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Eight Languages of the Admiralty Islands, Papua New Guinea

Sketch 8: NAUNA

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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

Cons	onants						Vov	wels	
p (b)	pw	t (d)	c (j)	(kw)	k (g)	3	i		u
m	mw	n s	ñ		ŋ	h	e	ə	0
		1 r (dr)						a	
	W	(31)	у				plus	length	for /a/

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 /kw/ it might be asumed that this word is /kuit/ with a synchronic rule of semivocalization, but the existence of forms such as *kualuy* 'to call out to, hail someone', *mumuan* '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 putatanam* '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 /r/. On the other hand, where there is evidence of variation between [t] and [r] the phoneme is written as /t/.

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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 [rú?in], 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 ən/ 'eating', /ru in/ 'drinking'. A non-phonemic glottal stop was also recorded morpheme-finally, but within a phrase in [sɪn 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 (ci?cipan 'crumbling, of wood', mu?mut 'a tree used to make canoes', mwa?mwat 'a marine eel', pi?pit 'to float, drift', pwa?pwat '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 /p/ or /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 (su?ŋə 'to collect, gather' appears to be native, and the other (la?ta '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 /?ŋ/ 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 [lá?i] and [ká?up] 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 *-nd-* is 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 (*noronja* 'mangrove', and *tanji* 'back (of person or animal)'. Since neither of these words has an obvious loan source it is tentatively accepted that /j/ is a native phoneme, although its origin is unknown.

The most surprising of the voiced obstruents probably is /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 mw). However, in at least one word the rounding of the labiovelar nasal was initially difficult to hear before a rounded vowel: $[mot] \sim [m^wot]$ '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 > $pu\tilde{n}$ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', or PADM *kuñV > $ku\tilde{n}$ 'coconut leaf bag or basket'.

The sibilants /s/ and /h/ and the glides /w/ and /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 $me \sim meh$ and $la \sim lah$ respectively.

Among the liquids /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:ɛh] 'fontanelle' seemed

clearly to contrast with that in [mat] 'eye', or [mɛm] 'kind of yellow slug', and it is therefore provisionally written here as geminated.

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An alternation between /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 ayə '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 [u], although in closed syllables the vowel that corresponds to /i/ in other languages was sometimes recorded as [ɪ], as in [álɪt] 'putty nut', [mɪn] 'hand', or [péhɪn] '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' > [kalantʃutʃutʃ] or [kalantʃutʃwtʃ].

The non-central mid vowels were generally transcribed as [ɛ] and [o], although the first of these is [e] when preceding a palatal glide, and the second was also recorded as [ɔ] 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 [ɔ], [i], and [ɪ], 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', /painin/ or /paynin/ 'taro variety', /pweisanal/ or /pweysanal/ '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 mw-: mu- and pw-: pu- clearly contrast in words such as mwa?mwat '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 [saŋahúl] '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

one səw ruh two tuluh three four talət five tutən six tutən a səw tutən a ruh seven tutən a tuluh eight tutən a talət nine sanahul ten

saŋahul a səw eleven, etc. ruŋohul twenty

ruŋohul a səw twenty one, etc.

tuluŋohul thirty
hawiy forty
topəl fifty
topəl a saŋahul sixty
topəl a ruŋohul seventy
topəl a tuluŋohul eighty
topəl a hawiy ninety
saŋət one hun

saŋət one hundred
ruŋət two hundred
mocon tuluh three 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 sanahul	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	
	3 _{PL}	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 non-singular 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	təl	təl	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 2SG	meh come		at up	'Come up!
4)	ko 2sg	la go	i at	tan down	'Go down!'
5)	i 3sg	la go	ruaw 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':

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

10\

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

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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 *ayo* rather than *ayu* for the first person singular.

nainin

18)	ayə 1SG	ru COP	ən eat	painin taro			'I'm eating taro'
19)	ayə 1SG	ru COP	in drink	niw cocon	ut		'I'm drinking (from) a coconut'
20)	ayə 1SG	amam _] want	po	puk book	səw one	ene that	'I want that book'
21)	ayə 1SG 'I'm c	(ku) ? ounting	halu count the pec		camat people y over th	?	ele there sse people'

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 *ko* and *ka* 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)	 i 3sg	ən eat		araw 1sg poss.	'John ate my fish'
23)	 i 3sg	al capsize	e		'The canoe capsized'

One sentence was recorded with what appears to be a 3PL *anticipatory* pronoun:

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 1SG pronoun is expressed with the 1DL 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):

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- 25) Con a ayə lah ru ən painin John and 1SG go COP eat taro 'John and I are eating taro'
- 26) Con (i) lah ru ən 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 tinə teli malsənə not	tamə tinə teli malsənə	tamə-m tinə-m teli-m malsənə-m	tama-n tina-n tali-n malsənə-n natu-n	father mother sibling sibling-in-law child
Type 2	tamə	tamə	tamo	tami	father
	tinə	tinə	tino	tini	mother
Type 3	ina malsənə not min puw ni niw nal hal mat pwah lih kat	raw araw araw araw araw araw araw araw	ro aro aro aro aro aro aro aro aro aro a	rey erey erey erey erey erey erey erey	mother sibling-in-law child hand pig fish coconut name head eye mouth tooth chest

	sus kalka cay	araw araw araw	aro aro aro	erey erey erey	female breast foot/leg blood
Type 4	ci-n	ayə	O	i	bone
	kate-n	ayə	О	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 *tama-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:

Finally, a single possessive paradigm was recorded which might be considered Type 5:

Type 5 añə añə-m aŋani 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 knife	araw 1sgposs.	oi here	'My knife is here'
29)	pen pen	araw 1sgposs.	ene there	'My pen is there (near hearer)'
30)	pen pen	araw 1sg.poss	ele there	'My pen is there (far from hearer)'

By contrast, only the proximal form of a demonstrative pronoun was recorded:

31) awe tame 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:

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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'
- 37) mwiy la ri mulin yum dog go COP? behind house 'A dog is behind the house'
- 38) 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 təs dog go COP run toward sea 'A dog is running toward the sea'

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 ri in sentences 36-41) and ru 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).

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44) i la ru pit 3SG go COP drift 'S/he is drifting'

45) i la ru tuəh pame 3SG go COP chew betel 'S/he is chewing betel'

46) kolu la ru hot surf go COP break 'The surf is breaking'

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 where?: i aha how much/many?: campon who?: səy what?: cah why?: imarem

when?: cah now

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

47) səy i ən ni araw who 3SG eat fish 1SG.POSS. 'Who ate my fish?

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- 48) con i ən ni aro John 3SG eat fish 2SGPOSS. 'John ate your fish'
- 49) o ən cah 2SG eat what 'What did you eat?'
- 50) imarem a con i ən ni araw why ? John 3SG eat fish 1SG.POSS 'Why did John eat my fish?'
- 51) lay i i i cahma ən cun ce ? because 3SG 3SG 3SG hunger hit eat 'He ate (it) because he was hungry' (lit. 'hunger struck him')
- 52) cah now siw a o hu ni what time ? ? 2SG catch fish 'When did you catch the fish?'
- 53) o hu ni i-aha
 2SG catch fish where 'Where did you catch the fish?'
- 54) o hu ni titi-aha 2SG catch fish how 'How did you catch the fish?
- 55) o hi titi-aha o hu ni 2SG ? how 2SG catch fish 'How did you catch the fish?'
- 56) o hu ni campon
 2SG catch fish how many 'How many fish did you catch?'

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 cah now siw ? 2SG catch fish what time ? 'When did you catch the fish?'

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 2SG 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.

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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:

8.3.7. The copula. Nauna appears to have a true copula, ru. This can occur alone, as in sentence 59), but it more often occurs with $la \sim lah$ 'to go', in which case it (at least sometimes) signals action taking place at a distance, as in sentences 60)-62):

59)	i 3sg	ru COP	en lie	tan down	'S/he is lying down (nearby)'
60)	i 3SG 'S/he	la go is drinl		in cən drink water ter (at a distance)'	
61)	i 3sg	la go	ru COP	mwatəl stand	'S/he is standing (at a distance)'
62)	i 3sg	la go	ru COP	tiw mahal 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 2sg	te from near	me come	'Bring it! (from nearby)'
64)	ko 2sg	ho from far	me 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'

aŋoan 'yellow-orange'	malahan 'wide'
calcaran 'dirty'	man 'bad'
ciciron 'painful'	meheon 'bitter'

lanan 'white' makahen 'soft'

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ci?cipan 'crumbling, of wood'
coketan 'black'
eluen 'long, tall; far'
hian 'good'
holelen 'much/many'
hututun 'thick'
kason 'near'
konun 'heavy'
koraten 'thin'
lalaun 'cold'
lalaun 'sweet'

memician 'ashamed'
mocan 'old'
momoson 'smooth, level'
narun 'small, narrow'
ohun 'new'
parahinon 'hard'
piakan 'wet'
posawən 'dry'
posian 'spoiled, rotten'
puen 'big, elder'
purun 'deep'
tutukun 'short'

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', kekeə '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', tə '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 ŋanan 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
*pataŋ	para-n	tree trunk
*potok	poto-n	spine; thorn
*puŋa	puŋo-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. cən)
*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:

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

69) i Con can 'John cut himself' John 3SG cut 3SG 70) i Con muli can 3SG 'John cut himself' John cut REFL.

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 ka, with ko being the more common variant:

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

75)	ko 2sg	lohiŋ wake up	i 3SG	'Wake him/her up!'
76)	ko 2sg	mamat wake up		'Wake up!'
77)	ko 2sg	tiw plant, bury		'Plant it/Bury it!'
78)	ko 2sg	ho from.far	me come	'Bring it (from a distance)!
79)	ko 2sg	te from.near	me come	'Bring it (from close by)!
80)	ka 2sG	selis carry.with.po	ile	'Carry it (with a pole)!'
81)	ka 2sG	sup peel		'Peel it!'
82)	ka 2sg	oc niw husk cocon	ıut	'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 ka which cannot confidently be identified with the singular pronoun of the same shape:

83)	tapun NEG	ko 2sg	ən eat	muc banana	'Don't eat the bananas!'
84)	tapun NEG	omu 2DL	ən eat	muc banana	'Don't you two eat the bananas!'
85)	tapun NEG	opu 2TL	ən eat	muc banana	'Don't you three eat the bananas!'
86)	tapun NEG	aoh 2PL	ən eat	muc banana	'Don't all of you eat the bananas!'

eat

2PL

?

07)	,				
87)	ko 2sg	ən eat	muc banai	na	'Eat the bananas!'
88)	omu 2DL	ka ?	ən eat	muc banana	'Both of you eat the bananas!'
89)	opu 2TL	ka ?	ən eat	muc banana	'The three of you eat the bananas!'
90)	aoh	ka	ən	muc	

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'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 indicating tense is perhaps *laku*, marking a general future sense, as in:

banana

91) ayə laku ən painin 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 3sg	leki intend	metil sleep	'S/he is going to sleep'
93)	i 3sg	leki intend	mumut vomit	'S/he is going to vomit'

The verb is unchanged in past actions, as seen in the following sentence:

94) ayə ən 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 *ki* 'already':

95) niw ki mun coconut already fall '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, *kay 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 tas* (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 i tə (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'.

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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 pulday '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 saŋ*), 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 putətənəm* '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)		meh come		at up	'Come up!'
97)	ko 2sg	la go	i LOC	tan down	'Go down!'

As in other languages of the Admiralties, phrases are head + modifier, as in *cin karahan* (bone + side) 'rib', *hal caŋ* (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 *ñot kəy* '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.

/c/

030. cacahut: 'Run!'

031. cacana: to dry, as clothes in the sun

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/a/ 001. a_{-1} : conjunction, and (cf. *topəl*, *tutən*) 002. a_{-2} : marker of personal names 003. *aha*: (gloss uncertain; cf. *i*₋₂, *titi*) 004. ahay: west wind ahay tolaw: northwest wind 005. ahe: (gloss uncertain; cf. alan) 006. *al* : to capsize 008. alan: low tide alan kir ahe: dry lagoon 008. aləl: halibut 009. alit: the putty nut: Parinari laurinum 010. amamop: to want, desire 011. amis: to stroke hair or fur until it lies flat 012. an: (gloss uncertain; cf. ce-2) 013. aña: food, aña, aña-m, anani 014. aney: tree with wood used to make the slitgong; canarium nut: Canarium indicum 015. *aniluə*: to turn (head or body) 016. anoan: yellow-orange 018. aoh: 2PL, you all 018. apa: to throw (as a stone); to throw down, to drop 019. apwal: mud 020. aralan: to open wide, as the eyes mat aralan: to open the eyes wide 021. araw 1SG possessor, my 022. aro: 2SG possessor, your 023. *at* ~ *yat*: up 024. ate (gloss uncertain; cf. miñə) 025. atul: to follow 026. aw: to walk 028. awe: this 028. ayə ~ ayu : 1SG subject/object, I/me /b/ 029. *burum* : broom (TP)

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032. cah: what?
033. cahma : because (= cah-ma?)
034. caic: deep blue sea
035. cakalan: light, radiance, glare on water
       cakalan sin: sunlight
036. /cala/, cal : path, road
       cala-n kel: passage through reef ('path of canoe')
       cal mara: path, way
038. calaw: sarong (men's)
038. calcaran: dirty
039. calih: blue-finned sea perch
040. calin: (gloss uncertain)
       calin panu: overcast, as before a storm
041. cam: outrigger float
042. camaluan : shadow, reflection (= camalua-n?)
043. camat: person, human being
044. camel: knife
045. campon: how much/how many?
046. camul: (gloss uncertain; cf. kuñ)
048. camun: lime spatula
048. can<sub>-1</sub>: branch
       can kəy: branch of a tree
049. can_{-2}: to cut, as wood
050. candalaw: spider
051. canun: water, fluid (= canu-n?)
       canun mat: tears
       canun niw: coconut water
       canun sus: breast milk
052. ca\eta_{-1}: bare, bald
       hal can: bald head
053. can-2: bifurcation; crotch, space between fingers, etc.
054. canacan: starfish
055. canatow: traditional loincloth
056. canən: to sniff, smell; odor
       canon posian: rotten smell, stench
058. capon: jellyfish
058. caw: to surface, as someone rising from under water
059. caway: to search; to find
060. cawi: to seek, search for something (probably = preceding)
       cawi kut: to groom a person, looking for lice in the hair
061. cay<sub>-1</sub>: blood, cay araw, cay aro, cay erey
       caye-n: blood of, caye-n ayə, caye-n o, caye-n i
       caye-n puw: pig's blood
062. cay<sub>-2</sub>: the Malay apple: Syzygium gomata
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063. ce_{-1} : to hit with the fist, slap; to kill; to crush lice between fingernails

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064. ce_{-2}: to speak
       ce an naw: to say, tell
065. ce<sub>-3</sub>: to throw out, remove (?; cf. kel)
066. cec: green, blue
068. celkiy: coconut oil
068. ceul: kind of tree whose bark is used for walling
069. co: slender green fish with needle-like nose, probably needlefish
070. cən: fresh water
071. c \ni p_{-1} \sim c u p: to run
072. cap_{-2}: to sail
073. cəw : needle
074. ciciron: pain, headache, toothache; painful
075. cih: an important food fish: Spanish mackerel
076. cihil: small reddish stonefish
078. cil-1: boom of sail, bamboo pole for controlling the sail
078. cil<sub>-2</sub> : lionfish
079. cilal: ancestral spirit; nature spirit (TP: tambaran)
080. cim : to buy
081. cimil : spine
082. cin: bone, cin aya, cin o, cin i (= ci-n?)
       cin karahan : rib ('side bone')
       cin ni: fish bone
       cin pas: chinbone, jawbone
       cin tut: occiput, back of the head
083. cinap: short blue and green reef fish with needle-like nose (shorter than ca)
084. cin : vagina
085. cipan: piece
       cipan kalah: cloud
086. cipel : tuber (?)
       cipel on tihol: kind of short red yam
088. ci?cipan: crumbling, of wood (possibly a reduplication of cipan, hence 'in pieces')
088. ciw_{-1}: to catch (ball, etc.)
089. ciw-2: a shrub with colorful leaves, the croton
090. coat : to play
091. coc : dark
092. cocoun: to push
093. cohun: node in bamboo, sugarcane, etc. (= cohu-n?)
094. coketan: black
095. col: crazy, insane
096. colay: marlin, sailfish
098. con : to lose
       con tali: to lose, as possessions; to stray, get lost (TP lusim pinis, man i lus pinis)
098. co\eta_{-1}: charcoal
       con kalin mon: ashes
099. co\eta_{-2}: to enter
100. cona-n puw: thigh of a pig
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101. concon: to hunt, go hunting for game
102. coy: stone
103. cu : comb
104. cuc: to dive, submerge
       i ke-cuc: 'He dived'
       ko-cuc 'Dive!'
105. cucumon: wooden bowl
106. cucumwalel: earthworm, maggot
108. 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. cun : hunger
115. cuputan: core, center
       cuputan kəy: core of a tree, heartwood
116. cupwa: tree with wood used to make the slitgong
/e/
118. eldi : caulking (as of a canoe)
118. ele \sim yele: that, there
119. elih: to blow, as a person blowing on a fire
       elih kəy: 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. etun: to recognize, as a person
128. eul: wind
/a/
128. \partial h: to boil (water, food)
129. an: to eat
130. at : to bite
/g/
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131. *guria* : earthquake (TP)

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/h/
132. haibiskis: hibiscus (TP)
133. /hala/, hal : head
       hala-n puw: head of a pig, boar's head
134. halala∂n: to count
135. halu: to count
       ayə (ku)halu sih camat te ele 'I am counting those people over there'
136. haŋal : to think
138. hanan: to feed
138. hanka: anchor (TP)
139. hankulul: 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. heyəh: afternoon, evening
149. hi : (gloss uncertain; cf. titi)
150. hian<sub>-1</sub>: good
151. hian<sub>-2</sub>: honey
152. hiap: to remove, expel
       ko hiap pə 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. hu: to catch, as fish or game
162. hum: to pour, as water
163. hun: to pour, spill
164. hututun: thick, as a plank
/i/
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165. i_{-1} : generic locative marker, at, on; from

```
166. i<sub>-2</sub>: (gloss uncertain; genitive?)
       i aha: where?
       not 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 cən: 'S/he is drinking water'
171. ina: mother (add, and ref.), ina-raw, ina-ro, ina-rey (cf. tina)
       ina komeh: 'Mother, come!'
172. ir : to dig, dig up
173. iwatiwat: story, narrative
/k/
174. ka<sub>-1</sub>: (gloss uncertain; cf. sentences 88-90)
175. ka<sub>-2</sub>: to make
       ka hiwokan: to caulk, as a leaking canoe
176. ka<sub>-3</sub> : 2SG subject, you
178. kacan<sub>-1</sub>: handle of an implement
       kacan mwantani: handle of an axw or adze
178. kacan-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 tas: 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. kal_{-1}: lateral fin of a fish
       kal on pahew: lateral fins of a shark
188. kal<sub>-2</sub>: tree whose wood is used to make the fireplow
188. kala : color (TP)
189. kalah: cloud
190. kalancucuc ~ kalancucwic : catfish
191. kaliləw: wooden headrest, pillow
192. kalimon: left side
193. kalin: (gloss uncertain; cf. coη<sub>-1</sub>)
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. kaluəy: 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

kanən camat: body

kanən kəw: fishhook ('baited hook'?)

kanən pac: pandanus fruit kanən po kəy: fruit of a tree kanən 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 ayə, 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 təs: 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. kəh: lime for betel chew, calcium carbonate
245. kəl: barracuda
246. k \ni w_{-1}: fishhook
248. kəw-2: throat (cf. kiow)
       kəw pon : hoarse
248. kəy-1 (gloss uncertain; cf. elih)
249. kəy-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. kəw )
256. kip : tongs
258. kir: (gloss uncertain; cf. alan)
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<sub>-1</sub>: fence
262. ko-2: 2SG subject, you – imperative marker
       ko lohin 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

kuñah pwen: to gasp, pant, be short of breath

303. *kuŋ* : shoulder 304. *kup* : east, east wind

```
305. kuro: mussel
306. kuronpuh: fish with canvas-like skin
308. kuron: 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. kuyuy : coconut grater
/kw/
312. kwit : octopus (= /kuit/?)
/1/
313. la_{-2} \sim lah: to go; part of copula for actions performed at a distance
314. lac : coral limestone
315. lahan: south wind
316. lai<sub>-1</sub>: ginger
318. la(i)_{-2}: with (instrumental)
318. laka: to want, desire
319. laku : will (future marker)
320. lal: Trochus shell
321. lalaun<sub>-1</sub>: cold (of water, food, weather)
322. lalaun<sub>-2</sub>: sweet
323. laliw: lagoon, shallow water within reef
324. lam: light, radiance
325. lan: housefly
326. lanan: white
328. la?ta : 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<sub>-1</sub>: (gloss uncertain)
        i ən lay cahma cun i ce i 'He at it because he was hungry'
333. lay<sub>-2</sub>: towards, in the direction of
334. leki: intend, plan to; cf. metil, mumut)
335. lembul: stinging March fly
336. lepi: slitgong
338. let<sub>-1</sub>: belt (TP)
338. let<sub>-2</sub>: house lizard, gecko
        let pukaw: kind of lizard with soft skin that is easily torn
339. lən : day
340. lih: tooth, tusk, lih araw, lih aro, lih erey
        liha-n puw: tusk of a pig
341. linlin: to stare, look with fixed gaze
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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. lon : 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. lumu: hair, feather
       lumudra : vomitus (= 'feathers + excreta')
       lumu monmon: feather
       lumu-n hal: hair of the head
356. lunlumun: moss, marine algae
358. lupun: 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 ayə, etc.)
373. mamat: to wake up (intr.)
       ko mamat 'Wake up!'
374. mamaw: to yawn
375. mamu: grandfather, grandchild (recipr.)
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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. manas: to work
381. marmar: kind of tree with small round fruit
382. mat: to die, dead
383. /mata/: 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 putətənəm: 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 təs : sea slug
391. memician: shame, embarrassment; ashamed, embarrassed
       pul memician: ashamed, embarrassed
392. me?me?nan: coconut with soft meat
       me?me?nan kanən: 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
       ayə ən painin ate miñə '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 sanahul: one thousand
       mocon talət: four hundred
       mocon tuluh: three hundred
       mocon tutan: five hundred
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mocon tutan a saw: six hundred

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mocon tutan a ruh: seven hundred
       mocon tutən a tuluh: eight hundred
       mocon tutən a talət: 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 kəy: hollow in a tree
403. molon: 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. muc : banana
418. mucihin: scales of fish, snake, etc.
418. muco: island
419. muli: 3SG reflexive pronoun, himself, herself
420. mulin: behind
421. mumuan: 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. muon: in front of
425. mu?mut: kind of tree used to make canoes
/mw/
426. mwaani: cross sibling, sibling of opposite sex
428. mwac<sub>-1</sub>: bandicoot, marsupial rat
428. mwac_{-2}: to look, see
429. mwamwalaw: to shiver, as from cold
430. mwantani: axe. adze
431. mwa?mwat: marine eel
432. mwasay: kind of poisonous reef fish that hides in the seaweed
433. mwat_{-1}: long white yam
434. mwat<sub>-2</sub> : snake
       mwat on lolout: bush snake
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mwat on tas: sea snake

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435. mwat-3: wound
436. mwatəl: 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 kəy: leaf of a tree
        nasun niw: frond of a coconut palm
448. naw: to talk
448. new: support stick for climbing plants
449. ni: 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. \tilde{n}ael: to shave
456. ñah : spear
        ñah pelen : pronged fish spear
458. ñalñal: to crawl on hands and knees
458. \tilde{n}aw_{-1}: to remove oil from a coconut
459. ñaw<sub>-2</sub> : widow(er)
460. ñay : soft betel nut (not strong)
461. ñelu: to wash (clothes, dishes, hands, face)
462. \tilde{n} \ni m\tilde{n} \ni m: to eat
463. ñemul: to spit
464. \tilde{n}e\tilde{n}ep_{-1}: high tide, flood
465. /ñeñepa/, ñeñep-2: fat, grease
        \tilde{n}e\tilde{n}epa-n: to be fat, obese
```

i ñeñepa-n: 'S/he is fat'

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466. ñesim : wall
       ñesim yum : house wall
468. ñoh: 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)
       kalka aro ñoñoha-n 'My foot is swollen' (can't use ñoñoh here)
470. ñorout: kind of tree used to make canoes
471. ñot : papaya
472. ñot kəy: latex-yielding tree with apple-like fruit, probably Palaquium spp.
473. \tilde{n}u: shellless squid
474. ñuhi : to bathe
/ŋ/
475. nah: tree with brown bark, soft wood, and small kidney-shaped green fruit
476. nal: name, nal ara-w, nal aro, nal erev
478. nanan: kind, type
478. nat: a hole (in the ground)
479. nay: bloodshot and weary-looking, of the eyes
480. nohan: fathom, distance between fingertips of outstretched arms
       nohan səw: one fathom
       nohan ruh: two fathoms
481. nol : honeybee
482. noron : end
483. noronja: mangrove
484. ηot : nose, snout
       not i puw: snout of a pig
/o/
485. o: 2SG 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. omu: 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. pulən)
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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. painin: 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. palələh: 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<sub>-1</sub>: (gloss uncertain; cf. calin)
518. panu-2: village
518. paŋ : 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. paran: 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 kəy: seed of a tree
536. pay: shelf over the hearth for storing food, betel, etc., but not firewood
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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 lən: noon, midday
546. pa-1: (gloss uncertain; cf. hiap)
548. pa-2: kind of broad-leaved pandanus of no practical use
548. pəh: 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. pi?pit: to float, drift
       i laru pit: 'S/he is drifting'
558. pirihit: trivet, three stones of the hearth
559. pita: 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<sub>-2</sub>: 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. porocanan kəy: 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
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579. *poyun* : tail (= *poyu-n*?)

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580. praim : to fry (TP)
581. puay: crocodile
582. pucuan: shell, outer cover; gourd
       pucuan kəh: 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<sub>-2</sub>: moon, month
591. pulahe: caterpillar
592. puldan : sap, sticky fluid (cf. puldey)
       puldan kul: breadfruit sap
593. pulday: to stick, adhere (cf. puldan)
594. puləŋ : dawn
       (pa)cahan puləη: morning
595. puli: mountain
596. pulukal: mole on the skin
598. pulut: single-pronged, of a fish spear
       ñah pulut : single-pronged fish spear
598. pun<sub>-1</sub>: pufferfish
       pun cimil: porcupine fish
599. pun<sub>-2</sub>: 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. puŋ-1: bunch, cluster
       sa-puŋ: one bunch (as of betel nuts)
603. pu\eta_{-2}: night
604. puŋ<sub>-3</sub> : sky
       puŋ-kalah : cloudy sky?
605. punkuluahin mon: ember
606. punon: flower, blossom
       punon 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

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612. put-3: a shore tree: Barringtonia asiatica
613. putatanam: (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. pwa?pwat : fear, afraid
621. pwarampwaw: old (of animates)
622. pwe: small flying fox
       pwe tunul: large flying fox
623. pweh: to open
624. pweisanəl: centipede
625. pwek: leg from knee to hip, thigh
       pweka-n puw: thigh of a pig
626. pwen: negative marker, no, not
628. pwentan: 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 səw ele rarama-n 'That book is red'
634. renbo: rainbow (TP)
635. ri<sub>-1</sub>: 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 mwatəl 'S/he is standing'
639. ruay: freshwater eel
640. ruh: two
641. runət: two hundred
642. runohul: twenty
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/s/
643. salim : to sell (TP)
644. san: (gloss uncertain; cf. teli)
645. sanahul: ten
646. sanət: one hundred
648. sasi: grandmother, grandchild (recipr.)
648. selis: to carry on a shoulder pole
649. selponah: to snore
650. santiw: to hold in the hand
651. saw: 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: 3TL subject/object, the three of them
669. sum: to pluck, pull out
670. sun: to dip in, as a paintbrush in paint
671. sunoh: to grunt, snort, as a pig
672. sup: to peel, as yams
673. su?ŋə: to collect, gather
674. sus.1: female breast, sus araw, sus aro, sus erev
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
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ce taholi: to bend something that resists, as an iron bar (lit. 'hit crooked')

679. taholi: crooked

721. ti_{-3} : to plait, weave

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722. *tihin*: under, beneath
723. *tihol*: (gloss uncertain; cf. *cipel*)
724. *tik*: to climb *tik-tikal*: climbing
725. *tikəl*: to pinch
726. *timpat*: nest

timpat on monmon: bird's nest

728. tinə: mother (ref.): tinə, tinə-m, tina-n (cf. ina)

728. $tinan_{-1}$: to sing (of women)

729. $tinan_{-2}$: to weep, cry

730. *tiŋka* : 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. *topəl* : fifty

topəl a saŋahul : sixty topəl a ruŋahul : seventy topəl a tuluŋohul : eighty topəl 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

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753. tuluh : three
754. tulunohul: thirty
755. tumpat: shelf
       tumpat on kehi: firewood shelf (outside the house)
756. tunan: to make
758. tunkəl: coconut flower spathe
758. tunul: (gloss uncertain; cf. pwe)
759. tupun: footprint of an animal, trail or tracks of a turtle, snake or crab
760. tut<sub>-1</sub>: (gloss uncertain, closed?; cf. talin)
761. tut<sub>-2</sub>: to hammer
762. tut-3: occiput, back of the head
763. tutən : five
       tutən a səw: six
       tutən a ruh: seven
       tutən a tuluh: eight
       tutən a talət: 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. ucəh : fishing pole
770. uh : rafter
771. ul: 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. upup: kind of reef fish with thin, silvery skin
775. ur: 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 təl 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
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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 puldəy adze mwantani afraid pwa?pwat heyəh afternoon lunlumun algae alive kirumat pwen tomunahay all

already : ki

anchor : hanka (TP)

and : a angry : hitay

kic, komom, nanih ant sp. morohun mwey anus areca palm paran pame arm min armpit kapwat ponara (TP) arrow con kalin mon ash pul memician ashamed

to ask : ulit at : i

axe mwantani back (anat.) tanji bad man bag (for betel) kuñ bailer for canoe kalioh bait pe bald hal can bamboo kaun, pecic

banana : muc
bandicoot : mwac
bare : caŋ
to bark (dog) : culcul
bark (of tree) : kunan
base : korpun

basket kompuel, kuñ, pasiket (TP), top bat (insectivorous) pwalculumway, teltelkoput

to bathe ñuhi beach kendic cahma because mulin behind belly ti belongings kokou let (TP) belt to bend ce taholi beneath tihin betel leaf lo betel leaf (young) mok betel nut pame betel nut (soft) ñay

betel pepper parakain lo

bifurcation can big puen billow patan to bind ur

bird monmon

bird sp. kanaw, karah, karen, karipow,

> kelkelpag, kohaw, manay, molut, palmara, paran, parikuy, pək, pəl,

pun,

cec

to bite ət

blue

bitter meheon black coketan blind mat pwen blood cay blossom puŋon to blow elih

blunt mata-n pwen kel/kelkel boat body (human) kanən camat

boil (sore) lot to boil (water, food) əh bone cin book puk (TP) boom of sail cil bottom korpun bow (weapon) ponara (TP) bowl (wooden) cucumon brain mancocon

branch can 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.) puŋ 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 kel/kelkel, pot canoe

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 : pweisaŋəl cerumen : kantuntun charcoal : con

charcoal : con chest : kat to chew : tueh

chicken : kakaaro (TP)

child : not chin : pase-clam : taləy

clam (giant) : polkuh
clean : kilin (TP)
to climb : tik
to close : sopon
closed : pon, tut (?)
cloud : (cipan) kalah

cluster puŋ cockroach ih niw coconut pokeran coconnut (dry) coconut flower punon niw coconut flower spathe: tuŋkəl kuyuy coconut grater coconut oil celkiy pucuan niw coconut shell coconut (soft meat) me?me?nan coconut tree paran niw canun niw coconut water koldan coconut (young) cold lalaun to collect su?ŋə color kala (TP) comb (for hair) cu comb (of rooster) palawa

comb (of rooster) : palawa
to come : meh
conch shell : tahuy
to construct : wokan
to convey : tiw

cooked : malis/melsan

cooking pot : kul
copula (distant) : la
copula (near) : ru
coral limestone : lac
core : cuputan
to cough : malmalop
to count : halalain/halu

cover (n.) : maran

crab sp. : cuet, kaikop, karuy, kesus, puñ on

papi

to crawl : ñalñal crazy : col crippled : suksuk crocodile : puay crooked : taholi crotch : caŋ croton : ciw

crumbling (wood) : ci?cipan to cry : kakapwi, tiŋən

ñol current cuscus kocay to cut (wood) can to dance tən dark coc dawn puləŋ day lən day after tomorrow lupun dead mat deaf talin tut deep purun dehortative tapun to descend lol

to desire : amamop, laka

to die : mat to dig : ir digging stick : paira to dip in : sun dirty : calcaran

to discard : apə la i tan, apə la i tə

distant eluen, tə to dive cuc dog mwiy dolphin uri don't tapun door (opening) karam down tan to draw toro to dream mehimeh to drift pi?pit to drink in to drive (fish) kaup təs to drop api to drown lol

dry : posawen to dry : cacaŋi dugong : tuy

dull:mata-n pwendurative:laru (?)dust:puŋpuŋahun

ear : talin ear wax : kantuntun earth : kantan earthquake : guria (TP)

earthworm cucumwalel

east kup

ən, ñəmñəm, to eat edge harerean, tewi

eel (fresh water) ruay

eel (marine) mwa?mwat karilun egg egg of louse lis

eight tutən a tuluh

eight hundred mocon tuten a tuluh eighty topəl a tulunohul elbow punsusun minembarrassed pul memician embarrassment memician

puŋkuluahin mon ember

end noron to enter con

maran poroay, pwahan poroay estuary

evening heyəh expel hiap eye mataface pul to fall (from above) mun to fall (walking) telip fallow land kop far eluen, tə to fart kurupow fat (n.) ñeñepafather taməfathom nohan fear pwa?pwat lumu feather feather (tail) kaliw feces raito feed haŋən pehin female ko topəl

fence fifty 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

fire : mon firewood : kehi

firewood shelf : tumpat on kehi

fish : ni fish corral : cuk fishhook : kəw fishing pole : ucəh

fish sp. : aləl, calih, cə, cih, cihil, cil, cinap,

colay, cul, kalancucuc/kalancucwic, kanas, kayaw, keli, kesi, kəl, koŋ, kot, kulul, kuronpuh, lopow, makaw, monoy, moses, mwasay, nuh, pahew. pakiaw, papay, parakin, paraniw, pela, peliaw, pəy, pol, pun, pun cimil, pwah, pwep, taktak, tetin,

upup, yew

fish trap : puh five : tutən

five hundred mocon tutan flank karahan flashlight sut lam flesh kanən to float pi?pit flood ñeñep flower punon fluid canun to fly oh flying fox pwe foam kahuren focal point matafog kasun papi

to fold : lul
to follow : atul
fontanelle : mmeh
food : añə, teluay
footprint (animal) : tupun
footprint (human) : tiŋka
for (in order to) : on
forehead : kunan pul

forehead : kunan pul forest : lolout

fork (of branch) : porocanan kəy

fork (on outrigger) : pəh forty : hawiy foundation : korpun four : talət

four hundred : mocon talet

frog toltolic from 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 su?ŋə genitive on, po malaw ghost 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, tunul to go la good hian gourd pucuan grandchild (to GF) mamu grandchild (to GM) sasi grandfather mamu grandmother sasi grass (sword) pelic grasshopper kamoc

ñeñepa-

min

green cec to groom, nitpick caway kut ground kantan, kor tutuhu to grow to grunt suŋoh guts tanteluen to hail someone kualuy, ual lumu hair to hammer tut

grease

hand

handle : kacan
hard (as a rock) : parahinon
to have : kirhu
he/him : i
head : halaheadache : ciciron
headrest : kaliləw

headwaters : korpun poroay health : mecahala (?)

to hear : long
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 səntiw to hold hole (in body?) morohun (?)

hole (in ground) ηat hole (in wall, canoe): molohohollow (in tree, etc.) molohon honey hian honeybee ηol hot tatahan house yumahousefly laŋ

housepost : korpun tu how? : titi aha how much/many? : campon human being : camat

hundred : mocon, sanot

hunger cuŋ to hunt, go hunting concon husband mumuan husk kacan to husk oc husking stick cuih Ι ayə/ayu to inform kauna information mahal

insane col inside rondian to intend leki interdigital space can intestines tanteluen island muco to itch/itchy momoku jaw pasejellyfish capon joint parakain to kill ce kind (type) ηanan kinsman kit knee hankulul camel knife knot kañ to know mahalan ladder la?ta (TP) ladle pil lagoon laliw lame suksuk helsain/helsa to laugh leaf nasun left (side) kalimon leucoderma pan level (surface) momoson to lick helmem lid maran to lie down en, en tan to lift henə

light (radiance) : cakalan, lam light (weight) : konun pwen

lightning : kocil lime (for betel) : kəh

lime gourd : pucuan kəh lime spatula : camun lip : kuc liver : katen

living : kirumat pwen

lizard sp. : kuroŋ, let, let pukaw, wati

to load (cargo) : us

lobster : kuñ camul, loup

loincloth : canatow long : eluen to look : mwac to look (fixedly) : linlin, tutulo

to lose (things) : con tali louse : kut

love : maran putətənəm, sore

maggot : cucumwalel to make : ka, tunan, wokan

male mumuan man mumuan wiwiy mango holelen many March fly (stinging) lembul mast for sail paran pale mat (sleeping) taoh ayə/ayu me men's house laul perilian middle mist kasun papi mole (on skin) pulukal moon/month pul

morning : (pa)cahan pulən

Morning star : koldal mosquito : pil moss : lunlumun

mother ina, tinəmakmak mottled mountain puli mouth pwahato move (residence) konkon holelen much mud apwal muscle kanən mushroom talinlin mussel kuro name ηal iwətiwət narrative narrow narun nasal mucus (wet) ri

navel : matam put
near : kason
neck : kəw
needle : cəw

nest : timpat, yuma-

net (casting) : kanaən
net (hand) : morohop
nettle : lawis
new : ohun

news : kauna, mahal

night : pun

nine : tutən a talət

nine hundred : mocon tutən a talət ninety : topəl a hawiy nipple of breast : matan sus

nipple of breast nit lis no pwen cohun node kamkam noose trap ηot nose pwen not pahaw oar obese ñeñepan

obsidian : periləw occiput : tut octopus : kwit odor : caŋən 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 sanahul

to open pweh to open wide (eyes) aralan opossum kocay orange aŋoan outrigger boom kiac outrigger float cam calin panu overcast paddle of a canoe haw to paddle a canoe ka-haw ciciron pain ciciron painful palm of hand rondian minto 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

perspiration : hion
piece : cipan
pig : pow
pillar : tu
pillow : kaliləw
to pinch : tikəl

pity : maran putətənəm, sore

to plait ti leki to plan to to plant tiw to play coat playmate (of child) tohi to pluck sum possessions kokou post tu pot (for water, sago) : pwentan to pour huŋ kirhu not pregnant prong of fish spear to

prow : polon kel
to pull : heliw
to pull out : sum, ul
punting pole : to
pus : nanan
to push : cocoun

to quarrel : hitay quick : malmalew rafter : uh

rain : paŋ
rainbow : renbo (TP)
rat : polu
rattan : kadra (TP)
raw : pamerein

to recognize (person) : etun to recover : mecahala hian

red : raram

reef : harerean caic reflection : camaluan reflexive (3SG) : muli relative : kit

to remove : ce, kohiap to remove oil : ñaw to report : kauna to reside, live in : ento

rib : cin karahan

ridgepole : kanat

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right (side) : kalmatu
ripe : maatu/metuan
river : poroay

river : poroay to roast : sulu roof : pupuan yum

root (generic) : kocan
rope : kap, təl, way
rotten : posian, tente
to rub in : sopwiy
rudder : kilit

to run : cacahut, cəp/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 təs saltwater təs sision salty 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) : təs

sea anemone : mac, maran sin

sea cucumber koyoy lolomoc sea grass 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 tutən a ruh seventy : topəl a ruŋahul

to sew sus camaluan shadow shallow purun pwen shame memician kalkain puw shank of pig sharp matan to sharpen tic to shave ñael she/her shelf tumpat shelf (over hearth) pay shell pucuan to shiver mwamwalaw

to shoot : so

shore : kendic, papi short : tutukun shoulder : kuŋ

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) tiŋən single pronged pulut to sink lol to sit totol six tutən a səw

six hundred : mocon tutən a səw sixty : topəl a sanahul

skin : kunan skirt (grass) : noy sky : puŋ to slap : ce sleep (in eye) : rain m

sleep (in eye) : rain mat to sleep : metil, teŋkilu

slitgong : lepi slow : kekeə slug (gastropod) : mem

small : narun, pwiciken

to smell (something) : caŋən smoke : kasun to smoke (fish, meat) : tehuəs smooth : momoson snail : mwel

snake mwat to sneeze mag to sniff caŋən to snore selponah sunoh to snort snot ri snout ηot soft makahen soil kantan hilis to sort out sour sision ce to speak

spear : ñah, periləw spider : candalaw

spiderweb : yuman candalaw

to spill huŋ 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 : liŋliŋ, tutulə starfish : caŋacaŋ starfish (spiny) : kak to steal : pahana stench : caŋən posian stern of canoe : kaluəy stick : kəy

kəy to stick, adhere to puldəy still (water) mocay stone coy iwətiwət story 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

cakalan sin sunlight sin ki lol sunset support stick new surf hot, kolu to surface caw to swallow toñ sweat hion lalaun sweet kaukau (TP) sweet potato

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, painin, pi, puka

taro sucker : culin tattoo : op

tears : canun mat to tell : ce an naw ten : saŋahul tendon : kocan termite : parananan

testicles sis that ele, ene thatch kat sil them (dual) sih them (plural) 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 pwekathin (things, people) koraten to think haŋal

thirty : tulunohul this : awe thorn : poton three : tuluh

three hundred : mocon tuluh

throat : kəw to throw : apə

to throw away : apə la i tan, apə la i tə

to throw out thunder (rumbling) tentenu thunderclap paral tidal wave molon tide ñol tide (high) ñeñep tide (low) alaŋ to tie (by wrapping) ur time now toad toltolic tomorrow pamuhu tongs kip tongue kalmim tooth lih toothache ciciron top kulun torch cul towards lay tracks (of animal) tupun tree kəy

tree sp. : alit, aney, cay, ceul, cupwa, kal, kew,

kuy, lawa, marmar, mosim, moso, mu?mut, nanas, ñorout, ñot kəy, ŋah, ŋoronja, pac, pag, palpal kepwiy, pə,

pitə, put, pweñat, talis, taw

tree trunk : paran kəy trivet (in hearth) : pirihit Trochus shell : lal

true : tenteruan tuber, root crop : cipel to turn (head, body) : aŋiluə turtle (green) : puñ

turtle shell : pucuan puñ

tusk : lih
twenty : ruŋohul
twins : moc
two : ruh
two (of people) : luman

to weave

two hundred ruŋət type (sort) ηanan uncooked pamerein under tihin up at/yat urine/urinate mim us (dual) təl us (plural) tah us (trial) talu vagina cin vein kocan village panu vine lolow, way vomit (n.) lumudra mumut to vomit to wake (trans.) lohin to wake (intr.) mamat to walk aw wall ñesim

to want : amamop, laka

to wash ñelu linlin to watch water (fresh) cən wave (at sea) patan cal mara way we (dual) təl we (plural) tah we (trial) talu

to weep : kakapwi, tinən

ti

wet : piakan whale : lat, moluam

what? cah when? cah now to whet tic to whip up white laŋan who? səy why? imarem wide malahan widow(er) ñaw wife pehin will (future) laku wind eul wind (east) kup wind (north) tolaw

wind (northwest)	:	ahay tolaw
wind (south)	:	lahan
wind (west)	:	ahay
wing	:	pən
with (instrumental)	:	la(i)
woman	:	pehin
wood	:	kəy
to work	:	maŋas
wound	:	mwat
to write	:	toro
yam	:	cipel on tihol, kuh, mwat, polu
yawn	:	mamaw
year	:	krismas (TP)
yellow	:	aŋoan
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 POC *C1V1C2V2C3 word shapes to C1V1C2 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	ən	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
	22
*pw	??
*bw	pw
*mw	mw, m
*W	W
*p	p- (in nouns), h (elsewhere)
*b	p
*m	m
*t	t-, -r/t-, -t
*d	c
*s	c- (in nouns), s (elsewhere)
*n	n
*r	c- (in nouns), l (elsewhere)
*dr	c
*1	1
*c	1
*j	c
*ñ	ñ
*y	y
*k	k- (in nouns), Ø (elsewhere)
*g	Ø
*ŋ	ŋ
*q	ŋ Ø
*Ř	Ø, y

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 *mu*-: POC *maRuqane (> PADM *mwane) > *mu-muan* 'man, male'.

POC *w remained unchanged in all positions: POC *waiwai > wiwiy 'mango', *waRoc > way 'vine', *bakewak > pahew 'shark', *kanawa > kanaw 'seagull', *kawil > kəw 'fishhook', *mawap > ma-maw 'to yawn', *qayawan > kew 'banyan', *sawit > cəw '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 /p/ initially in nouns, but lenited to /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 > pay 'stingray', *pataŋ > para- 'tree trunk', *paRa > pay 'shelf over the hearth', *piRaq > pi 'elephant ear taro', *pitaquR > pitə 'a shore tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *pituqin > pitiw (met.) 'star', *poñu > puñ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', *potok > poto-n 'thorn', *pulan > pul 'moon', *puŋa > puŋo-n 'flower, blossom', *puŋun > puŋ 'bunch, cluster', *pupu > puh 'bamboo fish trap', *pupuŋan > 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 > heyəh 'afternoon', *pa-panako > pahana 'thief', *papaq (> *pa-papa) > pa-pah 'to carry piggy-back', *papine > pehin 'female, woman', *pupu > puh 'bamboo fish trap', *qapatoR > kahek 'sago grub', *qapuR > kəh 'lime for betel chew', *qupi > kuh 'yam', *Ropok > oh 'to fly', *sa-ŋapuluq > saŋahul '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 > pun '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 > təl 'rope', *taliŋa > taliŋ 'ear', *talise > talis 'a shore tree: Terminalia catappa', *tama > tamə- 'father', *tanoq > tan 'earth; down', *tapuRi > tahuy 'conch shell', *tasik > təs '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 > tu 'housepost', *tutup > tut 'to hammer'; PADM *tiwa > tiw 'sideboard of canoe'.

*-t- > -t-: *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *pitaquR > pitə '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', ?taŋ > para- 'tree trunk', *qatoluR > karilu-n 'egg'.

The even split of /t/ or t/r reflexes in medial position shows that $t > r/V_V$ was a change in progress at the time my data was collected in 1975.

*-t- > -t: *buto > put 'navel', *kaRat-i > ət '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 > \tilde{n} ot 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.', *sa-ŋaRatus > 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 > muc 'banana'.

POC *s underwent fortition to *c*- initially in nouns, but remained *s* elsewhere.

*s > c- (in nouns): *saku > co 'needlefish', *salan > cal mara 'path, road', *saman > cam 'outrigger float', *saŋa > caŋ 'fork, bifurcation', *saŋasaŋa > caŋacaŋ 'starfish', *sokalayaR > colay 'sailfish, marlin', *soŋe > cuŋ '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 > təs '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 > ən 'to eat', *manuk > mon-mon 'bird', *maRuqane > mu-muan '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 > cən 'fresh water', *raqani > lən '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 /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 > lam 'day', *rato > lat 'small whale sp.'

*r > 1 (elsewhere): *roŋoR > log 'to hear'; *kuron > kul 'clay cooking pot', *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *muri > muli-n 'behind, rear part', *ñoro 'rough sea' > nol 'tide', *qarita > alit 'putty nut', *sira > sil '3PL, they, them', BUT *rodrom > coc 'dark', *ruo-pu > ruh 'two', ruyuŋ > 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 /c/:

*dr > c: *d(r)amut > camu-n 'lime spatula', *dranum > can 'fresh water', *draRaq > cay 'blood'; *kadroRa > bocay (< met.) 'cuscus, opossum', *padran > bocay (pandanus'.

In addition to these consistent reflexes, one Proto-Admiralty form shows a different development:

*dr > k-: PADM *dralogopV > kalioh 'canoe bailer'.

POC *l became /l/ in all environments: *laje < lac 'coral limestone', *lako > $la \sim lah$ 'to go', *lalak > lal 'Trochus shell', *laŋo > lay 'housefly', *laqia > lay 'ginger', *lipon > lih 'tooth, tusk', *loto > lot 'boil, abscess', *lisaq > lis 'nit, egg of a louse'; *alali > alal 'halibut', *baluc >

pəl 'dove sp.', *kuluR > kul 'breadfruit', *pa-layaR > pale 'sail', *pulan > pul 'moon, month', *qalu > kəl 'barracuda', *qatoluR > karilu-n 'egg', *salan > cal 'path, road', *sa-ŋapuluq > caŋahul 'ten', *sokalayaR > colay 'sailfish, marlin', *sulu > sulu'to burn', *suluq > cul 'torch', *tali > təl 'rope', *taliŋa > taliŋ '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 *1 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 /l/ and the other /s/: * η acan > η al 'name', * η ucan > η as 'to load cargo (on a boat)'.

POC *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', > \tilde{n} am \tilde{n} 'to eat', *ñatuq > \tilde{n} ot kəy 'a fruit tree: Palaquium sp.', *ñoro 'rough sea' > \tilde{n} ol 'tide'; *poñu > $pu\tilde{n}$ 'the green turtle: Chelonia mydas', *toñom > $to\tilde{n}$ 'to swallow; PADM *kuñV > $ku\tilde{n}$ '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 > ky '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 *k is normally reflected as /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 > om 'to eat', *kaRat-i > omu 'to bite', *koe > omu '2SG, you'; *bweka > omu 'flying fox', *lako > omu 'to go', *paka-Rapiqi > omu 'afternoon', *panako (> *pa-panako) > omu 'thief; to steal', *saku > omu 'needlefish', *soka 'to spear' > omu 'to shoot', *sokalayaR > omu 'sailfish, marlin', *tokalaur > omu 'north wind', *tokon > omu '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 *g are known in Nauna, but PADM *g became k in the one known reflex: *kagV > kak 'spiny starfish'.

POC *ŋ is normally unchanged: *ŋacan > ŋara 'name'; *aŋo-aŋo-ana > aŋoan 'yellow', *boŋi > puŋ 'night', *laŋo > laŋ 'housefly', *puŋa > puŋo-n 'flower', *puŋun > puŋ 'bunch, cluster', *roŋoR > loŋ 'to hear', *saŋa > caŋ 'bifurcation', *sa-ŋapuluq > sa-ŋahul 'ten', *sa-ŋaRatus > sa-ŋat 'one hundred', *saŋasaŋa > caŋacaŋ 'starfish', *soŋe > cuŋ 'hunger', *taliŋa > taliŋ 'ear'.

In a single known case it has disappeared intervocalically: *pupunan > pupua-n 'ridgepole'.

POC *q generally became /k/ word-initially in nouns, but disappeared in other environments:

*q > k: *qalu > kəl 'barracuda', *qayawan > kew 'banyan', *qapuR > kəh '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 > hey > h 'afternoon', *pitaquR > pit > 0 '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 *R sometimes disappeared, and sometimes became /y/, with roughly equal frequency:

*R > Ø: *Rabia > epi 'sago', *Ropok > oh 'to fly', *Rucan > us 'to load cargo'; *boRok > pow 'pig', *kaRati > ot 'to bite', *kuRita > kwit 'octopus', *maRuqane > mu-muan 'man, male', *piRaq > pi 'elephant ear taro', *ruRi > ci-n 'bone', *sa-naRatus > sa-nat 'one hundred', *tuRu > tu 'housepost'.

*R > y: *Rumaq > yum 'house'; *apaRat > ahay 'west wind', *draRaq > cay 'blood', *kadroRa > kocay (< met.) 'cuscus, opossum', *monoRe > monoy 'unicornfish', *paka-Rapiqi > heyəh '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 *o was raised to /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 [tutən a siw] 'six', where what appears to be the same vowel was written as a schwa in /tutən/ '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 /i/ and /ə/ to make it sometimes hard to distinguish them, as both are sometimes heard as [1].

All five POC vowels (*i, *u, *e, *o, *a) normally have their canonical values, except that *a is raised to /9/, as explained above, and *o is raised to /u/ if a high vowel is found in the next syllable. Examples of *a > a are seen here:

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*a > 9/(C)i: *alali > alal 'halibut', *banic > pan 'wing', *kani > an 'to eat', *kaRati > at 'to bite', *kawil > at 'fishhook', *ñamit 'to taste' > namnam 'to eat', *paka-Rapiqi > at 'afternoon', *paRi > at 'stingray', *sawit > at 'needle', *tali > at 'rope', *tasik > at 'sea, saltwater', *raqani > at 'day', *i sai > at 'who?'.

*a > ə/_Cu: *baluc > pəl 'dove sp.', *kayu > kəy 'wood, tree', *pitaquR > pitə 'a shore tree: Calophyllum inophyllum', *qalu > kəl 'barracuda', *qapuR > kəh 'lime (for betel)', *dranum > cən 'fresh water', *saku > cə 'needlefish', *sa-ŋaRatus > sa-ŋət 'one hundred'.

Despite the clearly recurrent nature of this change (thirteen examples of raising to /ə/ 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 > talin '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-ŋapuluq > sa-ŋahul 'ten', *tabuna > tapun 'dehortative; don't', *tapuRi > tahuy 'conch shell (trumpet)'.

a > e/_(C)i: *mai > $me \sim meh$ 'to come', *matiruR > metil 'to sleep', *paka-Rapiqi (> *payapi) > heyah 'afternoon', *papine > pehin 'female; woman', *Rabia > epi 'sago'. In some cases this change may actually involve the contraction of *ai to /e/, as seen in POC *mai > me(h) 'to come', or *qayawan (> PADM *qaiwa) > kew 'banyan'.

*a > o/_(C)u: *kamu > omu '2DL, you two', *manuk > mon-mon 'bird', *natu > not 'child', *natuq > not kəy '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 /e/ or /o/. The reason for this split remains unclear, and in the last two cases (raising to /e/ or /o/) it cannot be because of a change in progress.

It is noteworthy that glides /y/ and /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 /u/ if there was a high vowel in the following syllable is seen in:

*o > u/__Ci: *boni > puŋ 'night'

*o > u/_Cu: *nopu > nuh 'stonefish', *poñu > $pu\tilde{n}$ 'the green turtle: *Chelonia mydas*', *tolu-pu > tuluh 'three', *topu > tuh 'sugarcane'.

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In one known example POC *o became /u/ when the vowel of the next syllable was mid rather than high: *sone 'famine' $> cu\eta$ '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: * $\eta apa > \eta oha - n$ '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	
*a	*a	a	conjunction; and
*alali	*alali	aləl	halibut
*aŋo-aŋo-ana	*aŋo-ana	aŋoan	yellow
*apaRat	*apaya	ahay	west wind
*bakewak	*bakewa	pahew	shark
*baluc	*balu	pəl	dove sp.
*banic	*bani	pən	wing
	*bapawV	pahaw	oars; paddle of canoe
*bayan	*baya	pe	bait (?)
*boma	*boma	pom	seaweed sp.
*bonor	*bono	pon	stopped up, closed
*boŋi	*boŋi	puŋ	night
*boRok	*boo	pow	pig
	*bucokV	muco	island
*bulut	*bulu	puld-an	birdlime; sap
*buto	*buto	put	navel
	*a *alali *aŋo-aŋo-ana *apaRat *bakewak *baluc *banic *bayan *boma *bonor *boŋi *boRok	*a *a *alali *alali *aŋo-aŋo-ana *aŋo-ana *apaRat *apaya *bakewak *bakewa *baluc *balu *banic *bani *bapawV *bayan *baya *boma *boma *bonor *bono *boŋi *boŋi *boRok *boo *bucokV *bulut *bulu	*a *a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a

0.4				a
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
022.	Granum	diana	cana	fresh water
022	*dmaDaa	*duaria		
023.	*draRaq	*draya	cay ·	blood
024.	*i	*i	i	locative marker
025.	*ia	*ia	i	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.	indi orta	*kagV	kak	spiny starfish
031.	*kalika	*kalika	keli	grouper sp.
032.	*kamu	*kamu?		U 1
			omu	2DL, you two
034.	*kanase	*kanase	kanas	mullet
035.	*kanawa	*kanawa	kanaw	seagull
036.	*kani	*kani	ən	to eat
038.	*(ka)reŋas	*kareŋa	kareŋ	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		wood, tree
		*kiaco	kəy	
044.	*kiajo		kiac	outrigger boom
045.	*koba	*koba	kai-kop	hermit crab
046.	*koe	*koe	ko, o	2sg, you
048.	*kojom	*koco	oc	to husk coconuts
048.	*kotoŋ	*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 ~ lah	to go
058.	*lalak	*lala	lal	Trochus shell
058.	*laŋo	*laŋo	laŋ	housefly
059.	*laqia	*laya	lai	ginger
060.	*lipon	*lipo	lih	tooth
061.	*lisaq	*lisa	lis	nit, louse egg
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062.	*loto	*loto	lot	hoil abassas
062.	*lumut	*lumu	lot	boil, abscess
			lun-lumu-n (?)	moss, algae
064.	*mai	*me	me ~ 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.	iiiw ajai	*mwalutV	molut	k.o. dove
082.	*mwamwaki	*mwamwaki	mamwak	
084.				squid with shell
	*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	ñot 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.	*ŋacan	*ŋara	ŋal	name
100.	*ŋapa	*ŋapa	ŋoha-n	fathom
101.	*padran	*padra	pac	pandanus
102.	*paka-Rapiqi	*payapi	heyəh	afternoon
103.	*pa-layaR	*balea	pale	sail
104.	*panako	*pa-panako	pahana	thief; to steal
104.	*panako	*bano	-	leucoderma
105. 106.	•	*banua	pan	village
	*panua		panu	•
108.	*paŋan-i	*paŋan-i	haŋən	to feed

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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	pəy	stingray
113.	*pataŋ	*pata	para-	tree trunk
114.	*piRaq	*bia	pi	elephant ear taro
115.	*pitaquR	*pitau	pitə	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
120.	-	*buŋo	=	
	*puŋa		puŋo-n	flower, blossom
122.	*puŋun	*buŋu	puŋ	bunch, cluster
123.	*pupu	*bupu	puh	bamboo fish trap
124.	*pupuŋan	*pupuŋa	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	*queila	kocil	lightning
142.	*ramaR	*rama	lam	light, radiance
143.		*dra	ca-n	branch
143. 144.	*raqan	*rani		
	*raqani		lən	day
145.	*rato	*rato	lat	small whale sp.
146.	*rodrom	*drodro	COC	dark
148.	*roŋoR	*roŋo	loŋ	to hear
148.	*rua	*ruo-pu	ruh	two
149.	*ruRi	*drui	ci-n	bone
150.	*ruyuŋ	*druyu	tuy	dugong
151.	*Rabia	*yabia	epi	sago
152.	*Ropok	*opo	oh	to fly
153.	*Rumaq	*yuma	yuma-	house

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154.	*i sai	*sai	səy	who?
155.	*saku	*caku	СЭ	needlefish
156.	*saku layaR	*colaya	colay	sailfish, marlin
158.	*salan	*cala	cal	path, road
158.	*saman	*cama	cam	outrigger float
159.	*saŋa	*caŋa	caŋ	bifurcation
160.	*sa-ŋapuluq	*sa-ŋapulu	sa-ŋahul	ten
161.	*sa-ŋaRatus	*sa-ŋatu	sa-ŋət	one hundred
162.	*saŋasaŋa	*caŋacaŋa	caŋacaŋ	starfish
163.	*sapa	*capa	cah	what?
164.	*sawit	*cawi	cəw	needle
165.	*sinaR	*sina	sin	ray of light; sun
166.	*sira	*sira	sil	3PL; 3DL
168.	*soka	*soka	SO	to spear; to shoot
168.	*sone	*cone	cuŋ	hunger, hungry
169.	*suli	*culi	culi-n	plant shoot
170.	*sulu	*sulu	sulu	to burn
170.	*suluq	*culu	cul	torch
171.	•	*supi		to peel
	*supi	*sura	sup	*
173.	*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	təl	rope
178.	*taliŋa	*daliŋa-	taliŋ	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	təs	sea, saltwater
184.	*tasim	*taci	təc	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 tunu (.)	housepost
190.	*tutuq	*tutu	tut	to hammer
198. 198.	*ucan	*uca		to load cargo
198. 199.	*waiwai		us	· ·
177.	waiwai	*wewey	wiwiy	mango

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200.	*waRoc	*wayo	way	vine
201.		*watiV	wati	monitor lizard