu-uw* ‘f. general’, *nim-mén* ‘f. animate’, *nime*, *nime-e* ‘fifty’; MRT *lima*-, *limé*-.; PUL *liim*, *lime*-, *limo-ow*, *lim-man*, *lime*; CRL *liim*, *lima*-, *limo-uw*, *lim-mal*, *lime-igh*; CRN *liim*, *lima*-, *lomo-ow*, *lime-ig*; STW *lima*-.; WOL *liime*, *lima*-, *limo-uwe*, *lime-ige*; PUA *nima*-, *nima-ow*, *nima-iki*; PCK **lima*, *lima-ua*, *lim-manú*, *lima-ike*; PON *lima*-, *lima-w*, *lim-men*, *lime-ysek*, *lime-ŋowl* ‘fifty’; MOK (*a*)-*lim*, *limo-w*, *lim-men*, *lime-yjek*; MRS (*la*)-*lém*, *lima*- ‘f.’, *lém-ŋéwil* ‘fifty’; KIR *nima*-, *nima-ua*, *nii-man* ‘f.’, *nima-b^oii*, *nima-ŋaun* ‘fifty’; KSR *lam*, *lime*-, *lam*- ‘f.’, *lam-ŋaul* ‘fifty’; POC **lima* (Ross 1988) (PPN *lima* ‘f., hand’; Fij *lima* ‘f.’, *lima-sapavulu* ‘fifty’; SAA *lime* and ULA *lima* ‘f.’; BUG *lima* ‘f., hand’; LAU *lima* ‘f.’; KWA *nima* ‘f.’; PKB **lima* ‘f.’, *savulu-lima* ‘fifty’, [*la*]-*lima*-[*gu*] ‘my hand’); UAN **lima* ‘hand’. See PMC *-ua ‘general classifier in counting (suffixed to numerals)’.

PMC *[*ln*]ima ‘bailer’: CHK *nuam*, *nume*-(*n*) ‘b., b. of’, *num*, *numo-num* ‘be bailed, bail’, *nume-e*-(*y*) ‘bail it’; MRT *núúm*; PUL *niim* ‘b.’, *nime*-(*y*) ‘to bail (a canoe)’; STW *liim*; ULi *liim*; PUA *núúma*, *núma*-.; PCK **nima*; PON *liim* ‘b.’, *lima*-(*k*) ‘to bail (a canoe)’, *limelim* ‘to bail, do bailing’; MOK *lim* ‘b., to bail’, *lime* ‘bail (a canoe)’; MRS *lém*; KIR (*te-a*)-*nima* ‘b.’, (*a*)-*nima* ‘to bail out (a canoe)’; KSR (*a*)-*nəm* ‘b.’, (*i*)-*nīm* ‘to dip out, scoop out, bail’ (loans from KIR?); PEO

*[In]ima (Fij *nima*, *nima-ta* 'to bail', [*i*]-*nima* 'b. '); UAN *limas. YAP *niim* 'b.' is an apparent loan from a Chuukic source.

PMC *lim^wu, lum^wu 'seaweed, moss, algae, scum': CHK *nuum^w*, *num^wu-*; MRT *luum^w*; PUL *luum^w*, *lum^wu-*; CRL *luum^w*, *lum^wu-*; STW *luum^w*; WOL *luum^wu*, *lum^wu-*; PUA *nuum^wu*, *num^wu-*; PCK *lum^wu; PON *lim^w*, *lim^wi-lim^w*; MRS *lim^wlim^w* 'm.', *lim^w* 'murky water; fine sand in sea; roiled, turbid'; KIR *nim^w-(rona)* 'covered with sea m.', *nim^wnim^w* 'sticky'; KSR *lum* 'green a.' and *lumlum* 'mossy'; POC *limut, lumut (PPN *limu; Fij *lumi* [<*limu]; SAA *lumu*; LAK *lumu*); UAN *limut, lumut.

PMC *liju|nuru 'shade': CHK *nnúr* 's.', *nnúru-(n)* 'her shadow', (*é*)-*nnúru* 'give s. to', (*m^wé*)-*nnúru* 'disguised, in code (of talk)'; MRT *núr* (sic) 's.'; PUL *néér*, *néru-(n)* (sic) 'shadow, s.'; CRL *llur* and CRN *nnúr* 'shaded, shady'; WOL *nnúru* 's., be shaded', *nnúru* 'become shady', (*ga*)-*nnúru* 'hat'; PUA *núlu* (sic) 's., shelter, shadow', (*ka*)-*núlu* 'make a s.'; PCK *nnúru, *núru*; PON *rír* 'difficult to locate or understand, hidden, concealed, vague', *riri-i* 'to hide behind or conceal (s.t.)'; MOK *rír* 's., shaded', (*ka*)-*rír* 'to shade'; MRS *llér^w*, (*ha*)llér^w, (*hayé*)llér^w 's., shadow'; KIR *nuu* 'be shady', (*te*)-*nuu* 's.', (*ka*)-*nua* (sic) 'to overshadow or s. (s.t.)'; KSR *lul* 's., shadow', *luli* 'to overshadow', *lullul* 'shadowy'. Cf. POC *nunu (Blust 1978:6) (SAA *nunu* 'shadow, reflection, likeness, soul'; ARO *nunu* 'image, shape, reflection'; KWA *nunu-fi-[a]* 'to s. [s.t.]'; PNk *nunu 'shadow, reflection'); UAN *ali[n̄]ju. Cf. also PEO *(ma)-luR 'shady' (Geraghty 1990) (PPN *[ma]-lu; SAA [má]-lu 'to s.'). The *nn in PCK, ll in MRS, l in KSR, and r in PON and MOK suggest that UAN *l, *n, and *r followed different patterns of assimilation in the several Micronesian languages. Cf. Marck (1994:325) PMC *luru.

PWMC *li-gagari 'tiny louse': CHK *ni-ŋger* 'tiny species of l., baby l.' (lit. 'nibbler, constant eater'); PUL *li-(káu)-ŋer* 'a small l.' (lit. 'back of head nibbler'); WOL *li-ŋgeri* 'baby l. (second stage of development)'; PCK *li-ŋgari; MRS *li-ŋgar* 'nit'. Cf. KIR *ŋagau* 'unable to restrain one's desire, eating without waiting for others'; KSR *si-ŋar* 'small louse'. Cf. PWMC *ŋani 'to, toward'.

PMC ? *liŋoliŋo 'cricket': KIR (*te*)-*niŋoniŋo* 'insect that chirps at night' (Bender et al. 1984); PEO *liŋoliŋo (Fij *ligoligo* 'night insect'; TON *liŋoliŋo* 'cricket'). The *n* in the KIR form indicates it is not a loan from a Polynesian source. Cf. PCMC *li[eo]ju 'ant'.

PMC *lip^wa 'ditch, hole (in ground)': CHK *niip^w*, *nip^wa-(n)* 'soaking pit, his s. p.', *nip^we-nip^w* 'use a s. p.', *nip^we-ni* 'acquire it as a s. p.'; MRT *liip^w*, *lip^wa-(n)* 'grave, hole, his g.', *lip^wa-ne* 'to bury (s.o.)'; PUL *liip^w*, *lip^wa-(n)* 'pool for soaking fibers, his p.'; CRL *liib^w*, *lib^wa-(l)* 'h. dug by man or animal'; STW *liip^w* 'pool where coconut fibers are soaked'; WOL *liibe*, *libe-h.*, opening, hollow place, burrow', *libelibe* 'bury, be buried, have a funeral' *libe-li-(i)* 'bury it'; PUA *niip^wa*, *nip^wa-* 'grave, hole', *nip^wa* 'to bury (s.o.)'; PCK *lip^wa; PON *liip^w* 'large h. in the ground'; MOK *lip^w* 'h., crater, scar'; PNG *lip^w* 'h.'; MRS *léb^w*, *lib^wi-*, *lib^we-* 'grave, tomb'; KIR (*te*)-*nib^wa* 'post h., small pit or bed for Cyrtosperma'; KSR *laf* 'h.' *laflaf* 'having holes', *laf* 'make ditches in'; POC *lib^wa (SAA *liwe* 'cave'; ULA *liwa* 'cave'; LAU *liqa* 'cave, h.'; ARO *riwa* 'h. [of rat], cave'; KWA *likwa* 'h. in tree'; LAK *liba* 'grave'); UAN *lubañ 'h., pit'. See also Marck (1994:324) PMC *lip^wa.

PMC *loŋ[ao] 'inward, inland, ashore': CHK -*noŋ* 'inward, southward', (*too*)-*noŋ* 'enter'; PUL -*loŋ* 'inside, into, inland, ashore'; CRL -*loŋ* 'inward, eastward, inside; STW -*loŋ* 'inland, into'; WOL *loŋo* 'into, to the inland, inward'; PUA -*najo* 'into, inside'; PCK *loŋo 'inwards, inland, ashore'; PON -*loŋ* 'inwards, into'; MRS (*te*)l^wej^w, (*te*)l^wej^w, (*je*)l^wej^w 'go to the interior of an islet; penetrate'; ROT *loŋa* 'toward the interior (of an island); Fij (*ya*)loŋa 'inside'; BUG (*i*)-loŋa 'landwards'. Cf. MRS *lej^w* 'neither high nor low, in between (archaic)'.

PMC *loo, loo-Si 'to see, behold': MRS *llew* 's., detect, find', *lew(ey)* 'see s.t.'; KIR *noo* 'to look on, witness', *noo-ra* 'to s. (s.t.)', *noo-ri-(a)* 's. it'; KSR *lo* 'mindful, attentive, watchful', *loi* 'to heed, watch for, pay attention to'; PEO *loo, loo-si (SAA *loo-si* 'to s.'; ARO *roo*, *roo-hi* 'to look for'. MRS heavy *l* expected. Cf. Fij *ilo*, *ilo-va* 'to look at (as a reflection)'; SAA *lio* 'to look, s.'; BUG *lio-hi* 'to look at'; LAU *lio* 'to look or seem, appearance'; ARO *rio*, *rio-si* 'look, look at', *iro*, *iro-hi* 'to look, look into or for'; KWA *lio*, *lio-si-(a)* look, see, look for', *ilo* 'look at', *ilo-(nunu)* 'a reflecting pool, mirror'; LAK *liho*, *hilo* 'to s., look at'; PEO *qilo, qilo-fi, liqo, liqo-[sz]i; UAN *qilaw 'reflection'. Cf. also PCK *nne- or *lle- 'look'.

PMC ? ***loo[wθ]a, lo[wθ]a** ‘seat in a canoe’: PON *loo*; MOK *lo*; KSR *lv*. Cf. CHK *nóó*-(*p^wu*) ‘socket for mast or yard on a sailing canoe (*p^wu* ‘place one’s foot’ or *p^wuu* ‘navel’).

PMC ***lo[sS]o** ‘masthead’: CHK *toon, tone*-(*n*) ‘masthead, high point, pinnacle’ (showing metathesis); PUL *tool, tolo*-(*n*) ‘top section of mast on sailing canoe’ (showing metathesis); MOK *lod* ‘top of canoe’s mast’: MRS *l^eet* ‘top of canoe’s mast’ (cf. *te^l* ‘hill, mountain’); PEO ***lo[sz]o** (FIJ *loco* ‘middle joint at the yard in a canoe’). Cf. PMC ***[sS]olo** ‘fade from view’. See also Marck (1994:321) PMC ***lozo**.

PMC ? ***lowu** ‘cross-sibling’: KSR *lou*-(*k*), *lv*-(*l*), *lou*-(*n*) ‘my sister (man speaking), his s., s. of’; POC ***lopu** ‘cross sibling’ (Ross 1988).

PCMc ***lua** ‘be whole’: PUL *llúw* ‘be all, entire’; WOL *nnúwe* ‘the whole, entire thing’; PCk ***llúw[ae]**; KIR *nua*-*i* ‘be satisfied, have eaten enough’.

PCMc ***lukuma** ‘fold, wrap’: PON *lukom* ‘to wrap around (s.t.)’; MOK *likim* ‘to fold (s.t.)’; KIR *nukama* ‘to fold or wrap up (s.t.), a package’. Cf. MRS *limék* ‘package; to fold, pack’ (possible metathesis); *lémlém* ‘fold, wrap, package’, *lim*-(*y*) ‘fold s.t.’. Cf. also KSR *nukun* ‘clothe, wear, wrap (s.t.)’, *nukruk* ‘clothes, cloth’, *nukruki* ‘cover with a cloth, measure the size of a piece of cloth’; MRS *nik^wnik^w* ‘clothes, cloth; to dress up’, *ka-nik^wnik^w-iy* ‘clothe s.o.’; SAA *nuku* ‘to kink, have corrugations, be shriveled or wrinkled’, *nuka-mi* ‘to crease, fold (s.t.)’ (these KSR and MRS forms probably stand in a borrowing relationship, possibly w. KIR). Cf. also PMc ***Lukuma** ‘bundle’ posited by Goodenough (1995:76) and PMc ***sukusuku, suku-ma, suku-mi** ‘be wrapped, a package, to wrap (s.t.)’.

PMC ***lulu** ‘be furled (of a sail), rolled or folded up’: CHK *nú-i*-(*tiw*) ‘be furled, lowered (of a sail)’, (*é*)-*nnú* ‘fold up (a mat or sail), lower (a sail)’, *nnúún, núnnú* ‘be lowered, furled (of a sail)’; WOL *nnú*-(*tiwe*) ‘put down, lower (a sail)’, *nnú* ‘to break (as a wave), crush, split’; PCk ***nnú** or ***llú**; PON *lil* ‘to lower sail’; KIR *nn-a* (< **ní-a*, **nni-a*) ‘to lower (s.t.)’, *nini-ra* ‘roll (s.t.) up’; EOC ***lulu** (Sa’a *lulu, lulu-ti* ‘fold’; KWA *lulu* ‘bunch together, gather, push together’); UAN ***luluñ** ‘roll up’. Cf. LAK *lili*-(*a*) ‘roll it up’; UAN ***lilit** ‘wrap up, bind up’. Cf. also PMc ***lumi** ‘to fold’, PCk ***llima** ‘lower rim of a sail’.

PMC ***lumi** ‘to fold’: CHK *nnum* ‘be creased, folded, bent, crumpled’, *numi, nnumi* ‘bend it, f. it, crease it’; PUL *lúmi, limi*-(*y*) ‘fold it (as a mat)’; CRL *limi, limi-i*-(*ló*) ‘to f.s.t., f. it up’; WOL *limilimi* ‘f., folding, cover’, *limi*-(*i*) ‘f. it, cover it’; PCk ***lúmi, lúmúlúmú**; PON *lim* ‘to f. (s.t.), *limilim*-(*pené*) ‘be folded’, *lim-ék* ‘be bent, smashed, mashed, dented’; MOK *lim* ‘to f. (s.t.)’, *lim-lim* ‘a f., hem, cuff, to f.’; MRS *lémlém* ‘f., wrap’, *lim-ék* ‘folded’; KIR *nun* ‘be folded (of arms or wings)’ (Eastman 1948); KSR *lím* ‘to f. (s.t.)’, *lím^lím* ‘to f.’; PMP ***lumiq** ‘to f., hem’ (Blust 1983–84:81). Cf. also PCMc ***lukuma** ‘fold, wrap’; PCk ***llima** ‘lower rim of a sail’.

PCMc ? ***[ln]usi** ‘tie up, wrap’: CHK *nnut* ‘be tied together by a twining process, tie things together by twining’, *nuti* ‘to tie (s.t.) by twining, the process of twining’; KIR *nira, ninira* ‘to roll (s.t.) up’, (*te*)-*ninira* ‘a wrapper, loose garment worn over the shoulders’. Cf. FIJ *lusi, lusi-a* ‘to rub the skin off’.

PMC ***luTu** ‘to jump’: CHK *nus, nnus* ‘j. (from one point to another), be out of its socket or holder’, (*o*)-*nusu* ‘remove it from one place to another, take it out of its socket’, (*o*)-*nnusu* ‘cause it to j. or hop’, *nusu*-(*m^wm^wet*) ‘bounce, j., hop’; PUL *lúh* (sic) ‘to j., to slip (as a muscle), to be loosened (as copra from its shell)’, (*yó*)-*lúhá*-(*á-tá*) (sic) ‘loosen it (as copra from its shell)’, (*yó*)-*lúluh* (sic) ‘to dislodge dried copra from its shell’; CRL *llus, lullus* and CRN *luh* ‘to j.’; STW *nnus* ‘to j.’; WOL *lútú, núnú* ‘j., leap, spring up, start in surprise’, (*ga*)-*lútú*-(*ú*), (*ga*)-*nnútú*-(*ú*) ‘make it j.’, *lútú*-(*ti-i*) ‘j. or leap on it’; PUA *núú* ‘to j., leap, spring’, *núú*-(*ti*) ‘to j. or leap on it’; PCk ***[luú]T[luú]**; PON *lus* ‘to j.’, *lusi*-(*da*) ‘to j. up, be surprised’, *lusu*-(*k*) ‘to j. on, to catch a ride with’; KSR *lut* ‘surprised, startled, amazed’. Cf. PAN ***lecu**[Ct] ‘slip away, escape’ (Blust 1970:131).

PCMc ***luuka** ‘center, middle’: CHK *nuuk, nuuka*-(*n*) ‘c., m., abdomen, stomach, belly, its c.’, *nuuka*-(*nap*) ‘c., exact m.’, *nuuke*-(*ni-p^win*) ‘midnight’, *nuuk, nuuke*-(*yi-nen*) ‘name of a god’ (lit. ‘m. of heaven’); PUL *luuk, luuka*-(*n*) ‘c., its c.’; CRL *luugh, luugha*-(*l*) ‘c., m., its c., *luugho*-(*lap*) ‘c., m. (of an object)’, *luugh* ‘name of the chief traditional god’; STW *nuuk* ‘c., m.’; WOL *luuge* ‘c., central point, be centered’, *luuga*-(*a*) ‘finish the central point by measurement’, *luugo*-(*li-b^woni*) (sic) ‘midnight’, *luugo*-(*i-lepi*) ‘name of a god’; PUA *nuka* (sic) ‘c., m.’; PCk

*luuka, luuka-(li-p^wonji), luuka-(i-lanji); PON *luuk* 'name of the chief traditional god'; MRS *lik^we* 'm. of, waist', *lik^we-(n-bog)* 'midnight'; KIR (te)-*nuuka*, *nuuka-(na)* 'm., lower waist, its m.'. Short first syllable of MRS needs explanation.

PMC **luuwa* 'remainder, remnant': CHK *nuuwe-k*, *nuuwe-ki-(n)* 'remainder, what is left, what remains, r. of'; PON *luuwe* 'its remains, remnant'; MOK *luwə* 'its remains'; PNG *luwe* 'its remains'; KSR *luwe-(l)* 'its remnant, leftover, surplus'. Cf. ULI *lutégu* (sic) 'leftover' (Bender et al. 1984). See also PCk ? *luTTu 'remainder, leftovers'.

PMC **ma* 'and, with': CHK *mé*; MRT *me*, *mé*; PUL *me*, *mé*; CRL *me*; STW *me*; WOL *me*; PUA *ma*; PCk **me*; MRS *yem*, *yim* (metathesis); KIR *ma* 'with, and others'; KSR *ma* 'and others'; PEO **ma* (BUG *ma* 'and'; ARO *ma* 'and, but'; KWA *ma* 'and, but'). Cf. YAP *ma* 'then, and, but'.

PMC **ma-* 'stative prefix indicating that what is described is an appearance or condition of being': CHK *ma-*, *má-*, *mó-*, *me-*, *mé-*, *mo-*; MRT *ma-*; PUL *ma-*, *má-*, *mó-*, *me-*, *mé-*; CRL *ma-*, *má-*, *mó-*, *me-*; STW *ma-*; WOL *ma-*, *me-*; PUA *ma-*; PCk **ma-*; PON *ma-*, *mé-*; PNG *mV-* (vowel varies); MRS *ma-*; KIR *ma-*; KSR *mV-* (vowel varies); POC **ma-* (PPN **ma*; FIJ *ma-*; SAA *ma-*; BUG *ma-*; LAU *ma-*; ARO *ma-*; KWA *ma-*; PKB **ma-*).

PMC **maa*, *maa-ki* 'ashamed': CHK *ma* 'be a.', (a)-*maa-(y)* 'make him a.'; CRL *ma* 'be embarrassed'; WOL *maa* 'be or feel a.', (ge)-*maa-(ye)* 'make him a.'; PUA *mma* (sic) 'be a.'; PCk **maa*; PON *maa-k* 'reserved, containing one's feelings for fear of self-embarrassment or embarrassing others, deference; MOK *mee-k* 'a., embarrassed, bashful, shy'; KIR *maamaa* 'a., abashed'; KSR *m^we-ki-(n)* 'a., shy, bashful'; PEO **maqa* (PPN **maa* 'a.'; FIJ *maa-[duaa]*; SAA *masa* 'shy, a.'; ARO *masa*). See also LAK *mahela* 'be a.'.

PMC **maan* 'adrift, drift': CHK *maan*, *mammaan* 'be becalmed, a., to d.', *maanú-(nó)* 'd. away', (a)-*maanú* 'cast him a.', (a)-*mmaan* 'flotsam'; MRT *maan* 'to float', *maani-(to)* 'f. hither'; PUL *maan* 'to d.', *maane-(ló)* 'd. away'; CRL *maal* and CRN *maan* 'to d.'; STW *maan* 'd., float', *maane-(to)* 'd. hither'; WOL *maali* 'to d., be a.', (ge)-*maali-(ú)* 'let it drift away', (ge)-*mmaalú* 'cause s.t. to d. away'; PUA *maanú* 'to float, d.'; PCk **maanú*; PEO **maqanu* (PPN **maqanu* 'a., float'; SAA *manú* 'to float'); PAN **ma-qa(nN)u(dj)* (Blust 1978:8), **qaNuj* (Wolff 1993).

PMC **maaru* 'out of breath': PUL *moor* 'be winded, out of breath; thirsty'; CRL *m^woor* 'be out of breath, breathe hard'; KSR *mæl* 'breathless, impatient, intolerant'. Cf. KSR *mala* 'breathless; thirsty'; CHK *moor* 'head cold, chest cold, have a cold, have a cough'. Cf. PMC **marewu* 'thirsty'.

PCMc **[mm]a-asasa* 'low sound': CHK *m^wa-ataat* 'rustling (of leaves), rubbing or splashing noise'; KIR *marara* (sic, <**ma-araara*?) 'low conversation at a little distance'.

PMC **maaso*, *masoso* 'to sit': CHK *móót*, *mómmóót* 's., be seated', *mót-(tiw)*, *#móót-(tiw)* 's. down', (ó)-*móóta* 'place it, set it'; MRT *móót*; PUL *móót* 'to s.', *mó-tiw* (sic) 's. down'; CRL *móót* 'to s.', *móóte-(tiw)*, *móót-(tiw)* 's. down'; STW *móót* 's.', *móoto-(tiw)* 's. down'; WOL *matto* 's., squat down', (ge)-*matto-(o)* 'set it down, seat him'; PUA *mato* (sic) 'to s.', *mato-(ŋa)* 'buttocks'; SNS *maato*; PCk **maado*, *maddo*; PON *m^wood* 's.', *m^woon-(di)* 's. down'; MOK *m^win-(di)* 's.'; KSR *mata* (in *aset*) 'non-native sitting posture', *mata* (*lipip*) 'a sitting posture'. Cf. KIR *m^waro* (Bingham) or *m^waroo* (Eastman) 'sink, founder, go down (as food)', *m^waroro* 'to subside, to lull'; KSR *mot* 'sink with too much weight, subside'; Cf. PCk ? **m^waut[iú]* 'to sink'. Problems here.

PMC **maata*, *maataata* 'cleared space': CRL *maat*, *maata-l* 'farm, his f.'; STW *maat*; WOL *maate* 'farm, garden'; PUA *maata* 'garden, lot, taro patch, property'; PCk **maa[dt]a*; PON *maasaas* 'c. of vegetation'; MRS *mahaj* 'c. s., open field', *mahajahaje-(y)* 'to clear (land)'; KIR *maataata* 'open, c. (as land), roomy, clear'; KSR *m^wesəs* 'roomy, spacious, commodious'. Cf. PON *m^waat* 'clearing, field, plantation, garden', *m^wet* 'clear an area, cut or pull grass', *m^weti-(wel)* 'make a clearing, plantation, or garden'. Cf. PCk **maada* 'a garden'. See also Marck (1994:321) PMC **maata* and **maataata*.

PMC **maaTiaTi* 'treeless place': CHK *maasiyes* 't. p., field, open area without shade'; KSR *m^wesis* 'a desert', (æk)-*m^wesisye* 'clean, cultivate, clear (land)'.

PMC **maawa* 'a fish': PON *maaw* 'any blue parrotfish', MRS *mahwew* 'parrotfish (*Scarus jonesi/sordidus*), wrasse (*Cheilinus* sp.)'; KIR (te)-*maawa* 'a goatfish (*Purupeneus trifasciatus*)',

(*te-ika*)-*maawa* ‘parrotfish (*Scarus pectoralis*)’; PEO **maqawa* (Fij *mayawa* ‘sp. of f.’; Ton *ma’awa* ‘a kind of f.’). Cf. MRS *meh* ‘wrasse’; LAK *mao* ‘kind of f.’

PMC ***maawunu** ‘war, fighting’: CHK *móówun*, *móówunu*–; PUL *mawon* (sic); CRL *móówul* ‘w.’, #*móówula* ‘to attack (an enemy)’; CRN *móówun* ‘w.’, #*móówula* ‘to attack (an enemy)’; STW *móówun*; WOL *maaulu*; ULI *maaulu*; PUA *maunu* (sic); PCK **maawunu*; PON *maawin*; MOK *maawin*; PNG *maawin*; MRS *mawin* ‘magic to make fighters brave’; KSR *m’ew* ‘war, fight’. Cf. KIR *un* ‘be angry, fight’ and *ka-unuun* ‘continue to provoke anger’; POC **punuq* ‘strike, slay’ (Ross 1988) (SAA *hunu* ‘kill or cut up an animal’; ARO *hunu*, *hunu* ‘i’ ‘to kill, exterminate’; KWA *funu* ‘to fight, cut’, *funu-ŋa* ‘warfare’); UAN **bunuq*. Cf. also YAP *mael* ‘w., battle’. MRS shortening unexplained.

PMC ***maca**, **mamaca** ‘very ripe, rotten’: CHK *mach*, *mmach*, *mammach* ‘v. r., rotten, stink’, *mmach*, *mmacha*-(*n*) ‘boil on the skin, his boil’, *mmache*-(*yiti*) ‘get r. by (a certain time)’, (*a*)-*mmacha* ‘ripen (s.t.)’; MRT *mmash* ‘r., overripe’; PUL *mmaR* ‘be very r.’, *mmaR*, *mmRa*-(*n*) ‘boil, infected sore, his b.’; CRL *mash* ‘stink, smell bad’, *mmash* ‘be v. r., soft, ready to eat (of a fruit)’; CRN *maR* ‘stink, smell bad’, *mmaR* ‘be v. r., etc.’; STW *maR* ‘rotten, v. r.’; WOL *mashe* ‘rotten, spoiled, have a bad smell, stink’, *mashe* ‘become rotten or spoiled’, *mmashe* ‘r., fermented, soft, wet, have pus in a scratch or wound’; PUA *mmas* ‘be fermented, r.’; PCK **maca*, *mmaca*; PON *mat* ‘r., overripe, rotten, spoiled, decayed’, *maat* ‘pimple, acne’; MOK *mas* ‘stink, smell bad’, *məxə* ‘spoiled, rotten, putrid’; MRS *mad* ‘ripen’, *mmed* ‘v. r., overripe (of breadfruit only), phlegm, catarrh, sputum’, (*méyi*)-*med* ‘overripe breadfruit’; KIR *mara* ‘soft (as an animal shedding its skin), wet, moist, bald’; KSR *m’esr* ‘r., mellow, pimple, flake of skin’, *m’esrm’esr* ‘pimpily, flaky’; PEO **manra* (PPN **mara* ‘fermented’; Fij ? *madra* ‘worn, old [of clothes]’; BUG *mada* ‘be ripe [of fruit]’, *mada*-[*rua*] ‘be overripe’; KWA *mada* ‘r., mature’). See also PMC **mara* ‘preserved breadfruit’.

PMC ***ma-cai** ‘slimy’: CHK *me-cheyichey* ‘be s., mucous-like’; CRL *ma-sheishey*, *me-sheishey* ‘s., slippery substance such as mucus’; PON *me-teyey*; MRS *me-dahyé*-(*kyék*) ‘phlegm, pus, lymph, slime from slugs and fish’; KIR *ma-rai* ‘kernel of coconut in its soft state, white of an egg, having a soft kernel’; KSR *mi-sre*, *ma-sre* ‘slide, slip, skid’, *mī-sresre* ‘s., slippery, slithery’; PEO **ma-daRi* (BUG *ma-dali* ‘slippery’). Cf. Fij *ma-drai* ‘Fijian bread buried in the ground for months’. See also PCK **ma-calú* ‘slimy, slippery’. Cf. PCMC **m’acaya* ‘physical deformity’.

PMC ? ***ma-caucau** ‘soft’: KIR *ma-raurau*; PEO *[mm’]a-ntauntau (SAA *m’a-dau* ‘be easy, possible, soft, pliable’). Cf. KWA *ma-ga’u* ‘soft’, *wa-da’u* ‘easy’, *wa-la’u* ‘easy, soft, overripe’; and cf. BUG *ma-daria* ‘overripe’. Cf. PCK **caucaú* ‘to massage (after a fall or bruise)’.

PMC ***maci**, **macici** ‘be cold’: MRS *méd* ‘cooled off (of food once hot)’; KIR *mariri* ‘feel c., be c.’, (*te*)-*mariri* ‘c., coldness’; KSR *mīsrīsr* ‘c., chilly, cool, goose bumps’; POC **madidi* (ROT *matiti* ‘be c.’). Cf. LAK *maigi* ‘be c.’, *magigi* ‘to shake (as in epilepsy)’; *makarigi* ‘c., to be c.’, PKB **maqi*-(*dg*)i; PĀN **ma(ŋ)*-(*dD*)iŋ(*dD*)iŋ (Blust 1970:133).

PMC ***mai**, ‘breadfruit’: CHK *mááy*, *mei*-, -*mei*; PUL *mááy*; CRL *mááy*; STW *mááy*; WOL *maai*, *mai*–; PUA *maai*, *mai*–; SNS *maay*; PCK **mai*; PON *maay*; MOK *məy*; PNG *mey*; MRS *may*; KIR *maai*, (*te*)-*mai*; PEO **maRi* (Geraghty 1990) (Ton *mei*). Note: KSR *mos* does not appear to be cognate.

PMC ***mai**, ‘from’: CHK *mē*, *mé*; PUL *mē*, *mé*; CRL *mē*; STW *mē*; WOL *mē*; PUA *ma* PCK **mē*; KIR *mai*. Cf. SAA *mái* ‘hither, from’; BUG *mai* ‘hither’; ARO *mai* ‘hither’; KWA *mai* ‘hither’; PKB **mai*.

PCMC ***maia** ‘from where?’: CHK (*ke-náá*) *meey* ‘you come f. w.?’; KIR (*ko nako*) *maia* ‘you come f. w.?’.

PCMC ***ma[iu]ŋi** ‘left handed’: CHK -*mééŋ*, -*mmééŋ* ‘l. h., l. side’; PUL (*húyi*)-*mééyŋ*, (*yii*)-*mééyŋ* ‘be on the l. s.’ PCK ? **maúŋi*; PON *meyŋ*-(*tol*) ‘be l. h.’; MOK *meyŋ* ‘l.’; MRS (*han*)-*miyŋ* ‘l. hand, l. half of human body’; KIR *maiŋ* ‘l. h.’. Cf. PEO **ma[iu]Ri* ‘l. hand’ (Geraghty 1990) (SAA *máuli*, *máumeuli*; LAU *mouli*; KWA *mooli* ‘differently, in a wrong direction’, [after vt.] ‘l. h.’; PKB **mauli* ‘l. h.’).

PMC ***maki** ‘worn with age’: CHK *mēs* ‘be w. out (of household goods and clothes), be

fragile with age', (*ine*)-*mes* 'name of a goddess associated with love magic' (lit. 'mother age-worn'); PUL *máh* 'be w. out', *máhi*-(*n*) 'w. out thing of'; WOL *magi* 'become wilted, grow weak', (*ge*)-*magi*-(*i*) 'make it lose color'; PCK **maki*; PON *mek* 'dented'; MOK *me* 'tired'; KIR *maki* 'shrivelled and dried up (as a leaf), barely burning, nearly extinguished (of a fire)'; KSR *mæ* 'old, w., frayed'. Note the *h* in PUL and Ø in MOK and KSR where we would expect *k*. In the PUL case the *h* suggests the word is a loan from CHK. CRL *ile-más*, *ili-mes*, *li-más* and CRN *ine-mes* 'love medicine' appear to be loans from CHK.

PCMc ***makua** 'regurgitate': CHK *mékú* 'to belch'; CRL *maghú* and CRN *magú* 'to burp up milk after feeding (of a baby)'; PUA *makúa* 'to be nauseating'; PCK **makúa*; PON *makiaki* 'to sob'; KIR (*te*)-*makua* 'a full spring tide', *makua* 'be a full spring tide'. Cf. WOL *mmée* 'to have nausea, vomit'.

PCMc ***malala** 'area without vegetation': CHK *mannaan* 'grassland (treeless, open)'; STW *melaal* 'cleared ground'; PON *mall* 'a natural clearing in the forest, unfertile area, an area with little topsoil'; MOK *mal* 'barren field'; MRS *melał* 'playground for demons, not habitable by people'; POC **malala* (BUG *mathathe* 'garden'; PKB *malala* 'ground cleared of vegetation'). Cf. KIR *mane* 'worn out, worn thin'; KSR *mahn* 'barren, empty, fruitless, sterile'. Cf. also PCK **malle*, *malemale*, (ka)-*malemale*-(a), *male-di* 'ground cleared of vegetation, swidden field'; and cf. Marck (1994:322) PMc **mala* and **malala*.

PCMc ***maleku**, **maleleku**, **malekuleku** 'forget': MRT *mallúke* 'f. (s.t.)'; PUL *malleki*-(y), *malleka*-(a-ló) 'to f.'; CRL *mallég*h 'be forgetful', *mallégú*-(ú-w) 'f. (s.t.)'; CRN *malleg* 'be forgetful', *mallegi*-(i-y) 'f. (s.t.)'; PCK **malekú*, *mallekú*; PON *manoke*-(e-la), *makone*-(e-la) 'to f. (s.t.)', *manokonoko*-(la) 'f., be forgetful'; MOK *molukluk* 'be forgetful', *molkə*, *molkə*-(la) 'to f. (s.t.)'; MRS *melałak*^w 'to forget, be oblivious'; KSR *malik-i-n* 'to f., be forgetful of, lose (s.t.)'. The reflex *n* instead of *l* in the Pohnpeian forms is unexpected. The MRS form reflects **malakolako*; use of -*ló*-(*la*) directional with PUL, PON, and MOK forms suggests that this is contamination of earlier **maleku*-*lako* (see PMc **lako*, *laa* 'go, proceed, [as directional] away'). See also PCMc **maluoki*, *maluoka* 'forget', PMc **ma-lie* 'forget'.

PCMc ***malem**^wu 'to drown': PUL *mólom*^w; WOL *malem*^wu; PCK **malem*^wu; MRS *małej*^w; KSR *walom*. MRS substitutes *ŋ*^w for expected *ŋ*^w, possibly in dissimilation from initial *m* (an *ŋ*^w/*h*^w alternation is not uncommon); also, heavy *l* is unexpected.

PCMc ***ma-lie** 'forget': PON *me-lie*-(e-la) 'to forget (honorific)'; MRS *mma-léyléy* 'absent minded, forgetful, oblivious'; KSR *ma-lye*-(la) 'forgetful, unmindful, absent minded'. See also PMc **maleku*, *maleleku*, *malekuleku* 'forget', PCMc **maluoki*, *maluoka* 'forget'.

PCMc ***maluoki**, **maluoka** 'forget': CHK *ménnúúki*, *ménnúúka*-(a-nó) 'f. it, leave it behind'; STW *malúweki*-(y) 'f. it'; WOL *malúweki*-(li-i) 'f. it, have it slip one's mind'; PUA *manúeki* 'be forgotten, to f., forgive'; PCK **malúeki*; KIR *manuoka* 'to f. (s.t.)'. See also PMc **maleku*, *maleleku*, *malekuleku* 'forget', PMc PMc **ma-lie* 'forget'.

PCMc ***mamata** 'stand watch, stay awake': CHK *mmas* 's. w.', *mmas*, *mammasa* 'w. over it, guard it'; MRT *mmas* 'guard', (*a*)-*mmasá*-(á-tá) 'wake him up'; PUL *mahaa* (sic) 'w. over (s.t.)'; CRL *mmas* and CRN *mmah* 'to w., wait and look, be awake', *maha*-(a-tá), *maha*-(ló) 'wake up'; STW *mmas* 'awake'; WOL *mmase* 'to w., look at s.t., guard, peer at s.t.', *mmas*-(a) 'w. him, guard him, peep at him', *mmate* 'open one's eyes, arise, awake'; PUA *mmata* 'be awake, arise, open one's eyes'; PCK **mmata*; MRS *mméj* 'be awake, stay up'; POC **mamata* (ROT *mamafa* 'to awake from sleep'; LAK *mamata* 'be awake'). Cf. KWA *mama* 'wait for'. See PMc **mata* 'eye, face'.

PCMc ***mam**[ei] 'a large fish': CHK *máám* 'large sp. of wrasse f.'; PUL *mám* (sic) 'a kind of l. f. (perhaps a wrasse)'; CRL *máám* 'sp. of wrasse (*Cheilinus undulatus*)'; PCK ?**mam*[ei]; MRS *mam*, (*jew*)-*mam* 'any l. f.'; PMP **mamin* 'wrasse' (Blust 1986:63). Cf. PMc **mami* 'sweet'.

PCMc ***mami** 'sweet': MRT *mém* 'taste of chewing coconuts'; PUL *mem*, *memmem*; CRL *mám*, *mem*; STW *mámm*, *memmemmem*; WOL *mami* 's.', (*ge*)-*mami*-(i) 'make it s.'; PCK **mami*; PON *mem*; MRS *mame-t* (<**mami*-ta?) 's., fresh water'; KIR (*te*)-*mam* 'fresh water'; KSR (*e*)-*m*^wem 's.', (*e*)-*m*^wemí 'to sweeten (s.t.)'; PEO *mami* 's.' (Fij and Ton *mami* 'a kind of banana';

SAA *mámi* ‘to taste s.t.’; BUG *mami* ‘s.’; ARO *mami* ‘sweetened, fresh water’; KWA *mami* ‘normal tasting, brackish water’; UAN **mamis*. Cf. LAK *malama* ‘s.’.

PMC **mana*, *manamana* ‘be efficacious, have spiritual power’, ‘efficacy, s. p.’: CHK *man*, *manaman*; MRT *manaman*; PUL *manaman*; STW *malaman*; WOL (*kke*)-*male*; PCK **mana*, *mana-mana*; PON *man* ‘be effective’, *manaman* ‘magical, mysterious, magic, spiritual p.’; MOK *manman* ‘spiritually powerful, able to do magic’; MRS *maṃmaṃ* ‘haunted, having supernatural p.’; KSR *m^wenm^wen* ‘miracle, magic’, *m^wenm^weni* ‘perform magic’; PEO **mana* (PPN **mana*, Fij *mana*; SAA *nanama* ‘be powerful’; BUG *mana* ‘spiritual p.’; KWA *nanama* ‘confer supernatural p.’).

PMC **ma-[nñ]awa* ‘life, alive’: CHK *ma-naw* ‘l., health, be a.’, (*a*)-*ma-nawa* ‘give him l.’; MRT *ma-nawa-(n)* ‘his l.’; PUL *má-naw*, (*ya*)-*ma-nawa*; CRL *ma-law*, (*a*)-*ma-lawa*; CRN *ma-naw*, (*a*)-*ma-nawa*; STW *má-nawa-(n)* ‘his l., existence’; WOL *me-lawe* ‘be a.’; PCK **ma-nawa*; MRS *menewa-* ‘heart, breath’, *me-newnew* ‘to breathe’; KIR (*te*)-*ma-nawa* ‘pit of the stomach’; POC **ma-ñawa* ‘breath’ (Ross 1988) (PPN **ma-nawa* ‘breath’; ARO *ma-nawa* ‘breath’); UAN **ñawa* ‘soul’. Cf. MOK *moṃ* ‘to breathe’; KSR *moṃo-(l)* ‘his breath, sigh’.

PMC **ma-nifi*, *ma-nifinifi* ‘thin, flimsy’: CRL *má-lifilif* ‘t.’; STW *ma-lifilif*; WOL *ma-lifi*, *ma-lifilifi* ‘be t., lack thickness’; PuA *ma-nidi* ‘be t. (of flat objects)’, *ma-nidinidi* ‘a slice, cut piece of cloth’; SNS *ma-rifi*; PCK **ma-nifi*, *ma-nifinifi*; PON *me-nipinip* ‘t. (of flat objects such as paper)’; MOK *mi-nipinip*; MRS *ma-niy* ‘t., flimsy’; KIR *mma-nii*; KSR (*se*)-*mī-nini* ‘not t.’; PEO **ma-nipi* (PPN **ma-nifi*; ARO *ma-nihi*; KWA *ma-nifi* ‘tiny ocean fish’); UAN **nipis*.

PCMc **mano* ‘waterproof, not leaky’: CHK *món*; PUL *món*; WOL *maló*; PCK **mano*; KIR *mano*. Cf. Fij *malu*.

PMC **manu* ‘living creature of land or air’: CHK *maan*, *menú-(n)*, (*e*)-*mén* ‘l. c., l. c. of, one l. c.’; MRT *maan*, *manú-(n)*; PUL *maan*, *manú-(n)*; CRL *maal*, *malú-(l)* and CRN *maan*; STW *maan*, *manú-(n)*, (*e*)-*mal*; WOL *maalú*, *man-(ni)*; PuA *maanú*, *manú-(ni)*, (*de*)-*manú*; PCK **manú*, (*te*)-*manú*; PON *maan*, *meni-(n)* ‘animal, insect’; MOK *maan*; MRS *mani-(ddik)* ‘a small insect’, *man-(ni-miwij)* ‘white sea gull’; KIR (*te*)-*man* ‘animal, bird’, (*te*)-*mani-(nn-ara)* ‘mosquito’, (*te*)-*man-(ni-kiba)* ‘bird’; KSR *mæn*, *meni-(n)* ‘animal, insect’; POC **manuk* (Ross 1988) (PPN **manu* ‘animal, bird’; Fij *manumanu* ‘bird’; SAA *mánu* ‘bird, insect’; BUG *manu* ‘bird’; KWA *manu* ‘bird’; LAU *manu* ‘bird’; PKB **manu* ‘bird’); UAN **manuk* ‘chicken, bird’. Note that PUL *malúk* ‘chicken’; CRL *malúh* ‘chicken’; WOL *malúge* ‘chicken, hen’, and PON *malek* ‘chicken’ are loans, more likely from PAL *mark* than from CHM *mannok*.

PCMc **manu* ‘a bright star’: CHK *maan* ‘the s. Sirius or Procyon, name of a sidereal month’; PUL *maan* ‘a scattered group of stars, Canopus, Sirius, Procyon, name of a sidereal month’; CRL and CRN *maan* ‘the s. Sirius, month in the sidereal calendar’; STW *maan* ‘Procyon, Sirius, Canopus’; WOL *maalú* ‘the s. Sirius’; PuA *maanú* ‘a sidereal month equated with September’; PCK **maanú*; KIR *man* (sic) ‘Canopus’ (Bender et al. 1984). See also PMC **manu* ‘living creature of land or air’.

PCMc **ma-ṛari*, *ma-ṛarigari* ‘rough’: CHK *me-ṛer*, *me-ṛeriger* ‘be hoarse, speak huskily’; PUL *me-ṛeriger* ‘be r. (as bark, beard, or skin of filefish)’; WOL *me-ṛarigeri* ‘be coarse, r. (as of skin)’; PCK **me-ṛari*, *me-ṛarigari*; KIR *ma-ṛaiṛai* ‘be ragged (as an old garment)’. Cf. PWMc **ṛani* ‘to, toward’, PMC **ṛere*, *ṛerere* ‘be chafed, rasping’.

PMC **maṇi* ‘have in mind, think, remember’: CHK *meṇi-i-(y)*, *méṇú-ú-(w)* ‘admire it’; MRT *maṇimaje* ‘t. about it’; PUL *máṇimáj* ‘thought, to t.’, *máṇi-(i-y)* ‘remember it’; CRL *máṇimáj* ‘be thinking, thought, idea’, *máṇi-i-(y)* ‘remember, recall, reminisce or t. about (s.t.)’, *máṇ-(ṇáli)* ‘remind (one) of (s.t.)’; STW *máj* ‘remember’, *máṇimáj* ‘t.’; WOL *maṇimeṇi* ‘to t., remember, consider, ponder, expect’, *maṇi-i-(ye)* ‘t. about it, expect it, remember it’, *maṇi-(togo)* ‘be recalled, occur to one’s mind’; PuA *meṇi* ‘t. about it, remember it’, *meṇimeṇi* ‘to think’, (*ka*)-*meṇi-(ṛani)* ‘remind him’; PCK **maṇi*, *maṇimaṇi*; PON *meṇi-(lól)* ‘talk to oneself’; MRS *maṇ* ‘know better, learn not to’; KSR (*æk*)-*maṇmaṇ-ye* ‘disregard, ignore (s.t.)’. Cf. KSR *ma* ‘see, think’.

PCMc **maṇigi* ‘poison’: CHK *menin*, *menini-* ‘poison, be poisonous (of food only)’; KIR *maṇij* and *maṇiji-(a)* ‘intoxicated’ and ‘treat as intoxicated’. See also L: MOK *maṇij*.

PMC **maṇo* ‘top of head, fontanel’: CHK *móón*, *móṃu-*, *móṃo-*, *móṃó-* ‘h.’; PUL *móón*; CRL *#m^wóón*, *móón*, *#m^wóṃo-*, *móṃo-* ‘forehead’; WOL *maṇo*, *maṇo-* ‘forehead’; PuA *maṇo*, *maṇo-*

'forehead'; PCK **maŋo*; PON *məŋə, məŋe-, məŋa-* 'h.; MOK *məŋ, məŋe* 'h., his h.; MRS *maŋ**; KIR (*te*)-*maŋo* 'f.'; KSR *məŋo-(n)* 'h. of, ridge of, crown of'; POC **maŋo* (SAA *maŋo* 'to breathe'; KWA *maŋo* 'breathe, pause for breath'; LAK *maŋo-[la-kuvo]* 'brain' [*kuvo* 'skull']).

PMC **maŋu* 'pandanus leaf': CHK #*mééŋ, méŋú-* 'cured p. l.', *méŋ, méŋú-* 'soft, supple'; PUL *maŋ, maŋi-*; WOL *maŋu, maŋu-*; PUA *maŋú, maŋú-* 'dry p. l.'; PCK **maŋú*; MRS *mahaŋ*; KIR *maŋu, maŋumaŋu* 'glossy and smooth (as oiled hair)'; KSR *m^wəŋ* 'p.'. Cf. PEO *(*ma*)-Rog[ou] 'withered' (Geraghty 1990). Note also PON *məŋ* 'withered, dry, dead vegetation'; MOK *məŋ, məŋməŋ* 'dried up, dead (of leaves), brown (of dried vegetation)' and *məŋ, məŋe, məŋə-(n)* 'p. key, his p. k., p. k. of'. MRS length unexplained.

PCMC **maoko* 'a fish': PON *məok*; KIR (*te*)-*maoko*. Cf. LAK *mao* 'a f.'

PMC **mara* 'preserved breadfruit': CHK *maar, mare-(n)* 'p. b., p. b. of (some kind or place)', *mara-(a-n), mára-(á-n)* 'his p. b., p. b. of (s.o.)'; MRT *maar*; PUL *maar, merá-(n)*; CRL *maar* 'p. b.', *mar* 'be rotten, decayed, moldy (of fruits and vegetables), smell rotten'; STW *maar*; WOL *maare, mera-(li)* 'p. b., p. b. of, to make p. b.'; PUA *maala, mala-* 'wrapped p. b.'; PCK **mara*; PON *maar*; MOK *mar*; KSR *mær* 'core of p. b.'; POC **mara* (PPN **mara* 'fermented', FIJ *mara* 'hollow ground, such as a groove', LAK [*la-ulu e*]-*mala* 'ripe breadfruit'). See also PMC **maca, mamaca* 'very ripe, rotten'.

PMC **maraa* 'light in weight': CHK (*a*)-*mara, -maraa-(n)* 'canoe sail, s. of'; MRT (*a*)-*mmara* 'sail'; PUL (*ya*)-*mara* 'canoe sail'; CRL (*a*)-*mara* 'canoe sail'; STW (*a*)-*mara* 'canoe sail'; WOL *mmaraa* 'be fast, swift, speedy', (*ga*)-*mmaraa-li-(i)* 'make it fast, speed it'; PCK **mmaraa, maraa*; PON *maraa* 'fast, swift (of a moving object), light (in weight)'; MOK *maraa* 'light in weight'; MRS *merah* 'light in weight, bland, delicate, mild, subtle'; KSR *malææ* 'light in weight, skinny, slim'; PEO **maRaqa* 'lightweight' (Geraghty 1990). The East Chuukic words for 'sail' appear to be a locally innovated causative construction (cf. PCMC **yuwe* 'a sail').

PMC **ma-rama* 'moon': See PMC **rama, ma-rama* 'bright, luminous'.

PMC **ma-rawa* 'green, blue': MRS *mahrewrew, -mahrew* 'g., b.; KIR *mawawa* (probably **ma-awaawa*) 'g.'; PEO **ma-rawa* (SAA *ma-rawa* 'be blackish or purplish [of nuts before ripening]'; ARO *ma-rawa* 'g., b.'; KWA *ma-lakwa* 'g., fresh, unripe'). Cf. PCK ? **karawa, karawarawa* 'blue, green', PCK **ma-arawa* 'be green (of fruit), unripe'.

PMC **marewu* 'thirsty': MOK *marew*; MRS *maréw*; KSR *mala*; POC **marequ* (SAA *marou* 'thirst'; ARO *mareu* 'become withered'; LAK *malehu* 'thirsty'). Cf. UAN **qa(q)us* 'thirst'. Cf. also CRL *m^wór* 'be dry, dried up' and KIR *m^waau* 'dry', (*te*)-*m^waau* 'dryness'. And cf. PCK **maaro* 'thirsty', PMC **maaru* 'out of breath'.

PMC **masa, mamasa* 'be low tide, dry': CHK *mmat* 'be l. t.', (*a*)-*mmat* 'be soaked up (as water), a sponge', (*a*)-*mmata* 'soak or sponge it up'; MRT *mmat*; PUL *mmat*; CRL *mmat* 'be d., low (of water), be l. t.', (*a*)-*mmat* 'bailer', (*a*)-*mmata* 'to bail (a canoe)'; STW *mmat*; WOL *mmate* 'l. t., be l. t., be bailed'; PUA *mmata* 'l. t., be d., shallow, bailed'; PCK **mmada*; PON *mad, mmad* 'be d.'; MOK *mad* 'portion of reef exposed a l. t.', *mad-(da)* 'to d. up (of reef)'; MRS *mmat* 'emerge from water, come into view after having been hidden', *matmat* 'sponge'; KIR *mara* 'bald'; KSR *m^wes* 'shallow place in reef'; PEO **maza* 'd., l. t.' (Geraghty 1983) (PPN **ma[hs]a* 'd.'; FIJ *maca* 'empty [of liquids], d.'; LAK *mamara-[ti]* 'damned up, dried up [of water in the hollow of a tree]'; UAN **maja* 'd.'; PAN **maja, mamaja* (Blust 1978:98). Note also MRS *mahat* 'empty, no more, all gone, exhausted'. Cf. LAK *masaga* 'd.'. See also Marck (1994:314) PMC **masa*.

PMC **masaki* 'be painful, hurt': CHK *metek, meteki-*; PUL *meták*; CRL *metágh*; CRN *meteg*; STW *metakú* (sic); WOL *metagi*; PUA *mataki*; SNS (*ka*)-*mataki*; PCK **madaki*; PON *medek*; MOK *mədok*; MRS *metak*; KIR *maraki*; KSR *atək*; PEO **ma-saki* (PPN **masaki*; SAA *mata'i* 'have an attack of malarial fever'; ARO *mata'i* 'have fever'; KWA *mata'i* 'fever'); UAN **sakit*.

PMC **masu* 'sated (with food or drink)': CHK *mét* 'be s.', (*é*)-*métú* 'cause him to be s.'; MRT *met*; PUL *mat*; CRL *mat, (a)-matú-(w)*; STW *mat*; WOL *matú, (ge)-matú-(ú)*; PUA *matú*; PCK **madú*; PON *med*; MOK *məd*; MRS *mat*; KIR *mari* 'abundant, plentiful (as fruit)'; KSR *mat* 'full, swelling, plenty, abundant'; PEO **mazu* (Geraghty 1983); POC **mazu* (FIJ *macu*; TON *mahu* 'productive [of land and soil], have plenty of food'; ARO *masu*

'have had enough, be full, replete'; BUG *mahu* 'replete with food, satisfied'; PKB **mazu* 'full [of stomach only]'.
 PMC ***ma-[sS]ali** 'smooth': MRT *metel*; PON (*ka*)-*madal* 'to s. out (s.t.)', *medendel* 's. and flat', MOK *məndondol*; PNG *məntəntol*; MRS *metal* (*metaltél*, distributive form) 's., sleek, slick (distributive form) 's., sleek, slick'; KIR *maran* 'straight (as the hair)'; PEO *(ma)-[sz]ali, (ma)-n[sz]ali (ROT *marari* 's.'; SAA *madali*, *mamadali* 'greasy, slippery'; BUG *dadali* 's.', *madali* 'slippery'; ARO *madari* 'wet and slippery'). Cf. ARO *m^wadiri* 'smooth, slippery'. Cf. PMC *ma-[sS]aLu, ma-[sS]aLu[sS]aLu 'smooth (of surface)' posited by Goodenough (1995:77).

PMC ***ma[sS]o** 'cooked': CHK *moot*, *m^woot* 'c.', *m^wooto-(kkáy)* 'be c. quickly'; MRT *m^woot*, (*ya*)-*mmoot*; PUL *m^woot* 'c.', (*ya*)-*m^woot*, (*yó*)-*m^woot* 'to cook', (*ya*)-*m^woota* 'cook it', (*yó*)-*m^wotá*- (sic) 'food c. (by s.o.)'; CRL *m^woot* 'be c.', (*a*)-*m^woot* 'to cook food', (*a*)-*m^woota* 'to cook (s.t.)'; STW (*a*)-*mmoot* 'cook'; WOL *mette* 'c.', (*ga*)-*met*, (*ga*)-*mett* 'cook, prepare food', (*ga*)-*meta*-(*a*), (*ga*)-*metta*-(*a*) 'cook it'; ULI (*gé*)-*mad* 'c.'; PUA *mété*, *mété* 'c.', (*ka*)-*mété* 'cook it'; PCK ? **mado*, *maddo*; MRS *mat*; KIR (*te*)-*maro*-(*a*) 'food, refreshment'; PEO *m[ao]so (PPN **moso* 'c.'). Cf. KSR *mol*, *molmol* 'c., boiled' (possibly a loan from KIR). Cf. also SAA *madoo* 'c.'; BUG *mamoha* 'c.'.

PMC ***ma-Sawa** 'deep sea, open sea': CHK *ma-taw*; MRT *ma-taw*; PUL *me-taw*; CRL *me-taw*, *ma-taw*; STW *metaw*; WOL *me-tawe*; PUA *ma-tawa*; PCK **ma-dawa*; PON *ma-daw*; MOK *ma-daw*; PNG *me-daw*; MRS *me-tew*; KIR *ma-rawa*; KSR *me-ɔa* 'ocean'; PEO **ma-sawa* (SAA *ma-tawa*; KWA *ma-takwa*). See also Marck (1994:308) PMC **mazawa*. Cf. PPN **was*a 'o. s.', **waa* 'interval of space or time'; FIJ *was*a, *wasawasa* 's., ocean', *maa-cawa* 'a space or interval'; BUG *maha* 'd. (of s.), d. s.'.

PMC ***maSeru** 'hiccough': PUL *matér*; STW *matér*; WOL *materú*; ULI *múther* 'belch'; PUA *matalú*; PCK **madarú*; KIR *marei*; KSR *mæl* 'become breathless', *mæl*-(*fweye*) 'gobble, swallow, gulp'. Note also PON *marer* and MOK *maler* 'h.'. Cf. YAP *máthoer*, *mathow* 'h.'.

PMC ***mata** 'eye, face': CHK *maas*, *masa*-(*n*), *mese*-(*n*) 'eye, face, his e., e. of'; MRT *maas*, *mesa*-(*n*); PUL *maah*, *meha*-(*n*), *mehá*-(*n*); CRL *maas*, *mesa*-(*l*); CRN *maah*, *maha*-(*n*); WOL *maate*, *meta*-(*le*), *meta*-(*li*); PUA *maata*, *mata*-; SNS *maata*; PCK **mata*; PON *maas*, *mese* 'face, his f.'; MOK *maj*, *mij*, *mijje*-(*n*); MRS *maj*, *meja*-; KIR *maata*, (*te*)-*mata*, *mata*-(*na*), *mata*-(*ni*); KSR *mata*-; POC **mata* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *mata*; PPN **mata*; BUG *mata*; SAA *maa*; LAU *maa*; KWA *maa*; PKB **mata*); UAN **mata*. See also PMC **mamata* 'stand watch, stay awake'.

PMC ***mata, ara-mata** 'person, people': CHK *ara-mas*, *ara-mase*-(*n*) 'p., p. of'; MRT *ara-mes*; PUL *yere-mah*; CRL *ara-mas*, *are-mas*; CRN *ara-mah*; STW *yare-mah*; WOL *yare-mate*; PUA *yalemata*; MAP *yarmat*; PCK *ar[ae]-*mata*; PON *ara-mas*; MOK *ar-maj*; MRS *harméj*; KIR (*te*)-*ao-mata*; KSR *m^wet*; PEO **mata* (FIJ *mata* 'a company of p. following a particular occupation'). KIR *o* unexplained.

PCMc ***mata-aro** 'lagoon side (of an island)': CHK *mósó-ór*, *mósó-óru*-(*n*) 'proximate, inner, or inhabited side, l. s., l. s. of'; WOL *meta-aro* 'the seaside, the beach side'; PCK **mata-aro*; KIR *mata-ao* 'the nearer side'. See PMC **mata* 'eye, face', PCMc **aro*- 'shore, beach'.

PMC ***ma-taku** 'to fear, be afraid': CHK *mé-sék* 'be a.', (*é*)-*mé-sékú* 'make him a.', *mé-séki*-(*iti*) 'f. him, be terrified by him'; MRT *me-sek*; PUL *me-hak* 'be a.', *me-hakú*-(*w*) 'f. him'; CRL *me-sagh*, *ma-sagh*, *me-ságh* and CRN *me-hag*, *ma-hag*; STW *me-sak*; WOL *me-tagú*-(*ú*) 'be scared of it, be a. of it'; PUA *ma-takú*; PCK **ma-takú*; PON *ma-sak* 'be a. of or f. (s.o.)'; MOK *mi-jik* 'a., scared', (*ka*)-*mi-jiki* 'frighten (s.o.)'; MRS *mi-jak* 'f., horror, a.'; KIR *ma-aku* (with loss of *t before *k) 'a.', *ma-aka* 'f. (s.o.)'; KSR *mo-tok* 'feel unwelcome, ill at ease, awkward'; POC **ma-taku* (Ross 1988) (PPN **ma-taku*; SAA *m-á'u*; ULA *ma-a'u*; BUG *ma-tagu*; LAU *mou*, *momou*; KWA *m-a'u* 'a., shy'; LAK *ma-tao*); UAN *[t]akut 'be afraid'.

PWMC ***matamata** 'a fish': CHK *masamas* 'sp. of porgy f. (with big eyes)'; PUL *mahamah* 'snapper (*Monotaxis grandoculis*)'; CRL *masamas* and CRN *mahamah* 'sp. of edible red f.'; PCK **matamata*; MRS *méjméj* 'snapper (f.)'. See PMC **mata* 'eye, face'.

PMC ***mata-ni-susu** 'nipple' (lit. 'point of breast or nursing'): MRT *mésa-n túút*; STW *mese-n túút*; WOL *meta-li túú*; PCK **mata-ni ddú*, *mata-ni dúddú*; PEO **mata-ni suzu* (FIJ *mata-ni sucu*). See also YAP *míte-e-thuuth*. Cf. CHK *mese-n owup^w* 'nipple'. See PMC **mata* 'eye, face', PMC **sulu* 'torch'.

PMC ***mate** 'die, lose consciousness': CHK *má, máá-*; PUL *má*; CRL *má* 'die', *máá* 'death'; STW *má, máá-*; WOL *mase*; ULI *más*; PUA *made*; SNS *made*; MAP *maa*; PCK **mate*; PON *mee-(la)*; MOK *mee-*; MRS *měj*; KIR *mate*; KSR *m^wet* 'to die', *mise* 'death, to die'; POC **mate* (PPN **mate*; FJ *mate*; SAA *mae*, PKB **mate*); UAN **matay*.

PCMc ***mati-ciki** 'a star': CHK *máá-chik* 'a s., name of a sidereal month'; CRL *máá-shigh* 'a sidereal month'; PUA *madi-siki* 'a sidereal month equated with April'; PCK **maati-ciki*; MRS (*le*)-*měj-dik-dik* 'a s. in Scorpio (prefix indicates a man's name)'; KIR *mati-riki* 'a s.'. Cf. MRS *majet-dikdik* 'a constellation comprising alpha, beta, gamma, and delta Sagitarii'. The CHK form (instead of expected **mááyi-chik*) appears to be a loan.

PCMc ***mati-lapa** 'Altair, constellation in Aquila': CHK *máá-nap* 'the star A. (alpha Aquilae) and c. comprising alpha, beta, and gamma Aquilae, a sidereal month'; PUL *mááyi-lap* (sic) 'A., sidereal month'; CRL *mááyi-lap*; STW *maai-nap* 'A.'; WOL *maai-lape* (sic) 'A.'; PUA *madi-napa* 'year, age, a month equated with May'; PCK **maati-lapa*; MRS *maj-lep* 'A., c. comprising alpha, beta, and gamma Aquilae'; KIR *mati-naba* 'three stars in a line in Capricorn' (Bender et al. 1984). The CHK form (instead of expected **mááyi-nap*) could result from an old loan from MRS.

PMC ***ma-toa, ma-toatoa** 'firm, hard, strong': CHK *ma-aw, ma-awa-* 'f., h., ready to pick but not yet fully ripe', (*fátán*) *ma-aw* 'walk strongly and heavily, tramp, walk restlessly in the presence of an important person', (*maa*)-*ma-aw* 'h. place, shallow area studded with sharp coral (*maa* 'behavior, manner, habit')'; PUL *ma-awo* (sic) 'be ripe and ready for eating (as bananas or breadfruit)', (*maa*)-*ma-aw* 'be s., healthy, vigorous'; CRL *ma-aw* 'be ripe but not yet soft or sweet', (*maa*)-*ma-aw* 'be s., powerful'; STW *mamma-aw* 's.'; WOL *ma-awe* 'be s., ready to eat, ripe, mature', (*maa*)-*ma-awe* 'be s., powerful', *ma-sowe, ma-sowasowe* 'be s., h., be ripe or ready to be picked (as breadfruit)'; PUA *ma-doa* 'be h., s.'; PCK **ma-toa*; MRS *ma-jewjew* 'f., s., solid'; KIR *ma-toa, ma-toatoa* 'f., h.'; PEO **toRa* 'tree, *Intsia bijuga*' (Geraghty 1990) (PPN **toa* 'hardwood tree'; FJ *doa* 'heartwood of a tree [solid and dark]'; BUG *toLa* 'large canoe' [made from hardwood tree?]; LAU *ola* 'large canoe'; ARO *ora* 'a sp. of tree from which best canoes are made'; KWA *ma-oa* 'kind of tree from which planks obtained for making canoes'; PKB **toLa* 'f.']; UAN **teRas* 'h., hardwood'. Cf. PON *maa* 'ripe'; MOK *maa* 'ripe, middle aged'. Note the doublets in WOL and the lack of expected *l* in the KWA form.

PMC ***ma-tolu, ma-totolu, ma-tolutolu** 'thick': CHK *ma-anúún* 'be t. (of flat objects)', (*a*)-*ma-anúún* 'thicken it, make it thicker'; MRT *ma-alúwél*; PUL *ma-alíyél* (sic) 'be t. (as paper), thickness'; CRL *ma-alíyél, má-álíyél, maaléél*; CRN *ma-alíyél*; STW *ma-alúwél*; WOL *ma-alíyélí* 'to be t., close packed, dense', (*ge*)-*ma-alíyélí-(ú-we)* 'make it t.'; ULI *ma-sosol*; PUA *ma-danú* 'be t., thickness'; PCK **ma-telú, ma-tetelú, ma-telútelú*; PON *mosul*; MRS *mi-jel, mi-jeljel* 't., thickness'; KIR *ma-ten* 'thick', *ma-tenten* 'thickness'; KSR *mæ-tol* 't., dense', *mæ-toltol* 'very t., numb'; PEO **ma-tolu* (TON *ma-tolu* 't. [of board or paper]'). Cf. also PKB **mata-tulu* 'sleepy'.

PMC ***maturu** 'sleep': CHK *méwúr, méwúrí-*; MRT *mawúr*; PUL *mawúr*; CRL *mawúr*; STW *mawúr*; WOL *masúrí*; PUA *madúlú*; PCK **matúrí*; PON *meyr*; MOK *møyr*; PNG *meyr*; MRS *majir^w*; KIR *matuu*; KSR *mutul*; PEO **maturu* (ULA *ma'uru*). Cf. POC **matiruR* (Ross 1988:461); UAN **tiDuR, tuDuR*. Cf. also PKB **mata-tulu* 'sleepy'.

PMC ***mau, mau-ni** 'be traded, acquire in trade': CHK *mé* 'be traded, sold, paid for', *mée-ni* 'buy it', (*a*)-*méémé* 'to sell (s.t.)', (*kka*)-*mé* 'to buy, be bought'; MRT (*kka*)-*mé* 'buy'; PUL *mée-(n)* 'its cost', *mée-ni* 'purchase (s.t.)', (*kka*)-*mé* 'buy'; CRL *mée-(l)* 'its cost', *mée-(ló)* 'be sold out', *mée-li* 'to buy (s.t.)', (*a*)-*mée-(w)*, (*a*)-*mééméé-(w)* 'to buy (s.t.)'; CRN *mée-ni* 'to buy (s.t.)'; STW (*kka*)-*mé* 'buy'; WOL (*kka*)-*mée* 'to buy', (*kka*)-*mée-li-(i)* 'buy it'; PCK **mée, mée-ni*; KSR *mau-l* 'to buy, save', *mo-li* 'buy (s.t.)'. Cf. PCMc **p^wai* 'object of value'.

PMC ***maura** 'a cold or cough, breathe hard': CHK *moor* 'head c., chest cold, have a c. or cough'; PUL *mor* (sic) 'b. h., have a c.', CRL *m^woor* 'be out of breath, breathing hard (as from exertion or asthma)'; KIR (*te*)-*maua* 'the spouting hole or nostril of the sperm whale'; KSR *mæl* 'become breathless'. Cf. PCK **m^wor[ae]* 'strong wind'.

PMC ***mauri** 'alive': STW *mawúr* 'unopened bud (of plants)'; WOL *maínú* 'be fresh, green, a. (as plants)', *maínúún* 'be very green'; PUA *maílú* 'be a. (of plants), green'; PCK **maúrí*; PON

mowr ‘a., raw’; MOK *mowr* ‘be a., fresh, raw, life’; MRS *méwir* ‘live, life, existence, a., cured’; KIR (*te*)-*maiu* (showing metathesis) ‘life’, *maiu* ‘be a., live, be in comfortable condition of mind or body’; KSR *moul* ‘a., live’; POC **maquri*(p) (Ross 1988) (PPN **maquri* ‘life, life principle, a., soul’; FU *mauri*-[*mu*] ‘your good health’; SAA *mauri* ‘to live, be a., recover health’; LAU *mauri*, *mori*, *momori* ‘to live’; KWA *mauli* ‘a.’; LAK *mahuli* ‘life, good health’); PAN **qudip* ‘a.’ (Ross 1988) (cf. UAN **quDip*). Note that KIR *mauri* ‘be in good health’ is an apparent loan from SAM *mauli*.

PMC ? **mawa* ‘yawn, be open mouthed’: CHK *mmaw* ‘to y., a y.’; MRT *maw*; PUL *mém-méwóó*-(*n-atél*) ‘to y.’; CRL (*a*)-*móó*-(*l-atél*) ‘to y.’; WOL *móó*-(*li-gatelú*) ‘to y., a y.’; PUA *maao*; PCK ? **mmawa*, *mawa*, *maawo*; PON *maw*-(*del*); MOK *maama*; KIR *mawa* ‘out of breath through weariness’; KSR *ma*; PEO ? **mawa*, *mawawa* (FU [*laa*]-*mawa* ‘to y., gape’; SAM *maavava* ‘to y.’; TON *mamao* [? < **mamawa*] ‘to y.’; SAA [*áhi*]-*mawa* ‘to y.’; BUG *maamaova* ‘to y., gape’); UAN **wawaq* ‘opening, mouth’. Cf. PUL *mmól* ‘be tired, out of breath, exhausted’; SAA *mawa* ‘to shout’; ARO *mawa* ‘to shout’. There are problems here.

PMC **mawo* ‘healed, obliterated’: CHK *mó* ‘be gotten rid of, erased, wiped out, finished off, cured’, *móó* ‘remains, scar, site or location of past activity’, *móó*-(*nu-pis*) ‘abandoned garden site’, (*ó*)-*móó*-(*y*) ‘get rid of, erase, obliterate’; MRT *mó* ‘heal’, *móó*-(*la*) ‘be h.’; PUL *mó* ‘to disappear, be erased, h.’, *mó* (*sic*), *móó*-(*n*) ‘scar or trace of’, (*ó*)-*móó*-(*ye-ló*) ‘to erase it, heal it (as a wound)’; CRL *mó* ‘to have h.’; STW *mó* ‘h.’, *móó*-(*ló*) ‘h. up’; WOL *móó* ‘be h., cured, extinguished (of fire), erased’, (*ge*)-*móó*-(*we*) ‘erase it, extinguish it, heal it, cure it’; PCK **mawo*, *maawo*, *mawo*-, (*ka*)-*mawo*-(*a*); PON *mo* ‘to heal’, *moo*-(*n oola*) ‘scar’, *mowe* ‘its scar, trace, ruins’; MOK *mo* ‘be h.’; MRS *mew* ‘to heal’; KIR *mao* ‘h. (as a wound) (Eastman 1948:53); KSR *mæ* ‘heal’, *mæ* (*in pelæŋ*) ‘scar, blotch, scab’; PEO **mafo* (FU *mavo* ‘h. [of a sore]’; BUG *mavo* ‘to heal up, be h.’; LAU *mafo* ‘be h.’; KWA *mafo*-[*te’e-nia*] ‘forget about, allow to slip from the mind’). Cf. LAK *mahavu* ‘h. (of a sore)’.

PMC **mawolo* ‘hollow, concavity’: CHK *móón*, *móónu*-(*n*) ‘h., c., h. of’, (*nee*)-*móón* ‘h., c., h. place, valley, inner side’; MRT *mólé*-(*n*) (*sic*) ‘h., depression, area of the armpit’, (*lee*)-*móól* ‘area within elbow or armpit’; PUL *móól*, *móóli*-(*n*) ‘empty shell, e. s. of’; STW (*lee*)-*móólo* ‘area under arm or inside elbow’; WOL *móólo* ‘chest’; PCK **maalo* or **mawolo*; MRS *mawal* ‘period between series of large waves’; SAA *maholo* ‘space, interval of time or distance’. Cf. KIR *m^wano* ‘indented, having a h., depressed’, (*te*)-*m^wanono* ‘small depression or pit’. Cf. Marck (1994:318) PMC **malo* ‘concaveness, depression, valley’ (open to question because of lack of fit of KIR forms).

PCMC **ma-wono* ‘perspiration’: CHK *mo-onoon*, *mo-onoonu*-(*n*), *mo-onoonu*-(*n*) ‘p., sweat, p. of’; PUL *mó-óniyón* (*sic*), < **mó-óno-yón*?); CRL (*b^woo*-*l*) *mó-óliyól*, *m^wó-óliyól*, *m^wó-óliyal*; PUA *ma-onanona* (*sic*), < **ma-onanona*?); PCK ? **ma-wonoono*; KIR *ma-ono*. Cf. FU *buno*.

PMC ? **ma[wθ]u[sS][au]* ‘cooked’: CHK *moot*, *m^woot*, *m^wooto*-(*mmaŋ*) ‘c., c. slowly’; PUL *m^woot* and (*yó*)-*m^wota*- ‘thing c.’; CRL *m^woot*, *m^woota*-; WOL *mette*; PUA *mété*; PCK ? **maud*[ao]; MRS *mat*; POC ? **maus*[ao] (PPN *moso*; LAK *mausa*). Cf. KIR *m^wai-raoi* (? < **m^waira-raoi*) ‘well cooked’.

PMC **mece-a* ‘pointed thing’: CHK *máche*- ‘long p. projection, spike, spine’, *máchá*, *mechá*, *máchá-á*-(*n*) ‘sharp p. long projection, beak or bill (of fish), horn, spine, metal nail, metal, iron’, *máche*-(*w*), *máche*-(*wa-n*) ‘stingray tail, spear (with stingray spine attached), its s. t.’; PUL *meRe*-(*n*) ‘summit of, end of, top of, tip of’, *meRá* ‘metal, iron’ (presumably from iron nails); CRL *máásh*, *meshe*-(*l*) ‘tip, point, boundary, edge, point of land, small peninsula, t. of’, *meshe* ‘steel, iron, scrap metal’, *meshe*-(*ŋ*), *meshe*-(*ye-l*) ‘unopened top or head sprout of a tree, t. of’; CRN *meRe* ‘steel, iron, scrap metal’, *meRe*-(*ŋ*) ‘unopened top or head sprout of a tree’; WOL *meeshe*, *meshe*- ‘upper end (of a pole)’; PUA *meese*, *mese*- ‘end, hem’; PCK **mece* ‘end, tip, point’, **mece-ya* ‘p. thing’; PON *mete* ‘metal, nail, badge, spear for a speargun’; MRS *mede* ‘chisel’; KSR *osra* ‘spear, nail, metal’. The PON form is felt by some speakers to be a loan from English *metal* (Rehg and Sohl 1979:59). In KSR, initial **m* occasionally became labiovelar and is reflected by *w* or *θ*—the latter especially when the following vowel develops as KSR *a*.

PMC **mee-Saa* ‘what?’. See PMC *-*Saa*, *mee-Saa* ‘interrogative suffix’.

PMC **meña* ‘thing’: CHK *meen*, *mine*-(*n*) ‘t., t. of, man (not woman), relative, friend, polite term of address to a man to whose authority one is not subject’, (*ne*)-*min* ‘woman, polite term of

address to a woman'; PUL *miin* 'the person or t. under discussion'; CRL *miil*, *mili-* and CRN *mini-* 'person (known but not specified), t., object'; WOL *mele* 'this t.', *mele-(we)* 'that t.', *mela-(i)*, *min-(ni)* 't., means, or tool for or of'; PUA *mene* 'this one'; PCK **meña*; PON *mee*, *mee-(n)* 't., one of, t. of'; MOK *mii-(n)* 'thing of'; MRS *men* 'thing, matter, object; a person, unnamed'; KIR (*te*)-*mena* 't.'; KSR *ma* 'one, t. (indefinite pronoun)', *m^we-* 't.', *mee-(n)* 'one of, t. of or for'. Cf. PON *maij* 'sir, madam'; PPN **meqa* 't.'. See also PMC **meña-a* 'do (s.t.)'.

PCMc **meña* 'live, dwell, exist': WOL *mile* 'stay, l.'; PUA *mine* 'stay, l.'; PON *mi* 'to exist (a locative verb), be (in a place)', *mie* 'exist (an existential verb)'; KIR *mena* 'abide, d.'. MOK *mine* 'exist, be at a place, l., reside, there is or are' looks like a loan. Cf. KSR *mata* 'l., stay'; CHK *meyi*, *mén*, *mmén* 'be (in a condition)'; LAK *moi*, *momoi* 'to d.'.

PMC **meña-a* 'do (s.t.)': CHK *mina* 'do s.t. to (it), fix (it), take care of (it), disturb (it), harm (it), spoil (it)', *mina-a-(yeni)* 'do s.t. to (it), mess with (it), fool with (it)'; PUL *min*, *mina-(a)* 'treat, attend to, fix'; CRL *mila* 'do s.t. to correct (a problem)'; KIR *mena-a* 'to do (s.t.)'; PEO **meña* (SAA *mena-(ḡa'ini)* 'do a thing perfectly'). The raised first vowel in the CHK and CRL forms in contrast with the KIR form attest to PMC **ñ*. See also PMC **meña* 'thing'.

PMC **mera*, *meera* 'stained yellow': PON *mer* 'rusty, corroded'; MOK *meer* 'stained from coconut husk or fruit'; MRS *mayar* 'stained, yellowish'; KIR *meamea* 'yellow', *menea* 'stained yellow by juice of green coconut husk'. Cf. PEO **meRa* 'red' (Geraghty 1990) (PPN **me[qø]a* 'reddish'; BUG *metha*, *mela* 'red'; ARO *mera* 'a sp. of small red fish'; KWA *mela* 'bright red').

PMC **metu* 'old times': CHK *musu-(we)* 'ancient times'; CRL *m^woi-(we)*, *m^wei-(we)* 'the past (at least two or three generations ago), in olden days'; WOL *m^woosu*, *m^wosu-*, *m^wosu-(wee)* 'ancient times'; ULI *mésu-(we)* 'old days, long gone'; PUA *moodu*, *modu-* 'ancient times'; PCK **metu*; MOK *mej* 'before, long ago'; KSR *met* 'before, a long time ago'. Note: the *m^w* of CRL and WOL is presumably a secondary formation. Note also that CHK *m^wúú*, *m^wúú-*, *m^wuu*, *m^wuu-* 'era, epoch', PON *m^weyy* 'reign, era' could be from the same PMC root. Cf. PON *maas* 'in the past, a long time ago'.

PMC **misi* 'smack one's lips': CHK *mmiit*, *mitimit* 'smack one's lips, make a loud kissing noise', (*e*)-*mmiit* 'smack (the lips), cause it to smack', *miti-ri* 'smack upon it, kiss or suck noisily on it'; PUL *mit* (sic) 'sound made by pursing the lips', *miti-i-(y)* 'make a kiss-like sound with pursed lips, summon (s.o.) with this sound'; CRL *mmiit* 'noise made when smacking the lips or tongue to show dissatisfaction, to make such a noise'; PCK **mmidi*, *midimidi*; KSR *mitw-ek* 'eat noisily, slurp'; PEO **misi* 'suck through teeth' (Geraghty 1983) (FU *misi*, *misi-ka* 'to pick or nibble at [of bats]'; PPN **misi* 'sucking sound'). Note also PON *meti-k*, *miti-k* 'to kiss (s.o.)'; MOK *misi-k* 'to kiss (s.o., on cheek or hand)'; PPN **miti* 'suck, lick'; LAU *midi* 'to taste'; PEO **midi* < Pre-POC **minsi* as a prenasalized variant. See also PPN **mici-ki* 'to kiss, make a sucking sound'.

PMC **m^wa-* 'prefix indicating having a variable, oscillating, or variegated condition': CHK *m^wa-*, *m^wá-*, *m^wó-*, *m^we-* (as in *m^we-kinikin* 'tickle'), *m^wé-*, *m^wo-*; MRT *m^wV-* (vowel varies); PUL *m^wa-*, *m^wá-*; CRL *m^wa-*, *m^wá-*, *m^wó-*, *m^we-*; STW *m^wV-* (vowel varies); WOL *m^wa-*, *m^we-*; PUA *m^wa-*; PCK **m^wa-*; PON *m^wa-* (as in *m^wa-aṇiej* 'giddy, dizzy'), *m^we-* (as in *m^we-ṇiniṇin* 'whisper', *m^we-ṇereṇer* 'spotted, blotched', *m^we-rekirek* 'wrinkled'), *m^wo-* (as in *m^wo-kuuku* 'whisper'); MOK *m^wa-*, *m^we-*, *m^wó-*; MRS *m^wa-* (as in *m^wm^waydikdik* 'whisper'), *m^we-*; KIR *m^wa-*; KSR *wa-* (as in *wa-korkor* 'ticklish'); PEO **m^wa-* (TON *ḡa-*; SAA *m^wa-*; ARO *m^wa-*; KWA *wa-*). See PPC **m^wa-ḡunúḡunú* 'whisper', PWMc **-ali*, *-aliali*, *mwa-aliali* 'circle, circling, dizzy', PCMc **m^wakusu* 'be in motion'.

PMC **m^waa* 'indeed (exclamation)': CHK *m^waa* 'i., so, really (an exclamation)'; KIR *m^wa* (sic) 'exclamation of dissatisfaction and surprise'; KSR *wæ* 'exclamation of surprise'; POC **m^waa* (FU *gaa* 'only, just, all the same, yet, but, however [adverb]'; LAK *ma* 'thus').

PMC **m^waane* 'man, male: CHK *m^wáán* 'm., male', *m^wááni-(n)* 'her brother', *m^wáaneyán* 'be a brother and sister', *m^wááni-(i-núk)* 'younger brother', (*a*)-*m^wááni* 'treat him as a middle-aged man'; PUL *m^wáán* 'm.', *m^wááne-(n)* 'brother of (a woman)'; CRL *m^wáál*; CRN *m^wáán*; STW *m^wáán*, *m^wááni-(n)* 'm., m. of'; WOL *m^waale* 'm.', *m^waale-(mape)*

‘maternal uncle’, *m^waale*-(*tugofai*) ‘old m.’; PuA *m^waane*; SNS *m^waane*; PCk **m^waane*; PON *m^waan*; Mok *m^waan*, *m^wain*; MRS *m^wm^wahan* ‘man, male, wife’s brother’; KIR (*te*)-*m^waane* ‘m.’, *m^waane* ‘male’, *m^waane*-(*na*) ‘his/her sibling of opposite sex’; KSR *wen*; PEO **m^waqane* (Fij *gane* ‘sibling of opposite sex’; TON [*tu*o]-*ŋa^wane* ‘brother of a woman’; BUG *mane*; SAA *m^wane*; LAU *m^wane*; ARO *m^wane*; KWA *wane*; LAK [*hata*]-*male*) ‘m., male, brother of a woman’; PKB **tam*[ou][hø]ane). Cf. UAN **ba*-Rani; PAN **RaqaNi* ‘commander, war leader’ (Wolff 1993).

PMC **m^waa*u ‘good, healthy’: CHK *m^waaw* ‘humble, deferential’, (*sa*)-*m^waaw* ‘sick’ (lit. ‘not well’); MRT (*se*)-*m^waaw* ‘sick’; PUL (*he*)-*m^waay* ‘sick’; CRL (*m^waa*)-*m^waay* ‘be beautiful, pretty, handsome, g., h., successful’; STW (*m^waa*)-*m^waay* ‘beautiful’, (*se*)-*m^waay* ‘sick’; WOL *m^waaú* ‘be g.’, (*te*)-*m^waaú* ‘sickness’; PuA *maú* (sic) ‘be g., fine’, (*ta*)-*maú* ‘sin, badness, fault, be bad, mean, cruel’; PCk **m^waaú*, (*ta*)-*m^waaú*; PON *m^waaw* ‘g.’, *m^waaw*-(*ki*) ‘to consider g., desire (s.t.)’, (*sow*)-*m^waaw* ‘sickness, disease’; Mok *m^wee*w ‘g., pretty, nice’; KSR *wo* ‘g., becoming, satisfactory, agreeable’. See also PCk **ta*-*m^waaú* ‘sickness, be sick’.

PWMC **m^waca*, ‘busy, occupied, detained’: PUL *m^waR* ‘be late, detained’; CRL *m^wash* ‘be busy, detained’; WOL *m^washú* (sic) ‘be busy, occupied’; PuA *m^wasa*-(*iki*) ‘laziness, be lazy’; PCk **m^waca*; MRS *m^wad* ‘loiter, distracted, busy, occupied’.

PWMC ? **m^waca*, ‘garden’: PON *m^waat* ‘clearing, field, plantation, garden, farm’; Mok *m^was*-(*wen*) ‘vegetable g.’; MRS (*je*)-*m^wade*-(*n*) ‘wasteland (not garden)’. This is based on Marck’s (1994:322) PPC **m^wat^a*.

PCMC **m^wacaya* ‘physical deformity’: CHK *m^wáche*y, *m^wáche*ya-(*n*) ‘d., his d.’; WOL *m^wash*ey ‘birthmark on the skin’; PCk **m^wacea*; KIR *m^waraa* ‘having a hairlip, be disgusted or shocked at the sight of s.t.’. Cf. Fij *daa* ‘a children’s disease showing red spots’, and cf. PMC **ma*-*cai* ‘slimy’.

PCMC **m^waire* ‘exaltation’: CHK *m^weyir* ‘dance of exaltation (done only by women)’, (*e*)-*m^weyir* ‘song while carrying food to present to the chief’, (*e*)-*m^weyira* ‘sing upon it (food brought to the chief)’; WOL *m^waire* ‘shout (usually in a large group of people), yell’; PCk **m^wair*[ae]; KIR (*te*)-*m^waie* ‘worldly pleasure, dissipation’ (a missionary’s disapproving gloss), *m^waie* ‘engage in worldly pleasure’ (*ka*)-*m^waie*-(*a*) ‘induce (s.o.) to engage in worldly pleasure or sport’.

PWMC **m^waki* ‘needlefish’: WOL *m^waagi*, *m^wagi*- ‘young n.’; PuA *m^waaki*, *m^waki*- ‘eel’; PCk **m^waki*; MRS *m^wak* ‘n.’.

PWMC ? **m^wakum^waku* ‘arrowroot (*Tacca leontopetaloides*)’: CHK *#m^wéék*, *m^wé*kú-*m^wék*; PUL *m^wakom^wak*; CRL *móghomógh* and CRN *mógomóg* ‘arrowroot’; WOL *m^wégú*-*m^wégú*; PCk **m^wakúm^wakú*; PON *m^wekim^wek*; Mok *m^wəkm^wək*; MRS *m^wakm^wék*. KSR *mokmok* appears to be a loan.

PCMC **m^wakusu* ‘be in motion’: CHK *m^wékút*, *m^wékútúkút* ‘move’, (*é*)-*m^wékútú* ‘make it move’; MRT *m^wékút*; PUL *m^wakét*; CRL *m^wóghut*, *m^wóghutughut*; CRN *mógut*; STW *m^wokutukut*; WOL *m^wagútú*; PCk **m^wakúdú*; PON *m^wekid*; Mok *m^wekid*-(*da*) ‘hurry up!’; MRS *m^wm^wakit*; KIR *m^wakuri* ‘work’. Note that KSR *mukwi*, *mukwikwi* ‘move’ looks like a loan (initial *m* unexpected). Cf. SAA *m^wa^wui* ‘disorderly’.

PMC **m^wa-nuu* ‘length from elbow to finger tips’: CHK *m^wé-núú*-, *-m^wé-nú*; CRL *m^wa-lú*, *m^wa-lúú*-(*l peshe*) ‘inside of the knee or elbow joint, inside of the knee’, *-m^wa-lú* ‘length from inside elbow to finger tip, cubit (counting classifier)’; WOL *-m^wa-lúú* ‘length from elbow to fingertip (counting classifier)’; PuA *-m^wa-nú* (sic); PCk **m^wa*-[*ln*]úú; KIR *m^wa-nuu* ‘a joint (as the elbow)’; PEO **(m^wa)*-*nuu* (Fij *nuu* ‘elbow’).

PMC **m^wajau* ‘to eat, food’: CHK *m^wéŋé*, *m^wéŋéé*-(*n*) ‘eat, cooked f., c. f. of’, (*a*)-*m^wéŋéé*-(*w*), (*a*)-*m^wéŋéé*-(*ni*) ‘give f. to him, feed him’; PUL *m^wéŋé*, *m^wéŋéé*-(*n*) ‘eat, f., f. of’; CRL *m^woŋo* ‘staple f.’, (*a*)-*m^woŋo-o*-(*w*) ‘to feed (s.o.)’; CRN (*a*)-*m^woŋo-o*-(*y*) ‘to feed (s.o.)’; WOL *m^woŋoo* ‘to e., f.’; PuA *m^wajaú* ‘to e., f. (cooked staple, meal)’; PCk **m^wajaú*; PON *m^wen*ge, *m^wen*ge-(*n*) ‘e., f., f. of’; Mok *m^wi*pe ‘to e., f.’; MRS *m^wejay* ‘to e., f.’; KSR *mogo* ‘e., f.’; PEO **(mwa)*-*ŋau* (SAA *ŋáu*, *ŋáuŋeu* ‘to eat’, *ŋáu*-[*he*] ‘a feast’; ULA *náu*-[*ha*] ‘a feast’; SAA and ULA *ŋáu*-[*laa*] ‘f.’; ARO *ŋau* ‘to e. f.’). Cf. BUG *vaja* ‘to eat, vegetable food’; LAU *faja* ‘to eat’, *faja-a*

'a feast', *faja*-(gu) 'my mouth'; KWA *faja* 'food'. Note that the initial *m* of the KSR form is unexpected and suggests it is a loan.

PMC ***m^ware** 'shoulder garland': CHK *m^wáár*; *m^wárám^wár*; *m^waram^war*; *m^wári-n*, *m^wári-ni* 'lei, wreath, wear a l., his l., acquire as a l.', *m^wáre*-(e-y), *m^ware*-(e-y) 'carry it on the shoulders'; PUL *m^wáár*; *m^wára-m^wár*; *m^wára-ni*-(y); CRL *m^wáár*; *m^ware*- 'possessive classifier for garlands, leis, necklaces ... worn around the head or neck'; STW *m^wáár*; *m^warem^war*; WOL *m^waare*, *m^waren^ware*, *m^wera-le*, *m^wera-li*-(i); PUA *m^waale*, *m^wale-m^wale*; PCK **m^ware*, *m^warem^ware*, *m^ware-na*, *m^ware-ni*; PON *m^waar*; *m^waram^war*; *m^ware*; MOK *m^warm^war*; PNG *m^waren^war*; MRS *m^warm^war* 'necklace, wear a necklace', *m^ware*- 'poss. classifier for flowers, medals, necklaces, or fishing baskets'; KIR (*te*)-*m^wae*; KSR *ola*-(l) 'his lei'. See also PCK **kam^wm^ware* 'carry with a shoulder pole'.

PMC ***m^wata** 'worm': CHK *m^waas*, *m^wasa*-(n), *m^wasam^was* 'stench (especially genital stench), his s.', *m^was* 'stink'; PUL *m^waha*-(n) 'his bad odor', *m^wah* 'smell bad'; CRL *m^waas*, *m^wasa*-(l) 'stink, unpleasant smell, his u. s.'; CRN *m^waah* 'stink, unpleasant smell'; WOL *m^waase*, *m^wesa*-(le) 'sperm, his s.', *m^waate*, *m^weta*- 'underground w.'; PCK **m^wata*; PON *m^waas* 'w., bacteria, germ', *m^wasa*-(koyl) 'maggot'; MOK *m^waj* 'w.'; MRS *m^waj* 'eel, intestinal w.'; KIR (*te*)-*m^wata* 'w.'; KSR *wet* 'worms', *wat* (*koekoe*) 'a kind of w.'; PEO **m^wata* 'snake'; POC *m^wata* 'snake' (TON *ŋata* 'snake'; FIJ *gwata*, *gata* 'snake'; SAA *m^waa* 'snake, the disease lupus'; LAU *m^waa* 'snake'; KWA *waa* 'snake, w.'; LAK *mata*-[guruguru] 'a small snake'; PWM **mata* 'snake'). Cf. L: MRT *m^wuso*.

PWMC ***m^wata[ŋ]ala** 'intestines': PON *m^wasaal*, *m^wesaa*le 'l., his i.'; MOK *m^wajaal*, *m^wajali*-(n), *m^wajjal*, *m^wajjali*-(n); MRS *m^wajjal*. MRS *l* expected. Cf. KIR (*te*)-*mataŋa* 'pancreas' (Bender et al. 1984); FIJ *gacagaca* 'entrails'. Cf. also PPC **taka*, *taka-ni* 'stomach, have stomach for' and PCK **daa* 'intestine'.

PCMC ***m^waTie** 'to sneeze': CHK *m^wesi*, *m^wm^wesi* 'to s.', *m^wm^wesi*, *m^wm^wesiya*-(n) 'a s., his s.'; MRT *m^wasey*; PUL *m^wahey*; *m^wahiy*; CRL *m^wm^wusi*; CRN *m^wm^wuhi*; STW *m^wosi*; WOL *m^wosiye*; ULI *m^wusi*; PUA *modia*; PCK *m^waTi*[ae]; MRS *m^wajéy*; KIR *m^watie*. Cf. PON *asi* 'to s.'; KSR *sine* 'to s.'; SAA *asiŋe* and ULA *ásihe* 'to s.'; ARO *asihe* 'to s.'; BUG *achihe* 'to s.'; KWA *asi-lai* 'to s.'.

PCMC ***m^wau** 'be finished': CHK *m^wm^wéw*, *m^wm^wéwú*- (< **m^wém^wéwú*) 'come to an end, be finished'; KIR *m^wai* 'be cooked'. Cf. PEO **m^waRi* 'roasted' (Geraghty 1990).

PCMC ***m^wea[w]u** 'be slow': PUL *m^wm^waay*; CRL *-m^wm^waay*, *-m^wm^waayú*- 'carefully, slowly, without rushing'; KIR *m^weau* 'arrive late, come slowly, move slowly'.

PWMC ***m^wese, m^wem^wese** 'jump, move quickly': CHK *m^wet*, *m^wm^wet*, *m^wetén^wet* 'j., spring, leap', *m^wete*-(tá) 'j. up', *m^wete*-(e-y) 'j. over or onto it'; PUL *m^wét* 'to walk fast', *m^wm^wét* 'to j.', *m^wétén^wét* 'be fast', *m^wéte*-(tiw) 'to j. down'; CRL *m^wet* 'to go away, get away', *m^wetén^wet* 'be fast, hurry up'; WOL *m^wete* 'to run'; PCK **m^wede*, *m^wm^wede*; MRS *m^wét*, *m^wm^wét* 'pitch (of a boat), to pitch'. For prenasalized variant see FIJ *gede* 'to bob up and down'.

PMC ***m^w[ou]a** 'ahead, going before': CHK *m^wm^wa*-(n) 'a. of him', *m^wm^we*-(mey) 'first breadfruit (of a season)', *m^wm^we*-(y) 'present it as first fruits', (*e*)-*m^wm^we*-(ni) 'lead him, go b. him'; PUL *m^wm^wa*-(n) 'a. of him', *m^wm^we*-(e-y) 'to lead'; CRL *m^wm^wa*-(l) 'in front of him'; WOL *m^wm^wa*-(li) 'in front of', *m^wm^wa*-(a) 'go a. of it'; PUA *m^wua*- 'front, b.'; PCK **m^wm^wa*-, *m^wua*-; PON *m^wowe* 'a. of him, to offer as a first fruit'; MRS *m^waha*- 'a., b., place in front of'; KIR *m^woa* 'first'; PEO **muqa* (PPN **muqa* 'b., first'; FIJ *mua*-[na] 'tip, point, front of it'). Cf. PKB **muga* 'first, go a., now, temporarily, forward, onward'. We have here an unusual instance in the MC languages in which PEO **u* after **m^w* was either lowered to *o* or *a* (presumably because of the following *a*) or was assimilated to the preceding *m^w* (see also PMC **m^woe* 'sleep').

PMC ***m^woe** 'sleep': CHK (*kana*)-*m^wm^we* 'comfort, tranquility, peace, be comfortable'; MRT (*kina*)-*m^wm^we* 's.'; PUL (*kéna*)-*m^wm^we* 'peace, comfort, ease, be at peace, tranquil, comfortable'; CRL (*ghúla*)-*m^wm^wey* 'be sleeping deeply', *#(ghiló)*-*m^w* 'deep s., freedom, quiet, peace'; CRN (*gúna*)-*m^wm^wey* 'to s. deeply', *#(gúnó)*-*m^w* 'deep s., freedom, quiet, peace'; STW (*kála*)-*m^wm^we* 's. well'; WOL *m^wm^we* 's. well, s. soundly', (*ga*)-*m^wm^we*-(e) 'make him sleep well'; PCK **m^wm^we*; KIR *m^wee* 'to s.'; PEO **moze* (Geraghty 1983) (PPN **mohe*; FIJ *moce*; ARO *moe* 'to stay, sleep with s.o.'). Note also PKB **moqe* 'sleeping mat and rain cape made of pandanus, the pandanus

from which they are made'. Here, again, we have the assimilation of PMC *o to a preceding *m^w in PCk (see also PMC *m^w[ou]a 'ahead, going before'). Cf. KIR *m^wem^we*, *m^wene* (sic) 'to dream'. Note the prenasalized doublets: SAA *mode* 'be listless, faint'; LAU *mode* 'to mend, patch'; KWA *mode* 'pandanus, mat, umbrella'; POC *mode < Pre-POC *monze.

PCMc ***m^woka** 'crumbled, decomposed': CHK (*fěwú*)-*m^wo*, (*fowu*)-*m^wo* 'small pebbles', (*fěwú*)-*m^woo-m^wo* 'be pebbly'; PUL (*fawú*)-*m^wó* 'pebbles, coral rubble'; CRL (*faay*) *mó*, (*faay*) *mókk* 'gravel'; CRN (*faay*) *móg* 'gravel'; WOL (*faú*)-*m^wage* 'gravel, pebbles', (*faú*)-*m^wega-(a)* 'put gravel on it'; PUA (*dadú*)-*maka* (sic) 'gravel, pebbles'; PCk *(*fatú*)-*m^woka* 'decayed stone'; MRS *m^wek* 'tired, exhausted'; KIR *m^wom^woka*, *mka* 'be decayed, rotten'. Marck (1994:316) reconstructs PMC *maka or f*atu-maka 'stones for throwing'.

PMC ***m^wonu** 'squirrel fish': CHK *m^wéen*, #*m^wéénú-(n)* 'species of s. f. (*Myripristis*), s. f. of'; PUL *m^wéen*, #*m^wééní-(n)* 'small red reef f. (perhaps a red snapper), f. of'; CRL *m^wéél* 'sp. of f. similar to snapper'; CRN *m^wéen* 'sp. of s. f.'; WOL *m^wéélú*, *m^wélú* 'red snapper'; PCk **m^wénú*; PON *mm^wen* 'f. sp.'; MRS *m^wén* 's. f.'; KIR (*te*)-*m^won* 'a f. (*Myripristis adustus*, *M. murdjan*)'; KSR *wəɲ* 'a kind of f.'. Cf. LAK *mola* 'a f.'.

PWMC ***m^wool[iu]** 'generous': CRL *m^wool* 'be g., very kind'; WOL *m^wm^wéélú* 'g., liberal, open-handed'; PUA *m^woni* (sic) 'be g., kind'; PCk **m^woo(ln)(iu)*; MRS *m^wm^wewel* 'be g., be thanked, be grateful, liberal, open-handed'.

PMC ***m^wotu** 'ended, finished': CHK *m^wú*, *m^wu* 'come to an end'; PUL *m^wéyi-(ló)* 'disappear (as food in famine), be gone away'; PON *m^wey* 'finish defecating'; MRS *m^wéj* 'finished'; KIR *m^woti* 'decided', *m^woti-ka* 'decide, terminate (s.t.)'; POC *motu* (*Úla mou-si* 'to decide'). Cf. PMC **m^wotu*, *m^wotu-Si* 'cut, sever, break off', PCMc **m^wau* 'be finished', PCk **m^wuccú* 'finished'.

PMC ***m^wotu, m^wotu-Si** 'cut, sever, break off': CHK *m^wú*, *m^wúú-* (also *m^wu*, *m^wuu-*) 'be severed, broken off', *m^wúú-ti* (also *m^wuu-ti*) 'break it apart; adopt a child'; MRT *m^wéw* 'broken off, separated'; PUL *m^wéy* (also *méy*, *méyi-ti-(y)*) 'break as rope, adopt a child'; CRL *m^wm^wey* 'be broken, snapped, parted', *m^wei-ti* 'to break, part, snap (s.t.)'; STW *m^wéy* 'broken off, separated'; WOL *m^wm^weú* 'be broken off', *m^weúm^weú* 'break away, divorce', *m^wéi-ti-(i)* 'break it, take it (a child) from its mother'; PUA *m^wadú* 'be broken', *modúmodú*, *modú-ti* 'adopted child, adopt a child'; PCk **m^wotú*, *m^wotú-di*; PON *m^wey* 'be broken', *m^wey-d* 'to break (s.t., as a string)'; MOK *m^wey* 'snapped, divorced', *m^wey-d* 'snap (s.t.)'; MRS *m^wijm^wij*, *m^wiji-t* 'cut'; KIR *m^woti* 'broken off'; KSR *wot* 'cut' *uti* 'cut (s.t.)'; POC **motu-[sz]* (PPN **motu*; SAA *mou*, *mou-si*; ARO *mou*; KWA *mou*, *mou-si-[a]*). Cf. PMC **m^wotu* 'ended, finished', PCk **m^wuccú* 'finished'.

PCMc ***m^woTo** 'a fish': CRL *m^woos* 'edible f. similar to a snapper'; PUA *moodo*, *modo-* 'red snapper'; PCk **m^woTo*; KIR (*te*)-*m^wom^woto* 'a f.'.

PMC ***-m^wu** 'your (sg.)': CHK *-m^w*; MRT *-m^w*; PUL *-m^w*; CRL *-m^w*; STW *-m^w*; WOL *-m^wu*; PUA *-m^wu*; PCk **-m^wu*; PON *-m^w*, *-m^wi* (honorific); MOK *-m^w*; PNG *-m^w*; MRS *-m^w*; KIR *-m^w*, *-m^wm^w*; KSR *-m* (final **m^w* > *m*); POC **-mu* (FIJ *-mu*; SAA *-mu*; BUG *-mu*; LAU *-mu*; PKB **-mu*).

PMC ***m^wucu** 'firewood': CHK *m^wúúch*, (*a*)-*m^wúch*, (*é*)-*m^wúch* 'wood (as a material), f.', *-m^wúch* 'piece of wood (counting classifier)'; PUL *m^wúúR*; CRL (*a*)-*m^wush*; CRN (*a*)-*m^wuR*; WOL *m^wúúshú*, *m^wúshu-* 'f., big f., that can last a long time'; PUA *m^wúúúsú*, *m^wúú-* 'big f.'; PCk **m^wúú*; KSR *wəsr* 'firebrand'. Cf. PON *tuwi* 'f.'; MOK *sowi* 'f.'.

PMC ***m^wulo, m^wulo-Si** 'rub together, twist, rumple': PUL *mulo-tá-(á-tiw)* 'to rub (s.t.) together in one's hands (as fragrant leaves)'; CRL *m^wuli-ti*, *m^woli-ti* 'to rub (s.t.) back and forth (such as to crumple leaves with the fingers), to roll (two pieces of rope) together, to rub (the eyes)'; STW *m^wulo-ti* 'to twist (s.t.)'; WOL *m^wulom^wulo* 'to crumple, wrinkle, rumple, be crumpled', *m^wulo-ti-(i)* 'to crumple, wrinkle, rumple (s.t.)', *m^wulo-tagí* 'be crumpled, wrinkled, rumpled'; PCk **m^wulom^wulo*, *m^wulo-di-*; PON *m^wule-(pene)* 'to twist or wind (s.t.) together'; KSR *olo* 'a wrinkle, crumple, crease, pleat, become wrinkled, crumpled, creased', *ololo* 'full of creases or wrinkles', *olo-i* 'to wrinkle, crumple, or crease (s.t.)'; PEO **mulo* (FIJ *mulo* 'to twist a single strand or thread', *mulo-na* 'to twist [a strand or thread]', *mulo-ni* 'be twisted', *mulo-a* 'a ring, reel, coil [as of wire or tape]', [*vei*]-*mulomulo* 'to wrestle or grapple together in earnest').

PMC ***m^wum^wuta** 'to vomit': CHK *m^wum^wus* 'to v., throw up', *m^wum^wusá-á-si-ni* 'v. it up, v. because of it'; MRT *m^wum^wos*; PUL *m^wum^wuh*; CRL *m^wum^wus*; CRN *m^wum^wuh*; STW *m^wum^wus*; WOL *m^wum^wute* 'to v., throw up', *m^wum^wuta-agi-li-(i)* 'v. it up'; PUA *m^wum^wuta*; PCK **m^wum^wuta*, *m^wum^wuta-aki-ni*; PON *m^wum^wus*; MRS *m^wum^wéj*; KIR *m^wum^wuta*; KSR *wot* 'to v.', *wite* 'v. (s.t.)'; POC **mutaq* (Ross 1988) (KWA *moa* 'vomit').

PWMC ? ***m^wuno** 'a fish': MRT *m^wúún* 'kind of f.>'; STW *m^wuun* 'kind of f.>'; WOL *m^wuulo*, *m^wulo-* 'spade f.>'; PCK **m^wuno*; PON *m^wuun* 'squirrel f. (*Myripristis adustus*)'; MRS *m^wén* 'squirrel f.' (*Myripristis berndti*). MRS η expected. Cf. KIR (*te*)-*m^won* 'a f. (*Myripristis* ?)'; FU *mulu* 'a long black f.>'.

PMC ***m^wuri-** 'behind': CHK *m^wiri-*; MRT *m^wuré-*; PUL *m^wiri-*; CRL *m^wiri-*; STW *m^wuri-*; WOL *m^wiri-*, (*i*)-*m^wiri-*; PUA *m^wili-*; PCK **m^wiri*; PON *m^wuri-*; MOK *m^weri-*; KIR (*i*)-*m^wü-*; POC **muri* (PPN **muri*; FU *muri*; PKB **mulu*). Cf. MRS *m^wir^w*, *m^wü^wi-(n)*; 'hip, loin, h. of'. Cf. also SAA *puri* 'back of, behind', (*i*)-*puri* 'after'.

PCMC ***n[ae]i-** 'feminine prefix (with personal names of women)': CHK *neyi-*; PUL *náyi-*; PCK **nai-*; MRS *neyi-*; KIR *nei-*.

PMC ***nam^wo** 'lagoon, harbor': CHK *nóóm^w*, *nóm^wu-(n)* 'l., archipelago, sea around an island, l. of'; MRT *nóóm^w*; PUL *nóóm^w*, *nóm^wo-(n)*; CRL *lóóm^w*, (*lee*)-*lóm^w*; CRN *nóóm^w*; STW *nóóm^w*; WOL *laam^wo*, *lam^wo-(li)*; PUA *naam^wo*, *nam^wo-(ni)*; PCK **nam^wo*; PON *naam^w*, (*nεε*)-*nam^w*; MRS *nam^w* 'secondary lagoon'; KIR (*te*)-*nam^wo*; KSR *nwen* 'deep area in a lagoon'; PEO **namo* (TON *namo* 'sea near land'; SAA *namo* 'landlocked harbor'; LAU *namo* 'inner harbor'; KWA *namo* 'lake, pool, deep place in a river'); PMP **namaw* 'cove, harbor, lagoon' (Blust 1980:114). MRS heavy η expected. Cf. MOK *lam* 'lagoon'. Cf. also PMC **lama₂* 'lagoon, lake'. See also Marck (1994:314) PMC **nam^wo*.

PMC ***nana** 'pus': PUL *naan*, *náná-(y)* 'p., my p.>'; CRL *laal* 'p. or smegma', *lal* 'have p.>'; WOL *laale* 'p., have p.>'; PUA *naana*, *nana-*; PCK **nana*; PON *naan*; MRS *ṇaṇ* 'smegma'; KSR (*usawe*)-*nwen*; POC **nanaq* (Ross 1988) (FU *nana*; KWA *nana*); UAN **nanaq*.

PWMC ***nanasu** 'half flower (*Scaevola*): CHK *nnét*, *nnétú-n* 'h. f., h. f. of'; MRT *nnet*; PUL *nnat*, *nnatú-n*; CRL *llat*; CRN *nnat*; STW *nnat*; WOL *nnatú*; PCK **nnadú*; MRS (*ké*)- *ṇṇat*.

PMC ***natu** 'child; classifier for cherished possessions': CHK *naaw*, *néwú-n*, *néwúnéw* 'child or children in general, kinsman of junior generation, political subject, domestic animal, small object intimately associated w. the person', 'his c.', 'be parental or bear a c.>'; MTK *naaW*, *naWú-*; PUL *nawú-n*, *nawúnaw*, *náyi-náy*; STW *nayú-*; CRL *layú-*; CRN *náyú-*; WOL *laaú*, *laú-le*, *laúléú*; ULI *léé-*; PUA *naaú*, *naú-*; MAP *naha*, *nahey-nai* 'c., my c.>'; PCK **naaú*, *naú-na*, *naúnaú*; PON *naay*, *ney-*, *naa* 'c., poss. classifier for children, pets, toys'; MOK *nəynəy* 'have many children'; MRS *naji-*, *néji-* 'c. of, poss. classifier for children, pets, money, watches, or one's Bible'; KIR *naati*, *nati-na*, *natinati*; KSR *nəta-(l)* 'his c.>'; POC **natu* (Ross 1988) (PKB **natu*). Note: Jackson (1983:190) reconstructs PCK **na(t)ú*. Cf. POC **ñatu(q)* 'ovary, egg, baby bird' (Blust 1973:59); PMP **nati* (Blust 1980:115).

PMC ***nawo** 'waves': CHK *nóó*, *nóó-*; PUL *nóó*; CRL *lóó*; CRN *nóó*; STW *nóó*; WOL *lóó*, *lóó-*; PUA *naawo*, *nawo-*; PCK **nawo*; MOK *no*; MRS *ṇew*; KIR (*te*)-*nao*; KSR *nno*; PEO **[nñ]afo* (SAA *naho*; ARO *naho*; KWA *nafo*); PAN **Nabek* (Blust 1984-85).

PMC ***ney[ae]** 'leg': PON *nεε* 'his l.>'; MRS *ney*, *neye-(n)* 'l., l. of'; KSR *niye-(l)*, *niye-(n)* 'his l., l. of'.

PMC ***-ni** 'of, pertaining to': CHK *-n*; MRT *-n*; PUL *-n*; CRL *-l*; CRN *-n*; STW *-n*; WOL *-li*; PUA *-ni*; PCK **-ni*; PON *-n*; MOK *-n*; MRS *-n*; KIR *-ni*; KSR *-n*; POC **ni* (FU *ni*; SAA *ni*; BUG *ni*); UAN **ni*. Often referred to as "the construct suffix."

PCMC ***-ni, -na** 'verb suffix indicating acquisition or ownership': CHK *-ni*; PUL *-ni-(y)*; CRL *-li*; CRN *-ni*; WOL *-li-(i)*; PCK **-ni*; KIR *-na*. Cf. PON *-ni-(ki)* 'derive trans. v. from inalien. n.: *sap^we-ni-ki* 'to own (of land), (*sap^we* 'land')'.

PMC ***ni[ae]** 'place': CHK *ne-e-ni*, *ne-e-niya-(n)* 'p. of, p., p. where s.t. or s.o. stays, its p.>'; PUL *ne-e-niy*, *ne-e-niya-(n)*; CRL *le-e-liy*, *le-e-liyá-(l)*, *la-liyá-(l)*; WOL *la-i-*, *la-n-niye*, *la-n-niya-(le)*; PUA *na-n-niya-(na)*; PCK **na-i-ni[ae]*, *na-n-ni[ae]*; PON *nεε-(nam^w)* 'lagoon, har-

bor'; Mrs *nine* 'container, use as a container, sheath', *niye-(n)* 'container of'; KIR *nne-* 'p. for'; KSR *niye-(n)* 'p. of'.

PMC ***nima-** 'drinkable object': See PMC **inu*, (i)nu-mi, (i)nu-ma 'drink'. Cf. Jackson 1986:208.

PWMC ***niji** 'small, little, tiny': CHK *-gin*, *ginigiin*, *ginigin* (showing metathesis); PON (*p^wi*)-*niḡiniḡ*; Mrs *nij* 's., young, l., t., puny', (*ji*)-*nij*, *-niḡiniḡ* 's., t., slight', *niḡiniḡ* 'baby, infant'. Cf. KIR (*ua*)-*ḡiḡii*, (*bi*)-*ḡiḡii* 'very small'.

PMC ***niu** 'coconut': CHK *núú*, *núú-*; PUL *núú*, *núú-*; CRL *lúú*; CRN *núú*; STW *lúú*; WOL *lúú*, *lúú-*; PUA *núú*; SNS *núu*; PCK **núú*; PON *nii*; MOK *ní*; PNG *ní*; Mrs *niy*; KIR (*te*)-*nii*, *nii-*; KSR *nu*; POC **niuR* (PPN **niu*; FIJ *núu*; SAA *núu*; BUG *núu*; KWA *núu*; PKB **niu*); UAN **niuR*. Cf. YAP *núuw*.

PMC ***noko** 'midrib of coconut frond or leaf': PUA *nooko*, *noko-* 'c. f.'; PON *nook* 'main r. of the stem of a palm f., any hard straw-like object'; MOK *nok* 'c. leaf m.'; Mrs *ḡek^w* 'm. of a c. l.'; KIR (*te*)-*noko* 'm. of the smaller divisions of a coconut frond'; KSR *nook* 'm.'. Cf. FIJ *noko*, *noko-ta* 'to sharpen to a point'.

PWMC ***noso** 'a kind of fish': CHK *noot* 'large species of lethrinid f.'; PUL *noot* 'a kind of f.'; CRL *loot* 'sp. of edible f.'; WOL *looto*, *loto-* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **nooto*, *noto-*; Mrs *net* 'a f. (*Lethrinis variegatus*)'. Mrs *ḡ^w* expected.

PMC ***nowu** 'scorpion fish, stonefish': CHK *noow*, *nuu-(nu-pis)*; MRT *neew*; PUL *noow*; CRL *loow*, *lowu-*; CRN *nuunuu-(pi)*; STW *loow*; WOL *loou*, *lou-*; PCK **nowu*; PON *neew* 'kind of frog fish'; MOK *new*; Mrs *ḡéw*; KIR (*te*)-*nou* 'a fish'; POC **nupu* (Ross 1988) (PPN **nofu*). Cf. POC **ñopu(q)* (Blust 1978:5); PMP **lepu* or **lepuq* (Blust 1983–84:76).

PMC ***nu[sS]o** 'squid': CHK *núit*, *#núiti-(n)* 's., s. of'; MRT *ḡúút*; PUL *ḡiit*, *ḡito-(n)*; CRL *ḡúút*, *ḡúiti-(l)*, CRN *ḡiit*; STW *ḡúút*; WOL *ḡiito*, *ḡito-(li)*; PUA *ḡiito*, *ḡito-*; PCK **ḡido*; PON *nuud*; MOK *nuud*; Mrs *net*, *nét*; POC **nus[ao]* (Ross 1988) (SAA *nuto*; ARO *nuto*; LAK [*e*]-*luso*). The PCK form appears to be an innovation.

PMC ***ña** 'his, her, its': CHK *-n*; MRT *-n*; PUL *-n*; CRL *-l*; CRN *-n*; STW *-l*, *-n*; WOL *-le*; PUA *-na*; MAP *-θ*; PCK **ña*; PON *-θ*; MOK *-θ*; Mrs *-n*; KIR *-na*; KSR *-θ* (Jackson 1983:334, 443fn.); POC **ña* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *-na*; SAA *-na*; BUG *-gna*; LAK *-la*; PKB **-na*).

PMC ***ñai-Sa, ḡai-Sa** 'when?': CHK (*i*)-*nee-t*; MRT (*i*)-*ḡee-t*; PUL (*yi*)-*nee-t*, (*yi*)-*ḡe-t* (sic); CRL (*i*)-*lee-t*, (*i*)-*lee-ta*; CRN (*i*)-*nee-ta*; (*i*)-*lee-t*; WOL (*i*)-*lee-te*; PUA (*i*)-*ḡae-ta* 'w.? (past)', (*wa*)-*ḡae-ta* 'w.? (future)'; PCK (*i*)-*nai-da*, (*i*)-*ḡai-da*; PON (*y*)-*aa-d*; MOK *ḡee-d*; Mrs *ḡaya-ta*; KIR (*ni*)-*ḡai*, (*ni*)-*ḡai-ra*; KSR *ḡe*; POC **ñai-za*, *ḡai-za* (FIJ (*ni*)-*nai-(ca)*; LAK (*a*)-*lai-(sa)* 'w.? (past)', *ḡai-(sa)* 'w.? (future)', *ḡai* 'soon, presently, in the near future'). These forms are not irregular but preserve one or another of the two forms of PMC and POC, as the two LAK forms, one for past and one for future testify. See also PEO **ḡiza* 'when' (Geraghty 1883) (FIJ *ḡica*; BUG *ḡiha*); POC **ḡica* 'when?' (Ross 1988:225, 461). Note also SAA (*i*)-*ḡanite* 'when?'.

PMC ***ñama** 'taste': Mrs *nam*, *namnam* 't., smell, flavor'; KIR *nanama* 'to t. or test the flavor of (s.t.)' (but see PMC **ñaña*, *ñañaña* 'taste, flavor'); KSR *em* 'to taste', *ema* 'taste (s.t.)'; PWMP **ñaman* 'tasty, delicious' (Blust 1989:153); PMP **NamNam* (Blust 1989:154); PAN **NamNam* 'delicious' (Wolff 1993). Note PON *neminem* 'to eat, t. (used derogatorily)', *namanam* 't.', *nam* 'eat or t. (s.t.)', *neme* 'its t., flavor'; MOK *namnam* 'have t.', *nam* 'to t. (s.t.)', which we presume to be loans from Mrs. Cf. ULA *name*, *name-li* 'to t.'; ARO *name*, *name-ri*, *namí*, *namí-ri* 'to t., lick'; KWA *name* 'gobble up'. Cf. also PMC **ñaña*, *ñañaña* 'taste, flavor'.

PCMC ***ñama** 'make a noose or snare': WOL *lema-si-(i)* 'make knots in (rope) without pulling it tight'; PON *aam* 'slipnoose or snare for catching animals'; KIR *nama* 'to enter a snare noose (as a bird)'. Cf. PCK **llema*, *lema-ti* 'tie'.

PMC ***ñam^wu** 'mosquito': CHK (*towu*)-*nóm^w*, *-nóm^wu-(n)* 'm. net'; MRT *nam^wu-(kkék)* 'm.'; PUL *nóóm^w* 'm.', (*tówu*)-*nóm^w* 'm. net'; CRL *lóóm^w*, *lóm^wo-(l)* 'm., m. of'; CRN *nóóm^w*; STW *nóóm^w*; WOL *lacam^wu*, *lam^wu-* 'm.', (*tau*)-*lom^wu* 'm. net'; PUA *naam^wu*, *nam^wu-*; SNS *naam^wu*; PCK **nam^wu*; PON *am^wi-(se)* 'm.'; MOK *am^w-(je)* 'm.'; Mrs *ḡam^w*; KIR (*te-tai*)-*nam^wo* 'm. net'; KSR *em-(syε)*; PEO **ñamu* (Geraghty 1983:155, 295); POC **ñamuk* (Ross 1988) (PPN *namu*; FIJ *namu*; BUG *ḡnamu*; KWA *namu* 'small flying insect'; PKB **namo*); UAN **ñamuk*; PAN **Namuk* (Wolff 1993).

Mrs light *n* expected. Note that the words for 'mosquito net' show problems and appear to be more recent loans, at least in some cases. Cf. YAP *neey* 'mosquito'.

PMC ***ñaña**, **ñañaña** 'taste, flavor': CHK *nne*, *nenna*-(*n*) 't., f., its t.', *nne-ri*, *nne-ni* 't. it', *nne-yar* 't. sweet'; MRT *nennan* 't.'; PUL *nénán* 't., to t.'; CRL *llá-ri* 't. it'; CRN *nne-ri* 't. it'; STW *nnan* 't.'; WOL *nnanne* (<**nanna*) 'to t.', *nna-rii* 't. it'; PUA *nna-na* 'its t.'; PCK **nna*-, *nanna*-, *nna-ri*; Mrs *nnan* 'musty t., moldy t.'; KIR *nana-ma* 'to t. or test the t. of (food)'; PEO **ña-m* (BUG *gna-mi* 'to nibble, bite, t. [s.t.]'). Cf. PUL *lla* 'favorite food'. Cf. also PMC ***ñañau** 'delicious, taste good', PMC ***ñama** 'taste'.

PMC ***ñañau** 'delicious, taste good': CHK *nné*, (*a*)-*nné* 'd., tasty'; MRT *nné*; PUL *nné*, *nénné*; CRL (*a*)-*lléé*-(*w*) and CRN (*a*)-*nnéé*-(*w*) 'make it t. better'; WOL *nnéé* 't. g., sweet taste'; PUA *nnaú* 'g. t., t. g.'; PCK **nnaú*; PON *yow* 'sweet, d.'; Mrs *nnaw*; KIR *nanai* 'relishable'; KSR *ya*, *yaya*; PEO ? **ñau* (BUG *gnou* 'to bite, t.'). Cf. POC **ñapi* 't., bite (Blust 1978:59). Jackson's (1983:374) statement that this is to be derived from POC **ñamu* with inexplicable loss of intervocalic **m* is open to some question. Cf. PMC ***ñaña**, **ñañaña** 'taste, flavor'. (See also Jackson 1983:334.)

PMC ***ñañoa** 'yesterday': CHK *nánew*, *#nánewi*-(*n*) 'y., y. of'; MRT *nanaw*; PUL *nánewú* (sic); CRL *lalew*; CRN *nanew*; STW *nánew*; WOL *lalowé*; ULI *lalaow*; PUA *nanoa*; PCK *[*nñ*]añoa; PON *ayo*; MOK *ayo*; PNG *aaiyɔ*, *aaiyɔɔ*-(*wa*); Mrs (*yi*)-*nney*; KIR (*ηkoa*)-*nanoa*; KSR (*len*)-*yɔ* 'day before y.', (*eka*)-*yɔ* 'evening before last evening'; PEO *(*naño*Ra (Geraghty 1990) (SAA *nonola*; BUG [*i*]-*gnotha*). Cf. POC **ñoRop* (Ross 1988); POC **ñoRa*[qθ] (Blust 1978:58); PMP **neRab* (Blust 1980:116). Cf. PMC **[au]tuu* 'tomorrow'. Cf. Marck (1994:312) PMC **nanoa*.

PMC ***ñoñ[ui]** 'Morinda citrifolia': PUL *neen*; CRL *leel*, *llel*; CRN *neen*; WOL *leeli*, *leli*; MAP *non* 'a tree or plant whose root was used as a brown dye' (i.e., *M. citrifolia*, a possible loan from KIR); PON *wey*-(*p^uul*), *we*-(*mp^uul*) 'M. citrifolia (cf. *p^uul* 'immature, of fruit')'; MOK *ween* 'a tree', *ween*-(*p^uul*) 'a tree'; Mrs *nén*; KIR (*te*)-*non*; KSR *oi* 'a tree'; PMP **NoNu* (Blust 1984–85). Cf. POC **ñonu* (Ross 1988:208). Cf. also CHK *nop^uur* 'M. citrifolia' (root used as yellow dye).

PMC ***ḡaa**, **ḡau** 'I; 1st pers. sg. pronoun': CHK *ḡaaḡ*, *ḡaḡa*; MRT *ḡaaḡ*; PUL *ḡaaḡ*, *ḡa*; CRL *ḡaaḡ*, *#ḡaaḡ*; STW *ḡaaḡ*; WOL *ḡaaḡú*; PUA *ḡaḡú*; PCK **ḡaaḡú*; PON *ḡeey*; Mrs *ḡah*; KIR *ḡaú*; KSR *ḡa*. Cf. FIJ *au*; LAK (*e*)-*iau*, (*e*)-*au*.

PMC ***ḡaaḡaa** 'sea bird, duck': CRL *ḡaaḡa*; STW *ḡaaḡa*; WOL *ḡaaḡaa* 'a d.'; PCK **ḡaaḡaa*; Mrs *ḡahḡah* 'red-footed booby'; PEO **ḡaRa* (Geraghty 1990); POC **ḡaRa* (FIJ *ḡaa* 'the grey d.'; ROV *ḡara* 'wild d.'). Cf. CHK *ḡaaḡa* 'a kind of turtle in the special cryptic argot used by *itay*'.

PCMc ***ḡace** 'lower jaw': CHK *ḡách*, *ḡáchi*-(*n*) 'lower jaw, jaw, his j.' *ḡácháḡách* 'use or wear dentures', (*ite*)-*ḡach* 'lean on elbows with hand under chin'; MRT *ḡashe*-(*n*) 'his l. j.'; PUL *ḡaaR* 'j.'; CRL *ḡásh*, *ḡáshe*-(*l*) 'lips, mouth, his l. j.'; STW *ḡaaR* 'l. j.'; PCK **ḡace*; KIR *ḡare* 'laugh', *ḡare-aki-ni* 'laugh at'. PON *ḡara-aki* 'laugh heartily' is an apparent loan from KIR. Cf. PMc **ḡaco* 'palate, gums', PWMc **ḡace* 'edge'.

PWMc ***ḡace** 'edge': CHK (*wini*)-*ḡách* 'period just before daybreak or dawn'; CRL *ḡashe*-(*l*) 'side, e., border of'; WOL *ḡaashe*, *ḡashe*-(*l*) 'e., brink, e. of', *ḡashe-e*-(*ye*) 'make the e. of it'; PCK **ḡace*; Mrs *ḡadḡad* 'design edges of boats'. Cf. PMc **ḡaco* 'palate, gums'; PCMc **ḡace* 'lower jaw'.

PMC ***ḡaco** 'palate, gums': PUL (*pi*)-*ḡor*, -*ḡore*-(*y*) (sic) 'hard p., my h. p.'; CRL (*po*)-*ḡóósh* 'hard p., roof of the mouth'; WOL (*faali-pi*)-*ḡaasho* 'gum, hard p.', (*pui*)-*ḡaachcho* 'p., gum, alveolar ridge'; PCK **ḡaaco*; PON *ḡeterḡete* 'roof of his mouth'; MOK *ḡosḡos* 'roof of the mouth'; Mrs *ḡad* 'g.' (cf. Mrs *ḡat* 'p.', PMC **ḡasa* 'hole'); KIR (*te*)-*ḡaro* 'the gum', *ḡarḡaro* 'toothless'; KSR *ḡpsr* 'mouth, lip', *ḡpsro*-(*n*) 'lip, brim, edge of'. Cf. ARO *ḡada*-(*na*) 'his g.'. Cf. also PCMc **ḡace* 'lower jaw', PWMc **ḡace* 'edge'.

PMC ***ḡafa** 'fathom': CHK *ḡaaf*, *ḡafa-n*, -*ḡaf* 'f., f. of it, f. in counting'; MRT -*ḡaf*; PUL *ḡaaf*, *ḡafá-n*; CRL *ḡaaf*, -*ḡaf*; STW -*ḡaf*; WOL *ḡaafa*, *ḡefa-l* 'fathom, f. of it'; PUA *ḡaada*, *ḡada-na*; PCK **ḡafa*; PON *ḡaap*; MOK *ḡaap*; Mrs *ḡéyḡéy*; KIR *te-ḡaa* 'fathom', *ḡae-a* 'measure (s.t.) by fathoms'; POC **ḡapa* (TON *ḡafa*; SAM *ḡafa*; SAA [*ta*]-*haya*; BUG [*ha*]-*ḡava*; ARO [*ta*]-*ḡaa* 'hand's breadth'; KWA [*ta*]-*ḡaḡa*).

PWMC ***ɣani** ‘to, toward’: CHK *ɣeni* ‘t. it, give him’; PUL *ɣaniy* ‘give him’; CRL *ɣáli*; CRN *ɣeni*; WOL *ɣali-(i)* ‘to it’; PUA *ɣani* ‘to, t.’; PCK **ɣani*–; MRS *ɣan* ‘to’, *ɣan-ey* ‘to him/her/it’, *ɣan-iy* ‘to them’.

PMC ***-ɣa-ratu** ‘thousand (num. classifier)’: CHK *-ɣé-réw*; MRT *-ɣé-réw*; PUL *-ɣe-ray*; CRL and CRN *-ɣé-réw*, *-ɣa-ras*; STW *-ɣa-ras*; WOL *-ɣe-rai*, *-ɣe-raú*, *ɣe-rasi*; PUA *-ɣa-ladi*; PCK **-ɣa-rati*, *-ɣa-ratú*; PEO **-ɣa-Ratu* (SAA [*ta*]-*ɣa-lau* ‘one hundred’, [*ta*]-*ɣa-lai* [*mʷane*] ‘one hundred men’; BUG [*ha*]-*ɣa-thatu* <*[*ha*]-*ɣa-thatu* ‘one t.’; ARO [*ha*]-*ɣa-rau* ‘one hundred, of men only’); POC **-Ratu* (PLK *latu* ‘one hundred’); UAN **Ratus* ‘hundred’. Cf. KIR *-ɣaa* ‘t.’. Note the reflex here of UAN **R* in PCK as **r* rather than as the more common reflex **ʔ*, and in BUG as *th* rather than as the more common reflex *l*.

PMC ***ɣari**, **ɣari-ti** ‘nibble, gnaw, crunch’: CHK *ɣeriger* ‘be nibbling, gnawing’, *ɣeri-i-(y)* ‘n. or g. it’; PUL *ɣeriger* ‘g.’, *ɣeri-i-(y)* ‘g. it’; CRL *ɣár* ‘to have been gnawed or nibbled’; *ɣári-i-(y)*, *ɣeri-i-(y)* ‘to g. or n. on (s.t. hard)’; WOL *ɣari* ‘be scratched, abraded’, *ɣariɣeri* ‘chew, c., g.’, *ɣari-si-(i)* ‘g. it’; PCK **ɣari*, *ɣariɣari*, *ɣari-ti*; MRS *ɣarɣar* ‘bite the dust, feed off a surface (as fish feeding off a reef surface)’ *ɣari-j* ‘eat s.t. in this manner’; KIR (*mʷa*)-*ɣaigai* ‘contend noisily with words’; KSR *ɣalɣal* ‘bite, nip’, *ɣali-s* ‘bite or nip (s.t.)’; POC **ɣari* (TON *ɣali* ‘n., chew, g.’; SAM *gali* ‘g.’; LAK *gari* (*la-mavo*) ‘bite (into the taro)’. Cf. KIR *ɣauɣau* ‘eat voraciously’; SAA *ɣero* ‘to chew, n. (of rats)’; KWA *ɣale* ‘masticate with the gums’. See also PCMC **li-ɣari* ‘tiny louse’; and cf. PMC **kari* ‘to scratch’, PCMC **ma-ɣari*, *ma-ɣariɣari* ‘rough’.

PMC ***ɣarugaru** or ***ɣ[eo]ru**, **ɣ[eo]ruɣ[eo]ru** ‘to crunch’: MRT *sú-ɣérúɣér* ‘to c. while eating (as in chewing bones)’; CHK *sú-ɣérúɣér* (Bender et al. 1984); PUL *hi-ɣéréɣér* ‘to c. (as burned breadfruit seeds being eaten)’; CRL (*sa*)-*ɣurugur* ‘be crunchy’, (*assa*)-*ɣúr* ‘to c. with the teeth’; CRN (*assa*)-*ɣér* ‘to c. with the teeth’; STW *si-ɣérúɣér* ‘to c. (as chewing on bones)’; WOL *sú-ɣerúɣerú* ‘to c., be crunchy, chew with a noisy, crackling sound, to press, grind, tread, etc., with a noisy sound’; PCK **Tú-ɣarúɣarú*, *-ɣerú*, *-ɣerúɣerú*; MOK *ɣorɣor* ‘crunchy’; MRS *ɣɣiʷɣiʷ* ‘to c. (as in eating)’; (*ka*)-*ɣʷirɣʷir* ‘to grind with the teeth noisily, c., munch’; KIR *ɣauɣau* ‘to eat voraciously’; KSR *ɣarɣar* ‘crushing, crunching, cracking, or crackling sound’, (*niye*)-*ɣorɣor* ‘meat of young coconut, crunching, crushing’. Cf. KWA *ɣalu* ‘snap at, bite at (of angry dog)’, *golu-a* ‘to c.’; TON *ɣuu*, *ɣugu* ‘bite with the teeth, munch, c. (as bones), eat with a crunching or munching sound’; LAU *ɣutuɣutu* ‘c. the teeth’. Cf. also FIJ *quru*, *quru-ta* ‘to c.’.

PMC ***ɣasa** ‘hole’: CHK *ɣaat*, *ɣate-n* ‘h., h. of’, *ɣate-ni* ‘pierce it’, *-ɣát*, *ɣát-i-n* ‘hollow or concave object (in counting)’; PUL *ɣaat*, *ɣátá-n* ‘h., h. of’, *ɣat* ‘be punctured’; CRL *ɣaat*, *ɣata-l* ‘h., its h.’, *ɣataɣat* ‘make holes’, *ɣátá-li*, *ɣate-li* ‘make a h. in it’; STW *ɣataɣat* ‘drill a h.’; WOL *ɣaate*, *ɣateɣat*, *ɣeta-líi* ‘h., make holes, pierce it’; PUA *ɣaata*, *ɣata-* ‘h.’; SNS *ɣaata* ‘h.’; PCK **ngada*; MRS *ɣat* ‘palate of mouth’ (cf. MRS *ɣad* ‘gums’, PMC **ɣaco* ‘palate, gums’); KSR *ɣwet* ‘look, open (eyes)’. Cf. FIJ *gasa* ‘a thing that will cause laughter, a joke’.

PWMC ***ɣasa** ‘unable to endure further’: PON *ɣata-* ‘be bored or tired of s.t. repetitious’; MRS *ɣatɣat* ‘unable to stomach s.t., unable to endure’, *ɣatey* ‘unable to stomach or endure (s.t.)’. Pon *d* expected; problematic.

PMC ***ɣata** ‘fragrant’: CHK *ɣaas*, *ɣase-n* ‘a perfumed oil, p. o. of’, *a-ɣasa* ‘annoint her with p. o.’, *pʷoo-ɣas* ‘f. smell’; PUL *ɣah* ‘be f.’, *ya-ɣah* ‘fragrance’; CRL *ɣaas* ‘aroma, scent’, *bʷoo-ɣas* ‘have a f. odor’, CRN *bʷoo-ɣah* ‘have a f. odor’; WOL *ɣase* ‘smell good, be f.’, *boo-ɣase* ‘good smell’; PCK **ɣata*; MRS *ɣaj* ‘f. smell’; KSR *ɣæs*, *ɣiyes* ‘expression when a foul smell is sensed’; FIJ *gasagasa* ‘savory, tasty (of food)’.

PMC ***-ɣawulu** ‘unit of ten (in counting)’: CHK (*e*)-*ɣoon*, *-ɣoonu-*; PUL *-ɣool*; WOL *-ɣawulu*; PCK **-ɣawulu*; PON *-ɣowl*; MRS (*je*)-*ɣʷéwil* ‘ten’, (*jil*)-*ɣiwil* ‘thirty’; KIR *-ɣaun*; KSR *-ɣaul*, *-ɣaul*; PEO **-nga-fulu* (FIJ [*sa*]-*ga-vulu* ‘ten’; SAA [*ta*]-*ɣa-hulu*; BUG [*ha*]-*ɣa-vulu*; KWA [*ta*]-*ɣa-fulu*); POC **-puluq* (PKB **vulu*); UAN **puluq*. Cf. PPC **-ik[ae]* ‘counter for tens’, PCMC **-itaki* ‘counter for tens’.

PCMC ***-ɣ[e]a** ‘ironwood tree (*Pemphis acidula*)’: CHK *ee-ɣi*, *ee-ɣii-(n)*, *ee-ɣiye-(n)* ‘P. t. or shrub, P. t. of’; PUL *yee-ɣiyi*, *yee-ɣiyá-(n)*; CRL *ee-ɣi*; WOL *gai-ɣiye*; PCK **kai-ɣiya*; PON *ɣii*; MRS *ké-ɣéy*; KIR (*te*)-*ɣea*. Cf. PAL *ɣis* ‘a tree (*P. acidula*)’; CHM *nigas* ‘*P. acidula*’; FIJ *gigia* ‘a tree (*Suriana maritima*)’. Cf. also PCK **ɣɣaú* ‘a tree’.

PMC ***ɣenu** 'soul, spirit': CHK #*ɣúún*, *ɣúnú*-(*n*) 's., his s.'; MRT *ɣéén*, *ɣénúɣénú*-(*n*) 'shadow, ghost, spirit'; PUL #*ɣúún*, *ɣúnú*-*n*; CRL *ɣéél*, *ɣélú*-(*l*); CRN *ɣéén*, *ɣénú*-(*n*); STW *ɣéén*, *ɣénú*-(*n*); WOL *ɣéél*, *ɣélú*-(*l*) 'ghost'; PUA *ɣaanú*, *ɣanú*-*na*; PCK **ɣenú*; PON *ɣeen*, *ɣeni*; MOK *ɣen*, *ɣeni*- 's. spirit'; KSR *ɣun* 'spirit'. See also Marck (1994:325) PMC **ɣenu*.

PMC ***ɣere**, **ɣereɣere** 'be chafed, rasping': CHK *ɣer*, *ɣereɣer* 'be c. or scratched (of skin), be rough, hoarse, r. (of voice)', *ɣere-e*-(*y*) 'saw it, cut it by chafing', *ɣereɣer* 'a saw'; PUL *ɣereɣer* 'crackle, scrape, creak, a saw', *ɣere-e*-(*y*) 'saw it', (*makúre-m'a*)-*ɣereɣer* 'have kinky hair'; CRL *ɣereɣer* 'be rough, raspy', (*m'e*)-*ɣereɣer*; (*m'o*)-*ɣereɣer*; (*m'o*)-*ɣaraɣar* 'have a rough surface, be very rough or raspy'; WOL (*me*)-*ɣareɣare* 'have a sore feeling in the throat, have a dry throat', (*ga*)-*ɣere* 'to clear one's throat', (*m'a*)-*ɣereɣere* 'be curly, kinky (of hair)'; PUA (*ka*)-*ɣeleɣele* 'to clear the throat'; PCK **ɣere*, *ɣereɣere*; KIR *ɣeeɣee* 'scraped'; POC **ɣere* (Fij [va]-*geregere*-[taka]) 'to twist or shake the voice, sing tremolo'; LAK [*e*]-*gere* 'a cricket that calls at night', [*la*]-*gere* 'plant with seed pods used as rattles'. Cf. PCMC **ma-ɣari*, *ma-ɣariɣari* 'rough', PMC **ɣari*, *ɣari*-ti 'nibble, gnaw, crunch', with which there has been some confusion.

PMC ***ɣ[eo]ru**, **ɣ[eo]rug[eo]ru** 'to crunch': see PMC **ɣaruɣaru*.

PCMC ***ɣii** 'tooth': CHK *nii*, *ɣii*, *nii*-(*n*), *ɣii*-(*n*) 't., his t.', -*ɣi*, -*ɣú* 't. (in some cpds.)'; MRT *ɣii*; PUL *ɣii*, *ɣii*-(*n*), -*ɣi*; CRL *ɣii*, *ɣii*-(*l*); CRN *ɣii*, *ɣii*-(*n*); STW *ɣii*; WOL *ɣii*, *ɣii*-(*le*); PUA *ɣii*; SNS *ɣii*; PCK **ɣii*, -*ɣi*; PON *ɣii* 'his t.'; MOK *ɣi*, *ɣii*-; MRS *ɣiy*; KIR *ɣii* (archaic, Bender et al. 1984). Cf. POC **ɣipo*, *nipo* (PPN **nifo*; SAA *niho*; KWA *nifo*; LAK [*la*]-*livo*-[*la*] 'his t.'): UAN **ipen*. Note also PWM **ɣiji* 'teeth'.

PMC ***ɣii** 'buzz, hum, make sound, intonation': CHK *ɣi* 'b., h., sound, sing', *ɣiiji* 'tune, intonation, accent, voice', *ɣii*-(*ri*) 'sing it, h. it', (*e*)-*ɣi* 'softly sung love song', (*e*)-*ɣii*-(*y*) 'give voice to it, begin it (of a song)'; MRT *ɣiiji* 'hummed note, dialect, intonation'; *ɣii*-(*re*) 'give the tune for a song'; PUL *ɣiiji*-(*n*) (sic) 'accent, voice, tune, pronunciation, sound of'; CRL and CRN *ɣiiji* 'sound, pronunciation, dialect' (cf. CRL *ɣiiji* 'to cry out, squeal, of animals or machinery'); STW *ɣiiji*, *ɣiiji*-(*n*) 'intonation, squeaking sound, dialect, speech, his i.'; WOL *ɣiiji* 'humming sound made with the mouth, voice to make sound, whine, make a low sound in the form of crying'; PCK **ɣii*, *ɣiiji*; PON *ɣii*-(*n-wer*) 'overly talkative, protesting too much, all talk and no action' (lit. 'sound of loud talk': *wer* 'to shout, scream, howl, yell, holler at, vocalize loudly'); PEO **ɣiRi* 'whine, b., h.' (Geraghty 1990). Cf. PPC **ɣúnúɣúnú*, *m'a-ɣúnúɣúnú* 'whisper', PMC **ɣiTi* 'chant, sing, be noisy, laugh', PMC **ɣiTi* 'chant, sing, be noisy, laugh'. Cf. also PMC **ɣiLi* 'buzz, hum, make sound' posited by Goodenough (1995:76).

PWMC ***ɣil[ai]** 'voice, sound': PON *ɣil*, *ɣile* 'voice, tune, his v.'; MOK *ɣil*, *ɣilo*, *ɣile*-(*n*) 'voice, sound, his, v., v. of'; PNG *ɣil* 'voice, sound'; MRS *ɣil*, *ɣilli*- 'sound'. Cf. YAP *ɣuul* 'to buzz, hum, a bee, wasp', PPC **ɣúnúɣúnú*, *m'a-ɣúnúɣúnú* 'whisper', PMC **ɣiTi* 'chant, sing, be noisy, laugh'. Cf. PMC **ɣiLi* 'buzz, hum, make sound' posited by Goodenough (1995:76).

PMC ***ɣiri**, **ɣiriɣiri**, **ɣiri-ti** 'growl, rumble': PON *ɣiriɣir*, *ɣiriɣiri*-i 'g., snarl, quarrel, g. at (s.t.)', *ɣiri-sek* 'to resound'; MOK *ɣiriɣir* 'to rumble'; MRS *ɣpir* 'groan, moan, r., g., grunt'; KSR *ɣir* 'roar, r.', *ɣirɣir* 'noisy, roaring, buzzing, rumbling, whirring'; PEO **ɣiRi*, *ɣiRiɣiRi* 'buzz, hum' (Geraghty 1990) (Fij *gii* 'squeak, squeal, buzz'; ARO *ɣiri*, *ɣiriɣiri* 'to whine, mew, hum, buzz', *ɣiri-ha* 'whining, humming, etc.'). Cf. PMP **ɣurut* 'growl, whine' (Blust 1983-4:89).

PCMC ***ɣisa** 'groan': PUL *ɣit* 'gasp (as a dying man)'; KIR *ɣiraɣira* 'to g. (audibly or in spirit)'. Cf. UAN **ɣisɣis* 'whisper'. Note also SAA (**ala*) *ɣijite* 'clench the teeth'; ARO *ɣijita* 'to grind the teeth, show the teeth, snarl', but see PCK **ɣúúú*, *ɣúúú* 'strong, resistant'. Cf. PMC **ɣuse* 'moan, complain'.

PMC ***ɣiTi** 'chant, sing, be noisy, laugh': PON *ɣiis* 'a c.', *ɣis* 'to c., be boisterous'; MOK *ɣij* 'c. in chorus, laugh out loud'; MRS *ɣiji(r)* 'c. while drawing up a canoe', *ɣijj* 'groan, moan, mumble'; KSR *ɣis*, *ɣisɣis* 'laugh, guffaw'. Cf. KWA *ɣuu* 'sing, customary chanting', *ɣuu-a* 's. (s.t.)', *ɣuu-li*-(*a*) 's. (a particular song)'; ARO *ɣuu* 'to hum'.

PCMC ***ɣixo** 'be tired': CHK *ɣji* 'be exhausted, played out, unable to continue', *ɣjiye*-(*n*) 'exhaustion of (s.o.)'; PON *ɣir* 'be tired (honorific)'; KIR *ɣio*, *ɣioɣio* 'be dizzy'. Cf. PUA *ɣɣei* 'to be uncomfortable'; Fij *googoo* 'weak, infirm, helpless'.

PCMC ***ɣoro** 'to chant, intone': CHK *ɣor* 'to sing'; MRT *ɣoroɣor* 'to chant'; PON *ɣoor*, *ɣore*

'accent, dialect, tune, tone, his a.'; KIR *ɲoo* 'to murmur or complain in a low voice', (*te*)-*ɲoo* 'subdued complaint, murmuring', *ɲooɲoo* 'talk sub voce'. This could be the same root as PMc **ɲoro*, *ɲoroɲoro*, [sS]i-*ɲoro* 'to snore'.

PMc **ɲoro*, *ɲoroɲoro*, [sS]i-*ɲoro* 'to snore': STW (*ti*)-*ɲor*, (*ti*)-*ɲoroɲor*; WOL (*ti*)-*ɲoroɲoro*; MOK *ɲorɲor*; PNG *ɲor*; MRS *ɲ'er-(tak)*; KIR (*ri*)-*ɲooɲoo*; KSR *ɲor*, *ɲorɲor*; POC **ɲoro* (TON *ɲolo* 'make a rattling or rumbling noise when one breathes'; ROT *gogoro* 'make a loud disturbing noise'; PKB **ɲo[rz]o*). Cf. FIJ *godro* 'grunt (as a pig), moan in pain (of a person)'; SAA *ɲora* 's.'; ARO *ɲora* 's.'; and cf. CHK *tor* 'to grunt, s.', *ɲot* 'to s.'. Cf. also POC **ɲoRo* 'snore' (Ross 1988). See also PCMc **ɲoro* 'to chant, intone'.

PMc **ɲuse* 'moan, complain': MOK *ɲud* 'to whisper, m., hum'; KIR *ɲure* 'to c., murmur'; *ɲureɲure* 'murmuring, complaining, subdued groaning'; KSR *ɲut*, *ɲutɲut* 'to growl, grunt'. Cf. MRS *ɲɲij* 'groan, m., mumble'. Note also KIR *ɲira* 'to groan, moan'. Cf. KWA *ɲulu* 'whisper', (*kawai*)-*ɲudu-fi* 'whisper to one another', *ɲu'u* 'murmur'; LAU *ɲudu*, *ɲudunɲudu* 'to mumble, mew'. Cf. PCMc **ɲisa* 'groan'.

PMc **ɲuu* 'groan, moan': CHK *ɲúúɲú* 'moaning, groaning', *ɲúúɲú-res* 'be groaning or grunting repeatedly'; MRT *ɲúúɲú* 'sound of a plane, drone, conversation at a distance'; CRL *ɲúúɲú* 'm. (of a person in pain), to sound (as a distant car or plane)', *ɲɲú* 'speak loudly, be loud'; STW *ɲúúɲú* 'murmur, noise heard at a distance'; WOL *ɲúúɲú* 'make a heavy sound, roar', *ɲúú-regi* 'be crying, cry out'; PUA *ɲúúɲú* 'roar, m.'; PCK **ɲúúɲú*, *ɲúú-raki*; PEO **ɲuu* (TON *ɲuu* 'grunt', *ɲuuɲuu* 'hum'; ROT *ɲuu* 'grumble, complain, grunt'; BUG *ɲuuɲuu* 'murmur, whisper, speak low'; ARE *nui* 'sing, hum, whistle, chirp'; ARO *ɲuu* 'reply with the lips, hum'; KWA *ɲuu* 'sing, chant').

PMc ? **oo* 'that (out of sight or in the past)': CHK (*e*)-*we*, -*we* 't. (out of s. or in the p.), the (one already mentioned and not present)', (*i*)-*we* 'then, thereupon' (lit. 'at that'); MRT *we*; PUL (*e*)-*we*, *we*, (*i*)-*we*; CRL (*i*)-*we*, *we*; STW *we*; WOL (*i*)-*wee*, *wee*; PUA *we* (sic); PCK **wee*; PON -*o*; MRS *yew*; KSR *ɔ*. Cf. LAK (*ale*)-*o* 'that'.

PWMc **oro* 'be, exist': CHK *wor* 'be, exist', (*e*)-*wor* 'it exists', (*e-se*) *wor*, (*e-so*)-*or* 'there is not, it does not exist', (*mei*)-*wor*, (*mei*)-*yor* 'there is, there exists'; MRT *yor*; PUL *wór*; CRL *yoor* (sic); STW *yor*; WOL *yor* 'be, exist', (*yo*)-*oro* (<*[ye]-*oro*) 'there is, it exists'; PUA *wola*; PCK **oro*; MRS *wer* 'be, there is'. Cf. KSR *asr*, *ɔsr*, *ɔsr* 'be, exist'.

PMc **pa-* 'side': CHK *pa-*, *pe-n*, *ppa-*, *ppe-(n)* 'side, help, s. of'; KSR *pe* 'side, opposite side'; PEO **ba-*, *baba* (FIJ *baba* 'side of a thing, cheekbone'; KWA *baba* 'side'). Cf. PUL *ppáán*, *ppááni-(n)* 'side, along side of'. See also PMc **papa* 'board, plank', PCMc **paŋa*, *paŋaki* 'crossways', PWMc **palia* 'side', PMc **paiki* 'side', PPC **palúa*, 'opposite, answer'.

PMc **paa*, 'bait, worm': CHK *paa* 'b.', *paapa* 'be baited', *paa-ni* 'to b. (a hook), put out (s.t.) as b.'; MRT *paa*; STW *paa*; WOL *paa*, *paapaa* 'b., worm', *paa-li-(i)* 'have it as b.'; PUA *paa* 'b., worm', *paa-ni* 'use it as b.', *paapaa* 'use b.'; SNS *paa*; PCK **paa*, *paapaa*, *paa-[In]ji*; PON *paa-(n)* 'b., lure'; MOK *pee-(n)*; MRS *paha-(ney)* 'feed, give b.' (archaic); KSR *pa*; PEO **baya* 'worm' (Geraghty 1983) (ROT *paa*; FIJ *baca* 'worm, b.'; SAA *paa*; ULA *pasa*; ARO *baa*). Cf. MRS *hanhan* 'b., lure, to chum for fish', *haney* 'to lure (a fish)'; KIR (*te*)-*abea* 'fish b.'; YAP *waal* 'b.'.

PMc **paa*, 'leaf and stalk, frond': CHK *paa* 'f., flower garland, s.t. with a series of leaflets or petals on it', -*pa* 'palm f., garland, stalk with leaves (in counting)'; MRT *páá-(le)* 'l. of coconut tree'; PUL -*pa* 'garland, bead belt (in counting)'; CRL -*pa* 'flower leis and compound leaves (in counting)'; STW *páá-(ley)* 'l. of coconut tree', -*pá* 'counting classifier for coconut or taro leaves'; WOL -*paa* 'palm f., lei, shell bead belt (in counting)'; PCK **paa*; PON *paa* 'l. of any large leaved plant such as taro'; MOK *paa-(lo)* 'midrib of coconut f.'; KIR (*te*)-*baa* 'midrib or mainstem of a coconut f.'; KSR *pæ* 'stalk (of taro or banana), stem'; PEO **baa* (FIJ *baa* 'stalk of taro leaves only'). Cf. MRS *pap* 'coconut f., midrib of f.'.

PMc **paa*, *paapaa* 'to count, enumerate': MRT *paa-ɲe* 'c. it, read it'; PUL *paapa* 'to c.', *páá-ɲ*, *páá-ɲi-(y)* 'to c.', *páápá* 'to c.', *páá-ɲi* 'c. (s.t.)'; STW *paapa*; WOL *paapaa* 'to c., number, calculate'; PCK **paapaa*, *paa-ɲi*; PON *paa-ɲ* 'to enumerate (s.t.)'; KSR *pʷepa* 'to discuss', *pa* 'discuss (s.t.)'. Cf. MRS *bénbén* 'arithmetic, count, audit, compute'.

PWMc **paca*, *papaca* or **capa*, *cacapa* 'adhere': CHK *pach* 'attached, pasted, joined',

ppach 'sticky', *pacha-ŋ* 'smeared condition, be smeared with sticky substance', *pache-ri* 'cling to, a. to (s.t.)', *pache-ri*, *pacheri-ya-(n)* 'kinsman, relative, his k.', *pache-(yiti)* 'stick to, fasten on to (s.t.)', *(a)-pach* 'be fastened, be stuck or glued together', *(a)-pacha* 'attach, join, paste, glue (s.t.), add it (in arithmetic)'; MRT *pashapash* 'sticky'; PUL *paRa-(ló)* 'to a., stick', *paRe-(eti-yi)* 'a. to (s.t.)', *(ya)-paR*, *-paRa* 'to add or join, a. or j. it'; CRL *pash* and CRN *paR* 'a., stick', CRL *ppash* and CRN *ppaR* 'be joined together, stuck', CRL *pashapash* and CRN *paRaPaR* 'be sticky'; STW *ppaR* 'sticky', *(ya)-paR* 'gum, glue'; WOL *ppashe* 'to stick, hold to s.t. firmly', *pesha-ŋi-(i)* 'stick to it', *(ge)-pashepashe* 'to figure out, compute, calculate'; PCK **paca*, *ppaca*; PON *pat* 'be together'; MOK *pas* 'to fit tight, cling'; MRS *ddap*, *dedap* 'cling to, stick to, a., sticky'. See also PCK **paca* 'handle, tail (of fish)'. Cf. PMC **paca*, *pacapaca* 'foot, flat'.

PMC **paca*, *pacapaca* 'foot, flat': CHK *pachapach* 'foot (of humans and animals)'; WOL *pesha-(n-nime)* 'hand (from wrist to fingertips)'; PUA *pasapasa* 'foot'; PCK **paca*, *pacapaca*; PON *patapat* 'flat (of a surface)'; MOK *paspas* 'flat, level'; KIR *barara*, *barabara* 'low (in height)'; MRS *pede-(n pay)*, *ped* (*yin pay*) 'a cloud formation' (*pay* 'arm, hand, wing'); KSR *pasr-pasr* 'a plate, plain (a flat or level surface)', *pasra-(n ne)* 'top of the foot', *ta-pasr-pasr* 'flat'. See also PWMc **paca*, *papaca* or **capa*, *cacapa* 'adhere', PCK **paca* 'handle, tail (of fish)', PCK **pecee* 'leg'. Cf. PWMP **pa(n)tar*, *pantay* 'flat, level' (Blust 1980:123, 1983–84:93).

PMC **paiki* 'side': CHK *peek*, *peeki-n* 's., s. of', *-peek* 's. (in counting)'; PUL *peeki-(i-láng)* 'compass direction (side of heaven), sky'; CRL *peigh*, *peighi-* 's., half, direction', *-peigh* 'half (in counting)'; WOL *peigi* 's., flank', *-peigi* 's. (in counting)', *peigiye* 'lean on one s.'; PUA *peiki* 's. beam of a house'; PCK ? **peeki* or **p[ae]iki*; KSR *peik* 's. (of a mountain or slope)'. Note also PON *peekiek* 'to be summoned to the presence of a high chief'; MRS *pék* 'place (in place names)'. See also PMC **pa-* 'side'.

PWMc **pa-i-lanji* 'horizon' (lit. 'edge of heaven'): CHK *ppe-yi-nen*, (*óro*)-*ppe-yi-nen*; MRT *pa-yi-lénj*; PUL (*yóro*)-*ppá-á-lanj*; STW *ppa-yi-lenj*; PCK **ppa-yi-lanji*; PON *peelenj* 'place name'; MRS *pa-yi-lénj*. See PMC **lanji* 'sky, heaven, storm', PMC **pa-* 'side'. See also Marck (1994:314) PWMc **pailanji*.

PMC **pakewa* 'shark': CHK *pókó*, *pókóó-*; PUL *pááwo* (sic), *pááwa-*; CRL *pááw*; STW *pááw*; WOL *pagowe*; PUA *pakoa*; SNS *pakowa*; PCK **pakewa*; PON *pako*, *poke*; MOK *pako*; PNG *pako*; MRS *pakew*; KIR (*te*)-*pakoa*; KSR *pæko*; PEO **bakewa* (SAA *pa'ewa*; KWA *ba'ekwa*). Cf. POC **bakiwa* (Ross 1988); Fij *qia*, PNk **pokio*; UAN **qiyu*, *kiyu*. Note that the CHK form with its unexpected *k* could be a loan from another CHK dialect.

PMC **paku* 'be cut, chopped': CHK *péék*, *pékú-(n)* 'chip, chip of', *-pék* 'chip (in counting)', *pék* 'be chopped, hewn', *pékúpék* 'do chopping', *pékú-ú-(w)* 'chop it, cut it'; MRT *pakú* 'to cut, split', *pakú-ú-(téw)* 'cut it down'; PUL *pakúpak* 'do cutting, cut', *pakú-(w)* 'cut it, fell it'; CRL *pagh* 'be cut, split', *paghú-(w)* 'cut it'; STW *pakú-ú-(w)* 'cut it', *pakú-ú-(tiw)* 'cut it down'; WOL *pagú* 'be cut, split, cut off' *pagúpegú* 'cut, split'; PCK **pakú*; PON *pak* 'be smashed (as of a fallen ripe fruit)'; MRS *pak* 'taro residue for replanting after edible portion has been cut off'; KIR (*te*)-*baku* 'top part of taro cut close to root for replanting', *baku-a* 'cut the neck of, behead (s.t.)' (Bender et al. 1984); KSR *pakpak* 'chop, cut', *paki* 'chop, cut, hew (s.t.)'.

PMC **palapala* 'a fish': PON *palapal* 'rabbit f.'; KSR *pælpæl* 'a kind of f.'. Cf. PMC **pali* 'a fish'.

PWMc **pale* 'light, of weight': CHK *ppán*; MRT *ppal*; PUL *ppel*; CRL *ppel*; STW *ppan*; WOL *ppale*; PUA *ppana*; SNS *ppare*; PCK **ppale*; MRS (*yak*)-*pél* 'lighten ship'. Cf. PON *pala-ŋ* 'to dry, to expose objects to the sun in order to dry them', *pele-ŋ* 'be dried, be exposed to the sun'; MRS *b'elal* 'light in weight'; KSR *malælæ* 'light, slim, skinny'; BUG *maamatha* 'light, not heavy'.

PWMc **pali* 'a fish': CHK *paan*, *páán* 'a kind of trigger f.'; WOL *paali* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **pa[ln]i*; MRS *pél* 'boxfish'. Cf. PMC **palapala* 'a fish'.

PWMc **palia* 'side': CHK *peniya*, *peniye-* 's., helper'; MRT *paliye-(n)* 's. of'; PUL *pelii*, *peliiye-*; CRL and CRN *paliya*; STW *paliye-(n)* 's. of'; WOL *paliye*; PCK **palia*; PON *pali* 'part, s., division, section'; PNG *pali-* 's.'; MRS *paleye* 'spouse'. Cf. KSR *pólə-(n)* 'part, piece, cutting, segment of'. See also PMC **pa-* 'side', PMC **paiki* 'side', PPC **palúa* 'opposite, answer'.

PCMc **panipani* 'sea cucumber': CHK *penipen* 'sea cucumber'; PUL *penipen*; CRL *pelipel*

PMC ***patiki** 'long-winded in diving': CHK *ppeyis*, #*ppeyisa*-(n) 'fortitude, ability to endure pain, ability to hold one's breath or stay under water for a long time, his f'; PUL *peeyik* (sic) 'to dive deep, hold the breath long'; CRL *ppeigh* 'to be able to hold one's breath under water for a long time, to have endurance', *peighi*-(má) 'to be in a life-or-death situation, be close to death'; PCK **paiki*, *ppayiki*; PON *peyk* 'skilful, of a diver able to go deep or hold his breath for a long time'; MOK *poyk* 'able to hold breath'; MRS *pakij*, *ppakij* (showing metathesis) 'long-winded in

diving, able to stay under water long'; KSR *pətok* 'hold breath for a long time, dive, long-winded'. There are problems with the KSR form.

PMC ***pau** 'hand, arm, wing': CHK *paaw*, *péwú-(n)*; MRT *paaW*, *paWú-(n)*; PUL *paaw*, *pawú-n*; CRL *paay*, *payú-(l)*; STW *paay*, *payú-(n)*; WOL *paai*, *paú-(l)*; PUA *paai*, *paú-(na)*; PCK **paú*; PON *pəe* 'his arm'; MOK *pəo* 'its forelimb'; MRS *pay*, *peyi-*; KIR *(te)-bai*, *bai-(na)*; KSR *po*, *pəo-(l)*; PEO **baRu* (Geraghty 1990). Cf. YAP *paag* 'his hand or arm'. See also PPC **paúdi* 'abandon, let drop'.

PMC ? ***pau, paupau** 'blow (of the wind)': CHK *pé*, *péépé* 'b.', *péé-ni* 'blow upon it'; STW *(uru)-pé* 'to fan'; WOL *péépé* 'b. gently (as a breeze)'; ULI *(rú)-péú* 'to fan'; PUA *(ilú)-paú* 'to fan'; PCK **paú*, *paúpaú*; KSR *pəpə* 'b., fan', *pə-(la)* 'fan (it), b. on (it)'. Cf. MOK *parpar* 'waving'; MRS *pal* '(formant in place names) b.', *ppalpal* 'wave (of a flag), flutter'. Cf. also CHK *á-áni-pé* 'fan' (lit. 'make wind blowing'), *á-áni-péé-(w)* 'f. him, beckon to her', PMC **iri*, *iri-pi-* 'to fan', and cf. PMC **paLu* 'blow (of wind)' posited by Goodenough (1995:77).

PCMC ***pawo** 'platform': CHK *póo*, *póo-n* 'p., sleeping platform, copra drying rack, p. of'; PUL *póo* 'raised sleeping p.'; CRL *póo* 'floor'; WOL *póo* 'floor, wooden floor, floor board, veranda'; PUA *paado*, *pado-* 'floor, flooring board'; PCK ? **pawo*; MRS *pəw* 'shelf, upper story (of house), loft'; KIR *(te)-bao* 'house with raised floor, p., dais'. Note that the PUA form is unexpected here, where we would expect **pawo*.

PCMC ***pei** 'stone structure': CHK *(sóp'u-nu)-pi* 'name of a chiefly clan' (lit. 's. s. district'); WOL *peey*, *#peeyi-* 'raised platform made of rocks (for meeting places or houses)'; PCK **peyi*; PON *peey* 'altar, any ancient structure of stones, a pile', *pey-(ni-kid)* 'pile of debris, dump'; MRS *ppéy* 'a platform of rocks, build a pile of rocks'; KIR *(te)-bei* 'a pile of stones on a flat (collected to trap fish)'. Cf. MOK *pey* 'cemetery'; KSR *pot* 'pile of stones, stone wall', *poti* 'build (s.t. with stones)'. Cf. PCK **peyiya* or **payiya* 'a grave'.

PMC ***peka** 'excrement': CHK *páa*, *páá-*; PUL *paa*; CRL *paa*, *páa*; WOL *paage*, *page-*, *pega-*; PUA *paaka*, *paka-*; PCK **peka*; PON *pek* 'defecate'; MOK *pək* 'to defecate', *paka-d* 'to d. on'; MRS *pek* 'semen, sperm', *pek-(tahan)* 'habitually defecate on the ground' (sic, but see *tahan* 'urinate'); KIR *beka* 'defecate', *(te)-beka* 'e.'; POC **bekas* (Ross 1988); PMP **peka* 'separate, disconnect' (Blust 1980:125). Cf. PEO **veka-z* 'defecate, e.' (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *veka*, *veka-ca*; SAA *he'a*, *he'a-si*; BUG *vevega*; ARO *he'a*, *he'a-si*; KWA *fe'a*). Note that KSR *fək*, *foko-(n)* 'feces, dung, f. of' appears to be a loan from MOK or MRS. Note also LAK *(la)-beka-(la)* 'its rear end (of flying fox)'; FIJ *beka* 'kind of bat'; PPN **peka* 'flying fox'.

PCMC ***pekopeko** or ***kopekope** 'cough, to cough': PON *kopokop*; MOK *kopkop*; MRS *pek^wpek^w*; KIR *bekobeko*. Note that KSR *kəf*, *kəfkəf* is an apparent loan from English. Cf. ROT *koho* 'c.'. Cf. also FIJ *vuui*; SAA *hu'u*; KWA *fu'u*. Cf. also PCK **fakafaka*, *fafaka* 'coughing, to cough'.

PCMC ***pe[ln]e-awa** 'a fish': CHK *pene-yaw*, *-yawé-(n)* 'kind of bass f., f. of'; CRL *pele-yaw* 'sp. of edible freshwater f.'; WOL *pale-yawe* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **p[ae][ln]e-yawa*; KIR *(te)-bane-awa* 'a f. (*Chanos chanos*, formerly *Mugil chanos*), cultivated in f. ponds'. Note also KIR *bane-riki* 'a kind of f.'. Cf. PCK **pa-ni-waa* 'a fish' (lit. 'side of canoe').

PCMC ***peni** 'meat of coconut': CHK *(é)-ppún*, *-ppúnú-(n)* soft m. of drinking c., white of an egg, its soft m.'; WOL *peeli*, *peli-* 'white c. m.'; PON *peen* 'drinking c. (honorific)'; MRS *pén* 'grated c.'; KIR *(te)-ben*, *beni-* 'general term for a ripe c.', *beniben* 'abounding in ripe coconuts'. Cf. KSR *el* 'c. oil for poi', *del* 'c. milk'. Cf. also MRT *pénúúnú* 'egg white'.

PMC ***peo** 'brush aside': CHK *pé* 'be parried or warded off', *péé-ni* 'parry (it) with the open hand'; MRT *poo-ne* 'to sweep'; PUL *péé-ni* 'to slap', *péépé* 'to sweep (as with a coconut branch)'; CRL *ppé* and CRN *pé* 'to bounce a ball'; WOL *péé* 'hit (as a ball), strike', *péépé* 'sweep with a broom', *péé-li-i* 'hit it, sweep it'; PCK **péé*, *péépé*; MOK *poo-k* 'to wipe, sweep (s.t.)'; MRS *pəwpəw* 'sweep, brush off', *pəve-k* 'to sweep, brush off (s.t.)'; KSR *po-k* 'clear, sweep (s.t.)'. Cf. PCK **péé*, *péé-n[iu]* 'empty (as a container)'.

PMC ***pepe, pepepe** 'to skip along, flit': CHK *ppép* 's. (as a stone thrown on the water), bounce on the surface (as a fish or landing seaplane)', *peppép* 's. or bounce along', *(á-tere)-pép* 'to s. stones' (*á-tere)-ppepa* 'cause (s.t.) to s. (as a stone)', (*kuru)-ppép* 'to bounce along (as a

motorboat); MRT *pep*, *pép* 'to s. (as a stone on the water)'; KIR *bebe* 'to stagger'; POC **bebe* 'flutter' (PPN **pepe* 'butterfly', ROT *pepe* 'butterfly'; SAA *pepe* 'butterfly, moth'; BUG *pepepe* 'to stammer', *pepe-[riki]* 'be startled, jump when startled'; LAU *bebe* 'moth, butterfly'; ARO *bebe* 'butterfly'; KWA *bebe* 'butterfly, moth'; PKB *bebe* 'flutter'). Cf. KIR *bee-i* 'to skim along (as a plate when thrown)'; FIJ *beebee* 'butterfly'; UAN **ambay* 'flutter, move to and fro'. See also PMC **p^wep^we* 'butterfly'.

PMC **peti* 'trash, rubbish': CHK *pīi*, *pīipi*; MRT *pei* (sic); PUL *peey*, *peyipey*; CRL *peey*, *peipey*; WOL *beesi*, *besi-*; PUA *peedi*, *pedi-*; PCK **peti*; MOK *pej* 'pandanus cud'; MRS *pěj*, *pīi-n* 'discarded pandanus key, placenta', (*jak^w*)-*pěj* 'trash, rubbish', (*k^wé*)-*pějpěj* 'throw away trash'; KIR (*te*)-*beti* 'section of the pandanus fruit from which the pulp has been removed by chewing (i.e., the discarded part)'; KSR *pās* 'trash, garbage'.

PMC **peti*, *pepeti*, *pe(θ)ipeti* 'to float': CHK *pi*, *pīi-pi* or *ppi*, *ppii-* (< **pipii*); PUL *ppey*; CRL *peipey* 'flotsam'; STW *ppey*; WOL *ppepi*; PUA *ppadi*; PCK **peti*, *ppeti*; PON *pey* 'float', *mpey* 'bouyant'; MOK *pey*; MRS *ppēj*; KIR *beti*, *beibeti*; KSR *pās*. Cf. LAK *pai*, *pai-pai*.

PMC **peyata* 'ashes': MRT *peyās* 'a. (of fireplace)'; PUL *peyah*, *peyaha-(n)*, *peyiha-(n)* 'a., a. of'; WOL *peyase* 'a.' (archaic); PCK **peyata*; PON and NGK *pees*; MOK *pəɔj* 'hearth, cooking area'; PNG *pææs*; MRS *pahaj* 'small oven or stove, chief's land for making food', (*wi*)-*pahaj* 'fireplace, a.'; KSR (*a*)-*pet*. See also Marck (1994:325) PMC **peata*.

PMC **pia* 'vagina': PON *pie* 'her v.', *pīipi* 'v.'; MOK *pi*, *pīo*, *pie-(n)* 'v., her v., v. of'; MRS *piyipy* 'v.'; KIR (*te*)-*bia* 'spawn, tumor, wen, gland, knob, excrescence, fish ovaries'; PEO **biRa* (SAM **pia* 'arrowroot starch, smegma'; SAA *pile* 'fish roe'; ARO *bira* 'roe, egg yolk, dregs, starch, sediment'; KWA *bila-[na]* 'roe'). Cf. FIJ *bebe* 'vagina'.

PMC **pia*, *pipia*, *piapia* 'sand, beach': CHK *ppi*, *ppiye-n* 's., s. of', *piyepi* 'low lying sandy islet'; MRT *piya-(n)*; PUL *ppi*, *ppiýá-n*; CRL *ppi*; STW *pīi*, *piya-(n)*; WOL *ppiyē*; PUA *piia*; PCK **pi[ae]*, *ppi[ae]*; MRS *ppéy*, *piyépyéy* 'sandbank'; PEO **bia*, *biabia* (FIJ *biabia* 'sediment'; ARO [*hau*]-*bia* 'white limestone rock, a cliff of crumbly white limestone'; KWA [*fou*]-*bia* 'a growing deposit of limestone in running water'). Cf. PPN **pia* 'arrowroot, starch', **piapia* 'gum, sap, discharge (as from eyes), exudation'. Cf. also PMC **pika* 'sand islet'. Cf. Marck's (1994:316) **pika*.

PWMC **pici* 'loosened, released': CHK *pich* 'untied, unfettered, released, pardoned', (*ni*)-*pich* 'unmarried person'; PUL *pīRi-(ló)* 'be released (as from jail)'; CRL *ppishi-(ló)* 'become unfastened (as a shirt); WOL *ppishi* 'slip out, be disconnected, be strained'; PCK **pici*; PON *pīt* 'to escape'; MOK *pis-(la)* 'get free (from work or confinement)'; MRS *pīd-(téwtéw)*, *ppīd-(téwtéw)* 'loose (of clothing or rope), flabby (of skin), shabby, baggy, sag'. Cf. PNK **pidi* 'to throw (s.t.) away'. Cf. PMC **pici*, *pici-ki* 'snap, vibrate'.

PMC **pici*, *pici-ki* 'snap, vibrate': CHK *pichipich* 'pulse, pulsate, v., vibration', *ppich* 'be snapped, bounced, vibrated, be a stabbing pain, a s., bounce, vibration', (*nike*, *nika*, *niko*)-*ppich* 'bow and arrow, rubber sling and dart'; PUL *ppiR*, *ppiRi-(ló)* 'to s. (as fish spear or rat trap)'; CRL *ppish*, *ppishi-(ló)* 'to s. or break (like a string or rubber band), s. off (as button from a shirt), to s. or pop out of joint, to hurt (of a broken bone), throb (as pain)'; WOL *ppishi* 'slip out, be disconnected, strained'; PCK **pici*, *ppici*; PON *pīt* 'to spring back', *pitipit* 'fast in the ability to perform actions'; MOK *pisi-k* 'to flick (a finger), to strum (a guitar)'; KIR *biri* 'to run'; KSR *pīsr* 'to splinter, rupture, burst, a slingshot or bow and arrow', *pīsrī-k* 'shoot (s.t.) with a slingshot', *pīsr* 'to hiccup, have hiccups'; POC **bidik* (BUG *pidi* 'spring, rebound'; PNK **pidi* 'throw, throw away'); PMP **pi(n)Tik* 'throb, beat' (Blust 1980:128). Cf. MRS *pīr* 'slip down out of position'; KSR *pīr* 'a sequence of quick movements, to beat, jerk, twitch, squirm'. See also PMC **fici*, *fici-ki* 'snap, cut, snap, flick', PWMC **pici* 'loosened, released'.

PMC **pika* 'sand islet': CHK **pīis*, *pisi-n* 'sand islet, s. i. of', *pise-(meew)*, *pisa-(n)*, *pise-(ech)*, *pisi-(niyap)* 'names of islets and reefs in Chuuk'; PUL *piik* 'name of Pikelot Island'; STW *piik* 'name of small sandy islands'; WOL *piige* 'islet', *pige-(elée)* 'name of an islet in Woleai'; PCK **pika*; PON *piik* 'sand', *pikapik* 'sandy'; MOK *pik*, *pika-(n)* 'sand'; MRS *pika-n*, *piki-(n)* 'flat land of, islet of (in many place names)'; KIR (*te*)-*bike* 'white sand, sandy islet without vegetation'; KSR *pak* 'sand'. *pakpak* 'sandy'. Cf. PMC **pia*, *pipia*, *piapia* 'sand, beach'. Cf. Marck's (1994:316) PMC **pika*.

PMC ***piki, pikipiki, piki-ri-** 'clap the hands, slap (s.t.)': CHK *pisipis* 'clap the hands', *pisi-ri* 'slap (it)', *ppis* 'be slapped with the hands'; PUL *piki-ri-y* 'touch (it) hard with the hand'; CRL *pighipigh* 'clap with the hands', *pighi-ri* 'slap (it) with the hands'; WOL *pigipigi* 'to slap, strike, hit, slam', *pigi-ri-i* 'slap it, strike it, hit it, slam it'; PUA *pikipiki* 'ball', *piliki* (showing metathesis) 'slap it, beat it'; PCk ***pikipiki, piki-ri-**; PON *pikipik, piki-r* 'to pat, slap affectionately'; MOK *pikpik* 'to pat, to drum', *piki-r* 'p. or d. (s.t.)'; MRS *piki-r* 'to brush off', *pikpiki-r* 'to shake out (as a mat)'; KSR *pik* 'slap', *piki-l* 'brush (it) off, dust (it) off'. Cf. PMP ***pikpik** 'sound of patting or tapping' (Blust 1983-84:95).

PWMc ? ***piko, piko-si** 'dissarrange': MOK *pukpuk* 'to mess up, disarrange', *puko-d* 'to mess (s.t.) up'; MRS *pék^w* 'entangle, confuse, disorder, trouble, bedlam, messed up, baffled, jumbled, snarled', *pék^w tak* 'be stirred up, messed up, to stir, disturb'. Cf. PON *pij* 'confused, disordered, messy', *pijipij* 'confusion, disorder, mess'; KIR *beo* 'tangled, snarled'; KSR *kupo* 'tangled with', *fəs* 'messy, confused, jumbled, crowded, mixed up, entangled'.

PMC ***pili** 'water': PON *piil* 'w., liquid', *pil-(lap)* 'river', *pili-(tik)* 'stream'; MOK *pil, pilə, pile-(n)* 'fresh w., his f. w., f. w. of', *pil-(lap)* 'river'; PNG *pil* 'w.'; MRS *pil* 'drop of liquid, dribble, trickle'; KSR *pul* 'splashing sound, dive with a splashing sound'. The vowel of the KSR form seems to pose a problem. See also Marck (1994:318) PMC ***pili**.

PMC ***pina, pina-ti-** 'be stopped up, stop (s.t.) up': CHK *pine-(nó)* 'be s. up, plugged up', *pine-e-(y)* 'plug (it) up (of a hole)', *pinepin* 'be s. up, corked, blocked'; MRT *pinapén* 'stopper, s. up', *piná-á-(y)* 'stop it up'; PUL *piná-á-(y)* 'prevent it, stop it', *pinápin* 'bottle cap, stopper (of hole in canoe)'; CRL *pilapil* 'stopper' (Bender et al. 1984), *pine-e-(y)* 'to close, cover up, put a lid on, turn off (of faucet)'; STW *pinápin* 'stopper, s. up', *pine-e-(y)* 'stop it up', *pile-sagh, pile-ságh* 'become blocked or clogged'; WOL *pilepile* 'stopper, bung, cork, plug, be closed, corked, plugged', *pile-si-(i)* 'close it, shut it off', *pile-ta-(a)* 'patch it (a hole), plug it', *pile-tagi* 'be closed, shut'; ULi *pilpil* 'stopper'; PCk ***pinapina, pina-ti-**; PON *pinapin* 'to be patched, blocked, sealed', *pina* 'to patch, block, seal (it)'; MOK *pin, pine* 'cover or stopper, its c. or s.'; MRS *piné-j* 'hide, obstruct, cover, conceal, block'; KSR *pwn* 'to patch, mend', *pini-s* 'to p. or m. (s.t.)'. Cf. WOL *púnnú* 'be plugged up, constipated, s. up'.

PMC ***pini, pinipini** 'twisted, tangled': CHK *ppin, pippin* 'snarled, tangled', *pin-ni* 'twist it (of a limb or muscle)'; MRT *pinipin* 'braided, woven', *pine-e-(y)* 'braid it'; PUL *ppin*; CRL *ppil* 'be tangled', *pili* 'to string (a garland or lei)'; STW *ppin* 'braided, tied, twisted (of hair or leis)'; WOL *ppili* 'make leis by tying flowers together', *pilipili* 'tie, twist, fold', *pili-(i)* 'twist it, fold it'; PUA *pini, pinipini* 'to twist, rotate, turn'; PCk ***pini, ppini, pinipini**; PON *pinipin* 'closely twisted or curled'; KSR *pin* 'to bind, tie (s.t.)'. Cf. PCk ***ffi, fiffi** 'tangled'.

PMC ***pijipiji** 'a tree': MOK *pijpij* 't. species'; MRS *pijpij* 'a t. (*Hernandia nymphaeifolia*)'; KIR *(te)-biqibiq* 'Thespesia t.'; KSR *pijpij* 'kind of t.'. Cf. PEO ***biRibiri** 'Hernandia t.' (Geraghty 1990).

PCMc ***piju, p^wugu** 'come into view, begin to take shape': CHK *púj* 'begin to take form (as breadfruit)'; MRS *b^wij^w* 'appear or come into existence'; KIR *b^wuj* 'appear or come into existence, be born'.

PMC ? ***piri** 'growth or lump under the skin, spongy core of mature coconut': CHK *píir, piri-(n)* 'hard g. or l. under the s., his g.', *piri-(n taka)* 'spore of the ripe coconut when beginning to form'; PUL *pir, piro* (sic) 'g. or l. under the s., coconut sponge beginning to form, to form a l.'; MOK *pir, piri-(n)* 'lymph nodes, l. n. of'; MRS *pér* 'small, sprouted coconut, tumor, swelling, wen'; KSR *pili* 'mumps, have mumps'; PEO ***biri** (Kwa *bili* 'skin eruption all over the body'). Cf. KIR *(te)-bia* 'tumor, wen'; PEO ***puRa** 'elephantiasis' (Geraghty 1990).

PCMc ***p^w[ae]** 'because': CHK *p^we, p^wé, wo, wé*; PUL *p^we*; CRL *b^we*; STW *p^we*; WOL *be*; PUA *p^wa*; PCk ***p^w[ae]**; PON *p^we*; MRS *b^wey*; KIR *b^wa*. Cf. KSR *ke*. Jackson (1986:229 fn. 4) gives PCMc ***p^wa**. Cf. PMC ***p^w[ae]** 'future aspect marker'. Cf. also Fij *mai*.

PMC ***p^w[ae]** 'future aspect marker': CHK *-p^we*; MRT *-p^we*; PUL *-p^we*; CRL *-b^we*; STW *-p^we*; WOL *-be*; PUA *-p^we*; PCk ***-p^we**; KSR *fæ*. Cf. POC ***ba** (Ross 1988). Cf. also PCMc ***p^w[ae]** 'because'. Jackson (1986:229 fn. 4) gives PCMc ***p^wa**.

PMC ***p^waa** 'to say': PON *p^wa*; MOK *p^wa* 's.', *p^wee-ŋ* 's. to, tell (s.o.)'; MRS *b^wah*; KSR *fæ-k* 's., tell, announce', *fwa-k* 'be said'. Cf. Fij *kaya, kwaya* (Geraghty 1983).

PCMc ***p^waca**, ‘loose’: CHK *p^wp^wach*, *p^wachap^wach* ‘l., slack, wrinkled’; PUL *p^waaR*; CRL *p^wp^wash* ‘be old and wrinkled’; WOL ? *b^washe* ‘be crooked (of bow legs)’; PCk **p^waca*; MRS (*b^w*)*b^wadey(dey)* ‘rough (of skin)’; KIR *b^wara* ‘l., untied’.

PCMc ***p^waca**, ‘kind of round basket’: CRL *b^waash*; CRN *b^waaR*; WOL *baashe*, *bashe*; PUA *p^waasa*, *p^wasa*; PCk **p^waca*; KIR (*te*)-*b^wara* ‘a cap-like b. made of coconut leaf’ (but cf. PMc **p^wasau* ‘basket’).

PCMc ***p^wai** ‘object of value’: PON *p^weyp^wey* ‘be bought, be paid, cost money’, *p^way-n* ‘to buy, pay, hire (s.t.)’; KIR (*te*)-*b^wai* ‘thing, object’, *b^wai-na* ‘to make use of, possess (s.t.)’, *b^waib^wai* ‘to have property’; PEO **p^waRi* (BUG *bali* ‘thing by which, thing for the purpose of’). Cf. PMc **mau*, *mau-ni* ‘be traded, acquire in trade’.

PMc ***p^wai**, ***p^wai-ti** ‘pull up, take up’: CHK *p^weep^we*, *p^wee-(wu)*, *p^wee-yi* ‘pull up from the sea, p. u. fishtraps, pull it up’; PUL *p^wee-(wu)*, *p^wee-y*; WOL *beebee*, *bee-ye-(tage)* ‘take up, take it up’, *bee-tag*i ‘be taken up’; PUA *p^wep^we*, *p^we-(yow)*, *p^we-ti* (sic) ‘take up from under ground, fish trap, take it up’; PCk **p^weep^wee*, *p^wee*-, *p^wee-ti*; KSR *fai*, *fai-s* ‘pull or draw out’. Cf. FIJ *yavi*.

PWMC ***p^waip^wai** ‘silly, stupid’: STW *p^wayip^way* ‘be silly, disrespectful’; PON *p^weyp^wey* ‘stupid, silly, idiotic, simple, dumb’; MOK *p^weyp^wey* ‘stupid’; MRS *b^wéy^wéy* ‘crazy, silly, foolish’. This cannot be cognate with PEO **buRa* ‘foolish’ (Geraghty 1990). Cf. ARO *p^wai*-, *p^wei*- ‘pref. of derogation’. Cf. also KIR *baba* ‘foolish’.

PWMC ***p^waku** ‘open (as bud or blossom)’: PUL *p^wak* ‘open a bit (as a bud)’; PON *mp^wek* ‘flower bud’; MRS (*hal*)-*b^wék* ‘flower bud’, (*te*)-*bak*, (*kab*)-*bék* ‘male flower of breadfruit’. Cf. PCk **p^wakú*, *p^wp^wakú* ‘be awake at night’.

PMc ***p^w[ae]la**, ***p^w[ae]la-ni**, ***p^w[ae]la-ŋaki** ‘to split s.t. open’: MRT *p^wele-ŋe* ‘to force (s.t.) open, to rape (s.o.)’; PON *p^wal* ‘be slit, cut open, operated on, divided’, *p^wala-ŋ* ‘to slit (s.t.), cut (s.t. open), etc.’; MOK *p^wal* ‘broken, split, operated on’, *p^wala-ŋ* ‘to break or split (s.t.)’; PNG *p^wela-ŋek* ‘to split a coconut’; MRS *b^wel-(kek)*, *b^wél-(kék)* ‘cracks in skin of soles of feet’, *b^wel-ŋak* ‘be split open, spread legs wide open’; KIR *b^wena-a* ‘divide (s.t.) in two parts, split (s.t.)’; KSR *falfal* ‘to split, saw lengthwise’, *fālā* ‘chasm, cleft, crevasse, canyon’, *fālā-ŋ* ‘to split (s.t.)’.

PCMc ***p^walili** ‘encircling or covering a whole’: CHK *#p^ween*, *p^wenni*-, *-p^wáán* ‘environs, go in a circuit around s.t.’, *p^wenni-i(y)* ‘go all the way around it’; PUL *p^walli-i(y)*; ‘go around it, surround it’; CRL *b^wál* ‘to walk around’, *b^wáli-i(y)*, *b^weli-i(y)* ‘to surround (s.t. or s.o.), to go all the way around (s.t.)’; WOL *baanni*, *banni* ‘inspect, go around’; PUA *p^waanni* ‘inspect, go around inspecting’; PCk **p^walli*; MRS *b^walli-(n)* ‘covering of, clothing of’; KIR (*te*)-*b^wanin* ‘the whole, entire thing’, *b^wanin* ‘be whole or entire’.

PMc ***p^walu** ‘cover, lid’: CHK (*é*)-*p^wp^wén*, *-p^wp^wénu-(n)* ‘c. or l., c. of’; *p^wénu-ú-w* ‘c. it’, *p^wénuúp^wén* ‘c., l., c. with a l.’, (*é*)-*p^wp^wénu* ‘make it covered’; MRT *p^walú* ‘to c. (s.t.)’; PUL (*ya*)-*p^wp^wal*, *-p^wp^wale-(n)* ‘c., l., c. of’; CRL *b^walab^wal* ‘c., l., *b^walú-w* ‘to c. (s.t.)’; CRN *b^walú* ‘to c. (s.t.)’; WOL *balúbelú* ‘covering, to c.’, *balú-ú-(we)* ‘c. it’; PUA *p^wonúúp^wonú* ‘a c., to c.’, *p^wonú* (sic) ‘c. it’; PCk **p^walú*; PON (*ko*)-*mp^wal*, (*ko*)-*mp^wel* ‘c. an earth oven with leaves, (*kodu*)-*p^wal* ‘to c. up’, (*kodu*)-*p^wel* ‘be covered up’; MOK (*ko*)-*mp^wal* and PNG (*ko*)-*mp^wel* ‘c. an earth oven with leaves’; MRS *b^wal* ‘covered over’, (*k^we*)-*b^wal* ‘c. an earth oven with leaves’; PEO **p^walu* (ARO *p^waru*, *b^waru*, *p^waru-si*, *b^waru-si* ‘to shut, cork, put the l. on’, *p^wanu*, *p^wanu-si* ‘to cork, shut, close an opening’, *b^waru* ‘lid’). Cf. KIR *b^wono-ta* ‘to c., shut, close’; ARO *p^wono*, *p^wono-si* ‘to stop up, block, choke, cork’. KSR *kafa*, *kafa-i* ‘cover, put a lid on’ are evident loans from English.

PCMc ***p^walu** ‘taro swamp, dirt as found in t. s.’: CHK *p^wéén*, *p^wénu* ‘taro swamp’; WOL *béélú*, *belú* ‘taro swamp’; PUA *p^waanú* ‘soil’; PCk **p^walú*; PON *p^wed*, *p^weli* ‘taro swamp’; MOK *p^wel* ‘taro swamp’; MRS *b^wél* ‘taro patch’; KIR *b^won-(ro)* ‘dark, rich soil, suitable for the cultivation of *b^wabai*’ (*ro* ‘dark’, *b^wabai* ‘plant ... resembling taro’). Cf. PWMC **p^walu* ‘taro swamp’ (Jackson 1986:229 fn. 4, and Mark 1994:316). Cf. also PCMc **p^welu*, *p^wep^welu* ‘dirt, soil’.

PCMc ***p^waŋa** ‘hole’: CHK *p^waŋ*, *p^waŋa-(n)*, *-p^waŋ* ‘hole or cavity, its h., her vagina’, h. (in counting), *-p^wp^waŋ* ‘empty’; PUL *-p^waŋ* ‘hole (in counting)’; WOL *bbaŋe* ‘crevice, have holes’;

PUA *pʷaŋa*, *pʷaŋa-* 'vagina'; PCK **pʷaŋa*, *pʷpʷaŋa*; KIR (*te*)-*bʷaŋa* 'fish trap', *bʷaŋa* 'hide in a hole'. Cf. FU *maga* 'vagina'. See also Marck (1994:319) PCMc **pʷaŋa*.

PCMc **pʷapʷu* 'toothless shark': MRT *pʷóópʷ*; PUL *pʷóópʷ*, *pʷóópʷ-u(n)* 'kind of s., s. of (Bender et al. 1984); STW *pʷóópʷ* 'sp. of s.'; WOL *paabu* 'a kind of s.'; PCK **pʷapʷu*; MOK *pʷɔpʷ* 'a white s.'; MRS *bʷabʷ*; KIR (*te*)-*bʷabʷu* 'a s. with flat snout' (Bender et al. 1984).

PCMc **pʷara* 'rocky ledge': PON *pʷarapʷar* 'ridge cap'; MRS *bʷar* 'rock'; KIR (*te*)-*bʷaa* 'continuous hard coral rock or ledge'. Cf. WOL *porau* 'beach rock'; KWA *walo* 'reef'.

PCMc **pʷaro* 'curved, bent': CHK *pʷór*, *pʷpʷór* 'c., b.', *pʷóre-e(y)* 'bend it, curve it', (*ó*)-*pʷóra* 'make it c.', (*eyi*)-*pʷóró-pʷór* 'be c., make a curving course'; PUL *pʷpʷór*; CRL *bʷór*, *bʷar*; WOL *baro*, *bbaro*; PUa *pʷalo*; PCK **pʷaro*; KIR *bʷao* 'crooked'. Cf. KSR *fór*, *furo-k* 'twist, spin'.

PMC **pʷaro* 'box, hole': CHK *pʷóór*, *pʷóru(n)*; PUL *pʷóór*, *pʷóro(n)*; CRL *bʷóór*, *bʷóro(l)*; WOL *baaro*, *baro*; PUa *pʷaalo*, *pʷalo*; PCK **pʷaro*; PON *pʷɔr* 'hole, cave'; MOK *pʷɔr* 'hole', *pʷɔpʷɔr* 'full of holes'; KSR *fær* 'cavity, hole, pit', *færfær* 'full of cavities'. Cf. KIR (*te*)-*baro* 'provision box, overflow hole, hollow where water stays'. See also Marck (1994:319) PMC **pʷaro*.

PWMC **pʷasa* 'late': PON *pʷand* 'l., slow'; MRS *bʷbʷat* 'l., too l. for s.t.'. KSR *pæt* 'l., delayed', instead of expected **fæt*, is presumably a loan from MRS.

PMC **pʷasau* 'basket': CHK *pʷótow*, *pʷótowu*; MRT *pʷotaw*; PUL *pótóówo* (sic); CRL *bʷutów*; CRN *bʷutow*; STW *pʷotaaw* (sic); WOL *betau*; PUa *pʷatao* (sic); PCK **pʷadau*; MRS *bʷejaw* 'b. of fine weave; pocket, pouch'; KIR *bʷarai-(too)* 'a small hat' (but cf. PCMc **pʷaca*, 'kind of round basket'); KSR *fɔtɔ*. Note MRS *j* instead of expected *t*, which suggests that it is a loan, but from what source is not clear. Cf. FU *kato* 'basket, box'.

PCMc **pʷata* 'dried out, withered': CHK *pʷas*, *pʷpʷas* 'dry, d. o., light in weight'; PUL *pʷah* 'dry, w.'; CRL *pʷpʷas*, *pʷpʷasa-(ló)* 'be dried up'; WOL *bbase*, *bbate* 'be dry, dead, thin skinny', *pʷatepʷate* 'be thirsty'; PUa *pʷpʷata* 'be dry', *pʷatapʷata* 'be completely dry, w.'; PCK **pʷata*, *pʷpʷata*; KIR *bʷata* 'black, dark colored, sunburnt'.

PMC **pʷau* 'to pound food': CHK *pʷpʷo*, *pʷpʷoo-* 'breadfruit pounder', *pʷpʷoo-ni* 'p. it (breadfruit)'; MRT *pʷpʷo* 'p.'; PUL *pʷo* 'p. (breadfruit)'; CRL *pʷpʷo* 'pestle for pounding, to p. with a pestle', *pʷpʷoo-li* 'to p. (food) with a mortar and pestle'; WOL *bboo* 'to p. (breadfruit), pounding stone', *bboo-li-(i)* 'p. it'; PUa *ppao* (sic); PCK **pʷpʷoo*, *pʷpʷau*; PON *pʷay* 'wooden implement for splitting breadfruit'; KSR *fæfæ* 'kind of poi (mashed food)'.

PCMc **pʷaua* 'a snapper fish': CHK *póów*, *pówu(n)* 'sp. of s., s. of'; CRN *pʷpʷów* 'sp. of s.'; PON *pʷeew* 's. (*Lutjanus semicinctus*)'; KIR (*te*)-*bʷaua* 'a f.'.

PMC **pʷauSu* 'nose': CHK *pʷéet*, *pʷéetú-*; MRT *pʷoot*, *pʷootú-*; PUL *pʷoot*, *pʷootú-*; CRL *bʷoot*, *bʷootú-*; STW *pʷoot*, *pʷootú-*; WOL *booti*; PUa *pʷaútú*; PCK **pʷaútú*; MOK (*sɔ*)-*pʷɔɔd*, *-pʷɔɔdi-*; MRS *bʷawat(iy)*; KIR *bʷairi*; KSR *fwe*; PEO **bʷaRu[sz]u* (Geraghty 1983) and **bʷaRu* (Geraghty 1990) (SAA *qáľusu*). Note YAP *pʷeeth-(ŋuun)* 'his nose'. Cf. POC **isu* 'nose' (PPN **isu*; FU *ucu*; BUG *ihu*; ARO *isuisu* 'nose ornament'; LAK [*ma*]-*isu*; PKB **isu*); UAN **ijuñ*.

PMC **pʷawu* 'fishing pole': CHK *pʷoow*, *pʷowu-*, *pʷóów*, *pʷówu-* 'f. p.', *pʷow* 'to fish with a p.'; MRT *pʷóów*, *pʷówo-*; PUL *pʷówo* (sic); CRL *pʷóów*, *pʷów*; STW *pʷaaw*; WOL *baau*, *bau-*; PUa *pʷauu*, *pʷau-*; PCK **pʷau*; PON *pʷow*; MOK *pʷo*; MRS *bʷay*; KSR *fo*. Cf. YAP *baaw* 'fishing pole', KSR *pʷe(ŋ-i)* 'fish for w. a pole (at night)'.

PMC **pʷax[ae]* 'come to view, reveal': CHK *pʷá*, *pʷáá-* 'c. to v.', *pʷáá-ri* 'show', (*á*)-*pʷá* 'pick or gather breadfruit'; MRT *pʷáá-re* 'announce'; PUL *pʷá*, *pʷáá-*, 'appear', *pʷáá-ri-(y)* 'show'; CRL *bʷá* 'be or become visible, to appear', *pʷpʷá* 'appear suddenly'; WOL *baa*, *bbaa* 'emerge to view, come from behind', (*ga*)-*baa* 'dig it up'; PCK **pʷae*, *pʷae-ri-*; PON *pʷar* 'appear'; MOK *pʷar* 'emerge, come to view'; PNG *pʷar* 'to appear, rise (of sun)'; KSR *fæk* 'say, tell, announce'; PEO **pʷaka*, *pʷanjka* (SAA *qa'a* 'to rise [of heavenly bodies]', *qa'a-[qito]* 'to sprout, spring up [of plants]'; ARO *pʷaa* 'to rise'). See also PCK **pʷaya* 'swarm of fish', PMC **pʷere* 'to sprout, blossom'. Cf. also PMC **pʷera* 'go or come through'.

PMC **pʷece*, *pʷecepʷece* 'white, powdered lime': CHK *pʷech*, *pʷechepʷech* 'be w., be a

light color', *p^weech*, *p^wecha-*, *p^wechē-* 'p. l.'; MRT *p^weshēp^wesh*, *p^weesh*; PUL *p^weR*, *p^weRep^weR*, *p^weeR*; CRL *b^wesh*, *b^weshēb^wesh* 'white, have lime on it', *b^weesh* 'coral lime'; CRN *b^weR*; STW *p^weRep^weR*, *p^weeR*; WOL *beshe*, *bbeshe*, *beshebeshe*, *beeshe*, *beshe-*; PUA *p^wesēp^wese*, *p^weeše*, *p^wese-*; PCK **p^wece*, *p^wecep^wece*; PON *p^wetēp^wet*, *p^wēet*; MOK *p^wəs* 'limestone'; KSR *fāsrfāsrfasr*, *fāsrfasr*. Cf. YAP *weach* 'lime, w.'; PWM **budeq* 'w.' (Blust 1980:56). Cf. Jackson (1986: 229: fn. 4) PMC **p^wace* 'coral lime'. Cf. BUG *pura*. See also Marck's (1994:317) PMC **p[ae]t'e*.

PMC **p^weci* 'hot': CHK *p^wich*, *p^wichi-kkar*, *e-p^wichi* 'h., burning h., heat it'; PUL *p^weR*, *p^weRi-kkar*, *ya-p^weri-(y)*; CRL *b^weshi-kkar*, *a-b^weshi*; CRN *b^weRi-kkar*, *a-b^weRi*; STW *p^weRi-kkar*; WOL *beshi*, *beshi-kkare*, *ga-beshi-i*; PUA *p^wesi*, *p^wesi-kkala*; PCK **p^weci*, *p^weci-kkara*, *ka-p^weci-i*; MOK *p^wesp^wes*; KSR *fāsrfāsrfasr*, *fisra-k*.

PWMC **p^wee* 'knot divination': CHK *p^wee* 'd. by numbers (with knots in four coconut leaves, counting each by fours and using remainder numbers in their permutations)', *p^wee-(y)* 'divine for'; PUL *p^we (sic)*, *p^wee-(ni)*; CRL *b^wee*, *b^wee-(li)*, *b^wee-(y)*; WOL *bee*; PCK **p^wee*; MRS *b^wey* 'left over, result of d.', *b^wéy* 'k. in d.'.

PMU **p^weka* 'kind of bat': CHK (*ninnu*)-*p^we* 'small species of fruitbat'; PON *p^wEEK*; MOK *p^wEEK*; KSR *fak*; PEO **b^weka* 'fruitbat' (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *beka*, *bekwa* 'bat' [Geraghty 1983]; PPN **peka* 'bat').

PMC ? **p^weki* 'carry, take': MRT *p^weke* 'to lift, c. (s.t.)'; PUL *p^wek* 'to c. (on the shoulders or in the hand)', *p^weki-(y)* 'to c. (s.t.)'; CRL *b^weib^wogh*, *b^woob^wogh* 'to bring, t., c.', *b^wugh*, *b^woghi* 'to c., get, t., bring, transport (s.t.)'; CRN *b^wogob^wog* 'to bring, t., c.'; STW *p^wiki* 'to bring (s.t.)'; WOL *begi* 'to t.', *begi-(i)* 'to t. (s.t.)'; PCK **p^weki*; PON *p^wek* 'to lift, adopt (s.t.)'; MOK *p^wək^wək* 'to lift', *p^wək* 'to lift (s.t.)'; MRS *b^wb^wək* 'to t., c.', *bək* 'to t., c., receive, get, capture (s.t.)'; KSR *fak* 'to steal (s.t.)', commit adultery with (s.o.)'. Cf. PUA *p^we*, *p^wēji* 'to t. (s.t.) up from underground'. Cf. also SAA *qá'i* 'to lever, prize'.

PCMC **p^welu* 'break': STW *p^wel*, *p^welúp^wel* 'to break'; WOL *belibel* 'snap off, break off', *beli-ŋi-(i)* 'snap it off, break it off', *beli-ŋegi* 'be snapped off, broken off'; MOK *ki-p^wele-k* 'bend s.t. with a movement of the wrist, twist s.t. off, break s.t. with a snap', *ki-p^wel* 'bend (s.t.) with a movement of the wrist, twist (s.t.) off, break (s.t.) with a snap'; PEO **p^welu* 'bend' (Geraghty 1983:123). Cf. MRS *b^wilak^w* 'b., crease, fracture (s.t.)'; KIR *b^wenab^wena* 'to split'; PCK **p^wúllú*, *p^wp^wúllú* 'break'. See also KSR *fok* 'break, smash (of brittle objects)', *fokfok* 'broken, smashed', *fuku-l* 'break or smash (s.t.)'.

PCMC **p^welu*, **p^wep^welu* 'dirt, soil': CHK *p^wp^wún*, *p^wp^wúnú-* 'soil'; PUL *p^wp^wél*, *p^wp^wéli-* 'soil'; CRL *p^wp^wel*, *p^wp^wélú-*, *p^wp^wél*, *p^wp^wélú-* 'dirt, soil, be dirty, soiled'; WOL *bbelú* 'soil'; PCK **p^welú*, *p^wp^welú*; PON *p^weli-p^wel* 'dirty'; MRS *b^wil-(téwénwén)* 'filthy, dirty' (*itéwén* 'dirty, corrupt, nasty, obscene, vulgar, gross'); KIR *te-b^won*, *b^woni-* 'black soil, loam which has been sifted'. Cf. PMC **p^welu* 'dirt, soil, dirty' (Jackson 1986:229, fn. 4, and Marck 1994:316); WOL *boole*, *bola-(li)* 'center (of an island), c. of'; KSR *folfol* 'blue, indigo, dark blue'. Cf. also PEO **[bp]wela* 'mud' (Geraghty 1983) (PPN **pela* 'dirty, decayed'; ARO *b^wera* 'a swamp', *b^werab^wera* 'be in flood') and PCMC **p^walu* 'taro swamp, dirt as found in t. s.'.

PMC ? **p^wenu* 'cause, beginning, basis': CHK *p^wún*, *p^wúnú-(tá)* 'be begun, originated', *p^wúnú-(n)* 'c. of, reason for, because', *p^wúnú-ú-(w)* 'begin it'; CRL *b^wel* 'begin', *b^welú-(w)* 'to start (s.t.)', *b^wele-(táá-)* 'b. (of s.t.)'; CRN *b^wene-(táá-)* 'b. (of s.t.)'; WOL *béélú*, *belú-* 'c., reason', *beli-ú-(we)* 'originate it, begin it', *bon-ne* 'because'; PCK **p^wenú*; KSR *fona-*, *fona-* 'buttocks, hip, (? bottom)'. Cf. MRS *win*, *wini-(n)* 'base, basis, root, c., reason'; Fij *vuu-(na)*; PKB **vuhu*, *vuu* 'trunk, basis, reason, c.'; UAN **puqun*. Cf. PMC ? **p^wuku* 'base, tail'.

PCMC ? **p^wep^we* 'butterfly': MRS *b^wab^wb^wib^w*; KIR *(te)-b^web^we*. Cf. POC **bebe* (SAM *pepe* 'b.'; Fij *beebee* 'b.', SAA *pepe* 'b., moth'; LAU *bebe* 'b., moth'; KWA *bebe* 'b., moth'; PKB **bebe* 'flutter'). The KIR form may be a loan from SAM, and the MRS a loan from KIR. If so, this would be the same root as in PMC **pepe*, *pepepe* 'to skip along, flit'.

PMC **p^wera* 'go or come through, pass': CHK *p^wer*, *p^were-* 'come, go'; CRL *b^wár*, *b^wer* 'to go all the way through, pierce s.t. through'; WOL *bberē* 'get s.t. through a hole'; PCK **p^wer[ae]*; PON *p^war* 'appear, p. in a race'; MOK *p^war* 'to be through, penetrated, emerge or come to view'; MRS

b^weyrah-(dik) 'begin going'; KSR *fær* 'p., go, come' (a loan?). Cf. KSR *fæsr* 'p., go, come'; KIR *baaki* 'gone ashore (as a boat on the beach)'. Cf. also PMc **p^wawu* 'fishing pole', PMc **p^wax[ae]* 'come to view'.

PMc **p^were* 'to sprout, blossom': CRL *p^wár*; *p^wer* 'to emerge, s.'; PON *p^wer* 'appear, b. (of fruit and flowers)'; KIR *b^web^we* (sic) 'sprouting, budding'; KSR *fili* 'arrive'. Cf. Mrs *b^wel*, *b^wel* 'bloom'. Cf. also PMc **p^wawu* 'fishing pole', PCk **p^wuku* or **p^wúku* 'sprout' (of a seed?).

PMc **p^wexe*, *p^wep^wexe* 'twins': CHK (*ni*)-*p^wp^we*, (*ni*)-*p^wp^wee*- 'twin (of siblings)'; MRT (*li*)-*p^wp^we*; CRL (*li*)-*p^wp^wey* 't. of the same sex' (*li*)-*p^wp^weya-(alú)* 't. of opposite sex'; CRN (*li*)-*p^weya-(anú)* 't. of opposite sex'; WOL (*li*)-*bbeye*; PCk *(*li*)-*p^wp^weye*; PON *mp^wer*; Mok *um^wp^wor*; Mrs *b^wew* (eastern dialect); KIR *b^web^wee*; KSR *fak*. Cf. PUA (*ni*)-*p^wu* 'twins'. Cf. also the reconstruction **p^wexa* by Jackson (1983:384; 1986:229 fn. 4).

PMc **p^wili* 'to slip off, put aside': CHK *p^win*, *p^winip^win*, *p^wini-ti* 'slipped on or off (of clothing), thing taken off and given to s.o. one meets on a path, s. it on or off'; PUL *p^wil*; CRL *b^wili-ti*, *b^wúli-tú*, *b^wúli-ti*; WOL *bilibili*, *bili-ti*; PCk **p^wili*, *p^wilip^wili*, *p^wili-di*; PON *p^wil* 'to put down or p. a. (as one's beliefs); KSR *fil*, *fili* 'place or p. a. or away'.

PMc **p^wili*, *p^wilip^wili*, *p^wili-ta* 'sap, gum, resin, gummy': MRT *p^wde-s* 's.', (*a*)-*p^wili-sa* 'get s.'; PUL *p^wil* 'bring down toddy from a tree'; WOL *bili-se* 'gum, s., glue, be glued', *bili-sa-(a)* 'glue it'; PUA *p^wunú*, *p^wunú*- 'g., s., glue', *p^wunúp^wunú* 'be sticky'; PCk **p^wili*, *p^wili-ta*; PON *p^wil*, *p^wili*- 'g.'; Mok *p^wil*, *p^wili*- 'g., s.'; Mrs *b^wil* 's.', *b^wilb^wil* 'gummy, r.'; KSR *ful* 'breadfruit, s., g.'. Cf. POC **bulut* (Fij *bulubulu-ti* 'be sticky'; PPN **pulu* 'g., r.'; SAA *pulu* 'pitch, r.'; ARO *buru* 'g. of *buru* (*Pari-narium*) tree used to caulk canoes, to stick'; LAK *bulu* 'juice, s.'; UAN **pulut* 'glue, paste'.

PMc **p^w[iu]Sowa* 'sweat': PON *p^wudo*, *p^wudaw*, *p^wudowe* 's., perspiration, his s.', *p^wudowado* 'sweaty'; Mok *p^wudo* 'to s.' *p^wudoo-n* 'his s., s. of', *p^wudoo-di* 'to have sweated'; KSR *fiy* 's., perspiration, to perspire'.

PWMC **p^witi* 'group': CHK *p^wii*-, *p^wiip^wi* 'g., sibling of same sex, be siblings of s. s.'; MRT *p^wii*, *p^wiip^wi*; PUL *p^wi*-, *p^wiip^wiy* (sic); CRL *b^wii*, *b^wiib^wi*; STW *p^wii*, *p^wiip^wi*; WOL *bisi*-, *bisibisi*; PUA *p^wuidi*, *p^widi*- 'sibling of same sex, befriend'; PCk **p^wiiti*, *p^wp^witi*-, *p^witipwiti*; PON *p^wii-(n)* 'g., team'; Mrs *b^wiji-(n)* 'flock or crowd of'. Cf. KIR *-b^wii* 'unit of ten in counting'.

PMc **p^woca* 'turtle shell': CHK *p^wooch*, *p^wocha-(n)* 'armor plating of a turtle's s. or crocodile's back, its a. p.'; MRT *p^woosh*, *p^wosha-(n)*; PUL *p^wooR*, *p^woRe-(y)*; CRL *b^woosh*; CRN *b^wooR*; STW *p^wooR*; WOL *booshe*, *bosha-(li)*; PUA *p^woosa*, *p^wosa*-; PCk **p^woca*; PON *p^weeet*; Mrs *b^wed*; KIR (*te*)-*b^wora*; KSR *fisre*- 'piece of t. s.'.

PMc ? **p^woi*, *p^woa* 'odor, smell': CHK *p^woo*-; MRT *p^wéW*, *p^wéwú-(n)*, *p^wowu-(n)*; PUL *p^wo*, *p^wowú-(n)*; CRL *b^woo*-; STW *p^woo*-; WOL *boo*, *boo*-; PUA *p^woo*; SNS *b^wou*; PCk ? **p^woo*, *p^wowe*-; PON *p^woo*, *p^wowe* 's., o., aroma, its s.'; Mok *p^wo*, *p^wow* 's., its s.'; Mrs *b^wiyi*-, *b^wi*-; KIR (*te*)-*b^woi* 'scent, o., s.', *b^woi* 'to s., have o.'; KSR *fo* 'to s., have o.', *fóló-(l)*, *fóli-(n)* 'its s., s. of'; POC ? **bo-i*, *bo-a* 'to s., have o., a s. or o.' (PPN **poa* 'fish o.'; Fij *boi*, *boi-ca* 's., have o., s. of', *bona* 'stink because rotten'). Cf. UAN **bahu*; PAN **baSu*. There are problems here, especially the KSR *l*.

PMc **p^wono*, *p^wono-ti*, *p^wono-ta* 'be shut, blocked, to shut, block, close': CHK *p^won* 'be enough'; MRT *p^won* 'filled up'; PUL *p^wono-(ló)* 'be crowded, packed, filled'; CRL: *b^wol* and CRN *b^won* 'have s.t. in the eye'; STW *p^won* 'be crowded, have no more room'; WOL *bone* 'be thick, bushy'; PCk **p^won[ao]*; PON *pon* 'stuffed up, clogged'; Mok *pon* 'blocked'; Mrs *b^weq^w* 'b., clogged, obstructed, constipated, stymied'; KIR *b^wono* 's., closed, stopped, obstructed', *b^wono-ta* 'to cover, s., c. (s.t.)', (*te*)-*b^wono* 'sea wall'; KSR *fónfón* 'jammed, b.', *fóno-s* 'to block, blockade, jam, check, obstruct, stop (s.t.) with a cork'; PEO **pono-t* (Geraghty 1990) (Fij *bono*, *bono-ta* 'to b., dam up'; PPN *pono* 'c., b. up'; SAA *pono* 'to c., mend', *pono-si* 'to stuff up'; BUG *pono* 'be closed up, stuffed up'; LAU *bono* 'to c. a hole'; ARO *bono*, *bono-si* 'to c., stuff up, dam'; ARO *p^wono*, *p^wono-si* 'to stop, b., choke', *bono*, *bono-si* 'to c., stuff up'; KWA *bono* 'closed, s., constipated', *bono-ta* 'stopper, plug', *bono-si-[a]* 'to block'); UAN **pened*. Note that the PON and MOK initial stops are not the expected reflexes. See PMc **p^won[ao]* 'whole, complete'. Cf. PMc **p^walu* 'cover, lid'.

PMC ***p^won[ao]** ‘whole, complete’: WOL *bone* ‘mature’; PON *p^won* ‘w., entire’, *p^wonop^won* ‘round, circular, a circle’; Mok *p^won* ‘w. (quantity)’; KSR *fən* ‘w., c., entire’; PEO **bono* (ARO *bono* ‘to spread over (as grass or weeds)’). Cf. CRL *b^wéll* and CRN *b^wonn* ‘be completely planted (of a field)’; KIR *b^won* ‘really, truly, indeed’. See also PMC **p^wono*, *p^wono-ti*, *p^wono-ta* ‘be shut, blocked, to shut, block, close’.

PMC ***p^wono** ‘promise’: CHK *p^won*, *p^wp^wone-(n)* ‘a p., agreement, vow, pledge, oath, p. of (s.t.), to p., make a contract, take an oath’, *p^wp^wono-(f)en* ‘make an agreement, contract, or covenant’; MRT *p^won* ‘agree, p.’; PUL *p^won* ‘to p., agree’; STW *p^won* ‘agree, p.’; PCK **p^wp^wono*; PEO **bono* (PPN **pono* ‘truth, correctness’). Cf. SAA *qonji* and ULA *poji* ‘to p.’; LAU (*dau*) *boji* ‘take hold of’ (*dau* ‘take, hold’).

PMC ***p^wonji** ‘night’: CHK *p^win*, *p^wini*; MRT *p^wonj*, *p^wonj-ú*; PUL *p^wonj*, *p^wonj-i*; CRL *b^wonj*, *b^wonj-i*; STW *p^wonj*, *p^wonj-i*; WOL *boonji*, *boonji-i*; PUA *p^wonji*, *p^wonji-i*; PCK **p^wonji*; PON *p^wonj*; Mok and PNG *p^wonj*; MRS *b^wéj*; KIR (*te*-*boj*, *b^wonj-i*; KSR *fonj*; POC **boji* (Fij *bogi*; ROT *pogi*; BUG *boji*; SAA *poji* and ULA *qonji* ‘time, season’); UAN **benji*; PAN **beRnjin* (Blust 1980:51). Note CHK *pon-(nóon)* ‘day before yesterday’. See also Marck (1994:308) PMC **p^wonji*.

PCMc ***p^woto** ‘swelling’: CHK *p^woo*, *p^woo-* ‘swelling of any kind’, *p^wo*, *p^woop^wo* ‘be swollen, be pregnant’; MRT *p^woo*; PUL *p^wo*, *p^woop^wo*; CRL *b^woo*, *b^wo*, *b^woob^wo*; STW *p^woo*; WOL *boo*, *booboo*; PUA *p^woo*; PCK **p^woo*, *p^woop^woo*; PON *mp^wos* ‘boil, swelling’, *mp^wosa-(da)* ‘to swell up, rise (as bread)’; Mok *ump^wos* ‘sickness, chicken pox’; MRS *b^wb^wej* ‘swollen, swell, lump’; KIR (*te*-*b^woto* ‘a bulbous root’, *b^woto* ‘having a bulb’). Cf. MRS *b^wéj*, *b^wéji-* ‘swollen corpse’; KSR *fui* ‘bud, swelling’; PEO **boo* ‘boil, swelling’ (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *boo* ‘a boil’; ARO *p^woop^woo* ‘elephantiasis’).

PMC ***p^wuasa** ‘slingshot’: Mok *p^wuad*; MRS *b^wiwat*; KSR *fāt* ‘s.’, *#fati* ‘shoot (s.t.) with a s.’. The Mok and KSR forms could be loans from MRS.

PCMc ***p^wuce** ‘foolish, stupid, crazy’: CHK *p^wuch*, *p^wuchop^wuch* ‘c.’, *p^wuché-(ér)* ‘cry out in distress’; PUL *p^wuR* ‘c.’, *p^wup^wp^wuRé-(ér)* ‘scream’; CRL *b^wush* ‘naive, ignorant, foolish, senile’; CRN *b^wuR* ‘naive, ignorant, foolish, senile’; WOL *busho* ‘c., stupid’; PUA *p^wuuse*, *p^wuse-* ‘a fool’; PCK **p^wuce*; PON *p^wut* ‘joyous, lusty’; MRS *b^wéd* ‘mistake, error, wrong’; KIR *b^wure* ‘to err, blunder, do wrong’. Cf. PEO *buRe* ‘f.’ (Geraghty 1990).

PMC ***p^wuk[ao]** ‘knot, node’: CHK *p^wukop^wuk* ‘a k., be knotted, tie in knots’, *p^wp^wuk*, *p^wuke-(n)* ‘a k., k. of’ *p^wukop^wuk* ‘be knotted’, *p^wuke-e-(y)* ‘tie it’; MRT *p^wuuk*, *p^wukop^wuk*, *p^wuke-(y)*; PUL *p^wukop^wuk* ‘k. (as in a tree)’, *p^wuko-(y)* ‘k. it’; CRL *b^wughe-e-(y)* ‘tie (it) in a k.’, *b^wughob^wugh* ‘a k., tie knots’; CRN *b^wuge-(y)* ‘k. it’; STW *puk^wop^wuk*, *p^wuko-(y)*; WOL *bugobugo* ‘a knot, tie, bind, fasten’, *bugo-si-(i)* ‘tie it, connect it’, *bugo-tagi* ‘be tied, fastened’; PUA *p^wuko-p^wuko* ‘knots, tie knots, bind’, *p^wuko-di* ‘tie it together, k. it’; PCK **p^wuk[ao]*, *p^wuk[ao]p^wuk[ao]*, *p^wuk[ao]-ti*; PON *p^wukop^wuk* ‘a k., tie knots’, *p^wuke-(n)* ‘k. of’, *p^wuke* ‘to tie (s.t.)’; Mok *p^wuk* ‘k. made to be temporary’; KSR *foko* ‘k., n.’, *fuko-e* ‘tie (it) in a knot’; POC ? *buk-a* ‘thing tied’. Cf. Fij *buki*, *buki-a* ‘tie, fasten’, *buku*, *buku-ya* ‘tie a k.’; BUG (*vari*)-*puku* ‘a k., to tie together’. Cf. MRS *b^wiwl^wiwl^w* ‘tie a know; divination using knots’, *biwij-iy* ‘tie s.t.’ Cf. also PMC ? **p^wuku*, *p^wukua* ‘node, joint, knot, knee’ and PON *p^wukel*, *p^wukele* ‘k., joint, n., its k.’

PWMC ***p^wukari** ‘sedg’: CHK *p^wuker*, *p^wukeri-(n)* ‘a s. (*Fimbristylis polymorpha* and *F. cymosa*), a plant (*Chrysopogon aciculatus*)’; PUL *pukár* (sic) ‘*Fimbristylis* s.’; CRL *b^wugher*, *b^wughár* ‘*F. cymosa*’, *b^wughári-(ngas)* ‘*F. atollensis*’; CRN *b^wuger* ‘*F. cymosa*’; WOL *bugori* ‘grasses of several types’, *bugori-(ngase)* ‘a swamp plant with good smell’; PCK **p^wukari*; MRS *b^wikér* ‘a plant (*Cyperus ferax*)’.

PMC ***-p^wukiwa** or ***-p^wukua** ‘hundred’: CHK (*i*)-*p^wúkú*, *-p^wúkúú*; MRT *-p^wúkú*; PUL (*ye*)-*p^wúkúúw*; CRL *-b^wúghúw*; CRN *b^wúgú*; STW *-p^wúkúúw*; WOL (*se*)-*p^wúgúúwe*; ULI *-buguy*; PCK **-p^wúkúá*; PON (*e*)-*p^wiki*; Mok (*e*)-*p^wiki*; MRS (*ji*)-*b^wik^wiy*; KIR (*te*)-*b^wub^wua*; KSR *-fok*, *-foko*. Cf. PMC ? **p^wukua*, *p^wukua* ‘node, joint, knot, knee’.

PMC ? ***p^wuku** ‘base, tail’: KIR (*te*)-*b^wuki* ‘b., butt-end, buttocks, t., reason, cause, motive’; PEO **buku*, *puku* (Fij *buku* ‘t.’; LAK *vuu* ‘b., reason, cause’). Cf. UAN **puŋku[rR]*. Cf. YAP *buuk* ‘t.’; PKB **vuhu** ‘base, cause’; PMP **puqun*. Cf. also PMC ? **p^wenu* ‘cause, beginning, basis’, PMC **iku* ‘tail’.

PMC ? ***p^wuku, p^wukua** 'node, joint, knot, knee': CHK *p^wúkú, p^wúkúwa, p^wúkúwe* 'n., j., k., knee'; MRT *p^wúkú, p^wúkúwa*; PUL *p^wúkúw* 'knee' (Bender et al. 1984); CRL *b^wughúwa* 'n., protruding j., protuberance'; CRN *b^wugúya* 'n., protruding j., protuberance'; WOL *búgúwe* 'outside curved projection, knee'; PUA *p^wukúá*; PCK **p^wukúá*; PON *p^wukúe* 'his knee'; MOK *p^wiki* 'knee'; MRS *b^wik^wéy, b^wik^wiyey* 'knee'; KIR (*te*)-*b^wub^wua* 'knee or elbow j.'; KSR *fukú(n)* 'j. of'; POC **buku, bukua* (Fij *buku* 'anything knotted and humped'; BUG *puku* 'swelling, lump, k., tumor', [*vari*]-*puku* 'a k., to tie together'; LAK *bukua* 'swollen, protruding'); PMP **buku* 'knee' or **bu(ŋ)kuq* 'bend, bent' (Blust 1980:130). Cf. PMC **p^wuk[ao]* 'knot, node', PMC **p^wukiwa* or **p^wukua* 'hundred'.

PMC ***p^wula, p^wup^wula** 'to flame, flare': CHK *p^wp^wun, p^wp^wuna(n)* 'blaze, flash, flame, its b.'; MRT *p^wp^wol* 'flame', *p^wp^wolá-(tá)* 'flame up'; PUL *p^wúl* (sic) 'burn' (Bender et al. 1984: *p^wp^wul* 'burn, flame up'); CRL *p^wp^wul* 'to burn, be burning', *b^wup^wp^wul* 'to be burning, in flames'; STW *p^wp^wun* 'be alight'; WOL *bbule* 'burn, light up', *bulobulo* 'shiny, flaming', *bbubule* 'flame, light'; PUA *puna* (sic) 'glow, flame, blinking of lights'; PCK **p^wula, p^wp^wula*; PON *mp^wul* 'flame'; MOK *ump^wul* 'flaming'; MRS *b^wil* 'burn, hot, fever'; KSR *fol* 'hot, heated, sweaty'; PEO **bula* (PPN **puLa* 'shine, glow'; ROT *pula* 'be alight, burn'). Cf. YAP (*gu*)-*bul* 'to flare up'. Cf. also BUG *beubethu* 'to blaze, burn, a flame'.

PWMc ***p^wulaka**, 'a fish': CHK *p^wuna* 'kind of unicorn f.'; PUL *p^wula* 'a common reef f.'; CRN *bula* 'kind of surgeon f.'; WOL *bulaga-(aleye)* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **p^wulaka*; PON *pwulak* 'unicorn fish (*Naso unicornis*)'; MRS *b^wilak* 'unicorn f.'. MRS heavy *l* expected. Cf. KWA *bula* 'Pacific sea perch'.

PMC ***p^wulaka**, 'Cyrtosperma taro': CHK *p^wuna, p^wunaa*; MRT *p^wulá*; PUL *p^wula*; CRL *b^wula*; STW *p^wula*; WOL *bulage*; PUA *p^wunaka*; PCK **p^wulaka*; PEO **bulaka* (SAM *pula* 'a'). Cf. MRS *qiwbilken* 'a variety of inedible t.'. Cf. also LAK *ula* 'Cyrtosperma t.' and PEO **buRaka* (Geraghty 1990).

PMC ***p^wuli** 'shell': CHK *p^wiin, p^wini* 'cowrie s.'; MRT *p^wuil*; PUL *p^wuil* 'cowrie s. scraper'; CRL *b^wil* 'cowrie s.'; STW *p^wiin*; WOL (*u*)-*bili*; PUA *piini, pini* (sic) 'shellfish, mussel'; PCK **p^wili*; PON *p^wili* (sic) 'cowrie s.'; MRS *lib^w-(b^wik^wey)* 'any cowrie s., any s.' (showing metathesis); KIR (*te*)-*b^wun* 'a bivalvular shellfish'; KSR *ful, fuli-n* 'shellfish, s. of'; PEO **buli* (Fij *buli*; SAA *puli* 'cowrie s.'; ARO *buri* 'cowrie'); PMP **buliq* (Blust 1980:56). MOK and PNG *p^wun* 's.' are apparent loans from KIR. Cf. YAP *wul* 'large cowrie'.

PMC ***p^wuli, p^wulip^wuli, p^wulita** 'gum, sap, resin, gummy': see PMC **p^wili, p^wilip^wili, p^wilita*.

PWMc ? ***p^wulo, p^wul[ou]lo** 'heart': PUL *p^wull*; CRL *b^wúll, b^wúllé-(l)* 'h., his h.'; WOL *burne, burne-(i)* 'h., keel section of a canoe, my h.'; PCK **p^wull[ao]*; MRS *b^wéŋ^w* 'h. of tree, root of matter, core, pith'.

PCMc ***p^wuŋ[iu]** 'descend, get lower': WOL *bújú, buju-(tiwe)* 'bend down, g. l., l. one's body', *bújú-(matto)* 'to sit down'; PUA *p^wújú-(tio)* 'to sit down'; PCK **p^wújú*; PON *koro-p^wuŋ* 'small waterfall'; MRS *b^wiŋ^w* 'fall down', *biŋ^wi-(t)* 'fall down on s.o. or s.t.'; KIR *b^wuŋ* 'going down, descending', *b^wuŋib^wuŋ* 'be long (of hair), flooding (after miscarriage), 'to set (of the sun)'. See also PCK **púŋ* 'to fall'. See also Marck (1994:319) PCMc **p^wuŋu*.

PMC ***p^wuŋu** 'handle': CRL *b^wúŋ, b^wuŋ, b^wúŋu-l* 'h., its h.'; STW *p^wuŋu*; PUA *p^wuŋú, p^wuŋú*; PCK **p^wuŋu*; MRS *b^wiŋ^w* 'spear h.'; KSR *fuŋ*.

PMC ***p^wup^wu** 'trigger fish, constellation Southern Cross': CHK *p^wuup^w, p^wup^wu* 't. f., S. C.', (*táá-nu*)-*p^w* 'rising of the S. C.'; MRT *p^wuup^w*; PUL *p^wup^w* (sic); CRL *b^wuub^w*; STW *p^wuup^w*; WOL *bubu, #bubu*; PCK **p^wup^wu, -p^wu*; PON *p^wuup^w* 'trigger fish'; MOK *p^wup^w*; MRS *b^wilb^w* 't. f.', *b^wilb^w, b^wilb^wi* 'S. C.'; KIR (*te*)-*b^wub^wu*; KSR *ff* 'a kind of f.'; PEO **mpumpu* (SAA *pupu* 'S. C.'; ARO *bubu* sp. of *Baliates* f.; KWA *bubu* 'reef t. f.'). Note that the constellation is named for the fish.

PMC ***p^wuro** 'collide, fall': CHK *p^wur* 'be bumped, stubbed, trip', *p^wuro-(ffeyen)* 'be bumped together, be in collision'; PUL *p^wuro-ti-(y)* 'to hit, c. with, bump against'; CRL *b^wur* 'to f. forward on one's face'; WOL *buro* 'be off one's feet, f., tumble down'; PCK **p^wuro*; PON *p^wuur* 'to descend into, f. into, step into (as a hole)'; KSR ? *fal* 'slip, drop, slide'. Cf. PCMc **p^wuŋ[iu]* 'descend, get lower'.

PCMc ***p^wurua** 'insides': PON *p^wuri, p^wuriye* 'stomach (of certain fish like tuna), core (as of

breadfruit), hemorrhoid, its s.'; MOK *p^wiri*, *p^wurro*, *p^wiriri(-n)*, *p^wurre(-n)*, *p^wiriri(-n)* 'fish stomach, breadfruit core, its s., s. of'; MRS *b^wéréw*, *b^wiriwe-* 'seat of the emotions, throat, heart, gills', *b^wiriy* 'uvula, esophagus'; KIR (*te*)-*b^wuua* 'rumen, sack, pocket, bag, throat, mouth' (Sabatier 1971). Cf. KIR (*te*)-*buroo* 'the heart' (a MRS loan?).

PMC ***p^wusa**, **p^wusa-ka** 'bad, improper': CHK -*p^wut* 'disliked, b.', (*o*)-*p^wut*, (*o*)-*p^wuta* 'to dislike', (*chóó*)-*p^wut* 'woman', *p^wuta-k* 'b., i., unsuitable'; PUL -*p^wut*, (*yó*)-*p^wut*, (*Róó*)-*p^wut*; CRL (*a*)-*p^wuta*, (*ó*)-*b^wuta* 'to dislike or hate (s.o.)', (*shóó*)-*b^wut* 'woman, female'; CRN (*Róó*)-*b^wut* 'woman, female', *b^wuuta-g* 'b., i., rude, ugly'; WOL -*buto*, (*paa*)-*bute* 'be unfortunate, in b. condition', (*shóó*)-*buto* 'woman'; PCK **p^wuda*, **p^wudaka*; MRS *b^wét*, *b^witey* 'disobedient, naughty, disobey s.o.'; KIR *b^wua-ka* 'wage war, be tempestuous, stormy', (*te*)-*b^wua-ka* 'war', *b^wua-kaka* 'b., objectionable' (with loss of *s before *k?); KSR *fás* 'messy, confused, entangled'. Cf. FIJ *vuca* 'rotten'.

PMC ***p^w[uS]** 'foam': PON *p^wudop^wud* 'f., scum'; KIR *b^wuro* 'to boil', *b^wurob^wuro* 'frothy, foamy, boiling', (*te*)-*b^wurob^wuro* 'f., froth, bubbles'; PEO **buso*, *fuso* (FIJ *viso* 'to effervesce, froth'; SAA *hutuhuto* 'froth, foam'; ARO *huto*, *hutuhuto* 'froth, foam'). Cf. MRS *b^wil^wi^wil^wi^w* 'to boil (of water only)'. Cf. PCK **p^wuro*, *p^wurop^wuro* 'bubble, foam'. Marck (1994:315) includes the forms in PCK **p^wuro*, *p^wurop^wuro* 'bubble, foam' with these forms in his PMC **p^wusop^wuso* 'foam, froth'.

PCMC ***p^wuta[e]** 'feces': CHK *p^wise*, *p^wisee-*; PUL *p^wihe*; CRL *b^wuse*; CRN *b^wuhe*; PCK **p^wutai*; PON *p^wise* 'feces'; KIR (*te*)-*b^wutae*. Cf. MRS *dey* 'defecate from trees (of birds)'; PEO **taqe-* (Geraghty 1983); POC **taqe* (Ross 1988) (PPN **taqe*; PKB **tahe*; FIJ *dee-[na]*, *daa* [*<dae*]; SAA **ae*; BUG *tae*; KWA *ae*); UAN **taqi*.

PMC ***p^wuto** 'navel': CHK *p^wuul*, *p^wuwa(-n)* 'n., his/her n.'; MRT *p^wuwa(-n)*; WOL *p^wuuse*, *p^wusa(-l)*; PUA *p^wuuta*, *p^wuta-* 'navel', *p^wp^wua* 'waist, center'; PCK **p^wut[eo]*; PON *p^wuus*, *p^wuse*; MRS *b^wije-*; KIR (*te*)-*b^wuto*, *b^wuto(-na)*; KSR *fál*, *fite(-l)*. Note also PUL *p^wuuk* 'n.'; CRL *b^wuugh*; CRN *b^wuug*. Cf. PPN **pito*; SAM *pute*; FIJ *vicovico*; BUG *sope*; SAA *poo*; KWA *boo*, *bou(-na)*; PNK **buso*; UAN **pusej*.

PMC ***p^wutu** 'step, tread, apply one's foot': CHK *p^wu* 'place one's foot', *p^wuup^wu* 's., t., to place one's foot on s.t., treadle, pedal', *p^wuut-ri* 's. on, t. on'; PUL *puut-ri(-y)* (sic) 'to stamp or t. on'; CRL *b^wu*, *b^wuub^wu* 'to s., stand on', *b^wuub^wu* 'to s. on s.t., be standing on s.t.', *b^wuut-ri* 'to s., stomp, t. on (s.t.)', *b^wuut-rágh*, *b^wuut-regh* 'to stomp the feet (as when throwing a tantrum)'; PCK **p^wu[tø]*, *p^wu[tø]u-ri-*; MRS *b^wijb^wij* 'kick, a dance', *b^wij(-jik)* 'to kick, be kicking', (*je*)-*b^wij* 'spur, cut with spurs, kick'; KIR (*te*)-*b^wutu* 'a small weapon with a single shark's tooth used by women'; KSR *fufut* 'kick', *futu-g* 'kick, stomp (s.t.)'; PEO **butu* (FIJ *butu*, *butu-ka* 'stamp or t. on'; SAA *puu* 'to t., stamp, stand firm', *puu-li* 'strike with the talons [of birds]'; BUG *buubutu* 'stamp the foot in dancing, t. hard', *butu-li* 'to trample, kick', *butu-gagi* 'to withstand'; KWA *bui* 'tread, step', *bui-li-[a]* 'scrape with the foot'). Cf. PON *p^wuut-* (with directional suf.) 'descend into, fall into, s. into (as a hole)'; MOK *p^wuij*, *p^wuiji* 'push, shove' (loan from English?); KIR *butubutu* 'to crowd', *butu-a* 'to push or press against (s.t.)' (loan from SAM *putu*, *putuputu* 'be crowded').

PMC ? ***p^wuu** 'to sound (when blown, as a trumpet)': CHK *p^wu*, *p^wuut-*; PEO *pupuu* (TON *pupuu*).

PMC ***raani** 'day': CHK *ráán*, *rááni-*; MRT *ráán*, *rááni-*; PUL *ráán*; CRL *ráál*, *rááli-*; CRN *ráán*; STW *ráán*; WOL *raali*; PUA *laani*; PCK **raani*; PON *raan*; MOK *reen*; PNG *raan*; MRS *rahan*, *rahani-*; KSR *lwen*; POC **raqani*, *nraqani* (ULA *dáni* 'be d., be daylight'; BUG *dani*; KWA *gani*); PAN **daqani* (Blust 1980:61). See also Marck (1994:308) PMC **raani*. Cf. PEO **rangi* 'light, shine' (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *dáni* 'be d., be daylight'; BUG *raji* 'to shine [of the sun]'; ARO *daji*, *daji-si* 'd., shine on'; KWA *daji* 'd.').

PMC ***rae** 'branch': CHK *ráá*, *ráá-n* 'b. with leaves, b. of', *ráará* 'have many branches'; PUL *ráá*, *ráá-n*; CRL *ráá*, *ráá-l* 'b.', *ráará* 'be full of branches'; WOL *raa* 'b. of a tree, bough', *raaraa* 'be branchy'; ULI *raa* 'b., twig'; PUA *laa* 'b.', *laalaa* 'be branchy'; SNS *laa* 'b.'; PCK **raae*, *rae-*; PON *raa* 'b., tentacle'; MOK *ra*, *raa*, *raa(-n)* 'b., its b., b. of'; MRS *rah* 'b.'; KIR (*te*)-*ae* 'driftwood'; KSR *læ*, *lwe* 'b., twig, limb'. Cf. PPN **LaaLaa* 'small b.'; KWA *laa* 'leaf used to wrap pudding in for cooking', *laalaa* 'Calamus vine'; POC **raqan* and PAN **daqan* (Ross 1988); PMP **daqkaq*, *daqkeq* 'b.' (Blust 1986:33). See also PCK **irae* 'tree, stick, timber, log'.

PCMC ***raki** 'season of southerly winds': CHK *ráás*, *resi-(n)* 's. of southwesterly winds, breadfruit s., year, s. of'; MRT *ráák*, *rékú-(n)* 's., year, s. of'; PUL *ráák*, *ráki-n* 'main breadfruit s., s. of southwesterly winds'; CRL *ráágh*, *rághi-* 'year'; CRN *ráág* 'year'; STW *ráák* 'year'; WOL *raagi*, *ragi-* 'year, summer s.'; MAP (*mje*)-*rak* 's.'; PCK **raki*; PON *raak* 's. of plenty, breadfruit s.'; MOK *rək* 'breadfruit s.'; PNG *rək* 'breadfruit s.'; MRS *rak* 'south, summer'; KIR *aiaki* 'south' (showing reduplication with loss of consonant in some roots with *aCi*). Cf. FU *draki* 'weather'. See also Marck (1994:312) PMC **raki*.

PMC ***rak[ou]m^w** 'crab': CHK *rokum^w*, *#rokum^we-(n)*; PUL *róókum* (sic); CRL *róghum^w*; STW *róókum^w* (sic); WOL *ragum^w*; PUA *lakumu* (sic); PCK **rakum^w*; PON *rokum^w*; MOK *rokum^w*; PPC **rakum^w*; PEO **rak[ou]mu* (BUG *ragomu* 'a crab').

PMC ***raku, rakuraku** 'be scraped out, scooped up': CHK *rék*, *rékúrék* 'be scooped out', *rékú-úw* 'scoop it out'; MRT *rékúrék* 'scrape out, dig out', *rékú-(w)* 's. (s.t.) out'; STW *rakúrak* 'scrape out', *rékú-(w)* 's. (s.t.) out'; WOL *regúregú* 'take a handful, eat clumsily', *regú-ú-(we)* 'take a handful of it, eat it clumsily'; PCK **rakú*, *rakú-ú*; PON *rekirek* 'to scratch with the fingernails, to claw', *reki-i* 'scratch or claw (s.t.)'; MOK *rək* 'to work at serving, dish out (food), scrape with the hands', *rəki* 'to dish (s.t.) out, scrape (s.t.) with the hands'; MRS *rak^wrək^w* 'scoop up, scratch'; PEO **raku* (SAA *ráu* 'scrape up, gather with the hands'; ARO *ra'u*, *ra'u-ha'i* 'take a handful'); PMP **ra(ŋ)kup* 'gather in the cupped hands' (Blust 1983–84:100). Cf. PAN **dakuC* 'snatch, grab' (Blust 1986:54).

PMC ***rama, ma-rama** 'bright, luminous': CHK *ram*, *ramaram* 'be orange red, saffron colored, b. colored'; (*a*)-*rama* 'color it a b. color (as with turmeric)', *ma-ram* 'moon, month', *sa-ram* 'light (as of the sun), be b., full of light'; MRT *ma-ram* 'moon'; PUL *ma-ram* 'moon, month', *ha-ram* 'light, daylight, be light'; CRL *ma-ram* 'moon, month', *sa-ram* 'brightness, light, illumination, be b.'; CRN *ma-ram* 'moon', *ha-ram* 'brightness'; STW *me-ram* 'moon'; WOL *me-rame* 'moon, month', *te-rame* 'light, be lit, brightened', (*ge*)-*ta-rena-(a)* 'brighten it'; PUA *ma-lama* 'moon, month'; SNS *ma-lama* 'moon'; MAP *ma-ram* 'moon'; PCK **rama*, *ma-rama*, *ta-rama*; PON *ma-ram* 'moon'; MRS *me-ram* 'b., light, flash, glow, luminous'; KIR *ma-ama* 'moonlight, be moonlight', (*ka*)-*ama* 'the constellation Southern Cross'; KSR *mæ-lwem* 'moon, month', (*kæ*)-*lwem* 'clear, b.'; PEO **rama* (PPN **rama* 'torch, fishing with torches'); UAN **damaR* 'torch, light'. See also Marck (1994:308) PMC **marama* 'moonlight, moon'. Cf. BUG *marara* 'light'; KWA *lala* 'light'.

PMC ***raŋi, raŋiraŋi** 'be warmed': MRT *réŋuréŋ* 'warm oneself by the fire'; PUL *ráŋi-i-(y)* 'warm (oneself) as by a fire'; CRL *raŋi-(y)* 'warm (oneself)'; STW *raŋi-(y)* 'warm (oneself)'; PON *reŋireŋ* 'warm oneself by a fire', *reŋ* 'dried (as of copra or tobacco)'; MOK *ɾəŋɾəŋ* 'warm oneself'; PNG (*ke*)-*raŋ* 'heat on a fire'; MRS *raŋraŋ* 'warm oneself by the fire'; KIR *aŋ* 'warm'; KSR *laŋlaŋ* 'warm up, heat up, dry up'; PEO **raŋi* (BUG *raŋi* 'to shine [of sun]', *raŋaŋi* 'heat'). Cf. UAN **garaŋ* 'be hot'. Cf. also PMC **reŋa* 'turmeric color', PCK **caŋi* 'to warm oneself'. MRS *raŋuréŋ* (showing vowel alternation) expected.

PMC ***rara** 'to heat, be warm': CHK *rar*, *rarar* 'be w.'; MRS *rar* 'to bleach pandanus leaves over a fire, to dry leaves by fire'; PEO **rara* (FU *rara* 'to w. oneself at a fire'; PPN **rara* 'to heat'; SAA *rara* 'hot, pungent, be shriveled up, withered, parched'; BUG *rara-ŋe* 'to warm oneself at a fire'; LAU *rara* 'be withered, ripe'; KWA *lala* 'warm'; LAK *lala* 'to hold over a fire').

PMC ***rato** 'whale': CHK *raaw*, *rawe-(n)* 'whale, w. of'; PUL *rawa-(fanú)*; CRL *raaw*, *róós*, *#róóso-l*; STW *raaso*, *raso*; PUA *laado*, *lado*; PCK **rato*; PON *ɾɔs*; MOK *noj*; MRS *raj*; KIR (*te*)-*ato*, *ato-(ni-marawa)*; KSR *lbt*.

PMC ***ra[wŋ]u** 'pull out with the hands from inside s.t.': CHK *ré*, *rééré* 'grope, reach with the hands where one cannot see', *réé-yi* 'grope for, reach into and under for (s.t.)', *réé-(féw)* 'method of fishing at night by reaching into holes in rock piles with the hands'; PUL *réé*, *réé-yi* 'to catch fish with the hands'; KIR *auau* 'to engage in drawing forth', (*te*)-*auau* 'fishing by drawing out fish from holes in the rocks'; PEO **rau* (SAA *ráu* 'to scrape up, to gather up with the hands'; ARO *rau* 'to snatch, seize'). Cf. PPN **laqu* 'pinch, pull up'; KWA *lafu* 'take off, lift, pull up'; PKB **lapu* 'to pull; and UAN **ra[hŋ]ut* 'to tear off, split'.

PMC ***ra[wŋ]u, ka-ra[wŋ]u, ka-ra[wŋ]u-si** 'scraped, to scrape': CHK *é-rée-ti*, *a-rée-ti* 's.

it, sand it, make it smooth', *kké-ré*, *kka-réé* 'be scraped', *kké-réé-t* 'sand or s. smooth, be sanded or scraped'; CRL *ghé-réé-ti* 's. (the skin off a breadfruit)', *kké-ré* 'to s.'; WOL *réé* 'to s. off, to rub against', *rééréé* 'be scraped off, be rubbed against', *kke-réé* 'be scraped, swept', *ge-réé-ti-(i)* 's. it, sweep it'; PCK ? **raú*, *ka-raú*, *ka-raú-di*; PON *ko-royroy* 's. meat out of a coconut', *ko-ree-d* 's. (it) out'; MOK *ko-rɔɔ-d* 's. with a hard object'; KSR *ka-lala* 'to scratch, claw, tear', *ka-lau-s* 'scratch, claw, tear (s.t.)'; UAN **ra(m)bus* 'tear away'. Cf. PMC **kara*, *kara-si*, *kara-sa* 'to scrape', PMC **kari* 'to scratch'.

PMC ? **raya*₁ 'inland': see PMC **rea*₁.

PMC ? **raya*₂ 'girl': see PMC ? **rea*₂.

PMC **re-*, *ra-* 'they (3PL subject marker)': MRT *re-*: CHK *re-*, *ra-*, *ró-*; PUL *re-*, *ra-*; CRL *re-*, *ra-*; STW *re-*; WOL *re-*; PUA *le-*; PCK **re-*, **ra-*; PON *re*; MRS *yer*, *re-*; KIR *a*; KSR *el-(tæl)*. Cf. BUG *-ra* 'them'.

PCMC **re-*, *ri-* 'person of or belonging to (a clan, nation, or place)': CHK *re-*, *ree-*; MRT *re-*; PUL *ree-*; CRL *re-*, *ree-*; STW *re-*; WOL *re-*; ULI *re-*; PCK **re-*, *ree-*; MRS *ri-*; KIR *i-*. Cf. PUA *lei-* 'actor or agent'.

PMC ? **rea*₁ or **raya*₁ 'inland': CHK (*éwú*)-*rá*, *-ráá-* 'river, stream' (lit. 'inland current'); UAN **Daya* 'inland'.

PMC ? **rea*₂ or **raya*₂ 'girl': CHK (*niye*)-*rá*, *-ráá-* 'girl, young woman', (*im^we*)-*rá* 'menstrual hut' (lit. 'girls' house'); UAN **dayaŋ* 'girl'.

PMC **reŋa* 'turmeric color': CHK *reŋ*, *reŋereŋ* 'be yellow green, saffron colored (associated with turmeric)'; MRT *raŋaraŋ* 'yellow, orange'; PUL *raaŋ* 'turmeric'; CRL *raaŋ* 'yellow ginger' *raŋaraŋ* 'be orange, yellow'; STW *raaŋ* 'turmeric, yellow powder', *raŋaraŋ* 'yellow'; WOL *raaŋe* 'turmeric', *raŋaraŋe* 'be yellow', (*peé*)-*raŋe* 'a kind of yellow flower'; PUA *laaŋa*, *laŋa-* 'turmeric', *laŋa* 'be yellow'; PCK **reŋa*, *reŋa*, *reŋareŋa*; PON *reŋe-d* 'dark (of colors)'; MOK *ɔŋɔŋ* 'yellow'; KIR (*te*)-*eŋa* 'variety of coral on flats that emits much color'; KSR *raŋraŋ* 'yellow'; PEO **reŋa* (SAM *lega* 'turmeric'; ARO *reŋa* 'be white, glistening, splendid'). Note that KIR (*te*)-*reŋa* 'red cloth', *reŋareŋa* 'to paint (s.t.) red' are loans from SAM *lega* 'turmeric'. Cf. PMC **aŋo* 'curcuma, turmeric, ginger, yellow', PMC **raŋi*, *raŋiraŋi* 'be warmed', PCK **yalle-p^wuta* 'a tree (Pittosporum)'.

PMC **reŋe* 'tremble (with fear)': CHK *reŋ*; PON *reŋ*; KSR *rarrar*; PEO **rere* (FIJ *rere* 'fear'; ARO *rere-[b^weru]* 'run away [*b^weru* 'run']'). Cf. PMC **cece*, *cecece* 'shake, tremble'.

PMC **ria* 'sibling': PON *rie* 'possessive classifier for siblings'; MOK *riari* 'be siblings'; MRS *riy-(liki-)* 'cross cousin' (*liki-* 'outside'); KSR *lili*, *hwe-(l)*, *li-(n)* 'brother, male s., his b., b. of'. Cf. PWMc **rii* 'tied, joined'.

PCMC **riea* 'miserable, wretched': CHK *riyá* 'be m., in torment, in anguish'; MRT *riyá* 'envy of s.o. doing s.t. when one feels one can do it better'; CRL *riyá* 'be frustrated, have a skin rash as an object of bad gossip'; STW *riyá* 'sin, feel sinful'; WOL *riyaa* 'get in trouble, suffer the consequences (of wrongdoing)'; PCK **riae* or **riea*; PON *riaa-(la)* 'be cursed (resulting in misfortune)'; MOK *ria* 'to sin'; MRS *riwe-* 'fault, sin', *réw* 'angry, jealous, disappointed'; KIR *iee-a* 'to deceive, mislead (s.o.)'. Cf. PUA *lia* (sic) 'holiness, sacred object, taboo, be holy, sacred, forbidden'.

PWMc **rii* 'tied, joined': CHK *ri* 'be bound, t. up', *riiri* 's.t. t. on, band, ribbon, bandage, lashing, bonds, fetters', *rii-(y)* 'tie, lash, wind, bind (of thread, rope, etc.)'; WOL *riirii* 'marriage, wedding, marry, be united, wed'; ULI *riiri* 'to marry'; PUA *lilii* 'to marry', *lii-ni* 'marry him'; PCK **rii*, *riirii*; MRS *riyi-* 'spouse'. Cf. KIR *iein* 'be married', (*te*)-*iein* 'marriage, married state'; PWMp **ri(ŋ)kit*, *Diŋkit* 'touching or joined along the length' (Blust 1983–84:103). Cf. also PMC **ria* 'sibling'.

PWMc **riku* or **ruki* 'gather from the ground': PUA *lúku* 'to pick up'; PON *rik* 'g. objects from the ground'; MRS *rik^w-(b^wéw)* 'g. missiles for throwing'. Cf. PPC **rata* 'cleared land'.

PMC **ripi*, *ripiripi*, *ma-ripi* 'shattered, broken into pieces': CHK *rup*, *rupurup*, *me-rip*, *má-rip*, *#me-riperip* 'be s., b. into p.', *ripi-i-(y)*, *nupi-i-(y)* 'shatter it, break it to p.', *#(e)-me-ripa*, (*e*)-*me-ripi* 's. it'; MRT *ripirip* 'break things', *ripi-i-(y)* 'break it', *ma-rip* 'break, crack',

ma-ripirip 'small b. pieces'; PUL *rip* 'to s.', *ripi-i*-(y) 'break it, shatter it', *ripi-ya*-(n) (sic) 'object s. by him'; CRL *rip* 'be cracked, b.', *ripirip* 'be shattering things, be breaking into p.', *ripi-i*-(y) 's. it, break it', *ripi*-(*ŋagh*) 'be s., b.', *ripi*-(*sagh*) 'piece of s. object, be s.', *má-rip* 'break into p.', *má-ripirip* 'be b. into p.'; STW *ripi-i*-(y) 'break it in half', *má-rip* 'break, crack', *ma-ripirip* 's. pieces', *ma-ripi-i*-(y) 'break it into many p.'; WOL *ripirip* 'to break, destroy, crush, smash', *ripi-i*-(*ye*) 'break it, destroy it', *ripi*-(*ŋegi*) 'be b., destroyed, crushed, smashed', *ma-ripi* 'break, be s., b.', *ma-ripirip* 's. in many p.', (*ge*)-*ma-ripi*-(*i*) 'break it'; PUA *ma-lippi* (sic) 'be cracked'; PCK **ripi*, *ripirip*, *ripi-i*-, *ma-ripi*; MRS *r^wip* 'b.', *r^wip^rwip* 'break, tear down, demolish'; KIR (*ma*)-*ibi* 'b. (as s.t. brittle)', (*te*)-*ma-ibi* 'b. piece', (*ka*)-*ma-iba* 'cause (s.t.) to be b.'; KSR *lip*, *liplip* 'split, sprain', *mī-lip* 's., smash', *mī-lpi* 'cut out in small bits'. The MRS form and the CHK variants with *u* are puzzling; if their rounding is attributed to the labial consonant, it may be of some significance that the consonant remains unvelarized. Cf. KIR *ibeibe* 'engage in breaking up or open', *ibe-a* 'to break (s.t.) open (as a coconut)'; and cf. PON *ma-rop* 'be smashed, b.'; MOK *rep* 'b.', *rep*-(*la*) 'b. through', *repi-ŋ* 'break s.t.'. Cf. also PPN **lipi* 'cutting instrument'; FIJ *ribiribi-a* 'the sharp edge of some things (as a yam cut into small pieces)'; SAA *ma-ri'iri* 'b. into slivers'.

PMC **roco* 'be dark': CHK *roch*, *rochoroch* 'be d.' *roche*-(n) 'darkness of', *rocho*-(*nó*) 'get d.', (*ó*)-*roch* 'to wait for d., fight under cover of darkness', (*ó*)-*rocha* 'to darken (s.t.)'; PUL *rooR* (sic) 'to be d.', *roRa*-(*ppúŋ*) 'to be d., to be ignorant'; MRT *rosh* 'd.', *rosho*-(*la*) 'darken, become d.'; CRL *rosh* 'to be d.', *rosho*-(*p^wuŋ*) 'be very d.'; WOL *roR*, STW *roR*; PUA *looso*, *loso* 'darkness', *loso* 'to be d.', *losoloso* 'to be black'; PCK **roco*, *rocoroco*; PON *root* 'darkness', *rot* 'd.', *rota*-(*la*) 'become d.', *rotorot* 'pagan, uncivilized'; MOK *ros* 'darkness', *rosros* 'pagan'; PNG *rəs* 'd.'; MRS (*ma*)-*re^w* 'd., darkness' (*r* and *d* do not cooccur); KIR *roo* 'be d.' (showing metathesis); KSR *lɔsr* 'd., pitch black, unilluminated'; POC **rodo* (SAA *rodo* 'night', *rorodo* 'be lowering, of clouds'; BUG *rado* 'night'; LAU *rodo* 'night'; ARO *rodo* 'd., black, night'; KWA *logo* 'darkness, night'; PKB **Lodo* 'night'). See also Marck (1994:308) PMC **rot* 'o. Cf. TON *lookoo* 'absolutely dark, pitch dark'; UAN **DeDem* 'be dark'.

PMC **roŋo* 'hear, listen': CHK *roŋ*, *roŋoroŋ*, *roŋe*-(*e-ya*) (<**roŋo-yi-ya*), (*o*)-*roŋa* 'hear, listen, thing heard, cause to hear'; MRT *roŋoroŋ*; PUL *roŋ*, *roŋoroŋ*; 'hear, listen, obey'; CRL *roŋ*, *roŋoroŋ*; STW *roŋ*, *roŋoroŋ*; WOL *roŋoroŋ*; PUA *loŋoloŋo*; SNS *loŋoloŋo*; PCK *roŋo*, *roŋoroŋo*; PON *roŋ* 'hear', *roŋ* 'news'; MOK *roŋ*; PNG *roŋ*; MRS *reŋ*^u; KIR *oŋo* 'hear, obey', (*ka*)-*oŋo-a* 'inform'; KSR *loŋ* 'hear, listen to (s.o.)'; POC **roŋoR* (Ross 1983) (PPN **roŋo*; FIJ *rogo*, *rogo-ca*; SAA *roŋo*; BUG *roŋoroŋo*; ARO *roŋo*; KWA *loŋo*; PKB **loŋo*); UAN **DeŋeR*). KIR *roŋoroŋo* 'news' is presumed to be a loan from SAM. See also PCK **roŋo* 'special knowledge of spells'.

PWMC **rota* 'be finished, used up': CHK *ros* 'be all gone, u. up, f., depleted, consumed', (*ó*)-*ros* 'be exterminated, annihilated', (*ó*)-*rosa* 'finish up, use up, annihilate (s.t.)'; PUL *roh* 'be f., u. up, exhausted (as a supply)', (*ya*)-*roha-a*-(*ló*) 'finish it up, use it up'; CRL *ros* 'to be f., u. up, depleted', *roso*-(*ló*) 'be completely finished', (*a*)-*rosa* 'to finish it, consume all of it, use it all up'; WOL *rete* 'be finished, completed, ended, concluded, consumed', (*ga*)-*reta*-(*a*) 'finish it, complete it, accomplish it', (*ga*)-*reta*-(*li*) 'the last or end of'; PCK **rota*; PON *ros* 'be consumed, u. up'; MOK *roj* 'empty, run out, u. up'; MRS *r^wej* 'ebb tide'. Cf. KIR *iti* 'u. up, consumed, all gone'.

PMC **rua* 'two': CHK (*é*)-*núúw*, (*é*)-*núú* 'the number two, two' (in serial counting) *núwa*-, *núwé*-, *ruwo*- 'two (with classifiers)'; MRT *núwa*-, PUL *núúw*, *núwa*-, CRL *núúw*, *ruwa*-, *ruwo*-, *ruwe*-, STW *núwa*-, WOL *núúwe*, *núúwa*, *núwa*-, *núwe*-, PUA *lie*-, PCK **núwa*; PON (*a*)-*ri*, (*a*)-*re*, *ria*-, MOK *ria*-, MRS *riwe*-, KIR *ua*-, *uo*-, KSR *lo*-, *lu*-, PEO **rua*; POC **rua* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *rua*; PPN **rua*; SAA *rue*; ULA *rua*; BUG *rua*; ARO *rua*; KWA *lua*; PKB **Lua*); UAN **Duwa* (Dyen **Dewha*); PAN **DuSa* (Ross 1988). See also PMC **ru[ao]-ua* 'two (general class of objects)'.

PMC **ru[ao]-ua* 'two (general class of objects)': CHK *ruwauw*, *ruwu*, *rua*; PUL *ruwoow*; CRL *ruwoow*, *ruwauw*; WOL *ruwauwe*; PUA *lieow*; PCK **ruwouwa*; PON *riaw*; MRS *riwew*; KIR *uoua*; KSR *luo*. See PMC **rua* 'two', PMC **-ua* 'general classifier in counting (suffixed to numerals)'.

PWMC **ruki* 'gather from the ground': see PWMC **riku*.

PMC **ruku*, 'tip, go under water': CHK *rúk*, *rúkúruk* 'tip, be unsteady, tip with the outrigger going down under water', *rúkú*-(*nó*) 'tip over'; CRL *ruŋh* 'go under water (of outrigger)'; WOL *núgúrukú* 'be deceptive, crooked, tricky'; PCK **rúkú*; PEO **ruku* (PPN **ruku* 'to dive');

BUG *ru*g 'duck the head'; ARO *ru'u* 'go underground, disappear'; KWA *lu'u* 'enter, pass through a door'. Cf. PCK **riki* 'to turn quickly'.

PMC **ruku*₂ 'to stoop': STW *rik* 'enter with head down'; WOL *riúú-(tiw)* 'to bend forward from the waist, bow'; PON (*pai*)-*ruk*, (*dai*)-*ruk* 'to bend forward from the waist'; MOK *ruk* 'to bow, bend'; PPC **ruku*; POC **ruku-s* (SAA *ru'u* 'to draw back, retire', *ru-si* 'to shrink, shrivel'; LAU *ruu* 'to enter'; BUG *ru*g 'to duck the head'; ARO *ru'u-hi* 'to retire to'; KWA *lu'u* 'enter, pass through the door'; LAK *luu*, *luhu* 'to duck under'. Cf. MRS *dik'al* 'bow one's head, bend', *badik* 'to duck, lower the head, humble oneself, bow down'. Cf. also PCK **roko* 'bend, curve', PMC **ruku*₁ 'tip, go under water', PWMc **riku* or **ruki* 'gather from the ground'.

PMC **rut[ui]* 'become aware, wake up, be surprised': CHK *ru* 'a. (suddenly)', *ruúú-(ké)* 's., astounded, astonished'; MRT *ruúú-(ké)* 's.'; PUL *ru* 'be s., astonished, alarmed', (*ya*)-*ru*, (*ya*)-*ru-(w)* 'to startle, surprise, shock (s.o.)'; CRL *ru* 'be startled, scared, frightened, shocked', *ruúru* 'be worried, anxious', (*a*)-*ruúú-(w)* 'scare, shock, surprise (s.o.)'; STW *rrú* 's.'; WOL *rusú* 'be frightened, scared', (*ga*)-*rusú-(ú)* 'frighten him, scare him'; PUA *lúdu-(aki-ni)* 'be s. at it, frightened by it'; PCK **rutú*; MRS **ruj* 'wake up, awake, roused, conscious'; KIR *uti* 'to arise, awake'; KSR *lut* 'be s., startled, amazed'; PEO **rutu* (SAA *ru'u* 'to draw back, retire').

PMC **[s]jaa* 'ruined': CHK *ta* 'be destroyed, in pieces, in ruins', (*a*)-*taa-(y)* 'destroy it, break it in pieces'; PUL *taa-(ló)* 'be r.'; CRL (*a*)-*taa-(y)* 'destroy, devastate, smash'; PCK **daa*; KIR *rae-a* 'in disorder, disarranged'; PEO **zaqa* (FIJ *caa* 'r.'; TON *haa* 'bad', *ha'aha'a* 'cluttered up'; SAA *ta'a* 'bad'; LAU *taa* 'bad, evil'; ARO *ta'a* 'bad'); UAN **zaqat*. Cf. POC **saqat* 'bad' (Ross 1988).

PMC **[s]jaa*, [*s]jaa-i* 'weave a net': CHK *tta* 'mesh guage', *ttaa-yi* 'w. (a net)', *ttaa-yi-ya* 'net woven by (s.o.)'; KIR *raai* 'to twist and tangle easily (as a thread or line)'; POC **saa* (LAK *rara* 'to set up (a fish net)'). Cf. MOK *daur*, *daw* 'to make (a net)'; MRS *ttaw* 'mend a net'; TON *sia*, *sia-i* 'to w. a net or spiderweb'.

PCMc **[s]jaaga* 'to flow strongly': MOK *deej* 'giving lots of sap (of a coconut tree), spout of coconut leaf along which coconut sap is drained into a container'; PNG *deej* 'giving lots of sap (of a coconut tree)'; MRS *tayay* 'choice coconut tree for collecting sap'; KIR *raaja* 'to flow, to run as rain water'. Note that the MOK and PNG forms are probably loans from MRS.

PMC **sae* 'torn': CHK *táá-(riŋ)* 'be torn (as clothing)', *táá-(riŋe-ey)* 'rip it, tear it; PUL *táá-(riŋa-a-ló)* 'tear it away (as a sail)'; CRL *táá-(riŋ)* 'be torn, ripped', *táá-(riŋi-i-y)* 'to tear or rip (s.t.)'; WOL *taa-(riŋe)* 'be ripped, torn', *taa-(riŋa-a)* 'rip it, tear it'; PCK **dae-(riŋa-)*; KIR *raerae* 'engage in stripping (as fronds from a tree)', *rae-a* 'to tear (s.t.)', *rae-(bae-a)* 'strip a coconut tree of its fronds', *rae-(bitia)* 'to tear (s.t.) in pieces'; KSR (*si*)-*se* 'tear, rip, rend', *se* 'to tear (s.t.)'; PEO **saRe* 'tear, rip' (Geraghty 1990) (PPN **sae*).

PMC ? **[s]jafa*, [*s]jafa-ni* 'to gather, pick': CHK *taf* 'be gathered, picked (of green leaves)', *tafataf* 'gathering, picking, plucking (of leaves)', *tafe-ni* 'g., p. (s.t.)'; PUL *taf* 'to p. (of leaves)', *tefa-ni* 'p. (leaves) with the hands'; CRL *tafataf* 'pick leaves (from branches)'; PCK **dafa*, *dafadafa*, *dafa-ni*; PON *dape-ŋ* 'to pull (s.t.) apart or off'; MOK *dəpəp* 'to squeeze by pulling', *dapa-ŋ* 'to rip (s.t.) off'; PPC **dafa*, *dafa-ni*; PEO ? **[sz]jafa-ni* (SAA *taha-ni* 'to eat the first fruits'). Cf. PMC ? **[s]jafi*, 'pick, pluck, tear off', PCK **daf[ei]* 'be open', PMC **tafa*, *tafa-si* 'to cut in pieces, slice'.

PMC ? **[s]jafi*, 'pick, pluck, tear off': CHK *tefitef* 'to tear, rip', *tefi-i-(y)* 'tear, rip (s.t.)'; MRT *tafi* 't.'; PUL *tefá-ni* 'pick (s.t.) with the hands (as breadfruit, bananas, etc.)', *tefe-ŋaa-(to)* 'pick and bring (leaves)'; CRL *tafataf* 'to pick leaves from branches', *tafe-ni* 'to pick (leaves)'; WOL *tefitefi* 'to pull loose, pull off, draw down, tug', *tefi-ni-(i)* 'pull it loose, pull it off', *tefi-ŋegi* 'be pulled loose, drawn down, tugged'; PCK ? **dafi*, *dafi-ni*; PEO ? **[sz]jafi* (SAA *táhi* 'to rend'; ARO *tahi*, *tahitahi* 'to cut, cut off [as in shaping an arrow]'). Cf. PUA *dei-ni* and SNS *fei-ni* 'tear it apart, tatter it'; PON *dap* 'have the foreskin of the penis withdrawn', *dape-ŋ* 'to pull apart, pull off'; MOK *dəpəp* 'to squeeze by pulling', *dapa-ŋ* 'to rip (s.t.) off, break (a lock) open'; KIR *rae-a* 'to t. (s.t.)', (*te*)-*rara*i 'section of a bunch of bananas'; KSR *sise* 't., rip, rend', *se* 't., shred, rip, rend (s.t.)', *srasra* 'to shred, rip', *srwe* 'to shred, cut, or t. (s.t.) to bits'.

PMC *[sS]afi, 'be wide open': CRL *táf* 'be w. o. (of wound, vagina, eyelid rolled back)', *táfi* 'to o. (s.t.) w.'; CRN *tefi* 'to o. (s.t.) w.'; WOL *ttafi* 'be opened (of vagina), pulled apart', *tafi-i* (ye) 'o. it with the fingers, pull it apart'; PCK *dafi, dadafi; PEO *zafi (FIJ *cavi* 'penis after circumcision'; ARO *tahi* 'come apart'). Cf. PPC *daffei 'be open'.

PMC *saisai, sai-ti 'sew': CHK *teete*, *tee-yi*; PUL *teete*, *tee-y*; CRL *teete*, *tee-yi*; STW *teete*, *tee-yi*; WOL *teetee*, *tee-ye*; PUA *teitei*, *tei-di*; PCK *daidai, dai-ti; PON *deydey*; MOK *dəds*, *də*; KSR *tata*, *ta*; POC *saqit (Ross 1988) (PPN *saqi; ARO *ta'i*; KWA *tai*; PKB *sahi); UAN *zaqit. Cf. Mrs *taytéy*, *tayi-k* 'bind, roll up (as a line or film on a spool)'; SAA *táu-ri* 'sew'. Cf. PEO *zaqi-t* 'copulate' (Geraghty 1983); and cf. PEO *[cz]aRu 'needle' (Geraghty 1990).

PMC *sakau 'reef, reef island': CHK *tée* 'uninhabited low i.', (wii)-*tée* 'clan name (on low island)'; MRT *tée-(n)* 'i. of'; PUL *tée* 'uninhabited r. i.'; CRL *tée* 'small atolls, low islands'; STW *tée* 'uninhabited low i.'; WOL *tegaú-(lape)* 'name of an i. in Woleai', *tée* 'any outer i.'; PUA *takaú* 'group of islands, archipelago'; PCK *dakaú; PON *deke* 'i.'; MOK *dəks*, *dəksə-(n)* 'atoll, small i., islet, a. of'; MRS *teky* 'strip of r., long r. between two islets'; KIR (te)-*rakai* 'r.'; KSR *taka* 'i., atoll'; PEO *zakaRu* 'r.' (Geraghty 1983), *cakuRu (Geraghty 1990); POC *[sz]akaRu (FIJ *cakau* 'r.'; PPN *hakau* 'coral r.'; SAA *taalu* 'shoal water, coral patch'; BUG *hagalu* 'r., sea'; ARO *ta'aru* 'shoal, shallow spot in sea'; PKB *sakaLu 'r.'; PMP *sakaRu (Blust 1989:163). See also Marck (1994:308) PMC *sakau. Note the doublet in WOL.

PMC *[sS]ake 'ride': PUL *táatá* 'to r. on'; CRL *taay*, *taaya-(l)* 'means of transportation, r., vehicle that provides transportation, his m. of t.'; CRN *tááy* 'means of transportation'; WOL *tage-e* (ye) 'r. it, sail it'; PUA *take* 'r. on, rise, climb'; PCK *dake; PON *dake* 'r. in or on (a vehicle), be the first or best, top (all others)'; MOK *dak* 'to r. on a vehicle', *dakə* 'r. on it'; PPC *dake; MRS (yek)-*tak* 'to load, haul'; PEO *[sz]ake (SAA *ta'e* 'to rise up, stand'; LAU *take*, *tatake* 'to stand'; ARO *ta'e*, *ta'e-ri* 'to embark in a canoe'; KWA *ta'e*, *ta'e-li-[a]* 'to embark, get aboard'; PKB *saqe 'to climb up). See also PMC *Sake 'up, upward'.

PMC *[sS]aku 'needlefish': CHK *taak* 'n. f.', *tékú-(naar)*, *tékú-(raar)* 'marlin'; PUL *taak*; CRL *taagh*; CRN *taag*; WOL *taagú*, *tagú-*, *tagú-(raare)*; PUA *takú-(lala)* 'sword fish'; PCK *dakú; PON *daak*; MOK *dək*; MRS *tak*; KIR (te)-*raku*; PEO *saku (FIJ *saku* 'swordfish'; PPN *haku); PMP *saku (Blust 1980:140). Cf. PMC *[sS]aku-laara 'swordfish, marlin'.

PMC *[sS]aku-laara 'swordfish, marlin': CHK *tékú-naar*, *tékú-raar*; PUL *taakú-laar* (sic); CRL *tagha-laar*; WOL *tagú-raare*; PCK *dakua 'yellow-fin tuna'; PON *deki-laar*; MOK *dak-lar*; PPC *daku-laara; PEO *saku-layaR + a 'sailfish' (Geraghty 1990). Note assimilation of CHK *n* and WOL *l* to following *r*. See also PMC ? *lea or *laya 'a sail', PMC *[sS]aku 'needlefish'.

PMC *salu, salusalu 'to scrub, wash': CHK *tén* 'be scrubbed, scoured, washed (of hands and dishes, but not clothes)', *ténú* 'to s., w., rub, dust (s.t.), shine (shoes)', *téna-a-(nó)*, *ténó-ó-(nó)* 'wipe (s.t.) off', *téttén* 'washing, scrubbing, scouring, erasing'; MRT *talú* 'to w. (hands, dishes, rice)'; PUL *téla-a-(ló)*, *tála-a-(ló)* 'to w. (s.t.) off', *tale-(wu)* (sic) 'washed object, to w. (as hands or rice); CRL *tattal* 'to w. kitchen things' (Bender et al. 1984), *talú-(w)* 'to w. (dishes, hands)'; STW *tettal* 'to w. things', *talú* 'w. (s.t.)'; PCK *dalú; KSR *tæltæ* 'to w.', *tæltæli* 'to w. (genitals)'; PEO *salu* (SAA *tálu-hi* 'to draw out water, draw at a well'; LAU *talú* 'to sprinkle'; ARO *taru*, *taru-hi* 'to draw, dip, get water'; KWA *talú-si-[a]* 'to carry or w. away [of running water]')).

PMC *saŋu 'to smell s.t.': MRT *téŋe*-(w) 's. it'; PUL *téŋú-ú*-(w) 'to s., sniff (s.t.)'; STW *téŋ* 's.', *téŋú* 's. it'; PUA *taŋú* 's. it'; PCK *daŋú; MRS (ya)-*teŋ* 'to s. (s.t.)'. KSR (mi)-*saŋsaŋ* 'smelly, stinking of urine'. Cf. CHK *tiin* 'to s., perceive odor', *tini* 's. it'. Cf. JAB *ŋu* 'to smell (an odor)'.

PCMC *sapa 'able, prepared': CRL *tap* 'be free to do a task without outside interference', *tapé*-(légh), *tapú*-(légh) 'be able to do a job despite outside distractions, be ready, prepared'; CRN *tapé*-(nég) 'be ready, prepared'; WOL *tape* 'be ready, prepared'; PCK *dapa; KIR *raba*-(kau) 'skillful, dexterous, knowing and ready'. PUA *lépakau* 'be capable, able, smart' appears to be a loan from KIR, perhaps from crewmen on D. D. O'Keefe's trading boat that operated out of Yap in the late nineteenth century.

PMC *[st]apa, [st]apa[st]apa, [st]apa-ŋi 'to help': CRL *tapatap* 'to h., aid, assist', *tepa-ŋi* 'to h. (s.o.)'; STW (a)-*tapatap* 'h., give h.', *tipá-ŋi* 'h. (s.o.)'; WOL (ge)-*tapetape* 'to h., support, assist', *tepa-ŋi*-(i) 'to h. or assist (s.o.)'; PUA *tapatapa* 'to h.', *tapa-ŋi* 'to h. him'; PCK *dapa,

dapa-ni-; MRS *jipa-ŋ* ‘h., aid’, *jipa-ŋ(ey)* ‘h. (s.o.)’; KSR *taptap* ‘to h.’; PMP **tabaŋ* ‘h., assist’ (Blust 1989:168). Cf. KSR *tataf* ‘to h.’, *tæfa*, *tæfwe-* ‘h. (s.o.)’; SAA *ape* ‘to encourage (s.o.)’. Cf. also PCMC **tape_i* ‘busy’, PMc **tap[ae]*, *tap[ae]-ki* ‘lift up, carry, bear in one’s hands’. It looks as if the Chuukic forms with initial *t* have resulted from an early (possibly PCk) borrowing from another Mc source.

PWMC **sasana* ‘dream’: CHK *ttan* ‘d.’, *ttana* ‘d. about (s.t.)’; PUL *ttan* ‘to d.’, *ttana-a* ‘d. it’; CRL *ttal*; CRN *ttan*; WOL *ttale*; PUA *ttana*; PCk **ddana*; MRS *ttəŋa-k* ‘to d.’. Cf. FIJ *tadra*, *tatadra* ‘to dream’.

PMc **sawa* ‘reef pass, channel’: CHK *taaw*, *-taw*, *tewe(-n)* ‘p. in a reef, p. of’; STW *taaw*, *tawe(-n)*; WOL *taawe*, *tewa-* ‘channel, harbor’; PUA *tao* (sic); PCk **dawa*; PON *daaw*; MOK *daw*; PNG *daw*, *deve(-n)*; MRS *tew*, *tewe-* ‘channel, p. into a lagoon’, *tewah* ‘place for beaching canoes’; KIR *(te)-rawa* ‘channel to a lagoon or harbor’; POC **sawa* (FIJ *(mataa)-sawa* ‘landing place on a beach’; SAA *tawa* ‘opening in the shore reef’; KWA *takwa* ‘landing place’); UAN **sawaj* ‘landing place’. See also Marck (1994:315) PMc **sawa*.

PCMC **sawa-ti*, *sawa-ta* ‘to break, destroy (s.t.)’: WOL *tewa-si-i(-yē)* ‘b. it, d. it, tear it up’; PUA *tawa-di* ‘be broken’, *(ka)-tawa-di* ‘to b. it, d. it’; PCk **[dt]awa-ti*; KIR *rawa-ta* ‘wounded’, *(te)-rawa-ta* ‘a wounded one’.

PMc **sawee* ‘unimpeded’: CHK *tawe* ‘be convenient, be finished, done’; PUL *tawe* ‘be free, not busy’; CRL *tawe* ‘be free to do s.t., be free from interference in one’s work’; WOL *tawee* ‘to be able, get through, be possible’; PCk **dawee*; KSR *twe(-n)* ‘be good at’.

PCMC **sawu* ‘enough, sufficient’: PUL *tōw* ‘be e. (in food distribution)’; CRL *tow* ‘have e.’; WOL *tau* ‘be e., s.’; PCk **dawu*; KIR *rau* ‘comfortable, quiet, undisturbed’, *rau-(aki)* ‘satisfied, having had enough food’. Cf. PON *daw* ‘overtired (as a muscle)’. Note that KIR *tau* ‘e., s.’ has an unexpected initial *t*, and cannot be a true cognate.

PMc **[s]ji-* ‘moving, going’: CHK *ti-* ‘m., g.’, *(e)-ti(-nō)* ‘go off’, *(fi)-ti* ‘accompany, go with (s.o.)’, attend (school)’; MRT *(fi)-ti* ‘accompany (s.o.)’; PUL *(fi)-ti(-lō)* ‘go away with s.o.’; CRL *(fi)-ti* ‘mix together’, *(fi)-ti* ‘be in addition to, go together with’; STW *(fi)-ti* ‘go with, accompany (s.o.)’; WOL *(fi)-ti(-i)* ‘accompany it, go with it’; PUA *(ka)-ti-ŋi* ‘throw it’; PCk **di-*; KIR *ri-(m^woa)* ‘to go before, go first’, *ri-(m^wii)* ‘to go after, go behind, go later’; PEO **zi-*, *zizi* (FIJ *cici* ‘to run’, *cici-va* ‘run to (a place)’).

PMc **[s]ji-*, *[s]ji-ki-*, *[s]ji-ka* ‘sew, stick through’: CHK *ti-k* ‘be sticking through, be piercing’, *ti-ki* ‘stitch or sew (thatch)’, *tti-k* ‘be sewn or stitched’, *ti-kek* ‘needle’; PUL *ti* (*faaR*) ‘sew thatch (pandanus)’, *ti-k* ‘sew’, *ti-ki-i(-y)* ‘sew it’, *ti-kek* ‘needle’; CRN *ti-geg* ‘needle’; WOL *ti-gi(-i)* ‘sew it’; PCk **di-*, *di-ki-*, *di-kaki*; PON *di-kek* ‘needle’; MOK *di-k* ‘to protrude’; KIR *(te)-ri-ka* ‘wooden needle for netting’; PEO **si-ka* ‘net-needle’ (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *si-ke* ‘a thorn’). Cf. PMc **[s]jili*, *[s]jili-fi* ‘inserted, penetrated’.

PMc **sia-* ‘lips’: MRS *tīye*; KIR *(te)-ria*.

PCMC **siki* ‘very, more’: CHK *-ttik* ‘very, intensifying adjective’, *(para)-ttik*, *-ttiki(-n)* ‘bright red, b. redness of’; PUL *-kkii* ‘repeatedly, constantly’; CRL *-ttigh* ‘hot, spicy, overly flavored (of food)’; CRN *-ttig* ‘hot, spicy, overly flavored (of food)’; PCk **ddiki*; KIR *riki* ‘again, in addition, more (following an adjective, as in the Eng. suff. *-er*)’.

PMc **[s]jiko* ‘scoop up’: CHK *tuk*, *tukotuk* ‘s. up’ and *tuko(-ppi)* ‘do sand scooping’; CRL *tughe-e-y* ‘s. up, shovel up (sand, rice)’; CRN *tuge-y* ‘s. up, shovel up (sand, rice)’; KIR *riko-a*, *rikoriko-a* ‘pick up’; PEO **ziko(-f)* (TON *hiko* ‘pick up, gather up’; SAA *si’o*, *si’o-hi* ‘gather, collect’; BUG *siko-mi* ‘take, gather, collect’; ARO *si’o*, *si’o-hi* ‘to find, pick up’; KWA *si’o-fi(-a)* ‘pick up’). Cf. FU *cigo* ‘catch s.t. thrown’.

PWMC **sili* ‘louse egg, nit’: PUL *tiil*, *tili(-n)* ‘tiny growth stage of various fish’; WOL *tiili*, *tiili-* ‘l. e., first stage of louse development’; PON *diil*; MOK *dil* ‘small lice’; MRS *tél* ‘nit, larvae of lice’. Cf. KIR *(te)-rina* ‘larvae from which lice spring’ and cf. YAP *thiis* ‘nit, louse egg’. Cf. PCk **dili* ‘a small fish’.

PMc **[s]jili*, *[s]jili-fi* ‘inserted, penetrated’: CHK *tin* ‘be i., put in between’, *(e)-tini* ‘insert it, put it between’, *tini-fi* ‘to go among or between (things)’; PUL *til* ‘to place, put’; CRL *til* ‘to push brush or grass or other obstructions out of one’s way when traveling in the forest’,

tili-fágh 'to wedge an object into a crack or space between objects for safekeeping or storage', *tili-fághe*-(*li*) 'to shove or wedge (s.t.) into a space for storage', *tili*-(*fatal*) 'to wander between and among objects or people'; WOL *tili-fegi*-(*li*) 'stick it in, pierce with it, thrust it into s.t.'; PCK **dili*, *dili-fi*; PON *dil* 'to penetrate, go through, pass into'; MOK *dil* 'to enter', *dili-m* 'to put under (s.t., in weaving), to stick through (s.t.)'; KIR (*ka*)-*rina* 'cause (s.t.) to enter'; PEO **zili*, *zili-fi*, *zili-faki* (FIJ *cili*, *cili-va* 'to cut or lance the body'; TON *hili*, *hili-faki* 'put or lay or place on s.t.'; SAA *sili*, *sisili* 'to enter', *sili-hi* 'enter, go into [s.t.]'; BUG *hili*, *hihili* 'to transgress, violate', *hili-vi* 'to infringe, violate, go throughout'; ARO *siri* 'inside', *siri-hi* 'go in, penetrate', *siri-ha*'i 'go in, enter'; KWA *sili*, *sili-fi*-[*a*] 'drip through, leak through'). Cf. PMC *[sS]i-, [sS]i-ki-, [sS]i-ka 'sew, stick through'.

PMC *[sS]in[ae] 'shine': CHK *tiin*, *ttine*-(*n*) 's., shining, brightness, ray, beam, s. of'; PUL *tin* 'to s.', *тини*-*n* 'shining of'; CRL *til* 'to s.', *tili*-(*l*) 'shining of'; CRN *tiin* 'to s.', *тини*-(*n*) 'shining of'; WOL *ttile* 'to s., glow, twinkle'; PUA *ttine* 'light, to s.'; PCK *ddin[ae]; PEO *zina 'shine' (Geraghty 1983); POC *sinaR (Ross 1988) (Fiji *cina* 'lamp or torch'; SAA *sine* 'torch', *sine-li* 'to lighten, give light to'; BUG *hina* 'midday, sun overhead', *hina-ra* 'a light, to s.'; LAU *sina* 's.', *sina-li* 'moon, month'; ARO *sina* 'sun, torch', *sisina* 'torch'; KWA *sina* 'sun'); UAN *sinaR 'light'; PAN *SiNaR 'sun, s.', and PAN *SiNaŋ 'sunbeam, light' (Wolff 1993). The reconstruction by Marck (1994:309) of PMC * [sz]ina is not supported by the KIR and MRS forms cited. Cf. KSR *tan* 'color'. See also PMC ? *sija 'sunlight'.

PMC ? *sija 'sunlight': KIR *ririŋa* 'clear sunlight, sunshine, to shine brightly'; PEO *sija (FIJ *siga* 'day, daylight'; KWA *sija-li* 'moon, month'); UAN *sijaR 'light'. See also PMC *[sS]in[ae] 'shine'.

PCMC *sig[tiu] 'leak out, drip': CHK *ttúŋ* 'to flow (of sap or sweat)'; WOL *ttúŋú* 'to emerge, come out slowly, pour out (of sweat)'; PCK *ddúŋú; PON *diŋ* 'to drip, leak', *diŋdiŋ* 'drop'; KIR *riŋiriŋ* 'eaves'. Cf. MOK *dun* 'to drip'. Cf. KWA (*uta*) *siŋosiŋo* 'drizzle'.

PMC *sipa 'emotion, feelings, sentiment, attitude, attitude, etc. his e.', (*nee*)-*tip* 'place of e. (in the abdomen)'; PUL *tiip*, *tipa*-(*n*); CRL *tiip*, *tipa*-(*l*); WOL *tiipe*, *tipa*-(*le*); PUA *tiipa*, *tipa*; PCK *dipa; PON *diip*, *dipe* 'sin, his s.'; MOK *dip*-(*kel*) 'to suffer a moral lapse'; MRS *tiipe-n* 'way of, manner of'; KIR *riba-a* 'hate or dislike (s.t.)'; KSR *tipe*-(*l*) 'his personality'. Cf. FIJ *ciba* 'faint, lose consciousness'; ARO *siba*, *siba-ni*, *siba-ni* 'to look for, search, seek'.

PMC *[sS]ipa, [sS]ipa-ki 'slice, chunk, to cut, to slice': CHK *tiip*, *tipe*-(*n*), -*tip* 's., chunk, cut segment (of breadfruit and taro only), chip (of wood from adzing), s. of, s. (in counting)', *tipetip* 'chips', (*e*)-*tip* 'pass chunks of breadfruit', #*tipe-ri* 's. or cut (s.t.) into chunks'; MRT *tiip*, *tipa*-(*n*) 'piece, p. of', *tipa-ke* 'cut it into pieces', -*tép* 'classifier for s., piece'; PUL *tiip* 's. (as of breadfruit or taro)', *tipáá-ki-y* (sic) 'to s. (as breadfruit or taro), to cut (as coconut fronds)', (*yá*)-*tip* 'to s. breadfruit', (*yá*)-*tipa* 'to s. it'; CRL *tiip*, *tipa*-(*l*) 's., chunk, piece, s. of', (*sá*)-*tip*, (*sá*)-*tipa*-(*l*) 's., piece (of firewood, banana, breadfruit), s. of'; STW *tiip*, *tipa*-(*l*) 'piece, p. of' *tipatip* 'pieces', *tipá-ki* 'cut it into pieces'; WOL -*tipe* 'cut up segment of breadfruit' (in counting), *tipe*-(*shigi*) 's. or chop into pieces', *tiippe* 'break away from main body, chip off the main part, come off, be removed from s.t.'; PCK *diip, *dipa*-, *dipa-ki*; PON *dip* 'grain (of wood), s. or chip (as of breadfruit or taro) (in counting)', *dipe* 'to s. (breadfruit or taro)'; MOK *dip* 's., chip'; PNG *dip* 's., chip'; MRS *tipe*-(*n*) 'fragment of, cut piece of', *tip*-(*dikdik*) 'small pieces', *tép* 'wood shavings'; KSR *sipsip* 's., cut, mince', *sipá-k* 's., cut (s.t.)', *tipe-l* 'part, piece, scrap, fragment of it', *ipip* 'be chopped in small pieces'; PEO *[sz]ipa, [sz]iba (FIJ *civa*, *civa-ta* 'cut into small pieces [as yams for soup]'; BAU *sipa* 'slice a yam, husk a coconut'). Cf. PUA *ka-ma-tipi* 'cut or break it into pieces'; YAP *thip* 'wood chips, sawdust'.

PMC *siwo 'down, westward': CHK -*tiw*, *tiwetiw*; MRT -*téw*; PUL -*tiw*; CRL -*tiw* 'd.', *tiwe*-(*y*) 'chop or cut (s.t.) down'; STW -*tiw*; WOL -*tiwe*; PUA -*tio*; PCK *-diwo; PON -*di* 'downward'; MOK -*di* 'd.'; PNG -*di*; MRS *téw* 'westward', *téw* 'disembark, climb d.'; KIR -*rio* 'downward, westward', *ruo* 'descend, come or go d.'; KSR *tu*-(*fokfok*) 'keep on coming d.'; PEO *-zifo (Geraghty 1983); POC *sipo (Ross 1988:463) (FIJ *siwo* 'debased, put d.'; PPN *hifo 'downwards', *sisifo 'west'; SAA *siho* 'descend, disembark'; LAU *sifo* 'go d.'; PNK *sivo 'descend, go d.'). See Marck (1994:324) PMC *sio. See also PCK *diw[ao] 'change location'.

PMC *[sS]ixi, [sS]ixi-*gi*- ‘push, shove’: CHK *ti* ‘be crowded, pushed together’, *tiiti* ‘p., s., shoving, pushing’, *tii-ni* ‘p. it, s. it, send it’, *tii-naa-(nó)* ‘send it away’; MRT *tiiti* ‘to p.’, *tii-gi* ‘p. it in’; PUL *tii-g* ‘send, order, p.’, *tii-gaa-(ló)* ‘send it away’; CRL *tii-gi* ‘to p. (s.t.)’; STW *tiiti* ‘to p.’, *tii-gi* ‘p. it’; WOL *tiiti* ‘p. s., jostle’, *tii-gi-(i)* ‘p. it, s. it, jostle it’; PUA *tiiti* ‘p., s.’, *tii-gi* ‘p. it, s. it’; SNS *tii-gi* ‘push it’; PCK **dii*, *diidii*, *dii-gi*-; PON *dir* ‘be overcrowded, filled, plentiful’; Mok *dir* ‘many, much’, (*ka*)-*diri* ‘to fill (s.t.)’; MRS *ji-(raha)* ‘p.’; KIR *rii-ga* ‘to feel of (s.t.), handle, touch’; POC **sigi*, *siki* (SAA *siki* ‘to tap, touch with the fingers’, *siki-hi* ‘to infect, carry contagion [to s.o.]’; BUG *hinggi-li* ‘to touch [s.t.]’; ARO *sigi* ‘tap with the finger’, *sigi-hi* ‘to infect with’; LAK *sigi-li* ‘fill up with liquid’, (*idogo*) *sigi-ri-(a)* ‘place a leaf funnel in a water bottle’). Cf. FIJ *cigi* ‘fill up a crevice or push a thing into it’. Cf. also KSR *isəs*, *iso-g*, *isiso-g* ‘stick in, p. in, cram in’. Cf. PPC **die* ‘squeezed, pushed together’.

PCMc **soa* ‘far, distant’: CHK *too-(w)* (from **too-[awa]*) and *too-(waaw)* (from **too-[awaaw]*) ‘far, distant’; PUL *too-(wo-ló)*; CRL *taaw* ‘be far’, *taawu-(ló)* ‘be very far’; WOL *ttawe*; PUA *tao*; PCK ? **doa*-; PON *doo* ‘distant, far off’; Mok *doo* ‘distant, far off’; MRS *ttew-(lak^w)* ‘distant’, *tew* ‘long time’; KIR *raroa* ‘remote, distant’. Cf. KIR *rau-(tari)* ‘rinse off salt water’; POC **sauq* (FIJ *sau* ‘outside’; SAA [*ha’a*]-*tau* ‘far off, distant’; BUG *hau* ‘be far, a long time’; ARO [*ha’a*]-*tau* ‘far off’; KWA *tatau* ‘far, distant, for long’). UAN **Za[hó]uq*. Cf. also FIJ *yawa* ‘distant, far away’. Note: there could be a problem here.

PMC ? *[sS]oka ‘pierce, stab’: WOL *togatoge* ‘p., s., to stick s.t. into (a young coconut)’; PCK **doka*; PON *dok* ‘be stabbed, speared, skewered’, *doko* ‘to s., spear, skewer (s.t.)’; Mok *dok* ‘s., poke, inject’, *doko* ‘s., etc. (s.t.)’; PEO **zoka* ‘p., spear’ (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *coka* ‘to p.’; PPN **hoka* ‘s., p.’).

PCMc **soko* ‘toward speaker, hither’: CHK *-to*, *-too*; MRT *-to*; PUL *-to*; CRL *-to*; STW *-to*; WOL *togo*; PUA *-toko*; PCK **-doko*; PON *-do*; Mok *-do*; MRS *tek^w*, *tak*; KIR *roko*. See also PMC *[sS]oko ‘reach, arrive’.

PMC *[sS]oko ‘reach, arrive’: CHK *to* ‘be reachable, be reached, attained’, *too-ri* ‘r., a. at, attain to (some place or thing)’, *too-(geni)* ‘be able to, be capable of’; MRT *tooto* ‘a.’; CRL *too-ri* ‘r., a. at’; WOL *togo* ‘arrive, land, come ashore, be safe home’; PUA *toko*; PCK **doko*; MRS (*yi*)-*ték^w* ‘come’; KIR *roko* ‘come, a.’; PEO **soko* ‘a. (of ship)’ (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *soko* ‘to sail, voyage’; SAA *to’o*, *to’oto’o* ‘to hit, encounter, succeed’; LAU *too* ‘to hit, possess, have’; BUG *hogo-vi* ‘to hit’; ARO *to’o*, *to’o-hi* ‘to hit, strike, succeed, convince’; KWA *to’o* ‘to receive, catch, hit’; LAK *soo* ‘just now, recently’). Cf. KSR *ta* ‘to come, land’, *taka* ‘to come’; FIJ *coa* ‘to have arrived’, *soasoa* ‘to reach land alive after being in a gale’. See also PCMc **soko* ‘toward speaker, hither’.

PMC *[sS]ola, [sS]ola-*a* ‘to mix’: CHK *ttona* ‘mixture’, *tonáa-ni* ‘m. (s.t.)’; MRT *tole* ‘to knead, rub together’; CRL (*a*)-*tola-(fejáli)* ‘m. (things) together’; STW *toláa-li* ‘m. it’; WOL *tela* ‘be mixed well, mingled, blended’, *tela-li-(i)* ‘m. it, mingle it, blend it’; PUA *tona* ‘be mixed well, mingled, blended’, *tona-ni* ‘to mix, blend, fuse (s.t.)’; PCK **dolaa*, *dolaa-[ln]i*; PON *dol* ‘to m.’, *dolo* ‘to m. (s.t.)’; PNG *dol* ‘m.’; MRS *tewlah* ‘to knead preserved breadfruit’; PEO *jola* ‘m.’ (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *dodola* ‘mixed’, *dola-li* ‘to commingle, dilute’; BUG *joajotha* ‘be mixed’, (*horu*) *jotha* ‘to m.’; ARO *dora*, *dora-hi* ‘m., mingle’; KWA *dola* ‘m.’). Cf. PUL *toola* ‘to rub together (as leaves to obtain fragrance)’.

PMC *[sS]olo ‘fade from view’: CHK *ton* ‘visible, discernible’, *tono-(nó)* ‘fade from view’, (*ó*)-*tona* ‘to make visible, to view (s.t.)’; PUL *tolo-(ló)* ‘to disappear’, *tolo-n* ‘setting of (a star)’; CRL *tol* ‘to disappear’; WOL *tolo* ‘disappear, submerge, go out of sight, vanish’; PUA *tono* ‘to set (of sun)’; PCK **dolo*; MRS *l^wer* ‘disappear, die out’ (showing metathesis). PMP **celeb* ‘to sink, submerge’ (Blust 1989). Cf. PMP **telem* ‘to sink, disappear under water’ (Blust 1986: 100), **teleb* ‘sink, vanish’ (Blust 1989:171).

PMC **soŋo*, *soŋosoŋo* ‘to smart, sting’: CHK *toŋ*; MRT *toŋotoŋ* ‘to sting’, *toŋe-(y)* ‘sting (s.o.)’; PUL *toŋotoŋ* ‘to burn, itch, sting, have a sharp taste’, *toŋo-(y)* ‘to sting (s.o.)’; CRL (*b^w*oo)-*ttotoŋ* ‘smell sweaty, unclean, unwashed’; STW *toŋotoŋ*; PCK **doŋo*; KSR (*mí*)-*sajsaŋ* ‘smelly, stinking of urine’. Cf. MRS *jeŋ* ‘pain in arm caused by throwing’; FIJ *coga* ‘sharp point, barb’. See also PCK **li-m^wa-doŋo* ‘stinging jellyfish’.

PMC *[sS]oro, [sS]oro-*fi*- ‘grab, capture, seize’: CHK **tur* ‘be grabbed, taken, seized’,

#(o)-*туру* 'cause to be arrested', *туру-фи* 'to catch hold of, c., g., snatch, seize (s.t.)'; PUL *tottor* 'to catch with the hands', *toro-fi-y* 'grab, catch (s.t.)'; CRL *toro-fi* 'to catch s.t. (either catcher or prey must be moving)'; WOL *tottoro* 'to catch with hands, c., gather, seize', *toro-fi-(i)* 'catch it, overtake it, seize it, c. it'; PCk **doro*, *doro-fi*; KIR *roa-a* 'catch (a fish) with rod and line', *rooroo* 'to be at anchor, to anchor'; PEO **soRo-f* 'catch' (Geraghty 1990).

PMC *[sS]owu, [sS]owu-ti- 'to dig': CHK *ttu* 'dig, be dug' *ttutu* 'do digging', *ttut-(w)* 'dig (earth)'; PUL *tow* 'dig earth (as with a shovel)'; PCk **dowu*; MRS *téw* 'to dig taro', *tiwij(iy)* 'dig taro (tr.)'; KIR *rourou* 'to dig up taro', *rou-ta* 'to dig (s.t.) up'; PEO **sopu-t* (FIJ *sovu*, *sovu-ta* 'hollow out [a canoe]')). Cf. SAA *tohu* 'to chop', *tohu-le'i-ni* 'to chop (s.t.)'; BUG *jou* 'dig a hole, hew, carve', *joujou* 'to hollow out'; KWA *tofu* 'cut things up'. Cf. also LAK *ovi*, *ovovi* 'gather taro'. See PPC **dowu* 'stab, pierce, be stabbed, pierced'.

PMC *[sS]jua 'dug hole': KIR (*te*)-*rua* 'pit, grave'; POC **sua* 'root up, dig up, lever up' (FIJ *cua* 'stick by which a fish net is lifted'; PPN **sua* 'turn over, raise up'; ARO *sua* 'to root up earth as a pig'; LAK *sua*, *sue-a* 'push up the stones of the earth oven with a stick'); UAN **sual* 'lever'. Cf. CHK *túú*, *túwa-n* 'vulva, her v.' (vulgar).

PMC **suku* 'hit, strike': CHK *tuku-u-(w)* 'daub (s.t.)', *tuku-u-(yeni)* 'daub (s.t.) on (s.t.)', *tuku-(yá)* 'dance in which hardwood staves are struck against one another'; MRT *tuku-u-(w)* 'to punch'; PUL *tuku-u-(w)* 'h., s. (s.t.)'; CRL *tughu-u-(w)* 'to punch, h. (s.o. or s.t.)', *tuagh* 'closed fist'; CRN *tuag* 'closed fist'; WOL *tuugu* 'to touch, border on, s. lightly, come in contact', *tuugu* 'give a blow with the fist'; PCk **duku*, *dduku*, *duku-u-*; KSR *tukutuk* 'to pound', *tuk* 'pound (s.t.)', *tok* 'a pounder'; PEO **suku*, *suku-mi* (FIJ *suku*, *suku-ma* 'to touch a woman in front or behind'; BUG *juujuku* 'to s., hurt, harm, be cruel to'; KWA *su'u-mi-[a]* 'poke, flick with the fingers'). Cf. PPC **Tuku* 'pound, knock', with which there seems to have been some semantic confusion.

PMC **sukusuku*, *suku-ma*, *suku-mi* 'be wrapped, a package, to wrap (s.t.)': CHK *túkú-túk*, *túkútúkú-(n)* 'p., packet, bundle, parcel, p. of', *-túkú-m* 'p., packet (in counting)', *túkú-ma-(n)* 'p. of it', *túkú-mi* 'make (it) into a p. or bundle, wrap (it) up'; MRT *túkú-mé* 'w. it'; PUL *túkútúk*, *túkútúkú-(n)* 'p., leaf p., p. of', *-túkú-m* 'p. (in counting)', *túkú-mi* 'to w. (it) in a leaf p.'; CRL *túghútúgh*, *túghutúgh* 'any tightly wrapped bundle', *túghu-mi* 'w. (s.t.) into a bundle'; CRN *túgútúg* 'any tightly wrapped bundle', *túgú-mi* 'w. (s.t.) into a bundle'; STW *túkú-mi* 'w. it'; WOL *túgútúgú* 'funeral gift', *túgú-me* 'wrapped preserved breadfruit', *túgú-mi-(i)* 'w. it, cover it'; PUA *túkútúkú* 'be wrapped, to w.', *túkú-mi* 'to w. it, hide it'; PCk **dúkúdukú*, *dúkú-ma*, *dúkú-mi-*; PON *kidikid* 'to w.' (showing metathesis), *kidi-mi* 'wrap (s.t.)'; MOK *kid-kid* 'to wrap', *kidi-mi* 'w. (s.t.)'; MRS *kété-m* 'bundle of mats' (showing metathesis), *kiti-m* 'mat used to cover a corpse, to w. (a body)'; KIR *ruku-ma* 'a package' *ruku-ma*, *ruku-mi-(a)* 'to fold or w. (s.t.) up, f. or w. it up'. KSR *sroko-m*, *sroko-mi* 'to w., envelop, w. (s.t.)' appear to be loans.

PMC **sulu* 'torch': PUL *túúl* 'torch'; CRL *túúl*; WOL *túúlú*, *túúlú-*; PUA *túúnú*, *túúnú-*; PCk **dúlú*; PON *dil* 'dried coconut fronds, t.', *ndil* 'torch made of dried coconut leaves, to fish with torches'; MOK *dil*; MRS *til*; KIR (*te*)-*rin*, *rini-* 'dried coconut leaf'; KSR *sul*; PEO **suluq* (PPN **sulu*, *susulu*); UAN **suluq*. Cf. KWA *unu* 't., light'. We cannot account for CHK *téén*, #*téénú*- or the PUL doublet *téél*.

PCMc **sum^wuru* 'the star Antares': CHK *tum^wur* 'the s. A., name of a sidereal month'; PUL *tum^wur* 'A., a sidereal month'; CRL *tum^wur* 'A., a sidereal month'; STW *tum^wur*; WOL *tum^wiri*; PUA *tum^wuli* 'a sidereal month equated with March'; PCk **dum^wuri*; PON *dim^wir* (Bender et al. 1984); MOK and PNG *dum^wur* 'constellation name'; MRS *tim^wir^w* 'A., constellation tau, alpha, sigma Scorpionis'; KIR *rim^wii-(maata)* 'Cor Scorpionis (A.), summer'.

PMC **susu* 'breast, to suckle': CHK *tú-(n)* 'her b.', *túút*, *túttú-* 'suck (of a nursing child)'; MRT *túút*, *tú-(n)* 'b., her b.'; PUL *túút* 'b., nipple'; CRL *út*, *úttú-(l)* 'breast, her b.', *túút* 'suckle, nurse (from a b.)'; STW *túút* 'b.'; WOL *tú-(ú)*, *tú-(le)* 'my b., her b.', *túttú* 'b.'; ULI *théth* 'b.'; PUA *túttú* 'b., suck mother's b.'; PCk **dúdú*; PON *diidi* 'her b., to suckle, to nurse'; MOK *diidi* 'b., suckle'; PNG *diidi* 'b.'; MRS *yittit*, *yitti-* 'b., nipple, teat'; KSR *twetwe-(l)*, *titi-(n)* 'her b., b. of'; PEO **zuzu-* 'b.' (Geraghty 1983); POC **susu* 'breast' (Ross 1988) (FIJ *susu* 'to nurse a baby', *sucu* 'to suck the b.'; PPN **huhu* 'nipple, b.'; SAA *susu* 'b., milk, to suck the b.'; BUG *susu* 'woman's b., milk, to suck the b.'; LAU *susu* 'b., suckle'; ARO *susu* 'b., to suckle'; KWA

susu ‘b., b. milk, to suckle’; PKB **susu* ‘to suck, breast’; PAN **supsup* ‘sip, suck’ (Blust 1989:167). Note that YAP *thuuth* ‘b.’ appears to be a loan from ULI.

PMC **Saa*, *mee-Saa* ‘interrogative suffix’: (*mee*)-*t*, (*mee*)-*ta* ‘what?’, (*p^waa*)-*t*, (*p^wa*)-*ta* ‘why?’; PUL (*mee*)-*ta* ‘what?, why?’, (*p^wé*)-*ta* ‘why?’; CRL (*mee*)-*t*, (*mee*)-*ta* ‘what?’, (*b^we*)-*ta* ‘why, suppose, what if?’; WOL (*me*)-*ta*, (*me*)-*taa* ‘what?’; PUA (*me*)-*ta* (sic) ‘what?’, (*p^wame*)-*ta* ‘why?’; PCk **-daa*, (*mee*)-*daa*; PON *da*, *daa*, *daa*-(*mē*) ‘what?’, (*mēē*)-*nda* ‘why? to what purpose?’; MOK *da* ‘what?’; MRS *tah* ‘what?, which?’; KIR *raa* ‘what (s.t.)?’ (follows the noun), (*te*)-*raa* ‘what?’; KSR *ε*, (*me*)-*ε* ‘what?’; PEO **zaa* (Geraghty 1983) (TON *haa*; SAA *taa*, *taha*; LAU *taa*; KWA *taa*). Cf. PMC **Safa* ‘what? what relationship?’. See also PMC ? **faiSa* ‘do what, what?’, PPC **p^wa*-*ki*-*da* ‘because, why?’.

PMC **Safa* ‘what? what relationship?’: CHK *tafa*- ‘w. r.?’, PUL *tefá*-, *tefe*- ‘w. r.? where?’; CRL *tafa*-, *tefa*- ‘w. r.?’, PCk **dafa*-, MRS *teye*- ‘w. r.?’, KIR *raa* ‘w.’ (follows noun); KSR *ε* ‘w. l.’; PEO **zafa* ‘w.’? (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *cava* ‘w.’?; SAA *taha* ‘w.’?; BUG *hava* ‘w.’?; PNK **zova*, *zava* ‘w.’?). Cf. PON *depe* and MOK *dpo* ‘how many? how much?’.

PMC **Sake* ‘up, upward’: CHK *-tá*, *táá*- ‘up, upward, eastward, rising’, *táá*-*ni*-*yón* ‘sunrise’; PUL *-tá*; CRL *-tá*; WOL *-tage*, *tage*-(*li-alo*) ‘sunrise’; PUA *-take*; PCk **dake*; PON *-da*, *dak*; MOK *-da*, *dak*; MRS *tak*, *-tah*- ‘eastward, upward’, *taki*-(*n ha*) ‘sunrise’; KIR *-rake*; KSR *-ek*, *-yak* ‘upward’, *tak* ‘rise’; PEO *zake*-f ‘go up, climb’ (Geraghty 1983); POC **sake* (Ross 1988) (PPN **hake*; FIJ *cake*; SAA *ta’e*; PKB **sage* ‘to climb up’); UAN **sakay*. See Marck (1994:324) PMC **sake* ‘up(wards), east(wards)’ and PMC **[sS]ake* ‘ride’.

PMC **Sali* ‘in a line or row’: CHK *ten* ‘be in l.’, *teni*-(*n*) ‘l. of’, *tetten* ‘l., rank, r., list, grade, generation, lineage’; PUL *táli*-(*n*) ‘l. of’; CRL *táli*-*l* ‘r. of, l. of’, *tál* ‘make rows or lines’, *táli* ‘plant (s.t.) in rows’; CRN *te*-(*n*) ‘r. of, l. of’, *te* ‘plant (s.t.) in rows’; WOL *itali* ‘l. up, form a l.’, *-tali* ‘rows, lines (in counting)’, (*ge*)-*tali* ‘walk in a l., form a procession’; PCk **dali*; PON *del* ‘to move in great numbers, to swarm’; MRS *tal* ‘procession of mourners or tribute bearers’; KSR *el* ‘march, parade’. Cf. KIR (*te*)-*rinan* ‘a r., rank, l.’, *rinan* ‘stand in a r. or l.’. Cf. also SAA (*ta’a*)-*tala* ‘a line, row’; ARO *tara*-*i* ‘in a row’; KWA *tala* ‘in a line’.

PMC **Sama* ‘outrigger float’: CHK *taam*, *tame*-(*n*) ‘o. f., o. f. of’; PUL *taam*, *tame*-(*n*); CRL *taam*, *tama*-(*l*); WOL *taame*, *tama*-*li*; PUA *taama*, *tama*-; PCk **dama*; PON *daam*, *deme* ‘o. f., its o. f.’; MOK *dam* ‘outrigger boom’; MRS (*rey*)*tam* ‘outrigger side of a canoe’, *tem*-*rak* ‘sail w. o. on south’, *tem*-*ray* ‘sail w. o. on north’; KIR (*te*)-*rama* ‘outrigger’; KSR *en* ‘outrigger’; PEO **zama* ‘outrigger’ (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *cama*; PPN **hama*); POC **saman* (Ross 1988). Cf. MRS *yam* ‘sail with outrigger out of water, tip (of a canoe)’.

PMC **Saja* ‘inner thigh, crotch’: CHK *taaj*, *taja*-(*n*) ‘leg and foot together, his l.’; CRL *taaj*, *taja*-(*l*) ‘upper, inner part of the t., his u. t.’; STW *taja*-(*l*) ‘inside of his or her t.’; PCk **daja*; PON *daaj*, *deje* ‘t., his t.’; MRS (*law*)-*tejay*, (*lew*)-*tejay* ‘inside of t., c.’; KIR (*te*)-*raja*, *raja*-(*na*) ‘leg, t., his l.’; KSR *ejæ* ‘area between two legs’, (*in*)-*yejæ* ‘groin’; POC **saja* ‘bifurcation’ (Ross 1988) (FIJ *saga* ‘c.’; ROT *saga* ‘t.’; SAA *taja* ‘the c. of the legs’, *tajataja* ‘forked stick’; ARO *taja* ‘crotch, fork of the legs’; KWA [*ma*]-*taja* ‘crotch, branching place’; LAK *sala* ‘thigh, groin’); UAN **saja* ‘fork, branching’. Cf. PUL *heajan* ‘portions of arm above and below elbow, leg below knee, t., portions between nodes (as of sugar cane and bamboo)’; KSR *tæjwe*-(*s*) ‘a mode of sexual intercourse’.

PMC **-Seke* ‘friendly, kind’: PON (*ka*)-*dek* ‘kind, generous’; MOK (*ka*)-*dek* ‘be kind’; PNG (*ka*)-*dek* ‘friendly, kind’; KIR (*te*)-*reke* ‘chum, close friend’; KSR (*ka*)-*wak* ‘friend’, (*kaka*)-*wak* ‘getting friendly or acquainted’.

PMC **Siwa* ‘nine’: CHK *ttiiv*, *ttiwe*-, *ttiwa*-, *ttiwu*-; MRT *tiwa*-; PUL *ttiiv*, *ttiwa*-; CRL *ttiiv*, *tiwa*-, *tiwo*-; STW *ttiiv*, *tiwa*-; WOL *tiwe*; PUA *tio*-; PCk **diwa*; PON *duwa*-; MOK *duwa*-; PNG *duwa*-; KIR *rua*-; KSR *ya*; PEO **ziwa* (Geraghty 1983); POC **siwa* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *ciwa*; PPN **hiwa*; SAA *siwe*, *siwa*-*na* ‘n., ninth’; BUG *hia*; LAU *siqa*; ARO *siwa*; KWA *sikwa*; PNK *(*wala*)-*siwo* (<**walu*-*siwa*?)¹; UAN **siwa*. Cf. MRS *riwah*-*tim*-*jiwen* ‘nine’. See also PCMC **Siwa*-*ua* ‘nine (general class of things)’ and PPC **diwa*-*ike* ‘ninty’.

PCMC **Siwa*-*ua* ‘nine (general class of things)’: CHK *ttiwu*-*uw*-, (*e*)-*ttiwiu*-*uwa*-(*n*) ‘ninth’; PUL *ttiwo*-*ow* ‘n.’, (*yá*)-*ttiwo*-*owa*-(*n*) ‘ninth’; CRL *tiwo*-*ow* ‘n.’, (*a*)-*tiwo*-*owa*-(*l*) ‘ninth’; CRN

tiwo-uw 'n.', (*a*)-*tiwo-uwa*-(*n*) 'ninth'; WOL *tiwo-uwe*; PUA *tio-ow*; PCK **diwo-uwa*; PON *duwa-w*; MOK *duo-w*; KIR *rua-i-ua* 'n.'. See PMC **Siwa* 'nine', PMC *-*ua* 'general classifier in counting (suffixed to numerals)'.

PMC **Solo* 'peak, hill': CHK *toon*, *tone*-(*n*) 'p., high point, pinnacle, mast-head, p. of'; PUL *tool*, *tolo*-(*n*) 'mast-head, m-h. of'; CRL *tool* 'mountain p.'; PCK **dolo*; PON *dool* 'small mountain, h.'; MOK and PNG *dol* 'mountain'; MRS *tē^w* 'mountain, h.'; *l^wet* 'top of canoe's mast' (metath.); KSR *eol*, *ol* 'mountain', *yol* 'pile, stack', *yoli* 'make (s.t.) in a pile', *yolyol* 'plenty'; PEO **zolo* (FIJ *colo* 'inland country, mountain country'; SAA *tolo* 'h., h. country'; LAU *tolo* 'h.'; ARO *toro* 'h., inland country'; KWA *tolo* 'mountains, mountainous interior'). Cf. BUG *hothoho* 'forest'. See Marck (1994:320) PMC **zolo*.

PMC **Soru*- 'near, beside': MRS *tir^wi-*, (*yi*)-*tir^wi-* 'next to, close to, n., b.'; KIR (*i*)-*rou*-(*na*) 'with, by, on account of him'; KSR *yɔɔɔ*-(*l*) 'his vicinity', *yuru*-(*n*) 'vicinity of, n.'. Cf. PMC **aro*- 'shore, beach, vicinity'.

PMC **Suu*, *SuuSuu*, *Suu-fi*- 'dive, bathe': CHK *tú* 'd., duck the head under water', *túúú* 'b., take a shower, be bowed (of the head)', *túú-fi* 'd. for (s.t.)'; MRT *túúú* 'to b.'; PUL *tú* 'to d. deep', *túúú* 'to swim, b.', *túú-fi*-(*y*) 'to d. for (s.t.)'; CRL *tu*, *tú* 'to submerge, d. from the surface', *túúú* 'to b.', *túú-fi* 'to d. for (s.t.)'; STW *túúú* 'to b.'; WOL *túúúú* 'b.', *tuu*-(*loɔ*) 'to d. in'; ULI *thuthu* (sic) 'b.'; PUA *túúú* (sic) 'to b.'; PCK **dúú*, *dúúúúú*, *dúú-fi*-; PON *du* 'go under water, d.', *duudu* 'b.', *duu-p* 'd. for (s.t.)'; MOK *duudu* 'b.', *duu-p* 'b. (s.o.)'; MRS *tíwtíw* 'b.'; KSR *yɛ*, *yɛyɛ* 'b., take a shower'; PEO **si*[qǝ]u-v 'wash' (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *sui*, *sui-hi* 'd., sink, d. for'; BUG *huu* 'to d., sink'; LAU *sui* 'to d., sink'; BUG *huu* 'to sink, d., go down'; LAU *sui* 'to d., set [of heavenly bodies]'; ARO *sui*, *sui-hi* 'd., d. for'; KWA *sui*, *sui-fi*-[*a*] 'd., sink, d. for'). Cf. KSR *twe^wwe* 'to wash' *twe-n* 'wash, soak (s.t.)'; FIJ *su* 'pour water on things, irrigate' *su-ya* 'pour water on (s.t.)'; PEO **suqi* 'pour water on' (Geraghty 1983). Cf. also PEO **jo*[bpv]u 'to dive' (Geraghty 1983); POC **si*[j]obu 'descend, d.'; PMP **ziuq* (Blust 1983-84). Cf. PCK **dup^wu*, 'set (of sun), go down'.

PMC **taa*, *taa-ki* 'chop': WOL *saasa* 'to gash, slash, cut, split, c.', *saa-gi*-(*i*) 'stab it, slash it, gash it, cut it, c. it'; MRS *jek*, *jékjék* 'to cut, hew, c., prune, salute with the hands'; PEO **taRa* (Geraghty 1990, who infers a PMC **taa*); UAN **taRa*q. Cf. KSR *tíyet* 'dissect, cut up', *tíye* 'dissect (it), cut (it) open', *tíyok*, *tíyók* 'get out'. MRS short vowel unexplained.

PCMC **taa*, *taa-ni* 'to like, be fond': CHK *saasa* 'to l., be f.', *saa-ni* 'to l. it'; KIR *taa-na* 'be enamored of, l. (s.t.)'. Cf. PPC **taka*, *taka-ni* 'stomach, have stomach for'.

PCMC **taapa* 'knife': CHK *saap*, *saape*-(*n*) 'k., k. of'; MRT *saap*; KIR (*te*)-*taaba* 'k.', *taaba* 'to pare (s.t.), whittle, scrape'. Cf. KSR *tæ* 'wooden k.'.

PCMC **taaw*-(*ae*) 'ashamed': CHK *sááw* 'be a.', *sááwá-ási-ni* 'be a. because of him', (*á*)-*ssááw* 'embarrassing, causing embarrassment'; PUL *háwo* (sic); CRN *hááw*; KIR *taawa-i* 'a. because of failure to succeed'.

PCMC **tae*, *tae-ki*- 'removed': CHK *sá*, *sáá*- 'be removed, emptied' and *sáá-si* 'remove it'; PUL *háá-ki*-(*y*) 'remove (as clothes)'; CRL *sáá-ghi* 'lift, move, or remove (s.t.)'; CRN *háá-gi* 'lift, move, or remove (s.t.)'; WOL *saa-saa* 'peel off' and *saa-gi*-(*i*) 'peel it off'; PCK **tae*, *tae-ki*-; KIR *tae* 'extracted, drawn out' and *tae-ki*-(*a*) 'root it up, tear it up'.

PMC **tafa*, *tafa-si* 'to cut in pieces, slice': STW *safasaf* 'to c., s.', *safá-ti* 'c. or s. (s.t.)'; WOL *tafatate* 'to c., s., write (by carving letters)', *#təfa*-(*a*), *#təfa*-(*li-i*) 'c. it, s. it'; ULI *taftaf* 'to s.'; PUA *tada* 'to s. soft things', *tadatada* 'to s., c.'; PCK **tafa*, *tafatata*; PON *sap* 'to c. into pieces', *sepe* 'c. (s.t.) into pieces'; MRS *jay* 'to c., chop'; KSR *tæ-t* 'chop', *twe* 'to chop or c. (s.t.)'; PEO **tafa*, *tafa-si* 'to c.' (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *tava* 'c. with a knife'; PPN **tafa* 'to c.'; SAA *aha*, *aha-si* 'to c., score, notch'; ARO *aha*, *aha-si* 'to c., sever, score, notch'; KWA *afa* 'to mark, incise'); PMP **tabas* 'cut away underbrush' (Blust 1980:92) Cf. PUA *tapatapa* 'to c., split'. Cf. also PMC ? **[sS]afi*, 'pick, pluck, tear off', PMC **[sS]afa*, *[sS]afa-ni*- 'to gather, pick', PPC **daf*[ei] 'be open', PMC **ta^wpa*, *tapatapa*, *ta^wpa-ki* 'be cut, lopped, to cut (s.t.) off'.

PWMC **tafaali* 'again, return': CHK *sefáán*, *sáfáán*, *sefááni*-(*n*), *sefáánni*-(*n*), *sefánni*-(*n*) 'a., once more, r., r. of'; MRT *sefááli* 'do (s.t.) a., r. (s.t.)'; PUL *háfááll*, *háfalli*, *háfááli*-; CRL *sefáál*, *sefáále*-; CRN *hafáál*; STW *sefáán*; WOL *tefaali*; PUA *-tadani*; PCK **tafaali*, *tafaalli*; PON *sapaal* 'repeat an activity, do a.'; MOK *japaal*; MRS *jahal* 'turn a vehicle'. Cf. KSR *təpəl* 'to turn'.

PMC ***tai, ta-** ‘not’: CHK *-se, se-, sa-*; MRT *-se*; PUL *-há*; CRL *-se*; CRN *-he*; STW *-se*; WOL *-tai, ta-*; ULI *-te, te-, -ta* (Bender et al. 1984); PUA *ta-* ‘not (neg. prefix)”; PCK **-tai, ta-*; PON *sa-, sai(kinte)* ‘not yet’; MOK *ja-*; PNG *ja-*; MRS *ja-, ja-(k^wiréyréy)* ‘seldom play, not be athletic’ (*k^wiréy* ‘play’), *ja-(rrej^wrej^w)* ‘deaf, hard of hearing’ (*rej^w* ‘hear’); KIR *-tai* ‘neg. imperative aspect marker’; KSR *se-, sa-*.

PMC ***taitai, tai-mi, tai-ma** ‘sharpen’: CHK *seyi-mi* ‘sharpen it’, *seyi-m*, *#seyi-mi-(n)* ‘whetstone’; MRT *sayisey* (Bender et al. 1984); PUL *háyi-mi*; CRL *seisey, sei-mi*; STW *sái-mi*; WOL *taítei, tai-mi-(i)*; PUA *taetae, tae-mi* (sic); PCK **taitai, tai-mi-*; PON *seysey* ‘be sharpened’, *say-m*; MRS *jénjém* ‘s., whet’, *jén-(ey)* ‘s. (s.t.)’; KIR *tai-mi-(a)* ‘s. it’, *tai-ma* ‘s. (s.t.)’; KSR *twe-twe* ‘s., twe-m ‘whetstone’; POC **tajim* (Ross 1988); UAN **tazim*.

PWMC ***takaka** ‘slice of copra’: CHK *sakka-n*, *#ssaka-n* ‘s. of it (of c. or meat of ripe coconut)’, *-ssak* ‘s. of c.’ (in counting); (a) *-ssak* ‘to cut c., extract c. from the coconut shell’, (a) *-sakka*, *#(a)-ssaka* ‘to cut it (c.)’; PUL *#haakk*, *hakka-n* ‘halved husked coconut shell, s. of it’ *-hakk* ‘s. of c. (in counting)’; CRL (a) *-sakk* ‘slices of c.’, (a) *-sakka* ‘to s. (c.)’; CRN (a) *-hakk* ‘slices of c.’, (a) *-hakka* ‘to s. (c.)’; WOL *tegagú* ‘shell (of skull, coconut), cup’, *tegagú-ch-chim^we* (< **tegagú-li-shim^we*) ‘skull’; PUA *takkakká-(ase)* ‘navigator’s cup with a handle’; PCK **takak[au]*; MRS *jekak* ‘c. pieces taken out of the shell’. Cf. MOK *dakdak*, *daka-j* ‘remove meat from a coconut’, (*órin*) *dakdak* ‘c.’; KIR (te) *takataka* ‘c.’, *takataka* ‘be very dry (as the kernel of a ripe coconut)’, KSR *kaki* ‘c., mature coconut’.

PMC ***takuru** ‘back (of body)’: CHK *sékúr*, *sékúru-*; MRT *sakúré-*; PUL *hakúr*; CRL *saghúr*; CRN *hagúr*; STW *sakúru-*; WOL *taguru*; PUA *talúkú*; PCK **takúru*; MRS *jak^wir* ‘shell of turtle or crab’; KIR (te) *akuu* (showing loss of **t* when followed by **k*); PEO **takuru* (Geraghty 1990). Cf. KSR *tok, toko-(l), tuku-(n)* ‘b, his b., b. of’; POC **takur*, *dakur* (Ross 1988) (Fij *daku*).

PMC ***tala, tala-[sS]i** ‘slack, loosen’: CHK *sene-ti* ‘untie, l. (a rope)’; PUL *hále-ti-(y)* ‘untie, disentangle, excuse, pardon (s.t.)’; CRL *sáli-ti* ‘to relax or reduce (tension), make peace between (people)’; STW *sáni-ti* ‘untie (s.t.)’; WOL *tela-ti-(i)* ‘untangle, free, solve (s.t.)’; PUA *tana-ti* ‘to save, rescue, forgive’; PCK **tala-di-*; MOK *jala-d* ‘to release or untie (rope), *jal-d-ek* ‘be free, be one’s own boss’; MRS *jaljal* ‘to l., unwind, unsnarl’; KIR *tana-ra* ‘to loose (another’s hold), take off (ornaments after the dance)’, (ma) *-tana* ‘be s.’, (ka-ma) *-tana-a* ‘to l., slacken (s.t.)’; PEO **tala, tala-[sz]i* (Fij *tala, tala-ca* ‘clear rubbish away’; PPN **tala* ‘untie, undo’).

PMC ***talai** ‘adze’: CHK *sene, senee-(n)* ‘a., a. of’, *senee-ni* ‘chop (it) with an a.’; MRT *sále*; PUL *hele*; CRL *sele*; CRN *hele*; WOL *tela*; PUA *tanae*; PCK **talai*; MRS *jéljél* ‘stone axe’; KIR (te) *tanai* ‘adze’; KSR *tala* ‘axe’, *tulwe-(n-yak)* ‘adze’. Cf. SAA *’ala* ‘to break off or lop (of branches)’; ARO *ara, ara-i* ‘to chop, chop down (a tree)’, *ara-ra-i* ‘to chop’.

PCMC ***tale** ‘clear, distinct’: CHK *sáná-, sáne-?* ‘prominent, standing out’; PON *sansál* ‘clear, evident, obvious’; MOK *janjal* ‘clear (of speech), open, obvious’; KIR *tane* ‘clear, distinct’.

PMC ***tali** ‘rope’: CHK *sáán, seni-(n)* ‘r., r. of’, *seni, seni-iy* ‘coil or wind (a r.)’; MRT *sáál, selé-(n)*; PUL *háál, háli-(n)* ‘rigging, rigging of’; CRL *sáál, sáli-l* ‘r., r. of’, *sáli* ‘to coil (a r.)’; CRN *heli* ‘to coil (a r.)’; STW *sáán* ‘r., line, sennit’; WOL *taali, tan-ni* ‘r., line, r. of’, *tali-i* ‘tug or pull (a r.)’; PUA *taani, tani-* ‘r.’; SNS *taani* ‘r., string’; PCK **tali*; PON *saal* ‘r., cord, string’, *sal* ‘to gather r., haul on a line’; MOK *jol* ‘r.’, *jal* ‘to wind (r.)’; MRS *jaljél* ‘roll up or coil’, *jaliy* ‘roll or coil up (r.)’; KIR *tan* ‘to turn’, *tana* ‘to wind sennit on the left hand’; KSR *səl*; PEO **tali* ‘rope’ (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *tali* ‘r., plait, interweave’, *dali* ‘a pandanus tree from which r. is made’; PPN **taLi* ‘to plait’; SAA *’ali* ‘a cord’; ARO *ari* ‘r.’ [*tari* ‘r. of special kind’ is an evident loan]; Kwa *ali* ‘plait’; LAK *tali-a* ‘to coil [r.]’, *tali* [*la-sulabe*] ‘make a vine binding for a climber’s feet’); UAN **tali*. Cf. YAP *tael* ‘rope, string’.

PCMC ***tali-** ‘facing’: CHK *seni-(kásá)* ‘board connecting outrigger booms on the lee (*ásá*) side’; MRS *jal-* ‘to face’ (with dir. suffixes); KIR *tan-, tani-* (with dir. suffixes) ‘at the ~ side (of an island), facing (hither or away)’. MRS heavy *l* results from assimilation to following directionals, which begin with heavy consonants.

PCMC ***talía** ‘side dish of meat, fish, or sauce’: CHK *seni, seniya-(n)* ‘s. d., his s. d.’, *seniye-ni* ‘put as a s. d. to (s.t.)’; PUL *hááliy* (sic) ‘accompanying food’, *háliya-le-(y)* ‘to eat (s.t.) as accompanying food’; CRL *sáliya-, sáliyáli, sáliili* ‘meat or sauce eaten together with rice or

taro'; PCK *taliya; PON *sali* 'eat meat or fish, the meat or fish part of a meal', *salie* 'eat (the meat or fish part of a meal)'; MRS *jaléyléy* 'meat course, sauce, gravy'; KIR (*te*)-*tanna* (<*tania) 'sauce, relish, appetizer'.

PCMC ***talilapa** 'builder, bind together': CHK *sennap*, *sannap* 'canoe b.'; PUL *hállap*, *hél-lap*, *hállapá-n* 'builder, b. of'; CRL *sellap* 'expert canoe b.'; CRN *hallap*; WOL *sennape* 'canoe b., master craftsman'; PCK *tallapa (<*talilapa); KIR *tannaba-a* 'to wind (s.t.) up (as fishline)'.

PMC ***taliŋa** 'ear, mushroom, fungus': CHK *seniŋ*, *seniŋa-(n)* 'e., his e.'; *seniŋe-(n soomá)*, *seniŋe-(n énú)*, *seniŋe-(n soope)* 'any of a large number of fungi' (lit. 'ghost's ear, spirit's ear'), (*pʷo*)-*ssenŋiŋ* 'moldy smell, earthy smell, to smell moldy'; MRT *sáliŋa*; PUL *háliŋ*, *háliŋá-(n)*, *háliŋá-(n hoomá)* 'tree f., m.'; CRL *sáliŋ*, (*bʷoo*)-*sáliŋ* 'smell musty or moldy from long storage'; CRN *heliŋ*; STW *sáliŋ*, *sáliŋa*; WOL *taliŋe* 'e.', *taliŋa-(a)* 'listen to, obey'; PuA *taniŋa*; SNS *táriŋa*; PCK *taliŋa; PON *saleŋ*, *saleŋe* 'e., his e.', *saleŋe-n eni* 'fungus, mushroom' (lit. 'ear of ghost'; MOK *jaleŋ*-*walek* 'big-ear taro'; MRS (*law*)-*jilŋ(iy)* 'e.'; KIR (*te*)-*taniŋa*; PEO *taliŋa (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *daliga*; PPN *taliŋa; ROT *ŋaliga*; SAA 'alige' 'e., m.'; LAU *aliŋa* 'e.'; KWA *aliŋa* 'm.'; PKB *taliŋa 'e., edible f.'); PAN *taliŋa.

PMC ***tama** 'father': CHK *saam*, *seme-(n)* 'f., f. of', *sama-(n)*, *sema-(n)* 'his f.', *samasam* 'treat as a f.', *sene-ni* 'acquire as a f.'; MRT *sama*; PUL *hama-(n)* 'his f.', *hamá-(n)* 'f. of'; CRL *saam* 'f.', *sema-(l)* 'his f.'; CRN *haam*; STW *saam*, *sema*; WOL *taame*, *tema-(li)* 'f., f. of', *tema-li-(i)* 'have him as a f.'; PuA *taama*, *tama*; SNS *tama* (sic); PCK *tama; PON *saam*, *seme* 'f., his f.'; MOK *jema-(a)* 'his f.'; PNG *seme*; MRS *jema*; KIR *tama-(na)* 'his f.'; KSR *tamʷe-(l)* 'his f.'; POC *tama (Ross 1988) (FIJ *tama*; SAA 'ama- 'f. [ref.]', *maʷa* 'f. [voc.]'; BUG *tama*; LAU *maa* 'f. [voc.]'; ARO *ama*; KWA *ama-[na]*; PKB *tama* 'f.'); PAN *tama (Ross 1988).

PWMC ***tanisi** 'finger or toe': PON *send* 'appendage, f., t.', *sendi-(n pee)* 'f.'; MOK *jaid*, *jandi-(n)* 'f. or t., f. or t. of'; MRS *janit*, *janti-(n)* 'f., crab claw, f. of'.

PMC ***tanitani** 'skin disease': CHK *senisen* 'tinea, ringworm', (*pʷoo*)-*senisen* 'smell of ringworm'; PON *sensen* 's. d. caused by a fungus, be moldy or old tasting', (*pʷoo*)-*sensen* 'moldy smelling'; MRS *jan* 's. d., white spots on skin'; KIR *tantan* 'spotted (as the skin)'; KSR *tan* 'a s. d.'.

PMC ***tano** 'ground, low': CHK *són*, *sónu-n*, *ó-sóna* 'level ground, leveled site of, make it level (of g.)', *sónó-(ŋŋaw)* 'uneven', (*teki*)-*són* 'be l., humble', (*mó*)-*sónó-són* 'meek, humble, lowly'; PUL *hóón*, *hóno* 'surface, g.', *hóno-(fiR)* 'be smooth, level, flat', *hóón* 'bottom', *hón* 'to be lower', (*taki*)-*hón* 'be l., short'; CRL *sóssól* 'be l., be near the ground, be l. in rank or grade'; STW *sóól* 'land, soil'; WOL *taalo*, *talo* 'earth, soil, g.'; PuA *totano* (sic) 'earth, g.'; PCK *tano; PON *son* 'aligned, settled, arranged, ordered'; KIR (*te*)-*tano* 'earth, soil'; POC *tanoq (Ross 1988) (SAA 'ano' 'g.'; BUG *tano* 'earth, g.'; ARO *ano* 'g.', [*i*]-*ano* 'down'; KWA *ano* 'land, g.'; PNK *-tano 'down, westward'). Cf. WOL *saalo*, *saló*-, *taalo*, *talo* 'west, downward', -*saló* 'below, downside'. Note TON *tano* 'place of burial, cemetery', *tanu* 'to bury or intern (s.t.)'; BUG *tano* 'earth, ground', *tanu-vi* 'to dip, soak in water'; KWA *ano* 'ground', *alu* 'bury'; POC *tanoq* 'earth' (Ross 1988); UAN *tanem 'bury, plant'. Cf. also PCK *itano 'deposited, put away'. See Marck (1994:317) PMC *tano 'soil, earth, ground'.

PMC ***tano-mi** 'to catch (water) in a container': MRT *sano-mi*; STW *sólo-mi*; WOL *talo-mi-(i)*; PCK *tano-mi; PEO *tano (FIJ *tano-a* 'large wooden bowl for preparing kava'; BUG *tano* 'to collect').

PMC ***tañifa** 'a small fish': CHK *senif*, *senife-(n)* 'herring, h. of'; PUL *hánif*, *hánifá-(y)* 'anchovy, a. of'; CRL *sálif* 'sp. of s. f.'; PCK *ta[nñ]ifa; PON *sayp* 'sardine'; MOK *jayp* 'f. sp.'; KSR *tai* 'a kind of f.'.

PWMC ***tañi** 'from (s.t.), away from' (usually suf. to verbs): CHK *seni*; MRT *sage*; PUL *háñi*; CRL *sáñi*, *señi*; CRN *heñi*; STW *sáñi*; WOL *tañi*; PCK *tañi; PON -*saj* 'from, in opposition to'; MOK -*jañ* 'from, than'; PNG -*saj*; MRS *jan*. The MRS *n* is unexpected.

PMC ***tañi-Si** 'cry, weep': MRT *sáñ*, *sáñisáñ*; PUL *hán*; CRL *sáñ*, *sáñisáñ* 'c.', *sáñi-ti* 'cry at (s.o.)'; CRN *heñ*; WOL *tañi*, *tañiteñi*; PuA *tañi*, *tañitañi*; SNS *tañi*; PCK *tañi, *tañitañi*, *tangi-di*; PON *señ*; MOK *jəñ*, *jañi-d*, 'c., c. about (s.t.)'; PNG *señ*; MRS *jañ*, *jañi-t* 'c.', c. for (s.o.); KIR *tañ*, *tañitañ* 'c.', *tañi-ra* 'desire, c. for (s.t.)', (*ka*)-*tañitañ* 'to cause to c.'; KSR *tañ* 'c.', *tañi* be sorry for'; PEO *tañi-z* (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *tagi*, *tagi-ca*; PPN *tañi; BUG *tañi*, *tañi-hi*;

LAU *añi*, *añi-si*; ARO *añi*, *añi-hi*, *añi-si*; KWA *añi* ‘sorrowful’; PKB **tañi*; POC **tañis* (Ross 1988); UAN **tañis*.

PMC **tañiri* ‘tuna’: CHK *señir*, *señiri*-(*n*) ‘yellow tail t., t. of’; MRT *sañur* ‘big t.’; PUL *háñir* ‘yellowfin t.’; WOL *tañiri* ‘king-size t.’; PCK **tañiri*; MRS (*m^we*)-*jañir* ‘porcupine fish’; KIR (*te*)-*tañji* ‘yellow-fin t.’ (Bender et al. 1984); PEO **tañiRi* ‘pelagic fish’ (Geraghty 1990) (SAA *aañili* ‘kingfish’; ARO *añiri* ‘shoal of porpoises’); UAN **tañiRi* ‘kind of fish’. Cf. LAK *tariga* ‘a fish’.

PMC **tao* ‘a thwart, tie’: CHK *ssó* ‘t. of a canoe’, (*fó*)-*ssó* ‘step or rung of a ladder’; PUL *hó*, *hóo*-(*n*) ‘canoe t., t. of’; CRL *ssó*, *sóó* ‘canoe t.’; WOL *ttóó* ‘canoe t.’; PUA *ttao* ‘canoe t.’; PCK **ta[wó]o*, *tta[wó]o*; PON *sɔɔ*-(*roŋ*) ‘ridgepole of a building’; MRS *jewjew* ‘outrigger spar, ties between spar and outrigger’; PEO **tao* (BUG *tao* ‘ridge, saddle of a mountain’, [*labu*] *tao* ‘to nail crosswise’; ARO *aoao* ‘to extend beyond as s.t. sticking out’; KWA *aoao* ‘shelf in a house’). Cf. FIJ *soka* ‘ribs of boat’; PAN **seŋkar* ‘cross seat of boat’ (Blust 1970:142).

PMC ? **taɸa*, ‘a fish’: KIR (*te*)-*taba* ‘a f.’; KSR *təp* ‘a kind of f.’.

PMC **taɸa*, ‘cheek’: CHK *saap*, *sapa*-(*n*), *sape*-(*n*) ‘c., his c., c. of’; MRT *saap*, *sapa*-(*n*); PUL *hapa*-(*n*), *hapá*-(*n*); CRL (*au*)-*sap*; CRN (*au*)-*hap*; STW *saap*, *sepa*-(*n*); WOL *taape*, *tepa*-(*le*); ULI *tapa*-(*l*) ‘his c.’; PUA *taapa*, *tapa*- ‘c., gill (of fish)’; SNS *tapa* (sic); PCK **taɸa*; PON *sepe* ‘his c.’; MOK *jəp*, *jəpə* ‘c., his c.’; MRS *jap*, *jəpa*-, *jəpe*-; KIR *taba*-(*na*) ‘his c.’; KSR *təpə*-(*l*) ‘his c.’; PEO **taba* (PPN **tapa* ‘edge’; SAA **apa* ‘part, side, half’; LAU *aba*- ‘hand, arm, part, leaf’; BUG *taba* ‘sea shore’; ARO *aba* ‘half, part, side’); UAN **tamban* ‘side’. See also PCMC **tape*₂ ‘face, tum’.

PMC **taɸa*, ‘be caught, snagged’: CHK *sap* ‘be c., s., stuck, hung up’; PUL *hap* ‘be taut, s., c., be late, detained’; PCK **taɸa*; UAN **taban*.

PCMC **taɸa*, *ka-taɸa* ‘speak, spoken’: CHK *a-pasa* ‘say it, utter it’, *kka-pas*, *kka-pase*-(*n*) ‘speech, talk, utterance, language, to s., say, talk, s. of’, *kakka-pas* ‘converse’; MRT *a-pasa* ‘to speak it’, *kka-pas* ‘word, language’; PUL *ya-paha* ‘to say it, s. it’, *kka-pah*, *kka-pahá*-(*n*) ‘speech, word, language, s. of’; CRL *a-paha* ‘to say (s.t.)’, *kka-pas*, *kke-pas* ‘word, speech, talk, language’; CRN *kka-pah* ‘word, speech, talk, language’, *a-paha* ‘to say (s.t.)’; STW *a-pasa* ‘say it’, *kka-pas* ‘word, language’; WOL *kke-pate* ‘word, language, speech’, *kkekke-pate*, *kke-pate-pate* ‘be talking’, *-pate* ‘a fragment of speech (in counting)’; PUA *tapatapa* ‘say, announce’, *tapa* ‘s. about or announce (s.t.)’; PCK **pata*, *ka-pata*, *kka-pata* or **taɸa* (all Chuukic lgs. represented here have undergone metath. with exception of PUA); KIR *ka-tabataba-a* ‘to call (a bird) for ensnaring’. Cf. PUA *paata*, *pata*- ‘a piece that is cut out’ and *kapakapa* ‘to talk behind one’s back’. This may be the same root as PMC **taɸa*, *tapa*-[*kŋ*]i ‘to answer’.

PMC **taɸ[ae]*, *taɸ[ae]-ki* ‘lift up, carry, bear in one’s hands’: CHK *sap* ‘be holding up with open palm (of the hand)’, *sapa*, *sassapa* ‘to hold (s.t.) up in the open palm’; MRT *sapa* ‘carry (s.t.) with both hands, to support (s.t. or s.o.)’; STW *sepa* ‘to support, hold up (s.t.)’; PON *sape* ‘to c. (s.t.) in one’s arms’; MOK *japa-k* ‘to l. (s.t.) up from the rear end (as in catching turtles)’; MRS *jepak* ‘support, hold up’; KIR *tabetabe* ‘to engage in carrying, carry repeatedly’, *tabe-ka* ‘to lift or take (s.t.) up in the hands’, *tabe-ki*-(*a*) ‘l. it up’; KSR *təptəp* ‘to support, uphold, bear’, *təpəp-k* ‘to support, uphold, or bear (s.t.)’; PEO **taɸa*, *tape* (FIJ *təbe*, *təbe-a* ‘to hold or carry in the hands’, *tabetabe* ‘the bringing of food in baskets’; SAA **apa-a* ‘a staff’; ARO *abaaba* ‘to carry’); UAN **tapak* ‘flat of the hand, sole of the foot’. Cf. FIJ *taba* ‘upper arm (of human), foreleg (of animal), *taba*-(*caca*) ‘single-handed, odd, having no match’; LAU *aba*- ‘hand, arm, leaf’; SAA **apa* ‘leaf’, **apa* ‘wing, shoulder, leaves’; PEO **taba*. Cf. also PMC *[*st*]apa, [*st*]apa[*st*]apa, [*st*]apa-*ŋi* ‘to help’.

PMC **taɸa*, *tapa*-[*kŋ*]i ‘to answer’: PON *sape-ŋ* ‘to respond, a.’; MOK *jəpə-ŋ* ‘a., talk back to (s.o.)’, *jəpə-ŋek* ‘to give an a.’; KIR *taba-ka* ‘to snap at (s.o., as a dog), kick (at s.o., as a horse)’; KSR *top* ‘an a.’, *topu-k* ‘to a. (s.o.)’; PEO **taba* (BUG *taba* ‘to pay, wages, reward’). This may be the same root as PCMC **taɸa*, *ka-taɸa* ‘speak, spoken’.

PMC **taɸa*, *tapa-taɸa*, *tapa-ki* ‘be cut, lopped, to cut (s.t.) off’: CHK *sep* ‘be c. off, lopped off (of coconut fronds and pandanus leaves)’, *sepesep* ‘cutting or lopping off (of leaves and fronds)’, *sepe-si* ‘to c. it or lop it off’; MRT *sepasep* ‘cutting off’, *sepa-ke* ‘c. down (leaves of anything)’, *sepa-te* ‘c. down (coconut leaves)’; PUL *hepá-ki-y* ‘c. it’; CRL *sapasap* ‘machete with broad blade’, *sápe-ghi* ‘chop it with a machete’; CRN *hapahap* ‘machete’, *hapi-gi* ‘chop it with a

machete'; STW *sapasap* 'large knife', *sepá-ki* 'c., lop off, trim (s.t.)'; WOL *tape* 'to c. (usually leaves)', *tepa-gi-i* 'c. it', *tapetape* 'big knife'; PuA *tapatapa* 'to c., split', *tapa-ki* 'split it'; PCk **tapa*, *tapatapa*, *tapa-ki*; PON *sap* 'to c. into pieces', *sepe* 'c. (s.t.) into pieces', *sapa-k* 'to harvest (of bananas)'; MOK *jap* 'c. with an upward stroke', *japa-k* 'c. (s.t.) with an upward stroke'; MRS *jéjép* 'c. off, shorten, mow', *jépa-k* 'c., hack, chop off, split, slash (s.t.)'; KSR *sipsip* 'c., chop, or slice into small pieces', *sipi-k* 'c., chop, or slice (s.t.)'. Cf. FIJ *teba* 'a fighting iron axe'; SAA *opa* 'divide, separate'; BUG *tobi* 'fell (a tree), clear (the bush)'; LAU *oba* 'take from, separate, divide'; KWA *oba* 'to beat down undergrowth'; PMP **tabas* 'c. away underbrush' (Blust 1980:92); PAN **tebaS* 'to cut, clear vegetation' (Blust 1986:97). Cf. PMC **tafa*, *tafa-si* 'to cut in pieces, slice'.

PMC ***tapaka[wθ]u** 'a mat': STW *sepaaw* 'm. made from young coconut leaves'; WOL *tapegau* 'coconut leaf m.', *tapegau-u(we)* 'put a coconut m. on it'; PuA *tapakaú* 'young, white, unopened coconut leaf'; PCk **tapakau*; MRS *jépkaw* 'coarse floor m.'; KSR *sahpka* 'm. sewn of pandanus leaves'; PEO **tapakau* (TON *tapakau* 'large coconut leaf suitable for use in making floor mats'; SAM *tapa'au* 'coconut-leaf floor m.'). PUL *sepaawo* (sic) 'coconut leaf m.' is clearly a loan from another Chuukic language, and the KSR form may be a loan from MRS.

PCMc ***tape**, 'busy': MRS *jép* 'place of work'; KIR *tabe* 'b., engaged, employed', (*te*)-*tabe* 'the state of being employed'. Cf. PMC **tap[ae]*, *tap[ae]-ki* 'lift up, carry, bear in one's hands', PMC *[st]apa, [st]apa[st]apa, [st]apa-ŋi 'to help'.

PCMc ***tape**, 'face, turn': CHK *sap*, *sáp* 'f., present a side in a given direction', with directional suffixes *sape-nó*, *sápe-nó*, *sape-tá*, *sápe-tá*, *sape-to*, *sápe-to*, *sape-tiw*, *sápe-tiw*, *sape-wow*, *sápe-wow*, *sape-wu*, *sápewu*, (*á*)-*sápa* 'to turn (s.t.) to f. in another direction', (*á*)-*sápásápi-n* (*ppéwút*) 'the warding off of (sorcery)'; CRL *sápe*- (with dir. suf.) 'f. or proceed (in a direction)'; CRN *hap* 'f. or proceed (in a certain direction)'; WOL *sape* 'turn, f.'; PCk **tape*; KIR (*ka*)-*tabe-a* 'to divert one from what he is doing, to interrupt', (*ka*)-*taba-a* 'to give way, to turn aside to let another pass'. Cf. KSR *təpə-l* 'to turn (s.t.)'. Cf. also UAN **tamban* 'side'. See also PMC **tapas* 'cheek'.

PMC ***tapia** 'bowl, constellation Delphinus': CHK *sepi*, *sepiya-(n)* 'b., dish, platter, plate, constellation D., his b.', *sepiye-ni* 'acquire (a b.)'; MRT *sapi*, *sapiye-(y)* 'b., my b.'; PUL *hápi*, *hápey* 'b.', *hápiyá-ni-(y)* 'keep or own (a b.)'; CRL *sápi*, *sápiya-(l)* 'b., his b.'; CRN *hepi*; STW *sápi*; WOL *tapiye* 'b., dish, constellation D.'; PuA *tappiia* (sic) 'wooden plate'; PCk **tapiya*; MOK *japi* 'wooden b.'; MRS *japéy* 'wooden b., constellation D.'; PEO **tabiRa* (Geraghty 1990) (ARO *abira* 'basket made of coconut leaf'; BAU *abira* 'wooden bowl'); UAN **tambiR* + an. Cf. BUG *tabili* 'wooden mortar'.

PCMc ***tapakea** 'kind of turtle': PON *sapake* 'hawkbill t.'; MOK *japake* 'sp. of t.'; MRS *jebrakey* 't. with multi-colored shell'; KIR (*te*)-*tabakea* 'kind of t. with brilliant shell'. See also CHK *p'ááp'á* 't.' and CRN *p'ááp'á* 't.', which may well be derived from **pakea*.

PMC ***tapo** 'district, division': CHK *sóp*, *sóp-u-tiw*, *sóp-o-notow*, *sóp-o-tá*, *sóp-u-n* 'district, village, lower d., eastern d., upper d., d. of', -*sóp* 'half, division, part (in counting)'; PUL *hóóp*; CRL *sóóp*, *sób-o-(l)*, -*sób*; CRN *hóóp*, *hób-o-(n)*; STW *sóóp*, *sóp-o-(n)*, -*sóp*; WOL *taabo*, *tabo*; PCk **tapo*; PON *saap*, *sap* 'e' 'land or homestead, his l.'; MOK *jap*, *jap-o-n* 'land, island, l. of'; KIR (*te*)-*tabo* 'place'; KSR *təfə-(n)* 'half of'. Cf. FIJ *tamo* 'portion, section'. Cf. also PMC **tapo*, *tapo-o*-[sS]a 'end, terminate'. See also Marck (1994:322) PCMc **tapo*.

PMC ***tapo**, *tapo-o*-[sS]a 'end, terminate': CHK *sóp* 'be at an e., terminated', (*nee*)-*sóp-u-(n)* 'e. of it', *sóp-o-(nóo-n)* 'e. of it', (*ó*)-*sóp-a* 'make an e. of it', (*ó*)-*sóp-u-(ni)* 'make a termination feast for it', *sóp-e-(ey)* 'bring to completion'; MRT *sóp* 'e. part (of canoe)'; PUL *hóóp* 'e.', *hóp-e-(ló)* 'finish completely'; WOL *taabo*, *tabo* 'e.', *tabo-(gapi)* 'western e.', (*ge*)-*tabo* 'make use of s.t. before it disappears', *sabo* 'be finished, completed'; PuA *taap-o*, *tap-o* 'top, front, egde'; PCk **tapo*; PON *sap* 'reach e. of a round of kava'; MOK *jap-o-d*, *jap-o-ds* 'pinnacle of a tree, growing e. and its base'; MRS *jap-e-(n)* 'point of, e. of'; KIR (*te*)-*tabo* 'e.' (*te*)-*tabo*-(*ni-bai*) 'finger'; KSR *səf* 'come to an e.'. Cf. FIJ *tavo* 'side, e., area' (Geraghty 1983:374); PMP **tapus* 'finished, completed' (Blust 1986:96) and cf. PMC **tapo* 'district, division'.

PMC ***tapu**, 'taboo, ritual restriction, be taboo': STW (*a*)-*sóp-usóp* 'stated proscriptions, statements of taboos'; WOL *taabu*, *tabu* 'taboo, ban, ritual restriction protected by supernatural

sanction (marked by a taboo sign)'; PUA *taap^wu*, *tap^wu*- 'taboo, ban marked by a taboo sign'; PCK **tap^wu*; KIR *tab^wu* 'be taboo, forbidden, sacred', (*te*)-*tab^wu* 'a taboo'; PEO **tabu* (Fij *tabu*; PPN **tapu*; SAA 'ápu; BUG *tabu*; LAU *abu*; ARO *abu* 'sacred'; KWA *abu*). Cf. MRS *jab^wiy* 'taboo' (archaic). Cf. also PMC **tap^wu₂* 'future negative', PWMc **aap^wa* 'no'.

PMC ***tap^wu**, 'future negative': CHK *-sap^w* 'future negative, will not, must not'; MRT *sap^w* 'future negative'; PUL *-hap^w*, *-hóp^w* 'exhortative negative'; CRL *-sóp^w*, *-ssóp^w* and CRN *-hób^w* 'future negative', *sóób^w* 'no, I won't'; CRN *-hób^w* 'future negative', *haap^w* 'no, I won't'; STW *sóp^w* 'future negative'; MRS *jab^w* 'not (future)', *jahab* 'no'; PEO **tapu* (ARO *abu* 'don't'; KWA *abu* [pref. to vb.] 'be unable to ...'). Cf. also PMC **tap^wu*, 'taboo, ritual restriction, be taboo', PWMc **aap^wa* 'no'.

PMC ***tara** 'sacred, holy': PON *sara-wi*, *sara-wii(n)* 's., h., a religious service, magic, taboo, r. s. of'; MOK *jār-wi* 'h., s., a religious service, to hold a religious service'; PNG *serē-wi*; 'h.'; PPON **tara-wii*; MRS *jar* 'pray, go to church'; KSR (*ma*)-*tæl* 'h., hallowed, s.'. Note that KIR *tataro* 'to pray' and *taro-mauri* 'worship' are loans from Polynesian, e.g., SAM *talo* 'to pray' (obsolete).

PMC ? ***tara**, *tarā*-[sS]i 'to look, look at': PON *sara-(da)* 'l. upwards' (*da* 'upwards'); MOK *jar* 'bend back one's head'; KIR #*taratara* 'be awake, to behold', *tara-a* (? < **taa-ra*) 'to l. at, behold (s.t.)'; PEO **taRa-c* 'l. up' (Geraghty 1990). Geraghty's reconstruction relies heavily on the Micronesian forms, which he seems to misinterpret.

PMC ***taraa** 'squirrel fish': CHK *sara* 'yellow-lined s. f.'; MRT *sara*; PUL *hara* 'a kind of red f.'; CRL *sara* 'sp. of edible reef f.'; STW *sera*; WOL *seraa* 'a kind of f.'; PCK **taraa*; PON *sara*; MOK *jara* 'f. sp., kind of soldier f.'; MRS *jerah*; KIR (*te*)-*taa* 'a fish'; LAK *talaha* 'k. of f.'; PEO **taRaqa* 'k. of f. (*Adioryx spinifer*, Holocendridae)' (Geraghty 1990). Cf. TON *ta'a* 'a fish (red, edible)'.

PWMc ***taraki** 'to sail': CHK *seres* 'be sailing, go on a sailing vessel, to reef a sail'; MRT *serek* 'to s., be sailing'; PUL *herák*; CRL *serágh*, *serághi*-; STW *serák*; WOL *teragi* 'to s., travel by water'; PUA *taleki* 'to s., navigate'; PCK **taraki*; PON *serek*; MOK *joræk*; MRS *jerak* 's. away', *jerakrék* 'go sailing'. YAP *tarég* 'to s.' is evidently a loan from a Chuukic source. Cf. PPN **tere* 's., float'.

PCMc ***tarawa** 'barracuda': CHK *saraw*, *sarawe(n)* 'b., b. of'; MRT *saraw*; PUL *haraw*, *harawá(n)*; CRL *saraw*; STW *saraw*; WOL *sarawe*; PUA *talawa*; PCK **tarawa*; PON *saraw*; MOK *jaraw*; KIR *taawa*. Cf. PMC ? **turai* 'barracuda'.

PWMc ***tare** 'peer group, tier': CHK *sássár*, *sássári(n)* 't., storey (of house), step (of stair), shelf (of cupboard), t. of'; CRL *sáre(l)*, *sári(l)* 'age mate of, peer of'; CRN *hera(n)* 'his age mate, his peer'; WOL *taare*, *tera(l)* 'generation, age group, g. of', *-tare* 'generation (in counting)'; PCK **tare*; MRS *jar* 'crowd, any group of people as a class, unit, or division'. Cf. Fij *tara*, *tara-va* 'to follow'; ARO *areha* 'kin by marriage', *tare-ha* 'a crowd' (a loan?); UAN **ta[rR]ap* 'row'.

PMC ***tare**, *tare-ki*- 'to move, remove': CHK *sár* 'be moving, not staying in one place', *sári-si* 'm. (s.t.) from its place, r. (s.t.)', *ssár* 'be capable of being elevated or lifted up'; WOL *tera-gi(i)* 'to m. or pull (s.t.) up, m. it up, lift it'; PCK **tare*, *tare-ki*; KSR *tal* 'to m., rub, paddle fast', *tal* 'root out', *tæla-k* 'root (s.t.) out, pull out, pull up (a net)'.

PMC ***tari** 'child': MRT *seri* (sic) 'baby, c. (up to seven yrs. old)'; PUL *háár*, *hári*- 'c., infant'; CRL *sáár*, *sári*-; STW *sáár* 'person born at same time as oneself', *sárisár* 'be born at the same time'; WOL *saari*, *sari*- 'c., boy, girl, baby'; ULI *tar* (*fefel*) (sic) 'prepubescent girl'; PCK **tari*; PON *seri* 'her c.'; MOK *jeri* 'c.', *jeri-(m^weyn)* 'boy', *jeri-(peyn)* 'girl'; PNG *seri* 'c.'; MRS (*ha*)-*jriy* 'c., kid, toddler'; KSR *talik* 'c.' (presumably *talik* 'my c.'). Expressed final vowel without suffixed form in MRT, MOK, PNG, and MRS poses problem. Cf. also PCMc ? **atarei* 'child'.

PCMc ***taro** 'to be able': CHK (*ó*)-*sór* 'offering to a spirit' (i.e., 'make effecting'), (*énuú*)-*sór* 'effecting spirit', (*m^wááne*)-*sór* 'effecting man'; MRS *jer^w* 'be able to'; KIR *tao(n)* 'to engage in, go at, begin upon'.

PMC ***ta[sS]i**- 'younger sibling': CHK *seti-(p^witur)* 'youngest child of a woman' (lit. 'skirt child'), *seti-(peen)* 'small child'; MRS *jati*- 'y. s.'; KIR *tari*- 's. of same sex'; PEO **tazi* (Geraghty 1983); POC **tazi* (Blust 1978:108); POC **taji* (Ross 1988) (Fij *taci* 'y. s. of same sex'; SAA 'ási- 's.

of same sex'; BUG *tahi*- s. of same sex'; LAU *asi* 's. of opposite sex'; ARO *asi* 's. of opposite sex' [sic]; KWA *asi*-[na] 'y. s.'; LAK *tari*- 'y. s. of same sex'). Cf. UAN *aji(h).

PMC ***taSi** 'salt water': CHK *sáát, seti*-, -*set*; PUL *háát, heti*-, CRL *sáát*; CRN *háát*; STW *sáát, sáti*-, WOL *taati, tati*-, *saati, sati*-, PUA *taati, tati*-, SNS *taati*; PCK **tadi*; PON *seed*; MOK *jed*; PNG *sed*; MRS (*law*)-*jét*; KIR *taari, -tari*; KSR (*káfin*)-*te* 'salt water'; PEO **tazi* (Geraghty 1983); POC **tasik, dasik* (Ross 1988) (FU *taci*; PPN **tahi*; SAA 'ási; BUG *tahi*; ARO *asi*; KWA *asi*; PKB **dasi*); UAN *[t]asik. See also Marck (1994:309) PMC **tazi*.

PWMC ***tata** 'yellow snapper': CRL *saas* 'sp. of y. s.'; WOL *taate, teta*- 'a kind of y. fish'; PCK **tata*; MRS *jaj* 'a s.'

PMC ***tau**₁ 'person': CHK *soo*-(*tup*^w), *soo*-(*má*), *soo*-(*pe*) 'departed (dead) person, corpse, ghost'; PUL *hoo*-(*tup*^w), *hoo*-(*má*) 'departed person, ghost'; CRL *soo*-(*má*), *soo*-(*tub*^w) 'respectful term for one who is dead', *soo*-(*pe*) 'respectful term for ghost or spirit'; CRN *hoo*-(*tub*^w) 'respectful term for one who is dead'; PUA *tou*-(*tup*^w)*a* 'spirit, god'; PCK **tau*; MRS *jé*-(*téb*^w) 'spirit'; POC **tau* 'body, person'; (LAK *tau*- 'man of a place or clan'; SAA 'áu-[*sala*] 'be a gadabout, neglect the home'; ARO *au*-[*henua*] 'man of the place'); UAN *[t]au 'person'. See also PMC **tawu*₁ 'master, expert', PMC ? **tawu*₂ 'clan, family'.

PMC ***tau**₂ 'season, sun': CHK *séé*-(*jé*) 'new year'; MRT *séé* 'season'; PUL *héé*-(*jé*) 'be new'; CRN *héé*-(*jé*) 'new'; WOL *taú*-(*wate*) 'daylight, day, sun'; PUA *tai*-(*daú*) 'new, fresh'; PCK **taú*-, *taú*-(*faú*); PON *sow* 'sun' (archaic); MOK *jow* 'sun'; PNG *jew* 'sun'; KIR *taai* 'sun', (*te*)-*taí* 'time, season, harvest'; PEO **taqu* (PPN **taqu* 'season'; SAA *aaú* 'season of the southeast wind'; KWA *au* 'southeast wind'); UAN **taqun* 'year, season'. Cf. Marck (1994:309) PMC **ta*[wø]u 'sun, year, season'; YAP *duw* 'year', *daay* 'tidal season'. Cf. also PCMC **ta*[wø]u, 'time period', PCK **taú* 'sunset'.

PMC ? ***tau**₃ 'who?': CHK (*i*)-*yé*, (*i*)-*yéé*-(*n*); MRT (*i*)-*yé*; PUL (*yi*)-*yé*; CRL (*i*)-*yo*, (*ii*)-*yo*; CRN (*i*)-*yo*; STW (*ii*)-*yo*; WOL (*i*)-*taí*; ULI (*yi*)-*tey*; PUA (*i*)-*téú*; PCK **yau*-, -[*æ*]ú; MOK ? (*in*)-*je*; PNG ? (*i*)-*saa*; KIR (*an*)-*taí*; KSR *sa*. There are problems here. Cf. POC *sai* 'who?' (Ross 1988) (FU [*o*]-*cei*, [*ko*]-*cei*; PPN **hai*; SAM [*o*]-*ai*; SAA [*a*]-*tei*; BUG [*a*]-*hai*; KWA *dai*; LAK [*e*]-*re*, [*e*]-*rei*). Note that KIR *ae* 'who (relative pm.)' appears to be a loan from SAM (*i*)-*ai* 'who (relative pm.)'.

PMC ***tautau, tau-ki** 'to catch': CHK *séésé* 'engage in a kind of fishing with handnets'; MRT *séésé* 'c. fish with a net'; PCK **taútaú*; PON *say-k* 'to c. (fish)'; MOK *jay-k* 'to try to c. or to c. on to (s.t.)'; MRS *jíay* 'to c.', *jayi-k* 'to c. (a falling object or fruit)'; KSR *sasa* 'to c.', *sau-k* 'to c., grasp (s.t.)'. Cf. LAU *dau, dadau* 'to hold, catch, take, touch'. Cf. PMC **tawu*₃ 'saved, held on to'.

PMC ***tautu** 'porcupine fish': CHK *sééw, séésééw*; MRT *sééw*; PUL *hééwú* (sic) 'large growth stage of edible long-spined puffer fish'; CRL *soow* 'sp. of lagoon f., perhaps a goatfish'; WOL *taúsú* 'a kind of fish'; PUA *taúdú*; PCK **taútú*; PON *sey*; MOK *joy*; KIR (*te*)-*tauti* 'a fish'; KSR *taut* 'needle fish' (Bender et al. 1984: 'p. f.'). PEO **taRutu* (Geraghty 1990); PMP **taRutum, taRutun* (Blust 1984–85). Cf. YAP *t'uiy* 'p. f.'.

PMC ***tawaa** 'break, broken': CRL *ssowa* 'to b. (as waves on a beach), hatch (as an egg)'; CRN *ssawa* 'to b., hatch'; WOL *tewaa* 'be broken, cracked (as an egg), smashed'; PUA *tawa*-(*di*) (sic) 'to be broken'; PCK **tawaa*; PON *sawa* 'be broken'; KSR *sawe* 'to hatch'. Cf. SAA *awaa* 'be convalescent after a fever, be over the attack'; KWA *gwaa* 'burst, healed of a boil'.

PWMC ***tawia** 'any of several kinds of sea bass': CHK *sewi, #sewii*-(*n*) 'any of a number of sp. of b. fish, b. f. of'; PUL *heviy, hewiyá*-(*n*) 'blue spotted s. b., b. of'; PCK **tawiya*; PON *sawi* 'grouper fish (*Plectropomus*)'; MOK *jawi* 's. b.'; MRS *jawéy* 'a giant s. b. of genus *Principops*, s. b. of genus *Plectropomus*'.

PMC ***ta**[wø]**Jo, ta**[wø]**Jo-ni** 'to press': MRS *jewe-n* 'press down on, weigh down on (s.t.)'; KIR *tao-na* 'press (s.t.) down, control (s.t.)'; KSR *tw**to* 'to press', *tw-n* 'to press (s.t.)'.

PMC ***tawu**₁ 'master, expert': CHK *sowu*- 'master, expert'; PUL *hawu*- 'expert, master, lord'; CRL *sóu*- 'expert', *sóusów*- 'evil magician, sorcerer'; CRN *haw*- 'expert'; WOL *sau*-, *tau*- 'master, expert'; PCK **tawu*-, PON *sow*- 'expert at' and *sow*- 'prefix in titles of rank'; KIR *tia*- 'expert' (showing metath.); KSR *to*-(*kosrae*) 'king of Kosrae'; POC ? **taqu, daqu* 'expert' (FU *dau* 'expert'; TON *tou*- 'person who does s.t.'; SAM *tau*- 'owner, expert'); UAN **taquh* 'knower, expert'. Cf. FU *sau* 'high chief'; PPN **sau* 'rule, ruler' (the *saw*- in certain PON high titles is

probably a PN loan). See also PMC *tau₂ ‘season, sun’ and PMC ?*tauw₂ ‘clan, family’. There are problems.

PMC ?*tauw₂ ‘clan, family’: CHK *sowu-* ‘c. (prefix in some c. names)’; PUL *hawu-* ‘c. (pref. in some c. names)’; CRN *sôu-* ‘c. (pref. in some c. names)’; WOL *sau-* ‘c. (pref. in some c. names)’; PCK *tauw₂; PON *sow, sowi-, sawi-* ‘matrilineal c.’; MOK *jow* ‘c.’; MRS *jéwiw, jéwiy* ‘matrilineal c.’; KSR *sau* ‘f.’ (loan from MRS?). See also PMC *tau₂ ‘season, sun’, PMC *tauw₁ ‘master, expert’.

PCMc *tauw₃ ‘saved, held on to’: CHK *soo-(chik)* ‘be s., put away, kept’, *soo-(nap)* ‘be wasted, discarded, lost’; PUL *hoo-(lap)* ‘waste, squander’; CRL *soo-(lap)* ‘squander, waste’; WOL *tau* ‘be s., preserved, kept’; PCK *tauw₃; KIR *tau-a* ‘to seize, grasp, hold back, retain, hold (s.t.)’, *tautau* ‘engage in holding or retaining’. Cf. PEO *taRu ‘put down, place’ (Geraghty 1990) (SAA *’alu* ‘to put, place’; BUG *talu* ‘put, place, appoint’; LAU *alu* ‘to put, bury’; KWA *alu* ‘put, keep’). Cf. also PMc *tautau, tau-ki ‘to catch’.

PCMc *ta[wø]ju, ‘time period’: CHK (*faan*)-*sowu-n* ‘t. of it, t. of’; PON (*a*)-*nsow* ‘t., a period of t.’; MRS *jaw* ‘be formerly, used to be’; KIR *tai* ‘in due t.’. See PCMc *ta[wø]ju₂ ‘to wait’.

PCMc *ta[wø]ju₂ ‘to wait’: CHK *sowu-ni* ‘greet (a visitor on his arrival)’; CRL *ssów, sósów* ‘lie in wait for prey (as a hunter), wait patiently to catch a desired variety of fish’, *sóu-li* ‘to be expecting (s.o.), to wait for (s.o.’s arrival)’; CRN *hou-ni* ‘be expecting (s.o.)’; WOL *sau-li-(i)* ‘wait for it, expect it’; PCK *tauw₂-ni; MOK *jowjow* ‘to wait’, *jowi* ‘wait for (s.t.)’; KIR *tai-ŋa* ‘wait for (s.o.)’. Cf. Pon *awii* ‘wait for (s.t.)’. See also PMc *tau, ‘season, sun’, PCMc *ta[wø]ju₁ ‘time period’.

PMC *ta[wø]u[iu] ‘placenta, afterbirth’: CRL *sée-(la)* ‘p., a.’ (Bender et al. 1984); WOL *sééú-(le)*; MOK *jóu*; PEO *tafui (SAA *’ehu*). Cf. KWA *afini-(na)* ‘p.’; UAN *(t)A(m)buni ‘a.’.

PMC *tauw, tauw-ni ‘laid, to lay (of a fire)’: CHK *so* ‘be kindled, be lit (of an oven)’, *soo-ni* ‘lay, kindle (of a fire or oven)’; PUL *hoo* (sic) ‘to light (as a fire or oven)’, *hoo-ni*, *hoo-ni-(y)* ‘to build up (as a fire)’; PCK *tau, tau-ni; PON *sow* ‘to be made (of a fire)’, *saw-n* ‘to make (a fire), to add wood to (a fire)’; MOK *jow* ‘start a fire’, *jaw-n* ‘start (a fire)’; MRS *jaw* ‘ignite, start (of a fire), run (of an engine)’; PEO *tafu-n (Fij *tavu, tavu-na* ‘broil, roast on embers’, *tavutavu* ‘second burning of ground for planting’; BUG *tafi-ni* ‘to kindle, light [a fire]’). Cf. PMc *tauw, tauw-ni, tauw-na ‘to plant, bury’.

PMC *tauw, tauw-ni, tauw-na ‘to plant, bury’: PON *sow(di)* ‘to bury itself in the mud (of crabs)’, *sowsow* ‘grave, cemetery’; MOK *jowjow* ‘grave, cemetery’; MRS *jaw* ‘slip under ground or sand (of fish), place in sand where turtle lays eggs or coconut crab molts’; KIR *tautau* ‘to b.’, *tau-na* ‘to b. (s.t.)’; KSR *tata* ‘b., cover, fill in’, *tau-n* ‘b., cover, or fill in (s.t.)’. Cf. PEO *taRu ‘cover’ (Geraghty 1990) and PEO *taRu ‘put down, place’ (Geraghty 1990) (Fij *tau* ‘put down [of burden], lay one thing on another’; SAA *’alu* ‘to put, place’; BUG *talu* ‘to put, place, appoint’; KWA *alu, alu-a* ‘to put, keep’; PKB *tau* ‘to put, put down, deposit [of money], lay [of an egg]’; UAN *taRuq ‘put down or away’. Cf. also KSR *toŋ* ‘b.’, *to-n* ‘b. (s.t.)’; and cf. PCMc *ta[wø]ju₁ ‘time period’, PCMc ?*Too ‘at rest’, PMc *tano ‘ground, low’.

PCMc ?*tauw or *co[wø]a- ‘a fish’: CRL *soow* ‘a lagoon f. (perhaps a goatfish)’; WOL *soowe, sowa-* ‘kind of f.’; MRS *jew* ‘goatfish’; KIR (*te*)-*tau* ‘a f.’. The WOL and KIR forms are incompatible and probably do not both belong in this set. See also PMc *tautu ‘porcupine fish’.

PMC *tauwui ‘triton or trumpet shell’: CHK *sewi, sewii-*; MRT *sawi*; PUL *háwi, háwii-*; CRL *sawi, sawii-*; CRN *hawii*; STW *sawi*; WOL *tawii*; PuA *tawi* (sic); PCK *tauwii; PON *sewi*; MOK *jowi*; PPC *tauwii; KIR *tau* (? *tauu*) ‘triton conch, trumpet shell’ (Bender et al. 1984); PEO *taf-uRi (Geraghty 1990); POc *tapuRiq, dapuRiq (Ross 1988) (Fij *davui*; SAA *’áhuri*; BUG *tavuli*; ARO *ahuri*); PMP *tambuRiq.

PCMc *taxe, taxe-ki- ‘removed, excised’: CHK *sá* ‘be removed, emptied (of earth oven), come loose (of outrigger float)’, *ssá, sássá* ‘run’, *sáá-si* ‘remove (clothes), take away (from a place), swing out (of arms or fish pole), remove or peel off (of skin), chase away into exile’, (*á*)-*sáá-(y)* ‘chase away, cause to run’; PUL *háá-ki-(y)* ‘to remove (clothes or outrigger), dislodge’, *háá-(ló)* ‘leave, not stay’; CRL *ssá* ‘swing the arms quickly when walking or running, run off, run away’, *sáá-ghi* ‘to lift, move, or remove (an object or magic spell)’; WOL *saasa* ‘peel off’, *saa-gi-(i)* ‘peel it off’; PCK *tae, tae-ki-; PON *sar* ‘to peel (of skin after sunburn)’, *sansar* ‘be

sliced, peeled', *sansara-da* 'be uprooted', *serē* 'to slice, peel with an instrument', *sare-k* 'to uproot, peel, pry'; MOK *jar* 'to come out', *jar-(la)* 'be pulled out, come off', *jare-k* 'pull (s.t.) out'; KIR *tae* 'stripped, extracted, drawn out, defeated', *tae-ka* 'to root up, to tear up by the root, to twitch on a fishline in order to catch the hook in the mouth', *tae-(b^woto)* 'be uprooted'.

PMC ***te-** 'one (prefixed to classifiers)': CHK *e-*, *i-*; MRT *e-* and *se-(eik)* 'ten animals'; PUL *ye-*; CRL *e-* and *sa-(ŋaras)* 'one thousand'; CRN *a-*; STW *e-* and *sa-(ŋaras)* 'one thousand'; WOL *se-*; PUA *de-*; PCK ***te-**; PON *e-*; MRS *ji-(wen)*; KIR *te-*, *te-(uana)*; KSR *se*.

PMC ***telu, telu-ua** 'three, three (general)': CHK *één*, *wúnú-* 'three' and *ini-ik*, *ini-ika* (<*wúnú-yik) 'thirty'; MRT *éél*, *élú-* and *éli-k*; PUL *yéél*, *yélú-*, *yelu-(uw)* and *yeli-ik*; CRN *ili-*; STW *yéél*, *yélú-*; WOL *yeeli*, *seli-* and *seli-ike*; ULI *yeel*, *sulu-*; PUA *déni-* and *déni-iki*; PCK ***telú** and ***telú-yike**; PON (*e*)-*sil*, *sili-*; MOK (*e*)-*jil*, *jili-*, *jil-*, *jilu-(w)*; MRS *jili-*, *jili-w*; KIR *teni-*, *tenu-(ua)*, *teni-(ua)*; KSR *tol*, *tol-(u)*; PEO ***tolu** (Geraghty 1983); POC ***tolu** (Ross 1988) (FIJ *tolu*; UAN ***tolu**; ROT *folu*; SAA *olu*; BUG *tolu*; ARO *oru*; KWA *olu*; PKB ***tolu**); UAN ***telu**. See PMC ***-ua** 'general classifier in counting (suffixed to numerals)'.

PMC ? ***tewe, tewe-mea** 'goatfish': CHK *woo-may* 'sp. of g.'; CRL *o-mey* 'sp. of reef fish'; WOL *woo-meye*; PCK ***[tw]oo-m[æ]y[æ]**; MOK *joo-me* 'kind of g.'; MRS *jew-mey* 'a g. (*Mulloidichthys auriflamma*)'; KIR (*te*)-*tewe*; PEO ***tewe** (FIJ *toa* 'two kinds of fish'). Cf. PON *yomo* 'g. (*Parupeneus indicus*)'.

PMC ***tia**, 'stomach, belly, abdomen': PUA *diia*, *dia-*; ULI *sie-* 's.', *sii* 's. ache'; MRS (*law*)-*jéy*, *jéy*; (*law*)-*jiye*, *jiye-*; POC ***tia** (SAA *'ie* and ULA *'ia*; PKB ***tia**); UAN ***(t)iyān** 'belly'. Cf. PPC ***taka**, *taka-ni* 'stomach, have stomach for'.

PMC ? ***tia₂**, 'a fish': KIR (*te*)-*tia* 'a f.'; PEO ***tia** (FIJ *tiatia* 'a freshwater f.'). Cf. PMC ***tia** 'stomach, belly, abdomen'.

PCMc ***tiaa** 'boundary': CHK *iyá*, *iyáá-(n)* 'b., b. of'; CRL *yááli-*, *yááli-(l)* 'b., b. of'; WOL *siyaa* 'b., division'; PUA *dia* (sic); PCK ***tia[æ]**; KIR (*te*)-*tiaa*. Cf. CHK *kiyá*, *kiyáá-(n)* 'b., b. of'; PUL (*ya*)-*kiyánn*, *-kiyáanne-(n)* 'border, b., b. of' (loan from CHK?); MRS *ketaha-* 'b.'. Cf. also PPN ***tia** 'stake, post', ***tia-ki** 'to guard'; UAN ***tiyañ** 'stake, post'.

PWMC ***tiap^wo** 'growing tip of a tree': CHK *wuwap^w*, *#wuwap^wp^we-(n)* 'g. t. of the palm tree or banana plant'; CRL *uwó^wo-(l)* 'growing top sprout of leaves (as of banana)'; CRN *uwa-b^wo-(n)*; WOL *siyabo-(li)* 'top (of trees, poles, masts), peak, crest'; PCK ***ti[wy]ap^wo**; MRS *jiyab^w* 'heart of palm'. Cf. CHK *kawap^w*, *#kawap^wp^we-(n)* 'g. t. of a tree'.

PCMc ? ***tici** 'bamboo': CHK *üch*, *ichi-(n)* 'b., b. of'; WOL *siishi*, *sishi-* 'a subfamily of b.'; PCK ***tici**; KIR (*te*)-*tiri* 'pandanus shoot for planting'.

PMC ***tiku** or ***tuki** 'tropic bird': CHK *wúúk* 'white-tailed t. b.', *wúúk-(par)* 'bird with a green body and red tail'; MRT *úúk* 'a bird'; PUL *wúúk* 't. b.', *wúúk-(chcha)* 'red-tailed t. b.', *wúúk-(pak)* 'a short white-tailed t. b.'; STW *súúk* 't. b.'; WOL *súúgú*, *súgú-* 'white-tailed t. b. with long tail'; PCK ***túkú**; PON *siik* 'a white sea bird'; MOK *jik* 'bird sp.'; KSR *sik*, *sik* 'a kind of bird'. Note that *θ* is the expected reflex of **t* in the PON and MOK forms. The *wúúk-* in CHK *wúúk-(par)* and PUL *wúúk-(chcha)*, *wúúk-(pak)* appear to be the root for 'tail' (see PMC ***iku** 'tail') rather than this one.

PMC ***tina** 'mother': CHK *iin*, *ina-(n)* 'm., his m.'; MRT *iin*, *ina-*; PUL *yiin*, *yiná-(y)* 'm., my m.'; CRL *iil*, *ila-(l)*; CRN *iin*, *ina-(n)*; STW *iin*, *ina-*; WOL *silá-(le)* 'his m.'; PUA *diina*, *dina-*; PCK ***tina**; PON *iin*, *ine* 'mother, his m.'; MOK *ina-(a)* 'his m.'; PNG *ine* 'his m.'; MRS *jine-*; KIR *tina-(na)* 'his m.'; PEO ***tina** (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *tina*; PPN ***tina**; BUG *tina-[gna]*; ARO *ina-[na]*; PNK ***tina**); PAN ***tina** (Ross 1988). Cf. KSR *nine*, *mæ* 'one's mother'.

PCMc ***tinitini, tini-mi** 'to roast, broil': PON *iniin* 'to cook, r., b., toast', *ini-m* 'cook, etc. (s.t.)'; MOK *iniin* 'to cook', *ini-m* 'cook (s.t.)'; PNG *iniin* 'to cook'; MRS (*yik*)-*jin* 'cook fish on stones', *jin-(bahat)* 'smoke out, smudge', *jin-(kadwel)* 'b. on hot stones'; KIR *tintin* 'to r., b.', *tini-ma* 'to b. (coconut), to fry (s.t.)'. Cf. POC ***tunu** 'to roast' (FIJ *tunu*, *tunu-ma*, *tunu-ca* 'to warm food up again'; PPN ***tunu** 'cook on open fire'; ROT *fun*, *funu-* 'to cook [esp. by boiling]'; SAA *unuu* 'to burn on a fire, r. on embers'; BUG *tunu* 'mark, blot, or cicatrice caused by burning'; KWA *unu-a* 'cook vegetables by steaming in a leaf-plugged bamboo'; LAK *tululu* 'to burn [of a burn]', [*e*]-*tululu* 'hot taro'; UAN ***tunu** 'to r.'. Cf. also LAK *sililu*, *sululu* 'to singe'.

PMC ***[tɪu]p^wu** ‘be born, bear young’: CHK *wuup^w*, *wup^wu-(n)* ‘child, offspring (of man only), c. of’, *wup^w*, *wuup^w* ‘be fertile, have increase, bear young’, *wup^wu-(tiw)* ‘be b.’; MRT *up^wu-(tiw)* ‘be b.’; PUL *wup^wu-(tiw)* ‘be b.’; CRL *ub^wu-(tiw)* ‘be b.’; STW *up^wu-(to)*, *sup^wu-(to)* ‘be b.’; WOL *subu* ‘be b.’; ULI *subu-* ‘be b.’; PCK **tup^wu*; PON *ip^wiip^w* ‘be a paternal descendant’, *ip^wi-(di)* ‘be b.’; MOK *ip^w-(di)* ‘be b.’; MRS *jib^wi-* ‘grandmother, grandchild’; KIR *tib^wu-(na)* ‘his grandparent, his grandchild’; PEO **tubu* ‘grow’ (Geraghty (1983); POC **tubuq* ‘grow’ (Ross 1988) (FIJ *tubu* ‘to grow’; PPN **tupu* ‘grow; spring up’; ROT *fupu* ‘grow, increase’; SAA *‘upu*, *‘upu‘upu* ‘to swell’; BUG *tubu* ‘to swell’, *tubu-[gna]* ‘his mother’s brother’; LAU *ubuubu* ‘be thick, deep’; ARO *ubu* ‘to swell’; KWA *ubu* ‘swell, swelling’; PKB **tubu* ‘to grow’); UAN **(t)umpuq*. Note that PON *dip^w*, *dip^wi-(n)* ‘exogamous matrilineal clan’ is presumably a loan.

PMC ***tiro, tiro-ŋi** ‘to peer, have a look’: CHK *(e)-yira* ‘p. out at, look out for’; MRT *iro-ŋe* ‘to observe (s.t.)’; PUL *yiro-ŋi-(y)* ‘to look for or at (s.t.)’; PCK **iro, iro-ŋi-*; PON *iroŋr* ‘to look or p. in the distance, to see one’s own reflection’, *iro-ŋ* ‘to p. at’; MOK *iro-ŋ* ‘to p. at (s.t.)’; MRS *jéjér* ‘to look for’, *(kap)-jér*, *(kap)-jér** ‘mirror’; KSR *yor* ‘to visit, peep’, *iro-ŋ, iro-ŋ* ‘glance, peep, peek at’; PEO **tiro* (FIJ *tiro, tiro-va* ‘look at s.t. reflected in water or a glass’; PPN **tiro* ‘look at’; SAA *‘iro, ‘iro‘iro* ‘to look at, look for, see’; BUG *tiro* ‘to look, mirror’; ARO *iro* ‘to look’, *iro-hi* ‘to look into’; KWA *ilo* ‘look at’); UAN **ti(n)Daw*. KIR *tiro-a* ‘to inspect, scrutinize (s.t.)’ is a loan from a Polynesian source, e.g., SAM *tilotilo* ‘look, glance’. Note the unexpected absence of an initial consonant (*t* or *s*) in the KSR form, which may be a loan from PON. Cf. LAK *tiloho* ‘to peer around or after without being seen’.

PWMc ***tisi, tisi-ŋi** ‘to point or face’: CHK *iti-* ‘p., be toward, f.’, *iti-(nó)* ‘p. away’, *itiiti* ‘direction in which s.t. faces or to which it points’, *iti-ni* ‘p. or f. towards (s.t.)’; MRT *iti-ŋe* ‘to p. at (s.t.)’; PUL *yiti-* ‘lie (as a stick), f. (as a house)’, *yiti-(wenewen)* ‘f. directly east or west’, *yitiiti* ‘to p.’, *yitiiti-(wow)* ‘protrude’, *yiti-ŋi-iy* ‘to p. out’; CRL *itiiti* ‘p., pointing projection’; STW *iti, iti-* ‘to p.’, *iti-ŋi* ‘p. (s.t.) out’; WOL *siti* ‘to be straight, stick out’; PCK **tidi, tidi-ŋi-*; PON *idi-* ‘p.’, *idi-i* ‘to p. at’, *idiidi-(da)* ‘to be pointed out, identified’; PNG *id* ‘p.’; MRS *jít, jíté-ŋ* ‘head in a certain direction’. Cf. KIR *tiri* ‘simply, merely, only, just’, *tiro-a* ‘inspect or examine (s.t.) carefully’; KSR *srisrsrisr* ‘to p., hint’, *srisr-ŋi* ‘p. at, hint at (s.t.)’. Cf. PEO **tuz[iu]* ‘p.’ (Geraghty 1983) (PPN **tusi*; SAA *‘usu*; BUG *tuhu*; ARO *usu*; LAK *turi, tuturi*).

PMC ***tiSaki** ‘to ask’: PON *(pe)-ydek* ‘to a. a question’, *idek* ‘to ask (s.o.)’, *(ke)-ydek* ‘to a. (s.o., honorific)’; MOK *idək*; PNG *idek*; MRS *jiték, ka-jjiték*; KIR *titiraki* ‘to question, make inquiry’, *(te)-titiraki* ‘a question, an inquiry’; KSR *siyək* ‘to a., request, interrogate (s.o.)’. Cf. SAM *‘aisi* ‘to a.’, from which could be derived a passive **‘aisa*.i. Cf. also PCK **[kθ]a[θ]ieki* ‘to ask’, PCK **katia, katitia* ‘to ask, a question’.

PMC **?[to]ae** ‘inheritance’: PuA *due-ni* ‘succeed it, inherit it’; PON *sooso*; MOK *jojo* ‘i., souvenir, keepsake, memory’; MRS *jéw-(lét)*; ? KIR *toa* ‘all provided with, fully supplied’; PEO **toRe* ‘remainder’. Inclusion of WOL *tóó-(shigi)* ‘careful treatment, careful consideration’ in this series (Bender et al. 1984, Geraghty 1990) is not justifiable. There are problems here.

PMC ***toka**, ‘to chop’: MRS *jék, jékjék* ‘to cut, hew, chop, prune, salute with the hands’; KIR *oka-a* (showing loss of **t* before **k*) ‘to cut off (pandanus fruit) with a blade fastened to a stick’; PEO **toka* (BUG *toka* ‘to fell [a tree], chop [s.t.] down’).

PMC ***toka**, ‘rafter’: MRS *jek-(pad)* ‘rafters (of a house)’; KIR *(te)-oka* ‘r. (of a house)’ (showing loss of **t* before *k*); PEO **[dt]oka* (FIJ *doka* ‘ridgepole of house’). Cf. CHK *woo* ‘vertical rafter’.

PMC ***toki** ‘bite, peck’: PON *sok* ‘to bite (used with reference to rats)’; KIR *(te)-oki* ‘chisel’ (showing loss of **t* before *k*); POC **toki* (FIJ *toki* ‘to peck [of birds]’; TON *toki* ‘adze’; SAA *‘o‘i* ‘to break (s.t.) in pieces’; ARO *oi* ‘strike with an axe’; KWA *o‘i* ‘chop up wood’; LAK *toitoi* ‘a saw-tooth design’). Note that KIR doublet *(te)-toki* ‘chisel’ would appear to be a loan from SAM *to‘i* ‘adze’, since it does not show the loss of *t* before *k*.

PMC ***toko** ‘omen’: CHK *oo, woo* ‘omen’, *oo-su-ni* ‘interpret or read (an omen) (presumably *oo-su-* is a back formation from an intransitive **oo-s* derived from a transitive **oo-si-* ‘to portend’); UAN **teges*.

PMC ***tokolau** ‘northerly, from the north’: CHK *wééné* ‘name of the island in northeast

position in Chuuk lagoon'; PUL *wéélé* 'name of same island'; MRS *jek^wlay*, *jek^wélay* 'wind from the n.'; PEO **tokalau* (PPN **tokelau* 'n., northerly wind'; FIJ *tokalau* 'northeast wind'); UAN **tokalaud*. Cf. SAA *ooru* 'wind, to blow (a loan)'; LAU *oru* 'wind, to blow'; BUG *sokara lau* 'a south wind'. See also PMC **lau* 'pool, have liquid'.

PMC **toko*, *toko-na* 'cane, walking stick': PUL *yoo*, *yooyo*; STW *yoo-*; WOL *soogo*, *sogo-*; PUA *dooko*, *doko-*; PCK **toko*; PON *soko-n*; MRS *jek^we-ŋ*; KIR *ooko*, (*te*)-*oko* (showing loss of **t* before *k*); PEO *[*dt*]oko, [*dt*]okon-a (FIJ *toko* 'prop, stay, supporting pole', *doko* 'punting pole'; PPN **toko*); UAN **teken*. Note: CHK, MRT, and PUL *wóók*, *wóku-n* 'cane, c. of', may be related but are not inherited forms. Cf. YAP *soog* 'walking stick'.

PMC **toŋo* 'mangrove': CHK *woŋ*, *woŋe(n)* 'mangrove, m. of'; MRT *yoŋ*; CRL *yoŋ*, *yoŋo-*; STW *yoŋ*; WOL *soŋo*, *soŋo-*; PCK **toŋo*; MRS *jeŋ*^w; KIR (*te*)-*toŋo*; PEO **toŋo* (SAA **oŋo*); PMP **teŋeR* (Blust 1984–85). Cf. PON *soom^w* instead of expected **soong*.

PMC **towu* 'sugarcane': CHK *woow*, #*wowu-*; MRT *woow*; PUL *woow*; CRL *woow*, *wowu-*; STW *woow*; WOL *woot*, *wout-*; PUA *-dou* 'cut pieces of breadfruit (counting classifier)'; PCK **towu*; PON *seew*, *sew-*; KIR (*te*)-*tau* 'fruit of the pandanus (chewed like sugarcane)'; KSR *ta*; POC: **topu* (SAA **ohu*; BUG *ehu* [a loan]; ARO *ohu*; KWA *ofu*; LAK *tovu*); PAN **CebuS* (Blust 1984–85). Cf. FIJ *dovu*; TON *too* (presumably a loan). Cf. MRS *taw*; probably a loan.

PCMC **tou* 'to dodge, parry (in fighting)': CHK (*fi*)-*yuuw*, (*fi*)-*wuuw* 'to fight', (*e-fi*)-*yuuwu* 'make him f.'; PUL (*fi*)-*yoow* (sic) 'to f.'; CRL (*fi*)-*yoow* 'to f. s.o.'; KIR *toutou* 'to dodge to one side (as the head)', *toutou-a* 'to ward off'. See also KIR (*i*)-*tau* 'to box, to f. with the fists'.

PCMC ? **[ou]wai* 'future negative, will not': WOL *-tewai*; PUA *towai* 'w. n., do not (in negative commands)'; KIR *tuai* 'no longer'. Cf. PCK **-taa[iθ]* 'no longer' (aspect marker).

PMC **tuki* 'tropic bird': see PMC **tiku*.

PMC **tuki*, *tukituki* 'to pound': CHK *wísúús* 'p. or mash with pestle', *wísi* 'p. it'; MRT *úse* 'to p. or mash (s.t.)'; PUL *wuk* (sic) 'to pound', *wíkúúik* 'to p. (as taro)', *wíki-i(y)* 'to p. it (as poi)'; CRL *úghúúgh* 'do pounding', *úghú-w* 'p. food into paste'; STW *súkaí*, *yúki(-w)* 'p. it'; WOL *súgú-ú* 'p. it, beat it, hit it, hammer it'; PCK **tuki*, *tukituki*; PON *suk* 'to p. (s.t.)'; MOK *juk* 'to p., hit', *juki* 'to p. (s.t.)'; MRS *jik^wjik^w* 'p. breadfruit or taro', *jik^wjik^wiy* 'p. or m. it'; KIR *ikiiku* 'to engage in mashing breadfruit', (*te*)-*ikiiku* 'stone pestle', *ika* 'p. or mash (food)', *ika-a* 'mash it'; KSR *tuk*, *tuk-tuk* 'to p.', *tok* 'pounder'; POC **tuki*, *tukituki* (FIJ *tuki* 'strike at, knock at, hammer, pinch', PPN **tuki* 'strike'; ARO *u'i-[ŋa'i]* 'to beat upon [of rain]'; LAK *tutu-a* 'to strike with the finger, tap [as a tattooing needle]'); UAN **Tuk*, *TukTuk*. Cf. WOL *súsú* (sic) 'p., beat, hit, hammer'; YAP *tuguw* 'pestle, betel nut pounder'. Note that *θ* is the expected reflex in the PON and MOK forms.

PMC **[tT]ulu-* 'young shoot, sprout': MRS *jil^w* 'core of coconut tree at upper end, growth from old root or branch, y. s., bud forth, sprout'; KSR *sulu(-n)* 'y. s. of, sprout of'. Cf. KSR *solo* 'y. s., to sprout', *sololo* 'be full of shoots, covered with sprouts'. Cf. also PEO **juli* 'taro sucker' (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *suli-* 'banana or taro sucker'; PPN **suli* 'young shoot'); UAN **sulih* 'sprout, shoot'. Cf. PMC **ili* 'sprout, shoot (of plants)'.

PMC ? **tuna* 'freshwater eel': KSR *ton*; PEO **tuna* (PPN **tuna* 'freshwater e. '); UAN **[tT]u[n̄]ja* 'e.'; PAN **tuNa* 'e.' (Wolff 1993). MRS *teŋ^w* 'freshwater eel' is an evident loan from KSR—these eels are not found in the Marshalls but are known from the Eastern Carolines.

PMC ? **[tT]upa* 'fish poison': WOL *suupe*, *supa(-li)* 'f. p., f. p. of'; POC **tupa* (FIJ *duva* 'Derris trifoliata'); PAN **tuba* 'Derris spp.' (Blust 1984–85). See also PMC **upa* 'derris vine', PMP ? **iwu* 'tree (*Barringtonia asiatica*).

PMC **tura* 'house post': CHK *wúúr*, *wúre(-n)* 'supporting p. of a h., p. of'; MRT *úúr* 'p.'; PUL *wúrá-n* 'p. of'; CRL *úúr* 'main p.', *úrá(-li)* 'use or set up on posts'; STW *úúr* 'h. p.', *úrá-ni* 'set (s.t.) up on posts'; WOL *súúre*, *súra(-li)* 'h. p., h. p. of', *súra-a* 'put a post under it'; PUA *dúúlu*, *dúlú-* (sic) 'h. p.'; SNS *dúúle* 'h. p.'; PCK **tura*; PON *uur* 'p.'; MRS *jéwér*, *jiwre(-n)* 'pillar, column, p., pole, p. of'; POC **tura* (SAA **ure* and ULA **ura* 'to stand up'; ARO *ura* 'to stand'; KWA *ula* 'to stand'; LAK *tura* 'vertical wall pole', *tura-[kakavo]* 'house posts'). Cf. FIJ *duru* 'p.'; UAN **urus*. MRS length needs explanation.

PMC ? **turai* 'barracuda': PON *suure*; MOK *juure* 'a kind of b.'; MRS *jir^wey*; KSR *tola*. Cf. PCMC **tarawa* 'barracuda'.

PMC ***turi** 'to string': CHK *wúri*, *#(é)-wúrí* 's. (s.t.) together'; PON *iir* 's. of s.t. (as of flowers or fish)'; MOK *ir* 's. for stringing things, to work at stringing'; PPC ***turi**; PEO ***tuRi** 'to thread, string (fish)' (Geraghty 1990).

PMC ***turu** 'to drip': CHK *súrusúr* 'be dripping', *ssúr* 'large drop (of liquid)'; PUL *húri-(tiw)* 'd. down'; CRL *ssúr* 'dribble', *ssúru-(tiw)* 'd. down, run down'; PCk ***Túru**; KIR *tuu* 'to trickle'; KSR *tu* 'd., drop'; PEO ***turu** 'to d.' (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *turu* 'd., drop [of liquids]'; PPN ***tulu**; SAA 'uru'uru 'to spill, dribble out'; BUG *turu-[be]*); PAN ***tuDuq** (Ross 1988). Cf. WOL *sséru* 'tip of a canoe paddle (i.e., d. point?)'; PON *ker* 'to trickle'.

PMC ***tu[sS]u** 'finger, toe': CHK *é-wút*, *é-wútú-(n)* 'f., his f.', *é-wútú-(ros)* 'be short fingered', *(ni)-ké-wútú-(ros)* 'person with short fingers', *-wút* 'f. (c.c.)'; MRT *ya-Wútú-(n)* 'his f.'; PUL *ya-wútú-(n)* 'his f., -ya-wút 'f. (c.c.)'; CRL *a-yútt*, *a-yúttú-(l)*; STW *ya-wút* 'f.'; WOL *ga-tú* 'f.', *-ga-tú*, *-ge-tú* 'f. (c.c.)'; ULI *ga-ddu-(l)* 'f. of'; PUA *ka-tú* 'f.', *-ka-tú* 'f. (c.c.)'; PCk ***ka-túdu**, *-túdu*; PEO ***tuz[iu]** 'point' (Geraghty 1983) (TON *tuhu* 'f., to point', *tuhu'i* 'to point to'; FIJ *dusi* 'to point with the f.', *i-dusi* 'index f.'; SAA 'usu' 'to point'; BUG *tuhu* 'to point'); UAN ***tu[n̄]**Zuq 'to point'. Cf. MRS *(ha)-ddi* 'f., toe'; KSR *srisrsrisr* 'to point out, hint', *srisr-ŋi* 'to point at, hint at'. Cf. also PWMc ***tanisi** 'finger or toe'.

PMC ***tuu**, 'to stand': CHK *wú* 's. erect, be upright', *wúú-(tá)* 's. up', *(kké)-wú* 'make upright, make s. erect', *(é)-wúú-w* 'make it s., build it'; PUL *wúú-(tá)* 's. up, rise', *(kka)-wú* 'erect (as a house)'; CRL *úú-(tá)* 's. up', *(a)-yúú-w* 'build (s.t.)'; WOL *súú* 's., take an upright position'; PUA *dúú* 's.'; PCk ***túú**; PON *uu* 'stand'; MOK *u* 's.', *uu-(da)* 's. up'; MRS *jíw-(tak)* 's. up'; KSR *tu* 's. up'; PEO ***tuqu** (FIJ *tuu*; PPN ***tuqu**; BUG *tuu*; KWA *uu*; LAK *tuhu-(mapa)* 'nod one's head up'); UAN *(t)uquD. Cf. KIR *tei* 's.', *tei-(rake)* 's. up'. See also PMC ***tuu₂** 'stopped, halted'.

PMC ***tuu₂** 'stopped, halted': CHK *wú* 'be s., h. (of s.t. in motion)', *(é)-wúú-w* 'make stop, make halt', *(kké)-wú* 'stop, pause', *(kké)-wúú-(nó)* 'stop altogether, cease, halt', *wúúw-(iiti)* 'stop until'; PUL *(ka)-wúú-(ló)* 'to stop', *(ya)-wúú-we-(ló)* 'to stop (s.t.)'; CRL *úú-(ló)* 'stop', *(a)-yúú-(ló)* 'stop s.t., make it come to a stop'; PUA *dúú* 'stop'; PCk ***túú**; PON *uu-(di)* 'to stop (of moving objects)'; KSR *tu* 'stop'; PEO ***tuqu** (FIJ *tuu* 'be in a place'; TON *tu'u* 'to hold up, stop'); UAN *(t)uquD. See also PMC ***tuu**, 'to stand'.

PCMc ***-Te-i**, **-Te-a** 'remove rough edges': CHK *(e)-si-i-(y)* 'remove or strip off (barbed edges of pandanus leaf)'; KIR *te-a*, *te-a* 'to smooth (s.t.) off, remove roughness from (s.t.), trim'.

PMC ***Teka** or ***Tika** 'penis': CHK *see*; PUL *hee*; PON *siik* 'p. (of an infant)'; KSR *sæk*, *saka-(n)* 'stick, tree, s. of, pole of, bar of', *saka-(l)* 'his p.'.

PCMc ***Tep^wu** 'to drip': CHK *#suap^w*, *sup^wu-n* 'dripping, d. of', *ssup^w* 'd., d. down (as rain)', *ssup^wi-iti* 'sprinkle or d. onto (s.o.)'; CRL *ssub^w* 'drop (of liquid)', d. down'; WOL *ssobu*, *ssebu* 'to drop, d., trickle, pour, drizzle'; PUA *doop^wu*, *dop^wu* 'drop (of water)', *dop^wu* 'to d.'; PCk ***Toop^wu**, *Top^wu*, *Top^wu* or ***Teep^wu**, *Tep^wu*, *Tep^wu*; PON *sop^w* 'be saturated with pomade or hair lotion'; KIR *teb^wu-(ruru)* 'to spatter (as heavy raindrops)'. Cf. FIJ *tobu* 'pool of water, bathing hole'.

PWMc ***Ter[ae]** 'encounter by chance': CHK *ser* 'be met accidentally', *sere-ni* 'meet (s.o.) accidentally, chance upon'; PUL *heri-ŋi-(y)* 'encounter, chance upon, meet'; WOL *sere* 'to hit, approach, go aground'; PCk ***Tere**, *Tere-ŋi*; PON *ser* 'run aground'; MRS *jerah-(tah)* 'misfortune, bad luck'. Cf. MRS *yar* 'to beach canoe or vessel'.

PCMc ***Ti-** 'we (inclusive, as subj. marker)': CHK *si-*; MRT *si-*; PUL *hi-*; CRL *si-*; CRN *hi-*; STW *si-*; WOL *si-*; ULI *si-*; PUA *di-*; PCk ***Ti-**; PON *se* 'we (excl.)'; MRS *je-(n)* 'we (incl.) are to'; KIR *ti-*.

PMC ***Tika** 'penis': see PMC ***Teka**.

PMC ***Tiji** 'fart': CHK *sin*, *sini-*, *siŋ*, *siŋi-*; PUL *hiŋ*, *hiŋi-*; CRL *siŋ*, *siŋisiŋ*; STW *siŋ*; WOL *siŋi*; ULI *siŋ*; SNS *diŋi*; PCk ***Tiji**; PON *siŋ*, *siŋi-d*; 'f., f. at'; MOK *jiŋ*, *jini-d*; MRS *jiŋ*; KIR *tiŋ*, *tiŋi-*; KSR *səŋ*. Cf. PEO ***zi(k)i** 'f.' (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *cii*; SAA *sii*; ARO *si'i*; KWA *si'i*). Cf. also PMP ***ceŋis** 'stretch' (Blust 1980:51) and PEO ***jiRu** 'make a hissing noise' (Geraghty 1990).

PMC ***Tiri** 'spurt, squirt': CHK *siir*, *siri-*, *sir* 'urine, urinate'; PUL *hiri-(n)*, *hir* 'urine of, urinate'; CRL *siir*, *sir* 'urine, urinate'; STW *siir*, *sir*; PCk ***Tiri**; MRS ? *jir* 'slippery, lubrication'; KIR *tii* 'spurt, spout'; UAN ***cirit**. Cf. FIJ *tiri* 'drip, drop (of liquids)'; ARO *iri*, *iri-si* 'to pour'; KWA

siri 'drip through, leak through'. Note that KIR *mim* 'urinate' is either a loan from a PN source or an inherited reflex of POC *mimi (PPN *mimi; Fij *mii*, *mimi*); *UAN *miRmiR*.

PCMc ***Toa** or ***Towa** 'edge, side': CHK *soo*-(*nó*) 'far s.', *soosoo*-(*ŋeni*) 'be near, be on the s. toward'; PUL *hoo*-(*ló*), *hoo*hoo-(*ló*) 'be or move a short distance away'; WOL *soowe*, *sowa*-(*li*) 'e., outside, backside, yonder, e. of'; PCK ***Towa**; KIR *toatoa* 'having four sides'.

PMC ***Toka** 'settle, alight': CHK *so*, *soo*-(*tiw*) 'precipitate out (as starch derived from washing grated arrowroot or manioc), a., come to rest, land (of flying things)'; MRT *sóó* (sic) 'to land (of flying things)'; PUL *hoo* (sic) 'to land (as a plane)', *hoo*-*ni*-(*y*) 'to lower it to the bottom (as a fish trap)'; CRL *sóó*-(*tiw*) and CRN *hóó*-(*tiw*) 'a., land (of flying things)', *sooso* 'to place a fish trap in the water'; STW *só*, *sóó*-(*tiw*) 'to land, alight'; WOL *sogo* 'to remain on the bottom (as dregs)'; PCK ***Toka**; PON *sok* 'to land (of s.t. that flies), to touch bottom with one's feet in water'; MOK *jok* 'to swoop', *jok*-(*di*) 'to land (of bird or airplane)'; MRS *jek*^w 'to s. (of liquids), a., to land'; POC **toka* (Fij *toka* 'be placed, situated, take a boat'; PPN **toka* 'set, settle, coagulate'; SAM *to'a* 'be still, s. down [of a liquid], run aground'; SAA *'o'a* 'to settle [of birds]'; ARO *o'a* 'to s. [of birds], stay, dwell'; LAK *toa* 'to stamp down, [e]-*toa* 'place where a jumper lands'). KIR *toka* 'be placed upon, take passage, get on' is clearly a loan from a Polynesian source.

PMC ***Toko** 'collect, pile up': PUL *hoyo*-*ni*-(*fěŋanni*-*y*) 'to c. it'; PON (*kó*)-*sok* 'to p. up', (*kó*)-*soké* 'to p. (things) up'; MRS ? *jéwkay* 'p. of coconuts'; PEO **coko*, *cogo* (Fij *soqo*, *soqo*-*na*, *soqo*-*ni* 'assemble'; BUG *hogo*-*ni* 'to store up'; KWA *to'o* [*fana*] 'gather, assemble'). See also PPC **uxo* 'assembled, gathered'.

PWMC ***Topo** 'to try': CHK (*éé*)-*ssəŋ* 'reach for s.t. that is not within reach, reach out and fall short of one's goal, t. and fail', (*éé*)-*ssəŋe*-*e*-(*y*) 'reach for and fall short of'; PON *səŋ* 'to t., attempt, taste (s.t.)', *soŋosəŋ* 'temptation'; MOK *jonjəŋ* 'to t., taste', *jəŋ* 't. or taste (s.t.)'; PNG *səŋ* 'to t.'; MRS (*yidah*)-*jəŋ*^{jəŋ} 'to t., examine, inspect'. Cf. Fij *saga* 'to t. hard to do or get s.t.'.

PCMc ? ***Too** 'at rest': CHK *sé* 'be quieted (of fear, emotion, pain, wind), calmed, at r., set (of sun), (*a*)-*séésé* 'r., vacation, be resting (from work); PUL *héé* (sic) 'be rested, quieted', (*ya*)-*hééhé* 'to r.', (*ma*)-*hééhé*-(*ló*) 'to quiet down (as wind, sea, or anger), be cured (as sickness)'; CRL *séé*-(*ló*) 'be resting, calm, relaxed', (*a*)-*séésé* 'to r., take it easy', (*a*)-*séé*-(*w*) '(reflexive) to r. oneself, take it easy, relax'; CRN (*a*)-*hééhé* 'be resting, calm, relaxed', (*a*)-*hééhé*-(*y*) 'to r. oneself'; WOL (*ga*)-*sééséé* 'to r., relax'; PUA *dée* 'to r.'; PCK **Téé*; MRS *jew* 'calm spell (of weather)'; KIR *too* 'lazy'.

PMC ***Too** 'soak, saturate': CHK *sooso* 's., immerse, lay a fishtrap', *soo*-*ni* 's. it, immerse it'; PUL *hoo* (sic) 'lower (as a fishtrap)', *hoo*-*ni*, *hoo*-*naa*-(*ló*) 'lower (as a fishtrap), s. (as clothes)'; CRL *sooso* 'a fish trap, to lower a fishtrap in the water', *soo*-*li* 'to trap (a fish or small animal)'; CRN *hoo*-*ni* to trap (a fish or small animal); STW *soo*-*ni* 's. it, immerse it in water'; PCK ***Too**, *TooToo*, *Too*-*ni*; PON *so* 'be saturated', *soo*-*n* 'to s. (s.t.)'; MRS *jewjew* 's.'; KSR *twetwe*, *twetwe* 'to wash, dip', *twe-n* 'wash, s.'; POC **coo* (Fij *too* 'filled, saturated with liquid, saturated', [*vaka*]-*too*-*ra* 'cause to be saturated or filled'). Cf. UAN **cəncəncə* 'moisten' (SAA *toto*, *toto*-*hi* 'to s. into, be absorbed in (liquid)'; ULA *toto*-(*qini*) 's. into, s. up'); PMP **celeb* 'sink, submerge' (Blust 1989:131) and PMP **ceNeb* 'immerse' (Blust 1986:29). Cf. also PMC **tawu*, *tawu*-*ni*, *tawu*-*na* 'to plant, bury'.

PMC ***TooToo** 'holder, fastener': CHK *sooso*, *soosoo*- 'holder, fastener'; PUL *hoo*hoo 'lashings'; CRL *sooso* 'line that secures the outrigger float to the outrigger boom'; WOL *soosoo*, *soo*-(*ti*-*i*) 'stringer-float lashing on canoe, tie or bind it'; PCK ***TooToo**; MRS *jewjew* 'ties between spar and outrigger'; KIR (*te*)-*tootoo* 'the perpendicular sticks on an outrigger (connecting float to boom)'.

PWMC ***Toro-mi** 'suck up (s.t.)': PUL *horo*-*mi*-(*y*) 'suck it in (as coffee), 'draw it in (as cigarette smoke)'; CRL *soro*-*mi* and CRN *horo*-*mi* 'to sip (liquid) through a straw, to siphon (liquid)'; WOL *soosoro* 'to suck, drink, sip', *soro*-*mi*-(*i*) 'drink it, sip it, suck it'; PUA *dolo*-*mi* 'suck it, drink it with a straw'; PCK ***Toro-mi**; MRS *jer*^w-*e*-*m* 'drink up, suck up, absorb'; KIR *too*-*ma* 'to taste of, to sip (s.t.)'. Cf. KSR *tolol* 'to suck', *tolol*, *tolol* 'to suck (s.t.)'; SAA *omi* 'to suck (s.t.)', *omi*-*ŋe* 'sucking', *'ono*, *'ono*-*mi* 'to swallow', *tona*, *tona*-*hi* 'to drink'; BUG *sono*, *sono*-*vi* 'swallow'; ARO *ono*-*mi* 'swallow', *gono*, *gono*-*hi* 'drink'; KWA *odo*-*mi*-(*a*), *ono*-*mi*-(*a*) 'swallow'. Cf. PCMc **woro*- 'swallow'.

PCMc ***Towa** 'edge, side': see PCMc ***Toa**.

PWMC ***Towu** 'leave, depart': CHK *su*, *suu*-(*nó*) 'set off (on a journey), l., d.', (*o*)-*suu*-(*w*)

'see off (on a journey)'; PUL *hoow* (sic) 'to cast off or sail'; CRL *sua-(lô)* 'l., d., go' WOL *sou* 'd., l., set out, start out', (*ga*)-*sou*-(*we*) 'say goodbye to, see (him) off'; PCK **Towu*; PON *sou* 'to move, change residence'; MRS *jiwé-(néy)* 'see off on a voyage'. Cf. PCK **Túu* 'to run away'.

PCMc **Tuu-ki* 'be open': CHK *ssuu-k* 'be o., opened, to open', *suu-ki* 'o. it', (*o*)-*ssuu-ku* 'cause it to be o.'; MRT *suu-ke* 'to o. (a door)'; PUL *huuthu* 'be o.', *huu-ki*-(*y*) 'o. it'; CRL *suausu* 'to be opening', *suu-gh* 'to be o.', *suu-ghi* 'o. (s.t.)'; CRN *huuhu*, *huu-g*, *huu-gi*; STW *suu-ki* 'o. it'; WOL *suu-gi*-(*i*) 'o. it'; PUA *du-ki* (sic) 'o. (s.t.)'; PCK **Tuu*, *Tuu-ki*; KIR *uu-ki* 'opened', *uu-ka* 'o. (s.t.)' (showing loss of **t* before **k*).

PWMC ? **Tuuru* 'wade': PON *saur* 'to sink in mud, to w. in mud'; MRS *jiwir*, *jiwir* 'step on, set foot on, tread on, kick'. Cf. PEO **tuRu* (Geraghty 1990) (ARO *uru*; KWA *ulu*; LAK *tulu*).

PMC ? **ua*, 'tendon, vein': CHK *wuwa-* ? 't.', *wuwó-(ór)* 'shin, front of leg between knee and ankle'; KIR (*te*)-*ia* 'v.'; PEO **uRat* 'v. (Geraghty 1990) (Fij *ua* 'v., muscle'; SAA *uleale* and ULA *ulaula* 'sinew, t., v.'; BUG *ula* 't., sinew, v.'; KWA *ula* 'blood vessel, v.'); UAN **uRat*.

PMC **ua*, 'tide', **ua-p***ut[iu]* 'high tide': PON *uu* 't.'; MOK *u* 't.'; MRS *yi-(b^wij)* 'h. t.'; KIR (*te*)-*ia* 'a state of t.', *ia-b^wuti* 'be h. t.'; PEO **Rua* 'h. t.' (Geraghty 1983, 1990) (Fij *ua* 't., wave'; SAA *lue* and ULA *lua* 'the rising t.'; KWA *lua* 'h. t.').

PMC **ua*, 'neck': CHK *wúu*, *wúwa*-(*n*); PUL *wúúw*, *wúwa*-(*n*); CRL *úúw*, *úwa*-(*l*); STW *yuuw*; WOL *úúwe*, *úwa*-(*le*); PUA *úya*-(*na*); PCK **úa*; PEO **Ruqa* (PPN **uqa*; SAA *lue*; ULA *lua*; BUG *lua*-[*gna*]; KWA *lua*-[*na*]); UAN **Ruqa*. Cf. MRS (*ken*)-*wa*-(*ha*)-. Cf. POC **kuqa* (Ross 1988).

PMC **-ua* 'general classifier in counting (suffixed to numerals)': See, for example, PMc **rua* 'two', PMc **ru*[*ao*]-*ua* 'two (general class of objects)'; PMc **telu*, *telu-ua* 'three, three (general)'; PMc **lima*, *lima-ua*, *lim-manu*, *lima-ŋawulu* 'five, five (general), five (animate), fifty'; PMc **walu*, *walu-ua* 'eight, eight (general)', PCMc **Siwa-ua* 'nine (general class of things)'.

PCMc **uae*, *ka-uae* 'to whistle (of humans)': CHK *ó-wuwá* 'to w.', *o-wuwáá-(ri)* 'w. to (s.o.)'; MRT *a-uwe*; PUL *yó-ówá*, *yakkó-ówá* (sic); CRL *a-uwa*, *ó-wuwáá-(li)*; CRN *a-uwá*; WOL *ga-uwaa*, *ga-uwaa*-(*li-i*); PCK **ka-uae*; PON *ku-way*; MRS *wwey*, *yewwey*, *wewwey*; KIR (*te*)-*ka-uae* 'the root of a tooth'. Cf. MOK *woj*, *wojwoj* 'to w.'; KSR *os*, *osos*. *osi* 'w., w. at or to'; SAA *wádi* 'w.'; KWA *kwadi* 'w.'. Cf. also Fij *kalu*, *kalu-wa* 'to w.'.

PMC **ucuucu*, *ucu-ki* 'shake': CHK *wúchúúch* 's. out, be shaken (as a cloth)', *wúchú-ki* 's. it out', *wúchúk*, *wúchúkúchúk* 'be shaken out'; MRT *úshúúsh* 'shaking', *úshú-ke* 's. it'; PUL *wúRú-ki*-(*y*) 's. it (as a coconut or child)'; CRL *úshú-gú* and CRN *úRú-gi* 'to s. (s.t.)'; STW *úRúúR* 'to s.', *úRú-ki* 's. it'; WOL *úshúúshú* 'to s., collect fruit (by shaking)', *úshú-(peú)* 's. hands', *úshú-gú*-(*ú*) 's. it, collect it'; *úshú-ŋegi* 'be shaken, be collected'; PUA *úsúúsú* 'to s.', *úsú-ká* 's. it', *úsú-keki* 'quake, tremble (as in an earthquake), earthquake'; PCK **úúú*, *úúúúú*, *úúú-ki*; PON *itiir* 'be shaken', *iti-k* 'to s. (s.t.)', *iti-(pe)* 'to s. hands'; MOK *isiis* 's.', *isi-k* 's. (s.t.)'; PNG *isi-k* 's. (s.t.)'; MRS *wididdid* 'tremble, s., quake, vibrate, shiver, chills', *yidi-k* 'to s.', *yidi-kiy* 's. (s.t.)'; KSR *usrusr* 's.', *usrur-k* 'to s. (s.t.)'. Cf. KIR *ruru* 's., tremble', *ka-ruru-a* 'make (s.t.) s.'; LAK *lugu-a*, *lugulugu-a* 's. it (as the head)'.

PCMc **ulafi* 'kind of fish': MRT *úlef* 'k. of f'; STW *wúlef* 'parrot f.'; WOL *úlef* 'a k. of f.'; PCK **ulafi*; KIR (*te*)-*inai* 'k. of f.'.

PMC **ulo* 'maggot': CHK *wuuu*, *wuuu*; MRT *wúú*; PUL *wuul*; STW *yúú*, *yúúú*; WOL *uule*, *ule*; ULI *il* (Bender et al. 1984); PUA *iina*, *ina*; PCK **wulo*; KIR (*te*)-*ino*; PEO *[qø]ulo (Fij *ulo*; ARO *uro*); UAN **qulej*. Note also CRL *m^wuul* 'maggot', *m^wm^wuul* 'be infested with maggots'; KSR *ule* 'maggot', *ulele* 'infested with maggots'.

PMC **ulu* 'extremity, top, tip, head': CHK *wúún*, *wúnú*-(*n*), *wúnúún*, *wúnúúnú*-(*n*), *wúnúúne*-(*n*) 'e., top, e. of', (*wúnú*-(*n chuuk*), *wúnúúne*-(*n chuuk*) 'mountain top', *wúnú*-(*n éwú*), *wúnúúne*-(*n éwú*) 'masthead', *wúnú*-(*n fénú*), *wúnúúne*-(*n fénú*) 'cape, point of land', *wúnú*-(*n irá*), *wúnúúne*-(*n irá*) 'tree top', *wúnú*-(*n máchev*) 'spear point', *wúnúúno*-(*wu*) 'project out, stick out, long projection'; PUL *wúl*, *wúlú*-(*n*) (sic) 'budding leaf, tree top, b. l. of'; CRL *úlú*-(*l*) 'leaf of', *úli*-(*l*), *yúli*-(*l*) 'his head (respect usage)'; WOL *úúú*, *ún*-(*ni*) 'leaf of a tree, l. of'; PCK **úúú*; MRS *wili*-(*yéj*) 'cemetery; head (respect usage) (-*yéj* 'upper, eastern' < PMc **ata* 'upper part, top')'; KIR *uni*-(*m^waane*), *unw*-(*aiine*) 'old man, old woman, elder'; KSR *olo*-(*l*), *ulu*-(*n*) 'its

top, its tip, its apex (of a tree), t. of'; PEO *qulu (Fij *ulu* 'head, top'; PPN *qulu 'head, hair'; BUG *ulu* 'head, top, end'; Kwa *ulu* 'branch, frond'); UAN *qulu. Cf. PLK *uru 'big, old'. Cf. also PMC *uluulu 'pillow, use a pillow', PMC *uluja 'pillow'.

PMC ***uluja** 'pillow': CHK *wúún*, *wúnna-*; PUL *wúlújá-(n)* 'p. of'; CRL *úlúj*, *úlúja-* 'p.'; WOL *ilúje*; PUA *ínúja*; PCK **únúja*; PON *uluge-* 'his/her p.'; KIR (*te*)-*unúja*; KSR *ilu-ŋ* 'to prop, support (s.t.), rest (one's head on a p.)'; PEO *[qø]uluja (SAA *uluge* 'serve as a p.'; BUG *uluja*; KWA *uluja* 'lean back against'); PAN *qulujaq (Blust 1970:137). Cf. PMC *ulu 'extremity, top, tip, head', PMC *uluulu 'pillow, use a pillow'.

PMC ***uluulu** 'pillow, use a pillow': PUL *wúlúúl* 'pillow'; CRL *úlúúl* 'use a pillow'; STW *úlúúl* 'pillow'; WOL *ilúúl* 'pillow'; PCK **úlúúl*; PON *uluul* 'pillow, small hill'; MOK *uluul* 'pile (as of sand), dune'; KSR *ilul* 'to pillow, rest, prop'. Cf. PMC *uluja 'pillow', PMC *ulu 'extremity, top, tip, head'.

PMC ***um'a, im'a** 'house': CHK *iim*, *im'a-(n)* 'h., his h.', *im'e-ni* 'acquire a h.', *im'eyim* 'use or live in a h.'; PUL *yiim*, *yim'a-(n)*, *yim'a-ni-(y)*, *yim'áyim*; CRL *iim*, *im'a-(l)*; STW *iim*, *im'a-(n)*; WOL *iim'e*, *im'a-(le)*, *im'e-li-(i)*, *im'eim'e*; PUA *iim'a*, *im'a-(na)*; MAP *yuj*, *uj*; PCK **im'a*; PON *iim*, *im'e-*; MOK *im'e-(n)*; PNG *iim*; MRS *yém*, *yim'e-*, *m'e-(n)*; KIR *uum'a*, (*te*)-*um'a*, *um'a-(na)*; KSR *yuwe-*, *iwe-*; PEO *Rum'a (Geraghty 1990); POC *Rum'aq (Ross 1988) (TON *uŋa* 'take shelter, be sheltered'; SAA *nume* and ULA *numa*; BUG *luma* 'cave'; ARO *ruma*; KWA *luma*; PKB *Luma); UAN *Rumaq. Note that KSR *lom* is a probable loan (source ?).

PMC ***una, unauna, una-fi** 'hair, feathers, scales, remove (hair or scales)': CHK *wúún*, *wúne-(n)* 'h. (of head or body), fur, feather, scale (of fish)', h. of', *wúnéwún* 'hairy', *wúne-fi* 'pluck (f., h.), remove (scales)'; MRT *úún*, *una-(n)*; PUL *wún* (sic), *wúnú-(n)* 'h., f., s., his h.', *wúnawún* 'h., etc.', *wúne-fi* 'to remove f., h., s.'; CRL *ileila-* 'f., fur, body h.', *ileil* 'be hairy', *ili-(as)* 'head h.', *úlú-(yaraw)* 'have thick, black, shiny h.'; CRN *úna-* 'f., fur, body h.', *únaúna* 'be hairy'; STW *yúúl*, *yúla-(n)*, *wúláwúl*, *únúún*, *yúnú-fi*; WOL *úúle*, *úle-(li)*, *úléile*, *úle-fi-(i)*; PUA *úúna*, *úna-*; PCK **úna*, *únaúna*, *úna-fi*; PON *wine* 'its h., etc.', *kaa-win*, *kaa-wina*, *ka-wna* 'to pluck, scale'; MRS *win* 'fish scale', *kar-win*, *kar-winiy* 'to scale (fish)'; KIR (*te*)-*ina* 'fish scale, cataract of the eye', *inaina* 'scaly'; KSR *une-(n)* 'feather, hair, scale, fur of', *unən* 'to pluck, scale', *une* 'pluck or scale (s.t.)'; PEO *quna-f (PPN *quna, quna-fi; ROT *una*, *une-hi*; SAA *unahi*; KWA *unauna-(na)*, *una-fi-(a)*); UAN *qunap.

PMC ? ***uni** 'coconut cloth': see PMC *inu.

PMC ***unu** 'coconut cloth': PUL *wún*, *wúnú-(n)* 'c. c., strainer made of c. c., strainer of or for', *wúnú-ú-(w)* 'to strain (s.t.)'; CRN *úún* 'sieve', *ún-ni* 'to sift (s.t.)'; WOL *úúúl*, *ún-(ni)* 'coconut screen, coconut husk, c. s. of'; PCK **únú*; PON *ini-(pal)* 'fibrous, clothlike material of the coconut palm', *iin* (*wini*) 'medicine wrapped in coconut cloth'; MRS *in-(pél)* 'c. c.'; PEO *unu (TON *unu* 'to slough, to shed skin, skin or shell that has been shed, slough'; SAA *unu* 'fibrous spathe of a coconut frond'); UAN *hunus (TAG *hunus* 'shed skin'). Cf. KIR (*te*)-*ij* 'fibrous, porous envelope at the base of the coconut leaf or frond that helps bind it to the tree'. Cf. also PMC ? *unu-[sSj] 'extract'.

PMC ? ***unu-[sSj]** 'extract': CHK *wút-ti* 'pull it out', *#wúttúút* 'draw out, extract, draw lots'; PUL *#wúttúút* 'choose, select'; STW *yúnú-ti* 'pull it out'; PUA *únú-tú* 'pull it out'; PCK **únú-di*; PEO *unu-z (Geraghty 1983) (Fij *ucu*, *ucu-na* (showing metath.)); PPN *unu-si; ARO *unu*, *unu-si*); UAN *hunus. Cf. WOL *utuu-we* 'pinch it, extract it'.

PMC ***upa** 'derris vine': CHK *wúúp*, *wúpe-(n)* 'v. (*D. elliptica*) used for fish poison, v. of', *wúpe-(ni-pot)* 'vine (*D. trifoliata*, used as a hauling rope)', *wúp* 'to fish with fish poison'; PUL *wúúp*, *wúpá-(n)* 'shrub (*D. elliptica*) used as fish poison', *wúpe-e-(y)* 'to poison (a fish or human)'; CRL *úúp* '*D. elliptica* v. (used for fish poison)'; STW *yúúp*, *úpú-(l)* 'fish poison, f. p. of'; WOL *úpaúpe* 'to double-cross (between male and female), betray, blackmail'; PCK **úpa*; PON *uup* 'plant (*D. elliptica*) used to poison fish', *uupa-wp* 'to poison fish'; MOK *ipəyp* 'use a repellent to force fish from hiding'; MRS *wép* 'a tree (*Barringtonia asiatica*, seeds used for fish poison)'; KSR *op* 'plant used as fish poison, to poison or kill with the sap of this plant', *opop* 'poison at different places (a fishing method)'. Cf. PMP *upas 'poisonous, as a snake' (Blust 1986:1111). Cf. also CHK *wúún* '*D. elliptica* v.', *wúne-(ni-pot)* '*D. trifoliata* v.'; and cf. KWA *ufa-i* 'fish with bow and arrow'. See also PMC ? *[t]upa 'fish poison', PMC ? *iwu 'tree (*Barringtonia asiatica*).

PMC ***ura** ‘langusta, lobster’: CHK *wúúr*; *wúre-(n)*; MRT *úúr*; *úre-(n)*; PUL *wúúr*; *wúrá-(n)*; CRL *úúr*; STW *yúúr*; *yúra-(l)*; WOL *úúre*; *úra-(li)*; PUA *úúla*; *úla-*; PCK **úra*; PON *uur*; *ure-(nna)*; MOK *uro-(nna)*; MRS *wér*; KSR *ɔl-(pəp)* ‘a kind of l.’; PEO **qura* (PPN **qura*; FIJ *ura*; ULA *ura* ‘crayfish, prawn’; BUG *ura* ‘crawfish’; KWA *ula* ‘prawn’); UAN **quDaj*. Note that KIR (*te*)-*ura* is an apparent loan from SAM *ula*.

PMC ***uri**, **uruuru** ‘drag, haul, tow’: CHK *wúri* ‘d. it, h. it, t. it’, *wúruúr* ‘h., pull, hoist, t., be hauled, towed, pull up sail, halyard’, (*é*)-*wúru* ‘d., h., hoist (s.t.)’; MRT *úre* ‘d., pull’; PUL *wúri-(i-y)* ‘d. it, pull it’, *wúruúr* ‘d., hoist, raise, lower (of sail), halyard’; CRL *úru* ‘to d. or pull (s.t.)’; STW *yúruúr* ‘d.’; WOL *úru-ú* ‘pull it, d. it, launch it’, *úruúru* ‘d., pull, launch, push’; PCK **úr[ú]*, *úruúru*; KSR *ulul* ‘pull, tug, stretch’, *ul* ‘pull, etc. (s.t.)’; PEO **fuRu* ‘d., pull’ (Geraghty 1990). Cf. KSR *tal*, *tali* ‘h. or pull (on a net)’.

PMC ***u[sS]a** ‘rain’: CHK *wúút*, *wúte-(n)* ‘r., r. of’, *wút* ‘to r.’, (*seme*)-*wútéwút* ‘god of r.’; MRT *úút*, *uta-(n)*; PUL *wút*, *wúté-(n)* (sic); CRL *úút*; STW *yúút* ‘r’ (archaic); WOL *ute*, *uta-* ‘r.’, (*yaro-i*)-*úte* ‘rainfall’; PUA *úúta*, *úta-*; SNS *wúúta*; PCK **uda*; MOK *wud* ‘r., to r.’; MRS *wét*, *wit* ‘r.’, *witey* ‘to r. on’; PEO **quza* (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *uca*; PPN **quha*; SAA *ute* ‘heavy r.’; BUG *uha*; LAU *uta*; ARO *uta*; KWA *uta* ‘r.’, *uta-ni-[a]*, *uta-fi-[a]* ‘to r. on’; PNK **huza*); UAN **quZan*. Cf. POC **qusan* ‘r.’ (Ross 1988). Cf. PCMC **wusi*, *wuwusi* ‘splash water on (s.t.)’. See also Marck (1994:312) PMC **u[sz]a*.

PMC ? ***u[sS]a**, **u[sS]a-ni**, **u[sS]a-na** ‘cargo, load’: PUL *wúta-n*, *wúta-ná-(n)* ‘be loaded, c. or l., c. of’; CRL (*a*)-*wut* ‘be loaded, have s.t. inside’, (*a*)-*wuta* ‘pack it, put s.t. in it’; STW (*a*)-*yút* ‘l. s.t.’, (*a*)-*yúta* ‘l. it’; WOL *úta-le* ‘l., burden, pack, freight, c.’; PCK **úta-na*; PON (*pe*)-*ydayd* ‘transportation, to transport in a vehicle’, *ida-n* ‘carry (s.t.) in a vehicle’, *awdawd* ‘be filled, may be loaded, know almost everything’, *awde* ‘to fill, l. (s.t.)’; MOK *idayd* ‘to take in a vehicle, transport’, *ida-n* ‘transport (s.t.)’, (*a*)-*wdood* ‘to l., fill’, (*a*)-*wdo* ‘to l., fill (s.t.)’; PEO *Ruja* ‘l., c.’ (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *usa*, *usa-a*, *usa-na* ‘carry a c. by boat’; SAA *lude* ‘carry c.’, *luda-a* ‘cargo’, *luda-ŋi* ‘to carry c.’; ULA *luda-ŋa* ‘c.’, *luda-ŋi* ‘to carry c.’; BUG *luluja* ‘c.’, *luja-[gini]* ‘to l. c.’; KWA *luda* ‘l. in a canoe’); PMP **Rujan*, *usan*, *lujan* (Blust 1989:162). Cf. PMC **u-Ti*, *u-Taki* ‘carry’, PMC **wua*, *wuawua*, *wua-ti*, *wua-ta* ‘carry, convey, transport’, PMC **waxa*, ‘a frame’, PPC **waa* ‘carry it, convey it, transport it’.

PMC ? ***us[ei]** ‘make fire with fireplow’: CHK *wúúúút* ‘m. f. with the fireplow’, *wúúú-ú-(w)* ‘make (a f.)’; PUL *wúúúút*; WOL *úúúúúú* ‘be erased, wiped out, efaced’; PCK **úúúúúú*, *úúú-ú*; PON *id* ‘m. f. by the fireplow’, *idi-ŋ* ‘to make (a f.)’; MOK *id* ‘start a f. with the fireplow’, *idi* ‘start (a f.)’; MRS *yít* ‘make a f. by rubbing sticks’; KIR *ire-a* ‘to rub or wash (s.t.)’, *ire-(ai)* ‘process of producing fire (*ai*) by rubbing two sticks together’. Cf. SAA *ute* ‘to rub, polish’, *usu-ri* ‘to rub’; BUG *uju-ri* ‘to rub the skin as when bathing’; LAU *usu* ‘to wipe, anoint’; ARO *usu* ‘to rub, grate’; UAN **ujus* ‘to rub’.

PMC ***u[sS][ou]** ‘core, interior’: CHK *wuut*, *wutu-(n)* ‘c., i., inside, its c.’, (*nee*)-*wut*, *-wutu-(n)* ‘c., at the c., its c., at its c.’; MRT *wutu*; CRL (*lee*)-*yutu-(l)* ‘its inside’; STW (*lee*)-*utu* ‘inside of the body’; PCK **ud[ou]*; PEO **u[sz]o* (SAA *uto-* ‘pith, c.’; ARO *uto* ‘the pithy core of breadfruit’; KWA *uto-[na]* ‘center of breadfruit’). Cf. FIJ *uto* ‘heart, pith of a tree’. See also PCK **wudu* ‘piece of cooked breadfruit’.

PMC ***uS[iu]** ‘a tree’: STW *wuut* ‘a small t. with fragrant flowers’; WOL *uutu*, *utu-* ‘a kind of coastal t. (*Guetarda* sp.)’; PCK **udu*; PON *iid* ‘plant species’; MOK *id* ‘t. species with white flowers’; MRS *wit* ‘a plant (common cultivated hedge), general term for hedge plants and flowers thereof, wreath of flowers’; KIR (*te-uri*) ‘t. with white flowers’; KSR *i* ‘kind of tree’; PEO **uzi* (FIJ *uci* ‘herb *Evodia*, used in perfume’). Cf. KSR *ita* ‘a kind of t.’.

PMC ***uta** ‘inland’: MOK (*e*)-*wij*; MRS (*yi-yé*)-*wéj*, (*ya*)-*waj* ‘interior of an island’, (*na*)-*waj* ‘interior of an island from the lagoon side only’; KSR *wat*; PEO **quta* (PPN **quta* ‘i.’; LAK *hutihuta* ‘general term for small plants’); UAN **qu[tT]an* ‘forest’. See also Marck (1994:322) PMC **uta*.

PMC ***u-Ti**, **u-Taki** ‘carry’: PON *wi-sik* ‘burden, load to be carried’; MOK *wi-jik* ‘c., bring, take things’; KSR *u-s* ‘c. (s.t.)’, *#usus* ‘c. (s.t.) around with s.o.’, *u-tak* ‘be carrying’, *#ututak* ‘be carrying around’. Cf. KIR (*te*)-*u-raki* ‘repeated transportation’, *u-raki* ‘engage in carrying stones, boards, etc., to a certain place for collecting them there’; and cf. SAA *fu’e* ‘to c. suspended from

the head'; ARO *hua* 'to c. suspended from the head'; KWA *fua* 'carry a load'; PEO **futa*; and cf. BUG *sutu* 'to c. (s.t.) on the head'; PNK **hudu* (< **qunsu*) 'c. on the head'; POC **qusu*, *qunsu*; UAN *[qø]usuj. Cf. also PMC ? **u[sS]a*, *u[sS]a-ni*, *u[sS]a-na* 'cargo, load', PMC **wua*, *wuawua*, *wua-ti*, *wua-ta* 'carry, convey, transport', PPC **waa* 'carry it, convey it, transport it', PMC **waxa*, 'a frame'.

PMC **waani* 'pumice stone': CRL *wáál*; STW *uwan*; WOL *uwaali*; PUA *wani*; PCK **[uø]waani*; PON *waan-(pey)*; MOK *ween*; KIR *waan* (Bender et al. 1984); KSR (*yot*) *wen* 'small black stone'. Cf. YAP *waar* 'rock, big rock'. Cf. also CHK *matto* 'p. s.'; Mrs *tilahan* 'p.'. Cf. Marck (1994:318) PMC **fatu waani*.

PMC ? **wae* 'leg, foot': CHK *waasaas* (? < **waa-asa-as*) 'briskly, quickly (in walking)' (lit. ? 'with feet or legs high'); PON *wasas* 'to stagger, have difficulty keeping one's footing', *we-(yd)* 'walk in a specific direction'; MOK *wa-(jéjéj)* 'to skip over the water'; Mrs *wa-n-* 'walk toward', *wey-(lak^w)* 'go away'; KIR (*te*)-*wae* 'l, f.' (could be loan from Polynesian), *wae-(tata)* 'go or walk rapidly'; KSR *œ* 'go, arrive, sail', *œ-(tu)* 'walk down a slope'; PEO ? **waqe* (PPN **waqe* 'f., l.'). Cf. SAA *'ae*, *'ae'ae* 'leg, foot'; BUG (*n*)-*ae* (< **[na]-ae?*) 'leg, foot'; LAU *ae* 'foot, leg'; KWA *'ae* 'foot, base, source, leg'. Cf. also PMC **faa-* 'underside, under'.

PCMC ? **wai* 'to spear, stab, pierce': Mrs *way* 'to spear, stab, give an injection, receive an injection, an injection or shot', *wayi-k* 'stab, spear, give an injection to (s.o.)'; KIR (*te*)-*wai* 'the spearing of fish' *wai* 'to engage in spearing fish', *wae-a* 'to pierce, to stick, to sew, to interrupt (s.t.)'. One of these could be a loan from the other.

PMC **waka* 'vein, sinew': CHK *waa*, *waa-(n)* 'v., artery, tendon, nerve, s., v. of'; PUL *waa-(n)* 'v. or artery of'; CRL *waa*, *waa-(l)* 'veins, arteries, his v.', *waawa* 'to have varicose or badly swollen veins'; WOL *waaga*, *waga-* 'v., s., blood vessel, artery'; PUA *waaka*, *waka-* 'root, v., s., artery'; SNS *waka* (sic) 'root'; PCK **waka*; Mrs *yékéy* 'v., artery, blood vessel'; KIR *wakawaka* 'string, fibrous (as pandanus fruit)'; KSR *æko* (< **okæ?*) 'blood vessel'. Cf. FIJ *ua* 's.'; PPN **uaua* 'v., artery, tendon, s.'; BUG *ula* 'tendon, s., v.'; KWA *ula* 'blood vessel, v.'; LAK *ua* 'radial roots of a tree'; UAN **uRat*. There is no basis for Geraghty's (1990) reconstruction of PMC **aka* 'vein, sinew'. See also PMC ? **ua*, 'tendon, vein', PMC **waka*, *wakara* 'root'.

PMC **waka*, *wakara* 'root': CHK *waar*, *waara-(n)* 'r., its r.'; MRT *waare-(n)*; PUL *waar*, *waara-(n)*; CRL *waar*, *waara-(l)* 'roots, r. of'; STW *waar*, *waara-(n)*; WOL *wegare*, *wagera-(li)*; PUA *walakala* 'r., stalk' (showing metathesis); SNS *walaga* (showing metathesis); PCK *wakara*; Mrs *wekar*; KIR (*te*)-*wakaa* 'r., one who gives support'; KSR *pkpk* 'mangrove root', *okæ* 'root'; POC **wakaR* 'root' (Ross 1988) (FIJ *waka* 'root'; BUG *oga* 'root'); UAN **waka[rR]*. See also PMC **waka* 'vein, sinew'.

PMC **walu* 'vegetation, forest': CHK *wénúwén* 'v., bush', *wénú-(ŋgaw)* 'useless plant, weed'; MRT *waliwel* 'f.'; PUL *waal*, *wali-(n)* 'f., jungle, f. of', *waliwal* 'plant, trees, f., be forested'; CRL *waliwal*, *#walawal* 'f., jungle'; STW *waniwan* 'f., vegetated area'; WOL *waalú*, *walú-* 'f., bush, woods', *waliúwelú* 'plant, tree'; PUA *waanú*, *wanú-* 'green sprig used as a hair ornament', *wonuwonu* 'jungle, f., bush'; PCK **waalú*, *walú-*, *waliúwalú*; PON *waal* 'jungle, f.'; MOK *wəl* 'f.'; PNG *wel* 'f., woods'; PPC **walu*; PEO *walu* (KWA *kwalu* 'unusable bush'). Cf. SAA *walu-(malau)* 'the world, all the islands'; ARO *waruwaru* 'the inhabited world generally, all the known islands'. See also Marck (1994:322) PPC **walu* and PCK **waluwalu*.

PMC **walu*, *walu-ua* 'eight (general)': CHK *waan*, *wanú-*, *wanu-uw* 'eight' and *wani-ik* 'eighty'; MRT *waal*; PUL *waal*, *walú-*, *walu-uw*, and *wali-ik*; CRL *waal*, *walú-*, *walu-uw*, and *wali-igh*; WOL *waali*, *wali-*, *walu-uwe*, and *wali-ige*; PUA *wanú-* and *wanú-iki*; PCK **walú*, *walu-uwa*, and **walú-ike*; PON (*ε*)-*wel*, *welε-*, *weli-*, *wali-*, *walu-u*; MOK (*a*)-*wal*, *wal-*, *walu-w*; Mrs (*ri*)-*wali-(yték)*; KIR *wani-*, *wanu-ua*; KSR *pl*, *al*, *pl-*, *al-*; PEO **walu* (Geraghty 1983); POC **walu* (Ross 1988) (PMP **walu*; FIJ *walu*; SAA *walu*; PNK **wa[IL]u*); UAN **walu(h)*. See PMC **ua* 'general classifier in counting (suffixed to numerals)'.

PCMC **w[ao]p^wo* 'to beat, to strike with an object': CHK *wóp^w* 'be b., struck, hit', *wóp^w-u-ni* 'b., strike, whip (s.o. with stick or whip)'; PUL *yoop^w* (sic) 'to hit', *yoop^w-u-li-(y)* 'to b., hit, switch (as with a club or as with a ball)'; Mrs *wewb^wab^w* 'smashed'; KIR *ob^wo* 'be broken off, broken in strength, decrepit', *ob^w-o-ra* 'destroy, desolate, devastate, damage (s.t.)'.

PMC ***wasi, wasiwasi** ‘balloon fish, puffer fish, be large’: CHK *wát-(te)* ‘be big, l.’, *wát-(tee-nó)* ‘to increase, get larger’; CRL *wáát* ‘sp. of b. f.’; WOL *waati, wati-* ‘a kind of f. (not eaten)’; PCK *wadi*; PON *waad* ‘p. f.’; MOK *wed* ‘boxfish’; MRS *wat* ‘p. f.’; KIR *wari* ‘be of great size’, *(te)-wari-(ni-b^wuniii)* ‘a f.’ *(te-b^wuniii)* ‘a p. f. of genus *Arothron*’; KSR *otwot* ‘kind of f.’. Cf. KSR *e* ‘kind of f. with white fat’.

PMC ***waSe, waSe-ki** ‘to count’: WOL *watewate* ‘to c., reckon, enumerate’, *weta-gi-(i)* ‘c. or reckon it’; SNS *wetewet* ‘to c.’; PCK **wade*; PON *wadawad* ‘to read, c.’, *wade-k* ‘r. or c. (s.t.)’, *wad* ‘to multiply (in mathematics)’, *wadi-ki* ‘multiply it’; MOK *wadwad* ‘to read’, *wade-k* ‘to c. or read (s.t.)’; MRS *watwat* ‘c. up, estimate by counting’, *wate-k* ‘c. up (s.t.)’; KIR *ware* ‘to c., read’, *(te)-wareware* ‘counting, reading’, *ware-ka* ‘c. or read (s.t.)’; KSR *œœ* ‘c., enumerate’, *œ-k* ‘c. (s.t.)’; PEO **wase* ‘divide’ (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *wase* ‘to divide, separate’, *wasewase* ‘division, partition’; PPN **wase* ‘divide, separate’; SAA *wate, wa’ewate* ‘to distribute food at a feast after making an oration’; ARO *wate* ‘to give’; KWA *kwate, kwate-a* ‘contribute, give’).

PMC ***watu** ‘toward or in direction of person addressed’: CHK *-wow*; PUL *waw*; PCK **wa[tw]u*; PON *-wey*; MRS *waj, wěj*; KIR *wati* ‘toward person who has just spoken’; POC **watu* ‘hence’ (Ross 1988:464) (BUG *atu* ‘go away, go forth’). Cf. SAA *wáu* ‘adverb of place, there’; BUG *au* ‘out, away’. Cf. also PMC **wotu* ‘outward’.

PMC ***wa[wø]u** ‘wealthy’: CHK *wéw* ‘be rich, wealthy’, *wéwú-(n)* ‘wealth of’, *(é)-wéwú* ‘make (s.o.) rich’; PON *waww* ‘respect, honor’, *waw-n* ‘respectful, respectable, honorable’; MOK *waw-n* ‘respectful’; KIR *wauwau* ‘well furnished with conveniences or suitable clothing’; KSR *ɖ* ‘precious, of good quality, excellent’.

PMC ***waxa₁** ‘a frame’: CHK *waa-*, *waa-n* ‘f., f. of’; STW *waa-(n)*; WOL *waa*; PCK **waa*; PON *waar*, *were* ‘body (of a person), his b.’; PEO **wan̄ka-* ‘frame’ (Geraghty 1983) (FIJ *waqa* ‘box, case, cover’; TOK *whakawaka* ‘frame cover’ [Bender et al. 1984]). Cf. KSR *ɖka, aki* ‘erect, set up, establish (s.t.)’. Cf. also PCMC **wa[xø]a* ‘crosspiece’, PPC **waa* ‘carry it, convey it, transport it’, PMC **wua, wuawua, wua-ti, wua-ta* ‘carry, convey, transport’.

PMC ***waxa₂** ‘canoe’: CHK *waa, waa-n, wáá-n, wáá-ni* ‘canoe, his canoe, canoe of, ‘acquire it as a canoe’; PUL *waa, waa-n. wáá-n, waa-ni-(y)*; CRL *waa, wáá-li*; CRN *waa, wáá-ni*; STW *waa, waa-*; WOL *waa, waa-le, waa-li, waa-li-i*; PUA *waa, waa-*; SNS *wa* (sic); PCK **waa*; PON *waar*; MOK *war*; PNG *wah*; MRS *wah* ‘possessive classifier for canoes, ships, boats, or vehicles’; KIR *(te)-waa, waa-na, waa-ni, waa-nn-a* (<**waa-ni-a*); KSR *ɖk*; PEO **wan̄ka* (Geraghty 1983); POC **waga* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *waqa*; PPN **waka*; ARO *waka* ‘foreign ship’ [obs.]; PKB **waga*; UAN **wan̄kan̄*.

PCMC ***wa[xø]a** ‘crosspiece’: CHK *waa-*, *wáá-(n)* ‘stick, tie, tie-rod, s. of’, *wáá-(yi-so)* ‘distal board across the outrigger booms’; PUL *wáá-(ni-yáŋ)* ‘yoked stringer connecting outrigger booms’; CRL *wáá-(li-yáŋ)* ‘crossbeam connecting outrigger booms on sailing canoe’; WOL *waa-(li-yeŋi)* ‘float stringer of a canoe’, *waa-(s-soosoo)* (<**waa-li-soosoo*) ‘outrigger boom stringer’; *waa-(li paúréé)* ‘stick for scraping off the inside portion of banana layers’; PCK **waa*; MRS *wahwah* ‘crosswise’, *waha-(n bil)* ‘launching pad rollers’; KIR *(te)-waa* ‘sleepers of a floor’. Cf. PMC **waxa₁* ‘a frame’.

PMC ***wece** or ***woco** ‘strike, hit, beat’: CHK *wech* ‘be struck, h., beaten, b.’, *wechewech* ‘striking, hitting, beating, be striking’, *weche-e-(y)* ‘s., b., h. (s.o.)’; KIR *oro* ‘to s., h.’ *ore-a* ‘to h., s. (s.o.)’, *(te)-oro* ‘a h., blow’, *(te)-ororo* ‘a repeated striking’; PEO **wede* (<*wense*), *wese* (SAA *wete* ‘to h.’; ARO *wete, wete-i* ‘to s. and injure’; KWA *kwete* ‘be h. by a foreign [supernatural] object causing local pains’). Cf. LAU *gwegwe* ‘to buffet (as the wind)’. See also PCK **wici, wici-i* ‘strike, whip, hit’.

PMC ***wee** ‘be alike, same, equivalent’: CHK *weewe* ‘be a., s., equal, equivalence’; PUL *we-(y)* (sic) ‘to resemble (s.t.)’; CRL *weewe* ‘be the s.’, *wee-(y)* ‘to resemble, look like (s.t.)’; WOL *weewe* ‘be a. in appearance, be the s., similar’, *wee-(ye)* ‘resemble it, be the s. as it’; PUA *wee* ‘be similar, a.’; PCK **wee*; MRS *waywéyé-* ‘form, shape, manner (of), how’; KSR *we-(n), we-(n)* ‘generation of’. Cf. LAK *mai* ‘be like’. See also PPC **weewee* ‘understand’.

PMC ***w[eo]li, w[eo]li-ki** ‘be changed, change’: CHK *win, wini-(nó), winiwin* ‘be c., altered, shifted, moved, turned over’, *wini-(iti)* ‘c. into’, *wini-k* ‘turn over’, *wini-ki* ‘turn (s.t.)’.

over', *wini-si* 'displace, removed, transplant (s.t.)', (refl.) 'c. one's position', (*sii*)-*win* 'exchange, swap, trade, replacement', (*sii*)-*wini-i*-(v) 'replace, take the place of (s.t.)', (*ni*)-*win*, (*ni*)-*wini*-(n) 'to come back, return, a return or exchange for', (*ni*)-*wini-i*-(y) 'make return to him, pay back for it, return it'; PUL *weli*-(iii) 'to become (s.t.)', *weli*-(*fěhāŋŋ*) 'difference, be different, strange', (*lii*)-*wel* 'to c., substitute for, exchange, translate', (*lii*)-*weli*-(n) 'revenge for, pay back for'; CRL *weli*-*ghi* and CRN *weli*-(*gi*) 'to turn (something) over, till (the ground)', (*lii*)-*wel* 'c., exchange', (*lii*)-*weli* 'to c. (something), take the place of (s.o.)'; WOL *weli* 'c., be different', *weliweli* 'keep changing', (*lii*)-*weli* 'be c., replaced', (*lii*)-*weli-i*-(ye) 'c. it, replace it', (*lii*)-*wen*-(ne) 'its replacement, its substitute', (*suu*)-*weli* 'to change, exchange, alternate'; PCk **weli*, *weliweli*, *weli*-*ki*; PON *weli*- 'be turned over', *weli*-*k* 'turn (s.t.) over', *weli*-(*di*) 'be turned down'; MOK *wel* 'c. the leaves of a breadfruit fermenting pit', *wili*-*k* 'c. (the leaves), open (a book), turn over (a page)'; KIR *oni*-*ka*, *onioni*-*ka* 'to c. (s.t.)', *oni*-*ki*-(a) 'to c. it'; KSR (*ay*)-*pl* 'c., replace, act for s.o.', (*æ*)-*ol* 'c. or replace (s.t.), act for (s.o.)'. Cf. SAA '*oli* 'to return, relapse', '*oli*-*si* 'to c., alter (s.t.)'; BUG *oli* 'to c.', *oli*-*hi* 'to exchange (s.t.)'; LAU *oli* 'to return, go back', *oli*-*si* 'to answer (s.o.)'; ARO *ori*, *oriori* 'to c., alter', *ori*-*si* 'to c., alter, exchange (s.t.)'; KWA *oli* 'to return for s.t., come back to', *oli*-*si*-(a) 'to replace (s.t.)'. Cf. Also LAK *oli* 'to dig'.

PMC ***w[eo]n[eo]** 'lie down, sleep': CHK *won* 's.', *wono*-(*wut*) 's. in the meeting house', *wono*-(*yim*) 's. in the family house'; PUL *woon* (sic) 'l. d.', *wono*-(*ccip*) 's. restlessly'; CRL *wol*; CRN *on*; STW *wolo*-(*tiw*); WOL *wolo* 'to l. d., stretch oneself out'; PUA *wono*-(*tio*); SNS *woro*-; PCk **wono*; PON *wen*-(*di*); KIR *wene*, *wenewene*; KSR *ona* 'to l. d.', *on*-(*kiyaki*) 'be prone, l.'. Cf. POC **geno* 'l. d.' (Ross 1988:462) (SAA *eno*, *enoeno* 'to l. d.'; BUG *eggo* 'l. d., s.'; ARO *eno* 'l. d., rest'; KWA *eno* 's.'). Cf. also FIJ *no* 'to l. (of things)', (*i*)-*nono* 'place where s.t. lies'; and cf. UAN **inep*.

PWMC ***were**, **werewere** 'to flash, shine': CHK *wer* 'f. (of a light or flashlight)', *were*-*e*-(y) 'f. (a light) on'; PUL *were* 's. brightly', *weri*-(n) 'brightly shining of'; CRL *wer*, *wwer* 'be illuminated', *werewer* 'lightning'; WOL *weere*, *were*- 'light, firelight, gleam, f.', *were* 'to s., sparkle, glitter', *werewere* 'lightning, s., light, f.'; PCk **were*, *werewere*; MRS *wirwir* 'f. flame'. Cf. PON *pir* 'to f.'.

PMC ***wese** 'semen, sperm': CHK *weet*, *weta*-(n) 's., his s.'; PUL *wet* (sic); CRL *weet*, *weti*-(l) 's., his s.', *wetiwet* 'to masturbate'; WOL *weete*, *wete*-(l); PCk **wede*; KSR *wai* (? 'wuhy).

PWMC ***wiy[ae]**, **wiwi[ae]** 'fat, be fat': CHK *iwi*, *#iwi*-(n), *iwiye*-(n) (<**wiwi*y[ae]) 'rich or fatty taste, r. t. of'; PUL *yiwi*y, *yiwi*yá-(n) 'greasy or oily matter (as in some fish), g. m. of'; CRL *wi* 'be f. (of animals and fish)' *wii* 'f.'; WOL *uwiye* 'be greasy, oily'; PCk **wi*y[ae], *wiy*[ae], *wiwi*y[ae]; PON *wii* 'f., grease'; MOK *iwi* 'be moist (of meat), f. (from fish)'; MRS *wiy*, *wiywiy* 'f. in turtle shell, blubber'.

PCMC ***woca** 'coral reef': CHK *wooch*, *woche*-n, *wocho*-(*fěnú*) 'coral reef, c. r. of, fringing r.'; MRT *woosh*; PUL *wóór*, *wórá*-n; CRL *woosh*, *wosho*-; CRN *oor*, *oRo*-; STW *woor*; WOL *woosha*, *wosho*-; PUA *wosha*, *wosa*-; PCk **woca*; PON *oot*; MOK *wos*; MRS *wed*, *wede*-(n); KIR *oora*, (*te*)-*ora*. See also Marck (1994:314) PMC *ot'a*, which he sees as cognate with Proto-Central Pacific **voda* 'rocks in sea'.

PMC ***woco** 'strike, hit, beat': see PMC **wece*.

PMC ***woki**, **woki-si** 'turn s.t. over, reverse direction': CRL *woghowogh* 'to t. food when cooking', *wogho*-*ti*, *weghe*-*ti* 'to flip (s.t.) over', *woghe*-*tágh* 'to t. and face in the opposite direction'; WOL *wegi*-*ti*-(i) 't. it, change it, transfer it, convert it', *wegi*-*tegi* 'to t. around, be turned over'; PUA *weki* 'to t., change direction', *weki*-*ti* 't. it over, t. it around'; PCk **weki*, *weki*-*di*, *weki*-*daki*; PON *wiki*-*d* 'to t. (s.t.) over, to change (s.t., as an opinion)', *wiki*-*dek* 'to t., change direction'; MOK *uku*-*dek* 'be turned'; PNG *weke*-*dek* 'to t. s.t. over'; MRS *wikwék* 'turn, turn over, upset, reciprocate; to change, translate, interpret', *wike*-*t*, *wik*^w-*e*-*t* 'change, translate, interpret (s.t.)', *wikwék*-*tak* 'to alternate, fluctuate, be changing constantly'; KIR *oki* 'to return', (*te*)-*okioki* frequent returning', *oki*-*ra* 'to return to (a place)'; KSR *ek* 'to t., t. over, capsize', *ekyek* 'varying, constantly changing', *eka*-*s* 'uncover, reveal, disclose, t. over (s.t.)'; PEO **foki* (FIJ *voki* 'to shift, of the wind; PPN **foki* 'to return, t., change'; ROT *ho*'i 'go back, return'). Cf. MRS *wike*-*j* 'turn s.t. over', which forms a doublet with the transitive variants *wike*-*t* and

wik^w-et above. Cf. also CHK *(á)-wiiwi* ‘to alternate, exchange, change off’, *wii-(y)* ‘take the place of (s.t.), succeed (s.o.)’; and cf. KSR *ik* ‘to rock or roll (of a ship)’, *iki-l* ‘rock it, make it roll, change its position, t. it over’; FIJ *vuki* ‘to change, t., revolt, *vuki-ca* ‘t. (s.t.) over’; PPN *fuke ‘to uncover’.

PMC ***wono-** ‘six’: CHK *woon, wono-, wona-, wone-, woné- wonu-*; MRT *woon, wono-*; PUL *woon, wono-*; CRL *ool, olo-*; CRN *oon, ono-*; STW *ool, olo-*; WOL *woola, wolo-, wole-*; PUA *ono-*; SNS *woro-*; PCK **woono, wono-*; PON *aun, aun, wene-*; MOK *wono-*; KIR *one-*; KSR *on-*; POC **onom* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *ono*; PPN *ono*; SAA *ono*; BUG *ono*; LAU *ono*; ARO *ono*; KWA *ono*; PKB **wono*); UAN **enem*.

PMC ***woñu** ‘turtle’: CHK *wiin, wini-*; MRT *woon, wone-, wuni-*; PUL *woon, woj-i-*; CRL *woon, woj-i-, #wojo-*; STW *woon, woj-i-*; WOL *woon, woj-i-*; PUA *woonú, wonú-*; PCK **woñú*; PON *wey-*; MOK *woy, wey-*; MRS *wén*; KIR *(te)-on, oni-*; KSR *(ik) wé* ‘kind of turtle’; POC **poñu* (Ross 1988) (ROT *hoi*; SAA *honu*; BUG *vognu*; PKB **bonu*); PMP **peñu* (Blust 1984–85). Cf. KSR *ñoé* ‘kind of turtle’.

PCMC ***wog[iu]-si** ‘wring out’: CHK *wuj* ‘be wrung out’, *wuɣuɣ* ‘w.’, *wuɣu-ti* ‘w. or squeeze it out’; PUL *woji-ti-(y), #woje-ti-(y)* ‘wring it’; CRL *wogowon, wogo-ti-*; STW *wogowon, wogo-ti-*; WOL *wojiwoji* ‘to squeeze, press hard’, *wojiti-(i)* ‘squeeze it, press it’; PCK **woji*, *woji-ti*; PON *wojiwey, weji-d* ‘to w., squeeze’, *weji-dek* ‘twisted’, *iji-d-(pené)* ‘to squeeze’; MOK *onjon* ‘w. out’, *uju-d* ‘w. it out’; KIR *oji-ra* ‘w. (s.t.)’, *oji-ri-(a)* ‘w. it’. Cf. KSR *twejtwej* ‘pick, twist’, *twejtweji* ‘grasp or hold between two objects and twist’. There is no basis for Geraghty’s (1990) Micronesian reflexes of his PEO **ŋkiRi* ‘squeeze’. Cf. PCMC ? **[aŋ]ou*-si- ‘blow (one’s nose)’, PCK **ǰúTú, ǰǰúTú-, ǰǰúTú-ri-* ‘to snort, blow one’s nose’.

PMC ***woro**, ‘gills’: CHK *woor, wora-n* ‘fish gills, its g.’; CRL *(fat)-oru-(l)* ‘its fish g.’; WOL *(fati)-woro* ‘fish g.’; PCK **woro*; MOK *wəl, wəlo-* ‘g.’ (loan?); MRS *wer* ‘fish g.’; KIR *(te)-oo* ‘fish g.’; KSR *ɔlo* (sic) ‘g.’, *ɔloɔ* ‘having many g.’. See also PMC **woro*, ‘wall, fence’, PCMC **woro-* ‘swallow’.

PMC ***woro**, ‘wall, fence’ CHK *woroor* ‘stone wall, stone pier, stone causeway’; MRT *óroor* ‘wall’; PUL *woroor* ‘pier, dock’; STW *woroor* ‘pier, wall, breakwater’; WOL *worooro* ‘fence, barrier to prevent intrusion’; PCK **woroworo*; MRS *werwer* ‘pen, fence, enclosure’; KIR *(te)-oo* ‘fence’; PEO **oro* ‘k. of fence’ (Geraghty 1990). Cf. FIJ *oro, oro-ta, odro* ‘to clasp’, *(i)-oro* ‘waistband’.

PCMC ***woro-** ‘swallow’: CHK *woro-mi* ‘to s. it’; PUL *woro-mi-(y)*; CRL *uru-mi, oro-mi*; STW *woro-mi*; WOL *woro-mi-(i)*; PCK **woro-mi-*; KIR *oo-ŋa* ‘s. (s.t.)’. Cf. KSR *lala, lalwe-* ‘s. (s.t.)’. Cf. also SAA **ono, ’ono’ono, ’ono-mi* ‘to s.’; BUG *sona, sono-vi* ‘to s.’ (a loan?); ARO *ono, ono-mi* ‘to s.’; KWA *ono-mi-(a)* (also *odo-mi-(a)*) ‘to s. (s.t.)’; PEO **tono, tono-mi*; but note POC **konom* ‘s.’ (Ross 1988). Cf. also PWMc **Toro-mi* ‘suck up (s.t.)’, PMC **woro*, ‘gills’.

PMC ***wos[ao]** ‘Colocasia taro’: CHK *woot, wote-(n)* ‘C. t.’, C. t. of; MRT *yóót* ‘elephant ear t.’; PUL *woot* ‘C. t.’, *woto-(p^wer)* ‘a kind of C. t.’; CRL *oot, woot* ‘C. t.’, *woto-(shall)* ‘a kind of C. t.’; STW *woot*; WOL *woote* ‘C. t.’, *woto-(shalo)* ‘a kind of C. t.’; PUA *woota, wota-* ‘sweet t. grown on dry land’; PCK **wod[ao]*; PON *ood, weed* ‘Alocasia t.’; MOK *wod* ‘swamp t.’; MRS *wet* ‘Alocasia t.’; KSR *ɔt* ‘a kind of t.’.

PMC ***wotu** ‘outward’: CHK *-wu, -wu-* ‘o., to the north’; MRT *-wéw*; PUL *-wow* ‘o., seaward’; CRL *-wow* ‘o., westward’; STW *-wow*; WOL *-wau, -wéu* ‘o., to the north or to the south (i.e., toward open ocean)’; PUA *-wow* ‘outside, seaward’; PCK **-wowu*; KSR *-ɔt, -wot* ‘hence’; POC **potu* ‘sea beyond the reef’ (Ross 1988:462). Cf. PON *-yey* ‘outwards’. Cf. also PMC **watu* ‘toward or in direction of person addressed’.

PCMC ***woTo** ‘cut in two’: CHK *was, wasoos* ‘be c. in half, c. in t.’, *wase-e-(y)* ‘c. it in half’; PUL *wohe-e-(y)* ‘c. it in half’; CRL *wase-e-(y)* ‘to c. and gather (firewood)’; CRN *ohe-(y)* ‘to c. and gather firewood’; PCK **woT[ao]*; KIR *otooto* ‘engage in breaking or folding’, *oto-(ua-a)* ‘break (s.t.) in two’, *ote-a* ‘to fold (s.t.)’, *(m^a-a)-oto* ‘broken (as a stick)’. Cf. PON *pos* ‘explode’ and UAN **pocaq* ‘in pieces’.

PMC ***wua, wuana** ‘grey hair’: CHK *wúwan, wúwana-(n)* ‘g. h., his g. h.’; MRS *wiwan* ‘grey-haired’; KIR *(te)-ia* ‘g. h.’, *iaia* ‘grey-haired’; KSR *fiye-l* ‘his g. h.’; Pre-PMC **fuqa, fuqana*;

PEO *qupa, qupa-na (NGG *uwana* 'g. h.'): UAN *quban 'grey-haired'. There is an apparent problem with the initial *f* of KSR.

PMC ***wua**, **wuawua**, **wua-ti**, **wua-ta** 'carry, convey, transport': CHK *wuwe-yi*, *wuwe-e(y)* 'c., convey, t. (s.t.)', *wuwe-ya-a(to)*, *wuwe-e(ye-to)* 'convey it hither', *wuwow*, *wuwowo(nó)* (< *wuwawuwa) 'convey, c., t., tote', *wuwa-s*, *wuwa-se(n)* 'grass cover laid on top of food that has already been covered by leaves in an earth oven (thing transported), grass covering of'; MRT *uwa* 'c., *uwá-á(y)* 'c. it'; PUL *wuwa-(y)* 'c., t. (s.t.)', *wuwa-a(to)* 'c. it hither', *wuwów* (sic) 'to c.', *wuwa-h*, *wuwa-há(n)* 'burden, carried object, b. of', *wuwówo* (sic) 'to carry'; CRL *uwa-s* 'scent or aroma (pleasant or unpleasant) on the air'; CRN *uwa-h* 'scent or aroma on the air'; WOL *uwa-te* 'load, belongings'; PCK **wuwa*, *wuwawuwa*, *wuwa-ti*, *wuwa-ta*; PON *wwa* 'carry'; MRS *wiwéy*, *yiwéy* (western dialect), *wiwwéy* (eastern dialect) 'to board, ride, get on, embark, mount, to rise (of dough)'; KIR *uoua* 'engage in carrying a child', *uo-ta* 'to c. (s.t.), s.t. carried', *uo-ta-na* 'engage in carrying'; *ua(aki)* 'to be engaged in dragging or towing', *ua(kaakaa)* 'be burdened with many packages', *ua(roko)* 'gift or present brought as to a chief', *ua(rurur)* 'shifting of a cargo', *ua(tou)* 'engage in carrying pandanus fruit'; KSR *wa-n* 'to c., t. (s.t.)', *wiwe* 'do carrying'; POC **pua-ti*, *pua-ta* (FIJ *vua* 'to bear two burdens on the shoulder [one at each end of a stick]', *vua-ta* 'crop, harvest'; TON *fua* 'to lift, carry on shoulder with a stick', *fue-si-[a]* 'carry, bear [a burden]'; KWA *fua* 'carry a load', *fua-'a-[gu]* 'thing conveyed to me'); UAN **buhat*. Cf. also PMC ? **u[sS]a*, *u[sS]a-ni*, *u[sS]a-na* 'cargo, load', PMC **u-Ti*, *u-Taki* 'carry', PPC **waa* 'carry it, convey it, transport it', PMC **waxa*, 'a frame'.

PMC ***wuaa** 'fruit': CHK *wuwa*, *wuwaa(n)* 'f., berry, its f'; MRT *uwa*; STW *uwa*; PUL *wuwa* 'f., flower, bur'; CRL *uwa*, *wwa*, *uwaa-(l)* 'f., flower, its f'; WOL *uwaa* 'f., to bear f'; PUA *ua* (sic) 'f., flower'; SNS *uwaa*; PCK **wuwaa*; PON *waa* 'f., flower'; MOK *waa*, *wee(n)* 'its f., f. of', *uwua* 'be in f'; MRS *wiwah* 'bear much f. or many flowers'; KIR (te)-*uaa*, *uaa(na)* 'f., its f'; POC **pua* (Ross 1988) (FIJ *vua* 'fruit'; PPN **fua*; SAA *hue*, *huehue*; ULA *hua*; ARO *hua*; PKB **vua* 'seed, fruit, berry'); UAN **buaq*. Cf. KIR *uee* 'flower'.

PMC ***wuci** 'banana': CHK *wuuch*, *wuchu(n)*; MRT *wuush*, *wushu(n)*; PUL *wuuiR*, *wuRú(n)*; CRL *wiish*, *wisha-wishe*; CRL *uiiR*; STW *wiir*, *wiRi-(l)*; WOL *wiishi*, *wishi-(l)*; PUA *wiisi*, *wisi(n)*; PCK **wuci*; PON *uit*, *uti-*; MOK *wus*, *wusi(n)*; PNG *wis*; KIR (te)-*uri* 'a tree'; KSR *usr*; POC **pudi* (Ross 1988) (PPN **futi*, FIJ *vudi*; SAA *hudi*; PKB **vudi*); PMP **punti* (Blust 1984–85).

PMC ***wuko** 'go early in the morning': CHK *wuk*, *wuko(nó)* 'go out of one's house for the first time in the m.'; PUL *wuke-e(y)* 'come or go to do (s.t.) in the e. m.', *wuko(ló)* 'go off in the e. m.', *wukook* 'repeatedly come or go in the e. m.'; CRL *ugh* 'to be e. in the m.', *ughu(tá)* 'get up e. in the m.'; CRN *ug* 'very e. in the m.'; WOL *ugo* 'to go e.'; PCK **wuko*; PEO **fuko* (SAA *hu'o* 'come e. in the m.', [*ma*]-*hu'ohu'o* 'e. m., dawn'; BUG *vugo-i* 'to be e. afoot in the m.'; ARO *hu'o* 'start very e., before sunrise', *hu'o-[rodo]* 'to set out e.').

PMC ***wuko**, **wuko-Si** 'pursue': KIR *uko-ra*, *ukouko-ra* 'to look for (s.t.)'; KSR *ukok* 'follow a trail, chase', *uke* 'chase, p., drive away (s.o.)'.

PMC ***wuko**, **wuko-ti** 'fishnet, catch in a net': CHK *wuuk*, *wuke(n)*, *wukowuk*, or *wuku-wuk*, *wuke-(ey)* 'f., f. of, caul or spiderweb, catch in a net'; MRT *wuuk* 'f.'; PUL *wuuk*, *wukook*, *wukooko-n* 'seine, web, w. of'; STW *wuko-(l)* 'f. of'; WOL *uugo*, *ugo-(li)*, *ugougo* 'f., f. of, swim-bladder'; PUA *uuko*, *uko-* 'fishnet'; PCK **wuko*; PON *uuk* 'net'; MOK *uk* 'round net'; MRS *wek*, *wike-* 'net'; KIR ? *iko-ta* 'bring together, collect, gather (s.t.)'; POC **pukot* (PEO **fuko-t*; SAA *hu'o* 'f. net, seine'; ARO *hu'o* 'large net, seine'; KWA *fu'o* 'place for an ambush'; PKB **vuqo* 'f. '); UAN **puket* 'dragnet'. Note also KSR *nwek* 'net'.

PMC ***wuku**, **wuuku** 'to blow': MRT *wike-(y)* 'b. (s.t.)'; PUL *wiiki-(y)* 'to b. (s.t.) as by wind or person', *wiiká-á(tá)* 'b. (s.t.) upwards'; CRL *ughu-u-(w)* 'to b. air on (of a person or wind)'; WOL *ugu-u* 'b. (a musical instrument)', *uguugu* 'b. with the mouth'; PUA *uku* (sic) 'b. on it'; ULI *yugu(-u)*; SNS *wuugu* 'to b.'; PCK **wuku*; PON ? *iik* 'inhale, breathe in deeply, absorb'; MOK *uk* 'to b., to smoke'; MRS *wiwik* 'to b. (as wind)' *wiwiki-(y)* 'b. on (s.t.)'; KIR *uki* 'to begin to b. after a calm'; KSR *uk* 'to b. (a bugle), b. (s.t.) away', *ukuk* 'to b., be blowing'. Cf. PEO **ufu-C* 'b.' (Geraghty 1983:153–154) (FIJ *uwu*, *uwu-ca*, *uwu-sa* 'b. with the mouth'; ARO *uhu*, *uhu-'i* 'to b., b. on'; PKB **pupu* 'to b. '); UAN **puput* 'to b.'. Note also

CHK *p^wu* ‘be blown (as a trumpet)’ (< PMc **p^wuu* < POC **mpupu* (TON *pupui* ‘to sound as a conch shell when blown, to whistle’, PPN **[ma]-pu* ‘whistle, blow hard’; LAK *pu-[su]* ‘to b. [as a conch shell], to b. s.t. out of the mouth’). Cf. SAA *’uhi* ‘to b. with the mouth’; BUG *ifu* ‘b. with the mouth’; LAU *ifi* ‘b.’; ARO *uhi* ‘to b.’; KWA *fulu* ‘b. with mouth’, *ifi* ‘play pan-pipes’, *ifi-a* ‘to blow on’.

PWMC **wul[ae]* ‘penis’: CHK *wuun*, *wunu-(n)* ‘testicles and scrotum, his t.’; PON *wile* ‘his penis’; Mok *wilo* ‘his penis’; MRS *wél*, *wile-* ‘penis’.

PMc **wum^wa* ‘hermit crab’: CHK *wum^wowum^w*, *wum^wowum^we-(n)* ‘h. c., h. c. of’; PUL *wum^wowum^w*, *wum^wowum^wá-(n)*; CRL *um^wá-(l)*, *um^we-(l)*; PUA *uma-(anna)* (sic) ‘h. c. in the shell’; PCK **wum^wa*; MRS *wém^w* ‘h. c.’; PEO **qum^wa* (FIJ *uga*; TON *quga* ‘large h. c.’); PMP **qumaj* (Blust 1984–85). Cf. PON *mp^wa* ‘h. c.’; Mok *um^wp^wa* ‘h. c.’; KWA *u’a* ‘crab’.

PMc **wum^wu*, *wum^wu-ni-* ‘earth oven, bake in an oven’: CHK *wuun^w*, *wum^wu-(n)* ‘e. o., o. of’, *wum^w* ‘be put in an earth oven’, *wum^wu-ni* ‘cook (s.t.) in an e. o.’; MRT *uam^wε-* (sic); PUL *wuam^w*, *wum^wu-ni-(y)*; CRL *uam^w*, *um^wu-li*; STW *uam^w*, *um^wu-(n)*; WOL *uam^wu*, *um^wu-* ‘e. o.’, *um^wu* ‘to cook in an e. o.’; PUA *um^wu*; PCK **wum^wu*, *wum^wu-ni-*; PON *uam^w* ‘e. o.’, *um^w* ‘to bake in an e. o.’, *um^wu-n* ‘to bake (s.t.) in an e. o.’; Mok *um^w* ‘to bake’, *um^wu-n* ‘bake (s.t.)’; MRS *wim^w*, *wim^wwim^w*, *wim^wi-n*; KIR *um^wuum^w*, *um^wu-na*; KSR *um* ‘e. o.’, *#uni* ‘cook (food) in an earth o.’; PEO **qumu* (PPN **qumu*; SAA *umu*; ARO *umu*; KWA *umu* ‘oven stones’; LAK *humu*).

PCMc **wum^wu-lau* ‘a reef fish prized as food’: CHK *wum^wu-né*; PUL *wum^wu-lé*; CRL *um^wu-lé*; WOL *wum^wu-léé*; PCK **wum^wu-lau*; PON *um^wu-le*; KIR *im^wu-nai* ‘a f.’. Cf. PMc **wum^wu*, *wum^wu-ni-* ‘earth oven, bake in an oven’.

PMc **wuga* ‘ridgepole, top’: CHK *wuug*, *wuga-(n)* ‘r. of house, its r.’, *wugowug* ‘be high, lofty, summit’, *wuge-ni* ‘put a r. on it’, (*o*)-*wugowuga* ‘make it high, elevate it’; MRT *uug*, *uga-(n)*; PUL *wuug* ‘r.’, *wuge-(lap)* ‘main (lower of two) r.’; CRL *uug*, *wuug*, *uga-(l)*; STW *wuug* ‘r.’, *wuge-(lap)* ‘main r.’; WOL *uuge*, *uga-(le)* ‘r., ceiling, its r.’, *wuge-(lape)* ‘main r.’; PUA *uuga*, *uga-* ‘r., ceiling’; PCK **wuga*; PEO **fuga* (TON *fuga* ‘top, upper surface, lap’; SAA *huguhuga-* ‘a ‘hill-ock’).

PMc **wugu* ‘fruit cluster’: KIR *-uug* ‘bunch of pandanus f. (in counting)’; KSR *ug* ‘c., bunch’, *uugug* (sic) ‘having many clusters’; PEO **fugu* (SAA *hugu*, *huguhugu* ‘bear f.’; BUG *vugu* ‘bear f.’; ARO *hugu* ‘to f., a bunch or c. of f.’; KWA *fugu* ‘bunch of f., bearing f.’); PMP **puju* and PAN **pujuN* (Blust 1980:131). Cf. PPC **wum^wu* ‘fruit cluster’.

PMc **wup^wa* ‘belly, abdomen, torso’: CHK *wuup^w*, *wup^wa-(n)* ‘b., a., his b.’; PUL *wuup^w*, *wup^we-(er)* ‘b., stomach, their b.’; CRL *uub^w*, *ub^wa-(l)* ‘a., stomach, his a.’; WOL *uube*, *uba-(l)* ‘chest, his c.’; PUA *uup^wa*, *up^wa-* ‘stomach’; PCK **wup^wa*; PON *iip^wε* ‘his t.’; Mok *up^w*, *up^we-(n)* ‘part of the back, shoulder blade, p. of b. of’; MRS *wéby*, *wib^we-* ‘chest’; KIR (*te*)-*ub^wa* ‘part of the upper breast over the sternum’, *ub^wa-(ete)* ‘suffer from dyspepsia’. Cf. KSR (*in*)-*yawe-* ‘chest, bosom’; FIJ *uma* ‘trunk of a tree for making into a canoe’; PEO **tob^wa-* ‘b.’ (Geraghty 1983) (SAA *’oga* and ULA *’opa* ‘b., bowels, stomach’; LAU *oga* ‘stomach, b.’; ARO *obaoba* ‘lap’; KWA *oga* ‘b.’).

PMc **wup^wu* ‘young coconut’: WOL *uubu*, *ubu-* ‘y. c., y. c. meat’; PUA *uup^wu*, *up^wu-* ‘green c., c. milk’; PCK **wup^wu*; PON *uup^w* ‘drinking c.’; Mok *up^w* ‘unripe c.’; MRS *wib^w* ‘soft, unripe c., tender skin of a baby’, (*meje*)-*wib^w* ‘c., nearly ripe’; KIR (*te*)-*ub^wu* ‘softer end of a green c.’, *ub^wu* ‘be in the early stage of development as a fruit’; KSR *uf^w* ‘y. c.’. Cf. PCMc **wup^wu-* ‘young coconut leaf’.

PCMc **wup^wu-* ‘young coconut leaf’: CHK *wup^wu-t*, *wup^wu-te-(n)* ‘y. c. l., l. of’, (*o*)-*wup^wu-ta* ‘put y. c. leaves on (s.t.)’; PUL *wup^wu-t* ‘new upright shoot of pandanus or c. l.’; CRL *ub^wu-t* ‘shoot of a c. frond’; WOL *ubu-te* ‘immature c. frond, white y. c. l.’; PCK **wup^wu-da*; Mok *up^wu-d* ‘c. frond shoot’; PPC **wup^wu-da* ‘y. c. l.’; KIR *ub^wuub^wu* ‘soft and tender as a sprout’, (*te*)-*ub^wuub^wu* ‘the tender germ top of a c. tree’. Cf. PMc **wup^wu* ‘young coconut’.

PCMc **wup^wu-* ‘breast’: CHK *-wup^w* ‘b. (in counting)’, (*o*)-*wup^w*, *-wupu-(n)* ‘b., her b.’, *wup^wu-ri* ‘approach (another) with b. forward’; CRL (*ó*)-*ub^w* ‘breast, teat’; PCK **wup^wu-*; KIR

ubr'u-(rake) 'too forward, rude in approach'. Note that the KIR form could also derive from KIR *(te)-ubr'u* 'nose, snout'. Cf. PMC *wup^wa 'belly, abdomen, torso'.

PMC ***wuro**, **wuro-mata** 'wash one's face': WOL *uru-mate*; PUA *ulo, uloulo*; MRS *wér-méj*; PEO *furo (KWA *fulo-a* 'to rub, wipe, polish, clear up s.t.'). Cf. BUG *ujuri* 'to rub the skin as when bathing', *gnujuri* 'to rub (s.t.) with the hand'; and cf. PEO *fuRi 'pour water on, rinse' (Geraghty 1990).

PCMc ***wusi**, **wuwusi** 'splash water on (s.t.)': CHK *wuti* 'throw or s. w. on (s.t.)', *wutuat* 's. with w.', *wutu-mas* 's. w. on the face'; MRT *úúte* 'to s. (s.t.)'; PUL *wuti-(y)* 'throw w. on (s.t.)'; CRL *uuti* 'pour or sprinkle w.'; PCK *wudu, wudi, wuwudi; PON *iid* 'fetch or draw liquids'; MOK *id* 'to draw w.', *idi-p* 'draw (w.)'; KIR *uura* 'to throw salt w. onto (a seine to frighten the fish), *uri* 'to sprinkle with w. as in religious ablution' (Bender et al. 1984). Cf. PMC *u[sS]a 'rain'.

PMC ***wuti** 'pull up, uproot': CHK *wi*, *wiwi* 'pulled up, extracted (of s.t. planted), to extract, p. up, weed (a garden)', *wii-(y)* 'p. up (plants)'; PUL *wiwi* 'p. up with the hands (as taro or seaweeds)', *wii-(y)* 'pull it up, jerk it up'; CRL *wi* 'to p. up or uproot a plant', *wii-ságh* 'be uprooted, pulled up'; CRN *wi* 'to p. up or uproot a plant', *wii-heg* 'be uprooted, pulled up'; STW *wiwi* 'pluck up grass'; WOL *wiwi* 'to p. up, uproot, extract', *wii-(ye)* 'p. it up, uproot it'; PUA *udu* 'to pluck, harvest by pulling'; PCK *wuti; PON *us* 'pull out, pluck'; MOK *wij* 'p. (s.t.) up or out'; MRS *wij*, *wijwiji* 'p. out of ground, uproot'; PEO *futi (SAA *hisu* 'to pluck leaves, pull fruit'; BUG *vuti* 'to pluck up by the roots'; ARO *husi* 'to pluck, pull off [as fruit]'; KWA *fusi* 'broken off, died out [of a kin group]'); UAN *putput 'p. out, pluck out', *puput 'pluck off'. Cf. KSR *ffif* 'to p. out', *fi-s* 'to extract (s.t.), p. (s.t.) out'. Cf. also KIR *auau* 'engage in drawing forth', *au-ta* 'draw or pluck (s.t.) out'.

PMC ***wuu** 'wicker fish trap': CHK *wuu* 'w. f. t., lobster pot', *wuu-ni* 'catch (s.t.) in a f. t.'; MRT *wuu*; PUL *wuu*; CRL *uu*; STW *wuu*; WOL *uu*; PCK *wuu; PON *uu*; MRS *wiwi*; KIR *uu*; KSR *u*; POC *pupu (FIJ *vuvu*; LAK *vuvu*), UAN *bubu. See also YAP *wup* 'chicken trap'.

PMC ***xawu** 'rafter': CHK *woo* 'vertical r.'; PUL *woo* 'vertical r.'; WOL *weái*, *weái-(li)* 'house r., r. of'; PCK *wawu; PON *reew*, *rew-(lap)* 'beam or r.', *raaw* 'minor r.'; KSR *kwe-(srík)* 'rafters'. Cf. BUG *gaho* 'r.'. Cf. PCK *kaú-cam^wa 'tie beam'.

PMC * (suf. poss. prn.) 'my, of me': CHK -y, -yi-; MRT -y; PUL -y; CRL -y; STW -y; WOL -i; PUA -i; PCK *-yi; PON -y; MOK -y; PNG -y; MRS -hi (vowel does not surface but raises preceding vowel); KIR -u; KSR -k; POC *-gu (FIJ -qu; SAA -ku; BUG -ngu; ARO -gu; KWA -gu; PKB *-gu); PAN *-ŋku (Ross 1988).

PMC ***yaja** 'spider shell (*Strombidae*): see PMC *aja₂.

PCMc ***yuwe** 'a sail': CRL *úúw*, *yúúw*; WOL *úúwe*, *úwe-(li)*; PUA *úúa*, *úa*; MAP *ii*; PCK *yúw[ae]; MOK *i* 'a sail'; KIR *(te)-ie* 'a s.', *ie*, *ieie* 'to s.', *ie-a* 'to s. for or to (a place)', *ie-aki-na* 'to s. (a craft)'. Cf. PON *lii* 'boom sheet, s. rope'; MOK *li* 'canoe line, sheet'; FIJ *liwa* 'to blow (of the wind)'. Cf. also PMC *Luuwe, Luwe-, Luwe 'sail' posited by Goodenough (1995:76).