

LANGUAGE & LINGUISTICS IN MELANESIA

Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea ISSN: 0023-1959



LLM SPECIAL ISSUE 2021

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

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

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 16) | ji 1SG | na PROG | nop afraid | | ‘I’m afraid’ | |
| 17) | ji 1SG | na PROG | wa come | | ‘I’m coming!’ | |
| 18) | ji 1SG | na PROG | bo ? | parih laugh | ‘I’m laughing’ | |
| 19) | ji 1SG | na PROG | mwiŋ drink | gay water | a now | ‘I’m drinking water now’ |
| 20) | ji 1SG | mwiŋ drink | gay water | | ‘I drank the water’ | |
| 21) | hi 3SG | hamu 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 |
| 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’, *mwihinonŋ* ‘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 that-2P | pen pen | ara my | | ‘That (far from us) is my pen’ |
| 28) | pen pen | ara my | atoroh here | | ‘My pen is here’ |
| 29) | pen pen | ara my | atireh there-2 | | ‘My pen is there (near you)’ |
| 30) | pen pen | ara my | atiroh 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 1SG | tana thing | laŋow know | ero 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 fish | a ? | tu ? | lo in | hapwey basket | ‘The fish are in the basket’ |
| 33) | ji 1SG | ley see | John John | atuw at | manasaw 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 anay
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', *susuiy* '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*₋₁ : black and white spiny starfish
- 002. /a/₋₂ : foot/leg, *a*, *a-m*, *a-ŋ*
- 003. *a*₋₃ : genitive? (cf. *daw*)
- 004. *a*₋₄ : (gloss uncertain; cf. *hapwey*)
- 005. *a*₋₅ : now
- 006. *a*₋₆ : 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*₋₁ : ant (generic)
 - aha mwamway* : black ant with painful bite
- 013. *aha*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : mullet
 - anah ama* : kind of large mullet
- 028. *anah*₋₂ : 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*₋₁)
 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*₋₁ : dust
 059. *asu*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : stone
 079. /ba/₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : stingray
 bay manuwey : kind of small spotted stingray
 107. *bay*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : dark; night
 116. *bo*₋₂ : (gloss uncertain; cf. *na*₋₂)
 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*₋₁ : betel leaf (used to wrap the nut in making a chew)
 136. *buŋ*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : to roast
 145. *buru*₋₂ : spouse
 146. *burubu* : brace for connecting sticks on outrigger
 147. *buse* : liver (no possessed forms given)
 148. *busem* : to spit
 149. *busiʔeŋ*₋₁ : blind
 150. *busiʔeŋ*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : lionfish
 162. *dah*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : star
 daw a payap : Evening star
 daw a lobwe?eha : Morning star
 173. *daw*₋₂ : wet nasal mucus, snot
 174. *dawey* : coconut grater (said to be distinct from *drawey*, although they are suspiciously similar)
 175. *delaja* : 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*₋₁ : to swallow
 182. *domonay*₋₂ : 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*₁ : to eat
217. *gey*₂ : 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*₋₁ : blood, *hay ara*, *hay ara-m*, *hay ara-ŋ*
 258. *hay*₋₂ : rainbow
 259. *hay*₋₃ : 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*₋₁ : banyan
 298. *jew*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : tree used to make canoes
 310. *laŋ*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : fat, grease
 316. *laputuŋ*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : ginger
 322. *ley*₋₂ : (gloss uncertain)
 ley yeh : to stay
 323. *ley*₋₃ : 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*₋₁ : boil, abscess
 330. *lo*₋₂ : in, inside (cf. *loŋ*)
 331. *lolow*₋₁ : 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*₋₁ : hole in the ground
385. *mwaj*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : (gloss uncertain; cf. jay)
395. *na*₋₂ : 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. *niw* : 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*₋₁ : sharp (cf. *mana*)
 424. *ñamaŋ*₋₂ : 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*₋₁ : tree used to make canoes
 433. *ñaw*₋₂ : widow
 434. *ñemureŋ* : sour
 435. *ñibow* : caterpillar
 436. *ñiŋ* : to dig
 437. *ñuw*₋₁ : to dive; to bathe, to wash, as the face
Go ñuw mana-m : You are washing your face
 438. *ñuw*₋₂ : small squid without shell

/ŋ/

439. *ŋam* : nature spirit

/o/

440. *oh*₋₁ : earth
 441. *oh*₋₂ : village, home
 442. *oha* : seaweed (generic)
 443. *ohay* : root (as of a tree)
 444. *ohay*₋₁ : bush, forest
 lo ohay : bush, forest
 445. *ohay*₋₂ : cuscus, opossum
 446. *oʔoy* : small
 naʔ-oʔoy : child
 447. *oraw* : men's sarong
 448. *ow*₋₁ : fence
 449. *ow*₋₂ : 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₋₁* : doorway, door opening
 489. *saŋ₋₂* : path?
 mana saŋ : path, road
 490. *saŋ₋₃* : 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₋₁* : few
 499. *saʔow₋₂* : mangrove
 500. *sariŋ₋₁* : fruit
 501. *sariŋ₋₂* : right side
 502. *saruaiŋ* : much, many
 503. *sasapo* : to talk in one's sleep
 504. *sawey* : to stab
 505. *sawsaw* : canoe platform
 506. *say₋₁* : Malay apple with long red fruit: *Syzygium gomata*
 507. *say₋₂* : 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. *tabruy* : 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. *tapuray* : 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) | : | bruħudiŋ |
| 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, ñabibi, 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 | : | lauŋ |
| 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, apwih, 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 | : | tirijiy |
| slitgong | : | daŋ |
| 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 | : | ñemureŋ |
| southeast | : | um |
| space | : | hewaŋ |
| to speak | : | sapow |
| spear (fighting) | : | balew |
| spear (fishing) | : | aʔaw |
| spider | : | ñaʔowey |
| spine (on fish) | : | boron |
| spirit (ancestral) | : | lapanam |
| spirit (nature) | : | ŋam |
| spirit (of dead) | : | mariom |
| to spit | : | brusem |
| to split | : | pwahatiy |
| spoiled | : | bohay |
| spouse | : | buru |
| to squeeze | : | psi |
| 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) | : | mwhinon |
| 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 | : | ien 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 *watyV > *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 |