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Topics in the Grammar of Lele

A Language of Manus Island, Papua
New Guinea

by Juliane Boettger

A thesis submitted to James Cook University, Cairns
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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College of Arts, Society and Education - James Cook
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Conventions and Abbreviations

Interlinearised morpheme-to-morpheme glosses have three levels: One level with morpheme breaks, another level with corresponding glosses in English and a third level with English free translations. Sources of the example sentences are given in round brackets following the translation. An exception to this rule are non-specific, generalised or often-heard examples for which no sources can be given. Abbreviated sources given in brackets mostly refer to specific texts or stories within the Lele corpus unless noted otherwise. Interlinearised glosses mainly follow the conventions described in the Leipzig Glossing rules, to be found at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. Morpheme breaks can be indicated in several ways. An interlinearised and glossed example may look like the following:

(0.1) *yo=kun-ta-i* *yipi*
1SG=PRF.1SG-beat-TR sago
'I have beaten sago.' ("source")

Simple morpheme breaks are indicated by hyphens. A boundary between a clitic and its host is indicated with an equals sign. Sometimes there are one-to-many correspondences between the described language and English or between English and the described language. For these cases a period is used to indicate that a single morpheme in the described language has more than one correspondence in English. If the form of a morpheme could be analysed further but that would disrupt the flow of reading or if a deeper analysis is not needed to make a point at that section of the thesis, a colon is used (for example for several verbal forms which have fused with the singular subject prefixes). Phonemes are indicated with slashes and

phones, i.e. phonetic realisations of phonemes, are indicated with square brackets. This only applies to the phonology part. In the remaining part of the thesis square brackets are used to indicate syntactic units such as phrases or clauses. In glosses, round brackets () indicate optional elements or epenthetic consonants or vowels. This is used, for example, with possessive suffixes, as in *tam-(e)m* ‘your father’ where the epenthetic vowel is used to break up a consonant cluster. The following list presents the abbreviations used for this thesis.

#	word boundary (in phonology chapter)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	subject of a transitive clause
APPR	apprehensive
C	syllable coda (only in phonology chapter)
CA	common argument
CLF	classifier
CMPL	complement
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DEC	decade
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DU	dual
FOC	focus
GN	geographical name
HAB	habitual
INT	intentional
INTS	intensifier
IRR	irrealis
LEX	lexical verb
LOC	locative, locational

N	noun
N	syllable nucleus (only in phonology chapter)
NP	noun phrase
NSG	non-singular
O	object
O	syllable onset (only in phonology chapter)
PEAd	Proto Eastern Admiralties
PN	personal name
PL	plural
POc	Proto Oceanic
POSS	possessive
PRAG	pragmatic particle
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROP	property marker
PROX	proximal
PURP	purpose
RC	relative clause
RDP	reduplication
RECIP	recipient
S	subject of an intransitive clause
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SVC	serial verb construction
TAG	tag particle
(TP)	a code-switched word from Tok Pisin
TR	transitive
V	verb
V	vowel (only in phonology chapter)
V _(agr)	verbal subject agreement marker

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Acknowledgements

Embarking on a PhD in anthropological linguistics involves travelling to (sometimes) distant places, but it is also a journey in its own right. Having started my PhD in 2011, I have travelled a long way. Sometimes the journey would not move fast enough for my taste and it almost seemed as if it didn't move at all at times. But looking back, I can see that I covered some distance and I am now pleased to be at the point of handing in my PhD thesis.

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It turned out that exploring the culture and history of Manus also meant exploring a part of the history of Germany. It was German Missionaries from Liebenzell Mission who founded a mission station in Lugos in 1914. The mission station is still maintained today. During my field research I have had the pleasure of befriending the missionary Simon Herrmann and his family in Lugos. I am grateful for their hospitality, support and many

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Now, that I finished my part of the story I shall close this section with a Lele story ending: *Par pali, par tol, sindrik!*¹

¹A rope of the pali plant, a rope of the tol plant and chop!

Abstract

This thesis examines topics in the grammar of the Lele language, Manus Island, Papua New Guinea. Lele is spoken by ca. 4,500 people on mainland Manus Island and belongs to the little known Admiralties languages, a higher order subgroup of the Oceanic (Austronesian) language family. The methodology of language description followed the principles of the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2009a, b, 2012). The material that served as the basis of description was collected during long field stays particularly to Sapon village, from 2012 to 2014. The field research is based on the principle of immersion fieldwork, seeking a deeper understanding of both target language as well as culture through living with the language community and sharing everyday life. The thesis covers the open word classes in Lele, nouns and verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as well as closed word classes. Further topics in syntax and phrasal structure are examined. Finally, the comprehensive text collection and the dictionary attached as appendices to the thesis represent considerable contributions to the maintenance of the Lele language. These materials enhance the linguistic database available to the academic community and to native speakers.

Part I

Introduction

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The Manus Province of Papua New Guinea is home to ca. 31 languages few of which are described. The Admiralties languages are part of the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian language family.

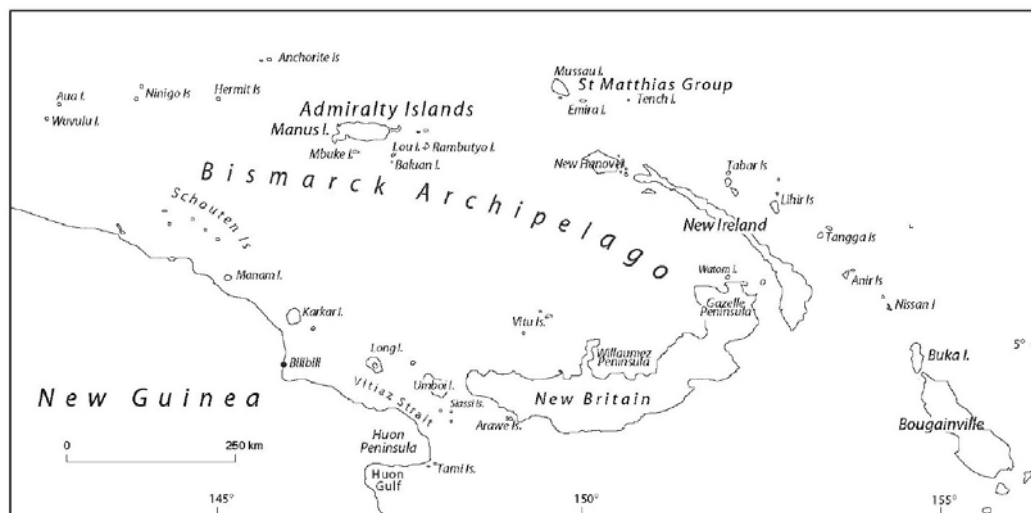


Figure 1.1: The Admiralty Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago (Ross et al. 2007, 32)

The Admiralty islands are located to the north-east of PNG mainland in the Bismarck Archipelago and consist of the largest island *Manus* and over a hundred surrounding smaller islands which also include many uninhabited atoll islands. Some of the larger inhabited islands include Rambutyo, Tong, Lou and Baluan to the east and southeast of Manus. Manus Island is 100km long and 30km wide (Ross et al. 2007). The further one goes inland the

more mountainous and steep the terrain becomes. The main island is covered with rainforest, rivers and streams. The Hermit group, the Anchorites and the Ninigo group are located west of Manus mainland. Even further west the atoll islands West Wuvulu and Aua can be found. Manus Province is inhabited by 60,485 people¹. Traditionally three demographic terms have been used to group the Admiralty Islanders: The *Manus* (or *Moanus*), also called *Titan*, traditionally did not own land and only set ashore for trading. They gradually settled at the coast and on adjacent islands and built their houses on stilts close to the sea. The *Wusiai* (or *Usiai*) are the gardening people of inner Manus island. Finally, the Matankor inhabit the coastline and the many smaller islands surrounding Manus mainland and are the most heterogenous of the three groups (Nevermann 1934). Of these three *ecological groups* (Schwartz 1963) it is only the Manus, or Titan, that represent a single ethno-linguistic unit; the remaining two groups comprise several languages and tribes. The Lele belong to the Wusiai people of mainland Manus. The Lele language, language 14 on the map in 1.2², is one of 31 Admiralties languages³ (Lewis et al. 2014) which constitute a first-order subgroup of the Oceanic language family.

According to census numbers there are at least 3,181 Lele speakers in ca. 7 villages or compound villages⁴. Lorengau Urban area, which has 60,485 inhabitants, traditionally belongs to the Lele area as well. However, it is difficult to know what percentage of the Lorengau population speaks Lele since Lorengau as the capital of Manus - the economic and social centre of Manus Province - has become a melting pot of people not only from other areas of the Admiralties, but also for people from other provinces of Papua New Guinea and foreigners.

In order to document, record and learn the Lele language I have spent altogether 10.5 months in Manus with a Lele community. My longest stay

¹These data are according to the 2011 census, see <http://citypopulation.de/PapuaNewGuinea.html>.

²<https://www.ethnologue.com/map/PG01>, accessed 3 June 2015

³<http://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/admiralty-islands>

⁴These numbers were provided by the Lele LLG and were ascertained during the 2011 census. Seven villages were recorded, however, smaller villages have been assigned to larger villages and wards for the census.

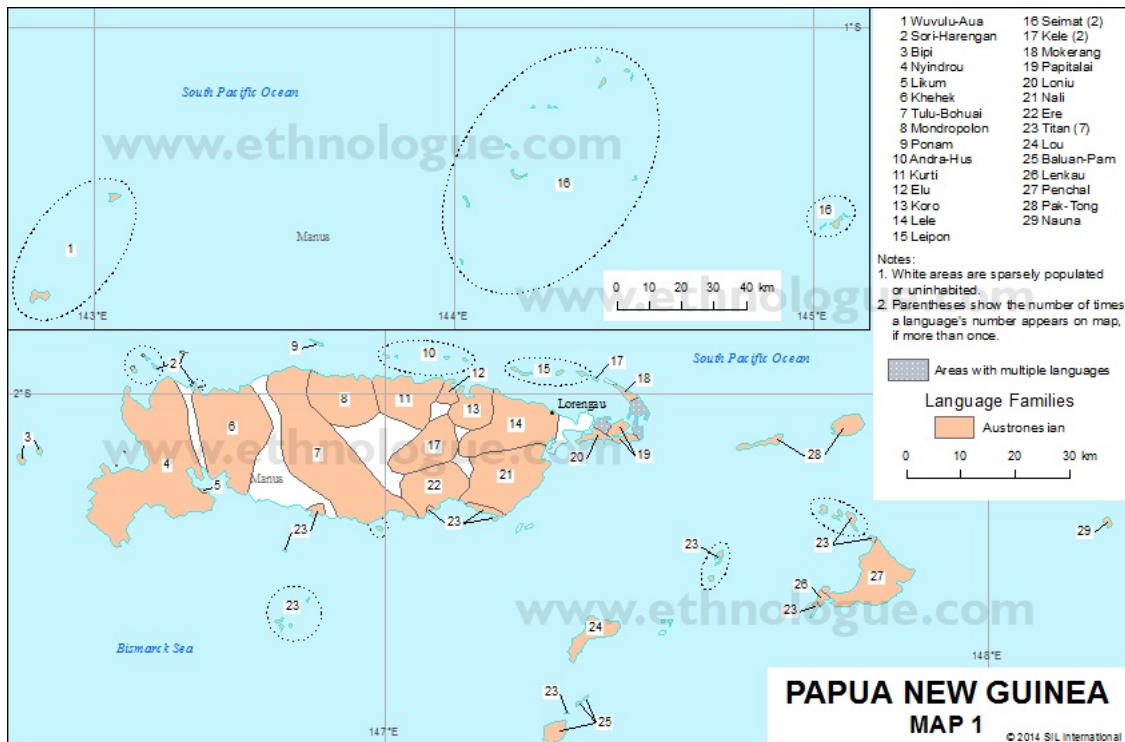


Figure 1.2: The languages of Manus Province

lasted 9 months. The research was based in Sapon village (*Sopun* in Lele) where I had the opportunity to live with a local family. In the early stages of my stay I got adopted by the Polapan clan and was given the village name Pilapan. This name was thought to be suitable not only because it recalled the founder of the clan⁵ but also because this name had recently become “free” with the parting of one of my sister’s aunts. Sapon has 510 inhabitants and covers a large area of both bush and cultivated land that is flanked by two sub-settlements: Sapon I, also called Sapon Wara⁶, located between the Lihai and Tingau rivers, and Sapon II, also called Sapon Highway, located at the Michael Somare Highway. The map in figure 1.3 shows the location of Sapon I and II, highlighted with red circles. Two additional fieldwork locations, Pulihat and Tungou Masih / Lugos Evangelical Mission Station, have been highlighted with yellow circles.

Sapon I and II are each ca. 10-11km in distance from the capital of Manus Province, Lorengau. Sapon is part of the Lele-Bupi LLG⁷ which is named af-

⁵The clan founder’s name was Polapan. Female names are prefixed by *Pi-* and male names are prefixed by *Po-*, see §4.2 on personal nouns.

⁶The word *wara* is Tok Pisin for water.

⁷Local Level Government

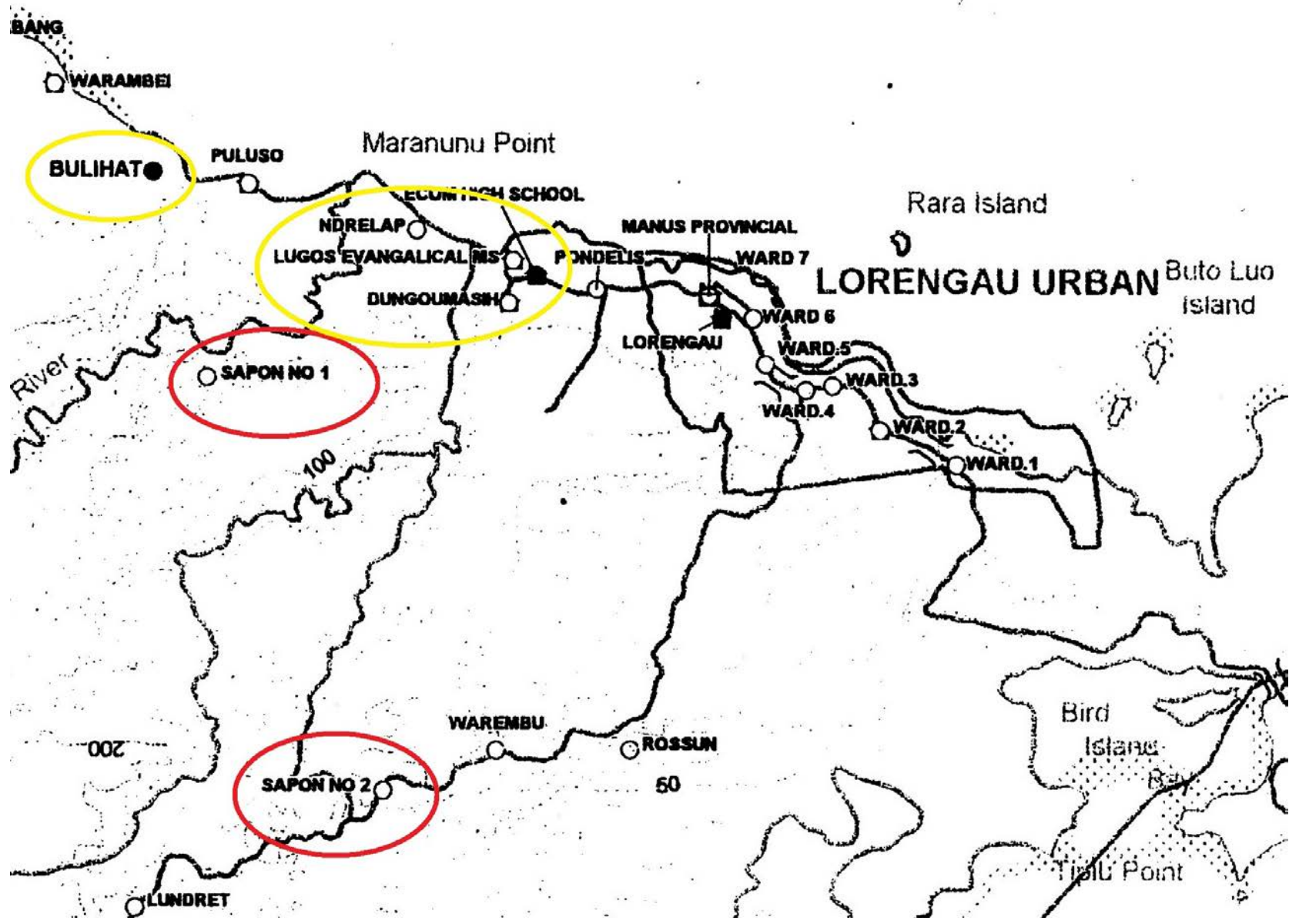


Figure 1.3: Fieldwork locations within the Lele LLG, enlarged (map by courtesy of Lele LLG)

ter the area's main languages. Other Lele speaking villages include Rossun, Lundret, Powat, Ndranou, Yiringou (along the highway, see Figure 1.3) and Tungou Masih, Pulisou, Pulihat and Warambei (closer to the north coast on the map). Lorengau and the area surrounding Lorengau, though now multilingual as it is the capital of Manus, also traditionally belongs to Lele land. With respect to spatial extent and number of speakers Lele is the second largest language in Manus Province after Titan (ca. 3,850 speakers).

1.2 An Admiralties Time Line from a Western Perspective

In 1528 the first sighting of what is believed to be Manus Island was documented by Alvaro de Saavedra who called the island *Urais la grande*. In 1767 the Admiralty islands were sighted by Philip Carteret who named them in honour of the British admiralty. Trade relations between Western traders and Admiralty islanders had been established since the 1870s. Western traders were initially interested in tortoise, pearl-shell, beche-de-mer and native artefacts and later also in copra and local labour (Otto 2011c, 30). However, as they tried to settle on the islands, their presence was answered with frequent raids and killings. From 1885 -1914 the Admiralty islands became part of the German protectorate *Kaiser Wilhelms-Land* to secure German colonial and trade interests. The colonial administration gradually increased their military presence in an attempt to subdue the frequent attacks. Ultimately, a government outpost was established in 1911. When Christianity reached Manus it developed into an important part of Manus cultural identity and reshaped traditional values and customs. The first Christian missionaries arrived in the 1880s via Rabaul. Only in 1913 was the first mission station set up by Catholic brothers in Papitalai (Otto 1998). One year later, Evangelical *Liebenzell Mission* based in Germany established a station in Lugos near Lorengau, where they have been successfully continuing their work in collaboration with the independent Evangelical Church of Manus (ECOM) to the present day. Accounts of the early

days of the Lutheran mission in Lugos can be found in Walter (1981) and Mortsiefer (1998). In 1908-1909 the two-year *Hamburg South Sea Expedition* led to visits of several islands in the Admiralties. The diaries of crew members later formed the basis for the account of the expedition in Nevermann (1934) which offers an early (if also heavily biased) description of environment, culture and artefacts of Admiralty islanders. With the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Admiralties came under Australian administration and in 1921 became part of Australia's League of Nations' mandate over New Guinea. During this time, control over the population increased dramatically (e.g. through resettlements of villages), as did the number of trading posts, plantations and missionary work in general (Bühler 1935, 1). During World War II Manus came under Japanese occupation which was successfully countered by allied forces in the course of several battles (Operation Brewer). The Americans built a large base at *Seeadler Harbor* which is known today as *Lombrum Naval Base* and used by the PNG Defence Force. In the 20th century, Papua New Guinea and with it the Admiralty Islands, went through fundamental cultural transformations which were accelerated by the declaration of independence of Papua New Guinea in 1975 and which have continued until the present day⁸.

⁸Historical accounts have been adapted from Otto 2011c and Ohnemus 1998

1.3 The Lele People and Culture

Mbukei mbukei!

le ta pehendra pat

Pehendra pat ndran Lihei

Ndiken pwi, nimen pwi

le ta pehendra pat

(Enoch Nelson, Lele speaker)⁹

The name *Lele* means “someone who speaks the same language”¹⁰, not unlike the often used Tok Pisin word *wantok* (lit. “one talk”). As a Lele speaker one can call another Lele speaker *Polele*¹¹ expressing “friend” or “brother”. It has been claimed that language is emblematic of identity in Oceania (Lynch et al. 2002, 93) and this is also mirrored in the way Lele speakers see themselves. Thus, language is central to the Lele identity. It contains and transports the knowledge and history of the ancestors from one generation to the coming generation. Equally important for identity formation is the village as the largest political and social unit in traditional culture. Language and village of descent are reflected as markers of identity in the way languages are referred to in Manus. Although it may be one and the same language and dialect linguistically and also perceived to be identical by the speakers, a language is designated to its village. Thus, the Lele spoken in different villages will be referred to in Tok Pisin as *tok ples Sapon* or *tok ples Tungou*, referring to the individual villages. In Lele *nongena kor* “the speech / words of the village” reflects the Western concept of a “language”¹². The word *kor* is generally used to refer to any (inhabited) place, whether large or small. By default it refers to villages. Language is

⁹This poem was created by Enoch Nelson, village council of Sapon. The translation is as follows: “Sea shell sea shell! It lives underneath the stone, underneath the stone in the river Lihai. It has no legs, it has no arms. It lives underneath the stone.”

¹⁰Incidentally, there is also a homonym verb *lele* ‘to look’.

¹¹*Po-* is a masculine prefix attached to names and also sometimes to kinship terms. *Pi-* is a feminine prefix. However, *Pilele* is not in use.

¹²*Nongena ndokron* means literally “the language of the middle”, i.e. Tok Pisin, and *nongena yap* is “the language of the foreigner”, referring to any language spoken by foreigners.

thus a shared characteristic of a village community. The establishment of Local Level Government (LLG) units only came about in the 20th century and evidently also changed these notions of language and communal identity. While the core criterion for affinity was and is kinship relations, there is also a common sense of affiliation across Lele speakers of different villages. Another part of Lele identity derives from being inland people, or *Wusiai*. The term *Wusiai* or *Usiai* was first documented in the late 19th century and carried derogatory connotations. *Wusiais* were regarded as cannibalistic, dangerous and yet dependent people by the *Matankor* and *Moanus* and were thus regarded as of inferior status. Apparently all three groups used the ethnic group terms to refer to each other, reflecting tribal associations and the environment they inhabited (Nevermann 1934, 48f.). Naturally, there were also frequent intermarriages and (historically) kidnapping of women. Furthermore, according to exogamous marriage patterns a newly married woman (possibly from a different village or even ethnic group) had to follow her husband and live with him in his village. The Lele cannot be regarded purely as inland people since their area stretches from Lorengau through parts of the Highway to the North coast of Manus mainland. They have therefore integrated cultural items and practices of the coast and island dwellers. Today, *Moanus / Titan*, *Matankor* and *Wusiai* are still in use as terms albeit less. *Wusiai* is occasionally used, but rather jokingly. More commonly now, *Highway* refers both to the location and to the inland people, since many inland groups settled (or rather were settled) along the Michael Somare Highway which Americans began to build during World War II.

1.4 Demography and Settlement Patterns

Little is known historically about the inland dwellers of Manus Island. According to Bühler (1935) inner Manus was completely unknown to Western visitors up to 1914. Inland people traditionally lived in small scattered settlements often located on mountain ridges, sometimes also well hidden between swamps or untouched bush, but always close to streams and ham-

lets. They built round or oval houses with a single main post resting on the ground. Houses resembled bee-hives externally. Inland people were also known to have round decorative burn scars. Men wore tapa loin cloths, while women wore tree bark cloths with plaited belts. Furthermore, women wore large plaited often empty bags which belonged to their costume. Inland people used vessels which were covered with *Parianarium* (*Atuna racemosa*) and other plaited work. Lime gourds were made with brand-in patterns (Bühler 1935, pp. 8, 27, for an English translation see also Ohnemus 1998, 390). Today, round houses (*wum ndruk*) are not built anymore, at least not in Sapon¹³. Round houses are still remembered as former alternative shapes to the square house shape. Modern houses in Sapon are square shaped and either have a corrugated iron roof or a traditional sago leaf roof. See the picture in Figure A.1 in the appendix for an example of a sago leaf house.

The sago leaf construction was pointed out to me by Sapon people as the preferred traditional, non-permanent type of house which can be easily demolished and rebuilt as needed¹⁴. Houses are either built on even ground or on stilts, which may reflect influence from coastal people. Prior to the introduction of Christianity and Western life style, Sapon people lived in *kamel*, a term which basically means 'male, man' and refers both to a clan structure and also to the men's house (Tok Pisin *haus boi*) specifically. One men's house stood for one clan and one ancestor and housed several men of the clan. Each man, if married, had his own family house, called *sou*, where his wife and children lived. Kitchens were separate houses which were subsumed with the term *sou*. The locations for men's houses and also today's modern houses have specific names whose meanings may still be known and sometimes the meaning has already been lost. A few names of house locations:

- Mburkawa (*mbur* 'ground, bottom', *kawa* 'basket for men') 'the bottom

¹³They may well be found further up the Michael Somare Highway and further inland in Kele or Kurti areas where the impact of recent societal changes has been less strong.

¹⁴The preference over non-permanent structures by inland people is also mentioned in Nevermann (1934).

of the basket'

- Konim (meaning unknown)
- Monul (meaning unknown)
- Mar Sopun (*mar* 'eye') 'the focal point of Sapon'
- Parkair (*par* 'log, wood', *kair* 'kind of tree') 'The wood of the Parkair tree'
- Meniu (meaning unknown)
- Phipun (*pihin* 'woman', *pun* '?')
- Lohowai (meaning unknown)

These place names, except for the last two (which are located in Sapon II, away from the original house locations), may also be called *kamel*. The polysemic meanings of *kamel* 'male, man' are listed in Table 1.1 and can be explained with this practical example: Posawan (1) descended from the *Polapan* clan (2), and belonged to the subclan of *Pondraku* (3). He lived at a location within his village called *Meniu* (4) together with other men of his clan in a men's house (5). All five concepts mentioned may be called *kamel*.

<i>kamel</i>	
(1)	'male, man'
(2)	'clan'
(3)	'subclan'
(4)	'location for a men's house and associated houses'
(5)	'men's house'

Table 1.1: The uses of *kamel* 'male, man'

Before colonial influence and the Australian administration, Sapon people lived in small settlements scattered in the bush. Under the Australian administration many inland villages were forced to resettle along main

roads in order to keep control over the local population. Sapon people also resettled to a main road where Sapon I is today (road not marked in Figure 1.3). In the 1950s a group of people from Sapon I decided to move to the boundary of the Sapon area, partly to protect land and partly in order to establish a congregation for recently introduced Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA). The location for the new settlement, Sapon II, was chosen at the newly built Highway. Today houses are often shared by men and women of a family, the 'core family', which was likely also encouraged by the church. Men's houses and family houses can still be found occasionally. Houses in villages, whether men's house system or modern, are generally arranged in U-shapes, leaving the middle space unbuilt on. Families are often rich in children, frequently also looking after children of relatives. Women and men often keep separated in their daily lives, the men working chores outside of the house and the women looking after the children in addition to household chores. However, this scenario is not as prevalent as it was in the past.

1.5 Environment, Subsistence and Economy

In contrast to the very fertile and heavily cultivated soil of the volcanic islands in the south (such as Lou and Baluan), mainland Manus soil is relatively infertile due to the prominence of mangrove swamps and red clay soil which only allows for little agriculture and made survival harder for mainland people in the past¹⁵. Sago (Lele *yipi*), which grows only in swampy areas, has been the staple food for inland people for generations. Apart from that, taro has been valued highly, both roots and greens, especially for traditional ceremonies. Furthermore, manioc root, yam and other tubers are grown along with more recently introduced crops such as pineapple. Traditionally, the men beat sago and the women wash the sago. Women are also the "carriers" of cargo. To that end, they traditionally wore large square baskets (*ndop*). They usually carry sago bags, bundles of firewood or bananas, their children on their backs and anything that needs to be

¹⁵See also Ross et al. 2007, 33.

transported to the market. The traditional baskets have meanwhile been replaced with bags made from rice sacks and other enduring fabrics. As in other parts of Papua New Guinea, heavy bags are carried on the back. The weight is carried with the neck and back muscles as the bag handles rest on head. Sapon people practice mainly gardening for subsistence. Pieces of land are assigned for gardening through the clan. When a couple marries a piece of land may be cleaned and prepared for gardening. Gardening is more seen as women's business than men's, but duties may also be shared. While men traditionally beat sago, women, too, may take on this duty, especially single women. For *kastam wok*¹⁶, that is traditional ceremonies and practices, men and women gather in order to harvest sago together and to give the sago during a *kastam wok*. Men also hunt cuscus (*Spilococcus kraemeri*), pigs and occasionally flying foxes; they fish from the rivers and collect sago grubs from cut down sago trees. These protein sources are more pursued in Sapon I since they are forbidden foods in the mainly Seventh Day Adventist part Sapon II. Other protein sources include chicken, smoked fish from the market and tinned fish and meat from supermarkets in Lorengau.

Food is prepared in various ways. Clay pots (*kur*) were used to cook food generally but are now only reserved for the preparation of taro and taro leaves (see Figure A.2 in Appendix). Light aluminium pots have replaced clay pots. Sago is fried in a special sago frying pan (*kohol*). Food is often cooked in water, usually with the addition of coconut milk. Food can also be fried in coconut oil or steamed. Sometimes earth ovens are used to steam-bake foods, especially for sago and tubers. Much of the earth-oven prepared sago or tubers is sold at the markets. The selling of produce at the market in general has become a necessity for many families after the former cocoa and vanilla trade declined. Living off the ground as they did traditionally was not sufficient anymore as school fees and other expenses required the possession of money. Men also produce firewood which is

¹⁶“Tradition work” in Otto 2011b, traditional activities that were known as *pasin bilong tumbuna* ‘the ways of the ancestors’ before the term *kastam wok* was introduced in the 1970s.

sold at the markets. However, it is mainly women who sell and buy at the markets. Nowadays, some Sapon people regularly work in Lorengau town pursuing Western type work, such as in the government sector, general administration, or on some of the many building sites. A new source of income developed with the growing Manus refugee detention centre. As the detention centre expanded, officials faced shortages in many basic goods, most of all food. Therefore locals were asked to provide produce for the centre. Furthermore, the detention centre started hiring Manus locals for construction or administration work, which turned into an opportunity for some Sapon villagers.

1.6 Education and Religion

Education has always been important for Manus Province and Manus people are generally preceded by their reputation for being well educated. In Sapon education is also valued highly. Even more so, since Sapon as a village does not have the financial or institutional means of the state or provincial government, people actively take great pains to ensure the education of their children. For example, there is one trained teacher at Sapon II who, during my time there in 2012-2013, was constantly busy fighting for the finalisation of the long planned elementary school. Although the school was already running it was barely supported with finances or educational material. She had not been paid as a teacher by the government for many months. For community weeks, which were established by Manus Provincial government to enforce joined communal work on villages, the Sapon II community jointly helped build and expand the school grounds. The teaching language in elementary schools has changed over the years. Local languages used to be the language of teaching, then Tok Pisin was introduced. Currently English is the language of schooling. Sapon I and Pulhat (spelled Bulihat in the map in Figure 1.3) share the BULSA primary school. Teaching language is English as well. Neither school branch encourages the use of Lele. In order to attain High School level education students visit one of the High Schools in Lorengau or Papitalai where English

is used.

The aforementioned institutions of course only cover the Western type of education. General socio-cultural knowledge as well as traditional knowledge are given on to new generations in different ways. Generally, children are included in all kinds of activities and duties from an early age. Young children may be expected to know how to light a fire for cooking and how to fry sago, for example. Older children generally look after their younger siblings. Skills needed for living in a village setting are acquired by observation from other children but are also taught by parents. Young boys may accompany their fathers in hunting expeditions while girls observe cooking and other household activities. The traditional gender-motivated division of duties is by no means fixed. Rather, these gender stereotypes are acknowledged, but fluid in practice. It is not uncommon for boys and girls to learn skills from each other. This fluidity of tasks and roles is maintained in adulthood as well to some extent, as mentioned in earlier sections. For example, men usually also know how to cook basically and look after the children, especially if the mother of the children is a working parent and the sole source of income. In the past decades women have increasingly moved into the workforce, mainly in the fields of administration, nursing and teaching. That leaves a number of men behind in the village who then become “stay-at-home fathers”. The changing gender roles are much debated and discussed by men and women alike and are also often jokingly commented on.

There is, however, specific traditional knowledge that is only shared with males. This concerns mainly spiritual knowledge and certain powers that run in the clan. There are specific powers associated with specific clans which are then handed down to the next generation by chosen male clan members. For example, one clan may have the power to command over food, while another clan may have the power over warfare. These are not only social obligations but believed to be actual inherent powers that are connected to and work through the ancestors. Furthermore, each clan has their spiritual leader who is not necessarily also the chief. The position of

the chief is hereditary. The spiritual leader, on the other hand, is chosen by his predecessor. In doing so, the candidate is observed from childhood. If he shows good behaviour (i.e. respect towards elders and a helping, serving attitude towards his clan) and also certain spiritual signs, he may be chosen to be initiated as spiritual leader of his clan. The spiritual leader is consulted for advice and in connection with the ancestors.

There are furthermore men in each clan that are commonly known as *kambang man* “men of lime powder” in Tok Pisin¹⁷. These men mainly practice divination with the help of lime powder. They are also healers with the help of ginger and lime powder and other herbs or grasses. There is likely also knowledge shared among the women of the clan only. However, in general, there is much need for dedicated anthropological research on Lele culture¹⁸.

Not much is known about the “religion” of inland people in general or Lele specifically. There is in-depth research on the traditional religion of the Titan (Fortune 1935). Ancestor worship can be generally observed across the ethnic groups of Manus Province. Today, Christianity plays a major role in Manus society and has partly replaced the old customs, though the extent to which this replacement (and often suppression) of old ancestral customs took place largely depended on the branch of Christianity and associated attitudes towards indigenous culture. In Sapon alone several Christian churches are represented. While the older settlement of Sapon I is inhabited by members of the ECOM church, members of the SDA church and also “backsliders”, people formerly belonging to the SDA church¹⁹, Sapon II is almost exclusively Seventh Day Adventist. Seventh Day Adventism arrived

¹⁷I was given the Lele translation as *ndramet i-porou ngah* ‘men that carry lime powder’.

¹⁸While this area of Lele culture is highly interesting and insightful with regard to the ancestral heritage, it was also quite difficult to study during my field research. People were relatively reluctant to talk openly about their relationship with the ancestors. Ultimately, there is not enough data available at this time to give a satisfactory analysis. Therefore, partly in respecting the ancestral culture, this area of Lele culture remains vague for the time being. Dedicated long-term anthropological research on the ancestral culture of the neighbouring Baluan people (and related socio-political developments and repercussions) can be found in Ton Otto’s publications (see for example 1992, 1994, 2011b).

¹⁹These are people who left the SDA church for diverse reasons. Often customs are still practiced which are prohibited in SDA dogma, such as chewing of betelnut or consuming foods that are forbidden, especially Manus cuscus and pork which are highly valued in traditional culture.

in Manus Province comparatively late. Missionaries came from the Solomon Islands and began their work in Baluan in 1935 and from there moved on to Pam, Lou and later Manus mainland (Otto 1998, 81). Otto (1998) further states that the introduction of Christianity in Manus was well received after some initial hesitation, even taking on characteristics of a cargo cult, while the variety of churches also supported the wish of groups to maintain their separate identities (Otto 1998, 83). This is also mirrored in the geographical disconnection of the Highway settlement of Sapon from its place of origin. My adoptive family, the Polomon family of the Polapan clan, are prominent members of the Seventh Day Adventist church which also means that they have parted with some of their cultural heritage, especially traditional foods and the practice of certain customs, such as bride price, which was often pointed out to me. The day of rest, the Sabbath, is usually strictly observed. A quarterly study guide issued by the Pacific branch of the SDA church accompanies daily life and encourages church members to study the bible and pray. Thus, everyday life in Sapon Highway is highly influenced by religious activities. Against this strictly regulated church framework, the rules of the church are also frequently disputed or violated, as, for example, in a recent conflict over a bride price payment during which it was suggested the violator (the father of the daughter to be married) be disfellowshipped from the congregation. The ECOM church, on the other hand, tends to take a more permissive attitude towards traditional customs, as does the Catholic church. During my stay on Manus I could only observe the Seventh Day Adventist community more closely in everyday life. Generally, however, the interplay between traditional ancestor worship and Christian theology has produced religious structures perhaps unique to Manus that require more future research and documentation, especially for inland people and the Lele people.

1.7 Sociolinguistic Situation and Language Vitality

The variety of Lele described in this thesis belongs to one of roughly four varieties. It is spoken in Sapon, where the field research was based,

partly in Pulihat, in the Lorengau area and in Tungou Masih. This variety is likely the largest one in terms of numbers. The second variety is spoken in Lundret, Powat, partly Pulihat and Warambei. The differences between these two are mainly of phonological nature, but there also appear to be lexical differences. The variety spoken in the Rossun and Werembu area has been influenced by Loniu. The fourth variety is spoken in Yiringou and Ndranou and is, according to speakers from those villages, mixed with Ere, Kele and Nali. More research is needed on the dialectal differences between the Lele varieties²⁰.

The degree of language use differs greatly and has a variety of reasons and determining factors. One indicator of language use and frequency is the distance of village to the Highway and with that to multi-lingual Lorengau town. The general tendency is, the closer the village is located to town the more likely speakers will tend to use Tok Pisin or English instead of Lele. Both parts of Sapon are located in close proximity to Lorengau, which has promoted the use of Tok Pisin next to Lele in everyday life. Another influence on language use is the education system of Papua New Guinea which determined English as the language of teaching. Therefore school children today mainly communicate in Tok Pisin and only pick up Lele phrases. It is also striking that adults sometimes interrupt conversations in Lele when they are joined by children and then resume their conversation in Tok Pisin. The loss of language in children is often regretted by older speakers but also silently accepted. The current language proficiency appears to be sufficient to very good in different individuals in both villages. However, it is mainly middle-aged and older speakers that retain a good language proficiency. Younger speakers (forty years of age and below) often code-switch with Tok Pisin or borrow words or phrases from Tok Pisin into Lele. Since there is a remarkable similarity with regard to some grammatical features of Tok Pisin and Lele it is difficult to determine the degree of Tok Pisin (and English) influence on Lele grammar. The church language also tends to be Tok Pisin.

²⁰Moreover, there is a strong possibility that Lele forms a dialect continuum with Nali and other Eastern Manus mainland languages. Future research on this topic seems very promising.

In Seventh Day Adventism English is also used next to Tok Pisin. However, Lele is rarely used in religious contexts. This is somewhat surprising, considering that the first Lutheran missionaries in Manus translated the New Testament into Lele with the help of local people from Tingau Masih and was completed and revised in 1956 by Raimund Goebel (Walter (1981, 62). There also two books of hymns translated into Lele. Neither of these books are much in use today by the Christian communities.

1.8 Typological profile and Genetic Affiliation

Lele is part of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages and with that it is part of one of the largest language families in the world. Austronesian languages are spoken by as many as three hundred million people in the areas of the Pacific basin, Taiwan, Malaysia, some parts of mainland Asia, Madagascar, Southeast Asia, the Philippines and most of Indonesia (excluding Irian Jaya) (Lynch 1998). Most of the languages in the Pacific basin are Oceanic languages. The Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages alone comprises 513 languages (Lewis et al. 2014). Figure 1.4 outlines the boundaries of the Oceanic language group.

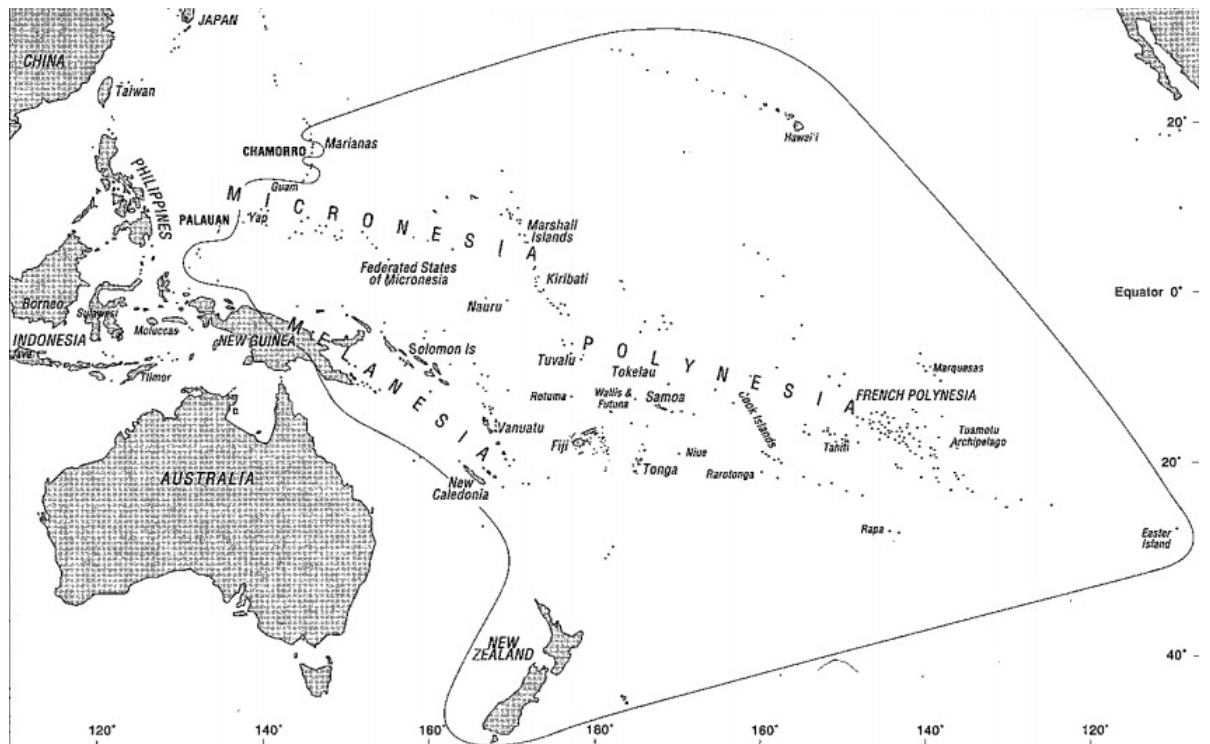


Figure 1.4: The Boundaries of the Oceanic Language Group (Lynch et al. 2002, 5)

Lele is part of the Admiralties branch, specifically eastern Admiralties branch of Oceanic. Its closest genealogical neighbours are Koro, Nali and Titan (see also Ross 1988). Figure 1.5 shows the position of Lele within the East Admiralties branch of Oceanic.

The Admiralties branch is a first-order subgroup of the Oceanic languages and with that one of the oldest subgroups. The Bismarck Archipelago is likely the earliest settling places of Proto Oceanic speakers. When the ancestors of Proto Oceanic speakers moved from eastern Indonesia via Irian Jaya to the Bismarck Archipelago they settled in Manus, New Britain and New Ireland (Lynch 1998, 53).

Oceanic languages exhibit the greatest variation in the areas of phonology. Few generalisations can be made. However, commonly five vowels /i,e,a,o,u/ are used. Furthermore, prenasalised trills are common and are also found in Lele. In addition there is a bilabial trill /b/ in Lele. This sound is rarely found in the world's languages but can be considered characteristic for mainland Manus languages, furthermore including Titan and Kele (s. §2.1.6.1). The most common syllable structure in Oceanic is CV. The

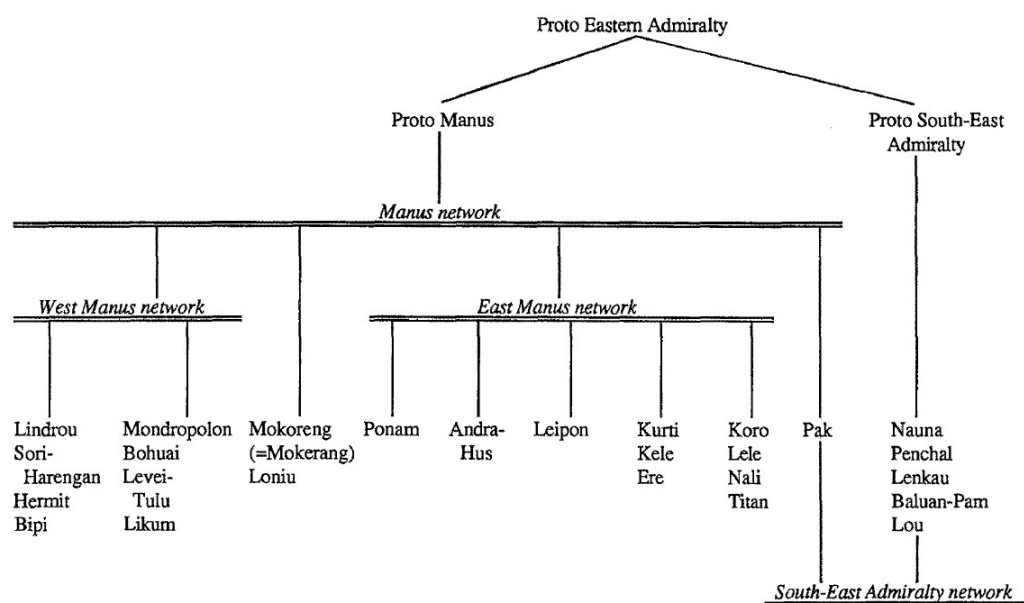


Figure 1.5: A Genetic Tree of Proto Eastern Admiralties (Ross 1988, 317)

second most common syllable structure, CVC, is the most prevalent in Lele. Consonant clusters are generally very rare in Oceanic languages. However, Lele does exhibit consonant clusters and has a certain tendency for consonant clustering in word endings and across words through a process of deleting vowels. Pronouns in Oceanic languages usually show no gender distinctions. However, they always distinguish singular and plural and often also a dual category. Almost universally can there be found an exclusive / inclusive distinction for first person pronouns. Thus, with respect to pronouns Lele is a typically representative for Oceanic languages. Typically, Oceanic languages classify nouns into directly or indirectly possessed. Second, nouns are divided into personal, common and locational (or local) nouns (Lynch et al. 2002, 37 f.). Here, again, Lele proves to be a typical Oceanic language. Numeral classifiers are regarded as a defining trait of Oceanic languages by Guérin (forthc.) and have been attested for Admiralties languages as well. While for Loniou (Hamel 1994) as many as thirty numeral classifiers could be identified, numeral classifiers are generally in decline in the Admiralties languages²¹. Eighteen numeral classifiers have

²¹Others to be mentioned here are Seimat (Wozna & Wilson 2005) and Paluai (Schokkin 2014).

been documented for Lele. Numerals in Lele are formed in way characteristic for the Eastern Admiralties languages. Numerals seven to nine are formed through subtraction from ten (see Ross 1988, 342).

The basic constituent order in Lele, SV or AVO, is also the most common constituent order in Oceanic languages. Lele frequently fronts topicalised clause constituents. The subject is always cross-referenced on the verb. Verbs can be divided into transitive and intransitive morphologically. Transitive verbs may be marked for transitivity with the suffix *-i*, as is common to Oceanic languages. The marking for transitivity correlates with object specificity and definiteness. Verbs are marked for reality status, aspect and modality. Furthermore, there is a non-singular prefix with intensifying function that is probably derived from a former causative morpheme in earlier language stages. Lastly, rather unusual for an Oceanic language, Lele exhibits two copula verbs.

1.9 Previous Research and Language Descriptions

There has been much Anthropological research conducted in the Admiralties since the turn of the 20th century, notably on the Manus or Titan people (Meier 1907-1912, Nevermann 1934, Bühler 1935, Fortune 1935, Mead 1956, Schwartz 1963, Mead 1963). An itinerary and account of Alfred Bühler's research in Manus along with a rich variety of photographs of artefacts and people from the Admiralties can be found in Ohnemus (1998). Since the 1980s long-term research has been conducted on the Baluan people by Ton Otto (e.g. Otto 2011b, Otto 2011a, Otto & Suhr 2011). Linguistic research, on the other hand, has been scarce. A general assessment of the Admiralties languages can be found in Blust 2009 and in Healey 1976. Schokkin's (2014) description of the Paluai language of Baluan Island has been the most comprehensive linguistic description to date. Further language descriptions include Loniu (Hamel 1994), Sivisa Titan (Bower 2011), Kurti (Uebele & Uebele 2002) and Seimat (Wozna & Wilson 2005). Z'Graggen 1975 offers comparative wordlists of Admiralties languages. Finally, some preliminary research on Lele can be found in unpublished material by Dixon

Barthel (1987a; 1987b).

1.10 Data Collection and Methodology of Research

During my main field research from June 2012 to March 2013 I recorded, glossed and interlinearised different genres of oral texts, mainly stories, tales, descriptions of events and customs and instructions for cooking. I recorded ca. ten hours of speech of which over five hours have been transcribed and analysed. During my main field trip and a short trip in October 2014 I elicited language material which complemented grammatical analysis deduced from the texts. Transcriptions were done with the help of two main consultants, Moses Peter and Pondros Pokupwen. The thesis relied mainly on the collected texts and to a lesser extent on elicitations. Elicitation was used to complement the language data and grammatical information and to complete paradigms. The main working language was Tok Pisin, however, towards the end of the field research the use of Lele as a working language increased due to my own growing proficiency in Lele. By the end of the field research period I was able to maintain simple conversations while comprehending more information through listening. Elicitations were also conducted in English, especially with consultant Ruth Francis, who is fluent in Lele, Tok Pisin and English. Thus, comments on elicited language structures were often given both in Tok Pisin and English.

1.11 Structure of this Thesis

The thesis is divided into six parts: introduction, phonology, open word classes, closed word classes, the clause and clause types and an appendix of text material and dictionary. Membership with open word classes can potentially be extended through word-class-changing derivations. Members of open word classes cannot be listed exhaustively. This part consists of chapters about verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Membership with closed classes is limited and cannot be extended (easily). These are personal pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, numeral classifiers, interrog-

atives, prepositions, connectors, negators and particles. The part on the clause and clause types discusses the syntax of the clause and different predicate types, including verbless predicates, verbal predicates and serial verb constructions. Lastly, the appendices provide a corpus of analysed and translated texts and a dictionary of Lele.

This thesis presents an analysis of selected topics in the grammar of Lele of Manus Island. The grammatical description especially focused on verbs and verbal morphology, while other topics were either treated in a cursory way or have to remain for future research. Among these future research topics are a more comprehensive description of Lele clausal syntax and the syntax of the noun phrase as well as discourse pragmatics. Likewise, further research is required on Lele intonation and stress patterns. Finally, as Lele most likely forms a dialect continuum with other mainland Manus languages, an analysis of the neighbouring languages as well as a comprehensive dialect survey are of particular interest for future research.

Part II

Phonology

Chapter 2

Phonology

The following presents an analysis of the Lele phonology, which serves as the basis of a grammar.

2.1 Segmental Phonology

The following table provides a basic overview of the Lele consonants:

	bilabial	apico- alveolar	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar	glottal
Plosive	p	t		k	
- Prenasalised P.		ⁿ d			
- Prenasalised P. with trilled release	^m B	ⁿ dr			
- Labialised P.	p ^w			k ^w	
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
- Labialised N.	m ^w				
Trill		r			
Fricative		s			h
Approximant			j	w	
Lateral Approximant		l			

Table 2.1: Lele consonant inventory

2.1.1 Plosives

The following provides a description of the Lele consonant and vowel phonemes, their articulation and distribution.

2.1.1.1 Voicing

Voicing is not phonemic but plosives commonly become unaspirated and voiced between vowels or when following a nasal, as depicted in table 2.2.

/p,t,k/ → [b,d,g] / V_V
/p,t,k/ → [b,d,g] / N_V
/Sopun/ → [Sobun] ‘Sapon village’
/oto/ → [odo] ‘mine’
/oko/ → [ogo] ‘DEM.PROX’
/antu/ → [andu] ‘our (excl.) food’

Table 2.2: Voicing of plosives

2.1.1.2 Aspiration

Aspiration is optional and occurs at word boundaries (# in the table), particularly when followed by a longer pause. Aspiration of plosives is also a means of general emphasis.

/p,t,k/ → [p^h,t^h,k^h] / #_V/Glide
/p,t,k/ → [p^h,t^h,k^h] / V_#
/ndop/ → [ndɔp ^h] ‘basket’
/hirek/ → [hirek ^h] ‘grow’
/pat/ → [p ^h at ^h] ‘stone’

Table 2.3: Aspiration of plosives

The choice of voicing, but also the degree of aspiration depends on dialectal differences but mostly on personal choice. A speaker from Rossun village may pronounce intervocalic plosives voiceless and with greater aspiration than a speaker from Sapon. There is a tendency for women to use stronger aspiration than men and elderly people.

2.1.1.3 The phoneme /p/

The bilabial plosive is formed by pressing the lower lip against the upper lip, thereby causing a complete blockage of airflow, and then releasing the blockage. In words it may occur in initial, medial and final position. It may be followed by an apico-alveolar lateral approximant or an apico-alveolar voiceless fricative. See the examples in (2.1).

- (2.1) a. *ndop* 'basket'
b. *pleng* 'garden'
c. *hepsah* 'something'
d. *pelt* 'bush spirit'
e. *kaperou* 'axe'

2.1.1.4 The phoneme /t/

The apico-alveolar plosive is formed by the tip of the tongue forming an airflow blockage against the gum ridge, slightly touching the upper front teeth, and releasing the blockage. It occurs in initial, medial and final position.

- (2.2) a. *tusie* 'straight'
b. *oto* 'mine'
c. *ngat* 'hole'

2.1.1.5 The phoneme /k/

The dorso-velar plosive is formed by a complete blockage of airflow caused by back of the tongue against the velum and releasing the blockage. It can occur in initial, medial and final positions in words. It may be followed by an apico-alveolar lateral approximant /l/, an apico-alveolar nasal /n/ or an apico-alveolar voiceless fricative /s/.

- (2.3) (2.3) *kor* 'village'
(2.4) *a.ka* 'distal demonstrative'
(2.5) *muk.muk* 'happy'

(2.6) *kle* 'alright'

(2.7) *luk.na* 'seat'

(2.8) *ksou* 'will remain'

(2.9) *kweh* 'flute'

In fast speech /k/ may lenite to [x] or [χ]. See the examples in (2.1.1.5).

(2.10) /aka/ → [axa] or [aχa] 'distal demonstrative'

/ndaken/ → [ndaxən] or [ndaχən] or [ndaŋən] 'true'

/teke/ → [teje], but *[texe]

The spirantisation of /k/ to [x] or [χ] is caused by a process of assimilation the following sonorant element. When followed by a nasal /k/ may also be sonorised as a dorso-velar nasal [ŋ].

2.1.2 Fricatives

Fricatives are generally voiceless. There is the apico-alveolar fricative /s/ and the glottal fricative /h/. The apico-alveolar fricative /s/ is formed by friction caused by the tip of the tongue approaching the gum ridge which narrows the airflow channel. It occurs in initial, medial and final position in words. /s/ may be followed by a bilabial stop /p/, a dorso-velar stop /k/, by an apico-alveolar trill /r/, by an apico-alveolar nasal /n/ or by a dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/. The fricative /h/ is formed by friction at the glottis.

(2.11) a. *sal* 'road'

b. *embusrei* 'tear apart'

c. *inges* 'went up'

d. *has* 'to plant'

e. *spwi* 'wipe'

f. *muskulun* 'unripe'

g. *sret* 'crawl'

h. *snel* 'bush spirit'

- i. *sasŋeni* 'wash'

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs in initial, medial and final position in words.

- (2.12) a. *hondrei* 'write'
- b. *pahali* 'mountain'
- c. *ehe* 'yes'
- d. *loh* 'shout'

2.1.3 Nasals

Lele has the bilabial nasal /m/, the apico-alveolar /n/ and the dorso-velar /ŋ/. All nasals may occur in initial, medial and final position in words.

- (2.13) A list of words containing nasal consonants
 - a. *moro* 'my eye(s)'
 - b. *hanem* 'one string'
 - c. *kamel* 'man'
 - d. *nungwan* 'yellow'
 - e. *koŋ* 'bark'
 - f. *hanei* 'pick from tree'
 - g. *kan* 'food'
 - h. *ŋondr* 'root'
 - i. *hanen* 'look after'

2.1.4 Liquids

Liquids comprise the apico-alveolar approximant /l/ and the apico-alveolar trill /r/. The apico-alveolar lateral approximant is produced by placing the tip of the tongue against gum ridge and letting air stream at the sides of the tongue. The apico-alveolar trill is produced by placing the tip of the tongue in the same position but causing it to vibrate. Both sounds may occur in all positions in words.

(2.14) A list of words with liquids

- a. *lus* 'big plate'
- b. *helian* 'taboo'
- c. *kohol* 'frying pan'
- d. *ramen* 'red'
- e. *erio* 'half way'
- f. *rerer* 'shake heavily (with fear)'

2.1.5 Labialised Consonants

Labialised consonants are plain consonants /p/, /m/ and /k/ followed by a labio-velar glide. This sequence of plain stop and labio-velar glide is analysed here as a single phoneme since it cannot be interrupted by any element and speakers pronounce it as a single unit. Furthermore, it contrasts with the plain bilabial plosive. See the examples in (2.15).

(2.15) A list of words with /p^w/

- a. *p^wan* 'ground, earth' vs. *pan* 'look for lice'
- b. *p^wen* 'finished' vs. *i-pen* 's/he looked for lice'
- c. *p^warn* 'smelly'
- d. *p^wirp^wir* 'mud, dirt'
- e. *hip^wak*

Likewise, a bilabial nasal followed by a labio-velar glide is considered one phoneme as this sequence is not breakable and contrasts with the plain bilabial nasal:

(2.16) A list of words with /m^w/

- a. *m^wat* 'snake' vs. *mat* 'low tide'
- b. *m^wah* 'sorry, broken' vs. *mah* 'taro'
- c. *m^walih* 'story' and 'good'
- d. *m^wenen* 'straight'

Finally, the dorso-velar plosive followed by a labio-velar glide is one phoneme. It is relatively rare in Lele. See the following examples.

- (2.17) a. *k^weh* 'flute'
 b. *k^wel* 'sago bow'
 c. *nduk^win* 'deep'

Labialised consonants cannot be analysed as a CV sequences. They cannot be pronounced as consonant - vowel sequence. Phonetically, the glide is very brief in duration and only the vowel following it is the nucleus of the syllable. For example, the word *mwat* 'snake' and *pwen* 'finished' can be analysed thus:

m^wat CVC [[m^w]_O[[a]_N[t]_C]_R]_S
p^wen CVC [[p^w]_O[[e]_N[n]_C]_R]_S

There are also cases of labialisation that are in free variation with their plain counterparts, as in (2.1.5).

- (2.18) [Masusu] / [Mwasusu] 'name of a bush spirit'
 [Manus] / [Mwanus] 'Manus'

For the sake of simplicity, labialised consonants will be represented by a plain *w* symbol following the stop in the practical orthography.

2.1.6 Prenasalised Stops

Prenasalised stops are stops that are preceded by a homorganic nasal. They may have a trilled release or not. In Lele, these are /ⁿd/ and the two prenasalised stops with trilled release /ⁿdr/ and phoneme /^mB/.

Prenasalised stops occur with relatively high frequency in the Lele lexicon. The prenasalised apico-alveolar stop occurs in syllable-initial position.

- (2.19) a. *luⁿdie* 'inside'
 b. *maⁿda* 'grow big/fat'

- c. ***n*das**¹ 'sea'
- d. ***n*dileng** 'cry'
- e. ***n*dere** 'same-sex sibling'

Most prominent are the prenasalised stops with trilled release. The prenasalised apico-alveolar stop with trilled release occurs in initial and final positions within the word.

- (2.20)
- a. ***n*dran** 'water'
 - b. ***i*n*****dr*ti** 's/he chopped'
 - c. ***ka*n*****dr*i*****n*dr** 'ladder'
 - d. ***n*drah** 'bamboo'
 - e. ***n*drai** 'blood'
 - f. ***n*dramet** 'human, person'
 - g. ***ka*n*****dr*i*****n*dr** 'ladder'

There is a contrast between plain apico-alveolar stop, prenasalised alveolar stop and prenasalised alveolar stop with trilled release. See these quasi-minimal pairs:

- (2.21)
- a. ***n*drange** 'cough', 'cold' vs. ***r*ange** 'today' vs. ***nd*angen** 'correct, true'
 - b. ***n*dre** 'on top of' vs. ***n*de** 'or'
 - c. ***n*dran** 'water' vs. ***n*dan** 'dance'
 - d. ***n*drih** 'kind of fish' vs. ***n*di** 'away'

The following minimal pairs (and quasi-minimal pair) highlight the contrast between plain alveolar stop, prenasalised alveolar stop and prenasalised alveolar stop with trilled release :

- (2.22) /nd/ - /t/
- a. ***n*dol** 'canoe' vs. ***tol*** 'vine' ***n*drolek** 'a ritual'

¹Compare Nali ***ndras*** 'sea'.

2.1.6.1 Bilabial Trill

The bilabial trill [ʙ] is one of the rarest sounds in the world's languages. It is attested in some languages in South America, Africa and most notably in the Admiralties, including Titan and Kele and Lele. It is produced by streaming air over the upper and lower lip so that they vibrate. It occurs in initial and medial position. Blust (2007) argues that all languages that exhibit bilabial trills historically developed them from bilabial stops preceded by a bilabial nasal and followed by a high back vowel. The language data presented in the following add further evidence to this assumption; all bilabial trills are followed by a high back rounded vowel. It is always preceded by a bilabial nasal.

- (2.23) *rum**B**uan* 'wet'
*m**B**ukei* 'shell'
*m**B**urer* 'work'
*sum**B**uti* 'completely'
*tum**B**u* 'grandparent'
*kom**B**uo* 'big basket'

Prenasalised bilabial trills can be analysed as one unit, since they cannot be interrupted by vowels or glottal stops. They may, however, be phonetically reduced, for example [ndr] can be reduced to [r] in mbundr:

/mbundr/ 'banana' - [mbundr] or [mbur]

There is also a certain amount of speaker variation as to the pronunciation of bilabial trills. Sometimes the same speaker will pronounce *mbundr* as [mbundr] and sometimes as [mbundr], even in the course of telling one story. However, since it is pronounced as bilabial trill in the majority of cases, and since there is true voiced bilabial stop can only be heard when preceded by a bilabial nasal, I will regard the prenasalised bilabial stop as one phoneme. The prenasalised bilabial stop with trilled release contrasts only with a plain bilabial stop: *mBuskehen* 'full of holes', 'holey' – *pus* 'shell'.

For the practical orthography *nd* represents /ⁿd/, *ndr* represents /ⁿdr/ and *mB* represents /^mB/.

2.1.6.2 Secondary Nasal Grade

According to Ross (1988), one of the defining phonological innovations of the Admiralties that set it apart from Proto Oceanic is the coalescence of the POc article *(n)a with common nouns, the article often reduced to *n-, resulting in a second set of reflexes of POc *p, *t-, *r-, *s- and *k- which occurs only word-initially and on common nouns. Consider the following examples:

POc with common article <i>na</i>	Lele
* <i>na tamwata</i> ‘man’	<i>ndramet</i> ‘man, person’
* <i>na topu</i> ‘sugarcane’	<i>nduh</i> ‘sugarcane, sugar’
(possibly) * <i>na pusoq</i> ‘foam, bubbles’	<i>mbuses</i> ‘bubble’
* <i>na pua</i> ‘fruit’	<i>mbu</i> ‘fruit, seed’
* <i>na tasik</i> ‘sea’	<i>ndas</i> ‘sea, salt’
* <i>na talise</i> ‘talisa tree (terminalia catappa)’	<i>ndilis</i> ‘talisa’
(possibly) * <i>na puqaya</i> ‘crocodile’	<i>mbuei</i> ‘crocodile’

Table 2.4: Secondary nasal grade in Lele

It is likely that the phonemes /nd/, /ndr/ and /mB/ have developed from the same phonological environment, evidenced further by their word-initial position in nouns.

2.1.7 Glides

There are two glides in Lele. The rounded labio-velar glide /w/ and the lamino-velar glide /j/. The rounded labio-velar glide /w/ is formed by the back of the tongue approaching the velum with simultaneous lip-rounding. While vowels are long in duration, for the production of glides the back of the tongue approaches the velum and is then retracted. Both phonemes have probably developed from earlier vowels /u/ and /i/. While they share phonetic properties with vowels, glides function as consonants. See the list of examples in (2.24) and (2.25).

- (2.24) a. **wou** '2SG'
 b. **wes** 'taro'
 c. **wop** 'to run away'

The lamino-velar glide is produced with the blade of the tongue approaching the velum and retracting it again.

- (2.25) a. **yenyān** 'food' or 'eat.INTR'
 b. **yo** '1SG'
 c. **yahe** 'mother's brother'

2.1.8 Vowels

The vowel is the nucleus of a syllable. The following vowel phonemes have been attested in Lele:

i	u
e	o
e	

Table 2.5: Vowel phonemes

The vowel phoneme /i/ is commonly realised as high front unrounded vowel [i], but can also be realised as near-high front unrounded vowel [ɪ]. The letter *i* represents /i/ in the practical orthography. See the examples below for the vowel phoneme /i/ and its realisations:

- (2.26) a. /**kina**/
 ['ki.na]
 'go.3SG.PRF'
 b. /**minmin**/
 ['mɪn.mɪn]
 'cut to pieces'
 c. /**hinen**/
 ['hi.nən]
 'to make or do something'
 d. /**sindr̥ti**/
 ['sɪndr̥.ti]

- 'to cut'
- e. /*sim*/
[sɪm]
'buy'
- f. /*his*/
[his]
'jump'
- g. /*loping*/
[ˈlɔ.pɪŋ]
'night'
- h. /*tiken*/
[tɪ.ˈkɛn]
'a little'
- i. /*lingen*/
[ˈlɪ.ŋən]
'rain'

From the data given above it can be drawn that *i* is reduced to *ɪ* when 1) it is syllable nucleus and followed by a nasal coda and 2) if the following nasal is not part of the same syllable but the following syllable is reduced. Furthermore, /*i*/ can be reduced to [ɪ] when the syllable whose nucleus it occupies is not stressed; in that case it can also be elided. The vowel phoneme /*i*/ contrasts with the phoneme /*e*/, as can be seen in

(2.27) Minimal pairs /*i*/ - /*e*/

- a. *kina* 'go.3SG.PRF' - *kena* 'go.3PL.PRF'
- b. *sih* 'one' - *seh* 'which'

The vowel phoneme /*e*/ is most commonly realised as a high-mid front unrounded vowel. See the list of examples in (2.28).

(2.28) Vowel Phoneme /*e*/ and its phonetic realisations

- a. /*le*/
[lɛ]
'go'
- b. /*hendre*/
[ˈhɛ.ndrɛ]
'one:NCLF:piece'

- c. /hi**wene**/
[hi.'we.ne]
'to go for a walk'
- d. /pl**eng**/
[plɛŋ]
'garden'
- e. /han**em**/
[ha.nɛm]
'one:NCLF:string'

In open syllables /e/ can be realised as [e], while in closed syllables it tends to be realised as [ɛ], sometimes also as [ə].

The pronunciation of the phoneme /a/ is between a near-low central vowel [ɐ] and low-front unrounded vowel [a]. See (2.29).

(2.29) Vowel phoneme /a/ and its phonetic realisations

- a. /la/ **/**
[le]
'go.NSG'
- b. /lan**g**/ **/**
[lɛŋ]
'sky'
- c. /ak**a**/ **/**
[ɛke]
'DEM.DIST'
- d. /man**da**/ **/**
[ma'nda]
'to grow'

The high back rounded vowel /u/ can be realised as [ʊ] and [u]. The realisation as high back rounded vowel [u] is most frequent. In unaccented syllables and when preceding an apico-alveolar nasal, /u/ is frequently realised as a near-high near-back vowel [ʊ]. See the following examples for the phoneme /u/ in different environments.

(2.30) Vowel phoneme /u/ and its phonetic realisations

- a. /p**u**/ **/**
[pu]
'pig'

- b. /**lundie**/
[ˈlʊndie]
'inside'
- c. /**mbundr**/
[mʌndr]
'banana'
- d. /**ruktan**/
[rʊkˈtʌn]
'black'
- e. /**kur**/
[kʊr]
'pot'

The phoneme /o/ can be realised as a high-mid back rounded vowel [o] or, more frequently, as a low-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ]. See the list of examples in (2.31)

(2.31) Vowel Phoneme /o/ and its phonetic realisations

- a. /**pɔ**/
[pɔ] or [pɔ̃]
'to do'
- b. /**kɔhɔ**/
[kɔˈhɔ]
'frying pan for sago'
- c. /**ndɔ**/
[ndɔ]
'canoe'
- d. /**ndɔsu**/
[ˈndɔsu]
'comb'
- e. /**malapɔ**/
[malapɔ] or [malapɔ̃]
'now'

2.1.9 Vowel Sequences and Diphthongs

The following sequences of vowels have been attested in the corpus.

Diphthongs	
ai	<i>ndrai</i> 'blood', <i>me.nu.ai</i> 'eagle', <i>ta.hi.tai</i> 'war', <i>hai</i> 'wind', 'west', <i>ain</i> 'eat'
au	<i>sa.lau</i> 'cloth', <i>po.sau</i> 'dry out', <i>yau</i> 'leave',
ei	<i>kei</i> 'tree', <i>ei</i> 'be, stay', <i>pa.mei</i> 'betelnut'
iu	<i>niu</i> 'coconut', <i>riu.riu</i> 'car', <i>ki.kiu</i> 'green snail'
oi	<i>mwoi</i> 'kind of crab', <i>Lomonoi</i> (old name for Lugos)
ou	<i>sou.ka</i> 'Chouka bird', <i>ha.no.nou</i> 'learn, try', <i>wul.hou</i> 'young man'
ui	<i>tu.le.mui</i> 'burn', <i>nu.hui</i> 'put sth. small into container'
Other vowel sequences	
ea	<i>sa.le.au</i> 'kind of fish', <i>to.ke.a</i> 'journey'
eu	<i>pe.u</i> 'shark', <i>ye.u</i> 'figus tree'
ia	<i>hi.an</i> 'good', <i>i.pi.ah</i> 'afternoon'
ie	<i>lu.ndi.e</i> 'inside', <i>i.e</i> 'be, stay'
ua	<i>su.ah</i> 'fry sago', <i>mar.tu.ru.an</i> , 'me.nu.ai' 'eagle'
ue	<i>mbu.e</i> 'PROH', <i>mbu.ei</i> 'crocodile'
uo	<i>ko.mbu.o</i> 'big basket', <i>tu.o</i> 'father's brother'

Table 2.6: Diphthongs and vowel sequences

Vowel sequences analysed as diphthongs are /ai/, /au/, /ei/, /iu/, /oi/, /ou/ and /ui/. Of these, /ai/, /au/ and /ou/ are the most frequent diphthongs in the Lele lexicon. The other vowel sequences presented in table 2.6 are vowels adjacent to one another, however, without a glottal stop intervening. These vowel sequences do not form a syllable nucleus but instead each belong to separate syllables, as indicated in the table through the separation mark (.).

2.2 Syllable Structure

The most common syllable structure in words is CV(C). Nouns commonly start with consonants.

Syllable type	Examples
V	<i>i</i> '3SG/PL'
CV	<i>ma</i> 'with', <i>su</i> '3PL', <i>le</i> 'go', <i>ri</i> 'LOC'
VC	<i>ur</i> 'COP:1SG', <i>at</i> 'POSS'
CVC	<i>mah</i> 'taro', <i>lap</i> 'person from', <i>ngah</i> 'lime powder', <i>k^weh</i> 'flute'
CCV	<i>kle</i> 'alright', <i>kme</i> 'IRR:come'
CVCC	<i>mwa.lolt</i> 'disappear', <i>nalt</i> 'kind of tree', <i>ndrak.mult</i> 'carrying log'
CCVC	<i>sp^wih</i> 'wipe', <i>sret</i> 'crawl'

Table 2.7: Syllable types

While nouns tend to have CVC structure, functional words and markers tend to start with a vowel.

- (2.32) a. *aka*
DEM.DIST
'there'
- b. *ehe*
yes
'Yes.'
- c. *e-tne*
2SG-stand
'Stand up!'
- d. *oro*
COP
'Stay!'
- e. *i-ngoh*
3-cool.down
'It cooled down.'

There is a tendency for consonant clusters in Lele. The following list gives some instances of consonant clustering in words and their syllable structure²:

²key: O - onset, N - Nucleus, C - Coda

Example	Syllable structure
<i>mwa.lolt</i> 'disappear'	[mw] _O [a] _N . [l] _O [o] _N [t] _C
<i>ndrak.mult</i> 'carrying log'	[ndr] _O [a] _N [k] _C . [m] _O [u] _N [t] _C
<i>kurn</i> 'his / her hair lice'	[k] _O [u] _N [rn] _C
<i>aten</i> 'hers / his', fast speech: [at.ŋ]	[a] _N [t] _C . [ŋ] _N

Table 2.8: Consonant clustering

Consonant clustering occurs with sonorants, such as the liquid [l], as in [mwa.lolt] 'disappear', [ndrak.mult] 'carrying log', or the nasal [n], as in [kurn] 'his / her hair lice' or [aten] 'his / hers', where [n] acts as sonorant syllable nucleus. Consonant clustering due to word-final vowel deletion is quite common. The basic (C)V(C) structure is often reduced across words in fast speech. It is often the case that the final vowel of, for example, a pronoun is omitted to form a consonant cluster with the onset consonant of the next syllable, whereas in careful speech, the final vowel is pronounced. Phonologically reduced pronouns are considered clitics when attached to verbs, however, this phenomenon also applies to other word classes. See (2.33) for examples of word-final vowel deletion.

(2.33) Word-final vowel deletion and consonant clustering in fast speech

- a. *mar**so**r le pwi...* (*fast speech*)
mar-**so**r le pwi (careful speech)
eye-3DU go SEQ
'When they looked around...' (powat.nambis.098)
- b. *sese **so**r ndor pihin aka* (*fast speech*)
sese **so**r ndor pihin aka (careful speech)
grandmother-3DU child female DEM.DIST
'The grandmother of those two girls' (powat.nambis.105)
- c. ***so**r ndersoro* (*fast*)
sor ndere-soro (careful)
3DU sibling.same.sex-3DU
'They were brothers. (greedy.brother.002)'
- d. *yo=uyeling pihin **ot** **kmul** le*
yo=u-yeling pihin **oto** **k-i-mul** le
1SG=1SG-like.SG woman 1SG.POSS IRR-3-return go
'I want my wife to come back.' (powat.nambis.195)

2.3 Phonological Word

A phonological word in Lele can be defined using the following criteria:

1. The phonological word cannot be interrupted
2. There is one main accent assigned to each phonological word
3. Aspiration of plosives is optional, but occurs particularly on word boundaries, cf. (2.1.1.2)
4. Glottal stops only occur at the beginning of words

Word-final [h] is an important indicator for word boundaries since it is used in liaison with the following word if it starts with a vowel. The glottal fricative /h/ is not a phoneme that is part of the reconstructed POc phoneme inventory. It does occur, however, in the languages of the Admiralties, such as Titan, Loniu and Kele. It occurs also word-finally, if less common. It can be assumed at first glance that final /h/ is just a phonation type of vowels. However, it is evident that word-final /h/ is phonemic in Lele. It can be best seen in the minimal pair *ma* ‘with’ vs. *mah* ‘taro’, *ma mah* ‘with taro’. Consider (2.34).

(2.34) Word-final /h/ as word boundary indicator

- a. *[inohaka]*
i-noh aka
3SG-be.afraid DEM.DIST
‘Now he was afraid.’ (greedy.brother.030)
- b. *[tukal kahandu nengei]*
tu=k-al kah an-tu nengei
1PL.INCL=IRR-go find CLF.food-1PL.INCL peanut
‘Let us go and find peanuts.’ (octo.025)

It is evident that the words *noh* ‘to be afraid’ and *kah* ‘to find’, ‘to look for’ form phonological units with the following words that begin with a vowel. It can therefore be used to determine the word boundaries. It should also be noted that the glottal fricative /h/ is not used as a “linker” between words. At the beginning of words vowels are preceded by a glottal stop, which is the last tool to determine word boundaries. See example (2.35).

- (2.35) [*youhengeni ndouo ʔoto ʔoko*]
 yo=u-hengen-i ndouo oto oko
 1SG=1SG-give.1SG-TR strength 1SG.POSS DEM.PROX
 'I give you this power of mine.' (power.women.090)

Word stress is difficult to predict and must be considered idiosyncratic to the word. However, future research is necessary.

2.4 Morphophonemic Changes

2.4.1 Vowel assimilation

Vowel /a/ undergoes vowel assimilation in various environments. Firstly, in possessive constructions (cf. §4.4), stem vowel /a/ is assimilated to /o/ when a first person singular possessor suffix is attached. See the examples in (2.36).

- (2.36) a. *tam-* 'father' → *tom-o* 'my father'
 b. *at* 'POSS' → *ot-o* 'my, mine'
 c. *mar-* 'eye' → *mor-o* 'my eye(s)'
 d. *pal-* 'head' → *pol-o* 'my head'

Second, vowel /a/ undergoes vowel assimilation as a part of verbal conjugation (cf. §3.1.1). A few examples are listed in (2.37).

- (2.37) a. *su=sap*
 3PL=collect
 'They collected...'
 b. *yo=u-sep*
 1SG=1SG-collect
 'I collected...'
 c. *yowu=pwai*
 1PL.EXCL=say
 'We (excl.) said...'
 d. *i-pwei*
 3-say
 'He / she said...'

- e. *tor=ndan*
3DU=dance
'They danced.'
- f. *yo=u-nden*
1SG=1SG-dance
'I danced.'

2.4.2 Consonant Mutation /t/-/r/

The phoneme /t/ undergoes consonant mutation after certain morphological operations. The process is phonologically motivated and can be summarised as:

[t] → [r] / V_[+son]

Consonant /t/ mutates to /r/ when followed by a sonorous sound such as a nasal or a vowel. Consider the examples listed in (2.38).

- (2.38) a. *kut* 'hair louse' → *kur-n* 'his / her hair lice'
 b. *ngat* 'hole, cave' → *ngar-mui* 'the cave of the dogs'
 c. *tang* 'cry.NSG' → *reng* 'cry.SG'
 d. *tai* 'beat.NSG' → *rei* 'beat.SG'
 e. *mat* 'to die', 'low tide' → *mar* 'to become dry', 'to dry out'

The consonant mutation /t/-/r/ occurs in several morphological contexts. It is found in directly possessed nouns, as in (2.38a), and in compounds, as in (2.38b). The nouns ending in /t/ are followed by sonorous consonants which triggers lenition as a process of assimilation to the surrounding sonorous environment. The consonant mutation also occurs in class II verbs (cf. §3.1.2) and in the irregular verbs *tang* 'cry' (2.38c) and *tai* 'beat', 'kill' (2.38d). These cases of consonant mutation most likely developed historically due to the presence of the subject prefixes. Synchronically, these forms can be regarded as part of the verbal paradigm. A special case can be seen in (2.38e): the verb *mar* 'to become dry' or 'to dry out' is derived from *mat* 'to die' which also means 'low tide'. In this instance, the consonant mutation is not triggered by a following sonorous phoneme but

functions as indicator of verbal derivation. Only one such verb was found in the corpus.

2.5 Orthographic Conventions

The following list provides an overview of the orthographic conventions used throughout the grammar. Phonemes are indicated with slashes /a/ and their phonetic realisations are indicated in square brackets, as in [th].

Phonemes & phones	Orthographic representation
/p/ - [p, ph, b]	p
/p ^w /	pw
/m/	m
/m ^w /	mw
/B/ - [B, mb]	B
/t/ [t, th, d]	t
/n/	n
/r/	r
/s/	s
/l/	l
/j/	y
/k/ [kh, g, x, ʁ]	k
/ŋ/	ng
/w/	w
/h/	h
/a/ [a, e]	a
/e/ [e, ε]	e
/i/ [i, ɪ]	i
/o/ [o, ɔ]	o
/u/ [u, ʊ]	u

Table 2.9: Phonemes and their orthographic representations

Part III

Open Word Classes

Chapter 3

Verbs

Verbs are the core functional units of predication and temporal and processual relations. Verbs generally occupy the second syntactic slot in the clause, preceded usually by the subject, but frequently also by a topicalised object. Lele verbs can be easily distinguished by being obligatorily marked for person / number and reality status. A minimal clause may consist of only the verb marked for person (realis is morphologically unmarked and is therefore not included in the glosses) as in (3.1).

- (3.1) *i-le*
3SG-go
'he went'

3.1 Conjugational Classes

Verbs in Lele can be classified based on their conjugational patterns. Class I is identified by stem vowel changes triggered by a vowel assimilation process. The verbs of class II are prefixed by morphemes marking SG, NSG and 2SG separately.

In general, all verbs (and non-verbal predicates) cross-referencing singular subjects are prefixed with subject agreement markers that partially reflect person / number marking: *u-* for 1SG, *e- / a-* for 2SG and NSG subjects and *i-* for 3SG subjects (see § 3.2.1). In the process of prefixation stem vowel assimilation may occur¹. As far as verbal marking and morpho-

¹A similar process of vowel assimilation, and a very similar pronominal system, can be

phonemic processes are concerned, there is a strong tendency for a split in paradigms between singular and non-singular. As a basic rule, the underlying form of the verb is the non-singular form, which will become evident in the sections on aspect (§3.2.4), Negation (on Negators see §14) and partly also in serial verb constructions (§16.4). These categories reduce finiteness through the elimination of the mentioned morphological split singular vs. non-singular. Many paradigms, on the other hand, are formally homogeneous and are not affected by any morphophonemic assimilation processes. However, the paradigms that exhibit this split form the basis for the following sections on conjugational classes.

3.1.1 Class I: Stem Vowel Changes

Table 3.1 for *sap* 'collect' is given to illustrate the subject agreement prefixes on verbs and stem vowel change *a/e*:

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=u-sep	w=a-sep	yi=i-sep
DU	tor=sap	yowur=sap	mor=sap	sor=sap
PL	tu=sap	yowu=sap	mu=sap	su=sap

Table 3.1: Sample paradigm: *sap* 'collect'

Verbs with a stem vowel /a/ are raised to /e/ if preceded by the prefix /u/ or /i/ as demonstrated in Table 3.1. There is no stem vowel assimilation found in Kele (Ross 2012). Verbs in Kele are obligatorily marked by subject prefixes.

with stem vowel /i/ as shown in Table 3.2, stem vowel /u/ as in Table 3.3 or with (/o/) as in Table 3.4.

<i>his</i> 'jump'	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=u-his	w=e-his	yi=i-his
DU	tor=his	yowur=his	mor=his	sor=his
PL	tu=his	yowu=his	mu=his	su=his

Table 3.2: Paradigm for *his* 'jump'

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=u-mul	w=e-mul	yi=i-mul
DU	tor=mul	yowur=mul	mor=mul	sor=mul
PL	tu=mul	yowu=mul	mu=mul	su=mul

Table 3.3: Paradigm for *mul* 'return'

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=u-soho	w=e-soho	yi=i-soho
DU	tor=soho	yowur=soho	mor=soho	sor=soho
PL	tu=soho	yowu=soho	mu=soho	su=soho

Table 3.4: Paradigm for *soho* 'wait'

The majority of verbs in Lele are not affected by stem vowel assimilation. For the verbs that do show stem vowel assimilation, three basic patterns could be observed:

1. Stem vowel /e/ 'SG' and /a/ 'NSG' (from now on class Ia), cf. Table 3.5
2. Stem vowel /e/ '1SG/3SG' and /a/ '2SG',NSG' (from now on class Ib), cf. Table 3.6
3. Stem vowel /u/ '1SG', /e/ '2SG' and 'NSG', /i/ '3SG' and 'NSG' (from now on class Ic), cf. Table 3.7

The first pattern exhibits a simple stem vowel alternation /a/ vs. /e/ which reflects a SG vs. NSG distinction. The distribution of these stem vowel assimilations across paradigms allows for a subclassification into Ia and Ib, which will be expanded on in the following. Another stem vowel alternation pattern is found in class Ic, which includes stem vowel /u/ marking 1SG forms, though /e/ may also occur in 1SG forms, thus creating an irregular pattern. Both /e/ and /a/ may occur in 2SG and NSG forms. Stem vowel /i/ typically marks third person forms.

Stem vowel alternations of two vowels are alternations between /a/ and /e/, of which the /a/ form is the basic form. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show examples of verbal forms with stem vowel changes. The simplest pattern stem vowel /a/ for NSG forms and /e/ for SG forms is shown in Table 3.5:

The stems of class 1a in Table 3.5 divide into stem vowel /e/ for singular forms and stem vowel /a/ for non-singular forms.

Conjugational Class 1a		
Verb forms		Gloss
met (SG)	mat (NSG)	'die'
sep (SG)	sap (NSG)	'collect'
pwei (SG)	pwai (NSG)	'say'
ter (SG)	tar (NSG)	'loosen'
pwehernou (SG)	pwahernou (NSG)	'give a speech, preach'
pwehere (SG)	pwahere (NSG)	'announce, let know'
hengurwini (SG)	hangurwini (NSG)	'think of'
nden (SG)	ndan (NSG)	'dance'
pen (SG)	pan (NSG)	'look for lice'
welih (SG)	waleh (NSG)	'scream'
wenei (SG)	wanei (NSG)	'be able'
yeling (SG)	yaling (NSG)	'love'

Table 3.5: Conjugational Class 1a: /e/ 'SG', /a/ 'NSG'

Table 3.6 displays a selection of class 1b verbs. Stem vowel /e/ occurs in 1st and 3rd person singular forms, while stem vowel /a/ occurs in 2nd person singular and non-singular forms.

Class Ib		
Verb forms		Gloss
hel (1SG, 3SG)	hal (2SG, NSG)	'laugh'
heng(en) (1SG, 3SG)	hang(en) (2SG, NSG)	'give, look after'
keh (1SG, 3SG)	kah (2SG, NSG)	'look for'
sen (1SG, 3SG)	san (2SG, NSG)	'cut (a vine)'
hengungurou (1SG, 3SG)	hangungurou (2SG, NSG)	'think'
henonou (1SG, 3SG)	hanonou (2SG, NSG)	'try, learn'
hen (1SG, 3SG)	han (2SG, NSG)	'pick from tree'
hes (1SG, 3SG)	has (2SG, NSG)	'plant'
menda (1SG, 3SG)	manda (2SG, NSG)	'become big, grow up'

Table 3.6: Conjugational Class Ib: /e/ '1SG, 3SG', /a/ '2SG, NSG'

Conjugational class Ic, as shown in Table 3.7 marks 1SG as /u/ on the verb stem. In the example *hang* 'give', stem vowel /a/ is raised to /e/, as described earlier. 3SG takes /i/ as a stem vowel.

Note that some forms of class Ic, based on their stem vowel, appear to group 2SG with NSG forms (stem vowel /e/), such as 'see' and 'hear', 'take, get' and perfect 'go'², while others group 3SG with NSG forms (stem vowel /i/), such as transitive 'eat', 'run' and 'rest'. These formal correspondences seem to be verb specific, but also require more research.

As the data from the preceding tables indicate, it is only the first syllable in multisyllabic verb stems that undergoes the vowel change. 1SG stem vowel is either /u/ or /e/. 2SG stem vowel is /e/, which is also the case for many NSG forms. Similar to Kele (Eastern Manus branch) a stem vowel

²The differing forms in Table 3.7 for 2SG and NSG 'go.PRF' stem from the historical development of the perfect aspect which is discussed in §3.2.4.1. The perfect was historically a combination of the irrealis marker *k-* and an earlier form of a perfect / perfective marker *V_(agr)n* and *V_(agr)na* for 'go'. Irrealis is generally unmarked for 2SG subjects. While the perfect marker is analysed as a single grammatical unit today, it has retained its historical morphological shape.

Class Ic			
Verb forms			Gloss
ulndri (1SG)	eIndri (2SG, NSG)	ilndri (3SG)	'see'
uni (1SG)	eni (2SG)	ini (3SG, NSG)	'eat.TR'
hulou (1SG)	helou (2SG)	hilou (3SG, NSG)	'run'
hungang (1SG)	hengang (2SG)	hingang (3SG, NSG)	'rest'
hurong (1SG)	herong (2SG, NSG)	hirong (3SG)	'hear'
huti (1SG)	heti (2 SG, NSG)	hiti (3SG)	'take, get'
kuna (1SG)	ena (2SG) / kena (NSG)	kina (3SG)	'go.PRF'

Table 3.7: Conjugational Class Ic: vowel alternation /u/ '1SG', /e/ '2SG', 'NSG', /i/ '3SG'

/a/ will be raised to /e/ when preceded by /u/ for 1SG. However, the vowel change from /a/ to /e/ is also applied to 3SG, i.e. when a verb is preceded by /i/ 3SG forms characteristically exhibit /i/ as stem vowel, but also /e/. This sound assimilation requires further research in the future. The /a-/e/ alternation can also indicate a simple SG - NSG distinction, as in Table 3.5. In addition to these verb forms with stem vowel changes, all forms are marked for person. Note also that the verb forms *pwei* 'say.SG' / *pwai* 'say.NSG' are reduced to *pwe/pwa* in compound verbs such as *pwehere/pwahere* 'announce' and *pwahernou/pwehernou* 'give a speech, preach'.

3.1.2 Class II: Prefixes ar- / ta- / re-

A small class of verbs marks a SG vs. NSG distinction on the verb by prefixation. A separate prefix is used to mark 2SG in the realis and NSG in the irrealis. The verbal hosts to the prefixes cannot be used on their own. An example for this conjugational pattern is given in Table 3.8. Conjugational prefixes are separated from their bases with hyphens.

<i>tandikeni</i> 'send someone'	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=u-re-ndikeni	w=ar-ndikeni	yi=i-re-ndikeni
DU	tor=ta-ndikeni	yowur=ta-ndikeni	mor=ta-ndikeni	sor=ta-ndikeni
PL	tu=ta-ndikeni	yowu=ta-ndikeni	mu=ta-ndikeni	su=ta-ndikeni

Table 3.8: Paradigm for *tandikeni* 'send someone'

See (3.2 - 3.5) for examples of class II.

- (3.2) *yo=u-re-ndikeni nduru le pah le sim su yenyen*
 1SG=1SG-1SG-send-3 child:1SG.POSS go market go buy 3PL food
 'I sent my child to the market to buy foods.'

- (3.3) *al ta-sumbuen kibi*
 go NSG-scatter fire.wood
 'Go and scatter the fire wood (for drying)!'

- (3.4) *i-le ta-tehei ndol*
 3-go NSG-hammer canoe
 'He went to nail (the pieces of) a canoe.'

- (3.5) *ar-peluen-i te horoh oko*
 2SG-turn.over-3 PRAG side DEM.PROX
 'Turn it (the sago) over to the side like this.' (frying.saksak2.024)

Prefix *ar-* marks second person singular subjects in the realis, as well as non-singular subjects in the irrealis. See examples (3.6 - 3.8) for non-singular subjects:

- (3.6) *pe=su=k-ar-hitai e su=la la hur-ui perlou at-su*
 SEQ=3PL=IRR-NSG-fighting and 3PL=go go get-TR obsidian.spear POSS-3PL
aka
 DEM.DIST
 'When they were going to war then they went to get their obsidian spears.' (menuai.161-62)

- (3.7) *mbue nde mu=k-ar-rang*
 NEG NEG 2PL=IRR-NSG-cry
 'Don't cry!' (octo.059)

- (3.8) *moh maping a=tu=k-e-kah kor,*
 tomorrow morning POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-look.for place
tu=k-ar-koh, tu=k-au k-al ri
 1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-pack.belongings 1PL.INCL=IRR-move IRR-go LOC
 'Tomorrow morning we will find a (new) place, we will pack our
 things, we will go there.' (ngar.mui.095)

Verb forms	Gloss
<i>tasumbueni</i>	'make a mess, destroy, scatter'
<i>tapohueni</i>	'smash, crack, break'
<i>takulhi</i>	'wave at'
<i>tapelweni</i>	'turn, turn over, stir'
<i>tapelplouni</i>	'twist, pay someone'
<i>takunha</i>	'redeem, compensate'
<i>tarukmweni</i>	'smash, crush'
<i>tatehei</i>	'beat heavily, hammer'
<i>tatuni</i>	'support'
<i>tahondrhondr</i>	'write'
<i>tapuseri</i>	'step on something soft'
<i>tawuhi</i>	'clear the bush'
<i>tandongeni</i>	'suggest, propose'
<i>tandikeni</i>	'send someone'
<i>tapeap</i>	'send something, parcel'
<i>tapeani</i>	'send something'

Table 3.9: A selection of class II verbs

3.1.3 Irregular Conjugational Patterns

A few verbs exhibit irregular inflectional patterns. These verbs are listed in Table 3.10

Irregular Verbs	
Verb forms	Gloss
<i>le</i> (1SG, 3SG) - <i>al / ala</i> (2SG) <i>la</i> (NSG)	'go'
<i>am / ama</i> (2SG) - <i>me</i> (1SG,NSG)	'come'
<i>yen</i> (SG) - <i>yan</i> (NSG) <i>ain</i> (2SG)	eat.TR
<i>reng</i> (1SG, 3SG) <i>rang</i> (2SG) - <i>tang</i> (NSG)	'cry'
<i>rei</i> (SG) - <i>tai</i> (NSG)	'beat, kill'
$V_{(agr)}$ <i>rkai</i> (SG) - <i>toki</i> (NSG)	'walk'

Table 3.10: Irregular Verbal Inflection

Only one verb known to me takes a stem vowel /o/ '2SG' and that is the copula $V_{(agr)}r^3$, see Table 3.11

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	<i>ur</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>ir</i>
DU	<i>tor=to</i>	<i>yowur=to</i>	<i>mor=to</i>	<i>sor=to</i>
PL	<i>tu=to</i>	<i>yowu=to</i>	<i>mu=to</i>	<i>su=to</i>

Table 3.11: Copula $V_{(agr)}r$ / to realis

The verbs *tang / reng* 'cry' and *tai / rei* 'beat, kill' also follow irregular conjugational patterns. Both verbs follow the basic SG / NSG distinction found in Class Ia, but also exhibit an additional consonant mutation [t] - [r] (cf. Chapter 2.4, p. 44 ff.) thus resulting in two allomorphs of the same lexeme.

In determining the underlying form of class II verbs recall that the vowel

³ $V_{(agr)}$ stands for verbal subject agreement marker.

assimilation is caused by the prefixation of conjugational vowels to the verb stem. In SVC constructions with motion verbs in position V1, such as in example (3.9c) with *tai* 'beat, kill', person is marked only once on V1. Then the 't'-form is used, the same as for NSG-forms in the paradigm. Therefore I conclude that the non-singular allomorph is the underlying form and the form which undergoes morphophonemic change triggered by the personal prefixes in the singular number. The characteristic stem vowel assimilation of class Ia can also be observed. Consider the following examples.

(3.9) *t / r* allomorphy in the verbs *tai* 'beat, kill' and *tang* 'cry'

- a. *yo=u-re-i yipi*
1SG=1SG-beat-TR sago
'I beat sago'
- b. *su=ta-i yipi*
3PL=beat-TR sago
'They beat sago.'
- c. *i-le ta-i yipi*
3-go beat-TR sago
'He went to beat sago'
- d. *ndimi i-reng*
slit.drum 3-cry
'The slit drum sounded (lit. cries).'
- e. *su=tang*
3PL=cry
'They cried.'

The verbs *la* 'go' and *me* 'come' also follow an irregular conjugational pattern, see Tables 3.12 and 3.13.

come PRS	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=u-me	am / ama	i-me
DU	tor=me	yowur=me	mor=me	sor=me
PL	tu=me	yowu=me	mu=me	su=me

Table 3.12: Paradigm *me* 'come'

be PRS	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=u-le	al / a-la	i-le
DU	tor=la	yowur=la	mor=la	sor=la
PL	tu=la	yowu=la	mu=la	su=la

Table 3.13: Paradigm *la* 'go'

As Tables 3.12 and 3.13 indicated the verbs for 'come' and 'go' exhibit short and long forms for second person singular. The long forms are used when these verbs are used intransitively and the short forms when followed by a locational object. See (3.10) for examples.

(3.10) Long and short forms for 'come' and 'go'

- a. *ama!*
come
'Come!'
- b. *Am ndro yo!*
come LOC 1SG
'Come to me!'
- c. *ala! al pwai ndro soro*
go go say LOC 3DU
'Go! Go and talk to the two!' (pipalnandren.067)

Several verbs are used to express 'eat'. The first verb, *yenyan*, is used both as a verb and as a noun. When used as a verb it is intransitive and does not undergo any morphophonemic changes through personal conjugation. Another verb for 'eat' is *yan*, this one used transitively, however without object suffix. See Table 3.14 for the *yan* paradigm which basically follows the **la** conjugational pattern, except for 2SG which exhibits a separate form.

<i>yan</i> 'eat.TR'	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=u-yen	ain	i-yen
DU	tor=yan	yowur=yan	mor=yan	sor=yan
PL	tu=yan	yowu=yan	mu=yan	su=yan

Table 3.14: Paradigm for *yan* 'eat.TR'

The verb form *ain* differs from the rest of the paradigm. The form *ayen* would be expected, however, was rejected during elicitation. It seems likely that *ain* is in fact a contracted form of *ayen*.

3.2 Verbal Categories

The morphological categories that distinguish the word class verb are person / number (§3.2.1), modality (§3.2.3), reality status (§3.2.2) and aspect (§3.2.4) along with other verbal markers.

The schema given in Table 3.15 displays the structure of a basic active verb in the realis status. The subject clitic precedes the verb which is marked for subject agreement for singular subjects, however, not for non-singular subjects. The transitive suffix *-i* is the only morphological position following the stem. The transitive marker is indicated in brackets, since it is not obligatorily marked on verbs in transitive constructions, as will be further outlined in §3.3.1. Consider Table 3.15 first, followed by §3.2.1 on person / number.

Slot	I	II	III	IV
Function	PERS=	AGR-	STEM	(TR)
Example	<i>yo=</i> '1SG'	<i>u-</i> '1SG'	<i>re</i> 'beat'	<i>-i</i> 'TR'
Ex. clause	<i>yo=u-re-i yipi</i> 'I beat sago.'			

Table 3.15: The Structure of a verb in the realis (unmarked) status

3.2.1 Person / Number

Verbs agree with their subjects in person and number. The transitivity marker *-i* 'TR' on verbs may have evolved from a third person object marker historically but functions as a general marker of transitivity synchronically. Person and number form one pronominal category in Lele (see chapter 7 for full analysis of pronouns as a word class) which is marked usually as a proclitic attached to the verb stem. For convenience I will repeat the paradigm for *sap* 'collect' from page 49 to illustrate person marking:

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	<i>yo=u-sep</i>	<i>w=a-sep</i>	<i>yi=i-sep</i>
DU	<i>tor=sap</i>	<i>yowur=sap</i>	<i>mor=sap</i>	<i>sor=sap</i>
PL	<i>tu=sap</i>	<i>yowu=sap</i>	<i>mu=sap</i>	<i>su=sap</i>

Table 3.16: Paradigm for *sap* 'collect'

Non-singular verb forms receive less marking than singular forms. While singular and non-singular subjects are cross-referenced on verbs by a pronominal proclitic, indicated by the equal sign, (see slot I in scheme 3.15), only singular verb forms are marked by subject agreement prefixes, indicated by a hyphen, (see slot II), as Table 3.16 illustrates. Subject prefixes *u-*, *a-/e-* and *i-*⁴ trigger stem vowel assimilation, which is one of the features that establish conjugational classes, and also have the tendency to fuse with the verb stem. They are absent in the realis status in non-singular verb forms. However, reflexes of a presumably formerly exhaustive system

⁴See §3.1 for more paradigms.

of subject prefixes⁵ can be found in the irrealis non-singular prefix *ke-* (cf. §3.2.2) and in the perfect prefix *ken-* (cf. §3.2.4.1) which both mark non-singular only. Commonly pronouns are cliticised to the verb stem although full pronouns may also be used, if rarely, in careful, elaborate speech, usually only observed in elicitation or after self-correction.

Proclitics precede verbs that are marked for subject agreement by subject prefixes (for singular subjects). Consider the examples in (3.11).

(3.11) Singular person marking - prefixes and clitics

- a. *yo=u-le pleng*
1SG=1SG-go garden
'I went to the garden.'
- b. * *u-le pleng*
1SG-go garden
'* I went to the garden.'
- c. * *yo=le pleng*
1SG=go garden
'* I went to the garden.'
- d. *w=e-sim ni*
2SG=2SG-buy fish
'You bought fish.'
- e. *e-sim ni!*
2SG-buy fish
'Buy fish!'
- f. * *e-sim ni*
2SG-buy fish
'You bought fish.'
- g. *yi=i-his le pwan / yi=his le pwan / i-his le pwan*
3SG=3-jump go ground / 3SG=jump go ground / 3-jump go ground
'S/he jumped to the ground.'
- h. *k-∅-ro!*
IRR-∅-be
'This stays! (e.g. the food is saved for later)'

⁵Subject prefixes have been documented for all persons and numbers in Kele (Ross 2012), in Lele these prefixes could not be attested for non-singular subjects, neither through the text collection nor through elicitation. However, they may have been present in earlier language stages.

- i. *heti palkis k-∅-me*
 take.2SG spatula IRR-∅-come
 'Bring the spatula here!'

Both subject prefix and proclitic are obligatory for first and second person singular subjects. Examples (3.11a) - (3.11c) show first person singular marking. Examples (3.11b) and (3.11c) are ungrammatical. Only the combination of clitic and subject prefix is grammatical for singular subjects. The same is valid for second person singular, see (3.11d-3.11f). The verb form must be marked by the agreement marker and the clitic. A second person singular form marked for agreement but lacking the proclitic is grammatical only as imperative, as in (3.11e); compare (3.11f). Third person marking is more flexible compared to the rest of the paradigm. All constructions in (3.11g) are grammatical. The verb may be marked both by the proclitic and subject prefix or by either of them. This flexibility of marking may also be partly based on the formal similarity between clitic and prefix. In allegro speech it is often difficult to distinguish between *yi* and *i-*. However, prefix *i-* is most commonly marked on verbs. Furthermore, third person singular subjects also tend to be unmarked on verbs, as in (3.11h) and (3.11i)⁶, a fact which could not be attested for other subjects. Very rarely is the subject clitic omitted for non-3SG subjects as well, as in (3.12), which is a stylistic choice in this case.

- (3.12) *oh ngunho ndramet na=k-u-ni hom ndramet!*
 oh smell human INT=IRR-1SG-eat.TR NCLF:one.person human
 'Oh, the smell of humans! I want to eat a human!'
 (benjamin.coconut.089)

3.2.2 Reality Status

The category of reality status expresses a contrast between realis and irrealis. Realis expresses general truths and events that have happened, or are happening. Irrealis covers non-actualised, future and hypothetical events (Guérin forthc., Dixon 2009a). As is commonly observed in the

⁶Note that example (3.11i) is a serial verb construction where serialisation takes place at the core level of the clause; *k-me* agrees with *palkis*, not with the second person singular addressee in the example.

world's languages with a two-way distinction (Elliott 2000), realis is formally unmarked in Lele, see example (3.13):

- (3.13) *su=la kah soroh*
 3PL=go look.for meat
 'They went to look for meat.' (ngar.mui.074)

An event expressed by a realis construction may be either interpreted as actualised or as generally being the case, as in (3.14). In cases of ambiguity, the context provides the basis for a correct reading.

- (3.14) *w=a-san lau*
 2SG=2SG-gather people
 'You gathered people.' or
 'You generally gather people.'

- (3.15) *i-hes wos*
 3-plant taro.root
 'He planted taro roots'. or
 'He generally plants taro roots.'

Realis may also denote events happening at the time of speaking, as in (3.16).

- (3.16) *i-me-au aka!*
 3SG-come-move DEM.DIST
 'S/he is coming (over)!' (overheard on the local market)

Note that the distal demonstrative *aka* functions as a temporal marker of currentness in example (3.16) (see §8, p. 183 for a discussion of demonstratives).

In contrast, irrealis expresses actions in the immediate future. It also denotes anticipated actions and hypothetical events, irrespective of time reference.

Irrealis is marked by prefix *k-* on verbs except for second person singular subjects, a peculiarity that is also shared by Paluai, another Admiralties language (see Schokkin 2014). The marker follows the subject clitic and attaches to the verb stem, preceding the subject agreement marker. See examples (3.17 - 3.20).

- (3.17) *yo=k-u-pwetien-i k-ir nduktu-n*
 1SG=IRR-1SG-tell-TR IRR-COP.3SG beginning-3SG.POSS

'I will tell from the beginning.' (menuai.009)

Example (3.17) shows the use of the irrealis for an imminent action. Irrealis may also have directive meaning and may be used in imperatives as in (3.18)

- (3.18) *e-tou kihi k-le mwan*
2SG-put fire.wood IRR-go fire
'Put fire wood into the fire.' (frying.saksak2.003)

Note that *k-le* 'IRR-go' in (3.18) agrees with *kihi* 'firewood'. Third person singular marking is omitted in this example, as is often the case in Lele. Note also the lack of the irrealis marker on *e-tou* '2SG-put'. While the irrealis is not marked for second person singular subjects, it is present in second person non-singular forms. See example (3.19).

- (3.19) *k-e-suhu mah, mah k-le mwan*
IRR-NSG-peel taro taro IRR-go fire
'Peel the taro! The taro goes into the fire!' (snake.northcoast.096)

Irrealis is also used for imminent actions in the past, as in (3.20).

- (3.20) *taim pe=yi=k-me aka Masusu ke i-ro*
when(TP) SEQ=3SG=IRR-come DEM.DIST PN FOC 3-COP
'When she was about to come (to the house) now only Masusu remained'
(masusu.long.193-194)

In (3.20) the main clause, *aka Masusu ke i-ro* 'now only Masusu was there', describes what was the case and is therefore in the realis. The main clause is preceded by the sequential clause⁷ *taim pe=yi=k-me* 'When she was about (to come to the house)', marked for the irrealis, which expresses a state of affairs that has not yet been actualised and leads up to another state of affairs. Example (3.21) shows the use of a fossilised irrealis which has been reanalysed together with *le* 'go' into a general conditional marker (see §16.6.2 on conditional clauses). In this function, it may be interpreted with future or past time reference, depending on the context.

⁷See §16.6.4 for sequential clauses.

- (3.21) **kle** *w=oro, wa=e-Indri*
 COND 2SG=be POT=2SG-see:TR
 ‘If you had been there you would have seen.’ or
 ‘If you will be there you will see.’ (elicited)

Likewise, a hypothetical action in the past is marked for the irrealis as well, as example (3.22)⁸ illustrates.

- (3.22) *yi=k-le ndas, yi=k-le po ni, yi=k-me, an-(e)n ke*
 3SG=IRR-go sea 3SG=IRR-go do fish 3SG=IRR-come CLF.food-3SG.POSS FOC
 ‘He would go to the sea, he would find fish, he’d come back, (but) it
 would be his food only.’
 (greedy.brother.007)

Example (3.22) reflects iterativity of action. The verbs that are marked for irrealis refer, in this context, to actions that would have potentially occurred but were thwarted and thus were not actualised ultimately. Timberlake (2007, 289) states when iterativity of action is marked for non-actual modality, it is also often accompanied by hints of contingency, which can be observed in example (3.22).

Irrealis is frequently accompanied by markers of modality. There are more sub-categories for the irrealis status than for realis status. Modality markers is discussed in the following section §3.2.3.

3.2.3 Modality

Scheme 3.17 presents an extension of the previous scheme of verbal slots, adding irrealis and modality.

Slot	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Function	PERS=	MOD=	IRR-	AGR-	STEM	(TR)
Example	<i>yi=</i> ‘3SG’	<i>na=</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>i-</i> ‘3SG’	<i>re</i> ‘beat’	<i>-i</i> ‘TR’
Ex. clause	e.g. <i>yi=na=k-i-re-i yipi</i> ‘He wants to beat sago.’					

Table 3.17: The structure of a verb marked for irrealis and modality

The grammatical category of modality subsumes comprises categories

⁸(e) stands for an epenthetic vowel which is inserted when the possessed noun or classifier ends in a consonant.

within the irrealis status. In Lele these are the intentional *na=* and the potential *(w)a=*. These markers act as proclitics that either precede or follow the person clitic. Thus, slots **I** and **II** are interchangeable, however, with semantic-pragmatic distinctions, as will become apparent in the following section. Both markers occur within the irrealis status and refer to non-actualised events. The features of the intentional and potential modality markers will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2.3.1 Intentional *na=*

The intentional clitic *na=* expresses intentional, desiderative and inchoative meanings. Commonly, in Admiralty languages a (grammaticalised) form of the verb for 'say' expresses desiderative meanings⁹. However, somewhat unusually, in Lele *pwai / pwei* 'say' does not seem to carry any intentional or desiderative meaning (other than lexically telling someone to do something). The intentional *na=* often expresses wishes and intentions, therefore the term 'intentional' was chosen to reflect its basic meaning, which extends to include inchoative nuances. According to Bybee et al. (1994, 230) intention has a generalised agent-oriented and future meaning that "develop[ed] out of desire, obligation, or movement toward a goal". However, the intentional does not require exclusively agentive verbs and may also occur with less agentive or stative verbs. Furthermore, existentials *V_(agr)r*, *ie* and *sou* occur with the intentional, see example (3.26) and (3.27). The copulas *ta* and *to* do not occur with the intentional (nor with irrealis).

Examples (3.23 - 3.27) illustrate the desiderative use of intentional *na=*.

- (3.23) ***na=****yi=k-e-mingse wum*
 INT=3SG=IRR-NSG-make house
 'He wanted to make a house.' (pat.lokomou.04)

⁹For example in Kele (Ross 2012, 136) a grammaticalised form of the verb *pa* 'wish, say' occurs as the prefix *pV-* denoting desiderative meanings. Similarly, in Paluai (Schokkin 2014) the verb *pwa* 'say, think' is also used as a particle with an intentional and desiderative meaning. In Sivisa Titan (Bower 2011, 14) the desiderative particle *pa* or *va* is derived from the verb *va* 'to say'.

(3.24) *yo=na=k-u-le, yo=k-u-Indri kor aka*
 1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-go 1SG=IRR-1SG-see:TR village DEM.DIST
 'I want to go, I'll see that village.' (masusu.long.465)

(3.25) *na=wuru=k-e-put-i moro*
 INT=1DU.EXCL=IRR-NSG-marry-TR 2DU
 'We (DU) want to marry you (DU).' (sowe.hurhur.072)

(3.26) *su=na=k-os kamwan*
 3PL=INT=IRR-remain fire.place
 'They want to remain at the fire place.'

(3.27) *yo=na=k-u-ie wum ke*
 1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-be house FOC
 'I just want to stay at home.'

Examples (3.23 - 3.25)¹⁰ clearly underline the desiderative function of the marker. The speaker intends or plans to perform an action. Thus, the intentional is part of jussive modality which deals with demands, wishes, intentions and purposes.

As mentioned earlier, the function of intentional *na=* may also extend to an inchoative, referring to imminent or beginning actions or events. In this function, examples can be translated with "was or were about to". See examples (3.28 - 3.30).

(3.28) *e i-noh e irwu-i pal-(e)n me pwan e*
 and 3-be.afraid and pull.3SG-TR head-3SG.POSS come down and
na=k-i-rai me pwan
 INT=IRR-3-descend come down
 'And he was afraid and pulled his head down and he was about to descend (having climbed the tree).' (snake.lugos.059)

(3.29) *i-pti na=sor=k-au aka*
 3-marry INT=3DU=IRR-move DEM.DIST
 'He married her and they were about to leave.' (masusu.long.487)

(3.30) *e mwenen ho-mou mar-n na=k-mesar*
 and exact one-NCLF:human eye-3SG.POSS INT=IRR-give.birth
 'And exactly one woman was about to give birth.'
 (pihi.turur.e.taton.179)

¹⁰Note that the use of *le* 'go' without a locational object in (3.24) is very rare. Usually it requires a locational object. In Example (3.24) the object is implied and is expressed in the clause following.

In some instances, intentional *na=* is also used when the action has commenced and is on-going, in a quasi-progressive function. This can be observed with the basic verbs of motion, i.e. *le / la* ‘go’, *me* ‘come’ and *au / ayu* ‘move’ which don’t allow for a progressive aspect with auxiliary *V_(agr)r / to*. Example (3.31) is an exchange often heard in everyday life. Note that both question and answer are formed with the intentional marker and still refer to ongoing actions.

- (3.31) ***na=al oho?*** - ***yo=na=k-u-le lonhou***
 INT=go where - 1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-go bush
 ‘Where are you going? - I’m going to the bush.’

Examples (3.32) and (3.33) highlight that the intentional can also be used with non-active, state-like verbs such as ‘die’ or ‘slip’. The semantics of *na=* in these cases is less intentional, agentive, but rather speculative, anticipatory.

- (3.32) ***e yi=tan-en te pakeh at-(e)n nde***
 and 3SG=know-3SG.POSS PRAG close POSS-3SG.POSS until
na=yi=k-met nde?
 INT=3SG=IRR-die TAG
 ‘And she knows that she will die soon, right?’
 (power.women.080-81)

- (3.33) ***na=e-serar***
 INT=NSG-slip
 ‘You might slip! (Be careful)’

The intentional *na=* may precede or follow the person clitic. The clitic placement correlates with politeness and also mood. Regard the sentences in (3.34).

- (3.34) a. ***sor=na=k-em pwan***
 3DU=INT=IRR-sit.down.NSG down
 ‘They want to sit down.’ or
 ‘They are about to sit down.’
- b. ***na=sor=k-em pwan***
 INT=3DU=IRR-sit.down.NSG down
 ‘They would like to sit down’ (more polite)

- c. *na=sor=k-em pwan?*
 INT=3DU=IRR-sit.down.NSG down
 'Would they like to sit down?'
- d. * *sor=na=k-em pwan?*
 3DU=INT=IRR-sit.down.NSG down
 '* They want to sit down?'

The examples in (3.34a) - (3.34b) show that the placement of the intentional *na=* correlates with politeness. Example (3.34b) is perceived as more polite than (3.34a). The initial position of the intentional can also indicate a question with according intonation, as in (3.34c). However, an initial pronoun clitic followed by the intentional may not be used as a question, as seen in (3.34d). The fronting of intentional *na=* emphasises its function and pragmatic force. It is very unlikely for the 1st person pronominal to follow the intentional, however, it was accepted, but marked as a less acceptable choice by my consultant:

- (3.35) a. ?*na=yok-u-le ndran* (INT=1SG=IRR-1SG) 'I want to go to the river.'
- b. *yona=k-u-le ndran* (1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-go) 'I want to go to the river.'

The intentional cannot be used with existentials *to* and *ta*. The intentional does not occur in negation, whereas the potential (*w*)*a=* can (see following section). There have been no instances of the intentional with negators in the corpus, nor in elicitation. The restriction of categories co-occurring with negation confirms the validity of the (probably) universal dependency hierarchy between grammatical systems (cf. Aikhenvald & Dixon (2011, 180 and throughout)). Polarity operates at the highest level of dependency hierarchy. All other systems (such as TAM, person, gender, case etc.) are determined by polarity. Since positive polarity is mostly unmarked, allowing for all subordinate categories to be potentially marked, it follows that there are less choices available in the negative polarity.

3.2.3.2 Potential (w)a=

The meaning and use of the potential (w)a= is closely related to the intentional na=, yet its structural possibilities are very different. The potential is realised either as wa= or (more commonly) as a=, without any apparent semantic-pragmatic differences. It expresses the possibility and likelihood of an action. However, while the intentional expresses desired and imminent actions, the potential denotes possible and very likely events or actions, but also assumptions about future events and past events. Thus, potential (w)a= can be attributed to epistemic modality. In contrast to the intentional, the potential does not require the irrealis, which poses a borderline case of modality options within the irrealis status; it can be used with verbs marked for perfect and unmarked verbs. These cases are relatively rare. While the intentional na= also expresses degrees of politeness, potential (w)a= expresses the certainty of an event.

The first example (3.36) reflects a special use of the potential. In this excerpt from a traditional story about an evil spirit posing as a mother who kills her own child, the husband and father wants to express to the impostor wife that he will definitely kill her, should she not be willing to drink:

- (3.36) *ain! kle wou=te ying pwi a=yo=k-u-rei nde*
 eat COND 2SG=PRAG drink NEG POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-beat towards
ngundu-m
 neck-2SG.POSS
 'Eat! If you don't drink, I will beat your neck (and kill you)!'
 (pipalnandren.160)

Examples (3.37) and (3.38) illustrate the speaker's great certainty of the coming of anticipated events.

- (3.37) *pu oko a=yo=k-u-huti yi Sande oko*
 pig DEM.PROX POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-get.1SG 3SG week(TP) DEM.PROX
 'This pig, I will definitely get it this week'
 (pihi.turur.e.taton.021-022)

- (3.38) *sor=pwai te pihin k-le kamel a=k-le nawe ndramet*
 3DU=say PRAG girl IRR-go boy POT=IRR-go spouse man

at-toro yi oko
 POSS-1DU.INCL 3SG DEM.PROX

'They said: "The woman is going to the man, she is going to be the spouse of our man here." '

(lout.mui.046)

Examples (3.39) and (3.40) illustrate the use of the potential for assumptions. In example (3.39) the potential is simply cliticised to the realis verb form, while in (3.40) the potential precedes a verb form in the perfect. The semantic difference between the two assumptions expressed in these examples is subtle. In (3.39) the assumption concerns an event that took place at some non-defined point in the past. What is stressed here is the fact that it did take place. In (3.40), on the other hand, the assumption concerns an event that must have taken place very recently. The use of the perfect stresses the relevance of the event to the present moment (cf. §3.2.4.1 on the perfect).

(3.39) *hepke wou=e-Indri poho-n ke rukat aka, aka*
 however 2SG=2SG-see:TR mouth-3SG.POSS FOC black DEM.DIST DEM.DIST
a=su=tulemui poho-n aka
 POT=3PL=burn mouth-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST

'However, when you see that his mouth is all black, then they (surely) burned his mouth.' (dog.speaks.75)

(3.40) *pwi, te to ndro soro pwi, a=kina ndro ndukto-n*
 NEG PRAG COP LOC 3DU NEG POT=go.PRF.3SG LOC aunt-3SG.POSS

'No, she is not with them. She must have gone to her auntie.' (pi-palnandren.076)

The potential (*w*)*a=* may also precede or follow the pronominal clitic. However, it mostly precedes it. There does not seem to be a correlation with politeness, but rather with mood. An initial position of potential (*w*)*a=* may be used in a question. The use of the intentional is also associated with greater pragmatic force in conversation than the use of the potential. The intentional requires the addressee to react, whereas the potential expresses impending, future actions with certainty, but less pragmatic force.

(3.41) *yo=na=k-u-suah yipi*
 1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-fry sago

'I am about to fry some sago

pragmatic inference: 'Please stay and have some sago with me.'

- (3.42) *moh a=yo=k-u-suah yipi*
tomorrow POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-fry sago
'Tomorrow I will fry some sago.'

pragmatic inference: 'I am informing you that this is what I am going to do.'

3.2.4 Aspect

Tense and aspect categories¹¹ are closely related and rather difficult to separate into neat categories since they not only overlap in their function but also interact with and depend on each other. Comrie regards tense as a "grammaticalized location in time" (1985) and aspects as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976). These simple definitions will serve as the basis for this chapter. Languages often do not exhibit all TAM categories. Lele does not use tense but a variety of aspectual distinctions. Time reference is expressed through realis and irrealis status, which indirectly reflect an underlying future vs. non-future distinction. However, the basic way of coding events in Lele focusses on the structure or transition of events, not so much, however, on the location of these events in time. Generally, a lack of tense and prominence of aspect is common to Admiralties languages¹². There are two structural types of aspect in Lele: a synthetic type that marks aspect on the verb by prefixation, and an analytic type that forms aspectual distinctions with the help of auxiliaries (following Comrie 1976, 87). Another secondary type that forms aspectual distinctions with serial verb constructions (SVC) can be subsumed under the analytic type.

Anderson (2006, 5) defines auxiliaries as verbal items on the continuum

¹¹The category of mood is not discussed here but in the clause types section (which are often conflated in linguistic descriptions). Dixon (2009a, 96) remarks: "It is important to carefully distinguish mood from modality. Mood - a property of the sentence - deals with speech acts of the three recurrent types declarative, imperative, and interrogative. Modality - which relates to a clause and its predicate - describes semantic distinctions within an irrealis specification."

¹²Paluai makes various aspectual distinctions, but does not have tense (Schokkin 2014). Kele also does not exhibit tense (Ross 2012), nor does Sivisa Titan (Bower 2011).

between lexical verb and functional affix that typically express aspectual meanings, but also polarity, tense or voice. An auxiliary is a verbal element that "in combination with a lexical verb forms a monoclausal verb phrase with some degree of (lexical) semantic bleaching that performs some more or less definable grammatical function". In Lele two copulas may act as auxiliaries. Copulas $V_{(agr)}r / to$ and ta express aspectual meanings when used as auxiliaries, that is progressive and habitual respectively.

The synthetic type of aspect with prefix $kV_{(agr)}n-$ will be discussed in the following section §3.2.4.1. Analytic aspects with auxiliaries will be discussed in sections §3.2.4.2.1 on progressive $V_{(agr)}r / to$ and in §3.2.4.2.2 on habitual ta . Aspectual distinctions with serial verb constructions producing continuative / repetitive and durative meanings will be outlined in §3.2.4.4.1.

3.2.4.1 Perfect $kV_{(agr)}n-$

Table 3.18 represents a scheme of verbal slots for a perfect verb with example. In rare cases, this scheme may be extended with potential $(w)a=$, preceding slot I which is occupied by the subject proclitic.

Slot	I	II	III	IV
Function	PERS=	PRF-	STEM	(TR)
Example	<i>sor=</i> '3DU'	<i>ken-</i>	<i>ta</i> 'beat'	<i>-i</i> 'TR'
Ex. clause	<i>sor=ken-ta-i yipi</i> 'They have beaten sago.'			

Table 3.18: The structure of a verb marked for perfect aspect

3.2.4.1.1 Function and Usage of the Perfect $kV_{(agr)}n-$

The perfect aspect is the only aspect that is marked directly on the verb. The category of perfect and its relationship to tense or aspect have been much debated in the past¹³. Generally, the perfect presents an event as a state (Timberlake 2007). The perfect aspect differs from other aspects in that it does not give any information about the action itself but rather connects two time-points, or states with each other, a prior state and a follow-

¹³A summary can be found in Bhat 1999, 168 f..

ing, resulting state. The ambiguous status of the perfect is approached in a novel way by Bhat (1999, 170f.) who suggests a middle course, namely that languages define the perfect differently according to their typological preference over tense, aspect or mood. Therefore, following Bhat, I will adopt the following definition: the perfect is a “completed (perfective) event with continuing (imperfective) relevance”, as opposed to a temporal view of the perfect (“past event with current (present) relevance” (ibid.)). Thus, the perfect aspect in Lele also covers perfective meanings. See examples (3.43 - 3.45) for examples demonstrating current relevance.

(3.43) *yo=kun-pwai matoloh, nde*
 1SG=PRF.1SG-say three TAG
 ‘I have told three (stories so far), haven’t I?’ (dog.speaks.02)

(3.44) *yipi at-(e)m kin-meyis*
 sago POSS-2SG.POSS PRF.3SG-done
 ‘Your sago is done.’ (frying.saksak2.046)

(3.45) *tam-mu e nane-mu su=kena oho?*
 father-2PL and mother-2PL 3PL=go.3PL.PRF where
 ‘Where have your fathers and mothers gone?’ (octo.071)

All examples in (3.43 - 3.45) display one verb form only, which is in the perfect aspect. Therefore, these examples all imply current relevance to the speaker. In example (3.43) the speaker is reviewing the stories she has given so far, pondering whether she should tell another story. She concludes that at that point she had finished telling three stories. Example (3.44) highlights the complete, perfective meaning that can be expressed with a perfect aspect in Lele. It also implies a transition from one state to another, an uncooked, raw state of the sago to a cooked state. The validity of that state still holds at the time of utterance. In (3.45) an interlocutor wants to know the current whereabouts of the children’s parents¹⁴. Since the leaving of the parents is directly relevant to their location, the perfect aspect is used in this question.

Comrie (1976, 56 ff.) distinguishes several types of perfect, two of which

¹⁴Note that the 3PL *su* is used as an associative plural in this context. It does not act as subject proclitic to the verb.

can be found in Lele perfect constructions. The first type, *perfect of result*, views the current state as the result of a past state and implies that the result is ongoing. Example (3.44) is a typical example for a perfect of result. Consider also examples (3.46 - 3.49)

(3.46) *nime-n oko i-kina momen*
 arm-3SG.POSS DEM.PROX 3-go.PRF.3SG bad
 ‘This hand of mine has gone bad (i.e. injured)’
 (menuai.112)

(3.47) *ndelngo kin-sing at-mu*
 ear:1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-heat.up POSS-2PL
 ‘My ears are hurting because of you (your howling).’

(3.48) *ndramet kota ndelnga-n kin-lol*
 man LOC.DEM.DIST ear-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-go.down
 ‘The man over there is deaf (lit. his ears have gone down).’

(3.49) *hai hor-i su lukei ken-yau*
 wind blow-TR 3PL leaf PRF.NSG-move
 ‘The wind blew the leaves away.’ or
 ‘The wind has blown the leaves away.’

In the given examples the current state is a result which is still relevant. Example (3.46) expresses a metaphorical, irreversible motion towards physical deterioration with completive overtones. Example (3.47), on the other hand, does not imply perfectivity, but merely the inception and continuing relevance of having hurting ears. The background to this example is a story about dogs in which the dogs have howled so long that the local chief’s ears started hurting. These are the words he uses to tell the dogs off. Example (3.48) describes the result of a process of becoming deaf, which is completed. Sentence (3.49) is an example for a resulting state following a prior event. In this example it is not evident whether the event happened just recently or further removed in the past. Both translations are possible. The overall meaning is perfective.

The second type of perfect is the *perfect of recent past* which views the event as having happened very recently. The first and second type naturally overlap to some degree. However, the only criterion for relevance for

a perfect of the recent past is the actual recentness of the event. Compare example (3.50) in realis with example (3.51) in the perfect. The realis form in the first example can be read either as having past time reference or as a general statement, which will be determined by context or an additional use of temporal adverbs. Furthermore, the past time reference reading does not specify when the gathering happened. The perfect form in the second example is also ambiguous. It can be understood as a recent event (indicated by the word ‘recently’ in the translation) or as a state currently relevant (indicated by the use of the definite article in the translation). In the first scenario the emphasis is simply on the recent character of the event, whereas in the second scenario the event has not necessarily happened very recently but simply still bears relevance to the moment of utterance. For example in (3.51) it is implied that the people have been gathered for a specific purpose. In general, it can be observed that the use of the perfect aspect, not so much an unmarked realis verb, may increase the definiteness and specificity of objects¹⁵. The second reading may also be supported by using a demonstrative to further mark the definiteness of the object.

(3.50) *yo=u-sen lau*
 1SG=1SG-gather people
 ‘I gathered people.’ or
 ‘I generally gather people.’

(3.51) *yo=kun-san lau*
 1SG=PRF.1SG-gather people
 ‘I have (recently) gathered people.’ or
 ‘I have gathered (the) people.’

(3.52) *wou=en-po mburer at-(e)m*
 2SG=PRF.2SG-do work POSS-2SG.POSS
 ‘You have done your work.’

So far, most examples given expressed relevance at the time of utterance. However, the perfect may also indicate past relevance and anteriority. Consider examples (3.53 - 3.57).

¹⁵The perfect aspect increases definiteness and specificity, but even more so the use of the transitive suffix *-i* ‘TR’ on verbs, see also §3.3.1.

- (3.53) *souka masih kene su=**ken**-mat sih ke aka i-sou*
 chouka all INTS 3PL=PRF.NSG-die.NSG one FOC DEM.DIST 3-remain
 'All the Choukas had died and only one remained.' (souka.030)
- (3.54) *yi=**kina** mat aka ndere-n tan-(e)n*
 3SG=go.PRF.3SG die DEM.DIST sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS know-3SG.POSS
pwi
 NEG
 'That he had died (lit. gone dead) his brother did not know.'
 (greedy.brother.042)
- (3.55) *mapping i-tne **kin**-yau kina ta-i yipi le*
 morning 3-stand PRF.3SG-leave go.PRF.3SG beat-TR sago go
 'In the morning he had got up and had left to beat sago again.' (ma-
 susu.long.142)
- (3.56) *taim i-me aka ndur-n su to wokim yenyang,*
 when(TP) 3-come DEM.DIST child-3SG.POSS 3PL PROG do(TP) food
*enyang teke per tan-su teke yi=**kin**-mat*
 food like ASSOC know-3PL like 3SG=PRF.3SG-die
 'When he came (back) his children were preparing food, (customary)
 food like they knew like he had died.' (masusu.long.253)
- (3.57) *taim mu=k-al to Punuamp mu=k-orhain-i e yo=tono*
 when(TP) 2PL=IRR-go COP GN 2PL=IRR-shake-TR and 1SG=know.1SG
*mu=**kena** pwan*
 2PL=go.3.PRF down
 'When you will go (back) to stay at Punuamp, shake (the tree) and I
 (will) know you have come down (i.e. come back).'
- (masusu.long.159)

The first of the previous examples is translated as a past perfect into English: 'All the Choukas had died and only one remained.' The use of perfect followed by a verb in the unmarked realis indicates anteriority and relevance to a past time state or event. Example (3.54) illustrates the perfect aspect denoting anteriority. The death of one brother must have occurred earlier in the story and is given as a fact which the other brother is unaware of at the point in the story. Examples (3.55)- (3.57) show the usage of the perfect in the flow of story telling. Sentence (3.55) describes a series of events where the event of 'getting up and leaving' precedes the event of 'beating sago' with past time reference. The perfect functions here again

as marker of anteriority to a following event. Sentence (3.56) illustrates the same function of anteriority. In the story, the children of the presumably dead chief are described to be in the process of preparing customary food, thinking that their father had died before. Finally, sentence (3.57) uses a perfective form with future reference: ‘I will know you have come down’.

Concerning compatibility of verbs with the perfect, it is mostly telic verbs rather than atelic verbs that combine with the perfect since there is a natural affinity between the semantics of verbs with an inherent end point and a marker expressing perfect (and perfective) meaning. Such verbs are, for example, *la / le / al* ‘go’, *yau* ‘move’, *lol* ‘drown, go down’, *san* ‘gather’ or *po* ‘do, make’. Stative verbs, such as *meyis* ‘cooked, done’ combine with the perfect producing a meaning of ‘having reached the state denoted by the verb’. In contrast, punctual verbs seemingly are not compatible with the perfect, as for example with *itne* ‘stand / get up’ in example (3.55), a process whose duration is perhaps perceived too short for a perfect. Lastly, none of the existentials $V_{(agr)}r / to, ta, ie$ or *sou* are compatible with the perfect. The reason for this incompatibility is most likely that existentials do not have an inherent end point¹⁶.

3.2.4.1.2 Formal Analysis of Perfect $kV_{(agr)}n-$

The form of the perfect marker $kV_{(agr)}n-$ has fused with the subject agreement markers. Table 3.19, a paradigm for *yan* ‘eat’, illustrates the perfect markers inflected for person / number. Note the absence of initial /k/ in the second person singular form *en-*.

The perfect form *en-* for second person singular is reminiscent of irrealis *k-* which is also unmarked on second person singular subjects. The phonological reduction of this marker is no coincidence. I hypothesise that, historically, the perfect consisted of irrealis *k-* + perfect / perfective $V_{(agr)}n-$. In a structurally similar way, Paluai exhibits a compatibility of irrealis and

¹⁶Interestingly, Tok Pisin, which shares many structural parallels with Lele, either through its Oceanic substrate or through its growing dominance in Manus, does combine the perfective marker *pinis* with existential *stap*.

yan 'eat'	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=kun-yan	w=en-yan	yi=kin-yan
DU	tor=ken-yan	yowur=ken-yan	mor=ken-yan	sor=ken-yan
PL	tu=ken-yan	yowu=ken-yan	mu=ken-yan	su=ken-yan

Table 3.19: Perfect forms for yan 'eat'

a perfective marker, however, this combination is clearly compositional. In Paluai this combination “places the event further into the future, in contrast to a “plain” irrealis which usually refers to the immediate future” (Schokkin 2014, 251). However, in Lele the combination of irrealis *k-* and *V_(agr)n-* is not compositional anymore. The perfect marker *kV_(agr)n-* functions synchronically only as a single morpheme. The form of the morpheme suggests that *kV_(agr)n-* might have been a perfective marker historically that combined with an irrealis to express similar functions as the irrealis-perfective combination in Paluai¹⁷. Today, the perfect covers perfective meanings as well as the perfect.

A second formal similarity can be observed between the form of the perfect marker and the perfect form of 'go', suppletive *kV_(agr)na* 'go.PRF'. The two forms are almost identical. See the paradigm in Table 3.20.

go.PRF	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=kuna	w=ena	yi=kina
DU	tor=kena	yowur=kena	mor=kena	sor=kena
PL	tu=kena	yowu=kena	mu=kena	su=kena

Table 3.20: Paradigm for kena 'go.PRF'

Evidently, the perfect form of 'go' has developed into a perfect marker on verbs. In some cases, such as in (3.54) *kina mat* '(lit.) gone dead', the perfect form of go is preferred over the verbal prefix. The difference in meaning is only minimal. The perfect form emphasises the inception of the new state more strongly than the perfect prefix. The perfect form of go is also used in rarer cases of adjectives occurring with the perfect aspect. The following examples illustrate different strategies dealing with

¹⁷More research is needed on the diachrony of the perfect marker.

adjectives and the perfect aspect.

- (3.58) *sor=k-a-le-au terpeh? sal soro pwi oko. sal kina,*
3DU=IRR-NSG-go-move how road 3DU NEG DEM.PROX road go.PRF.3SG
kor kina mwanan
village go.PRF.3SG far.away

'How would they go back? Now they had no road (anymore). The road, the village was far away.'

(sowe.hurhur.073)

- (3.59) *i-kat hepsah kin-wrong*
3-have(TP) something PRF.3SG-wrong(ENG)

'Something must have gone wrong.' (masusu.long.183)

(3.60) *mandr-wu kin-me part, mandr-wu te wanei te po*
 skin-1PL.EXCL PRF.3SG-come tired skin-1PL.EXCL PRAG able PRAG do
mburer le pwi, mandr-wu kina momen
 work go NEG skin-1PL.EXCL go.PRF.3SG bad

'We are tired. We are not able to do any work anymore. We have become sick.' (masusu.long.315)

The examples suggest that the use of the perfect aspect with adjectival predication is a borderline case of grammaticality. Sentence (3.58) is an excerpt from a story about two boys who use a magic betelnut that grows into a long vine in order to go dancing to a far away place. In (3.59) the story teller heavily mixes Lele with Tok Pisin. The adjective *wrong* is code-switched from English via Tok Pisin¹⁸.

The development of verbs for 'go' into markers of change of state is a common grammaticalisation path in the languages of the world (Heine & Kuteva 2002). In fact, this grammaticalisation path for 'go' can be seen with different meanings in Lele (see §16.3.3 on the coding of oblique arguments). The perfect marker does not trigger stem vowel assimilation, as can be seen from Table 3.20. The singular realis stems for *yan* are *yen* for first and third person singular and *ain* for second person singular¹⁹. I analyse the perfect marker as prefix because of its phonological reduction and fixed position in the verbal schema. No marker can interrupt the perfect - verbal stem sequence.

3.2.4.2 Aspectual Distinctions with Auxiliary Constructions

Although the auxiliaries presented here, which function as copulas in verbless predication (see §3.3.3), have been given neat aspectual terms, their actual functions and usage are closer to a 'more or less' than an 'either or'. Not surprisingly, the *progressive* and *habitual* aspectual categories overlap functionally to some extent. They also overlap paradigmatically in that the habitual marker may function both as progressive and habitual for second person and third person singular subjects. Progressive and habitual aspects are compatible. The progressive may also be followed by generic

¹⁸The actual Tok Pisin word for 'wrong' is *nogut*.

¹⁹See §3.1.3 on irregular conjugational patterns.

verb *po* 'do, make', which will be outlined further below. In Lele auxiliaries are followed by the lexical verb. An 'auxiliary verb-lexical verb' order is typologically associated with a VO constituent order (Anderson 2006) which is affirmed through the AVO constituent order in Lele. In Anderson's typology of inflectional types in auxiliary constructions, Lele represents the Aux-headed type. This type, which is also the most common one in auxiliary verb constructions, can be characterised as follows: The auxiliary verb serves two purposes. It expresses a functional category of its own and is also the locus for obligatory inflectional categories. The lexical verb occurs with reduced finiteness, that means either as dependent, nominalised, infinitive or unmarked form (Anderson 2006, 39ff.). In Lele auxiliaries code aspectual distinctions (as functional categories) and are marked for person / number. Neither irrealis nor perfect co-occur with auxiliaries. One or two auxiliary verbs precede the lexical verb or verb sequence that occurs as bare stem, i.e. in its underlying (non-singular) form. Thus, an abstract possible structure of an auxiliary verb construction looks like this:

Subject	Aux ₁	Aux ₂	Verb _{Lex}
	inflected	unmarked (may also be light verb <i>po</i>)	unmarked, underlying form
<i>yo=</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>ndan</i>
<i>yo=ur po ndan</i> 'I am dancing.'			

Table 3.21: The Structure of Auxiliary Constructions

There is usually one auxiliary, though two are possible. Of the two auxiliaries, only the first one is inflected. Only if the first auxiliary slot is occupied can light verb *po* 'do, make' be used.

3.2.4.2.1 Progressive V_(agr)r / to

Table 3.22 gives an overview of the progressive forms with person / number marking. This paradigm is identical to its copula counterpart (see Table 3.24). The lexical verb is abbreviated as V_{Lex} in the table. Note that the

omission of subject marking is not possible for third person singular copula / auxiliary *ir* since it is fused with the verb form.

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=ur V _{Lex}	w=or V _{Lex}	yi=ir
DU	tor=to V _{Lex}	yowur=to V _{Lex}	mor=to V _{Lex}	sor=to V _{Lex}
PL	tu=to V _{Lex}	yowu=to V _{Lex}	mu=to V _{Lex}	su=to V _{Lex}

Table 3.22: Paradigm for the progressive aspect

The progressive is used for on-going and continuous actions. The majority of verbs that occur with the progressive aspect are active, dynamic verbs, but not exclusively. Sentences (3.61 - 3.64) illustrate the use of simple progressive constructions. A progressive form is usually understood as having past time reference, as (3.61-3.62), but not necessarily, as the clause in (3.63) demonstrates which has general validity.

- (3.61) *masih e per wum aka su=to wong ndro yi*
 all INTS ASSOC house DEM.DIST 3PL=PROG speak LOC 3SG
 'All parts of that house were speaking to him.'
 (masusu.clouds.075)

- (3.62) *e menuai Napele aka ir woh e ir pehena yipi*
 and eagle PN DEM.DIST PROG:3SG fly and PROG:3SG steal sago
 'And that eagle Napele was flying and stealing sago.' (menuai.069)

- (3.63) *su=to ta-i e su=to waleh 'wowe!'*
 3PL=PROG beat-TR and 3PL=PROG shout 'Woweh!'
 'They are beating [sago] and they are shouting 'Woweh!'
 (yipi.kastamwok.011)

- (3.64) *su=pwai yo pihin per ndi e yo=ur pit mar ndre*
 3PL=say 1SG woman ASSOC away and 1SG=PROG:1SG drift eye on.top.of
ndas
 sea
 'They say I am a woman from far away and I was drifting on the sea
 water (when they found me).'
 (masusu.long.593)

Sentence (3.61) is taken from a legend about the giant Masusu. As he entered the house the bewitched parts of the house were talking to him.

Example (3.62) illustrates an action that is perceived both as ongoing and repetitive. In the story an eagle flew to other people’s gardens and stole their sago. That event occurred repeatedly. Example (3.63) is a description of the process of beating sago for a customary ceremony. The speaker imitates the rhythmic call of the men and women at work. The call mimics the action of the sago beating. The use of the progressive in (3.63) underlines the immediacy and currentness of the event. Sentence (3.64) is an example of a stative verb occurring with progressive aspect. As a part of another legend around the giant Masusu, a woman narrates her turbulent biography and recalls that when she was found and saved she was unconscious and drifting on the sea.

The progressive can also be accompanied by the generic verb *po* ‘do, make’. With *po* following the auxiliary the action is viewed as happening ‘right here and now’. Thus, generic *po* which functions as a light verb, could be regarded as a precursor to present tense. It is possible that *po* develops into a future tense marker. However currently it remains a generic multi-functional verb that can be used as a main verb (with all verbal markers) meaning ‘doing, making X’ (§3.3.4) and as secondary auxiliary. Consider the examples in (3.65). The auxiliary sequences in examples (3.65a - 3.65d) have been marked with lower case *Aux*.

(3.65) Progressive Aspect with generic verb *po*

- a. *[yo=ur]_{Aux} po yil*
 1SG=PROG:1SG do fight
 ‘I was fighting.’
- b. *[yo=ur po]_{Aux} po mburer*
 1SG=PROG:1SG do do work
 ‘I am working.’
- c. *[su=to po]_{Aux} po yil le ye*
 3PL=PROG do do fight go INTS
 ‘This is what they are fighting with!’ (menuai.182)
- d. *sih te sih w=ama pleng ot-wu [w=or po]_{Aux} hur-i*
 one PRAG one 2SG=come garden POSS-1PL.EXCL 2SG=be do take-TR
yenyan, wou oko!
 food 2SG DEM.PROX
 ‘Each day you come to our (excl.) garden and you are stealing

food. It is you!’
(masusu.long.540)

The auxiliary sequence is immediately followed by the lexical verb. Examples (3.65a) and (3.65b) contrast both uses of *po* ‘do, make’. In example (3.65a) the lexical verb compound *po yil* literally translates as ‘do fight’, where fight is analysed as a noun. Hence, the correct interpretation is a progressive with past time reference. Example (3.65b), on the other hand, illustrates the combination of the light verb-noun sequence *po mburer* ‘do work’ with the use of *po* as secondary auxiliary, producing a present progressive meaning. In example (3.65c) a woman who had been spying for the enemy has found out what secret weapon the enemy uses to win all those battles. Although in the stories there have been several battles, indicating several instances and interruptions of fighting, the progressive renders this scenario as a continuing, on-going action. Example (3.65d) is one of two instances in the Lele corpus of the progressive co-occurring with a second person singular subject. More commonly, habitual *ta* is used to cover both progressive and habitual aspects (see §3.2.4.2.2 for more details). This example is also interesting since it joins a string of actions; however, only *hur-i* ‘take-TR’ occurs with the progressive. The reason for the lack of marking is that motion verb *ama* ‘come’ cannot be marked for the progressive. That is the case in general for the basic motion verbs *la* ‘go’, *me* ‘come’ and *yau* ‘move’ which cannot co-occur alongside auxiliaries.

The progressive aspect may also combine with copula *ta*. Comrie (1976, 38) defines progressiveness as ‘the combination of continuous meaning and nonstativity’. Indeed, progressive constructions mainly feature dynamic verbs. However, in Lele existential *ta* may also co-occur with the progressive. See the following simplified contrastive examples:

(3.66) Progressive Aspect with copula *ta*

- a. *womu=to?*
2PL=COP
‘Were you there?’

- b. *womu=to ta?*
2PL=PROG COP
'Are you there?'
- c. *sor=ta Sopun*
3DU=COP GN
'They are in Sapon. / They live in Sapon.'
- d. *sor=to ta Sopun*
3DU=PROG COP GN
'They are (living) in Sapon (implied: currently, and will continue to do so)'
- e. **ir ta Sopun*
PROG:3SG COP GN
'* S/he is currently in Sapon.'
- f. *i-ta Sopun*
3-COP GN
'S/he is (currently) in Sapon.' or
'S/he lives in Sapon.'

All examples in (3.66) contrast the use of the progressive aspect in its basic function as realis copula, as for example in (3.66a), and as a progressive auxiliary with copula *ta*. Since copula *ta* may also be interpreted as 'live', a progressive aspect is more readily understandable. The difference is simply while *ta* makes a statement on the (non-singular) subject's location, the copula with the progressive expresses current, on-going and prolonged staying or living at a location. The progressive form for singular subjects cannot be used with copula *ta*, see (3.66e). Instead the plain copula has to be used both for non-progressive and progressive meanings.

3.2.4.2.2 Habitual Aspect *ta*

Habituals denote actions that take place habitually and situations which are valid for an extended period of time as opposed to a moment. Often, generic or generally valid meanings are included in habituals. The habitual copula *ta* as auxiliary. The copula *ta*, unlike copula $V_{(agr)} / to$, has an inherent present time reference as a copula. It is used to express 'to stay, to live somewhere'. The copula and auxiliary use of *ta* share a common core

meaning of habituality.

Consider the following examples for illustration.

- (3.67) *yo=u-ta yan lout*
1SG=1SG-HAB eat cuscus
'I generally eat cuscus.'

Example (3.67) expresses a habit. Customary actions are also expressed with *ta*, as in (3.68).

- (3.68) *ndouo per kamel i-ta tar ndro su mbunanah ndor pihin*
power ASSOC clan 3-HAB transmit LOC 3PL child child female
aka sal per yi solen
DEM.DIST road ASSOC 3SG many
'The ways in which the clan's power is transmitted to women are manifold.' (power.women.001-002)

- (3.69) *e mor=ta ta-turue an-moro terpeh*
and 2DU=HAB NSG-cook CLF.food-2DU how
'And how do you usually cook your food?'
(snake.northcoast.086)

Habituals can also be formed with statives such as *tatne* 'stand' in (3.70)

- (3.70) *e-heti kair kair i-ta tatne*
NSG-take.NSG kair.tree kair.tree 3-HAB stand
'Take the Kair tree, the Kair tree that stands (there).'

According to Comrie (1976), habituals may also cover iterativity which is demonstrated in examples (3.71) and (3.72).

- (3.71) *oko hom ndramet te ta pehena kul*
DEM.PROX NCLF:one.person man PRAG HAB steal breadfruit
oto e i-le
1SG.POSS and 3-go
'There is someone who keeps stealing my breadfruit and leaving.'

- (3.72) *sih te sih i-ta po pleng at-(e)n*
one PRAG one 3-HAB do garden POSS-3SG.POSS
'Everyday she would work in her garden (lit. do her garden).'

Both (3.71) and (3.72) describe events which repeatedly took place. These events were not rendered as individual subevents or as continuing, as would be possible with the progressive, but as generally valid for a longer time. It is that extended time period that is extenuated through the use of the habitual.

In §3.2.4.2.1 on the progressive aspect it was mentioned that progressive and habitual overlap functionally. The following examples in (3.73) illustrate the use of auxiliary *ta* with progressive function.

(3.73) Auxiliary *ta* with Progressive Function

- a. *wou=ta po sah?*
2SG=PROG do what
'What are you doing?'
- b. [*mu=to po*]_{Aux} *po sah*
2PL=PROG do do what
'What are you doing?'
- c. *wou=ta koyiryir sah?*
2SG=PROG crawl.CONT what
'Why are you crawling?'
- d. *i-ta tang sah?*
3-PROG cry what
'Why is she crying?'
- e. *i-hung-i, i-pwei te oi aka wou sieh? wou=ta ta-melue*
3-smell.3-TR 3-say PRAG oi DEM.DIST 2SG who 2SG=PROG NSG-shake
kuh aka
kuh.tree DEM.DIST
'She smelled (the tree) and said "Oi, who are you? You are shaking that kuh tree!"'
(sowe.hurhur.162)

Example (3.73a) is the correct way to ask someone 'What are you doing?' In elicitation the progressive singular form was rejected, despite the fact that the verb *po* 'do, make' has active verb semantics and *po* also co-occurs with its light verb variant, as in (3.73b). The habitual is also used in other current and ongoing situations, such as (3.73c) and (3.73d). Especially in questions *ta* is used for the progressive aspect. Finally, example (3.73e) describes the immediate reaction of an elderly woman to someone shaking

a tree in her garden. The auxiliary *ta* covers habitual as well as progressive aspect for second person singular and may cover both aspectual functions for third person singular.

3.2.4.3 Compatibility of Progressive and Habitual

The progressive aspect is compatible with the habitual aspect.

(3.74) *su mui to ta kong ndon*
 3PL dog PROG HAB bark still
 'the dogs are still barking.'

(3.75) *mor=pwahilou aka, womoro ke to ta pwahilou*
 2DU=lie DEM.DIST 2DU FOC PROG HAB lie
 'Now you lied, you are just lying (all the time).'

(masusu.long.526)

(3.76) *sor=to ta hine kuh*
 3DU=PROG HAB make.3SG kuh.tree
 'They are usually shaking the kuh tree.'

(sowe.hurhur.148)

(3.77) *ir ta ngangai ndon hepke mar-n le poholeng Sowu*
 PROG:3SG HAB swim yet but eye-3POSS go coast GN
 'It (the snake) was still swimming but he looked towards the coast-
 line of Sowu.'

The examples in (3.74 - 3.77) demonstrate the combination of a progressive semantics with habituality or iterativity. Example (3.74) describes an on-going action, the barking, that is at the same time prolonged and habitual. Example (3.75) is from a story where a man just found out that his two wives lied and now believes that they were lying or have been lying all the time. In this example the action of lying is still going on and has been going on for an extended period of time. Example (3.76) describes what two brothers are usually doing in order to alert their grandmother that they have returned home. In (3.77) the use of *ta* seems to carry stative overtones. The snake is swimming (or floating), which is perceived state-like, while looking towards a coastline.

3.2.4.4 Secondary Aspectual Distinctions

Secondary aspectual distinctions are expressed through morphological forms that do not primarily express aspect, but rather belong to larger grammatical constructions that analytically convey aspectual notions. These are the durative aspect with clause-final copula $V_{(agr)}ro / to$ (§3.2.4.4.1) which is part of serial verb constructions, and the repetitive / continuative aspect expressed through the repetition of verbs (3.2.4.4.2).

3.2.4.4.1 Durative Aspect

Quite frequently aspectual distinctions are made using serial verb constructions²⁰ with clause-final $V_{(agr)}ro / to$. The clause-final copula in the serial verb constructions given below has a different function from the above discussed progressive. It denotes a result or an end point of a complex action which is enduring for some time. It is not punctual, nor momentary, but perceived as lasting (at least until the next situation arises). It is therefore reasonable to call it durative.

(3.78) *irwui mbu aka i-mul, irwu-i mul me, [le to le*
pull.3SG seed DEM.DIST 3-return pull.3SG-TR return come go COP go
pul ndilis i-ro]
head.of.tree talisa.tree 3-COP
'He pulled that vine (that had grown from the see) back, he pulled it back and it went to the head of the Talisa²¹ tree and remained there.' (masusu.long.163)

(3.79) *e [i-ndromburh-i i-ro] e i-you*
and 3-cover-TR 3-COP and 3-leave.3SG
'And she covered (the eggs) and left.' (menuai.033)

(3.80) *sor=ha-tulemui le mwan. [snel i-met i-ro]*
3DU=NSG-burn go fire bush.spirit 3-die.SG 3-COP
'They burned it (the bush spirit) with fire. The the bush spirit died.'
(greedy.brother.120)

In the examples given the SVCs have been marked with square brackets. The final copula in the examples cannot be interpreted as separate clause,

²⁰See chapter 16.4, 250ff. for a general discussion of serial verbs.

²¹Terminalia catappa

mainly because there is no pause separating the copula from the rest of the serial verb construction. It is part of the same intonation unit. In example (3.78), taken from a story about a magic vine, it is emphasised that the seed that had produced the vine returned to the head of the tree and remained there. Similarly, in (3.79) the state of being covered is prolonged and enduring. The example in (3.80) denotes the resulting death from burning by fire. The clause-final copula emphasises that the bush spirit was in fact dead.

3.2.4.4.2 Continuative / Repetitive

Repeatedly performed actions or continued actions in a sequence of events are expressed, quite intuitively, with the repetition of the verb referring to the event. See the following example:

- (3.81) *sor=la porou-i. su=tang su=tang su=tang. tang pomut,*
 3DU=go hold-TR 3PL=cry 3PL=cry 3PL=cry cry finished
sor=ha-kun-i yi. su=la poholeng
 3DU=NSG-carry-TR 3SG 3PL=go beach

‘They held her, they cried for a very long time. When they had stopped crying they carried her to the beach (in order to wash her)’
 (sowe.hurhur.174)

In example (3.81) the action of crying is rendered as continuing for a very long time. This example can also be seen as durative. However, unlike final $V_{(agr)ro}$ / *to* the action is not perceived as finished or as a result and lasting. The actions referred to through verbal repetition are generally prolonged or repeated and lead up to another event, as in (3.81).

Another form of expressing continuousness and repetitiveness is also the most common form: using *i le*²² ‘go’. See examples (3.82) and (3.83)

- (3.82) *pamei hirek hirek le le to pelengan e i-yalou le le le le le*
 betelnut grow grow go go COP up and 3-grow.long go go go go go
le le le talah le Yap
 go go go appear go GN

‘The betelnut grew and grew more to the top and it grew in height for a really long time until it arrived in Yap Island.’

²²Parallels with Tok Pisin *i go* are unmistakable.

- (3.83) *ni me solen sor=ha-riu. i-le le le le ndol. ndol pep*
 fish come many 3DU=NSG-pull 3-go go go go canoe canoe full
 ‘They caught plenty fish. They fished many times and put the haul
 into the canoe until it was full.’
 (benjamin.coconut.037)

Example (3.82) describes the process of a vine growing. The translation is that the vine grew for a very long time, but it could also be said that the vine grew really long²³. Note that the last instance of *le* is not part of the repetitive sequence. It forms a unit with the verb *talah* ‘appear’ and results in the meaning ‘arrive somewhere (away from the deictic centre)’²⁴.

Ross (1988, 332f.) notes that POC continuative aspect via reduplication of the verb was lost in the languages of the Admiralties and has been replaced in many languages by an auxiliary use of the word for ‘stay’. This is also the case for Lele, if only in part. As demonstrated above reduplication of verbs is still used to express continuousness and repetitiveness in Lele and may thus also reflect the continuous aspect in Proto Oceanic. Another example for verbal repetition with continuative / repetitive aspect can be found in (3.84) and (3.85).

- (3.84) ***toki toki toki toki toki toki toki me me kor***
 walk walk walk walk walk walk walk come come village
 ‘They walked for a very long time until they reached the village.’
 (benjamin.coconut.077)

- (3.85) *sor=ha-ngas kul le hanei hanei kul masih*
 3DU=NSG-climb breadfruit go pick.from.tree pick.from.tree breadfruit all
snel kin-mat aka
 bush.spirit PRF.3SG-die.NSG DEM.DIST
 ‘They climbed the breadfruit tree again and picked breadfruits repeatedly because the evil spirit had died.’
 (greedy.brother.121)

The actions expressed in (3.84) and (3.85) continued for a longer time. In (3.85) breadfruits were picked repeatedly in the course of time. Another

²³In fact it had to, Yap Island is quite a distance away from Manus Island.

²⁴Correspondingly, *me talah* with *me* ‘come’ translates as ‘arrive somewhere (at the deictic centre)’.

interpretation is possible: The two brothers picked many breadfruits. Thus, the effect of this reduplication is either a focus on the structure of the event or on the object.

3.2.4.5 Summary: Aspect in Lele

The previous section described the structures through which aspectual distinctions are coded in Lele. Only the perfect aspect is marked directly on the verb, that is through the prefix $kV_{(agr)}n-$ which has several allomorphs due to vowel assimilation. This prefix is clearly a grammaticalised form of $kV_{(agr)}na$, the perfect form of 'go'. The perfect aspect presents events as a state and it also covers perfective meanings in Lele. Semantically, the perfect can be subdivided into the perfect of result, see, for example, the clause in (3.44), p. 77, and the perfect of the recent past, see, for example, the clause in (3.51), p. 79.

The Progressive and habitual aspects are formed with the help of auxiliaries which precede the lexical verb. The auxiliaries function as copulas in copula clauses. The progressive aspect with auxiliary $V_{(agr)}r / to$ denotes on-going and continuous events or actions, see examples (3.61-3.64), p. 86. The habitual aspect with auxiliary ta denotes habituality as well as iterativity of action, see examples (3.67-3.72), p. 90 f.. The two auxiliaries overlap functionally. Auxiliary ta is mainly used for habitual actions but it may also denote progressive actions, which is only the case for second and third person singular. Moreover, while the choice for either auxiliary is optional for third person singular, only auxiliary ta may express progressive actions for second person singular. The historical roots and exact determinants for choice of aspectual auxiliary require further research. Habitual and progressive aspects may also co-occur. The progressive aspect characteristically occurs with light verb po with present time reference. However, future research is needed to determine whether po is developing into a tense marker for Lele. Lastly, there are two secondary aspectual distinctions in Lele: The durative aspect is expressed with a clause-final copula $V_{(agr)}r / to$ and continuative, repetitive aspect is expressed through the rep-

etition of verbs.

3.2.5 Non-Singular Intensifier *ha-*

The previous sections of this chapter dealt with verbal markers in Lele. The following last section describes a marker that is somewhat difficult to place among the preceding categories. The non-singular intensifier *ha-* appears to belong within the realm of modality as it makes a semantic distinction within the clause and its predicate (Dixon 2009a, 96). However, it never occurs with the irrealis marker. Furthermore, the use of the non-singular marker *ha-* is limited to non-singular subjects. It is prefixed to the verb stem. Regard the the scheme in 3.23.

Slot	I	II	III	IV
Function	PERS=	NSG <i>ha-</i>	STEM	(TR)
Example	<i>su=</i> '3SG'	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>-i</i> 'TR'
Ex. clause	e.g. <i>su=ha-ta-i yipi</i> 'They beat sago.'			

Table 3.23: The structure of a verb marked for the non-singular intensifier *ha-*

For textual examples, consider (3.86 - 3.90).

- (3.86) *oh su=**ha**-tulemui poho mui oto*
 oh 3PL=NSG-burn mouth dog 1SG.POSS
 'Oh, they burned my dog's mouth!' (dog.speaks.69)
- (3.87) *malapo **ha**-pwasou le ndrou tai, aka hanu su hian to*
 now NSG-call go play hit DEM.DIST before 3PL good PROG
pwasou pwakikte
 call play.jokes
 'Now they/we call it (lit.) "hit play", before, the ancestors called it
 "playing jokes".' (pwelpwal.059)
- (3.88) *e sor=**ha**-ndrou le muli*
 and 3DU=NSG-play go citrus.fruit(TP)
 'And they played with lemons' (pohuwai.078)
- (3.89) *yowuru **ha**-mundrul e yeny an at-wuru aka*
 1DU.EXCL NSG-hungry and food POSS-1DU.EXCL DEM.DIST
 'We are very hungry and this (much) is our food.'
 (powat.nambis.126)

(3.90) *kor aka su=pwasou ngar-n Ndumoh, malapo*
 village DEM.DIST 3PL=call name-3SG.POSS GN now
su=ha-pwasou Lugos
 3PL NSG-call GN

'That village, they called it by the name of Ndumoh, now they call it
 Lugos.'

(octo.010)

The non-singular *ha-* is always prefixed to the stem and can be preceded by a person marker, however, it may also precede the verb stem without an overt person marker, if a general unspecified person is referred to, much like *one* or in some contexts *you*, as in example (3.87), which refers to everyone nowadays that uses *ndrou tai* with that meaning. Note that example (3.87) does not contain the subject clitic. Example (3.87) demonstrates the optional character of non-singular intensifier *ha-*. Example (3.89) demonstrates that intensifier *ha-* also combines with stative verbs such as *mundrul* 'be hungry'. The resulting meaning is 'be very hungry'. Example (3.90) illustrates that *ha-* is also used expressing general validity, it is therefore within the realis realm. It was pointed out to me by one of the speakers that when *ha-* is used, the action "should have a reason to it"²⁵, i.e. should have a causative meaning. Furthermore, verbs marked with *ha-* were frequently translated in a manner of 'they did do X'. Yet, marker *ha-* does not have causative meaning synchronically. It could be argued that the use of the marker increases the motivation and force with which the action is carried out. It has an intensifying, insistent meaning. Prefix *ha-* might have its origins in the Proto Oceanic causatives **paka* or **ka* which derived transitive from intransitive verbs. Micronesian causatives apparently reflect a form of **ka* (Evans 2003). These are mere possibilities, however. More research is needed on prefix *ha-* for a proper reconstruction. The intensifying, forceful effect that causatives can have as a secondary function has been documented for several other languages. Aikhenvald (2011) describes cases of primary causatives expressing non-causative meanings as a semantic extension. They "add an extra meaning to the verb, to do with manipulative

²⁵Pc Ruth Francis, consultant.

effort, forceful and intensive action, complete involvement of the object, and/or multiple or large object” (Aikhenvald 2011, 86f.). There are some restrictions that apply to the use of intensifier *ha-*. None of the existentials occur with the intensifier. Neither do the general verbs of motion.

3.3 Verbal Subclasses

3.3.1 Transitivity

A basic formal distinction for Lele verbs is that between intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verbs can be distinguished by the transitive suffix *-i*, or variants *-ani* / *-eni*.

Intransitive verbs are heads of intransitive verb phrases and are marked for S. See examples (3.91) and (3.92)

- (3.91) *kor i=ping su=metir*
village 3=night 3PL=sleep morning
'The day (lit. the village) turned to night and they slept.'
(ngar.mui.157)

- (3.92) *mui hanu su=to wong*
dog before 3PL=PROG speak
'In the past dogs used to speak.' (dog.speaks.10)

The majority of transitive verbs can occur with transitivity suffix *-i*, a fossilised 3rd person object marker and reflex of POC **-i* which cross-referenced a direct object. Another marker of transitivity is *-ani* / *-eni*, possibly a reflex of POC transitive suffix **-aki(ni)* which marked peripheral arguments such as locations, goals or instruments. Today, however, marker *-ani* / *-eni* does not cross-reference peripheral arguments.

A basic transitive example can be found in (3.93):

- (3.93) *su=ta-i yipi*
3PL=beat-TR sago
'They beat sago.'

The transitivity suffix *-i* can also function as a third-person-object replacement. Thus, some transitive verbs, as in examples (3.94 - 3.95), may be used intransitively.

- (3.94) *su=ta-i*
3PL=beat-TR
'They beat' (e.g. sago)

- (3.95) *ar-tou-i ar-peluen-i*
 2SG-crunch-TR 2SG-turn.over-TR
 ‘Crunch it, turn it over.’ (frying sago)

See examples (3.96)²⁶ - (3.99) for the use of transitive marker with pronouns.

- (3.96) *sor=ha-surh-i yi e su=ha-nuhu-i yi*
 3DU=NSG-wash-TR 3SG and 3PL=NSG-fill.sth.in.basket-TR 3SG
 ‘The two washed her and they washed her.’ (sowe.hurhur.177)

- (3.97) *i-tunh-i yi e ma snel i-los*
 3-push-TR 3SG and with bush.spirit 3-fall
 ‘He pushed him and so the bush spirit fell’.
 (greedy.brother.099)

Examples (3.98 - 3.99) show that the transitive suffix is also present with non-third-person objects, which proves its status as general transitiviser synchronically.

- (3.98) *yap k-i-hit-i wou*
 sickness IRR-3-get.3SG-TR 2SG
 ‘You will become sick (lit. sickness will get you).’

- (3.99) *snel i-pult-i yowuru, k-i-ni ndere mandehe*
 bush.spirit 3-chase-TR 1DU.EXCL IRR-3-eat:TR sibling.same.sex younger
 ‘The bush spirit chased us and will eat my younger brother.’
 (benjamin.coconut.147)

The object suffix is omitted in a large number of examples in the corpus. The conditions for the omission of the transitive marker require further study. In fact, most transitive verbs can be used without the transitive suffix when the object is an overt NP. A few transitive verbs are always marked for transitivity, partly due to phonotactic restrictions. A few of them are (the verbs are given in 3rd person form for ease of reading): *ilndri* ‘see:TR’, *hiti* ‘get, take’, *tai* ‘beat, kill’, *ini* ‘eat:TR’ (there are several verbs for ‘eat’, transitive and intransitive), *liki* ‘put’, *pini* ‘throw’, *pwasni* ‘throw’, *ndrotihi* ‘cover up’, *ndiketi* ‘take out’, *tulieni* ‘accompany’ and *sindrti*, *mundrti* ‘cut’. See examples (3.100 - 3.101). Consider also example (3.90).

²⁶*nuhu* can mean both ‘to fill something in a basket’ and ‘to wash somebody’, the second meaning follows from the first.

(3.100) *e su=ha-hur(∅) pihin ho-mou*
 and 3PL=NSG-take girl one-NCLF:human
 ‘And they took one girl.’ (menuai.170)

(3.101) *e su=me luk(∅) yi me Mar Sopun*
 and 3PL=come put 3SG come eye GN
 ‘And they came to (lit. put) give her to Mar Sopun²⁷.’
 (wedding.mother.67)

3.3.1.1 Transitivity, Specificity and Noun Incorporation

The following are examples of ditransitive *hang* ‘give’. One example is unmarked for the transitive marker (3.102) with the recipient argument following, the second (3.103) is marked for transitivity with the suffix *-i*.

(3.102) *i=te hang(∅) ndere-n pwi*
 3=PRAG give sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS NEG
 ‘He (usually) never gave anything to his brother.’
 (greedy.brother.008)

(3.103) *yi=k-me, an-en ke, ndere-n i=te*
 3SG=IRR-come POSS.food-3SG.POSS FOC sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS 3=PRAG
hang-i pwi
 give-TR NEG
 ‘He used to come back and it would be his food only. He never gave anything to his brother.’ (greedy.brother.006)

Both (3.102) and (3.103) are grammatical. But (3.104) was perceived as ungrammatical during elicitation:

(3.104) **i=te hang-i ndere-n pwi*
 3=PRAG give-TR sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS NEG
 ‘*He never gave anything to his brother.’

The reasons for the ungrammaticality of (3.104) can be manifold. The constituent order might have been incorrect, since a ditransitive construction without *le* ‘go’ places the recipient argument immediately after the verb, followed by the direct object (cf. §16.3.2 on ditransitive constructions). Another possibility might be that the transitive marking on the verb indicates the following argument, *ndere-n* ‘his brother’, as direct object,

²⁷name of a men’s house

however, it does not. However, these hypotheses are not convincing. The key to the correct analysis lies in the semantic-pragmatic meaning of the example. Example (3.102) and (3.103) both convey habitual meanings. In the context of the story that these examples were extracted from, the greedy brother usually never gave anything to his brother. He was in the habit of 'not giving', so to speak. The omission of the transitive marker on the verb in (3.102) causes a generalised, non-specific reading (and other readings and functions in different contexts as well, as will become evident in the following paragraphs). With the transitive marker omitted, the verb is morphologically intransitive, yet followed by an object. The semantic interpretation of such a construction may differ. In this case, the generalisation is with reference to the action itself, not so to a generalised, non-specific object. The phenomenon of morphologically intransitive but syntactically transitive verbs is documented in the languages of the world and especially in Oceanic languages. Sugita (1973) refers to verbs that can occur both with and without transitive marking in Micronesian languages as *semitransitive* verbs. Margetts (2008) speaks of a *transitivity discord* between different structural levels, the morphological and syntactic level. Margetts acknowledges noun incorporation for certain constructions but differentiates it from *transitivity discord clauses*. Noun incorporation is common in Oceanic languages and refers to a construction that features a morphologically intransitive but bivalent verb which incorporates a noun²⁸. The construction itself is then rendered intransitive. In different languages different morphosyntactic processes apply for noun incorporation. For example a verb-incorporated noun unit should not be interruptable. The concept of noun incorporation appears to be a reasonable analysis for example (3.102), and the reason why (3.104) in this context was not accepted by the speaker. In (3.103), it is evident that the verb that was unmarked for transitivity in (3.102) is now transitive. The only syntactic difference between (3.102) and (3.103) is the topicalisation through left-dislocation of the recipient argument. If the construction *hang nderen* is indeed a case of noun incorporation, then

²⁸See also Mithun's (1984) seminal paper on noun incorporation.

this unit cannot be broken up. The left-dislocation of the incorporated noun *nderen* triggers the functional reanalysis of *hang* as a transitive verb. It is therefore marked accordingly.

In order to gain a better perspective on transitivity in Lele consider the following examples:

(3.105) *sim / simani* 'buy'

- a. *yo=na=k-u-sim pu*
1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-buy pig
'I want to buy a pig.'
- b. *yo=u-sim pu*
1SG=1SG-buy pig
'I bought a pig.'
- c. *yo=u-sim-ani pu*
1SG=1SG-buy-TR pig
'I have bought a pig.
'I have bought that pig.'

Examples (3.105a) and (3.105b) feature an intransitive verb form. They are both generic statements. The object *pu* 'pig' is non-specific and indefinite. In contrast, the verb form in example (3.105c) is marked for transitivity with *-ani*, one of the transitivisers. This example can have several interpretations. One is that the action has been completed, similar to an aspectual completive. Another interpretation is that the object is specific. The addition of a demonstrative may highlight this interpretation more.

The following examples showcase the differences between the two verbs *yan* 'eat' and $V_{(agr)}ni$ ²⁹ 'eat'. The verb *yan* is never marked for transitivity. The third verb for eat, *yenyan*, is used both as a noun and as a verb and does not allow objects. It is not included in this list.

(3.106) *yan / V_(agr)ni* 'eat'

- a. *i-yen mah*
3-eat.SG taro
'She ate a taro.' or
'She ate some taro.'

²⁹ $V_{(agr)}$ stands for verbal subject agreement marker.

- b. *i-ni mah*
 3-eat:TR taro
 'She ate up (all) the taro.'
- c. *i-ni mah masih kene*
 3-eat:TR taro all INTS
 'She ate up really all the taro.'
- d. **i-yen mah masih kene*
 3-eat.SG taro all INTS
 '? She really ate all the taro.'
- e. *pihin oko snel, a=yi-k-i-ni yo*
 woman DEM.PROX bush.spirit POT=3SG=IRR-3-eat:TR 1SG
 'That woman is a bush spirit. She will definitely eat me' (masusu.long.380)

The previous list of examples featuring 'eat' introduces a second possible reading transitive vs. intransitive verbs. Example (3.106a) implies that the subject ate some taro, part of the taro that was available. It conveys a non-specific quantity of taro. Example (3.106b), in contrast, expresses that the subject ate all of the taro that was available. A reading referring to one specific taro is possible but less preferred. Therefore, the use of adverbials and intensifiers with *yan* in example (3.106d) is not acceptable. A partitive vs. exhaustive reading in connection with consumable objects is also referred to in Sugita (1973). The last example in this row (3.106e) indicates that $V_{(agr)}ni$ is also used with objects of high individuation. The verb *hang / hangen / hangeni* 'give, look after' was already addressed in (3.102 - 3.104). It has several forms and apparently several degrees of transitivity. Consider (3.107).

(3.107) *hang / hangen / hangeni* 'give, look after'

- a. *yo=u-heng mbunanah*
 1SG=1SG-look.after.1SG child
 'I looked after children.' or
 'I generally look after children.'
- b. *yo=u-heng-eni mbunanah*
 1SG=1SG-look.after.1SG-TR child
 'I looked after a child (a specific child).'

- c. *yo=u-heng-en mbunanah*
 1SG=1SG-look.after.1SG-TR child
 'I looked after a child (a specific child).'
- d. *yo=ur po hang Polehemui*
 1SG=PROG:1SG do look.after PN
 'I currently look after Polehemui.'
- e. *i-k-i-heng wou ndouo aka*
 3-IRR-3-give.3SG 2SG strength DEM.DIST
 'She will give you that power.' (power.women.064)
- f. *e ndouo i-hengen-i wou, aka le kain peruan te*
 and strength 3-give.3SG-TR 2SG DEM.DIST go kind.of(TP) heavy PRAG
aka
 DEM.DIST
 'And the strength that she gives to you, that is for many kinds
 of problems like that one.' (power.women.069)

The first example (3.107a) denotes non-specificity and indefiniteness. The subject either looked after a child or children in the past or the subject generally looks after children³⁰. Example (3.107b) features a specific object and therefore the verb is marked for transitivity. Note the use of the transitive *-eni* instead of *-i*. Note also that a reading such that the subject generally engages in the action does not seem to be possible here. According to the consultant, both (3.107b) and (3.107c) have the same meaning and usage³¹. Although it is evident that specific and definite objects require overt transitive marking, examples (3.107d) and (3.107e) defy this notion. Both examples feature highly individuated objects, a personal name in (3.107d) and a 2SG pronoun in (3.107e), but are unmarked for transitivity. Examples like these can often be heard in conversations and are found frequently in the Lele corpus. Example (3.107f), in contrast, marks the verb for transitivity. This example slightly resembles (3.103) in that it features a topicalised left-dislocated argument which is the direct object in this case. Due to the object's high topicality, enhanced by the attached relative clause, the verb is marked overtly for transitivity. Both examples (3.107e) and (3.107f) are

³⁰Upon inquiry the language consultant would often translate these verbs unmarked for transitivity with "That's just something I do. That's something I generally do."

³¹It is difficult for a speaker to explain these subtle nuances during elicitation. I am grateful to my consultant for going that far. I assume there are subtle differences. This topic, however, has to remain for future research.

taken from the same story in the corpus.

(3.108) *pan / pani* 'look for lice'

- a. *i-pen kut*
3-look.for.lice.SG hair.louse
'He looked for lice.'
- b. *i-pen-i kut*
3-look.for.lice.SG-TR hair.louse
'He looked for lice and did find some.'

(3.109) *has / hasi* 'plant'

- a. *su=has wes*
3PL=plant taro.stem
'They planted taro.'
- b. *su=has-i wes*
su=has-TR wes
'They planted the taro.'

The list of examples for *pan / pani* 'look for lice' and *has / hasi* 'plant' express specificity. The unmarked verbal form is followed by a non-specific object. The action itself is stressed, not the object. The overtly marked verbs express specificity of the object.

3.3.2 Verbs of Motion

The basic verbs of motion in Lele are *le* 'go' (3.110) and *me* 'come' (3.111 - 3.112). These are used on their own and in serial verb constructions as general indicators whether the movement is towards or away from the deictic centre.

(3.110) *i-le pleng i-le pwai le ndro tato-n*
3-see garden 3-go say go LOC mother's.sister-3SG.POSS
'She went to the garden. She went to talk to her aunt.'
(pihi.turur.e.taton.076)

Example (3.110) shows that *le* 'go' is also used in combination with the verb for 'speak' *pwai*. *le* 'go' is obligatory, however, in rare cases or in very fast speech *pwai le ndro* is contracted to *pwai ndro*.

(3.111) *su=me pelengan i-pwei te mu-k-e-heti pwapwil me*
 3PL=come up 3-say PRAG 2PL-IRR-NSG-take.NSG hod come
 'They came up and he said: "Bring the sago hod here!"'
 (masusu.long.317)

(3.112) *e-mundrti pulpa niu aka k-me pwan*
 2SG-cut frond coconut DEM.DIST IRR-come down
 'Cut the coconut frond there and bring it down!' (sowe.hurhur.094)

Furthermore there is a general verb of motion, a bound root, *-au* 'move', see (3.113).

(3.113) *tu=k-au!*
 1PL.INCL=IRR-move
 'Let's move (i.e. let's go)!'

Other verbs of motion usually occur together with the basic verbs of motion in serial verb constructions. See examples (3.114 - 3.118).

(3.114) *sirei i-serek le rahan*
 kingfisher 3-cross.sides go down.stream
 'The kingfisher crossed sides and went down stream.' // (masusu.clouds.067)

(3.115) *e hit-i ndrú ndere-n i-tundrah le pwan*
 and take.3SG-TR bone sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS 3-come.down go down
i-le
 3-go
 'And he took his brother's bones and climbed down (the tree) and he left.' (greedy.brother.103)

(3.116) *am pwan! e i-rai me pwan*
 come down and 3-descend come down
 "'Come down!" And he came down.' (man.dog.046-47)

(3.117) *sor=la kopwat la pahali sih*
 3DU=go climb.up go mountain one
 'They climbed a mountain.' (benjamin.coconut.091)

(3.118) *e mwat irpe poho-n e ndere-n*
 and snake open.3SG mouth-3SG.POSS and sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS
mandehe i-song le ndrîne-n
 young 3-go.inside go stomach-3SG.POSS
 'And the snake opened its mouth and his younger brother went inside its stomach.' (snake.lugos.182)

3.3.3 Existentials

Four existentials are distinguished in Lele. There are two copulas with different semantics, copula I, $V_{(agr)r}$ ³² / *to*, and copula II, *ta*, discussed in §3.3.3.1 and §3.3.3.2. Copulas express “relational rather than referential meaning”(Dixon 2009b, 159). That is to say, copula verbs denote the relationship between a copula subject and a copula complement. Copula I may be used with a complement and also on its own. Copula II needs to be followed by a locational complement. It is often used to express ‘to live somewhere’ due to its stative semantics. Both copulas also function as auxiliaries. Existential *ie* is used as a basic posture verb and to express ‘to remain’, see §3.3.3.3. Another existential, *sou*, expresses ‘to remain (somewhere)’, see §3.3.3.4. Finally, §3.3.3.5 offers a summarising overview of the existentials and their verbal markers.

3.3.3.1 Copula I $V_{(agr)r}$ / *to*

Copula I $V_{(agr)r}$ / *to* is formed of a set of two suppletive forms that express a morphological singular vs. non-singular split. The paradigm is given in Table 3.24.

³² $V_{(agr)}$ stands for the subject agreement marking vowel.

be PRS	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=ur	w=or	yi=ir
DU	tor=to	yowur=to	mor=to	sor=to
PL	tu=to	yowu=to	mu=to	su=to

Table 3.24: Copula I $V_{(agr)}ro$ / to

The root for the singular form of the copula is given as $V_{(agr)}r$, where $V_{(agr)}$ stands for the subject agreement marker that is fused with the copula. The form given above refers to the form that is followed by a copula complement. Copula $V_{(agr)}r$ also occurs as long form, $V_{(agr)}ro$, which is used as a bare copula without a complement³³. The underlying form for singular is very likely $V_{(agr)}ro$. This form also reveals more readily that the paradigm for copula I is not a case of suppletion historically, but was affected by a regularly encountered consonant mutation $/r/ - /t/$ ³⁴. This mutation historically resulted from the attachment of the agreement markers to the verb stem. There are no agreement prefixes for non-singular number. Therefore, the consonant mutation did not take place for non-singular number copula form to . The second step was the elision of the final vowel $/o/$ which is difficult to motivate historically. It can be stated, however, that there is a general tendency in Lele to drop final vowels, as historically the Admiralties languages dropped many of the final vowels from POc. Synchronically, the two forms $V_{(agr)}r$ and $V_{(agr)}ro$ have been reanalysed as two variants of the copula I with distinct valencies. Therefore, the historical underlying form for copula I is to . This analysis is also supported by the fact that the full form $V_{(agr)}ro$ in combination with copula complements was either rejected or dispreferred by language consultants.

The general interpretation of copula clauses with copula I is with past time reference. It can mean ‘to be’, but also ‘to stay (somewhere)’. For illustration, see examples (3.119 - 3.121)

³³Since the shorter form $V_{(agr)}r$ occurs more often and expresses a relationship to a copula complement, which I consider a prototypical copula function, I chose to use the short form in generally referring to the singular form throughout the thesis.

³⁴See §3.1.3 for other examples and conjugational class II §3.1.2.

(3.119) *e yi ndramet oko ir wum*
 and 3SG man DEM.PROX COP:3SG house
 'And this man was at the house.' (menuai.063)

(3.120) *su=to Ndenap*
 3P=COP GN
 'They were / lived in Ndenap.' (souka.043)

(3.121) *yo=ur ndran*
 1SG=COP:1SG water
 'I was at the river.'

Copula I may also occur with adjectives as complement, as in (3.122).

(3.122) *su=to hian*
 3PL=COP good
 'They were well.'

The two sets also each take different verbal markers. The singular form $V_{(agr)r}$ can take the irrealis marker *k-*, the potential $(w)a=$ and the intentional $na=$, whereas the non-singular form does not occur with any of these markers³⁵. The singular form also does not occur with the perfect aspect $kV_{(agr)n-}$ or the intensifier *ha-*. See example (3.123) marked for irrealis.

(3.123) *yo=na=k-ur ke wum*
 1SG=IRR=COP:1SG FOC house
 'I just want to stay in the house.'

The long variant copula $V_{(agr)ro}$ is used without a copula complement. See examples (3.124 - 3.126).

(3.124) *gavman i-ro, hepke Sopun ir yan ndramet ndon*
 government(TP) 3-COP but GN PROG:3SG eat man still
 'The government (i.e. Australian) was already there, but Sapon was still eating men.' (pohuwai.008-9)

(3.125) *i-woh me Sulpwala i-ro. su=soho i-le. su=pondin at-(e)n*
 3-fly come GN 3-COP 3PL=wait 3-go 3PL=mourn POSS-3SG.POSS
 'He flew back to Sulpwala and remained there. They waited for him.
 They mourned for him.'
 (masusu.clouds.098)

³⁵These differing forms require future in-depth research.

- (3.126) *su yenyān me here. mbundr me here. mah me here. e*
 3PL food come appear banana come appear taro come appear and
longu masih kene i-ro
 thing all INTS 3-COP
 'All the food grew. The bananas grew. Taro grew. And everything
 was there.' (snake.lugos.271)

The bare copula is often used in Lele, especially to structure discourse and narratives, as, for example, to signal an end of an action or a story line. This can be observed in the examples above. The bare copula may also just indicate that an entity existed, as in examples (3.124) and (3.126). In example (3.125) *i-ro* indicates that the subject has finished the action of flying and has arrived in order to stay. The example is from an ancestor story about legendary Masusu³⁶ who apparently could also fly. He had been lost and was mourned by his men who believed he had died. Lastly, in example (3.126) *i-ro* does not only function as a plain existential. It also implies that the food was there and remained there for an unspecified amount of time. Copula $V_{(agr)r} / to$ may be followed by the light verb *po* 'do, make'. This combination was already introduced in the context of the progressive aspect (§3.2.4.2.1). This construction is different from the auxiliary constructions discussed earlier. On the surface, copula $V_{(agr)r} / to$ acts likewise as a progressive auxiliary but now with light verb *po* as lexical verb. However, this analysis fails on a semantic level. According to Anderson's 2006 definition of Aux-headed auxiliary constructions the semantic head should be the lexical verb. However, the light verb is semantically bleached. While it is regarded as a generic verb (see §3.3.4) which does not have a specific semantics, it has become more functional and grammaticalised when following copula. Hence, it cannot perform as semantic head of the construction which is clearly the copula itself. Then the question of the syntactic status of the light verb remains. It is reasonable to assume that in fact the light verb, due to its grammaticalisation, forms a part of the copula. As in auxiliary constructions, it expresses that the action takes place in the 'here and now'; an action that is contemporaneous with the speaker and in wit-

³⁶This is a bush spirit (Tok Pisin "masalai", not necessarily bad), giant and hero of many stories

nessing proximity. It is the speaker or the focussed character in a story that becomes the deictic centre for the action. Consider the following examples.

(3.127) *sor=to po*
3DU=COP do

'They are here (implied: with the speaker)'

(3.128) *sor=to po Sopun*
3DU=COP do GN

'They are at Sapon (implied: and so is the speaker).'

(3.129) *kok kei at su yap ir po ndon nde pwen?*
tree.bark tree POSS 3PL foreigner COP:3SG do still or COMPL

'Are there still some biscuits (lit. tree bark of foreigners) or are they finished?' (in conversation)

(3.130) *ndere mandren i-po an-en kina hanu*
sibling.same.sex big 3-make CLF.food-3SG.POSS go.PRF.3SG ahead
e yo=ur po muren
and 1SG=COP.1SG do back

'My brother who is making his food went ahead and I am staying behind.' (snake.lugos.079)

Examples (3.127) and (3.128) implies that the subject is where the speaker is as well. A copula complement can be expressed, but not necessarily, as in the first example given. Example (3.129) is from a conversation with a language consultant who inquires if I had any biscuits left for him. In his question *ir po* implies that the object is assumed to be present and within reach for both of us. The general copula *ta* would not suit this context since it does not have the same momentary, contemporaneous meaning, indicating also close proximity. An appropriate positive response could be *Ehe, ir po ndon*. 'Yes, there are.' Example (3.130) demonstrates beautifully how the use of the light verb *po* shifts the perspective to the speaker. In this example, a boy (one of two brothers) is talking to a snake who asks him what he and his brother are doing. Although he explains both his brother's and his current activities, which he likely views as taking place contemporaneously, he only chooses to use the light verb form to depict his activity. The reason for this choice is that at the time of the utterance the speaker's

brother is not at the same place as the speaker. His brother's actions are not at the speaker's spatio-temporal deictic centre.

3.3.3.2 Copula II *ta*

Copula II *ta* has almost the same morphological characteristics as the core copula *to*³⁷. It does not take any verbal markers except for person / number. However, it is compatible with progressive aspect. Copula *ta* differs from copula *to* in its habitual semantics which convey a generalised, durative meaning. This semantic property is also the basis for the use of the copula as habitual auxiliary *ta*. Therefore, it indirectly includes present time reference. Generally valid facts or situations cannot be expressed with copula I *to*, which always has past time reference if not followed by the light verb *po*. Copula *ta* may express copular functions but is frequently used to express 'to live somewhere'. Copula *ta* does not alter its form in the verbal paradigm. The copula is either preceded by a subject prefix/proclitic or by a full NP. See the following examples.

(3.131) * *womu=ta?*
 2PL=COP
 '*Are you?'

(3.132) *womu=to ta?*
 2PL=PROG COP
 'Are you there?'

(3.133) *ngohoto ndramet ta ndro wou aka*
 smell human COP LOC 2SG DEM.DIST
 'The smell of humans is on you.' (powat.nambis.120)

(3.134) *lehe mui ir po kor Sopun e i-ta ngat ngar mui*
 tooth dog COP:3SG do village GN and 3-COP cave cave dog
 'There are dog's teeth (currently) in the village of Sapon and there is the cave of dogs.'
 (ngar.mui.131)

(3.135) *yo=u-ta Lorongou*
 1SG=1SG-COP GN
 'I live in Lorengau.'

³⁷ $V_{(agr)r}$ behaves quite different to *to* with respect to what grammatical categories it can express, see §3.3.3.1.

(3.136) *Pispomoh i-ta ndon pelengan?*

PN 3-COP still up

'Is Pispomoh still up there (in Sapon)?' (in conversation)

(3.137) *wou=ta oho malapo?*

2SG=COP where now

'Where are you now?'

Copula *ta* must be obligatorily followed by a copula complement, unless it is preceded by progressive *to*. Then it may be used without a complement. Example (3.133) illustrates the durative characteristics of copula *ta*. The smell that is described as being with the two sisters in the source story cannot be rendered as something solid that is be kept momentarily. Smell is not an object, it is rather a stative concept which lasts for a certain time, which is reflected by copula *ta*. Example (3.134) features both a progressive aspect copula and copula *ta*. In the story, called *ngar mui* "The cave of the dogs", Pere (i.e. Titan) people are looking for dog's teeth for a wedding. They assume that there are currently plenty dog's teeth available in Sapon village. And they know that in Sapon there is the cave *ngar mui* which holds many dog's teeth. The use of the progressive with the copula in this example does not fit my previous analysis. However, it may be explained by the fact that the story teller was from Sapon and that the story belongs to Sapon village. So it is not the Pere people's perspective that is reflected in but the speaker's perspective. In the second part of the sentence the copula *ta* is used in a predictable locational context. The location of the dog's cave is given, which is a generally valid statement and involves the use of *ta*. Copula *ta* is frequently interpreted as 'to live' or 'stay somewhere' for a longer time, as can be seen from example (3.135). This example may also be interpreted in such a way that the subject stays currently and for some time somewhere in Lorengau. Copula *ta* is used to give general, global locations. Similarly, the questions in (3.136) and (3.137) express a general notion of location, necessarily so for the latter example *wou=ta oho?* 'Where are you?'. The speaker cannot be sure of the addressee's whereabouts and uses the global copula *ta*. Example (3.136) is a question concerning my adoptive sister and one I was asked in

the rare cases I happened to be unaccompanied in town. It expresses uncertainty about the location of a person, but also physical distance, since both the inquirer and the addressee were in Lorengau town while Pispomoh was assumed to be further uphill in Sapon village. While copula *ta* conveys locations in a general way, more precise locations are usually expressed using copula $V_{(agr)r} / to$, especially with generic verb *po*, and existentials *ie* (§3.3.3.3) and *sou* (§3.3.3.4).

For the use of the progressive with *ta* see the list of examples in (3.66) in §3.2.4.2.1.

3.3.3.3 Existential *ie*

The existential *ie* is a general verb expressing posture, location, resting. According to consultants the location referred to is more emphasised than with other existentials. Existential *ei* can be marked for irrealis and modality, but no other verbal categories. Existential *ie* does not undergo significant changes throughout the paradigm (except for second person singular whose form is *ei*).

A few examples illustrate the use of *ie*.

(3.138) *mwat ie wum*
 snake stay house
 ‘The snake stayed at the house.’

(3.139) *na=ei Warambei?*
 INT=stay GN
 ‘Do you want to live in Warambei?’

(3.140) *ei wum!*
 stay.2SG house
 ‘Stay at the house!’

(3.141) *yo=u-ie perlet*
 1SG=1SG-stay bed
 ‘I sat / rested / lay on the bed.’

The above examples show a verb that can be used generically with locations that express ‘staying’, ‘living’ or being at a smaller location. It is difficult to distinguish the meaning of *ie* from other existentials. It seems

to be used more often in smaller spaces that can be associated with the concept of ‘home’. The intentional may be expressed with existential *ie*, as in (3.139)³⁸. When this existential combines with a small space, such as a bed, as in (3.141), a resting, remaining or lingering meaning is expressed. The exact posture is not captured with this verb. However, it is often used for a general posture meaning.

An interesting feature of *ie* is its ability to mark a locational object with generic third person singular possessive marker *-n*. See examples (3.142 - 3.145).

(3.142) **w=ei-n**, *nde?*
 2SG=stay.2SG-3SG.POSS or
 ‘You stay behind, okay?’

(3.143) **ei-n** *la*
 stay-3SG.POSS go
 ‘Hang on.’ or ‘You stay meanwhile.’

(3.144) *sor=la to pul* **ie-n** *e pamei hirek*
 3DU=go COP head.of.tree stay-3SG.POSS and betelnut grow
 ‘They went to the head of the tree and stayed there and the betelnut tree grew.’ (sowe.hurhur.015)

(3.145) *sor=ha-yenyan e* **su=ie-n**
 3DU=NSG-eat and 3PL=stay-3SG.POSS
 ‘They ate and they stayed (there).’

In the examples given above a location is implied but only marked on the verb as a generic third-person possessor. This process of marking objects is also practised with relational nouns (see §4.3). Example (3.142) is an often heard expression used by someone leaving the house or area surrounding the house and telling the addressee to stay behind. It is used like a form of saying goodbye. Likewise, example (3.143) is used to either tell someone to wait, roughly translated as “Hang on!”, or to tell someone to remain behind while the speaker is taking leave. Examples (3.144) and (3.145) are from stories and both mark a generic location on the verb. In example (3.144) the location, a betelnut tree, is known and is marked anaphorically.

³⁸Irrealis is not marked for second person singular subjects.

The meaning of existential *ie* is close (but less specific) to that of *sou* which will be discussed in the following section.

3.3.3.4 Existential *sou*

Existential *sou* expresses ‘to stay, remain’ or ‘to stay or remain behind’. It is also used to specify a location (contrasting with a copula *ta*). It can be marked for irrealis and modality but no other verbal categories. In the irrealis paradigm there are two morphological forms for *sou*: *sou* ‘1SG, 3SG’ and *os* ‘2SG, NSG’. See Table 3.25.

be PRS	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo=na=k-u-sou	na=os	yi=na=k-i-sou
DU	tor=na=k-os	yowur=na=k-os	mor=na=k-os	sor=na=k-os
PL	tu=na=k-os	yowu=na=k-os	mu=na=k-os	su=na=k-os

Table 3.25: Paradigm for *sou* ‘stay / remain’, marked for irrealis and modality

When considering Table 3.25, bear in mind that the position of intentional *na=* may be initial or following the subject proclitic, as discussed in §3.2.3.1 on the intentional marker as part of the modality verbal category. An initial intentional marker is considered more polite and is also used for polar questions. Existential *sou* may function as existential but also as a transitive verb meaning ‘to position, to place something’. For illustration of existential *sou*, see examples below.

(3.146) ***k-sou!***
 IRR-remain
 ‘That food remains for later!’ (in conversation)

(3.147) ***na=su=k-os mandr mwan?***
 INT=3PL=IRR-stay skin fire
 ‘Do they want to stay close to the fire side?’

(3.148) ***yo=u-sou pleng, yi=ir ndran.***
 1SG=1SG-stay garden 3SG=COP:3SG river
 ‘I stayed in the garden, while he was at the river.’ (elicited)

(3.149) *su masih kene su=kohis la ndas su mat. yi ho-mou ke*
 3PL all INTS 3PL=jump go sea 3PL die 3SG one-NCLF:human FOC
aka i-sou
 DEM.DIST 3-remain

'They all jumped into the sea and died. Just that one remained.'

(3.150) *su=ha-herong ndimi, yi ndimi i-reng sou Yap*
 3PL=NSG-hear slit.drum 3SG slit.drum 3-reng.SG be GN

'They heard the slit drum. The slit drum sounded on Yap Island.'

(3.151) *e-kun-i k-sou mbur pal-(e)m am pelengan*
 2SG-carry-TR IRR-place over head-2SG.POSS come up

'Carry the (the clam shell) and place it over your head and bring it back to the surface.'

Examples (3.146 - 3.151) illustrate the various uses of *sou*. Example (3.146) is an often-heard exclamation when food is to be saved for later. Third person singular is usually not marked in this exclamation. No locational object is needed. Sentence (3.147) is an example for *sou* used to refer to a specific location with the meaning 'remain'. Sometimes *sou* is used not only to specify a location, but also to contrast a location with another location, as in example (3.148). Example (3.149) is an excerpt from a story where all evil spirits are chased away and die, but only one is left. In this example *sou* refers the subject being left and remaining behind. Example (3.150) is another example for the use of *sou* to specify a location, however, without expressing 'to remain'. The last example demonstrates that *sou* may also be used as a transitive (though morphologically intransitive) verb which expresses 'to position or place something somewhere'.

3.3.3.5 Summary: Existentials and verbal markers

The previous chapter outlined the four existentials in Lele, the copulas $V_{(agr)r}$ / *to* and *ta* and the existentials *ie* and *sou*. It has been shown that existentials occur with selected verbal markers. Table 3.26 summarises the compatibility of existentials and verbal markers. The checkmark symbol stands for attested combinations and the hyphen stands for unattested combinations.

	<i>V_(agr)r</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>sou</i>
POT <i>a=</i>	✓	✓	-	-	-
INT <i>na=</i>	✓	-	-	✓	✓
IRR <i>k-</i>	✓	-	-	✓	✓
PRF <i>kV_(agr)n-</i>	-	-	-	-	-
NSG <i>ha-</i>	-	-	-	-	-
PROG <i>V_(agr)r / to</i>	-	-	✓	-	-
light verb <i>po</i>	✓	✓	-	-	-
HAB <i>ta</i>	-	-	-	-	-

Table 3.26: Existentials in Lele and verbal marking

None of the existentials has been attested with the nonsingular intensifier *ha-* or with the habitual *ta*. The nonsingular form of copula I *to* marginally occurs with the potential, but not with other markers. In contrast, the singular form of copula I *V_(agr)r* may occur with the potential, intentional and irrealis markers. Copula II *ta* only co-occurs with the progressive aspect. Existentials *ie* and *sou* occur with the intentional and irrealis markers, but not with other markers. Finally, light verb *po* occurs only with copula I.

3.3.4 Generic *po* ‘do, make’

Light verb *po* has been addressed in previous chapters on progressive aspect (§3.2.4.2.1) and copula I (§3.3.3.1). Used as a main verb, it expresses ‘to do or make something’. It can also be considered a verbaliser since it usually combines with nouns to form a complex verb. Sometimes it is also used to form a verb with a foreign verb, even if the native verb exists and is known. The infiltration of Lele with Tok Pisin and English is surely a subject that requires future research. Combinations with *po* are listed below:

(3.152) *yo=u-le po ni*
 1SG=1SG-go do fish
 ‘I went fishing.’

(3.153) *su=po kuk su=yenyan*
 3PL=do cook(TP) 3PL=eat.ITR

'They cooked the food, they ate.'

(3.154) *sor=ha-yosu* ***sor=ha-po*** *mbunanah*
3DU=NSG-marry 3DU=NSG-make child

'They married. They produced children.'

(3.155) *su=to* ***po mburia*** *su*
3PL=PROG do work 3PL

'They were doing their work.'

(3.156) ***tu=k-op*** ***kukulou***
1PL.INCL=IRR-do worship

'We will worhsip.'

(name of Christian hymn book)

(3.157) *yo=u-po* ***raring***
1SG=1SG-do pray

'I prayed.'

Light verb *po* usually acts as a verbaliser when used with nouns, as in (3.152), (3.154), (3.155) and (3.156). In example (3.153) light verb *po* accompanies a code-switched word, verb *kuk*, from Tok Pisin. Since the code-switched verb has not yet been adapted to the Lele grammatical system it is treated neutrally with respect to its grammatical properties and therefore requires *po* to be used as a verb. Needless to say, there are many native words that can be used to express 'cook'. This kind of code-switching is not rare and is clearly a sign of the linguistic dominance of both Tok Pisin and English in Manus. Example (3.156) expresses 'to do church service'. This formation with *po* is interesting since the word *kukulou* is not native, it was introduced by early missionaries³⁹ who had previously been to East New Britain and had learned some Kuanua, or Tolai, which is the language they borrowed the word *kukulou* from and introduced them in order to express the new concept of church service into Lele culture. The status of example (3.157) is uncertain since the word *raring* is only used with *po* and is not frequently used anymore. Due to its co-occurrence with *po* I assume *raring* to be nominal as well.

³⁹Liebenzell Lutheran Mission started their mission in 1914, other missionary organisations came to Manus earlier.

3.3.5 Verbs with Nominal Morphology

A few verbs in Lele behave like nouns by cross-referencing the subject as a possessor on the verb. Ross (in Lynch et al. 2002) also mentions four verbs for Kele that exhibit nominal morphology. Lele has three such verbs, *tan-* ‘know’, *mbore-* ‘dislike’ and *mware-* ‘live, be alive’. The subject proclitic attaches to the verb, but without subject agreement prefixes. The verb *tan-* ‘know’ co-occurs with the perfect aspect. See the following examples.

- (3.158) *ndramet pekeh i-pekehkeh, yo=tono yi, wou=tan-(e)m*
 person close 3-very.close 1SG=know.1SG 3SG 2SG=know-2SG.POSS
yi
 3SG
 ‘People lived very close to each other, I knew him (pointing) and you knew him (pointing).’ (man.dog.005-006)

- (3.159) *su tan-su aka kul at snel*
 3PL know-3PL DEM.DIST breadfruit POSS bush.spirit
 ‘They knew this is the breadfruit of the bush spirit.’
 (greedy.brother.041)

- (3.160) *e Masusu aka ilndri yi=tan-en*
 PN and DEM.DIST see 3SG=understand-3SG.POSS
 ‘And Masusu saw it, he knew.’ (masusu.long.051)

- (3.161) *hepsah sih tan-su ngar-en pwi*
 something one know-3PL name-3SG.POSS NEG
 ‘something whose name they did not know’
 (310812.herman.mana.ts.octo.032)

In example (3.162) perfect aspect is used with *tan-* ‘know’. With perfect aspect the verb can be interpreted as ‘understand’ which explains the use of a perfect with a stative verb.

- (3.162) *sese-soro aka kin-hi-tan-(e)n*
 grandmother-3DU DEM.DIST PRF.3SG-3SG-know-3SG.POSS
 ‘The grandmother of the two understood (their plan).’

Compare the above examples with a direct possessive construction:

- *nim-(e)m* ‘your (SG) hand’

- *mar-su* ‘their (PL) eyes’
- *nder-soro* ‘their (DU) brother/sister’

Table (3.27) shows the paradigm for *tan-* ‘know’.

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	—	yo=tono	wou=tan-em	yi=i-tan-en
DU	tan-toro	tan-wuru	tan-moro	tan-soro
PL	tan-tu	tan-yowu	tan-mu	tan-su

Table 3.27: Paradigm for *tan-* ‘know’

For first person singular *tono* vowel assimilation takes place due to the suffixation of the verb stem *tan-* with the possessive suffix *-o*. See §2.4.1 on vowel assimilation. The verb *tan-* ‘know’ is treated as such and not as a noun despite its nominal morphological characteristics because it has the same distribution and function of a verb: it follows a pronoun and requires a direct object. Syntactically, it is a transitive verb that marks its subject as a direct possessor. Similar verbs with possessive marking can be found in Kele (Ross in Lynch et al. 2002).

3.4 Verbal Derivation

Verbal derivation is relatively limited in Lele. The processes discussed in this section are firstly **reduplication** and secondly **compounding with the verb *pwai* ‘speak’**. **Reduplication** can be defined as a process whereby a word stem or parts of a stem are reduplicated and attached to the boundary of the stem or, in some cases, inserted into the stem. Reduplicated sequences are attached to the stem boundaries in Lele. There is a wide range of meanings covered by reduplication in Oceanic languages, some of them are “randomness of action, repetition, and plurality of actors or patients. It is sometimes also used to derive intransitive from transitive verbs.” (Lynch et al. 2002, 44). Reduplication is only marginally productive

today as a morphological process of verbal derivation. Some formally reduplicative structures do not have simple counterparts, as for example *susu* ‘to fish’. Only a few verbs in the corpus do have simple and reduplicative forms. For example, *koyir* ‘crawl’ can be reduplicated to *koyiryir*⁴⁰, a partial reduplication.

(3.163) *ndupwei i-koyir-yir lundie kur*
 mud.crab 3-crawl-RDP inside pot

‘The mud crab crawled around in the cooking pot.’

(3.164) *ndupwei i-koyir le ngat*
 mud.crab 3-crawl go hole

‘The mud crab crawled to the hole.’

(3.165) *ndupwei su=to koyiryir*
 mud.crab 3PL=PROG crawl.RDP

‘Mud crabs are crawling.’

(3.166) *i-koyiryir le ndas le e ndokro-n e kelpen aka*
 3-crawl.RDP go sea go and middle-3SG.POSS and tail-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST
repuian-i pwan
 crack-TR ground

‘It (the snake) crawled a long way to the sea and its tail cracked the ground.’

(snake.lugos.240)

Depending on context, the reduplicated form of *koyir* ‘crawl’ can potentially take on all functions given in the definition above. It can refer to a random, aimless action, such as the mud crab in example (3.163) crawling around, being trapped in a pot. Or it may refer to a group (or species) of mud crabs that generally move forwards in a crawling manner, as in (3.165), compare with (3.164). Finally, it may also express an action that is performed repetitively or continuously, for a long time, as in (3.166).

Another example is the intransitive verb *rer* ‘shake, tremble’ and its simple reduplicative form *rerer* ‘shake heavily’ which can also be used to express a state of fear, being frightened.

⁴⁰The form *ko-* seems to be a prefix and occurs in very few verbs but does not appear to take on any function synchronically. More research is required.

(3.167) *e yi=i-Indri soro mbunanah ie pehendra-n e*
 and 3SG=3-see 3DU child stay underneath-3SG.POSS and
sor=ha-noh e sor=ha-rer
 3DU=NSG-be.afraid and 3DU=NSG-tremble
 ‘And he saw the two children lying under the shell and they were
 afraid and they trembled with fear.’
 (snake.northcoast.060)

(3.168) *sor=ha-rerer e i-pwei ey mbue nde mor=ko-noh!*
 3DU=NSG-tremble.RDP and 3-say ey NEG NEG 2DU=IRR-be.afraid
 ‘They really trembled with fear and he said: “Ey, don’t be afraid!” ’
 (snake.northcoast.061)

Sentence (3.168) follows (3.167) in the source text immediately and they both illustrate the intensifying function of reduplication. Sentence (3.167) describes a scene where two boys are afraid of evil spirits and therefore hide under a huge sea shell as a cover. As the main character of the story, a snake, finds the two and they see him (example 3.168) they shake even more with fear.

Another example is *loh* ‘call, shout’ and *lohloh* ‘call, shout loudly’. See examples (3.169) and (3.170).

(3.169) *i-pwei te oh mbuei oto kin-los e i-loh soro*
 3-say PRAG oh crocodile 1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-fall and 3-call 3DU
 ‘He said: “Oh, my crocodiles have fallen down!” And he called the
 two.’

(3.170) *e su=ha-i-Indri e su=ha-noh, hepke i-lohloh le ndro*
 and 3PL=NSG-3-see and 3PL=NSG-be.afraid but 3-shout.RDP go LOC
su ey mbunanah!
 3PL ey child
 ‘And they saw him and were afraid, but he shouted loudly to them:
 “Ey, children!” ’
 (octo.045-47)

Examples (3.169) and (3.170) illustrate again the intensifying function of reduplication. The intensification of the action can be interpreted here as an increase in volume. Another possible interpretation is that the shouting was done repetitively. Both interpretations have in common that the action was performed with greater emphasis or intent.

There are also onomatopoeic reduplications in Lele. The verb *soroprop* mimics the sound of human chit-chat. In order to fend off chatterboxes one could say the following:

- (3.171) ***mu=ha-soroprop*** *solen. mu=k-al ndi!*
 2PL=NSG-talk.much many 2PL=IRR-go away
 ‘You talk too much. Go away!’

The onomatopoeic word *porok*⁴¹ may be used as a verb, as demonstrated in (3.172), translated somewhat awkwardly into English.

- (3.172) ***i-porok porok porok*** *e tato-n i-pwei te*
 3-sound.of.pig sound.of.pig sound.of.pig and aunt-3SG.POSS 3-say PRAG
wou=ta hi-porok porok sah
 2SG=PROG ?-sound.of.pig sound.of.pig what
 ‘It went “porok porok porok” and the aunt said: “Why are you making these noises?” ’
 (pihi.turur.e.taton.065)

In the previous examples the reduplicated verb form was marked for verbal categories only once. Furthermore, these constructions generally only involved a simple repetition of the phonological material. While reduplication is a fairly limited morphological process in Lele, reduplication on a phrasal level, or repetition, is very widely used, as discussed earlier in §3.2.4.4.2. In some cases, such as in (3.85), it is difficult to assess whether the reduplication is on the word or phrase level since it is theoretically possible to insert subject markers in front of each verb. Furthermore, the repetition of verbs could continue more than twice and according to how much the speaker wishes to emphasise the character of the action.

⁴¹As a verb it is used with the prefix *hi-* whose meaning is still unknown due to lack of data. More research is needed. Furthermore, the reconstructed Proto Oceanic word for pig is **boRok* which is surprisingly close to the word used in Lele to express a pig’s sound.

Another form of verbal derivation can be found in constructions with *pwa-* / *pwe-* which is a phonologically reduced form of the verb *pwai* / *pwei* ‘say’. The verbs presented in Table 3.28 cannot be formed with the long form *pwai* ‘say’. The phonological reduction is concomitant with the compounding process in these verbs. The reduced form, which has still retained the stem vowel alternation of the free verb, forms compounds with both bound and free roots. The resulting verbs are semitransparent semantically. See Table 3.28 for examples with their possible components. The compound verbs are listed in their underlying form.

Verbal Derivation	Components: <i>pwai</i> ‘say’ +	Gloss
<i>pwahere</i>	<i>mehere</i> ‘appear’	‘let sth. be known, announce’
<i>pwahernou</i>	<i>hernou</i> ‘speech’	‘to give a speech’
<i>pwahilou</i>	<i>hilou</i> ‘run’	‘to lie’
<i>pwakikte</i>	<i>kikte</i> ‘?’	‘to play jokes, practical and verbal jokes’
<i>pwawere</i>	<i>were</i> ‘sing’	‘to sing’ (a known melody, traditional)
<i>pwandrundrue</i>	<i>ndrundrue</i> ‘?’	‘to sing’ (ad hoc made up tunes)
<i>pwasou</i>	<i>sou</i> ‘remain’ (?)	‘to call, name, speak out, pronounce’
<i>pwatieni</i>	<i>tieni</i> ‘accuse, speak badly’	‘to tell a story’
<i>pwatirie</i>	<i>tirie</i> ‘story’	‘story, to tell a story’
<i>pwaharni</i>	<i>harni</i> ‘?’	‘to confess, announce’

Table 3.28: Verbs derived from the verb *pwai* ‘say’

The compounds in Table 3.28 are formed with nouns and verbs alike. In some cases, the historical structure was evidently a transitive verb followed by its object, as is the case for *pwahernou* ‘to give a speech’ and *pwatirie* ‘to tell a story’. Some roots are synchronically bound roots whose meanings are not known anymore, indicated by question marks in the table. The form *here* which occurs in *pwahere* ‘let sth. be know, announce’ only occurs as bound root in another verb, *mehere* ‘appear’.

Chapter 4

Nouns

Nouns are one of the major open word classes in Lele. Traditionally, the category of nouns contains all words that refer to most persons, places and things. Thus, nouns have mainly referential character. They are distinguished syntactically by their ability to function as heads of noun phrases (cf. §4.7, 156). In Lele they may also be used as modifiers in adposition to other nouns. This chapter identifies and establishes nouns as a word class in Lele on the basis of three principles.

The first type of subcategorisation of nouns in Lele is between local, common and personal nouns, a subcategorisation commonly found in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002). In Lele personal nouns comprise personal names only. They generally cannot be possessed and cannot be quantified and therefore cannot occur with numeral classifiers. Personal names feature prefixes specific only to names. Section §4.2 discusses personal nouns.

Locational nouns (and, by metaphorical extension, temporal nouns) include those that denote places and locations. It also contains those that are commonly translated as prepositions. They shall be called relational nouns. Relational nouns constitute the smallest subgroup of nouns and are directly possessed, translating to "the topside of the stone" instead of "on or on top of the stone". Locational nouns will be considered in §4.3.

Common nouns are the largest category of nouns. Together with the subclass of human nouns, common nouns cover the widest grammatical

functionality. See §4.1.

The second type of subcategorisation is established with regard to possessive constructions, another commonly found distinction in Oceanic languages. Some nouns are obligatorily possessed, while others can only be optionally possessed. Obligatorily possessed nouns include body parts (section 4.4.3) and kinship terms (section 4.4.4) These matters will be addressed in §4.4.

The third principle of subcategorisation regards the choice of numeral and possessive classifiers that nouns occur with. This section will provide a brief overview of classifiers. An analysis of numeral classifiers can be found in §10, p. 193. For this chapter's purpose an outline shall suffice. See §4.4.6.

4.1 Common Nouns

The 'common' category can be defined as the default category for all nouns. Nouns that belong to this class cover the widest range of functions. They can head NPs that function as core arguments. They are countable and thus able to occur with numeral classifiers. Common nouns may occur in both direct and indirect possession constructions. They may be modified. Finally, they may occur with prepositions. Common nouns may not occur with the associative plural or with the directional / locational preposition *ndro* which is used for humans. Thus they can be distinguished from personal nouns. Table 4.1 provides a selection of common nouns.

A subclass of common nouns is formed by *human nouns*. As we will see in the following sections locational nouns do not generally require prepositions. However, human referents differ from that. Human nouns, as part of common nouns, require the preposition *ndro* in locational or directional constructions. See the following illustrative examples:

- (4.1) *am wum!*
come house
'Come to / inside the house!'

<i>pihin</i>	'woman'
<i>ndramet</i>	'man, human'
<i>pamei</i>	'betelnut'
<i>ndosu</i>	'comb'
<i>ni</i>	'fish'
<i>palkis</i>	'spatula for frying sago'
<i>pat</i>	'stone, rock'
<i>kei</i>	'tree, wood'
<i>snel</i>	'bush spirit'
<i>souka</i>	'Manus Friarbird'
<i>mwat</i>	'snake'
<i>kut</i>	1. 'hair louse'
	2. 'octopus'
<i>yipi</i>	'sago'
<i>pwan</i>	'ground, earth, soil'

Table 4.1: A selection of common nouns

- (4.2) *am ndro yo!*
 come ALL 1SG
 'Come to me!'

The previous examples in (4.1) and (4.2) contained directional nouns as directional complements. However, as is evident from the following examples, *ndro* is also used in locational constructions, see (4.3), and also with figurative locations, such as a family line as origin, as in (4.4).

- (4.3) *e sor=to ndro sese soro aka*
 and 3DU=be LOC grandmother 3DU DEM.DIST
 'And the two lived with their grandmother.' (hurhur.116)

- (4.4) *aka pwatirie at tumbu su, su per ndro tomo pwi*
 DEM.DIST story POSS grandparent 3PL 3PL ASSOC LOC father.1SG NEG
per ndro nan-o mwenen
 ASSOC LOC mother-1SG.POSS straight
 'This story belongs to my ancestors, not to my father's line, but just to my mother's line.' (potou.haus.boi.tungou.15)

Compounding is not very productive process in Lele. The most common

constructions have a *Noun - Modifier* structure, but are rarely true compounds. Only a few cases are known to me that show evidence of compounding. The construct *ngar mui* 'cave of dogs' consists of the words *ngat* 'hole, cave' and *mui* 'dog'. The consonant lenition observed in this construction occurs due to the fusion on the phonological word boundaries that accompanies the compounding process. Constructions such as *pihi Turur* 'a woman from Turur' can be considered cases of compounding. *Pihi Turur* consists of the words *pihin* 'woman' and *Turur*, a place name. It is evident that *pihin* has lost final *-n* in this construction. This gives reasonable evidence for compounding.

4.2 Personal Nouns

Personal nouns include personal names and family names. These nouns generally cannot be possessed. Kinship terms do not belong to this but are part of the common noun class. Lele names contain prefixes that mark them as male or female. The prefix *Pi-* is used for female names and the prefix *Po-* is used for male names. Thus, most names can be used by men and women alike. Some names contain words which are still in use, while the meaning of other names seems to have become obscured:

- *Po-sawan* (meaning unknown)
- *Pi-sawan*
- *Po-lehemui* (*lehe* 'tooth' *mui* 'dog' - 'dog's teeth')
- *Po-kendram* (*kendram* - a wooden stick used to grind betelnut, lime and pepper)
- *Pi-ndileng* (*ndileng* 'cry', i.e. a woman who cries)
- *Pi-mbuses* (*mbuses* 'bubble', i.e. a woman who is bubbly, talks much)

The male and female prefixes are also sometimes used with Western given names, such as in *Pijune* for a woman names June. There is another set of prefixes that is used to refer to someone specifically as being part of

a certain clan or as being a descendant of a male ancestor. For women *Pis-* is used and for men *Ndre-* is used:

- *Pis-posawan* ‘The daughter / the female descendant of Posawan’
- *Ndre-sawan* ‘The son / the male descendant of Posawan’

These names resemble patronyms in other languages. However, their use is extended to refer to earlier male ancestors as well. These names are usually used in contexts of customary rituals. Note that *Ndre* is very likely derived from *ndrai* ‘blood’ or *ndrei-n* ‘his / her blood’, signifying the blood ties that a man shares with an ancestor.

Personal names have the propensity to occur with *associative plurals*, as in (4.5), a trait they share with kinship terms (see §4.4.4 for more on associative plurals).

- (4.5) *Pomako su*
 PN 3PL
 ‘Pomako and all that live with him’

4.3 Locational Nouns and Relational Nouns

Common locational nouns, such as *lonhou* ‘bush’, *leng* ‘coast’ or *pleng* ‘garden’ do not require prepositions. Locational nouns may not occur as direct objects in transitive predication.

- (4.6) *su=la lonhou / leng / pleng*
 3PL=go bush coast garden
 ‘They went to the bush / coast / garden.’

Locational nouns may be possessed, directly and indirectly. See example (4.7) which features directly possessed locational noun accompanied by a numeral classifier.

- (4.7) *ndramet oko aka yi ke hom ie*
 man DEM.PROX DEM.DIST 3SG only NCLF:one.person stay
kohona-n *ho-kut*
 village-3SG.POSS one-NCLF:village
 ‘This man, he lived by himself in his village.’ (dog.speaks.14)

Locational nouns may also be modified by adjectives, such as in *pleng mandren* ‘a big garden’. They may be preceded by the local preposition *nde*, as in (4.8).

- (4.8) *mor=k-e-heti* *ndurkan aka* ***nde*** ***kor*** *at-moro*
 2DU=IRR-NSG-take.NSG bird DEM.DIST in.direction.of village POSS-2DU
 ‘Take that bird and throw it in the direction of your village (in order to show the path home).’

Similar features can be observed in a subclass of locational nouns, relational nouns, which are possessed directly, coding a part-whole relationship, thus conferring nominal properties to relational nouns but also setting them apart from prepositions proper¹ (cf. §12). Relational nouns are much more restricted in their grammatical functionality than locational nouns. In fact, relational nouns represent the most restricted subclass of nouns. They do not exhibit any other nominal qualities except for their ability to occur directly possessed and to occur as locational arguments². Since relational nouns usually denote parts of inanimate nouns, the possessive marker, as is found in the corpus, is always 3rd person possessive *-n*.

Table 4.2 lists a selection of locational nouns.

<i>ndre</i>	‘on top of, over’
<i>pehendra</i>	‘under’, ‘underneath’, ‘below’
<i>kerse</i>	‘at the side of’
<i>lundie</i>	‘inside (directional and locational)’
<i>mbur</i>	‘underneath, inside, into, on the bottom, backside’
<i>ndrepo</i>	‘at someone’s (also something’s) back’
<i>ndokro</i>	‘in the middle of’

Table 4.2: A selection of relational nouns

¹According to Keesing 1988, 119 “particularly in EO [Eastern Oceanic] languages, terms for spatial locations (“in front”, “behind”, “inside”, “underneath”) are morphologically nouns, treated as inalienably possessed by the following noun, and often marked with a preceding locative particle (“at the house’s front”, “at the canoe’s underneath”). “Front” as a noun or marker of relationship, usual has a temporal as well as spatial meaning.”

²Relational nouns may co-occur with prepositions, however, there are no textual examples in the corpus.

The following examples give an idea of relational nouns in textual environments.

The relational noun **ndre** denotes that an object is on top of something (4.9) or in the upper part of something (4.10).

(4.9) *i-lki ndor-n kin-meyis aka le ndre mah e i-ro*
 3-put child-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-cooked DEM.DIST go on.top.of taro and 3-COP
 ‘She put her cooked child on top of the (cooked) taro.’ (pipalnan-dren.048)

(4.10) *mbunanah, nane-n i-me i-pwei te mbunanah ie*
 child mother-3SG.POSS 3-come 3-say PRAG child stay
ndre sakei nde ndra nengei aka kin-los
 on.top.of kind.of.fruit or branch nut DEM.DIST PRF.3SG-fall
 ‘The child, his/her mother comes and says “The child that was (sitting) in the top of the Sakei tree or on the branch of the Nengei tree has fallen down.’ (souka.084)

See example (4.11) with the locative complement marked as pronominal possessor.

(4.11) *oh yowur=ha-luk ndre pat e mwandri i-singi le*
 oh 1DU.EXCL=NSG-leave on.top.of stone and sun 3-dry.in.the.sun go
ndre-n e yowuru ha-yan
 on.top.of-3SG.POSS and 1DU.EXCL NSG-eat.NSG
 ‘Oh we leave it (the fish) on top of a stone and the sun dries it on the stone and then we eat.’ (snake.lugos.092)

Relational noun *pehendra* refers to the position *underneath* or *below* an object. See examples (4.12-4.13).

(4.12) *mu masih kene mu=k-am ke pehendra yeu*
 2PL all INTS 2PL=IRR-come only below Ficus
 ‘All of you, come below the Ficus tree!’ (snake.northcoast.160c)

(4.13) *snel kopwat i-le le le le le le to mwenen ndrandra-n*
 bush.spirit climb.up 3-go go go go go go be straight branch-3SG.POSS
pehendra-n
 under-3SG.POSS
 ‘The bush spirit climbed up more and more straight to one of the tree’s branches, one underneath it.’
 (greedy.brother.093)

kerse denotes the side of an object.

- (4.14) **kerse wum / kerse ndran / kerse ndro tu oko /**
side house / side water / side ALL 1PL.INCL DEM.PROX /
kerse-n
side-3SG.POSS
'at the side of the house / side of the river (river bank) / at the side
of our area here / at its side'

Relational noun *mbur* can denote different locations. It can denote that an object is inside a larger object, underneath or at the back of an object. These meanings are distinguished by context only.

- (4.15) *otin-i aka k-ir mbur wum*
bury-TR DEM.DIST IRR-COP:3SG backside house
'Bury it there, at the back of the house.'
(benjamin.coconut.154)

- (4.16) *na=yowu=k-al mbur-n*
INT=1PL.EXCL=IRR-go into-3SG.POSS
'We want to go into the bush (standing at the beach).'

The locational noun *ndokro* refers to the middle of a location that stretches out either in longitude or in a circular shape, for example:

- (4.17) **ndokro ndas**
middle sea
'In the middle of the sea (out on the open sea)'

- (4.18) *yowu=ha-pwasou parkei le nongen-a kor, le nongen-a*
1PL.EXCL=NSG-call tree go speech-NOM village go talk-NOM
ndokro-n me ndro wou
middle-3SG.POSS come LOC 2SG
'We gave you the names of trees in the local language and in
the middle language (lit. talk of the middle, i.e. Tok Pisin).'
(daily.events.05-06)

In example (4.18) *ndokro* is used in a metaphorical sense. It acts as a modifier to *nongen* 'talk', bearing a marker of coreferentiality *-n* '3SG.POSS'.

4.4 Nominal Possession: Direct and Indirect Possession

A second way of classifying nouns follows from the type of possession construction they select. Possessive constructions are understood as

mainly grammatical in this context. Semantically, such constructions express a wide range of functions in the world's languages³. In Lele some of these functions include indicating ownership of a property, part-whole relationships (cf. §4.3 on locational and relational nouns), body parts and terms of kinship. Structurally, possessive constructions involve a possessee, the head of the construction, and a possessor, its dependent. Some nouns are obligatorily possessed, others can only be possessed optionally. Some may occur in both categories. These two categories of possessive constructions have the dichotomy of alienability vs. inalienability at their core, a notion which is often referred to as direct and indirect possession in Oceanic linguistics (cf. Lichtenberk 1985, Ross 2004). In direct possession constructions in Lele, the possessor is either suffixed directly to the possessee or follows it immediately as a full NP, whereas in indirect possession the possessor suffix is attached to one of two possessive classifiers, also called relational classifiers (Lichtenberk 1983), a general classifier *at* or an alimentary classifier *an*. In Lele the possessor suffix marks person and number. Table 4.3 gives an overview of the possessor suffixes.

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	∅ /-o	-m	-n
DU	-toro	-wuru	-moro	-soro
PL	-tu	-wu	-mu	-su

Table 4.3: Possessive suffixes in Lele

Only singular possessors are marked with a morphologically distinct set of suffixes. Non-singular possessors are formally the same as the reduced pronouns. The two types of possession, direct and indirect, will be elaborated on in the following sections.

³cf. Aikhenvald 2012, 2ff. for a general overview of possible meanings of possessive constructions in the world's languages

4.4.1 Direct Possession

The form of possession that requires the least morphological marking is direct possession. Semantically, nouns that occur in direct possession constructions include those that denote objects or concepts closely associated with people, such as kinship terms (4.19), body parts (4.20) and metaphorical extensions of body parts, such as *melua*- 'spirit', as in (4.21). They also include nouns that refer to parts of objects or locations, as in (4.22) and products and objects used on an every day basis, as in (4.23-4.24). These are objects that are perceived as inseparable, innately or persistently possessed. In short, they are associated with inalienable possession.

Consider examples (4.19-4.24) below. Possessor and possessee are marked with lower case $_{(Pr)}$ and $_{(Pe)}$ respectively.

(4.19) *tam* $_{(Pe)}$ -*(e)m* $_{(Pr)}$
father-2SG.POSS
'your (SG) father'

(4.20) *mar* $_{(Pe)}$ *snel* $_{(Pr)}$
eye spirit
'the eye(s) of the evil spirit'

(4.21) *melua* $_{(Pe)}$ -*m* $_{(Pr)}$
spirit-2SG.POSS
'your spirit'

(4.22) *mBur* $_{(Pe)}$ *ndas* $_{(Pr)}$
bottom sea
'the bottom of the sea'

(4.23) *mwun* $_{(Pe)}$ -*moro* $_{(Pr)}$
fire-2DU
'your (DU) fire'

(4.24) *mBuria* $_{(Pe)}$ -*n* $_{(Pr)}$
work-3SG.POSS
'his / her work'

In the above examples the possessor may either attach to the possessee as a pronominal suffix or it may follow the possessee as a full NP (see 4.22). A full NP possessor cannot co-occur with additional marking on the

possessee. As indicated in Table 4.3, some nouns are unmarked for 1SG possessors. In those cases, bare nouns are interpreted as having a 1SG possessor. See examples (4.25-4.26).

(4.25) *ndere*_(pe)
sibling.same.sex
'my brother (female speaking) / my sister (male speaking)'

(4.26) *haue*_(pe)
shoulder
'my shoulder'

Whether nouns are marked or unmarked for 1SG possessors is idiosyncratic to the noun. Further examples for unmarked 1SG possessors can be found in *tete* '(my) father (address)', *tato* '(my) father's sister', *ndohongo* '(my) nose', *piso* '(my) sibling of different sex', *tumbu* '(my) grandchild / grandfather'.

4.4.2 Indirect Possession: General and Alimentary Classifiers

The greater part of nouns occurs in indirect possession constructions. In contrast to direct possession, indirect possession constructions require the use of possessive classifiers. These possessive or relational classifiers, which are mainly found in Oceanic languages, but also in some South American languages, mark the kind of possessive relationship between nouns (Aikhenvald 2003, 133f.). Lele employs a common and very simple system of two relational classifiers: a general classifier *at* and a classifier for consumables *an*. Lichtenberk (1983, 1985) calls the latter *alimentary* classifier. The **general classifier** *at* is used to mark possession of unspecified use or purpose, while classifier *an-* is used to mark alimentary possession, that is possession of objects that are to be consumed, such as food, betelnuts or tobacco. Water and other drinks, however, are not included in this group. In the process of possessor suffixation for 1SG possessors the base vowel undergoes an assimilation process from [a] to [o], resulting in e.g. *wumoto* 'my house' or *ono* 'my food'. The indirect type of possession is also

the default type for objects recently introduced to the Lele culture, such as cars or mobile phones since it is more general, less specific. Examples of the general possessive classifier can be found in (4.27-4.30).

(4.27) *yenyan*_{Pe} **at** *Posawan*_{Pr}
 food POSS PN
 'Posawan's food'

(4.28) *kul* **at** *snel*
 breadfruit POSS bush.spirit
 'the breadfruit of the bush spirit'

(4.29) *yipi* **at-(e)m** *kin-meyis*
 sago POSS-2SG.POSS PRF.3SG-cooked
 'Your sago is cooked'

(4.30) *nongen* **oto** *ye!*
 words 1SG.POSS INTS
 'My words!'

The possessee is followed by the classifier *at* which is either followed by a pronominal suffix (4.29-4.30) or by a full NP (4.27-4.28). In the above examples the general classifier functions as an uninflected form; however, it may also function as a full NP, as in (4.31), which is then interpreted either as a syntactic argument or as an identificational, verbless clause.

(4.31) **at-em**_(Pr)
 POSS-2SG.POSS
 '(It is) yours.'

While the general classifier *at-* and possessor follow the possessee, the **alimentary classifier** *an-* precedes the possessee. In the following examples see a few simple examples for the alimentary classifier.

(4.32) **ono** *pu*
 CLF.food.1SG.POSS pig
 'My pig (for eating)'

(4.33) **an** *Posawan*_(Pr) *ni*_(Pe) / *pamei* / *sigar*
 CLF.food PN fish / betelnut / cigarette
 'Posawan's fish / betelnut / cigarette (for consumption)'

Very rarely can alimentary *an* be found preceded by the possessee:

- (4.34) *ni*_(Pe) **an** *Posawan*_(Pr)
 fish CLF.food PN
 'Posawan's fish'

While consumables such as *pu* 'pig' are marked by the alimentary classifier, they may also occur with the general classifier if the use is unspecified, as in (4.35).

- (4.35) *pu* **oto**
 pig 1SG.POSS
 'My pig (for unspecified use)'

Some more textual examples of the alimentary classifier:

- (4.36) *su=to po an-su*_(Pr) *yenyani*_(Pe)
 3PL=HAB do CLF.food-3PL food

'They habitually made their food.' (masusu.014)

- (4.37) **ono** *pamei e ono* *cigar; yenyani*
 CLF.food.1SG.POSS betelnut and CLF.food.1SG.POSS cigar(ENG) food
aka at su mbunanah
 DEM.DIST POSS 3PL child

'My betelnut (for consuming) and my cigar (for consuming); that food is the children's.' (masusu.long.394)

- (4.38) *yo=k-u-le po an-tu ni le ndas*
 1SG=IRR-1SG-go find CLF.food-1PL.INCL fish go sea

'I will go and find us some fish in the sea.' (menuai.057)

- (4.39) *aka mburia-n a=yi=k-le sap an-tu, k-le*
 DEM.DIST work-3SG.POSS POT=3SG=IRR-go collect CLF.food-1PL.INCL IRR-go
pehena an-tu yipi
 steal CLF.food-1PL.INCL sago

'That is his work, he will go and carry our food, go and steal our sago.'
 (menuai.060)

- (4.40) *ma-ruoh sor=ha-i-ni, sih sor=ha-luk-i le an*
 PROP-two 3DU=NSG-3-eat:TR one 3DU=NSG-leave-3 go CLF.food
ndere soro oko
 sibling.same.sex 3DU DEM.PROX

'They ate two (plates), they left one to eat for their sister.'
 (powat.nambis.131)

- (4.41) *yo=k-u-re-i an [Mwandrendra e su lau at-en]*_(Pr)
 1SG=IRR-1SG-hit-TR CLF.food PN and 3PL man POSS-3SG.POSS

'I will beat the food (meaning: sago) of Mwandrendra and his men.'
(masusu.clouds.064)

- (4.42) ***an-su***_(Pr)
CLF.food-3PL
'(It's) theirs (their food)'

Like the general classifier *at*, the alimentary *an* is mostly used as uninflected form, however, it may also occur without an overt possessee, as in (4.41) or (4.42).

Languages that subcategorise general vs. consumable nouns within the group of indirect possession are common in Oceanic, such as Fagani, Vaturanga, Bugotu, Aroma and Manam (Lichtenberk 1983). The form *an-* is reminiscent of Manam's alimentary classifier *?ana*. Unlike Manam, however, the alimentary classifier in Lele mostly precedes the possessee. Lele *an-* is likely a reflex of the POc noun **kan-an* 'food' where **k* (oral grade) is reflected as zero synchronically⁴ (see also Lynch et al. 2002, 78-79). Notably, the alimentary classifier exhibits some flexibility with respect to its placement which is not the case for the general classifier.

4.4.3 Body Parts

Body parts are usually directly possessed, indicating the close relationship between the possessor and the possessee. See Table 4.4 for a selection of body part terms.

⁴Thanks to Rene van den Berg for his advice on this topic.

Stem	Gloss
<i>pal-</i>	'head'
<i>mar-</i>	'eye'
<i>ndohongo-</i>	'nose'
<i>poho-</i>	'mouth'
<i>ndelnga-</i>	'ear'
<i>ngundu-</i>	'nape'
<i>perkol-</i>	'throat'
<i>haue-</i>	'shoulder'
<i>sus-</i>	'breast' (direct and indirect possible)
<i>ndrine-</i>	'stomach'
<i>yere</i>	'heart, liver'
<i>nim-</i>	'arm, hand'
<i>ndeke-</i>	'leg, foot'
<i>ndrei-</i>	'blood' (indirectly possessed form: <i>ndrai</i>)

Table 4.4: A selection of body part terms

First person singular possessive suffixes trigger vowel assimilation in some nouns. See Table 4.5.

Stem	Singular possessive paradigm
<i>pal-</i> ‘head’	<i>polo</i> / <i>pal-(e)m</i> / <i>pal-(e)n</i>
<i>mar-</i> ‘eye’	<i>moro</i> / <i>mar-(e)m</i> / <i>mar-(e)n</i>
<i>ndeke-</i> ‘leg, foot’	<i>nduko</i> / <i>ndeke-m</i> / <i>ndeke-n</i>

Table 4.5: Vowel assimilation in body part terms

Examples (4.43-4.45) showcase body part terms in textual environments.

- (4.43) *e mui range e-Indri su poho-su ruktan, aka mui aka*
 and dog today 2SG-see 3PL **mouth-3PL** black DEM.DIST dog DEM.DIST
aka hanu su=to wong
 DEM.DIST before 3PL=HAB speak
 ‘And the dogs you see today whose mouths are black,
 those were the dogs that used to speak before.’ (dog.speaks.70)

- (4.44) *i-pwei te heti ndeke-m rut rut rut e*
 3-say PRAG take.2SG **leg-2SG.POSS** hurry hurry hurry and
tor=k-au
 1DU.INCL=IRR-move
 ‘He said “Quick, hurry hurry (lit. take your leg) and let us go!” ’
 (benjamin.coconut.090)

Some forms undergo vowel assimilation when first person possessive -o is attached. See example (4.45). The base forms are *nim-* ‘arm, hand’, *ndeke-* ‘leg, foot’ and *pal-* ‘head’.

- (4.45) *e-lik-i nimo sih nduko sih e polo ke*
 NSG-put-TR **arm.1SG.POSS** one **leg.1SG.POSS** one and **head.1SG.POSS** only
e-heti
 NSG-take.NSG
 ‘Take (away) one of my arms and one of my legs and take only my
 head.’ (potopi.coconut.10)

The distribution of vowel assimilation for the possessive forms is idiosyncratic to the nouns.

Two body parts can be possessed both directly and indirectly. One is *blood*, which has two allomorphs, *ndrai* (indirect) and *ndrei-* (direct). The

difference between the two forms is likely that blood can be both a body part (in which case it is possessed directly), and an alienable good, such as animal blood (in which case it is possessed indirectly). In examples (4.46-4.48) the blood that is referred to in the story belongs to a person, to the same person. Yet both forms are used.

(4.46) *motou i-le i-mundriti nime-n e ndrai i-muh ri*
 knife 3-go 3-cut hand-3SG.POSS and **blood** 3-flow LOC
 ‘The knife went and cut her arm and blood flowed from there.’
 (100213.miriam.potopi.menuai.015)

(4.47) **ndrai** *at-m aka e i-me mBusik yowuru marmou*
blood POSS-2SG.POSS DEM.DIST and 3-come emerge 1DU.EXCL 2.people
 ‘That blood of yours has produced us two people.’
 (100213.miriam.potopi.menuai.047-048)

(4.48) *e i-spwih ndrei-n le ri*
 and 3-wipe **blood-3SG.POSS** go LOC
 ‘And she wiped her blood at it.’ (100213.miriam.potopi.menuai.017)

It is likely that both forms for ‘blood’ were used in distinct contexts; however, this knowledge slowly fades with the increasing use of Tok Pisin. The second noun which can occur in both possessive construction types is *sus* ‘breast’, see examples (4.49) and (4.50).

(4.49) **sus at-(e)n te oko, mandhe**
 breast POSS-3POSS PRAG DEM.PROX small
 ‘Her breasts are like this, small.’ (pat.sus.10)

(4.50) **sus-n aka mandhe hepe**
 breast-3POSS DEM.DIST small a.little
 ‘Her breasts are a bit small.’

4.4.4 Kinship Terms

In any society around the world kinship classification functions to structure the social world and mirror social roles, rights and obligations. The kinship terms applied to the individual kinship types reveal, in part, these social roles by grouping or dividing certain relatives. Ideally, there is a one-to-one correspondence between kin classification and social role. However,

any ideal cultural pattern can only be contrasted with the background of social reality, social change and personal choice, which are becoming increasingly relevant to tribal societies. Table 4.6 gives the kinship terms and their respective kin types.

Evidently there are several terms which express the same concept of ‘ancestor’: *mbutin*, *kipan*, *sersere* and *yayin*. These are all terms which today are hardly used anymore and are becoming obsolete. It was suggested that these terms differentiate degrees of generational remoteness, but comments on the use of the terms were too inconsistent. These terms also require further study. Lele very likely had a fine-grained system of kinship terms that graduated several generations but this system, along with many terms for customary rituals, is in decline.

There are no birth order names in Lele as otherwise found in Manus languages (cf. Schokkin 2014 for Paluai). There are only a few reference terms for the birth order. The term *ndihou*, ‘the first-born’, is by birth the successor to the chief. The *mburndue* is the second-born and the successor to the first-born son. There are no intermediate terms up to the last-born, *kopwan*, who closes the line of succession. These terms, like kinship terms, can also be directly possessed.

4.4.4.1 Linguistic Characteristics of kinship Terms.

As a subclass of nouns, kinship terms can be possessed. The vast majority of kinship terms can be directly possessed. See Table 4.7 for *tam* ‘father’ as example:

Two kinship terms are possessed indirectly only, *mensou* ‘in-law’ and *pwelpwal* ‘cross-cousin’⁵. It can be speculated that the more elaborate marking grammatically also mirrors a more distant relationship among relatives.

See examples below.

(4.51) *mensou at-(e)m oho?*
 in-law POSS-2SG.POSS where

⁵Similarly, in Paluai terms *polam* ‘in-law’, *pwai* ‘cross-cousin’, but also *pên* ‘daughter’ are possessed indirectly, cf. Schokkin 2014.

Kinship Term	English equivalent	Comments
tumbu-	ancestor	
mengbu-	grandchild	only used by grandmother
tete	father, father's brother (affectionate)	reciprocal, also used with male name prefix Po-
tam-	father, father's brother	
nane-	mother, mother's sister, father's sister's daughter	reciprocal, also used with female name prefix Pi-
yahi, yahe-	mother's brother, sister's child (male speaking)	reciprocal
tue-	father's brother, father's sister's son	also used with male name prefix Po-
ndere-	sibling of same sex	reciprocal
viso-	sibling of different sex	reciprocal
ndukto-	father's sister, father's sister's daughter	nano also used
ndur-	child, sibling's child	tendency to call all children of the ascending generation ndur-, regardless whether descendant from parallel or cross sibling link
nambulu-	spouse	reciprocal
nawe-	spouse	reciprocal
mensou	in-law	indirectly possessed
sou-	in-law	directly possessed
pwelpwal	distant cross-cousin	offspring from a cross-sibling link in the parent generation, a distant cross-cousin, joking relationships were common in the past)
tato	grandmother, mother's sister	reciprocal
papu	grandfather	
mbutin	ancestor	term is present, but hardly used
kipan	ancestor	term is present, but hardly used
sersere	ancestor	'family tree'
yayan	ancestor	relationship furthest apart, past this degree, marriage is possible (ca. 13th or 14th degree)
yayin	ur-ancestor	original ancestor who is connected to the clan land, forefather (Tok Pisin 'as ples man')
ndoso-	mother's brother's daughter, brother's daughter	
	daughter of sibling of opposite sex	
ngundre-	MBS, BS, SlSS	both <i>ndoso-</i> and <i>ngundre-</i> denote the sex of the kin, while there is no gender distinction for biological children

Table 4.6: Lele kinship terms

<i>tam-</i> 'father'	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	tom-o	tam-(e)m	tam-(e)n
DU	tam-toro	tam-wuru	tam-moro	tam-soro
PL	tam-tu	tam-wu	tam-mu	tam-su

Table 4.7: *tam-* 'father' with possessive suffixes

'Where is your in-law?'

(4.52) *pwelpwal at-su i-los.*
 cross-cousin POSS-3PL 3SG-fall

'Their cross-cousin died.' (pwelpwal 014)

In addition, *mensou* 'in-law' also has a morphological form that is used in direct possession, which is *sou*, as in *sou-m* 'your in-law' or *sou-o* 'my in-law'⁶. For some cases a 1st person possessor is unmarked, as in *ndere* '(my) sibling of same sex' (*ndere-m*, *ndere-n*, *ndere-toro* etc.).

The majority of kinship terms is possessed directly.

Lele kinship terms may also be used with an *associative plural*, denoting the kin referred to, the focal referent, and all associated relatives or in-laws. The Lele use of the associative plural agrees with the characteristics of associative plurals described in Moravcsik (2003). See example (4.53-4.54).

(4.53) *al pwai ndro tue-n su!*
 go say LOC uncle-3SG.POSS 3PL

'Go and speak with her father's brother and all that belong to him!'

(pipalndren.087)

(4.54) *sou-n su*
 in-law-3SG.POSS 3PL

'All of his in-laws and those that belong to them'

Associative plurals in Lele are used to establish and refer to a group associated with an individual or few individuals. These associative plural con-

⁶The reasons for this variation, including the meaning of the apparent prefix *men-* have to remain for future research. The term used most extensively is *mensou*.

structions refer to specific individuals and all associated people, not necessarily kins people, but all who live with the focal referent. In that respect the use of associative plural differs from Moravcsik's description. Lastly, kinship terms have the use of associative plural in common with personal names.

4.4.4.2 Nursery Forms and Special Address Forms

The term *tete* 'father' might have been a nursery form once, considering its reduplicative form, but is now used by both children and adults, it is almost always used in direct address only.

There is only one form that differs for direct address and plain reference form

- *yahi* 'mother's brother, direct address'
- *yahe* - 'mother's brother, reference'

The reason for this special form is unclear, since it is the father's line that is most powerful; perhaps this is a remnant of an earlier matriarchal society⁷.

4.4.5 Nouns in Direct and Indirect Possession Constructions

The semantic distinction of inalienable vs. alienable may be congruent with its grammatical mirror image direct vs. indirect possessive construction, but there are also cases of the semantic and morphosyntactic diverging tiers. However, this apparent mismatch may in fact be semantically motivated. For example, whereas kinship terms are generally possessed directly, the terms *pwelpwal* 'cross-cousin' and *mensou* 'in-law' are both possessed indirectly (cf. §4.4.4).

Furthermore, there are a couple of nouns denoting everyday items that can be possessed either directly or indirectly. The word for fire, for example, is either *mwan*, which can only be possessed indirectly with the use of

⁷Throughout PNG the mother's brother is of great importance in society, see, for example, Telban (1998) for the Sepik area.

the possessive particle *at*, or *mwun-* (see example 4.23), which is directly possessed. These forms are clearly related morphologically, yet they differ slightly, the reason for this possibly being based on the different uses for fire⁸.

As I only heard the directly possessed form in one story, my hypothesis is as follows. While fire may occur naturally it can also be kindled and utilised for cooking food. It is likely that the plain form *mwan* is used for naturally occurring fires, since *mwan* is also morphological part of *mwandri* ‘sun’. The more complex form *mwun-*, on the other hand, is used for a fire that was lit on purpose. This hypothesis also agrees with the analysis that personal items and products can be marked directly in possessive constructions. A few examples of nouns that can be possessed directly and indirectly can be seen in table 4.8. The first item is the indirect default form, the second form is the form used for direct possession which sometimes differs slightly.

<i>mburer, mburia-</i>	‘work’
<i>mwan, mwun-</i>	‘fire’
<i>ndop, ndop-</i>	‘basket, bag’
<i>salou, salue-</i>	‘clothes’

Table 4.8: Directly and indirectly possessed nouns

4.4.6 Numeral Classifiers

To recapitulate, the first type of nominal subcategorisation subdivided nouns into common, local and personal nouns. A second subcategorisation was made for the different types of possession constructions that nouns may occur in. The third and last type of nominal subcategorisation is the choice of classifiers that nouns select. Numeral and possessive classifiers

⁸When I asked speakers about the difference between these two forms (along with other nouns that occur both in direct and indirect possessive constructions), I was told that the direct possessive form is just the archaic form, and when someone uses it he or she knows the ‘bun tok ples’, the archaic language of the ancestors. It is likely that there were many more directly possessed forms that are used in indirect possessive constructions today. I assume the reason for the preference of indirect over direct possession is that it is morphologically simpler than the directly possessed forms. Morphological stem changes occur only in direct possession.

are commonly found in Oceanic languages. In the Admiralties they have been documented for Seimat (Wozna & Wilson 2005), Loniu (Hamel 1994) and to a very limited extent also in Paluai (Schokkin 2014). The use of numeral classifiers, however, is in decline generally, mostly due to the overwhelming presence of Tok Pisin in the area. Numeral classifiers are used in expressions of quantification. The semantic boundaries between the classifiers and their usage are difficult to define as speakers heavily disagree on these matters. Most numeral classifiers could only be collected during elicitation. Textual examples are scarce. Numeral classifiers are suffixes that attach to the numeral. For an overview of numeral classifiers see §10 and for a list of the individual classifiers, see tables 10.2 and 10.3. There are 19 numeral classifiers that were elicited with speakers. Classifiers are either used as modifiers to their head nouns, as in (4.55), (4.56) and (4.57). Finally, example (4.58) illustrates the use of a numeral classifier as a full noun.

(4.55) *wum mar-hom*
house two-clf.house
'two houses'

(4.56) *su=la riu ndol he-ie*
3PL=go pull canoe one-NCLF:canoe
'They went to row one canoe' (240212.potou.haus.boi.tungou.19)

(4.57) *pihi tasou ho-mou teke yo*
woman old.person one-NCLF:human like 1SG
'an old woman as I am' (menuai.010)

(4.58) *e ho-mou i-ndramet ndaken e ho-mou aka*
and one-NCLF:human 3-human true and one-NCLF:human DEM.DIST
yi menuai Napele
3SG eagle PN
'And one person was a real human and the other person was the eagle Napele.' (menuai.041)

It appears to be only the human classifier *-mou* that may function as a full NP. Other classifiers are always used as modifiers to nouns.

The nineteen numeral classifiers in Lele have several underlying semantic parameters. The most prominent parameters are classification accord-

ing to physical properties, the purpose or function of objects and arrangement of objects (see §10.1.19). The human classifier *-mou* is almost the only classifier still in use in everyday conversation.

4.5 Nominalised Forms

Nominalisation is defined as a morpho-syntactic process that derives a nominal element from a verb or an adjective. The following strategies of nominalisation can be found in Lele:

Strategies:

1. Nominalisation by suffixation with *-(y)a*
2. Nominalisation by suffixation with *-ai*
3. Reduplication
4. Conversion

Nominalised forms are not commonly encountered in everyday speech. The only morphologically marked forms of nominalisation are action nominalisations, i.e. deverbal nouns⁹. Adjectives may act as nouns via conversion. The following forms of nominalisation have been elicited in part. The most frequent form of nominalisation is conversion. Nominalised forms may be possessed, as explained below.

4.5.1 Nominalisation with suffix *-(y)a*

The pattern of nominalisation below involves the nominaliser *(y)a*¹⁰. Almost all nominalised forms with *-(y)a* are derived from transitive verbs. One exception in Table 4.9 is the nominalisation *tuke-a* ‘purposeful walking’ which is derived from *toki* ‘walk’. However, despite this exception, all nominalisations derived with suffix *-(y)a* share the feature of transitivity. Thus, in the case of *tuke-a* the intransitive verb *toki* is both nominalised and transitivised, the obligatory argument being the cause or purpose of

⁹See also Comrie & Thompson (2007, p. 335ff.).

¹⁰The form of the nominaliser varies between *-ya* and *-(y)a*. Further research is needed.

the action, as in *tuke-a pamei* ‘the search for betelnuts (lit. the purposeful walking in order to find betelnuts)’.

See Table 4.9 for a list of examples of nominalisations with suffix *-(y)a*.

Nominalised Form	Nominalised Construction	derived from verb
<i>tir-(y)a</i> ‘weaving’	<i>tiri-a ndop</i> ‘the weaving of baskets’	<i>tiri</i> ‘weave’
<i>nom-(y)a</i> ‘grating’	<i>nomi-a niu</i> ‘the scraping of coconuts’	<i>nomwi</i> ‘grate’
<i>san-(y)a pamei</i> ‘cutting’	<i>sani-a pamei</i> ‘the cutting of betelnut’	<i>sani</i> ‘cut’
<i>kan-(y)a</i> ‘the eating’	<i>kani-a ndramet</i> ‘the eating of men’	<i>kan</i> ‘eat’ (verb now obsolete)
<i>surh-a</i> ‘the washing’	<i>surh-a kolau</i> ‘the washing of clothes’	<i>surhi</i> ‘wash’
<i>sohi-a</i> ‘the waiting’	<i>sohi-a sopwat</i> ‘the waiting for help’	<i>soho / soho-ni</i> ‘wait’
<i>tuke-a</i> ‘purposeful walking’	<i>tuke-a pamei</i> ‘the walking to find betelnuts’	<i>toki</i> ‘walk’
<i>tar-(y)a</i> ‘paddling’	<i>tari-a ndol</i> ‘the paddling of canoes’	<i>tar</i> ‘give away, losen’
<i>tan-(y)a</i> ‘the killing’	<i>tani-a ndramet</i> ‘the killing of men’	derived source unknown
<i>manu-a</i> ‘claim’	<i>manu-a pwan</i> ‘the land claim’	derived source unknown

Table 4.9: A selection of nominalisations with suffix *-(y)a*

The function of nominaliser *-(y)a* is to derive a noun from a transitive verb with object retained in the nominalised form. It is reminiscent of the possessive preposition *at* which follows the possessee. Similarly, construct suffixes, or pertensive markers, have been documented in various Micronesian and Eastern Melanesian languages and occur in possessive constructions (see Lynch 2012 on Anejom, Vanuatu and Brill 2013 on Nêlêmwa, New Caledonia). In these languages, the possessed noun is marked with a construct suffix, followed by the possessor. In Lele the nominalised construction with *-(y)a* is relatively fixed and cannot be interrupted, reminiscent of possessive constructions: *manua pwan oto* ‘my land claim’, *tukea pamei* ‘purposeful walking, search for betelnuts’, *sohia sopwat* ‘the waiting for help’.

4.5.2 Nominaliser *-ai*

Only two forms have been found that derive nominalised forms from verbs with *-ai*. The word *tukeai* ‘the journey’ is derived from *toki*. It is similar in form to *tukea* ‘purposeful walking’. The second form is *hengen-ai* ‘fostering’ which is derived from *hengeri* ‘to give, raise, foster’. The word *hengenai* was only found as a modifier in the expression *ndur hengenai* ‘foster child’. The suffix *-ai* is not productive in current speech any longer.

4.5.3 Nominalisation by Reduplication

Reduplication may also result in nominalisation, as in *yen-yan* ‘food’, derived from *yan* ‘eat’. *yenyan* is also used as a verb. The word *henghang* ‘the giving’, is derived from *hang/heng* ‘give’. To date, no other cases of nominalisation by reduplication have been recorded.

4.5.4 Conversion

A few nominalised forms were derived by conversion, but in different ways. An interesting conversion comes from verb forms marked for the Irrealis, such as *k-met* ‘death’ and *k-me* ‘the coming’¹¹.

Another form of conversion can be observed in non-singular verbs of conjugation class II, such as *tatuni* ‘to support’, *tapeap* ‘to send something’ or *tahondrhondr* ‘to write’. All forms may also be used as nouns, for example *tatuni* ‘the support’, *tapeap* ‘the parcel’ and *tahondrhondr* ‘the writing / the written text’.

4.6 Summary Table: Criteria for Nouns

Table 4.10 offers a summary of the morphological and syntactic properties of nouns in Lele. Nominalisations are excluded from this table due to lack of data. Further research is needed. The morpho-syntactic properties displayed comprise: (i) their ability to act as core arguments, (ii) whether they are countable and (iii) able to occur alongside numeral classifiers; (iv)

¹¹Referring to the second coming of Jesus, as in *k-me at Jesus* ‘the coming of Jesus’, which is not a traditional textual source, but shall still be mentioned here.

whether they can form associative plural and (v) whether they can be modified by adjectives. The table also shows (vi) whether the nouns of the respective subclass can occur with the directional and locational preposition *ndro*; or (vii) with other prepositions. Finally, Table 4.10 shows whether the subclass of nouns can take pronouns as determiners and whether they can occur in possession constructions. Cells with question marks indicate a lack of data and need for further research.

	Common nouns	Human nouns	Personal Names	Locational nouns	Relational nouns	Body parts	Kinship terms
(i) as core argument	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes
(ii) countable	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes
(iii) num. classifiers	yes	yes	no	yes	no	?	?
(iv) assoc. Plural	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
(v) with adjectives	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
(vi) preposition <i>ndro</i>	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
(vii) other prepositions	yes	yes	yes	yes	?	no	yes
(viii) pronouns as determiners	yes	yes	no	no	no	?	yes
(ix) possession	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table 4.10: A summary of noun class criteria

4.7 The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase is the syntactic unit that occupies argument slots in the clause. It consists of the noun and its modifiers. Nominal modifiers are mostly postnominal. The noun phrase has one prenominal slot which may be occupied by a non-obligatory determiner. Table 4.11 depicts the structure of a Lele noun phrase. The noun phrase constituents in the table may be potentially occupied but complex noun phrases are rarely found.

Slot	I	II	III	IV	V
Constituent	DET	NOUN	POSS	NUM	ADJ

Table 4.11: The structure of the noun phrase in Lele

The first slot in the noun phrase structure may be occupied by a determiner, either a pronoun, the possessive classifier or rarely also a numeral classifier. The head noun can be simple or complex. A complex noun is, for example, *manua pwan* (claim land) ‘land claim’. The head noun is followed by the possessor, the numeral or numeral classifier and the adjective, occupying the last slot in the noun phrase.

4.7.1 I Determiners

There are no articles in Lele, however, pronouns may be used as determiners, marking person and number, but also definiteness. If the determiner slot is occupied by a personal pronoun, it indicates person, number and definiteness of the subject¹². See examples (4.59-4.61).

- (4.59) *wah, [yi pihin]_{NP} ndaken pwi terpeh*
 wah 3SG woman true NEG how
 ‘Wah! Isn’t that woman fake?’ (powat.nambis.026)

- (4.60) *[wou mbuei]_{NP} ama*
 2SG crocodile come
 ‘You crocodiles, come!’ (snake.northcoast.160a)

- (4.61) *i-le kun [su ndran masih kene]_{NP}*
 3-go carry 3PL water all INTS

¹²Cf. Hamel (1994) for pronouns as determiners.

'She went and carried all the water.' (pipalnandren.117)

Examples (4.62-4.63) both refer to specific persons in the individual stories.

(4.62) [**yi** *pihin*]_{NP} *aka* *i-nges* *le pelengan*
3SG girl DEM.DIST 3-climb.tree.3SG go up
'That woman climbed up.' (100213.miriam.potopi.menuai.179)

(4.63) [**yi** *mandhe*]_{NP} *i hian e* [**yi** *mandren*]_{NP}, *pormeruan solen*
3SG younger 3 good and 3SG older greed many
'The younger one was good and the older one, he was very greedy.'
(greedy.brother.003)

Plurality is optionally marked through the pronominal placement of the third person plural marker *su*. Example (4.64) contains two instances of the 3rd person Plural *su*. The first instance marks plural as it is preceding its head noun. The second instance acts as a pronominal subject clitic attached to the verb.

(4.64) [**su** *kamel*]_{NP} *su=to ta-tne*, *su=to ta-i*
3PL man 3PL=HAB HAB-stand 3PL=PROG beat-TR
'The men usually stand, they usually beat (sago).'
(yipi.kastamwok.009-011)

Other pronouns may also be used as determiners, such as *soro* '3DU', as in (4.65).

(4.65) [**soro** *ndramet marmou*]_{NP}, [**soro** *ndere soro*]_{NP}
3DU man two-NCLF:human 3DU sibling.same.sex 3DU
'two men, two brothers' (potopi.coconut.02)

The determiner slot may be filled with the human classifier for one person *hom*. By default, numeral classifiers follow their head noun. The phonologically reduced form of otherwise postnominal *ho-mou* 'one - NCLF:human' is an exception to the rule. See examples (4.66) and (4.67).

(4.66) *i-te kat* [**hom** *ndramet*]_{NP} *pwi*
3-PRAG have(TP) one.person person NEG
'There was no person there.' (man.dog.049)

- (4.67) *Pilapan* [**hom** *pihi* *Germany*]_{NP}
 PN one.person woman GN
 ‘Pilapan is a German woman.’ (pat.sus.24)

Lastly, the determiner slot may be occupied by the possessive classifier for food *an-*. See §4.4.2 for more on indirect possession. See example (4.68).

- (4.68) [**an-(e)m** *yenyan*]_{NP}
 CLF.food-2SG.POSS food
 ‘your food’

4.7.2 III Possessors

Slot II in the noun phrase is occupied by possessors. For a discussion on nominal possession see §4.4.

- (4.69) [*mar* **papei**]_{NP}
 eye entrance
 ‘the door (of a house)’

- (4.70) [*wum* **at** **Masusu**]_{NP}
 house POSS PN
 ‘Masusu’s house’

- (4.71) [*hom* *kous* **oto**]_{NP}
 one.person friend 1SG.POSS
 ‘a friend of mine’

4.7.3 IV Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers usually follow their head noun and possessor. Since the use of numeral classifiers is rapidly in decline, plain numerals often tend to be used instead. For a discussion on numeral classifiers see §10. See example (4.72) to illustrate the position of numeral classifiers within the noun phrase.

- (4.72) *yo=u-le* *Lorongou por ndro* [*kous* *oto* **mar-mou**]_{NP}
 1SG=1SG-go GN with LOC friend 1SG.POSS two-NCLF:human
 ‘I went to Lorengau with two friends of mine.’ (elicited)

4.7.4 V Adjectives

Adjectives occupy the last slot in the noun phrase. For a closer look at adjectives see §5. Examples (4.73-4.75) show the place of adjectives within the noun phrase in Lele.

(4.73) [*rang sih hian*]_{NP}
day one good
'One fine day.' (used in stories)

(4.74) *e [ndramet ndeke-n momen]*_{NP} *aka hiti kei i-re-i*
and man leg-3SG.POSS bad DEM.DIST take.3SG tree 3-hit-TR
'And the man with the bad leg took a log of wood and hit him (the eagle).'

(menuai.101)

(4.75) ? [*kous oto ho-mou hian*]_{NP}
friend 1SG.POSS one-NCLF:human good
? 'A good friend of mine.'

While examples (4.73) and (4.74) are acceptable, example (4.75) appeared to be less acceptable to consultants, which indicates that three occupied postnominal positions are dispreferred in Lele.

4.7.5 Noun Phrase Syntax

The focus particle *ke* is widely used in Lele. It may occur following any word which is in its scope, also within phrases. Compare examples (4.76) and (4.77).

(4.76) [*ndramet ke ho-mou*]_{NP}
man FOC one-NCLF:human
'only one man'

(4.77) [*ndramet ho-mou ke*]_{NP}
man one-NCLF:human FOC
'only one man'

The syntactic flexibility of *ke* does not apply to demonstratives, which either precede or follow noun phrases, but never occur within noun phrases. See examples (4.78-4.79).

(4.78) **oko** [hom ndr amet]_{NP} te ta pehena kul oto?
 DEM.PROX one.person person PRAG HAB steal breadfruit 1SG.POSS
 'Is there a person that keeps stealing my breadfruits?'
 (greedy.brother.024)

(4.79) e sor=to tatne [popwe sel mbukei]_{NP} aka
 and 3DU=PROG stand shell shell(TP) big.clamshell DEM.DIST
 'And the two were standing in front of that big clam shell.' (men-
 uai.040)

Noun phrases are joined with the use of the general conjunction e 'and', as in (4.80).

(4.80) [[Pipalndren]_{NP} e [ndor-n pihin mandehe ke]_{NP}]_{NP}
 PN and child-3SG.POSS girl young FOC
 'Pipalndren and her young daughter.'

Constituents of noun phrases can be negated, see examples (4.81) and (4.82).

(4.81) ndr amet **ndelnga-n pwi**
 man ear-3SG.POSS NEG
 'a deaf man (lit. a man without ears)'

(4.82) ir ta-tne ke lopohonum aka **salue-n pwi**
 COP.3SG PROG-stand only FOC DEM.DIST clothes-3SG.POSS NEG
 i-ro
 3-COP
 'Now she was just standing outside of the house without her clothes.'
 (pwelpwal.107)

Chapter 5

Adjectives

Adjectives are known to be a “notorious swing-category in languages” (Givon 1979, 13). They may be noun-like or verb-like; they may share properties of both word classes or they may share none and establish properties entirely specific to the class of adjectives. Their function is to modify nouns (and sometimes also verbs when used as adverbs) and express qualities or attributes of objects. In Oceanic languages adjectives are typically a subclass of verbs (Guérin, *forthc.*). In Lele, however, adjectives are more noun-like which can be seen from the fact that they take possessive marking and cannot take any verbal markers except for person / number in adjectival predication, where they occupy the predicate slot in a verbless clauses. Lele has a quite rich inventory of adjectives with ca. 87 specimen. Table 5.1 gives a selection of adjectives sorted by their semantic types following Dixon 2004¹.

Most adjectives characteristically end in final *-n* which is a fossilised third person singular possessive marker².

Adjectives generally follow their head noun. The following examples show adjectives in textual contexts. Adjectives with their head nouns are highlighted with square brackets.

(5.1) *i-le talah [ndramet **hian**]*
3-go appear person good

¹Dixon (2004) mentions another semantic type of “speed” which has to be left empty here since no representatives of that category have been found in the corpus.

²Adjectives ending in *-n* are also found in Loniū (Hamel 1994 explicitly notes the fossilised possessive marker), Kele and Paluai.

Dimension	Age	Value	Colour	Physical Property	Human Propensity
<i>ndelwen</i> 'long, tall'	<i>houen</i> 'new'	<i>hian</i> 'good'	<i>peren</i> 'white'	<i>ngindhān</i> 'hot'	<i>rahian</i> 'beautiful'
<i>murai</i> 'short'	<i>saken</i> 'old'	<i>momen</i> 'bad'	<i>ruktan</i> 'black'	<i>neltun</i> 'cold'	<i>horngan</i> 'sensible'
<i>mandren</i> 'big'		<i>helian</i> 'holy, forbidden'	<i>rukat</i> 'dark, darkened'	<i>melmun</i> 'soft'	<i>peheran</i> 'clever,
<i>mandehe</i> 'small'		<i>horowan</i> 'alright'	<i>nungwan</i> 'yellow'	<i>peruan</i> 'heavy'	skilful'
<i>kameu</i> 'left'		<i>ndaken</i> 'true, correct'	<i>roruen</i> 'blue?'	<i>ngendian</i> 'painful'	<i>mukmuk</i> 'happy'
<i>singen</i> 'right'			<i>ramen</i> 'red'	<i>tungian</i> 'bitter'	
<i>mwanan</i> 'far away'				<i>naman</i> 'delicious, fat'	
<i>ndukwin</i> 'deep'				<i>kapen</i> 'tasty, sweet'	
(e.g. bowl)				<i>puruin</i> 'ripe'	
<i>muruan</i> 'deep'					
<i>melhan</i> 'wide'					
<i>solen</i> 'many'					
<i>lapene</i> 'huge'					

Table 5.1: Selection of adjectives sorted by semantic types

'He became a good person.' (greedy.brother.129)

(5.2) [*rang sih hian*]

day one good

'One fine day...' (octo.002)

(5.3) [*hangungrou momen*] *le aka ir ndon ndro su*
thought bad go DEM.DIST COP:3SG still LOC 3PL

'They also still had bad thoughts.' (pohuwai.116)

(5.4) *i-song le aka mar-(e)n le aka yi=i-Indri pleng*
3-go.inside go DEM.DIST eye-3SG.POSS go DEM.DIST 3SG=3-see garden
[*lapene pleng*], [*pleng mandren*]

huge garden garden big

'He went further inside and looked around and he saw a garden, a huge garden, a big garden.' (snake.lugos.117)

Adjectives follow their head noun and also follow numerals and numeral classifiers, as in (5.2). The only adjective found to be preceding its head noun³ is *lapene* 'huge', see example (5.4). It may also follow its head noun in the form of *lapenen* with final *-n*. The word *lapene* incidentally also refers to the size of an object and can be thus also used as a noun; *lapene pleng* may therefore mean "the size of the garden" in a different context. The function of *lapene* as an adjective is further emphasised in (5.4) by the elongated first vowel and gesturing of hands that the speaker used to mimic the huge size of the garden referred to.

In verbless predication some adjectives that refer to traits of people still retain possessive morphology and agree with their subjects in person / number. Consider the examples in (5.5).

(5.5) Adjectival Predication and Possessive Morphology

a. *yo hi-ø*

1SG good-1SG.POSS

'I am well.' (traditional)

b. *yo hia-n*

1SG good-3SG.POSS

'I am well.' (recent development)

³This is the only instance so far. All adjectives in texts as well as in elicitation followed their head nouns. More research will possibly discover more adjectives of this type.

- c. *yo ndou-**o** pwi, wou ndou-**m***
 1SG strong-1SG.POSS NEG 2SG strong-2SG.POSS
 'I am not strong, you are strong.' (elicited)
- d. *e mu ndur-**n** k-or hia-**n***
 and 2PL child-3SG.POSS IRR-COP good-3SG.POSS
 'And you children of his be (stay) good!' (pwelpwal.137)
- e. *wou horowa-**m**?*
 2SG alright-2SG.POSS
 'Are you alright?'
- f. *su mekehe-**su***
 3PL weak-3PL
 'They are weak.'
- g. *su mekehen*
 3PL thin
 'They are thin.'

Although some adjectives still exhibit possessive morphology in adjectival predication, this grammatical feature is gradually becoming obsolete and is replaced with a generic third person singular possessor in the course of which “adjective - possessive marker” sequences become reanalysed as a single morpheme⁴, compare (5.5a) and (5.5b). Example (5.5d) shows the use of an adjective in a copula clause. The sentence is taken from a story about *pwelpwal* ‘cross-cousins’ and expresses the wish of the speaker towards his cross-cousin’s children’s well-being. In some cases there are semantic differences between adjectives with final *-n* and those with a full range of possessive markers, as, for example, in *mekehe-* ‘weak’ vs. *mekehen* ‘thin’ in examples (5.5f) and (5.5g). The semantic correspondences between the two forms of adjectives appear to be idiosyncratic to the adjective. However, more research is needed.

The examples in (5.5) are all to be understood as adjectival predication. These constructions are not possessed nominalisations of the type “your goodness” or “your weakness”. Adjectives are nominalised through conversion. They occur as plain nouns and often in possessive constructions, (coding the head noun to the modifier as possessor or origin or cause) either in indirect possessive constructions with *at* or in constructions with

⁴I therefore treat adjectives with final *-n* as a single morpheme in glosses except for (5.5).

preposition *per*. Some also occur in direct possessive constructions.

(5.6) Adjectives with Nominal Function

- a. ***hian*** *at ndramet aka*
 good POSS man DEM.DIST
 ‘the goodness / kindness of that man.’
- b. *aka pwatirie o mwalih at su hian at-wu*
 DEM.DIST story or(TP) story POSS 3PL good POSS-1PL.EXCL
oko per Sopun
 DEM.PROX ASSOC GN
 ‘That story or tale belongs to our (excl.) good ones (i.e. ancestors) here in Sapon.’ (pohuwai.111-112)
- c. ***murua*** *ndas*
 deep sea
 ‘the depth of the sea’
- d. ***melhan*** *per kei*
 wide ASSOC tree
 ‘The width of the tree.’
- e. ***mandren*** *nde lapan per kor maruoh aka i-pwei,*
 big or chief ASSOC village two DEM.DIST 3-say
mwalih per kor aka teie
 story ASSOC village DEM.DIST thus
 ‘The big one or chief of those two villages said: “The story of that village goes thus”.’
- f. *wa=yi=k-i-kun-i su momen at su lau at-(e)n*
 POT=3SG=IRR-3-carry-TR 3PL bad POSS 3PL people POSS-3SG.POSS
k-i-you
 IRR-3-move.3SG
 ‘He will carry away all of his people’s sins.’
 (nt.matthew1.lele.0019)

Evidently, some adjectives are directly possessed while others are indirectly possessed. The first two examples show the use of the most common adjective in the Lele corpus, *hian*, in nominal function. Ancestors are often referred to as ‘the good ones’. Examples (5.6c) and (5.6d) are both nominalisations of adjectives of dimension. It is difficult to account for the fact that the former is coded as a direct possession construction and the latter as a prepositional construction. The individual constructions can only be regarded as idiosyncratic. In any case it can be stated that adjectives

that only occur with final *-n* cannot occur in direct possession constructions. The last two examples show the use of adjectives as nouns. Example (5.6f) illustrates the appropriation of the indigenous Lele term *momen*, ‘bad’ or ‘wrong’, for a newly introduced Christian concept of ‘sin’.

While adjectives evidently share most properties of nouns there are properties that clearly set adjectives apart from nouns. Unlike nouns, adjectives mainly function as modifiers to nouns. Furthermore, few adjectives may also take on the function of modifiers to verbs, see the examples in (5.7).

(5.7) Adjectives in adverbial function

- a. *ndran hilou ndoun*
 water run.3SG strong
 ‘the water runs fast.’ (masusu.long.305)
- b. *em pwan hian*
 sit.down.2SG down good
 ‘Sit down correctly!’ (usually said to children)

Adjectives occasionally also appear in reduplicated form for intensification: *puruin* ‘ripe’ - *puruin puruin* ‘overripe’, or *maren* ‘sharp’ - *marmaren* ‘very sharp’. These expressions are used in the same way as their simple forms. Comparative constructions as such don’t exist but are rendered with different strategies. One strategy is simple juxtaposition, recall example (5.5c) given above.

- (5.8) *yo ndou-o pwi, wou ndou-m*
 1SG strong-1SG.POSS NEG 2SG strong-2SG.POSS
 ‘I am not strong, you are strong.’

Another strategy is the use of a serial verb construction with *le* ‘go’, as in example (5.9).

- (5.9) *mah oto aka i-hian le mah at-(e)m*
 taro 1SG.POSS DEM.DIST 3-good go taro POSS-2SG.POSS
 ‘My taro is better than yours.’

Note that *le* ‘go’ cannot be marked for person in this type of construction which is evidence for the increasing grammaticalisation of ‘go’ and its

development into a preposition. Furthermore, adjectives may generally be followed by the adverb of degree *masih* ‘very’, ‘completely’ or ‘most’⁵ for augmentation or comparison. In (5.9) *hian* may be followed by *masih* for augmentation, then expressing either ‘a lot better than yours’ or simply ‘is best’. Comparative and superlative are not distinguished. See example (5.10)

- (5.10) *pihin aka i mandren nungwan, nungwan masih*
woman DEM.DIST 3 big yellow yellow all
‘That woman’s skin was yellow, completely yellow.’
(masusu.long.447-448)

Example (5.10) is from a traditional story where the hero, Masusu, marries a woman who has “yellow” skin, which probably refers to an Asian woman. Nouns may not be used in constructions of comparison.

⁵*masih* may also follow nouns and then acts as quantifier meaning ‘all of’.

Chapter 6

Adverbs

Adverbs are modifiers to verbs. They are a small open class in Lele. This class is considered open since membership with it is flexible. Adjectives, such as *hian* 'good, well', may also be used as adverbs. Words which are mainly used as adjectives are not listed in Table 6.1. Furthermore, a few words that can be used as adverbs are multifunctional in general. For example, the adverb of degree *masih* can be used with nouns and adjectives as well as with verbs. Adverbs usually follow the verb, but may also occur in clause initial position. In transitive constructions, adverbs follow the transitive verb and its object. Adverbs of time such as *muren* 'later', *range* 'today' or *malapo* 'now' often occur in clause initial position. These can be considered sentential adverbs as they modify the clause as a whole.

Table 6.1¹ gives a selection of adverbs in Lele.

¹classification based on Aikhenvald 2014, p. 242f.

Manner	Similarity	Qualification	Quantification	Time	Location
<i>teie</i> 'thus'					
<i>munie</i> 'carefully'		<i>potaies</i> 'lest'	<i>hepe</i> 'a little'	<i>ndon</i> 'still'	<i>muren</i> 'back'
<i>tahit</i> 'in vain'	<i>teke</i> 'like'		<i>le</i> 'also, as well'	<i>muren</i> 'later'	<i>hanu</i> 'front'
<i>mulhei</i> 'on its own'			<i>pwen</i> 'finished'	<i>hanu</i> 'before'	
			<i>masih</i> 'all, very, most'	<i>malapo</i> 'now'	
				<i>range</i> 'today'	

Table 6.1: A selection of adverbs

The following list of examples illustrates the use and function of adverbs.

The adverb *ndon* ‘still’ is one of the most widely used adverbs and can occur before or after the verb, but may only follow the transitive verb plus its object. See examples (6.1-6.3).

(6.1) *yo=ur po sal Lugos oko ndon*
1SG=COP:1SG do road GN DEM.PROX still
‘I am still on the road to Lugos.’ (in text message)

(6.2) *i-to ta-i yipi ndon*
3-PROG hit-TR sago still
‘He was still beating sago.’ (masusu.clouds.070)

(6.3) *June i-ta ndon Lohowai*
PN 3-COP still GN
‘June is still in Lohowai.’ (in conversation)

The adverb *tahit* generally means ‘in vain’ and follows the predicate or transitive verb and object, as in (6.4).

(6.4) *Pohuwai su=ha-soho tultul at-su tahit*
GN 3PL=NSG-wait leader POSS-3PL in.vain
‘The Pohuwai people waited for their leader in vain.’

The adverb *mulhei* can have various meanings, for example ‘just, only’, ‘on its own’, ‘for no reason’ or ‘empty’². See examples (6.5) and (6.6).

(6.5) *mburer per vanilla i-los le pwan. yowu=to po ke mulhei*
work ASSOC Vanilla 3-fall go down 1PL.EXCL=COP do FOC just
‘The vanilla business declined. Now we just survive (lit. we just are).’

(6.6) *ndramet pwi. kor ke mulhei*
person NEG village FOC just
‘No person was there. The village was empty.’

Munie expresses an action that is performed carefully, gently or quietly, as in (6.7).

(6.7) *irwu pal-n munie ke*
pull.3SG head-3SG.POSS carefully FOC
‘He pulled his head down very carefully (because there was a snake).’ (snake.lugos.043)

²It is generally used in contexts where Tok Pisin *nating* ‘nothing’ would be used.

Munie may also be used alone as an often used exclamation when someone is doing something too vigorously or when someone is too loud, as in (6.8).

- (6.8) ***munie munie!***
 gently gently
 ‘Gentle gentle!’

The adverb *hepe* may occur with nouns (with quantifier meaning) as well as with predicates. See examples (6.9) and (6.10).

- (6.9) *su=soho le i-le i-le, te me hepe pwi*
 3PL=wait go 3-go 3-go PRAG come a.little NEG
 ‘They waited for a very long time, but he did not come a bit.’
 (pohuwai.057)

- (6.10) *polo i-ngendian hepe*
 head.1SG.POSS 3-painful a.little
 ‘My head hurts a bit.’ (elicited)

The two adverbs *hanu* and *muren* are interesting in their usage since they can both take on local and temporal meanings. The adverb *hanu* can mean ‘at the front, ahead’ but also ‘before, earlier’. The adverb *muren* may mean ‘at the back, behind’ but also ‘later’. The reason for this “crossed over” view of time and space may be that one is only able to see what lies ahead and know what has already happened, therefore *hanu* denotes both ‘ahead’ and ‘earlier, before’. Likewise, one cannot see what lies at one’s back nor what is in the future. Therefore, *muren* denotes both ‘at the back’ and ‘later’. Example (6.11) illustrates the use of the two adverbs. The actions of two brothers (a chronological sequence) is perceived in terms of space.

- (6.11) *yi mandren kina ndas hanu le kah an-(e)n ni*
 3SG older go.PRF.3SG sea ahead go look.for CLF.food-3SG.POSS fish
e yi mandehe ir muren
 and 3SG younger PROG:3SG back
 ‘The older (brother) had gone ahead to the sea to look for fish and the younger remained behind.’
 (snake.lugos.017-18)

Examples (6.12) and (6.13) demonstrate the temporal use of *hanu* and *muren*.

(6.12) **hanu hanu hanu kena**
 before before before go.3PL.PRF
 ‘Very long ago.’ (referring to biblical events)

(6.13) *k-e-Indr-i wou k-le wuru muren, piso*
 IRR-NSG-see-TR 2SG IRR-see year later sibling.opposite.sex
 ‘See you in a year, my sister.’ (from a text message)

Malapo ‘now’ is usually placed in clause initial position. Recall example (3.87), p. 97:

(6.14) **malapo ha-pwasou le ndrrou tai, aka hanu su hian to**
 now NSG-call go play hit DEM.DIST before 3PL good HAB
pwasou pwakikte
 call play.jokes
 ‘Now they/we call it (lit.) “hit play”, before the ancestors called it “playing jokes”.’ (pwelpwal.059)

Similarly, *range* ‘today, nowadays’ is often found in clause initial position, but also in final position, as in (6.15). Both *malapo* and *range* can refer to ‘now, nowadays’. *malapo* ‘now’ can have punctual overtones, while *range*, derived from *rang* ‘day’, may simply mean ‘today’. In example (6.15) a story teller likes to identify himself and express that on that day he was the one who told a story.

(6.15) *e yo=u-pwatirie range, yo John Potapo*
 and 1SG=1SG-tell today 1SG PN PN
 ‘And I told a story today. I am John Potapo.’ (pat.sus.25-26)

There are several terms that express similarity. One is *teke* ‘like’ which requires an object of comparison, but is also often used as a filler word in discourse. See example (6.16) for a comparative use of *teke*.

(6.16) *ndrai at-(e)n aka, aka i-me mbusik teke*
 blood POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST DEM.DIST 3-come emerge like
neltu-n ma-ruoh
 egg-3SG.POSS PROP-two
 ‘And her blood, that had emerged (turned into something) like two eggs.’
 (menuai.028-30)

Adverb *teke* ‘like’ is also used as a filler word when the speaker is trying to collect his or her thoughts, as in (6.17).

- (6.17) *e longu sih teke tokea at-soro teke tan... sese soro*
 and something one like journey POSS-3DU like know grandmother 3DU
tan-soro ta yau mepan aka
 know-3DU HAB leave coming DEM.DIST
 ‘And one thing was, like, the journeys of the two, like, their grandmother knew that they used to come and go like that.’
 (sowe.hurhur.146)

The manner adverb *teie* ‘like this, thus’, does not necessarily require an object of comparison. However, in example (6.18) the speaker chose to let a direct quote follow *teie*.

- (6.18) *a=yi=pwei teie, wou oko am-talah pal-(e)n pere*
 POT=3SG=say like.that 2SG DEM.PROX come-appear head-3SG.POSS PREP
kamel aka
 clan DEM.DIST
 ‘And she will say thus: “You here become head of the clan there”.’
 (power.women.042-046)

- (6.19) *i-pwei te hetu kair e porou teie e i-porou kair*
 3-say PRAG take.2SG kair.tree and hold like.that and 3-hold kair.tree
teie
 like.that
 ‘He said “Take a (branch of the) Kair tree and hold it like that.” And he held it like that.’ (snake.lugos.150)

Manner adverb *teie* may also refer to an object being “like this” or “like that”, as in (6.20), an excerpt from the “breast stone” story.

- (6.20) *sus oto teie*
 breast 1SG.POSS like.this
 ‘My breast is like this.’ (pat.sus.09)

The proximal demonstrative *oko* may also be used as a manner adverb to modify a verb, as in (6.21). In the following example there are two uses of *oko*, the first as a nominal and the second as a manner adverbial demonstrative. The difference is only made by intonation.

- (6.21) *yo=ur po hosi kur oko. w=e-Indri, yo=u-hos-i*
 1SG=PROG:1SG do tie pot DEM.PROX 2SG=2SG-see 1SG=1SG-tie-TR
oko
 DEM.PROX
 'I am tying off this pot. See, I am tying it like this.'
 (wasim.saksak.001)

The adverb *potaless* expresses apprehension, suspicion or general subjective assumptions.

- (6.22) *e-mingsen-i hepe yenyant potales i-mundrul*
 2SG-make-TR a.bit food APPR 3-hungry
 'Prepare some food, lest he is hungry,' (elicited)

The concept of 'again' or 'as well' is expressed with a lexicalised form of *le* 'go'. When used in this function, *le* does not receive any marking. The adverb function should be distinguished from SVCs with *i-le* '3-go' which express that an action is performed repeatedly or for a long time. It does not denote continuity or repetition of event. Something is simply the case 'as well', as in (6.23). Or an action or event that happened at some point in the past happens again, as in (6.24).

- (6.23) *wou snel yo le yo snel*
 2SG bush.spirit 1SG as.well 1SG bush.spirit
 'You are a bush spirit, so am I, I'm a bush spirit!'
 (pihi.turur.e.taton.163)

- (6.24) *e sor=ha-ngas pamei le*
 and 3DU=NSG-climb betelnut again
 'And they climbed the betelnut tree again.'

The adverb *pwen* has completive meaning. Unlike *pomut* 'finish' it is not verbal. It may be used with verbs, as in (6.25) or clause-initial as a bridging device, as in (6.26).

- (6.25) *snel k-i-ni su pwen*
 bush.spirit IRR-3-eat:TR 3PL PRF
 'The bush spirit ate everybody completely'

- (6.26) *pwen aka tasou i-pwei te hian*
 PRF DEM.DIST old.person 3-say PRAG good
 'When that was done the old woman said "Good".'
 (sowe.hurhur.091)

The adverb *masih* can be used in various ways. While it may be used with nouns to denote ‘all’, as in (6.29), it is also often used as an adverb of degree, expressing greater intensity or superlative quality, as in example (6.28). Example (6.27) is an exclamation often heard to express approval or joy about something.

(6.27) *hian masih!*

good all

‘Very good!’ or ‘the best’

(6.28) *mah oto aka i-hian masih le mah at-(e)m*

taro 1SG.POSS DEM.DIST 3-good all go taro POSS-2SG.POSS

‘My taros are better than yours.’ (elicited)

(6.29) *lundie wum masih aka pal ndramet ke*

inside house all DEM.DIST head human FOC

‘Everywhere inside the house there were skulls.’ (masusu.long.378)

Part IV

Closed Classes

Chapter 7

Personal Pronouns

Pronouns code three persons: first, second and third person; and three numbers: singular, dual and plural. Furthermore, an inclusive - exclusive distinction is made for first person non-singular forms. Lele pronouns occur as full and as phonologically reduced pronouns. Such sets of full and reduced pronouns are common across Oceanic languages and are also documented for other Admiralties languages, such as Kele (Ross in Lynch et al. 2002) and Paluai (Schokkin 2014). A full and a reduced pronominal set has also been reconstructed for POc (Lynch et al., 2002). Lele pronouns exhibit two degrees of phonological reduction and a partly morphologically unrelated set of possessive pronominal suffixes. Table 7.1 offers an overview of the full pronouns, pronominal proclitics and pronouns in object position.

Full Pronouns				
	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	yo	wou	yi
DU	wotoro	yowuru	womoro	(i)soro
PL	wotu	yowu	womu	(i)su
Pronominal Proclitics				
SG	-	yo=	w=	yi=/i=
DU	tor=	yowur= / wur=	mor=	sor=
PL	tu=	yowu=	mu=	su=
Pronouns in Object Position				
SG	-	yo	wou	yi / i
DU	toro	wuru	moro	soro
PL	tu	yowu	mu	su

Table 7.1: Full and reduced pronouns

The morphological structure of Lele pronouns is very transparent and compositional. Morpheme *yo* codes first person exclusive. Root morpheme *wo-* can be found in all full second person pronouns. Morpheme *i* is the underlying third person pronoun. Its syntactical properties are more flexible than those of the rest of the pronominal paradigm (see §3.2.1 for more detail and examples). Third person dual *soro* and plural *su* may be optionally preceded by *i* but rarely so and only in subject function. Phoneme *s-* is found in all third person non-singular pronouns; phoneme *m-* is found in all second person non-singular forms; and phoneme *t-* is found in first person inclusive non-singular forms. Historically, plural forms likely occurred first and dual forms developed successively. It is evident that all plural contain a final *-u*. The dual forms all contain *-r-*, reflecting POc **rua* ‘two’. Furthermore, a vowel change has taken place from /u/ to /o/ in most dual forms with the exception of *yowuru* ‘1DU.EXCL’. The reasons for this vowel change could not yet be identified and require further research.

Pronouns are rarely used in their full form, as, for example, for emphasis or in isolation, as in example (7.1). The majority of pronouns occur phono-

logically reduced when they attach to verbs as proclitics (first introduced in §3.2.1 on verbal categories. Their position may alternate with markers of modality (see §3.2.3). In the cliticised pronominal forms, word-initial phonological material tends to be omitted, such as the element *wo-* in second person non-singular forms or *yo* in first person exclusive non-singular forms. First person dual exclusive may have two forms as a clitic, *yowur=* or *wur=*. Final vowels are omitted as well in dual forms and in the second person singular.

Although not all pronominal forms are phonologically reduced as clitics I analyse all pronouns preceding verbs as proclitics for reasons of consistency. Pronouns may co-occur with nouns as preposed determiners (see § 4.7 on noun phrase structure). The second reduced set of pronouns usually occurs in object position and only differs from the subject proclitics in that the final vowels are intact.

See examples (7.1-7.7) for an illustration of the use of pronouns.

- (7.1) *lapan per kor aka i-pwei womu?*
 chief ASSOC place DEM.DIST 3-say 2PL
 'The chief of that place said: "(What is the matter with) you?"
 (ngar.mui.193)
- (7.2) *sor=sap mah*
 3DU=collect taro
 'They collected some taro.'
- (7.3) *yowuru Pispomo la Lorongou*
 1DU.EXCL PN go GN
 'Pispomo and I went to Lorengau'
- (7.4) * *yowuru Pispomo yowur=la Lorongou*
 1DU.EXCL PN 1DU.EXCL=go GN
 'Pispomo and I went to Lorengau.'
- (7.5) *soro ndere-soro aka sor=la*
 3DU sibling.same.sex-3DU DEM.DIST 3DU=go
 '(As for) the two siblings, they left.' (powat.nambis.198)
- (7.6) *ey! snel a=k-me e i-k-in-i yowuru!*
 ey bush.spirit POT=IRR-come and 3-IRR-3-eat:TR 1DU.EXCL
 'Ey! The bush spirit will come and eat us!.' (snake.northcoast.103)

- (7.7) *mor=k-epti moro!*
 2DU=IRR-marry.NSG 2DU
 'Marry each other!' (snake.northcoast.121)

Examples (7.1) and (7.3) illustrate possible uses of full pronouns. Pronouns used as proclitics are clause constituents and occupy the subject slot, see (7.2). Example (7.3) illustrates the inclusory use of a pronoun¹, *yowuru Pispomo* 'Pispomo and I', which is quite common. Example (7.4) is ungrammatical; *yowuru* '1DU.EXCL' blocks the use of *yowur=* as proclitic on the verb. In other cases, however, such as (7.5), it can be observed that the proclitic is increasingly becoming obligatory. In this example the subject is topicalised, emphasised by the use of the demonstrative. Subject proclitics form one phonological unit with the verb which cannot be interrupted. Finally, examples (7.6) and (7.7) illustrate two pronouns in object position. In example (7.6) a full pronoun is used and in example (7.7) a reduced pronoun is used.

Furthermore, see sentences (7.8-7.9) for instances of full pronouns and sentences (7.10-7.11) for reduced pronouns.

- (7.8) *e yowuru ndur-m, yowuru k-or ndro wou*
 and 1DU.EXCL child-2SG.POSS 1DU.EXCL IRR-stay LOC 2SG
 'And we are your children, we will stay with you.' (menuai.052)

- (7.9) *tasou i-pwei womu? sor=pwai yowu=to po hiwene*
 old.person 3-say 2PL 3DU=say 1PL.EXCL=PROG do take.a.walk
 'The old woman said "(What is the matter with) you?" The two said
 "We are taking a walk." ' (masusu.long.587)

- (7.10) *e i-pwei te mu=k-am pelengan! su=me pelengan i-pwei*
 and 3-say PRAG 2PL=IRR-come up 3PL=come up 3-say
te mu=k-e-heti pwapwil me
 PRAG 2PL=IRR-NSG-take.NSG hod come
 'And he said "Come up!". They went up and he said "Bring the sago
 hod!'. (masusu.long.316-317)

¹See also Lichtenberk 2000.

(7.11) *a=yi=mul le i-le aka i-le me talah ndramet hian e*
 POT=3SG=return go 3-go DEM.DIST 3-go come appear person good and
sor=pokulue soro
 3DU=look.after 3DU

'He would return now and he became a good person and the two looked after each other.' (greedy.brother.129)

Note that in example (7.9) the speaker is addressing two people with the second person plural pronoun *womu*. Although dual number is frequently used it is not obligatory.

Third person singular *i* is flexible in its morphosyntactic properties, as mentioned earlier. It may function as prefix on verbs, where it triggers stem vowel assimilation or may fuse with the stem, as in (7.12). It may also function as clitic and attach to various hosts such as the pragmatic particle *te*, as in (7.13). It also functions as a free pronoun, as in the verbless predication in 7.14 where it is interchangeable with the full pronoun *yi*. Its form and function are similar to the predicate marker *i* in Tok Pisin, see especially (7.14). Evidently, the third person singular pronoun is undergoing a process of grammaticalisation.

(7.12) *e snel ir pwan aka*
 and bush.spirit COP:3SG ground DEM.DIST

'And the bush spirit was now on the ground.' (greedy.brother.087)

(7.13) *i=te hang ndere-n pwi*
 3=PRAG give sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS NEG

'He did not give anything to his brother.' (greedy.brother.008)

(7.14) *yi mandhe i hian*
 3SG younger 3 good

'The younger one was good.' (greedy.brother.003)

The fourth set of pronouns are possessive suffixes which are partly morphologically unrelated to the basic pronouns. Suppletive forms are used for singular possessor suffixes. Non-singular possessive suffixes are formally the same as the reduced pronouns in object position. See Table 7.2.

SG	-	∅ / -o	-m	-n
DU	-toro	-wuru	-moro	-soro
PL	-tu	-wu	-mu	-su

Table 7.2: Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes either attach to classifiers *at* or *an* in indirect possession or they attach directly to the possessed nouns in direct possession. The underlying form for the possessive suffixes for second and third person singular is *-m*, however, in many cases an epenthetic vowel is inserted when possessed noun or the classifier end in a consonant. Hence, throughout the thesis glosses will give *an-(e)m* ‘your food’ instead of *an-m*. For examples and discussion of nominal possession see §4.4.

Chapter 8

Demonstratives

8.1 Nominal Demonstratives

Lele uses a basic two-way distinction for nominal demonstratives:

aka - (DEM.DIST) ‘distal demonstrative’

oko - (DEM.PROX) ‘proximal demonstrative’

Nominal demonstratives immediately follow the noun phrase they modify. In the following examples, the NPs the demonstratives modify are indicated by the label _{NP}. They may also occur clause final, referring to the clause as a whole. Then they function as temporal adverbs and can be translated as “now” or “then”. On the basis of frequency of use, the distal demonstrative *aka* is also the default demonstrative. The Lele corpus contains 1000 occurrences of *aka* vs. 234 occurrences of *oko*. See examples (8.1-8.5) for general illustrations of demonstratives.

- (8.1) *i-pwei te oh ndramet*_{NP} **aka** *kina wum at-(e)n*
3-say PRAG oh man DEM.DIST go.PRF.3SG house POSS-3SG.POSS
‘She said (thought):“Oh, that man has gone to his house”.’ (masusu.long.508)

- (8.2) *i-ni [yenyang masih]*_{NP} **aka**, *i-ni pu, masih*_{NP} **aka**
3-eat:TR food all DEM.DIST 3-eat:TR pig all DEM.DIST
*i-pinisim, ndrime-n*_{NP} **aka** *le mandren masih*
3-finish(TP) abdomen-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST go big all
‘She ate all that food, ate the pig; all that, she finished off. Her belly became really big.’

(masusu.long.397)

- (8.3) *e [kor hokor]_{NP} oko ndramet ke hom ie ri*
and village one.village DEM.PROX person FOC NCLF:one.person live LOC
'And in this village, there lived only one person.' (dog.speaks.11)

- (8.4) *yo=u-hengeni [ndouo oto]_{NP} oko, aka i-me*
1SG=1SG-give.1SG strength 1SG.POSS DEM.PROX DEM.DIST 3-come
at-(e)m
POSS-2SG.POSS
'I give (away) this power of mine; that will become yours.'
(power.women.090-091)

Example (8.4) consists of two clauses and contains both demonstratives. Demonstrative *oko* in the first clause refers to the preceding NP, *ndouo oto* 'my power', while distal *aka* functions as general anaphora and subject for the second clause. It refers back to the object NP of the preceding clause.

The following example was uttered during a description of how the *pat sus*, the "breast stone" works. Young girls go to a large rock that has peculiar bumps. They touch the individual bumps on the rock that have the size they wish to have for their breasts. When the girl grows up, she will then have breasts of that size, the legend goes. The narrator was standing next to the stone, explaining thus:

- (8.5) *pat_{NP} oko i-ta hirung ndramet i-me me pwai*
rock DEM.PROX 3-HAB hear.3SG person 3-come come say
yo=u-yeling sus_{NP} oko
1SG=1SG-like.SG breast DEM.PROX
'This rock hears (when) people come to say "I would like breasts like these".'
(pat.sus.16)

Generally, the proximal demonstrative *oko* is only used for highly specific referents or objects, as in (8.3) and in (8.4), or for objects which are physically close, as in (8.5). In example (8.6) *aka* refers to the clause as a whole. In this context, the default demonstrative *aka* serves as a narrative structuring device.

- (8.6) *ir ta-tne ke lopohonum aka, salue-n pwi i-ro*
 PROG:3SG HAB-stand FOC outside DEM.DIST clothes-3SG.POSS NEG 3-COP
 ‘Now she was just standing outside of the house. She had no clothes on.’ (pwelpwal.107-110)

Demonstratives can function as full noun phrases, see examples (8.7-8.9).

- (8.7) *Pisposawan, aka_{NP} wou_{NP} !*
 PN DEM.DIST 2SG
 ‘Pisposawan, that is you!’

- (8.8) *aka_{NP} i ndramet*
 DEM.DIST 3 human
 ‘That one was a human.’ (powat.nambis.109-110)

Similar to example (8.4), in example (8.9) *aka* is used as an anaphora that refers back to the object NP of *tan-* ‘know’, which is a topicalised complement clause in this example.

- (8.9) *yi=kina mat, aka_{NP} ndere-n tan-(e)n*
 3SG=go.PRF.3SG die DEM.DIST sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS know-3SG.POSS
pwi
 NEG
 ‘That he had died, that his brother did not know.’
 (greedy.brother.042)

Demonstratives can be used alongside pronouns as modifiers with an identifying or emphatic function. See examples (8.10-8.14).

- (8.10) *i-pwei wou aka terpeh*
 3-say 2SG DEM.DIST how
 ‘She said “you there, what are you up to?” ’ (haus.boi.tungou.33)

- (8.11) *a=yi=pwei teie: wou oko am talah pal-(e)n pere*
 POT=3SG=say like.that 2SG DEM.PROX come appear head-3SG.POSS ASSOC
kamel aka
 clan DEM.DIST
 ‘And she will say thus: “You here become head of the clan there”.’
 (power.women.042-046)

- (8.12) *su=pwai te yi aka*
 3PL=say PRAG 3SG DEM.DIST
 ‘They said “This one (stone)!” (pat.lokomou.25)

(8.13) *e su aka, su yosuai kene*
 and 3PL DEM.DIST 3PL married INTS
 ‘And those (people) there, they were just married.’ (pohuwai.106)

(8.14) *w=a-re-i yo oko?*
 2SG=2SG-beat-TR 1SG DEM.PROX
 ‘You beat me? (threatening)’ (sowe.hurhur.081)

Demonstratives have a wide range of functions (see Dixon 2003, Dixon 2009b for a survey). While the underlying function of *aka* ‘DEM.DIST’ and *oko* ‘DEM.PROX’ is to point to mark geographical proximity or distance, they may also express distance or proximity in a metaphorical use, with respect to the speaker’s cognitive space, as in (8.15), where *aka* ‘DEM.DIST’ marks background information concerning a dog in the story. The highlighted actor in this part of the story, the owner of the dog, is marked with *oko* ‘DEM.PROX’.

(8.15) *e mui at ndramet aka ir wum, mui hanu masih pwi,*
 and dog POSS man DEM.DIST COP:3SG house dog before all NEG
mui ke sih aka, at ndramet oko
 dog FOC one DEM.DIST POSS man DEM.PROX
 ‘And that man’s dog was at the house, in the past there weren’t many dogs, there was only one [such] dog, this man’s.’
 (dog.speaks.25)

In Lele stories demonstratives support reference tracking and highlight thematically prominent participants (cf. Mosel 2004 for a study of Samoan). The above example exemplifies how the prominent participants or referents in the story are highlighted and one in particular, *ndramet* ‘man’ is focussed.

8.2 Local Adverbial Demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives *aka* ‘DEM.DIST’ and *oko* ‘DEM.PROX’ also function as local adverbial demonstratives, as in (8.16).

(8.16) *am oko!*
 come DEM.PROX
 ‘Come here!’ (not: come now)

In addition to the nominal demonstratives which may refer to locations, there is a dedicated local adverbial demonstrative, **ri**. See examples (8.17) and (8.18).

- (8.17) *sih te ke sih sor=ie ri, sor=ie po an-soro*
 one PRAG FOC one 3DU=stay LOC 3DU=stay do POSS.food-3DU
 ‘All the time the two stayed there, the two made their food.’
 (pihi.turur.e.taton.003)

Local adverb *ri* may also refer to an instrument, since oblique arguments are introduced with *le* ‘go’ which requires a goal (example also used in §16.3.3 on oblique arguments).

- (8.18) *e i-spwih ndrei-n le ri*
 and 3-wipe blood-3SG.POSS go LOC
 ‘And she wiped her blood with it.’ (menuai.017)

Another adverbial demonstrative, **ndi**, expresses ‘motion away from’. See (8.19) and (8.20).

- (8.19) *al ndi!*
 go away
 ‘Go away!’

- (8.20) *e ngat aka, aka ndran i-ta lundie pwan i-song*
 and hole DEM.DIST DEM.DIST water 3-COP inside ground 3-be.inside
i-hilou me ndi
 3-run come away
 ‘And it was that hole where water was inside on the bottom and where it sprang from.’ (lout.mui.031)

In some languages nominal or local adverbial demonstratives also take on a temporal meaning (Dixon 2009b, 224). That is also the case for Lele. See examples (8.21) - (8.23).

- (8.21) *i-me yau aka!*
 3-come move DEM.DIST
 ‘S/he is coming (over) now!’

- (8.22) *taim pe=yi=k-me, aka Masusu ke i-ro*
 when(TP) SEQ=3SG=IRR-come DEM.DIST PN FOC 3-COP
 ‘When she came in now only Masusu was there’ (masusu.long.193-194)

- (8.23) *pwen* **aka**, *mwalih per i pwen* **aka**
PRF DEM.DIST story ASSOC 3 PRF DEM.DIST
'Over now. The story of it is over now.' (yipi.kastamwok.024)

Chapter 9

Numerals

Eastern Admiralties languages are well known for their numeral system that forms numbers seven to nine using a subtractive system. Lele uses the subtractive morpheme *-ondr*, which Ross (1988) reconstructed as **(a)nto-* for PEAd. The counting system in Lele is a mixed system which is partly a base-ten system and partly base-six system. Table 9.1 gives an overview of the numerals in Lele from one to nineteen. For illustration purposes, the exact gloss is given including the subtractive morpheme, glossed as *SUBT*¹.

Numerals higher than one are preceded by the multifunctional prefix *ma-*. Similar to the prefix *ma-* in Loniu (Hamel 1994), Lele *ma-* occurs with numerals. However, it is also used with stative verbs, such as *ma-mwaren* ‘be alive’, or with adjectives, such as *ma-rumbuan* ‘wet’. Adjectives with prefix *ma-* may also occur without the prefix with no apparent change in meaning or use. Lastly, prefix *ma-* occurs in the interrogative *ma-seheye* ‘how much?’. I therefore analyse *ma-* as a multifunctional prefix that marks states, properties and quantities². In Table 9.1 numbers six to nine contain an epenthetic consonant, indicated as (n), to conjoin the multifunctional prefix *ma-* with the numeral base. In higher numbers this epenthetic consonant is dropped. Numerals between one group of ten and the following group of ten are two separate numerals conjoined with the conjunction *e* ‘and’. The numeral for the group of ten is followed by the numeral express-

¹In glossed examples in example sentences, numbers containing the subtractive element *-ondr* are glossed as regular numbers for ease of reading.

²It is glossed as PROP.

numeral	gloss	translation
<i>sih</i>	sih	'one'
<i>ma-ruoh</i>	PROP-two	'two'
<i>ma-toloh</i>	PROP-three	'three'
<i>ma-hahou</i>	PROP-four	'four'
<i>ma-limah</i>	PROP-five	'five'
<i>ma-(n)onoh</i>	PROP-six	'six'
<i>ma-(n)ondr-toloh</i>	PROP-SUBT-three	'seven'
<i>ma-(n)ondo-ruoh</i>	PROP-SUBTtwo	'eight'
<i>ma-(n)ondr-sih</i>	PROP-SUBT-one	'nine'
<i>ma-sungul</i>	PROP-ten	'ten'
<i>ma-sungul e sih</i>	PROP-ten and one	'eleven'
<i>ma-sungul e ruoh</i>	PROP-ten and two	'twelf'
<i>ma-sungul e tolroh</i>	PROP-ten and three	'thirteen'
<i>ma-sungul e hahou</i>	PROP-ten and four	'fourteen'
<i>ma-sungul e limah</i>	PROP-ten and five	'fifteen'
<i>ma-sungul e onoh</i>	PROP-ten and six	'sixteen'
<i>ma-sungul e ondr-toloh</i>	PROP-ten and SUBT-three	'seventeen'
<i>ma-sungul e ondo-ruoh</i>	PROP-ten and SUBT-two	'eighteen'
<i>ma-sungul e ondr-sih</i>	PROP-ten and SUBT-one	'nineteen'

Table 9.1: Numerals 1 - 19

ing the lower digit number. Thus, 'fifteen' is expressed as 'ten and five': *masungul e limah*. In these conjoined numerals property marker *ma-* occurs only once, preceding the first numeral of the compound.

Groups of ten are expressed with the suffix *-ngul* as in *ma-til-ngul* 'thirty'. In the process of forming numbers larger than 9 the numeral bases undergo phonological changes. For example, the base for 'one' is assimilated to *su* or *so*, the base for 'two' is reduced to a plain *-r-* and the base for 'three' is assimilated to *til*. See Table 9.2 for all forms for groups of ten.

Again, groups of ten are preceded by the property marker *ma-*, followed by the numeral base and the suffix *-ngul*.

Higher numbers were difficult to elicit since today Lele people hardly

numeral	gloss	translation
<i>ma-su-ngul</i>	PROP-one-DEC	'ten'
<i>ma-r-ngul</i>	PROP-two-DEC	'twenty'
<i>ma-til-ngul</i>	PROP-three-DEC	'thirty'
<i>ma-ha-ngul</i>	PROP-four-DEC	'forty'
<i>ma-lim-ngul</i>	PROP-five-DEC	'fifty'
<i>ma-non-ngul</i>	PROP-six-DEC	'sixty'
<i>ma-(n)ondr-til-ngul</i>	PROP-SUBT-three-DEC	'seventy'
<i>ma-(n)ondo-ru-ngul</i>	PROP-SUBT-two-DEC	'eighty'
<i>ma-(n)ondr-su-ngul</i>	PROP-SUBT-one-DEC	'ninety'

Table 9.2: Numerals: the decades

use higher numerals in Lele for counting. In modern day trading situations mostly Tok Pisin is used for counting, as the main market is in Manus' capital Lorengau where many languages are spoken, including mainland languages of Papua New Guinea. Hundreds are formed with the suffix *-pou*. Thus, 'one hundred' is *ma-so-pou*. See sentence (9.1) for another example. Thousands are formed with the *po-*, as in *ma-po-sih* 'one thousand'. For groups of thousand prefix *ma-* is followed by the numeral for groups of thousand and is then followed by the factor of thousand. This differs from groups of ten and groups of hundred which featured stronger phonological changes in the simple numeral bases and put the highest order number last. Further research on numerals in Lele is needed.

Lastly, examples (9.1) - (9.4) present a few numerals in textual environments.

- (9.1) *potbukei nde sumbupat per i aka... sou te mar-pou*
 money or money ASSOC 3 DEM.DIST be PRAG PROP:two-hundred
 'The money for that... was two hundred (Kina).'
 (cocoa.vanilla.sapon.023-24)

- (9.2) *Mwandrendra i-gat su lau at-(e)n ma-rngul, Masusu*
 PN 3-have(TP) 3PL people POSS-3SG.POSS PROP-twenty PN
i-gat su lau at-(e)n ma-rngul
 3-have(TP) 3PL people POSS-3SG.POSS PROP-twenty
 'Mwandrendra had twenty men and Masusu had twenty men.' (ma-

susu.clouds.007)

- (9.3) *yo=kun-pwai* **ma-toloh**, *nde?*
1SG=PRF.1SG-say PROP-three TAG

'I have told three, haven't I?' (dog.speaks.02)

- (9.4) *per sih k-le* **ma-(n)ondoruoh** *e* **ma-(n)onoh** *k-ro e*
ASSOC one IRR-go PROP-eight and PROP-six IRR-COP and
i-k-i-hit-i **ma-ruoh**
3-IRR-3-get.3SG-TR PROP-two

'And one day only eight (sago bags) would be left. And then six would remain and then he would get another two.' (menuai.088)

Chapter 10

Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers are quite common in Oceanic languages and are used in expressions of quantification¹. Though wide-spread, numeral classifiers are in decline in many languages. Especially the growing significance of Tok Pisin has detrimental effects on the use of classifiers. The numeral bases are similar to the bases used in plain numbers higher than ten. See Table 10.1.

<i>ha/ho/he</i>	'one'
<i>r(u)</i>	'two'
<i>til/tul</i>	'three'
<i>ha</i>	'four'
<i>lim</i>	'five'
<i>(n)on</i>	'six'
<i>(n)ondrtil</i>	'seven'
<i>(n)ondor</i>	'eight'
<i>(n)ondrs</i>	'nine'
<i>sungul</i>	'ten'

Table 10.1: Numeral bases in numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers in Lele are suffixes attached to their numerals (type ii in Aikhenvald 2003, 105 ff.). Numeral 'one' has the forms *ha*, *ho* or *he* in numeral classifiers, contrasting with the plain numerals. There are nine-

¹For plain numerals, see the preceding section (9).

teen numeral classifiers that I was able to collect and that people were able to recall. These classifiers are hardly still in use. Therefore, sometimes paradigms must remain incomplete. Tables [10.2](#) and [10.3](#) on the following page give an overview of the numeral classifiers found in Lele:

Table 10.2: Numeral Classifier Suffixes

Bundles	Canoes, trees	Money	humans	houses	plates, speeches	bunches	days	villages, places	roads, paths
<i>-kou</i>	<i>-ie</i>	<i>-but</i>	<i>-mou</i>	<i>-hum</i>	<i>-ndre</i>	<i>-nem/- nam</i>	<i>-ping</i>	<i>-kor</i>	<i>-sal/-sel</i>

Table 10.3: Numeral Classifier Suffixes Cont.

rivers	pieces of meat, fish, taro	lengthy parts	individual leaves	bundles of leaves	knives, axes	baskets	groups of trees
<i>-keh/-kah</i>	<i>-kl/-kal</i>	<i>-nga/-nge</i>	<i>-kep/-kap</i>	<i>-smwai/ -smwei</i>	<i>-pel/-pal</i>	<i>-hat/-het</i>	<i>-pet/-pat</i>

Numeral classifiers are suffixed to numerals. In some cases this results in a vowel change in the classifier. This is especially the case for the forms for ‘two’ and ‘eight’, both of which contain the roots for ‘two’ (POc *rua, Lele *ruoh*), but it can also be observed in some forms for ‘one’. The stem vowel change is always /a/ to /e/. As in plain numerals, numeral classifiers higher than one are preceded by the property marker *ma-*.

- *ha-nem* ‘one branch of fruits’, *mar-nem* ‘two branches of fruit’, but *matil-nam* ‘three branches of fruit’
- *mar-nge* ‘two long pieces’, *manondor-nge* ‘eight long pieces’, but *maha-nga* ‘four long pieces’
- *ha-sel* ‘one road’, *mar-sel* ‘two roads’, *manondor-sel* ‘eight roads’, but *manon-sal* ‘six roads’

The distribution of the classifier allomorph appears to be idiosyncratic to the lexeme. Although there are only certain numbers within each ten that the vowel changes occur with, ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘eight’, it is not possible to determine the system underlying the changes since the same numbers appear unaffected in other numeral classifier rows.

Classifiers are generally used as modifiers to their head nouns, as in (10.1).

- (10.1) *wum mar-hum*
house PROP:two-house
‘two houses’

10.1 Individual Numeral Classifiers

In general, numeral classifiers are counted only up till ten, which itself is the plain numeral *masungul*. From ten onwards items are counted using plain numerals. In the following tables the classifier suffix is shown separated by a hyphen from the numeral base. The origin of the classifier is sometimes transparent in that it corresponds to an independently existing word, but more often we can find classifiers that are only found as bound roots with their numerals.

The following subsections present the various numeral classifiers and describe their usage. However, as the use of numeral classifiers is generally in decline it was difficult to elicit the classifier forms. Examples from the corpus are scarce. The most commonly used classifier is clearly the classifier for humans *-mou*.

10.1.1 *-kou*: Bundles of Long Items

The classifier *-kou* is used for counting bundles of long wooden items, mainly fire wood, but also sugar cane. The morpheme for ‘one’ is *ho-*. As mentioned above, all forms except for ‘one’ are prefixed with *ma-*, as is also the case for the numerals.

<i>-kou</i> - Bundles	
<i>ho-kou</i>	one
<i>ma-r-kou</i>	two
<i>ma-til-kou</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-kou</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-kou</i>	five
<i>ma-non-kou</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-kou</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-kou</i>	eight
<i>ma-nondrso-kou</i>	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.4: Bundles

- (10.2) *kihi mar-kou*
firewood PROP:two-NCLF:firewood
‘two bundles of firewood’

10.1.2 *-ie*: Canoes, Trees

Classifier *-ie* is used for counting canoes and trees in general. The common semantics of trees and canoes is the material wood. Canoes are made from wood and therefore share the same classifier as trees. There are other classifiers used for counting tree groups (see below). *-ie* is used only for counting individual, non-specific trees.

<i>-ie</i> - Canoes, Trees	
<i>he-ie</i>	one canoe
<i>ma-r-ie</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-ie</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-ie</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-ie</i>	five
<i>ma-non-ie</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-ie</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondorh-ie</i>	eight
<i>ma-nondrs-ie</i>	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.5: Canoes, Trees

- (10.3) *su=la riu ndol he-ie*
3PL=go pull canoe one-NCLF:canoes
'They went to row one canoe' (haus.boi.tungou.19)

10.1.3 *-mbut*: Money, Toea

The classifier *-mbut* is used for counting money, and especially nowadays for toea, in units of ten. 10 units are therefore one kina². Counting Kina does not include the use of a specific classifier. Instead Kina are counted in multiples of ten, beginning with *masungul* 'ten' for 1 Kina.

<i>-mbut</i> - Money, Toea	
<i>ho-mbut</i>	10 Toea
<i>ma-r-mbut</i>	20 Toea
<i>ma-til-mbut</i>	30 Toea
<i>ma-ha-mbut</i>	40 Toea
<i>ma-lim-mbut</i>	50 Toea
<i>ma-(n)on-mbut</i>	60 Toea
<i>ma-(n)ondrtil-mbut</i>	70 Toea
<i>ma-(n)ondor-mbut</i>	80 Toea
<i>ma-(n)ondrsu-mbut</i>	90 Toea
<i>ma-sungul</i>	1 Kina

Table 10.6: Money, Toea

²Kina and toea are the currencies of Papua New Guinea.

10.1.4 *-mou*: Humans

Numeral classifier *-mou* remains in frequent use still today. It is reserved to count people only. It is not related to any noun reflecting ‘human’, as there are, for example, *ndramet* ‘man, person’ or *lau* ‘people, followers’.

<i>-mou</i> - Persons, People	
<i>ho-mou</i>	one person
<i>ma-r-mou</i>	two people
<i>ma-til-mou</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-mou</i>	four
<i>ma-li-mou</i>	five
<i>ma-(n)on-mou</i>	six
<i>ma-(n)ondrtil-mou</i>	seven
<i>ma-(n)ondor-mou</i>	eight
<i>ma-(n)ondrso-mou</i>	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.7: Persons, People

A few examples can be found in sentences (10.4) - (10.6).

- (10.4) *pihi tasou ho-mou teke yo*
 woman old.person one-NCLF:human like 1SG
 ‘an old woman as I am’ (menuai.010)

- (10.5) *su ma-til-mou aka su=la yau tusie*
 3PL PROP-three-NCLF:human DEM.DIST 3PL=go move straight
 ‘The three of them, they left for good.’ (pohuwai.104)

- (10.6) *soro wulhou mar-mou*
 3DU young.man PROP:two-NCLF:human
 ‘They were two young men.’ (benjamin.coconut.005)

10.1.5 *-hum*: Houses

The classifier for houses *-hum* is based on the word *wum* 'house'. Only houses can be counted with *-hum*.

<i>-hum</i> - Houses	
<i>hum</i>	one
<i>ma-r-hum</i>	two
<i>ma-til-hum</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-hum</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-hum</i>	five
<i>ma-(n)on-hum</i>	six
<i>ma-(n)ondrtil-hum</i>	seven
<i>ma-(n)ondor-hum</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten
<i>ma-sungul e hum</i>	eleven
<i>sungul e ruhum</i>	twelve
<i>sungul e tilhum</i>	thirteen
<i>sungul e hahum</i>	fourteen
<i>sungul e lim-hum</i>	fifteen
?	

Table 10.8: Houses

The classifier *-hum* was the only classifier that numerals larger than ten were given for.

10.1.6 *-ndre*: Plates, Speeches, Mustard Stick, Money, Pieces of Clothing

The scope of application for *-ndre* is quite varied and finding a common semantic denominator is not an easy task. It is applicable to the counting of plates, speeches, mustard sticks and money. My impression is that something that could be served on a plate or metaphorically “be served” or delivered can be counted with classifier *-ndre*. The Tok Pisin expression *hap tok* for a speech or expression may also have influenced the (current) use of this classifier.

<i>-ndre</i> - Plates, Speeches, Mustard Stick, Money	
<i>he-ndre</i>	one
<i>ma-r-ndre</i>	two
<i>ma-til-ndre</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-ndre</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-ndre</i>	five
<i>ma-(n)on-ndre</i>	six
<i>ma-(n)ondrtil-ndre</i>	seven
<i>ma-(n)ondor-ndre</i>	eight
<i>ma-(n)ondrse-ndre</i>	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.9: Plates

(10.7) *nongen he-ndre*
 words one-NCLF:piece
 ‘A piece of talk.’

(10.8) *al surien wou e al tou he-ndre kolau posuen*
 go change 2SG and go put one-NCLF:piece clothes dry
 ‘Go change and put on a dry piece of clothing.’

10.1.7 *-nam/-nem*: Branches of Fruits

Classifier *-nam/-nem* counts all long branches with fruits, such as banana or betelnut. A single branch, *hanem*, may be comprised of several bunches (classifier *-kou*) of fruit. The counting of these stringlike, vinelike fruit bearing branches seems natural, as this is how they are harvested.

<i>-nam/-nem</i> - Branch of Fruits	
<i>ha-nem</i>	one
<i>ma-r-nem</i>	two
<i>ma-til-nam</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-nam</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-nam</i>	five
<i>ma-non-nam</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-nam</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-nam</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.10: Branch of Fruits

10.1.8 *-ping*: Days

The counting of days is probably one of the more peculiar classifiers, not in due to its form based on the word *ping* ‘day’ which occurs across Manus in different forms, but because of the way days are counted. Morphologically, there is no day ‘one’. *range* is used for ‘today’, *moh* for ‘tomorrow’³. The actual counting starts with the number two for the second day after tomorrow. Numeral classifiers for days function as temporal adverbs.

<i>-ping</i> - Days	
<i>ri-ping</i>	the second day after today (2)
<i>til-ping</i>	the third day after today (3)
<i>ha-ping</i>	the fourth day after today (4)
<i>ma-lim-ping</i>	the fifth day after today (5)
<i>ma-non-ping</i>	the sixth day after today (6)
<i>ma-nondrtil-ping</i>	the seventh day after today (7)
<i>ma-nondor-ping</i>	the eighth day after today (8)
<i>ma-nondorsi-ping</i>	the ninth day after today (9)
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.11: Days

Note that in the form *ri-ping* ‘the second day after today’ vowel assimilation applied. The numeral base *r(u)* assimilates to *ri-*. For this classifier, the property marker *ma-* is only attached from numbers five to ten. The classifier *ri-ping* ‘two days from today’ is still sometimes used and can also be used referring unspecifically to ‘some day soon’.

A sentence that is sometimes used when taking leave can be found in example (10.9):

(10.9) *k-e-Indri wou ri-ping!*

IRR-NSG-see 2SG two-night

‘See you the day after tomorrow (or some day soon)!’

³It is very likely that the form *ha-ping* actually denotes ‘tomorrow’ and was often confused in the past since it resembles formally both *mahahou* ‘four’ and the numeral classifier base *ha-* ‘one’. The correct form for ‘the fourth day after tomorrow’ would probably be *ma-ha-ping*, which yields a more regular paradigm. However, my consultants insisted that the given forms were correct and that *ha-ping* refers to the fourth day after tomorrow.

10.1.9 *-kah/-keh*: Rivers

Rivers are counted using the classifier *-kah/-keh*, a bound morpheme which bears no resemblance to what it counts: *ndran* 'river, water'. It refers to rivers only.

<i>-kah/keh</i> - Rivers	
<i>ha-kah</i>	one
<i>ma-r-keh</i>	two
<i>ma-til-kah</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-kah</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-kah</i>	five
<i>ma-non-kah</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-kah</i>	seven
?	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.12: Rivers

10.1.10 *-kal/-kel*: Pieces of Meat, Fish and Taro

Classifier *-kal/-kel* is used to count pieces of meat or fish and taro. I was told it only applies to meat or fish and taro, not to other food items. Traditionally it was also mainly these foods, especially in ceremonial situations, that were consumed and needed counting. Manioc root or yams have been introduced to Manus more recently.

<i>-kal/-kel</i> - Pieces of Meat, Fish, Taro	
<i>ha-kel</i>	one
<i>ma-r-kel</i>	two
<i>ma-til-kal</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-kal</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-kal</i>	five
<i>ma-non-kal</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-kal</i>	seven
?	eight
<i>ma-nondr-hakl</i>	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.13: Pieces of Meat, Fish and Taro

10.1.11 *-nga/-nge*: Long Parts

Any long parts of a whole or lengthy pieces, such as parts of roads or parts of ropes can be counted using *-nga/-nge*.

<i>-nga/-nge</i> - Long Parts	
<i>ha-nga</i>	one
<i>ma-r-nge</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-nga</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-nga</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-nga</i>	five
<i>ma-non-nga</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-nga</i>	seven
<i>ma-ndondor-nge</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.14: Long Parts

- (10.10) *yo=u-le sal ha-nga e yo=u-mul le*
1SG=1SG-go road one-NCLF:long.parts and 1SG=1SG-return go
'I went one part of the road and I returned.'

10.1.12 *-kap/-kep*: Individual Leaves

Individual leaves are counted using *-kap/-kep*. The counting of individual leaves as opposed to bunches of leaves may have significance with regard to preparing medicine or cooking.

<i>-kap/-kep</i> - Individual Leaves	
<i>ha-kep</i>	one
<i>ma-r-kep</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-kap</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-kap</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-kap</i>	five
<i>ma-non-kap</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-kap</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-kep</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.15: Individual Leaves

The classifier for individual leaves *-kap/-kep* is not used to refer to sheets of paper as could be expected. This is due to the general decline of numeral classifiers in daily communication. Newly introduced cultural objects therefore tend not to be assigned to a numeral classifier. But there may well be other Lele speaking villages that do use numeral classifiers with new objects.

10.1.13 *-smwai/-smwei*: Bundles of Leaves

Bundles of leaves, such as for wrapping, or for bundles of betel leaves (*warah*) are counted with the use of the classifier *-smwai/-smwei*.

<i>-smwai/-smwei</i> - Bundles of Leaves	
<i>ho-smwai</i>	one
<i>ma-ru-smwei</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-smwei</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-smwei</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-smwei</i>	five
<i>ma-non-smwei</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrti-smwei</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-smwei</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.16: Bundles of Leaves

10.1.14 *-sal/-sel*: Roads and Ground

The classifier for roads and pieces of land derives from *sal* 'road'. The usage of this classifier includes an extension of semantics as the notion of roads also includes the pieces of land, which are adjacent to and separated by roads.

<i>-sal/-sel</i> - Roads and Ground	
<i>ha-sel</i>	one
<i>ma-r-sel</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-sal</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-sal</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-sal</i>	five
<i>ma-non-sal</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtıl-sal</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-sel</i>	eight
<i>ma-nondor-sal</i>	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.17: Roads and Ground

10.1.15 *-pal/-pel*: Knives, Axes

Knives and axes are counted with the classifier *-pal/-pel*.

<i>-pal/-pel</i> - Knives and Axes	
<i>ha-pel</i>	one
<i>ma-r-pel</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-pal</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-pal</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-pal</i>	five
<i>ma-non-pal</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-pal</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-pal</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.18: Knives and Axes

10.1.16 *-hat/-het*: Baskets

Baskets are of great value in Manus, not only for their practical use, but also as gifts in ceremonies. This may account for a separate classifier. The classifier *-hat/-het* is not related to any word for basket in Lele. Classifier *ndop* is used for generally all baskets, while *kawa* denotes a large basket. The forms counting 'one' and 'two' are slightly different. They contain elements *sa* and *se* which recalls the numeral *sih* 'one'. They should be considered bound roots for the time being. More research is necessary.

<i>-hat/-het</i> - Baskets	
<i>sa-hat</i>	one
<i>ma-r-se-het</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-hat</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-hat</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-hat</i>	five
<i>ma-non-hat</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-hat</i>	seven
<i>ma-nondor-hat</i>	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.19: Baskets

10.1.17 *-kor*: Villages

The classifier *-kor*, which is identical to the word for village, is used to count villages.

<i>-kor</i> - Villages	
<i>ho-kor</i>	one
<i>ma-r-kor</i>	two
<i>ma-til-kor</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-kor</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-kor</i>	five
<i>ma-non-kor</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-kor</i>	seven
?	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.20: Villages

Examples can be found in (10.11) and (10.12).

- (10.11) *e kor ho-kor oko ndramet ke hom ie*
 and place one-NCLF:village DEM.PROX man FOC NCLF:one.person stay
ri
 LOC

'And in this place, there lived only one man.' (dog.speaks.11)

- (10.12) *i-soro ke sor=ie kohona-soro ho-kor*
 3-3DU FOC 3DU=stay home-3DU one-NCLF:village

'It was just the two of them that lived at their home.' (man.dog.017)

10.1.18 *-pat/-pet*: Groups of Trees

Groups of trees, especially sago trees, are counted using the classifier *-pat/-pet*.

<i>-pat/-pet</i> - Groups of Trees	
<i>ha-pet</i>	one
<i>ma-r-pet</i>	two
<i>ma-tul-pat</i>	three
<i>ma-ha-pat</i>	four
<i>ma-lim-pat</i>	five
<i>ma-non-pat</i>	six
<i>ma-nondrtil-pat</i>	seven
?	eight
?	nine
<i>ma-sungul</i>	ten

Table 10.21: Groups of Trees

10.1.19 Semantic Criteria for Numeral Classifiers

According to Aikhenvald (2003, p.271), noun categorisation devices fall into three major classes: animacy, physical properties and function. Physical property is evidently the underlying parameter for a number of the Lele numeral classifiers. The purpose or function of an object is the largest group of underlying semantic parameters, cf. Table 10.22.

money	(-mBut)
houses	(-hum)
plates, speeches	(-ndre)
days	(-ping)
villages, places	(-kor)
roads, paths	(-sal/-sel)
rivers	(-kah/-keh)
knives, axes	(-pel/-pal)
baskets	(-hat/-het)

Table 10.22: Physical properties: function

Arrangement is the second largest group of semantic parameters in the physical property category, cf. Table 10.23.

single trees (-ie) vs. groups of trees (-pet/-pat)
individual leaves (-kep/-kap) vs. bundles of leaves (-smwai/-smwei)
bundles (-kou)
bunches (-nem/-nam)
lengthy parts (-nga/-nge)
pieces of meat, fish and taro (-kel/-kal)

Table 10.23: Physical properties: arrangement

The numeral classifier *-mou* used for human is the only one found based on an animacy, more specifically human vs. non-human parameter. It is also almost the only one still in regular use. This can be explained by the fact that human referents are pragmatically salient in discourse. Therefore the use of this classifier is still maintained. In general, the use of numeral classifiers is in decline, which may be a sign of general language erosion⁴.

⁴A similar loss of classifiers was observed in young speakers of Nêlêmwa, a language of New Caledonia (Bril 2013).

Chapter 11

Interrogatives

To begin this chapter, see Table 11.1 for a list of interrogatives. See also §16.5 on polarity.

Interrogatives	
<i>sah</i>	'what'
<i>per sah</i>	'why'
<i>sahene</i>	'which of'
<i>sieh</i>	'who'
<i>oho</i>	'where'
<i>maseheye</i>	'how much, how many'
<i>seh</i>	'which, what kind of'
<i>kehereh</i>	'when'
<i>terpeh</i>	'how'

Table 11.1: Interrogatives

In order to ask a default content question about an inanimate object **sah** is used. The interrogative *sah* is also the basic interrogative from which analytic interrogatives are formed, such as *per sah* 'why' or *le sah* 'why, because'.

See the following examples for simple uses of *sah*.

- (11.1) *pihi snel aka i-pwei sah me ndro wou?*
woman bush.spirit DEM.DIST 3-say what come LOC 2SG
'What did that witch say to you?' (masusu.long.113)

Often, *sah* is accompanied by the discourse particle *te*, as in (11.2).

- (11.2) *aka te sah?*
DEM.DIST PRAG what
'What is that?'

In example (11.3), the speaker also uses the common discourse particle *mayin* alongside her question. The word *mayin* can be translated as 'I'm not sure' or 'Who knows!'. It can be used literally and as a sole reply, as expression of general uncertainty or as a discourse particle, increasing tension and expectation, as in (11.3).

- (11.3) *ndramet aka per pehena i-me. mayin, i-lik-i*
man DEM.DIST ASSOC steal 3-come who.knows 3-put-TR
nim-(e)n le sah?
hand-3SG.POSS go what
'That thief came. Who knows! What did he put his hand at?'
(dog.speaks.27)

In example (11.4), the speaker is trying to find the word for 'fishing spear' which is *ndek*. She talks to her elderly aunt, searching for the correct word, and uses *tesah* as a dummy word composed of the pragmatic particle *te* and interrogative *sah*. However, the accent is on the first syllable of this construction, suggesting a fusion of the particle and interrogative. The dummy *tesah* is roughly translatable as 'What's it again?', 'What's it called?' or 'What shall we call it?'.
(powat.nambis.036)

- (11.4) *i-le hir-i tesah? wa spia le nongen-a kor aka sah?*
3-go get-3 what's.it POT "spear" go talk-NOM village DEM.DIST what
lesah perlou per tesah
because obsidian.spear ASSOC what
'She goes and gets...what's it again? "Spear" in the local language, what would that be? Because, the spear for...what's it again?'
(powat.nambis.036)

Since *sah* refers to an argument, it may occur both as an object (as in the preceding examples) and as a subject, as in (11.5).

- (11.5) *sah i-me aka, ipiah aka mernal i-lol*
what 3-come DEM.DIST afternoon DEM.DIST sun 3-go.down

'Something happened (came) to her, that afternoon when the sun set.' (powat.nambis.123)

Questions for ownership or possession are rendered as indirect possession:

(11.6) *aka at-(e)m nde at sieh*
DEM.DIST POSS-2SG.POSS or POSS who
'That is yours or whose is it?' (man.dog.033)

Similarly, *per* which may also indicate a kind of ownership or an intrinsic connection may be used to ask for a reason, see (11.7-11.8).

(11.7) *wou=na=e-mul le per sah*
2SG=INT=2SG-return go ASSOC what
'Why would you like to return?' (elicited)

- (11.8) *yi=k-iesou me k-le mar Sopun, k-le pur Pokupwen,*
 3SG=IRR-marry come IRR-go eye GN IRR-go go.with PN
tam-(e)n Popuren, per sah? oh mar Sopun pwan mandren
 father-3SG.POSS PN ASSOC what oh eye GN land big
 ‘She’ll marry into the Mar Sopun clan, she’ll go with Pokupwen,
 whose father was Popuren. Why? Oh, Mar Sopun has much land.’
 (wedding.mother.24-28)

The only interrogative that can be directly possessed is **sahene-** ‘which?’. This form is derived from *sah* ‘what’. What is expressed as possessor structurally is the group of objects from which the addressee is asked to choose.

- (11.9) *piso-m sahene-n?*
 sibling.opposite.sex-2SG.POSS which-3SG.POSS
 ‘Which one is your brother?’ (elicitation)

- (11.10) *ndop sahene-n hian?*
 basket which-3SG.POSS good
 ‘Which basket is good?’ (elicitation)

In (11.9) and (11.10) the group of objects to choose from is evidently larger than one, but is marked as a generic 3SG possessor. In (11.11) the interlocutor asks for addressee’s body part that is painful. It is therefore marked for second person singular *-m*.

- (11.11) *sahene-m i-kouni wou?*
 which-2SG.POSS 3-hurt 2SG
 ‘What body part hurts?’ (lit. which of your body parts pains you?)
 (elicitation)

It should be noted that the given examples have been elicited and were neither overheard in conversation nor found anywhere in the Lele corpus.

Asking for someone’s identity requires the interrogative **sieh** ‘who’, see (11.12), as does asking for someone’s name, see (11.13).

- (11.12) *i-hung-i i-pwei te oi aka wou sieh?*
 3-smell-TR 3-say PRAG oi DEM.DIST 2SG who
 ‘She smelled something and she said: “Oi! now who are you?” ’
 (sowe.hurhur.161)

- (11.13) *ngar-(e)m sieh?*
 name-2SG.POSS who
 'What is your name?'

In (11.14) a snake has a secret garden full of food inside its stomach and encourages two boys to go inside and collect food.

- (11.14) **sieh** *na=k-mul le ndrino k-le sap yenyen le?*
 who INT=IRR-return go stomach:1SG.POSS IRR-go collect food go
 'Who likes to return into my stomach and collect food?'

Interrogative *sieh* can also be used to ask for the direct possessor of something, as in (11.15).

- (11.15) *mbur pal sieh? polo*
 above head who head:1SG.POSS
 'Above whose head? - My head.' (elicited)

To ask for location or direction *oho* is used.

- (11.16) *wum at-(e)m oho?*
 house POSS-2SG.POSS where
 'Where is your house?'

The interrogative **oho** is often abbreviated to *ho* when following a vowel as in (11.17).

- (11.17) *su=kena ho?*
 3PL=go.3.PRF where
 'Where have they gone?'

In order to ask for the quantity of something **maseheye** 'how many, how much?' is used. See (11.18-11.20).

- (11.18) *mar mernal at-(e)m maseheye?*
 eye sun POSS-2SG.POSS how.much
 'What time is it? (lit. How much)'

- (11.19) *sersere-m maseheye?*
 ancestor-2SG.POSS how.many
 'How many ancestors (or generations) do you have?'
 (asked for challenging legitimacy)

- (11.20) *nduh at-(e)m maseheye?*
 sugar.cane POSS-2SG.POSS how.much
 ‘How much is your sugar cane? / How many sugar cane sticks do you have?’

Note that the stative particle *ma-* is used to form this interrogative. This seems plausible since *ma-* is used with numerals also and therefore implies a quantifying meaning.

The interrogative **seh** expresses both ‘which’ and ‘what kind of’.

- (11.21) **seh** *yenyan?*
 which/what.kind.of food
 ‘which food / what kind of food?’

- (11.22) *oko seh kor te oko ye*
 DEM.PROX what.kind.of place like DEM.PROX INTS
 ‘What kind of place is this like this one here?’
 (snake.northcoast.051)

When asking for the time or anticipated time of an event *kehereh* is used.

- (11.23) *wou=na=al kor kehereh*
 2SG=INT=go village when
 ‘When will you go home?’ (elicited)

The interrogative **terpeh** is used to express ‘how?’. In (11.24), two brothers had previously used a magic betelnut tree to go to a dance. But now two girls have cut the betelnut so that they boys don’t know how to return to their home village.

- (11.24) *ma sor=to aka. sor=k-al yau terpeh? sal-soro pwi*
 and 3DU=be DEM.DIST 3DU=IRR-go move how road-3DU NEG
oko, sal kina, kor kina mwanan
 DEM.PROX road go.PRF.3SG village go.PRF.3SG far
 ‘And the two stayed. How would they go back? Now they had no road (anymore). The road, the village was far away.’
 (sowe.hurhur.073)

Depending on which word class they refer to, interrogatives are used in situ accordingly in the clause. Interrogatives *sah* ‘what’ and *sieh* ‘who’, which refer to topical arguments, can occur in clause initial position, but

not necessarily. Interrogatives *oho*, *terpeh* 'how' and *kehereh* 'when' refer to adverbial arguments and are used in situ. Interrogatives *maseheye* 'how much, how many' and *seh* 'which, what kind of' refer to properties of nouns and are thus positioned in the clause like noun modifiers.

Chapter 12

Prepositions

As a ‘well-behaved’ Oceanic language of AVO constituent order, Lele makes use of prepositions or preposition-like words. In Lele, as in various other Oceanic languages there is a continuum from nouns to spatial / temporal nouns to prepositions. Spatial nouns are often found in Oceanic languages and can also be found in Lele. Spatial nouns are marked by a possessor, which gives them nominal properties and differentiates them from prepositions proper. Prepositions are functional words that indicate locational, temporal, causal and modal relationships. They are similar to adverbs (and are historically often derived from adverbs) in that they convey temporal or locational meanings (see § 8.2). However, while temporal or locational adverbs act as proforms, prepositions always require a nominal argument. See Table 12.1 for a list of prepositions.

Associative *per* is the preposition with the broadest range of meanings. It denotes cause, origin, purpose or general association. Due to its general associative meaning it can also have possessive overtones. Its function is similar to the multifunctional preposition *bilong* in Tok Pisin¹. Example (12.1) denotes an inherent connection that could be described as cause or origin.

(12.1) *mburer per vanilla i-los le pwan yowu=te po ke mulhei*
work ASSOC Vanilla 3-fall go down 1PL.EXCL=PRAG do FOC merely

¹The second multifunctional preposition in Tok Pisin, *long*, is in fact a universal preposition. The function of *long* is perhaps mirrored in the increasing use of motion verb *le* ‘go’ as preposition. More research is necessary on that development.

Prepositions	
<i>per</i>	associative
<i>nde</i>	towards, until
<i>ma</i>	comitative
<i>ndro</i>	allative/locative (human)
<i>pakeh/pakekeh</i>	close to, near / very close to or near to
<i>mapenan</i>	up to, to the extent of

Table 12.1: Prepositions

‘The vanilla business declined and now we are just getting by.’ (coa.vanilla.sapon.055)

In (12.2), *per* relates to the origin of the story, a kind of “possessor” in the widest sense. The story told belongs to a specific village. In this context, the possessive preposition *at* might have been chosen as well, as in (12.3)

(12.2) *mwalih per Sopun*
 story ASSOC GN
 ‘A story of Sapon.’

(12.3) *mwalih at souka*
 story POSS chouka
 ‘A story of the chouka bird’

While *per* in (12.2) denotes the origin of a story, the meaning of *at* is more possessive. The chouka (or Manus friarbird) bird is perceived like a person.

Example (12.4) expresses a purpose.

(12.4) *wou=ta riu su lau oko per kun-i-a wum e yenyen*
 2SG=REP pull PL man DEM.PROX ASSOC carry-TR-NOM house and food
oho
 where
 ‘You keep taking the men for carrying the posts of the house, and where is the food?’ (pat.lokomou.41)

Example (12.5) denotes an inherent property of the referent.

- (12.5) *yi pihin iesou me ndro tu yi pihin per pwahilou*
 3SG woman marry come LOC 1PL.INCL 3SG woman ASSOC lie
 ‘The woman that married into our clan is a liar! (lit. a woman of lying)’ (menuai.188)

The preposition **nde** denotes ‘in the direction of’ or ‘until’

- (12.6) *e i-mwenen le nde Puklout*
 and 3-straight go in.direction.of GN
 ‘And she went straight towards Puklout’ (wedding.mother.14)

- (12.7) *e yi lapihin aka i-pwei te nde ayu, oro nde pek morok k-meyis*
 and 3 woman DEM.DIST 3-say PRAG NEG leave:2SG stay until fruit kind.of.tree IRR-cooked
 ‘That woman said “Don’t go, stay until the *morok* fruit is cooked.’ (haus.boi.tungou.39)

The preposition *ma* denotes a comitative relationship, as in (12.8-12.9).

- (12.8) *Masusu ma ndur-n su=ken-yau e pihin ke ir wum*
 PN with child-3SG.POSS 3PL=PRF.NSG-leave and woman FOC COP:3SG house
 ‘Masusu had left with his children and only the woman was in the house.’ (masusu.long.475)

- (12.9) *yi=le ma ndes at-(e)n, ndes sih*
 3SG=go with walking.stick POSS-3SG.POSS walking.stick one
 ‘She went with her walking stick, a walking stick.’

The locative/allative preposition **ndro** is exclusively used with humans.

- (12.10) *tultul ot-wu me ndro wou oko nde pwi*
 leader POSS-1PL.EXCL come LOC 2SG DEM.PROX or NEG
 ‘Did our leader come to you here or not?’ (pohuwai.059)

- (12.11) *e yi=loh le ndro yi aka at-(e)m nde at sieh*
 and 3SG=call go LOC 3SG DEM.DIST POSS-2SG.POSS or POSS who
 ‘And he called out to him: “Is this yours or whose?” ’ (man.dog.032-033)

The preposition *ndro* can also be preceded by the preposition *per*, as in (12.12), and by preposition *por*, as in (12.13).

- (12.12) *pwatirie at tumbu su, su per ndro tomo pwi, per*
 story POSS ancestor PL 3PL ASSOC LOC father.1SG NEG ASSOC
ndro nano mwenen
 LOC mother.1SG.POSS straight
 'This story is of the ancestors, but not of those belonging to my
 father's lineage. It's just my mother's lineage.'
 (haus.boi.tungou.15)

- (12.13) *yo=u-le Lorongou por ndro kous oto ho-mou*
 1SG=1SG-go GN with LOC friend 1SG.POSS one-NCLF:human
 'I went to Lorengau with a friend of mine.'

Preposition *pakeh* 'near, close to' (used in spatial and temporal contexts) is multifunctional. It can be used as a preposition (12.14) and may co-occur with preposition *ndro* (12.15). It may occur in verbless clauses (12.16) and as temporal noun (12.17).

- (12.14) *i-ta pakeh Lugos*
 3-COP.PRS near GN
 'It is near Lugos.'

- (12.15) *yi=me pakeh ndro su*
 3SG=come close LOC 3PL
 'S/he came close to them.'

- (12.16) *sal aka pakeh pwi sal mwanan*
 road DEM.DIST near NEG road far
 'That road wasn't close, the road was far.' (masusu.long.368)

Note that in (12.17) *pakeh* is possessed indirectly. Usually, spatial nouns are possessed directly. The use of the indirect possession in this example can be explained by the status of the 3SG complement as oblique argument. The subject of the sample sentence is not the directly linked to or source of the property expressed by *pakeh*. Rather, she is affected by a state or process, death being 'close'. In European languages this would be rendered as a dative object, translatable as 'for her'.

- (12.17) *e yi=tan-(e)n te pakeh at-(e)n nde*
 and 3SG=know-3SG.POSS PRAG close POSS-3SG.POSS until
na=yi=k-met nde?
 INT=3SG=IRR-die TAG
 'And she knows that it is soon for her to die, right?'
 (power.women.080)

The preposition *mapenan* is morphologically more complex than the previously mentioned prepositions. It is prefixed by the stative marker *ma-*, but cannot be analysed further synchronically. As there is a final *-n*, which is often used as a default marker for arguments, it is likely that *mapenan* was used as a spatial noun earlier. Today, however, *mapenan* is always followed by a complement. See examples (12.18-12.19).

(12.18) *i-le i-le, ndran mapenan pongutu-n*
 3-go 3-go water up.to rib-3SG.POSS
 ‘She went and went until the water was up to her ribs.’ (280812.benjamin.pondra.ts.pipalhandren.018)

(12.19) *sor=ha-pieni le mapenan ndran ngat per kor oko*
 3DU=NSG-throw go up.to water hole ASSOC place DEM.PROX
 ‘They threw it (pieces of banana) on the ground until they reached the water hole of this place.’
 (lout.mui.039)

Prepositions *por* and *at* are cases in between prepositions and spatial nouns. They can be both possessed directly yet cannot be considered nominal, as their main function is of grammatical nature. For a functional description of *at*, see §4.4.2 on indirect possession. The preposition *por* ‘with’ can also be used with a full noun phrase, as in (12.20) or marked with a possessor, as in (12.21).

(12.20) *sor=ie Ndumoh por ndro sese-soro*
 3DU=stay GN with LOC grandmother-3DU
 ‘They lived in Ndumoh with their grandmother.’
 (sowe.sese.nauna.01)

(12.21) *yowu=ha-ser mbulei le por-n*
 1PL.EXCL=NSG-chop.to.pieces taro.leaves go with-3SG.POSS
 ‘We chopped taro leaves along with it.’ (octo.241)

Chapter 13

Connectors

The following connectors are used in Lele, see Table 13.1.

Connector	Function
Conjunction <i>e</i>	conjunction of NPs and clauses
Conjunction <i>ma</i>	supports general conjunction <i>e</i> , “and with that...”
Disjunctive <i>nde</i>	basic disjunctive
Adversative <i>hepke</i>	adversative, “but”, “however”
Sequential <i>pe=</i>	forms (temporal) sequence of events of preceding clause with events of following clause, often with clause-final <i>pwi</i>

Table 13.1: Connectors

13.1 Conjunction *e*

Example (13.1) illustrates a clausal conjunction with *e*. Note that only the first clause is marked for third person singular subject proclitic.

(13.1) *e i-hiti motou aka e hiti lu mbulei*
and 3-take.3SG knife DEM.DIST and take.3SG leaf taro.leaf

‘And she took that knife and took some taro leaf.’ (menuai.016)

In example (13.1) the second clause received less verbal marking than the first one despite the equal syntactic status between both clauses. In the speaker’s perception all necessary information was given in the first clause

and is therefore not necessary for the second or following clauses.

Example (13.2) displays conjunctions of NPs.

- (13.2) *aka ndou i-ta tar ndro su tam-tu su e su*
 DEM.DIST post 3-HAB give.away LOC PL father-1PL.INCL PL and PL
ndukto-tu su e su tue-tu su
 aunt-1PL.INCL PL and PL uncle-1PL.INCL PL
 ‘And this power (lit. post of house) is given to all those that belong to our fathers and all those that belong to our aunties and all those that belong to our uncles.’ (power.women.101)

13.2 Conjunction *ma*

The comitative preposition *ma* may also function as connector together with connector *e*. It could be translated as “and so” or “with that”.

- (13.3) *i-tulemui poho mui aka e ma i-you*
 3-burn mouth dog DEM.DIST and with 3-leave.3SG
 ‘He (the thief) burned the dog’s mouth and with that he left.’
 (dog.speaks.57)

- (13.4) *i-tunhi yi e ma snel i-los*
 3-push 3SG and with bush.spirit 3-fall
 ‘He pushed him (the spirit) and so the bush spirit died.’
 (greedy.brother.099)

13.3 Disjunctive *nde*

The connector *nde* is used for disjunctive constructions.

- (13.5) *kle homou per ndro nano teke hom*
 COND one-NCLF:human ASSOC LOC mother.1SG.POSS like NCLF:one.person
piso-n nde hom
 sibling.opposite.sex-3SG.POSS or NCLF:one.person
ndere-n nde yahe-n k-met
 sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS or uncle-3SG.POSS IRR-die
 ‘If someone of my mother’s lineage like someone’s brother or sister or uncle dies...’ (souka.062)
- (13.6) *aka ndramet nde te sah*
 DEM.DIST human or PRAG what
 ‘Is that a human or what?’ (menuai.122)

- (13.7) *e soro=ha-pwai Po-tuo wou=a=yenyan hepe nde pwi?*
 and 3DU=NSG-say masculine-uncle 2SG=POT=eat a.little or not
 'And the two said: "Uncle, will you eat or not?" ' (snake.lugos.212)

13.4 Adversative *hepke*

The clause linker *hepke* denotes contrastive or adverse conditions that frustrate planned events and expectations or turn events into a different direction, as in examples (13.8) and (13.9).

- (13.8) *longu masih kene i-ro hepke mwat pwi*
 thing all INTS 3-COP but snake NEG
 'Everything was there, but the snake was not there.'
 (snake.lugos.271-72)

- (13.9) *mar mernal e tor=k-ayu, hepke ndere-n*
 eye sun and 1DU.INC=IRR-leave but sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS
pwei te pwi
 say PRAG NEG
 ‘ “Once it is midday let us leave,” but his brother said: “No.” ’ (benjamin.coconut.048)

In (13.9), the initial temporal noun phrase *mar mernal* is to be understood as condition; the speaker asks to leave once it is midday.

13.5 Sequential *pe=*

The sequential clitic *pe=* indicates that the action of the preceding clause forms a sequence with the following clause. In the majority of examples *pe* occurs with clause final *pwi*. While *pwi* resembles the negator *pwi* in its morphological form and clause-final position, it does not function as negator. Sequential *pe-* may occur alone as proclitic to the verb and it may also co-occur with *pwi*. The function of *pwi* and *pe=* is both sequential. Only *pe=*¹ is obligatory; *pwi* may be omitted. This marker is best described as sequential. See examples (13.10-13.13).

- (13.10) *pe=k-i-lndr-i pwi e i-lndr-i mwat*
 SEQ=IRR-3-see SEQ and 3-see snake
 ‘(The boy was wondering what was up in the tree) When he came to see he saw the snake’
 (snake.lugos.057)

In contrast, example (13.11) is very similar to (13.10) and is in fact from the same story. However, this example omits the final *pwi*.

- (13.11) *pe=k-i-lndr-i lout nde tesah i ri, mar-(e)n pe=k-i-le*
 SEQ=IRR-3-see-TR cuscus or what 3 LOC eye-3SG.POSS SEQ=IRR-3-go
e i-lndr-i mwat
 and 3-see-TR snake
 ‘When he was about to see the cuscus or what was there, he looked around and saw the snake.’ (snake.lugos.036)

¹Barthel (1987a) refers to this marker as *Frustrative* and does not mention sequential *pwi*, but only addresses *pe=* that he calls *Frustrative*, a term which contains some truth, since the following event often entails an element of surprise, but only limits the possible functions of this construction.

(13.12) *yi=pe=k-indri pwi, ndor-n te to pwi,*
 3=SEQ=IRR-3-see SEQ child-3SG.POSS PRAG COP NEG child-3SG.POSS
ndor-n kin-mat
 PRF.3SG-die

'When he went to see his child wasn't there (was no more). S/he had died.' (lout.mui.102)

(13.13) *pe=su=k-am pwi, Nakmat te to pwi*
 SEQ=3PL=IRR-come SEQ PN PRAG be NEG

'When they came (back), Nakmat was not there anymore'
 (ngar.mui.037)

Chapter 14

Negators

14.1 Negator *pwi*

In Oceanic languages the negator commonly precedes the constructions in its scope (Hovdhaugen & Mosel 1999). In Lele as in other Admiralties languages, such as Kele (Ross in Lynch et al. 2002, p. 144 ff.) or Loniu (Hamel 1994), the negator is clause final and may only be followed by a demonstrative. Negator *pwi* negates both verbal and verbless clauses.

Examples (14.1-14.2) show negation of verbless clauses.

- (14.1) *Polehemui aka yi kamel, yi pwi*
PN DEM.DIST 3SG boy 3SG NEG
'Polehemui there is a boy, he can't (lit. it's not him)'
(pat.sus.32)

- (14.2) *mui hanu masih pwi, mui ke sih aka at ndramet oko*
dog before all NEG dog FOC one DEM.DIST POSS man DEM.PROX
'There were not many dogs (that could speak) before, only one, that one of this man.' (dog.speaks.25)

Clauses (14.3-14.4) are examples of negations of verbal clauses.

- (14.3) *i-pwei wou=te herong nongen oto pwi*
3-say 2SG=PRAG hear words 1SG.POSS NEG
'He said: "You did not follow (hear) my words."' (snake.lugos.205)
- (14.4) *i-le kah i-le i-te i-Indr-i ho-mou pwi*
3-go look.for 3-see 3-PRAG 3-see-3 one-NCLF:human NEG
'He went and looked but he didn't see anyone.' (man.dog.048)

Constituents are negated by *pwi* directly following

- (14.5) *ir ta-tne ke lopohonum aka salue-n pwi i-ro*
 COP:3SG STAT-stand FOC outside DEM.DIST clothes-3SG.POSS NEG 3-stay
 ‘She was just standing outside (of the house) with no clothes on and stayed there.’ (pwelpwal.107)

In Rossun, a village that speaks a dialect of Lele heavily influenced by other neighbouring languages, the clause final negator is *pu* which is not used in the Lele of Sapon or Tingou Masih. There is, however, an emphatic negator *pu kene*, roughly translatable as ‘absolutely not’.

14.2 Prohibitive *mbue* and *nde*

While negative *pwi* is used clause-final, prohibitive *mbue* precedes the predicate:

- (14.6) ***mbue*** *ain ndramet, ndramet aka konan*
 NEG eat human human DEM.DIST never.mind
 ‘Don’t eat humans, never mind humans.’ (masusu.long.433)
- (14.7) *e su longu ramen, mbue te porou*
 and PL thing red NEG PRAG hold
 ‘And as for all red vegetables, don’t touch them.’ (snake.lugos.124)

The function of prohibitive *nde* is the same to *mbue*. Likewise, it is placed in clause-initial position.

- (14.8) *mor=k-ala mor=k-a-re-i ndurkan aka, nde*
 2DU=IRR-go 2DU=IRR-NSG-kill-TR bird DEM.DIST NEG
mor=k-e-pini
 2DU=IRR-NSG-throw
 ‘Go and kill the bird, but don’t throw it away.’ (sowe.hurhur.119)

The prohibitive markers often co-occur, as in (14.9).

- (14.9) *i-pwei ey mbue nde mor=ke-noh mor=k-am ndi*
 3-say ey NEG NEG 2DU=be.afraid 2DU=IRR-be.afraid away
mor=k-am ndi
 2D=IRR-come away
 ‘He said: “Hey! Don’t be afraid, come out, come out! (lit. come away)’ (snake.northcoast.062)

Chapter 15

Particles

The following section is a cursory overview of particles and their usage in Lele. With the present data at hand, however, this topic can only be touched upon and requires further research.

15.1 Focus Particle *ke*

Particle *ke* functions as focus particle on predicates or arguments in the clause. It generally follows the element that is in its scope. In (15.1) *ke* focusses on the verb.

- (15.1) *artou, e-suah e-suah e-tapeluini ke*
press 2SG-fry 2SG-fry 2SG-turn.over FOC
'Press [the sago], fry it, fry it, just turn it over.' (frying.saksak2.028)

When *ke* focusses arguments in the clause, the constructions can be rendered as cleft sentence in the English translation, see (15.2-15.3).

- (15.2) *e yo ke yo=ur po oko*
and 1SG FOC 1SG=COP:1SG do DEM.PROX
'And it is only I that is staying here.' (sowe.hurhur.164)

- (15.3) *isor=ke sor=ie kohona-soro ho-kor*
3-3DU=only 3DU=stay home-3DU one-village
'It was only the two that stayed alone in their village.'
(man.dog.017)

15.2 Intensifier (y)e

Particle (y)e is used mostly in stories and adds emphasis. It intensifies the action or event. In Tok Pisin *ya* is widely used to perform the same function.

- (15.4) *i sieh ir po pehena ye*
3 who PROG:3SG do steal INTS
'And who is it that is stealing (emphatic)?' (menuai.090)

- (15.5) *k-le ping aka i-k-i-ni pihin aka Hiniemoloniue*
IRR-go night DEM.DIST 3-IRR-3-eat:TR woman DEM.DIST PN INTS
'Tonight she will eat that woman, Hiniemoloniue!
(powat.nambis.141)

15.3 Particle te

Particle *te* has a wide range of uses. It occurs with the negator in the discontinuous negation of verbal clauses, recall examples (14.3) and (14.4) on page 235. It is also frequently used with *pwei/pwai* 'say' followed by a direct quote, as in (15.6)

- (15.6) *Mandrian i-pwei te oh yowu oko ha-karabus le oko*
PN 3-say PRAG oh 1PL.EXCL DEM.PROX NSG-prison(TP) go DEM.PROX
'Mandrian said: "Oh! We here go to prison for this!" ' (pohuwai.085)

Particle *te* may also mean '(be) like', especially when occurring with a demonstrative, as in (15.7).

- (15.7) *e su=to hinen te aka*
and 3PL=PROG make.3SG like DEM.DIST
'And they did it like that.' (menuai.155)

Part V

The Clause and Clause Types

Chapter 16

The Clause

The largest syntactic unit in Lele is the clause which has the predicate as its functional and semantic core. The predicate can be verbal or verbless. A verbal predicate determines the kind of action or event and the number and type of arguments in the clause (See also Dixon 2009a). The main grammatical relations of subject and object exhibit accusative alignment in Lele, marked mainly by the constituent order SV in intransitive clauses and AVO in pragmatically unmarked transitive clauses. Frequently, the objects of transitive clauses are topicalised through left-dislocation, resulting in an OAV constituent order. The subject is obligatorily realised in the clause, as full NP or as proclitic¹, and is omitted only in rare cases². Third person singular, as is often the case cross-linguistically, has a stronger tendency to be omitted. In cases of subject omission the subject generally has been introduced in prior discourse in relative close proximity. Transitive verbs typically contain the transitive suffix *-i* or *-ani / -eni*. The transitive marker does not cross-reference objects in a narrow sense, that is, marking person / number³. Rather, the marking or non-marking of transitivity (and degree thereof) depends on the presence of a full object NP and the specificity of the object (see also §3.3.1 on transitivity). When the object NP is omitted the verb is usually marked for transitivity. Cross-referencing of the subject

¹Sometimes both, which is used as a means to introduce a topic and re-establish it.

²For person / number marking see §7.

³Schokkin (2014) states that Paluai transitive verbs do cross-reference objects, however, only animates.

is only seen in singular subjects through prefixes attached to the verb which is preceded by the subject clitic or NP. Objects can be marked as possessors, as is the case for local / temporal nouns and also for the existential *ie* ‘be, stay somewhere’, which may take a generic third person possessor marker to indicate a location.

Adverbs usually occur following the verb or preceding it, some time adverbs may also occur clause initial, such as locational and temporal adverbs *range* ‘today, now’. It is interesting to note that adverbs such *ndon* ‘still’ follow intransitive verbs and copulas directly, but may only follow a transitive verb and its object. This suggests that there is a stronger syntactic unit with transitive objects and verbs than with extended or oblique objects and verbs. For an overview of adverbs see §6, p. 168.

Another element that is frequently used is the focus particle *ke*. The focus particle may follow any syntactic element. It has scope over syntactic words. Thus, it may also occur within phrases (see §15.1).

The clause initial position may be occupied by elements that form the “backdrop” to the action or event denoted by the clause. Topicalised arguments also occur in clause initial position (also see §16.3.1). Such elements may be adverbs of time, such as *malapo* ‘now’, as in (16.1) or *muren* ‘later’, as in (16.2). They may also be temporal noun phrases, as in (16.3) and locational noun phrases such as *pleng* ‘garden’, as in (16.4).

(16.1) [*malapo*] *yo=u-Indri i-mwenen*
 now 1SG=1SG-see:TR 3-correct
 ‘Now I see that it is correct.’ (pihi.turur.e.taton.197)

(16.2) [*e le muren*] *su=mul me wum*
 and go later 3PL=return come home
 ‘And later they returned home.’ (snake.northcoast.189)

(16.3) [*ping malimah*] *wa=e-Indri te sah*
 night five POT=2SG-see:TR PRAG what
 ‘In five days, you’ll see something.’ (potopi.coconut.13)

- (16.4) *[pleng], sor=ie has wes at-soro*
 garden 3DU=stay plant taro.stem POSS-3DU
 ‘When they were in the garden they planted their taro stems.’
 (pihi.turur.e.taton.004)

16.1 Verbless Clauses

Verbless clauses consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases: a subject (S) and a complement (CMPL) which can be a noun phrase, an adjective or a prepositional phrase. Verbless clauses express equative, identificational attributive meanings. Since verbless clauses do not denote actions or events, the complement merely expresses the relation to the subject⁴. The following examples illustrate verbless clauses.

- (16.5) *[soro]_S [ndere soro]_{CMPL}*
 3DU sibling.same.sex 3DU
 ‘They were brothers.’ (greedy.brother.002)

- (16.6) *[ndremta kul aka]_S [snel]_{CMPL}*
 owner breadfruit DEM.DIST bush.spirit
 ‘The owner of the breadfruit tree was a bush spirit.’
 (greedy.brother.022)

The complement may also be an adjective, as in (16.7).

- (16.7) *[ndramet aka]_S hian_{CMPL}*
 man DEM.DIST good
 ‘That man is good.’

In example (16.7) *ndramet* ‘man’ is followed by a demonstrative. Demonstratives are often used in verbless clauses, which increases the specificity of the subject and blocks a possible reading of the construction as a noun phrase, since demonstratives may only precede or follow a noun - modifier sequence (demonstratives mostly follow). Without the demonstrative example (16.8) is ambiguous in isolation:

- (16.8) *ndramet hian*
 man good

⁴See also Dixon 2009b, p. 160f..

'The man is good. / Men are good in general. / a good man / good men in general'

Example (16.8) is most likely to be interpreted as a noun phrase by a speaker. If the subject is a personal pronoun, as in *wou hian* '2SG good', a clausal reading is more likely due to the increased specificity of the subject. Another verbless clause with an adjectival predicate can be found in (16.9).

- (16.9) *[yi mandhe]_S [i hian]_{CMPL} e [yi mandren]_S [pormeruan solen]_{CMPL}*
 3SG younger 3 good and 3SG older greed
 much
 'The younger one was good and the older one was so greedy.'
 (greedy.brother.003)

Verbless clause complements may also contain prepositions expressing possession, as in (16.10), or purpose, as in (16.11).

- (16.10) *[wou]_S [ma ndur-m]_{CMPL}*
 2SG with child-2POSS
 'You have a child.' (benjamin.coconut.117)

- (16.11) *[masih aka]_S [i per yenyany]_{CMPL} ke*
 all DEM.DIST 3 ASSOC eat FOC
 'All that is just for eating.'

16.1.1 Predicative Possession

In traditional Lele predicative possession may be expressed with a verbless clause. In nominal possession the constituent structure is always *possessee - possessor*. In possessive predication the possessee may also follow the possessor, as in (16.12).

- (16.12) *[at-soro]_S [mwan pwi]_{CMPL}*
 POSS-3DU fire NEG
 'They had no fire.' (snake.lugos.008)

The fronting of *at-soro* topicalises and nominalises the prepositional construction, highlighting the possessor, not the possessed. See example (16.13), in contrast, which highlights the possessed, *ndop* 'basket'.

- (16.13) *[ndop]_S [oto pwi]_{CMPL}*
 basket 1SG.POSS NEG
 'The basket is not mine.'

Consider also the following positive example.

- (16.14) *[thermos oko]_S [at-(e)m]_{CMPL}*
 thermos DEM.PROX POSS-2SG.POSS
 'This thermos is yours.'

Demonstratives attach to the boundaries of noun phrases. In example (16.14), however, the proximate demonstrative *oko* follows the noun directly, thus separating it from its possessor which now functions as verbless clause complement.

The preceding predicative possessive constructions are becoming rare. There was only one instance occurring in a story in the Lele corpus. The remaining examples were elicited. The consultant pointed out that these constructions are becoming archaic and cease to be used. A much more common way to express predicative possession is through the use of existentials, see examples (16.15) and (16.16).

- (16.15) *mui oto ir po*
 dog 1SG.POSS COP:3SG do
 'My dog is here (with me). (intended: I have a dog.)'

- (16.16) *wum oto i-ta Lorongou*
 house 1SG.POSS 3-COP GN
 'My house is in Lorengau. (intended: I have a house in Lorengau)

Examples (16.15) and (16.16) were the result of an elicitation session on the concept of "having". Possession is expressed in a non-verbal clause with the possessum in subject position. Recently, a different construction has gained popularity. Due to the increasing use of Tok Pisin and English, clauses with *gat*, Tok Pisin for 'have', are becoming the default construction for predicative possession. See examples (16.17) and (16.18)

- (16.17) *Mwandrendra i-gat su lau aten marngul, Masusu*
 PN 3-have(TP) 3PL man POSS-3SG.POSS twenty PN
i-gat su lau at-(e)n marngul
 3-have(TP) 3PL man POSS-3SG.POSS twenty
 ‘Mwandrendra had his twenty men, Masusu had his twenty men.’
 (masusu.clouds.006-8)

- (16.18) *i=te gat meaning at-(e)n pwi*
 3=PRAG have(TP) meaning POSS-2SG.POSS NEG
 ‘It makes no sense.’ (overheard)

Note that while predicative possession was formerly expressed with a verbless clause, the new construction with *gat* is a form of verbal predication.

16.2 Copula Clauses

Copula clauses consist of the subject, a copula and the copula complement. Copula clauses express locational meanings and existential meanings. Lele has two copulas, copula I $V_{(agr)}r^5$ / *to* and copula II *ta*. For a formal overview and discussion of copulas see §3.3.3.1, p. 109ff. Both copulas may be used on their own. Copula II is similar in its function but has additional habitual overtones which is extended to express “to live somewhere”. Both copulas are restricted in verbal marking. They may both be accompanied by auxiliaries. The basic clause structure for a copula clause is *copula subject (S) - copula - copula complement (CMPL)*.

- (16.19) *pihin_S ir wum_{CMPL}*
 woman COP.3SG house
 ‘The woman was in the house.’

- (16.20) *kul_S ir ndran_{CMPL} aka, kul ir per-n*
 breadfruit COP.3SG water DEM.DIST breadfruit COP.3SG head-3SG.POSS
 ‘The breadfruit was at that river. The breadfruit was at the head of the river.’ (greedy.brother.016)

- (16.21) *wou_S=ta oho_{CMPL}?*
 2SG=COP where
 ‘Where are you?’

⁵ $V_{(agr)}$ stands for verbal subject agreement marker.

- (16.22) *yo_S=u-ta Sopun_{C MPL}*
 1SG=1SG-COP GN
 'I am at Sapon' or
 'I live in Sapon.'

Examples (16.23-16.25) show the sole use of the copulas.

- (16.23) *e su_S=to ke*
 and 3PL=COP FOC
 'And they just lived.'

- (16.24) *[mui at-(e)m]_S i-ta?*
 dog POSS-2SG.POSS 3-COP
 'Is your dog there?'

- (16.25) *aka [Masusu ke]_S i-ro*
 DEM.DIST PN FOC 3-be.SG
 'Now just Masusu remained.' (masusu.long.194)

16.3 Simple Verbal Clause

The core of the verbal clause is the verb as its predicate. Oceanic languages generally exhibit preverbal markers, either free or prefixed. As discussed earlier (§3.2), most verbal markers in Lele are prefixes or proclitics attached to the verb stem. Only the markers for transitivity are suffixed to the stem. The minimal clause may consist of just a verb marked for person / number and reality status. The following examples are simple ***intransitive clauses*** which feature one core argument.

- (16.26) *yo=u-metir*
 1SG=1SG-sleep
 'I slept.'

- (16.27) *kin-mat*
 PRF.3SG-die
 'She has died.'

- (16.28) *su=yau*
 3PL=leave
 'They left.'

Note that in (16.27) the overt subject is omitted as it was mentioned in the previous clause. This type of omission is not very common.

16.3.1 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses involve two core arguments, a subject (A) and an object (O). The neutral constituent order is AVO. See examples (16.29-16.32).

(16.29) *i_A-singen-i mwan_O*
 3-right-TR fire
 'He lit the fire.'

(16.30) *mwat_A hirung [nongen at ndere-n]_O*
 snake hear.3SG talk POSS sibling.same.sex -3SG.POSS
 'The snake heard the brother's words.' (snake.lugos.200)

(16.31) *i_A-tulemui ke [poho mui aka]_O*
 3-burn FOC mouth dog DEM.DIST
 'He just burned that dog's mouth.' (dog.speaks.60)

(16.32) *mundruluei_A i-re-i yi_O*
 hunger 3-kill-TR 3SG
 'Hunger killed him.' (man.dog.024)

Transitive verbs are often marked for transitivity, but frequently they also remain unmarked. Furthermore, there are degrees of transitivity which indicate the specificity of the object and add general emphasis to the event. Transitivity marking and its correlations with object specificity are discussed in §3.3.1 (p. 100 f.).

In transitive clauses **argument fronting**, a typical feature of Oceanic languages, is often employed for topicalisation. See examples (16.33-16.35).

(16.33) *[yenyān hian]_O su=hur me su=tweni*
 food good 3PL=get come 3PL=cook
 'They brought good food and cooked it.' (masusu.long.024)

(16.34) *hepke [longu per k-i-pehenou-i aka]_O i=te hir pwi*
 but thing ASSOC IRR-3-steal-TR DEM.DIST 3=PRAG take NEG
 'But all that was meant to be stolen he did not take.' (dog.speaks.36)

(16.35) *yi k-me an-en ke, [ndere-n]_{RECIP} i=te*
 3SG IRR-come POSS.food-3SG.POSS only sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS 3=PRAG
hang-i pwi
 give-TR NEG
 'He would come, and it would be his food only. He did not give anything to his brother.' (greedy.brother.006)

Examples (16.33) and (16.34) illustrate the topicalisation of transitive objects. Recipient arguments may also be fronted, as in (16.35).

16.3.2 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive constructions involve three core arguments, a subject, an object and a goal or recipient argument. There are two ways to code two objects in a clause in Lele: A ditransitive construction with the two objects following the verb directly, or through the use of a serial verb construction with ‘go’. Few verbs in Lele may occur in ditransitive constructions. These are *hang* ‘give’, *hanonue* ‘teach’ and *lelingen* ‘show’. Clauses with *hang* ‘give’ are the only obligatorily ditransitive constructions in Lele. The other ditransitive verbs can also be used within SVCs. First, a few examples with ‘give’ in (16.36-16.39).

(16.36) $yo_A=u-heng$ wou_{GOAL} $pamei_O$
 1SG=1SG-give.1SG 2SG betelnut
 ‘I gave you a betelnut.’

(16.37) * $yo_A=u-heng$ $pamei_O$ le $ndro$ wou_{GOAL}
 1SG=1SG-give.1SG betelnut go LOC 2SG
 ‘* I gave a betelnut to you.’

Examples (16.36) and (16.37) prove that the constituent order for ditransitive constructions is obligatorily A-V-Goal/Recipient-O. Example (16.38) is a clause with ‘teach’ and example (16.39) is a clause with ‘show’. Again, the recipient or goal argument follows the verb.

(16.38) $yo_A=ur$ po $hanonue$ wou_{RECIPI} $Lele_O$
 1SG=COP:1SG do teach 2SG Lele
 ‘I am teaching you Lele.’ (elicited)

(16.39) $yo_A=na-k-u-lelingen$ wou_{GOAL} $[melua$ su $yap]_O$
 1SG=INT-IRR-1SG-show 2SG spirit 3PL foreigner
 ‘I want to show you a photograph (lit. the spirit of foreigners).’
 (elicited.)

A construction such as in (16.39) can also be rendered as an SVC with ‘go’, as in (16.40). The goal argument is now clause final and embedded within an SVC.

- (16.40) *yo=na=k-u-lelingen [melua su yap]_O k-me ndro wou_{GOAL}*
 1SG=INT=IRR-1SG-show spirit 3PL foreigner IRR-come LOC 2SG
 'I want to show a photograph to you.'

Recipients and Goals are often rendered with SVCs containing *le* 'go' or *me* 'come', see (16.41) and (16.42).

- (16.41) *su=me, su=luk [Pilehemui]_O le [keyau]_{GOAL}*
 3PL=come 3PL=put PN go bed
 'They came and they put Pilehemui on the bed.' (wedding.mother.58)

- (16.42) *su=pwasou [yo]_O me ndro [wou]_{RECIP}*
 3PL=call 1SG come LOC 2SG
 'They reported me to you.' (octo.338)

16.3.3 Oblique Arguments

Oblique arguments are not required by the verb's valency but are additional arguments, expressing, for example, instruments, as in (16.43) or purposes, as in (16.44). Obliques are generally introduced with *le* 'go' in Lele. In this function, 'go' never receives any person marking, which suggests a process of grammaticalisation. The development of verbs for 'go' into adpositions or case markers is well documented in the world's languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002). In the Admiralties, similar cases can be found in Loniu (Hamel 1993) and Paluai (Schokkin 2014). In the current stage of language development, *le* 'go' can be still used as a full verb and also as a preposition. In the future a split of these two forms can be expected. The following examples illustrate the use of *le* to introduce oblique arguments.

- (16.43) *e i-hiti motou aka e hiti lu mbulei e i-spwih*
 and 3-take.3SG knife DEM.DIST and get.3SG leaf eaf.of.taro and 3-wipe
ndrei-n [le ri]_{INST}
 blood-3POSS go LOC
 'And she took that knife and took the taro leaf and she wiped her blood with it.' (menuai.016)

- (16.44) *i-k-i-heng* *wou ndouo aka* [*le peruan*
 3-IRR-3-give.3SG 2SG strength DEM.DIST go problems
w=e-mingsen-i]_{PURP}
 2SG=2SG-do-TR
 ‘She will give you that power for the problems you have settled.’
 (power.women.064)

Example (16.45) uses *le* to mark the topic of the clause and example (16.46) introduces a non-canonical argument for this construction. While the verb *hangurwini* requires a direct object, example (16.46) introduces a temporal argument.

- (16.45) [*le Sopun*]_{TOP} *aka* *ndran ke*
 go GN DEM.DIST water FOC
 ‘As for Sapon, theirs (Kelkal, a sago dish) is very watery.’ (kelkal.mon.019)

- (16.46) *wou=hangurwini* [*le rang*]_{TEMPORAL} *tor=la* *Madang?*
 2SG=remember go day 1DU.INCL=go GN
 ‘Do you remember the day we went to Madang?’

16.4 Complex Predication: Serial Verb Constructions

Complex predication involves more than one verbal element which each contribute to a complex construction that functions as a single predicate. Taking this definition as the basis, auxiliary constructions also form complex predications. They are discussed together with the category of aspect in §3.2.4.2. The second major type of complex predication in Lele is serial verb constructions (SVC). This term refers to a “sequence of verbs which form one predicate and bear no marking of subordination or coordination of any sort” (Aikhenvald 2014, p. 22). Thus, serial verb constructions function as monoverbal clauses in discourse. The verbs in an SVC share the values for the verbal categories outlined earlier (person / number, reality status, aspect and modality). SVCs share subjects. SVCs are widespread in Oceanic languages and are also used in Lele with high frequency. SVCs most commonly express motions or locations, but may also express a sequence of subevents, causes and purposes, see §16.4.1. SVCs differ from

auxiliary verb constructions in that each verbal part may occur independently and did not undergo semantic bleaching. The majority of Lele SVCs are composed asymmetrically, that is, they feature verbs from a grammatically and semantically unrestricted class as well as verbs from a restricted class. A purpose clause, for example, contains a general motion verb and a verb from an unrestricted class.

One way to consider SVCs is to look at the layer of the clause where serialisation takes place (Crowley 2007, Foley & Olson 1985). Nuclear serialisation is most prevalent in Lele. See example (16.47) which features several clauses that contain simple predicates as well as SVCs. Each predicate, simple or complex, represents a clausal nucleus and is therefore marked once only for person. No element intervenes.

- (16.47) *e [i-tundrah]. [i-mul me] pwan. [i-rai]. [i-rai mul me] pwan*
 and 3-come.down 3-return come down 3-come.down 3-come.down return
 come down
 'And he came down and went back down. He came down, came down and went back down.' (man.dog.034-035)

Core serialisation can also be found, as in (16.48) and (16.49).

- (16.48) *i-re-i [tasou pihin]_{O/S} aka i-met*
 3-beat-TR old woman DEM.DIST 3-die
 'He beat that old woman to death.'

- (16.49) *a-re-i yo_{O/S}=k-u-met*
 2SG-kill-TR 1SG=IRR-1SG-die.SG
 'Kill me.' (benjamin.coconut.112)

In the preceding two clauses, the object of the first core acts as the intransitive subject of the second core.

Serial verbs are widely used in Lele and can express a wide range of actions. The semantic range expressed through SVCs includes motions, sequences and purposes.

16.4.1 Semantic Classification of Lele SVCs

16.4.1.1 Motion/Location

The most common type of SVCs consists of a V1 that specifies the manner of motion and a V2 that expresses the kind of motion. V2 can be occupied by the following verbs:

me 'come' – movement towards the deictic centre

le 'go' – movement away from the deictic centre

-au / -ou 'move' – movement away from the deictic centre.

The following example with the verb *mul* 'return', illustrates that the V2 verb may simply express whether the motion took place towards the deictic centre or away from it. The use of the verb *me* 'come' in example (16.50) expresses the fact that the referent returned to the deictic centre.

(16.50) *yi=i-mul me*
3SG=3-return come
'S/he returned.'

The subject *yi* '3SG' is both the subject of the first and the second verb and can therefore be called same-subject construction. Each of the verbs in the above construction may occur independently and is not semantically bleached or syntactically dependent as is the case for auxiliaries in auxiliary verb constructions. Example (16.51) presents a motion verb construction which is extended with a locational object, *wum* 'house'.

(16.51) *e le muren su=mul me wum*
and go later 3PL=return come house
'And later they went back to the (their) house.'
(snake.northcoast.189)

(16.52) *ipiah ndremta-n i-mul le me wum*
afternoon owner-3SG.POSS 3-return go come house
'In the afternoon the (dog's) owner returned to (his) house.'
(dog.speaks.37)

The previous examples were all marked once only for person / number. Example (16.52) is an excerpt from a story about a dog that wards off a thief. The dog's owner had left and returns to his house.

SVCs of motion may also consist of two sets of “manner of motion - direction of motion”, as in (16.53), used in this context for emphasis of the process.

- (16.53) *e kut i-wop, i-you mul le ndas*
 and octopus 3-run.away 3-move.3SG return go sea
 ‘And the octopus ran away and it returned to the sea.’ (octo.326)

Example (16.54) is a non-contiguous construction with a specific motion verb in V1 and a copula in V2. The object of V1, *ni at-soro* ‘their fish’, is the sole subject for V2.

- (16.54) **sor=ha-pini** *ni at-soro ir ndre pat e ni pokor*
 3DU=NSG-throw fish POSS-3DU COP.3SG on.top.of stone and fish dry
 ‘The two threw their fish on top of the stone and the fish dried.’
 (snake.lugos.010)

16.4.1.2 Sequential

Another type of SVC expresses sequential meaning that could be translated as “X does this and then that”, but is perceived as one semantic and syntactic unit. Typically, the concept of bringing something somewhere is expressed with a serial verb as in (16.55).

- (16.55) *heti mbunanah k-i-me*
 get.2SG child IRR-3-come
 ‘Bring the child here!’ (pipalnandren.067)

Example (16.55) is an example where the object of the first verb *mbunanah* is the subject of the second verb. The indicator of the subject status of (*mbunanah*) is the third person agreement marker on the second verb. It is thus called switch-subject serial verb construction.

Another example for a switch-subject construction can be found in (16.56).

- (16.56) *e loping i-me hiti su ma-hangul, i-pini su la lundie*
 conj night 3-come take.3SG 3PL PROP-forty 3-throw 3PL go.NSG inside
net
 net(TP)

'And at night he came to take the forty [men] and threw them into the net.' (masusu.long.048)

Example (16.56) describes a sequence of the actor of the story taking the forty men and placing them into a net. In (16.56) the object of *pini* 'throw' is also the subject of *la* 'go.NSG', as cross-referenced on the verb.

16.4.1.3 Causative

Causative serial verb constructions denotes the cause and result of an action. In example (16.57) is a prototypical example with 'kill', literally 'beat to death'.

- (16.57) *i-re-i tasou pihin aka i-met*
3-hit-TR old(human) woman DEM.DIST 3-die
'He killed that old woman (lit. beat her to death).' (ngar.mui.189)

Recall also example (16.49) on core serialisation. Both examples are symmetrical serial verb constructions. These causative constructions are rare in Lele. Cause and effect sequences are often split in two clauses with the first clause denoting the cause and the second clause denoting the result.

16.4.1.4 Purposive

Another type of serial verb constructions in Lele denotes purposeful actions. As in (16.58).

- (16.58) *mapping i-tne i-you le ta-i yipi*
morning 3-stand 3-leave.3SG go beat-TR sago
'In the morning he left to beat sago.' (masusu.long.096)

The first part of example (16.56) denotes a purposeful action.

- (16.59) *e loping i-me hiti su ma-hangul*
conj night 3-come take.3SG 3PL PROP-forty
'And at night he came to take the forty [men].' (masusu.long.048)

16.5 Polarity

Polarity is consistent across all clause types and can therefore be described in a general and simple way. The negator *pwi* has been described in the closed classes section. The discontinuous type of negation in Lele with *te...pwi* forms a brace around the predicate plus its arguments. See the following examples.

(16.60) *i-[te la hur ndol pwi]*
3-PRAG go take canoe NEG

'He did not take the canoe.' (potou.haus.boi.tungou.71)

(16.61) *yo=[te la Lorongou pwi]*
1SG=PRAG go GN NEG

'I did not go to Lorengau.'

(16.62) *wou=[te metir pwi]?*
2SG=PRAG sleep NEG

'Did not you sleep?'

(16.63) *mui hanu [masih pwi]*
dog before all NEG

'Before there weren't many dogs.'

Examples (16.60-16.62) are all examples for negation of verbal clauses. Negative polarity causes a reduction of finiteness through the use of the general pragmatic particle *te*. See the forms of 'go' in examples (16.60) and (16.61)⁶. Example (16.63) shows that verbless negation does not feature the initial pragmatic particle *te*. Constituents are negated by the negator *pwi* directly following the NP in its scope. See examples (16.64) and (16.65).

(16.64) *ir ta-tne ke lopohonum aka **salue-n** pwi i-ro*
COP.3SG PROG-stand only FOC DEM.DIST clothes-3POSS NEG 3-COP

'Now she was just standing outside of the house without her clothes.'

(pwelpwal.107)

(16.65) *ndramet **ndelnga-n** pwi*
man ear-3SG.POSS NEG

'a deaf man'

⁶For paradigms of 'go' and other motion verbs see §3.3.2.

16.6 Subordination

The default subordination in Lele is unmarked morpho-syntactically, but merely marked by intonation. Final and non-final intonation are easily distinguishable in Lele. Non-final intonation is either level or rising, whereas final intonation is falling. The difference between these two intonational curves is often quite pronounced. Subordinate clause and matrix clause are simply juxtaposed, with the subordinate clause preceding the matrix clause. Lele furthermore exhibits relative clauses (§16.6.1), conditional clauses (§16.6.2) and purpose clauses (§16.6.3). As an example for unmarked subordination, see example (16.66).

- (16.66) *[an-tu soroh pwi]_{SUB} [a=tu=k-ain lu melei ke
 CLF.food-1PL.INCL meat NEG POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-eat leaf aibika FOC
 mulhei le por yipi]_{MATRIX}
 on.its.own go with sago
 'If there is no meat, we will just eat aibika (green leafy vegetable)
 on its own with sago.'*

The subordinate clause is preposed to the its matrix clause without any marking except a rise in intonation and pause following the subordinate clause.

16.6.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses modify heads of noun phrases. In Lele they mirror the structure of an NP in that relative clauses immediately follow their nominal heads. It can be observed that most VO languages are of the type N-REL, that is the noun is followed by its relative clause; in fact the majority of languages let relative clauses follow their nominal heads. Consider example (16.67). The common argument (CA) is the main clause object *ndramet* 'the man' which functions as sole argument in the intransitive relative clause.

- (16.67) *yo=tono [ndramet_{O/S} ir ndan pihe]_{RC} aka
 1SG=know.1SG man PROG:3SG dance.NSG yesterday DEM.DIST
 'I know the man that danced yesterday.' (elicited)*

In example (16.68) the main clause object *pihin* ‘woman’ is also the object of the relative clause. Note that the relativised argument is not omitted in this example.

- (16.68) *yo=tono [pihin]_O [ndramet i-tiling-i yi_O aka]_{RC}*
 1SG=know.1SG woman man 3-see-TR 3SG DEM.DIST
 ‘I know the woman who the man saw’ (elicited)

In examples (16.69-16.70) the CA acts as sole argument in the main clauses and as object in the relative clauses. In both examples the object is omitted in the relative clause.

- (16.69) *ni_S [wou=hangen yo ∅_O pihe]_{RC} i-naman*
 fish 2SG=give 1SG ∅ yesterday 3-delicious
 ‘The fish that you gave to me yesterday was delicious.’ (elicited)

- (16.70) *longu_S [su mbunanah ha-pwai ∅_O]_{RC} i-kolto*
 thing 3PL child NSG-say ∅ 3-be.DEM.DIST
 ‘Everything the children said is there (i.e. is true).’ (octo.297)

Since relative clauses are modifiers of heads of NPs, the following construction is not a canonical relative clause. The relative clause is not embedded within the main clause but rather adjoined to it. Therefore, this construction can be considered as an adjoined relative clause, which does not involve embedding.

- (16.71) *[pihin_S i-met pihe aka] yo=ton [yi]_O*
 woman 3-die yesterday DEM.DIST 1SG=know.1SG 3SG
 ‘The woman who died yesterday, I knew her.’ (elicited)

The relativisation in (16.71) topicalises the relativised argument through fronting (further emphasised by the use of the demonstrative). It is not a canonical relative clause, since the relative clause is not a syntactic constituent of the main clause. However, the main clause and subordinate clause still share a common argument, *pihin* ‘the woman’. A more typical relative clause construction would feature the CA, which is subject of the embedded clause, cross-referenced on the verb in the embedded clause. See (16.72):

(16.72) *yo=ton pihin_O [[i]_S-met pihe aka]_{RC}*
 1SG=know.1SG woman 3-die yesterday DEM.DIST
 'I know the woman that died yesterday'

However, in (16.71) the semantically shared argument is fully realised in both main clause and adjoined relative clause, therefore the relative clause is not syntactically embedded. Furthermore, there is a distinct pause between the preposed adjoined relative clause and the following clause. Constructions like these are not uncommon in Lele due to the tendency of the language to topicalise arguments.

Oblique arguments can also be relativised in Lele. In (16.73) a main clause instrument *ndrilkei* 'coconut oil' acts as inner locative in the embedded clause.

(16.73) *e mu=k-e-spwih k-le por ndrilkei_{INST} [range ndr-u-n*
 and 2PL=IRR-NSG-wipe IRR-go with coconut.oil today bone-3SG.POSS
i-ta ri_{LOC} aka]
 3-COP LOC DEM.DIST
 'And wipe it with the coconut oil in which the bones were dipped.'
 (menuai.153)

In example (16.74) a main clause object occurs as possessor in the relative clause.

(16.74) *e su=ha-i-Indri [hepsah sih]_O [tan-su ngar-(e)[n]_{POSS} pwi]_{RC}*
 and 3PL=NSG-3-see:TR something one know-3PL name-3SG.POSS NEG
 'And they saw something whose name they did not know.'
 (octo.031-032)

In example (16.75) a main clause sole argument occurs as possessor of the property of "being greedy" in the relative clause.

(16.75) *e [ndere-n mandren]_S [range hanu [pormeruan*
 and sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS older today before greed
solen]_{POSS}_{RC}, aka i-le hian aka
 many DEM.DIST 3-go good DEM.DIST
 'And his older brother who was so greedy before, that one became a good man.' (greedy.brother.124-125)

16.6.2 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced with the subordinator *k/le*. The form *k/le* is derived from *k-le* ‘IRR-go’ but has become grammaticalised into a subordinating morpheme in conditional clauses. *K/le* is mainly used as a conditional marker, but can also have temporal meaning. See examples (16.76-16.78).

- (16.76) [*k/le mor=te hirung nongen oto pwi*]_{COND}, *wa=mor=k-amet*
 COND 2DU=PRAG hear.3SG words POSS NEG POT=2DU=IRR-die
 ‘If you don’t listen to my words, you will die.’
 (pic1-20C17120A.0073-74)

- (16.77) *mbuekei sih ke. aka i helian. [k/le mor=k-ain]*_{COND},
 fruit one only DEM.DIST 3 forbidden COND 2DU=IRR-eat
a=mor=k-a-met
 POT=2DU=IRR-NSG-die
 ‘There is only one fruit. That one is forbidden. If you eat it, you will die.’ (pic1-20C17120A.0091-93, bible translation)

- (16.78) *hian tekere wou het i yo. e [k/le pwi]*_{COND}, *yo*
 good like 2SG get.2SG 1SG and COND NEG 1SG
k-u-hungeni su ndor mu masih oko su-k-menda
 IRR-1SG-look.after.1SG 3PL child 2PL all DEM.PROX 3PL-IRR-become.big
k-e-pomut
 IRR-NSG-completely
 ‘Good that you caught me. And if you hadn’t, I would have fed your children until they would have become fat.’ (octo.330-332)

Example (16.79) demonstrates the use of *k/le* as a temporal marker, roughly translating to “when” or “each time”.

- (16.79) [*k/le tam-(e)n le to oho*]_{TEMP}, *yi=k-me aka i-ta*
 TEMP father-3SG.POSS go be where 3SG=IRR-come DEM.DIST 3-HAB
hilou le e i-mukweni tam-(e)n.
 run go and 3=rejoice.in father-3SG.POSS.
 ‘When her father went somewhere, he would come back and she would come running and rejoice in her father.’ (pipalhandren.058-059)

16.6.3 Purpose Clause

Purpose clauses are introduced with the associative *per*, otherwise used as a preposition. Purpose clauses follow their main clause since they act like oblique arguments to the main predicate. Purpose clauses also contain a verb marked for irrealis since the action is not realised yet.

(16.80) *i-pwei le ndro yi [per yi=k-nges pamei]_{PURP}*
3-say go LOC 3SG ASSOC 3SG=IRR-climb betelnut

'He told him to climb the betelnut tree (in order to harvest betelnut).'

(16.81) *e su ha-hur pihin ho-mou e iesou le Perluh [per*
and 3PL NSG-take girl one-NCLF:human and marry go GN ASSOC
su=k-e-ha-tan-su tesah su ta poyil le ri]_{PURP}
3PL=IRR-NSG-NSG-know-3PL what 3PL HAB fight go LOC

'And they took one girl and married her to Pitilou Island people so that they would know what it was they fought with (that made them so successful).'

(16.82) *nane-n i-ta luk ndur-n [per yi=k-i-ndrou k-le*
mother-3SG.POSS 3-HAB leave child-3SG.POSS ASSOC 3SG=IRR-3-play IRR-see
niu]_{PURP}
coconut

'His / her mother lets the child play with the coconut.

(lit. His / her mother leaves her child so that s/he can play with the coconut.)' (elicited)

16.6.4 Sequential Clause

Sequential clauses are introduced with the clitic *pe=* attached to the verb (see §13.5 on the sequential marker). A sequential clause indicates that the action performed has immediate effect upon the action in the following clause. They form a sequence of events. Sequential clauses are often translated and introduced with "as..." in the English translations of examples. Sequential clauses may be closed with final *pwi* which in this context is not the clause-final negator *pwi*. The addition of final *pwi* is optional and does not alter the meaning or use of a sequential clause. I therefore gloss *pe=* as well as *pwi* as sequential markers. With that, the sequential clause occurs in two structural variants: one variant with initial

pe= only and another discontinuous variant with final *pwi*. See examples (16.83) - (16.85). Recall from §3.2.2 that irrealis denotes not only future events, but also generally immediately impending events or hypothetical events irrespective of actual temporal reference.

(16.83) *pe=k-i-lik-i pondran le pwan pwi, lehe snel aka*
 SEQ=IRR-3-put-TR water.container go down SEQ tooth bush.spirit DEM.DIST
i-ror
 3-drop
 'As she put down the water container (from which she had been drinking), the bush spirit's teeth dropped out.' (powat.nambis.153-54)

(16.84) *sor=kah-kah, sor=ha-his, pe=sor=k-al poholeng*
 3DU=look.for-look.for 3DU=NSG-jump SEQ=3DU=IRR-go beach
sor=ha-i-lndri po riwa mwat ir poholeng
 3DU=NSG-3-see:TR backside mark snake COP:3SG beach
 'They looked and looked (for the snake), they jumped up. As they went to the beach they saw the snake's mark on the beach.' (snake.northcoast.230)

(16.85) *ping ma-hahou e pe=k-i-lele le, e mbo niu,*
 night PROP-four and SEQ=IRR-3-look again and seedling coconut
pal-n aka me talah mbo niu
 head-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST come appear seedling coconut
 'Four nights were over and as he looked again, there was a coconut seedling. His (brother's) head had become the seedling of a coconut tree.' (benjamin.coconut.159-61)

Sequential clauses often occur in stories or legends as the given example sentences. Sequential clauses are used less often in everyday conversation.

The similarity between clause-final negator *pwi* and the sequential *pwi* is striking. However, while negative clauses with clause-final *pwi* have a falling intonation, sequential clauses, are generally marked by a distinct rise in intonation, a non-final intonation. The following graph was produced from example (13.12) from §13.5 and illustrates the rising intonation. The example was chosen as it contains both sequential *pwi* and negator *pwi*, highlighting the contrasting intonational patterns.

(16.86) *yi=pe=k-indri pwi, ndor-n te to pwi,*
 3=SEQ=IRR-3-see SEQ child-3SG.POSS PRAG COP NEG child-3SG.POSS
ndor-n kin-mat
 PRF.3SG-die

'When he went to see his child wasn't there (was no more). S/he had died.' (lout.mui.102)

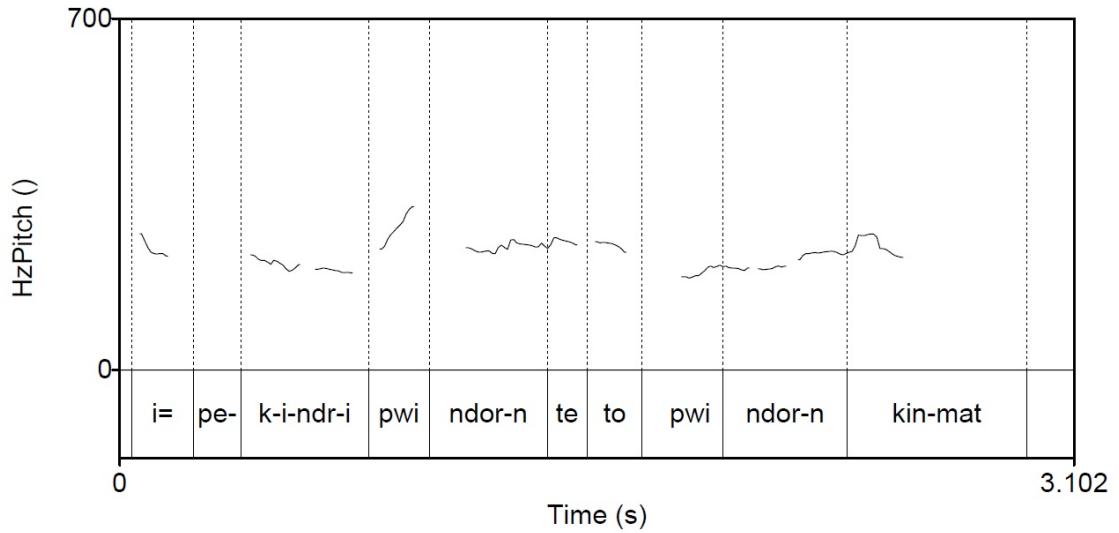


Figure 16.1: Sequential *pwi* - intonation curve (female speaker)

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Appendices

Appendix A

Pictures



Figure A.1: Sago leaf house



Figure A.2: A Clay Pot on Cooking Stones



Figure A.3: "Pat Lokomou". Pictured: Enoch (left), Pondros (right), Pohau (background) and Nita, sitting on top of the stone

Appendix B

Interlinearised and Glossed Texts

The following texts were collected during the researcher's stay on Manus Island. They are stories and legends narrated by speakers from the villages of Sapon Highway, Sapon Wara and Tungou Masih. The individual intonation units (B.#) vary greatly in length. Some intonation units are quite long, others very short. These uneven units are due to the speaker's rhythm of speech. A longer pause, even within a sentence, marks the end of one intonation unit and the beginning of the next unit.

I The Story of Pipalnandren (9 min)

This story is very specific to Sapon, as the narrator Benjamin Pondra mentions. Whether it is a legend or just a story is not clear and people tend to differ in their explanations. It is relatively common to have stories which feature bush spirits (Masalais in Tok Pisin) which take on the shape of humans and trick people into believing that they are family members such as spouses. There are also other stories in which bush spirits can take the shape of animals. In any case, this story reflects a cultural fear of those bush spirits and it also reflects the cannibalistic practices in Manus' past. The narrator is in his early seventies and is very active in the SDA church. In the past he frequently attended church seminars outside of Manus and he was also educated in part outside of Manus. Therefore the narrator used mainly Tok Pisin in his everyday life for a large part of his life. He is still very conscious of his mother tongue. Prior to narrating this story he wrote it down and learned it by heart. It is partly narrated and partly read by him.

(B.1) *mwalih per Sopun*
story ASSOC GN

This is a story of Sapon.

(B.2) *Pipalnandren e ndor-n pihin mandehe ke*
PN and child-3SG.POSS girl young FOC

Pipalnandren and her little daughter.

(B.3) *rang sih Pipalnandren i-pwei le ndro ndor-n i-pwei*
day one PN 3-say go LOC child-3SG.POSS 3-say

One day Pipalnandren said to her child, she said:

- (B.4) *tor=k-ala mwen ndran*
 1DU.INCL=IRR-go fetch.water water
 "Let's go and fetch water."
- (B.5) *e i-pwei kle nano*
 and 3-say alright mother.1SG.POSS
 And she said "Alright, mother!"
- (B.6) *ndor-n i-pwei kle nano*
 child-3SG.POSS 3-say alright mother.1SG.POSS
 The child said "Alright, mother!"
- (B.7) *tor=k-ala*
 1DU.INCL=IRR-go
 "Let's go!"
- (B.8) *soro=kun-i pondran at-soro masih le ndop*
 3DU=carry-TR water.container POSS-3DU all go basket
 They carried all their water containers in a basket.
- (B.9) *e sor=yau la ndran*
 and 3DU=move go water
 And they went to the river.
- (B.10) *sor=la*
 3DU=go
 They went.
- (B.11) *Pipalnandren i-pwei le ndro ndor-n al nu*
 PN 3-say go LOC child-3SG.POSS go bathe
 Pipalnandren said to her child: "Go and bathe!"
- (B.12) *e yo-k-u-mwen-i ndran*
 and 1SG-IRR-1SG-fetch.water-TR water
 "And I will fetch water."
- (B.13) *ndor-n i-rkai le ndran i-le*
 child-3SG.POSS 3-walk go water 3-go
 Her child walked into the water gradually.
- (B.14) *e i-le ndran mapenan parpaken-n*
 and 3-go water extent.of hip-3SG.POSS
 She went until the water reached her hips.
- (B.15) *e i-pwei nano yo-k-u-min oko*
 and 3-say mother.1SG.POSS 1SG-IRR-1SG-stay DEM.PROX
 She said: "Mother, shall I stay here?"

- (B.16) *nane-n pwei te pwi al hepe sih ngo*
 mother-3SG.POSS say PRAG NEG go a.little one further
 Her mother said: “No, go a little further!”
- (B.17) *e yi-rkai le*
 and 3SG-walk go
 And she walked on.
- (B.18) *i-le i-le ndran mapenan pongutu-n*
 3-go 3-go water extent.of rib-3SG.POSS
 She went on and on until the water reached her ribs.
- (B.19) *i-pwei nano yo-k-u-min oko*
 3-say mother.1SG.POSS 1SG-IRR-1SG-stay DEM.PROX
 She said: “Mother, shall I stay here?”
- (B.20) *nane-n pwei te pwi al hepe sih ngo*
 mother-3SG.POSS say PRAG NEG go a.little one further
 Her mother said: “No, go a little further!”
- (B.21) *e yi-rkai le*
 and 3SG-walk go
 And she walked on.
- (B.22) *yi-rkai le i-le le ndran mapenan perkol-n*
 3SG-walk go 3-go go water extent.of neck-3SG.POSS
 She walked on and on until the water reached her neck.
- (B.23) *e i-pwei nano yo-k-u-min oko*
 and 3-say mother.1SG.POSS 1SG-IRR-1SG-stay DEM.PROX
 And she said: “Mother, shall I stay here?”
- (B.24) *i-pwei te pwi al hepe sih ngo*
 3-say PRAG NEG go a.little one further
 She said: “No, go a little further!”
- (B.25) *e yi-rkai le le le le*
 and 3SG-walk go go go go
 And she walked on and on and on and on.
- (B.26) *e le muruan*
 and go deep
 It (the river) became deep.
- (B.27) *e nime-n pwi*
 and hand-3SG.POSS NEG
 And her hand was not to be seen anymore.

- (B.28) *e i-le lol, i-le lol*
and 3-go drown 3-go drown
And she drowned, she drowned.
- (B.29) *e i-met, i-me pit e i-sou*
and 3-die.SG 3-come float and 3-remain
And she died. She floated (on the water surface).
- (B.30) *Pipalnandren i-mwen-i ndran pondran masih*
PN 3-fetch.water-TR water water.container all
Pipalnandren fetched the water and filled all of the water containers.
- (B.31) *pokot longu masih i-mwan-i pomut*
water.container thing all 3-fire-TR finish
She had finished filling all the big water containers.
- (B.32) *e i-le. e i-le heri ndor-n kin-mat*
and 3-go and 3-go take.NSG child-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-die
And she left. She went to take her dead child.
- (B.33) *i-me i-te re-i*
3-come 3-PRAG hit-TR
She came and she hit her.
- (B.34) *yi ist-i ndrine-n i-lki le lundie-n*
3SG cut.open-TR abdomen-3SG.POSS 3-put go inside-3SG.POSS
She cut her open to remove the insides (for cleaning) and put them back in.
- (B.35) *e kun-i ndran at-n*
and carry-TR water POSS-3SG.POSS
And she carried her water.
- (B.36) *hit-i ndor-n kin-mat, hit-i i-luk-i le por ndop*
take.3SG-TR child-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-die take.3SG-TR 3-put-TR go with basket
She took her dead child, she took her and put her into a basket.
- (B.37) *e i-kun-i le wum*
and 3-carry-TR go house
And she carried her to the house.
- (B.38) *me talah le wum i-singen-i mwan*
come appear go house 3-light-TR fire
When she had arrived at the house she lit a fire.
- (B.39) *e i-sulu-i ndor-n*
and 3-singe.hair-TR child-3SG.POSS
And she singed her child's hair.

- (B.40) *i-sulu-i pomut*
 3-singe.hair-TR finish
 She finished singeing
- (B.41) *e yi-luk-i le kur*
 and 3SG-put-TR go pot
 and she put her into a pot.
- (B.42) *e yi-ruin yi*
 and 3SG-boil 3SG
 And she boiled her.
- (B.43) *yi-ruin yi, yi-ruin mah*
 3SG-boil 3SG 3SG-boil taro
 She boiled her, she boiled taro.
- (B.44) *e pomut i-meyis mah e ndor-n i-meyis*
 EMPH finish 3-cooked taro and child-3SG.POSS 3-cooked
 And once done, when the taro and her child were done...
- (B.45) *i-luk-i le lus*
 3-put-TR go big.dish
 she put them on a big dish.
- (B.46) *i-luk-i mah le lus*
 3-put-TR taro go big.dish
 She put the taro on a big dish.
- (B.47) *i-luk-i ndor-n kin-meyis aka le ndre mah*
 3-put-TR child-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-cooked DEM.DIST go on.top.of taro
 She put that cooked child of hers on top of the taro.
- (B.48) *e i-ro, ndelnga-n pe=k-i-le*
 and 3-COP ear-3SG.POSS SEQ=IRR-3-go
 And she remained. Suddenly she heard something.
- (B.49) *e mui i-kong*
 and dog 3-bark
 And the dog barked.
- (B.50) *tam-soro ir lonhou i-me, aka su=la nak lout*
 father-3DU COP:3SG bush 3-come DEM.DIST 3PL=go climb.NSG cuscus
 The father who was in the bush came (back) now, they had hunted
 for cuscus¹.

¹Spilocuscus kraemeri, a marsupial

- (B.51) *e i-lele i-le e i-pwei oko sieh*
 and 3-look 3-go and 3-say DEM.PROX who
 And she looked around and she said: “Who is this?”
- (B.52) *pe=k-i-lele oh tam-(e)n kin-me, himbu la ke*
 SEQ=IRR-3-look oh father-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-come hurry go FOC
hit-i
 take.3SG-TR
 As she looked: “Oh, her father has come! Hurry and take her
 (away)!”
- (B.53) *i-luk-i le lus, i-luk-i le le to palpai*
 3-put-TR go big.dish 3-put-TR go go COP place.for.firewood
 She put her (the daughter) on the big dish, she put her on top of the
 firewood storage place (above the fire place).
- (B.54) *e i-me me pwan e pwahilou te ke i-te mingse*
 and 3-come come ground and lie PRAG FOC 3-PRAG do
hepsah pwi
 something NEG
 And she came back down and she pretended just as if she had not
 done anything.
- (B.55) *hepke kamel at-n me*
 but man POSS-3SG.POSS come
 But her husband came.
- (B.56) *mandehe ke sih te sih i-ta mukwen-i tam-(e)n*
 young FOC one PRAG one 3-HAB rejoice.in-TR father-3SG.POSS
 The little one always rejoiced in her father (she happily greeted him).
- (B.57) *kle tam-(e)n le to oho, yi-k-me*
 COND father-3SG.POSS go COP where 3SG-IRR-come
 When her father went somewhere and he’d come back...
- (B.58) *aka i-ta hilou le e i-mukwen-i tam-(e)n*
 DEM.DIST 3-HAB run.3SG go and 3-rejoice.in-TR father-3SG.POSS
 then she would come running.
- (B.59) *malapo pwi*
 now NEG
 Not so now.
- (B.60) *kin-mat. nane-n kin-tweni*
 PRF.3SG-die mother-3SG.POSS PRF.3SG-cook
 She had died. Her mother had cooked her.

- (B.61) *e tam-(e)n i-me*
and father-3SG.POSS 3-come
And her father came.
- (B.62) *mʋunanah te hilou pwi aka, te la hir-i tam-(e)n*
child PRAG run.3SG NEG DEM.DIST PRAG go get-TR father-3SG.POSS
pwi
NEG
The child did not run, she did not get (hug) her father.
- (B.63) *i-me, i-sendeman-i*
3-come 3-ask-TR
He came and he asked:
- (B.64) *Pipalnandren mandehe ke oho*
PN young FOC where
“Pipalnandren, where is the little one?”
- (B.65) *Pipalnandren i-pwei te yo-tono pwi*
PN 3-say PRAG 1SG-know.1SG NEG
Pipalnandren said: “I don’t know.”
- (B.66) *mayin*
who.knows
“Who knows!”
- (B.67) *a=kina ndro tumbu-n soro tumbu-n*
POT=go.PRF.3SG LOC grandparent-3SG.POSS 3DU grandparent-3SG.POSS
e tato-n
and grandmother-3SG.POSS
“She must have gone to her grandparents, her grandfather and grandmother.”
- (B.68) *i-pwei hian ala al hir-i, ala, al-pwai ndro soro, heti mʋunanah*
3-say good go go get-TR go go-say LOC 3DU get.2SG child
k-i-me
IRR-3-come
He said: “Good. Go and get her. Go. Go and talk to the two. Bring the child here.”
- (B.69) *yi-le ma ndes at-(e)n, ndes sih*
3SG-go with walking.stick POSS-3SG.POSS walking.stick one
She went with her walking stick, a walking stick.
- (B.70) *e i-le le to sal, te la pwi*
and 3-go go COP road PRAG go NEG
And she went and stayed on the road. She did not go (on).

- (B.71) *te la soro, ndro soro tasou pwi*
 PRAG go 3DU LOC 3DU old.person NEG
 She did not go to the two (grandparents).
- (B.72) *le to sal i-resoso i-resoso i-resoso*
 go COP road 3-waste.time 3-waste.time 3-waste.time
 She stayed on the road and wasted time for a long time.
- (B.73) *pomut i-mul me*
 finish 3-return come
 Finished, she returned home.
- (B.74) *i-mul me*
 3-return come
 She returned home...
- (B.75) *e kamel at-n sendeman-i yi mandehe ke oho*
 and man POSS-3SG.POSS ask-TR 3SG young FOC where
 and her husband asked her: "Where is the little one?"
- (B.76) *i-pwei te oh pwi te to ndro soro pwi*
 3-say PRAG oh NEG PRAG COP LOC 3DU NEG
 She said: "Oh no, she is not with the two."
- (B.77) *mayin, a=kina ndro ndukto-n*
 who.knows POT=go.PRF.3SG LOC aunt-3SG.POSS
 "Who knows? She must have gone to her aunt."
- (B.78) *ala*
 go
 "Go!"
- (B.79) *al sendeman-i ndukto-n, al heri mbunanah k-me*
 go ask-TR aunt-3SG.POSS go get.2SG child IRR-come
 "Go and ask her aunt! Go and bring the child here!"
- (B.80) *le ndro ndukto-n*
 go LOC aunt-3SG.POSS
 When she went to the aunt...
- (B.81) *le te la ndro ndukto-n pwi, hit-i ndes*
 go PRAG go LOC aunt-3SG.POSS NEG take.3SG-TR walking.stick
at-(e)n
 POSS-3SG.POSS
 she did not go to the aunt, she just took her walking stick.
- (B.82) *i-le le to sal i-resoso i-resoso i-resoso i-resoso*
 3-go go COP road 3-waste.time 3-waste.time 3-waste.time 3-waste.time
 She stayed on the road and wasted time for a long time.

- (B.83) *pomut i-mul me*
 finish 3-return come
 Finished, she returned home.
- (B.84) *i-mul me i-pwei*
 3-return come 3-say
 When she returned home he said,
- (B.85) *kamel at-(e)n sendeman-i*
 man POSS-3SG.POSS ask-TR
 her husband asked her':
- (B.86) *mandehe ke oho*
 young FOC where
 "Where is the little one?"
- (B.87) *pwei, mayin, i-te to pwi, mayin, kina ndro*
 say who.knows 3-PRAG COP NEG who.knows go.PRF.3SG LOC
tue-n su
 uncle-3SG.POSS 3PL
 She said: "Who knows! She is not there. Who knows! She has gone
 to her uncle and his family."
- (B.88) *ala. al pwai ndro tue-n su, al pur-i mbunanah k-me*
 go go say LOC uncle-3SG.POSS 3PL go get-TR child IRR-come
 "Go! Go and talk to her uncle and his family! Go and bring the child
 here!"
- (B.89) *i-le ma ndes at-(e)n sou nime-n*
 3-go with walking.stick POSS-3SG.POSS be hand-3SG.POSS
 She went with her walking stick that rested in her hand.
- (B.90) *le le to sal*
 go go COP road
 She went and stayed on the road.
- (B.91) *i-le mingse le teri. resoso, le tasoso le*
 3-go do go as.before waste.time.3SG go waste.time.NSG go
tasoso le tasoso, pomut i-mul me
 waste.time.NSG go waste.time.NSG finish 3-return come
 She did just as before, wasted time, went and wasted time for a long
 time. Finished, she returned home.
- (B.92) *taim i-kin-yau yi-kina kina, i-Indri ndur-n*
 when(TP) 3-PRF.3SG-move 3SG-go.PRF.3SG go.PRF.3SG 3-see child-3SG.POSS
 When she had left, he saw his child.

- (B.93) *e tam-n ie-n aka ndelnga-n ndohongo-n*
 and father-3SG.POSS stay-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST ear-3SG.POSS nose-3SG.POSS
pe=k-i-le pwen hingui
 SEQ=IRR-3-go COMPL smell.3SG
 And her father who was there, now his senses became alert and he
 smelled something.
- (B.94) *hingui ngunho mbunanah iruin-i*
 smell.3SG smell child boil.3SG-TR
 He smelled the child boiling (or the boiled child)
- (B.95) *ir palpai*
 COP:3SG place.for.firewood
 on top of the firewood.
- (B.96) *mar-(e)n le ngongho-n*
 eye-3SG.POSS go steam-3SG.POSS
 His gaze turned towards the steam (that emanated from the child).
- (B.97) *ngongho-n le*
 steam-3SG.POSS go
 Steam came up.
- (B.98) *aka te sah*
 DEM.DIST PRAG what
 “What is that?”
- (B.99) *i-tne i-le i-sou ri i-Indri*
 3-stand 3-go 3-be LOC 3-see
 He stood up he went there and he saw her.
- (B.100) *pe=k-i-Indri le ke mbunanah i-ro*
 SEQ=IRR-3-see go FOC child 3-COP
 Just when he went to see he saw the child (inside).
- (B.101) *ma nime-n ir ndre lus*
 with hand-3SG.POSS COP:3SG on.top.of big.dish
 With his hand on the big dish (he said:)
- (B.102) *hey*
 hey
 “Hey!”
- (B.103) *e pihin oko iruin-i mbunanah e pwahilou ke yo*
 and woman DEM.PROX boil.3SG-TR child and lie FOC 1SG
 “And this woman boiled the child and she just lied to me.”

- (B.104) *hian*
good
“Fine!”
- (B.105) *Pipalnandren i-me aka*
PN 3-come DEM.DIST
Pipalnandren came back now.
- (B.106) *i-me i-pwei te*
3-come 3-say PRAG
She came and she said:
- (B.107) *tete!*
father
“Papa!”
- (B.108) *tete, mbunanah te to ndro su pwi*
father child PRAG COP LOC 3PL NEG
“Papa, the child is not with them.”
- (B.109) *i-pwei hian am wum*
3-say good come house
He said: “Alright, come to the house.”
- (B.110) *yi-kin-i-Indri*
3SG-PRF.3SG-3-see
He said seen (discovered) it.
- (B.111) *i-pwei te am wum*
3-say PRAG come house
He said: “Come to the house!”
- (B.112) *i-le wum, i-pwei le ndro yi, heti*
3-go house 3-say go LOC 3SG take.2SG
She went to the house. He said to her: “Take...”
- (B.113) *heti sou seta me pwan*
take.2SG mat LOC.DEM.PROX come ground
“Take the mat there and bring it down.”
- (B.114) *hit-i sou me pwan. e-pwarn-i*
take.3SG-TR mat come ground 2SG-lay.out-TR
“Take the mat and bring it down. Lay it out!”
- (B.115) *yi-pwarn-i le pwan*
3SG-lay.out-TR go ground
She laid it out on the ground.

- (B.116) *k-melah, e-timelhin-i*
IRR-open.up NSG-unfold-TR
“Open it up! Unfold it!”
- (B.117) *pomut i-pwei al kun ndran*
finish 3-say go carry water
When she had finished, he said: “Go and carry water!”
- (B.118) *i-le kun su ndran masih kene i-mwen-i aka*
3-go carry 3PL water all INTS 3-fetch.water-TR DEM.DIST
She went and carried all the water she had fetched (before).
- (B.119) *ir pondran, ir pokot, masih kene me to*
COP:3SG water.container COP:3SG water.container all INTS come COP
pakeh
close
There were the water containers, there were the big water containers. Everything was placed close to the mat.
- (B.120) *pomut i-pwei ndro yi*
finish 3-say LOC 3SG
When she had done so, he said to her:
- (B.121) *al hir-i yeny an at-(e)m i-ta pelengan*
go get-TR food POSS-2SG.POSS 3-COP up
“Go and get your food up there!”
- (B.122) *Pipalnandren i-pwei te sah*
PN 3-say PRAG what
Pipalnandren said: “What?”
- (B.123) *longu kin-me-talah aka*
thing PRF.3SG-come-appear DEM.DIST
“Everything has come out!”
- (B.124) *yi=kin-ta-winin-i aka*
3SG=PRF.3SG-HAB-find.out-TR DEM.DIST
“He has found out now!”
- (B.125) *i-te wong pwi*
3-PRAG speak NEG
She did not say anything.
- (B.126) *i-te wong pwi*
3-PRAG speak NEG
She did not say anything.

- (B.127) *i-pwei hian*
 3-say good
 He said: "Fine."
- (B.128) *ala motou ie po ye*
 go knife be do INTS
 "Go and get that knife there!"
- (B.129) *motou ie po ye*
 knife be do INTS
 "That knife there."
- (B.130) *al heri e kle pwen kuno, na=k-u-re wou*
 go get.2SG and COND NEG? obey? INT=IRR-1SG-kill 2SG
 "Bring it here and if you don't obey, I will kill you!"
- (B.131) *Pipalnandren kopwat*
 PN climb.up
 Pipalnandren climbed up (to the firewood storage).
- (B.132) *i-le le hir-i me pwan*
 3-go go take-TR come ground
 She went and took it down.
- (B.133) *e-lki k-ir pwan, k-ir ndre sou*
 NSG-put IRR-COP:3SG ground IRR-COP:3SG on.top.of mat
 "Put it down on the mat!"
- (B.134) *i-lki ir ndre sou em pwan*
 3-put COP:3SG above mat sit.down.2SG down
 She put it on the mat and sat down.
- (B.135) *i-lki ndeke-n te oko e im pwan aka*
 3-put leg-3SG.POSS PRAG DEM.PROX and sit.3SG down DEM.DIST
 She put her legs like this and sat now.
- (B.136) *ain*
 eat
 "Eat!"
- (B.137) *i-yen aka, i-yen i-yen le le le le*
 3-eat.SG DEM.DIST 3-eat.SG 3-eat.SG go go go go
 She ate now. She ate and ate again and again.
- (B.138) *i-yen le le le le*
 3-eat.SG go go go go
 She ate for a long time.

- (B.139) *me i-le ndr-u-n, i-ni sing-(e)n, al ndr-u-n, al*
 come 3-go bone-3SG.POSS 3-eat:TR flesh-3SG.POSS go bone-3SG.POSS go
ndr-u-n oko
 bone-3SG.POSS DEM.PROX
 She came through to the bones. She ate up the flesh. It went to the
 bones, went to the bones now.
- (B.140) *k-i-you?*
 IRR-3-move.3SG
 “Shall these go (to waste)?”
- (B.141) *kamel at-n i-pwei te, e-ni*
 man POSS-3SG.POSS 3-say PRAG 2SG-eat:TR
 Her husband said: “Eat up!”
- (B.142) *e yi=i-ni ndr-u-n, i-ni sing-(e)n, yi=i-ni*
 and 3SG=3-eat:TR bone-3SG.POSS 3-eat:TR flesh-3SG.POSS 3SG=3-eat:TR
ndr-u-n
 bone-3SG.POSS
 And she ate up the bones. She ate up the flesh and she ate up the
 bones.
- (B.143) *i-yen le le i-pwei te ain*
 3-eat.SG go go 3-say PRAG eat
 She ate again and again. He said: “Eat!”
- (B.144) *i-yen le le le le kok-n*
 3-eat.SG go go go go skin-3SG.POSS
 She ate for a long time. She came to the skin...
- (B.145) *kok-n i-pwei te oko k-i-you*
 skin-3SG.POSS 3-say PRAG DEM.PROX IRR-3-move.3SG
 At the skin she said: “Shall this go?”
- (B.146) *e-ni a=kle k-i-you a=k-u-re wou aka*
 2SG-eat:TR POT=IRR-go IRR-3-move.3SG POT=IRR-1SG-kill 2SG DEM.DIST
 “Eat up!’ If this goes (wasted), I will kill you!”
- (B.147) *i-ni*
 3-eat:TR
 She ate it up.
- (B.148) *yi i-ni mah yi i-ni mbunanah pomut*
 3SG 3-eat:TR taro 3SG 3-eat:TR child finish
 She ate up the taro, she ate up the child completely.

- (B.149) *masih kene le pomut*
 all INTS go finish
 Everything was finished.
- (B.150) *e-lumu-i ndran*
 2SG-drink-TR water
 “Drink up the water!”
- (B.151) *i-lumu-i ndran masih kene*
 3-drink-TR water all INTS
 She drank up all the water.
- (B.152) *i-lumu-i ndran ir pondran, i-lumu-i i-lumu-i masih kene*
 3-drink-TR water COP:3SG water.container 3-drink-TR 3-drink-TR all
 INTS
 She drank up the water that was in the water containers. She drank up everything.
- (B.153) *oh, ndrino kin-pep*
 oh stomach.1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-full
 “Oh, my stomach is full.”
- (B.154) *e-lumu-i kle wou te lumu-i pwi motou a=k-le at-(e)m*
 2SG-drink-TR COND 2SG PRAG drink-TR NEG knife POT=IRR-go
 POSS-2SG.POSS
 “Drink up! If you don’t drink up, that knife will go at you!”
- (B.155) *i-ying i-ying, i-ying-i pondran masih pwen*
 3-drink 3-drink 3-drink-TR water.container all COMPL
 She drank and drank. She drank all the water containers empty.
- (B.156) *e-lumu-i pokot*
 2SG-drink-TR water.container
 She drank up the big water containers.
- (B.157) *i-stat e-lumu-i pokot aka*
 3-start(TP) NSG-drink-TR water.container DEM.DIST
 She began to drink those big water containers.
- (B.158) *i-lumu-i le le le oh*
 3-drink-TR go go go oh
 She drank up and went on. Oh!
- (B.159) *kunue pwi aka, ndrino kin-pep*
 breath NEG DEM.DIST stomach.1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-full
 “I am short of breath now, my stomach is full.”

- (B.160) *ain, kle wou te ying pwi a=yo=k-u-re te*
 eat COND 2SG PRAG drink NEG POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-kill PRAG
ngundu-m
 nape-2SG.POSS
 “Eat! If you don’t drink, I will hit you on your nape!”
- (B.161) *i-yen i-yen i-yen le*
 3-eat.SG 3-eat.SG 3-eat.SG go
 She ate and ate again.
- (B.162) *i-ni mah, i-ni mbunanah, i-lumu-i ndran masih kene*
 3-eat:TR taro 3-eat:TR child 3-drink-TR water all INTS
pomut
 finish
 She ate up the taro, ate up the child, drank up all the water.
- (B.163) *pwen aka i-los le pwan, te kat ndouo pwi*
 COMPL DEM.DIST 3-fall go ground PRAG have(TP) strength NEG
 Once done, she fell to the ground. She had no more strength.
- (B.164) *ndrine-n i-ser aka e i-pet*
 abdomen-3SG.POSS 3-break DEM.DIST and 3-swell
 Her stomach was breaking now and it swelled.
- (B.165) *i-pet i-pet i-pet i-pet i-pet le pelengan, ndelnga-su*
 3-swell 3-swell 3-swell 3-swell 3-swell go up ear-3PL
pe=k-i-le i-pwei te pew!
 SEQ=IRR-3-go 3-say PRAG pew
 It swelled up more and more. Everyone could hear her: Pew!
- (B.166) *ndrine-n i-me pohue aka*
 abdomen-3SG.POSS 3-come burst DEM.DIST
 Her stomach had burst then.
- (B.167) *Pipalnandren kin-mat*
 PN PRF.3SG-die
 Pipalnandren had died.
- (B.168) *su ndramet su=hirung, su=hilou, su=me*
 3PL people 3PL=hear.3SG 3PL=run.3SG 3PL=come
 The people heard it, they came running.
- (B.169) *su=me sandeman-i kamel at-n*
 3PL=come ask.NSG-TR man POSS-3SG.POSS
 They came asking her husband:
- (B.170) *kle oko, ngas te sah*
 COND DEM.PROX noise PRAG what
 “What is this? What is this noise”

(B.171) *Pipalnandren i-ni ndur-n ndur-n i-ni yi*
PN 3-eat:TR child-3SG.POSS child-3SG.POSS 3-eat:TR 3SG
“Pipalnandren devoured her child and her child devoured her.”

(B.172) *ngok! nde-m!*
EXCLAM faeces-2SG.POSS
“What! Your shit!”

(B.173) *pinis*
finish(TP)
It’s finished.

II Kut lap Losa (10 min 15 sec)

This story was told by Herman Mana, a Lele speaker from Tungou Masih, ca. fifty years old. Herman Mana used to be a preacher and has still retained his powerful way of narrating stories. Due to his job with the Manus provincial government he mostly speaks Tok Pisin (and likely) English in his everyday life but also uses Lele at home. This story is about an a mischievous octopus from Losa village who goes wandering about to Tungou Masih in order to “look after” the children there. It is likely a narrative reflection of people’s former fear of raids by rivalling villages. As with so many traditional stories, this story also has different versions. This particular version the octopus comes from Losa village; however, in other versions the octopus is from Pondelis, which is very close to Lorengau town. It may also be interesting to note that the word *lap* is very likely the base for *lapan*, the word commonly used across Manus for ‘chief’. *Lap* is a person from a particular place. Thus, *lapan* is “the” person from a place, the chief.

- (B.1) *mwalih mwalih*
story story
Story story
- (B.2) *rang sih hian*
day one good
One fine day
- (B.3) *kut lap Losa*
octopus person.from GN
An octopus from Losa
- (B.4) *i-hiwene e le*
3-take.a.walk and go
took a walk and went

- (B.5) *kor sih i-ta pakeh Lugos*
 place one 3-COP near GN
 to a place near Lugos.
- (B.6) *malapo su eh*
 now 3PL HESIT
 now everybody ehh....
- (B.7) *kor aka su=pwasou ngar-n Ndumoh*
 village DEM.DIST 3PL=call name-3SG.POSS GN
 this place is called Ndumoh.
- (B.8) *malapo*
 now
 Now
- (B.9) *su=ha-pwasou Lugos*
 3PL=NSG-call GN
 everybody calls it Lugos.
- (B.10) *e yi=hirung su mbunanah*
 and 3SG=hear.3SG 3PL child
 it heard the children
- (B.11) *su=to ndrou*
 3PL=PROG play
 they were playing
- (B.12) *e yi=le*
 and 3SG=go
 and it went
- (B.13) *le pelengan ndro su*
 go up LOC 3PL
 went up to them
- (B.14) *su tam su mbunanah*
 3PL father 3PL child
 The fathers of the children...
- (B.15) *ma nane su mbunanah*
 with mother 3PL child
 and the mothers of the children...
- (B.16) *su=kena pleng*
 3PL=go.3PL.PRF garden
 had all gone to the garden.

- (B.17) *su=la has wes*
 3PL=go plant taro.stem
 They went to plant taro.
- (B.18) *su=kena pleng*
 3PL=go.3PL.PRF garden
 All had gone to the garden.
- (B.19) *e su mbunanah su=to wum*
 and 3PL child 3PL=COP house
 And the children were at home
- (B.20) *e su=ha-pwai*
 and 3PL=NSG-say
 and they said
- (B.21) *tu-k-al kah an-tu nengei*
 1PL.INCL-IRR-go look.for CLF.food-1PL.INCL peanut
 Let us go and find peanuts.
- (B.22) *tu-k-al Ndumoh*
 1PL.INCL-IRR-go GN
 Let us go to Ndumoh.
- (B.23) *e su=la Ndumoh*
 and 3PL=go GN
 And they went to Ndumoh.
- (B.24) *su=la kah nengei*
 3PL=go look.for peanut
 They went to find nuts.
- (B.25) *su=la to ri*
 3PL=first COP LOC
 they went and stayed there
- (B.26) *su=to non nengei*
 3PL=PROG collect.from.ground peanut
 They were collecting nuts from the ground.
- (B.27) *e su=ha-i-Indri hepsah sih tan-su ngar-n pwi*
 and 3PL=NSG-3-see something one know-3PL name-3SG.POSS NEG
 And they saw something whose name they did not know.
- (B.28) *e hepsah aka*
 and something DEM.DIST
 That something,

- (B.29) *aka ngar-n kut*
DEM.DIST name-3SG.POSS octopus
that is called octopus.
- (B.30) *irkayir poholeng i-me pelengan*
walk:3PL beach 3-come up
It was walking along the beach and came up.
- (B.31) *ndra kop nime-n ma-(n)ondoruoh*
branch finger arm-3SG.POSS PROP-eight
It had eight fingers.
- (B.32) *ndeke-n ma-(n)ondoruoh*
leg-3SG.POSS PROP-eight
It had eight legs.
- (B.33) *i-rkai me ndro su*
3-walk come LOC 3PL
It walked towards them.
- (B.34) *e su=ha-i-Indri e su=ha-noh*
and 3PL=NSG-3-see and 3PL=NSG-be.afraid
And they saw it and they were afraid.
- (B.35) *hepke i-lohloh le ndro su ey*
but 3-call.out.RDP go LOC 3PL ey
But it called out to them "Hey!"
- (B.36) *mbunanah*
child
"Children!"
- (B.37) *mbue nde mu=k-noh*
NEG NEG 2PL-IRR-be.afraid
"Don't be afraid!"
- (B.38) *yo ndramet*
1SG human
"I'm human."
- (B.39) *yo snel pwi*
1SG bush.spirit NEG
"I am not a bush spirit."
- (B.40) *e su mbunanah, su=ha-noh*
and 3PL child 3PL=NSG-be.afraid
And the children, they were afraid.

- (B.41) *hepke su=to ta-tne*
 but 3PL=PROG HAB-stand
 But they were standing up straight
- (B.42) *e su=ha-lele*
 and 3PL=NSG-look
 and they looked around.
- (B.43) *su=tiken su=tang su=tiken su=ha-rerer*
 3PL=some 3PL=cry 3PL=a.little 3PL=NSG-tremble.RDP
 They cried a little and they trembled a bit with fear.
- (B.44) *e pe=yi-me pakeh ndro su i-pwei te mbue mu nde*
 and SEQ=3SG-come near LOC 3PL 3-say PRAG NEG 2PL NEG
mu=k-noh
 2PL-IRR-be.afraid
 And when it came close to them it said "Don't be afraid!"
- (B.45) *mbue nde mu=k-ar-rang*
 NEG NEG 2PL=IRR-NSG-cry
 "Don't cry!"
- (B.46) *yo ndramet*
 1SG human
 "I'm a human."
- (B.47) *yo tumbu-mu*
 1SG grandparent-2PL
 "I am your grandfather."
- (B.48) *yo=hurong womu*
 1SG hear.1SG 2PL
 "I heard you."
- (B.49) *mu=to po ndrou*
 2PL=HAB do play
 "You are playing,"
- (B.50) *mu=to po hal*
 2PL=HAB do laugh
 "you are laughing."
- (B.51) *mu=to po po sah*
 2PL=PROG do do what
 "What are you doing?"
- (B.52) *su=pwai yowu=to po kah nengei*
 3PL=say 1PL.EXCL-PROG do look.for peanut
 They said: "We are looking for peanuts."

- (B.53) *e yi=pwei eh*
and 3SG=say HESIT
And it said emm.....
- (B.54) *tam-mu*
father-2PL
“Your fathers”
- (B.55) *e nane-mu su*
and mother-2PL 3PL
“and your mothers and all,”
- (B.56) *kena oho*
go.3PL.PRF where
“where have they gone?”
- (B.57) *e su=pwai*
and 3PL=say
“They said:”
- (B.58) *tam-wu e nane-wu su*
father-1PL.EXCL and mother-1PL.EXCL 3PL
“Our fathers and mothers and all”
- (B.59) *ma-loping ke*
PROP-night.time FOC
“when it was still night”
- (B.60) *su=yau kena pleng*
3PL=move go.3PL.PRF garden
“they have gone to the garden.”
- (B.61) *su=kena*
3PL=go.3PL.PRF
“They have gone...”
- (B.62) *kena has wes*
go.3PL.PRF plant taro.stem
“have gone planting taro.”
- (B.63) *e tam-wu su su=kena ngas lout*
and father-1PL.EXCL 3PL 3PL=go.3PL.PRF climb cuscus
“And our fathers and all, they have gone climbing trees for cuscus².”
- (B.64) *e wa=ipiah*
and POT=afternoon
“And this afternoon”

²Spilocus kraemeri, a marsupial

- (B.65) *su=k-e-mul le ka-mu*
 3PL=IRR-NSG-return go ?-2PL
 “they will return.”
- (B.66) *yowu ke*
 1PL.EXCL FOC
 “It is only us.”
- (B.67) *yowu=to po*
 1PL.EXCL-COP do
 “We are here.”
- (B.68) *oh*
 oh
 “Oh!”
- (B.69) *hian hian*
 good good
 “Good! Good!”
- (B.70) *kle*
 alright
 “Alright.”
- (B.71) *tu-k-au k-al wum*
 1PL.INCL-IRR-move IRR-go house
 “Let’s go home.”
- (B.72) *wum at-mu i-ta oho*
 house POSS-2PL 3-COP where
 “Where is your house?”
- (B.73) *i-su=pwai oh*
 3-3PL=say oh
 ‘They said: “Oh!”
- (B.74) *tue-wu*
 uncle-1PL.EXCL
 “Uncle!”
- (B.75) *wum at-wu i-ta sehendr*
 house POSS-1PL.EXCL 3-COP over.there
 “Our house is over there.”
- (B.76) *yi=pwei*
 3SG=say
 He said’:

- (B.77) *tu-k-ala*
1PL.INCL-IRR-go
“Let’s go!”
- (B.78) *e su=yau la wum e su=ie hanu*
and 3PL=move go house and 3PL=be front
And they went home. And they were at the front,
- (B.79) *e yi=ir ndro po-su*
and 3SG=COP:3SG LOC backside-3PL
and it was at their back.
- (B.80) *e su=ha-toki*
and 3PL=one-walk
And they walked.
- (B.81) *e su=to toki*
and 3PL=PROG walk
And they were walking...
- (B.82) *le poro nohowai*
go with fear
with fear.
- (B.83) *mar-su le ndro po-su*
eye-3PL go LOC backside-3PL
They looked to the backside.
- (B.84) *mar-su le hanu mar-su le ndro po-su*
eye-3PL go front eye-3PL go LOC backside-3PL
their eyes went to their front, their eyes went to their backside,
- (B.85) *mar-su le hanu lesah su=ha-noh at-(e)n*
eye-3PL go front because 3PL=NSG-be.afraid POSS-3SG.POSS
their eyes went to the front because they were afraid of it.
- (B.86) *e yi=pwei pwi*
and 3SG=say NEG
And it said: “No.”
- (B.87) *tu-k-au*
1PL.INCL-IRR-move
“Let’s go.”
- (B.88) *mbue nde mu=k-noh tu-k-au*
NEG TAG 2PL-IRR-be.afraid 1PL.INCL-IRR-move
“Don’t be afraid. Let’s go.”

- (B.89) *su=la wum*
3PL=go house
They went home.
- (B.90) *e i-hingang*
and 3-rest.3SG
And it rested.
- (B.91) *hingang pomut*
rest.3SG finish
When had finished resting
- (B.92) *e yi=pwei le ndro su mbunanah*
and 3SG=say go LOC 3PL child
it said to the children:
- (B.93) *yenyan at-mu oho yenyan*
food POSS-2PL where food
“Where is your food? Food.”
- (B.94) *e su=ha-pwai*
and 3PL=NSG-say
And they said:
- (B.95) *yenyan at-wu i-ta*
food POSS-1PL.EXCL 3-COP
“Our food is there,”
- (B.96) *su=ha-pwai*
3PL=NSG-say
they said.
- (B.97) *seh yenyan*
what.kind.of food
“What kind of food?”
- (B.98) *yi=sandemndam su*
3SG-ask 3PL
it asked.
- (B.99) *pwei seh yenyan e su=ha-pwai*
say what.kind.of food and 3PL=NSG-say
It said: “What kind of food?” And they said:
- (B.100) *mah kota*
taro LOC.DEM.DIST
“Taro is there.”

- (B.101) *mbulei kota*
taro.leaf LOC.DEM.DIST
“Taro leaves are there.”
- (B.102) *mu=ken-taturue womu nde masou*
2PL=PRF.NSG-cook 2PL or not.yet
“Have you cooked for yourselves or not yet?”
- (B.103) *oh masou*
oh not.yet
“Oh, not yet.”
- (B.104) *pwei kle*
say alright
“Alright.”
- (B.105) *mu=k-ar-turue*
2PL-IRR-2SG-cook
“Cook (the food)!”
- (B.106) *e su mbunanah*
and 3PL child
And the children,
- (B.107) *su=ha-suhu-i mah*
3PL=NSG-peel-TR taro
they peeled the taro
- (B.108) *su ndur pihin*
3PL child girl
The girls
- (B.109) *su=ha-suhu-i mah*
3PL=NSG-peel-TR taro
they cleaned the taro.
- (B.110) *su=suhu-i mah pomut*
3PL=peel-TR taro finish
They finished peeling the taro
- (B.111) *e su=ta re-i*
and 3PL=HAB hit-TR
and they cut it.
- (B.112) *e su=ha-luk-ui le kur*
and 3PL=NSG-put-TR go pot
They put it in the pot.

- (B.113) *e yi=pwei le ndro su*
 and 3SG=say go LOC 3PL
 It said to them:
- (B.114) *e ndran oho*
 and water where
 “And where is water?”
- (B.115) *e su=pwai te ndran kota*
 and 3PL=say PRAG water LOC.DEM.DIST
 And they said: “water is there”.
- (B.116) *e yi=pwei*
 and 3SG=say
 And it said:
- (B.117) *mu=k-e-ha-rui-ni ndran k-le ri*
 2PL=IRR-NSG-NSG-pour-TR water IRR-go LOC
 “Pour water over it!”
- (B.118) *e su=ha-rui-ni ndran le kur*
 and 3PL=NSG-pour-TR water go pot
 And they poured water in the pot,
- (B.119) *le poro mah e mbulei ir kur*
 go with taro and taro.leaf COP:3SG pot
 with taro and taro leaves in the pot.
- (B.120) *ey*
 ey
 “Ey!”
- (B.121) *mu=k-e-singen-i mwan*
 2PL-IRR-NSG-light-TR fire
 “Light the fire!”
- (B.122) *su=ha-singen-i mwan*
 3PL=NSG-light-TR fire
 They lit the fire.
- (B.123) *mu=k-e-satou kur k-le to mwan*
 2PL-IRR-NSG-put pot IRR-go be fire
 “Put the pot on the fire.”
- (B.124) *e su=satou kur*
 and 3PL=put pot
 And they put the pot

- (B.125) *ma mah e mbulei le to mwan*
 with taro and taro.leaf go COP fire
 with the taro and taro leaves on the fire.
- (B.126) *e su=singen-i mwan le ri e mwan i-yat*
 and 3PL=light-TR fire go LOC and fire 3-burn
 And they lit the fire under it and the fire burned.
- (B.127) *e su=ie*
 and 3PL=stay
 And they stayed.
- (B.128) *e su=ie mandrkosen*
 and 3PL=stay fireside
 And they stayed at the fireside.
- (B.129) *su=ie singen mwan le ri e su*
 3PL=stay light fire go LOC and 3PL
 They lit the fire under it and they...
- (B.130) *e su=to lele le at-a kut*
 and 3PL=PROG look go POSS-NOM octopus
 and they were looking at the octopus.
- (B.131) *su=ha-i-Indri tekere aka longu sih sih te su=i-Indri hanu*
 3PL=NSG-3-see like DEM.DIST thing one one PRAG 3PL=3-see before
hanu
 before
 They saw something like, something like that they had never seen
 before
- (B.132) *le mar-su pwi*
 go eye-3PL NEG
 before their eyes.
- (B.133) *e su=hangungurou solen (...) su=ha-pwai aka yi te*
 and 3PL=think many *** 3PL=NSG-say DEM.DIST 3SG PRAG
sah
 what
 And they thought a lot (...) They said: "What is it?"
- (B.134) *tam-su e nane-su*
 father-3PL and mother-3PL
 Their fathers and mothers,
- (B.135) *su=te sou pwai te la ndro su le longu aka le pwi,*
 3PL=PRAG be say like go LOC 3PL go something DEM.DIST go NEG
lesah
 because

had not told them about such a thing because

(B.136) *su tam su e nane su*
3PL father 3PL and mother 3PL

Their fathers and mothers,

(B.137) *tan-su kut pwi*
know-3PL octopus NEG

they did not know the octopus (or what an octopus is).

(B.138) *pakeh*
almost

It was almost time...

(B.139) *yenyan na-k-meyis*
food INT=IRR-done

that the food would be done.

(B.140) *e kut i*
and octopus 3

And the octopus

(B.141) *i-pwei mu=k-erpei mar kur*
3-say 2PL-IRR-open opening pot

it said: "Open up the pot opening!"

(B.142) *e su=ha-tepai lukei mar kur le ndi e*
and 3PL=NSG-open leaf opening pot go away and

and they opened the pot opening and

(B.143) *kut i-kohis le lundie kur*
octopus 3-jump go inside pot

the octopus jumped inside the pot.

(B.144) *kut kohis i-le lundie-n*
octopus jump 3-go inside-3SG.POSS

The octopus jumped inside.

(B.145) *e yi=pwei le ndro su mbunanah*
and 3SG-say go LOC 3PL child

And it said to the children:

(B.146) *mu=k-ndrotih-i yo*
2PL-IRR-cover.up-TR 1SG

"Cover me up!"

- (B.147) *e su=ha-ndrotih-i yi*
 and 3PL=NSG-cover.up-TR 3SG
 And they covered it up (put a lid on top of the pot)
- (B.148) *e kut i-lundie kur ma*
 and octopus 3-inside pot with
 And the octopus was inside with
- (B.149) *mah ir ta urot*
 taro COP:3SG HAB boil
 the taro boiling.
- (B.150) *pakeh per mah i-meyis*
 almost ASSOC taro 3-cooked
 The taro almost being cooked,
- (B.151) *e kut kohis me pwan*
 and octopus jump come down
 and the octopus jumped down.
- (B.152) *e kut kohis me to pwan e yi=pwei*
 and octopus jump come COP ground and 3SG-say
 and the octopus jumped down and it said:
- (B.153) *mu=k-e-heti mah ke me pwan*
 2PL-IRR-NSG-get.NSG taro FOC come ground
 “Just get the taro and put it down”
- (B.154) *e mu=k-e-ndiketi k-le*
 and 2PL-IRR-NSG-take.out IRR-go
 “and take it and put it on...”
- (B.155) *k=le tesam*
 IRR=see what’s.it
 “on what’s it again...”
- (B.156) *lus*
 big.dish
 “a big dish.”
- (B.157) *e su=ha-ndiketi mah e mbulei le lus*
 and 3PL=NSG-take.out taro and taro.leaf go big.dish
 And they took the taro and taro leaves and put them on the big dish.
- (B.158) *e su=k-e-Indri mah e mbulei at-su*
 and 3PL=IRR-NSG-see taro and taro.leaf POSS-3PL
 And they saw their taro and taro leaves.

- (B.159) *su=ha-e-Indri su=n*
 3PL=NSG-NSG-see soup(TP)-3SG.POSS
 They saw its broth.
- (B.160) *aka i-reng*
 DEM.DIST 3-cry.SG
 That made noises.
- (B.161) *su i-reng*
 soup(TP) 3-cry.SG
 The broth made noises.
- (B.162) *e su=ha-i-Indri e su=ha-pwai aka te terpeh*
 and 3PL=NSG-3-see and 3PL=NSG-say DEM.DIST like how
 And they saw it and they said: "How is this possible?"
- (B.163) *yowu=te so-e-Indri su te aka pwi*
 1PL.EXCL=PRAG ?-NSG-see soup(TP) PRAG DEM.DIST NEG
 "We have never seen a broth like that!"
- (B.164) *e yi=pwei pwi*
 and 3SG-say NEG
 and it said: "No
- (B.165) *k-i-ngoh e mu=k-ain*
 IRR-3-cool.down and 2PL=IRR-eat
 "It will cool down and you will eat."
- (B.166) *e su=ha-luk i-ro*
 and 3PL=NSG-leave 3-COP
 And they left it there.
- (B.167) *i-ngoh*
 3-cool.down
 It cooled down.
- (B.168) *e su=yan*
 and 3PL=eat.NSG
 And they ate.
- (B.169) *su=ha-yan e su=pwai*
 3PL=NSG-eat.NSG and 3PL=say
 They ate and they said:
- (B.170) *ey*
 ey
 "Ey!"

- (B.171) *tue-wu*
uncle-1PL.EXCL
“Uncle!”
- (B.172) *mah e mbulei*
taro and taro.leaf
“The taro and the taro leaves”
- (B.173) *kapkapen le*
very.tasty too
“are also very tasty.”
- (B.174) *naman ke*
delicious FOC
“Just delicious.”
- (B.175) *oko terpeh*
DEM.PROX how
“How can this be?”
- (B.176) *i-pwei pwi mu=k-ain*
3-say NEG 2PL=IRR-eat
It said: “No, eat.”
- (B.177) *pomut i-pwei te*
finish 3-say PRAG
Once finished, it said:
- (B.178) *mu=k-oro*
2PL=IRR-COP
“Stay here.”
- (B.179) *e na-k-u-you le*
and INT=IRR-1SG-move.1SG go
“And I will go now.”
- (B.180) *e su=la luk yi e yi=kina poholeng*
and 3PL=go leave 3SG and 3SG=go.PRF.3SG coast
And they left it and it went to the coast.
- (B.181) *e kina his, kina ndas*
and go.PRF.3SG jump go.PRF.3SG sea
And it jumped away and went to the sea
- (B.182) *e su=mul*
and 3PL=return
And they returned.

- (B.183) *sih te sih*
 one PRAG one
 Every time
- (B.184) *su tam su mbunanah e nane su mbunanah ma loping ke*
 3PL father 3PL child and mother 3PL child with night.time FOC
su=yau kena lonhou
 3PL=move go.3PL.PRF bush
 the fathers and mothers of the children left for the bush when it was
 still night,
- (B.185) *kut ir po i-me ndro su*
 octopus COP:3SG do 3-come LOC 3PL
 the octopus would come to them.
- (B.186) *e ir kohis le ndre yenyen at-su su=ha-twin-i yi*
 and PROG:3SG jump go on.top.of food POSS-3PL 3PL=NSG-cook-TR 3SG
 And it jumped on top of their food and they cooked it (with it).
- (B.187) *su=ha-yan mbulei e su=yan mah*
 3PL=NSG-eat.NSG taro.leaf and 3PL=eat.NSG taro
 They ate taro leaves and they ate taro.
- (B.188) *e su=to manda*
 and 3PL=PROG grow
 And they were growing.
- (B.189) *mandr-su aka me-talah mwalih*
 skin-3PL DEM.DIST come-appear good
 They became fat (lit. their bodies became good).
- (B.190) *su=ha-manda*
 3PL=NSG-grow
 They grew.
- (B.191) *mandr-su me talah hian*
 skin-3PL come appear good
 They became fat.
- (B.192) *e su tam-su e nane-su su=ha-pwai*
 and 3PL father-3PL and mother-3PL 3PL=NSG-say
 And their fathers and mothers said:
- (B.193) *ey*
 ey
 “Ey!”

- (B.194) *su mbunanah te oko pwi!*
 3PL child PRAG DEM.PROX NEG
 “The children were not like that!”
- (B.195) *hanu*
 before
 “Before”
- (B.196) *aka sing-su pwi, malapo su=ha-manda*
 DEM.DIST flesh-3PL NEG now 3PL=NSG-grow
 “they were just bones, now they have grown.”
- (B.197) *terpeh?*
 how
 “How can this be?”
- (B.198) *e rang sih*
 and day one
 And one day
- (B.199) *tam su mbunanah*
 father 3PL child
 a father of the children,
- (B.200) *i-pwei te*
 3-say PRAG
 he said:
- (B.201) *te sah hinen womu mu=me talah te aka e*
 PRAG what make.3SG 2PL 2PL come appear like DEM.DIST
su=ha-pwai
 and 3PL=NSG-say
 “What made you become like that?” And they said:
- (B.202) *tam-wu!*
 father-1PL.EXCL
 “Father!”
- (B.203) *hepsah sih*
 something one
 “There was one thing.”
- (B.204) *mu=kena lonhou e hepsah sih i-ta poholeng i-ta po*
 2PL-go.3PL.PRF bush and something one 3-HAB coast 3-HAB do
mepan ndro yowu
 approach LOC 1PL.EXCL
 “You had gone to the bush and something that lives at the coast
 always approach us.”

- (B.205) *i-me e yi=pwei yowu=ha-suhu mah, yowu=ha-luk le kur*
 3-come and 3SG=say 1PL.EXCL-NSG-peel taro 1PL.EXCL-NSG-put go pot
 “He came and he told us to peel taro (and) we put it into the pot.”
- (B.206) *yowu=ha-ser mbulei le por-n*
 1PL.EXCL-NSG-chop.to.pieces taro.leaf go with-3SG.POSS
 “We chopped the taro leaves to pieces and added them.”
- (B.207) *e yowu=ha-luk le mwan yowu=ha-singen-i mwan*
 and 1PL.EXCL-NSG-put go fire 1PL.EXCL=NSG-light-TR fire
 “And we put (the pot) on the fire place (and) we lit the fire.”
- (B.208) *e mah aka e te sah ndran i*
 and taro DEM.DIST and PRAG what water 3
 “And that taro and what’s it water...”
- (B.209) *ir werwet*
 PROG:3SG boil.INTS
 “was boiling.”
- (B.210) *e kut i-kohis le eh*
 and octopus 3-jump go HESIT
 “And the octopus jumped and eh...”
- (B.211) *longu he-ndre*
 something one-NCLF:piece
 “one thing”
- (B.212) *i-kohis le lundie-n*
 3-jump go inside-3SG.POSS
 “jumped inside (the pot).”
- (B.213) *e i-pe e yi=mou*
 and 3-defecate and 3SG=urinate
 “And it defecated and urinated.”
- (B.214) *le lundie yeny an at-wu*
 go inside food POSS-1PL.EXCL
- (B.215) *e i-meyis e yowu.. i-kohis me pwan*
 and 3-cooked and 1PL.EXCL... 3-jump come ground
 “And when it wa cooked we... It jumped to the ground.”
- (B.216) *e yi=pwei me ndro yowu yowu=ha-yan e e-Indri*
 and 3SG=say come LOC 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-NSG-eat.NSG and 2SG-see
mandr-wu
 skin-1PL.EXCL
 “And it told us to eat and see our bodies...”

- (B.217) *i-ras*
3-good
“are good’.”
- (B.218) *mandr-wu i-menda*
skin-1PL.EXCL 3-grow
“Our bodies have grown.”
- (B.219) *e yowu=ha-lele hian*
and 1PL.EXCL-NSG-look good
“And we look good.”
- (B.220) *longu he-ndre*
something one-NCLF:piece
“One thing.”
- (B.221) *e su=pwai...*
and 3PL=say...
And they said...
- (B.222) *tam-su yi=pwei*
father-3PL 3SG=say
And their father said:
- (B.223) *aka i-te terpeh*
DEM.DIST 3-PRAG how
“How can this be?”
- (B.224) *i-pwei pal-(e)n mandren*
3-say head-3SG.POSS big
They said: “its head is big.”
- (B.225) *e ndra kop nime-n ma-(n)ondrtoloh*
and branch finger arm-3SG.POSS PROP-seven
“And he has seven fingers.”
- (B.226) *e yi=ta koyiryir*
and 3SG=HAB crawl.RDP
“And he crawls.”
- (B.227) *e pek mar-n ma-ruoh teie*
and lump eye-3SG.POSS PROP-two thus
“And his two eyes are like this.”
- (B.228) *e yowu=tan-wu pwi te sah*
and 1PL.EXCL-know-1PL.EXCL NEG PRAG what
“And we don’t know the thing.”

- (B.229) *pwei oh*
 say oh
 He said: "Oh."
- (B.230) *e yi=pwasou ngar-n me ndro mu?*
 and 3SG=call name-3SG.POSS come LOC 2PL
 "And he called his name to you?"
- (B.231) *i-pwei ehe ehe ehe!*
 3-say yes yes yes
 They said: "Yes, yes, yes!"
- (B.232) *ehe*
 yes
 "Yes."
- (B.233) *tete ehe*
 father yes
 "Father, yes."
- (B.234) *i-pwasou pwei te ngar-n*
 3-call say PRAG name-3SG.POSS
 "He said his name was..."
- (B.235) *kut*
 octopus
 "octopus."
- (B.236) *e yi per Losa*
 and 3SG ASSOC GN
 "And he was from Losa."
- (B.237) *kor-n Losa*
 village-3SG.POSS GN
 "His village is Losa."
- (B.238) *i-ta poholeng*
 3-COP coast
 "It is at the coast."
- (B.239) *oh*
 oh
 "Oh."
- (B.240) *e su=pwai hian*
 and 3PL=say good
 And they said: "Good."

- (B.241) *i-ta po me seh rang*
 3-HAB do come which time
 “He usually comes at what time?”
- (B.242) *ma-loping ke mu=ken-yau*
 PROP-night.time FOC 2PL-PRF.NSG-leave
 “Just at night time when you have left”
- (B.243) *e mernal i-kopwat*
 and sun 3-rise
 “and the sun rises.”
- (B.244) *aka i-ta po mepan*
 DEM.DIST 3-HAB do approach
 “Then it approaches (us).”
- (B.245) *e i tam-su pwai*
 and 3 father-3PL say
 And their father said:
- (B.246) *hian*
 good
 “Good.”
- (B.247) *per sih oko*
 ASSOC one DEM.PROX
 One time
- (B.248) *su masih kene su=kena lonhou*
 3PL all INTS 3PL=go.3PL.PRF bush
 They all had gone to the bush.
- (B.249) *e tam su mbunanah i-kohon*
 and father 3PL child 3-hide
 And a father of the children hid.
- (B.250) *i-kohon e i-pwei yo=k-u-Indri te sah i-ndaken*
 3-hide and 3-say 1SG=IRR-1SG-see PRAG what 3-true
 He hid and he said: “I will see what is true.”
- (B.251) *e i-ro*
 and 3-COP
 And he remained.
- (B.252) *i-soho*
 3-wait
 He waited.

- (B.253) *mernal aka ir sal-n e i-me pelengan*
 sun DEM.DIST COP:3SG road-3SG.POSS and 3-come up
 The sun was on its way and it rose.
- (B.254) *e mar-n pe=k-i-le e i-Indri kut aka i-me*
 and eye-3SG.POSS SEQ=IRR-3-see and 3-see octopus DEM.DIST 3-come
 And when he looked around he saw the octopus coming.
- (B.255) *su mbunanah su=la non nengei*
 3PL child 3PL=go collect.from.ground peanut
 The children went to collect peanuts.
- (B.256) *e mar-n pe=k-i-le e yi=i-Indri kut ir*
 and eye-3SG.POSS SEQ=IRR-3-go and 3SG=3-see octopus COP:3SG
por-n
 with-3SG.POSS
 He looked around and he saw the octopus with them...
- (B.257) *ndro su mbunanah. i-pwei oh!*
 LOC 3PL child 3-say oh
 (with) the children. He said: "Oh!"
- (B.258) *longu su mbunanah ha-pwai i-kolto!*
 thing 3PL child NSG-say 3-be.DEM.DIST
 "Everything the children said is there!"
- (B.259) *su=ha-tulieni e su=yau la wum*
 3PL=NSG-accompany and 3PL=move go house
 They accompanied it and they went to the house.
- (B.260) *e yi=kohon ir*
 and 3SG=hide COP:3SG
 And he hid...
- (B.261) *i-kohon ir mandr wum*
 3-hide COP:3SG side house
 He hid at the side of the house.
- (B.262) *e kut i-te le hepe yi pwie kut i-tan-(e)n yi*
 and octopus 3-PRAG see a.bit 3SG NEG and octopus 3-know-3SG.POSS 3SG
pwie le
 NEG too
 And the octopus could not see him a bit and he did not know him as well.
- (B.263) *e i-me*
 and 3-come
 And it came.

- (B.264) *kut i-pwei ndro su mbunanah*
 octopus 3-say LOC 3PL child
 The octopus told the children...
- (B.265) *su=taturue tekere hanu hanu kina*
 3PL=cook like before before go.PRF.3SG
 too cook like they did before many times.
- (B.266) *su=to mingse*
 3PL=PROG do
 They did it (thus).
- (B.267) *e kut i-his le to lundie kur*
 and octopus 3-jump go COP inside pot
 And the octopus jumped into the pot and stayed there.
- (B.268) *su=ndrotih-i yi*
 3PL=cover.up-TR 3SG
 They covered it up.
- (B.269) *e su=singen-i mwan e ir wet*
 and 3PL=light-TR fire and PROG:3SG boil
 And they lit a fire and it was boiling.
- (B.270) *kut ir ndon lundie-n*
 octopus COP:3SG still inside-3SG.POSS
 The octopus was still inside (the pot).
- (B.271) *i-tan-(e)n hepsah pwi*
 3-know-3SG.POSS something NEG
 He didn't know anything.
- (B.272) *e tam su mbunanah wa=heti motou kaperou*
 and father 3PL child POT=take.NSG knife axe
 And the children's father took the axe.
- (B.273) *e*
 and
 and...
- (B.274) *i-sindrti le ri*
 3-cut go LOC
 he cut with it.
- (B.275) *ir ndon lundie kur*
 COP:3SG still inside pot
 It was still inside the pot.

(B.276) *i-sindr*t*i yi le por mah e mbulei ir ndon lundie kur*
3-cut 3SG go with taro and taro.leaf COP:3SG still inside pot
He cut it together with the taro and taro leaves still inside the pot.

(B.277) *sindr*t*i oh!*
cut oh
Cut it. Oh!

(B.278) *kut kohis*
octopus jump
The octopus jumped out.

(B.279) *kut i-his e*
octopus 3-jump and
The octopus jumped out and...

(B.280) *e tam su mbunanah i-sindr*t*i ngondr-n sih*
and father 3PL child 3-cut root-3SG.POSS one
and the children's father cut one of his tentacles (lit. roots).

(B.281) *indr*t*i ngondr-n sih*
cut.3SG root-3SG.POSS one
He cut one of his tentacles (lit. roots).

(B.282) *ir ndon*
COP:3SG still
It was still...

(B.283) *ir ndon pwan*
COP:3SG still ground
It was still on the ground.

(B.284) *e kut i-wop i-you mul le ndas*
and octopus 3-run.away 3-move.3SG return go sea
And the octopus ran away and returned to the sea.

(B.285) *e kut le sou sehendr*
and octopus go be over.there
And the octopus was a little distance away...

(B.286) *e mar-n i-mul e i-pwei*
and eye-3SG.POSS 3-return and 3-say
and its eyes turned around and it said:

(B.287) *hey*
hey
"Hey!"

- (B.288) *hian tekere wou=heti yo*
 good like 2SG=get.2SG 1SG
 “Good that you got me.”
- (B.289) *e kle pwi*
 and COND NEG
 “And if not,”
- (B.290) *yo=k-u-hungeni su ndor-mu masih oko su=k-menda*
 1SG=IRR-1SG-look.after 3PL child-2PL all DEM.PROX 3PL=IRR-grow
k-e-pomut
 IRR-NSG-finish
 “I would have fed all of your children here until they would have grown fat completely.”
- (B.291) *wa=yo=k-u-ni su*
 POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-eat:TR 3PL
 “I would have eaten them.”
- (B.292) *a=yo=k-u-ni su hom ho-mou*
 POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-eat:TR 3PL one.person one-NCLF:human
 “I would have eaten them one by one.”
- (B.293) *hepke*
 but
 “But”
- (B.294) *pwi*
 NEG
 “Not so.”
- (B.295) *su=pwasou yo me ndro wou e wou=sindrti*
 3PL=call 1SG come LOC 2SG and 2SG=cut
 “They called me out to you and you cut (me).”
- (B.296) *w-a-re-i yo e wou=sindrti nimo ke sih e hian*
 2SG-2SG-hit-TR 1SG and 2SG=cut hand:1SG.POSS FOC one and good
 “You hit me and you cut only one of my arms and good so.”
- (B.297) *su=k-or te aka*
 3PL=IRR-COP:NSG PRAG DEM.DIST
 “It shall stay like that.”
- (B.298) *e yo=u-le ndas*
 and 1SG=1SG-go sea
 “And I return to the sea.”

(B.299) *i-le e le-au e yi=te mul le te me pwi*
3-go and go-move and 3SG=PRAG return go PRAG come NEG
It went and left and it did not return.

(B.300) *e mwalih*
and story
And the story

(B.301) *mapenan aka*
extent.of DEM.DIST
ends there.

(B.302) *wuroh*
thanks
Thanks.

III How the dogs lost their speech (3 min 24 sec)

This story was narrated by Ruth Francis, 49 years old, from Tungou Masih. The people living in the large area of and surrounding Tungou Masih speak the same variety as the one spoken in Sapon. Ruth Francis is very knowledgeable in Lele and was brought up in a family that put great value on the knowledge and practice of their language. She is also highly educated in the Western system, politically active (and prominent in Manus Province) and fluent in English. The story she narrates is a traditional legend that explains why some dogs today have black mouths. Legend has it, some dogs used to be able to speak.

(B.1) *mwalih mwalih*
story story
Story story.

(B.2) *e mui mui hanu su=to wong*
and dog dog before 3PL=PROG speak
And dogs, formerly dogs were speaking.

(B.3) *mui hanu su=to wong*
dog before 3PL=PROG speak
Formerly dogs were speaking.

(B.4) *e kor ho-kor oko ndramet ke hom ie ri*
and place one-village DEM.PROX man FOC one.person stay LOC
And in this one place there was only one man

(B.5) *e ma mui at-n*
and with dog POSS-3SG.POSS
and he was with his dog.

- (B.6) *ndramet su kor su ndramet solen to ri*
 man 3PL village 3PL man many COP LOC
 In all the places there were many people.
- (B.7) *a=su=toki ma mui at-su e ndramet oko aka i-ke*
 POT=3PL=walk with dog POSS-3PL and man DEM.PROX DEM.DIST 3-FOC
hom ie kohon-n ho-kut
 one.person stay place-3SG.POSS one-NCLF:village
 They would walk with their dogs and this man, he stayed by himself
 in one place.
- (B.8) *e per sih i-rkai ma mui at-n*
 and ASSOC one 3-walk with dog POSS-3SG.POSS
 And one day he walked with his dog.
- (B.9) *sih te sih ir toki ma mui at-n hepke su=toki*
 one PRAG one PROG:3SG walk with dog POSS-3SG.POSS but 3PL=walk
yi=pe=k-me wum
 3SG=SEQ=IRR-come home
 All the time he was walking with his dog, but when they wanted to
 return to their house
- (B.10) *e su ndramet su=pehena le wum*
 and 3PL man 3PL=steal go house
 And men stole from the (his) house
- (B.11) *ir hangungurou e i-pwei wah i=seh ndramet ir*
 PROG:3SG think and 3-say wah 3=which man PROG:3SG
po pehena ye
 do steal INTS
 He was thinking and he said: “Wah! Which man is stealing here?”
- (B.12) *e per sih i-rkai i-lki mui at-(e)n aka i-ro*
 and ASSOC one 3-walk 3-put dog POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST 3-COP
 And once he walked away and left his dog at (the house).
- (B.13) *mui at-(e)n aka i-ro*
 dog POSS-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST 3-COP
 His dog stayed.
- (B.14) *per i-lki ... sah, su=pwai te “spy” aka sah*
 ASSOC 3-put ... what 3PL=say PRAG spy DEM.DIST what
 For putting...what? What do they say for “spy”? (Narrator asking
 her aunt)
- (B.15) *“lelu”. ehe. per i-ro i-ro per i-ro i-ro po lelu-a kor le*
 spy yes ASSOC 3-COP 3-COP ASSOC 3-COP 3-COP do spy-NOM village go
lelu-a kor
 spy-NOM village

“Lelu” (narrator’s aunt replies).- Yes, staying, staying behind and spying upon the village, spying upon the village.

(B.16) *“kolu kor”. ehe. ir kolu kor*
watch place yes PROG:3SG watch village
“Watch over the village”. - Yes, he was watching over the village.

(B.17) *e per sih aka i-ro*
and ASSOC one DEM.DIST 3-COP
And one day he stayed...

(B.18) *e mui at ndramet aka ir wum. mui hanu masih pwi,*
and dog POSS man DEM.DIST COP:3SG house dog before all NEG
mui ke sih aka at ndramet oko
dog FOC one DEM.DIST POSS man DEM.PROX
and the dog of that man was at home. Formerly, there were not many dogs (who could speak). There was only one such dog, this man’s (dog).

(B.19) *ndramet aka kin-yau e i-ro e ndramet per pehena*
man DEM.DIST PRF.3SG-leave and 3-COP and man ASSOC steal
aka i-me
DEM.DIST 3-come
That man had left and the dog stayed and the thief came.

(B.20) *ndramet aka per pehena i-me, mayin, i-lki nime-n*
man DEM.DIST ASSOC steal 3-come who.knows 3-put hand-3SG.POSS
le sah?
go what
That man who stole came and, who knows, what did he put his hands on?

(B.21) *i-lki nime-n le seh longu pe=k-i-pehenou ke. mui ir*
3-put hand-3SG.POSS go which thing SEQ=IRR-3-steal FOC dog COP:3SG
aka i-pwei teie
DEM.DIST 3-say thus
He put his hands on whichever things he was just about to steal.
The dog who was there said thus:

(B.22) *oh!*
oh
“Oh!”

(B.23) *sih te sih longu ir po te to pwi*
one PRAG one something COP:3SG do PRAG COP NEG
“All the time things are getting lost.”

- (B.24) *e ndremta-n i-ta pehenou-i wou aka!*
 and owner-3SG.POSS 3-HAB steal-TR 2SG DEM.DIST
 “And the master who steals is you there!”
- (B.25) *e ndramet aka*
 and man DEM.DIST
 And that man,
- (B.26) *nime-n hi-tar i-lele i-lele le ndramet pwi*
 hand-3SG.POSS 3SG-loosen 3-look 3-look go man NEG
 his grip loosened. He looked around. He looked again, but there
 was no person.
- (B.27) *wah i-ndramet oko seta oho*
 wah 3-man DEM.PROX LOC.DEM.PROX where
 “Wah! Where is this man?”
- (B.28) *hepke longu per k-i-pehenou-i aka i-te hir pwi*
 but thing ASSOC IRR-3-steal-TR DEM.DIST 3-PRAG take NEG
 But he did not take the things he wanted to steal.
- (B.29) *ipiah ndremta-n i-mul le me wum*
 afternoon owner-3SG.POSS 3-return go come house
 In the afternoon the dog’s owner returned home.
- (B.30) *e i-pwei le ndro yi=i-pwei te*
 and 3-say go LOC 3SG=3-say PRAG
 and it (the dog) said to him, it said:
- (B.31) *tesah longu at-toro ir po oko ir po lus*
 what thing POSS-1DU.INCL COP:3SG do DEM.PROX PROG:3SG do lose(TP)
 “What things of ours here keep getting lost..”
- (B.32) *aka*
 DEM.DIST
 “Now.”
- (B.33) *aka hmm ndramet ndremta-n oko*
 DEM.DIST HESIT man owner-3SG.POSS DEM.PROX
 “That is the man, this master here.”
- (B.34) *e i-pwei hian*
 and 3-say good
 He said: “Alright.”
- (B.35) *k-ro. i-le pwai ndramet aka i-pwei pwi*
 IRR-COP 3-go say man DEM.DIST 3-say NEG
 “That can wait.” He went to talk to that man (but) he said no.

- (B.36) *i-le pwasou i-pwei te pwi e i-ro. per sih le*
 3-go call 3-say PRAG NEG and 3-COP ASSOC one go
 He went to talk to him and he said no. Another time...
- (B.37) *per sih le yi=pe=k-i-you*
 ASSOC one go 3SG=SEQ=IRR-3-leave.3SG
 Another time he (the dog's owner) was about to leave.
- (B.38) *e ndra mui at-n i-ro, mui at-n i-ro, ndramet*
 and loc dog POSS-3SG.POSS 3-COP dog POSS-3SG.POSS 3-COP man
aka le pe=k-i-luk-i nime-n le hepsah
 DEM.DIST go SEQ=IRR-3-put-TR hand-3SG.POSS go something
 And his dog stayed there, his dog stayed. That man was just about
 to put his hands on something
- (B.39) *e i-pwei te i i i-lki poho-n i-wong*
 and 3-say PRAG 3 3 3-put mouth-3SG.POSS 3-speak
 and he said....he put his mouth to speak and spoke.
- (B.40) *ndramet aka i-pwei wah*
 man DEM.DIST 3-say wah
 That man said: "Wah!"
- (B.41) *ndramet hom te to kor pwi, i-sieh ir po oko*
 man one.person PRAG COP village NEG 3-who COP:3SG do DEM.PROX
 "There is no person at this place, who is this here?"
- (B.42) *mar-n hepke i-le aka i-Indri mui ke i-ro*
 eye-3SG.POSS a.little 3-go DEM.DIST 3-see dog FOC 3-COP
 His gaze turned a bit and he saw the dog there.
- (B.43) *e i-pwei wah*
 and 3-say wah
 He said: "Wah!"
- (B.44) *kle ir po wum mui oko*
 COND COP:3SG do house dog DEM.PROX
 "If that isn't this dog in the house."
- (B.45) *pwen aka i-le*
 COMPL DEM.DIST 3-go
 Then he went...
- (B.46) *le ma mwan i-lki sul le mwan*
 go with fire 3-put torch go fire
 with the torch into the fire.

- (B.47) *mwan le sul, mwan i-yet*
 fire go torch fire 3-burn
 The fire touched the torch and fire burned.
- (B.48) *e i-le le tulemui poho, poho mui aka*
 and 3-go go burn mouth mouth dog DEM.DIST
 He turned and went to burn the mouth, that dog's mouth.
- (B.49) *i-tulemui poho mui aka*
 3-burn mouth dog DEM.DIST
 He burned that dog's mouth.
- (B.50) *e ma i-you*
 and with 3-leave.3SG
 And so he left.
- (B.51) *i-te po hepsah pwi, i-tulemui ke poho mui aka, i-pwei*
 3-PRAG do something NEG 3-burn FOC mouth dog DEM.DIST 3-say
te mui ir po wong mui e!
 PRAG dog COP:3SG do speak dog EMPH
 He did not do anything, he just burned that dog's mouth. He said:
 "The dog is talking, that dog!"
- (B.52) *e i-you*
 and 3-leave.3SG
 And he left.
- (B.53) *e ndramet aka, ndremta mui aka ir lonhou i-me*
 and man DEM.DIST owner dog DEM.DIST COP:3SG bush 3-come
 And the man, that dog's owner who was in the bush came (home).
- (B.54) *i=pe-k-me pwi*
 3=SEQ-IRR-come SEQ
 He came and...
- (B.55) *e hepsah te to pwi; seh longu i-per ir*
 and something PRAG COP NEG what.kind.of thing 3-ASSOC PROG:3SG
kah aka te to pwi. yi=pe=k-i-ndemani mui
 look.for DEM.DIST PRAG COP NEG 3SG=SEQ=IRR-3-ask dog
 and something was missing; what he was looking for was not there.
 He asked the dog...
- (B.56) *e mui pe=k-wong te wanei pwi*
 and dog SEQ=IRR-speak PRAG able NEG
 and the dog was about to speak, but was unable to.

- (B.57) *mar-n pe=k-i-le posopngo mui at-(e)n*
 eye-3SG.POSS SEQ=IRR-3-go mouth dog POSS-3SG.POSS
 His gaze turned towards his dog's mouth
- (B.58) *aka i-rukat*
 DEM.DIST 3-blacken
 that was blackened.
- (B.59) *oh su=ha-tulemui poho mui oto e mui oto te wong*
 oh 3PL=NSG-burn mouth dog 1SG.POSS and dog 1.POSS PRAG speak
le pwi e malapo mui te wong le pwi aka
 again NEG and now dog PRAG speak again NEG DEM.DIST
 "Oh, they burned my dog's mouth and my dog doesn't speak any-
 more." And now dogs don't speak anymore.
- (B.60) *e mui range e-Indri su poho su ruktan*
 and dog today 2SG-see 3PL mouth 3PL black
 And when you see dogs whose mouths are black,
- (B.61) *aka mui aka aka hanu su=to wong*
 DEM.DIST dog DEM.DIST DEM.DIST before 3PL=HAB speak
 then these dogs used to speak before.
- (B.62) *emm ndramet emm*
 HESIT man HESIT
 Emm, the man, emm...
- (B.63) *e ndramet teke per pehena aka i-le i-hit-i sul*
 and man like ASSOC steal DEM.DIST 3-go 3-take.3SG-TR torch
i-tulemui poho-n le ri
 3-burn mouth-3SG.POSS go LOC
 and the man, emm, the man, like, the thief, he took the torch and
 burned his mouth with it.
- (B.64) *e ma mui aka su=te to wong le pwi*
 and with dog DEM.DIST 3PL=PRAG PROG speak again NEG
 And so dogs don't speak anymore
- (B.65) *hepke w=e-Indri poho-n ke rukat aka, aka*
 but 2SG-NSG-see mouth-3SG.POSS FOC blacken DEM.DIST DEM.DIST
a=su=tulemui poho-n aka
 POT=3PL=burn mouth-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST
 But when you see a (dog's) mouth that is just black, then they will
 have burned his mouth.
- (B.66) *mwalih le pomut te aka*
 story go finish like DEM.DIST
 The story finishes like that.

IV Ngarmui - The Cave of the Dogs (12 min 25 sec)

This story is narrated by Enoch Potaha Nelson, village council of Sapon I. He is ca. 50 years old and has lived in Sapon all his life. He speaks Tok Pisin mainly when working in Lorengau and Lele at home. “Ngarmui” is another traditional story from Sapon village. It revolves around a group of dogs who used to live in the cave which was since called “cave of the dogs”³. These dogs are the source for the much treasured dog’s teeth which used to be the main currency in Manus and which are still used for bride price today (but more rarely). The story involves many sub plots in different places and with different groups of Manus.

(B.1) *mwalih mwalih*
story story
Story story.

(B.2) *kor sih*
place one
There is a place

(B.3) *i-ta korse ngar-mui su=pwasou*
3-COP side hole-dog 3PL=call
which is at the boundary to “Ngarmui” that they call...

(B.4) *Karuwin Karuwin*
GN GN
Karuwin, Karuwin.

(B.5) *i-le lundie ngat*
3-go inside hole

³Ngarmui is a rare compound consisting of *ngat* ‘hole’ or ‘cave’ and *mui* ‘dog’. The phoneme /t/ mutates to /r/ in the process of compounding.

And as for inside of the cave...

- (B.6) *su=pwasou ngar-mui*
3PL=call hole-dog
they call it “Ngarmui”.
- (B.7) *mui ma-hangul*
dog PROP-forty
There were forty dogs
- (B.8) *le poro piso-su ho-mou*
go with sibling.opposite.sex-3PL one-NCLF:human
with their sister.
- (B.9) *su=ta metir le ngat le ngar-mui*
3PL=HAB sleep go hole go hole-dog
They used to sleep inside the cave, inside Ngarmui.
- (B.10) *loping lorang mui kamel su=la toki*
night.time day.time dog male 3PL=go walk
At night time and at day time the male dogs walked.
- (B.11) *su=la eh su=la kah an-su yenyang*
3PL=go HESIT 3PL=go find CLF.food-3PL food
They went, eh, they went to find their food.
- (B.12) *soroh te pu lout e tesah le*
meat PRAG pig cuscus and what’s.it go
Meat such as pig, cuscus and you-name-it.
- (B.13) *piso-su ngar-n Nakmat*
sibling.opposite.sex-3PL name-3SG.POSS PN
Their sister’s name was Nakmat.
- (B.14) *Nakmat*
PN
Nakmat.
- (B.15) *i-ta metir kei sih i-ta lundie ngar-mui aka su=pwasou*
3-HAB sleep tree one 3-COP inside hole-dog DEM.DIST 3PL=call
kuh
kuh.tree
She used to sleep at a tree inside the cave of dogs that they call
kuh.

- (B.16) *e ie-n ie soho piso-n su=la toki la kah*
 and be-3SG.POSS be wait sibling.opposite.sex-3SG 3PL=go walk go find
soroh su=me
 meat 3PL=come
 And she stayed there. She stayed waiting for her brothers to go and
 find meat and bring it back.
- (B.17) *su=po kuk su=yenyan*
 3PL=do cook(TP) 3PL=eat.ITR
 They cooked, they ate.
- (B.18) *su=to mingsen-i... tokea aka loping rang loping rang*
 3PL=be do-TR... journey DEM.DIST night day night day
kah-i-a soroh
 find-TR-NOM meat
 They did... those rounds were day and night, day and night, finding
 meat.
- (B.19) *i-me su=to yenyan*
 3-come 3PL=PROG eat.ITR
 One came and they ate.
- (B.20) *per sih*
 ASSOC one
 One day...
- (B.21) *su=ken-yau kena kah soroh*
 3PL=PRF.NSG-move go.3PL.PRF find meat
 they had gone to find meat.
- (B.22) *piso-su Nakmat, Nakmat i-ro*
 sibling.opposite.sex-3PL PN PN 3-COP
 Their sister Nakmat, Nakmat stayed.
- (B.23) *e lap*
 and person.from
 And a man of...
- (B.24) *eh Pokop lap Polomou*
 HESIT PN person.from GN
 eh, Pokop of Polomou...
- (B.25) *i-me i-me pehenou piso-su Nakmat*
 3-come 3-come steal sibling.opposite.sex-3PL PN
 came, he came to steal their sister Nakmat.

- (B.26) *su=la to toki kah-i-a soroh pe=su=k-am pwi*
 3PL=go PROG walk find-TR-NOM meat SEQ=3PL=IRR-come SEQ
 They were looking for meat and when they came back...
- (B.27) *Nakmat te to pwi*
 PN PRAG COP NEG
 Nakmat was not there.
- (B.28) *kor le ipiah*
 place go afternoon
 The day turned into afternoon (lit. the village turned into afternoon).
- (B.29) *mernal le ramen*
 sun go red
 The sun turned red.
- (B.30) *su=pwai konan*
 3PL=say never.mind
 They said: "Never mind."
- (B.31) *tu=te nap te kah yi pwi moh k-le rang*
 1PL.INCL=PRAG able(TP) PRAG find 3SG NEG tomorrow IRR-go day
 "We are unable to find her, tomorrow when day breaks..."
- (B.32) *a=tu=k-e-rkai tu=k-e-hengui su sal masih*
 POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-walk 1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-smell.NSG 3PL road all
 "we will walk and we will smell all the roads..."
- (B.33) *ir po kerse ndro tu oko*
 COP:3SG do side LOC 1PL.INCL DEM.PROX
 "that are at the boundaries to us (our land)."
- (B.34) *loping i-le maping per i*
 night.time 3-go morning head 3
 Night came and the morning after.
- (B.35) *su=tne su=hung su ndor sal masih aka*
 3PL=stand 3PL=smell.3 3PL child road all DEM.DIST
 They got up and smelled all those small roads.
- (B.36) *a=pe=su=k-am sal i-le te Polomou su=hung-ui te*
 POT=SEQ=3PL=IRR-come road 3-go PRAG GN 3PL=smell-TR PRAG
porndeke piso-su
 footprint sibling.opposite.sex-3PL
 When they came to the road that leads to Polomou they smelled
 their sister's footprint.

- (B.37) *i-rkai ri i-you kina Polomou*
 3-walk LOC 3-move.3SG go.3SG.PRF GN
 She walked there and had gone to Polomou.
- (B.38) *su=to ke ndro po-n*
 3PL=COP FOC LOC back-3SG.POSS
 They just stayed at her back...
- (B.39) *to ke ndro po-n, hung-ui porndeke-n, to ke ndro*
 COP FOC LOC back-3SG.POSS smell.3-TR footprint-3SG.POSS COP FOC LOC
po-n, to ke ndro po-n, to ke ndro po-n,
 back-3SG.POSS COP FOC LOC back-3SG.POSS COP FOC LOC back-3SG.POSS
le i-le i-le i-le
 go 3-go 3-go 3-go
 stayed at her back, smelled her footprint, stayed at her back for a
 long time, again and again.
- (B.40) *su=me talah pakeh le Polomou*
 3PL=come appear near go GN
 They reached a place near Polomou,
- (B.41) *e lingen i-ndrut*
 and rain 3-fall.down
 and it began to rain.
- (B.42) *lingen i-ndrut te hengui porndeke piso-su pwi,*
 rain 3-fall.down PRAG smell.NSG footprint sibling.opposite.sex-3PL NEG
hepke piso-su Nakmat ie lundie wum
 but sibling.opposite.sex-3PL PN be inside house
 It rained and they could not smell their sister's footprint anymore,
 but their sister Nakmat was inside a house.
- (B.43) *e yi=tiling-i piso-su*
 and 3SG=see-TR sibling.opposite.sex-3PL
 And she saw her brothers.
- (B.44) *i-tiling-i su piso-su su=me talah*
 3-see-TR 3PL sibling.opposite.sex-3PL 3PL=come appear
 She saw her brothers approaching.
- (B.45) *hilou le, i-le porou su, yi mukmuk le at-su. su=tang e*
 run.3SG go 3-go hold 3PL 3SG happy go POSS-3PL 3PL=cry and
i-pwei ndro su mu=k-am wum
 3-say LOC 3PL 2PL=IRR-come house
 She ran towards them, she went and hugged them, she was happy
 about them. They cried and she said to them: "Come to the house!"

- (B.46) *yo=k-u-re-turue mu=k-e-yenyan pomut*
 1SG=IRR-1SG-1SG-boil 2PL=IRR-NSG-eat.ITR finish
 “I will cook, when you have finished eating...”
- (B.47) *e mu=k-au*
 and 2PL=IRR-move
 “we will leave.”
- (B.48) *su=la la to ndro piso-su, su mukmuk su=tang*
 3PL=go go COP LOC sibling.opposite.sex-3PL 3PL happy 3PL=cry
pomut
 finish
 They went to stay with their sister, they were happy, they finished crying.
- (B.49) *su=yenyan*
 3PL=eat.ITR
 They ate.
- (B.50) *e su=pwai ndro piso-su Nakmat*
 and 3PL=say LOC sibling.opposite.sex-3PL PN
 And they said to their sister Nakmat,
- (B.51) *su=pwai oro*
 3PL=say COP
 they said: “Stay.”
- (B.52) *yowu-k-e-mul le k-al kohon at-tu*
 1PL.EXCL-IRR-NSG-return go IRR-go home POSS-1PL.INCL
 “We will return to our home.”
- (B.53) *e su=mul*
 and 3PL=return
 And they returned.
- (B.54) *su=mul me me kor Karuwin*
 3PL=return come come place GN
 They came back to their village Karuwin.
- (B.55) *ngat ngar-mui e su=me ie-n ri*
 hole hole-dog and 3PL=come stay-3SG.POSS LOC
 to the cave Ngarmui and they came to stay there.
- (B.56) *sih te sih*
 one PRAG one
 All the time...

- (B.57) *su=la kah soroh*
3PL=go find meat
they went to find meat.
- (B.58) *su=yenyan*
3PL=eat.ITR
They ate.
- (B.59) *e su=metir aka*
and 3PL=sleep DEM.DIST
And then they slept.
- (B.60) *per sih su=ie-n*
ASSOC one 3PL=stay-3SG.POSS
One day they were there...
- (B.61) *su=to to poho-su, su=to tang ping rang*
3PL=PROG PROG mouth-3PL 3PL=PROG cry night day
They were forming their mouths to bark, they barked night and day.
- (B.62) *e mandren ho-mou*
and big one-NCLF:human
And one of the big men,
- (B.63) *lapan ho-mou per kor su=pwasou Monul*
chief one-NCLF:human ASSOC place 3PL=call GN
a chief of a place they call Monul,
- (B.64) *ngar-n Pombuluiama*
name-3SG.POSS PN
his name was Pombuluiama,
- (B.65) *i-tne e i-pwei ndro su*
3-stand and 3-say LOC 3PL
he got up and he said to them:
- (B.66) *ey! ping range mui i-ta ke aka!*
ey night at.day dog 3-COP FOC DEM.DIST
“Hey! Night and day you dogs are just barking!”
- (B.67) *mu ye ta to poho-mu ye*
2PL INTS HAB PROG mouth-2PL INTS
“You are just barking all the time!”
- (B.68) *mondro kin-sing at, ndelngo kin-sing at-mu!*
skin.1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-heat.up POSS ear:1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-heat.up POSS-2PL
“My body has become tired of, my ears have become tired of you!”

- (B.69) *e mu=k-e-royau aka kah sih kor at-mu e*
 and 2PL=IRR-NSG-get.lost DEM.DIST find one place POSS-2PL and
mu=k-au k-al ri!
 2PL=IRR-move IRR-go LOC
 “And get lost now and find another place of yours and go there!”
- (B.70) *e su=ie-n*
 and 3PL=stay-3SG.POSS
 And they stayed.
- (B.71) *mandren at-su*
 big POSS-3PL
 Their big man,
- (B.72) *mui aka su=pwai tu=k-ei-n*
 dog DEM.DIST 3PL=say 1PL.INCL=IRR-stay-3SG.POSS
 that dog (those dogs) said: “We will stay here.”
- (B.73) *moh maping a=tu=k-e-kah kor,*
 tomorrow morning POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-find place
tu=k-ar-koh tu=k-au k-al ri
 1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-pack.belongings 1PL.INCL=IRR-move IRR-go LOC
 “Tomorrow morning we will find a place. We will pack our belongings
 and we will go there.”
- (B.74) *su=ie-n*
 3PL=stay-3SG.POSS
 They stayed.
- (B.75) *maping ke su=tne mernal i-kopwat*
 morning FOC 3PL=stand sun 3-rise
 Early in the morning they got up when the sun was rising.
- (B.76) *su=sirt-i Mopilt*
 3PL=follow-TR GN
 They followed the creek Mopilt.
- (B.77) *sal ke mandren, ngondr-n ke, ngondr-n ke, ngondr-n*
 road FOC big root-3SG.POSS FOC root-3SG.POSS FOC root-3SG.POSS
ke, su=la los la ndran Lehei
 FOC 3PL=go fall go water GN
 The route of the creek was a long one. There were feet everywhere
 (paddling in the water), feet everywhere, feet everywhere, until they
 descended into the river Lihai.
- (B.78) *su=yai la horoh*
 3PL=cross.water go other.side
 They crossed the river to the other side,

- (B.79) *sal ke i-here at-su tusie ke Lorongou*
road FOC 3-appear POSS-3PL straight FOC GN
(when) the road that leads straight to Lorengau opened up before
them.
- (B.80) *su=la to Lorongou*
3PL=go COP GN
They went to Lorengau.
- (B.81) *su=his la ndas*
3PL=jump go sea
They jumped into the sea.
- (B.82) *su=ngangai yau la ndue-n*
3PL=swim move go open.sea-3SG.POSS
They swam out into the open sea.
- (B.83) *le i-le i-le i-le i-le i-le*
go 3-go 3-go 3-go 3-go 3-go
They swam for a long time.
- (B.84) *su=te tiling-i mbuso*
3PL=PRAG see-TR island
(until) they saw an island
- (B.85) *Nauna pwi kohon*
GN NEG hide
It was not Nauna, Nauna was still hidden.
- (B.86) *e su=la talah la mbuso ma-ruoh i-ta ndokro*
and 3PL=go appear go island PROP-two 3-HAB middle
And so they arrived at two islands in the middle.
- (B.87) *Nauna emm Nauna e Lapangai*
GN HESIT GN and GN
Nauna, emm, Nauna and Lapangai.
- (B.88) *e su=la sato le mbuso ma-ruoh aka, mbuso*
and 3PL=go arrive.on.other.side go island PROP-two DEM.DIST island
ma-ruoh aka su=pwasou Yokai e Mileu, Mileu
PROP-two DEM.DIST 3PL=call GN and GN GN
And they arrived on the other side of those two islands. Those two
islands are called Yokai and Mileu, Mileu.
- (B.89) *e su=la sato la to ri*
and 3PL=go arrive.on.other.side go COP LOC
And they arrived there and stayed there.

- (B.90) *su=la to ri, su=hit-i kor ir aka*
 3PL=go COP LOC 3PL=take.3SG-TR place COP:3SG DEM.DIST
 They arrived there. They came upon a place that was there.
- (B.91) *lapan per kor ma-ruoh aka i-loh su=la to, i-pwei*
 chief ASSOC place PROP-two DEM.DIST 3-call 3PL=go COP 3-say
mu=k-ama wum!
 2PL=IRR-come house
 The chief of those two places called out to them as they were settling. He said: "Come to the house!"
- (B.92) *su=pwai yowu teie teie*
 3PL=say 1PL.EXCL like.that like.that
 They said: " We (our journey) went like this and that."
- (B.93) *e yowu=yau ha-takoh me to po e yowu-me*
 and 1PL.EXCL=move NSG-gather.belongings come COP do and 1PL.EXCL-come
ndro wou aka
 LOC 2SG DEM.DIST
 "And we left, having gathered all our belongings, and came here and we came to stay with you now."
- (B.94) *i-ro*
 3-COP
 It stayed like this.
- (B.95) *i-porou su su=to mbuso ma-ruoh aka*
 3-hold 3PL 3PL=COP island PROP-two DEM.DIST
 He embraced them and they stayed on those two islands.
- (B.96) *i-ro*
 3-COP
 It stayed like this.
- (B.97) *su per mbuso le Pere*
 3PL ASSOC island go GN
 The people of Pere island⁴
- (B.98) *su=kah lehe mui*
 3PL=find tooth dog
 They wanted to find dog's teeth
- (B.99) *lehe mui*
 tooth dog
 Dog's teeth.

⁴famous Titan village and fieldwork site of Margaret Mead

- (B.100) *per sim-a pihin*
ASSOC buy-NOM woman
For bride price.
- (B.101) *emm su=hirung su=pwai te lehe mui*
HESIT 3PL=hear.3SG 3PL=say PRAG tooth dog
Umm, they heard it and they said: “Dog’s teeth
- (B.102) *ir po kor Sopun e i-ta ngat ngar-mui*
COP:3SG do place GN and 3-COP hole hole-dog
are in the village Sapon and in the cave Ngarmui.
- (B.103) *hepke le muren per i su=pwai*
but go later ASSOC 3 3PL=say
But after that they said”:
- (B.104) *mui ir ngar-mui hepke*
dog COP:3SG hole-dog but
There were dogs at Ngarmui but...
- (B.105) *lapan ho-mou ie-n aka ir pult-i su*
chief one-NCLF:human stay-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST PROG:3SG chase-TR 3PL
e su=ken-ta-koh ken-yau
and 3PL=PRF.NSG-NSG-pack.belongings PRF.NSG-move
there was one chief that chased them and so they packed their be-
longings and moved away.
- (B.106) *e su mui masih a=ken-yau*
and 3PL dog all POT=PRF.NSG-move
And all the dogs would leave...
- (B.107) *ma lehe mui at-su aka su=ken-yau kena kor*
with tooth dog POSS-3PL DEM.DIST 3PL=PRF.NSG-move go.3PL.PRF place
aka
DEM.DIST
with their dog’s teeth. They have gone to another place now.
- (B.108) *su Pere su=kah lehe mui per sim-a pihin, su=la kor*
3PL GN 3PL=find tooth dog ASSOC buy-NOM woman 3PL=go place
The Pere people wanted to find dog’s teeth for bride price. They
went to...
- (B.109) *emm Yokai e Mileu*
HESIT GN and GN
umm, Yokai and Mileu.

- (B.110) *su=la*
3PL=go
They went.
- (B.111) *su=lunget su=la la talah la mbuso ma-ruoh aka*
3PL=sail 3PL=go go appear go island PROP-two DEM.DIST
They sailed. They went and arrived at those two islands.
- (B.112) *lapan per mbuso ma-ruoh aka i-loh su mu=k-am*
chief ASSOC island PROP-two DEM.DIST 3-call 3PL 2PL=IRR-come
pelengan la to pelengan
up go COP up
The chief of those two islands called out to them: “Come up!” They went up.
- (B.113) *su=ie-n, su=ngoh pomut, su=yenyan*
3PL=stay-3SG.POSS 3PL=rest finish 3PL=eat.ITR
They stayed there. When they had finished resting, they ate.
- (B.114) *e lapan aka i-pwei ndro su*
and chief DEM.DIST 3-say LOC 3PL
And that chief said to them:
- (B.115) *opo, mu=k-a-pwei mwalih at-mu, womu terpeh, mu=toki*
do 2PL=IRR-NSG-say story POSS-2PL 2PL how 2PL=walk
terpeh. su=pwai pwi yowu=ha-toki teie
how 3PL=say NEG 1PL.EXCL=NSG-walk like.that
“Go on, tell me your story. What is the matter with you. How did you travel (here)? They said: “No, we travelled like this...”
- (B.116) *na=yowu=k-am kah lehe mui per sim-a pihin*
INT=1PL.EXCL=IRR-come find tooth dog ASSOC buy-NOM woman
“And we have come to find dog’s teeth for bride price.”
- (B.117) *mandren nde lapan per kor ma-ruoh aka i-pwei*
big or chief ASSOC place PROP-two DEM.DIST 3-say
The big man or the chief of the two islands said:
- (B.118) *mwalih per kor aka teie*
story ASSOC place DEM.DIST like.that
“This is how the story of that place goes:”
- (B.119) *moh maping na=tu=k-i-tne*
tomorrow morning INT=1PL.INCL=IRR-3-stand
“Tomorrow morning we will get up...”

- (B.120) *tu=k-ar-pohoun-i sing niu*
 1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-break-TR meat coconut
 “we will break some coconut shells,”
- (B.121) *tu=k-al pieni k-le Yokai*
 1PL.INCL=IRR-go throw IRR-go GN
 “we will throw them towards Yokai.”
- (B.122) *su mui k-ala k-al to mbuso Yokai, su=k-al to yenyen*
 3PL dog IRR-go IRR-go COP island GN 3PL=IRR-go PROG eat.ITER
 “The dogs will go to stay at Yokai island. They will go eating,”
- (B.123) *e tu=k-al Mileu*
 and 1PL.INCL=IRR-go GN
 “and we will go to Mileu.”
- (B.124) *tu=k-al kun lehe mui i-ta ri*
 1PL.INCL=IRR-go carry tooth dog 3-COP LOC
 “We will take the dog’s teeth that are there.”
- (B.125) *e su=mingsen-i te aka*
 and 3PL=make-TR PRAG DEM.DIST
 And they did thus.
- (B.126) *su=la rokuh la Mileu pomut*
 3PL=go collect go GN finish
 They went and collected (all of the dog’s teeth) at Mileu.
- (B.127) *kor i-ping su=metir, maping*
 place 3-night 3PL=sleep morning
 At night, they slept. At day...
- (B.128) *su=ta pohoun-i niu le su=la pwai, ropne-i le Mileu*
 3PL=HAB break-TR coconut go 3PL=go say throw-TR go GN
 they usually broke coconuts again. They said: “Throw it to Mileu!”
- (B.129) *e su=la sap lehe mui la Yokai*
 and 3PL=go collect tooth dog go GN
 And they went and collected dog’s teeth at Yokai.
- (B.130) *i-le i-le i-le*
 3-go 3-go 3-go
 They did that again and again,
- (B.131) *su=tiling-i te lehe mui at-su le solen*
 3PL=see-TR PRAG tooth dog POSS-3PL go many
 (until) they saw that their dog’s teeth had become plenty.

- (B.132) *e su=pwai ndro lapan at-su pwai moso-n*
 and 3PL=say LOC chief POSS-3PL say enough-3SG.POSS
 And they told their chief and he said: “That is enough.”
- (B.133) *a=yowu-k-au aka*
 POT=1PL.EXCL-IRR-move DEM.DIST
 “We will go now.”
- (B.134) *na=su=k-au*
 INT=3PL=IRR-move
 They were about to leave,
- (B.135) *mandren nde lapan per kor aka i-pwei*
 big or chief ASSOC place DEM.DIST 3-say
 (when) the chief of that place said:
- (B.136) *hom at-mu i-k-nges ndilis i-ta*
 one.person POSS-2PL 3-IRR-climb.SG talisa.tree 3-COP
 “One of you will climb that talisa tree⁵.”
- (B.137) *e i-nges ndilis aka, i-le pelengan le le hetu lu*
 and 3-IRR-climb.SG talisa.tree DEM.DIST 3-go up go go get.NSG leaf
ndilis ma-hahou
 talisa.tree PROP-four
 And he (one) climbed that talisa tree, he went up the tree to get four
 talisa leaves.
- (B.138) *hetu am pwan*
 get.2SG come ground
 “Bring them down.”
- (B.139) *e-tou k-ir ndol*
 2SG-bring IRR-COP:3SG canoe
 “Put it into the canoe.”
- (B.140) *e mu=k-e-linget mu=k-au k-ala Pere nde Mwanus*
 and 2PL=IRR-NSG-sail 2PL=IRR-move IRR-go GN or GN
 “And sail off and go to the Pere or Mwanus.”
- (B.141) *su=yau su=me me to ndokro ndas*
 3PL=move 3PL=come come COP middle sea
 They left and gradually approached the middle of the sea.
- (B.142) *e lu ndilis ma-toloh i-me talah su ndor pihin*
 and leaf talisa.tree PROP-three 3-come appear 3PL child woman
ma-til-mou
 PROP-three-NCLF:human

⁵Terminalia catappa

And three talisa leaves turned into three young women.

- (B.143) *e ho-mou aka i-me talah tasou*
and one-NCLF:human DEM.DIST 3-come appear old.person

And one turned into an old woman.

- (B.144) *ho-mou at-su i-tne hit-i pos*
one-NCLF:human POSS-3PL 3-stand take.3SG-TR paddle

One of them got up and took a paddle.

- (B.145) *i-re-i tasou pihin aka i-met*
3-kill-TR old woman DEM.DIST 3-die.SG

He killed that old woman.

- (B.146) *e su=mwakilie sou ndas te oko,*
and 3PL=roam.around be sea PRAG DEM.PROX
a=su=k-a-le-au oho
POT=3PL=IRR-NSG-go-move where

And they just roamed aimlessly on the sea like this. Where could they go?

- (B.147) *su=mwakilie su=mul la mbuso ma-ruoh Yokai e Mileu*
3PL=roam.around 3PL=return go island PROP-two GN and GN

They roamed around and they returned to the two islands of Yokai and Mileu.

- (B.148) *su=la to ri*
3PL=go COP LOC

They went and stayed there.

- (B.149) *mandren aka i-pwei lapan per kor aka i-pwei womu?*
big DEM.DIST 3-say chief ASSOC place DEM.DIST 3-say 2PL

The big one there said, the chief of that place said: "You?"

- (B.150) *oh yowu teie teie, ho-mou at-wu i-re-i*
oh 1PL.EXCL like.that like.that one-NCLF:human POSS-1PL.EXCL 3-kill-TR
tasou pihin aka kin-mat e yowu-ha-mbul e
old woman DEM.DIST PRF.3SG-die and 1PL.EXCL-NSG-wander.about and
me talah me ye
come appear come INTS

"Oh, we did this and that. One of us killed that old woman and we roamed aimlessly on the sea and we came back now."

- (B.151) *lapan per kor aka i-pwei, mu=k-ala, am a-ngas*
chief ASSOC place DEM.DIST 3-say 2PL=IRR-go come NSG-climb
ndilis le le heti, le heti lu ndilis ma-hahou aka
talisa.tree go go take.NSG go take.NSG leaf talisa.tree PROP-four DEM.DIST

The chief of that place said: “Go and climb the talisa tree again. Go and get four of those talisa leaves.”

(B.152) *houen*
new

“New ones.”

(B.153) *heti me pwan*
take.NSG come down

“Bring them down.”

(B.154) *mu=k-e-mingsen-i te range yo=kun-pwai me ndro mu*
2PL=IRR-NSG-make-TR PRAG before 1SG=PRF.1SG-say come LOC 2PL
aka
DEM.DIST

“Do just as I have told you before.”

(B.155) *su=linget su=yau*
3PL=sail 3PL=move

They sailed away.

(B.156) *su=la to ndokro ndas*
3PL=go COP middle sea

The came to the middle of the sea

(B.157) *lu ndilis ma-hahou aka i-me talah su ndor pihin*
leaf talisa.tree PROP-four DEM.DIST 3-come appear 3PL child woman

(and) and those four talisa leaves turned into young women.

(B.158) *ma-hahou*
PROP-four

Four.

(B.159) *su mukmuk*
3PL happy

They were happy.

(B.160) *ir ndol ndro su su=linget su=yau me Mwanus*
COP:3SG canoe LOC 3PL 3PL=sail 3PL=move come GN

They were in the canoe with them and they sailed to Mwanus.

(B.161) *su=linget su=me ndorkan su=pwasou ndrili*
3PL=sail 3PL=come little.bird 3PL=call kind.of.bird

They sailed and encountered a bird that they call ndrili.

(B.162) *ie hanu*
be ahead

It was ahead (of the canoe).

- (B.163) *ir pwasou-ni sal at-su, ndorkan ie hanu, ndrili ie*
 PROG:3SG call-TR road POSS-3PL bird be ahead kind.of.bird be
hanu
 ahead
 It was pointing out their path. The bird was ahead of them, the ndrili
 was ahead of them.
- (B.164) *su=lunget ir muren*
 3PL=sail COP:3SG behind
 They sailed behind it (following it).
- (B.165) *su=lunget ir muren me me me me me me me*
 3PL=sail COP:3SG behind come come come come come come
 They sailed behind it and came gradually closer.
- (B.166) *su=me talah me Pere*
 3PL=come appear come GN
 (until) they arrived at Pere.
- (B.167) *su=me me tou lehe mui me ndro su mandren at-su*
 3PL=come come bring tooth dog come LOC 3PL big POSS-3PL
 They came back, bringing the dog's teeth to their chiefs.
- (B.168) *lapan per kor aka su=pwai lehe mui at-tu ye! e*
 chief ASSOC place DEM.DIST 3PL=say tooth dog POSS-1PL.INCL INTS and
 "The chiefs of that place said: These are our dog's teeth! And..."
- (B.169) *tu=k-a-sep lehe mui oko per tu=k-e-sim*
 1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-carry tooth dog DEM.PROX ASSOC 1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-buy
pihin le ri
 woman go LOC
 we will take these dog's teeth to buy women from."
- (B.170) *mwalih le mwalih i-me*
 story go story 3-come
 The story goes, the story comes.
- (B.171) *ta ndro wou Pilapan mar-(e)m na=k-metir nde?*
 COP LOC 2SG PN eye-2SG.POSS INT=IRR-sleep TAG
 and stays with you, Pilapan, your eyes want to sleep now, right?
- (B.172) *stori*
 story(TP)
 The story
- (B.173) *pwen*
 COMPL
 is finished.

V How the chouka bird came to Manus mainland and other Chouka stories (8 min 3 sec)

The Manus friarbird (*Philemon albitorques*) is endemic to Manus Province, PNG, where it is called Chouka or Chauka (Lele *souka*). Its significance to Manus, which is at least in part due to its peculiarly loud call, is reflected in numerous stories and myths surrounding the many abilities and duties of the Chouka which include alerting people to snakes in trees or informing people about a birth in the community. This particular legend was narrated by Joel Potou Pokupwen, a Sapon village elder, ca. seventy years of age, who connects the Chouka with a place of his maternal ancestors, Ndenap. Potou is very active in the SDA church. He speaks Tok Pisin but also puts great emphasis on maintaining Lele when communicating with his family members. He is very conscious of his cultural heritage and his ancestry. Apart from Lele and Tok Pisin he also speaks some English. Potou is among the last few elders who still remember certain cultural practices.

(B.1) *mwalih mwalih*
story story
Story story

(B.2) *mwalih at souka*
story POSS chouka
This is a story about

(B.3) *souka ir per-mbuso*
chouka COP:3SG ASSOC-island

The Chouka lived on an island,

- (B.4) *permbuso ngar-n Lou*
ASSOC-island name-3SG.POSS GN
an island called Lou.
- (B.5) *e souka ie pul kei*
and chouka be head.of.tree tree
And the Chouka sat in the tree crown.
- (B.6) *e maren pe=k-i-le pwi*
and sharp SEQ=IRR-3-see SEQ
And as he looked around
- (B.7) *e lap Lou nambulu-n*
and person.from GN spouse-3SG.POSS
there was a man from Lou and his wife.
- (B.8) *a=sor=to po pleng*
POT=3DU=PROG do garden
The two were doing garden work.
- (B.9) *sor-ha-po pleng pomut*
3DU-NSG-do garden finish
When the two were finished with gardening,
- (B.10) *mwandri me ngandah e lap Lou le*
sun come set and and person.from GN go
the sun set and the man from Lou went...
- (B.11) *le hingang por ndro nambulu-n*
go rest.3SG with LOC spouse-3SG.POSS
to rest with his wife.
- (B.12) *lu kei souka maren i-le*
leaf tree chouka sharp 3-go
And the Chouka sitting in the tree looked around
- (B.13) *e i-Indri lap Lou aka i-pwei te*
and 3-see:TR person.from GN DEM.DIST 3-say PRAG
And it saw that man from Lou and it said:
- (B.14) *lap Lou ir po po ndro nambulu-n lap Lou*
person.from GN PROG:3SG do do LOC spouse-3SG.POSS person.from GN
ir po po ndro nambulu-n lap Lou ir po po
PROG:3SG do do LOC spouse-3SG.POSS person.from GN PROG:3SG do do
ndro nambulu-n
LOC spouse-3SG.POSS

“The man from Lou is doing it with his wife! The man from Lou is doing it with his wife! The man from Lou is doing it with his wife!”

- (B.15) *e lap Lou hirung-ui*
and person.from GN hear.3SG-TR
And the man from Lou heard it.
- (B.16) *e ndrine-n i-rurko*
and abdomen-3SG.POSS 3-be.angry
And he became angry.
- (B.17) *ndrine-n i-rurko*
abdomen-3SG.POSS 3-be.angry
He became angry...
- (B.18) *i-rkai po ndro su Lou masih kene*
3-walk until? LOC 3PL GN all INTS
and went to all the people of Lou.
- (B.19) *su=san lau*
3PL=gather people
They gathered the people.
- (B.20) *e i-pwei te tu=k-al-a*
and 3-say PRAG 1PL.INCL=IRR-go-NOM
And he said: “Let’s go.”
- (B.21) *tu=k-a-re-i souka masih kene ir po per-mbuso*
1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-kill-TR chouka all INTS COP:3SG do ASSOC-island
Lou oko k-i-you
GN DEM.PROX IRR-3-move.3SG
“Let us kill all the Choukas that stay at Lou Island.”
- (B.22) *su=la su=ta-i su souka*
3PL=go 3PL=kill-TR 3PL chouka
They went and killed the Choukas,
- (B.23) *ta-i souka masih*
kill-TR chouka all
killed all the Choukas.
- (B.24) *e sih ke aka i-kohon*
and one FOC DEM.DIST 3-hide
And there was just one that hid from them.
- (B.25) *sou pulpa pamei*
remain stalk betelnut
in remained on a sago tree stalk.

- (B.26) *souka masih kene su=ken-mat sih ke aka i-sou*
 chouka all INTS 3PL=PRF.NSG-die one FOC DEM.DIST 3-remain
 All of the Choukas had died, only one remained.
- (B.27) *i-pomut*
 3-finish
 when that was done...
- (B.28) *e i=na=k-i-wop k-i-you me parkor*
 and 3=INT=IRR-3SG-run.away IRR-3-move.3SG come mainland
 it set out to flee to the mainland.
- (B.29) *i-le i-le mwen ndran masih kene per Lou*
 3-go 3-go fetch.water water all INTS ASSOC GN
 It went and fetched all of the rivers and creeks of Lou.
- (B.30) *e i-hit-i ndran i-you*
 and 3-take.3SG-TR water 3-move.3SG
 And it took the rivers and creeks away.
- (B.31) *i-you me*
 3-move.3SG come
 It went away and it became....
- (B.32) *e poho-n i-me emm me part*
 and mouth-3SG.POSS 3-come HESIT come tired
 And its mouth became, emm, became tired.
- (B.33) *e ndran hepe i-ror le i-ta Ndropwa*
 and water a.little 3-drop go 3-COP GN
 And a little of the water fell down to Ndropwa.
- (B.34) *mamunien hit-i me parkor*
 all.of get.3SG-TR come mainland
 All of it went to the mainland.
- (B.35) *e me ndro su souka per parkor*
 and come LOC 3PL chouka ASSOC mainland
 And came to the Choukas of the mainland
- (B.36) *e su souka per parkor aka su=to, su=to Ndenap*
 and 3PL chouka ASSOC mainland DEM.DIST 3PL=COP 3PL=COP GN
 And the Choukas of the mainland lived at, they lived at Ndenap.
- (B.37) *e souka aka at eh tumbu su per ndro*
 and chouka DEM.DIST POSS HESIT grandparent 3PL ASSOC LOC
nano
 mother.1SG.POSS
 And these are the Choukas of my mother's ancestors.

- (B.38) *e mburer at-su teie*
 and work POSS-3PL thus
 And their duties are thus.
- (B.39) *kle su lain, su ndramet per ndro nano su*
 COND 3PL line(TP) 3PL people ASSOC LOC mother.1SG.POSS 3PL
 When a clan, the people of my mother's side of the clan...
- (B.40) *pe=su=k-e-rkai k-al te Tungou nde*
 SEQ=3PL=IRR-NSG-walk IRR-go PRAG GN or
 when they want to go to Tungou or...
- (B.41) *k-al te Pulisou*
 IRR-go PRAG GN
 they go to Pulisou
- (B.42) *e su per Pulisou nde Tungou aka su=k-or po yil*
 and 3PL ASSOC GN or GN DEM.DIST 3PL=IRR-COP:NSG do fight
 and when the people of Pulisou or Tungou fight,
- (B.43) *aka su souka su=k-ala*
 DEM.DIST 3PL chouka 3PL=IRR-go
 then the Choukas will come.
- (B.44) *su=k-al ke k-e-herong, souka su=k-ar-hitai*
 3PL=IRR-go FOC IRR-NSG-hear chouka 3PL=IRR-NSG-war
 They will come and hear. The Choukas will fight.
- (B.45) *[...] su=k-e-ha-tan-su teie*
 [...] 3PL=IRR-NSG-NSG-know-3PL thus
 They will know thus.
- (B.46) *tu=te nap te la Pulisou nde Tungou aka pwi*
 1PL.INCL=PRAG able(TP) PRAG go GN or Tungou DEM.DIST NEG
 We can't just go to Pulisou or Tungou.
- (B.47) *tu=k-u-mul a=tu=k-ala*
 1PL.INCL=IRR-1SG-return POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-go
 We will return and we will go again.
- (B.48) *su=to ta ta-hitai*
 3PL=PROG HAB NSG-war
 They were usually at war (working for us)
- (B.49) *aka mburer at su souka sih aka*
 DEM.DIST work POSS 3PL chouka one DEM.DIST
 That was one of the Chouka's duties.

- (B.50) *sih*
one
Another one.
- (B.51) *kle ho-mou per ndro nano teke hom*
COND one-NCLF:human ASSOC LOC mother.1SG.POSS like NCLF:one.person
piso nde hom ndere nde
sibling.opposite.sex or NCLF:one.person sibling.same.sex or
yahe-n k-met
uncle-3SG.POSS IRR-die
When someone from my mother's line such as a sister or a brother
or an uncle dies,
- (B.52) *aka i-you kor ndon hepke su=k-am al wum*
DEM.DIST 3-move.3SG village yet but 3PL=IRR-come go house
That one has left the place yet, but they will come to the house.
- (B.53) *su=k-song koping*
3PL=IRR-go.inside underneath.the.house
They will come under the house.
- (B.54) *su=k-al ie mar papei*
3PL=IRR-go be opening entrance
They will be at the house entrance.
- (B.55) *e yowu=k-am k-i-Indri yowu=k-e-tan-en wou*
and 1PL.EXCL=IRR-come IRR-3-see:TR 1PL.EXCL=IRR-NSG-know-3SG.POSS 2SG
"And we have come to see you so that you know."
- (B.56) *oh ho-mou kin-mat [...] pe=k-me su=k-a-pwai te*
oh one-NCLF:human PRF.3SG-die [...] SEQ=IRR-come 3PL=IRR-NSG-say PRAG
Oh, someone has died (...) As they come they will say:
- (B.57) *oh yahe-m nde tumbu-m nde yi=kin-mat*
oh uncle-2SG.POSS or grandparent-2SG.POSS or 3SG=PRF.3SG-die
"Oh, your uncle or your grandparent has died."
- (B.58) *aka souka mwalih per souka sih aka*
DEM.DIST chouka story ASSOC chouka one DEM.DIST
That was another story about the Chouka.
- (B.59) *sih*
one
Another one.
- (B.60) *kle su=k-e-lik-i ndor-su k-ie ndra sakei*
COND 3PL=IRR-NSG-put-TR child-3PL IRR-be branch kind.of.fruit
When they (the Choukas) breed in the Sakei trees.

- (B.61) *numwa-n k-ie ri*
nest-3SG.POSS IRR-be LOC
And if there is a bird's nest in the tree,
- (B.62) *aka su mbunanah su=k-al su=te nap te la ndro su*
DEM.DIST 3PL child 3PL=IRR-go 3PL=PRAG able(TP) PRAG go LOC 3PL
pwi
NEG
then the children are not allowed to go there.
- (B.63) *[...] su=k-a-pwei te terpeh*
[...] 3PL=IRR-NSG-say PRAG how
They will say: "How can this be?" (They will protest.)
- (B.64) *aka souka su=k-op yil*
DEM.DIST chouka 3PL=IRR-do fight
Then the Choukas will fight.
- (B.65) *su=k-op yil le su=te i-Indri su mbunanah aka pwi*
3PL=IRR-do fight go 3PL=PRAG 3-see:TR 3PL child DEM.DIST NEG
They will fight until they don't see any children anymore (disturbing them).
- (B.66) *a=k-ro loping*
POT=IRR-COP night.time
And the issue will remain until the night.
- (B.67) *e su=k-al pwai k-le ndro tumbu su range su=ken-mat*
and 3PL=IRR-go say IRR-go LOC grandparent 3PL before 3PL=PRF.NSG-die
And they will go and talk to the ancestors that had died earlier.
- (B.68) *su=k-a-pwei te mu-k-e-loh k-le ndro su to ta*
3PL=IRR-NSG-say PRAG 2PL-IRR-NSG-call IRR-go LOC 3PL PROG HAB
They will say: "Call out to all those that are there..."
- (B.69) *su=to ta range aka la*
3PL=PROG HAB before DEM.DIST go
"those that died earlier."
- (B.70) *terpeh ye*
how INTS
What is the matter?
- (B.71) *mbunanah nane-n i-me i-pwei te mbunanah ie ndre*
child mother-3SG.POSS 3-come 3-say PRAG child be on.top.of
sakei nde ndra nengei aka kin-los
kind.of.fruit or branch nut.tree DEM.DIST PRF.3SG-fall

As for that child, his / her mother came and said that the child that sat in the Sakei tree or on a branch of a nut tree has fallen down.

- (B.72) *e wa=su=k-e-loh me aka tumbu ho-mou*
and POT=3PL=IRR-NSG-call come DEM.DIST grandparent one-NCLF:human
ngar-n Posopun
name-3SG.POSS PN

And they will answer back to one ancestor of the name Posopun.

- (B.73) *i Pulihat korpo, a=yi ke ndelnga-n, aka*
3 GN be.DEM.PROX POT=3SG FOC ear-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST
su=ha-hir-ui ndelnga-n, aka i-k-i-hirung sou
3PL=NSG-get-TR ear-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST 3-IRR-3-hear.3SG be

Just over here in Pulihat, he was their ear (he understood the ancestor's speaking). Then they would get him and he would listen for a while.

- (B.74) *su ndramet per su a=su=k-e-loh*
3PL people ASSOC 3PL POT=3PL=IRR-NSG-call

Their people (the ancestors) would call out.

- (B.75) *e i-k-le k-somu-i su*
and 3-IRR-go IRR-reply-TR 3PL

And he would go and answer them.

- (B.76) *i-pwei te mu-ha-loh ha-pwai sah*
3-say PRAG 2PL-NSG-call NSG-say what

He would say: "You call out saying what?"

- (B.77) *oh souka aka i-me i-pwei te ndur-n ie ndra nengei*
oh chouka DEM.DIST 3-come 3-say PRAG child-3SG.POSS be branch nut.tree
nde ie ndra sakei aka i-los le pwan
or be branch kind.of.fruit DEM.DIST 3-fall go ground

"Oh a Chouka just came and it said that its child that was sitting on the branch of a nut tree or the branch of a sakei tree fell down (died).

- (B.78) *e i-pwei te ehe*
and 3-say PRAG yes

And he said: "Yes."

- (B.79) *aka ndaken hepke su ndramet su=te tipin-i yi pwi*
DEM.DIST true but 3PL people 3PL=PRAG push-TR 3SG NEG
aka, i yor
DEM.DIST 3 wind

"That is true but the people did not push it. It was the wind."

- (B.80) *nala hit-i yi*
 wind take.3SG-TR 3SG
 “The wind took it.”
- (B.81) *e i-los le pwan su=ken-ton-i yi*
 and 3-fall go ground 3PL=PRF.NSG-bury-TR 3SG
 And it fell to the ground and they have buried it.
- (B.82) *e su=k-a-pwai te su tumbu su mat aka*
 and 3PL=IRR-NSG-say PRAG 3PL grandchild 3PL die DEM.DIST
su=k-a-pwai te oh hian
 3PL=IRR-NSG-say PRAG oh good
 And they would say: “The ancestors that have died said: Oh, it is fine.”
- (B.83) *aka sih aka*
 DEM.DIST one DEM.DIST
 That was another one.
- (B.84) *sih*
 one
 Another one.
- (B.85) *a=i-su*
 POT=3-3PL
 All those...
- (B.86) *su=k-oro k-or wum ndro su*
 3PL=IRR-COP IRR-COP:NSG house LOC 3PL
 that stay with them.
- (B.87) *e ndramet i-k-le ngas lout*
 and person 3-IRR-go climb cuscus
 And someone wants to climb a tree for cuscus.
- (B.88) *e i-k-le k-le mandr wum aka i-k-le kle yi-Indri*
 and 3-IRR-go IRR-go side house DEM.DIST 3-IRR-go COND 3SG-see:TR
lout pihin nde kamel
 cuscus female or male
 And he would climb up the side of the house and if he would see a female or male cuscus...
- (B.89) *aka i-k-i-hit-i*
 DEM.DIST 3-IRR-3-get.3SG-TR
 He would get that one.

- (B.90) *e loping*
and night.time
And at night
- (B.91) *a=su=kah-kah tahit e su=k-e-loh*
POT=3PL=look.for-look.for in.vain and 3PL=IRR-NSG-call
when they would search in vain for it they would call out...
- (B.92) *k-me tumbu Posopun ke aka wa=yi=k-i-hirung,*
IRR-come grandparent PN FOC DEM.DIST POT=3SG=IRR-3-hear.3SG
i-pwei te kle mu=ha-pwai sah
3-say PRAG alright 2PL=NSG-say what
to just that ancestor Posopun in order for him to listen to the ancestors. He would say: "Alright, what do you say?"
- (B.93) *oh lout, su lain oko su=me su=pwai te*
oh cuscus 3PL line(TP) DEM.PROX 3PL=come 3PL=say PRAG
"Oh, concerning the cuscus..." the people coming (would) say.
- (B.94) *ndriket sou mandr wum oko su=me hur-ui su=pwai te*
gecko be side house DEM.PROX 3PL=come get-TR 3PL=say PRAG
ehe
yes
"A gecko is at our house wall and they came and took it." They said:
"Yes."
- (B.95) *aka Pohamou i-me i-me ngas*
DEM.DIST PN 3-come 3-come climb
Then Pohamou came and climbed up.
- (B.96) *e hit-i lout pihin i-me su=ken-i-ni*
and take.3SG-TR cuscus female 3-come 3PL=PRF.NSG-3-eat:TR
And he took the female cuscus and brought it back and they ate it.
- (B.97) *e su=pwai te k-le muren*
and 3PL=say PRAG IRR-go later
They said: "That can wait until later."
- (B.98) *su=k-am ngas yeu nde*
3PL=IRR-come climb Ficus or
They will come and climb a ficus tree or
- (B.99) *sakei k-ir ri*
kind.of.fruit IRR-COP:3SG LOC
a sakei tree that is there...

- (B.100) *ngesriu nde*
 kind.of.tree or
 a ngesriu tree or...
- (B.101) *mbunding nde pohonum Ndenap*
 backside.of.house or outside GN
 at the backside of the house or outside the house in Ndenap.
- (B.102) *e pwen te su=k-am hur tesah tesah*
 and COMPL PRAG 3PL=IRR-come get stuff stuff
 And when they have come to get this and that...
- (B.103) *aka lout pwi*
 DEM.DIST cuscus NEG
 there won't be any cuscus,
- (B.104) *aka ndriket per mandr wum*
 DEM.DIST gecko ASSOC side house
 only house geckos.
- (B.105) *e souka at tumbu su per Ndenap aka mwalih*
 and chouka POSS grandparent 3PL ASSOC GN DEM.DIST story
at-su solen
 POSS-3PL many
 And the there are many stories about the Choukas of the ancestors
 of Ndenap
- (B.106) *e kle teke ke su per Ndenap*
 and COND like FOC 3PL ASSOC GN
 And if just people of Ndenap...
- (B.107) *pihin Ndenap ho-mou k-iesou k-le Sopun nde*
 woman GN one-NCLF:human IRR-marry IRR-go GN or
 (for example) a Ndenap woman is married to Sapon or...
- (B.108) *k-le ndro su nde k-le Lundret nde*
 IRR-go LOC 3PL or IRR-go GN or
 goes to the people of Lundret or the like
- (B.109) *aka i-k-iesou k-le to ri e su souka aka le su=ta*
 DEM.DIST 3-IRR-marry IRR-go COP LOC and 3PL chouka DEM.DIST go 3PL=HAB
ta ke ndrondrepo-n
 COP FOC backside-3SG.POSS
 Then she will be married there and stay there and the Choukas will
 follow her.

- (B.110) *su=k-al su=al mingsen wum k-ir pulpa niu*
 3PL=IRR-go 3PL=go make house IRR-COP:3SG stalk coconut
 They will go and make their house on the coconut stalk
- (B.111) *su=k-al mingsen wum k-ir, k-ir pamei*
 3PL=IRR-go make house IRR-COP:3SG IRR-COP:3SG betelnut
 They will go and make their house in the betelnut tree.
- (B.112) *su=k-al mingsen wum k-ir ndrandra sakei nde*
 3PL=IRR-go make house IRR-COP:3SG branch kind.of.fruit or
ndrandra tesah
 branch what's.it
 They will go and make their house on the branch of the sakei or the
 branch of whatever tree.
- (B.113) *e sih te sih*
 and one PRAG one
 Each time...
- (B.114) *a=su=k-or tang e souka aka at-su at su*
 POT=3PL=IRR-COP:NSG cry and chouka DEM.DIST POSS-3PL POSS 3PL
Lundret pwi
 GN NEG
 they will cry but the Chouka does not belong to Lundret.
- (B.115) *at su Warpei pwi*
 POSS 3PL GN NEG
 It does not belong to Warambei.
- (B.116) *at su Sopun le pwi*
 POSS 3PL GN go NEG
 It does not belong to Sapon either.
- (B.117) *souka souka at wum mwenen*
 chouka chouka POSS house real
 Those choukas, the choukas really belong to (this) men's house.
- (B.118) *e souka aka at tumbu su per Ndenap*
 and chouka DEM.DIST POSS grandparent 3PL ASSOC GN
 And those Choukas belong to the ancestors of Ndenap.
- (B.119) *e malapo yo=korpo pwatirie*
 and now 1SG=be.DEM.PROX tell
 And now I am telling (about it).
- (B.120) *aka yo ndur Pilehemui*
 DEM.DIST 1SG child PN
 I am the child of Pilehemui.

(B.121) *e i tam-(e)n Posolai*
and 3 father-3SG.POSS PN

And her father was Posolai.

(B.122) *e Posolai i tam-(e)n Kuoh*
and PN 3 father-3SG.POSS PN

And Posolai's father was Kuoh.

(B.123) *e Kuoh i-pti Pimayou*
and PN 3-marry PN

And Kuoh married Pimayou.

(B.124) *Pimayou i tam-(e)n Pondiekai*
PN 3 father-3SG.POSS PN

Pimayou's father was Pondiekai.

(B.125) *e Pondiekai aka per Ndenap*
and PN DEM.DIST ASSOC GN

And Pondiekai was from Ndenap.

(B.126) *e mwalih aka e souka aka at-wu*
and story DEM.DIST and chouka DEM.DIST POSS-1PL.EXCL

And that is the story and the Choukas belong to us (excl.)...

(B.127) *at su masih pwi*
POSS 3PL all NEG

not to everybody.

VI How the coconut came to Manus (2 min 5 sec)

This is an origin and creation story and explains how the coconut tree was brought to Manus. As in with other stories, this one has several versions. In this version, the background for planting coconuts was a famine like situation. A different version involves a bush spirit that chases to brothers. Both versions feature two brothers (a very common set-up) one of which sacrifices himself for the greater good. His head grows into the first coconut. The narrator, Miriam Potopi, is ca. sixty years old and lives close to Sapon I village. She enjoys some fame in Manus as she was the first woman to become a magistrate in Manus in 1997. She is very fluent in Lele and also tends to use older expressions some of which are gradually becoming obsolete.

(B.1) *mwalih yo-k-u-pwetirie k-ir nduktu-n le k-me?*
story 1SG-IRR-1SG-tell IRR-COP:3SG beginning-3SG.POSS go IRR-come
You want me to tell the story I told again from the beginning?

(B.2) *mwalih oko at soro ndramet mar-mou soro*
story DEM.PROX POSS 3DU man PROP:two-NCLF:human 3DU
ndere-soro
sibling.same.sex-3DU

This story is about two people, they were brothers.

(B.3) *soro kamel ke*
3DU man FOC

They were just men.

(B.4) *e sor=la susus sih te sih le ndas la to po ni*
and 3DU=go paddle one PRAG one go sea go PROG do fish

And the two used to paddle to the sea to do fishing.

- (B.5) *e sih te sih sor=la hian, per sih aka rang momen*
 and one PRAG one 3DU=go good ASSOC one DEM.DIST day bad
 And each time it went well, but once they had a bad day.
- (B.6) *teke nowi ndromuruen-i ndol*
 like waves drown-TR canoe
 Like, the waves drowned their canoe.
- (B.7) *e i-pwei te e-tungu-i yo*
 and 3-say PRAG 2SG-cut-TR 1SG
 And one said: "Cut me down."
- (B.8) *e-lik-i polo eh numo sih le at su peu le*
 2SG-leave-TR head.1SG.POSS HESIT arm:1SG.POSS one go POSS 3PL shark go
ndas
 sea
 "Leave my head, eh (self-corrects), one arm to the sharks in the
 sea."
- (B.9) *e-lik-i numo sih, nduko sih, e polo ke*
 2SG-leave-TR arm:1SG.POSS one leg:1SG.POSS one and head.1SG.POSS FOC
e-heti
 2SG-take.2SG
 "Leave one of my arms, one of my legs (to the sea) and only take
 my head."
- (B.10) *heti ala al ton-i le mandr kelseou oto, at-toro*
 take.2SG go go bury-TR go side kind.of.tree 1SG.POSS POSS-1DU.INCL
 "Bury me beside the kelseou tree, beside my, our house."
- (B.11) *a=k-i-hirek*
 POT=IRR-3-grow
 "It will grow."
- (B.12) *ping ma-limah wa=e-Indri tesah*
 night PROP-five POT=2SG-see:TR something
 "When five nights are over, you will see something."
- (B.13) *e ping ma-limah pomut e pal ndere-n aka*
 and night PROP-five complete and head sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS DEM.DIST
hirek
 grow
 And five nights were over and the head of his brother grew.
- (B.14) *e i-le niu*
 and 3-go coconut
 And it turned into a coconut tree.

- (B.15) *le niu niu ke he-ie*
 go coconut coconut FOC one-NCLF:tree
 It turned into one coconut tree only.
- (B.16) *i-le le lapenen*
 3-go go huge
 It grew until it became huge.
- (B.17) *sing-(e)n nde solen*
 meat-3SG.POSS towards much
 Until it carried lots of fruit.
- (B.18) *sing-(e)n solen i-me*
 meat-3SG.POSS much 3-come
 It carried lots of fruit...
- (B.19) *e ndere-n i-tiling-i i-pwei te*
 and sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS 3-see-TR 3-say PRAG
 and his brother saw it and said:
- (B.20) *oh pal ndere oko i-me mbusik oko?*
 oh head sibling.same.sex DEM.PROX 3-come emerge DEM.PROX
 “Oh, the head of my brother here has turned into this?”
- (B.21) *oko niu*
 DEM.PROX coconut
 “This is a coconut tree.”
- (B.22) *e niu ma poho-n*
 and coconut with mouth-3SG.POSS
 And it was a coconut tree with a mouth.
- (B.23) *niu ma mar-n ma-ruoh*
 coconut with eye-3SG.POSS PROP-two
 It was a coconut tree with two eyes,
- (B.24) *ma ngarngo-n, teke niu tu-ta yan aka*
 with nose-3SG.POSS like coconut 1PL.INCL-HAB eat.NSG DEM.DIST
 with a nose, like the coconut we usually eat.
- (B.25) *aka le pal wulhou aka*
 DEM.DIST go head young.man DEM.DIST
 That was the head of that young man.
- (B.26) *e yi-hit-i*
 and 3SG-take.3SG-TR
 And he (his brother) took it.

- (B.27) *i sing-n ha-nem i-me*
 3 meat-3SG.POSS one-NCFL:rope 3-come
 It carried one rope of coconuts.
- (B.28) *i-lik-i i-ro*
 3-leave-TR 3-COP
 And he left it.
- (B.29) *ha-nem i-me le, i-lik-i i-ro*
 one-NCFL:string 3-come go 3-leave-TR 3-COP
 And it carried a rope of coconuts again and he left it.
- (B.30) *le i-le i-le i-le i sing-n le solen*
 go 3-go 3-go 3-go 3 meat-3SG.POSS go much
 It grew and grew until it carried lots of fruit.
- (B.31) *e yi-hit-i*
 and 3SG-take.3SG-TR
 And he (his brother) took it.
- (B.32) *e niu i-kat mburer per i nde solen*
 and coconut 3-have(TP) work ASSOC 3 towards many
 And the coconut has many uses.
- (B.33) *la tinhi niu, a=k-le copra le money*
 go removes.kin:TR coconut POT=IRR-go copra go money(ENGL)
 Remove its shell and it can become copra, for money.
- (B.34) *ha-tinhi niu a=k-e-tweni yenyen*
 NSG-removes.kin:TR coconut POT=IRR-NSG-cook food
 Remove its shell and it can be cooked for food.
- (B.35) *k-le yipi*
 IRR-go sago
 It can be added to sago.
- (B.36) *k-le mah*
 IRR-go taro
 It can be added to taro.
- (B.37) *k-le tapiok*
 IRR-go cassava(TP)
 It can be added to cassava.
- (B.38) *niu a=k-le ndrillei*
 coconut POT=IRR-go coconut.oil
 Coconut can be made coconut oil from.

(B.39) *e teke malapo*
and like now
And as of now...

(B.40) *niu ir po lundie Mwanus o per mbuso at-wu*
coconut COP:3SG do inside GN or(TP) ASSOC island POSS-1PL.EXCL
The coconut is in Manus or on our island.

(B.41) *le kor mamunien*
go place all.of
Everywhere.

(B.42) *aka niu aka at mwalih at soro ndramet aka*
DEM.DIST coconut DEM.DIST POSS story POSS 3DU people DEM.DIST
soro ndere soro
3DU sibling.same.sex 3DU
That was the coconut of the story about the two men that were
brothers.

(B.43) *aka mwalih per niu aka*
DEM.DIST story ASSOC coconut DEM.DIST
That was the story of the coconut.

(B.44) *pwen aka*
COMPL DEM.DIST
Finished.

VII Pat Lokomou (2 min 41 sec)

Pat Lokomou is a traditional story from Sapon village. Legendary chief Ndrembueh wanted to build a house and employed men and bush spirits alike to carry the heavy rocks. Ndrembueh is said to have existed. His clan was very powerful and apparently also engaged in cannibalism (to show off their power). Today the mighty house post of the men's house can still be seen in the middle of the bush, although Lokomou does not exist anymore. For a picture of the stone, see Figure A.3, page III.

- (B.1) *mwalih per pat Lokomou*
story ASSOC rock GN
The legend of Lokomou.
- (B.2) *Ndrembueh ndramet mandren per Lokomou*
PN man big ASSOC GN
Ndrembueh was the big man of Lokomou.
- (B.3) *i=na=yi=k-i-mingsen wum*
3=INT=3SG=IRR-3-make house
He wanted to build a house.
- (B.4) *e yi=ir kah sal per ndou per wum kamel*
and 3SG-PROG:3SG look.for road ASSOC post ASSOC house man's.house
at-(e)n
POSS-3SG.POSS
He was looking for a way to set up the house post of his men's house.
- (B.5) *i-ro i-hengungurou*
3-COP 3-think.3SG
He was thinking.
- (B.6) *e i-laikim... i-laikim...*
and 3-want(TP) 3-want(TP)
And he wanted....wanted...

- (B.7) *(yeling) oh yaling su ndramet su, su=kat ndoun mandren*
 like.SG oh like.PL 3PL man 3PL 3PL=have(TP) strong big
 (Wanted) Oh, he wanted men that had great strength.
- (B.8) *su=kat su ndoun mandren*
 3PL=have(TP) 3PL strong big
 All that had great strength.
- (B.9) *e i-seni pamei*
 and 3-cut betelnut
 And he cut betelnut (in order to distribute it).
- (B.10) *i-seni pamei e i-keh su lau per su=kun pat*
 3-cut betelnut and 3-look.for 3PL people ASSOC 3PL=carry rock
 He cut betelnut and he looked for people who would carry rocks.
- (B.11) *i-yeling su ma-ondorngul per a=su=kun pat*
 3-like.SG 3PL PROP-eighty ASSOC POT=3PL=carry rock
 He wanted eighty (men) to carry rocks.
- (B.12) *su ma-hangul snel e su ma-hangul ndramet*
 3PL PROP-forty bush.spirit and 3PL PROP-forty man
 There were forty bush spirits and forty men.
- (B.13) *i-sen-i pamei le at su horoh, le at su snel horoh, le*
 3-cut-TR betelnut go POSS 3PL side go POSS 3PL bush.spirit side go
at su ndramet
 POSS 3PL man
 He cut betelnut for each side, for the side of the bush spirits and for
 the side of the men.
- (B.14) *su su=ha-tuah pomut*
 3PL 3PL=NSG-chew.buai finish
 When they had finished chewing betelnut...
- (B.15) *su=yau me tundrah tundrah tundrah su=me to ndran*
 3PL=move come come.down come.down come.down 3PL=come COP water
taria ndol
 paddling canoe
 They walked for a while and came down to the part of the river called
 'Taria Ndol'⁶.
- (B.16) *su=ha-tou nime-su le pat*
 3PL=NSG-put hand-3PL go rock
 They touched a rock with their hands.

⁶This part of the Tungou river is known to have many big rocks in river bed. Many canoes have crashed into these rocks which is what the name refers to.

- (B.17) *pat te hon pwi*
 rock PRAG whistle NEG
 The rock did not whistle.
- (B.18) *su=pwai te oko pwi*
 3PL=say PRAG DEM.PROX NEG
 They said: "Not this one."
- (B.19) *su=tou nime-su le sih*
 3PL=put hand-3PL go one
 They touched another one with their hands.
- (B.20) *i-te hon pwi, su=pwai te oko pwi*
 3-PRAG whistle NEG 3PL=say PRAG DEM.PROX NEG
 It did not whistle. They said: "Not this one."
- (B.21) *su=ha-tou nime-su le sih e yi=hon*
 3PL=NSG-put hand-3PL go one and 3SG-whistle
 They touched yet another one and this one whistled.
- (B.22) *su=pwai te yi aka!*
 3PL=say PRAG 3SG DEM.DIST
 They said: "This one!"
- (B.23) *su=ha-ta-perku-e-n*
 3PL=NSG-NSG-packing.frame-EMPH-3SG.POSS
 They build a packing frame (for carrying the rock).
- (B.24) *su snel hanu*
 3PL bush.spirit front
 The bush spirits were at the front.
- (B.25) *su snel ha-hanu*
 3PL bush.spirit NSG-front
 The bush spirits were at the front.
- (B.26) *su ndramet to muren*
 3PL man COP back
 The men were at the back.
- (B.27) *e su=ha-kun-ui*
 and 3PL=NSG-carry-TR
 And they call carried (the rock).
- (B.28) *su=ha-kun-ui su=to hanu*
 3PL=NSG-carry-TR 3PL=COP front
 They carried it and they were at the front.

- (B.29) *su ndr amet to lohloh*
 3PL man PROG call.out.RDP
 The men called out.
- (B.30) *e su snel aka su=to hon ke*
 and 3PL bush.spirit DEM.DIST 3PL=PROG whistle FOC
 And the bush spirits just whistled.
- (B.31) *e su=kun-ui*
 and 3PL=carry-TR
 And they carried it.
- (B.32) *ngondr-n ke ngondr-n ke ngondr-n ke ngondr-n ke*
 root-3SG.POSS FOC root-3SG.POSS FOC root-3SG.POSS FOC root-3SG.POSS FOC
 There were just feet everywhere⁷,
- (B.33) *tusie ke Lokomou*
 straight FOC GN
 going straight to Lokomou.
- (B.34) *su=la to Lokomou*
 3PL=go COP GN
 They went to Lokomou.
- (B.35) *su=tatuni ta-tne*
 3PL=set.up.post NSG-stand
 They set up the house post (the standing).
- (B.36) *e piso Ndrembueh wong ndro*
 and sibling.opposite.sex PN speak LOC
piso-n i-pwei te ey
 sibling.opposite.sex-3SG.POSS 3-say PRAG ey
 And Ndrembueh's sister said to him: "Ey!"
- (B.37) *wou-ta riu su lau oko per kunia wum e yenyen*
 2SG-PROG drag 3PL people DEM.PROX ASSOC carrying house and food
oho
 where
 "You are dragging all those men (up here) carrying house parts and
 where is the food?"
- (B.38) *oho a=k-le koune pat oho a=k-le koune wum*
 where POT=IRR-go matters rock where POT=IRR-go matters house
 Where goes what belongs to the rocks and where goes what belongs
 to the house?

⁷They had to walk as there are no rivers or creeks leading up to Lokomou.

- (B.39) *e Ndrembueh ir hangungurou*
 and PN PROG:3SG think
 And Ndrembueh was thinking.
- (B.40) *ir hangungurou hangungurou hepke longu at masih*
 PROG:3SG think think but thing POSS all
kin-pomut i-ro
 PRF.3SG-finish 3-COP
 He was thinking and thinking but all the things were finished.
- (B.41) *aka ir hangungurou hangungurou tahit ke e*
 DEM.DIST PROG:3SG think think in.vain FOC and
ta-tne wum at-(e)n ir ta-tne aka
 NSG-stand house POSS-3SG.POSS PROG:3SG NSG-stand DEM.DIST
 Now he was thinking hard but in vain and his house post was now
 standing up.
- (B.42) *te aka mwalih per Lokomou aka te aka*
 PRAG DEM.DIST story ASSOC GN DEM.DIST PRAG DEM.DIST
 That is how the legend of Lokomou goes, like that.

Appendix C

Lele Vocabulary Items

A - a

a *part.* marks possibility, potential. See: **wa**.
a- *agr.* 2SG, NSG.
-a *sf.* construct suffix, pensive marker.
aah *interj.* HESIT.
Adam *n.* PN.
ain *vtr.* eat; *kaikai*.
aiteni *vtr.* bite; *kaikai*.
aitoh *vitr.* wade; *kalapim.wara. yi aitoh le horo* he is crossing (the river) to the other side.
aka *part.* DEM.DIST. See: **oko**.
al *vtr.* go.
ala *vitr.* go; *yu.go*.
alndi *vitr.* go.away; *go.longwe*.
am *vitr.* come; *kam*.
ama *vtr.* come; *kam*.
amuni *vtr.* fill; *pulimapim*.

an *clf.* possessive classifier for food; *kaikai.blong*.
-ani *vsf.* TR.
Anpihikusmulang *n.* woman of the clouds. See: **Lapusmunlang**.
apsiri *vtr.* sweep; *brumim*.
ar- *vpf.* 2SG, NSG.
artehei *vtr.* 2SG:hit.
as- *vpf.* 2SG? See: **ar-**.
asmetei *vtr.* put.out, kill; *mekim dai*.
at *part.* possessive marker in indirect possessive constructions, either suffixed with pronominal possessive markers or followed by noun. See: **oto**.
au *vamb.* move. See: **ayu**.
auti *vtr.* vtr; *pasim. auti papi - pasim dua!*
ayu *vitr.* move, leave. See: **au**.

C - c

Chepunu *n.* GN

copra *n.* copra.

E - e

e *conj.* and; *na, wantaim*.
e *part.* EMPH.
e- *agr.* 2SG, NSG.
eh *interj.* HESIT.
ehe *formula.* clause equivalent, affirmative; *yes*.
ei *vitr.* stay, be, live. See: **ie**.
einla *?* interjection?; *wet pastaim*.
eluen *adj.* long, far. **kor eluwen** the village is far away.
em *vitr.* sit.2SG, sit.NSG; *sindaun*.
embusrei *vtr.* rip, tear; *terim*.
emen *vtr.* stay; *stap. mukemen* you (Pl.) stay. *yupla stap*.
emm *interj.* HESIT.
en- *vprf.* perfect marker for 2SG.

England *n.* GN.
enhui *vtr.* putting something small into a container such as a basket, e.g. buai, *enhui kei, no liquids
-eni *vsf.* TR. See: **-ani**.
enueni *vtr.* scoop; *rausim wara*.
ere *vtr.* hurry; *hariap. Ere!* Hurry! *Yu hariap!* **Were** Hurry! *Yu hariap!*
erio *adv?* half, half.way; *hap*.
erpei *vtr.* open, open.
erungui *vtr.* cut; *katim. erungui yo kle mandhe* cut me to pieces. *katim me i go liklik*.
erui *vtr.* fish, pull. See: **erwui**.
erwar *adv.* temporal; *sampela taim tude*.
erwei *vtr.* put.

erwui *vtr.* pull.2SG, drag.2SG, tow.2SG.
eseri *vtr.* used with leaf taro for removing the skeleton from the edible leaves, but also used for sago grubs, that must be picked out of the saksak.
esimke *vtr.* be.quiet; *pasim maus.*

esngeni *vtr.* kindle.IMP, light; *laitim.*
etuleni *vtr.* guide; *skulim, helpim.*
Ev *n.* name.
ey *interj.* ey; *ey.*

G - g

Germany *n.* GN.

Gretel *n.* PN.

H - h

ha *num.* form of numeral used with numeral classifiers.
ha *num.* four.
ha- *vpf.* NSG.
hahi *vtr.* be.up.to. **muhahi terpeh?** What are you doing? *Yupla olsem wanem?*
hahou *num.* four; *forpela.*
hai *n.* cardinal direction.
hakah *nclf.* one.water; *wanpela wara.*
hakl *nclf.* one.piece; *wanpela hap.*
hal *vtr.* laugh, laugh; *lap.* See: **hel.**
wahal sah? Why are you laughing?
han *vtr.* pick.from.tree, harvest. See: **hane.**
hang *vtr.* give, look.after. See: **heng.**
hangah *nclf.* half.way.
hangan *vtr.* give.2SG, give.NSG, look.after.2SG, look.after.NSG.
hangul *num.* forty, 4.kina.
hangungrou *n.* thought, thinking; *tingting.* **Nde hangungrou / mbue hangungrou!** No worries! *No ken tingting tumas.*
hangungrou *vtr.* think.
hangurwei *vtr.* feeling more by touching, sensing.
hangurwini *vtr.* remember, recall; *tingim.*
hanonou *vtr.* learn, try; *traim.*
hanonue *vtr.* teach.
hanu *loc.* first, before, front, ahead; *fran.*
hapet *nclf.* 1.group.of.trees; *wan lain.*
harweni *vtr.* pour out small amounts of water, such as a cup.

has *vtr.* plant; *planim.* **Su hasuwos / su has wes** They planted stick taro. *Oi i planim stik taro. yi tanen hasia wes hian* He knows how to plant taro well.
hasei *vtr.* plant; *planim.*
hasia *nder.* planting.
haue *n.* shoulder.
he *num.* one.
hei *vtr.* rinse.sago; *wasim sago.*
hel *vtr.* laugh.1SG, laugh.3SG.
helian *adj.* forbidden, holy; *tambu.* **su pihin helian per kal kamel** it is forbidden for all women to enter the haus boi.
helouni *vtr.* run.with.
henei *vtr.* harvest. See: **han.**
heng *vtr.* give.1SG, give.3SG, look.after.1SG, look.after.3SG.
hengen *vtr.* give.1SG, give.3SG, look.after.1SG, look.after.3SG. See: **heng; hangan.**
hengenai *nder.* care.for, foster; *lukaut.* **ndor hengenai** care child. *lukaut pikinini.*
henghang *nder.* gift, sharing. **henghang ot me ndro wou** my gift came to you (i.e. I gave something to you).
hengui *vtr.* smell.NSG.
hangungrou *vtr.* think.1SG, think.3SG.
Hensel *n.* PN.
hepe *adv.* a.little, a.bit; *liklik.*
hepke *part.* but, however, little; *liklik tru, tasol.*

hepsah *n.* something; *wanpela.samting*.
See: **sa**.

here *vtr.* appear. **sorla sorhare mbundr aka**

heri *vtr.* take.2SG, get.2SG, take.NSG, get.NSG. See: **heti**.

hernou *n.* speech; *stongim tok, pasin*.

herong *vtr.* hear, follow, obey; *harim*.

heti *vtr.* get.2SG, get.NSG, take.2SG, take.NSG; *kisim*. See: **heri**.

hey *interj.* hey.

hi *vtr.* dig.from.ground, pull.someone's.ears.

hi *pro.* 3SG.

hian *adj.* good; *gutpela. mwandri hian* good sun (good weather). *gutpela san*.

hilou *vtr.* run.3SG; *ran*.

himbu *vtr.* hurry.

hindr *vstat.* be.shocked, be.surprised.

hindr *vtr.* go.up.

hinen *vtr.* make.3SG.

hineni *vtr.* do; *wokim. yi hineni ndop*

hing *vtr.* give.3.

hingang *vtr.* rest.3SG; *malolo*.

hingen *vtr.* give.3, look.after.3.

hingui *vtr.* smell.3SG; *smelim*.

Hiniemoloni *n.* woman from a story from Powat Nambis.

hio *adj.* good.1SG.POSS.

hiprou *n.* coconut.nearly.dry.*Category: flora*.

hipu *onom.* sound.of.fire.

hipwak *vtr.* hurry.up.

hir *vtr.* get, take; *kisim*.

hirek *vtr.* grow; *kamap*.

hirung *vtr.* hear.3SG.

his *vtr.* jump.

hit *vtr.* get.3SG, take.3SG.

hitai *vtr.* war.

hiwene *vtr.* visit, take.a.walk; *raunraun tasol. yo hiwene le ndro Pinawi* mi raunraun tasol i go long Pinawi.

hmm *interj.* HESIT.

ho *num.* form of numeral used with numeral classifiers.

hom *nclf.* NCLF:one.person.

homhomou *n.* one.by.one, one.another.
Konan nderen soro ndere soro. Hepke homhomou atsoro kinso luk yenyanyan kle ndro hom atsoro pwi. Despite they were brothers, they never gave anything to each other.
mwandri kinso sing pwie the sun never shines.

hon *vtr.* whistle.

hondrei *vtr.* write, draw; *raitim. yo wuhondrei samelwa niu - I am drawing a picture of a coconut*

hondrhondr *vtr?* write.
See: **tahondrhondr**.

hopus *nclf.* one:NCLF.bundle. **op / opo hopus le!** get some more!

hor *adv.* many, plenty.

hor *vtr.* blow. **hai hori su lukei kenrau**

horngan *adj.* able.to.make.sense?
See: **peheran**.

horoh *loc.* side, other.side; *hap, hapsait*.

horowam *adj.* alright.2SG.POSS.

horowan *adj.* alright.

hosi *vtr.* tie, band; *pasim diwai. hosi kei*

houen *adj.* new; *nupela. salowe oko houen* laplap blo mi ya i niupla.

hung *vtr.* smell.

hungen *vtr.* look.after.1SG; *lukautim*.

hungeni *vtr.* wake.up. **al hungeni yi!** go wake him up.

hur *vtr.* get, take.

Hurhur *n.* PN.

hurong *vtr.* hear.1SG.

Hus *n.* GN.

huti *vtr.* get.1SG, take.1SG. See: **heti**.

hutun *adj.* thick. **kok kei hutun** the tree bark is thick.

-i *vsf.* TR. *Etym:* -i is derived from POC -i which cross-referenced an object, another transitive suffix *-aki(ni) cross-referenced oblique arguments (location, goal, instrument or cause).

ias *n.* place for washing saksak

iatni *vtr.* to grind one's teeth; soriatni lehe soro.

ie *vitr.* live, stay, be. See: **ei**.

ie *nclf.* NCLF:canoe, NCLF:tree.

iesou *vamb.* marry.

im *vitr.* sit.3SG.

indrati *vtr.* cut.3SG.

ingo *vstat.* cool.down, become.cold.
yenyan kingo cold food.

ipiah *n.* time from noon till sunset; **apinun**.

ir *cop.* COP:3SG, PROG:3SG; **stap**.

irkayir *vitr.* walk:3PL; **wokabaut**.

irku *vstat.* angry:3SG.

irngui *vtr.* poison, cut.to.pieces.

irpai *vtr.* open; **opim**.

irpei *vtr.* open.3; **opim**.

iruini *vtr.* boil.3SG.

irwu *vtr.* pull.3SG, drag.3SG, tow.3SG;
pulim.

ist *vtr.* cut open to remove intestines or faeces from intestines.

isteni *vtr.* feel.sorry.

K - k

k- *vpf.* IRR. **Yo nakumingsene ndop** I want to / will make a basket. **Mi laik wokim basket**. **mbue nde mukonoh** don't be afraid! **no ken poret!** **mu kondritihi yo!** cover me up!

ka- *vpf.* ?

kah *vtr.* look.for; **painim**.

kah *n.* green crab, hides under stones.

kair *n.* kair.tree.Category: **flora**.

kaiu *vitr.* go.FUT.NSG.

kaleleng *n.* toilet.

kalosili *n.* liver, heart?; **lewa**. **kalosili ata ndor hian** the love of the good child (god's son).

kalung *n.* traditional place for resting one's head, made of scraped wood or solid wood, like today's pillow.

kamel *n.* man, male, boy, man's.house, clan; **man**.

kameu *adj.* left. **wum ata Ndrax ita nemem kameu** Ndrax's house is at your left hand.

kamwan *n.* fire.place, ashes.
See: **kamwan**.

kan *n.* food.

kan *n.* general term for birds.
See: **ndurkan**.Category: **fauna**.

kandrah *n.* sky.

kandrindr *n.* ladder; **lata**.

kanu *n.* main rafter of a house, triangular shape

kanya *nder.* eating of. **kanya ndr amet** eating of people.

kap *n.* string; **baklain**, **string**.

kapen *adj.* delicious, tasty.

kaperou *n.* axe; **tamiok**.

kapkapen *adj.* very.tasty. See: **kapen**. **mah e mbrulei kapkapen le** taro and leaf taro is very tasty.

kapui *v.* think; **tingting**.

karambulei *n.* green, greens.Category: **flora**.

karkohon *vtr.* gather; **bungim ol samting blong go?** **karkohoni su le Sopun pe kala pa pwi**

karmwan *n.* burning.firewood.
See: **kamwan**.

Karuwin *n.* GN.

kasal *n.* floor, flooring of a house.

kasom *vitr.* fill.up, populate.

kaspou *n.*
green.grasshopper.Category: **fauna**.

kaukau *n.* sweet.potato.Category: **flora**.

kaulung *n.* a wooden device to rest one's head on.

kaune *vitr.* suffice, satisfy, fill.up; **inapim**. **e su kaune kor masih oko** and all will satisfy / fill up the village.

Kawa *n.* river outside Lele area, in PNK LIG.
kayah *n.* kind.of.fruit.Category: **flora**.
ke *part.* FOC; *tasol*.
keh See: **kah**.
vtr. look.for, find; *painim*.
kehereh *int.* when. **wam kehereh?** when did you come?
kei *n.* tree; *diwai*.Category: **flora**. Etym: POC *na kayu 'tree' > PAD *ɲkai > PEAd *kai > Lele kei.
kelkal *n.* sago.with.pineapple;
saksak.na.painap.
kelma *n.* landmark, sign, when; *mak, taim*.
kelman at ndor hian the second coming.
kelpe *n.* tail. **kelpe lout** the tail of a cuscus.
kelseou *n.* kind.of.tree.
kemit *n.* wind that looks like a column.
ken- *pf.* perfect marker for nons-ingular subjects. See: **kin-**; **kun-**. **souka masih kene su kenmat** all the choukas have died.
kena *vitr.* go.3PL.PRF; *go.pinis*.
kenam *adv?* together.
kendram *n.* lime.spatula.
kene *part.* INTS; *stret, tasol*. **hian masih kene** really all good. *gutpela olgeta stret*.
kepti *vtr.* marry; *marit*. **morkepti moro!** You two marry each other!
kerhat *n.* turtle; *torosel*.Category: **fauna**.
kerme *n.* tongue; *tang*.
Kermet *n.* PN.
kerngi *vtr.* cut.up, break.into.pieces, dice;
katim haphap.
kerse *loc.* locational.
keure *vstat.* become.narrow. **i ta keure** becomes narrow.
keyau *n.* traditional bed, for kastam wok.
ki *nclf.* NCLF:bodyparts?
kihi *n.* fire.wood; *paia.wood*.
kikiu *n.* green.snail.Category: **fauna**.
kilini *vtr.* wrap.
kin- *pf.* perfect marker for 3SG subjects;
pinis. See: **ken-**; **kun-**. **Yi kinmat** He has died.
kina *vitr.* go.PRF.3SG; *go.pinis*.

kindriu *n.* wild.yam.Category: **flora**.
kinso *adv.* never. **Longu oko kinso mbusik te oko pwi**. This thing has never happened before. **Kor oko aka neltun masih. Mwandri kinso sing pwi**. This is very cold place. The sun never shines. **Konan nderen soro ndere soro. Hepke hom homou atsoro kinso luk yenyen kle ndro hom atsoro pwi**. Although they were brothers, they never gave anything to each other.
kisnpani *vtr.* protect(?) **lapan kisnpani wou** god protects you (may god protect you).
kiu *n.* fish.line; *rop.bilong.pis*.
kle *formula.* alright.
kle *subr.* COND, TEMP.
kmet *n.* death.
ko- *vpf.* ? **Yi ko ta yan ni**. He is eating fish. **Mbunana ko ta ini lolli masih** The child is eating (up) all the sweets.
koh *vitr.* to gather one's belongings, all belongings of a house in order to move. See: **takoh**.
kohis *vitr.* jump.
koho *n.* chicken; *wild.paul*.Category: **fauna**.
kohol *n.* pan fro frying sago.
kohon *vitr.* hide; *hait*.
kohona *n.* place, home, village, hideaway.
kohor *vitr.* multiply, increase.
kohou *n.* food that is meant for kastam wok; *kaikai blong kastam*.
koisi *vtr.* cutting the branches of a tree so that it can be cut down and will lie on the ground of a garden, cutting the tree as well.
kok *n.* skin, tree.bark; *skin*. **koken mekehen** his skin is thin.
kokei *n.* bisket.
kol *n.* feeling?
kol *n.* head.of.sth.
kolau *n.* cloth, clothes; *laplap*.
kolisten *vtr.* feel.sorry, feel.sympathy, show.sympathy.
kolmwah *vstat.* sorry; *sori*.
kolsota *vdem.* LOC.DEM.DIST.

kolsou *adv.* DEM.DST; *long hap i go.*
kolto *vtr.* something is located in a pointing distance, further away than leto? also used: kolto, kolto! - em ya em ya! when something is found.
kolu *vtr.* look.after, watch.
kolue *n.* clothes. See: **kolau.**
kombul *n.* uses buai chew to foretell the future, is consulted prior to taking actions.
kombuo *n.* a big multi-purpose basket whose size also fits humans (dead people, carried in those baskets).
konan *adv?*. never.mind, doesn't.matter, although, despite; *maski.* **Konan nderen soro ndere soro. Hepke hom homou atsoro kinso luk yenyang kle ndro hom atsoro pwi.** Although they were brothers, they never gave anything to each other.
konanhai *loc.* direction.west.
kong *itr.* bark, squeal; *dok singaut.*
kop *n.* finger, toe.
kopling *loc.* underneath.the.house.
kopte *n.* armpit.
kopwan *n.* last.born.*Category: kinship.*
kopwat *vtr.* climb.up, rise. **mernal i kopwat**
kor *n.* village, place; *ples.*
kor *nclf.* NCLF:village, NCLF:place.
kormwan *n.* faeces; *pekpek.*
kormwan *n.* excretion; *pekpek.*
koron *adv.* long.time.ago.
Koronat *n.* GN.
korpo *vtr.* be.DEM.PROX.
koru *n.* pipe.for.heating.fire.
koru *adv.* before.yesterday; *bipo.* **koru yo ule Lorongou**
koso *n.* spear.
kospwat *vtr.* help; *halivim.*
kosta *vdem.* LOC.DEM.PROX.
kota *vdem.* LOC.DEM.DIST.
kotah *vtr.* there; *em ya.*
koti *vtr.* cut down a branch of a fruit tree, or hook the branch that bears fruit in order to harvest it.
kou *n.* fence; *banis.*

kou *n.* hook for fishing. **Yo nakule po kou** I want to go fishing.
koun *vtr.* hurt, pain. **sahenem ikouni wou?** what is hurting you? (which body part is hurting?)
koune *n.* matters.
kous *n.* custom, rite; *kastam.wok.*
kous *n.* friend.
kowi *n.* kowii.plant.
koyir *vtr.* crawl. **koirir le ndas le e ndogron e kelpen aka repuiani pwan** It (the snake) crawled and went halfway and that tail of his broke the ground (at that point).
koyiryir *vtr.* crawl.RDP.
Kristo *n.* Christ.
kuh *n.* kuh.flower, kuh.tree; *plua i gat smel.*
kuitai? *n.* hamamas lo kastam, expression of joy of kastam wok.
kukau *n.* sweet.potatoe; *kaukau.* **Yo yen kaukau le poro ni.** I eat sweet potatoe with fish. *Mi kaikaim kaukau wantaim / na pis.*
kuku *n.* name.of.tree.
kukulou *n.* church.service, worship; *lotu.*
kul *n.* breadfruit; *kapiak.* *Etym: POC *kulur > *na kulur > Pad *ŋkulu > PEAd *kul(u) > Lele kul.*
kumburan *adj.* foggy, muddy, cloudy. **ndram kumburan**
kumwandr *n.* part of a house, central post of a house, especially round house, supports the whole weight.
kum.pal *n.* hair; *gras bilong het.*
kun *vtr.* carry; *karim.*
kun- *pf.* perfect marker for 1SG; *pinis.* See: **ken-**; **kin-**. **Maping oko yo kunu** This morning I have washed.
kunia *nder.* carrying.
kunkunkei *n.* rice, wood.pulp; *pipia bilong diwai.*
kuno *vtr.* obey
kunue *n.* breath. **kunuw hi pwi atem** I miss you (metaphorical use).
Kuoh *n.* PN.
kuondrolang See: **lang.**

n. cloud.
kup *n.* cardinal direction.
kupwa *n.* part.of.new.plant.in.fruit.
kupwen *n.* net for fishing or catching an animal. See: **mbuh**.
kur *n.* pot; *sospen*.
kurtuni *vtr.* cheat, play.tricks.
kurung *n.* thunder.
kusmwan *n.* smoke.

kusopani *vtr.* help; *halivim*.
kut *n.* octopus; *wirita*.Category: **fauna**.
POC *kurita
kut *n.* hair.louse; *laus*.Category: **fauna**.
Etym: POC *kutu 'hair louse'.
kut *nclf.* NCLF:village.
Kuwei *n.* GN.
kweh *n.* flute; *flut*.
kwel *n.* sago.bow.

L - I

la *vitr.* what person? tense? aspect?; *go*.
la *adv.* first.
landr *n.* kind.of.tree.Category: **flora**.
lang *n.* sky, heaven, weather? *Etym:* POC *lanjit 'sky, weather' (Ross et al. lex POC phys.env.).
lap *n.* person.from. *Etym:* probably lapan is derived from lap.
lapan *n.* chief; *bikpela man*. *Etym:* POC *lapuat 'big, important', Lichtenberk 1986 *la(m)pat '(be) big, great', Seimat la-lap 'big, important', Loniu lapwa(na-n) 'big, important', Koro laban 'chieftain'.
Lapangai *n.* island in Kavieng.
lapene *adj.* huge. See: **lapne**.
lapene *n.* size. **lapne ndegem, lapne palem** size of your leg, size of your head.
lapenen *adj.* huge; *bikpela tru*.
Lapusmunlang *n.* PN.
 See: **Anpikikusmulang**.
larhan *adj.* downstream.
latumbu *n.* in-law; *tambu*.
lau *n.* somebody's group or crowd of people. See: **lou**. **Masusu e su lau aten**
le *adv.* again; *goan*.
le *adv.* in addition.
le *vitr.* go; *go*.
le *vtr.* see; *lukim*. See: **lele**.
lehe *n.* tooth.
Lehei *n.* river Lihai.
lekmat *n.* fly; *lang*.

Lele *n.* Lele.
lele *vitr.* look.
lele *n.* friend.of.same.language; *wantok*.
lelingen *vtr.* show. **ayo kulilengi wou kle samelwah** I will show you a picture.
nakulilengini (wou) melua / samelwah atsu yap. / nakulilengini melua / samelwah atsu yap kme ndro wou pere elndri. I want to show you a picture. / I want to show a picture for you to see.
lelu *n.* spy.
leng *n.* beach; *nambis*.
Lepehuneap *n.* male protagonist of a story from Powat Nambis
lesah *int.* why. **lesah wou te me pwi?** why didn't you come?
lesah *subr.* because. **Yo te me pwi lesah lingen mandren** I did not come because of the rain.
li *?* ?
li *n.* ginger.Category: **flora**. **li aka per tania ndramet** "that ginger (li) is for killing/used to kill people [in the practices of sorcery.]
lihon *adj.* clean, clear. **ndran lihon**
lik *vtr.* put, leave, let. See: **luk**.
likes *n.* big.rain.
limah *num.* numeral; *faip*.
limngul *num.* fifty.
Lindou *n.* GN.
lingen *n.* rain; *ren*.
linget *vitr.* sail.
lisen *n.* part.of.house.

Indri *vtr.* see:TR, look:TR; *lukim*.

loh *vitr.* call, shout; *singaut*. **e ndorn i lo le ndro nanen...** and the child called out for his / her mother. *na pikinini i singaut i go long nanen*.

lohloh *vitr.* call.out.RDP, shout.RDP; *singaut*. **Hepke i lohloh le ndro mbunana ey!** He called out lowly to the children "ey!" *em i singaut liklik lo ol pikinini " ey" !*

Lohowai *n.* name of a location of a house in Sapon II, further uphill from Phipun.

Lokomou *n.* GN.

lol *vitr.* go.down, drown; *go.daun*.

lombo *n.* chili.

Lomonoi *n.* older name for Lugos.

Lomosi *n.* visible from Punuwamp.

longu *n.* thing, something; *samting*.

lonhou *n.* bush; *bis*.

loping *n.* night.time; *nait*. See: **ping**.

lopohonum *loc.* outside of the house. See: **pohonum**.

lorang *n.* day.time.

Lorin *n.* PN.

Lorongou *n.* GN; *Lorengau*.

los *vitr.* fall, die; *pundaun*.

Losa *n.* location at the sea shore.

losou *n.* bandicoot; *lomot*. Category: **fauna**.

Lou *n.* Lou Island, near Baluan, southeast Manus.

lou *n.* one's family or wantoks, louo, loun, loun, lou su. See: **lau**.

lout *n.* Admiralty Island cuscus, Manus Island spotted cuscus, *Spilocuscus kraemeri*; *kapul*.

lu *n.* leaf. Category: **flora**.

lu *vstat?* overripe.

Lugos *n.* Lugos, this term refers only to the mission station established here in the early 20th century, the place surrounding it is called Dungou Masih and was once called Ndumoh.

luk *vtr.* put, leave, let; *putim*. See: **lik**.

lukei *n.* leaf, paper.leaf, book. Category: **flora**.

lukmweni *vtr.* fold; *brukim*.

lukna *n.* seat, place; *ples bilong sindaun*.

lukto *n.* seat, culture; *sindaun*.

lukto *vitr.* live, settle.

luluai *n.* origin: Tolai, a luluai looks after a large area, like today's president of an LLG, cf. also tultul.

lulue *vtr.* realise, find.out, figure.out; *luksave*.

luluin *vtr.* etwas herab lassen.

lumia *nder.* drinking. See: **lumui**.

lumndriu *n.* flora.

lumu *vtr.* drink. See: **lumia**.

lundie *adv.* inside; *insait*. Category: **locational**.

Lundret *n.* village in Lele LLG

lunget *vitr.* sail.

lus *n.* big.dish; *dis*, *plet*.

lut *n.* little.clamshell. Category: **fauna**.

lut *n.* tree species. Category: **flora**.

M - m

-m *sf.* 2SG.POSS.

ma *conj.* and, with, when; *na*. Etym: POC *ma(i)- prepositional verb: comitative (Ross 1988 and Lynch 2002). **yi ma mbunana ndon...** when she was still a child. **yi ma mbunana** she is with a child (pregnant) Ruth Pranis, pc.

ma- *pf.* prefix that occurs with a variety of bases, such as numerals, but also nouns. Can also mean 'still', as in mandrokmwan - still dark, mamwaren - still alive, marang - still light.

mah *n.* taro; *taro*.

mahakai *nclf.* four-legged. **riuriu mahakai** four-legged dragging thing (i.e. car).

malalau *n.* spider.web.

malapo *adv.* now.

mamasou *adj.* unripe; (*i no mau*).

mamet *vit.* awaken; *kirap*.

mamunien *adj.* the whole of something, all of, everything. See: **masih**.

mana *n.* used by men for dance, they put it on the penis and dance.

manamat *adj.* raw. **yipi manamat** raw / unfried sago.

manda *vit.* grow big, grow up, gain weight, humans, animals, grow up. See: **menda**.

manda *n.* growth. **manda atsu hian**. **manda atsu momen**. their growth was good. their growth wasn't good.

mandehe *adj.* small, young, younger; *liklik*.

mandr *n.* skin, side. **e yi kohon ire mandr wum** and he hides at the side of the house.

mandren *adj.* big, older, elder; *bikpela*.

Mandrian *n.* PN.

mandrkosen *n.* fireside.

Mandriling *n.* GN.

manondrsingat *nclf.* NC money.

manondrsomou *nclf.* 9.people.

manondrsungul *nclf.* NC.

manondrtilmou *nclf.* NC.

manondrtingul *nclf.* NC money.

manongul *nclf.* NC money.

manonmou *nclf.* NC.

manua *n.* claim, possession. **tahihitai manua pwan** fight over land claim.

Manus *n.* GN; *Manus*.

mapenan *adv.* extent.of; *mak bilong samting*.

mapihirungul *nclf.* 20.women.

mapping *n.* morning; *moning*.

mapohue *vstat.* crack, scatter, disperse; *bruk*. **kur i me pohuwe** the claypot cracked. **suhapohue** they dispersed, scattered.

mapondie *vstat.* be.pregnant.

maposanget *adj.* very.many; *planti tumas*.

mar *n.* eye, opening; *ai*.Category: **body part**. Etym: POC *mata (Ross 1988).

mar *num.* PROP:two.

mar *vstat.* become.dry, dry.up. See: **mat**.

maren *adj.* sharp. See: **marmaren**.

mariye *nclf.* classifier; *tupela diwai*.

markor *n.* foreign.land?; *narapela ples*.

marlele *n.* witch.doctor; *glass.man*.

marmaren *adj.* very.sharp. See: **maren**.

marmernal *n.* time; *taim*.

marndre *nclf.* classifier?; *tupela hap*.

Marnom *n.* river at Bulisou, village Wom.

marpahar *n.* clever.person, ability, skill; *man i ken save bilong wokim*.Category: **abstract**.

marpet *nclf.* two.groups.of.trees.

Martoroan *n.* PN.

marturua *n.* mind, misjudgement. **marturuan pih snel tanen pwi** the masalai woman did not see that coming.

marumbuan *adj.* wet; *i.wet*.

masah *n.* brideprice.custom. See: **ndis**.

masangat *nclf.* NC money.

maseheye *int.* how.much, how.many; *hamas*. **marmelnal atem maseheye?** What time is it? *taim blo yu em i wanem?*

masih *adv.* all; *olgeta*.

masou *adv.* not.yet; *no yet*.

Masukuop *n.* PN.

Masukuop *n.* masalai, spirit; *masalai*.

Masusu *n.* evil spirit; *masalai*.

mat *n.* low.tide.

mat *vit.* die; *dai*. See: **met**. Etym: POC *mate 'die' (Ross 1988).

matilngul *nclf.* NC money.

mayin *formula.* I'm.not.sure, who.knows, perhaps.

mbo *n.* seed, seedling; *pikinini.blo.diwai*.

mboyap *n.* beads that are worn over the chest, cross like, also for neck, for head with dog's teeth.

mbu *n.* seed, fruit.

mbue *part.* negative particle; *no ken*. **mbue hangungurou solen** don't worry (lit. don't think too much). *no ken tingting tumas*.

mbuei *n.* crocodile; *pukpuk*.

mbuekei *n.* seed, fruit; *pikinini bilong diwai*.

mbuh *n.* net.

mbuhat *n.* cherry.tree; *cherry*.

mbuhur *n.* paint. **wou yelingi sehe mbuhur ramen nde nungwan?**

mbukei *n.* kina shell.

mbul *itr.* stray, wander.about. **Yo wurpo mbul i le i me** I (just) walk around (with no purpose, no. *Mi wok lo raun i go i kam.* **Yowu to po mbul ke** We just walk around. *Mipla wok lo raun tasol.*

mbule *n.* cooking.stone.

mbulei *n.* leaf.of.taro;
*lip.taro.*Category: **flora.**

mbunanah *n.* child; *pikinini.*

mbunding *n.* backside.of.house.

mbundr *n.* banana; *banana.*

mbunen *n.* price; *price.*

mbupa *n.* thigh; *lek.*

mbur *loc.* backside, back; *baksait.* Etym: POC *burit 'hind part, rear, back'.

mbur *loc.* over, above. **mbur palen** above his head.

mbur *loc.* inside, into, underneath;
daunbilo.

mbure *v.* dislike; *les.*

mburer *n.* work; *wok.*

mburia *n.* work. See: **mburer.**

mburndue *n.*
second.born.Category: **kinship.**

mburnduren *n.* second.born.

mburnsis *n.* interest.

mburon *n.* shoot.of.plant; *kru.*

mbursangah *n.* door.step.

mburtan *n.* hot.stone.

mbuser *itr.* tear.

mbuses *n.* bubble. Etym: PMP *buseq 'foam, bubbles', POC *pusoq 'foam, bubbles' (Blust's comparative austronesian dictionary <http://www.trussel2.com/ACD/>).

mbusik *n.* hole.

mbusik *vstat.* has.holes.

mbusik *itr.* emerge, come.into.existence, arrive, reach.

mbusik *itr.* create, produce.

mbuskarui *itr.* scratch; *sikrapim.*

mbuskehen *adj.* has.holes; *i gat hol.* **kasal ot mbuskehen** my floor (house) has holes.

mbusme *n.* hand.of.cuscus.

mbuso *n.* island.

mbut *n.* kind.of.tree.

mbutun *adj.* dull.

me *itr.* come; *i kam.*

mehere *itr.* come.appear; *kam, kamap.*

mekehe *adj.* weak.

mekehen *adj.* thin.

melah *itr.* open.up.

melel *n.* Aibika.

melhan *adj.* wide. **ndran kina melhan** the river has gone wide.

melil *n.* aibika; *aibika.*

melmal *adj.* tired; *skin les, tait.* **mondro i melmal** i am tired (of it). *mi les.* **moro pe kimetir** my eyes like to sleep. *ai blo mi lik silip.*

melmu *adj.* weak.

melmun *adj.* soft. **example?**

melua *n.* spirit, soul(?)

melue *itr.* shake, rattle.

menda *itr.* grow. See: **manda.**

mengun *adj.* dry; *drai.*

mensou *n.* in-law. See: **sou.**

menuai *n.* eagle.

mepan *itr.* approach; *i kam.* See: **sepan.**

mernal *n.* sun; *san.*

mesar *itr.* deliver, give.birth.

met *itr.* die.SG. See: **mat.**

metir *itr.* sleep; *silip.*Category: **state.** **yo nakmetir, metriu i reo** sleep is seizing (him or her?)

metiriu *itr.* sleep.deeply.

metiriuni *itr.* have sex with someone, sleep with someone; *silip.wantaim.* **kamel i metriuni pihin**

meyis *vstat.* done, cooked.

Mileu *n.* island near Lapangai and nauna.

mim *itr.* sit.

min *itr.* stay(?)

mindr *n.* common ant.Category: **fauna.**

mingsen *itr.* make, do.

minmin *n.* little.things, many.little.thing.
minmin yap everything brought by the white man.

moe *n.* kind.of.crab.

moh *adv.* tomorrow; *tumora*.

molhei *adv.* state.

momen *adj.* bad, either not well in health or also evil. **ndramet mumen, niu oko momen, yenyen oko momen** bad man, this coconut id bad, this food is bad.

mon *n.* the fruit (or seeds?) of the pandanas, marita tree, red or yellow, the seeds that are attached to a large cone like structure, are cooked, the red or yellow flesh separates from what looks like little pegs; *marita*.

mondro *n.* skin.1SG.POSS.

mondrsing *n.* sand.fly.

Monul *n.* GN.

Mopilt *n.* little creek.

mor *pro.* 2DU; *yutupela*.

moran *n.*
 large.green.snake.*Category: fauna*.

moro *n.* eye.1SG.POSS; *ai blong mi*.

moro *pro.* 2DU.

morok *n.* kind.of.tree.

morpwei *n.* tree whose roots reach into the water.

moso *adv.* enough, satisfied; *inap*. **Yo moso** That's enough for me. *Mi inap*.

moso *n.* reef.

motou *n.* knife; *naip*.

mou *itr.* urinate; *pispis*.

mou *nclf.* numeral classifier for humans.

mu *pro.* 2PL; *yupela*. *Etym: POC *-mu 'P.2SG', *-m(i)u 'P.2PL' (Ross 1988).*

muh *itr.* flow.

mui *n.* animal, mammal, canine; *dok*.

mukere *itr.* hurry.2PL. **womu mukere!** you (PI) hurry up! *yutupela hariap*.

mukmuk *adj.* happy; *amamas*.

mukmuku *adj.* light in weight.

mukwen *itr.* love, rejoice.in, celebrate; *hamamasim*.

mul *itr.* return; *kam bek*.

mulhei *adv.* on.it's.own, for.no.reason, merely, just.

mumurhe *itr.* rush; *hariap tumas*.

mund *v?.* ? **Yo mund kari** something like 'I have a bad gut feeling'.

mund *itr.* whip, beat. **imundi Masusu** she whipped M.

mundri *itr.* cut.

mundrti *itr.* chop little things, buai, bamboo; *katim*. **mundrti kei, mundrti neu**

mundrul *vstat.* hungry; *hangre*.

mundruluei *nder.* hunger.

munie *adv.* careful, gentle, quiet. **munie munie!** careful careful! **irwu palen munie ke e yi rai munie munie e inoh** he lowered his head just very gently and he went down very carefully and he was afraid.

munieni *itr.* straighten, correct; *stretim*.

murai *adj.* short; *sotpela*.

muren *loc.* muren refers to a future event when used temporally but to the backside when used spatially.

murenduren *n.*
 second.born.*Category: kinship*.

muruan *adj.* deep; *wara i go daun*.

muskehen *adj.* weak. **su meskehesu ke** they are just weak.

muskorou *n.* small variety of Ficus.
 See: **yeu**.

muskulun *adj.* unripe(coconut); *no mau yet, liklik yet*.

muti *itr.* whip. **tete i muti yo, su hamuti su mbunana** my father whipped me.

mwah *itr.* sorry, feel.sorry, broken; *sori*. **mwahin** i'm sorry for him. *mi sori long en*.

mwakilie *itr.* stray, roam.around.

mwalih *n.* story, legend; *stori tumbuna*.

mwalih *adj.* good; *gutpela*.

mwaloit *itr.* disappear; *hapiris*.

mwan *n.* fire; *pain*.

mwanan *adj.* far.away; *long.we*.

mwandran *adj.* fresh.

Mwandrehendra *n.* PN.

Mwandrendra *n.* evil spirit; *masalai*.

mwandri *n.* sun, peace. **mwandri mwandri oh! Kihiam ndra ndau! Kihiam ndra pum! Esing esing!** Sun sun oh! Your fire wood is the branch of the pwakpwak! Your fire wood is the branch of the pum tree(?)! Shine shine!

mwandrih *n.* stick, branch; *hap diwai.*

Mwanus *n.* Manus.

mware *itr.* alive; *i no dai yet.* **ndurkan oko i mamwaren, mamwaren or mwaren used, wou mamwarem! yu live yet**

mwasi *itr.* whip, hit; *wipim.*

mwasii *n.* sore.

mwat *n.* snake; *snek.* *Etym:* POC *mwata 'snake' (Ross 1988). **mwat ie Lugos** the snake lived in Lugos. *snek i stap lo Lugos.*

mwen *itr.* fetch.water.

mwenen *adj.* straight, smooth, correct, real; *i stret.* **sal i mwenen**

mwenen *itr.* straighten, put.in.order, fix, settle.

mwes *itr.* stink, rot; *stink, bagarap.* **mbundr i wes**

mwoi *n.* crab; *kuka bilong nambis.*

mwun *n.* fire.

N - n

-n *sf.* 3SG.POSS.

na- *vpf.* INT. **Yo nakle pleng** I want to go to the garden. *Mi laik go lo gaden.*

nah *n.* spear; *spia.*

nai *n.* grass.skirt; *grasket, purpur.*

nak *itr.* climb.2SG, climb.NSG. See: **nek.**

Nakanat *n.* PN.

Nakmat *n.* PN.

nala *n.* wind, cool.place.

nalt *n.* is itchy to the skin, spikey.

nam *n.* mosquito; *moskito.* *Category:* **fauna.** *Etym:* POC *ñamuk 'mosquito' (Ross 1988).

nama *n.* fat, sweetness. See: **naman.**

naman *adj.* delicious, fat, sweet; *gris.* See: **nama.**

nambulu *n.* spouse. *Category:* **kinship.**

nan *n.* sea.grass.

nandromwai *adj.* very.big.

nandukian *adj.* long.ago; *long.bipo.* See: **ndukian.**

nane *n.* kinship term; *mama.* *Category:* **kinship.** **nane su mbunana** the mother(s) of the children. *(ol) mama blong ol pikinini.*

nano *n.* mother.1SG.POSS.

Napele *n.* PN.

nat *n.* kind.of.tree.

natuhun *n.* grandmother; *tumbuna meri.*

Nauna *n.* GN; *Naunah.*

nawe *n.* spouse.

ndah *n.* a signal horn from a cone shaped sea shell that a hole has been drilled into, air is blown into the hole and a deep sound can be heard, it is used to gather people from a village; *tawur.*

Ndahen *n.* unclear location, must be near Sapon Wara.

ndaken *adj.* true, correct; *trupela.*

ndalis *n.* place to keep and store food.

ndan *itr.* dance.NSG; *danis.*

ndas *n.* sea, saltwater; *sol wara.* *Etym:* POC *tasik 'sea, saltwater' (Ross 1988).

ndau *n.* ton.fruit; *pwakpwak.* *Category:* **flora.**

nde *part.* tag question(?); *lakah.*

nde *prp.* towards, until, from. **tahihitai atsu per nde hanu** their fighting is from before.

nde *part.* NEG.

nde *n.* faeces; *pekpek.*

ndeheliu *n.* hairy, stingy kumu; *kumu.musong.* *Category:* **flora.**

ndek *n.* wooden.fork.

ndeke *n.* leg, foot; *lek.*

ndelkou *n.* part.of.house.

ndelmang *n.* mud.crab.

ndelnga *n.* ear; *ia.*

ndelngo *n.* ear:1SG.POSS.

Ndelo *n.* Ndillo; *Ndilow*.
ndelwen *adj.* long, tall.
ndeman *vtr.* ask.
ndemndam *n.* question; *askim*.
ndemndam *vtr.* question; *askim*.
nden *vtr.* dance.SG.
Ndenap *n.* area in Sapon Wara area.
ndere See: **piso**.
n. sibling.same.sex.
nderwon *n.* sand, rice; *waisan*.
ndes *n.* walking.stick.
ndi *loc.* away; *go long we*.
ndigo *n.* foot.1SG.POSS, leg.1SG.POSS.
ndihou *n.* first.born.Category: **kinship**.
ndiketi *vtr.* take.out, remove.from; *rausim*.
muke ndiketi kle lus take it (the taro)
 out and put it on a big dish. *yupla*
rausim i go lo big dish.
ndileng *n.* probably weeping, crying etc;
karai.
ndilip *n.* kind.of.nut.
ndilis *n.* Terminalia catappa;
talisa.Category: **flora**.
ndilkou *n.* basket.
ndimen *vtr.* count.
ndimi *n.* slit.drum; *garamut*.
ndiniai *vtr.* dance.
ndirit *n.* used for glue, mending canoes etc;
kasta.
ndis *n.* bride.price. See: **masah**.
ndoain *vtr.* force. See: **ndouo**.
ndogro *loc.* middle. **ndogro rang** noon.
namel blo de.
ndoh *n.* uppermost part of a tree, cf. pul
 kei - crown of tree, also upper part,
 but less specific.
ndohi *n.* big plaster gecko.
ndoho *n.* ndoho - tip, top, ndoho melei -
 tips of aibika.
ndohon *n.* soft.plant. **ndrine ndohon** bread
 (lit. stomach, inside of the ndohon
 plant).
ndohongan *n?*. measurement; *mak bilong*
en.

ndohongen *vtr.* make.clear, state.clearly.
akutoui teie akupwei ndohongeni
teie pwei ndohongeni pwi i nongen
ndaken I would like to give an
 example liken this, say, this is not
 an example, this is true talk.
ndohongo *n.* nose; *nus*.
ndol *n.* canoe; *kanu*.
ndon *adv.* yet, still; *stap yet*.
ndop *n.* any kind of basket or bag, ndop
 torou - decorative basket for
 wedding or kastam wok.
ndopndopun *vtr?*. speak.magic.
ndor *n.* child.
ndor *n.* tide.
ndorkan *n.* bird, little.bird; *pisin*.
ndorlapen *n.* son.of.god, child.of.an.elder;
pikinini bilong bikpela man.
ndoru *n.* cordaline.plant.
ndosu *n.* Manus comb, made from....
ndou *n.* post.
ndou *n.* occurs with rang, ndou rang = sun
 rise, rise of the day, possibly related
 to ndou 'post' of the house.
ndoua *adj.* strong. **wum ndoua**
ndoua *vtr.* fight, talk.strongly. **sorhandoua**
 the two talked strongly.
ndouaini *vtr.* strengthen; *strongim*.
ndoue *n.* strength. **ndoue dro tuem**
ndoui *n.* strength. See: **ndouo**.
ndoun *adj.* strong.
ndouo *n.* strength; *strongpela*. **ndouo per**
kamel the strength of the haus boi.
ndra *prp.* loc; *bilang*.
ndra *n.* branch.
ndrah *n.* bamboo; *mambu*.
ndrai *n.* blood; *blut*.
ndrak *n.* midrib.of.coconut.leaflets.
ndrakana *n.* tree species whose bark or
 stem (which?) is used for belts,
 traditionally for Manus
 graskets.Category: **flora**.
ndrakmultan *n.* a log used for carrying
 things on once shoulder, balancing
 and carrying things.
ndraku *n.* thin.end.of.branch.
ndrakun *adj.* small.

ndramei *n.* TP pulme, eats banana, tapiok, likes to stay in the gardens, has a red, orange top, blue feathers;
pulme.Category: **fauna**.

ndramet *n.* man, person, people; *man*.
Etym: POC *tamwata 'man' (Ross 1988); **Yo ndramet, yo snel pwi**. I am a human, I am no masalai. *Mi man, mi no masalai*.

ndramuling *n.* creek.

ndran *n.* water; *wara*.

ndrandra *n.* branch; *hanbilong diwai*.

ndrange *n.* cough, cold; *kus*.

ndre *prp.* on.top.of, top.side, over, above;
antap.

ndre *nclf.* used with plates, pieces of clothing, talk, words, speeches, cut down sago trees, leaves?

ndrehen *n.* young.girl.

ndrei *n.* blood.

ndrekei *n.* smaller plate than ndrokou.

Ndrembueh *n.* PN.

ndremlah *n.* lightning.

ndremndram *n.* black.ant.Category: **fauna**.

ndremta *n.* owner, local.person, villager;
man bilong ples.

ndrendreln *adj.* dirty.

ndrepara *n.* floor.

ndrepo *loc.* back?, backside?; *bihain*.

See: **ndrondrepo**. **yi ir ndreposu** He was at the backside (of the children who went ahead). *em stap bihain*.

ndrih *n.* kind.of.fish;
tangeni.Category: **fauna**.

ndriket *n.* gecko.

ndrili *n.* white and grey, long neck.

ndrilim *n.* a custom, ceremony surrounding the death of someone;
kastam blong daiman.

ndrilkei *n.* coconut.oil.

ndrine *n.* abdomen.Category: **body parts**.

ndrinei *n.* green.jungle.fruit.Category: **flora**.

ndrino *n.* stomach.1SG.POSS.

Ndrisndriskawa *n.* PN.

ndro *prp.* LOC; *long*. **Yo wule Lorongou por ndro kous oto homou** I went to Lorengau with a friend. **yo wuta ndro nano** I live with my mother. **Yo pwei le ndro yi yi kle so riuriu le pa** I told him to go and wait for a vehicle to the market I pwei sah me ndro wou? *What did he/she say to you?* **Sorta ndrou ndro Ndrayang**. The two (dogs) are playing with Ndrayang.

ndroh muri *vtr.* vtr; *brukim, mekim i bruk*.

ndrokmwan *adj.* dark.

ndrokou *n.* plate, bigger than ndrekei; *plet, dish*.

ndrokum *vstat.* become.dark, dark. **kor i ndrokum aka** it's getting dark.

ndrolek *n.* kind.of.ritual; *kastamwok*.

ndromburh *vtr.* cover.

ndromonan *n.* left.over, remains.

ndromuruen *vtr.* sink, drown. **nowi ndromureni ndol** the waves sanke the canoe.

ndromwis *vitr.* dive.

ndrondrepo *loc.* backside, back.

See: **ndrepo**.

Ndropwa *n.* river or rivulet, where is it?

ndrotih *vtr.* cover.up, cover; *karamapim*.

ndrou *vitr.* also: hanonou.

ndrou *n.* stone.fruit.Category: **flora**.

ndroundrou *adj.* retarded, crazy.

ndrout *n.* playing for fun; *pilai*.

ndrouteni *vtr.* play, play practical jokes with someone, trick someone;
pilai.wantaim.

ndru *?* young, small.

ndru *n.* bone, spine.

ndruk *n.* a round form of haus boi, only used for the men's house, possibly original form, acc. to Buehler 1935, see. Ohnemus 1998 p. 331.

ndruk mwan *adj.* dark.

Ndrukul *n.* GN.

ndrulnga *vstat.* hang.from, suspend.

ndrulngak *vstat.* hang.from, suspend.

See: **ndrulnga**.

ndrumseni *vtr.* submerge; *daunim long wara*.

ndrunu *n.* juice; *wara*.

ndrunu.niu *n.* coconut.milk; *wara bilong kokonas*.

ndrupu *loc.* back; *baksait.blong.en*.

ndrut *vitr.* fall.down. **lingen indrut** rain falls down.

ndue *loc.* local noun. **yowu la nduen** we went to the open sea.

nduei *n.* eel; *maleu*.

nduh *n.* sugarcane; *suka*. *Etyim:* POC *topu 'sugarcane' (Ross 1988).

ndukian *adj.* of the ancestor's times; *blong.bipo.yet*. See: **nandukian**.

nduko *n.* foot:1SG.POSS, leg:1SG.POSS. See: **ndeke**.

ndukto *n.* father's sister; *auntie*. *Category:* **kinship**.

nduktu *n.* beginning, base, origin, meaning, reason; *as bilong*. **taitai oko nduktun sah?** fight DEM reason what. **nduktu ndr amet nongn oko nduktun sah?** what is the meaning of this word / phrase?

ndukup *n.* edible greens, fern; *kumu*. *Category:* **flora**.

ndukup *n.* edible.fern.

ndukwin *adj.* used for bowl shaped containers.

Ndumo *n.* former Name for Lugos.

Ndumoh *n.* GN; *Ndumoh*.

ndunun *adj.* retarded, dumb.

ndupwei *n.* blue crab, coconut crab; *kuka*.

ndur *n.* child; *pikinini.blong*.

ndurkan *n.* bird, little.bird.

nduru *n.* child:1SG.POSS.

nduwei *n.* eel. *Category:* **fauna**.

nduwi *n.* little bench with scraper for coconuts, or is it also the hand scraper?

nehet *n.* sago.grub.

nek *vtr.* climb.1SG, climb.3SG. See: **nak**. **yo nakunek niu** I want to climb a coconut.

nela *v.* become.cold? **kor aknela** the village is getting cold. *ples bai kol*.

neltu *n.* bird's egg.

neltun *adj.* attribute.

nem *nclf.* NCLF:string, NCFL:rope; *wanpela rop*.

nendrkei *n.* mushroom.

nengei *n.* peanut, nut; *galip*.

nenis *n.* stick; *stik bilong paia*.

nga *nclf.* NCLF:long.parts.

ngah *n.* Calcium hydroxide; *kambang*.

ngahan *adj.* bitter.

ngaingon *n.* nose, nostril.

ngal *n.* kind.of.fish. *Category:* **fauna**.

ngan *n.* light.

ngandah *vstat.* set; *go.daun*. **mwandrih me ngandah** the sun set.

ngandr *n.* edible.fern; *kumu.karas*.

ngangai *vitr.* swim; *supim*.

ngangou *n.* little bug, brown, black in colour, that when threatened, spreads an acidic liquid that burns on the skin.

ngar *n.* name; *nem.bilong.em*.

ngarngo *n.* nose.

ngas *vtr.* climb. See: **nges**.

ngas *n.* noise. **ngas te sah?**

ngasn *n.* noise.

ngat *n.* hole; *hol*.

ngendian *adj.* painful.

ngendr *vitr?* cough; *kus*.

ngersiu *adv.* outside, village; *autsait*.

nges *vtr.* climb.SG. See: **ngas**.

ngesriu *n.* kind.of.tree.

ngindah *vstat.* heat.up, become.hot, be.difficult. See: **ngindhan**.

ngindhan *adj.* hot, hard. See: **ngendah**.

ngo *adv.* further(?)

ngoh *vitr.* cool.down, rest.

ngohoto *n.* smell.

ngok *interj.* expression of disbelief or discontent over some mischief. **ngok! ndem!**

ngondol *n.* front.of.canoe.

ngondr *n.* root.

ngondrsamer *?* cough.

ngongho *n.* steam.

ngundrei *n.* god; *got*.

ngundu *n.* neck. *Category:* **body parts**.
ngunho *n.* smell.
ngusu *n.* lips; *lips*.
ni *n.* fish; *pis*.
ni *vtr.* eat:TR.
-ni *vsf.* TR.
nime *n.* hand, arm; *han*.
nimo *n.* hand:1SG.POSS.
ninis *n.* stick for lighting a fire by rubbing a stick against another stick.
niu *n.* coconut; *kokonas*. *Etym:* POC *niuR (Ross 1988).
no *vtr.* collapse, break.down; *pundaun*.
noh *vtr.* be.afraid.
nohil *vtr.* strip, peel, strip.away; *sikirapim*.
Nohnah *n.* GN.
nohowai *n.* fear, anxiety; *poret*.
nol *n.* kind.of.fish; *nol*. *Category:* **fauna**.
Nombut *n.* GN.
nomia *nder.* nomia niu - the grating of coconut, only heard in this combination, maybe noun incorporation? or simple collocation?
nomwi *vtr.* grate; *sikirapim*.
non *vtr.* collect.from.ground, find; *painim*.
nondrut *n.* bamboo variety used for Manus combs
nongen *n.* talk, speech, language, text.message.

nonou *n.* flower. *Category:* **flora**.
nouni *vtr.* dress.up, decorate; *bilasim*.
nowi *n.* sea waves.
nu *vtr.* wash, bathe; *waswas*.
nu *n.* squid.
nuaini *vtr.* shake.
nuhnuh *vtr.* put.sth.in.container; *pulimapim*.
nuhui *vtr.* wash, fill.sth.in.basket; *wasim*.
nuin *vtr.* remove water from a container.
kenuini ndran le ndol! remove the water from the canoe.
numbua *n.* shoot, sprout.
numbue *n.* tree.trunk.
numo *n.* arm:1SG.POSS, hand:1SG.POSS. *See:* **nime**.
numwa *n.* nest. *See:* **numwe**.
numwe *n.* house.for; *haus.bilong*. *See:* **wum**. *Etym:* POC *Rum(w)aq 'house'. **numwe kukulou, numwe metriu, numwe tutuwe**
nun *v.* come.to.a.hold, stop; *surik*.
nungwan *adj.* yellow.
nunou *n.* earth.quake.
nunu *vtr.* wash.refl(?); *waswas*.
nunu *nder.* washing. **per nunu** for washing (purposes).
nur *vtr.* clean.

O - o

-o *sf.* 1SG.POSS.
oh *interj.* oh.
oho *int.* where; *we*.
oi *interj.* oi.
oko *See:* **aka**.
dem. DEM, proximal; *em hia*.
ondorngul *num.* eighty.
ondoruoh *num.* numeral; *et*.
ondrsih *num.* nine.
ondrsih *num.* nine.
ondrtih *vtr.* cover; *karamapim*.
ondrtoloh *num.* seven.
ondua *adj?.* strong.2SG. *Etym:* POC *o-'A.2SG'.

ono *poss.clf.* CLF.food.1SG.POSS.
onoh *num.* six.
Onotah *n.* GN; *Ohotah*.
op *vtr.* do, make.
opo *v.* do.it, go.on, go.ahead; *goan*.
opo *vtr.* do, make.
or *cop.* COP:2SG, COP:NSG. **or ndi Pispomo!** stay with Pispomo! (meaning: go and stay).
oring *vtr.* catch the sunlight
oro *cop.* COP; *yu.stap*. *See:* **or**.
os *cop.* be, remain. *See:* **sou**.
osmwi *vtr.* answer.
ot *part.* POSS. *See:* **at**.

otini *vtr.* bury, plant?; *planim.*
oto *part.* 1SG form of possessive particle at. See: **at**.

oung *vtr.* speak.

P - p

pa *subr.* TEMP.
pah *n.* market; *salim.*
pah *vtr.* imperative.
pahali *n.* mountain; *arere long maunten.*
pahani *vtr.* sell, trade.
pahar *vtr.* look.out?
pahau *n.* centipede.
pahut *n.* part.of.house.
pai *vtr.* open.
Pak *n.* GN; *Pak.*
pakeh *loc.* near, close, almost; *klostu. kor sih ita pakeh Lugos* a place that is near Lugos. *wanpla ples klostu Lugos. pakeh yenyen nakmeyis* the food was almost done. *kaikai i klostu tan nau.*
pakehkeh *loc.* very.close.
pakei *n.* edible fern, grows higher than ngandrl, another fern variety; *kumu.*
pakmbruli *n.* side.of.mountain.
pal *n.* body part; *het bilong en.*
pal *n.* dove.
palkis *n.* spatula.for.frying.sago.
palpai *n.* place above the fire place for firewood and for storing food (cf. Pipalnandren).
palsah *n.* tree that produces long fruits that have a fluffy, stuffed animal like look and texture, not indigenous to Manus according to locals.
pambue *n.* used to refer to the bible.
pamei *n.* betelnut; *buai.*
pan *vtr.* look.for.lice.NSG; *painim laus.* See: **pen**.
pandrol *n.* shelter; *liklik.haus.*Category: **buildings**.
pani *vtr.* find.
papei *n.* door, entrance.
papi *n.* door.
papu *n.* kinship term.Category: **kinship**.

par *n.* twigs of trees, smaller in size. **par pali, par tol, sindrik!**
parkei *n.* log, tree.Category: **flora**.
parkesert *n.* bridge.
parkor *n.* mainland; *bik.ples.* See: **kor**.
parpaken *n.* hip.
part *vstat.* tired; *tait. mandrwu aka i kinme part* your skin has become tired. **e pohon i me part** and his mouth became tired.
partol *n.* kind.of.vine.Category: **flora**.
parwas *n.* covering all ropes, also the factory made ropes, also used: was; *rop.* See: **was**.
pase *n.* side of a river; *said blong wara.*
pat *n.* stone, rock; *ston.*
pau *vtr.* surface; *kam aut long wara.*
paure *n.* probably used as a noun, perhaps also as a verb?; *singsing.*
pauri *vtr.* sing; *singsing.* See: **paure**.
pe *vtr.* defecate; *pekpek.*
pe *subr.* SEQ.
pehena *vtr.* steal; *stil.*
pehendra *loc.* under, below, underneath; *aninit.*Category: **locational**.
pehenou *vtr.* steal.
peheran *adj.* smart, intelligent, skillfull.
pek *n.* lump.
pekmar *n.* eyes, face; *kiau bilon ai.*
pelengan *loc.* up; *antap.*
pelmat *n.* flying.fox.
pelpal *kind.of.plant.*
pelt *n.* bad.spirit, masalai.
pelti *prp.* with.
pen *vtr.* look.for.lice.SG. See: **pan**.
pep *vstat.* full; *pulap.*
per *prp.* ASSOC.

per *n.* head of a river or a higher point, directly possessed. **yo nakule pern** I wan to go up (up stream, up the road).

Pere *n.* village in south Manus, Titan, village where Margaret Mead did research.

peren *adj.* white.

periah *n.* kind.of.fish;
kulapo.Category: **fauna**.

perkol *n.* neck; *nek*.

Perku *n.* tree.

perku *n.* hand barrow, bed for carrying heavy things.

perlaln *n.* chest; *bros bilong*
en.Category: **body art**.

perlet *n.* used for beds but also for tables.

Perlou *n.* island in the Lele LLG, official name Pitilou3.

perlou *n.* obsidian.spear; *spia potol*.

Perluh *n.* GN; *Pityilu*.

pern *n.* attitude; *pasin*.

perngusuan *v.* snore.

perou *n.* coconut; *kokonas*.

perper *n.* origin.of.river; *het.blo.wara*.

Persehet *n.* river near Lomon.

peruan *adj.* heavy; *hepi*.

peruan *n.* problem, dispute. See: **peruan**.

pet *vtr.* swell.

peu *n.* shark; *sak*.

pew *onom.* pew.

Pi- *pf.* feminine prefix on names.

pie *vtr.* throw; *tromoi*. **Sowe ir pie ndrek sul aten i le hanu** Sowe was throwing his torch ahead.

pihe *adv.* yesterday; *asde*.

pihi *n.* woman.

pihin *n.* female, girl, woman; *meri*. Etym: POC *papine (Ross 1988).

pihindrehen *n.* young.woman; *yangpela meri*.

pihitasou *n.* old.woman; *lapun meri*.

Pilapan *n.* PN.

Pilehemui *n.* PN.

pilit *n.* bush.spirit; *masalai*.

Pimayou *n.* PN.

pin *vtr.* throw, leave; *tromoi*.

pinau *n.* widow.

pind *vtr.* putim i pas, puttig down tightly so that it fits, glue, paste down.

Pinel *n.* PN.

ping *n.* night.

pinge *adv.* last.night.

Pinombus *n.* woman.who.only.eats.protein.

Pipalnandren *n.* PN.

piri *n.* star. Etym: POC *pituqun, Titan pituy 'star' (Ross et al. lex POC phys. env). **piri a loping** evening star. **piri a ni** group of stars that promise good fishing.

pis *n.* bamboo.knife; *sap mambu*.

piso See: **ndere**.
n. kinship term.Category: **kinship**.

Pispomo *n.* PN.

pit *vtr.* drift, float.

piyep *n.* wild.pig.

pleng *n.* garden; *gaden*. **Su kena pleng**. They went to the garden. *Ol i go pinis lo gaden*.

Po- *pf.* masculine prefix on names. See: **Pi-**.

po *vtr.* do, make; *mekim*. **Wou mingseni po mbruer atem**. You do your work. *Yu wokim wok blo yu. sorhapo mbunana* the two made children.

po *n.* backside, behind; *baksait*.

po *prp.* until?

po *vtr.* find.

po- *vpf.* stative?

Pohamou *n.* PN.

poharni *vtr.* confess, announce, indicate; *kamapim, tokaut klia*.

poho *n.* mouth; *maus*.Category: **body parts**.

Poholehei *n.* GN.

poholeng *n.* coast, beach, shore; *nambis*.

poholou *n.* butterfly.

pohonum *loc.* outside; *arasait*.
See: **lopohonum**.

pohosal *n.* road, path; *rot*.

pohou *n.* sago.waste.

pohoun *vtr.* break.

pohue *vstat.* crack.open, burst.

pohutun *n.* cousin?
Pohuwai *n.* village on the southcoast of Manus, Tedidu LLG?
Pokop *n.* PN.
pokorni *vtr.* bring.together, assemble.
pokot *n.* large water container.
pokulue *vtr.* look.after.
Pokupwen *n.* PN.
Polehemui *n.* PN.
polo *n.* head.1SG.POSS; *het.blong.mi.*
Polomou *n.* GN.
pombokey *n.* money.
pombrer *vtr.* work; *mekim wok.*
pombukei *n.* sea.shell, money.
 See: **sumbupat.**
pombukei *n.* male.garment; *laplap.*
pombule *n.* face.Category: **body parts.**
Pombuluiama *n.* PN.
pomut *vtr.* finish, complete; *pinis.*
ponau *n.* widower.
Pondiekai *n.* PN.
pondin *adj.* mourning. **su pondin aten** they mourned him.
pondran *n.* water.container.
pondu *n.* scraper for coconuts which is held in one's hands.
pongah *n.* traditional container for lime, chalk powder, made from gourd, calabash. See: **pusngah.**
pongutu *n.* rib.Category: **body part.**
poniu *n.* cup.
Ponombus *n.* man.who.only.eats.protein.
Popuren *n.* PN.
popwa *n.* bit, piece; *hap.*
popwe *n.* shell.
popwendran *n.* water.container.
por *adv.* inside. **yo wule lorongou por ndro kous oto homou** I went to Lorengau with a friend of mine.
por *prp.* with. **lingen le por nala** rain comes (came) with a cold wind.
porkou *n.* "big ship bridge".
pormeruan *n.* greedy.
pormeruan *adj.* greedy.
porndeke *n.* footprint; *mak.blo.lek.*
porngaini *vtr.* spoil, destroy, ruin.

poro *prp.* with.
porok *onom.* sound.of.pig. *Etym: POC *boRok `pig'.* **wou ta porok porok sah?** why do you make those sounds?
porou *vtr.* to hold something in one's hands; *holim.*
portou *vtr.* hold.
portouia *nder.* sth.for.holding.sth; *blong holim.*
pos *n.* paddle; *pul.*
posau *vtr.* dry.
Posiani *n.* PN.
Posolai *n.* PN.
posopngo *n.* mouth.
Posopun *n.* PN.
posuen *adj.* dry. **alsorien wou e altou hendre kolau posuen** go change and put on something dry.
posuh *n.* shell.knife; *kolip, kina.*
potales *adv.* apprehensive, lest...., nongut; *nongut.* **potales kimwah** lest it will go bad (the food). *nongut em bai bagarap.* **heti ni kme, potales ni kle momen.** Get the fish, lest it will go bad. **Emingseni hepe yenyanyan, potales imundrul!** Make some food, lest they are hungry.
potasah *adv.* APPR; *nongut.* **wurhanoh potasah eni yowuru** We are afraid you might eat us.
potukmun *vtr.* gather, collect, pile.up.
pou *num.* hundred.
pouluni *vtr.* roll.up, curl.up.
Powat *n.* village in the Lele LLG.
poyil *vtr.* fight, argue.
prou *n.* kind.of.tree; *Kalapuling.*
pti *vtr.* marry; *i kisim.* **wulhou leto akipti / ipti ndruihin oko** this young man wants to marry this young girl.
pu *n.* pig.
pu *n.* pig; *pik.*
puian *adj.* big, big.one.
pukene *formula.* no; *nogat.*
Puklout *n.* GN.
pul *n.* head.of.tree, on.top.of.
Pulihat *n.* village in the Lele LLG.

Pulisou *n.* village in the Lele LLG, reportedly speaking half Sapon and half Warpei dialect.

pulnou *n.* general term for bamboo; *mambu*.

pulpa *n.* frond of coconut, sago.

pult *vtr.* chase, hunt?; *ranim, chasim*.

punbut *n.* part.of.house.

Punuamp *n.* land situated within Sapon I area; *Punuwamp*.

pupten *vtr.* achieve; *wokim*.

pupuskari *n.* snail with house.

pur *vtr.* accompany, go.with; *bihainim*.
pihin i puri nawen the woman follows her husband (she has been married some time ago and now follows him to his village).

pur *vtr.* get.

purpur *n.* belt worn for kastam wok; *paspas*.

purui *vtr.* ripen.

puruin *adj.* ripe. See: **purui**.

pus *n.* also used for coconut.

pusiou *n.* wild.kapiak.

pusngah *n.* lime gourd, calabash container for lime powder.

pusngat *n.* sweat.Category: **body parts**. **yo upusngat** I sweat.

pusngat *vtr.* sweat.

put *vtr.* break; *buruk*. **kinput!** it's broken!

put *vtr.* marry.

pwahere *vtr.* make.known; *toksave*. or **pwahere mendro yo!** you should have made me known (should have told me)!

pwahernou *vtr.* give.a.speech, preach.

pwahilou *vtr.* lie; *giaman*.

pwahpwah *n.* kind.of.tree; *ndau*.

pwai *vtr.* say; *tok*.

pwakikte *vtr.* play.jokes; *tok.pilai*.

pwana *adv.* down; *daunbilo*.

pwana *n.* ground, soil, earth.

pwandrundrue *n.* song.

pwapwa *n.* place.for.grating.coconut.
pwapwa per nomia niu place for grating coconut.

pwapwil *n.* sago palm leafstalk, or stem, also used as a hod for carrying ground, stones, also used for brooming the house as dustpan.

pwara *vtr.* rot; *sting*.

pwarei *n.* kind.of.fruit; *pau*.Category: **flora**.

pwarn *adj.* smelly, stinky, revolting; *i sting*.

pwarn *vtr.* spread, lay.out.

Pwasai *n.* geographical name; *Pwasai (nem bilong ples)*.

pwasilie *n.* apparently used for dictionaries, not proven, no textual evidence; *tokaut*.

pwasirsir *n.* broom; *brum*.

pwasou *vtr.* call; *kolim*. **malapo su hapwasou lugos** Now everybody calls it Lugos. *Nau ol i kolim Lugos*.

pwatien *vtr.* tell.

pwatirie *vtr.* tell. See: **pwetirie**.

pwatirie *n.* story. See: **pwatirie**.

pwe *vtr.* means general looking and seeking for something, but less specific.

pwei *vtr.* say; *tok*.

pwelpwal *n.* distant cross-cousin, joking relationship.

pwen *adv.* COMPL, NEG?; *pinis*. **Yo mingsene ndop pwen** I have made a basket. *Mi wokim basket pinis*.

pwenah *n.* arm.band; *paspas.blong.han*.

pwenui *n.* coconut.shell; *sel kokonas*.

pwepwe *adj.* empty.

pwesi *adv.* closed. **maren pwesi** his/her eyes are closed (figuratively).

pwet

pwetien *vtr.* tell; *stori*.

pwetirie *vtr.* tell a story. See: **pwatirie**.

pwi *part.* negator, used both in clauses and as sentence equivalent; *nogat*. **i te gat meaning aten pwi** it doesn't have a meaning, doesn't make sense (TP, English interference).

pwi *part.* SEQ.

pwio *formula.* absolutely.not; *nogat yah*.

R - r

rahan *vtr.* follow a river or road down to its mouth.

rahan *adj.* beautiful.

rai *n.* cardinal direction. *Etym:* POC *raki, Titan nray 'wind from the mainland, mountain breeze, blows at night', Lou ra 'northeast, northeast wind' (Ross et al, Lexicon POC, phys.env.).

rai *vtr.* come.down, descend, let.down.

ramen *adj.* red; *retpela*.

rang *n.* day, time, weather; *de*.

rang *adj.* light.

rang *vtr.* cry, make.a.noise; *karai*.

range *adv.* today, earlier.today, before, at.day. **e range mwalih ra (range) yo upwei irei snel aka aka muren** and the part I told where he kills the masalai comes later.

Rara *n.* island in the Lele area.

ras *adj.* smooth, beautiful, good; *smart*. **mandrwu i ras** our (excl.) skin got smooth.

re *vtr.* hit, kill, beat; *paitim, katim*.

re- *vpf.* 1SG, 3SG. See: **ta-**.

rehan *adj.* fast; *hariap*. **wou mingsene ndop rehan** you make the basket fast. *yu wokim basket hariap. endemeni*

rekau *vtr.* howl.

rekipti *vtr.* shut.SG.

rekunha *vtr.* compensate. **su ndramet la takunha per momen ata ndur su** all people went to compensate for the wrong of their child.

rendikeni *vtr.* send.1SG, send.3SG.

rendra *vtr.* see.in.a.vision, see.in.a.dream. **Yi rendra wou** He cursed you.

reng *vtr.* cry.SG. See: **tang**.

renger *vtr.* cry.loudly, shout.loudly.

rengerer *vtr.* cry.loudly.RDP, shout.loudly.RDP.

renoni *vtr.* find.1SG, find.3SG. See: **tanoni**.

repelwini *vtr.* turn, excel.

repeplouni *vtr.* turn.over; *tantanim*.

repohue *vtr.* crack, break. **su tapohue kur, irepohue kur, wou warpohue**

repuian *vtr.* break, crack.

rer *vtr.* can mean shake (with cold), also split at the bottom of a tree.

rer *vtr.* cut.open.

rerer *vtr.* involuntarily shake with fear etc.

rerukmweni *vtr.* crush, mash.

resoso *vtr.* waste.time.3SG, waste.time.1SG.

resumbun *vtr.* destroy, vandalise, smash.to.pieces.

retehe *vtr.* beat.heavily. **i retehe ngundun** she heavily beat her neck.

reu *vstat.* clear.up, come.up, open.one's.eyes; *ai i op*. **maren ireu** his/her eyes opened up (realised something). **rang ireu** the day broke.

reure *vtr.* gather, collect. **reure pat** gather stones, collect stones.

ri *adv.* LOC; *stap*.

rihe *adj.* too.large; *bikpela.tumas*.

riu *vtr.* pull, drag; *pulim*.

riuriu *vtr.* drag, pull.

riuriu *n.* car.

riwa *n.* a mark or track of an animal.

rkai *v.* walk; *wokabaut*.

rngul *num.* twenty, two.kina.

ro *cop.* verbal root?; *stap*.

rohain *vtr.* shake. **taim mu-k-al to Punuwamp mukorhaini**

roki *vtr.* collect.

rokmbunha *n.* spit; *spet bilong*.

rokrok *n.* frog.Category: **fauna**.

rokuh *vtr.* collect. See: **koh**.

romus *vtr.* curse. **yi romusi wou** he cursed you.

ropne *vtr.* throw.

ropulti *vtr.* drive.out; *rausim*.

ror *vtr.* fall.down, drop.

roruen *adj.* blue?

rosan *adj.* clean; *klinpela*.

royau *vtr.* get.rid.of, get.lost. **eroyau!** get lost!
rue *vtr.* cook. See: **turue**.
rui *vtr.* scoop, pour.
ruin *vtr.* boil.
rukat *adj.* dark. See: **rukta**. **heke wendri pohon ke rukat aka**
rukat *vtr.* darken, blacken.
rukta *adj.* black.

rumbuan *adj.* wet. **kolau rumbuan** wet clothes.
ruoh *num.* numeral; **tupela**. *Etym:* *rua.
rukko *vstat.* be.angry.
rut *adv.* quick, hurry; **hariap**.
ruwi *vtr.* pull.3PL, drag.3PL, tow.3PL.
rwei *vtr.* form, put. **mwat irwei pohon i loh** the snake forms its mouth to call.

S - s

sah See: **hepsah**.
int. what, why; **wanem.samting**.
wahal sah? why do you laugh? **Aka tesah?** What is that?
sah *vtr.* settle, pacify.
sahen old.
sahene *int.* which.one, which.of. **aka i sahenem?** How are you related? (lit. That one is which of you?) **Em i husat blong yu?**
sahsah *n.* group.of.stars, round(?)
sai *n.* bigger version of sakei (laulau) fruit; **laulau**.
 See: **sakei**. *Category:* **flora**.
sakei *n.* little, pink, apple-shaped fruits of the sakei tree; **laulau**.
 See: **sai**. *Category:* **flora**.
saken *adj.* old. **kolau saken** old clothes.
sal *n.* road; **rot**.
saleau *n.* kind.of.fish. *Category:* **fauna**.
salou See: **pombukey**.
n. cloth, female.garment; **laplap**.
salue *n.* for female garments only?, means laplap, but laplaps are also worn by men.; **laplap**. See: **salou**.
samelwa *n.* shade, shadow, picture.
san *vtr.* gather.
san *vtr.* cut. **sani was** cut a rope.
sandeman *vtr.* ask.NSG. See: **sendeman**.
sandemdam *vtr.* ask; **askim**.
sandemdam oto sih i have one question.
sandur *n.* ?
sanga *n.* mar sanga: both front and back entrance.

sap *vtr.* carry, collect; **karim**.
Sapon *n.* GN.
sapun *n.* kinship term; **tumbuna man**.
sareou *interj.* lucky.you. **oh sareou!** oh, lucky you!
sasingen *vtr.* wash; **wasim**.
Satan *n.* Satan.
sato *vtr.* arrive.on.other.side. **Pinawi le sato le mbuso**
satou *vtr.* put.
se- *vpr.* ?
seh *int.* which, what.kind.of.
seheh *n.* kind.of.tree; **seheh (nem bilong diwai)**. *Category:* **flora**.
sehendr *adv.* over.there; **lo.hap**. **Wum atwu ita sehendr**. Our (excl.) house is over there. **Haus blo mipla i stap lo hap**.
sehi *vtr.* plane, hew.out; **sapim**.
selinghini *vtr.* clearing; **cleanim**.
selpe *vtr.* feel, touch. **al selpei yi, yi mwaren, nde kinmat**
sen *vtr.* cut; **katim**.
sendeman *vtr.* ask.SG. See: **sandeman**.
sendraini *vtr.* forbid; **tambuim**. **su sendraini pamei oko** all forbid this buai.
sendueni *vtr.* hold.back; **holim.pas**.
sensan *n.* centipede.
sep *vtr.* carry, pull; **karim, pulim**.
sepan *vtr.* to.come. See: **mepan**.
ser *vtr.* break, chop.to.pieces; **burukim**.
serar *vtr.* slip.
sere *n.* ancestor. See: **sersere**.

serek *vit.* cross.sides, go.across. **ndramet i serek** the man goes from one side to the other / crosses sides.

sersere *n.* ancestor. See: **sere**.

sese *n.* grandmother; *tumbuna meri*.

seta *vdem.* LOC.DEM.PROX.

sieh *int.* who; *husat*. **Aka sieh?** Who is that? *Em i husat?*

sih *num.* one, another.one, a.different.one; *wanpela*. **rang sih** one day. **Sera pwi, mui sih** This is not Sera, this is another dog.

silim *n.* sparrow.*Category: fauna.*

sim *vtr.* buy.

sindri *vtr.* cut; *katim*.

sindrtil *vtr.* cut; *katim pinis*.

sing *n.* flesh, meat.

sing *vtr.* shine. **mwandri i sing** the sun shines.

sing *vtr.* to dry food in the sun, possibly also drying something by putting it close to the fire?

singen *vtr.* light, kindle.

singen *adj.* right; *han.sut*. See: **kameu**. **nimo singen** my right hand.

Sipik *n.* Sepik.

sir *vtr.* cut.skin; *katim skin*.

sirei *n.* kingfisher.*Category: fauna.*

sirhei *vtr.* wash; *wasim*.

sirhi *vtr.* pick.from.tree.

sirhi *n.* bunch.from.palm.tree?

sirik *onom.* sound.of.kingfisher.

sirkou *n.* little platform used to stand on to fetch water for washing sago.

sirt *vtr.* follow.

sisi *n.* kind.of.bird.

siti *vtr.* cut.

skei *n.* kind.of.insect.

snel *n.* bush.spirit; *masalai*. **Yo ndramet. Yo snel pwi** I am a man. I am no masalai. *Mi man. Mi no masalai.*

soho *vtr.* wait. **torkesoho la** We (DU) wait first. *Mitupela wet pastem*.

soholan *vtr.* push.

sohongen *vtr.* push.

sokal *n.* ?

sokr *n.* edible greens, reddish-green leaves, elongated triangular shape; *kumu*.*Category: flora.*

solen *adj.* many, much; *planti*.

soling *vtr.* pray, ask.for; *prei, singaut*.

somu *vtr.* reply.

somu *vtr.* fill.liquid.into.basket.

sondri *vtr.* block access.

song *vtr.* starve; *hangre*.

song *vtr.* be.inside, go.inside. **e ngat aka ndran ita lundie pwan i song (i hilou) mendi** and that hole where the water was inside on the ground and it ran out (example for intransitive use).

sop *v?* narrow.

Sopun *n.* GN.

sopwani *vtr.* help; *helpim*.

sopwari *vtr.* catch; *holim*.

sopwat *n.* help.

sopwat *vtr.* help. **yi sopwat lundie kor le** he helps inside the community.

sor *pro.* 3DU.

soro *pro.* free pronoun; *tupla.man*. **soro marmou kene** two people (i.e. girls) (lit. two two people) really. *tupla tasol / stret*. **soro pihin** two girls. *tupla pikinini girl*. **soro pihin marmou** two girls. *tupela girls*.

soroh *n.* meat, fish, animal; *abus*.

soroprop *vtr.* many people talk at the same time. **Womu hasoroprop solen, mukal ndi!** You (PI) talk too much, go away!

sosu *n.* kind.of.bird.*Category: fauna.*

sotou *n.* wall.

sotut *vtr.* mash.

sou *n.* woman's.house, mat; *haus marit, karuka*.

sou *vtr.* drop.

sou *vtr.* this specifies exactly the location of something or someone, whereas verbs such as *ta* give the global location, remain at a specific place or location.

sou *n.* umbrella formed from leaves to protect from sun and rain.

sou *n.* in-law. See: **mensou**.
souka *n.* chouka; *chouka*.
Sowe *n.* PN.
Sowu *n.* GN.
soye *vtr.* dig.a.hole; *sutim hol*.
soye *vtr.* bring.out, produce.
spwih *vtr.* wipe; *klinim, (mekim) drai*.
sret *vtr.* crawl, snakes, lizards, centipedes.
su *pro.* 3PL; *ol.* **Mwandrendra e su lau aten** Mwandrendra and his men (here used as determiner).
suah *vtr.* fry; *praim.* **alsuah yipi** go and fry sago.
sue *v.* paddle; *pul long kanu*.
sueluluh *n.* wild.betelnut.
suhu *vtr.* clean, peel; *sapim*.
suhu *vtr.* peel; *sapim*.
sui *n.* money. **yowu hatandike la heti sui iyou ri**
sul *n.* dried.bamboo, torch; *bombom, lam*.
sul *n.* part.of.taro.
Sulpwala *n.* place near Sapon Wara, village near puk pelmat, church at the side of the road, turn left, a path goes up, this is Sulpwala.
sulu *vtr.* remove hair with fire.
suluen *vitr?* push. **isuluen ie lundien** s/he pushed it inside.

suman *vtr.* buy.1SG.
sumbupat *n.* money. See: **pombukei**.
sumbuti *adj.* completely; *olgeta.* **mbunen ni sumbuti aka masungul** the price of all the fish is ten (or one kina?)
sumun *n.* bedding; *bet bilong em*.
sumuyan *n.* cover, container; *karamap bilong en*.
sungul *num.* numeral; *ten*.
sunui *vtr.* put.
sur *vtr.* start.fire.
surhi *vtr.* wash; *wasim*.
suri *vtr.* start.a.fire.
surien *vtr.* change clothes. **yo wurpo surien kolau** I am changing my clothes.
sus *n.* breast; *susu*.
sus *n.* paddle.
suspweini *vtr.* trick, cheat. **sukesuspweini wou** they will trick you.
susu *vtr.* fish.
susuah *n.* sgao recipe; *saksak.nating*.Category: **cooking**.
susue *vtr.* paddle.
susuen *adj.* sour.
susurie *vtr.* change.clothes; *senisim*.
susurie *n.* clothes(?)
susus *vtr.* paddle.
sut *n.* support.for.walls, press.

T - t

ta *cop.* COP, HAB, REP, PROG; *save, wok,long*. See: **to**. **Yo ta yen lout**. I generally eat cuscus. *Mi sa kaikai kapul*. **yo uta yan lout** I generally eat eat cuscus. *Mi sa kaikaim kapul*. **yo uta metir Sopun** I usually sleep at Sapon. **June ita ndon Lohowai** June is still in Lohowai. *June i stap lo Lohowai yet*.
ta *vtr.* hit, beat, kill; *paitim*.
ta- *vpf.* NSG.

tahit *adv.* in.vain, unable, to.destruction; *no inap*. **i po tahit per i ksep lout** he was unable to get a kapul. **su Pohuwai su hasoho tultul atsu tahit** the people of Pohuwai waited for their committee in vain. **su Perluh su tai su ma tahit** The Perluh people completely destroyed them. **Yo ule perlet hepke yo umetir tahit** I went to bed but I couldn't sleep.
tahitai *n.* war.
tahondrhondr *nder.* writing; *rait*. **yo wurehondrhondr le ndro homou kous oto**

takilini *vtr.* check, spy.
takulhi *vtr.* wave.at.
takurtu *n.* trick, practical.joke, elaborate.act. **takurtuein solen!** He is up to many tricks!
talah *vtr.* appear; *kamap.*
talenge *adv.* towards.the.beach.
tales *adv.* APPR; *nongut.* See: **potales.**
tam *n.* kinship term; *papa.*Category: **kinship.** **su tama su mbunana** the fathers of the children. *ol papa blong ol pikinini.*
tan *vtr.* know, understand; *save.*
tandikeni *vtr.* send. See: **rendikeni.**
tang *vtr.* cry, weep, make.a.noise?; *karai.* See: **reng;** **tangis.** *Etym:* POC *tanjɨs 'weep' (Ross 1988).
tangis *vtr.* mourn.for, cry.over. See: **tang.** *Etym:* POC tais. **sorhatangis mwat** the two mourned over the (the loss of the) snake.
tanon *vtr.* find, discover. **al tanoni i ta lonhou. aka hian ke.** go and find what is in the bush. that is just fine.
tapeluen *vtr.* for change: one's ways.
tapohuen *vtr.* crack, smash. **yo urepohuwani kur oto**
tapusir *vtr.* step.on; *krungutim.*
tar *vtr.* loosen, transmit. **nemen i ter** his/her hand loosened (its grip).
taria *nder.* paddling.
tasoso *vtr.* waste.time.NSG.
tasou *n.* old man or woman, possibly honorific use as well; *lapun.*
tasou *adj.* old.
tasumbuen *vtr.* make.a.mess, destroy, dissipate, scatter.
tatehei *vtr.* beat.heavily, hammer, nail.
tato *n.* kinship term; *bubumeri, mama.*Category: **kinship.**
tatoni *vtr.* raise, erect.
tatou *vtr.* press, crunch, bend; *krukutim.*
tatuhuren *vtr.* lovingly touch someone, pet someone. **yo umukwen piso e yo uretuhuren yi** I was happy for my brother and so I petted him (on the shoulder etc.)

tatuni *vtr.* support, set.up.post; *sanapim pos.*
tatunian *n.* support.
taturue *vtr.* cook. See: **turue.**
taure *vtr.* collect; *bungim.*
tawuhi *vtr.* cut.down; *katim.bus.*
tawur *n.* sea.shell, signal.horn.
te *part.* PRAG, like. **Yo te mundrul pwi.** I'm not hungry. *Mi no hangere.*
te *vstat.* open. **tei motou pulim knife.**
teie *adv.* like.that, thus.
teke *adv.* like, as, same.as; *sapos?*
tekere *adv.* like, as, same.as. **hian tengere wou heti yo** good that you caught me.
ten *vtr.* part of a fixed expression: **ten anen** - curse someone. **ndukto i ten anen** my auntie cursed me.
tepai *vtr.* open; *opim.* **su hatepei lukei mar kur le ndi e**
ter *vtr.* loosen.1SG, loosen.3SG, give.away.1SG, give.away.3SG. **ndowi i ter me ndro wou** the strength is given on to you.
teri *adv.* as.before, same.as.
terpeh *int.* how; *olsem.wanem.*
tesah *placeh.* what's.it, stuff, something, you.name.it.
tesam *placeh.* thingy, what's.it.
tet *vtr.* pull.
tete *n.* kinship term; *papa.*Category: **kinship.**
tieni *vtr.* accuse, speak.badly.of; *tok baksait long.* **yi tieni yo** he talks badly about me.
tiken *adj.* some, a.little; *sampla.*
til- *num.* form of numeral used with numeral classifiers.
tiling *vtr.* see.
timelhin *vtr.* unfold, widen.
tinhi *vtr.* remove the skin of a fruit or shell. **tinhi niu** remove the skin of a coconut.
tip *vtr.* sneak, tiptoe.
tipin *vtr.* throw, push.
tipni *vtr.* *vtr.*; *rolim.*
tipou *n.* garamut beat for a death.

tir *vtr.* weave.
tiria *nder.* weaving.
tirie *vtr.* tell a story, not transitive, with le! See: **pwatirie**.
tirkmwai *n.* plant, perhaps fern, grows close to the ground, develops a vine-like rope that climbs up, soft texture.
tirkou *n.* owl. *Category:* **fauna**.
tirpui *n.* a bird that sings in ascending tones, usually three ascending tones, then stops, is rarely seen but very noisy and often heard.
tne *vitr.* stand; **sanap**.
to *cop.* COP, PROG. See: **ta**.
tohtoh *n.* next.to; **arere long**.
tokea *n.* journey.
toki *vitr.* walk; **wokabaut**.
tol *n.* rope.
tolau *n.* cardinal direction. *Etym:* POC *tokalau(r) 'northerly wind', Paluai tolau 'north wind', Nyindrou tolau 'north' (Ross et al. lexicon POC phys.env.).
toloh *num.* three.
tomo *n.* father.1SG; **papa.blong.mi**.
ton *vtr.* bury; **planim**.
tono *vitr.* know.1SG; **mi.save**.
tor *pro.* 1DU.INCL.
torkaiu *vitr.* go.1DU.INCL.
toro *pro.* 1DU.INCL.
tou *vtr.* put, bring; **bringim**.
tu *pro.* 1PL.INCL; **yumi**.
tuah *vtr.* chew.buai.
tue *n.* brother of father; **papa**. *Category:* **kinship**.
tue *vitr.* cook; **kukim**.
tuh *vitr.* come.down; **go daun**.
tukuni *vtr.* go.with.

tul- *num.* form of numeral used with numeral classifiers.
tulemui *vtr.* burn, roast; **kukim.lo.paia**.
tulieni *vtr.* accompany; **go.wantem.ol**.
tultul *n.* origin: Tolai; comparable to today's ward councillor, more like a community leader, one level above luluai
tumbu *n.* grandparent, grandchild; **tumbuna**.
tumbue *vtr.* break something solid, such as bones and wood.
tumbuni? *vtr.* break. See: **tumbue**.
tundrah *vitr.* come.down. See: **tuh**.
tungian *adj.* bitter.
Tungou *n.* Tungou masih, Ndumoh, Lugos.
tungu *vtr.* cut fish, meat etc.
tunhi *vtr.* remove.coconut.skin; **tekewe skin**.
tunhi *vtr.* push.
tuo See: **yahe**.
n. father's brother or his nephew, symmetrical kinship term; **papa**.
turhen *vtr.* turn.upside.down.
turhi *vtr.* throw. **Masusu ireturhi mah le maren** Masusu threw kambing at his eyes.
turue *vtr.* cook, boil; **boil long sospen**. See: **rue**.
Turur *n.* GN.
tusie *adj.* straight, uninterrupted. **yowurkai tusie ke le nde Lorongou** The two of us (exclusive) went straight to Lorengau.
tut *vstat.* forget.
tutue *n?*. recipe. *Category:* **cooking**.
tuturwe *vitr.* cook.
tweni *vtr.* cook.
twini *vtr.* cook.

U - u

u- *agr.* 1SG.
uese *vtr.* dig.
-ui *vsf.* TR.

ur *cop.* COP:1SG, PROG:1SG. **wa yo kur ke wum** I will only stay at the house.
urot *vstat.* boil. See: **werwet**. **ir ta urot** was boiling.

W - w

- w-** *pro.* 2SG. See: **wou**.
- wa** *part.* POT. See: **a**.
- wah** *interj.* wah.
- waiyu** *itr.* go.2SG.FUT?
- waleh** *itr.* yell, shout.
- wanei** *itr.* able; *inap.* **yo wuwenei yo kwesei kei kiput kle pwan** I am able to cut a tree down. *Mi inap katim diwai i buruk na i go daun.* **Yo wuwenei yo kre wou / yo kureiyi wou** *Mi inap paitim yu.* **Yo te wane per yo kuwong ndro wou pwi** I was not able to call you.
- wara** *n.* moon, month; *mun.*
- warah** *n.* mustard.stick, kind.of.marsupial.
- Warndes** *n.* location near Sapon, Punuwamp, also place of pat sus.
- Warpei** *n.* village in Lele LLG, Warambei is used officially, Walpei in Warambei.
- was** *n.* vine, phone; *rop.* See: **parwas**. **was atsu yap** western phone.
- wati** *n.* green kundupalai (lizard), when diving, it puts its split tongue into its nostrils to prevent the water from entering. *Category: fauna.*
- wawa** *n.* waste; *pipia.*
- weeh** *interj.* weeh.
- welah** *itr.* yell.SG, shout.SG. See: **waleh**.
- wenei** *itr.* satisfy, be.able.to. **yenyan oko iwenei wu masih**
- weri** *itr.* sing; *singsing.*
- werwet** *itr.* boil.INTS.
- wes** *n.* taro.stem; *stik.taro.*
- wesan** *n.* sand.
- wet** *itr.* boil. See: **werwet**.
- Wewak** *n.* GN.
- winin** *itr.* realise, find.out.
- wiseri** *v.* draughty, wind.blows. **(nala) i wiseri, amoko!** There's a draught, come here!
- woh** *itr.* fly. *Etym:* acc. to Ross 1988 POC Ropok, he treats fly as a noun.
- womoro** *pro.* free pronoun; *yutupela.*
- womu** *pro.* 2PL; *yupela.*
- wong** *itr.* speak, say; *toktok.*
- wop** *itr.* run.away; *ranawe.*
- wotor-** *pro.* 1DU.INCL.
- wotoro** *pro.* free pronoun, first person dual inclusive.
- wotu** *pro.* free pronoun; *yumi.*
- wou** *pro.* 2SG; *yu.*
- woweh** *onom.* interjection used during sago beating, both men and women, ideophone that recreates the movement of the sago bow.
- wowei** *n.* mango; *mango.* *Category: flora.*
- wu** *pro.* 1PL.EXCL.
- wuh** *n.* yam; *yam.*
- wukur** *adj.* quiet, silent. **kor Sopun wukur, wou wukur, yo wukur**
- wukuran** *adj.* too.quiet, silent, known.to.be.quiet.
- wul** *n.* maggot; *snek long samting i sting.*
- wulhou** *n.* young.man, male.teenager; *yangpela boi.*
- wum** *n.* house, home; *haus.* See: **numwe**. *Etym:* POC *rum(w)aq 'house'. **Tukau kal wum.** Let's go home. *Yumi go lo haus.*
- wur** *n.* crayfish, prawn; *kindam.* *Category: fauna.*
- wur-** *pro.* 1DU.EXCL.
- wurai** *n.* kind.of.tree.
- Wuren** *n.* GN; *nem bilong ples.*
- wurer** *itr.* feel.cold; *(i) kol.*
- wuroh** *formula.* thanks; *tenkyu.* **Wuroh atmu (pronounced: Wurohatmu, proves final /h/) thank you (PI).** *tenk yupla.*
- wurti** *itr.* bite.strongly, chew; *kaikaim.*
- wuru** *n.* year; *krismas.* **wuru oto 1961** I was born in the year 1961.
- wuru** *pro.* 1DU.EXCL.

Y - y

- yahe** See: **tuen**.
n. mother's brother;
kandere.Category: **kinship**.
- yai** *vt.* crossing a river, half walking, half swimming, with the water reaching your hip or belly. **yai ndran**
- yaling** *vt.* like.PL, love.PL.
- yalou** *vt.* grow.long.
- yan** *van.* eat.NSG.
- Yap** *n.* Yap Island.
- yap** *n.* foreigner; *man.blo.narapla.ples*.
lap yap white man (foreigner in general).
- yap** *n.* sickness. **yo te me pwi lesah yap hetu yo** I did not come because I got sick.
- yas** *n.* trough.for.washing.sago; *pangal bilong saksak*.
- yat** *vt.* burn.
- yau** *vamb.* move, leave.
- ye** *part.* INTS; *ya*.
- Yehova** *n.* God; *Got*.
- yeling** *vt.* like.SG, love.SG; *laikim*.
- yen** *vt.* eat.SG; *mi.kaikai*.
- yenyan** *n.* food; *kaikai*.
- yenyan** *vt.* eat.ITR. **sorhayenyan** the two eat.
- yern** *n.* liver, heart; *lewa*.
- yesing** sneeze. **waising** you sneeze.
nakuyesing I want to sneeze.
- Yesu** *n.* Jesus.
- yet** *vt.* burn, ignite, light.
- yeteni** *vt.* bite.3SG.
- yeu** *n.* large variety of Ficus; *pikus*.
- yi** *pro.* free pronoun; *em*.
- yil** *vt.* fight, war; *pait*.
- ying** *vt.* drink.
- yingying** *nder.* drinking. **per yingying** for drinking (purposes).
- yipi** *n.* sago.
- yisin** *n.* all parts of a house.
- yo** *pro.* 1SG; *mi*.
- Yohang** *n.* PN.
- Yokai** *n.* island near Lapangai and Nauna.
- yon** *n.* meaning unclear; *kastamwok*.
- yooh** *interj.* yooh.
- yor** *n.* wind; *win*. **yor mandren ita ndas** there is a big wind at the sea. **wum yor** 'haus win' (new creation).
- yosi** *vt.* cut.trees; *slipim*.
- yosu** *vt.* marry; *maritim*.
- yosuai** *n.* married.couple, marriage.
- you** *vt.* move.1SG, leave.3SG, leave.1SG, move.3SG; *go*. **mwat aka i you** this nake goes. **yi kiou, yo nakiou** I will go, I want to go.
- youtas** *n.* fresh water fish.Category: **fauna**.
- yowu** *pro.* free pronoun.
- yowur-** *pro.* first person dual exclusive.
- yowuru** *pro.* free pronoun, full form, first person dual exclusive.