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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 Doctor of Philosophy

 College of Arts, Society and Education - James Cook University

 March 2015
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A.3 “Pat Lokomou”. Pictured: Enoch (left), Pondros (right), Po- hau (background) and Nita, sitting on top of the stone .... III
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-ti-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
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<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>syllable nucleus (only in phonology chapter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSG</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
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<td>O</td>
<td>syllable onset (only in phonology chapter)</td>
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<td>PEAd</td>
<td>Proto Eastern Admiralties</td>
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<td>PN</td>
<td>personal name</td>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td>Proto Oceanic</td>
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<td>purpose</td>
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<td>reduplication</td>
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<td>recipient</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>subject of an intransitive clause</td>
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<td>singular</td>
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<td>SVC</td>
<td>serial verb construction</td>
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<td>TAG</td>
<td>tag particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>(TP)</td>
<td>a code-switched word from Tok Pisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel (only in phonology chapter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>V(agr)</td>
<td>verbal subject agreement marker</td>
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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.
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.

First of all I would like to thank my supervisors, Alexandra Aikhenvald and Ton Otto. If it had not been for their continued support I would not have been able to finish this thesis. Sasha has been of immense help through her advice and inspiration she gave to me. Her supervision and guidance made this research possible. She was also available to an extent hardly any supervisor could be. In fact, I sometimes wondered whether she had secretly developed a way to multiply herself in order to be able to handle all the projects she is effortlessly managing on a daily basis. My second supervisor, Ton Otto, was the key person in many respects. He initiated the “Manus connection” and thus set the foundation for my research. In difficult times he encouraged me to move on when I believed I could not. He also provided me with knowledge and understanding of the Manus culture, which greatly enhanced my linguistic research. Furthermore, I would like to thank the James Cook University, the School of Arts and Social Sciences (now the College of Arts, Society and Education) and the Cairns Institute for providing me with a post-graduate research scholarship throughout my PhD candidacy. Additional funding was provided by the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research, a JCU Graduate Research Scheme grant
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Secondly, I would like to express my gratitude to the institutions that enabled me to conduct my research. I would like to thank the Lele LLG and Manus Provincial Government for granting permission to carry out my fieldwork, and the National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea for assisting me with the visa application process.

My special gratitude belongs to the Lele community. They have been the core and the reason for this research. Most of the Lele speakers I encountered were so friendly and dedicated in helping me collect stories, acquire cultural knowledge and move around in Manus. There were many people who contributed stories or legends. My appreciation goes to: Joel Potou Pokupwen, Powaiah Pondrun, Pomako Papi, John Hapkas, John Potapo, Enoch Potaha Nelson, Carol Pikapin, Steven Pondrakul, Pohau Posei, Poka Pokawin, Pondros, Ruth Francis, Herman Mana, Ruth Piperwou, Benjamin Pondra, Pomakis and Miriam Potopi. Special thanks go to Moses Peter, Ruth Francis and Silas Mana who worked with me and had to bear with my questions for such a long time. I am deeply indebted to my Manus family, the Polapan clan, and especially my adoptive sister June who I am very close to. With her at my side almost anything was possible. There are furthermore Mako, Nawi, Potou, the women of Phipun, Samuel Pokupwen and many others who I feel bonded with. My deep gratitude goes to Poyap Ponau, who was the Lele LLG manager during my stay in Manus (he is now executive manager for the Manus Province Division of Community Development). He has supported this research from the very beginning and always made sure that things ran smoothly for the project.

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
stimulating conversations.

Without my family and friends in Germany I could not have made it this far. I would like to thank especially my mother who always wondered a bit about my bold decisions but never stopped believing in me. I am also grateful to Roswitha Müller who has been a source of inspiration and support since my childhood. Thanks to my friends Maria, Janna & Gregor, Beate and others who believed in me.

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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!\(^1\)

\(^1\)A 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 people\(^1\). Traditionally three demographic terms have been used to group the Admiralty Islanders: The \textit{Manus} (or \textit{Moanus}), also called \textit{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 \textit{Wusiai} (or \textit{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 1.2\(^2\), is one of 31 Admiralties languages\(^3\) (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 villages\(^4\). 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

\begin{itemize}
\item \(^1\)These data are according to the 2011 census, see http://citypopulation.de/PapuaNewGuinea.html.
\item \(^2\)https://www.ethnologue.com/map/PG,1, accessed 3 June 2015
\item \(^3\)http://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/admiralty-islands
\item \(^4\)These 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.
\end{itemize}
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 clan 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 Wara, 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 LLG which is named af-

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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 day.

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8 Historical 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 Polele¹¹ 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 Sopun 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 Lihei. It has no legs, it has no arms. It lives underneath the stone.”
¹⁰Incidentally, there is also a homonym verb lele ‘to look’.
¹¹Po- is a masculine prefix attached to names and also sometimes to kinship terms. Pi- is a feminine prefix. However, Pilele is not in use.
¹²Nongena 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. Wusiai 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-

9
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 racemosas) 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 Sapon.13 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 needed.14 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

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13 They 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.

14 The 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)
- Pihipun (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kamel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) ‘male, man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) ‘clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) ‘subclan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) ‘location for a men’s house and associated houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) ‘men’s house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 past. 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

\[^{15}\text{See also Ross et al. 2007, 33.}\]
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\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{Spilocus-cus kraemerii}), 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 (\textit{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 (\textit{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

\textsuperscript{16}“Tradition work” in Otto 2011b, traditional activities that were known as \textit{pasin bilong tumbuna} ‘the ways of the ancestors’ before the term \textit{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 in-
come 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 edu-
cation 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 edu-
cational 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, serv-
ing 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 kam-
bang man “men of lime powder” in Tok Pisin. 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
culture.

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 Ti-
tan (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 cus-
toms took place largely depended on the branch of Christianity and associ-
ated attitudes towards indigenous culture. In Sapon alone several Christian
churches are represented. While the older settlement of Sapon I is inhab-
ited by members of the ECOM church, members of the SDA church and also
“backsliders”, people formerly belonging to the SDA church, Sapon II is
almost exclusively Seventh Day Adventist. Seventh Day Adventism arrived

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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 tra-
ditional 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 varieties.

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.

Moreover, 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.
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
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 Loniu (Hamel 1994) as many as thirty numeral classifiers could be identified, numeral classifiers are generally in decline in the Admiralties languages. Eighteen numeral classifiers have

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21 Others to be mentioned here are Seimat (Wozna & Wilson 2005) and Paluai (Schokkin 2014).
been documented for Lele. Numerals in Lele are formed in a 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 topicalized 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 (Bowern 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.
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 focussed 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>apico-alveolar</th>
<th>lamino-palatal</th>
<th>dorso-velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Prenasalised P.</td>
<td>ñd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Prenasalised P.</td>
<td>m̃ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with trilled release</td>
<td>ñdr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Labialised P.</td>
<td>p̃w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k̃w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m̃w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Labialised N.</td>
<td>m̃ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximant</strong></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral Approximant</strong></td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/ → [pʰ,tʰ,kʰ] / #_V/Glide |
| /p,t,k/ → [pʰ,tʰ,kʰ] / V_# |
| /ndop/ → [ndɔpʰ] ‘basket’ |
| /hirek/ → [hirekʰ] ‘grow’ |
| /pat/ → [pʰatʰ] ‘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’
In fast speech /k/ may lenite to [x] or [ɣ]. See the examples in (2.1.1.5).

2.10) /aka/ → [axa] or [a xa] ‘distal demonstrative’

/ndaken/ → [ndaxən] or [ndaxən] or [ndaŋən] ‘true’

/teke/ → [teŋe], but *[texe]

The spirantisation of /k/ to [x] or [ɣ] 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 frication 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 /ɾ/, 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. embausrei ‘tear apart’

c. inges ‘went up’

d. has ‘to plant’

e. spwi ‘wipe’

f. muskulin ‘unripe’

g. sret ‘crawl’

h. snel ‘bush spirit’
i. *sasə geni* ‘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. *konj* ‘bark’
   f. *hanei* ‘pick from tree’
   g. *kan* ‘food’
   h. *ŋondr* ‘root’
   i. *haŋen* ‘look after’

2.1.4 Liquids

Liquids comprise the apico-alveolar approximant /l/ and the apico-alveolar trill /ɾ/. 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.
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, 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 */pʷ/*

a. *pʷan* ‘ground, earth’ vs. *pan* ‘look for lice’
b. *pʷen* ‘finished’ vs. *i-pan* ‘s/he looked for lice’
c. *pʷarn* ‘smelly’
d. *pʷirpʷir* ‘mud, dirt’
e. *hipʷak*

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 */mʷ/*

a. *mʷat* ‘snake’ vs. *mat* ‘low tide’
b. *mʷah* ‘sorry, broken’ vs. *mah* ‘taro’
c. *mʷalih* ‘story’ and ‘good’
d. *mʷenen* ‘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. \textit{kweh} ‘flute’  
  b. \textit{kwel} ‘sago bow’  
  c. \textit{nduk\textsuperscript{w}in} ‘deep’

Labialised consonants cannot be analysed as a \textit{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 \textit{mwat} ‘snake’ and \textit{pwen} ‘finished’ can be analysed thus:

\begin{align*}
\text{mwat} & \text{ CVC }[[\text{m}][\text{w}][\text{a}]_{O}[[\text{n}]_{N}][\text{t}]_{C}]_{R}S \\
\text{pwen} & \text{ CVC }[[\text{p}][\text{w}][\text{e}]_{O}[[\text{n}]_{N}][\text{n}]_{C}]_{R}S
\end{align*}

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

(2.18)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Masusu} & / [\text{Mwasusu}] \text{ ‘name of a bush spirit’} \\
\text{Manus} & / [\text{Mwanus}] \text{ ‘Manus’}
\end{align*}

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

\textbf{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 \textit{/n\textsuperscript{d}/} and the two prenasalised stops with trilled release \textit{/n\textsuperscript{dr}/} and phoneme \textit{/m\textsuperscript{b}/}.

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

(2.19)  
  a. \textit{lun\textsuperscript{die}} ‘inside’  
  b. \textit{mana\textsuperscript{da}} ‘grow big/fat’
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. นีราน ‘water’
  b. นีรติ ‘s/he chopped’
  c. ไรนี ‘ladder’
  d. นีลร ‘bamboo’
  e. นี ‘blood’
  f. นี ‘human, person’
  g. ไรนี ‘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. นี ‘cough’, ‘cold’ vs. นี ‘today’ vs. นี ‘correct, true’
  b. นี ‘on top of’ vs. นี ‘or’
  c. นี ‘water’ vs. นี ‘dance’
  d. นี ‘kind of fish’ vs. นี ‘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)  
/นิ/ - /ต/
  a. นิ ‘canoe’ vs. ติ ‘vine’ นิ ‘a ritual’

$^1$Compare Nali นิ ‘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)  \textit{rumbuan} ‘wet’
\textit{mbukei} ‘shell’
\textit{mburer} ‘work’
\textit{sumbuti} ‘completely’
\textit{tumbu} ‘grandparent’
\textit{kombuo} ‘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 mɓundr:

/mɓundr/ ‘banana’ - [mɓundr] or [mɓur]

There is also a certain amount of speaker variation as to the pronunciation of bilabial trills. Sometimes the same speaker will pronounce mbuscar as [mɓundr] 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: \textit{mbuskehen} ‘full of holes’, ‘holey’ – \textit{pus} ‘shell’.

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For the practical orthography *nd* represents /ⁿd/, *ndr* represents /ⁿᵈʳ/ and *mb* represents /ⁿᵇ/.

### 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:

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

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

(2.25)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \textit{yenyan ‘food’ or ‘eat.INTR’} \\
\text{b. } & \textit{yo ‘1SG’} \\
\text{c. } & \textit{yahe ‘mother’s brother’}
\end{align*}

2.1.8 Vowels

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
| i | u | e | o |
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \textit{ki\text{n}a/} \\
& [‘ki.na] \\
& ‘go.3SG.PRF’ \\
\text{b. } & \textit{m\text{in\text{m}in}/} \\
& [‘m\text{n.m}n] \\
& ‘cut to pieces’ \\
\text{c. } & \textit{hi\text{n}en/} \\
& [‘hi.n\text{n}n] \\
& ‘to make or do something’ \\
\text{d. } & \textit{si\text{n}dr\text{t}i/} \\
& [‘si\text{n}dr.ti]
\end{align*}
‘to cut’
e. /sim/  
   [sim]  
   ‘buy’
f. /his/  
   [his]  
   ‘jump’
g. /loping/  
   [ˈlɔ.pɪŋ]  
   ‘night’
h. /tiken/  
   [ˈtɪ.kən]  
   ‘a little’
i. /lingen/  
   [ˈlɪ.nən]  
   ‘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. /hiwene/  
   [hi.ˈwe.ne]
   ‘to go for a walk’

d. /pleng/  
   [plɛŋ]
   ‘garden’

e. /hanem/  
   [ˈha.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 [æ].

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/  
   [lɐ]
   ‘go.NSG’

b. /lang/  
   [lɐŋ]
   ‘sky’

c. /aka/  
   [ɐke]
   ‘DEM.DIST’

d. /manda/  
   [maˈnda]
   ‘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. /pu/  
   [pu]
   ‘pig’
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. /po/
   [pɔ] or [pɔ]
   ‘to do’

b. /kəhol/
   [kə’hɔl]
   ‘frying pan for sago’

c. /ndɔl/
   [ndɔl]
   ‘canoe’

d. /ndɔsu/
   [‘ndɔsu]
   ‘comb’

e. /malapo/
   [malapɔ] or [malapɔ]
   ‘now’
2.1.9 Vowel Sequences and Diphthongs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other vowel sequences

| ea | sa.le.au ‘kind of fish’, to.ke.a ‘journey’ |
| eu | pe.u ‘shark’, ye.u ‘ficus tree’ |
| ia | hi.an ‘good’, i.pi.ah ‘afternoon’ |
| ie | lu.ndi.e ‘inside’, i.e ‘be, stay’ |
| ua | su.ah ‘fry sago’, mar.tu.ru.an, ‘me.nu.ai ‘eagle’ |
| ue | mbu.e ‘PROH’, mbu.ei ‘crocodile’ |
| uo | ko.mbu.o ‘big basket’, tu.o ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td><em>i</em> ‘3SG/PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td><em>ma</em> ‘with’, <em>su</em> ‘3PL’, <em>le</em> ‘go’, <em>ri</em> ‘LOC’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td><em>ur</em> ‘COP:1SG’, <em>at</em> ‘POSS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td><em>mah</em> ‘taro’, <em>lap</em> ‘person from’, <em>ngah</em> ‘lime powder’, <em>k</em>\textsuperscript{w}eh ‘flute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td><em>kle</em> ‘alright’, <em>kme</em> ‘IRR:come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td><em>mwa.lolt</em> ‘disappear’, <em>nalt</em> ‘kind of tree’, <em>ndrak.mult</em> ‘carrying log’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td><em>sp&quot;ih</em> ‘wipe’, <em>sret</em> ‘crawl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 structure:\footnote{2key: O - onset, N - Nucleus, C - Coda}:
Consonant clustering occurs with sonorants, such as the liquid \([l]\), as in \([\text{mwa}.\text{lolt}]\) ‘disappear’, \([\text{ndrak}.\text{mult}]\) ‘carrying log’, or the nasal \([n]\), as in \([\text{kurn}]\) ‘his / her hair lice’ or \([\text{aten}]\) ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Syllable structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\text{mwa}.\text{lolt} ‘disappear’</td>
<td>([\text{mw}]<em>{\text{O}}[\text{a}]</em>{\text{N}}[\text{l}]<em>{\text{O}}[\text{o}]</em>{\text{N}}[\text{lt}]_{\text{C}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{ndrak}.\text{mult} ‘carrying log’</td>
<td>([\text{ndr}]<em>{\text{O}}[\text{a}]</em>{\text{N}}[\text{k}]<em>{\text{C}}[\text{m}]</em>{\text{O}}[\text{u}]<em>{\text{N}}[\text{lt}]</em>{\text{C}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{kurn} ‘his / her hair lice’</td>
<td>([\text{k}]<em>{\text{O}}[\text{u}]</em>{\text{N}}[\text{rn}]_{\text{C}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{aten} ‘hers / his’,</td>
<td>([\text{a}]<em>{\text{N}}[\text{t}]</em>{\text{C}}[\text{ṇ}]_{\text{N}})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.8: Consonant clustering

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{mar} \text{sor} le \text{pwi}... (fast speech)
  \text{mar-soro} le \text{pwi} (careful speech)
  \text{eye-3DU go SEQ}
  \text{‘When they looked around...’} (powat.nambis.098)
  \item \text{ses}e \text{so}r \text{ndor} \text{pihin} \text{aka} (fast speech)
  \text{ses-e soro ndor pihin aka} (careful speech)
  \text{grandmother-3DU child female DEM.DIST}
  \text{‘The grandmother of those two girls’} (powat.nambis.105)
  \item \text{sor ndersoro} (fast)
  \text{soro ndere-soro} (careful)
  \text{3DU sibling.same.sex-3DU}
  \text{‘They were brothers.} (greedy.brother.002)
  \item \text{yo=uyeling} \text{pihin} \text{ot} \text{kmul} \text{le}
  \text{yo=u-yeling pihin oto k-i-mul le}
  \text{1SG=1SG-like.SG woman 1SG.POSS IRR-3-return go}
  \text{‘I want my wife to come back.’} (powat.nambis.195)
\end{itemize}
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).
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’ → tomo- ‘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...’
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:

\[ [t] \rightarrow [r] / V_{[+son]} \]

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. Synchronously, 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].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes &amp; phones</th>
<th>Orthographic representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/ - [p, ph, b]</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>pw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mʰ/</td>
<td>mw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/ - [b, mb]</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ [t, th, d]</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ [kh, g, x, ɤ]</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ [a, e]</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ [e, ɛ]</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ [i, ɪ]</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ [o, ɔ]</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ [u, ʊ]</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\begin{align*}  
  &i-le \\
  &3SG-go \\
  &'he went' 
\end{align*}

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 occur\(^1\). As far as verbal marking and morpha-

\(^1\)A 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>w=a-sep</td>
<td>yi=i-sep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=sap</td>
<td>yowur=sap</td>
<td>mor=sap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=sap</td>
<td>yowu=sap</td>
<td>mu=sap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>his ‘jump’</th>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo=u-his</td>
<td>w=e-his</td>
<td>yi=i-his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=his</td>
<td>yowur=his</td>
<td>mor=his</td>
<td>sor=his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=his</td>
<td>yowu=his</td>
<td>mu=his</td>
<td>su=his</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Paradigm for his ‘jump’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo=u-mul</td>
<td>w=e-mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=mul</td>
<td>yowur=mul</td>
<td>mor=mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=mul</td>
<td>yowu=mul</td>
<td>mu=mul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Paradigm for mul ‘return’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo=u-soho</td>
<td>w=e-soho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=soho</td>
<td>yowur=soho</td>
<td>mor=soho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=soho</td>
<td>yowu=soho</td>
<td>mu=soho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ia in Table 3.5 divide into stem vowel /e/ for singular forms and stem vowel /a/ for non-singular forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugational Class Ia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sep (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwei (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwehernou (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwehere (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hengurwini (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nden (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welleh (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wenei (SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeling (SG)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5: Conjugational Class Ia: /e/ ‘SG’, /a/ ‘NSG’

Table 3.6 displays a selection of class Ib 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.
### Table 3.6: Conjugational Class Ib: /e/ ‘1SG, 3SG’, /a/ ‘2SG, NSG’

Conjugational class Ib, 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 Ib, 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’, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hel (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>hal (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heng(en) (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>hang(en) (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keh (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>kah (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>san (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hengungurou (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>hangungurou (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henonou (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>hanonou (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hen (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>han (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hes (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>has (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menda (1SG, 3SG)</td>
<td>manda (2SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2The differing forms in Table 3.7 for 2SG and NSG ‘go’ 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 $V_{agr}na$ and $V_{agr}n$ 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.
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/pweherou ‘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.
Table 3.8: Paradigm for *tandikeni* ‘send someone’

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

(3.2) \( yo=u-re-ndiken-i \ nduru \quad le \ pah \quad le \ sim \ su \ yenyan \)
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) \( al \ ta-sumbuuen \ kihi \)
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) \( pe=ru=k-ar-hitai \quad le \quad su=la \ la \ hur-ui \ perlou \quad at-su \)
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) \( m\text{\textae} \ nde \ mu=k-ar-rang \)
NEG NEG 2PL=IRR-NSG-cry
‘Don’t cry!’ (octo.059)
(3.8) moh maping a=\text{tu}=k-e-kah \text{ kor},

tomorrow morning POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-look.for place
\text{tu}=k-ar-koh, \text{ tu}=k-au \text{ 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tasum\text{bu}eni</td>
<td>‘make a mess, destroy, scatter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapohueni</td>
<td>‘smash, crack, break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takulhi</td>
<td>‘wave at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapel\text{w}eni</td>
<td>‘turn, turn over, stir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapelpl\text{ouni}</td>
<td>‘twist, pay someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takunha</td>
<td>‘redeem, compensate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarukm\text{weni}</td>
<td>‘smash, crush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatehei</td>
<td>‘beat heavily, hammer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatuni</td>
<td>‘support’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahondrh\text{ondr}</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapuseri</td>
<td>‘step on something soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawuhi</td>
<td>‘clear the bush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tandongeni</td>
<td>‘suggest, propose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tandikeni</td>
<td>‘send someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapeap</td>
<td>‘send something, parcel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapeani</td>
<td>‘send something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregular Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>le</em> (1SG, 3SG) - <em>al</em> / <em>ala</em> (2SG) <em>la</em> (NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>am</em> / <em>ama</em> (2SG) - <em>me</em> (1SG, NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yen</em> (SG) - <em>yan</em> (NSG) <em>ain</em> (2SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>reng</em> (1SG, 3SG) <em>rang</em> (2SG) - <em>tang</em> (NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rei</em> (SG) - <em>tai</em> (NSG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>V</em>(agr)<em>rkai</em> (SG) - <em>toki</em> (NSG)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=to</td>
<td>yowur=to</td>
<td>mor=to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=to</td>
<td>yowu=to</td>
<td>mu=to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 conjunctival 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. \[yo=\text{u-re-i yipi}\]
   \[1\text{SG}=1\text{SG-beat-TR sago}\]
   ‘I beat sago’

b. \[su=\text{ta-i yipi}\]
   \[3\text{PL}=\text{beat-TR sago}\]
   ‘They beat sago.’

c. \[i-le\ \text{ta-i yipi}\]
   \[3\text{-go} \text{beat-TR sago}\]
   ‘He went to beat sago’

d. \[ndimi\ \text{i-reng}\]
   \[\text{slit.drum 3-cry}\]
   ‘The slit drum sounded (lit. cries).’

e. \[su=\text{tang}\]
   \[3\text{PL}=\text{cry}\]
   ‘They cried.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>come</th>
<th>PRS</th>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yo=\text{u-me am / ama i-me}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=me</td>
<td>yowur=me</td>
<td>mor=me</td>
<td>sor=me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=me</td>
<td>yowu=me</td>
<td>mu=me</td>
<td>su=me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.12: Paradigm me ‘come’
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>yan</em> ‘eat.TR’</th>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo=u-yen</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>i-yen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=yan</td>
<td>yowur=yan</td>
<td>mor=yan</td>
<td>sor=yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=yan</td>
<td>yowu=yan</td>
<td>mu=yan</td>
<td>su=yan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>PERS=</td>
<td>AGR-</td>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>(TR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>yo= ‘1SG’ u- ‘1SG’ re ‘beat’ -i ‘TR’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex. clause</td>
<td>yo=u-re-i yipi ‘I beat sago.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^4\)See §3.1 for more paradigms.
of subject prefixes\(^5\) can be found in the irrealis non-singular prefix \textit{ke-} (cf. §3.2.2) and in the perfect prefix \textit{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 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

\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] \textit{yo=u-le pleng} \\
1SG=1SG-go garden \\
‘I went to the garden.’
\item[b.] *\textit{u-le pleng} \\
1SG-go garden \\
‘*I went to the garden.’
\item[c.] *\textit{yo=le pleng} \\
1SG=go garden \\
‘*I went to the garden.’
\item[d.] \textit{w=e-sim ni} \\
2SG=2SG-buy fish \\
‘You bought fish.’
\item[e.] \textit{e-sim ni!} \\
2SG-buy fish \\
‘Buy fish!’
\item[f.] *\textit{e-sim ni} \\
2SG-buy fish \\
‘You bought fish.’
\item[g.] \textit{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.’
\item[h.] \textit{k-\textomitted{}-ro!} \\
IRR-\textomitted{}-be \\
‘This stays! (e.g. the food is saved for later)’
\end{itemize}

\(^5\)Subject 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)\textsuperscript{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 nguno 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

\textsuperscript{6}Note 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):
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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{su=} & \text{la kah} \quad \text{soroh} \\
3\text{PL=} & \text{go look for meat} \\
\text{They went to look for meat.} & \text{ (ngar.mui.074)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(3.15)  
\[
\begin{align*}
i-\text{hes} & \quad \text{wos} \\
3\text{-plant} & \text{taro root} \\
\text{He planted taro roots.} & \text{ or} \\
\text{He generally plants taro roots.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \text{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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
yo=& \text{k-u-pwetien-i k-ir} \quad \text{ndaktu-n} \\
1\text{SG=} & \text{IRR-1SG-tell-TR IRR-COP.3SG beginning-3SG.POSS}
\end{align*}
\]
'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)

\[(3.18)\] \textit{e-tou} \textit{kihi} \textit{k-le} \textit{mwan}  
2SG-put fire.wood IRR-go fire

‘Put fire wood into the fire.’ (frying.saksak2.003)

Note that \textit{k-le} ‘IRR-go’ in (3.18) agrees with \textit{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 \textit{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).

\[(3.19)\] \textit{k-e-suhu} \textit{mah, mah k-le} \textit{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).

\[(3.20)\] \textit{taim} \textit{pe=yi=k-me} \textit{aka} \textit{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’

(masuusu.long.193-194)

In (3.20) the main clause, \textit{aka Masusu ke iro} ‘now only Masusu was there’, describes what was the case and is therefore in the realis. The main clause is preceded by the sequential clause\textsuperscript{7} \textit{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 \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{7}See §16.6.4 for sequential clauses.
(3.21) \textit{kle} \; w=oro, \; wa=e-Indri
\textit{COND} \; 2SG=be \; \textit{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) \textit{yi}=\textit{k}-\textit{le} \; ndas, \; \textit{yi}=\textit{k}-\textit{le} \; po \; ni, \; \textit{yi}=\textit{k}-\textit{me}, \; \textit{an-(e)n} \; \textit{ke}
\textit{3SG=IRR-go} \; \textit{sea} \quad \textit{3SG=IRR-go} \; \textit{do} \; \textit{fish} \quad \textit{3SG=IRR-come} \; \textit{CLF.food-3SG.POSS} \; \textit{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.

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

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 irrealsis status. In Lele these are the intentional na= and the potential (w)a=. Theses 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 irrealsis 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 meanings. 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 irrealsis).

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 (Bowern 2011, 14) the desiderative particle pa or va is derived from the verb va ‘to say’.
(3.24) \(\text{yo}=\text{na}=\text{k-u-le}, \text{ yo}=\text{k-u-Indri} \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{aka}\)
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) \(\text{na}=\text{wuru}=\text{k-e-put-i} \quad \text{moro}\)
INT=1DU.EXCL=IRR-NSG-marry-TR 2DU
‘We (DU) want to marry you (DU).’ (sowe.hurhur.072)

(3.26) \(\text{su}=\text{na}=\text{k-os} \quad \text{kamwan}\)
3PL=INT=IRR-remain fire.place
‘They want to remain at the fire place.’

(3.27) \(\text{yo}=\text{na}=\text{k-u-ie} \quad \text{wum} \quad \text{ke}\)
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 \(\text{na}=\) 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) \(\text{e} \quad \text{i-noh} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{irwu-i} \quad \text{pal-(e)n} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{pwan} \quad \text{e}\)
and 3-be.afraid and pull.3SG-TR head-3SG.POSS come down and
\(\text{na}=\text{k-i-rai} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{pwan}\)
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) \(\text{i-pty} \quad \text{na}=\text{sol}=\text{k-au} \quad \text{aka}\)
3-marry INT=3DU=IRR-move DEM.DIST
‘He married her and they were about to leave.’ (masusu.long.487)

(3.30) \(\text{e} \quad \text{mwenen ho-mou} \quad \text{mar-n} \quad \text{na}=\text{k-mesar}\)
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)

\(^{10}\) Note that the use of \(\text{le} \ ‘\text{go}’\) 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) / 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)
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=yo=k-u-le ndran (INT=1SG=IRR-1SG) ‘I want to go to the river.’

b. yo=na=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:

\[
\text{ain! kle wou=te ying pwi a=yo=k-u-rei nde}
\]

\[
eat \quad \text{COND 2SG=G-PRAG drink NEG POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-beat towards}
\]

\[
gndu-m
\]

\[
\text{neck-2SG.POSS}
\]

‘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.

\[
\text{pu oko a=yo=k-u-huti yi Sande oko}
\]

\[
pig \quad \text{DEM.PROX POT=1SG=IRR-1SG-get.1SG 3SG week(TP) DEM.PROX}
\]

‘This pig, I will definitely get it this week’

(pihitetur.re.taton.021-022)

\[
\text{sor=pwai te pihin k-le kamel a=k-le nawe ndramet}
\]

\[
3DU=say \quad \text{PRAG girl IRR-go boy POT=IRR-go spouse man}
\]
‘They said: “The woman is going to the man, she is going to be the spouse of our man here.”’

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=â-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 nduko-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.’ (pipalnandren.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) \textit{moh a=y=ku-suah yipi}
\textit{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 categories\textsuperscript{11} 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 loca-
tion of these events in time. Generally, a lack of tense and prominence
of aspect is common to Admiralties languages\textsuperscript{12}. 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

\textsuperscript{11}The 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.”

\textsuperscript{12}Paluai makes various aspectual distinctions, but does not have tense (Schokkin 2014).
Kele also does not exhibit tense (Ross 2012), nor does Sivisa Titan (Bowern 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 monoclusal 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 continuous / 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>PERS=</td>
<td>PRF-</td>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>(TR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>sor= ‘3DU’</td>
<td>ken-</td>
<td>ta ‘beat’</td>
<td>-i ‘TR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex. clause</td>
<td>sor=ken-ta-i yipi ‘They have beaten sago.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 past\(^\text{13}\). 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-

\(^{13}\)A 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)  \[y_{o}=kun-pwai\] 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=\[kkena\]  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 completive, 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 parents\textsuperscript{14}. Since the leaving of the parents is directly relevant to their location, the perfect aspect is used in this question.

\textsuperscript{14}Note 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)  
\[ \text{nime-n} \quad \text{oko} \quad \text{i-kina} \quad \text{momen} \]  
\[ \text{arm-3SG.POSS DEM.PROX 3-go.PRF.3SG bad} \]  
‘This hand of mine has gone bad (i.e. injured)’

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

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

(3.49)  
\[ \text{hai} \quad \text{hor-i} \quad \text{su lukei ken-yau} \]  
\[ \text{wind blow-TR 3PL leaf PRF.NSG-move} \]  
‘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 objects. The second reading may also be supported by using a demonstrative to further mark the definiteness of the object.

(3.50) \textit{yo=usen lau}  
\hspace{1em}1SG=1SG-gather people  
\hspace{1em}‘I gathered people.’ or  
\hspace{1em}‘I generally gather people.’

(3.51) \textit{yo=kun-san lau}  
\hspace{1em}1SG=PRF.1SG-gather people  
\hspace{1em}‘I have (recently) gathered people.’ or  
\hspace{1em}‘I have gathered (the) people.’

(3.52) \textit{wou=en-po m buryer at-(e)m}  
\hspace{1em}2SG=PRF.2SG-do work  \hspace{1em}POSS-2SG.POSS  
\hspace{1em}‘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).  

\footnote{The 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.}
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) / 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 point\textsuperscript{16}.

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

\textsuperscript{16}Interestingly, 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.
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 Paluai\textsuperscript{17}. 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.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{go.PRF} & 1INCL & 1EXCL \\
\hline
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 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Paradigm for kena ‘go.PRF’}
\end{table}

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

\textsuperscript{17}More 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
maurer 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 Pisin 18.

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 singular 19. 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 ‘ei-
ther 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

---

18 The actual Tok Pisin word for ‘wrong’ is nogut.
19 See §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 ty-
pologically associated with a VO constituent order (Anderson 2006) which
is affirmed through the AVO constituent order in Lele. In Anderson’s ty-
pology of inflectional types in auxiliary constructions, Lele represents the
Aux-headed type. This type, which is also the most common one in auxil-
iary 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, in-
finite or unmarked form (Anderson 2006, 39ff.). In Lele auxiliaries code
aspectual distinctions (as functional categories) and are marked for per-
son / 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Aux₁</th>
<th>Aux₂</th>
<th>Verb&lt;sub&gt;Lex&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>unmarked (may also be light verb <code>po</code>)</td>
<td>underlying form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo=</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>ndan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3.21: The Structure of Auxiliary Constructions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is usually one auxiliary, though two are possible. Of the two auxil-
iaries, 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 / num-
ber 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>yo=ur V\text{Lex}</td>
<td>w=or V\text{Lex}</td>
<td>yi=ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=to V\text{Lex}</td>
<td>yowur=to V\text{Lex}</td>
<td>mor=to V\text{Lex}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=to V\text{Lex}</td>
<td>yowu=to V\text{Lex}</td>
<td>mu=to V\text{Lex}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.22: Paradigm for the progressive 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) \textit{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.’

(masucliouds.075)

(3.62) \textit{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) \textit{su=to ta-i e su=to waleh ‘woweih!’}  
3PL=PROG beat-TR and 3PL=PROG shout ‘Woweh!’  
‘They are beating [sago] and they are shouting ‘Woweh!’

(yipi.kastamwok.011)

(3.64) \textit{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).’

(masucliouds.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 multifunctional 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. \[yo=ur \] \[ Aux po \] po mburer  
   \[1SG=PROG:1SG do do work\]  
   ‘I am working.’

c. \[su=to \] \[ Aux po \] 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 \[ Aux hur-i \]  
   one PRAG one 2SG=come garden POSS-1PL.EXCL 2SG=be do take-TR  
   yenyan, wou okol!  
   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 məurer ‘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 pro-
gressive auxiliary with copula ta. Since copula ta may also be interpreted
as ‘live’, a progressive aspect is more readily understandable. The differ-
ence 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 singu-
lar 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)}r / to, has an in-
herent 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) \( y_0 = u-ta \) 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 \( kamei i-ta \) 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)

Habituals can also be formed with statives such as \( tatne \) ‘stand’ in (3.70)

(3.70) \( e \) 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)

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.’
(greedy.brother.024)

(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).’
(menuai.011)
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. \(\text{wou}=\text{ta} \ \text{po} \ \text{sah}\)?
   2SG=PROG do what
   ‘What are you doing?’

b. \(\text{[mu}=\text{to} \ \text{po}]_{\text{Aux}} \ \text{po} \ \text{sah}\)
   2PL=PROG do  do what
   ‘What are you doing?’

c. \(\text{wou}=\text{ta} \ \text{koyiryir} \ \text{sah}\)?
   2SG=PROG crawl.CONT what
   ‘Why are you crawling?’

d. \(\text{i-ta} \ \text{tang} \ \text{sah}\)?
   3-PROG cry what
   ‘Why is she crying?’

e. \(\text{i-hung-i}, \ \text{i-pwei} \ \text{te} \ \text{oi} \ \text{aka} \ \text{wou} \ \text{sieh}\)? \(\text{wou}=\text{ta} \ \text{ta-melue}\)
   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).’

(masu.su.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 to 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 coastline 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 constructions\(^\text{20}\) 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) \begin{align*}
  irwui & \quad mBU \quad aKArthur\quad i\text{-}mUL, \quad irwu\text{-i} \quad mul me, \quad [le\text{ to } le] \\
  \text{pull.3SG seed} & \quad \text{DEM.DIST 3-return pull.3SG-TR return come go COP go} \\
  & \quad \text{pul} \quad \text{ndilis} \quad \text{i-}ro] \\
  \text{head.of.tree talisa.tree 3-COP} & \\
\end{align*}

‘He pulled that vine (that had grown from the see) back, he pulled it back and it went to the head of the Talisa\(^\text{21}\) tree and remained there.’ (masusu.long.163)

(3.79) \begin{align*}
  e & \quad [\text{-ndromburh-i i-}ro] \quad e \quad i\text{-}you \\
  \text{and 3-cover-TR} & \quad 3\text{-COP and 3-leave.3SG} \\
\end{align*}

‘And she covered (the eggs) and left.’ (menual.033)

(3.80) \begin{align*}
  sor=ha\text{-}tulemu\text{i le mwan}. \quad [sne}l \quad i\text{-}met \quad i\text{-}ro] \\
  3DU=NSG\text{-burn} \quad \text{go fire bush.spirit 3-die.SG 3-COP} \\
\end{align*}

‘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,

\(^{20}\)See chapter 16.4, 250ff. for a general discussion of serial verbs.

\(^{21}\)Terminalia 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
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.’

$^{22}$Parallels with Tok Pisin $i$ go are unmistakeable.
(3.83) *ni me solen sor=ha-riu. i-le le le ndol. ndol pep*
fish come many 3DU=NSG-pull 3-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 long\(^{23}\). 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 re-
placed 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*
wake walk wake 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 re-
peatedly 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

\(^{23}\)In fact it had to, Yap Island is quite a distance away from Manus Island.

\(^{24}\)Correspondingly, *me talah* with *me* ‘come’ translates as ‘arrive somewhere (at the de-
ictic 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-
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>PERS= NSG ha- STEM (TR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>su= ‘3SG’ ha- ta -i ‘TR’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex. clause</td>
<td>e.g. su=ha-ta-i yipi ‘They beat sago.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yenyen 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 mndrul ‘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 transitivising 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 transitiviser -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) - (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’, ndrothi ‘cover up’, ndiketi ‘take out’, tulieni ‘accompany’ and sindrti, mundrti ‘cut’.

See examples (3.100 - 3.101). Consider also example (3.90).

26nuhu can mean both ‘to fill something in a basket’ and ‘to wash somebody’, the second meaning follows from the first.
And they took one girl.’ (menuai.170)

‘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) \[ i=te \quad \text{hang(∅)} \quad \text{ndere-n} \quad \text{pwi} \]
\[3=\text{PRAG} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS NEG} \]

‘He (usually) never gave anything to his brother.’

(greedy.brother.008)

(3.103) \[ yi=k-me, \quad \text{an-en} \quad \text{ke, ndere-n} \quad i=te \]
\[3SG=\text{IRR-come} \quad \text{POSS.food-3SG.POSS FOC sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS} \]
\[3=\text{PRAG} \]
\[\text{hang-i pwi} \quad \text{give-TR NEG} \]

‘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) \[ * i=te \quad \text{hang-i ndere-n} \quad pwi \]
\[3=\text{PRAG} \quad \text{give-TR} \quad \text{sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS NEG} \]

‘*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,

\[27\text{name of a men’s house} \]
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 noun. 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

\[\text{28 See also Mithun’s (1984) seminal paper on noun incorporation.}\]
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 $V_{(agr)}ni$ ‘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 masi kene
   3-eat:TR taro all INTS
   ‘She ate up really all the taro.’

d. *i-yen mah masi 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’ (masu.susu.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 maunana
   1SG=1SG-look.after.1SG child
   ‘I looked after children.’ or
   ‘I generally look after children.’

b. yo=u-heng-eni maunana
   1SG=1SG-look.after.1SG-TR child
   ‘I looked after a child (a specific child).’
c. \textit{yo=\textit{u-heng-en} m\textit{bu}n\textit{a}nah}\  
1SG=1SG-look.after.1SG-TR child  
‘I looked after a child (a specific child).’

d. \textit{yo=\textit{u} po hang Polehemui}\  
1SG=PROG:1SG do look.after PN  
‘I currently look after Polehemui.’

e. \textit{\textit{i-k-i-heng} wou nd\textit{ou} aka}\  
3-IRR-3-give.3SG 2SG strength DEM.DIST  
‘She will give you that power.’ (power.women.064)

f. \textit{\textit{e} nd\textit{ou}o \textit{i-hengan-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 children\textsuperscript{30}. Example (3.107b) features a specific object and therefore the verb is marked for transitivity. Note the use of the transitive -\textit{eni} instead of -\textit{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 usage\textsuperscript{31}. 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 transitvity. 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

\textsuperscript{30}Upon 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.”

\textsuperscript{31}It 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 ndru 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 ndrine-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, \(V_{(agr)}^{32}/to\), 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.
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 complement. 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)

\(^{33}\)Since 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.

\(^{34}\)See §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  
markers\(^{35}\). 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)

\(^{35}\)These differing forms require future in-depth research.
su yenary me here. meundr 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 fly-
ing 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 as-
pect (§3.2.4.2.1). This construction is different from the auxiliary construc-
tions 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 defi-
nition 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 fol-
lowing copula. Hence, it cannot perform as semantic head of the construc-
tion 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) \( \text{sor} = \text{to po} \)
\[3\text{DU} = \text{COP do}\]
‘They are here (implied: with the speaker)’

(3.128) \( \text{sor} = \text{to po Sopun} \)
\[3\text{DU} = \text{COP do GN}\]
‘They are at Sapon (implied: and so is the speaker).’

(3.129)\( \text{kok kei at su yap ir po ndon nde pwen?} \)
\(\text{tree.bark tree POSS 3PL foreigner COP:3SG do still or COMPL}\)
‘Are there still some biscuits (lit. tree bark of foreigners) or are they finished?’ (in conversation)

(3.130) \( \text{ndere mandren i-po an-en kina hanu} \)
\(\text{sibling.same.sex big 3-make CLF.food-3SG.POSS go.PRF.3SG ahead}\)
\(e \text{ yo=ur po muren} \)
\(\text{and 1SG=COP.1SG do back}\)
‘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 \( \text{ir po} \) implies that the object is assumed to be present and within reach for both of us. The general copula \( \text{ta} \) 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 \( \text{Ehe, ir po ndon}. \) ‘Yes, there are.’ Example (3.130) demonstrates beautifully how the use of the light verb \( \text{po} \) 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\textsuperscript{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) \textit{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) \textit{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=\textit{u-ta} Lorongou
  1SG=1SG-COP GN
  ‘I live in Lorengau.’

\textsuperscript{37} V\textsubscript{agr} behaves quite different to to with respect to what grammatical categories it can express, see §3.3.3.1.
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.

\(^{38}\)Irrealis 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>be</th>
<th>PRS</th>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yo=na=k-u-sou</td>
<td>na=os</td>
<td>yi=na=k-i-sou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tor=na=k-os</td>
<td>yowur=na=k-os</td>
<td>mor=na=k-os</td>
<td>sor=na=k-os</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tu=na=k-os</td>
<td>yowu=na=k-os</td>
<td>mu=na=k-os</td>
<td>su=na=k-os</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 intial 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)
‘They all jumped into the sea and died. Just that one remained.’

‘They heard the slit drum. The slit drum sounded on Yap Island.’

‘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 $V_{(agr)}$ / 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.
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:

\[(3.152) \quad yo=\text{u-le} \quad \text{po ni} \]
\[1SG=1SG-go \quad \text{do} \quad \text{fish} \]

‘I went fishing.’

\[(3.153) \quad su=\text{po kuk} \quad su=\text{yenyan} \]
\[3PL=\text{do} \quad \text{cook(TP)} \quad 3PL=\text{eat.ITR} \]
‘They cooked the food, they ate.’

(3.154) \( \text{sor}=\text{ha-yosu} \ \text{sor}=\text{ha-po} \ \text{mbunanah} \)

3DU=NSG-marry 3DU=NSG-make child

‘They married. They produced children,’

(3.155) \( \text{su}=\text{to} \ \text{po mauria} \ \text{su} \)

3PL=PROG do work 3PL

‘They were doing their work.’

(3.156) \( \text{tu}=\text{k-op} \ \text{kukulou} \)

1PL.INCL=IRR-do worship

‘We will worship.’

(name of Christian hymn book)

(3.157) \( \text{yo}=\text{u-po} \ \text{raring} \)

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 \( \text{kuk} \), 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 \( \text{kukulou} \) is not native, it was introduced by early missionaries\(^{39} \) who had previously been to East New Britain and had learned some Kuanua, or Tolai, which is the language they borrowed the word \( \text{kukulou} \) 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 \( \text{raring} \) is only used with \( po \) and is not frequently used anymore. Due to its co-occurrence with \( po \) I assume \( \text{raring} \) to be nominal as well.

\(^{39}\) Liebenzell 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’, mboore- ‘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*

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{person} & \text{close} & \text{3-very.close} & \text{1SG=know.1SG 3SG=know-2SG.POSS} \\
\text{yi} & \text{3SG} \\
\end{array}\]

‘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*

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{3PL know-3PL DEM.DIST breadfruit POSS} \\
\end{array}\]

‘They knew this is the breadfruit of the bush spirit.’

(greedy.brother.041)

(3.160) *e Masusu aka ilndri yi=tan-en*

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{PN and DEM.DIST see 3SG=understand-3SG.POSS} \\
\end{array}\]

‘And Masusu saw it, he knew.’ (masusu.long.051)

(3.161) *hepsah sih tan-su ngar-en pwi*

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{something one know-3PL name-3SG.POSS NEG} \\
\end{array}\]

‘something whose name they did not know’

(310812.herman.manata.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*

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{grandmother-3DU DEM.DIST PRF.3SG-3SG-know-3SG.POSS} \\
\end{array}\]

‘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’

• *nдер-soro* ‘their (DU) brother/sister’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>yo=tono</td>
<td>wou=tan-em</td>
<td>yi=i-tan-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tan-toro</td>
<td>tan-wuru</td>
<td>tan-moro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tan-tu</td>
<td>tan-yowu</td>
<td>tan-mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[(3.163)\] \textit{ndupwei i-koyir-yir lundie kur}\[ 
\text{mud.crab} \quad 3\text{-crawl-RDP} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{pot}
\]

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

\[(3.164)\] \textit{ndupwei i-koyir le ngat}\[ 
\text{mud.crab} \quad 3\text{-crawl} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{hole}
\]

‘The mud crab crawled to the hole.’

\[(3.165)\] \textit{ndupwei su=to koyiryir}\[ 
\text{mud.crab} \quad 3\text{PL=PROG} \quad \text{crawl.RDP}
\]

‘Mud crabs are crawling.’

\[(3.166)\] \textit{i-koyiryir le ndas le e ndokro-n e kelpe-n aka}\[ 
\text{3\text{-crawl.RDP} go sea} \quad \text{go and middle-3SG.POSS} \quad \text{and tail-3SG.POSS} \quad \text{DEM.DIST} \\
\text{repuian-i pwan} \quad \text{crack-TR} \quad \text{ground}
\]

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

\[(\text{snake.lugos.240})\]

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.

\(^{40}\)The 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)  
\[ e_{yi=i-Indri} \text{ soro meunah} \text{ ie} \text{ pehendra-}n_{e} \]
\[ \text{and 3SG=3-see 3DU child stay underneath-3SG.POSS and} \]
\[ \text{sor=ha-noh} \text{ e} \text{ sor=ha-rer} \]
\[ \text{3DU=NSG-be.afraid and 3DU=NSG-tremble} \]

‘And he saw the two children lying under the shell and they were afraid and they trembled with fear.’

(snake.northcoast.060)

(3.168)  
\[ \text{sor=ha-rerer} \text{ e i-pwei ey maue nde mor=ko-noh!} \]
\[ \text{3DU=NSG-tremble.RDP and 3-say ey NEG NEG 2DU=IRR-be.afraid} \]

‘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 *loholoh* ‘call, shout loudly’. See examples (3.169) and (3.170).

(3.169)  
\[ i-pwei \text{ te oh mauei oto kin-los} \text{ e} \text{ i-loh soro} \]
\[ \text{3-say PRAG oh crocodile 1SG.POSS PRF.3SG-fall and 3-call 3DU} \]

‘He said: “Oh, my crocodiles have fallen down!” And he called the two.’

(3.170)  
\[ e_{su=ha-i-Indri} \text{ e} \text{ su=ha-noh, hepke i-loholoh le ndro} \]
\[ \text{and 3PL=NSG-3-see and 3PL=NSG-be.afraid but 3-shout.RDP go LOC} \]
\[ \text{su ey maunah!} \]
\[ \text{3PL ey child} \]

‘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) \[ \text{mu=ha-soroprop solen. mu=k-al ndi!} \]
\[ \text{2PL=NSG-talk.much many 2PL=IRR-go away} \]
‘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) \[ \text{i-porok porok porok e tato-n i-pwei te} \]
\[ \text{3-sound.of.pig sound.of.pig sound.of.pig and aunt-3SG.POSS 3-say PRAG} \]
\[ \text{wou=ta hi-porok porok sah} \]
\[ \text{2SG=PROG ?-sound.of.pig sound.of.pig what} \]
‘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.

\(^{41}\)As 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.

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

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’.

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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)  
\[
\text{am wum!} \\
\text{come house} \\
\text{‘Come to / inside the house!’}
\]
Table 4.1: A selection of common nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pihin</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndramet</td>
<td>‘man, human’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamei</td>
<td>‘betelnut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndosu</td>
<td>‘comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palkis</td>
<td>‘spatula for frying sago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>‘stone, rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kei</td>
<td>‘tree, wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snel</td>
<td>‘bush spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>souka</td>
<td>‘Manus Friarbird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwat</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut</td>
<td>1. ‘hair louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. ‘octopus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipi</td>
<td>‘sago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwan</td>
<td>‘ground, earth, soil’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

(4.2) \textit{am ndro yo!}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{come} & \textit{ALL} \\
\textit{1SG} & \end{tabular}  

‘Come to me!’

(4.3) \textit{e sor\textasciitilde to ndro sese soro aka}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\& \textit{and 3DU=be LOC} & \textit{grandmother 3DU} & \textit{DEM.DIST} & \end{tabular}  

‘And the two lived with their grandmother.’ (hurhur.116)

(4.4) \textit{aka pwatirie at tumbu su, su per ndro tomo pwi}  
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\& \textit{DEM.DIST story} & \textit{POSS grandparent 3PL} & \textit{3PL ASSOC LOC} & \textit{father.1SG NEG} & \end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\& \textit{per ndro nan-o} & \textit{mwenen} & \end{tabular}  

‘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-mᴀuses* (*mᴀuses* ‘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)  \[ \text{Pomako su} \]
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)  \[ su=la \quad lonhou / \quad leng / \quad pleng \]
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)  \[ ndramet \quad oko \quad aka \quad yi \quad ke \quad hom \quad ie \]
man DEM.PROX DEM.DIST 3SG only NCLF:one.person stay
\[ \text{kohona-n} \quad ho-kut \]
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) \[ \text{mor}=k\text{-e-heti} \quad \text{ndurkan aka} \quad \text{nde} \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{at-moro} \]  
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 proper\(^1\) (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 arguments\(^2\). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndre</th>
<th>‘on top of, over’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pehendra</td>
<td>‘under’, ‘underneath’, ‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korse</td>
<td>‘at the side of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lundie</td>
<td>‘inside (directional and locational)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeur</td>
<td>‘underneath, inside, into, on the bottom, backside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndrepo</td>
<td>‘at someone’s (also something’s) back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndokro</td>
<td>‘in the middle of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: A selection of relational nouns

\(^1\)According 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.”

\(^2\)Relational 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 ndre sakei nde ndra nengei aka kin-los*  
child mother-3SG.Poss 3-come 3-say PRAG child stay  
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 to mwenen ndrandra-n*  
bush.spirit climb.up 3-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)  
\[ \text{kerse wum} / \text{kerse ndran} / \text{kerse ndro tu} \quad \text{oko} \quad / \]
\[ \text{side} \quad \text{house} / \text{side} \quad \text{water} / \text{side} \quad \text{ALL} \quad \text{1PL.INCL DEM.PROX} / \]
\[ \text{kerse-n} \quad \text{side-3SG.POSS} \]
\[ '\text{at the side of the house} / \text{side of the river (river bank)} / \text{at the side of our area here} / \text{at its side}' \]

Relational noun mʙur 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)  
\[ \text{otin-i aka k-ir mʙur wum} \]
bury-TR DEM.DIST IRR-COP:3SG backside house
\[ '\text{Bury it there, at the back of the house.}' \]

(benjamin.coconut.154)

(4.16)  
\[ \text{na=yowu=k-al mʙur-n} \]
INT=1PL.EXCL=IRR-go into-3SG.POSS
\[ '\text{We want to go into the bush (standing at the beach).}' \]

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)  
\[ \text{ndokro ndas} \]
middle sea
\[ '\text{In the middle of the sea (out on the open sea)}' \]

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

(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 languages\(^3\). 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 \textit{an} or an alimentary classifier \textit{an}. In Lele the possessor suffix marks person and number. Table 4.3 gives an overview of the possessor suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>⁰ /-o</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>-toro</td>
<td>-wuru</td>
<td>-moro</td>
<td>-soro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-su</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\(^3\)cf. 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) \text{tam}_{(Pe)}(e)m_{(Pr)}
father-2SG.POSS
‘your (SG) father’

(4.20) \text{mar}_{(Pe)} sne{el}_{(Pr)}
\begin{align*}
\text{eye} & \quad \text{spirit} \\
\end{align*}
‘the eye(s) of the evil spirit’

(4.21) \text{melua}_{(Pe)}-m_{(Pr)}
spirit-2SG.POSS
‘your spirit’

(4.22) \text{mbur}_{(Pe)} ndas_{(Pr)}
\begin{align*}
\text{bottom} & \quad \text{sea} \\
\end{align*}
‘the bottom of the sea’

(4.23) \text{mwun}_{(Pe)}-moro_{(Pr)}
\begin{align*}
\text{fire} & \quad \text{DU} \\
\end{align*}
‘your (DU) fire’

(4.24) \text{mburia}_{(Pe)}-n_{(Pr)}
\begin{align*}
\text{work} & \quad \text{3SG.POSS} \\
\end{align*}
‘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)  \textit{ndere}\textsubscript{(Pe)}
\begin{align*}
\text{sibling.same.sex} \\
\text{‘my brother (female speaking) / my sister (male speaking)’}
\end{align*}

(4.26)  \textit{haue}\textsubscript{(Pe)}
\begin{align*}
\text{shoulder} \\
\text{‘my shoulder’}
\end{align*}

Whether nouns are marked or unmarked for 1SG possessors is idiosyncratic to the noun. Further examples for unmarked 1SG possessors can be found in \textit{tete} ‘(my) father (address)’, \textit{tato} ‘(my) father’s sister’, \textit{ndohongo} ‘(my) nose’, \textit{piso} ‘(my) sibling of different sex’, \textit{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 \textit{at} and a classifier for consumables \textit{an}. Lichtenberk (1983, 1985) calls the latter \textit{alimentary} classifier. The \textbf{general classifier} \textit{at} is used to mark possession of unspecified use or purpose, while classifier \textit{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. \textit{wumoto} ‘my house’ or \textit{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\textsubscript{Pe} \textbf{at} Posawan\textsubscript{Pr}
food \textbf{POSS PN}

‘Posawan’s food’

(4.28) kul \textbf{at} snel
breadfruit \textbf{POSS bush.spirit}

‘the breadfruit of the bush spirit’

(4.29) yipi \textbf{at-(e)m} \textbf{kin-meyis}
sago \textbf{POSS-2SG.POSS PRF.3SG-cooked}

‘Your sago is cooked’

(4.30) nongen \textbf{oto} ye!
words \textbf{1SG.POSS INTS}

‘My words!’

The possessee is followed by the classifier \textbf{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) \textbf{at-em}\textsubscript{(Pr)}
POSS-2SG.POSS

‘(It is) yours.’

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

(4.32) \textbf{ono} \textbf{pu}
CLF.food.1SG.POSS pig

‘My pig (for eating)’

(4.33) \textbf{an} \textbf{Posawan}\textsubscript{(Pr)} ni\textsubscript{(Pe)} / \textbf{pamei} / \textbf{sigar}
CLF.food PN \textbf{fish} / \textbf{betelnut} / \textbf{cigarette}

‘Posawan’s fish / betelnut / cigarette (for consumption)’

Very rarely can alimentary \textbf{an} be found preceded by the possessee:
While consumables such as *pu* ‘pig’ are marked by the alimentary classifier, they may also occur with the general classifier if the use is unspecific, 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) yenyan_(Pe)*  
3PL=HAB do CLF.food:3PL food  
‘They habitually made their food.’ (masusu.014)

(4.37)  
*ono pamei e ono cigar; yenyan*  
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 wil 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

\[140\]
‘I will beat the food (meaning: sago) of Mwandrendra and his men.’

(masusu.clouds.064)

\[(4.42) \textit{an-su}_{(Pr)}\]
\[
\text{CLF:food-3PL}
\]

‘(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 synchronically\(^4\) (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.

\[4.4.3 \textbf{Body Parts}\]

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.

\(^4\text{Thanks to Rene van den Berg for his advice on this topic.}\)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pal-</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar-</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndohongo-</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poho-</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndelnga-</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngundu-</td>
<td>‘nape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perkol-</td>
<td>‘throat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haue-</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sus-</td>
<td>‘breast’ (direct and indirect possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndrine-</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yere</td>
<td>‘heart, liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nim-</td>
<td>‘arm, hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndeke-</td>
<td>‘leg, foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndrei-</td>
<td>‘blood’ (indirectly possessed form: ndrai)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: A selection of body part terms
First person singular possessive suffixes trigger vowel assimilation in some nouns. See Table 4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Singular possessive paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pal- ‘head’</td>
<td>polo / pal-(e)m / pal-(e)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar- ‘eye’</td>
<td>moro / mar-(e)m / mar-(e)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndeke- ‘leg, foot’</td>
<td>nduko / ndeke-m / ndeke-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-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 mausik 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-spwi 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’. 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

---

5 Similarly, in Paluai terms polam ‘in-law’, pwai ‘cross-cousin’, but also pên ‘daughter’ are possessed indirectly, cf. Schokkin 2014.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Term</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tumɓu-</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengɓu-</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>only used by grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tete</td>
<td>father, father’s brother (affectionate)</td>
<td>reciprocal, also used with male name prefix Po-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam-</td>
<td>father, father’s brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nane-</td>
<td>mother, mother’s sister, father’s sister’s daughter</td>
<td>reciprocal, also used with female name prefix Pi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahi, yahɛ-</td>
<td>mother’s brother, sister’s child (male speaking)</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tue-</td>
<td>father’s brother, father’s sister’s son</td>
<td>also used with male name prefix Po-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndere-</td>
<td>sibling of same sex</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piso-</td>
<td>sibling of different sex</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndukto-</td>
<td>father’s sister, father’s sister’s daughter</td>
<td>nano also used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndur-</td>
<td>child, sibling’s child</td>
<td>tendency to call all children of the ascending generation ndur-, regardless whether descendant from parallel or cross sibling link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nameɓulu-</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nave-</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mensou</td>
<td>in-law</td>
<td>indirectly possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sou-</td>
<td>in-law</td>
<td>directly possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwelpwal</td>
<td>distant cross-cousin</td>
<td>offspring from a cross-sibling link in the parent generation, a distant cross-cousin, joking relationships were common in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tato</td>
<td>grandmother, mother’s sister</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papu</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meutin</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>term is present, but hardly used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipan</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>term is present, but hardly used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sersere</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>‘family tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yayan</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>relationship furthest apart, past this degree, marriage is possible (ca. 13th or 14th degree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yayin</td>
<td>ur-ancestor</td>
<td>original ancestor who is connected to the clan land, forefather (Tok Pisin ‘as ples man’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndoso-</td>
<td>mother’s brother’s daughter, brother’s daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngundre-</td>
<td>MBS, BS, SIssS</td>
<td>both ndoso- and ngundre- denote the sex of the kin, while there is no gender distinction for biological children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6: Lele kinship terms
Table 4.7: tam- ‘father’ with possessive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tam- ‘father’</th>
<th>1INCL</th>
<th>1EXCL</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tom-o</td>
<td>tam-(e)m</td>
<td>tam-(e)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>tam-toro</td>
<td>tam-wuru</td>
<td>tam-moro</td>
<td>tam-soro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>tam-tu</td>
<td>tam-wu</td>
<td>tam-mu</td>
<td>tam-su</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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!’

(pipalnandren.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-

\(^6\)The 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 society.

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

---

7 Throughout 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 fire.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mburer, mburia-</th>
<th>‘work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwan, mwun-</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndop, ndop-</td>
<td>‘basket, bag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salou,alue-</td>
<td>‘clothes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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8When I asked speakers about the difference between these two forms (along with other nouns that occur both in direct and indirect possession 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) \textit{wum mar-hom}  
\textit{house two-clf.house}  
‘two houses’

(4.56) \textit{su=la riu ndol he-ie}  
\textit{3PL=go pull canoe one-NCLF:canoe}  
‘They went to row one canoe’ (240212.potou.haus.boi.tungou.19)

(4.57) \textit{pihi tasou ho-mou teke yo}  
\textit{woman old.person one-NCLF:human like 1SG}  
‘an old woman as I am’ (menuai.010)

(4.58) \textit{e ho-mou i-ndramet ndaken e ho-mou aka}  
\textit{and one-NCLF:human 3-human true and one-NCLF:human DEM.DIST}  
\textit{yi menuai Napele}  
\textit{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 \textit{-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 nouns. 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. 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

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9 See also Comrie & Thompson (2007, p. 335ff.).
10 The 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalised Form</th>
<th>Nominalised Construction</th>
<th>derived from verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tir-(y)a ‘weaving’</td>
<td>tiri-a ndop</td>
<td>tiri ‘weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom-(y)a ‘grating’</td>
<td>nomi-a niu</td>
<td>nomwi ‘grate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san-(y)a pamei ‘cutting’</td>
<td>sani-a pamei</td>
<td>sani ‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan-(y)a ‘the eating’</td>
<td>kani-a ndramet</td>
<td>kan ‘eat’ (verb now obsolete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surh-a ‘the washing’</td>
<td>surh-a kolau</td>
<td>surhi ‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohi-a ‘the waiting’</td>
<td>sohi-a sopwat</td>
<td>soho / soho-ni ‘wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuke-a ‘purposeful walking’</td>
<td>tuke-a pamei</td>
<td>toki ‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar-(y)a ‘paddling’</td>
<td>tari-a ndol</td>
<td>tar ‘give away, lessen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-(y)a ‘the killing’</td>
<td>tani-a ndramet</td>
<td>derived source unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manu-a ‘claim’</td>
<td>manu-a pwan</td>
<td>derived source unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Bril 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 hengeni ‘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 Ir-realis, such as k-met ‘death’ and k-me ‘the coming’\textsuperscript{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)

\textsuperscript{11}Referring 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Common nouns</th>
<th>Human nouns</th>
<th>Personal Names</th>
<th>Locational nouns</th>
<th>Relational nouns</th>
<th>Body parts</th>
<th>Kinship terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) as core argument</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) countable</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) num. classifiers</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) assoc. Plural</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) with adjectives</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) preposition <em>ndro</em></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) other prepositions</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) pronouns as determiners</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) possession</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constituent</td>
<td>DET</td>
<td>NOUN</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>ADJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 subject\(^\text{12}\). See examples (4.59-4.61).

(4.59) \[wah, [\text{yi} \ pihin]_{NP} \ ndaken \ pwi \ terpeh\]
\[\text{wah} \ \text{3SG} \ \text{woman} \ \text{true} \ \text{NEG} \ \text{how}\]
‘Wah! Isn’t that woman fake?’ (powat.nambis.026)

(4.60) \[\text{[wou mbuei]}_{NP} \ ama\]
\[\text{2SG} \ \text{crocodile} \ \text{come}\]
‘You crocodiles, come!’ (snake.northcoast.160a)

(4.61) \[i-le \ kun \ [\text{su} \ ndran \ masih \ kene]_{NP}\]
\[\text{3-go} \ \text{carry} \ \text{3PL} \ \text{water} \ \text{all} \ \text{INTS}\]

\(^{12}\text{Cf. Hamel (1994) for pronouns as determiners.}\)
‘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 3clm tree many
‘The younger one was good and the older one, he was very greedy.’
(greedy.brother.003)

Plurality is optionally marked through the prenominal 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)
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)  
\[ \text{[an-(e)m \ yenyan]}_{NP} \]  
\begin{tabular}{l}  
CLF.food-2SG.POSS food  
\end{tabular}  
\text{‘your food’}

### 4.7.2 II Possessors

Slot II in the noun phrase is occupied by possessors. For a discussion on nominal possession see §4.4.

(4.69)  
\[ \text{[mar \ papei]}_{NP} \]  
\begin{tabular}{l}  
eye entrance  
\end{tabular}  
\text{‘the door (of a house)’}

(4.70)  
\[ \text{[wum \ at \ Masusu]}_{NP} \]  
\begin{tabular}{l}  
house POSS PN  
\end{tabular}  
\text{‘Masusu’s house’}

(4.71)  
\[ \text{[hom \ kous \ oto]}_{NP} \]  
\begin{tabular}{l}  
one.person friend 1SG.POSS  
\end{tabular}  
\text{‘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)  
\[ \text{yo=\textit{u}-le \ Lorongou po\textit{r} \ ndro \ [kous \ oto \ mar-mou]}_{NP} \]  
\begin{tabular}{l}  
1SG=1SG-go GN with LOC friend 1SG.POSS two-NCLF:human  
\end{tabular}  
\text{‘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) \( [\text{rang sih hian}]_{NP} \)
\( \text{day} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{good} \)
‘One fine day.’ (used in stories)

(4.74) \( e [\text{ndramet ndeke-n } \text{momen}]_{NP} \text{aka } \text{hiti } \text{kei i-re-i} \)
\( \text{and man} \quad \text{leg-3SG.POSS bad} \quad \text{DEM.DIST take.3SG tree 3-hit-TR} \)
‘And the man with the bad leg took a log of wood and hit him (the eagle).’

(menuai.101)

(4.75) \( ? [\text{kous oto } \text{ho-mou } \text{hian}]_{NP} \)
\( \text{friend} \quad \text{1SG.POSS one-NCLF:human good} \)
? ‘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) \( [\text{ndramet ke} \text{ ho-mou}]_{NP} \)
\( \text{man} \quad \text{FOC one-NCLF:human} \)
‘only one man’

(4.77) \( [\text{ndramet ho-mou } \text{ke}]_{NP} \)
\( \text{man} \quad \text{one-NCLF:human FOC} \)
‘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 **ndramet**]_{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) [[Pipalnandren]_{NP} e [ndor-n pihin mandehe ke]_{NP}]_{NP}
PN and child-3SG.POSS girl young FOC
‘Pipalnandren and her young daughter.’

Constituents of noun phrases can be negated, see examples (4.81) and (4.82).

(4.81) **ndramet** ndelng-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 2004\(^1\).

Most adjectives characteristically end in final -n which is a fossilised third person singular possessive marker\(^2\).

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)  \textit{i-le talah [ndramet hian]}  
3-go appear person good

\(^1\)Dixon (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.

\(^2\)Adjectives ending in -n are also found in Loniu (Hamel 1994 explicitly notes the fossilised possessive marker), Kele and Paluai.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Physical Property</th>
<th>Human Propensity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndelwen</td>
<td>houen</td>
<td>‘long, tall’</td>
<td>hian</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>peren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murai</td>
<td>saken</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>momen</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>ruktan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandren</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>helian</td>
<td>‘holy, forbidden’</td>
<td>rukat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandehe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>horowan</td>
<td>‘alright’</td>
<td>nungwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kameu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘left’</td>
<td>ndaken</td>
<td>‘true, correct’</td>
<td>roruen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singen</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘right’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ramen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwanan</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘far away’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndukwin</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. bowl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| muruan   |      | ‘deep’ |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| melhan   |      | ‘wide’ |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| solen    |      | ‘many’ |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| lapene   |      | ‘huge’ |        |        |        |        |        |        |

Table 5.1: Selection of adjectives sorted by semantic types
'He became a good person.' (greedy.brother.129)

(5.2) \text{[rang sih hian]} \\
\text{day} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{good} \\
'One fine day...' (octo.002)

(5.3) \text{[hangungurou momen]} le aka ir ndon ndro su \\
\text{thought} \quad \text{bad} \quad \text{go DEM.DIST COP:3SG still} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{3PL} \\
'They also still had bad thoughts.' (pohuawei.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 \\
\text{[lapene pleng], [pleng mandren]} \\
huge \quad \text{garden} \quad \text{garden} \quad \text{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 noun\(^{3}\) is \text{lapene} ‘huge’, see example (5.4). It may also follow its head noun in the form of \text{lapenen} with final \(-n\). The word \text{lapene} incidentally also refers to the size of an object and can be thus also used as a noun; \text{lapene pleng} may therefore mean “the size of the garden” in a different context. The function of \text{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) \text{Adjectival Predication and Possessive Morphology}

\begin{itemize}
\item a. \text{yo hi-o} \\
\text{1SG good-1SG.POSS} \\
'I am well.' (traditional)
\item b. \text{yo hia-n} \\
\text{1SG good-3SG.POSS} \\
'I am well.' (recent development)
\end{itemize}

\(^{3}\)This 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 adjec-
tival 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 to-
wards his cross-cousin’s children’s well-being. In some cases there are se-
monic differences between adjectives with final -n and those with a full
range of possessive markers, as, for example, in mekehe- ‘weak’ vs. meke-
hen ‘thin’ in examples (5.5f) and (5.5g). The semantic correspondences
between the two forms of adjectives appear to be idiosyncratic to the ad-
jective. 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 con-
version. They occur as plain nouns and often in possessive constructions,
(coding the head noun to the modifier as possessor or origin or cause) ei-
ther 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 mo men 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

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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) \textit{pihin aka i mandren nungwan, nungwan masih}
\text{woman DEM.DIST 3 big yellow yellow all}

‘That woman’s skin was yellow, completely yellow.’

(\textit{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 6.1\(^1\) gives a selection of adverbs in Lele.

\(^1\)classification based on Aikhenvald 2014, p. 242f.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Similarity</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Quantification</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teie ‘thus’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munie ‘carefully’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahit ‘in vain’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulhei ‘on its own’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potales ‘lest’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hepe ‘a little’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teke ‘like’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>le ‘also, as well’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pwen ‘finished’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>masih ‘all, very, most’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndon ‘still’</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muren ‘later’</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hanu ‘before’</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>malapo ‘now’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>range ‘today’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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`
P3N 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)  
`maurer 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)

\(^2\)It 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 gently!’

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
and yi mendehe ir muren
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 ndrou 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 mausik 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 heti kair e porou teie e i-porou kair
3-say PRAG take.2SG kair.tree and hold like.that and 3-hold kair.tree

‘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.
The adverb *potales* expresses apprehension, suspicion or general subjective assumptions.

(6.22)  
\[ \text{e-mingsen-i hepe yenyan } \text{potales i-mundrul} \]  
\[ \text{2SG-make-TR a.bit food APPR 3-hungry} \]  
‘Prepare some food, lest he be 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)  
\[ \text{wou snel yo le yo snel} \]  
\[ \text{2SG bush.spirit 1SG as.well 1SG bush.spirit} \]  
‘You are a bush spirit, so am I, I’m a bush spirit!’

(6.24)  
\[ \text{e sor=ha-ngas pamei le} \]  
\[ \text{and 3DU=NSG-climb betelnut again} \]  
‘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)  
\[ \text{snel k-i-ni su pwen} \]  
\[ \text{bush.spirit IRR-3-eat:TR 3PL PRF} \]  
‘The bush spirit ate everybody completely’

(6.26)  
\[ \text{pwen aka tasou i-pwei te hian} \]  
\[ \text{PRF DEM,DIST old.person 3-say PRAG good} \]  
‘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)  
\textit{hian masih!}  
good all  
‘Very good!’ or ‘the best’

(6.28)  
\textit{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)  
\textit{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.
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-pei 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)
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 pronoun\(^1\), 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.

\[(7.7)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mor}=k-epti \quad \text{moro!} \\
2DU=IRR\text{-marry.NSG} \quad 2DU \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Marry each other!’ (snake.northcoast.121)

\[(7.8)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
e \quad \text{yowuru} \quad \text{ndur-m}, \quad \text{yowuru} \quad k-or \quad \text{ndro} \quad \text{wou} \\
\end{array}
\]

and 1DU.EXCL child-2SG.POSS 1DU.EXCL IRR-LOC 2SG

‘And we are your children, we will stay with you.’ (menuai.052)

\[(7.9)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
tasou \quad i\text{-pwei} \quad \text{womu}? \quad \text{ sor}=\text{pwai} \quad \text{yowu}=\text{to} \quad \text{ po hiwene} \\
\end{array}
\]

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)

\[(7.10)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
e \quad i\text{-pwei} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{mu}=k\text{-am} \quad \text{ pelengan!} \quad \text{ su}=\text{me} \quad \text{ pelengan i\text{-pwei}} \\
\end{array}
\]

and 3-say PRAG 2PL=IRR-come up 3PL=come up 3-say

\[
\begin{array}{c}
te \quad \text{mu}=k\text{-e-heti} \quad \text{ pwapwil me} \\
\end{array}
\]

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)

\(^1\)See also Lichtenberk 2000.
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.

(7.11) \[ a=\text{yi}=\text{mul} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{i}-\text{le} \quad \text{aka} \quad \text{i}-\text{le} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{tahal} \quad \text{ndramet} \quad \text{hian} \quad \text{e} \]
\[
\text{POT}=\text{3SG}=\text{return} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{3-go} \quad \text{DEM.DIST} \quad \text{3-go} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{appear} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{sor}=\text{pokulue} \quad \text{soro} \\
\text{3DU}=\text{look.after} \quad \text{3DU}
\]

‘He would return now and he became a good person and the two looked after each other.’ (greedy.brother.129)

(7.12) \[ e \quad \text{snel} \quad \text{ir} \quad \text{pwan} \quad \text{aka} \]
\[
\text{and} \quad \text{bush.spirit} \quad \text{COP}:\text{3SG} \quad \text{ground} \quad \text{DEM.DIST}
\]

‘And the bush spirit was now on the ground.’ (greedy.brother.087)

(7.13) \[ i=\text{te} \quad \text{hang} \quad \text{ndere-n} \quad \text{pwi} \]
\[
\text{3-PRAG} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{sibling.} \text{same.sex-3SG.POSS} \quad \text{NEG}
\]

‘He did not give anything to his brother.’ (greedy.brother.008)

(7.14) \[ \text{yi} \quad \text{mandhe} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{hian} \]
\[
\text{3SG} \quad \text{younger} \quad \text{3} \quad \text{good}
\]

‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>∅ / -o</th>
<th>-m</th>
<th>-n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>-toro</td>
<td>-wuru</td>
<td>-moro</td>
<td>-soro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-su</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 and 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:

\textit{aka} - (DEM.DIST) ‘distal demonstrative’

\textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{aka} is also the default demonstrative. The Lele corpus contains 1000 occurrences of \textit{aka} vs. 234 occurrences of \textit{oko}. See examples (8.1-8.5) for general illustrations of demonstratives.

(8.1) \textit{i-pwei te oh ndramet}_{NP} \textit{aka} \textit{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) \textit{i-ni \{yenyan masih\}_{NP} \textit{aka}, i-ni pu, masih}_{NP} \textit{aka}
3-eat:TR food all DEM.DIST 3-eat:TR pig all DEM.DIST
\textit{i-pinisim, ndrine}_{NP} \textit{aka} \textit{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.’
‘And in this village, there lived only one person.’

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:

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.
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).

Pisposawan, aka\textsubscript{NP} wou\textsubscript{NP}!  
Pisposawan, that is you!”

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.

That he had died, that his brother did not know.’

Demonstratives can be used alongside pronouns as modifiers with an identifying or emphatic function. See examples (8.10-8.14).

She said “you there, what are you up to?” ’ (haus.boi.tungou.33)

And she will say thus: “You here become head of the clan there”.’

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)  
\[
\text{sih te ke sih sor=ie ri, sor=ie po an-soro}
\]
\[
\text{one PRAG FOC one 3DU=stay LOC 3DU=stay POSS.food-3DU}
\]

‘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)  
\[
e \ i-spwhh ndrei-n \ le \ ri
\]
\[
\text{and 3-wipe blood-3SG.POSS go LOC}
\]

‘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)  
\[
al ndi!
\]
\[
\text{go away}
\]

‘Go away!’

(8.20)  
\[
e \ ngat aka, aka ndran i-ta lundie pwan i-song
\]
\[
\text{and hole DEM.DIST DEM.DIST water 3-COP inside ground 3-be.inside}
\]
\[
i-hilou me ndi
\]
\[
\text{3-run come away}
\]

‘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)  
\[
i-me yau aka!
\]
\[
\text{3-come move DEM.DIST}
\]

‘S/he is coming (over) now!’

(8.22)  
\[
taim pe=yi=k-me, aka Masusu ke i-ro
\]
\[
\text{when(TP) SEQ=3SG=IRR-come DEM.DIST PN FOC 3-COP}
\]

‘When she came in now only Masusu was there’ (masusu.long.193-194)
(8.23)  \textit{pwem \textit{aka}, mwalih per \textit{i pwem \textit{aka}}}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
PRF & DEM.DIST & story & ASSOC 3 PRF & DEM.DIST \\
\end{tabular}

‘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 substrative morpheme, glossed as SUBT\textsuperscript{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 quantities\textsuperscript{2}. 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-

\textsuperscript{1}In glossed examples in example sentences, numbers containing the subtractive element -ondr are glossed as regular numbers for ease of reading.

\textsuperscript{2}It is glossed as PROP.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>numeral</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sih</td>
<td>sih</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ruoh</td>
<td>PROP-two</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-toloh</td>
<td>PROP-three</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-hahou</td>
<td>PROP-four</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-limah</td>
<td>PROP-five</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)onoh</td>
<td>PROP-six</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondr-toloh</td>
<td>PROP-SUBT-three</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondo-ruoh</td>
<td>PROP-SUBTtwo</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondr-sih</td>
<td>PROP-SUBT-one</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
<td>PROP-ten</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e sih</td>
<td>PROP-ten and one</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e ruoh</td>
<td>PROP-ten and two</td>
<td>‘twelf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e toloh</td>
<td>PROP-ten and three</td>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e hahou</td>
<td>PROP-ten and four</td>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e limah</td>
<td>PROP-ten and five</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e onoh</td>
<td>PROP-ten and six</td>
<td>‘sixteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e ondr-toloh</td>
<td>PROP-ten and SUBT-three</td>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e ondo-ruoh</td>
<td>PROP-ten and SUBT-two</td>
<td>‘eighteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e ondr-sih</td>
<td>PROP-ten and SUBT-one</td>
<td>‘nineteen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1: Numerals 1 - 19

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
Table 9.2: Numerals: the decades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>numeral</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-su-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-one-DEC</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-r-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-two-DEC</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-til-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-three-DEC</td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-ha-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-four-DEC</td>
<td>‘forty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-lim-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-five-DEC</td>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-non-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-six-DEC</td>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-(n)ondr-til-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-SUBT-three-DEC</td>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-(n)ondo-ru-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-SUBT-two-DEC</td>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-(n)ondr-su-ngul</em></td>
<td>PROP-SUBT-one-DEC</td>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) pom bukei nde sum bupat 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) M wandrendra 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-
(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)
Numeral classifiers are quite common in Oceanic languages and are used in expressions of quantification\(^1\). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral Classifier</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha/ho/he</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r(u)</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til/tul</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lim</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)on</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)ondrtil</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)ondor</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)ondrs</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungul</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-

\(^1\)For 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bundles</th>
<th>Canoes, trees</th>
<th>Money</th>
<th>humans</th>
<th>houses</th>
<th>plates, speeches</th>
<th>bunches</th>
<th>days</th>
<th>villages, places</th>
<th>roads, paths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kou</td>
<td>-ie</td>
<td>-aut</td>
<td>-mou</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-ndre</td>
<td>-nem/-nam</td>
<td>-ping</td>
<td>-kor</td>
<td>-sal/-sel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.3: Numeral Classifier Suffixes Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rivers</th>
<th>pieces of meat, fish, taro</th>
<th>lengthy parts</th>
<th>individual leaves</th>
<th>bundles of leaves</th>
<th>knives, axes</th>
<th>baskets</th>
<th>groups of trees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-keh/-kah</td>
<td>-kl/-kal</td>
<td>-nga/-nge</td>
<td>-kep/-kap</td>
<td>-smwai/-smwei</td>
<td>-pel/-pal</td>
<td>-hat/-het</td>
<td>-pet/-pat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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)  
\begin{verbatim}
  wum mar-hum  
  house PROP:two-house  
  ‘two houses’
\end{verbatim}

\section*{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 firewood, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kou - Bundles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-til-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondril-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrso-kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ie - Canoes, Trees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondorh-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrs-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kina\(^2\). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>mbut</em></th>
<th>Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>10 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-<strong>r</strong>-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>20 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-<strong>t</strong>-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>30 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-<strong>h</strong>-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>40 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-<strong>l</strong>-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>50 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)<strong>on</strong>-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>60 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)<strong>ondr</strong>-til-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>70 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)<strong>ondr</strong>-<strong>or</strong>-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>80 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)<strong>ondr</strong>-su-<em>mbut</em></td>
<td>90 Toea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
<td>1 Kina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.6: Money, Toea

\(^2\)Kina 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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-mou - Persons, People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-til-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-li-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)on-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondrtil-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondor-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondrso-mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.7: Persons, People

A few examples can be found in sentences (10.4) - (10.6).

(10.4) pihí 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-hum - Houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-til-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)on-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondrtil-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondor-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul e hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungul e ruhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungul e tilhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungul e hahum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungul e lim-hum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ndre - Plates, Speeches, Mustard Stick, Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-rr-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-til-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)on-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondrtil-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondor-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-(n)ondrse-ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  \textit{-nam/-nem}: Branches of Fruits

Classifier \textit{-nam/-nem} counts all long branches with fruits, such as banana or betelnut. A single branch, \textit{hanem}, may be comprised of several bunches (classifier \textit{-kou}) of fruit. The counting of these stringlike, vinelike fruit bearing branches seems natural, as this is how they are harvested.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{-nam/-nem} & \\
\hline
\textit{ha-nem} & one \\
\textit{ma-r-nem} & two \\
\textit{ma-til-nam} & three \\
\textit{ma-ha-nam} & four \\
\textit{ma-lim-nam} & five \\
\textit{ma-non-nam} & six \\
\textit{ma-nondrtil-nam} & seven \\
\textit{ma-nondor-nam} & eight \\
? & nine \\
\textit{ma-sungul} & ten \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{\textit{-nam/-nem} - Branch of Fruits}
\end{table}

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ping</th>
<th>Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ri-ping</td>
<td>the second day after today (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til-ping</td>
<td>the third day after today (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ping</td>
<td>the fourth day after today (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-ping</td>
<td>the fifth day after today (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-ping</td>
<td>the sixth day after today (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondril-ping</td>
<td>the seventh day after today (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-ping</td>
<td>the eighth day after today (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondorsi-ping</td>
<td>the ninth day after today (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)!’

\(^3\)It 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  \textbf{-kah/-keh: Rivers}

Rivers are counted using the classifier \textit{-kah/-keh}, a bound morpheme which bears no resemblance to what it counts: \textit{ndran} ‘river, water’. It refers to rivers only.

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{-kah/keh - Rivers} \\
\hline
ha-kah & one \\
ma-r-keh & two \\
ma-til-keh & three \\
ma-ha-kah & four \\
ma-lim-keh & five \\
ma-non-kah & six \\
ma-nondril-keh & seven \\
? & eight \\
? & nine \\
ma-sungul & ten \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textit{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kal/-kel - Pieces of Meat, Fish, Taro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-kel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-kel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-til-kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrt-kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondr-hakl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-nga/-nge - Long Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-nge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ndondor-nge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.14: Long Parts

(10.10) yo=ul-e sal ha-nga e yo=umul 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kap/-kep - Individual Leaves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-kep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-kep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrttil-kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-kep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  \(-\text{smwai/-smwei}\): 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 \(-\text{smwai/-smwei}\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-\text{smwai/-smwei} - Bundles of Leaves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho-smwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ru-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-smwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-sal/-sel - Roads and Ground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-sel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-sel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-sel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.17: Roads and Ground
### 10.1.15 -pal/-pel: Knives, Axes

Knives and axes are counted with the classifier -pal/-pel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-pal/-pel - Knives and Axes</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-pel</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-pel</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-pal</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-pal</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-pal</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-pal</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-pal</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-pal</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-hat/-het - Baskets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-se-het</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrti-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondor-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kor</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho-kor</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-kor</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-til-kor</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-kor</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-kor</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-kor</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-kor</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kohana-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-pat/-pet - Groups of Trees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-pet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-r-pet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tul-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lim-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-non-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-nondrtil-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sungul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10.23: Physical properties: arrangement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single trees (-ie) vs. groups of trees (-pet/-pat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual leaves (-kep/-kap) vs. bundles of leaves (-smwai/-smwei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundles (-kou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunches (-nem/-nam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lengthy parts (-nga/-nge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pieces of meat, fish and taro (-kel/-kal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogatives</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sah</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per sah</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sahene</td>
<td>‘which of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sieh</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oho</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maseheye</td>
<td>‘how much, how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seh</td>
<td>‘which, what kind of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kehereh</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terpeh</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \textit{pihi} snel aka i-pwei \textit{sah} me ndro wou?
\textit{woman bush.spirit DEM.DIST 3-say what come LOC 2SG}
\textit{‘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 \textbf{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 \textbf{per pehena} i-me. mayin, \textbf{i-lik-i} \\
man DEM.DIST ASSOC steal 3-come who.knows 3-put-TR \\
\textbf{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?’. 

(11.4) \textbf{i-le hir-i} \textbf{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 \\
\textbf{lesah per lou 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) \textbf{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) \[ \text{yi}=k-\text{iesou me k-le mar Sopun, k-le pur Pokupwen,} \]
\[ 3\text{SG=IRR-marry come IRR-go eye GN IRR-go go with PN} \]
\[ \text{tam-(e)n Popuren, per sah? oh mar Sopun pwan mandren} \]
\[ \text{father-3SG.POSS PN ASSOC what oh eye GN land big} \]

‘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 \textit{sahene-} ‘which?’. This form is derived from \textit{sah} ‘what’. What is expressed as possessor structurally is the group of objects from which the addressee is asked to choose.

(11.9) \[ \text{piso-} \text{m sahene-n?} \]
\[ \text{sibling.opposite.sex-2SG.POSS which-3SG.POSS} \]

‘Which one is your brother?’ (elicitation)

(11.10) \[ \text{ndop sahene-n hian?} \]
\[ \text{basket which-3SG.POSS good} \]

‘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 -\textit{m}.

(11.11) \[ \text{sahene-m i-kouni wou?} \]
\[ \text{which-2SG.POSS 3-hurt 2SG} \]

‘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 \textit{sieh} ‘who’, see (11.12), as does asking for someone’s name, see (11.13).

(11.12) \[ \text{i-hung-i i-pwei te oi aka wou sieh?} \]
\[ \text{3-smell-TR 3-say PRAG oi DEM.DIST 2SG who} \]

‘She smelled something and she said: “Oi! now who are you?” ’

(sowe.hurhur.161)

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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) \textit{sieh na=k-mul le ndrino k-le sap yenyan le?}  
\textit{who INT=IRR-return go stomach:1SG.POSS IRR-go collect food go}  
‘Who likes to return into my stomach and collect food?’

Interrogative \textit{sieh} can also be used to ask for the direct possessor of something, as in (11.15).

(11.15) \textit{mbur pal sieh? polo}  
\textit{above head who head:1SG.POSS}  
‘Above whose head? - My head.’ (elicited)

To ask for location or direction \textit{oho} is used.

(11.16) \textit{wum at-(e)m oho?}  
\textit{house POSS-2SG.POSS where}  
‘Where is your house?’

The interrogative \textit{oho} is often abbreviated to \textit{ho} when following a vowel as in (11.17).

(11.17) \textit{su=kena ho?}  
\textit{3PL=go.3.PRF where}  
‘Where have they gone?’

In order to ask for the quantity of something \textit{maseheye} ‘how many, how much?’ is used. See (11.18-11.20).

(11.18) \textit{mar mernal at-(e)m maseheye?}  
\textit{eye sun POSS-2SG.POSS how.much}  
‘What time is it? (lit. How much)

(11.19) \textit{sersere-m maseheye?}  
\textit{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 Pisin\(^1\). Example (12.1) denotes an inherent connection that could be described as cause or origin.

\(12.1\)  \textit{m₇ur} \textit{per} \textit{vanilla} \textit{i-los} \textit{le} \textit{pwan} \textit{yowu}=\textit{te} \quad \textit{po} \quad \textit{ke} \quad \textit{mulhei} \\
work \quad \text{ASSOC} \quad \text{Vanilla} \quad \text{3-fall} \quad \text{down} \quad \text{1PL.EXCL=PRAG} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{merely}

\(^1\)The second multifunctional preposition in Tok Pisin, \textit{long}, is in fact a universal preposition. The function of \textit{long} is perhaps mirrored in the increasing use of motion verb \textit{le} ‘go’ as preposition. More research is necessary on that development.
Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per</td>
<td>associative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nde</td>
<td>towards, until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndro</td>
<td>allative/locative (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakeh/pakekeh</td>
<td>close to, near / very close to or near to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapenan</td>
<td>up to, to the extent of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.1: Prepositions

‘The vanilla business declined and now we are just getting by.’ (co-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
and 3 woman DEM.DIST 3-say PRAG NEG leave:2SG stay until fruit
morok k-meyis
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
PN with child-3SG.POSS 3PL=PRF.NSG-leave and woman FOC COP:3SG
wum
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).
‘This story is of the ancestors, but not of those belonging to my father’s lineage. It’s just my mother’s lineage.’

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).

‘I went to Lorengau with a friend of mine.’

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’.

‘And she knows that it is soon for her to die, right?’
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.pipalnandren.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 maulei 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.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connector</th>
<th>Function</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction e</td>
<td>conjunction of NPs and clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction ma</td>
<td>supports general conjunction e, “and with that...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunctor nde</td>
<td>basic disjunctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adversative hepke</td>
<td>adversative, “but”, “however”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential pe=</td>
<td>forms (temporal) sequence of events of preceding clause with events of following clause, often with clause-final pwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Disjunctior 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)  
\[ \text{e soro=ha-pwai Po-tuo wou=a=yenyan hepe nde pwi?} \]  
\[ \text{and 3DU=NSG-say masculine-uncle 2SG=POT=eat a.little or not} \]  
\[ \text{‘And the two said: ”Uncle, will you eat or not?”’ (snake.lugos.212)} \]

### 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)  
\[ \text{longu masih kene i-ro hepke mwat pwi} \]  
\[ \text{thing all INTS 3-COP but snake NEG} \]  
\[ \text{‘Everything was there, but the snake was not there.’} \]  
\[ \text{(snake.lugos.271-72)} \]
“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-Indr-i pwi e i-Indr-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-Indr-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-Indr-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) \( yi=pe=k\text{-indri} \ pwi \), ndor-n te to pwi,
\[3=\text{SEQ=}\text{IRR-3-see} \ \text{SEQ} \ \text{child-3SG.POSS} \ \text{PRAG} \ \text{COP NEG} \ \text{child-3SG.POSS} \]
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) \( pe=su=k\text{-am} \ pwi, \ Nakmat \ te \ to \ pwi \)
\[ \text{SEQ=}3\text{PL=}\text{IRR-come} \ \text{SEQ} \ \text{PN} \ \text{PRAG} \ \text{be} \ \text{NEG} \]
‘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

\[(14.5) \text{ir}\, \text{ta-tne}\, \text{ke}\, \text{lopohonum}\, \text{aka}\, \text{salue-n}\, \text{pwi}\, \text{i-ro} \]

\[\text{COP:3SG}\, \text{STAT-stand}\, \text{FOC}\, \text{outside}\, \text{DEM.DIST}\, \text{clothes:3SG.POSS}\, \text{NEG}\, \text{3-stay}\]

‘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:

\[(14.6) \text{mbue}\, \text{ain}\, \text{ndramet, ndramet}\, \text{aka}\, \text{konan} \]

\[\text{NEG}\, \text{eat}\, \text{human}\, \text{human}\, \text{DEM.DIST}\, \text{never.mind}\]

‘Don’t eat humans, never mind humans.’ (masusu.long.433)

\[(14.7) \text{e}\, \text{su}\, \text{longu}\, \text{ramen, mbue}\, \text{te}\, \text{porou} \]

\[\text{and}\, \text{PL}\, \text{thing}\, \text{red}\, \text{NEG}\, \text{PRAG}\, \text{hold}\]

‘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.

\[(14.8) \text{mor=}\text{k-ala}\, \text{mor=}\text{k-a-re-i}\, \text{ndurkan}\, \text{aka, nde} \]

\[\text{2DU=IRR-go}\, \text{2DU=IRR-NSG-kill-TR}\, \text{bird}\, \text{DEM.DIST}\, \text{NEG}\]

\[\text{mor=}\text{k-e-pini}\]

\[\text{2DU=IRR-NSG-throw}\]

‘Go and kill the bird, but don’t throw it away.’ (sowe.hurhur.119)

The prohibitive markers often co-occur, as in (14.9).

\[(14.9) \text{i-pwei}\, \text{ey}\, \text{mbue}\, \text{nde}\, \text{mor=ke-noh}\, \text{mor=}\text{k-am}\, \text{ndi} \]

\[\text{3-say}\, \text{ey}\, \text{NEG}\, \text{NEG}\, \text{2DU=be.afraid}\, \text{2DU=IRR-be.afraid}\, \text{away}\]

\[\text{mor=}\text{k-am}\, \text{ndi}\]

\[\text{2D=IRR-come}\, \text{away}\]

‘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 \(\text{ya}\) is widely used to perform the same function.

(15.4) \(i\) sieh \(i\) po pehena \(ye\)
\(3\) who \(\text{PROG:3SG}\) do steal \(\text{INTS}\)
‘And who is it that is stealing (emphatic)?’ (menuai.090)

(15.5) \(k-le\) ping aka \(i-k-i-ni\) pihin aka \(Hiniemoloniu\) \(e\)
\(\text{IRR-go}\) night \(\text{DEM.DIST}\) \(3\)-IRR-3-eat:TR woman \(\text{DEM.DIST}\) \(\text{PN}\) \(\text{INTS}\)
‘Tonight she will eat that woman, Hiniemoloniu!’
(powat.nambis.141)

15.3 Particle \(te\)

Particle \(te\) has a wide range of uses. It occurs with the negator in the discontiguous 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) \(\text{Mandrian}\) \(i\)-pwei \(te\) oh yowu \(oko\) ha-karabus \(le\) \(oko\)
\(\text{PN}\) \(3\)-say \(\text{PRAG}\) \(1\text{PL.EXCL}\) \(\text{DEM.PROX}\) \(\text{NSG-prison(TP)}\) \(\text{go}\) \(\text{DEM.PROX}\)
‘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
\(\text{and}\) \(3\text{PL}=\text{PROG}\) \(\text{make.3SG}\) \(\text{like}\) \(\text{DEM.DIST}\)
‘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 proclitic\(^1\), and is omitted only in rare cases\(^2\). 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 / number\(^3\). 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

\(^1\) Sometimes both, which is used as a means to introduce a topic and re-establish it.
\(^2\) For person / number marking see §7.
\(^3\) Schokkin (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 subject\(^4\). 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

\(^4\)See 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 3 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 yenyan]_{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 pwii]_{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’.
‘The basket is not mine.’

Consider also the following positive example.

(16.14) \([\text{thermos oko}]_S [\text{at-(e)m}]_{\text{CMPL}}\)
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) \(\text{mui oto ir po}\)
dog 1SG.POSS COP:3SG do

‘My dog is here (with me). (intended: I have a dog.)’

(16.16) \(\text{wum oto i-ta Lorongou}\)
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.’

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 $V_{(agr)}^i$ / 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?’

$^5V_{(agr)}$ stands for verbal subject agreement marker.
(16.22) \( y_{o_S}=u-ta \) _Sopun_{CMPL} \\
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) \( kin\cdot mat \) \\
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) $[yenyan$ 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
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) \[ yo_A = u-heng \quad wou_{GOAL} \quad pamei_O \quad betelnut \]
\[ 1SG=1SG-give.1SG \quad 2G \]
‘I gave you a betelnut.’

(16.37) * \[ yo_A = u-heng \quad pamei_O \quad le \quad ndro \quad wou_{GOAL} \quad go \quad LOC \quad 2G \]
‘* 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) \[ yo_A = ur \quad po \quad hanonue \quad wou_{RECIP} \quad Lele_O \]
\[ 1SG=COP:1SG \quad do \quad teach \quad 2G \quad Lele \]
‘I am teaching you Lele.’ (elicited)

(16.39) \[ yo_A = na-k-u-lelingen \quad wou_{GOAL} \quad [melua \quad su \quad yap]_O \]
\[ 1SG=INT-IRR-1SG \quad show \quad 2G \quad spirit \quad 3PL \quad foreigner \]
‘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.
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
1SG=come 3PL=put PN 3PL=go bed
‘They came and they put Pilehemui on the bed.’ (wedding.mother.58)

(16.42) su=pwasou [yo]O me ndro [wou]RECIPI
3PL=call 1SG 3PL=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)  \[i-k-i-heng \quad wou \ ndouo \ aka \quad [le \ peruan\] \quad w=e-mingsen-\purp\]
\[3\text{-IRR-3-give.3SG} \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{strength} \quad \text{DEM.DIST} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{problems} \quad 2\text{SG}=2\text{SG}-\text{do-TR}\]

‘She will give you that power for the problems you have settled.’

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)  \([le \ Sopun]_{\text{TOP}} \aka \quad ndran \ ke\) \quad wou=hangurwini \quad [\text{le rang}]_{\text{TEMPORAL}} \quad \text{tor}=la \quad \text{Madang}\]
\[2\text{SG}=\text{remember} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{day} \quad 1\text{DU.INCL}=\text{go} \quad \text{GN}\]

‘As for Sapon, theirs (Kelkal, a sago dish) is very watery.’ (kel-kal.mon.019)

(16.46)  \[wou=\text{hangurwini} \quad [\text{le rang}]_{\text{TEMPORAL}} \quad \text{tor}=la \quad \text{Madang}\]
\[2\text{SG}=\text{remember} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{day} \quad 1\text{DU.INCL}=\text{go} \quad \text{GN}\]

‘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 me] pwan
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 yoO/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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-re-i</th>
<th>tasou</th>
<th>pihin</th>
<th>aka</th>
<th>i-met</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-hit-TR</td>
<td>old(human)</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>DEM.DIST</td>
<td>3-die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maping</th>
<th>i-tne</th>
<th>i-you</th>
<th>le ta-i</th>
<th>yipi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>3-stand</td>
<td>3-leave.3SG</td>
<td>go beat-TR</td>
<td>sago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘In the morning he left to beat sago.’ (masusu.long.096)

The first part of example (16.56) denotes a purposeful action.

(16.59)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e</th>
<th>loping</th>
<th>i-me</th>
<th>hiti</th>
<th>su ma-hangul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conj night</td>
<td>3-come</td>
<td>take.3SG</td>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>PROP-forty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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). 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’

\(^{6}\)For 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) \[an-tu \text{ soroh pwi}]_{\text{SUB}} [a=tu=k-ain \text{ lu melel ke}]_{\text{CLF:food-1PL.INCL meat NEG POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-eat leaf aibika FOC mulhei le por yipi}]_{\text{MATRIX}}\]

‘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) \(yo=tono \ [\text{ndramet}_{O/S ir ndan pihe}]_{\text{RC aka}}\)

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) \[yo=tono \ [pihin]_O \ [ndramet \ i-tiling\_i \ y\_i O \ aka]_{RC} \]
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) \[ni\_i [wou=hangen \ yo \ \varnothing \ pihe]_{RC} \ \ i-naman \]
fish 2SG=give 1SG \varnothing yesterday 3-delicious

‘The fish that you gave to me yesterday was delicious.’ (elicited)

(16.70) \[longu\_i [su \ meunah \ ha-pwai \ \varnothing]_{RC} \ i-kolto \]
thing 3PL child NSG-say \varnothing 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) \[ [pihin\_i \ i-met \ pihe \ \ varnothing]_{RC} \ yo=ton \ [yi]_O \]
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)  \[ yo=ton \ pihinO \text{[} [[i]S-met pihe \text{ aka}]_{RC} \]
\[ 1SG=\text{know.1SG woman 3-die \ yesterday DEM.DIST} \]
‘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)  \[ e \text{ } mu=k-e-spwih \text{ k-le por ndrilkei}_{INST} \text{[range ndru-n} \]
\[ \text{and 2PL=IRR-NSG-wipe IRR-go with coconut.oil today bone-3SG.POSS} \]
\[ i-ta \text{ } ri_{LOC \text{ aka}} \]
\[ \text{3-COP LOC DEM.DIST} \]
‘And wipe it with the coconut oil in which the bones were dipped.’
\[ \text{(menuai.153)} \]

In example (16.74) a main clause object occurs as possessor in the relative clause.

(16.74)  \[ e \text{ } su=ha-i-Indri \text{[hepsah sih]}_O \text{[tan-su ngar-(e)[n]POSS pwi]}_{RC} \]
\[ \text{and 3PL=NSG-3-see:TR something one know-3PL name-3SG.POSS NEG} \]
‘And they saw something whose name they did not know.’
\[ \text{(octo.031-032)} \]

In example (16.75) a main clause sole argument occurs as possessor of the property of “being greedy” in the relative clause.

(16.75)  \[ e \text{ } [ndere-n mandren]}_S \text{[range hanu [pormeruan} \]
\[ \text{and sibling.same.sex-3SG.POSS older today before greed} \]
\[ solen]_{POSS}_{RC, \text{ aka } i-le \text{ hian aka}} \]
\[ \text{many DEM.DIST 3-go good DEM.DIST} \]
‘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 *kle*. The form *kle* is derived from *k-le* ‘IRR-go’ but has become grammaticalised into a subordinating morpheme in conditional clauses. *Kle* is mainly used as a conditional marker, but can also have temporal meaning. See examples (16.76-16.78).

(16.76) \[
[kle \text{ mor}=\text{te} \text{ hirung} \text{ nongen} \text{ oto} \text{ pwij}]_{\text{COND}}, \ wa=\text{mor}=k-\text{amet} \\
\text{COND} \text{ 2DU=PRAG} \text{ hear.3SG words} \text{  POSSE} \text{ NEG} \text{ POT=2DU=IRR-die}
\]
‘If you don’t listen to my words, you will die.’
(pic1-20C17120A.0073-74)

(16.77) \[
\text{mauekei} \text{ sih} \text{ ke.} \text{ aka} \text{ i helian.} \ [kle \text{ mor}=k-\text{ain}]_{\text{COND}}, \\
\text{fruit} \text{ one} \text{ only} \text{ DEM.DIST 3} \text{ COND} \text{ 2DU=IRR-eat} \\
a=\text{mor}=k-\text{a-met} \\
\text{POT=2DU=IRR-NSG-die}
\]
‘There is only one fruit. That one is forbidden. If you eat it, you will die.’ (pic1-20C17120A.0091-93, bible translation)

(16.78) \[
\text{hian} \text{ tekere} \text{ wou} \text{ heti} \text{ yo.} \text{ e} \ [kle \text{ pwii}]_{\text{COND}}, \ yo \\
\text{good} \text{ like} \text{ 2SG} \text{ get.2SG 1SG} \text{ and} \text{ COND} \text{  NEG} \text{ 1SG} \\
k-\text{u-hungeni} \text{ su} \text{ ndor} \text{ mu} \text{ masih} \text{ oko} \text{ su-k-menda} \\
\text{IRR-1SG-look.after.1SG 3PL} \text{ child} \text{ 2PL} \text{ all} \text{ DEM.PROX} \text{ 3PL-IRR-become.big} \\
k-e-pomut \\
\text{IRR-NSG-completely}
\]
‘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 *kle* as a temporal marker, roughly translating to “when” or “each time”.

(16.79) \[
[kle \text{ tam-(e)n} \text{ le} \text{ oho}]_{\text{TEMP}}, \ yi=k-\text{me} \text{ aka} \text{ i-ta} \\
\text{TEMP} \text{ father-3SG.POSS} \text{ go be where} \text{ 3SG=IRR-come} \text{ DEM.DIST 3-HAB} \\
hilou \text{ le} \text{ e} \text{ i-mukweni} \text{ tam-(e)n.} \\
\text{run} \text{ go and 3=rejoice.in} \text{ father-3SG.POSS.}
\]
‘When her father went somewhere, he would come back and she would come running and rejoice in her father.’ (pipalnandren.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  poyi 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 discontiguous 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)  
\[ pe=k-i-lik-i \quad pondran \quad le \quad pwan \quad pwi, \quad lehe \quad snel \quad aka \]
\[ SEQ=IRR-3-put-TR \quad water.container \quad go \quad down \quad SEQ \quad tooth \quad bush\-spirit \quad DEM.DIST \]
\[ i-ror \]
\[ 3\text{-drop} \]
‘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)  
\[ sor=kah-kah, \quad sor=ha-his, \quad pe=sor=k-al \quad poholeng \]
\[ 3DU=look.for-look.for \quad 3DU=NSG-jump \quad SEQ=3DU=IRR-go \text{ beach} \]
\[ sor=ha-i-Indri \quad po \quad riwa \quad mwat \quad ir \quad poholeng \]
\[ 3DU=NSG-3-see:TR \quad backside \quad mark \quad snake \quad COP:3SG \text{ beach} \]
‘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)  
\[ ping \quad ma-hahou \quad e \quad pe=k-i-lele \quad le, \quad e \quad mbo \quad niu, \]
\[ night \quad PROP\text{-four} \quad and \quad SEQ=IRR-3\text{-look again} \quad and \quad seedling \quad coconut \]
\[ pal-n \quad aka \quad me \quad talah \quad mbo \quad niu \]
\[ head-3\text{SG.POSS} \quad DEM.DIST \quad come \quad appear \quad seedling \quad coconut \]
‘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) \( yi=\text{pe}=k\text{-indri pwi} , \) \( ndor-n\ \text{te to pwi} , \)
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
3=\text{SEQ}=\text{IRR-3-see SEQ child-3SG.POSS PRAG COP NEG child-3SG.POSS} \\
\text{ndor-n} & \text{kin-mat} \\
\text{PRF.3SG-die} & \\
\end{array} \]

‘When he went to see his child wasn’t there (was no more). S/he had died.’ (lout.mui.102)

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Figure 16.1: Sequential *pwi* - intonation curve (female speaker)
Bibliography


URL http://hdl.handle.net/1885/10191


URL http://www.jstor.org/stable/3622861


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.
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*

This is a story of Sapon.

(B.2) *Pipalnandren e ndor-n pihin mandehe ke*

Pipalnandren and her little daughter.

(B.3) *rang sih Pipalnandren i-pwei le ndro ndor-n i-pwei*

One day Pipalnandren said to her child, she said:
Let's go and fetch water.

And she said "Alright, mother!"

The child said "Alright, mother!"

"Let's go!'

They carried all their water containers in a basket.

And they went to the river.

They went.

Pipalnandren said to her child: "Go and bathe!"

“And I will fetch water.”

Her child walked into the water gradually.

She went until the water reached her hips.

She said: “Mother, shall I stay here?”
Hermothersaid: “No, go a little further!”

And she walked on.

She went on and on until the water reached her ribs.

She said: “Mother, shall I stay here?”

Her mother said: “No, go a little further!”

And she walked on.

She walked on and on until the water reached her neck.

And she said: “Mother, shall I stay here?”

She said: “No, go a little further!”

And she walked on and on and on and on.

It (the river) became deep.

And her hand was not to bee seen anymore.
e i-le lol, i-le lol
and 3-go drown 3-go drown
And she drowned, she drowned.

e i-met, i-me pit e i-sou
and 3-die.5G 3-come float and 3-remain
And she died. She floated (on the water surface).

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.

pokot longu masih i-mwan-i pomut
water.container thing all 3-fire-TR finish
She had finished filling all the big water containers.

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.

i-me i-te re-i
3-come 3-PRAG hit-TR
She came and she hit her.

yi ist-i ndrine-n i-lik 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.

e kun-i ndran at-n
and carry-TR water POSS-3SG.POSS
And she carried her water.

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.

e i-kun-i le wum
and 3-carry-TR go house
And she carried her to the house.

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.

e i-sulu-i ndor-n
and 3-singe.hair-TR child-3SG.POSS
And she sang 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 somthing.

(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 cuscus\(^1\).

\(^1\)Spilocuscus 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, himau 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 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.
And her father came.

The child did not run, she did not get (hug) her father.

He came and he asked:

“Pipalnandren, where is the little one?”

Pipalnandren said: “I don’t know.”

“Who knows!”

“She must have gone to her grandparents, her grandfather and grandmother.”

He said: “Good. Go and get her. Go. Go and talk to the two. Bring the child here.”

She went with her walking stick, a walking stick.

And she went and stayed on the road. She did not go (on).
te la soro, ndro soro tasou pwi
PRAG go 3DU LOC 3DU old.person NEG
She did not go to the two (grandparents).

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.

pomut i-mul me
finish 3-return come
Finished, she returned home.

i-mul me
3-return come
She returned home...

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?”

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.”

mayin, a=kina ndro nduko-n
who.knows POT=go.PRF.3SG LOC aunt-3SG.POSS
“Who knows? She must have gone to her aunt.”

ala
go
“Go!”

al sendeman-i nduko-n, al heri maun<hah 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!”

le ndro nduko-n
go LOC aunt-3SG.POSS
When she went to the aunt...

le te la ndro nduko-n pwi, hit-i ndes
PRAG go LOC aunt-3SG.POSS NEG take.3SG-TR walking.stick
POSS-3SG.POSS
she did not go to the aunt, she just took her walking stick.

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.
When she returned home, she said, "Where is the little one?"

She said: "Who knows! She is not there. Who knows! She has gone to her uncle and his family."

She said: "Go! Go and talk to her uncle and his family! Go and bring the child here!"

She went with her walking stick that rested in her hand.

She did just as before, wasted time, went and wasted time for a long time. Finished, she returned home.

When she had left, he saw his child.
And her father who was there, now his senses became alert and he smelled something.

He smelled the child boiling (or the boiled child)

on top of the firewood.

His gaze turned towards the steam (that emanated from the child).

Steam came up.

“What is that?”

He stood up he went there and he saw her.

Just when he went to see he saw the child (inside).

With his hand on the big dish (he said:)

“Hey!”

“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.
"Open it up! Unfold it!"

When she had finished, he said: “Go and carry water!”

She went and carried all the water she had fetched (before).

There were the water containers, there were the big water containers. Everything was placed close to the mat.

When she had done so, he said to her:

“Go and get your food up there!”

Pipalnandren said: “What?”

“Everything has come out!”

“He has found out now!”

She did not say anything.

She did not say anything.
He said: “Fine.”

“Go and get that knife there!”

“That knife there.”

“Bring it here and if you don’t obey, I will kill you!”

Pipalnandren climbed up (to the firewood storage).

She went and took it down.

“Put it down on the mat!”

She put it on the mat and sat down.

She put her legs like this and sat now.

“Eat!”

She ate now. She ate and ate again and again.

She ate for a long time.
She came through to the bones. She ate up the flesh. It went to the
bones, went to the bones now.

“Shall these go (to waste)?”

Her husband said: “Eat up!”

And she ate up the bones. She ate up the flesh and she ate up the
bones.

She ate again and again. He said: “Eat!”

She ate it up.

She ate up the taro, she ate up the child completely.
Everything was finished.

“Drink up the water!”

She drank up all the water.

She drank up the water that was in the water containers. She drank up everything.

“Oh, my stomach is full.”

“Drink up! If you don’t drink up, that knife will go at you!”

She drank and drank. She drank all the water containers empty.

She drank up the big water containers.

She began to drink those big water containers.

She drank up and went on. Oh!

“I am short of breath now, my stomach is full.”
(B.160) ain, kle wou te ying pwi a=yο=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 maunah, 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 le pelengan, ndelnga-su
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.
**Il 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)  
* mwali h 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
everbody 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.

XXIII
They went to plant taro.

All had gone to the garden.

And the children were at home

and they said

Let us go and find peanuts.

Let us go to Ndumoh.

And they went to Ndumoh.

They went to find nuts.

they went and stayed there

They were collecting nuts from the ground.

And they saw something whose name they did not know.

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)  mbunanh  
child  
“Children!”

(B.37)  mbuie  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  mbunanh,  su=ha-noh  
and 3PL child 3PL=NSG-be.afraid  
And the children, they were afraid.
But they were standing up straight and they looked around. They cried a little and they trembled a bit with fear.

And when it came close to them it said “Don’t be afraid!”

“I’m a human.”

“I am your grandfather.”

“I heard you.”

“You are playing,”

“You are laughing.”

“What are you doing?”

They said: “We are looking for peanuts.”
And it said emm.....

“Your fathers”

“and your mothers and all,”

“where have they gone?”

“They said:”

“Our fathers and mothers and all”

“when it was still night”

“they have gone to the garden.”

“They have gone...”

“have gone planting taro.”

“And our fathers and all, they have gone climbing trees for cuscus.”

“And this afternoon”

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2Spilocuscus kraemerii, a marsupial
(B.65) zu=k-emul 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) tie-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’:

XXVIII
(B.77)  
\textit{tu-k-ala}  
1PL.INCL-IRR-go  
“Let’s go!”

(B.78)  
\textit{e  su=ya u  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)  
\textit{e  yi=ir}  
\textit{ndro po-su}  
and 3SG=COP:3SG LOC backside-3PL  
and it was at their back.

(B.80)  
\textit{e  su=ha-toki}  
and 3PL=one-walk  
And they walked.

(B.81)  
\textit{e  su=to  toki}  
and 3PL=PROG walk  
And they were walking...

(B.82)  
\textit{le  poro  nohowai}  
go with fear  
with fear.

(B.83)  
\textit{mar-su  le  ndro  po-su}  
eye-3PL go LOC backside-3PL  
They looked to the backside.

(B.84)  
\textit{mar-su  le  hanu}  \textit{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)  
\textit{mar-su  le  hanu}  \textit{lesah}  \textit{su=ha-noh}  \textit{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)  
\textit{e  yi=pwei}  
\textit{pwi}  
3SG=say NEG  
And it said: “No.”

(B.87)  
\textit{tu-k-au}  
1PL.INCL-IRR-move  
“Let’s go.”

(B.88)  
\textit{mbue  nde}  \textit{mu=k-noh}  \textit{tu-k-au}  
NEG TAG 2PL-IRR-be.afraid 1PL.INCL-IRR-move  
“Don’t be afraid. Let’s go.”

XXIX
They went home.

And it rested.

When had finished resting

it said to the children:

“Our food is there,”

they said.

“What kind of food?”

It said: “What kind of food?” And they said:

“Taro is there.”
(B.101) *maulei 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 maunanaah*
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) 3SG=say  go LOC  3PL

It said to them:

(B.114) and water  where

“And where is water?”

(B.115) and 3PL=say PRAG water  LOC.DEM.DIST

And they said: “water is there”.

(B.116) 3SG-say

And it said:

(B.117) 2PL=IRR-NSG-NSG-pour-TR water  IRR-go LOC

“Pour water over it!”

(B.118) and 3PL=NSG-pour-TR water  go pot

And they poured water in the pot,

(B.119) go with  taro  and taro.leaves  COP:3SG pot

with taro and taro leaves in the pot.

(B.120) “Ey!”

(B.121) 2PL-IRR-NSG-light-TR fire

“Light the fire!”

(B.122) 3PL=NSG-light-TR fire

They lit the fire.

(B.123) 2PL-IRR-NSG-put  pot  IRR-go be fire

“Put the pot on the fire.”

(B.124) 3PL=put  pot

And they put the pot
(B.125) *ma mah e maulei 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

XXXIII
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-ndroth-i yo  
2PL-IRR-cover.up-TR 1SG  
“Cover me up!”
And they covered it up (put a lid on top of the pot)

And the octopus was inside with

the taro boiling.

The taro almost being cooked,

and the octopus jumped down.

and the octopus jumped down and it said:

"Just get the taro and put it down"

"and take it and put it on..." 

"on what's it again..."

"a big dish."

And they took the taro and taro leaves and put them on the big dish.

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 tasy.”

(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-orō
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.
Every time

The fathers and mothers of the children left for the bush when it was still night,

The octopus would come to them.

And it jumped on top of their food and they cooked it (with it).

They ate taro leaves and they ate taro.

And they were growing.

They became fat (lit. their bodies became good).

They grew.

They became fat.

And their fathers and mothers said:

“Ey!”
(B.194) su mbunanah te oko pwil!  
3PL child PRAG DEM.PROX NEG  
“The children were not like that!”

(B.195) hanu  
before  
“Before”

(B.196) aka sing-su pwil, 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.”

XXXIX
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.”

yowu=ha-ser maulei 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.”

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.”

e mah aka e te sah ndran i
taro DEM.DIST and PRAG what water 3
“And that taro and what’s it water...”

ir werwet
PROG:3SG boil.INTS
“was boiling.”

e kut i-kohis le eh
and octopus 3-jump go HESIT
“And the octopus jumped and eh...”

longu he-ndre
something one-NCLF:piece
“one thing”

i-kohis le lundie-n
3-jump go inside-3SG.POSS
“jumped inside (the pot).”

e i-pe e yi=mou
and 3-defecate and 3SG=urinate
“And it defecated and urinated.”

le lundie yenyan at-wu
go inside food POSS-1PL.EXCL

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.”

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.”
He said: “Oh.”

“And he called his name to you?”

They said: “Yes, yes, yes!”

“He said his name was...”

“And he was from Losa.”

“His village is Losa.”

“It is at the coast.”

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 maunana 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.
The sun was on its way and it rose.

And when he looked around he saw the octopus coming.

The children went to collect peanuts.

He looked around and he saw the octopus with them...

(with) the children. He said: “Oh!”

“Everything the children said is there!”

They accompanied it and they went to the house.

And he hid...

He hid at the side of the house.

And the octopus could not see him a bit and he did not know him as well.

And it came.
The octopus told the children...

too cook like they did before many times.

They did it (thus).

And the octopus jumped into the pot and stayed there.

They covered it up.

And they lit a fire and it was boiling.

The octopus was still inside (the pot).

He didn’t know anything.

And the children’s father took the axe.

he cut with it.

It was still inside the pot.
(B.276)  i-sindrti 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)  sindrti 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-sindrti  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)  indrti  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.”  

XLVII
It went and left and it did not return.

And the story ends there.

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.
In all the places there were many people.

They would walk with their dogs and this man, he stayed by himself in one place.

And one day he walked with his dog.

All the time he was walking with his dog, but when they wanted to return to their house

And men stole from the (his) house

He was thinking and he said: “Wah! Which man is stealing here?”

And once he walked away and left his dog at (the house).

His dog stayed.

For putting...what? What do they say for “spy”? (Narrator asking her aunt)

“lelu”. ehe. per i-ro i-ro per i-ro aka i-ro

For putting...what? What do they say for “spy”? (Narrator asking her aunt)
“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-iki 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-iki 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-pesti 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.”
“And the master who steals is you there!”

And that man,

his grip loosened. He looked around. He looked again, but there was no person.

“Wah! Where is this man?”

But he did not take the things he wanted to steal.

In the afternoon the dog’s owner returned home.

and it (the dog) said to him, it said:

“What things of ours here keep getting lost..”

Now.”

“That is the man, this master here.”

He said: “Alright.”

“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-eki poho-n i-wong*
and 3-say PRAG 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.
mwan le sul, mwan i-yet
fire go torch fire 3-burn
The fire touched the torch and fire burned.

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.

i-tulemui poho mui aka
3-burn mouth dog DEM.DIST
He burned that dog’s mouth.

e ma i-you
and with 3-leave.3SG
And so he left.

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
tei 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!”

e i-you
and 3-leave.3SG
And he left.

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).

i=pe-k-me pwi
3=SEQ-IRR-come SEQ
He came and...

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...

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.
His gaze turned towards his dog's mouth.

That was blackened.

"Oh, they burned my dog's mouth and my dog doesn't speak anymore." And now dogs don't speak anymore.

And when you see dogs whose mouths are black,
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) \textit{mwalih mwalih}  
\textit{story story}  
Story story.

(B.2) \textit{kor sih}  
place one  
There is a place

(B.3) \textit{i-ta kerse ngar-mui su=pwasou}  
3-COP side hole-dog 3PL=call  
which is at the boundary to “Ngarmui” that they call...

(B.4) \textit{Karuwin Karuwin}  
GN GN  
Karuwin, Karuwin.

(B.5) \textit{i-le lundie ngat}  
3-go inside hole

\(^3\)Ngarmui is a rare compound consisting of \textit{ngat} ‘hole’ or ‘cave’ and \textit{mui} ‘dog’. The phoneme /t/ mutates to /r/ in the process of compounding.

LVI
And as for inside of the cave...

(B.6) \( su=pwasou \ ngar-mui \)
\[3PL=\text{call hole-dog} \]
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) \( su=ta \ metir \ le \ ngat \ le \ ngar-mui \)
\[3PL=\text{HAB sleep go hole go hole-dog} \]
They used to sleep inside the cave, inside Ngarmui.

(B.10) \( loping \ lorang \ mui \ kamel \ su=la \ toki \)
night.time day.time dog male \[3PL=\text{go walk} \]
At night time and at day time the male dogs walked.

(B.11) \( su=la \ eh \ su=la \ kah \ an-su \ yenyan \)
\[3PL=\text{go HESIT 3PL=go find CLF.food-3PL food} \]
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.
And she stayed there. She stayed waiting for her brothers to go and find meat and bring it back.

They cooked, they ate.

They did... those rounds were day and night, day and night, finding meat.

One came and they ate.

They had gone to find meat.

Their sister Nakmat, Nakmat stayed.

And a man of...

eh, Pokop of Polomou...

came, he came to steal their sister Nakmat.
They were looking for meat and when they came back...

Nakmat was not there.

The day turned into afternoon (lit. the village turned into afternoon).

They said: “Never mind.”

“We are unable to find her, tomorrow when day breaks...”

“We will walk and we will smell all the roads...

“that are at the boundaries to us (our land).”

Night came and the morning after.

They got up and smelled all those small roads.

When they came to the road that leads to Polomou they smelled their sister’s footprint.
ShewalkedthereandhadgonetoPolomou.

Theyjuststayedatherback...

stayedatherback,smelledherfootprint,stayedadherbackforalongtime,againandanagain.

TheyreachedaplacenearPolomou,

Itrainedandtheycouldnotsmelltheir sister’sfootprintanymore, but theirsisterNakmatwasinsideahouse.

Andshesawherbrothers.

She saw her brothers approaching.

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 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...
They went to find meat.

They ate.

And then they slept.

One day they were there...

They were forming their mouths to bark, they barked night and day.

And one of the big men,

a chief of a place they call Monul,

his name was Pombuluiama,

he got up and he said to them:

“Hey! Night and day you dogs are just barking!”

“You are just barking all the time!”

“My body has become tired of, my ears have become tired of you!”
(B.69)  
e  \text{mu=ke-royau}  \text{aka}  \text{kah sih kor at-mu e}  
and \text{2PL=IRR-NSG-get.}  \text{lost DEM.DIST find}  \text{ one place POSS-2PL}  \text{and}  
\text{mu=k-au k-al ri!}  
\text{2PL=IRR-move IRR-go LOC}  
“And get lost now and find another place of yours and go there!”

(B.70)  
e  \text{su=ie-n}  
and \text{3PL=stay-3SG.POSS}  
And they stayed.

(B.71)  
\text{mandren at-su}  
big  \text{POSS-3PL}  
Their big man,

(B.72)  
\text{mui aka su=pwai tu=k-ei-n}  
dog  \text{DEM.DIST 3PL=say}  \text{ 1PL.INCL=IRR-stay-3SG.POSS}  
that dog (those dogs) said: “We will stay here.”

(B.73)  
\text{moh maping a=tu=k-e-kah kor,}  
tomorrow morning  \text{POT=1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-find place}  
\text{tu=k-ar-koh}  \text{tu=k-au k-al ri}  
\text{1PL.INCL=IRR-NSG-pack.belongings}  \text{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)  
\text{su=ie-n}  
3PL=stay-3SG.POSS  
They stayed.

(B.75)  
\text{maping ke su=tne mernal i-kopwat}  
morning  \text{FOC 3PL=stand sun  3-rise}  
Early in the morning they got up when the sun was rising.

(B.76)  
\text{su=sirt-i}  \text{ Mopilt}  
3PL=follow-TR GN  
They followed the creek Mopilt.

(B.77)  
\text{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  
\text{ke, su=la los la ndran Lehei}  
\text{FOC 3PL=go fall go water}  \text{ 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)  
\text{su=yai la horoh}  
3PL=cross.water go other.side  
They crossed the river to the other side,
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.

su=la to Lorongou
3PL=go COP GN
They went to Lorengau.

su=his la ndas
3PL=jump go sea
They jumped into the sea.

su=ngangai yau la ndue-n
3PL=swim move go open.sea-3SG.POSS
They swam out into the open sea.

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.

su=te tiling-i mauso
3PL=PRAG see-TR island
(u)ntil they saw an island

Nauna pwi kohon
GN NEG hide
It was not Nauna, Nauna was still hidden.

e su=la talah la mauso 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.

Nauna emm Nauna e Lapangai
GN HESIT GN and GN
Nauna, emm, Nauna and Lapangai.

e su=la sato le mauso ma-ruoh aka, mauso
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.

e su=la sato la to ri
and 3PL=go arrive.on.other.side go COP LOC
And they arrived there and stayed there.

LXIV
They arrived there. They came upon a place that was there.

The chief of those two places called out to them as they were settling. He said: “Come to the house!”

They said: “We (our journey) went like this and that.”

“And we left, having gathered all our belongings, and came here and we came to stay with you now.”

It stayed like this.

He embraced them and they stayed on those two islands.

It stayed like this.

The people of Pere island

They wanted to find dog’s teeth

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-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.

LXVI
(B.110) su=la
   3PL=go

They went.

(B.111) su=lunget su=la la talah la mauso 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 mauso 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...”

LXVII
(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** **yenyan**  
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.  

LXVIII
And they told their chief and he said: “That is enough.”

“We will go now.”

They were about to leave,

(when) the chief of that place said:

“One of you will climb that talisa tree."

And he (one) climbed that talisa tree, he went up the tree to get four talisa leaves.

“Bring them down.”

“Put it into the canoe.”

“And sail off and go to the Pere or Mwanus.”

They left and gradually approached the middle of the sea.

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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-mb̪ul 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=wasou 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).
It was pointing out their path. The bird was ahead of them, the ndrili was ahead of them.

They sailed behind it (following it).

They sailed behind it and came gradually closer.

(unti)l they arrived at Pere.

They came back, bringing the dog’s teeth to their chiefs.

“The chiefs of that place said: These are our dog’s teeth! And…

we will take these dog’s teeth to buy women from.”

The story goes, the story comes.

and stays with you, Pilapan, your eyes want to sleep now, right?

The story

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) *mwalihi mwalihi*
story story
Story story

(B.2) *mwalihi at souka*
story POSS chouka
This is a story about

(B.3) *souka ir per-mbuso*
chouka COP:3SG ASSOC-island

LXXIII
The Chouka lived on an island,

(B.4) permbusyo 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.
All of the Choukas had died, only one remained.

when that was done...

It went and fetched all of the rivers and creeks of Lou.

And it took the rivers and creeks away.

It went away and it became....

And its mouth became, emm, became tired.

And a little of the water fell down to Ndropwa.

All of it went to the mainland.

And came to the Choukas of the mainland

And the Choukas of the mainland lived at, they lived at Ndenap.

And these are the Choukas of my mother's ancestors.
e maurer at-su teie
and work POSS-3PL thus
And their duties are thus.

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...

pe=su=k-e-erkai k-al te Tungou nde
SEQ=3PL=IRR-NSG-walk IRR-go PRAG GN or
when they want to go to Tungou or...

k-al te Pulisou
IRR-go PRAG GN
they go to Pulisou

aka su souka su=k-ala
DEM.DIST 3PL chouka 3PL=IRR-go
then the Choukas will come.

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.

[...] su=k-e-ha-tan-su teie
[...] 3PL=IRR-NSG-NSG-know-3PL thus
They will know thus.

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.

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.

su=to ta ta-hitai
3PL=PROG HAB NSG-war
They were usually at war (working for us)

aka maurer at su souka sih aka
DEM.DIST work POSS 3PL chouka one DEM.DIST
That was one of the Chouka’s duties.

LXXVII
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 kopling
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.

LXXVIII
And if there is a bird’s nest in the tree,

then the children are not allowed to go there.

They will say: “How can this be?” (They will protest.)

Then the Choukas will fight.

They will fight until they don’t see any children anymore (disturbing them).

And the issue will remain until the night.

And they will go and talk to the ancestors that had died earlier.

They will say: “Call out to all those that are there...”

“those that died earlier.”

What is the matter?

And the issue will remain until the night.

And they will go and talk to the ancestors that had died earlier.

They will say: “Call out to all those that are there...”

“those that died earlier.”

What is the matter?
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 tumau ho-mou  
and POT=3PL=IRR-NSG-call come DEM.DIST grandparent one-NCLF:human  
gnar-n  Posopun  
nname-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 nengeni  
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.”  

LXXX
The wind took it.

And it fell to the ground and they have buried it.

And they would say: “The ancestors that have died said: Oh, it is fine.”

That was another one.

Another one.

All those...

And someone wants to climb a tree for cuscus.

And he would climb up the side of the house and if he would see a female or male cuscus...

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 tum bụ  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  
“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...  

LXXII
(B.100) *ngesriu nde*
kind.of.tree or
a ngesriu tree or...

(B.101) *maunding 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 ndrodrepo-n
COP FOC backside-3SG.POSS
Then she will be married there and stay there and the Choukas will
follow her.
They will go and make their house on the coconut stalk.

They will go and make their house in the betelnut tree.

They will go and make their house on the branch of the sakei or the branch of whatever tree.

Each time...

They will cry but the Chouka does not belong to Lundret.

It does not belong to Warambei.

It does not belong to Sapon either.

Those choukas, the choukas really belong to (this) men’s house.

And those Choukas belong to the ancestors of Ndenap.

And now I am telling (about it).

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-pto 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 mwaliaka 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 ndaktu-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.
And each time it went well, but once they had a bad day.

Like, the waves drowned their canoe.

And one said: “Cut me down.”

“Leave one of my arms, one of my legs (to the sea) and only take my head.”

“Bury me beside the kelseou tree, beside my, our house.”

“It will grow.”

“When five nights are over, you will see something.”

And five nights were over and the head of his brother grew.

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 musik 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.
It carried one rope of coconuts.

And he left it.

And it carried a rope of coconuts again and he left it.

It grew and grew until it carried lots of fruit.

And he (his brother) took it.

Remove its shell and it can become copra, for money.

Remove its shell and it can be cooked for food.

It can be added to sago.

It can be added to taro.

It can be added to cassava.

Coconut can be made coconut oil from.
And as of now...

The coconut is in Manus or on our island.

Everywhere.

That was the coconut of the story about the two men that were brothers.

That was the story of the coconut.

Finished.
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=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 come.down 3PL=come COP water
taria ndol
tundrah paddling canoe
The 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.
su ndramet to lohloh
3PL man PROG call.out.RDP
The men called out.

e su snel aka su=to hon ke
and 3PL bush.spirit DEM.DIST 3PL=PROG whistle FOC
And the bush spirits just whistled.

e su=kun-ui
and 3PL=carry-TR
And they carried it.

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,

tusie ke Lokomou
straight FOC GN
going straight to Lokomou.

su=la to Lokomou
3PL=go COP GN
They went to Lokomou.

su=tatuni ta-tne
3PL=set.up.post NSG-stand
They set up the house post (the standing).

e piso Ndremʙueh 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 Ndremʙueh’s sister said to him: “Ey!”

wou-ta riu su lau oko per kunia wum e yenyan
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?”

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.
e Ndrembueh ir hangungurou
and PN PROG:3SG think
And Ndrembueh was thinking.

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.

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.

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>part. marks possibility, potential. See: wa.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>agr. 2SG, NSG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>sf. construct suffix, pertensive marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aah</td>
<td>interj. HESIT.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Adam</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>vtr. eat; kaikai.</td>
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<tr>
<td>aiteni</td>
<td>vtr. bite; kaikai.</td>
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<tr>
<td>aitoh</td>
<td>vtr. wade; kalapim.wara. yi aitoh le horo he is crossing (the river) to the other side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka</td>
<td>part. DEM.DIST. See: oko.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>vtr. go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>vtr. go; yu.go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alndi</td>
<td>vtr. go.away; go.longwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>vtr. come; kam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>vtr. come; kam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amuni</td>
<td>vtr. fill; pulimapim.</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>an</th>
<th>clf. possessive classifier for food; kaikai.blong.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ani</td>
<td>vsp. TR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anpihikusmulang</td>
<td>n. woman of the clouds. See: Lapusmunlang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apsiri</td>
<td>vtr. sweep; brumim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-</td>
<td>vpf. 2SG, NSG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artehei</td>
<td>vtr. 2SG:hit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as-</td>
<td>vpf. 2SG? See: ar-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asmetei</td>
<td>vtr. put.out, kill; mekim dai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at</td>
<td>part. possessive marker in indirect possessive constructions, either suffixed with pronominal possessive markers or followed by noun. See: oto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>vamb. move. See: ayu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auti</td>
<td>vtr. vtr; pasim. auti papi - pasim dua!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayu</td>
<td>vtr. move, leave. See: au.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chepunu</th>
<th>n. GN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>copra</td>
<td>n. copra.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>England</th>
<th>n. GN.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enhui</td>
<td>vtr. putting something small into a container such as a basket, e.g. buai, *enhui kei, no liquids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eni</td>
<td>vsf. TR. See: -ani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enueni</td>
<td>vtr. scoop; rausim wara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere</td>
<td>vtr. hurry; hariap. Ere! Hurry! Yu hariap! Were Hurry! Yu hariap!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erio</td>
<td>adv. half, half.way; hap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erpei</td>
<td>vtr. open, open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erungui</td>
<td>vtr. cut; katim. erungui yo kle mandhe cut me to pieces. katim me i go liklik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eruwi</td>
<td>vtr. fish, pull. See: eruwi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erwar</td>
<td>adv. temporal; sampela taim tude.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erwei</td>
<td>vtr. put.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erwui</td>
<td>vtr. pull.2SG, drag.2SG, tow.2SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eseri</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esimke</td>
<td>vtr. be.quiet; pasim maus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esngeni</td>
<td>vtr. kindle.IMP, light; laitim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etuleni</td>
<td>vtr. guide; skulim, helpim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ev</td>
<td>n. name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey</td>
<td>interj. ey; ey.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**G - g**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>n. GN.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gretel</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**H - h**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha</th>
<th>num. form of numeral used with numeral classifiers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>vtr. pick.from.tree, harvest. See: hane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>vtr. give, look.after. See: heng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hangah</td>
<td>nclf. half.way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hangen</td>
<td>vtr. give.2SG, give.NSG, look.after.2SG, look.after.NSG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hangul</td>
<td>num. forty, 4.kina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hangungurou</td>
<td>n. thought, thinking; tingting. Nde hangungurou / mbue hangungurou! No worries! No ken tingting tumas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasei</td>
<td>vtr. plant; planim. Su hasuwos / su has wes They planted stick taro. Ol i planim stik tara. yi tanen hasia wes hian He knows how to plant taro well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasia</td>
<td>n. one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haue</td>
<td>vtr. rinse.sago; wasim sago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hel</td>
<td>vtr. laugh.1SG, laugh.3SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helian</td>
<td>adj. forbidden, holy; tambu. su pihin helian per kal kamel it is forbidden for all women to enter the haus boi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helouni</td>
<td>vtr. run.with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henei</td>
<td>vtr. harvest. See: han.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heng</td>
<td>vtr. give.1SG, give.3SG, look.after.1SG, look.after.3SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hengen</td>
<td>vtr. give.1SG, give.3SG, look.after.1SG, look.after.3SG. See: heng; hangen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hengenai</td>
<td>nder. care.for, foster; lukaut. ndor hengenai care child. lukaut pikinini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henghang</td>
<td>nder. gift, sharing. henghang ot me ndro wou my gift came to you (i.e. I gave something to you).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hengui</td>
<td>vtr. smell.NSG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hengungurou</td>
<td>vtr. think.1SG, think.3SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hensel</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hepe</td>
<td>adv. a.little, a.bit; liklik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hepe</td>
<td>part. but, however, little; liklik tru, tasol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hepsah n. something; wanpela.samting. See: sa.
here vtr. appear. sorla sorhahere maundraka
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.
himau 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.
Hiemioloniu n. woman from a story from Powat Nambis.
hio adj. good.1SG.POSS.
hipuonom. sound.of.fire.
hipwak vtr. hurry.up.
hir vtr. get, take; kisim.
hirek vtr. grow; kaman.
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 yenyan kle ndro hom atsoro pwie
  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
hondrhi vtr. write. See: tahondrhi
hopus nclf. one:NCLF.bundle. op / opo hopus le! get some more!
hor adv. many, plenty.
hor vtr. blow. hai hori su lukei kenya
horwam 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.
hutai adj. thick. kok kei hutun the tree bark is thick.

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i agr. 3.

XCIX
-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 vtr. live, stay, be. See: ei.
ie nclf. NCLF:canoe, NCLF:tree.
iesou vamb. marry.
im vtr. sit.3SG.
ingo vstat. cool.down, become.cold. yenyan kingo cold food.

K - k

kanu n. main rafter of a house, triangular shape
kanya nder. eating of. kanya ndramet eating of people.
kap n. string; bакlaиn, string.
kapenen adj. delicious, tasty.
kaperou n. axe; tamenti.
kapkenen adj. very.tasty. See: kapan. mah e мerulei kapkenen le taro and leaf taro is very tasty.
kapui v. think; tinating.
karamulei n. green, greens.Category: flora.
karkohon vtr. gather; bungim ol samting blong go? karkohni su le Sopun pe kala pa pwi
karmwan n. burning.firewood. See: karmwan.
Karuwin n. GN.
kasal n. floor, flooring of a house.
kasom vtr. 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 vtr. 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 LLG.
kayah  n. kind.of.fruit. Category: flora.
keh  part. FOC; tasol.
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.
kerngi  vtr. cut.up, break.into.pieces, dice; katim haphap.
kengi  loc. locational.
kekei  n. bisket.
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 ndero soro ndere soro. Hepke hom homou atsoro kinso luk yenyan 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).
kle  n. fish.line; rop.bilong.pis.
klex  subr. COND, TEMP.
kmet  n. death.
ko-  vpf. ? Yi ko ta yan ni. He is eating fish. Mbuyana ko ta ini lolli masih The child is eating (up) all the sweets.
koh  vtr. to gather one's belongings, all belongings of a house in order to move. See: takoh.
kohis  vtr. Jump.
kohol  n. pan fro frying sago.
kohon  vtr. hide; hait.
kohona  n. place, home, village, hideaway.
kohor  vtr. multiply, increase.
khou  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. kokemekhe his skin is thin.
kokei  n. bisket.
kol  n. feeling?
kol  n. head.of.sth.
kolu  n. cloth, clothes; laplap.
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** n. clothes. See: kolau.

**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** deren soro ndere soro. Hepke hom homou atsoro kinso luk yenyan 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.

**Kopite** 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.

**Korue** adv. before.yesterday; bipo. koru yole 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.

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**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.

**Kowi** n. kowii.plant.

**Koyir** vtr. crawl. koirir le ndas le en dogron e kelpen aka repuiani pwai 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 *kular > *na kular > Pad *ŋkulu > PEAd *kul(u) > Lele kul.

**Kumbaru** n. foggy, muddy, cloudy. ndram kumbaru

**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.
| kup | n. cloud. |
| kup | n. cardinal direction. |
| kupwa | n. part.of.new.plant.in.fruit. |
| kupwen | n. net for fishing or catching an animal. See: mahu. |
| 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 *kutita |
| kut | n. hair.louse; laus.Category: fauna. |
| Etym: POC *kutu 'hair louse'. |
| kut | nclf. NCLF: village. |
| Kuwei | n. GN. |
| kweh | n. flute; flat. |
| kwel | n. sago.bow. |

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| la | adv. first. |
| landr | n. kind.of.tree.Category: flora. |
| lang | n. sky, heaven, weather? Etym: POC *lanjat '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 *laperatomy '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: Anphihikusmulang. |
| 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. |

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| 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 melua / samelwah atsu yap. / nakulilengini melua / samelwah atsu yap kme ndro wou pere eindri. 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. |

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CIII
Indri vtr. see: TR, look: TR; *lukim.

loh vtr. 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 vtr. call.out.RDP, shout.RDP; *singaut. Hepke i lohloh le ndro msunana 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 vtr. 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; *bus.

loping n. night.time; *nait. See: ping.

lophohonum loc. outside of the house. See: pohonum.

lorang n. day.time.

Lorin n. PN.

Lorongou n. GN; *Lorengau.

los vtr. 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, loum, lou su. See: lau.

lout n. Admiralty Island cuscus, Manus Island spotted cuscus, Spilocuscus kraemerii; *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.


lukmweni vtr. fold; *brukim.

lukna n. seat, place; *ples bilong sindaun.

lukto n. seat, culture; *sindaun.

lukto vtr. 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 vtr. 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 msunana ndon... when she was still a child. *yi ma msunana 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).

mahalau n. spider.web.

malapo adv. now.
mamasou  adj. unripe; (i no) mau.

mamet  vitr. 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  vitr. grow big, grow up, gain weight, humans, animals, grow up. See: menda.

manakreen  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.

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mʙuhur  n. paint. wou yelingi sehe mʙuhur ramen nde nungwan?
mʙukei  n. kina shell.
mᴀul  vitr. stray, wander.about. Yo wurpo mประสบุน i le i me I (just) walk around (with no purpose, no. Mi wok lo raun i go i kam. Yowu to po mʙul ke We just walk around. Mpiwa wok lo raun tasol.
mᴀule  n. cooking.stone.
mᴀulei  n. leaf.of.taro; lip.taro.Category: flora.
mʙunanah  n. child; pιkinini.
mʙunding  n. backside.of.house.
mʙunen  n. price; price.
mʙupa  n. thigh; lek.
mʙur  loc. backside, back; baksait. Etym: POC *burit 'hind part, rear, back'.
mʙur palen  above his head.
mʙur  loc. inside, into, underneath; daunbilo.
mʙure  v. dislike; les.
mʙurer  n. work; work.
mʙurns  n. shoot.of.plant; kru.
mʙurnduere  n. Category: kinship.
mʙurnsdure  n. second.born.
mʙurnsdure  n. second.born.
mʙursangah  n. door.step.
mʙurtan  n. hot.stone.
mʙuser  vtr. tear.
mʙusik  n. hole.
mʙusik  vstat. has.holes.
mʙusik  vitr. emerge, come.into.existence, arrive, reach.
mʙusik  vtr. create, produce.
mʙuskarui  vtr. scratch; sikrapim.

mʙuskehen  adj. has.holes; i gat hol. kasal ot mʙuskehen my floor (house) has holes.
mʙusme  n. hand.of.cuscus.
mʙuso  n. island.
mʙut  n. kind.of.tree.
mʙutun  adj. dull.
me  vitr. come; i kam.
mehere  vitr. come.appear; kam, kamap.
mekehe  adj. weak.
mekehen  adj. thin.
mele  vtr. open.up.
mele  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  vtr. shake, rattle.
menda  vitr. grow. See: manda.
mengun  adj. dry; drai.
mensou  n. in-law. See: sou.
menuai  n. eagle.
mepan  vitr. approach; i kam. See: sepan.
mernal  n. sun; san.
mesar  vitr. deliver, give.birth.
met  vitr. die.SG. See: mat.
metir  vitr. sleep; silip.Category: state. yo nakmetir, metriu i reo sleep is seizing (him or her?)
metiriui  vitr. sleep.deeply.
metriuni  vtr. have sex with someone, sleep with someone; silip.wantaim.
kamie i metriuni pihin
meyis  vstat. done, cooked.
Mileu  n. island near Lapangai and nauna.
mim  vitr. sit.
mim  n. stay(?)
mindr  n. common ant.Category: fauna.
mingsen  vtr. 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, YENYAN 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.
mondrensing  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.
muso  n. reef.
motou  n. knife; naip.
mou  nclf. numeral classifier for humans.
mu  pro. 2PL; yupela. Etym: POC *-mu 'P.2SG', *-m(i)u 'P.2PL' (Ross 1988).
muh  vitr. flow.
mui  n. animal, mammal, canine; dok.
mukere  vitr. hurry.2PL. WOMU MUKERE!  
you (PI) hurry up! yutupela hariap.
mukmuk  adj. happy; amamas.
mukmuku  adj. light in weight.
mukwen  vitr. love, rejoice.in, celebrate; hamamasim.
mul  vitr. return; kam bek.
mulhei  adv. on.it's.own, for.no.reason, merely, just.

mumurhe  vitr. rush; hariap tumas.
mund  v?. Yo MUND KARI something like 'I have a bad gut feeling'.
mund  vtr. whip, beat. IMUNDI MASUSU she wipped M.
mundri  vtr. cut.
mundrti  vtr. 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  vtr. 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  vtr. whip. Tete i muti yo, su hamuti su mbunana my father whipped me.

mwah  vtr. sorry, feel.sorry, broken; sori.  
mwahin  I'm sorry for him. Mi sori long en.

mwakilie  vitr. stray, roam.around.

mwalih  n. story, legend; stori tumbuna.

mwalih  adj. good; gutpela.

mwaloiit  vitr. disappear; hapiris.
mwan  n. fire; pain.
mwanan  adj. far.away; long.we.
mwandran  adj. fresh. Mwandrehendra  n. PN.

Mwandrendra  n. evil spirit; masalai.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mwandri</th>
<th>n. sun, peace. mwandri mwandri oh! Kihiam ndra ndau! Kihiam ndra pum! Eising 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!</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mwanus</td>
<td>n. Manus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mware</td>
<td>vtr. alive; i no dai yet. ndurkanoko i mamwaren, mamwaren or mwaren used, wou mamwarem! yu live yet</td>
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<tr>
<td>mwasi</td>
<td>vtr. whip, hit; wipim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mwasi</td>
<td>n. sore.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mwat</td>
<td>n. snake; snek. Etym: POC *mwata 'snake' (Ross 1988). mwat ie Lugos the snake lived in Lugos. snek i stap lo Lugos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mwen</td>
<td>vtr. fetch.water.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mwenen</td>
<td>adj. straight, smooth, correct, real; i stret. sal i mwenen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwes</td>
<td>vtr. stink, rot; stink, bagarap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbundr</td>
<td>n. crab; k uka bilong nambis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwoi</td>
<td>n. fire.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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    | vtr. 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.                              |
| nama   | n. fat, sweetness. See: naman.                                |
| naman  | adj. delicious, fat, sweet; gris. Use: 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 msumana 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. |
| ndaken | adj. true, correct; trupela.                                   |
| ndalis | n. place to keep and store food.                              |
| ndan   | vtr. dance.NSG; danis.                                        |
| 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.                                                  |
| ndelga | n. ear; ia.                                                    |
| ndelng| n. ear:1SG.POSS.                                               |

CVIII
Ndelo  n. Ndillo; *Ncilow.*

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; *waian.*

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.*

ndinai  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 bio 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 melel - 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.

akutouie 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; *bilong.*

ndra  n. branch.

ndrah  n. bamboo; *mambu.*

ndrai  n. blood; *blut.*

ndrak  n. midrib.of.coconut.leaflet.

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.

ndrametn  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; *warai.

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 ndrekei; *plet, *diish.

Ndremɓueh  n. PN.

ndremlah  n. lightning.


ndremta  n. owner, local.person, villager; *man bilong ples.

ndrendreln  adj. dirty.

ndrepara  n. floor.

ndrepo  loc. back?, backside?; *bihain. See: ndrendrepo. *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 le so riiru 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.

ndrohmuri  vtr. vtr; *brukim, *mekim i bruk.

ndrokmwan  adj. dark.

ndroku  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 ndromuren idol the waves sanke the canoe.

ndromwis  vtr. dive.

ndrondrepo  loc. backside, back.

See: ndrepo.

Ndropwa  n. river or rivulet, where is it?

ndrotih  vtr. cover.up, cover; *karamapim.

ndrou  vtr. 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.

ndrukumwan  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.
ndrupo  loc. back; baksait.blong.en.
ndrut  vtr. fall.down. lingen indrut rain falls down.
ndue  loc. local noun. yowu la nduen went to the open sea.
nduei  n. eel; maleu.
nduh  n. sugarcane; suka. Etym: 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.
nduko.n  n. father's sister; auntie.Category: kinship.
nduktu  n. beginning, base, origin, meaning, reason; as bilong. taitai oko nduktun sah? fight DEM reason what.
nduktei n. edible greens, fern; kumu.Category: flora.
nduktu ndramet nongn oko nduktun sah? what is the meaning of this word / phrase?
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.
nduwì  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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Category</th>
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<tr>
<td>ngundu</td>
<td>n. neck</td>
<td>body parts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngunho</td>
<td>n. smell</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ngusu</td>
<td>n. lips; lips</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>n. fish; pis.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>vtr. eat: TR.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>vsf. TR.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nime</td>
<td>n. hand, arm; han.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nimo</td>
<td>n. hand: 1SG.POSS.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ninis</td>
<td>n. stick for lighting a fire by rubbing a stick against another stick</td>
<td>body parts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>vtr. collapse, break.down; pundaun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>noh</td>
<td>vtr. be afraid.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nohil</td>
<td>vtr. strip, peel, strip.away; sikirapim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nohnah</td>
<td>n. GN.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nohowai</td>
<td>n. fear, anxiety; poret.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nol</td>
<td>n. kind.of.fish; nol. Category: fauna.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nombut</td>
<td>n. GN.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nomia</td>
<td>nder. nomia niu - the grating of coconut, only heard in this combination, maybe noun incorporation? or simple collocation?</td>
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<tr>
<td>nomwi</td>
<td>vtr. grate; sikirapim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>non</td>
<td>vtr. collect.from.ground, find; painim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nondrut</td>
<td>n. bamboo variety used for Manus combs</td>
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<tr>
<td>nongen</td>
<td>n. talk, speech, language, text.message.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nun</td>
<td>v. come.to.a.hold, stop; surik.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nunou</td>
<td>n. flower. Category: flora.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nouni</td>
<td>vtr. dress.up, decorate; bilasim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nowi</td>
<td>n. sea waves.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>vtr. wash, bath; waswas.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>n. squid.</td>
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<tr>
<td>nuaini</td>
<td>vtr. shake.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuhnuh</td>
<td>vtr. put.sth.in.container; pullimapim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuhui</td>
<td>vtr. wash, fill.sth.in.basket; wasim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunu</td>
<td>vtr. remove water from a container. kenuini ndran le ndol! remove the water from the canoe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num8ua</td>
<td>n. shoot, sprout.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num8ue</td>
<td>n. tree.trunk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numo</td>
<td>n. arm: 1SG.POSS, hand: 1SG.POSS. See: nime.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>n. arm: 1SG.POSS, hand: 1SG.POSS. See: nime.</td>
<td>fauna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonobut</td>
<td>n. GN.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nomia</td>
<td>nder. nomia niu - the grating of coconut, only heard in this combination, maybe noun incorporation? or simple collocation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nomwi</td>
<td>vtr. grate; sikirapim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non</td>
<td>vtr. collect.from.ground, find; painim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nondrut</td>
<td>n. bamboo variety used for Manus combs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nongen</td>
<td>n. talk, speech, language, text.message.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nun</td>
<td>v. come.to.a.hold, stop; surik.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunou</td>
<td>n. earth.quake.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noonu</td>
<td>vtr. wash.refl(?); waswas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunu</td>
<td>vtr. washing. per nunu for washing (purposes).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nur</td>
<td>vtr. clean.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>sf. 1SG.POSS.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>interj. oh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oho</td>
<td>int. where; we.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>interj. oi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oko</td>
<td>See: aka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondorngul</td>
<td>num. eighty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondoruoh</td>
<td>num. numeral; et.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondrih</td>
<td>num. nine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondrih</td>
<td>num. nine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondrtih</td>
<td>vtr. cover; karamapim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondrtoloh</td>
<td>num. seven.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondua</td>
<td>adj?. strong.2SG. Etym: POC *o-'A.2SG'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono</td>
<td>poss.clf. CLF.food.1SG.POSS.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onoh</td>
<td>num. six.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onotah</td>
<td>n. GN; Ohotah.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>op</td>
<td>vtr. do, make.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opo</td>
<td>v. do.it, go.on, go.ahead; goan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opo</td>
<td>vtr. do, make.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>cop. COP: 2SG, COP:NSG. or ndi Pispomot stay with Pispomo! (meaning: go and stay).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oring</td>
<td>vtr. catch the sunlight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oro</td>
<td>cop. COP; yu.stap. See: or.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os</td>
<td>cop. be, remain. See: sou.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osmwi</td>
<td>vtr. answer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot</td>
<td>part. POSS. See: at.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otini</td>
<td>vtr. bury, plant?; planim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto</td>
<td>part. 1SG form of possessive particle at. See: at.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oung</td>
<td>vtr. speak.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**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. part.of.house. |
| pai | vtr. open. |
| Pak | n. GN; Pak. |
| pakeh | loc. near, close, almost; klostu. kor siah ita pakeh Lugos a place that is near Lugos. wanpla ples klostu Lugos. pakeh yenemy nakmeis 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. |
| pakmarul | 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. Pinalndren). |
| 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! |
| 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; pekek. |
| pe | subr. SEQ. |
| pehen | vtr. steal; stil. |
| phehendra | 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. |

CXIII
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>per</th>
<th>n. head of a river or a higher point, directly possessed. yo nakule pern</th>
<th>pin</th>
<th>vtr. throw, leave; tromoi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pere</td>
<td>n. village in south Manus, Titan, village where Margaret Mead did research.</td>
<td>pinau</td>
<td>n. widow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peren</td>
<td>adj. white.</td>
<td>pind</td>
<td>vtr. putim i pas, puttig down tightly so that it fits, glue, paste down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periah</td>
<td>n. kind of fish; kulapo. Category: fauna.</td>
<td>Pinel</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perkol</td>
<td>n. neck; nek.</td>
<td>ping</td>
<td>n. night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perku</td>
<td>n. tree.</td>
<td>pinge</td>
<td>adv. last.night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perlu</td>
<td>n. used for beds but also for tables.</td>
<td>Pinomas</td>
<td>n. woman.who.only.eats.protein.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perlou</td>
<td>n. island in the Lele LLG, official name Pitilou3.</td>
<td>Pipalnandren</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perlua</td>
<td>n. obsidian.spear; spia potol.</td>
<td>piri</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perluh</td>
<td>n. GN; Pityilu.</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>n. bamboo.knife; sap mambu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perngusuau</td>
<td>v. snore.</td>
<td>Pispomo</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perou</td>
<td>n. coconut; kokonas.</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>vitr. drift, float.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perper</td>
<td>n. origin.of.river; het.blo.wara.</td>
<td>piyep</td>
<td>n. wild.pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persehet</td>
<td>n. river near Lomon.</td>
<td>pleng</td>
<td>n. garden; gaden. Su kena pleng. They went to the garden. O l i go pinis lo gaden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peruan</td>
<td>adj. white; hepi.</td>
<td>Perou</td>
<td>n. GN; Pityilu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peruan</td>
<td>n. problem, dispute. See: peruan.</td>
<td>pew</td>
<td>nom. pew.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peu</td>
<td>n. shark; sak.</td>
<td>Pié</td>
<td>vtr. throw; tromoi. Sowe ir pie ndrek sul aten i le hanu Sowe was throwing his torch ahead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pew</td>
<td>onom. pew.</td>
<td>Pi-</td>
<td>feminine prefix on names.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi-</td>
<td>pf feminine prefix on names.</td>
<td>pie</td>
<td>vtr. throw; tromoi. Sowe ir pie ndrek sul aten i le hanu Sowe was throwing his torch ahead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihe</td>
<td>adv. yesterday; asde.</td>
<td>Po-</td>
<td>masculine prefix on names. See: Pi-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihindrehen</td>
<td>n. young.woman; yangpela meri.</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>prp. until?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihitasou</td>
<td>n. old.woman; lapun meri.</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>vtr. find.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilapan</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>n. road, path; rot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilehemui</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>n. sago.waste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilit</td>
<td>n. bush.spirit; masalai.</td>
<td>Pohoun</td>
<td>vtr. break.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimayou</td>
<td>n. PN.</td>
<td>Pohue</td>
<td>vstat. crack.open, burst.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Category:** body parts. **Category:** kinship. **Category:** body parts.
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.
pomʙokey  n. money.
pombrer  vtr. work; mekim wok.
pomʙukei  n. sea.shell, money.
See: sumʙupat.
pomʙukei  n. male.garment; laplap.
pomʙule  n. face. Category: body parts
Pomʙuluiama  n. PN.
pomut  vtr. finish, complete; pinis.
ponau  n. widower.
Pondiekai  n. PN.
pandin  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.
Posi  n. man.who.only.eats.protein.
Posia  n. PN.
pou  n. pig.
pus  n. pig; pik.
puian  adj. big, big.one.
puklout  n. GN.
pul  n. head.of.tree, on.top.of.
Puli  n. village in the Lele LLG.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pulisou</th>
<th>pwio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. village in the Lele LLG, reportedly speaking half Sapon and half Warpei dialect.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulnou</td>
<td>n. general term for bamboo; mambu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulpa</td>
<td>n. frond of coconut, sago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pult</td>
<td>vtr. chase, hunt; ranim, chasim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punbut</td>
<td>n. part of house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punuamp</td>
<td>n. land situated within Sapon I area; Punuwamp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puten</td>
<td>vtr. achieve; wokim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupuskarî</td>
<td>n. snail with house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur</td>
<td>vtr. accompany, go with; bihainim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purpur</td>
<td>n. belt worn for kastam wok; paspas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purui</td>
<td>adj. ripe. See: purui.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus</td>
<td>n. also used for coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusiou</td>
<td>n. wild kapiak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusngah</td>
<td>n. lime gourd, calabash container for lime powder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusngat</td>
<td>n. sweat. Category: body parts. yo upusngat l sweat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusngat</td>
<td>vtr. sweat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>vtr. break; buruk. kinput! it's broken!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>vtr. marry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwahoherenou</td>
<td>vtr. give a speech, preach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaheilou</td>
<td>vtr. lie; gianaman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwahepwha</td>
<td>n. kind of tree; ndau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaikite</td>
<td>vtr. play jokes; tok pilai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwan</td>
<td>adv. down; daunbilo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwan</td>
<td>n. ground, soil, earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwanjurduen</td>
<td>n. song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwapwa</td>
<td>n. place for grating coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwapwa per nomia niu</td>
<td>place for grating coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwapwil</td>
<td>n. sago palm leafstalk, or stem, also used as a hod for carrying ground, stones, also used for brooming the house as dustpan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwara</td>
<td>vtr. rot; sting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwarei</td>
<td>n. kind of fruit; pau. Category: flora.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwarn</td>
<td>adj. smelly, stinky, revolting; i sting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwarsirn</td>
<td>vtr. spread, lay out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwasai</td>
<td>n. geographical name; Pwasai (nem bilong ples).</td>
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<tr>
<td>pwasile</td>
<td>n. apparently used for dictionaries, not proven, no textual evidence; tokaut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwasirn</td>
<td>n. broom; brum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwason</td>
<td>vtr. call; kolim. malapo su hapwasou lugos Now everybody calls it Lugos. Nau ol i kolim Lugos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaten</td>
<td>vtr. tell.</td>
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<tr>
<td>pwawitere</td>
<td>vtr. tell. See: pwpertime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwawitime</td>
<td>n. story. See: pwawitime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwe</td>
<td>vtr. means general looking and seeking for something, but less specific.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwefei</td>
<td>vtr. say; tok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwelpwil</td>
<td>n. distant cross cousin, joking relationship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwen</td>
<td>adv. COMPL, NEG; pinis. Yo mingsene ndop pwen l I have made a basket. Mi wokim basket pinis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwenniu</td>
<td>n. coconut shell; sel kokonas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwepwe</td>
<td>adj. empty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwesie</td>
<td>adv. closed. maren pwesie his/her eyes are closed (figuratively).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwet</td>
<td>vtr. tell; stori.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwetierie</td>
<td>vtr. tell a story. See: pwawertime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwi</td>
<td>part. negator, used both in clauses and as sentence equivalent; nogat. ite gat meaning aten pwi it doesn't have a meaning, doesn't make sense (TP, English interference).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwi</td>
<td>part. SEQ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwio</td>
<td>formula. absolutely not; nogat yah.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rahan vtr. follow a river or road down to its mouth.

rahian 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.).

ramen adj. red; re tpela.

rang n. day, time, weather; de.

rang adj. light.

rang vtr. cry, make.a.noise; karai.

range adv. today, earlier.today, before, a 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-.

rehen adj. fast; hariap. wou mingsene ndop rehen 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 warphohue

repuian vtr. break, crack.

rer vtr. come.down, descend, let.down.

rerer vtr. involuntarily shake with fear etc.

rerukweni vtr. crush, mash.

resosoro vtr. waste.time.3SG, waste.time.1SG.

resumun vtr. destroy, vandalise, smash.to.pieces.

retetehe vtr. beat.heavily. i retetehe ngundun she heavily beat her neck.

reu vtr. 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.

riurui 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-a ali to Punuwamp mukorhaini

rokik vtr. collect.

rokobraunha n. spit; spet bilong.


rokoh 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.

ru   vtr. scoop, pour.

ruin  vtr. boil.

rukat  adj. dark. See: ruktan. heke    wendri

ruktan  adj. black.

rumʙuan  adj. wet.  kolau rumʙuan wet clothes.

ruoh  num. numeral;  tupela.  Etym: *rua.

ruko vstat. be. angry.

rut  adv. quick, hurry;  hariap.

ruwi vtr. pull.3PL, drag.3PL, tow.3PL.

rwei vtr. form, put.  mwat irwei pohon i

Sah

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.


sakei  n. little, pink, apple-shaped fruits of the sakei tree;  laulau.


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. san i was cut a rope.

sandeman  vtr. ask.NSG. See: sendeman.

sandemndam  vtr. ask;  askim.

sandemndam oto sih i have one

question.

sandur  n. ?

sanga  n. mar sanga: both front and back entrance.
serek  **vitr.** cross.sides, go.across. **ndramet i serek** the man goes from one side to the other / crosses sides.

**sere**  *n.* ancestor. See: **sere**.

**sese**  *n.* grandmother; *tumbuna meri*.

**siet**  *int.* who; *hutas*. **Aka siet?** Who is that? *Em i hutas?*

**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**  *vitr.* buy.

**sindri**  *vitr.* cut; *katim*.

**sindrti**  *vitr.* cut; *katim pinis*.

**sing**  *n.* flesh, meat.

**sing**  *vitr.* shine. **mwandri i sing** the sun shines.

**sing**  *vitr.* to dry food in the sun, possibly also drying something by putting it close to the fire?

**singen**  *vitr.* light, kindle.

**singen**  *adj.* right; *han.sut*. See: **kameu**. **nimo singen** my right hand.

**Sipik**  *n.* Sepik.

**sir**  *vitr.* cut.skin; *katim skin*.

**sirei**  *n.* kingfisher. **Category:** **fauna**.

**sirhei**  *vitr.* wash; *wasim*.

**sirhi**  *vitr.* pick.from.tree.

**siriki**  *n.* bunch.from.palm.tree?

**sirkou**  *n.* little platform used to stand on to fetch water for washing sago.

**sirt**  *vitr.* follow.

**sisi**  *n.* kind.of.bird.

**siti**  *vitr.* 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**  *vitr.* wait. **torkesoho la** We (DU) wait first. **Mitupela wet pastem**.

**soholan**  *vitr.* push.

**sohongen**  *vitr.* push.

**sokal**  *n.* ?

**sokr**  *n.* edible greens, reddish-green leaves, elongated triangular shape; *kumu*. **Category:** **flora**.

**solen**  *adj.* many, much; *planti*.

**soling**  *vitr.* pray, ask.for; *prei, singaut*.

**somu**  *vitr.* reply.

**somu**  *vitr.* fill.liquid.into.basket.

**sordri**  *vitr.* block access.

**song**  *vitr.* starve; *han gre*.

**song**  *vitr.* 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**  *vitr.* help; *helpim*.

**sopwari**  *vitr.* catch; *holim*.

**sopwat**  *n.* help.

**sopwat**  *vitr.* 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 / stre. soro pihin** two girls. **tupla pikinini girl. soro pihin marmou** two girls. **tupela girls**.

**soroh**  *n.* meat, fish, animal; *abus*.

**soroprop**  *vitr.* many people talk at the same time. **Womu hasoroprop solen, mukal ndi!** You (Pl) talk too much, go away!

**sosu**  *n.* kind.of.bird. **Category:** **fauna**.

**sotou**  *n.* wall.

**sotut**  *vitr.* mash.

**sou**  *n.* woman's.house, mat; *haus marit, karuka*.

**sou**  *vitr.* drop.

**sou**  *vitr.* 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**  
*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.

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**soman**  
*vtr.* buy.1SG.

**sumbupat**  
*n.* money. See: *pombukey*.

**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.

**suspeini**  
*vtr.* trick, cheat. *sukesuspeini wou* they will trick you.

**susu**  
*vitr.* fish.

**susueh**  
*n.* sgao recipe; *saksak.nating.Category: cooking*.

**susue**  
*vitr.* paddle.

**susuen**  
*adj.* sour.

**susurie**  
*vitr.?* change.clothes; *senisim*.

**susurie**  
*n.* clothes(?)

**susus**  
*vtr.* paddle.

**sut**  
*n.* support.for.walls, press.

---

**ta**  

**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 Perlh su tai su ma tahit* The Perlh 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 maunana the fathers of the children. ol papa blong ol pikinini.
tan vtr. know, understand; save.
tandiken vtr. send. See: rendiken.
tangis vtr. mourn.for, cry.over. See: tang.
Etym: POC taŋis.
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.
ten vtr. part of a fixed expression: ten anen - curse someone. nduko i ten anen my auntie cursed me.
tepai vtr. open; opim. su hatepe iukei mar kur le ndi e
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tug</th>
<th>vtr. weave.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tie</td>
<td>vtr. tell a story, not transitive, with le! See: pwatirie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tilmwal</td>
<td>n. plant, perhaps fern, grows close to the ground, develops a vine-like rope that climbs up, soft texture.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tiro</td>
<td>n. owl. Category: fauna.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tirpi</td>
<td>n. a bird that sings in ascending tones, usually three ascending tones, then stops, is rarely seen but very noisy and often heard.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tine</td>
<td>vtr. stand; sanap.</td>
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<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>cop. COP, PROG. See: ta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tohtoh</td>
<td>n. next to; arere long.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toke</td>
<td>n. journey.</td>
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<tr>
<td>toki</td>
<td>vtr. walk; wokabaut.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tol</td>
<td>n. rope.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tolau</td>
<td>n. cardinal direction. Etym: POC *tokalau(r) 'northerly wind', Paluai tolai 'north wind', Nyindrou tolau 'north' (Ross et al. lexicon POC phys.env.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toloh</td>
<td>num. three.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tomo</td>
<td>n. father.1SG; papa.blong.mi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ton</td>
<td>vtr. bury; planim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tono</td>
<td>vtr. know.1SG; mi.save.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tor</td>
<td>pro. 1DU.INCL.</td>
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<td>torkaiu</td>
<td>vtr. go.1DU.INCL.</td>
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<tr>
<td>toro</td>
<td>pro. 1DU.INCL.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tou</td>
<td>vtr. put, bring; bringing.</td>
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<td>tu</td>
<td>pro. 1PL.INCL; yumi.</td>
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<td>tuah</td>
<td>vtr. chew.buai.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tue</td>
<td>n. brother of father; papa. Category: kinship.</td>
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<td>tue</td>
<td>vtr. cook; kukim.</td>
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<td>tuh</td>
<td>vtr. come.down; go daun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tukuni</td>
<td>vtr. go.with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tul-</td>
<td>num. form of numeral used with numeral classifiers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulemui</td>
<td>vtr. burn, roast; kukim.lo.paia.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tulieni</td>
<td>vtr. accompany; go.wantem.ol.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tult</td>
<td>n. origin: Tolai; comparable to today's ward councillor, more like a community leader, one level above luluai</td>
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<tr>
<td>tumbu</td>
<td>n. grandparent, grandchild; tumbuna.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tumbue</td>
<td>vtr. break something solid, such as bones and wood.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tumbuni</td>
<td>vtr. break. See: tumbue.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tundrah</td>
<td>vtr. come.down. See: tuh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tungian</td>
<td>adj. bitter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tungou</td>
<td>n. Tungou masih, Ndumoh, Lugos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tungu</td>
<td>vtr. cut fish, meat etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunhi</td>
<td>vtr. remove.coconut.skin; tekewe skin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tunhi</td>
<td>vtr. push.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuo</td>
<td>See: yahe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>turhen</td>
<td>vtr. turn.upside.down.</td>
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<tr>
<td>turhi</td>
<td>vtr. throw. Masusu ireturhi mah le maren Masusu threw kambang at his eyes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>turue</td>
<td>vtr. cook, boil; boil long sospen. See: rue.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turur</td>
<td>n. GN.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tusie</td>
<td>adj. straight, uninterrupted.</td>
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<tr>
<td>yowurkai tusie ke le nde Lorongou</td>
<td>The two of us (exclusive) went straight to Lorengau.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tut</td>
<td>vstat. forget.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tutue</td>
<td>n?. recipe. Category: cooking.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuturwe</td>
<td>vtr. cook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tweni</td>
<td>vtr. cook.</td>
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<tr>
<td>twini</td>
<td>vtr. cook.</td>
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<tr>
<td>u-</td>
<td>agr. 1SG.</td>
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<tr>
<td>uese</td>
<td>vtr. dig.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ui</td>
<td>vsf. TR.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ur</td>
<td>cop. COP:1SG, PROG:1SG. wa yo kur ke wum I will only stay at the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urot</td>
<td>vstat. boil. See: werwet. ir ta urot was boiling.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
w-  pro. 2SG. See: wou.
wa  part. POT. See: a.
wah  interj. wah.
waiyu  vitr. go.2SG.FUT?
waleh  vitr. yell, shout.
wanei  vitr. able; i nap. See: a.
wah  interj. wah.
waiyu  vitr. go.2SG.FUT?
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wanei  vitr. able; i nap. See: a.

womoro  pro. free pronoun; yutupela.
womu  pro. 2PL; yupela.
wong  vitr. speak, say; toktok.
wop  vitr. run.away; ranawe.
wotor-  pro. 1DU.INCL.
wotoro  pro. free pronoun, first person dual inclusive.
wotu  pro. free pronoun; yumi.
wou  pro. 2SG; yu.
wowe  onom. interjection used during sago beating, both men and women, ideophone that recreates the movement of the sago bow.
wowe  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.
wuhou  n. young.man, male.teenager; yangpela boi.
wur  n. crayfish, prawn; kindam. Category: fauna.
wur-  pro. 1DU.EXCL.
wurai  n. kind.of.tree.
Wuren  n. GN; nem bilong ples.
wurer  vitr. feel.cold; (i) kol.
wuroh  formula. thanks; tenkyu. Wuroh atmu (pronounced: Wurohatmu, proves final /h/) thank you (Pl). tenk yupla.
wurti  vtr. bite.strongly, chew; kaikaim.
wuru  n. year; krismas. wuru oto 1961 I was born in the year 1961.
wuru  pro. 1DU.EXCL.
yahe  See: tuen.
   n. mother's brother; kandere. Category: kinship.
yai  vtr. crossing a river, half walking, half swimming, with the water reaching your hip or belly. yai ndran
yaling  vtr. like.PL, love.PL.
yalou  vtr. 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 heti yo I did not come because I got sick.
yas  n. trough.for.washing.sago; pangal bilong saksak.
yat  vitr. burn.
yau  vamb. move, leave.
ye  part. INTS; ya.
Yehova  n. God; Got.
yeling  vtr. like.SG, love.SG; laikim.
yen  vtr. eat.SG; mi.kaikai.
yenyan  n. food; kaikai.
yenyan  vitr. 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  vitr. burn, ignite, light.
yeteni  vtr. bite.3SG.
yeu  n. large variety of Ficus; pikus.
yi  pro. free pronoun; em.
yil  vtr. fight, war; pait.
ying  vtr. 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  vtr. cut.trees; slipim.
yosu  vitr. marry; maritim.
yosuai  n. married.couple, marriage.
you  vitr. 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.