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

**Sketch 4: SORI**

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# SKETCH 4: SORI

**4.1. INTRODUCTION.** Sori is spoken on the island of Sori, off the north coast of western Manus. A dialect of the same language is spoken on Harengan island, about eight kilometers to the southwest of Sori. Several other islands, including Naru, which is larger than either Sori or Harengan, lie between these two, but it is unknown whether these are populated, and if so what language is spoken there. Two other small pockets of Sori speakers were reported in 1965 on a Royal Australian Survey Corps map next to speakers of Levei on the north coast of Manus proper, or on tiny adjacent islands.

Sori is a language that has almost completely escaped the descriptive efforts of linguists to date. The material for this sketch was collected on April 2 and 3, 1975 in Lorengau, Manus from Gaspar Francis, who was raised in Sori village No. 1, and was a 15-year old high school student at the time of data collection. He claimed fluency in English, Tok Pisin, and Harengan in addition to his native Sori.

**4.2. PHONOLOGY.** The inventory of segmental phonemes in Sori is shown in Table 4.1:

**Table 4.1:** The segmental phonemes of Sori

Consonants					Vowels	
p	pw	t	(k)	ʔ	i	u
b	bw	d	g		e	o
		s		h	(æ)	a
			j			
m	mw	n	ñ	ŋ		
		l				
		r				
br		dr				
w			y			

The phoneme inventory of Sori is similar to that of Lindrou, differing primarily in having a prenasalized bilabial trill matching the prenasalized alveolar trill that both languages share. Other differences are the low frequency of /k/, the absence of /gw/, and the much higher frequency of the velar nasal, especially in final position. All 23 consonants occur as onsets, but the glottal stop does not occur word-initially, a word-initial velar nasal was recorded in a single form, and word-initial /r/ and glides are rare. Only the following consonants occur as codas in native words: *p*, *s*, *m*, *ŋ*, *w*, *y*. The last three of these are particularly common.

Word-final *-k* and *-n* are each found in a single word: *wok* ‘work’, a loan from Tok Pisin, and *bun* ‘fish poison obtained from a vine’, which is doubly irregular in having a final /n/ and in permitting /b/ (rather than /br/) before /u/. The latter is also treated as a loanword, probably reflecting POC \**bunat* ‘plant used to stun fish: *Derris elliptica*’. Finally, /c/ ([tʃ]) was recorded

in a single form, *macap* ‘hot (of water or cooked food)’. This may be either a loan, or a transcription error, and is not counted as part of the phoneme inventory.

The phonemes /p/, /pw/, /t/, /k/ and /ʔ/ are voiceless unaspirated stops made at bilabial, labiovelar, dental, velar, and glottal places of articulation. Of these /k/ is attested in my data in just four words in initial position, and in the Tok Pisin loanword *haŋka* ‘anchor’. As in many other languages of Manus, words that end phonemically with a vowel are followed by an automatic glottal stop. However, like Lindrou, Sori also has a contrastive glottal stop word-medially. This appears to occur between all vowel combinations. For reasons that remain unclear, some words were recorded with a final vowel, as [nagɛ] ‘to eat’ (cp. [iŋɛʔ] ‘to climb’). I assume that because it is so automatic I simply failed to write the glottal stop in such cases.

The phonemes /b/, /bw/, /d/, and /g/ are voiced counterparts of /p/, /pw/, /t/ and /k/ except that /d/ is alveolar rather than dental, and /b/ rarely appears before /u/. Unlike the case in many other Oceanic languages, voiced stops in Sori are not automatically prenasalized. Rather, plain and prenasalized stops contrast, although the current evidence for this before /u/ is limited to two or three words that were recorded with [bu], including the minimal pair /bruru/ ([mbruru]) ‘spouse’ vs. /buru/ ([buru]) ‘to burn’, and to /ndom/ ‘basket’ as against /doŋ/ ‘canoe’, and many other words that begin with [d]. Examples such as *buru* ‘to roast’ and *dabune jap* ‘hearth’ may be due to transcriptional error for correct *bruru*, *dabrune*, etc., although /br/ is normally prenasalized, and no prenasalization was recorded in these phonotactically aberrant forms. Although [mbr] (a prenasalized voiced bilabial trill) is phonemic in several of the languages of eastern Manus, it appears to be an allophone of /b/ preceding /u/ in Sori. For further details regarding bilabial trills in Manus and the phonetic mechanism underlying them, cf. Maddieson (1989).

In addition, some fourteen words were recorded with the sequence [mbu] (viz. those glossed ‘flower’, ‘crocodile’, ‘dorsal fin’, ‘mushroom’, ‘overhead’, ‘sword grass’, ‘spouse’, ‘liver’, ‘island’, ‘to boil’, ‘web’, ‘housefly/March fly’, ‘cross-sibling’, and ‘to spit’). However, this is the environment in which \*b was altered to a prenasalized bilabial trill, as in various other languages of both the Admiralties and Vanuatu (Blust 2007), and it appears that [mbu] and [mbru] are alternative pronunciations for /bru/ in Sori. In the case of *brusem* ‘to spit’ I recorded [mbusem], and noted “mb is almost mbr.” I accordingly write all of these words with *bu-* in the attached vocabulary. The prenasalization of stops before vowels other than /u/ is considered to be unambiguously phonemic, as with *sabow* ‘to catch’ vs. *sambow* ‘wet’.

The phonemes /s/ and /h/ have their usual values, and /j/ is a voiced palatal affricate that is found only word-initially in my data.

The phonemes /m/, /mw/, /n/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/ are nasals made at bilabial, labiovelar, alveolar, palatal, and velar places of articulation. In my fieldnotes the velar nasal is found word-initially in a single form, intervocally in twelve, and word-finally in nearly one hundred.

The lateral /l/ has its usual phonetic value, and /r/ is an alveolar trill. The phonemes /br/ and /dr/ are respectively bilabial and alveolar trills. As noted already, /br/ is normally pronounced [mbr], but some words were recorded with a sequence [mbu] that very likely has the same underlying source with little or no trilling.

The glides /w/ and /y, which have their usual phonetic values, are very rare word-initially, the former appearing in a single native word in my data and the latter in two. Both glides are frequent in word-final position, including many cases in which they follow a homorganic vowel, as in *ariy* ‘grouper sp.’, or *asuw* ‘centipede’. In this position they contrast with word-final high vowels, which are invariably followed by an automatic glottal stop, as in *ahi* ([ahiʔ]) ‘putty nut’, or *asu* ([asuʔ]) ‘dust, smoke’.

The vowels /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /a/ have their usual phonetic values in Sori except that /o/ varies between [o] and [ɔ], and /e/ is consistently [ɛ] except before the palatal glide, where it is always [e]. In addition, a low front vowel was recorded in just three words, in all of which it precedes /ŋ/. The recorded examples are: *aboræŋ* ‘wing’, *bruæŋ* ‘flower’, and *lalawæŋ* ‘long, tall’. Given the limited collection time for this language it is hard to know what to make of an apparent anomaly such as this. There appears to be evidence of contrast with both /a/ and /e/ in this environment, as seen with *tapuraŋ* ‘to shimmer, glare, of light on water’, *bihireŋ* ‘white’, *hewaŋ* ‘space’, or *ubweŋ* ‘k.o. fishnet’. It is possible that [æ] is a free variant of one of these vowels when preceding a velar nasal, but without clear evidence of this I have written it as a distinct vowel in the three forms in which it was recorded.

The most problematic feature of the vowels in my data on Sori concerns stress, which was initially recorded as penultimate. This pattern seems to represent the default case in the language, but some forms were recorded with antepenultimate or final stress, as with [bárawiʔ] ‘trivet, three stones of the hearth’, [báhawaj] ‘sugarcane’, [mwíhinon] ‘stern of a canoe’, or [mbrowéj] ‘crocodile’, [uhúʔ] ‘cough’, [hotów] ‘hiccup’. However, apparent stress contrasts as in *saŋóp* ‘ten’ vs. *húŋop* ‘twenty’ suggest that stress is variable, and I therefore tentatively conclude that Sori does not have phonemic stress. Another indication that this probably is the correct analysis is that the three speakers of Lindrou with whom I worked were insistent on the placement of stress in their language, whereas the single speaker of Sori was not. Given the variable transcriptions of stress in my data, however, this matter clearly deserves further consideration.

One further feature that is apparent in my fieldnotes is that the final glide in *gow* ‘2SG’, and some commonly used nouns such as *nij* ‘fish’ appears to drop in rapid speech. This is clearest in imperative constructions, which normally require a surface 2SG pronoun.

**4.3. GRAMMAR.** The categories covered in this sketch are 4.3.1. the counting system, 4.3.2 personal pronouns, 4.3.3. possessive pronouns, 4.3.4. demonstrative pronouns, 4.3.5. locatives and directionals, 4.3.6. questions, 4.3.7. causatives, 4.3.8. the attributive suffix, 4.3.9. imperatives, 4.3.10. tense/aspect, and 4.3.11. miscellaneous.

**4.3.1. The counting system.** The basic numerals used in serial counting are shown in Table 4.2:

**Table 4.2:** Sori numerals used in serial counting

sip	one
huop	two
tarop	three

papuw	four
limep	five
gonop	six
ehe-tarop	seven
anu-huop	eight
anu-sip	nine
saṅop	ten
saṅop e sip	eleven
etc.	
huṅop	twenty
huṅop e sip	twenty one
etc.	
turuṅop	thirty
paṅop	forty
lipiṅop	fifty
gonoṅop	sixty
ehe-turuṅop	seventy
anu-huṅop	eighty
anu-saṅop	ninety
saṅa	one hundred
huṅe	two hundred
turuṅe	three hundred
paṅa	four hundred
limiṅa	five hundred
gonoṅa	six hundred
ehe-turuṅa	seven hundred
anu-huṅa	eight hundred
anu-saṅa	nine hundred
sabaw	one thousand

As can be seen from this sample, although certain numbers are fully predictable from those that have gone before, as are all additive values to multiples of ten (11-19, 21-29, etc.), multiples of ten themselves are often idiosyncratic. Based on *huṅop* ‘twenty’, for example, we might suppose that ‘thirty’ would be *\*\*taroṅop* rather than the attested *turuṅop*, ‘forty’ would be *\*\*papuṅop* rather than the attested *paṅop*, and so on. Similarly, based on *saṅa* ‘one hundred’, we might suppose that ‘two hundred’ would be *\*\*huṅa* rather than the attested *huṅe*, that ‘three hundred’ would be *\*\*taroṅa* or *\*\*turuṅa* rather than the attested *turuṅe* (which then shows up as *turuṅa* in the subtractive numeral ‘seven hundred’), and so on. Add to this that the subtractive numerals are formed with *ehe-* for ‘seven’, ‘seventy’, ‘seven hundred’, etc., but with *anu-* for ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and tenfold multiples of these, and the system becomes so rife with irregularities that counting requires memorization rather than the application of established patterns.

Only limited attempts were made to determine whether numeral classifiers are used, and since these all proved negative they were not continued. Nouns for which counting was elicited included *gum* ‘house’, *naʔoʔoy* ‘child’ and *niy* ‘fish’, all of which show the same numeral set and the order noun + numeral (like Bipi, but unlike Seimat), as shown in (1):

- 1)
- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| gum sip      | one house    |
| gum huop     | two houses   |
| etc.         |              |
| naʔoʔoy sip  | one child    |
| naʔoʔoy huop | two children |
| etc.         |              |
| niy sip      | one fish     |
| niy huop     | two fish     |
| etc.         |              |

**4.3.2. Personal pronouns.** As elsewhere in the Admiralties, and in most Oceanic languages, Sori personal pronouns occur in singular, dual and plural numbers as seen in Table 4.3:

**Table 4.3:** Sori personal/free pronouns

	1IN	1EX	2	3
SG		jew	gow	hi
DL	tahuw	muhuw	mahuw	ahuw
PL	tarow	munow	muw	how

Examples recorded in sentence context are:

- |    |        |      |      |                                      |
|----|--------|------|------|--------------------------------------|
| 2) | jew    | nale | hi   |                                      |
|    | 1SG    | see  | 3SG  | ‘I see him/her’                      |
| 3) | hi     | nale | jew  |                                      |
|    | 3SG    | see  | 1SG  | ‘S/he sees me’                       |
| 4) | gow    | nale | hi   |                                      |
|    | 2SG    | see  | 3SG  | ‘You see him/her’                    |
| 5) | hi     | nale | gow  |                                      |
|    | 3SG    | see  | 2SG  | ‘S/he sees you’                      |
| 6) | tahuw  | nale | how  |                                      |
|    | 1DL.IN | see  | 3PL  | ‘Both of us (incl.) see them’        |
| 7) | tarow  | nale | ahuw |                                      |
|    | 1PL.IN | see  | 3PL  | ‘All of us (incl.) see both of them’ |
| 8) | muhuw  | nale | how  |                                      |
|    | 1DL.EX | see  | 3PL  | ‘Both of us (excl.) see them’        |

- |     |                 |               |                    |  |                                      |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 9)  | munow<br>1PL.EX | nale<br>see   | ahuw<br>3DL        |  | ‘All of us (excl.) see both of them’ |
| 10) | mahuw<br>2DL    | nale<br>see   | muhuw<br>1DL.EX    |  | ‘Both of you see both of us’         |
| 11) | muw<br>2PL      | nale<br>see   | muno<br>1PL.EX     |  | ‘All of you see us’                  |
| 12) | ahuw<br>3DL     | nale<br>see   | tahuw<br>1DL.IN    |  | ‘Both of them see both of us’        |
| 13) | how<br>3PL      | nale<br>see   | tarow<br>1PL.IN    |  | ‘They see all of us (incl.)’         |
| 14) | gow<br>2SG      | ñaʔoŋ<br>pull | laŋa<br>wind       |  | ‘You are breathing’                  |
| 15) | gow<br>2SG      | ñuw<br>wash   | mana-m<br>face-2SG |  | ‘You are washing your face’          |

In other sentences the 1SG pronoun was recorded as /ji/ rather than /jew/. Examples include:

- |     |           |               |               |                |                     |                          |
|-----|-----------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 16) | ji<br>1SG | na<br>PROG    | nop<br>afraid |                | ‘I’m afraid’        |                          |
| 17) | ji<br>1SG | na<br>PROG    | wa<br>come    |                | ‘I’m coming!’       |                          |
| 18) | ji<br>1SG | na<br>PROG    | bo<br>?       | parih<br>laugh | ‘I’m laughing’      |                          |
| 19) | ji<br>1SG | na<br>PROG    | mwiŋ<br>drink | gay<br>water   | a<br>now            | ‘I’m drinking water now’ |
| 20) | ji<br>1SG | mwiŋ<br>drink | gay<br>water  |                | ‘I drank the water’ |                          |
| 21) | hi<br>3SG | hamu<br>vomit |               |                | ‘S/he is vomiting’  |                          |

Examples of /ji/ were not recorded in object position, and it is unclear whether these two forms of the first person singular pronoun are freely interchangeable in subject position. One other thing to note here is the use of the progressive marker for what is normally considered a state rather than an action in sentence 16). This was so unexpected that I initially misanalyzed *na nop* as a

single morpheme *nanop*, but comparison with cognates in other languages, as Bipi *noh* ‘fearful, afraid’ showed that this almost certainly is wrong.

Finally, as in many other Oceanic languages, a conjoined subject that contains a noun and pronoun is expressed with a first person non-singular inclusive pronoun + noun (usually a personal name), and a conjoined subject that contains two nouns links them with a third person non-singular pronoun:

- 22) tarow            John na                    gey    brurey  
 1PL incl        John PROG                eat    taro  
 ‘John and us are eating the taro’
- 23) John ahuw Mary gey    brurey  
 John 3DL Mary eat    taro  
 ‘John and Mary are eating the taro’
- 24) ji        ley    John ahuw Mary atuw manasaw  
 1SG see    John 3DL Mary at    beach  
 ‘I saw John and Mary at the beach’

**4.3.3. Possessive pronouns.** The Sori system of possessive pronouns was largely recorded automatically in eliciting body part and kin terms which require them. However, these were recorded only in their singular forms. Since all data was recorded from a single speaker over two two-hour sessions material is necessarily limited. Nonetheless, the outlines of an interesting system which distinguishes direct from indirect possession emerged fairly clearly. Direct possession is found with most body-part terms and apparently all kin terms, as seen in the sample material in Table 4.4. Bases that could not be recorded in isolation are between slant lines:

**Table 4.4:** Direct pronominal possession in Sori

Base	1SG	2SG	3SG	
/nime/	nime	nime-m	nime-ŋ	hand
/uri/	uri	uri-m	uri-ŋ	skin, bark
/uruya/	uruya	uruya-m	uruya-ŋ	belly
/no/	no	no-m	no-ŋ	nose
/batu/	batu	batu-m	batu-ŋ	head
/aha/	aha	aha-m	aha-ŋ	name
/tine/	tine-y	tine-m	tine-ŋ	mother
/tama/	tama-y	tama-m	tama-ŋ	father
/naru/	naru	naru-m	naru-ŋ	child
/nadasi/	nadasi	nadasi-m	nadasi-ŋ	parallel sibling
/nabuso/	nabuso	nabuso-m	nabuso-ŋ	cross sibling

One feature of this table is particularly noteworthy, namely that the possessed form of the first person singular is zero in all other known forms, but is -y with the words for ‘mother’ and

‘father’. What is not shown in this table is that some body part terms in Sori are treated as alienable. The examples that occur in my data are shown in Table 4.5 together with common nouns that are alienably possessed in most Oceanic languages:

**Table 4.5:** Indirect pronominal possession in Sori

Base	1SG	2SG	3SG	
suh	suh ara	suh ara-m	suh ara-ŋ	female breast
hay	hay ara	hay ara-m	hay ara-ŋ	blood
hamutay	hamutay ara	hamutay ara-m	hamutay-ara-ŋ	vomit
<hr/>				
niy	niy ara	niy ara-m	niy-ara-ŋ	fish
pen	pen ara	pen ara-m	pen ara-ŋ	pen

Sori appears to lack any further distinction, such as edible vs. drinkable, in indirect possession, so the contrast in possessive constructions in this language, so far as we can tell without more information, is between most body parts and all kin terms on the one hand, and all other nouns together with a few body parts or substances on the other. While it may not be surprising that blood, or vomit, as separable bodily substances, are alienably possessed, the reason that the word for ‘female breast’ also falls into this category is far more difficult to understand.

One other feature of the recorded vocabulary relates to the question of fossilized 3SG possessive markers. A number of recorded nouns end with a velar nasal, and it appears likely in most cases that this is an obligatory 3SG possessive marker. Examples include: *aboræŋ* ‘wing’, *abwæŋ* ‘external gills’, *aseŋ* ‘internal gills’, *ayæŋ* ‘handle’, *baʔæŋ* ‘wound’, *baraiwiŋ* ‘tail’, *baræŋ* ‘tree trunk’, *baruŋ* ‘seed’, *boronŋ* ‘spine; thorn’, *bruæŋ* ‘flower’, *bruhudiŋ* ‘dorsal fin’, *bweŋ* ‘coconut husk’, *bwisiiŋ* ‘fish scale’, *haŋ* ‘branch of a tree’, *lauŋ* ‘leaf’, *manuŋ* ‘odor’, *mononŋ* ‘prow of a canoe’, *mwihinoŋ* ‘stern of a canoe’, *ñabruŋ* ‘sucker of taro’, *ohaŋ* ‘root’, and *saŋa-ŋ* ‘fork, bifurcation’. The great majority of these are nouns that have a part-to-whole relationship with a non-human ‘possessor’. If they were nouns that could be possessed by a human they would take the full set of possessive markers, and so reveal an underlying abstract base, but since they are not (one would not normally say ‘my wing’, ‘your gills’, etc.), they are found only in the 3SG possessed form, and since there is no paradigmatic alternation the historical morpheme boundary (which is quite clear in cases like \**saŋa* ‘fork, bifurcation’, \**saŋa-ña* ‘its fork, bifurcation’) has become synchronically opaque or lost.

**4.3.4. Demonstratives.** As in many other AN languages, the demonstrative pronouns which translate as ‘this’ and ‘that’ in English, are morphologically related to the corresponding adverbs ‘here’ and ‘there’. The data recorded is limited to the following examples:

- 25) aroh            pen    ara  
       this            pen    my            ‘This is my pen’
- 26) ireh            pen    ara  
       that-2P        pen    my            ‘That (near you) is my pen’

- 27) iroh            pen    ara  
that-2P        pen    my            ‘That (far from us) is my pen’
- 28) pen    ara    atoroh  
pen    my    here            ‘My pen is here’
- 29) pen    ara    atireh  
pen    my    there-2        ‘My pen is there (near you)’
- 30) pen    ara    atiroh  
pen    my    there-3        ‘My pen is there (far from us)’

In terms of identifiable morphology, the locative adverbs are derived from the corresponding demonstrative pronouns by adding an otherwise unknown element *at-* (and change of /a/ to /o/ in ‘here’). All locative adverbs share the same consonants, differing only in their vowels, which do not show the cross-linguistically common association of vowel frontness with proximity.

I recorded one other sentence with a demonstrative pronoun which appears to be a discourse marker, and is syntactically puzzling since the noun to which reference is made precedes the verb, and is separated from the deictic element:

- 31) ji        tana    laṅow    ero  
1SG    thing    know    that            ‘I know that (thing)’

**4.3.5. Locatives and directionals.** I recorded only a few sentences which contain a word indicating location or direction. The examples are:

- 32) ni        a        tu        lo        hapwey  
fish    ?        ?        in        basket        ‘The fish are in the basket’
- 33) ji        ley        John    atuw    manasaw  
1SG    see        John    at        beach        ‘I saw John at the beach’

Limited elicitation time prevented the collection of more extensive information of the kind found in several of the other sketches given here.

**4.3.6. Questions.** I recorded a small amount of material relating to *wh-* questions, formed with 1. *hamaseh* ‘who?’, 2. *piʔisah* ‘why?’, 3. *sipinaweŋ* and *anah* ‘what?’, 4. *ieŋ ayah* ‘where?’, 5. *piʔisah* ‘how?’, and 6. *sapeŋ* ‘how much/many?’. The homophony of distinct question words for ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ is almost certainly an error, but this was not caught in the field, and is left as transcribed. No examples of yes-no questions were recorded.

Examples of usage are given in sentences 34)-42), along with the answers that were supplied to those questions:

- 34) hamaseh i-wey niy ara  
 who 3SG?-eat fish my ‘Who ate my fish?’
- 35) John i-wey niy ara-m  
 John 3SG?-eat fish your ‘John ate your fish’
- 36) gow wey sipinawen  
 2SG ate what ‘What did you eat?’
- 37) piʔisah John i-wey niy ara  
 why John 3SG?-eat fish my ‘Why did John eat my fish?’
- 38) hi maaso pah hi wey  
 3SG hungry so 3SG eat ‘He ate (it) because he was hungry’
- 39) anah sepeha gow susuiy niy  
 what time 2SG catch fish ‘When did you catch the fish?’
- 40) ien ayah gow susuiy niy  
 where 2SG catch fish ‘Where did you catch the fish?’
- 41) piʔisah gow susuiy niy  
 how 2SG catch fish ‘How did you catch the fish?’
- 42) niy sapeŋ gow susuiy  
 fish how many 2SG catch ‘How many fish did you catch?’

Two things are notable in this limited material. First, sentence 38) lacks a pronominal object, which shows that it is not needed; however, it remains unclear whether an object in this construction is optional. Second, the question word is preverbal in every sentence except 36), where it is clause-final, and it precedes the object in every sentence except 42).

As in the great majority of AN languages, the question ‘What is your name’ takes the personal interrogative ‘who?’:

- 43) aha-m seŋ  
 name-2SG who ‘What is your name?’ (lit. ‘Who is your name?’)

**4.3.7. Causatives.** Only limited information relating to causative constructions was recorded. The clearest example in my fieldnotes is the following:

- 44) gow top ana-ŋ anay  
 2SG put feed-him/her food ‘Feed him/her!’

In addition, the following pair of morphologically related forms may contain a reflex of the POC causative prefix \*paka-:

- 45) dey ‘feces’ : po-dey ‘to defecate’

**4.3.8. The attributive suffix.** As in other languages of the Admiralties, many words that translate as adjectives in English end with a reflex of \*n (which in Sori is -ŋ). In a very few cases the existence of a historical morpheme boundary is apparent by comparison between reconstruction and reflex, as with POC \*mapat > PADM \*mapa-na > *mapaŋ* ‘heavy’. However, in most cases the likelihood that these words once contained an attributive suffix can be determined only by the high frequency of final velar nasals in them. The evidence for this is shown in Table 4.6:

**Table 4.6:** Evidence for Sori -ŋ ‘marker of attribution’

arijeŋ ‘living, alive’	monjeŋ ‘straight’
bihireŋ ‘white’	mosaŋ ‘old’
busiʔeŋ ‘blind’	mwasieŋ ‘good’
diʔipaŋ ‘hot’	ñamaŋ ‘sweet’
mana doʔoŋ ‘dull’	ñarahaŋ ‘bitter’
manaŋ ‘red’	ñatuŋ ‘cold’
hohoŋ ‘green/blue’	ñemureŋ ‘sour’
lalawæŋ ‘long, tall’	pawuŋ ‘new’
laputuŋ ‘thick’	saruŋ ‘much, many’
mahaŋ ‘ripe’	tapuraŋ ‘shimmering’
mamitaŋ ‘raw’	tinaŋ ‘big, large’
mapaŋ ‘heavy’	uhutaŋ ‘black’
mihipeŋ ‘thin’	

In at least one of these 25 examples (\*mwanene > *monjeŋ* ‘straight’) the final velar nasal appears to reflect a stem consonant rather than a suffix, and the same may also be true of \*tinana ‘big, large’, although the possibility exists that this is \*tina-na ‘mother’ + attributive suffix, given the use of the word for ‘mother’ to indicate something large or terrific in other languages. In any case, more than half of all Sori words in my database that have an attributive sense end with a velar nasal. By contrast, only 8 of 104 dynamic verbs in the vocabulary have this formal property (*anaŋ* ‘to feed’, *dimeŋ* ‘to ask’, *imwieŋ* ‘to drink’, *manjeŋ* ‘to descend’, *ñaʔoŋ* ‘to pull’, *ñieŋ* ‘to dig’, *siʔeŋ* ‘to want’, *tabruŋ* ‘to sink, drown’), strongly suggesting that most stative verbs or adjectives in Sori end with an attributive suffix that appears to be fossilized.

**4.3.9. Imperatives.** A handful of imperative constructions were recorded, and in all of these the 2SG free pronoun is used, suggesting that it is obligatory. Examples include the following:

- 46)   tine-y           gow    may  
      mother-1SG   2SG   come           ‘Mother, come!’
- 47)   gow    hiw  
      2SG   push           ‘Push it!’ (= ‘You push!’)



**4.3.10. Tense/aspect.** I have very little information on this topic, although a few sentences do suggest a difference in the form of the verb in what may be present vs. past tense. The relevant examples are:

58)    ji        ganiy        brurey  
       1SG    eat.past    taro            ‘I ate the taro’

I was told explicitly that /na/, which appears in sentence 57), cannot be used in sentence 58), so it appears that /ganiy/ is the past form of /gey/ (or /wey/), although a morphological relationship cannot be clearly established between these words.

In addition, it seems clear that /na/ marks progressive aspect in sentences such as 57), or the following:

59)    hi        na        sup        bruh  
       3SG    PROG    peel    banana            ‘S/he is peeling a banana’

60)    how       na        may  
       3PL    PROG    come                ‘They are coming’

However, some actions that are conceived as progressive in languages like English are not marked with the progressive marker in Sori:

61)    hi        hamu  
       3SG    vomit                ‘S/he is vomiting’

In some constructions that were recorded without contrasting forms it is possible that I have not yet succeeded in a complete morphological analysis. Consider the following sentence:

62)    hi        nate  
       3SG    walk                ‘S/he is walking’

This may consist of two morphemes, or of three (/hi na te/), where the second is the progressive marker, and without a past or future form of the same verb it is hard to say whether *nate* is one morpheme or two.

**4.3.11. Miscellaneous.** Given the very limited data collection time for this language only a few puzzling problems can be assigned to this category. The main one is perhaps determining the difference between *gey* and *wey*, both of which appear in several sentences meaning ‘to eat’. The contrast is striking in the following sentences:

63)    gow       wey        brurey  
       2SG    eat        taro            ‘Eat the taro!’

64)    gow       sa        gey        brurey  
       2SG    NEG    eat        taro            ‘Don’t eat the taro!’

As noted already, an initial hypothesis that /gey/ is found in negative constructions and /wey/ elsewhere fails in sentence 65):

- 65) John na gey  
John PROG eat 'John is eating'

The matter becomes even more puzzling when we consider that the verb 'to eat' was elicited in isolation as [nagɛ], which cannot be analyzed as /na gey/, since 1. it clearly contains [ɛ], which is disallowed before a palatal glide, and 2. there is no syntactic context that would support the use of a progressive marker before the verb. We are thus left with three partially similar words for 'to eat' that appear to be freely interchangeable: /gey/, /nage/ and /wey/ (cp. sentence 66):

- 66) how nage any  
3PL eat food 'They are eating food'

A second problem in the sentence material that was collected concerns the following sentences, both of which were recorded with the meaning 'I am coming'

- 67) ji may 'I'm coming!'  
68) ja na wa 'I'm coming!'

Since *may* and *wa* look suspiciously like the directional particles meaning 'toward the speaker' and 'away from the speaker' in many other languages, the first of these is perplexing: how can the speaker be coming toward himself? But the second is equally perplexing: if *wa* marks direction away from the speaker, the gloss given can only be with reference to the perspective of an observer toward whom the speaker is moving. There is little reason to believe that the presence or absence of the progressive marker *na* has any bearing on the directional interpretation (cf. *hi na may* 'S/he is coming', *ho na may* 'They are coming'), so the identical glosses given for these two sentences, which contrast only in *may* vs. *wa* remains a puzzle.

With regard to morphology, two body part terms begin with an element *ba-* that does not appear in the cognate forms of other languages, suggesting that this is an active or fossilized prefix, as in *badiriŋe* 'ear' (POC \*taliŋa), and the variants *brure* ~ *babrure* 'forehead' (PADM \*pula). A second active or fossilized affix is seen in the initial CV- of *nabruso* 'cross sibling', and *nadasi* 'parallel sibling' (POC \*taci).

More clearly productive is the transitive verb suffix *-iy*, which was recorded in *sup* 'peel, peeling' : *sup-iy* 'to peel (something)'. Too little sentence material was recorded to determine how productive this suffix is, but many other transitive verbs end with *-iy*, and it is likely that they derive from suffixed bases, whether the Sori word preserves the morpheme boundary or not. Examples in the data include *bwaturuiy* 'to hold in the hand', *gahiy* 'to sing', *ganiy* 'to bite', *gihipiy* 'to scratch an itch', *ñahamuniy* 'to burn something', *puʔuniy* 'to wake someone', *pwahatiy* 'to split something', *sapiy* 'to whittle a stick', *soloaniy* 'to drop, throw down', *susuivy* 'to sew', *tamariy* 'to hit; kill', *taʔariy* 'to bind, tie up', *tiriŋiy* 'to cut, slice', *tuluniy* 'to make,

build', and *turiy* 'to carry on the shoulder'. A few verbs that do not appear to be transitive also end with *-iy*, and it is unclear whether this is part of the base or a fossilized affix of uncertain function, as with *daniy* 'to dance', or *suhuniy* 'to sneeze'.

Finally, apart from the morpheme *ari* in /hi ari mat/ 'S/he is dead' there is little evidence for a copula.

**4.4. LEXICON.** The vocabulary collected for Sori follows. Conventions adopted in the previous descriptions apply here in the same way.

## SORI-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

/a/

- 001. *a*<sub>-1</sub> : black and white spiny starfish
- 002. /a/<sub>-2</sub> : foot/leg, *a*, *a-m*, *a-ŋ*
- 003. *a*<sub>-3</sub> : genitive? (cf. *daw*)
- 004. *a*<sub>-4</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *hapwey*)
- 005. *a*<sub>-5</sub> : now
- 006. *a*<sub>-6</sub> : thatch, roofing material
- 007. *abaʔow* : sandfly
- 008. *abayboy* : sand crab
- 009. *aboræŋ* : wing
- 010. *abwajaŋ* : external gills
- 011. *abwaw* : kind of basket used to store sago flour
- 012. *aha*<sub>-1</sub> : ant (generic)
  - aha mwamway* : black ant with painful bite
- 013. *aha*<sub>-2</sub> : name, *aha*, *aha-m*, *aha-ŋ*
- 014. *ahaway* : hawk, eagle
- 015. *ahebow* : heron
- 016. *ahi* : putty nut: *Parinari laurinum*
- 017. *ahode* : mid-day, noon
- 018. *ahow* : gray hair
- 019. *ahuw* : 3DL, the two of them
- 020. *alobweʔeha* : morning
- 021. *ama* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *anah*)
- 022. *amaŋ* : men's house
- 023. *amas* : left side
- 024. *ame* : string, rope
- 025. *amih* : storm, storm wind
- 026. *amwemwe* : tattoo
- 027. *anah*<sub>-1</sub> : mullet
  - anah ama* : kind of large mullet
- 028. *anah*<sub>-2</sub> : what (in questions)
- 029. *anaŋ* : to feed
- 030. *anaw* : seagull

031. *anay* : food  
 032. *aneŋ* : down, lower  
 033. *anu-* : less, take away?  
 034. *anu-sip* : nine  
 035. *anu-huŋa* : eight hundred  
 036. *anu-huŋop* : eighty  
 037. *anu-huop* : eight  
 038. *anu-saŋa* : nine hundred  
 039. *anu-saŋop* : ninety  
 040. *añaw* : a flowering shrub: *Hibiscus tiliaceus*  
 041. *apalow* : axe, used in felling trees  
 042. *apisih* : dirty; bad  
 043. *apop* : flying fish  
 044. *apwuw* : Malay apple with round white fruit: *Syzygium gomata*  
 045. *aʔap* : : k.o. small sea anemone  
 046. *aʔaw* : pronged fish spear  
 047. *arap* : frigate bird  
 048. /are/ : heart, *are*, *are-m*, *are-ŋ*  
 049. *arew* : far  
 050. *ari* : to be? (cf. *ma*<sub>-1</sub>)  
 051. *arijeŋ* : living, alive  
 052. *ariʔey* : up, upper, higher  
 053. *aritaʔuw* : to fall from a height; to fall in walking, stumble  
 054. *ariy* : grouper sp.  
     *ariy bwahaw* : k.o. grouper  
 055. *aroh* : this  
 056. *aseŋ* : internal gills (red material)  
 057. *ason* : near  
 058. *asu*<sub>-1</sub> : dust  
 059. *asu*<sub>-2</sub> : smoke  
     *asu jap* : smoke of a fire  
     NOTE: Possibly the same morpheme as the previous entry.  
 060. *asubwi niw* : golfball-sized coconut  
 061. *asuw* : centipede  
 062. *atireh* : there (near hearer)  
 063. *atiroh* : there (far from both speaker and hearer)  
 064. *atoroh* : here  
 065. *atu* : to rest the head  
 066. *atuh* : thunder  
 067. *atuŋ* : egg (Harengan *asuŋ*)  
 068. *atuw* : at, on  
 069. /aũe/ : neck, *aũe*, *aũe-m*, *aũe-ŋ*  
 070. *aw* : fishhook  
 071. *awah* : friend, companion  
 072. *awep* : small bamboo basket trap for fish  
 073. *awuŋ* : bunch, cluster (as of fruit)

074. *ay* : tree  
 075. *ayah* : (what?; cf. *ieŋ*)  
 076. *aye* : (gloss uncertain; = ‘blade’?)  
     *aye driw* : adze  
 077. *ayeŋ* : handle

/b/

078. *ba*<sub>-1</sub> : stone  
 079. /*ba*/<sub>-2</sub> : thigh, *ba*, *ba-m*, *ba-ŋ*  
 080. *babaw* : oars of a boat  
 081. /*babrure*/ : forehead, *babrure*, *babrure-m*, *babrure-ŋ* (cf. *brure*)  
 082. /*badiriŋe*/ : ear, *badiriŋe*, *badiriŋe-m*, *badiriŋe-ŋ*  
 083. *badu?uw* : short in length or height  
 084. *baha* : black bird similar to a seagull  
 085. *bahaway* : sugarcane  
 086. *balew* : spear (used in war)  
 087. *bambu?e* : giant clam, *Tridacna* sp.  
 088. *baŋ* : pigeon, dove  
 089. *ba?aŋ* : wound  
 090. /*barade*/ : intestines, guts, *barade*, *barade-m*, *barade-ŋ*  
 091. *baraiwiŋ* : tail  
 092. *barambuŋ* : catfish  
 093. *baraŋ* : tree trunk  
 094. /*bara?ahime*/ : tongue, *bara?ahime*, *bara?ahime-m*, *bara?ahime-ŋ*  
 095. *barawi* : trivet, three stones for the cooking pot  
 096. *barey* : sail of a canoe  
     *a-barey* : mast of a canoe (= ‘leg of sail’?)  
 097. *bariew* : large tuna, bonito  
 098. *bariŋe* : large type of flying fox  
     *bariŋe low* : type of flying fox?  
 099. *barudanop* : woman’s skirt  
 100. *baruŋ* : seed  
 101. *baru?aray* : jellyfish  
 102. /*batu*/ : head, *batu*, *batu-m*, *batu-ŋ*  
 103. *batuŋ* : yellow flower of the breadfruit  
 104. /*bause*/ : chin, jaw, *bause*, *bause-m*, *bause-ŋ*  
 105. *bawuŋ* : coconut cream  
 106. *bay*<sub>-1</sub> : stingray  
     *bay manuwey* : kind of small spotted stingray  
 107. *bay*<sub>-2</sub> : tree from which the slitgong is made  
 108. *bere?emusiy* : kind of slender bamboo  
 109. *bew* : shark (generic)  
 110. *bibiŋ* : woman, female  
 111. *bihireŋ* : white  
 112. *bire* : garden

113. *birew* : a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*  
 114. *bisew* : a tree used to make canoes  
 115. *bo*<sub>-1</sub> : dark; night  
 116. *bo*<sub>-2</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *na*<sub>-2</sub>)  
 117. *bobow* : broad-leaved pandanus with round green fruit  
 118. *boh* : canoe paddle  
 119. *bohay* : spoiled, rotten (of meat, fish, vegetables)  
 120. *bom* : kind of seaweed used to paint canoes  
 121. *bonaw* : thief; to steal  
 122. *boroj* : spines of the dorsal fin of a fish; thorn  
 123. *bosa* : dry (as clothing)  
 124. *bosoŋ* : rat  
 125. *bow* : pig  
 126. *boy* : the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*  
 127. *boyow* : k.o. small barracuda  
 128. *bu* : a shore tree: *Barringtonia asiatica*; fish poison obtained from the seed of this tree  
 129. *bucæŋ* : flower  
 130. *buey* : crocodile  
 131. *buh* : banana  
 132. *buharah* : cave bat, insectivorous bat  
 133. *buhudij* : dorsal fin  
 134. *bun* : fish poison obtained from a vine  
 135. *buŋ*<sub>-1</sub> : betel leaf (used to wrap the nut in making a chew)  
 136. *buŋ*<sub>-2</sub> : moon, month  
 137. *bup* : large bamboo basket trap for fish  
 138. *buʔom* : hermit crab  
 139. *buʔow* : mushroom  
 140. *bure* : forehead (cf. *babrure*)  
     *brure masiy* : embarrassed ('forehead ashamed')  
 141. *burep* : on top, overhead  
 142. *burey* : elephant ear taro  
 143. *burow* : sword grass  
 144. *buru*<sub>-1</sub> : to roast  
 145. *buru*<sub>-2</sub> : spouse  
 146. *burubu* : brace for connecting sticks on outrigger  
 147. *buse* : liver (no possessed forms given)  
 148. *busem* : to spit  
 149. *busiʔeŋ*<sub>-1</sub> : blind  
 150. *busiʔeŋ*<sub>-2</sub> : hole in a canoe, through a wall, etc.  
 151. *busow* : island

/bw/

152. /bwa/ : mouth, *bwa*, *bwa-m*, *bwa-ŋ*  
     *bwa saŋaŋ* : fork of a branch  
 153. *bwahaw* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ariy*)

154. *bwaturuiy* : to hold in the hand  
 155. *bwe* : shell  
     *bwe gap* : lime gourd  
     *bwe niw* : coconut shell  
     *bwe-ŋ* : its shell  
 156. *bweŋ* : coconut husk (possibly *bwe-ŋ* ‘it’s husk’)  
 157. *bwisij* : scale (of fish)  
 158. /bwitame/ : back, *bwitame*, *bwitame-m*, *bwitame-ŋ*

/d/

159. *da* : mid-day, noon  
 160. *dabune jap* : hearth  
 161. *dah*<sub>-1</sub> : lionfish  
 162. *dah*<sub>-2</sub> : saltwater; salt  
 163. *daniy* : to dance  
 164. *dañip* : sardine  
 165. *daŋ* : slitgong  
 166. *dap* : conch shell trumpet  
 167. *daray* : big, giant  
 168. *darieh* : fireplow  
 169. *darih* : a shore tree with edible nut; also used to make canoe paddles: *Terminalia catappa*  
 170. *dari?iy* : rope for the sail  
 171. *dasuh* : support stick for mast of canoe  
 172. *daw*<sub>-1</sub> : star  
     *daw a payap* : Evening star  
     *daw a lobwe?eħa* : Morning star  
 173. *daw*<sub>-2</sub> : wet nasal mucus, snot  
 174. *dawey* : coconut grater (said to be distinct from *drawey*, although they are suspiciously similar)  
 175. *delana* : sky  
 176. *dey* : feces  
     *dey jap* : ashes  
     *dey-brurep* : cloud, fog, mist (‘feces overhead’ = [dɛmburep])  
     *po-dey* : to defecate  
 177. *dimeŋ* : to ask (a question)  
 178. *di?ipaŋ* : hot (of the weather or body); fever  
 179. *dire* : to weep, cry  
 180. *domana* : (gloss uncertain)  
     *domana jap* : firewood  
 181. *domonay*<sub>-1</sub> : to swallow  
 182. *domonay*<sub>-2</sub> : to think  
 183. *doŋ* : canoe  
 184. *dop* : kind of pandanus without fruit; pandanus sleeping mat and raincape  
 185. *do?oŋ* : dull (cf. *mana*)  
 186. *dow* : punting pole

187. *du* : housepost  
188. *dusey* : freshwater eel

/dr/

189. *drakasaw* : traditional loincloth  
190. *dramey* : kind of black wildfowl with red crest  
191. *drawey* : mussel (shell used to scrape coconuts)  
192. *dre* : frog  
193. *driw* : curved

/e/

194. *e* : and (cf. *sanop*)  
195. *eh* : mangrove crab  
196. *ehe* : red parrot  
197. *ehe-tarop* : seven  
198. *ehe-turuŋa* : seven hundred  
199. *ehe-turuŋop* : seventy  
200. *ero* : that (demonstrative)

/g/

201. *ga* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *sameŋ*)  
202. *gabruh* : to boil  
203. *gahiy* : to sing  
204. *gaimaŋ* : lake, pond  
205. *galale* : wave in the open sea, sea swell  
206. *ganiy* : to bite  
207. *gap* : lime (for betel)  
208. *gaʔuh* : to collect, gather things together  
209. /gara/ : flesh, muscle, *gara*, *gara-m*, *gara-ŋ*  
210. *gariay* : false; lie  
211. *gatap* : tide; current  
212. *gatiy* : monitor lizard  
213. *gay* : fresh water, river  
    *gay ih mana-n* : tears  
214. *gep* : giant rock cod  
215. *gewey* : mango (Harengan *wewey*)  
216. *gey*<sub>1</sub> : to eat  
217. *gey*<sub>2</sub> : surf, breakers  
218. *ghipiy* : to scratch an itch  
219. *gihiy* : dolphin  
220. *gohaw* : to bail water from a canoe  
221. *gohep* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *para*)  
222. *gonoŋa* : six hundred

223. *gonoŋop* : sixty  
 224. *gonop* : six  
 225. *goŋ* : sand  
 226. *gopo* : to chop firewood  
 227. *gow* : 2SG, you  
 228. *guh* : marine shrimp, lobster  
 229. *gulumwew* : to yawn  
 230. *gum* : house, nest  
 231. *guŋ* : maggot  
 232. *guruw* : high tide, flood

/h/

233. *ha* : day  
 234. *haboŋ* : twin  
 235. *habruha* : web  
     *habruha ñaʔowey* : spiderweb  
 236. *hahap* : manta ray  
 237. *hahiŋey* : coconut flower spathe  
 238. *halah* : coral limestone  
 239. *ham* : lime spatula  
 240. *hama* : person, human being  
 241. *hamaŋ* : red  
 242. *hamasey* : who (in questions)  
 243. *hameŋ* : lightning  
 244. *hamu* : to vomit  
     *hamu-tay* : vomitus, *hamu-tay ara*, *hamu-tay ara-m*, *hamu-tay ara-ŋ*  
 245. *haŋ* : branch of a tree  
 246. *haŋey* : bald  
 247. *haŋka* : anchor (TP)  
 248. *haŋuh* : fishnet float  
 249. *hapiŋ* : gecko, house lizard  
 250. *hapwey* : kind of basket  
     *ni a tu lo hapwey* ‘The fish are in the basket’  
 251. *haʔah* : plant with wood used to make the fireplow  
 252. *harabruh* : housefly, March fly  
 253. *hariʔey* : coconut oil  
 254. *harop* : canoe bailer  
 255. *haw* : to fetch water  
 256. *hawa* : to play  
 257. *hay*<sub>-1</sub> : blood, *hay ara*, *hay ara-m*, *hay ara-ŋ*  
 258. *hay*<sub>-2</sub> : rainbow  
 259. *hay*<sub>-3</sub> : west  
     *laŋa hay* : west wind  
 260. *hayey* : breadfruit sap  
 261. *he* : sago grub

262. *hep* : Spanish mackerel  
 263. *hewaŋ* : space  
       *hewaŋ oʔoy* : narrow  
       *hewaŋ tinay* : wide  
 264. *hi* : 3SG, he, she  
 265. *hitim* : tongs  
 266. *hiw* : to push  
 267. *hohoan* : green, blue  
 268. *hop* : to count  
 269. *hotow* : to hiccup  
 270. *how* : 3PL, all of them  
 271. *hui* : bone, *hui*, *hui-m*, *hui-ŋ*  
 272. *huŋe* : two hundred  
 273. *huŋop* : twenty  
 274. *huop* : two  
 275. *hup* : to blow (as on the fire)  
 276. *huw* : dugong

/i/

277. *i* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *wey*)  
 278. *ibwe* : rollers for banking a canoe  
 279. *ieh* : outrigger boom  
 280. *ieŋ* : (place?)  
       *ieŋ ayah* : where?  
 281. *iew* : to remove?  
       *uri-ŋ iew* : to peel (= ‘remove its skin’?)  
 282. *ih* : (gloss uncertain, ‘flow from’?; cf. *gay*)  
 283. *ime* : to die (= *i-me*?)  
 284. *imwiŋ* : to drink, to suck  
 285. *iñe* : to climb, as a ladder  
 286. *ipeh* : to stick, adhere  
 287. *iʔiw* : kingfisher  
 288. *ire* : to give  
 289. *ireh* : that (near hearer)  
 290. *iroh* : that (far from both speaker and hearer)

/j/

291. *jaŋ-1* : k.o. large barracuda  
 292. *jaŋ-2* : sun  
 293. *jap* : fire  
 294. *japay* : northwest  
       *laŋa japay* : northwest wind  
 295. *japey* : fork (cross-sticks) on the outrigger for the connecting poles  
 296. *jay* : to swim

- na jay* ‘It is swimming’  
 297. *jew*<sub>-1</sub> : banyan  
 298. *jew*<sub>-2</sub> : 1SG, I, me  
 299. *ji* : 1SG, I, me  
     *ji na wa* ‘I’m coming!’ (spoken to someone at a distance?)  
 300. *joh* : rain  
 301. *jow* : kind of breadfruit tree with smaller fruit than *uj*

/k/

302. *kali* : mother’s brother  
 303. *kasus* : coconut crab  
 304. *kawur* : kind of large bamboo  
 305. *koya* : pus

/l/

306. *labay* : flatfish, halibut  
 307. *lalawæŋ* : long, tall  
 308. *lami* : hair, feather, *lami-ŋ*  
     *lami batu-* : hair of the head  
     *lami nime-* : body hair (on arm)  
 309. *laŋ*<sub>-1</sub> : tree used to make canoes  
 310. *laŋ*<sub>-2</sub> : Trochus shell  
 311. *laŋa* : wind; breath; to blow, of the wind  
 312. *laŋow* : to know  
 313. *lapañam* : ancestral spirit  
 314. *lape* : prow shield on canoe  
 315. *laputuŋ*<sub>-1</sub> : fat, grease  
 316. *laputuŋ*<sub>-2</sub> : thick, as a plank  
 317. *lasey* : kind of large marine fish, probably sea perch or grouper sp.  
 318. *lasow* : bandicoot, marsupial rat  
 319. *lauŋ* : leaf  
 320. *law* : male, man  
 321. *ley*<sub>-1</sub> : ginger  
 322. *ley*<sub>-2</sub> : (gloss uncertain)  
     *ley yeh* : to stay  
 323. *ley*<sub>-3</sub> : to see  
 324. *lih* : nit, egg of a louse  
 325. *limep* : five  
 326. *limiŋa* : five hundred  
 327. *lipiŋop* : fifty  
 328. /lipo/ : tooth, *lipo*, *lipo-m*, *lipo-ŋ*  
 329. *lo*<sub>-1</sub> : boil, abscess  
 330. *lo*<sub>-2</sub> : in, inside (cf. *loŋ*)  
 331. *lolow*<sub>-1</sub> : lagoon

332. *lolow*-2 : whale  
 333. *lonah* : sea, ocean (Harengan *lodah*)  
 334. *loŋ* : in, inside (cf. *lo*)  
 335. *loʔay* : freshwater shrimp  
 336. *low* (gloss uncertain; cf. *bariŋe*)

/m/

337. *-m* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *tana*)  
 338. *ma*-1 : dead  
     *hi ari ma* : ‘S/he is dead’  
 339. *ma*-2 : (gloss uncertain; cf. *tarow*)  
 340. *ma*-3 : reef; low tide  
 341. *mabo* : morning (after the sun has risen until about noon)  
 342. *macap* : hot (of water or cooked food)  
 343. *mahaŋ* : ripe  
 344. *mahuw* : 2DL, you two  
 345. *mama* : to wake up, gain consciousness (intr.)  
 346. *mamitaŋ* : raw, uncooked  
 347. /mana/ : eye, face; prominent part; blade, *mana*, *mana-m*, *mana-ŋ*  
     *mana doʔoŋ* : dull (of point or blade), blunt  
     *mana ñamaŋ* : sharp (of point or blade)  
     *mana saŋ* : path, road  
     *mana suh* : nipple of the breast  
     *mana suw* : beach, shore  
     *mana usu* : lip  
 348. *maney* : to descend (as a ladder)  
 349. *maney* : mountain (Harengan *madey*)  
 350. *manuŋ* : odor  
 351. *manuwey*-1 : butterfly  
 352. *manuwey*-2 : sea eagle  
 353. *mapaŋ* : heavy  
 354. *maʔaso* : hungry  
 355. *mariom* : spirit of the dead, ghost (cf. *mwihiom*)  
 356. *maripo* : coconut inflorescence, coconut flower  
 357. *marisow* : parent-in-law  
 358. *masew* : k.o. large sea anemone  
 359. *masih* : cooked  
 360. *masimah* : to sit down  
 361. *masip* : all  
 362. *masiy* : ashamed  
 363. *matih* : to sleep  
 364. *may* : to come  
     *ji may* ‘I’m coming!’, *go may* ‘Come here!’  
 365. *memep* : to dream  
 366. *mihipeŋ* : thin, of materials

367. *mimim* : urine, urinate  
       *hi mimim* ‘S/he is urinating’
368. *mohay* : smooth, as a calm sea, calm, of the surface of water
369. *mohow* : cinnamon tree
370. *momwa* : large squid
371. *money* : straight
372. *monomwa* : marine eel
373. *monoy* : prow of a canoe
374. *monoy* : unicornfish
375. *mosay* : old, of things
376. *motah* : rotten, crumbling (of wood)
377. *moy* : pandanus with edible red or yellow fruit
378. *muhuw* : 1DL.EX, we two (but not you)
379. *munow* : 1PL.EX, all of us (but not you)
380. *musim* : a shore tree with needles and small cones: *Casuarina equisetifolia*
381. *muw* : 2PL, you all, all of you

/mw/

382. *mwa* : snake (on land or sea)
383. *mwamway* : (gloss uncertain \*cf. *aha*)
384. *mwaj*<sub>-1</sub> : hole in the ground
385. *mwaj*<sub>-2</sub> : male, man
386. *mwap* : taro: *Colocasia esculenta*
387. *mwaru* : kind of dove with a white tail
388. *mwasiŋ* : good
389. *mweʔay* : base of a tree (?)
390. *mwi* : dog
391. *mwihinoy* : stern of a canoe
392. *mwihiom* : shadow, reflection (cf. *mariom*)
393. *mwiñihe* : saliva, *mwiñihe*, *mwiñihe-m*, *mwiñihe-ŋ*

/n/

394. *na*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. jay)
395. *na*<sub>-2</sub> : progressive aspect  
       *na bo* : progressive aspect
396. *nabruso* : cross sibling, sibling of opposite sex
397. *nadasi* : parallel sibling, sibling of the same sex
398. *nage* : to eat
399. *nah* : digging stick
400. *nahe* : to grow
401. *naho* : to hear
402. *nale* : to look at, see (probably = /na ley/)
403. *napu* : to sniff, smell
404. /naru/ : child, *naru*, *naru-m*, *naru-ŋ*

405. *ndom* : basket  
 406. *nie* : one of the trees from which canoe paddles are made  
 407. *nieŋ* : termite, white ant  
 408. /*nime/* : hand, *nime*, *nime-m*, *nime-ŋ*  
 409. *niv* : coconut tree  
 410. *niy* : fish  
 411. /*no/* : nose, *no*, *no-m*, *no-ŋ*  
 412. *nop* : afraid  
*ji na nop* ‘I am afraid’, *go na nop* ‘You are afraid’, *hi na nop* ‘S/he is afraid’

/ñ/

413. *ña* : latex-yielding tree with apple-like fruit, probably *Palaquium* spp.  
 414. *ñabibi* : yellow-tailed mullet  
 415. *ñabih* : mosquito  
 416. *ñabiy* : sago palm  
 417. *ñabru* : to pinch  
 418. *ñabruŋ* : sucker of taro, etc.  
 419. *ñabwaw* : grandfather, grandchild  
 420. *ñadrew* : canarium nut: *Canarium indicum*  
 421. *ñah* : widower  
 422. *ñahamuniy* : to burn  
 423. *ñamaŋ*<sub>-1</sub> : sharp (cf. *mana*)  
 424. *ñamaŋ*<sub>-2</sub> : sweet  
 425. *ñamwih* : sweat, perspiration  
 426. *ñaŋow* : yellow  
 427. *ñaʔoŋ* : to pull  
*ñaʔoŋ laŋa* : to breathe (‘pull breath’)  
 428. *ñaʔowey* : spider  
 429. *ñara* : stinging nettle, *Laportea* sp.  
 430. *ñarahaŋ* : bitter  
 431. *ñatuŋ* : cold (of water, food, the weather)  
 432. *ñaw*<sub>-1</sub> : tree used to make canoes  
 433. *ñaw*<sub>-2</sub> : widow  
 434. *ñemureŋ* : sour  
 435. *ñibow* : caterpillar  
 436. *ñiŋ* : to dig  
 437. *ñuw*<sub>-1</sub> : to dive; to bathe, to wash, as the face  
*Go ñuw mana-m* : You are washing your face  
 438. *ñuw*<sub>-2</sub> : small squid without shell

/ŋ/

439. *ŋam* : nature spirit

/o/

440. *oh*<sub>-1</sub> : earth  
 441. *oh*<sub>-2</sub> : village, home  
 442. *oha* : seaweed (generic)  
 443. *ohay* : root (as of a tree)  
 444. *ohay*<sub>-1</sub> : bush, forest  
     *lo ohay* : bush, forest  
 445. *ohay*<sub>-2</sub> : cuscus, opossum  
 446. *oʔoy* : small  
     *naʔ-oʔoy* : child  
 447. *oraw* : men's sarong  
 448. *ow*<sub>-1</sub> : fence  
 449. *ow*<sub>-2</sub> : sea cucumber, sea squirt

/p/

450. *pah* : so, therefore  
 451. *panuw* : true, correct (Harengan *paduw*)  
 452. *paŋa* : four hundred  
 453. *paŋop* : forty  
 454. *papah* : to carry on the back  
 455. *papay* : fish corral  
 456. *papuw* : four  
 457. *para* : stick? (cf. *baraŋ*)  
     *para gohep* : ridgepole  
 458. *parasaw* : shelf (= para-saw?)  
     *parasaw ariʔey* : upper firewood shelf over the hearth  
     *parasaw aneŋ* : lower firewood shelf over the hearth  
 459. *parih* : to laugh, smile  
 460. *pasawey* : to bury  
 461. *pasow* : to plant  
 462. *pawuŋ* : new  
 463. *payap* : afternoon, evening  
 464. *piʔisah* : how?, why?  
     NOTE: Probably an error.  
 465. *piriy* : headache, toothache, painful  
 466. *pisi* : to squeeze  
 467. *po-* : causative prefix? (cf. *dey*)  
 468. *poloay* : to turn the head or body  
 469. *praiim* : to fry (TP)  
 470. *puʔuniy* : to wake someone up  
 471. *pusupwem* : kind of small dove with colored breast  
 472. *puw* : large casting net

/pw/

473. *pwahatiy* : to split  
 474. *pweluj* : deaf, mute  
 475. *pwiripwin* : kind of carrying or storage basket made of coconut leaves

/r/

476. *ra* : to go  
 477. *rubwe* : earthworm

/s/

478. *sa* : negative imperative, don't  
 479. *saba* : dry coconut  
 480. *sabaw* : one thousand  
 481. *sabow* : to catch, as something thrown  
 482. *sahep* : to clear away underbrush, fell trees, cut rope  
 483. *sam* : outrigger float  
 484. *samay* : swollen  
 485. *sambow* : wet  
 486. *sameŋ* : knife  
       *sameŋ ga* : bush knife  
 487. *sanom* : stonefish  
 488. *saŋ<sub>-1</sub>* : doorway, door opening  
 489. *saŋ<sub>-2</sub>* : path?  
       *mana saŋ* : path, road  
 490. *saŋ<sub>-3</sub>* : sea urchin  
 491. *saja* : one hundred  
 492. *saŋaŋ* : fork, bifurcation  
 493. *saŋop* : ten  
       *saŋop e sip* : eleven  
       *saŋop e huop* : twelve  
 494. *sapeŋ* : how much/many?  
 495. *sapiy* : to whittle a stick to a sharp point; to grind a point or blade, to whet  
 496. *sapow* : to say, to tell, to speak  
 497. *saʔamoʔom* : evening  
 498. *saʔow<sub>-1</sub>* : few  
 499. *saʔow<sub>-2</sub>* : mangrove  
 500. *sariŋ<sub>-1</sub>* : fruit  
 501. *sariŋ<sub>-2</sub>* : right side  
 502. *saruaiŋ* : much, many  
 503. *sasapo* : to talk in one's sleep  
 504. *sawey* : to stab  
 505. *sawsaw* : canoe platform  
 506. *say<sub>-1</sub>* : Malay apple with long red fruit: *Syzygium gomata*  
 507. *say<sub>-2</sub>* : mangrove  
 508. *seŋ* : who?

509. *sepeha* : time  
 510. *sih* : croton  
 511. *sihep* : to carry on a pole between two men  
 512. *sip* : one  
 513. *sipih* : cockatoo  
 514. *sipinawey* : what (in questions)  
 515. *siʔey* : to want, desire  
 516. *siʔiney* : to wash (clothes, dishes)  
 517. *siʔisa* : starfish (generic?)  
 518. *siy* : to fart  
 519. *sohak* : roof  
 520. *solay* : sailfish, swordfish, marlin  
 521. *soloaniy* : to drop, throw down, throw away  
 522. *soloay* : to throw (as a stone)  
 NOTE: Probably related to the preceding, although the morphology is unclear.  
 523. *sow* : to shoot (as an arrow)  
 524. *soyem* : tree from which fishnet floats are made  
 525. /subrubruo/ : navel, *subrubruo*, *subrubruo-m*, *subrubruo-ŋ*  
 526. *suey* : to paddle a canoe  
 527. *suh* : female breast, *suh ara*, *suh ara-m*, *suh ara-ŋ*  
 528. *suhuniy* : to sneeze  
 529. *suy* : coconut leaf torch  
 530. *sup* : peel  
     *sup-iy* : to peel (something)  
 531. *suru* : rattan  
 532. *suruʔey* : to stand up, rise  
 533. *susuiy* : to sew  
 534. *suw-1* : comb  
 535. *suw-2* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *mana*)  
 536. *suw-3* : soup

/t/

537. *tabruŋ* : to sink, drown  
 538. *tahuw* : 1DL.IN, we two (incl.)  
 539. /tama/-1 : father, *tama-y*, *tama-m*, *tama-ŋ*  
 540. *tama-2* : to fight in war  
 541. *tamariy* : to hit (with fist, stick), slap, punch, kill  
 542. *tana* : thing  
     *tana-m* : something  
 543. *tañem* : red tree ant  
 544. *tapep* : to float  
 545. *tapoh* : to smoke fish or meat  
 546. *tapuraŋ* : glaring, shimmering, as light on water  
 547. *taʔariy* : to bind, tie by wrapping around  
 548. *tarop* : three

549. *tarow* : 1PL.IN, we (incl.)  
*tarow ma-papuw* : all of us (lit. ‘we four’)
550. *tatayay* : to pull
551. *-tay* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *hamu*)
552. *te* : to walk  
*hi na te* ‘S/he is walking’
553. *tinaŋ* : big, large
554. /*tine/* : mother, *tine-y*, *tine-m*, *tine-ŋ*
555. *tiʔeŋ* : betel nut
556. *tiriŋiy* : to cut, slice (fish or meat)
557. *tirip* : young coconut with a soft shell
558. *tiy* : to weave
559. *top* : to put
560. *toraw* : east  
*laŋa toraw* : east wind
561. *tow* : ironwood tree: *Intsia bijuga*
562. *tu* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *hapwey*)
563. *tuep* : to chew betel; betel chew
564. *tuluniy* : to make, to build
565. *turiy* : to carry on the shoulder
566. *turuŋe* : three hundred
567. *turuŋop* : thirty

/u/

568. *u* : louse
569. *ubweŋ* : fishnet with sticks, worked by two men
570. *ubwey* : small type of flying fox
571. *uh* : cooking pot
572. *uhu* : to cough
573. *uhutaŋ* : black
574. *ui* : octopus
575. *uluim* : clothing (in general)
576. *um* : southeast  
*laŋa um* : southeast wind
577. *uŋ-1* : breadfruit
578. *uŋ-2* : short yam
579. /*uri/* : skin, *uri*, *uri-m*, *uri-ŋ*  
*uri-ŋ* : bark of a tree
580. *uriy* : rudder of a canoe
581. /*uruya/* : abdomen, belly, *uruya*, *uruya-m*, *uruya-ŋ*
582. *usu* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *mana*)
583. *uw* : owl
584. *uy* : small coconut leaf basket used to carry sago

/w/

585. *wa* : go? (cf. *ji*)  
586. *wey* : to eat  
    *i-wey* : to eat  
587. *wok* : work (TP)

/y/

588. *yeh* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ley*)  
589. *yia* : year (TP)  
590. *yo* : to run

#### 4.4 English-Sori Index

abdomen	:	uruya-
abscess	:	lo
to adhere	:	ipeh
adze	:	aye driw
afraid	:	nanop
afternoon	:	payap
alive	:	arijeŋ
all	:	masip
anchor	:	haŋka (TP)
and	:	e
ant sp.	:	aha, aha mwamway, tañem
ash	:	dey jap
ashamed	:	masiy
to ask	:	dimeŋ
at	:	atuw
axe	:	apalow
back (anat.)	:	bwitame-
bad	:	apisiŋ
to bail out a canoe	:	gohaw
bald	:	haŋey
bamboo sp.	:	bereʔemusiy, kawur
banana	:	bruh
bandicoot	:	lasow
bark (of tree)	:	uri-ŋ
base of tree	:	mweʔay
basket	:	abwaw, hapwey, ndom, pwiripwin, uy
basket trap for fish	:	awep, brup
bat (insectivorous)	:	bruharah
to bathe	:	ñuw

to be	:	ari (?)
beach	:	mana suw
belly	:	uruya-
betel chew	:	tuep
betel leaf	:	bruŋ
betel nut	:	tiʔeŋ
big	:	daray, tinaŋ
to bind	:	taʔariy
bird sp.	:	ahaway, ahebow, anaw, arap, baha, baŋ, dramey, ehe, iʔiw, manuwey, mwaru, pusupwem, sipih, uw
to bite	:	ganiy
bitter	:	ñarahaŋ
black	:	uhutaŋ
blind	:	brusiʔeŋ
blood	:	hay
to blow	:	hup, laŋa
blue	:	hohoaŋ
blunt	:	mana doʔoŋ
boil (n.)	:	lo
to boil	:	gabruh
bone	:	hui
brace (for outrigger)	:	brurubru
branch	:	haŋ
breadfruit	:	uŋ
breadfruit flower	:	batuŋ
breadfruit sap	:	hayeŋ
breakers	:	gey
breast	:	suh
breath	:	laŋa
to breathe	:	ñaʔoŋ laŋa
to build	:	tuluniy
bunch	:	awuŋ
to burn	:	ñahamuniy
to bury	:	pasawey
bush	:	ohay
butterfly	:	manuwey
calm (water)	:	mohay
canarium nut	:	ñadrew
canoe	:	doŋ
canoe bailer	:	harop
canoe platform	:	sawsaw
to carry (on back)	:	papah
to carry (on shoulder)	:	turiy
to carry (with pole)	:	sihep
to catch (s.t. thrown)	:	sabow

caterpillar	:	ñibow
causative prefix	:	po-
centipede	:	asuw
to chew (betel)	:	tuep
child	:	naʔoʔoy, naru-
chin	:	bause-
to chop (firewood)	:	gopo
clam (giant)	:	babruʔe
to clear underbrush	:	sahep
to climb	:	iñe
clothing (general)	:	uluim
cloud	:	dey brurep
cluster	:	awuŋ
coconut	:	niw
coconut cream	:	bawuŋ
coconut flower	:	maripo
coconut flower spathe	:	hahipey
coconut grater	:	dawey
coconut growth stage	:	asubwi niw, saba, tirip
coconut husk	:	bwe-ŋ
coconut oil	:	hariʔey
coconut shell	:	bwi niw
cold	:	ñatuŋ
to collect	:	gaʔuh
comb	:	suw
to come	:	may
companion	:	awah
conch shell trumpet	:	dap
cooked	:	masih
cooking pot	:	uh
coral limestone	:	halah
correct	:	panuw
to cough	:	uhu
to count	:	hop
crab sp.	:	abayboy, bruʔom, eh, kasus
crocodile	:	bruey
crumbling (wood)	:	motah
to cry	:	dire
current	:	gatap
curved	:	driw
cuscus	:	ohay
to cut	:	sahep, tiriŋiy
to dance	:	daniy
dark	:	bo
day	:	ha
dead	:	ma

deaf	:	pweluŋ
to defecate	:	po-dey
to descend	:	maneŋ
to desire	:	siʔeŋ
to die	:	ime
to dig	:	ñiŋ
digging stick	:	nah
dirty	:	apisiŋ
to dive	:	ñuw
dog	:	mwi
dolphin	:	gihiy
don't	:	sa
doorway	:	saŋ
down	:	aneŋ
to dream	:	memep
to drink	:	imwiŋ
to drop	:	soloaniy
dry	:	bosa
dugong	:	huw
dull (blade, point)	:	mana doʔoŋ
dullness (?)	:	doʔoŋ
dust	:	asu
ear	:	badiriŋe-
earth	:	oh
earthworm	:	rubwe
east	:	toraw
to eat	:	gey, wey
eel (freshwater)	:	dusey
eel (marine)	:	monomwa
egg	:	atuŋ
eight	:	anu-huop
eight hundred	:	anu-huŋa
eighty	:	anu-huŋop
embarrassed	:	brure masiy
evening	:	payap, saʔamoʔom
Evening star	:	daw a payap
eye	:	mana-
face	:	mana-
to fall	:	aritaʔuw
false	:	gariay
far	:	arew
to fart	:	siy
fat (n.)	:	laputuŋ
father	:	tama
feather	:	lami
feces	:	dey

to feed	:	anaŋ
to fell trees	:	sahep
female	:	bibiŋ
fence	:	ow
to fetch water	:	haw
fever	:	diʔipaŋ
few	:	saʔow
fifty	:	lipiŋop
to fight (in war)	:	tama
fin (dorsal)	:	bruhudiŋ
fire	:	jap
fireplow	:	darieh
firewood	:	domana jap
fish	:	niy
fish corral	:	papay
fishnet (casting)	:	puw
fishnet (with sticks)	:	ubweŋ
fishnet float	:	haŋuh
fish sp.	:	anah, anah ama, apop. ariy, ariy, barabruŋ, bariew, bew, boyow, dah, dañip, gep, hep, jaŋ, labay, lasey, monoy, ŋabibi, sanom, solay
fishhook	:	aw
five	:	limep
five hundred	:	limiŋa
flesh	:	gara-
to float	:	tapep
flood	:	guruw
flower	:	bruæŋ
fly (house)	:	harabruh
fly (March)	:	harabruh
to fly	:	natarep
flying fox	:	bariŋe, bariŋe low, ubwey
fog	:	dey brurep
food	:	anay
foot	:	a-
forehead	:	(ba)brure-
forest	:	ohay
fork (of branch)	:	bwa saŋaŋ
forked	:	saŋaŋ
forty	:	paŋop
four	:	papuw
four hundred	:	paŋa
friend	:	awah
frog	:	dre
fruit	:	sariŋ

to fry	:	praiim (TP
garden	:	bire
to gather	:	gaʔuh
gecko	:	hapiŋ
genitive	:	a (?)
ghost	:	mariom
giant	:	daray
gills	:	abwaraŋ, aseŋ
ginger	:	ley
to give	:	ire
glaring (light)	:	tapuraŋ
gloss uncertain	:	a-, ama, aye, bo-, bwahaw, domana, ga, gohep, i, ih, ley-2, low-, -m, ma-2, mwamway, na-1, suw-2, -tay, tu, usu, yeh
to go	:	ra
good	:	mwasiŋ
grandchild	:	ñabwaw
grandfather	:	ñabwaw
grass skirt	:	barudanop
gray hair	:	ahow
grease	:	laputuŋ
green	:	hohoŋ
to grind	:	sapiy
to grow	:	nahe
guts	:	barade-
hair	:	lami
hand	:	nime-
handle	:	ayeŋ
he/she	:	hi
head	:	batu-
headache	:	piriy
to hear	:	naho
heart	:	are-
hearth	:	dabrune jap
heavy	:	mapaŋ
here	:	atoroh
hiccup	:	hotow
higher	:	ariʔey
to hit	:	tamariy
to hold in the hand	:	bwaturuiy
hole (in ground)	:	mwaŋ
hole (through s.t.)	:	brusiʔeŋ
home	:	oh
hot	:	diʔipaŋ, macap
house	:	gum

housepost	:	du
how?	:	piʔisah
human being	:	hama
hungry	:	maʔaso
I	:	jew
in/inside	:	lo/loŋ
intestines	:	barade-
island	:	brusow
jaw	:	bause-
jellyfish	:	baruʔaray
to kill	:	tamariy
knife	:	sameŋ
to know	:	laŋow
lagoon	:	lolow
lake	:	gaimaŋ
large	:	tinaŋ
to laugh	:	parih
leaf	:	laŋ
left side	:	amas
leg	:	a-
lie (falsehood)	:	gariay
lightning	:	hameŋ
lime (for betel)	:	gap
lime gourd	:	bwe gap
lime spatula	:	ham
lip	:	mana usu-
liver	:	bruse
living	:	arijeŋ
lizard (house)	:	hapiŋ
lobster	:	guh
loincloth	:	drakasaw
long	:	lalawæŋ
to look at	:	ley, nale
louse	:	u
maggot	:	guŋ
to make	:	tuluniy
male	:	law, mwaŋ
man	:	law, mwaŋ
mango	:	gewey
mangrove	:	saʔow, say
many	:	saruŋ
mast	:	a barey
me	:	jew
men's house	:	amaŋ
mid-day	:	ahode, da
mist	:	dey brurep

monitor lizard	:	gatiy
moon/month	:	bruṅ
morning	:	alobweʔeha, mabo
Morning star	:	daw a lobweʔeha
mosquito	:	ñabih
mother	:	tine
mountain	:	maney
mouth	:	bwa-
much	:	saruṅ
muscle	:	gara-
mushroom	:	bruʔow
mussel	:	drawey
mute	:	pweluṅ
name	:	aha-
narrow	:	hewaṅ oʔoy
navel	:	subrubruo-
near	:	asoṅ
neck	:	auñe-
negative imperative	:	sa
nest	:	gum
new	:	pawuṅ
night	:	bo
nine	:	anu-sip
nine hundred	:	anu-saṅa
ninety	:	anu-saṅop
nipple (of breast)	:	mana suh
nit	:	lih
noon	:	ahode, da
northwest	:	japay
nose	:	no-
now	:	a
oar	:	babaw
octopus	:	ui
odor	:	manuṅ
old (of things)	:	mosaṅ
on	:	atuw
one	:	sip
one hundred	:	saṅa
one thousand	:	sabaw
opossum	:	ohay
overhead	:	brurep
outrigger boom	:	ieh
outrigger float	:	sam
outrigger fork	:	japey
paddle (for canoe)	:	boh
to paddle	:	suey

painful	:	piriy
pandanus sp.	:	bobow, dop, moy
parent-in-law	:	marisow
path	:	mana saŋ
to peel	:	iew, sup, sup-iy
person	:	hama
perspiration	:	ñamwih
pig	:	bow
to pinch	:	ñabru
place	:	ieŋ (?)
to plant	:	pasow
plant sp.	:	añaw, apwiw, haʔah, ñara, say, sih
to play	:	hawa
poison (for fish)	:	bun
pond	:	gaimaŋ
progressive aspect	:	na
prow of canoe	:	monoŋ
prow shield	:	lape
to pull	:	ñaʔoŋ, tatatay
to punch	:	tamariy
punting pole	:	dow
pus	:	koya
to push	:	hiw
to put	:	top
putty nut	:	ahi
rain	:	joh
rainbow	:	hay
rat	:	bosoŋ
rattan	:	suru
raw	:	mamitaŋ
red	:	hamaŋ
reef	:	ma
reflection	:	mwihiom
to rest the head	:	atu
ridgepole	:	para gohep
right side	:	sariŋ
ripe	:	mahaŋ
river	:	gay
road	:	mana saŋ
to roast	:	buru
rollers (for canoe)	:	ibwe
roof	:	sohak
root	:	ohaŋ
rope	:	ame
rope (for the sail)	:	dariʔiy
rotten (meat, fish)	:	bohay

rotten (wood)	:	motah
rudder (of canoe)	:	uriy
to run	:	yo
sago grub	:	he
sago palm	:	ñabiy
sail	:	barey
saliva	:	mwiñihe
salt	:	dah
saltwater	:	dah
sand	:	goŋ
sandfly	:	abaʔow
to say	:	sapow
scale (of fish)	:	bwisin
to scratch	:	gihipiy
sea	:	lonah
sea anemone	:	aʔap, masew
sea cucumber	:	ow
sea squirt	:	ow
sea urchin	:	saŋ
seaweed (generic)	:	oha
seaweed sp.	:	bom
to see	:	ley, nale
seed	:	baruŋ
seven	:	ehe-tarop
seven hundred	:	ehe-turuŋa
seventy	:	ehe-turuŋop
to sew	:	susuiy
shadow	:	mwihiom
sharpness (?)	:	ñamaŋ
sharp	:	mana ñamaŋ
shelf	:	parasaw
shell	:	bwe
shimmering	:	tapuraŋ
to shoot	:	sow
shore	:	mana suw
short	:	baduʔuw
shrimp (freshwater)	:	loʔay
shrimp (marine)	:	guh
sibling (cross)	:	nabuso
sibling (parallel)	:	nadasi
to sing	:	gahiy
to sink	:	tabruŋ
to sit down	:	masimah
six	:	gonop
six hundred	:	gonoŋa
sixty	:	gonoŋop

skin	:	uri-
sky	:	delaja
to slap	:	tamariy
to sleep	:	matih
to slice	:	tiriñiy
slitgong	:	dañ
small	:	oʔoy
to smell	:	napu
to smile	:	parih
smoke	:	asu
to smoke (fish, meat)	:	tapoh
smooth	:	mohay
snake	:	mwa
to sneeze	:	suhuniy
to sniff	:	napu
snot	:	daw
something	:	tana-m
soup	:	suw
sour	:	ñemureñ
southeast	:	um
space	:	hewañ
to speak	:	sapow
spear (fighting)	:	balew
spear (fishing)	:	aʔaw
spider	:	ñaʔowey
spine (on fish)	:	boron
spirit (ancestral)	:	lapanam
spirit (nature)	:	ñam
spirit (of dead)	:	mariom
to spit	:	brusem
to split	:	pwahatiy
spoiled	:	bohay
spouse	:	buru
to squeeze	:	pisi
squid	:	momwa, ñuw
to stab	:	sawey
to stand up	:	suruʔey
star	:	daw
starfish	:	siʔisa
starfish sp.	:	a
to stay	:	ley yeh
to steal	:	bonaw
stern (of canoe)	:	mwihiñon
stick	:	para
to stick to	:	ipeh
stingray	:	bay, hahap

stone	:	ba
storm	:	amih
straight	:	moneŋ
string	:	ame
to suck	:	imwiŋ
sucker (of plant)	:	ñabruŋ
sugarcane	:	bahaway
sun	:	jaŋ
support (for mast)	:	dasuh
surf	:	gey
to swallow	:	domonay
sweat	:	ñamwih
sweet	:	ñamaŋ
to swim	:	jay
swollen	:	samay
sword grass	:	brurow
tail	:	baraiwiŋ
take away	:	anu- (?)
to talk in sleep	:	sasapo
tall	:	lalawæŋ
taro	:	mwap
taro (elephant ear)	:	brurey
tattoo	:	amwemwe
tears	:	gay ih mana-
to tell	:	sapow
ten	:	saŋop
termite	:	nieŋ
that	:	ireh, iroh
thatch	:	a
there	:	atireh, atiroh
they/them (dual)	:	ahuw
they/them (plural)	:	how
thief	:	bonaw
thick	:	laputuŋ
thigh	:	ba-
thin, of materials	:	mihipeŋ
thing	:	tana
to think	:	domonay
thirty	:	turuŋop
this	:	aroh
thorn	:	boronŋ
three	:	tarop
three hundred	:	turuŋe
to throw	:	soloay
to throw away	:	soloaniy
thunder	:	atuh

tide	:	gatap
tide (high)	:	guruw
tide (low)	:	ma
to tie	:	taʔariy
time	:	sepeha
tongs	:	hitim
tongue	:	baraʔahime-
tooth	:	lipo-
toothache	:	piriy
torch	:	suŋ
tree	:	ay
tree sp.	:	bay, birew, bisew, bru, darih, jew, jow, laŋ, mohow, musim, nie, ña, ñaw, soyem, tow
tree trunk	:	baraŋ
trivet	:	barawi
Trochus shell	:	laŋ
true	:	panuw
to turn (head. body)	:	poloay
turtle (marine)	:	boy
twenty	:	huŋop
twin	:	haboŋ
two	:	huop
two hundred	:	huŋe
uncooked	:	mamitaŋ
up	:	ariʔey
urine/urinate	:	mimim
village	:	oh
vomit	:	hamu, hamu-tay
to wake up (intr.)	:	mama
to wake up (tr.)	:	puʔuniy
to walk	:	te
to want	:	siʔeŋ
to wash	:	ñuw, siʔiney
water (fresh)	:	gay
wave (at sea)	:	galale
we (DL.EX)	:	muhuw
we (DL.IN)	:	tahuw
we (PL.EX)	:	munow
we (PL.IN)	:	tarow
to weave	:	tiy
web	:	habruha
to weep	:	dire
west	:	hay
wet	:	sambow
whale	:	lolow

what	:	anah, ayah?, sipinawen
where	:	ieŋ ayah
to whet	:	sapiy
white	:	bihireŋ
to whittle	:	sapiy
who?	:	seŋ, hamaseh
why?	:	piʔisah
wide	:	hewaŋ tinaŋ
widow	:	ñaw
widower	:	ñah
wind	:	laŋa
wind (east)	:	laŋa toraw
wind (southeast)	:	laŋa um
wind (west)	:	laŋa hay
wind (northwest)	:	laŋa japay
wing	:	aboræŋ
woman	:	bibiŋ
work	:	wok (TP)
wound	:	baʔaŋ
yam	:	uŋ
to yawn	:	gulumwew
year	:	ya (TP)
yellow	:	ñaŋow
you (DL)	:	mahuw
you (PL)	:	muw
you (SG)	:	gow

**4.5. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY.** As noted for languages in previous sketches, Sori shows canonical reduction of earlier disyllables, producing a large number of monosyllabic word bases, particularly among non-possessed nouns. Because of the loss of \*k and \*q these sometimes consist of a single vowel. Examples are shown in Table 4.7:

**Table 4.7:** Canonical reduction of POC word forms in Sori

POC	Sori	
*qaqe	a-	foot, leg
*qatop	a	roof thatch
*kawil	aw	fishhook
*paqa	ba-	thigh
*ruyuŋ	huw	dugong
*maqati	ma	low tide
*kutu	u	louse
*kuRita	ui	octopus

Canonical reduction has resulted in numerous homophones in all languages of the Admiralties apart from Wuvulu-Aua and one of the extinct languages of the Kaniet islands (Blust 1996a). However, this probably has been carried further in Sori than in almost any other language, as seen in the six items in the vocabulary having the form /a/, the three having the shape /hay/, /ley/, /saŋ/ or /suw/, and the thirty that form homophone pairs.

A summary of how the POC consonants developed in Sori is given in Table 4.8:

**Table 4.8:** Sori reflexes of POC consonants

POC	Sori
*pw	bw
*bw	?
*mw	mw, mo
*w	g-, -w-, -w
*p	b/br-, -p-, -p
*b	b
*m	m
*t	dr/t-, -r-, -Ø
*d	h
*s	s-, -h
*n	n-, -ŋ
*r	h
*dr	h
*l	l-, -r-, -ŋ
*c	s
*j	h
*ñ	ñ-, -y
*y	y
*k	Ø
*g	Ø
*ŋ	ŋ
*q	Ø
*R	y ~ Ø

Only one Sori reflex of POC \*pw is known, and none of \*bw: \*kupwena > *ubweŋ* ‘fishnet with sticks’. The labiovelar nasal is far better represented, and usually remains unchanged, as in POC \*mwapo > *mwap* ‘taro’, \*mwata > *mwa* ‘snake’, or \*maRuqane (> \*mauqane > moane) > *mwaŋ* ‘male, man’. In one word a labiovelar glide and low vowel coalesced as /o/: \*mwanene > *money* ‘straight’. The POC labiovelar glide is also attested in a number of forms, where it has become /g/ word-initially, but /w/ elsewhere: \*waiR > *gay* ‘fresh water’, \*waiwai > *gewey* ‘mango’, PADM \*watiV > *gatiy* ‘monitor lizard’, but \*kanawe > *anaw* ‘seagull’, \*kawil > *aw* ‘fishhook’, \*bakewak > *bew* ‘shark’, \*qayawan > *jew* ‘banyan’, or PADM \*bapawV > *babaw* ‘oar’.

In the same category are several comparisons which show an initial *g*- before a back rounded vowel where the POC form either had no initial consonant, or had a different consonant that was lost, giving rise to words with initial /o/ or /u/. The most likely development here is that a labiovelar glide was added before word-initial rounded vowels, a development that is known in other Oceanic languages, and that this historically secondary *w*- then underwent glide fortition to *g*- like its inherited counterpart: \*onom (> \*ono-pu > \*wono-pu) > *gonop* ‘six’, \*qone (> \*one > \*wone) > *goŋ* ‘sand’, \*quraŋ (> \*ura > \*wura) *guh* ‘shrimp, lobster’, \*Rumaq (> \*uma > \*wuma) > *gum* ‘house’, \*quloc (> \*ulo > \*wulo) > *guŋ* ‘maggot’.

As in other descendants of Proto-Admiralty, Sori shows strengthened reflexes of \*p and \*t when they occur word-initially in nouns. In this environment \*p became Sori /br/ before /u/, and /b/ before other vowels. In other environments \*p generally remained unchanged:

\*p > br-: \*putun > *bru* ‘a shore tree: *Barringtonia asiatica*’, \*puqaya > *bruey* ‘crocodile’, \*pulan > *bruŋ* ‘moon’, \*pupu > *brup* ‘basket trap for fish’, PADM \*pula > (ba)brure- ‘forehead’.

\*p > b-: \*paRi > *bay* ‘stingray’, \*papine > *bihij* ‘female, woman’, \*pitaquR > *birew* ‘a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*’, \*pose > *boh* ‘canoe paddle’, \*boma > *bom* ‘seaweed sp.’.

\*p > p: \*paka-Rapiqi > *payap* ‘afternoon’, \*apaRat > *japay* ‘northwest (wind)’, \*lipon > *lipo* ‘tooth’, \*mapat (> \*mapa-na) > *mapaŋ* ‘heavy’, \*katapa > *arap* ‘frigate bird’, \*tanipa > *dañip* ‘sardine’, \*tapuRi > *dap* ‘conch shell trumpet’, \*api > *jap* ‘fire’, \*nopo-nopo > *nop* ‘fearful, afraid’, \*supi > *sup* ‘to peel’.

Reflexes of POC \*b are invariably /b/. As a result they merged with POC \*p word-initially in nouns, but are distinguished from it elsewhere: \*baluc > *baŋ* ‘dove, pigeon’, \*batuk > *batu* ‘head’, \*bakewak > *bew* ‘shark’, \*boŋi > *bo* ‘night; dark’, \*boRok > *bow* ‘pig’, and the irregular form \*Rabia > *ñabiy* ‘sago palm’.

A prenasalized \*b that came to be final as a result of erosion from the right is reflected as the simple nasal: POC \*koba, PADM \*bua-komba > *bruɔom* ‘hermit crab’.

POC \*m is unchanged in all positions: \*mate > *ma* ‘dead’, \*maqati > *ma* ‘low tide; (dry) reef’, \*madrar (> \*madra-na) > *mahaŋ* ‘ripe’, \*mapat (> \*mapa-na) > *mapaŋ* ‘heavy’, \*matiruR > *matih* ‘to sleep’, \*mimiq > *mi-mim* ‘urine; to urinate’, \*monoRe > *monoy* ‘unicorn fish’, PADM \*moña > *moy* ‘pandanus sp.’; \*kamali > *amaŋ* ‘men’s house’, \*lima (> \*lima-pu) > *limep* ‘five’, \*taumata > *hama* ‘person, human being’, \*boma > *bom* ‘seaweed sp.’, \*Rumaq > *gum* ‘house’, \*d(r)amut > *ham* ‘lime spatula’, \*saman > *sam* ‘outrigger float’, PADM \*mosimo > *musim* ‘a shore tree: *Casuarina equisetifolia*’.

Reflexes of POC \*t are quite varied, depending upon position in the word. Word-initially in most nouns \*t underwent prenasalization to yield *d*-, while in other nouns it remained unchanged. In medial position \*t usually lenited to /r/, and where it came to be final as a result of canonical reduction it disappeared, perhaps first becoming *-k*, as in several other languages of western Manus:

\*t > d: \*tasik ‘sea, saltwater’ > *dah* ‘salt’, \*tapuRi > *dap* ‘conch shell trumpet’, \*talise > *darih* ‘a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’, \*tokon > *dow* ‘punting pole’, \*tuRu > *du* ‘housepost’.

BUT: \*taumataq > *hama* ‘person, human being’, \*tama > *tama-* ‘father’, \*tina > *tine-* ‘mother’, \*toRas > *tow* ‘ironwood tree’.

\*-t- > r: \*katapa > *arap* ‘frigate bird’, \*qate ‘liver; > *are-* ‘heart’, \*pataŋ (> \*pata-ña) > *bara-ŋ* ‘tree trunk’, \*pitaquR > *birew* ‘a shore tree: *Calophyllum* spp.’, \*potok (> \*poto-ña) > *boro-ŋ* ‘spine on fin, thorn’, \*natu > *naru-* ‘child’.

\*-t- > \*-t > Ø: \*qatop (> \*qat) > *a* ‘roof thatch’, \*qarita > *ahi* ‘putty nut’, \*batu > *ba* ‘stone’, \*putun > *bru* ‘a shore tree: *Barringtonia asiatica*’, \*loto > *lo* ‘abscess, boil’, \*mate > *ma* ‘dead’, \*maqati > *ma* ‘low tide; reef’, \*mamata > *mama* ‘to awaken’, \*mwata > *mwa* ‘snake’, \*ñaatuq > *ña* ‘a tree: *Palaquium* spp.’, \*sa-ŋaRatus (> \*saŋat) > *saŋa* ‘one hundred’, \*kutu > *u* ‘louse’, \*kuRita > *ui* ‘octopus’.

There is a single known Sori reflex of POC \*d, which became *h*: \*pudi > *bruh* ‘banana’.

POC \*s remained a sibilant in onset position but became a glottal fricative as a derived coda:

\*s > s-: \*asaŋ (PADM \*asa-na) *aseŋ* ‘gills’, \*pasok (\*pasok-i?) > *pasow* ‘to plant’, \*saman > *sam* ‘outrigger float’, \*salan > *saŋ* ‘path, road’, \*saŋa-ña > *saŋa-ŋ* ‘fork, bifurcation’, \*saku-layaR > *solay* ‘sailfish’, \*susu > *suh* ‘female breast’, \*suluq > *suŋ* ‘coconut leaf torch’, \*suRuq ‘juice; sap; gravy’ > *suw* ‘soup’.

\*s > -h: \*kanase > *anah* ‘mullet’, \*pose > *boh* ‘canoe paddle’, \*tasik ‘sea, saltwater’ > *dah* ‘salt’, \*talise > *darih* ‘a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’, \*lisaq > *lih* ‘nit, louse egg’, \*susu > *suh* ‘female breast’.

POC \*n remained unchanged in onset position, but merged with \*ŋ word-finally:

\*n > n-: \*natu- > *naru-* ‘child’, \*niuR > *niw* ‘coconut (tree)’; \*kanase > *anah* ‘mullet’, \*kanawe > *anaw* ‘seagull’, \*panako > *bonaw* ‘to steal; thief’, \*onom (> \*ono-pu) > *gonop* ‘six’, \*tina > *tine-* ‘mother’

\*n > -ŋ: \*papine (> \*bepine) > *bibiŋ* ‘female, woman’, \*qone > *goŋ* ‘sand’, \*mwanene > *money* ‘straight’, \*maRuqane > *mwaŋ* ‘male, man’, \*tinana > *tiŋaŋ* ‘big, large’, \*kupwena > *ubweŋ* ‘fishnet with sticks’.

In one known etymology an \*n that became final disappeared: \*raqani > *ha* ‘day’.

POC \*r usually became *h*: \*qarita > *ahi* ‘putty nut’, \*quraŋ > *guh* ‘shrimp, lobster’, \*raqan-ña > *ha-ŋ* ‘branch’, \*rua (> \*ruo-pu) > *huop* ‘two’, \*ruyuŋ > *huw* ‘dugong’, \*matiruR > *matih* ‘to sleep’, \*sipiri > *sipih* ‘cockatoo’, \*kuron > *uh* ‘clay cooking pot’. In at least intervocalic position this change had to take place before \*t > -r-, and \*l > -r-, since merger was avoided.

POC \*dr usually became *h*, and so merged with \*r: \*d(r)amut > *ham* ‘lime spatula’, \*draRaq > *hay* ‘blood’, \*kadroRa (> \*kodraya) > *ohay* ‘cuscus’, \*madrar (> \*madra-na) > *mahaŋ* ‘ripe’, PADM \*draloqopV > *harop* ‘canoe bailer’.

In one known form it instead became *d*: \*drali > *daŋ* ‘slitgong’.

POC \*l remained *l*- in initial position, became *-r*- intervocalically, where it merged with \*t, and became a velar nasal in derived final position, where it merged with \*n and \*ŋ:

\*l > *l*:- \*lalak > *laŋ* ‘Trochus shell’, \*laqia > *ley* ‘ginger’, \*lisaq > *lih* ‘nit, louse egg’, \*lipon > *lipo-* ‘tooth’, \*loto > *lo* ‘boil, abscess’, \*lom > *lo* ‘in, inside’.

\*l > *-r*:- \*kalika > *ariy* ‘grouper sp.’, \*pa-layaR > *barey* ‘sail’, \*talise > *darih* ‘a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’, \*tokalaur ‘north’ > *toraw* ‘east’, \*kulit > *uri-* ‘skin, bark’, PADM \*mwalutV > *mwaru* ‘dove sp.’.

\*l > *-ŋ*: \*kamali > *amaŋ* ‘men’s house’, \*baluc > *baŋ* ‘dove, pigeon’, \*pulan > *bruŋ* ‘moon’, \*drali > *daŋ* ‘slitgong’, \*quloc > *guŋ* ‘maggot’, \*qalu > *jaŋ* ‘barracuda sp.’, \*qalo > *jaŋ* ‘sun’, \*lalak > *laŋ* ‘Trochus shell’, \*salan > *saŋ* ‘path, road’, suluq > *suŋ* ‘coconut leaf torch’, \*kuluR > *uŋ* ‘breadfruit’.

Only one reflex of POC \*c is known in Sori: \*acan > *aha-* ‘name’.

The Sori reflex of POC \*j is also known from a single form, where it also became *h*: \*kiajo > *ieh* ‘outrigger boom’.

Like most languages of Manus, but very few others throughout the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian, Sori has retained POC \*ñ as a palatal nasal in onset position. In coda position, where palatals are treated as marked segments in many Austronesian languages, \*ñ became *y*. The single exception is seen in the 3SG possessive suffix, which must have been \*-ña in POC, as it is in Bugotu of the southeast Solomons, but which became PADM \*-na, and Sori *-ŋ*.

\*ñ > \*ñ-: \*ñnatuq > *ña* ‘a fruit tree: *Palaquium* sp.’

\*ñ > *-y*: \*mwaña > *moy* ‘pandanus sp.’, \*poñu > *boy* ‘the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*’, PADM \*kuñV > *uy* ‘coconut leaf carrying basket or bag’

POC \*y is not reconstructed in word-initial position, but is unchanged as a derived coda in \*kayu > *ay* ‘tree’, and \*pa-layaR > *barey* ‘sail’ (but note its loss in \*ruyuŋ > *huw* for expected \*\*huy ‘dugong’). Parallel to the addition and subsequent fortition of initial *w-* before rounded vowels, as described above, a palatal glide was added word-initially before low vowels, as in many other Oceanic languages. This historically secondary *y-* in word-initial position then underwent fortition to *j*:- \*qalu (> \*alu > \*yalu) > *jaŋ* ‘barracuda sp.’, \*qalo (> \*alo > \*yalo) > *jaŋ* ‘sun’, \*api (> \*yapi) > *jap* ‘fire’, \*apaRat (yapaRa) > *japay* ‘northwest (wind)’, \*qayawan (> \*aiwa > \*yaiwa) > *jew* ‘banyan’.

POC \*k usually disappeared in all positions:

\*k > Ø-: \*kamali > *amaŋ* ‘men’s house’, \*katapa > *arah* ‘frigate bird’, \*kalika > *ariy* ‘grouper sp.’, \*kawil > *aw* ‘fishhook’, \*kiajo > *ieh* ‘outrigger boom’, \*kadroRa (> \*kodraRa) > *ohay* ‘cuscus’, \*kutu > *u* ‘louse’, \*kuron > *uh* ‘clay cooking pot’, \*kuRita > *ui* ‘octopus’, \*kuluR > *uŋ* ‘breadfruit’.

\*k > -Ø-: \*bakewak > *bew* ‘shark’, \*paka-Rapiqi > *payap* ‘evening’, \*saku-layaR > *solay* ‘sailfish’ \*tokalaur ‘north’ > *toraw* ‘east’.

\*k > - Ø: \*kalika > *ariy* ‘grouper sp.’, \*panako > *bonaw* ‘to steal; thief’, \*tokon > *dow* ‘punting pole’, PADM \*nika > *niy* ‘fish’, \*pukot > *puw* ‘casting net’. The presence of a terminal glide in all these words suggests that \*k was lost before the loss of final vowels, allowing homorganic glides to form in intervocalic position.

However, in two known forms \*k became *g*: \*koe > *gow* ‘2SG, you’, \*kuriap > *gihiy* ‘dolphin’.

Only one Sori reflex of POC \*g has come to my attention. This is \*-gu ‘1SG. POSSESSOR’, which is reflected as zero.

Information on the development of POC \*ŋ in Sori is quite limited, but suggests that the velar nasal generally remained unchanged as syllable onset, but disappeared in derived coda position, possibly after merger with \*k:

\*ŋ > ŋ-: \*taliŋa > *ba-dirije-* ‘ear’, \*sa-ŋaRatus > *saŋat* ‘one hundred’, \*saŋa-ña > *saŋa-ŋ* ‘fork of a branch’, \*sa-ŋapuluq > *saŋop* ‘ten’.

\*ŋ > -Ø: \*boŋi > *bo* ‘night; dark’.

POC \*q disappeared in Sori without a trace:

\*q- > Ø: \*qaqe > *a-* ‘foot, leg’, \*qatop > *a* ‘roof thatch’, \*qone (> \*one) > *goŋ* ‘sand’, \*quraŋ (> \*uraŋ) > *guh* ‘shrimp, lobster’, \*quloc (> \*uloc) > *guŋ* ‘maggot’, \*qalu (> \*alu) > *jaŋ* ‘barracuda sp.’, \*qalo (> \*alo) > *jaŋ* ‘sun’.

\*-q- > Ø: \*puqaya > *bruey* ‘crocodile’, \*laqia > *ley* ‘ginger’, \*maqati > *ma* ‘low tide; reef’, \*maRuqane > *mwaŋ* ‘male, man’.

\*-q > Ø: \*pitaquR > *birew* ‘a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*’, \*qaqe > *a-* ‘foot, leg’, \*paqa > *ba-* ‘thigh’, \*taqe > *dey* ‘feces’, \*raqan > *ha-ŋ* ‘branch’.

As noted already, words that were vowel-initial in POC added a palatal glide before \*a and a labiovelar glide before \*o or \*u. These then underwent glide fortition to /j/ and /g/ respectively. Since this also happened to POC words that began with \*q- or \*R, but not to those that began with \*k-, it appears that \*q and \*R disappeared before glide epenthesis, and \*k after it, hence:

- 1) \*q, R > Ø
- 2) Ø > y/\_\_\_a  
w/\_\_\_o/u
- 3) \*k > Ø
- 4) \*y/w > j/g/#\_\_\_

POC \*R usually disappeared, but is reflected as /y/ in a few forms:

\*R > Ø: \*boRok > *bow* ‘pig’, \*tapuRi > *dap* ‘conch shell trumpet’, \*Rumaq (> \*umaq) > *gum* ‘house’, \*suRi > *hui-* ‘bone’, \*maRuqane > *mway* ‘male, man’, \*sa-ŋaRatus > *saŋat* ‘one hundred’, \*suRuq > *suw* ‘soup’, \*toRas > *tow* ‘ironwood tree’, \*kuRita > *ui* ‘octopus’.

\*R > y: \*draRaq > *hay* ‘blood’, \*apaRat > *japay* ‘northwest (wind)’, \*monoRe > *monoy* ‘unicorn fish’, \*kadroRa > *ohay* (met.) ‘cuscus’, \*paka-Rapiqi > *payap* ‘afternoon’.

Irregularities noted in the data include the following: \*qasu > *asu* (expected \*\*ah) ‘smoke, dust’, \*qatoluR > *atuy* ‘egg’ (expected \*\*aron), \*taliŋa > *ba-dirije-* ‘ear’ (expected \*\*dariŋa-), \*batuk > *batu-* (expected \*\*baru-) ‘head’, \*pa-panako > *bonaw* (expected \*\*banaw) ‘to steal’, \*tanipa > *dañip* (expected \*\*danip) ‘sardine’, \*qapuR > *gap* (expected \*\*jap) ‘lime (for betel)’, PADM \*watiyV > *gatiy* (expected \*\*gariy) ‘monitor lizard’, \*kuriap > *gihiy* (expected \*\*guhiy) ‘dolphin’, \*qapatoR > *he* (expected \*\*japa) ‘sago grub’, \*suRi > *hui-* (expected \*\*sui-) ‘bone’, \*ruyuy > *huw* (expected \*\*huy) ‘dugong’, \*raun > *lau-ŋ* (expected \*\*hau-ŋ) ‘leaf’, \*mata > *mana-* (expected \*\*mara) ‘eye; point, blade’, \*matiruR > *matih* (expected \*\*marih) ‘to sleep’, \*Rabia > *ñabiy* (expected \*\*jabiy) ‘sago palm’, \*salatoŋ (> PADM \*ñalato) > *ñara* ‘stinging nettle’, \*pasok > *pasow* (expected \*\*pas, but possibly a regular reflex of \*pasok-i), \*sa-ŋapuluq > *saŋop* (expected \*\*saŋapuy) ‘ten’, \*saku-layaR > *solay* (expected \*\*soray) ‘sailfish’, \*tolu (> \*tolu-pu) > *tarop* (expected \*\*torup) ‘three’, \*qulin > *uriy* (expected \*\*uy) ‘rudder of a canoe’, \*ŋusuq ‘snout’ > *usu* (expected \*\*ŋusu) ‘lip’. Since the word for ‘egg’ shows a double irregularity it may be a loan from a still undetermined source, or possibly a chance resemblance, although its close similarity to the expected form makes this unlikely. Similarly, the word for ‘sago grub’ probably is a borrowing of Lindrou *hek* ‘sago grub’, and the word for ‘rudder’ is an apparent loan from a still undetermined source.

The vowels of POC have generally remained unchanged in Sori, with a few exceptions. A very frequent, but by no means regular change, is \*a to /e/ if there is a front vowel or glide in an adjacent syllable. Examples noted include the following:

\*a > e adjacent to front vowel or glide: \*taliŋa > *ba-dirije-* ‘ear’, \*pa-layaR > *barey* ‘sail’, \*bakewak > *bew* ‘shark’, and PADM \*baliawV > *bariew* ‘tuna, bonito’, \*pitaquR > *birew* ‘a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*’, \*puqaya > *bruey* ‘crocodile’, \*taqe > *dey* ‘feces’, \*waiwai > *gewey* ‘mango’, \*kiajo > *ieh* ‘outrigger boom’, \*qayawan (> \*qaiwa) > *jew* ‘banyan’, \*laqia > *ley* ‘ginger’, \*lima (> \*lima-pu) > *limep* ‘five’, and \*tina > *tine-* ‘mother’.

That this change was not regular is clear from other words that meet the same conditions, but fail to show it, as with \*kayu > *ay* ‘tree’, \*waiR > *gay* ‘fresh water’, \*apaRat > *japay* ‘northwest (wind)’, \*saku-layaR > *solay* ‘sailfish’, or \*tinana > *tinay* ‘big, large’.

The last sound change that needs to be mentioned in Sori is the development of phonemic word-final glides from earlier automatic transitions between vowels. In most cases this happened where a higher vowel was followed by a lower vowel, but in some cases it has occurred between mid or high vowels of the same height. Examples in the data where the vowels differ in height are: \*kalika (> \*alia) > *ariy* ‘grouper sp.’, \*kuriap > *gihiy* (expected \*\*guhiy) ‘dolphin’, \*Rabia > *ñabiy* (expected \*\*jabiy) ‘sago palm’, \*soka > *sow* ‘to spear; to shoot’, \*suat > *suw* ‘comb’, \*tia > *tiy* ‘to weave’, \*toRas > *tow* ‘ironwood tree’, and PADM \*nika > *niy* ‘fish’, \*watiV > *gatiy* ‘monitor lizard’. Examples of glide formation between vowels of the same height are: \*boRok (> \*book > \*bowok) > *bow* ‘pig’, \*tokon (> \*toon > \*towon) > *dow* ‘punting pole’, and \*koe > *gow* ‘2SG, you’.

In addition, a sequence of lower plus higher vowel was converted in some forms to a vowel plus glide (formed from a resyllabified vowel), which enabled the original higher vowel to remain intact when final vowels were lost, as in \*pitaquR (> \*pitau) > *birew* ‘a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*’, \*panako (> \*panao) > *bonaw* ‘to steal; thief’, \*taqe (> \*tae) > *dey* ‘feces’, \*waiR (> \*wai) > *gay* ‘fresh water’, \*waiwai > *gewey* ‘mango’, \*laqia (> \*laia) > *ley* ‘ginger’, \*maRi (> mai) > *may* ‘to come’, \*masou > *mohow* ‘cinnamon tree’, \*niuR > *niw* ‘coconut (tree)’, \*ñaRo (> \*ña) > *ñaw* ‘widow’, or \*tokalaur ‘north’ > *toraw* ‘east’.

#### 4.6. SORI REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC AND PROTO-ADMIRALTY

	POC	PEADM	SORI	
001.	*acan	*ara	aha-	name
002.	*apaRat	*apaya	japay	northwest (wind)
003.	*api	*api	jap	fire
004.	*asaŋ	*asa-na	aseŋ	gills
005.		*babawV	babaw	oar
006.	*bakewak	*bakewa	bew	shark
007.		*baliawV	bariew	tuna, bonito
008.	*baluc	*balu	baŋ	dove, pigeon
009.	*batuk	*batu-	batu-	head
010.	*boma	*boma	bom	seaweed sp.
011.	*boŋi	*boŋi	bo	night; dark
012.	*boRok	*boo	bow	pig
013.	*drali	*drali	daŋ	slitgong
014.		*draloqopV	harop	canoe bailer
015.	*d(r)amut	*damu	ham	lime spatula
016.		*draraRV	dah	lionfish
017.	*draRaq	*draya	hay	blood
018.	*kadroRa	*kodraya (< met.)	ohay	cuscus
019.		*kagV	a	spiny starfish
020.	*kalika	*kalika	ariy	grouper sp.

021.	*kamaliR	*kamali	amaŋ	men's house
022.	*kanan	*kana	ana-y	food
023.	*kanase	*kanase	anah	mullet
024.	*kanawe	*kanawe	anaw	seagull
025.	*kasusu	*kasusu	kasus	coconut crab
026.	*katapa	*katapa	arap	frigate bird
027.	*kawil	*kawi	aw	fishhook
028.	*kayu	*kayu	ay	tree
029.	*kiajo	*kiaco	ieh	outrigger boom
030.	*koba	*bua-komba	bruʔom	hermit crab
031.	*koe	*koeʔ	gow	2SG, you
032.		*koqowV	ow	sea cucumber
033.	*koro	*koro	oh	village
034.	*kulit	*kuli-	uri-	skin, bark
035.	*kuluR	*kulu	uŋ	breadfruit
036.		*kuñV	uy	coconut leaf basket\
037.	*kupwena	*kupwena	ubweŋ	k.o. fishnet
038.	*kuriap	*kuria	gihiy	dolphin
039.	*kuron	*kuro	uh	cooking pot
040.	*kuRita	*kuita	ui	octopus
041.	*kutu	*kutu	u	louse
042.	*lalak	*lala	laŋ	Trochus shell
043.	*laqia	*laqia	ley	ginger
044.	*lima	*lima-pu	limep	five
045.	*lipon	*lipo-	lipo-	tooth
046.	*lisaq	*lisa	lih	nit, louse egg
047.	*lom	*lo	lo	in, inside
048.	*loto	*loto	lo	abscess, boil
049.	*madrar	*madra-na	mahaŋ	ripe
050.	*mamata	*mamata	mama	to wake up
051.	*mapat	*mapa-na	mapaŋ	heavy
052.	*maqati	*mati	ma	low tide; reef
053.	*maRi	*mai	may	to come
054.	*maRuqane	*mwane	mwaŋ	male, man
055.		*masawa	masew	k.o. sea anemone
056.	*masou	*masou	mohow	cinnamon tree
057.	*mata	*mata-	mana-	eye
058.	*mate	*mate	ma	dead
059.	*matiruR	*matiru	matih	to sleep
060.	*mimiq	*mimi	mi-mim	urine, to urinate
061.	*mipi	*me-mepi	me-mep	to dream
062.	*monoRe	*monoye	monoy	unicorn fish
063.	*mwaña	*moña	moy	pandanus sp.
064.		*mosimo	musim	<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>
065.		*mwalutV	mwaru	dove sp.
066.	*mwamwaki	*mwamwaki	momwa	squid with shell

067.	*mwanene	*mwanene	monerj	straight
068.	*mwapo	*mwapo	mwap	taro
069.	*mwata	*mwata	mwa	snake
070.	*natu-	*natu-	naru-	child
071.	*ikan	*n-ika	niy	fish
072.	*nima	*nime-	nime-	hand
073.	*niuR	*niw	niw	coconut (tree)
074.	*nopo-nopo	*nopo-nopo	nop	fearful, afraid
075.	*ñaman-na	*ñamana	ñaman	tasty; sweet
076.	*ñaRo	*ñaao	ñaw	widow
077.	*ñnatuq	*ñnatu	ña	<i>Palaquium</i> spp.
078.		*ññuV	ññuw	to dive
079.	*ññusuq	*ññusu	usu	snout; lip
080.	*onom	*ono-pu	gonop	six
081.	*paka-Rapiqi	*payapi	payap	afternoon, evening
082.	*pa-layaR	*paleya	barey	sail
083.	*panako	*pa-panako	bonaw	to steal; thief
084.	*papine	*bepine	bibiñ	female, woman
085.	*paqa	*ba-	ba-	thigh
086.	*paRi	*pai	bay	stingray
087.	*pasok	*pasok-i	pasow	to plant (?)
088.	*patañ	*bata	bara-ñ	tree trunk
089.	*patu	*batu	ba	stone
090.	*pitaquR	*bitau	birew	<i>Calophyllum</i> spp.
091.	*poñu	*boñu	boy	green turtle
092.	*pose	*bose	boh	canoe paddle
093.	*potok	*boto	boro-ñ	spine on fin; thorn
094.	*pudi	*budri	bruh	banana
095.	*pukot	*puko	puw	casting net
096.		*pula	(ba)brure-	forehead
097.	*pulan	*bula	bruj	moon
098.	*pupu	*bupu	brup	basket trap for fish
099.	*puqaya	*buaya	bruey	crocodile
100.	*putun	*butu	bru	<i>Barringtonia</i> spp.
101.	*qalo	*qalo	jañ	sun
102.	*qalu	*qalu	jañ	barracuda sp.
103.	*qapatoR	*qapeto	he	sago grub
104.	*qapuR	*qapu	gap	lime (for betel)
105.	*qaqe	*qaqe-	a-	foot/leg
106.	*qarita	*qarita	ahi	putty nut
107.	*qasu	*qasu	asu	smoke, dust
108.	*qate	*qate-	are-	heart
109.	*qatoluR	*qatolu	atunj	egg
110.	*qatop	*qato	a	roof thatch
111.	*qayawan	*qaiwa	jew	banyan
112.	*qone	*qone	gonj	sand

113.	*qulin	*quli	uriy	rudder of a canoe
114.	*quloc	*qulo	guŋ	maggot
115.	*quraŋ	*qura	guh	lobster, shrimp
116.	*raqan	*raqa-	ha-ŋ	branch
117.	*raqani	*rani (?)	ha	day
118.	*raun	*rau	lau-ŋ	leaf (?)
119.	*rua	*ruo-pu	huo-p	two
120.	*ruRi	*drui-	hui-	bone
121.	*ruyuŋ	*ruyu	huw	dugong
122.	*Rabia	*yabia	ñabiy	sago palm (?)
123.	*Rumaq	*Ruma	gum	house
124.	*saku-layaR	*colaya	solay	sailfish
125.	*salan	*cala	saŋ	path, road
126.	*salatoŋ	*ñalato	ñara	stinging nettle
127.	*saman	*cama	sam	outrigger float
128.	*saŋa	*caŋa	saŋa-ŋ	fork, bifurcation
129.	*sa-ŋapuluq	*saŋapulu	saŋop	ten
130.	*sa-ŋaRatus	*saŋatu	saŋa	one hundred
131.	*sipiri	*sipiri	sipih	cockatoo
132.	*soka	*soka	sow	to spear; to shoot
133.	*suat	*sua	suw	comb
134.	*suluq	*culu	suŋ	coconut leaf torch
135.	*supi	*supi	sup	to peel
136.	*suRi	*sui-	hui-	bone
137.	*suRuq	*cuyu	suw	soup
138.	*susu	*susu	suh	female breast
139.	*taliŋa	*daliŋa	ba-dirinġe-	ear
140.	*talise	*dalise	darih	<i>Terminalia catappa</i>
141.	*tama	*tama-	tama-	father
142.	*tanipa	*dranipa	dañip	sardine
143.	*tapuRi	*dapuy	dap	conch shell trumpet
144.	*taqe	*taqe	dey	feces
145.	*tasik	*dasi	dah	sea; saltwater/salt
146.	*taumata	*damata	hama	person, human being
147.	*tia	*tia	tiy	to weave
148.	*tina	*tina-	tine-	mother
149.	*tinana	*tinana	tinaŋ	big, large
150.	*tokalaur	*tolau	toraw	north; east
151.	*tokon	*doko	dow	punting pole
152.	*tolu	*tolu-pu	taro-p	three
153.	*toRas	*toa	tow	ironwood tree
154.	*tuRu	*du	du	housepost
155.	*waiR	*wai	gay	fresh water
156.	*waiwai	wewey	gewey	mango
157.		*watiV	gatiy	monitor lizard