

# 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 6: LONIU**

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## Sketch 6: LONIUI

**6.1. INTRODUCTION.** Loniu is spoken in two villages, Loniu (Protestant), and Lolak (Catholic) on Los Negros island, immediately east of Manus, from which it is separated by a channel only a few hundred yards wide. Its closest relatives are said to be Naringel and Papitalai. We are fortunate in this case to have one of the three fullest grammars of any language of the Admiralties (Hamel 1994), the others being Bovern (2011), for Titan, spoken in the Mbuke islands off the south coast of central Manus, and Schokkin (2020), for Paluai, spoken on Baluan Island. Given the relatively detailed description in Hamel (1994), which represents the speech of Loniu village, my primary aims in this sketch are to supplement the lexical data in that work, especially with regard to flora, fauna and some aspects of material culture, to add a few remarks on grammar, and to address the repeatedly stated, but never confirmed claim of an immediate subgrouping relationship between Loniu and Bipi.

Hamel (1994:1) reported the number of native speakers at between 450 and 500, although many of these are said to “reside in other Manus villages or in cities on the mainland of Papua New Guinea.” Given the widespread tendency of the younger generation in many parts of PNG to prefer the use of Tok Pisin to their native language, it is likely that Loniu is now seriously endangered, a situation that is made even more likely by its relatively exposed position near the Momote airport, the principal connection with the outside world.

At the time of my arrival at the airport in Momote on Los Negros island early in February, 1975, the local community was enmeshed in a heated dispute with a community from the south coast of Manus. A young boy from the latter community had contracted cerebral malaria, and his family were desperate to get him to the only hospital in Manus province, located in the provincial capital of Lorengau, which is on the north coast of the main island. The quickest access from the south coast to Lorengau was through the channel that separates Manus from Los Negros island, and the quickest mode of transport was by motorized watercraft. The Loniu community objected to the south coast people’s use of this passage, as they insisted that the boat, with its loud engine noise, had disturbed their standard food fish, the mullet, making them harder to catch. Given this social environment at the time of my arrival, and the prominence of fish in the dispute, I made a special effort to collect Loniu fish names, and my efforts were richly rewarded. In this effort I was greatly assisted by Munro (1967), which I had brought with me to facilitate identification.

Loniu data was obtained between February 14 and February 26 from Sioni Papi and Lihieu Elisha, both aged 17 at the time of data collection. In addition to English and Tok Pisin one or both of them reportedly spoke Naringel. Although I recorded ‘Loniu’ as the village from which both speakers came, certain discrepancies that will be noted in this brief description, especially in relation to Hamel’s excellent grammar, raise the possibility that one was from Loniu and the other from Lolak, and that the two teamed up to represent Loniu, because as students at Manus Government Secondary School in Lorengau, they considered themselves to be speakers of the same language in contradistinction to many of their classmates.

**6.2. PHONOLOGY.** The discussion of synchronic phonology is divided into: 1. phoneme inventory, 2. phonotactics, and 3. phonological processes.

**6.2.1. Phoneme inventory.** The Loniu phoneme inventory given by Hamel (1994:8) is as follows, where the places are labial, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal, and the manners are stop, rounded stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, rounded nasal, lateral liquid, trilled liquid, and approximant/glide:

**Table 6.1:** The phonemes of Loniu as given by Hamel (1994)

Consonants				Vowels		
p	t		k	i		u
p <sup>w</sup>				e		o
		č		ε	a	ɔ
	s		h			
m	n	ñ	ŋ			
m <sup>w</sup>						
	l					
	r					
w		y				

/p/, /t/ and /k/ are voiceless unaspirated stops at labial, alveolar and velar positions. Unlike the case in many other AN languages /t/ is alveolar and not postdental. /p<sup>w</sup>/ is labiovelar, or ‘rounded’ (Hamel 1994:12-13), and /č/ a voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate. The fricatives /s/ and /h/ have their expected phonetic values, and require no special comment. Much the same can be said for the nasals, with /m<sup>w</sup>/ showing lip rounding rather than lip spreading as in some Micronesian languages. It should be noted, however, that both labiovelars were optionally heard as sequences of consonant + /u/ when preceding a front vowel, as with *mwiʔin* ~ *muʔin* ‘late, last; rear part’, or *pwici* ~ *puci* ‘claw, nail, scales’, and /mwa/ was optionally heard as /mo/, with fusion of the low vowel and the rounding of the nasal, as where Hamel (1994:203) has *mwasas* ‘k.o. fish, prob. various species of goatfish’, but I recorded *mosas* ‘long-barbelled goatfish’, or Hamel (1994:204) has *mwenen* but I was given *mwenen* ~ *monen* ‘straight, correct’. The only other consonant that requires comment is /r/. Hamel (1994:11) describes Loniu /r/ in non-initial position as a trill in free variation with a flap, which agrees with my observations. In initial position she views it as a prenasalized alveolar trill [dr], a point to which I return below.

In general I arrived at the same consonant inventory as Hamel (1994), with two differences. First, my vocabulary contains eight words with *dr*, all but one of them in initial position, as in *Drokow* ‘Loniu (place name)’. Hamel lists sixteen words of this type in her vocabulary, but writes them with *r*, as in *rɔɔkɔ*/*rɔkɔ* ‘Loniu name for themselves, their village and their language’. Because [dr], which she recorded only word-initially, and [r], which she recorded only elsewhere, are in complementary distribution, she treats them as allophones of a single phoneme /r/. Given her considerably longer exposure to the language (about 30 months compared to my 20 hours), Hamel’s analysis should be given greater credence than mine. However, I recorded one function morpheme and one content morpheme with initial [r] ([rɛʔ] ‘to’ [rúrun] ‘swing’), and another morpheme with medial [ndr] ([puendrili] ‘giant clam’) which provides at least minimal evidence of an /r/ : /dr/ contrast. Moreover, as noted by Ross

(1988:322), Loniu *dr-* has no known etymological source, both Proto-Eastern Admiralty \*r and \*dr having become glottal stop (intervocally) or zero (initially), as in \*d(r)amut > *am* ‘lime spatula’, \*draŋi > *aŋ* ‘day’, \*draRaq > *ay* ‘blood’, \*kuriap > *wiʔi* ~ *wiri* ‘dolphin’, \*kuron > *ku* ‘cooking pot’, \*muri > *muʔi-n* ~ *mwiʔi-n* ‘late, last, rear’, \*dranum > *an* ‘fresh water’, \*raqan(> \*dra-dra) > *aʔa-n* ‘branch’, \*rorom > *o* ‘dark/pitch black’, \*ruo-pu > *ma-ʔuo-h* ‘two’, or \*ruyun > *u* ‘dugong’. Surprisingly, this implies that the Loniu endonym Drokow is a loan. For all of these reasons, and of uncertainty about whether other forms with initial [r] will be found, I provisionally write *dr-*, even though it may well be subphonemic, as Hamel argues.

The second way in which my consonant inventory differs from Hamel’s is with regard to the glottal stop. As in most, if not all languages of Manus, words that end phonemically with a vowel are followed by an automatic glottal stop, and these contrast with similar words that end with a homorganic glide, as with /ko/ = [koʔ] ‘village’ vs. /kow/ = [kow] ‘fence’, ‘fishhook’. The glottal stop is therefore not phonemic in final position, as she clearly states. However, I have some concerns with her statement that “The glottal stop in Loniu is not contrastive, but is inserted by rule to separate two vowels” (Hamel 1994:15). This is certainly true between identical vowels, but it is not true between all vowels that differ in height. Where the first vowel in a -VV- sequence is high and the second non-high Hamel separates them by a homorganic glide, as in *tiiɛ* ‘interior, inside of’, or *puwe* ‘testicle; fruit, seed’. However, this is little more than an orthographic convention for representing what is arguably a phonemic vowel sequence, since in normal speech it is impossible to produce a high vowel + unlike vowel without a transitional glide, and for this reason I abandon it in my orthography. One might nonetheless argue that even if we write /tiɛ/ and /puɛ/ without the transitional glides it is still possible to state a rule that glottal stop is predictable between identical vowels or dissimilar vowels of ascending height. This works in many cases, but not all, as seen in, e.g. [eit] ‘putty nut’ vs. [pɛɛʔip] ‘bamboo tongs used to pick up hot items in cooking’. Moreover, despite the rejection of glottal stop in her phonemic analysis, Hamel includes it in her vocabulary in such items as *leʔe* ‘to see, look at’, *maʔa* ‘skin’, *pokɛʔi* ‘little finger’, or *tɛʔi* ‘parallel sibling’. Given these uncertainties about the distributional possibilities for the glottal stop, and the discrepancy between analysis and practice in Hamel’s description I have opted to retain it in intervocalic position, even while recognizing that it is fully predictable between identical vowels.

In addition, Hamel reports that a glottal stop is automatically inserted as an onset before initial stressed vowels, hence /an/ = [ʔan] ‘fresh water’, /um/ = [ʔum] ‘house’, etc. I also recorded this in my transcriptions, where it was particularly clear across a morpheme boundary in collocations that place two vowels in contact, as /mata an/ = [mataʔán] ‘spring of fresh water’ (lit. ‘eye of water’), or /lo um/ = [loʔúm] ‘village’ (lit. ‘in the house’). However, in these cases it must be asked whether the intervocalic glottal stop is morpheme-final or morpheme-initial (or both). One other detail that I noticed in my transcription of sentence material was a tendency in natural speech to resyllabify a sequence of CVC + VCV as CV + CVCV to avoid syllables without onsets, as in /itien tuh ayu/ ‘That is my sugarcane’, resyllabified as [dijén tu hájuʔ].

This brings me to the major difference between the phoneme inventory of Hamel (1994) and the one that emerges from my fieldnotes, namely the putative contrast between tense and lax mid vowels /e/, /ɛ/ and /o/, /ɔ/. With regard to the front vowel Hamel (1994:17) gives three sets of words that are said to constitute minimal pairs. These are:

/ehe/	[ehe]	lie down, recline, sit
/ehɛ/	[ehɛ]	yes; where
/hes/	[his]	jump
/ɛkes/	[ɛkes]	powdered sago pith
/pet/	[pit]	float
/tɛt/	[tɛt]	ladder

This is less convincing than one might hope for, since in two of the three forms posited with /e/ (/hes/ and /pet/) this segment surfaces as [ɪ], which we are told (Hamel 1994:17) is also “a third variant of [ɛ]”, making the two vowels phonetically identical in at least some environments. Moreover, Hamel’s vocabulary contains just three words that begin with /e/, but 72 that begin with /ɛ/, meaning that 96% of the mid-front vowels in initial position are /ɛ/, and just 4% are /e/, an extremely disproportionate number for sounds that are said to contrast. A search of the first several pages of her vocabulary showed a similar preponderance of [ɛ]: of the first 225 mid-front vowel graphemes encountered in Hamel’s *Loniu* lexicon 206, or over 91% are [ɛ]. In my own fieldnotes virtually all mid-front vowels were transcribed as [ɛ], the rare exceptions generally preceding /i/, as in /eili/ ‘to call out, to hail s.o.’, /ein/ ‘its scent, its odor’, or /eit/ ‘putty nut’. Hamel (1994:184) writes the last of these variably as /et/, /e:t/ and /eyt/. However, *Loniu* has no word-final consonant clusters or contrastive vowel length, making the latter two transcriptions appear like attempts to escape from a problem in the phonemic analysis of the vowels.

Moreover, in her vocabulary Hamel lists forms such as *leʔe* ‘to see, look, at’, where I repeatedly recorded [lɛʔɛʔ] in sentence context, or [ɛlɛʔɛj] as a citation form, and her *leʔi* ~ *leʔɛ* ‘present continuative, simulfactive’ (which would make these two morphemes another minimal pair) appears indifferently as [lɛʔɛʔ] or [lɛʔɛʔ] in my fieldnotes. Her *peŋ* ‘night’ is repeatedly transcribed [pɛŋ] in my fieldnotes, her *te* ‘feces’ is [tɛʔ], and her *yen* ‘a fight or battle; war’ (cp. *yɛn* ‘lie down’) is [jɛn], to name only some of the disagreements between her transcription of front vowels and mine. Given Hamel’s considerably longer exposure to the language than I had, I would normally defer to her analysis as being more trustworthy. However, there are certain reasons why I have not done this. First, prior to working in the Admiralties I collected field data for 41 language communities in Borneo (Blust 1974), some of which, as Sa’ban of northern Sarawak, have four contrastive front vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/, and four contrastive back vowels /u/, /ʊ/, /o/, /ɔ/ (Blust 2001:262). I was therefore prepared in advance to hear the difference between tense and lax variants of the mid vowels in a language other than English. Second, it is my practice in transcribing field data to write nothing until I have imitated the speech produced and my imitation has been accepted, and this led to transcriptions of [ɛ] rather than [e] in the forms just cited. Third, in my experience, speakers will object if a researcher fails to distinguish phonemes in pronouncing the target language, and this never came up during the ten meetings that I had with these two speakers over a period of thirteen days. Finally, if my data contains errors regarding the [e] : [ɛ] difference, the direction of mistranscription would almost certainly have been to write [ɛ] as [e], rather than the reverse, so these discrepancies must be regarded as significant.

To add yet another reason for questioning this distinction, Hamel gives *puwe* ‘testicle; fruit, seed’ and *puwe* ‘betel palm and its fruit’ with different final vowels (hence another minimal pair for the asserted contrast). However, as the polysemy of *puwe* itself attests, these are the same form, as confirmed by the observation that words with both glosses (i.e. ‘testicle’, vs. ‘fruit; betel nut’) are reflexes of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian \*buaq ‘fruit; seed; blossom; testicle; betel nut; numeral classifier for roundish objects, etc.’ (Blust and Trussel 2020). It is true that some languages of Manus now distinguish these two words, as in Nali *brua-* ‘testicle’ but *brue* ‘betel nut’, possibly because betel chewing is so central to the cultures of Manus that this particular homophony might prove to be conversationally indelicate if allowed to stand. However, other languages have one form for both meanings, as Likum, with *pwiye*, or Levei, with *pui*, and those languages that do distinguish these forms phonemically do so by preserving the original vowel in one and fronting it in the other, rather than by fronting it in both with a tense/lax distinction.

The evidence for an /o/ : /ɔ/ contrast is equally unconvincing, as I never recorded [ɔ], even though I recorded the lax mid-front vowel hundreds of times. Moreover, comparative evidence shows that Hamel’s /o/ and /ɔ/ both reflect POC \*o (\*onom > *wɔnɔ-h* ‘six’, \*ponu > *poñ* ‘sea turtle’, \*nopolu > *nɔh* ‘stonefish’, \*topu > *toh* ‘sugarcane’, etc.) Based on these observations I conclude that Loniu has only two mid-vowel phonemes /e/ and /o/. The front member of this pair is usually realized as [ɛ], but occasionally as [e], especially when preceding a front vowel or glide. The back vowel, so far as my transcriptions indicate for the speakers with whom I worked, is invariably [o].

This still leaves one complication with regard to the vowels. My phonetic transcriptions for Loniu include four values for front vowels: [i], [ɪ], [e] (rare), and [ɛ]. The one phonetic vowel that remains to be discussed is the lax high-front vowel [ɪ]. Hamel (1994:16-17) states that, while /i/ is usually [i], “In closed syllables or when followed by a nasal consonant, /i/ is optionally realised as lower, more central high front [ɪ].” Similarly, she notes that “/e/ has two major variants, [e] and [ɪ] ... This [ɪ] is phonetically the same as the [ɪ] allophone of /i/. The assignment of [ɪ] to one or the other of /i/ and /e/ is dependent on careful pronunciation and speaker responses to ‘same or different’ tests.” And, lastly, she observes that “/ɛ/ is realised as the lower mid-front vowel [ɛ], and occurs in all positions. In unstressed syllables, especially in rapid speech, /ɛ/ may be reduced and centralised to [ə] ... A third variant of /ɛ/, [ɪ], occurs optionally before a suffixed nasal possessive marker, as in /etɛm/ [etɛm] ~ [ɛtɪm] ‘your liver’, /lehen/ [lehen] ~ [lehm] ‘its tooth’.”

Working with the two young speakers who taught me a bit of Loniu some nineteen years before Hamel’s grammar was published, I experienced the same difficulties she did in determining the underlying form of vowels that were often neutralized as [ɪ] in pronunciation. In general my observations confirm hers. Thus, the singular possessive paradigm for ‘rib’, /kesi/, was recorded as [késiʔ] (free form), [késiw], [késim], [késin], with lowering and laxing of /i/ before nasals, but not before other segments, while the similar paradigm for ‘liver’, /ete/ was recorded with invariant [ɪ]: [ʔétiʔ] (free form), [ʔétiw], [ʔétim], [ʔétin]. In most cases the underlying last vowel in these cases is distinguished in the free forms, with [i] = /i/, and [ɪ] = /e/. Hamel’s use of “optionally” is important, since I also recorded cases of singular possessive paradigms with invariant [ɛ], as in [léhɛʔ] (free form), [léhew], [léhem], [léhen] ‘tooth’, where [ɛ] also = /e/. Finally, a word was sometimes recorded in a single shape with [ɪ], as [ɛliki] ‘coconut oil’, [pokit]

‘deep sea far from shore’, or [ʃakɪn] ‘old, of things’ and here the underlying vowel was indeterminate without further information. Where Hamel has such forms in her vocabulary I have generally followed her interpretation, but because the two vocabularies only partially overlap this alternative was not always available. Moreover, she was also unable to resolve some of these ambiguities, as seen in her inclusion of *čakɪn* ‘old, dirty, used’, or *pokɪt* ‘saltwater coloured’, despite the absence of /ɪ/ in her phoneme chart (I will return to differences of glossing below). In other cases she recorded multiple forms, as with *eleke* ~ *elike* ‘coconut oil’, with variants that leave the matter of a single invariant underlying form in limbo (perhaps justifiably). Where this alternative failed I turned to cognates in other languages of the Admiralties, as with Ere [sáken], Leipon [ʃókɛn], Bipi [drókɛn] ‘old, of things’, Levei [ʃókɛŋ] ‘old, of people’, thus favoring Loniu /caken/ ‘old, of things’, or [kɪt] ‘octopus’ next to Nali [kuwit], Titan, Nauna [kwit], Lou [kit], hence Loniu /kit/ ‘octopus’. This still left the following forms with an ambiguous underlying front vowel:

- (1) *epwi* (in *sih epwi* ‘kinsman, relative’)
- (2) *ɲelepɪ etm* ‘stinging March fly’
- (3) *ɪmwec* ‘spoiled, rotten (vegetable matter)’
- (4) *likɪn* ‘node in bamboo or sugarcane’
- (5) *marapɪnek* ‘fallow land’ (= *mata pɪnek*?)
- (6) *pokɪt* ‘deep sea far from shore’
- (7) *puciriŋa* ‘centipede’
- (8) *puedrili* ‘giant clam’
- (9) *tahituw* ‘last one (in sequence)’

Hamel (1994:23ff) deals with stress placement and the occasional deletion of unstressed vowels, and I need not repeat here what she already covers well. Whether stress should be considered phonemic in Loniu remains an open question, as it does not invariably fall on the same syllable, yet never seems to be critical to distinguishing the meanings of morphemes. One pattern that appears repeatedly in my field materials is for stress to be penultimate in the free forms of nominal bases, but final in at least the singular possessed forms, as in [nímɛʔ] ‘hand’ (free form), [nimóʔ], [nimém], [nimén]. This suggests that stress was penultimate in pre-Loniu before the loss of final vowels, and that the language had a rule of rightward stress shift that maintained stress on the penult in forms suffixed with \*-gu, \*-mu and \*-ña.

Hamel also states (1994:24) “There are some dozen words which are consistently pronounced with a perceptibly lengthened vowel, in all cases the penultimate vowel.” The examples she cites (all with initial/penultimate stress) are: 1. [ma:sɪh] ‘all’, 2. [mu:wɔn] ‘bad’, 3. [pi:ʔɛn] ‘white’, 4. [i:nɛn] ‘small’, 5. [pa:sɔn] ‘know; knowledge of’, 6. [kɛ:yaw] ‘ceremonial platform’, 7. [ka:lɔn] ‘ant’, 8. [pɔ:li] ‘as far as’, 9. [ɲa:ton] ‘his/her grandmother’, and 10. [ka:mʷɔn] ‘ashes; fireplace’. To these I can add the following, which were similarly recorded with a longer vowel in stressed position than is generally true in other words: 11. [ʔa:ʃɔŋ] ‘fork of a branch’, 12. [hɛ:noʔ] ‘first, before’, 13. [ka:ʃɔn] ‘floor of a house’, 14. [maha:pɔŋ] ‘four (in counting bunches)’, 15. [nu:nun] ‘earthquake’, 16. [tɛ:ku] ‘charcoal’. Hamel (1994) lists four of these without noting penultimate vowel length: *ačɔŋ* ‘gloss unclear, poss. a stick used as a kind of tool’, *hanɔ*, *hamɔ*, *hɛnɔ* ‘before, first’, *kačɔŋ* ‘floor’, *mahapɔŋ* ‘four (in counting clusters of fruit growing on a single branch, such as betel nut, coconut, or Malay apples)’.

Taking all of these considerations into account, my interpretation of the Loniu phoneme inventory appears in Table 6.2:

**Table 6.2:** The phonemes of Loniu proposed here

Consonants					Vowels		
p	t	č	k	ʔ	i		u
	dr						
pw					e		o
	s			h		a	
m	n	ñ	ŋ				
mw							
	l						
	r						
w		y					

Quite apart from differences in the phoneme inventory, which are a matter of interpretation, there are also a number of transcriptional differences between Hamel's vocabulary and mine. These are noted within parentheses in the vocabulary that follows this sketch, along with occasional differences in glosses. Within my own material I also found variation in words that end with a non-low vowel plus homorganic glide (-ey, -iy, -ow, -uw), as several of these were recorded just as often without the glide, and had the predictable glottal stop that follows word-final vowels. Examples that are particularly noteworthy are /iy/ ~ /i/ '3SG', /wow/ ~ /wo/ '2SG', and /key/ ~ /ke/ ~ /ki/ 'tree, wood'. The personal pronouns were recorded with roughly equal frequency as [ij] or [iʔ], and [wow] or [woʔ] in the same environments. That this was not due to mishearing was confirmed in the field by careful checking, and insistence from the speakers that both forms are correct. By contrast, the word for 'tree, wood', which appears both in isolation, and in a number of expressions relating to plants, was most commonly heard without the final glide.

**6.2.2. Phonotactics.** Hamel indicates few phonotactic constraints for Loniu, and this makes it somewhat different from some other languages of Manus, such as Bipi, which permit only a limited number of consonants word-finally. She notes (Hamel 1994:6) that "Generally, consonant clusters do not occur except across morpheme boundaries." The one exception that she notes, and which I recorded as well is *pamboñ* 'eagle ray'.

Where two consonants do come into contact across a morpheme boundary the cluster is usually simplified, as she notes with *min* 'to sit' + *tan* 'down' = [mítan] 'to sit down'. However, where the first consonant is a glide, as in the collocation *ey pow* 'the smell of a pig' it is allowed to stand both before word boundary and before morpheme boundary, as in *ey + n* [ejn] 'it's smell', where the glide is indistinguishable from the corresponding high vowel, as in [ejt] 'putty nut', where a glide has never existed (cf. POC \*qarita).

Three consonants do not occur in final position, namely the labiovelars, which occurred only as syllable onsets in POC and PADM, and /l/, which had no earlier distributional limitations. The



labiovelars are also rare before rounded vowels, and alternate with their plain counterparts in possessive paradigms such as [p<sup>w</sup>áhaʔ] ‘mouth’ (free form), [pohóʔ], [p<sup>w</sup>ahám], [p<sup>w</sup>ahán]. This suggests that rounded consonants are favored before non-round vowels. However, there is also conflicting evidence that labial consonants before labial (rounded) vowels tend to be slightly rounded in anticipation of the vowel, leading to discrepancies between Hamel’s transcriptions and mine in the few cases where they appear in both vocabularies, as in *mon* ‘bead anklets’ (my notes) vs *m<sup>w</sup>ɔn/mɔn* ‘beaded or woven arm or leg band’ (Hamel), or *moñ* ‘long red or yellow sweet pandanus fruit’ (my notes) vs. *m<sup>w</sup>ɔŋ* ‘k.o. fruit, prob. pandanus’ (Hamel). Where cognates are available in other languages of the Admiralties that distinguish \*m from \*mw they show a plain bilabial nasal (e.g. PADM \*moña ‘k.o. pandanus fruit’), and it therefore seems likely that the labiovelars before rounded vowels in Hamel’s transcriptions are underlying plain labials with optional allophonic rounding before a rounded vowel. Finally, I recorded [kaman] ‘men’s house’, but [lo komwan] ‘in the men’s house’ (also offered in the meaning ‘men’s house’), suggesting that a labial consonant may show allophonic rounding following a rounded vowel.

Historically, the lateral liquid merged with \*n in final position, and although I recorded no synchronic alternations Hamel (1994:21-22) reports several, such as *kaman* ‘men’s house’ : *kemelin* ‘his men’s house’, or *tun* ‘canoe’ : *tɛlɛw* ‘my canoe’. Loanwords also show adaptations to this morpheme structure constraint, as with *nin* ‘needle’ (TP *nil*).

Although many morphemes are monosyllabic, Hamel (1994:25-26) reports some tendencies to vowel harmony within longer morphemes in Loniu, with high frequencies of agreement in vowel height or rounding. However, there are so many exceptions to these observations that they should not be overstressed.

**6.2.3. Phonological processes.** In speech, underlying and surface forms can be substantially different in Loniu. One of the most common processes that produces variant pronunciations of the same morphemes is the lenition of /t/ to [r] in intervocalic position, which appears to be a sound change in progress. In my data this is particularly noteworthy with the morphemes /mata/ ‘eye; front; blade, point; focal point’, and /pata/ ‘stem, stalk, trunk’. The first of these was recorded with [t] in the possessive paradigm for ‘eye’, and in compounds like *mata an* ‘spring of fresh water’, or *mata susu* ‘nipple of the breast’, but with [r] or [ɾ] in [mara ʔɪp] ‘window’ (Hamel gives just *cip* ‘window’, but note that the English word itself is historically ‘wind eye’). The second was recorded with /t/ in [patakíʔ] ‘tree trunk’, but with [r] in [parakákaʔ] ‘lower leg (knee to ankle)’, [paraníɛʔ] ‘arm above the wrist’, and [paraníw] ‘trunk of coconut palm’. Since there is an independent [r] (or at least an [ɾ] that was not observed in free variation with [t]), the decision how best to write such forms is not straightforward. Hamel (1994:12) suggests that because /r/ is only realized as a liquid, while /t/ may be realized either as a liquid (in rapid or casual speech), or as a stop (in careful speech), the two should be written differently. I agree with regard to the basic lexical entry, but some compounds such as [parakákaʔ] and [paraníɛʔ], which were heard only with the rhotic variant, may have already been restructured as /para kaka/ and /para nime/, while [patakíʔ] may still be /pata ke/. Other morphemes heard sometimes with [t] and sometimes with [r] are /peti/ ‘from’, which was recorded variously as [périʔ], [píriʔ] and [priʔ], as in [juʔ priʔ Loniu] ‘I’m from Loniu’, and the continuative aspect or present marker /ta/, as in /wo ta tuah pue/ ‘You are chewing betel’, heard in fast speech as [wóra túwah púwɪʔ].

It is possible that flapping of intervocalic /t/ in rapid speech is an extension of intervocalic voicing, which is the first step in assimilating voiceless stops to the [+voice] and [+continuant] features of surrounding vowels, as both /p/ and /t/ were occasionally heard as their voiced counterparts when the utterance was ‘quick’, as with [topohón] ~ [tobohón] ‘dragonfly’, or [pow tatán] ~ [pow datán] for /pow ta taŋ/ ‘The pig is grunting’. The conditions determining why the first /t/ in this utterance is voiced in rapid speech, while the second is not, remain unclear. Stress does not appear to be implicated, as seen with [súdaʔidísuʔ] meaning ‘They are having sex’. Loniu has no phoneme [d], and the morpheme boundaries in this construction were initially unclear, but with a little work I found this to be /suʔu ta iti suʔu/ (3DL PRES sexual intercourse 3DL). The phonological processes that gave rise to this difference are 1. loss of intervocalic glottal stop, 2. contraction of the resulting sequence of like vowels, and 3. voicing of /t/. The automatic final glottal stops after /ta/ and the second instance of /suʔu/ were retained, while those after the first instance of /suʔu/ and /iti/ were lost under conditions that I am unable to specify. In still other cases rapid speech variants show assimilatory changes to adjacent vowels and consonants, as in the phrase /kito tata cow/ ‘on top of the mat’, which was recorded as [kóroʔ táraʔ ʃow] in rapid speech, and then then slowed down at my request to [kítóʔ tátaʔ ʃow]. In addition to these processes I noticed occasional deletions of glottal stop between vowels, as with /soʔiy/ > [soj] ‘to shoot’, /suʔu/ > [su] ‘3DL, the two of them’, and the loss of both final vowels and final consonants between words in contact, as in /ceŋi kaka/ ‘muscles of the leg’, heard as [ʃeŋkáká], and /masih/ ‘all’ heard as [masi] in /masih pucey/ ‘altogether’.

Apart from unique assimilations of the kind recorded in /kito/ > [kóroʔ], the Loniu vowels are subject to a number of recurrent phonological processes under conditions that are sometimes hard to define. First, my fieldnotes indicate clear nasalization of vowels after a nasal consonant, with certain consonants, including at least /h/, transparent to nasal spreading, as in /mahah/ > [māhāh] ‘four (in serial counting)’.

Second, as noted earlier, Hamel (1994:16-17) states that “In closed syllables or when followed by a nasal consonant, /i/ is optionally realised as lower, more central high front [ɪ].” My own fieldnotes partially support this statement and partially do not. In examples such as [késiʔ] ‘rib’ (free form), [kesíw], [kesím], [kesín], /i/ lowers, as stated, when followed by a nasal, but not in all closed syllables, and in examples such as [nómoʔ] ‘my hand’ it does not lower before a nasal. To cover all cases, then, it appears that the condition for lowering and laxing of /i/ is preceding a nasal consonant in a closed syllable (hence changing Hamel’s disjunction to a conjunction of conditions). However, in other singular possessive paradigms I recorded lowering before both /w/ and the nasals, as in [ʃéŋiʔ] ‘mucle, flesh, meat’ (free form), but [ʃeŋíw], [ʃeŋím], [ʃeŋín]. In still other cases /i/ does not lower before any of the singular possessive suffixes, as with [ut] ‘penis’ (free form), [utíw], [utím], [utín]. The only difference here is that the free form lacks a final vowel + glottal stop, for reasons that remain unclear (cf. POC \*qutin ‘penis’), since nearly all other body part terms retain the last syllable vowel in both the free form and the possessed forms. Note, also, that although lowering of /i/ in possessive paradigms is commonplace, nothing similar happens to /u/.

Third, both /a/ and /e/ undergo rounding processes in the first person singular of possessive paradigms, but these are not fully predictable. For example, compare the following:

[léhɛʔ] (free form) ‘tooth’, [léhéw], [léhém], [léhén]  
 [nímɛʔ] (free form) ‘hand’, [nimóʔ], [nimém], [nimén]

Why the 1SG possessive form of ‘tooth’ is marked by /-w/, but the similar construction for ‘hand’ is marked by rounding /e/ to /o/ is unclear, but it is a pattern shared with Leipon, spoken on the nearby Pityilu, Ndrilo and Hauwei islands, and less clearly with Lele of central Manus. Even more puzzling is the difference between the 1SG possessive forms of bases that end in /a/, as with the following:

[kákaʔ] (free form) ‘foot/leg’, [kokóʔ], [kakám], [kakán]  
 [mátaʔ] (free form) ‘eye’, [metúʔ], [matám], [matán]

Here, ‘my foot/leg’ shows rounding of the final stem vowel /a/, to /o/, just as ‘my hand’ does for /e/ to /o/, but ‘my eye’ shows phonetically unmotivated fronting of the penultimate stem vowel, and rounding of the final stem vowel /a/ to /u/ rather than /o/. Hamel (1994:26-29) provides a brief, incomplete treatment of these patterns, which are theoretically challenging, and in need of further study.

**6.3. GRAMMAR.** Given Hamel’s published grammar, which is based on much longer exposure to the language than I had in a three-month linguistic survey of the whole of the Admiralties, the reader is advised to refer to her description for a fuller account of Loniu grammar than I can provide here. However, it is always preferable to have more than one pair of eyes viewing the object under description, as each person will inevitably notice some details that others have missed, so the following remarks may not be entirely without value. The categories covered in this brief treatment are the same as those treated in previous sketches, namely 6.3.1. the counting system, 6.3.2. personal pronouns, 6.3.3. possessive pronouns, 6.3.4. demonstratives, 6. 3.5. locatives and directionals, 6.3.6. questions, 6.3.7. causatives, 6.3.8. the attributive suffix, 6. 3.9. reciprocals and reflexives, 6.3.10. imperatives, 6.3.11. tense/aspect, and 6.3.12. miscellaneous (a catch-all for other bits and pieces that do not fit into the other categories).

**6.3.1. The counting system.** The Loniu system of serial counting is basically the same as most others found in the eastern Admiralties: it is decimal, with separate words for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ but subtractive numerals for 7-9. Where complexity arises is in counting specific referents, as these require the use of noun class markers, or classifiers, which are essentially built into the numerals, giving rise to considerable variation in numeral form, depending upon what is being counted. Table 6.3 shows the basic Loniu numerals used in serial counting:

**Table 6.3:** Loniu numerals used in serial counting

sih	one
maʔuoh	two
macoloh	three
mahah	four
malimeh	five
mawonoh	six
maʔarucoloh	seven

maʔaruʔuoh	eight
maʔarusih	nine
masonon	ten
masonon e sih	eleven
masonon e uoh	twelve
masonon e coloh	thirteen
masonon e hah	fourteen
masonon e limeh	fifteen
masonon e wonoh	sixteen
masonon e erucoloh	seventeen
masonon e eruʔuoh	eighteen
masonon e erusih	nineteen
maʔunon	twenty
maʔunon e sih	twenty one, etc.
maculunon	thirty
mahanon	forty
malimeʔon	fifty
mawononon	sixty
maʔaruculunon	seventy
maʔaruʔunon	eighty
maʔaru-sonon	ninety
masaʔat	one hundred
maʔunʔet	two hundred
maculunʔat	three hundred
mahanʔat	four hundred
malimeʔat	five hundred
mawononʔat	six hundred
maʔaruculunʔat	seven hundred
maʔaruʔunʔet	eight hundred
maʔarusanʔat	nine hundred
mapun sih	one thousand
mapun uoh	two thousand

Only one complex number between these multiples of ten was recorded: *maʔunʔet e culunon* ‘230’, a result that follows predictably from what has already been given, except that the numeral prefix *ma-* is dropped in the postposed word for ‘thirty’.

Apart from its use of subtractive numerals for 7-9, 70-90, 700-900 and so on, which is common to nearly all languages of the eastern Admiralties, perhaps the most striking features of the Loniu numerals used in serial counting are that all numerals except ‘one’ start with *ma-*, and all except ‘ten’ end with *-h*. The latter feature is shared with most languages of the Admiralties, a reflex of the historically postposed general numeral classifier *\*-pu*. The prefix *ma-* which, as Hamel (1994:54-55) notes, is also found in the interrogative of quantity *macehe*, has no clear history or function, but is shared with the neighboring Nali, Papitalai, and Leipon, from one of which it may have been borrowed, as it appears to be an areal feature. Finally, an oddity shared with a number of the languages of Manus is the vowel variation in the base for ‘hundred’, which is *ʔet*

in ‘two hundred’ and its derivative ‘eight hundred’, but *ŋat* in all other instances of this base. A similar *a ~ e* alternation that has no apparent phonetic motivation is seen with the subtractive morpheme *aru* preceding the numeral base in 7-9 and their multiplicative derivatives 70-90, and 700-900, but *eru* preceding the numeral base in the additive derivatives 17-19.

The numbers used in serial counting are only the tip of the numerative iceberg in Loniu, as one normally counts specific referents. Hamel (1994) has covered this feature of the grammar in detail, and her discussion should be consulted for further information, but I will begin with a description of the more limited material in my fieldnotes.

Many languages in East and Southeast Asia use numeral classifiers, and in these languages, which are the models for how numeral classifiers work, the classifier is typically an independent noun that occurs in conjunction with the numeral and the quantified referent, as with Malay *dua orang guru* (two-person-teacher) ‘two teachers’, *tiga ekor sapi* (three-tail-cow) ‘three cows’, or *lima buah rumah* (five-fruit-house) ‘five houses’, where *orang* is an independent noun meaning ‘person’ but also functions as a numeral classifier in counting people, *ekor* is an independent noun meaning ‘tail’ but also functions as a numeral classifier in counting animals, and *buah* is an independent noun meaning ‘fruit’ but also functions as a numeral classifier in counting any large roundish object. The system of numeral classifiers in Loniu differs from this prototypical pattern in fusing the classifier and numeral, often in barely recognizable form, where the classifier is sometimes transparently derived from an independent noun, and sometimes is not.

In the following data I recorded pattern (1) for counting houses, although Hamel (1994:65) states more precisely that it applies to “houses when they are completely built, as well as households.” Pattern (2) was recorded for counting trees, but Hamel (1994:65) adds that it is also used to count canoes and bunches of bananas. Pattern (3) was recorded for counting children and ropes, but Hamel (1994:61) notes that it is used “to count humans, loose dogs’ teeth (not on a string or ornament), individual feathers, and fish” (the last of these with some exceptions).<sup>1</sup> Pattern (4) was recorded for counting leaves, which Hamel (1994:59) designates more precisely as leaves “of all types of plants except palm leaves.” Pattern (5) was recorded for counting bunches of betel nuts or coconuts, which Hamel (1994:63) refines as “clusters of fruit growing on a single branch, such as betel nut, coconut, or Malay apples”, and pattern (6) is used for counting fish:

(1) The *-em* pattern (with *um* ‘house’)

1	um sem	6	um mawonoem
2	um maʔuem	7	um maʔaruculuem
3	um maculuem	8	um maʔaruʔuem
4	um mahayem	9	um maʔarusem
5	um malimiyem	10	um masonjon

(2) The *-ey* pattern (with *ke ~ key* ‘tree; wood’)

1	ke sey	6	ke mawonoey
2	ke maʔuey	7	ke maʔaruculuey

<sup>1</sup> Dogs’ teeth on a string were traditional currency (Ohnemus 1998).

3	ke maculuey	8	ke maʔaruʔuey
4	ke mahayey	9	ke maʔarusey
5	ke malimeyey	10	ke masoŋon

(3) The *-mow* pattern (with *was* ‘rope; vine; bowstring’)

1	was homow	6	was wonomow
2	was maʔamow	7	was eruculumow
3	was maculumow	8	was eruʔumow
4	was mahamow	9	was erusomow
5	was limemow	10	was masoŋon

(4) The *-kap* pattern (with *loʔo na ke* ‘leaf of a tree’)

1	loʔo na ke hakap	6	loʔo na ke mawonokap
2	loʔo na ke maʔukep	7	loʔo na ke maʔaruculukap
3	loʔo na ke maculukap	8	loʔo na ke maʔarukep
4	loʔo na ke mahakap	9	loʔo na ke maʔarusakap
5	loʔo na ke malimekap	10	loʔo na ke masoŋon

(5) The *-puŋ* pattern (with *pue* ‘betel nut’)

1	pue hepūŋ	6	pue mawonopūŋ
2	pue maʔapuŋ	7	pue maʔaruculupuŋ
3	pue maculupuŋ	8	pue maʔaruʔupuŋ
4	pue mahapuŋ	9	pue maʔarusepuŋ
5	pue malimepuŋ	10	pue masoŋon

(6) The ‘fish’ pattern (with *kanas* ‘mullet’)

1	kanas seleha	6	kanas macoloh
2	kanas sih	7	kanas macoloh e seleha
3	kanas sih e seleha	8	kanas mahah
4	kanas maʔuoh	9	kanas mahah e seleha
5	kanas maʔuoh e seleha	10	kanas malimeh

While I recorded only these six patterns of numeral classifiers, Hamel (1994:57-66) lists 31, and the reader is referred to her more extensive description for what is perhaps the complete system. Noteworthy aspects of this system are that *-em*, *-ey* and *-puŋ* are derived from independent nouns that are semantically related to the property of the classifier (*um* ‘house’, *key* ~ *ke* ‘tree; wood’, *-puŋ* ‘a bunch, as of bananas’), but other classifiers show no known connection, as with *-mow* or *-kap*. The last pattern that I recorded requires a comment. Hamel (1994:66) gives *salaha*, while I recorded [sələhaʔ] five separate times, so it appears that there is some variation in the phonetics of this classifier. She also states that *salaha* “is used as a counter for certain kinds of fish, including scad and sea bream”, but in my data it is illustrated with *kanas* ‘mullet’, and I was told that it is used in counting any kind of fish.

Without question, the most striking feature of the ‘fish’ pattern is the use of the numerals 1-5 from serial counting with twice their values in counting fish, so that *sih* ‘one’ (in serial counting) means ‘two’ in counting fish, *maʔuoh* ‘two’ means ‘four’ in counting fish, and so on, and the odd numbers from 3-9 simply add ‘and one’ to each of these, so that ‘three’ = 2 + 1, ‘five’ = 4 + 1, etc. Hamel (1994:66) proposes that this surprising feature may have arisen from referring to pairs or halves of fish. If so *sih* means ‘one pair’, *maʔuoh* means ‘two pair’, and so forth, and the odd numbers above ‘one’ would refer to ‘X pairs’ + one more single fish.

As can be seen, the system of numeral classifiers in Loniu is complex, and requires considerable memorization. For this reason it is a reasonable guess that counting specific classes of objects correctly is a late feature in children’s acquisition of the language, and it is likely to be among the first to disappear as the language becomes increasingly endangered.

**6.3.2. Personal pronouns.** Like many other Oceanic languages, Loniu personal pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural numbers, as seen in Table 6.4:

**Table 6.4:** Loniu personal pronouns

	1IN	1EX	2	3
SG		yu	wow	iy
DL	toʔu	u	ow	suʔu
PL	citu	utu	atow	hitow

The system of personal pronouns that I was given differs from that in Hamel (1994:52) in two respects. First, for /yu/, /citu/, /utu/ and /hitow/ Hamel has /yo/, /cito/, /uto/ and /hetow/. Given the systematic character of these differences (high vowels in my transcriptions for mid-vowels in hers), Hamel’s extensive contact with the community, and the occurrence of these morphemes in multiple examples that we both recorded, it is very unlikely that either of us is wrong. This can only mean that there are differences in the pronunciation of such basic and high-frequency words within what speakers regard as the same language. This may seem surprising, but these are hardly the only examples in which mid-vowel/high-vowel discrepancies are found between Hamel’s data and mine, as I have already noted above with regard to the lexicon in general.

The second respect in which the personal pronouns given to me in elicitation differ from those in Hamel (1994) is with respect to number, as Hamel (1994:52) gives my plural set as paucal forms, and provides a different set of plural pronouns: *tahah* ‘1PL.IN’, *uweh* ‘1PL.EX’, *hah* ‘2pl.’, *seh* ‘3pl.’. I have little doubt that Hamel’s description of Loniu personal pronouns is correct, and that mine is defective. Each time they were described to me, the members of what I recorded as the plural set were said to represent ‘three or more’ persons. The forms *tahah*, *uweh* and *hah* were not elicited, and for Hamel’s *seh* ‘3pl.’ I recorded only *se* ‘all, everyone’, which does not occur as a subject or object pronoun in my data. Why these forms, which were carefully recorded by two trained linguists, would differ as much as they do is puzzling, but it is possible that the two speakers with whom I worked, and who presented themselves to me as being from the same language community, spoke sub-dialects of Loniu, with one coming from Loniu, and the other from Lolak village. Beyond that speculation I can only report what was given to me as

accurately as possible, and highlight these differences in the interest of shedding further light on this language, rather than try to cover them up, which would benefit no one. The following examples illustrate full personal pronoun sets that were given to me in sentence context with the verbs ‘to paddle’ and ‘to eat’, the latter in both intransitive and transitive forms:

- |    |       |        |     |  |  |   |
|----|-------|--------|-----|--|--|---|
| 1) | yu    | tow    | sue | ‘I am paddling’                                |  |   |
|    | wow   | ta     | sue | ‘You are paddling’                             |  |   |
|    | iy    | ta     | sue | ‘S/he is paddling’                             |  |   |
|    | toʔu  | ke     | sue | ‘The two of us are paddling’                   |  |   |
|    | citu  | ke     | sue | ‘The three or more of us are paddling’         |  |   |
|    | u     | makala | sue | ‘The two of us (excl.) are paddling’           |  |   |
|    | utu   | makala | sue | ‘The three or more of us (excl.) are paddling’ |  |   |
|    | ow    | makala | sue | ‘The two of you are paddling’                  |  |   |
|    | etow  | makala | sue | ‘The three or more of you are paddling’        |  |   |
|    | suʔu  | makala | sue | ‘The two of them are paddling’                 |  |   |
|    | hitow | makala | sue | ‘The three or more of them are paddling’       |  |   |
| 2) | yu    | leʔe   | tow | yenian   | ‘I am eating’                                |   |
|    | wow   |        | ta  | yenian   | ‘You are eating’                             |   |
|    | iy    |        | ta  | yenian   | ‘S/he is eating’                             |   |
|    | toʔu  | leʔe   | tow | yenian   | ‘The two of us are eating’                   |   |
|    | citu  | leʔe   | tow | yenian   | ‘The three or more of us are eating’         |   |
|    | u     | leʔe   | tow | yenian   | ‘The two of us (excl.) are eating’           |   |
|    | utu   | leʔe   | tow | yenian   | ‘The three or more of us (excl.) are eating’ |   |
|    | ow    |        | ta  | yenian   | ‘The two of you are eating’                  |   |
|    | etow  | la     | ta  | yenian   | ‘The three or more of you are eating’        |   |
|    | suʔu  | la     | ta  | yenian   | ‘The two of them are eating’                 |   |
|    | hitow | la     | ta  | yenian   | ‘The three or more of them are eating’       |   |
| 3) | yu    | leʔe   | tow | yan  | mah  | ‘I am eating taro’                                |
|    | wow   | le     | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘You are eating taro’                             |
|    | iy    | le     | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘S/he is eating taro’                             |
|    | toʔu  |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The two of us are eating taro’                   |
|    | cito  |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The three or more of us are eating taro’         |
|    | u     |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The two of us (excl.) are eating taro’           |
|    | utu   |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The three or more of us (excl.) are eating taro’ |
|    | ow    |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The two of you are eating taro’                  |
|    | etow  |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The three or more of you are eating taro’        |
|    | suʔu  |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The two of them are eating taro’                 |
|    | hitow |        | ta  | yan  | mah  | ‘The three or more of them are eating taro’       |

Probably the most striking thing about these three examples of personal pronouns in syntactic context is the material found between the subject and the verb, which differs in some particulars in each case. This will require a discussion that is best saved for section 6.3.11.



While paradigms 1)-3) were recorded without any variation in the form of the verb, the verb /la/ (free form) ‘to go’ varies between /la/ and /le/. The full paradigm for /la/ ‘to go’ appears in 4)

4)	yu	le	‘I am going’
	a	la	‘You are going’
	i	le	‘S/he is going’
	toʔu	la	‘The two of us are going’
	citu	la	‘The three or more of us are going’
	u	la	‘The two of us (excl.) are going’
	utu	la	‘The three or more of us (excl.) are going’
	ow	la	‘The two of you are going’
	etow	la	‘The three or more of you are going’
	suʔu	la	‘The two of them are going’
	hitow	la	‘The three or more of them are going’

Two things are noteworthy about paradigm 4). First, unlike ‘to paddle’, ‘to eat’, ‘to look’, and most other verbs for which I have data, no tense/aspect marker is used with ‘to go’. Second, for the 2SG I recorded [aʔ laʔ] rather than [wow laʔ]. Hamel (1994:72ff) divides Loniu verbs into two classes, using *mε* ‘to come’ to illustrate Class I, and *la* ‘to go’ to illustrate Class II, as shown in Table 6.5 for the present/past (as opposed to ‘potential’ mood):

**Table 6.5:** Inflection of Class I and Class II verbs in indicative mood  
(after Hamel 1994:73)

	Class I: <i>mε</i> ‘to come’	Class II: <i>la</i> ‘to go’
1SG	<i>i + mε ~ u + mε</i>	<i>i + lε ~ u + lε</i>
2SG	<i>ε + mε</i>	<i>a + la</i>
3SG	<i>i + mε</i>	<i>i + lε</i>
NON-SG	<i>mε</i>	<i>la</i>

I have very little data for the potential, and the reader is referred to Hamel (1994) for further information. Suffice it to say that the potential for Class I verbs adds *k-* to the 1SG and 3SG indicative forms, and *kε-* to the non-singular, while for Class II verbs it adds *k-* to the 1SG and 3SG indicative forms, and *ka-* to the non-singular (the 2SG remains the same in both classes). What was offered to me for ‘You are going’ appears, then, to be an inflected form of the verb without a subject pronoun, but why this departure from the general pattern would occur only with the second person singular is unclear (note also that the 1SG and 3SG forms of the verb were given in uninflected form). In addition, if *a-* were truly a prefix we would expect it to be phonologically bound to the verb stem, yet it was clearly recorded with a terminal glottal stop, suggesting that it is separated from the verb by word boundary rather than morpheme boundary. This could conceivably have been because the agreement marker /a/ appeared between pronouns /yu/ and /i/, both of which have a final glottal stop in this paradigm (although in general /i/ varies freely with /iy/).

In addition to subject position, the same set of pronouns was recorded in object position, as seen in sentences 5) -8):

- 5)    i        ta            lele    mere   yu  
      3SG   PRES           look   at     1SG  
      ‘S/he is looking at me’
- 6)    yu    leʔe   tow   lele   mere   wow  
      1SG   CONT   PRES   look   at     2SG  
      ‘I am looking at you’
- 7)    wow   ta        lele    leʔe   re     iy  
      2SG   PRES   look   look   at?   3SG  
      ‘You are looking at him/her’
- 8)    suʔu   cahapuyani   hitow   le     ki  
      3DL   hit            3pl.   with   stick  
      The two of them hit them with sticks’

The gloss of *mere* is unclear. In sentences 5) and 6) it appears to signal ‘at, in the direction of’, but the informants insisted that it consists of *me* ‘come’ and *re* ‘to’, so perhaps the best gloss for the combination is ‘toward’. Similarly, the difference between *lele* and *leʔe*, both given to me as ‘to look at’, is unclear. Hamel (1994:196-197) lists *lele* ‘look’, and *leʔe* ‘see, look at’, but does not clarify the difference. More particularly, it is unclear why a sequence of two verbs ‘to look’ would be needed to express this meaning in sentence 7). Alternatively, if the /e/ : /ɛ/ contrast that Hamel proposes is valid, despite the problems already alluded to, what I write as *leʔe* ‘look’ could be her *leʔi/leʔe* ‘present continuative, simultactive’. However, if that is the case it would still be necessary to ask why it follows the verb when all other tense/aspect markers precede the verb, and why this aspect marker is missing in sentence 5).

The only thing to add to the discussion of personal pronouns is that the first person plural/paucal inclusive pronoun was recorded as /citu/ ([ʃituʔ]) in paradigms 1) and 2), but as /cito/ ([ʃitoʔ]) in paradigm 3), suggesting that the speakers with whom I worked knew both pronunciations, but preferred the one with /u/.

**6.3.3. Possessive pronouns.** Like several other sketches in this collection, my data on possessive pronouns is restricted mostly to the singular set. As in Bipi, nouns that take singular possessors fall into two classes, in one of which possession is marked by suffixation, and in the other by what appears to be a postposed independent pronoun. In addition to possessed forms free forms were also given for most bases. Where a free form was not elicited the abstract base is given followed by a hyphen, but where a free form was offered the hyphen is omitted. Nearly all alternations in singular possessive paradigms occur with the first person, where a vowel signals replacement of the base-final segment, B means the 1SG form is identical to the base, and a vowel before the possessive suffix means that this is not present in the base form, but appears under suffixation. Where other changes occur that cannot easily be expressed in single segments

the entire form is given, as with the paradigms for ‘blood’ or ‘thigh’. The two types of singular possessive constructions in Loniu are shown in Table 6.6:

**Table 6.6:** The two types of possessive construction in Loniu

CLASS 1: Possession by suffixation

Base	1SG	2SG	3SG	gloss
ay	eyu	eye-m	eye-n	blood
melewa	o	-m	-n	spirit of the dead, ghost
ceji	-w	-m	-n	flesh, muscle
coea	coiu	coia-m	coia-n	thigh
ete	-w	-m	-n	liver
kaka	o	-m	-n	foot, leg
kehea	u	-m	-n	shoulder
kelenja	o	-m	-n	back
keñewe	u	-m	-n	throat
kepase	-w	-m	-n	cheek, chin
kesi	-w	-m	-n	bone
koputu	B	-m	-n	navel
maʔa	moʔo	-m	-n	body
lehe	B	-m	-n	tooth
mata	metu	-m	-n	eye
melisawa	melisewu	-m	-n	parent-in-law
moloa	u	-m	-n	nape of the neck
mwe-	-w	-m	-n	buttocks
nime	o	-m	-n	hand
ñapulu	B	-m	-n	spouse
ñatama	ñatomo	-m	-n	father
ñane	ñanu	ñani-m	ñani-n	mother
ñetu	B	-m	-n	child
ñuñuʔo	B	-um	-un	sweat
ŋaʔa-	ŋoʔo	-m	-n	name
ŋusu	B	-m	-n	lip
pala	pelu	-m	-n	head
palakeʔeme	-w	-m	-n	tongue
peʔetie	u	-m	-n	belly, abdomen
pituʔo	u	-m	-n	bone
poʔoŋo	B	-m	-n	nose, beak, snout
pue	-w	-m	-n	testicles
pueni	-w	-m	-n	maternal uncle
puluese	-w	-m	-n	jaw (?)
pusasa	pususu	-m	-n	liver/lungs
putua	u	-m	-n	stomach
pwaha	poho	-m	-n	mouth

pwi-	-w	-m	-n	vulva, vagina
susu-	B	-m	-n	female breast
tahapule	-w	-m	-n	forehead
te	-w	-m	-n	feces
teloŋa	teloŋo	-m	-n	ear
teʔi	-w	-m	-n	parallel sibling
ut	-iw	-im	-in	penis
we	-w	-m	-n	cross sibling

## CLASS 2: Possession with independent postposed possessive markers

cacah	ayu	aw	aʔi	father (intimate)
leke-n	ayu	aw	aʔi	wound
mah	ayu	awow	taʔi	taro
mensow	ayu	awow	aʔi	brother-in-law
motow	ayu	awow	aʔi	knife
niw	ayu	awow	aʔi	coconut
po-kepikan	ayu	aw	aʔi	ankle
tuh	ayu	awow	taʔi	sugarcane

One noun was found that is possessed in many other languages, but takes no possessive markers in Loniu: *ñaman* ‘fat, grease’.

It is unclear why the 3SG possessive pronoun for ‘taro’ and ‘sugarcane’ has an initial /t/ that is lacking in the other nouns cited here. According to Hamel (1994:44-45), /ta/ has the same function as /a/, but is less commonly used. In trying to determine a difference, she suggests that /ta/ “appears to be used by some speakers in careful speech, for example while dictating a sentence in slow speech from the taped narratives.” However, the data I collected does not meet these conditions, as there was no significant difference in eliciting the possessive paradigm for ‘sugarcane’ or ‘taro’, as against, e.g. ‘coconut’. Moreover, a complete set of class 2 possessive pronouns was obtained for /tuh/ ‘sugarcane’, as shown in Table 6.7, where morpheme boundaries are provided to make it clearer that the possessive pronouns are derived from the equivalent personal pronouns by adding more than just /a/ or /ta/:

**Table 6.7:** The full set of class 2 possessive pronouns with /tuh/ ‘sugarcane’

	1IN	1EX	2	3
SG		a-yu	a-wow	ta-ʔi
DL	a-ʔu	tato-ʔu	to-ʔow	ta-suʔu
PL	ta-citu	ta-ʔutu	ta-ʔatow	ta-hituw

Comparison with Table 6.4 shows a fairly clear pattern of derivation of the possessive pronouns from the corresponding personal pronouns even though it shows little regularity: *a-* is added to *yu* and *wow*, *ta-* is added to *iy*, *suʔu*, *citu*, *utu*, *atow*, and *hituw* with no other change, *tato-* is added to *u*, and there are two unique changes: *ow* adds *to-*, and *toʔu* replaces *to-* with *a-*.

In a typical Oceanic language the assignment of a noun to one type of possessive category or another is determined by fairly clear semantic considerations. Where the distinction is between alienable and inalienable possessive relationships the inalienable category includes body parts, the terms for ‘name’ and ‘shadow/soul’, and kinship terms, and the alienable category includes everything else, with a further subdivision into edible, drinkable and general possession. Loniu partly meets this expectation in that nearly all body parts and kin terms belong to possessive class 1, while other nominal categories are assigned to class 2. However, for reasons that are obscure, one body-part term, ‘ankle’ belongs to class 2, along with such alienable referents as taro, knife, coconut and sugarcane. Even more surprisingly, two kin terms, one for ‘brother-in-law’, and the other an intimate term for ‘father’ (as opposed to the general term) also belong to class 2. In the latter case in particular, this is quite the opposite of what one might expect.

Finally, at least two Loniu nouns have fossilized 3SG possessive markers or genitive markers of the shape *-n*, as in POC \*muri-ña ‘its rear’ > *muʔin* ~ *mwiʔin* ‘rear part’, and POC \*raqan-ña (> \*ra-ra-ña) ‘its branch’ > *aʔan* ‘branch’. These show that the 3SG possessive pronoun that applies to relationships of inalienable possession also applies in part-to-whole relationships with nouns that do not have the semantic properties normally found in such possessive constructions (body part terms, kin terms, name, shadow/reflection).

**6.3.4. Demonstratives.** Hamel (1994:99) describes a three-way contrast for demonstratives: 1. *itipɔ* ‘this (within sight of speaker)’, 2. *itiyɔ* ‘this (relatively near speaker)’, and 3. *itiyen* ‘that (relatively distant from speaker)’. I also recorded a three-way contrast in the demonstrative system, but there is only a partial overlap in our data. The first two terms that I recorded are [dijoʔ] and [dijen], although, as already noted, [d] does not exist as a phoneme in the language. Hamel (1994:188) gives the same forms as *itiyɔ* ‘here, this; near speaker’, and *itiyen* ‘there, that; relatively distant from speaker’. Hamel’s transcriptions are clearly the underlying forms in the language, and what I recorded was the rapid-speech versions, with intervocalic voicing, and deletion of the initial vowel. The examples of usage that I recorded are as follows:

- 9)    itio    mah            ayu    [dijoʔ ma hájuʔ]  
       this   taro            my  
       ‘This is my taro’
- 10)   itio    ñatomo  
       this   father-my  
       ‘This is my father’
- 11)   itien   tuh            ayu  
       that   sugarcane   my  
       ‘That is my sugarcane’

Although demonstrative pronouns and semantically similar adverbs (this/here, that/there) are often represented by the same form in AN languages, the material I collected suggests that Loniu shows slight differences, as seen in sentences 12) and 13):

- 12) motow            ayu    leʔe    tow    ie  
 knife            my    CONT   PRES   here  
 ‘My knife is here’
- 13) motow            ayu    itien    [mótow ájuʔ dijen]  
 knife            my    there  
 ‘My knife is there (near hearer)’

For what I recorded as *ie* ‘here’, Hamel (1994:188) gives *iye(n)* ‘(dem.) this, here; possibly prefixed form of *ye(n)* ‘be in a place’, poss. short form of *itiyen*’. Whatever the correct interpretation is, the forms for the proximal demonstrative meaning ‘this’ (*itio*), and the semantically similar adverb meaning ‘here’ (*ie*) differ in these sentences. I was also told that *itien* in sentence 13) refers to location near the hearer, and that this contrasts with *letow* ‘over there’ (third person reference) in *motow ayu letow* ‘My knife is over there’. I was inclined to doubt this, but the same contrast was made explicit in the following pair of questions:

- 14) itien            cah    ([dijén ʔah])  
 that (near)    what  
 ‘What is that? (over there not far from you)’
- 15) letow            cah  
 that (far)        what  
 ‘What is that? (way over there, far from both of us)’

In summary, for Hamel’s term 1 (*itipɔ* ‘this’) I recorded *etipow/itipo* ‘here’, and she does not report my term 3 (*letow*). The reasons for this discrepancy are unclear, but may have to do with dialect differences within my database, as will be noted in greater detail below.

**6.3.5. Locatives and directionals.** A small number of sentences was recorded with locative or directional prepositions. As in other languages of the Admiralties, some of these may actually be nouns, as seen in the following examples. Note that nouns are not marked for definiteness, so the article chosen in the English translations is arbitrary:

- 16) mwi    iy    ta                    lo    mata    um  
 dog    3SG   PRES                    LOC   front   house  
 ‘A dog is in front of the house’
- 17) mwi    iy    ta                    po-kelɛŋa    um  
 dog    3SG   PRES                    back/behind   house  
 ‘A dog is behind the house’
- 18) ñetukan            iy    ta    tata    um  
 bird                    3SG   PRES   top    house  
 ‘A bird is on top of the house’

- (19) ñetukan      sih    leʔe    tow    tata    um    itio  
bird            one    CONT   PRES?   top    house   here  
'A bird is on top of the house here'
- 20) mwat            iy    ta      paʔaha      pat  
snake          3SG   PRES   under      stone  
'A snake is under the stone'
- 21) ni                iy    tow    lo-tie      kuñ  
fish             3SG   PRES?   LOC-inside    basket  
'A fish is inside the basket'
- 22) mwi    iy    ta      tuen  
dog    3SG   PRES   outside  
'The dog is outside'
- 23) mwi    iy    ta      hilow    iy    le    lo    tas  
dog    3SG   PRES   run    3SG   go    LOC   sea  
'The dog is running toward the sea'
- 24) mwi    iy    ta      hilow    iy    le    lo    poʔo    ke  
dog    3SG   PRES   run    3SG   go    LOC   among   tree  
'The dog is running toward the forest'
- 25) mwi    iy    ta      hilow    me    lih  
dog    3SG   PRES   run    come   ?  
'The dog is running toward us'
- 26) mwi    iy    ta      hilow    itipo  
dog    3SG   PRES   run    here  
'The dog is running here'
- 27) mwi    iy    ta      hilow    iy    le    ŋoh  
dog    3SG   PRES   run    3SG   go    away  
'The dog is running away from us'

These limited examples raise a number of questions for which answers are not yet available. In particular, why is the generic locative marker *lo* required with 'front', 'inside', 'sea' and 'forest', but not with 'back', 'top' or under? (for 'sea' and 'forest' cf. Blust 1989). Hamel (1994:197) gives *lo* with the meaning 'inside of, within the boundaries or limits of'. With *lo-tie* the sense of 'inside' works well, but with *lo mata* it does not. Here we might appeal instead to the notion 'within the boundaries or limits of', but then its absence in other sentences is puzzling. In addition, *po-keleŋa* was recorded as [pokalaŋaʔ], but I have altered it here, given the fairly transparent relationship between the notions 'behind, at the back of' and 'back (of a person)'. Having said this, I am reasonably sure that I was given the form with [a] rather than [ɛ], since the difference between these vowels was regularly heard and transcribed in numerous other forms.

**6.3.6. Questions.** The following *wh*- question words were recorded:

how? : tatape	where? : eheh
how much/how many? : maceheh	who? : hih
what? : cah	why? : peri cah
when? : tukehe	

Examples in context, along with answers to them, appear below:

- 28) Wow a-la tatape  
 2SG AGR-go how  
 ‘How did you go?’
- 29) itien cah  
 that what  
 ‘What is that?’
- 30) tukehe ya curu kaw  
 when FUT 1PL.IN leave  
 ‘When will we leave?’
- 31) curu ko hoti eniyan le pwic curu kaw  
 1pl. ? take food go? finish 1pl. leave  
 ‘After we finish eating we’ll leave’
- 32) wow peti eheh  
 2SG from where  
 ‘Where are you from?’
- 33) yu peti Drokow  
 1SG from Loni  
 ‘I’m from Loni’
- 34) hemo hih i le pilije wow  
 ? who 3SG go with 2SG  
 ‘Who went with you?’
- 35) peti cah i ma ki yew (ma) ki-le tesin  
 Why 3SG want FUT leave to AGR-go town  
 ‘Why does he want to go to town?’
- 36) i yew peti cah i ma ki-le cemicim  
 3SG leave because 3SG want AGR-go buy things  
 ‘He is leaving because he wants to go do some shopping’



Noteworthy features of the question words in Loniu include the following. First, both in Hamel's data and mine the words for 'how', 'what', and 'where' are generally postverbal, while 'when' is preverbal, and 'who' and 'why' are more variable in their distributional properties. I did not record the interrogative of quantity in sentence context, but in the examples in Hamel (1994:154) it generally follows the noun that it questions.

Second, there appears to be no monomorphemic interrogative of reason in Loniu. Rather, 'why' is expressed as 'from what (cause)?', a form that was invariably recorded as [péri ʔah].

Third, while /hih/ was recorded for the personal interrogative, as in /ŋaʔa-m hih/ 'What is your name?', or /we hih/ 'Whose sister? (male speaker)', /hemo hih/ was given in sentence 34). I was unable to determine what additional meaning /hemo/ contributes to this question, and find nothing in Hamel (1994) that provides further information.

**6.3.7. Causatives.** No causative morpheme was found in Loniu. Rather, in the three sentences that I recorded with a causative meaning this was expressed through use of the verb *hineni* 'to make, compel, cause to happen':

- 37) iy hineni yu mitan  
3SG make 1SG sit-down  
'He made me sit down'
- 38) iy hineni yu celu  
3SG make 1SG stand up  
'He made me stand up'
- 39) iy hineni tupuna itio iy tej  
3SG make boy this 3SG cry  
'He made this boy cry'

A second morpheme meaning 'to make, do' which appears to be more neutral with regard to the use of force, is *ta-*, which may directly follow the homophonous present or progressive marker, seen in sentence 40):

- 40) iy ta ta ahani lojo aʔi  
3SG PRES make spread things here  
'She is spreading things out here'

**6.3.8. The attributive suffix.** It has already been shown that adjectives in other languages of Manus commonly end with *-n*, and Hamel (1994:67) establishes a similar pattern in Loniu, carrying the analysis further by noting alternations in which *-n* final stems "are clearly functioning as adjectives, in construction with a preceding head noun," while the same forms without the final consonant function as nouns "within an inalienable possessive construction." Thus, in her transcription, *ni laʔelewen* 'a long fish' uses *laʔelewen* descriptively (hence as an adjective), while *laʔelewe suʔu* 'their length (referring to two referents being compared) is a possessed abstract noun. I collected only minimal information on this alternation (as with *ŋeti*

‘pain’ : *ŋeti-an* ‘painful’), and refer the reader to Hamel (1994:67-70) for her more detailed description. However, I did note the high frequency of *n*-final forms for descriptive words that are often translation equivalents of English adjectives, and these are summarized in Table 6.8 to show that Loniu fits an areal pattern in which the POC attributive suffix \*-ana appears to be fossilized in many languages, but may in fact be part of the synchronic grammar if alternations such as those shown above for Loniu also occur in other Admiralty languages for which descriptive materials are still very limited.

**Table 6.8:** Evidence for Loniu *-n* ‘marker of attribution’

akesin ‘thin (animates)’	nun ‘spinning, rotating’
caken ‘old (things)’	ñaman ‘sharp’
eluen ‘far away’	ñaman ‘sweet, tasty’
emuʔun ‘wet’	ñeletun ‘cold’
hewin ‘crooked, winding’	ñemulun ‘sour’
huyan ‘good’	ŋetahan ‘hot’
inen ‘small’	ŋeti-an ‘painful’
keʔen-keʔen ‘mottled’	okomwan ‘dark’
koʔun ‘left (side)’	okoten ‘black’
lan ‘west’	oʔoan ‘blue, green’
mahun ‘new, fresh’	paʔahan ‘right (side)’
mapitan ‘raw’	piʔen ‘white’
meheun ‘bitter’	piton ‘hard’
melehan ‘wide’	poʔoan ‘rotten (fish, meat)’
melemun ‘soft’	posoen ‘dry’
meʔeman ‘red’	pulutan ‘sticky’
meʔesan ‘cooked’	puon ‘short’
meʔeyen ‘quick’	soson ‘dirty’
muan ‘bad, defective’	tin ‘dead’
muʔun ‘hungry’	toton ‘dull’
mwenen ‘straight’	tuan ‘heavy’
mwiʔin ‘late, last’	tuenan ‘correct, true’
napwanan ‘big’	tuhun ‘light (weight)’
nen ‘fast, quick’	

While the *-n* in most of these words probably is the last trace of the POC attributive suffix \*-ana, the final nasal in other adjectives, as *mwan* ‘male’ and *pihin* ‘female’, belonged to the original base (POC \*maRuqane, \*papine). Apart from these 47 words, my data contains 22 others that are adjectival in nature, but do not end with *-n*, as *cama* ‘swollen’, *copow* ‘bald’, or *Imwec* ‘rotten (of vegetable matter)’. Despite these exceptions, there is a clear skewing of form and function in Loniu adjectives, with about two-thirds of all examples ending with *-n*, whereas only about 10% of verbs have this phonological form.

**6.3.9. Reciprocals and reflexives.** No information was collected on reflexives, and the only reciprocal construction recorded was sentence 41), in which reciprocity is expressed through simple repetition of the dual pronoun:

- 41) toʔu leʔe tow leʔe toʔu  
 1DL CONT PRES look 1DL  
 ‘The two of us are looking at each other’

**6.3.10. Imperatives.** Very limited information was collected on imperative constructions. In general, the positive imperative is structurally identical to the corresponding demonstrative sentence without a subject pronoun, and the dehortative or negative imperative simply adds the dehortative marker /topo/ ‘don’t’ sentence-initially:

- 42) e-me etipow  
 2SG.AGR-come here  
 ‘Come here!’
- 43) a-la etien  
 2SG.AGR- go there  
 ‘Go there!’
- 44) e-me lo tie-n  
 2SG.AGR- come inside here  
 ‘Come inside!’
- 45) yan (i) mah  
 eat ? taro  
 ‘Eat the taro!’
- 46) topo yan (i) mah  
 don’t eat ? taro  
 ‘Don’t eat the taro!’
- 47) e-tewe niw e ni kito tata cow  
 2SG.AGR-put coconut and fish ? top mat  
 ‘Put the coconut and fish on the mat’

A puzzling feature of sentences 45) and 46) is the optional presence of a postverbal particle /i/ ([iʔ]). No information was collected on this element, and I have found nothing in Hamel (1994) that elucidates it.

**6.3.11. Tense/aspect.** The material that I was able to collect relating to tense and aspect in Loniu was limited, and raises a number of questions. To the extent possible I have tried to resolve these questions by reference to the fuller description provided by Hamel (1994), but in some cases even this has proven insufficient to gaining a complete understanding of the distribution and function of key grammatical morphemes. In the interest of simplifying the discussion I begin with the singular personal pronouns, repeating here the examples from section 6.3.2, and then relating the non-singular forms to these.

48)	yu		tow		sue					'I am paddling'
	wow		ta		sue					'You are paddling'
	iy		ta		sue					'S/he is paddling'
	yu	leʔe	tow		yenian					'I am eating'
	wow		ta		yenian					'You are eating'
	iy		ta		yenian					'S/he is eating'
	yu	leʔe	tow	yan	mah					'I am eating taro'
	wow	le	ta	yan	mah					'You are eating taro'
	iy	le	ta	yan	mah					'S/he is eating taro'
	John	iy	ta	yan	mah					'John is eating taro'
	ñano	iy	ya	yan	mah					'My mother is eating taro'

Hamel (1994:224) gives Loniu /ta/ '(part.) pre-verbal continuative aspect marker', but neither of the forms that she writes as *tow* ~ *tɔ* '(intransitive verb, Class I) be in a place; stay, remain, live', or *tow* '(transitive verb, Class I) give, put; give birth to' appears to have a similar function, suggesting that she did not record /tow/ as an aspect marker. However, the distribution of /tow/ and /ta/ in the paradigm for 'to paddle a canoe' implies the same relationship between subject and verb, differing only in person (first-person vs. non-first person). This is further supported by the non-singular forms of the first person vs. non-first person in the intransitive form of the verb 'to eat', but breaks down in the transitive form the latter verb. Given this apparent contradiction I can only assume that the aspect marker recorded with the pronouns *toʔu*, *cito*, *u* and *utu* in section 6.3.2, paradigm 3) should be *tow*, and was incorrectly given to me as *ta*. If that is the case, then it is reasonable to suppose that both /ta/ and /tow/ mark action in the present, differing only in first person vs. non-first person reference.

This then raises a question about the function of /leʔe/ in the two paradigms for 'to eat'. Clearly, /leʔe/ cannot distinguish transitive from intransitive, since it appears both when this verb takes an object, and when it does not. Moreover, in the transitive paradigm it appears only with the first person. It is tempting to see /le/ in the second and third person of the transitive paradigm for 'to eat' as a random contraction that happened in rapid speech, but I questioned this at the time of elicitation and was assured that /leʔe/ following the first person subject pronoun cannot be /le/, and that /le/ following the non-first person subject pronoun cannot be /leʔe/. Hamel (1994:106, 197) gives *leʔi/leʔe* '(part.) present continuative, simulfactive', which makes it functionally equivalent to /ta/ except in specifying ongoing action. Given the complementation of /tow/ and /ta/ by person, I can believe that /leʔe/ and /le/ (the latter of which does not appear in Hamel (1994)) show a similar complementation, but none of this tells us why /leʔe/ is needed to express 'I am eating' but not 'I am paddling', or for that matter, 'You are eating' or 'S/he is eating'. Moreover, while /tow/ seems to mark present action with first-person reference in the previously mentioned paradigm for 'to paddle a canoe', it occurs with third-person reference when preceded by /leʔe/ in sentence 19), 'A bird is on top of the house here'.

With the non-singular pronouns the problems in understanding the function of the material that intervenes between subject and verb in this material that I collected become even greater. In the

paradigm for ‘to paddle (a canoe)’ /ke/ marks first person inclusive forms, not just first person, or just inclusive, while /makala/ (which may be bimorphemic, or trimorphemic) marks everything else, meaning first person exclusive forms, and non-first person forms, whether inclusive or exclusive, and the /la/ preceding /ta/ in the last three entries marks 2DL, 3DL and 3pl., which hardly appear to form a category. Hamel (1994:106) identifies this /la/ with the verb ‘to go’, which may well be correct, and notes that it can precede /ta/, but this provides no explanation for why it occurs in just the last three members of the intransitive paradigm for ‘to eat’.

In the hope of sorting this out in the brief time I spent with speakers of the language, I also elicited past and future constructions with the verb ‘to eat’, as shown here:

- 49) yu to yan mah piñehe  
 1SG PAST eat taro yesterday  
 ‘I ate taro yesterday’
- 50) yu to in enu niw piñehe  
 1SG PAST drink juice coconut yesterday  
 ‘I drank coconut water yesterday’
- 51) miti iwoh yu le Drokow  
 day before yesterday 1SG go Loni  
 ‘I went to Loni the day before yesterday’
- 52) yu ma ki yen mah mahuw  
 1SG want FUT eat taro tomorrow  
 ‘I want to eat taro tomorrow’
- 53) mahuw a yu ki yen mah  
 tomorrow ? 1SG FUT eat taro  
 ‘I will eat taro tomorrow’
- 54) mahuw a wow yan mah  
 tomorrow ? 2SG eat taro  
 ‘You will eat taro tomorrow’
- 55) mahuw a iy ki yen mah  
 tomorrow ? 3SG FUT eat taro  
 ‘S/he will eat taro tomorrow’
- 56) mahuw a toʔu ki yen mah  
 tomorrow ? 1DL FUT eat taro  
 ‘The two of us (incl.) will eat taro tomorrow’

Sentences 49) - 51) are the only examples of a past construction that I elicited with an explicit time-marker relative to the time of the speech act, and since the first two of these have /to/ between the subject and verb, which does not appear in sentence 52) – 56), it is reasonable to

suppose that /to/ marks past time. However, I have no explanation for why /to/ is not found in sentence 51), unless there is a general rule that it is not required if a temporal adverb that precedes it has already made it clear that the action is past.

In addition to these sentences with temporal adverbs that specify past or future time, I was also given sentence pairs that contrast present and past action with /ta/ vs. /to/, but are otherwise identical, as in the following, where sentence 57) is repeated from section 6.3.5:

- 57) mwi iy ta lo mata um  
 dog 3SG PRES LOC front house  
 ‘A dog is in front of the house’
- 58) mwi iy to lo mata um  
 dog 3SG PAST LOC front house  
 ‘A dog was in front of the house (but isn’t now)’

The sentences in my data with future reference present another array of interpretive problems. In each case the morphemes that carry interlinear glosses would appear sufficient in themselves to convey the meaning of the sentence, leaving the glossed term without a known function.

In short, to the extent that I am able to comment on tense and aspect in my own field materials, /to/ appears to mark past or completed action, and both /leʔe tow/ and /ta/ appear to mark present action, the former with first person reference and the latter with non-first person reference, although the absence of /leʔe/ in /yu tow sue/ ‘I am paddling’, or in any of the non-singular forms of ‘to eat’ is unexplained.

**6.3.12. Miscellaneous.** This section contains observations about grammatical details in my field data that are not addressed elsewhere. One of these is the occurrence of a prefix *po-* or less commonly, *poʔo-*, which is found on a number of terms for body parts, but is not used in expressions that incorporate a body-part term to express a different meaning, as with *po-teleŋa* ‘ear’ (prefixed free form), *po-teloŋo* ‘my ear’, *po-teleŋa-m* ‘your ear’, *po-teleŋa-n* ‘his/her ear’, next to *teleŋa pwe* ‘deaf’ (lit. ‘no ears’).

The preceding example illustrates nominal negation by postposing the negative marker to the noun, and the negation of sentential propositions is expressed in the same way, namely by adding the negative marker *pwe* to the positive statement, as in sentence 59)

- 59) yu kiʔi la piŋhe pwe  
 1SG PRF go yesterday NEG  
 ‘I didn’t go yesterday’

As in many other AN languages, expressions of possession with a numeral such as ‘I have two children’ are formulated as subject-possessor (copula) number, hence ‘My children are two’, with no main verb ‘have’, a zero copula in most languages, and the number being the predicate. Loniu differs from this general pattern only in requiring a resumptive pronoun between the subject NP and numeral, as in sentence 60), where the numeral is effectively redundant:

- 60)    *ñetu*            *suʔu*    *maʔamow*  
 child-my        3DL    two  
 ‘I have two children’

Compare this with a similar structure in which the pronoun is not resumptive:

- 61)    *suʔu*    *ñetu-n*            *maʔamow*  
 3DL    children-?        two  
 ‘There are two children’

Desiderative constructions in my data are marked by *ma* ‘want to’, which Hamel (1994:199) glosses as ‘intentional or inchoative marker’. I have found no inchoative uses in my limited data, but *ma* appears in several sentences that express a wish or desire to do something, as in:

- 62)    *yu*        *ma*        *ki*        *yen*        *mah*  
 1SG    want    FUT    eat        taro  
 ‘I want to eat the taro’

In nearly every case *ma* and *ki* occur in sequence. However, in sentence 63) they do not, and from this I am inclined to gloss *ki* as a future marker, although this is problematic, since *ya* is already established with that function:

- 63)    *mahuw*            *a*        *yu*        *ki*        *yen*        *mah*  
 tomorrow        ?        1SG    FUT    eat        taro  
 ‘I will eat taro tomorrow’

As in the majority of AN languages, the question ‘What is your name?’ uses the personal interrogative ‘who’ rather than the impersonal ‘what’

- 64)    *ŋaʔa-m*            *hih*  
 name-2SG        who  
 ‘What is your name?’

- 65)    *ŋoʔo*                *Lihieu*  
 name-1SG        Lihieu  
 ‘My name is Lihieu’

**6.4. LEXICON.** The following vocabulary partially duplicates the Loniu to English lexicon in Hamel (1994), but also adds to it. In a number of cases Hamel’s glosses also improve on the more limited descriptions I was given of the meaning of some words. Where my data differs significantly from Hamel’s in either form or meaning I indicate so with a parenthetic notation, as in *ahe* ‘to lie down’ (H: *ehe*), or *pokt* ‘deep sea far from the shore’ (H: ‘saltwater-coloured’). However, as already explained, I ignore Hamel’s distinction between tense and lax mid-vowels, and therefore do not cite each of these discrepancies here.

## LONIU-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

/a/

001. *a*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *komu*, *mat*<sub>-2</sub>)
002. *a*<sub>-2</sub> : possessive marker (cf. *co*<sub>-2</sub>, *wow*, *yu*, etc.)
003. *a*<sub>-3</sub> : 2SG agreement marker in ‘Class II’ verbs such as *la* ‘to go’ (Hamel (1994:73))
004. *acaŋ* : fork of a branch (H: ‘gloss unclear, poss. a stick used as a tool’)
005. *ah* : stick used for sewing sago leaf thatch in making roofing material (H: ‘central stem of sago leaf, possibly any palm leaf’)
006. *ahani* : to spread things out, as washed clothes to dry in the sun
007. *ahē* : to lie down (H: *ehe* ‘lie down, sit, recline’)
008. *akesin* : thin, skinny (people or animals)
009. *am* : lime spatula  
*ki am* : lime spatula (for betel chew)  
 NOTE: *ki am* may be a literal translation of Tok Pisin *stik kambing*, which was the elicitation item used for this.
010. *amat*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain)  
*poñ amat* : large green sea turtle without a sharp beak
011. *amat*<sub>-2</sub> : person, human being
012. *amey* : k.o. black wildfowl with a red comb
013. *amot* : to drown (H: *emot*)
014. *an*<sub>-1</sub> : fresh water, river (cf. *tas*)
015. *an*<sub>-2</sub> : termite
016. *aŋ* : day
017. *aŋalow* : a nut similar to *eŋey*, but shorter and fatter; the *aŋalow* tree is much bigger than the *eŋey* tree
018. *aŋey* : to hear, listen (H: *eŋe*)
019. *apulupun* : a fish, D’Urville’s long-tom: *Strongylura urvilli* (Valenciennes)
020. *aʔan* : branch of a tree (probably *aʔa-n*)
021. *asi* : to scratch an itch (H: *as-i*)
022. *atow* ~ *etow* : 2pl., you (three or more); (H: *etow* ‘second person paucal’)
023. *aw* : 2SG free form possessive pronoun; your
024. *awah* : a fish, various demoiselles: *Pomacentrus* spp. (H: ‘poss. squirrelfish’)
025. *ay* : blood, *eyu*, *eye-m*, *eye-n*

/c/

026. *ca* : gloss uncertain (cf. *melewa*)
027. *cacah* : father (affectionate term used by small children), *cacah ayu*, *cacah aw*, *cacah aʔih*
028. *cacuh* : grandmother (affectionate term used by small children) (H: *cacoh*)
029. *cah* : what? (H: what; something)  
*peti cah* : because, why?
030. *cahapuyani* : to strike, hit
031. *cakay* : traditional stone axe
032. *caken* : old (of things) (H: *čakIn*)



033. *cam* : outrigger float (H: *cam*, *cama* ‘outrigger portion of canoe’)
034. *cama*<sub>-1</sub> : to evaporate, dry up (H: *čama* ‘get dry (e.g. reef)’)
035. *cama*<sub>-2</sub> : swollen  
*pue cama* : filariasis, swollen testicles (from filarial infection)
036. *can*<sub>-1</sub> : to cut (H: *čan* ‘cut; clear’)  
*a can* ‘you are cutting’
037. *can*<sub>-2</sub> : path, road  
*pwaha can* : path, road
038. *can*<sub>-3</sub> : sea urchin
039. *caŋa*<sub>-1</sub> : crotch, *caŋa-n*
040. *caŋa*<sub>-2</sub> : (gloss uncertain)  
*caŋa pituet* : trivet, three stones that support a cooking pot over the fire
041. *caŋah* : door of house (opening)
042. *capak* : tobacco
043. *capeti* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *pit*)
044. *capuh* : grandfather (affectionate term used by small children) (H: *capoh*)
045. *catop* : poisonous reef fish, stonefish: *Synanceja horrida*
046. *cay* : k.o. Malay apple with elongated fruit
047. *cec* : surfing with board or canoe, or body-surfing (H: *čěč* ‘skip across surface of water; body-surf’)
048. *cehe* : amount? (cf. *macehe*)
049. *celepuh* : various triggerfish: *Balistapus undulatus* and *Rhinecanthus* spp. (H: *čelipuh*)
050. *celepweni* : to drop s.t.; to lose s.t.
051. *celu* : to arise, stand up
052. *celuan* : much, many (H: *čelewa*)
053. *ceŋi* : flesh, muscle; body, *ceŋi-w*, *ceŋi-m*, *ceŋi-n* (H: ‘fruit; body or flesh; especially good yams for feasts and gift exchanges’)  
*ceŋi kaka* : muscles of the leg; calf and thigh, *ceŋi koko*, *ceŋi kaka-m*, *ceŋi kaka-n*  
*ceŋi i met* : tired (lit. ‘the flesh is dead’)  
*ceŋu i met* ‘I am tired’ (lit. ‘My flesh is dead’)
054. *ceŋiti* : to cut wood (H: *čaŋiti*)
055. *ceweti* : to mend, repair, as in mending a net or sewing clothes (H: *čeweti* ~ *seweti* ‘fasten or sew with rope or twine’)
056. *cicilie* : traditional loincloth
057. *cihi* : cockatoo (H: ‘small parrot’)
058. *cikan* : cave bat, small insectivorous bat
059. *cilin* : plant shoot (shoot of any plant) (H: *čili* ‘sprout, esp. banana shoot’)
060. *cilijiy* : to crush with the fingernails, of lice  
*cilijiy kut* : to crush lice with the fingernails
061. *cim* : to buy, sell  
*cim-ani* : to buy s.t.  
*cimi-cim* : to shop for things
062. *cin* : to bounce off a surface
063. *cinen* : natural spirit (TP ‘marsalai’; H: ‘a demon or spirit’)
064. *cinime* : sticky fingers, tending to pilfer

065. *cip*: opening? (H: ‘window’)  
*mata cip* : window (lit. ‘eye of *cip*’)
066. *cipoʔo* : charcoal
067. *citu* ~ *cito* ~ *curu* : 1PL.IN, we (three or more)
068. *co*-1 : crazy, insane (H: ‘foolish or crazy person’)
069. *co*-2 : place (cf. *ka*)  
*co mwan a kihi* : firewood shelf (lit. ‘place of/for firewood’)
070. *cocoy* : bush with small, very sweet dark purple or black berries
071. *coea* : thigh, *coi-u*, *coia-m*, *coia-n* (H *čəweya* ~ *čeweya*)
072. *coehi* : to pour, to spill (H: *čewehe(y)*)
073. *coeti* : to sew (H: *čeweti*)
074. *coh* : to seek shelter, as from the rain
075. *colay* : sailfish, striped marlin: *Makaira audax* (Philippi)
076. *coloh* : three (in ‘13’, ‘23’, etc.)
077. *comun* : traditional wooden dish, smaller than *lus*
078. *coŋ* : to hunt, go hunting (H: *čəŋ* ‘hunt for wild pig’)
079. *coŋon* : a fish, the Spanish mackerel
080. *copon* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *pala*)
081. *copow* : bald
082. *coʔoyan* : to take revenge, return tit for tat (H: *čəʔuya*)
083. *cow* : large sleeping mat; pandanus rain cape
084. *cu*-1 : comb
085. *cu*-2 : a fish, black-finned long tom: *Tylosurus melanotus* (Bleeker)
086. *cuc* ~ *cuy* : soup (H: ‘broth’)
087. *cuk* : stone fish corral
088. *culu* : three, of bunches, or counting prongs on a fish spear  
*culu puŋ* : three bunches (of betel nuts, coconuts, etc.)
089. *culuay* : standing; staying awake (cf. *celu*)
090. *culumow* : three, in counting children
091. *culumwi* : to burn (H: ‘cook over fire; burn’)
092. *cumwi* : to catch (as in catching a ball), (H: ‘catch; agree with’)
093. *cun*-1 : to cook fish on wood or coconut frond placed on fire
094. *cun*-2 : dried coconut frond (used as torch)
095. *cunehi* : to husk coconuts
096. *cup* : help, assistance  
*cup-ani* : to help someone
097. *cur* : a fish, Forster’s se-pike: *Callosphyraena toxeuema* (Fowler)

/dr/

098. *draka* : betel pepper (TP)
099. *drakaw* : one-pronged fish harpoon (H: *nra kaw* ‘pig spear’)  
 NOTE: Likely borrowed, as native term seems to be *ñah mata ho-kow*.
100. *dret* : large green frog
101. *Drokow* : Loniu (place)

102. *drolow* : small wooden bowl (cf. *lus*), (H: ‘deep wooden bowl with rounded bottom; traditionally used for serving women’s food when they are in ritual isolation’)
103. *drow*<sub>-1</sub> : k.o. tree, the ironwood: *Intsia bijuga*
104. *drow*<sub>-2</sub> : wet nasal mucus, snot

/e/

105. *e*<sub>-1</sub> : and (H: ‘and, or, but’)  
*maʔuŋet e culuon* : two hundred thirty
106. *e*<sub>-2</sub> : 2SG agreement marker in ‘Class I’ verbs such as *me* ‘to come’ (Hamel (1994:73))
107. *ehe* : yes
108. *eheh* : where? (H: *ehe*)
109. *eili* : to call out, to hail s.o. (H: *ili*)
110. *eit* : putty nut: *Parinari laurinum*
111. *ek* : to grow, of plants (cf. *mata*)
112. *eke* : mushroom
113. *eletu* : egg, roe; brain (H: *elutu*)  
*eletu kokoru* : chicken egg  
*eletu ni* : roe, fish eggs  
*eletu pala* : brain (free form), *eletu pelu*, *eletu pala-m*, *eletu pala-n*
114. *eliki* : coconut oil (H: *eleke* ~ *elike*)
115. *elimañ* : mangrove crab
116. *elomwi* : to plant, bury (H: *lomwi*)
117. *eluen* : far away, distant (H: *elēwen* ‘long, far’)  
*ko eluen* ‘a faraway place’
118. *emen* : lightning
119. *emuʔun* : wet
120. *emwani* : to fetch water
121. *eni* : to collect, gather, as fruit (H: *ini*)
122. *enu* : liquid, juice; pus  
*enu mata* : tears  
*enu niw* : coconut water  
*enu-enu ut* : semen, sperm  
*enu-n leke-n* : pus (lit. ‘suppuration of a wound’)
123. *eñow* : a flowering plant: *Hibiscus tiliaceus*
124. *eŋey* : kind of three-cornered nut that grows on a small tree (cf. *aŋalow*)
125. *epi* : sago palm, fried sago  
*epi uy* : thorny sago
126. *epu* (gloss uncertain)  
*epu nime-* : wrist
127. *epwI* : (gloss uncertain; possibly *ep<sup>w</sup>e* ‘only, just’ in Hamel 1994:184)  
*sih epwI* : kinsman, relative (= ‘only one, just one?’)
128. *eruculumow* : seven (in counting children, ropes)
129. *eruʔumow* : eight (in counting children, ropes)
130. *erusomow* : nine (in counting children, ropes)
131. *esun* : gall, ink of a squid

132. /ete/ : liver (free form), *ete-w*, *ete-m*, *ete-n*  
 133. *etepew* : k.o. tree with leaves that cause itching when touched  
 134. *etIn* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ηelepυ*)  
 135. *etip* : to seek, search for  
     *etip kut* : to delouse, search for lice in the hair  
 136. *etipow* : here (cf. *itipo*) (H: *itipɔ*)  
 137. *ewani* : to pull (on a rope) (H: *iwani* ‘pull, drag, pull out or up’)  
 138. *ey* : odor, scent, *ey-n*

/h/

139. *ha* : one, in counting fathoms  
 140. *hah* : four (in ‘14’, ‘24’, etc.)  
 141. *hak* : to strike against s.t., of a thrown object  
 142. *hakap* : one, in counting leaves  
 143. *hamow* : four (in counting children)  
 144. *han* : to laugh  
 145. *hay* : to feed (animal, person)  
 146. *hay*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ñu*)  
 147. *hay*<sub>-2</sub> : west monsoon (cf. *kup*)  
 148. *hayah* : few  
 149. *helisay* : to laugh (H: *hēlesay* ‘be happy’)  
 150. *helow* : to run (H: *hilow*)  
 151. *hemo* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *hih*)  
 152. *heno* : first, before (H: *hanɔ* ~ *henɔ*)  
 153. *het* : sago grub  
 154. *hewin* : crooked, winding, as a path or river  
 155. *hi-* : prefix to female personal names and words designating females  
 156. *hih* : who? (H: *he*)  
     *hemo-hih* : who?  
     NOTE: The speakers with whom I worked stated that this word rhymes with *sih* ([sih]) ‘one’, but this cannot be true in Hamel’s data, since she has /he/ ‘who?’ vs. /sih/ ‘one’)  
 157. *hikeroh* : k.o. small butterfly or moth that leaves a substance on the water that kills fish  
 158. *hilow* : to run (H: *hilow* ‘run, fly, swim; generally, move rapidly, whether on the ground, in the water, or in the sky; flow’)  
 159. *himwa* : twins (H: ‘gloss unclear, poss. (female?) twins’)  
 160. *hineni* : to make s.o. do s.t., compel, cause  
 161. *hiñaw* : widow  
     NOTE: This word probably has the female prefix *hi-*, and so implies a base *ñaw* that should occur with a different prefix for widowers.  
 162. *hisueh* : k.o. pandanus with edible fruit  
 163. *hitow* : 3pl., they, them  
 164. *ho* : one, in counting prongs on a fish spear  
 165. *homow* : one (in counting children, ropes)  
 166. *hoŋey* : to sniff, smell s.t. (H: *huŋe*)  
 167. *hosi* : to tie, bind by wrapping around (H: *husi*)

168. *hoti* : to get, receive, take (H: *huti* ‘take, hold, carry in hands’)  
*kohoti* : to take
169. *huti* : to bring, convey  
 NOTE: Probably = *hoti*.
170. *hutun* : thick, as a plank (H: ‘thick; heavy’)
171. *huyan* : good (H: *huya* ‘goodness’ + *-n* ‘3SG possessor’)  
*ma-huyan* : living, alive

/i/

172. *i* ~ *iy* : 3SG, s/he (personal pronoun)  
*a-ʔi* ~ *a-ʔih* : 3SG free form possessive pronoun; his/her  
 NOTE: Presumably *a* + *i(y)*, but heard only as [ʔaʔiʔ] and [ʔaʔih] (cf. *taʔih*)
173. *ie* : here
174. *Imwec* : spoiled, rotten, of vegetable matter (cf. *kilipaca*, *poʔoan*)
175. *in* : to drink, to suck  
*yu leʔe tow in enu niw* ‘I am drinking coconut water (now)’
176. *inen* : small, younger (as sibling)
177. *ini* : to find (cf. *eni*)
178. *is* : exclamation used when someone is telling a tall story to shame him into backing down or stopping
179. *isi* : to break wind, fart
180. *iso* : confused?  
*mata-n iso* : stray, get lost (lit. ‘eyes confused’?)
181. *iti* ~ *itiʔit* : sexual intercourse  
*suʔu ta iti suʔu* ‘They are having intercourse’
182. *itien* : that, there
183. *itio* : this, here
184. *itipo* : here (cf. *etipow*)
185. *iw*<sub>1</sub> : to call to s.o.  
*iy ta iw* ‘S/he is calling’  
*iy wi iw* ‘S/he is calling’
186. *iw*<sub>2</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *meti*)
187. *iwoh* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *miti*)

/k/

188. *ka*<sub>1</sub> : fireplow; shore plant used to make fireplow (H: ‘k.o. bush’)
189. *ka*<sub>2</sub> : place (cf. *co*)  
*ka mwan* : hearth, cooking place
190. *kacan* : floor of a house
191. *kak* : starfish (Crown-of-thorns?)
192. *kaka* : foot, leg, *koko*, *kaka-m*, *kaka-n*  
*kaka muan* : crippled, lame (lit. ‘bad leg’)
193. *kalih* : wave at sea, surf, breakers
194. *kalipuey* : a fish, smooth flutemouth: *Fistularia petimba* (Lacépède)

195. *kalon* : red tree ant (H: ‘ant’)
196. *kaluŋ* : wooden headrest, pillow
197. *kaman* : male; men’s house  
*lo komwan* : men’s house
198. *kamwat* : black ant
199. *kamwet* : tattoo
200. *kan* : food
201. *kanas* : mullet
202. *kanaw* : small black sea bird
203. *kap* : string, fish line, any string made of fiber (H: ‘k.o. tree which produces a natural fibre used to make string or thread, which is then used to make belts and to string beads and dogs’ teeth’)
204. *kapini* : wing, lateral fins of fish (H: *ka-peni*)
205. *kapok* : silk cotton tree: *Ceiba pentandra* (TP)
206. *kaʔah* : rain cloud (H: ‘cloud’)
207. *kaʔahay* : coconut inflorescence, coconut flower spathe
208. *kaʔopwen* : rabbitfish: *Siganid* spp. (H: *kaʔupwen* ‘k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot’)
209. *kas* : k.o. small bamboo
210. *katah* : frigate bird
211. *katuʔuhi* : hunchback, hunched over, stooping (H *katuʔuhe* ‘bend down’)
212. *kaw* : to leave, depart
213. *kawa* : medium-sized basket used to carry sago
214. *kay* : to wade through shallow water
215. *ke ~ key ~ ki* : wood, tree
216. *keceniw* : k.o. small sea anemone
217. *kecepwe* : cave bat, small insectivorous bat
218. *kehea* : shoulder  
*po-kehea* : armpit (free form), *po-kehe-u*, *po-kehea-m*, *po-kehea-n*
219. *keheah* : afternoon
220. *kehi* : to search for s.t.
221. *kekeñah* : sharp-nosed rainbow fish: *Cheilio inermis* (Forskål)
222. *kelaw*<sub>-1</sub> : bachelor, unmarried man of any age (H: ‘unmarried person’)
223. *kelaw*<sub>-2</sub> : convict surgeonfish: *Acanthurus triostegus* (Linn.)
224. *kelelon* : to set, of the sun  
*ŋan kelelon* : evening, sunset
225. *kелеŋa* : back  
*po-kелеŋa* : back (prefixed free form) : *pokeleŋo*, *pokeleŋa-m* *pokeleŋa-n*
226. *kelepe* : tail (of dog, pig, fish), *kelepe-n*
227. *keli* : a fish, smallest k.o. grouper or honeycomb rock-cod: *Epinephelus merra* (Bloch) (cf. *ketihi*, *kot*, *pucikero*, *yapoʔiw*)
228. *keneʔiw* : adze for shaping canoe hulls
229. *keni* : large needle for mat-making
230. *keñewe* : neck (free form), *keñewu*, *keñewe-m*, *keñewe-n* (H: *kunewe*)
231. *kepase* : cheek and chin area (free form); external gills of a fish, *kepase-w*, *kepase-m*, *kepase-n*

232. *keʔen-keʔen* : mottled, of coloration  
*maʔa-n keʔen-keʔen* ‘His/her skin has patches of different color’
233. *keʔeŋ* : red parrot
234. *keʔowoh* : green grasshopper (cf. *kosi*) (H: *keʔiwoh*)
235. *kereneway* : small frog that jumps far (H: *kerinaway*)
236. *keripow* : heron
237. *kesi-1* : a fish, the small-toothed emperor: *Lethrinella microdon* (Valenciennes)
238. *kesi-2* : rib (free form), *kesi-w*, *kesi-m*, *kesi-n*
239. *kesus* : coconut crab
240. *keti* : early growth stage in oyster (cf. *silimwat*)
241. *ketihi* : a fish, small k.o. grouper or leopard-cod: *Plectropoma maculatum* (Bloch) (cf. *keli*,  
*kot*, *pucikero*, *yapoʔiw*)
242. *ketuŋ* : thunder (H: *katuŋ*)
243. *ki* : future marker (H: *k + i* ‘potential prefix for 1SG and 3SG actors’)
244. *kiec* : outrigger booms, outrigger connecting sticks (H: *kiyec ~ kiyey*)
245. *kihi* : firewood
246. *kili* : (gloss uncertain = ‘direction’?; cf. *mwenen*)
247. *kilih* : an object, thing referred to  
*kilih salay* : hatched, of an egg
248. *kilipaca* : rotten, decayed, of wood (cf. *Imwec*, *poʔoan*)
249. *kiʔi* : perfective marker with *la* ‘to go’ (Hamel 1994: 74, 193)
250. *kit* : octopus
251. *kito* : (gloss uncertain; cf. sentence 47)
252. *ko-1* : place, village
253. *ko-2* : weather, wind
254. *koceʔeku* : twilight, beginning of night
255. *kocoh-1* : comb of a fowl
256. *kocoh-2 ~ kocow* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *motow*) (H: *koco*)
257. *koho* : flying fish (H: *kəhəh*)
258. *kohu* (gloss uncertain)  
*kohu lolo* : pus
259. *kokoru* : chicken, rooster (TP)
260. *koloñah* : k.o. thin bamboo with long internodes
261. *kolu* : throat  
*kolu i sop* : hoarse (lit. ‘my throat is closed’)
262. *kolumamwa* : pity, compassion, sympathy, love; sorry
263. *komu* : word, talk, language  
*amat peri huti a komu* : messenger, herald (lit. ‘person bringing talk’)
264. *koñoʔum* : saliva
265. *kopow* : k.o. small black poisonous marine fish that swims in schools; it has barbels like a  
catfish
266. *kopuca* : mangrove
267. /koputu/ ‘navel’ : *koputu*, *koputu-m*, *koputu-n*
268. *koʔokaw* : sweet potato (TP)
269. *koʔow* : gray, of hair  
*pala koʔow* : gray hair, *pelu koʔow*, *pala-m koʔow*, *pala-n koʔow*

270. *koʔowow* : a fish, orange-striped emperor: *Lethrinus obsoletus* (Forskål)
271. *koʔun* : left side  
*nime koʔun* : left hand
272. *kosi* : brown grasshopper (cf. *keʔowoh*)
273. *kot* : middle-sized grouper (cf. *keli*, *ketihi*, *pucikero*, *yapoʔiw*)
274. *kow*<sub>1</sub> : fence
275. *kow*<sub>2</sub> : fishhook, prong on a fish spear
276. *ku* : clay cooking pot
277. *kuen* : bow for pounding sago
278. *kuli* : rudder, steering paddle in canoe
279. *kulihi* : skin (of animal), bark  
*kulihi ki* ‘bark of a tree’  
*kulihi pow* ‘pig skin’  
*kulihi wi* : rind, peeling of a type of fruit  
*kulihi-n* : scab, rough skin covering sore
280. *kulucu* : bending part?,  
*kulucu nime* (free form) elbow, *kulucu nimo*, *kulucu nime-m*, *kulucu nime-n*
281. /kum/ : hair of the head (cannot occur alone)  
*kum-pala* : head hair (free form), *kum-pelu*, *kum-pala-m* *kum-pala-n*
282. *kun* : breadfruit
283. *kuni* : to carry on the back (H: ‘carry suspended from the head’)
284. *kuñ* : flat coconut leaf bag or pouch slung over the shoulder and used to carry small items;  
coconut leaf container used to carry sago
285. *kup* : east monsoon (cf. *hay*)
286. *kupuca* : swamp, swampy ground  
*ŋoʔo kupuca* : mangrove swamp
287. *kupwen* : fishnet (usually means casting net)  
*kupwen na kanas* : large rectangular net used to catch mullet  
*kupwen na mat* : hand net (used around dry reef)  
*kupwen na tenih* : large triangular net used to catch sardines
288. *kusa* : k.o. medium-sized bamboo
289. *kut* : louse
290. *kuʔu* : horned squirrelfish: *Holocentrus cornutus* (Bleeker)

/l/

291. *la* : to go, walk (all persons except 1SG and 3SG; cf. *le*<sub>1</sub>)  
*a la* ‘You go’
292. *lac* : coral
293. *lacuŋ* : withered? (cf. *palapa*)
294. *lah* : black stingray that stays in the mud of the mangrove swamps
295. *lakahani* : to massage (H: ‘touch, feel’)
296. *lakay* : shrimp
297. *laman* : deep sea starting just beyond the reef
298. *lan* : south wind
299. *lan* : sky (said to be rarely used)



300. *lanjāt* : to sail, sailing
301. *lapak* : a flat, bottom-feeding fish, various sole: *Heteromycteris hartzfeldi* (Bleeker) and *Achirus pavoninus* (Lacépède)
302. *las* : k.o. flattish fish similar to the mackerel
303. *law* : long fishnet, some 30-45 meters in length, laid out in a V-shape by men in canoes and used to catch parrotfish and turtles
304. *lawat* : cuscus, opossum
305. *le*<sub>-1</sub> : to go, walk (1SG and 3SG form; cf. *la*)  
*i-le* ‘S/he is going’
306. *le*<sub>-2</sub> : to, toward (cf. *li*)  
*can le Lugos* ‘the road to Lugos’ (possibly identical to *le*<sub>-1</sub>)
307. *le*<sub>-3</sub> : with (instrumental)
308. *lehe* : tooth, tusk (free form), *lehe-w*, *lehe-m*, *lehe-n*  
*lehe mwi* : money, traditional currency (strings of dog’s teeth)  
*lehe pow* : tusk of a pig
309. *leke* : wound (free form), *leke ayu*, *leke aw*, *leke aʔih* (H: *leken* ‘sore, wound, scratch’)
310. *lele* : to look at s.t. or s.o.
311. *leley* : bow  
NOTE: Since there are few land animals to hunt this probably was used mainly in war; cf. Ohnemus 1998.
312. *lemilemin* : sennit, cordage made of coconut fiber (H: *lemilemi* ‘root hairs of yams other tubers; the hair-like growth on the husk of the coconut’)
313. *lemu* ~ *lomu* : body hair, fur, feathers (H: *lomu*)  
*lemu nime* : hair of the arms, *lemu nimo*, *lemu nime-m*, *lemu nime-n*  
*lemu poʔo-mata* : eyebrow, eyelash (free form), *lemu poʔo-metu*, *lemu poʔo-mata-m*, *lemu poʔo-mata-n*  
*lemu puluese* : beard (free form), *lemu puluese-w*, *lemu puluese-m*, *lemu puluese-n*  
*lemu pwi-n* : pubic hair (female)  
*lemu uti-n* : pubic hair (male)  
*lomu-n kokoru* : chicken feathers  
*lomu-n ñetukan* : feather of a bird, pinion
314. *lej* : shore, beach  
*pwaha lej* : shore, beach
315. *lejīn* : rain
316. *leʔe*<sub>-1</sub> : to look, see
317. *leʔe*<sub>-2</sub> : marker of present continuative (Hamel 1994:197)  
*toʔu leʔe tow yeniyan* ‘We two (incl.) are eating’
318. *leʔero* : intend to, will
319. *letow* : that, there (far from hearer)
320. *ley* : ginger
321. *lih* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *me*)
322. *likIn* : node in bamboo or sugarcane
323. *lilip* : k.o. black wildfowl that digs a hole about a meter deep to bury its eggs; probably megapode
324. *lilos* : lost, astray, unable to find one’s way  
*i ki lilos* ‘S/he will be lost’

325. *limbun* : black palm (TP)  
 326. *limeh* : five (in ‘15’, ‘25’, etc.)  
 327. *limemow* : five (in counting children, ropes)  
 328. *lo* : in, inside, within  
     *lo an* : lake (lit. ‘in the fresh water’)  
     *lo um* : village (lit. ‘in the house’)  
     *lo ŋay* : cave (lit. ‘in the cave’)  
 329. *lolo* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *kohu*)  
 330. *lolow* : k.o. small rattan (cf. *wahawah*, *wesiw*)  
 331. *lon* : to sink  
 332. *loŋo* : things (H: *loŋo*)  
 333. *loʔo* : leaf  
     *loʔo ke* : leaf of a tree; traditional woman’s grass skirt  
     *loʔo na epi* : sago leaf  
     *loʔo niw* : coconut frond; torch made of coconut frond  
 334. *los* : to fall (as from a height)  
     *i los* ‘It’s falling’  
 335. *losow* : marsupial rat, bandicoot  
 336. *lot* : boil, abscess (cf. *okahak*, *samwak*) (H: ‘skin disease involving heavy rash; possibly a type of ringworm’)  
 337. *lotow* : tree common in mangrove swamps  
 338. *low* : pus in the ear  
 339. *lus*<sub>-1</sub> : nit, egg of a louse  
 340. *lus*<sub>-2</sub> : traditional large wooden bowl (cf. *drolow*)

/m/

341. *-m* : 2SG possessor; your  
 342. *ma*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *huyan*, *ow*)  
 343. *ma*<sub>-2</sub> : numeral prefix  
 344. *ma*<sub>-3</sub> : ripe  
     *meʔe-ma* : ripe  
 345. *ma*<sub>-4</sub> : to want to, intend to  
 346. *mac* : tangled, as string  
 347. *macaw* : channel, passage through the reef (H: ‘ocean passage between two islands’)  
 348. *maceheh* : how much?, how many? (H: *macehe*)  
 349. *macoloh*<sub>-1</sub> : three (in serial counting)  
 350. *macoloh*<sub>-2</sub> : six (in counting fish)  
     *macoloh e seleha* : seven (in counting fish)  
 351. *maculu* : three (in counting fathoms)  
 352. *maculuem* : three (in counting houses)  
 353. *maculuey* : three (in counting trees)  
 354. *maculukap* : three, in counting leaves  
 355. *maculumow* : three (in counting ropes)  
 356. *maculuŋat* : three hundred  
 357. *maculuŋon* : thirty

358. *mah* : taro  
 359. *mahaem* : four (in counting houses)  
 360. *mahaey* : four (in counting trees)  
 361. *mahah*<sub>-1</sub> : eight (in counting fish)  
     *mahah e seleha* : nine (in counting fish)  
 362. *mahah*<sub>-2</sub> : four (in serial counting)  
 363. *mahakap* : four, in counting leaves  
 364. *mahamow* : four (in counting ropes)  
 365. *mahaŋat* : four hundred  
 366. *mahaŋon* : forty  
 367. *mahun* : new, fresh (H: 'new, newborn')  
 368. *mahuw* : tomorrow (H: *mahu*)  
 369. *mai* : black-barred surgeonfish: *Acanthurus gahhm* (Forskål)  
 370. *makala* : (gloss uncertain)  
     *u makala suwe* 'The two of us (excl.) are paddling' (= ma + ka + la?)  
 371. *makuwu* : to heal, of a wound  
 372. *malimeh*<sub>-1</sub> : five (in serial counting)  
 373. *malimeh*<sub>-2</sub> : ten (in counting fish)  
 374. *malimekap* : five, in counting leaves  
 375. *malimeŋat* : five hundred  
 376. *malimeŋon* : fifty  
 377. *malimeyey* : five (in counting trees)  
 378. *malimiyem* : five (in counting houses)  
 379. *malin* : k.o. tall tree whose bark is used as a sling to carry firewood  
 380. *mama* : strong, straight tree with small leaves that grows in mangrove swamps; used in building houses  
 381. *mamaci* : ashamed, embarrassed  
     *pule-n mamaci* : ashamed, embarrassed ('shameful face')  
 382. *manaw* : k.o. parrotfish  
 383. *mapeŋ* : morning (= *ma peŋ*?)  
 384. *mapitan* : raw, uncooked  
 385. *mapoŋen* : green coconut  
 386. *mapu koŋoh* : dawn, daybreak  
 387. *mapun* : thousand  
     *mapun sih* : one thousand  
     *mapun ŋuoh* : two thousand  
 388. *maŋa*<sub>-1</sub> : skin (of human), body (free form), *moŋo*, *maŋa-m maŋa-n* (H: 'skin; close to')  
 389. *maŋa*<sub>-2</sub> : two, of bunches  
     *maŋa puŋ* : two bunches (of betel nuts, coconuts, etc.)  
 390. *maŋamow*<sub>-1</sub> : 3DL, the two of them  
 391. *maŋamow*<sub>-2</sub> : two, in counting children, ropes  
 392. *maŋaru-* : take away, remove, subtract  
 393. *maŋaru-coloh* : seven, in serial counting  
 394. *maŋaru-culuem* : seven, in counting houses  
 395. *maŋaru-culuey* : seven, in counting trees  
 396. *maŋaru-culukap* : seven, in counting leaves

397. *maʔaru-culuŋat* : seven hundred  
 398. *maʔaru-culuŋon* : seventy  
 399. *maʔaruʔuem* : eight, in counting houses  
 400. *maʔaruʔuey* : eight, in counting trees  
 401. *maʔaruʔukep* : eight, in counting leaves  
 402. *maʔaruʔuŋet* : eight hundred  
 403. *maʔaruʔuŋon* : eighty  
 404. *maʔaru-ʔuoh* : eight, in serial counting  
 405. *maʔaru-sakap* : nine, in counting leaves  
 406. *maʔaru-saŋat* : nine hundred  
 407. *maʔaru-sem* : nine, in counting houses  
 408. *maʔaru-sey* : nine, in counting trees  
 409. *maʔaru-sih* : nine, in serial counting  
 410. *maʔaru-soŋon* : ninety  
 411. *maʔu* : two, in counting fathoms  
 412. *maʔuem* : two, in counting houses  
 413. *maʔuey* : two, in counting trees  
 414. *maʔukep* : two, in counting leaves  
 415. *maʔuŋet* : two hundred  
 416. *maʔuŋon* : twenty  
 417. *maʔuoh*<sub>-1</sub> : four, in counting fish  
       *maʔuoh e seleha* : five, in counting fish  
 418. *maʔuoh*<sub>-2</sub> : two, in serial counting  
 419. *marapIñek* : fallow land, land out of current use (= *mata pIñek*?)  
 420. *marmar* : rain tree: *Samanea saman* (TP)  
 421. *mas* : k.o. fish with long nose and sharp teeth  
 422. *masaŋat* : one hundred  
 423. *masih* : all, every  
       *masih pucey* : altogether  
 424. *masoŋon* : ten, in counting anything  
       *masoŋon e sih* : eleven  
       *masoŋon e uoh* : twelve  
 425. *masow* : not yet (H: *ma sow*)  
 426. *mat*<sub>-1</sub> ~ *met* : dead  
       *amat iy met* : corpse (lit. 'dead person')  
 427. *mat*<sub>-2</sub> : dry reef; low tide (H: 'reef')  
       *mar a pukIt* : reef near the shore of an island (cf. *moso*)  
       *mat mahun* : new dry reef, reef recently exposed by lowering tide  
       *mat cakIn* : dry reef that will soon be under water again  
       *teʔe mat* : area between the shore and reef, sometimes left dry during low tide  
 428. *mata*<sub>-1</sub> : eye; front; blade, point; focal point, *metu*, *mata-m*, *mata-n*  
       *poʔo-mata-* : eye  
       *mata an* : spring of fresh water  
       *mata pwe* : blind (lit. 'no eyes')  
       *mata sus* : nipple of the breast, *mata susu*, *mata susu-m*, *mata susu-n*  
       *mata-n toton* : dull, of a blade

429. *mata*<sub>2</sub> : to grow, of people or animals (cf. *ek*)
430. *mawonoem* : six, in counting houses
431. *mawonoh* : six, in serial counting
432. *mawonokap* : six, in counting leaves
433. *mawonoŋat* : six hundred
434. *mawonoŋon* : sixty
435. *mawonoyey* : six, in counting trees
436. *may*<sub>1</sub> : k.o. large sea anemone
437. *may*<sub>2</sub> : k.o. thickset black fish, about 40 centimeters long with a white spot, and a barb near the tail
438. *mayah* : sea eagle
439. *me* : to come  
*e me* 'You come'  
*me heno* : to be first (in arriving)  
*me mwi?In* : to be last (in arriving)  
*me-lih* : to come (?)
440. *meheun* : bitter (H: *mehiyun* 'bad-tasting, sour')
441. *melehan* : wide (H: *malahan*)
442. *meleemun* : soft, like a banana
443. *melen* : cucumber (TP)  
*lo?o melen* : an edible plant: *Hibiscus manihot*
444. *melewa* : spirit of the dead, ghost, *melewo*, *melewa-m*, *melewa-n*  
*ca-melewa* : shadow, reflection, *ca-melewo*, *ca-melewa-m*, *ca-melewa-n*
445. *melisawa* : parent-in-law (free form), *melisewu*, *melisawa-m*, *melisawa-n* (H: *melesewa* 'man's brothers-in-law and his sisters-in-law who are older than his wife; also woman's brothers-in-law who are older than her husband')
446. *melui* : blue-lined surgeonfish: *Acanthurus lineatus* (Linn.) (H: *meliwi*)
447. *menih* ~ *meniy*: kind of bee, probably bumblebee (H: *menih* 'large black bee')
448. *mensow* : brother-in-law (free form), *mensow ayu*, *mensow awow*, *mensow a?ih*
449. *menuay*<sub>1</sub> : predatory bird, hawk, eagle
450. *menuay*<sub>2</sub> : white spotted stingray which jumps out of the water
451. *me?e-* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ma*)
452. *me?e*<sub>2</sub> : the Malay apple: *Syzygium gomata* (H: *me?ew* 'k.o. fruit')
453. *me?eman* : red (cf. *me?e ma*) (H: *me?iman*)
454. *me?esan* : cooked (= *me?e-san*?) (H: *me?is* 'become cooked, done')
455. *me?eyen* : quick (H: *me?iyen*)
456. *mere* ~ *meri* : toward, in the direction of (= *me* + *re*?)
457. *mese?en* : veranda, front part of a house
458. *meti* : to sleep (H: *mete*)  
*meti-iw* 'sleeping'  
*yu ma ki meti* 'I want to sleep'  
*pulu-metu* 'I'm sleepy'
459. *mimim* : urine (H: 'urinate')  
*ma ki-le-mimim* : to want to urinate  
*i ma ki-le-mimim* : S/he wants to urinate/is going to urinate

460. *min* : to sit  
*mi-tan* : to sit down
461. *miti* : (gloss uncertain)  
*miti iwoh* : day before yesterday, two days ago
462. *moloa* : nape of the neck (free form), *molou*, *moloa-m*, *moloa-n*
463. *moloam* : whale
464. *momotani* : to spit out food
465. *momwak* : squid with two long tentacles
466. *mon* : bead anklets
467. *monoy* : long-snouted unicornfish: *Naso unicornis* (Forskål)
468. *moñ* : long red or yellow sweet pandanus fruit (H: ‘gloss unclear, poss. yellow-coloured’)
469. *moñow* : yellow (H: *owowa*)
470. *mosas* : long-barbelled goatfish: *Parupeneus macronemus* (Lacépède) (H: *mwasas*)
471. *moso* : reef in deep sea (cf. *marapukIt* under *mata*)
472. *mosos* : to vanish
473. *moto* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *mwat*)
474. *motow* : cutting tool. knife, axe  
*motow kocoh* : bush knife  
*motow mwatiy* : k.o. axe used to fell sago trees  
*motow pipetow* : small axe shaped like the *mwatiy* and used to fell trees for building
475. *moyap* : foreigner (applied to Caucasians and Asians) (H: *yap*)
476. *mu* : a fish, the pearl-spotted spinefoot: *Siganus oramin* (Linn.)
477. *muan* : bad, defective (H: ‘bad, evil’)
478. *muciŋat* : to sweat, perspire  
*i ta muciaŋat* ‘S/he is sweating’
479. *muli* : citrus fruit (TP)
480. *mumu* : earth oven (TP)
481. *mumum* : jellyfish
482. *muʔu* : rear part, stern, behind; one that comes last’ (cf. *mwiaʔin* ~ *muʔin*)  
*muʔu tun* : stern of a canoe
483. *muʔun* : hungry
484. *musim* : a common shore tree: *Casuarina equisetifolia*
485. *mut* : to vomit (H: *emot*)  
*a mut* ‘You are vomiting’

/mw/

486. *mwalas* : k.o. tall grass on the sea floor where the mullet hide
487. *mwalih* : story, narration
488. *mwana*<sub>-1</sub> : fire
489. *mwana*<sub>-2</sub> : male? (cf. *ñetu*)
490. *mwaʔay* : calm, still (of unruffled water)
491. *mwat* : snake  
*moto mwat* : sea snake (or eel?)
492. *mwatiy* : axe (H: *mwati*)
493. *mway*<sub>-1</sub> : sand crab (H: *mwey* ‘k.o. beach crab’)

494. *mway*<sub>2</sub> : k.o. wild taro with sap that causes itching: *Alocasia macrorrhiza*  
 495. *mwe* : buttocks, *mwe-w*, *mwe-m*, *mwe-n*  
 496. *mwece* : fibers (H: *mwici*)  
     *mwece niw* : coconut husk  
 497. *mwenen* ~ *monen* : straight, correct  
     *kili mwenen pwe* : wrong, in error (lit. 'kili not straight')  
 498. *mweniani* : easy (H: *mweniyε*)  
 499. *mwenie* ~ *munie* : slow (possibly = *mweniani*)  
 500. *mwi* : dog  
 501. *mwiʔin* ~ *muʔin* : late, last; rear part (cf. *muʔu*)  
     *muʔin tahItuw* : youngest child, last-born child  
 502. *mwiʔiw* : sword grass: *Imperata cylindrica*

/n/

503. *-n*<sub>1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *suʔu ñetu-n maʔamow* 'There are two children')  
 504. *-n*<sub>2</sub> : 3SG possessor; his/her  
 505. *-n*<sub>3</sub> : genitive marker  
 506. *nanah* : good (expression used by small boys for a story, but not for people, food or materials)  
 507. *napwanan* : big; older (of siblings)  
     *leke napwanan* : a big wound  
 508. *nas* : heavy pointed wooden stick used to split sago trunks, and as digging stick in planting  
 509. *nen*<sub>1</sub> : fast, quick, as people, or canoes  
 510. *nen*<sub>2</sub> : forest tree whose hard bark is used to make needles for sewing sago thatch (H: part of the palm leaf, used for sewing palm leaf thatch)  
 511. *ni* : fish  
 512. *nihineh* : to dream (H: *nihiyani* 'dream about')  
 513. *nime* : hand, arm (free form), *nimo*, *nime-m*, *nime-n*  
 514. *nin* : nail (TP nil)  
 515. *niw* : coconut  
 516. *noh*<sub>1</sub> ~ *nohonoh* : fearful, afraid  
 517. *noh*<sub>2</sub> : poisonous red thorny reef fish, red fire fish: *Pterois volitans* (Linn.)  
 518. *nun*<sub>1</sub> : rotating fast, spinning, like a propeller blade  
 519. *nun*<sub>2</sub> : unpleasant pressure in ears when submerged at a depth  
 520. *nunun* : shaking of the earth, earthquake

/ñ/

521. *ñah* : fish spear (H: 'spear')  
     *ñah mata ho-kow* : one-pronged fish spear  
     *ñah mata u-kow* : two-pronged fish spear  
     *ñah mata culu-kow* : three-pronged fish spear  
 522. *ñak* : to climb (a ladder, coconut tree)  
 523. *ñalat* : stinging nettle, *Laportea* sp.  
 524. *ñaman*<sub>1</sub> : fat, grease

525. *ñaman*<sub>-2</sub> : sharp, of point or blade  
 526. *ñaman*<sub>-3</sub> : sweet; tasty  
 NOTE: Probably the same as *ñaman*<sub>-1</sub>, since these two concepts are treated as one in many Oceanic languages.  
 527. *ñamon* : mosquito  
 528. *ñane* ~ *yane* : mother (free form), *ñano/ñanu*, *ñani-m*, *ñani-n*  
 529. *ñani* : to eat  
 530. *ñañay*<sub>-1</sub> : algae that grows on bottom of canoes  
 531. *ñañay*<sub>-2</sub> : sea grass that grows on sea floor in shallow water (considered distinct from *ñañay*<sub>-1</sub> by speakers)  
 532. *ñapulu* : spouse (free form), *ñapulu*, *ñapulu-m*, *ñapulu-n*  
 533. *ñat* : tall tree with edible sweet green fruit, probably *Palaquium* sp.  
 534. *ñatama* : father (free form), *ñatomo*, *ñatama-m*, *ñatama-n*  
*ñatama-n pwe*, *ñane-n pwe* : orphan (lit. ‘no father, no mother’)  
 535. *ñatupu* : grandfather  
 536. *ñek* : pronged fork used to remove food from the cooking pot  
 537. *ñela* : dew?  
 538. *ñeletun* : cold (food, water, weather)  
*an ñeletun* ‘cold water’  
*ko ñeletun* ‘cold weather’  
 539. *ñemulen* : sour  
 540. *ñetu* : child (free form), *ñetu*, *ñetu-m*, *ñetu-n*  
*ñetu mwan* : bachelor, young unmarried man  
*ñetu-n ta putua-n* : pregnant (= ‘Her child is in her stomach’)  
*suʔu ñetu-n maʔamow* ‘There are two children’  
 541. *ñetukan* : bird  
 542. *ñihi* : to wash clothes or dishes  
 543. *ño* : tide, current  
 544. *ñoh* : to put something inside a container  
 545. *ñohoani* : to swallow  
 546. *ñoʔoño* : fresh water spring near or on the beach  
 547. *ñorñor* : tidal wave  
 548. *ñow* : a tall tree with wood used in building houses  
 549. *ñu* : to bathe, wash oneself in water  
*ñu-hay* : to bathe, wash oneself in water  
*ñu-welaw* : to dive, submerge  
 550. *ñuhey* : to shave  
 551. *ñuk* : small growth stage of squid  
 552. *ñumwi* : to scrape the meat out of a coconut  
 553. *ñumwih* : to bail out a canoe that has taken in water  
*a ñumwih* ‘Bail it out! Start bailing!’  
 554. *ñuñ* : to move slightly, budge, shift  
 555. *ñuñuʔo* : sweat, perspiration (free form), *ñuñuʔo*, *ñuñuʔu-m*, *ñuñuʔu-n*  
 556. *ñuʔo* : to spit (H: *yanoʔoh*)



/ŋ/

557. *ŋah*<sub>-1</sub> : fathom (H: *ŋahan*)  
*ha-ŋah* : one fathom  
*maʔu-ŋeh* : two fathoms  
*maculu-ŋah* : three fathoms
558. *ŋah*<sub>-2</sub> : lime (for betel chew)
559. *ŋahani* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *so*<sub>-2</sub>)
560. *ŋan*<sub>-1</sub> : sun
561. *ŋan*<sub>-2</sub> : thick-bodied barracuda: *Agrio posphyraena* (Walbaum)
562. *ŋaŋ* : to run amuck, go berserk
563. *ŋaʔa-* : name, *ŋoʔo-*, *ŋaʔa-m*, *ŋaʔa-n*  
*ŋaʔa-m*, *hɪh* 'What is your name?'
564. *ŋara* : hole through something (?; cf. *poŋaratin*)
565. *ŋas* : nervous, upset
566. *ŋay* : hole in the ground, cave  
*lo ŋay* : cave
567. *ŋelepū* : fly (insect)  
*ŋelepū etm* : stinging March fly
568. *ŋesu* : smoke  
*ŋesu mwan* : smoke of a fire
569. *ŋesuha* : breath, *ŋesuho*, *ŋesuha-m*, *ŋesuha-n* (H: *ŋosoha*)  
*hoti ŋesuha-m* : to breathe (lit. 'to get your breath')
570. *ŋetahan* : hot (of food, water, sun) (H: *ŋatehi* 'heat')
571. *ŋeti* : pain (H: 'hurt, be painful')  
*ŋeti-an* : painful  
*pala ŋeti* : headache
572. *ŋici* : wall  
*ŋici um* : wall of a house
573. *ŋo*<sub>-1</sub> : intestinal worm (tapeworm?)
574. *ŋo*<sub>-2</sub> : nose, snout, beak; prow  
*poʔo-ŋo* : nose  
*poʔo-ŋo ñetukan* : beak of a bird  
*poʔo-ŋo pow* : snout of a pig  
*ŋo tun* : prow of a canoe
575. *ŋoh*<sub>-1</sub> : to blow, of the wind
576. *ŋoh*<sub>-2</sub> : far; away
577. *ŋoŋi* : mole on the skin
578. *ŋoʔo*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *kupuca*)
579. *ŋoʔo*<sub>-2</sub> : root; vein, vessel  
*ŋoʔo ki* : root of a tree  
*ŋoʔo nime* : blood vessel on the back of the hand  
*ŋoʔo putua* : intestines (free form), *ŋoʔo putu-wu*, *ŋoʔo putua-m*, *ŋoʔo putua-n*
580. *ŋotoha* : to snore, to grunt, of a pig  
*ŋotoha amat* : to snore, of a man

581. *ηusu* : (gloss uncertain)

*pwaha ηusu* : lip (free form), *poho ηusu*, *pwaha ηusu-m*, *pwaha ηusu-n*

/o/

582. *o-1* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *teke*)

583. *o-2* : pitch black, as a cloudy or moonless night

584. *o-3* : to spill

585. *oc* : to jump

586. *ohoy* : to draw; to write

587. *ohu-ohu-n* : dust

588. *okahak* : boil in the armpit (cf. *lot*, *samwak*)

589. *oket* : dry coconut

590. *okomwan* : dark

591. *okoten* : black

592. *olicomu* : lobster

593. *oloh* : bailer for a canoe

594. *omon* : to return (to a place)

*iy omon la ko* 'He is returning to the village'

595. *oηehi* : to count (H: *oηohe*)

596. *oηoηehe* : to think (H: *oηo?oηohe*)

NOTE: Evidently a reduplicated form of *oηehi* 'to count'.

597. *o?oan* : blue, green

598. *oti?i* : to string together, as fish or flowers

599. *ow-1* : to play

*ma-?ow* 'you play'

600. *ow-2* : rounding-up of fish by shaking coconut leaves in water (H: 'k.o. fish trap')

601. *ow-3* : 2DL, you two, the two of you

602. *oy* : call made on recognizing a passing person, or in response to a call from someone unseen in the forest

/p/

603. *pa-1* : littoral tree whose bark is chewed with the meat of young coconuts by small boys as a substitute for betel nut

604. *pa-2* : k.o. pandanus with narrow, light green leaves (H: 'k.o. plant with long slender leaf; coconut species')

605. *pac* : fish that is similar to a sardine but smaller; it lives in mangrove swamps

606. *pah* : tree with bark fibers used to make baskets

607. *pahaw* : oars for boat (H: 'long, two-man paddle')

608. *pala* : head (free form), *pelu*, *pala-m*, *pala-n*

*pala copon* : cape, point of land jutting into the sea

609. *palake?eme* : tongue (free form), *palake?eme*, *palake?eme-m*, *palake?eme-n* (H: *palake?ime*)

610. *palapa*: coconut frond

*palapa lacuη* : dry coconut frond

611. *palawa* : flower (TP)
612. *pamat* : thornless sago
613. *pamboñ* : eagle ray
614. *pan* : dove, pigeon
615. *panah* : small bluish-green fish with silvery-white and black stripes, and projecting lower jaw, barred garfish: *Hemirhamphus commersoni* (Cuvier)
616. *paʔaha* : under, beneath
617. *paʔahan* : right side  
*nime paʔahan* : right hand
618. *paʔaŋ* : seagull
619. *paʔoh* : near
620. *paramanan* : intermediate stage of coconut growth between green coconut and dry coconut (H: ‘green coconut, from which coconut water is extracted’)
621. *pasani* : to know things, be expert at something (H: *pesani*)
622. *pasaw* : dry (H: *pwasaw*)  
*kolu-m pasaw* ‘You are thirsty’ (lit. ‘Your throat is dry’)
623. *pat* : stone
624. *pata* ~ *para*: stem, stalk, trunk  
*para-kaka* : leg from knee to ankle, *para-koku*, *para-kaka-m*, *para-kaka-n*  
*pata ke* : trunk of a tree  
*para-nime-* : arm above the wrist  
*para niw* : trunk of coconut tree
625. *pay* : smoking rack for fish and firewood rack above the hearth  
*lo-pay* : smoking rack for fish and firewood rack above the hearth
626. *payow* : foam, bubbles from crashing surf (cf. *posasa tas*)
627. *pehe* : to defecate  
*pehe ʔan* : diarrhea  
*i ta pehe ʔan* : S/he has diarrhea
628. *pehena*<sub>1</sub> : gecko
629. *pehena*<sub>2</sub> : to steal
630. *pele* : area? (H: ‘an area to the side of, near, around’)  
*pele um* : cleared ground in village
631. *pelemat* : flying fox, fruit bat (H: *pelimat*)
632. *peleŋan* : up (H: ‘up in the house (houses are traditionally built on stilts or posts); up in the air; on top’)
633. *peleʔip* : tongs
634. *peley* : sail of a canoe
635. *pele* : opposite bank, other side, as of a river
636. *peleaw* : skipjack tuna, bonito
637. *pelit* : natural spirit (TP ‘marsalai’)
638. *pelu* : to fight over a man, of two women; to compete for someone’s attention
639. *pen* : dish made of pounded taro with coconut oil, taro pudding
640. *penuw* : passage through the mangrove roots
641. *peŋ* : night  
*lo peŋ* : night, ‘Good evening’ (greeting when meeting at night)
642. *pepe* : k.o. pandanus with broad, dark green leaves and inedible fruit (H: *pepe* ‘k.o. plant’)

643. *peʔe* : handle, *peʔe-n*  
*peʔe kow* : fishing pole, made of sago midrib (lit. ‘fishhook handle’)  
*peʔe motow* : handle of a knife or axe
644. *peʔetie* : abdomen, belly (free form), *peʔeti-w*, *peʔetie-m*, *peʔetie-n*
645. *pereʔem* : to fry anything except sago (TP *praim*)
646. *peti* ~ *peri*<sub>-1</sub> : come from  
*yu peri Drokow* ‘I come from Loniu’
647. *peti*<sub>-2</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *cah*)
648. *petuoh* : dusky parrotfish: *Callyodon niger* (Forskål)
649. *pew* : shark
650. *pey* : small type of hermit crab; bait in fishing (cf. *puokop*) (H: ‘k.o. mud whelk’)
651. *piciluw* : obsidan spear head
652. *picinah* : long yam without thorns (cf. *sue*)
653. *pihilum* : firefly
654. *pihin* : female, woman
655. *piliŋeʔi* : with (comitative), accompanying (H: *peliŋeʔi*)
656. *pilum* : placenta, afterbirth  
NOTE: Possibly a borrowing of Tok Pisin *bilum* ‘carrying net’
657. *piñehe* : yesterday
658. *pipetow* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *motow*) (H: ‘axe-type tool used for making canoes’)
659. *pipow* : caterpillar (H: ‘k.o. caterpillar, somewhat poisonous’)
660. *piʔen* : white
661. *piʔihan* : to itch (H: *piʔah*)
662. *piri* : same (?)  
*u piri ay* : kinsman, relative (lit. ‘We two (excl.) same blood?’)
663. *piriloŋow* : k.o. tree with large green leaves
664. *piriy* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *puco*)
665. *pit* : to drift, be carried on a current  
*capeti-pit* : to float  
NOTE: I recorded [pit], which Hamel (1994:213) disambiguates as /pet/ ‘float, drift’. However, cognates in other languages show unambiguous /i/, as in Ere *tal-pit* ‘to float’, Nauna *pit* ‘to drift’, *piʔ-pit* ‘to float’, Ahus *a-pit* ‘to drift’, or Pak *pir* ‘to float’, *pir-pir* ‘to drift’, and I conclude that the Loniu base for ‘to float’ is /pit/. The residue in *capeti-pit* remains unclear. The option that this is *ca-* with reduplication of the base encounters a problem in that the base vowel appears in two different forms (perhaps the basis for Hamel’s analysis). But whether *capeti-* or just *ca-* is separated from the base makes little difference, since in either case the residue is unparalleled in my data or Hamel’s.
666. *piti* : star
667. *pitiʔo* : bone (free form), *pitiʔu*, *pitiʔo-m*, *pitiʔo-n* (H: *petiʔo*)  
*pitiʔo ni* : fish bone  
*pitiʔo para-koku* : shin bone
668. *piton* : hard, of substances like stone; difficult, as a task
669. *pitow* : a common shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*
670. *pituet* : trivet, three stones that support a cooking pot over the fire (H: *petuwet*)
671. *po*<sub>-1</sub> : (body-part prefix; cf. *kehea*, *sus*; possibly left unanalyzed in other words)

672. *po*-<sub>2</sub> : viscous liquid; sap, coconut milk, residue of coconut oil, *po*-*n* : its sap  
*po niw* : coconut cream
673. *pohow* : sago refuse (fibers discarded after washing the powder out)
674. *poke* : (gloss uncertain, but possibly same as *poke*-<sub>2</sub>)  
*ñetu poke* : illegitimate child, bastard
675. *poke*-<sub>2</sub> : seed (H: *puwε*)
676. *pokepikan* : ankle (free form), *pokepikan ayu*, *pokepikan aw*, *pokepikan aʔih*  
NOTE: Probably *po-kepikan*.
677. *pokeʔe* : little finger, pinky (possibly *po-keʔe*) (H: *pokεʔi*)  
*pokeʔe nime* : little finger, *pokeʔe nimo*, *pokeʔe nime-m*, *pokeʔe nime-n*
678. *pokɪt* : deep sea far from the shore (H: 'saltwater colored')
679. *pokiteni* : to curse, put a curse on someone
680. *poleah* : double-headed parrotfish: *Bolbometopon muriaticus* (Valenciennes) (H: *pweleyah*)
681. *polonow* : k.o. fairly large bamboo
682. *poloŋow* : sexual intercourse (polite form; cf. *iti*)
683. *poñ* : sea turtle, the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*  
*poñ keʔeŋ* : hawkbill turtle: *Eretmochelys imbricata*
684. *poŋaratɪn* : anus (possibly *po-ŋara-te-n*)
685. *popituh* : k.o. medim-sized clam
686. *popwilow* : butterfly
687. *poʔo*-<sub>1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *sas*)
688. *poʔo*-<sub>2</sub> : within, among (cf. *lemu*)  
*poʔo-kaka*- : sole of foot (lit. 'within the foot'), *poʔo-koko*, *poʔo-kaka-m*, *poʔo-kaka-n*  
*poʔo lo ke* : forest (lit. 'among the trees')  
*poʔo-nime*- : palm of the hand (lit. 'within the hand'), *poʔo-nimo*, *poʔo-nime-m*, *poʔo-nime-n*
689. *poʔoan* : spoiled, rotten, of fish or meat; stench (cf. *Imwec*, *kilipaca*)
690. *poʔoŋo* : nose, beak, snout (free form), *poʔoŋo*, *poʔoŋo-m*, *poʔoŋo-n* (possibly *po-ʔoŋo*)  
*poʔoŋo ñetukan* : beak of a bird  
*poʔoŋo pow* : snout of a pig
691. *poʔot* : green trigger fish: *Pseudobalistes flavimarginatus* (Rüppell)
692. *poʔotoʔo* : black
693. *poro* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *soson*)
694. *pos* : canoe paddle
695. *posasa* : foam, bubbles  
*posasa tas* : foam, bubbles from crashing surf (cf. *payow*)
696. *posoen* : dry  
*kan posoen* 'dry food'
697. *poto* : thorn
698. *potoey* : to hold in the hand; to embrace (H: *pɔtɔwε*)
699. *potoŋuy* : a fish, white-tailed and black-tailed footballer: *Dascyllus* spp.
700. *pow* : pig
701. *pu* : banana
702. *pucepak* : smoking pipe
703. *pucey* : together
704. *puci* : to leak, leaking, as a roof

705. *pućiew* : k.o. wild breadfruit that becomes yellow when ripe  
 706. *pućikatay* : snail (H: *pućikatay*)  
 707. *pućikero* : largest type of grouper (cf. *keli*, *ketihi*, *kot*, *yapoʔiw*)  
 708. *pućirlŋa* : centipede  
 709. *pućo* : island  
     *piriy pućo* : island  
 710. *pućon* : rat, mouse  
 711. *pue*<sub>-1</sub> : betel palm and nut; fruit  
     *pue he-puŋ* : one bunch of betel nuts  
     *pue ki* : fruit of a tree  
 712. *pue*<sub>-2</sub> : testicles, *pue-w*, *pue-m*, *pue-n*  
 713. *pueap* : shell beads (H: *puweyap* ‘store-bought beads’ = *puwe* ‘seed’ + *yap* ‘foreigner’)  
 714. *pueaw* : cinnamon tree: *Cinnamomum xanthoneuron*  
 715. *pućdrlli* : giant clam, *Tridacna* sp.  
 716. *pueni* : mother’s brother, maternal uncle (free form), *pueni-w*, *pueni-m*, *pueni-n*  
 717. *puey* : crocodile  
 718. *puh* : bamboo basket trap for fish or eels  
 719. *puhi* : to puff, blow hard  
 720. *puke* : k.o. small clam  
 721. *pula* : wild taro  
 722. *pule* : face? (cf. *mamaci*, *tahapule*)  
 723. *puli*<sub>-1</sub> : mountain (H: *puwili* ~ *puli*)  
 724. *puli*<sub>-2</sub> : various toadfish: *Arothron* sp.  
 725. *puliah* : fork on the outrigger that holds the connecting sticks in place  
 726. *pulu* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *meti*)  
 727. *puluēse* : (jaw?; cf. *lemu*)  
 728. *pulutan* : sticky, adhesive  
 729. *pun*<sub>-1</sub> : betel leaf  
 730. *pun*<sub>-2</sub> : moon, month  
 731. *punay* : sea cucumber, sea squirt  
 732. *puñet* : mud, clay (H: *puweŋet*)  
 733. *puŋ* : a bunch, as of bananas or betel nuts  
 734. *puŋey* : ridge of the roof (H: ‘roof of a house’)  
 735. *puokop* : large type of hermit crab (cf. *pey*)  
 736. *puon* : short in length or height (H: ‘short; round’)  
 737. *pupuhic* : to assemble, gather (as for a meeting)  
 738. *puʔu* : the back side of something (H: ‘root, base, bottom’)  
     *puʔu pala-* : occiput, back of the head  
 739. *puʔucu* : *foramen magnum*, place where the spine enters the cranium (= *puʔu cu*?)  
 740. *puʔuculuŋ* : corner, as of a room  
 741. *puralew* : silver batfish: *Monodactylus argenteus* (Linn.)  
 742. *puret* : to work  
 743. *pusasa* : liver (free form), *pususu*, *pusasa-m*, *pusasa-n* (H: *pusesa* ‘lung; poss. also heart’)  
 744. *pusihaŋon* : scorpion  
 745. *put*<sub>-1</sub> : a common shore tree: *Barringtonia asiatica*

746. *put*-2 : fishnet float (possibly = *put*-1, since floats are sometimes made of *Barringtonia* wood)  
 747. *putua* : stomach, intestines (free form), *putuo*, *putua-m*, *putua-n*  
*putua ŋeti* : angry (lit. ‘have a stomach ache’)  
*putua puokop* : unidentified fish (= ‘belly’ + ‘hermit crab/bait’)

/pw/

748. *pwa* : the smell of a corpse  
 749. *pwah* : various fish, *Moses perch*: *Lutjanus russelli* (Bleeker), and black-spot sea perch: *Lutjanus fulviflamma* (Forskål)  
 750. *pwaha* : mouth, *poho*, *pwaha-m*, *pwaha-n*  
*pwaha pew* ‘the mouth of a shark’  
 751. *pwai* : to say, tell (H: *pwa* ‘say; think’)  
 752. *pwe*-1 : marker of negation, no, not  
 753. *pwe*-2 ~ *pwepwe* : shell, *pwepwe-n*  
*pwe niw* : coconut shell  
*pwepwe ŋah* : lime gourd (for betel chew)  
*pwepwe pala-* : skull  
*pwepwe poñ* : turtle shell  
 754. *pwecuh* : shellfish with elongated black shell, mussel (= *pwe kuh*?)  
 755. *pwehew* : elephant ear taro (huge leaves)  
 756. *pwem* : threadfin coralfish: *Anisochaetodon auriga* (Forskål)  
 757. *pwep* : to capsize, of a boat  
 758. /pwi/ : vagina, *pwi-w*, *pwi-m*, *pwi-n*  
 759. *pwic*-1 : to finish s.t.  
*curu ko hoti eniyan le pwic curu kaw* ‘After we eat we’ll go’  
 760. *pwic*-2 : very small black fish  
 761. *pwici* ~ *puci* : claw, nail, scales  
*pwici ni* : fish scales  
*puci nime* : fingernail, *puci nimo*, *puci nime-m*, *puci nime-n*  
 762. *pwitan* : Trochus shell (used for armbands)

/ɾ/

763. *re* : to (compression of *mere*?)  
 764. *rurun* : a swing

/s/

765. *sa* : to collect, gather  
 766. *sah* : to plane or trim with an adze  
 767. *salay* : to break, broken (H: ‘large crack in canoe’)  
 768. *samwak* : boil in the groin (cf. *lot*, *okahak*)  
 769. *sap* : to wipe, as rain from the skin with a towel

770. *sas* : croton (H: ‘k.o. tree’)  
*poʔo sas* : croton
771. *se* : all, everyone (H: *seh* ‘third person plural’)
772. *sehesa* : false; to lie, tell a falsehood (H: *sehisa*)
773. *sehi* : to peel, as yams (H: ‘chip, carve, sharpen, whittle’)
774. *seleha* : one, in counting fish (H: *salaha*)
775. *sem* : one (in counting houses)
776. *semeti* : to tie a knot (H: *seweti*)
777. *sen* : to split, as firewood
778. *ses* : to dart toward s.t., as a shark sensing prey
779. *sesema* : to cough
780. *sewe* : to dance (of women)
781. *sey* : one (in counting trees)
782. *sih* : one (in serial counting), two (in counting fish)  
*sih e seleha* : three (in counting fish)
783. *silimwat* : full-grown oyster (cf. *keti*)
784. *siʔihi* : to carry on the shoulder
785. *sisin* : children’s game of tag
786. *so*<sub>-1</sub> : to pierce the skin, as a splinter
787. *so*<sub>-2</sub> : to throw away, discard  
*e-so ŋahani poʔoŋo-m* ‘Blow your nose’
788. *sokuh* : deep, as of water
789. *soliani* : to rub something into the skin (liniment, etc.) (H: *soliyeni*)
790. *sop* : to close, as the eyes; to be full, of the stomach  
*putuo i sop* ‘I am full from eating’ (lit. ‘My stomach is closed’)
791. *sopoʔoti* : to stab
792. *soʔiy* : to shoot (H: *soʔi* ‘pierce or spear’)
793. *sos* : to dirty the water, purpling of water caused by refuse from sago flour during rinsing
794. *sosohon* : to talk in one’s sleep
795. *soson* : dirty (H: sɔsɔ)  
*poro-soson* : dirty  
NOTE: Possibly connected with *sos*.
796. *su* : 3pl., they, them
797. *sue*<sub>-1</sub> : to paddle
798. *sue*<sub>-2</sub> : short yam; has small round leaves, and some have thorns (cf. *picinah*)
799. *suehi* : to fry sago
800. *suey* : to smoke (fish or meat) (H: *tahasuwe*)
801. *sun* : the action of removing wet sago flour from a canoe in which it has been pounded, and putting it in a basket (H: ‘scoop with hands’)
802. *sunani* : to push
803. *suʔu* : 3DL, the two of them
804. *sus* : female breast, *susu*, *susu-m*, *susu-n*  
*po-sus* : breast milk
805. *susu* : flood caused by heavy rains
806. *susualaw* : rainbow (H: *susuyelaw*)
807. *suti* : to pluck, pull out, as weeds from a garden



/t/

808. *ta*<sub>-1</sub> : to fight, of individuals (cf. *yen*)
809. *ta*<sub>-2</sub> : to make, do
810. *ta*<sub>-3</sub> : (possessive marker; cf. *i ~ iy*)  
*ta-ʔatow* : 2pl. free form possessive pronoun; your  
*ta-hitow* : 3pl. free form possessive pronoun; their  
*ta-ʔi ~ ta-ʔiy* : 3SG free form possessive pronoun; his/her (cf. *i ~ iy*)  
*ta-ʔow* : 2DL free form possessive pronoun; your  
*ta-ʔutu* : 1PL.IN free form possessive pronoun; our
811. *ta*<sub>-4</sub> : present tense marker for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons  
*ta ek* : to grow, be growing (of vegetation)  
*wo ta tuah pue* ‘You are chewing betel’
812. *tacitu* : 1PLEX free form possessive pronoun; our
813. *tah* : conch shell, triton shell, trumpet
814. *taha* : anything to be smoked (fish, meat, etc.)
815. *tahapule* : forehead, face (free form), *tahapule-w*, *tahapule-m*, *tahapule-n*  
*tahapule kaka-* : knee cap
816. *tahawowoh* : to fly (H: *wɔh*)
817. *tahtuw* : last one (in sequence)
818. *takueli* : to dig, excavate
819. *takuʔow* : to bark, of a dog (H: *takɔʔo(w)* ‘to cry out, usually in anger’)
820. *talay* : sardine
821. *tamana* : men’s traditional penis shell dance (with white cowrie attached to penis)
822. *tan* : earth, soil; down  
*e me tan* ‘Come down!’
823. *taŋ* : to cry, weep; to vocalize, of an animal  
*kokoru ta taŋ* ‘The rooster is crowing’  
*pow ta taŋ* ‘The pig is grunting’
824. *tapicey* : to squeeze, as a fruit to get the juice
825. *tapiok* : tapioca (TP)
826. *taraŋutu* : dorsal fin of fish (= /tata ŋutu/?)
827. *tas* : sea, saltwater (cf. *an*)
828. *tasuʔu* : 3DL free form possessive pronoun; their
829. *tata ~ tara*: top, *tata-n*  
*tara puli* : peak of a mountain  
*tata um* : roof of a house
830. *tatape* : how, in what way? (H: *tetape*)
831. *tatoʔu* : 1DLEX free form possessive pronoun; our
832. *taw* : k.o. tree with round fruit and bark used to poison fish; fish poison
833. *tawan* : a fish, the banded grunter: *Eutherapon theraps* (Cuvier)
834. *tawohowoh* : to flap the wings, as a bird about to take to flight
835. *tay*<sub>-1</sub> : to beat, to pound (as sago pith into flour) (H: *taya* ‘beat, catch, kill’)
836. *tay*<sub>-2</sub> : circumcision; to circumcise
837. *tay*<sub>-3</sub> : fishing, catching fish

838. *te* : feces (free form), *te-w*, *te-m*, *te-n*  
*te-te* : waste material  
*te-te mata* : eye matter, mucus in the corner of the eye  
*te-te mwan* : ashes
839. *teheta* : full, of a container
840. *teke* : base, bottom, *teke-n* (H: ‘bottom, base; origin’)  
*teke-lehe* : gums (free form), *teke-lehe-w*, *teke-lehe-m*, *teke-lehe-n*  
*teke-o* : base of a tree  
*teke-tet* : foot of a ladder
841. *tekelemwet* : earthworm (H: *tekelimwet*)
842. *tekeni* : to throw (as a stone), to throw away, as trash (H: *takeni*)
843. *teku* : charcoal?
844. *teleŋa* : ear (H: *teŋa*)  
*po-teleŋa* : ear (prefixed free form), *po-teloŋo*, *po-teleŋa-m*, *po-teleŋa-n*  
*teleŋa pwe* : deaf (lit. ‘no ears’)
845. *telus* : a shore tree with edible nut: *Terminalia catappa*
846. *temenani* : to ask (a question)
847. *temey* : slitgong (H: ‘drum’)
848. *tenih* : sardine
849. *tepelewani* : to turn (H: *(ta)peluwani*)  
*tepelewani ceŋi-m* ‘Turn around’ (lit. ‘turn your body’)  
*tepelewani maʔa-m* ‘Turn around’ (lit. ‘turn your body’)  
*tepelewani pala-m* ‘Turn your head!’
850. *teʔe* : top, upper surface (H: *teʔi*)  
*teʔe tun* : canoe platform
851. *teʔi* : parallel sibling (free form), *teʔi-w*, *teʔi-m*, *teʔi-n*  
*teʔi inen* : younger same sex sibling  
*teʔi napwanan* : older same sex sibling
852. *teʔiy* : to hit (with fist, stick), to kill (H: *taʔi*)
853. *teʔun* : cerumen, ear wax  
NOTE: Probably *te un*, but then *un* is unidentified.
854. *tesalay* : to split (H: *(ta)sala*)
855. *tesin* : (gloss uncertain; given for ‘town’, but this cannot be original)
856. *tet* : ladder
857. *tewe* ~ *tewey* : to give, put, place s.t.
858. *tie* : the inside part, interior  
*e-me lo tie-n* ‘Come inside!’
859. *tien* : there
860. *tihow* : first-born child (H: ‘first-born male child’)
861. *tiko* : middle (H: *tikoʔʔ*)  
*tiko aŋ* : noon, midday, ‘Good day!’ (greeting)
862. *tin* : dead; period of mourning for five days after a person’s death
863. *tipieni* : to drag (H: ‘push over, roll s.t. long and thin, like a log, a body, a cigarette’)
864. *tiʔi* : to plait, to weave (mats, baskets)
865. *tiw* : Samoan goatfish: *Mulloidichthys samoensis* (Günther)
866. *to<sub>-1</sub>* : marker of past action

867. *to*<sub>-2</sub> : punting pole (used for canoe in shallow water)  
 868. *toan* : to open the eyes wide  
 869. *tok* : a fish, the black trevally: *Siganus spinus* (Linn.)  
 870. *tolaw* : east; east wind (H: 'north wind')  
 871. *top* : large basket used to carry food  
     *top toʔow* : small colorful basket used as decoration  
 872. *topo*<sub>-1</sub> : negative imperative, dehortative: don't  
 873. *topo*<sub>-2</sub> : upper chest  
     *topo-ʔete* 'chest (lit. 'over the heart)', *topo-ʔete-w*, *topo-ʔete-m* *topo-ʔete-n*  
 874. *topohoj* : dragonfly  
 875. *topoʔoji* : to pinch  
 876. *topotap* : high tide  
 877. *topun* : taboo (H: *tɔpu*)  
 878. *toʔow* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *top*)  
 879. *toʔu* : 1DLIN, the two of us  
 880. *tos* : k.o. tree with hard, round, yellow fruit  
 881. *toton* : dull, of the blade of a tool  
 882. *totoʔaŋ* : early morning (time first cock crows)  
 883. *tow*<sub>-1</sub> : present tense marker for 1<sup>st</sup> person  
 884. *tow*<sub>-2</sub> : to stay, remain (possibly identical to the preceding)  
 885. *tu*<sub>-1</sub> : housepost  
 886. *tu*<sub>-2</sub> : k.o. shellfish found in mangrove swamps  
 887. *tuah* : to chew, as betel nut  
 888. *tuan* : heavy  
 889. *tue* : to boil  
 890. *tuen* : outside (H: *tuwɛ*)  
 891. *tuenan* : correct, true (H: *tuwenan* 'truth, real thing')  
 892. *tuey* : freshwater eel  
 893. *tuh* : sugarcane (H: *toh*)  
 894. *tuhun* : light in weight  
 895. *tukehe* : when?  
 896. *tulip* : k.o. tree with edible leaves: *Gnetum gnemon* (TP)  
 897. *tun* : boat, outrigger canoe (H: *tun/ton*)  
     *ŋo tun* : prow of a canoe (lit. 'nose of canoe')  
 898. *tupuna* : boy (H: *tupunah*)  
 899. *tupuŋeʔey* : a fish, half-banded sea perch: *Lutjanus semicinctus* (Quoy and Gaimard)  
 900. *tus* : k.o. medium-sized white fish

/u/

901. *u*<sub>-1</sub> : dugong  
 902. *u*<sub>-2</sub> : 2DLEX, we two (but not the addressee)  
     *a-ʔu* : 1DLEX free form possessive pronoun; our  
 903. *u*<sub>-3</sub> : stuck in the mud (as in a swamp)  
 904. *u*<sub>-4</sub> : two, in counting prongs on a fish spear  
 905. *ueʔe* : to shiver, as from cold

906. *um* : house, *umwe-n*  
       *umwe-n ñetukan* : bird's nest  
       *umwe-n wilaw* : spiderweb  
 907. *un*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *te*)  
 908. *un*<sub>-2</sub> : maggot  
 909. *uoh* : two (in '12', '22', etc.)  
 910. *upiri* : same?  
       *upiri ʔay* : kinsman, relative (= 'same blood?')  
 911. *ut* : penis (free form), *uti-w*, *uti-m*, *uti-n*  
 912. *utu* : 1PL.EX, all of us (three or more, but not the addressee)  
 913. *uy* : (thorn?; cf. *epi*)

/w/

914. *-w* : 1SG possessor; my  
 915. *wa* : to lash s.t. in place (as a spear head to the shaft)  
 916. *wahawah* : k.o. medium-sized rattan (cf. *lolow*, *wesiw*) (H: *wahaw* 'k.o. cane plant')  
 917. *walaŋ* : a fish, John's sea-perch: *Lutjanus johni* (Bloch) (H: 'k.o. fish, poss. Thumb-print emperor')  
 918. *was* : rope, vine, bowstring  
 919. *wati* : monitor lizard (H: 'lizard')  
 920. *we*<sub>-1</sub> : cross sibling, *we-w*, *we-m*, *we-n*  
       *we napwanan* : older sister (male speaker)  
 921. *we*<sub>-2</sub> : a fish, the ashen drummer: *Kyphosus cinerascens* (Forskål)  
 922. *wecic* : broom  
 923. *welaw* : (gloss uncertain; cf. *ñu*)  
 924. *weʔi* : to sing (H: 'song')  
 925. *wesiw* : k.o. large rattan (cf. *lolow*, *wahawah*)  
 926. *wewe* : mango  
 927. *wi*<sub>-1</sub> : (gloss uncertain; cf. *iw*<sub>-1</sub>)  
 928. *wi*<sub>-2</sub> : k.o. tree and its edible green fruit with fibrous pit, probably the Polynesian plum, *Spondias dulcis*  
 929. *wilaw* : spider  
 930. *wiʔi* ~ *wiri* : dolphin  
 931. *wo* ~ *wow* : 2SG, you  
       *a-wow* : 2SG free form possessive pronoun, your  
 932. *won* : sand  
       *teʔe won* : surface of the sand?  
 933. *wonoh* : six (in '16', '26', etc.)  
 934. *wonomow* : six (in counting children, ropes)  
 935. *wosan* : red substance in fish gills

/y/

936. *ya* : future marker

937. *yacehi* : to slap (H: *celi*)  
 938. *yakaʔani* : to hide  
 939. *yakulumwani* : to pull together, unite  
     *yakulumwani nime-* : to make a fist (lit. ‘pull the hand together’)  
 940. *yanaŋay* : to swim (H: ‘gloss unclear, poss. swim on surface’)  
 941. *yapoʔiw* : mid-sized grouper (cf. *keli*, *ketihi*, *kot*, *pucikero*)  
 942. *yaʔitey* : to caulk a leaking canoe  
 943. *yas* : small canoe or trough in which sago pith is pounded in preparation for eating  
 944. *yati* : to bite, to lick (H: *yeti*)  
 945. *yatuey* : to recognize, know a person  
 946. *yaya* : mother, mother’s sister (term of address)  
 947. *yeleŋi* : to want, desire (H: *yeliŋi*)  
 948. *yelimaw* : to yawn  
 949. *yen* : to fight in battle (cf. *ta-2*)  
 950. *yeniyan* : to eat (H: *yenɛyan*)  
 951. *yeʔi* : rippling, of the surface of water  
 952. *yesay* : to whet, sharpen a blade (H: *yasa(y)*)  
 953. *yesih* : to sneeze  
 954. *yetuak* : blister  
 955. *yew-1* : to go, leave (H: *yaw*)  
 956. *yew-2* : tree in the fig family with multiple aerial roots, the banyan  
 957. *yia* : year (TP)  
 958. *yoʔosi* : to walk, to step (H: *yoʔose*)  
 959. *yu* : 1SG, I, me (personal pronoun) (H: *yo*)  
     *a-yu* : my (marker of alienable possession)

#### 6.4.1 English-Loni Index

abdomen	:	peʔetie
above	:	tera
abscess	:	lot, okahak, samwak
accompanyinŋ	:	piliŋeʔi
to adhere	:	pulutan
adze	:	keneʔiw
afraid	:	noh ~ nohono
afterbirth	:	pilum (TP)
afternoon	:	keheah
algae	:	ñañay
alive	:	ma-huyan
all	:	masih, se
among	:	poʔo
amuck	:	ŋaŋ
and	:	e
angry	:	putua ŋeti
ankle	:	pokepikan

anklet (of beads)	:	mon
ant	:	kalon, kamwat
anus	:	poŋaratin
area	:	pele (?)
to arise	:	celu
arm	:	nime
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armpit	:	po-kehea
ash	:	te-te mwan
ashamed	:	pulen mamaci
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to assemble	:	pupuhic
astray	:	lilos
at	:	meri
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axe	:	cakay, motow mwatiy, motow pipetow
bachelor	:	kelaw, ñetu mwan
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bad	:	muan
bag	:	kuñ
to bail (canoe)	:	ñumwih
bailer (for canoe)	:	oloh
bald	:	copow
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banana	:	pu
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bark (of tree)	:	kulihi
to bark (dog)	:	takuʔow
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bat (insectivorous)	:	cikan, kecepwe
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beads	:	pueap
beak	:	poʔoŋo
beard	:	lemu puluese
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behind	:	muʔIn ~ muʔu
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betel nut	:	pue
betel pepper	:	draka
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to bite	:	yati
bitter	:	meheun
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blade	:	mata
blind	:	mata pwe
blister	:	yetuak
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blood vessel	:	ŋoʔo nime
to blow (wind)	:	ŋoh
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boat	:	tun
body	:	maʔa
boil (on skin)	:	lot, okahak, samwak
to boil (water)	:	tue
bone	:	pitiʔo
bottom	:	teke
to bounce	:	cin
bow (weapon)	:	leley
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bowstring	:	was
boy	:	tupuna
brain	:	eletu pala
branch	:	aʔan
breadfruit	:	kun, puciew
to break	:	salay
breakers	:	kalih
breast (female)	:	sus
breath	:	ŋesuha
to breathe	:	hoti ŋesuha-m
to bring	:	huti
broken	:	salay
broom	:	wecic
brother-in-law	:	mensow
bubbles	:	payow, posasa

to budge	:	ñuñ
bumblebee	:	menih
bunch (as betel nuts)	:	puŋ
to burn	:	culumwi
to bury	:	elomwi
butterfly	:	hikeroh, popwilow
buttocks	:	mwe
to buy	:	cim
calf (of leg)	:	ceŋi kaka
to call out	:	eili, iw, oy
calm (water)	:	mwaʔay
canoe	:	tun
canoe platform	:	teʔe tun
cape (of land)	:	pala copon
to capsize	:	pweŋ
to carry (on back)	:	kuni
to carry (on shoulder)	:	siʔihi
to catch (as ball)	:	cumwi
caterpillar	:	pipow
to caulk (canoe)	:	yaʔitey
to cause	:	hineni
cave	:	lo ŋay
centipede	:	pucirŋa
cerumen	:	teʔun
channel	:	macaw
charcoal	:	cipoʔo
cheek	:	kepase
chest (upper)	:	topo
to chew	:	tuah
chicken	:	kokoru (TP)
child	:	ñetu
to circumcize	:	tay
citrus fruit	:	muli (TP)
clam	:	popituh, puendrŋi, puke
claw	:	pwici ~ puci
clay	:	puñet
cleared ground	:	pele um
to climb	:	ñak
to close	:	sop
cloud (rain)	:	kaʔah
coconut	:	niw
coconut cream	:	po niw
coconut (dry)	:	oket
coconut flower	:	kaʔahay
coconut frond	:	loʔo niw
coconut frond (dry)	:	cun, palapa lacuŋ



coconut (green)	:	mapoʔen
coconut husk	:	mwece niw
coconut oil	:	eleki
coconut (stage)	:	paramanan
coconut water	:	enu niw
cold	:	ñeletun
to collect	:	eni, sa
comb (for hair)	:	cu
comb (of fowl)	:	kocoh
to come	:	me
to come from	:	peti ~ peri
compassion	:	kolumamwa
to compel	:	hineni
to compete for (man)	:	pelu
conch shell trumpet	:	tah
confused	:	iso (?)
to convey	:	huti
to cook (fish)	:	cun
cooked	:	meʔesan
coral	:	lac
corner (of room, etc.)	:	puʔuculuŋ
corpse	:	amat iy met
correct	:	tuenan
to cough	:	sesema
to count	:	oŋehi
crab sp.	:	elimaŋ, kesus, mway, pey, puokop
crazy	:	co
crippled	:	kaka muan
crocodile	:	puey
crooked	:	hewIn
crotch	:	caŋa
to crush (as lice)	:	cilinjy
to cry	:	taŋ
cucumber	:	melan (TP)
currency (traditional)	:	lehe mwi
current	:	ño
to curse	:	pokiteni
cuscus	:	lawat
to cut	:	can, ceʔiti
to dance (men)	:	tamana
to dance (women)	:	sewe
dark	:	okomwan
to dart toward	:	ses
dawn	:	mapu koʔoh
day	:	aŋ
dead	:	mat

deaf	:	teleŋa pwe
death	:	tin
decayed	:	kilipaca
deep	:	sokuh
to defecate	:	pehe
defective	:	muan
to delouse	:	etip kut
to depart	:	kaw, yew
to desire	:	ma, yeleŋi
dew	:	ñela
diarrhea	:	pehe an
to die	:	mat
difficult	:	piton
to dig	:	takuweli
digging stick	:	nas
direction	:	kili (?)
dirty	:	soson
to dirty (water)	:	sos
to discard	:	so
dish	:	comun
to dive	:	ñu-welaw
to do	:	ta
dog	:	mwi
dolphin	:	wiʔi ~ wiri
don't	:	topo
door	:	caŋah
down	:	tan
to drag	:	tipieni
dragonfly	:	topohoj
to draw	:	ohoy
dream	:	nihineh
to drift on a current	:	pit
to drink	:	in
to drop s.t.	:	celepweni
to drown	:	amot
dry	:	pasaw, posoen
to dry up	:	cama
dugong	:	u
dull (blade)	:	toton
dust	:	ohu-ohu-n
ear	:	po-teleŋa
ear wax	:	teʔun
earth	:	tan
earth oven	:	mumu (TP)
earthquake	:	nunun
earthworm	:	tekelemwet

east	:	tolaw
easy	:	mweniani
to eat	:	ñani, yenian
eel (freshwater)	:	tuey
eel (marine)	:	moto-mwat
egg	:	eletu
eight (children, etc.)	:	eruʔumow
eight (fish)	:	mahah
eight (houses)	:	maʔaruʔuem
eight hundred	:	maʔaruʔuŋet
eight (leaves)	:	maʔaruʔukep
eight (serial counting)	:	maʔaru-ʔuoh
eight (trees)	:	maʔaruʔuey
eighty	:	maʔaruʔuŋon
elbow	:	kulucu nime
embarrassed	:	pulen mamaci
to embrace	:	potoey
to evaporate	:	cama
evening	:	ŋan keleton
every	:	masih
everyone	:	se
to excavate	:	takueli
exclamation	:	is
eye	:	mata
eyebrow	:	lemu poʔo-mata
eyelash	:	lemu poʔo-mata
face	:	pule (?)
to fall	:	los
fallow land	:	marapñiek
false	:	sehesa
far	:	eluen, ŋoh
to fart	:	isi
fast	:	nen
fat (n.)	:	ñaman
father	:	cacah, ñatama
fathom	:	ŋah
fearful	:	noh ~ nohono
feather	:	lemu ~ lommu
feces	:	te
to feed	:	haŋ
female	:	pihin
fence	:	kow
to fetch water	:	emwani
few	:	hayah
fibers	:	mwece
fifty	:	malimeŋon

to fight (in battle)	:	yen
to fight (individuals)	:	ta
fin (dorsal)	:	taraŋutu
fin (lateral)	:	kapini
to find	:	ini
finger	:	pokeʔe nime
finger nail	:	puci nime
to finish	:	pwic
fire	:	mwan
firefly	:	pihilum
fireplow	:	ka
firewood	:	kihi
first	:	heno
first born son	:	tihow
fish	:	ni
fish corral	:	cuk
fishhook	:	kow
fishing	:	tay
fishing pole	:	peʔe kow
fish line	:	kap
fish net	:	kupwen, law
fishnet float	:	put
fish roundup	:	ow
fish sp.	:	apulupun, awah, catop, celepuh, colay, coŋon, cu, cur, kanas, kalipuey, kaʔopwen, kekeñah, kalaw, keli, kesi, ketihi, koho, kopow, koʔowow, kot, kuʔu, lapak, las, mai, manaw, mas, may, melui, monoy, mosas, mu, noh, ŋan, pac, panah, peliaw, petuoh, pew, poleah, poʔot, potoŋuy, pucikero, puli, puralew, putua puokop, pwah, pwem, pwic, talay, tawan, tenih, tiw, tok, tupuŋeʔey, tus, walaŋ, we, yapoʔiw
fist	:	yakulumwani nime
five (children, etc.)	:	lime-mow
five (fish)	:	maʔuoh e seleha
five (houses)	:	malimiyem
five hundred	:	malimeŋat
five (leaves)	:	malimekap
five (serial counting)	:	ma-limeh
five (trees)	:	malimeyey
to flap (wings)	:	tawohowoh
flesh	:	ceŋi

to float	:	capetipit
flood	:	susu
floor	:	kacan
flower	:	palawa (TP)
fly (insect)	:	ηelepu
to fly	:	tahawowoh
flying fox	:	pelemat
foam	:	payow, posasa
to fold	:	yakulumwani
food	:	kan
foot	:	kaka
foot of ladder	:	teke-tet
foramen magnum	:	puʔucu
forehead	:	tahapule
foreigner	:	moyap
forest	:	poʔo lo ke
fork (to lift hot food)	:	ñek
fork of branch	:	acaŋ
fork of outrigger	:	puliah
forty	:	mahaŋon
four (children, etc.)	:	hamow
four (fish)	:	maʔuoh
four (houses)	:	mahaem
four hundred	:	mahaŋat
four (leaves)	:	mahakap
four (ropes)	:	mahamow
four (serial counting)	:	mahah
four (trees)	:	maha-ey
fresh	:	mahun
frog	:	dret, kereneway
front	:	mata
fruit	:	pue
to fry (not sago)	:	pereʔem (TP)
to fry (sago)	:	suehi
full (container)	:	teheta
full (from eating)	:	sop
fur	:	lemu ~ lommu
future marker	:	ki
gall	:	esun
to gather	:	eni, pupuhic, sa
gecko	:	pehena
genitive marker	:	-n
to get	:	hoti
ghost	:	melewa
gills	:	kepase, wosan
ginger	:	ley

to give	:	tewe ~ tewey
gloss uncertain	:	a, copon, epu, eso, etin, epwI, hay, hemo, iwoh, kili, kocoh ~ kocow, ma, makala, meʔe, miti, moto, ŋahani, ŋusu, o, peri, pipetow, piri, pokeʔe, poloŋow, poʔo, poro, pulu, tesin, toʔow, un, uy, welaw, wi
to go	:	la, le
good	:	huyan
Good! (expression)	:	nanah
Good day!	:	tiko aŋ
Good evening!	:	lo peŋ
grandfather	:	capuh, ñatupu
grandmother	:	cacuh
grasshopper	:	keʔowoh, kosi
grass skirt	:	loʔo ke
gray (of hair)	:	koʔow
grease	:	ñaman
green	:	oʔoan
to grow	:	ek, mata
to grunt (pig)	:	ŋotoha
gums	:	teke-lehe
to hail s.o.	:	eili, iw
hair (body)	:	lemu ~ lommu
hair (head)	:	kum pala-
hair (pubic)	:	lemu uti-n/lemu pwi-n
hand	:	nime
handle	:	peʔe
hard (as stone)	:	piton
harpoon (fish)	:	drakaw
hatched (egg)	:	kilih salay
he	:	iy
head	:	pala
headache	:	pala ŋeti
headrest	:	kalon
to heal (wound)	:	makuwu
to hear	:	aŋey
hearth	:	ka mwan
heavy	:	tuan
to help	:	cupani
her (possessive)	:	-n, taʔi
here	:	etipow, ie, i-tio
to hide	:	yakaʔani
his	:	-n, taʔi
to hit	:	cahapuyani, teʔiy
hoarse	:	kolu i sop

to hold in the hand	:	potoey
hole (in ground)	:	ɲara (?), ɲay
hot	:	ɲetahan
house	:	um
housepost	:	tu
how?	:	tatape
how much/many?	:	maceheh
human being	:	amat
hunched over	:	katuʔuhi
hungry	:	muʔun
to hunt, go hunting	:	coŋ
to husk coconuts	:	cunehi
I	:	yu
illegitimate child	:	ñetu poke
ink of a squid	:	esun
insane	:	co
in(side)	:	lo
intend to	:	leʔero
interior	:	tie
intestines	:	ɲoʔo putua
island	:	(piriy) puco
to itch	:	piʔihan
jaw	:	puluese (?)
jellyfish	:	mumum
to jump	:	oc
to kill	:	teʔiy
kinsman	:	sih epwI, u piri ay
knife	:	motow
knot	:	semeti
to know (how to)	:	pasani
to know (a person)	:	yatuey
ladder	:	tet
lagoon	:	loʔan, teʔe mat
lake	:	loʔan
lame	:	kaka muan
language	:	komu
to lash in place	:	wa
last	:	mwiʔin
last one	:	tahltuw
late	:	mwiʔin
to laugh	:	han, helisay
leaf	:	loʔo
to leak (roof)	:	puci
to leave	:	kaw, yew
left (side)	:	koʔun
leg	:	kaka

leg (lower)	:	para kaka
to lick	:	yati
to lie	:	sehesa
to lie down	:	ahe
light (weight)	:	tuhun
lightning	:	emen
lime (for betel)	:	ŋah
lime gourd	:	pwepwe ŋah
lime spatula	:	(ki) am
linker	:	a
lip	:	pwaha ŋusu
liquid	:	enu
liver	:	ete
lobster	:	olicomu
loincloth	:	cicilie
long	:	eluen
Loniu	:	Drokow
to look	:	eleʔey, lele
to lose s.t.	:	celepweni
to get lost	:	mata-n iso, lilos
louse	:	kut
to love	:	kolumamwa
lungs	:	pusasa
maggot	:	un
to make	:	ta
Malay apple	:	cay
male	:	kaman, mwan (?)
man	:	kaman
mango	:	wewe
many	:	celuan
to massage	:	lakahani
mat	:	cow
me	:	yu
to meet	:	pupuhic
to mend	:	ceweti
men's house	:	kaman, lo komwan
messenger	:	amat peri huti a komu
midday	:	tiko aŋ
middle	:	tiko
milk (breast)	:	po sus
mole (on skin)	:	ŋoŋi
money	:	lehe mwi
monitor lizard	:	wati
monsoon, east	:	kup
monsoon, west	:	hay
moon/month	:	pun



morning	:	mapeŋ
morning (still dark)	:	totoʔaŋ
mosquito	:	ñamon
moth	:	hikeroh
mother	:	ñane, yaya
mottled	:	keʔen-keʔen
mountain	:	puli
mourning period	:	tin
mouse	:	pucon
mouth	:	pwaha
much	:	celuan
mucus in eye corner	:	te-te mata
mud	:	puñet
muscle	:	ceŋi
mushroom	:	eke
mussel	:	pwecuh
my	:	ayu, -w
nail	:	nin (TP)
name	:	ŋaʔa
nape of neck	:	moloa
navel	:	koputu
near	:	paʔoh
neck	:	keñewe
needle	:	keni, nin (TP)
nervous	:	ŋas
nest (of bird)	:	umwe-n ñetukan
new	:	mahun
night	:	peŋ
nine (children, etc.)	:	erusomow
nine (fish)	:	mahah e seleha
nine (houses)	:	maʔaru-sem
nine hundred	:	maʔaru-saŋat
nine (leaves)	:	maʔaru-sakap
nine (serial counting)	:	maʔaru-sih
nine (trees)	:	maʔaru-sey
ninety	:	maʔaru-soŋon
nipple (of breast)	:	mata sus
nit	:	lus
no	:	pwe-
node (in bamboo)	:	likIn
noon	:	tiko aŋ
nose	:	poʔoŋo
not	:	pwe-
not yet	:	masow
nut	:	aŋalow, eŋey
oars	:	pahaw

object	:	kilih (?)
obsidian	:	piciluw
occiput	:	puʔu pala
octopus	:	kit
odor	:	ein
old (of things)	:	caken
older (of siblings)	:	napwanan
one (of children, etc.)	:	homow
one (of fathoms)	:	ha
one (of fish)	:	seleha
one (of houses)	:	sem
one hundred	:	masaʔat
one (of leaves)	:	hacap
one (of prongs)	:	ho
one (serial counting)	:	sih
one (of trees)	:	sey
on top of	:	tera
to open eyes wide	:	toan
opening	:	cipʔ
opossum	:	lawat
opposite shore	:	pele
our	:	aʔu, tacitu, taʔutu, tatoʔu
outrigger booms	:	kiec
outrigger float	:	cam
outside	:	tuen
oyster	:	keti, silimwat
paddle (of canoe)	:	pos
to paddle (canoe)	:	sue
pain	:	ŋeti
painful	:	ŋeti-an
palm (black)	:	limbun (TP)
palm (of hand)	:	poʔo-nime
pandanus	:	pa, pepe
pandanus fruit	:	moñ
parent-in-law	:	melisawa
passage	:	macaw, penuw
past tense	:	to
path	:	(pwaha) can
peak (of mountain)	:	tata puli
to peel (as yams)	:	sehi
penis	:	ut
perfective marker	:	kiʔi
person	:	amat
perspiration	:	muciʔat, ñuñuʔo
to pierce	:	so
pig	:	pow

to pilfer	:	cinime
pillow	:	kalon
to pinch	:	topoʔonji
pipe (for smoking)	:	pucepak
pitch black (night)	:	o
to pity	:	kolumamwa
place	:	co, ka, ko
to place	:	tewe ~ tewey
placenta	:	pilum (TP)
to plait	:	tiʔi
to plane (with adze)	:	sah
to plant	:	elomwi
plant sp.	:	cocoy, eñow, hisueh, ka, loʔo melen (TP), meʔe, mwalas, mwiʔiw, ñalat, ñañay, poʔo sas
to play	:	ow
to pluck	:	suti
point (of knife, etc.)	:	mata
pot (for cooking)	:	ku
pouch	:	kuñ
to pound (sago pith)	:	tay
to pour	:	coehi
pregnant	:	ñetu-n ta putua-n
present (of action)	:	leʔe, ta, tow
pressure (in ears)	:	nun
prong (of spear)	:	kow
proW (of canoe)	:	ŋo tun
to puff	:	puhi
to pull	:	ewani
to pull out	:	suti
to pull together	:	yakulumani
punting pole	:	to
pus	:	enu-n leke-n, kohu lolo
to push	:	sunani
to put	:	tewe ~ tewey
to put inside	:	ñoh
putty nut	:	eit
quick	:	meʔeyen, nen
rain	:	lejin
rainbow	:	susualaw
rain cape	:	cow
rat	:	pucon
rattan	:	lolow, wahawah, wesiw
raw	:	mapitan
rear part	:	muʔin ~ muʔu, mwiʔin
to receive	:	kohoti

to recognize	:	yatuey
red	:	meʔeman
reef (dry)	:	mat
reef (far from shore)	:	moso
reef (near shore)	:	mata pukIt
reflection	:	ca-melewa
relative	:	upiri ay
to remove	:	maʔaru
to remove wet sago	:	sun
to repair	:	ceweti
to return (to a place)	:	omon
revenge	:	coʔoyan
rib	:	kesi
ridge (of roof)	:	puŋey
right (side)	:	paʔahan
rind	:	kulihi
ripe	:	ma
rippling (water)	:	yeʔi
river	:	an
road	:	(pwaha) can
roe	:	eletu ni
roof	:	tata um
root	:	ŋoʔo
rope	:	was
rotating	:	nun
rotten (fish, meat)	:	poʔoan
rotten (vegetables)	:	Imwec
rotten (wood)	:	kilipaca
to rub in	:	soliani
rudder	:	kuli
to run	:	helow
sago bow	:	kuen
sago (fried)	:	epi
sago grub	:	het
sago palm	:	epi
sago refuse	:	pohow
sago (thornless)	:	pamat
sago trough	:	yas
sail (of a canoe)	:	peley
to sail	:	laŋat
saliva	:	koñoʔum
saltwater	:	tas
same	:	upiri (?)
sand	:	(teʔe) won
sap	:	po
to say	:	pway

scab	:	kulihi-n
scale (of fish)	:	pwici ni
scent	:	ein
scorpion	:	pusihaŋon
to scrape (coconut)	:	ñumwi
to scratch (an itch)	:	asi
sea (deep, far)	:	pokIt
sea (deep, near)	:	laman
sea (general)	:	tas
sea anemone	:	keceniw, may
sea cucumber	:	punay
to search for	:	etip, kehi
sea urchin	:	can
to see	:	eleʔey
seed	:	poke
to seek	:	etip
to sell	:	cim
semen	:	enu ut
sennit	:	lemilemin
seven (children, etc.)	:	eru-culu-mow
seven (fish)	:	ma-coloh e seleha
seven (houses)	:	maʔaru-culuem
seven hundred	:	maʔaru-culuŋat
seven (leaves)	:	maʔaru-culukap
seven (serial counting):	:	maʔaru-coloh
seven (trees)	:	maʔaru-culuey
seventy	:	maʔaru-culuŋon
to sew (clothing)	:	coeti
sewing stick	:	ah
sexual intercourse	:	iti
shadow	:	ca-melewa
sharp	:	ñaman
to sharpen	:	yesay
to shave	:	ñuhey
she	:	iy
shell	:	pwe ~ pwepwe
shellfish sp.	:	tu
to shelter	:	coh
to shift	:	ñuñ
to shiver	:	ueʔe
shoot (of plant)	:	cilin
to shoot	:	soʔiy
shore	:	pwaha leŋ
short (length, height)	:	puon
shoulder	:	kehea
shrimp	:	lakay

sibling (parallel)	:	teʔi
to sing	:	weʔi
to sink	:	lon
sister (male speaker)	:	we
to sit	:	mitan
six (children)	:	wonomow
six (fish)	:	ma-coloh
six (houses)	:	mawonoem
six hundred	:	mawonoŋat
six (leaves)	:	mawonokap
six (serial counting)	:	mawonoh
six (trees)	:	mawonoyey
sixty	:	mawonoŋon
skin (of animal)	:	kulihi
skin (of human)	:	maʔa
skull	:	pwepwe pala
sky	:	laŋ
to slap	:	yacehi
to sleep	:	meti
slitgong	:	temey
slow	:	mwenie ~ munie
small	:	inen
smell (of corpse)	:	pwa
to smell s.t.	:	hoŋey
smelly (of fish, meat)	:	poʔoan
smoke	:	ŋesu
to smoke (fish, meat)	:	suey
smoking rack	:	(lo) pay
snail	:	pucikatay
snake	:	mwat
to sneeze	:	yesin
to sniff	:	hoŋey
to snore	:	ŋotoha
snot	:	drow
snout (of pig)	:	po-ʔoŋo
soft	:	melemun
soil	:	tan
sole of foot	:	poʔo-kaka
to be sorry	:	kolumamwa
soup	:	cuc ~ cuy
sour	:	ñemulen
spear (fish)	:	ñah
spear head (obsidian)	:	piciluw
sperm	:	enu ut
spider	:	wilaw
spiderweb	:	umwe-n wilaw

to spill	:	coehi, o
spinning	:	nun
spirit (of the dead)	:	melewa
spirit (nature)	:	cinen, pelit
to spit	:	ñuʔo
to spit out (food)	:	momotani
to split (firewood)	:	sen, tesalay
spoiled (fish, meat)	:	poʔoan
spoiled (vegetables)	:	Imwec
spouse	:	ñapulu
to spread out	:	taʔahanih
spring (of water)	:	mata an, ñoʔoño
to squeeze	:	tapicey
squid	:	momwak, ñuk
to stab	:	sopoʔoti
stalk	:	pata
to stand up	:	celu
to be standing	:	culuay
star	:	piti
starfish	:	kak
to stay	:	tow
to steal	:	pehena
stem	:	pata
to step	:	yoʔosi
stern (of boat)	:	muʔIn ~ muʔu
to stick to	:	pulutan
still (water)	:	mwaʔay
stingray	:	lah, menuay, pamboñ
stomach	:	putua
stone	:	pat
stooping	:	katuʔuhi
story	:	mwalih
straight	:	mwenen ~ monen
to stray	:	mata-n iso
to strike	:	cahapuyani
to strike against	:	hak
string	:	kap
to string together	:	otiʔi
stuck in the mud	:	u
to submerge	:	ñu welaw
subtract	:	maʔaru
to suck	:	in
sugarcane	:	tuh
sun	:	ŋan
sunset	:	ŋan keleton
surf	:	kalih

to surf, go surfing	:	cec
to swallow	:	ñohoani
swamp	:	kupuca
sweat	:	muciŋat, ñuñuʔo
sweet	:	ñaman
sweet potato	:	koʔokaw (TP)
to swim	:	yaŋaŋay
swing (n.)	:	rurun
swollen	:	cama
sympathy	:	kolumamwa
taboo	:	topun
tag (game)	:	sisin
tail	:	kelepe
to take	:	hoti
to talk	:	komu
to talk in one's sleep	:	sosohon
tangled	:	mac
tapioca	:	tapiok (TP)
taro	:	mah, mway, pula, pwehew
taro pudding	:	pen
tasty	:	ñaman
tattoo	:	kamwet
tears	:	enu mata
to tell	:	pway
ten (fish)	:	malimeh
ten (serial counting)	:	ma-soŋon
termite	:	an
testicles	:	pue
that	:	i-tien
their	:	tahituw, tasuʔu
them	:	hitow, maʔamow, suʔu
there	:	letow, tien
they	:	hitow, maʔamow, suʔu
thick (as plank)	:	hutun
thigh	:	ceŋi kaka, coea
thin, skinny	:	akesin
thing to be smoked	:	taha
things	:	loŋo
to think	:	oŋoŋehe
thirsty	:	kolu pasaw
thirty	:	maculuŋon
this	:	i-tio
thorn	:	poto
thorny	:	uy
thousand	:	mapun
three (in counting)	:	ma-coloh



three (bunches)	:	culu
three (children, etc.)	:	culu-mow
three (fathoms)	:	ma-culu
three (fish)	:	sih e seleha
three (houses)	:	ma-culu-em
three (leaves)	:	ma-culu-kap
three (trees, etc.)	:	ma-culu-ey
three (ropes)	:	ma-culu-mow
three hundred	:	maculuŋat
throat	:	kolu
to throw (as stone)	:	tekeni
to throw away	:	so, tekeni
thunder	:	ketuŋ
tidal wave	:	ñorñor
tide (flow)	:	ño
tide (high)	:	topotap
tide (low)	:	mat
to(ward)	:	le, re
to tie	:	hosi
tired	:	ceŋi i met
tobacco	:	capak
tomorrow	:	mahuw
tongs	:	peleʔip
tongue	:	palakeʔeme
tooth	:	lehe
top	:	tata, teʔe
tree	:	ke ~ key
tree sp.	:	drow, etepew, kapok (TP), kopuca, lotow, malin, mama, marmar (TP), musim, nen, ñat, ñow, pa, pah, pitow piriloŋow, pueaw, put, taw, telus, tos, tulip (TP), wi, yew
trivet	:	caŋapituēt
Trochus shell	:	pwitan
true	:	tuenan
trunk	:	pata
to turn	:	tepelewani
turtle	:	poñ, poñ amat, poñ keʔeŋ
tusk	:	lehe pow
twenty	:	maʔuŋon
twilight	:	koceʔeku
twins	:	himwa
two (bound form)	:	uoh
two (bunches)	:	maʔa
two (children, etc.)	:	maʔamow
two (fathoms)	:	maʔu

two (fish)	:	sih
two (houses)	:	maʔuem
two hundred	:	maʔuŋet
two (leaves)	:	maʔukep
two (prongs)	:	u
two (serial counting)	:	ma-ʔuoh
two (trees)	:	maʔuey
uncle (maternal)	:	pueni
uncooked	:	mapitan
under	:	paʔaho
to unite	:	yakulumwani
up	:	peleŋan
upset	:	ŋas
to urinate	:	mimim
urine	:	mimim
us	:	citu, toʔu, u, utu
vagina	:	pwi
to vanish	:	mosos
vein	:	ŋoʔo
veranda	:	meseʔen
village	:	ko, lo um
vine	:	was
viscous liquid	:	po
to vocalize	:	taŋ
to vomit	:	mut
to wade	:	kay
to walk	:	la, le, yoʔosi
wall	:	ŋici
to want	:	ma, yeleŋi
to wash (clothes, etc.)	:	ñihi
water (fresh)	:	an
water (salt)	:	tas
wave (at sea)	:	kalih
we	:	citu, toʔu, u, utu
weather	:	ko
to weave	:	tiʔi
to weep	:	taŋ
west	:	lan
wet	:	emwuʔun
whale	:	moloam
what?	:	cah
when?	:	tukuehe
where?	:	eheh
to whet	:	yesay
white	:	piʔen
who?	:	(hemo)hih

wide	:	melehan
widow	:	hiñaw
will (future)	:	leʔero
wind	:	ko
wind (east)	:	tolaw
wind (south)	:	lan
winding	:	hewin
window	:	mata cip
wing	:	kapini
to wipe	:	sap
with (comitative)	:	pilijeʔi
with (instrumental)	:	le
within	:	poʔo
woman	:	pihin
wood	:	ke ~ key
word	:	komu
to work	:	puret
worm (intestinal)	:	ŋo
wound	:	leke
to write	:	ohoy
wrong	:	kili mwenen pwe
yam	:	picinah, sue
to yawn	:	yelimaw
year	:	yia (TP)
yellow	:	moñojow
yes	:	ehe
yesterday	:	piñehe
you (SG)	:	wow
you (DL)	:	ow
you (pl.)	:	etow
you (SG)	:	a, e
younger (cadet)	:	inen
youngest child	:	muʔin tahItuw
your	:	aw, awow, -m, taʔatow, taʔow

**6.5. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY.** As in most other languages of the Admiralties, CVCVC word shapes were regularly reduced to CVC in Loniū by loss of the final consonant prior to PADM, and loss of the derived final vowel at a later time, except in obligatorily possessed nouns. Unlike most languages of the Admiralties, Loniū also retained (or restored) POC last-syllable vowels in the free forms of obligatorily possessed nouns, as in POC \*mata ‘eye’ > Loniū *mata* ‘eye (free form)’. Phonological erosion ‘from the right’ has resulted in a relatively high frequency of monosyllabic content morphemes as compared with POC or many of its descendants, but because of the retention of last-syllable vowels in the free forms of obligatorily possessed nouns this situation is somewhat less extreme in Loniū than elsewhere in the Admiralties. Table 6.9 illustrates canonical reduction in non-possessed forms.

**Table 6.9:** Canonical reduction of Proto-Oceanic word forms in Loniu

POC	Loniu	
*ane	an	termite
*baluc	pan	dove, pigeon
*draRaQ	ay	blood
*inum	in	to drink
*kamaliR	kaman	men's house, male
*loto	lot	boil, abscess
*mate	mat ~ met	to die; dead
*mwata	mwat	snake
*n opu	noh	stonefish
*patu	pat	stone
*quloc	un	maggot
*salan	can	path, road
*tasik	tas	sea, saltwater

A summary of major sound changes to the POC consonants in Loniu appears in Table 6.10:

**Table 6.10:** Loniu reflexes of POC consonants

POC	Loniu
*pw	pw
*bw	?
*mw	mw, m
*w	w
*p	p- (in nouns), h (elsewhere)
*b	p
*m	m
*t	t
*d	Ø/?
*s	c- (in nouns), s (elsewhere)
*n	n
*r	Ø/?
*dr	Ø/?
*l	l-, -n
*c	Ø/?
*j	c
*ñ	ñ
*y	y
*k	k- (in nouns), Ø (elsewhere)
*g	k (?)
*ŋ	ŋ
*q	Ø
*R	Ø, y

POC \*pw and \*bw are rare. Only a single reflex of the former was recorded, namely \*pw > pw in \*kupwena > *kupwen* ‘fish net’.

In word-initial position there are seven known reflexes of POC \*mw in Loniū, all of which occur in the sequence \*mwa-. In one of these \*mw remains unchanged: \*mwata > *mwat* ‘snake’. One other form shows variation between *mw-* and *mo-*: \*mwanene > *mwenen* ~ *monen* ‘straight’. Four others show invariant \*mw- > *mo-*, and the last shows \*mw > *m-* without rounding of the low vowel: \*mwamwaki > *momwak* ‘large cuttlefish’, \*mwanoRe > *monoy* ‘unicornfish’, \*mwaña > *moñ* ‘*Pandanus conoideus*’, \*mwasasi > *mosas* ‘goatfish’, and \*mwapo(q) > *mah* ‘taro’. The last etymology may be incorrect, as there is an alternative POC form \*mapu ‘taro’, and most languages of the Admiralties could reflect either word. However, Admiralty forms such as Lindrou *mwah* and Sori *mwap* support the inference that POC \*mwapo(q) continued as PADM \*mwapo.

In medial position POC \*mw remained unchanged in the only available etymology, namely \*mwamwaki > *momwak* ‘large cuttlefish’.

POC \*w underwent no change in any position: \*waiwai > *wewe* ‘mango’, \*kanawe > *kanaw* ‘seagull’, \*kawil > *kow* ‘fishhook’, \*lawaq > *law* ‘kind of fish net’, etc.

As an onset, POC \*p became Loniū *p-* in nouns, which constitute by far the largest percentage of the etymologies, and *h* elsewhere (word-initially in non-nouns, and intervocalically in words of any class):

\*p- > *p-* in nouns: \*padran > *pa* ‘*Pandanus tectorius*’, panapa > *panah* ‘needlefish/garfish’, \*paRa > *pay* ‘storage rack above the hearth’, \*patu > *pat* ‘stone’, \*pose > *pos* ‘canoe paddle’, \*puaq > *pue* ‘betel nut’, \*pulan > *pun* ‘moon, month’, etc.

\*p- > *h-* in non-nouns: \*paŋan > *haŋ* ‘to feed’.

\*-p- > *h* regardless of word class: \*apaRat > *hay* ‘west monsoon’ (expected \*\*ahay), \*katapa > *katah* ‘frigate bird’, \*noŋonŋo > *nohonoh* ‘fearful, intimidated’, \*papine > *pihin* ‘female; woman’, \*sapa > *cah* ‘what?’, \*topu > *tuh* ‘sugarcane’, etc.

In one word \*p which came to be intervocalic disappeared: \*sa-ŋa-puluq > *ma-soŋon* ‘ten’ (expected \*\*ma-saŋahun, but /h/ deleted, the vowel sequence /au/ contracted to /o/, and the penultimate vowel of \*\*masaŋon assimilated to the vowel of the final syllable).

In one other word the loss of intervocalic \*k produced a derived vowel sequence after \*p in \*puki > \*pui, and this then resyllabified to *-wi*, leading to the reinterpretation of \*p as *pw-* in /*pw-*/ ‘vulva, vagina’.

POC \*b is fairly rare, but in those examples I have found it became /p/ in all positions, thus merging with \*p as Loniū /p/ word-initially in nouns, but remaining distinct from \*p in other environments:

\*b- > p-: \*baluc > *pan* ‘dove, pigeon’, \*boŋi > *peŋ* ‘night’, boRok > *pow* ‘pig’.

\*-b- > -p-: \*Rabia > *epi* ‘sago palm and flour’, \*tabu-na > *topun* ‘taboo’, \*tubu > *ñā-tupu* ‘grandfather’.

As in most languages, \*m is historically stable. In Loniu it remained unchanged in all positions:

\*m- > m-: \*mata > *mata-* ‘eye’, \*mate > *mat* ~ *met* ‘to die; dead’, \*mawap > *yeli-maw* ‘to yawn’, \*mimiŋ (> \*mimimiŋ) > *mimi-m* ‘urine’, \*muŋuŋ > *mu* ‘a fish, spinefoot sp.’.

\*-m- > -m-: \*kamaliR ‘men’s house’ > *kaman* ‘men’s house; male’, \*laman > *lama-n* ‘deep sea’, \*lima > *ma-lime-h* ‘five’, \*qalimaŋu > *elimāŋ* ‘mangrove crab’, \*tama > *ñā-tama* ‘father’.

\*-m- > -m-: \*-mu > -m ‘2SG possessor’. \*Rumaŋ > *um* ‘house’, \*saman > *cam* ‘outrigger float’, PADM \*mosimo > *musim* ‘a shore tree: *Casuarina equisetifolia*’.

POC \*t remained unchanged in all positions.

\*t- > t-: \*talise > *talus* ‘a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’, \*tanoŋ > *tan* ‘earth, soil; down’, \*tasik > *tas* ‘sea, saltwater’, \*tete > *tet* ‘ladder’, \*tokon > *to* ‘punting pole’, \*topu > *tuh* ‘sugarcane’, \*tuRu > *tu* ‘housepost’, etc.

\*-t- > t: \*katapa > *katah* ‘frigate bird’, \*kotoŋ > *kot* ‘large grouper sp.’, \*kutu > *kut* ‘louse’, \*mutaq > *mut* ‘to vomit’, \*mwata > *mwat* ‘snake’, \*patu > *pat* ‘stone’, \*potok > *poto-* ‘thorn’, \*sa-ŋa-Ratus > *masaŋat* ‘one hundred’, etc.

BUT: \*tolu > *ma-colo-h* ‘three’, with irregular \*t > c.

POC \*d, which did not occur word-finally, is unattested in initial position, and in my data it occurs medially in only two forms, where it disappeared (presumably by first merging with \*r and then becoming glottal stop, which merged with zero word-finally).

\*-d- > Ø: \*madar > *ma* ‘ripe’, \*pudi > *pu* ‘banana’.

POC \*s- usually became c- regardless of word class. In original medial position it normally did not change, whether it remained intervocalic or became final:

\*s- > c: \*salan > *can* ‘path, road’, \*salaŋ > *can* ‘spiny sea urchin’, \*saman > *cam* ‘outrigger float’, \*saŋa > *caŋ* ‘bifurcation/crotch’, \*sapa > *cah* ‘what?’, \*sipiri > *cihi* ‘cockatoo’, \*sulu > *cun* ‘to burn/to roast’, etc.

\*-s- > s: \*kinase > *kanas* ‘mullet’, \*kasusu > *kesus* ‘coconut crab’, \*lisaŋ > *lus* ‘nit, louse egg’, \*mwasasi > *mosas* ‘goatfish’, \*pose > *pos* ‘canoe paddle’, \*talise > *talus* ‘a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’, etc.

Exceptions to the general pattern include \*susu > *sus* ‘female breast’ (perhaps the second sibilant prevented the first one from undergoing fortition), and \*mata sawaq > *macaw* ‘passage through the reef’. The last of these forms was earlier bimorphemic, and possibly still is. In either case \*s > c may have happened to \*sawaq before the initial consonant came to be intervocalic.

More difficult to explain is \*salatoŋ > *ñalato* ‘stinging nettle’, with a unique replacement of \*s by a palatal nasal.

With one exception to be noted, POC \*n remained unchanged in all positions.

\*n- > n: \*na > *na* ‘genitive marker’, \*nipi > *nihi-neh* ‘to dream’, \*niuR > *niw* ‘coconut’, \*nopo > *noh* ‘stonefish’, etc.

\*-n- > n: \*ane > *an* ‘termite’, \*inum > *in* ‘to drink’, \*kanawe > *kanaw* ‘k.o. seagull’, \*kupwena > *kupwen* ‘long fishing net’, \*onom > *ma-wono-h* ‘six’, \*panako (> \*pa-panako) > *pahena* ‘to steal’, \*papine > *pihin* ‘female; woman’, \*qone > *won* ‘sand’, \*dranum > *an* ‘fresh water’, etc.

BUT: \*natu > *ñetu-* ‘child, offspring’. No other witness for the \*n/ñ distinction supports a palatal nasal in this form, leaving the initial consonant in Loniu unexplained.

POC \*r disappeared in all positions, but intervocalically it now appears as gottal stop as a result of the general synchronic constraint against sequences of like vowels or unlike vowels of equal or ascending height.

\*r- > Ø: \*dranum > *an* ‘fresh water’, \*rorom ‘dark’ > *o* ‘pitch black’, \*ruyuŋ > *u* ‘dugong’.

\*-r- > Ø: \*koro > *ko* ‘village’, \*kuron > *ku* ‘clay cooking pot’, \*matiruR > *meti* ‘to sleep’, \*ñoro > *ño* ‘rough sea/current’, \*sipiri > *cihi* ‘cockatoo’, \*sura > *cu* ‘comb’

\*-r- > ʔ: \*kuriap > *wiʔi* ‘dolphin’, \*muri > *muʔin* ~ *mwiʔin* ‘late, last; rear’, \*raqan (> \*dra-dra > *rara*) > *aʔa-n* ‘branch’, \*rua (> \*ruo-pu > \*ma-ruo-pu) > *ma-ʔuo-h* ‘two (in serial counting)’.

BUT: \*qarita > *eit* ‘putty nut’, and next to \*kuriap > *wiʔi* Loniu has the doublet *wiri* ‘dolphin’, with unexplained retention of \*r.

POC \*dr merged with \*r as zero (or glottal stop, under the same conditions as those just stated).

\*dr- > Ø: \*d(r)amut > *am* ‘lime spatula’, \*draŋi > *aŋ* ‘day’, \*draRaw > *ay* ‘blood’, \*padran > *pa* ‘*Pandanus tectorius*’

POC \*l remained a lateral liquid as syllable onset, but merged with \*n as an alveolar nasal in coda position:

\*l- > l-: \*lako > *la* ‘to go, walk’, \*laman > *lama-n* ‘deep sea’, \*laŋit > *laŋ* ‘sky’, \*lawaq > *wi-law* ‘spider’, \*lima > *ma-lime-h* ‘five’, \*lom > *lo* ‘in, inside’, \*loto > *lot* ‘boil, abscess’, etc.

\*-l- > -l-: \*pa-layaR > *peley* ‘to sail/a sail’, \*qalimaŋu > *elimay* ‘mangrove crab’, \*salatoŋ > *ñalato* ‘stinging nettle’, \*taliŋa > *(po)teleŋa* ‘ear’, \*talise > *talus* ‘a shore tree: *Terminalia catappa*’, \*tokalaur > *tolaw* ‘north wind/east wind’, \*tolu > *ma-colo-h* ‘three’.

\*-l- > -n: \*baluc > *pan* ‘dove, pigeon’, \*kamaliR > *kaman* ‘men’s house; male’, \*kuluR > *kun* ‘breadfruit’, \*pulan > *pun* ‘moon, month’, \*quloc > *un* ‘maggot’, \*salan > *can* ‘path, road’, \*sa-ŋa-puluq > *ma-soŋon* ‘ten’.

BUT: \*-l- > -n- in \*qalima > *nime-* ‘hand’.

POC \*c did not occur word-initially, and only two examples appear in intervocalic position in my data, where it became a predictable, or nearly predictable glottal stop after merging with \*r:

POC \*-c- > ʔ: ŋacan > *ŋaʔa-* ‘name’, \*taci ‘younger parallel sibling’ > *teʔi* ‘parallel sibling’.

POC \*j is also rare, and attested only intervocalically, where it became *c*:

POC \*j > *c*: \*kiajo > *kiec* ‘connecting sticks for outrigger’, \*laje > *lac* ‘branching coral’,

POC \*ñ is unchanged in all positions, even as syllable coda, where it tends to be unstable in most languages of the Admiralties.

\* ñ- > ñ-: ñaman > *ñama-n* ‘tasty, delicious’, \*ñamuk > *ñam-on* ‘mosquito’, \*ñaRo > *hi-ñaw* ‘widow’, ñatuq > *ñat* ‘a tree: *Palaquium* sp.’, \* ñoro > *ño* ‘rough sea/current’.

\*-ñ- > -ñ-: \*mwaña > *moñ* ‘*Pandanus conoideus*’, \*poñu > *poñ* ‘the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*’.

BUT: \*-ña > -n ‘3SG possessor’.

The palatal glide did not occur word-initially in POC, although many daughter languages added it before \*a- (Blust 1990). It occurred only as a syllable onset in medial position, where it remained unchanged. However, as a derived syllable coda it sometimes remained a palatal glide, sometimes is a palatal glide varying with zero, and sometimes it disappeared completely:

\*-y- > -y-: \*aya > *yaya-* ‘maternal aunt, mother’s sister’

\*-y- > -y: \*pa-layaR ‘to sail’ > *peley* ‘a sail’, \*puqaya > *puey* ‘crocodile’, \*saku layaR > *colay* ‘sailfish’.

\*-y- > -y ~ -∅: \*kayu > *key* ~ *ke* ‘tree, wood’

\*y > -∅: \*ruyuŋ > *u* ‘dugong’

POC \*k usually is unchanged word-initially, but disappears in medial and derived final position:



\*k- > k-: \*kanase > *kanas* ‘mullet’, \*kani ‘to eat’ > *kan* ‘food’, \*kawil > *kow* ‘fishhook’, \*kiajo > *kiec* ‘outrigger boom’, \*kupwena > *kupwen* ‘long fishing net’, \*kuRita > *kit* ‘octopus’, etc.

\*-k- > -Ø: \*kasika > *kesi* ‘a fish: Small-tooth emperor’, \*lako > *la* ‘to go, walk’, \*panako (> \*pa-panako) > *pehena* ‘to steal’, \*puki > *pwi-* ‘vulva, vagina’, \*saku layaR > *colay* ‘sailfish’, \*tokalaur > *tolaw* ‘north wind/east wind’, \*tokon > *to* ‘punting pole’.

In one known form it was retained in derived final position: \*mwamwaki > *momwak* ‘large cuttlefish’.

POC \*g is attested in just one known Loni form, in which it disappeared:

\*g- > Ø: \*-gu > -w ‘1SG possessor’

POC \*ŋ is unchanged in all positions.

\*ŋ- > ŋ-: \*ŋacan > *ŋaʔa-* ‘name’, \*ŋapa > *ŋah* ‘fathom’, \*ŋusuq > *pwaha ŋusu* ‘lip’.

\*-ŋ- > -ŋ-: \*taliŋa > *(po)teleŋa-* ‘ear’.

\*-ŋ- > -ŋ: \*boŋi > *peŋ* ‘night’, \*draŋi > *aŋ* ‘day’, \*laŋit > *laŋ* ‘sky’, \*paŋan > *haŋ* ‘to feed’, \*puŋun > *puŋ* ‘bunch, cluster’, \*qalimaŋu > *elimaŋ* ‘mangrove crab’, \*sa-ŋa-puluq > *ma-soŋon* ‘ten’, \*sa-ŋa-Ratus > *ma-saŋat* ‘one hundred’.

POC \*q disappeared in all positions.

\*q- > Ø: \*qapatoR > *het* ‘sago grub’, \*qarita > *eit* ‘putty nut’, \*qasu > *esu-* ‘gall (bladder)’, \*qate > *ete-* ‘liver’, \*qisaq > *is* ‘negative interjection’, \*qutin > *uti-* ‘penis’, etc.

\*-q- > Ø: \*laqia (> \*laya) > *ley* ‘ginger’, \*maqati > *mat* ‘ebb tide, dry reef’, \*muqun > *mu* ‘a fish: spinefoot sp.’, \*pitaquR > *pitow* ‘a shore tree: *Calophyllum inophyllum*’, \*pituqon > *piti* ‘star’, \*puqaya > *puey* ‘crocodile’, \*taqe > *te-* ‘feces’.

In two known forms that show parallel changes, \*q disappeared and a velar nasal was added before a low vowel that became initial: \*qalo > *ŋan* ‘sun’, \*qalu > *ŋan* ‘barracuda sp.’. Both may be loanwords, but the addition of a velar nasal before initial vowels (although found in Palauan) is unknown in any language of the Admiralties. These irregular changes, which are of some diagnostic value, will be discussed below in connection with the linguistic position of Loni within the Admiralties.

POC \*R became a palatal glide in some forms, where it merged with POC \*y, but disappeared in others without stateable conditions.

\*R- > Ø: \*Rabia > *epi* ‘sago, sago palm’, \*Rumaq > *um* ‘house’.

\*-R- > y: \*apaRat > *hay* ‘west monsoon’, \*draRaq > *ay* ‘blood’, \*mwanoRe > *monoy* ‘unicornfish’, \*paRa > *pay* ‘storage rack above the hearth’, \*suRuq ‘juice, sap’ > *cuy* ‘soup’,

\*-R- Ø: \*boRok > *pow* ‘pig’, \*kuRita > *kit* ‘octopus’, \*maRuqane > *mwan* ‘male’ (only in *ñetu mwan* ‘bachelor’), \*ñaRo > *hi-ñaw* ‘widow’, \*quRi > *wi* ‘a plant with edible fruit: *Spondias dulcis*’, \*sa-ŋa-Ratus > *ma-saŋat* ‘one hundred’, \*tapuRi > *tah* ‘conch shell trumpet’, \*tuRu > *tu* ‘housepost’.

As seen with \*ñaRo > *hi-ñaw* ‘widow’, the assignment of \*mwanoRe > *monoy* to \*R > y rather than \*R > Ø is arbitrary, since if \*R disappeared, the resulting vowel sequence \*-oe would have diphthongized to -oy.

BUT: Also \*suRuq ‘juice, sap’ > *cuc* ‘soup’.

In addition to the Loni reflexes of POC consonants, epenthetic glides developed under certain conditions. These fall into two categories. First, before \*o or \*Co (where the initial consonant was lost), a /w/ developed as onset. Notably, glide epenthesis did not occur before word-initial \*u (and the sequence *wu-* is therefore non-occurring in Loni):

Ø > w/#\_\_o: \*koe (> oe) > *wow* ~ *wo* ‘2SG’, \*onom > *ma-wono-h* ‘six’, \*qone > *won* ‘sand’.

The second environment in which epenthetic glides developed was between a mid or high vowel and a following unlike vowel. This was the virtually unavoidable transitional glide in phonemic sequences such as /ia/, /ua/ and the like. Both Hamel (1994) and my field materials show what appears to be free variation between word-final homorganic glides and their absence, as already noted for /key/ ~ /ke/ (usually [kɪʔ]) ‘tree, wood’. This is equally true for phonemic glides inherited from POC, and for historically secondary glides that developed as automatic transitions and became phonemic through loss of a final syllable:

\*-iV (> iyV) > iy: \*ia > *iy* ~ *i* ‘3SG’, s/he’.

\*oV (> owV) > ow ~ o: \*koe > *wow* ~ *wo* ‘2SG’, you’.

The retention of final glides under this condition is attested only in the personal pronouns. In cases such as \*kasika (> \*kasia) > *kesi* ‘a fish: Small-tooth emperor’, \*Rabia > *epi* ‘sago palm’, or \*tue > *tu* ‘k.o. clam’ final glides do not occur.

The development of the vowels in Loni is complex and presents unresolved problems. First, as seen with the parenthetic notations in the appended vocabulary, Hamel (1994) and my fieldnotes often disagree on the shape of a given morpheme, almost always because of differences in the vowels. Setting that aside and looking only at my own material, here are some of the issues that it presents in relation to the Regularity Hypothesis:

POC \*a usually remained unchanged (many examples in section 6.6.). However, very often it became /e/, as shown in Table 6.11:

**Table 6.11:** Examples of POC \*a > /e/ in Loniu

POC	Loniu	
*kasika	kesi	a fish: Small-tooth emperor
*kasusu	kesus	coconut crab
*kayu	key ~ ke	tree, wood
*kiaco	kiec	outrigger boom
*laqia	ley	ginger
*lima	ma-lime-h	five
*matiruR	meti	to sleep
*natu	ñetu-	child, offspring
*pa-layaR	peley	to sail/a sail
*panako	pehena	to steal
*puaq	pue	betel nut
*puqaya	puey	crocodile
*qalima	nime-	hand
*qalimaŋu	elimaŋ	mangrove crab
*qapatoR	het	sago grub
*qarita	eit	putty nut
*qasu	esu-	gall (bladder)
*qate	ete-	liver
*Rabia	epi	sago palm
*taci	teʔi-	younger parallel sibling
*taliŋa	(po)telaŋa-	ear
*tanipa	tenih	sardine

In many cases this change appears to be conditioned by the presence of \*i/y (or less commonly, \*e) in an adjacent syllable. Where a front vowel was present in POC but has disappeared in Loniu there is no assimilatory fronting, suggesting that last-syllable vowels were lost before the fronting of \*a in the remaining syllables (e.g. \*ane > *an* ‘termite’ next to \*qate > *ete-* ‘liver’, \*draŋi > *aŋ* ‘day’ next to \*kasika > *kesi* ‘a fish: Small-tooth emperor’, \*kani ‘to eat’ > *kan* ‘food’ next to \*matiruR > *meti* ‘to sleep’, etc.). This much is patterned, and allows the statement that \*a was fronted to /e/ if a front vowel or glide was found in an adjacent syllable. However, it leaves *kesus*, *ñetu-*, *pehena*, *pue-*, *het* and *esu-* as potential exceptions to regularity. Nonetheless, all of these except *pehena*, and *het* are adjacent to a syllable that contains /u/, and there appear to be no exceptions in Loniu forms that have a POC source. Given these additional examples, then, it can be stated that POC \*a > Loniu /e/ if a high vowel (either \*i or \*u) appeared in an adjacent syllable. As noted by Hamel (1994:26-27) the historical change \*a > /e/ adjacent to a high vowel is reflected synchronically in phonological alternations triggered by the 3<sup>rd</sup> SG prefix *i-* in examples such as *mat* ‘to die; dead’ next to *i-met* ‘s/he died, is dead’.

This leaves just \*qapatoR > *het* ‘sago grub’, and \*panako (> \*pa-panako) > *pehena* ‘to steal’ as genuine exceptions to regularity, along with \*papine > *pihin* ‘female; woman’, and the sporadic rounding of \*a in POC \*kawil > *kow* ‘fishhook’, and PADM \*cawa > *cow* ‘sleeping mat’ (cp.

\*kanawe > *kanaw* ‘seagull’, \*sawaq > *ma-caw* ‘channel’, \*tawan > *taw* ‘*Pometia pinnata*’, etc., with no rounding).

POC \*i, \*e, \*o and \*u generally remained unchanged, and where this is not the case the change appears to be genuinely sporadic. Cases noted include the following:

\*i > e: \*nipi-nipi > *nihi-neh* ‘to dream’

\*o > e: \*boŋi > *peŋ* ‘night’

\*o > u: \*topu > *tuh* ‘sugarcane’, PADM \*mosimo > *musim* ‘a shore tree: *Casuarina equisetifolia*’

\*u > o: \*tolu > *ma-colo-h* ‘three’

In addition \*lipon > *lehe-* ‘tooth’ may be a valid etymology with irregularities in both vowels; if so these changes took place rather early, as they are reflected in several languages of the eastern Admiralties, either in whole or in part, although the POC vowels were still present in PADM (cf. Likum *lihe-*, Penchal *lip*, *lihi*, *lihi-m*, *liha-n* ‘tooth’, where the first vowel is regular, and Wuvulu *lifo-* ‘tooth’, where both vowels are regular).

Other changes to the POC vowels in Loniū include semivocalization and apocope. Where a high or mid vowel came to be both final and postvocalic due to loss of an intervening consonant, it resyllabified to a glide and was retained in Loniū, as seen in the following examples:

*boRok	>	pow	pig
*niuR	>	niw	coconut
*ñaRo	>	hi-ñaw	widow
*pitaquR	>	pitow	a shore tree: <i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i>
*tokalaur	>	tolaw	north wind/east wind

In one other known case the historically derived sequence *-ui* resyllabified as *wi-*, not *-uy*:  
\*quRi > \*qui > *wi* ‘a plant with edible fruit: *Spondias dulcis*’.

Finally, an antepenultimate vowel that was initial in POC, or that became initial through loss of a preceding consonant, was lost in Loniū in three of the four cases in which these conditions apply:

*apaRat	>	hay	west monsoon
*qalima	>	nime-	hand
*qapatoR	>	het	sago grub

For Admiralty languages in which the initial vowel is retained in the first and last of these cf. Ere *ahay* ‘wind’, Nauna *ahay* ‘west wind’, Baluan *apay* ‘east wind’ Bipi, Lindrou *yahay* ‘west wind’, and Ere *ahet*, Titan *aet*, Nauna *kahek* ‘sago grub’.

**6.6. LONIU REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC AND PROTO-ADMIRALTY**

	POC	PEADM	LONIU	
001.	*ane	*ane	an	termite
002.	*apaRat	*yapaya	hay	west monsoon
003.	*aya	*yaya	yaya-	maternal aunt
004.	*bakewak	*bakewa (?)	pew	shark
005.	*baluc	*balu	pan	dove, pigeon
006.	*boŋi	*boŋi	peŋ	night
007.	*boRok	*boo	pow	pig
008.		*bulaka	pula	elephant ear taro
009.		*cawa	cow	sleeping mat
010.	*d(r)amut	*drami	am	lime spatula
011.	*dranum	*dranu	an	fresh water
012.	*draŋi	*draŋi	aŋ	day
013.	*draRaq	*draya	ay	blood
014.	*-gu	*-gu	-w	1SG possessor, my
015.	*ia	*ia	iy	3SG, he, she
016.	*ikan	*nika	ni	fish
017.	*inum	*inu	in	to drink
018.		*kabV	kap	fiber used for nets
019.		*kagV	kak	k.o. starfish
020.	*kamaliR	*kamali	kaman	men's house; male
021.	*kanase	*kanase	kanas	mullet
022.	*kanawe	*kanawe	kanaw	k.o. seagull
023.	*kani	*kani	kan	to eat/food
024.	*kasika	*kasika	kesi	small-tooth emperor
025.	*kasusu	*kasusu	kesus	coconut crab
026.	*katapa	*katapa	katah	frigate bird
027.	*kawil	*kawi	kow	fishhook
028.	*kayu	*kayu	key ~ ke	tree, wood
029.	*kiajo	*kiaco	kiec	outrigger boom
030.	*koe	*koe	wow	2SG, you
031.	*koro	*koro	ko	village
032.	*kotoŋ	*koto	kot	large grouper sp.
033.	*kuluR	*kulu	kun	breadfruit
034.		*kuñV	kuñ	coconut leaf basket
035.	*kupwena	*kupwena	kupwen	long fishing net
036.	*kuriap	*kuri	wiʔi ~ wiri	dolphin
037.	*kuron	*kuro	ku	cooking pot
038.	*kuRita	*kuita	kit	octopus
039.	*kutu	*kutu	kut	louse
040.	*laje	*lace	lac	branching coral
041.	*lako	*lako	la	to go, walk
042.	*laman	*lama	lama-n	deep sea

043.	*laŋit	*laŋi	laŋ	sky
044.	*laqia	*laya	ley	ginger
045.	*lawaq	*lawa	law	k.o. fish net
046.	*lawaq	*lawa	wi-law	spider
047.	*lima	*lima-pu	ma-lime-h	five
048.	*lipon	*lipo-	lehe-	tooth
049.	*lisaq	*lisa	lus	nit, louse egg
050.	*lom	*lo	lo	in, inside
051.	*loto	*loto	lot	boil, abscess
052.	*madar	*mada	ma	ripe
053.	*mai	*mai	me	to come
054.	*maqati	*maqati	mat	ebb tide, dry reef
055.	*maRuane	*mwane	mwan	male (?)
056.	*mata	*mata	mata-	eye
057.	*mate	*mate	mat ~ met	to die; dead
058.	*matiruR	*matiru	meti	to sleep
059.	*mawap	*ma-mawa	yeli-maw	to yawn
060.	*mimiq	*mi-mimi	mimi-m	urine
061.		*mosimo	musim	<i>Casuarina</i> sp.
062.	*-mu	*-mu	-m	2SG possessor
063.	*muquŋ	*muqu	mu	a fish, spinefoot sp.
064.	*muri	*muri	muʔi-n ~ mwiʔi-n	late, last, rear
065.	*mutaq	*muta	mut	to vomit
066.	*mwamwaki	*mwamwaki	momwak	large cuttlefish
067.	*mwanene	*mwanene	mwenen ~ monen	straight
068.	*mwanoRe	*monoye	monoy	unicornfish
069.	*mwaña	*moña	moñ	<i>Pandanus conoideus</i>
070.	*mwapo(q)	*mwapo	mah	taro
071.	*mwasasi	*mwasasi	mosas	goatfish
072.	*mwata	*mwata	mwat	snake
073.	*na	*na	na	genitive marker
074.	*natu	*natu	ñetu-	child, offspring
075.	*nipi	*nipi-nipi	nihineh	to dream
076.	*niuR	*niw	niw	coconut
077.	*nophonopo	*nophonopo	nohonoh	fearful, intimidated
078.	*nupu	*nupu	noh	stonefish
079.	*-ña	*-na	-n	3SG possessor
080.	*ñaman	*ñama-na	ñama-n	tasty, delicious
081.	*ñamuk	*ñamu	ñam-on	mosquito
082.		*ñapa	ñah	fish spear
083.	*ñaRo	*ñao	hi-ñaw	widow
084.	*ñatuq	*ñatu	ñat	a tree: <i>Palaquium</i> sp.
085.	*ñoro	*ñoro	ño	rough sea/current
086.	*ŋacan	*ŋara	ŋaʔa-	name
087.	*ŋapa	*ŋapa	ŋah	fathom
088.	*ŋusuq	*ŋusu	pwaha ŋusu	lip

089.	*onom	*ono-pu	ma-wono-h	six
090.	*padran	*badra	pa	<i>Pandanus tectorius</i>
091.	*pa-layaR	*baleya	peley	to sail/a sail
092.	*panako	*ba-banako	pehena	to steal
093.	*panapa	*banapa	panah	needlefish/garfish
094.	*paŋan	*paŋa	haŋ	to feed
095.	*papine	*bepine	pihin	female; woman
096.	*paRa	*baya	pay	storage rack
097.	*pat	*pa-pu	ha-h	four
098.	*pataŋ	*bata	pata-	stem, trunk of tree
099.	*patu	*batu	pat	stone
100.	*pitaquR	*bitaqu	pitow	<i>Calophyllum</i> spp.
101.	*pituqon	*bitiqo	piti	star
102.	*poñu	*boñu	poñ	green turtle
103.	*pose	*bose	pos	canoe paddle
104.	*potok	*boto	poto-	thorn
105.	*puaq	*bua	pue	betel nut
106.	*pudi	*budi	pu	banana
107.	*puki	*buki	pwi-	vulva, vagina
108.	*pulan	*bula	pun	moon, month
109.	*puŋun	*buŋu	puŋ	bunch, cluster
110.	*pupu	*bupu	puh	basket trap for fish
111.	*puqaya	*buqaya	puey	crocodile
112.	*puta	*buta	put	fishnet float
113.	*putun	*butu	put	<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i>
114.	*qalima	*lima	nime-	hand
115.	*qalimaŋu	*qalimaŋu	elimaŋ	mangrove crab
116.	*qalo	*qalo	ŋan (?)	sun
117.	*qalu	*qalu	ŋan	barracuda sp.
118.	*qapatoR	*qapeto	het	sago grub
119.	*qarita	*qarita	eit	putty nut
120.	*qasu	*qasu-	esu-	gall (bladder)
121.	*qate	*qate-	ete-	liver
122.	*qayawan	*qaiwa	ew	banyan
123.	*qisaq	*qisa	is	negative interjection
124.	*qone	*qone	won	sand
125.	*quloc	*qulo	un	maggot
126.	*quRi	*qui	wi	<i>Spondias dulcis</i>
127.	*qutin	*quti	ut	penis
128.	*raqan	*dra-dra	aʔa-n	branch
129.	*rorom	*roro	o	dark/pitch black
130.	*rua	*ruo-pu	ma-ʔuo-h	two
131.	*ruyuŋ	*ruyu	u	dugong
132.	*Rabia	*yabi	epi	sago palm and pith
133.	*Rumaq	*uma	um	house
134.	*saku layaR	*colaya	colay	sailfish

135.	*salan	*cala	can	path, road
136.	*salaŋ	*cala	can	spiny sea urchin
137.	*salatoŋ	*lalato/ñalato	ñalat	stinging nettle
138.	*saman	*cama	cam	outrigger float
139.	*saŋa	*caŋa-	caŋa-	bifurcation/crotch
140.	*sa-ŋa-puluq	*saŋapulu	ma-soŋon	ten
141.	*sa-ŋa-Ratus	*saŋatu	ma-saŋat	one hundred
142.	*sapa	*capa	cah	what?
143.	*sawaq	*mata cawa	macaw	passage through reef
144.	*sipiri	*cipiri	cihi	cockatoo
145.	*sulu	*sulu	cun	to burn/to roast
146.	*suluq	*sulu	cun	coconut leaf torch
147.	*sura	*cura	cu	comb
148.		*suro	cur	k.o. barracuda
149.	*suRuq	*cuyu	cuy ~ cuc	juice, sap/soup
150.	*susu	*susu	sus	female breast
151.	*tabu-na	*tabuna	topun	taboo
152.	*taci-	*tari-	teʔi-	same sex sibling
153.	*taliŋa	*taliŋa-	(po)teleŋa-	ear
154.	*talise	*talise	telus	<i>Terminalia catappa</i>
155.	*tama	*tama	ña-tama-	father
156.	*tanipa	*tanipa	tenih	sardine
157.	*tanoq	*tano	tan	earth, soil; down
158.	*taŋis	*taŋi	taŋ	to cry
159.	*tapuRi	*dapuy	tah	conch shell trumpet
160.	*taqe	*te	te-	feces
161.	*tasik	*tasi	tas	sea, saltwater
162.	*taumata	*damata	amat	person, human being
163.	*tawan	*tawa	taw	<i>Pometia pinnata</i>
164.	*tete	*tete	tet	ladder
165.	*tokalaur	*tokalau	tolaw	north wind/east wind
166.	*tokon	*toko	to	punting pole
167.	*tolu	*tolu-pu	ma-colo-h	three
168.	*topu	*topu	tuh	sugarcane
169.	*toRas	*doa	drow	ironwood
170.	*tubu	*tubu	ña-tupu	grandfather
171.	*tue	*tue	tu	k.o. clam/shellfish
172.	*tuRu	*tu	tu	housepost
173.	*waiwai	*wewey	wewe	mango
174.		*watiV	wati	monitor lizard

**6.7. THE LONIU-BIPI CONNECTION.** From the first modern reports on languages of the Admiralties there have been claims that Loni and Bipi --- located at opposite ends of Manus island with many distinct languages separating them --- form a genetic unit. The first such claim was perhaps that of Smythe (1970:1214), who grouped Sisi and Bipi with Loni and Papitalai on the basis of general typology, a classification reflected in Healey's (1976:352) general review of



the literature. Other remarks to the same effect were made by Blust (in Healey 1976:360), Ross (1988:319-320), and Hamel 1994:3). My own first experience of Manus involved landing at Momote, and shortly thereafter meeting a Bipi man who volunteered the information that Bipi was very similar to the Loniu language spoken not far from the airstrip. Unfortunately, most of these claims have been made without the benefit of evidence.<sup>2</sup>

Alone among these commenters, Ross (1988:317) has tried to situate Bipi within a larger Manus Network on the basis of exclusively shared phonological innovations. On the basis of three sound changes shared with Lindrou, and/or Sori-Harengan (merger of \*c and \*s, \*t > k/\_\_\_#, and \*ñ > y/\_\_\_#), he assigned Bipi to the West Manus Network, with an immediate genetic affiliation with its neighbors rather than with Loniu, Papiatalai or other languages at the eastern extremity of Manus. A preliminary examination of the data can certainly lead to this conclusion, as Bipi has undergone several striking phonological adaptations to the West Manus language area, as shown in Table 6.12, which compares sound changes in Bipi with Lindrou in the West Manus Network, and Loniu in the East Manus Network (those shared with Lindrou are bolded):

**Table 6.12:** A comparison of phonological innovations in Bipi with Lindrou (West Manus network) and Loniu (East Manus network)

POC	Bipi	Loniu	Lindrou
*pw	pw	pw	bw
*mw	mw	mw/m	mw
*w	w	w	gw
*p	p/h	p/h	b/h
*p	p	p	b
*m	m	m	m
*t	<b>dr/t-, -k</b>	t	<b>t/d/dr-, -k</b>
*d	x	Ø/?	r
*s	s	c/s	s
*n	n	n	n
*r	x	Ø/?	r-, -n
*dr	x	Ø/?	dr
*l	l-, -n	l-, -n	l-, -n
*c	x	Ø/?	r?
*j	s	c	s
*ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ
*y	y ~j	y	y, Ø
*k	k/Ø	k/Ø	k/?
*g	Ø	k?	Ø

<sup>2</sup> Healey (1976:360), citing an unpublished document for which there appears to be no extant record, cites me as finding “in a preliminary lexicostatistical count that Loniu and Sisi/Bipi could be regarded as dialects of a single language.” While I do not wish to question the integrity of Healey’s statement, I have no recollection of ever having made such a claim, which even a superficial inspection of the evidence seems to contradict. On the variant of the Swadesh 200-word list used in Appendix 1 the two score 105/194, or about 54%, not very different from the Bipi-Lindrou score of 92/192, or about 48%.

*ŋ	ŋ-, -k	ŋ	k/n
*q	∅	∅	∅
*R	∅	y/∅	y/∅

As noted by Ross (1988:316-320), there are no phonological innovations that appear to be shared exclusively by Bipi with Loniu, although the phonological histories of these languages are quite similar --- something that could be said with regard to many of the languages of Manus. In comparing Bipi with Lindrou the matter is different, as there are at least three phonological innovations that are shared by Bipi and Lindrou apart from Loniu. The first of these is \*t > dr- in nouns, where the fusion of the common noun article \*na with the base-initial consonant produced a prenasalized alveolar trill in Bipi and Lindrou, but not in Loniu, except in the possible loanword *drow* ‘ironwood tree: *Intsia bijuga*’. The second is the highly distinctive change \*t > k in coda position, in the first two languages, and the third is the change of \*ŋ to k under certain conditions in both Bipi and Lindrou.

Briefly, not much should be made of the \*t > dr- innovation in nominal bases, since a similar change of \*t to d-, dr, or nd- is widespread in the languages of the East Manus Network, including at least Nali, Ere, Titan, Leipon, Papitalai, Kuruti, and Lele, and is also found as tr- in Lenkau and r- in Penchal of the Southeast Admiralties. In short, the \*t > dr- change in nouns in Bipi and Lindrou is best treated as a shared retention from Proto-Eastern Admiralty.

Equally unconvincing as subgrouping evidence is the \*ŋ > k change, which is distinctively different in Bipi and Lindrou. First, Lindrou merged \*ŋ with \*n preceding a high front vowel, as in POC \*boŋi > Lindrou *ben* (but Bipi *pik*) ‘night’, POC \*draŋi > Lindrou *len* (but Bipi *xak*) ‘day’, or POC \*taŋis > Lindrou *a-den* (but Bipi *tak*) ‘to weep, cry’. Second, Lindrou reflects POC \*ŋ as a palatal nasal in other environments in which it either remained a velar nasal or became a velar stop in Bipi, as in POC \*taliŋa > Lindrou *drañe-* (but Bipi *draliŋe-*) ‘ear’, or POC \*ŋacan > Lindrou *ñara-* (but Bipi *kaxa-*) ‘name’. Third, in my data Bipi reflects \*ŋ as k only in coda position, whereas in Lindrou the velar nasal has become k in onset position in at least \*saŋa > *saká-* (Bipi *saŋa-n*) ‘fork of a branch’, and \*saŋasaŋa > *sakasak* ‘starfish’ (ultimately from the same base as the preceding).

On the other hand, the \*t > -k change in Bipi and Lindrou is clearly an innovation, and one that is common to most languages of the West Manus Network, including at least Lindrou, Likum, Drehet, Mondropolon, Sori (where it continued to -ʔ). At first blush this would seem to be clear evidence for placing Bipi within the West Manus Network, as was done provisionally by Ross (1988:317). However, Bipi speakers could well have imitated this change once they were bilingual in Lindrou, and recognized the recurrent correspondence of Bipi -t to Lindrou -k. Moreover, in at least some etymologies Lindrou merged derived final \*k and \*t, while Bipi invariably lost final \*k before the \*t > -k shift, as in POC \*kutu > Bipi, Lindrou *kuk* ‘head louse’, but POC \*kalika

Bipi *kali*, Lindrou *kalik* ‘rock cod, grouper’ (in several other etymologies in my database Lindrou also lost derived final \*k, as in \*lako > *la* ‘to go’, or PADM \*nika > *ni* ‘fish’ in both languages). This suggests that Bipi acquired the \*t > -k change by contact rather than by inheritance from a Proto-West Manus ancestor.

Similarly, it is easy to find lexical innovations that Bipi shares exclusively with other languages of western Manus, as Bipi, Lindrou, Likum *adray*, replacing POC, PADM \*topu ‘sugarcane’. However, it must be kept in mind that innovations which appear to be exclusively shared by Bipi with its neighbors can plausibly be attributed to contact, whereas if Bipi evolved in western Manus this explanation does not exist for innovations that are exclusively shared by Bipi with Loniu, or other languages of eastern Manus. It follows that if a substantial body of innovations can be assembled which are shared only by Bipi and Loniu (in the broad sense, where ‘Bipi’ encompasses Bipi and Sisi, and ‘Loniu’ encompasses Loniu, Papitalai and Naringel) these are most plausibly attributed to a period of uniquely shared history before the Bipi and Sisi people arrived in western Manus.

**6.7.1. Lexical evidence for Bipi as a member of the East Manus Network.** The search for exclusively shared lexical innovations connecting Loniu and Bipi apart from all other languages has proven difficult. The most promising cases I have found to date are listed below. So far as is presently known, items 1-8 are shared exclusively by Loniu and Bipi, while items 9-11 are shared only by Loniu, Bipi and Leipon, spoken on Pityilu island (see Capell 1962: Map VI), and items 12-19 are shared by Bipi with a somewhat larger collection of languages in the eastern part of Manus, but are otherwise unknown in other languages.

**(1) POC \*ñamuk, PADM \*ñamu but Loniu, Bipi ñamon ‘mosquito’.** A number of languages in the Admiralties reflect \*ñamuk regularly as *namu*, *nam* or *ñam*. Only Loniu and Bipi show an additional *-on* as part of the expected *ñam*. It is possible that this innovation resulted from an identification of two pestivorous biting insects, the mosquito and the sandfly, with a reflex of POC \*qone ‘sand’ being added to the regular reflex of POC \*ñamuk prior to the separation of the two language communities.

**(2) POC \*laŋo , but Loniu *ŋelep*, Bipi *kalapux* ‘housefly’.** Reflexes of POC \*laŋo ‘housefly’ are found among Admiralty languages both in languages of the Western Islands (Wuvulu-Aua, Seimat), and in the Southeastern islands. The languages of Manus and its immediate satellite islands show a variety of terms, but only Loniu and Bipi appear to reflect a form of the shape \*ŋalapur, with \*r > x in Bipi and \*r > ʔ in Loniu being regular developments (word-final glottal stop is non-phonemic in Loniu, and consequently is not written). The other issues with this comparison involve the correspondence of a velar nasal in Loniu with a voiceless velar stop in Bipi, and the vowels. As already seen, the nasal-stop correspondence for velars is regular in coda position, as with POC \*taŋis > Loniu *taŋ*, Bipi *tak* ‘to weep, cry’, or \*paŋan > Loniu *haŋ*, Bipi *hak* ‘to feed’, but the change \*ŋ > k- in onset position is sporadic. Other examples include POC \*ŋacan > Loniu *ŋaʔa-*, Bipi *kaxa-* ‘name’, and several words without known POC or PADM etymologies, as Loniu *ŋatahan*, Bipi *kadrahan* ‘hot (of water, food, the weather)’, and Loniu *ŋeti-an*, Bipi *kadrien* ‘ache, pain; painful’ (both found in other languages of Manus, but not in languages of the Western Islands or the Southeast Admiralties). As seen already, the change \*a > e in Loniu appears to have been conditioned by the presence of a high vowel in an adjacent syllable, whether it was palatal or labial, and this evidently happened after the loss of the final -VC.

**(3) POC \*kasu, but Loniu *ŋesu*, Bipi *ŋas* or *kasu-ŋas* ‘smoke’.** POC \*kasu ‘smoke’ is preserved in many Admiralty languages, usually in combination with the word for ‘fire’, but this

form was either sporadically altered or replaced by a reflex of \**ŋasu* in Loniu and Bipi, and nowhere else. The alternative Bipi form *kasu-ŋas* suggests that the native form was retained and combined with the word for ‘smoke’ borrowed from some language of western Manus.

**(4) Loniu *tamana* ‘men’s dancing’ (Hamel 1994), Bipi *tamana* ‘to dance (general term)’.**

Several other languages of the Admiralties reflect \**mana* which, as Hamel (1994:200) points out, also refers to the white egg cowrie. Throughout at least the island of Manus a traditional men’s performance that evidently was intended to assert one’s masculinity, was the white penis shell dance, in which a white egg cowrie was attached to the penis and prominently exhibited by swinging the shell as part of the dance movement. Cognate forms in other languages include Titan *manah*, Likum *mana* and Lindrou *mana*. While this was explicitly described as a men’s dance for most of these languages, Bipi *tamana* was said to refer to dancing of any kind, and hence of both sexes. What is uniquely distinctive here is the appearance of the initial syllable in both Loniu and Bipi.

**(5) POC \**mariri*, but Loniu, Bipi *ñala* ‘to feel cold; shiver’.** The semantics here vary somewhat. I recorded Bipi *ñala* ‘shivering, as with cold’, and Hamel (1994) lists Loniu *ñala* ‘cold wind; to be or become cold’. Ahus *neletun*, Pak *neldun*, Likum *nalaʔan*, Levei *nalaʔan*, Lindrou *ñalaʔan* ‘to be cold, of food or water’ may be cognate forms with an attributive suffix, a form that also occurs as Loniu *ñeletun* ‘to be cold’, but Loniu and Bipi *ñala* are distinguished by occurring as unsuffixed disyllables.

**(6) Loniu, Bipi *piton* ‘hard (as unripe fruit)’.** This comparison is compromised by two factors: 1) a semantic category that is not well-defined, and 2) a number of gaps in attestation. Leipon *toton* shares the final syllable, and Lindrou *botoʔon* may be cognate, with with an irregular correspondence for the vowel of the first syllable. Although the absence of a reconstruction for this meaning either in POC or PADM makes it impossible to demonstrate that this is a replacement innovation, the word shape in this meaning is uniquely shared by Loniu and Bipi.

**(7) POC \**kaRo*, but Loniu *asi*, Bipi *xas* ‘to scratch’.** Since this can be either a transitive or intransitive verb, I assume \**ras-i*, with the transitive suffix in the Loniu reflex, but not in Bipi. This added assumption somewhat weakens the comparison, which nonetheless shows regular sound correspondences if, in fact, the Loniu form reflects the suffixed base, and the Bipi form does not. No other language recorded has a form that is compatible with this reconstruction.

**(8) POC \**mapat*, but Loniu *tuan*, Bipi *drawan* ‘heavy’.** Loniu has *tuan* for expected \*\**tawan*, but these forms are likely to be cognate, and depart widely from all other forms recorded in the Admiralties.

**(9) Loniu *helow/hilow*, Bipi *hulaw*, Leipon *ko hilow* ‘to run’.** A problem with attempting to elicit verbs in Admiralty languages is that speakers are not accustomed to abstracting the verb itself from the larger context in which it occurs. In particular, a verb like ‘to run’ was normally given with a pronominal prefix, and unless at least the singular paradigm was collected it was not always clear whether the form obtained was just the verb, or the prefixed verb ‘I am running’, ‘you are running’ or ‘s/he is running’ (or sometimes the imperative form ‘Run!’). This was naturally exacerbated by elicitation through Tok Pisin, in which ‘to run’ is *ron i go*, where a third

person subject is implied. Nonetheless, Leipon *ko hilow* is the only other form collected which shows regular sound correspondences with Loniu. The Bipi vowel is aberrant, but a lesson any comparativist is sure to learn quickly in working with these languages is that the consonant correspondences are to be valued more highly than the correspondences of the vowels, which are quite variable (for example, I recorded Loniu *helow*, while Hammel (1994) has *hilow*). With this provision in mind it seems safe to conclude that Titan *kwilow*, Pak *kwilw* ‘to run’ are cognate with one another, but are distinct from the cognate set given here.

**(10) POC \*Ruqa ‘neck’, but Loniu *keñewe/keñue-*, Bipi *koñe-*, Leipon *keñwe* ‘neck’.** The major problem with using this comparison as evidence for a Loniu-Bipi-Leipon subgroup is the appearance of Seimat *kinawe-* ‘neck’. However, since Seimat clearly subgroups with Wuvulu and Aua, which retain a reflex of POC \*Ruqa, it appears that Seimat *kinawe-* is an innovation that could not have happened in a language immediately ancestral to it and languages of the Eastern Admiralties. For this reason I treat it as a chance resemblance.

**(11) POC \*qalo, but Leipon, Bipi *ɣan*, Leipon *ɣal* ‘sun’.** Most languages of the Admiralties reflect POC \*qalo. If the forms in Loniu, Bipi and Leipon are cognate with these, they show an unexplained initial velar nasal which is distinctive for them.

Some other comparisons include these three languages (where Loniu and Papitalai are counted as one) plus one, two or three others, and may point to a larger subgroup centered in eastern Manus that additionally includes Nali, Ahus, and possibly Titan and Lele. Examples that have come to my attention include the following:

**(12) POC \*qalu ‘barracuda’ : Loniu, Bipi *ɣan*, Leipon, Nali *ɣal* ‘large barracuda sp.’.** Words for barracuda were recorded in many Admiralty languages, most of which reflect \*qalu, but only these four point to a form with an initial velar nasal.

**(13) \*kolaja ‘back (anat.) : Loniu *po-kelaja*, Bipi *koliɣa*, Leipon *kolɣa*, Ahus *koloɣa* ‘back (anat.)’.** A word for ‘back’ was recorded in all 26 language communities in the Admiralties for which I have data, and no other cognates were found.

**(14) POC \*tubuq/tupuq, but Loniu *ek*, Bipi *xek*, Papitalai *rek*, Leipon *rik* ‘to grow’, Lele *kin lek* ‘it is grown’.** This appears to be a relatively straightforward innovation in a language ancestral to Loniu (including Papitalai), Bipi, Leipon, and Lele.

**(15) \*puon ‘short’ : Loniu, Bipi *puon*, Leipon, Titan *bruon*, Ahus *nembuon* ‘short’.** Again, this is a word that recorded in most of the 26 Admiralty languages for which I have data, and reflexes of \*buon are known only from these five.

**(16) \*putua- ‘belly’ : Loniu *putua* ‘belly; guts’, Bipi *putue-* ‘belly’, *pala-putue-* ‘guts’, Leipon *putua-*, Titan *patua-* ‘belly’.** Once more, words for both ‘belly’ and ‘guts’ were recorded for virtually all 26 Admiralty languages for which I have data, and members of this cognate set are restricted to the languages cited here.

(17) POC *\*pia*, but Loniu *huyan*, Bipi *huyen*, Leipon, Ahus *huyan*, Kuruti *huyen* ‘good’. A number of other languages in the eastern Admiralties, including at least Papitalai, Nali, Ere, Titan, Kele, Pak, Lenkau, Lou, Penchal and Nauna, reflect *\*hian*, and it is unclear which form is original. On purely phonetic grounds one would expect *\*huyan* > *hian* rather than the reverse, but on distributional grounds *\*hian* appears to be the older form.

(18) *\*pway* ‘so say, tell, speak’: Loniu. Bipi *pway*, Pak *pway*, Ahus *pwa* ‘to say, tell, speak’. A word for this meaning was recorded in most languages of the Admiralties for which I collected data, and nothing similar was found anywhere else.

(19) *\*busasa* ‘liver/lungs’: Loniu *pusasa-* ‘liver/lungs’, Bipi *pises*, Papitalai *brusas*, Ahus *mbusasa-*, Pak *pusas* ‘liver’. Again, cognate forms are unknown outside these languages.

(20) *\*taʔi* ‘to hit/kill’: Loniu *taʔi* ‘to hit’, Bipi *tay* ‘to kill’, Papitalai *a-riʔiy*, Ahus *a-teʔiy* ‘to hit’, Nali *a-ray*, *i-rihiy* (?), Lele *i-rey* ‘to hit’. This word is widespread in eastern Manus, but is unknown in the western part of the island.

(21) *\*wilaw* ‘spider (web)’: Loniu *wilaw* ‘spider’, Bipi *wilaw*, Leipon, Ahus, Pak *welaw* ‘spider web’, Titan *ñakap welaw* ‘spider’. Nothing similar was recorded anywhere else in the Admiralties.

(22) *\*macehe* ‘how much/many?’: Loniu *macehe*, Bipi *sehe*, Papitalai *mocehi*, Leipon *maseh*, Ahus *cahe*, Titan *ceh*, Kele *sehe*, Lele *maseheye* ‘how much/how many?’. Again, cognate forms are unknown outside these languages.

In addition, a small number of comparisons that are almost restricted to Loniu and Bipi include one or two additional languages that clearly lie outside this group (the position of Pak will be treated at the end of sketch 7). Examples are:

(1) *\*pucol* ‘rat’: Leipon *pucon*, Bipi *poson*, Leipon *pucol* ‘rat’. Over nearly all of the rest of Manus, languages reflect *\*buley* (Ere, Kuruti, Kele *bruliy*, Titan, Ahus, Papitalai *bruley*, Likum *pwiley*, Levei *pwilip*, Pelipowai *piley*, Drehet *pwilip*, Mondropolon *puliy*), or *\*buney* (Nali, Lele *bruney*, possibly Pak *ney*). The single language that spoils the broth is Sori, which has *bosoŋ*, a regular reflex of *\*pucol*. While this is clearly an innovation in relation to POC *\*kusupe* ‘rat’, more than one type of rat may have been terminologically distinguished in PADM or PEADM.

(2) *\*rain* ‘smell, odor’: Loniu *ein*, Bipi *xain* ‘smell, odor’. Nothing similar is found in any of the languages of Manus, but Lou *rein* ‘smell, odor’ suggests that this is a retention from Proto-Eastern Admiralty.

(3) *\*malisawa* ‘brother-in-law/sister-in-law’: Loniu *melisawa-*, Bipi *malisawa-*, Papitalai *melsow* ‘brother-in-law/sister-in-law’. This is generally absent elsewhere, but Lindrou *molosow*, Sori *marisow* in the same meaning suggest that this is a retention from a language ancestral to all of those spoken on Manus and its immediate satellites.

(4) **\*muan ‘bad’**: Loniu, Bipi muan, Papitalai, Nali mo-mwan, Titan muan, Ere moʔan, Kuruti moʔon, Kele mwan ‘bad’. All of these languages appear to belong to an East Manus group, but Nauna, which has *tente man* ‘bad’ is clearly not a member.

To further complicate matters, Pak may have a number of loans from Loniu, although in some cases a motivation for borrowing is difficult to discern, as with Loniu, Bipi *drow* ‘nasal mucus, snot’, a form known in only one other language of the Admiralties, namely Pak *dow*.

**6.7.2. Structural evidence for Bipi as a member of the East Manus Network** Undoubtedly, one of the most striking structural innovations shared almost exclusively by Bipi and Loniu, and one which clearly separates Bipi from other languages of western Manus, is found in the system of singular possessive pronouns reflecting POC \*-gu ‘1SG’, \*-mu ‘2SG’, and \*-ña ‘3SG’. While virtually all languages reflect the non-first person forms as *-m* and *-n*, reflexes of \*-gu show considerable variation across languages, and considerable allomorphy within languages. This has already been illustrated in Bipi Table 6.4, and by Hamel (1994:27-29), but is partially repeated here to place it in a broader context. Table 6.13 shows the reflexes of POC \*-a-gu, \*-e-gu, \*-o-gu, \*-i-gu, and \*-u-gu in each of the 26 Admiralty language communities for which I have data (NDP = no direct possession):<sup>3</sup>

**Table 6.13:** Reflexes of POC \*-gu ‘1SG possessor; my’ in languages of the Admiralties

POC	*a-gu	*e-gu	*i-gu	*o-gu	*u-gu
1. Nali	o	e	i	o	u
2. Ere	uCa	o	i	?	o/u
3. Loniu	o	ew	iw	o	u
4. Lou	oŋ	eŋ	iŋ	oŋ	uŋ
5. Bipi	o	ew	iw	o	u
6. Titan	o	e	i	o	u
7. Likum	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
8. Levei	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
9. Nauna	NDP	NDP	NDP	NDP	NDP
10. Lindrou	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
11. Pelipowai	ak	ik	ik	ok	uk
12. Ahus	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
13. Pak	ok	ek	ik	ok	uk
14. Leipon	aw	ew	iw	o	u
15. Seimat	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
16. Penchal	i	i	(?)	u	u
17. Wuvulu	aw	ew	iw	ow	u
18. Drehet	ok	ek	ik	?	uk
19. Sori	a	e	i	o	u
20. Papitalai	a	e	i	o	u
21. Kuruti	o	e	i	u	u/uk

<sup>3</sup> More specifically, in Nauna direct possession is attested only in kin terms, and even there it occurs as one of two options.

22. Mondropolon	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
23. Lenkau	oŋ	eŋ	iŋ	oŋ	uŋ
24. Lele	o	e/o	i	o	u
25. Kele	a	e	i	o	u
26. Aua	aw	ew	iw	o	u

A few languages require special explanations. First, Ere is exceptionally complex. While high vowels show a zero reflex of the 1SG possessive marker and some apparent suppletion, as in POC \*qutin > *ut* ‘penis’ : *wiri*, *wiri-m*, *wiri-n*, or POC \*susu > *sus* ‘female breast’ : *susu*, *susu-m*, *suso-n/susu-n*, the 1SG possessive marker triggers a change in the *penultimate* vowel, as in POC \*mata ‘eye’ > *mura*, *mira-m*, *mira-n*, although this may have happened only after low vowel dissimilation (Blust 1996b), since it is also seen in POC \*tina ‘mother’ > \*tine > *tuno*, *tine-m*, *tine-n*. The mid-front vowel appears as *o*, as just seen in the singular possessive paradigm for ‘mother’, and in POC \*lima ‘hand’ : *lumo*, *lime-m*, *lime-n*, and no possessive paradigms for nouns with stem-final *-o* could be found. Second, Nauna uses direct possession only with a few kin terms, and ndirect possession for all others, as *mat* ‘eye’ (*mat araw*, *mat aro*, *mat erey*), or *cay* ‘blood’ (*caen ayi*, *caen o*, *caen i*).

What stands out in this table is the pattern in Loniu and Bipi, which is identical, and the pattern in Leipon, Wuvulu and Aua, which differs only in the treatment of \*a-gu. Wuvulu and Aua clearly do not subgroup with any language of eastern Manus, but since Leipon shares several unambiguous innovations with Loniu and Bipi, this raises the question of larger subgroups in eastern Manus that might include Bipi. However, to draw a conclusion that need not await further comparative data, it is quite clear that, whatever its closest subgrouping connections turn out to be, on the basis of 1SG possessive constructions Bipi does not group closely with other languages of western Manus, all of which (Likum, Levei, Lindrou, Pelipowai, Drehet, Mondropolon) have an invariant *-k*, which appears to have been the Proto-Admiralty pattern.

A structural peculiarity shared only by Loniu and Bipi in the data at my disposal is the absence of a possessive paradigm for the noun meaning ‘fat, grease’. In every other language which makes use of direct possession this noun patterns like most body parts, as seen in Table 6.14:

**Table 6.14:** Singular possessive marking for ‘fat, grease’ in languages of the Admiralties

Language	1SG	2SG	3SG
Nali	nomo	nama-m	nama-n
Ere	namaʔo	namaʔa-m	namaʔa-n
Titan	yo dri	dri-m	i dri-n
Likum	nama-k	nama-m	nama-n
Levei	nomo-k	nomo-ŋ	nomo-ŋ
Lindrou	namma-	namma-m	namma-n
Pelipowai	pawI-k	pawI-m	pawI-n
Ahus	namaʔa-k	namaʔa-m	namaʔa-n
Pak	hulili-k	hulili-m	hulili-n
Leipon	napana-w	napana-m	napana-n



Seimat	wia-k	wia-m	wia-n
Wuvulu	pau	pau-m	pau-na
Drehet	nomo-k	nama-ŋ	nama-ŋ
Kuruti	namaʔo	namaʔa-m	namaʔa-n
Mondropolon	lamma-k	lamma-m	lamma-n
Lele	nomo	nama-m	nama-n
Aua	wia-w	wia-m(u)	wia-na.

However, in both Loniu and Bipi my efforts to elicit possessive forms for this word were rejected, the form in each case being limited to *ñaman*, with fossilized 3SG possessive suffix *-n*.

Equally striking is the system of alienable possessive marking, which is virtually identical for Bipi and Loniu, but very different in the languages of western Manus that neighbor Bipi. For convenience the relevant portions of the descriptions are summarized in Table 6.15, along with data for other languages where my fieldnotes contain the relevant forms:

**Table 6.15:** Markers of alienable possession

No.	Base	1SG	2SG	3SG
1.	Nali	at-o	ata-m	ata-n
2.	Ere	tura	tira-m	tira-n
3.	Loniu	ayu	awow	aʔi
4.	Lou	ko-ŋ	ko-m	ko-n
5.	Bipi	ayo	awow	ai
6.	Likum	se	toʔow	tatiʔiy
7.	Levei	tesi	toʔop	tesiʔip
8.	Nauna	ayə	o	i
9.	Lindrou	te-k	ta-m	ta-n
10.	Pelipowai	ia	etoʔow	iciʔiy
11.	Ahus	ta-k	ta-m	ta-n
12.	Pak	er yew	er wey	er i
13.	Leipon	teo	tewey	tati
14.	Seimat	ana-k	ana-m	ana-n
15.	Wuvulu	ana-w	ana-m	ana-na
16.	Sori	ara	ara-m	ara-ŋ
17.	Papitalai	atwa	ata-m	ata-n
18.	Lele	oto	ati-m	ati-n

It is clear from this sample of eighteen systems of alienable possession that most languages of Manus use some type of nominal classifier suffixed with the same pronouns that are attached directly to a possessed noun in inalienable possession. This is true of Nali, Ere, Lou, Lindrou, Ahus, Seimat, Wuvulu, Sori, Papitalai, and Lele. In at least Lou, Seimat and Wuvulu, the classifier given here marks edible possession, but the structure of the possessive phrase is the same regardless of the type of possessive relationship indicated.

Other languages, such as Likum, Levei, Pelipowai, Pak, and Leipon, use markers for alienable possession that show no connection to either the personal pronouns or the pronouns marking inalienable possession. By contrast, both Bipi and Loniu prepose a possessive marker /a/ to the corresponding personal pronoun to form the marker of alienable possession. Note that Nauna, which clearly belongs to the Southeastern Admiralties subgroup, and is therefore quite distinct in many respects from either Bipi or Loniu, is superficially similar to these languages in its system of singular alienable possessive markers. However, Nauna simply uses the personal pronouns as possessive markers without a classifier to which they are suffixed. Given other types of evidence supporting a division of the languages of the eastern Admiralties into two coordinate groups, 1. the languages of Manus and its immediate satellites, and 2. the languages of the southeastern islands, it is simplest to conclude that the similarity of the Nauna system of alienable possession marking to that of Loniu and Bipi is a product of convergence. To some extent this weakens the argument that the agreement between Loniu and Bipi is an exclusively shared innovation, but it does not weaken it enough to dismiss it as subgrouping evidence, particularly in view of the other innovations proposed above.

**6.7.3. Summary.** To summarize, Loniu and Bipi appear to show a closer relationship to one another than either does to any other language, but Bipi has clearly undergone extensive areal adaptations to its neighbors in western Manus. However, what is perhaps even more strongly supported than a Bipi-Loniu relationship is the position of Bipi within a larger East Manus group that includes at least Papitalai, Naringel, Leipon, Ahus, Nali, and possibly Lele, as shown in Table 6.16 (the inclusion of Pak in comparisons 18, 19 and 21 will be addressed in Sketch 7):

**Table 6.16:** Lexicon that appears to be shared exclusively by Bipi with Loniu and other languages of Eastern Manus

	PADM	PLB/PEM	Gloss	Languages
1.	*ñamu	*ñamon	‘mosquito’	Loniu, Bipi
2.	*laŋo	*ŋalapur	‘housefly’	Loniu, Bipi
3.	*kasu	*ŋasu	‘smoke’	Loniu, Bipi
4.	*mana (?)	*tamana	‘men’s dance’	Loniu, Bipi
5.	*mariri	*ñala	‘to feel cold’	Loniu, Bipi
6.	?	*piton	‘hard (as fruit)’	Loniu, Bipi
7.	?	*ras-i	‘to scratch’	Loniu, Bipi (?)
8.	*mapat	*tawan	‘heavy’	Loniu, Bipi (?)
9.	?	*hilow	‘to run’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon
10.	*Ruqa	*keñue-	‘neck’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon
11.	*qalo	*ŋal	‘sun’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon
12.	*qalu	*ŋal	‘barracuda’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon, Nali
13.	?	*kolaŋa	‘back (anat.)’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon, Ahus
14.	*tupuq	*rek	‘to grow’	Loniu, Bipi, Papitalai, Leipon, Lele
15.	?	*puon	‘short’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon, Ahus, Titan
16.	*tian	*putua-	‘belly’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon, Titan
17.	?	*huyan	‘good’	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon, Ahus, Kuruti
18.	?	*pway	‘to say, tell, speak’	Loniu, Bipi, Ahus, Pak

19.	?	*busasa	'liver/lungs'	Loniu, Bipi, Papitalai, Ahus, Pak
20.	?	*taʔi	'to hit/kill'	Loniu, Bipi, Papitalai, Ahus, Nali, Lele
21.	?	*wilaw	'spider'	Loniu, Bipi, Leipon, Ahus, Pak, Titan
22.	*pica	*macehe	'how much/many?'	Loniu, Bipi, Papitalai, Leipon, Ahus, Titan, Kele, Lele