## 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 8: NAUNA

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## Sketch 8: NAUNA

8.1. INTRODUCTION. Nauna is the easternmost island of the Admiralty archipelago, located some 40 kilometers due east of the northern tip of Rambutyo, about 90 kilometers northeast of Lou, and roughly the same distance southeast of Los Negros island at the eastern end of Manus. To my knowledge nothing has previously been published on its language, which is distinct from all others, but clearly subgroups with other languages of the southeast Admiralties. Although a Royal Australian Survey Corps map of the Admiralty Islands that was printed in 1965 gives Chakol as the name of the only settlement on this island, I was told that Nauna is spoken in a single village called Paramoh, which contained about 420 residents at the time of the 2000 census. My data was collected in five sessions totalling 9.5 hours of elicitation between March 13 and 18, 1975 from Puliokai Kiendaman, who was then 15 years old, and a student at Manus Government Secondary School in Lorengau.
8.2. PHONOLOGY. The phonemes of Nauna are shown in Table 8.1:

Table 8.1: The segmental phonemes of Nauna

| Consonants |  |  |  |  |  |  | Vowels |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| p | pw | t | c | (kw) | k | $?$ | i |  | u |
| (b) |  | (d) | (j) |  | (g) |  |  |  |  |
| m | mw | n | ก̃ |  | ๆ |  | e | $ə$ | o |
|  |  | S |  |  |  | h |  |  |  |
|  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | a |  |
|  |  | r (dr) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | w |  | y |  |  |  |  | ngt |  |

The voiceless obstruents generally have their expected values except that /t/ is postdental rather than alveolar. All stops are unaspirated, and the labiovelars are made with lip rounding rather than lip spreading. One example of [kw] was recorded in [kwit] 'octopus'. Given the absence of other evidence for $/ \mathrm{kw} /$ it might be asumed that this word is $/ \mathrm{kuit} /$ with a synchronic rule of semivocalization, but the existence of forms such as kualuy 'to call out to, hail someone', mитиan 'male, man; husband', or puay 'crocodile', where semivocalization does not occur, makes it difficult to maintain this analysis.

The only members of the voiceless obstruent series that need special comment are /t/ and the glottal stop. As in some other languages of the eastern Admiralties, /t/ appears to vary freely with /r/ in intervocalic position. This was particularly evident with /mata/ 'eye; focal point', which was recorded with [ t ] in semantically transparent expressions such as mat araw 'my eye', or mat pwen 'blind' (lit. 'no eyes'), but with either [ t$]$ or [ r$]$ in mata-m-put ~mara-m-put 'navel', mata-n 'sharp', mata-n sus ~ mara-n-sus 'nipple of the breast', mara-n 'lid, cover (as of a basket)', mara-n poroay 'mouth of a river, estuary', mara-n putztznzm 'pity, sympathy, love', cal mara'path, road', or mara-n sin 'kind of small sea anemone', all of which contain a reflex of

POC *mata. Data of this kind and comparative data from other Admiralties languages suggest that this is a change in progress, and where it has affected all recorded instances of a given morpheme that morpheme is written with $/ \mathrm{r} /$. On the other hand, where there is evidence of variation between [ t ] and $[\mathrm{r}$ ] the phoneme is written as $/ \mathrm{t} /$.

As is common throughout the eastern Admiralties, words that end phonemically with a vowel are closed by a largely predictable glottal stop. However, in Nauna this appears to be optional rather than required, as some words were recorded without it (ayu '1SG, I/me', lai 'ginger', pota 'type of canarium nut', tanji 'back'), although the majority pattern appears to be that words do not end phonetically with a vowel. A related issue was found in the phonetic form of sentences in which the present marker /ru/ immediately precedes a verb, as in sentences 18) and 19) in section 8.3.2. The problem here is that [rúwən] was recorded as an unbroken phonetic sequence that was initially interpreted as a single phonological word /ruən/ 'eating'. However, the parallel sequence with the verb 'to drink' was recorded as [rúPin], hence /ru in/ 'drinking'. Although more data is clearly needed, based on the observation that at least some examples have a glottal stop between the tense marker and the verb I write all instances of /ru/ plus verb with an intervening space, hence /ru $\partial \mathrm{n} /$ 'eating', /ru in/ 'drinking'. A non-phonemic glottal stop was also recorded morpheme-finally, but within a phrase in [sIn ki? lol] (sun already descend) 'the sun has set'.

Another way in which the distribution of phonetic glottal stop in Nauna seems to differ from that in most languages of the eastern Admiralties is that the glottal stop occurs preconsonantally, but not intervocalically. Nine words were recorded with this feature, and in five of them the glottal stop appears to have historically replaced a /p/ or /t/ in a simple or suffixed reduplicated monosyllable (ciPcipan 'crumbling, of wood', muPmut 'a tree used to make canoes', mwaPmwat 'a marine eel', piPpit 'to float, drift', pwaPpwat 'fear; afraid'). Since my data contains no reduplicated monosyllabes with obstruent coda in which both iterations are preserved, the glottal stop in these five words could be treated as an underlying / $\mathrm{p} /$ or $/ \mathrm{t} /$ which is converted to a glottal stop by synchronic rule. In two words that appear to be formed by syllable reduplication both iterations contain a glottal stop (me?me?nan 'coconut with soft meat', te?te?punan 'taboo'), and these must be considered uncontroversially underlying forms. Finally, two words that do not involve reduplication also have a preconsonantal glottal stop. One of these (supyz 'to collect, gather' appears to be native, and the other (laPta 'ladder') is a loanword from Tok Pisin.

These last two examples of preconsonantal glottal stop depart from a pattern in which this sequence has arisen in the coda of the first syllable of a CVCCVC reduplication, ruling out sequences such as $* *$ cipcip, $* *$ mutmut, or $* *$ mwatmwat. It is not clear why the cluster / Py/ occurs in a native word, and why the Tok Pisin loanword leta developed a/?t/ cluster when nonfinal glottal stop is otherwise unattested in non-reduplicated words. However, it is possible that in both of these cases I was given a hyperarticulated syllabification, since I was told that words such as [lai] 'ginger' or [kaup] 'to drive (as fish into a corral)', are pronounced [lápi] and [káPup] respectively when each syllable is articulated separately.

The most notable feature of the consonant system is the rarity of the voiced stops in relation to their voiceless counterparts. The voiced bilabial stop was recorded in only four words, three of
which are Tok Pisin loans (burum 'broom', haibiskis 'hibiscus', renbo 'rainbow'), and one of which is apparently native (lembul 'March fly'). In each case they occur as onset.

The voiced alveolar stop is slightly more common, being attested in five lexical items, all of which appear to be native (candalaw 'spider', eldi 'caulking', koldal 'Morning star', koldan 'young coconut with soft meat', rondian 'inside'). All of these occur as syllable onsets in consonant clusters, and since these clusters may consist either of -nd- or -ld- it is clear that -ndis a consonant cluster and not an automatically prenasalized voiced stop.

The voiced palatal affricate is extremely rare, there being only two examples in my data, both of which occur as syllable onsets in consonant clusters ( $\boldsymbol{y}$ oronja 'mangrove', and tanji 'back (of person or animal)'. Since neither of these words has an obvious loan source it is tentatively accepted that $/ \mathrm{j} /$ is a native phoneme, although its origin is unknown.

The most surprising of the voiced obstruents probably is $/ \mathrm{g} /$, which is found in just four words, three of which appear to be native (kelkelpag 'kingfisher', mag 'to sneeze', pag 'shore tree with small, hard fruit that can be shot from a blowgun'), and the fourth borrowed from Tok Pisin (guria 'earthquake'). Unlike any of the other voiced obstruents, it is attested only in coda position in presumptively native vocabulary, and it was recorded in each case as a voiced velar fricative rather than a stop.

In most environments all five nasals have their expected phonetic values (again, with lip rounding rather than lip spreading for $m w$ ). However, in at least one word the rounding of the labiovelar nasal was initially difficult to hear before a rounded vowel: [motf] ~ [m"otf] 'twins'. The major departure from the behavior of nasals in most languages of the Admiralties is that the palatal nasal does not change in derived final position, remaining a palatal nasal rather than becoming $-n$ or $-y$, as seen in POC *poñu > puñ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', or PADM *kuñV > kuñ 'coconut leaf bag or basket'.

The sibilants $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and the glides $/ \mathrm{w} /$ and $/ \mathrm{y} /$ have their expected phonetic values, and the only thing to note is that word-initial glides are rare, and that the words for 'come' and 'go' were recorded indifferently as $m e \sim m e h$ and $l a \sim l a h$ respectively.

Among the liquids $/ \mathrm{l} /$ is an alveolar lateral, /r/ an alveolar trill, and /dr/ a prenasalized alveolar trill. While /r/ was invariably recorded as voiced in intervocalic position, it was transcribed as voiceless in several words, including ra 'feces, rain mata 'sleep in the corner of the eye', ri' wet nasal mucus, snot', and sohur 'hunched over, hunchbacked'. The third liquid, is a common phoneme in many of the languages of Manus, but only two examples were recorded in Nauna, one apparently native (matadrodrot 'shrimp'), and the other a loan from Tok Pisin (kadra 'rattan'). Given its rarity, and the absence of any clear historical source, it is likely that /dr/ is a loan phoneme in all words that contain it, although a source for matadrodrot is yet to be found.

Consonant gemination was noticed in a single form, raising questions about whether this is phonemic, or simply a feature of the pronunciation of word-initial sonorants in monosyllables which was inconsistently recorded. However, the initial nasal of [m:ch] 'fontanelle' seemed
clearly to contrast with that in [mat] 'eye', or [mem] 'kind of yellow slug', and it is therefore provisionally written here as geminated.

An alternation between $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and /e/ was noted in one form: cay 'blood', but cae-n puw 'pig's blood', or the alternative possessive forms cay araw/cae-n aya 'my blood'. It is unclear whether other examples of this alternation exist.

Unlike most other languages of the Admiralties, Nauna has six unambiguous vowels. The high vowels are normally [ i$]$ and $[\mathrm{u}]$, although in closed syllables the vowel that corresponds to $/ \mathrm{i} / \mathrm{in}$ other languages was sometimes recorded as [r], as in [álit] 'putty nut', [min] 'hand', or [pźhın] 'female, woman'. In addition, one word was recorded in which the presence of palatal consonants on both sides of a high back rounded vowel caused some fronting of the vowel: /kalancucuc/ 'catfish' $>$ [kalantfutfutf] or [kalantfutfwitf].

The non-central mid vowels were generally transcribed as $[\varepsilon]$ and $[0]$, although the first of these is [e] when preceding a palatal glide, and the second was also recorded as [ 0 ] in closed syllables in some forms. Undoubtedly the most difficult vowel to represent phonemically is the one that is here written as a schwa, or in some cases as /i/. This vowel was recorded variously as [ə], [i], [i], and [ I ], leading in some cases to confusion with /i/. For example, my transcription of the word for 'one', the first word recorded during elicitation, was initially [siw], but was later often written [siw]. The low vowel /a/ is generally unremarkable, except that it was recorded as long in two native words and one loanword: [ma:tu] 'ripe', [mwa:ni] 'cross-sibling', [kaka:ro] (TP kakaruk) 'chicken'. Like the unique consonant gemination recognized in mmeh 'fontanelle', vowel length appears to be phonemic in these words, and is therefore written out despite its rarity.

With regard to high vowels vs. glides the distinction between /i/ and /y/ was unclear where these segments followed a vowel and preceded a consonant, as in /paira/ or /payra/ 'digging stick', /painiy/ or /payniy/ 'taro variety', /pweisayəl/ or /pweysayəl/ 'centipede', /paikop/ or /paykop/ 'hermit crab', etc. Given the rarity of consonant clusters other than homorganically prenasalized obstruents the decision was made to write the vocoid in all such cases as a vowel. On the other hand, the prevocalic sequences $m w-: m u-$ and $p w$ - : pu- clearly contrast in words such as mwaPmwat 'marine eel' vs. mumuan 'male, man', or pwen 'general negator', vs. puen 'big; older (of siblings)'.

Several phonological alternations between vowels were recorded, but nothing in my data is systematic enough to draw safe conclusions about underlying forms. Examples noted include the following:

| halalain | $:$ | halu 'to count' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| helsain | $:$ | helsə 'to laugh' |
| kalka 'lower leg' | $:$ | kalkai-n puw 'shank of a pig' |
| maatu | $:$ | metuan 'ripe' |
| malis | $:$ | melsan 'cooked' |

Stress was rarely recorded in Nauna. Where it was written it is generally penultimate, but occasionally final, as in [sayahúl] 'ten'. Since little evidence of suprasegmental contrast was
noticed in nine and one half hours of contact with the speaker, it is assumed on the basis of the data collected that stress is not phonemic.
8.3. GRAMMAR. As with the preceding sketches, limited contact hours with the language and a focus on phonology and lexicon as part of a survey intended to determine genetic relationships, has meant that grammatical information in my fieldnotes is very limited. The categories covered in this sketch are 8.3.1 the counting system, 8.3.2 personal pronouns, 8.3.3 possessive pronouns, 8.3.4 demonstratives, 8.3.5 locatives and directionals, 8.3.6 questions, 8.3.7 the copula, 8.3.8 the attributive suffix, 8.3.9 reciprocals and reflexives, 8.3.10 imperatives, 8.3.11 tense/aspect, and 8.3.12 miscellaneous.
8.3.1. The counting system. Consistent with the pattern seen in other languages of the eastern Admiralties, the counting system of Nauna is decimal. However, uniquely among Eastern Admiralty languages for which data is available, Nauna forms the numerals 6-9 by addition to five rather than subtraction from ten, a trait shared with Seimat of the Western Islands. The basic numerals used in serial counting are shown in Table 8.2:

Table 8.2: Nauna numerals used in serial counting

| səw | one |
| :--- | :--- |
| ruh | two |
| tuluh | three |
| talət | four |
| tutən | five |
| tutən a səw | six |
| tutən a ruh | seven |
| tutən a tuluh | eight |
| tutən a talət | nine |
| saŋahul | ten |
| sayahul a səw | eleven, etc. |
| ruŋohul | twenty |
| ruŋohul a səw | twenty one, etc. |
| tuluyohul | thirty |
| hawiy | forty |
| topəl | fifty |
| topəl a sajahul | sixty |
| topəl a rujohul | seventy |
| topəl a tuluŋohul | eighty |
| topəl a hawiy | ninety |
| saŋət | one hundred |
| ruyət | two hundred |
| mocon tuluh | three hundred |
| mocon talət | four hundred |
| mocon tutən | five hundred |
| mocon tutən a səw | six hundred |
| mocon tutən a ruh | seven hundred |


| mocon tutən a tuluh | eight hundred |
| :--- | :--- |
| mocon tutən a talət | nine hundred |
| mocon sajahul | one thousand |

It is not just the additive mechanism for forming the numerals 6-9 that sets Nauna apart from other languages of the Admiralties -- it is also the way in which the numerals for ' 40 ' and ' 50 ' depart from the schema used to form ' 10 ', ' 20 ', and ' 30 ', and the way in which the numerals for $300-1,000$ depart from the schema used to form ' 100 ' and ' 200 '.

Counting referents follows the pattern NOUN + NUMERAL seen in other languages. Since no numeral classifiers were recorded it appears that a single set of numerals is used to count all referents, as in (1)
(1)

| yum səw | one house |
| :--- | :--- |
| puw ruh | two pigs |
| ni tuluh | three fish |
| kəy talət | four trees |

However, a single sentence was recorded in which the numeral 'two' is luman:

1) sil teli araw luman

3PL brother 1SG two 'I have two brothers'

Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether this sentence would remain grammatical if luman were replaced with ruh, and what specific class of referents either requires or allows luman.
8.3.2. Personal pronouns. Nauna personal pronouns occur not only in singular, dual and plural numbers, as in many other languages of the Admiralties, but also in a trial form (the trial was also described as a 'plural', and the plural as a 'large plural'). So far as I was able to determine in the limited time spent with Puliokai, an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person nonsingular pronouns does not exist, and pronouns appear to be identical in subject and object positions, as shown in Table 8.3.

## Table 8.3: Nauna personal pronouns

|  | 1IN | 1EX | 2 | 3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SG |  | ayu | o | i |
| DL | tol | tol | omu | sil |
| TL | talu | talu | opu | sulu |
| PL | tah | tah | aoh | sih |

The use of these pronouns with intransitive verbs is illustrated with sentences 2-5)
2) i oh

3SG fly
'It is flying'
3) ko meh i at
2SG come at up 'Come up!

| 4) | ko | la | i |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | go | at | down |$\quad$ 'Go down!'


| 5) | i | la | ruaw |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $3 S G$ | go | walk |

'S/he is walking'

The use of these pronouns is illustrated in the following sentences, where they occur in conjunction with the verb mwac 'to see':

| 6) | ayu | mwac | i |  | 'I see him/her' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1SG | see | 3SG |  |  |
| 7) | i | mwac | ayu |  |  |
|  | 3SG | see | 1SG |  | 'S/he sees me' |
| 8) | sih | mwac | O |  |  |
|  | 3PL | see | 2 SG |  | 'They see you' |
| 9) | o | mwac | tal | miñə |  |
|  | 2SG | see | 1DL | yesterday | 'You saw the two of us yesterday' |
| 10) | omu | mwac | talu |  |  |
|  | 2DL | see | 1TL |  | 'You two saw the three of us' |
| 11) | sil | mwac | tah |  |  |
|  | 3DL | see | 1PL |  | 'The two of them saw all of us' |
| 12) | tah | mwac | omu |  |  |
|  | 1PL | see | 2DL |  | 'All of us saw the two of you' |
| 13) | opu | mwac | sil |  |  |
|  | 2TL | see | 3DL |  | 'You three see the two of them' |
| 14) | sulu | mwac | opu |  |  |
|  | 3TL | see | 2TL |  | 'The three of them see you two' |
| 15) | aoh | mwac | sulu |  |  |
|  | 2PL | see | 3TL |  | 'You two saw the three of them' |
| 16) | tol | mwac | aoh |  |  |
|  | 1DL | see | 2PL |  | 'We two see all of you' |
| 17) | talu | mwac | sih |  |  |

1TL see 3PL 'The three of us see all of them'

A few remarks about these pronouns are in order. Although the forms given in Table 8.3 were the ones recorded in the sample sentences with the verb mwac 'to see', some variation in form was noted in connection with other verbs or types of construction. The first of these is the use of aya rather than ayu for the first person singular.


This variant was recorded only in subject position, and it is unclear whether it also occurs in object position. The second set of variant pronouns is the substitution of $k o$ and $k a$ for $o$ in the second person singular. All known examples occur in imperatives, and these variants will accordingly be treated in section 8.3.10.

Resumptive pronouns were recorded with third person subjects, even if these were inanimate, but this appears to be the case only for completed actions. Examples are seen in sentences 22-23):
22) Con i on ni araw

John 3SG eat fish 1SG POSS. 'John ate my fish'
23) kel i al canoe 3SG capsize 'The canoe capsized'

One sentence was recorded with what appears to be a 3PL anticipatory pronoun:
24) ayə (ku)halu sih camat te ele 1SG count 3PL person ? there 'I am counting those people'

Without additional data it is hard to determine whether this is a regular pattern in the language, or whether it is the product of a single speaker producing a full sentence followed by a sentence fragment ('I am counting them, those people').

Finally, unlike the case in many Oceanic languages where where a conjoined subject that refers to a named person together with the 1 SG pronoun is expressed with the 1 DL pronoun plus
personal name (hence 'we two John' = 'John and I'), Nauna requires a linking of personal name and pronoun by a conjunction, as in sentence 25 ), which is contrasted here with the same sentence with a single nominal subject in 26):
25) Con a ayə lah ru on painiy
John and 1SG go COP eat taro
'John and I are eating taro'
26) Con (i) lah ru on painin

John 3SG go COP eat taro
'John is eating taro'
8.3.3. Possessive pronouns. Possessive marking in Nauna differs from most other languages of the Admiralties. In my data evidence for the suffixation of possessive pronouns to possessed nouns is attested only in kin terms, and even there it occurs as one of two options. Apart from this small set of forms all nouns that do not contain a suffixed genitive marker can be possessed only with a phonologically independent possessive marker regardless of their semantics, and all nouns that contain a suffixed genitive marker take the personal pronouns as possessive markers, as seen in Table 8.4:

Table 8.4: The four types of possessive construction in Nauna

|  | Base | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | gloss\} |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Type 1 | tamə <br> tinə <br> teli <br> malsənə <br> not | tamə <br> tinə <br> teli <br> malsənə | tamə-m <br> tinə-m <br> teli-m <br> malsənə-m | tama-n <br> tina-n <br> tali-n <br> malsənə-n <br> natu-n | father <br> mother <br> sibling <br> sibling-in-law <br> child |
| Type 2 | tamə <br> tinə | tamə <br> tinə | tamo <br> tino | tami <br> tini | father mother |
| Type 3 | ina | raw | ro | rey | mother |
|  | malsənə | araw | aro | erey | sibling-in-law |
|  | not | araw | aro | erey | child |
|  | min | araw | aro | erey | hand |
|  | puw | araw | aro | erey | pig |
|  | ni | araw | aro | erey | fish |
|  | niw | araw | aro | erey | coconut |
|  | nal | araw | aro | erey | name |
|  | hal | araw | aro | erey | head |
|  | mat | araw | aro | erey | eye |
|  | pwah | araw | aro | erey | mouth |
|  | lih | araw | aro | erey | tooth |
|  | kat | araw | aro | erey | chest |


|  | sus <br> kalka <br> cay | araw <br> araw <br> araw | aro <br> aro <br> aro | erey <br> erey <br> erey | female breast <br> foot/leg <br> blood |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ci-n 4 | ayə | o | i | bone |
|  | kate-n | ayə | o | i | liver |
| cae-n | ayə | o | i | blood of |  |

As can be seen, the words for 'father' and 'mother' allow both Type 1 and Type 2 possessive marking, and the latter is found only with these two words, which also exhibit unique features in their possessive constructions in other languages of the Admiralties, such as Sori. To further complicate the statement of possessive marking with regard to words for 'father' and 'mother', the latter was also recorded in a vowel-initial form ina, and this variant is possessed in the singular number as ina-raw, ina-ro, ina-rey, hence as in Type 3, except that the resulting sequence of like vowels contracts to a single vowel. A corresponding vowel-initial form ama for 'father' was not recorded, but it was explicitly mentioned that tamə-raw is never used for the meaning 'my father'.

The fourth type recognized here is rare, but in both cin and katen the final nasal is absent in the historical form (POC *ruRi, *qate), and in caye-n it is clearly a separate morpheme, given the base cay (POC *draRaq).

Apart from these possessive pronouns a single example of haro was recorded instead of the usual aro in the Type 3 paradigm:

| 27) | ko | hiap | pə | ri | haro |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2SG | remove | $?$ | snot | your | 'Blow your nose!' |

Finally, a single possessive paradigm was recorded which might be considered Type 5:
Type 5 añə añə añ-m food
8.3.4. Demonstratives. Very little information was collected on demonstratives in Nauna. A three-way distinction between demonstrative adverbs was documented in the following sentences, where the two distal demonstratives appeared to differ in regard to second person vs. third person reference

| 28) | camel <br> knife | araw | 1SGPOSS. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | | oi |
| :--- |
| here |$\quad$| 'My knife is here' |
| :--- |

By contrast, only the proximal form of a demonstrative pronoun was recorded:
31) awe tamə
this father.1SG POSS. 'This is my father'
32) awe tuh araw
this sugarcane 1SG.POSS.. 'This is my sugarcane'
In the following sentence the number 'one', presumably functioning as an indefinite article, occurs together with a deictic element to indicate the action of a dog at a distance:
33) mwiy siw ele laru culcul
dog one there COP bark 'A dog is barking over there'
However, in the next two sentences the same structure does not easily allow a translation that includes an indefinite article:
34) puk siw ele raraman
book one there red 'That book is red'
35) ayə amamop puk siw ele

1SG want book one that 'I want that book'
8.3.5. Locatives and directionals. As in other languages, a small number of sentences was recorded with locative or directional prepositions, some of which may also function as nouns. The standard set of sentences used appears in 36)-43):
36) mwiy la ri muon yum dog go COP? in front house 'A dog is in front of the house'
mwiy la ri mulin yum
dog go COP? behind house 'A dog is behind the house'
mwiy la ri pwahan um dog go COP? outside house 'A dog is outside the house'
39) monmon la ri kolon yum bird go COP? on top house 'A bird is on top of the house'
40) mwat la ri tihin coy snake go COP? under stone 'A snake is under the stone'
41) ni la ri rondian kompuel
fish go COP? inside basket 'A fish is inside the basket'
42) mwiy la ru cəp lay tos
dog go COP run toward sea 'A dog is running toward the sea'
43) mwiy la ru cəp lay lolout dog go COP run toward forest 'A dog is running toward the forest'

These sentences raise several questions. The first is why all six preposition-like words end with -n (muon, mulin, pwahan, kolon, tihin, rondian). If these were originally nouns (and perhaps still function as nouns in some contexts) the final nasal could be a fossilized genitive marker ('dog be at front-of house', 'dog be at rear-of house', etc.). The second question is why the apparent copula varies between $r i$ in sentences 36-41) and $r u$ in sentences 42-43). Based on the last two sentences it might tentatively be assumed that la ri refers to static condition (one not involving motion) and la ru to a dynamic condition (one involving motion), but other examples fail to support this analysis, as sentences 44-46).

| 44) | i | la | ru | pit |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3SG | go | COP | drift | 'S/he is drifting' |
| 45) | i | la | ru | tuəh pame |  |
|  | 3SG | go | COP | chew | betel |$\quad$ 'S/he is chewing betel'

Because la 'to go' is used with many verbs to indicate actions performed at a distance, it might be assumed that this is its function with la ri and la ru, but this interpretation is hard to force on sentences 36-46) and others. Finally, for reasons that remain unclear, in sentence 38) the word for 'house' was recorded as /um/ rather than /yum/.
8.3.6. Questions. The following wh- question words were recorded:
how? : titi aha
how much/many? : campon
what? : cah
when? : cah now
where? : i aha
who? : səy
why? : imarem

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

| səy | i | ən | ni | araw |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| who | 3SG | eat | fish | 1SG.POSS. | 'Who ate my fish? |



These sentences require some comment. First, Nauna is exceptional in using a resumptive pronoun not only after personal names, as in sentence 48), but also after the personal interrogative in sentence 47). Second, the interrogatives meaning 'who', 'why', and 'when' appear in sentence-initial position, while those meaning 'what', 'where', 'how', and 'how many/much' are sentence-final. Word order permutations were asked for sentence 52), and the response was that this would also be grammatical as sentence 57:

| 57) | a o hu ni$\quad$ cah | now | siw |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $?$ | 2SG | catch | fish | what | time | ?

Third, /a/ may be a personal name marker with 'John', but if this is the same morpheme it is difficult to understand why it also occurs before the 2 SG pronoun. Fourth, several of these wh-
words appear to be polymorphemic. Both i-aha 'where?', and titi-aha 'how' may contain aha 'what?', but if so the meaning of the other element is unclear.

As is common throughout much of the Austronesian language family, the question 'What is your name?' is formed with the personal interrogative rather than the general interrogative:
58) yal aro səy?
name your who 'What is your name?'
8.3.7. The copula. Nauna appears to have a true copula, $r u$. This can occur alone, as in sentence 59), but it more often occurs with la ~ lah 'to go', in which case it (at least sometimes) signals action taking place at a distance, as in sentences 60)-62):
59) i ru en tan 3SG COP lie down 'S/he is lying down (nearby)'
60) i la ru in cən
3SG go COP drink water
'S/he is drinking water (at a distance)'
61) i la ru mwatal

3SG go COP stand
'S/he is standing (at a distance)'
62) i la ru tiw mahal

3SG go COP bring news 'S/he is spreading the news'
This same distinction between action taking place in close proximity and action taking place at a distance is also made by te vs. ho in the following sentences, which unfortunately are not supported in my data by other examples:
63) ko te me

2 SG from near come 'Bring it! (from nearby)'
64) ko ho me

2 SG from far come 'Bring it! (from a distance)'
8.3.8. The attributive suffix. As in most other languages of the Admiralties, attributive words show a strong preponderance of forms that end with -n, indicating the likelihood that they contain a fossilized form of the POC attributive suffix *-ana. A relatively complete list of such forms in my fieldnotes appears in Table 8.5:

Table 8.5: Evidence for Nauna -an 'marker of attribution'

```
ayoan 'yellow-orange'
malahan 'wide'
man 'bad'
meheon 'bitter'
```

| ciPcipan 'crumbling, of wood' | memician 'ashamed' |
| :--- | :--- |
| coketan 'black' | mocan 'old' |
| eluen 'long, tall; far', | momoson 'smooth, level' |
| hian 'good' | narun 'small, narrow' |
| holelen 'much/many' | ohun 'new' |
| hututun 'thick' | parahinon 'hard' |
| kason 'near' | piakan 'wet' |
| konun 'heavy' | posawən 'dry' |
| koraten 'thin' | posian 'spoiled, rotten' |
| lalaun 'cold' | puen 'big, elder' |
| lalaun 'sweet' | purun 'deep' |
| layan 'white' | tutukun 'short' |
| makahen 'soft' |  |

By contrast, 18 words in my data with an attributive sense do not end with $-n$ : cec 'green, blue', coc 'dark', col 'crazy', hitay 'angry', kekea 'slow', maatu 'ripe', makmak 'spotted, mottled', malis 'cooked', malmalew 'quick', mocay 'calm, still (of water)', ñoñoh 'swollen', raram 'red', su 'full (stomach), satiated', suksuk 'lame, crippled', tah 'full (container)', taholi 'crooked', tente 'rotten', $t z$ 'far, distant'. Taken at face value, then, 31 of 49 examples, or $63 \%$ of words with an attributive sense have this phonological trait. The significance of this figure becomes clear when we consider verbs (written in their infinitive form in the attached vocabulary), where only 17 of 153 forms, or $10 \%$, end with $-n$.

Although all of these 31 examples end with $-n$, only 12 end with -an, which is the expected reflex of POC *-ana 'attributive suffix'. Similar problems in accounting for the last vowel are found in other languages as well, although not to the same extent. Nonetheless, the likelihood that the final consonant of these words is a fossilized attributive suffix appears high in view of the percent of adjectives or stative verbs as opposed to the percent of dynamic verbs that end with $-n$. Moreover, four of the apparent exceptions to this pattern have alternants which end with -an: maatu : metu-an 'ripe', malis : mels-an 'cooked', ñoñoh : ñoñoh-an 'swollen', raram : raram-an 'red'. The data collected was insufficient to provide a clear understanding of the function of these suffixes. Consider sentence 65):
65) kala on puk səw ene cah yanan
color GEN book one that what kind 'What color is that book?'

Informant response was that raraman 'red' would be an appropriate answer to this question, while raram would be wrong, although the shorter form could be used in a simple statement that is not a reply to a question, such as i raram 'It is red'. Similarly, while $i$ ñoñoh is correct for 'It is swollen', I was told that this form cannot be used in sentence 66), where only the longer form is acceptable:
66) kalka aro ñoñoh-an
foot 2SG.POSS swollen 'Your foot is swollen'

No information was collected on the different distributional possibilities for metuan as opposed to maatu 'ripe', or melsan as opposed to malis 'cooked', but the appearance of a suffix of the form -an in each of these four words further strengthens the inference that the final $-n$ in many adjectives or stative verbs in Nauna is a fossilized attributive marker.

A similar suffix was recorded in mahal 'news', mahal-an 'to know (things)'; here its function seems clearly to be different, as it transforms a noun to a verb, but without additional examples it is not possible to say anything further about this relationship.
8.3.9. The genitive suffix. In addition to a fossilized or partly fossilized atributive suffix ending with $-n$, many Nauna nouns show a non-historical $-n$ that appears to have earlier marked a genitive relationship (usually part-to-whole), but is now part of the base form. The clearest examples are given in Table 8.6:

Table 8.6: Evidence for Nauna -n 'genitive suffix’

| POC | Nauna |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| *d(r)amut | camu-n | lime spatula |
| *muri | muli-n | rear part |
| *nanaq | nana-n | pus |
| *patan | para-n | tree trunk |
| *potok | poto-n | spine; thorn |
| *puya | puyo-n | flower |
| *qasu | kasu-n | gall, gall bladder |
| *qasu | kasu-n | smoke |
| *qatoluR | karilu-n | egg |
| *qate | kate-n | liver |
| *qauR | kau-n | large bamboo sp. |
| *qulu | kulu-n | peak of mountain |
| *raqan | ca-n | branch |
| *dranum | canu-n | liquid (cp. can) |
| *ruRi | ci-n | bone |
| *suli | culi-n | plant shoot |

Since reconstructed forms regularly lost the final-V(C), comparative evidence leaves no choice but to treat the final nasal in these sixteen words as a separate morpheme. Synchronic evidence supporting the same conclusion is seen in alternations such as those in cal mara 'path, road', vs. cala-n kel 'opening in the reef (= path for canoe)', lih 'tooth, tusk' vs. liha-n puw 'tusk of a pig', pwah araw 'my mouth' vs. pwaha-n poroay 'mouth of a river', or yum 'house' vs. yuma-n candalaw 'spiderweb', where an earlier last-syllable vowel resurfaces, but with an additional -n .

Given this demonstrated use of $-n$ as a genitive suffix in part-to-whole relationships it is impossible to either rule out or confirm a similar analysis with other nouns that could be used in a comparable way, as with camaluan (or camalua-n?) 'shadow, reflection', cohun (or cohu-n?) 'node in bamboo, sugarcane, etc.', nasun (or nasu-n?) 'leaf', poyun (or poyu-n?) 'tail', etc.
8.3.10. Reciprocals and reflexives. Four sentences relating to reciprocal or reflexive actions were recorded. Unlike some other Oceanic languages, Nauna appears to lack a reciprocal prefix, the bidirectional action of the verb being signalled by using identical subject and object pronouns with no explicit indication that these mark different referents:

| 67) | sil | ru | up | sil | (la)i | (\%) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 3PL | COP | hit | 3PL | INS | stick |  |
|  | 'They are hitting each other with sticks' |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 68) | sil | la | ru | up | sil | (la)i | kəy |
|  | 3 PL | go | COP | hit | 3PL | INS | stick |
|  | 'They are hitting each other with sticks' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The difference between the meanings of these two sentences was said to be that in the first sentence the action is taking place near the observer, while in the second it is occurring at a distance. As will be seen momentarily, given the repetition of the same pronoun with no indication that the second one is not coreferential with the first this sentence could also have a reflexive interpretation, hence 'They are hitting themselves with sticks'.

A single sentence in two forms was recorded illustrating reflexive action. In the first variant reflexive action is indicated through the use of identical subject and object pronouns (the first resumptive if the subject is nominal rather than pronominal), just as in reciprocal action. However, the second variant uses a dedicated reflexive pronoun muli, which was recorded only in this one sentence:
$\left.\begin{array}{llllll}\text { 69) } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Con } \\ \text { John }\end{array} & \text { 3SG } & \text { can } & \text { i } & 3 \text { cut }\end{array}\right]$ 'John cut himself'
8.3.11. Imperatives. As in most other languages of the Admiralties for which relevant data is available, imperative constructions require the presence of a second person singular pronoun. In the examples recorded this appears both as ko and $k a$, with ko being the more common variant:

| 71) | ko | atul |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2 SG | follow |  |
| 72) | ko | ciw | 'Follow him/her!' |
|  | 2SG | catch | 'Catch it!' |
| $73)$ | ko | ir |  |
|  | 2 SG | dig | 'Dig it (up)!' |
| $74)$ | ko | kun |  |
|  | 2 2SG | carry.on.back | 'Carry it on your back!' |


| 75) |  | lohin | $3 \mathrm{SG}$ | 'Wake him/her up!' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2SG | wake up |  |  |
| 76) | ko | mamat |  |  |
|  | 2 SG | wake up |  | 'Wake up!' |
| 77) | ko | tiw |  |  |
|  | 2SG | plant, bury |  | 'Plant it/Bury it!' |
| 78) | ko | ho | me come |  |
|  | 2SG | from.far |  | 'Bring it (from a distance)! |
| 79) | ko | te | me come |  |
|  | 2SG | from.near |  | 'Bring it (from close by)! |
| 80) | ka | selis |  |  |
|  | 2SG | carry.with.pole |  | 'Carry it (with a pole)!' |
| 81) | ka | sup |  |  |
|  | 2SG | peel |  | 'Peel it!' |
| 82) | ka | $\begin{array}{ll}\text { oc } & \text { niw }\end{array}$ |  |  |
|  | 2SG | husk coconut |  | 'Husk the coconut!' |

It is worth noting that the imperative forms of some verbs that are normally transitive, as 'catch', 'dig' or 'peel', can be used without an object, although one is clearly implied.

Imperative constructions can be addressed to a single person, a pair of persons, a set of three persons, or to a larger group, in each case requiring the appropriate pronoun. While the singular imperative is unchanged in its negative (vetative or dehortative) form, except for addition of the negative marker, non-singular positive imperatives take an additional marker $k a$ which cannot confidently be identified with the singular pronoun of the same shape:

| 83) | tapun <br> NEG | ko | 2SG | eat | muc |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| banana |  |  |  |  |  |$\quad$ 'Don't eat the bananas!'


| 87) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ko } \\ & 2 \mathrm{SG} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { әn } \\ & \text { eat } \end{aligned}$ | banana |  | 'Eat the bananas!' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 88) | omu | ka | әn | muc |  |
|  | 2DL | ? | eat | banana | 'Both of you eat the bananas!' |
| 89) | opu | ka | ən | muc |  |
|  | 2TL | ? | eat | banana | 'The three of you eat the bananas!' |
| 90) | aoh | ka | әn | muc |  |
|  | 2PL | ? | eat | banana | 'All of you eat the bananas!' |

8.3.12. Tense/aspect. Several sentences were recorded relating to tense and aspect or to intended action that has not yet been undertaken. The clearest morpheme indicatng tense is perhaps laku, marking a general future sense, as in:
91) ауə laku әn painiy pamuhu

1SG FUT eat taro tomorrow 'I'll eat the taro tomorrow'

By contrast with this, leki appears to signal an immediate intent, as in the next two sentences:

| 92) | i | leki | metil |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3SG | intend | sleep | 'S/he is going to sleep' |
| 93) | i | leki | mumut <br> vomit | 'S/he is going to vomit' |

The verb is unchanged in past actions, as seen in the following sentence:
94) ayə әn painin ate miñə

1SG eat taro ? yesterday 'I ate (the) taro yesterday'
Apart from the use of temporal adverbs such as 'yesterday', actions that have already taken place are sometimes indicated by use of $k i$ 'already':

| niw | ki | mun |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| coconut | already | fall |$\quad$ 'The coconut has fallen (already),

8.3.13. Miscellaneous. Some aspects of the Nauna lexicon depart from patterns common to many languages of the Admiralties. Where most languages use a single morpheme meaning 'fireplow', for example, Nauna uses a descriptive phrase, kəy on tunan mon (wood for make fire) 'stick for making fire'. What appears to be the same morpheme functions as a genitive marker in many other words, as with mwat on lolout (snake of bush) 'land snake', mwat on tas (snake of sea) 'sea snake', mwel on lolout (snail of bush) 'land snail', mwel on tas (snail of sea) 'marine snail', timpat on monmon (nest of bird) 'bird's nest', mem on tzs (slug of sea) 'sea slug', or kal on pahew (fin of shark) 'lateral fins of a shark'. Other examples of multi-word collocations that
are often represented by single words in other languages are apə la itz (throw-go-at-distance), or apə la i tan (throw-go-at-down) 'to throw away, discard', kəw pon 'hoarse' (= 'throat closed'), lumudra 'vomitus' (= 'feathers' + 'excreta'?), pul memician 'ashamed' (= 'face ashamed'), and the negated forms of adjectives or stative verbs such as matan 'sharp' or konun 'heavy' to mean 'blunt, dull' or 'light in weight'.

In a few other cases words that appear to be morphologically related were recorded, as with helsain and helsa, both given without syntactic context as 'to laugh', mahal 'news, information', next to mahal-an 'to know (things)', puldan 'sap, sticky fluid', next to puldry 'to stick, adhere', or pon 'closed', next to sopon 'to close', but the affixation patterns that would allow these to be united in a single morphological paradigm were not detected in the short time that I had to collect data. I have accordingly cross-referenced most of them in the appended lexicon. One particularly intriguing example that is on the borderline between morphology and syntax, and could not be followed up in the field, is the contrast between i raram 'It is red', and puk saw ele raram-an 'That book is red', where I was told that raram-an can be used to answer a question, but raram would be wrong).

Several words are formed with mata- or its lenited variant mara- 'eye; focal point'. Since this is often a rich source of idioms and other types of words in Austronesian languages it is likely that Nauna contains many more examples than those recorded here. Particularly noteworthy are maran sin 'small type of sea anemone', and cal mara 'path, road'. The first of these appears to be 'eye of the sun', a puzzling expression since 'sun' is often literally 'eye of the day' in related languages. The word for 'path, road' consists of a reflex of POC *salan 'path, road' preceded by an apparent reflex of *mata. In most other languages the reflex of *mata 'eye' precedes 'path' (e.g. Sori mana say), but in Nauna the morpheme order is reversed, which distinguishes it from all other words formed with mara or mata (mara-n poroay 'mouth of a river, estuary', mara-n putztanəm 'pity, sympathy, love', mata-m-put 'navel', mata-n sus 'nipple of the breast', etc.

While reflexes of the PAN generic locative marker $*_{i}$ often attach to nouns meaning 'upper surface', 'area below', and the like, as in PAN *i-babaw 'above, on top', it is highly unusual to see this with adverbs such as 'up' or 'down'. However, several examples of this type of construction were recorded in Nauna, as seen in sentences 96) and 97):

| 96) | ko | meh | i | at |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2SG | come | LOC | up | 'Come up!' |
| 97) | ko | la | i | tan |  |
|  | 2SG | go | LOC | down | 'Go down!' |

As in other languages of the Admiralties, phrases are head + modifier, as in cin karahan (bone + side) 'rib', hal cay (head + bald) 'bald head', kunan puw (skin + pig) 'pig skin', lumun hal (hair + head) 'head hair', mat pwen (eye + NEG) 'blind', or ñesim wum (wall + house) 'house wall'. However, in two recorded phrases this order is uniquely reversed: cal mara 'path, road', noted above in connection with reflexes of *mata 'eye', and not kzy 'latex-yielding tree with apple-like fruit' (cp. POC *kayu ñatuq). It would be a matter of some interest to explore this head-modifier reversal in greater detail if further work on the language becomes possible.

### 8.4. LEXICON.

## NAUNA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

/a/

1. $a_{-1}$ : conjunction, and (cf. topal, tutzn)
2. $a_{-2}$ : marker of personal names
3. aha : (gloss uncertain; cf. $i_{-2}$, titi)
4. ahay: west wind
ahay tolaw : northwest wind
5. ahe : (gloss uncertain; cf. alay)
6. al : to capsize
7. alay : low tide
alay kir ahe : dry lagoon
8. alal : halibut
9. alit : the putty nut: Parinari laurinum
10. amamop : to want, desire
11. amis : to stroke hair or fur until it lies flat
12. an : (gloss uncertain; cf. ce $e_{-2}$ )
13. aña : food, aña, añz-m, aŋani
14. ayey: tree with wood used to make the slitgong; canarium nut: Canarium indicum
15. àiluz : to turn (head or body)
16. ayoan : yellow-orange
17. aoh: 2PL, you all
18. apa : to throw (as a stone); to throw down, to drop
19. apwal: mud
20. aralan : to open wide, as the eyes
mat aralan: to open the eyes wide
21. araw 1 SG possessor, my
22. aro : 2SG possessor, your
23. at ~ yat: up
24. ate (gloss uncertain; cf. miña)
25. atul : to follow
26. aw : to walk
27. awe : this
28. aya ~ayu: 1SG subject/object, I/me
/b/
29. burum : broom (TP)
/c/
30. cacahut : 'Run!'
31. cacaya : to dry, as clothes in the sun
32. cah: what?
33. cahma : because (= cah-ma?)
34. caic : deep blue sea
35. cakalan : light, radiance, glare on water
cakalan sin : sunlight
36. /cala/, cal : path, road cala-n kel : passage through reef ('path of canoe')
cal mara : path, way
37. calaw : sarong (men's)
38. calcaran : dirty
39. calih: blue-finned sea perch
40. calin : (gloss uncertain)
calin рапи : overcast, as before a storm
41. cam : outrigger float
42. camaluan : shadow, reflection (= camalua- $n$ ?)
43. camat : person, human being
44. camel : knife
45. campon : how much/how many?
46. camul : (gloss uncertain; cf. kuñ)
47. camun : lime spatula
48. can-1 : branch
can kay: branch of a tree
49. can-2 : to cut, as wood
50. candalaw : spider
51. canun : water, fluid (= canu-n?)
canun mat : tears
canun niw: coconut water
canun sus : breast milk
52. cay-1 : bare, bald
hal cay : bald head
53. cay-2 : bifurcation; crotch, space between fingers, etc.
54. cayacay : starfish
55. cayatow : traditional loincloth
56. caŋən : to sniff, smell; odor
cayon posian : rotten smell, stench
57. capon : jellyfish
58. caw : to surface, as someone rising from under water
59. cawzy : to search; to find
60. cawi : to seek, search for something (probably = preceding)
cawi kut : to groom a person, looking for lice in the hair
61. cay-1 : blood, cay araw, cay aro, cay erey
caye-n : blood of, caye-n aya, caye-n o, caye-n $i$
caye-n puw : pig's blood
62. cay-2 : the Malay apple: Syzygium gomata
63. $c e_{-1}$ : to hit with the fist, slap; to kill; to crush lice between fingernails
64. ce $e_{-2}$ : to speak
ce an naw : to say, tell
65. ce $e_{-3}$ : to throw out, remove (?; cf. kel)
66. cec : green, blue
67. celkiy : coconut oil
68. ceul : kind of tree whose bark is used for walling
69. ca : slender green fish with needle-like nose, probably needlefish
70. can : fresh water
71. сәр -1 $^{\sim}$ сир : to run
72. сәр-2 : to sail
73. caw : needle
74. ciciron : pain, headache, toothache; painful
75. cih : an important food fish: Spanish mackerel
76. cihil : small reddish stonefish
77. cil $_{-1}$ : boom of sail, bamboo pole for controlling the sail
78. cil-2 : lionfish
79. cilal : ancestral spirit; nature spirit (TP: tambaran)
80. cim : to buy
81. cimil : spine
82. $\operatorname{cin}$ : bone, $\operatorname{cin}$ ayz, $\operatorname{cin} o, \operatorname{cin} i(=c i-n ?)$
cin karahan : rib ('side bone')
cin ni : fish bone
cin pas: chinbone, jawbone
cin tut : occiput, back of the head
83. cinap : short blue and green reef fish with needle-like nose (shorter than $c z$ )
84. cij : vagina
85. cipan : piece
cipan kalah : cloud
86. cipel : tuber (?)
cipel on tihol : kind of short red yam
87. ciPcipan : crumbling, of wood (possibly a reduplication of cipan, hence 'in pieces')
88. ciw-1 : to catch (ball, etc.)
89. ciw-2 : a shrub with colorful leaves, the croton
90. coat : to play
91. coc : dark
92. cocoun : to push
93. cohun : node in bamboo, sugarcane, etc. (= cohu-n?)
94. coketan : black
95. col : crazy, insane
96. colay : marlin, sailfish
97. con : to lose
con tali : to lose, as possessions; to stray, get lost (TP lusim pinis, man i lus pinis)
98. col ${ }_{-1}$ : charcoal
con kalin mon : ashes
99. con-2 : to enter
100. coŋa-n puw : thigh of a pig
101. coycon : to hunt, go hunting for game
102. coy : stone
103. cu: comb
104. сис : to dive, submerge
i ke-cuc : 'He dived'
ko-cuc ‘Dive!'
105. cucumon : wooden bowl
106. cucumwalel : earthworm, maggot
107. cuet : kind of small red crab that lives among the sago trees
108. cuəh : husking stick for coconuts
109. cuk : fish corral
110. cul $_{-1}$ : kind of small reef fish shaped like a tuna
111. cul $_{-2}$ : torch made of coconut leaf
112. culcul : to bark, of a dog
113. culin : taro sucker, taro shoot
114. cuŋ : hunger
115. cuputan: core, center
cuputan kay : core of a tree, heartwood
116. cupwa: tree with wood used to make the slitgong
/e/
117. eldi : caulking (as of a canoe)
118. ele $\sim$ yele $:$ that, there
119. elih: to blow, as a person blowing on a fire
elih kzy: to blow, of the wind
120. eluen : long, tall; far
121. en : to lie down, recline
i ru en tan 'S/he is lying down'
122. ene : that
123. ento : to reside, live in a place
124. epi : sago
125. erey: 3SG possessor, his, her
126. etuy : to recognize, as a person
127. eul : wind

1a/
128. $\partial h$ : to boil (water, food)
129. $\partial n$ : to eat
130. $\partial t$ : to bite
/g/
131. guria : earthquake (TP)
/h/
132. haibiskis : hibiscus (TP)
133. /hala/, hal : head
hala-n puw : head of a pig, boar's head
134. halalaən : to count
135. halu : to count
aya (ku)halu sih camat te ele 'I am counting those people over there'
136. hayal: to think
138. hayzn: to feed
138. hayka: anchor (TP)
139. haykulul: knee
140. harerean : edge
harerean caic : barrier reef (lit. 'edge of the deep blue sea')
141. haw : paddle of a canoe (cf. pahaw)
ka-haw : to paddle a canoe
142. hawiy: forty
143. hece : to fight, as in war (= he-ce?)
144. heliw : to pull, as on a rope
145. helmem : to lick
146. helsain : to laugh
helsa: to laugh
148. hena : to lift; to carry on the shoulder
148. heyah: afternoon, evening
149. hi : (gloss uncertain; cf. titi)
150. hian $_{-1}$ : good
151. hian-2 $_{-2}$ : honey
152. hiap: to remove, expel
ko hiap pa ri haro : 'Blow your nose!'
153. hil : to squeeze, as juice from a fruit
154. hilis : to sort out the good from the bad, as with fruit
155. hion : sweat, perspiration
156. hitay: angry; to quarrel
158. hiwokan: (caulking?; cf. ka)
158. ho : bring from a distance
159. holelen : much, many
holelen pwen : few
160. hot: breakers, surf, breaking, of waves on the shore
161. $h u$ : to catch, as fish or game
162. hum : to pour, as water
163. huy : to pour, spill
164. hututun : thick, as a plank
/i/
165. $i_{-1}$ : generic locative marker, at, on; from
166. $i_{-2}$ : (gloss uncertain; genitive?)
i aha: where?
yot i puw : snout of a pig
168. $i_{-3}$ : 3SG subject/object, he, she
168. ih : cockroach
169. imarem : why?
170. in : to drink; to suck
i laru in can : 'S/he is drinking water'
171. ina : mother (add, and ref.), ina-raw, ina-ro, ina-rey (cf. tinz) ina komeh: 'Mother, come!'
172. ir: to dig, dig up
173. iwatiwat: story, narrative
/k/
174. $k a_{-1}$ : (gloss uncertain; cf. sentences 88 -9 0 )
175. $k a_{-2}$ : to make
ka hiwokan : to caulk, as a leaking canoe
176. $k a_{-3}$ : 2SG subject, you
178. kacan-1 : handle of an implement
kacan mwantani : handle of an axw or adze
178. kacan-2 $_{-2}$ : husk, fibrous cover
kacan niw : coconut husk
179. kadra: rattan (TP)
180. kahek : sago grub
181. kahuren : foam, bubbles
kahuren kul : foam, bubbles, from surf breaking on the sand
kahuren tos: foam, bubbles, from surf breaking on the sand
182. kaikop : hermit crab
183. kak : red spiny starfish, crown-of-thorns starfish
184. kakaaro : chicken (TP)
185. kakapwi : to weep, cry
186. $\mathrm{kal}_{-1}$ : lateral fin of a fish
kal on pahew : lateral fins of a shark
188. $\mathrm{kal}_{-2}$ : tree whose wood is used to make the fireplow
188. kala : color (TP)
189. kalah : cloud
190. kalancuсис ~ kalancucwic : catfish
191. kalilaw : wooden headrest, pillow
192. kalimoy : left side
193. kalin : (gloss uncertain; cf. con-1 $_{-1}$ )
194. kalioh : bailer for canoe
195. kaliw : tail feathers of a bird or fowl
196. kalka: leg below the knee, calf
kalkai-n puw : shank of a pig
198. kalmatu : right side
198. kalmim : tongue
199. kaluzy : stern of a canoe
200. kamkam : noose trap for snaring small animals
201. kamoc : grasshopper
202. kanaən : casting net
203. kanas : mullet
204. kanat : ridgepole of a house
205. kanaw : seagull
206. kanən : flesh, muscle; fruit
kanan camat : body
kanan kaw : fishhook ('baited hook'?)
kanan pac : pandanus fruit
kanən po kzy : fruit of a tree
kanan tumpat : floor of a house
208. kantan : earth, ground, soil
208. kantuntun : cerumen, ear wax
209. kanum : garden
210. kañ : knot, as in a rope, knotted
ki kañ : already knotted
211. kañeluh: saliva
212. kap : type of rope made from vine fibers --- used to make fish nets
213. kapap : internal gills of a fish (red part)
214. kapwat : armpit
215. karah : frigate bird
216. karahan : side, flank
218. karam : door opening
218. karen : red parrot
219. karilun : egg
220. karipow : heron
221. karuy : mangrove crab
222. kason: near
223. kasun-1 : gall (bladder)
224. kasun-2 : smoke
kasun mon : smoke of a fire
kasun papi : fog, mist
225. kat-1: chest, kat araw, kat aro, kat erey
226. kat-2 : roof, thatch
228. katen : liver, katen aya, katen o, katen $i$
228. kaukau : sweet potato (TP)
229. kaun : large bamboo used to make combs
230. kauna : news; to report, inform
231. kaup : to drive before one
kaup tos : to drive fish into a corral
232. kaw : to swim
ko-kaw : ‘Swim!’
233. kayaw : kind of fish that resembles the tuna, but is thinner, longer and not as big; it smells
like a shark
234. kehi : firewood
235. kekea: slow
236. kel ~ kelkel : boat, canoe
ce canun kel : to bail water from a canoe
238. keli : third largest type of grouper
238. kelkelpag : kingfisher
239. kendic : beach, shore
240. kepwiy: (gloss uncertain; cf. palpal)
241. kesi : kind of large fish with red mouth
242. kesus : coconut crab
243. kew : a fig tree with many aerial roots, the banyan
kay on tunan mon : fireplow ('stick for making fire')
244. kah : lime for betel chew, calcium carbonate
245. kal : barracuda
246. kaw-1 : fishhook
248. kə $W_{-2}$ : throat (cf. kiow)
kaw pon: hoarse
248. kay $_{-1}$ (gloss uncertain; cf. elih)
249. kzy-2 : tree, wood, stick (also recorded as key)
250. ki : already
251. kiac : outrigger boom
252. kic : red tree ant
253. kilin : clean (TP)
254. kilit : rudder of canoe
255. kiow : neck (cf. kaw)
256. kip : tongs
258. kir: (gloss uncertain; cf. alay)
258. kirhu : to have
$i$ kirhu not : 'She is pregnant' ('She has/is with child')
259. kirumat: (probably 'already dead')
kirumat pwen : living, alive
260. kit : kinsman, relative
261. ko-1 : fence
262. ko-2 $_{-2}$ : 2SG subject, you - imperative marker
ko lohiy $i$ ‘Wake him up!'
263. kocan : vein, vessel, tendon; root (generic)
264. kocay: cuscus, opossum
265. kocil : lightning
266. kohaw : black wildfowl with red comb (lays long orange eggs)
268. kohu : to take
kohu kuñah : to breathe ('take breath')
268. kokou : belongings, possessions
269. koldal : Morning star
270. koldan : young coconut with soft shell
271. kolon : above, on top of (cf. kulun)
272. kolu : surf
273. komom: large black ant with painful bite
274. kompuel : basket (generic)
275. konun : heavy
konun pwen : light in weight
276. koy : kind of squarish fish with hard skin
278. koykoy : to move, change residence because you are not happy where you are living
278. kop : fallow land
279. kor $_{-1}$ : ground
280. kor-2 $_{-2}$ : heart
281. koraten : thin (both of things and of animates)
282. korpun: base, bottom, foundation
korpun kay : base of a tree
korpun poroay : headwaters of a river
korpun tu : housepost
283. kot: second largest type of grouper
284. koyoy: sea cucumber
285. krismas : year (TP)
286. ku: (gloss uncertain; cf. halu, haw)
288. kualuy : to call out to, hail someone
288. kuc : lip, kuc araw, kuc aro, kuc erey
289. kucupwen min: finger
290. kuh : very large white yam
291. kual: sago bow
292. kul-1 : breadfruit
293. kul-2 : cooking pot
294. kul-3 :(gloss uncertain; cf. kahuren)
295. kulul : kind of small red reef fish
296. kulun-1 : on (cf. kolon)
kulun tewi : reef
298. kulun-2 : top, summit, peak (= preceding?)
kulun kay : top of a tree
kulun puli : peak of a mountain
298. kun : to carry a load (not a person) on the back
299. kunan : skin, hide, bark
kunan min : skin of the hand or arm
kunan pow : hide of a pig, pig skin
kunan kay : bark of a tree
300. $k u \tilde{n}_{-1}$ : small coconut leaf basket or bag used to carry betel
301. kuñ.2 : (gloss uncertain)
kuñ camul : shrimp, lobster
302. kuñah : breath
kuñah pwen : to gasp, pant, be short of breath
303. kuı : shoulder
304. kup : east, east wind
305. kuro : mussel
306. kuronpuh : fish with canvas-like skin
308. kuroy: long lizard with serrated crest and tail
308. kurupuw : to fart
309. kut : louse
310. kuy : kind of tall tree with sour green fruit
311. kuyиу: coconut grater
/kw/
312. kwit : octopus (=/kuit/?)
/l/
313. $l_{-2} \sim$ lah: to go; part of copula for actions performed at a distance
314. lac : coral limestone
315. lahan: south wind
316. lai-1: ginger
318. la(i) ${ }_{-2}$ : with (instrumental)
318. laka: to want, desire
319. laku: will (future marker)
320. lal: Trochus shell
321. lalaun-1 : cold (of water, food, weather)
322. lalaun-2: sweet
323. laliw: lagoon, shallow water within reef
324. lam : light, radiance
325. lay : housefly
326. layan: white
328. laPta : ladder (TP)
328. lat: small whale a little larger than a dolphin
329. laul : men's house
330. lawa: tree similar to areca palm with slender trunk and fruit that turns red when ripe
331. lawis : stinging nettle, Laportea sp.
332. lay $_{-1}$ : (gloss uncertain)
$i$ an lay cahma cuy $i$ ce $i$ 'He at it because he was hungry'
333. lay-2 : towards, in the direction of
334. leki : intend, plan to; cf. metil, mumut)
335. lembul : stinging March fly
336. lepi : slitgong
338. let $_{-1}$ : belt (TP)
338. let $_{-2}$ : house lizard, gecko
let pukaw : kind of lizard with soft skin that is easily torn
339. lan : day
340. lih : tooth, tusk, lih araw, lih aro, lih erey
liha-n puw : tusk of a pig
341. liyliy: to stare, look with fixed gaze
342. lis : nit, egg of a louse
343. lo : betel leaf
344. lohin: to wake someone up
345. lol : to descend, go down; sink, drown
346. lolomoc : kind of long sea grass
348. lolout : bush, forest
348. lolow : thin vine used to tie sago leaf to the frame of a house
349. loy : to hear
350. lopow : kind of flat brown or orange reef fish
351. lot : boil, abscess
352. loup : lobster
353. lul : to fold, of soft things like mats or paper
354. luman : two (of people?) sil teli araw luman : I have two brothers
355. lumи : hair, feather
lumиdra : vomitus (= 'feathers + excreta')
lumu monmon: feather
luти-п hal : hair of the head
356. lunlumun : moss, marine algae
358. lupuŋ : the day after tomorrow, two days hence
/m/
358. - $m$ : 2SG possessor, your
359. maatu : ripe
metuan : ripe
360. mac: large sea anemone
361. mag : to sneeze
362. mah : kind of taro that is commonly eaten
363. mahal: news, information
mahal-an : to know (things)
364. makahen: soft
365. makaw : kind of silver-gray fish that eats algae from stones
366. makmak : spotted, mottled, as an animals fur or fish skin (TP)
368. malahan : wide
368. malaw : spirit of a dead person, ghost
369. malis : cooked
mels-an : cooked
370. malmalew : quick
371. malmalop : to cough
372. malsənə : brother/sister-in-law, malsənə, malsənə-m, malsənə-n, or malsənə araw, malsənə aro, malsənə erey (but not ** malsənə aya, etc.)
373. mamat : to wake up (intr.)
ko mamat 'Wake up!'
374. mamaw : to yawn
375. тати : grandfather, grandchild (recipr.)
376. mamwak: squid with white shell and two long tentacles
378. man : bad
378. manay : large brown predatory bird with white breast feathers that goes far out to sea, probably fish eagle
379. mancocon: brain
380. mayas : to work
381. marmar : kind of tree with small round fruit
382. mat : to die, dead
383. Imatal : eye, focal point, mat araw, mat aro, mat erey
mara-n : lid, cover (as of a basket)
mara-n poroay : mouth of a river, estuary
mara-n putวtənวm : pity, sympathy, love
mara-n $\sin$ : kind of small sea anemone
mata-m-put: navel
mata-n : sharp
mata-n pwen : blunt, dull
mata-n sus : nipple of the breast
mat pwen : blind
384. matadrodrot : shrimp
385. mecahala : health (?)
mecahala hian : to recover from an illness
386. meh : to come
ko meh 'Come!'
388. meheon : bitter
388. mehimeh : to dream, talk in one's sleep
389. melel : an edible plant: Hibiscus manihot
390. mem : yellow slug found on areca palms, probably banana slug mem on tas: sea slug
391. memician : shame, embarrassment; ashamed, embarrassed pul memician : ashamed, embarrassed
392. me?me?nan : coconut with soft meat
me?me?nan kanzn : intermediate stage of coconut growth
393. metil : to sleep
394. mim : urine; to urinate
395. min : hand, arm, min araw, min aro, min erey
396. miña : yesterday
ayz an painin ate miña 'I ate (the) taro yesterday'
398. mmeh : fontanelle
398. mocan : old, of things
399. mocay : calm, still (of water)
400. mocon : hundred (combination form)
mocon sayahul : one thousand
mocon talat : four hundred
mocon tuluh : three hundred
mocon tutan : five hundred
mocon tutan a saw : six hundred
mocon tutzn a ruh : seven hundred
mocon tutzn a tuluh : eight hundred
mocon tutan a talat : nine hundred
401. mok: young leaves of the betel nut
402. /moloho/, moloh : a hole through something, as a wall or the side of a canoe
moloho- $n$ : hollow, cavity
moloho-n kay : hollow in a tree
403. moloy : tidal wave
404. moluam : largest kind of whale
405. molut : kind of dove with white tail feathers
406. momoku : to itch, itchy
408. momoson : smooth, level
408. mon : fire
409. monmon : bird
410. monoy: unicorn fish
411. morohop : triangular hand net for fishing
412. morohun : hole (?'; cf. /moloho/)
morohun mwey: anus
413. moses : white reef fish about 60 centimeters long and with a thick skin
414. mosim : a shore tree with needles and small cones: Casuarina equisetifolia
415. moso : cinnamon tree: Cinnamomum xanthoneuron
416. mис : banana
418. mucihin: scales of fish, snake, etc.
418. тисо : island
419. muli : 3SG reflexive pronoun, himself, herself
420. mulin : behind
421. mитиап : male, man; husband
422. mumut : to vomit
i leki mumut : 'S/he is going to vomit'
423. mun : to fall from a height, as a coconut
424. тиоп : in front of
425. muPmut : kind of tree used to make canoes
/mw/
426. mwaani : cross sibling, sibling of opposite sex
428. mwac $_{-1}$ : bandicoot, marsupial rat
428. mwac- $_{-2}$ : to look, see
429. mwamwalaw : to shiver, as from cold
430. mwantani : axe, adze
431. mwaPmwat : marine eel
432. mwasay : kind of poisonous reef fish that hides in the seaweed
433. mwat-1 : long white yam
434. mwat-2 : snake
mwat on lolout : bush snake
mwat on tวs: sea snake
435. mwat-3 : wound
436. mwatal : to stand, be standing
438. mwel : snail
mwel on lolout : land snail
mwel on tas : marine snail
438. mwey: buttocks
439. mwiy : dog
440. mwoc: twins
/n/
441. $-n$ : 3SG possessor, his/her
442. nanan: pus
443. nanas: shore tree with small green leaves that are mixed with saltwater to make a potion for coughs
444. nanih : kind of red flying ant
445. narun : small, narrow (<*natu 'child'?)
narun cal mara : a narrow path
446. nasun : leaf, frond (= nasu-n?)
nasun kzy: leaf of a tree
nasun niw : frond of a coconut palm
448. naw : to talk
448. new : support stick for climbing plants
449. $n i$ : fish
450. non : sandfly
451. not : child, not araw, not aro, not erey
452. now : time cah now : when?
453. noy : traditional grass skirt
454. nuh : large stonefish
/ñ/
455. ñael : to shave
456. ñah: spear
ñah pelen : pronged fish spear
458. nalñal : to crawl on hands and knees
458. $\tilde{n} a w_{-1}$ : to remove oil from a coconut
459. $\tilde{n} a w_{-2}$ : widow(er)
460. ñay : soft betel nut (not strong)
461. ñelu : to wash (clothes, dishes, hands, face)
462. ñamñวт : to eat
463. ñemul : to spit
464. ñeñe ${ }_{-1}$ : high tide, flood
465. /ñeñepa/, п̃eñep-2 : fat, grease

п̃еп̃ера-п : to be fat, obese
i ñeñepa-n: 'S/he is fat'

466．ñesim：wall
ñesim yum ：house wall
468．noh ：to fill something up，as a basket
468．ñol ：tide，current
469．／ñoñoha／，ñoñoha－n ：swollen
$i$ ñoñoh：＇It＇s swollen＇（can＇t use ñoñoha－n here）

470．ñorout ：kind of tree used to make canoes
471．ñot：papaya
472．ñot kzy：latex－yielding tree with apple－like fruit，probably Palaquium spp．
473．$\tilde{n} u$ ：shellless squid
474．ñuhi ：to bathe
／n／
475．yah ：tree with brown bark，soft wood，and small kidney－shaped green fruit
476．クal ：name，クal ara－w，hal aro，yal erey
478．クanan：kind，type
478．クat：a hole（in the ground）
479．yay ：bloodshot and weary－looking，of the eyes
480．yohan ：fathom，distance between fingertips of outstretched arms
yohan saw ：one fathom
yohan ruh ：two fathoms
481．nol：honeybee
482．yoron ：end
483．noronja ：mangrove
484．not：nose，snout
not i puw ：snout of a pig
／o／
485．$o$ ： 2 SG subject／object，you
486．oc ：to husk，remove the husk from（a coconut，etc．）
488．oh ：to fly
488．ohun ：new
489．oi ：here
490．оти ：2DL，the two of you
491．on－1 ：for，for the purpose of（？）；（cf．tumpat）
492．on－2 ：genitive，of（cf．timpat；possibly identical to on $_{-1}$ ）．
493．op ：tattoo；to make a tattoo
494．opu：2TL，the three of you
495．or：（gloss uncertain；cf．tokuc）
496．ot ：waste from preparing sago
／p／
498．pac ：pandanus with edible fruit
498．（pa）cahan：（gloss uncertain；cf．puləy）
499. pag : kind of shore tree with small hard fruit that can be shot from a blowgun
500. pahana : thief; to steal
501. pahaw : oars for rowing a boat (cf. haw)
502. pahew : shark (generic)
503. painiy : kind of taro
504. paira : digging stick
505. pakiaw : flying fish
506. pal : penis
508. palawa : comb of a rooster
508. pale : sail of a canoe
509. palalah : cross seat in a boat
510. palmara : large black sea bird that tends to fly low
511. palpal kepwiy: tree with wood used to make house frames
512. pame : betel nut
513. pamerein : raw, uncooked
514. pamuhu : tomorrow
515. pan : leucoderma, fungus that leaves white patches on the skin
516. panu-1 : (gloss uncertain; cf. calin)
518. panu-2 : village
518. pay: rain
519. papah : to carry piggyback, carry a person on the back
520. papay: kind of flat reef fish
521. papi : beach, shore, sand
522. para: tree trunk, stick
para-n epi : sago palm
para-n kəy : tree trunk
para-n niw : coconut tree
para-n pale : mast for sail
para-n pame : areca palm
523. parahinon : hard, as a rock
524. parakain : joint in bamboo or sugarcane
parakain lo : betel pepper
525. parakin : black-finned sea perch
526. paral : thunder clap
528. parale : platform on canoe
528. parananan : termite, white ant
529. paraniw: long dark brown pelagic fish with large mouth and eyes
530. paray : kind of diving sea bird the size of a seagull, but black
531. parikuy: small predatory bird that stays near the reef
532. pas : chin, jaw; gills
pase-n ni : external gills of a fish
533. pasiket : coconut leaf basket worn over the shoulder (TP)
534. patan : billow, wave at sea, sea swell
535. patun: seed
patun kay : seed of a tree
536. pay : shelf over the hearth for storing food, betel, etc., but not firewood
538. pe : bait
538. pecic : slender bamboo used to make fish spears and blowguns
539. pehin : female, woman; wife
540. pela : manta ray
541. pelen: (gloss uncertain; cf. ñah)
542. peliaw : skipjack tuna, bonito
543. pelic : sword grass: Imperata cylindrica
544. perilaw : war spear with obsidian head; obsidian
545. perilian : middle, center
perilian lan : noon, midday
546. $p_{-1}$ : (gloss uncertain; cf. hiap)
548. $p 2_{-2}$ : kind of broad-leaved pandanus of no practical use
548. poh : fork on outrigger for connecting sticks
549. pək : hawk (stays in the bush/forest)
550. pal: dove with red or brown tail feathers
551. pən: wing
552. pay: stingray
553. pi : elephant ear taro, itching taro, Alocasia sp.
554. piakan : wet
555. pil-1 : mosquito
556. pil-2: spoon, ladle
558. piPpit : to float, drift
i laru pit : ' $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{he}$ is drifting'
558. pirihit : trivet, three stones of the hearth
559. pitz : tree with wood used to make houseposts, Calophyllym inophyllum
560. pitiw : star
561. po : (gloss uncertain; cf. kanən)
562. pokeran : dry coconut
563. pol : yellow reef fish with two brown stripes --- this is a companion of the makaw
564. polkuh : giant clam, Tridacna sp.
565. polon : front part (?)
polon kel : prow of a canoe
566. polu-1 : kind of small white yam
568. polu-2 : rat
568. pom : kind of seaweed used to paint canoes and scour pots
569. pon : closed (cf. sopon)
570. ponara : bow, arrow (TP)
571. poroay: stream, river
572. porocayan kyy : fork of a branch
573. posawan : dry (of clothes, food)
574. posian : spoiled, rotten
575. pot : small canoe used for fishing
576. pota: long type of canarium nut
578. poton : thorn (= poto-n?)
578. pow ~ puw : pig
579. poyun : tail (= poyu-n?)
580. praim : to fry (TP)
581. puay: crocodile
582. pucuan : shell, outer cover; gourd pucuan kah: lime gourd
pucuan min : fingernail
pucuan niw : coconut shell
pucuan puñ : turtle shell
583. puen : big; older (of siblings)
584. puh : bamboo basket trap for fish
585. puhulun : sea urchin
586. puk : book (TP)
588. puka : kind of domesticated taro
588. pukaw : (gloss uncertain; cf. let)
589. pul-1 : forehead, face
kunan pul : forehead
590. pul-2: moon, month
591. pulahe : caterpillar
592. puldan: sap, sticky fluid (cf. puldey)
puldan kul: breadfruit sap
593. pulday: to stick, adhere (cf. puldan)
594. pulaŋ: dawn
(pa)cahan pulaŋ: morning
595. puli: mountain
596. pulukal : mole on the skin
598. pulut : single-pronged, of a fish spear
nah pulut : single-pronged fish spear
598. pun-1: pufferfish
pun cimil: porcupine fish
599. pun-2: small blue, red and green dove that is rarely eaten
600. punsusun min : elbow
601. puñ : the green turtle: Chelonia mydas
puñ on papi : sand crab
602. puy-1: bunch, cluster
sa-puy: one bunch (as of betel nuts)
603. puŋ-2 : night
604. puŋ-3: sky
pun-kalah : cloudy sky?
605. puykuluahin mon : ember
606. puŋon : flower, blossom
puŋon niw: coconut flower
608. puŋpuŋahun : dust
608. pupuan yum : roof of house (= 'ridgepole'?)
609. purun: deep
purun pwen : shallow
610. put-1: dorsal fin of a shark or dolphin
611. put-2: navel
612. put-3 : a shore tree: Barringtonia asiatica
613. putวtวnวm : (pity, sympathy, love; cf. mata)
/pw/
614. pwah : kind of small, gray-brown reef fish
615. /pwaha/ : mouth, pwah araw, pwah aro, pwah erey
pwaha-n poroay: mouth of a river, estuary
616. pwahan: outside
618. pwal: cave
618. pwalculumway : small insectivorous bat with wings like a flying fox
619. pwalulum : butterfly
620. pwaPpwat : fear, afraid
621. pwarampwaw : old (of animates)
622. pwe : small flying fox
pwe tupul : large flying fox
623. pweh : to open
624. pweisayal : centipede
625. pwek: leg from knee to hip, thigh
pweka-n puw : thigh of a pig
626. pwen : negative marker, no, not
628. pwentay : pot used for fetching water and cooking some types of sago
628. pweñat : kind of tree, black palm (areca palm without useful nut)
629. pwep : small yellow, blue and brown reef fish
630. pwiciken : small; younger (of siblings)
/r/
631. ra: feces
rai-n mat : sleep in corner of eye (as when waking)
632. rakis : to scratch an itch, or scratch as when clawing someone
633. /rarama/, raram : red
$i$ raram : 'It is red'
rarama- $n$ : red (can be answer to question; raram would be wrong)
puk sow ele rarama-n 'That book is red'
634. renbo : rainbow (TP)
635. ri-1 : copula?
636. ri-2 : wet nasal mucus, snot
638. rondian : inside
rondian min : palm of the hand ('inside of the hand')
638. ru : (copula for actions performed at close range?; cf. en, la)
i la ru mwatal ' $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{he}$ is standing'
639. ruay : freshwater eel
640. ruh : two
641. ruyzt : two hundred
642. ruךohul : twenty
643. salim : to sell (TP)
644. san : (gloss uncertain; cf. teli)
645. sayahul: ten
646. sayət : one hundred
648. sasi : grandmother, grandchild (recipr.)
648. selis: to carry on a shoulder pole
649. selpoyah : to snore
650. santiw : to hold in the hand
651. səw: one
652. say: who?
653. sih : 3PL subject/object, they, them
654. sil: 3DL subject/object, the two of them
655. sin : sun
sin ki lol : sunset ('sun already go down')
656. sis : testicles
658. sision : sour, salty
658. siw: (gloss uncertain; cf. sentence 36)
659. so : to shoot
660. sohar : to stab
661. sohur : hunched over, humpbacked
662. sopon: to close (cf. pon)
663. sopwiy: to rub in liniment, etc.
664. sore : pity, sympathy, love (<English 'sorry'?)
665. su : full, of the stomach, satiated
666. suksuk: lame, crippled
668. sulu-1 : to burn, to roast
668. sulu-2 $_{-2}$ : 3 TL subject/object, the three of them
669. sum : to pluck, pull out
670. suy : to dip in, as a paintbrush in paint
671. suŋoh : to grunt, snort, as a pig
672. sup : to peel, as yams
673. sиРуә : to collect, gather
674. sus ${ }_{-1}$ : female breast, sus araw, sus aro, sus erey
675. sus $_{-2}$ : to sew
676. sut : (gloss uncertain; cf. lam)
sut lam : flashlight
/t/
678. tah $_{-1}$ : 1PL subject/object, all of us
678. tah $_{-2}$ : full, of a container
679. taholi : crooked
ce taholi : to bend something that resists, as an iron bar (lit. 'hit crooked')
680. tahuy : conch shell trumpet
681. taktak : smallest type of grouper
682. talat : four
683. talay: small blue clam
684. tali : to finish (?)
685. taliy : ear
taliy tut : deaf
686. taliyliy : mushroom
688. talis : a shore tree: Terminalia catappa
688. talu : 1 TL subject/object, the three of us
689. tamə : father, tamə, tamə-m, tama-n, or tamə, tamo, tami tama ko meh : 'Father, come!'
690. tan : down
691. tanji : back (of person or animal)
692. tanteluen : intestines, guts
693. taoh : sleeping mat
694. tapun : dehortative, don't
695. tarikow : to squat, sit on the heels
696. tatahan : hearth, cooking place; hot (of water, food, sun)
698. taw : kind of fruit tree with yellow flower, possibly Pometia pinnata
698. $t e_{-1}$ : bring from nearby
699. te-2: (gloss uncertain, relativizer?; cf. halu)
700. tehuas: to smoke fish or meat to preserve it for later use
701. teli : parallel sibling
teli san puen : older sibling of the same sex
teli san pwiciken : younger sibling of the same sex
702. telip : to stumble, fall down
703. teltelkoput : small insectivorous bat with wings like a bird
704. teluay : food
705. tente : rotten
706. tentenu : low rumbling thunder
708. tenteruan : true, correct
708. teŋkilu : to sleep
709. te?te?punan : taboo
710. tetehun : to hide (trans. and intr.)
711. tetin: fish similar to unicorn fish but with shorter projection and dark gray skin
712. tewi : brink, edge, dividing line between reef and deep sea
713. to : far, distant
714. tac : to whet, sharpen
715. tol- $l_{-1}$ 1DL subject/object, the two of us
716. tal $l_{-2}$ : rope
718. $\tan$ : to dance
718. tas : sea, saltwater; salt
719. $t i_{-1}$ : abdomen, belly
720. ti-2 : to build
721. $t i_{-3}$ : to plait, weave
722. tihin : under, beneath
723. tihol : (gloss uncertain; cf. cipel)
724. tik : to climb
tik-tikal : climbing
725. tikal : to pinch
726. timpat : nest
timpat on monmon : bird's nest
728. tina : mother (ref.) : tina, tinə-m, tina-n (cf. ina)
728. tigan $_{-1}$ : to sing (of women)
729. tiŋวn-2 : to weep, cry
730. tiyka: footprint of humans
731. tirel : to split
tirel kehi : to split firewood
732. titi : (gloss uncertain; way, manner?)
titi aha : how?
o hi titi aha o hu ni 'How did you catch the fish?'
733. tiw- ${ }_{-1}$ : to bring, convey
i laru tiw mahal 'He is spreading the news'
734. tiw $_{-2}$ : to give (possibly identical to the preceding)
735. tiw-3: to plant, to bury
736. tiw-4 : side board on canoe
738. to $_{-1}$ : prong of a fish spear
ñah kanən to-səw : single-pronged fish spear
ñah kanən to-ruh : double-pronged fish spear
738. to $_{-2}$ : punting pole
739. tohi : child's playmate
740. tokuc: talking
tokuc or kuc : to lie; false
741. tolaw : north wind
tolaw ahay : northwest wind
742. toltolic : frog, toad (generic)
743. tomunahay: all
744. to $\tilde{n}$ : to swallow
745. top : carrying basket worn on the back
746. topal : fifty
topal a sayahul : sixty
topol a ruyahul : seventy
topal a tuluyohul : eighty
topal a hawiy : ninety
748. toro : to draw, write
748. totoan : to hiccough
749. totol : to sit, be sitting
750. tu : post, pillar
751. tueh : to chew
tueh pame : to chew betel
752. tuh: sugarcane
753. tuluh : three
754. tuluyohul : thirty
755. tumpat : shelf tumpat on kehi : firewood shelf (outside the house)
756. tunan : to make
758. tuŋkal : coconut flower spathe
758. tuøul : (gloss uncertain; cf. pwe)
759. tupun : footprint of an animal, trail or tracks of a turtle, snake or crab
760. tut-1 : (gloss uncertain, closed?; cf. taliy)
761. tut-2 : to hammer
762. tut-3 : occiput, back of the head
763. tutən : five
tutan a saw : six
tutzn a ruh: seven
tutzn a tuluh : eight
tutan a talat : nine
764. tutuhu : to grow (as plants)
765. tutukun : short (in height or length)
766. tutula : to look fixedly, stare at
768. tuy : dugong
/u/
768. ual : to call out to, hail someone
769. ucah : fishing pole
770. uh : rafter
771. $u l$ : to pull out, as a post from the ground, or a nail from wood
772. ulit : to ask a question
773. up : to hit or whip someone, as with a stick
774. ирир : kind of reef fish with thin, silvery skin
775. $u r$ : to bind, tie by wrapping around
776. uri : dolphin
778. us : to load, as cargo onto a boat
/w/
778. wati : green monitor lizard
779. way: vine, rope

NOTE: way has both meanings, but tal means only 'rope'.
780. weri : to sing (of men)
781. wiwiy : mango: Mangifera indica
782. wokan : to make, construct
/y/
783. yew : largest type of grouper
784. /yuma/ : house; nest, web
yum : house
yuma-n candalaw : spiderweb
yuma-n monmon : bird's nest

### 8.4.1 English-Nauna Index

| abdomen | : | ti |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| above |  | kolon |
| abscess |  | lot |
| to adhere | : | puldzy |
| adze |  | mwantani |
| afraid |  | pwa?pwat |
| afternoon | : | heyoh |
| algae | : | lunlumun |
| alive |  | kirumat pwen |
| all |  | tomunahay |
| already |  | ki |
| anchor | : | hayka (TP) |
| and |  | a |
| angry |  | hitay |
| ant sp. |  | kic, komom, nanih |
| anus |  | morohun mwey |
| areca palm |  | paran pame |
| arm |  | min |
| armpit |  | kapwat |
| arrow |  | ponara (TP) |
| ash |  | con kalin mon |
| ashamed |  | pul memician |
| to ask |  | ulit |
| at |  | i |
| axe |  | mwantani |
| back (anat.) |  | tanji |
| bad |  | man |
| bag (for betel) |  | kuñ |
| bailer for canoe |  | kalioh |
| bait |  | pe |
| bald |  | hal cay |
| bamboo |  | kaun, pecic |
| banana |  | muc |
| bandicoot |  | mwac |
| bare |  | cay |
| to bark (dog) |  | culcul |
| bark (of tree) |  | kunan |
| base |  | korpun |



| breadfruit | kul |
| :---: | :---: |
| breadfruit sap | puldan kul |
| breakers | hot |
| breast | sus |
| breast milk | canun sus |
| breath | kuñah |
| to breathe | kohu kuñah |
| to bring | ho me, te me, tiw |
| brink | tewi |
| broom | burum (TP) |
| bubbles | kahuren |
| to build | ti |
| bunch (of fruit, etc.) | puy |
| to burn | sulu |
| to bury | tiw |
| bush (land) | lolout |
| butterfly | pwalulum |
| buttocks | mwey |
| to buy | cim |
| calf of leg | kalka |
| to call out to | kualuy, ual |
| calm (water) | mocay |
| canarium nut | aney, pota |
| canoe | kel/kelkel, pot |
| canoe platform | parale |
| to capsize | al |
| to carry (on back) | kun |
| to carry (on pole) | selis |
| to carry (on shoulder) | henə |
| to carry (piggyback) | papah |
| to catch (ball, etc.) | ciw |
| to catch (fish, game) | hu |
| caterpillar | pulahe |
| caulking | eldi, hiwokan(?) |
| cave | pwal |
| cavity (in tree) | molohon |
| center | cuputan, perilian |
| centipede | pweisayal |
| cerumen | kantuntun |
| charcoal | con |
| chest | kat |
| to chew | tueh |
| chicken | kakaaro (TP) |
| child | not |
| chin | pase- |
| clam | talay |




| earthworm | cucumwalel |
| :---: | :---: |
| east | kup |
| to eat | ən, ก̃əmñəm, |
| edge | harerean, tewi |
| eel (fresh water) | ruay |
| eel (marine) | mwa?mwat |
| egg | karilun |
| egg of louse | lis |
| eight | tuton a tuluh |
| eight hundred | mocon tuten a tuluh |
| eighty | topal a tuluyohul |
| elbow | punsusun min- |
| embarrassed | pul memician |
| embarrassment | memician |
| ember | puykuluahin mon |
| end | yoron |
| to enter | con |
| estuary | maran poroay, pwahan poroay |
| evening | heyah |
| expel | hiap |
| eye | mata- |
| face | pul |
| to fall (from above) | mun |
| to fall (walking) | telip |
| fallow land | kop |
| far | eluen, to |
| to fart | kurupow |
| fat (n.) | ñeñepa- |
| father | tamə- |
| fathom | yohan |
| fear | pwaPpwat |
| feather | lumu |
| feather (tail) | kaliw |
| feces | rai- |
| to feed | hayon |
| female | pehin |
| fence | ko |
| fifty | topal |
| to fight (as in war) | hece |
| to fill (as basket) | ñoh |
| fin (dorsal) | put |
| fin (lateral) | kal |
| to find | cawəy |
| finger | kucupwen min |
| fingernail | pucuan min |
| to finish | tali |



| frog | . | toltolic |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| from |  | i |
| from a distance | : | ho |
| from nearby |  | te |
| frond |  | nasun |
| front | : | muon, polon |
| fruit | : | kanən |
| to fry |  | praim (TP) |
| full (container) |  | tah |
| full (stomach) |  | su |
| gall (bladder) | : | kasun |
| garden | : | kanum |
| to gasp |  | kuñah pwen |
| to gather | : | supyə |
| genitive | : | on, po |
| ghost | : | malaw |
| gills (external) | : | pasen ni |
| gills (internal) | : | kapap |
| ginger | : | lay |
| to give | : | tiw |
| glare | : | cakalan |
| gloss uncertain |  | aha, ahe, an, ate, calin, camul, hi, i, kepwiy, kəy, kir, kirumat, ku, kul, kuñ, lay, mocon, (pa)cahan, panu, pelen, pə, po, pukaw, siw, tihol, titi tugul |
| to go | : | la |
| good | : | hian |
| gourd | : | pucuan |
| grandchild (to GF) | : | mamu |
| grandchild (to GM) | : | sasi |
| grandfather | : | mamu |
| grandmother | : | sasi |
| grass (sword) | : | pelic |
| grasshopper | : | kamoc |
| grease | : | ñeñepa- |
| green | : | cec |
| to groom, nitpick | : | cawəy kut |
| ground | : | kantan, kor |
| to grow | : | tutuhu |
| to grunt | : | sunoh |
| guts | : | tanteluen |
| to hail someone | : | kualuy, ual |
| hair | : | lumu |
| to hammer | : | tut |
| hand |  | min |


| handle | kacan |
| :---: | :---: |
| hard (as a rock) | parahinon |
| to have | kirhu |
| he/him | i |
| head | hala- |
| headache | ciciron |
| headrest | kaliləw |
| headwaters | korpun poroay |
| health | mecahala (?) |
| to hear | loy |
| heart | kor |
| hearth | tatahan |
| heartwood | cuputan kəy |
| heavy | konun |
| here | oi |
| hibiscus | haibiskis (TP) |
| Hibiscus manihot | melel |
| to hiccup | totoan |
| hide (skin) | kunan |
| to hide | tetehun |
| to hit | ce, up |
| hoarse | kəw pon |
| to hold | səntiw |
| hole (in body?) | morohun (?) |
| hole (in ground) | yat |
| hole (in wall, canoe) | moloho- |
| hollow (in tree, etc.) | molohon |
| honey | hian |
| honeybee | nol |
| hot | tatahan |
| house | yuma- |
| housefly | lay |
| housepost | korpun tu |
| how? | titi aha |
| how much/many? | campon |
| human being | camat |
| hundred | mocon, sayət |
| hunger | cuy |
| to hunt, go hunting | concon |
| husband | mumuan |
| husk | kacan |
| to husk | oc |
| husking stick | cuih |
| I | ayə/ayu |
| to inform | kauna |
| information | mahal |




| night | puy |
| :---: | :---: |
| nine | tuton a talət |
| nine hundred | mocon tuton a talət |
| ninety | topal a hawiy |
| nipple of breast | matan sus |
| nit | lis |
| no | pwen |
| node | cohun |
| noose trap | kamkam |
| nose | yot |
| not | pwen |
| oar | pahaw |
| obese | ñeñepan |
| obsidian | periləw |
| occiput | tut |
| octopus | kwit |
| odor | cayon |
| of | on, po |
| old (of animates) | pwarampwaw |
| old (of things) | mocan |
| older (as siblings) | puen |
| on | i, kolon/kulun |
| one | səw |
| one hundred | saŋət |
| one thousand | mocon sayahul |
| to open | pweh |
| to open wide (eyes) | aralan |
| opossum | kocay |
| orange | aŋoan |
| outrigger boom | kiac |
| outrigger float | cam |
| overcast | calin panu |
| paddle of a canoe | haw |
| to paddle a canoe | ka-haw |
| pain | ciciron |
| painful | ciciron |
| palm of hand | rondian min- |
| to pant | kuñah pwen |
| papaya | ñot |
| passage (for boat) | calan kel |
| path | cal mara |
| peak (of mountain) | kulun puli |
| to peel (as yams) | sup |
| penis | pal |
| person | camat |
| personal name prefix | a |



| right (side) | : | kalmatu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ripe | : | maatu/metuan |
| river |  | poroay |
| to roast |  | sulu |
| roof |  | pupuan yum |
| root (generic) | : | kocan |
| rope |  | kap, tol, way |
| rotten |  | posian, tente |
| to rub in | : | sopwiy |
| rudder | : | kilit |
| to run | : | cacahut, cop/cup |
| sago |  | epi |
| sago bow | : | kuel |
| sago grub |  | kahek |
| sago palm |  | paran epi |
| sago waste |  | ot |
| sail (of canoe) | : | pale |
| to sail |  | сәр |
| saliva | : | kañeluh |
| salt |  | tos |
| saltwater |  | tos |
| salty | : | sision |
| sand | : | papi |
| sandfly |  | non |
| sap, sticky fluid |  | puldan |
| sarong (men's) |  | calaw |
| satiated |  | su |
| to say |  | ce an naw |
| scale (fish) |  | mucihin |
| to scratch |  | rakis |
| sea (deep blue) |  | caic |
| sea (general) |  | tos |
| sea anemone | : | mac, maran sin |
| sea cucumber |  | koyoy |
| sea grass |  | lolomoc |
| to search | : | cawəy |
| sea swell |  | patan |
| seat (in boat) |  | palələh |
| sea urchin | : | puhulun |
| seaweed sp. |  | pom |
| to see | : | mwac |
| seed | : | patun |
| to sell |  | salim (TP) |
| seven |  | tuton a ruh |
| seven hundred |  | mocon tuton a ruh |
| seventy |  | topal a ruyahul |


| to sew | sus |
| :---: | :---: |
| shadow | camaluan |
| shallow | purun pwen |
| shame | memician |
| shank of pig | kalkain puw |
| sharp | matan |
| to sharpen | tic |
| to shave | ñael |
| she/her | i |
| shelf | tumpat |
| shelf (over hearth) | pay |
| shell | pucuan |
| to shiver | mwamwalow |
| to shoot | so |
| shore | kendic, papi |
| short | tutukun |
| shoulder | kuy |
| shrimp | kuñ camul, matadrodrot |
| sibling (cross) | mwaani |
| sibling-in-law | malsənə |
| sibling (parallel) | teli |
| side | karahan |
| sideboard (of canoe) | tiw |
| to sing (men) | weri |
| to sing (women) | tijon |
| single pronged | pulut |
| to sink | lol |
| to sit | totol |
| six | tutən a səw |
| six hundred | mocon tuton a səw |
| sixty | topəl a sayahul |
| skin | kunan |
| skirt (grass) | noy |
| sky | puy |
| to slap | ce |
| sleep (in eye) | rain mat |
| to sleep | metil, teykilu |
| slitgong | lepi |
| slow | kekeə |
| slug (gastropod) | mem |
| small | narun, pwiciken |
| to smell (something) | cayon |
| smoke | kasun |
| to smoke (fish, meat) | tehuəs |
| smooth | momoson |
| snail | mwel |


| snake | mwat |
| :---: | :---: |
| to sneeze | mag |
| to sniff | cayon |
| to snore | selponah |
| to snort | suyoh |
| snot | ri |
| snout | jot |
| soft | makahen |
| soil | kantan |
| to sort out | hilis |
| sour | sision |
| to speak | ce |
| spear | ñah, periləw |
| spider | candalaw |
| spiderweb | yuman candalaw |
| to spill | huy |
| spine | cimil |
| spirit (ancestral) | cilal |
| spirit (of recent dead) | malaw |
| to spit | ñemul |
| to split | tirel |
| spoiled (as food) | posian |
| spoon | pil |
| spotted | makmak |
| to squat | tarikow |
| to squeeze | hil |
| squid | mamwak, ñu |
| to stab | sohar |
| to stand | mwatəl |
| star | pitiw |
| to stare | liyliy, tutulə |
| starfish | cayacay |
| starfish (spiny) | kak |
| to steal | pahana |
| stench | cayən posian |
| stern of canoe | kaluəy |
| stick | kəy |
| to stick, adhere to | puldəy |
| still (water) | mocay |
| stone | coy |
| story | iwətiwət |
| to stray, get lost | con tali |
| stream | poroay |
| to stroke (hair, fur) | amis |
| to stumble | telip |
| to submerge | cuc |


| to suck | in |
| :---: | :---: |
| sugarcane | tuh |
| summit | kulun |
| sun | sin |
| sunlight | cakalan sin |
| sunset | sin ki lol |
| support stick | new |
| surf | hot, kolu |
| to surface | caw |
| to swallow | toñ |
| sweat | hion |
| sweet | lalaun |
| sweet potato | kaukau (TP) |
| to swim | kaw |
| swollen | ñoñoh(an) |
| sympathy | maran putətənəm, sore |
| taboo | te?te?punan |
| tail | poyun |
| to take | kohu |
| to talk | naw |
| to talk in one's sleep | mehimeh |
| talking | tokuc |
| tall | eluen |
| taro | mah, painiy, pi, puka |
| taro sucker | culin |
| tattoo | op |
| tears | canun mat |
| to tell | ce an naw |
| ten | sayahul |
| tendon | kocan |
| termite | parananan |
| testicles | sis |
| that | ele, ene |
| thatch | kat |
| them (dual) | sil |
| them (plural) | sih |
| them (trial) | sulu |
| there | ele/yele |
| they (dual) | sil |
| they (plural) | sih |
| they (trial) | sulu |
| thick (as a plank) | hututun |
| thief | pahana |
| thigh, upper leg | pweka- |
| thin (things, people) | koraten |
| to think | hayal |




| wind (northwest) | $:$ | ahay tolaw |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wind (south) | $:$ | lahan |
| wind (west) | $:$ | ahay |
| wing | $:$ | pan |
| with (instrumental) | $:$ | la(i) |
| woman | $:$ | pehin |
| wood | $:$ | kəy |
| to work | $:$ | manas |
| wound | $:$ | mwat |
| to write | $:$ | toro |
| yam | $:$ | cipel on tihol, kuh, mwat, polu |
| yawn | $:$ | mamaw |
| year | krismas (TP) |  |
| yellow | $:$ | apoan |
| yesterday | miñə |  |
| you (DL) | $:$ | omu |
| you (large plural) | $:$ | aoh |
| you (SG) | $:$ | ka/ko, o |
| you (trial) | $:$ | opu |
| younger (people) | $:$ | pwiciken |

8.5. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY. As in other languages of the eastern Admiralties, Nauna has regularly reduced $\mathrm{POC} * \mathrm{C} 1 \mathrm{~V} 1 \mathrm{C} 2 \mathrm{~V} 2 \mathrm{C} 3$ word shapes to C 1 V 1 C 2 unless the word coda was protected by a suffix. This process has resulted in a high incidence of monosyllabism, especially for nouns and intransitive verbs, as shown in Table 8.7:

Table 8.7: Canonical reduction of Proto-Oceanic word forms in Nauna

| POC | Nauna |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| *baluc | pəl | dove sp. |
| *draRaq | cay | blood |
| *kani | on | to eat |
| *kuluR | kul | breadfruit |
| *laqia | lay | ginger |
| *nonok | non | sandfly |
| *qupi | kuh | yam |
| *Rucan | us | to load cargo |

In a few unexplained cases, a vowel that would normally have been deleted in original or derived word-final position, is retained, as with *sulu > sulu 'to burn', or *tupuq >tu-tuhu 'to grow'.

In addition to a general 'erosion from the right' Nauna has altered the phonetic properties that are generally assumed for most POC consonants, reflecting many of these with greater constriction initially in nouns, and with greater lenition elsewhere. A summary of major developments appears in Table 8.8:

Table 8.8: Nauna reflexes of POC consonants

| POC | Nauna |
| :---: | :---: |
| *pw | ?? |
| *bw | pw |
| *mw | mw, m |
| * ${ }_{\text {w }}$ | W |
| *p | p - (in nouns), h (elsewhere) |
| *b | p |
| *m | m |
| * | t-, -r/t-, -t |
| *d | c |
| * | c- (in nouns), s (elsewhere) |
| *n | n |
| * r | c- (in nouns), 1 (elsewhere) |
| *dr | c |
| *1 | 1 |
| * | 1 |
| * | c |
| * | n |
| *y | y |
| *k | k- (in nouns), Ø (elsewhere) |
| *g | Ø |
| * y | 1 |
| *q | $\emptyset$ |
| *R | $\emptyset, ~ у$ |

POC *pw and *bw are rare. No reflexes of the former phoneme were recorded in Nauna, and only one reflex of the latter: *bweka > pwe 'flying fox'.

POC *mw remained unchanged in POC *mwajar > mwac 'bandicoot' and *mwata > mwat 'snake', but became a simple bilabial nasal word-initially in *mwamwaki > mamwak 'squid with shell', perhaps by dissmilation, and in PADM *mwalutV > molut 'dove sp.' as a result of glide-vowel fusion.

In a single form a historically secondary *mw became the sequence $m u$-: POC *maRuqane (> PADM *mwane) > ти-тиап 'man, male'.

POC ${ }^{*}$ w remained unchanged in all positions: POC $*$ waiwai $>$ wiwiy 'mango', *waRoc $>$ way 'vine', *bakewak > pahew 'shark', *kanawa > kanaw 'seagull', *kawil > kaw 'fishhook', *mawap > ma-maw 'to yawn', *qayawan > kew 'banyan', *sawit > caw 'needle', *tawan > taw 'a fruit tree: Pometia pinnata', PADM * watiV > wati 'monitor lizard', *bapawV > pahaw 'oars', *tiwa > tiw 'sideboard of canoe'.

As in most other languages of the Admiralties, the common noun article *na lost its unstressed vowel and prenasalized the first consonant of a nominal base if it was an obstruent or $*$ r, resulting in reflexes that resisted an otherwise general lenition. As a result of this process POC *p became $/ \mathrm{p} /$ initially in nouns, but lenited to $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in other environments (non-initially in nouns and in any position in non-nouns):
*p > p- (in nouns): POC *padran > pac 'pandanus', *pa-layaR 'to sail' > pale 'sail of a canoe', *panako (*pa-panako) > panaha 'thief', *pano > pan 'skin fungus, leucoderma', *panua > panu 'village', *papine > pehin 'woman', *paRi > pry 'stingray', *patay > para- 'tree trunk', *paRa > pay 'shelf over the hearth', *piRaq $>$ pi 'elephant ear taro', *pitaquR $>$ pitz 'a shore tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *pituqin > pitiw (met.) 'star', *poñu > puñ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', *potok > poto-n 'thorn', *pulan > pul 'moon', *puya > puyo-n 'flower, blossom', *puyun > puŋ 'bunch, cluster', *pupu > puh 'bamboo fish trap', *pupuyan > pupua-n 'ridgepole', *puqaya > puay 'crocodile', *putun > put 'a shore tree: Barringtonia asiatica'.

In one known noun with initial *p the stop has become a homorganic nasal: *pudi > muc 'banana'.
*p > h: POC *apaRat > ahay 'west wind', *ipos > ih 'cockroach', *katapa > karah 'frigate bird', *lipon > lih 'tooth', *mipi > mehi-meh 'to dream', *mapu > mah 'taro variety', *nopu > nuh 'stonefish', *paka-Rapiqi > heyzh 'afternoon', *pa-panako > pahana 'thief', *papaq (> *papapa) > pa-pah 'to carry piggy-back', *papine > pehin 'female, woman', *pupu > puh 'bamboo fish trap', *qapatoR > kahek 'sago grub', *qapuR >kzh 'lime for betel chew', *qupi $>$ kuh 'yam', *Ropok $>$ oh 'to fly', *sa-yapuluq $>$ sayahul 'ten', *sapa $>$ cah 'what?', *tapuRi $>$ tahuy 'conch shell', *topu > tuh 'sugarcane', *tupuq $>$ tu-tuhu 'to grow', PADM *bapawV > pahaw 'oars', *draloqopV > kalioh 'canoe bailer', *paunV > ohun (< met.) 'new'.

In two known verbs an apparent reflex of $*$ p has remained a stop, the first as onset and the second as coda: *papaq > pa-pah 'to carry piggyback', *supi > sup 'to peel'.

POC * b was already prenasalized, and so in every position it normally yielded the same reflex as POC *p in initial position in nouns:*banic > pan 'wing', *bayan > pe 'bait', *boma > pom 'seaweed sp.', *bonor > pon 'plugged, stopped up', *boni > puy 'night', *boRok > pow 'pig', *buto > put 'navel', *Rabia > epi 'sago'.

In two words PADM *bu- (from POC * pu- by secondary nasal grade) yielded mu: *budri > muc 'banana', bucokV > muco 'island'. HoweveR, this did not happen in other words, as *buaya > puay 'crocodile', *bula > pul 'moon', or *bupu > puh 'bamboo basket trap for fish'.

As in human languages generally, the bilabial nasal of POC generally remained unchanged in Nauna: *mai >me $(h)$ 'to come', *mamata > mamat 'to wake up', *manuk > monmon 'bird', *mapu > mah 'taro', *maRuqane > mu-muan 'man, male', *masou > moso 'cinnamon tree', *mata > mara- 'eye; focal point', *mate $>$ mat 'to die, dead', *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *mawap > ma-maw 'to yawn', *mipi > mehimeh 'to dream', *mimiq > mim 'urine, to urinate', *monoRe > monoy 'unicorn fish', *muri > muli-n 'rear part', *mutaq > mu-mut 'to vomit'; *d(r)amut > camu-n 'lime spatula', *kamiu > omu '2DL, you two', *katama > karam 'door
opening', *ñamit > ñemñem 'to taste; to eat', *boma > pom 'seaweed sp.', *ramaR > lam 'light, radiance', *Rumaq > yum 'house', *saman > sam 'outrigger float', *tama > tamə- 'father', *taumata > camat 'person, human being'; PADM *mina- > min 'hand, arm', *mosimo > mosim 'a shore tree: Casuarina equisetifolia'.

POC *t was retained as a voiceless stop initially and finally, but optionally lenited to /r/ intervocalically:
*t- > t-: *tabuna > tapun 'dehortative; don't', *tali > tal 'rope', *talina > taliy 'ear', *talise > talis 'a shore tree: Terminalia catappa', *tama > tamə- 'father', *tanoq > tan 'earth; down', *tapuRi > tahuy 'conch shell', *tasik > tzs 'sea, saltwater', *taumata > camat 'person, human being', *tawan > taw 'a fruit tree: Pometia pinnata', *tian > ti- 'abdomen, belly', *tokalaur > tolaw 'north wind', *tokon $>$ to 'punting pole', *tolu ( $>$ *tolu-pu) > tuluh 'three', *toñom $>$ toñ 'to swallow', *topu $>$ tuh 'sugarcane', *tupuq $>$ tu-tuhu 'to grow', *tuRu $>t u$ 'housepost', *tutup > tut 'to hammer'; PADM *tiwa > tiw 'sideboard of canoe'.
*-t-> -t-: *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *pitaquR > pita 'a shore tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *pituqin > pitiw (met.) 'star', *potok > poto-n 'thorn', *qate > kate-n 'liver'.
*-t- > -r-: *katama > karam 'door opening', *katapa > karah 'frigate bird', *mata > mata- ~ mara- 'eye; focal point', Ptay > para- 'tree trunk', *qatoluR > karilu-n 'egg'.

The even split of $/ \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{or} \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{r}$ reflexes in medial position shows that $*_{\mathrm{t}}>r / \mathrm{V} \_\mathrm{V}$ was a change in progress at the time my data was collected in 1975.
*-t- > -t: *buto > put 'navel', *kaRat-i > at 'to bite', *kuRita > kwit 'octopus', *kutu > kut 'louse', *loto $>$ lot 'boil, abscess', *mamata $>$ mamat 'to wake up (intr.)', *mate $>$ mat 'to die; dead', *mutaq > mu-mut 'to vomit', *mwata > mwat 'snake', *natu > not 'child', *ñatuq > ñot kəy 'a tree: Palaquium sp.', *putun > put 'a shore tree: Barringtonia asiatica', *qarita > alit 'the putty nut: Parinari laurinum', *qatop > kat 'roof thatch', *lato > lat 'small whale sp.', *sayaRatus > sa-ŋət 'one hundred', *tutup > tut 'to hammer'; PADM *mwalutV > molut 'k.o. dove'.

In a single known form *-t- > -k: *qapatoR > kahek ‘sago grub’.
POC *d is found in only one form in my data, where it became $c$ : *pudi $>m u c$ 'banana'.
POC *s underwent fortition to $c$ - initially in nouns, but remained $s$ elsewhere.
*s > c- (in nouns): *saku > ca 'needlefish', *salan > cal mara 'path, road', *saman > cam 'outrigger float', *saya > caŋ 'fork, bifurcation', *sajasaya > caŋacaך 'starfish', *sokalayaR > colay 'sailfish, marlin', *sone > cuy 'hunger', *suluq > cul 'coconut leaf torch'.
*s > s (elsewhere): *i sai > səy 'who?', *kanase > kanas 'mullet', *lisaq > lis 'nit, egg of a louse', *masou > moso 'cinnamon tree', *qasu > kasu-n 'gall (bladder)', *qasu > kasu-n 'smoke', *talise > talis 'a shore tree: Terminalia catappa', *tasik > tzs 'sea, saltwater'.

This change shows several exceptions, both negative (*s to $s$ initially in nouns), and positive (*s $>c$ in non-nouns or non-initially in nouns): *sinaR 'ray of light' $>$ sin 'sun', *susu $>$ sus 'female breast'; *sapa > cah 'what?', *qusila > kocil 'lightning'.

POC * n remained unchanged in all positions.
*n > n: *nanaq > nana-n 'pus', *natu > not 'child', *nonok > non 'sandfly', *nopu > nuh 'stonefish'; *banic > pən 'wing', *bonor > pon 'stopped up, closed', *ina > ina- 'mother', *inum $>$ in 'to drink', *kanase > kanas 'mullet', *kanawa > kanaw 'seagull', *kani > on 'to eat', *manuk > mon-mon 'bird', *maRuqane > mи-mиan 'man, male', *monoRe > monoy 'unicorn fish', *panako ( $>$ *pa-panako) > pahana 'thief; to steal', *pano > pan 'skin fungus, leucoderma', *panua > panu 'village', *papine > pehin 'female; woman', *qenop > en 'to lie down', *dranum $>$ can 'fresh water', *raqani > lan 'day', *sinaR 'ray of light' > sin 'sun', *tabuna > tapun 'dehortative, don't', *tanoq 'earth' > tan 'down'.

POC *r became /c/ initially in nouns (as a result of prenasalization to *dr- after fusion with the unstressed common noun marker *na), but became $/ \mathrm{l} /$ in other environments, although there are a number of exceptions to both changes.
*r > c- (in nouns): *raqan > ca-n 'branch', *ruRi > ci-n 'bone', BUT *ramaR > lam 'light, radiance', *raqani > lan 'day', *rato > lat 'small whale sp.'
*r > 1 (elsewhere): *royoR > lon 'to hear'; *kuron > kul 'clay cooking pot', *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *muri > muli-n 'behind, rear part', *ñoro 'rough sea' > ñol 'tide', *qarita > alit 'putty nut', *sira > sil '3PL, they, them', BUT *rodrom > coc 'dark', *ruo-pu > ruh 'two', ruyuy > tuy 'dugong', *kuriap > uri 'dolphin'.

Although exceptions are found to other sound changes as well, the number of exceptions in relation to the number of canonical changes to $*_{r}$ is unusually high ( 9 regular forms, 7 exceptions).

POC *dr is relatively rare. Three examples are known in initial position, and two in medial position. In all five cases *dr became $/ \mathrm{c} /$ :
*dr > c: *d(r)amut > camu-n 'lime spatula', *dranum > can 'fresh water', *draRaq > cay 'blood'; *kadroRa $>$ kocay ( $<$ met.) 'cuscus, opossum', *padran > pac 'pandanus'.

In addition to these consistent reflexes, one Proto-Admiralty form shows a different development:
*dr > k-: PADM *draloqopV > kalioh 'canoe bailer'.
POC *l became /l/ in all environments: *laje < lac 'coral limestone', *lako > la ~ lah 'to go', *lalak > lal 'Trochus shell', *layo > lay 'housefly', *laqia > lay 'ginger', *lipon > lih 'tooth, tusk', *loto > lot 'boil, abscess', *lisaq > lis 'nit, egg of a louse'; *alali > alal 'halibut', *baluc >
pal 'dove sp.', *kuluR > kul 'breadfruit', *pa-layaR > pale 'sail', *pulan > pul 'moon, month', *qalu > kal 'barracuda', *qatoluR > karilu-n 'egg', *salan > cal 'path, road', *sa-yapuluq > cayahul 'ten', *sokalayaR > colay 'sailfish, marlin', *sulu > sulu'to burn', *suluq > cul 'torch', *tali $>$ tal 'rope', *talina $>$ taliy 'ear', *talise $>$ talis 'a shore tree: Terminalia catappa', *tokalaur > tolaw 'north wind', *tolo-pu > tuluh 'three'; PADM *draloqopV > kalioh 'canoe bailer', *mwalutV > molut 'k.o. dove'.

In a single known form *l disappeared in derived final position: *qusila >koci 'lightning'.
POC *c did not occur word-initially, and was relatively uncommon. Only two examples are attested in my data, and these disagree, with one showing $/ 1 /$ and the other $/ \mathrm{s} /:$ * yacan > yal 'name', *ucan > us 'to load cargo (on a boat)'.

POC $* \mathrm{j}$, which is also uncommon, became /c/ in the data to hand: *kiajo $>$ kiac 'outrigger boom', *kojom > oc 'to husk coconuts', *laje > lac 'coral limestone', *mwajar > mwac 'bandicoot'.

POV *ñ was generally retained as a palatal nasal, even when it came to be word-final: *ñamit 'to taste', > ñəmñəm 'to eat', *ñatuq > ñot kəy 'a fruit tree: Palaquium sp.', *ñoro 'rough sea' > ñol 'tide'; *poñu > puñ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', *toñom > toñ 'to swallow; PADM *kuñV > kuñ 'coconut leaf basket'.

POC *y did not occur word-initially, but in medial and derived final positions it is reflected either as /y/ or as /e/ (a contraction of *ay): *kayu > kəy 'wood; tree', *sokalayaR > colay 'sailfish, marlin', BUT *bayan > pe 'bait', *pa-layaR > pale 'sail'. It is noteworthy that the same morpheme, POC *layaR 'sail', occurs in two bimorphemic words, and is reflected differently in each.

POC $* \mathrm{k}$ is normally reflected as $/ \mathrm{k} /$ word-initially in nouns, but as zero elsewhere:
*k > k- (in nouns): *kadroRa > kocay 'cuscus, opossum', *kanase > kanas 'mullet', *kanawa > kanaw 'seagull', *katama > karam 'door opening', *katapa > karah 'frigate bird', *kawil > kəw 'fishhook', *kayu > kəy 'wood; tree', *kiajo > kiac 'outrigger boom', *kuluR > kul 'breadfruit', *kuron > kul 'clay cooking pot', *kuRita > kwit 'octopus', *kutu > kut 'louse', *kasusu > kesus 'coconut crab', PADM *kuñV > kuñ 'coconut leaf basket'.
*k > Ø: *kamiu >omu '2DL, you two', *kani > on 'to eat', *kaRat-i > $t$ 'to bite', *koe >o '2SG, you'; *bweka > pwe 'flying fox', *lako > la 'to go', *paka-Rapiqi > heyzh 'afternoon', *panako (> *pa-panako) > pahana 'thief; to steal', *saku > ca 'needlefish', *soka 'to spear' > so 'to shoot', *sokalayaR > colay 'sailfish, marlin', *tokalaur > tolaw 'north wind', *tokon > to 'punting pole'.

Exceptions are seen in *kuriap > uri 'dolphin', with unexplained loss word-initially in a noun, and *bakewak > pahew 'shark', with unexplained *k $>h$.

No reflexes of POC $* \mathrm{~g}$ are known in Nauna, but PADM $* \mathrm{~g}$ became $k$ in the one known reflex: *kagV > kak 'spiny starfish'.

POC * y is normally unchanged: *nacan > yara 'name'; *aŋo-ayo-ana > aŋoan 'yellow', *boni > риŋ 'night', *layo > laŋ 'housefly', *puya > puŋo-n 'flower', *punun > puŋ 'bunch, cluster', *royoR > lon 'to hear', *saya > cay 'bifurcation', *sa-yapuluq > sa-ŋahul 'ten', *sa-yaRatus > sa-ŋət 'one hundred', *sayasaya > cayacay 'starfish', *soŋe > cuy 'hunger', *talija > taliy 'ear'.

In a single known case it has disappeared intervocalically: *pupuyan > pupиa-n 'ridgepole'.
POC *q generally became /k/ word-initially in nouns, but disappeared in other environments:
*q > k: *qalu > kal 'barracuda', *qayawan > kew 'banyan', *qapuR > kzh 'lime for betel chew', *qasu > kasu-n 'gall (bladder)', *qasu > kasu-n 'smoke', *qate > kate-n 'liver', *qatoluR > karilu-n 'egg', *qatop > kat 'roof, thatch', *qupi > kuh 'yam', *qusila > koci 'lightning'.
*q > $\emptyset$ : *qenop > en 'to lie down'; *laqia > lay 'ginger', *maRuqane > mu-muan 'man, male', *paka-Rapiqi > heyzh 'afternoon', *pitaquR > pitz 'a shore tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *pituqin > pitiw (< met.) 'star', *puqaya > puay 'crocodile', *raqan > ca-n 'branch', *raqani > lan 'day'.

In one known case *q- disappeared word-initially in a noun: *qarita > alit 'the putty nut: Parinari laurinum'.

POC $* \mathrm{R}$ sometimes disappeared, and sometimes became $/ \mathrm{y} /$, with roughly equal frequency:
*R > $\emptyset:$ *Rabia > epi 'sago', *Ropok >oh 'to fly', *Rucan > us 'to load cargo'; *boRok > pow 'pig', *kaRati > at 'to bite', *kuRita > kwit 'octopus', *maRuqane > mи-mиan 'man, male', *piRaq > pi 'elephant ear taro', *ruRi > ci-n 'bone', *sa-naRatus > sa-yət 'one hundred', *tuRu $>t u$ 'housepost'.
*R > y: *Rumaq > yum 'house'; *apaRat > ahay 'west wind', *draRaq > cay 'blood', *kadroRa $>$ kocay (< met.) 'cuscus, opossum', *monoRe > monoy 'unicornfish', *paka-Rapiqi > heyah 'afternoon', *paRi > pəy 'stingray', *paRa > pay 'shelf over the hearth', *tapuRi > tahuy 'conch shell (trumpet)', *waRoc > way 'vine'.

The development of the POC vowels in Nauna is of greater than ordinary interest because *a underwent partial assimilation to a following high vowel, raising to a mid-central or high-central vowel of indifferent coloration, and ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{o}$ was raised to $/ \mathrm{u} /$ under similar conditions. Whether to write the raised low vowel as [ə] or [i] caused some indecision on my part, as I did not always hear it the same way. Because my elicitation in the language began with counting, the first word I recorded was [siw] 'one'. However, in subsequent transcriptions I frequently wrote [siw], as in [tuton a siw] 'six', where what appears to be the same vowel was written as a schwa in /tuton/ 'five' and as [i] in /səw/. Elicitation in the language extended over a period of five days, and by the fourth or fifth day I was reasonably certain that Nauna has just the six vowels shown in Table 8.1, with enough free variation in the pronunciation of $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and $/ \mathrm{\rho} /$ to make it sometimes hard to distinguish them, as both are sometimes heard as [I].

All five POC vowels $(* \mathrm{i}, * \mathrm{u}, * \mathrm{e}, * \mathrm{o}, * \mathrm{a})$ normally have their canonical values, except that *a is raised to $/ \partial /$, as explained above, and $*_{0}$ is raised to $/ \mathrm{u} /$ if a high vowel is found in the next syllable. Examples of *a $>\partial$ are seen here:
 bite', *kawil > kzw 'fishhook', *ñamit 'to taste' > ñzmñam 'to eat', *paka-Rapiqi > heyzh 'afternoon', *paRi > pay 'stingray', *sawit > caw 'needle', *tali > tal 'rope', *tasik > tas 'sea, saltwater', *raqani > lan 'day', *i sai > səy 'who?'.
*a > a/_Cu: *baluc > pal 'dove sp.', *kayu > kəy 'wood, tree', *pitaquR > pita 'a shore tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *qalu > kal 'barracuda', *qapuR > kah 'lime (for betel)', *dranum > can 'fresh water', *saku > ca 'needlefish', *sa-yaRatus > sa-ŋət 'one hundred'.

Despite the clearly recurrent nature of this change (thirteen examples of raising to $/ 2 /$ before $*_{i}$, and eight before $* u$ ), there are many cases in which $*$ a did not raise when preceding a syllable that contains a high vowel, or in which it changed height but became either /e/ or /o/depending upon the frontness of the conditioning vowel:
*a > a/_(C)i: *qarita > alit 'putty nut', *talina > taliy 'ear', *talise > talis 'a shore tree: Terminalia catappa'.
*a > a/_(C)u: *d(r)amut > camu-n 'lime spatula', *panua > panu 'village', *qasu > kasu-n 'gall (bladder)', *qasu > kasu-n 'smoke', *sa-yapuluq > sa-ŋahul 'ten', *tabuna > tapun 'dehortative; don't', *tapuRi > tahuy 'conch shell (trumpet)'.
a > e/_(C)i: *mai > me ~ meh 'to come', *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *paka-Rapiqi (> *payapi) > heyzh 'afternoon', *papine > pehin 'female; woman', *Rabia > epi 'sago'. In some cases this change may actually involve the contraction of $*$ ai to $/ \mathrm{e} /$, as seen in POC $*$ mai $>m e(h)$ 'to come', or *qayawan (> PADM *qaiwa) > kew 'banyan'.
*a > o/_(C)u: *kamu > omи '2dL, you two', *manuk > mon-mon 'bird', *natu > not 'child', *ñatuq > ñot kay 'a fruit tree: Palaquium sp.', PADM *mwalut > molut 'dove sp.', *paunV > ohun ( $<$ met.) 'new'.

Combining all of these reflexes of $*$ a where the following syllable contained a high vowel we find a nearly even split, with 20 cases of raising to a mid-central or high-central vowel, 10 of no change, and eight of raising to $/ \mathrm{e} / \mathrm{or} / \mathrm{o} /$. The reason for this split remains unclear, and in the last two cases (raising to $/ \mathrm{e} / \mathrm{or} / \mathrm{o} /$ ) it cannot be because of a change in progress.

It is noteworthy that glides $/ \mathrm{y} /$ and $/ \mathrm{w} /$ had no raising effect on a preceding low vowel, although the POC or PADM sequence *aya contracted to /e/ in two cases:
*aya > e: *baya > pe 'bait', *palayaR > pale 'sail'.
The raising of *o to $/ \mathrm{u} /$ if there was a high vowel in the following syllable is seen in:

* $\mathrm{o}>\mathrm{u} / \ldots \mathrm{Ci}:$ *boŋi $>$ puŋ 'night' $^{\prime}$
$*_{\mathrm{o}}>\mathrm{u} / \_\mathrm{Cu}:$ *nopu $>$ nuh 'stonefish', *poñu $>$ puñ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', *tolu-pu $>$ tuluh 'three', *topu $>$ tuh 'sugarcane'.

In one known example POC *o became /u/ when the vowel of the next syllable was mid rather than high: *sone 'famine' > cuy 'hunger'.

Other words that show apparently sporadic vocalic irregularities include the following:

```
*a > e : PADM *kasusu > kesus 'coconut crab', *qapatoR > kahek 'sago grub'.
*a > o : *\etaapa > yoha-n 'fathom'.
*e > i : POC *waiwai (> PADM *wewey) > wiwiy 'mango'.
*i> e : *mipi > mehi-meh 'to dream'.
*o > i : PADM *draloqopV > kalioh 'canoe bailer', *qatoluR > karilu-n 'egg'.
*u > o : *qusila > koci 'lightning'.
*ui > i : *ruRi (> *rui) > ci-n'bone'.
```


### 8.6. NAUNA REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC AND PROTO-ADMIRALTY

|  | POC | PADM | NAUNA |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 001. | *a | *a | a | conjunction; and |
| 002. | *alali | *alali | aləl | halibut |
| 003. | *ajo-ajo-ana | *ajo-ana | ayoan | yellow |
| 004. | *apaRat | *apaya | ahay | west wind |
| 005. | *bakewak | * bakewa | pahew | shark |
| 006. | * baluc | * balu | pəl | dove sp. |
| 008. | * banic | * bani | pən | wing |
| 008. |  | *bapawV | pahaw | oars; paddle of canoe |
| 009. | *bayan | * baya | pe | bait (?) |
| 010. | * boma | * boma | pom | seaweed sp. |
| 011. | *bonor | * bono | pon | stopped up, closed |
| 012. | * boŋi | * boŋi | puy | night |
| 013. | * boRok | * boo | pow | pig |
| 014. |  | *bucokV | muco | island |
| 015. | *bulut | * bulu | puld-an | birdlime; sap |
| 016. | * buto | * buto | put | navel |


| 018. | *bweka | *bweka | pwe | flying fox |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 018. | * cila | * cila | cil | boom of a sail |
| 019. |  | *diwa | tiw | sideboard of canoe |
| 020. |  | *draloqopV | kalioh | canoe bailer |
| 021. | *d(r)amut | *dramu | camu-n | lime spatula |
| 022. | *dranum | *dranu | canu- | fluid |
| 023. | *draRaq | *draya | cay | blood |
| 024. | *i | * ${ }_{\text {i }}$ | i | locative marker |
| 025. | *ia | *ia | 1 | 3SG, s/he |
| 026. | *ikan | *nika | ni | fish |
| 028. | *ina | *ina | ina- | mother |
| 028. | *inum | *inu | in | to drink |
| 029. | *ipos | *ipos | ih | cockroach |
| 030. | *kadroRa | *kodraya (< met.) | kocay | cuscus, opossum |
| 031. |  | *kagV | kak | spiny starfish |
| 032. | *kalika | *kalika | keli | grouper sp. |
| 033. | *kamu | *kamu? | omu | 2DL, you two |
| 034. | *kanase | *kanase | kanas | mullet |
| 035. | *kanawa | *kanawa | kanaw | seagull |
| 036. | *kani | *kani | ən | to eat |
| 038. | *(ka)renas | *kareya | karen | red parrot |
| 038. | *kaRati | *kati | ət | to bite |
| 039. |  | *kasusu | kesus | coconut crab |
| 040. | *katama | *katama | karam | door opening |
| 041. | *katapa | *katapa | karah | frigate bird |
| 042. | *kawil | *kawi | kəw | fishhook |
| 043. | *kayu | *kayu | kəy | wood, tree |
| 044. | *kiajo | *kiaco | kiac | outrigger boom |
| 045. | *koba | *koba | kai-kop | hermit crab |
| 046. | *koe | *koe | ko, o | 2 SG , you |
| 048. | *kojom | * koco | oc | to husk coconuts |
| 048. | *koton | * koto | kot | grouper sp. |
| 049. | *kuluR | *kulu | kul | breadfruit |
| 050. |  | *kuñV | kuñ | coconut leaf basket |
| 051. | *kuriap | *kuria | uri | dolphin |
| 052. | *kuron | *kuro | kul | clay cooking pot |
| 053. | *kuRita | *kuita | kwit | octopus |
| 054. | *kutu | *kutu | kut | louse |
| 055. | *laje | *lace | lac | coral limestone |
| 056. | *lako | *lako | la $\sim$ lah | to go |
| 058. | *lalak | * lala | lal | Trochus shell |
| 058. | *layo | *layo | lay | housefly |
| 059. | *laqia | *laya | lai | ginger |
| 060. | *lipon | *lipo | lih | tooth |
| 061. | *lisaq | *lisa | lis | nit, louse egg |


| 062. | * loto | * loto | lot | boil, abscess |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 063. | *lumut | *lumu | lun-lumu-n (?) | moss, algae |
| 064. | *mai | *me | me $\sim$ meh | to come |
| 065. | *mamata | *mamata | mamat | to wake up (intr.) |
| 066. | *manuk | *manu | mon-mon | bird |
| 068. | *maRuqane | *mwane | mu-muan | man, male |
| 068. | *masou | *mosou (?) | moso | cinnamon tree |
| 069. | *mata | *mata- | mara- | eye, focal point |
| 070. | *mate | * mate | mat | to die, dead |
| 071. | *matiruR | *matiru | metil | to sleep |
| 072. | *mawap | * mawa | ma-maw | to yawn |
| 073. | *mipi | *mepi-mepi | mehimeh | to dream |
| 074. | *mimiq | *mimi | mim | urine, to urinate |
| 075. |  | *mina- | min | hand, arm |
| 076. | *monoRe | *monoye | monoy | unicorn fish |
| 078. |  | *mosimo | mosim | casuarina |
| 078. | *-mu | *-mu | -m | 2SG possessor |
| 079. | *muri | *muri | muli-n | behind; rear part |
| 080. | *mutaq | *muta | mu-mut | to vomit |
| 081. | *mwajar | *mwaca | mwac | bandicoot |
| 082. |  | *mwalutV | molut | k.o. dove |
| 083. | *mwamwaki | *mwamwaki | mamwak | squid with shell |
| 084. | *mwapo | *mwapo | mah | taro variety |
| 085. | *mwata | *mwata | mwat | snake |
| 086. | *nai | *nai | noy | grass skirt |
| 088. | *nanaq | *nana- | nana-n | pus |
| 088. | *natu | *natu- | not | child |
| 089. | *nonok | *nono | non | sandfly |
| 090. | *nopu | * nopu | nuh | stonefish |
| 091. | *-ña | *-na | -n | 3SG possessor |
| 092. | *ñamit | *ñami | ñəmñəm | to taste; to eat |
| 093. |  | *ñapa | *ñah | stab; spear |
| 094. | *ñaRo | *ñao | ñaw | widow(er) |
| 095. | *ñatuq | *ñatu | not kəy | a tree: Palaquium sp. |
| 096. | *ñoro | *ñoro | ñol | rough sea; tide |
| 098. | *ñui | *ñui | ñu | shellless squid |
| 098. | *ñupi | *ñupi | nuhi | to wash, bathe |
| 099. | *yacan | * yara | yal | name |
| 100. | * 1 apa | * 1 apa | yoha-n | fathom |
| 101. | *padran | *padra | pac | pandanus |
| 102. | *paka-Rapiqi | *payapi | heyoh | afternoon |
| 103. | *pa-layaR | * balea | pale | sail |
| 104. | *panako | *pa-panako | pahana | thief; to steal |
| 105. | *pano | * bano | pan | leucoderma |
| 106. | *panua | * banua | panu | village |
| 108. | *payan-i | *payan-i | hayon | to feed |


| 108. | *papaq | *pa-papa | pa-pah (?) | to carry piggyback |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 109. | *papine | *bapine | pehin | female; woman |
| 110. |  | *paunV | ohun (?) | new |
| 111. | *paRa | *paya | pay | shelf over hearth |
| 112. | *paRi | *pay | рәу | stingray |
| 113. | *patay | *pata | para- | tree trunk |
| 114. | *piRaq | * bia | pi | elephant ear taro |
| 115. | *pitaquR | *pitau | pita | Calophyllum spp. |
| 116. | *pituqin | *pitui | pitiw (< met.) | star |
| 118. | *poñu | *poñu | puñ | the green turtle |
| 118. | *potok | *boto- | poto-n | thorn |
| 119. | *pudi | *budri | muc | banana |
| 120. | *pulan | *bula | pul | moon, month |
| 121. | *puya | *buyo | pujo-n | flower, blossom |
| 122. | *puyun | *buyu | puy | bunch, cluster |
| 123. | *pupu | *bupu | puh | bamboo fish trap |
| 124. | *pupuyan | *pupuya | pupua-n (?) | ridgepole |
| 125. | *puqaya | *buaya | puay | crocodile |
| 126. | *putun | *butu | put | Barringtonia spp. |
| 128. | *qalu | *qalu | kəl | barracuda |
| 128. | *qapatoR | *qapeto | kahek | sago grub |
| 129. | *qapuR | *qapu | kəh | lime for betel chew |
| 130. | *qarita | *qarita | alit | the putty nut |
| 131. | *qasu | *qasu- | kasu-n | gall (bladder) |
| 132. | *qasu | *qasu | kasu-n | smoke |
| 133. | *qate | *qate | kate-n | liver |
| 134. | *qatoluR | *qatolu | karilu-n (?) | egg |
| 135. | *qatop | *qatop | kat | roof, thatch |
| 136. | *qauR | *qau | kau-n (?) | large bamboo sp. |
| 138. | *qayawan | *qaiwa | kew | banyan |
| 138. | *qenop | *qeno | en | to lie down |
| 139. | *qulu | *qulu | kulu-n | mountain peak |
| 140. | *qupi | *qupi | kuh | yam |
| 141. | *qusila | *qucila | kocil | lightning |
| 142. | *ramaR | *rama | lam | light, radiance |
| 143. | *raqan | *dra | ca-n | branch |
| 144. | *raqani | *rani | lən | day |
| 145. | *rato | *rato | lat | small whale sp. |
| 146. | *rodrom | *drodro | coc | dark |
| 148. | *ronoR | *royo | lon | to hear |
| 148. | *rua | *ruo-pu | ruh | two |
| 149. | *ruRi | *drui | ci-n | bone |
| 150. | *ruyuy | *druyu | tuy | dugong |
| 151. | *Rabia | *yabia | epi | sago |
| 152. | *Ropok | *opo | oh | to fly |
| 153. | *Rumaq | *yuma | yuma- | house |


| 154. | *i sai | *sai | səy | who? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 155. | *saku | *caku | cə | needlefish |
| 156. | *saku layaR | * colaya | colay | sailfish, marlin |
| 158. | *salan | * cala | cal | path, road |
| 158. | *saman | * cama | cam | outrigger float |
| 159. | *saya | * caya | cay | bifurcation |
| 160. | *sa-yapuluq | *sa-ŋapulu | sa-nahul | ten |
| 161. | *sa-yaRatus | *sa-yatu | sa-yət | one hundred |
| 162. | *sayasaya | *cayacaya | cayacay | starfish |
| 163. | *sapa | * capa | cah | what? |
| 164. | *sawit | * cawi | cəw | needle |
| 165. | * $\sin$ R | *sina | sin | ray of light; sun |
| 166. | *sira | *sira | sil | 3PL; 3DL |
| 168. | *soka | *soka | so | to spear; to shoot |
| 168. | *sone | *coye | cuy | hunger, hungry |
| 169. | *suli | *culi | culi-n | plant shoot |
| 170. | *sulu | *sulu | sulu | to burn |
| 171. | *suluq | * culu | cul | torch |
| 172. | *supi | *supi | sup | to peel |
| 173. | *sura | *sura | su | comb; to comb |
| 174. | *susu | *susu- | sus | female breast |
| 175. | *tabuna | *tabuna | tapun | dehortative; don't |
| 176. | *taci- | *tari- | teli- | parallel sibling |
| 178. | *tali | *dali | tol | rope |
| 178. | *talina | *dalina- | talin | ear |
| 179. | *talise | *dalise | talis | Terminalia spp. |
| 180. | *tama | *tama- | tamə- | father |
| 181. | *tanoq | * tano | tan | earth; down |
| 182. | *tapuRi | *dapuy | tahuy | conch shell |
| 183. | *tasik | *dasi | tos | sea, saltwater |
| 184. | *tasim | *taci | toc | to whet, sharpen |
| 185. | *taumata | *damata | camat | person, human being |
| 186. | *tawan | *dawa | taw | Pometia pinnata |
| 188. | *tian | *dia- | ti- | abdomen, belly |
| 188. | *tikV | *tikV | ti | to plait (mat, etc.) |
| 189. | *tina | *tina | tinə- | mother |
| 190. | *tokalaur | *tokalaw | tolaw | north wind |
| 191. | *tokon | * do | to | punting pole |
| 192. | *tolu | *tolu-pu | tuluh | three |
| 193. | *toñom | *toño | toñ | to swallow |
| 194. | *topu | *dopu | tuh | sugarcane |
| 195. | *tupuq | *tupu | tu-tuhu (?) | to grow |
| 196. | *tuRu | *du | tu | housepost |
| 198. | *tutuq | *tutu | tut | to hammer |
| 198. | *ucan | *uca | us | to load cargo |
| 199. | *waiwai | * wewey | wiwiy | mango |

200. *waRoc
201. 

*wayo
*watiV
way
wati
vine monitor lizard

