Papers in Austronesian linguistics No.5

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PAPERS IN AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS No.5

edited by
Darrell Tryon

Pacific Linguistics

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INTRODUCTION

This collection volume brings together four papers on Oceanic Austronesian languages spoken in Melanesia. Three are spoken in Papua New Guinea and one in Vanuatu. The contributors are the late David Lithgow (Muyuw, PNG), Robert Blust (Lou, PNG), Terry Crowley (Nāti, Vanuatu) and D.J. and R.J. Bennett (Awad Bing, PNG).

The first paper was written by David Lithgow, who was for many years one of the Summer Institute of Linguistics' most stalwart workers in Bible translation and literacy in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea, and he was a well known and beloved figure throughout the islands until his death on 26 October 1994. The wealth of David's knowledge of the islands, their people and their languages was remarkable, and he was always keen to share it with others.Some months before his death, David—who realised that his earthly life was nearing its end—contacted Malcolm Ross (of the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University) and asked if he could help him to put together his last survey report for publication, so that its contents would not be lost to others interested in Milne Bay Province languages. David sent his drafts to Malcolm, who edited them into the paper which appears first in this volume and which we have pleasure in publishing in David's memory.

David Lithgow's paper discusses the relationships of Muyuw with its neighbours and the question of the bilingualism of its speakers. Muyuw, a member of the Papuan Tip Cluster, is spoken on Woodlark Island. The dialects of the Muyuw language form part of a chain of languages which stretches from Budibud to Kiriwina (Kilivila).Lithgow also discusses the relationships between Muyuw dialects and the other languages of the Kula Trading Circuit (Budibud, Muyuw, Kiriwina, Gumawana, Basima, Dobu, Duau, Auhelawa, Tubetube and Misima). The article concludes with an investigation of bilingualism and multilingualism in the area where Muyuw books are used (from Budibud to Iwa Island).

Robert Blust's paper is a vocabulary (with phonological notes) of Lou, spoken on an island of the same name, in the Admiralty Islands of Western Melanesia. The vocabulary, of approximately 800 words, was collected between February and May 1975 during a linguistic survey of the Admiralty Islands. The aims of the paper are to provide a larger and phonetically more accurate corpus of lexical data for Lou than is available in earlier sources, to supplement the Baluan data in Friederici (1912) and Z'graggen (1975), and to provide a first statement of both the synchronic and diachronic phonology of Lou.

Terry Crowley presents a salvage sketch of Nāti, spoken on southwest Malakula, in Vanuatu. The data on which the sketch is based was collected during a brief stay at Wintua village in 1988, supplemented during a visit to Vila in 1990 by Aiar Rantes, one of the last surviving speakers of the language. Crowley considers that Nāti will probably disappear with the present generation, with only about ten surviving adult speakers. Recognising the monumental work on the languages of southern Malakula produced by Charpentier, he discusses the language in its social setting and in the context of Charpentier's (1982a, 1982b) language atlas, and proceeds to a presentation of the phonology and morpho-syntax of Nāti. This is followed by a Nāti vocabulary of approximately 750 items, completed by an English-Nāti finderlist.

Douglas and Jeanette Bennett's contribution to the volume is a substantial account of Awad Bing grammar, modestly called "grammar essentials". Awad Bing is the largest of the Bel group of languages. It is spoken by approximately 1500 speakers in six main villages on

the Rai coast of Madang Province in Papua New Guinea, situated some 130km southeast of Madang by road. The description is based on transcribed text material collected by the Bennetts over a period of five years in the late 1980s from four villages, Teterai, Yamai, Biliau and Malangai, during their preparation for the translation of the New Testament into this language. Examples are written in the Yamai dialect. The grammatical description, containing over 600 Awad Bing sentence examples is preceded by a brief phonological statement. The grammatical analysis is followed by a substantial Awad Bing text. The Bel group of languages are of considerable historical interest because they have undergone quite substantial morphosyntactic change as a result of their contact with Papuan languages in the area.

Darrell Tryon

MUYUW: ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS AND THE BILINGUALISM OF ITS SPEAKERS

†DAVID LITHGOW

1. INTRODUCTION

This article reports on a survey conducted in the period from January to March 1994 to determine the synchronic relationships among a number of languages of the Papuan Tip Cluster. Central to the study are Muyuw of Woodlark Island and several communalects closely related to it.

The dialects of the Muyuw language form part of the chain of languages which stretches from Budibud to Kiriwina (Kilivila). This chain is known as the Kilivila family or Kilivila chain (Lithgow 1976; Ross 1988:192; Ross 1992), and is shown in Maps 1 and 2. It is part of the larger Papuan Tip Cluster of languages, many of whose speakers participated in the well known Kula Trading Circuit.[1]

Section 2 deals with the relationships between Muyuw dialects and the other languages of the Kilivila chain, and with the relationships between Muyuw dialects and the languages of the Kula Trading Circuit (Budibud, Muyuw, Kiriwina, Gumawana, Basima, Dobu, Duau, Auhelawa, Tubetube and Misima). It complements material on the Fergusson and Normanby Island languages published in Lithgow (1992a).

Section 3 reports on an investigation of bilingualism and multilingualism in the area where Muyuw books are used (from Budibud to Iwa Island). In this area Grade 6 and Grade 5 school children were tested to determine their relative fluency in Muyuw, Kiriwina, Dobu and English.

2. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MUYUW AND OTHER LANGUAGES OF THE PAPUAN TIP CLUSTER

2.1 THE KILIVILA CHAIN

Tables 1 and 2 show vocabulary and grammatical cognate percentages for the Kilivila chain. The vocabulary cognate percentages are based on the Summer Institute of Linguistics standard list for Papua New Guinea. A sample from the lists is given in Appendix A. The grammatical percentages are based on an examination of a hundred grammatical features represented in twenty-nine short elicited sentences. The twenty-nine sentences are listed in Appendix B, together with their Muyuw translations and the features which each sentence is

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[1] For brief descriptions of the Kula Trading Ring and lists of the numerous references to it, see Brookfield with Hart (1971:324–327) or Allen (1977:387–388, 396).

1

used to elicit.[2] Appendix C gives the translations in eighteen languages which constitute the data on which the cognate counts in Tables 2 and 4 are based. The main features of these percentages are shown graphically in Maps 1 and 2.

TABLE 1: VOCABULARY COGNATE PERCENTAGES FOR THE KILIVILA CHAIN

	Kwewata	Iwa	Kitava	Kiriwina	Budibud
Muyuw	78	76	74	68	62
Kwewata		91	87	70	47
Iwa			89	83	50
Kitava				85	49
Kiriwina					43

TABLE 2: GRAMMATICAL COGNATE PERCENTAGES FOR THE KILIVILA CHAIN

	Kwewata	Iwa	Kitava	Kiriwina	Budibud
Muyuw	71	65	59	49	49
Kwewata				62	
Iwa				67	
Kitava				80	
Kiriwina					36

The main point of this exercise was to see if the dialects from Kwewata to Kitava are grammatically more similar to Muyuw or Kiriwina. Data were also collected from Gawa and Yanabwa Islands which show small variations from the Kwewata results.
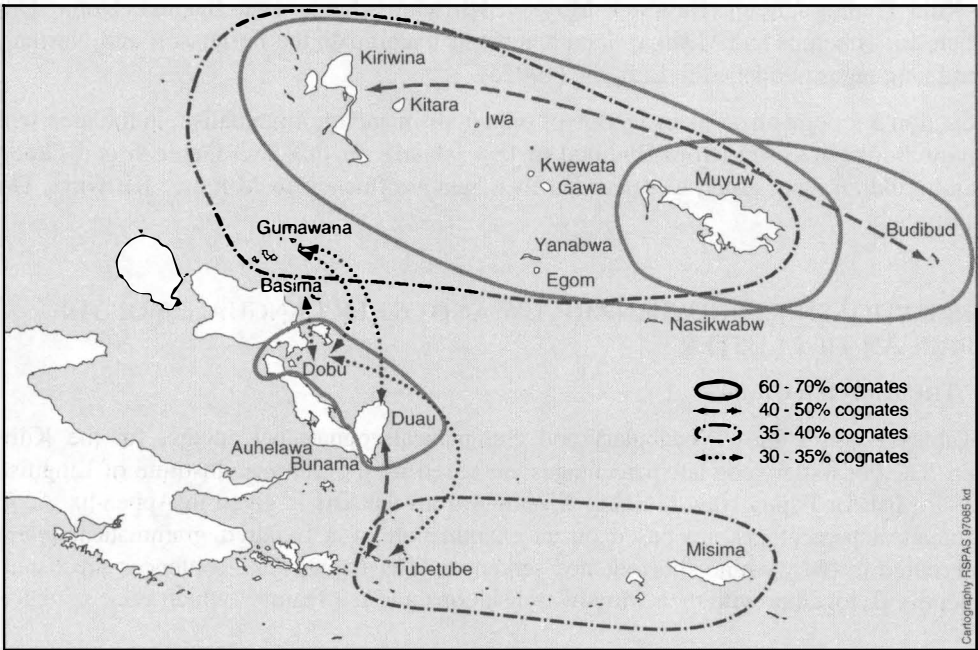
MAP 1: VOCABULARY COGNATE PERCENTAGES

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[2]   The same sentences were published for the languages of Fergusson and Normanby Islands in Lithgow (1992).
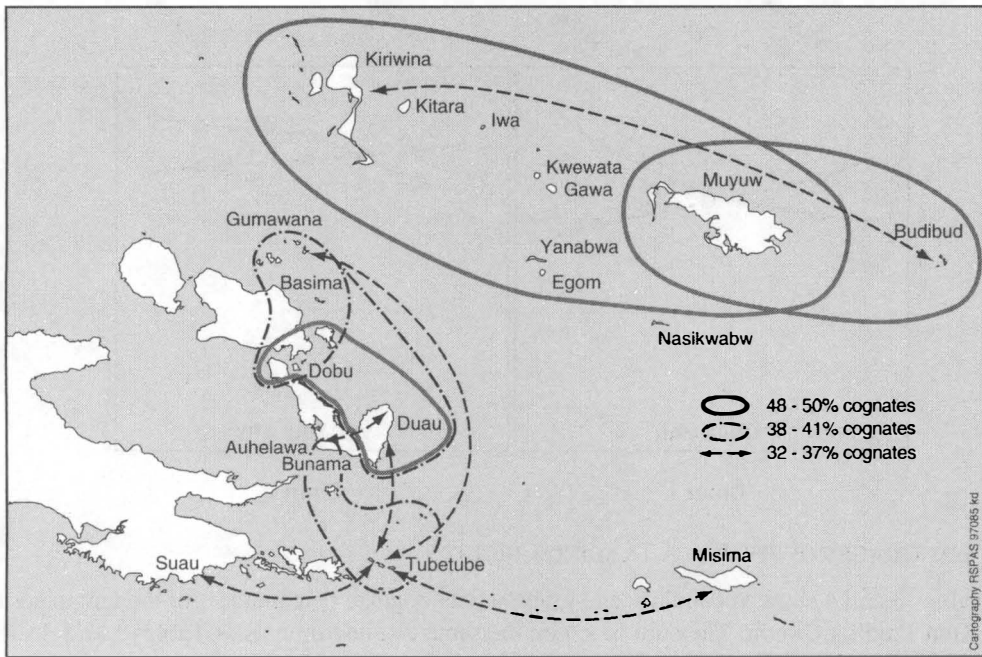
MAP 2: GRAMMATICAL COGNATE PERCENTAGES

The relationships with Muyuw and Kiriwina can be seen best if we set the grammar and vocabulary cognate counts side by side, with the vocabulary cognate counts bracketed.

	Kwewata	Iwa	Kitava
Muyuw	71 (78)	65 (76)	59 (74)
Kiriwina	62 (70)	67 (83)	80 (85)

These results are graphed in Charts 1 and 2. They indicate that if a line is to be drawn between the Muyuw and Kiriwina languages, it should be drawn near Iwa. On a basis of vocabulary Iwa would be part of the Kiriwina language. On a basis of grammar, it would be part of Muyuw.

Chart 1   Chart 2

2.2 LANGUAGES OF THE KULA TRADING CIRCUIT

Tables 3 and 4 show vocabulary and grammatical cognate percentages for the languages of the Kula Trading Circuit. They are based on the same test instruments as Tables 1 and 2. The main features of these percentages are again shown graphically in Maps 1 and 2.

TABLE 3: VOCABULARY COGNATE PERCENTAGES FOR LANGUAGES OF THE KULA TRADING CIRCUIT

	Kiriwina	Budibud	Misima	Tubetube	Duau	Dobu	Gumawana
Muyuw	69	62	22	18	22	27	37
Kiriwina		43	12	12	16	22	37
Budibud			24	19	24	27	29
Misima				37	28	24	15
Tubetube					46	31	20
Duau						61	31
Dobu							32

TABLE 4: GRAMMATICAL COGNATE PERCENTAGES FOR LANGUAGES OF THE KULA TRADING CIRCUIT

	Kiriwina	Budibud	Misima	Tubetube	Auhelawa	Duau	Dobu	Gumawana	Basima
Muyuw	49	49	8	10	8	8	10	14	
Kiriwina		36	14	18	12	13	13	23	
Budibud			13	16	11	19	21	27	
Misima				36	25	20	22	20	
Suau				33	26				
Tubetube					38	35	28	32	
Auhelawa						36	32	28	
Duau							48	39	
Dobu								41	50
Gumawana									40

Highlights which emerge from Table 4 are as follows:

Kula languages with 48% or more shared grammatical cognates:

Muyuw and Kiriwina	49%
Muyuw and Budibud	49%
Dobu and Duau	48%
Dobu[3] and Basima	50%

Kula languages sharing 42-47% grammatical cognates:

Kula languages sharing 38-41% grammatical cognates:

Dobu and Gumawana	41%
Basima and Gumawana	40%
Duau and Gumawana	39%
Tubetube and Auhelawa	38%

Kula languages sharing 32-37% grammatical cognates:

Auhelawa and Duau	36%
Kiriwina and Budibud	36%
Misima and Tubetube	36%
Tubetube and Duau	35%
Tubetube and Suau	33%
Tubetube and Gumawana	32%
Auhelawa and Dobu	32%

The next step, 28-31% grammatical cognates, shows a weak relationship between Tubetube, Dobu and Gumawana, and between Auhelawa, Dobu and Gumawana.

Map 2 shows that there is no close relationship between the Kilivila language family (Kiriwina, Muyuw and Budibud) and the rest of the Papuan Tip Cluster. It demonstrates fairly close relationships existing now between Dobu and a number of other languages, especially those on Normanby Island. There is also a significant link between Tubetube and Duau, and between Gumawana and several of its eastern neighbours—Basima, Dobu and Duau.

2.3 DISCUSSION

I believe that the vocabulary cognate counts have been more influenced by borrowing than have the grammatical cognate counts. In other words, the grammatical cognate counts better reflect the historical relationships among the languages, whereas the vocabulary cognate counts often reflect contact relationships. However, the vocabulary cognate counts do show strong links between Kiriwina, Muyuw and Budibud; and also between Dobu[4] and Duau, and these are probably historical relationships.

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[3] Dobu shares more than 48% grammatical cognates with a number of other languages, including Sewa, Loboda, Mwatebu, Bunama, several Duau dialects, and one dialect of Molima.

[4] Dobu also has a high vocabulary cognate relationship with several other languages outside of the Kula Trade Circuit.

Quite striking is the low cognate relationship (in vocabulary and grammar) between the Kilivila chain and Misima, Tubetube, Duau and Dobu—their southerly trading partners. Apart from low-level vocabulary 'chaining' through Gumawana, we can say there is a wide gulf between these two groups of languages.

These findings are in line with those of Ross (1992). Although his main concern was with the position of the Gumawana language, he also summarised what is known about relationships within the Papuan Tip cluster on the basis of shared phonological and morphological innovations, and found (i) that the integrity of the cluster as a whole was confirmed, but (ii) that there was a considerable gulf between the Kilivila chain on the one hand and the languages of Goodenough, Fergusson and Normanby Islands and the southeast Papuan mainland on the other.

For the sake of comparison, Tables 5 and 6 present percentages of grammatical cognates for Fergusson and Normanby Islands, whose languages also belong to the Papuan Tip Cluster. Table 5 includes the languages of Fergusson Island, together with Bwaidoka (Goodenough Island) and Sewa and Bunama (Normanby Island). Table 6 includes the languages of Normanby Island except Sewa, together with Tubetube and Suau. The locations of Normanby Island languages cited in Table 6 are shown in Map 3. Table 5 was previously published in Lithgow (1992a), and Table 6 is an augmented version of a table published there. The sentences on which Tables 5 and 6 are based are also published in Lithgow (1992a).[5]
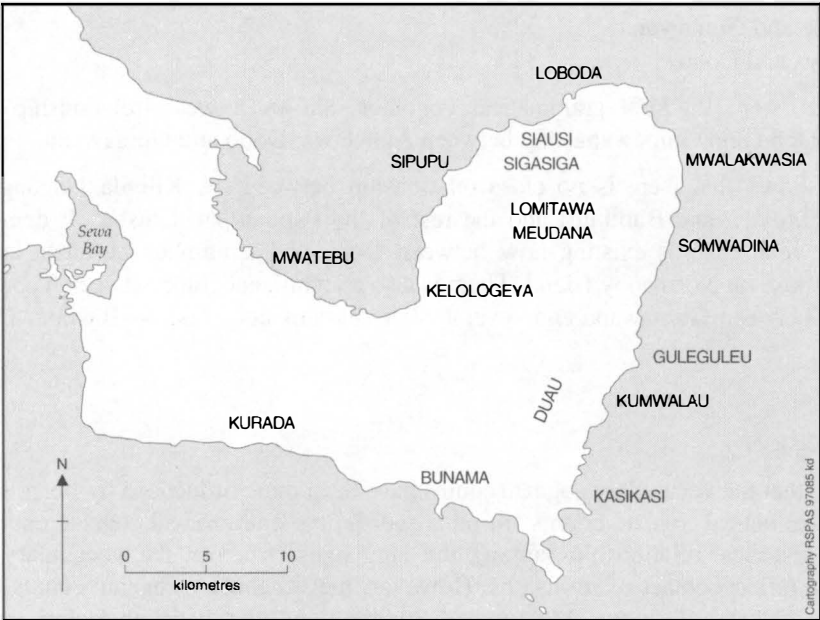
MAP 3: NORMANBY ISLAND LANGUAGES

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[5]   Further materials from Fergusson and Normanby Islands (on language change) were presented in Lithgow (1992b).

Abbreviations used in Tables 5 and 6 are as follows:

Auh	Auhelawa (Kurada)	Fag	Fagululu
Bos	Bosalewa	GalB	Galeya, Basima dialect
Bun	Bunama	GalS	Galeya, Sebutuya dialect
Bwa	Bwaidoka	Kal	Kalokalo
DGu	Duau, Geleguleu dialect	Lob	Loboda
DKa	Duau, Kasikasi dialect	Min	Minavega (Kukuya)
DKe	Duau, Kelologeya dialect	MolA	Molima, Ailuluwai dialect
DKu	Duau, Kumwalau dialect	MolT	Molima, Toagesi dialect
DLo	Duau, Lomitawa dialect	Mwa	Mwatebu
DM	Duau, Mwalakwasiya dialect	Sal	Salakahadi
DMe	Duau, Meudana dialect	Sew	Sewa Bay
Dob	Dobu	Sua	Suau
DSa	Duau, Siausi dialect	Tub	Tubetube
DSi	Duau, Sigasiga dialect	Yam	Yamalele
DSo	Duau, Somwadina dialect	YamM	Yamalele, Maiodom dialect
DSp	Duau, Sipupu dialect		

TABLE 5: GRAMMATICAL COGNATE COUNTS FOR LANGUAGES OF FERGUSSON ISLAND AND OTHERS

	MolA	MolT	Min	Fag	Bwa	Kal	Yam	Sal	Bos	YamM	GalB	GalS	Sew	Bun
Dob	56	35	14	27	23	29	30	38	30	27	50	55	67	51
MolA		61	14	44	18	24	31	65	45	28	38	40	.	.
MolT			28	61	21	27	31	76	57	26	28	27	33	40
Min				28	26	22	28	30	29	22	16	16	9	12
Fag					24	33	33	64	59	27	26	26	.	.
Bwa						35	31	26	24	23	16	14	19	21
Kal							38	28	31	42	31	30	27	29
Yam								37	34	43	35	38	.	.
Sal									64	28	29	27	.	.
Bos										26	28	28	36	36
YamM											32	36	.	.
GalB												76	49	41
GalS													52	38
Sew														49

TABLE 6: GRAMMATICAL COGNATE COUNTS FOR LANGUAGES OF NORMANBY ISLAND AND OTHERS

	DKa	DKu	DGu	DSo	DM	DSa	DSi	DLo	DSp	DMe	DKe	Mwa	Lob	Dob	Auh	Tub	Sua
Bun	87	81	68	66	61	42	56	61	66	89	70	54	44	51	44	29	.
DKa		95	73	73	64	.	60	72		80		49	51	51	41	33	.
DKu			76	69	69	.	63	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
DGu				62	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	48	36	35	19
DSo					85	54	73	.	.	63	.	.	46	36	37	33	.
DM						54	75	.	.	.	.	.	51	.	.	.	.
DSa							58	42	.	.	.	.	.	32	.	.	.
DSi								77	.	65	.	40	40	40	33	25	.
DLo									59	67	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
DSp										78	73	.	49	47	.	.	.
DMe											.	61	50	59	45	28	.
DKe												48	37	46	29	.	.
Mwa													66	82	37	.	.
Lob														56	18	22	12
Dob															32	28	21
Auh																38	26
Tub																	33

3. BI- AND MULTILINGUALISM IN THE AREA WHERE MUYUW BOOKS ARE USED

3.1 BACKGROUND

In 1990 I submitted a report to the Summer Institute of Linguistics Language Assessment Conference in England about a 'Test Your Word Power' (Word-Power) test which I was using to determine the levels of Dobu bilingualism in the primary schools of Fergusson and Normanby Islands, and also Muyuw bilingualism in the islands between Woodlark and Kiriwina. My results were published but not my description of the methods used or of how I arrived at them. My discussion of language standardisation was included in the section which was published.

3.1.1 THE WORD-POWER TEST

The genesis of the Word-Power test and its earlier applications are described in the following paragraphs.

The dialects of the Marshall Bennett Islands (Iwa, Kwewata, Gawa, and Yanabwa), which are located between Kiriwina and Woodlark Island, are linguistically intermediate between the Kiriwina language and the Muyuw language of Woodlark. We have done Muyuw literacy and book distribution since 1966 in Kwewata, Gawa and Yanabwa, the three easternmost of the Marshall Bennett Islands.

In 1984 I was in the Provincial capital, Alotau, and met some Gawa people at the hospital there. I noted they had Muyuw New Testaments with them, which they were using. With them was an illiterate girl of about sixteen years. I tried to determine the level of her understanding of Muyuw, using the Translation Checking method of the Summer Institute of

Linguistics. In this test we take Scripture which has been translated, but not published, read it in short passages to an average unsophisticated speaker of that language, and then ask questions on the general content of the passage, with further questions on the fine details if this seems warranted. If the translation is good then the questions should be answered well.

With this Gawa girl I read the second chapter of Paul's letter to the Colossians. I knew that this passage, though a difficult one, was clearly understood by Muyuw speakers; so I used comprehension testing questions to see if it was also understood by this uneducated girl from the Gawa dialect.

I found that it was all clear to her, except for six verses, each of which contained a word which she did not know. Her initial response to those passages was, 'I don't know what that word means.' I would then read the whole verse again, and ask her what she thought it may mean. Half of her responses were correct, one was wrong, and the other two were in the right semantic area, but not fully correct. In no case was there any serious distortion of meaning from her lack of knowledge of those six words.

From this I reasoned that for the people of related dialects comprehension is related directly to their knowledge of the vocabulary of those dialects.

The following year I visited the Marshall Bennett Islands and did widespread testing of Muyuw comprehension. I used the six words from Colossians which the Gawa girl had not known. My testees were the grade 6 or grade 5 school children in the Community Schools (primary schols). In our literacy work the Education Department allows us to test the vernacular reading fluency of the children in the schools. In the Woodlark area, as a class does its normal work, the children come to us one by one and we test their Muyuw reading ability. To this procedure I now added the questions on the meaning of the six Muyuw test words.

This was an ideal environment for such testing. No one else was present to interfere or make the testee nervous. Their initial shyness had been overcome by the reading test and informal conversation beforehand. If reading had been a struggle, just speaking and answering questions was easier.

Often children knew the meaning of a word, or the general semantic area of its usage, but they found it difficult to explain. They were told they could give the answer in Muyuw, or in English, or in their own language. This means that the tester needs to know the word equivalents in the language or dialect where he is doing the testing.

If a child is still struggling, help can be given by some leading questions. For the word for 'dream' I may ask, 'Does this happen by day or night?' An immediate response of 'Night' indicates that the testee does know the word. For the word for 'sign' I may ask for an example. For 'joint of the body' I may ask the testee to point to one.

This test is of use for people who are fairly fluent in the language being tested. Their basic fluency is established first by informal conversation in the language. All children who have grown up in Kwewata, Gawa and Yanabwa have a fairly good basic fluency in the Muyuw language. The number of correct meanings for the six words gives a scale of fluency from 'fair'" to 'excellent'. The children are still quite young, so it can be assumed that the levels of fluency will be higher, rising with increasing age, throughout the rest of the community. I have done some random testing which upholds this assumption.

I have found that children get better results if they have travelled widely, and especially if they have lived in the area of the language being tested. Before testing them I ask the children where they have lived previously, and I try to restrict the testing to those who have lived all their lives in the local area.

A large benefit of testing school children is the achievement of good standardisation. Older people vary widely in the levels to which they have been exposed to other languages, so they vary much more widely in their bilingual fluency than children do.

I later devised a similar test for Dobu, the *lingua franca* of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. Here there are people from many different, but related, languages using Dobu Scriptures, and I tried to determine the level of Dobu comprehension in these different language areas. Again I chose six words from Scripture which non-Dobuans found difficult to understand, and used grade 5 and grade 6 children as testees. The average for children in the Dobu area itself was 80%-90% which is an excellent score. Below 60% is only a 'fair' score, and suggests that Dobu Scriptures may not be adequate for those people. The average score for most languages in Fergusson and Normanby Islands was 65-85%, though two languages scored only 30-40%

This test is similar to the 'Test your Word Power' feature in the *Reader's Digest*. I have confidence that it gives reliable comparative results.

3.1.2 The Sentence Repetition Test

After these applications of the Word-Power test I came across the Sentence Repetition Test (SRT). Radloff (1991) describes the theory and practice of SRT thoroughly. I studied this book in order to understand the principles on which the test is based. The underlying theory of the test is that if people can repeat a sentence in another language then that is an indication that they know the language. If the sentence is fairly long or complex and they repeat it accurately, this shows that they have a high level of understanding of the language. Testees are each given two trial sentences and fifteen test sentences to repeat. For each sentence if they repeat it accurately they score three points. For every mistake they lose one point. That means that if there are three mistakes or more they score no points.

Difficulties in testing procedures arise when

(a)   the testers do not know the language of the test sentences;

(b)   several testers are used and there are significant variations in the way they administer the test.

I overcame these problems by knowing the language I was working with, and by doing all of the testing myself. I did everything orally instead of using the recommended tape recorder. I do not think this affected the results significantly.

In Radloff's book, rating the numerical results of sentence repetition testing is done on a subjective basis. In the preparations for the use of the test, intelligent speakers of the language which is used for testing relate the level of results to what they perceive to be the level of fluency of people whom they know who are being tested. By this means numerical levels are given for each category of fluency.

3.2 THE 1994 APPLICATION OF THE WORD-POWER AND SENTENCE REPETITION TESTS

In early 1994 I administered tests in the Muyuw area for bilingualism in the Dobu, Muyuw, Kiriwina and English languages. I used the same testees for both my Muyuw Word-Power test and the SRT, as well as testing the school children for ability to read Muyuw. The results of both tests are presented here. I feel confident that both tests give valid comparative results.

To prevent the SRT process from becoming too tedious for the children being tested I reduced the number of sentences from fifteen to eleven for each language. My test sentences are listed in Appendix D. It was soon evident that the SRT tested not only fluency in another language, but other factors as well, such as memory span, concentration and general intelligence. However, the results were generally comparable with the Word-Power results.

Transport to and within these islands is difficult. I carried no mechanical equipment, only notebooks. Instead of pre-recording the sentences I read them orally to the testees (making sure they could not read from my paper), and they attempted to repeat them correctly. I could do this because I am reasonably fluent in three of the four languages. I am not strongly fluent in the fourth language, Kiriwina, so I did preliminary drill of the eleven Kiriwina sentences with natural speakers until they and I were satisfied.

Testing was done with children in Government primary schools. Children at Budibud go to the Budibud School, except for some migrants at a small village near Guasopa School on Woodlark Island. The name of this village is Waniked. The letter W in the Budibud column of Chart 3 points to the results for two children from Waniked village.

The Muyuw results are from Guasopa School (see Map 4). The Egom results are from Egom children at Yanabwa School. The Wamwan results are from Kulumadau School. The Nawyem results are from children at Mwadau School. The Bowagis results are from Bowagis children at Mwadau School. (The people of Bowagis village, located in the Nawyem dialect area, and Nasikwabw Island belong to the Misima language group. They speak Misima and Muyuw.) The results from Yanabwa, Gawa and Iwa are from the schools on those three islands. There is no school on Kwewata Island. The Kwewata dialect is very similar to Gawa and Yanabwa.
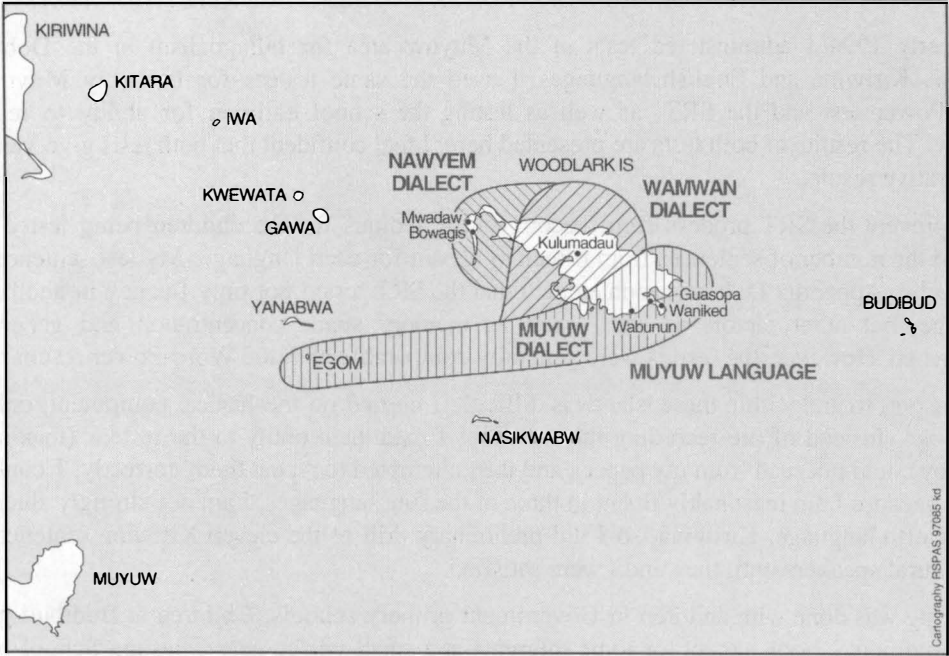
MAP 4: DIALECTS OF THE MUYUW LANGUAGE

3.3 RESULTS

The results of these tests are set out in Chart 3.

Each point on the two lines in the upper graph represents a person tested by Word-Power and SRT.

Results for the same individuals for the SRT in Dobu, Kiriwina and English are shown in the lower graph.

W
BUDIBUD | MUYUW   EGOM   WAMWAN   NAWYEM   BOWAGIS   YANABWA   GAWA   IWA

"Word-Power" Results

S.R.T. Results

AVERAGES

.... Dobu
———— Kiriwina
—·—·— English

Cartography RSPAS 97085 kd
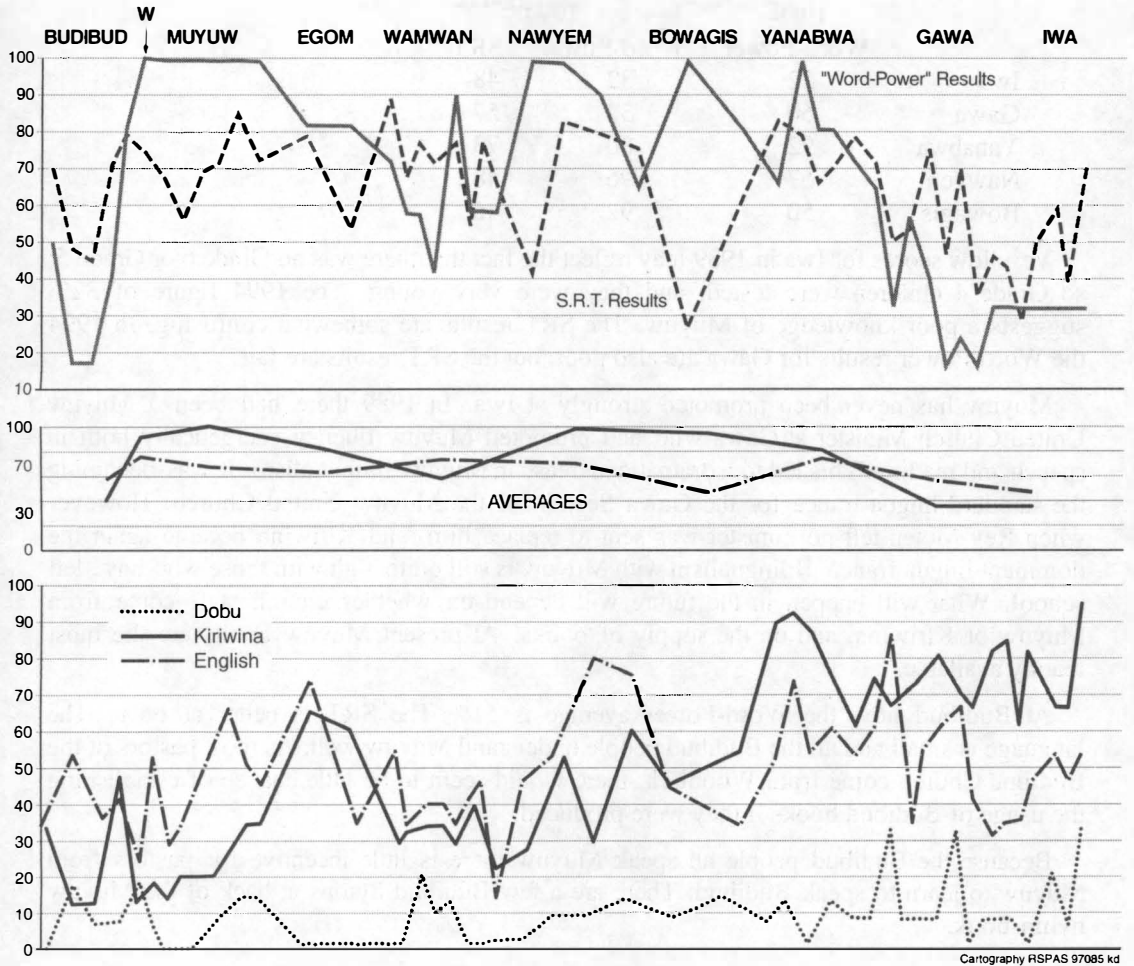
3.4. CONCLUSIONS

Although Dobu is used by some people in the church, it is clear that it is not an adequate means of communication.

Muyuw is adequate on Woodlark Island, and for Egom and Yanabwa.

Kiriwina is adequate for Iwa (SRT average 88%). But we need to look more closely at Budibud and Gawa, and at the Misima speakers of Nasikwabw and Bowagis. We will deal with the Misima speakers first.

Nasikwabw and Bowagis people can and do buy Misima Scriptures and Hymn Books, but they are also enthusiastic buyers and users of Muyuw books. All indications are that they understand Muyuw well. They all speak Muyuw well.

Concerning Gawa a comparison of average Word-Power and SRT results from the 1994 and 1989 surveys is instructive:

	1989 Word-Power	1994 Word-Power	SRT
Iwa	22	32	48
Gawa	60	32	57
Yanabwa	92	80	73
Nawyem	67	96	48
Bowagis	50	92	46

Very low scores for Iwa in 1989 may reflect the fact that there was no Grade 6 or Grade 5; so Grade 4 children were tested, and they were very young. The 1994 figure of 32% suggests a poor knowledge of Muyuw. The SRT results are somewhat confusing. In 1994 the Word-Power results for Gawa are also poor, but the SRT results are fair.

Muyuw has never been promoted strongly at Iwa. In 1989 there had been a Muyuw United Church Minister at Gawa who had promoted Muyuw fluency energetically both in speech and reading. This led to a dramatic increase in Muyuw bilingualism. It was becoming the standard lingua franca for the Gawa Section of the Muyuw United Church. However when Rev Moten left no minister was sent to replace him, and Kiriwina became again the dominant lingua franca. Bilingualism with Muyuw is still quite high with those who have left school. What will happen in the future will depend on whether church staff come from Muyuw or Kiriwina, and on the supply of books. At present Muyuw books are the most readily available.

At Budibud now the Word-Power average is 51% The SRT is better at 66%. The language is small and all the Budibud people understand Muyuw well. As most pastors of the Budibud Church come from Woodlark, there would seem to be little chance of establishing the usage of Budibud books if they were produced.

Because the Budibud people all speak Muyuw there is little incentive for pastors from Muyuw to learn to speak Budibud. There are a few Budibud hymns at back of the Muyuw hymn-book.

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE WORD LISTS USED FOR VOCABULARY COGNATE COUNTS

English	Muyuw	Kwewata	Iwa	Kitava	Kiriwina	Budibud	Misima	Tubetube	Duau (Guleguleu)	Dobu	Gumawana
1. hair	kunukun	kulukul	kulukulu	kulukulu	kulukulu	kulukuy	punopuno	ito	tumʌ	'uyʌ'uyanʌ	kunu
2. head	kunun	kunulʌ	pʷʌnetʌ	pʷʌnetʌ	dabilʌ	bʷaginat	kaununa	kulukulu	mʷagu	debaɱ	dʌbʌ
3. mouth	awan	wʌdɔl	wʌdolʌ	wʌdolʌ	wodilʌ	awad	awan	gamʷʌ	kahʷʌ	'awanʌ	sopʌ/togu
4. nose	abunun	kʌbʷal	kʌbululʌ	kʌbululʌ	kabuḷ	gubusun	buhun	isu	nisu	'ubusunʌ	kubu
5. eye	matan	mʌtal	mʌtalʌ	mʌtalʌ	matilʌ	matan	matan	maninʌ	mata	mataɱ	mata
6. neck	kayon	kʌyɔl	kʌyɔlʌ	kʌyolʌ	kʌyɔlkʌ	kuliyon	mʷʌmʷʌlin	galogalo	kʌnihɔnʌ	'otonʌ	nokʷʌto
7. belly	nuwan	nuwal	nuwalʌ	popoulʌ	lɔplʌ	nuwan	tinɛnʌ	diyʌ	gamʷʌ	gamʷanʌ	gamo
8. skin	kʌlevin	kʌlevil	kʌlʌvilʌ	kʌlɛvilʌ	kʌnayin	zʌnin	kunisinʌ	kʷapi	kʷapi	bʷalanʌ	sʌkʰavʌ
9. knee	kitʌtun	kutʌtul	kʷʌtʌtulʌ	kutatulʌ	kʷɛtutu	kitʌtun	epʷʌkokonʌ	tutuli	kahe/tuhutuhu	'aetutu	aetutu
10. man	taw	taw	tau	tau	tau	taw	gʌmʌgař	tɔmo	lɔheyʌ	tai	holɔto
11. woman	vin	vin	valilʌ	varilʌ	vivilʌ	in	yovʌ	sine	wʌhine	waine	vavinʌ
12. bird	man	man	manu	manu	maunʌ	man	bwasumo	man	manuwe	manua	manuwɔ
13. dog	awukʷ	kawukʷ	kaukʷʌ	kaukʷʌ	kaukʷʌ	kʌwʌyal	wanukʌ	bʷawʌ	kedewʌ	kedewʌ	weinia
14. he bites	iged	iged	iged	iged	igedʌ	igeli	itař	iletʌ	ikaiyʌ	'igo'i	'ikani
15. he sits	isin	isil	isil	isili	isili	ikeyʌ	imisio	imiasio	imiyatɔi	'imiyʌtɔwʌ	itisɔbu
16. he stands	itʌmʌnaw	itʌkey	itokayʌ	itokayʌ	itɔtʌ	itʌmʌnaw	imiřil	itoolo	itoholo	'itoolo	itaɔyʌ
17. he lies	imasis	imʌsis	imasisi	imasisi	imasis	izɛw	ikenu	ikeno	ikeno	'i'eno	imasisi
18. he goes	inon	ilol	ilolʌ	ilolʌ	ilolʌ	ilan	iyegun	ilau	inaho	'itauya	inʌ
19. path	ked	ked	kedʌ	kedʌ	kedʌ	kɛz	kʌmʷasʌ	kʌmʷasʌ	kedʌ	'edʌ	kɛnao
20. stone	dʌkul	dʌkul	dokuɱ	dakuɱ	dakuɱ	dʌgul	eku/pat	veku	džimʷʌ	gulewʌ	lusʌ/gulewʌ
21. big	ʌvʌkaen	kwɛvek	kʷeivekʌ	kʷeivekʌ	kʷɛvekʌ	kʌtuway	bʷʌbʷʌtanʌ	lalakinʌ	sinʌbʷanʌ	sinʌbʷanʌ	gʌgainʌ
22. small	kʌkit	kʷʌkit	kʷɛkitʌ	kokɛkitʌ	kʷɔkɛikitʌ	kikit	kekesinʌ	kikiunʌ	kikiunʌ	gidʌlinʌ	giaini
23. fire	kɔv	kɔvʌ	kɔvʌ	kɔvʌ	kɔvʌ	ʌwlayi	ginʌhʌ	mʌyau	kaiwe	kaiwe	yeu
24. smoke	musew	musew	museu	museu	musɛu	musɛw	kasu	kasu/bogau	kasu	'asu	'asu/ambowo
25. ashes	pulikɔv	pʌtʌkʌyag	dʌbiyow	putʌkɛyag	tubʷagʌ	pulikov	pʷʌpʷʌkɔvʌ	kau	kahu	kalikau	telekʰau
26. ear	tegan	tegal	tʌygalʌ	tʌygalʌ	tɛgilʌ	padin	tʌnanʌ	tɛnʌ	tenʌ	tenʌ	teiyʌ
27. his tongue	mʌyen	mʌyel	mʌyelʌ	nʌyenʌ	mainʌ	sʌpan	memenʌ	memenʌ	memenʌ	meyanʌ	mɛʌnʌ
28. his tooth	kudun	kudul	kudulʌ	kudunʌ	kudulʌ	gudun	nininʌ	mʷakʌ	salʌ	salʌ	salʌ
29. her breast	sʌsun	nʌnul	nanulʌ	nanulʌ	nunulʌ	sʌsun	susu	susu	susu	susu	susu/nunu
30. his hand	nʌman	yʌmal	yʌmalʌ	yʌmalʌ	yʌmilʌ	niman	nimʌ	nimʌ	nimʌ	nimʌ	nimʌ
31. his foot	kʌken	kaikel	kʌykelʌ	kʌpakaelʌ	bakʷay	alen	aenʌ	kae	kahe	'ae	ae
32. sun	kalas	kʌlas	kʌlasi	kalasi	kalasi	sɪlʌsil	sʌbʷelu	dabʷelɔ	sinalʌ	sinalʌ	niyʌlʌ
33. moon	tibukɔn	tubukɔn	tubakɔɱ	tubukɔɱ	tubukon	tibukon	waikenʌ	waikenʌ	waikenʌ	nawalae	wʌwoinʌ
34. star	utun	kɔt	kɔtʌlʌ	kɔtʌlʌ	utuyam	utun	putum	utu	kʷadžimʌ	kʷadimʌ	utunʌ

English	Muyuw	Kwewata	Iwa	Kitava	Kiriwina	Budibud	Misima	Tubetube	Duau (Guleguleu)	Dobu	Gumawana
35. cloud	lɔv	lɔvʌ	lɔvʌ	lɔvʌ	lɔwʌlɔwʌ	lɔw	yaluyalu	yalɔyalɔi	yalɔyalɔhʌ	pʷanʌ	gelɛu
36. rain	kʷes	kun	kunʌ	kunʌ	kunʌ	kʷes	kɛhɛ	galewʌ	džohi	'usanʌ	kuwʌnʌ
37. water	sop	sop	sopi	sopi	sopi	dawn	wewel	wailʌ	bʷasi	bʷasi	bʷɛyɛ
38. tree	kay	kay	kay	kay	kay	ʌmʷeilɔk	ebwaki/kiwadi	mʌyau	kaiwe	kaiwe	alɔvʌ
39. root	gidʌwawal	kawlawal	kawlʌwali	gidawali	kainʌwali	giduwalin	ɛwʌhil	lamnʌ	lamu	lamu	lam
40. leaf	yʌgeven	yamʷɛkʷ	yamʷɛk	yekʷesi	yekʷes	amʷek	lʌmʷanʌ	ligunʌ	nʌbanʌ	yʌwanʌ	yaoinʌ
41. meat	viniyon	viniyon	viniyonʌ	viliyonʌ	viliyonʌ	siyon	bunum	bulumʌ	hesiɔ	esiɔ	esiyɔ
42. fat	mɔmɔnan	pɔs	pʷasalʌ	pɔsʌ	pɔsʌ	mɔmɔnan	mɔmɔni	mɔmɔne	mɔmɔnanʌ	mɔmɔnanʌ	sʌbali
43. egg	pow	pow	pou	pou	pou	pow	pou	pou	pou	pou	puleɔtu
44. he eats	ikam	ikam	ikam	ikam	ikam	igʌ	ianan	ikekan	ikai	'i'ai	ikaikʌ
45. he gives me	isekegʷ	isekaeg	isekaigu	isʌkaegu	isakaeg	itokʷegʷ	ipem	iyeyamʌ	ihelegau	'i'ebwa'egu	ivinegu
46. he sees	ikin	ikin	ikin	ikinʌ	igisi	inigɛ	ikitɛ	igitai	igebe	'i'ita	igitɛ
47. he comes	im	im	im	imʌ	imʌ	imʌ	inem	ilaumʌ	inʌhɔmʌ	'imai	imʌ
48. louse	kut	kut	kutu	kutu	kutu	kut	gagʌ	tumʌ	tumʌ	'utu	kutu
49. one	katʌnɔk	katʌnɔk	kʷetalʌ	kʷaitalʌ	kʷɛtalʌ	kʌtanɔk	maisenʌ	kaigedʌ	kaigedʌ	'ebweu	tʌyamɔ
50. two	ʌkʷey	kɔyu	kɔyu	kɔyu	kʷɛy	ʌkʷɛy	labui	labui	labui	'eluwʌ	aiyuwɔ
51. his back	tʌpʷan	tʌpʷal	kʌpoulʌ	tubʷalɔlʌ	kapoulʌ	atubʷʌtub	ɛputetenʌ	dʌgilan	gui	gui/gwau	tɔlu
52. his shoulder	pipʌyan	ilʌval	yʌlʌvalʌ	lʌlavanʌ	ilʌvalʌ	pʌpʌlat	vevelanʌ	lealeanʌ	kahala	'alanʌ	vilava
53. his forehead	dʌban	dʌbalʌ	dʌbalʌ	dʌbalʌ	dabilʌ	lʌmʷan	lʌmʷanʌ	lamʷanʌ	maninʌ	'asunʌ	daba
54. his bone	tʌtuwan	tʌtuwal	toutuwalʌ	tutuwʌlʌ	kʌsigilʌ	tʌtuwa	tuwʌtuwʌ	tuwʌtuwa	lulu	lulu	lulu
55. his blood	buyavin	buyʌvil	buyʌvilʌ	buyailʌ	buyailʌ	mʷʌliyɛs	sʌliyʌ	kʷasine	bʷyʌhʌ	lala	ikeikai
56. baby	apʷaw	pwapwaw	tʌpwapwaw	tʌpwapwaw	pʷapʷau	mɛř	wʌwayʌ	melumelu	gwamʌ	gʷamʌ	memea
57. old man	tʌmʷey	tʌmɔy	tʌmɔyʌ	tʌmɔyʌ	tomʷayʌ	tomol	tʌnɔwak	taubala	taubadʌ	'inapʷanʌ	tomɔyʌ
58. old woman	nʌmʷey	nʌmɔy	nʌmɔyʌ	nʌmɔyʌ	numʷayʌ	nʌmɔl	ɛvenak	kaiyale	kaihale	kaiyale	nʌmɔyʌ
59. person	gʌmag	gʌmag	gʌmaglʌ	gʌmagli	tomota	gʌmag	gʌmʌgal	tomo	tomɔtai	tomɔʋi	tomɔʋi
60. older brother	tuwan	tuwal	tuwalʌ	tuwalʌ	tuwalʌ	tauwan	talinʌ	kʌnʌkavʌ	tasinʌ	tasinʌ	tuwɔwɔnʌ
61. sister	nunet	nulet	nuletʌ	nuletʌ	luletʌ	lɛwun	nunʌ	duunʌ	nuhunʌ	nuunʌ	niunʌ
62. name	yʌgan	yʌgal	yʌgalʌ	yʌgalʌ	yagalʌ	lalan	alanʌ	esanʌ	saninʌ	esanʌ	yɔinʌ
63. pig	bʷʌlod	buluk	bulukʷʌ	bulukʷʌ	bunukʷʌ	buluk	bɔbu	pɔlɔ	bawe	bawe	baw
64. flying fox	udʌwed	mʌlibɔy	udʌwedʌ	mʌgiyawedʌ	mʌgiyʌwedʌ	udʌwed	kuyab	guliliyʌ	guliliyʌ	meyʌwedaʌ	mʌyʌwedʌ
65. rat	sinmunam	kʌyʌkon	kiakɔni	kokɔni	kikɔni	sinmunam	sukɔkɔi	gimʷau	kokɔlkʌ	kokɔlakʌ	mʷʌmʷau
66. frog	kumɛw	kʌlakʷekʷ	kumɛw	kumɛw	kumɛu	kumɛw	pʷʌgali	kʷɛkʷɛ	pɔlɔgi	kʷɛkʷɛ	kʷɛkʷɛ
67. snake	mʷʌtɛt	mʷʌtɛt	mʷʌtɛtʌ	kʌunʌ	kaunʌ	mɔtet	mʷata	wɛsɔ	mʷatʌ	mʷata	mɔtɛtʌ

APPENDIX B: SENTENCES USED FOR STUDY OF GRAMMAR COGNATES

Each English sentence is followed by a translation into Muyuw with a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and then, in parentheses, a listing of the grammatical features in that sentence selected for comparison.

Abbreviations:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CNT	continuous
D:	disjunctive (free) pronoun
EMPH	emphatic particle
EP	exclusive plural
ID	inclusive dual
IP	inclusive plural
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
O:	object pronominal suffix
OP	plural object suffix (more than two)
P	plural
P:	(intimate/inalienable) possessive pronominal affix
PD:	distant possession
PE:	edible possession
R	realis
S	singular
S:	subject pronominal prefix
SP	plural subject suffix

(1)   Their house is good.
        Si-bunatum   bunamna-bwein.
        PD:3P-house CL-good
        (PD:3P, CL)

(2)   Yesterday that man hit my child.
        Nov   taw   to-wen   bo   i-weiy   natu-g.
        yesterday man CL-that EMPH S:3-hit child-P:1S
        ('yesterday', 'that', word order, P:1S, transitive suffix on verb)

(3)   Why did you(S) hit me, eh?
        Aaveiyag wawun   nu-ku-wei-g,   ne?
        what   reason   R-S:2-hit-O:1S   eh
        ('why?', R, S:2S, O:1S, 'eh?')

(4)   You(P) are drinking only (i.e. no food)
           yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-s   wan
           D:2P   S:2-CNT-drink-SP only
           (D:2P, S:2P, SP, 'only')

(5)   When did he find you(S)?
           Asinavin mo   i-banei-m   yak?
           when   then S:3-find-O:2S   D:2S
           ('when', past action, O:2S, D:2S)

(6)   This is my food, I'll eat it to get very strong.
           Ka-g   to-wen b-a-kam   mo b-a-tawtoun   singay.
           food-P:1S CL-that IRR-S:1S-eat   then IRR-S:1S.-strong very
           ('my food', 'this', morpheme marking future, 'very')

(7)   There is their food to eat
           Kae-s   to-wen b-ei-kam-s.
           food-P:3P CL-that IRR-S:3-eat-SP
           ('their food', 'there (near them)', future purpose)

(8)   I only want water
           sivina-g   yevagam wan
           desire-P:1S   water   only
           ('I want', 'only')

(9)   Perhaps that man won't catch those pigs.
           Adok   taw   to-wen   na-b-i-yousi-s   man-siyas bwaloud.
           perhaps man   CL-that   NEG-IRR-S:3-grab-O:3P CL-those pig
           ('perhaps', NEG, O:3P, classifier for 'those pigs', future, irrealis reduplication of
           verb stem)

(10)   Later he will go to you(S).
           Igaw mo   b-ei-w.
           later then IRR-S:3-movement.to.hearer
           ('later', 'then', movement to hearer)

(11)   Tomorrow Dobu men will visit you(P) and take your pig.
           Nubweig   mina-Dobu   b-i-lakwanei-miy   b-i-kawe-s   mi-bwaloud.
           tomorrow people.of-Dobu IRR-S:3-visit-O:2P   IRR-S:3.-take-SP PD:2P-pig
           ('tomorrow', 'men of', O:2P, 'and', PD:2P, O:3S with SP)

(12)   A man hit a child and killed it.
           Taw tei-tan i-weiy gwad i-kati-met.
           man CL-one   S:3-hit child S:3-CAUS-die
           (indefinite article 'a', 'and', CAUS)

(13)   You(S) go with me.
           Sou-g   yak bi-te-n.
           companion-P:1S   D:2S IRR-S:1ID-go
           ('my companion', S:1ID, IRR)

(14) He went with us(IP).
      M-to-wen   so-d   yakid-s   ni-ta-nei-s.
      SPECIFIC-CL-that companion-P:1IP D:1IP-P[6] R-S:1IP-go-SP
      (Specific person 'he', 'our (IP) companion', completed action)

(15) Are those mats good?
      Amawan sigini-siyas sag, bwein?
      how?   CL-those   mat, good
      (question word, CL for 'mats', form of 'good')

(16) Tomorrow you(P) will embark to go trading.
      Nubweig bu-ku-touw-s   vagan bu-ku-kun-s.
      tomorrow IRR-S:2-embark-SP PURPOSE IRR-S:2-trade-SP
      (future, purpose word)

(17) If it rains we(E) will enter our(E) house.
      Kukin b-ei-kweis   kweis ba-ka-siw   wa-ma-bwan.
      if   IRR-S:3-rain   rain   IRR-S:1EP-enter LOC-PD:1EP-house
      ('if', S:1EP, LOC ('in'/'to'/'at'), PD:1EP)

(18) He gave us(E) three bananas.
      Bo   i-seke-m   kwei-toun bwakey.
      EMPH   S:3-give-O:1EP   CL-three   banana
      (O:1EP, word order)

(19) He gave us(I) that pig.
      Bo   i-sekei-d-s   na-wen   bwaloud.
      EMPH   S:3-give-O:1I-OP   CL-that   pig
      (past action, classifier for 'pig', O:1IP suffixes, word order)

(20) That man gave his older brothers a dog.
      Taw to-wen   awuk bo   i-seke-s   tuwa-n.
      man CL-that   dog   EMPH   S:3.-give-O:3P older.brother-P:3S
      (classifier for 'man', 'older brothers', word order)

(21) They stood away near your(S) house.
      bo   i-to-wa-s   wa-dada-n   mu-bwan
      EMPH   S:3-stand-away-SP LOC-side-P:3S PD:2S-house
      ('away' (locative suffix), 'near/beside', PD:2S)

(22) His younger brother went from his garden to his house.
      Bwada-n   bo   i-lisow   na-bag   i-n   wa-na-bwan.
      younger.brother-P:3S EMPH S:3-leave PD:3S-garden S:3-go LOC-PD:3S-house
      ('his younger brother', LOC 'to', PD:3S)

(23) Don't you(S) take my thing from me.
      Awoum   ku-kow   yey   guna-vavag.
      PROHIBITIVE S:2-take D:1S   PD:1S-thing
      (PROHIBITIVE, IRR, irrealis reduplication , PD:1S)

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[6] *yakid* is the non-singular pronoun: *-s* indicates 'more than two'.

(24)   Leave me and go away.
         Ku-sineiki-k   ku-n   nuweiw.
         S:2-move-away   S:2-go   there
         (suffix for 'away from me', means of conjoining)

(25)   I can do it because it is my work.
         Bweina   b-a-vag   peinan   guna-wotet   to-wen.
         good/able   IRR-S:1S-do   because   P:1S-work   CL-that
         (ability, S:1S, 'because', CL)

(26)   Those three women will go with us(I)
         Ta-siyas   vin-ay   as-tei-toun   si-d-ayas
         CL-those   woman-P   PE:3P-CL-three   companion-P:1IP-companions.P
         bi-ta-nou-na-s.
         IRR-S:1IP-CNT-go-SP
         (CL for 'those women', 'women' (plural form), plural accompaniment, S:1IP)

(27)   They have finished cooking.
         Bo   i-kali-veinun-s   bo   i-kous.
         EMPH   S:3-CAUS-cook-SP   EMPH   S:3-finish
         (S:3P affixes, CAUS/reduplication for 'cook', phrase/word for 'finished', word
         order)

(28)   That is your(S) food; eat it.
         Ka-m   to-wen ku-kwam.
         food-P:2S   CL-that   S:2-eat
         (P:2S, 'that (near hearer)', change of *k* to *kw* in 'you eat')

(29)   I can't see it.
         nag   b-a-wtus
         NEG   IRR-S:1S-see/recognize
         (NEG, IRR, irrealis reduplication or affix on 'see')

APPENDIX C: GRAMMATICAL DATA FOR THE MUYUW LANGUAGE AREA

1. INFORMANTS

LANGUAGE (Dialect)	Speaker	Sex	Age
MUYUW	Linda	F	30
Wamwan	Kei	M	22
Nawyem	Jacob	M	18
BUDIBUD	Awmay	M	60
	John	M	35
Kwewata	Joseph Gladiy	M	18
Gawa	Robin	M	16
Yanabwa	Iyem	M	20
Iwa	Kebo	M	30
Kitava	Stepan R.	M.	21
KIRIWINA	Banabas	M	15
GUMAWANA	Diyem	M	50

DOBU	Dolitiya	F	65
DUAU			
Guleguleu	Yunis	F	16
AUHELAWA	James N.	M	40
TUBETUBE	Aisea Daba	M	45
MISIMA	Watson	M	34
Nasikwabw	John	M	40
BASIMA	Rodney	M	12

2. DATA

English	Their house is good.
Muyuw	*si-bunatum bunamna-bwein*
Wamwan	*si-bunatum palapa*
Nawyem	*si-bunatum palap*
Budibud	*izi-kob kalamwey*
Kwewata	*si-bwal kam-bwen-as*
Gawa	*si-bwal kamna-bwen*
Yanabwa	*si-bwal kamna-bwen*
Iwa	*si-bwala bwaina*
Kitava	*si-bwala kama-bouta*
Kiriwina	*si-bwala kwemni-bweta*
Gumawana	*idi vada dedevi-na*
Dobu	*'idi anuwa bobo'a-na*
Duau	*izi hada bwebwea-na*
Auhelawa	*yadi vada namwanamwa-na*
Tubetube	*ali nume namwanamwa-na*
Misima	*wali limi waiwaisa-na*
Nasikwabw	*ali limi waiwaisa-na*
Basima	*adi welai gina-bwena*

English	Yesterday that man hit my child.
Muyuw	*nov taw to-wen bo i-weiy natu-g*
Wamwan	*nov to taw i-weiy natu-g*
Nawyem	*nov taw to-wen bo i-wey natu-g*
Budibud	*nagow taw eto-n ba i-yela intu-g*
Kwewata	*now m-to taw bo i-wey natu-g*
Gawa	*now m-ton taw i-wey natu-g*
Yanabwa	*nov taw m-to-wen bo i-wey natu-g*
Iwa	*nov taw m-to-na bo i-waya natu-g*
Kitava	*lova tomoy m-to-na i-woya natu-gu*
Kiriwina	*lova m-to-na taw i-weya latu-gu*
Gumawana	*boithe oloto-yana natu-gu i-yawu-i*
Dobu	*boga tai ni-na natu-gu 'i-unu-na*
Duau	*boi loheya-na natu-gu i-hunu-hi-ya*
Auhelawa	*lavi towaho-na-ne natu-gu 'i-ta-talai-ne*
Tubetube	*laina tomo-ne natu-gu i-unu-i*
Misima	*nolu tau-ya natu-u i-lol*

| Nasikwabw | *nolu tau-yo ko i-lol natu-u* |
| Basima | *boi tomotau nena natu-gu i-lau* |

English	Why did you(S) hit me, eh?
Muyuw	*aveiyag wawu-n nu-ku-wei-g ne?*
Wamwan	*aveyakan wawu-n nu-ku-wei-g ne?*
Nawyem	*aveyaka wawu-n nu-ku-wei-g ne?*
Budibud	*tana wewu-n nu-ku-yela-g ne?*
Kwewata	*aveyaka peila-la nu-ku-wei-g ke?*
Gawa	*aveyaka peila nu-ku-we-gu ke?*
Yanabwa	*aveyaka wawu-la nu-ku-we-gu ke?*
Iwa	*aveyaka wawu-la nu-ku-wai-gu ke?*
Kitava	*avaka paila nu-ku-wei-gu ki?*
Kiriwina	*avaka wuwu-la o ku-we-gu ke?*
Gumawana	*haga pasi-na ku-yawii-gu a?*
Dobu	*to'ase manu-na 'u-unu-unu-gu 'aga?*
Duau	*taugama weyahi-na ku-hunu-hi-gaw-wa?*
Auhelawa	*vedova 'u-talai-gau 'awa?*
Tubetube	*tawai kaiwena ku-unu-wi-yau awa?*
Misima	*hauna kaiwena u-lola-u ine?*
Nasikwabw	*au nakuna u-lola-u ne?*

English	You(P), you are just drinking.
Muyuw	*yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-sa sabwam*
Wamwan	*yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-sa sabwam*
Nawyem	*yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-sa makaw*
Budibud	*tumi mi-mwa-moma mal*
Kwewata	*yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-s sabwam*
Gawa	*yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-s sabwam*
Yanabwa	*yakamiy ku-mwa-moum-s sabwam*
Iwa	*yekwemi ku-mwa-moum-s wala*
Kitava	*yakwemi ku-mo-mom-sa wala*
Kiriwina	*yokwami ku-mo-mom-si wala*
Gumawana	*komi bwasi kaka ho-nim-nim*
Dobu	*'omi wa-numa-numa namo*
Duau	*komi wa-numa-numa-mo*
Auhelawa	*'omiu 'am-numa-numa mohili*
Tubetube	*komiu kwa-numa-numa-mo*
Misima	*komiu kwi-mim-ya*
Nasikwabw	*komiu kwi-mwim bwagabwaga*

English	When did he find you(S)?
Muyuw	*asina-vin mo i-banei-m yak*
Wamwan	*asina-vin n-i-banei-m yak*
Nawyem	*asina-vin mo i-banei-m yak*
Budibud	*tan kwili me-i-lakona-m to-m*
Kwewata	*asina-vil n-i-banei-m yokom*
Gawa	*avei-tut n-i-bane-m yok*

Yanabwa	*asina-vil igaw n-i-bane-m yok*
Iwa	*ave-yam n-i-bane-m yoka*
Kitava	*ave-tutu n-i-banae-m yoka*
Kiriwina	*ave tuta i-bane-m yokwa*
Gumawana	*ava tuta i-ba-bane-m kom*
Dobu	*maisa 'i-lobe-mu-ya 'oyo*
Duau	*sauga sani-na i-lobe-go-wa kowa*
Auhelawa	*mai viha-na 'i-lo-lobai-go-ne 'owa*
Tubetube	*kowa tawa-ne sa-na i-lobai-wo*
Misima	*hauna sauga i-pwa-au-wa owa*
Nasikwabw	*awa nela abo i-paiwagi-wa owa*

English	This is my food; I'll eat it and grow very strong.
Muyuw	*ka-g to-wen b-a-kam mo b-a-tawtouna singay*
Wamwan	*ka-g ko-wen b-a-kam mo b-a-tawtouna singay*
Nawyem	*ka-g ko-wen b-a-kam mo b-a-tawtoun singay*
Budibud	*an eto-n b-a-gad mwa b-a-tawton singay*
Kwewata	*ka-gu m-kweisin b-a-kam b-a-peul singay*
Gawa	*ka-gu mu-kwen b-a-kam bo b-a-peula singay*
Yanabwa	*ka-g ma-kan b-a-kam igaw b-a-peula singay*
Iwa	*ka-gu ma-kana b-a-kam bo b-a-peula singay*
Kitava	*ka-gu baisa b-a-kam b-a-peula singaya*
Kiriwina	*ka-gu besa b-a-kam b-a-peula senela*
Gumawana	*ava-gu ami ya-kaika atamadidina i-vakai gaga*
Dobu	*'agu masula gete ya'ai be 'enega ya-e-waiwai wawasae*
Duau	*ka-gu beka ya-kai ma ya-he-waiwai hezaza*
Auhelawa	*'a-gu teina ya-ai na 'ebe ya-wahiyala moiha*
Tubetube	*ka-gu bwaite ya-kan yo koina ya-kaiwe sosi*
Misima	*a-u te n-a-nan inoke n-a-gasisi nabi*
Nasikwabw	*a-u yo nan abo n-a-gasis palapa*
Basima	*a-gu kame ya-e-'a be ya-e-waiwai*

English	There is their food for them to eat.
Muyuw	*kae-s to-wen b-ei-kam-s*
Wamwan	*kae-si ko-wen b-ei-kam-s*
Nawyem	*kae-s ko-wen b-ei-kam-s*
Budibud	*an-s eto-n bi-si-gad*
Kwewata	*kae-s m-kwe-sin b-ei-kam-s*
Gawa	*as-kalog m-to-sin b-ei-kam-s*
Yanabwa	*kae-s ma-kayan b-ei-kam-s*
Iwa	*kae-s ma-kana b-i-kams*
Kitava	*kae-si baisa b-i-kam-sa*
Kiriwina	*ka-si besa b-i-kam-s*
Gumawana	*ava-di ami si-kaika*
Dobu	*'a-di masula gote si-da-'ai*
Duau	*sibo ka-zi kabene si-kai*
Auhelawa	*'a-di-wa tenem hi-'ai*

Tubetube	*ka-li bwaine si-ke-kan*
Misima	*a-li-ya to abwe ni-hi-yan*
Nasikwabw	*a-li-ya yo ni-yan-an*
Basima	*'a-di kanoi si-'a*

English	I only want water.
Muyuw	*sivina-g yevagam wan*
Wamwan	*sivina-g yevagama misinak*
Nawyem	*sivina-g soup-a*
Budibud	*sivila-ga daun-o*
Kwewata	*yawu-g misinaka sop*
Gawa	*magi-gu sopi*
Yanabwa	*sivila-g daun wal*
Iwa	*magi-gu sopi wala*
Kitava	*magi-gu sopi wala*
Kiriwina	*magi-gu sopi wala*
Gumawana	*nuwanuwa-gu bwasi kaka*
Dobu	*nuwanuwa-gu bwasi namo*
Duau	*nuwanuwa-gu bwasi-mo*
Auhelawa	*nuwanuwa-gu waila-mo*
Tubetube	*nuwanuwa-gu waila-mo*
Misima	*nunuwa-u wewel ya*
Nasikwabw	*nuwanuwa-u wewel ya*
Basima	*nuwanuwa-gu bwasi daisina*

English	Perhaps that man won't catch those pigs.
Muyuw	*adok taw to-wen na-b-i-yousi-s man-siyas bwaloud*
Wamwan	*adok taw to-wen nag b-i-yousi-s na-sin bwaloud*
Nawyem	*adok taw to-wen nag b-i-yousi-s na-sin bwaloud*
Budibud	*ameki tau eto-n ta-b-e-los man-s eto-n buluk*
Kwewata	*adok taw m-to-wen gela b-i-yousi-s buluk mana-sin*
Gawa	*adok m-to taw gela b-i-yousi-s mana-sin buluk*
Yanabwa	*adok taw m-to-wen gela b-i-yousi-s buluk mana-sin*
Iwa	*adoka tau m-tona gela b-i-yous mana-sina buluk*
Kitava	*adoka tau m-tona gela b-i-yousi mana-sina bulukwa*
Kiriwina	*adoki tau m-toni gala b-i-yosi mana-sina bunukwa*
Gumawana	*nakona oloto-yana baw yadi geya i-yoisi-di-ya*
Dobu	*nai tai ni-na bawe gote-di nigeya 'i-da-gi-yai-di*
Duau	*nuwana yoka loheya-na bawe-yeidi gebu i-sau-saugigisi-zi*
Auhelawa	*nuwana loheya-wa maheya-o-wa nigele 'i-'abi-momohili*
Tubetube	*nuwana tomo-ne bwaine polo-ne nige i-ka-kabi kalata-gili*
Misima	*tabam tau-wina nige bosowai-na bobi-yau ni-li-bil*
Nasikwabw	*tabam tau bogu eliyo-na nigeya ni-li-bil*

English	Later he will go to you(S).
Muyuw	*igaw mo b-ei-w*
Wamwan	*igaw mo b-ei-w*
Nawyem	*igaw mo b-ei-w*

Budibud	*niyan mwa ba-sa*
Kwewata	*igaw b-e-w*
Gawa	*igaw b-e-wa*
Yanabwa	*igaw b-ei-wa*
Iwa	*igaw b-i-wa*
Kitava	*igaw b-i-wa*
Kiriwina	*igaw uluvi b-i-wa*
Gumawana	*iya au yai-mu*
Dobu	*ma-'etamo 'i-wa-wai*
Duau	*kabwa i-noho-wa*
Auhelawa	*mulitai 'abo 'i-lao-wa 'ali-mw-ai*
Tubetube	*kan i-lau-wa koli-wo*
Misima	*abwe n-i-no-wa*
Nasikwabw	*vetiga abwe n-i-no-wa*
Basima	*tadi lawaya-wa ene-mo*

English	Tomorrow Dobu men will visit you(P) and take your pig.
Muyuw	*nubweg mina Dob b-i-lakwane-miy b-i-kawe-s mi-bwaloud*
Wamwan	*nabweg mina Dob b-i-lakwane-miy b-i-kawe-s kami-bwaloud*
Nawyem	*nabweg mina Dob b-i-likwane-miy b-i-kawe-s mi-bwaloud*
Budibud	*nubweg mina Dob bi-si-lakona-mi bi-si-lupe mi-buluk*
Kwewata	*nubweg mina Dob b-i-lakwane-mi b-i-kawe-s mi-buluk*
Gawa	*nubwey mina Dob b-i-lakwane-mi b-i-kawe-s kami-buluk*
Yanabwa	*naboy mila Dobu b-i-lakwane-mi b-i-kowe-sa kami-buluk*
Iwa	*nubwaya mina Dobu b-i-wekae-mi b-i-kawe-s kami-bulukwa*
Kitava	*naboya mina Dobu b-i-waekae-mi b-i-lupe-s kami-bulukwa*
Kiriwina	*nabweya igau mina Dobu b-i-w-esa b-i-yakawali b-i-kau-sa ami-bunukwa*
Gumawana	*itomo me-Dobu si-ma si-yausi-mi be imi baw si-yoisi*
Dobu	*gibwa'i me-Dobu si-a-yausi-mi be 'imi bawe si-gi-yai*
Duau	*bwaliga Dobu tomotai ni-di si-ha-yausi-mi be na-mi bawe si-kewa*
Auhelawa	*'ahubena Dobu-wo-ne hi-tau-bo'e-ye-gomiu na yami maheya hi-vai*
Tubetube	*bwaliga Dobu si-la-lao-wa si-gitai-miu yo ami polo si-kalai*
Misima	*bwaliga mwa Dobu tau-wina n-i-no-wa ela-m inoke wami bobu ni-hi-lib*
Nasikwabw	*bwaliga eliya Dobu abwe n-i-no-wa n-i-kenane-miu ami bobu n-i-pataniwa*

English	A man hit a child and killed it.
Muyuw	*taw tei-tan i-weiy gwad i-kati-met*
Wamwan	*tei-tan taw i-weiy gwad i-kati-met*
Nawyem	*taw tei-tan i-weiy gwad i-kati-met*
Budibud	*tau eto-n i-yela mela i-la-mate*
Kwewata	*tau tei-tal i-wey gwad i-kati-met*
Gawa	*tei-tal tau i-wey gwad i-kati-met*
Yanabwa	*tei-tal tau i-wey gwad i-kati-met*
Iwa	*tau tei-tala i-weya gwadi i-katu-meta*
Kitava	*tei-tala tau i-woya gwadi i-kata-meta*
Kiriwina	*tei-tala tau i-weya gwadi i-katu-mati*
Gumawana	*oloto yau gomana i-yau i-kau-mate*

Dobu	*'ebweuna tai gwama 'i-unu-na ga 'i-lo-e-mwawasi-na*
Duau	*loheya kaigeda gwama i-hunu-hi-ya ma i-lo-he-mwawasi-ya*
Auhelawa	*'ehebo towaho gama 'i-tala-i na 'i-'oi-ye-mwalowoi*
Tubetube	*tomo kaigeda melumelu 'i-unu-i yo i-koyaboita*
Misima	*tau etega wawaya i-lol inoke i-tagapaliga*
Nasikwabw	*gamaga yoga i-lol wawaya i-tagapaliga*
Basima	*tamotau memeya 'i-lau to 'i-tunai-mate*

English	You(S) go with me.
Muyuw	*sou-g yak bi-te-n*
Wamwan	*sou-g yak bi-te-n*
Nawyem	*sou-g yak bi-te-n*
Budibud	*ala-g to-m bi-ta-sa*
Kwewata	*so-g yokom bi-te-l*
Gawa	*so-g yok ba-te-l*
Yanabwa	*u-so-g yok ba-te-l*
Iwa	*utoya yoka ba-te-la*
Kitava	*so-gwa yoka ba-te-la*
Kiriwina	*so-gwa yokwa ta-mwa*
Gumawana	*kom ta-yau ta-na*
Dobu	*'oyo ma-'iya-gu ta-ta-tauya*
Duau	*kowa ma-kiha-gu ta-naho*
Auhelawa	*'owa ba-'ida-gu ta-lau*
Tubetube	*kowa me-kau-kava ta-lau*
Misima	*owa ge nau abwe ta-egon*
Nasikwabw	*alowowa ta-na-wa*
Basima	*om egida ta-to*

English	He went with us(I).
Muyuw	*m-to-wen so-d yakid-s ni-ta-neis*
Wamwan	*to-wen so-d-s yakid-s ni-ta-neis*
Nawyem	*m-to-wen so-d-s yakid-s ni-ta-neis*
Budibud	*to-n eto-n ala-d-s ni-ta-sa*
Kwewata	*m-to-wen toyak yakada-yes ni-ta-le-s*
Gawa	*m-to-wen u-so-d yakid ni-ta-lei-s*
Yanabwa	*m-to-wen u-to yakide-s ni-ta-lei-s*
Iwa	*m-to-wena u-toya yakide-si na-ta-lo-s*
Kitava	*m-to-na toya yakide-sa na-ta-lo-sa*
Kiriwina	*m-to-na deli yakida-si la-ta-lo-s*
Gumawana	*tauyana kita ta-yau bogina ta-na*
Dobu	*tau-na ma-'e-da-i ni'atu ta-tauya*
Duau	*tau-na ma-kiha-da boki ta-naho-wa*
Auhelawa	*'iya ba-'ida-da-i ta-la-lau-ne*
Tubetube	*iya me-kala-kava ta-lau oko*
Misima	*tauya avala yaka ha-nok*
Nasikwabw	*tawina avala ta-nawan*

English	Are those mats good?
Muyuw	*a-mawan sigini-siyas sag, bwein*
Wamwan	*a-makawan sag kwei-sin, bwein*
Nawyem	*a-makawan sigini-si sag, bwein*
Budibud	*a-mawan sag eto-s, kalamwey*
Kwewata	*a-makawala miya-sin moy, bwen*
Gawa	*a-makal maya-sin sag, bwen*
Yanabwa	*am-kawala maya-sin sag, yamna-bwen*
Iwa	*a-makawala maya-sina moy, bwaina*
Kitava	*a-makala maya-sina moy, bwauna*
Kiriwina	*a-makala moy mayasi, bwena*
Gumawana	*menakaiye polida, dedevi-di*
Dobu	*mwa'adega sita ni-di, bobo'a-di*
Duau	*kodehi site-hi, bwebwea-zi*
Auhelawa	*ve-dova halabi-wo-ne namwanamwa-di, bo*
Tubetube	*gubesi dam-ne namwanamwa-li*
Misima	*ga-yola laewa ya eton hi-waisi*
Nasikwabw	*ge-yola elagi eliyo-na, i-waisi*

English	Tomorrow you(P) will embark for kula trading.
Muyuw	*nubweg bu-ku-touw-s vagan bu-ku-kun-s*
Wamwan	*nabweg bu-ku-kuk-s bu-ku-nei-s ku-kun-s*
Nawyem	*nubweg bu-ku-kuk-s bu-ku-nei-s ku-kun-s*
Budibud	*nubweg bi-mi-tow guwena bi-mi-kun*
Kwewata	*nabweg bu-ku-kew-s bu-ku-nei-s bu-ku-kul-s*
Gawa	*nabwey bu-ku-kew-s vagal bu-ku-kul-s*
Yanabwa	*nuboya bu-ku-tole-s vagal bu-ku-kule-s*
Iwa	*nubwaya bu-ku-kewe-sa bu-ku-kule-s*
Kitava	*nabwoya bu-ku-kewe-sa paila bu-ku-kule-sa*
Kiriwina	*nubweya bu-ku-kewa-si bu-ku-losi ku-kula-si*
Gumawana	*itomo osoya sabi debana*
Dobu	*gibwa'i wa-ge-gelu sabi 'une*
Duau	*bwaliga wa-gelu-gelu kune weyahi-na*
Auhelawa	*'ahubena 'am-ge-gelu habi 'adau*
Tubetube	*bwaliga wa-ku-kuke yo wa-kawa kune*
Misima	*Bwaliguma ku-egun kuna ku-papali*
Nasikwabw	*bwaliga nu-ku-pani paganena nu-ku-leyau*
Basima	*tabega wa-gelu-gelu sabi 'adau*

English	If it rains we(E) will go into our house.
Muyuw	*kukin b-ei-kweis kweis ba-ka-siw wa-ma-bwan*
Wamwan	*kukin b-ei-kweis kweis ba-ka-siw wa-ma-bunatum*
Nawyem	*kukin b-ei-kweis kweis ba-ka-siw wa-ma-bwan*
Budibud	*kunige b-e-kwes kwes ba-ka-laway ima-kob*
Kwewata	*kukin b-ei-kun ba-ka-siw wa-ma-bwal*
Gawa	*kukin b-ei-kun kun ba-ka-siw wa-ma-bwal*
Yanabwa	*kukin b-ei-kun kun ba-ka-siw u-ma-bwal*

Iwa   *kukin b-ei-kuna kun ba-ka-siw wa-ma-bwala*
Kitava   *kidam b-i-kun ba-ka-siw o-ma-bwala*
Kiriwina   *kidamwa b-i-kun ba-ka-siw o-ma-bwala*
Gumawana   *neta i-kiwunan ka-siu ima vada*
Dobu   *'eguma 'i'usana 'a-lu-lugu 'ima anuwa-ya*
Duau   *kemi i-zohi ka-luhu ima hada-i*
Auhelawa   *'ebe 'wesu 'i-talu mata 'a-luwu yama vada-i*
Tubetube   *tem galewa 'i-talu ka-lusai ama nume mena*
Misima   *ebo n-i-kehe naha u-lutuk wa-ma-limi-ya*
Nasikwabw   *ugiteya n-i-gunuma na-u-lutuk ama limi-ya*

English   He gave us(E) three bananas.
Muyuw   *bo i-seke-m kwei-ton bwakey*
Wamwan   *bo i-seke-m kwei-ton bwakey*
Nawyem   *bo i-seke-m kwei-ton bwakey*
Budibud   *ba i-tokwe-ma kwe-tola bwalamwel*
Kwewata   *bo i-sekae-m kwei-tol bwakey*
Gawa   *bo i-sekae-m kwei-tol bwakela*
Yanabwa   *bo i-sekae-m kwei-tol bwakey*
Iwa   *bo i-sekae-ma kwei-tolu weiwusi*
Kitava   *i-sekae-ma kwei-tonu weiwusi*
Kiriwina   *i-sakae-ma kwe-tolu usi*
Gumawana   *busisi aito i-vini-ma*
Dobu   *udi 'etoi ni'atu 'i'ebwa'e-ma*
Duau   *huzi toi i-hele-mai-ya*
Auhelawa   *bihiya tonuga 'i-mohe-gai*
Tubetube   *udi yayona i-yeya-ma*
Misima   *suwa eton i-pe-m eliya-ma*
Nasikwabw   *ko-i-pe-ma eton bwaiki*

English   He gave us(I) that pig.
Muyuw   *bo i-sekei-d-s na-wen bwaloud*
Wamwan   *bo i-sekei-d-s na-wen bwaloud*
Nawyem   *bo i-sekei-d-s na-wen bwaloud*
Budibud   *ba i-tokwe-d-s man-eto-n buluk*
Kwewata   *bo i-sekae-d-s ma-na-wen buluk*
Gawa   *bo i-sekae-d-s ma-na-wen buluk*
Yanabwa   *bo i-sekae-de-s ma-na-wen buluk*
Iwa   *bo i-sekai-de-s ma-na-wena bulukwa*
Kitava   *bo i-sakai-da-si ma-na-wen bulukwa*
Kiriwina   *bogwa i-sakai-da-si ma-nana bunukwa*
Gumawana   *baw yana bogina i-vini-da*
Dobu   *bawe ni-na ni'atu 'i-'ebwa'e-da*
Duau   *bawe yoka i-hele-gita-ya*
Auhelawa   *maheya-wa 'i-mohe-gita-'o*
Tubetube   *polo-wa i-yeya-ma-ko*
Misima   *bobu-na i-pe-m ela-la*
Nasikwabw   *ko i-pela bobu yoga*

English	That man gave his older brothers a dog.
Muyuw	*taw to-wen awuk bo i-seke-s tu-wan*
Wamwan	*m-to-wen taw kawuk bo i-seke-s tuwa-n*
Nawyem	*taw to-wen kawuk bo i-seke-s tuwa-n*
Budibud	*taw eto-n kawayal ba i-tokwe-s tawa-n-s*
Kwewata	*tau m-to-wen kala-kawuk bo i-sekae-s tuwa-l*
Gawa	*tau mu-ton kawuk bo i-sekae-s tuwa-la*
Yanabwa	*tau m-to-wen bo i-sekae-s kawuk tuwa-l*
Iwa	*tau m-tona kawukwa bo i-seke-s tuwa-la*
Kitava	*tau m-tona bwauga i-seka kaukwa tuwa-la*
Kiriwina	*m-tona tau bogwa e-seki kaukwa tuwa-la*
Gumawana	*amo oloto-yana sanau weniya i-vini-di*
Dobu	*tai ni-na tasina-o kedewa 'i-'ebwa'e-di*
Duau	*loheya yoka kedewa kana tautuwa-ho i-hele-zi-ya*
Auhelawa	*towaho-ne tuwa-na-o 'edewa 'i-mohe-di*
Tubetube	*tomo-ne bwawa i-wole-gili kana-kava-o koli-li*
Misima	*tau-ya wanuka i-pe-k tali-na-o elali-l*
Nasikwabw	*tau yoga wanuka ko i-pe-k tali-na-o*
Basima	*tomotau nena kedewa wese-na-o i-nei-di*

English	They stood near your(S) house.
Muyuw	*bo i-to-wa-s wa-dada-n mu-bwan*
Wamwan	*bo i-to-wa-s wa-dada-n mu-bunatum*
Nawyem	*bo i-to-wa-s u-dada-n mu-bunatum*
Budibud	*ba s-tablawau u-dada-n imu-kob*
Kwewata	*bo i-to-wei-s u-dada-l mu-bwal*
Gawa	*bo i-to-li-s u-dada-l mu-bwal*
Yanabwa	*bo i-to-wei-s u-dada-l mu-bwal*
Iwa	*bo i-to-wai-sa u-dada-la mu-bwala*
Kitava	*bo i-to-wo-sa u-deda-na m-bwala*
Kiriwina	*e-tota-sa o-papa-la m-bwala*
Gumawana	*imu vada kiki-na bogina si-toolo*
Dobu	*'imu anuwa selabe-na-ya ni-'atu si-toolo*
Duau	*si-toholo-wa nau hada dei-na*
Auhelawa	*yam vada vahali-na-i hi-towolo*
Tubetube	*am nume papali-na mena si-toolo*
Misima	*hi-tal milil wa-m-limi bebe-na*

English	His younger brother went from his garden to his house.
Muyuw	*bwada-n bo i-lisow na-bag i-n wa-na-bwan*
Wamwan	*bwada-n bo i-lisow na-bag bo i-n wa-na-bwan*
Nawyem	*bwada-n bo i-lisow na-bag bo i-n wa-na-bunatum*
Budibud	*boda-n ba i-laduwen ina-bag ba i-sa ina kob*
Kwewata	*bwada-l bo i-lipos la-bag bo i-l wa-la-bwal*
Gawa	*bwada-l bo i-lupos la-bag i-la la-bwal*
Yanabwa	*bwada-l bo i-lapos la-bag i-l u-la-bwal*
Iwa	*bwada-la bo i-lapos la-bagula i-la o-la-bwala*

Kitava	*bwada-la bogwa i-laposa o-la-bagula i-la o-la-bwala*
Kiriwina	*bwada-la bo e-legewa la-bagula e-la o-la-bwala*
Gumawana	*ina goma-na giyai-na ina tanuwa i-nai ina-vada*
Dobu	*tasi-na gidali-na 'ina bagul-ega 'i-tauya 'ina anuwa-ya*
Duau	*tasi-na ina tanoha i-naho-tsine-ya ma i-naho-wa ina hada*
Auhelawa	*tahi-na yana 'oya-ena 'i-lau yana vada-i*
Tubetube	*kana-kava ana tano mena i-lau ana nume mena*
Misima	*tali-na kakeisisi i-egona wana eyowa i-na wana limi-ya*
Nasikwabw	*talina ana yowa kwoita talawai ko i-na ana limi-ya*
English	Don't you(S) take my property from me.
Muyuw	*awoum ku-kow yey guna-vavag*
Wamwan	*awoum ku-kow yegw guna-youd*
Nawyem	*awoum ku-kow yegw guna-vavag*
Budibud	*awoum ku-lupe to-gw guwe-g*
Kwewata	*gela bu-ku-kow yegway gula-vavag*
Gawa	*awoum ku-kow yegw gula-vavag*
Yanabwa	*awow ku-kow yegw gula-youd*
Iwa	*gela bu-ku-kawa yaegu ulo vavagi*
Kitava	*gela bu-ku-kawa yaegu ula vavagi*
Kiriwina	*gala bu-kwau ula guguwa*
Gumawana	*geya guna yaiya kw-abi*
Dobu	*geya'abo 'igu gwegwe 'u-'ewa-'ewa*
Duau	*sahena igu tobwatobwa u-kewa-kewa-i*
Auhelawa	*havena yagu tobwatobwa 'ali-gu-wena 'u-vai-vai*
Tubetube	*tabu yagu gogo koliya-u ku-ka-kala-i*
Misima	*bahi bugul totoya nu-waheya ela-u*
Basima	*Ge sawene ene-gu u-'ewa*
English	Leave me and go away.
Muyuw	*ku-sineiki-k ku-n nuweiw*
Wamwan	*ku-sineiki-k naweiw*
Nawyem	*ku-sineiki-k ku-n nuweiw*
Budibud	*kwansili-k nisasa*
Kwewata	*ku-skikin ku-l-o nuwew-o*
Gawa	*ku-skikit ku-l nuwew-o*
Yanabwa	*ku-sineiki-tew nuwey-u*
Iwa	*ku-skitewa ku-wa wa-nawaiwa*
Kitava	*ku-skikita ku-wa wa-nawaiwa*
Kiriwina	*ku-sikitewa ku-wa o-wewa*
Gumawana	*kw-ayave-gu ku-na*
Dobu	*'u-'ebesine-gu be 'u-tauya nada*
Duau	*ku-pili-sine-gau ma ku-bala*
Auhelawa	*'u-lau-gabae-gau na 'u-lau*
Tubetube	*ku-lo-gabae-gau ku-lau bwaine koina*
Misima	*u-eguluwa-gau u-egon*
Nasikwabw	*u-minonowa aba-m getoga*

English	I can do it because it is my work.
Muyuw	*bwein-a b-a-vag peina-n guna-wotet to-wen*
Wamwan	*bwein-a b-a-vag peina-n guna-wotet kwe-wen*
Nawyem	*bwein-a b-a-vag peina-n guna-wotet kwe-wen*
Budibud	*kalamwey-o b-a-no pana guna-wotet*
Kwewata	*deis-a b-a-vag pei-la yegway gula-wotet*
Gawa	*deis-a b-a-wtel pei-la gula-wotet*
Yanabwa	*bwein-a b-a-vag pei-la gula-wotet ma-kwei-wen*
Iwa	*bwein-a wala b-a-vagi pai-la ulo peisew m-kwena*
Kitava	*bwauna b-a-vagi pai-la wala ula paisewa*
Kiriwina	*bwena b-a-vagi pe-la ula paisewa*
Gumawana	*sawesawe-gu-ya a-madagi moe guna paisewa yau*
Dobu	*sawesawe-gu-ya manu-na nate 'igu paisewa*
Duau	*sowasowa-gu ya-paisewa sana benoka igu paisewa*
Auhelawa	*howahowa-gu ya-paihowa-i neta yagu paihowa*
Tubetube	*sowasowa-na ya-ginauli keiwena yagu paisewa bwaite*
Misima	*i-bosowai-u n-a-ginol kaiwena notuwalali*
Nasikwabw	*i-waisi n-a-ginol notuwalali*
Basima	*sawesawe-gu la-guinuwa*

English	Those three women will go with us(I).
Muyuw	*ta-siyas vin-ay as-tei-ton si-da-yas bi-ta-nou-na-s*
Wamwan	*na-siyas vin-ay mwana-ton si-da-yas bi-ta-nou-na-s*
Nawyem	*ta-siyas vin-ay as-tei-ton si-da-yas bi-ta-nou-na-s*
Budibud	*to-s in-s as-te-tol ala-d-s bi-ta-lans*
Kwewata	*ma-na-sin vil-ay kana-tol toyak yakada-yes bi-ta-lo-la-s*
Gawa	*ma-na-sin vil-ay kasi-te-tol u-toy bi-ta-lo-la-s*
Yanabwa	*ma-na-sin vil-ay as-tei-tol u-toya bi-ta-lo-la-s*
Iwa	*ma-na-sin vil-ay na-tolu u-toya bi-ta-lo-s*
Kitava	*ma-na-sina vi-vila kasi-tei-tonu ba-ta-lo-sa*
Kiriwina	*ma-na-sina vi-vila kasi-te-tolu bi-ta-lo-si deli yakida-si*
Gumawana	*vei-vina adi-ta-yuwo ta-yau ta-na*
Dobu	*iine si-te-toi ni-di ma-'e-da-o ta-ta-tauya*
Duau	*wahi-wahine-ye si-te-toi-ye ma-kiha-da-ho ta-naho*
Auhelawa	*wai-waihiu hi-tau-tonuga-wo-ne ba-'ida-da-o ta-lau*
Tubetube	*sine-sine-o yoli yayonani me-kala-kava-o ta-tau*
Misima	*tobolau yowau eton avalau ta-egun*
Nasikwabw	*eliya yowau alitoto eton avalau ta-egun*
Basima	*toni-di nito-toi teyawa ta-to*

English	They have finished cooking.
Muyuw	*bo i-kali-veinun-s bo i-kous*
Wamwan	*bo i-kale-bwan-s bo i-kous*
Nawyem	*bo i-kale-bwan-s bo i-kous*
Budibud	*ba s-kali-veinun ba i-kos*
Kwewata	*bo i-kale-bwan-s bo i-vanok-s*
Gawa	*bo i-kale-bwan-s i-kos*

Yanabwa	*bo i-kali-veinune-s bo i-vanoki-s*
Iwa	*bo i-kali-veinun-s bo i-kos*
Kitava	*bogwa i-venoki-sa sulusulu*
Kiriwina	*bogwa e-venuku-si sulusulu*
Gumawana	*bogina si-veipolu*
Dobu	*ni'atu si-'e-'ule saba*
Duau	*tsi-lo-liga pwaiya*
Auhelawa	*bada hi-lau-liga-'o*
Tubetube	*si-lo-liga-ko*
Misima	*yaka hi-liga-liga*
Nasikwabw	*ko i-liga-liga ko i-mowas*
Basima	*naitu ta si'ebudi*

English	That is your(S) food; you eat it.
Muyuw	*ka-m to-wen ku-kwam*
Wamwan	*ka-m ko-wen-a ku-kwam*
Nawyem	*ka-m ko-wen ku-kwam*
Budibud	*am-kwau eto-n ku-gwad*
Kwewata	*ka-m m-kwei-sin ku-kam*
Gawa	*ka-m mu-kwen ku-kwam*
Yanabwa	*ka-m ma-kwe-wen ku-kam*
Iwa	*ka-m ma-kane ku-kamu*
Kitava	*ka-m baisa ku-kwam*
Kiriwina	*ka-m besa ku-kwam*
Gumawana	*ava-m gomoe ku-kaika*
Dobu	*'amu masula nate 'u'ai*
Duau	*ka-u benoka u-kwai*
Auhelawa	*'a-m neta 'u'ai*
Tubetube	*ka-m bwaimwana u-kwekan*
Misima	*a-m te u-an*
Nasikwabw	*a-m yoga u-an-an*
Basima	*'a-m ko u-'e-'a*

English	I can't see it.
Muyuw	*nag b-a-wtus*
Wamwan	*nag b-a-ka-bunik*
Nawyem	*nag b-a-wtus*
Budibud	*ta b-a-kila*
Kwewata	*ge sam a-wtus*
Gawa	*gela b-a-wtus*
Yanabwa	*gela a-wtus*
Iwa	*gela b-a-kin*
Kitava	*gela b-a-kina*
Kiriwina	*gala b-a-gisi*
Gumawana	*geya a-giteeta*
Dobu	*nigeya ya-da-'ite-na*
Duau	*gebu ya-da-gebe-ya*
Auhelawa	*nigele ya-ya-'ita*

Tubetube	*nige ya-gi-gita-i*
Misima	*nige ya-ki-kite*
Nasikwabw	*nigeya na-eunan*
Basima	*kakai la-da-'ita*

APPENDIX D: SENTENCES FOR THE SENTENCE REPETITION TEST

The following sentences were used by David Lithgow for Sentence Repetition Testing in the Muyuw Language area in January-March 1994.

ENGLISH
Practice: When will the boat come back again?
He heard that his wife was very sick.
1. It is time for us to start again.
2. Pigs have been spoiling their garden.
3. We will try to be friendly to them.
4. He worked hard, but he only got a small crop of yams.
5. Caterpillars have been eating the leaves of the taro plants.
6. This is an important question.
7. The boat has already gone to Samarai.
8. We can't tell whether it will rain soon, or not.
9. If they had arrived earlier they could have saved her life.
10. You need to know how to mend a puncture.
11. It will be a miracle if they survive this cyclone.

MUYUW
Practice: *Gamagal bikalin nuwes timsiyas.*
Bakawtun miven babaw, biyageg.
1. *Youd towen singay keikay, ta-mawan bavag.*
2. *Iwaweiys asiyagoug wanawoud-o.*
3. *Aleimiy, kal kabkakit waseg bisaps, bineis wamnat.*
4. *Sagal silmanin buluk iyousis iweiys sinwatoun.*
5. *Tamwey towen ikanig, nitun itokes inawes wasiven itakus.*
6. *Tuwan iyums binekes kid times.*
7. *Ikalawages nagamag babaw bikatuyouns bimeis.*
8. *Tasiyas ikatimapus aygan, ilansa "Kapiyev wotet towen."*
9. *Immasis tage son iwgun isek kan ikam.*
10. *Ikalin nuwan peinan bo ikin abes igeg.*
11. *Idokes gamag nag ivag kululuwan, beimat mo beikous gamag towen.*

KILIVILA
Practice: *Kuma tamokaiya talagi avaka.*
Ee, lama atulotula kalaiwaga.
1. *Yokomi tomota pikekita wala.*
2. *Ee lama baisa balivala baisa yoku bukulagi.*
3. *Ulo bagula bogwa ivinakwaisi bunukwa.*
4. *Baisa deli wala ulo valam paila saina mwau labiga.*
5. *Makwaina bwala kala gigisa sita iyowa lopugu.*
6. *Avaka nanola, yaegu bogwa makala wala.*

7. *Baisa makawala bila wala ovalu.*
8. *Taitala tau bitavai ituwoli, e bitagigisi wala.*
9. *Deli migisi bibowaisi deli pwaka.*
10. *Ee, yakamaisi tomota bivilasi, makawala tailuwolima.*
11. *Nakakau deli veyala bilisasi dabu.*

DOBU

Practice: *Tuta nina 'enaya 'itu'e 'ina 'asaya.*
          Gete manuna paisewa sinabwana 'ilobena.

1. *Nigeya 'ida ona manuna yawasina 'igumwala.*
2. *'Abo'agu yamai sabi 'enaida 'emuya.*
3. *Ma'etamo 'idi 'ena'i 'iilama be sida simanemi.*
4. *To'ase 'imu nuwanuwa nadigega sawesawenaya tamuliyei.*
5. *'Ina talauwala 'enega esilae mwauna 'ilobena.*
6. *'Asiyata maibo'ana siloiloina bale'u manuna.*
7. *We'iwe'iyaya nina tomota debadiya sisa'una.*
8. *'Ami e'isa nina ni'atu yamwalamwalatoni.*
9. *Wegie'esasemi be 'aene walulugu tapwalolo 'ena.*
10. *Siegewagewana sinabwana 'wama manuna.*
11. *Gete tuga nigeya wa'ita'ita, ta tuwa tuga ni'atu waemisena.*

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A LOU VOCABULARY, WITH PHONOLOGICAL NOTES

ROBERT BLUST

0. INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

Lou is a volcanic island situated some 25 km southeast of Manus in the Admiralty Islands of western Melanesia, at about 2 degrees south latitude. Its maximum length is approximately 13 km and its maximum width 5 km, although for nearly half of its length it is no more than two and one half km wide. Its closest neighbours are the much smaller and lower Pam and St Andrew islands less than 7 km to the south, and the high round island of Baluan (roughly 5 km in diameter), about 12 km to the southwest.

Both Lou and Baluan lie on the rim of a partially submerged caldera, and together they constitute one of three known sources of volcanic obsidian in the New Guinea region (Key 1969). In the traditional tripartite ethnic division imposed by the culturally dominant Titan-speaking traders of southern Manus, the inhabitants of both islands were known as 'Matankor' (Friederici 1912, Rivers 1914, Mead 1930, Nevermann 1934). Two cultural features of these islands are especially noteworthy. First, prehistoric stoneworks on the smaller island of Baluan are attributed by the local population to a presumably mythical race of little people known as the 'Mapou men', reminiscent of the well-known *menehune* of Hawai'i. Luomala (1951) reports similar tales from Polynesia, Micronesia, the Banks and Solomon Islands, but includes no examples from western Melanesia. Second, according to Rivers (1914:2:553) Lou is the only island in the Admiralty group on which kava (a mildly intoxicating beverage prepared from the root of the *Piper Methysticum*) is drunk, and one of the few parts of the Pacific in which both betel-chewing and kava-drinking are found. In fact, kava apparently was used traditionally on both Lou and Baluan, where it was known by a term that is cognate with Proto-Polynesian *kava* (Lou *ka*, Baluan *kaw*).

In discussion the 'Matankor' of the southern Admiralty Islands, Rivers (1914:2:552) reports that "they are said to be lighter in colour and to have straighter hair and thinner noses than the Moanus" (= Titan-speakers). My own impression, based on limited exposure to the population at large, is that this may be true, but that both hair form and skin colour vary greatly throughout the Admiralties. In any event the people of Lou and Baluan differ little from the peoples of Manus or the western islands (the Ninigo Lagoon, Wuvulu-Aua) in stature, and appear to fall well within the general Melanesian physical type with respect to other somatic parameters.

According to my informants the population of Lou, Baluan and Pam speak dialects of a single language. Wurm and Hattori (1981), who concur with this assessment, give the combined population of the three islands as approximately 1,280.

Baluan-Pam-Lou belongs to a subgroup which includes the other four languages of the southeastern Admiralty islands (dialects of the same language are joined by a hyphen; island names that are not identical to language names follow the latter in parentheses): 1. Pak-Tong; 2. Baluan-Pam-Lou; 3. Lenkau (Rambutyo); 4. Penchal (Rambutyo); 5. Nauna. Its closest relative appears to be Lenkau. These five languages in turn belong to the Admiralty group, which is believed to form a primary branch of the Oceanic division of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1978, Ross 1988).[1]

Research on the languages of the Admiralties in general as of the mid-1970s is competently reviewed by Healey (1976a, 1976b). A vocabulary of about 138 Pam (= Poam) items appears in Dempwolff (1905), some scattered Baluan and Lou lexical material in Friederici (1912), a Baluan vocabulary of about 180 items in Z'graggen (1975), and a few Lou sentences in Ross (1988). No phonological analyses are provided in any of these sources.

The following vocabulary of approximately 800 words was collected between February and May 1975, during a linguistic survey of the Admiralty Islands which was carried out while the writer was employed by the Australian National University.[2] Lou was one of 29 languages for which data was transcribed while I resided in Lorengau, near the eastern end of Manus. Because the primary purpose of this fieldwork was to determine the number of

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[1]   Ross (1988, Chapter 9) presents by far the best historical survey of languages in the Admiralties to date. In his view, which agrees closely with that of Blust (1978), the languages of the Admiralties divide into western and eastern branches, the latter including all languages except Wuvulu-Aua, Seimat and the extinct language or languages of the Kaniet Islands. The languages of the eastern Admiralties in turn divide into two primary branches, which Ross calls the "Manus network", and the "South-East Admiralty network" (SEA). With regard to the classification of the SEA languages Ross and I differ in one minor and in one major respect. Whereas Ross treats Baluan-Pam as dialects of a single language and Lou as a separate (though closely related) language, I recognise only one language with three dialects. Although I collected no data from Pam, and too little from Baluan to be usefully employed in a lexicostatistical calculation, native speaker reaction strongly suggests that Baluan and Lou are dialects of one language. Moreover, 74 of 95 items, or 78% of those that appear in the attached Baluan vocabulary have a homosemantic cognate in Lou, a figure that is well above the usually accepted figure of 70% marking the 'language limit'. With regard to the second point, Ross (1988:316, fn.112) maintains that Pak "originally belonged to the Manus network but has in more recent times been in closer contact with Lenkau". I would argue the precise opposite—that Pak-Tong is a Southeast Admiralty language that has been influenced through contact with the languages of eastern Manus. Apart from sharing an innovative numeral for 'four' with all other SEA languages (reflecting PSEA *talatu) and an innovative numeral for 'five' with all other SEA languages (reflecting PSEA *ŋuranV), Pak can be subgrouped with the other languages of the Southeast Admiralties on the basis of a number of innovations both in basic and in non-basic vocabulary, and through such distinctive phonological innovations as the change I call "*a assimilation" (see §3.2.1).

[2]   I am indebted to S.A. Wurm, then head of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, who made the initial arrangements for my trip to the Admiralties, and to the university itself for providing the necessary funds. The late Donald C. Laycock generously assisted me in the preparation of elicitation materials in New Guinea Pidgin English.

languages in the area, the main outlines of their synchronic and diachronic phonologies, and their subgrouping relations, I worked only brief periods (generally no more than 15 contact hours) with speakers of any one language. To save time and unnecessary difficulty with unpredictable local transportation I worked primarily with students at Manus High School in Lorengau.

The data for Lou were transcribed in approximately 18 contact hours. My principal informant was Sovo Kanik, an adult man from the village of Rei, who was born about 1933. Additional material was collected from Lester Aussell, born in 1958, and Kevin Korup, born in 1962, both of whom were students at Manus High School at the time of data collection. In eliciting data I used a standard vocabulary representing 749 meanings, together with a set of 43 sentences and a short dialogue. However, for some languages (including Lou) a fairly substantial amount of additional vocabulary was recorded. Although my elicitation list was in Tok Pisin, much of my discussion of the vocabulary with Lester Aussell and Kevin Korup took place in English. Toward the end of my stay in Papua New Guinea I was able to spend about 90 minutes with a group of three or four high school boys from Baluan. Because of their great enthusiasm in teaching me everything they could about their language in the short time available I was able to collect a Baluan vocabulary of over 100 words. Although it was transcribed in haste and did not have the benefit of rechecking, it is appended to the much longer and more carefully checked Lou vocabulary.

My major aims in this paper parallel those in Blust (1984), which is used as an organisational model for the present study. These aims are: 1. to provide a much larger and phonetically more accurate corpus of lexical data for Lou than is available in any of the earlier sources; 2. to supplement the Baluan data in Friederici (1912) and Z'graggen (1975); 3. to provide a first statement of both the synchronic and the diachronic phonology of Lou (with topical asides on Baluan). In addition to these aims I offer a few very limited remarks on grammar.

Even when one's exposure to a language is much longer than my rather fleeting contact with Lou, unresolved problems may remain in recognising phonological distinctions, in determining morpheme boundaries, and the like. Despite my best intentions the present publication undoubtedly contains some errors. However, given the large number of languages in Melanesia that have yet to be described at all, the small number of speakers of many of these languages, the small number of linguists working to describe them, and the increasing influence of politically more important languages in the lives of people such as those of Lou, I feel justified in publishing my fieldnotes now in the hope and expectation that others will be moved to improve upon them. My observations and analyses may in some cases be imperfect, but without a beginning there can be no progress.

1. GRAMMAR

The principal scholarly aims in my three months of fieldwork were the collection of phonetically accurate data for the 29 languages studied, reliable phonological analyses, and the determination of historical relationships based on shared innovations in phonology, lexicon and morphology. Because sentence material figured only marginally in this

enterprise, relatively little was collected relating to syntax. What I did collect is presented almost in full below. The discussion is divided into 1. subsystems (numerals, pronouns) and 2. morphology and syntax.

1.1 SUBSYSTEMS

Like some other Oceanic languages (particularly in Micronesia), Lou has multiple, partially similar systems of numeration which vary with the class of object being counted. I recorded four distinct sets of numerals, which I will call sets A, B, C and D. They are:

SET A NUMERALS

1	*sip*	20	*ru-ŋoul*
2	*ruep*	30	*tulu-ŋoul*
3	*tellp*	40	*awl*
4	*tolɔt*	50	*topol*
5	*ŋuran*	60	*ono-ŋoul*
6	*ŋiniop*	70	*ŋani-sulu-ŋoul*
7	*ŋani-sellp*	80	*ŋani-ru-ŋoul*
8	*ŋani-ruep*	90	*ŋani-sa-ŋaul*
9	*ŋani-sip*	100	*so-ŋɔt*
10	*sa-ŋaul*	200	*ru-ŋɔt*
11	*sa-ŋaul a sip*	300	*tulu-ŋɔt*
12	*sa-ŋaul a ruep*	400	*a-ŋ-ɔt*
	etc.	1000	*mwasun sip*

No other numerals from set A were recorded, but 13–19 appear to be entirely predictable from the data given (10 and one, 10 and 2, 10 and 3, etc.). The shapes of the numerals 500–900 are somewhat more difficult to predict.

	SET B NUMERALS	SET C NUMERALS	SET D NUMERALS
1	*so-m*	*s-e*	*su*
2	*ru-mo*	*ru-e*	*ru*
3	*tulu-mo*	*tulu-e*	*tulu*
4	*a-mo*	*para-n-tolɔt*	
5	*ŋuran*	*para-n-ŋuran*	
6	*ŋiniop*	*para-n-ŋiniop*	
7	*ŋani-sellp*	*para-n-ŋani-sellp*	
8	*ŋani-ru-mo*	*para-n-ŋani-ruep*	
9	*ŋani-so-m*	*para-n-ŋani-sip*	
10	*sa-ŋaul*	*para-n-sa-ŋaul*	

Numerals follow their quantified nouns. In the limited data collected set A numerals are used in the following contexts: 1. in serial counting; 2. in counting detached coconuts (but not bunches of coconuts), hence *puol sip* 'one coconut', *puol ruep* 'two coconuts', etc.; 3. in counting houses, hence *um sip* 'one house', *um ruep* 'two houses', etc.

Set B numerals are used: 1. in counting children, hence *nɔt som* 'one child', *nɔt rumo* 'two children', etc.; 2. in counting pigs, hence *puo som* 'one pig', *puo rumo* 'two pigs', etc.; 3. in counting fish, hence *nik som* 'one fish', *nik rumo* 'two fish', etc.; 4. in counting leaves,

hence *rei-n-ke som* 'one leaf', *rei-n-ke rumo* 'two leaves', etc.; 5. in counting ropes, hence *tel som* 'one rope', *tel rumo* 'two ropes', etc.

Set C numerals are used: 1. in counting sticks, hence *ke se* 'one stick', *ke rue* 'two sticks', etc.

Set D numerals are used: 1. in counting bunches of coconuts (and perhaps other objects), hence *puol su* 'one bunch of coconuts' (cf. *puol sip* 'one coconut'), *puol ru* 'two bunches of coconuts', etc.

Noteworthy features of the Lou numerals include the following. First, although not enough of set D was recorded to determine the point, sets A, B and C all make use of subtractive numerals (where '7' = 'three taken away', '8' = 'two taken away' and '9' = 'one taken away'). This is a widespread feature of the numeral systems of the eastern Admiralties. Although set A numerals above '5' appear to be morphologically complex they are listed as simple lexical entries in the vocabulary, since their morphology appears to be only marginally productive, and involves some idiosyncracies (e.g. '7' is *ŋani-sellp*, not *ŋani-tellp*). Second, set C numerals above '3' include *para-n* 'stalk, stem of', which evidently functions something like a classifier. Third, some historical reflexes that are lost in lower numerals are preserved in higher numerals, as with POC **onom* 'six', preserved in *ono-ŋoul* '60', but not in *ŋiniop* '6'. In the word for 'three' POC **tolu* may be reflected in all four sets, but is less altered by irregular change in sets B, C and D than in set A (where, however, it is better preserved in *tulu-ŋoul* '30').

Certain features of the morphology of the Lou numerals are perhaps best treated here. First, in set A the recurrent partial in *sa-ŋaul, ru-ŋoul, so-ŋɔt, ru-ŋɔt, tulu-ŋɔt*, etc. shows that *sa-* 'formative for 'one'' and *ru-* 'formative for 'two'' can be segmented on purely synchronic grounds. The historical ligature **ŋa* which appears in these forms evidently has fused with the reflexes of **puluq* (*ul*) and **Ratus* (*ɔt*) in contemporary Lou. The formative *ŋani-*, clearly segmentable in the numerals 7, 8 and 9, is of unknown origin and function, but appears to be a relatively recent innovation in the southeast Admiralties. The element *-p* in *sip, ruep, tellp* apparently reflects a Proto-Admiralties numeral suffix **-pi*. Its synchronic status is unclear.

For set B the suffix *-mo*, and for set C the suffix *-e* seem clearly segmentable. The latter may simply be /ke/ 'tree, wood, stick' in intervocalic position (where historically **k* disappeared). Both probably are, or at one time were numeral classifiers which have become attached to the preceding numeral. If so, it is noteworthy that *-mo* (variant: *-m*) is used only for the first four numerals (repeated in the subtractives '8', '9' and '10'), and that *-e* is used only for the first three numerals.

For Baluan only set A was recorded. Structurally it appears to be very similar to the corresponding set in Lou, although certain details of the content show interesting differences (e.g. a reflex of POC **lima* 'five' appears in Baluan *limlim* '50', but not in Baluan *ŋunan* '5', nor in any Lou numeral).

The material that I was able to record on pronouns is incomplete. For this reason it is unclear whether there is a set of object pronouns that is formally distinct from subject pronouns. Because the system of possessive marking is fairly complex in Lou, it is best to discuss the personal pronouns and possessive pronouns separately.

With the exception of the first person singular, which exhibits two competing forms, I recorded only one set of personal pronouns. I will call this set A:

SET A PRONOUNS

singular	dual		paucal		plural	
1 *ŋa, woŋ*	1incl.	*tolu*	1incl.	*tarI*	1incl.	*tarap*
	1excl.	*elu*	1excl.	*erI*	1excl.	*ep*
2 *o*	2	*alu*	2	*arI*	2	*ap*
3 *i*	3	*ulu*	3	*irI*	3	*ip*

The paucal number was described to me as applying to at least three, and not more than nine persons, while the plural applies to ten or more.

Set A pronouns occur in subject position with both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. *woŋ i niŋ John* 'I see John', *woŋ e im* 'I am drinking', *ŋa ro ŋan kal* 'I am eating taro', *ŋa ro metir* 'I am sleeping'. I recorded a single object pronoun, *woŋ* 'me' in the sentence *John i niŋ woŋ* 'John sees me'. In addition, *woŋ* was recorded out of context as the pronoun used in a one-word reply to a "who?" question. It appears likely, then, that *ŋa* cannot be used as an object pronoun, although both variants were recorded in subject position.

The morphology of the set A pronouns is of some interest. Although synchronic evidence is perhaps too limited to justify clear morpheme divisions, it is apparent from a combination of synchronic and comparative information that the first person inclusive pronouns contain an element /ta/ (assimilated to [to] in the dual number). Once this is recognised a clear pattern emerges: the four non-singular subject pronouns consist of base elements *ta-*, *e-*, *a-* and *i-*, to which are added suffixes *-lu* 'dual', *-rI* 'paucal' and *-rap* (for the first person inclusive) or *-p* (for all other persons) 'plural'. The one exception to this pattern is *ulu* 'they two', for which **ilu* is the expected form. It is likely that the pronominal suffixes *-lu* and *-rI* derive from POC **rua* 'two', **tolu* 'three' respectively, but if so they have been reshaped to such an extent that their relationship even to the contemporary Lou numerals is obscure.

Like most Oceanic languages, Lou distinguishes what are sometimes called 'alienable' and 'inalienable' possession. Syntactically, three possessive patterns are present (one for inalienable possession, two for alienable possession), although the same pronominal forms are used to mark possession in two of these patterns. The system is best illustrated with the possessive paradigms for *mara-* 'eye' (inalienably possessed), *puol* 'coconut' (alienably possessed object intended for eating), and *kut* 'louse' (alienably possessed object not intended for eating). Because of unresolved difficulties in predicting the shapes of certain allomorphs, bases are cited in roughly their surface forms:

SET B AND SET C PRONOUNS

singular	*mara-* 'eye'	*puol* 'coconut'	*kut* 'louse'
1	*morɔ-ŋ*	*kɔ-ŋ puol*	*kut ta-ŋ*
2	*morɔ-m*	*kɔ-m puol*	*kut to*
3	*mara-n*	*ka-n puol*	*kut te-i*
dual			
1incl.	*mara-n tolu*	*ko-lolu puol*	
1excl.	*mara-n elu*	*ke-lu puol*	
2	*mara-n alu*	*ka-lu puol*	
3	*mara-n ulu*	*ka-lalu puol*	

paucal
1incl.	*mara-n tarI*	*ka-rarI puol*
1excl.	*mara-n erI*	*ke-rI puol*
2	*mara-n arI*	*ka-rI puol*
3	*mara-n irI*	*ka-larI puol*

plural
1incl.	*mara-n tarap*	*ka-rap puol*
1excl.	*mara-n ep*	(?)
2	*mara-n ap*	*ka-p puol*
3	*mara-n ip*	*ka-lap puol*

Before discussing the pronominal suffixes themselves it will be worthwhile to note that the genitive construction has the general form: part-n whole, as in *moloɔ-ŋ* 'my shadow/spirit' *moloɔ-m* 'your shadow/spirit', *moloa-n* 'his/her shadow/spirit', *moloa-n ramat* 'spirit of a dead person'.

For inalienably possessed nouns (including body parts, kin terms, and such lexical items as the words for 'name' and 'shadow/soul') the general structural pattern used to indicate a possessive relationship is X-PN in the singular, and X-n-PN in the non-singular, where X is the possessed noun, *-n* the genitive suffix (homophonous with the 3sg. possessive pronoun) and PN the possessive pronoun (singular) or pronominal mark of the possessor (non-singular). Given the fact that a genitive marker is obligatory for the non-singular forms of inalienably possessed nouns, it might be argued that only *-ŋ*, *-m* and *-n* are true possessive pronouns, the non-singular forms not being formally distinguished from set A pronouns in any case.

For alienably possessed nouns that the possessor intends to eat the pattern is *ka*-PN X, where *ka-* is the marker of edible possession. For alienably possessed nouns that the possessor does not intend to eat the pattern is X *ta*-PN, where *ta-* is the marker of general possession. It is worth emphasising that many alienably possessed nouns can be marked with either the edible or the general possessive marker: what is crucial is the **intent** of the possessor with regard to use of the possessed object. Thus *kɔ-ŋ puol* and *puol ta-ŋ* both mean 'my coconut', the former implying that I intend to eat it (presumably in the near future), the latter carrying no such implication of intent. No distinctive marker of drinkable possession was recorded.[3]

The set B pronouns are fully documented in the possessive paradigm for 'eye'. In the paradigm of edible possession for 'coconut' a first person plural exclusive form was not recorded, although by analogy with *mara-n ep* we would expect it to be **ke-p*. Only the singular forms were recorded for set C, and only the first person singular form of the general possessive marker was recorded with any noun other than kut. For this reason it is difficult to guarantee the accuracy of the 2sg. and 3sg. possessive pronouns that attach to *ta-*

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3   Thus, for 'my water' I elicited *we ta-ŋ* (= 'water' + marker of alienable general possession + 'my'). In attempting to elicit a similar form which is morphologically marked as indicating intent to drink, I was given the possessive phrase *ko-ŋ we* 'my mango (to eat)'. According to Ross (1988) the edible: drinkable distinction for alienably possessed nouns, which is common in eastern Melanesia and the central Pacific, is unattested in western Melanesia.

(apparently zero and *-i*, but quite possibly *-u* and *-i*, with assimilation of the preceding vowel in both cases).

1.2 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

As noted already, during the approximately 16 hours of elicitation that I spent with Lou speakers I was able to collect only incidental information on morphology and syntax. The following section is an attempt to milk the data that I collected for whatever information can be extracted, although I am unable in some cases to provide morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. I collected about 80 isolated sentences and phrases (no texts), 6 verb paradigms which included at least the singular subjects in all three persons, and one relatively complete transitive verb paradigm ('to see'). All of these except a few largely repetitive examples of the same structural type are given below in what I assume to be their underlying forms.

(1)   *i nuek* (3sg. + dive) 'he is diving'

(2)   *i e panak* (3sg. + predication marker? + steal) 'he/she is stealing'

(3)   *i arara* (3sg. + hunched) 'he/she is hunched over'

(4)   *i iIp nɔt* (3sg. + carry + child) 'she is carrying a child' (= pregnant)[4]

(5)   *i porak* (3sg. + pus) 'it has pus' (of a wound)

(6)   *i akmat, i akmat-i* (3sg. + fall down + *-i*) 'he/she fell down'

(7)   *mwat i mwap* (sore/wound + 3sg. + heal) 'the sore is healed'

(8)   *ponu i masar* (place + 3sg. + clear) 'the place is clear'

(9)   *ara-ŋu i porok* (head-my + 3sg. + ache) 'my head is aching' (= 'I have a headache')

(10)   *tina-ŋu o wa me* (mother-my + 2sg. + walk + come) 'mother, come here!'

(11)   *o ro wa* (2sg. + continuative + go) 'you are going"

(12)   *o aŋ i* (2sg. + feed + 3sg.) 'feed him!'

(13)   *ol luI* (2sg. + throw down) 'throw it down!'

(14)   *uk mara-mu* (open + eye-your) 'open your eyes!'

(15)   *e mwanIn* (make + straight) 'make it straight!'

(16)   *ŋan kal* (eat + taro) 'eat the taro!'

(17)   *o roŋ* (2sg. + hear) 'listen to me!'

(18)   *sapa o ŋan kal* (don't + 2sg. + eat + taro) 'don't eat the taro!'

(19)   *sapa alu ka ŋan kal* (don't + 2du. + ? + eat + taro) 'don't (you two) eat the taro!'

(20)   *mwi la ro mara-n um* (dog + distal + continuative + front-of + house) 'the dog is in front of the house'

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[4]   I assume that this expression also has the literal meaning, but no information relevant to the point was collected.

(21)   *mwi la ro moloki-n um* (dog + distal + continuative + back-of + house) 'the dog is behind the house'

(22)   *mɔnmɔn la ro pata-n um* (bird + distal + continuative + top-of + house) 'the bird is on top of the house'

(23)   *koloponu(a) la ro mweli-n rI* (snake + distal + continuative + underside-of + stone) 'the snake is under the stone'

(24)   *nik la ro lalu-n kori* (fish + distal + continuative + inside-of + basket) 'the fish are inside the basket'

(25)   *mwi la ro masarin* (dog + distal + continuative + outside) 'the dog is outside'

(26)   *mwi la ro tepelek la set* (dog + distal + continuative + run + toward + sea) 'the dog is running toward the sea'

(27)   *mwi la ro tepelek la lolo-n ke* (dog + distal + continuative + run + toward + bush) 'the dog is running toward the bush'

(28)   *mwi la ro tepelek me* (dog + distal + continuative + run + come) 'the dog is running toward us'

(29)   *mwi la ro soŋ* (dog + distal + continuative + run away) 'the dog is running away from us'

(30)   *ip ka la tara* (1pl. + AGR + go + fish drive) 'we all are going on a fish drive'

(31)   *ŋa gat nɔt rumo* (1sg. + have + child + two) 'I have two children'

(32)   *pen ta-ŋu (i) tok te* (pen + general possession-my + (3sg.) + sit + here) 'my pen is here'

(33)   *pen ta-ŋu (i) tok asum* (pen + general possession-my + (3sg.) + sit + there, second person) 'my pen is there (near hearer)'

(34)   *pen ta-ŋu la ro koloŋ* (pen + general possession-my + distal + continuative + there, third person) 'my pen is there (not near hearer)'

(35)   *ŋara-mu sie* (name-your who) 'what is your name?'

(36)   *ŋara-ŋu Lester* (name-my Lester) 'my name is Lester'

(37)   *sa pei e o* (what + FUT? + make + 2sg.) 'what is the matter?'

(38)   *sie ŋan ka-ŋu nik* (who + eat + edible possession-my + fish) 'who ate my fish?'

(39)   *John i ŋan ka-mu nik* (John + 3sg. + eat + edible possession-your + fish) 'John ate your fish'

(40)   *o ŋan sa* (2sg. + eat + what) 'what did you eat?'

(41)   *i ro e ŋeri-an e?* (3sg. + continuative + predication marker? + painful + question) 'does it hurt?'

(42)   *ŋeri-an* 'it hurts!'

(43)   *tapo i ka-ŋu puol* (this + 3sg. + edible possession-my + coconut) 'this is my coconut (to eat)'

(44)   *tamante John i pe ŋan ka-mu nik* (why + John + 3sg. + ? + eat + edible possession-your + *nik*) 'why did John eat your fish?'

(45)   *i ŋan perira sioŋ i ŋan i* (3sg. + eat + because + hungry + 3sg. + eat + 3sg.) 'he ate it because he was hungry'

(46)   *o kem nik kipi* (2sg. + catch + fish + when) 'when did you catch the fish?'

(47)   *o kem nik elipe* (2sg. + catch + fish + where) 'where did you catch the fish?'

(48)   *o kem nik la tamante* (2sg. + catch + fish + ? + how) 'how did you catch the fish?'

(49)   *ŋa kem nik eli samat* (1sg. + catch + fish + with + trap) 'I caught the fish with a trap'

(50)   *nik samanun ta o kem* (fish + how many + which + 2sg. + catch) 'how many fish did you catch?'

(51)   *John i rek mat mwi eli ke* (John + 3sg. + hit + die + dog + with + stick) 'John killed the dog with a stick'

(52)   *ulu la ro rek mat ulu eli ke* (3du. + distal + continuative + hit + die + 3du. + with + stick) 'the two of them are killing each other with sticks'

(53)   *John i om i* (John + 3sg. + cut + 3sg.) 'John cut himself (by accident)'

(54)   *John i san kuna-n* (John + 3sg + cut + skin-his) 'John cut himself (deliberately, as to get the poison out of a snake bite)'

(55)   *John a woŋ ka pei la Momote tipeŋ* (John + and + 1sg. + AGR + FUT + to + Momote + tomorrow) 'John and I will go to Momote tomorrow'

(56)   *elu John ka pei la Momote tipeŋ* (1du.incl. + John + AGR + FUT + to + Momote + tomorrow) 'John and I will go to Momote tomorrow' (this construction is preferred to the preceding)

(57)   *i ki pei a Momote me rupeŋ* (3sg. + AGR + FUT + depart from + Momote + come + day after tomorrow) 'he will leave Momote the day after tomorrow'

(58)   *John a Mary ulu la ro ŋan kal* (John + and + Mary + 3dul. + distal + continuative + eat + taro) 'John and Mary are eating taro'

(59)   *John ulu Mary la ro ŋan kal* (John + 3du. + Mary + distal + continuative + eat + taro) 'John and Mary are eating taro'

(60)   *John a Mary ulu e niŋ woŋ* (John + and + Mary + 3du. + predication marker + see + me) 'John and Mary see me'

(61)   *ŋa niŋ John toŋ kone* (1sg. + see + John + at + beach) 'I saw John at the beach'

(62)   *ŋa niŋ John a Mary toŋ kone* (1sg. + see + John + and + Mary + at + beach) 'I saw John and Mary at the beach'

(63)   *ŋa niŋ John ulu Mary toŋ kone* (1sg. + see + John + 3du. + Mary + at + beach) 'I saw John and Mary at the beach'

(64)   *John la ro nɔmnɔm* (John + distal + continuative + eat) 'John is eating'

(65)   *John la ro ŋan nik* (John + distal + continuative + eat + fish) 'John is eting a fish'

(66a) *ŋa ro im wei-n puol* (1sg. + continuative + drink + water-of + coconut) 'I am drinking coconut water'

(66b) *o ru im wei-n puol* (2sg. + continuative + drink + water-of + coconut) 'you are drinking coconut water'

(66c) *i ro im wei-n puol* (3sg. + continuative + drink + water-of + coconut) 'he/she is drinking coconut water'

(67) *ŋa im wei-n puol minu* (1sg. + drink + water-of + coconut + yesterday) 'I drank the coconut water yesterday'

(68a) *ŋ-ka pei im wei-n puol tipeŋ* (1sg. + AGR + FUT + drink water-of + coconut + tomorrow) 'I will drink the coconut water tomorrow'

(68b) *o pei im wei-n puol tipeŋ* (2sg. + FUT + drink water-of + coconut + tomorrow) 'you will drink the coconut water tomorrow'

(68c) *i ki pei im wei-n puol tipeŋ* (3sg. + AGR + FUT + drink + water-of + coconut + tomorrow) 'he will drink the coconut water tomorrow'

(69a) *ŋa ro ŋan kal* (1sg. + continuative + eat + taro) 'I am eating the taro'

(69b) *o ro ŋan kal* (2sg. + continuative + eat + taro) 'you are eating the taro'

(69c) *i ro ŋan kal* (3sg. + continuative + eat + taro) 'he is eating the taro'

(69d) *tolu ro ŋan kal* (1du. + continuative + eat + taro) 'you and I are eating the taro'

(69e) *elu ro ŋan kal* (1du.excl. + continuative + eat + taro) 'we two (addressee not included) are eating the taro'

(69f) *tarI ro ŋan kal* (1pl.incl. + continuative + eat + taro) 'we're all (addressee included) eating the taro'

(69g) *erI ro ŋan kal* (1pl.excl. + continuative + eat + taro) 'we're all (addressee not included) eating the taro'

(69h) *alu ro ŋan kal* (2du. + continuative + eat + taro) 'you two are eating the taro'

(69i) *arI ro ŋan kal* (2pauc. + continuative + eat + taro) 'you all are eating the taro'

(69j) *ulu la ro ŋan kal* (3du. + distal + continuative + eat + taro) 'the two of them are eating the taro'

(69k) *irI ro ŋan kal* (3pauc. + continuative + eat + taro) 'all of them are eating the taro'

(70) *ŋa ŋan kal minu* (1sg. + eat + taro + yesterday) 'I ate the taro yesterday' (*minu* can optionally precede *ŋa ŋan kal*)

(71a) *ŋ-ka pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* ((1sg.) + AGR + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'I will eat the taro tomorrow'

(71b) *o pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* (2sg. + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'you will eat the taro tomorrow'

(71c) *i ki pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* (3sg. + AGR + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'he will eat (the) taro tomorrow'

(71d) *tolu ka pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* (1du.excl. + AGR + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'the two of us (addressee included) will eat (the) taro tomorrow'

(71e)   *elu ka pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* (1du.excl. + AGR + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'the two of us (addressee not included) will eat (the) taro tomorrow'

(71f)   *tarI ka pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* (1pauc.incl. + AGR + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'we all (addressee included) will eat (the) taro tomorrow'

(71g)   *erI ka pei ŋan kal tipeŋ* (1pauc.excl. + AGR + FUT + eat + taro + tomorrow) 'we all (addressee not included) will eat (the) taro tomorrow'

(72)   *ŋa pa ŋ-ka lak mimi* (1sg. + irrealis + 1sg. + AGR + go + piss) 'I want to go piss'

(73)   *o Il Ip ŋa-mu* (2sg. + pull + breath + your) 'you are breathing'

(74a)   *ŋa ro metir* (1sg. + continuative + sleep) 'I'm sleeping'

(74b)   *o ro metir* (2sg. + continuative + sleep) 'you are sleeping'

(74c)   *i ro metir* (3sg. + continuative + sleep) 'he is sleeping'

(74d)   *ulu (la) ro metir* (3du. + continuative + sleep) 'the two of them are sleeping'

(75)   *John i niŋ woŋ* (John + 3sg. + see + 1sg.) 'John sees me'

(76)   *woŋ i niŋ John* (1sg. + (?) + see + John) 'I see John'

(77)   *o i niŋ John, e?* (2sg. + (?) + see + John + question) 'do you see John?'

(78)   *alu e niŋ John, e?* (2du. + predication marker + see + John + question) 'do the two of you see John?'

(79a)   *ŋa e layan* (1sg. + make + good) 'I fixed it'

(79b)   *o e layan* (2sg. + make + good) 'you fixed it'

(79c)   *i e layan* (3sg. + make + good) 'he/she fixed it'

(80a)   *ŋa ro e kuaro* (1sg. + continuative + predicative + call) 'I am calling'

(80b)   *o ro e kuaro* (2sg. + continuative + predicative + call) 'you are calling'

(80c)   *i ro e kuaro* (3sg. + continuative + predicative + call) 'he/she is calling'

In addition to the above the following complex noun phrases should be noted: *kikiri-n rI sip kara-n* (small-adj. + stone + one/a + black-adj.) 'a small black stone', *laposu-n nik* (net + of + fish) 'fish net', *kusu-mIna-ŋ sip marak* (finger-my + one + big) 'my thumb', *lal wei sip* (round + water + one) 'lake', *ŋusu-n ap* (lip-of + many) 'many lips'.

Based on the foregoing limited data the following tentative conclusions about Lou sentence structure can be proposed:

1) the order of major sentence constituents is SVO.

2) markers of tense/aspect precede the verb.

3) in simple declarative sentences a third person singular nominal subject is often reinforced by a pleonastic pronoun (e.g. *ponu i masar* 'the place is clear').

4) unlike Motu, Mussau and many of the languages of Manus, Lou lacks proclitic subject markers on the verb.

5) like a number of 'Eastern Oceanic' languages, Lou allows a conjoined nominal subject to be expressed by the structure: dual pronoun + first noun (e.g. John and Mary = 'they

two John'). Some variation in this structure was recorded, but the structure which makes use of the dual pronoun + personal name appears to be the most idiomatic.

6) the structure of attributive constructions is head (+ possessor) + quantifier + attribute, e.g. *kusu-mIna-n sip marak* (= finger-his/her-one-big) 'his/her thumb'. Rare deviations from this pattern in my data, such as *moŋu-n puol* (= 'dry-coconut'; cf. *sul moŋu-n* 'dry coconut frond') or *para-n mara-n* (= 'sharp point') are unexplained. Genitive constructions follow the order part + whole.

7) the negative marker *puIn* follows the noun or verb that it negates, as in *teliŋa-n puIn* 'deaf' (= 'ear-his/her-NEG') or *mat puIn* (= 'die-NEG') 'alive'. The latter expression is remarkable, in that Lou and a few of its close relatives in the southeast Admiralties are the only languages I have ever encountered in which the word for 'live, be alive' is expressed by negating the word for 'die'.

8) isolated expressions such as *lIp me* 'bring' (lit. 'fetch-come'), *lIp lak* (lit. 'fetch-go') resemble serial verb constructions, but may be nothing more than the use of words for 'come' and 'go' as lexical formatives. It is unclear from the data whether either *me* or *lak* is used generally as a particle indicating motion toward or away from the speaker.

9) the order of question words appears to vary with the particular morpheme used: 'what' and 'why' precede the verb, 'when', 'where' and 'how' follow it, and 'who' precedes except in the expression *ŋara-mu sie* 'name-your-who?' = 'what is your name?'. Surprisingly, the same morpheme was recorded both for the meaning 'why' (sentence (44)) and the meaning 'how' (sentence (48)). Since the position of the interrogative differs in the two sentences it is conceivable that /tamante/ serves for both types of question, and is distinguished only by distribution. Given the paucity of data, this matter (like many others I have touched on) clearly is in need of further investigation.

The most problematic areas in the analysis of my data are those involving affixes of limited productivity and grammatical particles of uncertain function. A brief inventory of minor morphemes that have been identified, and some speculations about their functions follows:

-/a/ (nominaliser). Recorded in a single pair of words: /mimi/ 'urinate', /mimi-a/ 'urine'.

/e/ (predication marker?). A similarly problematic element /e/ was identified in Mussau (Blust 1984). Ross (1988:334, 345) treats /e/ in several sentences as a preposition, but the similar form in *e mwanInI-n* 'make it straight', *i e panak* 'he/she is stealing' or *o e im* 'drink!' clearly has a very different function. Whatever its function, /e/ evidently is optional, as suggested by sentences (1) and (2).

/e/ (tag question?). The final /e/ in sentence (41) appears to have the function of marking a tag question. It is possible that it is only an intonationally differing variant of the preceding /e/.

-/ek/ (verbal suffix?). In two pairs of phonologically and semantically similar words it appears possible to analyse a suffix -/ek/: 1. *nu* 'bathe, take a bath in the sea' : *nuek* 'dive, submerge', and 2. *roa* 'coconut grater' : *roek* 'scrape coconut meat from the shell'. A substantial number of other verbs end with the same phoneme sequence, and may contain an active or fossilised suffix: /aek/ 'shoot, stab, thrust', /aniek/ 'submerge to fill', /aweek/ 'announce, inform', /esuŋek/ 'collect, gather together', /luek/ 'spit out, eject from the mouth', /nek/ 'throw, as a stone', /nesek/ 'say, tell, speak', /orek/ 'to open', /pasek/ 'know,

understand', /perek/ 'to hide (intr.)', /pirek/ 'blow with the mouth', /porek/ 'find', /rek/ 'hit', /rek/ 'turn, as the head', /saek/ 'rub in (liniment, etc.)', /suek/ 'push, shove', /tepelek/ 'run', /tiek/ 'pour out, spill out'. Since none of the latter forms is attested in my fieldnotes without -/ek/, however, and since there are also many verbs in Lou which do not end with -/ek/, this analysis remains problematic. Nonetheless, it is tempting to consider the possibility that *nuek, roek* and perhaps some other Lou forms contain a reflex of the POC transitive suffix *-aki* (Pawley 1973). Harrison (1982) has drawn attention to problems with the functions of *-aki* as inferred by Pawley, and the forms given here (to the extent that they can be considered relevant to the debate) also cast doubt on the claim that POC *-aki* marked only transitive verbal relations. Until more information becomes available I have included *nu* and *nuek, roa* and *roek* as separate entries and left the final -*ek* of other verbs unmarked in the vocabulary.

/i/ (pleonastic 3sg. subject marker). As in Tok Pisin, an element /i/, which can be identified with the 3sg. subject pronoun, often appears after 3sg. nominal subjects. The rules for occurrence of postnominal /i/ in Lou probably will turn out to be interesting. No examples were recorded in sentences with /la/ 'distal' or /ro/ 'continuative', but this may be an artefact of my small data sample. Occasionally a similar element was recorded after other persons, as in sentences (76) and (77). Tentatively I assume that the use of /i/ with first and second person nominal subjects is not part of the structure of pre-contact Lou, but reflects recent interference caused by extensive bilingualism in Tok Pisin.

-/i/ (verbal suffix). A suffix with this shape was recorded only in /i akmat/, /i akmat-i/ 'he/she fell down'. Since no difference was noted in the glosses of these variant constructions it is impossible to suggest a function for -/i/.

/ka/ (first person agreement marker for irrealis and future constructions). An element /ka/ was consistently recorded following all first person subjects in future constructions, and in /ŋa pa ŋ-ka la mimi/ 'I want to go piss', which I have analysed as containing a marker of the irrealis (/pa/). The similar element in sentence (19) appears to be unrelated, and remains unglossed.

/ki/ (third person agreement marker for irrealis and future constructions). This element appears to correspond exactly to /ka/, except that it is attested only following a third person subject (sentence (68c)).

/la/ (marker of distal action, event or state). An element with this shape was recorded in a number of present tense constructions with a third person subject. The clearest indication of the function of /la/ is seen in the sentential minimal pair: (1) /ulu ro metir/, (2) /ulu la ro metir/, both glossed 'they are sleeping'. According to Sovo Kanik (1) would be appropriate as an answer to the question 'where are your sons?' if the interlocutors were inside the house where the sons were sleeping; (2) on the other hand, would be appropriate if the interlocutors were outside the house when the question was asked. It is tempting to see /la/ as a reduced form of /lak/ 'go' which occurs across word boundary before a consonant-initial morpheme, but this interpretation sometimes appears awkward. In any event /la/ was never recorded with a first or second person subject, a fact which is consistent with the semantic interpretation suggested here. This interpretation is further strengthened by the use of /la/ in conjunction with the third person demonstrative in sentence (34), but not in conjunction with the first or second person demonstratives in sentences (32) or (33).

It might be mentioned further that the lexical distinction between /tarak/ 'climb (used when one is at the thing to be climbed)' and /neŋ/ 'climb (used when one must first go to the thing before climbing it)' would seem to exemplify the same type of semantic parameter between proximal and distal actions, events or states.

/la/ (directional?). The second homophonous sequence in sentence (26), /mwi la ro tepelek la set/ 'the dog is running toward the sea' clearly is distinct from the first. It is likely that this is a reduced form of /lak/ 'go'.

-/n/ (genitive). This suffix is found in many constructions which express a part-to-whole relationship (*kul-n kusu-mIna-* 'nail-of finger' = 'fingernail', *pulu-n mIna-* 'joint-of arm' = 'elbow', *susu-n pein* 'breast-of woman' = 'female breast', *mara-n susu-* 'nipple-of breast', etc.). On this basis it is interpreted as a genitive marker. However, because of its homophony with -/n/ '3sg. possessor', and historical irregularities associated with **a* assimilation (§3.2.1), it is possible that I have erred in this interpretation. If so, constructions such as *susu-n pein* must be glossed 'breast-her woman'.

-/n/ (attributive). A suffix found as an inseparable element of many attributive words. In a few cases a stem was recorded both with and without the attributive suffix: 1. [ŋat] 'a bald head' : [ŋaȓan] 'bald', 2. [mat] 'die' : [maȓIn] 'dead', 3. [ponu ȓoȓo] 'a cold place', but [wei ȓoȓoun] 'cold water'. Some attributive words lack this suffix, as *montI* 'yellow'—the only colour term which does not end with -n.

/ŋ/ (pleonastic form of /ŋa/ '1sg. subject'). A bound morpheme apparently used to reinforce the free 1sg. subject pronoun. In all examples recorded this morpheme is attached to /ka/ 'first person agreement marker'.

/ŋi/ (?). Recorded only in [ŋi tɛli] 'I'm lost' (for expected **[ŋa tɛli]). This may simply be a transcriptional error.

-/p/ (numeral marker). A fossilised suffix, reflecting Proto-Admiralties **-pi* found in the Lou numerals 'one', 'two' and 'three'. It could easily be overlooked in the contemporary language.

/pa/ (irrealis). Ross (1988:345) glosses this as a future marker. I recorded it in the sentence /ŋa pa ŋ-ka lak mimi/ 'I want to go piss', which is difficult to reconcile with a future interpretation. Moreover, I recorded a morpheme /pei/, which appears to mark the future (see below).

/pei/ (future). This element seems clearly to mark future tense in sentences (55)–(57), (68a-c) and (71a-g). The similar form in (37) appears to be unrelated, and remains unglossed.

/ro/ (continuative aspect). Ross (1988:334) glosses this 'stay', and regards it as a marker of the continuative aspect, which is consistent with the material I recorded (e.g. *ŋa ro aɲi* 'I + stay + feed + 3sg.) = 'I am feeding him/her'). Like some other morphemes which contain /o/, I recorded the vowel sometimes as /o/ and sometimes as /u/. In addition to marking aspect /ro/ appears to continue to function as a content morpheme, as in *i ro kasiŋ* 'it + stay + near' = 'it is near' and *ŋa ro ponu* (recorded as [ŋaȓuponu]) 'I + stay + village' = 'I live in the village'.

/ta/ (relativiser). I recorded this morpheme in a single sentence (*nik samanun ta o kem* 'how many fish did you catch?'). Ross (1988:329) glosses this as a marker of relative clauses.

/te/ (directional). In the sentence *o aek mIna-m te i* 'you + shoot/throw + hand-your + to + him' = 'thrust your hand to him', /te/ seems clearly to be a directional particle. However, a phonetically similar sequence was recorded in *um te raŋ* 'house + *te* + spider' = 'spider web', where it cannot have this sense. We may be dealing here with homophonous minor morphemes, both poorly attested in my data.

/toŋ/ (locative?). In eliciting words in isolation I recorded both [kone] 'sand' and [toŋgone] 'beach'. However, I also recorded the sentence [ŋa niŋ jɔn toŋgone] 'I saw John at the beach'. The first instance of [toŋ] appears to be a free morpheme which can be combined with *kone* 'sand' to form a compound meaning 'beach'. The second, on the other hand, appears to be a locative preposition. Without further information I am unable to resolve this problem, or even to be certain of the underlying shape of [toŋ], since /ton kone/ would assimilate in rapid speech to [toŋgone].

2. SYNCHRONIC PHONOLOGY

The discussion of synchronic phonology will be divided into: 1. phoneme inventory, 2. phonotactic constraints, 3. morphophonemics and 4. phonetics.

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

Lou contrasts 13 consonants and 7 vowels, as follows:

Consonants			Vowels	
p	*t*	*k*	*i*	*u*
pw			*I*	
m	*n*	*ŋ*	*e*	*o*
mw				*ɔ*
	s		*a*	
	l			
	r			
w	*y*			

Two other rare phonemes appear in phonologically unassimilated loans, as with the /b/ in *kukamba* 'cucumber' or *tabak* 'tobacco' and the /g/ in *gat* (variant: *kat*) 'have, possess', both borrowed from Tok Pisin.

The most recalcitrant phonemic problems in Lou are found with the vowels. Because I began my elicitation in all languages with the numerals ([sip] 'one', [ɾuʔɛp]/[ɾuwɛp] 'two', [tɛlIp] 'three' ...), I recognised the phonetic distinctness of [i], [ɛ] and [I] in Lou almost immediately. Moreover, in the early stages of elicitation, when I strove for a narrow phonetic transcription, I distinguished [o] and [ɔ], as in [soŋɔt] '100'. However, because I **expected** Lou to have the five vowel system typical of most Oceanic languages, I developed a tendency to believe that /i/ and /I/ were actually free variants, and that [o] and [ɔ] were in complementary distribution. The first of these misimpressions was gradually corrected as I collected more data, but it was not until I began to systematise my data toward the end of the elicitation period that I discovered my second error. Fortunately, time permitted me to recheck most forms, and the contrast of /o/ and /ɔ/ was firmly established in such pairs as [ɾoŋ] 'hear' vs. [ŋoɾɔŋ] 'my name', and in the sole minimal pair elicited: [okok] 'to float' vs. [ɔkɔk] 'climb slowly up a mountain'.

2.2 PHONOTACTIC CONSTRAINTS

Because of incomplete morphemic analysis some problems remain in the statement of Lou phonotactics. It is certain that heterorganic consonant clusters are permitted across a morpheme boundary in reduplicated monosyllables such as *kupkup* 'white hair', *mɔnmɔn* 'bird' or *teŋteŋ* 'cry'. Whether the recorded consonant clusters in forms such as *alma* 'yawn', *pukrIn* 'budding flower', or *kInsuk* 'rainbow' are intramorphemic or inter-morphemic, however, is not at all clear (despite the fact that *alma* apparently reflects POC **mawap* and hence requires a **historical** morpheme boundary: *al-ma*). In a word such as anektoun 'to hide' the heterorganic consonant cluster, the length of the form and the partial similarity of *kaltoun* 'hide something in the closed fist' strongly suggest a bimorphemic word *anek-toun*, but an analysis into meaningful parts is yet to be accomplished.

Putting aside the abovementioned problems of morpheme analysis, the most frequent canonical shape in Lou is CVC, followed by CVCVC and CVCV.

A maximum of two sequential consonants was recorded. The labiovelars /pw/, /mw/ and the semivowel /w/ do not occur in final position, and the semivowel /y/ is found only inter-vocalically. Apart from these restrictions consnants are attested in all possible positions, although some (e.g. intervocalic /t/) are rare.

A maximum of three sequential vowels was recorded in one lexical item (/papaeun/ 'new'). Two-vowel clusters are common, and include sequences of like (rearticulated) vowels, as in *mween* 'man, male'. All such sequences of like vowels appear to involve two distinct chest pulses rather than differences of vowel length. Vowel sequences that would seem to be disallowed include /a/ followed immediately by a high vowel, and /I/ and /ɔ/ in prevocalic position. Among other distributional limitations on vowels, /ɔ/ may not occur in open syllables.

2.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Three types of morphophonemic alternation are well attested in my data; several other types are suggested by an example or two.

(1) Flapping of /t/. Historically POC **t* and **nt* merged with **r* as Lou [r] in intervocalic position. Where no alternation was produced lexical items that had contained **t* were reinterpreted as containing /r/: **qate-ŋku* > [kareŋ] = /kare-ŋu/ 'my liver'. Where an alternation was produced restructuring did not occur, but a rule of /t/ flapping was added to the synchronic grammar of Lou. Such alternations are attested across both (a) morpheme boundary and (b) word boundary:

(a) /ŋat/ [ŋat] 'bald head (in general)', but /ara-mu ŋata-n/ [arɔmŋaran] 'your head is bald'; /mat/ [mat] 'die', but /kI-n matI-n/ [kInmarIn] 'crippled, lame' (lit. 'his/her leg is dead'); /i akmat/ [yakmat] 'he/she fell down', but /i akmat-i/ [yakmari] 'he/she fell down'; /i lIp nɔt/ [illpnɔt] 'pregnant' (lit. 'she is carrying a child'), but /nɔtu-n/ [norun] 'his/her child'.

(b) /mwat/ [mwat] 'wound, sore', but /mwat i mwap/ [mwarimwap] 'the wound/sore has healed'; /met i mɔŋ/ [merimoŋ] 'low tide' (lit. 'the reef is dry'); /kut taŋ/ [kuttaŋ] 'my louse', but /wei taŋ/ [weraŋ] 'my water'; /tara/ [tara] 'fish drive', but /ip ka la tara/ [ipkalarara] 'they are all going on a fish drive'.

Because most of my lexical material was collected in citation form rather than in natural conversations, it is likely that the flapping of /t/, which was not recorded across word boundary in a number of cases, is actually much more common. I recorded a single case of intervocalic /t/ which is not flapped: [pataŋkIl] 'seat of a boat'. Because this term appears to contain the same morpheme (/para/- 'stalk, stem, trunk, log') found in [par̄ampalI?] 'mast' and some other expressions, it is possible that some lexical items that I have written with /r/ actually contain /t/, and that phonemic restructuring has yet to occur in them as a result of the historical rule of *t flapping.

In principal, given the environments in which various POC phonemes split in Lou, we can expect also to find other synchronic alternations under conditions similar to those which govern the alternation of /t/ with /r/. Such predicted alternations include both /p/ and /k/ with zero morpheme-finally in suffixed forms (since POC *p and *k were preserved in Lou word-finally, but lost intervocalically), zero (morpheme-final) with /w/ and /y/ (in suffixed forms), /m/ (morpheme-final) with /p/ (in suffixed forms), /n/ (in suffixed forms). To date no examples of possessed stems with the appropriate endings have been found.

(2) Assimilation of /n/. When words are juxtaposed in Lou the genitive suffix -/n/ frequently comes to precede a heteroganic stop. Although -/n/ is pronounced as an alveolar nasal in citation forms, it has a strong tendency to assimilate to the point of articulation of the following stop in more casual speech: /para-n pami/ [par̄ampami?] 'areca palm', /puru-n ke/ [pur̄uŋkɛ?] 'thorn'. In a few cases where I have not collected sufficient information to determine morpheme boundaries it is possible that a similar type of place assimilation has gone undetected (e.g. in [paŋkat] 'broom made of coconut or sago frond' /pa-n kat/?).

(3) Rounding of /a/; vowel alternations with zero. Although Lou normally lost POC vowels in absolute final position, if a stem-final vowel was protected by a suffix it was preserved phonetically under any of four conditions: 1) in the possessive paradigm of inalienably possessed nouns (which take suffixed possessive markers); 2) in part-to-whole constructions with the genitive suffix -/n/; 3) in adjectives or stative verbs with the attributive suffix -/n/; 4) in active verbs that originally took the verbal suffixes *-aki or *-i, or the 3sg. object suffix *-a (as POC *suli-a). In all such cases the suffixal vowel was lost (under some conditions after triggering assimilatory changes in the last stem vowel), but the last stem vowel was thereby spared. The richest source of data is the singular possessive paradigm, in which five well-attested patterns of variation in the last stem vowel appear (one pattern also affects the penultimate stem vowel, and will be discussed separately below). These (phonetic) vowel patterns and their POC sources are as follows:

No.	POC	1sg.	2sg.	3sg
1.	*i-	i-	i-	i-
2.	*u-	u-	u-	u-
3.	*e-	ɛ-	I-	I-
4.	*o-	o-	o-	o-
5.	*a-	ɔ-	ɔ-	a-

Patterns (3 and 5) involve well-attested alternations. The first is illustrated by [kar̄ɛŋ] 'my liver', [kar̄Im] 'your liver', [kar̄In] 'his/her liver', the second by [mor̄ɔŋ] 'my eye', [mor̄ɔm] 'your eye', [mar̄an] 'his/her eye'. Historically, these alternations have resulted from: 1) raising of POC *e to /I/ in all environments except before a final velar nasal, and 2) rounding of POC *a to /ɔ/ when the suffix contained *u (cf. POC *-ŋku '1sg. possessor', *-mu '2sg. possessor', *-ña '3sg. possessor').

Pattern (5) is most easily explained synchronically by positing an underlying /u/ in the possessive suffixes for the first second persons, since a rule of rounding assimilation (followed by final vowel deletion) can then generate the alternation. Final stem vowels, then, are preserved both phonetically and phonemically under certain conditions, whereas the vowels of the first and second person singular possessive suffixes are preserved only phonemically, being inferred indirectly through assimilatory traces on preceding stem vowels. In both cases a rule of final vowel deletion is needed in contemporary Lou, although its precise form remains problematic (since many surface final vowels occur). This synchronic interpretation follows the historical facts closely, but is directly needed only for pattern (5). For all other patterns the hypothetical underlying suffixal vowel /u/ in the 1sg. and 2sg. possessive suffixes does no work, but must be posited to maintain uniformity of phonemic shape in what clearly are the same morphemes.[5]

In general the underlying form of nouns that follow pattern (5) is determined from the surface form of the (unconditioned) 3sg. variant. By contrast, use of the 3sg. variant to determine the underlying form of nouns that follow pattern (3) leads to a synchronic explanation which reverses the historical facts, since it requires a rule in the grammar of contemporary Lou which lowers /I/ only before a velar nasal.

In addition to the foregoing patterns of alternation in stem-final vowels, I recorded two patterns of alternation in penultimate vowels. The first of these is well-attested. As seen above in the singular possessive paradigm for 'eye', underlying /mara-ŋu/ 'my eye' and /mara-mu/ 'your eye' exhibit not only an assimilatory rounding of the last stem vowel, but also a regressive rounding assimilation of the penultimate vowel. A similar pattern is found in /tama/- 'father', /nana/- 'parent-in-law' and /ŋara/- 'name'. Since the contrast of Lou /o/ and /ɔ/ appears to be neutralised in open syllables the two phonetically rounded vowels in such forms are different: [morɔŋ] 'my eye', etc.

The second pattern of penultimate vowel alternation was recorded in a single paradigm. Where the *u* that triggered regressive rounding assimilation was part of the stem rather than the 1sg. or 2sg. possessive suffix it led to restructuring of the original penultimate *a*: *manuk* > /mɔnmɔn/ 'bird'. In most cases such restructured vowels were not subject to further contextual variations, but in [nɔt] 'child' (in collocations such as [nɔt mor] 'twin') and [norun] 'his/her child', /ɔ/ alternates with surface /o/.

Vowel alternations with zero before the marker of the genitive construction and before the attributive suffix -n are less common in my data. Three cases are known: [kolponu] 'snake', [kolponuwan pun mot] 'kind of sea snake'; [ŋat] 'a bald head', [ŋaran] 'bald', [mat] 'die', [marIn] 'dead'.

The word /lak/ 'go' was recorded in two different forms: as [la] when preceding a consonant ([o la lalun] 'you go inside', [o la perek] 'you go hide'), and as [lak] in final position ([lIp lak] 'take'. Ross (1988:345) gives only the latter form, but a phoneme sequence [la] that can be identified with it appears much more often in my fieldnotes than does [lak].

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5   One exception to the rounding rule was noted: /ta/- 'marker of alienably possessed nouns not intended to be eaten' shows no rounding when suffixed with *ŋu* '1sg. possessor'. This failure of /a/ to assimilate to the underlying /u/ of the 1sg. possessive pronoun in /taŋ/ is particularly striking, since the similar vowel in /ka/- 'marker of edible possession' does assimilate: /ta-ŋu/ = [taŋ], but /ka-ŋu/ = [koŋ]).

One final type of morphophonemic alternation that is marginally attested in my data, but which may ultimately turn out to be productive in the language, is vowel syncope in reduplications such as *pwalpwali* (underlying /pwalipwali/) and *pwirpwire* (underlying /pwirepwire/). Until the facts can be better established these forms are written in their surface realisations. A few non-reduplicated forms were recorded with or without a syncopating vowel, as [kolponu], [koloponu] 'snake'. In these cases I write the vowel if it was heard at least some pronunciations.

2.4 PHONETICS

The discussion of phonetics will be divided into: 1) the syllable-closing automatic consonant; 2) consonant and vowel allophones; and 3) stress.

2.4.1 THE SYLLABLE-CLOSING AUTOMATIC CONSONANT

The glottal stop is prominent in Lou, appearing both intervocalically and in final position. Careful attempts to establish contrast, however, show that (as in many other languages of the eastern Admiralties) this segment is used solely to mark syllable closure. In languages which contrast phonemic final vowels with phonemic final glides the glottal stop undoubtedly facilitates perception of the difference between -/i/ and -/iy/ or -/u/ and -/uw/, but in Lou such contrasts do not exist. Lou words that end with a vowel phonemically are followed by an automatic glottal stop in careful speech, at least in citation forms. This applies both to native words and—so far as I was able to determine—to loans, e.g. [kukamba?] 'cucumber'. For a few words I recorded two pronunciations, one with and one without the glottal stop. The former was always the first variant offered, and appeared to be the more carefully articulated, citation form. The rapid speech (or more relaxed) variant lacked the glottal stop, and sometimes was heard with a homorganic glide after the vowel. Examples are: /mimi/ [mimi?] 'urinate', /awl/ [awl?] 'four', /ke/ [kɛ?] 'tree, wood', /moso/ [moso?] 'cinnamon', /ponu/ [ponu?] 'village', /ni/ [ni?] (careful), [niy] (relaxed) 'squid'.

A similar automatic insertion of glottal stop is seen in intervocalic position in such forms as /ruep/ [ru?ɛp] (careful), vs. [ruwɛp] (relaxed) 'two', and /mween/ [mwɛ?ɛn] (careful) vs. [mwɛɛn] (relaxed) 'man, male'.

2.4.2 CONSONANT AND VOWEL ALLOPHONES

The canonical (unconditioned) values of the Lou consonants and vowels are as follows. Conditioned values will be described below, in relation to the phonological processes that affect them.

When preceded or followed by silence, or by a non-nasal consonant /p/, /t/ and /k/ are voiceless, unaspirated bilabial, alveolar and velar stops. They appear to be optionally released or unreleased in final position. As noted already, /t/ alternates with [ř] in intervocalic position. The nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are fully voiced and made at corresponding points of articulation.

The labiovelar phonemes /pw/ and /mw/ appear to vary from velarised labials with lip spreading to velarised labials with some lip rounding. Because of the relative difficulty of perceiving the /m/ : /mw/ difference when the latter phoneme is pronounced with spreading

rather than rounding, I occasionally recorded variant forms with [m] and [mw] (e.g. [mamaŋɛs], [mwamwaŋɛs] 'lazy'). Such forms are interpreted phonemically as instances of /mw/ in which the velarisation was imperfectly heard. In a single case I recorded variant pronunciations with [pwa] and [po]: [pwanat], [ponat] 'earth'.

A related issue involves the phonemic interpretation of phonetic sequences that include a labial or velar stop followed immediately by a rounded vowel and then another vowel: *poV-*, *puV-*, *koV-*, *kuV-*. It is clear that Lou has a phoneme /pw/, and equally clear that it permits the phonemic sequence /pu/ before a vowel. In a form such as [pwIk] 'flying fox' [w] is non-syllabic, and can never carry the stress, whereas in a form such as [puwol] 'coconut', or [puwan] 'its fruit', the [u] is distinctly stressed. On the other hand, in the history of Lou it appears that some instances of allophonic velarisation have been re-interpreted phonemically as sequences of consonant plus vowel, as with POC *poñu* > /puon/ (expected **pon*), possibly a phonemic reinterpretation of earlier [pwon]. Applying these same criteria to the interpretation of *koV-*, *kuV-* sequences, we must conclude that there is no convincing evidence for a phoneme /kw/.

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative, /l/ a voiced alveolar lateral and /r/ a 4-5 tap alveolar trill. In word-final position /r/ is conspicuously devoiced during the latter part of this articulation.

/w/ is a voiced labiovelar glide. In initial position it is in complementary distribution with /u/ (/u/ occurs only before consonants, /w/ only before vowels). However, a distinct intervocalic phoneme /w/ is needed to simplify the statement of morpheme structure constraints. Thus /aweek/ 'announce, inform' would contain an otherwise unattested string of four consecutive vowels if interpreted phonemically as **/aueek/.

/y/ is a voiced palatal glide, the non-syllabic counterpart of /i/.

Two other consonant phones were transcribed, but are considered to be non-phonemic. Of these, the glottal stop has already been mentioned. In addition I recorded two instances of -[h]: [sa], [sah] 'what?', [sasah] 'year'. I take these to be transcriptional vagaries, and write /sa/, /sasa/. Alternatively, since Lenkau has /sah/ 'what?', it is possible that the dialects of some villages on Lou have a phoneme /h/, which appears in this word. Note, however, that this cannot be the explanation for the final consonant recorded once in [sasah], since Pak /sasaw/ 'year' points to an earlier final glide.

When stressed or when preceding a consonant /i/ and /u/ are realised as tense high front unrounded and high back rounded vowels respectively. A palatal glide was recorded as an unstressed allophone of /i/, particularly where /i/ '3sg. subject' precedes a vowel-initial verb: /i as/ > [yas] 'he/she is planting', /i om/ > [yom] 'he/she is cutting'. A parallel semi-vocalisation is seen when the 2sg. subject pronoun /o/ precedes a vowel-initial verb: /o aŋi/ [waŋi] 'feed him!'. /I/ is a lax lower-high front vowel in all environments except before a final velar nasal, where it is realised as [ɛ]. /e/ is realised as [e] before a vowel and [ɛ] elsewhere. The remaining vowels /o/, /ɔ/, /a/) have their expected phonetic values, with the following exception. A persistent transcription problem was the frequency with which the same word was recorded sometimes with [o] and sometimes with [u] (or perhaps [U]). Examples include 1. *liol/liul* 'bachelor's house', 2. *lot/lut* 'boil, abscess', 3. *ŋor/ŋur* 'grunt, growl, snore', 4. *o/u* '2sg. subject, 5. *por/pur* 'white residue left from boiling coconut oil', 6. *por/pur* 'to swallow', 7. *ro/ru* 'continuative aspect', 8. *roŋ/ruŋ* 'hear, listen, 9. *tok/tuk* 'sit'.

In all cases where etymological information is available the seemingly variable phoneme reflects POC *o*.

Various assimilatory processes that are familiar from many other natural languages are operative in Lou. A brief inventory of these follows:

Palatalisation. Before /i/ slight palatalisation of /s/ was recorded in /sip/. No other examples were noted.

Velarisation/labialisation. When adjacent to a rounded vowel /o/ or /u/), labial consonants may be velarised: /pot/ [pwot] 'large bamboo sp.', /posposu-ŋ/ [pwospwosuŋ] 'my chest', /toma-n/ [tomwan] 'his/her back', /uma-n/ [umwan] 'its nest'. Although the evidence is not as clear, it is possible that velar consonants also are at least optionally labialised in the same environment. The underlying form of [toktokwar̃] 'sit down (request)' is multiply ambiguous, since we may be dealing here with a morpheme /war/ or /uar/ that is otherwise unattested in my fieldnotes, or with a similarly unique morpheme /ar/, together with labialisation of the final consonant of /toktok/. As can be seen, the feature of labialisation/velarisation appears to be capable of spreading either leftward or rightward.

Voicing. Although Lou has no voiced stop phonemes in native words I recorded [β] and [b] as allophones of /p/, [βw] as an allophone of /pw/, [d] as an allophone of /t/ and [g] as an allophone of /k/. These assimilations are found in fully voiced environments (voicing on both sides), and are characteristic of more rapid or relaxed speech in contrast to the unassimilated values found in more self-conscious citation forms:

/p/ [β] (intervocalically): /kapeun/ [kaβeun] 'bitter', /pepe/ [pɛβɛʔ] 'centipede', /kIp-kIpIt/ [kIpkIβIt] 'tongs', /kopkopur/ [kopkoβur̃] 'foam, bubbles', /sipe-n tubu-n/ [siβɛn tuβun] 'his buttocks', 'i porak/ [i βor̃ak] 'it has pus';

/p/ [b] (after a nasal): /kampuri/ (= /kam-puri/?) [kambur̃iʔ] 'knot, tie a knot', /kompaŋ/ (= /kom-paŋ/?) [kombaŋ]'landslide'; /pw/ [βw]: /kapwirI/ [kaβwir̃I] 'small; easy';

/t/ [d] (after a nasal): /um te raŋ/ [undɛr̃aŋ] 'spider web', /tamante/ [tamandɛʔ] 'why?';

/k/ [g] (after a nasal): /ŋ-karik pak/ [ŋgar̃ikpak] 'I'm telling a story', /ŋ-keI kut/ [ŋgeIʔkut] 'seek lice, nit-pick', /wei-n kolo-m/ [weiŋgolom] 'your saliva'. In intervocalic position /k/ is realised as a voiced velar fricative in rapid speech.

Stop epenthesis. As a result of reduplication and compounding a nasal sometimes comes to immediately precede other consonants. The sequence nasal + /r/ is commonly realised phonetically with what I transcribed as a homorganic voiced stop between the nasal and the liquid: /ramraman/ [rambr̃aman] 'ember', /kInru/ [kIndr̃uʔ] 'housepost', /moloa-n ramat/ [molowandr̃amat] 'spirit of a dead person'. These phonetic sequences, which involve the timing of nasal closure and oral release, are phonetically similar to the prenasalised bilabial and alveolar trills which are phonemic in many of the languages of Manus.

Glide insertion. Between /i/, /e/, /o/ or /u/ and a following unlike vowel a glide homorganic with the first vowel is automatically inserted: /tia-n/ [tiyan] 'his/her abdomen', /kea/ [keya] 'swim', /moloa-n/ [molowan] 'his/her shadow/spirit', /suep/ [suwep] 'digging stick'.

Nasalisation. Vowels are automatically nasalised adjacent to a nasal consonant. For convenience nasalisation has been omitted in my phonetic transcriptions except where it is the subject under discussion. Vowel nasality is particularly strong between two nasal consonants: /tomo-ŋ/ [tomɔ̃ŋ] 'my back', /mwemwes/ [mwẽmwes] 'scabies'.

2.4.3 STRESS

In citation forms primary stress generally was recorded on the final syllable peak. However, in a number of cases I also recorded penultimate stress. It is possible that the former is an emphatic pattern, characteristic of forms offered in isolation, while the latter is more typical of forms in sentence context, but this remains speculative.

Because of the shortness of most Lou lexical items there appears to be a tendency for some sentences to merge into a single phonological word, as in *ŋa pa ŋ-ka lak mimi* [ŋaβaŋkalamimiʔ] 'I want to go piss' (with stress on the penult of /mimi/). Too little sentence material was recorded to determine how general this tendency is in Lou.

3. DIACHRONIC PHONOLOGY

The discussion of diachronic phonology will be divided into: 1. canonical changes; and 2. segmental changes. Appendix 1 lists all Lou forms for which I have been able to find, or to establish, a probable POC etymology (several of the reconstructions being proposed here for the first time). Throughout the discussion reference is made to this body of data.

3.1 CANONICAL CHANGES

Like all other languages in the Admiralty group except Wuvulu-Aua and the now extinct Kaniet, Lou has lost the final syllable of Proto-Oceanic CVCVC or CVCVCVC forms. This 'erosion from the right' evidently took place in two steps: 1. loss of the final consonant; 2. loss of the last-syllable vowel, as Wuvulu-Aua and Kaniet show change 1, but not change 2. Examples of syllable reduction in Lou are:

POC	Lou	English
ia	*i*	3sg.
panua	*ponu*	village
kutu	*kut*	louse
kananse	*kanas*	mullet
pasok	*as*	to plant
kuron	*kur*	cooking pot
taŋis	*teŋ*	cry, weep

Like some other Oceanic languages which have lost POC final syllables (Mota of the Banks Islands, Nuclear Micronesian languages), the original last-syllable vowel reappears under suffixation: *tur* 'blood, sap (in general)', *turI-n* 'his/her blood, its sap', *nɔt mor* (child-double) 'twin', *nɔtu-n* ([noᵗun]) 'his/her child'. In the lexical entries for the Lou-English vocabulary two different conventions are adopted for representing such vowels: 1. where the vowel is present in **all** recorded forms, but these forms take an obligatory suffix, the lexical entry is followed by a hyphen (e.g. *karI-* 'liver', which never occurs without a possessive or genitive suffix), 2. where the vowel is present **only** in suffixed forms it is enclosed within parentheses (e.g. *tur(I)* 'blood, sap'.)

3.2 SEGMENTAL CHANGES

Because of the importance and relative complexity of vocalic developments in Lou the evolution of vowels and consonants will be treated separately. The following discussion of segmental changes includes: 1. vowels; 2. consonants; 3. irregular reflexes and doubleting; and 4. chronological ordering.

In discussing the environment of changes that involve a relative chronology it will sometimes be convenient to speak of 'secondary' environments, as with the *t in *kutu > kut 'louse', which (though originally intervocalic) is in secondary final position.

3.2.1 VOWELS

Proto-Oceanic had five vowels: *i, *u, *e, *o and *a. These five vowels have developed into a system of seven vowels in Lou. Through both vertical comparison with Proto-Oceanic and horizontal comparison with other languages of the Southeast Admiralty (SEA) group I have arrived at the following theory of the evolution of the Lou vowels.

Pre-Proto-Southeast Admiralty retained the POC five vowel system, with the expected phonetic values. In PSEA, however, the reflex of POC penultimate *a in the environment *a(C)i and *a(C)u developed two new allophones, [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively, by partial assimilation in anticipation of the following vowel. This change is reflected in some form in all SEA languages, including Pak. Although the same change appears in Lou teliŋa-, Penchal reliŋa- 'ear', it is not found in Lenkau tralŋa-, Pak dolŋo- or Nauna taliŋ. I assume, then, that the partial assimilation of prepenultimate *a in Lou and Penchal was a separate and later development.

For convenience I will refer to the change of POC penultimate *a under the stated conditions as '*a assimilation'. As some point following *a assimilation final vowels were lost. POC final vowels have been lost throughout the eastern Admiralties, but the comparative evidence leaves no doubt that this change was independent in languages such as Loniu (Los Negros Island, eastern Manus) and Lou. Whether the loss of final vowels in Lou and other SEA languages was also independent remains unclear. In any event, this change left the earlier allophones of *a (at least in CVC forms that did not alternate with CVCV-under suffixation) without a rule-governed synchronic source, producing two new phonemes, pre-Lou *ɛ and *ɔ.

To judge from the attested reflexes the new phoneme *ɛ and the older phoneme *e were so similar phonetically that there was a danger of merger, and with it the confusion of important lexical distinctions. To avoid this loss of contrast *e was raised to *I in pre-consonantal position. The latter change, which followed the separation of Baluan from Lou, allowed *ɛ from earlier *a to be redefined phonemically as /e/.

There was one phonological environment in which pre-Baluan *e evidently did not raise. As already noted, one of the more common morphophonemic patterns in the singular possessive paradigm involves the alternation of [ɛ] in the first person with [I] in the second and third persons, as in [karɛŋ], [karIm], [karIn] 'my/your/his or her liver' (POC *qate-ŋku, *qate-mu, *qate-ña). POC *e thus developed into a single Lou phoneme /I/, but a phoneme with two allophones, [ɛ] (before final ŋ) and [I] (elsewhere). The result is a situation that in classical phonemic theory was called "phonemic overlapping" (Bloch 1941). In effect, [ɛ] is

assigned to /I/ if it alternates with [I] in the singular possessive paradigm, but otherwise is assigned to /e/.

It appears that the contrast of pre-Lou *o and *ɔ was either phonetically more distinct or functionally less important than the corresponding contrast among the front vowels, since the evidence for an upward movement of the reflex of POC *o is far less clear than for *e. This is not to say that there is no evidence for raising of *o. As noted in the description of synchronic phonology, I recorded a number of lexical items inconsistently, sometimes with /o/ and sometimes with /u/. Whether this means that a merger of Lou /o/ and /u/ is in progress, or whether it means that /o/ has begun to raise to [U] (which was misheard as [u]) to avoid merger with [ɔ] cannot be determined to my satisfaction from my transcriptions and tapes. If contemporary Lou /o/ is raising to [U] to maximise contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/, it is evidently following the same path (raising to avoid merger) followed by the reflex of POC *e.[6]

Table 1 summarises these developments: 1. POC had five vowels with no determinable allophonic variation; 2. Proto-SEA or a language that immediately preceded it developed two new allophones of *a; 3. these allophones of *a became new phonemes *ɛ and *ɔ after the loss of POC final vowels; 4. to avoid merger of *e and *ɛ, *e moved upward, becoming modern Lou /I/ in all environments except before a final velar nasal, and pre-Lou *ɛ was redefined as /e/; among the back vowels, pre-Lou /ɔ/ merged with /o/ in open syllables (where only [o] is found), but the contrast was maintained in closed syllables; more recently in closed syllables /o/ has begun to move upward to avoid merger with /ɔ/; either through free variation with /u/ or through the creation of a new phone [U]).

TABLE 1: STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE LOU VOWELS

Proto-Oceanic	Proto-SEA	Pre-Lou	Lou
*i [i]	*i	*i [i]	/i/ [i]
*u [u]	*u	*u [u]	/u/ [u]
*e [e]	*e	*e [e]	/I/ [I], [ɛ]
*o [o]	*o	*o [o]	/o/ [o], [u]
*a [a]	*a [ɛ] / __i	*ɛ [ɛ]	/e/ [e], [ɛ]
	*a [ɔ] / __u	*ɔ [ɔ]	/ɔ/ [ɔ], [o]
	*a [a] /elsewhere	*a [a]	/a/ [a]

Examples of all vowel reflexes follow:

POC *i > Lou /i/; *ia > i 'he/she', *kianso > kias 'outrigger boom', *mimiR-i > mimi 'urinate', *suli-a > suli 'burn', *Rampia > epi 'sago'.

POC *u > Lou /u/: *kuron > kur 'cooking pot', *lumut > lumlum 'moss, algae', *panua > ponu 'village', *natu > nɔtu- 'child'. The phoneme sequence *-ui or *-uy contracted to /i/: *kuRita (> kuit) > kit 'octopus', *ruyuŋ (> ruy) > ri 'dugong', *suRuq (> suy) > si 'soup'.

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6   The reader familar with theories of phonological change will recognise the raising of pre-Lou *e and of contemporary Lou *o as reminiscent of the first stages of a "push-chain" (Martinet 1952). As in other push-chain explanations of sound change, it is difficult to see why the tendency to avoid merger with one phoneme (in this case /o/ with /ɔ/) sometimes produces merger with another (/o/ with /u/, if that is the change now in progress).

POC *e > Lou /I/: *qenop > *In* 'lie down (to sleep)', *qate > *karI-* 'liver', *karamea > *karmI-* 'tongue', *mate > *marI-n* 'sick; dead', *pweka > *pwIk* 'fruit bat, flying fox', *keli > *Il* 'dig'.

POC *o > Lou /o/: *roŋoR > *roŋ* 'hear', *Ropok > *op* 'to fly', *toRas > *to* 'hardwood tree: *Intsia bijuga*', *mputo > *puro-* 'navel'.

POC *a > Lou /e/: *tali > *tel* 'rope, string', *paRi > *pe* 'stingray', *kalia > *keli* 'a fish, the grouper', *ma-tiruR > *metir* 'sleep', *rua (> Proto-Admiralties *rua-pi) > *ruep* 'two'. The raising of POC *a to Lou /e/ clearly occurred if the following syllable contained *i. There is some evidence that the same raising also took place if the following syllable contained *e: *maRuqane (> mwane) > *mween* 'man, male', *kaŋaRi > *kene* 'Canarium nut', *pa-Rapi > *weep* 'afternoon' (the latter two with assimilation of the first syllable *a to the following derived *e).

POC *a > Lou /ɔ/: *manuk > *mɔnmɔn* 'bird', *qapuR/kapuR > *kɔpkɔp* 'lime', *qalu > *kɔl* 'a fish, the barracuda'. The raising of POC *a to Lou /ɔ/, like the raising of POC *a to pre-Lou *ε, occurred when the following syllable contained a high vowel. However, unlike the situation with front vowels, where *a was sporadically raised if the next syllable contained *e, there is no known evidence for raising of *a before a syllable with *o: *laŋo > *laŋ* 'fly (insect)', *qatop > *kat* 'sago leaf', *lalatoŋ > *lalat* 'stinging nettle', etc. (note that *masou > *moso* 'cinnamon' appears to involve an intermediate change to *mwasou, with *mwa- then becoming /mo/: cf. Baluan *mwasow* 'cinnamon').

POC *a > Lou /a/: *apaRat 'northwest wind' > aa 'south wind', *paŋɑn > *aŋ* 'feed', *kataman > *karam* 'door', *mata > *mara-* 'eye, face'.

3.2.2 CONSONANTS

As noted by Ross (1988), in all of the languages of the Admiralties that distinguish oral grade from nasal grade reflexes, POC *p, *t, *k and *s in initial position show only nasal grade reflexes in nouns, regardless of the consonant grade that is reflected in the cognate morpheme in other Oceanic languages. He interprets this pattern as indicating that in Proto-Admiralties the POC common noun article *na fused with a following morpheme through loss of the (unstressed) vowel and assimilation of the nasal to the point of articulation of the stem-initial obstruent. I am in full agreement with Ross on this point, and accordingly list all nouns in Appendix 1 with the preceding article *na. In effect, nouns exhibit only nasal grade reflexes of initial obstruents, whereas the initial obstruent in verbs and adjectives, or a non-initial obstruent in nouns may be either oral grade or nasal grade.

With the foregoing proviso the following consonant reflexes are attested for Lou (cf. Appendix 1):

Labials:

POC *p disappeared before a vowel: *paŋan > *aŋ* 'feed', *pia > *ia-n* 'good', *puka > *uk* 'open, uncover', *apaRat 'northwest wind' > *aa* 'south wind', *sa-ŋapuluq > *saŋaul* 'ten'.

POC *p > Lou /p/ in secondary final position: *katapa > *karap* 'frigate bird', *kaput > *kɔpkɔp* 'fog, mist', *Ropok > *op* 'to fly', *supi > *sup* 'peel, pare'.

POC *mp (including nouns that began with POC *p) > Lou /p/ before a vowel: *Rampia > *epi* 'sago', *tumpu > *tupu-* 'ancestor', *pataŋ > *para-* 'stem, trunk', *papine > *pein*

'woman; female', **paluj* > *pɔl* 'pigeon, dove', **panua* > *ponu* 'village', **pitaquR* > *piro* 'a tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*', **pulan* > *pul* 'moon'.

POC **mp* > Lou /m/ in secondary final position: **kompa* > *asa-kom* 'hermit crab', **kampe* > *kam* 'fibre obtained from a jointed vine', **kompuRu* > *kum* 'east monsoon'.

POC **m* > Lou /m/: **mate* > *matI-n* 'sick; dead', **mai* > *me* 'come', **mimiR-i* > *mimi* 'urinate', **manuk* > *mɔnmɔn* 'bird', **mu-mutaq* > *mumut* 'vomit', **kataman* > *karam* 'door', **karamea* > *karmI-* 'tongue', **ñamuk* > *nɔmnɔm* 'chew, nibble, eat', **Rumaq* > *um* 'house'.

Labiovelars:

POC **pw* > Lou /pw/: **pweka* > *pwIk* 'flying fox'.

POC **mw* > Lou /mw/: **mwansor* > *mwas* 'bandicoot', **maRuqane* (> mwaqane) > *mween* 'man; male'.

Although no POC etymologies relating to this point are available, in several cases Proto-Eastern Admiralty reconstructions with **mwa-* show a change to *mo-*: PEADM **mwalutV* > *molut* 'white-tailed dove', PEADM **mwanru* > *mor* 'twin', PEADM **mwatV* > *mot* 'eel grass'. No reflexes of medial **mw* (which would have become final after the loss of final vowels) were recorded.

POC **w* > Lou /w/ before a vowel: **wai* > *we* 'mango', **waiR* > *we(i)-* 'fresh water', **karawi-na* > *arawI-n* 'green, blue'.

POC **w* disappeared in secondary final position: **mawap* > *al-ma* 'yawn', **kawa* > *ka* 'kava', **kanawe* > *kana* 'seagull', **lawa* > *la* 'fish net', **sawaq* > *sa* 'channel', **tawan* > *ta* 'a tree: *Pometia pinnata*'.

In a small number of cases the sequence **-aw-* became /o/, or **a* was rounded before **w*, which was then lost: **qasawa* > *asoa-* 'spouse', **kawil* > *ko* (Baluan *kow*) 'fishhook'.

Alveolars:

POC **t* > Lou /t/ in initial and in secondary final position: **taŋis* > *teŋ* 'cry', **toka* > *tok* 'sit', **qatop* > *kat* 'sago leaf', **tasik* > *set* (metathesis) 'sea, saltwater', **ñatu* > *nɔt* 'tall timber tree', **loto* > *lot* 'boil, abscess', **kuRita* > *kit* 'octopus', **kutu* > *kut* 'louse'.

In intervocalic position POC **t* became Lou [ɾ], which was reinterpreted as /r/ if it did not alternate with [t], but remained underlying /t/ in cases where an alternation was present: **qate* > *karI-* 'liver', **mata* > *mara-* 'eye, face; point', **pitaquR* > *piro* 'a tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*', **mputo* > *puro-* 'navel', but **natu* > *nɔtu-* 'child' (where the [ɾ] of the obligatorily possessed form alternates with the [t] of forms in composition, such as [nɔt mor] 'twin').

The flapping of **t* in **tuRu* > *kIn-ru* 'housepost' presumably is due to **t* having been intervocalic at the time of this change.

POC **nt* (including nouns that began with POC **t*) > Lou /t/ in initial position, but /r/ intervocalically: **tama* > *tama-* 'father', **tali* > *tel* 'rope, string', **tina* > *tina-* 'mother', **toRas* > *to* 'a tree: *Intsia bijuga*', **tumpu* > *tupu-* 'ancestor', **kantita* > *kerit* 'putty nut'.

In secondary final position POC **nt* evidently is reflected as /n/, parallel to the development of POC **mp* (to /m/) and **ŋk* (to /ŋ/) in the similar environment. The only

relevant example contains an irregularity in the initial consonant: *punti > mun* 'banana' (cf. §3.2.3).

POC *r* > Lou /r/: *roŋoR > roŋ* 'hear', *rua > rue-p* 'two', *karawi-na > arawI-n* 'blue, green', *keri > er* 'scrape out', *kuron > kur* 'clay cooking pot', *ŋorok > ŋor* 'grunt, snore'.

POC *nr* (including nouns that began with POC *r*) > Lou /r/: *raqan > ra-* 'branch', *ruyuŋ > ri* 'dugong', *ranum* 'fresh water' > *ronu-n mara-* 'tears', *nramataq > ramat* 'person, human being', *nrami > rem* 'lime spatula', *panran > par* 'pandanus'.

POC *n* > Lou /n/: *natu > nɔtu-* 'child', *nunuk > nun* 'banyan', *kananse > kanas* 'mullet', *qone > kone* 'sand', *manuk > mɔnmɔn* 'bird', *papine > pein* 'woman; female', *panua > ponu* 'village', *puna > pun* 'vine which yields poison used to stun fish'.

POC *s* > Lou /s/: *sake > sak* 'rise, ascend', *suli-a > suli* 'to burn', *tasik > set* (Met.) 'sea, saltwater', *i-sai > sie* (Met.) 'who?', *pasok > as* 'to plant', *isaŋ > l-isa-* 'gills', *masou > moso* 'cinnamon', *ŋusu > ŋusu-* 'lips', *talise > telis* 'a tree: *Terminalia catappa*'.

POC *ns* (including nouns that began with POC *s*) > Lou /s/: *salan > sal* 'path, road', *nsio > si* 'down, descend', *suluq > sul* 'coconut frond', *kianso > kias* 'outrigger booms', *lanse > las* 'coral limestone', *mwansor > mwas* 'bandicoot', *konso > os* 'husk coconuts'.

POC *l* > Lou /l/: *lala > lal* 'trochus shell', *laqia > lei* 'ginger', *lisa > lisa-* 'nit, egg of a louse', *loto > lot* 'boil, abscess', *lumut > lumlum* 'moss, algae', *qalimaŋo > alimaŋ* 'mangrove crab', *kalia > keli* 'small grouper', *lalatoŋ > lalat* 'stinging nettle', *kuluR > kul* 'breadfruit', *paluj > pɔl* 'pigeon, dove', *sa-ŋapuluq > saŋaul* 'ten'.

Palatals:

POC *j* > Lou /r/: *ŋajan > ŋara-* 'name', *taji > teri-* 'younger sibling of the same sex'.

POC *ñ* > Lou /n/: *ñapi > nap* 'to taste', *ñatu > nɔt* 'tall timber tree', *ñuñuR > nu* 'bathe', *poñu > puon* 'turtle'.

POC *y* disappeared in secondary final position: *kayu > ke* 'tree, wood', *puqaya > pua* 'crocodile'. In derivations such as *ruyuŋ > ri* 'dugong' and *suRuq* (> suy) > *si* 'soup' it appears that /y/ (from both *y* and *R*) persisted until the change *-uy* > /i/.

Velars:

POC *k* disappeared before a vowel: *ka > a* 'and', *ka(mu) > a-* '2pl.', *keri > er* 'scrape out', *i-ko > o* '2sg.', *konso > os* 'husk coconuts', *saku > so-lat* 'sailfish'.

POC *k* > Lou /k/ in secondary final position: *lako > lak* 'go', *luaq-aki > luek* 'spit out', *nsoka > sok* 'stab', *tike > tiktik* 'squat', *toka > tok* 'sit', *puka > uk* 'open, uncover'.

POC *ŋk* (including nouns that began with POC *k*) > Lou /k/ before a vowel: *ŋkumuR > kum* 'suck', *kawa > ka* 'kava', *kawil > ko* 'fishhook', *kuRita > kit* 'octopus', *kutu > kut* 'louse'.

POC *ŋk* > Lou /ŋ/ in secondary final position: *-ŋku > ŋ* '1sg. possessor', *toŋkol > toŋ* 'punting pole'. To these two examples we can add Proto-Eastern Admiralty *kaŋkV > kaŋ* 'crown-of-thorns starfish'.

POC *ŋ > Lou /ŋ/: *ŋajan > ŋara- 'name', *paŋan > aŋ 'feed', *roŋoR > roŋ 'hear', *taliŋa > teliŋa- 'ear', *taŋis > teŋteŋ 'cry'.

Uvular:

POC *R sometimes became pre-Lou /y/, and sometimes disappeared without statable conditions. In *suRuq > (Baluan suy) > si 'soup', the derived sequence -uy became /i/, and thereby preserved a language-internal trace of the earlier reflex *R > /y/. In all other recorded reflexes pre-Lou *y (from POC *R and *y) disappeared in Lou, but was preserved in Baluan: *apaRat 'northwest wind' > aa 'south wind', *Rampia > epi 'sago', *kuRita > kit 'octopus', *naRa > na 'tree with red wood' (Baluan nay), *Ropok > op 'to fly', *paRi > pe 'stingray', *toRas > to 'a tree: Intsia bijuga', *Rumaq > uma 'house'.

Glottal:

POC *q sometimes became /k/ and sometimes disappeared unpredictably in initial position: *qate > karI- 'liver', *qatop > kat 'sago leaf thatch', *qone > kone 'sand', *quloj > kulI- 'maggot', *qupan > kupkup 'grey hair', but *qalimaŋo > alimaŋ 'mangrove crab', *qasawa > asoa- 'spouse', *qenop > In 'lie down to sleep', *qutup > ut 'fetch water; bail out'. This bifurcate development parallels the reflexes of POC *k in that all instances of *q- > /k/ are found in nouns, and two of the four instances of *q > /Ø/ are found in verbs. However, as seen above, *q has disappeared in initial position in two nouns. Both apparent exceptions are longer than two syllables, and it is possible that canonical shape played a part in the environment for this change.

POC *q invariably disappeared in non-initial position: *laqia > lei 'ginger', *maqati > met 'low tide, dry reef', *maRuqane > mween 'man: male', *pitaquR > piro 'a tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *puqaya > pua 'crocodile', *raqan > ra- 'branch', *taqi > te 'faeces; defecate'.

The following patterns of split and merger can be inferred from the above observations: 1) POC *a split into /e/ (when followed by *i in the next syllable), /ɔ/ (when followed by *u in the next syllable), and /a/ (elsewhere). There were no mergers of the POC vowels in Lou, except where the loss of a last-syllable vowel produced merger with zero; 2) POC *p split and partially merged with zero (before a vowel); 3) In parallel fashion, *k split and partially merged with zero under the same conditions; 4) *t split and partially merged with *nt, *j, *nj, *r and *nr intervocalically; 5) *mp split and partially merged with *m (in secondary final position); 6) *nt split, merging with *t, *j, *nj, *r and *nr intervocalically, and with *n in secondary final position; 7) *ŋk split and partially merged with *ŋ in secondary position; 8) *s and *ns merged unconditionally; 9) *q split into /k/ and zero in initial position, without statable conditions; in intervocalic and secondary final positions *q merged with zero; 10) *n and *ñ merged unconditionally; 11) *R split into pre-Lou /y/ and zero, without statable conditions. Where it disappeared it partially merged with zero, but traces of earlier /y/ reflexes of *R remain in the assimilatory effects on adjacent vowels; 12) *w split and partially merged with zero in secondary final position; 13) *y split and partially merged with zero under identical conditions.

Based on the limited Baluan material that is presently available, the following appear to be the major differences between the historical phonology of Baluan and Lou:

(1) Lou /r/ often corresponds to Baluan /y/: Lou karpu, Baluan kaypu 'heron'; Lou koror, Baluan koyoy 'bee'; Lou mwarIn, Baluan mwayen 'yam'; Lou rIprIp, Baluan yepyep 'itchy'; Lou ruep, Baluan yuep 'two'. Some instances of intervocalic /r/ in Lou, however,

correspond to Baluan /r/: Lou, Baluan *mara-* 'eye'; Lou, Baluan *tarak* 'climb'. These two correspondences, Lou /r/, Baluan /y/, and Lou /r/, Baluan /r/ derived respectively from POC **r* (presumably also **nr* and **j*), and **t* (presumably also **nt*). The fact that these POC phonemes have not merged leaves no doubt that the flapping of **t*, **nt* in both dialects post-dates their separation from one another, since otherwise POC **t*, **nt* would have become Baluan /y/. It is noteworthy that the /t/ of /pata-/ 'log, beam' has not become flapped in either Baluan or Lou.

(2) Lou final zero often corresponds to Baluan final /y/ or /w/: Lou *ka*, Baluan *kaw* 'kava'; Lou *ko*, Baluan *kow* 'fishhook'; Lou *menua*, Baluan *manuay* 'sea eagle'; Lou *moso*, Baluan *mwasow* 'cinnamon'; Lou *na*, Baluan *nay* 'edible seaweed'; Lou *pua*, Baluan *puay* 'crocodile'; Lou *si*, Baluan *suy* 'soup'. In every such case Baluan preserves a final glide which derives from POC **y* or **w*, or from POC **R*, which became Proto-Admiralties **y* in particular lexical items. Most of the other differences or apparent differences between the historical phonology of Baluan and Lou are confined to individual lexical items (e.g. the irregular correspondence in Lou *pul*, but Baluan *pun* 'moon' or Lou *ŋuran* but Baluan *ŋunan* 'five'), or involve probable transcription error.

(3) Although only two examples were recorded, it appears that POC **p* is reflected as Baluan /p/ word-initially in **non-nominal** forms. The evidence is seen in POC **paŋan-i* 'to feed, care for (as a pet)' > Baluan *paŋ* 'to feed', Lou *aŋ* 'to feed', *aŋa* 'look after an animal, care for a pet', POC **pati* 'four' > Baluan *pa-wuy* '40', *pa-ŋɔt* '400', Lou *a-wI* '40', *a-ŋɔt* '400'. Minor as it may seem at first, this difference has important implications for the role of drift in the phonological history of the languages of the Admiralties (see discussion at the conclusion of §3.2.4).

3.2.3 IRREGULAR REFLEXES AND DOUBLETING

Some 35, or 18% of the Lou forms for which an etymology is proposed in Appendix 1 exhibit some kind of irregularity that has not yet been mentioned. The following discussion does not include the apparently unconditioned double reflexes of POC **R* and **q* noted above. In the interest of brevity irregularities are grouped into classes wherever possible.

(1) /I/ for expected /i/: **karawi-na* > *arawI-n* 'blue, green', **kani* > *kanI-* 'meat', **mipi* > *mIpmIp* 'dream'.

(2) /e/ for expected /I/: **e* > *e* 'predication marker', **qone* > *kone* 'sand'.

(3) Retention of a last-syllable vowel not supported by a suffix: **qone* > *kone* 'sand', **ñoro* > *noro* 'flood', **mpoRok* > *puo* 'pig', **tolu* > *tulu-ŋoul* '30' (cf. **rua* > *ru-ŋoul* '20', where the last vowel of **rua* was lost).

(4) Exceptions to **a* assimilation: **qalimaŋo* > *alimaŋ* (expected ***elimaŋ*) 'mangrove crab', **ñapi* > *nap* 'to taste', **paŋus-i* > *aŋus* 'blow the nose'. Also note **paŋan-i* > *aŋa* (expected ***aŋen*) 'look after an animal, care for a pet', which is doubly irregular. I assume that **n* was lost in the sequence **-ani-*, as has happened sporadically in the reflexes of **kani* 'eat' and **qanitu* 'ghost, spirit of the dead' in other Oceanic languages. The resulting sequence **-ai-*, however, should have become Lou /e/, not /a/.

Two more general classes of apparent exceptions to **a* assimilation can also be noted here. In the first, there are no examples of **a* assimilation before the genitive suffix, which is assumed to reflect POC **ni*.

In the second, *a assimilation affects the reflex of the POC numeral ligature *ŋa in the word for 'one hundred' ([sɔŋɔt]), but not in the word for 'ten' ([saŋaul]), This difference of development is especially striking, since in the former word (POC *sa-ŋa-Ratus) the *a of the ligature did not originally precede a rounded vowel, whereas in the latter word (POC *sa-ŋa-puluq) it did. A parallel divergence in the development of the ligature is seen in Baluan [saŋal] 'ten', but [soŋot] 'one hundred'. Interestingly, in the words for '20' and '200', reflecting POC *rua-ŋapuluq and *rua-ŋaRatus respectively, Lou shows *a assimilation ([rɯŋoul], [ruŋɔt]), whereas Baluan shows *a assimilation only where a rounded vowel both precedes and follows the vowel of the ligature ([yuŋal], [yuŋot]). These differences suggest a complex pattern of conditioning which remains to be worked out.

(5) Rounding before *w: *qasawa > asoa (through **asowa?) 'husband', *kawil > ko (through *kow) 'fishhook'. Although the rounding of *a before *w is attested in these two forms, no rounding is seen in, e.g. *mawap > al-ma 'yawn', *karawin > arawI-n 'blue/ green', *kawa > ka 'kava', *kanawe > kana 'seagull', *lawa > la 'fishnet', *sawaq > sa 'channel' or *tawan > ta 'a tree: Pometia pinnata'.

(6) /e/ for expected /o/: *tolu > telI-p 'three', *mpoŋi > keli-peŋ 'night' (and the morphologically related forms ti-peŋ 'tomorrow', ru-peŋ 'day after tomorrow'). The reflex of *tolu is doubly irregular, and probably has been reformed under structural pressure from the other numerals. It is noteworthy that *tolu is reflected without the second vowel irregularity, and with a different first vowel irregularity in tulu-ŋoul 'thirty'.

(7) /I/ for expected /a/: *layaR > pa-lI 'sail'. The irregularity in this form probably derives from an assimilation of *a to the following glide (cf. Penchal paley) before the raising of *e to /I/.

(8) /I/ for expected /o/: *quloj > kul(I) 'maggot'. The irregular last vowel appears only in the genitive construction (e.g. [kulIn nik] 'maggots in rotten fish').

(9) /e/ for expected /o/: *manuk > menua 'eagle, hawk' (Baluan manuay). The regular reflex of *manuk appears in mɔnmɔn 'bird'.

(10) /mw/ for expected /m/: *mapo > mwap 'heal', *masak > mwas 'cooked'. In addition to the foregoing items, which show unexpected /mw/ for /m/, the change *masou > moso shows a further development from an earlier labiovelar (Baluan mwasow) 'cinnamon'. Blust (1981) discusses the problem of labiovelar 'crossover' in Oceanic languages within a broader comparative framework.

(11) /w/ for expected /p/: *pa-Rapi > weep 'evening' (Baluan poyep). Ross (1988:330) recorded Lou (po)ep (I assume for correct (po)eep). The apparently irregular change *p > /w/ in this form may be a result of glide insertion ([powɛɛp]), followed by loss of the initial syllable. If so, the first syllable vowel of eralier *poep is itself anomalous.

(12) /u/ for expected /o/: *ma-taqu > kal-moru 'right (side)', *potok > puru- 'thorn', *tolu > tulu- 'three' (in combination forms), *to(ŋ)kol > tuŋ 'punting pole'.

(13) breaking of *o: *mpoRok > puo (expected **po) 'pig'. At first glance this form appears to be doubly irregular in preserving the last vowel, and in showing an irregular reflex of the penultimate *o. However, *poñu > puon (expected **pon) 'turtle' shows a comparable irregularity. As noted earlier, labial stops in Lou are often heard with slight to moderate velarisation before a rounded vowel. Generally this tendency did not affect my

perception of the number of syllables in a morpheme, but it is possible that both *puo* and *puon* contain a single underlying vowel /o/ (cf. Lenkau, Nauna *pow*, Penchal, Pak *pu* 'pig', Lenkau *pwen*, Penchal *puñ*, Nauna, Pak *ply* 'turtle'). If so, these forms are /po/ ([po], [pwo]) 'pig' and /pon/ ([pon], [pwon]) 'turtle'.

(14) Breaking of **u*: **uriap* > *wiri* 'dolphin'. A similar breaking is seen in Proto-Admiralties **mosimo* > *mwesim* 'a tree: *Casuarina equisetifolia*'.

(15) /n/ for expected /ŋ/: **kaŋaRi* > *kene* 'canarium nut' (cf. Lenkau *keney*, Nauna *aŋey*).

(16) /m/ for expected /p/: **punti* > *mun* 'banana' (cf. Lenkau *mun*, Penchal *mut*, Nauna *muc*, Pak *pun* 'banana').

(17) /ŋ/ for expected /k/: **kanroRa* > *ŋora* (Met. of the vowels) 'cuscus' (cf. Lenkau *ŋohay*, Penchal *kotay*, Nauna *kocay* 'cuscus').

(18) Single vowel for expected sequence of like vowels: **ma-qati* > *met* (expected ***meet*) 'low tide, dry reef'. The apparent irregularity here may be a product of transcriptional error.

(19) Syncope: **karamea* > *karmI* 'tongue'. The syncopation of medial **a* in this form is mirrored in some synchronic variations (e.g. [porŋa], [poruŋa] 'neck'), but is not found in, e.g. **karawin* > *arawI-n* 'blue/green', **taliŋa* > *teliŋa-* 'ear', or other Lou trisyllables.

(20) /t/ for expected /r/: **ma-tiruR* > *metir* 'sleep'. The failure of **t* to undergo flapping in this form suggests that flapping may have taken place only after a stressed (penultimate) vowel. However, forms such as **pitaquR*, and obligatorily possessed nouns such as **qate* or **mata*, would have been trisyllabic prior to the loss of final vowels, hence also stressed on the penult. The medial stop in Lou *metir* thus remains problematic.

In addition to the foregoing, several forms show sporadic metatheses: **nima* > *mIna-* 'hand', **kanroRa* > *ŋora* 'cuscus', **tasik* > *set* 'sea, saltwater', **i-sai* > *sie* (expected ***sei*) 'who?', etc.

Despite its limited scope, the lexical material collected presents some evidence of doubleting. Perhaps most notable are the two forms *arop* 'thatch' and *kat* 'sago leaf', both of which appear to reflect **qatop* 'sago leaf thatch'. If this etymology is correct the longer form raises some interesting questions. On the one hand, it could conceivably reflect a suffixed form of **qatop*. But even so, the absence of initial /k/ makes it difficult to attribute both /kat/ and /arop/ to the same etymon in the same language. Alternatively, /arop/ may be a loan, but no plausible source language is available. A similar problem is perhaps also seen in *apur* 'to boil in water', *kopkopur* 'foam, bubbles'.

3.2.4 CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING

There are essentially two ways to establish the relative chronology of sound changes. The first is language-internal: what would be the consequences of assuming an order different from the one adopted? The second is comparative: has the same change occurred in other dialects of the same language, or in closely related languages?

Some details of relative chronology have already been mentioned in connection with the development of the Lou vowels. Below I will attempt to expand on these remarks and to

relate them to consonant reflexes. The total set of reflexes discussed in the previous section is first summarised (and reordered) for ready reference:

(1) Final vowels were lost;

(2) **i* became /i/;

(3) **u* became /u/;

(4) **e* became /I/;

(5) **o* became /o/;

(6) **a* became /e/ before front vowels, /ɔ/ before back vowels, and /a/ elsewhere;

(7) **p* and **k* disappeared before a vowel, but were unchanged in secondary final position;

(8) **t* was flapped between vowels (where it merged with **nt*, **r*, **nr* and **j*), but was unchanged in secondary final position;

(9) **mp* and **ŋk* (including instances of POC initial **p* and **k* in nouns) became /p/ and /k/ before a vowel, but became the homorganic nasal in secondary final position;

(10) **nt* (like **t*) was flapped between vowels. It is unattested in initial position, but (like **mp* and **ŋk*) became the homorganic nasal in secondary final position;

(11) **pw* remained unchanged (but is attested only in initial position);

(12) **mw* remained unchanged (but is attested only in initial position);

(13) **s* and **ns* merged as /s/;

(14) **r*, **nr* and **j* merged as /r/ in all positions;

(15) **l* became /l/;

(16) **m* became /m/;

(17) **n* and **ñ* merged as /n/;

(18) **ŋ* became /ŋ/ (merging with **ŋk* in secondary final position);

(19) **R* split into pre-Lou **y* and zero without statable conditions. As a result of change (20) almost all traces of this split have been eradicated in modern Lou;

(20) **w* and **y* disappeared in secondary final position, but were otherwise retained unchanged;

(21) **q* split into /k/ or zero in initial position, without statable conditions. In medial (including secondary final) position it invariably disappeared;

Based on the foregoing primary observations I assume the following changes in the order stated:

(1) **a* assimilation;

(2) Loss of final vowels (apocope);

(3) Lenition of **p* and **k*;

(4) Reduction of prenasalised stops to the homorganic nasals in secondary final position;

(5) Reduction of prenasalised stops to the homorganic simple stops before a vowel;

(6) Flapping of *t;

(7) Loss of final glides;

(8) Raising of *e;

(9) Raising of *o.

(1) before (2): If final vowels had been lost before *a assimilation, there would have been no conditioning factor to determine the quality of the vowels in, e.g. *manuk > mɔnmɔn 'bird' or *taŋis > teŋteŋ 'cry'. Change (1) must, therefore, have preceded change (2). Since all of the languages of the Admiralties except Wuvulu-Aua and the extinct language (or languages) of Kaniet have lost POC final vowels when not followed by a suffix, it follows that apocope was an independent change in many of the languages that underwent it.

(2) before (3): To varying degrees, the lenition of POC *p and *k before a vowel is found in all of the languages of the Admiralties. Only in initial position in nouns, where fusion with the article *na produced what Ross (1988) has called a "secondary nasal grade", were *p and *k protected from phonological erosion. Yet the preservation of both stops in secondary final position in Lou, Lenkau and Penchal (and of *p in Sori of northwest Manus) cannot easily be reconciled with a hypothesis that lenition was already present in Proto-Admiralties. To explain these reflexes it is simplest to assume that POC *p and *k lenited in Lou only after the loss of final vowels. Since the loss of final vowels took place after the break-up of Proto-Admiralties, the same must be true of lenition. Change (3), then, had to follow both changes (1) and (2).

(3) before (4): The reduction of prenasalised stops to the homorganic nasals in secondary final position could only have taken place after the loss of final vowels, since in etymologies such as *tumpu > tupu- 'ancestors' this change did not occur. While this internal evidence supports the ordering of (4) after (1), it says nothing about the relative chronology of (4) in relation to (2) and (3). Comparative evidence sheds some further light on the relative chronology of these changes. Like Lou, Lenkau reflects prenasalised stops as the simple homorganic nasal in secondary final position. However, all other SEA languages show some other development for at least some prenasalised orders: *mp (*kompuRu > Lenkau kum, Penchal, Pak kup 'south wind', Nauna kup 'east wind'; *kompa > Lenkau aso-kom, Penchal, Nauna kai-kop, Pak kop 'hermit crab'), *nr (*panran > Lenkau, Pak pah, Penchal, Nauna pac), *nt (*punti > Lenkau mun, Penchal mut, Nauna muc, Pak pun 'banana'), *ŋk (*-ŋku > Lenkau -ŋ, Penchal zero (phonetically a glottal stop), Pak -k '1sg. possessor'; *toŋkon > Lenkau troŋ, Penchal ro, Nauna to, Pak do 'punting pole'). Since the loss of final vowels and the lenition of POC *p and *k before a vowel are found in all SEA languages, while the reduction of prenasalised stops to the simple nasals is not, it would seem to be a safe assumption that (4) followed not only (1), but also (2) and (3).

(3) before (5): If change (5) had preceded change (2) POC *p and *mp, *t and *nt and *k and *ŋk would have merged in secondary final position. Since they did not, it can be concluded that (5) followed (2). Since *mp and *ŋk did not lenite, (5) must also have followed (3). I see no basis for ordering (4) relative to (5); these may be divergent realisations of a single conditioned change.

(3) before (6): The flapping of *t is found in all SEA languages except Penchal (it is optional in Nauna). Since the lenition of *p and *k before a vowel is found in all SEA languages, I assume that (6) followed (3). Although it violates no phonetic principle to suggest that *t underwent flapping prior to reduction of *nt and that the same change recurred after the reduction of *nt, simple parsimony favours an ordering in which *t and *nt first merged as *t before undergoing intervocalic flapping. A similar change is found in Nali, Ere, and some other languages of eastern Manus, a distribution suggestive of diffusion. As noted already, the flapping of *t in Lou and Baluan apparently took place after the dialects had separated, since the further change of *r to /y/ in Baluan affected only earlier *r, not /r/ from *t.

(6) before (7), (8) before (9): The loss of final glides and raising of *e must have occurred after the separation of Lou from Baluan, as neither occurs in the latter dialect. These and the apparently incipient raising of *o are therefore assumed to be the most recent phonological innovations in Lou.

The foregoing discussion is at odds on several points with statements in Ross (1988) regarding the phonological history of Admiralties languages, and it is best to address these differences at this juncture. First, according to Ross (1988:330) "POC *p became PAd *-f- word medially". If we take this statement at face value we must conclude that POC *p became medial *-f- and then returned to /p/ in secondary final position in such languages as Sori, Lou, Lenkau and Penchal. Granted that this direction of change is attested (e.g. in the Polynesian Outlier Anuta, in the Solomon Islands), it is extremely rare in relation to the common lenition of *p to /f/. Moreover, in Lou the development of *p and *k are parallel: if /p/ developed from an earlier fricative in secondary final position, what about /k/?

Second, according to Ross (1988:335) POC *p and *b (my *p and *mp) "may have been phonetically *[f], *[p]" in Proto-Admiralties. Ross expresses some doubt about this point, and rightfully so in my view, since a voiceless bilabial stop offers little hope of accounting for the development of *mp to /m/ in secondary final position in Lou.

Finally, Ross (1988:330) proposes that POC *R "was lost before high vowels in Proto Admiralty (PAd) and became PAd *R before other vowels". Yet POC *suRuq 'liquid, sap, gravy, juice, soup' is widely reflected in the Admiralties with /y/ from *R (Loniu, Nauna *cuy*, Titan, Baluan *suy* 'soup'). Without access to a preceding stage such as that preserved in Baluan, the Lou reflex *si* would be unexplained.

3.2.5 INDIRECT REFLEXES

In addition to its overt reflexes, Lou shows clear indirect evidence for two Proto-Oceanic grammatical morphemes which are themselves reflected as zero. The first of these is the common noun article *na, and the second the 3sg. object suffix *-a. As first pointed out by Ross (1988), languages of the Admiralties show only nasal grade reflexes of initial *p, *t, *k, *s and *r in nouns, indicating fusion of the stem-initial consonant with the nasal of *na. A reflex of *na is thus present in Lou in the form of secondary nasal grade. Similarly, in suffixed forms such as POC *suli-a 'burn (it)', the final stem vowel was preserved by the suffixal vowel, which itself was lost. A reflex of *-a is thus present in Lou in the form of stem-final vowel retention in transitive verbs. A third possible POC grammatical morpheme that is indirectly attested is the 'close transitive' suffix *-i (Pawley 1973), as in *mimiR-i 'urinate (on)' > Lou *mimi* 'urinate'.

4. LOU-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

The following is an alphabetised list of all Lou morphemes not recorded. In the lexical entries immediately after the entry number homophonous forms are distinguished by subscript, obligatorily affixed forms are followed by a hyphen, and underlying representations incorporate morphophonemic information. In illustrative material which follows the lexical entry exemplifications of the morpheme omit subscripts, and state morpheme alternants as such rather than under a single invariant form. Thus, 002. *a₂* 'gone; away'; *i a* 'he's gone'; 405. *ŋat(a)*: *ŋat* 'bald head', *ara-n ŋara-n* 'his head is bald'; 799. *we(i)*: *we* 'fresh water'; *wei-n kolo-* 'saliva'; *wei-n puol* 'coconut water'. The final /n/ of adjectives is preceded by a hyphen to indicate that these forms probably contain a synchronically justified attributive suffix which is always present. Where a form cannot yet be glossed it is followed by (?) and cross-referenced to a glossed entry under which it is illustrated, e.g. 049. *enan* (?); (cf. *per*).

Following the Lou vocabulary I have included my very imperfectly recorded Baluan material, for whatever it is worth. As with Lou, the greatest probability of transcriptional error in the Baluan data lies in the vowels.

/a/

001.   *a₁*: and
002.   *a₂*: gone; away; departed from; *i a* he's gone (cf. *teli*)
003.   *aa₁*: small canoe paddle, used in a side-to-side paddling rhythm (cf. *paa*)
004.   *aa₂*: south wind
005.   *aek*: to shoot
006.   *aipika*: an edible plant: *Hibiscus manihot* (loan: NG Pidgin *aipika*)
007.   *alt*: copulate, have sexual intercourse
008.   *akmat*: stumble, fall down; *i akmat-i* he fell down (cf. *lus*)
009.   *aku-*: vein, tendon; root
010.   *alimaŋ*: crab with large pincer; mangrove crab
011.   *alma*: to yawn
012.   *aman*: maybe, perhaps, possibly
013.   *amsi*: sneeze
014.   *amtu-*: sweat, perspiration
015.   *anek*: out, out of
016.   *anektoun*: to hide (trans.) (cf. *kaltoun*; *perek*)
017.   *ani*: whet, sharpen (cf. *serip*)
018.   *aniek*: immerse a container to fill it with water (cf. *ut*)
019.   *aŋ*: feed
020.   *aŋa*: look after an animal, care for a pet
021.   *aŋar*: think
022.   *aŋɔt*: 400
023.   *aŋus*: blow the nose (cf. *roŋus*)
024.   *ap*: many, lots of, you (pl.) (cf. *ip*)
025.   *apnl-*: sister, man speaking? (cf. *mwani-*)
026.   *apur*: to boil in water (cf. *kopkopur*)

027. *apuru-n*: few, not many
028. *ara-*: head (cf. pelewek)
029. *arara*: hunched over, bent (as a person with age)
030. *arawI-n*: green/blue
031. *areŋa-*: molar tooth
032. *arIsap*: to bite
033. *aro*: to follow
034. *arop*: thatch (cf. kat)
035. *as*: to plant
036. *asakom*: hermit crab
037. *asoa-*: husband (cf. *peria-*)
038. *asum*: there (near hearer) (cf. *koloŋ*)
039. *aur*: wind (cf. *soso*)
040. *aweek*: announce, inform
041. *awI*: 40
042. *awɔt*: far, distant (cf. *rop*)

/e/

043. *e₁*: to make; *ŋa-e* I made it; *o-e* you made it; *i-e* he/she made it
044. *e₂*: predication marker; question marker
045. *elewe-n*: long (of objects)
046. *eli₁*: that (demonstrative)
047. *eli₂*: with (instrumental), by means of
048. *elipe*: where?
049. *enan*: (?); (cf. *per*)
050. *epi*: sago; *kapwIn epi* sago tree
051. *epwin*: finished, all gone, used up (cf. *mele*, *mut*)
052. *er*: scrape out a coconut (cf. *roek*)
053. *erIt*: cough
054. *eroi*: bury
055. *esuŋek*: collect, gather together

/i/

056. *i*: he, she
057. *ia-n*: good
058. *ik*: search, look for
059. *ilia-*: nephew, niece
060. *ilIp*: pull; *o ilIp ŋoa-n* he/she is breathing
061. *im*: drink
062. *ip*: many, lots of; they (pl.) (cf. *ap*)
063. *ir*: squeeze, as a fruit to extract the juice
064. *irir*: to shave

/I/

065. *Il*: to dig (NOTE: recorded only as [wIl], which I interpret as /o Il/ you dig)

066.   *In*: lie down (to sleep)

/k/

067.   *ka₁-*: alienable possessive marker; edible possession (cf *ta₁*)

068.   *ka₂*: kava: *Piper methysticum*

069.   *kak*: to lift something

070.   *kakaruk*: chicken, fowl (loan: NG Pidgin *kakaruk*)

071.   *kal₁*: to steal, as by picking pockets

072.   *kal₂*: taro

073.   *kalkoko*: to bend, as a piece of iron

074.   *kalmoru*: right (hand, side)

075.   *kalpare-*: armpit

076.   *kaltoun*: hide something in the clenched fist (cf. *anektoun*)

077.   *kaltut*: dark

078.   *kalu-*: wing; *kalu-n mɔnmɔn* wing of a bird

079.   *kam*: kind of fibre from a jointed vine; used to make cordage for nets

080.   *kamkam*: walk with arms around one another's shoulders, as boys (cf. *kemkem*)

081.   *kampuri*: knot, tie a knot

082.   *kamu*: angry

083.   *kana*: seagull

084.   *kanas*: a fish, the mullet

085.   *kanI₁-*: meat, flesh; *kanI-n ara-* brain; *kanI-n nik* meat of a fish; *kanI-n sut* breast milk

086.   *kanI₂-*: surface?; *kanI-n mwanInI-n* straight, smooth, level

087.   *kaŋ*: spiny red starfish, crown-of-thorns starfish

088.   *kaŋal*: tail feathers

089.   *kap₁*: kind of tall, tufted grass similar to *Saccharum edule*

090.   *kap₂*: small crab that stays on beach stones

091.   *kapase-*: chin, jaw

092.   *kapeu-n*: bitter

093.   *kapok*: the wild cotton or kapok tree: *Ceiba pentandra* (loan: NG Pidgin *kapok*)

094.   *kapwIn*: (?); (cf. *epi*)

095.   *kapwIrI*: small; easy, not difficult (cf. *kikirin*)

096.   *kar₁*: palm, sole; *kar-mIna-* palm of the hand, *kar-kI-* sole of the foot

097.   *kar₂*: a shore plant, the wood of which is used to make fireploughs

098.   *karam₁*: door (cf. *kulu-*)

099.   *karam₂*: torch; also /koram/ (cf. *ramram*)

100.   *kara-n*: black

101.   *karap*: frigate bird

102.   *kareŋ*: red parrot

103.   *kari*: coal; *kari mɔn* charcoal

104.   *karik*: to tell, relate (as a story); *ŋ-karik pak* I'm telling a story

105.   *karirIt*: fear, afraid

106. *karl-*: liver
107. *karml-*: tongue
108. *karpu*: heron
109. *kasoŋ*: near
110. *kat₁*: have, possess; also /gat/ (loan: NG Pidgin *gat*)
111. *kat₂*: sago leaf (cf. *arop*)
112. *kaukau*: sweet potato (loan: NG Pidgin *gat*)
113. *kayaŋ*: pandanus with edible red fruit; the fruit of this tree (cf. *mon, no, par, pok*)
114. *ke-₁*: tree, wood, stick; *ke-n pali* stick for the sail, mast (cf. *para-*)
115. *ke₂*: (?); (cf. *puaŋ*)
116. *kea*: to swim
117. *keik*: large variety of Malay apple: *Syzygium gomata* (cf. *nes*)
118. *kel*: crush lice between the nails
119. *kel₁*: black reef fish with poisonous barbs near its long tail
120. *kel₂*: tie leaves in a bundle and put in boiling water
121. *keli*: kind of small grouper (cf. *kot*)
122. *kelipeŋ*: night; pa kelipeŋ dawn (cf. *masar, paripeŋ*)
123. *kelln*: firewood (= *ke-lln*?)
124. *kelpoŋa-*: cheek
125. *kem*: catch (as fish)
126. *kemkem*: to hug, embrace, encircle with the arms (cf. *kamkam*)
127. *kene*: canarium nut
128. *kensellŋ*: ladder
129. *ker*: coconut flower spathe
130. *kerit*: putty nut: *Parinari Laurinum*
131. *keriup*: bailer for removing water from a canoe (cf. *ut*)
132. *kes*: take fruit from a bunch, but leave some behind
133. *kesi*: intermediate growth stage of marine fish later called *sui* (cf. *kolaŋ*)
134. *kesia-n*: (closed?); *mara-n kesia-n* blind
135. *kias*: outrigger connecting sticks, outrigger booms
136. *kikiri-n*: small (cf. *kapwirl*)
137. *kina-*: mark, trace, imprint; *kina-n* hole in a canoe (cf. *llm*)
138. *kipi*: when?
139. *kit*: octopus
140. *kl-₁*: leg (see *kou-n kl-, pwele-kl-*; not recorded in isolation)
141. *kll*: boat, outrigger canoe
142. *kllkl₁*: kingfisher
143. *klm*: salt; *klmkl-n* salty (cf. *set*)
144. *klnpwirl-*: waist
145. *klnru*: housepost
146. *klnsuk*: rainbow
147. *klp*: large greenish reef fish with black stripes and a red area around its mouth

148. *kIpkIplt*: tongs, forceps
149. *ko*: fishhook
150. *koas*: friend, companion
151. *koes*: kind of slender bamboo (cf. *pesIt*)
152. *koki-n*: hot (cf. *ŋaraa-n*)
153. *koko*: fence around a garden
154. *kokok*: to bark, of a dog; to crow, of a rooster
155. *kokora-*: heart (cf. *sibia-*)
156. *kokorot*: sugarcane
157. *kokorup*: to spit (cf. *luek*)
158. *kolaŋ*: immature growth stage of the fish later called *kesi* and *sui*
159. *kolkoloni*: butterfly
160. *kolo-*: mouth; space within a long fishnet spread in a semi-circle by men in canoes
161. *koloŋ*: there (far from hearer) (cf. *asum*)
162. *koloponu(a)*: snake; *koloponua-n pun mot* sea snake that hides in the eel grass
163. *kolu-*: throat; *kolu-ŋ i ŋaŋa* my throat is sore/hoarse (NOTE: possibly identical to *kolo-*)
164. *kom*: comb of a fowl (loan: NG Pidgin *kom*)
165. *komkom*: stuck on the anus, of excreta
166. *komom*: a mussel (shells still joined)
167. *kompaŋ*: landslide
168. *komtal*: the morning star/evening star: Venus
169. *kon*: balsa wood, very light cork-like wood, sometimes used for fishnet floats
170. *kone*: sand; beach
171. *kono*: a flowering shrub: *Hibiscus tiliaceus*; *pua-n kono* hibiscus flower
172. *konua*: firefly
173. *konum*: garden
174. *koŋ*: kind of squarish yellow or brown reef fish
175. *koŋkoŋ*: of clothing, too big for the person wearing it
176. *kop*: rafter
177. *kopkopur*: foam, bubbles; *kopkopur-an* foaming, bubbling (cf. *apur*)
178. *kori*: basket (cf. *kun*, *lapos(u)*, *liklik*)
179. *korkorI-n*: dirty
180. *korkoro*: patchy skin fungus
181. *koroma*: spoon, ladle
182. *koroŋal*: scorpion
183. *koror*: bee (generic)
184. *korou-n*: white
185. *korut*: lid, cover
186. *kosar*: widow; *mween kosar* widower (cf. *sokar*)
187. *kosu*: smoke; *kosu mon* smoke of a fire
188. *kosur*: left (hand, side)

189. *kosusu-n*: cream; *kosusu-n puol* coconut cream
190. *kosut*: coconut crab
191. *kot*: spotted fish: largest type of rock cod or grouper (cf. *keli*)
192. *kou-n kI-*: calf of the leg
193. *kɔl*: calf of the leg
194. *kɔp*: lime; lime gourd (cf. *las*)
195. *kɔpkɔp*: dust; fog, mist
196. *kɔskɔs*: nauseated; upset, of the stomach
197. *kuaro*: to hail, call out to
198. *kuI₁*: holothurian, sea cucumber
199. *kuI₂*: lick, chew
200. *kuI₃-*: nail; *kuI-n kusu mIna-* fingernail
201. *kukamba*: cucumber (loan: NG Pidgin *kukamba*)
202. *kukuk*: game of hide-and-seek
203. *kul₁*: breadfruit
204. *kul₂*: cerumen, earwax
205. *kulam*: hiccough
206. *kulit*: rudder of a boat; to steer
207. *kul(I)*: kul maggot; *kulI-n nik* maggots in fish
208. *kulu-*: slit, narrow opening; *kulu-n um* door opening (cf. *karam*) (NOTE: possibly identical to *kolo-* and *kolu-*)
209. *kulua*: hearth
210. *kuluŋ*: bay
211. *kulut*: rubbish, garbage
212. *kum₁*: east
213. *kum₂*: monsoon; *kum lan* northwest monsoon, *kum ra* northeast monsoon (NOTE: *kum₁* and *kum₂* may be the same item)
214. *kum₃*: suck on something, as a popsicle
215. *kuŋ*: carrying basket worn on the back; carry on the back (cf. *kori*, *lapos(u)*, *liklik*)
216. *kuna-*: skin, peeling; *kuna-n ke* tree bark; *kuna-n mun* banana skin; *kuna-n mwat* scab; *kuna-n nik* fish scales; *kuna-n puo* pig's skin
217. *kunkunu-n*: heavy; *kunkunu-n puIn* light in weight
218. *kuop*: pluck, pull out (as grass, feathers)
219. *kup₁*: to hit, strike (of e.g. an adult striking a child)
220. *kup₂*: sea urchin
221. *kupkup*: white hair, as of the elderly
222. *kur*: clay cooking pot
223. *kurak*: poisonous reef fish: scorpionfish
224. *kurkur*: mushroom
225. *kuruer*: skin blemish, mole on the skin
226. *kurupis*: lobster
227. *kurur*: thunder

228.   *kusu mIna-*: finger; *kusu mIna-n marak* his thumb

229.   *kusupuo*: nettle, *Laportea* spp. (cf. *lalat*) (NOTE: possibly *kusu-puo*)

230.   *kut*: louse

231.   *kutkut*: pounded taro with grated coconut

/l/

232.   *la*: fish net spread out by men working in two canoes; *la tara* net spread out during a fish drive

233.   *lak*: go; verbal particle

234.   *lal₁*: round; *lal we sip* lake (calque of NG Pidgin *raunwara* + *sip* = one)

235.   *lal₂*: trochus shell

236.   *lalat*: stinging nettle, *Laportea* sp.

237.   *lalI-n*: foundation?; *lalI-n um* floor

238.   *lalul*: to set (of the sun)

239.   *lalun₁*: inside; enter

240.   *lalun₂*: (?); *lalun pineŋ* fallow land

241.   *lamaŋ*: grave

242.   *lan*: (northwest?); cf. *kum*

243.   *laŋet*: housefly (NOTE: probably *laŋ-et*)

244.   *laŋlaŋ(a)*: a fly, flying insect; *laŋlaŋa-n palawa* honey bee; *laŋlaŋ ŋara* bluebottle, horsefly, stinging March fly

245.   *lapankawI*: stinging red tree ant; fire ant (cf. *lolI*)

246.   *lapos(u)*: lapos carrying bag (NG Pidgin *bilum*), small trap net; *laposu-n nik* fish net, *laposu-n nɔt* placenta (cf. *kori, kun, liklik*)

247.   *las*: limestone (cf. *kɔp*)

248.   *layan*: mend, repair

249.   *lei*: ginger

250.   *leleap*: jungle, bush, forest (cf. *lolo-n ke*)

251.   *leplepkat*: gecko

252.   *li₁*: already (?); (cf. *mele*)

253.   *li₂*: anchor

254.   *lia-*: tooth, teeth; *lia-n puo* tusk of a pig; *mara-n lia-n* incisor(s)

255.   *liklik*: kind of large basket in which loads are carried on the head (cf. *kori, kun, lapos(u)*)

256.   *liŋliŋ*: very quiet, of the surf

257.   *liol*: men's house, bachelor's house

258.   *lisa₁-*: gills; *lisa-n nik* red inner gills of a fish (cf. *poan*)

259.   *lisa₂-*: nit; *lisa-n kut* nit egg of a louse

260.   *lIm*: hole or depression in the ground

261.   *lIp*: get, fetch; carry, take along; *lIp me* bring; *lIp lak* take; *lIp nɔt* pregnant (lit. carry child)

262.   *loka*: high tide, flood (cf. *noro*)

263.   *lolI*: small black sugar ant (cf. *lapankawI*)

264.   *lolo-n ke*: bush, forest (cf. *leleap*)

265. *lot*: boil, abscess
266. *lou*: kind of whale (larger than *molmoluam*)
267. *loup*: kind of large marine shell
268. *ləklək*: wobble about, as an oversized shoe on the foot
269. *luek*: spit out (food, etc.), eject from the mouth (cf. *kokorup*)
270. *lul*: drop, throw to the ground
271. *lulisom ramraman*: small red ant (cf. *lapankawI*, *lolI*)
272. *lum*: ripe
273. *lumlum*: moss, algae, seaweed
274. *lumu-*: hair; feather; *lumu-n ara-n* head hair; *lumu-n kapasI-n* beard; *lumu-n mənmən* feather
275. *lus*: fall from a height (cf. *akmat*)

/m/

276. *maan*: axe, adze
277. *mak*: playground, place where children play
278. *malI*: quick, rapid, fast (cf. *neneman₁*)
279. *malul*: tree with bell-shaped red fruit that has a large seed
280. *mamat*: wake up, rise after sleeping
281. *maŋas*: work
282. mar: knowledgeable; educated
283. *mara-*: eye; face, front; point; lid, cover; *mara-n puIn* dull point; *mara-n um* the front of a house; *para-n mara-n* sharp point
284. *marak*: big; old (of people); title for a male elder (cf. *san*)
285. *marIk*: sick
286. *masar*: clear, as the air clearing after smoke dissipates; dawn (cf. *kelipeŋ*)
287. *masarin*: outside (NOTE: possibly *masari-n*)
288. *mat*: die; *mat puIn* living, alive; *matI-n* dead; *kI-n i matI-n* crippled, lame (lit. leg it dead)
289. *matmarak*: to grow (as plants in a garden) (NOTE: this item may contain *marak* big)
290. *me*: come
291. *mei-n*: fontanelle
292. *mele*: finish; finished, gone; *i li mele* he disappeared (cf. *epwin*, *mut*)
293. *melen*: melon (loan: NG Pidgin *melen*)
294. *meleo*: large tree with green, four-cornered fruit
295. *meneŋa-n*: big, large
296. *menua*: hawk, eagle (cf. *paraŋ*)
297. *merIt*: sleep (cf. *metir*)
298. *met*: reef, dry reef (cf. *ramet*)
299. *metir*: sleep (cf. *merIt*)
300. *mimi*: urinate; *mimi-a* urine
301. *minu*: yesterday
302. *mIna-*: hand

303.   *mlpmlp*: to dream
304.   *molmoluam*: whale (smaller than *lou*)
305.   *moloa-*: shadow, picture, spirit; *moloa-n mlna-n* the shadow of his/her hand; *moloa-n ramat* spirit of a dead person
306.   *molok*: young; *puol molok* young coconut
307.   *molok(i)*: stern of a boat, hindpart of something; *kll molok* stern of a boat; *moloki-n* back, as of an object
308.   *molut*: white-tailed dove (cf. *pol*)
309.   *mon*: kind of pandanus with fruit that is yellow or red when ripe (cf. *kayaŋ, no, par, pok*)
310.   *monmuon*: caterpillar
311.   *montl*: yellow
312.   *moŋ(u)*: *moŋ* barren, as a woman past childbearing age, a dried-up tree or a dry reef; *met i moŋ* low tide; *moŋu-n puol* dry coconut
313.   *mor*: double?; *not mor* twin
314.   *mora*: calm, still, of water
315.   *morul-*: grandchild
316.   *moso*: tree with redolent bark, the cinnamon: *Cinnamomum xanthoneuron*
317.   *mot*: eel grass (on sea floor)
318.   *mon*: fire
319.   *monmon*: bird
320.   *muli*: citrus fruit (loan: NG Pidgin *muli*)
321.   *murmur*: dew
322.   *mumut*: to vomit
323.   *mun*: banana
324.   *mut*: finish, stop; last; *toro mut* last-born child (cf. *epwin, mele*)

/mw/

325.   *mwak*: to surface from underwater, as a whale coming up to breathe
326.   *mwal*: first
327.   *mwamwaŋes*: lazy
328.   *mwamwarou*: female friend
329.   *mwani-*: brother (woman speaking)
330.   *mwanlnl-n*: straight
331.   *mwantu-n*: much, many
332.   *mwap*: heal
333.   *mwarln*: yam
334.   *mwarse*: catfish
335.   *mwarup*: hole (in the roof): *um i mwarup* the roof is leaking
336.   *mwas₁*: bandicoot, marsupial rat
337.   *mwas₂*: cooked
338.   *mwasun*: thousand
339.   *mwat*: sore, wound; *mwat i mwap* the sore/wound is healed
340.   *mween*: man; male

341. *mweli-*: under, underside
342. *mwelmwelea-n*: spotted, mottled, as the skin of a snake
343. *mwemwe*: vine
344. *mwemwes*: scabies
345. *mwemwesik*: shame, ashamed
346. *mweneek*: slow, leisurely
347. *mwesim*: a shore tree with needle-like leaves: *Casuarina equisetifolia*
348. *mwi*: dog
349. *mwirIn*: between, among
350. *mwInemwIn*: half of a mussel shell used for scraping the meat out of coconuts

/n/

351. *na₁*: edible seaweed
352. *na₂*: tree with red wood (probably *Pterocarpus indica*)
353. *naknak*: to shine; yellow, ripe, of a fruit; *sinsin la ro naknak* the sun is shining
354. *namnam*: swearing
355. *namnI-*: the taste of something; *namnI-n kImkI-n* salty taste (cf. *nap*)
356. *nana-*: father-in-law, mother-in-law
357. *nap₁*: pronged fish spear; *mara-n nap* prong of a fish spear
358. *nap₂*: to taste (cf. *namni-*)
359. *ne*: rat
360. *nek*: throw, as a stone; discard, throw away
361. *nenema-n₁*: fast, quick (cf. *malI*)
362. *nenema₂*: fat (n.), grease; tasty (cf. *sumsumuan*)
363. *nenewa*: message
364. *neŋ₁*: climb (used when one is not at the thing to be climbed, but must travel to it before climbing (cf. *tarak*)
365. *neŋ₂*: sleeping mat
366. *nes*: the Malay apple: *Syzygium gomata* (cf. *keik*)
367. *nesek*: say, tell, speak (cf. *nompa*)
368. *ni*: squid
369. *nik*: fish
370. *niknik*: very sharp, as a spear or knife point, thorn, etc.
371. *niŋ*: see, look
372. *no*: pandanus used for raincapes; pandanus raincape (cf. *kayaŋ, mon, par, pok*)
373. *nompa*: say, answer (cf. *nesek*)
374. *noro*: flood (cf. *loka*)
375. *nɔmnɔm*: eating (cf. *ŋan*)
376. *nɔpnɔp*: jealousy, gossip, slander; quarrel about (as women quarreling over a man or men quarreling over a woman)
377. *nɔt*: tall tree which provides good timber, and a large edible sweet grecn fruit
378. *nɔt(u)*: *nɔt mor* twin, *laposu-n nɔt* placenta, *noru-n* his/her child
379. *nu*: bathe, take a bath in the sea (cf. *nuek*)

380.   *nuek*: dive, submerge (cf. *nu*)
381.   *nun*: a tree with numerous aerial roots: the banyan
382.   *nunun*: roast over hot coals
383.   *nuru*: tired, exhaused

/ŋ/

384.   *ŋa*: I
385.   *ŋaIs*: scratch an itch (cf. *ŋapiIs*)
386.   *ŋak*: expression of anger or impatience used by someone to another person who keeps saying 'huh?' to a request, as though he/she can't hear it (cf. *ŋuk*)
387.   *ŋan₁*: eat (cf. *nɔmnɔm* eating)
388.   *ŋan₂*: fathom (cf. *perimin*)
389.   *ŋan₃*: termite, white ant
390.   *ŋani-ruep*: eight
391.   *ŋani-ruŋoul*: 80
392.   *ŋani-saŋaul*: 90
393.   *ŋani-selIp*: seven
394.   *ŋani-sip*: nine
395.   *ŋani-suluŋoul*: 70
396.   *ŋaŋ*: poisonous reef fish, the stonefish
397.   *ŋaŋa₁*: beetle sp.
398.   *ŋaŋa₂*: hoarse, losing one's voice
399.   *ŋapiIs*: scratch (as an itch) (cf. *ŋaIs*)
400.   *ŋara₁-*: name; *ŋara-n sie* what is his/her name?
401.   *ŋara₂*: (?) (cf. *laŋlaŋ*)
402.   *ŋaraa-n*: hot (of food, water, sun); *para-n ŋaraa-n* difficult (as a task) (cf. *koki-n*)
403.   *ŋarIk*: feel, sense
404.   *ŋaru*: live, reside, dwell
405.   *ŋat(a)*: *ŋat* bald head (in general); *ara-n ŋara-n* his head is bald
406.   *ŋauŋauan*: steam
407.   *ŋer*: sago grub
408.   *ŋeria-n*: painful; *para-n ŋeria-n* a sharp pain (cf. *porok*)
409.   *ŋesiup*: spill
410.   *ŋiniop*: six
411.   *ŋir*: open wide (as the eyes)
412.   *ŋIm*: cockroach
413.   *ŋInrut*: crush lice between the fingernails
414.   *ŋInsap*: pinch
415.   *ŋoa-*: breath
416.   *ŋomŋom*: tattoo
417.   *ŋor*: to grunt (as a pig), to growl (as a dog); to snore
418.   *ŋora*: cuscus, phalanger, possum
419.   *ŋorɔp*: sky; raincloud

420. *ŋɔk*: having a depressed nose bridge
421. *ŋuk*: expression of anger or irritation given by someone to someone else who refuses his/her advice (cf. *ŋak*)
422. *ŋuran*: five
423. *ŋusu-*: lip

/o/

424. *oa*: a bird, the megapode
425. *ok*: drift; okok float, bob on the surface
426. *om*: to cut (wood) (cf. *san₁*)
427. *ononoul*: 60
428. *op*: to fly, opop flying fish
429. *orek*: to open
430. *oro*: give
431. *os*: husk coconuts (cf. *suep*)
432. *osoi*: rattan
433. *osos*: kind of black fish

/ɔ/

434. *ɔk*: hold; *ɔk to* hold in the hand
435. *ɔkɔk*: climb slowly up a mountain
436. *ɔp*: strike, hit with force; *ɔp mat* to kill (cf. *rek*)
437. *ɔsɔs*: to whistle

/p/

438. *paa*: long canoe paddle used like an oar on one side of the canoe only (cf. *aa*)
439. *pae*: down; *In la pae* lie down
440. *pak*: story
441. *pala-*: penis
442. *palawa*: flower; elephant ear taro (loan: NG Pidgin *plaua*)
443. *palawIk*: bad
444. *palI*: the sail of a boat
445. *palŋIn*: eel
446. *paloal*: day
447. *pamat*: uncooked (cf. *papur*)
448. *pami*: areca nut, betel nut; *para-n pami* areca palm
449. *pana*: stick used to sew sago leaves
450. *panak*: thief; to steal
451. *panap*: garfish: a small blue fish with long needle-like mouth tipped with red
452. *paŋ₁*: bench
453. *paŋ₂*: rain
454. *paŋkat*: broom made of coconut or sago frond (NOTE: possibly /pa-n kat/ (= *pa* of sago leaf, where *pa* remains unglossed)
455. *pap₁*: buy
456. *pap₂*: carry someone (as a child or sick person) pick-a-back

457. *papaeu-n*: new
458. *papur*: raw, unripe (cf. *pamat*)
459. *par*: *Pandanus tectorius*; its leaves are much used in plaiting mats (cf. *kayaŋ*, *mon*, *no*, *pok*)
460. *para-*: stalk, stem, trunk; *elewe-n para-n* its stalk is long; *para saŋa-n* fork of a branch
461. *para-n*: sharp (as a point)
462. *paraŋ*: black sea hawk or sea eagle (cf. *menua*)
463. *paraŋka*: fishing line
464. *parapa-*: thigh
465. *parawa*: false; lie
466. *paripeŋ*: morning (cf. *kelipeŋ*)
467. *parIrI-n*: clean
468. *pas*: stone fish corral
469. *pasek*: know, understand
470. *paso*: fishing pole
471. *pata-₁*: log, beam (?); *pata-n kII* cross-seat of a boat; *pata-n paII* mast (cf. *ke-₂*) (NOTE: possibly identical with /para/- stalk, stem, trunk)
472. *pata-₂*: top
473. *pe*: stingray
474. *peilo*: spear
475. *pein*: woman; female
476. *pelesam*: shark
477. *pelewek*: head? (cf. *ara-*, *rek*)
478. *pelia*: a fish, the bonito or skipjack tuna
479. *peliŋes*: tree which bears a sappy, sticky fruit on which alighting birds sometimes adhere; *pua-n peliŋes* the fruit of this tree
480. *pen*: pen (English loan)
481. *penreun*: tail (of fish, pig, dog)
482. *pepe*: centipede
483. *per*: surf, breakers; *per enan* wave in the open sea, swell
484. *perek*: to hide (intr.) (cf. *anektoun*)
485. *perelian*: (?) (cf. *sin*)
486. *peri*: war? (cf. *tIn*)
487. *peria-*: wife (cf. *asoa-*)
488. *perilt*: three stones of the hearth; trivet
489. *perimin*: handspan (cf. *ŋan₂*) (NOTE: possibly *peri-mIn*)
490. *perira*: because
491. *periup*: kind of medium-sized clam that burrows in beach sand (cf. *tele*)
492. *pes*: wooden fork for removing taro or other hot food from a pot
493. *pesIt*: kind of slender bamboo used to make fish spears (cf. *koes*)
494. *peterI-*: bone; *peterI-n touma-* scapula, shoulder blade
495. *pi*: filariasis, swelling of leg

496. *pilel*: laugh, smile
497. *pineŋ* (?); (cf. *lalun*)
498. *pipi*: bait
499. *pirek*: blow with the mouth, blow on the fire (cf. *tepelek*)
500. *piro*: a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*
501. *pln*: brother-in-law, sister-in-law, *pln ta-ŋ* my brother-in-law, *pln to* 'your brother-in-law, *pln tei* his/her brother-in-law
502. *poan*: external gills of a fish (cf. *lisa-₁*)
503. *pok*: pandanus with broad leaves; of no practical use (cf. *kayaŋ, mon, no, par*)
504. *polpoluŋ*: wrap food in leaves and cook it over an open fire
505. *ponu*: village, large area
506. *por₁*: to swallow
507. *por₂*: thick, sweet white residue left after boiling off coconut oil
508. *porak₁*: pus; *i porak* it has pus
509. *porak₂*: tall tree with edible fruit
510. *porek*: find
511. *poroa*: river
512. *poroa-n*: rotten as wood) (cf. *poroka-n*)
513. *porok*: painful; *ara-n i porok* he/she has a headache (cf. *ŋeria-n*)
514. *poroka-n*: spoiled, rotten (as meat, fish or vegetables) (cf. *poroa-n*)
515. *poruŋa-*: neck
516. *posa*: dry(as food or clothes); to dry
517. *posposu-*: chest (man's)
518. *posu-*: shell; *posu-n puon* shell of a turtle
519. *posuŋɔp*: ashes
520. *pot*: large, thick bamboo variety
521. *pɔl*: pigeon, dove: *Ducula* spp. (cf. *molut*)
522. *pu*: sword grass, kunai grass
523. *pua₁*: crocodile
524. *pua₂-*: fruit; flower; seed; testicles
525. *puaŋke*: food (NOTE: possibly *pua-n ke*)
526. *pul*: crack (?) (cf. *rlk*)
527. *puln*: no, not, negative
528. *puke*: giant clam, *Tridacna* sp.
529. *pukrln*: budding flower
530. *pul*: moon
531. *pulasl-*: (front part?); *pulasl-n kll* prow of a boat
532. *pull-*: forehead
533. *pulme*: kind of black wildfowl with a red crest
534. *pulpulut*: sing
535. *pulto*: stuck, sticking to

536.   *pulu-n*: joint; node (as in bamboo or sugarcane); *pulu-kI-* knee; *pulu-n kusu mIna-* finger joint, knuckle; *pulu-n mIna-* elbow

537.   *pun₁*: a vine which yields poison used to stun fish

538.   *pun₂*: bottom part? (occurs in *pun mot* bottom part of a bed of eel grass) (NOTE: possibly /pu-n/)

539.   *pun₂*: real, true

540.   *puna*: west

541.   *puni*: caulk a canoe, fill cracks with a sealant

542.   *puŋu-n₁*: core?; *puŋu-n ke* heartwood of a tree

543.   *puŋu-n₂*: husk; *puŋu-n puol* coconut husk (= *puŋu-n₁*?)

544.   *puo*: pig

545.   *puol*: coconut

546.   *puon*: sea turtle

547.   *pup*: bamboo basket trap for fish

548.   *pupu*: grandfather

549.   *pur*: to paint

550.   *purik*: break wind, fart

551.   *puro-*: navel

552.   *purpura-n*: soft; *pwanat purpura-n* clay

553.   *pursu-*: nose, snout, beak; *pursu-n puo* snout of a pig; *pursu-n mɔnmɔn* beak of a bird

554.   *puru₁-*: (container?); *puru ke* wooden bowl

555.   *puru₂-*: thorn; *puru-n ke* thorn

556.   *puru-n*: deep; *puru-n puIn* shallow

557.   *pusuk*: island

558.   *pusuke*: conch shell, triton

/pw/

559.   *pwak*: cave

560.   *pwali*: natural spirit (NG Pidgin *marsalai*); *pwali silal* ancestral spirit (NG Pidgin *tambaran*); *pwal-pwali* mad, insane, possessed

561.   *pwalirop*: wrong, in error (NOTE: possibly *pwali* spirit + *rop* distant, far away)

562.   *pwanat*: earth

563.   *pwanrit*: fishnet float

564.   *pwatpwarIt*: trembling, shivering

565.   *pwele-kI-*: foot/leg

566.   *pweni*: coconut shell; bald spot on the crown of the head

567.   *pwesit*: sleep in the eye, dried mucus in the corner of the eye

568.   *pwi*: (?); *pwi-lia-* gums

569.   *pwili*: mountain

570.   *pwiII-*: handle; *pwiII-n maan* handle of an axe or adze

571.   *pwipwirI*: stone (cf. *rI*)

572.   *pwirirIn*: dorsal fin

573.   *pwirpwire*: mud; swamp (NOTE: possibly identical to *pwIrI* wet)

574. *pwIk*: fruit bat, flying fox; *pwIk sum* insectivorous bat
575. *pwIrI*: wet

/r/

576. *ra-₁*: branch; *ra-n ke* branch of a tree
577. *ra₂*: northeast; northeast wind
578. *rakeli-n*: thin (of people or material objects)
579. *rakI-*: rib
580. *rakIn*: roof
581. *ralke*: coconut oil
582. *ram*: search, look for; *o ro ram sa?* what are you looking for?
583. *ramat*: person, human being; *ramat som* body
584. *ramet*: reef, dry reef (cf. *met*)
585. *ramram*: fish at night by torchlight
586. *ramraman*: ember
587. *raŋ*: spider; *um te raŋ* spiderweb
588. *raŋraŋ*: want, desire; choose
589. *rara*: kind of red reef fish with large eyes, probably squirrelfish sp.
590. *rei-₁*: leaf; *rei-n ke* leaf of a tree
591. *rei-₂*: odour; *rei-n palawIk* stench, bad smell
592. *rek₁*: hit; *rek mat* kill (cf. *ɔp*)
593. *rek₂*: turn; *rek pelewek* turn the head
594. *rekrek*: large green frog, bullfrog
595. *rem*: lime spatula
596. *rere*: star
597. *ri₁*: dugong, sea cow
598. *ri₂*: pull, as on a rope
599. *rI*: stone (cf. *pwipwirI*)
600. *rIk*: break; *rIk puI* split
601. *rIkrIk*: to feel, of emotions or presentiments; to grope (as in the dark)
602. *rIprIp₁*: itchy
603. *rIprIp₂*: jellyfish
604. *rIrIk*: swollen
605. *roa*: coconut grater
606. *roe*: edible reef fish with large body and small tail
607. *roek*: scrape coconut meat from the shell (cf. *er*, *roa*)
608. *rol*: stonefish
609. *rola*: rollers for banking a canoe (loan: NG Pidgin *rola*)
610. *ronu-n mara-*: tears (NOTE: cf. POC **ranum* 'fresh water'; recorded only as the word for 'tears')
611. *roŋ*: hear; *roŋroŋ* listen
612. *roŋas*: carry on the shoulder
613. *roŋus*: nasal mucus, snot (cf. *aŋus*)

614. *rop*: distant, far away (cf. *awot*)

615. *roro*: wind from the interior of the island (blows at night)

616. *roro(u-)*: cold, as water, a place or the weather; *ponu roro* a cold place; *we rorou-n* cold water

617. *rou-*: egg; *rou-n nik* fish eggs, roe

618. *ruep*: two

619. *rult*: ask, inquire; ask for, beg for

620. *ruŋoul*: 20

621. *ruŋɔt*: 200

622. *rupeŋ*: day after tomorrow (cf. *tipeŋ*) (NOTE: possibly /ru-peŋ/)

623. *rutrut*: to hatch, emerge from an egg

/s/

624. *sa₁*: channel; *mara-sa* passage through the reef

625. *sa₂*: what?

626. *saek*: rub in (liniment, etc.)

627. *sak₁*: a tree of coastal swamps: the mangrove

628. *sak₂*: up; rise, ascend

629. *sakilipora*: earthquake

630. *sal*: path, road

631. *salim*: to sell (loan: NG Pidgin *selim*)

632. *sall*: to wash (as clothes, dishes)

633. *salpir*: lightning

634. *salum*: enemy

635. *sam*: outrigger float

636. *samanun*: how much/how many?

637. *samat*: kind of fish trap

638. *samil*: knife

639. *samwit*: trim the branches off a tree

640. *san₁*: to cut (meat, fish, rope) (cf. *om*)

641. *san₂*: old (of things) (cf. *marak*)

642. *saŋa-*: bifurcation, forking (cf. *saŋesaŋ*)

643. *saŋaul*: ten

644. *saŋesaŋ*: starfish (cf. *saŋa-*)

645. *sap*: pull down a fruit from a tree

646. *sapa*: dehortative: don't

647. *sapol*: gold-lip pearl shell

648. *sasa*: year, season

649. *sepsep*: to weed a garden

650. *serip*: whet, sharpen (cf. *ani*)

651. *set*: sea, saltwater; *set rop* open sea (cf. *klm*)

652. *si₁*: down; descend; *o wa si pei* come down!

653. *si₂*: soup

654. *si₃*: (?); cf. *teŋteŋ*; *tok*
655. *sie*: who?
656. *siera*: green croton or cordyline (cf. *taro*)
657. *sike*: a fruit tree: *Morinda citrifolia*
658. *siksia-n*: sour
659. *sil*: to peel, as a banana; to remove the bark from a tree
660. *silal*: (?); cf. *pwali*
661. *silIn*: taro sucker, plant shoot
662. *sim₁*: cold (to the touch?)
663. *sim₂*: satisfied, satiated, full, of the stomach (cf. *ur*)
664. *sin*: *sinsin* sun; *perelian sin* noon
665. *sinsIp*: kinsman
666. *siŋa-*: vulva
667. *sioŋ*: hungry
668. *sip*: one
669. *sipe-n tupu-*: buttocks
670. *sipia-*: heart (cf. *kokora-*)
671. *sipua*: black palm (NG Pidgin: *waillimbum*)
672. *sirip*: carry a load on a pole, of one or two men
673. *sisira*: kind of soft grass broom used only in the house
674. *sIt*: bunch, cluster (as of fruit)
675. *so*: sew (loan)
676. *soan*: reciprocate, return in kind
677. *sok₁*: suresighted, of someone who is good at throwing a spear, shooting, etc.
678. *sok₂*: rub a friction stick against wood to make fire; flaming up
679. *sok₃*: stab; *sok mat* stab to death
680. *sokar*: widow (cf. *kosar*)
681. *solat*: marlin, swordfish
682. *solpe*: house wall
683. *soŋ*: flee, run away
684. *soŋɔt*: 100
685. *sopwir*: to dazzle, as brilliant light in the eyes
686. *sorI*: to play, as children
687. *soron*: cape of land
688. *soso*: wind, breeze (cf. aur)
689. *sou-*: needle; *sou-n pwIk* needle made of the wingbone of a flying fox
690. *su*: comb
691. *suek*: push, shove
692. *suep*: digging stick (for gardening); husking stick (for coconuts) (cf. *os*)
693. *sui*: mature growth stage of fish earlier called *kolaŋ*, and *kesi*
694. *suk*: brackish; *we suk* brackish water
695. *suksuk*: traditional dance

696.   *sul*: coconut frond (used for torches); *sul moŋu-n* dry coconut frond
697.   *suli*: to burn
698.   *sum*: grasshopper
699.   *sumsumua-n*: fat, corpulent (cf. *neneman₂*)
700.   *sun*: cover something up
701.   *suŋsuŋ₁*: elope
702.   *suŋsuŋ₂*: hunt, go hunting for game; when lost in the bush, to persist walking in one direction until found
703.   *sup*: peel, pare, remove the skin (as from a yam)
704.   *supu-*: base, foundation; *supu-n ke* base of a tree
705.   *sur*: kind of marine fish that swims in schools
706.   *susu-*: breast; *mara-n susu-* nipple ('eye') of the breast; *susu-n pein* female breast
707.   *sut*: breast? (cf. *kanI-*)

/t/

708.   *ta₁-*: alienable possessive marker: general possession (cf. *ka₁*)
709.   *ta₂*: relative pronoun; *nik samanun ta o kem* how many fish did you catch?
710.   *ta₃*: a tree with edible fruit: *Pometia pinnata*
711.   *tabak*: tobacco (loan: NG Pidgin *tabak*)
712.   *tak*: suddenly become unbalanced, as a canoe when the outrigger lifts at sea
713.   *talki*: heavy rope
714.   *tama-*: father
715.   *tamante*: why?; how?
716.   *tamina*: all
717.   *taŋini*: a fish, the Spanish Mackerel (loan: NG Pidgin *taŋini*)
718.   *tapo*: this
719.   *tara₁*: fish drive (cf. *la*)
720.   *tara₂*: slap; *tara orek mInɔ-m* slap with your hand
721.   *tarak*: climb (used when you are at the thing to be climbed (cf. *neŋ*)
722.   *tari*: draw, make designs, write
723.   *taro*: red croton or cordyline (cf. *siera*)
724.   *tasium*: to catch, as a ball
725.   *te₁*: faeces; defecate
726.   *te₂*: here
727.   *te₃*: to (directional), toward
728.   *tel*: rope, string
729.   *tele*: kind of small clam that lives on the reef (cf. *periup*)
730.   *teli*: missing, gone; to lose (as possessions); stray, get lost; *noru-n teli* orphan: *ŋI teli* I'm lost (cf. *a₂*)
731.   *teliŋa-*: ear; *teliŋ-a puIn* he/she is deaf
732.   *telis*: a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*
733.   *telIn*: shelf; *telIn kelIn* firewood shelf
734.   *telIp*: three

735. *tenua*: belt
736. *teŋ*: weep, cry; *tenteŋ*: crying; sorry; *tenteŋ si* pity, sympathy, love
737. *tepelek*: run; blow (of the wind); *soso i ro tepelek* the wind is blowing (cf. *pirek*)
738. *tere*: crawl
739. *teri-*: younger sibling of the same sex (cf. *tio-*)
740. *teterIp₁*: fan (for fanning the fire)
741. *teterIp₂*: veranda
742. *tia-*: abdomen
743. *tiek*: pour out, spill out
744. *tik*: to plait (mats or baskets)
745. *tiktik*: to squat, hunker down, sitting on one's toes
746. *tina-*: mother
747. *tio-*: older sibling of the same sex (cf. *teri-*)
748. *tip*: press hard; *e tip* press it hard!
749. *tipeŋ*: tomorrow (cf. *rupeŋ*) (NOTE: possibly /ti-peŋ/
750. *tipnon*: mosquito; sandfly
751. *tirill*: cicatrix, scar
752. *tirIŋ*: shell (generic)
753. *tirok*: betel leaf
754. *tIktIkpun*: kind of fish net spread in the passage through the reef
755. *tIn*: fight; *tIn peri mwirIn ponu* war between villages
756. *to₁*: a hardwood tree: *Intsia bijuga*
757. *to₂*: (?); cf. *ɔk*
758. *tok*: sit; *tok I si pae* sit down!; *toktok* sit; *toktok war* sit down
759. *tolI*: slitgong
760. *tolɔt*: four
761. *tolul-*: intestines
762. *tolul*: stand up, rise from sitting; be in a standing position
763. *toŋul*: wooden headrest; pillow
764. *topol*: 50
765. *toptoɔs*: to smoke something to preserve it (as fish)
766. *toro*: (?) (cf. *mut*)
767. *touma-*: back (anat.)
768. *touru-n*: short (in length)
769. *tuIna-n*: correct, true
770. *tukna-*: mother's brother
771. *tukoru-*: shoulder
772. *tuktuk₁*: sit?; *tuktuk tak* seesaw (NOTE: possibly identical to /toktok/ (cf. *tok, tak*))
773. *tuktuk₂*: sound, noise
774. *tuluŋoul*: 30
775. *tuluŋɔt*: 300
776. *tuŋ*: punting pole, pole for moving a boat through shallow water

777.   *tuŋuru-*: back of the head
778.   *tupu₁-*: ancestors
779.   *tupu₂*: (cf. *sipe-n*)
780.   *turl-*: blood; sap of a tree; *turl-n kul* breadfruit sap
781.   *turuep*: chew betel
782.   *turur*: ridgepole
783.   *tut*: to count

/u/

784.   *uk*: to open, uncover
785.   *ultum*: tidal wave
786.   *um(a)-*: *um* house, dwelling; *uma-n mɔnmɔn* nest of a bird
787.   *uŋ*: sniff, smell
788.   *ur*: full, of a container (cf. *sim₂*)
789.   *ururu-n*: thick (as a plank)
790.   *usuk*: (?); *usuk mɔn* fireplough
791.   *ut*: draw water; bail out; *ut wei-n kll* bail water out of a canoe (cf. *aniek*)

/w/

792.   *wa₁*: man's clothing (cf. *wo*)
793.   *wa₂*: walk, go; *o ro wa* you are walking/going; *wawa* walking; *o wawa* you are walking/going; *o wa si* come down!, *o wa sak* come up!, *o wa me* come here!
794.   *wak*: monitor lizard: *Varanus* sp.
795.   *war*: (possibly = *ar* or *uar*); cf. *tok*
796.   *wayl-n*: hard (of material objects)
797.   *we*: mango: *Mangifera indica*
798.   *weep*: afternoon; *weep kelipeŋ* evening
799.   *we(i)*: *we* fresh water; *wei-n kolo-* saliva; *wei-n puol* coconut water
800.   *wiri*: dolphin
801.   *wirlk*: around, encircling
802.   *wirlt*: cut (as yams for planting)
803.   *wo*: woman's traditional grass skirt (cf. *wa₁*)
804.   *woŋ*: I; me

ADDENDUM: SOME BALUAN VOCABULARY

001.   *akakit*: to scratch (as an itch) (Lou: *ŋals, ŋapils*)
002.   *aman*: perhaps, maybe (Lou: *aman*); cf. *naman*
003.   *i*: he/she/it (Lou: *i*)
004.   *kamundow*: axe, adze (Lou: *maan*)
005.   *kanen*: meat, flesh; *kanen kow* bait (Lou: *kanl-*)
006.   *kapuen*: branches (Lou: *ra*)
007.   *kaw*: kava: *Piper Methysticum* (Lou: *ka*)
008.   *kay*: a tree from which wood is obtained for making fireploughs (Lou: *kar*)
009.   *kaypu*: heron (Lou: *karpu*)

010. *kel*: canoe (Lou: *kIl*)
011. *kelkel*: kingfisher (Lou: *kIlkIl*)
012. *koki-n*: hot (Lou: *koki-n*)
013. *kop*: coral (Lou: *kɔp* lime)
014. *kow*: fishhook (Lou: *ko*); cf. *kanen*
015. *koyoy*: large red bee or wasp (Lou: *koror* bee (generic))
016. *kul*: breadfruit (Lou: *kul*)
017. *kulit*: steering paddle, rudder (Lou: *kulit*)
018. *lak*: go; verbal particle (Lou: *lak*)
019. *lalat*: stinging nettle, *Laportea* spp. (Lou: *lalat*)
020. *lem*: hole (Lou: *lIm*)
021. *limlim*: 50 (Lou: *topol*)
022. *liplipnon*: sandfly (Lou: *tipnon*)
023. *lol*: dirt on the skin that rolls off when rubbed
024. *malol*: tree with bell-shaped red fruit that has a large seed (Lou: *malul*)
025. *manuay*: sea eagle (Lou: *menua*)
026. *mapay*: know, recognise
027. *mapou*: mythical little people credited with the construction of ancient stoneworks on the island of Baluan
028. *mara-*: eye (Lou: *mara-*)
029. *misimIn*: 1000 (Lou: *mwasun sip*)
030. *mon*: pandanus sp. (Lou: *mon*)
031. *mutmut*: tree which yields a useful timber for the construction of houses, canoes, etc.
032. *muy*: coconut grater (Lou: *roa*); cf. *yey*
033. *mwalkow*: stonefish (Lou: *rol*)
034. *mwamwaŋ*: timber tree used in the construction of houses, canoes, etc.
035. *mwanene-n*: straight (Lou: *mwanInI-n*); cf. *salilon*
036. *mwasow*: cinnamon tree (Lou: *moso*)
037. *mwayen*: yam (Lou: *mwarIn*)
038. *nam*: plant similar to the ginger, the leaves of which are used for grass skirts
039. *naman*: perhaps, maybe (Lou: *aman*); cf. *aman*
040. *nap*: to taste (something) (Lou: *nap*); cf. *yem*
041. *narap*: flood (Lou: *loka*, *noro*)
042. *naw*: tree sp. (Lou: *ta*)
043. *nay₁*: edible seaweed (Lou: *na*)
044. *nay₂*: tree with red wood (probably *Pterocarpus indica*) (Lou: *na*)
045. *neŋ*: climb (used when the actor is not near the thing to be climbed) (Lou: *neŋ*); cf. *tarak*
046. *nik*: fish (Lou: *nik*)
047. *nin*: fight (generic) (Lou: *tIn*)
048. *noye-*: blood; sap; *noye-n kul* breadfruit sap (Lou: *ture-*)

049. *nɔpnɔp*: jealous; to gossip, slander, quarrel over a man (of women), quarrel over a woman (of men) (Lou: *nopnop*)

050. *ŋanorullp*: seven (Lou: *ŋanisellp*)

051. *ŋanoruluŋal*: 70 (Lou: *ŋanisuluŋoul*)

052. *ŋanosaŋal*: 90 (Lou: *ŋanisaŋaul*)

053. *ŋanosip*: nine (Lou: *ŋanisip*)

054. *ŋanoyulp*: eight (Lou: *ŋaniruep*)

055. *ŋanoyuŋal*: 80 (Lou: *ŋaniruŋoul*)

056. *ŋapueŋ*: brown bird with white breast – stays on beach and eats fish; it is similar to the sea eagle, but smaller

057. *ŋauŋaua-n*: steam

058. *ŋunan*: five (Lou: *ŋuran*)

059. *ŋunlp*: six (Lou: *ŋiniop*)

060. *paki*: on the verge of, about to (do something); *i la ro wop* it's flying, *i wop* it just flew away, *i paki wop* it is about to fly

061. *palesam*: shark (Lou: *pelesam*)

062. *paŋ*: to feed (Lou: *aŋ*)

063. *paŋot*: 400

064. *pata-*: log, beam; *pata-n kel* canoe platform (Lou: *pata-*; *pata-n kIl*)

065. *paw*: canoe paddle (Lou: *paa*)

066. *pawuy*: 40 (Lou: *awI*)

067. *pein*: woman; female; *pein um* housewife (modern) (Lou: *pein*)

068. *pet*: wooden fork used to remove hot taro from a pot (Lou: *pes*)

069. *pilel*: to laugh (Lou: *pilel*)

070. *poloke-*: handle; *poloke-n kamundow* handle of an axe (Lou: *pwilI-*)

071. *poyep*: evening (Lou: *weep kelineŋ*)

072. *poyow*: garfish (Lou: *panap*)

073. *puay*: crocodile (Lou: *pua*)

074. *pun*: moon (Lou: *pul*)

075. *pwek*: flying fox (Lou: *pwIk*)

076. *salilon*: straight; cf. *mwanene-n*

077. *sam*: outrigger float (Lou: *sam*)

078. *saŋal*: ten (Lou: *saŋal*)

079. *say*: large variety of Malay apple: *Syzygium gomata* (Lou: *keik*)

080. *saysay*: horizontal board at the top of the sideboards of a canoe (used to keep punting poles and sails when the boat is not in use)

081. *sip*: one (Lou: *sip*)

082. *soay*: fish spear (Lou: *nap*)

083. *soksok*: flaming up (Lou: *sok*)

084. *soŋot*: 100 (Lou: *soŋɔt*)

085. *suk*: beach (Lou: *kone*)

086. *suy*: soup (Lou: *si*)

087. *talot*: four (Lou *tolɔt*)

088. *tarak*: climb (used when the actor is at the thing to be climbed) (Lou: *tarak*); cf. *neŋ*
089. *tolaw*: north wind (Lou: *ra*)
090. *tuliam*: black and white sea snake that lives on the reef
091. *tulIp*: three (Lou: *tellp*)
092. *tuluŋal*: 30 (Lou: *tuluŋoul*)
093. *tuluŋot*: 300 (Lou: *tuluŋɔt*)
094. *tum*: tidal wave (Lou: *ultum*)
095. *um*: house (Lou: *um(a)-*)
096. *walŋal*: 60 (Lou: *onoŋoul*)
097. *wop*: to fly (Lou: *op*)
098. *wow*: woman's traditional grass skirt (Lou: *wo*)
099. *yaum kaney*: mangrove crab (Lou: *alimaŋ*)
100. *yem₁*: lime spatula (Lou: *rem*)
101. *yem₂*: taste something on the tip of the tongue; cf. *nap*
102. *yepyep*: itchy (Lou: *rIprIp*)
103. *yet*: hit (Lou: *kup₁, op, rek, tara*)
104. *yey*: scrape out a coconut (Lou: *er*); cf. *muy*
105. *yeyey₁*: crawl (Lou: *tere*)
106. *yeyey₂*: shave (Lou: *irir*)
107. *yim*: dive (Lou: *nuek*)
108. *yulp*: two (Lou: *ruep*)
109. *yuŋal*: 20 (Lou: *ruŋoul*)
110. *yuŋot*: 200 (Lou: *ruŋot*)

APPENDIX 1: LOU REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC RECONSTRUCTIONS

No.	POC	LOU	ENGLISH
001.	*ka*	*a*	and
002.	*pati*	*a-*	four
003.	*kamu*	*a-*	2p.non-sg.
004.	*na apaRat*	*aa*[7]	west wind
005.	*na qalimaŋ*	*alimaŋ*	mangrove crab
006.	*mawap*	*al-ma*[8]	yawn
007.	*paŋan*	*aŋ*	feed
008.	*paŋan-i*	*aŋa*	care for a pet
009.	*paŋus-i*	*aŋus*	blow the nose
010.	*karawin*	*arawI-n*	blue/green
011.	*pasok*	*as*	to plant

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7   cf. Lenkau *ahay* 'north wind', Pak, Penchal, Nauna *ahay* 'west wind'.

8   cf. Lenkau *almaw*, Pak *almamaw*, Penchal, Nauna *mamaw* 'yawn'.

012.	*na kompa*	*asa-kom*[9]	hermit crab
013.	*na qasawa*	*asoa-*	spouse
014.	*e*	*e*	predication marker
015.	*-aki*	*-ek*	verbal suffix
016.	*na Rampia*	*epi*	sago
017.	*kari*	*er*	scrape out a coconut
018.	*ira*	*i-*	3p.non-sg.
019.	*ia*	*i-*	3p.sg.
020.	*(ma)-pia*	*ia-n*	good
021.	*keli*	*Il*	dig
022.	*qenop*	*In*	lie down
023.	*na kawa*	*ka*	kava
024.	*ka-*	*ka-*	edible possession
025.	*mataqu*	*kal-moru*[10]	right side
026.	*na kampe*	*kam*	useful vine fibre
027.	*na kanawe*	*kana*	seagull
028.	*na kananse*	*kanas*	a fish: mullet
029.	*na kani*	*kanI-*	meat, flesh
030.	*na katama*	*karam*	door, doorway
031.	*na katapa*	*karap*	frigate bird
032.	*na qate*	*karI-*	liver
033.	*na karamea*	*karmI-*	tongue
034.	*na qatop*	*kat*	sago leaf thatch
035.	*na kayu*	*ke-*	wood, tree
036.	*na kalia*	*keli*	a fish: grouper
037.	*na poŋi*	*keli-peŋ*	night
038.	*kaŋaRi*	*kene*	Canarium nut
039.	*na kantita*	*kerit*	putty nut
040.	*na kianso*	*kias*	outrigger booms
041.	*na kuRita*	*kit*	octopus
042.	*na tuRu*	*kIn-ru*[11]	housepost
043.	*na kawil*	*ko*[12]	fishhook
044.	*kokoko*	*kokok*	to crow (rooster)
045.	*na qone*	*kone*	sand
046.	*na koŋa*	*koŋ*	fish sp.

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9   cf. Penchal, Nauna *kai-kop*, Pak *kɔp* 'hermit crab'.

10   cf. Pak *kalmara*, Nauna *kalmatu*, Penchal *kamatu* 'right side'.

11   cf. Lenkau *tru*, Penchal *ru*, Nauna *tu*, Pak *kendu* 'housepost'.

12   cf. Lenkau *kow*, Penchal *kanin kəw*, Nauna *kanən kəw* 'fishhook'.

047.	*na kasu/na qasu*	*kosu-*	smoke
048.	*na kotoŋ*	*kot*	spotted fish
049.	*na qalu*	*kɔl*	barracuda
050.	*na kapuR/qapuR*	*kɔp*	lime
051.	*na kaput*	*kɔp-kɔp*	fog, mist
052.	*na kuluR*	*kul*	breadfruit
053.	*na quloj*	*kulI-*	maggot
054.	*na kompuRu*	*kum*	monsoon
055.	*ŋkumuR*	*kum*	suck
056.	*na qupan*	*kup-kup*	grey hair
057.	*na kuron*	*kur*	clay cooking pot
058.	*na kururu*	*kurur*	thunder
059.	*na kutu*	*kut*	louse
060.	*na lawa*	*la*	kind of fish net
061.	*lako*	*lak*	go
062.	*na lala*	*lal*	trochus shell
063.	*na la-latoŋ*	*lalat*	stinging nettle
064.	*na laŋo*	*laŋ-laŋ*	a fly, flying insect
065.	*na lanse*	*las*	limestone
066.	*na laqia*	*lei*	ginger
067.	*na isaŋ*	*l-isa-*	gills
068.	*na lisa*	*lisa-*	nit, louse egg
069.	*lueki*	*luek*[13]	spit out
070.	*lumu*	*lum*	soft, ripe
071.	*na lumut*	*lum-lum*	moss, algae, seaweed
072.	*na loto*	*lot*	boil, abscess
073.	*-mu*	*-m*	2sg. possessor
074.	*mamata*	*mamat*	awake, wake up
075.	*mate*	*mat*	die, dead
076.	*na mata*	*mara-*	eye, face
077.	*mai*	*me*	come
078.	*na manuk*	*menu-a*	hawk, eagle
079.		*mɔn-mɔn*	bird
080.	*ma-qati*	*met*	dry, of reef
081.	*ma-tiruR*	*metir*	sleep
082.	*mimiR-i*	*mimi*	urinate
083.	*na nima*	*mIna-*	hand
084.	*mipi*	*mIp-mIp*	dream

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13   cf. Mussau *lueki* 'vomit'. In Blust (1984) the Mussau form is assigned to *luaq 'eject from the mouth', but this interpretation required the recognition of several irregularities that can now be avoided. Alternatively, Lou *luek* could reflect *luaq-aki.

085.	*na masou*	*moso*	cinnamon
086.	*mu-mutaq*	*mumut*	vomit
087.	*na punti*	*mun*	banana
088.	*mapo*	*mwap*	heal
089.	*na mwansor*	*mwas*	bandicoot
090.	*masak*	*mwas*	cooked
091.	*na maRuqane*	*mween*	man; male
092.	*-ña*	*-n*	3sg. possessor
093.	*ni*	*-n*	genitive
094.	*na naRa*	*na*	tree with red wood
095.	*na nana*	*nana-*	kin term
096.	*ñapi*	*nap*	taste
097.	*na ikan*	*n-ik*	fish
098.	*na ñoro*	*noro*	flood
099.	*ñamuk*	*nɔmnɔm*	chew, swallow
100.	*na ñatu*	*nɔt*	tall timber tree
101.	*na natu*	*nɔtu-*	child
102.	*ñuñuR*	*nu*	bathe, submerge
103.	*na nunuk*	*nun*	banyan
104.	*-ŋku*	*-ŋ*	1sg. possessor
105.	*na ŋajan*	*ŋara-*	name
106.	*ŋau*[14]	*ŋa*	1sg. actor
107.	*na kanroRa*	*ŋora*	cuscus
108.	*ŋorok*	*ŋor*	grunt, growl, snore
109.	*na ŋusu*	*ŋusu-*	lip
110.	*i-ko*	*o*	2sg.
111.	*onom*	*ono-ŋoul*	six
112.	*Ropok*	*op*	to fly
113.	*konso*	*os*	husk coconuts
114.	*na layaR*	*pa-ll*	sail of a boat
115.	*mataq*	*pa-mat*	raw; uncooked
116.	*na panako*	*panak*	thief; steal
117.	*na panapa*	*panap*	garfish
118.	*papa*	*pap*	carry pick-a-back
119.	*na panran*	*par*	*Pandanus tectorius*
120.	*na pataŋ*	*para-*	stalk, stem, trunk
121.	*na paRi*	*pe*	stingray
122.	*na papine*	*pein*	woman; female

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[14]   Many of the languages of the Solomons and Vanuatu reflect **i-nau.* A variant with initial velar nasal is supported by reflexes in the Admiralties and by some other languages of western Melanesia, such as Manam (with *ŋau*).

123.	*na pitaquR*	*piro*	a tree: *Calophyllum* sp.
124.	*na paluj*	*pɔl*	pigeon, dove
125.	*na panua*	*ponu*	village, large area
126.	*na potuŋ*	*pot*	large, thick bamboo
127.	*na puqaya*	*pua*	crocodile
128.	*na puaq*	*pua-*	fruit
129.	*na pulan*	*pul*	moon
130.	*na puna*	*pun*	vine used for fish poison
131.	*na puqun*	*pu-n*	base, foundation
132.	*na poRok*	*puo*	pig
133.	*na poñu*	*puon*	turtle
134.	*na pupu*	*pup*	kind of fish trap
135.	*na pupu*	*pupu-*	grandfather
136.	*na mputo*	*puro-*	navel
137.	*na potok*	*puru-*	thorn
138.	*na pweka*[15]	*pwIk*	flying fox
139.	*na raqan*	*ra-*	branch
140.	*na raya*	*ra*[16]	northeast wind
141.	*rama*	*ram*	search; watch for
142.	*ramaR*	*ram-ram*	fish by torchlight
143.	*na nramataq*	*ramat*	person, human being
144.	*na nrami*	*rem*	lime spatula
145.	*na ruyuŋ*	*ri*	dugong, sea cow
146.	*na ranum*	*ronu-*	fresh water
147.	*roŋoR*	*roŋ*	hear
148.	*rua*	*rue-p*	two
149.	*na sawaq*	*sa*	channel, passage
150.	*sapa*	*sa*	what?
151.	*sake*	*sak*	rise, ascend
152.	*na salan*	*sal*	path, road
153.	*na saman*	*sam*	outrigger float
154.	*na saŋa*	*saŋa-*	bifurcation, forking
155.	*na saŋasaŋa*	*saŋe-saŋ*	starfish
156.	*sa-ŋapuluq*	*sa-ŋaul*	ten
157.	*na tasik*	*set*	sea, saltwater
158.	*nsio*[17]	*si*	down, descend

[15] Grace (1969) has **mpeŋka*, but this reconstruction fails to account for the medial labiovelar in western Fijian *bekwa*. The present reconstruction has a similar shortcoming, but is justified by the agreement of Proto-Micronesian **pweka* 'bat' with reflexes of a similar form in many of the languages of the Admiralties.

[16] cf. Penchal *ray* 'west wind'.

159.	*na suRuq*	*si*	juice, sap; soup
160.	*na sinaR*	*sin-sin*	sun
161.	*nsoka*	*sok*	stab
162.	*na saku*	*so-lat*[18]	needlefish; marlin
163.	*sa-ŋaRatus*	*so-ŋɔt*	one hundred
164.	*na saRum*	*sou-*	needle
165.	*na suRa*	*su*	comb
166.	*na suluq*	*sul*	coconut frond torch
167.	*suli-a*	*suli*	burn
168.	*supi*	*sup*	peel, pare
169.	*na susu*	*susu-*	female breast
170.	*na tawan*	*ta*	a tree: *Pometia pinnata*
171.	*kita*	*ta-*	we (include.)
172.	*na tama*	*tama-*	father
173.	*na taqi*	*te*	faeces
174.	*na tali*	*tel*	rope, string
175.	*na taliŋa*	*teliŋa-*	ear
176.	*na talise*	*telis*	a tree: *Terminalia catappa*
177.	*taŋis*	*teŋteŋ*	cry, weep
178.	*na taji*	*teri-*	younger sibling
179.	*na tian*	*tia-*	abdomen
180.	*tike*[19]	*tik-tik*	squat down
181.	*na tina*	*tina-*	mother
182.	*na toRas*	*to*	a tree: *Intsia bijuga*
183.	*toka*	*tok, tok-tok*	sit, settle down
184.	*tolu*	*tulu-ŋoul*	three
185.	*na toŋkon*	*tuŋ*	punting pole
186.	*na tumpu*	*tupu-*	ancestors
187.	*puk*	*uk*	to open, uncover
188.	*na Rumaq*	*um(a)*	house
189.	*qutup*	*ut*	draw water
190.	*na wai*	*we*	mango
191.	*pa-Rapi*	*weep*	afternoon
192.	*na waiR*	*we(i)*	fresh water
193.	*na uriap*	*wiri*	dolphin

[17]   Doublet of POC **sipo*, based on Gitua *sio/zio* and the present form.

[18]   cf. Lenkau, Penchal, Nauna *colay*, Pak *tolay* 'marlin, sailfish'.

[19]   cf. Lakalai *tike* 'walk on tiptoes; have the heels or, in sitting, buttocks off the ground', Tongan *sike* 'squat, sit on the heels', Rennellese *tike-tike* 'squat, as on the heels'. Biggs (1965) posited Proto-Eastern Oceanic **tiko* 'defecate, squat down', but appears to have conflated distinct cognate sets.

194. *-Vna* *-n* attributive suffix

Baluan reflexes of etyma not cited above

001. *lima* *lim-lim* five
002. *tokalaur* *tolaw* north wind

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A SALVAGE SKETCH OF NĀTI (SOUTHWEST MALAKULA, VANUATU)

TERRY CROWLEY

1. BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT STUDY[1]

The data on which this sketch is based was gathered during a stay at Wintua village in southwestern Malakula in 1988, and during a subsequent visit to Vila by one of the last speakers of the language, Aiar Rantes,[2] in 1990. Nāti is, by all criteria, a threatened language, and will most probably not outlast the present generation, which makes the publication of this sketch all the more pressing.

Although this description by no means represents an in-depth study, I have decided to publish it, largely at the encouragement of Aiar Rantes, who wishes to see Nāti recorded for posterity. There is reasonable coverage on simple sentence structure, including possessive constructions, the behaviour of reflexes of the nominal article *na, and verb morphology, which brings significant new information on the little known languages of Malakula to interested linguists. There is, however, very little information available in the area of complex sentence formation in Nāti.

In a country such as Vanuatu where multilingualism is common, the old men of south Malakula are still quite remarkable in that they commonly speak up to half a dozen distinct

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[1] Abbreviations used:

1	first person	int	interrogative
2	second person	loc	locative
3	third person	mod	modifier
adj	adjectival derivative	n	noun
adv	adverbial	neg	negative
abl	ablative	nom	nominaliser
all	allative	num	numeral
caus	causal	obj	object
com	comitative	obl	oblique
comp	completive	p	pronoun
cont	continuous	pl	plural
du	dual	poss	possessive
excl	exclusive	poss.n	pronominally suffixed noun
fut	future	p/p	past/present
inch	inchoative	tl	trial
incl	inclusive	sg	singular
inst	instrumental	vi	intransitive verb
		vt	transitive verb

[2] The name which is normally spelt "Rantes" is actually pronounced [rantœs]. This breaks a Nāti phonological generalisation in having a voiceless stop after a nasal. Names are commodities in Vanuatu that regularly cross language boundaries, so the fact that this name does not follow a Nāti pattern should not be regarded as significant.

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vernaculars, and these days generally also Bislama, which they use for contact with people from more distant areas. However, this tradition of multilingualism in south Malakula is diminishing somewhat as more and more people come to rely exclusively on Bislama for their out-group contacts.

Aiar Rantes is a man in his early forties, and he is somewhat exceptional for his age group in that he maintains the older tradition of active multilingualism, fluently speaking the Malakula vernaculars Nāti, Naha'ai, Ninde, Nahava, and the national language Bislama. He also claims a lesser knowledge of the language of Lambumbu, which is spoken further north on Malakula, and English.[3] He uses all of these languages on a fairly regular basis, except for English and the language of Lambumbu, which he uses much less frequently.[4] Of his various "daily" languages, the one that he claims to be his "own" is Nāti, and it is Nāti that is the subject of this description.

Charpentier has conducted an extensive linguistic survey of this whole area over a total of seven years, beginning during the 1970s, most of which was spent in residence on Malakula. A detailed description of which languages are spoken where (and where they used to be spoken prior to European contact), along with a comparative lexicon of these languages were published in Charpentier's (1982a, 1982b) mammoth linguistic atlas of south Malakula. Apart from a description of the language of Port Sandwich (Charpentier 1979), however, the preparation of detailed grammatical descriptions of these languages had to be deferred for health reasons.

While we look forward to the eventual appearance of Charpentier's completed work, the present sketch is offered to fill in a gap in the published linguistic record of a disappearing speech community. This work has benefitted from extensive comments to a preliminary version offered by Charpentier.[5]

2. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

Aiar Rantes referred to the ancestral home area of [wilemp] in the bush about an hours' walk inland from the village of Wintua (where the Southwest Bay airstrip is now located) as where the original community of Nāti speakers lived. Map 1 indicates the location of this and other speech communities at around the time of European contact.

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[3] Aiar Rantes also describes himself as a speaker of Nāva, though Nāva and Nahava actually constitute dialects of a single language (Charpentier, personal communication). Finally, he has some knowledge of the language of the people of the interior, which the coastal people refer to phonetically as [mbwakat], while Charpentier (personal communication) reports that the interior people themselves refer to it as [mbotkóte] in the case of females, and [mbwatkɔt] in the case of males.

[4] All of the information included in this sketch was gained from Aiar Rantes through the medium of Bislama.

[5] Any inadequacies in this sketch should, of course, be attributed only to the present author, however.
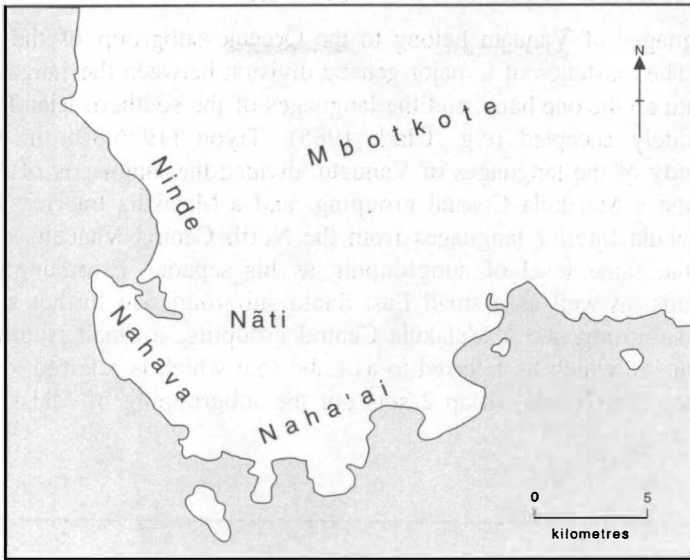
MAP 1: PRE-CONTACT LOCATIONS OF SPEECH COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHWEST MALAKULA

An influenza epidemic swept through the area in the early twentieth century causing massive depopulation (Deacon 1970:5). In Wilemp, the Nāti-speaking area, there were very few survivors of this epidemic. By the first quarter of the twentieth century, all that were left of the original Nāti speakers in their ancestral area were three old men and their immediate families, including Aman Rantes, who was the father of Aiar Rantes. Of the other two old Nāti speakers, one named Masing Tari died in the bush in his ancestral area, and his son now speaks the Ninde language. The third of these old men, Mindimbös, died at Lawa, and his sons now live at Lembinwen and speak the Nahava language.

The sons of Masing Tari and Mindimbös do not speak Nāti, and use instead the languages of their respective adoptive coastal villages. The four sons of Aman Rantes, however, still maintain an active speaking ability in Nāti. Of these brothers, three currently live at Wintua and one lives at Lembinwen. The four brothers use Nāti amongst themselves, but only Aiar has attempted to pass it on to his own children. Of the other brothers, one is married to a woman from the island of Paama (and the family speaks Bislama), one uses Ninde as his language of the home, and the third married a woman from Sinesip and they use Nahava in the home.

Aiar himself also married a woman from Sinesip, but by exposure, she has been able to learn Nāti, and this is now what they speak at home. Aiar and his wife Elity have five pre-teenage children who can also understand Nāti and they also speak it in the home, though in the village they speak the language of the rest of the children of Wintua, i.e. Ninde.

Unless Aiar Rantes' children grow up with the same commitment to maintaining Nāti, and are as successful as their father in passing it on to their spouses when they grow up, and between them, also to Aiar and Elity's grandchildren, Nāti clearly has a bleak future a distinct linguistic tradition. Aiar Rantes recognises this fact, which accounts for the enthusiasm with which he set about having it recorded on paper.

3. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

All of the languages of Vanuatu belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. The existence of a major genetic division between the languages northern and central Vanuatu on the one hand, and the languages of the southern islands on the other hand is fairly widely accepted (e.g. Clark 1985). Tryon (1976:80), in his extensive lexicostatistical study of the languages of Vanuatu, divided the languages of Malakula into two main divisions: a Malakula Coastal grouping, and a Malakula Interior grouping. He excluded his Malakula Interior languages from the North Central Vanuatu subgroup, and placed them on the same level of subgrouping as his separate Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum subgroups, as well as a small East Santo subgroup. He further subdivided the Malakula Interior subgroup into a Malakula Central grouping, a Small Nambas grouping, and the single language which he referred to as Labo (but which is referred to in this study following local usage as Ninde). Map 2 sets out the subgrouping of Malakula languages suggested by Tryon.
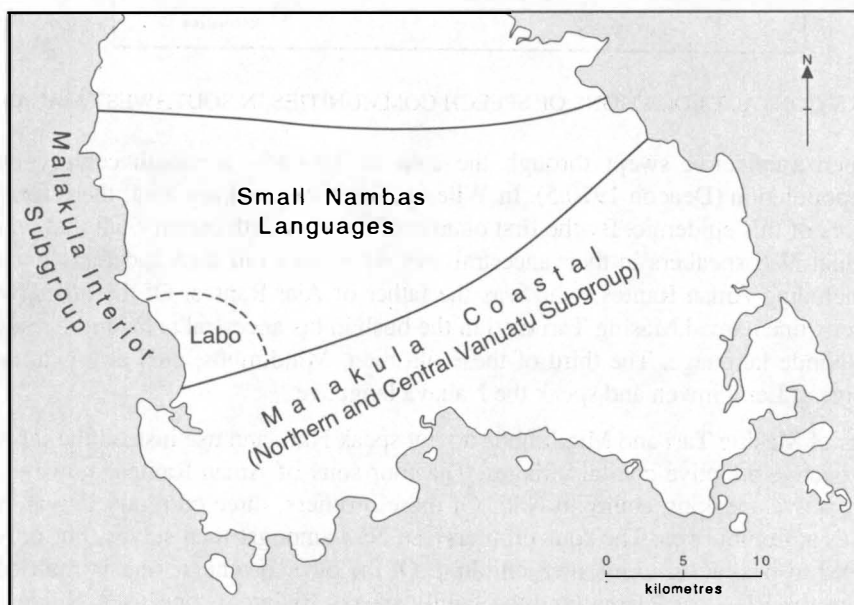
MAP 2: LANGUAGE GROUPINGS ON MALAKULA ACCORDING TO TRYON (1976:80)[6]

According to Charpentier (personal communication), Nāti belongs to a small Southwest Malakula grouping of languages that also includes Nahava and Nāva (as dialects of one language), Nahaʻai and Nahaxai (as dialects of another language) and Navwien. Deacon (1970:5) also refers to Nahate, which Charpentier (personal communication) regards as a

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6   The use of the label 'Small Nambas' for the inland people of south Malakula has unfortunately become widespread in the ethnographic literature. The people of the northwestern part of Malakula differed from people in the rest of the island in that their men wore substantial frontal coverings attached to a belt, causing the people to be referred to as 'Big Nambas'. Men from the rest of Malakula, as well as from most other parts of Vanuatu below the southern part of Pentecost, traditionally wore only a small penis covering made of wrapped leaf. An ethnographically more correct name for this grouping would perhaps be the Inland South Malakula grouping.

dialect of the same language as Nāti. Nahate has also nearly disappeared, with its original speakers having moved to Toman on the coast early in the twentieth century. Charpentier (personal communication) suggests that the language most closely related to this Southwest Bay subgroup is Ninde (despite the lexicostatistical figures which suggest that it belongs in a much higher level subgrouping on its own).

Tryon's discussion does not refer to the Nāti language, as much of his information was collected largely from questionnaires and without comprehensive direct reference to the field situation. He himself acknowledged that there remained many gaps with regard to the distribution of dialects of some of the languages in south Malakula (Tryon 1976:87-88, 92). Charpentier's (1982a) linguistic atlas of south Malakula presents the results of a much more detailed field survey than Tryon (1976), and adds considerably to the information that Tryon was able to present. In the same geographical area for which Tryon records only thirteen languages, Charpentier indicates twenty-four linguistic entities. Nāti is one of those entities that we can now add to our maps.

An examination of the cognate percentages between the speech communities of southwest Malakula over a basic word list is set out in Table 1 as a rough indication of possible degrees of linguistic relationship between the languages of the area. The figures for Ninde, Nahava, Naha'ai and Mbotkot$_e$ are taken from Tryon (1976), while the Nāti figures derive from the present work.

TABLE 1: LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWEST MALAKULA

Ninde				
46.9	Nahava			
42.4	70.8	Naha'ai		
32.9	44.8	46.2	Mbotkot$_e$	
34.0	81.8	63.7	33.9	Nāti

As Nāti and Nahava are indicated as sharing over 80% cognates, we should probably treat these as dialects of the same language, and thus assign Nāti to Tryon's Malakula Coastal grouping. Charpentier (personal communication) also points to considerable structural similarity between Nāti and Nahava, and he reports that the similarities are great enough for there to be a fairly high degree of mutual intelligibility between the two.

Aiar Rantes reports that Nahava speakers living in the Southwest Bay area do not understand his family when they speak together in Nāti. With 81.8% shared cognates, Nāti and Nahava approach the traditionally accepted cut-off point between "language" and "dialect". It is well known that non-linguistic considerations can also come into play in determining what is a "language" or a "dialect" from the point of view of its speakers, and perhaps similar factors are responsible for the apparent contradiction here between the evidence of a linguist and that of a native speaker.[7]

This brings into question the general issue of how much emphasis we should be prepared to place on lexicostatistical percentages as a means of determining linguistic relationships.

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[7]   Charpentier (personal communication) suggests that another consideration may be that members of small speech communities in south Malakula tend to choose more aberrant alternatives when choices are available as a way of stressing their linguistic distinctness.

One significant problem is that different figures for shared cognates between two languages can be arrived at by different linguists operating even with identical data. The problem is that different people presumably operate with slightly different criteria as to what should or should not be counted as "cognate". Clark (1986:34) reports one instance of an unexplained discrepancy of about ten percent between his own and Peter Ranby's counts of cognates in Mele-Ifira and Emae in Central Vanuatu. McKerras (1988) reports that Tryon's (1976:141) counts of cognates among Uripiv dialects on northeast Malakula vary from his own figures by about 20%. With respect to the data in hand from southwest Malakula, my own comparison of Tryon's lists for Ninde and Nahava suggested a cognate figure of 59.3%, as against Tryon's somewhat lower calculation of 46.9%. I certainly do not want to argue that my own figure is more accurate, though these kinds of discrepancies do suggest that we need to be careful about how much weight we accord to cognate percentages in determining linguistic relationships.

In response to a question placed to him about the extent to which he is able to clearly distinguish between so many languages which he speaks every day, Aiar Rantes stated that he felt very conscious of the need to keep his Nāti "pure" when he speaks it, and that he was not in a habit of "mixing" forms from other linguistic traditions with his Nāti. Given the way that multilingual people very frequently do subconsciously engage in mixing in multilingual contexts, it would be surprising if Aiar's data were as pure as he maintained it was, though admittedly the nature of the recording context would have provided good motivation for keeping the data relatively "uncontaminated".

As work on the data proceeded, a number of examples of variation occurred which could well turn out to be evidence of mixing. For example, at different points in the recording sessions, Aiar produced both *-huhu-* and *-süsü-* as roots for 'breast'. Charpentier indicates that (1982b:1.1.2.3), *-huhu-* is the root in Nahava, while *-süsü-* is the root in Naha'ai. Both of these are speech communities located adjacent to Nāti, and Aiar also speaks both in addition to Nāti. Thus, probably only one of these two roots represents original Nāti usage, and there is no way of knowing which it should be. There is also considerable variability in certain aspects of the morphological data which is suggestive of possible mixing of systems. It would therefore appear that despite Aiar's best efforts, there is probably some degree of mixed data to be found in this sketch. Wherever possible, I have tried to point out which may represent problem areas.

4. PHONOLOGY

4.1 CONSONANTS

The consonant inventory of Nāti is set out in Table 2.

TABLE 2: CONSONANT INVENTORY

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	*p*	*t*		*k*	ʔ
Nasal	*m*	*n*		*ŋ*	
Fricative	*ß*	*s*		*h*	
Lateral	*l*				
Rhotic	*r*				
Semi-vowel	*(w)*		*y*	*(w)*	

Stops are voiceless except when there is a preceding nasal, either homorganic or non-homorganic, in word initial or medial position (but not in a word final cluster). Stops in word initial and word medial clusters following a nasal take on a corresponding voiced realisation. Thus, compare the voiceless and voiced realisations of the alveolar stop /t/ in the examples below (which are parallelled in examples containing stops at both bilabial and velar points of articulation):

/teuʔas/	[teuʔas]	mosquito
/matan/	[matan]	eye-3sg
/lytlyt/	[lytlyt]	yellow
/amultyl/	[amultyl]	2tl
/ŋkartytys/	[ŋgartytys]	1du:excl-write
/nemylunt/	[nemylunt]	small biting ant
/noʔontr/	[noʔontr]	basket
/ntelŋan/	[ndelŋan]	ear-3sg
/nintrei/	[nindrei]	blood
/mantlœn/	[mandlœn]	egg-3sg
/lintumtum/	[lindumdum]	whale

In addition to the distribution of voiced and voiceless allophones just described, the bilabial stop is also optionally pronounced with a voiced bilabial trill release (represented as [bʳ]) word medially when there is a preceding /m/ and a following /w/ or /u/ (i.e. between sounds involving the lips as active articulators). Thus:

/malampuŋ/	[malambuŋ ~ malambʳuŋ]	tongue
/nempwyn/	[nembwyn ~ nembʳwyn]	buttocks-3sg
/impwœsi/	[imbwœsi ~ imbʳwœsi]	3sg:p/p-throw at

The bilabial fricative /β/ always has a fully voiced realisation, and is always bilabial rather than labiovelar. The grooved alveolar fricative /s/ is always voiceless. The phoneme represented by the symbol /r/ varies between an alveolar flap and a trill. In word final position in sequences of /-ntr/, it has a voiceless trill realisation.

The distinctiveness of various phonetically similar sets of consonants is suggested by the following pairs:[8]

/p/ ~ /β/	/pis/	fart silently	/βiʔis/	tell lies
	/roporop/	run	/moβor/	split
/l/ ~ /r/	/neŋkil/	wax	/neŋkir/	semen
	/βaran/	hand-3sg	/halan/	brother-3sg
/t/ ~ /s/	/matan/	eye-3sg	/ʔasan/	green
	/tatai/	father	/sasa/	not exist
/n/ ~ /ŋ/	/βenen/	sister-3sg	/neŋei/	native almond
/w/ ~ /β/	/wup/	blow	/βurei/	spit
/k/ ~ /ʔ/	/kan/	sharp	/ʔan/	eat
	/makan/	sharp	/naʔai/	tree

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8   Relatively few good minimal pairs for consonant and vowel distinctions have shown up in the corpus, though this is probably related to the restricted scope of the corpus.

/h/ ~ /ʔ/	/leh/	good	/leʔ/	married
	/mahal/	fish	/naʔai/	tree
/h/ ~ /ɔ/	/mwahteh/	all	/matan/	eye-3sg
	/halan/	brother-3sg	/aleʔ/	in-law
/ʔ/ ~ /ɔ/	/noʔut/	lice	/mpou/	large

4.2 VOWELS

In terms of tongue height, lip rounding and openness, Nāti makes a seven-way vowel opposition, involving the contrasts set out in Table 3.

TABLE 3: NĀTI VOWEL INVENTORY

	Front Unrounded	Front Rounded	Central	Back Rounded
High	*i*	*y*		*u*
Mid	*e*	*œ*		*o*
Low			*a*	

None of these vowels undergoes any major allophonic variation, all having more or less their general IPA values. The symbols [y] and [œ] are used to represent high and mid front rounded vowels respectively.

In addition to this basic set of vowel contrasts, Nāti maintains a contrast between long and short vowels in the case of front unrounded and back rounded vowels. Thus, while the long vowels /i:/, /e:/, /o:/, /u:/ and /a:/ are attested, the corpus only contains the short front rounded vowels /y/ and /œ/.

The existence of these vocalic contrasts is suggested by the following pairs:

/i/ ~ /e/	/nimpuŋ/	mackerel	/nempuŋ/	day
/i/ ~ /y/	/nimpou/	1sg:p/p-large	/nympou/	knee
	/nempulin/	hole-3sg	/nempulyn/	foot-3sg
/u/ ~ /y/	/numpou/	sea eel	/nympou/	knee
/u/ ~ /o/	/noʔulin/	seed-3sg	/noʔolsin/	skin-3sg
/e/ ~ /œ/	/neʔumou/	teak	/nœʔulip/	palm
	/nemapʔai/	appendix	/nœmap/	cloud
	/mpwelei/	sow	/mpwœsi/	throw at
	/neŋei/	native almond	/nœŋap/	arrow type
/o/ ~ /œ/	/malaβoh/	boil	/nœmanβœh/	green coconut
/e/ ~ /a/	/temptemp/	defecate	/tamp/	fat
/o/ ~ /a/	/koh/	exist	/kah/	fart
/V/ ~ /V:/	/mah/	cooked	/ma:ʔ/	sick
	/ntaβu/	blowfly	/ta:βu/	triton
	/neŋkir/	semen	/ne:ŋkit/	banana
	/nempuŋ/	day	/ne:mpu/	bamboo

4.3 PHONOTACTICS

There are several interesting areas of phonotactic analysis that suggest themselves arising from of the study of the phonological system of Nāti. The major question involves the status of the homorganic nasal + stop sequences /mp/, /nt/ and /ŋk/.

In many Vanuatu languages, homorganic clusters of this kind can best be analysed as unit phonemes, usually represented as /b/, /d/ and /g/ respectively, in contrast to the voiceless and unprenasalised series /p/, /t/ and /k/. This seems to have been the approach in Charpentier (1979:21-40) with regard to the language of Port Sandwich, which is the only other language of south Malakula for which an extensive modern grammar has so far been published. Despite his reference to voiced prenasalised "phonemes" such as these, Charpentier still represents these by digraphs, even when presenting forms in phonemic slashes. Furthermore, he presents no evidence of any kind as to why he prefers this analysis over one in which the nasal and the stop are treated as belonging to separate phonemes.

The most common argument in favour of the unit phoneme analysis in the case of such phonetic sequences is the resulting simplification in the statement of the phonotactics of the language. This, for example, was the approach taken by Crowley (1982:15) with regard to the description of Paamese phonology. With the addition of three consonant phonemes, which share the same distributional features of all other consonants, it was possible in Paamese to completely eliminate intramorphemic consonant clusters from the phonological description of the language.

The situation with regard to Nāti does not seem to allow such a clear-cut reanalysis of these kinds of phonetically complex sequences as there remain a number of other consonant clusters in all positions of the word, even if we reanalyse nasal + stop clusters as unit phonemes. In initial position, we find sequences of /pw-/, /mw-/, /vw-/, /mpw-/ and /ntr-/ in addition to the simple nasal + stop sequences,[9] while in final position we find the nasal + stop sequences, as well as the triple consonant sequence /-ntr/. If we were to attempt to simplify the word-initial and word-final phonotactic generalisations, it would therefore have to be at the cost of a total of eight new phonemes.

This kind of analysis would still not significantly simplify the overall statement of the consonant cluster possibilities of Nāti as there is quite a range of other clusters attested in word-medial position. Excluding reduplicated and known compound forms, which often produce consonant clusters over morpheme boundaries, the corpus includes the additional two-member intramorphemic clusters set out in Table 4.

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9   Phonetically, these sequences involving /w/ are sequences of bilabial consonants followed by semi-vowels, rather than the coarticulated labiovelar consonants found in many Vanuatu languages.

TABLE 4: ATTESTED INTRAVOCALIC TWO-MEMBER CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN NĀTI

	p	*t*	*k*	*ʔ*	*m*	*n*	*ŋ*	*ß*	*s*	*h*	*l*	*r*	*w*
l		+		+		+	+	+				+	
r	+	+	+								+		+
s	+							+				+	
n			+	+		+	+	+			+	+	+
ŋ											+	+	
t											+	+	
h		+			+								
p		+		+							+	+	+

In addition to these two-member clusters, the corpus also includes a number of intravocalic clusters involving three consonants: /-ntr-, -ntl-, -lnt-, -mpw-, -ʔnt-/.

The fact that from an examination of the information presented in Table 4, few general statements about the intravocalic phonotactics of Nāti become obvious suggests either that the corpus is still too restricted in scope for the full pattern to have become apparent, or that some of the words upon which the information in Table 4 was extracted are in fact bimorphemic, and that grammatical analysis has not yet proceeded to the point where this can be recognised. If the recording of further lexical evidence reveals additional consonant clusters, this would be stronger evidence in favour of treating the initial and final phonetic nasal + stop sequences as consonant clusters rather than as unit phonemes.

Even if further grammatical analysis of Nāti were to eliminate some of the consonant clusters set out in Table 4, there would need to be a very significant reduction in the total inventory of possible intravocalic consonant clusters before we could justify adding eight additional units to the phoneme inventory if the sole motivation was that by doing so we would simplify the statement of the phonotactics. Thus, I prefer to analyse nasal + stop sequences in Nāti as representing clusters of two separate phonemes.

4.4 STRESS

The penultimate syllable is stressed. Stress moves to the right with the addition of suffixes to a root.

4.5 VARIATION

Although Aiar Rantes stated a conscious intention to keep data from other languages that he speaks out of his Nāti data, there was some phonemic variability in the corpus that which suggests that some intrusive material did find its way into the raw material upon which this sketch was based. The most noticeable variability involved unpredictable variations in the realisations of initial syllables of the shape *nV-* in nouns (5.2.1). However, a number of lexical roots were recorded on different occasions with variation between certain vowels, most notably /œ/ and /e/, /y/ and /i/, and /œ/ and /y/, e.g. /nœrœʔei ~ nereʔei/ 'leaf', /nœŋar ~ nyŋar/ 'snot', /mpulyn ~ mpulin/ 'foot-3sg'. Where my transcriptions were inconsistent, I checked again with Aiar Rantes in an attempt to present the form which he finally agreed to be genuinely Nāti. Occasionally, however, some such variation could not be resolved, and both variants are included in this sketch, e.g. /malum ~ melim/ 'soft'.

4.6 ORTHOGRAPHY

With a speech community that has so little chance of long term survival as a linguistically recognisable group, there is not much need to be too concerned about gaining public acceptance of a practical orthography.[10] However, largely for typographical reasons, I propose from this point on to represent a number of phonemes using non-IPA symbols. The particular conventions to be followed are set out in Table 5. Phonemes not included in Table 5 can be assumed to be represented orthographically by means of the same symbol used in the phonemic transcription.

TABLE 5: ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF CERTAIN NĀTI PHONEMES

Phonemic representation	Orthography	Phonemic representation	Orthography
?	'	i:	*ï*
ŋ	*ng*	e:	*ë*
β	*v*	a:	*ä*
y	*ü*	o:	*ö*
œ	*ö*	u:	*ü*

5. GRAMMAR

5.1 WORD CLASSES

The following major word classes, along with their main defining features, can be justified from the data:

nouns: can appear as verbal subjects or objects and can appear as possessed items in possessive constructions

pronouns: can appear as verbal subjects or objects but do not take the full range of modifiers that can be found with nouns

verbs: carry prefixes for a variety of pronominal categories, negativity and a range of tense categories

adverbs: uninflected words that have a fairly free range of positions in which they can occur and which typically refer to time or place

postnominal modifiers: uninflected words that occur after nouns and which restrict the reference of nouns in some way by ascribing to that noun a quality or specification of quantity

Some of these word classes can be further subcategorised according to specific aspects of their behaviour in the grammar of Nāti. These subcategorisations will be dealt with in the particular sections of the grammar below which deal with each word class.

Word class membership is fairly strictly maintained in Nāti, and changes in word class generally have to be signalled derivationally, as in most of the languages of southern Malakula. Thus, for example, verbs can become nouns by the addition of the discontinuous affix *nV-/-ian* and they can become postnominal modifiers by the addition of *ti-*. However,

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10   Even so, an earlier draft of this sketch was given to Aiar Rantes for comment and the only orthographic objection he raised was that he preferred his name, phonemically /ayar/, to be spelt "Aiar".

the corpus does include some examples of nouns that can be used as stative verbs in copula constructions, as described in 5.4.3 below.

5.2 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

5.2.1 INITIAL *nV-*

One of the most puzzling aspects of the grammar of Nāti is the behaviour of nouns with respect to the presence or absence of an initial syllable that has the canonical shape of *nV-*. Of all the nouns in the corpus, approximately 77% contain an initial syllable in their citation form that begins with the segment *n-* which can be followed by any of the seven short vowels. This initial syllable is historically not part of the root, and represents a reanalysis of an earlier Proto Oceanic common noun phrase marker *na* (Crowley 1985). The examples in Table 6 illustrate this kind of accretion in Nāti from roots reconstructed for Proto North Central Vanuatu (NCV).

TABLE 6: ACCRETION OF *na* IN NĀTI

Proto NCV[11]	Nāti	
kayu	na'ai	tree
ʔagai	nengei	native almond
talis	nitelis	sea almond
mwoli	nomul	orange
mariu	nömaru	acacia

The fact that original *na* did not undergo accretion with all nouns is illustrated by the existence of nouns in Nāti such as *mpatap* 'breadfruit', which is derived from Proto-NCV *batavu*. Crowley (1985:176) argues that messy diachronic facts such as these probably reflect a distribution of the common noun phrase marker *na* that was fairly messy as far back as Proto Oceanic itself.

The phonological shape of the accreted syllable in Nāti is largely unpredictable. Although *ni-* and *ne-* are the most frequently encountered modern reflexes of *na*, the remaining reflexes, i.e. *na-*, *no-*, *nu-*, *nü-* and *nö-*, while rather less common, still occur repeatedly and unpredictably. No semantic explanation for the choice of each of these reflexes can be recognised, nor do phonological criteria allow us to predict what the reflex of *na* will be as each of its reflexes appears on roots with a wide variety of initial syllable types. Words with identical initial syllables have so far inexplicably come to select different reflexes of *na*. Thus, for instance, *manu* 'bird' has ended up in modern Nāti as *nimen*, while *mariu* 'acacia' is reflected as *nömaru* (while another noun of similar original shape, *maliqo* 'cloud' is reflected without any accretive syllable in Nāti, as *melingk* 'sky'). Note also that the word *nömwönei* 'grass' is inherited from Proto NCV with initial accretive *nö-*, while the recently borrowed word *nimwönei* 'money' has been incorporated onto an identical root with the preceding syllable *ni-*.

If the reflexes of earlier *na* had become inextricably bound to the noun root and had become completely inseparable from it (as is largely the case in some other Vanuatu

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11 The Proto North Central Vanuatu forms here are taken from Ross Clark (n.d.). Note that in Clark's lists, *b* and *d* are reconstructed as prenasalised unit phonemes. He uses the symbol *q* to represent a reconstructed prenasalised velar stop, while *g* represents a velar nasal.

languages, as reported in Crowley 1985), there would be no point discussing this matter at length in a synchronic description of the language as this could remain a fascinating problem solely for the historical linguist. However, *nV-* does have synchronic status in the language. For one thing, in addition to occurring on items inherited from Proto NCV, recent loans from Bislama also typically occur with some form of this syllable, as illustrated in Table 7.

TABLE 7: BISLAMA LOANS IN NĀTI WITH *nV-*

Bislama	Nāti	
plet	*nempilet*	plate
buluk	*nömpuluk*	cow
mostik	*nimostik*	mosquito net
raes	*nirais*	rice
pen	*nipen*	pen
dokta	*nitokta*	doctor

Once again, while *ni-* and *ne-* represent the most commonly chosen shapes for this syllable, this list also includes forms that have inexplicably chosen *nö-*.

Another problem is that the corpus includes a small number of nouns which were recorded on different occasions with different variants of the syllable *nV-*. The most frequent variation is between *ni-* and *nö-*, but there are also occasional instances of variation between *ni-* and *na-*, as well as *ne-* and *no-* respectively. Variable forms of this type include the following:

nemul	*nomul*	orange
nimahalpang	*nömahalpang*	freshwater shrimp
nimpal	*nömpal*	hawk
nalap	*nilap*	polyscias tree
no'umou	*ne'umou*	island teak
nimpa'ur	*nömpa'ur*	tamanu tree
nimpuas	*nömpuas*	pig

There is another small number of nouns that were cited on different occasions both with and without any reflex of this initial syllable as some form of reanalysed common noun marker. Nouns attested as behaving in this way include the following:

me'emp	*nöme'emp*	gecko
mankerei	*nimankerei*	flying fox
mpwa'ai	*nimpwa'ai*	yam
telis	*nitelis*	sea almond

It is difficlt to be certain how to handle this kind of variation in the Nāti data. It could be that the variability reflects a system that is currently in transition, that the Nāti system was only imperfectly learned by Aiar Rantes in the first place, or that there has simply been mixture from data in closely related languages that Aiar Rantes also speaks.

Ignoring these kinds of difficulties, there is also considerable regularity in the behaviour of nouns that retain reflexes of **na* in their initial syllables. The syllable *nV-* occurs obligatorily on nouns in their citation forms, and when nouns appear in most grammatical contexts, such as when they are used as subjects, objects and in oblique slots in sentences, e.g.

> *Ne-murut 'a-nti'   ni-mpuas.*
> NA-man   3sg:fut-tie   NA-pig
> The man will tie the pig.

> *Ne-mpunong   al-mpuntal   ra-n   na-'amp.*
> NA-child   3pl:p/p-play   inst-3sg   NA-fire
> The children were playing with fire.

In certain restricted grammatical contexts, however, the syllable *nV-* is regularly separable, leaving the noun occurring in its bare root form. The following circumstances are the only ones in which nouns normally occur in their historically original root forms:

(i) When the noun follows one of the preposed possessive pronouns *nangku/nungko* 'my' or *numo* 'your'. This construction is described in more detailed in 5.2.3 below. Thus, compare:

> *nekilu   t-ampwat*
> dog   poss-European
> the European's dog

> *na-ngku   kilu*
> poss-1sg   dog
> my dog

(ii) When the noun is used as a non-initial part of a compound noun construction. Thus:

> *niteu*   chicken   *nemurut* man   *niteu murut*   rooster

(iii) Variably with the first element of a compound involving bound nouns in which the second noun also has *nV-* in its citation form. Thus:

> *nempusü'* nail   *nivaran*   hand   *(ne)mpusü' varan* fingernail

But note:

> *nesivule-* hair   *mata-*   eye   *nesivulen mata-*   eyelash
> *sivulen mata-*

(iv) When the noun is used as a stative verb in copula constructions and it carries verbal prefixes, as described in 5.4.3. Thus, from *nitokta* 'doctor', we can derive:

> *i-sa-tokta-ve*
> 3sg:p/p-neg-doctor-neg
> he/she is not a doctor

(v) When the noun is used as the basis for the formation of an inchoative verb by means of the inchoative prefix *p-* (5.3.1). Thus, from *nemurut* 'man', we can derive the following:

> *i-p-murut*
> 3sg:p/p-inch-man
> he became a man

Given the distribution of reflexes of **na* in modern Nāti, it seems almost impossible to make any generalisations about its grammatical function.[12] Since *nV-* clearly has some kind

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12   In fact, from the evidence so far presented, one would probably be justified in telling a researcher that he or she should go back to the field to get this aspect of the grammar properly sorted out before doing a final write-up. However, the fact that Charpentier (1979:67-72) finds similarly messy facts in the language of Port Sandwich, another south Malakula language, suggests that this is a fairly widespread

of synchronic status in Nāti, but because we are unable to say clearly how it might characterised, separable *nV-* will simply be glossed in examples in the following sections as "NA".

5.2.2 PRONOUNS

In common with a great many Vanuatu languages, Nāti makes a four-way number distinction in its pronouns, and in first person non-singular categories, there is also an inclusive-exclusive distinction expressed. The forms of the pronouns in Nāti are set out in Table 8.

TABLE 8: NĀTI PRONOUNS

	Singular		Dual	Trial	Plural
1	*kinangk*	incl.	*ntaru*	*ntaltül*	*ntolül*
		excl.	*ngkaru*	*ngkaltül*	*ngkalül*
2	*inungk*		*amuru*	*amultül*	*amulül*
3	*'ei*		*raru*	*altül*	*rolül*

These pronominal forms can occur as verbal subjects or objects, as well as in most other positions in a clause in which an ordinary noun can occur. Thus:

'Ei   i-sump-te.
3sg   3sg:p/p-sit-only
He is just sitting down.

Ne-mpunong   i-vurvur   kinangk.
NA-child   3sg:p/p-hold 1sg
The child is holding me.

Amuru mar-'a'an.
2du   2du:p/p-eat
The two of you are eating.

In the case of third person singular pronominal objects, however, the form *'ei* does not appear. The data suggests that the object slot marked by Ø or by a special objective form of the third person singular pronoun, with the shape *amatang*. Thus:

I-simp   Ø   ra-n   na'aimes.
3sg:p/p-stab   3sg   inst-3sg   knife
He stabbed him with a knife.

Ni-simpung   amatang.
1sg:p/p-forget   3sg-obj
I forgot him.

Note that pronominally suffixed nouns expressing oblique case roles (as described in 5.4.2 below) also take *amatang* when what follows is a third person singular pronominal form, e.g.

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feature of the languages of this part of Vanuatu. Somewhat less extreme kinds of messiness in the behaviour of reflexes of **na* are also encountered in some of the languages of the southern islands, as well as the Efate-Shepherds languages.

Ngkar-metur i-n amatang.
1du:excl:p/p-live com-3sg 3sg-obj
We live with him.

5.2.3 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Nouns in Nāti can also be subdivided into two major subclasses on the basis of their behaviour in possessive constructions. There is one class of free form nouns which can appear without any other morphemes attached in a sentence (or even in isolation), while a second class of nouns always requires that there be a pronominal suffix. Thus, compare:

nö-mwat   NA-snake
mpolongo-ngk bone-1sg

It should be noted that the subclasses of free form and suffixed nouns and the subclasses of nouns carrying reflexes of *na and those which do not, as described in 5.2.1, actually cross-cut. Thus, there are suffixed nouns both with and without reflexes of *na, just as there are free form nouns both with and without reflexes of *na, e.g.

mpati-n *mpwelei* *ne-livo-n* *ni-mpuas*
head-3sg   sow   NA-tooth-3sg NA-boar

The basic difference between the two subclasses of suffixed and free form nouns is that free form nouns are generally considered to refer to things that are alienably possessed, while pronominally suffixed nouns generally refer to things that are considered to be inalienably possessed, proto-typically permanent and non-removable body parts or blood kin.[13]

Possession with pronominally suffixed nouns in Nāti is expressed by attaching suffixes expressing the full range of singular pronominal distinctions, as well as the full range of first person non-singular pronominal distinctions. Table 9 sets out the forms of these suffixes:

TABLE 9: NĀTI PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

	Singular		Dual	Trial	Plural
1	*-ngk*	incl.	*-ntaru*	*-ntaltül*	*-ntolül*
		excl.	*-ngkaru*	*-ngkaltül*	*-ngkalül*
2	*-m*				
3	*-n*				

Before the first person singular suffix *-ngk* and the second person singular suffix *-m*, noun roots ending in *-i* undergo obligatory fronting to *-u*. Before non-singular suffixes, root-final *-i* is optionally deleted. Thus, compare the illustrative paradigms in Table 10.

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13 For a more detailed discussion of the semantics of inalienability in Paamese, see Crowley (1996). Although the details of Paamese will obviously not be relevant to a description of Nāti, many of the general comments are still applicable.

TABLE 10: POSSESSIVE PARADIGMS FOR SUFFIXED NOUNS *nelivo-* 'tooth' and *mpati-* 'head'

	Singular		Dual	Trial	Plural
1	*nelivongk*	incl.	*nelivontaru*	*nelivontaltül*	*nelivontolül*
		excl.	*nelivongkaru*	*nelivongkaltül*	*nelivongkalül*
2	*nelivom*				
3	*nelivon*				
1	*mpatungk*	incl.	*mpat(i)ntaru*	*mpat(i)ntaltül*	*mpat(i)ntolül*
		excl.	*mpat(i)ngkaru*	*mpat(i)ngkaltül*	*mpat(i)ngkalül*
2	*mpatum*				
3	*nelivon*				

With nominal possessors, nouns of this type carry a suffix that has the same form as the third person singular possessive form, i.e. *-n*, and this is followed by the possessor noun. Thus:

> *mpati-n   nekilu*
> head-3sg   dog
> dog's head

The same pattern is also followed when the possessor is a second or third person non-singular pronominal possessor, which accounts for the gaps in the paradigm presented in Table 9 above. Thus:

> *nelivo-n   amuru*
> tooth-3sg   2du
> your (dual) teeth

A number of different constructions are used when expressing the referents of free form nouns when occurring as possessed nouns. In the case of singular pronominal posssessors, there are special possessive pronouns which are used to indicate the possession of body parts (or products) that are not expressed by means of directly suffixed nouns. In such cases, possession is expressed by means of the postposed possessive pronouns *nangk* 'my', *nam* 'your' and *nin/nan*[14] 'his/her/its'. Thus:

> *malampung na-ngk*   *nömweni na-m*   *nempis ni-n*
> tongue   poss-1sg   sweat   poss-2sg   anus   poss-3sg
> my tongue   your sweat   his/her anus

When nouns of this type have a nominal rather than a pronominal possessor, the possessor noun follows the possessed noun with the intervening third person singular possessive pronoun, e.g.

> *nempis   ni-n   ne-kilu*
> anus   poss-3sg NA-dog
> the dog's anus

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14   The variation between *nin* and *nan* could represent mixing on the part of Aiar Rantes. His most frequently used form in the corpus is *nin* rather than *nan*. Charpentier (personal communication) indicates that the form in closely related Nahava is *nin*, while the more distantly related Naha'ai is *nan*.

This construction is also used to express a purposive relationship between the referents of two nouns, as well as part-whole relationships between two free form nouns. Thus:

> *nengkurtian ni-n   na'ap'apian*
> ceremony   poss-3sg   circumcision
> circumcision ceremony

> *nesu'   ni-n   nitel*
> thorn   poss-3sg   vine
> vine thorn

When the possessed noun is a free form noun that does not refer to a body part and there is a first or second person singular pronominal possessor, this is expressed by a preposed rather than a postposed possessive pronoun,[15] and the forms are different to those we have just seen, i.e. *nangku/nungko*[16] 'my' and *numo* 'your'.[17] In this construction, the following possessed noun also occurs in its bare root form if it happens to be one of those nouns carrying a reflex of the historical suffix **na*, as discussed in 5.2.1 above. Thus:

> *ne-murut* husband   *nu-ngku murut* my husband
> *nu-wangk* canoe   *nu-mo wangk*   your canoe

When the possessor involves any of the non-singular categories, this is expressed in the case of all free form nouns simply by using the ordinary pronouns (as set out in 5.2.2 above) following the possessed noun, with no intervening constituents. Nouns which lose their initial *nV-* when they follow the preposed possessive pronouns *nangku/nungko* or *numo* retain their full form in this kind of construction. Thus, compare the following examples:

> *ni-yum* house   *nu-ngko yum*   my house
>   *ni-yum ntolül* our (pl) house
> *telei*   axe   *nu-mo telei*   your axe
>   *telei ntaru*   our (du) axe

Free form nouns expressing body part nouns (or products of the body) also express non-singular pronominal possession simply by postposing the ordinary forms of the pronoun to the noun, e.g.

> *nimümüm   ntaru*   *nintrei rolül*
> urine   1du:incl   blood   3pl
> our urine   their blood

The final possessive construction in Nāti involves the possession of referents of free form nouns by the referents of nouns rather than pronouns. In cases such as these, the possessed noun occurs first, and is followed by the possessor noun, which carries a prefix having the following allomorphy:

> *ti-* before consonant-initial nouns without *nV-*
> *t-* before vowel-initial nouns, and nouns with *nV-*

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[15] Charpentier (personal communication) points out that this preposed possessive construction is rare, and possibly even unique among languages of this area. Crowley (1982:112-13) reports preposed possessors as a restricted possibility in Paamese.

[16] The variation in the corpus between these two forms perhaps represents mixing on the part of Aiar Rantes. His first few examples involved *nangku*, and then he stuck consistently to *nungko*.

[17] There is no third person singular preposed possessive pronoun corresponding to the postposed *nin/nan*. The means by which this category of possessor is expressed is detailed at the end of this section.

It should be noted that nouns with initial *nV-* retain this syllable in these kinds of constructions, and that the statement of the allomorphy just presented produces a word-initial *tn-* sequences. Thus:

> *nömwas*   *ti-Pita*
> spear   poss-Peter
> Peter's spear

> *niyum*   *t-ampwat*
> house   poss-European
> the European's house

> *nömwönei*   *t-nö-mpuluk*
> NA-grass   poss-NA-cow
> the cow's grass

> *na'anian*   *t-ne-kilu*
> food   poss-NA-dog
> the dog's food

When the *nV-* syllable takes the shape *ni-* rather than any of its other possible shapes, the vowel *i* is optionally deleted and the nasal syllabifies. Thus, from *nimwarlang* 'old man', we can derive:

> *nuwangk*   *t-ni-mwarlang/t-n̩-mwarlang*
> canoe   poss-NA-old.man
> the old man's canoe

From the discussion above, it will be remembered that there are only preposed pronominal suffixes in the first and second person singular. When free form nouns not referring to body parts have a third person singular pronominal possessor, this is also expressed by means of the possessive prefix *ti-* attached to the ordinary pronoun. Thus:

> *nintrimtrimian*   *ti-'ei*
> idea   poss-3sg
> his/her idea

5.2.4 NOMINAL COMPOUNDING

One final fairly productive noun-deriving process in Nāti is compounding. The lexicon contains a number of noun + noun compounds (with the initial *nV-* deleted on the second member of the compound, as mentioned in 5.2.1 above), e.g.

no'ontr	basket	*nempunong*	child	*no'ontr mpunong*	womb
na'arös	pudding	*nimanio'*	cassava	*na'arös manio'*	cassava pudding

The corpus also includes quite a number of nominal compounds in which the second element is a verb, e.g.

na'ai	wood	*sumpsump*	sit	*na'ai sumpsump*	chair

In addition to examples such as those just described, the corpus includes a fair number of examples in which part of a lexical form ressembles another lexical form (or part of another lexical form), suggesting that these also may be compounds. In such cases, we cannot be certain of how productive the process of compounding is until we have more details as to

whether the remaining elements have any independent meaning or function. Examples of this type include the following:

növan	fruit	*mpwengk*	?	*növan mpwengk*	glans of un-circumcised penis
nempusü'	?	*nivaran*	finger	*nempusü' varan*	fingernail

5.3 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

5.3.1 VERBAL PREFIXATION

Nāti verbs obligatorily carry prefixes that cross-reference the pronominal categories of the subject. There are separate sets of subject prefixes attested for the past/present tense and for the future tense. The forms of these verbal prefixes are set out in Table 11.

<div align="center">TABLE 11: TENSE PREFIXES ON VERBS</div>

Past/Present		Singular		Dual	Plural
1		*ni-*	incl.	*ntar-*	*ntal-*
			excl.	*ngkar-*	*ngkal-*
2		*u-*		*mwar-*	*mwal-*
3		*i-*		*ar-*	*al-*
Future					
1		*na-*	incl.	*ntara-*	*ntala-*
			excl.	*ngkar-*	*ngkal-*
2		*wa-*		*mwara-*	*mwala-*
3		*'a-*		*ara-*	*ala-*

When sequences of *-ll-* and *-rr-* arise over morpheme boundaries in the past/present, a general rule of consonant degemination applies. Thus, compare the following examples:

> *ni-leilei*
> 1sg:p/p-drunk
> I am/was drunk

> *a-leilei*
> 3pl:p/p-drunk
> they are/were drunk

Two facts become obvious from an examination of the prefixes set out in Table 11. Firstly, the opposition between trial and plural that is made in the pronominal forms is not made in these prefixes. Thus, compare the following:

> *Altül   al-metur.*
> 3tl   3pl:p/p-sleep
> They (three) are/were sleeping.

> *Rolül   al-metur.*
> 3pl   3pl:p/p-sleep
> They (many) are/were sleeping.

The second fact that can be observed is that in the non-singular categories, the future is expressed by adding *a-* between the past/present form and the verb. However, the future and the past/present forms in the singular are morphologically distinct. Thus:

> *na-metur*
> 1sg:fut-sleep
> I will sleep

> *ar-a-metur*
> 3du-fut-sleep
> they will (both) sleep

The corpus does not include any separate imperative forms. In order to express the imperative, the second person future forms are used, e.g.

> *Wa-metur*
> 2sg:fut-sleep
> Go to sleep!

The corpus also points to the existence of a prefix *min-* expressing the continuous aspect. This prefix is attested as occurring between the past/present subject prefixes and the verb root, e.g.

> *I-min-'oi   ni-mētu.*
> 3sg:p/p-cont-grate   NA-coconut
> He/she is grating the coconut.

However, the data is not sufficient to state the cooccurrence conventions of the prefix *min-* and the future marker *a-*.

The corpus also includes examples of an inchoative derivational prefix of the form *p-* which can appear between the subject/tense prefixes and a nominal root from which the historically accretive syllable *nV-* has been removed. Verbs derived in this way express the idea that the referent of the subject "becomes" or "turns into" the referent of the noun root. Thus, from *nemwarlang* 'old man' and *nimen* 'bird', it is possible to derive the following:

> *I-p-mwarlang.*
> 3sg:p/p-inch-old man
> He became an old man.

> *Ne-murut   i-p-men.*
> NA-man   3sg:p/p-inch-bird
> The man turned into a bird.

A final prefix that is attested on verbs in Nāti is the form *ti-*. This can be added to a stative verb to derive a postnominal modifier. Thus:

> *ne-silu   ti-mövüs*
> NA-cloth   adj-white
> white cloth

5.3.2 VERBAL SUFFIXATION

The data points to the existence of a suffix of the form *-te* that expresses the idea that a situation holds contrary to expectation. Often, this can be translated as 'only' or 'just'. Thus:

Ni-rais   i-koh-te.
NA-rice   3sg:p/p-exist-only
The rice is (indeed) cooked.

'Ei   i-sump-te.
3sg   3sg:p/p-sit-only
He is just sitting down.

'Ei   'a-lumus-te   ne-mpilet.
3sg   3sg:fut-wash-only   NA-plate
He will only wash the plates.

The corpus also includes the form *-ntra*, which expresses the completive aspect, e.g.

Na'anian   i-mah-ntra.
food   3sg:p/p-cooked-comp
The food is already cooked.

However, the data does not unambiguously point to *-ntra* having suffixal status, and it may simply be a verbal postmodifier.

5.3.3 DISCONTINUOUS VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

There are two categories on verbs that are marked simultaneously in Nāti by means of a prefix and a suffix. The first of these categories is negation. The negative of a verb is expressed by adding the prefix *sa-* between the subject/tense marker and the verb root, while at the same time adding a suffix after the verb. In the case of ordinary negation, the suffix is *-ve*, while the suffix *-ngkeive* is used to express the idea of 'not yet'. Thus:

wa-sa-metur-ve
2sg:fut-neg-sleep-neg
you will not sleep

i-sa-mah-ngkeive
3sg:p/p-neg-cooked-yet
it is not cooked yet

There is one special construction encountered in the corpus when the verb *vin* 'resemble/ be like' is negated. While *vin* is formally a transitive verb in that it takes ordinary verbal prefixes, it behaves differently to other transitive verbs in that the negative suffix *-ve* attaches to the following object rather than directly to the verb itself.[18] Thus, contrast the following examples:

I-sa-vin   temös-ve.
3sg:p/p-neg-be.like   devil-neg
He/she is not like a devil.

I-sa-lumus-ve   ne-mpilet.
3sg:p/p-neg-wash-neg   NA-plate
He/she did not wash the plates.

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[18]   Charpentier (personal communication), on the basis of comparative evidence, expresses doubt about this construction, and suggests that a speaker error may be responsible. He notes that *vin* is a copula meaning 'become' in all other sounth Malakula languages.

The second discontinuous marking that is found on verbs is the nominaliser *nV-/-ian*. Nouns derived from verbs carry the suffix *-ian*, as well as a prefix that apparently varies unpredictably in shape in the same way as the initial syllable found on many nouns that is described in 5.2.1 above. Note the following examples:

mewur	live	*ne-mewur-ian*	life
'an	eat	*na-'an-ian*	food
ntrimtrim	think	*ne-ntrimtrim-ian*	thought, idea
vangas	speak	*ni-vanga-ian*	language

Note that when nominalised verbs follow one of the preposed possessive pronouns described in 5.2.3, the initial syllable *nV-* is lost, as with all other nouns carrying this initial syllable. Thus, the derived noun *ne-ra'-ian* 'work' behaves as follows:

no-mu   ra'-ian
poss-2sg work-nom
your job

5.3.4 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is not attested as a productive part of the morphology of nouns in Nāti, though there is evidence for the existence of reduplication among verbs. Because this description is based entirely on elicited rather than textual data, the number of examples of reduplicated verbs is small, and the full range of functions that reduplication expresses cannot be ascertained. There is a small number of examples in which an intransitive verb is derived from a transitive verb by means of reduplication:

'an	eat (tr)	*'a'an*	eat (intr)
mün	drink (tr)	*münmün*	drink (intr)
wup	blow (tr)	*wupwup*	blow (intr)

The following are also attested, where reduplication does not affect transitivity:

sump	*sumpsump*	sit
to'	*toto'*	sit
long	*longolong*	walk
rop	*roporop*	run
motongk	*motongotongk*	thin

The corpus does not provide enough detail to be able to deduce the semantic effect of reduplication in these examples, though Charpentier (personal communication) points out that in closely related languages, *sump* is an active verb ('sit'), while reduplicated *sumpsump* is stative ('be seated').

It should also be noted that the shape of reduplication in the small number of examples that I was able to record is variable, with some forms reduplication initial *CV-* only (*'a'an*, *toto'*), others reduplicating an entire monosyllabic verb root (*sumpsump*, *münmün*), others reduplicating the entire verb root with a vowel appearing between the reduplicated segments (*longolong*, *roporop*), and others reduplicating the final syllable with an intervening vowel (*motongkotongk*). The corpus is far to restricted to allow any generalisations to be made here.

5.3.5 ROOT INITIAL MODIFICATION

A pattern which is widely distributed among the languages of northern and central Vanuatu is a kind of "mutation" of many of the initial segments of verbs in certain morphological contexts. Clark (1985:214) notes that so far, Malakula languages appear not to behave in this way, though he expressed a hope "that such a system will appear live and well in one of the undescribed languages of Malakula". This sketch reveals that Clark's prediction was in fact correct.

Verb roots in Nāti with the following initial segments are invariant in all contexts: *p-*, *m-*, *n-*, *ng-*, *l-*, *s-* and *h-*. Verbs with initial *v-*, *r-*, *w-* and *'-*, as well as some verbs with initial *t-* and *k-*, undergo a change in the initial segment when there is a preceding future tense prefix, or when the verb carries the negative prefix *sa-* (with any tense marking on the verb). The changes that take place are set out in Table 12.

TABLE 12: VERB INITIAL CONSONANT MUTATION

Root	Future/Negative
v-	*mp-*
t-	*nt-*
r-	*ntr-*
w-	*mpw-*
'-	*ngk-*
k-	*ngk-*

The following examples compare the behaviour of verbs with invariant and variant initial segments:

ntar-hap   *ntar-vurvur*
1du:p/p-dance   1du:p/p-hold
we dance(d)   we hold/held

ntar-a-hap   *ntar-a-mpurvur*
1du:incl-fut-dance   1du:incl-fut-hold
we will dance   we will hold

ni-long   *ni-ra'*
1sg:p/p-go   1sg:p/p-work
I go/went   I work(ed)

na-long   *na-ntra'*
1sg:fut-go   1sg:fut-work
I will go   I will work

al-mpwil   *al-wiling*
3pl:p/p-kill   3pl:p/p-come
they kill(ed)   they come/came

al-a-mpwil   *al-a-mpwiling*
3pl-fut-kill   3pl-fut-come
they will kill   they will come

i-simpung
3sg:p/p-forget
he/she forgets/forgot

i-'omp
3sg:p/p-throw
he/she throws/threw

'a-simpung
3sg-fut-forget
he/she will forget

'a-ngkomp
3sg-fut-throw
he/she will throw

With regard to verb roots with initial stops, stative verbs have invariant roots, while active verbs undergo root initial mutation of *k-* to *ngk-* and *t-* to *nt-*. Thus:

i-kelekel
3sg:p/p-crooked
it is/was crooked

i-kah
3sg:p/p-fart
he/she farts/farted

'a-kelekel
3sg:fut-crooked
it will be crooked

'a-ngkah
3sg:fut-fart
he/she will fart

i-tütüs
3sg:p/p-correct
he/she is/was correct

i-temptemp
3sg:p/p-defecate
he/she defecate(d)

i-sa-tütüis-ve
3sg:p/p-neg-correct-neg
they are/were not correct

i-sa-ntemptemp-ve
3sg:p/p-neg-defecate-neg
he/she does/did not defecate

Of the two sets of root forms indicated in Table 12, the forms in the column on the left are regarded as being basic, while the forms on the right are regarded as being derived from these. The forms on the right are found in only two morphological contexts, while the remaining forms are found in all other contexts in which verb roots can occur. Thus, in addition to occurring after the pronominal prefixes for the past/present tense, they also occur when the verb stem carries the derivational prefixes *ti-* to form a postnominal modifier, or the initial part of the nominalising affix *nV-/-ian*, as well as when there is no preceding prefix, as when the verb follows a noun to form a compound.

One aspect of the Nāti pattern of verb initial mutation that is worthy of comment is the fact that the mutated forms, which appear to reflect a historical nasal increment, are associated with the irrealis rather than the realis forms of the verb. In other languages of the Central Vanuatu subgroup which exhibit similar patterns of verb initial mutation, the forms involving nasal increment are typically associated with the realis forms of the verb, however. This is a matter that is discussed in more detail in Crowley (1991).

5.4 WORD ORDER AND SYNTAX

This description has been written without the benefit of any textual materials, so the discussion of questions of syntax is necessarily more sketchy than that of the morphology. However, enough sentences have been elicited to allow some general features of Nāti word order to be described.

5.4.1   Basic Word Order Patterns

The basic word order in Nāti is, as with the languages of northern and central Vanuatu in general, SVO:

Ne-murut   'a-ntiti'   ni-mpuas.
NA-man   3sg:fut-tie   NA-pig
The man will tie the pig.

Within a noun phrase, the noun appears at the beginning of the phrase and modifiers generally follow it, e.g.

na-'aimes	*ti-mah*	*ne-kilu*	*ivös*
NA-knife	adj-blunt	NA-dog	four
blunt knife		many men	

ne-murut	*ilamp*	*ni-teu*	*mwahteh*
NA-man	many	NA-chicken	every
many men		every chicken	

The only exceptions to this particular generalisation are the preposed possessive pronouns discussed and exemplified in 5.2.3 above.

5.4.2   Suffixed Oblique Case Markers

Case roles that are not expressed as verbal subject or object are expressed formally in Nāti as possessors to constituents that have the shape of obligatorily suffixed nouns, and which behave in exactly the same way as the directly suffixed nouns described in 5.2.3 above. Those forms which behave in this way that are included in the corpus are:

mpangka-	dative
mpü-/ta'u-	behind
va-	under
ngka-	causal
tevsü-	opposite, across from
nisēngki-	beside
ra-	instrumental/goal
ntrangka-	oblique
i-	comitative[19]

Of these suffixed oblique case markers, some also occur as full nouns, i.e. *mpü-/ta'u-* 'back', *tevsü-* 'place opposite' and *nisëngki-* 'place beside'.

The following examples illustrate each of the semantic roles set out above in sentences:

Dative
Wa-lip   na-'an-ian   mpangka-ngk.
2sg:fut-give   nom-eat-nom   dat-1sg
Give me the food.

---

[19]   On the basis of comparative evidence, Charpentier (personal communication) suggests that the comitative marker may not take suffixes at all, simply being an unanalysable preposition, i.e. *in*. If this suggestion is correct (and I was not able to check this in the field), this would require that *in* be reassigned to the same subclass as *len*, as indicated in 5.4.3.

Instrumental

> *Ne-mpunong   al-mpuntal   ra-n   na-ʻamp.*
> NA-child   3pl:p/p-play   inst-3sg   NA-fire
> The children were playing with fire.

> *Ni-ʻaʻan   ra-n   ni-pok.*
> 1sg:p/p-eat inst-3sg   NA-fork
> I ate with a fork.

Goal

> *Ni-pür   i-rop   ra-ngk.*
> NA-cold 3sg:p/p-run goal-1sg
> I have a cold (i.e. a cold runs to me).

Causal

> *I-mā ʻ   ngka-n   nö-mpunʻuntr.*
> 3sg:p/p-sick   caus-3sg   NA-kava
> He is sick because of the kava.

Comitative

> *Ngkar-metur   i-n   amatang.*
> 1du:excl:p/p-live com-3sg   3sg-obj
> We live with him.

Behind

> *Ne-mpunong i-luʻluʻ   mpü-n   ni-yum.*
> NA-child   3sg:p/p-hide   behind-3sg   NA-house
> The child hit behind the house.

> *Ne-mpunong ʻa-luʻluʻ   taʻu-ngk.*
> NA-child   3sg-fut-hide   behind-1sg
> The child will hide behind me.

Under

> *Ne-kilu   i-metur   va-n   ni-tep.*
> NA-dog   3sg:p/p-sleep under-3sg   NA-table
> The dog is sleeping under the table.

Across

> *I-toʻ   tevsü-n   nu-wei.*
> 3sg:p/p-stay   across-3sg   NA-river
> He is across the river.

Beside

> *Na-metur   nisēngki-n   nu-wei.*
> 1sg:fut-sleep beside-3sg   NA-river
> I will sleep beside the river.

Oblique

> *Ni-milimp   ntrangka-n.*
> 1sg:p/p-tired   obl-3sg
> I am tired of it.

5.4.3 PREPOSITIONS

The spatial roles of locative and ablative are marked by the invariant preposition *len*, e.g.[20]

Locative

> *Na-sumpsump len ne-mpinwen.*
> 1sg:fut-sit   loc NA-beach
> I will sit on the beach.

> *Rolül al-a-ntra'   len ne-wut.*
> 3pl   3pl-fut-work loc NA-garden
> They will work in the garden.

Ablative

> *I-tal   len   ne-mpinwen.*
> 3sg:p/p-return abl   NA-beach
> He is returning from the beach.

The same preposition is also used to mark the allative, but it is preceded by the directional marker *mpi*, e.g.

> *I-long   mpi len   ne-mpinwen.*
> 3sg:p/p-go all loc   NA-beach
> He went to the beach.

The form *len* is also attested as occurring with shape *le-*, forming the initial part of a compound with a noun expressing a location, from which the initial syllable *nV-* has been removed. Thus, the locative of *neilit* 'yard' and *niyum* 'house' can also be expressed as follows:

> *Ni-mpuas i-to'   le-ilit.*
> NA-pig   3sg:p/p-stay loc-yard
> The pig is in the yard.

> *Na-nto'-te   le-yum.*
> 1sg:fut-stay-only loc-house
> I will just be inside.

Whether this is a general process or limited to just a few exceptional nouns is not known.

5.4.4 COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS

The corpus does not point to the existence of a copula verb in Nāti. When a noun is to be expressed as the comment in a topic + comment construction, it functions grammatically as a stative verb rather than as a noun, and carries verbal affixes. In the case of nouns that carry the initial separable syllable *nV-*, the stative verb root takes the form of the bare noun without the *nV-*. The noun root then takes regular verbal affixes. Thus, the noun *nitokta* 'doctor' appears in copula constructions such as the following:

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[20]   An alternative analysis might be to treat *len* as belonging to the same set of suffixed oblique case markers set out above with the segmentation *le-n* 'locative/ablative-3sg', and a restriction against this form occurring before animates, which would account for the lack of *le-ngk and *le-m.

'Ei   i-tokta.
3sg   3sg:p/p-doctor
He/she is a doctor.

'Ei   i-sa-tokta-ve.
3sg   3sg:p/p-neg-doctor-neg
He/she is not a doctor.

There is also an inchoative construction involving the verb *vuling* 'become', in which the comment noun is expressed as a verb carrying the inchoative prefix *p-* described in 5.3.1 above. Thus, from *nemurut* 'man' we can derive the following:

I-vuling   i-p-murut.
3sg:p/p-become   3sg:p/p-inch-man
He became a man.

If the comment to the inchoative verb *vuling* is an underived verb, then the inchoative prefix does not occur. Thus, from *mpou* 'big', we can derive the following:

I-vuling   i-mpou.
3sg:p/p-become   3sg:p/p-big
It became big.

5.4.5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Information about the formation of complex sentences is almost completely lacking. However, cause clauses are introduced by means of the causal preposition *ngka-*, which carries the possessive suffix *-n* as when there is a following causal noun phrase. Thus:

I-tal   ngka-n   nu-wuh   i-wop.
3sg:p/p-return   caus-3sg   NA-rain   3sg:p/p-rain
He returned because it was raining.

6 VOCABULARY

This section gives an exhaustive listing of the lexical information that I have been able to gather on Nāti. The total scope of the recorded lexicon is approximately 750 items. In the first section, this is organised according to semantic fields for nouns, and syntactic groupings for verbs. An English-Nāti finderlist is attached at the end.

6.1 TOPICAL VOCABULARY

6.1.1 HUMAN BODY PARTS

nimpe- (poss.n) body
mpati- (poss.n) head
mpalangkan mpati- (poss.n) skull
pwano'o- (poss.n) forehead
nitu (n) temple
nöpal (n) bald head
nüngarangar mpati- (poss.n) fontanelle
no'o- (poss.n) face
mpwir mpati- (poss.n) brain
nesivule- (poss.n) hair
mpatwar (n) grey hair
no'olsi- (poss.n) skin
nesivulen nimpe- (poss.n) body hair
ntelnga- (poss.n) ear
mata- (poss.n) eye
no'onlin mata-, mantlön mata-
  (poss.n) eyeball
nesivulen mata- (poss.n) eyelash
na'ampoi (n) eyebrow
no'olsin mata- (poss.n) eyelid
neangkunhu- (poss.n) nose
na'ai ngkunhu- (poss.n) ridge of nose
nempulin ngkunhu- (poss.n) nostril
nesivulen ngkunhu- (poss.n) nostril
  hairs
netuni- (poss.n) cheek
mpongo- (poss.n) mouth
no'olsin mpongo- (poss.n) lip
nelivo- (poss.n) tooth
kankan malum (n) molar
mpurongo- (poss.n) gums
malampung (n) tongue
növuntülntül (n) windpipe, oesophagus
nehe- (poss.n) chin
nesivulen mpongo- (poss.n)
  moustache
nesivulen nehe- (poss.n) beard
nintolo- (poss.n) neck
mpatava- (poss.n) shoulder
nevwilal (n) side
mpolongon vwilal (n) rib
nita'u- (poss.n) back
na'ai sin ta'u- (poss.n) spine
na'ap (n) armpit
nivara- (poss.n) arm, hand

levwa'an vara- (poss.n) forearm
nemüsün vara- (poss.n) palm of hand
mpou vara-, mpompou vara-,
  nümpou vara- (poss.n) elbow
mparu'vara- (poss.n) finger
ampwat (n) thumb
ampwat vara- (poss.n) thumb
avukintuas (n) index finger
avusanvulu (n) ring finger
avungotngot (n) middle finger
avurara' (n) little finger
nempusii' vara-, mparu' vara-
  (poss.n) fingernail
morongko- (poss.n) chest
nehuhu-, nisüsü- (poss.n) breast
nivwanavüs (n) heart
nümamp mövüs (n) lung
nümamp mütmüt (n) liver
nüivan matitu (n) kidney
niveti-, na'avuti- (poss.n) stomach
nempütii- (poss.n) navel
nehini- (poss.n) intestine
nehinin tivāri (poss.n) small intestine
nehinin timpou (poss.n) large intestine
na'avut (n) large intestine
nemap'ai (n) appendix
nüivan wupwup (n) bladder
nempwü-, nesülü- (poss.n) buttocks
nempis (n) anus
nisanga-, nempatra- (poss.n) area
  where pubic hair grows
nesivulen sanga- (poss.n) pubic hair
mpwaltara- (poss.n) pubic hair
nevü'ü-, nevue- (poss.n) vagina
nivankis (n) clitoris
no'ontr mpunong (n) womb
neusi- (poss.n) penis
no'olsin neusi- (poss.n) foreskin
növanmpwengk (n) glans penis of
  uncircumcised penis
mpongon neusi- (poss.n) urethral
  opening of male
niloho- (poss.n) testicles
nempulü- (poss.n) leg
mpütempüt mpulü- (poss.n) foot
nempura- (poss.n) thigh
mwöngke- (poss.n) hip

niimpou mpulü-, mpou mpulii-, mpompou mpulii- (poss.n) knee
tangkan mpulü- (poss.n) kneecap
niivanisnis mpulii- (poss.n) calf
napwil (n) shin
matan lamput (n) ankle
nemüsün mpulii- (poss.n) sole of foot
mpütempüt (n) sole of foot
mparu' mpulii- (poss.n) toe
nempusii' mpulii- (poss.n) toenail
mpolongo- (poss.n) bone
nevü'oh, nömāru (n) flesh, muscle
mārusolop (n) any long thin muscle
lengleng (n) body fat
nou (n) vein, tendon
noumpwas (n) artery
nintrei (n) blood
nömwen (n) sweat
nuhun mata- (poss.n) tears
nöngar (n) snot, nasal mucus
nengkil (n) ear wax
numon (n) sleep (in eyes)
nimümüm (n) urine
nengkir (n) semen
nüilop neusi- (poss.n) smegma
nesüilii- (poss.n) excrement
nelu (n) vomit
nevurei (n) spit
nömpo- (poss.n) smell
nima'ap (n) sore
malavoh (n) boil
nupot (n) ringworm, tinea
nüikar (n) scabies
nipür (n) cold, flu

6.1.2 ANIMAL BODY PARTS

nesivulen vara- (poss.n) wing
nevi'amp'amp (n) wing of flying fox
nikoror (n) comb of rooster
nempümpo-, nesivule- (poss.n) feather
mantlö- (poss.n) egg

6.1.3 HUMAN BEINGS

ne'ia- (poss.n) name
nemurut (n) man, husband
nimomo' (n) woman, wife

nimwarlang, nimwarlamp (n) old man
nempunong (n) child, son, daughter
malewus (n) inland person, bushman
mwarleleu, mwarletes (n) coastal person
ampwat (n) European
mpatrar (n) stubborn person
tatai (n) father
amo' (n) mother
hala- (poss.n) brother
vene- (poss.n) sister
ale' (n) in-law
avu (n) grandparent
avu kakap (n) grandmother
avu tot (n) grandfather
nevingumpu'eu (n) bush sprite (lisefsef)
temös (n) devil
nimpe'ei (n) evil spirit, sorcery (nakaemas)
nömwalangkil (n) love magic
nömpwörei (n) dream
nilaplap (n) magic for changing into other things
nitokta (n) doctor

6.1.4 ANIMALS

mpwelei (n) sow
nimpuas, nömpuas (n) pig, boar
nileseu (n) uncastrated boar
nimpuas urus (n) castrated boar
nitaras (n) hermaphrodite pig
nekilu (n) dog
nelemput (n) rat
nömevial (n) seasnake
mankerei, nimankerei (n) black flying fox
nevimpou (n) white flying fox
manvitvit, nimanvitvit (n) bat
nömwat (n) snake
me'emp, nöme'emp (n) gecko
nimerei (n) skink
nilei (n) green lizard
nömpuluk (n) cattle, cow, bull

6.1.5 BIRDS

nimen (n) bird

niteu (n) chicken
niteu murut (n) rooster
nevin mpwarteu (n) hen
no'oiyimp (n) Pacific pigeon
nesivir (n) coconut lory, parrot
nempwilmis (n) kingfisher
nempile' (n) banded rail
mpatmömal (n) cardinal honeyeater
no'ovwil (n) cardinal honeyeater
nevümpiir (n) red-bellied fruit dove
nevwingkoum (n) Tanna fruit dove
nevimar (n) emerald dove
nimen mpüspit (n) emerald dove
nevwilala' (n) yellow white-eye
limpwanwi (n) heron
nimpal, nömpal (n) swamp harrier, hawk
nevimpwan (n) barn owl
niteu mweleu (n) megapode
nevi'amp'amp (n) small birds that dart about around sunset

6.1.6 Insects and Small Creatures

nileng (n) fly
nileng ntavu (n) blowfly
ta'aran leng ntavu, nesüliin leng ntavu (n) maggot
teu'as (n) mosquito
no'ut (n) lice
mwer'is (n) nits
nempurvemp (n) butterfly
na'aransangk, na'aran nisangk (n) millipede, scorpion
nengkingkapleu (n) spider
nempungli (n) cicada
nentu'ei (n) wood grub
nevinri, nempungli (n) wood borer
nekökalat (n) black ant
nemüilunt (n) small biting ant
nentules (n) worm
nentiin (n) leech
temös luelu (n) small grey creatures that wriggle on the ground in a ball
nevöveres (n) wasp
no'ut nengkit (n) black insect inside banana
na'ingkeumpatap (n) praying mantis

6.1.7 Fish and Water Dwellers

mahal (n) fish
nitangk (n) spinefoot
nisem nuwangk (n) snapper, bream
nawantr (n) garfish
na'ines (n) mullet
mpwatampur (n) sardine
male'es (n) parrotfish
nimpung (n) mackerel
numpou (n) sea eel
nisolop (n) freshwater eel
nimahalpang, nömahalpang (n) freshwater shrimp
nuwur (n) lobster, sea prawn
no'oiyit (n) octopus
mpe'ep mövüs (n) shark
lintumtum (n) whale
nivei (n) stingray
nömpwa' (n) turtle
nintuwi (n) coconut crab
neru'um (n) land crab
nempwira' teu (n) hermit crab
na'oup (n) sand crab
na'ap (n) rock crab
nitu (n) shellfish
nilal (n) trochus
tāvu (n) triton
telei (n) clam
mpēngk (n) green snail
mpatla' (n) small shellfish
nehuhun mpwelei (n) sea cucumber
na'ai surei (n) sea urchin
nelum (n) seaweed

6.1.8 Trees and Plants

nempün'ai (n) bush
na'ai (n) tree, wood
nörö'ei (n) leaf
netüviih (n) flower
növan (n) fruit
mpati- (poss.n) trunk
niimpal (n) branch
na'aran (n) root
nimesian (n) tree poison
no'olsi- (poss.n) bark
no'uli- (poss.n) seed
nohu- (poss.n) sap

nitel (n) vine
nesu' (n) thorn, prickle
nimpangk (n) banyan
nireu (n) dragon plum
na'avi' (n) Malay apple
nines (n) Tahitian chestnut
növwan sarwei, növu sarwei (n) great hog plum
nengei (n) native almond
nemu'is (n) bush nut (*Barringtonia edulis*)
telis, nitelis (n) sea almond (*Terminalia catappa*)
ninteu (n) native lychee
mpatap (n) breadfruit
nomul, nemul (n) orange tree
nimētu (n) coconut
mētu tip (n) sprouting coconut
nentiivii- (poss.n) pith (of sprouting coconut)
mata- (poss.n) eye (of coconut)
nuhu- (poss.n) water (of coconut)
nevusvus, nengkip mētu (n) coconut cream
nömanvöh (n) green coconut
mētu ngkor (n) dry coconut
nipwarös (n) coconut with hard flesh and water that has gone fizzy
manvöh tangklin (n) coconut with soft flesh and water that is not yet sweet
nentumwa' (n) coconut with water but no flesh at all
mpasvu- (poss.n) husk
nörö'ei mētu (n) coconut frond
nevwintru' (n) individual coconut leaf
mpengkes (n) stem of coconut frond
tangkan mētu (n) coconut shell
no'oni- (poss.n) flesh (of fruit)
nevuh har mētu (n) coconut flower
nevuh ngkara (n) fallen coconut flower
nuvoh (n) coconut bud
nou (n) cloth-like fibre at top of coconut tree
ne'umou, no'umou (n) island teak
nimpa'ur, nömpa'ur (n) tamanu
nempirmpir (n) napiripiri (*Hernandia peltata*), sea hearse tree
nömaru (n) acacia

nevinu (n) navinue (*Macaranga dioica*)
mpalangkeu (n) beach hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
nintar (n) Indian coral tree
newuriet (n) sago palm
nömwail (n) cycad
na'ai rahmpwar (n) tree fern
nö'ulip (n) palm tree
nemintangk (n) puzzle tree
nevangk (n) ankle rattle tree
na'ai milia (n) Australian boxwood
mpwalangkeu (n) cottonwood
nevirit (n) Moreton Bay chestnut
ntowop (n) canoe tree
niar (n) casuarina
nöngkalat (n) devil nettle
nitong (n) mangrove
na'ai vut mwölei (n) fishpoison tree
na'ai mpwat (n) whitewood
nömpus (n) stinkwood
nö'ulas (n) poisonwood
na'ai mpungrop (n) sandalwood
nesumpul (n) New Guinea rosewood
nalap, nilap (n) *Polyscias* spp.
nesingkeul (n) hibiscus
na'ai limpu (n) croton
na'ari (n) cordyline
nempirip (n) pandanus
niva' (n) wild pandanus
na'avus nuwangk (n) island cabbage
nömpwah (n) sugarcane
növonwi (n) wild cane (*Miscanthus floribundus*)
nesivung (n) wild ginger
nēmpu (n) bamboo
nēmpu 'ai (n) hard bamboo
nēmpu melim (n) soft bamboo
nēmpu mwereu (n) coloured bamboo
nevih (n) Fijian asparagus
neviemp (n) wild Fijian asparagus
nömpun'untr (n) kava
nēngkit (n) banana
nitampuli (n) arrowroot
nimpwa'ai (n) yam
ne'imp (n) greater yam
nevuleu kaskas (n) lesser yam
kakal (n) lesser yam
növwas (n) wild yam

kakal vovu (n) sweet potato
nempwiangk (n) water taro
nahaleng (n) taro
nahaleng mpwa'ai (n) giant taro
nahaleng kar (n) wild taro
nimanio' (n) cassava
növwan nouloul (n) onion
mpatap tampwat (n) pawpaw
nömängko (n) mango
nömwönei (n) grass
nitel (n) vine
neusmes (n) sensitive grass (*Mimosa pudica*)
na'ai nter lamput (n) blue rat's tail

6.1.9 GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

mpwasar (n) village
newut (n) place
nitan (n) land, soil, ground, dirt
nivet (n) stone, rock
nömpusrep (n) dust
namui (n) earthquake
nempulin nivet (n) cave
nuwuh (n) rain
nömap (n) cloud
melingk (n) sky
neviilvaravar (n) thunder
mpatin mo'ot (n) rainbow
nileng (n) wind
nilengrap (n) cyclone
nilengtelntel (n) tornado
ninal (n) sun, sunshine
nivül (n) moon
nömosi (n) star
nuwei (n) water, river
nehip (n) waterfall
nempwilampwil (n) pool
nempwilngkangkal (n) gully
matan wei (n) spring
nelimp (n) mud
nempinwen (n) sand, beach
mpwatahau, na'ahau (n) reef
nempwilvor (n) hole in reef
mporongon na'ahau (n) drop-off on reef
ma'avisvat (n) washed up coral on shore
nites (n) sea, salt water

nitesri' (n) saltwater inlet, lagoon
nöngol (n) wave
nieu (n) tide
nirer nites (n) salt
na'amp (n) fire, firewood
nentung (n) smoke
nömpwisnep (n) ash
neru'uh (n) hill
nout yelyelyan (n) cliff
nomuru (n) landslide
nahal (n) road, path
nempung (n) day
newut rengian (n) daytime
levwa'at (n) night
levwa'hat (n) morning
revrev (n) afternoon, evening

6.1.10 CULTURAL ARTEFACTS

niyum (n) house, building
na'amel (n) meeting house
amel (n) restricted or forbidden area in meeting house, area for men to go to toilet
nempwiisüs, mpo'on yum (n) door
mpulmpul (n) threshold of door
matmoas (n) window
no'umpou (n) post
no'umpou momo' (n) corner post
no'umpou murut (n) two long posts holding up roof at either end of the house
na'ai sevö', na'ai hur sengkin (n) poles connecting corner posts on which roof rests
na'ai humpwen (n) ridge pole at top of house
na'ai hu'hu' (n) large rafters holding up roof at either end of house
nēmpu tarapwir (n) smaller roof poles made of bamboo
melangan karar (n) thatch with single piece of bamboo stuck through each leaf
ntiis na'ai vör (n) thatch with one long bamboo fastened through whole slab
nēmpu turtur (n) bamboo over which thatch leaves are folded
na'ai vör (n) bamboo used for fastening thatch leaves

te'es niyum (n) rope for tying up roof
mpatin mpwüsüs (n) wall
nuwangk (n) canoe
nisem (n) outrigger
növwin 'ei (n) outrigger pole
növwilangkalangk (n) outrigger peg
niso' (n) rail around top of canoe
nuvoh (n) oar
na'ai sumpsump (n) chair, seat on canoe
nehen mpuas, mpongon wangk (n) prow of canoe
nesilu nuwangk (n) sail
no'umpou nuwangk (n) mast
na'ai sump nteu (n) anchor
nempwün wangk (n) stern of canoe
nevöh mpwarangkin (n) bow and arrow
netumpwel (n) arrow with single point
nöngap (n) arrow with many points
nevöh (n) bow, gun, rifle
nilip (n) bullet
nömwas (n) spear
na'aimes (n) knife
nesuspen (n) saucepan
nipok (n) fork
nitep (n) table
nempilet (n) plate
nitel (n) rope
telei (n) axe
matan telei (n) axe blade
nivar (n) handle
newut (n) garden
neilit (n) yard
levulünt (n) area for women to go to toilet
nevulüs (n) earth oven
nivet nevulüs (n) cooking stones
nörö'ei mpwarangkin (n) heliconia
nöngkohngkoh (n) rubbish
mopsü- (poss.n) leftovers, gratings, grounds
na'anian (n) food, meal
na'arös (n) pudding
na'arös sesongon (n) pudding baked in bamboo
na'arös nengkit (n) banana pudding
na'arös manio' (n) cassava pudding

na'ai 'oi mētu (n) coconut scraper
nirais (n) rice
nipen (n) pen, pencil
nivol (n) book, paper

6.1.11 CLOTHES AND PERSONAL EFFECTS

no'ontr (n) basket
nentri' (n) mat
na'ai su'nta'as (n) comb
na'ai teulang (n) pillow
nörö'ei 'ap'ap (n) leaf used for penis wrapper
na'avsüin (n) penis wrapper
nitel tivitiv (n) belt
no'olsin na'ai (n) belt around waist made of bark for holding penis wrapper
nempuher (n) woman's fibre skirt
ne'ismpet (n) woman's mat dress
nempenpen (n) armband
niselu (n) cloth
nitrausis (n) trousers, shorts
nisat (n) shirt
nimwönei (n) money

6.1.12 ABSTRACT NOUNS

na'ap'apian (n) circumcision
neling (n) fashion, manner, behaviour
nemewurian (n) life, way of life
nengkurtian (n) ceremony
nentinghurian (n) story
nentrimtrimian (n) thought, idea
nera'ian (n) work, job
nesungian (n) celebration, feast
nile'ian (n) marriage, wedding
nilo' (n) language
nilu'ian (n) circumcision
nivangasian (n) language, speech
numpoi (n) song

6.1.13 NOMINAL MODIFIERS

ilamp (mod) many
mwahteh (mod) all
sili (mod) other
sut (mod) some
tuwan (mod) indefinite, a

6.1.14 STATIVES

ep (vi) sleepy
kan (vi) sharp
kaskas (vi) sweet
katkat (vi) loose, slack, wrinkled
kelekel (vi) crooked
konkon (vi) bitter, sour
leh (vi) good
leilei (vi) crazy, mad, drunk
limpu (vi) forbidden, taboo
lislis (vi) uncombed
lütliit (vi) yellow, fair-skinned
mah[1] (vi) cooked
mah[2] (vi) blunt
mahmah (vi) dry
makan (vi) sharp
malamal (vi) naked
malum (vi) soft
mal'ah (vi) cold
mal'asan (vi) blue
mangk (vi) open
mantru (vi) thirsty
marasras (vi) light (in weight)
masamas (vi) firm (of breasts)
mata' (vi) afraid, frightened
mā' (vi) sick, ill
melengklengk (vi) slippery, slip, slide, skid
melim (vi) soft
mes (vi) dead, die
mewur (vi) alive, living
mil (vi) wet
milimp (vi) weak, tired
mömal (vi) red
motongk (vi) thin, skinny
möviis (vi) white
mpārap (vi) long, tall
mpil (vi) bad
mporor (vi) deaf
mpou (vi) big, large
mpö'ampö (vi) short
mpu (vi) rotten, stinking
mpwar (vi) blind
mpwarangkin (vi) true, real, righthand
mpwuntr (vi) satiated
miitmiit (vi) black, dirty
mwal (vi) ashamed, embarrassed, shy
mwösei (vi) uncombed

ngohngoh (vi) tired, lazy
ntip (vi) heavy
ntrimtrim (vi) think
pal (vi) bald
palapal (vi) clean
pilpil (vi) hot
püilpüil (vi) twisted into dreadlocks
pwarös (vi) strong, hard
rar (vi) sore, painful
rem (vi) lose weight
sian (vi) pregnant
tamp (vi) fat
te'te' (vi) closed, shut
timp (vi) swollen, swell up
tiitiis (vi) straight, correct
vāri (vi) small, little
vövöu (vi) new
vutol (vi) hungry
war (vi) grey (of hair)
'asan (vi) green

6.1.15 NUMERALS

isi' (num) one
iru (num) two
itiil (num) three
ivös (num) four
ilim (num) five
seusi' (num) six
seuru (num) seven
seutiil (num) eight
seuvei (num) nine
langavöl (num) ten
langavöl nentumön isi' (num) eleven
langavöl nentumön iru (num) twelve
langavöl nentumön itiil (num) thirteen
langavöl nentumön ivös (num) fourteen
langavöl nentumön ilim (num) fifteen
langavöl nentumön seusi' (num) sixteen
langavöl nentumön seuru (num) seventeen
langavöl nentumön seutiil (num) eighteen
langavöl nentumön seuvei (num) nineteen
mwarlala' isi' (num) twenty

mwarlala' isi' no'oron isi' (num)
  twenty-one
mwarlala' isi' no'oron iru (num)
  twenty-two
mwarlala' ilim (num) hundred

6.1.16 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

alial (vi) sing
armpirvar (vi) shake hands
ha' (vi) climb up
hap (vi) dance
kah (vi) fart (with noise)
kamp (vi) bend
kampulungk (vi) clench fist
kaptoh (vi) cough
karas (vi) itch
kasvar, kaskasvar (vi) wash hands
kis (vi) step
koh (vi) exist
lap (vi) fall
le' (vi) marry, be married
long (vi) go, walk
luelu (vi) vomit
lu' (vi) circumcised (only said by women)
lu'lu' (vi) hide
mamam (vi) breastfeed
mat (vi) wake up
mempi'is (vi) turn around
mes (vi) die
metur (vi) sleep, lie down
mimim (vi) urinate
moulei (vi) yawn
movor (vi) split
mo'ot (vi) break
mpuntal (vi) play
mpwarmpwar (vi) crunch food
mpwal (vi) fight
mün (vi) drink
mwas (vi) laugh
mwen (vi) sweat
ngar (vi) cough
ngarangar (vi) breathe
ngarheu (vi) sigh
ngavangap (vi) puff, be out of breath
ngkas (vi) grow
ngkohngkoh (vi) make mess, rubbish
ntumtum (vi) smoke cigarette

pamp (vi) shake, tremble
pis (vi) fart silently
pol (vi) fall over
pwörpwör (vi) have diarrhoea
ra' (vi) work
rop (vi) run
roporop (vi) run
sasa (vi) not exist
seluvur (vi) giggle and lower head in
  embarrassment
seservar (vi) chat, tell story
sevün (vi) sneeze
se'er (vi) lost, missing
sip (vi) climb down
sump (vi) sit, sit down, be seated
sumpsump (vi) sit, sit down, be seated
sung (vi) cook
tal (vi) return, come back
tāris (vi) stand, stand up
temptemp (vi) defecate
teng (vi) cry
tilrorong (vi) listen
ti' (vi) hiccup
tomptomp (vi) have scaly skin from
  drinking too much kava
tongha' (vi) climb hill
top (vi) jump
tor (vi) belch
toto' (vi) stay, be
to' (vi) stay, be
tütüs (vi) write
val (vi) boil
vangas (vi) speak, talk, chat, tell story
vemp (vi) fly
vevemp (vi) fly
vitvit (vi) curly, tangled
vi'is (vi) lie, tell lies, pretend
vurei (vi) spit
vövöp (vi) swim
wamp (vi) snore
vülül (vi) whistle
wiling (vi) come
wop (vi) rain
wulewul (vi) shout
wupwup (vi) blow
ya'asan (vi) green
'ap'ap (vi) circumcised (only said by
  men)

'as mpampa' (vi) (of pig) bite ground/grass/leaves (prior to giving birth)

'as ngöntrngöntr (vi) gnash teeth

'as papa' (vi) chatter (of teeth)

'a'an (vi) eat

6.1.17 TRANSITIVE VERBS

al (vt) sing

lip (vt) give

lumus (vt) wash

liis (vt) see, look at

marangka'e (vt) awaken

mata' (vt) fear, be afraid of

miminting (vt) look at

mpolüng (vt) count

mpur (vt) squeeze

mpütran (vt) step on

mpwar (vt) rub

mpwarampwar (vt) rub

mpwil (vt) kill

mpwösi (vt) throw at, stone

ngarangarmpon (vt) smell

ngis (vt) chew

ngkute' (vt) spoil, damage, be rude to

ngolongol (vt) lick

na' (vt) ressemble

nterem (vt) ask for

ntiil (vt) swallow, choke on

rar (vt) do, make, build

rivi (vt) pull

ronghur (vt) know

sang (vt) hang

sarkom (vt) push

sileu (vt) kick

simp (vt) stab

simpung (vt) forget

sine' (vt) light (fire)

susu (vt) tip out, tip over, pour

su'nta'as (vt) poke out

teviin (vt) bury

titi' (vt) tie, tie up

tur (vt) prick, poke, inject

turtur (vt) sew, thread

vau (vt) give birth to

vin (vt) ressemble, be like

vivei (vt) weave

vi'is (vt) turn over, turn around

vüirpat (vt) break

vurvur (vt) hold, touch

wup (vt) blow

wuswus (vt) refuse to accept, not want

'āi (vt) call, shout to

'an (vt) eat

'as (vt) bite

'il (vt) dig

'impwi' (vt) plant

'oi (vt) scrape, scratch

'oi'oi (vt) scrape, scratch

'omp (vt) throw

6.1.18 PRONOUNS

altüil (p) they, them (tl)

amatang (p) him, her, it

amultiil (p) you (tl)

amuliil (p) you (pl)

amuru (p) you (dl)

inungk (p) you (sg)

kinangk (p) I, me

ngkaltiil (p) we, us (tl:excl)

ngkaliil (p) we, us (pl:excl)

ngkaru (p) we, us (dl:excl)

nam (postposed.p) your (sg)

nangk (postposed.p) my

nangku (preposed.p) my

nan (postpost.p) his, her, its

nin (postposed.p) his, her, its

ntaltüil (p) we, us (tl:incl)

ntaliil (p) we, us (pl:incl)

ntoliil (p) we, us (pl:incl)

numo (preposed.p) your (sg)

nungko (preposed.p) my

raru (p) they, them (dl)

roliil (p) they, them (pl)

'ei (p) he, she, it

6.1.19 MINOR WORD CLASSES

etang (adv) there

i- (poss.n) comitative (with)

i'enti (adv) here

lāvö' (adv) tomorrow

nāti (int) what

ngār (adv) today

lampum (adv) yesterday

latan (adv) below

le- (poss.n) locative (on, in, at), ablative (from)
leilit (adv) inside the yard
leyum (adv) inside
le'eu (adv) over
lingling (adv) too much
mpangka- (poss.n) dative (to)
mpesili (adv) long way away
mputiru (adv) day after tomorrow
nempungru (adv) day before yesterday
mpeveu (adv) long time ago
mwasangantra (adv) almost, nearly
ngka- (poss.n) causal (from, because of)
nisēngki- (poss.n) beside
ntrangka- (poss.n) oblique (of)
ra- (poss.n) instrumental (with), goal (to)
tartar (adv) always
ta'u- (poss.n) behind
tevsii- (poss.n) other side of, opposite, across from
ra- (poss.n) under, beneath
viisar (adv) outside

6.2 ENGLISH-NĀTI FINDERLIST

a *tuwan*
acacia *nömaru*
across *tevsü-*
afraid *mata'*
afternoon *revrev*
alive *mewur*
all *mwahteh*
almost *mwasangantra*
always *tartar*
anchor *na'ai sump nteu*
ankle *matan lamput*
ankle rattle tree *nevangk*
ant, black *nekökalat*
ant, type *nemülunt*
anus *nempis*
appendix *nemap'ai*
arm *nivara-*
armband *nempenpen*
armpit *na'ap*
arrow, multi-pronged *nöngap*
arrow, single-pointed *netumpwel*
arrowroot *nitampuli*
artery *noumpwas*

ash *nömpwisnep*
ashamed *mwal*
ask for *nterem*
at *le-*
awaken *marangka'e*
axe *telei*
back *nita'u-*
bad *mpil*
badly *leilei*
bald *pal*
bald head *nöpal*
bamboo *nēmpu*
bamboo (over which sago is thatched) *nēmpu turtur*
bamboo sliver (used for thatching) *na'ai vör*
bamboo, coloured *nēmpu mwereu*
bamboo, hard *nēmpu 'ai*
bamboo, soft *nēmpu melim*
banana *nēngkit*
banyan *nimpangk*
bark *no'olsi-*
basket *no'ontr*
bat *manvitvit*
beach *nempinwen*
beach hibiscus *mpalangkeu*
beard *nesivulen nehe-*
because of *ngka-*
behaviour *neling*
behind *ta'u-, mpü-*
belch *tor*
below *latan*
belt *nitel tivitiv*
belt, bark *no'olsin na'ai*
bend *kamp*
beneath *va-*
beside *nisēngki-*
big *mpou*
bile *növanmimim*
bird *nimen*
bird, type *nevi'amp'amp*
bite *'as*
bitter *konkon*
black *mütmüt*
blade *matan telei*
bladder *nüvan wupwup*
blind *mpwar*
blood *nintrei*

blow (vt) *wup*
blow (vi)*wupwup*
blowfly *nileng ntavu*
blue *mal'asan*
blue rat's tail *na'ai nter lamput*
blunt *mah*
boar *nimpuas, nömpuas*
boar, castrated *nimpuas urus*
boar, uncastrated *nileseu*
body *nimpe-*
body hair *nesivulen nimpe-*
boil (n) *malavoh*
boil (vi) *val*
bone *mpolongo-*
book *nivol*
bow *nevöh*
bow and arrow *nevöh mpwarangkin*
boxwood, Australian *na'ai milia*
brain *mpwir mpati-*
branch *nümpal*
breadfruit *mpatap*
break (vi) *mo'ot*
break (vt) *vürpat*
bream *nisem nuwangk*
breast *nehuhu-, nisüsü-*
breastfeed *mamam*
breathe *ngarangar*
brother *hala-*
build *rar*
building *niyum*
bull *nömpuluk*
bullet *nilip*
bury *tevün*
bush *nempün'ai*
bushman *malewus*
bush nut tree *nemu'is*
bush sprite *nevingumpu'eu*
butterfly *nempurvemp*
buttocks *nempwü-, nesülü-*
calf (of leg) *nüvanisnis mpulü-*
call (vt) *'āi*
canoe *nuwangk*
canoe tree *ntowop*
cassava *nimanio'*
casuarina *niar*
cattle *nömpuluk*
cave *nempulin nivet*
celebration *nesungian*

ceremony *nengkurtian*
chair *na'ai sumpsump*
chat *seservar, vangas*
chatter (of teeth) *'as papa'*
cheek *netuni-*
chest *mporongko-*
chew *ngis*
chicken *niteu*
child *nempunong*
chin *nehe-*
choke on *ntül*
cicada *nempungli*
circumcised *lu', 'ap'ap*
circumcision *na'ap'apian, nilu'ian*
clam *telei*
clean *palapal*
clench fist *kampulungk*
cliff *nout yelyelyan*
climb down *sip*
climb up *ha'*
climb up hill *tongha'*
clitoris *nivankis*
closed *te'te'*
cloth *niselu*
cloud *nömap*
coastal person *mwarleleu, mwarletes*
coconut *nimētu*
coconut (with hard flesh and fizzy water) *nipwarös*
coconut (with soft flesh and unsweet water) *manvöh tangklin*
coconut (with no flesh but having water) *nentumwa'*
coconut, dry *mētu ngkor*
coconut, green *nömanvöh*
coconut, sprouting *mētu tip*
coconut bud *nuvoh*
coconut crab *nintuwi*
coconut cream *nevusvus, nengkip mētu*
coconut grater *na'ai 'oi mētu*
coconut lory *nesivir*
coconut shell *tangkan mētu*
coconut water *nuhu-*
cold (vi) *mal'ah*
cold (n) *nipür*
comb (n) *na'ai su'nta'as*
comb (of rooster) *nikoror*
come *wiling*

come back *tal*
cook *sung*
cooked *mah*
cooking stones *nivet nevulüs*
coral (washed up on shore)
  ma'avisvat
cordyline *na'ari*
correct *tütüs*
cottonwood *mpwalangkeu*
cough *kaptoh, ngar*
count (vt) *mpolüng*
cow *nömpuluk*
crab, land *neru'um*
crab, rock *na'ap*
crab, sand *na'oup*
crazy *leilei*
crooked *kelekel*
croton *na'ai limpu*
crunch food *mpwarmpwar*
cry *teng*
curly *vitvit*
cycad *nömwail*
cyclone *nilengrap*
damage *ngkute'*
dance *hap*
daughter *nempunong*
day *nempung*
day after tomorrow *mputiru*
day before yesterday *nempungru*
daytime *newut rengian*
dead *mes*
deaf *mporor*
defecate *temptemp*
devil *temös*
devil nettle *nöngkalat*
diarrhoea, have *pwörpwör*
die *mes*
dig (vt) *'il*
dirt *nitan*
dirty *mütmüt*
do *rar*
doctor *nitokta*
dog *nekilu*
door *nempwüsüs, mpo'on yum*
dragon plum *nireu*
dream (n) *nömpwörei*
dream (vi) *lüs nömpwörei*
drink (vt) *mün*

drop-off (on reef) *mporongon na'ahau*
drunk *leilei*
dry *mahmah*
dust *nömpusrep*
ear (poss.n) *ntelnga-*
earthquake *namui*
eat (vt) *'an*
eat (vi) *'a'an*
eel, freshwater *nisolop*
eel, sea *numpou*
egg *mantlö-*
eight (num) *seutül*
eighteen (num) *langavöl nentumön
  seutül*
elbow *mpou vara-, mpompou vara-,
  nümpou vara-*
eleven (num) *langavöl nentumön isi'*
embarrassed *mwal*
emerald dove *nimen mpüspit, nevimar*
European *ampwat*
evening *revrev*
evil spirit *nimpe'ei*
exist *koh, to', toto'*
excrement *nesülü-*
eye *mata-*
eyeball *no'onlin mata-, mantlön mata-*
eyebrow *na'ampoi*
eyelash *nesivulen mata-*
eyelid *no'olsin*
face *no'o-*
fair (complexion) *lütlüt*
fall *lap*
fall over *pol*
fart (with noise) *kah*
fart (silently) *pis*
fashion *neling*
fat (n) *lengleng*
fat (vi) *tamp*
father *tatai*
fear (vt) *mata'*
feast *nesungian*
feather *nempümpo-, nesivule-*
fibre (at top of coconut tree) *nou*
fifteen (num) *langavöl nentumön ilim*
fight (vi) *mpwal*
Fijian asparagus *nevih*
Fijian asparagus, wild *neviemp*
finger *mparu'vara-*

finger, little *avurara'*
finger, middle *avungotngot*
fingernail *nempusü' vara-, mparu' vara-*
fire *na'amp*
firewood *na'amp*
firm (of breasts) *masamas*
fish *mahal*
fishpoison tree *na'ai vut mwölei*
five (num) *ilim*
flesh (of body) *nevü'oh, nömāru*
flesh (of fruit) *no'oni-*
flower *netüvüh*
flower (of coconut) *nevuh har mētu*
flower (of coconut), fallen *nevuh ngkara*
flu *nipür*
fly (n) *nileng*
fly (vi) *vemp, vevemp*
flying fox, black *mankerei, nimankerei*
flying fox, white *nevimpou*
fontanelle *nüngarangar mpati-*
food *na'anian*
foot *mpütempüt mpulü-*
forbidden *limpu*
forearm *levwa'an vara-*
forehead *pwano'o-*
foreskin *no'olsin neusi-*
forget *simpung*
fork *nipok*
four (num) *ivös*
fourteen (num) *langavöl nentumön ivös*
frightened *mata'*
from *le-*
frond (of coconut) *nörö'ei mētu*
fruit *növan*
fruit dove, red bellied *nevümpür*
fruit dove, Tanna *newingkoum*
garden *newut*
garfish *nawantr*
gecko *me'emp, nöme'emp*
giggle (in embarrassment) *seluvur*
ginger, wild *nesivung*
give *lip*
give birth to *vau*
glans (of uncircumcised penis) *növanmpwengk*
gnash teeth *'as ngöntrngöntr*
go *long*

good *leh*
grandfather *avu tot*
grandmother *avu kakap*
grandparent *avu*
grass *nömwönei*
gratings *mopsü-*
great hog plum *növwan sarwei, növu sarwei*
green *'asan, ya'asan*
green snail *mpēngk*
grey-haired *war*
ground *nitan*
grounds *mopsü-*
grow (vi) *ngkas*
gully *nempwilngkalngkal*
gums *mpurongo-*
gun *nevöh*
hair *nesivule-*
hair, grey *mpatwar*
hand *nivara-*
handle *nivar*
hang (vt) *sang*
hard *pwarös*
hawk *nimpal, nömpal*
head *mpati-*
heart *nivwanavüs*
heavy *ntip*
heliconia *nörö'ei mpwarangkin*
hen *nevin mpwar teu*
here *i'enti*
hermit crab *nempwira'teu*
heron *limpanwi*
hibiscus *nesingkeul*
hiccup *ti'*
hide (vi) *lu'lu'*
hill *neru'uh*
hip *mwöngke-*
hold *vurvur*
honeyeater *mpatmömal, no'ovwil*
hot *pilpil*
house *niyum*
hundred (num) *mwarlala' ilim*
hungry *vutol*
husband *nemurut*
husk *mpasvu-*
idea *nentrimtrimian*
ill *mā'*
in (poss.n) *le-*

index finger *avukintuas*
Indian coral tree *nintar*
inject *tur*
in-law *ale'*
insect, type *temös luelu, no'ut nengkit*
inside *leyum, leilit*
intestine *nehihi-*
intestine, large *nehihin timpou, na'avut*
intestine, small *nehihin tivāri*
island cabbage *na'avus nuwangk*
itch *karas*
job *nera'ian*
joint *na'ai wuntwunt*
jump *top*
kava *nömpun'untr*
kick (vt) *sileu*
kidney *nüvan matitu*
kill *mpwil*
kingfisher *nempwilmis*
knee *nümpou mpulü-, mpou mpulü-, mpompou mpulü-*
kneecap *tangkan mpulü-*
knife *na'aimes*
know *ronghur*
lagoon *nitesri'*
land *niten*
landslide *nomuru*
language *nilo', nivangasian*
large *mpou*
laugh *mwas*
lazy *ngohngoh*
leaf *nörö'ei*
leaf (of coconut frond) *nevwintru'*
leech *nentün*
left *ntalmeir*
leftovers *mopsü-*
leg *nempulü-*
lice *no'ut*
lick *ngolongol*
lie down *metur*
lie, tell *vi'is*
life *nemewurian*
light (in weight) *marasras*
light (fire) *sine'*
lip *no'olsin mpongo-*
lisefsef *nevingumpu'eu*
listen *tilrorong*
little *vāri*

liver *nümamp mütmüt*
living *mewur*
lizard, green *nilei*
lobster *nuwur*
long *mpārap*
long time ago *mpeveu*
long way off *mpesili*
look at *lüs, miminting*
loose *katkat*
lose weight *rem*
lost *se'er*
love magic *nömwalangkil*
lower head (im embarrassment) *selevur*
lung *nümamp mövüs*
lychee *ninteu*
mackerel *nimpung*
mad *leilei*
magic *nilaplap*
maggot *ta'aran leng ntavu, nesülün leng ntavu*
make *rar*
make mess *ngkohngkoh*
Malay apple *na'avi'*
man *nemurut*
mango *nömāngko*
mangrove *nitong*
manner *neling*
many *ilamp*
marriage *nile'ian*
married *le'*
marry *le'*
mast *no'umpou nuwangk*
mat *nentri'*
meal *na'anian*
meeting house *na'amel*
megapode *niteu mweleu*
millipede *na'aransangk, na'aran nisangk*
missing *se'er*
molar *kankan malum*
money *nimwönei*
moon *nivül*
Moreton Bay chestnut *nevirit*
morning *levwa'hat*
mosquito *teu'as*
mother *amo'*
moustache *nesivulen mpongo-*
mouth *mpongo-*

mud *nelimp*
mullet *na'ines*
muscle *nevü'oh, nömāru*
muscle, long and thin *mārusolop*
nakaemas *nimpe'ei*
naked *malamal*
name *ne'ia-*
native almond *nengei*
navel *nempütü-*
navinue *nevinu*
nearly *mwasangantra*
neck *nintolo-*
new *vövöu*
night *levwa'at*
nine (num) *seuvei*
nineteen (num) *langavöl nentumön
  seuvei*
nits *mwer'is*
nose *neangkunhu-*
nostril *nempulin ngkunhu-*
nostril hair *nesivulen ngkunhu-*
not exist *sasa*
not want *wuswus*
oar *nuvoh*
octopus *no'oiyit*
oesophagus *nevüntülntül*
old man *nimwarlang, nimwarlamp*
on (poss.n) *le-*
one (num) *isi'*
onion *növwan nouloul*
open (vi) *mangk*
orange tree *nomul, nemul*
other *sili*
outrigger *nisem*
outrigger peg *növwilangkalangk*
outrigger pole *növwin 'ei*
outside *vüsar*
oven *nevulüs*
over *le'eu*
owl *nevimpwan*
painful *rar*
palm (of hand) *nemüsün vara-*
palm tree *nö'ulip*
pandanus *nempirip*
pandanus, wild *niva'*
paper *nivol*
parrot *nesivir*
parrotfish *male'es*

path *nahal*
pawpaw *mpatap tampwat*
pen *nipen*
pencil *nipen*
penis *neusi-*
penis wrapper *na'avsü-*
penis wrapper leaf *nörö'ei 'ap'ap*
pig *nimpuas, nömpuas*
pig, hermaphrodite *nitaras*
pigeon, Pacific *no'oiyimp*
pillow *na'ai teulang*
pith (of sprouting coconut) *nentüvü-*
place *newut*
place, forbidden *amel*
plant (vt) *'impwi'*
plate *nempilet*
play *mpuntal*
poisonwood *nö'ulas*
poke *tur*
poke out *su'nta'as*
pole (connecting corner posts) *na'ai
  sevö', na'ai hur sengkin*
pole (smaller) *nēmpu tarapwir*
polyscias tree *nalap, nilap*
pool *nempwilampwil*
post *no'umpou*
post, corner *no'umpou momo'*
post, roof *no'umpou murut*
pour *susu*
prawn *nuwur*
praying mantis *na'ingkeumpatap*
pregnant *sian*
pretend *vi'is*
prick *tur*
prickle *nesu'*
prow *nehen mpuas, mpongon wangk*
pubic area *nisanga-, nempatra-*
pubic hair *nesivulen sanga-, mpwaltara-*
pudding *na'arös*
pudding (baked in bamboo) *na'arös
  sesongon*
pudding, banana *na'arös nengkit*
pudding, cassava *na'arös manio'*
puff *ngavangap*
pull *rivi*
push *sarkom*
puzzle tree *nemintangk*
rafter (at end of house) *na'ai hu'hu'*

rail (around top of canoe) *niso'*
rail, banded *nempila'*
rain (vi) *wop*
rain (n) *nuwuh*
rainbow *mpatin mo'ot*
rat *nelemput*
red *mömal*
real *mpwarangkin*
reef *mpwatahau, na'ahau*
reef, hole in *nempwilvor*
refuse *wuswus*
ressemble *vin, na'*
return (vi) *tal*
rib *mpolongon vwilal*
rice *nirais*
ridge of nose *na'ai ngkunhu-*
ridge pole (of house) *na'ai humpwen*
rifle *nevöh*
righthand *mpwarangkin*
ring finger *avusanvulu*
ringworm *nupot*
road *nahal*
rock *nivet*
rosewood, New Guinea *nesumpul*
rooster *niteu murut*
root *na'aran*
rope *nitel*
rope (for tying roof) *te'es niyum*
rotten *mpu*
rub *mpwar, mpwarampwar*
rubbish *nöngkohngkoh*
rude to, be *ngkute'*
run *rop, roporop*
sago *newuriet*
sail *nesilu nuwangk*
salt *nirer nites*
saltwater *nites*
sand *nempinwen*
sandalwood *na'ai mpungrop*
sap *nohu-*
sardine *mpwatampur*
satiated *mpwuntr*
saucepan *nesuspen*
scabies *nükar*
scaly skin, have (from drinking too much kava) *tomptomp*
scorpion *na'aransangk, na'aran nisangk*
scrape *'oi, 'oi'oi*

scratch *'oi, 'oi'oi*
sea *nites*
sea almond *telis, nitelis*
sea cucumber *nehuhun mpwelei*
sea hearse tree *nempirmpir*
sea urchin *na'ai surei*
seasnake *nömevial*
seaweed *nelum*
seat *na'ai sumpsump*
see *lüs*
seed *no'uli-*
semen *nengkir*
sensitive grass *neusmes*
seven (num) *seuru*
seventeen (num) *langavöl nentumön seuru*
sew (vt) *turtur*
shake *pamp*
shake hands *armpirvar*
shark *mpe'ep mövüs*
sharp *kan, makan*
shell (of coconut) *tangkan mētu*
shellfish *nitu*
shellfish, small *mpatla'*
shin *napwil*
shirt *nisat*
short *mpö'ampö*
shorts *nitrausis*
shoulder *mpatava-*
shout *wulewul*
shrimp, freshwater *nimahalpang, nömahalpang*
shut (vi) *te'te'*
shy *mwal*
sick *mā'*
side (of body) *nevwilal*
sigh *ngarheu*
sing (vt) *al*
sing (vi) *alial*
sister *vene-*
sit *sump, sumpsump*
six (num) *seusi'*
sixteen (num) *langavöl nentumön seusi'*
skid *melengklengk*
skin *no'olsi-*
skink *nimerei*
skinny *motongk*
skirt, fibre *nempuher*

skirt, mat *ne'ismpet*
skull *mpalangkan mpati-*
sky *melingk*
slack *katkat*
sleep *metur*
sleep (**in eye**) *numon*
sleepy *ep*
slide *melengklengk*
slip *melengklengk*
slippery *melengklengk*
small *vāri*
smegma *nülop neusi-*
smell (vt) *ngarangarmpon*
smell (n) *nömpo-*
smoke (n) *nentung*
smoke cigarette *ntumtum*
snake *nömwat*
snapper *nisem nuwangk*
sneeze *sevün*
snore *wamp*
snot *nöngar*
soft *malum, melim*
soil *niten*
sole (**of foot**) *nemüsün mpulü-,*
   mpütempüt
some *sut*
son *nempunong*
song *numpoi*
sorcery *nimpe'ei*
sore (n) *nima'ap*
sore (vi) *rar*
sour *konkon*
sow *mpwelei*
speak *vangas*
spear *nömwas*
speech *nivangasian*
spider *nengkingkapleu*
spine *na'ai sin ta'u-*
spinefoot fish *nitangk*
spit (vi) *vurei*
spit (n) *nevurei*
split (vi) *movor*
spoil *ngkute'*
spring (**of water**) *matan wei*
squeeze *mpur*
stab *simp*
stand (vi) *tāris*
star *nömosi*

stay *to', toto'*
stem (**of coconut frond**) *mpengkes*
step *kis*
step on *mpütran*
stern (**of canoe**) *nempwün wangk*
stinking *mpu*
stinkwood *nömpus*
stingray *nivei*
stomach *niveti-, na'avuti-*
stone (n) *nivet*
stone (vt) *mpwösi*
story *nentinghurian*
straight *tütüs*
strong *pwarös*
stubborn person *mpwatrar*
sugarcane *nömpwah*
sun *ninal*
sunshine *ninal*
swallow (vt) *ntül*
swamp harrier *nimpal, nömpal*
sweat (n) *nömwen*
sweat (vi) *mwen*
sweet *kaskas*
sweet potato *kakal vovu*
swell *timp*
swim *vövöp*
swollen *timp*
table *nitep*
taboo *limpu*
Tahitian chestnut *nines*
talk *vangas*
tall *mpārap*
tamanu *nimpa'ur, nömpa'ur*
tangled *vitvit*
taro *nahaleng*
taro, giant *nahaleng mpwa'ai*
taro, wild *nahaleng kar*
teak *ne'umou, no'umou*
tear (n) *nuhun mata-*
tell story *seservar, vangas*
temple *nitu*
ten (num) *langavöl*
tendon *nou*
testicle *niloho-*
thatch *melangan karar, ntüis na'ai vör*
there *etang*
thigh *nempura-*
thin *motongk*

think *ntrimtrim*
thirsty *mantru*
thirteen (num) *langavöl netumön itül*
thorn *nesu'*
thought *nentrimtrimian*
thread (vt) *turtur*
three (num) *itül*
threshold (of door) *mpulmpul*
throw *'omp*
throw at *mpwösi*
thumb *ampwat, ampwat vara-*
thunder *nevülvaravar*
tide *nieu*
tie *titi'*
tinea *nupot*
tip over *susu*
tired *ngohngoh, milimp*
to (allative) *mpile-*
to (dative) *mpangka-*
to (goal) *ra-*
today *ngār*
toe *mparu' mpulü-*
toenail *nempusü' mpulü-*
toilet area (for men) *amel*
toilet area (for women) *levulünt*
tomorrow *lāvö'*
tongue *malampung*
too much *lingling*
tooth *nelivo-*
tornado *nilengtelntel*
touch *vurvur*
tree *na'ai*
tree fern *na'ai rahmpwar*
tree poison *nimesian*
tremble *pamp*
triton *tāvu*
trochus *nilal*
trousers *nitrausis*
true *mpwarangkin*
trunk *mpati-*
turn (vt) *vi'is*
turn (vi) *mempi'is*
turtle *nömpwa'*
twelve (num) *langavöl nentumön iru*
twenty (num) *mwarlala' isi'*
twenty-one (num) *mwarlala' isi'*
  no'oron isi'

twenty-two (num) *mwarlala' isi'*
  no'oron iru
twisted (into dreadlocks) *pülpül*
two (num) *iru*
uncombed *lislis, mwösei*
under *va-*
urethral opening (of male) *mpongon*
  neusi-
urinate *mimim*
urine *nimümüm*
vagina *nevü'ü-, nevue-*
vein *nou*
village *mpwasar*
vine *nitel*
vomit (vi) *luelu*
vomit (n) *nelu*
wake up (vi) *mat*
walk *long*
wall (of house) *mpatin mpwüsüs*
wash *lumus*
wash hands *kasvar, kaskasvar*
wasp *nevöveres*
water *nuwei*
waterfall *nehip*
water taro *nempwiangk*
wave *nöngol*
wax (in ear) *nengkil*
weak *milimp*
weave *vivei*
wedding *nile'ian*
wet *mil*
whale *lintumtum*
what (int) *nāti*
whistle *vülül*
white *mövüs*
white-eye, yellow *nevwilala'*
whitewood *na'ai mpwat*
wife *nimomo'*
wild cane *növonwi*
wind *nileng*
window *matmoas*
windpipe *növuntülntül*
wing *nesivulen vara-*
wing (of flying fox) *nevi'amp'amp*
with (comitative) (poss.n) *i-*
with (instrumental) (poss.n) *ra-*
woman *nimomo'*
womb *no'ontr mpunong*

wood *na'ai*	**yam**, *nimpwa'ai*
wood borer *nevinri, nempungli*	**yam, greater** *ne'imp*
wood grub *nentu'ei*	**yam, lesser** *kakal, nevuleu kaskas*
work (vi) *ra'*	**yam, wild** *növwas*
work (n) *nera'ian*	**yard** *neilit*
worm *nentules*	**yawn** *moulei*
wrinkled *katkat*	**yellow** *lütlüt*
write (vi) *tütüs*	**yesterday** *lampum*

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AWAD BING GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

D.J. BENNETT AND R.J. BENNETT

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The Awad Bing language[2] is an Austronesian language, the largest in the East Bel group (Ross 1988), spoken by about 1,450 people, most of whom live in six main villages and a few scattered hamlets on the Rai coast of Madang Province, approximately 130km south east of Madang by road, and from approximately 8km to 20km by road, west of Saidor, the government district headquarters. The language which is the most closely related to 'Awad Bing' is 'Wab', a language spoken by three villages around Saidor. Often when people from Yamai and Wab villages meet, they will converse with each in their own language. Mindiri forms the third language in the East Bel group.

The name for the language has been somewhat problematical, and most names used refer to a particular village or dialect and do not identify the whole language. One of the more common names used has been Biliau (Bennett 1986 and Ross 1988, and others). This is the

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[1] Abbreviations used in this article include the following:

1,2, or 3	Person	f.neg	Functional negator	pst	Past
act	Actor	f.tim	Future time	pst.tme	Past time
ap	Apposition marker	foc	Focus	pl	Plural
asp	Aspect	gl	Goal	p	Posessive
assoc	Associative marker	gvn	Given	posib	Possibly
ben	Benefactive	hab	Habitual	pres	Present
C	Consonant	imm	Imminent	proc	Process
cnj	Conjunction	imp	Imperitive	pron	Pronoun
com	Comitative (Accompaniment)	in	Inclusive	quant	Quantifier
conc	Concurrent	indef	Indefinite	rcp	Reciprocal
cont	Continuous aspect	ins	Instrument	rdp	Reduplicated
cpr	Comparitive	inten	Intensifier	rflx	Reflex
cpl	Completive aspect	inter	Interrogative	rlt	Result
cpd	Compound	irr	Irrealis	rt	Root
deic	Deictic	loc	Locative	s	Singular
dem	Demonstrative	mkr	Marker	semb	Semblative
desid	Desiderative	mod	Modifier	sim	Simultaneous
dist.mk	Distinguishing mark	neg	Negative	spec	Specific
dtv	Dative	nom	Nominaliser	sub	Subject
dur	Durative	NP	Noun phrase	uct	Uncertain
emph	Emphasis	obj	Object	V	Vowel
ex	Exclusive	obj.fr	Object fronting marker		

[2] All people speaking the language, living both in the local census area and throughout Papua New Guinea were all listed and tallied by coworkers in June 1992. Note: It was assumed that in mixed marriages, children born to Awad Bing women will learn the language, whilst those born to Awad Bing men are more likely to learn their mothers' language, and so were not included.

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name of a coastal village, the name of the Lutheran church mission station and the local Lutheran church circuit. The language has also been referred to by several of the other village names of the group and as *sengam* by Z'ggraggen, meaning 'what' in Galeg village. The Suit villagers refer to the language as *semang* and in the other villages it is called *samang* (what) or *bing* (word/language). The words for 'what' indicate the division of three main dialects, ie Galeg, Suit and the other villages; although in effect there is a fourth at Yamai village in the *samang* dialect. The most noticable distinguishing feature is a phonological change from 'z' (at Biliau, Teterai and traditionally at Malangai) to 'd'. The name which the language committee has chosen is *Awad Bing*, 'talk of our(incl) mouths'. It is common to all dialects.

The first missionary, a Samoan man named Jerome, came to the area in the mid 1920s and settled at Sangpat near Galeg village. The Bel language was used as the church language and as the language for education until the 'tok ples' (Bel) school program closed in the area. As a result the Bel language has had an influence through the contribution of vocabulary, especially in Christian religious terminology. Pidgin is spoken by all Awad Bing speakers. This too has had a significant influence on the current vocabulary, especially on names for new items being introduced into the culture. There are many descriptive language names for such items, e.g. *mahan-waag* = 'bird-boat' for 'aeroplane' and *wiiy wahalbad* = 'four legs' for 'car'; but now the younger generation is substituting pidgin terminology and mocking the the continued use of the adapted vocabulary, thus increasing the pidginisation of the language.

This study is mainly based on transcribed text material (converted to the Yamai dialect if necessary) which we gathered over a period of 5 years from the four villages, Teterai, Yamai, Biliau and Malangai. Examples will be written in the Yamai dialect.

Little material has been obtained from Galeg and Suit villages which have substantial differences in many of their words. The villages were approx 84% and 82% cognate respectively, with Teterai (our initial location), using the standard SIL word list and checking that at least 50% of the letters were in the right sequence.

We wish to express our gratitude to our friends in the language group, especially the people of Yamai village, and particularly to the Nus Baran family, Kunumang Baran and Yann Kubai for sharing their insights into their own language and their patience in teaching it to us. We also wish to thank fellow members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics whose guidance made this analysis possible, and in particular Bruce Waters. We are also grateful to Malcolm Ross from ANU for insights he shared on serial verbs.
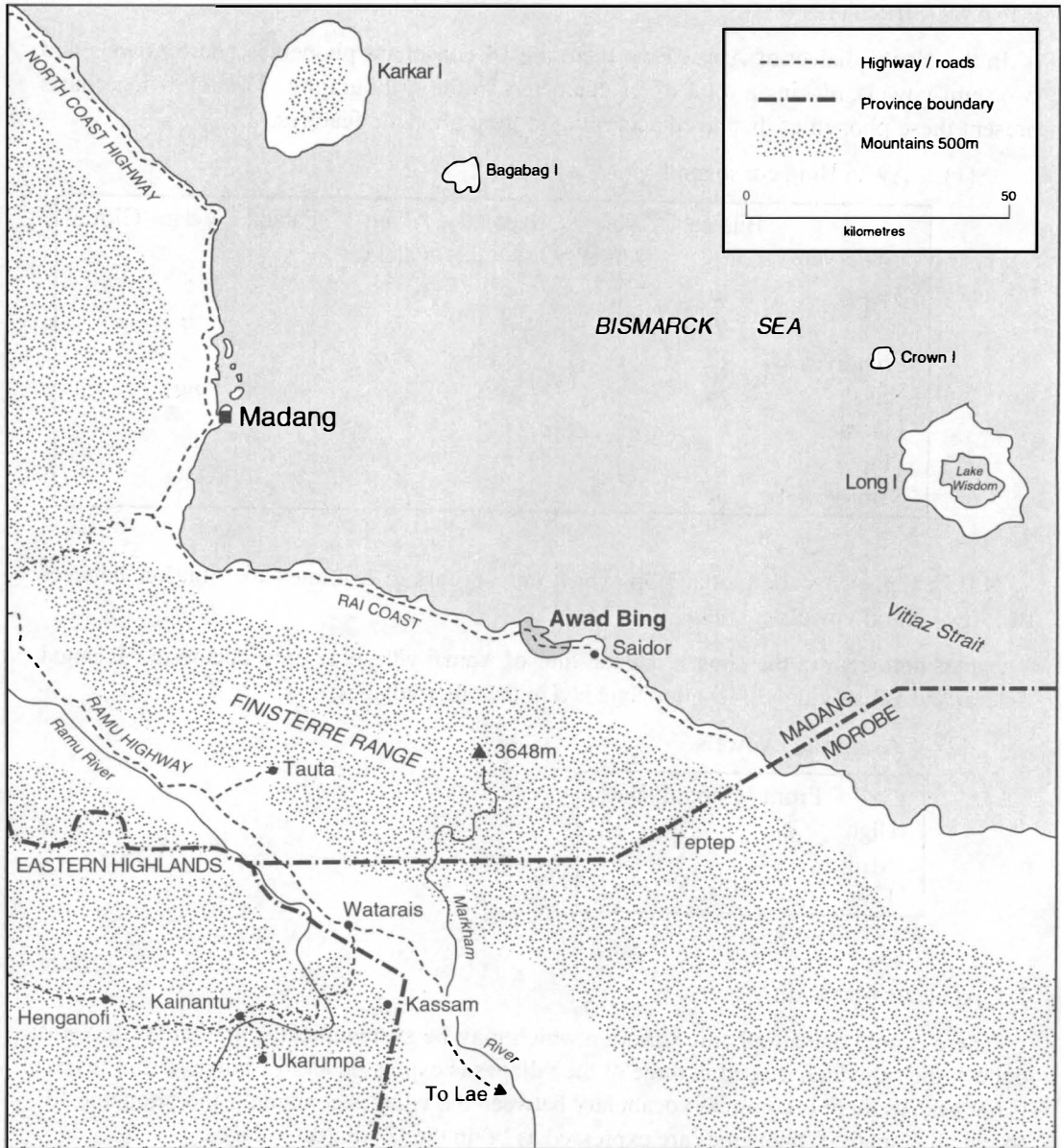
MAP: LOCATION OF THE AWAD BING LANGUAGE, MADANG PROVINCE

2. PHONOLOGY

This discussion of Awad Bing phonology is intended only to provide some basic information to the reader to assist in the interpretation of the examples presented in this paper. (For a more complete presentation, see Bennett 1986).

2.1 Awad Bing phonemes

In the Yamai dialect of Awad Bing there are 14 consonant phonemes and 5 vowels and two semi-vowels, making a total of 21 characters in the orthography. The following charts present these phonemes displayed according to their phonetic features.

(1)   Awad Bing consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	*p*		*t*			*k*	*(h)*
	b		*d*			*g*	
Fricatives		*f*	*s*	*(z)*			
Nasals	*m*		*n*			*ng*	
Lateral			*l*				
Flap			*r*				
Semi-vowels	*w*				*y*		

N.B. *h* represents the glottal stop which only occurs in a limited distribution between two low-central vowels e.g. *aha*.

z does not occur in the chosen dialect, that of Yamai village. It only occurs in Malangai, Teterai and Biliau villages. Its allophone is *d* in the other villages.

(2)   Awad Bing vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i*		*u*
Mid	*e*		*o*
Low		*a*	

2.2 Allophonic variations

There is only one allophonic variation which may be systematically predicted. In Yamai dialect, the 'z' which is used in three of the villages is expressed as 'd', however the reverse is not true, as there is common vocabulary between the villages containing the phoneme 'd', so not all Yamai 'd' phonemes are expressed as 'z' in the 'Z' dialect villages.

Another but quite limited allophonic variation which is lexically determined is the expression of the phoneme 'p' in the word initial position in the 'Z' dialect as 'f' in the Yamai dialect.

2.3 Syllables, words and stress

Words in Awad Bing are phonological stress groups consisting of from one to six syllables. Stress is usually predictable, occurring on the penultimate syllable of each word, with very few exceptions which do not appear to form a predictable class, but are stressed on the ultimate syllable providing a contrast to the penultimate stress.

Words in Awad Bing form a speech continuum and thus often the borders between word types are somewhat fuzzy.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 NOUNS

Nouns in Awad Bing fill the head slot in noun phrases, and compared to verbs have few affixes.

3.1.1 NOUN CATEGORIES

There are several ways in which to categorise nouns. Some of these categories are determined on the basis of formal contrasts e.g. common versus proper nouns, and alienable versus inalienable nouns. Each of these may consist of a simple or compound noun root.

3.1.1.1 COMMON NOUNS

Simple common nouns consist of a noun root which can occur alone or in isolation, see examples (3)–(5).

(3) *aab*
house

(4) *tamuol*
man

(5) *karangruong*
brown ant sp.

Compound nouns consist of a complex of roots, usually two noun roots in juxtaposition, however sharing one primary stress between them (unmarked) and not having individual word stress, i.e. individual stress per root/noun. They are also very frequently used, in comparison to compound noun phrases, which are heard much less and so are not perceived, and consequently not spoken, as a unit.

(6) *awul   anangey*
hook   fruit.of
fish hook

(7) *tamuol peen*
man   woman
people

(8) *yamer midiliy*
cloth   short
policeman

(9)   *gising   mingaw*
    writing   knowledge
    school teacher

These may be further divided into subgroups according to their ability to be followed by the locative clitic *-an*, alone. People, plants, animals and those things which are more 'thing'-like semantically, for example, 'canoes' cannot take *-an* when in that role. Rather they must have a more specific adverbial locative, e.g. 'near' to which the general locative clitic is appended. All nouns which are able to take the locative clitic alone can also be more definitely specified, as in examples (12) and (13).

(10)   ***goon   bad   tamuol-an badey***
      dog   a   man-loc   is
* N.B. example (10) above is structurally but not semantically possible.

(11)   *goon   bad   tamuol singiy-an badey*
      dog   a   man   near-loc   is
      a dog is near the man

(12)   *Nam aab-an   y-alal.*
      1s   house-loc 1s-go.rdp
      I am going to the house.
(N.B. 'house' here is a definite location, near at hand)

(13)   *Mutmuut aab   paparum-an   badey*
      rubbish   house underneath-loc is
      There is rubbish under the house.
(N.B. here 'house' is a specific location)

3.1.1.2 ALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS:

Another division which can be made between types of nouns is that between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. This distinction is made on the basis of the conjugation of inalienable nouns and most kin terms for possession by a possessive pronominal suffix.

Alienably possessed nouns have a freeform possessive pronoun to mark them. Some examples of the free form possessive pronouns are:

(14)   *nanew   goon*
      1s.p   dog
      my dog

(15)   *mimim   bafalow*
      2pl.p   buffalo
      your(pl) buffalo

(16)   *miniy   aruor*
      3s.p   string.bag
      her bilum (string bag)

(17) *Niyoum* **dawaw** *mamaham* **waag** *fangey-an badey.*
    2s.p   betelnut 1pl.p.ex   canoe on.top-loc is
    Your betelnut is on our(ex) canoe.

3.1.1.3 INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS

Amongst the inalienable nouns (and kin terms) there are a few exceptions. Kin terms of address, i.e. the way in which a person refers to another, are inflectable, but sometimes this form is quite different to the forms for reference. These are the exception rather than the rule, for example see (18), (19) and (20) below.

(18) *kak*
    older brother (naming term)

compared to:

(19) *taw-aham*
    older.sib-2s.p
    your older brother

(20) *taw-ey*
    older.sib-3s.p
    his older brother

Kin terms of address do not take posessive suffixes, but instead they may occur with a free form possessive pronoun, as in example (21) below.

(21) *nanew* **maam**
    1s.p   father
    my father

There are some body parts also which form part of the exception to taking the inalienable possessive suffix. These I believe have reasonable semantic justification, 'that of being items usually only referred to in 3rd person forms, in animals slaughtered, etc. and not being a personal body part commonly referred to.' These body parts do not take the possessive suffixes, e.g.:

(22) *yiryir*
    liver

(23) *gawgaaw*
    lung

(24) *miniy ragraag*
    3s.p   ribs
    his ribs

Occasionally for emphasis, or as an exclamation, terms which normally function without free form pronouns will have these added. This usage however does not occur in normal discourse.

(25) *Yin wiiy   suoy di yin buab sagsag 'nanew wiiy-ew   nanew wiiy-ew!'*
3s foot.3s stab cnj 3s yell strongly 1s.p   foot-1s.p 1s.p   foot-1s.p
He stabbed his foot and screamed 'my foot! my foot!'

Body parts which take a possessive suffix may also take the locative *-an* where appropriate, for example (26). They are not however inflected with the other locative suffix *-ay*.

(26) **dim-iy-an**   *tey*
hand-3s.p-loc put
put it in his hand

3.1.1.3.1 COMPOUND FORMS

Some inalienably possessed body parts consist of compounds. In these the first part of the compound takes the possessive suffix.

(27) *wiy-em gugor*
leg-2s   toe
your toe(s)

(28) *ate-w   bibiy*
underside-1s   ?
my chest

N.B. For a listing of possessive suffixes in tabular form, see the section on pronouns.

3.1.1.4 PROPER NOUNS

These are the names of people or places. They are never possessed, specified or modified by an adjective.

(29) *Madiy*
Madiy
a man's name

(30) *Galeg*
Galeg
name of a village

Some names are compounds consisting of a proper noun plus a common noun, e.g.: often a woman's name consists of a proper noun plus *peen* the word for 'woman'.

(31) *Subon   peen*
Subon   woman
a lady's name

(32) *Saliem   awey*
Saliem   mouth
ground name (of a river mouth) (sounds like 'selemoy')

3.1.2 DERIVATION OF NOUNS

Verbs are nominalised principally through the suffixing of morphemes to the verb root.

There are four basic forms of the nominalising suffixes. There do not appear to be any semantic or morphological conditioning of which one is used on a given verb, and so we assume that the conditioning is lexical.

3.1.2.1 *-ang* AFFIX

The verbs in (33) below, undergo a morphophonemic change in the verb root to agree in vowel roundness with the suffix *-ang*. Elision, similar to that occurring in the first syllable when verbs are reduplicated, occurs here before the morphophonemic change from rounded to unrounded vowels, where there were rounded vowels in the stem. The following examples of this process show that these tend to be abstract nouns, i.e. items which aren't physically touchable.

(33)

Verb Root		Noun	
buab	animal cry	*bibang*	a bellow
buol	talk	*bilang*	a speech
luong	know	*lingang*	knowledge
yien	sleep	*yinang*	a sleep
yuok	scare	*yikang*	a scare
roy	to plan	*riyang*	a plan
badey	be	*badeyang*	lifestyle
nguror	snore	*ngirang*	a snore
yuw	blow	*yahang*	wind**

**with this form there has been elision of the first syllable of the noun and a morphonemic change with the insertion of a glottal stop in the ultimate syllable.

(34) *Miniy **bilang**-an nam ya-msasus.*
his speech-loc I I-avoid
I avoid his speech.

(35) *Nam **wunang**-an mow ya-bdey.*
I fishing-loc hab I-am
I spend my time at fishing.

(36) *Goon **bibang** wangeey-mat du-bubuab.*
dog bark big-many 3pl-bark.rdp
The dogs made a lot of noise barking.

(37) ***Yahang** man ahay labniy **yuw** siy.*
wind foc tree leaf blow come
The wind blew the leaves.

3.1.2.2 *-uong* AFFIX

With the suffix *-uong*, the verb root does not usually undergo a morphophonemic change. The following are examples of this process which show that most of these tend to be abstract nouns.

(38)   Verb root   Noun
       fing   whistle   *fanguong*   a whistle sound
       ngung   hum   *nganguong*   hum
       suwyey   read   *suwyeyuong*   thing to read
       tahak   stuck   *taktakuong*   glue
       yaw   rest   *yawuong*   a holiday
       wung   wash   *wunguong*   a washing
       par   walk   *paruong*   treacherous one*

*This term is a colloquial term (with an extension of meaning) which arose from those whose way of life was treacherous to the community and now only occasionally used for an undesirable person.

(39)   *Niuspepa*   **suwyeyuong**   *miniy*   *badey*   *i?*
       newspaper   for.reading   purpose   exists   inter
       Do you have a newspaper for reading? (i.e. not smoking)

(40)   *Wun*   **taktakuong**   *bid*   *i?*
       2s   glue   com   inter
       Do you have any glue?

(41)   *Kadub*   *mini*   **nganguong**   *nang*   *neysong.*
       Kadub   3s.p   humming   deic   different
       Kadub's humming is different.

(42)   *Wun*   **fanguong**   *bad*   *nang lunguong i?*
       you   whistle   a   deic hear   inter
       Can you hear that whistling?

3.1.2.3 *-ing* AFFIX

The third affix *-ing* with the verb root sometimes undergoing a morphophonemic change. The following are examples of this process which show that these may either be abstract or non-abstract nouns.

(43)   Verb Root   Noun
       diwey   laugh   *diwiying*   laughter
       fahad   whistle   *fading*   a lip whistle
       fing   whistle   *finging*   a finger whistle
       fung   beat   *finging*   a beating
       gis   write   *gising*   the writing
       lung   drink   *linging*   a drink
       wahag   call   *wahaging*   a call
       ying   dance   *yinging*   a dance

sir	fill up	*sirsiring*	clothes
yuw	blow	*yuwing*	way of blowing a fire

(44) *Gamey yiduom **yinging** bad yoy fus-an.*
now   night   dance   a   f.tim appear-irr
Tonight there'll be a dance.

(45) *Wun **waging** bad nang lunguong i?*
You call   indef deic hear   inter
Did you hear a shout.

(46) *Kerosin yin **linging** damung.*
kerosine 3s drink   bad
Kerosine is a dangerous drink.

That this affix derives mainly factitive nouns may be seen from the following table and the examples below it.

(47)

Verb		Noun	
dos	sit	*dising*	for sitting
nahay	cook	*naynaying*	for cooking
palul	run	*palaling*	running
ruw	dig	*ruwing*	for digging
tung	light	*tining*	for lighting

(48) ***Dising** abahay o.noog badey.*
sitting   place   over.there be
The thing to sit on is over there.

(49) ***naynaying** miniy abang w-ab siy*
for.cooking 3s.p   things 2s.get 2s.come
bring the cooking utensils

(50) *Nam **palaling** wiy sag ya-siy.*
I   running with only I-came
I came running (all the way).

(51) *taan **ruwing** miniy nahal*
ground digging 3s.p time
the time for digging the ground

3.1.2.4 *-eng/ieng* AFFIX

Another possible grouping could include those which have an *-eng* ending as in (52) below:

(52)

Verb Root		Noun	
feng	hand whistle	*fangeng*	a whistle style
mahat	die	*matieng*	dead person
par	walk	*parieng*	style of walking

yaw	rest	*yawieng*	holiday
wung	wash	*wungieng*	a washing

(53) *Kolin   miniy   parieng*
Colin   3s.p   walk
Colin's walking style

It would appear that there should be a phonological or semantic rationale for the above categories, however, so far none has been found. They seem to be units in their own right.

At this point in time it has not been established why the different endings occur. In one case, *par* 'walk' and possibly more, different endings are attached to the same verb roots producing different meanings, and in several cases, e.g. *yaw* 'rest', and *wuong* 'wash', identical meanings. It appears that there may be some morphological government of endings, (however as there are meaning changes this is not very likely).

3.1.2.5 ADJECTIVISING A VERB

When adjectivising a verb, a duplicated form of the verb is used, however with the elision of the glottal stop (if it was present) and the suffix *-iy* is affixed, as in (50) below. This indicates a state which exists now having occurred in past time.

(54) *Abang   mul-muol-iy   sag   yabab.*
thing   fall-fall-adj   only   I-get.rdp
I just got the fallen ones.

(55) *Yiy   matmaatiy,   yiy   bad   kiringkurung   d-ab   tiyaham!*
fish   dead   fish   neg   make.noise   3pl-get   not
The fish were dead, the fish didn't make a sound!

3.2 PRONOUNS

3.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are 7 basic free personal pronouns, with a simple singular-plural differentiation, however for 1st person plural, a difference between inclusive and exclusive exists .

(56)
Person	Singular Form	Plural Form
1st	*nam*	*mam* (ex)
		yid (in)
2nd	*wun*	*an*
3rd	*yin*	*yin*

(57) *Nam   aw-ey   ya-bit.*
1s   mouth-3s   1s-ignore
I ignored what she said.

(58) *Mam   Saidor-an   m-al   gam   ma-siy.*
1pl.ex   Saidor-loc   1pl.ex-go   then   1pl.ex-come
We went to Saidor and then we came.

In normal speech, frequently the personal pronoun will be missing, as verbs contain an obligatory subject agreement prefix which cross-references the people or things spoken about (as the subject and/or object of an utterance) as in the example below:

(59) *ariya   ya-ray   siy   yiy   nang*
     so.then   1s-pull 3s.come fish   that
     so then I pulled that fish in

3.2.1.1 THE DUAL *tam*

There is a pronoun like word *tam* 'two together' which in effect gives a duality, but there are no separate pronouns for such. It denotes an emphasis on two people doing something together and is quite specific for people (i.e. it is not used where animals accompany people, or for inanimate objects). It may be used in conjunction with any of the plural forms, to designate or limit the number to two people being referred to.

Refer to example (456) in 5.3.1, and the examples below:

(60) *yin **tam** d-iliel*
     3pl dual 3pl-go.rdp
     those two are going

(61) *Abang   nahal dokta Kuda badey di ariya kiap   siy   ab-yahaw*
     thing   day   Dr   Kuder be   cnj cnj   govt.official come   get-1s.gen
     ***tam** m-al.*
     dual 1pl-go
     (This) event (occurred) whilst Dr Kuder was here, the patrol officer came and got me and we two went together.

(62) *...ni-pinpaan   di **tam** di-bdey.*
       rflx-give.rdp cnj dual 3pl-be
       ...they were there fighting (lit: giving it to) each other.

N.B. There is a separate comitative morpheme *bid*, and this can be substituted for the dual *tam* when two people are involved. If the substitution however is out of a given context it could be understood to mean any number of people were accompanying a stated person. For a discussion of the comitative morpheme *bid* see §4.1.2.

3.2.2 REFLEXIVE/EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

These pronouns usually occur in conjunction with the previously mentioned personal pronouns and are used for emphasis and to designate actions which the actor does to himself. In fact there is agreement between the reflexive pronoun and the verbal suffix, both agreeing in person (see 3.4.3.3).

(63) Person Singular Form Plural Form
     1st   *subow*   *sibmaham* (ex)
                             suboud (in)

2nd   *suboum*   *sibmim*
3rd   *sibiy*   *suboud*

(64) *Nam lingang tiyaham* **subow** *ya-kap-wahaw.*
1s   think   not   1s.rflx 1s-cut-1s.rflx
I cut myself accidentally.

(65) *Yin* **sibiy** *fing-ey.*
3s   3s.rflx kill-3s.rflx
He killed himself (suicided).

They are also used separately or by themselves in colloquial speech as an utterance or an answer to a question. This often requires the knowledge of what has just taken place to fill in the implied information. An intensifier is often used in such cases where those referred to are solely responsible for an action.

(66) **suboum**
2s.rflx
(you decide for) yourself

Or if slightly more emphasis is desired:

(67) *wun* **suboum**
2s   2s.rflx
you (do it) yourself

(68) **suboud** *sag*
3pl.rflx only
(It is the concern of) themselves alone

N.B. Both forms, namely with both the pronoun and the intensifier, *sag* aren't to be used together.

3.2.3 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

3.2.3.1 FREE FORMS

Posession is indicated by posessive pronouns which exist both in free and bound forms (as pronominal suffixes to nouns). Pronominal suffixes mark posession on inalienable nouns, (both body parts and kinship terms). The posessive pronouns are conversely used to mark alienable items. Both reflexive and posessive pronouns exhibit some vowel harmony.

Possessive Pronouns:

(69) Person Singular Form Plural Form
1st   *nanew*   *mamaham* (ex)
                      minid (in)
2nd   *niyoum*   *mimim*
3rd   *miniy*   *miniid*

(70) ***miniy aab***
      3s.p   house
      his house

(71) ***mamaham   goon***
      1s.ex.p   dog
      our (exclusive) dog

3.2.3.2 BOUND FORMS

The suffixes are very similar to the set of reflexive pronoun affixes and the object suffixes on verbs.

(72) Person Singular Form Plural Form
      1st   *-wahaw*   *-maham* (ex)
                              -Vd* (in)
      2nd   *-m*   *-mim*
      3rd   *-Ø*   *-Vd**

*indicates that the vowel is phonologically conditioned.
-Ø indicates a zero morpheme.

It is relevant to mention two other suffixes here, namely *-ang* and *-akam*. The **-ang** suffix is an associative specifier which specifies a noun to a previous noun (see 3.9.2.5).

(73) ***tam-ad***
      father-3pl.pl
      their father

(74) ***tam-ad-ang***
      father-3pl.p-assoc
      their own individual fathers

(75) *Yamai **peen-ang**   mug   d-iliel.*
      Yamai   woman-assoc already 3pl-go.rdp
      The Yamai women have already gone.

Also see examples (81) and (82) below, where it is an adjectival suffix also indicating association with the noun (understood to be part of a larger group) being described.

The *-akam* suffix is used to indicate a grouping of a more general nature.

(76) ***tam-ad-akam***
      father-3pl.p-pl.p
      their fathers (their own fathers and their father's brothers)

(77) *miniy **peen-akam***
      3s.p   woman-pl.p
      his women (sisters, mothers, cousins, etc.)

(78) **ni-yahay-akam**
      3s-uncle-pl.p
      his uncles

(79) *Sandey skul   gising.mingaw niek   **naluw-akam** wahag-ad.*
      Sunday school teacher   child young-spec   call-3pl.dtv
      The Sunday school teacher called (all) the young children (mixture of ages, e.g.
      3 years to 12 years).

More analysis needs to be done to be able to clearly differentiate between these suffixes
and delineate their usage. They are also used with adjectives as adjectival modifiers. Some
further examples are below:

(80) *malwey-akam*
      long-spec
      the longest (amongst a group)

(81) *buaw   malweywey-ang*
      bamboo   very.long-assoc
      the longest bamboo (amongst long ones)

(82) *fow.fow-ang*
      new.new-assoc
      the newest

3.2.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative pronouns occur as modifiers in descriptive noun phrases, they show
positional relationships from the speaker's orientation.

(83) *ning*
      this (near the speaker)

(84) *nang*
      that (near the hearer)

The demonstrative pronoun *nang* also refers to a previously mentioned topic in a speech
flow in discourse (or given information). It is also used as a relative clause marker as in
example (85) below:

(85) **teet   teet**   *yin d-iel   nang in du-fus*
      village   village 3pl 3pl-went   rlcl 3pl 3pl-arrived
      (the people from) those villages who went, arrived

(86) **nung**
      that (at a distance from both the speaker and hearer)

The locative clitic *ey* is used to transform these pronouns to indicate an object's position,
in a stronger way, either in close proximity to the speaker, near the hearer or away from
both the speaker and hearer. See example (87) below:

(87) *Goon samang sibiy   nang   niyoum? Ey **nung**.*
     dog   what   really deic   2s.p   loc deic
     Which of these dogs is yours? That one (away over there).

N.B. For a more complete description of demonstratives, see §3.6.1.3.

3.3 LOCATIVES

Locatives fill the location slot in the clause or sentence, e.g. in an isolated utterance in answer to a question. The location word or phrase is always followed by a locative clitic, which can mean 'in', 'at' 'on' 'from' 'under' or 'towards'.

3.3.1 COMMON LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Some common locative adverbs are listed below, with the common location clitic *-an* attached as a suffix.

(88)   behind him   *meriy-an*
        in front of him   *noy-an*
        under (a house)   *paparum-an*
        underneath (general) *atey bibiy-an*
        on (top of)   *fangey-an*
        above   *gabey-an*
        in the middle of   *bisiy-an*
        near   *singiy-an*
        in/inside   *yiliy-an*
        outside   *wit-an*
        down below   *koot-an*
        in the body of   *tiniiy-an*

Examples:

(89)   *...nanganang siy   **koot-an**.*
       and.then   come   below-loc
     ...and then it came down below.

(90)   *...i.di   balus   rey   **bisiy-an**   pa-malmuol.*
       at.the.same.time   aeroplane   kunai   middle-loc   total-fall.and.scatter
     ...as result the planes fell down scattered everywhere in the middle of the kunai.

(91)   *...taw-ad   **singi-d-an**   di-sirir.*
       older.sibling-3pl   near-3pl-loc   3.pl-go.down
     ...they went down near their older siblings.

3.3.2 OTHER LOCATIVES: *gan*, *ganay* AND *gay*

The word *gay* is mostly used for a general positional location in contrast to a more definite destination. There appears to be elision of the *g* in the locative if the noun to which

the locative is attached also ends in *g*. Note the contrast of examples (92), (93), and (95) with (94).

> (92) ...*wiyuw   gay di-bdey*
>   mountain loc 3pl-remain
>   ...they stayed in the moutains

> (93) ...*noug   balbad   gay di mun fahat*
>   over.there other.side loc cnj again float
>   ...over the otherside and again floated

> (94) ...*palanggis makiesiy ya-raw di y-al   dugduug-ay*.
>   axe   small   1s-get cnj 1s-go bush-loc
>   ...I get my small axe and go to the bush.

The *use of gay* also appears to be becoming more obsolete as many people are only using the locative clitic *-an. Gay* is also a shortened form of the word *ganay*, the word for 'where' when the speaker sees the person going and asks where he/she is headed. This is likely to be in effect *gan* + *-ay*, 'where + -loc', for example:

> (95) *Madi   gay   yiliel?*
>   Madi   where go.rdp
>   Where is Madi going?

This is short for:

> (96) *Madi   gan-ay   yiliel?*
>   Madi   where-loc go.rdp
>   Where is Madi going?

The interrogative *gan* is used when a person has departed quite a while before and you have no idea where he or she is. If you later meet someone for whom you had searched fruitlessly you can also use this form to ask where they where as in example (97) below:

> (97) *Wun gan-an   w-al   gam siy?   Nam niyoum-an ya-sarwahay damom.*
>   2s   where-loc 2s-go then come 1s 2s.p-dtv 1s-search   futile
>   From where have you come? I searched futilely for you.

There is thus some inconsistency between speakers, however most often the locative or the name of a location is following the verb or verb phrase. The change is likely to be due to a change in emphasis, or to give a nuance the speaker wants to convey. I believe that the topicality affects the placement of the locative in relationship to the position of the verb. The post-verbal position tends to be used for a lower topicality that the pre-verbal position. See the contrast below between examples (98) and (99) as an illustration of this.

> (98) *Yid   Tanong-an   t-al-al...*
>   1pl.in Tanong-loc   1pl.in-go-rdp
>   We are going to Tanong...

> (99) *Gumbiy-an gam d-iel   Ayawang-an.*
>   Gumbiy-loc then 3pl-went Ayawang-loc
>   When they got to Gumbiy they went to Ayawang.

(100) *Miniid aruor du-rwaw di day di-par d-iel Saidor-ay*.
3.pl.p bilum 3pl-gather cnj just 3pl-walk 3pl-go Saidor-loc
They just got their bilums and went towards Saidor.

(101) *Aw-ey ya-bit, ya-bdiy, waag ya-suk yiel mahas-an*.
mouth-2s.p 1s-ignore 1s-arise canoe 1s-push 3s.go sea-loc
I ignored her, arose, pushed the canoe out to sea.

A positional locative will generally precede the verb or verb phrase, however this is also variable.

(102) *Taab gagariy-an miniid aruor du-yuor di du-doos taab*
mat back.of-loc 3pl.p net.bag 3pl-put.pl.objects cnj 3pl-sit mat
fangey-an.
on.top.of-loc.
They put their string bags at the back of the mats and (then) they sat down on the mats.

3.4 VERBS

Verbs in Awad Bing are the action or doing words, and appear to fall into two classes each of which may contain both transitive and intransitive verbs and those in between which are shades with more or less transitivity. The two groups are the *-ahay* and non - *ahay* verbs.

3.4.1 *ahay* VERBS

This is a small lexical closed class of verbs which form their non-continuous aspect form by obligatorily occurring with the first order suffix *-ahay*. This class is illustrated in the table below:

103) *-ahay* verb

n-ahay	cook
s-ahay	slice
dug-ahay	jump
yag-ahay	climb
tuwn-ahay	try
karw-ahay	sweep
balng-ahay	throw pl. objects
sabang-ahay	wait for
kamlaw-ahay	wander
tambab-ahay	swing around
badang-ahay	throw down
palanglang-ahay	wonder

To form the continuous aspect, these verbs take the suffix -*yahay* which possibly is a reduplicated form of -*ahay*. Two verbs have been found in which the usual continuous aspect suffix appears to be -*ayahay* as in the examples below:

(104) ...*yiy   gedlalawey   sabadadaad tiktuk paan   **pa-mt-ayahay**   bi   pil*
       fish   gills   destroy   break give.3s cpl-die-ahay.rdp cnj gather

   *waag-an   **balng-ayahay**   yiliy-an   d-iel.*
   canoe-loc throw.down.pl.objects-ahay.rdp   inside-loc 3pl-go
   ...he broke (and) destroyed the fish's gills (they were) all dying and then gathered them throwing them into the inside of the canoe.

(105) *Polis   bad   man nang **kamlaw-yahay** teet   dang   yiel.*
       policeman indef foc deic wander-ahay.rdp village look   go
       A policeman was wandering looking about as he went around the village.

(106) ***Watal-ahay** yiel   butuw yiniy-an   toy.*
       ascend-ahay 3s.go   cycad top.shoots-loc 3s.hold
       It went up and perched on the top leaves of the cycad tree.

If however the speaker desires to see a completed event as having occurred as an event at a point in time, the form of the verb (for some verbs only) is changed, to a form more like the other general class of verbs without *ahay*.

(107) *Yin nuoran taan   **karw-ahay**.*
       3s   yesterday ground sweep-ahay
       Yesterday she was sweeping the ground.

(108) *Yin nuoran taan   **karow**.*
       3s   yesterday ground swept
       Yesterday she swept the ground.

(109) *Mug   matey abang   day **magarng-ahay** yiliel.*
       already old   something just finish-ahay   going
       A long time ago something was finishing.

(110) *Goon nuoran   midiy ahang **magareng**.*
       dog   yesterday meat   eat   finish
       Yesterday the dog ate the meat.

3.4.2 NON-*ahay* VERBS

For all other verbs, the verb stem marks the non-continuous aspect, provided that it is not reduplicated.

Verb roots normally consist of a simple CVC or CVVC pattern and are reduplicated to give a continuous aspect to the verb. The imperative form is considered the underlying form because all other inflected manifestations of the verb are shown to be derived/sourced from imperitives (being also the simplest element of the verb in every case.)

Note: Vowel elision sometimes occurs to the second syllable of verbs in their affixed form in both *-ahay* and non *-ahay* verbs reducing by one the number of syllables in the affixed word, possibly for easier or quicker pronunciation. Examples (104) above, and (111) and (112) below exhibit this phenomena.

(111) *Ahay   bad   ya-koup   ya-bding   sarir   siy   taan-an   de*
tree   indef 1s-chop   1s-throw.down 3s.descend 3s.come ground-loc cnj

waag   miniy youm   ya-roy   ya-barwit.
canoe 3s.p   semb   1s-plan 1s-chop.off
I chopped-threw down a tree it fell to the ground and I planned (the size) of the canoe and chopped it off.

(112) *Tubuw   buol   'O fuf   nam day ya-bsalul'   naag*
old.one.3s.p 3s.say O   my.grandchild 1s   conc 1s-return.rdp like.that

di   foun tubuw   naan day   basul.
cnj turtle old.one there conc return
The old one said 'O my granchild, I'm leaving' like that and the old turtle returned.

(113) *Niek   peen   day   bing   luong de   rahan nabud   sir.*
child   female conc   words hear   cnj   water container fill
The girl obeyed (lit. heard) and filled the water container.

(114) *Buol   yaw   tiyaham! yin lunguong.*
speak stop neg   3s listening
Don't stop talking! he is listening.

3.4.3 AFFIXES

3.4.3.1 INFLECTION FOR SUBJECT AND OBJECT

Neither class of verbs is inflected for tense, rather a time reference is carried by separate words. The aspectual system combines with time words to do what at first appeared to be done as tense.

Both verb classes utilize the same set of subject prefixes and object and irrealis suffixes where appropriate, however the verb stem of the *-ahay* verbs may change with metathesis and or vowel harmony as it is inflected for person as in the example below:

(115) *Dutuwlahay   diel   bilaalan naan...*
du-watalahay d-iel   Bilaal-an naan
3pl-ascend   3pl-go   Bilaal-loc there
They went up there to Mt. Bilaal...

All verbs are inflected for subject, and transitive verbs are also inflected for object, with pronominal prefixes and suffixes respectively. The 3s subject and object prefixes have zero marking.

(116) Person	Subject Prefixes	Object Prefixes
1s	y-	-wahaw
	ya-	
2s	w- (-V)	-mom
	Ø- (-C)	
3s	Ø-	-Ø
1pl.ex	ma-	-maham
1pl.in	ta-	-id
		-ad
2pl	a-	-mim
3pl	d-	
	*di-	-ad
	*du-	

N.B. * indicates a phonological change according to vowel harmony for rounded or unrounded vowels. Some consistently say when asked and write *di-*, believing it to be the underlying form.

Also in 2s examples above:
-V = before a vowel
-C = before a consonant
Ø- = no prefix marked (zero morpheme)
-Ø = no suffix marked (zero morpheme)

The object suffixes are first order suffixes. The irrealis clitic -*an* when occurring on a verb marked for object may occur as a second order suffix, as in examples (117) to (119) below, and the clitic marking imminence can occur as a third order suffix, as in example (118).

(117) *ta-fung-ad-an*
1pl.in-hit-3pl-irr
let's hit them all

(118) *ya-paan-mim-an-i*
1s-give-2pl-irr-imm
I'm about to give you all

(119) *ya-yien-an*
1s-sleep-irr
I sleep

(120) *Ø-pan-Ø!*
2s-shoot-3s
Shoot it!

3.4.3.2 RECIPROCAL PREFIX

A reciprocal prefix *ni-* or *nu-* will replace the subject prefix when designating reciprocal action on a verb. The verb root will also undergo complete reduplication. This may also be linked to the aspect involved in the reduplication, because of the continuous nature of the

action when two participants are doing something to each other. The reciprocal prefix too, like the 3pl examples in the preceding table as it is phonologically conditioned for roundness in the first syllable of the verb root; see (121) to (123) below:

(121) **nu-fung.fung**
rcp-hit.hit
(they) hit each other

(122) **ni-pin.pan**
rcp-shoot.shoot
(they) shot each other

(123) ...*tamuol yin mow* **nu-fung.fung** *be* **ni-gir.gar**.
man   3pl hab rcp-kill.rdp   conj rcp-eat.rdp
...men used to kill each other and then eat each other.

When the action is in the past it is expressed by the verb being either partially or fully reduplicated. The reciprocal verb stem then consists of:

+ rcp- + v.rt + -v.rt

Whereas when the action is viewed as current, there is the sense of two actors currently involving each other with continuous action, the verb stem then consists of:

+ rcp- + v.rt + v.rt + -v.rt

The verb root is thus reduplicated once because it is reciprocal and again to show continuous action. This can be seen in the following examples (124) to (128):

(124) *Mam   rahan-an*   **nu-sug-sugug**.
1pl.ex water-loc   rcp-wash-wash.rdp
We are splashing each other.

(125) *Tamuol ruw   nung   ananu-d*   **ni-p-siy-siyoy**.
man   two   those   picture-3pl rcp-dist.mk-show-show.rdp
Those two men are showing each other pictures.

(126) *Yin tam   mow miniid len   miniid-an* **ni-sisiyoy**.
3pl dual hab 3pl.p family 3pl.p-gl rcp-criticise
They're always criticising each others' family.

In example (125) there is a *p-* prefixed to the verb root. This occurrs occasionally as a distinguishing mark, only when verbs are being used reflexively, to distinguish between two homophones, in this example between 'show' and 'belittle'.

(127) *Teey   tawey   nung wum-an   nu-wud-wudud*.
younger older deic garden-loc rcp-help-help.rdp
Those brothers help each other in the garden.

(128) *Tamuol wudiy   mow anging* **ni-pinini-yahay**.
man   all   hab food   rcp-steal.rdp-ahay.rdp
The men are always stealing from each other.

3.4.3.3 REFLEXIVE AFFIXES

A reflexive action is one for which the subject and object of that action are one. This is marked by the use of a reflexive pronoun which occurs before the verb. The reflexive verb stem has a reflexive suffix attached to the verb root and as a result rounded vowels in the verb root are changed to unrounded ones, (regressive vowel harmony). The reflexive suffix agrees in person and number with the subject, and may be designated as follows:

+ pronoun prefix + verb root + -reflexive suffix

(129) Person   Reflexive Affixes

	Completive Aspect	Continuous Aspect
1s	*-yahaw*	*-wahaw*
2s	*-youm*	*-mom*
3s	*-ey*	*-iyey*
1pl.ex	*-maham*	*-mamaham*
1pl.in	*-id*	*-did*
2pl	*-mim*	*-mamim*
3pl	*-id*	*-did*

N.B. see §3.2.2 on pronouns for a listing of reflexive pronouns.

The 1pl and 2pl completive aspect suffixes are the same as the object suffixes. Clearly the paradigm of continuous aspect reflexive suffixes has been historically derived from the completive paradigm by reduplication, except for 1s and 2s.

It should also be noted that the feature of reduplication within the language to denote a continuous aspect, is here displayed, not in the reduplication of the verb root, but in the reflexive suffixes used to mark the continuous aspect. This may be observed in the following examples (130) to (134):

(130) *Yin sibiy   fing-ey.*
      3s   3s.rflx kill-3s.rflx.comp
      He killed himself.

(131) *Gamey gam sibiy   fing-iyey.*
      today now 3s.rflx kill-3s.rflx.cont
      He has just now killed himself (today).

(132) *Nam lingang tiyaham   subow   ya-kap-wahaw.*
      1s   wisdom   neg   1s.rflx 1s-cut-1s.rflx.cont
      I've accidentally cut myself.

(133) *Yid   silahay wiy suboud   gamey ta-sahay-did!*
      1pl.in knife   ins 1pl.rflx now   1pl.in-cut-1pl.rflx.cont
      Now we've cut ourselves with the knife!

(134) *Yid   silahay wiy suboud   ta-sahay-id...*
      1pl.in knife   ins 1pl.in.rflx 1pl.in-cut-1pl.in.rflx.comp
      We cut ourselves with the knife...

3.4.4 PLURAL VERBS

One feature of verbs is that they are the main carriers of 'number' within the language. Number is rarely specified in Awad Bing and plurality is almost always determined from the verbs. To this end plural verb forms have been retained for some verbs in common usage, i.e. there is a different verb form for the stem of the plural verb to the singular verb. Both verbs so used act as normal in conjugation and reduplication, etc. Those which are known to us are as follows:

(135) Verb	Single Object	Plural Objects
to hold	*toy*	*dom*
to put	*tey*	*yuor*
to get	*ab*	*raw* (countable)
		pil (non-countable, very numerous)
to throw	*tahaf*	*kafarahay*
to throw down	*bading*	*baleng*

See the following for examples of plural and singular verbs.

(136) *Awul*   ***badangahay*** *di*   *naan yiy*   *daseg daseg*   *naan wuon-ad*.
fishing.line throw.down and there fish one one there catch-3pl
He cast out the fishing line and caught a few fish.

(137) *Niek*   *leng*   *mow matiaw mahas-an* ***di-bleng***.
children many hab stones sea-loc 3pl-throw.pl.objects
Lots of children often throw pebbles into the sea.

(138) *Fooy yiel singiy-an dang*   *nanganang*   *waywahay*   *nang* ***ab***.
3s.paddled 3s.go near.3s-loc 3s.saw and.so mango gvn got
He went paddling towards (the mango), saw it and so he got it.

(139) *Angahar* ***di-pilil***   *yiel yiel yiel*   *magareng di di-gaab*.
nut.sp. 3pl-gather 3s.go 3s.go 3s.go cpl.asp and 3pl-heap
They gathered the *galip* nuts until they were finished and then heaped them together.

(140) *Di waag bid lam bid* ***du-rwaw*** *di-sirir*.
and canoe com lamp com 3pl-get.rdp 3pl-descend
And they brought in the canoe and/with the lamp (lit. got more than one object and brought them down).

3.4.5 VERB TENSE/ASPECT

In Awad Bing, tense is not marked on the verb, although aspect is encoded through verbal reduplication or combinations with other verbs. This issue is discussed in more detail in the section of verb phrases (see §4.2.3).

3.5 QUESTION WORDS

Question words are used in information questions. There are three general categories of question words; alternative question words, polar question words and content question words. Representative examples of each question word are given below.

3.5.1 ALTERNATIVE QUESTION WORDS

There are two ways of forming polar questions in Awad Bing. Either the alternative question word, *o* 'or' is used in the sentence final position, or the phrase *o tiyaham* 'or not'. The alternative question word alone is used by many speakers for economy of language, but both ways serve the same function as in examples (141) and (142) below:

(141) *Wun   w-al-an   o   tiyaham?*
     2s   2s-go-irr   or   not
     Are you going or not?

(142) *Wun   w-al-an   o?*
     2s   2s-go-irr   or
     Are you going or? ('not' is implied)

3.5.2 POLAR QUESTION WORDS

Polar questions are formed by using the interrogative markers at the end of a statement in the absence of question words. There are three particles which act as interrogative markers, *i*, *ni*, and *ne*. The morpheme *ni* is used if the person to whom the question is being asked is nearby, however if the person or a group is at a distance then *ne* is used. The intonation for these questions rises near the end.

The most commonly used interrogative particle is *i*. When the interrogative particle follows the irrealis suffixial clitic, *an*, as occurs when asking people about their desire related to a certain matter, then either *ni* or *ne* are used depending upon the proximity of the hearer. Where this is not so *i* is used.

(143) *Niw   bad   lung-an   ni?*
     coconut   indef   drink-irr   inter
     Would you like to drink a green coconut?

(144) *An   niw   a-lung-an   ne?*
     2pl   coconut   2pl-drink-irr   inter
     Would you (people) like to drink green coconuts?

(145) *Wun   mahan-waag   pa-malmuol   nang   dahang-i?*
     2s   bird-canoe   cpl-fall.down.rdp   gvn   2s.see-inter
     Have you seen all the aeroplanes which fell down?

The particles *ni* and *ne* are also used as the first word in a sentence to indicate to the hearer that a question is being asked. They also serve to attract the attention of the proposed hearer. When this occurs, the sentence ends with the more common interrogative

particle *i*, or an allophone *e* (when used in conjunction with *ne*) as in the following examples:

(146) *Ni,   yin day   matahat i?*
      inter 3s   just die.rdp   inter
      What, has it just died?

(147) *Ni,   wun bid   fuyoy   i?*
      inter 2s   com row.rdp inter
      Hey, are you paddling too?

(148) *Ne,   an   yoy Saidor-ey alal   e?*
      inter 2pl f.tim Saidor-gl go.rdp inter
      What, are you(pl) going to Saidor?

(149) *Ne,   wun rahan ey   foy   w-alal e?*
      inter 2s   river gl   paddle   2s-go.rdp inter
      Hey, are you paddling towards the river?

3.5.3 CONTENT QUESTION WORDS

There are a number of content question words, and several of them carry multiple meanings.

3.5.3.1 'WHAT' TYPE QUESTIONS

(150) *Ning samang falaying suos?*
      this   what   flying   saucer
      What is this flying saucer?

(151) *Nung samang   man sibiy?*
      that   what   foc really
      What exactly is that (thing)?

Samang is often shortened in speech to *sang*. Sometimes this is just an abbreviated form, however it is also used in conjunction with other words to extend its interrogative range as in the examples below:

(152) *Sang wiy   t-al-an?*
      what com 1pl.go.inl
      How will we go (on what form of transport)?

When it is coupled with the 3s.p *miniy* the compound form asks 'why' and it is used alone when questioning a foregoing statement or in an independent sentence to solicit a purpose.

(153) *Sang miniy tar-yahaw rubub?*
      what 3s.p   leave-1s   run.away
      Why are you running away and leaving me?

(154) *Yin sang   miniy-an siyiy?*
    3s   what   3s.p-loc   coming
    Why is he coming?

The word *gieg* and its derivatives also, are used to ask 'what?', as well as 'which?' and 'how?'. It is used primarily used in information seeking questions.

(155) *Yin **gieg** du-wtuot?*
    3pl   what   3pl-make.rdp
    What are they making?

(156) *Mamaham linang man sag lingang m-ab   **gieg**   teet   bad*
    1pl.ex.p   mind   foc   only   thoughts   1pl-ex-get   which   place   indef

    miniid spaiy   man   du-wuom   di-pirar-iy?
    3pl.p   spy   foc   3pl-hide   3pl-walking-inter
    With our minds we wondered whose spies were hiding (and) moving about.

(157) *Nang   yoy   **gieg**   waya   ta-pas-an?*
    deic   f.tim   what   wire   1pl.in-remove-irr
    How will we remove the wire?

(158) *Nang   yoy   **gieg gieg**   waya   ta-pas-an?*
    deic   f.tim   what   what   wire   1pl.in-remove-irr
    How will we remove the wire?

N.B. Either of the above two examples (157) or (158) is acceptable and has the same meaning. The form depends upon the person speaking.

If a person is sitting down aparently without purpose you may ask the following to elicit information.

(159) *Wun **gigieg**?*
    2s   what.rdp
    What's the matter?

However another derivation is used as a rhetorical question to admonish someone doing something they shouldn't be doing as in example (160) below.

(160) *Wun **wa-gagieg**?!*
    2s   2s-what.rdp
    What are you doing?! (Don't do that!)

It is also used to solicit information about direction of travel as in example (161) below, somewhat in contrast to example (152) above which refers to the means of transport.

(161) *Yid   **gieg**   t-al-an?*
    1pl.in   which   1pl.in-go-irr
    Which way will we go? (via the river? or the beach?, etc.)

3.5.3.2 'WHEN' TYPE QUESTIONS

There are two types of interrogatives to elicit the time an event occurred or will occur, one is used for events known to have occurred, i.e. in past time and the other for events yet to occur, i.e. in future time.

(162) *Yin day* **niem-an** *fus   siy?*
    3s just when-gl   appear come
    When did he arrive?

(163) *Sios   distrik   miniy   gabuong   wangeey* **niem** *gam yoy   fus-an?*
    church district 3s.p   meeting   big   when then prob appear-loc
    When will the church district conference occur?

3.5.3.3 'WHERE' TYPE QUESTIONS

Two interrogative forms are used to elicit information about location, depending on whether you can see the person or not. *gan* is the base form meaning 'where' and is used when you are cannot see the object as in the following examples:

(164) *Misinariy   nen   nang* **gan?**
    missionary here deic   where
    Where is the missionary (who is usually) here?' (speaker doesn't know his location)

(165) *Waywahay   ningiy   nang* **gan**   *sibiy   di   rahan   man   ab   siy?*
    mango   good   deic   where   really   cnj   river   foc   get   come
    Where exactly did the river bring that good mango from?

When a person can see another going somewhere, the locative clitic *-ay* is also attached to the base form *gan* forming *ganay* as in the following example:

(166) *Madiy   gan-ay   yiliel?*
    Madiy   where-loc   going
    Where is Madiy going?

When people come from somewhere and appear, the form of the question differs again. Semantically it seems like they are coming from where they haven't been visible and now are, as in the example below:

(167) *Yin* **gan-an**   *gam   di-siyiy?*
    3pl   where-loc   then   3pl-come.rdp
    Where have they come from? (lit. Where were they and then they are coming?)

The particle *ey* also acts here in a similar manner to the *-ay* suffix as mentioned above, however when this occurs *gan* 'where' retains its stress and the particle does not become part of the stem, i.e. is a particle and is not a suffixial clitic.

(168) *Wun* **gan**   *ey   siyiy?*
    2s   where spec come.rdp
    Where are you coming from?

(169) *Nanew   wilwil **gan**   ey   ya-tey-an?*
1s.p   bike   where spec 1s-put-irr
Where will I put my bike?

(170) *Abahay ning bidbidiy, **gan-ay**   ta-yien-an?*
place   deic   wet   where-loc 1pl.in-sleep-irr
This place is damp, where can we sleep?

3.5.3.4 'WHO' TYPE QUESTIONS

Am may be translated 'who', and occurs in the clause in place of whichever nominal the speaker is asking for information about.

(171) ***Am*   man siyiy?**
who   foc   3s-coming
Who is coming?

The particle *am* can also be the posessive question 'whose' when used in conjunction with the 3rd person posessive pronouns, either singular or plural, as in example (172) which follows:

(172) *Nung **am**   miniy buor?*
deic   who 3s.p   pig
Whose pig is that?

There is also a plural form of this interrogative, the word *awned* which is used as in the example below.

(173) ***Awned***   *man rahan awey-an   naan ragat-yahay   di di-bdey?*
who (pl.interr) foc   river mouth-loc there gather-ahay.rdp cnj 3pl-be
Who are those people gathered and staying there at the river mouth?

3.5.3.5 'HOW MUCH/MANY' TYPE QUESTION

(174) *Muat nang miniy fiit   **niem niem?***
snake deic   3s.p   feet how   how
How long was that snake?

(175) *Yin motobaik   noy **niem niem** wiy di-giem?*
3s motorbike price how   how   ins   buy 3pl-buy
How much did they buy the motorbike for?

3.6 MODIFIERS

3.6.1 NOMINAL MODIFIERS

A nominal modifier is a word which modifies the noun. Nouns may be modified by adjectives, ordinals, quantifiers, and demonstratives. More than one modifier can occur in a single phrase and all follow the noun. Qualifying adjectives when present are found

immediately following the head noun, whilst the ordinals and quantifying adjectives are found following qualifiers but being adjacent to them. A deictic, when it is present, is in the ultimate position of the noun phrase.

A NP formula would be as follows:

NP = Noun +/- colour +/- size +/- quantifier +/- deic

In this discussion, numerals and quantifiers will be presented first.

3.6.1.1 NUMERALS

The traditional Awad Bing counting system is a base-five system which has an element of body-part counting, namely the use of hands and feet. Counting begins with their numbers one to four, one hand, then the other, one foot and then the other.

(176) Awad Bing numbering system

    1 = *daseg* (one)
    2 = *ruw* (two)
    3 = *tol* (three)
    4 = *wahalbad* (four)
    5 = *dimad bad* (five)
    6 = *dimad bad didiliy daseg* (one hand and one finger)
    7 = *dimad bad didiliy ruw*
    8 = *dimad bad didiliy tol*
    9 = *dimad bad didiliy wahalbad*
   10 = *dimad ruw* (two hands)
   11 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy daseg* (two hands and one toe)
   12 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy ruw*
   13 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy tol*
   14 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy wahal-bad*
   15 = *dimad ruw wied dimad bad* (two hands and one foot)
   20 = *dimad ruw wied ruw* (two hands and two feet)

(177) *gisin   mingaw dimad-ruw*
    writing knowlege hand.3pl-two
    ten teachers

(178) *Pusiy **tol**   nang d-inien   di...*
    cat   three those 3pl-sleeping cnj
    Those three cats were sleeping, when...

(179) *Tamuol **wahalbad** du-rub   di-siy   miniid teet-an.*
    man   four   3pl-run.away 3pl-come 3pl.p village-loc
    Four men ran away, they came to their village.

(180) *Waag bad nang kiel fuw **ruw** bad badangier, nang kiel **ruw**.*
    boat a   deic mast base two a   boat.type deic mast two
    A boat with two masts, a badangier, those has two masts.

It should be stated that the English language numbering system is commonly used for numbers above five (with the exception of number ten) because it is much less cumbersome than the traditional 'add-on' system. There is ambivalence as to whether the system goes above twenty.

In addition, when referring to people the pronominal type numerator *tam* is used for a dual marker for people. It is also used to mean 'together with', 'and also' and sometimes can be substituted by the comitative *bid*. It is not used in the same clause if the number for two is used.

> (181) *yuw-iy   tam di-sirir   di-siy*
>   spouse-3s.p dual 3pl-descend 3pl-come
>   (he) and his spouse were coming down

Occasionally the word for 'three' duplicated *tol tol* is used in a similar manner. This however unlike the dual marker is now very rarely used.

3.6.1.2 QUANTIFIERS

Three ways of quantifying nouns exist in Awad Bing; Numerals may be used where feasible, group nouns such as 'bunch' or 'stock' where feasible and then several ways of specifying 'many' or 'much' depending upon whether the items are countable or not. Quantifiers are commonly used as there is no way to pluralise nouns without adding a modifier of some kind. Quantifiers may be used together if the need arises, however this is not usual.

There are also indefinite quantifiers which also act as indefinite articles. See §3.6.1.5 for a discussion of these.

> (182) *dawaw parar ruw*
>   betelnut bunch two
>   two bunches of betelnuts

> (183) *aning   siyang   bad*
>   banana large.bunch a
>   a large bunch of bananas (on a stalk)

> (184) *aning   gagariy   paniy*
>   banana small.bunch some
>   some small bunches of bananas (on a stalk)

> (185) *aw   tey   wangeey-mat badey*
>   lime dust large-inten   exists
>   there's lots of flour (uncountable)

> (186) *goon leng-mat   di-piriyoy*
>   dog   many-inten 3pl-fighting
>   many dogs were fighting (countable)

Quantifiers are used when people are sharing food, as in the examples below:

(187) *Kiming **ang-ruw** sag paan.*
     bread   of.it-two only give.3s
     Only give him half the bread.

(188) *Du-souk   yiel **ang-ruw** badey be, ariya anging di-nahay...*
     3pl-remove 3s.go of.it-two be   cnj OK   food   3pl-cook
     They remove (the skins), half remain and so they cook food...

(189) *Naluw wudiy kiming **ruw ruw** sag di-raw.*
     child   all   biscuit two two only 3pl-take
     All children are to take only two biscuits.

3.6.1.3 Demonstratives

The three demonstratives in Awad Bing, *ning, nang* and *nung* refer to the relative location of what is being spoken about.

In discourse in the noun phrase, *ning* 'near demonstrative' is used in direct speech, or when the storyteller is giving his introduction or conclusion to indicate something in close proximity to the speaker, the near (often touchable) 'that', for example:

(190) *Nanew waag miniy barnun **ning** midiliy sag.*
     1s   canoe 3s   story this   short   only
     This story about my canoe is only short.

(191) *...duwahan **ning***
      war   this
     ...this war

Nang, the 'near distant' demonstrative is the most common one. It is used to add to the focus and to define a particular thing or a particular person in discourse. When used in contrast to the other demonstratives, it indicates a reference point being close to the person being spoken to. Example:

(192) *Abang **nang** damung lang-an   gam bad ma-yien-an   tiyaham.*
     thing   that   bad   beach-loc then neg   1pl.ex-sleep-irr neg
     Whilst that bad thing was on the beach we didn't sleep.

It alone, of the three demonstratives is also used as the nontemporal clausal linkage (see §5.4).

The 'distant' demonstrative, *nung* is used in discourse to signify a more distant reference and one which is not near to either the speaker or hearer. For example:

(193) *Peen   tam tamuol **nung** gan   gam di-siy?*
     woman dual man   that   where now 3pl-come
     Where did that husband and wife now come from?

Two of the demonstratives, the 'near' and 'near distant' demonstratives, *ning* and *nang* also act as temporal demonstratives. The distant form is not given this use, as in examples (194) and (195) below:

(194) *wubow* **ning** *yiliy-an*
    week   this   inside-loc
    during this week

(195) *wubow* *ta-tar*   **nang** *yiliy-an*
    week   1.p.in-leave that inside-loc
    during this last week

3.6.1.4 ADJECTIVES

Awad Bing has many words which function, so as to give further specification, as attributes of a noun, i.e. adjectives.

3.6.1.4.1 PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

Many times these forms involve reduplication and could be grouped in antonymn pairs. Some common adjectives are displayed below:

(196)

malwey	tall	*midiliy*	short
marwiy	heavy	*sawlaley*	light
silsiling	sweet	*timtimieng*	salty
wanwaney	hot	*adangdangiy*	cold
kamtey	unripe	*buyuy*	over-ripe
		bimiy	ripe (fruit)
mataley	flat	*tambabayuongiy*	round
basadangiy	straight	*kidingdengiy*	bent
manil	calm	*damom*	rough
galanlangiy	clear (sea)	*bidam*	dirty (water)
bidbidiy	wet	*mamsey*	dry
		waham	dry (wood)
wangeey	large	*makiesiy*	small (animate)
		pangpahang	small (inanimate)
		makaskiesiy	minute

Some examples of usage follow:

(197) *yamer* **bidbidiy**
    clothes wet
    wet clothes

(198) *paypay* **kamtey**
    pawpaw unripe
    unripe pawpaw

(199) *yahang* **gagow**
    wind   strong
    strong wind

Examples with two adjectival modifiers:

(200) *niw*   **waham**   **wangangiy**
     coconut dry   huge
     huge dry coconut

(201) *buor* **pagar**   **goyang**
     pig   female   wild
     wild female pig

The modifier may be reduplicated to intensify its meaning in a particular way. For some examples see the section on reduplicated adjectives (§3.7.3).

3.6.1.4.2 COLOUR

The number of colours expressed in Awad Bing is limited almost to the primary colours with a few others taken from their environment as follows:

(202) *kamtey*   white (inanimate objects and people)
      kamtatey   whitish (light in colour)
      sar   white (animate objects)
      ngilngiliy   black
      darey   red
      dardarey   reddish
      yol   yellow (fruit)
      yanyan   yellow
      keyangyangey   yellowish
      maydadiedang   blue
      ahay labniy   green (lit. tree leaf)
      kaytiet   light blue (from the sea)
      rahan kamtey   bright green (of green reptiles)
      kamamuom   purple (from a yam variety)

(203) *Tawtawing*   *tamuol*   *miniid*   *yamer*   **darey**.
      prison   man   3pl.p   laplap   red
      The prisoners laplaps are red.

(204) *Miniy*   *babaley*   *nang*   **keyangyangey**.
      3s.p   light   deic   yellowish
      Its light was yellowish.

3.6.1.4.3 VALUES

The following two value pairs are common adjectives used in Awad Bing:

(205) *ningiy*   good   *damung*   bad
      maluonang   true   *biging*   untrue

> *anangey* * *bid*   true/verifyable
>   [lit. with food] see e.g. (209) below
>   * alternate form is *anangoy*

N.B. 'Good', 'bad' and 'untrue' may also be used as verbal modifiers. Also, 'good', 'bad' and 'true' may be used alone as expressions or exclamations.

3.6.1.4.4 MISCELLANEOUS

There are other adjectives which don't fit the previous groups, e.g. age or position related:

(206) *matey*   old   *fow*   new
      tubuw   old (person) *naluw*   young (child)
      matuw   first   *murmur*   second

3.6.1.4.5 COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

Some adjectives have compound forms as in the following examples:

(207) *buor* **wangeey** **daseg**
      pig   large   one
      huge pig

(208) *tamuol* **tuwiy** **bid**
      man   bone   com
      powerful man

(209) *miniy* *bing* **anangey** **bid**
      3s.p   talk   fruit   com
      what he says is true

3.6.1.5 NOUN SPECIFIER (INDEFINITE ARTICLES)

A noun specifier is a word which specifies the noun slot. In Awad Bing it may be the word *bad* which is the indefinite article in the singular, or *maleybad* 'or *paniy* which both mean 'some'. Definiteness is assumed unless the noun is specified with an indefinite article, either singular or plural.

Where one wants to emphasise definiteness, a deictic is used, most commonly the middle deictic.

Examples with the indefinite article:

(210) *nahal* **bad**
      day   a
      one day

(211) *barnun   pangpang   **bad***
       story   scrap.of   a
       a short story

Examples with the plural form, see (212) and (213):

(212) *Ariya   tamuol-peen   **maleybad**   bing   di-kas   tiyaham.*
       Ok   man-woman   some   speech   3pl-tell neg
       Ok, no other people told me.

(213) *abang   **paniy***
       things   some
       some things

The complete plural specifier is *wudiy*, and to emphasise totality this is duplicated once or twice in full.

(214) *Teet   teet   **wudiy** d-iel.*
       village village   all   3pl-go
       All the villages went.

3.6.1.6 ONOMATAPOEIC WORDS

Onamatapoeic words often feature duplication or reduplication and tend to be words used to imitate sounds (according to the speakers ears), or to graphically illustrate either shapes or actions (from their perspective). A good story teller will use them more than others in retelling events. They may be verbs, nouns or adjectives. The first four are in common usage.

(215) ***nguror***
       snore

(216) ***tiktuk***
       snap (vine or string)

(217) ***tey   furur***
       buttocks spraying
       diarrhoea

(218) ***ngorngor***
       a cold

(219) ***ngunngun***
       a hum, drone of low voices

(220) ***sukununun***
       slipping down a tree grazing skin off one's body

(221) ***kiding kideng***
       ricocheting

(222) *Palangis wiy ma-koup   nang yin bid **tumong tumong**.*
      axe   ins   1pl.ex-chop that   3s com bounce bounce
      We chopped it with the axe but it too bounced and bounced.

3.6.2 VERBAL MODIFIERS

There are a small number of Awad Bing words which are used to modify verbs, ie, they specify the mode of action of the verb. they may be described as temporal verbal modifiers, and manner verbal modifiers. The following are examples of these modifiers:

3.6.2.1 TEMPORAL VERBAL MODIFIERS

3.6.2.1.1 *gam* – 'WHEN'

The morpheme *gam* is a marker of contextual time and is used to give temporal sequence meaning 'when', 'then' or 'since'. (For further discussion of this particle refer to §6.3.)

(223) *bonsag   bungbongsag **gam** siy*
      tomorrow morning   then 2s.come
      you come tomorrow morning

3.6.2.1.2 *gam gam* – 'RIGHT NOW'

(224) *Peen   tubuw man **gamgam** sag fusus.*
      lady   old   foc   now   only appeared
      The old lady has just now appeared.

3.6.2.1.3 *mug* – 'BEFORE'

The morpheme *mug*, when alone is a past-time marker. It may also mean 'already' or 'you go first', although the latter is abbreviated speech in context.

(225) *Duwahan **mug**   makiesiy bad yiel Austrelia.*
      war   already small   a   go Australia
      War a short time before had gone to Australia.

(226) *De mam **mug**   ma-dahang-ad nang duwahan **mug**   siy.*
      cnj 1pl.ex already 1pl.ex-see-3pl deic war   already come
      But we'd already seen them, that war had already come.

(227) *Nanganang nam ya-sabang-yahay   de an **a-mug**   al.*
      and.so   1s   1s-wait.for-ahay.rdp but 2pl 2pl-ahead 2pl.go
      And so I will wait (behind) but you (all) go on ahead.

It will at times substitute for verbs it should be modifying, e.g. in spoken language when the context is known, *mug* or a conjugated form may be used alone or with the verb it is describing. When this occurs it will be conjugated for person and aspect.

(228) *Yin* **du-mgug**.
3pl 3pl-first.rdp
They've already (gone [but still going]).

3.6.2.2 MANNER VERBAL MODIFIERS

Naag is a semblative which looks to what has already been stated and means 'like that'. It thus refers to an explanation previously given, or a completed action or event, so the verbal conjugation for aspect and person must agree with it.

(229) *Taling-ad aw-ad   bid tak   di yin weey   di-mahat* **naag**.
ear-3pl.p mouth-3pl.p com stuck cnj 3s heap.up 3pl-die   like.that
It also stuck up their ears and mouth and heaped them up as if they were dead.

(230) *Ariya barnun pangpahang bad makiesiy ya-dang* **naag**.
Ok   story scrap   a   small   1s-see   like.that
Alright, a scrap of a story, a little just as I saw it.

Nieg is a semblative which anticipates either an answer or instructions and means 'like this'. It thus refers to either an explanation about to be presented, or an incomplete action or event, or one about to begin, so the verbal conjugation must agree with it also for person and aspect.

(231) *mam   angahar* **nieg**   *ma-wtuot...*
1pl.ex galip.nut like.this 1pl.ex-do.rdp
we do galip nuts like this...

(232) *Yin yoy* **nieg** *kas-an 'mahas dom   sibiy'.*
3s f.tim this say-irr sea   rough intens
He will say this, 'the sea's too rough'.

Both also operate as clause level information assimilators. They may also be reduplicated, however when that is so they act as a conjunction.

3.6.3 INTENSIFIERS/LIMITERS

A final type of morphological modification found in Awad Bing is intensification and limitation.

3.6.3.1 INTENSIFIERS

Intensification is mainly achieved through the use of morphemes or clitics. Reduplication of adjectives is also used in some instances for this purpose. This will be further discussed in §3.6.3.

An intensifier is a morpheme which intensifies the modifier in the noun phrase. The most common intensifier in Awad Bing is the word *sibiy*, which means either 'very' or 'really' depending upon the context. Example:

(233) *oluw   anangey   wangeey sibiy*
pumpkin fruit   big   very
very big pumpkin

(234) *abang wudiy sibiy*
things all   very
everything completely

Sibiy can also function as a negation intensifier, as in the example below:

(235) *Yin wudiy dawaw   tiyaham sibiy.*
3pl all   betelnut neg   really
No-one has any betelnut at all.

The clitic *mat* is an intensifying suffix which goes with *leng* 'plenty' and *wangeey* 'big' to intensify the quantity being described.

The word *lengmat* describes a countable crowd, whereas *wangeeymat* is a great multitude of people or heap of things which is too great to be counted. See examples (236) and (237) below:

(236) *goon leng-mat   di-piriyoy*
dog   plenty-inten 3p-fighting
many dogs are fighting (countable)

(237) *Angahar   wangeey-mat di-gibab.*
galip.nuts   big-inten   3pl-gathering.rdp
They are gathering a lot of galip nuts (too many to count).

Also the numeral 'one' *daseg* is used with the word for 'big' *wangeey* to intensify the bigness of the object being described. Example:

(238) *parbuog   wangeey daseg*
manta.stingray big   one
a huge manta stingray

The particle *bad* is also used as an intensifier clitic with some adverbs (in a different context to its use as the indefinite article and as a negating particle.

(239) *neengbad*
motionless

(240) *weetbad*
silently

(241) *pasakbad*
quickly

(242) *kusukbad*
retreat backwards

Apart from *pasak-bad* and *kusuk-bad* the adverb roots are not isolated from the clitic. *Pasak* is sometimes used alone as a 'stand-alone' imperative, telling someone to hurry, and

both *pasak* and *kusuk* may be duplicated probably adding a different nuance but not noticably changing the meaning when conjoined to the clitic *bad*.

3.6.3.2 LIMITERS

There is only one limiter particle in common usage in Awad Bing, the morpheme *sag*. It is often found at the end of stories in the concluding phrase, see example (243).

(243) *day   nang   sag*
     just   that   only
     that's all

And similar to it but more specific is example (244) which is the answer often given if a person asks for further explanation, not believing what he has been told.

(244) *Day   naag   sag!*
     just   like.that(information already given)   only
     Just as has been stated!

It commonly acts as an emphasising clitic as in examples (245) and (246) below:

(245) *Nam yoy   ya-bdey-an,   an sibmim sag al.*
     I   will   1s-remain-irr   2pl 2pl.rflx only go
     I'll remain, just you (people) go.

(246) *Tamey   yin leprosiy bid   nanganang yin   atangid sag di-bdey.*
     father.3s.p 3s leprosy com as.a.result 3pl separate only 3pl.be
     Their father has leprosy and so they live apart (from the village).

(247) *palul pasak-bad   sag!*
     run   quick-inten   only
     run, (go/come) quickly

It is also commonly found as an adjectival intensifier describing limiting adjectives often as a contrast to normality for example (248), (249) and (250).

(248) *tamuol makiesiy sag*
     man   small   only
     only little men

(249) *atangiy sag*
     separate only
     alone

(250) *yamer   pangpahang sag*
     cloth   scrap   only
     only a tiny piece of cloth

The limiter *sag* is also used to emphasise the negative. It is placed following the negator in a close-knit construction, and is most commonly used when one does not have a common item which it is expected that one should have, however it is not limited to this.

(251) *Wun masis   bid   i?   Tiyaham, nam masis   tiyaham sag!*
     2s   matches com inter neg   1s   matches neg   only
     Do you have any matches? No, I don't have any matches at all!

(252) *Yin wudiy dawaw   tiyaham   sag.*
     3pl all   betelnut neg   only
     No-one has any betelnut.

3.7 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is an important feature in the language, appearing in association with adjectives, nouns and verbs. Often but not always there is a significant shift in the meaning due to reduplication, e.g. added quality or plurality given to the adjective, a continuative aspect given to verbs, and plurality given to nouns. It also frequently occurs with onomatapoeic words.

3.7.1 REDUPLICATION OF VERBS

Verbal reduplication is an important aspectual characteristic of verbs. There are several ways in which verbs may be reduplicated. Most of the reduplication in the language is verbal reduplication.

3.7.1.1 SIMPLE VERBAL REDUPLICATION

This form of reduplication is the most commonly occurring and it gives, the continuative aspect. As such it may be current or in past time.

Verb roots of one syllable are reduplicated according to a phonological rule by adding to the root a duplication of itself minus the word initial consonant if there was one. In so doing the vowel or the dipthong in the root is changed to to a high vowel which agrees in roundness with it, as in examples (253) and (254), or is rounded when the vowel *a* is in a dipthong with a *u* as in example (256).

(253) *luong* → luəng + łuong → lung + uong → *lunguong*
     understand/understanding

(254) *deng* → deng + ɖeng → ding + eng → *dingeng*
     hammer/hammering

(255) *Niek   naluw ey-ning   niw   lungung.*
     child   small emph-this coconut   drinking
     This small child is drinking coconut milk.

(256) ...*fataḥat   di badiy bubuab...*
       3s.floating cnj 3s.arise 3s.cry.out.rdp
     ...he (was) drifting and he began yelling...

(257) *Karag* ***fusus*** *dalingad* ***sumom*** *nang daal-an di-yien*
    rai.wind 3s.rising travelling.path 3s.blocking gvn road-loc 3pl-sleep
    silang bad an.
    anchorage indef loc
    If the *Rai* wind was rising blocking their paths, they'd sleep in an anchorage.

A similar principle of reduplication also applies to two syllable words, with the whole of the second syllable being reduplicated. No verb roots have been found to have more than two syllables.

(258) *Gabman bid* ***palanglang-ahay*** *bad* ***ta-lnguong*** *tiyaham.*
    government com wondered-ahay f.neg 1pl.in-knowing neg
    The government too were wondering, none of us knew (what it was).

The appearance of the reduplicated verbs may be further affected by vowel harmonisation and elision processes as occur in e.g. (259) below, where *Ya + tubuob →* *yatabuob* (vowel harmonisation of the first vowel in the reduplicated stem) and *ya- + lunguong → yalnguong* (elision) are both exemplified.

(259) ***Ya-tabuob-ad*** *'misinariy bad* ***ya-lnguong*** *tiyaham.*
    1s-lying-3pl missionary f.neg 1s-know neg
    I (was) lying to them, 'I don't know the missionary'.

(260) *Miniy doup miniid wuman wurat* ***di-tiyey***.
    3s.p group 3pl.p garden work 3pl-doing
    His family are working in their garden.

(261) *Ariya ya-lul siy siy waag yiliy-an* ***ya-gangun***.
    alright 1s-chase 3s.come 3s.come canoe inside-loc 1s-standing
    I chased it but it came and came, I was standing in the canoe.

3.7.1.2 DOUBLE REDUPLICATION

This form is used only with non-ahay verbs. It is a more active form of the continuative aspect, where as a general rule the verb root is duplicated and then as in example (262) below, then the vowel in the first syllable undergoes vowel harmonisation, e.g. *dang* 'look' + *dang = dangdahang. di + dangdahang → didingdahang.*

(262) *Di-siy wiyuw gay di-bdey di mal-ad* ***di-dingdahang***.
    3pl-came mountain loc 3pl-be cnj eye-3pl.p 3pl-looking.about
    They came and were in the mountains looking around.

N.B. This form has been noted several times but more research is needed to more fully understand its intricacies and nuances.

3.7.1.3 DUPLICATION

Verbal duplication (repetition) adds emphasis to a situation as well as a slight durative aspect. Note that in contrast to the previous example, that of double reduplication, the whole inflected verb stem is duplicated as in example (263) below:

(263) *Abang nang siy   miniy maganet wiy rayay-ad   di   du-puguol*
   thing deic come 3s.p magnet ins pulling-3pl and 3pl-strain
   du-puguol *du-dururur   di...*
   3pl-strain 3pl-crawled and
   The thing which came was pulling them with its magnet and they strained and strained and crawled and...

3.7.2 REDUPLICATION OF NOUNS

Sometimes noun stems are a reduplication of noun rootss or other parts of speech, and so the name typifies a characteristic of the word from which it comes. For example a whale is a creature which is seen only at a distance spouting water, e.g. (264) and being in a current in the sea is similar to being in a river, e.g. (265). Some also exist which may have likewise been derived, however their composition is unsure, possibly onomatopoeic, e.g. (266) and (267).

(264) *furfuur*
   spray.spray
   whale

(265) *ranrahan*
   water.water
   current

(266) *funfuun*
   coconut husk fibre

(267) *fumfom*
   floor

(268) *nganngaan*
   small type of fly

Nouns are also sometimes duplicated, (repeated) and when this occurs the main meaning component is one of plurality and is used where an emphasis is desired on the plural form. The technique is not used where a quantifier or a verb form (e.g. a verb which has been inflected) is used to indicate plurality, thus indicating a constraint against co-occurrence.

(269) *liblib*
   hole/cave.hole/cave
   potholes in a road

(270) *gubgub*
      ditch.ditch
      erosion ditches

Also see example (85) in §3.2.4.

3.7.3 REDUPLICATION OF ADJECTIVES

The modifier may be reduplicated to intensify its meaning in a particular way, for example in (271) below: *wangeey* 'big' reduplicates to give *wangangiy* 'large (pl)' as one of its reduplicated forms, and in (272) *midiliy* reduplicates to give *midildiliy* 'shortest'.

(271) *siwsiw*   **wangangiy** *wahalbad*
      cockroach   huge   four
      four large cockroaches

(272) *Peen   bid   tamuol bid **mididiliy**, wangaad   tarangaw.*
      woman   com   man   com short.rdp   name.3pl.p arrow
      The men and the women both were very short, their name was arrow.

In addition adjectives may also be repeated (or duplicated) to add plurality to the noun (mostly) which they are describing as in examples (273) to (276) below. Note too that as in example (274) the repeated form may be negated as a unit.

(273) *Tamuol **matuw   matuw** du-pulul   di-siy   nang...*
      man   first   first   3pl-running   3pl-come   deic
      The leaders who came running...

(274) *Arop   miniid   waag nang   bad   **naluw   naluw** tiyaham.*
      Long.Isld 3s.p   boat deic   f.neg   child   child   neg
      The Siassi and Long Island boats were (certainly) not little ones.

(275) *Miniid   waag **wangiy wangiy** sibiy nang wiy   di-siy.*
      3pl.p   boat big   big   very   deic inst 3pl-come
      They came with their huge boats.

(276) *buaaw   **malwey   malwey***
      bamboo   long   long
      (some) long bamboos

The repeated form is generally in contrast to straight adjectival reduplication which adds more of a quality than a quantity aspect to the noun. An exception to this appears in examples (277) and (278) below in which intensity is added by the repetition:

(277) *teet   **abariy   abariy***
      village   faraway   faraway
      very distant village

(278) *fow fow kamtey taan-an   di...*
      new new white   ground-loc cnj
      when white (people) first came here...

3.7.4 REDUPLICATION OF CONNECTIVES

The common connectives, *nieg* and *naag* (see §3.6.2.2) become *nigieg* and *nagaag* when they are being used with verbs in the indicative mood. These are not common forms and more study will be required to give definitive meanings.

(279) **Nagaag**   *di* *abang bad ya-lnguong tiyaham,*
  refers.to.given.information and thing neg 1s-knowing not
  I do not understand what (caused) what I have just described.
  (N.B. a visitation of 'flying saucers' had just been described)

(280) *Daleb ta- tar nang yiliy-an Mandang taun yin raskal lengmat di*
  year 1pl.in leave deic inside-gl Madang town 3pl robber many cnj

  gamey nen bid nagaag.
  now here com like.that
  Last year there were many robbers in Madang and now its the same here.

(281) *Makahay girmahang d-ab di-siy teet-an di tamuol tubuw*
  youth left.over.food 3pl-get 3pl-come village-loc cnj man old

  wasuong 'gigieg?' Makahay bad tamuol tubuw buol kane, 'abang
  asked what youth indef man old told quote thing

  nigieg, *buor wangeey, tibing bid du-fung'...*
  like.this pig big fat com 3pl-kill
  The youths brought some leftovers from the feast back to the village, and the old man asked them, 'tell me about it'. A youth said to the old man, 'It was like this, they killed a big fat pig'...

3.8 NOTES ON SPECIFIC WORDS

The following observations regarding words which appear to be somewhat unique are included as important but not completely resolved issues to give a fuller picture of the language.

3.8.1 *ngatang* – 'THE EXPRESSION OF ABILITY'

Melanesian Pidgin has a widely used term to express ones ability or sufficiency; *inap* or *inapim*. In a similar way Awad Bing uses the commonly used term *ngatang* to convey intrinsic ability. It is not reduplicated nor does it take any affixes.

(282) *Makahay nang bad ngatang aab fut-an tiyaham.*
  youth deic f.neg able/capable house break-irr neg
  That youth isn't able to build a house.

(283) *Nam* **ngatang**.
  1s able/capable
  I can (do it).

(284) *Wun ngatang   wud-yahaw-an?*
    2s   able   help-1s-irr
    Would you be able to help me?

3.8.2 *tey* – 'THE EXPRESSION OF MAKE, DO AND CAUSATION'

The verb *tey* 'make, do' also functions as a verbaliser, being used to transform nouns into verb forms.

3.8.2.1 MAKE/DO

(285) *di   maal   nang biliey   matiaw **tey**.*
    cnj monster that transformed stone   made
    and that monster turned into stone.

(286) *Yin yiel kalik **tey** di yien.*
    3s   3s.go pillow do cnj sleep
    He went, made a pillow and slept.

3.8.2.2 THE VERB 'TO PUT (A SINGULAR OBJECT)'

Another function of the verb *tey* involves the setting down of an object as in the following examples. Note that if plural objects are to be set down then the verb *yuor* is used (for other plural verbs refer to §3.4.4).

(287) *Lam nang yin suboud d-ab di-siy   Arwahay-an **di-tey**   badey.*
    lamp deic 3pl 3pl.rflx 3pl-get 3pl-come Warai-loc   3pl-put.it 3s.remain
    That lamp, they themselves brought it to Warai where it remains.'

(288) *Yin miniy wood daur   wangeey balbahal-an **tey** de...*
    3s 3s.p bowl oval.type large   bench-loc   put cnj
    She put her large oval wooden bowl on the bench, but...

(289) *Naan **tey**!*
    there put
    Set it there!

(290) *Fow fow bing **tey**   kas   misin   nang misin   sibiy.*
    new new talk 3s.do 3s.say mission deic   mission inten
    At first he sent talk that the mission was really a mission.

3.8.2.3 VERBALISER

Note when used as a verbaliser *tey* is conjugable as in examples (291) and (292) below:

(291) *Miniy   doup   miniid wuman   **urat   di-tiyey**.*
3s.p   family 3pl.p   garden   work 3pl-doing
His family are working in their garden.

(292) *Nang   bad   pan-ad-an   tiyaham   mow.lel   nanew rediyow **di-tey** dom.*
deic   f.neg   give-3pl-irr   neg   lest   1s.p   radio   3pl-do broken
Don't give it to them lest they completely ruin my radio.

N.B. For more examples see §4.2.1.1.

The verb *yuor* 'put pl. things' is not used in this way.

3.8.3 'A PARTICLE TO GIVE FOCUS' – *man*

The common particle *man*, when it occurs, always follows the subject of the sentence and is used to give added prominence to an actor.

(293) *...di   katolic   miniid waag   **man** siy   raw-ad   yiel   Mandang-an...*
and   Catholic 3s.p   boat   foc   come gather-3pl 3s.go Madang-loc
...and the Catholic ship (it) came, gathered them (and) it went to Madang...

(294) *Ebiy nang   **man** tung   tey pan de kabahal peen   du-rub.*
Ebiy gvn   foc   bullet did shot cnj kanaka   women 3pl-ran.away
Ebiy fired a shot and the bush ladies ran away.

(295) *Nuwey tamuol-ang   **man** d-ab   waag-an di-tey   panyar bid di-gab.*
Nuwey man-assoc   foc   3pl-get boat-loc 3s-put mast   com 3pl-join
The Nuwey men grabbed him, put him on the boat tying him to the mast.

(296) *am   **man** wil   waham bid...*
who   foc   yam dry   com
whoever has dry yams...

3.8.4 *nang* – FRONTED OBJECT MARKER

The basic clause word order in Awad Bing (S-O-V) is rarely altered, however in some cases the object of a transitive verb is left dislocated, creating an (O-S-V) order. In these cases the morpheme *nang* is inserted between the fronted object and the subject.

(297) *Gamniy   **nang** yin tin iy   yam awey-an   di-bieng.*
bowels   obj.fr 3pl mother.3s.p door mouth-loc 3pl-hang
They hung his bowels in his mother's doorway.

(298) *Miniy yamer ningiy **nang** mahas-an sibiy   pasiy muol   sarir.*
3s.p   laplap good obj.fr sea-loc   3s.rflx undo fall   descend
His best laplap came loose by itself in the sea and fell down.

3.8.5 SPEECH-PAUSE MORPHEME *amey*

The morpheme *amey* is commonly used much as 'um', 'ah' or 'so and so' are in the English language to provide a thinking space when speaking.

(299) *Di-bdey di amey tamuol day di-bdiy   di-kas...*
      3pl-be   cnj umm   man   just 3pl-arose 3pl-said
      They were there and umm the men just got up and said...

(300) *Ariya dokta boy amey bew   Turig man, teey   nang man...*
      OK   doctor boy umm my.in-law Turig foc 3s.younger.sib deic
      Alright, the doctor boy, my brother-in-law Turig, (and) his younger brother,
      they...

An interesting feature regarding the use of this morpheme in Awad Bing, is that it is often 'moulded' to fit the part of speech which the speaker is trying to think of; for example it is regularly reduplicated to *amyey* if the following word is to be reduplicated, or it will have either the irrealis clitic *an* or the locative suffix *an* appended if the following word, phrase or clause has either of those clitics, depending upon what the speaker is trying to think of.

(301) *Nang du-koup di amey-an biek-an di-soy.*
      deic 3pl-chop cnj pause-loc bag-loc 3pl-beat
      They chop it up and umm ram (it into) the bags.

(302) *...ariya amey-an du-tulw-ahay   Aymar-an de...*
       OK   umm-loc 3pl-go.up-ahay Aymar-loc cnj
      ...alright then, umm they went up to Aymar and...

3.8.6 THE MORPHEME *ariya*

The word *ariya* has several functions, but primarily it is either an inter-clausal or a discourse level interjection. Sometimes it functions as an interjection which infers that the person understands what has previously been said, sometimes it functions in a conjunction-like manner like the word 'then'. It may also be used as an attention getter at the beginning of a story, or as an isolated utterance of agreement. For these reasons it is often best translated as 'alright then' or 'OK'.

See example (302) above in §3.8.5, and a few following examples:

(303) *Ariya,   nam barnun bad   ya-kas-aniy.*
      alright.then 1s   story indef 1s-say-imm
      Alright then I'm about to tell a story.

(304) *Miniy teet-an   Bilaal-an   yiel naan yuor-ad.   Ariya*
      3s.p place-loc Mt.Bilaal-loc 3s.go there 3s.put.pl-3pl OK

      tee-d   awey   kuad   wuun   sasey wiy tak...
      buttocks-3pl opening honey.like.glue breadfruit sap inst stuck

He went to his village and put them there. Alright then, he plugged up their anuses with honey glue and breadfruit sap...

Ariya has also been shortened to *ar*, as in the following example. No consistent explanation has been found, though both forms may appear in the same discourse. (One co-worker believes they are different and uses them separately.) It is possible that this is another form of pause to give the speaker time to mentally assemble what comes next in the story, functioning in perhaps the same way as *amey* (see the previous §3.8.5), but on the discourse level. Both forms need more investigation.

(305) ***Ar***   *amey   gamey Teterey autungiy mangieg...*
alright umm   now   Teterai Autungiy for.example
Now for example Teterai's (clan) Autungiy...

(306) *Di   miniy aab-an   bil-yahaw   'Wun balus   pa-malmuol nang dahang*
cnj   3s.p   house-loc 3s.say-1s.dat 2s   plane   all-crashed   deic seen

iy?'   Nam man huol 'bad ya-dang tiyaham.'   'Ar   tam
interr 1s   foc   said f.neg 1s-saw   neg   Alright.then two

t-al-an   balus ta-dahang-an'...
1pl.in-go-irr plane   1pl.in-see-irr
And at his house he said to me, 'Have you seen the planes which crashed?' I replied, 'I haven't seen them'. 'Alright then, let's go'...

3.8.7 HYPOTHETICAL MORPHEME: IF IT HAD BEEN ME!

The morpheme *bo* may be used in two ways.

It is used as a boastful exclamation, literally, 'Well, if it had been me!'

(307) Person 1: *Nam yiy   tiyaham   sag.*   Person 2: *Ar nam bo!*
1s   fish   not   emph   Oh 1s   if
I got no fish.   Oh, but if it was me implies
(I would have succeeded)

The second way in which it may be used is as an adjectival intensifier, as in (308) below:

(308) *Di Yapan miniid tamuol wangeey **bo**   fung nang maluonang*
cnj Japan 3pl.p man   large   inten hit   deic true
And its true that he killed an important Japanese man.

3.9 CLITICS

Clitics are an important grammatical feature in Awad Bing and until now have been written as word or phrase affixes, however a few of the mother tongue authors are now beginning to write them as unattached morphemes. Because of the future uncertainty of the way they are to be written and because both we and many the authors have been writing them as attached forms, they have been written in that manner in this paper.

The clitic *an* has two homophones which denote irrealis and goal. These are discussed in more detail below in the following sections.

3.9.1 IRREALIS CLITIC

The irrealis clitic in Awad Bing is a homophone of one of the locative clitics, namely *an*. The irrealis clitic is normally suffixially attached to a verb, namely the last one in a clause, however there are exceptions to this as in example (309) below, where the irrealis clitic is on the end of a clause conjoined to the negator and not to a verb.

This clitic denotes more specifically: intent, desire, imminence, negative imperative, permission and future contrafactual.

(309) *W-al   yoy   tirimrimam   i bi   wang-am   tiyaham-an*
     2s-go f.tim make.a.mistake and   name-2s.p not-irr
     If you go and make a mistake you will not have a name (you'll die).

The irrealis clitic is one of the features of the language which usually indicates a future time designation, i.e. an action which has from the time setting given by the speaker, not yet occurred. When this occurs it works in conjunction with the particles either *oy* or *yoy*. Either one of these particles will precede the part of the sentence the speaker wants to put in future time and the irrealis marker will conclude the future time part of the sentence, much like the two part negation feature (§7.5) or the comparitive feature (§7.6).

(310) *Tamuol paniy yin oy   miniid pum wiy buom di-soy-an.*
     man   some 3pl f.tim 3pl.p tool ins sago 3pl-beat-irr
     Some men will beat the sago with their sago beating tools.

(311) *...di-kas kane oy   siy   duob-an   dugwahay-an.*
     3pl-say   quote f.tim 3s.come pig.net-loc leap-irr
     ...they said, '(when) it comes to the pig.net.trap it will jump'.

(312) *Tamuol nang yin balbahal wuot   magareng gam yoy   buab-an.*
     man   deic 3s table   made   completed then f.tim yell-irr
     When the man has finished making the table he will yell out.

(313) *Tubud   badey yoy   bad ya-dahal-an tiyaham.*
     ancestor be   f.tim f.neg 1s-lost-irr   neg
     God is there (so) I won't come to any harm.

The irrealis is also used frequently in hypothetical, methodological or instructional narrative discourses, where someone is asked to describe how he would do something, as in the following examples:

(314) *Maley maley sibiy nang buom tamey yin yiel   buom fuw   wuot-an.*
     first first   very deic sago father 3s 3s.go sago base do-irr
     First of all the owner of the sago tree goes and cleans its base.

(315) *Aad   aning   yiel   waham   tey-an.*
sun   heat   3s.go dry   do-irr
They're put in the sun to dry.

It is also a feature of exhortatory speech as in example (316) following:

(316) *sarir   siy,   girmahang   bad   w-ahang gam yagahay bad*
descend   come   leftover.food indef 2s-eat   then climb.up indef

piel   di   tam   t-al-an!
gather and two   1pl.in-go-irr
Come down, eat a (bamboo of) leftover food then climb up (the tree) gather
some (small apples) and let's go!

NB: Sometimes several homophones will co-occur in the same sentence as in the
examples (302) and (317) following which has both the locative clitic *an* and the irrealis
clitic *an*:

(317) *Abang nang damung lang-an   gam bad ma-yien-an   tiyaham.*
thing   that bad   beach-loc since neg 1pl.ex-sleep-irr not
Since that bad thing was on the beach we haven't slept (there).

(318) *Angahar di-sir   siy   teet-an,   balbahal-an di-youk-an.*
nut.sp   3pl-fill   come   village-loc table-loc   3pl-empty-irr
They bring the galip nuts to the village and empty them onto a table.

3.9.2 GOAL CLITICS

This second group of clitics were defined as 'goal' because the same homonymn clitic
marks the dative, reason and location – both direction and destination.

3.9.2.1 THE DATIVE CLITIC *an*

The clitic *an* also acts as a dative clitic as in example (319) below:

(319) *Tarangaw man yin di-bdiy   niek nang   miniy-an di-sirwahay.*
spear   foc 3pl 3pl-began child gvn   3s.p-dtv 3pl-searching
The spear (people) began searching for the child.

3.9.2.2 THE REASON CLITIC *an*

(320) *Yin bad fus   tiyaham sang miniy-an   yin mayahay bid.*
3s f.neg appear neg   what 3s.p-reason 3s sick   com
He didn't come because he was sick.

3.9.2.3 THE LOCATION CLITIC *an*

The most common location clitic is *an*, which if movement is involved means to go directly to a destination, or to come from a source. When movement is towards a destination, it could be referred to as a specified destination, in contrast to a general destination with the alternate location clitic *-ay*, discussed in §3.9.2.4 below.

N.B. The locative clitic *-an* is quite distinct from its homonymn, the irrealis clitic *-an* which is only suffixed to either verbs or verb phrases.

Often nouns are used as locations and are followed by this locative clitic. Examples:

(321) ...*miniy faang tabney-an tey*...
　　　　3s　　adze　head.3s-loc put
　　　...(it had) put its adze by its head...

(322) *Watalahay yiel butuw yiniy-an toy.*
　　　　went.above go *butuw* tree.tip-loc held
　　　It went above and settled on the top of a *butuw* tree.

(323) ...*tamuol peen lib-an d-iel du-buot-ad.*
　　　　man　　woman　hole-loc 3pl-go 3pl-bury-3pl
　　　...the people went and buried them in a hole.

3.9.2.4 NON-SPECIFIC LOCATIVE CLITIC *-ay/-ey*

If you aren't going directly to a specific destination but in that general direction, the non-specific locative suffix *-ay/-ey* is frequently used instead of the normal locative *-an*. Both forms where used, are used according to an individuals idiolect, i.e. some use both forms, whilst others only use *an* as the locative clitic. Note the contrast below in (324) and (325).

(324) *Yin Mandang-ey yiliel.*
　　　　3s　Madang-loc　go.rdp
　　　He's going to Madang. (which part of Madang isn't clear)

(325) *Nam teet-an y-alal.*
　　　　1s　village-loc　1s-go.rdp
　　　I'm going to the village. (said from nearby)

(326) *Nam yoy rahan-ey y-al-an.*
　　　　1s　f.tim water-loc 1s-go-irr
　　　I'll go to the water.

It is quite noticable that frequently in spoken discourse, if the irrealis form of a verb is being used, (thus ending with *-an*) the *ey/ay* non-specific locative form is often employed in preference to the *-an* form, see example (326). It is a general trend rather than a hard and fast rule, because this form seems to be falling into disuse (noted by the inconsistent use throughout the population and the comments of some that many folk mix them up). It is likely that a destination in the future is seen as uncertain, thus the non-specific locative form is employed. So the meaning contrast previously mentioned and illustrated by

examples (324) and (326) holds good for non-irrealis mood only. When the direction of movement is towards the speaker, or predicates involving, 'come, return, backwards' are employed, the locatives *-ay/-ey* are not used, rather *-an*.

A colloquial interrogative used by older people *baday* also exists. It is used upon meeting as people are walking. It is noticable that the less specific locative is employed. See example (327) below:

(327) *Bad-ay   w-al-an?*   answer: *Rahan-ay.*
     indef-loc 2s-go-irr   river-loc
     Where are you headed?   To the river.

Another use of the locative clitic *ey* involves its use as a particle in conjunction with the three demonstrative pronouns thus further specifying them. The resultant deictic phrases are used to point out objects for clarification. As a consequence they are mostly used in dialogue rather than in text material. They are derived from *ey* + 'close' 'middle' or 'distant' demonstrative pronouns which are ego oriented. The *ay* form of the locative clitic with which is in free fluctuation is not used in this way. The three ego-oriented deictics so derived are:

(328) *ey* + *ning* = ***ey ning***
           this

(329) *ey* + *nang* = ***ey nang***
           that (near you)

(330) *ey* + *nung* = ***ey nung***
           that (distant)

(331) *Goon samang sibiy   nang niyuom?*   ***Eynung!***
     dog   what   really deic   2s.p   deic
     Which dog is yours?   That one!

This specifying particle is also used together with the anaphoric morpheme *naag* 'like that (referring to a previous statement or action just mentioned)', and its cataphoric counterpart *nieg* 'like this' in a similar manner, as in the examples below:

(332) *Gieg   bad   du-wut-moum   nang yoy   mun   ya-siy   y-ab-youm*
     what   indef 3pl-do-2s   deic   f.tim again 1s-come   1s-get-2s

     be ta-bsul-an,   ey   naag   tubuw   sawuong   paan.
     cnj 1pl.in-return-irr spec   like.that old.one instructions give
     If they do anything to you then I will come again, get you and we'll return, like that were the instructions which the old one gave him.

(333) ***Ey   nieg***   *dokta   Bob bil-yahaw...*
     spec like.this   doctor Bob told-1sg
     This is exactly what Dr Bob told me...

The particle *ey* also functions as an exclamation marker similar to the wey 'Hey!' is used in English.

(334) *Ey,   a-rub!*   *loung*   *damung.*
  hey   2pl-clear.off   dangerous.place   terrible
  Hey! Clear off! Its a dangerous place.

3.9.2.5 ASSOCIATIVE CLITIC

The associative specifier is a genitive type enclitic which when present, suffixed to common alienable nouns, specifies the noun to a previous noun, often a place name, as in examples (335) and (336).

(335) *Tanong   peen-**ang**   di-siyiy.*
  place.name   women-assoc   3pl-come.rdp
  The Tanong(Biliau) women are coming.

(336) *Wariya tamuol-ang wangey   Ebiy.*
  Wariya man-assoc   name.3s Ebi
  A man from Wariya whose name was Ebi.

(337) *Buor di-pan   nang, buor **bugahay-ang** bid   pasak bad   mahat tiyaham.*
  pig   3pl-shoot deic   pig   demon-assoc com quick f.neg die   neg
  That pig they shot had an evil spirit (and) didn't die quickly.

It may also be an adjectival affix and as such it has a similar meaning, that of relationship or belonging, as in examples (81) and (82) in §3.2.3.2.

4. PHRASES

4.1 NON-VERBAL PHRASES

4.1.1 NOUN PHRASES

A noun phrase consists of a noun or a compound noun phrase or a reduplicated noun phrase, plus an optional specifier, one or two modifiers, a possessive, an intensifier, a demonstrative and a quantifier.

It is not possible to have all of the constituents in one phrase. If it were possible, they would occur in the following order:

  p.pron + noun + mod + mod + spec + quant + inten + dem
    cpd NP
    rdp NP

4.1.1.1 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

The number of constituents in any one phrase would not normally be any more than two or three, sometimes four constituents. Minimally, the noun phrase consists of the noun without any modifiers or specifiers, etc. Example (335) below consists of a possessive pronoun *nanew*, a compound noun phrase *waag bilbel*, a modifier *wangeey* and an intensifier *sibiy*.

(335) *nanew   waag   bilbel   wangeey sibiy*
    1s   canoe outrigger big   very
    my very big outrigger canoe

(336) *anging waham wangangiy*
    food   dry   big.pl
    huge amount of dry food

(337) *bahad   matey bad*
    garden.house old   indef
    an old garden house

4.1.1.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

Possession may be marked in the minimum form by an inalienably possessed noun, e.g. (338) or at maximum by a possessive noun phrase, e.g. (339) or (340).

(338) *nalu-m*
    child-2s.p
    your child

(339) *Yaan   miniy palanggis wangangiy*
    Yaan   3s.p   axe   big.pl
    Yaan's big axes

(340) *taan   tabney   miniy niek*
    ground 3s.p.head 3s.p   child
    the headman's baby

A possessive noun phrase is a noun phrase which includes a free form possessive pronoun, e.g. (340) above and (341) below.

(341) *Waywahay   nang   **miniy gilang** silsiling sibiy.*
    mango   that   3s.p   taste   sweet   very
    That mango's taste is very sweet.

4.1.1.3 ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASE

A noun, compound noun or dupicated noun is obligatory. An attributive noun phrase which fills the head consists of two nouns in juxtaposition to each other with the relation between the first and second parts being attribution. There is stress on each word in contrast to compound nouns. Substitution of the participants can also occur, showing that they are seen as less of a fixed unit, than are compound nouns; see (342) and (343) also (344) and (345).

Examples of attributive noun phrases; see (342) to (345) below.

(342) *duwahan tabney*
    war   head
    war leader

(343) *taan   tabney*
     ground head
     owner of the ground

(344) *mayahay aab*
     sick   house
     hospital

(345) *mulung   aab*
     young.initiate house
     initiation shelter

Each word adds an attribute to the other, and not as in the case of compound nouns is a combination of words whose total meaning is the focus, with some of the constituents being subordinate and lacking a current individual meaning (or having no usage outside the compound noun form(s)) e.g. (345).

4.1.1.4 DUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE

A duplicated noun phrase consists of a noun which is duplicated as in examples (346) and (347).

(346) ***teet   teet   nang wudiy***
     village village deic all
     all the villages (regional)

(347) *Karag sumom **lang lang** silang neisong-an di-sirir.*
     e.wind block   beach beach harbour different-loc 3p-go.down
     If the east wind blocked them they would go ashore at different places.

4.1.2 THE COMITATIVE *bid*

There comitative morpheme *bid* which means 'together with' is used as a conjunction to additively link together actors, participants or objects in a scene, i.e. it co-ordinates nouns or noun phrases and occurs after each item being linked, as in the following examples:

(348) *Tamuol **bid** goon **bid** peen   **bid** d-iliel.*
     man   with dog with woman with 3pl-going
     Men and dogs and women are (all) going.

(349) *Nanganang nam **bid** ya-bdiy, nam **bid** y-al Lagap-an...*
     as.a.result 1s   com 1s-arose 1s   com 1s-go Lagap-loc
     And so I too got up, I too went to Lagap...

(350) *Waag **bid** lam **bid** awul   **bid** sarir   mahas-an.*
     canoe and lamp and fishing.line and 3s.descend sea-loc
     The canoe and the lamp and the fishing line, it all went into the sea.

(351) *Gungun   de bul-maham   de   os   **bid**, kalaloy **bid**, silahay*
     3s.standing and 3s.say-1pl.dat and tobacco and   beads   and knife

> *naluw **bid** ma-raw   ma-siy   balbal-an ma-yuor.*
> small   and 1pl.ex-gather 1pl.ex-come table-loc 1pl.ex-put
> He was standing and spoke to us and we brought tobacco, beads and small
> knives and put them on the table.

It is also used when listing objects together as a group as in example (352) below.

> (352) *Gungun de bul-maham   de os   **bid** kalaloy **bid***
>   2s.stand cnj 2s.say-1pl.gen cnj tobacco com   beads   com
>
> *silahay naluw bid a-raw   a-siy   tebol-an a-yuor.*
> knife   small com 2pl-collect 2pl-come   table-loc 2pl-put
> He was standing and said to us bring the tobacco, the beads and the small
> knives and put them on the table.

4.2 VERB PHRASES

4.2.1 VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

4.2.1.1 VERBALISATION

In several cases the verb *tey* 'put/do' is used to transform nouns into verb forms. This phrasal structure consists of a noun plus the fully conjugable verb *tey*, 'put/do' however with the full intent of an intransitive verb. For this reason I am referring to it as a verb phrase, albeit of a special kind.

> (353) ***Anangoy tey,** anangoy makiesiy sag.*
>   fruit   do   fruit   small   only
>   It fruited, but the fruit was only small.

> (354) *Miniy doup   miniid wuman **wurat di-tiyey**.*
>   3s.p   family 3pl.p garden work 3pl-doing
>   His family are working in their garden.

> (355) *...gamey miniy **mar**   tey du-gubuob.*
>   now   3s.p funeral do 3pl-closing
>   ...now they're finishing mourning for him.

4.2.2 VERB TIME REFERENCE

Awad Bing does not have tense as a grammatical form, but uses temporal adverbs to give the time reference. Conjunctions also signify relative time between actions or events within a sentence when the time has been set.

4.2.2.1 PAST TIME REFERENCE

Past time reference is simply derived from temporal adverbs or the setting of the story. There are not necessarily any markers within a particular clause which would specifically

indicate past time, e.g. (358), or apart from the use of the verb root, which indicates perfective aspect.

(356) *Yin angahar wood maal   aruor   naag   di-piel*
      3pl *galip*.nut bowl loin.cloth string.bag same.as 3pl-gather

      waag-an di-yuor   bi   di-lil.
      canoe-gl 3pl-put.pl cnj 3pl-sail
      They gathered galip nuts, wooden bowls, bark loin cloths and string bags,
      (things) like that, put them on their boats and sailed.

(357) *Yamer   midiliy   daal wangeey d-ab   d-iel   Maibang-an di-yien.*
      cloth   short   road big   3pl-took 3pl-went Maibang-loc 3pl-sleep
      The police took the main road, went to Maibang (village and) slept (there).

In Awad Bing, no distinction between past and a remote past has been found. There are however, two ways of referring to an event in past time. The perfective aspect will be marked most commonly using simply the verb root with the appropriate person affixes, e.g. (130) in 3.4.3.3, and (136) in 3.4.4.

If the time span of the action is seen to be more of a duration and other things being referred to were happening at that time, then it is more usual to use the reduplicated form of the verb or the continuous aspect on a durative verb, to indicate this, e.g. for an example refer back to (97) in 3.4.1, and the example below from a story told about an event several years before:

(358) **Fatahat   di   badiy   bubuab.**
      float.rdp cnj arise yell.rdp
      He was floating and he began calling out.

4.2.2.2 FUTURE TIME REFERENCE

Future time reference is almost always clearly marked. The irrealis marker *an* is used with the future marker particle *oy* or *yoy* to give a future time to the verb, to signify an event which will possibly occur sometime in the future. The particles *oy* and *yoy* seem to be in free fluctuation with some speakers preferring one to the other. When asked as a group, those in Yamai village told us that both were identical and that we should only write *yoy*. (This is an area needing further investigation in the future.) *Oy* may occur anywhere in the sentence before the verb, often following the subject in the normal position for time words and phrases. That which it preceeds it gives a future time to. See examples (359) and (360).

(359) *Yin   oy   buom pis-an.*
      3s   f.tim sago   wash-irr
      He will wash the sago.

(360) *...ya-kas tiyaham Tubud badey **yoy** bad ya   dahal-an   tiyaham*
      1s   said   no   God is   f.tim f.neg 1s-lose-irr neg
      ...I thought 'no, God is there, I will not lose my life'.

Because there can be no certainty when events are predicted for the future, these two particles *oy* and *yoy* 'the future time markers' will sometimes be used to convey this uncertainty, and could be glossed 'possibly', and I am told this is sometimes used as a polite way of saying 'no'.

> (361) *Yoy   ya-pan-oum-an.*
>   f.tim 1s-give-2sg.dtv-irr
>   I'll (possibly) give it to you.

N.B. If the person doesn't produce it you realise it is a polite refusal!

4.2.3 VERB ASPECT

Aspect deals with the distribution of an event in time in the situation being predicated. In Awad Bing there are five elements of aspect which have been identified; inceptive, completive/perfective, continuitive/repetitive, stative, and habitual.

Sometimes the aspect markers are themselves verbs, which conjugate, e.g. *badiy* 'arise', *yiel* 'go' and *badey* 'be', whilst at other times they are either suffixial clitics, completive particles, e.g. *magareng* (which does not conjugate for person but may be reduplicated, or inflected as an *ahay* verb), or separate words, all providing aspectual meaning to one of the verbs.

4.2.3.1 IMMINENCE ASPECT

> (362) *Nam day   y-al-aniy.*
>   1s   conc 1s-go-imm
>   I'm just about to go.

> (363) *Aria   kas   ningiy a-tey   badey bi   yoy   ya-dahang-aniy.*
>   alright say   good   2pl-put be   conj f.tim 1s-look-imm
>   'Alright then', he said 'good, put him there and I'll look at him'.
>   (The speaker '1s', expected to look at him in the immediate future)

4.2.3.2 INCEPTIVE ASPECT

The commencement or inception of an action is often marked by *badiy* 'arise', with another verb following it, but not necessarily in apposition to it, as with transitive verbs. See examples (368) to (370) below. In the case of intransitive type verbs the following verb is in apposition to it. It consistently signals an action with a prompt beginning, e.g.:

> (364) *...bungbongsag   niek nang   badiy palul siy...*
>   morning   child deic   arise run   come
>   ...in the morning that child took off home...

> (365) *...fatahat   di   badiy bubuab...*
>   float.rdp   cnj arise cry-out.rdp
>   ...he was drifting and he began to yell...

(366) *...rahan tamey   youm nang man **badiy** kas-an...*
water father.3s semb deic foc arise say-irr
...whoever is the boss of the water would begin to speak...

(367) *...yoy **badiy** watal-ahay-an   gabey-an.*
f.tim arise go.above-ahay-irr above-loc
...will begin to go above.

When more transitive verbs are involved, the verbal apposition will be lost as the object will often come between the two verbs (as previously mentioned).

(368) ***Ya-bdiy** daal **ya-dung** y-al*.
1s-arise road 1s-follow 1s-go
I began to follow the road.

(369) *Aw-ey   ya-bit,   **ya-bdiy** waag **ya-suk** **yiel** mahas-an.*
mouth-3s 1s-ignore 1s-arise canoe 1s-push go sea-gl
I ignored her, got up and launched the canoe out to sea.

(370) *Makahay wudiy **di-bdiy** warmahan **di-raw-an**...*
youth   all   3pl-arise poison.root 3pl-gather-irr
All the young men begin to gather the poison roots...

4.2.3.3 COMPLETIVE/PERFECTIVE ASPECT

The completive aspect is signalled by the completive verb *magareng* 'finish', or one of its inflected forms in apposition to the verb indicating the action or event being finished or completed.

As completed actions in the past, see examples (371) and (372) below:

(371) *Aab   taw **magareng**.*
house bind completed
He finished building the house.

(372) *Giram   di-bleng **magareng** di...*
log.drum 3pl-beat finish   cnj
They finished beating the log drum and...

As actions completed the same day, i.e. concurrently, see examples (373) to (375) below:

(373) *Du-souk **magarngeng**, anging d-ahang **magarngeng**...*
3pl-erase cpl.rdp   food 3pl-eat cpl.rdp
They finished removing (the skins), and eating food...

(374) *Yiy   wudiy du-fung **magarngeng**.*
fish all   3pl-kill cpl.rdp
They finished killing all the fish.

(375) *Buom pies **magarngeng**...*
sago   wash cpl.rdp
He finished washing the sago...

4.2.3.4 CONTINUITIVE/REPETITIVE ASPECT

The continuative aspect may be signalled in several ways. It is most frequently signalled by a repetition of the verb go, usually in the 3rd person singular form, in apposition to the verb being continued. e.g.:

(376) *Ya-fooy*   **yiel yiel** *mahas-an yiy   ya-paan-ad,*
1s-paddle go go   sea-loc   fish 1s-shoot-3pl

yiy   yaad ya-paan-aad, **yiel yiel yiel** *Gim Damey sibiy-an   nan.*
fish sp. 1s-shoot-3pl go   go   go   Gim Damey right-loc there
I paddled and paddled out to sea shooting at the fish, I was going along shooting at the tilapia fish right out to Gim Damey (a headland).

(377) *Ya-wlang-y-ahay   di wiy-ew ya-pas*   **yal yal yal** *singiy*
1s-watch-cpl-ahay cnj leg-1s.p 1s-remove go go go close

sibiy-an naan.
very-gl there
I was watching for it and I crept and crept and crept right up close to it.

(378) *Badey   de talng-ahaw ya-tey* **yiel yiel yiel** *ya-kas tiyaham...*
remain cnj ear-1s.p   1s-put go   go   go   1s-say no
It remained and I really listened and listened, I thought 'no'...

Sometimes the verb being continued will be extended itself so that by drawing out the verb the added time gives iconicity to the discourse. For example:

(379) *...mun lam   du-puluul   nang man **d-ieeel** balbad   naan mun*
again lamp 3pl-ran.rdp deic   act   3pl-gooo other.side there again

fahat.
floated
...again they travelled (the man and his lamp), they weeent over the other side and again floated there.

4.2.3.5 STATIVE ASPECT

The stative aspect is commonly given by using the word *badey* 'be' following and in apposition to a verb or verb phrase one wants to stativise. There are two forms, one is less closely linked to the stativised verb because there is a conjuncion between the verb and the stativiser. See examples (380) to (382).

(380) *Niek makiesiy yin wom keetbad   dangang **di badey**.*
child little   3s hide quietly   look.rdp cnj be
The little child was hiding silently looking on and remained doing so.

(381) *Yin yien atey-sawleng   **di badey,** mahat nguror **di badey**.*
3s sleep without.thought cnj be   dead   snore   cnj be
He was there sleeping, dead to the world, snoring and remained doing so.

(382) *...mun siy minid waywahay pan-ayahay **di badey** nung.*
　　　again come 1pl.in mango　　steal-ahay.rdp cnj be　deic
　　　...it's come again stealing our mangoes and its over there.

When *badey* 'to be' follows the verb (in contrast to its position in the above examples where the verbs are separated by the conjunction *di*) it appears to be acting as a verbal auxilliary within the clause giving temporal overlap, with the idea that as the first action continues, the second action takes place as in examples (383) to (386) below:

(383) *Dangang **badey di** gar-ad gar-ad yiel magareng.*
　　　look.rdp be　　cnj eat-3pl eat-3pl go　cpl
　　　He was watching while it ate and ate them all up.

(384) *Yiel yuwiy peen sugug **badey di** tiniiy kamtangahang.*
　　　go　spouse woman wash.rdp be　cnj body rejuvenate.rdp
　　　Whilst he was washing his wife, her body rejuvenated.

(385) *Peen nang niek kuon **badey di** dang*
　　　woman deic child give.birth be　cnj see
　　　A woman was giving birth when he saw her.

(386) *Du-ruw **di-bdey di**...*
　　　3pl-dig 3pl-be cnj
　　　They were digging with forks when...

4.2.3.6 CUSTOMARY/HABITUAL ASPECT

The normal/habitual aspect in Awad Bing is indicated primarily by the use of the word *mow* which is placed after the subject in a clause. The meaning is often akin to the pidgin *save* in:

Em i save wokim olsem 'Thats the way he usually does it'

The verbs in the sentence then indicate the temporal extent of the action, whether it is seen as punctiliar and completed or of a longer duration. Note that there should be one verb with a reduplicated form following the habitual particle from its very nature, that being of a habitual and hence repeated event from the perspective of the speaker.

(387) *Gamey ning yin abang bad **mow** yiduom wenang helikopta youm*
　　　now　this it thing indef hab night cpr　　helicopter cpr

　　　parar di...
　　　walk.rdp and
　　　Now, this was a thing (which came at) night and always went around like a helicopter and...

(388) *O kaka wun **mow** gan wal waywahay ningiy-ad ningiy-ad*
　　　oh big.brother 2s hab where 2s.go mango　good-3pl good-3pl

　　　pil siy yuw-am nalu-m bid angahang bi?
　　　gather come spouse-2s child-2s com eat.rdp　and

Oh big brother, where do you always go and gather those mangoes which you are eating with your wife and child(ren)?

(389) *Wun* **mow** *gan   niyoum ahay.labniy abang gimim?*
2s   hab   where 2s.p   paper   things buy
Where do you usually buy your stationery?

4.2.3.7 DURATIVE ASPECT

The durative aspect which marks the action of the verb over a prolonged period of time, is often marked by the particle *lel* which follows one verb and precedes a verb which gives the action closure. (The younger generation substitutes the verb *yiel* 'to go' for it.) The particle *lel* follows both classes of verbs, both the durative and non-durative verbs, as in the following examples (390) to (393) below:

(390) *Buol   nang sahaw   di yow yow* **kas** **lel** **magareng**.
3s.speak deic without.reason cnj yes yes say   dur complete
He spoke without listening, saying 'yes, yes' until it finished.

(391) *Noon* **di-pipiy-ahay**   *lel*   *pa-mtahat*.
there 3pl.twitch.ahay dur   total-die.rdp
They kept on twitching there until they were all completely dead.

(392) **Di-pip-ahay**   *lel pa-mahat*.
3pl-twitch-ahay dur total-dead
They twitched until they were dead.

(393) *Yaan   man* **moow**   *lel liel*.
Yaan   foc   exert.effort dur 3s.turns.it
Yaan kept struggling until he turned it.

The same effect is obtained by the repetition of a verb of motion which is perceived as acting over a period of time like the English form of 'he went and went and went' or 'he came and came and came', as in example (394), or the repetition of a motion verb 'to go' adds duration to a non motion verb as in example (395) below:

(394) *Du-luong de* **di-siy   di-siy   di-siy   di-siy**   *teet-an   du-fus*.
3s-hear   cnj 3s.come 3s.come 3s.come 3s.come village.loc 3s.appear
They heard and came and came and came and came and arrived at the village.

Also the following example could be a serial construction with the addition of characteristic repetition which indicates the continuum and lack of discreet categories. The whole construction refers to a single event. There is a change of subject, 'they collected, it went' (i.e. the collection event progressed).

(395) *Di-piel*   *yiel yiel yiel*   *magareng*.
3pl.gather.rdp 3s.go 3s.go 3s.go cpl
They gathered and gathered and gathered them until they were finished.

or using the durative particle, it could be:

(396) *Di-pilil*   *lel*   *magarngeng.*
      3pl-gather.rdp   dur   finishing
      They gathered them until they were finished.

4.2.4 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

The juxtaposing of verbs is a relatively common feature of the language. Verb sequences occur with the frequency of approximately 30% of the times where verbs or verb sequences are used. It is especially common with verbs of motion, the existential verb, and the verbs 'to get' and 'to put'. Several verbs may be strung together without another part of speech being interposed. However as there is no morphological change to the verbs involved, the difficulty then comes in defining a serial verb construction as opposed to the juxtaposition of several clauses.

James (1983) states "A serial verb construction consists of two or more verbs which occur in a series with neither normal coordinating nor subordinating markers, which share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object/goal), and which in some sense function together semantically as a single predication".

I believe in Awad Bing, the definition of serial verbs therefore involves a somewhat arbitary separation (if primarily considering grammatical form) in a continuum from 'lexical item like constructions' to 'the juxtaposition of separate clauses'.

It is pertinent to echo some of Bruce's observations in summing up Alamblak serial verbs here, as these also apply to Awad Bing. "Serialisation of roots in a verb stem is restricted to sequences of events which are commonly associated culturally or for which there is a cultural basis or pragmatic reason for their close association" and "It would seem then that a sequence of events may be talked about with juxtaposed clauses, but not every sequence of events may be described with a serial construction".

In Crowley (1987) there are several suggested groupings which serial verbs can take. The two appropriate categories to which Awad Bing can relate are:

(1) There is identity between the two subjects of the serialised verbs.

(2) There is identity between the object of the first verb and the subject of the following verb.

4.2.4.1 IDENTIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN AWAD BING

Serial verb constructions in Awad Bing are being defined here as constructions of verb stems (usually only two) which the people understand to function as a unit, as opposed to any sequence of verbs which might be used in a discourse. The two criteria above (Crowley 1988) which were seen to apply to Awad Bing will also be applied in differentiating serial constructions fron non-serial constructions.

Serial verb constructions in Awad Bing are couplings of verbs which are not each stripped down to the root within the serial sequence. They are either transitive or

intransitive verbs with full subject and object affixation. The serial verb construction is covered by the same time period and the irrealis marker appears on the ultimate constituent of the serial construction, in a similar position to a non-serial sequence of verbs.

The two verbs in the serial construction may also be in different forms, i.e. one may be unspecified for aspect, whilst the other may be in a reduplicated form indicating action occurring in the time frame the speaker is perceiving and using as current time. Often one of the component verbs of the serial verb unit will provide a direction of movement with respect to the speaker as in example (403). Sometimes each part of the construction will add a component of direction, e.g. (397).

4.2.4.2 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE SAME SUBJECT

In the following examples (397) to (398), one of the verbs in the serial construction further expresses the other by adding direction or means of movement.

> (397) *Maal   bad   roy   **sarir**   siy*.
> monster   indef   3s.fly   3s.descend   3s.come
> A monster flew down.

> (398) ***Sarir   siy   nanganang fooy   yiel   singiy-an dang...***
> 3s.descend   3s.come   so   3s.paddle 3s.go near.loc 3s.see
> 'It came along and so he paddled (and) saw it (when) he was near it...

> (399) *Buk   nang   bid   **w-ab   w-al***.
> book   deic   com   2s-get   2s-go
> Take that book with you too.

In example (400) below there is a semantic based linking of the serial sequence, transitivising the intransitive verb *fing* 'whistle' to give it a goal.

> (400) *Mam   songay badey nanganang yin   **fing   pan-maham***.
> 1pl.ex   distant   3s.be   and.so   3s   whistle   give-1pl.ex
> We were a long way away (from him) and so he whistled for us.

> (401) *Nanganang silsiliy sag aruor-an   **keb   yiliel   di...***
> and.so   happy   only net.bag-gl   3s.pick 3s.go.rdp cnj
> And so he was happily picking them into his net bag when...

In example (401) above, *keb* is the root form, unspecified for aspect, whilst *yiliel* is the reduplicated form indicating a continuous aspect. Combined, they give the serial construction which occurred in past time, a continuous aspect.

4.2.4.3 OBJECT OF 'A' BECOMES SUBJECT OF 'B'

The subjects of the verbs within serial verb constructions can change within the construction, as stated in the above conditions, where the object of one verb becomes the subject of the following as in the following examples (402) to (404), the subject of the final verb of the serial construction refers to the object of the previous verbs.

(402) *Ariya peen di-bdiy wiiy-an di-toy d-ab **di-bding***
OK women 3pl-arise leg.3s-loc 3pl-hold 3pl-take 3pl-throw.down
sarir.
descend
So then, the women arose grabbed his leg and threw him down.

(403) *Waywahay fuw-an waag **suk watal-ahay.***
mango base-loc canoe push move.above-ahay
He beached the canoe at the base of the mango tree.

(404) *Aria kas ningiy **a-tey badey** bi yoy ya-dang-aniy.*
alright say good 2pl-put be conj f.tim 1s-look-imm
Alright then, he said 'good, put him there and I'll look at him'.
(The speaker 1s, expected to look at the 3s object in the immediate future.)

5. CLAUSES

5.1 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The basic clause structure in Awad Bing has an SOV order, (Subject-Object-Verb), possibly an influence from neighbouring Papuan languages. There is person affixation on all verbs so names, nouns and free pronouns denoting participants are often absent. It is noticable that when a person or thing has been introduced in a discourse, it is tracked pronominally until too many participants again require the participant to be reintroduced to the reader. This also frequently occurs when a person has slipped from being a prominent participant and is becoming so again.

The discussion of clauses will first focus on the different arguments which occur in relationship to the basic clause order and to each other.

5.2 CLAUSE ARGUMENTS

Eight clause arguments have been identified; two nuclear arguments (with agreement affixes marked on the verb), namely Subject and Object; and six peripheral arguments (postpositionally marked), namely Location, Time, Instrument, Manner, Benefactive and Reason. Following a discussion of each individually, a brief summary of their typical order in clauses will be presented.

5.2.1 FEATURES OF THE ARGUMENTS

5.2.1.1 SUBJECT

The subject (or do-er of an action) can occur in Awad Bing clauses in one of two basic ways, either as subject prefixes on the verb as listed in the table of example (116) in §3.4.3.1 or in combination with a noun or noun phrase, or a free form pronoun listed in the table of example (56) in §3.2.1. When the subject has been previously stated in the discourse, and is clear, free form pronouns are often not used and only the subject prefix on the verb alone is

as in (407) and the second clause in example (408) below. The noun or noun phrase which functions as the subject is itself not marked with a special marker to indicate that it is the subject.

(405) *Nam   dawaw-an   ya-mtahat.*
1s   beetlenut-gl 1s-die.rdp
I'm craving for some betelnut.

(406) *Ab   ahang   paluong tar   ningiy sibiy.*
3s.get 3s.eat 3s.feel   3s.taste good   inten
He got it, ate it, savoured it (and) it was delicious.

(407) *Rahan-ey   y-alal.*
river-loc   1s-go.rdp
I'm going to the river.

(408) *Tamuol bad   miniy waag bilbel   suk di awul   ray.*
man   indef 3s.p canoe outrigger.type push cnj fishing.line 3s.pull
A man launched his boat and pulled (his) fishing line.

5.2.1.2 OBJECT

The object of a sentence is the receiver or the goal of an action. It is normally referenced in the clause by a noun or noun phrase and/or as an affix on the verb. As with a 3s subject, which has no prefix on the verb, so likewise 3s objects are unmarked, ie are not marked by a verbal suffix. There are no markers on the noun or noun phrase itself to mark it as the object in the clause.

(409) *Yin buor suw   di-taw.*
3pl pig   on.a.pole 3pl-tie
They tied the pig on a pole (for carrying).

(410) *Goon man ahay dibiy-an   naan di-toy.*
dog   foc tree buttress.root-loc there 3pl-hold
The dogs held it (the pig) against the buttress root of a tree.

(N.B. in the example above (410), the clause taken from a story, has no object stated or marked on the verb as verbs are unmarked for 3s.)

(411) *Nus miniy buor mow kakariek garar-ad.*
Nus 3s.p pig hab chicken eat.rdp-3pl
Nus' pig eats chickens.

5.2.1.3 LOCATION

The position of locatives in clauses is somewhat variable if motion to, from, into or out of is involved, as can be seen in the contrast between example (412) and (413) and (414) below. For the remainder the rule is that the location precedes the predicate, i.e. the

predicate remains in the clause ultimate position. It will help to examine a few examples below:

(412) *Ar basul boos **mahas-an**...*
cnj return go.in sea-to
We went back into the sea...

(413) *Waag **fangey-an** ya-doos nengbad.*
canoe above-loc 1s-sat motionless
I sat motionless on top of the canoe.

(414) *...di **waag-an** naan ma-bdey.*
cnj canoe-loc there 1pl.ex be
...we (exclusive) remained (on) the canoe.'

In the above examples (413) and (414) the locative precedes the verb. This is always true when no directional motion is perceived by the speaker, and sometimes for effect when there is directional motion, as in the examples below:

(415) *Bad w-al-an tiyaham, nagay lel w-al **mahas-an** dahal-an.*
neg 2s-go-irr neg lest 2s-go sea-loc perish-irr
Don't go lest you go out to sea and perish.

(416) *Ray watal-ahay yiel **miniy teet-an,** Bilaal-an yiel*
3s.pull 3s.go.up-ahay 3s.go 3s.p village-loc Bilaal-loc 3s.go

naan yuor-ad.
there 3s.put-3pl
It pulled them up to its place at (Mt) Bilaal and put them there.

(417) *...di tuytuy d-iel **mahas-an** balag di-fahat.*
cnj arrow 3pl-go sea-loc for.no.reason 3pl-float
...and the arrows went into the sea and miraculously floated.

In some cases, as in example (417) above the predicate is split with the part involving movement preceeding the location and the stationary part following, i.e. the locative is sandwiched in the predicate. This is fairly common with serial verbs too as in the following examples:

(418) *Nam bid y-al **dugduug-an** ya-bdey de...*
1s acc 1s-go jungle-loc 1s-be cnj
I too went and stayed in the jungle and...

(419) *Waag nang **di-yit** d-ab **di-siy** **fangey-an di-tey** di di-tar.*
canoe gvn 3pl-lift 3pl-get 3pl-come above-loc 3pl-put cnj 3pl-left
They carried the canoe put it above and left it.

It is interesting to note that this is not a fixed word order as can be seen in examples (420) and (421) which follows it in the text.

(420) *...di tamuol-peen leng-mat **du-fus** mahas-an naan.*
cnj man-woman many-intens 3pl-appear sea-loc there
...then very many people appeared there in the sea.

(421) *Tamuol-peen wangeey-mat* **mahas-an nan   dufus**...
　　　　man-woman　big-intens　　sea-loc　　there　appeared
　　　　A multitude of people appeared there in the sea...

When villages are used metonymously for their inhabitants it appears that what was a location loses its 'locationness' and acts in place of the people they represent, as in (422) below:

(422) ...*de* **teet   teet   paniy, Singor-an** *naan*
　　　　 cnj　village　village　some　Singor-loc　there

　　　　Daur naluw Daguon ney-maham   bil-maham...
　　　　Daur　child　Daguon　face-1pl.ex.p　say-1pl.ex
　　　　...and some villages, there at Singor, Daur's son Daguon told us to our faces...

When an object is involved, as in a transitive clause, the locative preceeds the predicate. This also may be an explanation for example (422) above. See also example (423) below.

(423) *Lulum   yin nahal wudiy* **teet.teet-an**   *niek   fung yiel.*
　　　　Lulum　3s　day　every　village.village-loc　child　kill　3s.go
　　　　Lulum (mythological eagle) went around the villages every day to kill children.

In interrogatives which include locatives, the verb is again in the ultimate position of the clause as in example (424) below:

(424) *Gieg Yapan* **Tanong-an**   *du-fus?*
　　　　inter　Japanese　village.name-loc　3pl-appear
　　　　Have the Japanese appeared at Tanong?

5.2.1.4 TIME

Time is a crucial part of the setting of most stories. Since Awad Bing lacks a complex verb morphology and there are no tense markers in the language, time words are crucial to one's understanding the setting of an event. Apart from the direct time words which infrequently occur, the way things are at a given time is carried aspectually. It is with good reason then that most stories commence with a time setting, often as the initial phrase. When both time and location appear in the same clause, the time word preceeds the locative word or phrase as in example (423) above.

(425) **Fow fow sibiy** *mam   tam m-al   Saidor-an ma-bdey.*
　　　　new　new　very　1pl.exc　two　1pl.exc-go　Saidor-loc　1pl.exc-be
　　　　Right at the start when we went and stayed at Saidor.

(426) **Nahal bad** *nang   mam   lang-an naan nanew doup sur di-tey*...
　　　　day　a　deic　1pl.exc　beach-loc　there　1s.p　group　food　3pl-make
　　　　One day we were there on the beach, our group had made food...

In the body of a story time words indicate either an emphasis on a time or a change in time and in these circumstances not usually sentence initial, often following the subject rather than preceeding it as in the above examples.

(427) *Yin **82-an** fus wangeey-mat di-dang, siy **83-an**...*
3pl 1982-loc appear big-intns 3pl-see come 1983-loc
They appeared in 1982 (and) lots of people saw them, we came to 1983...

(428) *Polis yin **nahal paniy** di-siy.*
police 3pl day some 3pl-come
Sometimes the police came.

(429) *De abang nang **yiduom** ma-dang nang wenang helikopta youm.*
cnj thing deic night 1pl.exc-see deic cpr helicopter cpr
And that thing we saw at night was like a helicopter.

In the case of example (429) above, the Object of the clause, (that thing) also preceeds the time specification. When the time word is fronted in the clause, i.e. appears before the subject, time is more in focus than when it is elsewhere in the body of the clause. Compare the examples below: (430) a full response to a question, and (431) the commencement of an anecdote. This is why at the commencement of stories it is often in this position, establishing the necessary time setting for the story.

(430) *Peen bid yut gurup bid **nuoran** Galek-an di-gaab.*
lady com youth group com yesterday Galeg-loc 3pl-gather
The ladies and the youth group met together yesterday at Galeg.

(431) ***Nuoran** Galek-an peen bid yut gurup bid di-gaab di-bdey di...*
yesterday Galeg-loc lady com youth group com 3pl-gather 3pl-be cnj
Yesterday at Galeg the ladies and youth group were meeting together when...

5.2.1.5 INSTRUMENT

The Instrument argument of a clause is marked by the morpheme *wiy*. It has a very specific and limited usage. Within a clause *wiy* follows both the object as in example (432) and the locative (if one exists) as in example (427). (In example (434) the first verb is embedded, thus at first glance the position of the instrument appears to be different.)

Instruments are always inanimate. People do not appear to be used as instruments, rather things done with people appear to use the comitative morpheme *bid*.

(432) *Yiliel di Nus man sutlam **wiy** sien nanganang...*
3s.go? cnj Nus foc torch inst spotted.it and.so
It was going along when Nus spotted it with his torch, as a result...

(433) *Murgam dugduug-an duwahan **wiy** buor nang ya-paan mahat ya-tey*
later jungle-loc bow inst pig deic 1s-shoot dead 1s-do
badey.
be
Later on in the jungle I shot that pig dead with the bow.

(434) *...de wangeey y-ab   **wiy** ahay ya-koup.*
cnj large   1s-take inst wood 1s-chop
...then with the large one (which) I (had) taken I chopped the tree.

5.2.1.6 MANNER

Adverbs or adverbial phrases typically occur directly preceeding the verb. One group of adverbs is noticable by their structure; their ultimate syllable is identical to the indefinite article *bad*, see example (435) and (436) below:

(435) *...yahang abab   di   mun   naan   **kusukbad** sarir.*
wind   3s.get? cnj again   there   backwards descend
...he was getting a breath when he again went in backwards (into the sea).

(436) *Wan sag **pasak-bad**   teen-an   ya-sarir...*
one   only quick-inten   shore-loc 1s-go.down
One, (two), quickly I went ashore...

Manner morphemes are repeated to intensify the given manner as in both (437) and (438) below. In example (437) the word for 'quick' in being intensified has lost the common suffixial clitic *bad* belonging to its group. It is commonly heard as an imperative issued to stubborn or disobedient children, as in example (439) below. This is not common however with the other members of the group.

(437) *Yin **pasak pasak** sag siy.*
3s   quick   quick   only 3s.come
It came very quickly.

(438) *Ray   ab   day **yiliy**   **yiliy**   yiliel.*
3s.pull 3s.get just 3s.slow 3s.slow 3s.go?
It was towed along going very slowly.

(439) ***Pasakbad!*** (or)   ***Pasakbad*** *w-al!*
quickly   2s-go
Hurry up!   Go quickly!

Infrequently the manner morpheme will follow the verb as in examples (440) and (441) which also shows it can be negated.

(440) *Lul   **dom**   **dom** lul   **dom dom** nanganang bid   d-iel   di...*
chase   unsuccessfully u/s   chase u/s u/s so   com 3pl-go cnj
She chased and chased him unsuccessfully and so he went with them and...

(441) *Miniy tamey   tuw   sabong-ad, de bad   **geer** tiyaham.*
3s.p   3s.p.father older   mind-3pl   cnj f.neg   well neg
Her uncle cared for them but he didn't care for them well.

5.2.1.7 BENEFACTIVE

The beneficiary or recipient of an action in a transitive clause is marked by the appropriate posessive pronoun (to which a dative clitic *an* is suffixed) which preceeds the verb, as in (442), (443) and (448).

(442) *Nam   mow **niyoum-an** ya-sarwahay damom.*
     1s   hab   2s.p-gl   1s-search.for futile
     Normally my search for you is futile.

(443) *Peen   **miniid-an** du-wahag-an-i.*
     lady   3pl.p-gl   3pl-call.out-irr-imm
     They were about to call out for the women.

(444) *Peen   wudiy ma-buol-ad-an   yin warmahan **miniy-an***
     lady   all   1pl.ex-say-3pl-irr 3pl derris.root 3s.p-gl
     di-dingdahang-an.
     3pl-look.about.for-irr
     We'd tell the women they should be looking about for derris root.

There is a distinction amongst benefactive expressions too. When something is being done for a person, a verb serial construction normally of two verbs, concluding with the verb *paan* 'to give' is used, as in the following examples:

(445) *Seg   man nanew maruor   **saab**   **pan-ahaw**.*
     Seg   foc   1 s.p   ornament carve give-1s.p
     Seg carved my ornament for me.

(446) *Mayaw man ni-yahay buor paan, nanganang ni-yahay   man dawaw*
     Mayaw foc 3s.p-uncle pig gave and.so   3s.p-uncle foc betelnut
     *maleybad **tar**   **pan-ey**.*
     some   left   gave-3s.p
     Mayaw gave his uncle a pig and so his uncle set aside some betelnut trees for
him.

(447) *Mam songay ma-bdey   nanganang yin **fing**   **pan-maham**.*
     1pl.ex distant 1.pl.ex-be and.so   3s whistle gave-1pl.ex
     We were a long way away from him and so he whistled for us.

(448) *Tamuol peen   man yil-oud   pan-maham pabul daseg daseg*
     man   woman foc insides-3pl gave-3pl.gl seed one   one
     *di-gaab   nang bongsag gam yoy d-iel **du-but pan-maham-an**.*
     3pl-gather deic tomorrow when f.tim 3pl-go 3pl-plant give-1pl.ex-irr
     The people who were sorry for us, have gathered a few seed(yams), tomorrow
     they will go and plant them for us.

5.2.1.8 REASON

The reason for an action is marked in a clause by the construction *nang miniyan*. This occurs in the following examples. In example (449) the construction surrounds the adjective *fuw* as the speaker wonders about the reason behind what he has seen, whereas in example (450) the reason is explicitly stated.

> (449) ...*mam abang **nang** *fuw* **miniy-an** bid   ma-palanglang-ahay.*
>   1pl.ex thing deic   base 3s.p-gl com 1pl.ex-wonder-ahay
>   ...we too keep wondering what is the reason for those things (UFO's).

> (450) *Yin paan-an   tiyaham **nang** **miniy-an** duwahan bid   du-fung-youm-an*
>   3s 3s.give-irr neg   gvn   3s.p-gl bow   com 3pl-kill-2s-irr
>
>   ***nang** **miniy-an** ngilang bid.*
>   deic   3s.p-gl anger   com
>   Should one not give it, they will kill you because of it, because they are angry.

5.2.2 ORDER OF ARGUMENTS

No language examples have been found in which all the arguments occur together in a single clause.

To further complicate matters as mentioned previously in each appropriate section, there is variation in the position of some of the arguments; the **locative**, depending on whether it is fronted for added emphasis (454) or at the end as in (453), **time**, **benefactive**, depending upon its form, whether it involves the word *miniyan* (455) or whether it is the verbal form (452) (part-b) and the **manner** argument.

> (451) *Tarangaw man yin di-bdiy   niek nang miniy-an di-dang dom.*
>   spear.type foc 3pl 3pl-arose child deic   3s.p-gl 3pl-look fruitlessly
>   The spears got up (and) searched fruitlessly for their youngster.

> (452) *Nahal bad   gam (nam) pisaw ningiy bad   ya-dang gam nanew*
>   day   indef when 1s   adze good indef 1s-see   then 1s.p
>
>   *niek   miniid waag ya-saab paan-iid-an.*
>   child 3pl.p canoe 1s-carve give-3pl-irr
>   One day when I find a good adze, I will carve a canoe for my children.

> (453) *Nam waag wiy y-al   mahas bisiy-an,   mamaham damey   fangey-an.*
>   1s   canoe ins 1s-go sea   middle-gl 1pl.ex.p headland above-gl
>   With my canoe I went away out to sea, out from our headland.

> (454) *Aab   yiliy-an   naan gar-ad   magareng di niek makiesiy yin*
>   house inside-loc there 3s.ate-3pl cpl   cnj child little   3s
>
>   *woom keet-bad   dangang di badey.*
>   hide   silent-inten look.rdp cnj be
>   There inside the house, it ate them all up, and the small child silently hid watching.

(455) *Mod   man   miniy-an kiming muom.*
Mod   foc   3s.p-gl   bread   cook
Mod cooked bread for her.

From the above examples (451) to (455) and (449) in the preceding section, a general order of clause arguments can be described as follows:

Time Subject Benefactive Object Reason Instrument (Location) (Verb/Verb phrase) (Location)

5.3 CLAUSE TYPES

The following discussion will present the various clause types which occur in Awad Bing.

5.3.1 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Transitive clauses are clauses in which the verb has a direct object, such as in examples (408) in 5.2.1.1 and (411) in 5.2.1.2, and in the following examples:

(456) *Nuoran   sag   gabey   tamuol bad   yuwiy   peen   tam rahan*
yesterday emph mountain man   indef spouse female dual water

du-lung.
3pl-drank
Only yesterday, a mountain man and his wife drowned (lit. drank water).

(457) *Anut atangiy sag   duwahan-an gam wud-yahaw, nanganang bom bad*
God alone   emph   war-gl   then help-1s.obj and.so   bombf.neg

ab-yahaw tiyaham, katris bad   ab-yahaw tiyaham...
get-1s.obj neg   bullet f.neg get-1s.obj neg
During the war, God alone helped me and so (neither) a bomb or a bullet got me...

5.3.2 BI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Bi-transitive clauses are those in which an indirect object is involved as in the following examples:

(458) *Yin   miniid   silahay polis   dim-ad-an   du-yuor.*
3pl   3pl.rflx knife(s) police hand-3pl-gl 3pl-put
They handed in their knives to the police.

(459) *Tamuol   nang   miniy   teey   sawang   paan.*
man   deic   3s.p   young.sibling knowledge   give
The man gave the knowledge to his younger brother.

5.3.3 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses are clauses in which the verb does not take an object as in (407) above and in (460) and (461) below:

(460) *Yin   yien   matahat   nguror   di   badey.*
     3s   3s.sleep 3s.dead.rdp 3s.snore.rdp cnj be
     It (a mythical bird) was sound asleep snoring, and it remained so.

(461) *Yin   di-mgurur   di   di-bdey lel aad fangey-an watalahay.*
     3pl   3pl-make.loud.noise cnj   3pl-be dur sun high-gl   rise
     They were 'making a din' and remained doing so until the sun had risen.

(462) *...di tam di-siliwliw   yiel.*
      cnj dual 3pl-sniff.rdp go
     ...and the two of them went sniffing about.

5.3.4 STATIVE CLAUSES

5.3.4.1 NOMINAL STATIVE CLAUSES

Nominal statives consisting of a noun phrase plus a noun phrase, are used in narratives to describe the origin or traits of new characters as they are introduced.

(463) *Yamer-midiliy   nang   wangey   Sapuriy Garahan tamuol-ang.*
     clothes-short   gvn   name.3s.p Sapuriy Siassi   man-spec
     That policeman's name was Sapuriy, a man from Siassi Island.

(464) *...peen   bid   tamuol bid   mididiliy   wangaad   tarangaw.*
     woman com   man   com short.rdp name.3pl.p arrow
     ...the men and the women both were very short, their name was arrow.

5.3.5 DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSES

There are no true descriptive clauses as such in Awad Bing, but descriptive sentences which are verb-less statements composed of two parts, the subject which is characteristically a noun phrase and the description which is characteristically a descriptive noun phrase, as in examples (465) and (466) below:

(465) *Nanew   niek   yin miniid lingang   ningiy.*
     1s.p   child 3pl 3pl.p knowledge good
     My children, they are smart/clever.

(466) *Tamuol   paniy yin wum-ing-ad   tiyaham.*
     man   some 3pl garden-specif-pl.p neg
     Some men, they are gardenless (i.e. don't have gardens).

(467) *Miniy bing   anangoy bid.*
     3s.p words fruit   com
     What he says has substance (is true).

5.3.6 EQUATIVE CLAUSES

Equative clauses can be categorised differently to the descriptive statements above, because even though they have the same basic structure, they are concluded with the verb *badey* 'to be' as in examples (468) and (469) or the verb *fus* 'appear or become' as in (470) below.

> (468) *Mug   matey Autungiy   taban-ey   yin duwahan   taban-ey   badey.*
> before old   clan.name head-3s.p 3s fight   head-3s.p 3s.be
> In olden times the Autingiy clan leader was the war leader.

> (469) *Tiyaham, yin mayahay tiyaham,   yin   ningiy   di-bdey.*
> no   3pl sick   neg   3pl   good   3pl-be
> No, they aren't sick, they are well.

> (470) *Madi   Teterai miniid   misin   tabn-ey   fus.*
> Madi   Teterai 3pl.p   mission head-3s.p appear
> Madi has become the church leader of Teterai village.

5.3.8 REASON RESULT CLAUSES

Generally reason-result clauses are marked by the conjunction *nanganang*. For example (440) in §5.2.1.5, and (471) and (472) below.

> (471) *Rey   man   minin-ahaw fiki-y-ahay   nanganang nam mun*
> kunai foc   sore-1s.pos irritate-cont-ahay so   1s   again
> *ya-psalul.*
> 1s-return
> The kunai grass was irritating my sores so I returned.

> (472) *...aw-ey   luong nanganang yin fooy   watal-ahay siy   di buol...*
> mouth-3s.pos hear   so   3s paddle go.up-ahay come cnj say
> ...he heard him so he came paddling out and said to him...

> (473) *Aniyaw balal   nanganang nam bad   y-al   tiyaham.*
> rain   fall.rdp and.so   1s   f.neg 1s-go neg
> It was raining and so I'didn't go.

> (474) *Yin mayahay abab   nanganang yin bad   siy   tiyaham.*
> 3s sickness get.rdp and.so   3s f.neg come neg
> He became sick and so he didn't come.

5.3.8 RESULT REASON CLAUSES

Normally the reason precedes the result, however sometimes the result is left dislocated and precedes the reason as in the following example, where the conjoining word or phrase has a similar meaning to the word 'because'. Compare the examples (473) above with (475) below and similarly (474) above with (476) below.

(475) *Nam   bad   y-al   tiyaham,   aniyaw balal   nanganang.*
1s   f.neg 1s-go neg   rain   fall.rdp and.so
I didn't go because it was raining.

(476) *Yin   bad   fus   tiyaham   sang   miniy-an   yin mayahay bid.*
3s   f.neg appear neg   what   3s.p-reason 3s   sickness com
He didn't appear (show up) because he was sick.

5.3.9 CONTRAFACTUAL CLAUSES

An example of a contrafactual with a negative condition is given above in example (449) and below in (477).

(477) *Ma-siy   miniy de rahan man fus dal-ang-maham   som.*
1pl.ex-come   3s.p   but river foc rose road-spec-1pl.ex.p   block
We would have come but the river rose (and) blocked our way.

5.3.10 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

A conditional clause consists of two parts, the first is the condition upon which the second part relies for its fulfilment or nullification.

(478) *Aniyaw bal-an   gam yoy   taunan bad   y-al-an   tiyaham.*
rain   fall-irr then f.tim town   f.neg 1s-go-irr   neg
If it rains I won't go to town.

(479) *Nam   murgam rahan timiyaham nang y-al   Muadey   ya-sug-an.*
1s   later   water neg.rdp   gvn   1s-go Mod(river) 1s-wash-irr
Later if I have no water I will go and wash in the Mod (river).

5.4 CLAUSES LINKED NONTEMPORALLY, THE ANOPHORIC DEICTIC *nang*

The deictic particle *nang* also functions as a clause linkage particle, linking non-temporal clauses. It refers back to the whole of the preceding noun phrase or clause, and maens something like 'that being true, then...' as in examples (448), (450), (479) and in the following example:

(480) *An ahang-mim-aniy **nang**, aning   balbahal aab-an   di-bdey **nang***
2pl hungry-2pl-inter deic   banana table   house-loc 3pl-be   deic

a-pil   a-nuon   ahang!
2pl-gather 2pl-roast 2pl.eat
If you are hungry, there are bananas on the bench in the house, get them, roast them (and) eat them!

6.1 CONJUNCTIONS

There are a number of conjunctions in Awad Bing which serve a coordinating or subordinating function. Since this is a preliminary analysis of a complex and baffling area which needs more attention at a later stage, the conclusions reached here will be the subject of an ongoing analysis.

It is not a simple matter to determine accurately what the meanings are for the various Awad Bing conjunctions. There is even some disagreement on their use amongst Awad Bing speakers; while some people feel that certain conjunctions are interchangeable, others use one or the other consistently in different contexts and thereby show that there are real semantic differences. The picture is made even more difficult by the fact that quite often more than one English gloss will fit a single Awad Bing conjunction, making it hard to determine whether the conjunction has a single function or multiple functions. A group of Awad Bing men have been thinking about these issues for some time, and producing a body of written Awad Bing materials; and on the basis of their written work and their deliberations tentative agreement has been reached concerning the meaning of a number of the conjunctions. These findings are presented in what follows.

Conjunctions are an important part of the language for keeping track of time of events. As stated previously there is no tense system, and the language keeps track of time through a variety of devices including time words and the four common conjunctions; *de*, *di*, *be* and *bi*.

6.1.1 *de* – THE PAST TIME AND COMPLETED ACTION CONJUNCTION

This conjunction links events which have been completed and are viewed as in the past from the perspective of the speaker as in examples (481) and (503) below:

> (481) ...*de du-mgurur   di-bdey **de**   maal   mun   basul.*
> and 3pl-making.a.din 3pl-be   and monster again 3s.returned
> ...and they were making a loud noise and the monster again returned.

It may also be used as a contrastive conjunction with a similar meaning to 'but' in English, as in example (428).

> (482) *Du-rub   **de** polis daal ruwyoum du-som   gabey wudiy du-fung-ad.*
> 3pl-run.away but police road two   3pl.block bush all   3pl-kill-3pl
> They ran away but the police had blocked two roads, and they killed all the
> bush (people).

> (483) ***De** mam   mug   ma-dang-ad   nang duwahan mug   siy.*
> but 1pl.ex already 1pl.ex-see-3pl gvn fight   already come
> But we'd already seen them, the fight had already come.

6.1.2 *di* – THE CURRENT TIME CONJUNCTION

Di is used as the current time conjunction linking two events or actions seen to occur (from the speakers perspective) at the same time, and not being related to a future time event.

(484) *Yin yiel   dugduug-an fus   di   ngiew   paan   sirir   di yiel.*
      3s 3s.go jungle-loc   appear and bandicoot 3s.shot fill.up and 3s.go
      He arrived in the jungle, shot a bandicoot, put it in (his bag) and went.

(485) *Nagaag   di   abang bad   ya-lnguong tiyaham.*
      refers.to.something.just.described and thing f.neg 1s-knowing not

      mahas tuwiy o   taan   tuwiy. Naag   nang.
      sea   spirit or ground spirit, same.as that
      I do not understand what (caused) what I have just described a sea spirit or a ground spirit. Something like that.

(486) *Fooy   awul   ray ray siy   siy   di   siy   rahan awey-an*
      paddle fishing.line pull pull come come and come river mouth-loc

      naan parparar   badey di   arangroung bad   nang rahan man
      there walking.about be   and mango   indef deic water act

      bireng   sarir.
      carry.down   descend
      He paddled pulling and pulling (a fishing line) coming and coming and came to the river mouth there, was moving about and the water carried down one of those mangoes.

(487) *Paniy pil   angahang di   badey di   fanggargar tamuol yuwiy*
      some 3s.gather eating   and be   and devil   man   3s.spouse

      tam mahas di-yes   miniy di-sirir.
      two sea   3pl-collect 3s.p 3pl-descend
      He was there gathering and eating (mangoes) and the devil man with his wife came down to collect sea-water.

6.1.3 *be* – THE DISTANT FUTURE TIME CONJUNCTION

This is the conjunction used to link two clauses when one is to follow the other at a time (from the speakers perspective) in the non-immediate future.

(488) *Nagaag di-bdeiy   gam am   man bil-youm   be   luong-an?*
      like.that 3pl-being   while who foc 3s.say-2s.dat cnj   know-irr
      Whilst they are remaining like that, who will tell you and you will be able to understand?

(489) *Aning   maneg di-sap   be,   angahar bid digaab*
      banana for.e.g. 3pl-break.off.an.ear and galip.nut com 3pl.put.together

      di-pan-ad-an   be   d-ahang-an.
      3pl-give-3pl-irr and 3pl-eat-irr

They will break off a hand of bananas for example and put them together with some galip nuts and give them to (others), and they will have a meal.

Another use of this conjunction is in the response of someone overlooked when he/she feels that they should have been included may be as in (490) below.

(490) *Nam be?*
　　　 1s　 and
　　　 And (what about) me?

6.1.4 *bi* – IMMEDIATE FUTURE TIME CONJUNCTION

This conjunction is used to link two clauses when one is to follow the other in the immediate or near future (from the speakers perspective), at least on the same day.

(491) *Geylalawey ya-toy y-ab **bi** waag yiliy-an　 ya-tey yiel.*
　　　 gills.3s　　 1s-hold 1s-get cnj canoe inside-loc 1s-do 3s.go
　　　 I broke out its gills and (then) put it in the canoe.

(492) *...di peen　 tubuw buolad　 'anging bad ab　 asiy　 apan*
　　　 cnj woman old　 3s.say.3pl food　 a　 2pl.get 2pl.come 2pl.stab.it

　　　 *ahang **bi** yien-an'.*
　　　 2pl.eat cnj sleep-irr
　　　 ...and the old lady said to them, 'get some food, eat it and go to sleep'.

(493) *Ya-siyiy　 tam t-ahab　 **bi** t-aal-an　 minid　 garung.*
　　　 1s-coming two 1pl.in-get.3s and 1pl.in-go-irr 1pl.in.p　 meat.
　　　 I'm coming, we'll take it and go, (that'll be) our meat.

6.2 *i di* – TEMPORAL SIMULTANEITY

When this clitic phrase is used to join two clauses it signifies temporal simultaneity of actions as in the examples below:

(494) *Tamuol yin eew　 kuar　 lung　 de rahan kises　 **i di***
　　　 man　　 3s　 liquor squeeze drink cnj river　 cross.rdp sim.asp

　　　 muol yiel rahan-an, rahan lung mahat.
　　　 fall　 go　 river-loc　 water drink die
　　　 A man made and drank an intoxicating drink and as he tried to cross the river he fell into the water and drowned.

(495) *Buor　 dugu-y-ahay　 **i di**　 mam　 ma-bdiy　　 ma-mgariey*
　　　 pig　 leap.up-pres-ahay sim.asp 1pl.ex　 1.pl.ex-arise 1p.pl.ex-shout

　　　 buor　 palul...
　　　 pig　 run
　　　 As the pig leapt up so we began shouting and the pig ran...

(496) *Suwieng rey   nang   di-dahang di-kas 'Saidor mangieg',   i di*
Suwieng kunai deic   3pl-see   3pl-say Saidor like.that.rdp sim.asp

balus   rey   bisiy-an   pamalmoul.
aeroplane kunai middle-loc fall.down.everywhere
They saw the *kunai* grass plain at Suwieng and as they were thinking 'that's Saidor' the planes fell down all over the place in the middle of the *kunai* grass.

(497) *Dokta man miniy aab-an   yiliel i di   peen   tubuw mayahay*
doctor act 3s.p house-loc going when woman old   sick

damung bid   dang.
bad   com saw
When the doctor was going to his house he saw a very sick old lady.

(498) *Yudumuom i di yin yiel kalik   ab   yiel tey   di   yien.*
darkness   and 3s go pillow get go   put and sleep
As it was getting dark he went, took a pillow put it down and slept.

Also similarly in form the conjunction i bi may also be used to join two clauses when the two actions are occurring consequentially and simultaneously, as in example (499) below:

(499) *W-al yoy   tirimrimam   i bi wang-am tiyaham an.*
2s-go f.tim make.a.mistake cnj name-2s.p not   irr
If you go and make a mistake you will not have a name (when you make the mistake you will die).

If in the above examples the *i di* or *i bi* were substituted by *de* or *di* and *be* respectively there would be a shift in meaning as in the following examples:

(500) *Buor dugu-yahay   de mam ma-bdiy   ma-mgariey   buor palul...*
pig   leap.up-ahay.rdp cnj 1pl.ex 1.pl.ex-arise 1p.pl.ex-shout pig   run
After the pig leapt up we began shouting and the pig ran...

(501) *W-al yoy tirimrimam   be wang-am tiyaham an.*
2s-go f.tim make.a.mistake cnj name-2s.p not   irr
If you go and make a mistake you will not have a name (you'll die afterwards as a result).

6.3 *gam* – 'SINCE', 'THEN', AND 'WHILST'

Gam is a time word which marks contextual time, and follows the words, phrase or clause which specifies the time context. If the context is unspecified, 'now', (i.e. the time of utterance) is understood. Thus *gam* means 'at the time specified by the immediately preceeding context, the following event took/will take place'.

For one example see example (488) above and the following examples below:

(502) *Abang nang damung lang-an   gam bad   ma-yien-an   tiyaham.*
thing   that bad   beach-loc when f.neg 1pl.ex-sleep-irr not
Since the time when that bad thing was on the beach we haven't slept (there).

(503) *Aniyaw balal* **gam** *di-yuor sarir siy du-doum wood-an*
rain   falling when 3pl-put descend come 3pl-scoop.out bowl-loc

yiel-an.
go-irr

At the time when it is raining they will bring them out and scoop them out into large wooden bowls.

(504) *Sarir siy, girmahang bad w-ahang* **gam** *yagahay bad*
descend come leftover.food indef 2s-eat then climb.up indef

piel bi tam t-al-an.
gather and two 1pl.in-go-irr

Come down, eat a (bamboo of) leftover food then climb up (the tree) gather some (small apples) and we two will go.

The particle *gam* also functions to link clauses, as in the following example:

(505) *Os ya-tey* **gam** *yoy t-al-an.*
smoke 1s-make then f.tim 1pl.in-go-irr

When I roll a smoke we'll go.

6.4 *o* – ALTERNATIVE MARKER

There is a common conjunction for the linking of alternatives the particle *o* (possibly derived from Tok Pisin). It may be used to link either clauses or phrases. It is used as in example (485) and as in the following examples:

(506) *Wun w-al-an o tiyaham?*
2s   2s-go-irr or not

Are you going or not?

(507) *Anging-an* **o** *yalang-an* **o** *gus-an yiel.*
food-for or greens-for or food.in.bamboos-for 3s.go

She went for food, or greens, or food in bamboo tubes.

6.5 LISTING ACTIVITIES

Clauses describing a series of events, may be linked simply by juxtaposition, written with a comma separating them to indicate the pause in speech as in example (508) below:

(508) **Anging di-toy, buor di-taw, anging fus** *de d-angagang de*
food   3pl-hold pig 3pl-bind food   appear and 3pl-eating and

mar tey guob.
mourning 3s.do 3s.shut

They exchanged food, bound a pig, provided food and they were eating it and finished the mourning period.

6.6 *nanganang* – 'AND SO'

Nanganang is a common conjunction in speech which links two sequential activities or ideas on a paragraph or discourse level. This is a common conjunction for both sequential time, as well as or in addition to its action as a reason-result conjunction as in §5.3.3. It was possibly originally derived by the reduplication of the relative clause marker *nang*.

> (509) ***Nanganang*** *fooy   yiel   waywahay   fuw-an   waag suk*
> and.so   3s.paddle 3s.go mango.tree base-loc canoe push
>
> *watalahay di   waywahay   nang yag-ahay*
> go.up   and mango.tree deic 3s.climb.ahay
> And so he paddled to the base of the mango tree, pushed his canoe up (on the bank) and climbed the tree.

> (510) ***Nanganang*** *nam-an ya-buol nam bid   niyahaw lingang   naag*
> and.so   1s-foc   1s-said 1s   com 1s.p   thoughts the.same.as
>
> *nang sag   siyoy.*
> deic   only stabbing
> And so I said, me too, my thoughts are the same.

> (511) ***Nanganang*** *yid   bad   ta-tey   badey-an tiyaham pasak   bad*
> as.a.result   1pl.in f.neg 1pl.in-do be-irr   not   quick   inten
>
> *t-ahab   t-al-an.*
> 1pl.in-get 1pl.in-go-irr
> As a result lets not leave him, lets take him quickly.

7. MODALITY

Modality involves a speaker's motivation for an utterance. The following modalities are present in Awad Bing; Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Dubitive, Negative, and Comparitive. Discussion and examples follow.

7.1 INDICATIVE MOOD

As a general rule the indicative mood in which a hearer is being informed about a fact, is the most common mood in use. Many examples of the indicative mood are found throughout this paper. The following are two additional examples:

> (512) *Tam ma-par   m-alal   di muat malwey sibiy nang yin siy*
> two 1pl.ex-walk 1pl.ex-go.rdp cnj snake long   very deic   3s come
>
> *daal-an.*
> road-loc
> We two were walking along and a very long snake came onto the road.

> (513) *Nahal nang   nam ya-fing   pan-ey yin man waag wiy   foy*
> day   deic   1s   1s-whistle give-3s 3s foc canoe ins paddle

watalahay yiliel.
above   3s.go.rdp
When I whistled he was paddling his canoe above (out to sea).

7.2 IMPERATIVE MOOD

This mood is typically marked by short discourses, often a single verb or string of verbs. It is used when the speaker wants to induce a listener to act. It is expressed in the second person and normally when used in the singular the uninflected form of the verb is used.

(514) **Badiy   w-al   sug!**
      2s.arise 2s-go 2s.wash
      Go and wash!

(515) *Raskal nang   magaging d-ab   di-bdiy   peen   tubuw nang du-buol,*
      robbers deic   anger   3pl-get 3pl-arose woman old   deic   3pl-said

      'Ariya   pasak   sirsiring pas!'
      alright   quick   clothes   remove
      Those robbers became angry and told the old woman, 'take off your clothes!'

(516) **Buwaw   be   fow   gis!**
      erase   cnj new   write
      Erase it and write it again!

(517) *Yin   peen   buol-ad 'Ey aruor   a-raw   bi   angahar a-piel!'*
      3s   women   told-3pl hey string.bag 2pl-get cnj galip.nut 2pl-gather
      He said to the women, 'Hey! get your string bags and gather the galip nuts!'

7.2.2 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

When a negative imperative is given, the desire is that the hearer not act in a certain way. For this form, the second person irrealis form is used, i.e. the particle *an* is suffixed to the uninflected form of the verb.

(518) *Bad w-al-**an**   tiyaham!*
      f.neg 2s-go-irr neg
      Don't go!

(519) *Nanew tahap man salang-yahaw bil-yahaw kane Bad   w-al-**an***
      1s.p   aunty foc ban-1s   say-1s   quote f.neg 2s-go-irr

      tiyaham!
      neg
      My aunty, she banned me, she said to me, 'Don't go!'

(520) *...nanganang sukul bad   a-tar-**an**   tiyaham, misin   kagin*
      so.now   school f.neg 2pl-leave-irr neg   mission ways

> bad   a-tar-**an**   tiyaham   nang   bid   anangey.
> f.neg   2pl-leave-irr   neg   deic   com   fruit
> ...so don't leave school or the ways of the mission, they are both fruitful.

(521) ...*ranum-an   nang   bad   kew-**an** tiyaham!*
        bilge.water-loc   deic   f.neg   bail-irr   neg
        ...don't bail out the water in the bottom of the canoe!

7.2.3 A COMMON ADDITIONAL USE OF THE IMPERATIVE FORM

The imperative form is also used in farewell greetings, however the intent of the phrase is not to command, e.g.:

(522) ***An a-bdey,***   *nam day y-alal.*
        2pl 2pl-remain 1s   just 1s-go.rdp
        Goodbye. (lit. You stay, I'm going.)

(523) ***Wun w-al,***   *mam ma-bdeiy.*
        2s   2s-go   1pl.ex 1pl.ex-remaining
        Goodbye. (lit. You go, we're staying.)

7.3 INTERROGATIVE MOOD

The purpose of the interrogative mood is to solicit information about a situation, or about the factuality of a situation. The various interrogative words in Awad Bing have been presented in §3.5 of this paper. The focus of this section will be to focus on the use of questions in order to express speech acts rather than questions, (i.e. rhetorical questions) and intonation to indicate interrogative mood.

7.3.1 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

A rhetorical question, one for which the speaker already knows the answer. It is often an indicative or imperative statement presented in the form of a question, with the answer being obvious to the listener. It is often used as a device for remonstration or criticism.

(524) *Wun wa-gagieg?!*
        2s   2s-what.rdp
        What are you doing?! (Don't do that!)

(525) *Sang miniy tar-yahaw rubub?*
        what 3s.p   leave-1s   run.away
        Why are you running away and leaving me? (You don't need to run away!)

7.3.2 THE USE OF INTONATION

In addition to the use of question words, Awad Bing speakers often use a rising intonation towards the end to indicate the interrogative mood. Such an intonation may

sometimes also be used alone on an otherwise declaratory statement to indicate the interrogative mood.

(526) *Yin   yiy   wunuon.*
3s   fish   fish.rdp
He is fishing. and with rising intonation: Has he caught (any) fish?

(527) *Miniy naluw lingang   bid.*
3s.p   child   wisdom   com
His child is smart. and with rising intonation: Is his child smart?

7.4 DUBITIVE MOOD

When a person is doubtful about a situation or wishes to express his lack of knowledge about its factuality, or make a suggestion, either the morpheme *ta* 'perhaps' is used, (mostly in the sentence final position) or the morpheme *nein* 'I think', or sometimes both together. The rising intonation common to interrogatives is also present when uncertainty is being expressed.

(528) *Wun bid   w-al-an   ta?*
2s   com 2s-go-irr   perhaps
I wonder if you'll go too?

(529) *Yin   yiy   du-wnuon   ta.*
3pl   fish   3pl-fishing.rdp   perhaps
Perhaps they're fishing.

(530) *Yin   lunguong   miniy wuum   di-saab   ta,   nanganang yin*
3s   know.rdp   3s.p   garden   3pl-destroy   perhaps rlt   .   3s

teet   fuw-an   badeiy.
village   beginning-loc   be.rdp
Perhaps he knows they destroyed his garden and so he's remaining in his home village.

(531) ***Nein***   *miniy aab   disaab ta   nanganang yin koot-an yiliel.*
I.wonder 3s.p   house 3pl-rob perhaps   rlt   3s court-gl go.rdp
I wonder if perhaps they robbed his house and that's why he's going to court.

(532) *Yin* ***nein***   *lunguong nanganang miniy aab   di-saab, nanganang*
3s   wonder hear.rdp   like.that   3s.p   house 3pl-rob   rlt

yin koot-an   yiliel.
3s   court-gl   go.rdp
I wonder if he's heard that they robbed his house, and.so he's going to court.

Sometimes this is used when a person is unsure of what he himself will do and both options are used indicating this uncertainty as in example (533) below. Sometimes this is also used as a polite excuse to delay having to respond.

(533) *Nam   y-al-an   ta   tiyaham   ta?*
      1s   1s-go-irr perhaps neg   perhaps
      Perhaps I'll I go, perhaps not.

Another way of politely delaying a response is the use of the alternative conjunction *o* together with the intrinsic negator tiyaham as in the following example:

(534) *Nam   y-al-an   o   tiyaham?*
      1s   1s-go-irr or   neg
      Will I go or not?

7.5 NEGATION

Both verbal negation and the negation of adjectival statives utilize a preliminary functional negator, *bad* and a final negator *tiyaham*, which has an intrinsic negative value.

7.5.1 VERBAL NEGATION

The two negators mentioned above, surround the item, word, phrase, clause, etc. which is to be negated. All that is between them is then negated as seen in the examples below:

(535) *Nam **bad**   ya-luong   tiyaham.*
      1s   f.neg 1s-understand   neg
      I did not hear it.

(536) *Yin   **bad**   ngatang   tiyaham.*
      3p.s f.neg able   neg
      He/she is not capable.

When there are several verbs between *bad* and *tiyaham* they are all negated, i.e. the combined meaning in the absence of the two negators, is negated as in (537) and (538).

(537) *Yin **bad**   du-lnguong   di-gireer tiyaham.*
      3pl   f.neg   3pl-understand 3pl-well   neg
      They are not understanding well.

(538) *Nam   **bad**   y-angahang   ngatang   tiyaham.*
      1s   f.neg   1s-eating   enough   neg
      I haven't had sufficient food yet.

7.5.2 ADJECTIVAL STATIVE NEGATION

These are most frequently negated by using the two particles, in the same way as for verbs, i.e. surrounding the meaning one wishes to negate.

(539) *Yin   **bad**   wanwaney tiyaham.*
      3s   f.neg   hot   neg
      It isn't hot.

(540) *Tamuol* **bad** *malwed* **tiyaham**, *tamuol nang midildiliy*.
    man   f.neg   long-3pl neg   man   deic   short.rdp
    Those men weren't tall, they were short.

(541) *Yin* **bad** *leng* **tiyaham**.
    3pl f.neg plenty neg
    There aren't many of them.

The alternative form, though less frequently used, is to negate them in a similar way as will be noted below, when negating nominals, i.e. the negator *tiyaham* alone is used. As a result the above examples (539) to (541) would be as follows:

(539) *Yin wanwaney* **tiyaham**.
    3s hot   neg
    It isn't hot.

(540) *Tamuol malwed* **tiyaham**, *tamuol nang midildiliy*.
    man   long-3pl neg   man   deic   short.rdp
    Those men weren't tall, they were short.

(541) *Yin leng* **tiyaham**.
    3pl plenty neg
    There aren't many of them.

7.5.3 NOMINAL NEGATION

When simply negating nouns and noun phrases, only one particle, *tiyaham* is used as seen in the following examples:

(542) *Nang faang* **tiyaham**, *nang pisaw*.
    deic adze neg   deic curved.adze
    That's not an adze, that's a curved adze.

(543) *Nam faang* **tiyaham**.
    1s   adze neg
    I don't have an adze.

(544) *Tabud ning yin rey tining miniy nahal* **tiyaham**.
    moon this 3s kunai burning 3s.p time   neg
    This month isn't the time for burning kunai grass.

(545) *Waray nang wangeey* **tiyaham**.
    shark deic large   neg
    That shark is not large.

However, when identification occurs as in an equative clause, both negation particles need to be used, otherwise a wrong meaning will be communicated. See examples (546) and (547) below:

(546) *Nam   buor tiyaham.*
     ls   pig   neg
     I have no pigs.

(547) *Nam **bad**   buor   **tiyaham**!*
     ls   f.neg pig   neg
     I'm not a pig!

(548) *Nang **bad**   wuduud **tiyaham** nang ney   waray.*
     deic f.neg dolphin neg   deic different shark
     That is not a dolphin, that's different, a shark.

(549) *Nam abang bad ya-dangang de,   yin **bad** buor **tiyaham**!*
     ls   thing a   ls-see.rdp cnj 3s f.neg pig neg
     I saw something, but it wasn't a pig!

(N.B. The first *bad* which is the indefinite article should not be confused with its negator homophone.)

7.5.4 EMPHATIC NEGATION

The indefinite article is occasionally used in juxtaposition with the first negator particle to give emphasis to the negation, as seen below:

(550) ***Bad   bad**   d-iel   miniid   teet-an   tiyaham.*
     f.neg f.neg 3pl-went 3pl.p   village-to neg
     Not even one of them went back to his village.

Negative fact is also be emphasised by the use of either the intensifier *sibiy* or the limiter *sag* as in the following examples:

(551) *Yin   wudiy dawaw   tiyaham   sibiy.*
     3pl   all   betelnut neg   really
     No-one has any betelnut at all.

(552) *Nam masis   tiyaham sag.*
     ls   matches neg   emphasis
     I do <u>not</u> have any matches.

7.5.5 ANOTHER USE OF *tiyaham*

The simple negative is also *tiyaham* as is seen in the example below:

(553) *Tiyaham. tin-maham   tam-maham tiyaham, mam   day   ning man.*
     no   mother-1pl.p father-1pl.p no   1pl   just   this foc
     No. We have no parents, we are just like this.

7.5.6 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE, PROHIBITIVE

Another word, the negative used for imperatives, has a similar function, but means 'stop it'. To negate an action, *yaw* is used alone in a sentence final position for commands.

(554) *Naag   wuot   yaw!*
    same.as 2s.do.imp neg.imp
    Stop doing that!

(555) *An a-mgur   yaw!*
    2pl 2pl-big-noise neg.imp
    Stop making a din!

7.6 COMPARISON

Three ways of making comparisons exist in the language. The identification of a characteristic or a property or properties between two objects, states or actions, is, like negation marked by two semblative particles wenang and youm, each of which is also used alone to make separate comparisons. The two semblative particles may surround a single word, e.g. a noun being compared, a phrase or even a clause; and so compare it to what was previously mentioned. See examples (556) to (560) below:

(556) *Yin yien nang **wenang** matieng **youm**.*
    3s sleep gvn   semb   die.nom semb
    He slept like a dead man.

(557) *...silahay kidingdeengiy bad   **wenang** sikel   **youm**...*
    knife   bent   indef semb   sickle semb
    ...A bent knife similar to a sickle...

(558) *Kopi miniy wurat yin bad **wenang** kakaw miniy urat **youm***
    coffee 3s.p work 3s f.neg semb   cocoa   3s.p work semb

    tiyaham.
    neg
    The work for coffee is not like the work for cocoa.

(559) *Nen bi Merey nang **wenang** nen bi Mur **youm**.*
    here cnj Merey deic   semb   here cnj Mur semb
    Here to Merey is the same (distance) as here to Mur.

(560) *...yin yiliy   ningiy sibiy miniid-an **wenang** sabanguong tamuol*
    3s   insides good very 1pl.p-loc semb   care-for.nom man
    *bililiek miniy barnun-an kasas   nang **youm**.*
    sheep   3s.p story-loc tell.rdp deic   semb
    ...he is very merciful towards us like the watchman, the story of the sheep tells about.

As previously mentioned, each of these two morphemes is used for purposes of comparison in it's own right. When *wenang* is used it is forward referencing, i.e. cataphoric

and indicates a comparison is being made with further explanation following, as in examples (561), (562) and (565) below:

(561) *Muat yin buab   nang **wenang** buor man ahay.siyoy   naag 'ngur'.*
      snake 3s bellow deic   semb   pig foc make.a.sound same ngur
      That snake bellowed like a pig does when it makes a noise to frighten a dog.

(562) *Abang   wudiy gumuong aab-an   nang noy wangangiy youm,*
      something all   buying house-loc deic price huge   semb

      ***wenang** rais flaur, tow,   mahas teey...*
      semb   rice flour sugar salt   powder
      Everything in the shops has a biggish price, such as rice, flour, sugar and salt...

The other of the morpheme pair, *youm* when used alone is anaphoric, as in examples (563) to (565) below:

(563) *Ahay nang buaw   **youm**.*
      wood deic   bamboo semb
      That wood is like bamboo.

(564) *...taan   tam-ey   **youm** nang man badiy kas-an...*
      ground father-3s semb deic   act   arise speak-irr
      ...the father of the ground, for example, begins to speak...

(565) *...yiy   wangangiy, sinahang, mataliy **youm**...*
      fish big   sinahang   mataliy semb
      ...like the big fish, sinahang, mataliy...

(N.B. When checking examples with a group they said that although it is common to do this in fast speech, both particles should be used in 'proper speech'. This indicates a difference between what is acceptable as colloquial speech, and what they believe is 'correct speech'.)

According to this the following examples would be more correct:

(561*) *Muat yin buab   nang **wenang** buor man ahay.siyoy   **youm***
      snake 3s bellow deic   semb   pig act make.a.sound semb

      naag 'ngur'.
      same   ngur
      That snake bellowed like a pig does when it makes a noise to frighten a dog.

(562*) *Abang   wudiy gumuong aab-an   nang noy **wangangiy** wenang*
      something all   buying house-loc deic price huge   semb

      *rais flaur, tow,   mahas teey   **youm**.*
      rice flour sugar salt   powder semb
      Everything in the shops has a biggish price, such as rice, flour, sugar and salt.

(563*) *Ahay nang **wenang** buaw   **youm**.*
      wood deic   semb   bamboo semb
      That wood is like bamboo.

(564*) ...*(tamuol   bad) **wenang** taan   tam-ey   **youm** nang   man badiy*
       (man   indef) semb   ground father-3s semb deic   foc   arise

      kas-an...
      speak-irr
      ...(a man), the father of the ground, for example, begins to speak...

(565*) ...*yiy   wangangiy   **wenang** sinahang, mataliy   **youm**...*
       fish big   sembl   sinahang   mataliy   semb
      ..like the big fish, sinahang, mataliy...

7.7 QUOTATIONS

7.7.1 DIRECT SPEECH QUOTATIONS

Direct quotations in both oral and written discourses in Awad Bing may take several forms.

All quotations are proceeded by a verb which indicates a speech action, e.g. *buol* ('to say or talk') a regular transitive verb which requires both subject and an object affixation, *kas* ('to say either verbally or mentally [i.e. think]') an intransitive verb', *fuluol* ('to call something by name') a transitive verb, or *wusingahay* ('to ask') which depending upon its form may be either transitive or intransitive.

The morpheme *kane* ('thusly') will sometimes be inserted directly following the verb. Also the morpheme *maneg* ('like this/that' or 'for example') frequently follows the actual speech quotation, and is anaphoric in its referencing. (This morpheme may be reduplicated to *mangeg* or have the irrealis morpheme suffixed as in example (579) below.)

N.B. This morpheme has a similar usage, i.e. similar meaning with anaphoric referencing when used elsewhere in text and not in conjunction with speech quotations.

Thus there can be a variety of ways to denote direct quotations, as in the examples below:

7.7.1.1 EXAMPLES USING *kas* ('TO SAY/THINK')

(566) ...*nanganang* **kas**, *'nanew   garung   ya-dang-ad'.*
       and.so   said 1s.p   meat   1s-see-3pl
      ...and so it said 'I see my meat'.

(567) *Fow fow bing tey   siy   **kas** 'misin   nang misin   sibiy'.*
      new new word 3s.put 3s.come said mission gvn mission really
      At first he stated that the church/mission was really genuine.

(568) *Nam bid yiki-yahaw **ya-kas** 'niek   makiesiy gamey   tar-maham-an-i'.*
      1s   too   scare-me   1s-said child   small   now   leave-1s.in-irr-imm
      I too was scared. I thought 'the little child is about to leave us' (die).

(569) ...*naan tubuw man* **di-kas** *'ningiy nen ab   asiy'*.
　　　there old   act 3pl-said good here 2pl.get 2pl.come
　　　...(when) there the old folk said 'good, bring him here'.

7.7.1.2 EXAMPLES USING *buol* ('TO SAY TO' OR 'TELL SOMEONE')

(570) ...*de   pasakbad Anggita yin* **bil-yahaw**, *'Nam   marwiy bad   bad*
　　　and quickly Anggita 3s   said-to.me 1s   heavy indef f.neg

ya-lnguong tiyaham.
1s-know   neg
　　　...and Anggita said to me, 'I didn't know there was a problem'.

(571) *Maneg   di mam man* **ma-buol-ad**. *'Tiyaham niek*
　　　this.having.occurred and 1pl.ex act 1pl.ex-said-3pl no   child

makiesiy nieg   wutuot nanganang mam m-ab   ma-siy'.
small   like.this doing and.so   1pl.ex 1pl.ex-get 1pl.ex-come
　　　This having occurred we said to them, 'No, the child was doing 'like this' and
　　　so we brought it'.

(572) *Tubuw tamuol badiy kas   Samuel* **buol** *'Wal luf   bad   wab*
　　　old   man began to.speak Samuel said go   gorongor indef 2s-get

siy'.
come
　　　The old man began to speak, he told Samuel 'Go and bring a luf (plant)'.

7.7.1.3 EXAMPLES USING THE VERB *wusingahay* ('TO ASK')

(573) *Nan di-ding-maham du-wsing-maham 'gieg gieg a-siy'.*
　　　there 3pl-saw-1pl. 3pl-asked-3pl   what what 2pl-come
　　　They saw us there and asked us, 'why have you come?'

(574) *Naan mayahay sabangbongiy tamuol nang dang-maham wusing-maham*
　　　there sick   caretaker   man   gvn saw-3pl   asked-3pl

'gigieg?'
what
　　　There when the man who looks after the sick saw us he asked 'what's up?'

7.7.1.4 EXAMPLE USING *fuluol* ('TO NAME')

(575) ...*muat nang wangey du-fuluol kane 'maneb' maneg dugduug*
　　　snake gvn name.3s.p 3pl-call.it thusly maneb like.this jungle

miniy...
3s.p
　　　...they call that snake '*maneb*' a bush snake...

7.7.1.5 EXAMPLES USING *kane* ('THUSLY')

(576) *...di   nam   ya-kas   kane, 'dabab   bad   tiniiy-an   ya-saruor*
     and   1s   1s-thought thusly driftwood indef   body.3s.p-loc 1s-snagged

    tam'.
    two
    ...and I thought, 'I'm snagged on a piece of driftwood'.

(577) *Tiniy   yin kas kane   'balag tangahang', maneg...*
    mother.3s 3s said thusly nothing 3s.crying   like.that
    Its mother said, 'its just crying (without reason)'...

(578) *Di-kas   kane   'di-silil   maneg'*.
    3pl-said   thusly 3pl-gone.out like.that
    They said 'they've gone out somewhere'.

(579) *Wun yoy   songay miniy lam dahang kas-an kane, kar bad   man*
    2s   f.tim distant 3s.p lamp 2s.see say-irr thusly car indef act

    siy   maneg-an   walal   gam, yin yoy badiy watalahay-an.
    come like.this-irr 2s.going   then 3s f.tim arise go.above-loc
    If you saw its light in the distance you'd say 'a car is coming' you'd be going
    then it would go above.

(580) *Daguon   nouw-an   bil-maham kane, 'abang ning damung lang-an*
    Daguon   face.1s.p-loc   said-1pl   thusly thing   this bad   beach-loc

    gam bad a-yien-an   tiyaham'.
    dur f.neg 2pl-sleep-irr neg
    Daguon (man's name) said to us (standing) in front of me 'whilst this bad thing
    is on the beach, don't sleep (there)'.

(581) *Yin   mun   di-bil-maham kane 'flaying suos   man'. Falaying suos*
    3pl   again   3pl-said-1pl thusly flying saucer foc   flying   saucer

    bad   ma-lnguong   tiyaham'.
    f.neg 1pl-understand neg
    They said to us again, 'flying saucer'. We don't understand what a flying saucer
    is.

(582) *...mug   wud   yiliy   sag siy   nanganang ya-kas ning gieg*
    already swim inside only 3s.came and.so   1s-said this what

    gieg yiel-an-i   mangieg gam siy   yiliy-an   fooy   fung
    what 3s.go-irr-inim this.rdp then come inside-loc paddle   3s.break

    fooy   fung   wit.
    paddle break with.its.mouth
    ...it was already coming swimming inside and so I thought, 'where can I go
    (now)' (I was thinking this) when it came inside and broke the paddle, it broke
    it off with its mouth.

(583) *Yakas* *'O tar-wahaw' mangieg di pasakbad fooy y-ab*
1s-thought Oh leave-1s this.rdp and quickly paddle 1s-got

ya-rub *ya-fooy* *teen-an*
1s-cleared.out 1s.paddled shore-loc
I thought 'Oh you leave me', I was thinking this and quickly I grabbed the
paddle and cleared out paddling to the shore.

7.7.1.6 EMBEDDED DIRECT QUOTATIONS

Embedded quotations, (quotations within quotations) have also been observed in Awad
Bing:

(584) *Naan di Samuel man buol,* *'tiyaham, wun kasas 'mayahay tiyaham*
there and Samuel act 3s.said no 2s saying sick neg

sag nanganang mamaham lingang nieg badey'.
emph and.so 1pl.p thoughts this 3s.be
And so there Samuel said, 'no, you are saying 'he isn't sick'', that expresses our
thoughts too'.

(585) *De Amerika dokta Bab awey-an,* *wit-an kas 'bad di-pan-ad*
but America doctor Bob mouth-3s.p outside-loc said indef 3pl-shot-3pl

tiyaham. Yahang, aniaw wangeey mahan waag abahay di-dang miniy
neg wind rain big bird canoe place 3pl-saw 3s.p

tiyaham. Pangpahang makiesiy, Suwieng-an di-dang di-kas,
neg scrap   tiny ground.name-loc 3pl-saw 3pl-said

'mahan waag abahay Saidor eyningieng,' naan pa-malmuol'.
bird canoe place Saidor this.is(emphatic) there cpl-fell.down

Ey nieg dokta Bab bil-yahaw.
gl this doctor Bob told-1s
But the American Dr Bob told me clearly (openly) himself, 'they did not shoot
them. (because of) wind and heavy rain they could not see the airstrip. They
just saw a tiny bit of Suwieng ground and they said 'THIS is the Saidor airstrip'
and they all fell down there'. This is what Dr Bob told me.

N.B. Sometimes following a speech quotation, as if to add emphasis, there is a
summation as in the last sentence in the preceeding example (585) above and in (586) and
(587) below:

(586) *De peen tubuw nang badiy ngar-ad **buol-ad**. 'An masis bid*
but woman old gvn began cross-3pl said-3pl 2pl matches com

a-par-an, a-dang-wahaw niyoum masis bid i? Nam masis
2pl-walk-irr 2pl-see-1s 2s.p matches com inter 1s matches

*tiyaham sag,' **naag** **buol-ad**.*
neg emph like.that 3s.said-3pl
But the old woman began to 'tell them off', she said to them, 'You walk about

with matches. Did you see me with your matches? I don't have any matches!' she spoke to them like that.

(587) *Ariya peen   man **wahag** 'yoy sarir   bi,   be   teet-an*
OK   woman   act   call.out f.tim descend   and,   and   village-loc

t-al-aniy.   Weed   day   wudiy d-iel   magarngeng-iy siy   be
1pl.in-go.imm   friends just   all   3pl-went cpl-imm   come   and

*tam   t-al.'   Peen   man naag   **wahag paney** buol*
(we).two 1pl.in-go woman act   like.that call   give.3pl said

nanganang tamuol sarir   siy.
and.so   man   dscend came

The woman called out, 'come down and we'll go to the village, our friends have about all gone, come and lets go.' That's what the lady called to him and so the man came down.

7.7.1.7 OTHER SPEECH QUOTATIONS

A different and seemingly rare style of quotation has been noted. It follows the general style of quotations as in the examples above, however the storyteller is talking about a 3rd person subject which thought that it had done something to himself as in the following examples, (588) and (589) below which were sequential in a dramatic narrative.

(588) *Ningriy   ya-wlaleng   di   ningiriy yin kas   kane day ab-ahaw*
tail.3s   1s-jump.over   and   tail.3s   3s   thought thusly conc 2s.get-1s

maneg   balag   sag ahay naluw kam o   paypay bid
like.this   purposeless   only wood small tiny or   pawpawtoo

kalmang   abang nang muwiy sag taftatahat.
victory.shrub thing   gvn   pulverise only break.up

I jumped over its tail, but its tail thought thusly, 'it had just got me' like that but without result it only pulverised and broke up twigs or pawpaw and things like victory shrub.

(589) *Di   yin kas   kane nam ab-wahaw maneg   di tiyaham.*
and   3s   thought thusly 1s   3s.get-1s   like.that   but neg

And it thought 'It had got me' like that but (it had) not.

7.8 IRREALIS MOOD

The irrealis mood is a very common feature of Awad Bing. The main irrealis suffixial clitic *an* is homonymnous with the locative clitic, *an*, however their usage is quite distinct.

7.8.1 Irrealis suffixes

There are two verbal irrealis affixes, and between them they cover several shades of irrealis meaning. Both suffixes -*an* and -*aniy*, occur in the stem final position of the verb, and as such also in the clause final and frequently in the sentence final positions. If they are considered as separate suffixes, they can never co-occur. -*aniy* has two functions. It expresses both a permissive modality and a desiderative modality (see §7.8.5 and §7.8.6).

7.8.2 Irrealis verb stems

Intransitive:	+	sub-	+	verb root	+	-irr	
Transitive:	+	sub-	+	verb root	+	-obj	+ -irr
Reflexive:	+	sub-	+	verb root	+	-rflx	+ -irr
Reciprocal:	+	rcp-	+	verb root	+	verb root	+ -irr

(590) *di-yien-an*
3pl-sleep-irr
they sleep

(591) *anang-mom-an*
3s.burn-2sg-irr
it burns you

(592) *yoy   nu-fung.fung-an*
f.tim   rflx-hit.hit-irr
they'll kill each other

(593) *yoy   a-kap-mim-an*
f.tim 2pl-cut-2pl.rflx-irr
you'll cut yourselves

(594) *Aria tam t-al-an   mahan waag dahang-an.*
Ok   dual 1pl.in-go-irr bird   canoe look-irr
Alright then lets go and you can see the planes.

(595) *Aad siy   wit-an   fus-an.*
sun come   outside-loc appear-irr
The sun comes up so that it is visible.

(596) *Buom anangey sag sarir   wood-an yiel-an.*
sago   food   only go.down bowl-loc go-irr
Only the sago powder goes down into the bowl.

7.8 Intent

The irrealis suffix indicates intent, and as such is sometimes found on the introductions to some stories as in (597) and (598).

(597) *Barnun bad,   ya-dang naag   nanganang ya-kas-an.*
story   indef 1s-see   like.that so   1s-say-irr
I will tell you a story as I saw it.

(598) *Nam angahar miniy barnun ya-kas be   wun luong-an!*
1s   galip.nut 3s.pos story   1s-say conj 2s   hear-irr
I will tell the galip nut story, you listen!

7.8.4 CONTRAFACTUAL

(599) *...day w-ahang-an nang   wenang buor bad   nang tiyaham.*
just 2s-eat-irr   deic like   pig f.neg   deic   neg
...if you were to eat it would not be like a pig.

7.8.5 PERMISSION

This often co-occurs with a falling intonation.

(600) *Rahan   lung-aniy.*
water   drink-permission
You may drink the water.

(601) *Mal-am   yiyoy,   al-aniy   aab-an.*
eye-2s   sleepy   2pl.go-permission house-loc
You're tired, you may go to the house.

7.8.6 DESIDERATIVE

This is often with a rising intonation in contrast to the permission mood.

(602) *Yow, nam rahan ya-lung-aniy.*
yes 1s   water 1s-drink-desid
Yes, I'd like a drink of water.

It also marks an imminent action (which is difficult to tell apart from a desired action) as in (587) above and (603) below.

(603) *Aria,   nam barnun bad   ya-kas-aniy.*
alright 1s   story   indef 1s-tell-desid
Alright then, (I'd like to /I'm about to) tell you a story.

A rising intonation sentence finally, appears to be the most consistent factor when asking questions. Two common interrogative particles are *ni*, when the person is nearby and *ne*, when the person is at a distance. A sentence final *i* is also occasionally used. Because of this variety it is possible that the desiderative and/or imminent suffix *-aniy* is a compound.

8. APPENDIX: A Sample Awad Bing Text – The Turtle Man (as told by Nus Baran)

Note: In the text below, a line representing the phonemic representation as in the preceding examples has been substituted by a line representing the underlying morphophonemic form.

\ref foun 001
\tx *Nahal badan di peen   tamuol wudiy   wuman   disilad.*
\mr nahal bad   di peen   tamuol wudiy   wum-an di-sil-ad
\ge day   indef cnj female man   all   garden-gl 3pl-go.to.garden-3pl
\tre One day all the people had gone to their gardens.

\ref foun 002
\tx *Ariya   peen   bad   nang yin gamniy   bid di atangiy   sag teetan*
\mr Ariya   peen   bad   nang yin gamniy   bid di atang-iy sag teet-an
\ge alright female indef gvn 3s stomach with cnj alone-3s only village-gl
\tx *badey.*
\mr badey
\ge be
\tre Alright, there was a pregnant lady alone in the village.

\ref foun 003
\tx *Ariya   day palangiy niek man par nanganang,*
\mr Ariya   day palangiy niek foc par nanganang
\ge alright just feel   baby foc walk and.so
\tre Alright then, she felt the baby kick and so,

\ref foun 004
\tx *day sarir   siy   langan   de watalahay yiel kataltol   yiliyan*
\mr day sarir   siy   lang-an de watalahay yiel kataltol   yiliy-an
\ge just descend come   beach-gl cnj go.above 3s.go beach.vine.sp   inside-gl
\tx *nang boos   yiel   niek kuon di niek nang buog ruwyoum   kuon tamuol*
\mr nang boos   yiel   niek kuon di niek nang buog ruw-youm kuon tamuol
\ge gvn go.inside 3s.go baby bear cnj baby deic twins two-semb bore man
\tx *tam peen   kuonad*
\mr tam peen   kuon-ad
\ge dual female bore-3pl
\tre she came down to the beach and went up amongst the kataltol vines and had her baby and she bore twins, a boy and a girl.

\ref foun 005
\tx *Ariya   yoy am man siy bi niek bisiy   koupan   bad   man*
\mr Ariya   yoy am man siy bi niek bisiy   koup-an   bad   man
\ge alright f.tim who foc come cnj baby umbilical.cord cut-loc   indef foc

\tx *bad   badey tiyaham.*
\mr bad   badey tiyaham
\ge f.neg   be   neg
\tre Alright, who will come and cut the baby's umbilical cord, there was no-one (else) there.

\ref foun 006
\tx *Nanganang peen   damung yiliy   yit yit atafuos sibiy tey nanganang*
\mr Nanganang peen   damung yiliy   yit yit atafuos sibiy tey nanganang
\ge and.so   female bad   inside lift lift sorry   very do and.so
\tx *niek buog ruw nang day naan langan,   kataltol   yiliyan*
\mr niek buog ruw nang day naan lang-an   kataltol   yiliy-an
\ge baby twins two deic just there beach-loc beach.vine.sp inside-loc
\tx *dibdey   di,*
\mr di-badey   di
\ge 3pl-be   cnj
\tre And so the poor woman was really worried, the twins were there amongst the kataltol vines on the beach and,

\ref foun 007
\tx *yin tiyaham sag di teetan   yiel   buaw bad   ab siy   be niek*
\mr yin tiyaham sag di teet-an   yiel   buaw bad   ab siy   be niek
\ge 3s neg   only cnj village-loc 3s.go bamboo indef get come cnj baby
\tx *ruw nang busoud   koup miniy.*
\mr ruw nang busoud   koup miniy
\ge two deic umbilical.cord.3pl.p cut reason
\tre she went (by her self) to the village to get a (piece of) bamboo to cut their umbilical cords.

\ref foun 008
\tx *Ariya nagaag   di foun tubuw day mahasan gam di*
\mr Ariya naag-rdp   di foun tubuw day mahas-an gam di
\ge alright like.that-rdp cnj turtle old.one just sea-loc then cnj
\tx *sarir   siy barnahaman di dung   darur watalahay yiel di*
\mr sarir   siy barnaham-an di dung   darur watalahay yiel di
\ge descend come sand-gl cnj follow crawl go.above 3s.go cnj
\tx *tad   tad   maley yitit   maneg   nang niek ruw tam*
\mr tad   tad   maley yit-rdp maneg   nang niek ruw tam
\ge raise.head raise.head eye.3s.p lift-rdp like.that deic baby two dual
\tx *kataltol   yiliyan   diyien   dibdey   di dangad.*
\mr kataltol   yiliy-an di-yien di-badey di dang-ad
\ge beach.vine.sp inside-loc 3pl-sleep 3pl-be cnj see-3pl

\tre Alright then an old turtle came out of the sea, crawled along (and) followed the sand
      (and) lifted his head (and) looked up as it went up, and it saw the two babies there
      asleep amongst the kataltol vines.

\ref foun 009
\tx *Nanganang day watalahay yiel   singedan   di, badiy niek tamuol sag*
\mr Nanganang   day watalahay yiel   sing-ed-an   di   badiy niek tamuol sag
\ge and.so   just go.above   3s.go near-3.pl-loc cnj arise baby man   only

\tx *bisiy   koup di yin sag abab,   di peen   nang tisam badey*
\mr bisiy   koup di yin sag ab-rdp di peen   nang tisam badey
\ge umbilical.cord   cut   be 3s   only get-rdp cnj female deic leave be

\tx *di niek tamuol sag ab di   yililey miniy mootan.*
\mr di niek tamuol sag ab di   yililey miniy moot-an
\ge cnj baby man   only get cnj gone   3s.p   island-loc

\tre And so he went up there near them, began to cut the boy's umbilical cord, got the boy
      and left the girl there and took the boy and went (completely) to his island.

\ref foun 010
\tx *Tinadang   naan gam di, buaw ab di siy   niek busoud*
\mr tin-ad-ang   naan gam di   buaw ab di siy   niek busoud
\ge mother-3pl-gen   there when cnj bamboo get cnj come baby umbilical.cord.3pl.p

\tx *koupad   miniy   siy   nieg   dangang   maneg   nang niek tamuol*
\mr koup-ad miniy   siy   nieg   dang-ang   maneg   nang niek tamuol
\ge cut-3pl reason come like.this see-rdp   that.time deic baby man

\tx *bad   badey tiyaham, niek peen   man sag badey.*
\mr bad   badey tiyaham niek peen   man sag badey
\ge f.neg be   neg   baby female foc only be

\tre And then when their mother came she brought a piece of bamboo with which to cut
      their umbilical cords, as she looked there wasn't a baby boy, only the baby girl was
      there.

\ref foun 011
\tx *Ar   nanganang tiniy   yin day yiliy kindingkundung di   yiliy*
\mr Ar   nanganang tin-iy   yin day yiliy kindingkundung di   yiliy
\ge alright rlt   mother-3s 3s just inside twisted   cnj inside

\tx *dom   nanganang badiy kas,*
\mr dom   nanganang badiy kas
\ge broken   and.so   arise say

\tre As a result her mother was really anxious and so she said,

\ref foun 012
\tx *'Haa,   niek tamuol nang wiy yawgiegan?*
\mr Haa   niek tamuol nang wiy ya-gieg-an

\ge exclamation baby man   deic ins 1s-what-irr
\tre 'Ah what use would the baby boy be to me?

\ref foun 013
\tx *Ningiy niyahaw niek peen   ning sag yoy bisiy   yakapoup*
\mr ningiy niyahaw niek peen   ning sag yoy bisiy   ya-koup-rdp
\ge good   1s.p   baby female deic only f.tim umbilical.cord 1s-cut-rdp
\tx *bi yoy ab teetay   yalan,   nanew silingyahaw   miniy,*
\mr bi yoy ab teet-ay   y-al-an   nanew siling-yahaw   miniy
\ge cnj f.tim get village-gl 1s-go-irr 1s.p help-1s   reason
\tre Good, I'll only cut my baby girl's umbilical cord and take her to the village to do the chores for me.'

\ref foun 014
\tx *naag   kasas   di bisiy   koup magareng   di ab teetan*
\mr naag   kas-rdp di bisiy   koup magareng   di ab teet-an
\ge like.that say-rdp cnj umbilical.cord cut cpl   cnjget village-loc
\tx *yiel.*
\mr yiel
\ge 3s.go
\tre that's what she said and cut its umbilical and took it to the village.

\ref foun 015
\tx *Niek   peen   yin teetan   tuub nang niek tamuol bid foun tubuw*
\mr Niek   peen   yin teet-an   tuub nang niek tamuol bid foun tubuw
\ge baby   female 3s village-loc fat deic baby man   com turtle old.one
\tx *miniy mootan   nang yin bid tuub.*
\mr miniy moot-an   nang yin bid tuub
\ge 3s.p island-loc deic 3s com fat
\tre The baby girl in the village (became) fat, the baby boy on the turtle's island too became fat.

\ref foun 016
\tx *yiel niek peen   yin teetan   darur nang,*
\mr yiel niek peen   yin teet-an   darur nang
\ge go   baby female 3s village-loc crawl deic
\tre The baby girl in the village, crawled

\ref foun 017
\tx *niek tamuol foun tubuw miniy mootan   nang yin bid darur.*
\mr niek tamuol foun tubuw miniy moot-an   nang yin bid darur
\ge baby man   turtle old.one 3s.p island-loc deic 3s com crawl
\tre the baby boy on the turtles' island also crawled.

\ref foun 018
\tx *Di yiel niek peen teetan   nang gungun nang, niek tamuol foun*
\mr di yiel niek peen teet-an   nang gungun nang niek tamuol foun
\ge cnj go baby female village-loc deic standing nang baby man turtle

\tx *tubuw miniy mootan   nang yin bid gungun.*
\mr tubuw miniy moot-an   nang yin bid gungun
\ge old.one 3s.p island-loc deic 3s com standing

\tre The baby girl in the village was standing, the baby boy on the turtles' island was also standing.

\ref foun 019
\tx *Nagaag   di yiel niek peen   teetan   nang fuw tey wiiy*
\mr naag-rdp   di yiel niek peen   teet-an   nang fuw tey wiiy
\ge like.that-rdp cnj 3s.go baby female village-loc nang begin do leg.3s

\tx *baday,   niek tamuol foun tubuw miniy mootan   yin bid fuw*
\mr baday   niek tamuol foun tubuw miniy moot-an   yin bid fuw
\ge throw.away baby man   turtle old.one 3s.p island-loc 3s com begin

\tx *tey wiy bading.*
\mr tey wiy bading
\ge do ins throw.away

\tre And like that, the baby girl in the village began to toddle, (and) the baby boy on the turtles' island also began to toddle.

\ref foun 020
\tx *Yiel, yiel niek peen   ning yin par   gagow nang niek tamuol nang yin*
\mr Yiel yiel niek peen   ning yin par   gagow nang niek tamuol nang yin
\ge go go baby female this 3s walk strong deic baby man   deic 3s

\tx *bid par gagow.*
\mr bid par gagow
\ge with walk strong

\tre It went and went, the baby girl walked strongly (and) the baby boy also walked strongly.

\ref foun 021
\tx *Nagaag   di yiel yiel niek peen   teetan   nang baras tey*
\mr naag-rdp   di yiel yiel niek peen   teet-an   nang baras tey
\ge like.that-rdp cnj 3s.go 3s.go baby female village-loc deic teenager do

\tx *di aaban yiel, naag sag niek tamuol bid makahay tiyey di*
\mr di aab-an yiel naag sag niek tamuol bid makahay tiyey di
\ge cnj house-loc 3s.go like.that only baby man   com youth do.rdp cnj

\tx *yin bid yongan   yiel, toon dang.*
\mr yin bid yong-an   yiel toon dang
\ge 3s with mens'.house-loc 3s.go devil see

\tre   And like that, time went by and the baby girl in the village became a teenager and went into the house, like that, the baby boy became a youth and he too went to the men's house and saw the spirits.

\ref foun 022
\tx   *Di niek peen   ning aaban   dupuduoy,   naag   sag niek tamuol*
\mr   di niek peen   ning aab-an   du-puduoy   naag   sag niek tamuol
\ge   cnj baby female this house-loc 3pl-parade   like.that only baby man

\tx   *mulungan   yiel   nang bid foun tubuw   man paduoy.*
\mr   mulung-an   yiel   nang bid foun tubuw   man paduoy
\ge   initiation-gl 3s.go gvn with turtle old.one foc parade

\tre   They paraded the girl from the house, like that, the boy too went to his initiation and the old turtle too paraded him (after it).

\ref foun 023
\tx   *Ariya nahal badan di   peen   tamuol wudiy sag wey   dab*
\mr   Ariya nahal bad-an di   peen   tamuol wudiy sag wey   d-ab
\ge   alright day indef-gl cnj female man   all   only friend 3pl-get

\tx   *di diel   peen   ning tiniy   tamey   bid miniid wum   wurat*
\mr   di d-iel   peen   ning tin-iy tam-ey   bid miniid wum   wurat
\ge   cnj 3pl-go female deic mother-3s father-3s.p with 3pl.p garden work

\tx   *ditey   paniid.*
\mr   di-tey paan-iid
\ge   3pl-do give-3pl.p

\tre   Alright, and then one day the people went, they went, and worked in the garden for this girls mother and father.

\ref foun 024
\tx   *Di nahal nang tiniiyan   nang peen   nang tiniy   man buol,*
\mr   di nahal nang tiniiy-an   nang peen   nang tin-iy   man buol
\ge   cnj day gvn during-gl   deic female   deic mother-3s   foc tell

\tre   Alright, at that time the girl's mother said to her,

\ref foun 025
\tx   *'Oy nin   e.   Ey   weed   disiy   minid   wurat ditiyey*
\mr   Oy nin   e   Ey   wey-d   di-siy   minid   wurat di-tiyey
\ge   Oy my.child inter hey friend-1pl.in 3pl-come 1pl.in.p work 3pl-do.rdp

\tx   *di rahan tiyaham sag de rahanan dimtahat,   nanganang wun siy   be*
\mr   di rahan tiyaham sag de rahan-an di-matahat   nanganang wun siy   be
\ge   cnj water neg   only cnj water-gl 3pl-die.rdp and.so   2s   come cnj

\tx   *rahan nabud   ning wab sir bi wal   yes   gam siy.'*
\mr   rahan nabud   ning w-ab sir bi w-al   yes   gam siy
\ge   water container deic 2s-get fill cnj 2s-go fill.up then come

\tre Oy my child, our friends have come to do our work, there's no water at all and they're
thirsty, and so you come and take this container, and go (and) fill it and come (back).

\ref foun 026
\tx *Nanganang niek peen   ning   yin bing luong di   rahan nabud   ab sir*
\mr Nanganang niek peen   ning   yin bing luong di   rahan nabud   ab sir
\ge and.so   baby female deic   3s talk hear cnj water container get fill

\tx *aruoran   di yit ab fahay di yiel   rahan teyan.*
\mr aruor-an   di yit ab fahay di yiel   rahan tey-an
\ge string.bag-gl cnj lift get carry cnj 3s.go river   beside-loc

\tre Alright this girl obeyed and placed the container in her string bag and put it on her head
and carried it to the edge of the river.

\ref foun 027
\tx *Ariya   foun tubuw man sawuong niek tamuol nang buol, 'O*
\mr Ariya   foun tubuw man sawuong niek tamuol nang buol O
\ge alright   turtle old.one foc instruction baby man   deic tell Oh!

\tx *fuf   yoy yabyoum   tasarir   langay talan.*
\mr fuf   yoy y-ab-youm   ta-sarir   lang-ay t-al-an
\ge grandparent f.tim 1s-get-2s.obj 1pl.in-go.down beach-gl 1pl.in-go-irr

\tx *Tal   yatayoum   bi nam yoy mun   yabsulan.*
\mr t-al   ya-tey-youm   bi nam yoy mun   ya-basul-an
\ge 1pl.in-go 1s-put-2s   cnj 1s f.tim again 1s-return-irr

\tre Alright, the old turtle gave the boy instructions, he said to the young man, 'O
grandchild I'll take you (and) we'll go to the beach. We'll go, I'll put you there and later
I'll return again.

\ref foun 028
\tx *Gieg bad   duwutmoom   nang yoy mun   yasiy   yabyoum   be*
\mr Gieg bad   du-wuot-moom   nang yoy mun   ya-siy   y-ab-youm   be
\ge what indef 3pl-do-to.you deic f.tim again 1s-come 1s-get-2s.obj cnj

\tx *tabsulan,   ey naag   tubuw sawuong paan magareng*
\mr ta-basul-an   ey naag   tubuw sawuong paan magareng
\ge 1pl.in-return-irr spec like.that old.one instruction give cpl

\tx *di day ab siy   lang teyan   tey.'*
\mr di day ab siy   lang tey-an   tey
\ge cnj just get come beach beside-loc put

\tre If they do anything to you, I will come take you and we'll return, he finished
instructing him like that and set him on the edge of the beach.

\ref foun 029
\tx *Di tubuw buol, 'O fuf   nam day mun   yapsalul,*
\mr Di tubuw buol O fuf   nam day mun   ya-basalul

\ge cnj old.one tell   Oh grandchild 1s   just again 1s-basul.rdp
\tx *nagaag   di foun tubuw nang day mun basul.'*
\mr naag-rdp   di foun tubuw nang day mun basul
\ge like.that-rdp cnj turtle old.one deic just again return
\tre The old one (turtle) said, 'Oh my grandson I'm returning', and that having happened the old turtle left.

\ref foun 030
\tx *Ariyo   am   man biliyoum   bi luongan niek tamuol mug   wangeey*
\mr Ariyo   am   man bil-youm   bi luong-an niek tamuol mug   wangeey
\ge Alright   who foc tell-2s.obj cnj hear-irr baby man   already big

\tx *sag rahan teyan,   dooy tuwtowbad   nang dimiy suoy*
\mr sag rahan tey-an   dooy tuwtowbad   nang dim-iy suoy
\ge only river beside-loc tree.sp middle.size.branch nang hand-3s stab

\tx *yiel rahan yiyyong   badey, nang tiniiyan   nang niek tamuol yagahay*
\mr yiel rahan yiyyong   badey nang tiniiy-an   nang niek tamuol yagahay
\ge 3s.go river hang.down be   deic body.3s.p-gl deic baby man   climb

\tx *yiel di dooy dimiy   fangeyan doos di, balag miniy lalaw*
\mr yiel di dooy dim-iy   fangey-an doos di   balag miniy lalaw
\ge 3s.go cnj tree.sp hand-3s.p top-loc sit cnj freely 3s.p feather

\tx *nang yahang man sag tubuobiy nang balag palpalal bad   sag di badey*
\mr nang yahang man sag tubuobiy nang balag palpalal bad   sag di badey
\ge deic wind foc only tricked gvn merely bounced indef only cnj be
\tre Who would tell you so that you would know that the young man had been beside the river a long time, he'd climbed up a middle-sized branch which hang down over the river and he sat on a branch in the top of a mangas tree and, the wind freely waved his feather, bounced it freely and remained so.

\ref foun 031
\tx *Ariya niek peen   ning yin day aruor   nabud   bid ab di*
\mr Ariya niek peen   ning yin day aruor   nabud   bid ab di
\ge alright baby female deic 3s just string.bag container com get cnj

\tx *yiel rahan teyan,   tey magareng di sanging di day rahan*
\mr yiel rahan tey-an   tey magareng di sanging di day rahan
\ge 3s.go river beside-loc put cpl   cnj squat   cnj just water

\tx *yes,   yises   di, maley rahanan yiliel   maneg   nang*
\mr yes   yes-rdp di maley rahan-an yiel-rdp maneg   nang
\ge fill.up fill.up-rdp cnj eye.3s.p water-loc 3s.go-rdp like.that gvn

\tx *niek tamuol nang miniy lalaw   dang yahang man tuob nang sibiy sag*
\mr niek tamuol nang miniy lalaw   dang yahang man tuob nang sibiy sag
\ge baby man   gvn 3s.p feather saw wind   foc trick gvn   very only

\tx *balag   palpalal bad   di   badey.*
\mr balag   palpalal bad   di   badey
\ge merely   bounced inten cnj be

\tre Alright, the young lady took her string bag with the water container to the river's edge, set it down and squatted and filled it up, She was filling it up and her eye went to the water and she saw that young man's feather which the wind was tricking, freely bouncing it and it remained so.

\ref foun 032

\tx *Ariya   niek   peen   nang   ning   yin abang   naag   dang nanganang*
\mr Ariya   niek   peen   nang   ning   yin abang   naag   dang nanganang
\ge alright   baby   female deic   deic   3s   something like.that see   and.so

\tx *day rahan yising   nang tisam de   maley   dangdahang geer.*
\mr day rahan yising   nang tisam de   maley   dang.dahang geer
\ge just water fill.nom deic leave cnj   eye.3s.p look.about   well

\tre Alright, the young girl saw that and left filling up the water and watched it closely.

\ref foun 033

\tx *Dangdahang lel di badiy rahan wud   sarir   yiel   toyan   maneg*
\mr dang.dahang lel di badiy rahan wud   sarir   yiel   toy-an maneg
\ge look.about dur cnj begin river swim descend 3s.go hold-irr like.that

\tx *di tiyaham.*
\mr di tiyaham
\ge cnj neg

\tre She was looking there and dived in to hold him but, to no avail.

\ref foun 034

\tx *Ar   fow mun naag   wuot nang bid tiyaham sag.*
\mr Ar   fow mun naag   wuot nang bid tiyaham sag
\ge alright new again like.that do   deic com neg   only

\tre Alright, she did the same again, but to absolutely no avail.

\ref foun 035

\tx *'Aya   ning yoy gieg yawuotan   i?'*
\mr Aya   ning yoy gieg ya-wuot-an i
\ge exclm   deic f.tim what 1s-do-irr   inter

\tre Hey! what will I do about this?

\ref foun 036

\tx *Ar   nagay   sag maneg   naag   kas magareng di naan*
\mr Ar   nagay   sag maneg   naag   kas magareng di naan
\ge alright   forget.it only like.that like.that say cpl   cnj there

\tx	*rahan*	*aruorang*		*bid*	*abab*	*di*	*palul*	*sag*	*siy*	*tiniy*
\mr	rahan	aruor-ang		bid	ab-ab	di	palul	sag	siy	tin-iy
\ge	water	string.bag-gen		com	get-get	cnj	run	inten	come	mother-3s.p

\tx	*tamey*	*niyahay*	*o*	*tubuw*	*miniy*	*teey*
\mr	tam-ey	niyahay	o	tubuw	miniy	teey
\ge	father-3s.p	uncle	or	grandparent	3s.p	younger.sib.3s

\tx	*tawey*		*bid*	*paanad.*
\mr	taw-ey		bid	paan-ad
\ge	elder.sibling-3s.p		with	give-3pl

\tre 'Alright I'll ignore it, that's what she said and then got her string bag with the water in it too and ran to give it to her parents for her uncles (or) aunts, grandparents or her brothers and sisters.

\ref foun 037

\tx	*Di*	*yin*	*mun*	*bad*	*naan*	*badey*	*tiyaham*	*yin*	*day*	*mun*	*basul*	*sag.*
\mr	di	yin	mun	bad	naan	badey	tiyaham	yin	day	mun	basul	sag
\ge	cnj	3s	again	f.neg	there	be	neg	3s	just	again	return	only

\tre But she didn't stay there, she went straight back.

\ref foun 038

\tx	*Ariya*	*nang*	*tiniiyan*	*gam*	*palul*	*siy*	*nieg*	*tadad*	*maneg*
\mr	Ariya	nang	tiniiy-an	gam	palul	siy	nieg	tad-rdp	maneg
\ge	alright	deic	during-gl	then	run	come	like.this	look.up-rdp	like.that

\tx	*nang*	*niek*	*tamuol*	*ning*	*dang.*
\mr	nang	niek	tamuol	ning	dang
\ge	gvn	baby	man	deic	see

\tre Alright, this time she came she ran, looking up she saw the young man.

\ref foun 039

\tx	*Ariya*	*day*	*naan*	*buol,*	*'Sey!*
\mr	Ariya	day	naan	buol	Sey
\ge	alright	just	this.time	tell	Hey!

\tre At this time she said, 'Hey!'

\ref foun 040

\tx	*Wun*	*sarir*	*siy*	*bi*	*tam*	*tal*	*mam*	*gamey*	*nang*	*wey*	*wangeey*
\mr	Wun	sarir	siy	bi	tam	t-al	mam	gamey	nang	wey	wangeey
\ge	2s	descend	come	cnj	dual	1pl.in-go	1.pl.ex	now	deic	friend	big

\tx	*daseg*	*sibiy*	*disiy*	*nin,*	*maam*	*miniid*	*wurat*	*ditiyey,*	*siy*	*bi*	*tam*
\mr	daseg	sibiy	di-siy	nin	maam	miniid	wurat	di-tiyey	siy	bi	tam
\ge	one	very	3pl-come	mum	father	3pl.p	work	3pl-do.rdp	come	cnj	dual

\tx	*tal*	*tadangad.*
\mr	t-al	ta-dang-ad

\ge 1pl.in-go 1pl.in-see-3pl

\tre You come down and we'll go, a very large group of friends have come (and) they're doing my parents work, come and we'll go and see them all.

\ref foun 041

\tx *Naag   buol nanganang niek tamuol nang day sarir   siy   di*

\mr naag   buol nanganang niek tamuol nang day sarir   siy   di

\ge like.that tell and.so   baby man   gvn just descend come cnj

\tx *tam diel   wuman   dufus.*

\mr tam d-iel   wum-an   du-fus

\ge dual 3pl-go garden-loc 3pl-arrive

\tre That's what she said, and so the young man came down and they went and showed up at the garden.

\ref foun 042

\tx *Ariya tiniy   tam tamey   ditifirid   maneg   nang,*

\mr Ariya tin-iy   tam tam-ey   di-tifir-id maneg   nang

\ge alright mother-3s.p dual father-3s.p 3pl-turn-3pl like.that deic

\tx *tam didangad.*

\mr tam di-dang-ad

\ge dual 3pl-see-3pl

\tre Alright, as both her mother and father turned their heads they saw the two of them.

\ref foun 043

\tx *Di day dikas, yin nuog   wuot miniy nanganang yeng*

\mr di day di-kas yin nuog   wuot miniy nanganang yeng

\ge cnj just 3pl-say 3s over.there do   3s.p and.so   puffed.out

\tx *yeng   sag. 'Rahan raw   siy   baleng   sag di mun*

\mr yeng   sag Rahan raw   siy   baleng   sag di mun

\ge puffed.out only water   get.pl.objects come throw.down only cnj again

\tx *basul yililiyey,'   tiniy   tamey   man naag   dikas*

\mr basul yililiyey   tin-iy   tam-ey   man naag   di-kas

\ge return go.completely mother-3s.p father-3s.p foc like.that 3pl-say

\tx *magareng di day bid wuman   naan dibdey.*

\mr magareng di day bid wum-an   naan di-badey

\ge cpl   cnj just com garden-loc there 3pl-be

\tre And so they said, 'that's why you worked so quickly, got the water containers, just threw them down and went and didn't come back,' her parents said that to her, and they remained in the garden with them.

\ref foun 044

\tx *Ariya wuman   dibdey lel, yiel   aruwahaw sibiy, toy siy*

\mr Ariya wum-an   di-badey lel yiel   aruwahaw sibiy toy siy

\ge alright garden-loc 3pl-be   dur 3s.go afternoon very hold come

\tx *bolbolbad gam di tamuolpeen   wey wudiy sag di tiniy*

\mr bolbolbad gam di tamuol-peen   wey wudiy sag di tin-iy

\ge late.evening then cnj man-female   friend all   only cnj mother-3s.p

\tx *tamey   di niek peen   nang   man yuwiy   tam bid wudiy sag*

\mr tam-ey   di niek peen   nang   man yuw-iy   tam bid wudiy sag

\ge father-3s.p cnj baby female deic   foc spouse-3s.p dual com all   only

\tx *teetan   diel*

\mr teet-an   d-iel

\ge village-loc 3pl-go

\tre Alright they stayed in the garden until late afternoon, until it was almost dark, then all the people and her parents, and the young girl and her husband too, all of them went to the village.

\ref foun 045

\tx *Nahal badan   di tam diel   miniid wuman   naan wuratan*

\mr nahal bad-an   di tam d-iel   miniid wum-an   naan wurat-an

\ge day   indef-gl cnj dual 3pl-go 3pl.p   garden-loc there work-gl

\tx *dibdey   lel aruwahaw.*

\mr di-badey lel aruwahaw

\ge 3pl-be   dur afternoon

\tre Then one day the two of them went to their garden and they worked until the afternoon.

\ref foun 046

\tx *Ariya tam disiy   rahanan dusug   di yuwiy   peen   rahan*

\mr Ariya tam di-siy   rahan-an du-sug di yuw-iy   peen   rahan

\ge alright   dual 3pl-come river-loc 3pl-wash cnj spouse-3s.p female   water

\tx *yes   magareng de tam diel   teetan.*

\mr yes   magareng de tam d-iel   teet-an

\ge fill.up cpl   cnj dual 3pl-go village-loc

\tre Alright they came to the river, they washed and his wife collected some water and they went to the village.

\ref foun 047

\tx *Mun   nahal badan di   yuwiy   peen   tam   mun diel   miniid*

\mr Mun   nahal bad-an di   yuw-iy   peen   tam   mun d-iel miniid

\ge again day   indef-gl cnj spouse-3s.p female dual   again 3pl-go 3pl.p

\tx *wuman   wurat ditey.*

\mr wum-an   wurat di-tey

\ge garden-loc work 3pl-do

\tre Again on another day, he and his wife went and worked in their garden.

\ref foun 048
\tx *Peen nang taan batuw fungung i di tamuol nang yin wil taan.*
\mr peen nang taan batuw fung-rdp i di tamuol nang yin wil taan
\ge female deic ground clod beat-rdp sim cnj man deic 3s yam ground
\tre As the woman was beating clods the man planted yams.

\ref foun 049
\tx *Ariya tamuol ning nieg tifiryiy maneg nang, peen yin*
\mr Ariya tamuol ning nieg tifiryiy maneg nang peen yin
\ge alright man deic like.this 3s.turn like.that gvn female 3s

\tx *dumdom pilil di badey dang nanganang yiliy wiy sag taan*
\mr dumdom pil-rdp di badey dang nanganang yiliy wiy sag taan
\ge grass.roots gather-rdp cnj be see and inside ins only ground

\tx *batuw bad ab di yuwiy peen tahaf.*
\mr batuw indef ab di yuw-iy peen tahaf
\ge clod a get cnj spouse-3s.p female throw
\tre Alright the man turned this way, his saw the woman was busy gathering the grass roots and so he slowly picked up a clod and threw it at his wife.

\ref foun 050
\tx *Nanganang peen man bad ab di mun tamuol tahaf.*
\mr Nanganang peen man indef ab di mun tamuol tahaf
\ge rlt female foc a get cnj again man throw
\tre And so the woman got one and in return threw it at the man.

\ref foun 051
\tx *Ariya tam day dudugwayahay di tam wurat ditiyey tam day*
\mr Ariya tam day du-dugw-ahay-rdp di tam wurat di-tiyey tam day
\ge alright dual just 3pl-jump-ahay-rdp cnj dual work 3pl-do-rdp dual just

\tx *naag di dibdey yiel.*
\mr naag di di-badey yiel
\ge like.that cnj 3pl-be 3s.go
\tre Alright the two of them were playing and they were working and so they remained.

\ref foun 052
\tx *Nagaag di tamuol mun taan batuw bad ab tahaf nang man*
\mr naag-rdp di tamuol mun taan batuw bad ab tahaf nang man
\ge like.that-rdp cnj man again ground clod indef get throw gvn foc

\tx *siy peen maley batuw sibiyan tahaf.*
\mr siy peen maley batuw sibiy-an tahaf
\ge come female eye.3s.p clod very-gl throw
\tre Like that the man again got a clod and threw it, that one came and hit the woman right in her eyeball.

\ref foun 053
\tx *Ariya   peen   naan   badiy,   'nin   e   nin   e   nin   e'   maneg*
\mr Ariya   peen   naan   badiy   nin   e   nin   e   nin   e   maneg
\ge alright   female   there   arise   mum   inter   mum   inter   mum   inter   like.that
\tx *kas.*
\mr kas
\ge say

\tre 'nin e, nin e, nin e' like that the woman cried (with the pain).

\ref foun 054
\tx *Ariya   day   pananaway   di   yuwiy   tamuol   buol,   'Wun   giegan*
\mr Ariya   day   pananaway   di   yuw-iy   tamuol   buol   Wun   gieg-an
\ge alright   just   taunt   cnj   spouse-3s.p   man   tell   2s   what-irr
\tx *naag   malahaw   batuw   taftatuot   wun   nang,   ey,   tubum   tam*
\mr naag   mal-ahaw   batuw   taftatuot   wun   nang   ey   tubu-m   tam
\ge like.that   eye-1s.p   clod   broken   2s   deic   ?   grandparent-2.s.p   dual
\tx *anging   ningiy   bad   mow   angahang   tiyaham.*
\mr anging   ningiy   bad   mow   ahang-rdp   tiyaham
\ge food   good   indef   hab   eat-rdp   neg
\tre Alright she just taunted him, she said to her husband, 'Why did you hit my eyeball? You thing, you and your grandfather never eat good food.

\ref foun 055
\tx *An   tam   nang   pagargar   ningiy   bad   mow   angahang   i?*
\mr An   tam   nang   pagargar   ningiy   bad   mow   ahang-rdp   i
\ge 2pl   dual   gvn   yam.type   good   indef   hab   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good pagargar yams?

\ref foun 056
\tx *An   daruom   ningiy   bad   mow   angahang   i?*
\mr An   daruom   ningiy   bad   mow   ahang-rdp   i
\ge 2pl   yam.type   good   indef   hab   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good daruom yams?

\ref foun 057
\tx *An   tunub   ningiy   bad   mow   angahang   i?*
\mr An   tunub   ningiy   bad   mow   ahang-rdp   i
\ge 2pl   yam.type   good   indef   hab   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good tunub yams?

\ref foun 058
\tx *An   sasagel   ningiy   bad   mow   angahang   i?*
\mr an   sasagel   ningiy   bad   mow   ahang-rdp   i

\ge 2s   yam.type good   indef   hab   eat-rdp   inter

\tre Dou you regularly eat good sasagel yams?

\ref foun 059

\tx *An aning   mos   ningiy bad   mow   angahang   i?*

\mr An aning   mos   ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp   i

\ge 2pl banana mos.type good   indef   mow   eat-rdp   inter

\tre Do you regularly eat good <u>mos</u> bananas?

\ref foun 060

\tx *An aning   waag   ningiy   bad   mow angahang   i?*

\mr An aning   waag   ningiy   bad   mow ahang-rdp i

\ge 2pl banana banana.type good   indef   hab eat-rdp   inter

\tre Do you regularly eat good <u>waag</u> bananas?

\ref foun 061

\tx *Wun nang mow tubum   tam abdey   lel bi mahas gawgaaw*

\mr Wun nang mow tubu-m   tam a-badey lel bi mahas gawgaaw

\ge 2s   deic   hab   grandparent-2.s.p dual 2pl-be dur cnj sea   froth

\tx *sag   mow alngung   i?*

\mr sag   mow a-lung-rdp   i

\ge only hab 2pl-drink-rdp inter

\tre You and your grandfather just live and regularly drink sea froth don't you?

\ref foun 062

\tx *Ariya   tubum   tamuol nang gargar, guam,*

\mr Ariya   tubu-m   tamuol nang gargar guam

\ge alright grandparent-2.s.p man   deic   shell.sp gam.shell

\tx *baded, say,   sarum   de lal,   nang sag mow fuyuoyiy*

\mr baded   say   sarum   de lal   nang sag mow fuoy-rdp-iy

\ge shell.sp shell.sp clam.shell cnj shell.sp deic   only hab   open-rdp-inter

\tx *angahangiy, bi wun bid panom   wangahang   be.*

\mr ahang-rdp-iy bi wun bid paan-om w-ahang-rdp be

\ge eat-rdp-inter cnj 2s   com give-2s.gl 2s-eat-rdp   cnj

\tre Alright, your grandfather just opens <u>gargar</u> shells, <u>gam</u> shells, <u>baded</u> shells, <u>say</u> shells, <u>sarum</u> shells and <u>lal</u> shells and eats them and gives them to you to eat too.

\ref foun 063

\tx *Yin sibiy nang mow teey   ahangan, nang wun tubuowang   man nam*

\mr Yin sibiy nang yoy teey   ahang-an nang wun tubuw-ang   man nam

\ge 3s   very deic   hab faeces eat-irr deic   2s   grandparent-assoc foc 1s

\tx *tafwahaw.*

\mr tahaf-wahaw

\ge throw-1s.gl

\tre He himself eats his own faeces, you who hit me are his grandchild.

\ref foun 064

\tx *Ey naag naag pananawahay buol.*

\mr Ey naag naag pananawahay buol

\ge gl like.that like.that taunt tell

\tre Like that in those ways she taunted him.

\ref foun 065

\tx *Ariya tamuol nang day luong lel di day kas, 'Oye ningiy*

\mr Ariya tamuol nang day luong lel di day kas oye ningiy

\ge alright man gvn just hear dur cnj just say exclamation good

\tx *bulwahaw naan bing tiyaham.'*

\mr buol-wahaw naan bing tiyaham

\ge tell-1s.gl ap talk neg

\tre Alright the man just listened and said 'Yes, glad you told me, I've got nothing to say.'

\ref foun 066

\tx *Ariya wuman naan di day tam disiy teetan, disiy*

\mr Ariya wum-an naan di day tam di-siy teet-an di-siy

\ge alright garden-loc there cnj just dual 3pl-come village-loc 3pl-come

\tx *daalan di buol, 'lunguong i? Siy nieg tam tal*

\mr daal-an di buol luong-rdp i Siy nieg tam t-al

\ge road-loc cnj tell hear inter come like.this dual 1pl.in-go

\tx *langan gam yoy tam teetay talan.'*

\mr lang-an gam yoy tam teet-ay t-al-an

\ge beach-loc then f.tim dual village-loc 1pl.in-go-loc

\tre Alright, they just left the garden where they were and came to the village, they came to the road and he said, 'do you hear? Come let's go to the beach first and then to the village'.

\ref foun 067

\tx *Ariya tam disiy angahar tuwtowbad nang yiliyan*

\mr Ariya tam di-siy angahar tuwtowbad nang yiliy-an

\ge alright dual 3pl-come galip.nut middle.size.branch deic inside-loc

\tx *naan di yuwiy peen buol, 'Wun nen gungun badey bi nam*

\mr naan di yuw-iy peen buol Wun nen gungun badey bi nam

\ge there cnj spouse-3s.p female tell 2s here standing be cnj 1s

\tx *angahar ning yagahay gam.*

\mr angahar ning yagahay gam

\ge galip.nut deic climb when

\tre Alright, they came to a galip tree which had some middle-sized branches, and there he
said to his wife, you stand here and I'll first climb this galip tree.

\ref foun 068

\tx *'Naag   yuwiy   buol magareng di day angahar yangahay yiel*

\mr Naag   yuw-iy   buol magareng di day angahar yangahay yiel

\ge like.that spouse-3s.p tell cpl   cnj just galip.nut climb   3s.go

\tx *yiniy   galgaluw sibiyan   naan gungun de angahar anangoy*

\mr yiniy   galgaluw sibiy-an   naan gungun de angahar anangoy

\ge top.shoots immature very-loc there standing cnj galip.nut fruit

\tx *bad   ked ab tubuw sagarey   tawuon gis   magareng di ab tahaf*

\mr bad   ked ab tubuw sagar-ey   tawuon gis   magareng di ab tahaf

\ge indef pick get old.one back-3s.p try   write cpl   cnj get throw

\tx *nang   man yiel   tubuw   miniy yaman sibiy   muol di yin dang.*

\mr nang   man yiel   tubuw   miniy yam-an sibiy   muol di yin dang

\ge deic   foc 3s.go old.person 3s.p   door-gl really fall   cnj 3s see

\tre That's what he told his wife, then just climbed up the galip nut tree and stood up there
amongst the top branches and picked a galip nut, tried to draw the back of the old one,
finished and threw it to the old one's door, it landed right there and he saw it.

\ref foun 069

\tx *Nanganang tubuw siy   ab dang   di kas, 'Oo fuf   dubulmoum,*

\mr Nanganang tubuw siy   ab dang   di kas Oo fuf   du-buol-moum

\ge rlt   old.one come get see   cnj say Oh! grandchild 3pl-tell-2s

\tx *Oye   ningiy,' foun   man naag   kas.*

\mr oye   ningiy foun   man naag   kas

\ge Alright good   turtle foc   like.that say

\tre As a result the old one came, got it and said, 'Oh my grandchild they spoke to you,
alright, good,' that's what the turtle said.

\ref foun 070

\tx *Ariya   tamuol nang   day tahang, tangahang badey di,   maley   suruw*

\mr Ariya   tamuol nang   day tahang tahang-rdp badey di maley   suruw

\ge alright man   gvn   just cry   cry-rdp   be   cnj eye.3s.p tears

\tx *sarir   siy   peen   siyuw   bingbingiyan   tahaf.*

\mr sarir   siy   peen   siyuw   bingbingiyan   tahaf

\ge descend come female breast body.of.breast throw

\tre Alright, that man cried, he was crying and a tear drop fell down and hit the body of the
lady's breast.

\ref foun 071

\tx	*Nanganang*	*peen*	*man*	*dimiy*	*wiy*	*sag*	*suoy*	*ab*	*mis*	*tar*
\mr	Nanganang	peen	man	dim-iy	wiy	sag	suoy	ab	mis	tar
\ge	and.so	female	foc	hand-3s.p	ins	only	stab	get	wipe.finger.on	try

\tx	*timtimieng*	*paluong*	*nanganang*	*yin*	*man*	*kas,*	*'OO*	*tamuol*	*nung*	*yabaluol*
\mr	timtimieng	paluong	nanganang	yin	man	kas	OO	tamuol	nung	ya-buol-rdp
\ge	salty	feel	and.so	3s	foc	say	Oh!	man	deic	1s-tell-rdp

\tx	*nanganang*	*tangahangiy.'*
\mr	nanganang	tahang-rdp-iy
\ge	and.so	cry-rdp-curr

\tre And so the woman wiped her finger on it, tried it, it tasted salty and so she said, 'Oh I was speaking to this man and he is crying.

\ref foun 072

\tx	*Ariya*	*peen*	*nang*	*man*	*wahag,*	*'Oy,*	*sarir*	*siy*	*bi*	*teetay*
\mr	Ariya	peen	nang	man	wahag	Oy	sarir	siy	bi	teet-ay
\ge	alright	female	gvn	foc	call.out	Oy	descend	come	cnj	village-loc

\tx	*talaniy.*
\mr	t-al-an-iy
\ge	1pl.in-go-irr-conc

\tre Alright, the woman called out 'Oy, come down and let's go to the village.

\ref foun 073

\tx	*Weed*	*day*	*wudiy*	*diel*	*magarngengiy*	*siy*	*bi*	*tam*	*tal.'*
\mr	wey-d	day	wudiy	d-iel	magarngeng-iy	siy	bi	tam	t-al
\ge	friend-3pl	just	all	3pl-go	finish-conc	come	cnj	dual	1pl.in-go

\tre Our friends have almost all gone, come and let's go.'

\ref foun 074

\tx	*Peen*	*man*	*naag*	*wahag*	*paney*	*buol,*	*nanganang*	*tamuol*	*sarir*
\mr	peen	man	naag	wahag	paan-ey	buol	nanganang	tamuol	sarir
\ge	female	foc	like.that	call.out	give-3s.p	tell	and.so	man	descend

\tx	*siy*	*di*	*tam*	*teetan*	*diel.*
\mr	siy	di	tam	teet-an	d-iel
\ge	come	cnj	dual	village-loc	3pl-go

\tre The lady called out to him like that, and so the man came down and they went to the village.

\ref foun 075

\tx	*Ariya*	*day*	*amting*	*tiniiy*	*mahas*	*mamsieng*	*miniy*	*nahal,*	*nanganang*
\mr	Ariya	day	amting	tiniiy	mahas	mamsieng	miniy	nahal	nanganang
\ge	alright	just	dry.season	during	sea	dry	3s.p	day	and.so

\tx *peen   tamuol wudiy wuman   disilad,*
\mr peen   tamuol wudiy wum-an   di-sil-ad
\ge female   man   all   garden-loc 3pl-go.to.garden-3pl

\tre Alright, it was in the dry season, the time the sea was dry (the reef became bare), and so everyone went to their gardens.

\ref foun 076
\tx *Warmahan-an   didang o   teed   tawad*
\mr Warmahan-an   di-dang o   tee-d   taw-ad
\ge poisonous.roots-gl 3pl-see or younger.sibling-3pl elder.sibling-3pl

\tx *didangad.*
\mr di-dang-ad
\ge 3pl-see-3pl

\tre The looked for poisonous roots or for their brothers and sisters (to see if they had the roots).

\ref foun 077
\tx *Di yuwiy   tam warmahan   miniyan tam*
\mr Di   yuw-iy   tam warmahan   miniy-an tam
\ge cnj spouse-3s dual poisonous.roots reason-gl dual

\tx *miniid wuman   diel   warmahan   bid angingan didang.*
\mr miniid   wum-an d-iel warmahan   bid anging-an di-dang
\ge 3pl.p   garden-loc 3pl-go poisonous.roots com food-gl 3pl-see

\tre And the couple went to their garden for poisonous roots, to find poisonous roots and also food.

\ref foun 078
\tx *Ariya   bongsag bi dutut   miniy*
\mr Ariya   bongsag bi du-tut   miniy
\ge alright   tomorrow cnj 3pl-kill.fish.with.poisonous.roots 3s.p

\tx *nanganang abang   day ditintinyahay.*
\mr nanganang   abang   day ditintinyahay
\ge and.so   something just preparing

\tre Alright they were preparing to kill fish with the poisonous roots tomorrow.

\ref foun 079
\tx *Di diyien   yiel wudar mahas mamas   miniy ray*
\mr di   di-yien yiel wudar mahas mamas   miniy ray
\ge cnj 3pl-sleep go   dawn   sea   tide.is.right.out reason pull

\tx *nanganang peen man tamuol buol mahas day fuw   tey mamsas nanganang*
\mr nanganang peen man tamuol buol mahas day fuw   tey mamsas nanganang
\ge and.so   female foc man   tell sea   just begin do dry.rdp and.so

\tx *talan*   *weed*   *day* *wudiy* *diel*   *magarngeng*   *yid* *tam*
\mr t-al-an   wey-d   day wudiy d-iel   magareng-rdp   yid tam
\ge 1pl.in-go-irr friend-3pl just all 3pl-go finish-rdp 1pl.in dual

\tx *tadungadan.*
\mr ta-dung-ad-an
\ge 1pl.in-follow-3pl-irr

\tre And they slept until dawn (the time for) the sea to be pulled dry and so the lady said to the man 'the sea is starting to become dry so let's go, our friends have already gone, let's follow them.'

\ref foun 080
\tx *Di tam disirir*   *langan*   *disiy*   *mahas disibingahay.*
\mr Di tam di-sarir   lang-an   di-siy   mahas di-sabangahay-rdp
\ge cnj dual 3pl-descend beach-loc 3pl-come sea 3pl-wait.for-rdp

\tre And the two of them came down to the beach to wait for the sea.

\ref foun 081
\tx *Ariya*   *mahas* *day* *yiel*   *taan*   *tey mamas*   *di badey*.
\mr Ariya   mahas day yiel   taan   tey mamas   di badey
\ge alright sea just 3s.go ground do tide.is.right.out cnj be

\tre Alright, the sea went (out and the reef) became dry like the ground and remained so.'

\ref foun 082
\tx *Ariya*   *tamuol* *day* *warmahan*   *raw*   *di sarir*   *yiel*
\mr Ariya   tamuol day warmahan   raw   di sarir   yiel
\ge alright man just poisonous.roots get.pl.objects cnj descend 3s.go

\tx *tut,*   *di yiy* *maymayang* *bad*
\mr tut   di yiy maymayang bad
\ge kill.fish.with.poisonous.roots cnj fish very.many indef

\tx *pamtayahay*   *di diel.*
\mr pa-mahat-yahay   di d-iel
\ge completely-die-ahay.rdp cnj 3pl-go

\tre Alright, the man gathered poisonous roots and went to kill fish with the poisonous roots and very many fish were dying.

\ref foun 083
\tx *Yiy* *ningiy* *ningiy nang pil*   *bi* *peen*   *balag balag nang paanad.*
\mr Yiy ningiy ningiy nang pil   bi peen   balag balag nang paan-ad
\ge fish good good deic gather cnj female freely freely deic give-3pl

\tre He gathered the largest fish and freely gave them to other women.

\ref foun 084

\tx *Yiy   dadamey nang   pil   be   yuwiy   peen   balngahay   yiel*
\mr Yiy   dadamey nang   pil   be   yuw-iy   peen   balngahay   yiel
\ge fish   bad.pl   deic   gather cnj spouse-3s.p female   throw.down.pl 3s.go

\tx *paney   naag   wutuot   badey   di.*
\mr paan-ey   naag   wuot-rdp badey   di
\ge give-3s.p like.that do-rdp   be   cnj

\tre He was gathering the worst fish and throwing them to his wife and,

\ref foun 085

\tx *Wey   wudiy   teenan   disirir   magareng.*
\mr Wey   wudiy   teen-an   di-sarir   magareng
\ge friend all   shore-gl 3pl-descend   cpl

\tre All of his friends finished coming back to the shore.

\ref foun 086

\tx *Ariya   yin day mahasan badey di mahas day wutuot   di*
\mr Ariya   yin day mahas-an badey di mahas day wuot-rdp di
\ge alright   3s just sea-loc   be   cnj sea   just do-rdp   cnj

\tx *aliel   siy   nanganang yuwiy   peen   man buol, 'Sey wun*
\mr aliel   siy   nanganang yuw-iy   peen   man buol Sey wun
\ge tide.come.in come   and.so   spouse-3s.p female   foc tell Hey! 2s

\tx *sarir   siy   be   talaniy   weed   day   wudiy disirir*
\mr sarir   siy   be   t-al-an-iy   wey-d   day   wudiy di-sarir
\ge descend   come   cnj 1pl.in-go-irr-conc friend-3pl just all   3pl-descend

\tx *magareng.*
\mr magareng
\ge cpl

\tre Alright, he just remained in the sea, the sea was coming in and so his wife said to him, 'Hey! you come back and let's go, our friends have all come down (ashore).

\ref foun 087

\tx *Siy   bi   teetay   talaniy.'*
\mr Siy   bi   teet-ay   t-al-an-iy
\ge come   cnj village-loc 1pl.in-go-irr-conc

\tre Come, and let's go to the village.'

\ref foun 088

\tx *Naag   yuwiy   peen   tubuob   badey di, mahas day*
\mr Naag   yuw-iy   peen   tuob-rdp badey di   mahas day
\ge like.that spouse-3s.p female trick-rdp be   cnj sea   just

\tx *aliel   siy   muguwan.*
\mr aliel   siy   muguw-an

\ge tide.come.in   come   middle-gl

\tre He was tricking his wife like that and the tide came in up to his middle.

\ref foun 089

\tx *Yuwiy   peen   mun   fow wahag, 'Ey siy   be talaniy*

\mr yuw-iy   peen   mun   fow wahag Ey siy   be t-al-an-iy

\ge spouse-3s.p female   again new call.out Hey come cnj 1pl.in-go-irr-conc

\tx *weed   day   wudiy diel   magarngeng.'*

\mr wey-d   day   wudiy d-iel   magareng-rdp

\ge friend-3pl just   all   3pl-go cpl-rdp

\tre His wife called out again, 'Hey, come, let's go, our friends have all gone.'

\ref foun 090

\tx *Naag   yuwiy   tubuob badey di foun tubuw   day*

\mr Naag   yuw-iy   tuob-rdp badey di foun tubuw   day

\ge like.that spouse-3s.p trick-rdp be   cnj turtle old.person just

\tx *susum siy   nanganang tubuw buol,   'Fufo   makiesiy bad*

\mr susum siy   nanganang tubuw buol fuf-o   makiesiy bad

\ge slide   come and.so   old.one tell   grandparent-Oh tiny   indef

\tx *mun   susum   siy.'*

\mr mun   susum   siy

\ge again   slide   come

\tre That's how he was tricking his wife and the old turtle just came slowly and so he said to the old one, grandfather slide a little bit closer.'

\ref foun 091

\tx *Ariya   tubuw   day   susum siy   burbuar kap.*

\mr Ariya   tubuw   day   susum siy   burbuar   kap

\ge alright   old.one just   slide   come reef   press.against

\tre Alright, the old one came closer and pressed against the reef.

\ref foun 092

\tx *Ariya   tamuol   nang   day susum yiel   foun.tamaal   bad*

\mr Ariya   tamuol   nang   day susum yiel   foun.tamaal   bad

\ge alright   man   deic   just slide   3s.go sponge.covered.rock indef

\tx *fangeyan   par   gungun   di   peen   buol, 'Sey, ning sang fangeyan*

\mr fangey-an par   gungun   di   peen   buol Sey   ning sang fangey-an

\ge top-loc   walk standing   cnj female   tell Hey!   deic   what top-loc

\tx *yaganganun.'*

\mr ya-gungun-rdp

\ge 1s-standing-rdp

\tre Alright the man just went slowly and stood on top of a large sponge-covered rock and said to the woman, 'Hey, what's this I'm standing on top of?'

\ref foun 093
\tx *Ariya   yin man buol, 'Sey, nang   ney   maman   matey   peen*
\mr Ariya   yin man buol Sey nang   ney   mam-man   matey   peen
\ge alright   3s foc tell Hey! deic   inter   1.pl.ex-foc old   female

\tx *nalaluway   naan   masagug   di fangeyan   magangun   nang*
\mr naluw-rdp-ay naan   ma-sug-rdp   di fangey-an   ma-gungun   nang
\ge child-rdp-gl   there   1pl.ex-wash-rdp cnj top-loc   1pl.ex-standing deic

\tx *parar.*
\mr par-rdp
\ge walk-rdp

\tre And she said to him, 'Hey, you're walking on top of what we stood on a long time ago
     when we were small and swam there.'

\ref foun 094
\tx *Wun ney tubuob   di badey 'Siy   be tal!'*
\mr Wun ney tuob-rdp di badey Siy   be t-al
\ge 2s   inter trick-rdp cnj be   come cnj 1pl.in-go

\tre You're just tricking, come and let's go!

\ref foun 095
\tx *Ariya tamuol nang   mun susum yiel   matiyaw   bad   fangeyan*
\mr Ariya tamuol nang   mun susum yiel   matiyaw   bad   fangey-an
\ge alright man   gvn   again slide 3s.go stone   indef top-loc

\tx *gungun di   peen   buol, 'Sey, ning   sang fangeyan yaganganun?'*
\mr gungun di   peen   buol Sey ning   sang fangey-an ya-gungun-rdp
\ge standing cnj female tell Hey! deic   what top-loc   1s-standing-rdp

\tre Alright, the man again crept and stood on top of a rock and said to the woman, 'Hey
     what's this I'm standing on?'

\ref foun 096
\tx *Ar   mun   peen   nang   man buol, 'Sey, paityom   yaw!*
\mr Ar   mun   peen   nang   man buol Sey pait-yom   yaw
\ge alright   again female gvn   foc tell   Hey! show.off-2s.p do.not

\tre Again the woman spoke to him, 'Hey, stop showing off!

\ref foun 097
\tx *Siy   bi talaniy   day yidumom   weed   day wudiy diel*
\mr Siy   bi t-al-an-iy   day yidumom   wey-d   day wudiy d-iel
\ge come   cnj 1pl.in-go-irr-conc just dark   friend-3pl   just all   3pl-go

\tx *magarngeng.'*
\mr magareng-rdp
\ge cpl-rdp

\tre Come and let's go now, it's already dark and our friends have all gone.'

\ref foun 098
\tx *Ariya   mun   makiesiy bad   susum   yiel   burbuar sibiyan   di*
\mr Ariya   mun   makiesiy bad   susum   yiel   burbuar sibiy-an   di
\ge alright   again tiny   indef   slide   3s.go reef   very-loc   cnj

\tx *tubuw   buol, 'Fufo,   susum siy   bi   sagaraman*
\mr tubuw   buol   fuf-o   susum siy   bi   sagar-am-an
\ge old.one tell   grandparent-Oh   slide come cnj back-2s.p-gl

\tx *yagahayaniy.'*
\mr yagahay-an-iy
\ge climb-irr-imper

\tre Alright, he crept out a little right to the edge of the reef and told the old one, 'Grandpa,
     move/slide a little closer, and I'll climb on your back!'

\ref foun 099
\tx *Nagaag   di tubuw   day susum   siy   tubuw   singiyan*
\mr naag-rdp   di tubuw   day susum   siy   tubuw   sing-iy-an
\ge like.that-rdp cnj old.one just slide   come   grand.child near-3s.obj-gl

\tx *di   tubuw   day yangahay yiel.*
\mr di   tubuw   day yangahay yiel
\ge cnj old.one just climb   3s.go

\tre And after that the old one moved close to his grandson and his grandson just climbed on
     top.

\ref foun 100
\tx *Sagareyan   gungunun   i   di tubuw buol, 'Fuf   susum*
\mr sagar-ey-an   gungun-rdp   i   di tubuw buol   Fuf   susum
\ge back-3s.p-gl   standing-rdp simult cnj old.one tell   grandparent slide

\tx *makiesiy   bad   tatalwahay   tal   fangeyan bi*
\mr makiesiy   bad   ta-watalahay t-al   fangey-an bi
\ge tiny   indef   1pl.in-go.above 1pl.in-go top-loc   cnj

\tx *yabuolaniy.'*
\mr ya-buol-aniy
\ge 1s-tell-desid

\tre As he was standing on its back he said to the old one, 'Grandfather, let's move out a
     little and I want to talk to her.

\ref foun 101
\tx *Ariya   day buol, 'Ey ning sang fangeyan   yaganganun?'*
\mr Ariya   day buol   Ey   ning sang fangey-an ya-gungun-rdp
\ge alright   just tell   Hey deic what top-loc   1s-standing-rdp

\tre Alright, he said to her, 'Hey, what am I standing on?'

\ref foun 102
\tx *Peen   mun   buol, 'Sey, wun   gigieg   naag   bing   lunguong   nang*
\mr peen   mun   buol   Sey   wun   gieg-rdp   naag   bing   luong-rdp   nang
\ge female again   tell   Hey!   2s   what-rdp   like.that   talk   hear-rdp   gvn

\tx *ney   matiyaw maman   naan   matey masug   di   fangeyan*
\mr ney   matiyaw mam-man naan   matey ma-sug   di   fangey-an
\ge I.think   stone   1.pl.ex-foc there   old   1pl.ex-wash cnj top-loc

\tx *madagwahay   lel   nang,   sarir   siy   be   tal.'*
\mr ma-duguwahay   lel   nang   sarir   siy   be   t-al
\ge 1pl.ex-play   dur   deic   descend   come   cnj 1pl.in-go

\tre The woman again replied to him, 'Hey, what are you doing, listen that's just the stone
     we used to jump off when we washed, come ashore and let's go.'

\ref foun 103
\tx *Nagaag   i   di   tubuw   buol, 'fuf,   tatalwahay'*
\mr naag-rdp   i   di   tubuw   buol   fuf   ta-watalahay
\ge like.that-rdp inter cnj old.one tell   grandparent 1pl.in-go.above

\tx *maneg.*
\mr maneg
\ge like.that

\tre And as that happened he said to the old one, 'Grandpa, lets go out (to sea).'

\ref foun 104
\tx *Ariya   day   tubuw   tam   dutulwahay   di   peen   yin   bad   dangad   tiyaham.*
\mr Ariya   day   tubuw   tam   du-watalahay
\ge alright   just   old.one dual   3pl-go.above

\tre Alright, the two of them went out to sea but the woman didn't see them.

\ref foun 105
\tx *Peen   maley   nigieg   yitit   maneg   nang   foun   tubuw*
\mr peen   maley   nieg-rdp   yit-rdp   maneg   nang   foun   tubuw
\ge female   eye.3s.p like.this-rdp lift-rdp   like.that   gvn   turtle   old.one

\tx *man   ab   di   tam   diel   dang.*
\mr man   ab   di   tam   d-iel   dang
\ge foc   get   cnj dual   3pl-go   see

\tre When the lady looked up she saw the old turtle take him and they both went.

\ref foun 106
\tx *Ariya   peen   badey miniy   tiyaham,   atey   titikiy,   'aiyo*
\mr Ariya   peen   badey miniy   tiyaham   at-ey   titikiy   aiyo
\ge alright   female   be   reason   neg   chest-3s.p   broken   Oh.dear!

\tx *nanew   tamuol, aiyo   nanew   tamuol,   aiyo   nanew   tamuol'   tangahang*
\mr nanew   tamuol   aiyo   nanew   tamuol   aiyo   nanew   tamuol   tahang-rdp

\ge 1s.p   man   Oh.dear! 1s.p   man   Oh.dear! 1s.p   man   cry-rdp
\tx *di wiy dimiy   suyuoy   di badey,   tahang lel maley   wudiy*
\mr di wiy dim-iy   suoy-rdp di badey   tahang lel maley   wudiy
\ge cnj ins hand-3s.p stab-rdp cnj be   cry   dur eye.3s.p all

\tx *dilaal   wulwuul   bad,   agaruw   saket,   tanging   tanging*
\mr di-laal   wulwuul   bad   agaruw   saket   tahang-nom tahang-nom
\ge 3pl-swell swollen.large indef neck.3s.p hoarse   cry-nom   cry-nom

\tx *tiniiyan   magareng, tangingan   nang mun palanglangahay.*
\mr tiniiy-an   magareng tahang-nom-an   nang mun palanglangahay
\ge body.3s.p-gl   cpl   cry-nom-gl   deic again worry

\tre Alright the woman had no reason to remain, she was heartbroken, 'Oh dear, my man! Oh dear my man! Oh dear my man!' she was crying and throwing out her hands and legs, she cried until her eyes were all hugely swollen, her neck was hoarse, her crying finished inside her, and she wanted to cry more but was unable to.

\ref foun 107
\tx *Ariya   mun bad dangad tiyaham.*
\mr Ariya   mun bad dang-ad tiyaham
\ge alright again indef see-3pl neg

\tre Alright, she did not see them again.

\ref foun 108
\tx *Di day naag   ngukngukuk   di teetan   yiel yuwiy*
\mr di day naag   ngukngukuk   di teet-an   yiel yuw-iy
\ge cnj just like.that sobbing.sound cnj village-loc 3s.go spouse-3s.obj

\tx *tamuol miniy abahay dang nang peen   bad badey miniy tiyaham.*
\mr tamuol miniy abahay dang nang peen   bad badey miniy tiyaham
\ge man   3s.p place see deic female f.neg be   reason neg

\tre And just like that, and still sobbing, she went to the village, saw her husband's place, there was no reason for her to remain.

\ref foun 109
\tx *Atey.bibiy titikiy sibiy miniy kalik   miniy taab miniy yahaw*
\mr Atey.bibiy titikiy sibiy miniy kalik   miniy taab miniy yahaw
\ge chest.3s.p broken inten 3s.p pillow 3s.p mat 3s.p fire

\tx *alit   yahaw fuwan   yien, nang peen   abang   abang*
\mr alit   yahaw fuw-an   yien nang peen   abang abang
\ge lighting.sticks fire   base-loc sleep deic female something something

\tx *ning dang di ning miniyan   badey miniy nang tiyaham.*
\mr ning dang di ning miniy-an   badey miniy nang tiyaham
\ge deic see cnj deic reason-gl be   purpose deic neg

\tre She was very heart-broken, his pillow, his mat, his fire-lighting sticks lying at the base of the fire, the woman saw all this and because of this she didn't stay.

\ref foun 110

\tx *Ariya   day aab   yiliyan   doos badey di mahan gawgaw man siy*
\mr Ariya   day aab   yiliy-an   doos badey di mahan gawgaw man siy
\ge alright just house inside-loc sit   be   cnj bird crow   foc come

\tx *buol, 'se, wun siy   bi yab   youm,' di yin badiy buol 'yowo wun day*
\mr buol se   wun siy   bi y-ab   youm   di yin badiy buol yowo wun day
\ge tell hey! 2s come   cnj 1s-get 2s.obj cnj 3s arise tell yes 2s just

\tx *daseg nang abang   bimiy angangangiy   nagaag   di gawgaw*
\mr daseg nang abang   bimiy angangangi   naag-rdp   di gawgaw
\ge one   deic something rotten thing.which.eats like.that-rdp cnj crow

\tx *yiel.'*
\mr yiel
\ge 3s.go

\tre Alright, she was just sitting in her house and a crow came and said to her, 'Hey, you
     come and I'll take you,' and she began to reply, 'Yes, you're just one who eats rotten
     things,' (she spoke) like that and the crow went.

\ref foun 111

\tx *Ar   mun   milaw   man siy   buol, 'Wun siy   yabyoum   yowo*
\mr Ar   mun   milaw   man siy   buol Wun siy   y-ab-youm   yowo
\ge alright again wildfowl foc come tell 2s   come   1s-get-2s.obj yes

\tx *taan   sarsariy kideb   gargariy bi milaw   bid yiel   ar*
\mr taan   sarsariy kideb   gargariy bi milaw   bid yiel   ar
\ge ground scraper centipede eater   cnj wildfowl with 3s.go alright

\tx *mun kinkindiy yiel mahan fufuw   disiy   dutuwuon lel dom.*
\mr mun kinkindiy yiel mahan fufuw   di-siy   du-tuwuon lel dom
\ge again bird.sp 3s.go bird different 3pl-come 3pl-try   dur useless

\tre Alright, again the wildfowl came and told her, 'You come, I'll take you,' 'Yes, ground
     scratcher, centipede eater' and the wildfowl also went, alright again the kinkindiy bird
     went, lots of different birds came and tried futilely.

\ref foun 112

\tx *Ariya   kuw   man tey guob day siy   buol, 'se   wun siy*
\mr Ariya   kuw   man tey guob day siy   buol se   wun siy
\ge alright bird.sp foc put shut just come tell exclamation   2s come

\tx *yabyoum.'   Aiye   wiiyem   malwey malwey agarum   malwey*
\mr y-ab-youm   aiye   wiiy-em malwey malwey agar-um   malwey
\ge 1s-get-2s.obj exclamation leg-2s.p long   long   neck-2s.p long

\tx *tabanam   makaskiesiy sungurom malwey ey naag   kuw   buol,*
\mr taban-am   makiesiy-rdp sungurom malwey ey naag   kuw   buol
\ge head-2s.p tiny-rdp   beak   long   spec like.that bird.sp tell

\tx *nanganang yin man buol ningiy badey be, di yiel nang yiduom peen*
\mr nanganang yin man buol ningiy badey be di yiel nang yiduom peen
\ge and.so 3s foc tell good be cnj cnj 3s.go deic night female

\tx *nang mahat.*
\mr nang mahat
\ge gvn die

\tre Alright the <u>kuw</u> bird was the last, it came and said, 'Hey! you come, I'll take you.'
'Aiye you have very long legs, a long neck, a very small head, a long beak,' she spoke
to the <u>kuw</u> bird like that and so it said, 'Good, you stay', and it went and that night the
woman died.

\ref foun 113
\tx *Fefe pesang gabir*
\mr Fefe pesang gabir
\ge ? ? ?

\tre The end

(This was the common ending of traditional stories. No-one now knows what the individual
words mean, or why the expression was used.)

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