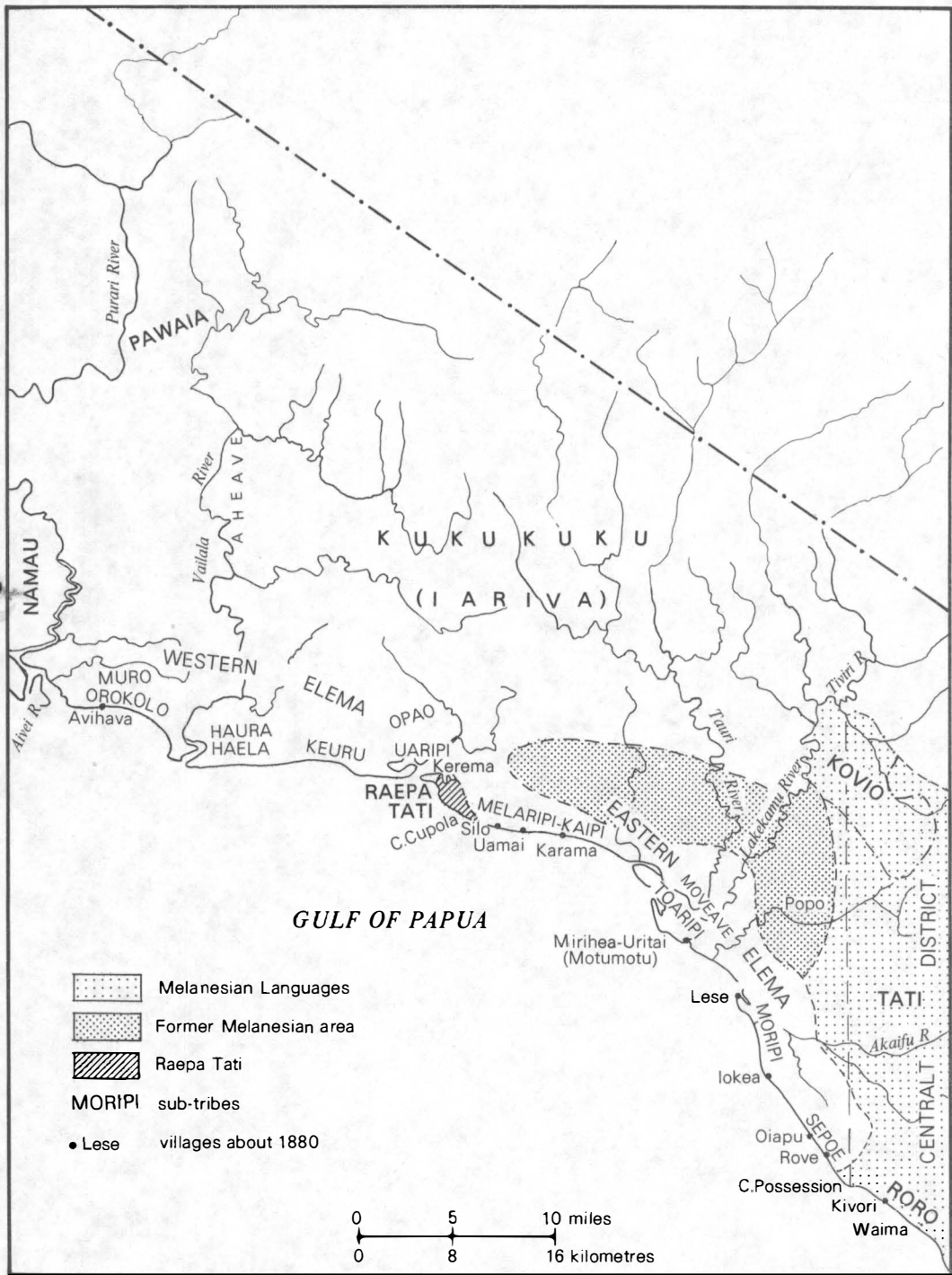


CHAPTER 8



MAP 6: THE ELEMA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

THE ELEMEN LANGUAGE FAMILY

H.A. Brown

8.1. The Elema People

In this chapter we are concerned with the languages spoken from the Aivei, one of the mouths of the Purari River, to Cape Possession, a coast some 120 miles in length. Coastwise the one language that lies out of the immediate scope of our study here is that spoken by a very small tribe living in the vicinity of Kerema - the Raepa-Tati people. (See Map 6).

The people whose languages and dialects concern us here number in all about 37,000. They may be regarded as a single ethnic group in that they shared a common traditional culture. The general characteristics of this traditional culture may be summed up as follows: a dispersed, exogamous clan system, patrilineal in descent, having associated linked totems, an extensive mythology, with art forms derived from the mythology. Men's houses (elavo) of uniform pattern were found throughout the area. Their traditional social organisation included age sets and age grades. There was a bull-roarer cult which was associated with the pukari, the headman responsible for the maintenance of law and order within the elavo community. The traditional culture had as its most outstanding feature elaborate ceremonies in which appeared masks of remarkable design. Culture change stemming from missionary, government and commercial activities, has resulted in the disappearance of the traditional religion and culture. The languages and dialects continue, however, and their close relationships justify us continuing to regard the Elema as one people.

8.2. The Name 'Elema'

Although they lacked a common name for themselves the name Elema was given to them by the Motu of the Central District, with whom they had trading relationships through the hiri. In the urban centres of present-day Papua New Guinea, where so many of them have migrated in recent years, they are commonly known as 'Keremas' from the name of the government centre in the eastern Gulf of Papua. The term 'Gulf' native was also used, but neither term has precise reference in that the Elema are by no means the only tribal group administered from Kerema. In anthropological circles the name Elema has been in vogue since the time of Seligmann (1910). F.E. Williams wrote much about the people and used the name Elema when referring to the people generally (1940:23ff). Maher (1961) is the only anthropologist to differ. He uses 'Ipi' tribes, an impossible term coined by Holmes (1924).

Although it was the Motu who began the use of the name Elema as a general term, it is actually of Toaripi origin. To the Toaripi the people living around Kerema Bay were known as the Heleva, the groups further west from Keuru to Orokolo being called Lavau. Thus the dual name Hereva-Lavau denoted to the Toaripi the Western Elema. As used by the Motu 'Elema' has a wider reference in that it included also the Eastern Elema. In its use here the name has this wider reference. To the Western Elema the name Lavau means the people of the eastern Purari Delta, i.e. the Namau.

8.3. Elema Origins

At the time of the first European contacts the Elema were well-established as a coastal or riverine people. Two of the sub-tribes, the Toaripi and the Moripi, had moreover adopted from the Motu the hiri trading voyages, and their sea-going canoes (vavaea) used to sail annually to the Central District from the Eastern Gulf. The Elema were not, however, a maritime people in origin. The traditions of origin of the various sub-tribes point vaguely to the mountains towards the north-west, possibly the Albert Mountains, or even some more remote region. The Elema groups that migrated coastwards were doubtless quite small in number, for the very rugged country over which they would have travelled would not have favoured mass migration. Moreover the initial encounter with the diseases endemic to lower altitudes, such as scrub typhus, tropical ulcers, yaws, hookworm and above all malaria, must have

decimated the newcomers, until they finally crossed the swamps and found themselves on the relatively healthy coastal strip. Only by being reinforced by successive bands of migrants could their numbers have been maintained in those early years. In such a mode of settlement we see an explanation for linguistic phenomena that otherwise are inexplicable, such as the resemblances between Sepoe at the extreme east of the Elema coast and Orokolo at the extreme west, and the sporadic occurrence of words akin to Namau (see below). The broad linguistic division between eastern and western Eleman would seem also to have had its origins in the manner in which the coast was settled. (See below).

At first, as the sites of earlier villages demonstrate, the settlements were a little inland. Later, as a result it would seem of encouragement by the Motu who came along on trading voyages, the villages came to be built right on the sea coast. Men took to wearing the bark cloth perineal band, the *sii* (Motu: *sihi*) and relegated to uninitiated boys the pubic tassel, reminiscent of the Anga (Kukukuku) sporran (see Chapter 2). Men began, also after Motu fashion, to cultivate mops of hair, leaving the boys to continue with older fashion of shaven heads with two tufts of hair, the *aitekori* and the *avora tui* (cf. Motu: *hui*, Toaripi: *tui hair of head*). Here again we are reminded of the Anga who have a similar hair style, but with one tuft instead of two, the purpose of which is to serve as an anchor for the barkcloth cape they wear.

8.4. Neighbours: the Roro

Towards the east the coastal neighbours of the Elema are the Roro, who speak a Melanesian language. The eastern Eleman show no influence of Roro on their vocabulary. In neither Sepoe nor the Toaripi of Iokea are there any words shared with Roro except Toaripi and Sepoe: *kaisi*, Roro: *aisi*, the salt-water crayfish. It was the Elema who influenced the Roro, rather than the other way round. In traditional times the nearer Roro villages, such as Kivorl and Waima, adopted from the Elema such features as men's houses, seclusion, the bull-roarer and masked ceremonies, which features were lacking in Roro villages distantly situated, such as Hisiu. The terminology associated with such features shows marked Elema influence.

Early anthropological and linguistic studies of Papua (Haddon 1894:27; Seligmann 1910:1) separated the peoples of the Territory into two main groups, the Papuans and the Papuo-Melanesians, the division having as its basis 'racial', linguistic and cultural criteria. In such a

division Cape Possession was a notable landmark, for it was regarded as a boundary between the Roro, the last of the Papuo-Melanesians, and the Elema, the first of the Papuans as one enters the Gulf of Papua. However, closer investigation has failed to substantiate this early division. Culturally, as I have already mentioned, such a boundary cannot be maintained. Neither is such a division acceptable to physical anthropologists (cf. Montagu 1947:18). Linguistically the division remains valid, but the boundary must be considerably redrawn. On the coast the division is actually a little to the west of Cape Possession, for Meauri, a Roro hamlet, is situated on the Gulf side of the cape. Inland there is a wide area where the people speak languages akin to Mekeo, and are thus 'Melanesian' in affinity.

8.5. Neighbours: the Tati and Kovio

The Tati live in villages up and about the Akaifu River. The name used here is the one by which they are known to the Elema. 'Bush Mekeo' used to be the name in Government quarters, but this was considered derogatory, and was altered to 'West Mekeo'. This new name led to confusion because a division of the Mekeo proper was already known as 'West Mekeo'; so the current official name is 'North Mekeo'. Here we use the Elema name.

Akin to them, and living in the upper Lakekamu area around the Kurai Hills, are the Kovio. Again this name is to be distinguished from an identical name used by Seligmann (1910:31-2) for people now known as 'Kunimaipa'. The Kovio number only about 150 in all, and live in two small villages, Urulao on the upper Lakekamu, and Okavae at the junction of the Oreba-Kunimaipa rivers. There are some dialectical differences between Tati and Kovio, but not such as to make communication difficult. There has been some intermarriage between them. I have reduced Kovio language to writing, compiled a dictionary, and translated Mark's Gospel into it. Kovio shows no indication of having been influenced by Toaripi. I know of only one word that suggests an affinity, i.e. Kovio: *kanima*, Toaripi: *sariva journey*. In their communication with each other the Elema and Kovio usually employ Hiri Motu.

Local traditions indicate that these Tati or Kovio speakers were formerly spread over a much wider area. What is now Popo appears to have been one of their settlements when Chalmers first visited the Gulf. Being few in number they allied themselves with the Toaripi and became merged with them. Tapala was also originally a Tati village, but it is

now grouped with Heatoare (Moveave). Even further to the west, in the area inland from Kaipi, there were once Tati settlements. Attacks by the Anga (Kukukuku) caused these Tati people to flee to the Kaipi or to Moveave for protection. Some people claim to be of Tati descent, but apart from this they are fully integrated with the Elema, and they retain no memory of the language of their ancestors. Diligent enquiries that I made some thirty years ago failed to recover a single word of it. Map 6 (p. 280) gives the former and present 'Papuan' and 'Melanesian' linguistic boundaries.

8.6. Neighbours: the Raepa Tati

As stated earlier, there are three villages near Kerema, about Cape Cupola in the middle of the Elema coast, where the people speak a language that differs from their Elema neighbours. These people are the Raepa Tati ('Hill Tati'), to use the Eastern Elema name for them. In former times they lived in a string of hamlets along the ridge above the cape. Heaps of shell may be seen at the former sites, the names of which are still remembered by the people. Anga raiding at the turn of the century compelled them to flee down to the water's edge, where their villages are now located. Two, Lovera (29) and Lou (82), are right on the sea coast; the third, Uriri (155), is off Kerema Bay. The numbers given in brackets are the 1970 population figures.

The name Tati suggests a 'Melanesian' origin, and the people do, in fact, have a tradition that they came originally from Nara, inland from Cape Suckling, eastwards from Yule Island. Enquiries I made some years ago amongst the Nara people confirmed this tradition, suggesting that as a result of a quarrel their ancestors divided, and one group migrated westwards by canoe. The Nara and Raepa Tati languages, however, show no structural resemblance. There are words of 'Melanesian' derivation in the Raepa Tati vocabulary, but the same can also be said of all the forms of speech of their Elema neighbours. The origin of such words is to be traced to Motu influence stemming from the Hiri trading voyages; e.g. Raepa Tati: nau *axe*, (see below 8.9). There are some Raepa Tati words that cannot, however, be accounted for in that way, e.g. Raepa Tati: aiparo is practically identical with the Roro: aiporo *pig*. A few other such odd resemblances of vocabulary, (such as Raepa Tati: ea, Mekeo: ea *house*; Raepa Tati: upa *rain*, Motu: guba *storm*; Raepa Tati: haua, Roro, Gabadi haua *rat*) suggest that the tradition of origin had a factual basis, but that the migrants were too few to survive alone, and so they linked

themselves with some Elema group whose language largely prevailed in the speech of their descendants. My investigations suggest that Raepa Tati has its nearest affinity with the Eleman language family.

8.7. Neighbours: the Namau (Koriki)

Unlike any of the peoples and languages mentioned hitherto, the Namau had a considerable and widespread influence on the Elema. We see this influence in the men's houses (*elavo*), the centres for the ceremonies associated with the former religion. These had names derived from the Namau name for the same type of structure, the *lavi*, such as *Kaurilavi*, *Sky-lavi*, and *Morōvelavi*, *Rattan-cane-lavi*. It is of interest to note in this connection that the same kind of borrowing took place amongst the Western Roro. Their name for *elavo* or *lavi* was *marea* (cf. Namau: *marea dwelling house*), but the names for the *marea* were derived from *Toaripi* (Seligmann 1910:24-6). Other features of the traditional culture common to both Namau and Elema include masked ceremonies, the bull-roarer cult and art form. A notable character in Elema mythology, *Iko* or *Tito*, is known throughout the Papuan Gulf as far west as the *Kiwai*, who call him *Sido* (Williams 1940:118-19). To the *Kerewa* he is *Hido*. Other traditional features show, however, a marked distinction; e.g. the Namau were cannibals, which the Elema never were.

All the various forms of Elema speech reveal some trace of a Namau connection. Of over a thousand Namau words (Holmes 1902) examined there are about forty that show unmistakable affinity. These words may be grouped as follows:

- (1) Words that appear unchanged, or nearly so, from the Purari

Table 1

English	Namau	Orokolo	Belepa	Kaipi	Toaripi	Sepoe
<i>butterfly</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>fifi</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>pipi</i>
<i>beach</i>	<i>miri</i>	<i>miri</i>	<i>miri</i>	<i>miri</i>	<i>miri</i>	<i>miri</i>
<i>dark</i>	<i>murū</i>	<i>murū</i>	<i>murū</i>	<i>murū*</i>	<i>murū*</i>	<i>murū*</i>
<i>rain</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>lahi</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>lai</i>
<i>sun</i>	<i>lare</i>	<i>hare</i>	<i>hovare</i>	<i>sare</i>	<i>sare</i>	<i>sare</i>
<i>wing</i>	<i>maho</i>	<i>maho</i>	<i>moko</i>	<i>maho</i>	<i>avako</i>	<i>maho</i>

* as noun: *murumuru*

Namau - Elema Cognates

eastwards to Cape Possession (Table 1). The nature of these words and their widespread occurrence precludes their being regarded as loanwords.

The word for *shame* in Namau appears unchanged in Orokolo: *makiri*. By a reversal of the *k* and *r*, and a change of the former to *t*, the form is *mariti* in Toaripi. In both Toaripi and Orokolo: *maea body*, a word used with a wide range of terms denoting mental states, is usually prefixed, i.e. Toaripi: *maeamariti*, Orokolo: *maeamakiri*. By reversing the vowels, Namau: *vaki man* becomes *vika*, an old Eastern Elema word for *man*. This in Toaripi is *vita*, Orokolo: *vila*, and means *husband* or *man*, although in the latter sense the lengthened Toaripi: *heavita*, Orokolo: *hilavila* is more usual.

(2) A limited vocabulary having association with the traditional religion. Mention has already been made of the *elavo* (*men's house*) names, formed from the Namau: *ravi men's house*. To the two examples already given may be added *Holalavi*, *Hola-reed-lavi*, *Orilavi*, *Bird-lavi*, and *Orolavi*, *Hibiscus-tree-lavi*. These names embody the names of the former totems of the sub-clans. Another Namau word *lalava*, which there denoted a division of the *ravi*, had the same meaning in the Elema languages and dialects. Nowadays the word is used in both Toaripi and Orokolo with the meaning *room* or *cabin (of ship)*. Other words associated with the traditional religion and which show Namau affinity are: Namau: *kanipu* and *aiai*, which in Kaipi and Toaripi are *harisu* and *oioi* respectively. These are names for the masks known in Orokolo as *kovave*. The votive plaques known in Namau as *kwoi*, were called *hohao* in Orokolo. In Toaripi they had two names, *hoao* and *koae*, one cognate with the Orokolo term, the other with Namau. The word for *taboo* also reveals an affinity; Namau: *mupu* and Orokolo: *pupu*. Toaripi has *safu* for *taboo*, but there is also *pupu*, meaning a *taboo sign*.

(3) A few words found in Orokolo and associated dialects, but not elsewhere. Such words are: *amua headman, owner*, for which the Toaripi equivalent is *papuvita*. In Namau: *amua* has the meaning of *gift*; hence *amua vaki (gift-man) headman*, because in the traditional society a headman's influence was in proportion to his generosity. This word became *amua haela* in Orokolo, or simply *amua*. The word for *hunt*, Namau: *lakea*, appears in Orokolo as *nakea*; for this Toaripi has *tapora*. A third Namau word *maia sick, ill*, appears in Orokolo as *maea*, and had the auxiliary with it *maea lai be ill*. The equivalent here in Toaripi is *eka* (Kaipi: *ekaho*, Sepoe: *eka*), which also uses the auxiliary *loi*, *eka loi be ill*. Amongst the Eastern Elema there is one term that covers the

two meanings of *breast* and *scrotum*, e.g. Toaripi: kō. The Western Elema agree with Namau: ame *breast* in the form of amae for *breast*, but have kou for the other of the two meanings.

(4) A few words of discontinuous occurrence. These have closely related forms in both Namau and Toaripi or some other form of Elema speech, but differ in Orokolo. Such words are: Namau: iara, Toaripi: ivara, Orokolo: aeha, *courage, daring*, also *fierce, savage*; Namau: kore, Toaripi: tore, Orokolo: oaoka, *fear*; Namau: nava, Uaripi: tava, Orokolo and Toaripi: ekaka, *fish*. In Toaripi: tava is an associate name for *fish*, sometimes encountered in poetry. There is also Namau: naka, Toaripi: lakai, Orokolo: maeako, *branch*, but Orokolo has laka meaning a *large branch, bough*, so maybe this word should be included under (1). The word for *peace* belongs here perhaps; Namau: airu, Toaripi: tairu, Orokolo: havila.

(5) Common introductions from Motu, the result of contacts through the Hiri trading voyages. This subject will be mentioned in the next section. Here we briefly note: Namau: kavakava, Orokolo: kavale, Toaripi: tava, Motu: dava-na, *price*. Namau already had a word for *barter, exchange*, inaea, which appears in Orokolo as ilaea, Toaripi: itaea and Raepa Tati: inaia with the same meaning. Like Namau this is used with the auxiliary to make it a verb; i.e. Namau: inaea liai, Orokolo: ilaea lai, Toaripi: itaea loi. Another word of Motu origin is kimai *fish-hook*, which appears in Namau and Orokolo, but not in Toaripi, which has forōva eite. Motu would also seem to be the origin for Namau: rui, said by Holmes to mean *whale*, but which in Orokolo and Toaripi means *dugong*, as it does in Motu. Namau and Orokolo share kile for *mat*, for which the Toaripi is kite, the Motu being geda. It may well be that the word is of Toaripi origin, for kite is the Toaripi name for the rush (*Papyrus* sp.) from which the finest mats are made.

Structurally the Namau language shows a number of points of resemblance with the various forms of Elema speech (cf. Ray 1907:325-32):

(1) The genitive marker na corresponds to the Elema: ve; e.g. Namau: mere na noi, Toaripi: atute va rare, *son's name*; Namau: oroko ovara na pei, Orokolo: ave eapapo ve eapai, *big dog's food*.

(2) the Namau postposition ai corresponds to the Orokolo: kai and Toaripi: tai, in respect of persons; e.g. Namau: mekai ai, Orokolo: oa kai, Toaripi: oa tai *to, towards father*. For places, where the meaning may be also *at* or *on*, Namau continues using ai. Toaripi, however, uses voa; the Orokolo is ve, which is identical in form with the genitive

marker, but should not be confused with it. Thus Namau: *rore ai*, Toaripi: *fave voa*, Orokolo: *have ve, on or to a stone*; Namau: *marea ai*, Toaripi: *uvi voa*, Orokolo: *uvi ve, in or to the house*.

The many postpositional compounds and phrases present in the Elema languages have parallels in Namau, e.g. Namau: *arau ai*, Toaripi: *ora voa*, Orokolo: *ihau ve, beneath, under*; Namau: *arekamu ai*, Toaripi: *haekao voa*, Orokolo: *maeamaea ve, near*; Namau: *niki ai*, Toaripi: *pisiri voa*, Orokolo: *hihi ve, outside, in the open*. In both Namau and Elema: *arau, ora, ihau, arekamu, haekao, etc.* are nouns *under-place, proximity*.

(3) Pronouns. Although a comparison of Namau and the Elema languages fails to reveal any near identity of form, there are some parallels in the morphology of the pronouns.

In Namau the dual forms result from compounding the plural forms with *-re* or *-rere*, found also in the numeral two *mo-ere*. In Toaripi the dual forms are similarly compounded with *-auka*, seen also in the numeral two *oraka*, an older form of which was *rauka*. In Orokolo the dual forms stem from *-ari*, used like *auka* in Toaripi as a simple form for the second and third person dual pronouns. The following table sets out these dual pronouns which in Orokolo are complicated by the presence or absence of the *va* subject marker, and *-ila* the number indicator, thus resulting in no less than five variant forms in the second and third person. Note Table 2.

Table 2

	Namau	Toaripi	Orokolo
1st. <i>we two</i>	<i>enere</i>	<i>elaka</i>	<i>elalila, elavaiila</i>
2nd. <i>you two</i>	<i>norere</i>	<i>euka, auka</i>	<i>earila, eari, ari, evarila, evari</i>
3rd. <i>they two</i>	<i>orere</i>	<i>ereuka, auka</i>	<i>erearila, ereari, ari, erevarila, erevari</i>

Namau - Eleman Pronouns

Namau lacks the variation in the first person plural used to indicate the inclusion or exclusion of the person addressed. Although this is present in all forms of Elema speech, the variation for the inclusion is not a primary form but one derived from the exclusive by adding Toaripi: *ita*, Orokolo: *ila with*; i.e. Toaripi: *ereita* = *ela + ita we with*; Orokolo: *elaviila* = *ela + vi + ila we + vi + with*. The Orokolo: *-vi-* is

not the subject marker; its function is to prevent elision between *ela* and *ila*.

(4) Verb. The Toaripi plain form, used as the lexeme, has an ending identical with Namau; e.g. Namau: *ruai*, Toaripi: *sukai*, *stab*; Namau: *peaviai*, Toaripi: *fururukeai*, *spread out* (as a mat). The Orokolo equivalent form ends in *-a*, and for the examples given has *huka* and *hururuka*.

The important auxiliary verb found in Toaripi and Orokolo (Toaripi: *loi*, Orokolo: *lai*), and other forms of Elema speech (e.g. Opao: *lei*, Keuru: *loi'e*), has an equivalent in Namau in *liai*. Many examples can be given: Namau: *ima liai*, Toaripi: *lareva loi*, Orokolo: *veveke lai*, *be good, be well*, from *ima, lareva, veveke, good*; Namau: *ipa liai*, Toaripi: *ore loi*, Orokolo: *ore lai*, or *ore ara*, *know*, from *ipa, ore, knowledge*.

The Namau past tense is formed by suffixing *-nave* or *-inave*; with this compare Toaripi: *-ōpe*, Orokolo: *-ape*, remote past.

The Namau infinitive is shown by the suffix *-na*. This is identical in form with the genitive marker. The Orokolo infinitive *-ve* shows a similar identity of form; the Toaripi has a lengthened vowel *vei*, in the place of *ve*. Thus: Namau: *nai enavai ere uruna*, Toaripi: *ara koti ma hivai vei*, Orokolo: *ara eke ma hihukave*, *I come to draw water*.

These lexical and structural correspondencies lead one to the conclusion that Namau and the Elema languages stem from a common source. In the remote past the Purari people, like the Elema, moved coastwards from the interior. It would seem that the Purari were the first comers. Then followed the Elema, the first groups of which as they neared the coast absorbed some remnants of the Namau still living a little inland, thus giving rise to the differences of language which now exist between the Eastern and Western Eleman.

8.8. Motu Contacts and Hiri Motu

What is now the Central District of Papua suffers from prolonged dry spells during the S.E. monsoon season. To overcome the resulting food shortage, the Motu were accustomed to make annual trading voyages to the eastern Gulf of Papua to exchange their pots, shell ornaments and stone axe or adze blades for sago and other Gulf products. Two of the Elema sub-tribes, the Toaripi and the Moripi, themselves adopted the practice of making such trading voyages. The Motu timed their Hiri, as such trading voyages were called, to begin at the end of the S.E. monsoon (September-October) so that they could return with the N.W. wind that

prevails towards the end of the year. The Toaripi and Moripi, for their part, would leave towards the end of the N.W. season, i.e. March, and would return the following month at the commencement of the S.E. monsoon.

Elsewhere in the Gulf the stimulus or the enterprise needed for such dangerous and difficult voyages was lacking. The people were content to welcome the Motu voyagers in their home villages. It was not until long after the Administration had been established that other Elema sub-tribes began making trading voyages.

The linguistic effects of these contacts is our concern here. Motu is quite distinct from any form of Elema speech. The medium of communication between the Motu and the Elema was a pidginised form of Motu, called by the Motu people Nao Gado 'Foreign Speech'. During the 1890's this form of Motu became the lingua franca of the police force, and thus acquired the name 'Police Motu'. Under this name its use spread to most parts of Papua. More recently the name 'Hiri Motu' has come into vogue.

According to the Motu it was Edai Siabo of Boera village, the legendary founder of the Hiri trading voyages, who initiated the use of Hiri Motu. The linguistic evidence points rather to it having been a Toaripi invention. In fact Hiri Motu may be described briefly as a form of speech that utilises a simple Motu vocabulary with a structure that grammatically and syntactically resembles Toaripi.

The following summarises the salient points of resemblance between Toaripi and Hiri Motu, and in these points Hiri Motu also differs from proper Motu.

(1) Use of personal pronouns instead of pronominal particles and suffixes. Thus: Hiri Motu: boroma lau itaia; Toaripi: ara ita ofae eavai; Motu: boroma na itaia, *I see the pig*.

(2) Negative of verb: Hiri Motu: lasi = Toaripi: kao; e.g. Hiri Motu: ia mai lasi; Toaripi: are koti kao; Motu: asiema, *he's not come*.

(3) Tenses of verb:

(a) future Hiri Motu: dohore = Toaripi: aite; e.g. Hiri Motu: dohore lau lao; Toaripi: ara aite terai roi (the roi is sometimes omitted, and we get ara aite terai); Motu: do bainala, *I shall go later*.

(b) present Hiri Motu: harihari or hari = Toaripi: faitora; e.g. Hiri Motu: unai manu hari lau itaia; Toaripi: ara faitora lea ori la eavai; Motu: una manu hari na itaiamu, *I now see that bird*.

(c) continuous: Hiri Motu: noho = Toaripi: pea; e.g. Hiri Motu: emu hereva lau kamona noho; Toaripi: ara ave laua la mapaipea; Motu: emu hereva na kamonaianu, *I'm listening to your talk*.

(d) completed action: Hiri Motu: vadaeni = Toaripi: roroka; e.g. Hiri Motu: gaukara idia karaia vadaeni; Toaripi: ere tivi lei roroka; Motu: gaukara vada e karaia, *they have done the work*.

(4) Use of vadaeni as a conjunction in the same way as Toaripi: soka. The Motu meaning of vadaeni is *enough, that'll do*. In Toaripi: soka has this meaning, but it is also used in narrative discourse to introduce a fresh episode. Hiri Motu: vadaeni has also this use, which is lacking in Motu.

8.9. Motu Loanwords

Contacts through the Hiri resulted not only in the formation of Hiri Motu, but in the adoption also of a limited but suggestive range of Motu words by the Elema languages and dialects, modified to fit the local phonemic pattern. For example, Motu: sihi, *perineal band*, a mode of attire taken over from the Motu, became in Toaripi: sii, and in Orokolo: hii. One of the trade items, the conus shell armlets (Motu: toea) became soea in Toaripi and huaea in Orokolo. Another trade item, water pot (Motu: hodu), acquired the name of posu in Toaripi, and hohu in Orokolo. The form Orokolo: laho *foreign*, was taken by Toaripi from Motu unchanged as nao. On being taken into Toaripi and Orokolo: pepe retained its original form in both languages. This was formerly a decoration on the lakatoi canoe, but nowadays it has taken on the meaning of *flag*.

Suitable stone for use as tools is lacking along the Gulf coast. Stone axe or adze blades were thus amongst the Hiri trade items. Prior to Motu contacts stone tools must have been known throughout the Elema sub-tribes. These would have been obtained from inland where suitable stone is not lacking. However, they began acquiring their stone tools from their Motu trading partners, and with the tools the name also. Motu: ira became ita in Toaripi and ila in Orokolo. In Toaripi there is another and apparently older word for stone axe, kei. The Sepoe, who did not participate in the Hiri trade for they lacked reserves of sago retained their word oakei for this tool. When steel axes appeared the name ila continued unchanged in Orokolo, but in Toaripi it was thought necessary to add nao *foreign* to distinguish the new tool from the old. The name for steel axe in Toaripi and also in Sepoe became naoita. The word for knife underwent a similar process. Bamboo slivers known as Toaripi: soi, Orokolo: hoi were used as knives in former times. On acquiring steel knives the word soi/hoi was transferred to the new tool

Toaripi added *nao*, hence *naosoi*, but in Orokolo the name is simply *hoi*.

Because of their own involvement in the Hiri, the Toaripi adopted from Motu some words that found no place in Orokolo. One such word is *siahu*, and its presence in Toaripi demonstrates that ideas were exchanged as well as pots and sago. In Toaripi with *a* or *sare*, *fire* or *sun* in apposition, *siahu* has the same meaning as in Motu, i.e. *heat*. There is, however, a Toaripi word for *heat*, namely *hehea*, found also in other forms of Elema speech, e.g. Orokolo: *ahea*. Thus Toaripi: *sare ve hehea* becomes Orokolo: *hare ve ahea*, *heat of the sun*. There is a further meaning attached to Orokolo: *ahea*, i.e. *power*, the power that makes for efficiency in sorcery and magic. For this meaning Toaripi employs *siahu*, the word taken over from Motu, the older term *hehea* being usually employed when *heat* is meant. Nowadays, when sorcery and magic are out of fashion, *siahu* generally has the meaning of *authority, power*, e.g. *gavana ve siahu government authority*. For this meaning Orokolo continues to employ *ahea*.

Yet another Motu word found in Toaripi but not in Orokolo is *lohio*, usually with *karu person, man* in apposition, *lohio karu headman*. In Motu it is *lohia headman*, often with *-bada big* added. Although *lohio karu* has a firm place in Toaripi, the word *papuvita* a native term has more general use, particularly when the sense of ownership is being implied. Thus one can speak of the *papuvita* (but not the *lohio karu*) of a house, a garden, or a canoe. The Orokolo equivalent for *papuvita* is *amua*, often with *haela person, man* in apposition. As has already been stated, Orokolo took *amua* from Namau. There is, however, in Orokolo a native term for *headman*, *haelapo*, formed from *haela* and the suffix *-apo big or great*. It is curious that the native Toaripi term *papuvita* has its Orokolo equivalent in the imported word *amua*, while the native term in Orokolo: *haelapo*, is better matched by the imported term *lohio* in Toaripi.

I conclude this cursory survey of Motu influence by mention of one introduction into Orokolo. Amongst the Eastern Elema the number four is formed by a reduplicated form of the word for *two*; e.g. Toaripi, *Sepoe: orakarake*, Kaipi: *oralerale*, (cf. Raepa Tati: *u'ungka-u'ungka*). Orokolo and other Western Elema forms of speech have *hari-ila*. This would seem to be from the Motu: *hani four*, joined to *-ila* the number marker. Such a borrowing foreshadowed the present situation when English numbers have practically supplanted the native numbers in all forms of Elema speech.

I might also add that Dr P. Chatterton, who has written on Hiri Motu (1971) has read this section and is in full agreement with it.

8.10. Elema Local Groupings

The Elema are divided into a number of local groups which may be called sub-tribes. Williams (1940:26) calls such groups 'tribes' and speaks collectively of the Elema as a 'people'. These are distinguished by locality, by variations in the traditional culture pattern, by diverse legends of origin, by differing versions of the clan mythology and variations in the terms for the sub-clans and the totems, and by the various dialects or languages. There are also slight physical differences to be seen between some of these sub-tribes. As a result of the discarding of so much of the traditional way of life, some former points of difference are no longer to be discerned, but the languages and dialects persist, and these with the differing localities some small variations in material culture, and in some cases physical differences, still distinguish the sub-tribes.

In addition to these sub-tribal groupings, a much broader two-fold division can also be made. This is an eastern and western grouping, with the township of Kerema as the point of separation. This division lacks a traditional basis and is a natural outcome of the coastal area being too extended for easy supervision by government or mission. Hence in connection with local government there are two centres, one to the east at Malalaua, and the other at Ihu, to the west of Kerema. Similarly the village co-operative societies are linked into two Associations, the Toaripi to the east of the township, the other being the Ihu Association.

Before the end of the last century the London Missionary Society had made a division of the Elema coast into two mission districts, named as was the mission custom after the names of the head stations, i.e. Moru eastward from Cape Cupola (Kerema had not then been founded) and Orokolo or Auma to the west. For the first four decades Toaripi was used throughout as the medium for literacy and for Scripture translation. Later Orokolo came to be used amongst the Western Eleman, and the New Testament and Genesis has now been published in that language.

Although this east-west division has no traditional basis, there are grounds for a similar linguistic division, but the boundary would need to be set a little further to the west so as to include the Uaripi amongst the Eastern group. The dialects associated with Orokolo - Muru, Aheave, Belepa, Keuru and Opao - all show a close affinity with it, much more so than the affinity between the forms of speech that make up the Eastern group. All the Western Eleman forms of speech are characterised by the absence of the phonemes /f/ and /s/, which are present elsewhere. There

are, however, regular sound changes between east and west, and words which in Eastern Eleman feature these phonemes initially will be found to have /h/ in Orokolo and associated dialects.

The following in Table 3 indicates the sub-tribes, their languages or dialects, and the linguistically based east-west division. The township of Kerema, which has a population of 1,552 including about 100 Europeans, is mainly Elema. There is no need to allocate these town dwellers to their local groups because their names would have been recorded also in their home villages; the village census sheets include absentees.

Table 3

Sub-Tribe	Dialect or Language	Population
Eastern Eleman Linguistic Group		
Sepoe	Sepoe (Ray's 'Lepu')	1,077
Moripi-Iokea	Toaripi	5,343
Moveave-Toaripi		9,018
Melaripi-Kaip	Kaip (Ray's Milareipi)	4,689
Uaripi	Uaripi	<u>2,470</u>
		<u>22,597</u>
Western Eleman Linguistic Group		
Opao	Opao	1,116
Hae Haela	Keuru (Belepa)	1,219
Haura Haela		2,609
Aheave Haela	Aheave	695
Muro	Orokolo	944
Orokolo		<u>6,395</u>
		<u>12,978</u>

Eleman Groups and Population

Some explanation is perhaps needed with regard to the use of hyphenated names. The Moripi-Iokea have traditions that point to a common origin for the sub-tribes. Iokea is said to have been an offshoot from Moripi, a name that is used locally for the people of the Lese villages. Similarly with the Moveave-Toaripi, the parent community is traditionally regarded as being Moveave. While the differences of speech between Moveave and the Toaripi are readily apparent to anyone

familiar with the language, these differences are not such as to justify setting them up as different dialects. The dialect ought also to have the hyphenated name; however, the name 'Toaripi' is well established, so I have let it stand. Yet I must point out that no Moveave person would agree that he spoke 'Toaripi', anymore than an English person would accept that his mode of speech was 'American'. It may also be said in justification of these hyphenated names, that they are after the style of the dual names encountered in the clan myths.

In three of the Western Eleman names - the Hae Haela, the Haura Haela and the Aheave Haela - the word *haela* *people* occurs. This *haela* is cognate with Toaripi: *heaea* which appears in the names of some of the dispersed clans, e.g. Sove Heaea. Since these three names embody the word *people*, they are hardly suitable to use in that form as the names of dialects, so other names had to be found. The Hae Haela are also known as 'Keuru', the name used by Ray (1907), and also Williams (1940), who has Haura Haela and Aheave as well. For the Haura Haela, Belepa is a widely used name, although locally Belepa means a place within the Haura Haela locality. As Table 3 shows, I have joined with Belepa as a name for the dialect. By a refinement of analysis Keuru could be regarded as a dialect distinct from Belepa, just as Moveave could be separated from Toaripi, Melaripi from Kaipi or Muro from Okololo. The differences between these various forms of speech is not such as to warrant increasing the list of names of dialects in the present context.

The Aheave Haela, the smallest of the sub-tribes, have their hamlets located on the banks of the Vailala River. In recent years some of them migrated for a period to the Purari River. Their dialect, like Keuru-Belepa and Muro, has close affinity with Orokolo.

8.11. Inter-Dialect Variation

Within any given dialectical boundary there is no absolute uniformity of speech. What degree of variation will be encountered depends on the origin of a community and its affinities with its neighbours. Amongst the Toaripi villages from Lelefiru to Lalapipi, which have become established since the 1930's by migrants from the former dual village of Mirihea-Uritai, there is uniformity in speech. Between them and Moveave there is however considerable variation, which is not so much in vocabulary, although variations in vocabulary are not lacking, as in intonation. There are, it may be added, differences in vocabulary between Heavara and Heatoare, the two 'sides' of the dual village of Moveave.

Between the villages from Kearu to Moroi on the one hand, and Karama to Toare on the other, there are some vocabulary differences, although in the present scheme both are included within Kaipi. These differences of vocabulary are fairly typical of what is found within other dialectical boundaries, and Table 4 is given to illustrate the point, calling Koaru to Moroi 'Kaipi (a)' and Karama to Toare 'Kaipi (b)'. It should be added that in general by far the greater part of the vocabulary of the former agrees with the latter. The terms listed here have been selected because of their differences.

Table 4

English	Toaripi	Kaipī (a)	Kaipī (b)	Orokolo
<i>dry</i>	arara	akaka	olala	kakarara
<i>far</i>	ara	ara	aeara	hahi
<i>near</i>	haekao/hoi	hoekao	hoe	maea
<i>not</i>	kao	harokao	haloka	ka
<i>short</i>	harua	halua	haluva	kahekai
<i>smooth</i>	vevete	peore	vevete	hapirapaka
<i>that</i>	lea	lea	la	la
<i>this</i>	mea	mea	ma	ma
<i>tie (v)</i>	saepai	saepai	satati	haha
<i>wife</i>	ua	ua	uva	uva

Variations of Kaipi

It may be noted that Kaipi (a) shows agreement with the Toaripi spoken by their neighbours to the east, while Kaipi (b) reveals some affinity with the Orokolo of Western Eleman. The opposite is true in the case of the first and sixth words. If equivalents be listed for the Melaripi villages westwards from Kaipi, still further differences of vocabulary would come to light, although a general close affinity is also to be seen, which affinity extends beyond the sub-tribal boundary to include also the Uaripi of Kerema Bay.

8.12. Lexical and Semantic Variations

The simple comparison of word lists in Appendix H (pp.579-585) obscures to some extent the underlying affinity between the various forms of Eleman speech, for words not only undergo changes of form, but also changes in meaning. Although the Eleman had what is largely one linguistic inheritance, the various Eleman communities have not developed this inheritance in precisely the same way. Some variations in vocabulary owe their origin to diverse ways of compounding and joining words, or through different choices from the options open to the Eleman speakers. Space will only permit a limited look at this fascinating facet of language study. For our examples we shall examine more closely a few of the words from the Appendix H (pp. 579-585).

For No.20 on the word lists, *knee*, Toaripi compounds *ari* with *hau*, which = *joints*; cf. Toaripi: *kirihau* *elbow*, *tola hau* *knot in wood*. The Western Eleman from Opao to Orokolo combine *ari* with *mora* or *loa* meaning *leg*. For No.22, *blood*, we find *ovo* throughout Eastern Eleman. The Western Eleman have *opu* or *apu*, which is also an Eastern Eleman word, having there the meaning of *sap*, or *juice*; e.g. *tola opu* *tree sap*, and *kō-opu* *breast juice*, i.e. *milk*. The Western Eleman has also this meaning in addition to *blood*; *juice* would seem to be the basic connotation of the term. When steel tools first became known, *auri*, originally a Tahitian word but which came into general use through the Pacific as the term for iron, steel, or metal, was adopted by the Eleman. There was a need to find a word for rust. To the Orokolo the colour of rust suggested blood; hence *auri apu* *metal blood*. The Toaripi saw an analogy between rust and mildew, *siri*, that develops on timber; hence *auri siri*, *metal mildew*.

The word for *heart* (No.25) shows a wide variation of form ranging from *lakakare* of Eastern Eleman, *laukahae* of Keuru, to *hoipe* of Orokolo. The first word is actually the name for a small coconut that falls from the palm without developing. In former times these were carved with clan designs and used as charms. The Orokolo word for these *lakakare* was *marupai*. The Keuru: *laukahae* means *breadfruit seed*, the breadfruit being the Papuan type which has a fruit full of large seeds, somewhat like chestnuts in appearance and flavour. The original form of the word for *heart* would seem to have been preserved in the Uaripi: *saife* (cf. Muro: *haipe*, Orokolo: *hoipe*). The other terms, *lakakare* and *laukahae* must owe their origin to a characteristic of Eleman speech, namely a fondness for metaphor or analogy, in which objects and actions are

spoken of in a way that puts them into another but metaphorical setting. Orokolo also uses this term *laukahae*, but applies it to the kidneys, instead of the heart.

The second part of this *laukahae*, namely *hae*, or as it is in Eastern Eleman forms of speech, *fare* or *fae*, has as its root meaning *fruit*, *nut*, or *seed*; it is also applied to various objects that have some resemblances to fruit or seed; e.g. No.49, *egg*, Toaripi: *ori fare*, Orokolo: *ori hae*; similarly Toaripi: *isave fare*, Orokolo: *aitave hae pearl*. The basis for calling parts of the body *fare* or *hae* becomes clearer when it is realised that with fleshy types of fruits, such as breadfruit, the term has reference to the nut or seed, rather than to the fruit as a whole. Hence we get for No.9, *eye*, the variant forms: *ofae*, *ofare*, *ohae*, *ovohae*. Similarly Toaripi: *kōu-uti fare the fare of the backbone*, i.e. *kidneys*, and also *kō fare*, Orokolo: *kou hae, the fare of the kō, scrotum*.

In Toaripi, Sepoe and Kaiipi: *kō* is also the word for *breast*, (No.19). This must have originated as some joking analogy, which did not spread beyond the Kaiipi. Uaripi, which seems to have preserved the original form of a number of Eleman words (e.g. *futai feast* for which Toaripi has *sosoka*), has *avaihi*. With this compare Orokolo: *amae*, and *ame* which has identical form in both Namau and Raepa Tati.

A similar type of origin doubtless accounts for the variation in No.30, *cloud*, for which the Eastern Eleman have *mea-e faeces (e) of the wind* (*mea*), although in this case the Uaripi also adopted the expression. The original word, seen in Keuru: *mea-uru*, Orokolo: *meuru*, and also in Raepa Tari: *mene-uru*, has the meaning of *darkness* of the wind or weather. Compare Toaripi: *maea uru* which means *black* (No.57).

The need to guard against confusion of meaning of homonyms or near homonyms is doubtless the reason for employing compound forms in the place of simple nouns. All the forms of Eleman use this device, but not necessarily for the same words. Thus No.7 *head*, *haro* becomes *haro-fave head-stone* in Toaripi, but continues as *haro* from Uaripi westwards (cf. Raepa Tati: *aro*). Sepoe has *harokuku*, *kuku* meaning an unopened bud. The simple form *haro* occurs in Toaripi in such compound expressions as *haro tui* (No.8), where *tui* is an introduction from Motu (*hui-na*), the change from /h/ to /t/ possibly being the result of the influence of *haro tupe top of the head*, which is the Sepoe term for *hair of the head*, cf. Toaripi: *mai tupe*, the upper reaches of a river (*mai*).

The root forms of a pair of words found throughout the Eleman have a very close resemblance. The variants that have arisen doubtless had

their origin in the need to distinguish one of the pair from the other. These words are *ovo eye*, (No.9), and *ōva ear*, (No.11). Toaripi actually has two words for ear, *kirori* meaning the *outer ear*, and *ōvauta* the *inner*. Elsewhere this distinction is not found. The variants, *avato*, *ovoko*, *moko*, and *avako* found elsewhere, appear in Toaripi as *avato*, which means the *ear lobe*; hence Toaripi: *avato korau*, a large ear ornament now no longer worn. The Kaipi word *avala* is made up from *ava+ula*, the latter term in Toaripi: *uta* (hence *ōva-uta*) meaning *hole*. The root form *ōva* is encountered occasionally in Toaripi; thus, *ōva muiaia show ears*, i.e. *listen*.

The root form for *eye*, *ovo*, is often found abbreviated to *o* in compounds. Hence Toaripi: *ofae* (*o+fae*), which in Orokolō and elsewhere appears in the full form, *ovohae*. Sepoe abbreviated the *ovo* but has the full form *fare* instead of the shortened *fae*, i.e. *ofare*. In compound expressions in Toaripi the original form may still be seen, e.g. *ovororo tear*, *teardrop* (*roro*, *rubbish*), *ovotui eyebrow hair* (*tui*, *hair of head*). For *eyelid* one can use in Toaripi either *ofae pute* or *ovopute*. This in Orokolō is *ovohae iilu*, the *skin of the eye*. Although Orokolō generally uses the full form *ovo*, the abbreviated *o* is not unknown, e.g. *o ma eye water*, i.e. *tears*.

In No.37, *mountain*, the word lists give us two forms, *raepa* in Eastern Eleman and *Opao*, and *kela* for the rest of the Western Eleman. The latter may be seen also in Toaripi, for if we apply consonantal changes we get *tela* or *tera*, the Toaripi for 'high areas' of land in the swamps, used for gardens or for planting coconuts.

The variant forms for *give*, (No.70) can be accounted for along the following lines. In all the Eleman languages and dialects /m/ and /v/ are allophones, as are /l/ and /r/. The word for *give* had its origin in *ovi get*, *have* plus the auxiliary *arai*, *ara* or *lai* (see pp.327-8); *cause to have*. In Toaripi the initial *o* has disappeared, and the word has thus become *vi-* or *mi-arai*. It may be added that Orokolō developed the verb form further by the use of the infix *-ki-* from *iki come*; hence *avikiara give to* (person speaking), made up from *avi+ki+ara*.

8.13. The Clan Terminology

Throughout the Elema there is a social grouping termed by anthropologists 'dispersed clans'. This grouping forms the basis for certain forms of traditional speech, consisting of honorific titles, exclamations of various kinds, and special names for parts of the body

and intimate possessions. There is no Eleman word that has as its meaning 'dispersed clan', but at the local village level, for what may be termed the 'sub-clan', there are a number of terms from which we may single out Toaripi: toruipi as one in general use, and its Orokolo equivalent vila-ipi. The meaning of ipi in both Toaripi and Orokolo is *base* or *origin*; Toaripi: toru = *deep*. Hence toruipi implies a group whose bond of kinship is 'deep' or 'remote' in origin. The Orokolo: vila-ipi is a reference to the patrilineal nature of the sub-clan; vila = *man, husband*. In his account of the 'dispersed clans' (Williams 1940:41) these are called 'Aualari Groups', and the word 'clan' is reserved for what I am calling here the 'sub-clan'. His name is appropriate enough, but it seems better to use the recognised term for such a grouping.

In the list of criteria given above whereby the sub-tribes may be distinguished, there is one item that states 'variations in the terms for the sub-clans'. The variations make it difficult to find names that have sufficient currency to serve in a list of the dispersed clans. It is a simple matter to give the names of the sub-clans for any particular village community. To collate these names with a list obtained in a village belonging to some other sub-tribe may entail some research, but is still a fairly simple undertaking. To give a list of names of clans that will have a general application can only be done by being arbitrary. Following Williams these dispersed clans may be considered as being ten in number, and the names culled from the Eastern and Western Eleman can be equated as in Table 5.

Table 5

Eastern	Western	Clan Ancestors	Variants
1. Auiipi	Auma	Oa-Evoa	Kari-Marupi
2. Kaipi	Purari Miri	Meavea-Kivovia	Oa-Kaiva
3. Laipi	Nabo	Oa-Marai	Mirou-Serei Mavaro
4. Lavai-ipi	Maiu (Baiu)	Oa-Lavai	-----
5. Leikiipi	-----	Oa-Erevu	Maiu
6. Luiipi	Vailala	Oa-Luvu	-----
7. Melaripi	Ahea Hurava	Toivita	Melare
8. Savoripi	Kaia	Oa-Epe-Savora	-----
9. Sove-Heaea	-----	Oa-Sove	-----
10. Uaripi	Kauri	Oa-Molala	Oa-Kave

It may be noted that in two instances there are two Western Eleman names to correspond to single ones in the Eastern list, thus leaving two gaps, 5 and 9, in the Western list. This is because in the case of the Kaipī clan (No.2) some of its characteristic features are found in the Purari clan, others in the Miri. Similarly the Melaripi clan (No.7) can be correlated partly with the Ahea clan, partly with Hurava.

By translating his list of names Williams gives a misleading impression. These clan names are best understood as being derived from the Toaripi: ualare, Orokolō: aualari, a term which includes not only the mythical ancestors of the clans, but also the various linked totems. Such totems include birds, trees and plants, fish, animals, reptiles and celestial objects. These ualare not only feature in the clan myths, but are also natural objects of the Eleman environment. Thus aua (No.1) is a poetic name for the coconut for which la (No.3) is the everyday term. Lavai (No.4) has a variety of meanings, but here it probably means the 'porpoise'. Melare (No.7) and Sove (No.9) are birds. Uaripi (No.10) is derived from Uari, the Eleman name for Mount Yule, the flat-topped mountain that dominates the eastern horizon. It is behind Uari that Molala, the Morning Star, is seen to rise. Kauri means *sky* in Toaripi and *east* in Orokolō; both meanings here have reference to Oa-Molala, the Morning Star. In Epe-Savora, hence Savora-ipi, we have the traditional name for the iguana, the common name for which is Toaripi: ivuta, Orokolō: ivura.

Formerly stylistic representations of the totems formed the basis of the traditional art, seen on bark belts, votive plaques, barkcloth perineal bands, and on the semese and oioi masks. With the disappearance of the traditional art and the masked ceremonies, the totems have now little practical significance. Some mention of them is necessary, however, to make clear the clan terminology.

It will assist brevity to take one sub-clan as an example, and let this be the Melaripi as found in the village of Iokea. For *arm* and *hand* - the word mai covers both meanings - the Melaripi term is Meiri-mai Taura-mai. By a similar use of the two words Meiri and Taura, other parts of the body can be singled out for honourable mention; e.g. *legs* or *feet* Meiri-mora Taura-mora; *ears* Meiri-ōva Taura-ōva. Various kinds of food, in particular betel-nuts, are called Oro-fare Karo-fare, Oro and Karo being the tree totems of the sub-clan, while fare means *fruit*. Coconuts have, however, a special term la-iovu. Canoes lying beached have a name derived from the tree totem names just mentioned, but when

they are afloat the name is one taken from the fish totem names, Lalaupota Kipiripota. Other terms can be explained in a similar manner by reference to the clan mythology and the ualare names.

To address a person in a complimentary manner, instead of using his or her personal name, the name of the mythical ancestor is used. Such a name will vary according to the sex and age of the person in question. If we continue with the Melaripi sub-clan of Iokea as our sample, the title for senior males will be Oa-Melare; for junior males it will be Melare-Tivai Isou-Mao. When addressing or referring to a senior female, the honorific title is Lou-Eau Lou-Hovoa; for junior females it is Eauhovoa Sisafaro, or if addressing one girl, a person would say Mori-Eau.

There are also traditional exclamations such as Toaripi: isuta and Orokolo: ihura. Williams (1940:131-2) also gives a list of the Orokolo forms. Such terms are used in times of excitement or triumph, and may be regarded as parallel modes of expression with the honorific titles. In the isuta the person himself voices the name of his mythical ancestor; in the honorific title it is addressed to him or about him by someone else. In each case it is an identification of the person with his mythical ancestor. Among the Western Eleman Orokolo, for example, a man landing a large fish and exclaiming Oa-Hilake! would show that he belonged to the Vailala Clan, which on our collated clan list is No.6. An Auma man in a similar situation would say, Oa-Laho! or if he be a youngish man, he would add akore son, thus making the ihura exclamation Oa-Laho ve akore! *Sire-Laho's son.*

There are several types of these isuta/ihura exclamations for use on various occasions, such as the Toaripi: ma-isuta, Orokolo: ma-ihura, used when jumping into the water (ma). In former times when a crowd of dancers came down from their elavo *men's house* to begin a performance, they shouted out the appropriate mea-isuta (Toaripi and Orokolo: mea land, ground).

Traditional expressions are used on other occasions when excitement or emotion makes it fitting to do so. A Iokea Aupipi man, if injured, will exclaim Semese miai!. The traditional exclamations used after sneezing, the Toaripi: sia-o, Orokolo: hia-o *sneeze-ward*, may be classed in this category. On occasion these traditional expressions are used in ways that baffle the uninitiated, such as when an Aupipi father, acutely ill, exclaimed, Irave e, arave Heava-Maurisa paroroaita meha! *My sons, my Heava-Maurisa (canoe) is now sinking!*, by which he meant that he was on the point of death.

8.14. A Lexicostatistical Comparison

The following gives the cognate percentages of the Eleman languages and dialects based on 112 words listed in Appendix H (pp.579-585). Namau and Raepa Tati are also included in the comparison table, the percentages of the former being based on 110 items on the word list, the latter on 103.

Table 6

Toa										
87	Sep									
84	79	Kai								
69	70	74	Uar							
61	64	64	75	Opa						
48	50	51	60	68	Keu					
47	49	50	57	67	82	Ahe				
61	62	65	72	76	74	73	Mur			
61	63	65	72	78	74	73	98	Oro		
8	7	9	11	10	13	11	11	11	Nam	
17	17	20	21	20	17	16	20	21	15	Tat

Lexicostatistical Percentages

8.15. Toaripi

Toaripi was the first of the Eleman languages to be recorded. This was by O.E. Stone in 1880, who under the name 'Ilema', i.e. Elema, listed a vocabulary. Vocabularies were also published by W.G. Lawes (1888) at the end of his Motu Grammar, Chalmers (1889), and by F.E. Lawes (1891). Ray (1907:333-46) gives a grammar of the language based on an analysis of Holmes' translations and on information supplied by Pryce Jones. A later grammar is also outlined by Ray (1913-14).

8.15.1. Phonology

The six vowel phonemes are: /i, e, a, o, ɔ, u/.

Leaving aside words introduced from English or Motu, and also the second of each pair of allophones /m/, /v/, and /l/. /r/, the consonant phonemes in Toaripi are eight in number: /f, h, k, l, m, p, s, t/.

Vowels: The front /i/ has two allophones distinguished by duration and tension. The high close allophone is unrounded and long /i:/, as in *fi* /fi:/ *cry*. In unstressed syllables the allophone is /i/, e.g. *pipi* /pí:pi/ *butterfly*.

/e/ is mid open unrounded, and shows only a slight lengthening in stressed syllables, e.g. *lele* /léle/ *white Egret*.

/a/ has the following allophones: /æ/, /a/, and /ə/. In stressed syllables /a/ occurs, e.g. *la* /la/ *coconut*, *laho* /laho/ *slender-billed Pernkite*. In final unstressed syllables, and in unstressed syllables preceding a long stressed vowel, the phoneme becomes /ə/, e.g. *fifa* /fí:fə/ *abscess*, *makuri* /məkú:ri/ *life*. In other unstressed syllables the vowel tends towards /æ/, as in *pasisa* /pəsí:sə/ *ladder*. In *lalava* *room* there are all three allophones, /lælávə/.

A similar contrast in length as that found in the front vowel is seen also in the back vowel /u/, e.g. *mu* /mu:/ *vomit*, and *tapu* /tápu/ *grave*. Both allophones are present in *pupu* /pú:pu/ *taboo sign*.

The mid close rounded /o/ has only a slight lengthening in stressed syllables. An example showing this contrast is *folo* /fólo/ *sand*.

/ɔ/ is a low close rounded vowel that normally shows only a slight variation in length in stressed syllables, e.g. *korōvu* /koróvu/ *childless*. In *pitōō* *swamp crayfish*, which takes an unusual final stress we get /pitó:/. On occasion /ɔ/ occurs with /o/; e.g. *oōvai* /oɔvá/ *withdraw from public appearance* (as at death of near relative), and *oroōfa* /oróɔfə/ *lime chew*.

Ray (1907:334) states that this /ɔ/ is found only initially or with f, k, l, p. This is incorrect, it occurs in association with all the consonant phonemes, e.g. *hohōroai* *to collapse*, *mōvoa* *here*, *sōpe* *cooked*, and *itōva* *hornbill*.

Diphthongs are common: /ie, ia, io, iu, ei, ea, eo, e, eu, ai, ae, ao, au, oi, oe, oa, oo, ou, ɔi, ɔe, ɔu, ui, ue, ua, uo/. These may be analysed as a sequence of two phonemes of unequal duration, with a glide from one vowel position to the other. Sometimes the first of the pair of vowels is the longer. Thus the syllabic of *sia* /siə/ *okari nut*, begins with the high front position of /i/ and moves to the mid-central position of /ə/. If the duration of /ə/ be taken as one mora, then two morae is approximately the duration of /i/. With *siahu* /siahu/ *power*, the position is reversed, for the second vowel takes the stress; the /i/ of the diphthong is one mora, while /a/ is two. How the vowel length is influenced by the stress pattern is demonstrated by *iavai* /iəvá/. The

first diphthong becomes shortened to half length on account of the stress of the initial vowel of the second, although relative to the /ə/ the /i/ which precedes it is still twice as long. We find a similar contrast with the diphthong ea. Thus *mea* /méə/ *wind*, with lengthened first vowel, contrasts with *easo* /eáso/ *fish spear*, in which the initial short /e/ moves to the long /a/ where the stress is located.

Vowel clusters of three vowels are also common: /iae, eiə, eai, eae, aiə, aeə, aie, aio, aue, auə, oiə, oeə, oai, oae, oao, oau, uao, uə, and uau/. Generally the medial vowel of these clusters is lengthened to about twice the length of the vowels that precede or follow it, and takes the stress: e.g. *eae* /éə/ *erroneously*, *oea* /oéə/ *converb of oesai prise out*. An exception to this is with clusters that begin with the low central position of /a/. This is then the lengthened vowel and takes the stress, e.g. *maea* /máeə/ *body*, *aea* /áeə/ *another*. Some vowel clusters are quite lengthy, e.g. *ioesai twist round*; this may be analysed into /iðeáí/.

In ordinary speech it is difficult with diphthongs and vowel clusters to identify with certainty some of the unstressed vowels. Informants, however, usually have no hesitation in saying which vowel is meant, and minimal pairs can be given. Thus *ai* and *ae*: *a futai* /a:futái/ *fire extinguish* and *afutae* /àfutáe/ *ashes, fireplace*. Similarly *ao* and *au*: *ao* /áo/ *termite*, and *au* /áu/ *verbal intensive*.

Consonants: The three voiceless stops: /p/, /t/, and /k/ are unaspirated, the points of articulation being bilabial, apical, and dorsal.

There is one voiced fricative /v/ articulated bilabially. As described earlier, this phoneme may be nasalised, particularly when in the initial position, but not usually elsewhere. This has resulted in the phoneme having two allographs *v* and *m*; e.g. *meve mango*. Where the phoneme is in a initial position without being nasalised it is usually because the word is one that is found in close association with another, so as to form one phonological word. Thus *vevei* always occurs with *ma water*, as *ma vevei make moist*. A further example is the genitive marked *ve* which always follows closely a noun or pronoun. With /a/ and its allophones there is a greater tendency to nasalise the phoneme.

As described earlier /l/ and /r/ are allophones and *n* may also be regarded as a sub-member of the same phoneme. There are some words taken over from Motu or English in which the grapheme *n* appears; e.g. *nao foreign*, *nani goat*. By the younger people who have had much teaching

of English in school, the grapheme is pronounced as a nasal; with the older generation it tends to be /l/. When the lateral phoneme is in the initial position, particularly in association with /a/ or its allophones, it is /l/; in other positions it tends towards /r/, e.g. *loroa current*. With /o/ and to a lesser extent /u/ the tendency is also towards /r/; e.g. *roro rubbish*, *murū hornet*. Where /r/ occurs in an initial position it is because the word in question is generally in close association with another; e.g. *éla roroai /èlæroroái/ twist string*. Similarly an adjective such as *rofo strong*, or *rauapo many* immediately follows the noun it modifies, and forms one phonological word with it, e.g. *uvi rovaea /u:virováeə/ big house*.

Stress: Words of two or three syllables usually take the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *haro /háro/ head*, *sosoru /sosóru/ firefly*. There are some exceptions; e.g. *faitora /fáitorə/ now*. Final diphthongs take the stress as though two syllables, e.g. *mapai /mapái/ hear*. With *havōu game* this may be due to the omission of /h/ for there is also a lengthened form *havōhu /havóhu/*. The same explanation may be advanced to account partly for the final stress of the personal pronouns, *ará, I*, *aré he, she, it*, *elá we (exclus.)* *eré they*. This final stress distinguishes them from other words having the same form but with the normal penultimate stress (see p.321). There are lengthened forms, i.e. *arao*, *areo*, *elao*, *ereo*, used when these pronouns are in isolation. When the object marker *-ro* or the genitive marker *ve* is added, i.e. *araro*, *arave*, etc., the stress assumes the normal penultimate position.

Where there are four or more syllables, there is a minor stress on the syllable two removed from the main penultimate stress; thus *karikara /karikára/ village*. Compounds exhibit this same stress pattern: *maeamariti /màeəmaríti/ shame*. Reduplicated words repeat the stress of the stem, e.g. *sirisiri /sírísiri/ dirty*, *sosorusosoru /sosórusosóru/ radiance*. There is often a reversal of the normal pattern with onomatopoeic words, e.g. *kekekeke /kekékeké/ grey Sandpiper* (a bird named after the sound of its call); *hōhōhōhō /hɔhɔ́hɔhɔ́/ sound name of water over rocks*.

Juncture: There is close juncture between the components of a noun phrase. Thus a demonstrative and the noun following form one phonological word *lea mori /leəmóri/*. The juncture is particularly close when the noun begins with a vowel; *mea otoare /mèotoáre/ this promise*. Between a noun and a modifier there is also close connection. Thus *tola lareva*

good tree forms one phonological word with the major stress falling on the adjective and a minor one on the noun: /tòlalaréva/. With numbers and *aea a*, *another*, the stress pattern and juncture is similar; *ekaka aea* /ekàkàééə/ *another fish*. Where the adjective precedes the noun there is also close juncture, although the noun then takes the main stress: *evera soa* /evèrəsóə/ *former time(s)*. The same stress and juncture pattern is seen with the relative form of the verb. This also precedes the noun; e.g. *toaraita karu* /toəràitəkáru/ *helping person, helper*. Between the postposition and the noun it follows there is close juncture; the main stress then passes to the postposition: *uvi voa* /uvivóə/ *in (to or from) the house*.

Pronouns on account of their final stress are particularly prone to close juncture with whatever follows. The object marker *la* or *-ro* makes a close juncture with the pronoun; this is recognised in the writing system by treating it as a suffix: *araro*, *arero*, etc. When, however, a pronoun is used as a subject marker, there is a slight disjuncture between it and the noun in apposition. To mark the disjuncture the noun is given a falling pitch: *lea karikara are...* /lèəkarikárárə.../ *that village it...*

In contrast to the close juncture between a demonstrative and noun, the interrogative *lea'what?*, *what kind of?* has a slight pause to separate it from the noun that it precedes, and it has a falling intonation: *are lea' karu?* /areléəkaru/ *what sort of a man is he?* Possibly because of the somewhat awkward combination that this presents, there is a variant that can be used instead: *are lera karu?* /arelérákaru/.

With verb phrases there is also close juncture. Thus *mapai vei* /mæpaivéi/ *to hear*. The negative also coalesces with the verb: *aré mapaia kao* /arémæ paiaəkao/ *he has not yet listened*.

Intonation: In the intonation pattern the accent is mostly on the last major stressed syllable in the phrase. The usual pitch contour in statements begins on the normal pitch, rises to high pitch at the accent, and then finishes with a falling terminal to low pitch. With questions the pattern is similar, except that following the accent there is a downwards glide, a pause, and the interrogative marker *ei* is at a low pitch. Occasionally the interrogative marker *ei* is heard in isolation, in the nature of an exclamation, = *is that so! indeed!* It then has a rising intonation.

By using * to mark the accent, the number 2 for the normal pitch, 1 for low and 3 for high, the following may serve as an example of question and answer: A arave atute la ofae eavai ei? /á:araveatútela→ofàeevái^{3*}→éi¹/, *have you seen my son?*, a, ara arero ofae eavai /á:→aràeréro→ofàeevái^{3*}→/ . For questions embodying interrogative the accent is on the interrogative: leisa kavai roi? /léisə̀kə̀vài^{3*}→rói¹→/ *who will go (inland)?*.

Drawn-out action is sometimes expressed by using the converb form of one or the other of the auxiliaries, auai, loi, and drawing out the accented vowel on a high pitch, then a pause, after which the discourse is resumed at the normal pitch. Using to represent the drawn-out syllable, the following may serve as an example: lea atute seika fi a' ara harofave hehea loi, /léatùteséikə̀→fí²→á^{4*}..... á²→rà→harofávehé³→hé³→lói /, *that baby boy has kept on crying and crying, I have a headache*. This can be quite an effective speech device.

8.15.2. Grammar

Many of the examples given in this section are from the author's large collection of native texts.

Syntactic constructions in Toaripi include: (1) Modification, in which the head of the construction is modified by the other constituent; e.g. sare hehea *sun hot*, evera etau *old thing*, haura kofa *straight very (true)*, soeaita ita *runaway pig*. (2) Predication, in which one constituent, the predicate, affirms something of the subject, which is the other constituent; e.g. morove arara leipe *rattan-cane became dry*; pipi meha *butterfly this, i.e. this is a butterfly*. (3) Complementation, in which a verb or verb phrase is attended by a complement; e.g. karikara kiripaia, *village leave, i.e. leave the village*; fara ferai roi *song sing will*. (4) Subordination, in which one of the constituents is a postposition and the other a regimen, e.g. arero tai *to him*; areve arori voa *its top on, i.e. above it*; atutemori vei *children for, on behalf of the children*. (5) Coordination, in which the two equivalent constituents are joined together, usually by a pair of conjunctions; Eoi auka Luru ia *Eoi and Luru*; poi ita la ita *sago and coconut*; lō tera lō iti leipe *there went there came did, i.e. went to and fro*; soea vo teraia *run and go, i.e. go running*.

Noun phrases. Common modifiers of nouns are demonstratives and adjectives. As determiners the demonstratives take the position immediately before the noun. For most adjectives the position is

immediately following the noun; *tola kere timber hard*. If the adjective be one that requires the front position, the demonstrative normally comes between; *arori lea fave top that stone*. It is possible, however, for the demonstrative to modify both noun and adjective; *lea arori fave that top-stone*. Nouns can also be used as modifiers; *karikara karu village people*. Such a noun-adjunct construction is very common. When a noun phrase is made up of a demonstrative, a noun-adjunct construction together with an adjective, the position of the adjective may vary according to whether it modifies the whole or only part of the noun-adjunct construction. Thus, to adapt a phrase from the Eare-Marai myth: *lea ma-iri karu kofa those water-inside people true*, i.e. *the real people of the sea-depths*. If the phrase be: *ma-iri kofa lea karu*, the meaning becomes *those people in the real depths of the sea*.

Besides nouns and nominal phrases, other word classes, notably the relative verb forms may occupy the adjunct position, the indefinite relative being commonly used for this purpose because it is unmarked for tense or aspect. The relative verb as a modifier may take a negative and/or an adverb. A demonstrative determiner occupies the position immediately before the noun head, e.g. *mapai auke leita lea karu listening not doing that person (or those persons)*. With an adverb we get *metakao mapaita karu carefully listening people*. A relative verb may take an object, a subject, and also an adverbial phrase. This is demonstrated by the following in which we have also an example of coordination: *are areve oroa voa evera opope lea fere ita koa ita, he his string-bag in previously put into those betel-nut and pepper also*, i.e. *those betel-nut and pepper which he had previously put into his bag*. Postpositional phrases may also modify noun heads; *tola arori voa lea pupuri tree top on that/those flower(s)*.

Occasionally a relative verb is used that has a nominal function in place of the noun head; in the following we have an example also of complementation; *ara tivi kekese auke ita soeai haiarara kofa, I work finish without with run-away unwilling quite*, i.e. *I am quite opposed to clearing off without finishing the work*.

Verbal phrases. By this is meant constructions in which a verb or a verb phrase forms the main predicate constituent of a structure of predication. One kind of verbal phrase is a structure of modification having a verb or verb phrase as the head, together with modifiers of various types. These are commonly adverbs whose position is generally immediately before the verb, although certain other positions are possible. Where there are

more than one adverb, or adverbial phrase, the preferred order is first time, second place, third and nearest to the verb, manner; *ara faitora lōvoa lavelave terai roi, I now there quickly go shall.* Adverbs and adverbial phrases can be coordinate; they are then linked by a repeated *ita with*: *are kitou ita o maealolo rauapo ita maea lei terōpe, he anger with words bad many with set out went.*

With a pattern somewhat similar to that of adverbs, postpositional phrases also modify verbal phrase heads; e.g. *aite sare voa Elailiri Lavao voa ata soeōpe, later day on Elailiri Lavao to again flew.* As this example indicates, the preferred order with postpositional phrases is also time first, next place, and finally manner. Here the time phrase comes before the subject; one could say, *Elailiri aite sare voa...* but it is more usual for the time phrase to be at the beginning of the sentence.

Another kind of verbal phrase is a structure of complementation in which, as described earlier, a verb or verb phrase has a complement as its other constituent. Where the complement is subject in nature the sentence is often of the non-verb type, e.g. *are karu savori he (is) person tall.* When tense or aspect is involved such a sentence will employ an auxiliary verb, e.g. *lea siare karu savori leiti roi, that boy person tall become will.*

With transitive verbs the complement may be a direct object, a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun, e.g. *lea marisa teve uta la sape, those girls net holes (obj. marker) were-mending.* With an indirect as well as a direct object the complements are two in number. Both are in the object case, although unless they be pronouns they do not necessarily require the object marker. In the following both direct and indirect objects have the object marker: *ara mea fere la aro miarai vei iti, I these betel-nuts (obj. marker) to-you give to come.* The indirect object always takes the position nearer to the verb.

Sentences lacking finite verbs. For the purpose of our present study a sentence may be defined as an independent construction grammatically complete in itself. In accord with this definition there are in *Toaripi*, as indeed in all forms of *Eleman* speech, certain types of sentences commonly encountered that require no finite verb when they have a present or habitual reference. Should there be need to specify some other tense or aspect, the auxiliary *loi* or *auai* is employed in its appropriate form. An example of this has already been given.

The basic pattern of these sentences is predication with a noun, noun

phrase, or a pronoun as subject. Instead of a verbal phrase as predicate, we find one or the other of the following: (1) demonstrative, e.g. *uvi aea meha*, or more briefly *uvi meha house (a) this, this is a house*; (2) noun or noun phrase, e.g. *lea ua oti savori, that woman place distant, i.e. that woman is a long way away*; (3) adjective or adjectival phrase: *lea karu rofo rovaea kofa, that person strong bit true, i.e. that person is very strong indeed*; (4) adverb or adverbial phrase, e.g. *karikara faitora foromai haekao kofa, village now altogether near true, i.e. the village is now quite close at hand*; (5) with interrogatives, e.g. *a ita heavita rare leisa? you - man name who?*; (6) with *ita* or *ia* with, implying the presence of a person, thing or quality, e.g. *are naosoi ia he knife with, i.e. he has a knife*; (7) with negatives indicating the absence of a person, thing or quality, e.g. *ereita poi kasirau we sago none*. For an example using a postpositional phrase: *uvi voa karu kao house in people not, i.e. there are no people in the house*; (8) with nouns such as *ore knowledge, ability, haveva ignorance, inability, horahora uncertainty, kitou anger, eka sickness, ivutu sleep*. The non-verb sentences of this last type differ from all the others in that they can have an object, e.g. *ara arero ore I him knowledge, i.e. I know him: ara lea karu haveva I that person ignorance*. By adding *ore* at the end of the sentence just given, *haveva* can be turned into an adjective: *ara lea karu haveva ore I that person ignorant knowledge, i.e. I know that...* With the meaning *ability, skill*, *ore* can enter into a construction with the relative indefinite form, as indeed can its antonym *haveva inability*. Thus: *are uvi turaita ore he house building ability, i.e. he knows how to build a house*. In such a construction the relative indefinite may have an object, an adverb or a postpositional phrase in association with it, e.g. *a mea kite voa metakao ivutu iavaita ore you this mat on well sleep lying-down ability, i.e. you'll be able to lie down and sleep well on this mat*. Although the great majority of sentences lacking finite verbs are simple in structure, it is possible, particularly by the use of the relative verb, to have compound sentences without finite verbs.

Simple sentences with verbs. By a simple sentence is meant one that has only one predication, and here the verbal phrase forms the predicate. Both noun phrase and verbal phrase, the constituents of a structure or predication, have already been considered. What concerns us here are certain aspects of the sentence structure as a whole that stem from the joining of the constituents together. These include word order, concord,

and the substitution of a pronoun for a noun in the predicate where that noun is also the subject.

In the great majority of sentences the subject precedes the predicate; e.g. ara mapai *I hear* (S V). If there be an object, the word order is then ara arero mapai *I him hear* (S O V). Occasionally the object is placed first for reason of emphasis, and the word order is then O S V. An example of this can be given from the myth of Oa-Iriarapo: araro ere kika soi sa elori vei la roi *me they bamboo knife with cut-open to are-about*. Although both direct and indirect objects may take the object marker, the indirect object (R) takes the position nearer the verb. The order is thus: S O R V.

With questions the interrogative takes the position next to the verb, the order then becoming O S V. If the question contains also an indirect object, the order is O R S V; e.g. mea o aro leisa moita? *this word to-you who said?*.

Concord of number between subject and verb is somewhat complicated. Both nouns and verbs in general are unmarked for number. Where a plural form of a verb is available, plurality is to be assessed by the state or condition described by the verb. It is not simply the outcome of concord with a plural subject. With transitive verbs the agreement is with the object rather than the subject, e.g. are areve etauroro oroti voa opōpe *he his things canoe in put* (plural v.). With a plural subject, ere ereve... *they their...*, the rest of the sentence would be unchanged. With this compare; ere ereve etau oroti voa vuopōpe *they their thing canoe in put* (sing. v.). Nevertheless, with the stative verbs, which have singular and plural forms throughout, and other intransitive verbs there is generally a plural verb form with a plural subject, e.g. farisa hea tola voa la fofoea *arrows some tree from are-sticking-out* (plural).

When the subject and the noun in the predicate are one and the same, the reflexive form of the pronoun is required. This is elore, plural elore elore, which for clarity is sometimes preceded by the appropriate genitive form of the personal pronoun, i.e. arave elore, etc. Thus: are elore (or are areve elore) ove ma iri voa ofae eavōpe *he (his) own reflection water in saw*.

Compound and complex sentences. By compound is meant the coordination of two or more simple sentences; by complex, when one or more of the predications is subordinate in nature. In our analysis we shall regard them as being built up out of simple sentences. This may involve changes

to word order, alterations to verb forms, the use of pronouns for nouns, and the elimination of some elements or the additions of others.

Coordination is the simplest method of joining two sentences. This may be done by adding one sentence after the other, sometimes by a conjunction such as *aea and*. This and the two following examples are taken from the Eare-Marai myth.

Ma iri karu ia. } Ma iri voa karu ia, aea ere
Ere Marai vei haisora rovaea leiape. } Marai vei haisora rovaea leiape.

Sea interior people with. They Marai on-account-of sad very were, i.e. There were people in the sea depths, and they were much distressed on account of Marai.

Without the addition of conjunctions there are such compound sentences as the following, in which the two clauses are linked by a closely parallel structure, intonation represented by the comma, and by a single introductory vocative:

Marai e, sare aea haisai ae peava. } Marai e, sare aea haisai
Marai e, sare aea foreraia. } ae peava, sare aea foreraia.

Marai, day one rest always. Marai day one go-out (to sea).

Marai, take a rest one day, go out on another.

When the two sentences have closely parallel structures and include duplicated material, this may be omitted from part of the compound sentence:

Ara vevekoko ita iava vovea. } Ara vevekoko ita iava vovea,
Ara vevekoko ita itoi vovea. } itoi vovea.

I cold with lie down always. I cold with get up always.

I always lie down chilled (and) get up (likewise).

Where the predicate of two sentences joined together are in close agreement, the second predicate may be replaced by *ta also*, with the demonstrative adverb *lōri* or *lōfeare like that*, and the auxiliary *loi*.

Aro fau ipi voa taiape. } Aro fau ipi voa taiape, Poro
Poro fau ipi voa taiape. } ta lōri leiape.

Aro fau (tree) base at was waiting. Poro fau base at was waiting. Aro was waiting at the base of the fau tree, as was Poro also.

A briefer way of constructing such a compound is to omit both adverb and auxiliary, and use instead the predicative demonstrative: *Aro fau ipi voa taiape, Poro ta reha, ... Poro also that.*

For the construction of compound and complex sentences there are two important generalised transformations, the first being the substitution of the converb for the finite form of the verb. The converb is the verb form unmarked for tense, aspect or mood; these are known from whatever finite verb follows the converb. In the following example, taken from the myth of Oa-Laea, there are no less than nine converbs, although of these nine two require linking together because they describe a single action. The slant lines divide the sentence into its clauses.

Ere isai / elavo voa patei / kokoruka avi / uamori ereve larietau ovi
patei / elavo voa miōri / ere larietau kokoruka avi au lōpe.

When separated into its components, with the verbs in their finite forms, we get the following sentences; words omitted in the original sentence are placed in brackets:

1. Ere isaipe. *They went (coastwards).*
2. (Ere) elavo voa pataipe. *They men's house into climbed.*
3. (Ere elavo voa) kokorukōpe. *They men's house in gathered.*
4. (Ere elavo voa) avōpe. *They men's house in sat-down.*
5. Uamori ereve larietau ovi pataipe. *Womenfolk their food got climbed (brought up).*
6. (Uamori ereve larietau) miarōpe. *Womenfolk their food gave.*
7. Ere larietau kokorukōpe. *They food gathered.*
8. (Ere) avōpe. *They sat down.*
9. (Ere larietau) au lōpe. *They food ate up.*

It may be noted that there is a change of subject in the course of this sentence.

The second important generalised transformation is by the use of the relative verb. By means of this all kinds of relative clauses can be constructed. The converbs may enter into a construction with a relative verb, and in that way clauses of some complexity can be formed. Here we take from the Pipi Korovu myth a sentence which contains a relative clause in order to show how the transformation of the constituent sentences is effected, together with the changes in word order that are involved in such a transformation.

Elaka a eapo ivahia omoia lea o evera mapaita.
S₁ S₂ V₂ O₂&₁ V₁

Separated into its constituent sentences we get the normal S O V in both sentences:

1. A eapo ivahia o omoita. *You may-we-say dream word spoke.*
 S O- V
2. Elaka lea o evera mapaita. *We that word already heard.*
 S O V

The relative verb is often employed in dependent clauses of time or location, the former being with *soa time*, or *sare day*, the latter with *oti place*. Such subordinate clauses of time or place can, however, be expressed by the use of the converb and an adverbial phrase. We take our example from the Oa-Laea myth: *Lea atute are rovaea lei mora itoipe soa, are mora ia, lea soa areve lou Avearo are Mirou la mō moipe....* In free translation this is: *When her son grew, and was able to stand and walk about, Avearo his mother said to Mirou....* The Toaripi is a transformation of the following sentences:-

1. *Lea atute are rovaea lei pe. That son he big became.*
2. *(Are)mora itoipe. He legs stood up.*
3. *Are mora ia. He legs with = able to walk.*
4. *Lea soa areve lou Avearo are Mirou la mō moipe... That time his mother Avearo she Mirou (obj. marker) this spoke...*

By joining these sentences together again, but by using converbs instead of the relative verb, we get without change of meaning: *Lea atute are rovaea lei, mora itei aeata mora ia, aea lea soa areve lou...*

By another generalised transformation a constituent sentence may be transformed into some such nominal element as the subject or object of the main sentence. In this quotation from the Pipi Korovu myth there is a subordinate clause of time, followed by the main clause: *Ereuka ofae misilei eavōpe soa, Pipi Korovu are arori voa aiseseiape, they-two upwards looked time, Pipi Korovu he top on was settled.*

Divided into its constituent sentences we get:

1. *Ereuka ofae misilei eavōpe. They-two eyes raised looked.*
2. *Lea soa Pipi Korovu are arori voa aiseseiape. That time Pipi Korovu top on was-settled.*

By the use of a converb and the adverbial phrase that appears in (2), it is possible to transform the rest of (2) and make it the object of (1). Thus:

Lea soa ereuka ofae misilei / Pipi Korovu arori voa aiseseiape la / eavōpe. That time they-two eyes raised / Pipi Korovu on settled (obj. marker) / saw.

Demonstratives. In Toaripi, as in all forms of Eleman, the demonstratives are a pair of words assuming various forms, the constant features being the initial consonants m/v- implying 'nearness' and l/r- 'distance', immediately followed by one or the other of the vowels e, ō or a. The demonstratives vary also in the position they occupy; there is a close, although not a complete correlation between the varying forms and the variation positionally. There is, however, no variation due to number.

1. With the vowel -e the demonstratives function with nouns or nominally, or have the final position after verbs.

(a) as determiners before nouns: *mea this, these, lea that, those*; e.g. *mea etau this thing*.

(b) as nominals in subject position; the form agrees with (1). *mea arave this (is) mine*.

(c) as nominals in predicative position; *meha (rarely maha) this, reha (rarely laha)*; e.g. *Avearo ve o kofa meha this (is) Avearo's true word*.

(d) in final position with verbs to mark (i) phase, usually with *meha*; e.g. *a kotita meha! you've come!* (ii) to modify tense, usually with *reha* (see below under Verb System).

2. With the vowel ō for adverbial functions. While the simple *mō lō* forms are used quite freely, the adverbial suffix -ri is often added, *mōri, lōri*; or the compound with *feare like, mōfeare, lōfeare* may appear in certain contexts without any real change of meaning.

(a) to introduce direct speech with *auai* or *moi say or speak*, e.g. *Mirou mō ōpe, ... (or mō moi)pe Mirou this said...* With *moi* this could also be *mōri moi*, or *mōfeare moi* *this manner spoke*. Far more rarely *lō*, (*lōri* or *lōfeare*) may be heard at the end of the speech.

(b) with the auxiliary *loi*, usually as *mōri, lōri, or mōfeare, lōfeare*, e.g. *mōri (mōfeare) lei* *in this manner did*. There is a parallel here with the formation with -uai (see (a)). *Mōri, lōri, or mōfeare, lōfeare* can also be used with a wide range of verbs, e.g. *uvi mōfeare turai roi house this-like build will*.

(c) with the following verbs in converb form *mō* occurs having a locative sense: *patai ascend, faukai descend, iti come, and terai go*, e.g. *mō patei eakoa toepōpe in-this-place went up and round*. It also occurs with a temporal sense in the phrase *mō iso this today, i.e. right now*, e.g. *mō iso moita etau kao, evera moi* *not a thing that's just been said, it was said long ago*.

(d) A repeated *lō... lō...* is used with verbs for a coordinate construction to express repeated action in different directions; the auxiliary *loi* is used to combine the demonstrative-verb phrase, e.g. *lō tera lō loi go here and there*. Different verbs may be combined in the construction, e.g. *lō tera lō iti go there come there, to to and fro*. Occasionally there is a combination of more than one verb in each part of the construction, e.g. *lō te sukava lō iti sukava wander to and fro*. As when the way is lost.

(e) with the postposition *voa at* there are a further pair of compound forms: *mōvoa here, lōvoa there*.

3. With the vowel *a* (or *o*) as function words. In Toaripi we find only *l/r-* used for this purpose.

(a) with nouns, noun phrases and pronouns. The object marker *la*, or with pronouns *-ro*, is in origin a demonstrative. From Toaripi alone this cannot be shown, but in Orokolo and to a lesser extent in Sepoe we find *va* as the subject marker used in a way that is parallel to *la* (sometimes written as *ra* in the Orokolo scriptures).

(b) with verbs: *la* is here a verb form marker. It occurs with the plain form, with the present continuous, and with the immediate future. With the plain form the semantic force has not been lost completely, e.g. *are la terai* would be said when the person is still in view, *there he goes*; cf. *are terai he's gone*. The predicative *reha* is often added, however, to reinforce the demonstrative sense: *are la terai reha there he goes*. Similarly *ara la me meha here I am*, may also be expressed, *ara la mea* and mean much the same thing, *I'm here*.

With the present continuous the *la* has very little semantic force, e.g. *are tivi la lei pea he is doing work*. The *la* here would seem to have the function of distinguishing clearly *-pea* from *-pe* the remote past ending. Similarly with the immediate future, *la* marks the verb to distinguish it from the indefinite future. It follows the infinitive expressing intention, e.g. *sariva karu maea leiti vei la loi the travellers are about to set off*.

The possibility marker *varo (=ma+lo)* perhaps and the unreal conditional marker *lare (=la+le)* have their origins in the demonstratives. To show this clearly would, however, demand more space than is here available.

Nouns. Some compound nouns are formed from a noun plus an adjective, e.g. *mearovaeka*, from *mea land*, *rovaeka great*. Originally this meant 'mainland'; it now has the extended meaning of 'world'.

Far more numerous are compounds of nouns plus nouns. Although the components are usually represented as separate words, phonemically and semantically many of these compounds are really units with a varying closeness of juncture; e.g. *oru tivi /òrutívi/ garden work*. A common type of compound is one in which the first component modified the second, e.g. *tivi etau work thing*, i.e. *tool*; *uvi karu house person*, i.e. *a member of a household*. If the components be reversed, as is sometimes possible, there is a corresponding change of meaning, e.g. *uvi tivi building work* and *tivi uvi work building, workshop*.

There is no grammatical gender with nouns, or indeed with any other part of speech. There are, however, complex words or compounds (n.+adj.) which have such components as *oa father*, *lou mother*, *atute son*, *mori daughter*, *vita man, husband*, *ua woman, wife*. Combined with *kokoe junior*, *-apo senior*, and *lelesi without spouse*, we find such words as *oa-kokoe father's younger brother*, and *lou-kokoe*, such a person's wife; *moriapo elder sister* female speaking; *ua-lelesi* and *vita-lelesi widow* and *widower*. These are mostly terms of relationship.

For animate referents there are the terms for *male kaisōva* (immature) and *torea* (full-grown); *female ōvu* (immature) and *lou* (with offspring). The male terms are never used for persons, but the female terms are not so restricted; *morōvu younger sister*, female speaking, and *paulōvu husband's elder brother's wife*. For *cock vita man* is often used, i.e. *kokora vita*; there are also special words for crabs, *misa ase* being the male, and *misa kapera* the female.

Nouns are generally unmarked for number; *karu person* or *persons*, *uvi house* or *houses*. Nevertheless there are a few nouns that have reduplicated forms to indicate plurality. Such words are: *toruipi*, *toruipi-ipi clan(s)*; *soa*, *soasoa occasion(s)*; *firu*, *firufiru piece(s)*; *koru*, *korukoru lump(s)*; *oti*, *otioti place(s)*; *sitavu*, *sitavu sitavu crowd(s)*; *tao*, *taotao* or *tao asease age-set(s)*.

An indication of plurality can be given to a noun by the use of a plural adjective, where this exists, or by such adjectives as *rauapo many*, or *hea some*; e.g. *karu rauapo many people*. Numerals with nouns likewise demonstrate plurality, although the noun itself remains unchanged in form.

Although apart from the exceptions mentioned above, nouns are generally unmarked for plural, there is, nevertheless, a special class of noun that have singular and plural forms throughout. These are terms of relationship, and they indicate the important part played in

Eleman society by ties of kinship. The mode of forming the plural, apart from compound forms already mentioned, is by adding *-ita* or *-uta*, *-osu* or *-usu* to the singular. Thus *mileri*, *milerita ancestor(s)*: *ōva*, *avaiosu son(s)-in-law*; *arivu*, *arivusu sister's son(s)*. With *uevi*, *uepisuta daughter(s)-in-law*, we have what is really a combination of *-uta* and *-usu*.

The object, instrumental and genitive markers. As used with nouns these are syntactic rather than morphological, for they can be used with phrases and even clauses as well as nouns (see p.316). Here is, however a convenient place to deal with them because we shall be dealing next with pronouns, and they occur also with them.

The object marker *la* has already found mention on p.318. It does not invariably appear with an object noun, for the object of a verb is often made clear enough positionally, e.g. *Meavea uvi turōpe Meavea house built*. When an object needs marking, however, it puts in an appearance. This is in line with its demonstrative origin. Thus: *are paua ita marehari ita la eavōpe he elder-brother also younger-brother also (obj. marker) saw*.

The use of the instrumental marker *sa* is not entirely parallel to that of *la* or *ve* the genitive marker, for whereas the other two markers are closely associated with pronouns phonemically and syntactically, the use of *sa* with pronouns is a matter of controversy. Some Toaripi speakers, although they use it with nouns, will not use it with pronouns. Yet I know people who use *sa* freely with both pronouns and nouns. That it forms a component of the subject form of the interrogative pronoun *leisa* (*lei+sa*) gives some support for its use with pronouns.

With nouns *sa* occurs with relative constructions, as is shown in the following from the Oa-Laea myth: *ara arave paua sa Mirou sa moia o aro omoi vei koti I my elder-brother by Mirou by said word you tell to come*. We find it also with inverted constructions where for reasons of emphasis the object of the verb is placed first, e.g. *aro elave oa sa sukai ave you (obj.) our father by meet lest*. It is frequently found with the stative verbs, e.g. *ape ve uta sa haria eaiape mouth's hole by only was i.e. there was only the hole of the mouth*. Occasionally it is found with coordinate constructions, e.g. *are rapi la patai reha, a-karu sa patai he, may-I-say, ascends there, or person by ascends, i.e. that's him coming up, if I may say so, or it's just somebody coming up*.

The genitive marker *ve* usually occurs before another noun, the 'head-word', e.g. *uamori ve tivi women's work*; *Mirou ve marehari Mirou's*

younger-brother. In a double genitive the *ve* is repeated before each 'head-word', e.g. Avearo *ve uvi kou tola ve rate...* *Avearo's house roof timber's name...* In what is sometimes called the 'independent genitive' the 'head-word' may be omitted; thus *mea uvi Haro ve this house (is) Haro's*. A double genitive could also appear in such a construction: *mea uvi Haro ve marehari ve this house (is) Haro's younger brother's*. In answer to a question there can be the noun only with *ve*, e.g. *mea uvi leive? Haro ve this house whose? Haro's*.

The position of the genitive marker is following any modifiers that the noun may have, e.g. *lea firu rovaea ve rare Lavao that island big's name Lavao*. If the genitive marker comes between the noun and what is usually classed as an adjective, then the latter is to be interpreted as an abstract noun, e.g. *lea firu ve rovaea are soa haria that island's bigness it (is) occasion different, i.e. the size of that island is remarkable*. Similarly, *karu ve lareva meha person of goodness this, i.e. this is a really good person*. When the genitive marker links the noun with such postpositional phrases as *omopa voa, aite voa, arori voa before, behind, above*, this may be interpreted along the same lines, e.g. *uvi ve omopa voa house's front at, i.e. in the area before the house*. With this compare: *uvi omopa voa before the house*.

Pronouns. The subject personal pronouns are given in Table 7.

Table 7

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Sing.	ara (arao)	a (ao)	are (areo)
Dual.	elaka	euka, auka	ereuka, auka
Plur.	(exclus.) ela(elao) (inclus.) ereita	e (eo)	ere (ere)

Personal Pronouns

In brackets are the emphatic forms used when the pronouns appear alone, e.g. *leisa terai roi? Arao. who will go? I*. In the dual second and third person, but not the first person, *auka couple, pair*, can be substitute for the fuller forms which are compounded from the plural bases plus *auka*; i.e. *euka = e+(a)uka* and *ereuka = ere+(a)uka*. Although *auka*

cannot be used for the first person dual, the form *elaka* is evidently formed after the model of the second and third persons.

With the subject forms as the base, the object marker *la* in the form of *-ro* is suffixed to produce the object form. Similarly the genitive marker *ve* is used as a suffix to produce the genitive forms: i.e. *araro*, *aro*, *arero*, *elakaro*, etc., and *arave*, *ave*, *areve*, *elakave*, etc.

In the same manner the interrogative pronoun *who?*, with the base *lei*, adds *-ro* and *-ve* for the object and genitive forms, i.e. *leiro whom?*, *leive whose?*. As already described, the subject form has the instrumental marker *sa* as a suffix, *leisa who?*, the reason for this form being the need to normalise the stress pattern, as well as guarding against confusion with *lei*, converb of the auxiliary *loi*.

As the forms given above show, pronouns in Toaripi, and in Eleman generally, are distinguished for person, number and case. The first person singular always means the speaker or writer. When two people only are talking or corresponding, the dual then means these two. When the dual is used in speaking to others, the name of the person associated with the speaker may be added to the dual pronoun with *ita with* following the name, e.g. *elaka ua ita we-two wife with*, i.e. *my wife and I*.

There is a distinction made in the first person plural between *we* inclusive (including the person addressed), and *we* exclusive (excluding such a person). The dual first person may be inclusive or exclusive, but the addition of the name of the associated person in the manner described above, makes the dual exclusive.

By the 'second person' is meant the person or the people who are being addressed. In the 'third person' neither the one speaking or writing, nor the person(s) being addressed are included, but some other person(s) or thing(s).

It should be noted that the plural form of the pronoun is used following a noun modified by the adjective *farafarapo* *each*, *each one*, e.g. *karu farafarapo ereve elore elore firu... each person their (=his) own portion...*

There is a common use of the subject form of the pronoun whereby a noun subject is followed by an appropriate form of the pronoun, e.g. *Mirou are... Mirou he...* The construction is not entirely pleonastic in that the pronoun is able to indicate clearly the number and case of the noun with which it is in apposition. This otherwise might be in doubt, e.g. *lea karu leavoaa? where (are) those people? or that person?* With *lea karu are leavoaa? that person he where?* the ambiguity is removed.

The substitution of *ere* for *are*, would make the subject plural.

The object forms are used not only for the direct object, but also for the indirect: *lea marisa oraka lariatou arero miarōpe*, *the two girls gave him food*. As earlier stated (p.313) the indirect object takes the position nearer to the verb.

One special use of the object form is preceding the postposition *tai to*, *motion towards*, used only with reference to persons, e.g. *erero tai to them*. A noun in this position before *tai* never has the object marker *la*. This is in accord with the general use of the object marker, namely that where its absence will not result in ambiguity, it is omitted. Here *tai* makes the *la* unnecessary. It should be added that postpositions in general do not require the object form.

The genitive remains unchanged in form when it is used as a noun modifier or determiner (first genitive), or when its function is to substitute for a noun as well as being the modifier (second genitive). The position, however, is changed; for the first genitive it is before the noun, e.g. *arave mai my hand*. For the second genitive the pronoun has the predicative position, e.g. *mea naosoi areve this knife is his*.

A special use of the first genitive is with postpositional phrases formed with *voa*, e.g. *areve arori voa pavōpe rested upon him*. This construction treats *arori* as a noun, *his above on*. With this cf. *are arori voa pavōpe he stood on top*.

The interrogative *leisa who?* has been classed as a pronoun because it distinguishes between the subject, object, and genitive forms in the same manner as pronouns. Nevertheless in its preferred position as subject in the sentence it agrees with the interrogatives, in that it comes immediately before the verb, and is preceded by the object, e.g. *mea la leisa foita? this coconut who cut-down?*. There is a reduplicated *leisa leisa whoever*, that may be used for plural, but as subject only.

Adjectives. Out of 213 words which may be used as adjectives that are listed in the *Toaripi Dictionary* (Brown 1968), 172 occur post-noun and twenty-nine pre-noun; the remaining twelve in either position. Five out of every six adjectives follow the nouns they modify, e.g. *etau lareva thing good*. The others that have the front position, in other contexts fit other word classes, such as adverbs or nouns, e.g. *evera etau old thing (evera = formerly)*. This also applies to a number of adjectives that have the rear position, but such words as are adjectives only, always follow the noun.

When the negative *auke*, denoting the absence of a quality, is placed after an adjective, the basic adjectival position is reversed; the negative adjectival phrase always comes before the noun, e.g. *lareva auke etau good not thing*, *evera auke etau old not thing*.

Like nouns adjectives generally are not marked for numbers, e.g. *uvi* are *new house* or *new houses*. However, a few adjectives have plural forms by reduplication in one way or another. Such adjectives not only modify the noun qualitatively but also quantitatively. Since reduplication is also used in part to intensify adjectives, the plural form is in some cases reduplicated from a different base than the singular. With only one adjective *lareva good* is there a possibility of confusion in this respect, e.g. *karu lareva lareva people good*. When used with intensive meaning *eite* is added: *karu lareva lareva eite person extremely good*.

Adjectives with plural forms are few in number; they are listed in Table 8.

Table 8

	singular	plural		singular	plural
<i>different</i>	<i>haria</i>	<i>hariaharia</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>rovaea</i>	<i>metameta</i>
<i>short</i>	<i>harua</i>	<i>hohorua</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>seika</i>	<i>kaekae</i>
<i>bent</i>	<i>kaiae</i>	<i>kaiaekaiiae</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>savori</i>	<i>sosovori</i> ,
<i>slender</i>	<i>kapesa</i>	<i>kapesa kapesa</i>			<i>sasairi</i>

Plural Adjectives

As already stated, to intensify some adjectives reduplication is employed, followed by *eite meaning*. Such adjectives are: *rovaea big*, *sea white*, *koa high*, *lareva good*, e.g. *raepa koakoa eite very high mountain*. One adjective *seika* reduplicates without *eite*, *etau seika seika very small thing*. Two common adjectives, *rovaea* and *seika*, can take the suffix *-ka* or *-ko* to form *rovaeka very big* and *seikako very small*. Another suffix, *-apo*, denotes increase in size rather than a simple intensifying. It is used only to follow the suffix *-ka*; this must be for euphony. While *-ka* is not found with *savori long*, yet we get *savorikapo very long indeed*. To be really effusive *-apo* can be added to *eite* with reduplication, e.g. *lareva lareva eiteapo extremely good*.

In some cases *rovaea big* and *kofa true* can be used following other adjectives to intensify them. It is only when there is no other way to intensify an adjective apart from *kofa* that *rovaea* is used, e.g. *puta surusuru rovaea very wet cloth*. It is only after the simple form of the adjective that *kofa* is used, never following a form that has been intensified by reduplication or by a suffix, e.g. *lareva kofa truly good*, *rovaea kofa truly big*. Sometimes *foromai all, altogether* is inserted before an adjective to intensify it. Usually the adjective preceded by *foromai* is one which has been already intensified, either by the suffixes already described, or by *kofa*, e.g. *etau foromai seika kofa an altogether very small thing*.

A diminution of quality is expressed by putting before the adjective *taheka little*, but which in this context = *somewhat*, or *rather*. Thus *ma taheka hehea water rather hot*. An alternative method is by the use of *maea* following the adjective, e.g. *rofo maea rather strong*. Sometimes *feare like* is added: *rofo maea feare rather strong-like*. This use of *maea* should be distinguished from *maea* meaning *body*, e.g. *maea rofo strong body*.

As already mentioned, English numbering has superseded the traditional numbers, although one to three or four may still be heard on occasion in the vernacular. These English numbers occupy the traditional position following the noun, not, as in English, preceding it. In the traditional numbering 'two' and 'three' have longer and shorter form as the result of the presence or absence of *-ria*. The use of one or the other is simply a matter of euphony. The traditional numbers are: *one farakeka*; *two orakoria, oraka*; *three oroisorua, oroiso*; *four orakaraka*.

There are, however, no actual ordinal numbers, but rather expressions such as *omopa first*; *omopa kofa first of all* and *aite next*; *aite kofa last of all*.

The following indefinite quantifying adjectives take the position after the noun: *aea any, another*, *foromai all*, *hiake few*, *hea some*, *rauapo many*, *kasirau none*, *kakaeite none at all*.

While two or more adjectives may follow a noun, more than one may not precede it. Should such a necessity arise, then the construction with the relative verb is required. Thus one cannot say **evera arori fave*; this would have to be *evera soa arori voa eaiape lea fave former time top on was lying that stone*. An adjective preceding a noun may, however, take another to intensify it, e.g. *arori kofa fave topmost stone*.

Adjectives following the noun appear in this order:

(i) those denoting type of material; e.g. mafu *soft*; (ii) colour; (iii) shape and size; (iv) quantifier; (v) particularizer; e.g. haria *different, only*, aea *any*, aeata *another*. It should be hardly necessary to add that no normal phrase would ever include words from all these various types of adjectives. If shape and size occur together, shape occurs first: utape koko seika *small narrow doorway*.

A complication may arise from rovaea and kofa being used not only as simple adjectives *big* and *true*, but also as intensifiers of other adjectives. Thus: tola kere rovaea could mean either tola kere rovaea, *very hard timber*, or tola kere rovaea *big hard-wood tree*. The ambiguity is removed by the addition of aeata between the adjectives, i.e. tola kere aeata rovaea *a tree hard-wood and big*. The addition of aeata is not necessary with adjectives intensified by other means, neither is it required with adjectives of types (iv) and (v) which cannot be intensified. If kofa is to have the simple meaning *true* then it must come immediately after the noun without other adjectives except from types (iv) and (v). Compare: uvi kofa *a real house* and uvi rovaea kofa *very big house*, where its immediate constituent is rovaea *big*.

There is no formal grammatical comparison in Toaripi, or any other form of Eleman. However, a construction expressing comparison is sometimes heard, e.g. Moroi are karu lareva kofa, a- areve marehari lareva kao, *So-and-so is a person good truly, but his younger-brother good not*, i.e. *Moroi is a better person than his younger brother*.

The verb system. A comparative paradigm of the verb in Toaripi, Sepoe, Kaipi and Orokolo, will be found in Appendix A at the end of this chapter. Here we deal with the various verb forms in the order in which they appear in the paradigm.

The 'plain form' of the verb is used as the lexeme because with it as base the other forms can be built up. This plain form may not itself be a simple form, for many verbs are made up of various types of compounds. These are verb + verb, e.g. oviti *bring* (fr. ovai *get*, iti *come*); noun + verb, e.g. haisafai *forget* (fr. hai *liver*, but used also of mental operations and states, safai *finish off plait*); and adjective + verb, e.g. koko *narrow*, kokoeai *to contract*.

The plain form appear in questions when it is followed by the interrogative marker or preceded by the interrogative pronoun, e.g. a mapai ei? *do you hear/understand?*; leisa mapai? *who hears?*. It is found also in the answers that follow, e.g. a, ara mapai *yes, I hear*.

The plain form appears also in negations, present and past, when it is followed by the negative *kao*; e.g. *ara mapai kao*, *I do not hear*.

There are four variations in the endings to the plain form: (i) *-ai* e.g. *mapai hear*; (ii) *-i*, e.g. *pisosi make*; (iii) *-oi* e.g. *ittoi stand up*; (iv) *-a*, e.g. *mea have being*. The great majority of verbs belong to (i). Of 600 verbs taken at random, which included derivative forms, 557 had the ending *-ai*, nineteen ended on *-i*, ten in *-oi*, and fourteen in *-a*. Between (ii) and (iii) there is little difference, apart from the changes involved in the converb form (see paradigm). The verbs in (iv), however, form a special class, seven in number. These 'stative' verbs are marked out by certain peculiarities of morphology, and by there being both singular and plural forms throughout. Since they all describe various states of being, they are all intransitive. From *pea be set, dwell*, the suffix for the present continuous for all verbs is derived. There is comparative evidence that suggests that the remote past *-pe* termination has a similar origin. In *Kaip*i and *Orokolo* *-vea* (*mea*) is used instead of *-pea* for the present continuous. In *Toaripi* we also find *vovea* (= *vo mea*) as one of the forms for the habitual. In having such a morphological function the stative verbs show some affinity to the auxiliary *loi* which is used to mark the future tense.

The auxiliary verbs do not normally appear on their own but require to be in association with some noun, adjective, verb, adverb or demonstrative. These auxiliary verbs are: *loi*, *auai*, and *sauai*. With *auai* may also be included *lauai eat* (fr. *l(a) food + auai*). There is one other auxiliary of minor importance: *puavai* implying 'totality'. The verb with which *puavai* is used assumes a modified form of the converb; tense, aspect, phase and mood are shown by the auxiliary, which as it always takes final position in a sentence, does not itself have a converb form, e.g. *ere tera puavōpe they went all-of-them*; *ava puavaia sit down all-of-you*.

The auxiliary *loi* forms the remote past *leipe*. This seeming irregularity is removed if it be recognised that whenever *loi* takes a suffix or adds a negative, the converb form is used instead of the plain form. Thus: *leipe*, *leipea*, *leivota*, *leiti*, *lei vovea*. It is used with a very large range of words, e.g. *tivi work*, *tivi loi do work*; *loki request*, *loki loi make a request*; *havou game*, *havou loi play a game*. As these examples demonstrate, with nouns the general meaning is *do, make or perform*. Sometimes *activate, set in motion* is the meaning; *maea loi set off* (*maea body*); *ma loi* (of tide) *go out* (*ma water, tide*).

With adjectives and adverbs its equivalent in English is some part of the verb *to be*; e.g. mafu *soft*, mafu loi *be soft*; haekao *near*, haekao loi *be near*.

The converb form lei is used in a causative sense before the auxiliary compounds with nouns, adjectives, or adverbs, and also before other verbs, e.g. lei mafu loi *make soft*, lei haekao loi *make near*, lei mapai *cause to hear*. In the form roi the auxiliary is used with the plain form to mark verbs for the future tense, e.g. mapai roi *will hear*. When appearing as a causative it can still mark for the future; lei mapai roi *will make to hear*. When used with compounds with loi, this loi changes to leiti, e.g. tivi leiti roi *will do work*.

When different verbs are combined in repeated action, or when repeated demonstratives appear in a coordinate construction, loi is used to unite the verbal phrase, e.g. patai fauka loi *ascend descend do*, i.e. *go up and down*. (See pp.318).

The form of auai, the second auxiliary, can be readily explained. It is ai with the verbal intensive au prefixed. When the au is removed the formation of the remote past with -pe conforms to the pattern for the -ai verbs, namely ōpe. We also find aipea, present continuous, ōvota, frequentative recent past, and ō vovea habitual. Other forms stem from arai, a variant of auai in a very limited range of compounds. From this base are derived: ari roi future, arita recent past, ari vei infinitive, and aritore the second habitual.

The auxiliary auai is used largely with words implying sounds of various kinds. With mō it is used to introduce direct speech, mō auai *this say...* With o *word* we find o auai, *say, speak*. Similarly fi *cry*, fi auai *to cry*; sasafare *rustling*, sasafare auai *to rustle* (of leaves, or grass skirts); ape aruru *yawn*, ape aruru auai *to yawn*.

Other compounds with auai are reduplicated words with various meanings, e.g. haikaeai *think*, and haikaeakaea auai *think over, ponder*; laukelauke auai *sway from side to side*. A few words employ both loi and auai with somewhat different shades of meaning. Thus heoheia *uproar, tumult*; heoheia loi is *to be in a tumult*, heoheia auai *make an uproar*.

The various forms of sauai are identical with auai, but with s- prefixed; this is the instrumental marker sa, with the vowel coalesced with the initial a of the auxiliary. The one variant form is sasape, a plural for sape, frequentative remote past. Apart from this no form is marked for number, but we find a parallel to sasape in lalape, from lauai. The range of meaning of compounds with sauai is somewhat

complicated, and it is not easy to itemise. With the name of the article being made, or of the material used, we find the meaning *plait*, e.g. kite sauai *plait mat*. With a *fire*, the meaning is *to burn*. To make this transitive another *sa* is added: a *sa sauai burn by fire*. In other compounds there is implied a pounding process, e.g. *poi sauai chop up sago pith*; *teavi sauai scourge, beat*. There is also *eroa sauai be hungry*, from *eroa hunger*. The forms *sa + auai* may account for *sauai*.

Number with verbs has already found mention on p. 313. As stated there, verbs in general, like nouns, are not marked for number. Where plural verbs are available, their use is determined by the plural condition seen in the state or action of the verb, not in a simple agreement with a plural subject. For examples see the previous reference. With intransitive verbs such as *itoti*, (pl.) *itoteai stand up*; *iavai* (pl.) *iroropai lie down*; *faukai* (pl.) *fafukai descend*, one would never get a plural verb with a singular subject. A singular verb with a plural subject is not impossible, if the action be performed at one time, but normally with intransitive verbs one finds agreement in number between subject and verb.

Verbs are marked for five tenses: the present, which has already been labelled the 'plain' form, two past tenses, the 'remote' and the 'recent', and two future, the 'immediate' and the 'indefinite'. These will be found in the paradigm at the end of this chapter.

The plain form is used with present meaning in questions and affirmations, but with negations in addition to the present it may also have past reference. Examples of its use have already been given (see pp. 326-7).

The recent past is used for events from yesterday up to about a fortnight ago. Beyond that is covered by the remote past. There is, however, no hard and fast division. What separates the recent from the remote is whether an event be fresh in the mind or not. The recent is sometimes used of events on the same day, if through a change of locality or circumstance those events are out of present context.

The formation of the indefinite future with *roi* has already been described. The immediate future, used only of events that are imminent, differs from the indefinite future by being formed from the infinitive instead of from the plain form, and by the presence of the verb form marker *la* before the *roi*, e.g. *terai vei la roi about to go*.

The same construction can be modified by altering the tense of *loi*. Thus with the present continuous *lei pea* the reference is to present

condition rather than an imminent event, e.g. *are terai vei la leipea he is-being about to go*, i.e. *he is all set to go*. By substituting *leipe* the remote past in the place of *roi*, the construction can be made to give a future reference in past time, e.g. *are terai vei leipe he was about to go*.

Verbs are marked for aspect to indicate the present continuous, the recent and the remote past frequentatives, and the habitual. As stated earlier the suffixes for aspect are taken from the stative verbs *pea* and *mea*. For the present continuous *-pea* is used, with the verb form marker *la* usually added. None of the stative verbs take the *-pea* suffix, except for *eaea to lie*, which with a coalescence with the verb form marker becomes *laepea*. This would seem to be patterned after *laipea (la+aipea)* present continuous of *auai*. The stative verbs have, however, the verb form marker *la* to identify them, e.g. *karu miri voa la roroa people beach on are*.

The form for the frequentative recent past *-vota* may be understood as a coalescence of *vo(me)i+ta*, *vo* being the verbal conjunction used to link stative verbs (and verbs generally) to other verbs when the action of one is involved in the other. This *vo* is seen again in the formation of the first habitual, which is with *vovea (= vo+mea)*, e.g. *mapai vovea listen always*.

Comparison with *Orokolo* enables us to analyse the formation of the frequentative remote past. This is by using *ia (ita) with* as an infix, e.g. *mapai+pe (fr. mapa+ia+pe) used to listen, was in the habit of listening*. For this the *Orokolo* is *iapailape (fr. iapa+ila+pe)*. The remote past frequentative refers to the same period of time as the simple remote past. Similarly the frequentative recent past may be equated in its time reference to the simple recent past.

In addition to the first habitual described above, there is a second habitual with suffix *-tore*. This would seem to have originated from a coalescence of the relative indefinite ending *-ta + ore knowledge, acquaintance with*. It has no difference in meaning from the first habitual, and there is no context that requires one form rather than the other. Both are used to describe customary events, e.g. *tera vovea, or teraitore always go*.

In the section on demonstratives mention is made of their use with verbs. The addition of the predicative *meha this or here*, marks for phase to show that the effect of the action continues, e.g. *e areve o mapaita meha you his word hearing this, you have now heard his word*.

The form of the verb here would seem to be the recent past, but it is likely that the relative indefinite, which is the same in form, has had some influence on the construction. With the stative verbs we find the present continuous with the demonstrative, e.g. the greeting, *A la me meha!* (me = mea) *you are this, i.e. here you are!* Other verbs also on occasion use a form of the present continuous that omits *-pea*, e.g. *are la koti meha he is coming this, here he comes!* In this construction the auxiliary *loi* has the form *loita*, which is a variant of the relative indefinite, or it uses the present continuous, e.g. *are kitou loita meha he anger has this, now he's angry.*

When the demonstrative *reha* *that* marks the verb, the effect is to transfer the action to the past. Here it may well be that the verb is the recent past rather than the relative indefinite. It is commonly used in narrative as a vivid way of describing past events, and is thus a parallel with the 'historic present' found in many languages that mark for tense. Thus to give one of the examples seen in Oa-Laea myth: *soka are isaita reha well, off he went (westwards).* Occasionally the remote past is used as the verb; to give another example from the myth: *mea opōpe Elailiri soeope reha time began (i.e. at the crack of dawn) Elailiri flew-off then.* This is not so vivid as *mea opōpe soa Elailiri soeaita reha.* For other constructions of demonstratives with verbs, see pp.317-8.

This same verb ending in *-ta* is used in a dubitative sense with *varo*, the possibility marker, in the final position in the place of *reha*, e.g. *are kotita varo he has come (or will come) perhaps.*

The use of the converb has already been described (p. 315). As stated there, it is an unmarked form used before another verb with which it accords for tense, aspect and mood. To form the converb most verbs ending in *-ai* change this to *-i*, *mapai, mapi hear*, a few have *-ei* instead of *-i*, e.g. *patai, patei, ascend*; with *-eai* the change is to *-ea*, e.g. *paraeai, paraea set free.* The verbs that end in *-oi* change to *-ei*, e.g. *itoi, itei, stand up.* Where the ending is *-i* or *-a* (the stative verbs), there is no change for the converb. With the auxiliaries, *loi* has *lei* while *auai* has *a', ō, or ae.*

When the action of one verb is involved in that of another, the converb is linked to the main verb by the verbal conjunction *vo*, e.g. *soea vo kotipe running came.* This verbal conjunction may be reduplicated to represent continued action, e.g. *ereuka ape sosori ō vovo kavōpe the two of them went (inland) quarrelling as they went.*

The infinitive is formed by the addition of the infinitive marker *vei* to the plain form in the verb classes (i) to (iii). The stative (class iv) verbs change the *-a* into *-i* before *vei*. With *loi* we find *leiti*, while *auai* and *sauai* become *ari* and *sari* before the *vei*. Thus: *mapai vei to hear*, *itoi vei to stand up*, *mei vei to be*, *leiti vei* and *ari vei*.

The infinitive is used alone to express purpose, e.g. *ara elore etau mere oraka miavai vei I am to plant a couple of things*. Usually, however, other verbs enter into the construction, e.g. *ere oru mere vipai vei kavope they banana suckers to plant went (inland)*. The verb *haikaeai wish, desire, want* takes the infinitive usually before it, e.g. *Marai mapai vei haikaeai kao Marai listen to wanted not*. We find a use of the infinitive with reported speech, e.g. *areve vita arero uvi etau foromai kiva leiti vei omoipe her husband her house things all care to take told*. The use of the infinitive in the formation of the immediate future and to denote a future reference in the past, has already been described (see pp.329-330). For yet another use of the infinitive as the emphatic imperative see below.

By 'imperative' is meant those forms of the verb that are used to command or urge a person to perform the action denoted by the verb. The same form as the non-emphatic is used to make requests of various kinds. There are two forms of the imperative, one of which ends in *-ia* or *-va* in the case of the stative verbs the other, an emphatic form, is identical with the infinitive. We find the latter used when the ordinary form has failed to evoke the desired action: *a terai vei! off you go!*.

Constructions with the relative verb have already been described at some length (see pp. 310, 315-6). Here we consider the various relative verb forms and their significance. A relative verb is distinguished by its position being immediately before a noun. One form - the indefinite relative - is unrestricted for tense or aspect. Other forms are marked for tense and aspect in respect of which the relative verb has a range comparable to that of the finite verb. In the case of the remote past forms, both simple and frequentative, together with the frequentative recent past, the forms are identical with those of the finite verb, and there is only the positional distinction between them. They have also the same significance in respect of tense and aspect.

The indefinite, since it is the unrestricted form, may be used in the place of any of the other forms, although there will not be the same precision in meaning. This is the form used when the relative is a simple modifier to the noun, e.g. *toaraita karu helping person, helper*. With other relative forms more expansive contexts are possible than is seen in this example. See the references given above for examples, and for the forms see the paradigms at the end of this chapter.

Negatives. The present and past are combined in one negative construction in which *kao*, the negative marker in the place of *vei*, follows the verb form as found with the infinitive, e.g. *mapai kao do (did) not hear*; similarly *pei kao*, *leiti kao*, and *ari kao*. For the future negative we find the indefinite future verb form preceded by *levi*, e.g. *levi mapai roi will not listen*.

For the present continuous or incomplete action the verb form is the same as that with the non-emphatic imperative, e.g. *mapaia kao not hearing or not yet heard*. For the prohibitive this same imperative form is used, but preceded by *levi* as the negative marker, e.g. *levi mapaia do not listen*.

With the relative verb *auke* is the negative marker. For the relative indefinite it follows the verb, which has the same form as is seen with the infinitive. It thus agrees with the present and past finite negative construction, except that the negative marker is *auke* instead of *kao*, e.g. *mapai auke*. In order to mark for tense or aspect it is necessary to follow this negative marker with an appropriate relative form of the auxiliary *loi*, e.g. relative negative remote past: *mapai auke leipe... not listened...*

Questions are marked by intonation, by an interrogative pronoun, or the marker *ei*, or by an interrogative. (See also the earlier sections on intonation). Here we deal with the form of the verb or verb phrase in a question.

Many questions have the non-verb type of construction, and consist of a noun, pronoun or a demonstrative with an interrogative, e.g. *ave haiiri lekuru? your mind what?*. When a verb or a verb phrase does occur, the construction is the same as for a statement. Thus: *a leavoā terai roi? you where will go?* can be turned into a statement simply by making a suitable substitution for the interrogative, e.g. *a mōvoā terai roi you here will go*. Questions with the interrogative marker simply require this marker to be removed and an altered intonation in order to become statements. With negative sentences the construction is again identical

with parallel statements, apart from the interrogative marker, e.g. *a terai kao ei? you did not go?* For the future this is: *a levi terai roi ei? will you not go?*. Such negative questions require for an assent the affirmative answer *a yes*.

A real conditional construction has in the apodosis the indefinite future or imperative as may be required. To form the protasis there are two ways, depending upon the presence or absence of the conditional marker *oria*. There is no special context or semantic refinement that calls for one form rather than the other. It may be noted that with form (a) the verb may have either the plain form ending or the ending with *-ta*. With the latter ending there is elision of the final *-a* with the initial *o* of the conditional marker. Using *mapai hear*, we get the following model constructions:-

Form (a), with the conditional marker *oria*; form (b) without:

Positive: <i>if...listen</i>	Negative: <i>if...do/does not listen</i>
(a) <i>mapait' oria, mapai oria..</i>	<i>mapai auke leitit'oria, leiti oria..</i>
(b) <i>mapaita, (a-,)</i>	<i>mapai auke leitita, (a-,)</i>

With a relative verb in the protasis:-

<i>if...person who listens</i>	<i>if...person who does not listen</i>
(a) <i>mapai karu leitit'oria, leiti oria...</i>	<i>mapai auke leitit'oria, leiti oria..</i>
(b) <i>mapai karu leitita, a-,</i>	<i>mapai auke karu leitita, a-,</i>

Form (b) sometimes has the conjunctive *a-* ; this again makes no difference to the meaning.

When expressing unreal conditions the protasis has one or the other of the forms just described. The apodosis, however, has the infinitive verb with *lare*, the unreal conditional marker, in the place of *vei*; i.e. *mapai lare, pei lare, leiti lare, ari lare*. The negative is *levi* preceding the verb, i.e. *levi mapai lare*, etc. Examples of unreal conditions, both positive and negative, can be given from the Oa-Laea myth: *u haura oria, ereuka haipiri koti lare conch-shell straight if,*

they-two slowly come would have; i.e. had the conch-shell sound been prolonged... Lea irave kaekae ere Oa-Laea Seika ve harau taipu la felaukea fareovai auke leit'oria, areve papa arero levi arapai lare, *those boys small they Oa-Laea Junior's rattle bunch (obj.mkr.) undone take-away not had-done-if, his grandfather him not swallow would-have.*

There is a subordinate clause marker that occupies the final position in a manner similar to lare. This is ave, the caution marker *lest*. Like lare this takes the infinitive form of the verb, but with ave in the place of vei. Thus: a eapo leitia, mea opi sisapai, aite aro elave oa sa sukai ave, *you please be-off, early dawn appears, next you our father by meet lest.*

A few adverbs can be formed from adjectives by the use of the suffix -kao, e.g. lekakao *slowly* from lekaleka *slow*, haekao *near* from hōi *near*. The suffix -ri has a more extended use. We find it combining not only with adjectives, but also nouns and demonstratives. Thus: (from adjectives haurori *uprightly*, from haura *straight*; also from hōi, hōiri *near*; (from nouns) mairi *by the hand* or *foreleg*, mai *hand*; (from demonstratives) mōri *like this*, lōri *like that*. A third way of forming adverbs, or rather adverb phrases, is by the use of ita *with*, a phrase resulting because ita is not treated as a suffix. Thus rofo ita *with strength, strongly*. Some words have, however, quite close coalescence; e.g. ara-ita *distance with, at a distance*.

A number of common adverbs do not have these derivational forms, e.g. lavelave *quickly*, utohoa *immediately*. An adverb may therefore be recognised more easily from its position rather than from its form. While on occasion some adverbs take up other positions in a sentence, the position immediately before the verb clearly has preference, whether the verb be finite, relative or converb, e.g. a aite itita soa *you next coming time i.e. when you come the next time..* Should the sentence include an object, the adverb may occasionally take the position before the object. The frequency with which this occurs may be judged from the following: of twenty-three sentences each with object and adverb taken from native texts at random, eighteen had the sequence object-adverb-verb, while five had the object between the adverb and verb.

The beginning of a sentence or clause is another position that an adverb may occupy occasionally, particularly with adverbs of time which take first position when there are two or more adverbs with a single verb. It is usual of an adverb of direction or place to come next, and last of all, so as to be nearest to the verb, an adverb of manner. A combination of three adverbs is, however, most unusual.

To intensify adverbs use is made of the same words that are so used with adjectives. These intensifiers are: rovaea *very*, kofa *truly* and foromai *altogether*; they take the position following the adverb. Thus: ere ofae kuku karu la haekao kofa lariovi itlpe, *they blind person (obj. mkr.) near very (truly) brought*. The adverbial phrase with ita e.g. rofo foromai ita *strength all with*. For the diminution of adverbs the same word is used as for adjectives, i.e. taheka *little*. Thus tola taheka kikiaia *timber a little move*.

The interrogatives may be grouped according to whether they are mainly adjectival in position, or mainly adverbial. The former, as we have seen, is either immediately after or before a noun; the latter immediately before a verb. They all have as base le- which is compounded in various ways. With the adjectivally positioned interrogatives we find leafere *how many/much?*; lekoru *what?*; lea', lera, or lehara, *which?*; and the interrogative pronoun leisa *who?*

The meaning of koru is a *piece* or *lump* of anything. As lekoru is compounded with a noun, we find it with a demonstrative, mea lekoru? *this what?* It can also take the object marker la, e.g. are lekoru la leipea? *he what (obj.mkr.) is-doing*. We find it with the instrumental marker as well; arave lea mora lekoru sa sukai? *my that foot what by pierces?* Usually by what is really the same process that added koru to the interrogative base, we find another noun added; etau lekoru? *thing what?*

The interrogative lera has as a variant lea' /le:a/, the lengthened e serving the same purpose as the added -ra, namely to regularise stress and prevent elision. The two forms have the same meaning, *which?* or *what sort of?*; e.g. are lera (or lea') karu? *he (is) what-sort-of person?* The third variation lehara is used in the same kind of question, but follows the noun instead of preceding it as lera or lea' do. In relative constructions where the verb occupies the position before the noun, we find lehara, e.g. lea kotipeta karu lehara? *that/those coming person/people what-sort of?*

As adverbially positioned interrogatives there are: leavoā *where?*, lea', leafeare, leati *how?*, leasauka *when?*, levea, levei, leve *why?* The first-named is formed from voa the postposition *in, at, to* or *from*, for which see the next section. Of the next three forms, leafeare is from lea'+feare, the latter as a free form being an adjective *like, resembling*. The construction is similar to mōfeare and lōfeare where feare is joined

to the demonstratives. Although normally before a verb, it may appear finally when a suggestion is being made, *how about?* It is then preceded by the relative indefinite form of the verb, e.g. a... mea Orovu mori Harisu mori la laeaite leafeare? *you... this Orovu-Harisu girl (obj.mkr.) marrying how-about?* When used in its more usual position before the verb, there is a plural form heard in greetings. Thus: a leafeare(loi?) *how are you (sing.)?* e leafefeare aipepea? *you (plur.) how are-sitting?* i.e. *how are you?*

Of the other two forms, *lea'* always comes before the verb, often with the auxiliary *loi*, e.g. 'a *lea'* loi *you how do?* i.e. *what are you doing?, what are you up to?* While it has the same general meaning as *lea'*, *leati* may be regarded as a coalescence of *lea'* + *leiti*, and it has a future rather than a present reference, e.g. *ela leati roi? we how do shall? what shall we do?* This is a more general question than would be implied by using *leafeare*, which would indicate that some course of action is in mind, but the manner of doing it is in doubt.

The need to differentiate from the adverbial phrase *lea soa that time, when* (cf. *Orokolo lahoa when?*) is responsible for the form *leasauka*, the *leasauka*, the *-ka* being here the adverbial suffix. As with *leavo* and other interrogatives, *leasauka* can enter into a modifying construction with a noun, which with *leasauka* is *soa* or *mea time*, or *sare day*, e.g. *a soa leasauka teraita? you time when went?*

With *levea*, *leve* or *levei why? for what?* the compound is with *vei*, the postposition *for*. The variant forms are the result of giving varying lengths to the end vowel, and outcome partly of position, and partly through having to distinguish the interrogative from the negative *levi*, which likewise has the position before the verb. In non-verb questions we find *levea*; a *ereukaro levea? you them-two for-what?* i.e. *what do you want with them-two?* With questions containing verbs, *leve* or *levei* precedes the verb, e.g. a *araro leve aitetai kotipea? you me why follow are-coming?* Here the shorter *leve* is the result of elision with the verb, as the following indicates: e *levei haitutu aipea? you why scared are?*

The interrogatives *levea* or *lekoru* form with *ipi base* or *origin* an interrogative phrase, *ipi levea*, or *ipi lekoru*. These have precisely the same meaning, and there is no context that calls for the one rather than the other. When used in the final position *ipi*, being a noun, requires before it an appropriate form of the relative verb, e.g. a *soeaipeta ipi lekoru/levea? you are-running cause what?* i.e. *why are*

you running away? The same phrase may come also before the verb, which then has the finite form, e.g. *a fi ipi levea aipea? you cry cause what are-making?* The *ipi* could here be omitted, and the meaning would not be affected.

The postpositions are four in number: (i) *tai to, motion towards*, used in respect of persons or living creatures only; (ii) *in, at, also to or from* with reference to places; (iii) *ita with, in company with*; (iv) *vei for, on behalf of*. As is implied by their name, postpositions always follow the noun or pronoun. With the exception of *tai*, they enter into a variety of compounds with other classes of words.

As already noted (see p. 323), *tai* requires the object form of the pronoun before it, e.g. *arero tai him to, towards him*. When used with a noun, however, the object marker is not required. The second postposition *voa* is used instead of *tai* in respect of places, e.g. *are miri voa isai, he beach to is-gone*.

The third postposition *ita* has already found mention in a number of connections: (a) in non-verb sentence construction (p. 312); (b) as a plural suffix with nouns (p. 320); (c) with pronouns, dual and first person inclusive (p. 322); and with (d) adverbs (p. 335). Its importance morphologically is obscured in Toaripi by its having also the form *ia*, which tends to coalesce when used as an infix or suffix. If Orokolo, Sepoe and other comparative data be also considered, the extent of *ita*'s morphological ramifications can be better appreciated. We find it used with verbs to mark tense, aspect and mood. From the Orokolo forms it is possible to identify also the suffix *-ria* with numerical adjectives (see p. 325) as being *ila* or *ita*.

That the fourth postposition *vei* is really a primary compound can be seen from the Orokolo forms, *v'ila* or *ve i*. In origin *vei* is *ve+ita* or *ia*, the *ve* being the demonstrative *me*. We see the reason for the lengthened form *veia*, heard in pauses; it is then assuming its full form. It enters into phrases with pronouns and nouns, e.g. *ara vei for me, on my behalf*. These may come before or after the verb, e.g. *lea marisa Pipi vei fi ope, or fi ope Pipi vei, those girls Pipi for cried*.

To confirm our understanding of *vei* as being the demonstrative *me+ia*, there is another compound *laita*, which is *la+ita that/those with*, e.g. *lea heavita vei meru etau laita maravi teraia that man for gift things those-with get go*. The demonstrative *lea* enters into a phrase with *vei*, i.e. *lea vei on that account, because of that*. Subordinate clauses of reason introduced by *ipi cause, reason*, are concluded by *lea vei, or,*

what is really a variant of it, *eavia*. In such a construction the appropriate form of the relative verb is used before *eavia* or *lea vei*, e.g. *ipi ara eka leipeta eavia because I sick am on that account*.

With *voa* there are a number of postpositional phrases, such as *aite voa behind*, (of time) *later*; *arori voa on the top, over*; *haekao voa near*; *ipi voa at the bottom*; *iri voa inside*; *pisiri voa in the open, outside*. These phrases may have final position after the verb, but usually take the adverbial position before it, e.g. *Pipi Korovu-apo are arori voa aiseseiape Pipi Korovu he top on was-sitting*.

The class of words called here 'conjunctions' is made up of the following four words: *a-*, *but, however*; *aea and*; *ta also*; and the paragraph marker *soka so, well*. Other words such as *ita* are employed to link together words and clauses, but as they have other functions they are not included here. The four listed here are not exclusively conjunctions, but this is their main function.

After *a-*, there is a distinct pause; hence its representation in the graphological system, e.g. *are tivi ore, a-, are soa foromai eka lei vovea he work knowledge (has), but he time all sick is always*. For example of the use of *aea* and *ta*, see p.314.

The remaining conjunction *soka* is used also as an exclamation meaning *enough!, that'll do!*. It seems strange that such an exclamation should function also as a conjunction. It contrasts, however, with another mode for linking sentences. This is by means of the *converb*. If a sentence continues with the thought of the one preceding it, the finite verb with which the first sentence terminates is repeated in *converb* form to open the new sentence. Should it have a new turn of thought, then *soka* introduces the new sentence. This is well illustrated in the following taken from the *Eare-Marai* myth: *Eare patei Marai ve Lautu oroti evoe voa forea au avōpe. Avi... Eare went up Marai's Flame-tree canoe stern at boarded sat down. On sitting down... With this compare: Marai... karikara voa maea lei.pe. Soka Ma-iri karu arero taiape Marai... village towards set off. Well, Sea-depths people him were-waiting*. In this second sentence attention is turned to another subject and place. Hence *soka*, which in effect said *enough!* to what had preceded it.

8.16. Sepoe

This in Ray (1907) is called 'Lepu', a name that is quite unknown locally; I have therefore not continued with it. Pryce Jones (MSS.) at the time when Ray first used it, hazarded the opinion that it was a

misunderstanding of 'Levo', a name used for the Sepoe by their eastern Roro neighbours at Kivori and Waima. This 'Levo' is, of course, a variation of 'Elema', with the initial vowel omitted. All their Eleman neighbours to the west use the name 'Sepoe' when referring to the people of this sub-tribe; it seems the obvious name to use for the dialect also.

As the medium for literacy, Toaripi has influenced Sepoe considerably. All the Sepoe people can speak Toaripi. On several occasions when collecting dictionary material I have been given a form identical with the Toaripi, only to discover on further enquiry a separate Sepoe word. The people of Rove (near Cape Possession) however, are less influenced by the Toaripi speech.

Sepoe shows 87% vocabulary agreement with Toaripi, 79% with Kaiipi, and 63% with Orocolo on the basis of the 112 words listed in Appendix H (pp.579-585).

8.16.1. Phonology

Both consonant and vowel phonemes in Sepoe have the same range as in Toaripi. There is therefore no need to repeat what has already been given under that heading. What is, however, distinctive about Sepoe phonology is the intonation pattern. In the pitch contour the high pitch of a Sepoe phrase is reached somewhat earlier than in other forms of Eleman speech. Thus: *Lea lariatou araro tai ovi ukoti arava hiake ero aviatai lei* /²lealàrietáú árarotái+ òviukòit^{*} 2aràvahiake+ èroavíáralleí /. A further characteristic feature of the intonation pattern is that a Sepoe interrogative has a rising terminal: e.g. Toaripi: *ipi levea?* /²ìpìlevéá /; Sepoe: *ipi ievi?* /²ìpì³iévi /. A similar pattern is found with the imperative, and here again there is contrast with Toaripi e.g. Toaripi: *a uvi voa pataia* /²a:uvi+vòə pə³táíə /; Sepoe: *a uvi voa patati* /²a:uvivòə+ pətáti³ /, *you house to ascend*.

There is some agreement, as against Toaripi, between Sepoe and Orocolo. The sound change rule two, in which preceding a final syllable the /t/ in Toaripi becomes /l/ (or r) applies to Sepoe as well as Orocolo: e.g. Toaripi: *afutae*, Sepoe: *afulae* *ashes*; Toaripi: *heavita*, Sepoe: *heavila* *man*; Toaripi: *saruta*, Sepoe: *sarula* *lice*. It does not invariably occur. Thus Toaripi: *faita* *night*, should be **faira*; instead we find agreement with Toaripi. Possibly we have here a borrowing from Toaripi.

8.16.2. Grammar

The subject marker *va*. Agreement between Sepoe and Orokolo, together with the related dialects of the latter, is to be seen also in the subject marker *va*. This is found in these forms of Eleman only, and thus contrasts with the object marker *la* which is present throughout. For the derivation of the subject and object markers, see p. 318 (a). In Sepoe, however, the use of the subject marker is much more restricted than in Orokolo, for it appears only with certain pronouns as a tied form, *arava*, *ava*, etc., and never with nouns.

Pronouns. The subject personal pronouns in Sepoe are given in Table 9, with the emphatic forms, used when the pronouns are alone, given in brackets:

Table 9

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Sing.	<i>arava</i> (<i>arao</i>)	<i>ava</i> (<i>ao</i>)	<i>areva</i> (<i>areo</i>)
Dual.	<i>elaka</i> -	<i>euka</i> -	<i>ereuka</i> -
Plur.	(exclus.) <i>elava</i> (<i>elao</i>) (inclus.) <i>hia</i> (<i>hiao</i>)	<i>eva</i> (<i>eo</i>)	<i>ereva</i> (<i>ereo</i>)

Personal Pronouns

A comparison shows that with one exception the forms are identical with Toaripi if the subject marker be removed. Again with that one exception, the emphatic forms agree with Toaripi. The exception is the inclusive first person plural, *hia* (*hiao*). This in Toaripi is *ereita*, made up, as the Orokolo form *elaviila* indicates, of *ela+ita*, *we with*. The Sepoe: *hia* is simply the latter part of this compound in its shortened form *ia*, and aspirated to identify it. Not infrequently one hears this aspirate omitted, particularly with the emphatic form.

The object forms of the pronouns are formed by adding to the stems the object marker in the form of *-ro*, i.e. *araro*, *aro*, *arero*, *elakaro*, *hiaro*, etc. In a similar manner, in this case identical with both Toaripi and Orokolo the genitive is formed by adding to the stems the genitive marker *-ve*; *arave*, *ave areve*, *elakave*, *hiave*, etc.

Demonstratives and Adjectives. In form and in their functioning with noun and with verbs to mark phase, modify tense, and with coordinate constructions, as well as in their use as adverbs, demonstratives in Sepoe agree with the demonstratives as found in Toaripi.

Similarly with adjectives, although they may differ in form, in the position a given adjective may occupy, and whether it is marked for number, there is a close parallel with Toaripi, e.g. Toaripi: karu rovaea, Sepoe: karu oaharo *big person*; Toaripi: karu metameta, Sepoe: karu oaharofafa *big persons*.

Verbs. The verb system in Sepoe shows a close parallel with that found in Toaripi as regards number, tense, aspect and mood, although there is variation in form. Some affinity with Orokolo is revealed by these variations. For examples, see below and the comparative paradigms at the end of this chapter.

A comparison of the stative verbs as found in Toaripi with those found in Sepoe reveals several differences. Instead of them being seven, there are but six, for Toaripi: moea which in that language somewhat strangely combines the two meanings of *be inside* (a container) and *to float*, is shown to be a derivative form from vo+eaea *in lie*. Another stative verb, vea or mea with plural roa, although present in Sepoe is never used as a finite verb, but only to mark for aspect. Thus Toaripi: a leavoā meita? *where have you been?* becomes in Sepoe: ava iote kaeavila? with kaeai *move around* as the verb base and vila (= meita) as the suffix.

The present continuous has -pea as in Toaripi, e.g. Toaripi: la leipea = Sepoe: la leitapea; cf. Orokolo sing. leive, plur. leiro. For the frequentative remote past Sepoe uses vea, and as a result this form has a plural with roa, e.g. Sepoe: ovapaiivilipe (sing.), ovapairoōpe (plur.); cf. Toaripi: mapaiape *used to listen*. In this Sepoe shows agreement with Orokolo. The frequent recent past, which using the auxiliary as an example, is Toaripi: leivota, Sepoe: leivovila, Orokolo: leivila (sing.) leilula (plur.), shows an approximation in form between Orokolo and Sepoe, but leivovila being unmarked for number, the agreement in this respect is with Toaripi. See the comparative paradigms for further examples.

The two auxiliaries found in Toaripi, loi and auai, occur also in Sepoe. Instead of the form Toaripi: auai we find Sepoe: opua, and for sauai Sepoe: sopua. In this Sepoe form the verb stem is o, which appears elsewhere as ō or a, e.g. the habitual ō vovela; the frequent recent

past has ovovila (= o+vo+vila). The addition of -pua presumably from the auxiliary of totality, is to ensure the identity of the form. For the same reason Toaripi prefixes au- to the stem ai. Although both auxiliaries are present, there is some variation in their use. Thus Toaripi: eroa sauai *be hungry*, becomes in Sepoe: utihoā loi, although eroa is also heard on occasion in Sepoe speech, in which case it has sopua as the auxiliary. Yet another word itoro *proclamation*, identical in both Toaripi and Sepoe, has auai in Toaripi, but in Sepoe it is itoro loi. The auxiliary of totality Toaripi: puavai, when used as such, has the form puai. The imperative for this, used in farewells, i.e. Toaripi: ava puavaia, Sepoe: avi puai, does not conform with the usual Sepoe imperative which terminates in -ti (see paradigm).

Apart from the frequentative remote past, number with verbs has none of the complications found in Orokolo, the pattern here being in general agreement with Toaripi and Kaipi. Such verbs as have plural forms are fewer in Sepoe than they are in Toaripi or Kaipi, e.g. sing. Toaripi: iavai, Kaipi: uia; plur. Toaripi: iroropai, Kaipi: uovai; Sepoe: iavai (sing. and plur.) *lie down*. On occasion when it is necessary to have a plural form, the auxiliary of totality puai is used, and it appears somewhat more freely than in Toaripi, e.g. sing. (Toaripi and Sepoe) faukai; plur. Toaripi: fafukai, Sepoe: faukapuai *descend*.

The relative verb has in Sepoe the same position and function as in other forms of Eleman speech. By the operation of the sound change rule mentioned above, the ending of the indefinite and habitual relative becomes -ila instead of the Toaripi: -ita, e.g. Toaripi: mapaita karu, Sepoe: ovapaila karu *listening man, hearer*. This does not, however, bring the Sepoe form in line with Orokolo, -ki being the relative indefinite ending in that language; thus: iapaki haela *hearer*. Similarly the relative present continuous ending -pela has a closer connection with Toaripi: -peta than with the Orokolo: -vila, the reason for this being that Orokolo, like Kaipi, employs -vea to form the relative present continuous, instead of -pea as found in Toaripi and Sepoe.

In the manner of making negative a verb phrase Sepoe reveals a closer conformity to Toaripi than to Orokolo, although the Sepoe negative marker is practically identical with the Orokolo: aue, e.g. the relative indefinite negative Toaripi: mapai auke leita karu, Sepoe: ovapai ue loila karu, cf. Orokolo: iapaki aue haela *person who does not listen*. Agreement with Toaripi is also shown in the finite past and present negative being combined in a single form, e.g. Toaripi: leiti kao,

Sepoe: leiti kau. This contrasts with Orokolo which combines the present and future with lei va ka. For the future negatives Sepoe has ievi in the place of Toaripi: levi. Thus Toaripi: are havou levi leiti roi, Sepoe: are tola ievi leiti lei, *he will not play games.*

The Sepoe negative present continuous has the unusual suffix -ili, e.g. areva au ukotili ue *he has not come yet.* For this the Toaripi is: are kotia kao. Despite their differences, Sepoe: -ili and Toaripi: -ia share a like origin from -ila or -ita, the final vowel of the former being changed to -i apparently as a result of the influence of the vowel in the preceding syllable, while Toaripi: ia is the shortened form of ita.

The negative marker kau, or more emphatically kakou (= Toaripi: kasirau), is used to express the absence of a quality or thing, e.g. arava lea la voa patati ore kakou *I that coconut ascend ability none, i.e. I cannot climb that coconut.* Here, as in Toaripi: ore is a noun *ability, knowledge,* and patati relative future.

The Sepoe conditional forms need not detain us long, for they agree fairly closely with the Toaripi, except that the negatives are ue and ievi in the place of Toaripi: auke and levi. Thus for an example of a real conditional construction, eva arave o ovapati uorei, te arero omoiti, *you my word hear if, go him tell.* For an unreal conditional: eva uavila metahua uorei, eva arave o ovapailatila, *you people good if, you my word would-have-listened-to.*

Adverbs. Although there are other possible positions for adverbs, the preferred position is immediately before the verb. In this Sepoe conforms to the general Eleman pattern. This applies to the relative as well as the finite forms of the verb, e.g. euka foulo teraipela ipi ieve? *you-two now going reason what-for? = why are you two going now?* In this example as in Toaripi, ipi *reason* is a noun, and it has before it the relative verb as modifier.

Interrogatives. In the Toaripi section interrogatives are divided into two groups: (a) those mainly adjectival in position and (b) those whose position is mainly adverbial. The same grouping and their Toaripi equivalents is given in Table 10.

Table 10

Mainly Adjectival			Mainly Adverbial		
English	Sepoe	Toaripi	English	Sepoe	Toaripi
<i>how many?</i>	iofere	leafere	<i>where?</i>	iote, iotei, iotao	leavoa
<i>much</i>			<i>how?</i>	iofeare, iota	lea', leafeare leati
<i>what?</i>	larievu	lekoru	<i>when?</i>	leasauka	leasauka
<i>who?</i>	aia	leisa	<i>why?</i>	(ipi) ievi	(ipi) levea

Ray (1907), whose informant in this respect was Holmes, gives somewhat different forms. These are in some cases older words recorded before Sepoe had been influenced by Toaripi, e.g. iosauka for leasauka. When allowance is made for this influence it is clear that Sepoe: io or ie was the original interrogative base, equivalent to Toaripi: le. The only other form of Eleman speech to show resemblance to Sepoe in this respect is Keuru with hoila for aia *who?*; Namau has oiana *how?* The fere in iofere would seem to be in imitation of Toaripi Ray gives ioroioro, where the -ro is possibly the demonstrative lo *that*. In iotao or iote, the tao or tei may be understood as the postposition tai, used here instead of voa.

Postpositions. The four simple postpositions found in Toaripi i.e. tai, voa, ita and vei, appear in Sepoe with unchanged form except for ita, which becomes ila, as in Orokolo. In their position and function they show no difference from Toaripi. There is, however, one small variance with voa. This has, as in Toaripi the meaning of *at* or *in*, and like Toaripi is used with verbs of motion, when it means *towards*, *to*. When the meaning is *into*, Sepoe adds iri, *in*, thus using a postpositional phrase in place of the simple form, e.g. Sepoe: hia fareholia kasu iri voa ukavai lei, Toaripi: ereita farehoria oru oti voa kavai roi, *we together garden (place) (in) to go shall*. With this cf. Sepoe: elaka miri voa ievi itai lei; Toaripi: elaka miri voa levi isai roi, *we beach to not go shall*. Like Toaripi, Sepoe employs tai *to* when speaking of persons, but voa when a place is named. Thus in contrast to the example

just given: Sepoe: arava arave lou tai te, areva lariatou araro aviarai lei; this in Toaripi is ara arave lou tai te, are lariatou araro miarai roi, *I'll go to my mother, she will give me food.*

Sepoe postpositional compound and phrases agree closely with Toaripi. A compound with tai has already found mention under interrogatives, *iotei where?*, and in this there is one variation from Toaripi which has tai in simple form only.

8.17. Orokolo

Ray (1905) uses the name Elema. This, as has been mentioned earlier is a name of more general reference. Williams (1940) uses the name Orokolo, and this is the name in local use for the people and language here described. Apart from Ray's brief notes and the vocabularies to which he makes reference, nothing has been published about the language. As Ray pointed out, structurally the language shows close agreement with Toaripi. For the sake of brevity we shall follow closely the order of the Toaripi section, and our main concern will be to draw attention to ways in which Orokolo differs from Toaripi.

Orokolo shows 61% vocabulary agreement with Toaripi and 63% with Sepoe on the basis of the 112 words listed in Appendix H.

8.17.1. Phonology

The six vowel phonemes are /i, e, a, o, ɔ, u/. Although present in the language /ɔ/ has been ignored in the graphological system, except for a few words where it is represented by ā, e.g. āra /ɔrə/, (i) *shout* (ii) *fence*; cf. ara /arə/ *sore*. Apart from /ɔ/ being less prominent in Orokolo than it is in Toaripi, the vowel phonemes show close agreement. Diphthongs and vowel clusters are as described for Toaripi.

If introduced words be set aside, together with the allophones of /m/ and of /l/, there are in Orokolo six consonant phonemes: /h, k, l, m, p, t/. It is with the consonants that we find the major differences between Orokolo and Toaripi phonemic systems. These differences have considerable regularity, and it is possible to formulate rules for second change to cover a wide range of vocabulary.

The three voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ are as in Toaripi. There is, however, considerable variation in the use of /t/ in Orokolo as compared with Toaripi. Leaving aside introduced words such as *tehorō hair oil*, /t/ is found only with /i/ and /a/ or its allophones, whereas

in Toaripi /t/ is associated with any vowel. The result of this limitation is shown in the following percentages. Taking a modified Swadesh list as the basis, and reckoning the total number of consonant phonemes used as 100%, we get for /t/ 1.05% in Orokolo as against 10.8% in Toaripi.

Sound Change Rule 1: Cognate words with an initial /t/ in Toaripi, or with a /t/ preceded only by a vowel, are replaced by /k/ in Orokolo.

Table 11

English	Toaripi	Orokolo	English	Toaripi	Orokolo
<i>bone</i>	uti	uki	<i>senior</i>	toare	koare
<i>fishscale</i>	tete	keke	<i>leaves</i>	tolatola	korokoro
<i>again</i>	aeata	aeaka	<i>theft</i>	torea	korea
<i>tooth</i>	tao	kao	<i>thundering</i>	tutururu	kukururu

Examples of Rule 1

Sound Change Rule 2: Preceding a final syllable the /t/ in Toaripi becomes /l/ (or r) in Orokolo. The Sepoe forms suggest that here it is Toaripi which has made the change from the original Eleman phoneme.

Table 12

English	Toaripi	Orokolo	Sepoe
<i>son</i>	atute	akore	atule
<i>after</i>	aite	aire	aila
<i>Flame tree</i>	lauta	laura	laura
<i>pig</i>	ita	ila	ila
<i>hole</i>	uta	ura	ura

Examples of Rule 2

An exception to the above rule is seen in Toaripi: *itoro*, Orokolo: *iroro proclamation*, but for this Sepoe has *itoro*, agreeing with Toaripi.

The two languages share a difficulty in the representation of the one voiced fricative, articulated bilabially, which is commonly nasalised when in an initial position, but not elsewhere. Because of this the phoneme has in both Toaripi and Orokolo two allographs, *m* and *v*. Occasionally it has been interpreted in Orokolo as a voiced bilabial stop, and a further allograph *b* has been used for a few words; e.g. *burava* for *mulava bite* in the translation of Genesis 3.15.

It is with the voiceless fricatives that there is the greatest deviation between the phonemic systems of the two languages, in that /f/ and /s/, present in Toaripi are absent in Orokolo. Cognate words in Orokolo have instead the oral fricative /h/. This results in the Orokolo vocabulary being heavily overweighted with this phoneme as compared with Toaripi. By working on the same basis as we did with /t/, we get for the oral fricative 21.37 in Orokolo as compared with 5.2% in Toaripi. It may be mentioned at this point that other consonant phonemes show close agreement in their frequency, i.e. /p/, /l/, and /m/, for which the percentages respectively are in Orokolo, 5.29, 33.82, and 19.45, compared with Toaripi, 5.4, 32, and 19.45.

It is possible at this point to formulate two more sound change rules:

Sound Change Rule 3: The phonemes /f/ and /s/ in Toaripi become /h/ in Orokolo, except for /s/ as described in Rule 4. There are numerous examples:

Table 13

English	Toaripi	Orokolo	English	Toaripi	Orokolo
<i>cry</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>sour</i>	<i>sisia</i>	<i>hihia</i>
<i>portion</i>	<i>firu</i>	<i>hiru</i>	<i>mildew</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>hiri</i>
<i>unbind</i>	<i>felaukeai</i>	<i>helauka</i>	<i>sugar cane</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>ahe</i>
<i>betel-nut</i>	<i>fere</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>thin</i>	<i>seseroro</i>	<i>heheroro</i>
<i>open</i>	<i>fapai</i>	<i>hapa</i>	<i>sun, day</i>	<i>sare</i>	<i>hare</i>
<i>story</i>	<i>fari</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>sorcery</i>	<i>sarea</i>	<i>harea</i>
<i>appear</i>	<i>forerai</i>	<i>horera</i>	<i>knife</i>	<i>soi</i>	<i>hoi</i>
<i>breathe</i>	<i>fofoai</i>	<i>hohoa</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>soa</i>	<i>hoa</i>
<i>pus</i>	<i>furi</i>	<i>huri</i>	<i>pigeon</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>hua</i>
<i>ashes</i>	<i>afutae</i>	<i>ahurae</i>	<i>plank</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>huhu</i>

Examples of Rule 3

Sound Change Rule 4: Where in Toaripi /s/ is preceded by a stressed /i/, /ai/ or /ae/ and followed by /ə/, it is replaced by /t/ in Orokolo. At this point there is close agreement between Sepoe and Orokolo.

Table 14

English	Toaripi	Orokolo	Sepoe
<i>arrow</i>	farisa	harita	farita
<i>girls</i>	marisa	marita	moritera
<i>paddle</i>	taisa	kaita	taita
<i>dish</i>	saesa	haita	saita

Examples of Rule 4

The nasal /m/ has been shown to be a sub-member with /v/ of one phoneme. The other nasal /n/ can also be classed with /l/ and /r/ as a sub-member of another phoneme. There is at this point a slight difference between Toaripi and Orokolo. In the former language all the words represented by the grapheme n are all loan-words from Motu or English (see pp.306-7). In Orokolo, Motu: *nao foreign* has assumed the form *laho foreign*. Other introduced words that use the grapheme n, i.e. *nanikosi goat*, generally have the n nasalised. There are also in Orokolo a few words of 'native' origin in which the n is generally nasalised; e.g. *naoae without due consideration, at random*, used both adverbially (= Toaripi: *auraka*) and to modify nouns (= Toaripi: *merava*). Although Orokolo /n/ may be regarded as an allophone of /l/, it does seem to have a more assured place in the Orokolo phonemic system than it does in Toaripi.

Although there are many words with /p/ that appear without change in both Toaripi and Orokolo, there is a small group of words in Toaripi with unstressed initial syllable with /p/ that has in Orokolo /m/ or /h/ instead. These words being few, there is hardly need to formulate a rule, but it may be noted that if the vowel be /æ/ the /p/ becomes /m/. With /i/ or /o/ we find /h/. No instances occur with /e/. Of the two instances with /u/, Orokolo has one /mu-/ and one /hi-/. The Sepoe equivalents *mulovi bite* and *miloi fall*, as well as *Kaipī: mucovai* and *micoi*, support /mu-/. (Kaipi c = [tʃ]).

Table 15

English	Toaripi	Orokolo	English	Toaripi	Orokolo
<i>naked</i>	paseare	maheare	<i>outside</i>	pisiri	hihi
<i>heavy</i>	pasou	mehau	<i>midnight</i>	apisi	ahihi
<i>stingray</i>	pasuka	mahuka	<i>famine</i>	posera	hohera
<i>bite</i>	putavai	mulava	<i>fall</i>	putoi	hilo
			<i>waterpot</i>	posu	hahu

Additional Sound Changes

Other types of change concern isolated words only, some of which also show phonemic change of one or another of the types already described. Thus Toaripi: tupe becomes kue in Orokolo *source*, and Toaripi: koru assume the form kou *star*. As examples of prosthesis we find Toaripi: sia, Orokolo: ahita *sneeze*, and Toaripi: vuopai, Orokolo: aivaopa *put inside* (box, etc.). There are a few instances of metathesis: e.g. Toaripi: ōsa, Orokolo: aho *side of face*; Toaripi: oti, Orokolo: ita *place*, and Toaripi: pailalaeai, Orokolo: lalaeapa *shake out or off*.

In stress, juncture, and intonation Orokolo is in agreement with Toaripi.

8.17.2. Grammar

In syntactic constructions Orokolo and Toaripi have a common pattern. Similarly in sentence structure, what has been written about Toaripi applies also to Orokolo (see pp.309-312). In any of the examples given throughout those pages, if the required vocabulary change be made, the sentence will generally assume the Orokolo pattern. Thus: uvi ma, *this (is a) house*; la haela va aheke iele havahu *that person* (subject marker) *strong truly indeed*. For the subject marker va, see below under demonstratives. Some of the examples require very little in the way of vocabulary change; ara la haela haveva ore *I that person ignorant know*.

With sentences with verbs the order is S O V, although occasionally for emphasis this may become O S V; e.g. arero ara le harilai *him I then kill-shall*. With an indirect object (R), the order is S O R V, as in Toaripi. Interrogative sentences have the order O S V, or O R S V, if

there be an indirect object; *ma oharo aro leita laila? this word to-you who said?*. All this is in agreement with Toaripi. It will perhaps suffice if this section be concluded with the Orokololo for the final example given in Toaripi on p. 316. *Ereari aloa ve eavape hoa Pipi Korovu va akea ve titaveape, they-two upwards looked time Pipi Korovu* (subject marker) *top on was-settled*.

Demonstratives. The initial consonants for the demonstratives are m/v- and l/r-, as in Toaripi. There are, however, variations in the vowels used with these consonants.

(1) with the vowel -a, with nouns or nominally.

(a) as determiners before nouns; *ma this/these, la that/those* e.g. *ma eharu this/these thing(s)*.

(b) as nominals in subject position, e.g. *ma va arave this* (subject marker) *mine*; *la va areve that* (subject marker) *his*.

(c) as nominals in predicative position: *mae*, occasionally *ma*; *lae* occasionally *la*; e.g. *are mae he this/here*, i.e. *he is here*.

(2) again with the vowel -a; for adverbial functions.

(a) with the adverbial suffix -ri; *mari this like, lari that like*. This *mari* is used to introduce direct speech; e.g. *are mari ape... he this-like said..* Both *mari* and *lari* are used with the auxiliary *lai*, *mari lai, lari lai, like-this do, like-that do*, e.g. *are mai lari leipe la hoa... he way like-that acted that time..* They may be used also with verbs generally.

(b) with the postposition *ve* (= Toaripi: *voa*); *mave here, lave there*; or more usually with *ita place*, abbreviated to *ia*. Thus *maia this place, laia that place*.

(c) A repeated *...la ...la* is used with *vea state of being*, to form a verb-demonstrative phrase, e.g. *aula-kela vea*, from *au go* and (e) *ke come*, hence, *move to-and-fro*.

(3) with -e to modify tense, or with demonstrative force. There is a limited use with the present tense, usually in greetings, e.g. *a ka ve hela vea ve you also here (ve) may-we-say (hela) are here*.

With the remote past (= Toaripi: *reha*), but in Orokololo the *le* precedes the verb. Its meaning is *thereupon, then*; e.g. *kahara oa le hoaupe well, father thereupon went-down*. The demonstrative *le* is not used with the recent past as in Toaripi. Instead we find a frequent use with the continuous forms ending in -ve (sing.) and -ro (plur.). The addition of *le* results in the verb having a past instead of a present reference.

To give an example from the Pipi Korovu myth: *are va hai le paraeaive he* (subject marker) *pepper-catkins then was-let-falling*. Without the *le*, or with *me* instead of *le*, the meaning would be *is-let-falling*.

This *le* may also appear with the future form of the verb. It implies that the action of the verb it introduces will follow immediately, and thus = *thereupon*. It can also be used to give a past setting to a future verb form. Thus, from the same myth as before: *ahoa la kiapakila la hoa ve mea lalou le orakilai, sea was-calm that time at cumulus clouds thereupon would form*.

(4) with *-a* as function words.

(a) with nouns, noun phrases and pronouns, *ma* in the form *va* is used as the subject marker. Similarly the demonstrative *la*, or with pronouns *-ro*, is the object marker.

(b) with verbs: *la* distinguishes the following forms of the verb; for our example we use *iapa hear*: the immediate future *la iapakilai about to hear*, the simple recent past, *la iapaila heard*, the frequentative remote past, *la iapailape used to hear*, and the relative frequentative recent past *la iapakila was hearing...*

(c) In the final position following the verb, *la* is the possibility marker *perhaps*. In Toaripi this is *varo*, but whereas *varo* is used only with the relative indefinite, the Orokolo: *la* may be used with the present continuous, with the habitual, and with the relative present continuous, e.g. *are haropavila ita mae la he was-seeking place here perhaps*.

Nouns. Compound nouns in Orokolo follow the same pattern as that in Toaripi, i.e. noun + adjective, or more commonly noun + noun, e.g. *horova eharu work thing, tool, uvi haela member of household*. In such compounds the second is the more important component, so that if the positions be reversed, as is sometimes possible, the meaning becomes changed accordingly, e.g. *uvi horova buidling work* and *horova uvi work building, workshop*.

Although some different terms are used, *mea* for *male*, *abu* for immature female, *lou* for full-grown female, gender in Orokolo follows a similar pattern to that found in Toaripi (see p. 319). Similarly with number; there are a few words that have reduplicated forms to denote plurality. Such words are: *vila-ipi, vila-ipipi clan(s)*; *hoa, hoahoa occasion(s)*; *hiru, hiruhiru piece(s)*; *ukai, ukaiukai side(s)*; *eharu, eharuharu thing(s)*. Such words have plural forms also in Toaripi. A few

others with plural forms in Orokololo but not in Toaripi are: hauka, hahauka *bundle(s)*, ikiheroe, ikiheheroe *favor(s)*, oharo, oharoharo *word(s)*. Two other words may perhaps be regarded as coming within the special class of terms of relationship mentioned below: ave, avita *dog(s)* and ila, ilaita *pig(s)*.

Although nouns in general are unmarked for number, there is, as in Toaripi, a special class of nouns that have plural forms throughout. These are terms of relationship, and they form the plural by adding -ula, -hula, -ita, or -ila. Thus: vilari vilari-ula *ancestor(s)*; evera, everahula *son(s)* or *daughter(s) in-law*; arivu, arivuhula *sister's son(s)*; mari, marita *daughter(s)*; uva, uavila *wife, wives*.

The subject, object and genitive markers. With the exception of the subject marker which is lacking in Toaripi, these markers are identical in form and function in Orokololo as in Toaripi. We shall turn our attention to the subject marker. In its mode of use this subject marker parallels that of the object marker. With pronouns it is much in evidence, although it is not invariably used, as in Sepoe. With nouns and noun phrases it is used only when it is necessary clearly to indicate the subject. Its use had already been demonstrated in various examples given under other headings, e.g. pp. 350-1 and 352. A further example may perhaps be given to demonstrate how it can mark a word group as subject. Thus ara e ia hareho aeavila hare va leavaila ha? *I you with together being days (subject marker) how many eh?*

Although sa the instrumental marker is not found in Orokololo as a free form, traces of its presence can be seen there. In Toaripi: sa coalesces with auai to form sauai (see pp.328-9). Other Toaripi verbs also show signs of a similar coalescence, e.g. saroroapai *destroy*, from sa + roroapai. By sound change rule 3 (see p. 348) sa becomes ha. We find the counterpart of sauai in Orokololo: hara, which is ha+ara. Other Orokololo verbs have evidently coalesced with ha-, e.g. hakurepa *leave, quit*; hakilea *stir up, incite*, from kilea *instruct*, and hamurea *separate, portion out*, from murea *count*. The result of this prefixing of ha- is that the verbs themselves are considered to include in their meaning *with* or *by*, e.g. haroroa *to rub with*, from roroa *rub*; thus pikuru haroroa *rub with mud*. That this ha- is in origin the instrumental marker is demonstrated by the form of the simple recent past of this verb. With the verb form marker la requiring the position immediately before the verb, the form becomes halaroraila (= ha+la+roroaila).

Table 16

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Singular	ara	a	are
Dual	elalila	earila, eari, ari	erearila, ereari, ari
with subj. marker	elavaiila	evarila, evari	erevarila, erevari
Plural (exclus.)	ela	e	ere
(inclus.)	elaviila		

Pronoun Forms

A Comparison with the Toaripi pronouns given on p.321 with Table 16 will show that all the singular and plural forms, with the exception of the inclusive first person plural, are identical in the two languages. With the dual forms, however, there is extraordinary diversity, the second and third person each having no less than five variants, all of which may be found in the Pipi Korovu myth. These variants are best understood by dealing with their formation step by step. It should first be noted that, as in Toaripi, the plural forms are the bases for the dual. For the next step there is ari, which like Toaripi: *auka couple*, can be used to substitute for the second and third person dual. Thus: ari eapai la lei avikiaraila *you-two food (object marker) make give-to (me)*, and ari hahu la kairi le aupe, *they-two water-pot (object marker) took then went*.

Like *auka*, ari may not be used to substitute for the first person dual. To distinguish the second from the third person, the appropriate plural form is joined to ari, thus forming eari and ereari. Up to this point Orokolo and Toaripi have been in agreement. But Orokolo goes further by the addition of the subject marker, and thus makes a further set of variants; i.e. evari, and erevari. As a final step Orokolo adds -ila (= Toaripi: ita). This is added also to the first person plural ela, plus -l- possibly to prevent elision. Thus we have elalila, and with the subject marker elavaiila for the first person dual. The second and third person gain two further variants each by suffixing -ila to the forms with and without the subject marker, i.e. earila, evarila, and erearila, erevarila. The form that lacks the va is taken as the base on

which to add the object or the genitive marker.

For the object or genitive forms of the pronouns the object marker *la* or *-ro*, the genitive marker *ve* is used. This is as in *Toaripi*, and here again we get forms identical in both languages for the singular and plural, except for the inclusive first person plural, i.e. *elaviilara* and *elaviila-ve*. There is however considerable variation with the dual which becomes: (first person) *elalilara*, *elalilave*; (second person) *earilara*, *earilave*; (third person) *erearilara*, *erearilave*.

The object form of the pronoun is used, as in *Toaripi*, before the postposition *kai* (= *Toaripi*: *tai*) *to*, *motion towards*; e.g. *arero kai to him*. With a noun in this same position the object marker is never added, however, In this there is also agreement with *Toaripi*.

The interrogative *leita who?*, may also be classed as a pronoun. The base here is clearly *lei*, as in *Toaripi*, but with *-ta*, a variant of *ila with*, instead of *sa*. For the object form we find *leira*, and for the genitive *leita-ve*. These forms are doubtless to guard against confusion with *lei*, from the auxiliary *lai*, for *leila* is a form of the imperative, and *leive* the continuous singular, *leiro* the plural forms of *lai*. This interrogative pronoun takes the position immediately before the verb, e.g. *ma eharu leita la hararuaila? this thing who has-damaged?*

Adjectives. There is close conformity between *Orokolo* and *Toaripi* in the position of adjectives. One that precedes the noun in *Toaripi* will be found to do this also in *Orokolo*; or if in the more normal position after the noun, the *Orokolo* counterpart will also have such a position. A few adjectives may precede or follow the noun; the two languages conform in this also. The only exception is *Orokolo*: *uku some*, which may precede or follow, e.g. *uku haela* or *haela uku*. The *Toaripi*: *hea some* may only follow the noun.

Similarly when the negative *Orokolo*: *aue*, *Toaripi*: *auke* is placed after an adjective to denote absence of a quality, both languages reverse the basic adjectival pattern and place the negative adjective phrase before the noun, e.g. *heaha aue eharu bad not thing*, *Toaripi*: *maealolo auke etau*. With this cf. *eharu heaha thing bad*.

Although they are generally unmarked for number, the few common adjectives in *Orokolo* that have plural forms marked by reduplication are given in Table 17.

Table 17

	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
<i>different</i>	lahua	lahualahua	<i>big</i>	eapapo	ehoaha
<i>bent</i>	haiae	haiae haiae or hahaiiae	<i>small</i>	hekai	titaeka, or titaetitae
<i>naked</i>	maheare	maheheare	<i>long</i>	heaikapo	heahikiapi
<i>straight</i>	ehoe	ehohoe		heaikapo	
<i>rejected</i>	haure	hahaure	<i>bad</i>	heaha	heahaha
<i>like</i>	hovea	hoveahovea	<i>meek</i>	here	herehere

Adjectives Marked for Number

This list is longer than the one given for Toaripi (p. 324); it includes all the Toaripi adjectives listed there except two.

To intensify adjectives Orocolo employs reduplication only with *heaha bad*, e.g. *eharu heaha heaha very bad thing* and *karia* (see below). The plural for *heaha* is *heahaha*. The suffix *-ka* is found only with *hela beautiful*, *hela-ka very beautiful*. In Orocolo it is with nouns rather than adjectives that the suffix *-apo* is used. We find, however, *hurahapo very wide*, and there is also *heaikiapo long*, but here the suffix has no intensive force.

In a manner similar to their Toaripi counterparts, we find *eapapo* (= Toaripi: *rovaea*) and *havahu* (= Toaripi: *kofa*). Thus *veveke havahu truly good*, and *pura huruhuru eapapo very wet cloth*. Another word *iele* (= Toaripi: *eite*) is used somewhat differently in the two languages. In Orocolo it appears as an adjective by itself (= Toaripi: *kofa true*), e.g. *oharo iele word true*; we also find *iele havahu true indeed*. It is used to intensify other adjectives, e.g. *veveke iele good very*. To diminish quality *perehekai*, like Toaripi: *taheka little*, is put before the adjective, e.g. *ma perehekai ahea water little hot*. There is also the use of *maea*, as in Toaripi, following the adjective, e.g. *aheke maea rather strong*. To this *hovea like* is sometimes added: *aheke maea hovea strong somewhat like*. Here again (cf. p. 325) if *maea* precedes the adjective, it is the noun *maea body*; thus *maea aheke strong body*.

The first four numbers are: *haroapo*, *orahokaila* (or without the *-ila*, *orahoka*), *ilehoila*, and *hari-ila*. For the origin of the last named

see p.293 Ray (1907:323) gives a list of numbers up to twenty-seven in which parts of the arms, shoulders and face are used as tallies. This method accords with that found amongst the Namau, and differs from the traditional Toaripi method which used the fingers and toes. Here is further evidence that the Western Eleman (see p.290) have a mixed Namau origin. Numbers from English have now superseded the traditional numbering, although the *ila* is often added onto these introductions, e.g. two *ila*.

With one exception all the following indefinite quantifying adjectives take the position after the noun: *ae any*, *oaria all*, *many*, *perehekai few*, *karia none*, *karia karia iele none at all*. The exception is *uku some* which may precede or follow the noun.

The order of position for adjectives is the same in both Orokolo and Toaripi (see pp. 325-6). As in Toaripi there is no formal grammatical comparison. Here is an example in Orokolo along the lines of that given in Toaripi on p. 326: *Harupa are va haela veveke iele, aka areve akorehari veveke va ka, Harupa he* (subject marker) *person good very, but his younger-brother good not*.

The verb system. Since the verb systems in the two languages Orokolo and Toaripi show such a close parallel, it does not seem necessary to repeat what will be found on pp.326-335, under the Toaripi heading. The comparative paradigms at the end of this chapter give the variation in the verb forms. Here we shall deal with other types of difference, and we shall take the material in the same order as that in the Toaripi section.

In Orokolo the great majority of verbs end in *-a*. There is a variant *-au* found with approximately fifty verbs. Four other verbs have the ending *-u*; i.e. *ku build*, *mahumu give suck*, *mai muru pinch*, and *ukavu go to land*.

Apart from derivative forms there are only about a dozen verbs in Orokolo that end in *-i* or *-e*, the latter being limited to two verbs; *eke come from west* and *iupe look up*. The *-i* verbs in Orokolo are those that have this same ending in Toaripi, if allowance be made for consonantal changes and vowel modifications, e.g. Orokolo: *kariki*, Toaripi: *pisosi make*, Orokolo: *overa hihi*, Toaripi: *evera sisi rub noses*. Verbs which end in *-ou* are even less common than those that end in *-i* or *-e*.

The stative verbs, with *-a* ending as in Toaripi, conform to the ending of the plain form for most Orokolo verbs. Nevertheless they have certain

peculiarities of morphology not found with the -a type of verbs mentioned above. There are moreover singular and plural forms throughout, and they are all intransitive. Instead of Toaripi: *pea*, unmarked for number, Oroko: *vea* in the form of -*ve* (sing.) and -*ro* (plur.) from *roa*, are used to form the present continuous.

The auxiliaries have the following forms: *lai*, *ara* and *hara*, together with *pua*, the auxiliary of totality. Here Oroko has a complication, not found in Toaripi, in that *haea*, a plural form of *hara*, is also used as an auxiliary of plurality with verbs that do not have plural forms of their own. As such it cannot be used alone, and so must be classed as an auxiliary, but it is nevertheless anomalous in that it requires before it *va*, the verbal conjunction, used otherwise in Oroko and in Toaripi (see Toaripi: *vo*, p. 330) to link together finite verbs only.

The auxiliary *lai*, like Toaripi: *loi*, derives its various forms from the converb *lei*, identical in both languages. Thus: *leipe* (rem. past), *leive* (sing.) *leiro* (plur.) (pres. continuous), *leivila* (sing.) *leilula* (plur. freq. rec. past). As with Toaripi: *lai* is used with a very wide range of words, e.g. nouns: *horova lai do work*, *elau lai play games*, *ma lai* (of tide) *recede*; adjectives and adverbs: *mahuka lai be soft*, *veveke lai be good*, *maeamaea lai be near*, *horova haharihahari lai do work slowly*.

In the form *lei* it may be used in a causative sense, as in Toaripi, before auxiliary compounds such as are described above, or before other verbs. Thus *lei ehoe lai make straight, rectify*, *horova lei hahari hahari lai make, cause, to do work slowly*. In the form *lai* it appears as a suffix to the -*ki* form to mark for future, e.g. *iapakilai will hear*. With *lai* compounds it becomes *leikilai*, e.g. *horova leikilai will do work*, and with *lai* both as a causative and to mark for future; *lei veveke leikilai will make good*. As in Toaripi, *lai* is used to unite a verbal phrase, e.g. *pekai kihoa lai ascend descend do, i.e. go up and down*.

Whereas Toaripi: *loi* is unmarked for number, Oroko by the use of the auxiliary *haea*, preceded by the verbal conjunction *va*, has the plural form *leivahaea*. Various suffixes to mark for tense, aspect, etc., are added to *haea*, e.g. *leivahaeape* (rem. past), *leivahaeakilai* (future). Thus: *ere la eharu oaria ve akea ve leivahaeakilai they those things all's above at shall-be, i.e. they shall be over all those things*.

To explain the various forms of *ara*, the second auxiliary one must seek a second base, as indeed with the Toaripi: *auai*. This in Oroko is

a (cf. Toaripi: ai), from which we get ape (rem. past), avila and alula (freq. recent past, sing. and plur.). From the base ara we find la arila (simple rec. past), arilai (future), and ari vei (infinitive).

As with Toaripi: auai, Orokolo: ara is used with words that denote sounds of various kinds, e.g. hi ara *to cry*, ape aruru ara *to yawn*, oharo ara *say, speak*. Reduplicated words are also compounded with ara, e.g. laukelauke ara *sway from side to side*. Some words employ both lai and ara with some variation in meaning, e.g. pelaea lai *be proud, vain*; pelaea ara *to boast, brag*.

In its various forms hara is generally identical with ara, but with h- prefixed. This was originally the instrumental marker ha (see p. 353), but now coalesced with the verb. As stated above hara has haea as the plural form. This it may be noted is a plural of action or state, not of subject, e.g. are aroa hahave *he is making a string bag*; are aroa haeakive *he is making string bags*. With the exception of hara kill, there is a close parallel between Orokolo: hara and Toaripi: sauai in the types of meaning found with these auxiliaries, e.g. plait, kile hara *plait mat*; a hara *burn*, which is both intransitive and transitive; pai hara *chop up sago pith*; eroa hara *be hungry*. (Cf. p. 329). The two languages do show some variation on this point, e.g. maea hara *be ill*, which in Toaripi is eka loi; also āra hara *give a shout, call*, for which the Toaripi is i auai.

The auxiliary of totality pua, possibly because of haea the plural auxiliary, is not used so freely in Orokolo as Toaripi: puavai. The following is an example of its use: la kora oaria ere hahaeapuakilai, *they will fell every tree*.

Number with verbs is much more complicated in Orokolo than it is in Toaripi (cf. p. 329). This stems from the following: (i) verbs that have plural forms are more than double the number as compared with Toaripi. (ii) The auxiliary hara has a plural form haea, so that all compounds with hara have plural forms. (iii) This haea is also used with the verbal conjunction va as an auxiliary of plurality. (iv) The continuous and the habitual aspects formed from vea and roa are marked for plural. The basis for using plural verbs where they are available, or some other means for marking for number, is still, as in Toaripi, the state or action of the verb. While there is no formal agreement in number between subject and verb, with intransitive verbs we do find and accord in number. Since the suffixes for aspect are taken from the intransitive verbs vea and roa,

their use also shows an accord in number between subject and verb. With transitive verbs, however, the accord in number is between the object and the verb. We may thus find verb forms that are marked singular or plural in respect of the subject, but plural or singular in accord with the object. Thus the verb form *itavavahaearo*, *are calling (them)* = *itava call+va+haea+ro*, indicates that both subject (by *-ro*) and object (by *va+haea*) are plural. If the suffix be changed to *-ve*, a singular subject is indicated.

Verbs in Orokolo are marked for five tenses which agree closely with the five tenses as found in Toaripi. For the forms see the paradigms at the end of this chapter. It may be noted that the recent past has *la* the verb form marker; this is lacking in Toaripi. While both languages use the verb form marker with the immediate future, Orokolo places this before the verb stem, e.g. *la iapakilai*. In contrast Toaripi uses the infinitive form followed by *la* before the *roi*, e.g. *mapai vei la roi about to hear*.

In marking verbs for aspect Orokolo (see p.358 and above), uses *vea* for singular and *roa* for plural suffixes. Apart from this difference over number, in the significance of the various forms the two languages are in close accord. (See p.330).

The use of the demonstratives with verbs is detailed on pp.351-2 and there is no need for repetition here.

The converb in Orokolo, as in Toaripi, is an unmarked verb form used before another with which it agrees in respect of tense, aspect and mood. Forming the converb is simply a matter of adding *-i* to the plain form, e.g. *iapa*, *iapai hear*, *peka*, *pekai ascend*, *paraea*, *paraeai set free*. The few verbs that end in *-ou* undergo some change, however, the converb being *-ai*; *urou*, *urai stand up*. A few variations in form are seen, such as *ava* (1) *get*, which becomes *avi* to distinguish it from *ava* (2) *sit down*, with converb *avai*.

Mention has already been made of the verbal conjunction *va* in connection with the plural auxiliary *haea*. This *va* is used when the action of one verb is involved in the action of another, the converb form being used for the first verb, e.g. *are au arai pavi eava va aeape*, *he just distant stood looking was-staying*, i.e. *he simply stood at a distance and continued looking*.

The infinitive marker *ve* is used in Orokolo as a suffix joined to the *-ki* form of the verb, e.g. *iapakive to hear*. With the auxiliaries we get

leikive, arive, harive and haeakive. The infinitive often expresses purpose, e.g. ara ore leikive *in order that I may know*. With ikivere *desire, wish*, we have what is really a noun, which requires the auxiliary lai to turn it into a verb. This is often omitted when used in a present sense. As it is a noun ikivere precedes the verb in the infinitive, instead of following as does the Toaripi equivalent haikaeai, e.g. areve ikivere elalila la karakive *his desire us-two to marry*. If the auxiliary lai be present, then ikivere with lai takes the final position as a verb, e.g. eve lou ero eapai avarakive ikivere leive, *your mother to-you food to-give is-desiring*.

The imperative in Orokololo is somewhat complicated in that in addition to the emphatic form which, like Toaripi, is identical with the infinitive, we find two other forms, one in which -ila is joined to the plain form, the other one ending in -ki. It may be noted that when consonantal changes are made, the former imperative form corresponds to the ordinary imperative as found in Toaripi (-ia from -ita), while the -ki form agrees with the ordinary imperative -ti as found in Sepoe. There is a tendency for the Orokololo: -ki forms to be in the nature of requests or exhortations, for the courtesy marker hela is sometimes added, an addition that is not found with the -ila form. Otherwise there is little difference in meaning between these two imperative forms.

In Orokololo as in Toaripi the relative verb may be recognised by its position being immediately before a noun. It is only a demonstrative that may come between. The indefinite relative, which is unmarked for tense or aspect, has the -ki ending, and thus agrees in form with the second of the two imperatives just described. Although they differ somewhat in form (see paradigms) the relative verbs in Toaripi and Orokololo are in close agreement as regards tense and aspect. Thus: are eharu aerapape la ita ve le pavape, *he things hid that place at then stood*, i.e. *he stood at the place where he had hidden those things*, passes easily into Toaripi. Perhaps the sense is made clearer by the addition of evera *formerly* to the relative verb; Toaripi: are etau evera milafukōpe lea oti voa pavōpe reha.

Relative verbs are commonly used with adverbial clauses of time, when *hoa time*, or *hare day*, appears as the noun, or with similarly constructed clauses of location which have *ita place*, or some such noun with the relative verb. On occasion a clause will combine both *place* and *time*. Both nouns cannot follow the relative verb; *ita place* then immediately

precedes the verb, while *hoa* follows it, e.g. *are ita haiavape la hoa ve, he place sat-down that time at... i.e. when he had sat down at that place...*

Negatives. A number of differences arise between Orokolo and Toaripi in the manner of making negative a verb phrase. In order that the negative marker *ka* may preserve its identity and not become confused with the verb, we find that in Toaripi it is lengthened to *kao*, and this takes the stress of the phrase /*màpaikaó*/. This same end is achieved in Orokolo by placing the verbal conjunction *va* between the verb and the negative marker, the latter again taking the stress /*ìəpavəká*/. Whereas in Toaripi this negative phrase combines present and past reference, the Orokolo combines present and future, e.g. *iapa va ka he does/will not hear*.

The same negative marker *ka* is used also with the prohibitive, when it precedes the verb and *-lue* follows, e.g. *ka iapalue do not listen*. With the auxiliary *ara* this becomes *kailue (ka+ai+lue)*. For this there is a variant *kavalue*, which is *ka+va+a+lue*, where the verbal conjunction prevents elision between *ka* and *a*.

The past negative has a form distinct from the present. This is *au* preceding the recent past form of the verb, although the negative includes also the remote past, e.g. *au iapaila did not hear*. For the present continuous or incomplete action this same negative marker *au* is used, supported by *-kue* suffixed to the verb, e.g. *au iapakue not hearing or not yet heard*. This is to be understood as formed from *iapaki+ue*.

For the relative indefinite verb Orokolo has *aue* in the same position as *auke* in Toaripi, e.g. *iapaki aue haela listening not man*. For the past tense, however, Orokolo uses the same form for the negative as that used in finite constructions, e.g. *au iapaila haela not listened man, a man who did not listen*. For the negative habitual, where Toaripi has *mapai sore never hear*, Orokolo has the same form as the relative negative, i.e. *iapaki aue never hear*.

What is said on pp.313-4 concerning Toaripi questions applies equally as well to Orokolo, except that the interrogative marker is *ha* instead of Toaripi: *ei*. The examples given there are in Orokolo as follows: *ave ikikekela learia ha? (= Toaripi: ave haiiri lekoru ei?) your mind what? A lahoa aukilai (= Toaripi: a leavoá terai roi?) you where go-will? A maia aukilai (= Toaripi: a movoa terai roi) you here go-will A au auila ha (= Toaripi: a terai kao ei?) you did not go? a au va ka ha? (= Toaripi: a levi terai roi ei?) you will not go eh?.*

Real conditionals in Orocolo have a similar type of construction to that found in Toaripi, but with *-lava* as the conditional marker in the place of Toaripi: *oria* (see p. 334). While it is possible to omit the conditional marker from the first example given below, and say *la iapakila* in the place of *la iapakilava*, it cannot be omitted elsewhere:

Positive: <i>if.... listen</i>	Negative: <i>if...do/does not listen</i>
<i>la iapakilava</i>	<i>iapaki aue la leikilava</i>

With a relative verb in the protasis:

<i>if.... person who listens</i>	<i>if... person who does not listen</i>
<i>iapaki haela la leikilava</i>	<i>iapaki aue haela la leikilava</i>

With unreal conditions, the following is the model:

<i>would have listened</i>	<i>would not have listened</i>
<i>la iapaki</i>	<i>iapaki aue leiki</i>

Another method, for which there is no parallel in Toaripi operates with the protasis. The verb assumes the converb form, preceded by *va* and followed by *la*. The verb in the apodosis takes the indefinite future form, e.g. *vevaea kapena haiavaki ita ore va lei, la, are va elavelave le ekeilai, if the boat captain had known the anchorage, he would then have come quickly*. It may be noted that here we get the real conditional marker in the reverse order, *va... la*.

The Toaripi subordinate clause marker *ave*, mentioned on p. 335 has the same form in Orocolo. It requires before it the infinitive form of the verb, but with *ave* in the place of *-ve*, e.g. *la hoi kiva leila, a ave mai haelapaki ave, that knife care take, you your hand cut lest*.

Adverbs. The same suffixes used to form adverbs in Toaripi occur also in Orocolo. Thus *-ka: hihika openly* from *hihi open*, and *hikika separately* from *hiki separate*. Similarly *-ri: muruhari secretly* from *muruha secret*; *mari* and *lari* from the demonstratives (see p. 351). Adverbial phrases

may be formed by the use of *ila* (= Toaripi: *ita*) which is treated sometimes as a suffix, e.g. *harapaila with pretence*. A number of common adverbs, e.g. *elavelave quickly*, *aireaki afterwards*, do not have such suffixes, but they may be identified by their preferred position which is immediately before the verb. In this Orokolo *is* is in complete agreement with Toaripi (see p. 335).

Adverbs are intensified by the use of *eapapo big = very*, *havahu* or *iele truly*, the same words as are used with adjectives. These intensifiers follow the adverbs, e.g. *ere va ovohae kariri haela maea iele lai ekepe, they (subject marker) blind man near very made come*. Where there is an adverbial phrase with *ila* it is intensified with *iele*, e.g. *aheke iele ila oharo ehoe kileakive, strength true with word correct teach*. To diminish adverbs *perehekai little* is used in the same way as it is used for adjectives. This same *perehekai* may be used on its own as an adverb meaning *a little*, e.g. *are perehekai ai haiavape he a little went (converb) sat-down*.

Interrogatives. These are formed from the same base *le* as is found in Toaripi. They may also be grouped as in Toaripi (see pp. 336-7) according to whether they are mainly adjectival or mainly adverbial in position.

With interrogatives adjectivally positioned we find *leavaila how many? much*. This is from *le + mai hand* - the fingers of the hand were formerly used as tallies + *ila* is found with the traditional numbers (see pp.356-7) With *le*, *lela what? or which?* we have the interrogative base lengthened when necessary to regularise stress and prevent elision. Its position is the reverse of *lekoru*, the Toaripi counterpart, for it usually precedes the noun, e.g. *ara le heaha leipe I what wrong did?*. Before *eharu* we find the lengthened form *lela eharu? what things?*. When it is necessary for the interrogative to follow the noun, *ha*, the interrogative marker, occurs with it, e.g. *a va ikivere le ha? you (subject marker) desire what eh? i.e. what do you want?*.

Although classed as a pronoun, *leita* can function adjectivally, when its only possible position is following the noun: *e va haela leita aukilai ha? you (subject marker) person who will go eh?, i.e. what person among you?*. A common use of *leita* is with *rare name*; *ave rare leita ha? your name who eh?, i.e. what is your name?*.

Interrogatives mainly adverbial in position include: *lahoa, lahoaki, lahoa ve, where?, where to?, where from?*. The form of the interrogative

here has been influenced by the demonstrative *la*. *Time* or *place* is the meaning of *hoa*. Between *la hoa that time, place* and *lahoa where?* there is a slight difference in pronunciation, the former being /la:hoə/, the latter /ləhoə/. Position is, however, the chief distinction between the demonstrative noun phrase and the interrogative as is shown by the following quotations from Matthew 2. 1 and 2: *lesu Bethlehem Iudea ve epape la hoa.. Jesu Bethlehem Judea in was born that time... i.e. when...* and *Jew haela ve amua lahoa la epaila? Jew people's headman where has-been-born (rec. past)?*. The suffix *-ki* = *to, motion towards*; *lahoaki* is thus *where to?*. For the meaning *where from?* *ve* is added to the interrogative to form the phrase *lahoa ve?*.

The adverbial suffix *-ri* has been added to form *leari* or *learia how?* the lengthened form being heard when the interrogative is in the final position, e.g. *eve ikikekela learia ha? your thought how eh?, i.e. what's your opinion?*. This could be expressed by *ave iki lehae? your mind how?*. Like *Toaripi: leafeare*, *lehae* can form a construction with the auxiliary; *a lehae leive? you how are?*.

The interrogative *leahau when?* is from the same source as *lahoa*, for *hoa* means *time* as well as *place*. Here there has been a change of vowels to differentiate the interrogative. It takes the position before the verb, e.g. *are leahau ekelai? he when come-will?*. If the question be in respect of duration of time, i.e. for how long, the interrogative takes the form *leahovea*, e.g. *are ma maea leahovea koarape? he this sickness how-long had?*.

When the postposition *ve for* is joined to the interrogative base we get *leve why?, on account of what?*. Its composite origin is shown in: *a le hela ve?* in which *le* and *ve* are separated by *hela*, the term of politeness, *you what may-I-say for?*, i.e. *what are you after?*. It is usual, however, for the components to stay together, e.g. *e areve oharo leve iapakilai? you his talk why listen-will?*.

Two interrogative phrases embody *leve*. These are: *ipi leve*, and *ehovea leve*. In this context *ipi* and *ehovea* are really synonymous = *cause*. The former is used at the beginning of the question and requires a finite verb form, e.g. *ipi leve a araro veveke rare laila ha? cause what you me good name have-said eh?*. The other phrase takes the final position and is employed with a relative verb, e.g. *a araro rare veveke la itavaki ehovea leve? you me name good (object marker) calling (relative indefinite) cause what?*.

The postpositions, as in Toaripi, are four in number: (i) *kai to*, *motion towards*. As noted on p. 355, this postposition, and only this one, requires the object form of the pronoun before it, e.g. *arero kai to him*. It is used only of persons. (ii) *ve, vea in, at*. The longer form *vea* is used in pauses; *uvi ve in the house*. This postposition generates a number of postpositional phrases, e.g. *akea ve on the top, above*; *hihi ve in the open*; *ipi ve below, at the base*; *maeamaea ve near to*; *oropa ve in front, before*; *ure ve within, in*. (iii) The Orokelo counterpart for Toaripi: *ita is ila with*. For its varied use morphologically see p. 338. There is an abbreviated form *i* seen when *ila* is used as a conjunction, e.g. *Eoe i Luru ila Eoe with Luru with, i.e. Eoe and Luru*. Occasionally *ila* is used with an instrumental meaning, e.g. *a ila with fire*, where Toaripi employs the instrumental marker *sa*. Thus: *a keko hoi ila haeakilai you bamboo knife with fell-will*. (iv) *v'ila, ve'i for*. This is really a compound form made up of *ve+ila*, or the shortened form *i*. It is found in phrases with pronouns and nouns, e.g. *ara v'ila for me, on my behalf*. Such phrases may come before or after the verb, e.g. *la marita Pipi v'ila hi ape, or hi ape Pipi v'ila, those girls Pipi for cry made*. A subordinate clause of reason is introduced by *ehovea* and concluded by *v'ila*, e.g. *ere araro harilai ehovea arave ua v'ila, they me kill-will because my wife for*. Sometimes *ila* only, instead of the compound, concludes the clause, i.e. *arave ua ila*.

The four conjunctions listed for Toaripi have these forms in Orokelo: *aka but, however*; *ae and*; *ka* sometimes lengthened to *kai also*, and the paragraph marker *kahara so, well*. There are also other words - notably *ila* - that link words and clauses. Moreover, the four words named as conjunctions are not limited to conjunction in their use, but that is their main function. In the shortened form *ka*, *aka* is also used in the sense of *or*, e.g. *houhuka ka uruka white or black*. On occasion *ae* is joined to *ka* to form *aeka*. It then has an adverbial meaning *again*, e.g. *aeka kariki make again*; *aeka lai do again, repeat*.

8.18. Summary

The Elema a single ethnic group, numbering 37,000. Speak closely related languages and dialects. Of inland origin, but long established as a coastal people. (8.4-6) Their neighbours to the east the Roro, who with the inland Tati (North Mekeo) and Kovio, speak languages of Melanesian affinity. In centre of Elema coast are the Raepa-Tati, a

small group whose language has its nearest affinity with Eleman. (8.7.) Western neighbours the Namau (Koriki), who had an early but strong cultural and linguistic influence on the Elema. Namau and Eleman languages stem from common source. Differences between Eastern and Western Eleman; latter partly Namau in origin. (8.8-9.) Motu contacts from the hiri trading voyages. Two Elema sub-tribes Toaripi and Moripi themselves adopted the practice. Toaripi origin of Hiri Motu. Motu loanwords present in all Eleman languages and dialects.

(8.10.) Elema sub-tribes distinguished by locality, diverse legends of origin, variations in traditional cultural pattern and by differing languages or dialects. Western Eleman forms of speech closely related; marked by absence of the phonemes /f/ and /s/, present elsewhere. (8.11.) Within any given dialectical boundary no absolute uniformity of speech. Kaipi variations (Table 4) an example of this. (8.12.) Simple comparison of word lists obscures somewhat the underlying affinity between Eleman languages and dialects. Examples of lexical and semantic variation. (8.13.) Clan basis for certain forms of traditional speech; examples from Iokea village. (8.14.) A lexicostatistical comparison (Table 6) of the Eleman languages and dialects together with Namau and Raepa-Tati.

(8.15.) Toaripi: progress of knowledge of language. Phonology: vowels, consonants, diphthongs, vowel clusters; stress and juncture. (8.15.2.) Grammar: syntactic constructions; noun phrases; verb phrases. Sentences lacking finite verbs; simple, compound and complex sentences with finite verbs. Demonstratives: definitions; with nouns; with verbs; compound forms; object marker; verb form marker; as function words. Nouns: compound forms; no grammatical gender; number; object, instrumental and genitive markers. Pronouns: (Table 7) subject personal pronouns; analysis of forms; number; object and genitive forms; interrogative. Adjectives: position, five out of six follow noun; with negative basic position reversed; number with adjectives (Table 8); intensifying adjectives by reduplication, by adding suffix, by using rovaea, kofa and foromai. Diminution of adjectives; numbers; order of adjectives; no formal grammatical comparison.

The verb system: plain form used as lexeme; the four variations in endings to plain form; auxiliary verbs, number; tense; aspect; verbs with demonstratives; converb; infinitive; imperative; relative verb; negatives; questions; conditionals; subordinate clause markers. Adverbs: formation from adjectives by -kao, or from adjectives, nouns or demonstratives by

-ri; formation with ita; position; intensifying adverbs; diminution of adverbs. Interrogatives: in adjectival or adverbial position; interrogative phrases. Postpositions: four in number; simple and compound forms; postpositional phrases. Conjunctions.

(8.16.) Sepoe. Ray's 'Lepu', but this name unknown locally. Strong influence of Toaripi. Distinctive Sepoe intonation pattern. (8.16.2.) Agreement between Orokolo and Sepoe seen in subject marker *va* present, but confined to pronouns. Apart from subject marker, and except for *hia*, pronouns agree with Toaripi. Origin of *hia*. Demonstratives function as in Toaripi. Adjectives. Verbs: close parallel with Toaripi though some variation in form; here affinity with Orokolo. Six stative verbs; origin of Toaripi: *moea*. The auxiliaries *loi*, *opua*, *sopua* and *puai*. Pattern of number with verb in general agreement with Toaripi and Kaipi. Relative verb has same position and function as in other forms of Eleman speech. Sepoe negative marker with relative almost identical with Orokolo, but other closer affinity with Toaripi. Finite past and present negative combined in single form as in Toaripi. Sepoe conditional patterns agree fairly closely with Toaripi. Position of adverbs conforms to general Eleman pattern; preferred position immediately before verb. Interrogatives (Table 10) (a) mainly adjectival in position (b) mainly adverbial; origin of forms. Postpositions as in Toaripi except for *ita* which is *ila*, as in Orokolo; postpositional compounds and phrases.

(8.17.) Orokolo. Ray's 'Eleman'. (8.17.1.) Phonology; vowel and consonant phonemes; considerable variation in use of /t/ as compared with Toaripi. Sound change Rules 1 and 2; absence of /f/ and /s/; sound change Rules 3 and 4; other types of change; prosthesis, metathesis. (8.17.2.) Grammar: sentence structure common pattern with Toaripi. Demonstratives: variations in vowels and form as compared with Toaripi; as function words; subject marker *va*. Nouns: compound nouns have same pattern as in Toaripi; gender; number; terms of relationship. Subject, object and genitive marker; instrumental marker *ha-* present, but not as free form. Pronouns: (Table 16) complexity of dual forms; interrogative pronoun. Adjectives: position agrees with Toaripi, but plural forms more extensive than in Toaripi; intensified or diminished by same means as in Toaripi; numbers; use of *ila*; traditional affinity of numbering with Namau; order of adjectives as in Toaripi; no formal grammatical comparison. The verb system: close parallel with Toaripi; comparative paradigms at end of chapter show variations; plain form endings; Stative

verbs; instead of Toaripi: -pea, vea in the form ve (sing.) and -ro (plur.) from roa used for present continuous. Auxiliaries: lai, ara, hara and pua. Unlike Toaripi: haea, plural of hara, used also as auxiliary of plurality with va for verbs lacking plural forms. Various forms of lai and their uses; ara, its forms and use; origin and compounds with hara. Number with verbs much more complicated than in Toaripi; reasons for this. Verbs marked for five tenses as in Toaripi. Use of verb marker; marking verbs for aspect. Converb formed by adding -i to plain form. Infinitive. Imperative, varied forms. Relative verb, position, forms, use of relative verbs. Negatives differences from Toaripi; negative markers. Questions. Conditionals, model constructions. Subordinate clause marker ave. Adverbs: suffixes used to form adverbs as in Toaripi; intensifying and diminishing adverbs. Interrogatives from the same base le as in Toaripi can also be grouped as to whether they are adjectivally or adverbially positioned; differences from Toaripi. Interrogative phrases. Postpositions: four in number; instrumental use of ila; postpositional compounds and phrases. Conjunctions.

Appendix A

Comparative Paradigms of Verbs

A.1 Stative Verbs

Meaning	Toaripi	Sepoe	Orokolo
<i>be seated, be in sitting position</i>	sing. aisesea plur. aipepea	ovitetea oviapea	tita avaipea
<i>be in prone position, be lying</i>	sing. eaea plur. sisea	eaea titaea	eaea eapea
<i>project out, be sticking out</i>	sing. foeba plur. fofoeba	faea fafaea	hoea hahaea
<i>have being, to be (no specific place)</i>	sing. mea plur. roroa	(vea) (roa)	vea roa
<i>be set, to be (in a place) dwell</i>	sing. pea plur. pepea	epea apea	aea, pea apea
<i>be inside; be floating</i>	sing. moea plur. movoea	vo eaea vo titaea	mura mumura
<i>be suspended, be hanging</i>	sing. toea plur. totoea	taea totaea	kaea kakaeha

A.2 Tense

		Verb -ai or -a	Stative	loi/lai	auai, ara
Plain Form (present)	T S O	mapai ovapai iapa	pea epea aea, pea	loi loi lai	auai ae ara
Remote Past	T S O	mapope ovapape iapape	peiape epeililipe aeape	leipe leipe leipe	ōpe ōpe ape
Recent Past	T S O	mapaita ovapaila la iapaila	peita epeavila la aeavila	leita loila la leila	arita opua la arila
Future	T S O	mapai roi ovapati lei iapakilai	peava roi epea lei aeakilai	leiti roi leiti lei leikilai	ari roi orei lei arilai
Immediate Future	T S O	mapai vei la roi ovapati ve la loi la iapakilai	pei vei la roi epea ve la loi la aeakilai	leiti vei la roi leiti ve la loi la lai	ari vei la roi orei ve la loi la arilai

A.3 Aspect

	Verb -ai or -a		Stative	loi/lai	auai/ara
	Present Continuous	T	(la)mapai- pea	(pea)	(la)leipea
S		(la)ova- paitapea	(epea)	(la)leita- pea	(la)aepea
O		iapave	aeave	leive	ave
pl.		iaparo	apearo	leiro	aro
Frequent Recent Past	T	mapavota	peivota	leivota	ōvota
	S	ovapai- vovila	epeavo- vila	leivovila	ovovila
	O	iapavila	aeavila	leivila	avila
	pl.	iapalula	aपालula	leilula	alula
Frequent Remote Past	T	mapaiape	(peiape)	leiape	ape
	S	ovapai- lilipe	(peililipe)	leililipe	s.ovoveōpe
	O	la iapailape	aeaveape	leiveape	p.ovoroōpe
	p.		apearoape	leiroape	aveape aroape
Habitual	T	mapa vovea	pea vovea	lei vovea	o vovea
	(11)	mapaitore	peitore	leititore	aritore
	S	ovapai vovela	pea vovela	lei vovela	o vovela
	O	iapai- vovela	aeavila	leivila	avila
	p.	iapailula	aपालula	leilula	alula

A.4 Relative Verb: Tense

Indefinite	T	mapaita	peita	leitita,leita	arita, oita
	S	ovapaila	epeaila	loila	arila
	O	iapaki	aeaki	leiki	araiki
Remote Past	as for finite verbs				
Recent Past	T	mapaia	peia	leitia	aria
	S	la ovapaila	la epeaila	la loila	la arila
	O	la iapaila	laeavila	la leila	la arila
Future	T	mapai	pei	leiti	ari
	S	ovapati	epei	leikila	orei
	O	iapakila	aeakila	leikila	araikila
Immediate	T	mapai vei	pei vei	leiti vei	ari vei
		leita	leita	leita	leita
	S	ovapati ve	epea ve	leiti ve	orei ve
		loila	loila	loila	loila
	O	iapaki	aeakive	leikive	arive leiki
		leiki	leiki	leiki	

A.5 Relative Verb: Aspect

		Verb -ai or -a	Stative	loi/lai	auai/ara
Present Continuous	T S Os. p.	mapaipeta ovapaipela iapaivila iapailula	peipeta epeilila aeavila apealula	leipeta leitapela leivila leilula	aipeta aepela avila alula
Frequent Remote Past	T Ss. p. Os.	mapaiape ovapaivilipe iapailape	(peiape) (peililipe) aeaveape apearoape	leiape leililipe leiveape leiroape	ape ovoveōpe ovoroōpe aveape aroape
Frequent Recent Past	T S Os. p.	mapavota ovapaivovila la iapakila	peivota epeavovila la aeakila la apeakila	leivota leivovila la leikila	ōvota ovovila la arai- kila
Habitual	T O	and S. use relative indefinite forms uses relative present continuous forms			
Infinitive	T S O	mapai vei ovapati vei iapakive	pei vei epea ve aeakive	leiti vei leiti ve leikive	ari vei orei ve arive
Imperative	T S O(1) (ii)	mapaia ovapati iapaila iapaki	peava epeati - aeaki	leitia leiti leila leiki	aria orei eila, aila araki

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