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## **Eight Languages of the Admiralty Islands, Papua New Guinea**

**Sketch 1: Seimat**

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## Sketch 1: SEIMAT

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

As already noted, Seimat is spoken in the Ninigo Lagoon, an extensive reef system located about 370 kilometers northwest of Manus, and extending perhaps fifty kilometers across. Because the inhabitants have limited land with little elevation, they have a particularly close relationship to the sea, one that is reflected in many of the nouns collected. Vincent Tonam spoke vividly of his experiences as a diver when growing up, and it is clear that an intimate familiarity with the sea, its plants and its animal life, is a central feature of the traditional culture of this part of the Admiralties.

Readers who wish to see a more in-depth description of the structure of the language should consult Wozna and Wilson (2005), as this 96-page sketch grammar with 333 sentence examples offers much that I was not able to check during my brief contact with a single speaker. First, they report (2005:4) that their data was “collected from a large number of people from the communities of Pihon, Amix, Lau, Mal and Patexux.” Second, their description is “based on thirteen months of fieldwork done between February 2003 and November 2004.” My roughly fifteen hours of fieldwork with one speaker from Awin village in the western part of the Ninigo lagoon can hardly be expected to compare with their much broader effort, although in a few cases I have been able to supplement certain details in their grammar sketch. On the other hand, the sketch that I provide includes much more vocabulary, particularly relating to flora and fauna, and to such cultural features as items of material culture. Used together, these two sources provide the best information we currently have on a language that has received little attention from linguists, and that is likely under threat from the dominance of Tok Pisin.

Perhaps the most important (and questionable) statement that appears in the Introduction to Wozna and Wilson (2005) is the following: “There is no dialect variation in Seimat, although some small lexical differences exist between the western islands within the group (Awin, Patexux, Mal, Lau), and the eastern islands (Pihon, Amix, Liot). Within the current corpus these have been calculated at less than 1%.” As will be seen at various points throughout this sketch, there are reasons to question the accuracy of this statement. Although there is broad agreement between my fieldnotes and this grammar, there are both lexical and structural differences (for the latter see below), as where they write *alohah* ‘afternoon’, where I recorded *aloha* (perhaps influenced by my many years in Hawai’i!), *kaniup* as ‘coconut water/green coconut’ (2005:19), when the only gloss I have for *kan i up* (water GEN coconut) is ‘coconut water’, despite my having collected terms for stages of coconut growth, *ŋax* for ‘branch’, where I have *pehe-* (*ŋax* = ‘finger’ in my fieldnotes), *papa-n* ‘its side’, where I have *popo-n*, *manihuh* for my *manexux* ‘bird’, or *xux* for my *hux* ‘island’. Some of these discrepancies may be due to transcriptional errors on my part, but others may be due to dialect variation, as (*pace* Wozna and Wilson) we still lack a clear picture of the dialectology of the Ninigo lagoon.

In other cases Wozna and Wilson recognize a wider range of meanings for a term than I have with a gloss that is perhaps incomplete, as with *hahalin*, glossed ‘taboo, forbidden’ in both

sources, but also as ‘in-law’ in the former (p. 61), reflecting a likely mother-in-law avoidance requirement for married men, common in many traditional cultures.

## 1.2 PHONOLOGY

The Seimat consonant inventory is shown in Table 1.1:

**Table 1.1:** The consonant phonemes of Seimat

p	t	k		
m	n	ŋ		
	s	x	h	
	l			
w		y		

Little needs to be said about the twelve consonants of Seimat, all of which have their expected phonetic values except that /t/ is dental, while /n/, /s/ and /l/ are alveolar. However, this inventory differs in one feature from that of Wozna and Wilson (2005:5), namely in the inclusion of /y/, which they do not recognize. While this segment is rare, occurring word-initially in only one form in my vocabulary, it is difficult to avoid recognizing it as distinct from /i/ in words such as /ayas/ ‘outrigger boom’, /hayup/ ‘south wind’, /tone hunaya-i an/ ‘hearth’ (‘place cook food’), /kayah/ ‘tree with wood used to make traditional fireplows’, /maya/ ‘men’s sarong, laplap’, /maya/ ‘papaya’, or /xayo/ ‘kind of thin-bodied barracuda’, all of which would otherwise occur with an almost unprecedented three-vowel sequence (four for /hunaya-i/). Other reasons for interpreting these as glides are the predictability of stress (see below), and the structural parallelism with /w/, which seems to be uncontroversial (why write e.g. *kawiw* ‘hermit crab’, but *aias* ‘outrigger boom’, when both have an unstressed high vocoid in intervocalic position?).

A related problem is whether to write a word-final sequence of V (usually /a/) + high vocoid as a vowel-glide sequence or a sequence of two vowels, as with their *kiliwau* (my *kiliwaw*) ‘to run’. Since Seimat allows both vowels and consonants word-finally, a motivated basis for a decision in such cases is not always easy to find. With *-au* vs. *-aw* it may be arbitrary in monosyllabic stems such as *xau/xaw* ‘stone fish corral’, but in longer words stress provides a clue. For example, /topiw/ ‘sugarcane’ is stressed on the /o/, not the /i/, which would be the expected locus of primary stress if the word were /topiu/. With *-ai* vs. *-ay* the matter may also be settled by stress assignment in polysyllables, as with *palay* [pálaj] ‘few’ (cp. [paráj] ‘to fry’, which gets its final stress from the Tok Pisin adaptation of the English loan). In monosyllables motivating a decision may be more difficult, but for transitive verbs such as [xaj] ‘to hit, thrash’, the fact that the word almost certainly contains the transitive suffix *-i* decides the matter in favor of a vowel.

In some ways the synchronic phonology of Seimat appears relatively simple. Unlike many Nuclear Micronesian languages to the north, it has a straightforward canonical Oceanic five vowel system, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*, with little allophony. However, Seimat is typologically rare among AN languages in having phonemic vowel nasality, a feature that was recognized sporadically by Smythe (1958), and Z’graggen (1975), but not described systematically until Blust (1998a), who noted that all vowels may appear in both oral and nasal forms, but that these contrast only after

two consonants: /h/ and /w/, as in *hũd̃-hu* ‘two (in serial counting)’ vs. *huohu* ‘breaking of wave (as in surf)’, or *wãt* ‘to sneeze’ vs. *wat* ‘monitor lizard’.

Wozna and Wilson (2005:5-6) recognize the same contrast, but state that it was disappearing among the younger speakers with whom they worked, and cite specific examples of words that I recorded with a nasal vowel that they heard only with its oral counterpart. I worked with Vincent Tonam in 1975, when he was 21, which means that he was born in 1953 or 1954, and Wozna and Wilson reportedly collected their data between February, 2003 and November, 2004, at a time when Vincent would have been about 50. Contrasts of oral and nasal vowels were quite clear in his speech when it was recorded, and he was insistent about the differences, but the increasing use of Tok Pisin by the younger generation, and the relatively low functional load of vowel nasality in a language that already has many homophones as a result of the reduction of earlier disyllables to monosyllables, may be working together to eliminate this feature.

The historical basis for this unusual distribution of nasal vowels is explained in Blust (1998a), and will be reiterated in the next section, but before doing that it is worth noting that, according to Wozna and Wilson (2005:6) “There is only one exception: the nasalized vowel sequence /ai/ occurs after the bilabial nasal consonant /m/, as in *mãĩã* ‘clothes’.”<sup>1</sup> Wozna and Wilson present no evidence that nasality is contrastive in this environment, and I believe they have sporadically interpreted the automatic vowel nasality after a nasal consonant as though it is phonemic (or must be counted as phonemic by adopting the ‘once a phoneme always a phoneme’ principle). Onset-driven nasal spreading is common to many AN languages (Blust 1997), but is rarely reported, even in fairly careful descriptions. For Seimat I recorded all vowels as predictably nasalized after a nasal consonant, and at first allowed this to creep into phonemic transcriptions of some words, as *mũtumũt* for correct *mutumut* ‘vomiting’, or *moĩh* ‘to live, be alive’ for correct *moih*. Although these have been corrected, some ambiguities remain: I recorded, e.g. [nãĩhĩ] ‘to walk’, and [nũhĩ] ‘to wash’, but it is unclear whether the nasality of the last vowel in these words is phonemic (since it follows /h/), or is due to nasal spreading from the primary nasal consonant earlier in the word. Tentatively, I have adopted the latter interpretation.

Similarly, at first I was writing long vowels in some words, as [ko:w] ‘sea cucumber’, or [wã:t] ‘earthworm]. However, attention to vowel length in surface monosyllables showed that length is predictable in these forms, as duly noted by Wozna and Wilson (2005:6), a product of the ‘minimal word constraint’, a language universal that requires free morphemes to have at least two moras regardless of the number of syllables they contain.

Wozna and Wilson (2005:5) write the mid vowels as /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, but I see no reason why they can’t be written as /e/ and /o/. My phonetic transcriptions show /e/ as consistently [ɛ], but they do not show a corresponding laxing of the mid back vowel as a consistent feature (it was recorded occasionally as [ɔ], but much more often as [o] --- a phonetic detail that could benefit from further checking). In addition, as noted in Blust (1998a:301), I recorded /i/ and /o/ with lowered or laxed allophones in closed syllables.

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<sup>1</sup> For reasons explained there, Blust (1998a) assigned nasality to the *h* and *w* preceding a nasalized vowel; in the present description nasality is written on the vowel.

Other issues with the vowels concern their alternation with zero, and the underlying form of the genitive marker that appears both as *i* and as *e*. The first of these issues is pervasive in Seimat as a result of the appearance of thematic vowels in the suffixed forms of surface (C)VC bases, as shown in Table 1.2:

**Table 1.2:** Thematic vowels in Seimat possessive constructions

Simple base	-k '1SG'	-m '2SG'	-n '3SG'	
ut	uti-k	uti-m	uti-n	penis
sus	susu-k	susu-m	susu-n	female breast
kinaw	kinawe-k	kinawe-m	kinawe-n	neck
leh	leho-k	leho-m	leho-n	tongue
pul	pula-k	pula-m	pula-n	eye

As just noted, I assign the thematic vowel in such forms to the stem, while Wozna and Wilson (2005) assign it to the suffix.<sup>2</sup> They note that the vowel was once unambiguously part of the stem, but nonetheless choose, for unstated reasons, to assign it to the suffix (2005:8, 33). My choice is motivated by the fact that their analysis requires each suffix to have five unpredictable allomorphs, while assignment to the stem creates no such unnecessary complication (since each stem is unique). This situation has arisen primarily because the loss of original final vowels transformed possessive suffixes of the shape \*-gu, \*-mu, \*-ña to *-k*, *-m*, *-n* (or *-Vk*, *-Vm*, *-Vn*). The same change also applied to progressive verbs of the kind *aŋ* 'to eat', *aŋi-aŋ* 'to be eating' or *laŋ* 'to sail a canoe', *laŋa-laŋ* 'to go sailing', yielding underlying forms of the shape /aŋiaŋi/, /laŋalaŋa/, and the like, and this raises the question "What, then, do we do with historical full reduplications that lost a final vowel but show no synchronic alternation, or at least have not been recorded with one, as *paŋapaŋ* 'moon, month', or *pilipil* 'tiger shark'?"

My own preference is to leave the surface forms of reduplications unchanged in their phonemic representations (thus *aŋiaŋ*, not *\*\*aŋiaŋi*), but to mark the morpheme boundary immediately before the suffix in possessed nouns, although this might be seen as an inconsistency with regard to the representation of underlying stem vowels.

One other area that requires a decision about the abstractness of phonemic representations concerns the genitive marker. In many cases this is clearly *i*, as in Set A:

Set A

- atol i mom (egg GEN chicken) 'chicken egg'
- iŋ i pulil (house GEN spider) 'spider web'
- kan i pul (water GEN eye) 'tears'
- ku i pop (bone GEN side) 'rib'
- kuku i iŋ (post GEN house) 'housepost'

<sup>2</sup> They are not completely consistent, as seen in sentence (6) on p. 12, or the first sentence of their interlinearized text on p. 92, where they write *natu-k* 'my son', and *loku-k* 'my friend' instead of the expected *nat-uk* and *lok-uk*. It is possible that in an earlier version of their analysis they assigned the thematic vowel to the stem, and when they changed their position on this, they did not revise all examples.

lok i ae-k (joint GEN leg-1SG) ‘my knee’

However, in other cases it is *e*, as in Set B:

#### Set B

aw e sal (mouth GEN road) ‘path, road’<sup>3</sup>  
 nan e pul (pus GEN eye) ‘sleep in eye’  
 palonj e ah (ash GEN fire) ‘ashes of a fire’  
 pat e up (tree GEN coconut) ‘coconut tree’  
 wah ē pata (root GEN tree) ‘taproot’  
 xam e al (radiance GEN sun) ‘shimmer on water’

In each of the six cases in Set B there is either synchronic or historical evidence (or both) that the noun preceding the genitive marker ends or ended in *-a*, and this is not the case for any form in Set A). The use of *e* in these words thus appears to be due to a process of assimilation in which  $a+i > e$ , and given the variation of *i* with *e* under these conditions this difference of form can be attributed to a synchronic phonological process. So far this is fine, but  $a+i$  do not coalesce to a mid front vowel when the following high front vowel is the transitive suffix, as seen in Set C):

#### Set C

axa-i ‘to whet, sharpen a blade’  
 hasa-i ‘to string, as fish’  
 paxa-i ‘to see, look at’  
 pula-i ‘to mend, repair something’  
 saŋa-i ‘to split’  
 xa-i ‘to hit with a stick, thrash’

In at least three forms in my fieldnotes  $a+i$  also do not coalesce when the high front vowel is the genitive marker:

#### Set D

hua i up = [huáj up] < /hua i up/ ‘coconut’  
 pul i xixi < /pula i xixi/ ‘callus’ (lit. ‘fish eye’)  
 wah ē ka i lah < /wahã i ka i lah/ ‘betel pepper’

The last of these examples is striking in that the genitive marker coalesces with the preceding low vowel in /wahã i/ > [wahẽ] ‘root of’, but not in /ka i/ ‘leaf of’ (the entire collocation being literally ‘root of leaf of areca palm’).

In addition, an underlying  $o+i$  appears to coalesce to a surface genitive marker *e* in *ŋax e mina-k* ‘finger of my hand’ (cp. *ŋaxo-k*, *ŋaxo-m*, *ŋaxo-n*). Given these various problems, I have opted to write the genitive marker as it appears in its surface form, hence as either *i* or *e*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Eastern Admiralty forms such as Loniū *pwaha can*, Titan *pwān cal* (= ‘mouth of path’) ‘path, road’.

In other cases a sequence of *a + i* has combined to form a diphthong in normal speech, as seen in *ka i pata* ‘leaf of a tree’, which was recorded as [kaj páta], or /wahã i ka i lah/ ‘betel pepper’, which was transcribed as [wahẽkájlah].

Wozna and Wilson (2005:7) note “There is no evidence of contrastive stress in Seimat. Stress normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word, except in a small group of trisyllabic words where reduplication occurs. In this case the primary stress occurs on the antepenult and secondary stress on the ultima.” They illustrate this process with the words for ‘moon’, and ‘conch shell trumpet’. My marking of stress is sporadic (more consistent during the early phase of elicitation, and less so later), but generally agrees with the above statement. The only additional comment I would make is that in *hũwõpànim* ‘ten’ primary stress was recorded on the first syllable rather than the antepenult, but this may have more to do with the morphological structure of this word (*hũõ + panim*) than with a general principle of prosody.

Finally, although Seimat allows word-final consonants, it does not allow consonant clusters, and with two exceptions in my data (*haniauman* ‘kind of unicorn fish’, *tawisaeen* : morning star/evening star: Venus’), vowel sequences are limited to two members.

### 1.3 GRAMMAR

Given limited contact hours and the focus on phonology and lexicon as part of a survey intended to determine genetic relationships, grammatical information in my fieldnotes is limited. The categories covered are 1.3.1. the counting system, 1.3.2 personal pronouns, 1.3.3. possessive pronouns, 1.3.4. demonstrative pronouns, 1.3.5. directionals, 1.3.6. questions, 1.3.7. causatives, 1.3.8. the attributive suffix, 1.3.9. the transitive suffix, 1.3.10. imperatives, 1.3.11. tense and aspect, and 1.3.12. miscellaneous (a catch-all for anything that does not fit the other categories).

1.3.1 *The counting system.* The basic numerals used in serial counting are shown in Table 1.3:<sup>4</sup>

**Table 1.3:** Seimat numerals used in serial counting

tehu	one
hũõhu	two
toluhu	three
hinalo	four
tepanim	five
tepanim tehu	six
tepanim hũõhu	seven
tepanim toluhu	eight
tepanim hinalo	nine
hũõ-panim	ten
hũõ-panim tehu	eleven, etc.
tolu-pa	fifteen
tolu-pa tehu	sixteen, etc.

<sup>4</sup> I did not record the number ‘fifteen’ and its derivatives; these have been taken from Wozna and Wilson (2005:21).

seilon tel	twenty
seilon tolu	thirty
seilon hinalo	forty
seilon tepanim	fifty
seilon tepanim tel	sixty
seilon tepanim hūhūa	seventy
seilon tepanim tolu	eighty
seilon tepanim hinalo	ninety
patei tel	one hundred

Certain features of the numerals call for comment. Setting aside historical issues that will be addressed below, the first thing to notice is that this is a quinary system, where 6-9 are 5+1, 5+2, etc., and 10 is 2x5. The word for ‘five’ itself is preceded by what appears to be a clitic form of ‘one’, suggesting that it may earlier have been a noun. This is supported by Wuvulu and Aua *pani-* ‘hand’, *pani-m* ‘your hand’, although Seimat now uses *mina-* for ‘hand’. The idea that the Seimat numeral system is based on human body parts is, however, further supported by the word for ‘twenty’ which is literally ‘one man’ (all fingers and toes). Alone among the languages of the Admiralties, Seimat uses the word for ‘person, human being’ for ‘20’, clearly a collective representation for all the digits of the hands and feet. The only other Austronesian languages known to use ‘one person’ to mean ‘twenty’ are certain languages in New Guinea, and Iaai, spoken on the island of Uvea in the Loyalty islands of southern Melanesia. Since ‘one person’ is commonly used in Papuan languages as a word for ‘twenty’, one is tempted to see the Seimat innovation as reflecting a Papuan substrate. What is puzzling about this is that Seimat is spoken in a location that requires considerable sailing skill to reach, and judging from phenotype it is doubtful that the Ninigo lagoon was ever populated by Papuan speakers. On the other hand, it is also unlikely that the Seimat numeral system could have been subject to Papuan contact influence on Manus, since nearly all languages of the eastern Admiralties preserve a modified form of the Proto-Oceanic decimal system.

My data differ from Wozna and Wilson’s in the numerals 30-90, which they give as *seilon tel h:uopanim* ‘30’, *seilon h:uh:ua* ‘40’, *seilon h:uh:ua h:uopanim* ‘50’, (where *h:* = nasalization of the following vowel), *seilon tolu* ‘60’, *seilon tolu h:uopanim* ‘70’, *seilon hinalo* ‘80’, *seilon hinalo h:uopanim* ‘90’, and in recording *patei tel* as against their *seilon tepanim* (‘five people’) ‘100’. The speaker with whom I worked was very confident of his knowledge of the language, and I take it that his numerals 30-90 reflect a decimalization of the Seimat system under modern influences, whereas Wozna and Wilson’s data represent the earlier vigesimal system.

Other observations that emerge from a purely synchronic consideration of the material in Table 1 are: 1. the -CV in *tehu*, *hūōhu*, and *toluhu* is a separate morpheme, as shown by its absence in *te-* (‘five’), *hūhūa* (‘seventy’) and *tolu* (‘fifteen’, ‘thirty’, etc.), 2. the morpheme for ‘one’ has two allomorphs, *te-* and *tel*, and 3. the morpheme for ‘two’ has two allomorphs, *hūā* and *hūō*.

In addition to the numerals used in serial counting Seimat has partially differing sets used to count members of various noun classes. Wozna and Wilson (2005:22-24) illustrate sixteen of these which, using the form of the numeral ‘one’ to mark each class, have the following form: 1. *tel* (with people), 2. *tok* (with animals, including dogs, birds, fish, but also bananas), 3. *tea* (with



long objects, including trees, canoes, and knives), 4. *tehu* (a ‘general’ category that includes houses, stones, spears and nights in the examples given), 5. *teik* (with pieces or amounts of larger objects), 6. *tepaun* (with body parts), 7. *tewasa* (with bunches, as of bananas or betel nuts), 8. *teka* (with leaves), 9. *tesol* (with places or groups of things, including gardens, places of work or play, groups of children or gardens, etc.), 10. *tepap* (with palms, roofs and planks), 11. *tejax* (with fingers and branches, as of trees or branching coral), 12. *temot* (with coconuts and eggs), 13. *tehot* (with fire), 14. *texux* (with islands), 15. *tenen* (given as ‘undetermined’, but includes stories, songs, and customs), 16. *tewau* (also given as ‘undetermined’, but includes windows, villages and holes).

They illustrate pattern 1 with the word for ‘person’ (*seilon*). I recorded it with the word for ‘child’ (*akaik*), as seen in Table 1.4:

**Table 1.4:** Seimat numerals used in counting people

tel akaik	one child
hũhũã akaik	two children
tolu akaik	three children
hinalo akaik	four children
te-panim akaik	five children
te-panim tel akaik	six children
te-panim hũhũã akaik	seven children
te-panim tolu akaik	eight children
te-panim hinalo akaik	nine children
hũõ-panim akaik	ten children
hũõ-panim tel akaik	eleven children, etc.

Similarly, they illustrate pattern 2 with the word for ‘dog’ (*sinen*). I recorded it with the word for ‘pig’ (*pow*), as seen in Table 1.5:

**Table 1.5:** Seimat numerals used in counting animals

t-ok pow	one pig
hũ-õk pow	two pigs
tolu-ok pow	three pigs
hinalo pow	four pigs
te-panim pow	five pigs
te-panim t-ok pow	six pigs
te-panim hũ-õk pow	seven pigs
te-panim tolu-ok pow	eight pigs
te-panim hinalo pow	nine pigs
hũõ-panim pow	ten pigs
hũõ-panim t-ok pow	eleven pigs, etc.

The other patterns are illustrated briefly (from 1-4) in Wozna and Wilson (2005:22-24), and will not be repeated here except to show the category for long objects in relation to trees, in Table 1.6:

**Table 1.6:** Seimat numerals used in counting trees

te-a pata	one tree
hũ-a pata	two trees
tolu-a pata	three trees
hinalo pata	four trees
te-panim pata	five trees
te-panim tea pata	six trees
te-panim hũ-a pata	seven trees, etc.

For most noun classes a phonologically dependent numeral classifier (*-ok* for animals, *-a* for long objects, *-hu* for houses, etc.) is used only for the numbers 1-3, and for those composite higher numerals that repeat these, namely 6-8. The numerals 4, 5, 9 and 10 appear to be identical in all noun classes. The single exceptional form is *tel* ‘one’, which appears to be *te-* ‘one’ plus a classifier *-l*. However, since *-l* occurs with no other numeral, it appears best for now to treat *tel* as an unconditioned allomorph of *te-*. In general readers may refer to the treatment in Wozna and Wilson (2005:20-24) for further illustration of the system of numeral classifiers. Sounding a familiar warning, they state (p. 20) “The increased use of English numerals, felt to be easier, means that Seimat numerals are slowly disappearing. Only the numbers from one to twenty are still commonly used on a daily basis.”

The only other observations that I can add here are that I recorded the same classifiers for counting ropes and animals on the one hand (*t-ok tal* ‘one rope’, *t-ok xixi* ‘one fish’), and for counting bunches of betel nuts and leaves on the other (*te-ka tuep* ‘one bunch of betel nuts’, *te-ka ka i pata* ‘one leaf’), adding some detail to what is found in Wozna and Wilson.

**1.3.2. Personal pronouns.** Seimat personal pronouns occur in singular, dual and plural numbers. My fieldnotes on these are incomplete, and the reader is best referred to Wozna and Wilson (2005:10), whose description is repeated in Table 1.7, with morpheme boundaries added:

**Table 1.7:** Seimat personal/free pronouns (after Wozna and Wilson 2005)

	1IN	1EX	2	3
SG		ŋa	o	i
DL	ka-lu	ami-li	amu-lu	la-lu
PL limited	ka-ko	ami-te	amu-to	la-to
PL extended	ka-ha	ai-ha	au-ha	la-ha

The reader will notice that there is allomorphy in the dual and limited plural markers. To the extent that this involves the vowels there is agreement in backness between the vowel of the suffix and the last vowel of the stem (*-li* and *-te* after *ami-*, but *-lu* and *-to* after other stems). In

addition the first person inclusive limited plural form shows *k-* rather than the more general *t-*, presumably in agreement with the initial consonant of the stem. In neither case is this due to a general property of the language, since the sequences *iCu*, *iCo* and *kVt* are well-attested in the lexicon (*ninu* ‘white cowrie’, *tinun* ‘feverish’, *alikomēn-i* ‘to bend something soft, as a mat’, *ipon* ‘night’, *katu* ‘scar’, *kakatop* ‘fishnet float’, etc.).<sup>5</sup> In addition, the stem for the non-singular form of the first person exclusive and second person shows unexplained variation between *ami* ~ *ai* and *amu* ~ *au*. Although morpheme boundaries will generally be marked for active affixes elsewhere in this sketch, they will be ignored henceforth for the pronouns.

In my own fieldnotes these pronouns occur as subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs, and in object position:

- |    |         |            |      |   |
|----|---------|------------|------|---|
| 1) | ŋa      | mali-wen   |      |   |
|    | 1SG     | laugh-PAST |      | ‘I laughed’   |
| 2) | ŋa/o/i  | aŋi-aŋ     | hula |   |
|    | 1/2/3SG | eat.PROG   | taro |   |
|    |         |            |      | ‘I am eating taro/you are eating taro, s/he is eating taro’ |
| 3) | ŋa      | paxa-i     | i    |   |
|    | 1SG     | see-TR     | 3SG  | ‘I see him/her’   |
| 4) | i       | paxa-i     | ŋa   |   |
|    | 3SG     | see-TR     | SG   | ‘S/he sees me’  |

Wozna and Wilson (2005:10-12) recognize an important distinction that was not apparent in my more limited grammatical data, namely a difference between what they call ‘limited’ and ‘extended’ plural reference, which they illustrate with sentence 5), and explain as follows (2005:11): “The word *kako* ‘we’ in the first clause indicates the group the speaker knows and is part of, whereas *kaha* ‘we’ in the second clause includes people that the speaker does not know or who form a separate group.”

- |    |        |      |      |            |         |      |   |
|----|--------|------|------|------------|---------|------|---|
| 5) | Kako   | pak  | ape  | kaha       | hatesol | pak  | ulea  |
|    | 1PL.IN | sing | then | 1PL.IN.EXT | all     | sing | do.again  |
|    |        |      |      |            |         |      | ‘We (and my friends) will sing, and then all of us will sing again’ |

On the other hand, one feature of interest that turned up in my limited data, but that I do not find in Wozna and Wilson, concerns the structure of conjoined subjects or objects. Singular nominal subjects do not require a resumptive pronoun (it is optional), as shown in 6-8) but conjoined subjects do, as shown in 9) and 10):

- |    |      |     |                  |
|----|------|-----|------------------|
| 6) | John | (i) | aŋi-aŋ           |
|    | John | 3SG | eat-PROG         |
|    |      |     | ‘John is eating’ |

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Hiroko Sato for having first drawn my attention to this matter.

- 7) John (i) aŋi-aŋ hula  
John 3SG eat-PROG taro  
'John is eating taro'
- 8) John niŋah-i Vincent pexuh  
John see-TR Vincent beach  
'John saw Vincent at the beach'
- 9) John ma Mary lalu aŋi-aŋ hula  
John and Mary 3DL eat-PROG taro  
'John and Mary are eating taro'
- 10) John ma Mary lalu niŋah-i Vincent pexuh  
John and Mary 3DL see-TR Vincent beach  
'John and Mary saw Vincent at the beach'

Judging from a single sentence 11) the same appears to be true of conjoined objects:

- 11) ŋa niŋah-i John ma Mary lalu pexuh  
1SG see-TR John and Mary 3DL beach  
'I saw John and Mary at the beach'

Finally, as in many other Oceanic languages, a conjoined subject that contains a noun and a pronoun is expressed with the first person dual exclusive pronoun followed by the nominal subject in what Lichtenberk (2000) terms an inclusory construction, as in 12), a feature also noted in a single sentence by Wozna and Wilson (2005:33):

- 12) ami-li John kiliwaw hani Manus letu  
1DLEX John travel to Manus tomorrow  
'John and I will go to Manus tomorrow'

One other feature of the preceding sentences that is puzzling is the absence of a general locative preposition in sentences (8), (10) and (11), given the allative marker in (12). Wozna and Wilson (2005:46) use *he* 'LOC' in similar constructions, such as 'I was working in the garden', but I recorded nothing of the kind.

1.3.3. *Possessive pronouns.* As with the personal pronouns, my fieldnotes on possessive pronouns are incomplete, and the reader is therefore referred to Wozna and Wilson (2005:10), whose description is repeated in Table 1.8, with morpheme boundaries added:

**Table 1.8:** Seimat possessive pronouns (after Wozna and Wilson 2005)

	1IN	1EX	2	3
SG		-k	-m	-n
DL	-(V)ka-lu	-(V)mi-li	-(V)mu-lu	-(V)la-lu
PL limited	-(V)ka-ko	-(V)mi-te	-(V)mu-to	-(V)la-to
PL extended	-(V)ka-ha	-(V)i-ha	-(V)u-ha	-(V)la-ha

An example from my own fieldnotes is the following possessive paradigm for *min* ‘hand’ (the speaker did not offer an extended plural set):

	1IN	1EX	2	3
SG		mina-k	mina-m	mina-n
DL	mina kalu	mina mili	mina mulu	mina lalu
PL	mina kako	mina mite	mina muto	mina lato

As can be seen, the only significant formal difference between personal/free pronouns and possessive pronouns in Seimat is seen in the singular forms. All other possessive pronouns are identical to their free pronoun equivalents except in having an optional initial vowel, and in lacking the first stem vowel of the dual and plural forms.

In POC and many of its descendants inalienable nouns, such as body parts or kin terms, are directly possessed with a suffixed pronoun, and alienable nouns (most other things) are indirectly possessed by suffixing the possessive pronoun to a separate morpheme (sometimes called a ‘possessive classifier’) that may distinguish general, edible, and drinkable possession, or in some cases other types of possessive relationship. Seimat shares many of the features of this system, but differs from it in an interesting way. To see this the Seimat system is compared in skeletal form with the pronominal possessive system of Fijian, representing a canonical Oceanic type; N = noun, and direct possession is marked for 3SG; articles are ignored:

	Direct	Edible	Drinkable	General
Fijian	N-na	ke-na N	me-na N	no-na N
Seimat	N-n	ana-n N	unuma-n N	N-n

Wozna and Wilson (2005:33) observe that “In Seimat, all nouns can be directly possessed.” This might initially give the false impression that Seimat lacks the alienable/inalienable possessive distinction, but as seen above, that is not the case. As they themselves point out, Seimat makes this distinction, and they identify not just three, but five possessive classifiers, as shown in Table 1.9, illustrated for first person singular (with morpheme boundary moved to assign the thematic vowel to the stem):

**Table 1.9:** Seimat possessive classifiers (after Wozna and Wilson 2005:37)

	welu-k	classifier for cultivated plants
	tupu-k	classifier for animals looked after
	ana-k	classifier for food intended to be eaten
	unuma-k	classifier for items intended to be drunk
t	eta-k	classifier for emphatic possession

In addition to these I recorded a possessive classifier for things to chew, illustrated with what I have written *uxa-k topiw* ‘my sugarcane (to chew)’.<sup>6</sup> Seimat differs from the canonical Oceanic pattern for pronominal possession, then, in marking both direct possession of inalienable nouns and general possession of alienable nouns with a possessive pronoun suffixed directly to the possessed noun. I recorded singular possessive forms for most nouns that fall into the typical Oceanic ‘inalienable’ category, as with *min* ‘hand’, *mina-k* ‘my hand’, *mina-m* ‘your hand’, *mina-n* ‘his/her hand’, but did not do so for nouns that fall into the typical Oceanic ‘alienable’ category. However, Wozna and Wilson have such forms, and they follow the same pattern, as with *ij* ‘house’, *ija-k* ‘my house’, *ija-m* ‘your house’, *ija-n* ‘his/her house’, or *kin* ‘garden’, *kine-k* ‘my garden’, *kine-m* ‘your garden’, *kine-n* ‘his/her garden’. For this reason Wozna and Wilson were able to state correctly that “In Seimat, all nouns can be directly possessed.”

As seen above with *uxa-k topiw* ‘my sugarcane (to chew)’, my marking of morpheme boundaries differs from that of Wozna and Wilson in that, wherever possible, I represent the possessive suffixes by a single invariant form. While the vowel preceding the possessive suffix is synchronically unpredictable, where reliable etymologies are available it usually reflects a historical vowel that was lost in word-final position, but preserved before a suffix. The issues about synchronic representation that this kind of alternation raises have been discussed in the Oceanic context before in relation to thematic consonants that appear preceding a suffixal vowel in Polynesian languages, as with Samoan *inu* ‘to drink’, *inu-mia/inum-ia* ‘be drunk by s.o.’ (Hale 1968). In the Polynesian case abstract underlying forms with final consonants which allowed a single allomorph of the verbal suffix were rejected by native speakers on the grounds that Polynesian languages lack surface final consonants. In Seimat the issue is, in a sense, reversed, since here it is the underlying presence or absence of a final *vowel* that is at issue, and since Seimat has surface forms with both final consonants and final vowels, the outright rejection of an underlying form such as /awa/ ‘mouth’, based on surface forms *aw* ‘mouth’, *awa-k* ‘my mouth’, etc. cannot be justified by appeal to native speaker intuition about possible canonical forms (more on this below).

One other matter that requires further discussion concerns a different pattern of possessive suffixation for some nouns. Since POC had the five vowels \*i, \*u, \*e, \*o and \*a, the reflexes of any of these can appear as thematic vowels before a suffixal consonant in Seimat. However, Wozna and Wilson (2005:33) recognize not five, but seven thematic vowels or vowel sequences: “The thematic vowel in these suffixes, symbolised by (V), stands for any of the vowels *i, e, a, o, u* as well as for the vowel sequences *au* or *aia*. We estimate that 80-90 percent of noun roots take *au* as their thematic vowel, but there is a minority in which the vowel is unpredictable and therefore lexically specified.”

This statement contrasts with my fieldnotes, as reflected in the attached vocabulary, where the singular possessive forms are included after most nouns, and these almost always take a single thematic vowel (for example, twelve of the thirteen possessed nouns in the /a/ section of the vocabulary have a single thematic vowel, and where etymologies are available this is what is historically expected). I did record some examples of *au-*, but very few, and given my limited data I recorded only one instance of *aia-* (which I write *aya-*): *hanaw* ‘breath; to breathe’, *hanaw*

<sup>6</sup> In Fijian and some other Oceanic languages the non-general possessive classifier for ‘sugarcane’ marks drinkable possession.

*aya-k* ‘my breath’, etc. The reason for this rather striking discrepancy remains unclear, but may be due to dialect differences that are still poorly understood.

Both *au-* and *aya-* differ from other possessive classifiers in following the possessed noun rather than preceding it, suggesting that they originated from a different word class. The clearest example of a possessive pronoun attached to *au-* in my data for the Awin dialect is perhaps the English word ‘pen’, which is possessed in sentences such as:

- 13) te-tea e pen au-k  
 one COP pen *au*-1SG  
 ‘This is my pen’ or ‘This one is my pen’.

Alternatively, I was given the following option with the same meaning:

- (14) pen au-k te-tea  
 pen *au*-1SG this.one

Here the possessive pronoun is suffixed to the possessive classifier *au-*, of unknown meaning and function, rather than directly to the possessed noun. A native form with the same pattern is shown here as part of a complete first person singular possessive paradigm for ‘coconut’:

- 15) ana-k up ien  
 ED-1SG coconut that  
 ‘That is my coconut (which I intend to eat)’
- 16) unuma-k kan i up ien  
 DR-1SG water GEN coconut that  
 ‘That is my coconut water (which I intend to drink)’
- 17) up au-k ien  
 coconut CL-1SG that  
 ‘That is my coconut (general possession)’
- 18) tetā-k up  
 CL-1SG coconut  
 ‘That is MY coconut (emphatic possession)’

A second native form which exhibits the same pattern is *puh̄̄sis* ‘back of the head’, *puh̄̄sis au-k* ‘the back of my head’, which cannot be /puh̄̄sisau-k/, since the phonological change which gave rise to synchronic vowel alternations before possessive suffixes was single vowel deletion, not the deletion of a vowel sequence. Other cases, such as ‘armpit’, which was recorded only in a possessed form as *akakauk*, etc., are less clear (= *akak au-k*, etc., or *akakau-k*, etc.?). Tentatively, I analyze these as taking *au-* possessive marking.

This construction does not appear to show any semantic difference from one with direct suffixation, so the condition for using *au-* remains unclear. In native words that end with a

consonant this was historically followed by a thematic vowel which reappears under suffixation in synchronic alternations, as with *pat* ‘head’, *patu-k* ‘my head’, but no thematic vowel is available for ‘pen’, perhaps forcing an alternative method of possessive suffixation. However, this analysis cannot explain the lexically unpredictable use of *au-* in native morphemes.

One other way in which Seimat possessive marking differs from that of most Oceanic languages, but resembles a pattern found in some languages of the eastern Admiralties, is that body part terms can occur in unpossessed form, something that is impossible in most languages that distinguish alienable from inalienable possession (where an unsuffixed body-part word would be conceptualized by at least some speakers as though it were detached from the body). Wozna and Wilson (2005:35) describe this as rare, and list just four examples: *min* ‘hand’, *nis* ‘teeth’, *pul* ‘eye’, and *taxiŋ* ‘ear’. However, in addition to these I recorded many more, all of which were said to mark a general category without reference to individual possession. A small sample includes: *aw* ‘mouth’, *kaw* ‘forehead’, *leh* ‘tongue’, *pat* ‘head’, *put* ‘navel’, *sok* ‘body hair’, *sus* ‘female breast’, *uk* ‘head hair’, *ut* ‘penis’, *waku* ‘testicles’, and *xoh* ‘gums’. By contrast, it is notable that all kin terms that I recorded were obligatorily possessed.

Finally, some possessive constructions present problems of morphological analysis for which a clear solution is yet to be found. For example, the forms *un* ‘to drink (intr.)’, and *unu-un* ‘to be drinking (intr.)’ indicate an abstract base form /unu/, which the transitive counterpart *unum-i* ‘to drink (something)’ allows to be extended to /unum/. However, when this is nominalized as *unumak* ‘my thing to drink’ a question arises as to where to place the morpheme boundary for the possessive pronoun. The most straightforward solution would be to write *unuma-k*, with the 1SG possessive marker suffixed to a vowel-final base. However, this implies a base /unuma/ which is otherwise unknown. Alternatively, we could write *unum-ak*, which regularizes the base, but creates an allomorph of the possessive suffix which is idiosyncratic. Ultimately neither of these solutions works, and we are left to conclude that *unumak* contains an unexplained low vowel inserted between the base and the possessive pronoun.

**1.3.4. Demonstratives.** In a description of just over one page, Wozna and Wilson (2005:19-20) state that “There are no articles in Seimat and the demonstrative system is simple. There are two demonstratives, *ie* ‘this’ and *io* ‘that’, which follow the head noun.” Although my data sample regarding demonstratives probably is smaller than theirs, it contains some features which suggest significant differences from the material they recorded.

The first thing to point out is that demonstrative pronouns such as ‘this’ or ‘that’ have the same shape, or a very similar one to the corresponding adverbs ‘here’ and ‘there’ in many AN languages, and this also seems to be the case in Seimat. In this connection it is worth noting that I recorded a three-way distinction in distance for both the demonstrative and adverbial uses of these morphemes, as seen in sentences 19a-c) and 20a-c):

19a)	tea	ie	e	pen	au-k	‘This is my pen’
19b)	tea	io	e	pen	au-k	‘That is my pen’ (not near hearer)
19c)	tea	ien	e	pen	au-k	‘That is my pen’ (further away?)
	one	DEM	COP	pen	CL-1SG	



20a)	pen	au-k	ie	‘My pen is here’
20b)	pen	au-k	io	‘My pen is there’ (not near hearer)
20c)	pen	au-k	ien	‘My pen is there’ (further away?)

Given the use of ‘one’ in 19a-c the English translation here might better be rendered as ‘This/that one is my pen’. Wozna and Wilson (2005:19) also note the use of *ien* in Seimat, but state that in their data it is a discourse marker: “A third demonstrative *ien* is not a spatial demonstrative, but is primarily used to refer back to entities which have been established in the discourse.” They illustrate this with sentences such as *tehu kompani ien kahui ha-solia ŋa* (CL company that pay CAUS-do.well 1SG) ‘That company paid me well’. I have no doubt that their description is accurate for the dialect group they represent (the eastern group), and it is possible that *ien* also functions as a discourse marker in Awin and other dialects of the western group. However, this is not the case in the above sentences, first because they were recorded in isolation, and so have no discourse context, and second because the speaker clearly associated all three demonstratives as members of a set relating to spatial reference. In at least Awin, then, it appears that there is a three-way distinction in spatial demonstratives, although the semantic parameters of the non-proximal deictic remain unclear

**1.3.5. Locatives and directionals.** Wozna and Wilson (2005:50-52) briefly describe a set of venitive and allative suffixes (marked respectively by *-ma* and *-wa*, as in *i nahi-ma* ‘He comes (here)’ vs. *i nahi-wa* ‘He goes (there)’), together with several other directional suffixes, and the reader is referred to their sketch for more information on these. In addition, I recorded a set of locative or directional prepositions that are used for indicating the spatial relationship of a referent to its surroundings. These are illustrated in sentences 21)-29):

21)	sinen	e	mat-e	ij	
	dog	COP	front-GEN	house	
	‘A dog is in front of the house’				
22)	sinen	e	puhuŋ	ij	
	dog	COP	behind	house	
	‘A dog is behind the house’				
23)	manexux	e	patul	hoŋ	ij
	bird	COP	on top	roof	house
	‘A bird is on top of the house’				
24)	weiko	e	ahitake	hat	
	snake	COP	under	stone	
	‘A snake is under the stone’				
25)	xixi	leili	po		
	fish	inside	basket		
	‘A fish is inside the basket’				

- 26) sinen ki-kiliwaw hani i tax  
dog PROG-run to ? sea  
'The dog is running to/toward the sea'
- 27) sinen ki-kiliwaw hani nemaux  
dog PROG-run to bush/jungle  
'The dog is running to/toward the bush'
- 28) sinen ki-kiliwaw papahōi-ma kako/amite  
dog PROG-run direction-VEN 1PL.EX/1PL.IN  
'The dog is running to/toward us'
- 29) sinen ki-kiliwaw salili-wen kako/amite  
dog PROG-run leave- PAST/PRF 1PL.EX/1PL.IN  
'The dog ran away from us'

Wozna and Wilson (2005:65-68) identify five locative nouns with similar functions, which they give as 1. *hahitak* 'under, underneath', 2. *melal* 'outside', 3. *patalal* 'in the middle', 4. *tehit* 'at the back', and 5. *wasol* 'between'. I unfortunately did not record semantic equivalents for 2, 3 or 5, but for 1 and 4 the forms I have differ either in phonemic shape (*hahitak* vs. *ahitake*), in both phonemic shape and meaning (*tehīt* = 'back' as a body part), or in cognation (*tehit* vs. *puhuŋ*). In addition, although *wasol* may also mean 'between', I recorded it as 'passage through the reef' (hence space 'between' the sides of the coral obstruction). What this strongly suggests is that the dialect of Awin village differs in various particulars from what is perhaps the more 'standard' form of the language recorded over a wider area by Wozna and Wilson.

1.3.6. *Questions*. I recorded a small amount of material relating to *wh*- questions, formed with 1. *aita* 'who?', 2. *nake* 'why?', 3. *la* 'what?', 4. *lokōn* 'when?', 5. *ia* 'where?', 6. *ukekia* 'how?', and 7. *hil* 'how much/many?' These are illustrated in sentences 30-39), along with the answers that were supplied to those questions where these were recorded:

- 30) aita ani ana-k xixi  
who eat CL-1SG fish  
'Who ate my fish (that I intended to eat)?'
- 31) John ani ana-m xixi  
John eat CL-2SG fish  
'John ate your fish'
- 32) nake lahan John ani ana-k xixi  
why ? John eat CL-1SG fish  
'Why did John eat my fish?'
- 33) i ani nake i hitol  
3SG eat because 3SG hungry  
'He ate it because he was hungry'

- 34) o      ani      la  
2SG   eat      what  
'What did you eat?'
- 35) ŋa      ani-wen      hula  
1SG   eat-past      taro  
'I ate taro'
- 36) lokon o      tike      xixi  
when 2SG   catch   fish  
'When did you catch the fish?'
- 37) o      tike      xixi      ia  
2SG   catch   fish      where  
'Where did you catch the fish?'
- 38) o      tike      ukekia      xixi  
2SG   catch   how      fish  
'How did you catch the fish?'
- 39) hil                  xixi      o      tixe  
how many      fish      2SG   catch  
'How many fish did you catch?'

My data is insufficient to determine why 'who?', 'why?', 'when?' and 'how many?' occur sentence-initially, while 'what?' and 'where?' occur sentence-finally, and 'how?' is placed between the verb and object.

Finally, although the question 'What is your name?' takes the personal interrogative 'who' as the question word in many AN languages (Blust 2013:509-511), Seimat instead uses 'what':

- 40) axa-m                  la  
name-2SG      what  
'What is your name?'

Little information was collected on yes-no questions, but examples such as the following suggest that these are formed largely by a shift of intonation (rising on the question, falling on the answer, symbolized by upper-case vowels here). This is supported by a statement to the same effect in Wozna and Wilson (2005:76).

- tahulo [tahuO] 'Is it deep?'  
tahulo [tAhulo] '(Yes), it's deep'

**1.3.7. Causatives.** Wozna and Wilson identify a number of affixes that are important in word-formation processes, and several of these also occur in my less extensive data. The first of these

is the causative prefix *ha-*, which I recorded in *ha-puta* ‘to drop, throw down’ (cp. *puta-put* ‘falling from a height’), and in the following sentences:

- 41) i        ha-to-na        ŋa  
       3SG    CAUS-sit-?    1SG  
       ‘He made me sit down’
- 42) i        ha-tu-hĩ        ŋa  
       3SG    CAUS-stand-? 1SG  
       ‘He made me stand up’
- 43) i        ha-taŋi        ŋa  
       3SG    CAUS-cry        1SG  
       ‘He made me cry’
- 44) i        ha-hia        an  
       3SG    CAUS-hot        food  
       ‘She heated the food’

In the last of these examples a free base *hia* was said not to occur in the language. One recorded example suggests that the causative prefix is sometimes used in deverbal nominalizations: *hoŋo-hoŋ* ‘to be hearing’, *ha-hoŋo-hoŋ* ‘messenger, herald’ (i.e. one who spreads the news by causing others to hear/letting others hear).

Wozna and Wilson (2005:44-45) make the interesting observation that for verbs that end with a vowel the causative construction is formed by *ha-* alone, but for verbs that end with a consonant the thematic vowel that normally appears under suffixation, or in the first iteration of full reduplications, surfaces again. This is seen above in *ha-taŋi*, and in four forms that they cite. Why this should be is unclear, since alternations involving thematic vowels in Seimat result historically from final vowel deletion, and there is no reason why a final vowel would resist deletion just because the base in which it occurs carries the causative prefix. In another context Wozna and Wilson (2005:26) also observe that when the prefix *ha-* is added to a numeral it signals ‘all’ + numeral, as in *ha-tolu* ‘all three (of people)’, or *ha-tolu-ok* ‘all three (of animals)’. They do not identify this with the causative prefix, but given reflexes of PAN \*pa- or \*pa-ka- with numerals in many AN languages to signify such meanings, as with PMP \*paka-telu ‘to triple, multiply by three’ (Blust and Trussel 2020) it is clear these are the same morpheme, with a slight semantic change in Seimat (as Wozna and Wilson 2005:25 note, multiplicatives in Seimat are formed with the suffix *-lak*).

**1.3.8. The attributive suffix.** Wozna and Wilson (2005:29) state that “Adjectives are derived from verbs and morphologically come under two patterns: those that end in *-n* (very common) and those that do not.” This is something that is prominent in my field data, and was noted at the time of collection, when it was concluded that there are two types of evidence that a suffix *-an* marks attributive relationships. The first of these is from alternations in which *-an* distinguishes a non-attributive base from an attributive derivative, or where an attributive base was recorded

with and without a suffix *-an*, as in *ax* ‘smoke, dust’ : *axu-an* ‘smoky, dusty’, *tax* ‘sea, saltwater’ : *taxi-an* ‘salty’, or *tahulo* ~ *tahulo-an* ‘deep’ (note that in my more limited data the bases are nouns, or non-suffixed forms of adjectives, not verbs). The second type of evidence appears in listing all recorded words in this semantic class, the great majority of which have more than two syllables, and end in *-an*, as shown in Table 1.10 (forms with synchronic morpheme boundaries are marked with a hyphen):

**Table 1.10:** Evidence for Seimat *-an* ‘marker of attribution’

ailan ‘hard, like stone’	moloan ‘painful’
aŋian ‘sharp (point, blade)’	nuxan ‘lazy’
axaxawan ‘blue’	pusoan ‘tired, fatigued’
axu-an ‘smoky, dusty’	salan ‘correct, true’
huhan ‘full (container)’	solian ‘good’
kaka-n ‘red’	tahulo-an ‘deep’
kawatan ‘heavy’	taloian ‘quick, fast’
kekean ‘hot (food, sun)’	tanenan ‘calm, still (water)’
kosenan ‘quick, fast’	taxi-an ‘salty’
kukunan ‘short (length, height)’	tilokoan ‘dark’
makan ‘ripe’	uxeŋan ‘itchy’
makian ‘cold (food, weather)’	waŋiŋian ‘sour’
mamanahan ‘wide’	watilan ‘rotten, crumbling (wood)’
manukan ‘raw, uncooked’	waxexan ‘wet’
maxayan ‘bad-tasting’	xewan ‘clear (water)’

In addition to these 30 examples a smaller number of attributive words (stative verbs or adjectives) end with some other vowel preceding a final *-n*: *asekun* ‘crippled, lame’, *axun* ‘wounded’, *kakawin* ‘crooked’, *kuewen* ‘old (from earlier times)’, *lialun* ‘bad’, *loloen* ‘descending, setting’, *makalokalon* ‘bald’, *malun* ‘cooked’, *moih-in* ‘living, alive’, *omiomin* ‘narrow (as a road)’, *paon* ‘sweet’, *papaxaxun* ‘white’, *tinun* ‘feverish, sick’, *wakiakin* ‘soft’, *wanen* ‘true, genuine’, *xoixohin* ‘near’. There appears to be no way to predict the suffixal vowel in these cases, although the recurrent association of *-n* in words that are generally longer than two syllables with an attributive meaning strongly suggests that these also contain a fossilized attributive suffix. A still smaller set of similar words that end with *-Vn* are reduplications that normally would end with the consonant that precedes the final *-Vn* but which also contain what appears to be a fossilized attributive suffix: *aŋoŋon* ‘yellow’, *paupaun* ‘light in weight’, *paxepaxen* ‘dry; to dry up’, *pilupilun* ‘spotted, as fur, feathers, or animal skin’, *potopoton* ‘fat, corpulent, obese’, *sawisawin* ‘smooth, level, straight’, *weluwelun* ‘long, tall’, and *xauxauan* ‘far’.

Although most instances of this affix in my fieldnotes are fossilized, or at least not identifiable by contrast due to my limited grammatical data, Wozna and Wilson (2005:29) provide many more examples of alternations which show clearly that most Seimat adjectives contain a suffix that ends with *-n*, and this can be supplemented by comparative evidence, as in POC \*aŋo ‘turmeric’, \*aŋo-aŋo-ana ‘yellow’ > Lenkau *aŋo-an*, Arop *yaŋo-ŋo-ana* ‘yellow’ (Blust and Trussel 2020). In my own data attributive words with *-n* are found in citation forms, but the

suffix is absent in phrasal context, as with the citation form *polun* ‘black’ next to *ko-kol e polu i hat* (small *e* black *i* stone) ‘a small black stone’.

**1.3.9. Transitives.** Another affix that is productive in Seimat, although it may be fossilized in many forms, is the reflex of what Pawley (1973:120ff) called the ‘close transitive’ suffix \*-i. Recorded cases which show it by contrast in my data are 1. *an* ‘food’ : *an-i* ‘to chew’, 2. *hox* ‘canoe paddle’ : *hoxe-i* ‘to paddle a canoe’, 3. *nat* ‘knot (Tok Pisin)’ : *nat-i* ‘to tie a knot’, 4. *salek* ‘cooking pot’ : *salek-i* ‘to boil in a cooking pot’, 5. *saŋasaŋ* ‘fork of a branch; twin’: *saŋa-i* ‘to split’, 6. *sa-sawit* ‘needle’ : *sawit-i* ‘to sew’, 7. *sus* ‘female breast’ : *susu-i* ‘to nurse’, 8. *tele-tel* ‘to be killing’ : *tele-i* ‘to kill something’, and (with apparent deletion of the last stem vowel) 9. *holaha* ‘to open, as a flower’ : *holah-i* ‘to open anything folded, as clothing, or a mat’.

Wozna and Wilson (2005:42) describe “eight allomorphs” of a transitive suffix in Seimat, which they arrange in “four groupings, with the last one a residual category.” These are 1) verbs taking the suffix *-eni*, as in *hoŋ* ‘to hear, listen’ : *hoŋ-eni* ‘to listen to’, 2. verbs taking the suffix *-(V)ini* or *-ni*, as in *mal* ‘to laugh’ : *mal-ini* ‘to laugh at’, 3) verbs taking the suffix *-(V)i*, as in *han* ‘to climb’ : *han-ei* ‘to climb (tr.)’, 4) verbs taking the suffix *-ane*, *-e*, *-o* or *-omi*, as in *kak* ‘to speak’ : *kak-ane* ‘to speak to’, *hil* ‘to fight’ : *hil-e* ‘to fight (tr.)’, *hameŋ* ‘to make a noise’ : *hameŋ-o* ‘to disturb by making a noise’, or *tan* ‘to appear’ : *tan-omi* ‘to make, create’.

They add (2005:43) “There is also a group of transitive verbs that do not have intransitive counterparts. They do not show specific morphology, though the majority of them end in *i*.” In this group they mention eighteen examples, of which *atai* ‘to build’, *kahui* ‘to buy’, and *sulini* ‘to push’ are representative. My more limited grammatical data contains only two examples of *-eni* defined by contrast (*mu-muna* ‘to hide (intr.)’ vs. *mun-eni* ‘to hide (trans.)’), and *tohëa* ‘turn the head’ vs. *tohë-ni* (< *tohë-eni*) ‘turn the body’), as well as three possible examples in *akekeni* (= *akaken-i* or *akek-eni*?) ‘to hold in the hand’, *pileheni* (= *pilehen-i* or *pileh-eni*?) ‘to twist, as fibers in making rope’, and *waheni* (= *wahen-i* or *wah-eni*?) ‘to want, desire something’. By contrast, I found extensive examples of *-i*. Where an unambiguous analysis is possible, as in 1-9 above, this final vowel almost certainly reflects POC \*-i ‘close transitive suffix’. For the others, the citation forms of semantically transitive verbs in my fieldnotes nearly always contain an apparent transitive suffix *-i*, which may or may not be fossilized, depending on whether the base also occurs alone or in other combinations (as with *tele-tel* ‘to be killing’ : *tele-i* ‘to kill something’). Table 1.11 gives some indication of how pervasive this pattern is (although a morpheme boundary was assigned to forms in Table 11.0 only where alternations were attested, I have adopted a more liberal approach with *-i*, since since many of these words may occur in other forms that lack the transitive suffix):

**Table 1.11:** Seimat evidence for fossilized \*-i ‘close transitive suffix’

<i>akeken-i</i> ‘to hold s.t.’	<i>otoh-i</i> ‘to break, as a stick’
<i>alikomen-i</i> ‘to bend s.t. soft, as a mat’	<i>pakat-i</i> ‘to stick, adhere to s.t.’
<i>alom-i</i> ‘to bail s.t. out’	<i>pilehen-i</i> ‘to twist together, as fibers’
<i>aso-i</i> ‘to sniff, smell s.t.’	<i>pula-i</i> ‘to repair s.t.’
<i>atalah-i</i> ‘to bite s.t.’	<i>se-i</i> ‘to divide s.t.’
<i>aum-i</i> ‘to embrace s.o.’	<i>sein-i</i> ‘to plant s.t.’

ax-i 'to feed s.o.'	sim-i 'to roast fish or meat in leaves'
axa-i 'to whet, sharpen s.t.'	sohut-i 'to weed a garden'
axut-i 'to scratch an itch'	suisuin-i 'to bark at s.o.'
etin-i 'to pull s.t.'	sulin-i 'to push s.t.'
exein-i 'to rub in liniment'	tahīw-i 'to dig'
han-i 'to give s.t.'	tahun-i 'to smoke food'
haŋain-i 'to sell s.t.'	ta-i-1 'to draw, write s.t.'
hasa-i 'to string s.t., as fish'	ta-i-2 'to husk coconuts'
hē-i 'to open s.t.'	talom-i 'to make or build s.t.'
hit-i 'to cook s.t. in an earth oven'	tapah-ī 'to slap s.o. or s.t.'
hual-i 'to help s.o.'	tapuh-ī 'to stab s.o. or s.t.'
hunū-ī 'to squeeze s.t.'	taputu-i 'to hit, punch s.o.'
itih-i 'to caulk s.t.'	tasim-i 'to sharpen s.t.'
kah-i 'to carry a person on the back'	teŋen-i 'to catch s.t.'
kahit-i 'to follow s.o. or s.t.'	tih-ī 'to pour s.t. out'
kahu-i 'to buy s.t.'	tihin-i 'to bury s.o. or s.t.'
kame-i 'to ask a question'	tilo-i 'to hail, call to s.o.'
keit-i 'to close s.t.'	tohen-i 'to turn the body'
kot-i 'to fell trees'	to-i 'to throw s.t.'
lapitin-i 'to pinch s.o. or s.t.'	tolom-i 'to swallow s.t.'
laut-i 'to lift s.t.'	uh-i 'to blow on the fire'
lio-i 'to throw s.t. away; to lose'	uluh-i 'to shave s.t.'
lu-i 'to burn s.t.'	ulut-i 'to peel yams'
lum-i 'to roll s.t. up'	upat-i 'to untie'
naket-i 'to lick s.t.'	utun-i 'to fetch water'
namihin-i 'to taste, try s.t.'	uxan-i 'to load cargo'
namilo-i 'to think about s.t.'	wahen-i 'to want s.t.'
nono-i 'to collect, as firewood'	xa-i 'to hit with a stick, thrash'
nuh-ī 'to wash s.t.'	xiot-i 'to tie by wrapping around'

Since only a small number of these proposed transitive suffixes can be identified by known paradigmatic contrasts, it is possible that in some cases the *-i* is part of the base. This is most likely in disyllables, and becomes less likely as the word becomes longer. In one case, the Tok Pisin loanword *parai* 'to fry', the final vowel is clearly a phonological adaptation in borrowing from English, and cannot be considered a marker of transitivity.

**1.3.10. Imperatives.** I recorded examples of both positive and negative imperatives (vetatives) in sentences such as 45-50):

45)	tu-wa stand-ALL		'Stand up!'
46)	kum VET	tu-tu stand-PROG	'Don't keep standing!'
47)	an-i-wa eat-TR-ALL	hula taro	'Eat the taro!'

- |     |                         |                     |              |                       |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 48) | kum<br>VET              | ani-ani<br>eat-PROG | hula<br>taro | ‘Don’t eat the taro!’ |
| 49) | paxa-i-wa<br>see-TR-ALL | i<br>3SG            |              | ‘Look at him!’        |
| 50) | nat-i-wa<br>knot-TR-ALL |                     |              | ‘Tie the knot!’       |

However, my data on imperatives is very limited, and the reader is referred to Wozna and Wilson (2005:76-77) for a more complete description. Wozna and Wilson state that the positive imperative is marked on the verb with the venitive suffix (V)-*ma*, as in *ke-ma* ‘Pass it (to me)!’, or with the allative suffix -(V)*wa*, as in *ke-wa* ‘Pass it (to him, etc.)’. Following a verb that ends with a rounded vowel, as *to* ‘to sit’, or *tu* ‘to stand’, they write the allative suffix as *-a*. I write *-wa* in both environments, since phonetically there is no difference in the two cases, and hence there is no true allomorphy.

It is possible that some verbs ending with *-wa* that I have given as base morphemes in the vocabulary are morphologically complex, since they were recorded only as citation forms, as with *kahuiwa* ‘to retaliate, do in return, take revenge’ or *kaxiwa* ‘to inform, give the news’.

**1.3.11. Tense/aspect.** In the limited grammatical data that I collected two tense/aspect distinctions stand out clearly. The first of these is a progressive aspect marked by what was originally full reduplication that was historically reduced by loss of the final vowel. The second is a past tense or perfective aspect marked by the suffix *-wen*. These are illustrated together in the intransitive sentences 51-54), and separately for *-wen* in sentences 55) and 56):

- |     |           |                               |   |                         |                            |                            |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 51) | i<br>3SG  | mali-mal<br>laugh-PROG        | : | i<br>3SG                | mali-wen<br>laugh-PAST/PRF | ‘S/he is laughing/laughed’ |
| 52) | i<br>3SG  | manu-man<br>drift-PROG        | : | i<br>3SG                | manu-wen<br>drift-PAST/PRF | ‘It is drifting/drifted’   |
| 53) | i<br>3SG  | mutu-mut<br>vomit-PROG        | : | i<br>3SG                | mutu-wen<br>vomit-PAST/PRF | ‘S/he is vomiting/vomited’ |
| 54) | i<br>3SG  | taŋi-taŋ<br>cry-PROG          | : | i<br>3SG                | taŋi-wen<br>cry-PAST/PRF   | ‘S/he is crying/cried’     |
| 55) | ŋa<br>1SG | mamata-wen<br>fear-PAST/PRF   |   |                         |                            | ‘I was afraid’             |
| 56) | ŋa<br>1SG | matihũ-wen<br>sleep- PAST/PRF |   | ti-letu<br>PREP-morning |                            | ‘I slept this morning’     |



It is clear that the past/perfective morpheme *-wen* can appear after a transitive suffix *-i*, as in sentences 58-60):

- 57)     $\eta$ a    unu-un        kan    i        up  
       1SG   drink-PROG   water   GEN   coconut  
       ‘I am drinking coconut water’
- 58)     $\eta$ a    unum-i-wen        kan    i        up        tihah  
       1SG   drink-TR-PAST/PRF   water   GEN   coconut   yesterday  
       ‘I drank coconut water yesterday’
- 59)    John   taha-i-wen        i  
       John   cut-TR-PAST/PRF        3SG  
       ‘John cut himself by accident (as while shaving)’
- 60)    John   kot-i-wen        i  
       John   cut-TR-PAST/PRF        3SG  
       ‘John cut himself deliberately (as with a knife)’.

Wozna and Wilson (2005:45-48) call these ‘imperfective aspect’ and ‘perfective aspect’ respectively, and note that the suffix is *-wen* before non-round vowels and *-en* before round vowels. As with the allative suffix *-wa*, this is entirely predictable from the environment, and I therefore write invariant *-wen*, since that is its unambiguous shape following other vowels. They also make the interesting observation with respect to reduplication for marking aspect that “Some roots show different patterns depending on the transitivity of the formation,” and they illustrate this with examples such as *paku-pak* ‘singing (intr.)’ vs. *pa-pak-ui* ‘singing (trans.)’.

I recorded a similar contrast between these two reduplication patterns, but with a different grammatical function, namely simple transitive action vs. reciprocal action, as shown in sentences 61 and 62):

- 61)    i        pa-paxa-i         $\eta$ a        ‘S/he is staring at me’ (cp. sentence 4)  
       3SG   PROG-see-TR   1SG
- 62)    lalu   he        paxa-pax        ‘They are staring at each other’  
       3DL   RECIP        look-PROG

Other examples of CV- reduplication to mark progressive verbs are found in my fieldnotes, but these were not recorded in sentences and so provide no information about function: *halok* ‘to play; to dance’ : *ha-halok* ‘to be playing, to be dancing’, *han-i* ‘to give’ : *ha-han-i* ‘to be giving’, *muna* ‘to hide’ : *mu-muna* ‘to hide oneself’, *nahi* ‘to work’ : *na-nahi* ‘to be working’,  *$\eta$ o $\eta$*  ‘to fly’ :  *$\eta$ o- $\eta$ o $\eta$*  ‘to be flying’. The single pair *etin-i* ‘to pull, as on a rope’ : *etitin-i* ‘to be pulling, as on a rope’ shows a pattern of what appears to be infixal reduplication for which there are no parallels in my data, although Wozna and Wilson (2005:8) report this as one of four types of reduplication in Seimat, and they illustrate it with *apeseni* ‘to prepare’ : *a-pe-pes-eni* ‘preparing’. If this word contains the suffix *-eni*, as their morpheme analysis implies, then the reduplication

pattern it exemplifies could be identical to the pattern of final syllable reduplication that they illustrate with *aile* ‘to do’ : *aile-le* ‘doing’, since consonant clusters are disallowed, and *apes-eni* > *a-pes-pes-eni* would automatically reduce to the attested form. Given the same assumptions for *etin-i* and *etitin-i*, all examples of apparent infixal reduplication may, in fact, be final syllable reduplication and reduction of the resulting medial consonant cluster.

I recorded a few sentences (or sentence templates, varying by subject pronoun) with a future construction, as seen in 63-67):

- 63)     $\eta$ a    po    an-i            hula            letu  
       1SG   FUT   eat-TR        taro            tomorrow  
       ‘I will eat taro tomorrow’
- 64)     $\eta$ a    po    unum-i        kan    i    up            letu  
       1SG   FUT   drink-TR    water GEN coconut        tomorrow  
       ‘I will drink the coconut water tomorrow.’
- 65)     $\eta$ a    po            paxa-i        John   letu  
       1SG   FUT            see-TR        John   tomorrow  
       ‘I will see John tomorrow’
- 66)    kako            po    laŋ            letu  
       1PL.IN        FUT   sail            tomorrow  
       ‘We will go sailing tomorrow’
- 67)    i        po    kiliwaw-ma   Manus        letu  
       3SG   FUT   travel-VEN   Manus        tomorrow  
       ‘S/he will come from Manus tomorrow’

Sentence 63) was also recorded in the same form for other persons and numbers (*o po an-i hula letu*, *i po an-i hula letu*, *la-lu po an-i hula letu*, etc.). However, with a first-person singular subject it was also recorded as:

- 68)    aŋi-aŋ         $\eta$ a    po    ani    hula    letu  
       eat-PROG    1SG   FUT   eat-TR taro   tomorrow  
       ‘I will eat taro tomorrow’

It is unclear why this construction requires the verb to appear in both progressive and simple transitive forms. To contrast it with the structurally different sentence 63), sentence 68) should perhaps be glossed ‘I will be eating taro tomorrow’. This may be an error, but it is supported by the following past/perfective sentences:

- 69)    aŋi-aŋ         $\eta$ a    an-i-wen        hula            tihah  
       eat-PROG    1SG   eat-TR-PAST/PRF    taro            yesterday  
       ‘I ate taro yesterday’

- 70) o an-i-wen hula tihah  
 2SG eat-TR-PAST/PRF taro yesterday  
 ‘You ate taro yesterday’
- 71) i an-i-wen hula tihah  
 3SG eat-TR-PAST/PRF taro yesterday  
 ‘S/he ate taro yesterday’

Why only first person singular actors require the verb to appear in two forms in these examples is unclear, and it remains to be seen what semantic distinction might exist between *an-i-wen* and *an-i*. While *an-i-wen* was recorded only as a verb, the base *an* is a noun (‘food’), and becomes a verb only under affixation. Wozna and Wilson (2005:18) include these as a pair in a section on ‘Derived nouns’, claiming that *an* comes from *an-i-wen* by zero derivation, but for all other examples that they give the verb and noun are phonemically identical, or differ only in reduplication. Finally, note that in a sentence with a conjoined subject, as ‘John and I will go to Manus tomorrow’ (sentence 12), for unknown reasons the future marker *po* is omitted.

Wozna and Wilson (2005:53) describe Seimat *po* as an “irrealis particle”, but they provide no evidence (as from its use in conditionals, counterfactuals, imperatives and the like) that it is anything more than a future marker, although they do make the interesting observation that it is used for indefinite futures in contrast to those about which there is greater certainty.

In addition to *po* I recorded two sentences with *ape*, which I glossed ‘will’ (future), but which Wozna and Wilson (2005:83) helpfully gloss ‘and then’, since it appears to link clauses in which one action is a consequence of another that precedes it:

- 72) tehot ah ape i axu  
 one fire and.then 3SG smoke  
 ‘A fire will (produce) smoke’
- 73) tehot ah pate ape axu-an  
 one fire really and then smoky  
 ‘A fire will be really smoky’

I was told that *axu-an* could not be used in sentence 72), where *axu* apparently functions as a verb despite its usual sense as a noun.

**1.3.12. Miscellaneous.** As already seen in the preceding examples, word order in Seimat is SVO. In addition to the foregoing I have a scattering of sentences that illustrate other features of grammar. Here is a representative sample:

- 74) paha-k ŋa aŋ hula  
 want-1SG 1SG eat taro  
 ‘I want to eat taro’

75)	paha-m want-2SG	o 2SG	aŋ eat	hula taro	‘You want to eat taro’
76)	paha-n want-3SG	i 3SG	aŋ eat	hula taro	‘S/he wants to eat taro’
77)	paha-lalu want -3DL	an-i-wa eat-TR-ALL		hula taro	‘The two of them want to eat taro’

Again, the distributional properties of *aŋ* and *an-i* are unclear. However, perhaps the most notable feature of sentences 74-77) is the double marking of the subject by a free pronoun and a preceding co-referential suffix on the auxiliary verb which is homophonous with the possessive pronouns. Alternatively, one might argue that *paha* is a possessed noun, hence ‘My desire (is that) I eat taro’, etc. This analysis would help to resolve the issue raised by Wozna and Wilson (2005:35), who hold that “The verb *namiloi* ‘to think about’ is irregularly related to the noun *namilo* ‘thinking, thought’, while the bound root *paha-* ‘want’ is exceptional in that it has no verbal counterpart.” As for *namilo-i* this appears to be a straightforward transitive verb with the suffix *-i*, and if *paha* is a noun meaning ‘desire’ or ‘wish’ its possessive morphology is regular.

Two sentences were recorded with the instrumental preposition *ani* ‘with’, as follows:

78)	John	xa-i hit-TR	to-k one-CL	sinen dog	ani with	pata stick	‘John hit a dog with a stick’
79)	lalu 3DL	hile-hil hit-PROG		ani with		pata stick	‘They are fighting (hitting each other) with sticks’

Two sentences were recorded with reciprocal meanings, but they differ in structure:

80)	lalu 3DL	ta RECP?	putu-put punch-PROG				‘They are punching each other’
81)	lalu 3DL	he RECP?	paxa-pax look-PROG				‘They are staring at each other’

Although Seimat generally lacks an overt copula, the morpheme *e* seems to have this function in several sentences, as 13), 19), 21-24), and the following, which has a construction seen in many AN languages, namely one in which an English sentence of the form subject + have + numeral + object instead has the form subject-possessor + copula (possibly zero) + numeral, where the numeral is the predicate of the clause.

- 82) natu-k e hūhūa  
 child-1SG COP two  
 ‘I have 2 children’

Strikingly, a copula was recorded in sentences that use a demonstrative pronoun, as 19a-c), but not in the corresponding sentences that use a locative adverb, as 20a-c).

Equally puzzling is the presence of a genitive marker in the locative expression ‘in front of’, but the absence of such a marker in ‘behind’, ‘on top of’ and the like (sentences 21-25).

#### 1.4 LEXICON

The vocabulary that I collected for Seimat follows. Surface forms appear as lexical entries, but where alternations in possessive patterns or retained segments in the first iteration of reduplications show an unpredictable vowel an underlying representation that contains this vowel is given between slant lines within parentheses immediately after the surface form, as with *pat* (/patu/) : ‘head’, *patu-k*, *patu-m*, *patu-n*. Where a base morpheme was recorded only in a suffixed form an abstract underlying representation is given without the expected surface form, as with /ae/ ‘leg, foot’ (no free form *a* was recorded). Vowel nasality is ignored for purposes of alphabetization. (TP) = Tok Pisin loanword.

#### SEIMAT-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

/a/

001. /ae/ : leg, foot, *ae-k*, *ae-m*, *ae-n*  
 002. *ah* : fire  
 003. *ahaŋ* : west; west wind  
 004. *ahe* : bait? (cf. *po*<sub>2</sub>)  
 005. *ahi* : long variety of Malay Apple: *Syzygium gomata*  
 006. *ahitake* : under, beneath  
 007. *ahoah* : blowing of the wind  
 008. *ailan* : hard, as stone  
 009. *aile* : to do; to make or build something  
 010. *aita* : who (in questions)  
 011. *akah* : rain  
 012. *akaik* : child (general term)  
 013. *akak* : armpit, *akak au-k*, *akak au-m*, *akak au-n*  
 014. *akeken-i* : to hold something in the hand  
 015. *akik* (/akiki/) : kinsman, relative, *akiki-k*, *akiki-m*, *akiki-n*  
 016. *akilek*: a hiccough, to hiccough  
 017. *akimatu*: to feel dizzy; to faint  
 018. *al*<sub>1</sub> : a thick-bodied barracuda that reaches two to 2.5 meters in length  
 019. *al*<sub>2</sub> (/ali/) : liver, *ali-k*, *ali-m*, *ali-n*  
 020. *al*<sub>3</sub> : sun  
     *al loloen* : sunset (sun descending)

- al sasasale* : dawn (sun about to rise)
021. *al*<sub>4</sub> : what?  
*axa-m al* ‘What is your name?’
022. *alal* : bottom-feeding fish, the halibut or sole
023. *ali*: a brownish grouper with black spots that grows to about 180 centimeters in length
024. *alia* : to return to where one started  
*alia hani xux* : to return home (‘go back to place’)  
*alia-wen* : returned, came back  
*i moi h alia-wen* ‘S/he is still alive’ (= ‘S/he has come back to life’)
025. *alikomen-i* : to bend something soft, as a mat
026. *alimaŋ*: mangrove crab
027. *aloha* : afternoon from roughly 3 to 6 PM
028. *alom-i* : to bail out, remove water from  
*alom-i wa* : to bail out a canoe
029. *amatu* : a large fish, probably double-headed parrotfish
030. *amili* : 1DL excl. free pronoun
031. *amite* : 1PL excl. free pronoun
032. *an* : food  
*an-i* : to chew; to eat  
*an-i tuep* : to chew betel
033. *ana-* : marker of edible possession
034. *anel* (/anelo/) : palm of the hand, *anelo-k*, *anelo-m*, *anelo-n*
035. *anetalam* : whale
036. *ani* : with (instrumental)
037. *anilaŋu* : jellyfish (probably = /an i laŋu/ ‘food of the *laŋu* grouper’)
038. *anuh* (/anuhu/) : saliva (usually with *kan* ‘water’)  
*kan i anuhu-k* : my saliva, etc.
039. *anun*: a large land crab, coconut crab
040. *aŋ* : to eat  
*aŋi-aŋ* : to be eating
041. *aŋaw* : kind of seagull with white chest and black back and head
042. *aŋiamat* : brave, intrepid, courageous
043. *aŋian* : sharp, of a point or blade
044. *aŋiha* : east wind
045. *aŋoaŋon* : yellow
046. *ap* : vine used to make a tube for blowing a liquid substance on the hair to kill lice
047. *apah* : fishing pole
048. *ape* : and then (cf. *mat*<sub>2</sub>)
049. *apein* : enough; satiated after eating
050. *api* : sago palm
051. *apuha* : to assemble, as people for a meeting
052. *apuhĩn-i* : to collect, as coconuts
053. *apuŋ* : (gloss unclear; cf. *ŋol*)
054. *asekun* : crippled, lame
055. *aso-i* : to sniff, smell something by sniffing
056. *at*<sub>1</sub> : kind of large tuna, up to two meters or more in length, probably bonito

057. *at*<sub>2</sub> (/ate/) : heart, *ate-k*, *ate-m*, *ate-n*
058. *atalah-i* : to bite
059. *atol*<sub>1</sub> (/atolu/) : brain; fontanelle *atolu-k*, *atolu-m*, *atolu-n*  
*atol i pat*: brain, *atol i patu-k*, *atol i patu-m*, *atol i patu-n* ('egg of the head?')  
 NOTE: *atol i patu-n* is said to be preferred to *atolu-n* for 'his/her brain', probably since *atolu-n* could also mean 'its egg'.
060. *atol*<sub>2</sub> (/atolu/) : egg (of bird, reptile, louse, etc.), *atolu-n*: its egg  
*atol i manexux* : egg of a bird  
*atol i mom*: egg of a chicken
061. *au-* : possessive classifier
062. *aum-i*: to embrace someone
063. *aupol*: wind (generic)
064. *aw*<sub>1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; coast?)  
*aw lokon* : bay (= 'curved *aw*')
065. *aw*<sub>2</sub> : milkfish? (given as response to TP *karua* ('mullet'), but probably milkfish)
066. *aw*<sub>3</sub> (/awa/) : mouth, *awa-k*, *awa-m*, *awa-n*  
*aw e iŋ* (/awa i iŋ/): door opening ('mouth of house')  
*aw e sal* (/awa i sal/): path, road ('mouth of road')
067. *awawak* : to snore
068. *awiwikok* : humpbacked, hunched over
069. *ax*<sub>1</sub> (/axa/) : name, *axa-k*, *axa-m*, *axa-n*  
*axa-m al* 'What is your name?'
070. *ax*<sub>2</sub> (/axe/) : chin, jaw, *axe-k*, *axe-m*, *axe-n*
071. *ax*<sub>3</sub> (/axu/) : gall bladder, *axu-k*, *axu-m*, *axu-n*
072. *axaax* : fire plow, stick twirled to start a fire, usually made from wood of *kayah* tree
073. *axah* : charcoal, black coal
074. *axa-i* : to whet, sharpen a blade
075. *axan* : gills (probably /axa-n/)
076. *axax*: fingernail, *axax au-k*, *axax au-m*, *axax au-n*
077. *axaxawan* : blue
078. *ax-i* : to feed
079. *axo* (/axoa/) : spouse, *axoa-k*, *axoa-m*, *axoa-n*  
*tap axoa-n* : widow, widower ('no spouse')
080. *axon* : to copulate, have sexual intercourse
081. /axu/ : smoke  
*axu-an* : smoky, dusty
082. *axut-i* : to scratch an itch
083. *aya-* : possessive classifier (cf. *hanaw*)
084. *ayas* : outrigger boom
- /e/
085. *e*<sub>1</sub> : copula: be, exist
086. *e*<sub>2</sub> : genitive marker after bases ending in *-a* ( $a + i > e$ )  
*aw e iŋ* : door opening (= /awa i iŋ/)  
*aw e sal* : path, road (= /awa i sal/)

- mat e iŋ* : front of house (= /mata i iŋ/)  
*xam e wap* : lime spatula (= /xama i wap/)  
 087. e: (gloss uncertain; cf. *polu-n*)  
 088. *ek* (/eke/) : vulva, vagina, *eke-k*, *eke-m*, *eke-n*  
 089. *eŋ* : to lie down  
 090. *etin-i* : to pull, as on a rope  
     *etitin-i* : to be pulling, as on a rope  
 091. *ewiewiwa* : to recover from an illness  
 092. *exein-i* : to rub in liniment

/h/

093. *-ha-1* : extended plural marker with pronouns  
 094. *ha-2* : kind of ironwood tree with red wood, used to make pins to join canoe planks  
 095. *ha-3* : punting pole  
 096. *ha-4* : reddish-brown sardine, smaller than the *tanih*  
 097. *ha-5*: to wake up (return to consciousness?)  
 098. *hah* : to rise, of the moon; moonrise  
 099. *hahalin* : taboo, forbidden  
 100. *hahiola* : the day before yesterday  
 101. *hakatu* : to shoot, to fire a gun  
 102. *hakeakea* : (gloss unclear; cf. *kau*; possibly *ha-keakea*)  
 103. *hakokol* : slow, as in actions  
 104. *haliaŋ* : mast for a canoe sail  
 105. *halok* : to play; to dance  
     *ha-halok* : to be playing, to be dancing  
 106. *han* : to climb  
 107. *hanaw* : breath; to breathe, rest, take a break, *hanaw aya-k*, *hanaw aya-m*, *hanaw aya-n*  
 108. *han-i* : to give  
     *ha-han-i* : to be giving  
     *han-i wa* ‘Give it!’  
 109. *hani* : to (directional)  
 110. *haniaumaŋ* : a unicorn fish similar to the *uliul*, but with a shorter projection from its head  
 111. *hanoano* : panting, short of breath  
 112. *haŋain-i* : to sell  
 113. *haŋga* : anchor (TP)  
 114. *hapik-i* : to shoot an arrow  
 115. *hapu* : big, of people  
 116. *hasa-i* : to string, as fish  
 117. *hat* : stone  
 118. *hatahat* : shelf above the hearth for drying fish, etc. (higher than *heihaŋ*)  
 119. *hatanoku* : to break, as a stick (possibly /ha-tanoku/)  
 120. *hatauh* : fast-flying bird, the frigate bird  
 121. *hatesol* : all  
 122. *hatu* : to plait, as mat or basket  
 123. *hatuhat* : kind of four-cornered fish



124. *haun*<sub>-1</sub> : clean
125. *haun*<sub>-2</sub> : new  
NOTE: Probably identical to *haun*<sub>-1</sub>.
126. *hayup* : south wind
127. *he* : reciprocal marker
128. *hehin* : female; woman
129. *hē-i* ‘to open s.t.’
130. *heihaj* : shelf over the hearth used for storing firewood
131. *heta* : manta ray, the largest type of stingray, which may reach four meters across
132. *hēxipat* : comb
133. *-hĩ* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *tu*<sub>-1</sub>)
134. /hia/ : (said not to exist as a free morpheme)  
*ha-hia* : to heat, as food
135. *hĩena* : to be ashamed
136. *hilehil* : to fight (of people, as in war)
137. *hinalo* : four
138. *hita* : a common shore tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*
139. *hit-i* : to cook in an earth oven
140. *hitol* : hungry
141. *ho* : a tree like the mangrove, with sweet, edible fruit that is poisonous if not treated properly before eating
142. *hō* : mole, skin blemish
143. *hok* : reef
144. *hōka-i* : to throw a spear
145. *holaha* : to open, as a flower  
*holah-i* : to open anything that is folded, as clothing, or a mat
146. *holo* : trivet, three stones used to hold cooking pot; rollers for beaching a canoe
147. *hon* : sea turtle (generic)  
*hon wanen* (‘true sea turtle’) probably the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*  
*hon masaj* : hawksbill turtle
148. *hoŋ* : cover?  
*hoŋ iŋ* : roof of a house
149. *hōŋ* (/hōŋo/) : to hear, listen; news  
*ha-hōŋo-hōŋ* : messenger, herald  
*hōŋ-i* : to listen to  
*hōŋo-hōŋ* : to be hearing, listening to
150. *hosa* : shadow, reflection, spirit of a dead man, *hosa-uk*, *hosa-um*, *hosa-un*  
*hosaun* : ancestral spirit
151. *hosan* : butterfly
152. *hot* : kind of stingray similar to *heta*, but only about 120 centimeters across
153. *hox* (/hoxe/) : canoe paddle  
*hoxe-i* : to paddle a canoe
154. *-hu* : formative in numerals ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘three’
155. *hua*<sub>-1</sub> : crocodile
156. *hua*<sub>-2</sub> : fruit, *hua-n*  
*hua i pata* : fruit of a tree

- hua i up* : coconut  
 157. *hual-i* : to help someone  
 158. *huhan* : full, of a container  
 159. *hūhūka* : wooden pins for joining planks or making a fork for the attachment of the outrigger (made from the wood of the *ha* tree)  
 160. *hula* : taro, *Colocasia esculenta*  
 161. *hulihul*: wave in the open sea, sea swell  
 162. *hulo*: swollen  
 163. *hunaya-i* : to cook  
 164. *hunū-i*: to squeeze, as a fruit to get the juice  
 165. *hūō*: combination form for ‘two’ (cf. *panim*)  
     *hūō-hu*: two (in serial counting)  
 166. *huohu* : breaking of wave (as in surf)  
     *maw huohu* : surf, waves crashing on shore  
 167. *hut*: shore tree with four-cornered fruit that is poisonous: *Barringtonia asiatica*  
 168. *hūtuan* : beginning, origin  
 169. *hux*: island  
     *hux la-lap* : a big island

/i/

170. *i*<sub>-1</sub> : genitive marker, of  
     *kan i pul* : tears (‘water of eyes’)  
     *pul i xixi* : callus (‘eye of fish’)  
     *tis i ul* : breadfruit sap (‘sap of breadfruit’)  
     *tis i up* : coconut cream (‘cream of coconut’)  
 171. *i*<sub>-2</sub> : 3SG subject/object, he/she  
 172. *i*<sub>-3</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *polu-n*, or sentence 26)  
 173. *ia* : where (in questions)  
 174. *ie* : this; here  
 175. *ih* : exclamation of disapproval or disgust  
 176. *ikoik*<sub>-1</sub> : coconut grater (probably = shell of following)  
 177. *ikoik*<sub>-2</sub> : mussel sp.  
 178. *ilam* : deep sea, ocean  
 179. *imat* : first (probably connected with *mata* ‘front, facing part’)  
 180. *inah* : spear  
 181. *ij* : house, shelter  
     *ij i manexux* : bird’s nest (‘house of bird’)  
 182. *iponj* : night  
 183. *itih-i* : to caulk, seal cracks (as in a boat)

/k/

184. *-k* : 1SG possessor, my  
 185. *ka*<sub>-1</sub> : to drive fish into a fish corral  
 186. *ka*<sub>-2</sub> : leaf

- ka i api* : sago leaf thatch (for roof)  
*ka i lah* : betel leaf  
*ka i xin* : croton, dracaena
187. *ka*<sub>-3</sub> : red spiny starfish, probably Crown-of thorns starfish
188. *kah* : lionfish
189. *kah-i* : to carry a person on the back
190. *kahit-i* : to follow someone
191. *kahu-i* : to buy something
192. *kahuiwa* : to retaliate, do in return, take revenge
193. *kaisalaŋaw* (/kaisalaŋawa/) : buttocks, *kaisalaŋawa-k*, *kaisalaŋawa-m*, *kaisalaŋawa-n*
194. *kak*<sub>-1</sub> : to say, tell, speak  
*i ka-kak* ‘S/he is talking’
195. *kak*<sub>-2</sub> : to surface, come up for air, as a whale or man
196. *kaka* : blood, *kaka au-k*, *kaka u-m*, *kaka au-n*  
*kaka-n* ‘red’ (= ‘color of blood’)
197. *kakan*<sub>-1</sub> : comb of a fowl (probably = /kaka-n/)
198. *kakatop* : fishnet float
199. /kakawi/  
*ha-kakawi* : to bend, as an iron bar  
*kakawi-n* : crooked
200. *kalal* : common sea grass
201. *kalamaw* : left hand, left side
202. *kalixa* : pregnant
203. *kaloh* : bailer in a canoe
204. *kaluŋa* : to capsize, of a boat
205. *kaluta* : to stray, get lost
206. *kame-i* : to ask a question, inquire
207. *kan*: water, liquid  
*kan i pul* : tears  
*kan i sus* : breast milk  
*kan i tax* : sea water, saltwater
208. *kanakan* : moss, algae
209. *kanat* : small yellow mullet with black spots on side; it reaches only 20 to 25 centimeters in length
210. *kapapar* : ginger (TP)
211. *kapit* : steering paddle, rudder of a canoe
212. *katu* : scar
213. *kau* : to carry  
*kau-ma* : to bring  
*kau-wa* : to take  
*kau hakeakea* : to carry on a pole between two men  
*ka-kau* : to gather, collect; to carry  
*ka-kau salo* : to collect firewood; to carry firewood
214. *kaup* : rafter in a house
215. *kaw* (/kawã/) : face, forehead, *kawã-k*, *kawã-m*, *kawã-n*
216. *kawã* : a large puffer fish with small thorns on skin

217. *kawakaw* : bamboo  
 218. *kawatan*: heavy  
 219. *kawiw*: hermit crab  
 220. *kax* : starfish  
 221. *kaxiwa* : to inform, give the news  
 222. *kaxuk* : to sink, submerge, disappear under water  
 223. *kayah* : tree with wood used to make the traditional fireplow  
 224. *ke* : fruit bat, flying fox  
 225. *keihat* : hawk, eagle  
 226. *keit-i* : to close  
 227. *kekean* : hot, as food or the sun  
 228. *kemak* : (here?; cf. *nahi*.<sub>1</sub>)  
 229. *kewak* : place?  
 230. *kexuk* : kind of white bird that flies very high  
 231. *kiekin* : well-formed coconut with meat ready to eat  
 232. *kikan* : to bathe, take a bath  
 233. *kilakilan* : thick, as a plank  
 234. *kilan* : much, many  
 235. *kiliwaw* : to run; to travel  
 236. *kin* (/kine/) : garden, *kine-k*, *kine-m*, *kine-n*  
 237. *kinaw* (/kinawe/) : neck, *kinawe-k*, *kinawe-m*, *kinawe-n*  
 238. *kinax* : voice  
 239. *kioki* : kind of bird, the kingfisher  
 240. *-ko* : limited plural marker with pronouns  
 241. *kohan* : spoiled, rotten, of meat, fish, or vegetables  
 242. *kohot* : star  
 243. *koki* : cockatoo; green, the color of the small cockatoo (TP)  
 244. *kol* : small (cf. *taja*)  
     *ko-kol* : small  
 245. *kola* : to point at, indicate  
 246. *koloh* (/kolohe/) : tail fin, *kolohe-n*  
 247. *konokon* : prow and stern of a canoe  
 248. *kosenan* : quick, fast  
 249. *kot-i* : to cut something on purpose, as wood; to fell trees  
 250. *kow* : sea cucumber, sea squirt  
 251. *kox* : to cram things into an overfilled container  
 252. *koxa* : cuscus, opossum  
 253. *koxak* : kind of small seaweed, about 10 to 12 centimeters long, with curled brown leaves  
 254. *ku* (/kui/) : bone (other than fish bone), *kui-k*, *kui-m*, *kui-n*  
     *ku i pop*: rib ('bone of side'), *ku i popo-k*, *ku i popo-m*, *ku i popo-n*  
 255. *kue* : long (of time)  
     *kue-wen* : old (from earlier times)  
 256. *kuhuh* : thunder  
 257. *kuhukuh* : elephant ear taro: *Alocasia macrorrhiza*  
 258. *kuku* : post, pillar  
     *kuku i ij* : housepost

259. *kukunan* : short in length or height  
 260. *kum* : negative imperative, vetative, don't!; can't, unable to  
*kum to-to ien* 'Don't sit down over there!'  
*kum tu-tu* 'Don't stand up!'  
 261. *kun* : kind of flat coconut leaf basket used to carry small things  
 262. *kux* : gray hair

/l/

263. *la* : what (in questions)  
 264. *lah* : areca palm  
 265. *lahan* : (gloss uncertain; cf. sentence 32)  
 266. *lal* : Trochus shell  
 267. *lamin* : tornado at sea, black funnel of wind, waterspout  
 268. *lan*<sub>-1</sub> : housefly  
 269. *lan*<sub>-2</sub> (/lan/) : to sail a canoe, go sailing  
*lan-a-wen* : went sailing  
*lan-a-lan* : sailing  
 270. *lanu* : grouper, giant rock cod, an all-white fish that grows up to 180 centimeters in length  
 271. *lap* : 'big' (cf. *tan*)  
*la-lap*: big, of things  
 272. *lapitin-i* : to pinch  
 273. *las* : coral limestone  
 274. *laut-i* : to lift something  
 275. *leh* (/leho/) : tongue, *leho-k*, *leho-m*, *leho-n*  
 276. *leihok* : shallow green sea in the lagoon  
 277. *leili* : inside  
 278. *lekalek* : nauseated, to feel like vomiting  
 279. *lelen* : dorsal fin  
 280. *lejelej* : to fight, of animals  
 281. *lep* : kind of net worked by two men with sticks  
 282. *letu* : morning; tomorrow  
*ti-letu* : this morning  
 283. *-li* : dual marker with pronouns  
 284. *li*: sail of a canoe  
 285. *lialun* : bad  
 286. *lil* : louse (both head louse and clothes louse)  
 287. *liliew* : fig tree, banyan  
 288. *lio-i* : to throw something away; to lose (as possessions)  
 289. *loh* (/lohu/) : friend, companion, *lohu-k*, *lohu-m*, *lohu-n*  
 290. *lok* (/loku/) : knuckle, joint, node; *loku-k*, *loku-m*, *loku-n*  
*lok i ae-* : knee, *lok i ae-k*, *lok i ae-m*, *lok i ae-n*  
*lok i min* : knuckle of hand  
*loku-n* : node in bamboo, sugarcane, etc.  
 291. *lok*<sub>-1</sub> : curved, as a shoreline  
 292. *lok*<sub>-2</sub> : when (in questions)

293. *lola* : rollers for banking canoe (TP)  
 294. *lolo* : dirty  
 295. *loloen* : descending, setting, of sun or moon  
 296. *loloma* : crocodile  
 297. *-lu*: dual marker with pronouns  
 298. *lu-i* : to burn something  
 299. *lul* : torch, used at night  
 300. *lum-i* : to roll up something, as a mat  
 301. *lut* : tongs for picking up something hot

/m/

302. *-m* : 2SG possessor, your  
 303. *ma-1* : and  
 304. *ma-2* : flying fish  
 305. *-ma-3* : venitive suffix  
 306. *maelu* : thin, of materials  
 307. *mahah* : clam  
     *mahah wanen* : sand clam ('true clam')  
 308. *mahaten* : largest shark, growing up to between nine and twelve meters in length, probably whale shark  
 309. *mahu* : growth stage of coconut when it is about the size of a golf ball  
 310. *makalokalon* : bald  
 311. *makan* : ripe  
 312. *makana* : anus  
 313. *makian* : cold, of food, or the weather  
 314. *mal* (/mali/) : to laugh, smile  
     *mali-mal* : to be laughing, smiling  
     *mali-wen* : laughed, smiled  
 315. *maloh* : kind of reef clam  
 316. *malun*: cooked  
 317. *mama* : mother (vocative)  
     *mama nahi-ma* 'Mother, come!'  
 318. *mamahua* : about to heal (of a wound)  
 319. *mamalawin* : cleared ground in village  
 320. *mamana* : a large unicorn fish, which grows to about 90 centimeters in length  
 321. *mamanahan* : wide  
 322. *mamata* : to fear, be afraid  
 323. *mamatit* : breaking of wave, as in surf  
     *maw mamatit* : breaking wave  
 324. *man-1* : banana  
 325. *man-2* : a black and white spotted stingray  
 326. *manaw* : right hand, right side  
 327. *manexux* : bird  
 328. *manukan* : raw, uncooked  
 329. *manuman* : to drift on or be carried off by a current

330. *mapu* (/mapua/) : drops of water; sweat, dew, *mapua-k*, *mapua-m*, *mapua-n*  
*mapua-n* : sweaty, dewy
331. *masaŋ* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *hon*)
332. *masiap* : rubbish, garbage
333. *mat*<sub>1</sub> (/mate/) : dead; calm, still (of the sea)  
*i mate-n* ‘S/he is dying’  
*i mate-wen* ‘S/he is dead’  
*kan i tax mate-n* ‘The sea is calm, deadly still’
334. *mat*<sub>2</sub> : tide
335. *mata* : front, facing part  
*mata-n*: lid/cover (‘eye’)  
*mate* : front (= *mata i*)
336. *mati* : to sleep, be asleep
337. *maun* : sky; cloud
338. *maunten* : mountain (TP)
339. *maw*<sub>1</sub> : wave, breaker; cf. *huohu*, *mamatit*
340. *maw*<sub>2</sub> : a yawn, to yawn
341. *max* : a black fish about 45 centimeters long, with knife-like projection near tail, probably surgeonfish
342. *maxayan* : bad-tasting
343. *maxix* : small sardine with a large head and eyes that swims near the surface
344. *maya*<sub>1</sub> : laplap, men’s sarong
345. *maya*<sub>2</sub> : papaya
346. *meil-i* : to reach (a place) by moving
347. *mej* : story
348. *metaok* : a smallish all-white grouper that grows to about 60 to 75 centimeters in length
349. *mimi* : urine  
*mimi-mim* : to urinate, be urinating
350. *min* (/mina/) : hand, *mina-k*, *mina-m*, *mina-n*
351. *minuminun* : thorn (= ‘thorny’?)
352. *moih* : to live, be alive  
*moih-in*: living, alive
353. *moloan* : painful
354. *mom* : chicken, domestic fowl
355. *mon* : dugout canoe without outrigger, used mostly by small boys
356. *mos* : to descend, as a ladder; to land, come ashore, as a boat
357. *moxin*: common shore tree with needles and small cones: *Casuarina equisetifolia*
358. *muna* : to hide  
*mu-muna* : to hide oneself  
*ŋa mu-muna* ‘I’m hiding’  
*mun-eni* : to hide something’  
*ŋa mun-eni pen* ‘I’m hiding a pen’
359. *mut* : vomit, vomitus  
*mutumut* : to vomit, be vomiting

/n/

360. -n : 3SG possessor, his/her  
 361. -na (gloss uncertain; cf. *to-2*)  
 362. *nahi-1* : to walk, go  
     *nahi tele-tel* : to hunt, go hunting ('go killing')  
     *nahi-kemak* 'Come here!'  
     *nahi-ma* : to come; 'Come here!' (= 'walk here')  
 363. *nahi-2* : to work  
     *na-nahi* : to be working  
 364. *nake* : why?; because  
 365. *naket-i*: to lick  
 366. *nalat* : stinging nettle: *Laportea* sp.  
 367. *nam* : mosquito  
 368. *nameah* : deep lagoon without a passage  
 369. *namihin-i* : to taste, test, try something  
 370. *namilo-i* : to think about s.t.  
 371. *nan* : pus, purulent matter in wound  
     *na-nan* : pus, purulent matter in wound  
     *nan e pul* : sleep in eye (/nana i pul/ = 'pus of the eye')  
 372. *nat-1* : child, offspring, *natu-k*, *natu-m*, *natu-n*  
 373. *nat-2* : knot (TP)  
     *nat-i* : to tie a knot  
     *nat-i-wa* 'Tie the knot!'  
 374. *nat-3* : latex-yielding tree with apple-like fruit, probably *Palaquium* spp.  
 375. *naw* : tall tree with yellow wood used to make canoes; obtained from floating logs in the sea  
 376. *nawal* : ember, glowing coal  
 377. *naxun* : wounded  
     *mina-k naxun* 'My hand is wounded'  
 378. *nemaux* : jungle, bush  
 379. *niap* : multi-pronged fish spear  
 380. *nini* : honeybee  
 381. *ninin* : to crawl on hands and knees  
 382. *ninu* : white cowrie, probably egg cowrie  
 383. *nipew* : kind of reddish-black bush crab  
 384. *nis* (/nisu/) : tooth, *nisu-k*, *nisu-m*, *nisu-n*  
 385. *noh* : stonefish  
 386. *nono-i* : to collect, as firewood  
     *i nono-i salo* 'She is collecting firewood'  
 387. *nu* : to dive, submerge  
 388. *nuan* : low tide, ebb tide  
 389. *nuh-i* : to wash (clothes, dishes, hands, face)  
 390. *nunu* : to swim; to float  
 391. *nunup* : the largest kind of grouper, ranging from two to three meters in length  
 392. *nus* : small shellless squid  
 393. *nuxan* : lazy



/ŋ/

394. *ŋa* : 1SG subject/object; I, me  
 395. *ŋain* : day  
 396. *ŋaŋaŋ* : feces  
 397. *ŋax* (/ŋaxo/) : finger, *ŋaxo-k*, *ŋaxo-m*, *ŋaxo-n*  
     *ŋax e mina-k* : finger of my hand  
 398. *ŋol* : knife  
     *ŋol apuŋ* : axe or adze  
     *ŋol pole* : bush knife  
 399. *ŋoŋ* : to fly  
     *ŋo-ŋoŋ* : to be flying

/o/

400. *o* : 2SG subject/object; you  
 401. *oah* : fog, mist  
 402. *oh* : unable to fit, as dog trying to wriggle through a hole, or man trying to put on a shirt that is too small  
 403. *oha* : *shark* (generic)  
 404. *ohĩ* : bait for fishing  
 405. *ok* : kind of narrow-leafed pandanus  
 406. *ol*<sub>1</sub> (/ola/) : grandfather/grandchild, *ola-k*, *ola-m*, *ola-n*  
 407. *ol*<sub>2</sub> (/ole/) : feather, *ole-n*  
 408. *olawik* : kind of white bird that flies low  
 409. *omiomin* : narrow, as a road  
 410. *otoh-i* : to break, as a stick  
 411. *oxe* : small tuna variety that grows to 45 to 60 centimeters in length

/p/

412. *paha* : desire, thing desired, *paha-k*, *paha-m*, *paha-n*  
 413. *pahat* : coconut husk; fibers  
 414. *paheha* : black sea bird with a straight beak, similar to *paxak*, but smaller  
 415. *pahēhĩn* : a narrow-bodied grouper ranging from 90 to 140 centimeters in length  
 416. *pahōa* : grass, including *kunai* grass: *Imperata cylindrica*  
 417. *pahon* : the handle of an axe or adze  
 418. *pak* : to sing, song  
     *paku-pak* : to be singing  
 419. *pakalat* : gecko, house lizard  
 420. *pakapak* : shrimp  
 421. *pakapakan* : skin disease, fungus that leaves blotchy light patches on the skin, probably  
     *Tinea versicolor*  
 422. *pakat-i* : to stick, adhere to something  
 423. *pal* : pigeon, dove (generic)  
 424. *palawa* : flower (TP)

425. *palay* : few  
 426. *palepal* : to float, be bobbing on the water  
 427. *paliah* : leeward side of an island, where the surf is calm  
 428. *palonj* (/palonja/) : ashes  
     *palonj e ah* : ashes of a fire (= /palonja i ah/)  
 429. *panim* : a group of five  
     *te-panim* : five  
     *hũd-panim* : ten ('two groups of five')  
 430. *paŋapaŋ* : moon, month  
 431. *paon* : sweet  
 432. *pap* : to swim  
 433. *papa* : father (vocative)  
 434. *papahõi* : direction?  
 435. *papaw* : oars for rowing a boat  
 436. *papaxaxun* : white  
 437. *parai* : to fry (TP)  
 438. *pat* (/patu/) : head, *patu-k*, *patu-m*, *patu-n*  
 439. *pata* : living tree, wood; log  
     *pata mate-n* dead wood  
 440. *patahul* : single-pronged fish spear  
 441. *patanaw* (/patanawa/) : chest (anat.), *patanawa-k*, *patanawa-m*, *patanawa-n*  
 442. *pate* : very, really (extreme quality of something)  
 443. *patei* : group of one hundred?  
     *patei tel* : 100  
 444. *patiw* : plank, board  
 445. *patul* : above, on top of  
 446. *patuxaw* : reddish-black bush crab similar to the mangrove crab  
 447. *pau-n* : wing, lateral fin of a fish  
 448. *paun* : half section of something?  
     *te-paun* : one half  
 449. *paupaun* : light in weight  
 450. *pax* : brace that runs along the top of the connecting sticks for an outrigger  
 451. *paxa-i* : to see, look at  
     *pa-paxa-i* : to be looking, staring at  
 452. *paxak* : large black sea bird with a straight beak  
 453. *paxaŋonj* : to dream, talk in one's sleep  
 454. *paxapax* : small biting fly on beach, probably sandfly  
 455. *paxepaxen* : dry; to dry-up  
 456. *paxi* : ghost, spirit of the dead  
 457. *pehe* : branch  
     *pehe pata* (= *pehe i pata?*) : branch of a tree  
 458. *pekeun* : earth, ground, sand  
 459. *pelaw* : shell, cover (?)  
     *pelaw i hon* : turtle shell  
 460. *peluh* : tall tree with white wood used to make canoes  
 461. *pepelen* : cape, extreme point of an island

462. *pepenahun* : ocular cataract; dim vision  
 463. *pepepe* : to defecate  
 464. *pes* : to break wind, fart  
 465. *peteta* : sweet potato (TP)  
 466. *pexopexo* : blinking  
       *ha-pexopexo* ‘to wink/blink’  
 467. *pexuh* : shore, beach  
 468. *piakus* : a green and yellow hummingbird  
 469. *pilehen-i* : to twist or twine, as fibers or rope  
 470. *pilipil* : tiger shark  
 471. *pilupilun* : spotted, as the fur, feathers, or skin of an animal  
 472. *piŋole* : to have a high-pitched voice  
 473. *pisa* : mangrove tree  
 474. *po*<sub>-1</sub> : future marker, later  
 475. *po*<sub>-2</sub> : large carrying/storage basket, coconut-leaf basket  
       *po i ahe* : a 5-6 foot long basket carried alongside a canoe to keep bait when fishing  
 476. *pok* : foam  
 477. *pole* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ŋol*)  
 478. *polu-* : black  
       *polu-n* : black  
       *ko-kol e polu i hat* ‘a small black stone’  
 479. *pom* : kind of green seaweed traditionally used to paint canoes a greenish-white hue  
 480. *ponapon* : swampy place  
 481. *pop* (/popo/) : side (of body; cf. *ku*), *popo-k*, *popo-m*, *popo-n*  
 482. *potopoton* : fat, corpulent, obese  
       *i potopoton* ‘S/he is fat’  
 483. *poun*<sub>-1</sub> : green coconut (meat not yet formed)  
 484. *poun*<sub>-2</sub> : smell, odor  
       *poun kohan* : stench (‘rotten smell’)  
       *poun lialun* : stench (‘bad smell’)  
 485. *pow* : pig  
 486. *puh* : bubbles  
 487. *puh̄sis* : back of the head, *puh̄sis au-k*, *puh̄sis au-m*, *puh̄sis au-n*  
 488. *puh̄* (/puh̄a/) : intestines, *puh̄a-k*, *puh̄a-m*, *puh̄a-n*  
 489. *puh̄ian* : core of a tree, heartwood  
 490. *puhuŋ* : behind, in back of  
 491. *puke* (/pukea/) : to spit; sputum, *pukea-k*, *pukea-m*, *pukea-n*  
       *puke-puk* : to keep spitting, spit repeatedly  
 492. *pul* (/pula/) : eye, *pula-k*, *pula-m*, *pula-n*  
       *pula xa* : blind  
       *pul i xixi* : callus (lit. ‘fish eye’)  
 493. *pula-i* : to mend, repair something  
 494. *pulil* : spider  
       *ij i pulil* : spider web (‘house of spider’)  
 495. /pulohin/ : to say, tell  
       *pulohin-i-wa* ‘Say it!’

496. *pulu* : a small to medium-size puffer fish with small thorns on skin  
 497. *pun* : kind of flat white fish that lives in deep water beyond the reef  
 498. *puoul*: termite, white ant  
 499. *pup* : edible reef fish with one large dorsal spine, and several smaller ones by the tail  
 500. *puputa*: false, lie  
 501. *pusoan*: tired, fatigued  
 502. *put* (/puto/) : navel, *puto-k*, *puto-m*, *puto-n*  
 503. /puta/ : to fall from a height  
     *ha-puta* : to drop, throw down  
     *puta-put* : falling from a height  
     *puta-wen* : having already fallen  
 504. *puxux* : clothing (modern)

/s/

505. *sa* : greenish fish with white belly and projecting lower jaw, similar to the *sekun*, but about twice the length, probably a type of needlefish  
 506. *sahawa* : sea urchin  
 507. *sal* : road, path (cf. *aw*<sub>1</sub>)  
 508. *salaimat* : old, of people or animals  
 509. *salan* : correct, true  
 510. *salek* : clay cooking pot  
     *salek-i* : to boil in a cooking pot  
 511. *salili* : to leave, depart  
     *salili-wen* : left, departed  
 512. *salo* : wood  
     *salo i ah* : firewood ('wood of fire')  
 513. *samen* : pronged fish spear (general)  
 514. /saŋa/ : bifurcation  
     *saŋa-i*: to split  
     *saŋasaŋ*: twin; fruit that is joined together (as fused bananas)  
     *saŋasaŋa-n*: fork of a branch; crotch; space between fingers  
 515. *sapalikan* : placenta, afterbirth  
 516. *sapoxen* : coconut inflorescence  
 517. *sasasale* : about to rise, of the sun or moon  
 518. *sawisawin* : smooth, level, straight  
 519. /sawit/ : needle; to sew  
     *sa-sawit* : needle  
     *sawit-i* : to sew  
     *sawit-i-wa* 'Sew it!'  
 520. *saxe* : wall  
     *saxe in* : house wall (probably /saxa i in/)  
 521. *se-i* : to divide something  
 522. *seilon* : person, human being  
     *seilon tel* : twenty ('one person' = all digits)  
 523. *sein-i* : to plant

524. *seini* : to jerk back, as when surprised; startled  
 525. *sekun* : green fish about 45 centimeters long, with a projecting lower jaw, probably needlefish  
 526. *sil* : sticks that run along the top and bottom of the sail, connecting them to the mast  
 527. *silal* : malevolent bush spirit with visible human-like body  
 528. *silisil* : kind of tuna with yellowish stripe on sides; it grows to 75 to 90 centimeters  
 529. *sim-i* : to wrap fish or meat in leaves and put on the fire to roast  
 530. *sinea* : noose trap, snare trap  
 531. *sinen* : dog  
 532. *sinu* : kind of broad-leafed pandanus  
 533. *siñilen* : pandanus rain cape, traditional raincoat  
 534. *siota* : to capsize, go under water, of a boat  
 535. *siwisiw* : kind of black hummingbird  
 536. *soh* : to enter  
 537. *sohōt* : to appear  
 538. *sohut-i* : to weed a garden, pluck, pull out weeds  
 539. *sok* (/soke/) : body hair, *soke-k*, *soke-m*, *soke-n*  
     *soke axe-k* ‘my beard’ (‘hair of my chin, jaw’; = *soke i axe-k*?)  
     *soke mina-k* ‘my arm hair’  
 540. *soleah* : marlin, swordfish  
 541. *solian* : good  
 542. *solisol* : tidal wave, tsunami  
 543. *somun* : high tide  
 544. *soso* : small white-shelled reef clam  
 545. *sousa* : canoe platform  
 546. *su* : coconut flower spathe  
 547. *suhusuh* : conch, triton  
 548. *suisuin-i* : to bark at s.o.  
 549. *suiwāwāw* : giant squid with shell  
 550. *sulin-i* : to push something  
     *su-sulin-i* : to be pushing something  
 551. *suolew* : a large mullet growing up to 180 centimeters in length, and running in large schools  
 552. *sup* : pearl oyster  
 553. *supulan* : taro sucker  
 554. *sus* (/susu/) : female breast, *susu-k*, *susu-m*, *susu-n*  
     *susu-i* : to suck at the breast, to nurse  
 555. *sutu* : deaf, mute

/t/

556. *ta* : reciprocal marker  
 557. *tah* (/taha/) : belt; *taha-k*, *taha-m*, *taha-n*  
 558. *taha-i* : to cut something accidentally  
 559. *tahatahan* : tattoo  
 560. *tahīw-i* : to dig (as in planting crops; not much used by young people in 1975)

561. *tahulo* : deep  
*tahulo-an* : deep
562. *tahun-i* : to smoke food for preservation, as fish or meat  
*tahun-i xixi*: to smoke fish
563. *ta-i*<sub>1</sub> : to draw, write
564. *ta-i*<sub>2</sub> : to husk coconuts
565. *takah* : to be born
566. *tal* : rope, string
567. *talesi* : to be wrong, in error
568. *talil* : a shore tree with edible nut: *Terminalia catappa*
569. *taliop* (/taliopa/) : cheek, *taliopa-k*, *taliopa-m*, *taliopa-n*
570. *talo*<sub>1</sub> : to send someone on an errand
571. *talo*<sub>2</sub> : an invisible spirit thought to reside in big trees such as the banyan
572. *talolo* : thin, of people or animals, skinny
573. *talom-i*: to make or build something
574. *taloyan* : quick, fast
575. *tam* (/tama/) : father, *tama-k*, *tama-m*, *tama-n*
576. *tanenan* : calm, still, of water  
*kan i tax tanenan* ‘The sea is calm’
577. *tanih* : largest kind of sardine, *Sardinella* spp.
578. *tanihinih* : a fish, the Spanish mackerel
579. *taŋ* (/taŋi/) : to weep, cry  
*ha-taŋ-i* : to make someone cry, force someone to tears  
*taŋi-taŋ*: weeping, crying
580. *taŋa* : finger  
*taŋa lap* : thumb (‘big finger’)  
*taŋa kol* : little finger, pinky
581. *taoh* : sleeping mat
582. *tap* : no, not
583. *tapah-ĩ* : to slap
584. *tapan* : enough
585. *tapeinan* : last
586. *tapo* : finish  
*tapo-wen* : finished
587. *tapuh-ĩ* : to stab
588. *taputu-i* : to hit with the fist, punch
589. *tas* : a cough, to cough
590. *tasim-i* : to sharpen bamboo, etc., cutting it to a fine point
591. *tasutas* : runny nasal mucus, snot
592. *taun* : windward side of an island, side where the sea breaks
593. *tawisaeen* : morning star/evening star, Venus (also recorded as *toisaeen*)
594. *tax* (/taxi/) : sea  
*kan i tax* : saltwater  
*taxi-an* : salty
595. *taxiŋ* (/taxiŋa/) : ear, *taxiŋa-k*, *taxiŋa-m*, *taxiŋa-n*  
*taxiŋ i paxi*: mushroom (‘ghost ear’)

596. *taxitaxia* : mad, insane  
 597. *taxix* : to drown  
 598. *te-* : clitic form of ‘one’ (cf. *panim*)  
     *te-hu* : one (in serial counting, and in counting houses and possibly some other objects)  
     *te-ka* : one bunch  
     *te-tea* : this one(?)  
 599. *-te* : limited plural marker with pronouns  
 600. *tehīt* (/tehīto/) : back (anat.), *tehīto-k*, *tehīto-m*, *tehīto-n*  
 601. *tel*<sub>1</sub> : one (in expressing the unity of higher numeral groups, as ‘twenty’ or ‘hundred’)  
 602. *tel*<sub>2</sub> : (/tele/) : kill  
     *tele-i* : to kill something; to crush lice between the fingernails  
     *tele-i-wa* ‘Kill it!’  
     *tele-tel* : to be killing  
 603. *tejen-i* : to catch something  
 604. *teta-* : marker of emphatic possession  
 607. *tī*<sub>1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; this, referring to time?; cf. *letu*)  
 605. *tī*<sub>2</sub> : a yellow and white barbelled fish, about 30 centimeters long  
 606. *tī*<sub>3</sub> (/tia/) : abdomen, belly, *tia-k*, *tia-m*, *tia-n*  
 608. *tihah* : yesterday  
 609. *tih-ĩ* : to pour something out  
 610. *tihin-i* : to bury  
 611. *tike* : to catch (as fish)  
 612. *tilo-i* : to hail, call to someone  
 613. *tilokoan* : dark  
 614. *tīn*<sub>1</sub> (/tina/) : mother, *tina-k*, *tina-m*, *tina-n*  
 615. *tīn*<sub>2</sub> (/tinu/) : body, *tinu-k*, *tinu-m*, *tinu-n*  
 616. *tinun* : feverish, sick with fever  
 617. *tioi* : to know things, be expert; to recognize  
 618. *tioi* : kind of barbelled fish that grows to 120 or 150 centimeters in length, probably goatfish  
 619. *tis* : viscous fluid (?)  
     *tis i ul* : breadfruit sap  
     *tis i up* : coconut cream  
 620. *tiw* : sideboard in the mid-section of a canoe (midway between the prow and stern)  
 621. *tiwāxa* : giant black eel, said to be as large as a coconut tree  
 622. *tixiŋa* : to spill  
 623. *to*<sub>1</sub> : ironwood tree: *Intsia bijuga*  
 624. *to*<sub>2</sub> : to sit down  
     *ha-to-na* : to make someone sit down  
     *to-wa* : ‘Sit down’ (imper.)  
     *to-to* : to be sitting, seated; to reside in a place  
     *ŋa to-to Awin* ‘I live in Awin village’  
 625. *-to* : limited plural marker with pronouns  
 626. *toan* : village  
 627. *tohēa* : to turn (the head)  
 628. *tohen-i* : to turn (the whole body)

629. *to-i*: to throw something  
*to-to-i*: to be throwing  
*to-i-wa* ‘Throw it!’ (imper.)
630. *tola*: north wind
631. *tolom-i*: to swallow
632. *tolu*: three (base form)  
*tolu-hu*: three (in serial counting, counting houses, and possibly some other objects)
633. *tone*: place, location  
*tone hunaya-i an*: hearth (‘place cook food’)
634. *top*: a tree with light wood used for fishnet floats; it is obtained from logs that wash ashore
635. *tope*: (gloss uncertain)  
*tope ae-*: thigh, *tope ae-k*, *tope ae-m*, *tope ae-n*
636. *topiw*: sugarcane
637. *toton*: brace for the connecting sticks attaching the outrigger to the canoe
638. *toun*: convexly curved stretch of shoreline
639. *tox*: kind of grayish-black mud found on floating logs that can be hardened in the sun and used to sharpen knives
640. *tu-1*: to stand up  
*ha-tu-hi~*: to make someone stand up  
*tu-wa* ‘Stand up!’ (imper.)  
*tu-tu*: to be standing  
*i tu-tu* ‘S/he is standing’
641. *tu-2* (/tua/): sister, *tua-k*, *tua-m*, *tua-n*  
*tua- hapu*: older sister  
*tua- ko-kol*: younger sister
642. *tuep*: areca nut, betel nut  
*pate tuep*: areca palm (= pata i tuep)
643. *tum*: end, tip  
*tum i aw*: lip, *tum i awa-k*, *tum i awa-m*, *tum i awa-n*  
*tum i sus*: nipple of the breast
644. *tumuku*: dull, of a point or blade
645. *tun*: eel that reaches a meter or more in length, with red ear-like appendages
646. *tuxe*: to gut a fish

/u/

647. *uh*: lobster
648. *uh-i*: blow on the fire
649. *uhō* (gloss unclear)  
*uhō i kin*: fallow land, garden left to replant later
650. *uk-1* (/uke/): shell  
*uke-n*: shell (of shellfish, coconut, etc)  
*uk i wap*: lime gourd
651. *uk-2* (/uku/): head hair, *uku-k*, *uku-m*, *uku-n*
652. *ukal* (/ukala/): brother, *ukala-k*, *ukala-m*, *ukala-n*  
*ukala hapu* ‘older brother’, *ukala ko-kol* ‘younger brother’



- ukal e tina-* : ‘mother’s brother, uncle’ (= /ukala i tina-/)
653. *ul*<sub>-1</sub> : breadfruit
654. *ul*<sub>-2</sub> : maggot, caterpillar
655. *uli*<sub>-1</sub> : early  
*uli letu* : morning
656. /uli/<sub>-2</sub> : skin, *uli-k*, *uli-m*, *uli-n*  
*uli pata* : tree bark (= /uli i pata/)  
*uli pow* : pig skin (= /uli i pow/)  
*uli tia-* : abdomen, *uli tia-k*, *uli tia-m*, *uli tia-n* (= /uli i tia/)  
*uli tin* : body, *uli tinu-k* my body, *uli tinu-m*, *uli tinu-n* (= /uli i tinu/)
657. *uliul*<sub>-1</sub> : side boards at the front and back ends of a canoe
658. *uliul*<sub>-2</sub> : a unicorn fish with a long toxic projection --- grows to about 60 centimeters in length
659. *uluh-i* : to shave
660. *ululuŋ* (/ululuŋa/) : to rest the head; pillow, wooden headrest (made from *top* wood),  
*ululuŋa-k*, *ululuŋa-m*, *ululuŋa-n*
661. *ulut-i* : to peel yams
662. *um* : earth oven
663. *un* : to drink  
*unu-un* : to be drinking  
*unuma-k* (*unu-ma-k?*) : my thing to drink
664. *unun* : kind of large puffer fish with strong thorns on skin --- good to eat
665. *uŋ* (/uŋa/) : fish scales, *uŋa-n* : its scales
666. *uŋouŋ* : black ant
667. *up* : coconut, *up au-k*, *up au-m*, *up au-n* (general possession), *teta-k up* : my coconut (not yours)  
*pate up*: coconut tree (= /pata i up/)  
*up polun* : dry coconut (‘black coconut’)
668. *upat-i* : to untie
669. *upa-up* : to flap the wings, of a bird about to fly
670. *upen* : casting net
671. *upia* : to search, seek; to delouse; to find
672. *upup* : kind of stingray with blunt thorns running down the spine
673. *usil* : lightning
674. *usuh* : rat
675. *ut* (/uti/) : penis, *uti-k*, *uti-m*, *uti-n*
676. *utuh-i* : to fetch water, submerge a vessel to fill it with water
677. *utuut* : corner
678. *uxa* : to chew, as sugarcane; marker of foods to chew
679. *uxan-i* : to load, as cargo on a boat
680. *uxeŋan* : itchy
681. *uxi* : dolphin

/w/

682. *-wa*<sub>-1</sub> : allative suffix

683. *-wa-2* : imperative suffix (sometimes indistinguishable from *-wa-1*)  
*hoŋo-wa* ‘Listen!’  
*to-wa ien* ‘Sit down over there!’
684. *wa-3* : outrigger canoe, boat
685. *wa-4* (/wao/) : spine, vertebral column, *wao-k*, *wao-m*, *wao-n*
686. *wa-5* (/wao/) : vein, tendon, *wao-k*, *wao-m*, *wao-n*  
 NOTE: Possibly the same entry as *wa-4*.
687. *wah* : thick-bodied brown grouper which reaches a length of about a meter
688. /*wahā*/ : root, *wahā-n*  
*wah ē ka i lah*: betel pepper (= /*wahā i ka i lah*/)  
*wah ē pahōa* : root of sword grass (*Imperata cylindrica*)  
*wah ē pata* : taproot
689. /*wahe*/ : shoulder, *wahe-k*, *wahe-m*, *wahe-n*
690. *wahen-i* : to want, desire something
691. *waiwaw* : fishhook
692. *wakiakin* : soft
693. *wako* : small white grouper with a little blue on the back; grows to about 60 centimeters in length
694. *wakot-i* : to cut grass
695. *waku* (/wakue/) : seed; testicles, *wakue-k*, *wakue-m*, *wakue-n*  
*wakue-n*: its seed; his testicles  
*waku i pata* seed of a tree
696. *wal* : hole (in the ground)
697. *walal* : small white barbelled fish with black spots on skin
698. *walut* : kind of large dove with dark blue and green feathers
699. *wāluwāl* : boil, abscess
700. *wanen* : true, real, genuine
701. *waniŋian* : sour
702. *wap* : lime, calcium carbonate
703. *wasol* : channel, passage through the reef
704. *wasuini* : to blow the nose
705. *wāt-1* : earthworm
706. *wat-2* : monitor lizard, *Varanus* spp.
707. *wāt-3*: a sneeze, to sneeze  
*wātu-wāt* : to be sneezing (repeatedly)
708. *watilan* : rotten, crumbling, of wood
709. *wauh* : giant clam, *Tridacna* sp.
710. *waun* (/waunu/) : spider web, *waunu-n*  
*waun i pulil* : spider web
711. *wawan-1* : hole (in a canoe)
712. *wawan-2* : man (male)
713. *wax* (/waxu/) : kind of small rattan or cane, *waxu-k*, *waxu-m*, *waxu-n*
714. *waxa* : kind of black wild fowl
715. *waxexan* : wet
716. *wehōh* : small white crab that runs very fast along sand, probably ghost crab
717. *weiko* : snake

718. *weix* (/weixu/) : nose, *weixu-k*, *weixu--m*, *weixu-n*  
 719. *wekan* : eel (generic)  
       *wekan papaxaxun* : kind of small white eel  
 720. *wel* : coconut oil (TP)  
 721. *weli* : always  
       *weli ka-kak* : talkative ('always talking')  
 722. *weluwelun* : long, tall  
       *seilon weluwelun* : a tall person  
 723. *-wen* : past/perfective marker  
 724. *wetahĩ* : to open the eyes wide  
 725. *wexe* : to count  
 726. *wi* (/wia/) : fat, grease, *wia-k*, *wia-m*, *wia-n*  
 727. *wit* : octopus  
 728. *wowok* : kind of parasitic plant on trees; it has a small green flower that later turns red

/x/

729. *xa* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *pul*)  
 730. *xa-i* : to hit with a stick, thrash  
 731. *xam-1* (/xama/) : light, radiance  
       *xam e al* : shimmer, glare of sunlight on water (= /xama i al/)  
 732. *xam-2* : outrigger float  
 733. *xam-3* (/xama/) : spatula?  
       *xam e wap* : lime spatula (= (xama i wap)  
 734. *xaŋat* : to get up from sleeping, to rise from bed  
 735. *xaoh* : hammerhead shark  
 736. *xaok* : heron (both white and black varieties)  
 737. *xauŋ* : small grayish-green crab that rides floating logs, and climbs on rocks on the beach  
 738. *xauxauan* : far  
 739. *xaw* : stone fish corral  
 740. *xaxa* : red tree ant  
 741. *xaxe* : (gloss unclear)  
       *xaxe pul* : eyebrow, *xaxe pula-k*, *xaxe pula-m*, *xaxe pula-n*  
 742. *xayo* : kind of thin-bodied barracuda  
 743. *xewan* : clear, as water  
 744. *xexexele* : growing, as plants  
 745. *xin* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ka-2*)  
 746. *xiot-i* : to bind, tie by wrapping around  
 747. *xixi-1* : fish  
 748. *xixi-2* (/xixio/) : muscle, flesh, *xixio-k*, *xixio-m*, *xixio-n*  
 749. *xoh* (/xohe/) : gums, *xohe-k*, *xohe-m*, *xohe-n*  
 750. *xoixohin* : near  
 751. *xu* : dugong  
 752. *xun* : soup, broth  
 753. *xuŋe* : kind of large greenish fish with a white belly; it chases small sardines  
 754. *xuxu* : fat, obese

*ŋa xuxu* 'I am fat', *o xuxu* 'you are fat', *i xuxu* 's/he is fat'  
 755. *xuxuina* : steal; thief

/y/

756. *yax* (/yaxi/) : beginning to bud, of fruit on a plant  
*yaxi-wen*: having already borne fruit

#### 1.4.1 English-Seimat Index

abdomen	:	uli tia-
above	:	patul
abscess	:	wāluwāl
to adhere	:	pakat-i
adze	:	ŋol apuŋ
afterbirth	:	sapalikan
afternoon	:	aloha
algae	:	kanakan
alive	:	moih-in
all	:	hatesol
allative marker	:	-wa
always	:	weli
anchor	:	aŋga (TP)
and	:	ma
ant	:	uŋouŋ, xaxa
anus	:	makana
to appear	:	sohōt
areca palm	:	lah
armpit	:	akak
ash	:	palon
ashamed	:	hīena
to ask	:	kame-i
to assemble	:	apuha
away from	:	saliliwen
axe	:	ŋol apuŋ
back (anat.)	:	tehīt(o)-
back of head	:	puhīsis
bad	:	lialun
bad tasting	:	maxayan
to bail out	:	alom-i
bailer	:	kaloh
bald	:	makalokalon
bait	:	ahe (?), ohīt
bamboo	:	kawakaw
banana	:	man
banyan	:	liliew

bark (of tree)	:	uli pata
to bark at	:	suisuin-i
basket	:	kun, po
to bathe	:	kikan
bay	:	aw lokon
beach	:	pexuh
beard	:	soke axe-
because	:	nake
beginning	:	hūtuan
behind	:	puhuŋ
belly	:	tia-
belt	:	tah(a)-
to bend	:	alikomen-i, ha-kakawi
beneath	:	ahitake
betel nut	:	tuep
betel pepper	:	wahē ka i lah
bifurcation	:	saŋa
big (of people)	:	hapu
big (of things)	:	lalap
to bind	:	xiot-i
bird	:	manexux
bird sp.	:	aŋaw, hatauh, keihat, kexuk, kioki, koki (TP), olawik, paheha, pal, paxak, piakus, siwisiw, walut, waxa, xaok
to bite	:	atalah-i
black	:	polun
blind	:	pula xa
to blink	:	hapexopexo
blood	:	kaka-
to blow (wind)	:	ahoah
to blow (on fire)	:	uh-i
to blow the nose	:	wasuin-i
blue	:	axaxawan
board	:	patiw
body	:	(uli) tinu-
boil (sore)	:	wāluwāl
to boil	:	salek-i
bone	:	ku(i)-
boom of sail	:	sil
to be born	:	takah
brace (outrigger)	:	pax, toton
brain	:	atol(u)
branch	:	pehe
brave	:	aŋiamat
breadfruit	:	ul

breadfruit sap	:	tis i ul
to break	:	hatanoku, otoh-i
breaking (waves)	:	huohu, mamatit
breast	:	sus(u)-
to breathe	:	hanaw
to bring	:	kau-ma
broth	:	xun
brother	:	ukala- (hapu, ko-kol)
bubbles	:	puh
to bud (plants)	:	yax(i)-
to build	:	aile, talom-i
bunch (one)	:	te-ka
to burn (something)	:	lu-i
to bury	:	tihin-i
butterfly	:	hosan
buttocks	:	kaisalaŋaw
to buy	:	kahu-i
to call	:	tilo-i
callus	:	pul i xixi
calm (sea)	:	mat, tanenan
cane	:	wax(u)-
canoe	:	mon, wa
cape (of land)	:	pepelen
to capsize	:	kaluŋa, siota
to carry (general)	:	kau
to carry (on back)	:	kah-i
cataract (ocular)	:	pepenahun
to catch (ball)	:	tejen-i
to catch (fish)	:	tike
caterpillar	:	ul
to caulk	:	itih-i
channel	:	wasol
charcoal	:	axah
cheek	:	taliop(a)-
chest	:	patanaw(a)-
to chew	:	an-i, uxa
chicken	:	mom
child (general)	:	akaik
child (offspring)	:	natu-
chin	:	ax
clam	:	mahah, maloh, soso, wauh
clean	:	haun
clear (as water)	:	xewan
cleared ground	:	mamalawin
to climb	:	han
to close	:	keit-i

clothing (modern)	:	puxux
cloud	:	maun
coconut (dry)	:	up polun
coconut (general)	:	up
coconut (green)	:	poun
coconut (mature)	:	kiekin
coconut (small)	:	mahu
coconut cream	:	tis i up
coconut flower	:	sapoxen
coconut oil	:	wel (TP)
coconut palm	:	pate up
coconut spathe	:	su
coconut water	:	kan i up
cold	:	makian
to collect	:	apuhĩn-i, ka-kau, nono-i
comb (for hair)	:	hēxipat
comb (of fowl)	:	kaka-n
companion	:	loh(u)-
conch shell	:	suhusuh
to cook	:	hit-i, hunaya-i
cooked	:	malun
to copulate	:	axon
coral (limestone)	:	las
corner	:	utuut
corpulent	:	potopoton
correct	:	salan
cough	:	tas
to count	:	wexe
cover	:	hoŋ?, mata-
cowrie	:	ninu
crab sp.	:	alimaŋ, anun, kawiw, nipew, patuxaw, wehĩoh, xaŋ
to cram	:	kox
to crawl	:	ninin
crippled	:	asekun
crocodile	:	hua, loloma
crooked	:	kakawi-n
crotch	:	saŋa-saŋa-n
croton	:	ka i xin
to cry	:	taŋ
curved	:	lokou
to cut (accidentally)	:	taha-i
to cut (deliberately)	:	kot-i
to cut grass	:	wakot-i
to dance	:	halok
dark	:	tilokoan

dawn	:	al sasasale
day	:	ŋain
day before yesterday	:	hahiola
dead	:	mat
deaf	:	sutu
deep	:	tahulo
defecate	:	pepepe
to delouse	:	upia
to descend (ladder)	:	mos
descending	:	loloen
to desire	:	wahen-i
dew	:	mapu(a)-
to die	:	mat
to dig	:	tahĩw-i
direction	:	papahõi?
dirty	:	lolo
to dive	:	nu
to divide	:	se-i
dizzy	:	akimatu
dog	:	sinen
dolphin	:	uxi
don't	:	kum
dove	:	pal
to draw	:	ta-i
to dream	:	paxaŋoŋ
to drift	:	manuman
to drink	:	un(u)-
to drive fish	:	ka
to drop	:	ha-puta
to drown	:	taxix
dry	:	paxepaxen
dugong	:	xu
dull (blade, point)	:	tumũku
dust	:	axu
ear	:	taxiŋ(a)-
early	:	uli
earth	:	pekeun
earth oven	:	um
earthworm	:	wãt
east wind	:	aŋiha
to eat	:	aŋ
egg	:	atol(u)-
elbow	:	lok i ae-
ember	:	nawal
to embrace	:	aum-i
emphatic possession	:	teta-



enough	:	apein, tapan
to enter	:	soh
exclamation	:	ih
eye	:	pul(a)-
eyebrow	:	xaxe pul
face	:	kaw(ã)-
to faint	:	akimatu
to fall	:	puta
fallow land	:	uhõ i kin
false	:	puputa
far	:	xauxauan
fart	:	pes
fast (speedy)	:	kosenan, taloian
fat (adj.)	:	potopoton, xuxu
fat (n.)	:	wi(a)-
father	:	tama-
father (vocative)	:	papa
fatigued	:	pusoan
to fear	:	mamata
feather	:	ol(e)-
feces	:	ŋaŋaŋ
to feed	:	ax-i
female/woman	:	hehin
to fetch water	:	utuh-i
feverish	:	tinun
few	:	palay
fiber	:	pahat
to fight (people)	:	hilehil
to fight (animals)	:	leŋeleŋ
fin (dorsal)	:	lelen
fin (tail)	:	koloh
to find	:	upia
finger	:	ŋax(o)-, taŋa
fingernail	:	axaxa
to finish	:	tapoen
fire	:	ah
fireplow	:	axaax
firewood	:	salo i ah
first	:	imat
fish	:	xixi
fish sp.	:	aha, al, alal, ali, amatu, at, aw, ha, haniaumaŋ, hatuhat, heta, hot, kah, kanat, kawã, laŋu, ma, mahaten, mamana, man, max, maxix, metaok, noh, nunup, oha, oxe, pahêhĩn, pilipil, pulu, pun, pup, sa, sekun,

		silisil, soleah, suolew, tanih, tanihinih, ti, tioti. tiwāxa, tun, uliul, unun, upup, wah, wako, walal, wekan, xaoh, xayo, xuŋe
fish corral	:	xaw
fishhook	:	waiwaw
fishing pole	:	apah
five (group of)	:	panim
to flap (wings)	:	upa-up
flesh	:	xixi(o)-
float (fishnet)	:	kakatop
to float	:	nunu, palepal
flower	:	palawa (TP)
fly (housefly)	:	laŋ
to fly	:	ŋoŋ
flying fox	:	ke
foam	:	pok
fog	:	oah
to follow	:	kahit-i
fontanel	:	atol(u)-
food	:	an
foot	:	a(e)-
forehead	:	kaw(ã)-
fork (of branch)	:	saŋa-saŋa-n
fork (on outrigger)	:	hūka
four	:	hinalo
friend	:	loh(u)-
front	:	mata-
fruit	:	hua
to fry	:	parai (TP)
full (container)	:	huan
future marker	:	ape?, po
gall (bladder)	:	ax
garbage	:	masiap
garden	:	kin(e)-
to gather	:	ka-kau
gecko	:	pakalat
genitive marker	:	e, i
genuine	:	wanen
ghost	:	paxi
gills	:	axa-n
ginger	:	kapapar (TP)
to give	:	han-i
to go	:	nahĩ
good	:	solian
grandchild	:	ol(a)-

grandfather	:	ol(a)-
grass	:	pahõa
grass (sea)	:	kalal
grater (for coconut)	:	ikoik
gray hair	:	kux
grease	:	wi(a)-
ground	:	pekeun
to grow	:	xexexele
gums	:	xoh(e)-
to gut (a fish)	:	tuxe
to hail	:	tilo-i
hair (body)	:	sok(e)-
hair (head)	:	uk(u)-
half	:	paun
hand	:	min(a)-
handle	:	pahon
hard	:	ailan
he	:	i
head	:	pat(u)-
to heal	:	mamahua
to hear	:	hõŋ
heart	:	at
hearth	:	tone hunaya-i an
heartwood	:	puhũan
to heat	:	ha-hia
heavy	:	kawatan
to help	:	hual-i
here	:	ie, kemak?
hiccough	:	akilek
to hide	:	muna
high-pitched (voice)	:	piŋole
to hit	:	xa-i
to hold in the hand	:	akaken-i
hole (in the ground)	:	wal
hole (in a canoe)	:	wawan
honeybee	:	nini
hot (food, weather)	;	kekean
house	:	iŋ
housepost	:	kuku i iŋ
human being	:	seilon
hunched over	:	awiwikok
hundred (group of)	:	patei
hungry	:	hitol
husk (of coconut)	:	pahat
to husk (coconuts)	:	ta-i
imperative	:	-a

to inform	:	kaxiwa
insane	:	taxitaxia
inside	:	leili
intestines	:	puhũ(a)-
island	:	hux
itchy	:	uxeŋan
jaw	:	ax
jellyfish	:	anilaŋu
joint	:	lok(u)-
jungle	:	nemaux
to kill	:	tele-i
kinsman	:	akik(i)-
knee	:	lok i ae-
knife	:	ŋol
knot	:	nat (TP)
to know	:	tio-i
knuckle	:	lok(u)-
lagoon (deep)	:	nameah
lame	:	asekun
to land (boat)	:	mos
last (in order)	:	tapeinan
to laugh	:	mal(i)
lazy	:	nuxan
leaf	:	ka
leeward side	:	paliah
left (hand, side)	:	kalamaw
leg	:	a(e)-
level	:	sawisawin
to lick	:	naket-i
lid	:	mata-
lie (falsehood)	:	puputa
to lie down	:	eŋ
to lift	:	laut-i
light (weight)	:	paupaun
light (shining)	:	xam
lightning	:	usil
liquid	:	kan
lime (for betel)	:	wap
lime gourd	:	uk i wap
lime spatula	:	xam e wap
to listen	:	hõŋ-i
to live, be alive	:	moĩh
liver	:	al
to load (cargo)	:	uxan-i
lobster	:	uh
location	:	tone

log	:	pata
long (things)	:	weluwelun
to look	:	paxa-i
to lose (something)	:	lio-i
lost (way)	:	kaluta
louse	:	lil
maggot	:	ul
to make	:	aile, talom-i
Malay apple	:	ahi
male/man	:	wawan
many	:	kilan
mast	:	haliaŋ
mat (sleeping)	:	taoh
to mend	:	pula-i
messenger	:	ha- hōŋo-hōŋ
milk (breast)	:	kan i sus
mist	:	oah
mole (on skin)	:	hō
monitor lizard	:	wat
moon	:	paŋapaŋ
morning	:	letu
mosquito	:	nam
moss	:	kanakan
mother	:	tina-
mother (vocative)	:	mama
mother's brother	:	ukal e tina-
mountain	:	maunten (TP)
mouth	:	aw(a)-
mud	:	tox
muscle	:	xixi(o)-
mushroom	:	taxiŋ i paxi
mussel	:	ikoik
mute	:	sutu
name	:	ax(a)-
narrow	:	omiomin
nauseated	:	lekalek
navel	:	put(o)-
near	:	xoixohin
neck	:	kinaw(e)-
needle	:	sa-sawit
nest	:	iŋ i manexux
net	:	lep, upen
nettle	:	nalat
new	:	haun
news	:	hōŋ
night	:	ipoŋ

nipple of the breast	:	tum i sus
no/not	:	tap
node (bamboo, etc.)	:	lok(u)-
noose trap	:	sinea
north wind	:	tola
nose	:	weix(u)-
to nurse, suckle	:	susu-i
oar	:	papaw
obese	:	potopoton, xuxu
octopus	:	wit
odor	:	poun
old (ancient)	:	kuewen
old (animates)	:	salaimat
on	:	he?
one	:	te, te-hu, te-ka, te-l
to open (trans.)	:	hē-i, holah-i
to open (flower)	:	holaha
to open (eyes)	:	wetah-ĩ
opossum	:	koxa
origin	:	hūtuan
outrigger float	:	xam
outrigger sticks	:	ayas
oyster	:	sup
paddle (of canoe)	:	hox
to paddle a canoe	:	hoxe-i
painful	:	moloan
palm of hand	:	anel(o)-
panting	:	hanoano
papaya	:	maya
passage through reef	:	wasol
past/perfective	:	-wen
path	:	aw e sal
to peel	:	ulut-i
penis	:	ut(i)-
person	:	seilon
pig	:	pow
pigeon	:	pal
pillow	:	ululuŋ(a)-
to pinch	:	lapitin-i
pinky (finger)	:	taŋa kol
pins (for outrigger)	:	hūhūka
place	:	kewak?, tone
placenta	:	sapalikan
to plait	:	hatu
plank	:	patiw
to plant	:	sein-i

plant (parasitic)	:	wowok
platform (canoe)	:	sousa
to play	:	halok
to point	:	kola
pot (clay cooking)	:	salek
to pour	:	tih-ĩ
pregnant	:	kalixa
proW (of canoe)	:	konokon
to pull	:	etin-i
to punch	:	taputu-i
punting pole	:	ha
pus	:	nan
to push	:	sulin-i
quick (fast)	:	kosenan, taloian
radiance	:	xam
rafter	:	kaup
rain	:	akah
rain cape	:	siŋilen
rat	:	usuh
rattan	:	wax(u)-
raw	:	manukan
to reach (a place)	:	meil-i
real	:	wanen
reciprocal marker	:	he, ta
to recognize	:	tio-i
to recover	:	ewiewiwa
red	:	kaka-n
reef	:	hok
reflection	:	hosa-
to repair	:	pula-i
to reside	:	to
to rest	:	hanaw
to rest the head	:	ululuŋ
to retaliate	:	kahuiwa
to return (home, etc.)	:	alia
rib	:	ku i pop
right (hand, side)	:	manaw
ripe	:	makan
to rise (sun, moon)	:	hah, sasasale
road	:	aw e sal
to roll up	:	lum-i
rollers (for canoe)	:	holo, lola (TP)
root	:	wahā-n
root (taproot)	:	wah ē pata
rope	:	tal
rotten	:	kohan

rotten (wood)	:	watilan
to rub in	:	exein-i
rubbish	:	masiap
rudder	:	kapit
to run	:	kiliwaw
sail	:	lih(e)-
to sail	:	laŋ
saliva	:	anuh(u)-
saltwater	:	tax(i)-
salty	:	taxi-an
sand	:	pekeun
sandfly	:	paxapax
sarong (men's)	:	maya
satiated from eating	:	apein
to say	:	kakak
scale (fish)	:	uŋ(a)-
scar	:	katu
to scratch an itch	:	axut-i
sea (general)	:	tax(i)-
sea (deep blue)	:	ilam
sea (shallow green)	:	leihok
sea cucumber	:	kow
sea urchin	:	sahawa
to search	:	upia
seaweed	:	koxak, pom
to see	:	paxa-i
seed	:	waku(e)-
to sell	:	haŋain-i
to send	:	talo
setting (sun)	:	loloen
to sew	:	sawit-i
shadow	:	hosa-
shark	:	oha
sharp	:	aŋian
to sharpen	:	tasim-i
to shave	:	uluh-i
she	:	i
shelf (over hearth)	:	hatahat, heihaŋ
shell (mollusc)	:	uk(e)-
shell (turtle)	:	pelaw i hon
shelter	:	iŋ
to shoot (an arrow)	:	hapiki
to shoot (a gun)	:	hakatu
shore	:	pexuh
shoreline (curved)	:	toun
short	:	kukunan



shoulder	:	wah(e)-
shrimp	:	pakapak
sister	:	tua- (hapu, ko-kol)
side (of body)	:	pop(o)-
sideboard (canoe)	:	tiw, uliul
to sing	:	pak
to sink	:	kaxuk
to sit	:	to
skin	:	ul(i)-
skin fungus	:	pakapakan
skinny	:	talolo
sky	:	maun
to slap	:	tapah-ĩ
sleep	:	mati
slow	:	hakokol
small	:	kol, ko-kol
smell	:	poun
to smell	:	aso-i
to smile	:	mal(i)
smoke	:	axu
smooth	:	sawisawin
snake	:	weiko
snare trap	:	sinea
to sneeze	:	wãt/wãt(u)-
to snore	:	awawak
snot	:	tasutas
soft	:	wakiakin
song	:	pak
soup	:	xun
sour	:	waŋŋian
south wind	:	hayup
to speak	:	kakak
spear	:	inah
spear (fish)	:	niap, patahul, samen
spider	:	pulil
spiderweb	:	waun i pulil
to spill	:	tixiŋa
spine	:	wa(o)-
spirit	:	hosa-, talo
spirit (evil)	:	silal
to spit	:	puke(a)-
to split	:	saja-i
spoiled	:	kohan
spotted	:	pilupilun
spouse	:	axo(a)-
sputum	:	puke(a)-

to squeeze	:	hunu-i
squid (small)	:	nus
squid (giant)	:	suiwãwãw
to stab	:	tapuh-ĩ
to stand up	:	tu
star	:	kohot
star (Evening)	:	tawisaeen
starfish	:	kax
starfish (red, spiny)	:	ka
startled	:	seini
to steal	:	xuxuina
stench	:	poun kohan, poun lialun
stern (of canoe)	:	konokon
to stick	:	pakat-i
stone	:	hat
story	:	meŋ
straight	:	sawisawin
to stray	:	kaluta
string	:	tal
to string (as fish)	:	hasa-i
to submerge	:	kaxuk, nu
sucker (taro)	:	supulan
sugarcane	:	topiw
sun	:	al
sunset	:	al loloen
surf	:	maw huohu
to surface	:	kak
to swallow	:	tolom-i
swamp	:	ponapon
sweat	:	mapu(a)-
sweet	:	paon
sweet potato	:	peteta (TP)
to swim	:	nunu, pap
swollen	:	hulo
taboo	:	hahalin
to take (somewhere)	:	kau-wa
to talk	:	kakak
talkative	:	weli ka-kak
tall	:	weluwelun
taro ( <i>Colocasia</i> )	:	hula
taro ( <i>Alocasia</i> )	:	kuhukuh
to taste	:	namihin-i
tattoo	:	tahatahan
tears	:	kan i pul
termite	:	puoul
to test	:	namihin-i

there	:	ien, io
to (directional)	:	hani
to tell	:	kakak, pulohin
ten	:	hũõ-panim
tendon	:	wa(o)-
testicles	:	waku(e)-
that	:	ien, io
thatch (for roof)	:	ka i api
thick (as plank)	:	kilakilan
thief	:	xuxuin
thigh	:	tope ae-
thin (animates)	:	talolo
thin (materials)	:	maelu
to think about	:	namilo-i
this	:	ie, ti?
thorn	:	minuminun
to thrash	:	xa-i
three	:	tolu
to throw (general)	:	to-i
to throw (a spear)	:	hõka-i
to throw away	:	lio-i
thumb	:	taja lap
thunder	:	kuhuh
tidal wave	:	solisol
tide	:	mat
tide (ebb)	:	nuan
tide (high)	:	somun
to tie	:	xiot-i
to tie a knot	:	nat-i (TP)
tight (fitting)	:	oh
tired	:	pusoan
tongue	:	leh(o)-
tongs	:	lut
tooth	:	nis(u)-
torch	:	lul
to travel	:	kiliwaw
tree	:	pata
tree sp.	:	api, ha, hita, ho, hut, kayah, liliew, moxin, nat, naw, ok, pate tuep, peluh, pisa, sinu, talil, to, top
trivet	:	holo
Trochus shell	:	lal
true	:	salan, wanen
to try	:	namihin-i
to turn (body)	:	tohen-i
to turn (head)	:	tohëa

turtle (generic)	:	hon
twenty	:	seilon
twin	:	saŋasaŋ
to twist	:	pilehen-i
two	:	hũõ-hu
uncooked	:	manukan
under	:	ahitake
to untie	:	upat-i
up	:	patul
to urinate	:	mimi-mim
urine	:	mimi
vagina	:	ek
vein	:	wa(o)-
venitive marker	:	-ma
very	:	pate
village	:	toan, xuxu-
vine sp.	:	ap
voice	:	kinax
vomit	:	mut
to vomit	:	mutu-mut
to wake up	:	ha, xaŋat
to walk	:	nahĩ
wall	:	saxe
to want	:	wahen-i
to wash	:	nuhĩ
water (fresh)	:	kan
water (salt)	:	kan i tax
waterspout	:	lamin
wave (in sea)	:	hulihul
to weed (garden)	:	sohut-i
to weep	:	taŋ
west/west wind	:	ahaŋ
wet	:	waxexan
whale	:	anetalam
what (in questions)	:	la, al?
when (in questions)	:	lokon
where (in questions)	:	ia
to whet	:	axa-i
white	:	papaxaxun
who	:	aita
why?	:	nake
wide	:	mamanahan
wind	:	aupol
windward side	:	taun
wing	:	pau-n
wood (living)	:	pata

wood (cut)	:	salo
to work	:	nahĩ
wounded	:	naxun
to wrap (fish/meat)	:	sim-i
to write	:	ta-i
wrong	:	tales-i
to yawn	:	maw
yellow	:	aŋoŋon
yesterday	:	tihah
you (SG)	:	o

### 1.5 HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Some aspects of the historical phonology of Seimat were treated briefly in Blust (1998a), but the treatment here aims at a more comprehensive account. Most derivations are from Proto-Oceanic rather than more remote PMP or PAN, although some Proto-Admiralty reconstructions are used where a POC equivalent is lacking.

The first thing to note is that CVCV(C) forms in POC were reduced to monosyllables by loss of the final consonant and the vowel that preceded it in a two-step process that began with loss of the coda (found in all languages of the Admiralties), followed later by loss of the vowel (found in all Admiralty languages except Wuvulu-Aua and at least one of the extinct languages of the Kaniet islands), as in \*ñamuk (> ñamu) > *nam* ‘mosquito’, or \*laŋo > *laŋ* ‘housefly’. Where the last vowel of the POC form was protected by a suffix, or was found in a full reduplication it was retained, giving rise to synchronic alternations between forms with and without the vowel, as in \*batu > *pat* ‘head’, \*batu-gu > *patu-k* ‘my head’, \*qawa > *aw* ‘mouth’, \*qawa-ña > *awa-n* ‘his/her mouth’, or \*taŋis > *taŋ* ‘to cry’, \*taŋis-taŋis > *taŋi-taŋ* ‘to be crying’. It should be noted that this change took place even where the deleted vowel was part of a vowel sequence, as in POC \*ia > *i* ‘3SG, s/he’, \*kiokio > *kioki* ‘kingfisher’, \*kuriap > *uxi* ‘dolphin’, \*pitaquR (> *pitau*) > *hita* ‘a common shore tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*’, or \*Rabia > *api* ‘sago palm’.

Apart from this process of final vowel loss and consequent synchronic alternation the five vowel system of POC was retained intact. By contrast, consonant changes in Seimat were extensive, as shown in Blust (1998a:305-307). A summary of major developments appears in Table 1.12:

**Table 1.12:** Seimat reflexes of POC consonants

POC	Seimat
*pw	p
*bw	ʔ
*mw	w+Ṽ
*w	w
*p	h
*b	p
*m	m

*t	t
*d	l (?)
*s	s, x, l
*n	n
*r	h+ $\tilde{V}$ , x
*dr	k, x
*l	l
*c	s, x, l
*j	s, x
*ñ	n
*y	y, n, $\emptyset$
*k	$\emptyset$
*g	k
*ŋ	ŋ
*q	$\emptyset$
*R	$\emptyset$

POC had labiovelars \*pw, \*bw, \*mw and \*w. The first two of these were rare: \*pw became *p* in the sole known example in Seimat, no examples of \*bw are known, \*mw became *w*, but with nasalization of the following vowel, and \*w became *w* with no effect on the following vowel:

\*pw > *p*: \*kupwena > *upen* ‘casting net’.

\*mw > *w* (+ nasal vowel): \*mwata ‘snake’ > *wāt* ‘earthworm’, \*maRuqane (> mwaqane) > *wā-wān* ‘male; man’, \*dramwa > *kaw(ā)*- ‘forehead’.

\*w > *w* (+ oral vowel): \*waga > *wa* ‘boat’, \*waRoj ‘vine’ > *wao-n* ‘vein, tendon’, \*qawas > *aw* ‘juvenile mullet’, \*mawiRi > *kala-maw* ‘left side’.

In addition, POC had bilabials \*p, \*b and \*m. Of these \*p lenited to *h*, \*b (which was automatically prenasalized) became a plain voiceless stop, and \*m remained unchanged:

\*p > *h*: \*pa- > *ha-* ‘causative prefix’, \*patu > *hat* ‘stone’, \*pitolon > *hitol* ‘hungry’, \*pose > *hox* ‘canoe paddle’, \*putun > *hut* ‘a tree: *Barringtonia asiatica*’, \*papine > *hahine* ‘female; woman’, \*nopusq > *noh* ‘stonefish’.

\*b ([mb]) > *p*: \*baluc > *pal* ‘dove sp.’, \*boma > *pom* ‘green seaweed used to paint canoes’, \*buto > *put* ‘navel’, \*bubu > *pup* ‘triggerfish’, \*Rabia > *api* ‘sago palm’, \*ubu > *up* ‘young coconut’.

\*m > *m*: \*mai > *-ma* ‘venitive marker’, \*mimiq > *mimi-mim* ‘urine; to urinate’, \*mona > *mon* ‘canoe without outrigger’, \*mutaq > *mut* ‘vomit’, \*kami > *ami-* ‘we (excl.)’, \*saman > *xam* ‘outrigger float’.

POC had seven alveolars, \*t, \*d, \*s, \*n, \*r, \*dr, and \*l. POC \*t, \*n, and \*l did not change. The prenasalized stop \*d is known from a single etymology, where it became *l*. The sibilant \*s

shows a three-way split for which conditions cannot presently be stated. The two rhotics both show an unconditioned split: \*r became *h* followed by a nasalized vowel (thus contrasting with \*p, which became *h*, but with no change to the following vowel), or *x* in some forms, and \*dr usually became *k*, but became *x* in one known form:

\*t > t: \*tama > *tama* ‘father’, \*tiqo > *ti* ‘yellow and white barbelled fish, probably goatfish’, \*tolu (> \*tolu-pu) > *tolu-hu* ‘three’, \*tuna > *tun* ‘eel sp.’, \*mutaq > *mut* ‘vomit’.

\*d > l: \*-da-tolu > *la-to* ‘3PL’.

\*s > s, x or l: \*salan > *sal* ‘path, road’, \*qusila > *usil* ‘lightning’, \*susu > *sus* ‘female breast’, \*nusa > *nus* ‘small squid’, \*qasawa > *axoa-* ‘spouse’, \*tasik > *tax* ‘sea’, \*lisaq ‘nit’ > *lil* ‘louse’, \*suluq > *lul* ‘coconut leaf torch’, \*talise > *talil* ‘shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’.

In \*kanase > *kanat* ‘mullet’ POC \*s inexplicably has become *t*.

\*n > n: \*nanaq > *nana-* ‘pus’, \*nopus > *noh* ‘stonefish’, \*nusa > *nus* ‘squid’, \*mona > *mon* ‘canoe without outrigger’, \*unum > *unu-un* ‘to drink; be drinking’.

\*r > h (+ nasal vowel) or x: \*roŋoR > *hōŋ* ‘to hear, listen’, \*rua > *hũ-hũã* ‘two (in counting persons)’, \*bura > *puh* ‘foam, bubbles’, \*quraŋ > *uh* ‘lobster’, \*ramaR > *xam* ‘light, radiance’, \*karakarawa > *axaxawa-n* ‘blue’, \*kuriap > *uxi* ‘dolphin’.

In two known cases POC \*r > k, presumably through secondary prenasalization \*raun > *ka-* ‘leaf’, \*ruRi ‘thorn, fish bone’ > *kui-* ‘bone’.

The development of \*maridri-ana > *maki-an* for expected \*\*mahikian ‘cold’ resembles reduction by haplology, although this more commonly happens with identical syllables.

\*dr > k or x: , \*dramwa > *kaw(ã)-* ‘forehead’, \*dranum > *kan* ‘fresh water’, \*kadroRa > *koxa* ‘cuscus, opossum’, \*kadrut > *axut-i* ‘to scratch an itch’.

\*l > l: \*lalak > *lal* ‘Trochus shell’, \*lisaq ‘nit’ > *lil* ‘louse’, \*qalimaŋu > *alimaŋ* ‘mangrove crab’, \*qalu > *al* ‘barracuda sp.’, \*quloc > *ul* ‘maggot, caterpillar’, \*pitolon > *hitol* ‘hungry’.

Of the four POC palatals \*c and \*j show partially similar developments (to *s*, *x*, or *l* for the former, and to *s* for the latter). The palatal nasal \*ñ became *n*, and the palatal glide \*y dropped in two forms, but remained unchanged in a third and, oddly, appears to have become *n* in a fourth word:

\*c > s, x or l: \*acok > *aso-i* ‘to sniff, smell’, \*acan > *axa-* ‘name’, \*Rucan > *uxan-i* ‘to load cargo on a boat’, \*pica > *pil* ‘how much/how many?’

\*j > s: \*kayajo > *ayas* ‘outrigger boom’, \*jila > *sil* ‘sticks that connect the sail to the mast’.

In a single form \*j is reflected as l: \*laje > *lal* ‘coral limestone’.

\*ñ > n: \*ñamuk > *nam* ‘mosquito’. \*ñatuq > *nat* ‘hardwood tree with edible fruit: *Palaquium* sp.’, \*poñu > *hon* ‘the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*’.

\*y > y or Ø: \*kayajo > *ayas* ‘outrigger boom’, \*puqaya > *hua* ‘crocodile’, \*ruyuŋ > *xu* ‘dugong’.

BUT: \*qayuyu > *anun* ‘coconut crab’ (?).

POC had three velars, \*k, \*g, and \*ŋ. Of these \*k disappeared, \*g became *k* in the only example known, and \*ŋ did not change:

\*k > Ø: \*kalika > *ali* ‘grouper sp.’, \*koe > *o* ‘2SG subject: you’, \*kusupe > *usuh* ‘rat’, \*pulaka > *hula* ‘wild taro’, \*saku > *sa* ‘needlefish’.

\*g > k: \*-gu > *-k* ‘1SG possessive pronoun’.

\*ŋ > ŋ: \*taŋan ‘thumb’ > *taŋ(a)-* ‘finger’, \*roŋoR > *hōŋ* ‘to hear’, \*qalimaŋu > *alimaŋ* ‘mangrove crab’.

Finally, POC had two consonants that Ross (1998) calls ‘post-velar’: \*q and \*R. The first of these, reflected as \*k, glottal stop or zero in various Oceanic languages, probably was a uvular stop. The second, reflected as *r*, *l*, *y*, or zero in most Oceanic languages, probably was an alveolar trill that became uvular in much the same way that this type of change has happened in other language families. In Seimat both of these disappeared:

\*q > Ø: \*qatun > *at* ‘large tuna, bonito’, \*qisa > *ih* ‘exclamation of disgust’, \*qumun > *um* ‘earth oven’, \*qaqe > *ae-* ‘foot, leg’, \*maqati > *mat* ‘ebb tide’.

\*R > Ø: \*Rabia > *api* ‘sago palm’, \*Rujan > *uxan-i* ‘to load cargo on a boat’, \*toRas > *to* ‘ironwood tree’, \*kuRita > *wit* ‘octopus’.

As described in Blust (1998a), the most notable feature of Seimat historical phonology is the development of phonemic vowel nasality under two very different conditions. In the first of these, onset-driven nasal spreading led to allophonic nasality on the vowel immediately following a primary nasal consonant, and in some cases more distant vowels. This must have been the case before \*mw merged with \*w, and after this change the sequences \*mwa and \*wa were transformed to *wā* and *wa* respectively (and similarly with other vowels). In the second condition, POC \*pa and \*ra became *ha* and *hā*. The condition for vowel nasalization here is more obscure, but falls under the general rubric of ‘rhinoglottophilia’ (Matisoff 1975), namely the crosslinguistic tendency for laryngeal consonants to trigger nasality on an adjacent vowel, evidently because the articulation of the consonant is difficult without producing a simultaneous lowering of the soft palate. In the case of Seimat we have to assume that the glottal fricatives produced by lenition of \*p and \*r were phonetically distinct from one another at the time vowel nasalization in this environment occurred, the fricative from \*r causing greater lowering of the velum. One last thing to note is that the numeral classifier in *te-hu*, *hūō-hu*, and *tolu-hu* reflects the PMP general numeral classifier \*buaq (‘fruit’), which was postposed to numerals in Proto-



Admiralty, and appears in languages throughout this subgroup (cf. Proto-Admiralty \*rua-fu ‘two’). Surprisingly, *hũõ-hu* shows clear vowel nasality in the first two vowels, but none in the last. While this reflects the different sources of the two glottal fricatives in this word, one would normally expect nasality in such an environment to spread rightward.

A minor sound change is the semivocalization of \*u which came to be prevocalic as a result of the loss of an intervening consonant, as with POC \*kuRita > *wit* ‘octopus’.

As noted above, some POC phonemes have multiple reflexes in Seimat without clear conditions. The reason for this is obscure, but as early as the nineteenth century it was recognized that sound correspondences in the AN languages of Melanesia are less consistent than they are in their relatives elsewhere in the family. In addition to these splits, nearly all of which show two or more examples of each reflex, there are isolated irregularities in individual morphemes. Among those that have come to my attention are:

1. The apparent change \*y > n in \*qayuyu > *anun* ‘coconut crab’ (possibly a chance resemblance; cp. Wuvulu *axuxu*, Aua *aruru*)
2. The retention of the final vowels in \*patuR > *hatu* ‘to plait, weave’, \*mimiq > *mimi* ‘urine, urinate’, and \*upi > *uhi* ‘to blow’
3. The reciprocal marker /he/ probably reflects the POC prefix \*paRi- with sporadic contraction of the vowel sequence *a + i* after loss of the intervening \*R
4. The sporadic assimilation of the first syllable vowel in \*papine > *hehin* ‘female, woman’
5. POC \*pia > *ia* ‘where?’ rather than the expected \*\*hi
6. The thematic vowel in \*mutaq > Seimat *mut* ‘vomit, vomitus’ : *mutu-mut* ‘to be vomiting’ is unexpected, and may be a product of sporadic assimilation
7. The unexplained change in \*salatŋ > *nalat* ‘stinging nettle’, and of both the medial and final consonants in PADM \*mosimo > *moxin* ‘a shore tree: *Casuarina equisetifolia*’
8. The sporadic assimilation of *h* to *x* in \*pisiko > *xixio-* (expected \*\* *hixio-*) ‘flesh, muscle’, and *hoxe-i* ~ *xoxe-i* ‘to paddle a canoe’

Also irregular is the final consonant in POC \*sawit > *sa-sawit* ‘needle’, possibly a back-formation from *sawit-i* ‘to sew’, where the consonant was retained before a transitive suffix (cp. Wuvulu *tawi*, Penchal *c̣iw* ‘needle’, with unrelated forms for ‘to sew’). Finally, Seimat *top-iv* may reflect POC \*topu ‘sugarcane’, with a still unidentified morpheme added at the end.

Relatively little can be said about ordering sound changes in Seimat. Among inferences that are fairly safe are 1. \*p > h preceded \*pw > p and \*b ([mb]) > p, and 2. \*p > h and \*r > h happened at different times, and (despite appearances) they did not merge, as the following vowel is oral after reflexes of \*p but nasal after reflexes of \*r. Since POC \*p is reflected as *f/v* in Wuvulu and Aua, \*p > h must have followed the separation of Seimat from these languages, which implies that Seimat still had the labiovelar /pw/, and at least one prenasalized voiced stop, namely /b/, during its separate history apart from other languages in the Western Islands, a point which I take up below with regard to the issue of ‘secondary nasal grade’ in the Admiralty Islands.

## 1.6 SEIMAT REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC AND PROTO-ADMIRALTY

	POC	PADM	SEIMAT	
001.	*acan	*ara-	axa-	name
002.	*acok	*aso (?)	aso-i	to sniff, smell
003.	*alali	*alali	alal	halibut, sole
004.	*aŋo-aŋo-ana	*aŋo-ana	aŋo-aŋon	yellow
005.	*api	*api	ah	fire
006.	*asaŋ	*asa	axa-	gills
007.	*asaq-i	*asaq-i	axa-i	to whet, sharpen
008.	*baluc	*balu	pal	dove, pigeon
009.		*bapawV	papaw	oars
010.		*baronV	pahon	handle of axe
011.	*bataŋ	*bata	pata	trunk; tree
012.	*batuk	*batu	patu-	head
013.	*bekas	*be-be (?)	pe-pe-pe	to defecate
014.	*boma	*boma	pom	seaweed variety
015.	*boŋi	*boŋi	i-poŋ	night
016.	*boRok	*boo	pow	pig
017.	*bou	*bou-	pou-	smell, odor
018.	*bubu	*bubu	pup	trigger fish
019.	*buto	*buto	puto-	navel
020.	*damwa	*dramwa-	kawā-	forehead
021.		*draraRV	kah	lionfish
022.		*draloqopV	kaloh	canoe bailer
023.		*drameV	kame-i	to ask
024.	*d(r)amut	*dramu	xam	lime spatula
025.	*dranum	*dranu	kan	fresh water
026.	*draRaŋ	*draya	ka-ka	blood
027.	*-gu	*-ku	-k	1SG possessor
028.	*jila	*cila	sil	sheet of the sail
029.	*kadroRa	*kodraya (< met.)	koxa	opossum
030.		*kagV	ka	spiny starfish
031.	*kalika	*kalika	ali	grouper sp.
032.	*kanase	*kanase	kanat	mullet
033.	*kani	*kani	an	food
034.	*kayajo	*kayaco	ayas	outrigger boom
035.	*kiaw	*kiokio	kioki	kingfisher
036.	*koti	*koti	kot-i	to cut
037.	*kulit	*kuli	uli-	skin
038.	*kuluR	*kulu	ul	breadfruit
039.		*kuñV	kun	coconut leaf basket
040.	*kupwena	*kupwena	upen	casting net
041.	*kuriap	*kuria	uxi	dolphin
042.	*kururu	*kururu	kuhuh	thunder

043.	*kuRita	*kuita	wit	octopus
044.	*kusupe	*kusupe	usuh	rat
045.	*laje	*lace	lal	coral limestone
046.	*lalak	*lala	lal	Trochus shell
047.	*laman	*lama	i-lam	deep sea
048.	*laŋo	*laŋo	laŋ	housefly
049.	*lapa	*laba	la-lap	big, large
050.	*lisaq	*lisa	lil	nit, louse egg
051.	*lumiq	*lumi	lum-i	to fold; to roll up
052.	*madra	*madra-nV	maka-n	ripe
053.	*malip	*mali	mal	to laugh
			mali-mal	laughing
054.	*manuk	*manu	man-e-xux	bird (?)
055.	*maqañur	*mañu	manu-man	to drift on a current
056.	*maqati	*mati	mat	low tide; tide
057.	*maridriŋ	*maridri-ana	maki-an	cold
058.	*maRi	*mai	ma	to come, hither
059.	*maRuqane	*mwane	wa-wan	male; man
060.	*matakut	*mataku	ma-mata	afraid (?)
061.	*mate	*mate	mat	dead
062.	*matiruR	*matiru	mati(hũ)	to sleep
063.	*mawap	*mawa	maw	to yawn
064.	*mawiRi	*mawi	kala-maw	left side
065.	*mimiq	*mimi	mimi	urine
066.		*mona	mon	dugout canoe
067.		*mosimo	moxin	<i>Casuarina</i> spp.
068.	*-mu	*-m	-m	2SG possessor
069.	*mutaq	*muta	mut	vomit
			mutu-mut	to vomit
070.		*mwalutV	walut	large dove sp.
071.	*nanaq	*nana	nana-	pus
072.	*natu	*natu	natu-	child, offspring
073.	*nima	*mina- (< met.)	mina-	hand
074.	*nopu	*nopu	noh	stonefish
075.	*nusa	*nusa	nus	small squid
076.	*-ña	*-na	-n	3SG possessor
077.	*ñamuk	*ñamu	nam	mosquito
078.	*ñatuq	*ñatu	nat	<i>Palaquium</i> spp.
079.		*ñuV	nu	to dive
080.	*papine	*pepine	hehin	female, woman
081.	*pataR	*pata	hata-hat	firewood shelf
082.	*patu	*patu	hat	stone
083.	*patuR	*patu	hatu	to plait, to weave
084.		*paunV	haun	new
085.	*pia	*pia	ia	where?
086.	*pijiko	*pisiko	xixio-	flesh, muscle

087.	*pitaquR	*pitau	hita	<i>Calophyllum</i> spp.
088.	*pitolon	*pitolo	hitol	hungry
089.	*poñu	*boñu	hon	the green turtle
090.	*pose	*bose	hox	canoe paddle
		*bose-i	hoxe-i	to paddle a canoe
091.	*puaq	*bua-	hua-	fruit
092.	*pulaka	*bulaka	hula	taro
093.	*puqaya	*buaya	hua	crocodile
094.	*putun	*butu	hut	<i>Barringtonia</i> spp.
095.	*qalimaŋu	*qalimaŋ	alimaŋ	mangrove crab
096.	*qalo	*qalo	al	sun; day
097.	*qalu	*qalu	al	barracuda
098.	*qaqe	*qae	ae-	foot/leg
099.	*qasawa	*qasawa-	axoa-	spouse
100.	*qase	*qase	axe-	chin, jaw
101.	*qasu	*qasu	axu-	gall (bladder)
102.	*qasu	*qasu	axu-	smoke
103.	*qate	*qate	ate-	liver; heart
104.	*qatoluR	*qatolu	atolu-	egg
105.	*qatun	*qatu	at	skipjack tuna
106.	*qawa	*qawa	awa-	mouth
107.	*qayuyu	*qayuyu	anun	coconut crab (?)
108.	*quloc	*qulo	ul	maggot
109.	*quluŋ-an	*qul-uluŋa	ul-uluŋ	headrest, pillow
110.	*qumun	*qumu	um	earth oven
111.	*quraŋ	*qura	uh	lobster
112.	*qusila	*qucila	usil	lightning
113.	*qutin	*quti	uti-	penis
114.	*qutup	*qutup-i	utuh-i	submerge to fill
115.	*ramaR	*drama	xam	light, luminosity
116.	*raun	*drau	ka-	leaf
117.	*roŋoR	*roŋo	hōŋ	to hear
			hōŋo-hōŋ	hearing
118.	*rua	*ruo-pu	hũōhu	two
119.	*ruRi	*drui	kui-	bone
120.	*ruyuŋ	*druyu	xu	dugong
121.	*Rabia	*yabia	api	sago palm
122.	*Rucan	*uran-i	uxan-i	to load cargo
123.	*saku	*caku	sa	needlefish
124.	*salan	*cala	aw e sal	path, road
125.	*salatoŋ	*ñalato	nalat	stinging nettle
126.	*saman	*cama	xam	outrigger float
127.	*saŋa	*caŋa	saŋa-saŋa-	fork of branch
128.	*sauq	*sau	xau-xau-an	far, distant
129.	*sawit	*cawit-i	sa-sawit	needle
			sawit-i	to sew

130.	*suluq	*culu	lul	coconut leaf torch
131.	*susu	*susu	susu-	female breast
132.	*susup	*susu	susu-i	to suck (general)
133.	*tali	*dali	tal	rope, string
134.	*taliŋa	*daliŋa	taxiŋa-	ear
135.	*talise	*dalise	talil	<i>Terminalia catappa</i>
136.	*tama	*tama	tama-	father
137.	*tanipa	*danipa	tanih	sardine
138.	*taŋis	*taŋi	taŋ	to weep, cry
			taŋi-taŋ	crying
139.	*tasik	*dasi	kan i tax	saltwater
			taxi-an	salty
140.	*tasim	*tasim-i	tasim-i	sharpen to a point
141.	*tian	*dia-	tia-	abdomen, belly
142.	*tina	*tina	tina-	mother
143.	*tiqo	*tio (?)	tio-ti	goatfish variety
144.		*tiwa	tiw	sideboard of canoe
145.	*tokalaur	*tolau	tola	north wind
146.	*tolu	*tolu-pu	toluhu	three
147.	*toRas	*doa	to	ironwood
148.	*tuna	*duna	tun	freshwater eel
149.	*tuqur	*tu	tu	to stand
150.	*tuRu	*du	ku-ku	housepost
151.	*unum	*unu	un	to drink
			unu-un	drinking
152.	*upi	*upi	uhi	to blow
153.	*waga	*waka	wa	outrigger canoe
154.		*wasiw	waxu-	rattan, cane
155.		*watiV	wat	monitor lizard

## 1.7 SECONDARY NASAL GRADE IN THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS

Before leaving the sketch of Seimat, there is a matter that must be clarified in relation to this language, as it affects the description of the historical phonology of other languages in the Admiralty group.

An oral grade/nasal grade contrast in the reflexes of certain consonants in Oceanic languages has been recognized in principle since Dempwolff (1920:27-37), who noted that a \*p/b distinction that is retained in “Indonesian” languages was lost through merger as a voiceless stop or fricative in most Austronesian languages of the Pacific, but in its place \*mp and \*mb have merged as a prenasalized voiced stop, or some continuation of it with greater construction than the oral grade counterpart. In time, Dempwolff’s insight was generalized to a wider set of consonants, and to account for similar developments in a wide range of Oceanic languages, Grace (1959:27) coined the terms ‘oral grade’ and ‘nasal grade’ to describe the differences in reflex patterns.

With regard to languages of the Admiralty Islands, Ross (1988:335) made two important observations relating to consonant grade, which are quoted with minor changes here (PAd = Proto-Admiralty):

- 1) The conventional oral-/nasal-grade pairs of POC, \*p/b, \*t/d, \*r/dr, \*s/j, and \*k/g were apparently reflected in PAd without change (PAd \*p/\*b may have been \*[f]/\*[p], but this is uncertain and it will lessen confusion to retain the POC orthography here.
- 2) Secondary nasal grade is a phenomenon peculiar to the Admiralties, and refers to a second set of reflexes of POC \*p-, \*t-, \*r-, \*s- and \*k- which occurs (i) only word-initially and (ii) only on common nouns. This grade is assumed to be nasal partly because some of its reflexes are prenasalised consonants, and partly because its environment suggests that it has resulted from cliticisation of \*na, one of two variants \*a and \*na of the POC common article ..., with subsequent vowel loss leaving the clitic PAd \*n- to coalesce with the initial consonant of the noun.

In summary, Ross (1988) proposed that secondary nasal grade was an innovation in Proto-Admiralty, and hence is one of the changes that defines this subgroup of Oceanic languages. It is easy to see how one might draw this conclusion, since secondary nasal grade reflexes of exactly the kind Ross describes are found in Wuvulu-Aua of the Western Islands, and are universal in the languages of the eastern Admiralties. However, as can be determined from the tables of reflexes in Ross (1988:321-25), and from the etymologies in 1.6, secondary nasal grade in Seimat does not occur for reflexes of POC \*p-, \*t-, or \*k-, and is, in fact, contradicted for the labial order. Ross nonetheless claims that POC \*r- is normally reflected as Seimat /h/, but shows secondary nasal grade in /x/- or /k/-, and that POC \*s is normally reflected as Seimat /s/, but shows secondary nasal grade in /x/- or /l/-. My own data does not support the latter claim, as seen with \*saku > *sa* ‘needlefish’, \*salan > *aw e sal* ‘path, road’, \*saja > *saŋa-saŋa-* ‘fork of a branch’, or \*susu > *susu-* ‘female breast’, none of which should begin with *s-*, or \*sauq > *xau-xau-an* ‘far, distant’, which should not begin with *x-*.

The Seimat evidence for secondary nasal grade, then, appears to be based exclusively on reflexes of \*r, where it appears to be reasonably secure (\*roŋoR > *hōŋ* ‘to hear’, \*ruo-pu > *hūōhu* ‘two’, but \*raun > *ka-* ‘leaf’, \*ruRi- > *kui-* ‘bone’, or \*ruyuj > *xu* ‘dugong’, with the same initials as \*d(r)amut > *xam* ‘lime spatula’, \*dranum > *kan* ‘fresh water’, or \*draRaq > *ka-ka* ‘blood’, hence with secondary nasal grade. However, since the evidence *against* secondary nasal grade is unambiguous for the labial order, as seen in \*baluc > *pal* ‘dove, pigeon’, \*batuk > *patu-* ‘head’, \*boŋi > *i-poŋ* ‘night’, \*boRok > *pow* ‘pig’, or \*Rabia > *api* ‘sago palm’, as against \*patu > *hat* ‘stone’, \*poŋu > *hon* ‘the green turtle’, \*pose > *hox* ‘canoe paddle’, or \*puqaya > *hua* ‘crocodile’, exactly like \*patuR > *hatu* ‘to plait, weave’, \*pitolon > *hitol* ‘hungry’, \*pia > *ia* ‘where?’ (with unexplained \*p > \*h > Ø), \*api > *ah* ‘fire’, or \*kusupe > *usuh* ‘rat’, it would appear that secondary nasal grade was only beginning in PADM, but had not yet reached all consonant orders. In short, secondary nasal grade evidently was not an abrupt change, but operated more as a drift that took time to complete.

Under this view the common noun article \*na was part of the same phonological word as its host noun, and began to lose its unstressed vowel and threaten merger of the nasal with base-initial consonants in PADM. However, at this stage the change was preliminary, and was completed

only for bases that began with \*r (perhaps because a prenasalized alveolar trill \*dr- already existed at this time as a continuation of a POC consonant \*dr). Given the pattern of reflexes, we have little choice but to conclude that bases beginning with a reflex of POC \*p, \*t, \*s or \*k underwent secondary prenasalization only after Wuvulu-Aua separated from Seimat, and hence after Proto-Western Islands separated from Proto-Eastern Admiralties (PEADM). Since all known descendants of PEADM show secondary nasal grade reflexes for all consonant orders, it is reasonable to conclude that this change had taken place in PEADM before its split into Proto-Manus and Proto-Southeast Admiralties. In other words, the development of secondary nasal grade in Admiralty languages for bases that began with a reflex of POC \*p, \*t, \*s or \*k probably happened independently in Wuvulu-Aua, Seimat, and Eastern Admiralty languages, as shown in Table 1.13, where different consonant orders were affected at different times (PW-A = pre-Wuvulu-Aua, PS = pre-Seimat):

**Table 1.13:** The development of secondary nasal grade consonants in languages of the Admiralties

POC	*p	*t	*r	*s	*k
PADM	*p	*t	*r (OG) *dr (NG)	*s	*k
PW-A	*p (OG) *b (NG)	*t (OG/NG)	*r (OG) *k/x (NG)	*s (OG/NG)	*k (OG/NG)
PS	*p (OG/NG)	*t (OG/NG)	*h (OG) *k/x (NG)	*s (OG/NG)	*k (OG/NG)
PEADM	*p (OG) *b (NG) *br (NG/___u)	*t (OG) *dr (NG)	*r (OG) *dr (NG)	*s (OG) *c (NG)	*k (OG) *g (NG)

This hypothesis, which more adequately accounts for the data than one in which secondary nasal grade was already a *fait accompli* in Proto-Admiralty, is reminiscent of the various stages in the history of pluralizing umlaut in English and High German, in the classic discussion of drift by Sapir (1921:171-91). It in no way detracts from the integrity of the Admiralty subgroup, which is supported by multiple lines of evidence, from sporadic sound changes like the vowel metathesis in POC \*kadroRa > PADM \*kodraRa ‘cuscus’, to numeral exclusively shared lexical innovations, as shown in 1.6, and the corresponding sections in other language sketches.

Given the evidence that secondary prenasalization was a gradual change in these languages, as summarized in Table 1.13, the term ‘PADM’ in the remaining sketches must be understood in its literal sense with regard to lexical reconstructions only --- i.e. to qualify as PADM a cognate set must be attested in both primary branches of the Admiralty group. With regard to secondary nasal grade, however, the term ‘PADM’ often means ‘PEADM’.