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Sivisa Titan

Sketch Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary Based on Material Collected by P. Josef Meier and Po Minis

Claire Bowern

University of Hawai'i Press

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When the original ANU project was nearly finished, I became aware that Bob Hauser was working with Titan speakers in Pere village. I would very much like to thank Bob and the speakers he works with for (amongst other things) providing information about Po Minis and people living on Sivisa, for grammaticality judgements on various constructions, and for information on speech registers. I hope this material will be useful for them.

Abbreviations

ADJ	Adjective	N.SG	Non-singular
ADV	Adverb	N.SUFF	Nominal suffix
AG.PART	Agreement particle	NUM	Number
AUX	Auxiliary	PART	Particle
CONJ	Conjunction	PC	Paucal
DEF	Definite	PERF	Perfective
DEM	Demonstrative	PHR	Phrase
DEM.PRO	Demonstrative pronoun	PL	Plural
D.NEG	Declarative negation	POSS	Possessive
EMPH	Emphatic	POT	Potential
FEM	Feminine	PP	Prepositional Phrase
FUT	Future	PREP	Preposition
HAB	Habitual	PRES	Present (tense)
INDEF	Indefinite	PRO	Pronoun
INTERJ	Interjection	PRO.PS	Possessive pronoun
INT.PRO	Interrogative pronoun	RC	Relative clause
IRR	Irrealis	QUANT	Quantifier
IT	Intransitive	SING	Singular
K.O.	Kind of plant, bird)	SUBJ	Subject
LOC	Locative/Location	TR	Transitive
N	Noun	V	Verb
N.COMP	Nominal compound	V.COMP	Verbal compound
NEG	Negator	V.IT	Intransitive verb
N.IA	Inalienably possessed noun	VP	Verb phrase
N.NM	Name	V.SUFF	Verbal suffix
NP	Noun phrase	V.TR	Transitive verb
N.PL	Place name	V.PREP	Deverbal preposition

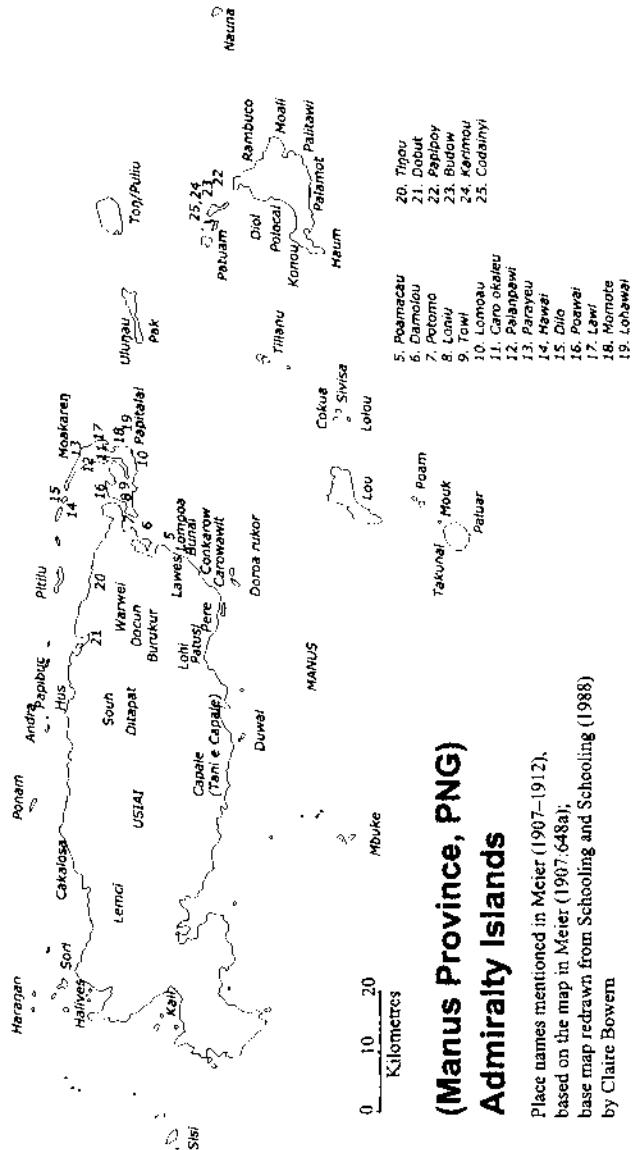


Figure 1: Map of the Admiralty Islands

Part A

Sketch Grammar

Chapter 1

Introduction

While the unpublished material concerning the languages of the Admiralty Islands is considerable, the number of published grammars is very small, especially when one considers the number of languages spoken in Manus Province and their importance in the Oceanic family. Thirty years ago Healey (1976b:225) wrote of the Admiralties that “the most urgent task for the future is to preserve and publish the very considerable materials already collected”; this is still true.

This book was written in order to make more usable the valuable data compiled by Po Minis and the New Britain missionary P. Josef Meier for the ‘Manus/ Moanus’ language (now usually called ‘Titan’). Meier published seventy-five texts in this language in the journal *Anthropos* between 1906 and 1909 (with an addendum in 1912). The corpus is about 25,000 words. The stories contain brief information about the speakers and are glossed word-for-word in German (and occasionally in Latin when the topic of discussion was delicate). He provided no free translations. Meier also compiled a brief wordlist of about a hundred items and a short sketch of the language. After working initially only on the Meier materials, I was able to gain access to the unpublished Manus fieldnotes of Reo Fortune (1928) and Theodore Schwartz (1953–1954); they constitute a considerable set of resources in their own right. This raised the question of whether to try to amalgamate all the Titan materials into a single grammar, or to continue with a book based on a single cohesive (although imperfect) source.

I have decided on the latter, that is, to work from Meier’s corpus as the main source, but with notes to other sources where available. My aim in the preparation of this volume was not to write a full grammar of the language, but to make the older German materials for Titan more accessible.

Chapter 1

ble. I have written a sketch based on the texts but since I did not conduct fieldwork with native speakers¹ and I have no firsthand knowledge of the language, this volume should not be seen in any way as a definitive study of Titan. Rather, I hope that it will serve as the basis for further study of the language, and as a source of comparative data. A synthesis of all extant materials needs to be done in consultation with native speakers of the language.

This book is divided into three sections. This, the first, is the sketch grammar, based entirely on the texts collected by Meier and published by him in *Anthropos*. Patricia Hamel's (1994) *Grammar and Lexicon of Loniu: Papua New Guinea* has been very helpful as a guide to interpreting ambiguous data. Part Two is a wordlist compiled from the texts, with an English-Titan reversal. Part Three contains the texts published by Meier. I have provided English glosses based on Meier's German ones and free translations (something that Meier does not include). A map showing all place names referred to in the texts can be found on page xxii above.

1.1 Description of the Meier Corpus

In 1901 there appeared in the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* a summary, by Heinrich Schnee, of the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago (*Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Sprachen im Bismarck-Archipel*). It contains a classification of the languages and a discussion of each group, along with a small amount of data. Schnee (1901:272–277) gives the pronouns in a variety he calls “Manus”, along with numerals, and a list of basic vocabulary. He also gives the numbers and a few words from “Die Sprache der Usuai” *The language of the Usuai (people)* which he places on Papitalai Island. His data is based on that of two speakers, Po Minis and Po Kicong.

Josef Meier read the description of Titan and wrote to *Anthropos* pointing out a number of mistakes and dialect mixings in the data. The two men had worked with the same person, Po Minis, who had learned to read and write between talking to Dr. Schnee and working with Meier. Po Minis was a student at the Catholic Mission on New Britain (Rakunei, *Neupommern* (New Britain)) where Meier was stationed. Po Minis came from Sivisa, the north-easternmost island off the coast of Lou, and one of the group known as the Fedarb Islands.² When Po Minis returned to the Admiralties, he collected and translated into his own dialect a number of stories for Meier,

who included them in his publication of “Admiralty Islanders’ Myths and Stories” (*Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts-Insuläner*) in *Anthropos*.

The publications in *Anthropos* are under Meier’s name alone; however, in the introduction to the first set of stories (Meier 1907:647), Meier states that the collection of the materials is due almost entirely to Po Minis, who wrote down the stories from friends in the Admiralties, hence my dual credit in the subtitle of this work.³

When Po Minis eventually returned to own land, after he had learned to read and write, I gave him the task of writing down all the other stories that he knew about and sending them to me. He also did this. So I credit Po Minis almost alone for the collected material that I have brought to publication. What he heard from his earliest childhood on and kept in memory, and what he later investigated through questions, all of that he faithfully communicated to me. Certainly the treasurehouse of tradition is not yet exhausted.

Although the story-tellers were born in different villages, Meier states that he and Po Minis standardized the language to that of Po Minis’ dialect. “What people told to Po Minis (who, he maintains, speaks nine varieties himself) in different dialects, I have reproduced in his [Po Minis’] mother tongue, because it was unrealistic for me to acquire all the different dialects in so short a time.”⁴ This naturally brings an unknown amount of unreliability to the data, since Meier’s own linguistic abilities in the language are not known and it is unclear how much editing and standardization he undertook.⁵ Meier must have had a fairly good grasp of the language since he was apparently able to talk to Po Minis in Titan.

The corpus is 18,500 words of Titan, interlinearized in literal German. Each text is given a title and they are grouped into nine sections according to subject matter. Each text also includes the author, the author’s home region, and which region the story comes from. The texts range in length from a few lines to several pages. There is also some light annotation, particularly involving ethnographic explanations. An example page is given in Figure 1.1.

Chapter I

6. Erschaffung des Menschen durch das Papageienpaar „Ass und Alu“.
Erzählt von *Hi Poalep*, einem Weibe aus *Papitalai*. Eine Moanussage.
(Veröffentlicht in „Anthropos“ Jahrgang 1, Seite 481)

7. Erschaffung des Weibes.
Erzählt von *Po Sing* aus *Papitalai*. Eine Moanussage.

Manual,¹ moen *Louoseu*,² ndro i kawuen. Kor ei a kor.
Manual, ein Mann von *Louoseu*, nur er allein. Land seines (war) ein anderes Land.
Amo pein poen. I wa: „Jo ita pati ejo ite?“ I lai
Ein Weib (gab es) nicht. Er sagte: „Ich da Weib meines (es ist) wo?“ Er nahm
ein Steinbeil. Er ging in den Urwald. Er fällte einen Tjiwo-Baum. Er trug
ile kor. I sai kei ila ramat. I sai kekan
(ein Stück) nach Hause. Er zimmerte das Holz zu einem Menschen. Er zimmerte Beine
pe liman, i sai susun pe i sai matan. Kei
seine und Arme seine, er zimmerte Brüste seine und er zimmerte Gesicht seines. Das Holz
i la pein. I wa: „Kei ejo ita ki la pein!“ Kei i la
es wurde ein Weib. Er sprach: „Holz meines da werde ein Weib!“ Das Holz es wurde
pein. Aru taui nat ila tjoloan. *Manual* ki la poen
ein Weib. Die zwei erzeugten Kinder zahlreiche. *Manual* wäre gewesen nicht
alan, ndro jota kamal, ala pein poen.
wenn,³ (so waren) nur wir Männer, sie Weiber nicht.

¹ *Manual* = der Vorfahrt

² *Louoseu* = in Mitte des Rotang, von *lo* = Herz, Mitte, und *useu* = Rotang.

³ ... wenn *Manual* nicht gewesen wäre.

Figure I.1: Sample Text: Meier (1906:652)

1.2 The Language Name

Meier calls the language ‘Moanus’. This label probably refers to the tripartite division between Admiralty peoples that Parkinson (1999:157), Fortune (1935), Thilenius (1903), and others use; that is, it is not specifically a language name but rather an ethnographic term for a group of people who speak several different languages. Here, Manus or *Moanus* refers to the people who live around the coast of Manus Island (and adjacent islands) and who built their houses on stilts jutting into the sea, Usuai to the people who live inland, and Matankor to those who live on the coast.⁶ In early linguistic and ethnographic studies undertaken in the Admiralty Islands, Manus/Moanus is thus a social group rather than a language name.

The name ‘Manus’ is often given as an alternative name for ‘Titan’ (compare, for example, the entries in the Ethnologue (Gordon et al. 2005) which lists Manus, Moanus, Tito, and M’Bunai as alternative names). This is the language spoken on a number of islands off the south-eastern coast of Manus Island, and on Rambutyo. Comparison of Meier’s data with other records of Titan, such as Blust (1975) and Ross (nd), show that Meier’s language is indeed Titan, although a dialect distinct from that recorded by Ross (nd) on Rambutyo.

1.3 Classification and Dialects

Titan is classified by Ross (1988:316–17) as a member of the East Manus network of the Admiralty subgroup of Oceanic. Based on the lexicostatistical survey of Schooling and Schooling (1988:220) and supported by the findings in Ross (1988) based on the comparative method, Titan’s closest relations are Nali, Koro, Lele, and Papitalai.⁷ Gordon et al. (2005) recognises two (unnamed) dialects within Titan. The number of speakers of the various dialects of Titan is difficult to determine, but is probably between 3,500 and 4,500, including those living outside Manus Province.⁸ The ISO-639 code for the language is t t v.

Apart from some lexical and minor grammatical differences, the most obvious dialect split is between those which preserve distinct *r* and *l* phonemes (*r*-dialects) versus those which have merged *r* and *l* as *l* (*l*-dialects). Meier’s data reflects a dialect where the merger has not taken place. For example, the word for ‘sun’ in Meier’s stories is *morai*, however it was recorded by Ross as *molai*. One finds also *rai* (Ross *lai*) ‘blood’ and *ramat* (Ross *lamat*) ‘person’. Hauser (p.c., 2000) notes that *r*-dialect speakers make up approximately fifty per cent of Titan speakers, and are concentrated in two areas: in Pere village and around Mbunai. Blust (p.c.) notes that these are in fact the only *r*-dialect villages.

1.4 Sources for Titan/Moanus*

The following list is compiled from Healey (1976a,b) and Carrington (1996) and represents the complete list of work on Titan that I have been able to uncover.

1.4.1 Published Sources

1.4.1.1 Schnee (1901)

Schnee published a survey of the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago and in this he includes a few sentences of the ‘Manus’ language and a basic wordlist. According to Meier (1906:216), Schnee included words from *l*-dialects as well as *r*-dialects. Compared to Meier’s data, Schnee’s preliminary survey seems rather poor. He lists future forms for present, has incorrect word boundaries, and his transcription is somewhat unreliable.

1.4.1.2 Thilenius (1903)

Thilenius’ *Ethnographische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien* [Ethnographic Expedition to Melanesia] (1903:244/346ff) contains a comparative wordlist of varieties he names Taui, Agomes, Kaniet, Ninigo and Popolo. Blust (1996) includes an evaluation of the reliability of the Kaniet data. The Tawi data is most probably from an *l*-dialect of Titan; compare for example *élua* ‘two’ and *lángian* ‘day’ with Meier’s *aruo* and *raj*. Some forms are marked as coming from Usiai varieties. The list includes pronouns, numbers, fauna, adjectives and body parts. There are also lexical differences between the Tawi list and Meier’s Titan data.

1.4.1.3 Meier (1906–1909, 1912)

Data for this study are derived from Meier’s collection of texts. There are seventy-five texts ranging in length from a few lines to several thousand words. The stories in sections VIII and IX were translated by Ulli Beier and published in *Oral History*; however, I was only able to see these after my own translations had been completed. In Carrington (1996) a manuscript grammar by Meier is listed. I have been unable to obtain a copy and have no further information about whether it is still in existence. Internal evidence in Reo Fortune’s materials indicates that Fortune may have had access to a copy, but it is not among Fortune or Mead’s manuscript collections. Further information on the provenance of the Meier corpus was provided above.

1.4.1.4 Parkinson (1999)

There are some song texts in Parkinson’s *Dreissig Jähre in der Südsee* [Thirty Years in the South Seas], provided by Po Sing, who is said to be

chief of Papitalai, and Hi Pak from Kerice, who speaks ‘Fedarb’. These texts are included here, beginning on page 443. Parkinson’s orthography is similar, but not always identical, to Meier’s; I have standardized it the same way. The variation in vowel quality that Parkinson’s brief texts show may indicate that Titan probably has more vowel harmony than is evident from Meier’s transcriptions.

Parkinson also published translations of the first of Meier’s stories almost without acknowledgment, but they clearly come from the same collection. There are, however, a few stories which do not appear to be in Meier’s published collection, implying that Meier recorded additional texts which were not published.

Parkinson (1999:170a) gives an annotated list of place names, apparently from an article by Schnee (*Über Ortsnamen im Bismarck-Archipel* [On place names in the Bismarck Archipelago]), for which I have not been able to obtain further reference details. These are referenced as ‘Parkinson’ in the lexicon and place name list, since Parkinson corrects Schnee’s orthography and provides etymologies.

1.4.1.5 Mead (1942)

Mead (1942) is an ethnography of traditional educational practices in Pere village; it is not a linguistic work. There is, however, a short vocabulary (Mead 1942:372) and a ‘sample legend’ (360ff), about Ndrame (a bird) and Kasomu. Mead also has language fieldnotes; see Section 1.4.2.

1.4.1.6 Fortune (1935)

Fortune’s *Manus Religion* is based in part on Meier’s own texts and in part on fieldwork in Pere village lasting about six months. His focus is not linguistic but he discusses the translations of and concepts entailed in items of spiritual vocabulary, such as *cinal* ‘ghost’ and *molua* ‘soul’, which was helpful in my translation of Meier’s texts.

Fortune makes reference to a “forthcoming” grammar and dictionary of the language, which was never published. The texts and notes are in the Fortune collection in the Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. These materials are further discussed in Section 1.4.2 below.

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1.4.1.7 Goebel (1956)

Goebel translated the New Testament into ‘Manus’ before the Second World War; it was published in 1956. Schooling and Schooling (1980:76–78) discuss this work in some detail. It is in Lele but it appears that the translation was based on material from a single speaker who was not from the main Lele area. It is clearly a different variety from the one Meier recorded, and has not been used in this work.

1.4.1.8 Smythe and Z’Graggen (1975)

This is a collection of comparative wordlists from the Admiralty Islands, including one for a variety called Mbunai, which is Titan (or very similar to it), to judge by the pronouns. For example, the forms *awa* ‘2pl’, *alu* ‘3dl’, and *ala* ‘3pl’ (amongst others) are all identical to forms in the Meier corpus and different from other Admiralty Islands languages. It is an r-dialect list, to judge from *ramat* ‘person’. It would also appear to confirm some points of doubt in the Meier data, such as whether *manuai* means ‘bird (generic)’ or refers to a specific type of bird (it is listed in Smythe and Z’Graggen 1975:148 as the generic word). The wordlist also allows us to confirm some inferences about transcription (although Blust 1975 is more consistent and more complete in this respect). For example, *mwateremwat* for snake implies that we are right in assuming that <moat> is phonemically *mʷat* (also in Blust 1975:9).

Vowel length is marked in monosyllables in the wordlist, e.g., *kʷi:t* ‘octopus’. Turtle is *garahat*, confirming that Meier omitted the [h] (see also *apih* ‘sago’). However, the wordlist is not phonemically notated, so some of these h’s might be spurious.

1.4.1.9 Other published works

There have been studies of the bilabial trills in Titan by Maddieson (1989) and Ladefoged et al. (1977). These are both acoustic studies and contain little vocabulary information. Their results are borne out by these data (as much as one can say with no recordings). Kraft (1921) is a translation of the gospel of Mark into a ‘Manus’ language (Kele according to Healey 1976b). Ray (1891:5–7) contains a very short /-dialect Titan vocabulary from “Green Island, Admiralty Islands”.

1.4.2 Unpublished Materials

There is a considerable amount of data on various Titan dialects. Wordlists have been collected by Ross from Titan as spoken on Rambutyo Island, and Blust (1975), from Timoenai, off the coast of Tawi (south of Manus Island); Ross (nd) includes a brief sketch grammar; it differs in several points from Meier's data. There are at least six unpublished dictionaries of various dialects of Titan: Fortune (1928), Lusk (nd), Klaarwater (nd), Mead (nd), and Schwartz (ndb).

The Fortune papers contain several hundred typescript pages of textual data, ethnographic notes, and a dictionary draft of over 1500 items. The language is Titan and seems to be from the same (or very similar) dialect to that of the Meier corpus. Comments in the Fortune manuscript imply that it itself includes material excerpted from secondary materials Fortune had access to, although no references are given. Several texts from Meier (1906) have been translated in the Fortune papers. Fortune's transcription is not very consistent in places, with both *U* and *u* marking intervocalic /u/ or /w/, and both *N* and *ng* for the velar nasal /y/. This may also imply that he was compiling material from more than one source without standardizing orthographies. Either Fortune or Mead compiled a list of "useful phrases from the Manus Grammar". The list resembles a phrasebook for travellers. Unfortunately, there are numerous obvious typographic errors in both the Titan and English sections of the manuscript, which makes it of limited use as a way of checking uncertainties in Meier's transcript.

A considerable collection of Manus material can also be found in Mead's personal papers (Library of Congress, MS009117) including texts and dictionary materials. Most of this linguistic material comprises copies of Fortune's fieldnotes and Theodore Schwartz's transcripts of field tapes. The Schwartz materials comprise a collection of narrative texts, conversations, and courtroom speeches. They are transcribed in a regular Titan orthography and literally glossed in Tok Pisin.

Fortune typed and proofed a number of the Meier *Anthropos* texts. The corrections are varied and include changes to typographical errors introduced in the copying of the original texts, errors corrected in the Meier publication, and some pronunciation notes (a sample is given in page 385).

1.5 Methods

A short note on the methods used in compiling the sketch is in order, since I did not do fieldwork with Titan speakers. I used three different techniques in compiling the grammar. I treated the corpus as I would one of Latin, or any other for which native speakers were not available for linguistic work. That is, I looked for generalizations which hold for the texts, as well as for exceptions to those generalizations. This is quite straightforward for parts of the grammar such as constituent order, pronouns, or negation. It is less easy to compile paradigms or make generalizations about the functions of derivational morphemes because of the risk of missing or unrepresentative data.

I then worked through Hamel's (1994) Loniū grammar, Wozna and Wilson (2005), and Ross's (2002) sketch of Kele; that is, the other published synchronic material for Admiralties languages. I used these works as additional prompts for investigation of the Meier corpus, and for hints as to likely solutions for underdetermined distributions. I have made a note where an analysis for Titan is consistent with behavior noted for another Admiralties language but cannot be confirmed from the available data. In a number of cases, it was possible to show that Titan patterned differently from one or more languages in the subgroup (for example, Kele marks some animate objects with a preposition which does not appear when the object is inanimate; this does not occur in the Titan corpus, although the cognate preposition does show some animacy effects elsewhere).

Chapter 2

Phonology

Since the corpus is a written one (and standardized), there is no direct information about phonetics in it. However, we can infer something of the phonology of Titan, and of the realization of the segments in the data, from Meier's brief description. I have also drawn on Blust (1975), Fortune (1928), and Ross (nd) for the conclusions in this chapter.

2.1 Consonant Phonemes

2.1.1 Consonant Inventory

The inferred inventory of Titan consonantal phonemes is given below in Table 2.1, using the orthography of this grammar.

Table 2.1: Consonant Inventory

	Velar'd	Labial	Alv'r	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop -vless	(p ^w)	p	t	c	k	(?)
Nasal	(m ^w)	m	n	ny	ŋ	
Fricative		v	s			h
Prenasalized trill	b		d			
Trill			r			
Lateral			l			
Approximant		w		y		

Meier (1906:214) notes that there is no voicing contrast in stops.⁹ The velarized stops *m^w* and *p^w* are bracketed because their existence in this dialect of Titan is inferred from other sources. They are not distinguished from (non-velarized) *m* and *p* in Meier's data. See further Section 2.1.2.3 below. Orthographic *b* and *d* are the prenasalized bilabial and dental trills

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^mB and ⁿdr respectively. The digraph <ny> is used here for the palatal nasal p̯.

2.1.2 Notes on Phonemic Interpretation

2.1.2.1 Alternation <p> ~ <v>

There is some doubt as to the precise status of /v/ as a phoneme. The sounds [p] and [v] appear to be in free variation in some words, especially intervocally. Meier (1906:215) says that they are in free variation in a few (presumably lexical) cases.¹⁰ The word for ‘pandanus nuts’ varies between *pōjopōj* and *vōjovōj*. The island name Sivisa is another example, for Thilenius (1903:23) notes an alternative spelling of *Sepessa*. Some words, however, do not seem to show such an alternation, such as *pein* ~ *pin* ‘woman’, which is never written **vin* or **vein* in the corpus; others are only recorded with <v>, such as *varina* ‘to’, never **parina*. This would imply that a partial merger of /p/ and /v/ was in process, with the merger occurring towards /v/.

A more complicated example is the verb *va* ‘to say’. It is used both as full verb ‘say’ and as a particle, meaning ‘to think’ or ‘to want’, and here it can be either *pa* or *va*. As a lexical verb ‘speak’ it is almost always written *va*; as a desiderative ‘want to’ it is usually *pa*, although there are enough examples of alternation that we cannot say that *pa* is a verb and *va* is a particle.¹¹ It is possible that *pa* should be phonemicized as *pʷa*, with the labiovelar stop instead of the plain labial stop, since there is a recorded variant *poa* in the second person singular (although it seems only to have desiderative meanings). Hamel (1994:12) notes that Loniu *rpwe* ‘just’ can be heard with a bilabial fricative. In that case, there may be no merger at all, simply two phonemes /p/ and /pʷ/, one of which alternates with [β]. This is not borne out by the comparative data, however; there appears to be no correlation between the words which alternate and whether other sources record *p* or *pʷ*.¹²

Speakers of Titan today regard the alternative pronunciation with *v* as ‘archaic’ (Hauser, p.c. 2000) and prefer such words to be spelled with a *p*. Words which are recorded with both *v* and *p* spellings in the corpus are listed under *p* in the wordlist and the variant is noted.

2.1.2.2 Palatal Consonants

From both Meier's (1906) and Schnee's (1901) descriptions of the palatal stop, it appears that /c/ is often affricated ([c] ~ [tʃ]) and de-palatalized to [ts] (Meier 1906:214 describes it as “halfway” between a German <tj> and <ts>). Meier transcribes this sound as <tj>.

There is a single token of a palatal lateral, written *lj*¹³ (III.1/35) in the word *pely* ‘jump’. The same word is recorded as *peli* in the same text; the variation in transcription may be evidence that /i/ palatalizes preceding consonants. (Alternatively, it could be a typographical error of *j* for *i*.) There is also variation in the word *iti/ic* ‘near’. This might imply that /i/ causes some palatalization in the preceding coronal. Meier lists only orthographic <tj> and <nj> (which I write here as *c* and *ny*) as palatal consonants.

2.1.2.3 Velarized Labials: [pʷ] and [mʷ]

Ross (nd), Lusk (nd), and Blust (1975) all record instances of the velarized bilabial phonemes [pʷ] and [mʷ] in Titan. Meier does not note any difference between plain and velarized bilabials in consonantal transcription. However, comparing Meier's spelling with the other sources allows us to make some deductions regarding Meier's targets. Most probably, the Titan recorded by Meier also has a set of velarized labials.¹⁴

The orthographic sequence *po* + vowel or *mo* + vowel frequently denote a velarized bilabial. For example, *poen* ‘not’ has the equivalent in Blust's wordlist as *pwan*. In contrast, *pu* and *mu* usually denote a plain labial followed by a vowel (cf. *muan* ‘bad’, cf. Blust's *muwan*). However, there are exceptions. The word for ‘black’, for example, is written *puicon* by Meier, but recorded as *pwicon* by Blust and Lusk. Meier (1907:649) notes in his introduction that *oe* and *ue* are not unitary phonemes but distinct vowels, but this does not necessarily mean that *oe* and *ue* are both vowel nuclei, merely that they are not the equivalent of German ö and ü. Fortune's transcription of Meier's *pokean* “difficult” as *pwokean* (along with other examples) also implies that *p* and *pʷ* are not differentiated before *o* in Meier's orthography.

In some cases the consonant can be inferred from where Meier writes stress, if we assume that stress is regularly on the penult in disyllabic words (see Section 2.5). If that is true, the form <*muínj*> ‘dog’ is probably

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m^winy, and <pōë> *Plecotus auritus* ‘long-eared bat’ is *pue* or *poe*, not *p^wi*. But we only have stress notation for a few words.

The guidelines presented in (2.1) below appear to cover the correct phonemicization of Meier’s data in the majority of cases:¹⁵

- (2.1) a. <po> or <mo> and a non-high vowel (i.e., a vowel other than u or i) are usually /p^wV/ or /m^wV/, but are ambiguous;
- b. <Co> and a high vowel are phonemically *oi* or *oy*, or *ou* or *ow* (that is, not labialized);
- c. <pui> or <mui> are phonemically /p^wi/ or /m^wi/;
- d. <ue> is ambiguous before labials (p, m, v) and /ue/ elsewhere.

A further ambiguity is presented by words such as *pokapoak* ‘k.o. tree’ and *molemoel* ‘jewelry’. The syllable *poak* implies a phonemicization /p^wak/, but the initial syllable implies that the form is /poka/. Clearly, however, the word is reduplicated and evidence from reduplication of other stems would lead us to expect an identical base and reduplicant (see Section 3.6.2). Fortune’s (1935) recording of the word *mwelamwel* ‘bride gifts’ implies that the forms are *p^wokap^wok* and *m^welam^wel*, and that Meier’s orthography is opaque in such compounds. Alternatively, these could simply be typographical errors.

Blust (1975) also notes the labialized velar consonant *k^w* in words such as *k^wilow* ‘run’ (Meier’s *ilou*), *k^wakule?* ‘conceal (self)’ (Meier’s *akure*) and *k^watey* ‘bite’ (Meier’s *ate*). This implies that *k^w* has been lost by sound change from the dialect Meier recorded. The same words in Fortune’s dictionary also appear without the initial *k^w*. Other words, however, are listed with *k^w*, however, such as *kwiti* ‘octopus’; this appears in the Meier corpus as *kit*.

Finally, Smythe and Z’Graggen (1975) record forms such as *l^wat* ‘possum’ with a labialized lateral. This perhaps implies that there are additional labialized consonants in the data beyond the velarized labials (and perhaps labiovelars). Meier and Lusk record this word as *lawat* and there are no such consonants in Blust (1975).

2.1.2.4 Trills: [^mB], [ⁿ(d)r], [r]

In this dialect of Titan there are three trills, one simple alveolar trill /t/ and two prenasalized trills, /^mB/ and /ⁿdr/. Meier writes these <mb> and

<n̪d̪r>; I have used *b* and *d* throughout (since there is no voicing contrast in stops, no ambiguity arises). Examples of these include *bua* ‘fruit’ and *dilis* ‘canarium nut’. Ladefoged et al. (1977) and Maddieson (1989) discuss bilabial trills in Titan, giving their acoustic properties and distribution.

Two words in Meier’s corpus are written with the sequence *ngr*. These are <n̪grundun> ‘neck’ and <n̪grajan> ‘truth’. These are most probably typesetting errors. There is no data in Blust (1975) here to help, since ‘truth’ (*ngrajan* in Meier) is given a different gloss. However, this word is recorded elsewhere in the Meier corpus as <n̪drangan> (*dayan* in my orthography). Moreover, there is in Blust (1975) a word *ndruwangkoloy* for ‘the nape of the neck’. Thus it is possible to explain both occurrences of *ngr* as typographical errors for *n̪dr*.

2.1.2.5 Glottal Consonants: [?] and [h]

Meier does not transcribe a glottal stop in his materials. However, words with glottals appear in both Blust’s and Ross’ wordlists. Most likely the glottal stop is not phonemic, but appears at the end of otherwise vowel-final words (e.g., [esi?] ‘one’) and between VV sequences to break up the cluster. For example, Meier’s word for the number ‘four’, <ea>, is recorded by Blust (1975) as varying between [e?a] and [eya?].

Ross’ data contains no examples of a phoneme /h/. It occurs in Meier’s corpus predominantly in place names, personal names and interjections; there is a single example, (*se)rehe* ‘where’, where the word is not one of these. There are more examples in Blust (1975), such as *karahat*, written *karaat* by Meier.¹⁶ Lusk writes *karaat*, perhaps implying a glottal stop between the repeated vowels. Fortune (p. 30) writes the word for ‘night’ as *piáün*, which may imply that the word contains a glottal. The variation in glottalization in Blust’s wordlist implies that it is subphonemic; that is the case for glottal stops in Kele. I therefore tentatively include both /h/ and /?/ as phonemes in Table 2.1.

Because a sequence of two vowels in Meier’s orthography could potentially represent any of VhV, V?V, VV, or CwV I have not tried to guess which it is, and all such sequences have been left as VV (even in cases, such as *karahat* ‘turtle’, where Meier’s transcription is almost certainly incorrect).

2.2 Vowel Phonemes

The exact number of distinctive vowel phonemes in this variety of Titan is difficult to determine. Meier uses five vowel graphemes: a, e, i, o, and u, as does Ross (nd). But as we have already seen, Meier's vowel transcriptions also encode velarized labials, so cannot be taken at face value for vocalic phonemes alone. Lusk (nd) finds the six vowels given in (2.2):

(2.2)	i	u
		o
	e	
	a	

Blust (1975) also has six vowels (i, ε, e, a, o, u), but [e] is rare and alternates with [ε] in some words. Hauser (p.c.) uses both [ε] and [e] (and [i] and [ɪ]), but the survey was not designed to test phonology so it is hard to draw systematic conclusions. Hauser also notes places in the Meier text where *tei* would be more properly rendered as *tei* (e.g., at V.4/2). Fortune's materials are compiled from several different orthographic sources (without individual attribution), so it is impossible to draw conclusions about the phonology of the language from that variation. Schwartz (nda:3–6) has five vowels with considerable allophony, but gives no examples; moreover the obvious errors elsewhere in this manuscript (such as omitting η as a phoneme) leads me to treat Schwartz's other analytic conclusions as requiring additional confirmation. The large number of apparent homonyms (as a glance at the glossary will demonstrate) may indicate that Meier's orthography does not make enough phonemic distinctions. Meier could have collapsed distinctions in mid vowels, for example.

In Loniu (Hamel 1994) there are seven distinctive vowels: /i/, /ε/, /ε/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, and /u/. Blust in his Lou vocabulary also finds seven phonemic vowels (Blust 1998). Certain correspondences between Meier's transcription and the equivalent words in Loniu (such as Meier's *pati* 'wife, from' and Hamel's *peti* 'from'¹⁷ suggests either that Meier's transcription has collapsed certain distinctions, or that there was a sound change in Titan that has reduced the number of vowel phonemes. However, I could find no clear systematic correspondences between Meier's transcription and the other sources (including lists from other languages) on this point; this implies underdifferentiation rather than a sound change.

In Meier's grammatical and morphological sketch (1906:217ff) some vowels are marked as long (such as *āto*, the third person trial pronoun) but diacritics are not used in the texts. Length marking is also found sporadically in Smythe and Z'Graggen (1975). Distinctive vowel length is not a feature of the other Admiralty Islands languages and is uncommon in Oceania more generally (Lynch et al. 2002:35) so there is no reason to suspect it might exist in Titan. The length marking probably reflects stress placement, or perhaps vowel quality (a lower or more back vowel) rather than a phonemic distinction.

2.3 Orthography

The orthography used in this volume has been altered in a few respects from that which was used by Meier. Meier, following standard German orthography, writes [v] as *w*, while IPA [w] is represented by *u*. Throughout this book, *w* is used for [w] and *v* for [v]. Other changes to the orthography are the use of *y* for Meier's *j* [j], and *c* for [ts ~ tʃ]. All plain stops are voiceless, so the voiced counterparts *b* and *d* are used here to denote the prenasalized trills mbr and ndr. No change has been made to vowel transcriptions, except the replacement of intervocalic *u* with *w*, as mentioned above. Variant spellings are noted in the wordlist in Part B. As mentioned above, I assume that this orthography underdifferentiates glottalization and consonant rounding, and I do not regard the orthography here as phonemic.

I have also retained Meier's word boundary divisions. Meier is quite consistent in his transcription of items as single or multiple words. Most compounds, for example, are written as single words, and the agreement markers are always written as separate from the following word. I suspect, however, that the agreement markers are clitics, since they participate in vowel harmony (see Section 2.6 below).

2.4 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

Syllables in Titan are of the structure V, VC, CV, or CVC. Examples of each are given in Table 2.2.

2.4.1 Consonant Clusters

There are very few consonant sequences in the data. There are no complex codas or onsets. Clusters of the type ... (C)VC.CV..., that is, words with consonant clusters, occur almost entirely in compounds, such as pinramat

Table 2.2: Examples of Syllable Structure

Vowel-initial Syllables			
	V	VC	
e	to subj	en	to sit
i	3sg	ir	this side
i.to	there	an	from
a.mu	still	uny	k.o. tree
Consonant-initial Syllables			
	CV	CVC	
cu	fish broth	ca.vat	wild animal
te	to, for	cem	carry basket
pa.ti	wife	Hus	place name
ta.li	mix	tag	cry

‘woman-person’ (*pin/pein* ‘woman’, *ramat* ‘human’), *pincinal* ‘woman-devil’. Other words which contain consonant sequences are either identifiable or probable compounds, that is, words where one element can be identified but another cannot. As far as can be determined, monomorphemic words do not contain consonant clusters.

Clusters are sometimes reduced across morpheme boundaries. Especially common is the loss of *n* before a following *r*. The compound *pin-ramat*, ‘woman-person (i.e., woman)’, for example, is also recorded as *piramat*.¹⁸ *N*-loss of this type is impressionistically less common when the following consonant is a labial.¹⁹

Sequences of <ng> are ambiguous between /ŋg/ and /ŋ/. Meier (1906:215) says that he writes the velar nasal as n̄ and the cluster /ŋg/ as <ng>, but that is clearly not a practice followed in the published texts, even in the same article.

2.4.2 Vowel Clusters

The analysis of vowel clusters is complicated by Meier’s transcription of velarized labials as vowel sequences. There are numerous examples of vowels in sequence, as Table 2.3 below shows. The columns give the first vowel of the cluster, while the rows give the second vowel. There are examples in the corpus of every vowel combination.

Table 2.3: Vowel Sequences

	V1 →	a	e	i	o	u
V2 ↓	a taajol '40'	madean 'big'	kaijal 'ghost'	coloan 'many'	sua 'finish'	
e	kae 'arm'	wee 'where'	lie 'again'	poen 'not'	sue 'row'	
i	rai 'blood'	ramei 'wooden drum'	rin 'small'	yito '1pc'	sui 'scrape off'	
o	kao 'rafter'	eoī 'your'	rio 'over there'	cooter 'new moon'	adaruo 'eight'	
u	alau 'far'	woseu 'rattan rope'	niu 'coconut'	pou 'pig'	yuyuu 'call'	

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Although all possible sequences of vowels are attested in the corpus, they do not have an identical distribution. The sequence *oe* occurs only after *p* or *m*, and therefore most likely represents velarization of the labials. There is only one example of *oo*, in the word *coorer* ‘new moon’. I assume sequences of identical vowels are in different syllables, and are perhaps broken by an *h* or glottal stop (see further Section 2.1.2.5). The sequence *eo* occurs only across morpheme boundaries, in the words *eoi* ‘of you (singular)’ and *teoi* ‘to you (singular)’. Meier makes no distinction between a glide and high vowel for *u*, although he does for the front high vowel, writing <j> for the consonantal position and <i> for the vowel. Words such as *kei* ‘tree’ and *pou* ‘pig’ could either be monosyllables (/kej/ and /pow/) or disyllables with vowels in hiatus (/ke.i/ and /po.u/). Fortune (1928:29) has an apparent near minimal pair: *luan* “deep water” vs. *luwani* “throw away”. Therefore there may be a distinction between words containing vowels in hiatus and those with a glide-initial second syllable. However, the inconsistency of Fortune’s transcriptions makes such a conclusion unsafe.²⁰

In summary, it is possible to analyze the minimal syllable in Titan as being of the form (C)V(C). Onsets can be omitted word and morpheme initially and codas may be present word and morpheme finally. There are a number of exceptions to this in the data, but many are possibly the result of the non-phonemic orthography. I have discussed this in some detail because it is important for readers to realize that the transcription here is likely to be non-phonemic (and inconsistent) in several ways.

2.4.3 Number of Syllables in the Word

The great majority of monomorphemic words are of one, two, or three syllables. Longer words are all analyzable as compounds: there are a number of compounds of greater than five syllables, such as *dogoanpapi* ‘sand picture’ (*dogoa-n+papi* ‘form+sand’) and *pucilimaramat* ‘fingernail’ (comprising *puci+lima+ramat* ‘nail+hand+person’).

2.4.4 Phonotaactics

As seen above, most word-internal syllables are open, and many words end in a vowel. There are no restrictions on the phonemes which may begin a word, and all consonants occur intervocally. The only phonemes which do not appear word finally are the prenasalized trills “*b*” and “*dr*” (written

here as *d* and *b*) and the velarized labials *pʷ* and *mʷ*. There is a single example of *d* occurring in Meier's data in word-final position, in the woman's name *Hi Kalimuid*. Parkinson (1999:173b) records *Mandrindr*, a place name and a species of fruit. Blust (1975) also records *yud* for 'grunt', but these are the only exceptions known to me.

A few words provide evidence for an alternation between *m* and *mʷ*; consider *kalum* 'examine' vs. *kalumoani* 'look for, examine' (see Section 6.5.1 for the meaning of the suffix). The usual form of the suffix is *-ani*; therefore the form *kalumoani* (rather than **kalumani*) is unexplained unless the final *m* of the root is labialized. We cannot tell, however, whether this is a genuine alternation or whether Meier did not hear the labialization at the end of a word.

2.5 Lexical Stress

Meier (1906:472–82) gives a few example sentences and a very short text on which stress is notated. It is reproduced here as I.6 in Section II on page 218. Stress is also marked on the numerals and pronouns in the grammatical sketch. From this very small sample, stress occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word, or, in the case of compounds, on the head of the compound. There is also a reduplicated word, *susunai*, on which stress appears to be variable, appearing on the initial syllable (*súsunai*), on the root (*susúnai*), or, in one example, on both. Lusk (nd) marks stress fairly consistently on the penult. The same stress pattern is found in Loniu (Hamel 1994:23–25), although Kele (Ross 2002:125) appears to have lexically specific stress which varies between the final syllable and the penult.

2.6 Morphophonemic Alternations

Analysis of morphophonemic alternations is hampered by not knowing the extent of Meier's regularization of the original transcriptions. We know that the original material comprises stories from several different dialects, yet the overall consistency of transcription strongly implies that there has been some standardization. It is possible that there is more alternation in the language than these texts reveal. Other Admiralties languages have extensive vowel harmony, for example.

There is some evidence for vowel harmony in Titan, although it is restricted. There does not seem to be the pervasive harmony that is found in Loniu (Hamel 1994:36ff) or Kele (Ross 2002:136). The second person ir-

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realis agreement marker *ko*, for example, assimilates to *ku* when the vowel of the verb root is high (*u* or *i*; see further Section 6.3.2).

- (2.3) *Moat i va: “Ku tulumui ni eoi!”*
snake 3sg say imp cook fish 2sg.ps
'Snake said, "Cook your fish!"'

(I.8/16)

There are also some examples of alternations between *a* and *e*, such as in *an* and *en* (both glossed as 'sit down'), and *ta* and *te* 'hit'. In the latter example, *te* alternates with *ta* in 'hit', but *ta* is never found for the preposition *te* 'to, for'. It is possible that the alternation for 'hit' is one of transitivity, as in between *la* 'go' (intransitive) and *le* 'go to' (transitive), but this is not borne out by the available data (cf. the phrase *ta ni* 'catch fish', where *ta* appears with an object, which would not be expected if the verb is intransitive). It is possible that there is assimilation similar to that recorded by Hamel (1994:26), where agreement clitics or following items condition the quality of the vowel in the verb root, although the same example *ta ni* appears to speak against such an analysis for Titan.

Finally, word-final *-n* (the marker of inalienable possession) is sometimes missing from the first member of a compound. It is not known if this is grammatically significant; more likely it is the result of a phonotactic constraint on adjacent consonants, as discussed in Section 2.4.1 above.

Chapter 3

Nouns

The following three chapters give information about Titan nominals and nominal syntax. This chapter discusses nouns: word formation, derivation, compounding, and possession formation. Chapter 4 discusses the forms of pronouns and demonstratives, while Chapter 5 gives information about other constituents in the noun phrase (adjectives and numerals), and noun phrase syntax. There is a single prenominal demonstrative position and a set of postnominal modifiers. These include, in addition to adjectives, demonstratives and numerals, prepositional phrases and relative clauses.

Nominals in Titan are not marked for number or gender (for discussion of number in the noun phrase, see Section 3.2). Numerals are inflected in a classification scheme (see Section 5.2). Numerals are the only modifier which take classifiers; this is unlike Seimat (Wozna and Wilson 2005:13), where demonstratives obligatorily inflect with classifiers, or Kele (Ross 2002) where there is also possessive classification. There is some evidence for a semantic distinction between inanimate and animate nouns, although it is not as pervasive as Lynch et al. (2002) note for some other Oceanic languages.

3.1 The Word Class of Nominals

Word class membership is here in both functional and distributional terms. A word is a nominal if it can co-occur with the demonstrative *moen* ‘that’, or the preposition *e* ‘to, from, with, etc’. Some roots seem to be used as either verbs or nouns (or, more frequently, as direct modifiers of nouns) with zero derivation. An example is *kip* ‘[tell a] lie’, which is functioning as a verb in (3.1a), but as a noun in (3.1b):²¹

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- (3.1) a. *Ato va: "Oi a kip!"*
3pc say 2sg 2sg.nfut lie
'They said, "You're lying!"' (IV.3/15)
- b. *Colai i va: "Dayan ne kip?"*
C 3sg say truth or lie
'Colai said, "Is this the truth or a lie?"' (IX.1/21)

There are, however, few examples of zero derivation in the corpus. More frequently, an overt derivational suffix appears. Derivational morphology (including nominal derivation) is discussed in Sections 3.6 and 6.5.

Place names form their own sub-class of nominals as they can be used as bare locational phrases (other nominals used as locations must be part of a prepositional phrase). Personal names may also be treated as a subclass and are discussed in Section 3.5. Adverbs form their own marginal class, and are discussed in Chapter 8. Finally, there are grammatical particles and verb agreement clitics.

Distinct classes of nouns and adjectives cannot be clearly distinguished from the available data, and it is not known whether the adjectival class is open, closed, or 'semi-open'; this is further discussed in Section 5.1.

3.2 Number

Number is not marked morphologically on the noun. Number can be indicated optionally, however, in the noun phrase, by the presence of a non-singular personal pronoun (dual, paucal, or plural; see section Section 4.1 below) which precedes the noun, or a numeral (Section 5.2), which may precede or follow the noun. In (3.2) we see an example where there is no overt number marking:

- (3.2) *I la tawi manaon ile tjai.*
3sg incho lay egg in hole
'She began to lay her eggs in a hole.' (I.3/1)

The fact that *manaon* are plural 'eggs' and not a singular 'egg' is known, apart from the fact that turtles lay more than one egg at a time, from the lines of the story following this, where eight of the eggs hatch into turtles and two hatch into humans. Compare that example with (3.3),

in which the third person plural pronoun *ala* precedes the noun *nat* to mark plural.

- (3.3) *Ala nat ala moage i, aru yaye-n aru mat.*
 3pl child 3pl tease 3sg 3dl mother-3sg 3dl die
 'Those children teased him, and he and his mother died.' (VI.Iciii/19)

Unless number is overtly marked by a non-singular pronoun, agreement with the verb is singular, even when the sense of the noun is non-singular. In (3.3), *ala* appears both in the subject noun phrase and as the agreement marker.²² (3.4) illustrates singular agreement with noun phrases which are semantically plural.

- (3.4) *Manaon-karaat i ciri. Adaruo i la karaat, pe taruo*
 turtle-egg 3sg break eight 3sg become turtle and two
i la ramat.
 3sg become person
 'The turtle eggs hatched. Eight became turtles and two became humans.'

(I.3/3)

This implies that in Sivisa Titan the category 'singular' is unmarked for number; it is not a 'singulative'. This might also explain why the only non-singular pronouns are used to mark number; the third person singular pronoun *i* does not seem to be used in this function; instead *amo* 'one' is used in the marking of singular number in the noun phrase.²³

Almost all examples of number marking in the texts are with either animate nouns such as *ramat* 'person', or personified nouns such as bird characters in stories (e.g., *cauka* 'friarbird'). This implies that Ross's (2002) generalization for Kele—that number marking is not found with inanimate nouns—also applies in Titan.

3.3 Possession

Possession on nouns may be expressed in four ways in Titan. The first is by suffixing a person marker to the possessum (that is, the possessed noun); inalienably possessed nouns are marked in this way. The most common marking of possession, however, involves the use of the preposition *e* 'of, from' (for which see further Section 7.1.1). Compounding of two items is used in some circumstances (for which see Section 3.4.3 below). Finally,

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with certain body parts we see simple juxtaposition without overt possessive marking of the possessor. The person suffixes, used on inalienably possessed nouns such as blood relations and body parts, are also important in the marking of location. The third person possessor suffix *-n* is also used in compounding, as discussed in Section 3.4.²⁴

3.3.1 Inalienable Possession: Suffixation

Table 3.1 gives the forms of the singular suffixes denoting inalienable possession on nouns. The non-singular forms are identical to the personal pronouns in Table 4.1 on page 43 below and are therefore not repeated here.

Table 3.1: Suffixes Denoting Inalienable Possession

Person	Form
1sg	<i>-ø</i> ~ <i>-o</i>
2sg	<i>-m</i>
3sg	<i>-n</i>

The allomorphy of the first person singular markers is straightforward; if the stem ends in the vowel *a*, that vowel is replaced by the suffix *-o*; otherwise the bare stem is used and no suffixation occurs. The following examples demonstrate this:²⁵

- (3.5) a. *keka-o* > *keko* ‘my foot’
b. *yaye* > *yaye* ‘my mother’

Where the citation form of the noun ends in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel identical to the final vowel of the stem is inserted between the end of the noun stem and the second or third person singular suffix. Thus the second person singular possessive of *sus* ‘breast’ is *sus-um*.

There are a few examples in the corpus where the final vowel is not identical. These include *ayan* ‘reason, speech’, which has possessive *ayan-un* instead of expected **ayan-an*. Another example is *nat*, ‘child’, where the possessive and compounding form is *natu-*. For Loniu, Hamel (1994:29–30) lists short and long forms for many inalienably possessed nouns, as the epenthetic vowel is not predictable in all forms in that language. This probably represents the reappearance of a vowel that was oth-

Table 3.2: Inalienably Possessed Nouns

Body	<i>asu</i>	gall	<i>kolo</i>	neck, throat
Parts	<i>ate</i>	liver	<i>kui</i>	buttocks
	<i>bua</i>	testicles	<i>kulico</i>	skin
	<i>buamataki</i>	anus	<i>lam</i>	hair
	<i>bui</i>	vulva	<i>lia</i>	tooth
	<i>cayi</i>	body	<i>lima</i>	hand, arm
	<i>de</i>	excrement	<i>mata</i>	face, eyes
	<i>diliya</i>	ear	<i>mato</i>	left [side]
	<i>diliwe</i>	intestines	<i>ηaro</i>	sinew, tentacles
	<i>dita</i>	body	<i>pala</i>	head
	<i>dojoa</i>	form, shape	<i>pali</i>	wing
	<i>dua</i>	back	<i>palia</i>	calf
	<i>kae</i>	arm	<i>patarui</i>	bone
	<i>kaleuya</i>	tail	<i>poa</i>	mouth
	<i>kalimo</i>	right [side]	<i>putua</i>	stomach
	<i>kalio</i>	middle of body	<i>sus</i>	breast
	<i>kararame</i>	tongue	<i>uti</i>	penis
	<i>keka</i>	foot, bone		
Kinship	<i>asao</i>	daughter	<i>papu</i>	father
Terms	<i>dasi</i>	brother	<i>patiyaye</i>	niece
	<i>nyasi</i>	grandmother	<i>pisio</i>	sibling
	<i>palua</i>	wife, companion	<i>yaye</i>	mother
	<i>pilao</i>	sister		
Other	<i>lo</i>	inside	<i>pog</i>	day
	<i>pole</i>	top	<i>poro</i>	hole
	<i>ayan</i>	language	<i>mario</i>	shadow
	<i>kania</i>	food	<i>mat</i>	death
	<i>kawa</i>	guest-friend(ship)	<i>molua</i>	soul
	<i>kunusu</i>	payment, hospitality	<i>ηara</i>	name
	<i>lako</i>	dwelling, sleeping place	<i>poto</i>	prickle
	<i>lapan</i>	master	<i>cucumoa</i>	pod
	<i>nyubu</i>	young shoot		

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erwise lost in final position.²⁶ Third person singular forms behave like second person singular ones, except the suffix is *-n* rather than *-m*.

In the non-singular, the possessor suffixes are identical to the personal pronouns. Some examples are given in (3.6) (see also (3.19a)):

- (3.6) a. *Ala Male ala la panawe bue.* *Ala karikari*
3pl M 3pl go steal betel.nuts 3pl wander.here.and.there
mata-ala.
eyes-3pl
'The Male men went and stole betel nuts. Their eyes wandered here and there.' (V.3/5)
- b. *Aru dasi-aru.* *Aru ti Pouna.*
3dl brothers.to.each.other 3dl live in P.
'There were two brothers. They lived in Pouna.' (I.8/1)

Nouns which may be marked for inalienable possession include *yaye* 'mother', *sus* 'breast', *de* 'excrement', and other body parts and kin terms. There are also a few other items in miscellaneous word classes. These are marked in the glossary and given in Table 3.2.²⁷ Some of these words are variably possessed; that is, they can have both alienable and inalienable possessive patterns. See further Section 3.3.4.

In addition to these words, there are a few nouns that could be marked for inalienable possession, but are attested only in the third person singular in texts (such as *koloan*, 'guardian'). In such cases it is impossible to tell whether the final *-n* marks a possessor or is part of the root.

3.3.2 Parataxis with Body Parts

There are a number of examples in the text which appear with both the inalienable possession suffix and a juxtaposed noun or pronoun. One of the best examples is in the frequent expression of surprise:

- (3.7) *I ate-n i gas.*
3sg liver-3sg 3sg be.astonished
'He was astonished in his liver.' (I.8/14 *et passim*)

The phrase would appear to be literally 'His liver was astonished'. Other examples include the following:

- (3.8) *Poj atalo ku lisi bue, ki rek e yo*
 day three 2sg.fut see betel.palm 3sg.fut grow.bigger from 1sg
pal-o.
 head-1sg
 'After three days you will see a betel palm growing out from my head.' (I.16/10)
- (3.9) *I ta doyoanpala moen cinal.*
 3sg measure head.shape def devil
 'He measured the head-shape of the devil.' (VIII.16/12)

Part-whole relations of the type illustrated in (3.8) and (3.9) are fairly frequent with body parts. These examples are of different types, however. In (3.8) (like (3.7)), the pronominal possessor is first and the noun is also marked for inalienable possession. In (3.9), however, the possessor is second, and there is no possessive marking. (3.9) shows the order consistent with other compounded items (see, for example, Section 3.3.6), while the other examples appear to be true parataxis.

3.3.3 Alienable Possession

Alienable possession is expressed through the use of the preposition *e*, as the following example shows:

- (3.10) *Aru la lisi fum e Hi Kamei].*
 3dl go see house poss H. K.
 'They went to look at the house of Hi Kamei.' (IX.2/21)

The possessor always follows the possessed noun. In the following example we see both inalienable and alienable types of possession, referring to different kin relations: *yaye-* 'mother' has the inalienable suffix, while *pati* 'wife' has the alienable possessive construction, with a free pronoun.²⁸

- (3.11) *Amo i va: "yaye-yotaru." Amo i va: "Oi yaye-m, pe yo pati eyo!"*
 one 3sg say mother-1dl.inc one 3sg say 2sg mother-2sg.ps and
 1sg wife 1sg.ps
 'One said, "that's our mum!" The other replied: "You have your mother and I'll have my wife!"' (IV.1/6)

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For more information about *e* constructions, see Section 7.1.1 below on prepositional phrases.

3.3.4 Variable Marking

A few nouns have been recorded with both inalienable and alienable possessive marking. For example, while *bua* ‘testicles, fruit’ is polysemous, the noun is only inalienably possessed in the meaning ‘testicles’, not in the meaning ‘fruit’. When *pog* ‘day’ occurs with the inalienable marking, it has the meaning ‘life span’. Elsewhere it is alienable. The word *lapan* may be inalienably possessed; cf. the phrase *lapa Lou* (V.1/6) ‘Chief Lou’ and *lavam* ‘your chief’ (VIII.13/37). However, it is much more common alienably possessed; compare *lavan e ala Moali* ‘chief of the people of Moali’ (VII.2/10). Another such word is *sus* ‘(female) breasts’.

- (3.12) *Ase Ulungau i tokai. Ala Papitalai ala lisi sus e*
daughter U 3sg go 3pl P 3pl see breast poss
ase Ulungau. Sus i ewain. Ala va: "Ase
daughter U breast 3sg be.well.developed 3pl say daughter
Ulungau, oi etepe susum i ewain?"
U 2sg how.is.it breast-2sg.ps 3sg be.well.developed
‘The daughter of Ulungau went [away]. The people of Papitalai
saw her breasts. They were well developed. They said, “Daughter
of Ulungau, what have you been doing? How is it that your breasts
are well developed?”’ (I.9/10–11)

In the first reference to Ulungau’s breasts, the construction with *e* is used; in the second, however, the pronominal suffix is used. In the first reference, the possessor is an overt NP and not a pronoun, but as seen from Section 3.4.2 and example (3.13) below, another way to signal inalienable possession with names is to omit the possession marker and place the nouns in juxtaposition (or to make a compound). It is not known what triggers variable marking in cases like this.

3.3.5 Food Possessive

Several languages of the Admiralties subgroup have special possessive marking for food. A classifier based on the word for ‘food’ precedes the noun. Ross (2002:134–135) gives examples for Kele; it is also found in Loniu (Hamel 1994:47). In Titan, however, food items such as *kan* ‘food’ and

bur ‘banana’ receive the regular alienable pronominal possessive marking (e.g., *kan eyo* ‘my food’).

3.3.6 Body Part Possession by Compounding

This construction is discussed further below under compounding (Section 3.4.2), but is listed here too for completeness. Compounding may be used to mark possession. It is only attested in the corpus with body parts, as in (3.13). The possessum is first, followed by the possessor:

- (3.13) *Ato lisi molua-Kosi, i en e kamal.*
 3pc see soul-K 3sg sit in men’s.house
 ‘They saw Kosi’s soul which was sitting in the men’s house.’ (IV.3/11)

Meier is inconsistent in writing such ‘compounds’ as single words or multiple words; occasionally he hyphenates them, as in (3.13).

3.3.7 Possessors with Null Heads

Possessive phrases where the possessum is omitted are rare in the corpus, but a few examples with pronouns can be found. The pronoun series beginning with *te-* are used (see Section 4.2.2). *Teyo* ‘mine’ in (3.14) below is an example.

- (3.14) *I va: “Waru panawe teyo aminyau.”*
 3sg say 2dl steal to-1sg yesterday
 ‘He said, “You stole mine yesterday.”’ (VIII.15/41)

3.4 Compounds

The difference between the juxtaposition of two nouns—that is, independent phonological words—and compounding (two nouns that form a single phonological word) is not clearly determinable from these data. There seem to be no clear-cut grammatical criteria and even Meier is not entirely consistent in writing items as one word or two. In Titan there appear to be noun-noun compounds, verb-verb compounds, and verb-noun/adjective compounds; in the last of these the verb is usually *po* ~ *vo* ‘make’ or *ta* ‘do’. For compounds involving verbal items, see Section 6.6. Compound nominals are prevalent in the corpus; much more so than Wozna and Wilson (2005:18–19) describe for Seimat.

Four different types of nominal compounds can be distinguished on semantic grounds. The first is broadly possessive, where the first item of the compound is possessed by the second. The second type is hyponymic: the first item of the compound is a specific noun and the second is a generic noun (that is, the first noun is a subset of the class denoted by the second noun). The third type is closely related to the second, and involves the specification of location. Finally, there are a few determinative compounds, where the elements of the compound stand in a grammatical relationship with one another. They include verbs and their object. Compounded are always left-headed; the left-most noun is the head of the compound.

There are also many items which I assume to be compounds, but where one or other of the parts is not otherwise attested as a noun in the corpus. For example, *butoniu* is given the gloss ‘ripe coconut’; *niu* is attested as ‘coconut’, but *buton* is not found. It is, however, in Lusk (nd) in the meaning ‘sprout, soft spongy centre (of coconut)’.²⁹

3.4.1 Order of Compounded Elements

In all four types of compounds discussed below, the relative order of the two nouns in the compound is regular. The four types are given in (3.15). More generally, the left-most noun can be identified as the head of the compound.

- (3.15) a. Possessum–Possessor (e.g., *pala-ramat* ‘head-person’; a person’s head)
- b. Generic–Specific (e.g., *pein-cinal* ‘woman-devil’; a devil woman)
- c. Locative Noun–Governed Location (e.g., *polen-pat* ‘top-rock’; the top of a rock)
- d. Determining Noun–Governed Object (e.g., *saya-dol* ‘builder-canoe’; canoe builder)

Each of these types is discussed in the following sections. All compounds are endocentric, with the possible exception of *patiyayen* ‘niece’, which appears to be a compound of *pati* ‘wife’ and *yaye-n* ‘mother-3SG’.

Evidence of multiple possible semantic relations between compounded elements comes from examples such as (3.16), which means both ‘feast’ (cf. *kan* ‘food’) and ‘eater’ (with the agent nominal suffix *-ia*).

- (3.16) a. *kania-ala* 'feast-3pl'; their feast (that is, the food that belongs to them)
- b. *kanian-ramat* 'feast-person', cannibalistic feast; *kanian-api* 'feast-sago'; a sago-feast
- c. *kanian-ala* 'feast-3pl', the feast at which they will be eaten
- d. *kania-ramat* 'eater-people', cannibal
- e. *kania-ala* 'eater-3pl', the cannibal of them (that is, the person who ate them)

The first relationship (illustrated by (3.16a)) is possession; (3.16b) and (3.16c) are examples of descriptive/delimiting compounds, where the second member of the compound describes the *type* of feast. Finally, (3.16d) and (3.16e) are determinative compounds, where the second element is the object of eating.

3.4.2 Inalienable Possession

Compounding of the inalienable type is used primarily to link two nouns, the first of which is (inalienably) possessed by the second. In this construction, the possessum is usually, but not always, inflected for possession by a third person singular possessor *-n*.³⁰ Some examples are given below:

- (3.17) a. *puci-lima-ramat* 'nail-hand-person', a person's fingernail
- b. *poton-par* 'prickle-3SG-pandanus.palm', pandanus prickle
- c. *dita-patiyayen* 'body-niece-3SG', a niece's body
- d. *kararame-papu-n* 'tongue-father-3SG', his father's tongue

Proper names can also be "compounded" in this way to denote possession, as (3.18) shows. Meier is especially inconsistent in writing this type of compounds as compounded or as separate words.

- (3.18) *I sowe kui Moluam.*
3sg cram.into buttocks M
'He crammed it [a spear] into Moluam's buttocks.' (IX.1/17)

Discussion so far has focused on cases where the possessum was a single word. However, there are cases where the possessum is a phrase. (3.19) are examples:

- (3.19) a. *Peu, kania-ala nat, i ani ala nat ei yevuen.*
Peu eater-3pl child 3sg eat 3pl child 3sg.ps finished
'Peu, the eater of children, ate up all his children.' (IX.3/1)
- b. *Cap-ala Yap ajouin, mata-ala i la taroan.*
body-3pl Yap light.colored face-3pl 3sg be light
'The bodies of people from Yap are light-colored, and their faces are light.' (VII.1/5)

In these cases, *ala* '3pl' is treated as a suffix to the possessor; yet the pronoun *ala* could also be acting as a number modifier to the possessor *nat* 'children'; moreover, the sense of (3.19b) requires that the possessor be *ala Yap* 'the people of Yap', not *Yap* alone. Place names can appear with plural pronouns, in which case the phrase refers to the inhabitants of a place; see Section 4.3. However, the toponyms without the pronoun do not have this meaning; this implies that *ala* in examples like (3.19b) is not a possessive suffix, but rather a full pronoun which forms a phrase with the following word.

3.4.3 Descriptive or Delimiting Compounds

A second type of compounding is used to specify further information about one element of the compound. The order of elements is generic-specific; that is, the second part of the compound provides more information, or modifies, the first element. Some examples are given in (3.20) below. The majority of compounds in the data are of this type. Note that the headedness of these compounds is the reverse of English compounds. After the Titan, the compound is given a literal gloss, then a free translation.

- (3.20) a. *pin-ramat* 'woman-person', woman; *pin-cinal* 'woman-devil', devil-woman
- b. *buan-uny* 'fruit-uny', fruit of the *uny* tree; *buan-pitou* 'fruit-pitou', fruit of the pitou tree
- c. *den-pou* 'feces-pig', pig excrement³¹
- d. *dojaoan-pala* 'head-shape', *pala* 'head', *dojaoa* 'shape'.
- e. *nat-murin* 'child-behind, after', descendants
- f. *pi-Yap* 'woman-Yap', a woman from Yap

3.4.4 Locational Compounds

Locational compounds are a feature of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002). They are used to express the location of their objects and they provide more specific information about the location indicated by the object of a preposition.

Table 3.3 below gives the nouns which are used as the first member of locational compounds. Unfortunately, there are no attestations of these words with first or second pronominal objects ('on top of me', etc), but one would expect that they show the inalienable possession suffixes described in Section 3.3.1.

Table 3.3: Locative Nouns

	Locational meaning	Non-locational meaning
<i>burun</i>	at the bottom of	
<i>ditan</i>	on top of	body
<i>kalimo</i>	to the right [side] of	right [side]
<i>kaso</i>	at the side of	
<i>lin</i>	at the foot of	tree-foot
<i>lo(n)</i>	inside	
<i>lodia(n)</i>	inside	
<i>mato</i>	to the left [side] of	left [side]
<i>muri(n)</i>	behind, after	back
<i>pala(n)</i>	before, in front of	head
<i>pole(n)</i>	top	peak (e.g., of tree)

Both *lon* and *lodia* seem to mean 'inside'. The second part of the compound, *dia*, is not known from other words, but *di* is also a component in *di-ley* 'shore' (cf. *ley*, also 'shore') and may be related. The use of the *palan* in compounds can also be figurative; cf. *palanpon* 'dawn', literally *palan* 'head, beginning', and *pog* 'day'.

Some examples of the use of these locational compounds are given below.

- (3.21) *I lisi alei, i en e ditan-pat, i en parer e*
 3sg see pandanus.palm 3sg sit on rock-top 3sg sit be.white on
ditanpat.
 rock-top
 'He saw a pandanus palm on top of a rock, shining-white.'(III.2/9)

- (3.22) *I lele ile muri-dol amo kekan laken.*
3sg see into canoe-stern one foot-3sg sore
(lit: 'behind-canoe')
'He looked into the stern of the canoe, and saw the one whose foot
was sore.' (VI.2/33)

There are other examples which are very similar but do not seem to be as productive as the locational words featured in Table 3.3 above. *Cayan-par* 'pandanus fork' (*par* 'pandanus', *cayan* 'tree-fork'), for example, could perhaps be described as the same construction.

3.4.5 Determinative Compounds

Finally, there are compounds whose elements stand in a grammatical relation to each other, which are different from those described in the previous sections. Such compounds are considerably rarer in the data. Examples are given in (3.23).

- (3.23) a. *rajisa-ni* 'revenge-fish', revenge over fish
b. *patan-palei* 'post-sail', post for the sail, mast
c. *saya-dol* 'builder-canoe', canoe-builder

3.4.6 Compounded Compounds

Compounds can be further compounded, although examples are not frequent. One example is *{[kato-lin]-kul}*, 'breadfruit-tree-foot', comprising *katolin*, from *kato* 'tree-foot' and *lin* 'bottom, base', and *kul* 'breadfruit³²'. Another example is *{[poen-keka]-natunat}* 'small child's footprint', comprising *poenkeka(n)*, 'footprint', itself a compound of *poen* 'print' and *keka* 'foot', and *natunat*, 'little child', a reduplicated form of *nat* 'child'. Most of the doubly compounded examples involve location compounds.

3.5 Proper Nouns

Personal names and place names, for the most part, do not behave differently from other nouns, apart from their ability to be modified. Names do not receive any type of modification in the corpus.

Personal names in the data often have the form *Po* plus word for men, and *Hi* plus word for women. Most of the forms of the names in the data

are only name-forms; they do not appear to have other meanings as common nouns. There are also names which are not prefixed by *Po*, such as *Sauray*. Fortune's texts also contain examples of names which do not have the structure *Hi X* or *Po X*. Some names are relatable to common nouns, such as *Pekan*, which is a type of tree, and *Poawai* is given as 'estuary'.

Place names can occur with pronouns, in which case the phrase means 'a person from that place.' Otherwise, they appear to have the same syntax as other location words. They can occur with prepositions and as goals of motion, for example. Locations are referred to pronominally by *wei* rather than *i*; however, this is the usual pronoun for oblique inanimates. (See (3.19b) for an example.)

3.6 Derivation in Nominals

Three types of derivation can be identified in the corpus. There are several derivational suffixes; there is also a prefix. Finally, there is reduplication.

3.6.1 Derivational Suffixes

Many lexemes are used both as nouns and as verbs with zero derivation.³³ The examples in (3.24) illustrate this with the word *dunj*, which as a noun means 'noise' but which as a verb means 'crackle'.

- (3.24) a. *Ala cinal ala cavuni i nause. Ala tokai. Ave dunj poen, ave kulul poen.*
 3pl devil 3pl carry.away 3sg quiet 3pl go any noise
 not any speech not
 'The devils carried him away quietly. They left. There was no noise, no talking.' (VIII.11/3)
- b. *Moan i ye, i tulumui um. I dunj ila madean.*
 fire 3sg flare 3sg burn house 3sg crackle becoming
 big
 'The fire flared and it burned down the house. It crackled big.' (IX.2/25)

There are also a few examples of nouns derived through affixation. All attested forms are given in Table 3.4.³⁴

Table 3.4: Derivation Involving Nominal Categories

Underived	Titan	English	Derived	Titan	English	Suffix
Noun	<i>kan</i>	food	Noun	<i>kania</i>	feast, eater	-ia
	<i>pisio</i>	sister		<i>pisiol</i>	sisterhood	-i
Noun	<i>buli</i>	mountain	Adjective	<i>bulian</i>	hilly	-an
Noun	<i>koloan</i>	guardian	Verb	<i>koloani</i>	to protect	-i
	<i>mada</i>	old man		<i>maday</i>	be old	-y
	<i>yara</i>	name		<i>yareani</i>	call by name	-(e)ani
Verb	<i>alau</i>	be far	Adjective	<i>alawen</i>	far	-en
	<i>codo</i>	be many		<i>coloan</i>	plenty, a lot	-an
	<i>poke</i>	hold		<i>pokean</i>	strong	-an
	<i>parer</i>	(be) white		<i>pareren</i>	white	-en
	<i>patu</i>	be heavy		<i>patuan</i>	heavy	-an
	<i>apou</i>	shine		<i>apoutin</i>	shining	-in
Verb	<i>sa</i>	to build	Noun	<i>saya</i>	builder	-ya
	<i>kuni</i>	sling (v)		<i>kunian</i>	sling (n)	-an
	<i>lisii</i>	see		<i>lisiai</i>	looking around	-ai
	<i>muduk</i>	explode		<i>muduken</i>	window hole	-en
	<i>tadul</i>	stand up		<i>tadulai</i>	standing up	-ai

It is possible to define a few different suffixes from the data, though conclusions regarding morpheme boundaries here are tentative. The probable derivational affixes are given in (3.25).

- (3.25) a. *-ia* ~ *-ya* 'agent noun'
- b. *-i* 'abstract noun'
- c. (*-i* 'applicative, causative' [see Section 6.5 and Table 6.5])
- d. *-an*, *-en*, *-in* 'deverbal nominal/adjectival'
- e. *-ai* 'gerund'
- f. (*-ani* [see Section 6.5 and Table 6.5])

The suffix *-ia* or *-ya* derives agent nouns from nouns (e.g., *kan* 'food') or verbs (e.g., *sa* 'build'). The form is *-ya* after vowels and *-ia* after consonants. The suffixes *i* and *ai* form abstract/concept nouns from nouns and verbs respectively. Finally, *-an*, *-en*, or *-in* derives nominals from verbs. Due to the possibilities of transcription problems it is not clear whether this is a single morpheme with allomorphs whose conditioning is unclear, or multiple morphemes. It is here tentatively treated as a single morpheme, because there appear to be no systematic differences in meaning between the variants.

3.6.2 Reduplication

There are very few examples of reduplication in the nominal system, although more are found in the verbal system (for which see Section 6.5.3). A single noun was found in the data which could be shown to have both a reduplicated and an unreduplicated form; this was *nat*, *natunat* 'child'. The reduplicated form was glossed by Meier as 'little child' (VII.5/13).

In addition, there were some words which are reduplicated that have no unreduplicated forms, such as *pōjopōj* 'pandanus', *pokapoaik* 'k.o. tree', and *kawakau* 'spear bundle'. We saw in Section 3.3.1 above that possessive suffixation sometimes resulted in the addition of a vowel whose quality could not be predicted from the stem. This analysis is also appropriate for the reduplicated forms noted here.

3.6.3 *k-* Prefixation

There are several noun-verb pairs that appear to be related by the presence or absence of an initial *k-* or *ka-*. All known examples are listed in

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Table 3.5. In addition to the forms in Table 3.5, it is possible that the pair of words meaning ‘where’, *rehe* and *kerehe*, also show the same prefix.

Table 3.5: Words with *k*-Initial Prefixes

Titan	English	Titan	English
<i>etatai</i>	have an argument, fight (v)	<i>ketatai</i>	quarrel (n)
<i>an</i>	eat	<i>kan</i>	food
<i>atug</i>	to thunder	<i>katug</i>	thunder (n)
<i>itiit</i>	have sex	<i>kitiit</i>	sex
<i>ulumui</i>	drink	<i>kulumuadas</i>	sea-drinker
<i>poenkeka</i>	footprint	<i>kapoenkekan</i>	toe

I assume that these forms are frozen word pairs which perhaps reflect univerbation of a zero-derived noun with the Proto-Oceanic article *ka-* (see Lynch et al. 2002:70). There is no evidence for a productive prefixal article in Titan, however.

Chapter 4

Pronouns and Demonstratives

There are several different types of pronominal and demonstrative words in the Titan corpus; they are the focus of this chapter. The chapter deals only with free pronouns; bound agreement markers are discussed in Section 6.2.1, and possessive suffixation was discussed in Section 3.3.1. Titan has personal pronouns marked for singular, dual, trial, and plural number. There is no gender distinction.

4.1 Independent (Non-possessive) Forms

Full, overt pronouns are common in the texts, even in subject position where there is an agreement marker. For the purposes of this description, I have divided the paradigms into possessive and non-possessive forms. The non-possessive forms occur in subject and object positions and as objects of prepositions. The possessive forms are the equivalent of English ‘my, mine’ and German ‘mein’ and occur in possessive constructions.

4.1.1 Forms of Pronouns

Meier (1906:217) provides a summary of the non-possessive pronouns, which is reproduced in Table 4.1. The accent marks are those given in the 1906 sketch. No forms receive accent marks in the texts.

Table 4.1: Personal Pronouns

	Sing.	Dual	Paucal	Plural
1st (Incl)		(yo)táru (<i>rúmo</i>)	(yô)to (<i>tulúmo</i>)	(yô)ta
(Excl)	yo	yôru	yoítô	yôya
2nd	oi	wôru/waru	wôto/wato	awa
3rd	i	áru	âto	âla
3rd oblique	wei			

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A number of variant forms for the non-singular pronouns were recorded in the texts, and there are differences between Meier's (1906) brief sketch and the spellings in the texts. In particular, the second person dual and paucal forms *waru* and *wato* are consistently found in the texts for *woru* and *woto*. Blust (1975) also records the forms *woru* and *woto*. Meier (1906:217) writes *awa* as <aüa>.

In the dual and paucal forms of the first person inclusive, Meier notes that an optional numeral (*rumo* 'two' or *tulomo* 'three') may accompany the pronoun. This is not attested in the texts.

4.1.2 Third Person Pronouns

There are two forms of the third person singular pronoun, *i* and *wei*. The form *wei* is an inanimate oblique third person pronoun. It refers logophorically to events (i.e., it can be anaphoric for whole clauses) and to inanimate objects. It is thus the exact equivalent of the Loniu form *ey* (Hamel 1994:52). The pronoun *wei* only occurs after prepositions (hence the label 'oblique') or as a pronominal referring to a location. It does not occur as the direct object of a matrix verb. It should be noted that *i* can also occur as the object of a preposition, and it can also be inanimate. Example (4.1a) shows *wei* after the preposition *e*, and (4.1b) is an example where it refers to a goal of motion after a matrix verb.

- (4.1) a. *Ala lau, ateala i gas e wei.*
3pl people liver-3pl 3sg be.astonished regarding that
'The people were astonished by that.' (i.e., that he claimed them
to be his people) (III.1/13)
- b. *Kor a, i ki le wei poen.*
land indef 3sg 3sg.fut go.to that not
'There was no land for him to go to.' (I.1/2)

4.1.3 Trial (Paucal)

While Meier recognizes a 'trial', evidence from the texts show that the category would more accurately be labeled a paucal. Small groups of people are generally referred to in the paucal rather than the plural, even if there are more than three of them, as the following sentences show. In (4.2), for example, the 'trial' is used to refer to a group of ten children. There

is variation in example (4.3) between the plural and paucal referring to the same group (also ten in number).

- (4.2) *Pogoponj akou, ato ti cucumoaato. Kor i pia, ato ra.*
 pandanus ten 3pc be.on pod-3pc land 3sg be.dark 3pc
 spring.out

'There were ten pandanus fruit in pods. The land was dark. They sprung out of the pod.' (VI.1A/1)

- (4.3) *Moen Hus, i tawi nat ei taakou, i tu sa dol. Ala nat ala lisi i. Ala ilou ile um. Papu-ato poan, i cagaj. Ato nat ei ato cog. Ato taakou ato mouth-3sg 3sg open 3pc child 3sg.ps 3pc slide 3pc ten 3pc cog yevuen ile putua-n.*
 go completely into stomach-3sg

'A man from Hus, who had ten children, was building a canoe... The children saw him. They ran into the house... Their father's mouth opened. His children slid inside. Ten went into his stomach completely.' (VIII.14/1, 7–10)

Meier (1906) notes that the number *tulomo* 'three' can accompany the paucal pronoun. In that case, presumably the trial means 'exactly three' and not 'a small number'. (There are no examples in the corpus, however.)

4.1.4 Subject Pronoun Usage

As will be seen from Section 6.2.1 below, in the third person singular and all non-singular persons, the subject agreement clitic is phonologically identical and adjacent to the independent pronoun. Where the subject pronoun and the agreement marker are not identical, both appear. Where they are identical, however, there is no repetition. Examples (4.4a)–(4.4c) below illustrate this:

- (4.4) a. *Yo u pasani ala poen.*
 1sg 1sg.S know.about 3pl not
 'I know nothing about it.' (III.1/30)

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- b. *I lele ile muri-dol, amo keka-n laken.*
3sg see into canoe-stern one foot-3sg sore
'He looked into the stern of the canoe, and saw the one whose foot was sore.' (VI.2/33)
- c. *Po Kuel i en e poron-kawakau.*
P.K. 3sg sit in spear-bundle.hole
'Po Kuel was sitting in the hollow of the spear-bundle.' (VII.6/34)

In example (4.4a), both the subject pronoun and the first person subject agreement clitic appear. In (4.4b), by contrast, only the agreement clitic is present; that is, the form is not **i i lele muridol*. Example (4.4c) shows that when the third person singular subject is not a pronoun, both overt subject and agreement clitic appear. Non-singular agreement follows the pattern of third person singular agreement. The examples in (4.5) show the adjacency and identity conditions. In (4.5a) the pronoun and agreement markers are identical but not adjacent; in (4.5b) they are adjacent but not form-identical.

- (4.5) a. *Ala lie ala cog ile um.*
3pl again 3pl go into house
'They went back into the house.' (VIII.17/18)
- b. *I kine vo muan.*
3sg 3sg.perf do bad
'She did a bad thing.' (III.5/16)

4.1.5 Pronoun Omission

There are a few sentences with second person future subjects with no subject pronoun, for example:

- (4.6) *Ala lavan ala va: "Ko vavuen e yoya, pe ku puti se? Ku puti Kalomat, moe Yap?"*
3pl lord 3pl say 2sg.fut refuse about 1pl.excl and 2sg.fut marry who 2sg.fut marry K that Yap
'The chiefs said "Since you refuse us, whom will you marry? Will it be Kalomat, from Yap?"' (VII.4/5)

One would expect **oi ku*... in the above clauses on the basis of other data in the corpus. No overt pronoun appears in imperatives (which also feature the second person singular agreement clitic *ko/ku*) but in other uses of the irrealis there is usually a pronoun. It is possible that the lack of pronoun signals a register difference. No similar phenomena are found with first person subjects.

There are also a few examples of expletive subjects, and in that case there is no third person pronoun, only the TAM and agreement clitic, as in *ki* in (4.7):

- (4.7) *I taj. Cako i va: "Ki la teyo alan, amo
3sg cry hermit.crab 3sg say c.fact become up.to.me if one
pein ki tawi nat...
woman 3sg.fut give.birth.to child*
'He cried. The hermit crab said, "If I'd had it my way, a woman would have given birth to a child..."' (VII.5/75)

One further example of a context where no subject pronoun appears is in some subordinate clauses, especially when the verb is used with the 'desiderative' particle *p(o)a*. The following is an example:

- (4.8) *Se i vai wa te oi, poa ko asi um eoi kila
who 3sg say there to 2sg 2sg.desid 2sg.fut build house 2sg.ps into
alawen?
high*
'Who told you [something], so that you want to build a house as high as heaven?' (II.2/6)

See Section 9.8.5 for further information about agreement.

4.1.6 Object Pronoun Omission

When the object of a verb is a third person pronoun, the free pronoun may be omitted.³⁵ Examples of the presence and absence of the pronoun are given below. In general, the pronoun seems to be omitted when the referent is inanimate, and included when it is animate. The examples in (4.9) have the object pronoun *i* included, while (4.10) shows omitted objects.

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- (4.9) a. *Lui i wek kalani i ile Yap.*
driftwood sg float drag 3sg to Yap.
'The driftwood floated, dragging her to Yap.' (VII.4/22)
- b. *Aru tuanani i, aru va: "Ko la nyurui pou kile das!"*
3dl send.out 3sg 3dl say imp go wash pig in sea.water
'They sent him away, and said, "Go and wash the pork in the sea!"' (VIII.4/15)
- (4.10) a. *Aru sosorjani.*
3dl collect
'They collected [stones].' (I.8/3)
- b. *I tu coŋ e lono.*
3sg prog seek in forest
'He was looking [for it] in the forest.' (VI.1B.4)

Section 9.2.2 provides further discussion and examples of this phenomenon.

4.1.7 Emphatic Pronominal Usage

Occasionally sequences of two juxtaposed second person pronouns occur in subject or vocative position. The first is second person singular; the second is plural (see (4.11)).

- (4.11) a. *Oi awa, amo i mat, i ani den-pou!*
2sg 2pl one 3sg die 3sg eat pig-excrement
'You, when one [of you] dies, he eats pigshit!' (VIII.12/10)
- b. *Yoya kano momoa, oi awa kane le Rabuco.*
1pl.excl nsg.perf suffer 2sg 2pl nsg.perf go.to R
'We suffered, because you went to Rambutyo.' (VIII.12/31)

It is not clear whether these constructions are focal or emphatic; it is also not clear whether they refer to a plural "all of you" or singular "you (and your people)" addressee. Agreement in (4.11b) is plural. It is possible that they are parallel to the sequences of first person singular pronoun and demonstrative pronouns discussed in Section 4.4.5 below.

4.2 Oblique and Possessive Pronouns

Meier recognizes two distinct sets of possessive pronouns. These are formed by the addition of the prepositions *e* or *te* to the forms given in

Table 4.1. The pronouns with *e* are used to express possession, while those with *te* are absolute possessives (the equivalent of “mine”) or animate goals.

Table 4.2: Oblique Pronouns

	Sing.	Dual	Trial/Paucal	Plural
1st (Incl)		(<i>t</i>) <i>e(yo)taru</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>e(yo)to</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>e(yo)ta</i>
	(Excl)	(<i>t</i>) <i>eyo</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>eyoru</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>eyoito</i>
2nd	(<i>t</i>) <i>eo</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>eworu</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>ewoto</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>eawa</i>
3rd	(<i>t</i>) <i>ei</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>earu</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>eato</i>	(<i>t</i>) <i>eala</i>

Meier appears to contrast the possessive use of *e* or *te* plus pronoun with the other senses of the prepositions. He writes the first as a single word and the second as two words (e.g., *eyo* ‘of me, my’ versus *e yo* ‘to me, from me’; see (4.14b) below for an example with *te i*). It is not known to what extent this is a real distinction, and to what extent these pronouns should be treated as different from *e* or *te* plus noun, which express the same categories. I have treated them distinctly here, because Meier does, but I am not convinced that they form a distinct set of pronouns.

4.2.1 Pronouns with the Preposition *e*

The pronominal forms introduced by *e* are used to express alienable possession. This usage is exactly parallel to the use of the general relator preposition *e* with other nominals to express possession (for which see Section 7.1.1 below).

- (4.12) a. *Wewen i va: “Ko koloani um eyotaru!”*
 W 3sg say imp protect house 1dl.inc.ps
 ‘Wewen said, “Protect our house!”’ (V.3/3)
- b. *I va: “Ni eyo ita se kine panawe i?”*
 3sg say fish 1sg.ps this who 3sg.perf steal 3sg
 ‘He said, “Who stole [these] my fish?”’ (VIII.15/32)

The possessive pronoun follows the possessed noun. As can be seen from example (4.12b) above, however, the possessive pronoun is not final in the noun phrase. Unfortunately there are no examples of complex

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noun phrases including *e* and a preposition where *e* does not denote possession, although there are examples of prepositional phrases dependent on the head noun, and one example of a noun phrase with both a dependent prepositional phrase and a quantifier:

- (4.13) *Buai i cani ala [ni e das asiuna].*
crocodile 3sg set.aside 3pl fish in sea all
'The crocodile got together all the fish in the sea.' (VIII.9/7)

Such phrases, with the prepositional phrase occurring in the same position as the possessive pronouns in examples such as (4.12b) above, give further weight to the analysis of possessor pronouns and prepositional phrases as being identical.

4.2.2 Pronouns with the Preposition *te*

The pronouns *teyo*, *teoi*, *tei* and others are used predicatively, either as absolute possessives (where the possessum is elided) or as goals ('to me', 'to you', etc). Meier describes these pronouns as 'datives'. They are no doubt related to the goal functions of the preposition *te*, for which see Section 7.1.2. Example (4.14a) provides an example of the gapped possessum and possessor (*tei* 'his'), while (4.14b) is an example of the same construction with a copula.

- (4.14) a. *Nimei i moneani tei ila bul.*
N 3sg form to-3sg into moon
'Nimei shaped his [mushroom] into the moon.' (I.2/10)
- b. *Teyo uyan ne teoi uyan?*
1sg.ps good or 2sg.ps good
'Is mine good or is yours good?' (I.8/27)

A common idiomatic construction using *te* and a pronoun or noun (e.g., *teyo*, 1sg) means 'my way, the way I wanted things to turn out', as in example (4.15). This example also shows that the *te*-marked pronouns are parallel to nouns in prepositional phrases introduced by *te*.

- (4.15) *I va: "Ki la teyo alan, Moanus pe Yap ki*
3sg say c.fact become up.to.me if M and Yap c.fact
paut. Kine la te Alu, Yap ki me ir,
be.together 3sg.perf become to Alu Yap 3sg.fut come this.side

Moanus ki la ir!"

M c.fact become this.side

'He said "If it had happened my way, Manus and Yap would have been together. It's come out Alu's way, let Yap be on one side, and Manus on the other.'

(VII.4/50–51)

4.3 Pronouns with Place Names

There is a construction where the third person plural pronoun *ala* is combined with a place name. It is used to denote the people who come from a particular place:

- (4.16) *Ala Yap ala va: "Yota dasi yota..."*
3pl Yap 3pl say 1pl.inc brother 1pl.inc
'The Yap people said, "We're all brothers.' (VII.3/12)

In the Fortune papers there are examples with a linking marker *a*, which is also found in Ross' data for Rambutyo Titan, but is not attested in Meier's corpus (in this example the first line is Fortune's transcription and the second is my conversion to the orthography used in this book):

- (4.17) *Etcha ala lau a MBunei.*
eca ala lau a Bunei
what 3pl people linker? Bunei
'What are all the people of Bunei?' (p5, ln17)

4.4 Demonstratives

There are no definite articles in Titan. However, there is a set of demonstrative pronouns which may also appear as nominal modifiers in noun phrases.

4.4.1 Forms

There are a few different forms of the demonstrative pronouns in Titan. Meier (1906:224) records the following demonstratives, repeated in Table 4.3 below.³⁶ See Section 4.4.7 for the forms *moe(n)* and *ya*, which are also demonstratives but are not part of the same system. For the possible status of numeral *amo* 'one' as an indefinite marker, see Section 4.4.8.

Table 4.3: Demonstratives

Independent	Attributive	(Negative)	English
<i>tita</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ta</i>	this, here
<i>titan</i>	<i>itan</i>	<i>tan</i>	the (emphatic)
<i>tito</i>	<i>ito</i>	<i>to</i>	that (near)
<i>ilatu</i>	<i>latu</i>	<i>tu</i>	that (far)

The demonstratives have three levels of distance: proximal, distal and far distal; there is also a form which Meier (1906:224) glosses as “der (mit Nachdruck), die, das,” i.e., ‘the, with stress/emphasis’. The textual information implies that *titan* has some focal function. Each demonstrative has three forms: a basic syllable (here glossed as ‘negative’: see Section 4.4.4), and two augmented forms. One has an initial syllable *ti-* while the other has an initial *i-*. Ross (2002:129) lists demonstratives in Kele which are formed from locative adverbs with an anaphoric suffix *eti*; compare Kele *tu* ‘here’ but *tóti* ‘this’. I assume that the Titan prefixal *ti-* is related to the Kele suffixal anaphor. Discussion of the distribution of the demonstrative forms follows.

4.4.2 Usage of ‘Independent’ and ‘Attributive’ Forms

Meier states that the forms beginning with *ti-* are independent (i.e., unmodifying) demonstrative pronouns, while those beginning with *i-* are attributive ‘adjectival’ demonstratives. This is fairly consistent with their use in texts, although there are a number of problematic counterexamples which will be discussed below. Let us first consider examples which fit Meier’s generalization:

- (4.18) a. *Esol i va: “Tito kile ca?”*
 snake 3sg say this for what
 ‘Snake said, “What’s this for?”’ (I.10/23)
- b. *Kanian ito kulicon-kei.*
 feast that (near) bark
 ‘That feast [of ours] [will be] tree-bark.’ (I.10/24)

In example (4.18a), the distal demonstrative *tito* is a demonstrative pronoun which is not modifying a noun. We therefore have the full form. A reduced

form *ito* is found in (4.18b), where the form modifies *kalian* ‘feast’. (The short ‘negation’ forms are not included in the current discussion due to lack of matter; see Section 4.4.4.)

In addition to the demonstrative (anaphoric) use of these forms, they also have locational and temporal uses; (4.19) is an example of the proximal demonstrative *tita* in use as a marker of location.

- (4.19) *Ala lau ala va: “Ta ka ti tita?”*
 3pl people 3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut live here
 ‘The people said, “Will we live here?”’ (III.5/19)

4.4.3 Prenominal and Postnominal Demonstratives

Meier’s generalization about the distribution of demonstrative forms does not take into account the fact that there are two positions in which demonstratives may appear within a noun phrase, and that the prenominal and postnominal positions have different properties. Pronouns may only appear in the prenominal position, whereas numerals and demonstratives may be prenominal or postnominal. Other modifiers (such as adjectives and prepositional phrases) may only be postnominal.

A more robust generalization than Meier’s, and one that also accounts for his analysis, is that forms with *ti-* occur in the prenominal determiner slot (and as non-modifying demonstratives), whereas forms in *i-* occur in an “adjectival” postnominal slot. Forms in *ti-* are thus similar to independent pronouns in that they may function as anaphors and as prenominal determiners. Example (4.20) illustrates the anaphoric usage:

- (4.20) *I va: “Tito poenkekancako, tito konova poenkeka-amo*
 3sg say this hermit-crab-footprint this just.like foot-print-indef
nat.
 child
 ‘She said, “This is a hermit crab’s footprint, and this is just like
 the footprint of a child.”’ (VII.5/69)

Example (4.21) provides examples of a *ti-* form pronoun which is attributive, which goes against Meier’s generalization. Alternatively, since Titan has a null copula, we could analyze (4.21) as */tita/ /ŋa eyo poen/* ‘this isn’t my lime pot’; in that case, the sentence would not be an exception.

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- (4.21) *Tita ya eyo poen, tita rop eyo poen! Buamarit*
that lime.vessel 1sg.ps not that basket 1sg.ps not thing
ita te se?"
this to who
'That lime pot isn't mine, and that basket isn't mine! Whose is
this?'" (VI.1Cii/15)

Two further problematic examples are given below:

- (4.22) a. *Esol i va: "Moan ewaru yo u tawi kineme itan, kei*
snake 3sg say fire- 2dl.ps 1sg 1sg.S give to this tree
ewaru kineme itan."
2dl.ps to this
'The snake said, "Your fire I gave for this [place], and your
trees I gave for this [place]."' (I.10/48)
- b. *Morer vai ila te Morau, i va, "Oi a vo muan ila te*
M say to M 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut do bad to
kakali-yotaru. I ki au ito."
uncle-1dl.inc 3sg 3sg.fut leave this
'Morer said to Morau. "You've done something bad to our
uncle! He's going to leave here."' (I.10/43)

Examples (4.22a) and (4.22b) are direct counterexamples to the claim that *ti-* forms are independent and *i-* forms are only dependent. The only possible analysis is that, like adjectives, demonstratives in *i-* may occasionally occur without a head noun if the head is clear from the context. Some examples with adjectives can be seen in (5.2). Alternatively, it could be that the distribution of forms is an epiphenomenon, and that there is a semantic difference which happens to correlate with phrase structure. There are not enough examples in the texts to be sure.

4.4.4 ‘Negative’ Forms

Meier (1906:224–225) says that the short form demonstratives *ta*, *tan*, and *to* are alternatives to *tita*, *titan* and *tito* when the demonstrative is negated. The negative forms are very rare in the texts.³⁷ *To* ‘that’ is not found at all, and *tan* has only three examples. According to Meier, these forms are used only preceding the negator *poen*. No examples in this context are found

in the corpus. In fact, the only frame in which a short form demonstrative (*tan*) occurs in the texts is *tan se* ‘who’s that?’ (at IV.3/12, VIII.13/33, and VIII.15/26), which is not a negative context.

There is only one example of a demonstrative in a negative context, and the form is *itan*, not *tan*:

- (4.23) *Po Kuop i va: "Hi Moi i va, i nabun. Yo u ne P. K. 3sg say H. M. 3sg say 3sg be.sacred 1sg 1sg.S d.neg la varina i poen itan."*
 go to 3sg not this
 ‘Po Kuop said, “Hi Moi said that she was blessed. I didn’t go to her.”’ (VI.1Ci/27)

This example is exceptional in several ways; the negator *poen* is not clause-final (unlike other examples) and it is not clear whether *itan* refers to the woman (Hi Moi), or a location.

4.4.5 Pronoun and Demonstrative Doubling

Personal and demonstrative pronouns can be used together, where they seem to have a focus meaning. In (4.24a) for example, the first person singular *yo* is accompanied by the demonstrative *ita* and the whole phrase is fronted.

- (4.24) a. *Amo pein poen. I va: "Yo ita pati eyo ite?"*
 one woman not 3sg say 1sg this wife mine where
 ‘There weren’t any women. He said, “As for me, where’s my wife?”’ (I.7/2)
- b. *Aru va: "Taru ita kor etaru ite?"*
 3dl say 1dl.inc this land 1dl.inc.ps where
 ‘They said, “Where is this land of ours?”’ (I.2/4)

4.4.6 A Note on *ilatu*

There is only one example of Meier’s so-called ‘far’ demonstrative *ilatu* in the texts.

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- (4.25) *Ala Lawes ala lisi, ala va: "Oh! Moan ilatu."*
3pl Lawes 3pl see 3pl say Oh fire
'The people from Lawes saw this, and said, "Oh! There's a fire.'" (VIII.17/10)

There were no occurrences of *latu* or *tu*. There were, however, a number of examples of the tense-marked deverbal preposition *ilati* 'in' (which may take a zero complement). *Ilati* is probably derived from the locative verb *lati* 'be in a place'. There is also a verb *tu*, meaning 'stay'. It is therefore possible that *ilatu* is not a member of the demonstrative system at all, but rather a locational adverb. Alternatively it could be a typographical error for *ilati*.

4.4.7 Other Demonstratives

Two other words which seem to function as demonstratives were found in the texts; *moe(n)* and *ya*. They are both prenominal but do not occur independently. They occur only with nouns denoting humans.

Moen or *moe* occurs often with place names, where it is glossed by Meier as *ein Mann von* 'a man from'. Elsewhere it is simply glossed as *der* 'the' (masculine). *Moen* always refers to men.

- (4.26) a. *Po Avi, moen Kali, i la varina i.*
Po Avi Kali 3sg go to 3sg
'Po Avi, a man from Kali, went to him.' (II.2/5)
- b. *Moen saya-dol i tu sa dol.*
canoe-builder 3sg prog build.from.wood canoe
'The canoe builder was building a canoe.' (I.18/5)
- c. *Moe nat i matir yen e cal.*
child 3sg lie lie on path
'The child came to lie on the path.' (VIII.10/6)

Particularly common is the phrase *moen cinal*, as in (4.27). According to Lusk (nd) *m^wincinal* is a compound meaning 'male bush spirit'.

- (4.27) *Aru lisi moen cinal. Moen cinal i sowe kin, i*
3dl see devil devil 3sg cram into buttocks-3sg 3sg

la manayan.
become small

'They saw the devil. The devil crammed himself into his buttocks, and became small.'

(VIII.7/11)

It is difficult to describe the difference between *moe* and *moen*. The *n* often disappears before *r* (as we have seen elsewhere). It is possible that *moen* is not a demonstrative at all, but rather a noun meaning 'man'. Phrases such as *moen sayadol* would then be analyzed as compounds. The presence of *moen* twice in (4.27) might imply that it is not merely a demonstrative.

The demonstrative *ya* occurs only with the words *kamal* 'man', *pein* 'woman' and once with *uluou* 'young man'. It is glossed here as DEF, definite, but nothing is known about its function and there are few examples.

- (4.28) a. *Ya pein i va: "Moen cinal! Pa ki ani yoto."*
def woman 3sg say def devil want 3sg.fut eat 1pc.inc
'The woman said, "This is a devil! He wants to eat us."' (VIII.8/26)
- b. *Nou e ya kamal ei, i cani ila ei i,*
day poss def husband poss.3sg 3sg count to 3sg.ps 3sg
i evuen.
3sgbe finished
'The days of her husband, the number he had counted to her, were finished (i.e., the fifteen days were up).' (VII.4/45)

Some other Oceanic languages have articles that are dependent on animacy (Lynch et al. 2002:35), and several areas of Titan grammar show sensitivity to the animacy of participants (see, for example, Section 9.2.2 below).

4.4.8 *Amo* 'One' as a Determiner

While Titan does not have articles, there is a way of marking noun phrases as overtly indefinite. When the numeral *amo* is used in the prenominal position, it does not always seem to carry the force of enumeration; rather, it appears to mark the noun as indefinite and/or non-specific.³⁸

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- (4.29) *Amo pimpal.*
 indef pigeon
 '[This is a story about] a pigeon.' (I.4/1)

This use of *amo* is particularly common at the start of texts, where the reading is presumably indefinite but specific. (4.30) is an example.³⁹

- (4.30) *Amo cinal, garan Po Pekan, matan taa.*
 indef devil name-3sg P. P. eyes-3sg four
 'There was a devil by the name of Po Pekan, and he had four eyes.' (VIII.5/1)

In this use of the numeral Titan differs from Kele (Ross 2002:132); in Kele the numeral 'one' always denotes a singular item, not an indefinite.

4.5 Interrogative Pronouns

Table 4.4 gives the interrogative pronouns found in Meier (1906:225) and in the text corpus. Discussion here is confined to forms; question syntax is covered in Section 9.9.

Table 4.4: Interrogative Pronouns

Titan	English	
<i>ca</i>	what	
<i>sa</i>	what	one attestation
<i>se</i>	who	
<i>tavai</i>	who	one attestation
<i>(r)ite</i>	where	
<i>(ke)rehe</i>	to where	two attestations
<i>wei, wee</i>	to where	
<i>keis</i>	when (fut only)	
<i>e ca</i>	how (i.e., 'with what')	
<i>(y)etepe</i>	for what [purpose]	
<i>(ta) ce</i>	how many	
<i>tapeta</i>	how much	

There is a single example of *sa* 'what', and it occurs in a phrase where there are a number of other unexplained words. The usual word for 'what'

is *ca*. *Tavai* ‘who’ also occurs only once. *Se* is much more frequent. The examples of *sa* ‘what’ and *tavai* ‘who’ are given below:⁴⁰

- (4.31) “*Ane tavai? Amo pein? Yo pasan poen.*”
 perhaps who? indef woman 1sg know.about not
 ‘[Father said,] “Perhaps who? Some woman? I don’t know anything about it.”’ (V.6/30)
- (4.32) *I va: “Dayebui i su kut, pe ya kara sa?”*
 3sg say menstrual.blood 3sg flow ?? and def ?? what
 ‘He said, “Menstrual blood is flowing, and what is it?”’ (VIII.16/21)

The distribution of *tite* and *ite* (both ‘where’) is unclear. The form *tite* generally occurs after the preposition *e*. There is a syntactic minimal pair in the following examples:

- (4.33) a. *I va: “Yo ita pati eyo ite?”*
 3sg say 1sg this wife mine where
 ‘He said, “Where’s a wife for me?”’ (I.7/2)
- b. *Ala va: “Oi pin tite?” I va: “Yo pin ai.”*
 3pl say 2sg woman where 3sg say 1sg woman west
 ‘They said, “You’re a woman from where?” She said, “I’m from the west.”’ (IV.5/9)

The difference may be one of static location as opposed to motion. The form *ite* would correspond to a question about location (“where’s your wife”) and *tite* a question about motion from or towards a place (“you, women, where are you from”). This analysis holds for most of the examples, but is forced in the case of (4.34):

- (4.34) *Muluam! Oi a ti tite?*
 M 2sg 2sg.nfut be where
 ‘Moluam! Where are you?’ (IX.1/10)

There is one example each of the words *rehe* and *kerehe*, both glossed as ‘where’.

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- (4.35) *I va wari: "Cinal, cinal i Lopeheu, pa ki eni*
3sg sing out devil devil 3sg L want 3sg.fut eat
demat, ehee! Demat kerehe, i eni?"
person Ah! person where 3sg eat
'He sang out, "Devil, the devil from Lopeheu wants to eat a person! Where's the person that he wants to eat?''' (VIII.6/23)
- (4.36) *Ala va: "Tamahurun! Hurun ka la rehe?"*
3pl say father-1pl 1pl nsg.fut go where
'They said, "Father! where can we go? ..."' (VIII.14/8)

The difference between the two could be dialectal (note the word *hurun* in example (4.36), which is found nowhere else in the Titan corpus) or a question of motion ('to where' as opposed to 'at where', parallel to *ite* and *tite* above).

It is possible that the forms in Table 4.4 reflect not only differences in semantics but also differences in the noun class of the referent, as in Loniu (Hamel 1994:150,155). There are not enough tokens of the relevant forms, however, to make any generalizations.

Hauser (p.c.) gives two interrogative pronouns meaning 'who', *se* and *amose*. On the basis of examples such as the pair of sentences in (4.37), it seems that *se* is used to pick a reference out of a defined group, while *amose* is a more general interrogative. I assume *amose* is a compound of the indefinite *amo* (see Section 4.4.8 above) and *se* 'who'.

- (4.37) a. *Amose pa ki ti poredun kei?*
who want fut be.at peak tree
'Who wants to be at the top of the tree?'
b. *Se pa ki ti poredun kei?*
who want fut be.at peak tree
'Who wants to be at the top of the tree?'

Chapter 5

Nominal Syntax

This chapter describes various nominal modifiers (numerals, adjectives) and noun phrase syntax, with a particular focus on constituency.

5.1 Adjectives

5.1.1 Criteria for Adjectival Status

Adjectives are defined in Titan by their ability to appear as dependents to nominal heads; that is, the difference between verbs and adjectives in Titan is that adjectives may appear attributively, whereas verbs may not (it appears from the corpus). Furthermore, adjectives may receive agreement marking when predicative, whereas nouns do not. Thus it is possible to distinguish adjectives on syntactic criteria, although there is little difference between adjectives and either nouns or verbs in most contexts.

Approximately thirty adjectives are attested in Meier's data. In addition, there are some words which may be either intransitive verbs or adjectives, but since they never appear in the corpus in attributive position or without the agreement marker predicatively, we cannot tell which class they belong to. There are no examples of adjectives being modified by degree adverbs such as 'very' or 'a little'.

As mentioned in Section 3.1 (and see especially example (3.1) above), some nouns can appear also as verbs without overt derivational marking. Adjectives can be analyzed as having the same behavior. In (5.1), the adjectives appear in verbal slots, accompanied by an agreement clitic. In (5.2), however, the adjectives (the same words in several cases) appear in nominal slots, either as modifiers of a null head, or as nouns.⁴¹

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- (5.1) a. *Lodianum ei i likom.*
house-inside 3sg.ps 3sg be.pitch-dark
'The inside of her house was pitch black.' (VII.5/92)
- b. *Amo pimpati i muan.*
one old.woman 3sg be.bad
'An old woman did a bad thing.' (IV.1/1)
- (5.2) a. *I madean i vai ila te i riin, i va...*
3sg big 3sg say to 3sg small 3sg say
'The big person said to the small one...' (I.13/11)
- b. *Cilim i ti madean.*
starling 3sg be.near big
'The starling was near the big [drum]' (V.2/4)

There are no examples in the corpus where a non-third person subject is used with a clitic agreement marker—thus there are no examples such as **oi a muan* ‘you are bad’; however, the clause *oi muan* (without a TAM marker) is attested; cf. (5.3).

- (5.3) *Aru moaje bul, aru va: "Oi muan! Oi mata-m puicon."*
3dl abuse moon 3dl say 2sg bad 2sg face-2sg.ps black
'They scolded him, and said, "You are bad! Your face is black.'" (III.4/7)

There are also no examples of irrealis or perfective clauses with predicative adjectives. There may be some examples of adjectives with aspectual serial verbs, but it is impossible to tell from the corpus whether the relevant clauses (such as (5.4) below) show serialization, or whether they are a main verb followed by an adjective, since both are possible.

- (5.4) *Moat i lisi buli, i la alawen, i somuti*
snake 3sg see mountain 3sg become be.tall 3sg disagree.with
buli.
mountain
'The snake saw that the mountain was getting tall; he disagreed with the mountain.' (II.1/4)

5.1.2 Uses of Adjectives

Adjectives may be used attributively with nouns or pronouns. In that construction, they always follow their head noun, as illustrated in (5.5).

- (5.5) a. *I ani riin, ni madean ila te yaye-ala dilis.*
 3sg eat small fish big to mother-3pl.ps canarium.nut.
 ‘He ate the small [fish], and the big fish were for the mother of
 the canarium nuts.’ (VI.2/8)

b. *I matire ato pin madean adaamo.*
 3sg sleep.with 3pc woman big nine
 ‘He slept with the nine adult women.’ (VI.1B.14)

Attributive nouns may be further modified; in (5.6), *e ala* 'of them' is dependent on the adjective *murin*, which modifies *pi* 'woman' (note that *pi* is missing its final *n*, further evidence that *murin* is a modifier and closely bound in the phrase and not a separate constituent).

- (5.6) *Pi murin e ala i va: "Yo piramat poen, yo Voiyovoy."*
 woman last p'tive 3pl 3sg say 1sg woman not 1sg pandanus
 'The last woman of them said, "I'm not a woman, I'm a pandanus
 fruit.'" (VL1/9)

Adjectives may also be used alone, without an attributive noun, as in (5.2b) above. This use is also recorded in the Fortune texts. Adjectives may also modify pronouns, as in (5.7).⁴²

- (5.7) *I ani ala madean yevuen, do amo, i murin e ala,*
 3sg eat 3pl big completely only one 3sg last poss 3pl
moen cinal i lai rop, i capuni i ile wei.
 def devil 3sg take basket 3sg carry.away 3sg from there
 ‘He ate the bigger ones completely, and only one, the last of them,
 the devil took a basket for, and carried him away from there.’

Ross (nd:10) includes examples of attributive adjectives which include a marker *a*. For example:

- (5.8) *Yo pwa kutiani dol a pucui.*
1sg fut build canoe a small
'I shall build a small canoe.'

This is parallel in Ross' description of the Rambutyo dialect to the use of *a* in numerals (for which see Section 5.2.1 below) and relative clauses. Such marking is not found in the Meier Titan data in any of these constructions.

Negated predicative adjectives are like nominals, rather than verbs. That is, they appear with the negator *poen* but not the preverbal marker *ne*. (5.9) is an example.

- (5.9) *Ala Matankor pas eala madean poen.*
3pl M expertise 3pl.ps big not
'The Matankor don't have great expertise.' (Parkinson 15)

Adjectives can also be compounded with the verb *vo ~ po* 'do' to make a factitive construction. Verbs do not do this; however, nouns can. This is a further piece of evidence that adjectives are a distinct class, although with behavior which overlaps both nouns and verbs.

5.1.3 Adverbial Use of Adjectives

Many adjectives are translated in Meier's glosses as adverbs, such as the following:

- (5.10) a. *Aru tokai muan.*
3dl go bad
'They went bad.' (Literally, 'they went badly') (III.3/5)
b. *Po Kuel ... i alisai musue.*
P.K. 3sg laugh furtive
'Po Kuel laughed furtively.' (VII.6/34)

The treatment of these adjectives as 'adverbs' here is based on their position in the sentence, as well as parallel functions in Kele (Ross 2002) and Loniu (Hamel 1994:67). As noted briefly above, constituent order in Titan appears to be quite regularly head-modifier; it is logical, then, to argue that since these words occur following the verb, they are in the same head-modifier relationship with the verb that they are when they occur with a

noun. Furthermore, verbs like *tokai* ‘go’ are usually intransitive; therefore *muan* in (5.10a) is unlikely to be its object.

5.1.4 Final *-n* on Adjectives

Many adjectives, such as *madean* ‘big’ and *puicon* ‘black’, end in a final *-n*. It is tempting to analyze this as the third person inalienable possession marker. However, given the apparent lack of alternation between the *-n*-suffixed forms and other suffixed forms (or zero-suffixed forms), such an analysis is untenable. There are examples of adjectives agreeing with first and second person pronouns, for example, and adjective never appear with *-m* or *-o*. Consider the following example:

- (5.11) *Yo riin.*
 1sg small
 ‘I am small.’ (I.13/12)

If adjectives in this function agreed with their antecedents (that is, if the final *-n* on such adjectives were related to the possessive markers), we would expect forms of the type **riim* or *rii*, **pokeo/-am* or **puicom*. We do not find these forms in the data. Wozna and Wilson (2005:29) also note that Seimat has a large number of adjectives which end in *-n*. In Loniu (Hamel 1994:67) some of the adjectives with *-n* have short and long forms, and can be inflected with pronominal suffixes (in which case the *-n* is absent); this does not occur in Titan.

5.1.5 Comparison and Equation

There are a few examples of the use of the general preposition *e* in comparative and superlative constructions. (5.12a) is an example of a comparative, while (5.12b) is a superlative.

- (5.12) a. *Nabu moan ki tulumui cilim alan, cilim madean*
 irr.neg fire c.fact burn starling if starling big
 e poedilei.
 than sea.eagle
 ‘Had not the fire burnt the starling, the starling would have
 been bigger than the osprey.’ (I.12/8)

- b. *I riin e ala i ne ani tei poen.*
3sg small of 3pl 3sg d.neg eat to-3sg not
'The smallest of them didn't eat any for himself.' (I.16/5)

In example (5.12a), there is no tense marking in the adjectival clause, which would seem to lead us away from the idea that agreement markers with adjectives carry tense/mood information. If that were the case, we would expect overt (counterfactual) marking here. In this example, *madean* 'big' is followed by the preposition *e*, which has a large number of uses, including possession, spatial location, and more abstract relationships (see further Section 7.1.1).

There is also a single example of an equative ("as adj as noun"), using the deverbal prepositions *ila* ... *ile*.

- (5.13) *I va: "Ta k' asi um kila alawen kile lay!"*
3sg say 1pl.inc hort build house fut.as high fut.into heaven
'He said, "Let us build a house that will be as high as heaven!"'

(II.12/2)

For the inflection of the pronouns *ila* and *ile*, see Section 7.4.1.

5.2 Numerals

The numerals of Titan, like those in Loniu, Kele (Ross 2002), and many other Oceanic languages, exhibit a system of numerical classification. That is, the form of the numeral varies depending on the attributes of the object being counted. This is the only area of Titan grammar where a classifier system is in evidence. Meier's sketch grammar (1906:226–228) gives an extensive list of numerals, many more than occurred in the text corpus.

5.2.1 Forms

The numeral system of Titan is decimal and subtractive, with seven, eight, and nine formed as 'ten less three', 'ten less two', and 'ten less one' respectively. This subtractive system is an innovation in all Eastern Admiralties languages (Ross 1988:344); Seimat (a Western Admiralties language), in contrast, has a quinary system (Wozna and Wilson 2005:20–21). Table 5.1 gives the numerals from one to ten, which exhibit noun classification, and Table 5.3 on page 69 shows the higher numbers, which are invariant. The classification categories are described in the following section.

Table 5.1: Numerals from One to Nine

	Basic	Human, Animal	Trees, Canoes, Villages	Houses	Plants
1	(e)si	amo	sei	sem	amo(at)
2	(e)ruo	rumo	ruei	ruem	rumoat
3	(e)talo	tulomo	tuluei	tuluem	tulumoat
4	ea	amo	aei	aem	amoat
5	(e)lima	limo	limaei	limaem	limoat
6	(e)wono	wonomo	wonoei	wonom	wonomoat
7	adatalo	adatulomo	adatuluei		adatulumoat
8	adaruo	adarumo	adaruei		adarumoat
9	adasi	adaamo	adasei	adasem	adaamoat
10	akou	siol			

There appear to be some errors in Meier's table. *Adasem* is listed in Meier as 'seven', but taking into account the parallel constructions in the other numeral series it should denote 'nine'—"ada less one" (*sem* is the classifier used for houses); 'seven' would be *adatuluem* (*ada* less three). Unfortunately, there are no data in the texts which can confirm this. Meier (1906:228) gives *amo* as both 'one' and 'four', which is possible, although we would expect **emo* on the basis of other classified numerals denoting 'four'. *Amoat* (another form for 'four') may also be an error, since it is also given as 'one'. Homophony in numerals is unlikely. Meier includes only one to nine as classificatory numerals; however, there is evidence in the texts that 'ten' also participates in the classification system. Ten fish are *ni siol* 'fish ten'. The form *sayol* 'ten' is listed as an alternative to *akou* in Meier's (1906:226) table of numerals.

The forms are listed in Table 5.1 with optional initial *e*, as presented by Meier (1906:226–228). In the texts these appear with initial *a*, not *e*. See further Section 5.2.4 below.

5.2.2 Numerical Classification

There are a great many numeral forms in the texts, and I suspect that there are many more classifiers than Meier has identified. For example, there are some examples of numerals which appear to contain a classifier *kap*: *akap* 'one' and *arukap* 'two'. These are used in the texts with trees,

leaves, and bird wings, and as an independent word, *kap* means ‘vine’. Hamel (1994:54–57) lists a large number of rare classifiers, and in his Kele sketch Ross (2002:129–131) notes thirty-six different classifiers. The five paradigms listed above are unlikely to represent the full extent of the Titan numeral classification system.

Numerals under ten can be analyzed as being composed of a numeral morpheme and a classifier. The numeral morphemes are given in Table 5.2; there are also a few suppletive forms.

Table 5.2: Numeral Morphemes

1	<i>se-/si-</i>	6	<i>wono</i>
2	<i>ru-</i>	7	<i>ada-tulu-</i>
3	<i>talo-/tulu-</i>	8	<i>ada-ru-</i>
4	<i>e-</i>	9	<i>ada-se-</i>
5	<i>lima-</i>		

Ross (2002:131) notes that in Kele there are two morphophonemic changes that numeral morphemes undergo:

- (5.14) a. /-a-/ becomes /-e-/ before a classifier containing /e/, /i/, or /u/ (with some exceptions)
- b. /s-/ becomes /h-/ word initially except before a classifier with initial /h-/ or /ŋ-/

Meier’s transcriptions show no /h/; however, a rule similar to Ross’ Rule 2 would explain the alternation between *se-* and *a-* seen in the classifiers in Table 5.1.

5.2.3 Numerals above Ten

Table 5.3 lists larger numbers. The forms agree with those give in Schnee (1901:273). With the exception of *toval* ‘fifty’, multiples of ten are formed with *gol* and multiples of a hundred are formed with *gat*. The structure is X-tens or X-hundreds. Multiples of a thousand have the reverse structure, with *poe(n)* marking thousands and the numeral following it. The *-n* appears if the numeral begins with *t* or a vowel.

Other numbers are formed with the conjunction *pe* ‘and’, such as *akou pe si* ‘eleven’ (literally ‘ten and one’) and *tasagat pe tulugol* ‘one hundred

Table 5.3: Numerals above Ten

Titan	Titan	Titan
10 <i>akou</i>	100 <i>sajat</i>	1,000 <i>poesi</i>
11 <i>akou pe si</i>	200 <i>rujat</i>	2,000 <i>poeruo</i>
12 <i>akou pe ruo</i>	300 <i>tuluŋat</i>	3,000 <i>poentalo</i>
20 <i>rukou ~ rujol</i>	400 <i>aŋat</i>	4,000 <i>poena</i>
30 <i>tuluŋol</i>	500 <i>limaŋat</i>	5,000 <i>poelima</i>
40 <i>aŋol</i>	600 <i>wonoŋat</i>	6,000 <i>poewono</i>
50 <i>toval</i>	700 <i>adatuluŋat</i>	7,000 <i>poenadatalo</i>
60 <i>wonoŋol</i>	800 <i>adaruŋat</i>	8,000 <i>poenadaruo</i>
70 <i>adatuluŋol</i>	900 <i>adasaŋat</i>	9,000 <i>poenadasi</i>
80 <i>adarukou ~ adaruŋol</i>		10,000 <i>poenakou</i>
90 <i>adaakou adasaŋol</i>		(20,000) <i>mocorumo</i>

and thirty' (literally 'one hundred and thirty').

To form distributive phrases, the numeral is repeated with the conjunction *pe* 'and'. This is the same strategy as used in Kele (Ross 2002:131).

- (5.15) *Yayen pa ki mat, i ki tu mayayawee*
 mother-3sg 'want' 3sg.fut die 3sg 3sg.fut prog wander from
 um sem pe sem.
 house one and one
 'Its mother will die, and it will wander from house to house.'

5.2.4 Variation in Forms of Numerals

When one considers the forms which are found in the texts, it is easy to see that this system as described in Meier's grammatical sketch is not complete; moreover, Meier's sketch does not agree in all points with the data in the texts. First, no forms beginning with *e* are found, such as *esi* or *etalo* (see Table 5.1 above). Such forms are consistently written with *a*, as summarized in Table 5.4. Secondly, numerals other than those listed in Table 5.1 above are found with the optional prefix (*a*), such as *asayat* 'hundred'.

Thirdly, there seems also to be a prefix *ta-*, found on a number of numerals, which Meier's sketch does not mention. Therefore there is evi-

Table 5.4: Numeral ‘Grades’

	<i>ta</i> -forms	<i>a</i> -forms	ϕ -forms
1	<i>taamo</i>		<i>amo</i>
2 (gen)	<i>taruo</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>ruo</i>
2 (hum)	<i>tarumo</i>	<i>arumo</i>	<i>rumo</i>
3	<i>tatalo</i>	<i>atalo</i>	(<i>talo</i>)
4	<i>taa</i>	(<i>ea</i>)	
5		<i>alima</i>	<i>lima</i>
9	<i>taadasi</i>		<i>adasi</i>
10	<i>taakou</i>		<i>akou</i>
40	<i>taajol</i>		<i>ajol</i>
100	<i>tasapat</i>	<i>asapat</i>	<i>sapat</i>

dence for several possible prefixes for numerals, $a \sim ta \sim \emptyset$. The sets found in the texts are given in Table 5.4.

It seems that the rules of the distribution of the forms with *ta* and *a* are similar to that of the demonstrative pronouns/determiners *titan* and *itan* (and others; see Section 4.4). Forms with *ta-* are used when the numeral is unmodified or prenominal, such as in equivalents of the phrase “there are nine (of them).” Forms with *a-* are used when the numeral is attributive and postnominal, as in the equivalent of “there are nine coconuts.” The following examples illustrate this:

More problematic, however, is the difference between *a*- and \emptyset -initial forms. There does not seem to be a clear difference in usage. In Ross'

(nd:10) Rambutyo Titan sketch, numerals appear with the linker *a*, as in the following:

- (5.17) *niu a lima*
 coconut linker five
 ‘five coconuts’

The dialect of the Meier corpus, however, generally lacks the linker marker in places where Rambutyo has it; therefore its presence here (assuming that it is the same morpheme) may indicate dialect mixing.

5.2.5 Ordinal Numbers

There is only one example of a possible ordinal number in the texts. *Tinanum* is glossed as ‘first’. It is not related to the word for ‘one’, and I suspect that rather than being a true number, it refers to the first position in a sequence, as in (5.18).

- (5.18) *Pin tinanum i le liman maton, pi murin i*
 woman first 3sg go.to hand-3sg left woman last 3sg
le kalimon.
 go.to right-3sg
 ‘The first woman went to his left hand, the last woman went to his right.’ (VII.7/55)

When listing the order in which things are done, *e palan* ‘in front’ is used for the first person, and *e murin* ‘at the back’ for the subsequent people in the list. (5.19) is representative:

- (5.19) *Moen cinal i va: “Wato k’ au e murin! Yo ku au*
 def devil 3sg say 2pc hort leave last 1sg 1sg.fut leave
e palan, ku la magase kan ewato.”
 first 1sg.fut go prepare food 2pc.ps
 ‘The devil said, “You leave last! I will go first and go and get food for you.”’ (VIII.14/30)

This is also found in Seimat (Wozna and Wilson 2005:25–26). Seimat is said to lack ordinal numbers and there is no evidence for them in the Meier corpus beyond the possible example of *tinanum*.

5.3 Constituent Order within the Noun Phrase

Like Loni and Kele, Titan has one prenominal modification position and several positions for postnominal modification. The Titan prenominal modifier is best described as a ‘determiner’. It provides marking for definiteness and specificity. Some items, such as demonstratives and numerals, can appear both prenominally and postnominally.

Word order in the noun phrase is quite strict, and modifiers appear in a consistent order in the corpus. The only exception is that there are adjectives which may either precede or follow a numeral. The inferred maximal noun phrase is given in (5.20).

- (5.20) (Det) Noun (Poss) (Quant) (Adj) (Num) (Adj) (Dem) (PP) (RC)

There are few examples of complex noun phrases in Meier’s corpus and much of the above order has been inferred from smaller complex noun phrases. Adjectives may either precede or follow the demonstrative; both orders are found. (Poss) here refers to the possessive pronouns; no combinations of possessive noun and adjective are found in the corpus (other than cases where the prepositional phrase is dependent on the adjective).

5.4 Prenominal Modification

An optional determiner is the only common prenominal modifier available in the language. However, several different types of word can function as a determiner in Titan, including numerals, quantifiers, pronouns, the interrogative pronoun *ca* ‘what’, and demonstratives. Quantifiers and numerals can also appear postnominally. It is not known what meaning difference there is between the two positions.

Third person pronouns are used prenominally primarily to mark number:

- (5.21) *Ala cinal panum ala mat, panum ala pel ile das.*
3pl devil some 3pl die some 3pl jump into sea
'Some of the devils died, and some jumped into the sea.'(VIII.11/25)

Non-singular pronouns are much more common in this position than singular pronouns are. Singular pronouns are, however, found in this position, as the following example shows:

- (5.22) *I ramat i vo muan.*
 3sg person 3sg do bad
 'The person did a bad thing.' (I.4/3)

Unlike the uses of the third person plural marker *ala*, the singular pronoun *i* does not seem to mark number in these examples. Rather, as far as can be determined, it marks a contrast between two participants. For example, in (5.23), a snake-devil and a human are talking, and the snake-devil is accuses the man of being a devil (*cinal*). The man denies this; in (5.23b) he is described as *i ramat*; that is, the text implies a contrast between the devil's accusation and his actual status as a man.

- (5.23) a. *Moat i alisani i, i va:* "Oi cinal! Oi ane
 snake 3sg laugh.at 3sg 3sg say 2sg devil 2sg perhaps
 ko ani yo."
 2sg.fut eat 1sg
 'The snake laughed at him and said, "you're a devil, you might
 eat me!"'
 b. *I ramat i camui, i va:* "Papu! Yo cinal poen, yo
 3sg person 3sg answer 3sg say father 1sg devil not 1sg
 ramat."
 person
 'The man answered, saying, "Father! I am not a devil, I am a
 human." (I.8/19–20)

As we have seen in previous examples, numerals may also be used prenominally. In this position, the numeral *amo* 'one' is used for indefinite referants. It does not appear to have this reading when used postnominally.

The final type of item which may appear as a prenominal modifier is a quantifier. Examples of *ave* 'some' (with *ca* 'what' as the head of the noun phrase in (5.24a)) are given below:

- (5.24) a. *Ave ca i ne tatuni sir poen.*
 any what 3sg d.neg hold.fast part not
 'Nothing was holding onto the end.' (VIII.6/6)
 b. *I lai ave niu ila te ala Loku.*
 3sg take some coconut to 3pl L
 'He took some coconut to the people of Loku.' (I.15/4)

There are a few examples of more than one prenominal modifier, such as in (5.25), where there is both number marking *ala* and a numeral.

- (5.25) *ala toval ramat*
3pl 50 people
'those fifty people' (VII.2/3)

Such examples are very rare, however.

5.5 Postnominal Modification

While prenominal modification in Titan is quite limited, there are many examples of postnominal modification. There are frequent examples of nouns with more than one postnominal modifier; this allows us to make certain generalizations regarding order preferences where there is more than one modifier. Most complex noun phrases do not show more than two postnominal modifiers; the greatest number attested so far is three. The modifiers are discussed in the order they appear. Examples of alienable possessive phrases were given above in Section 3.3.3 (see also Section 7.1.1 below); further examples will not be given here.

The quantifiers *asi(una)* 'all,'⁴³ *panum* 'some', and *ape ~ ave* 'some' are found in both pre- and postnominal position. Postnominally, they appear before the demonstrative, as (5.26) illustrates.

- (5.26) *[Buankei asiuna ito] tewaru! Yo ku le ηai eyo!*
fruit.tree all this to-2dl 1sg 1sg.fut go.to cave 1sg.ps
All these fruit trees are yours. I will go to my cave.' (VIII.13/43)
- (5.27) *[Ala cinal panum] ala mat, panum ala pel ile das.*
3pl devil some 3pl die some 3pl jump into sea
'Some of the devils died, and some jumped into the sea.' (VIII.11/25)

Like quantifiers, numerals generally follow their head, for example:

- (5.28) *Aru moneani [poepoau aruo].*
3dl form mushroom two
'They made two mushrooms.' (I.2/9)

This order also holds when there is an attributive adjective (that is, numerals and adjectives may co-occur in postnominal position):

- (5.29) *Kei i vai ila te i, i va:* “*Ko tokai kile Souh, ko la tree 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say imp go to Souh imp go asi [pou arumo pareren] kime te yo!*”
 hold.fast pig two white here to 1sg
 ‘The tree said to him, “Go to Souh and catch two white pigs and bring them here to me!”’ (IV.2/6)

There are some cases, however, where it seems that the numeral is better in prenominal position. One frame is where the numeral is modified by an adverb such as *do* ‘only’. In this case, the numeral appears first (presumably because the numeral phrase is in focus):

- (5.30) *I va:* “*Yaye! Cinal kine ani dasi! [Do si poenpalan] 3sg say mother devil 3sg.perf eat brother only one skull yo u lai.*”
 1sg 1sg.S take
 ‘He [i.e., the boy] said, “Mother! A devil has eaten my brother!
 There was only his skull [left] which I took.”’ (I.13/21)

The demonstrative deictics *ito* and *ita* (and others) are found postnominally; for discussion and examples see Section 4.4.3.

- (5.31) *[Pi Yap amo itan] ko la pati eyo amu, e?*
 3sg say woman Yap indef this 2sg.fut become wife 1sg.ps yet
 hey!
 ‘You Yap woman will become my wife yet, no?’ (V.6/17)

Adjectives, as seen from the discussion in Section 5.1.3 above, are always postnominal. They vary with respect to the position of the numeral and demonstratives, however. Examples (5.32) and (5.33) illustrate this variation. Noun phrases appear in square brackets and the adjective is in bold.

- (5.32) a. *Ko la asi [pou arumo pareren] kime te yo!*
 Noun Number Adjective
 imp go bind pig two white here to 1sg
 ‘Catch two white pigs and bring them here to me!’ (IV.2/6)

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Adnominal prepositional phrases are rare in the corpus. Those that are present are mostly examples where the prepositional phrase is dependent on the adjective, and not the head noun (an example of this is the prepositional phrase introduced by *kile* in (5.34) below).

- (5.34) *Dasi! Ki la teyo alan, yota k' asi fum brother 3sg.fut become to.1sg if 1pl.inc 3sg.fut build house eyota kila alawen kile lang]. 1pl.inc.ps as high as heaven 'Brother! If it comes out your way, we will build a house as high as heaven.'* (II.2/8)

In this example, the phrase *kile lag* is presumably dependent on the adjective *alawen*; however, the previous prepositional phrase, introduced by *kila*, is probably dependent on the noun *um* 'house'. This gives us some evidence for the relative order of possessive phrases (*eyota* in (5.34)) and prepositional phrases within the noun phrase.

The syntax of relative clauses will be further discussed in Section 9.8.2 below. Example (5.35) below shows a relative clause preceded by a possessive phrase:⁴⁴

- (5.35) *Nou e ya kamal ei, [i cani ila ei i], i*
 day poss def husband poss.3sg 3sg count to 3sg.ps 3sg 3sg
evuen.
 be.finished

'The days of her husband, which he had counted to her, were finished. (That is, the number of days which her husband has allotted to her were over.)' (VII.4/45)

While I list relative clauses here as a type of nominal modification, there is very little evidence from the corpus alone to indicate that Titan relative clauses are embedded in a noun phrase. An alternative possible analysis of the surface structure of such clauses would place the relative clause as a parenthetical comment, or an adjoined or paratactic phrase.

5.6 Inclusive Construction

A final nominal syntactic construction worth noting is the 'inclusive' construction. This appears to be an idiomatic construction in Titan for referring to two people together, particularly with kinship terms. It takes the form of the propositus, a dual (or occasionally paucal or plural) pronoun, and the other relation in the construction. Some examples are given in (5.36):

- (5.36) a. *Ala va: "Yota ka la ani ayei e [Saurang aru 3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut go eat almond poss S 3dl papu-n]."*
 father-3sg
 'They said, "We will go and eat the almonds of Saurang and his father.'" (V.6/3)
- b. *Ala panawe dol e [Po Ma aru dasi-n].*
 3pl steal canoe poss P.M. 3dl brother-3sg
 'They stole a canoe from Po Ma and his brother.' (I.14/2-3)

In (5.36a), the propositus is *Saurang*; the name is followed by the third person dual pronoun *aru* and the possessed kinship term *papu-n* 'father'.

The head may also be omitted, as in the following sentence. Here only the pronoun and kinship noun is used.

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- (5.37) *Ala nat ala moage i, aru yayen aru mat.*
3pl child 3pl tease 3sg 3dl mother-3sg 3dl die
'The children teased him, and he and his mother died.'(VI.1Ciii/20)

The phrase *aru yayen* in (5.37) in isolation is ambiguous between the inclusive construction and a noun marked for number; here context makes it clear that the speaker is not referring to two mothers, but rather to a boy and his mother together.

Chapter 6

Verbs and the Verb Phrase

6.1 Overview

This chapter is concerned with the composition and morphology of verbal predicates. The verbal complex comprises the matrix verb root and a number of clitics which give information about the tense, aspect, mood, and subject of the clause. The basic structure of the core verb unit is given in (6.1):

- (6.1) (Neg) TAM-person (V_{TAM}) V

The TAM marker is bound to the subject agreement markers, and primarily signals a split between realis, irrealis, and perfective. Further specification of tense, aspect, or associated motion is optional and is achieved by means of serial verbs. Up to three TAM serial verb roots are found in sequence in the test; they are discussed further in Section 6.4.9. Lynch et al. (2002:45) call this serialization a ‘preposed morpheme’ but since the items in question are cognate with verb roots, exhibit verbal behavior, and express meanings which are usually closely related to the verbal ones, I analyze them as serialized verbs here. In Crowley’s (2002) typology of Oceanic serialization, they are core-layer serialized constructions. The final (non-optional) verb in the series provides the argument structure for the clause.

The matrix verb itself has some internal structure. It may take a derivational suffix (see Section 6.5); most of the identifiable derivational morphemes add arguments. The root may also be reduplicated. There are no passives or complex analytic causatives in the corpus.

6.2 Agreement Markers

6.2.1 Subject Agreement

Subjects are obligatorily cross-referenced in all tense/mood and aspect categories by a particle which precedes the verb stem. Unlike languages such as Loniu, where the agreement markers are closely bound to the matrix verb and condition vowel harmony, the nexus between agreement marker and verb seems looser for Titan. Vowel harmony is not pervasive and Meier writes the agreement markers as separate words, with very few exceptions.

In many cases the agreement clitic is homophonous with an independent pronoun. The realis mood exhibits a distinction between all persons and numbers, while in the irrealis and perfective forms, first, second, and third person are distinguished in the singular but for non-singular subjects there is a single 'non-singular' clitic. Forms are given in Section 6.3.

In the realis, in the first and second person singular the cross-reference clitics always appear together with a full independent pronoun. In the other persons and numbers, agreement is marked alone and there is no accompanying pronoun (which would be formally identical). That is, where the agreement marker and the independent pronoun are the same, we find only one instance of the form. Examples were given in Section 4.1.4 above.

Some general examples of subject cross-reference marking are given below in (6.2):

- (6.2) a. *Ase Ulungau i tokai.*
daughter U 3sg go
'The daughter of Ulungau went [away].'(I.9/10)
- b. *Ato va: "Oi itan?"*
3pc say 2sg this
'They said, "Who are you?"'(IV.3/13)

In example (6.2a), the subject is a full noun phrase *ase Ulungau* 'the daughter of Ulungau'; a cross-reference agreement marker *i* is also used. In (6.2b), the subject *ato* is pronominal, and only the pronoun appears.

One word, which appears to be a verb, does not regularly occur with agreement prefixes. This is *etepe*, which translates roughly as 'how is it' or 'do what'. It occurs both with and without agreement prefixes, as examples in (6.3) show.

- (6.3) a. *Oi etepe susum i ewain?*
 2sg how.is.it breast-2sg.poss 3sg be.well.developed
 ‘How is it that your breasts are well developed?’ (I.9/11)
- b. *I va: “Yo u etepe? Yo u me are lie?”*
 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S do.what 1sg 1sg.S come appear again
 ‘He said, “What happened to me? Have I come back?”’ (VII.7/50)

The examples with subject agreement tend to occur in non-present (i.e., future or past) contexts, but there are also examples in the present. It is tempting to relate *etepe* to *tapeta* ‘how’ and *tavai* ‘who’ as a kind of interrogative pronoun.⁴⁵

There is one example of the TAM clitic without a verb:

- (6.4) *Do yotaru ka voen?*
 only 1dl.inc nsg.fut not
 ‘Will there only be us in future?’ (I.6/2)

The context of the sentence is that the pair of parrots *Asa* and *Alu* are worried that they will be the only beings in the future, so they make a person out of leaf-cloth and bring it to life.

There are a few other exceptional clauses, including (6.5) where the agreement marker is missing:

- (6.5) *Pog atalo i evuen, bue wai.*
 day three 3sg be.finished betel palm grow
 ‘When the third day was over, the betel palm grew.’ (I.16/16)

The expected sentence is *bue i wai*. Given the very rare number of omissions of the agreement particle, we can probably conclude that this is a typographical error.

In the textual data it is difficult to tell whether the agreement marker is a bound form or an independent word. I suspect it is a clitic, since it undergoes vowel harmony, but Meier considered it autonomous enough to write it as a separate word, as did Fortune. Blust writes Meier’s *pa ki* as a single word but the other agreement markers as separate words. Meier occasionally writes them as fused, as in the following, where the vowels would otherwise be identical:

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- (6.6) *Ko me tawi kila te i pein, i k'utani moan!*
 imp come give there to 3sg woman 3sg fut-kindle fire
 ‘Get fire! Give it here to the girl, so that she can kindle the
 fire.’ (I.9/23)

6.3 Inflection of TAM Markers

The TAM/Subject portmanteau (hereafter TAM) is discussed here. Aspectual core-layer serial verbs, which appear between the TAM marker and the main verb, are discussed in Section 6.4.⁴⁶

6.3.1 Realis Mood

The forms are given in Table 6.1. Note that the third person singular and all non-singular agreement clitics are identical with free pronouns (see Table 4.1.1).⁴⁷

Table 6.1: Realis Subject Cross-reference Clitics

	Sing.	Dual	Paucal	Plural
1st (Incl)		<i>yoru</i>	<i>yoito</i>	<i>yoya</i>
(Excl)	<i>u</i>	<i>taru</i>	<i>(yo)to</i>	<i>(yo)ta</i>
2nd	<i>a</i>	<i>woru</i>	<i>woto</i>	<i>awa</i>
3rd	<i>i</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>ala</i>

The realis is used for sentences in present and past time. A few examples were given above, and some further examples appear below. I treat this marker as realis in the sense of Comrie (1985) and Palmer (1986); that is, it is used for events which are happening or which the speaker asserts as having happened in the past (in contrast to counterfactual or future events, for example, or commands, illustrated by (6.7b)).

- (6.7) a. *I va: "Waru panawe teyo aminyau. Se i va*
 3sg say 2dl steal to-1sg yesterday who 3sg say
ayanun?"
 reason
 ‘He said, “You (two) stole mine yesterday. Who gave the
 reason?”’ (VIII.15/41)

- b. *Yo ku la poen alan, oi kone mat. Yo u*
lsg lsg.cfact be not if 2sg 2sg.perf die lsg lsg.S
vokeani oi e kan. Tita ko en e kor eyotaru. Yo
make-strong 2sg with food now imp sit on land ldl.inc.ps lsg
ku au."
lsg.fut leave
 'If I hadn't been here, you would have died. I make you strong
 with food. Now, stay on our land. I will leave.'" (I.8/32–33)

In (6.7a) we see *waru* alone; the temporal adverb *aminyaw* 'yesterday' provides more information about tense localization. This may be compared with (6.7b), which is counterfactual.

6.3.2 Irrealis Mood

The forms of the irrealis clitics are given in Table 6.2. First and second person forms are subject to variation. Unlike the realis markers described in the previous section, the irrealis clitic has a single form for all non-singular subject persons.

Table 6.2: Irrealis Subject Markers

Person	Form
1st	<i>ku (ko)</i>
2nd	<i>ko (ku)</i>
3rd	<i>ki</i>
N.Sg.	<i>ka</i>

The first and second person singular forms usually appear as *ku* and *ko* respectively; however, there are a few cases where they are affected by vowel harmony and assimilate to the height of the vowel of the initial syllable of the verb root. Specifically, *ko* becomes *ku* when there is a high back vowel in the following verb. In (6.8), for example, we find the imperative *ko* before *koloani* 'protect', but *ku* before *yuyuu* 'call' and *nyuni* 'call to'. There are also a few examples where the first person form *ku* appears instead as *ko*, although they are rarer. (6.12) below provides a further example.

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- (6.8) a. *Wewen i va: "Ko koloani um eyotaru! ...*
W 3sg say imp protect house 1dl.inc.ps
'Wewen said, "Protect our house! ..."
- b. *Amo pa ki me panawe bue eyotaru, ku yuyuu, ku nyuni yo!"*
one want 3sg.fut come steal betel.nuts 1dl.inc.ps imp call imp call.to 1sg
If anyone wants to come and steal our betel nuts, call out, call to me!" (V.3/3-4)

There are a number of modal and temporal situations in which the irrealis is used. They are summarized in the following sections.

6.3.2.1 Potential and Future

The most common use of the irrealis is to signal future tense, or the very closely related meaning of potential modality. The final clause of (6.9a) is a good example.

- (6.9) a. *Oi a vo muan ila te kakali-yotaru. I ki au ito.*
2sg 2sg.nfut do bad to uncle-1dl.inc 3sg 3sg.fut leave here
'You've done something bad to our uncle! He's going to leave us.' (I.10/43)
- b. *Pi Yap amo itan ko la pati eyo amu, e?*
3sg say woman Yap indef this 2sg.fut become wife 1sg.ps yet
hey!
'You Yap woman will become my wife yet, no?' (V.6/17)

In (6.9b), it is difficult to tell whether future or potential is implied. This is true for many of the examples in the text and so I treat the category as underdefined for the purposes of description.

The irrealis forms in *k-* can be used for either remote future or proximate future, as in (6.10) below:

- (6.10) *Amo pein i ilou palue ile kor, i vai ila te dasin,*
 one woman 3sg run back to village 3sg say to friend-3sg
i va: "Oh! dasi! Yotaru ka coy! Tita cinal ki ani
 3sg say oh friend 1dl.inc hort escape now devil 3sg.fut eat
yotaru.
 1dl.inc
 'The woman ran back to the village and said to her friend, "Oh friend! We must escape! That devil will eat us!"' (VIII.4/19)

The irrealis can be used in conjunction with the adverb *ane* 'perhaps'.

- (6.11) *Moat ... i va: "Oi cinal! Oi ane ko ani yo."*
 snake 3sg say 2sg devil 2sg perhaps 2sg.fut eat 1sg
 'The snake ... said, "You're a devil, you might eat me!"' (I.8/19)

6.3.2.2 Imperative/Hortative

Commands are expressed using the second person singular irrealis particle *ko* without a pronoun, or the non-singular pronoun and *ka* if the subject is non-singular:

- (6.12) *Asa i neneu ila te i, i va: "Ko tokai kile kor; ko asi*
 Asa 3sg talk to 3sg 3sg say imp go to village imp build
um eoi; ku susui laudilis kila pati eoi; ko
 house 2sg.ps imp stitch canarium-leaves into wife 2sg.ps imp
tawi nat eoi ki coli kile kor asiuna!"
 create child 2sg.ps 3sg.fut be.many in land all
 'Asa spoke to him and said, "Go into a village, build a house for yourself; stitch canarium leaves into a wife for yourself. Make children who will be many in many lands!"' (I.6/5)

A similar meaning can be gained from using the first person non-singular in a 'hortative' construction. (6.13) is an exhortation. There are many examples of direct speech in the corpus showing parallel examples.

- (6.13) *Aru va: "Taru ka tayani kei!" Aru tayani kei.*
 3dl say 1dl.inc hort plant tree 3dl plant tree
 'They said, "Let's plant trees!" They planted trees.' (I.2/8)

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There were also a few examples of third person ‘hortative’ constructions. These are also marked by the irrealis series, in this case *ki*. They are attested here mostly in incantations and creation spells, as in (6.14a) and (6.14b) below:

- (6.14) a. *I va: "Das ki cani kor! Sir earu pe*
3sg say sea.water hort spread.over the.earth part 3dl.ps and
sir eyo!"
part 1sg.ps
'He said, "Let sea water spread over the earth. Part will be for
them two, and part will be for me!"' (I.8/9–10)
- b. *I va damebuton, i va: "Buton ki nyak!"*
3sg say reef-creation-words 3sg say reef hort rise
'Malai uttered a spell for making a reef. He spoke: "Let the
reef rise!"' (I.1/3–4)

6.3.2.3 Counterfactual

At the close of many of the stories in the corpus, the narrator gives a short summary of what would have happened if the action of the story had not taken place. These are an invaluable source of data on conditions and counterfactual statements. An example is given in (6.15).

- (6.15) *Karaat ki la poen alan, do kor pe ramat poen, titan*
turtle c.fact be not if only the.earth and person not now
yota nat e karaat.
1pl.inc child poss turtle
'Had there been no turtles, there would have been only the earth
and no people, since we are the children of turtles.' (I.3/5–7)

Counterfactual clauses usually contain the word *alan* ‘if, when’, which appears last in the clause. Example (6.15) shows this too. Counterfactuals may, however, appear without *alan*, and the counterfactual reading is inferred from the context, as in the following:

- (6.16) a. *Ko lai yo manuai, ko ani yo.*
2sg.cfact take 1sg osprey 2sg.cfact eat 1sg
'If you had caught me as an osprey, you would have eaten
me.' (V.6/56)

- b. *Moat uroŋ i va*: “*Oi a ratutui yo e ca?*
 snake hear 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut scold 1sg regarding what
Yo ku la poen alan, oi kone mat.
 1sg 1sg.cfact be not if 2sg 2sg.perf die
 ‘The snake heard, and said, “What are you scolding me about?
 If I hadn’t been here, you would have died.”’ (I.8/31–32)

6.3.2.4 Irrealis Events without Counterfactual Marking

Although many events that are ‘irrealis’ or unrealized appear with irrealis marking in Titan, not all do. One case is with the use of *lavuen* ‘in vain’. In such sentences, *lavuen* appears last in the clause, and the verb receives realis marking, as in (6.17):

- (6.17) *I nyak, i lele lavuen. I ra.*
 3sg climb 3sg see in.vain 3sg spring.up
 ‘He climbed, but couldn’t see anything. He jumped off [the tree].’
 (I.10/8)

See also Section 9.6.4 for more discussion of this marker.

6.3.2.5 Conditional

The irrealis is also used in conditional clauses. Like counterfactuals, conditional sentences are often marked by *alan* ‘when, if’, but there are also examples without it, such as (6.18) below. More information on the syntax of *alan*-clauses can be found in Section 9.8.1.

- (6.18) a. *Pision i vai ila te i, i va*: “*Nat, par ki la uyan, yo ku lai kime, oi ko ani;*
 sister-3sg 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say child pandanus.nut cond
 be good 1sg 1sg.fut take here 2sg 2sg.pot eat
 ‘His sister said to him, “Boy, if the pandanus nuts are good, I
 will bring it here and you can eat;’
- b. *Par ki la cinal, ki ani yo.*
 pandanus.nut cond be devil 3sg.fut eat 1sg
 but if the pandanus nuts are a devil, it will eat me.”’ (VII.5/23)

From the available data there appear to be no grounds for distinguishing clauses with an overt counterfactual/conditional marker from those marked solely by the irrealis.

6.3.3 Perfective

The perfective is the third category to be distinguished on the subject cross-reference markers. In form, it is the same as the irrealis particle *ka/ki/ko/ku* (see Section 6.3.2) and a suffix *-ne*, although given the present data there are no grounds for advancing a synchronic analysis of this sort, and I treat the forms as unanalyzable. The paradigm is given in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Perfective Markers

Person	Form
1sg	<i>kune</i>
2sg	<i>kone</i>
3sg	<i>kine</i>
N.sg	<i>kane</i>

There are a number of places in the text where the perfective notion is clear from the actions described; that is, the action would be completed with probable consequences lasting beyond the duration of the event. The following are some examples:

- (6.19) a. *Moat urog, i va: "Oi a ratutui yo e ca?*
 snake hear 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut scold 1sg regarding what
Yo ku la poen alan, oi kone mat.
 1sg 1sg.cfact be not if 2sg 2sg.perf die
 'The snake heard, and said, "What are you scolding me about?
 If I hadn't been here, you would have died.'" (I.8/31–32)
- b. *Yayeala i va: "Kone me?" Kosa i va: "Wa, yo kune me."*
 mother 3sg say 2sg.perf come K 3sg say yes 1sg
 'Their mother said, "Have you come?" Kosa said, "Yes, I have
 come.'" (VI.6/5–6)

- c. *I va: "Ni eyo ita se kine panawe i?"*
 3sg say fish 1sg.ps this who 3sg.perf steal 3sg
 'He said, "Who has stolen my fish?"' (VIII.15/32)

Perfective marking is much rarer than irrealis marking in the corpus; there are only 54 examples of all forms, compared to more than 700 for the irrealis forms. There are also examples of actions which must have been completed for the action of the story to make sense, but which do not receive perfective marking; compare the following:

- (6.20) *Manaon-karaat i ciri. Adaruo i la karaat, pe taruo*
 turtle-egg 3sg break eight 3sg become turtle and two
i la ramat. Amo i la kamal pe amo i
 3sg become person one 3sg become young.man and one 3sg
la pein.
 become woman

'The turtle eggs hatched. Eight became turtles and two became humans. One became a man and one a woman.' (I.3/3)

Perfective marking implies continuing relevance of the completion of the action to the events of the story. The relevance of the action is clear from examples like (6.21), although one might argue that the second clause could also have a perfective reading.

- (6.21) *I va: "Yaye! Cinal kine ani dasi! Do si poenpalan*
 3sg say mother devil 3sg.perf eat brother only one skull
yo u lai."
 1sg 1sg.S take
 'He [i.e., the boy] said, "Mother! A devil has eaten my brother!
 There was only his skull [left] which I took."' (I.13/21)

There was a single example of the plural perfective *kane* with another marker. In (6.22), the perfective combines with the associated motion serial verb *la* 'go'.

- (6.22) *Hi Kamei pe ya kamal ei aru kane la vo mayas.*
 H.K. and def husband poss.3sg both perf go do work
 'Hi Kamei and her husband had gone to do work.' (IX.2/22)

6.4 Aspectual and Locational Core Serialization

In addition to the realis/irrealis/perfective marking described in the previous section, further temporal and aspectual distinctions are made through serial verbs.⁴⁸ Here is marked not only aspect (primarily progressive versus stative) but also associated motion. The following table is a summary of the aspectual markers found in the corpus. (These are called ‘sequential’ serialization constructions in Lynch et al. 2002:47.) Further temporal information is given by adverbs (for which see further Section 8.1 and the list of forms in Table 8.1).

Table 6.4: Summary of Aspectual Serial Verbs

Serial verb	Gloss	Main verb gloss
<i>la</i>	‘go’, prog, pres	‘go’
<i>me</i>	‘come’	‘come’
<i>en</i>	‘sit’, static location	‘sit’
<i>tu</i>	prog/habit	‘be in a place’
<i>so</i>	‘stay’	‘stay, make’
<i>no</i>	‘try’, ‘remain’	‘fear’
<i>ne</i>	‘still’	—
<i>wek</i>	‘float’	‘float’

These serial verbs appear following the TAM agreement complex. The final verb in the series is the lexical verb which provides the argument structure (that is, if the final verb is transitive, the whole clause is transitive).

I follow Crowley (2002) in identifying the type of serialization exemplified here as ‘core’ serialization. The serialized verbs are immediately adjacent and share a single agreement marker. The lexical verb is last in the verb chain. A different type of serialization is found in Section 9.8.5, in which an agreement marker intervenes between the first verb *pa* ‘want’ and the lexical verb. There is no data on negation and other tests for true serialization. I assume that this is V serialization, not VP or IP.⁴⁹

Many of the same verbs are found in similar meanings in Loniu. They include, in addition to *la* ‘go’ and *me* ‘come’, four other verbs,⁵⁰ and two aspect particles: *ta* ‘continuative’ and *leʔi* ‘present continuative, simil-factive’ (Hamel 1994:106–107). Hamel distinguishes the aspect particles

from true ‘verbal auxiliaries’ on the grounds that the verbal auxiliaries take tense and agreement marking (while the particles do not). This criterion does not apply to Titan, however, since there is a single tense marker per phrase.⁵¹

6.4.1 *la*: Associated Motion and Progressive Aspect

Two main verbs—*me* ‘come’ and *la* ‘go’—appear in the slot associated with aspect serial verbs. Here they appear to mark ‘associated motion’ (for the term see Koch 1984 and Nordlinger 2001); that is, they mark motion attendant in the verbal action. Such meanings are clear from sentences in the texts. There are two common motion constructions with *la*. The first is where the motion is concurrent with the verbal action; this could be paraphrased as ‘X does the action of the lexical verb while moving’. (6.23) provides examples.

- (6.23) a. *Aru la vo kou.*
 3dl go go.angling
 ‘They went fishing.’ (I.13/5)
- b. *I la lisi, i la painani molua ya pein.*
 3sg go look 3sg go find soul def woman
 ‘He went looking [in the house] and found the ghost of a woman.’ (VIII.12/21)

The second (and more common) construction is where the motion is sequential to the action denoted by the other verb. The motion is always prior to the main action (‘go and do X’); in places where there is motion subsequent to the action of the verb (‘do X and go’), this is always expressed with a main lexical motion verb such as *tokai* ‘go’. Serialized prior motion is illustrated in (6.24).

- (6.24) a. *I vai ila te ala lau ei, i va: “Ta ka la kalum kan kile Yap!”*
 3sg say to 3pl people 3sg.ps 3sg say 1pl.inc hort go look.at food from Yap
 ‘He said to his people, “Let’s go and look at food in Yap!”’ (VII.7/4)

- b. *Ala Male ala la panawe bue.*
3pl M 3pl go steal betel.nuts!
'They went and stole betel nuts.' (V.3/5)

Some examples of prior motion in a serialized construction also contain a goal argument. (6.25) below shows two examples.

- (6.25) a. *Taru ka la suari ni kile Palitawi!*
1dl.inc hort go pull.out fish from P
'We should go and catch fish from Palitawi.' (I.13/5)
b. *I pa ki la un wai kile porolu.*
3sg want 3sg.fut go drink water to valley
'He wanted to go to the valley to drink water.' (VIII.16/3)

In (6.25), the prepositional phrases *Palitawi* and *porolu* 'valley' would appear to be arguments of the first serial verb, and not the second. For example, in (6.25a), the men are going to *Palitawi* to catch fish; in (6.25b) the devil is going to the valley to get water (context makes it fairly clear that the point is not that the devil wants valley water, but that he needs to go inland from the shore [where he's been eating trepang] in order to drink water). If this is indeed the structure of these clauses, it would be a rare example of serialization where arguments are not shared. Given the nature of the corpus, however, such a conclusion is tentative.

In addition to the motion uses of *la*, there are two further constructions where there is no motion at all in the action of the clause. The first is where *la* marks an action contemporaneous with the speech act: that is, it is a marked present tense. Contemporary evidence from Bob Hauser (p.c.) confirms that *la* may be used in this way, with temporal (but not motion) semantics.

- (6.26) *Kasan nyonyok, i ne la ti wei.*
binding-cloth ko.vine 3sg still pres be.in there
'His binding cloth (the thing he bound the rocks and the tree with),
the *nyoknyok* vine, is still there.' (I.18/16)

The second non-motion use of *la* is where the action was in progress for a while. I use two pieces of evidence to infer such readings in the text.

The first is where Meier's literal German gloss is ungrammatical German and appears to be signalling an aspectual distinction. The second is where a motion reading is unlikely to be compatible with other constituents in the clause (for example, where *la* appears with a location adjunct rather than a goal).

- (6.27) *Aru ti kor. Kosa i la ta ni.*
 3dl live.in village K 3sg impf catch fish
 'They lived in the village. Kosa caught fish.' (VI.6/7)

The final use of *la* in the texts is to designate an inchoative meaning. Meier glosses such examples as *gieng* or *wurden*. This is perhaps related to the additional main verb use of *la* as 'become'.

- (6.28) *I la tawi manaon ile gai.*
 3sg begin lay egg in hole
 'She began to lay her eggs in a hole.' (I.3/1)

6.4.2 *me*: Associated Motion towards Speaker

While the serialized verb *la* marks action away from the focus of the speaker, *me* marks action directed *towards* the speaker or focus of speech.

- (6.29) *Ko me tawi kila te i pein, i k'utani moan!*
 imp come give there to 3sg woman 3sg fut-kindle fire
 'Give it here to the girl, so that she can kindle the fire!' (I.9/23)

We also saw that *la* has functions other than associated motion; *me*, on the other hand, appears to be purely a motion marker without additional aspectual or tense functions.

6.4.3 *tu*: Progressive/Habitual Aspect

This verb in a serial construction has clear meanings of progressive (imperfective) or habitual aspect, and is probably paired with the full lexical verb *tu* 'stay'. Examples are given of its use as main verb (in (6.30)) and as part of a serial verb construction (in (6.31)).⁵²

- (6.30) *Oi pein ku tu! Oi kamal ko le putuo!*
 2sg woman imp stay 2sg young.man imp go.to stomach-1sg
 'You, girl, stay here! You, young man, go into my stomach!' (I.16/2)

The following examples show *tu* in its different aspectual auxiliary uses. It has been glossed as PROG in the interlinearizations but in fact it appears to have several different uses. One is an action that occurred for a period of time in the past, as in the following examples:

- (6.31) a. *Hi Asa do i kavuen. I tu po mayas.*
Hi Asa only 3sg be.alone 3sg prog do work
'Hi Asa was alone. She was working.' (V.1/1)
- b. *Moat pe amo, aru tu paut.*
snake and one 3dl prog be.together
'The snake and one of the men were together.' (I.8/11)

In other cases, the meaning is habitual:

- (6.32) *Aru no tu ani kulicon-madun.*
3dl try habit eat Mandrum-bark
'They used to (try to) eat Mandrum bark.' (I.10/3)

As with other aspectual translations, the basis for my description here is partly Meier's glosses where the German interlinearization is ungrammatical (and therefore trying to make clear a distinction in the Titan text). Meier, however, does not usually gloss the serial aspect markers separately, especially when there is more than one of them.

6.4.4 *so*: 'Remain'

The exact meaning of this verb and aspect marker is not clear. There are only three examples in the corpus and it is not mentioned in Fortune's (1928) list of auxiliaries. The best gloss appears to be a durative aspectual marker.

- (6.33) a. *I so sir lauyan.*
3sg cont splice grass.skirt
'She was splicing a grass skirt.' (VIII.8/4)
- b. *Palankekaamo i so are e kararame-papun.*
big.toe-one 3sg remain appear over tongue-father-3sg
'The big toe of one of them remained visible over the tongue
of his father.' (VIII.14/11)

- c. *Aru dasin aru en. I via, moat, i va:* "Waru
 3dl brother-3sg 3dl sit 3sg be.dark snake 3sg say 2dl
k' en! Yo ku la so tokai ave, wariu kakali."
 hort sit 1sg 1sg.fut go remain go some 2dl nephew
 'The brothers sat [together]. It was dark, and the snake said,
 "You two sit! I will go somewhere, you two nephews.'" (I.10/42)

All three of these examples involve an event with duration. In (6.33a), the actor is weaving a grass skirt (and while she is weaving, the southeast wind blows the fibers into the shape of a devil's canoe prow). In (6.33c), the sense seems to be that the snake will leave and remain far away.

It is not known what (if any) difference there is between *so* and *no*, which also has 'remain' as one of its meanings.

6.4.5 *no*: 'Try, Remain'

The verb *no* means 'fear' in its full lexical verb use; as part of an aspectual serial construction, it means 'try' or 'remain'.⁵³ It usually occurs in connection with other aspectual serial verbs, notably *la* 'go' and *tu* 'stay' (an example where *no* is the only aspectual verb is given in (6.34b)). Meier often translates this verb as *bleibend* 'staying, remaining' or with the adverb *immer* 'always', and once only as *versuchen* 'try'. It occurs seven times in the corpus; in all but one of those times it makes better sense in the clause as 'try'. Only in one case does 'try' make no sense. Examples are given below.

- (6.34) a. *Aru no tu ani kulicon-madun.*
 3dl try habit eat Mandrum-bark
 'They used to try to eat Mandrum bark.' (I.10/3)
- b. *Alu i va:* "Yoh, assao! yo u *no vel lavuen!*"
 Alu 3sg say oh daughter 1sg 1sg.S try jump in.vain
 'Alu said, "Oh, my daughter! I can't jump!"' (VII.4/21)

6.4.6 *ne*: 'Still'

A further item is *ne* 'still'. This may not be a real serial verb at all. There is one example of a form *ne* as a main verb, which looks suspiciously like a typographical error for *me* 'come'.

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- (6.35) *Moen cinal i va: "Yo kune ne."*
def devil 3sg say 1sg 1sg.perf 'come'
'The devil said, "I've come." (VIII.14/14)

As will be seen in Section 9.6.1, the form of the negator is also *ne* and also appears in the immediately preverbal position. (6.36) gives the sole example of *ne* as a serial:

- (6.36) *Kasan nyonyok, i ne la ti wei.*
binding-cloth ko.vine 3sg still pres be.in there
'His binding cloth (the thing he bound the rocks and the tree with),
the *nyoknyok* vine, is still there.' (I.18/16)

It is possible that this is also a typographical error. (6.37) gives the clause immediately prior to that given in (6.36), where we find *no* 'remain' in both the previous clauses (for the use of *no*, see Section 6.4.5 above).

- (6.37) *Pat no la ti Poawai. Kunian kayar, i no la*
stone remain pres be.in P sling ko.tree 3sg remain be
ti wei.
be.in there
'The stone is still there today in Poawai. The *kayar* tree, his sling,
is still there.' (I.18/15)

In Kele (Ross 2002:139), *ne* ~ *na* 'be elsewhere' is used in locational serialization; this meaning is not incompatible with example (6.36) but it is more likely that it is a typographical error for *no*.

6.4.7 *en*: 'Sit'

There are two examples in the corpus of the verb *en* 'sit' being used in a serial construction. They are given in (6.38) below.

- (6.38) a. *Po Kuop i en e kamal. I en asi palan.*
P. K. 3sg sit in men's.house 3sg sit bind in.front
'Po Kuop was sitting at the men's house. He was winding
[cord] at the front.' (VI.1Cii/1)
- b. *I no en yo yau e poany.*
3sg remain 'sit' fly away to ground
'He flew away to the earth.' (V.5/24)

In (6.38a), the semantics are clearly locational; the action described is one of sitting while winding cord. It is thus parallel semantically to the associated motion serialized verbs with *la* ‘go’ and *me* ‘come’ described above. The semantics of (6.38b), however, are not so clear. The context of the sentence is that the osprey has stolen sago from people in Dobut; he carries the sago away, squeezes the pulp, then flies to the ground, where someone sees him and hits him with a log, breaking one of his wings. Therefore *en* here could either refer to the osprey’s “sitting” on the ground, or it could perhaps also have aspectual functions.

6.4.8 *wek*: ‘Float’

Finally, there is one example of the verb *wek* ‘float’ being used as a motion auxiliary, given in (6.39) below.

- (6.39) *Lui i wek kalani i ile Yap.*
 driftwood sg float drag 3sg to Yap.
 ‘The driftwood floated, dragging her to Yap.’ (VII.4/22)

This is the only example in the language of a serial verb construction being used to encode the means of motion. The presence of examples like this may imply that the associated motion serialization is more productive (and more extensive) than can be seen from Meier’s texts.

6.4.9 Multiple Markers

It is possible to use at least two of the serial verb aspectual markers together. Several combinations are attested in the data. Most of the combinations appear to occur with *no* ‘try, remain’. The habitual markers *no* and *tu* can combine, as in example (6.40):

- (6.40) *Aru no tu ani kulicon-madun.*
 3dl remain habit eat Mandrum-bark
 ‘They used to eat Mandrum bark.’ (I.10/3)

No ‘remain’ can also combine with the associated motion/progressive marker *la*, as in (6.41). (6.38b) provides another example of *no* with another verb.

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- (6.41) *Pat no la ti Poawai.*
stone remain pres be.in P
'The stone is still there today in Poawai.' (I.18/15)

The verb *no* is not the only item that occurs with multiple serial verbs. (6.42) is an example with *la* 'go' in its aspectual use combined with *tu*.

- (6.42) *I va: "Ato la tu alisai itan, ato pinramat ne ato pincinal?"*
3sg say 3pc pres prog laugh this 3pc woman or 3pc she-devil
'He said, "These ones who are laughing, are they women or devils?"' (VI.2/6)

6.5 Derivational Morphology

6.5.1 Suffixation

Attested pairs of verbs related by derivational morphology are given in Table 6.5. These illustrate all the verbal derivational suffixes in the data. Note that with a few exceptions (such as *koloan* 'guardian' ~ *koloani* 'protect'), the underived words are also verbs. That is, there appears to be little overt morphology which creates verbs from words of other lexical classes. This is in contrast to the derivational nominal morphology described in Section 3.6 above, where several suffixes created nouns or adjectives from verbs. Verbs and nouns may also be zero-derived, however, as discussed in Section 3.1 above.

Identification of morpheme boundaries here is complicated by Meier's orthography and the difficulty in knowing how phonemic it is, and also since there are few examples of some suffixes. There are at least two different possible analyses for the data in Table 6.5. The first is that there are several different vocalic suffixes attested: *-e*, *-i*, and *-u*, and *-ue* and *-ai*. The second is that the suffixes *-i* and *-e* are added to a longer form of the stem. Evidence for a 'long form' analysis comes from words like *tag* 'cry', which has an applicative *tagisi*, where the suffixed form shows the preserved Proto-Oceanic final consonant. Presumably the same explanation applies to the pair *abur* ~ *aburuti*. I tentatively assume a single suffix and analyze the stem changes as being the result of the same use of long

Table 6.5: Titan Attested Derivational Morphology

Suffix	Underived	English	Derived	English
<i>-ani</i>	<i>yo</i>	fly	<i>yoani</i>	fly someone (somewhere)
	<i>voke</i>	be strong	<i>vokeani</i>	strengthen
	<i>lulu</i>	go down	<i>luluani</i>	let down
	<i>liŋ</i>	wait (tr, intr)	<i>liŋani</i>	wait for
	<i>akure</i>	hide self	<i>akurani</i>	conceal (tr)
	<i>pel</i>	jump	<i>pelawani</i>	propel
	<i>te</i>	hit	<i>teani</i>	confound
	<i>musue</i>	be furtive	<i>musuani</i>	creep along
	<i>matir</i>	sleep	<i>maturuani</i>	sleep with
	<i>ilimi</i>	recognize	<i>ilimoani</i>	catch sight of
	<i>kalum</i>	look at	<i>kalumoani</i>	examine, look at
	<i>kus</i>	be angry	<i>kusuani</i>	get angry at
	<i>matir</i>	sleep	<i>matire</i>	sleep with
	<i>taj</i>	cry	<i>tage</i>	prick (i.e., 'make cry')
<i>-e</i>	<i>tali</i>	mix	<i>tatalie</i>	intertwine
	<i>lagat</i>	sail	<i>lagate</i>	sail
	<i>la</i>	go	<i>le</i>	reach, go to
	<i>matir</i>	sleep	<i>maturue</i>	sleep with
	<i>uti</i>	pull out	<i>utue</i>	use
<i>-u</i>	<i>alul</i>	sit down	<i>alulu</i>	let self down
<i>-le?</i>	<i>titie</i>	think	<i>titile</i>	seek out
<i>-i</i>	<i>la</i>	go	<i>lai</i>	take
	<i>lis</i>	see	<i>lisi</i>	see
	<i>suar</i>	fall down	<i>suari</i>	put out
	<i>rar</i>	hurt	<i>rari</i>	cut open
	<i>an</i>	eat	<i>ani</i>	eat, consume
	<i>tir</i>	weave	<i>tiri</i>	weave
	<i>kun</i>	drag home	<i>kuni</i>	sling over shoulders
	<i>koloan</i>	guardian	<i>koloani</i>	protect
<i>-ai</i>	<i>rar</i>	hurt	<i>rarai</i>	cut open
	<i>lis</i>	see	<i>lisiai</i>	look around
<i>-at</i>	<i>madaŋ</i>	be old	<i>madarjai</i>	be stale, old, flat
<i>-n</i>	<i>ececeŋja</i>	quarrel with	<i>ececegan</i>	argue
<i>-isi</i>	<i>taj</i>	cry	<i>tajisi</i>	cry about (tr)
<i>-iti</i>	<i>rap</i>	penetrate	<i>rapiti</i>	press tight
<i>-uti</i>	<i>abur</i>	cook	<i>aburuti</i>	cook

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and short stem variants that we saw in nominal marking and inalienable possession (described in Section 3.3.1 above).

There is a problem analyzing the morphemic structure of some words with the suffix I have listed as *-ani*. There may be two suffixes here, *-ani* and *-wani*. In some cases (examples are in (6.43)) the suffix is clearly *-ani*; however, from the examples in (6.44), we have evidence for an additional segment.

- (6.43) a. *cikak, cikakani* 'be muddled (intr), muddle up (tr)'
- b. *voke, vokeani* 'be strong, strengthen'
- c. *akure, akurani* 'hide (self), conceal (someone)'
- (6.44) a. *matir, maturuani* 'sleep, sleep with'
- b. *pel, pelawani* 'jump, propel'
- c. *ilimi, ilimoani* 'recognize, catch sight of'

Other words, such as *luluani* 'let down', are ambiguously suffixed, since they end in a high back vowel and Meier does not write intervocalic glides between *u* and *a*.

From Table 6.5 we can tentatively extract at least the following suffixes:

- (6.45) a. *-i* 'applicative'
- b. *-e* 'causative, applicative'
- c. *-(w)ani* 'causative, applicative'
- d. *-at* (meaning unclear)

The suffix *-i* is reconstructed to Proto-Oceanic by Evans (2003) with the meaning of causative for verbs with undergoer subjects and applicative for other verbs. In the Titan data, verbs with undergoer subjects also appear to use *-i* in applicative meaning.

Many of the derived forms in the corpus are given the same glosses as the underived forms. A few may be typographical errors or regularizations; for example, there is a single example of *lis* 'see' (VIII.4/21) against 167 of *lisi* 'see' in the corpus. In other cases, there is a difference: in (6.46), (6.46a) has an oblique object, while (6.46b) and (6.46c) have direct objects.

- (6.46) a. *Dakein i va: "Yo u vavuen! Ane ko rar e*
 young.girl 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S refuse perhaps 2sg.pot hurt to
yo, yo ma cucun."
 1sg 1sg still sexually.immature
 'The young girl said, "I refuse! You might hurt me. I'm not mature yet.'"
- b. *Aru rari putuan.*
 3dl cut.open stomach-3sg
 'They cut open his stomach.' (VIII.14/59)
- c. *Aru rarai putuan.*
 3dl cut.open stomach-3sg
 'They cut open his stomach.' (VIII.8/35)

6.5.2 Prefixation

There are some possible examples of verbs related by frozen prefixation, which are listed in (6.47). I assume that the prefixation is frozen because of the paucity of examples and the difficulty in isolating meanings for the putative prefixes.

- (6.47) a. *ateare* ~ *eateare* 'frighten' (both)
 b. *mapaluealue* 'twist' ~ *palue* 'again, back'
 c. *mari* 'spit' ~ *umari* 'spit out'

There are also pairs such as *abuti* 'bind' and *rubuti* 'untie' which may stand in a derivational relationship, or may coincidentally be similar.

6.5.3 Reduplication

There are a few examples of verbal reduplication in the corpus, although the process is not common. The reduplicant pattern seems to be the first syllable of the word if the word begins with a consonant, and the first vowel plus consonant if the word begins with a vowel. Examples include those in (6.48) below:

- (6.48) a. *cime* : *ci-cime* 'buy, trade'
 b. *ajani* : *ajajani* 'spread out, distribute'
 c. *suk* : *sukusuk* 'kiss bombastically'

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The semantics of reduplication is unclear, since there are only a few pairs of verbs which represent both the unreduplicated and the reduplicated possibilities (although there are several additional verbs which may be reduplicated). In this case (given as (6.49) below), the meaning is distributive.

- (6.49) *Yota k' aŋajani kan eyota e matamorai.*
1.pl c.fact spread.out food 1pl.inc.ps in sun
'We would spread out our food in the sun [for a feast].' (I.12/11)

There are a few other verbs which look as though they might be reduplicated, but there is no unreduplicated form in the texts to compare them to, such as *karikari* 'wander here and there'. Finally, there is the curious example of *ilimi* 'recognize' and *ililime* 'fail to recognize', where the reduplicated verb has the opposite meaning of the unreduplicated one.

6.6 Phrasal and Compound Verbs

There are phrasal verbs in the text. Most have *ta* 'do' as the first element. They include *ta mana* 'dance' and *ta kamaan* 'beg'. Hamel (1994:84) lists a number of verb compounds of this sort (including *tamana* 'dance') for Loniu, although note that Hamel tends to write them as single words, whereas Meier treats them as two distinct words.

- (6.50) *I la are. I ta uro ei, i va:* "Auro, pati eyo!"
3sg go appear 3sg greet 3sg.ps say greetings wife 1sg.ps
'He appeared and got a greeting from her. He said, "Greetings, my wife!"' (V.6/40)
- (6.51) *I ca mamate moan eala. Moan i mamat yevuen, ave*
3sg put.out fire 3pl.ps fire 3sg go.out completely some
i ne sou poen.
3sg neg remain not
'It put out their fire. The fire went out completely, nothing remained.' (VIII.17/7)

The other common phrasal verb construction involves the verb *vo ~ po* 'make'. The verb is combined with a noun or adjective. The most common is *vo mayas* 'work'; others include *vo muan* 'act evilly, do something bad',

vo sisie ‘make identical’, and *vo sau ~ po sau* ‘make dry’. Compound verbs behave like single-root verbs in the corpus.

- (6.52) a. *Aru vo manas. Moat, i ne vo manas poen, i koloani um.*
 3dl do work snake 3sg d.neg do work not 3sg protect house
 ‘They worked. The snake didn’t work, he protected the house.’ (I.8/29)
- b. *Das i vo sau yevuen.*
 sea 3sg pass.caus be.dry completely
 ‘The sea was caused to become completely dry.’ (I.2/6)

There are a few other minor patterns of compound verbs. Most of them, such as *tawi poa* ‘cry out’ (lit. ‘give mouth’) occur in a song in the Fedarb dialect. These could therefore be either a dialectal feature, or particularly common in song styles.

- (6.53) a. *Yo u tawi poa yevuen.*
 1sg 1sg.S cry.out finished
 ‘I finished crying out.’ (X.2/32)
- b. *Yo u tou kalo yevuen.*
 1sg 1sg.S wave finished
 ‘I finished waving.’ (X.2/26)

Hauser (p.c.) notes that constructions like *vo ayan* ‘have an argument’ are considered to sound archaic these days, and would be replaced with a single verb such as *dug* ‘argue’.

Chapter 7

Prepositions

Prepositions in Titan show a number of very interesting and unusual characteristics, including in some forms inflection for tense marking. They also show a number of odd syntactic characteristics, and since they are frequent in the texts, it is possible to study copious examples and in many cases to extract meaningful generalizations. This chapter discusses preposition forms, semantics, and syntax.

The first part of this chapter (Section 7.1) concerns uninflecting prepositions and their semantics. Syntactic information can be found in Section 7.2. In Section 7.3 I move to prepositions with tense-marking and other verb properties. Although these forms are cognate with verbs (and have been analyzed as serial verb constructions in Loniu and Jabêm; see Bradshaw 1993, 1999, Hamel 1993), I argue that in the Titan data available here they are best analyzed as a type of preposition, although one with somewhat different syntax from the inherited uninflecting prepositions in Section 7.1. Some comments on the semantics of spatial marking can be found in Section 7.5.

7.1 Uninflecting Prepositions

Simple prepositional phrases are headed by an uninflecting preposition which occurs first in the phrase and is followed by a full noun phrase. Prepositional phrases occur as adjuncts in clauses and within noun phrases. Some uses of prepositional phrases as complements to nouns (for example, in marking possession) were described in Chapter 3. In Loniu, Hamel (1993) suggests that only *pəti* ‘from’ can appear as an NP complement; there are, however, examples in Titan of a number of prepositions having such functions, with the cognate preposition *pəti* ‘from’ among them.

Table 7.1 gives the forms of the non-inflecting prepositions, grouped

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together by function; each is discussed in turn in the following sections. Note that there are some gaps in the attestation of spatial marking in the corpus; for example, there are no examples of prepositions meaning ‘through’ and only one of ‘along’. This is therefore not a complete description of spatial marking in the language and there are likely to be more prepositions in the languages which are not given here.

Table 7.1: Summary of Prepositions

Form	Gloss
<i>e</i>	with, by, of, over, in(to), on(to), up
<i>te</i>	to, for
<i>pati</i>	from
<i>varina</i>	to
<i>we</i>	under
<i>ma</i>	with (comitative)
<i>konova</i>	just like
<i>in</i>	among, of
<i>un</i>	for, on account of
<i>an</i>	for, on account of

7.1.1 The General Preposition *e*

The most common preposition in the corpus is *e*; it has a very wide range of meanings, including motion, location, possession, and comparison. For examples of *e* as a marker of comparison, see Section 5.1.5 above, and for possession, see Section 3.3.3. Other uses are discussed here. Some of the functions of *e* also appear to overlap with other prepositions, particularly in the area of motion and spatial location.

Two of the most common uses of *e* are to mark the location of an action, or motion to or from a place. It is a general marker of both static location (as in (7.1a) below) and motion (as in (7.1b)).⁵⁴ It can also mark the origin point of an action, such as in (7.1c).

- (7.1) a. *I kuni moan yen e ngrundun.*
3sg sling.over.shoulders fire lie on neck
'He slung the fire over his shoulders so that it was lying on his neck.' (I.12/5)

- b. *ki tu tokai e kor.*
 3sg.fut prog go to village
 'He will go to the village.' (IV.3/25)
- c. *Nya Sa i lele yau e muduken.*
 NS 3sg look.at up from window.hole
 'Nya Sa looked out of the window.' (VIII.7/5)

The prepositions *e* and *ile* are substitutable in a few contexts, although in most cases verbs seem to take one or the other. For example, most instances of the word *tokai* 'go' take as the goal of motion a prepositional phrase marked by a deverbal preposition such as *ile* or *ila*; however, a few examples with *e* are found; one is given in (7.1b), along with a comparable example with *ile* in (7.2).

- (7.2) *I tokai ile tonau.*
 3sg go into thick.forest
 'He went into the forest.' (V.8/2)

The preposition *e* is also used to signal the source of an item and the reason for an action. A few examples are given below. In some cases (such as (7.3a) below) the phrase is ambiguous between a source ("a canoe from Po Ma") and a possessive phrase ("the canoe of Po Ma").

- (7.3) a. *Ala panawe dol e Po Ma aru dasi-n.*
 3pl steal canoe poss P.M. 3dl brother-3sg
 'They stole a canoe from Po Ma and his brother.' (I.14/2)
- b. *Yota ani niu, i au e palaramat.*
 1pl.inc eat coconut 3sg originate from head-person
 'The coconut which we eat originated from a person's head.' (I.14/30)

Some examples have a maleficent meaning (for an example see (7.27) below). Finally, the instrument by which an action is performed can also be denoted by *e*, as in (7.4).

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- (7.4) *Moen Warapei i lai cimer, i cariti poadol*
def W 3sg take stone.axe 3sg cut.through canoe-deck
e wei.
with that

'The man from Uravei took a stone axe and cut through the deck of the canoe with it.'

(VIII.16/11)

This is another area of semantic overlap with the deverbal preposition *ile*, which can also have an instrumental meaning.

7.1.2 *te* 'To, For'

The preposition *te*, like *e*, has a number of different domains of meaning, including motion (7.5a), benefaction (7.5b), and the objects of perception (7.5c). There seems to be considerable overlap in *e* and *te*. The main difference appears to be that while *e* can mark both stasis or motion, *te* is always a literal or metaphorical motion marker. The vast majority of examples occur with pronouns, although there are a few with proper nouns.⁵⁵

- (7.5) a. *I va: "Naralavan eoi i me te yo: yo u kai*
3sg say lord-cry 2sg.ps 3sg come to 1sg 1sg 1sg.S visit
oi."
2sg
'He said, "Your lord-cry reached me, and I visited you."' (I.13/35)
- b. *Aru va: "Oi ani kan uyan, a tawi de ime te*
3dl say 2sg eat food good 2sg.nfut give excrement here to
yoru."
1dl.excl
'They said, "You ate the good food and you gave us excrement."
(IX.2/27)
- c. *Colai i va: "Ku lisi te yo!"*
C 3sg say imp look.at.to 1sg
'Colai said, "Look at me!"' (IX.1/22)

The use of *te* rather than *e* for motion may be based on animacy; while *e* may take objects which are either animate or inanimate, the objects of *te* are always either animate or personified. The uninflecting preposition *te* frequently combines with the deverbal preposition *ila* (see Section 7.4.1).

below) in a ‘compound’ preposition which seems to have a similar meaning to *te* alone.

7.1.3 *pati* ‘Place of Origin’

The preposition *pati* is used to denote where a person is from, as in (7.6).

- (7.6) *I la te amo lavan pati Loniu.*
3sg go kill indef chief from Loniu
'He went to kill a chief from Loniu.' (VI.5/4)

This is its only attested function in Titan, although the cognate preposition in Loniu, *peti*, is used to mark an animate goal (Hamel 1994:78). In Titan, such objects are marked with *te*.

7.1.4 *konova*: ‘Equivalent to, Just Like’

Resemblance to an item is marked by the preposition *konova*. It is also used to describe cases where someone fashions an item in the shape of another item (such as in example (7.7b) below).

- (7.7) a. *I tokai. I lisi api. I doul konova palimat. I tokai imulie ile kor.*
3sg go 3sg look.for sago 3sg hang just.like flying.fox 3sg go back to village
'He went to look for sago. He hung there like a flying fox. He went back to the village.' (III.1/17)
- b. *Amo nat i itipi papi konova amo pein.*
indef boy 3sg form sand just.like indef woman
'A boy made a woman from sand.' (VIII.1/1)

For similar uses of semblative marking with the preposition *ila*, see Section 7.4.1.

7.1.5 Other Prepositions

There is a comitative preposition *ma*. It is used principally to mark accompaniment; that is, when an action is done ‘with’ another person (or group of people), as in (7.8).

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- (7.8) *Bul i nyak yau e ai ma lau ei.*
moon 3sg rise up from west with people 3sg.ps
'The moon came up from the west with his people.' (III.5/35)

This preposition can also be used to mark the accompaniment of a property: that is, both animate and inanimate nouns can be marked with *ma*. In (7.9), the fish is served *ma rai* 'with blood', which Meier translates as "still raw"; this could indicate a figurative use of *ma*, or a non-literal translation from Meier.

- (7.9) *Ni i ne manis poen. Aru ani, ma rai.*
fish 3sg still be.done not 3dl eat with blood
'The fish were still not done. They ate the fish still raw (i.e., lit. still with blood.)' (I.9/19)

The preposition *varina* 'to, for' is used to mark the beneficiaries of an action. It occurs frequently with *ila* (as does *te*, the other marker of benefaction).

- (7.10) *Manuai i lai ni ila varina yayen.*
osprey 3sg take fish there to mother-3sg
'The osprey took fish to his mother.' (I.11/6)

There is also one example of *varina* marking the goal of motion:

- (7.11) *I yuyuu, i va: "Yaye pe dasi! Yo ku au e*
3sg call 3sg say mother and brother 1sg 1sg.fut leave from
tite kua varina waru?"
where there to 2dl
'He called and said, "My mother and brother! How will I get up to you?"' (I.1/15)

Two prepositions, *an* and *un*, mark causal relations between items. Purpose is marked by *an*; some examples are given in (7.12). It is also used to denote types of magic; in (7.12b), the witchcraft designed for the production of a plague of mosquitos is the *palit an nyam*.

- (7.12) a. *Pojou i va*: "Yo *u puti oi. Oi pein an ca?* Yo
 P 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S marry 2sg 2sg woman for what 1sg
u puti oi, oi pein an kituit alan, e?"
 1sg.S marry 2sg 2sg woman for sex because hey!
 'Pongou said, "I married you. What are you a woman for?
 I married you, because you're a woman for having sex with,
 no?'" (VI/1B.018)
- b. *Nyasiaru i atue palit an nyam.*
 grandmother-3dl 3sg name witchcraft for mosquito-plague
 'Their grandmother named the witchcraft for a plague of mos-
 quitos.' (VII/7.014)

The preposition *un* 'because of, on account of' is more broad; there are examples of it marking the reason for an action (examples are in (7.13)). In the story from which (7.13b) comes, a *cauka* bird has angered a young man when the bird prevented him from raping a local woman. The man started a blood-feud between the *cauka* birds and the people of Lou, and in order to signal the start of the feud, he distributed betel; the bird is therefore the cause of the feud and the distribution of the betel nuts.

- (7.13) a. *Bulei pe kit aru vo agan un mat.*
 mouse and octopus 3dl have.an.argument on.account.of reef
 'Mouse and Octopus were arguing about a reef.' (V.4/1)
- b. *I cani bue un cauka.*
 3sg distributed betel.nuts for ko.bird
 'He distributed betel nuts for the bird.' (V/1.16)

Other examples in the corpus imply that in other ways, *un* is rather similar to *an*, and may also mark the purpose of an action as well as its cause.⁵⁶

- (7.14) a. *Dasin i me. I lematani moan, i va*: "*Moan itan mon un tia?*"
 brother-3sg 3sg come 3sg ask.about fire 3sg say fire
 this fire for what
 'His brother came [back]. He asked about the fire and said,
 "This fire, what's it for?"'

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- b. "Yo *u lisi oi, yo utani moan, mon un ni.*"
1sg 1sg.S see 2sg 1sg kindle fire fire for fish
"I saw you, and I kindled the fire; the fire is for fish." (VIII.13/14–15)

The preposition *in* picks out a member of a set (7.15a), or denotes an item which is particularly associated with something (e.g., (7.15b), where Yohang makes the sound associated with flying foxes).

- (7.15) a. *I usani nes yau, i la lavan in cinal.*
3sg pull.out-trans stick away 3sg become chief among devil
'He pulled out the stick and became a chief amongst devils.'
(VIII.4/8)
- b. *Yohag i kip ile dilay in palimat.*
Y 3sg lie with crying of flying.fox
'Yohang pretended to make the sound of a flying fox.' (VIII.11/9)

This preposition is also used in an idiom to describe a certain ebb tide.

- (7.16) *Matamorai i la, [mat in casa] uti.*
sun 3sg go ebb.tide of Pleiades go.out
'The sun left, and the ebb tide of the Pleiades went out.' (IX.1/6)

Lastly, there is a single example of *we* 'underneath' in the corpus:

- (7.17) *Ala la we parankei sei. Yohag i tatuni, kei i ne poke poen.*
3pl go under overhang-tree one Y 3sg hold.fast tree 3sg d.neg be.strong not
'They went into the shelter of a tree. Yohang held fast, but the tree wasn't strong.' (VIII.11/8)

7.2 Syntax of Prepositions

Prepositions are always first in their phrase. As mentioned previously, there are no phrasal discontinuities in the data, and prepositions conform to this generalization. The uninfecting prepositions never appear with a null complement, in contrast to the deverbal prepositions to be discussed in Section 7.3. That is, they are always accompanied by an overt noun phrase (although the phrase itself may comprise a pronoun, noun, or larger phrase).

Meier seems to treat the preposition plus pronoun in spatial phrases as distinct from the indirect object or prepositional phrases (where a form identical to the prepositions *e* or *te* is written together with the pronoun). Prepositions may be complements to nouns or adjuncts within the clause. As nominal complements, they can appear between the noun head of the phrase and other modifiers; in (7.18), for example, the prepositional phrase *e das* ‘in the sea’ appears between *ni* ‘fish’, which it modifies, and *asiuna* ‘all’.

- (7.18) *Buai i cani ala [ni e das asiuna].*
 crocodile 3sg set.aside 3pl fish in sea all
 ‘The crocodile got together all the fish in the sea.’ (VIII.9/7)

7.3 Deverbal Prepositions

The other type of preposition in Titan has rather different syntax from the uninflecting prepositions which were described in the previous sections. Most notable is their agreement for TAM categories with the main verb of the clause. Most deverbal prepositions can appear without a NP complement. Many are etymologically related to verbs and are cognate constructions to “ambient” or instrumental serial verb constructions in other Admiralties languages (Hamel 1993) and those of more remote relations. However, the Titan forms show behavior which differs in several ways from those of the other languages. Thus while the relevant constructions are serial verbs in the other languages, in Titan they have grammaticalized further and an analysis of the items as prepositions is more appropriate. In recognition of the etymology of these forms I have called them “deverbal” or “inflecting” prepositions to distinguish them from the other type of preposition discussed in previous sections.

7.3.1 Summary of Forms

Table 7.2 gives a list of the deverbal prepositions found in the corpus. (These forms are only those that take arguments; in addition, there are some adverbial location markers which also inflect for tense, for which see Section 7.4.4 below.)

In the following sections I provide details of the agreement marking, discussion of the prepositional status of these markers (and why a preposition analysis is preferable to one which treats these items as serial verbs,

Table 7.2: Tense-bearing Prepositions

Form	Gloss	Related lexical verb
<i>-la</i>	as, to (e.g., make into s.th.)	'go'
<i>-le</i>	in(to), out of, with, from, under, for	'go to (a place)'
<i>-me</i>	to	'come'
<i>-se</i>	on	'sit'
<i>-en</i>	of, on, from	'sit, lie'
<i>-ti</i>	in	'be in (a place)'
<i>-lati</i>	on	'go + be at (a place)'
<i>-au</i>	away from	'go away from, leave (tr)'
<i>-mulie</i>	back	'turn'

at least for Titan), and then discussion of the semantics of the prepositions listed in Table 7.2.

7.3.2 Agreement on Prepositions

The prepositions take the same tense agreement as the main verb in its clause (that is, realis *i-* if the main verb is realis, irrealis *ki-* if the main verb is irrealis, or perfective *kine-* for perfective main verbs). (7.19a) gives a verb (and agreeing preposition) in the realis, while (7.19b) is irrealis.

- (7.19) a. *I vo yevuen, i tokaiime e masaren.*
 3sg make completely 3sg go here to freedom
 'He finished making it, and came here to freedom (i.e., he collected all these things and returned from the snake's belly.)'
 (I.9/25)
- b. *Morau i va: "Yo ku en. Morer, ko la vo kuliconkei kime te yotaru!"*
 M 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut sit M imp go do bark here to 1dl.inc
 'Morau said, "I will sit. Morer, go and fetch bark here for us."'
 (I.10/22)

The agreement still appears even if the prepositional phrase is most logically interpreted as being dependent on a noun (and not an adjunct

to the verb or verb phrase). An example is given in (7.20) (it is further discussed below).

- (7.20) *Lau ei ala ti Nauna. Matamorai i tawi Nauna pe*
 L 3sg.ps 3pl be.in N sun 3sg create N and
[ala lau iti wei].
 3pl people in that
 ‘His people live on Nauna. Sun created Nauna and all the people
 on it.’ (III.5/38)

The forms of the tense agreement are identical to the realis, irrealis and perfective forms discussed in Section 6.3 above. In addition to those TAM agreement forms, there are two examples of agreement which look like negative agreement:⁵⁷

- (7.21) a. *Cagin tulujat. Matamorai i la, i ne vo ave*
 fruit 300 sun 3sg go 3sg d.neg procure any
avi inese liman poen.
 sago in hand-3sg not
 ‘Its fruit filled three hundred baskets. The sun went down, and
 he didn’t get any sago in his hands.’ (VIII.14/37)
 b. *Ala pein ala ne nyune bue ineme te yo poen.*
 3pl woman 3pl neg ask.for betel.nuts here from 1sg not
 ‘The women didn’t ask me for betel nuts.’ (V.2/9)

These are the only two examples in the corpus of this type of marking.

7.3.3 Prepositional Phrases or Serial Verbs?

I call these items deverbal prepositions rather than serial verbs. Other languages in the region have similar constructions which have been variously analyzed as ambient serial verb constructions (Bradshaw 1993, Crowley 2002), prepositional verbs (Pawley 1973), or ‘evolving’ prepositions (Hamel 1993) which have properties of both serial verbs and prepositions. There are several pieces of information which lead to the analysis of the Titan examples as prepositions, although with some properties which reflect the verbal origin of the construction.⁵⁸

The deverbal prepositions show tense agreement but not subject person/number agreement. They are prefixed with the third person singular

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form of the realis, irrealis, or perfective prefixes used for verbs (see Section 6.2 above). The form of the tense agreement marker is invariantly third person singular (that is, *i-*, *ki-* or *kine-*). Unlike the tense markers on lexical verbs, the markers on the deverbal prepositions do not code for subject person. We can see this from examples such as (7.22a), where all arguments are plural (yet the form of the preposition is singular) and (7.22b) below, where *kile* cannot be agreeing with the matrix subject (which would give a non-existent form **kole*).

- (7.22) a. *Ala Yap ala me sos, ala sos iti Nauna.*
3pl Yap 3pl come meet 3pl meet in N
'The people from Yap came and met, they met in Nauna.'
(VII.3/7)
- b. *Ko wek kile Potomo ...*
imp float to P
'Float to Potomo ...'
(VII.4/8)

Note that while Meier writes the verbal agreement markers as separate words, the markers used with the deverbal prepositions are written together with the preposition root as a single word. This was illustrated in (7.19) above.

Several other pieces of evidence imply that these deverbal prepositions are distinct from verbs. We saw in Section 6.4 that verb phrases may be serialized; such serialization is never found with the deverbal preposition. The deverbal prepositions also have meanings quite different from either the serialized aspect markers or the matrix verbs to which they are related. For example, the verb *le* as a matrix verb means 'go to', but as a deverbal preposition can also be used to mark instruments, as in (7.23) below.

- (7.23) *Bul i sam. Aru sui ma earu ile bul.*
moon 3sg shine 3dl scrape.off taro 3dl.ps with moon
'The moon shone, and they scraped off their taro with the moon.'
(III.4/3)

Deverbal prepositions without objects may be coordinated (as illustrated in (7.24)), just as other adverbs. This would be highly anomalous in a serial verb construction, especially since one of the defining characteristics of a serial verb construction is that two or more verbs appear without

any over markers of coordination (Crowley 2002:8–9, Aikhenvald 2006:1–2).

- (7.24) *Ala tu tokai ila pe ime.*
 3pl prog go there and here
 ‘They went here and there.’ (VI.5/63)

The Titan prepositions can also appear as predicates without being dependent on a main verb (that is, they appear in copula clauses where there is no way to analyze them as ‘serialized’ verbs, as there is no verb in the clause):

- (7.25) *Esol i va: “Tito kile ca?”*
 snake 3sg say this to what
 ‘The snake said, “What’s this for?”’ (I.10/23)

The deverbal prepositions never appear in the core layer serialization constructions that matrix verbs show (see Section 6.4 above).⁵⁹ If these items were truly verbs, there should be no reason why the core serialization should be ruled out, since they are inflected for tense and the tense/aspect markers appear outside the core serialization.

There are examples of deverbal prepositions which seem best interpreted as dependent on a noun or pronoun; that is, as embedded within a noun phrase. It is therefore difficult to argue in such cases that the structure of the clause is a sequence of serialized verbs (which by definition must be headed by the clause).

- (7.26) *Matamorai i tawi Nauna pe ala lau iti wei.*
 sun 3sg create N and 3pl people in that
 ‘Sun created Nauna and all the people on it.’ (III.5/38)

In (7.26), the deverbal prepositional phrase *iti wei* ‘in it’ is part of a phrase coordinated with the place name *Nauna* (and the pronoun *wei* refers to *Nauna*). In this sentence, the form *iti* is clearly not structurally serialized with *tawi* ‘create’, the main verb of the clause. Rather, it is dependent on *lau* ‘people’ and part of a coordinate noun phrase, part of the object of the main verb. An additional example of a similar structure (with a deverbal form which is dependent on a constituent within the clause) is given in (7.27).

- (7.27) *I tu cog e lono. I via e i iti lono.*
3sg prog seek in forest 3sg get.dark for 3sg in forest
'He was looking for it in the forest. It got dark on him while he
was in the forest.' (VI.2/4)

Finally, the deverbal prepositions, when they take pronominal objects, take the forms associated with obliques (such as the third person *wei*), and not the direct object markers. See (7.26) for an example. This is good evidence that they are not verbs.

7.4 Forms and Functions of the Prepositions

In this section I provide some details about the usage of the individual deverbal prepositions. This construction is also found in the Fortune papers (though the examples used here are otherwise all from Meier):

- (7.28) *Papu-m pati Pete, ku mulie⁶⁰ki me.*
father-2sg from Pere, fut return fut-here.
'Your father belongs to Pere. Come back here.'(Fortune p. 5, ln. 21.)

Examples of deverbal prepositions were included in the materials which Hauser (p.c.) checked with Titan native speakers. The examples were confirmed as grammatical.

7.4.1 Motion: -la, -le, and -me ‘To’

The basic meanings of -la, -le, and -me are ‘to’ or ‘into’, which is not surprising given their relation to the verbs *la* ‘go’, *le* ‘go to’, and *me* ‘come’. Most of the uses of these deverbal prepositions involve literal or metaphorical motion into a space (although there are also a few examples out motion ‘out of’ a space with -le). These prepositions are also used after verbs of speech to mark indirect objects. Examples follow.

- (7.29) a. *Ku luvuani yo kila te i, i ki ani yo!*
imp throw 1sg to 3sg 3sg.fut eat 1sg
'Throw me to him, so that he can eat me.' (I.13/11)
b. *i lematani i ile um, i va; "Hi Buisir, muduken*
3sg ask 3sg in house 3sg say H.B. window.hole

- i sou ne poen?"*
 3sg remain or not
 'She asked [the woman] in the house, "are there any holes left?"' (VII.5/89)
- c. *I la tawi manaon ile yai.*
 3sg become lay egg in hole
 'She began to lay her eggs in a hole.' (I.3/1)
- d. *Esol i va: "Moan ewaru yo u tawi kineme itan, kei snake 3sg say fire 2dl.ps 1sg 1sg.S give here.to this tree ewaru kineme itan.*
 2dl.ps here.to this
 'The snake said, "Your fire I gave for this place, and your trees I gave for this place.'" (I.10/48)

There are other meanings of these prepositions, however. *-la* and *-le* are used to mark equatives ("as X as Y"); (7.30) is repeated from (5.'34) above.

- (7.30) *Dasi! Ki la teyo alan, yota k' asi sum*
 brother 3sg.fut become to.1sg if 1pl.inc 3sg.fut build house
eyota kila alawen kile lanj.
 1pl.inc.ps into high to heaven
 'Brother! If it comes out your way, we will build a house as high as heaven.' (II.2/8)

The preposition *-la* is also used to mark the result of an action of growing (that is, something that grows *into* something else), as in (7.31).

- (7.31) *Ala ure ley ile das. Matamorai i va: "Len eyo ito k'*
 3pl pour sand into sea sun 3sg say sand 1sg.ps this hort
wai kila kor!"
 grow into land
 'They poured sand into the sea. Sun said, "This sand of mine will grow into land!"' (III5/27)

Finally, *-la* is used to mark small clauses, as in (7.32):

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- (7.32) *Ta ka kivani i! Ta ka caburui i kila pinanes eyota!*
1pl.inc hort lie.to 3sg 1pl.inc hort steal 3sg as prostitute poss-1pl
'Let's lie to him! Let's steal his wife as our prostitute!' (I.16/29)

The preposition *-le* has two additional meanings. In addition to marking the goal of motion, it can also mark a path of motion, as in (7.33), or the instrument of an action, as in (7.34).

- (7.33) *Aru nat arumo aru tokai ile cal amoat.*
3dl child two 3dl go to path one
'Two children were going along a path.' (VIII.5/3)
- (7.34) *Aru ani yevuen, putuaaru i sop ile kan e moat.*
3dl eat be.finished stomach-3dl 3sg be.full from food from snake
'They finished eating, and their stomachs were full of the food from the snake.' (I.9/27)

7.4.2 ‘On’ and ‘In’: *-ti*, *-en*, *-se*, *-lati*

Four deverbal prepositions are translated as ‘in’ or ‘on’ in the corpus. They are *-ti*, which in addition to ‘in’ seems to mean also ‘under’ (see (7.35)); *-en* ‘on’ (specifically, ‘lying’ on something; see (7.36)); *-se* ‘on’ (see (7.37)), and *-lati* ‘on’, illustrated in (7.38).

- (7.35) *I luvuani ni iti du.*
3sg throw fish under housepost
'He threw the fish under a house post.' (I.10/14)
- (7.36) *I lai, i tatapei yen e morai. Ni i kokol.*
3sg take 3sg spread lie in sun fish 3sg shrink
'He took the fish and spread them out (lying) in the sun. The fish [dried and] shrank.' (I.8/17)

The use of the different deverbal prepositions for 'on' seems to be related to the stance position of the object. For objects which are distributed across the space (or placed prone), *-en* is used. For those which are upright, *-se* (related to 'sit') is used. See Lichtenberk (2002) for further information on the use of stance verbs in describing location in Oceanic languages.

7.4.3 Other Motion Prepositions: *-au* and *-mulie*

Two other deverbal prepositions are found in the data. They are *-au* (related to the verb *au* 'go away from, leave') and *-mulie* (related to *mulie* 'turn, return'). *-Au* means either 'away from' or 'away [from speaker] towards somewhere'. As we saw for the serial verb constructions with *la* and *me* in Section 6.4.1 above, whether a participant is 'coming' or 'going' (or going 'away from' or 'towards' someone) is related to the viewpoint of the speaker rather than to absolute marking of direction. For example, in (7.39) the context is clear that Po Kuop's niece is being told to go away from the speaker *towards* the forest (not 'out of the forest').

- (7.39) *Po Kuop i va: "Launkei eoi pusuan, ko la tokai*
 P.K. 3sg say leaf.cloth 2sg.ps smell.bad imp go go away
kiau e lonau!"
 into thick.forest
 'Po Kuop told her, "Your skirt smells bad. Go away into the
 forest!'" (VI.4/3)

(7.40) provides a further example where the meaning is 'out of' or 'away from'.

- (7.40) *Buli i vai ila te moat, i va: "Yo u va, awa mountain 3sg say to snake 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S think 2pl ka nyak kiau e yo kile lan."*
nsg.fut climb up from 1sg into heaven
'The Mountain said to the snakes: "I think that you will climb up from me into the sky.'" (II.1/5)

The form *-mulie* is only ever found in conjunction with *-le*, as in (7.42) below. For more information, see Section 7.4.4 below.

7.4.4 ‘Doubled’ Prepositions and Adverbs of Location

As can be seen from several of the examples in previous sections (e.g., (7.21b) and (7.29)), a feature of these deverbal prepositions is their ability to combine not only with a Noun Phrase, but also with one another, and with an uninflecting preposition. Several deverbal prepositions appear only in conjunction with an uninflecting preposition (mostly *e* or *te*; see Sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2). Because a number of these prepositions have grammaticalized from intransitive verbs, and indeed, from verbs of motion and location, it is not surprising that it is quite common to find the grammaticalized verb used in conjunction with another preposition, particularly *te* and *e*. In this they mirror the syntax of the lexical motion verbs. Further examples are given in (7.41) below.

- (7.41) a. *I ta ni yevuen, i tokai ila varina moat.*
3sg catch fish finished 3sg go there to snake
'When he finished catching fish, he went to the snake.' (I.8/15)
- b. *I tawi dubue ila te peu pe buai.*
3sg create topmost-cluster to shark and crocodile
'He made the topmost cluster into a shark and a crocodile.'
- (VIII.11/23)
- (7.42) *I tokai imulie ile dol.*
3sg go back to canoe
'He went back to the canoe.'
- (VIII.15/30)

Example (7.41a) shows the motion preposition *ila* combining with *varina* ‘to’ (see Section 7.1.5 above), while (7.41b) shows *ila* combined with *te*.

There is one example where three prepositional items are used in succession; two deverbal and the uninflecting preposition *varina*:

- (7.43) *I yo imulie ila varin papun.*
 3sg fly back to to father-3sg
 'He flew back to his father.' (IV.5/19)

The use of deverbal prepositions in this construction leads to a question of how they should be analyzed. Relevant here is the use of a number of deverbal prepositions without accompanying noun phrases. Forms such as *-me* and *-la* are found in absolute clause-final position.

- (7.44) a. *I pein i tokai ila.*
 3sg woman 3sg go there
 'The woman went over to him.' (I.9/5)
 b. *Waru ka nyak kul kime, to k' ani!*
 2dl hort climb breadfruit.tree here 1pc.inc nsg.fut eat
 'Climb this breadfruit tree here, we'll eat!' (IV.3/2)

This is reminiscent of some English prepositions which may appear either with or without a dependent noun phrase (include 'behind' and 'above'). Moreover, there are a few adverbs in Titan that also inflect for tense in a manner reminiscent of the deverbal prepositions (including *yevuen* ~ *kievuen* 'completely').

On the basis of the corpus data there is no reason to treat the deverbal prepositions without dependent noun phrases as anything other than locative adverbs. They appear to occur either within the VP or adjacent to another prepositional phrase (either deverbal or uninflecting). When the prepositional phrase is dependent on a noun (as in example (7.20) above), there is no adposition 'doubling'.

7.5 Summary of Semantics of Spatial Marking

In Talmy's (1985) terms, Titan is a mostly satellite-framing language; that is, the manner of motion is typically encoded in the verb, while the path of motion is expressed by means of an adpositional phrase. Examples of manner encoding include *ilou* 'run', *nyany* and *tet* 'crawl', and *tatip* 'creep'. Some path information is encoded in some verbs, although the

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majority of this information (when encoded specifically) appears in the use of the deverbal prepositions. Path information included in the verb includes the specificity of the path (cf.. (7.45a), where the path of motion is non-specific) and sometimes the direction of motion (cf. the verb *musuani* in (7.45b), where some manner of motion is implied).

- (7.45) a. *Yayen pa ki mat, i ki tu mayayawe*
mother-3sg want 3sg.fut die 3sg 3sg.fut prog wander
e um sem pe sem.
from house one and one
'Its mother will die, and it will wander from house to house.'
- (VII.5/77)
- b. *Yo ku la musuani ato amu!*"
1sg 1sg.fut go creep.down 3pc still
'I'll go and creep down to them anyway.'
- (VI.2/7)

Chapter 8

Adverbs

A number of adverbs have already been discussed in passing in other sections. These include the adverbial use of adjectives in Section 5.1.3, certain adverbial demonstratives (Section 4.4), and the use of deverbal prepositions without complements (Section 7.4.4). This chapter outlines the remaining adverbs found in the Titan corpus, and provides some comments on adverb syntax.

8.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs are well attested in the corpus. There are two possible positions in the clause where temporal adverbs are placed. Some appear first in the clause; the other position is following the verb phrase (the verb and its object).

Adverbs referring to a specific point in time, such as *tita* ‘now’ and *rajiāu* ‘tomorrow’ are generally first in the clause, as shown in (8.1) below.⁶¹

- (8.1) *Manuai i va: “Rajiau, esol, ko la ta ni!”*
osprey 3sg say tomorrow snake imp go catch fish.
‘Eagle said, “Tomorrow, snake, go and catch fish.”’ (V./6)

Other temporal adverbs which do not refer to a specific point in time, such as *piaun* ‘by night’, are placed following the verb phrase (the verb and its object noun phrase, if one is present). (8.2) gives an example.

- (8.2) *Aru pin Loniu arumo, aru po cul*
3dl woman Loniu two 3dl make burning.coconut.leaves

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piaun. Aru tatarume ni.
by.night 3dl shine.on fish

'There were two women from Loniu; they were making burning coconut leaves at night. They were lighting up the fish.' (VIII.4/2)

A list of the temporal adverbs found in the text is given in Table 8.1, along with information about where they can occur in the clause and the number of examples of each in the corpus. Discussion of individual forms follows.

Table 8.1: Temporal Adverbs

Titan	English	Example Count	Placement
<i>rajiau</i>	tomorrow	14	Clause initially
<i>pepoen</i>	afterwards	2	Phrase initially
<i>tita</i>	today	23	Clause initially or finally
<i>aminyau</i>	yesterday	2	Clause finally
<i>piaun</i>	by night	11	Clause finally
<i>pojansi</i>	immediately	2	Clause finally
<i>inotu</i>	always	1	Clause finally
<i>(k)javuer</i>	forever	2	Clause finally
<i>palue</i>	again	11	Clause finally, followed by prep'l phrase

The word *pojansi* 'immediately' appears to be a grammaticalized phrase involving the inalienably possessed form of the word *pog* 'time' and *si* 'one'. It may not be synchronically analyzable as such, however. Likewise, *inotu* 'always' looks like a univerbated form of the phrase *i no tu* 'it stays, it keeps on'.

(K)javuer 'forever' inflects for tense like the deverbal prepositions described in Section 7.3 above. (8.3) provides evidence for this. (Section 7.4.4 above provides some examples of locational adverbs which inflect in the same way.)

- (8.3) a. *I la nyu. I kau yavuer ile Yap.*
3sg go swim 3sg swim all.the.way to Yap
'He swam. He swam all the way to Yap.' (III.5/30)

- b. *Amo ki nyak e buankei, i ki los, ki mat kiavuer.*
 indef pot climb up fruit.tree 3sg pot fall pot die forever
 'When someone climbs a breadfruit tree and falls, he dies forever.' (IV.3/21)

While *de* 'very much' is also found with a temporal meaning 'always', it is discussed as an 'intensifier' in Section 8.4 below. *Palan* can be used both as a locative and as a temporal item, meaning either 'before' (in time) or 'before, in front of' (in space). (8.4) is an example of the temporal use.

- (8.4) *De palan kor mavuen, do das.*
 before beginning land not.yet only sea
 'Before, in the very beginning there was no land yet, only sea.' (I.1/1)

Previous examples in this section have all illustrated denotation of single points in time. There is a little information about the marking of extent of time in the corpus. One of the rare examples is given in (8.5), where the extent of time that the men rowed is a parenthetic phrase where the unit of time is possessed.

- (8.5) *Ala sue, pon eala taakou, ala le Yap, ala le ley.*
 3pl row day 3pl.ps ten 3pl go.to Yap 3pl go.to shore
 'They rowed for ten days, and they got to Yap, to the shore.' (VII.7/5)

It is not known to what extent this is typical of extent of time adverbial phrases.

8.2 Manner Adverbs

A distinct class of manner adverbs is difficult to find in the data. Most items which translate manner adverbs are also adjectives (or verbs); see Section 5.1.3 above. (8.6), for example, shows the adjective *muan* appearing in phrase-final position and modifying the verb *neneu* 'talk'.

- (8.6) *Muiny i neneu muan.*
 dog 3sg talk bad
 'Dogs can't talk well [now].'
 (V.3/15)

There are, however, some words which are attested only as manner adverbs (that is, as modifiers of verbs). In (8.7), for example, the manner of motion ‘quietly’ is expressed with the item *nause* which occurs last in the clause. Another example, using *marayen* ‘quickly’, is in (8.8).

- (8.7) *Ala cinal ala cavuni i nauze. Ala tokai.*
 3pl devil 3pl carry.away 3sg quiet 3pl go
 ‘The devils carried him away quietly. They left.’ (VIII.11/3)
- (8.8) *I pein i la madean marayen.*
 3sg woman 3sg become adult quickly
 ‘The girl quickly became an adult.’ (VII.5/2)

The placement of manner adverbs following the verb phrase is consistent with other aspects of phrasal modification, where modifiers follow their heads.

8.3 Locative Adverbs

Locative marking in Titan is not a single coherent category. Rather, it is split between spatial nouns (such as *murin* ‘behind’ and *palan* ‘in front’, which were discussed in Section 3.4.4 above), locational demonstratives (as described in Section 4.4), prepositions with null complements (see Section 7.4.4), and three other spatial adverbs, to be discussed here.

Table 8.2: Locative Adverbs

Titan	English
<i>ic</i>	here
<i>rio</i>	over there
<i>enau</i>	this way

The only well-attested spatial adverb which does not fall into another word class is *ic* ‘near’. It is attested following the verb *la* ‘go’, which implies it is not a noun (*la* is otherwise intransitive); it also occurs following the preposition *-la*, as in (8.9) below.

- (8.9) *Aru luvuani rakuron ila te cinal. I ani yevuen, i kau*
 3dl throw middle to devil 3sg eat completely 3sg swim

ila ic.

there near

'They threw the middle of the shark to the devil. He ate it up and swam closer.' (I.14/7)

The other adverbs, *rio* 'over there' and *enau* 'this way', are attested once each in the corpus. The location adverbs are summarized in Table 8.2 and examples of the other adverbs apart from *ic* are given in (8.10). Like *ic*, the other local adverbs occur at the end of the verb phrase.

- (8.10) a. *Hi Koakal i kivani Hi Buisir, i va:* "Oh, pilao!
 H.K. 3sg lie.to H.B 3sg say oh sister-1sg
Ai, i vuic, i la enau!
 west.wind 3sg black 3sg go this.way
 'Hi Koakal lied to Hi Buisir, and said, "Oh, my sister! A black nor'-wester is coming this way!"' (VII.5/84)
- b. *Ala va: "Tamahurun! Hurun ka la rehe? Cinal e*
 3pl say father-1pl 1pl nsg.fut go to.where devil from
Pawi i kini me dileŋ rio, la ki eni yola
 Pawi 3sg 3sg.perf come shore over.there go oblig eat 1pl.inc
pare."
 now
 'They said, "Father! Where can we go? The devil from Pawi has already arrived on the shore over there, he's coming to eat us now!"' (VIII.14/8)

8.4 Adverbs of Degree

Four degree adverbs (or quantificational adverbs) are found in the corpus. They are summarized in Table 8.3.

These items are broader than the other adverbs in what they can modify. For example, *do* 'only' can modify nouns (as in (8.11a)), pronouns (8.11b), numerals (8.11c), and verbs (or verb phrases; see (8.11d)). It may also qualify another adverb, as in (8.12), where *do* modifies *ave* 'somewhat'.

- (8.11) a. *Kor mavuen, do das.*
 land not.yet only sea
 'At this time, there was no land; only sea.' (I.1/1)

Table 8.3: Degree Adverbs

Titan	English
<i>ape ~ ave</i>	some, somewhat
<i>de</i>	very, very much
<i>do</i>	only
<i>yevuen</i>	completely

- b. *Asa i va diliya Alu, i va:* “*Do yotaru ka voen?*”
Asa 3sg say ear Alu 3sg say only 1dl.inc hort not
‘Asa said in the ear of Alu, “Will it be just us two?” (I.6/2)
- c. *Do ave pucui, dol ei ki camur.*
only somewhat little canoe 3sg.ps pot sink
‘After a little time, the canoe could have sunk.’ (V.1/9)
- d. *Hi Asa do i kavuen. I tu po mayas.*
Hi Asa only 3sg be.alone 3sg prog do work
‘Hi Asa was alone. She was working.’ (I.5/1)
- (8.12) *I lai do ave puicui, i lai ile kor.*
3sg take only some little 3sg take to home
‘He took only a little, and brought it home.’ (I.17/7)

Apart from *yevuen*, these adverbs appear immediately preceding the items they modify.

8.5 Other Adverbs

The final set of adverbs are an assortment of modal, negative, and other adverbs which follow the distributional patterns of the other types of adverbs given in the previous sections. The negative adverbs *lavuen* ‘in vain’ and *mavuen* ‘not yet’ are discussed in more detail in Section 9.6.4. For examples of the other adverbs listed here, see Section 8.6 below.

8.6 Adverb Syntax

The main syntactic consideration for the adverbs discussed in this chapter is where in the clause they can appear. From the corpus, the generalization seems to be that adverbs are peripheral in their clauses—that is, they occur

Table 8.4: Other Adverbs

Titan	English
<i>aloa</i>	otherwise
<i>amoeamoe</i>	one at a time
<i>amu</i>	still
<i>ane</i>	perhaps
<i>lavuen</i>	in vain
<i>lie</i>	also
<i>ma</i>	still
<i>mavuen</i>	not yet
<i>yavuer</i>	completely, all the way

as the first or last item in the phrasal constituent. While some adverbs appear in either position, others show a preference. For example, the adverb *ane* ‘perhaps’ appears immediately before the verb phrase (as in (8.13)) or at first position in the sentence (as in (8.14)):

- (8.13) *Nivong i va: “Nimei! Taru ka la vo sau amu!*
 Nivong 3sg say Nimei 1dl.inc hort go make dry(ness) yet
Das ane ki camar ne poen?”
 sea.water perhaps 3sg.fut dry.up or not
 ‘Nivong said, “Nimei! Let’s go and make it dry. Maybe the sea water will dry up?”’ (I.2/5)
- (8.14) *Moat i va: “Waru cinal! Ane waru k’ ani yo! Waru ani*
 snake 3sg say 2dl devil perhaps 2dl hort eat 1sg 2dl eat
ni mamatin.
 fish raw
 ‘Snake said, “You two are devils! Maybe you will eat me! You ate the fish raw!”’ (I.9/20)

Another set of adverbs tend to appear clause-finally. These include *amu* ‘yet’, *lie* ‘again’, and *palue* ‘anew’. ((8.13) provides an additional example of clause-final *amu*.)

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- (8.15) *Yo ku la musuani ato amu!*
 1sg 1sg.fut go creep.down 3pc still
 'I'll go and creep down to them anyway.' (VI.2/7)
- (8.16) *Ala me sue lie ime e Poamacau. Peu i en e kekecou,*
 3pl come row again here to P Peu 3sg sit on bench
i lele ile Damolou.
 3sg see to D
 'They arrived at Poamacau. Peu sat on the bench, and saw Damolou.' (II.3/8)
- (8.17) *Peu i vai ila te i, i va: "Nabu ko te yo alan, yo*
 Peu 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say irr.neg 2sg.cfact hit 1sg if 1sg
ku ani awa, pepoen yo ku tawi awa palue.
 1sg.cfact eat 2pl afterwards 1sg 1sg.cfact create 2pl again
 'Peu said, "If you hadn't hit me, I would have eaten all of you, and
 afterwards I would have created you again." (VII.1/3)

Variable placement of adverbs: it is not known what conditions variable placement. For the two attestations of *aloa* 'otherwise' one is initial, and the other is final.

- (8.18) a. *Nabu ko me varina yo! Aloa yo ku mat!*
 irr.neg imp come to 1sg otherwise 1sg 1sg.fut die
 'Don't come to me. Otherwise I will die.' (VI.4/24)
- b. *Po Kuel i va: "Yo ku ti kor aloa,*
 P.K. 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut be.in village otherwise 2pl
awa ka le Yap, awa ka me ebus kime te
 nsg.fut go.to Y 2pl nsg.fut come be.enraged here to 1sg
yo, awa ka va: ane yo u iti pati
 2pl nsg.fut say perhaps 1sg 1sg.S have.sex.with wife 2pl.ps
eawa."

'Po Kuel said, "If I stay in the village, you'll go to Yap, and you'll get angry with me, and you'll say that maybe I've had sex with your wives.'" (VII.6/5)

In Kele, Ross (2002:138) treats immediately preverbal items such as *we* 'perhaps' and *ka* 'inceptive' as aspect/mood morphemes. I treat them

here as adverbs but recognize the rather loose definition of adverbs that this implies. The items in Titan appear to have a similar distribution to other adverbs, in that they modify several types of constituents, not only verbs, and in that we have independent evidence for other types of adverbs occurring in initial position in the verb phrase, before the subject marking.

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Clausal Syntax

In previous chapters I have included some information about syntax at the phrasal level, including nominal phrases Section 5.5 and verb structure (9.1). This chapter describes syntax clause level, including constituent order, negation, question formation, and clause chaining.

9.1 Clause Types

Clauses in Titan can be verbless. They may also contain either a single lexical verb, or two or more verbs in a serialized structure. There is no overt copula. Nouns, adjectives, and prepositional phrases are the most common type of non-verbal predicate (for which see Section 9.4). Clauses can also be embedded, either as relative clauses (see Section 9.8.2) or as subordinate to the main clause, where they are marked by a subordinator such as *alan* ‘when’.

9.2 Argumenthood

9.2.1 Marking of Arguments

Free pronouns co-occur with agreement markers, as mentioned above in Section 6.2.1. Objects in Titan appear not to have the split by animacy that Ross finds in Kele, where a verb will take a direct inanimate object but a prepositional phrase if the noun is animate. However, as seen in Section 9.2.2 below, inanimate direct objects may be omitted, while animate direct objects are always present.

9.2.2 Argument Omission

Arguments in Titan are usually not omitted; pronouns are frequent in the data and examples of omission are rare. This is not a ‘pro-drop’ language.

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There are a few examples of direct object omission, however; the examples in (9.1) are representative:

- (9.1) a. *I tawi ila te yayen. Yayen i ani.*
3sg give to mother-3sg mother-3sg 3sg eat
'He gave [his bit] to his mother. His mother ate [it].' (I.16/8)
- b. *Aru sosonani.*
3dl collect
'They collected [them].' (I.8/3)

Many of the verbs which exhibit 'missing' objects end in the vowel *i*, but the cause of the omission is not a phonological ban on the *i* pronoun occurring after a verb ending in the same vowel. Examples are given in (9.2) where the vowel is *i* and the pronoun is nonetheless present.

- (9.2) a. *Aru me tawi i ile das.*
3dl come give 3sg to sea
'The two of them came and gave him to the sea.' (I.10/45)
- b. *I riin i cariti i madean ila. Cinal i ani i.*
3sg small 3sg cut.up 3sg big there devil 3sg eat 3sg
'The small person cut up the bigger person. The devil ate him.'

Rather than being a phonological condition on pronoun omission, it seems to be based on animacy; that is, the pronoun is there if the object is animate, but can be omitted if the referent is inanimate.

9.3 Constituent Order

9.3.1 Basic Order

The most usual constituent order for a main clause with a verbal predicate is given in (9.3) below. Items in parentheses are optionally present.

- (9.3) (adv) subject (adv) (agreement) verb (object) (indirect object) (adjunct)*

That is, intransitive clauses are SV, transitive clauses are SVO, adjunct prepositional phrases and adverbs appear at the end of the clause. In addition, certain adverbs may either precede the subject or appear between the

subject and agreement markers. The order of elements is quite consistent throughout the texts. Exceptions (such as focus object fronting) fall into several well-defined classes and are discussed below. In ditransitives, the order is subject, verb, object, recipient. If there is both an adverb and a prepositional adjunct phrase, the adverb usually precedes the prepositional phrase.

Subordinate clauses have the same order as main clauses; they are either introduced by a complementizer, have a complementizer at the end of the clause (such as *alan*), or have no additional marking.

9.3.2 Constituent Fronting

There are a few examples in the texts of ‘object fronting’, where the object of the verb, which normally is immediately preceded by the main verb, appears instead at the beginning of the clause. These clauses are usually punctuated as in (9.4a) below—that is, with the fronted argument set off from the main clause with a comma:

- (9.4) a. *Saurang i le um. I lisi keiny, i va: “Kan ito, se S 3sg go.to house 3sg see pot 3sg say food here who i abur?” 3sg cook*
 ‘Saurang went into the house and saw the pot. He said, “Who cooked this food?”’ (V.6/27)
- b. *Esol i va: “Moan ewaru yo u tawi kineme snake 3sg say fire 2dl.ps 1sg 1sg.S give 3sg.perf-come itan, kei ewaru kineme itan. this tree 2dl.ps 3sg.perf-come this*
 ‘The snake said, “Your fire I gave for this place, and your trees I gave for this place.”’ (I.10/48)

The examples in (9.4) show argument extraction; however, there are a few other examples where a resumptive pronoun is used. In (9.5), for example, the phrase *ato itan* ‘these [women]’ is fronted, and the third person paucal pronoun *ato* appears again resumptively immediately following the verb.

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- (9.5) *I va: "Papu, eyo, ite? Ato itan yo ku puti*
3sg say father pred-1sg where 3pc this 1sg 1sg.fut take.as.spouse
ato kievuen kila pati eyo!"
3pc completely to wife mine
'He said, "Father! Where am I? These women, I'll take them all to
be my wives!"' (VI.2/9)

I also assume that sentences such as (9.6) contain fronted arguments. An alternative analysis would be that *teyo* is the subject and *i* is the agreement marker. However, since such sentences also appear with *teyo* (or an equivalent pronoun) following the adjective *uyan*, and since there are no other unequivocal examples of postposed subjects in the corpus, an analysis where the pronoun *teyo* is fronted is preferable.

- (9.6) *Awa ne ayani yayeyota poen. Teyo i la uyan,*
2pl d.neg support mother-1pl.inc not to 1sg 3sg become
teawa i la muan.
good to-2pl 3sg become bad
'You did not support our mother. I've done well and things have
gone badly for you.' (I.16/47)

Full phrase fronting is also possible. In (9.7), for example, the phrase *ane ni kime* is the object of *ani* 'eat'.

- (9.7) *Dasin i va: "Ave ni kime, yo ku ani!"*
brother-3sg 3sg say some fish here 1sg 1sg.fut eat
'His brother said, "Some of the fish here, I'll eat them!"' (VIII.13/19)

9.3.3 Correlates of Constituent Order

Nichols (1986) notes cross-linguistic tendencies for head and dependent marking (the properties are listed in Table 9.1). Titan's morphology does not involve a great deal of cross-referencing in the verb phrase, though what there is appears on the head of a phrase rather than its dependents. There is no dependent marking in the verb phrase (only the agreement clitics which attach to the head; see Section 6.2.1). In other places where there is morphology, the dependent is marked. Possessive phrases are marked with adpositions where there is a full noun phrase, and on the possessor

pronoun (therefore on the dependent) where the possessor is pronominal. Subordinate clauses are usually unmarked or paratactic, but are marked in the subordinate clause where they are marked.

Table 9.1: Nichols's (1986) Head and Dependent Markers

Level	Head	Dependent
Phrase	possessed noun	possessor
	noun	modifying adjective
	adposition	object of adposition
Clause	predicate	arguments and adjuncts
	auxiliary verb	lexical verb
Sentence	main clause predicate	relative or subordinate clause

In terms of word order, Titan is fairly consistently head-initial at both the phrasal and the clausal level. Modifiers of nouns follow the nominal head (as seen in Chapter 5 above); adjectives, relative clauses and genitive phrases always follow, and numbers may precede or follow. The language has prepositions, not postpositions (see Chapter 7). If we assume that Titan has a determiner phrase, determiners are also first in their clause. Verbs precede their objects. In compounding, Titan is also head-initial.

9.4 Verbless Sentences

Not all clauses contain verbs. There appears to be no copula in Titan, therefore existential constructions, such as those of the type illustrated in (9.8) below, are always verbless:

- (9.8) *De palan kor mavuen, do das.*
 before beginning land not.yet only sea
 'Before, in the very beginning there was no land yet, only sea.'(I.1/1)

A predicate can be a noun, as in the equative sentences "he's a snake" (or the phrase in (9.8) above), a prepositional phrase ("part is to me/of mine"; see (9.9a) for an uninflecting preposition and (9.9b) for a deverbal one), an adjective (9.9c), or a numeral (9.9d), as well as a verb (phrase). Examples of these follow:

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- (9.9) a. *Ala lisi koti. Nat e wei poen.*
3pl look.at basket child in that not
'They looked in the basket; the child wasn't there.' (VIII.10/11)
- b. *I ani riin, ni madean ila te yaye-ala dilis.*
3sg eat small fish big to mother-3pl Canarium.nut
'He ate the small ones, and the big ones were for the mother of
the canarium nuts.' (VI.6/8)
- c. *Ala Matankor pas eala madean poen.*
3pl M expertise 3pl.ps big not
'The Matankor don't have great expertise.' (Parkinson 15)
- d. *Moen Hus i va: "Oi cinal. Kararame-m do si. Yo ramat, kararame ruo."*
def Hus 3sg say 2sg devil tongue-2sg.ps only one 1sg
person tongue two
'The man from Hus said, "You're a devil. You only have one
tongue. I am a person; I have two tongues.'" (VIII.14/24)

Example (9.8) above, along with most of the examples in (9.9), show that Titan has null copulas in the past tense; the same also applies to the future (that is, the copula is never overt, even in tenses other than the present); (9.10) provides an example (the second clause of this example is verbless, with *sir* as subject and the possessive pronoun as predicate):

- (9.10) *Das ki cani kor! Sir earu pe sir eyo!*
sea.water hort spread.over the.earth part 3dl.ps and part 1sg.ps
'Let sea water spread over the earth. Part will be for them two,
and part will be for me!' (I.8/9-10)

9.5 Reciprocal and Reflexive

Both reciprocal and reflexive actions are denoted by the use of coreferential personal pronouns, rather than by any distinct syntactic structure or verbal morphology. It seems that context alone determines whether a pronoun is coreferential to another argument or not. Compare (9.11a) with (9.11b); the first sentence has a reciprocal meaning of 'they married each other,' while (9.11b) has an example of two third person singular pronouns with different referents.

- (9.11) a. *Ala puti ala. Ala tawi yota lau asiuna.*
 3pl marry 3pl 3pl give.birth.to 1pl.inc people all
 'They married each other. They gave birth to all our people.' (I.4/5)
- b. *I puti i. I matire i yevuen, aru le kor.*
 3sg marry 3sg 3sg sleep.with 3sg be.finished 3dl go.to village
 'He married her and slept with her. When they finished, they went back to the village.' (V.6/43)
- (9.12) *I moele i ile luluai.*
 3sg decorate 3sg with shell.money
 'He decorated himself with shell money.' (IV.3/4)

Both direct reflexive/reciprocals (as in (9.11) above) and indirect reflexives are found in the data, and are marked in the same way. Example (9.13a) illustrates an indirect reflexive (where the coreferential argument is a beneficiary) while (9.13b) shows the reflexive as a possessive.

- (9.13) a. *I riin e ala i ne ani tei poen.*
 3sg small p'tive 3pl 3sg neg eat for-3sg not
 'The smallest of them didn't eat any for himself.' (I.16/5)
- b. *Aru lisi moen cinal. Moen cinal i sowe ki-n,*
 3dl see def devil def devil 3sg cram.into buttocks-3sg
i la manayan.
 3sg become small
 'They saw the devil. The devil crammed himself into his buttocks, and became small.' (VIII.7/11)

In Titan it seems that context alone disambiguates reflexives and reciprocals from non-coreferential transitive clauses. Hamel (1994:54) notes in Loniu that *kapwana* 'self' is used to disambiguate the reflexive from a regular transitive construction. This word has a cognate in Titan *kavuen* 'alone'; however, *kavuen* is not used in reflexive constructions in the corpus. The examples in (9.14) are representative.

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- (9.14) a. *Hi Asa do i kavuen. I tu po mayas.*
Hi Asa only 3sg be.alone 3sg prog do work
'Hi Asa was alone. She was working.' (V.1/1)
- b. *Wewen, kor ei Lokomo. I agani muiny ei.*
W village 3sg.ps L 3sg look.after dog 3sg.ps
Do aru kavuen.
only 3dl alone
'There was a man Wewen, and his village was Lokomo vil-lage. He had a dog. Those two lived together alone.' (V.3/1)

9.6 Negation

There are several different forms of negation in Titan, depending on whether the clause is indicative or irrealis (that is, whether it contains the modal marker *k-* described in Section 6.3.2 above).

9.6.1 Indicative Clauses

Clauses in the indicative are usually negated by placing *ne* between the aspect marker and the main verb (recall (9.1) on page 79 above) and *poen* at the end of the clause, as in (9.15a) (see also (9.13a) for another example).

- (9.15) a. *De palan moan i ne ti poany poen.*
before beginning fire 3sg d.neg be.on earth not
'Before, in the beginning, there was no fire on the earth.' (I.12/1)
- b. *Yo u pasani ala poen.*
1sg 1sg.S know.about 3pl not
'I know nothing about them.' (III.1/30)

Occasionally, it appears that *poen* may be used alone, either when the clause is verbless (as in (9.16)) or when a main verb is present (see (9.15b)). In the latter case, the conditioning factor could be that the scope of negation is a single argument rather than the entire clause (for constituent negation see Section 9.6.3 below):

- (9.16) *Amo pein poen.*
indef woman not
'There weren't any women.' (I.7/2)

9.6.2 Modal Clauses

Non-indicative clauses are negated with the word *nabu*, which generally appears first in the clause (a few examples are immediately before the verb but after the subject, as in (9.17)). Negative commands also appear with *nabu*, as illustrated in (9.18).

- (9.17) *Moat i va: "Ki la ajan eyo, yota nabu ka*
snake 3sg say hort become speech 1sg.ps 1pl.inc irr.neg nsg.fut
vo muan.
do bad
 ‘Snake said, “Let my words come true, so that we might not do a
 bad thing.”’ (I.9/31)
- (9.18) *Ala cinal ala va: "Oh! Palimat, nabu ko ani ramat*
3pl devil 3pl say oh flying.fox irr.neg imp eat person
eyoya!"
1pl.excl.ps
 ‘The devils said, “Oh! Flying Fox, don’t eat our person!”’ (VIII.11/10)

There are otherwise no discernable differences between positive and negative modal clauses.

In addition to the use of *nabu*, there are also some examples of *k...poen*; that is, the irrealis form of the subject prefixes and the declarative/realis negator. They are found particularly in clauses marked with *alan* ‘when’.

- (9.19) *Karaat ki la poen alan, do kor pe ramat poen, titan*
turtle c.fact be not if only the.earth and person not now
yota nat e karaat.
1pl.inc child poss turtle
 ‘Had there been no turtles, there would have been only the earth
 and no people, since we are the children of turtles.’ (I.3/6)

The particle *ne* is usually absent from such clauses, although there is a single example where it is present:

- (9.20) *Taadasi ki lom, si ki ne lom poen.*
nine 3sg.fut be.ripe one 3sg.fut d.neg be.ripe not
 ‘Nine will be ripe and one will not be ripe.’ (I.16/12)

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It is not clear what the difference is between the clauses with or without *ne*, and with *nabu* versus the irrealis and *poen*. The clauses with *nabu* appear to be associated particularly with negative hortatives or deontic modality.

9.6.3 Constituent Negation

The particle *poen* is also used in negating single constituents (9.21a), and in the negation of non-verbal predicates, as in (9.21b).

- (9.21) a. *Kor i la bulian. Kei poen, do poany.*
the.earth 3sg become hilly tree not only ground
'The earth became hilly. There were no trees, only earth.' (I.2/7)
- b. *Ma kulicon poen.*
taro skin-3sg not
'The taro didn't have its skin.' (I.10/32)
- c. *Yo cinal poen, yo ramat.*
1sg devil not 1sg person
'I am not a devil, I am a human.' (I.10/17)

There are otherwise no clear examples of constituent negation, apart from the negated nominal predicates such as *cinal poen* (as illustrated in (9.21c)).

9.6.4 Inherently Negative Adverbs

There are two negative adverbs which can be used with the negator *ne*; they are *mavuen* 'not yet' and *lavuen* 'in vain'. They occur last in the clause, in the position which the negator *poen* occupies in other negative clauses. While *mavuen* usually occurs with the particle *ne* in the agreement complex, *lavuen* always occurs without it.

- (9.22) *Alet ataruo. Aru ne caic mavuen.*
egg two 3dl d.neg break.out not.yet
'There were two eggs. They had not hatched yet.' (I.5/6)
- (9.23) *I usuni i lavuen, i tay.*
3sg take.out 3sg in.vain 3sg cry
'She couldn't take it out. She cried.' (VII.5/29)

9.6.5 Negative Polarity Items

There appear to be no negative polarity items distinct from words which occur in positive clauses. For example, *ave* ‘something’ can also combine with the negative marker *poen*, as illustrated in (9.24).

- (9.24) a. *Ave ca i ne tatuni sir poen.*
 any what 3sg d.neg hold.fast part not
 ‘Nothing was holding onto the end.’ (VIII.6/6)
- b. *Ala cinal ala cavuni i nause. Ala tokai. Ave duy poen, ave kulul poen.*
 3pl devil 3pl carry.away 3sg quiet 3pl go any noise
 not any speech not
 ‘The devils carried him away quietly. They left. There was no noise, no talking.’ (VIII.11/3)

9.7 Coordination

There are two coordinating conjunctions in the data. They are *pe* ‘and’, and *ne* ‘or’. The coordinator *pe* ‘and’ may be used to link both arguments and clauses. (9.25a) is an example of conjoined clauses; each part of the sentence is a full clause in its own right. (9.25b) shows a conjoined subject (which triggers the dual agreement marker *aru*), while in (9.25c) there are two nouns coordinated under a deverbal preposition. (9.25a) also shows that in lists, each item is joined with *pe*.

- (9.25) a. *Moat i tawi kor, pe i tawi kan pe i tawi yota.*
 1pl.inc
 ‘The snake created the land, food, and he created us.’ (I.1/7)
- b. *Nimei pe Nivong aru nyu.*
 Nimei and Nivong 3dl swim
 ‘Nimei and Nivong were swimming.’ (I.2/3)
- c. *I tawi dubue ila te peu pe buai.*
 3sg create topmost-cluster into shark and crocodile
 ‘He made the topmost cluster into a shark and a crocodile.’ (VIII.11/23)

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This conjunction is also used in the formation of numerals; for an example see (9.26) below and for further information and the numerals which appear with *pe*, see Section 5.2.1.

- (9.26) *I sui sapat pe tulugol.*
3sg scrape.off one.hundred and thirty
'She scraped off one hundred and thirty.' VII.4/36

Finally, conjoined phrases introduced by *pe* may sometimes be displaced from the item with which they are coordinated. In (9.27), for example, the phrase *pe ni ei* 'and his fish' is separated from *dol* 'canoe'.

- (9.27) *I le ley. I tawi dol ile ley [pe ni ei].*
3sg go.to shore 3sg place canoe on sand and fish 3sg.ps
'He went to the shore. He placed the canoe on the sand with his fish.' (VIII.15/27)

The syntax of *ne* 'or' is somewhat similar; it is also used to join phrases of the same type, however only nominal clauses are attested in the corpus with *ne* as coordinator:

- (9.28) a. *Alu i va: "Yo u lisi oi. Oi lavan ne oi lau?"*
Alu 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S see 2sg 2sg chief or 2sg people
'Alu said, "I see you. Are you a chief or are you a regular person?'" (VII.4/28)
- b. *i va: "Wato pinramat ne wato pincinal?"*
3sg say 2pau woman or 2pau she-devil
'He said, "Are you women or are you devils?'" (VI.2/10)

We also find *ne* used in the tag *ne poen* 'or not', and occasionally on its own as a tag at the end of a clause.

- (9.29) a. *Hi Buisir, muduken i sou ne poen?*
H.B. window.hole 3sg remain or not
'Hi Buisir, are there any holes left?' (VII.5/89)

- b. *Cinal i va: "Awa ka tu, ne? Yo ku le*
 devil 3sg say 2pl hort stay or 1sg 1sg.fut go.to
lonau."
 thick.forest
 'The devil said, "So you'll stay? I will go to the thick forest."'
 (VIII.7/23)

9.8 Subordination

9.8.1 *alan*: 'when, if, because, although'

The word *alan*, in most instances, marks the protasis of a conditional clause. A clause of this type is frequently found at the end of texts, especially creation myths, as the narrator gives a short summary of the consequences of the actions in the story and the consequences, had the characters not acted as they did. Some examples were provided in the discussion of irrealis marking in Section 6.3.2.3 above. Such clauses always have irrealis marking if they contain a verb. The *alan* clause precedes the main clause, and Meier separates the two with a comma. Typical examples are given in (9.30).

- (9.30) a. *Yo ku la poen alan, oi kone mat.*
 1sg 1sg.cfact be not if 2sg 2sg.perf die
 'If I hadn't been here, you would have died.' (I.8/32)
- b. *Pati ei ki vo uyan alan, yota ne mat poen.*
 wife 3sg.ps c факт do good if 1pl.inc d.neg die not
 'Had his wife done good, we wouldn't die.' (IV.3/25)

Alan can also mark conditionals without a counterfactual reading, as in (9.31).

- (9.31) *Dasi! Ki la teyo alan, yota k' asi um*
 brother 3sg.fut become to.1sg if 1pl.inc 3sg.fut build house
eyota kila alawen kile lay.
 1pl.inc.ps into high to heaven
 'Brother! If it comes out your way, we will build a house as high
 as heaven.' (II.2/8)

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There are a few examples of *alan* where the clause appears not to be dependent on a main clause. In these cases they have concessive meaning, as in (9.32); *alan* here has been glossed as ‘but’.

- (9.32) *Manuai i va: "Yo lavan alan.*
osprey 3sg say 1sg chief but
'The osprey said, "But I am a chief.'" (V.2/8)

Finally, *alan* may be used to explain the reason for an action taking place. In this case, the clause is realis. This is the only example of *alan* and a realis agreement marker in the corpus.

- (9.33) *I lisi mat, uti, i va: "Oh! Yo ulumui das alan, das*
3sg see ebb.tide go.out 3sg say Oh 1sg drink sea because sea
i camar ito. Yo ku la ulumui lie."
3sg dry.up there 1sg 1sg.fut incho drink again
'He saw the ebb tide go out, and said, "Oh! Because I drank the sea, the sea water has dried up here. I will start drinking again.'" (IX.1/7)

9.8.2 Relative Clauses

There are few clear examples of relative clauses. Those that are unequivocally relative clauses appear to be formed by parataxis. There is no distinct relative pronoun or linking particle. All these constructions take the form of the main clause and the relative clause as a parenthetical or paratactic comment, and as such are very difficult to identify in the corpus as a distinct construction without elicitation. A typical example is (9.34a), where there is semantic coreference between the stated object of the verb *tawi* ‘create’ and the object of the other verb *ani* ‘eat’.

- (9.34) a. *Po Kolay i tawi niu, yota ani.*
PK 3sg create coconut 1pl.inc eat
'Po Kolang created the coconut, which we eat.' (I.15/8)
- b. *Yota ani niu, i au e palaramat.*
1pl.inc eat coconut 3sg originate from head-person
'We eat coconuts which originated from a person's head.' (I.14/30)

The verb *ani* has no overt direct object in (9.34a), but since the object is inanimate, we would not necessarily expect one (cf. Section 9.2.2 above). Therefore we cannot argue that (9.34a) is an example of a relative clause where the relativized constituent has been gapped in the relative clause. A further example is given in (9.34b), where the matrix object becomes the subject of the relative clause. Note that again, there is nothing to distinguish a clause of this type from a series of paratactic clauses or verb serialization.

While the great majority of examples of clauses that could be described as ‘relative clauses’ are indistinguishable from parataxis, there are a few examples of embedded relative clauses. One is given in (9.35) below (for another, see (5.135) on page 76 above). Here the phrase *manuai i te i* ‘the osprey hit him’ occurs immediately after the subject noun *cilim* ‘starling’.

- (9.35) *Cilim, [manuai i te i], i la riin.*
 starling osprey 3sg hit 3sg 3sg become small
 ‘The starling, whom the osprey hit, became small.’ (V.2/15)

Examples like this lead me to conclude (albeit tentatively) that clauses such as those illustrated in (9.34) above are relatives. That is, they are clauses embedded within a noun phrase, although with no special marking.

In the Rambutyo dialect of Titan, Ross (nd) found a distinct relative construction, where the clause is introduced with the nominal dependency marker *a*.

9.8.3 Other Clause Linkers

There are two other items—*yevuen* ‘finished’ and *tapeta* ‘how’—which may mark subordinate clauses. In (9.36), *yevuen* occupies the same position as *alan* in Section 9.8.1 above; it also seems particularly used in cases where the action of the second clause is temporally dependent on the previous clause.

- (9.36) *Aru taj, taj, taj. [Aru taj yevuen], aru iri paladasiaru.*
 3dl cry cry cry 3dl cry finished 3dl bury head-brother-3dl.ps
 ‘They cried and cried and cried. When they finished crying, they buried the head of their brother.’ (I.13/22)

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It is therefore tentatively included here as a clausal subordinator or linker, although without elicitation it is impossible to determine whether it is just a temporal adverb, with the clauses in parataxis, or an embedded structure.

A final clausal linker is the word *tapeta*, which means ‘how’. It marks result clauses, as in (9.37).

- (9.37) *Ala Yap ala va: "Yota dasi yota. Awa ameani yoya, tapeta titan yoya ka cariti das. Yota ka talasi yota."*
3pl Yap 3pl say 1pl.inc brother 1pl.inc 2pl insult 1pl.excl
tapeta titan yoya ka cariti das. Yota ka talasi
how now 1pl.excl hort cut.through sea 1pl.inc hort separate
yota."
1pl.inc

‘The Yap people said, “We’re all brothers. You have insulted us, so now we will cut through the sea. Let’s separate ourselves.”’
(VII.3/12)

Unlike *alan* ‘if’, *tapeta* clauses follow the (unmarked) main clause, and *tapeta* is first in the clause, in contrast to *alan* (and *yevuen*, if a subordinator), which both appear in clause-final position.

9.8.4 Clausal Parataxis

As noted in the previous sections, in many cases there are semantic dependencies between clauses, but there is no overt marking of hypotaxis or subordination. (9.38) provides a few examples of this type of sentence.

- (9.38) a. *Pamei! Yota ka mat, yota ka le ee?*
P 1pl.inc nsg.fut die 1pl.inc nsg.fut go.to where
‘Pamei! When we die, where will we go?’ (VIII.12/3)
- b. *I ma tu ani, aru sue. I ani yevuen, i kau ila ic.*
3sg still prog eat 3dl row 3sg eat finished 3sg swim there
near
‘He was still eating it when they were rowing away. He finished eating it and swam towards them.’ (I.14/16)

9.8.5 *poa ~ pa*: Desiderative

A rather different type of subordinate clause is found in desiderative clauses. Desiderative ('wanting') clauses are formed with the verb *poa ~ pa*, which I assume is related to the verb *pa ~ va* 'say'. The form is *poa* when the subject is second person, and *pa* elsewhere.

The desiderative marker is preceded by an optional subject agreement clitic (see Section 6.2.1); the main lexical verb denoting the action desired is preceded by the irrealis clitic which agrees with the subject of the whole clause.⁶² This is illustrated in (9.39):

- (9.39) a. *Ala Pitilu ala pa ka vo paun kile Dobut...*
 3pl P 3pl want nsg.fut do battle with D
 'The Pitilu people wanted to do battle with the people from Dobut...' (V.5/33)
- b. *Amo cinal i pa ki ani i.*
 one devil 3sg want 3sg.fut eat 3sg
 'A devil wanted to eat him.' (IV.2/2)

The presence of the subject marker appears to be optional; examples both with and without the agreement particle were found. In (9.40a), the desiderative is preceded only by the free first person singular pronoun *yo*; there is no agreement marker *u* present. In (9.40b), however, an agreement marker *i* is present. There is no discernable conditioning factor in the data, although it is always absent with first and second person singular subjects.

- (9.40) a. *Yo pa ku le Yap.*
 1sg want 1.sg.fut go.to Yap
 'I want to go to Yap.' (VII.4/46)
- b. *Hi Moi i pa ki nyak kile polenpoyopoy.*
 H.M. 3sg want 3.sg.fut climb into peak-pandanus.palm
 'Hi Moi wanted to climb to the top of a pandanus palm.' (VI.4/18)

The desiderative is the only clause of this type. That is, it is the only type of clause where there is a single subject, a subject marker + verb, then a repeated subject agreement clitic with another verb. The core serialization constructions described in Section 6.4 above have a single agreement

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clitic, while other types of subordination discussed in this chapter have two subjects.

9.9 Questions

There is a considerable amount of direct speech in the Meier narratives—participants in the narratives ask each other questions. There are data on content questions, yes/no questions, and questions with an interrogative tag ‘or not’.

9.9.1 Content Questions

Content questions are formed the same way as declarative phrases with the interrogative word *in situ*. A list of the interrogative pronouns found in the data were given in Table 4.4 on page 58 above. (9.41) provides some representative examples of questions.

- (9.41) a. *Ala lametani i, ala va: "Nyara-m se?"*
3pl ask 3sg 3pl say name-2sg.poss who
'They asked her: "What's your name?"' (III.2/14)
- b. *i va: "Polu eoi ne polu e se?*
3sg say fish.basket 2sg.poss or fish.basket poss who
'He asked, "Is it your fish basket, or whose is it?"' (IV.4/6)
- c. *Ato la. I va: "Wato nat eyo, to k' ani ca?"*
3pc go 3sg say 2pc child 1sg.ps 1pc.inc hort eat what
'They went. He said, "You, my children, what shall we eat?"' (VIII.14/33)

There is, in addition to the interrogative pronouns listed in Table 4.4 and illustrated above, an interrogative verb *etepe* or *yetepe*, glossed here as ‘how is it’, ‘how’ or ‘do.what’. (See also (9.43) for another example.)

- (9.42) *I va: "Waru pisio, waru, etepe, waru mat?"*
3sg say 2dl brother 2dl how.is.it 2dl die
'[She] said, "My brothers, what are you doing? Will you die?"'

9.9.2 Yes/No Questions

Yes/no questions have two forms. Some have no marking in the text apart from a question mark. I assume there is an intonational difference (as also

reported in Kele and which is common cross-linguistically), but of course there is no information on that in the written texts.

- (9.43) *Oi etepe? Oi a vomuani yo?*
 2sg do.what 2sg 2sg.nfut harm 1sg
 'What are you doing? Are you going to harm me?' (IX.1/17)

Other polar interrogatives are introduced with *ne* 'or'—that is, the possible answers to the question are presented in the question itself for the hearer to choose:

- (9.44) *I are varina ato, i va: "Wato pinramat ne wato pincinal?"*
 3sg appear to 3pc 3sg say 2pau woman or 2pau she-devil
 'He appeared to them and said, "Are you women or are you devils?"' (VI.2/10)

9.9.3 Tag Questions

Tag questions are formed with either *ne* 'or' or *ne poen* 'or not' at the end of the clause. They are consistently punctuated by Meier with a comma preceding the tag.

- (9.45) *Hi Moi i va: "Awa ka la, ne?"*
 H.M. 3sg say 2pl hort go or
 'Hi Moi said, "Are you going?"' (VI.3/14)

9.10 Interjections

Few interjections are attested in the corpus. There are two items which are written *oh* and *e*, and one example of *ehee*. The former occurs either first or last in the clause, while the latter seems to resemble a tag question and occurs last. These are the only two positions for interjections in the data.

- (9.46) *Pi Yap amo itan ko la pati eyo amu, e?*
 woman Yap indef this 2sg.fut become wife 1sg.ps yet hey!
 'You Yap woman will become my wife yet, no?' (V.6/17)

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- (9.47) a. *Amo ramat i va: "Oh! Oi a kip!"*
indef person 3sg say oh 2sg 2sg.nfut lie
'The man said, "Oh! You are lying!"' (IV.3/15)
- b. *Muiny i tawi poan, i va: "Papu oi, ala tu panawe bue, oh!"*
dog 3sg give call-3sg 3sg say father-1sg 2sg 3pl prog
steal betel.nuts oh
'The dog called out, and said, "My father! You! They are
stealing betel nuts. Oh!"' (V.3/7)

Part B

Wordlists

Titan–English Glossary

This section contains Titan – English and English – Titan glossaries, comprising all words attested in the Meier corpus, Parkinson (1999), and technical terms in Fortune (1935). Additional words from a list of names with common noun meanings are also included. Reference is also made to Lusk (nd) and Blust (1975) where Meier’s transcription is opaque. Note that *y* is alphabetized following *n*.

– A – a –

- a₁** *adj* 1. other 2. each *dem.pro* indefinite
a₂ *ag.part* second person singular subject agreement marker, non-future tense. **ko ~ ku** 1. second person, direct imperative 2. second person future 3. second person counterfactual 4. second person potential/irrealis. **kone** second person singular subject, perfective
abulukal ~ bulukal *n* sago-loaf (Source: Parkinson) (NB: in a magic spell)
abur *v.tr* cook. **aburuti** *v.tr* cook
abuti *v.tr* bind fast. Lusk: *abuti* ‘tie up, secure’
acani *v* deny (NB: It is impossible to tell if this verb is intransitive or transitive; the one example, at

IV.5/24, could either be intransitive or the object could be omitted.)

- ace** *v.tr* sharpen. Lusk: *acey*
adaamo *num* nine (Restriction: human)
adaruo *num* eight
adasi ~ taadasi *num* nine
adatulomo *num* seven (Restriction: human)
ai *n* 1. west 2. west wind. Lusk: *ay* ‘northwest monsoon’
-ai *v.suff* nominalizer
ain *n* basket. Lusk: *ain ~ ein*
akap *num* one (Restriction: plants) cf. *kap* ‘vine’
akou ~ taakou *num* ten. Lusk: *akow*
akure *v.it* hide (self). **akurani** *v.tr* conceal. Lusk: *akule, akulani*
al *n* k.o. fish (Source: names)

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- ala₁** *pro* 3pl they (third person plural). Lusk: *ala*
- ala₂** *v.tr* bite
- alakei** *n* rattan (*Rotang*). Lusk: *alakey* ‘rope, string’
- alan** *conj* 1. because 2. if 3. but (*doch*)
- alau** *v.it* be far cf. *alawen*. Lusk: *alaw*
- alawen** ~ **alaweu** (probably a printing error) *v.it, adj* 1. (be) long 2. (be) tall, high 3. (be) far 4. (be) deep (*lang*). Lusk: *alawen*
- alei** *n* pandanus palm *Pandanus spiralis* cf. *pogopog*
- alet** *n* egg (NB: This is the generic word for egg.)
- alima** *num* See **lima**
- alisai** *v.it* laugh. Lusk: *alisai*.
- alisani** *v.tr* laugh at. Lusk: *alisani*
- aloa** *adv* otherwise
- alu** *n* k.o. parrot (Source: names) *Agapornis roseicollis* cf. *kareŋ*
- alul** *v.it* lie down, sit down (*hinlegen*). **alulu** *v.tr* lower self. Lusk: *alul*
- amaun** *adj* strange
- ameani** *v.tr* insult
- aminyau** *adv.temp* yesterday. Lusk: *aminyow*
- amo₁** [Morphol: *-amo*] *num* one (Restriction: human). *dem.pro* a certain one (indefinite but specific; ‘some person’). **amo lie phr** one more. **do amo phr** alone
- amoat** *num* one (Restriction: roads)
- amoeamoe** *adv* one at a time
- amou** *v.it* change self
- amu** *adv* yet, still. Lusk: *amu* ‘for a moment’
- amuti** *v.tr* paint. Lusk: *amuti* ~ *am'iti* ‘tatoo’
- an₁** *prep* 1. of, from 2. for. Lusk: *an* ‘for what purpose’
- an₂** *v.it* sit cf. *en*
- ane** *adv* perhaps
- ani** ~ **eni** *v.tr* eat, consume. **an** *v.it* eat. **anaan** *v.it* eat. Lusk: *an, anaan*
- ani** *v.suff* transitivity marker (see further Section 6.5)
- anui** *v.tr* ransom
- anyum** *v.tr* draw
- ajan** *n.ia* 1. speech 2. language 3. word. 3sg poss *ajanun*. **vo**
- ajan** *v.comp* have an argument
- ajani** *v.tr* 1. present with gifts, present, offer 2. support, look after Lusk: *ajani* ‘feed’
- ajanun** *n* reason (NB: Perhaps this is simply the possessed form of **ajan** ‘speech’.)
- ajajani** *v.tr* spread out
- amat** *num* four hundred
- ajei** *n* almond. Lusk: *ajejy* ~ *ejejy* ‘a certain nut’
- apol** ~ **taangol** *num* forty
- ajou** *v.it* be golden-white (*weissgelb*). *n* light color.
- ajouin** *adj* light colored

- ape ~ ave** *adv* 1. somewhat, somewhere 2. a little. *quant* 1. some 2. any cf. *tavai, tapeta*. Lusk: *ape* ‘a bit, a little, any’
- api ~ avi** *n* sago. Lusk: *api*
- apusi** *v.tr* tear self away from cf. *avues*. Lusk: *apusi ~ ap^wisi* ‘loosen’
- arai** *n* the one ... the other. **de arai** *phr* the one, the other (*je eine, je eine*)
- arakeu** *n* outdoors. According to Fortune (1935:371), the **arakeu** is the ‘built up coral rubble platform adjoining which only men of rank may build a house; the platform was used for ceremonial exchanges and meetings’. (*Freien, vor dem Hause*)
- are** *v.it* appear (*kommen zum Vorschein*). Lusk: *aleani* ‘reveal, show something hidden’
- ari** *v.tr* thrust
- aru ~ aaru** *pro* they (third person dual)
- aruei** *num* two (Restriction: canoes)
- arukap** *num* two (Restriction: wings of bird, leaves)
- arumo ~ rumo** *num* two (Restriction: human)
- aruo ~ arou** (Occurs only once. Probably typo.) ~ **ruo** *pro* both *num* two Lusk: *luo*
- asa₁** *n* parrot *Domicella atricopilla* (Source: names)
- asajat** *num* one hundred. See **sajat** (Source: Parkinson)
- asao ~ ase ~ assao** (One example only. Probably typo.) *n.ia* daughter. Lusk: *asaon*
- asi₁** *v.tr* 1. colonise 2. build (*besiedelten, binden*) 3. collect, farm (crabs) 4. hold fast, bind, tie up (*fest halten*) 5. set up a mast. Lusk: *asi* ‘tie, bind’
- asi₂** *adj* all. **asiuna** *n.comp* all, all other cf. *una*
- asou** *v.it* marry. Lusk: *asow* ‘married’
- asu** *n.ia* gall (*Galle*)
- asusui** *v.tr* soothe. Lusk: *asusuwi*
- atalo** *num* See **talo**
- ataruo** *num* two (Restriction: eggs)
- ate₁** *n.ia* liver. Lusk: *ate, aten*
- ate₂** *v.tr* bite. Lusk: *at, ataat*
- ateare** *v.tr* frighten
- atij** *v.tr* spear. **atiji** *v.tr* kill, strike. **atitij** *v.it* fish spearing. Lusk: *atitij, atij*
- ato ~ aato** *pro* 3pc they (third person paucal) Lusk: *ato*
- atu** *v.it* “solid”? Used in the context of men who have been vomiting, and they stopped vomiting, i.e., ‘they kept it down’. (*Das Gegessene ward fest (blieb)—Sie erbrachen sich nicht mehr.*)
- atue** *v.tr* 1. call by name 2. name. Lusk: *atue* ‘call someone by name’

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atur <i>v.it</i> thunder	buco <i>n</i> small uninhabited island (Source: Parkinson)
atupoel <i>v.it</i> move	budel <i>n</i> ladder
au <i>v.it</i> 1. leave 2. originate (from). Lusk: <i>aw</i>	gue <i>n</i> 1. betel nuts, betel 2. betel palm (<i>Arekapalm</i>) <i>Areca</i>
auro <i>n</i> Greetings! (i.e., a greeting) cf. <i>uro</i> . Lusk: <i>au</i> 'yes'	catechu . Lusk: <i>gue</i>
ayyan <i>n</i> reception	bui <i>n.ia</i> vulva (Latin <i>membrum</i> <i>genitale</i>). Lusk: <i>bwi</i> , <i>bwy</i>
avi See api	buke <i>n</i> shellfish <i>Tridacna</i> sp. (Source: names)
avues <i>v.it</i> become torn apart cf. <i>apusi</i> . Lusk: <i>ap'es</i> 'get loose and slip off'	bul ~ bu <i>n</i> 1. moon 2. month. Lusk: <i>bul</i>
awa ~ au ~ owa <i>pro</i> you (second person plural)	bulati <i>v.tr</i> pull cf. <i>buluti</i>
awei <i>n</i> surf	bulei <i>n</i> mouse. Lusk: <i>buley</i> 'rat'
awen <i>v.it</i> climb (especially into a canoe). Lusk: <i>awen</i> 'get in a vehicle'	buli <i>n</i> mountain. Lusk: <i>buli</i> . bulian <i>adj</i> hilly
- B - b -	
bua <i>n</i> fruit. buankei <i>n.comp</i> fruit tree (NB: note 3sg possessor in this compound). buayap <i>n</i> pearl Lit: 'Yap-fruit' (NB: Note lack of -n in this compound).	bulu ~ bulun <i>n</i> wife, woman
buانپیتو <i>n.comp</i> pitou-fruit. Lusk: <i>bwanpitow</i> 'kalapolin seed.'	bulunat <i>n</i> daughter-in-law cf. <i>bulu</i>
buانونی <i>n.comp</i> uny-fruit <i>n.ia</i> testicles. 1sg <i>buo</i> Lusk: <i>bwakul</i> Lusk: <i>bwan</i>	buluti <i>v.tr</i> entwine, pinch (<i>klemmen</i>). Lusk: <i>stick to</i>
buahat <i>n</i> k.o. tree	bunai <i>n</i> sea cucumber (Source: names) cf. <i>kuer</i>
buai <i>n</i> crocodile. Lusk: <i>buay</i>	buجے <i>n</i> roof. Lusk: <i>buجے</i>
buamarit <i>n</i> thing (<i>Dinge</i>). Lusk: <i>bwalutun</i>	buچونپلا <i>n</i> hair
buamataki <i>n.ia</i> anus	buon <i>adj</i> low. Lusk: <i>buon</i> 'very short'
buajan <i>n</i> yam	bupan <i>n</i> thigh
buajire <i>n</i> spittle	bur <i>n</i> banana
	bura <i>n</i> rain. Lusk: <i>bula</i>
	burun <i>n</i> bottom. burunkoti <i>n.comp</i> bottom of a basket
	busasan <i>n</i> lung
	but <i>n</i> k.o. tree (Source: names)
	buton <i>n</i> reef
	butoniu <i>n</i> ripe coconut cf. <i>niu</i> . Lusk: <i>buton</i> 'coconut sprout, soft spongy center of a coconut'

butut *n* fishing spear with many notches. (NB: Although this is described as a notched spear, presumably the “notches” refer to the barbs in the spearshaft.) Lusk: *butut*

- C - c -

ca₁ ~ **tia** *int.pro* what. Lusk: *ca*
ca₂ *n* mangrove (Source: names)
ca mamate *v.comp* put out
 cf. *mamat*
caburui *v.tr* steal
caca *n* cord, strand
cacan *n* dew. **cacankei** *n.comp*
 tree-dew
cacejani *v.tr* claim, demand.
 Lusk: *cacej* ‘hog, use without allowing others to use it too’
 Lusk: *cacejani* ‘push someone out of the way’
caic *v.it* break out. Lusk: *caic*
 ‘shattered’
cakauri *v.tr* bake. Lusk: *cakaoli*
 ‘fry’
cako *n* hermit crab
 (*Einsiedlerkrebs*). Lusk: *cako*
cal *n* path. Lusk: *cal*
calli *n* brother-in-law
calou *v.it* 1. climb up 2. enter
cam *n* (*die Seite des Auslegers*)
 outrigger of a canoe. Lusk: *cam*
camanyin *interj* hmm. Lusk:
caminyin ‘maybe, search me’
camar *v.it* dry up. Lusk: *camal*
 ‘run aground’

camui *v.it* answer, accept, agree.
 antonym: *vavuen* ‘refuse’. Lusk:
cam^wi ‘agree, permit reply’
camur *v.it* sink. Lusk: *camul*
 ‘sink’
can *v.tr* cut. Lusk: *can*
cani₁ *v.tr* 1. spread out, spread over, pour over 2. set aside, count 3. cut off. Lusk: *cani*
 ‘cut, clear’
cani₂ *v.tr* eat cf. *ani* ‘eat’ (NB:
 This could be error for *ani* ‘eat’.)
cajanpar *n.comp* fork in
 pandanus palm (*Gabelung*).
 Lusk: *cajankey* ‘fork of a tree’
cajaj *v.it* (*tat sich auf*) open
catji *n.ia* body, body-1sg. Lusk:
cajIyadi ‘sickness’
cajin *n* fruit. Lusk: *cajig* ‘meat, flesh’
capuni ~ **cavuni** *v.tr* 1. carry away 2. carry around. Lusk:
cap ‘carry’
cariti *v.tr* cut, cut up, cut through, cut off. Lusk: *caliti*
casa *n* Pleiades
cau *v.it* appear cf. *cauyani*. Lusk:
caw ‘emerge, surface’
caucauye *v.tr* change (*wechselten*)
cauka *n* probably a type of friarbird (genus *Philemon*), exact species unidentified. Given in Parkinson as *Philemon coquerelli*. Lusk: *cauka* ‘type of bird found only on Manus’
caunpap *n* piece of board (*Brettstück*)

Part B

- cauyani** *v.tr* exchange. Lusk: *cawiani* ‘exchange, barter’
- cavat** *n* wild animal
- cawon** *n* spit of land. Lusk: *cao* ‘part of the reef where the sea breaks’
- ce** *v.it* shine. Lusk: *ce*
- cecemani** *v.tr* brag about (Source: Parkinson)
- cele** *v.tr* cut up cf. *cili*
- cem** *n* carry-basket. Lusk: *cem* ‘basket made of coconut leaves’
- ci₁** *v.tr* sleep with
- ci₂** *n* flatulence. Lusk: *ci* ‘fart’
- cihir** *n* k.o. parrot (Source: Parkinson)
- cikak** *v.it* muddle up. **cikikani** *v.tr* muddle up. Lusk: *cikak* ‘flip over’
- cili** *v.tr* pierce. Lusk: *cili*
- cilim** *n* starling (*Star*)
- cime** *v.tr* buy. Lusk: *cime*. **cicime** *v.it* trade. Lusk: *cicime* ‘buying’
- cimer** *n* stone axe
- cimiti** *v.tr* strangle. Lusk: *cimiti* ‘clutch’
- cinal** *n* devil. Lusk: *cinal* Note: The concept of **cinal** (Fortune’s **tchinal**) is one of the foci of Fortune’s (1935) discussion. He defines it as ‘a familiar of Usiai-derived magic; also represented as an ogre in Manus legends’ (372).
- ciri** *v.tr* break. Lusk: *cili* ‘break apart’
- civo** *n* k.o. tree
- co** *v.tr* cover (*bedecken*)
- coan** *n* compensation, substitute.
- coancaji** *n.comp* body-substitute. Lusk: *cowan* ‘repayment, compensation’
- cocou** *n* board, bed. Lusk: *cocow* ‘place to sleep in the house, where old ladies sleep’
- colo ~ coli** *v.it* be many, be a lot. Lusk: *calo* ‘increase’
- coloan ~ colowan ~ colowau** *adj* (*zahlreich*) plenty, many. Lusk: *caloan* ‘many, all’. (NB: The different spellings **coloan** and **colowan** are Meier’s <**coloan**> and <**colouan**>. There is a note in Meier [1906] that marks stress: the positive is **colóan** and the negative is **coloán poen**, implying perhaps that **poen** ‘not’ is a clitic.)
- conj₁** *v.it* 1. go 2. slip, slide 3. escape *v.tr* seek. Lusk: *cog*
- conj₂** *n* hunger. Lusk: *cog*
- coorer** *n* New Moon
- copani ~ covani** *v.tr* help
- cope** *v.tr* produce (*erzeugen*)
- covolani** *v.tr* throw
- cu** *n* fish soup
- cucu** *n.ia* pod (*Schote*) **cucumoa** *n.comp* pod. (NB: There does not appear to be a difference in meaning between **cucu** and **cucumoa**.) Lusk: *cucu* ‘packet, bundle, wrapper’
- cucun** *adj* sexually immature

- cui** *n* half-ripe coconut Lusk:
cuwi
- cul** *n* burning coconut leaves, dry
 coconut leaves
- culani** *v.tr* drag (NB: into the sea).
 Lusk: *culan* ‘pushing’
- culungi** *v.tr* block
- cuman** *n* small parcel (*Paeckchen*)
- cumoe** *v.tr* 1. clasp 2. cover.
 Lusk: *cum^we* ‘wrap, cover,
 dress’
- cunyak** *n* mother-of-pearl shell
 (NB: given in Parkinson 1999
 [1907]:174b as ‘oyster’. Savol is
 given for mother-of-pearl.)
- cupu** *n* paternal uncle (Source:
 Parkinson)
- cut yumoani** *v.tr* wrap

– D – d –

- dai** *n* north wind cf. *tolaw* Lusk:
day ‘wind from the mainland’
- dakau** *n* fabric made from
 coconut fiber
- dakein** *n* young girl. Lusk: *dakein*
- dakuin** *n* small drum
- dame** *n* creation words
 (*Schoepferworte ueber das Riff*).
damebutton *n.comp* words said
 in story 1.1 to create a reef
- damet** *n* lightning. Lusk: *damet*
- dajan ~ ngrajan** (one example
 only) *n* true. Lusk: *dajan*
 ‘swear, oath’. Note: Fortune
 (1935:371) defines *drengen* as
 ‘the relationship between two
 persons who exchange with each

- other in an affinal exchange; the
 two persons who so exchange
kawos; all exchange of goods
 from barter to ceremonial
 exchange’.
- das** *n* 1. sea 2. sea water. Lusk:
das
- dasi** *n.ia* 1. brother 2. friend.
dasiaru *n.ia* brothers to each
 other. Lusk: *dasi*
- dawan** *adj* left over (*überzählig*)
- dawe** *v.it?* tie tightly
- dawi** *n* k.o. fish (Source: names)
- dayebui** *n* menstrual blood
- de₁** *n.ia* excrement
- de₂** *adv* 1. always 2. very much.
de arai, de arai *phr* different
 from each other. Lusk: *de*
 ‘intensive, until’
- de₃** *prep, adv* before
- demat** *n* person
- demayani** *v.it* make magic. Note
 (phonology): written as
ndemayani. I assume the r in
 Meier’s orthography has been
 omitted and this should be
 ‘**dremayani**’ in his orthography,
 and **demayani** in mine. cf. *dame*
 ‘creation-words’
- deu** *n* k.o. shoreline tree (Source:
 names)
- diayou** *adj, v.it* (*schwanger*)
 pregnant, be pregnant. Lusk:
diow ‘first-born child’
- dilaki** *n* sail cf. *palei*
- dilanj** *n* crying. Lusk: *dilanj* ‘death
 chant’

Part B

- dilen** *n* canoe cf. *dol*
- dileŋ** *n* shore cf. *leg*
- dili** *v.it* be sad *n* sadness **kolodili** *n.comp* neck-sadness
- diliŋa** *n.ia* ear
- dilis** *n* canarium nut, almond tree *Terminalia litoralis* (NB: family Combretaceae, type of “tropical almond.”) **laudilis** *n.comp* canarium-leaves cf. *laun*
- diliwe** *n.ia* intestines. **diliwenpou** *n.comp* pig-intestines. **diliweni** *n.comp* fish-intestines
- dilo** *n* the sound of coconut leaves being dragged through the water (Source: Parkinson)
- dilou** *n* dragon tree, dracaena bush *Dracaena (Drazaenanstrauch)*
- dis** *n* wooden bowl cf. *porokiny*
- dita** *n.ia* 1. body 2. top (NB: The meaning ‘top’ occurs in locational compounds.)
- ditanpat ~ ditapat** *n.comp* top of the rock **ditapatiyayen** *n.comp* niece’s-body. **ditani** *n.comp* body of a fish. **ditalui** *n.comp* driftwood-top cf. *lui* Lusk: *ditan* ‘on top of’
- do** *adv* only. Lusk: *do*
- dol** *n* canoe. **muridol** *n.comp* the stern of the canoe. **lodol** *n.comp* the interior of the canoe cf. *lo(n)* ‘inside’. **poadol** *n.comp* deck of a canoe cf. *poa* ‘mouth’. **dol en kou** *n.comp* ‘fishing canoe lies crooked’; the stars that make up Orion’s belt. (NB: This is written ‘dril’ by Parkinson in a few places but elsewhere he writes *ndrol.*) (Source: Parkinson.) **dol en kapet** *n.comp* canoe used for fishing with large nets (Source: Parkinson). **dol en paun** *n.comp* war-canoe (Source: Parkinson)
- doroa** *n.ia* form. **doroanbur** *n.comp* the shape of a banana (e.g., the devil appeared disguised as a banana, in the shape of a banana). **doroanpala** *n.comp* head-shape. **doroanpapi** *n.comp* sand-picture
- dos** *n* k.o. plant
- du** *n* 1. the door-post of the house (*Hauspfosten*) 2. back (*Ruecken*). Lusk: *du*
- dua** *n.ia* back. cf. *du* Lusk: *duanum* ‘roof’ (NB: The difference between **du** and **dua** is not secure, although both **duan** and **dun** are recorded for third person singular possessed.) Compare also **dun**.
- dul ~ ndoul** (one only [probably > o error in typesetting].) *v.it* 1. climb 2. hang. Lusk: *dul* ‘hang’
- duluani** *v.tr* squeeze out (*herausdriicken*)
- dun** *n* the top cf. *dubue* *n.comp* topmost-cluster
- dup ~ dugua** *n* noise *v.it* crackle. Lusk: *dugani* ‘angry over’ Lusk: *dug* ‘be angry’. (NB: Like Lusk, Hauser translated this as Tok Pisin ‘kros’, and gives it as an

alternative for **po ajan** ‘have an argument’.)

dusul *n* peg, stake (*Phloecke*)

dutui *v.tr* close. Lusk: *dutuwi* ‘cover up’

— E —

e *prep* 1. poss genitive, possession 2. location at a place 3. motion towards a place 4. motion from a place 5. comitative, instrumental, passive agent 6. because of, for 7. partitive 8. than (comparative) 9. regarding, predication marker 10. against. Lusk: *e* (NB: The particle *e* is a general ‘relator’ particle, one of a number of prepositions.)

e *interj* 1. not true, hey!

eala *pro* 3pl.ps

earu *pro* 3dl.ps

eateare *v.tr* frighten

eato *pro* 3pc.ps

eawa *pro* 2pl.ps

ebus *v.it* be enraged

ececeja *v.tr* quarrel with.

ececejan *v.it* argue

eh ~ ee ~ ehee *interj* oh

ei *pro* 3sg.ps

en *v.it* sit, be full of cf. *an*. Lusk:

en

enau *adv* this way

eoí *pro* 2sg.ps

epoen *interj* no cf. *poen*

eso *v.it* fight

esol *n* snake

esorok *v.it* hiss, sizzle

etaru *pro* 1dl.inc.ps

etatai *v.it* fight. Lusk: *etatay*

etepe *v.it* undergo something?, do what, how is it

evuen *v.it* be finished cf. *yevuen*

ewain *v.it* be well developed

ewaru *pro* 2dl.ps

ewato *pro* 2pc.ps

ewesur *v.it* be sick of it

eyo *pro* 1sg.ps

eyoru *pro* 1dl.excl.ps

eyota *pro* 1pl.inc.ps

eyotaru *pro* 1dl.inc.ps

eyoya *pro* 1pl.excl.ps

— H —

Hi *n* prefix to female names

hi *n* k.o. tree (Source: names)

hurun *pro* 1pl (NB: hapax)

— I —

i₁ *pro* 3sg. Lusk: *i*

i₂ *ag.part* third person singular

agreement clitic. **ki** 1. 3rd person singular subject, obligative (*sollen*) 2. third person singular subject, future tense 3. third person singular subject, hortative 4. third person singular subject, counterfactual 5. conditional 6. pot. **kine** ~ **kini** (one only) 3sg.perf

-ia ~ -ya *v.suff* nominalizer

ic *adv* near cf. *iti*. Lusk: *ic*

ihó *interj* ah!

ikisi *v.prep* solid (*fest*)

Part B

- ila ~ kila ~ kinela** *v.prep (hin)*
 1. as 2. into, to 3. becoming 4.
 there
- ilati ~ kilati** *v.prep* there in cf. *la*
ti
- ilatu** *v.prep* there in
- ile ~ kile ~ kinele** *v.prep* 1. in,
 into 2. out of 3. on, onto 4.
 with 5. from 6. to 7. under 8.
 for 9. against
- ililime** *v.it* did not recognize (*Sie
 erkannten ihn nicht*). (NB:
 Intransitive in III.1/14 (only
 example), but perhaps a direct
 object is implied.) cf. *ilimi*.
 Lusk: *ilim^we* 'select, pick'
- ilimi** *v.tr* recognize. Lusk: *ilimi*
- illimoani** *v.tr* catch sight of
- ilou** *v.it* 1. fly (*floh*) 2. run
 (*laufen*) 3. blow (of wind).
 Lusk: *Ilow* 'run'
- ime ~ kime ~ ineme ~ kineme**
v.prep here cf. *me*
- imulie ~ kimulie** *v.prep* back
 cf. *mulie*
- in₁** *n* end. **inpon** *n.comp* day-end
 cf. *pog*
- in₂** *prep* of
- inin** *v.it* peer (*gucken*)
- inotu** *v.prep* always
- ir** *n* this side cf. *sir* (NB: I suspect
 that a letter has been left off in
 the typesetting because of the
 word alignment, and that this
 should be *sir*. Hapax.)
- iri** *v.it* 1. dig up 2. bury
- ise ~ kise ~ inese** *v.prep* 1. on
 2. in(side)
- isop** *v.prep* thick cf. *sop*
- ita** *dem.pro* this, here. Lusk: *Ita*
 'this, now, here'
- itan** *dem.pro* the, this. Lusk: *itan*
 'that'
- ite** *int.pro* where cf. *wee*
- iti₁ ~ kitii** *v.prep* in, on. **iti uei**
phr over there
- iti₂** *v.tr* have sex with. Lusk: *Iti*
 'copulate' Lusk: *ittit*
- ittiit** *v.it* impregnate, have sex
- itinji** *v.tr* form
- ito** *adv* there, here, this (*da*). Lusk:
to
- ivosau** *n* dry land cf. *sau* 'dry'
- ivosisie** *adv.temp* at the same time
 cf. *sisie* 'same number'
- iyi** *interj* Hey!
- K – k –
- ka₁** *v.tr* look for *v.it* seek. Lusk:
ka 'fetch' Lusk: *kaka*
- ka₂** *ag.part* 1. non-singular
 subject future particle 2.
 non-singular subject hortative
 particle 3. non-singular subject
 counterfactual particle 4.
 potential particle. **kane ~ kano**
ag.part non-singular subject
 perfective
- kaca** *n.ia* navel. 1sg *kaco* 'my
 navel' (Source: Parkinson)
- kae** *n.ia* arm (NB: arm pit?)
- kai** *v.tr* 1. visit 2. search for
- kakala** *v.it* seek

- kakali** *n* 1. uncle 2. nephew.
Lusk: *kakali* ‘mother’s brother’
- kakau** *v.it* (be) inexpert (Source: Parkinson)
- kakawi** *v.tr* (Latin *retinuit*) hold on to
- kakes** *v.it* be eager (Latin *impetusos*). Lusk: *kakesani* ‘argue about’
- kalani** *v.tr* drag
- kalemuid** *n* worm (Source: names)
- kaleuya** *n.ia* tail
- kaleuyo** *n* blackness-1sg.poss (NB: Not sure about the morpheme division. Hapax.)
- kali** *n* k.o. fish cf *Loniu kalipuwrey* ‘poss tasselled wobbygong (cf. *puwey* ‘crocodile’)’ Lusk: *kali* ‘brownish red spotted fish’
- kalial** *n* devil
- kalicou** *n* outside of the house
- kalimo** *n.ia* right [side]
- kalio** *n.ia* middle of the body
- kaliou** *n* 1. k.o. fish 2. constellation Dorado (Source: Parkinson)
- kalivuic** *n* k.o. turtle cf. *puic* (NB: This turtle has a very dark shell.) Lusk: *kalip^wic*
- kalomat** *n* fly (Source: names)
- kalomatan** *n* morning star
- kalou** *n* type of ceremony (Source: Parkinson [1999 (1907):177a])
- kalum** *v.tr* look at. **kalumoani** *v.tr* examine, look at, look on
- kamaam** See **ta kamaam**
- kamal** *n* 1. husband 2. men’s house 3. young man. Lusk: *kamal*
- kamati** See **ta kamati**
- kamum** *v.it* 1. (*verschwunden*) used up 2. disappear (*verschwinden*)
- kan** *n* food. Lusk: *kan*
- kanas** *n* k.o. fish (Source: Parkinson)
- kanau** *n* tern species (Source: Parkinson)
- kanawi** *n* tropic bird (Source: Parkinson)
- kania ~ kanian** *n.ia* 1. feast 2. eater. **kaniamoat** *n.comp* snake-eater (Source: Parkinson.)
- kaniaramat** *n.comp* cannibal, person-eater (Source: Parkinson). **kanianramat** *n.comp* feast where people will be eaten. **kanianapi** *n.comp* sago feast (used in particular of the sago to be eaten with the main dish, such as pork).
- kanianagei** *n.comp* almond-feast. **kaniajade** *n.comp* excrement-feast.
- kaniawati** *n.comp* feast of ? Lusk: *kanien* ‘feast of’
- kano** *n* blood money, expiatory payment. Note: Fortune (1935:41ff) discusses **kano** and the conditions under which it is paid.
- kanun** *v.it* be under

Part B

kao <i>n</i> rafter. Lusk: <i>kao</i> 'diagonal rafter'	<i>n.comp</i> foot of a breadfruit tree. Lusk: <i>katolin</i> 'base, source, foundation'
kap <i>n</i> kind of woody vine (German <i>Liane</i>)	katuj <i>n</i> thunder. Lusk: <i>katuj</i>
kapase <i>n</i> jaw-bone (Source: Parkinson)	kau₁ <i>n</i> chalk magic. Lusk: <i>kaw</i> 'divination'
kapet <i>n</i> 1. large fishing net 2. Aurora australis (Source: Parkinson)	kau₂ <i>v.it</i> swim. kawenai <i>n</i> swimming (Source: Parkinson) Lusk: <i>kaw</i>
kapoenkeka ~ kavoenkeka ~ kavoekeka <i>n.comp</i> toe cf. <i>keka</i>	kavalij <i>n</i> under the house. Lusk: <i>kap^waliŋ</i>
kapou <i>n</i> type of spirit (Source: Parkinson). (NB: For more details see Parkinson [1999 (1907):174b].)	kavoelima <i>n</i> finger. 1sg <i>kavoelimo</i> cf. <i>kapoenkeka</i>
kara <i>n?</i> gloss not known	kavuen <i>adj</i> 1. alone 2. remaining. Lusk: <i>kap^wen</i> 'merely'
karaat <i>n</i> turtle. Lusk: <i>karaat</i>	kawa <i>n.ia</i> guest-friendship cf. <i>kawas</i> 'friend'
kararame <i>n.ia</i> tongue	kawakau <i>n</i> spears, spear bundle
kararamepapun <i>n.comp</i> father's-tongue	kawas <i>n</i> friend. Lusk: <i>kawas</i> 'trade partner'
kareŋ <i>n</i> red parrot <i>Agapornis roseicollis</i> . Lusk: <i>kareŋ</i>	kawi <i>n</i> k.o. tree (Source: names)
karikari <i>v.it</i> wander here and there	kawo <i>n</i> wind
karipou <i>n</i> k.o. heron (Source: Parkinson)	kayar <i>n</i> k.o. tree
kasan <i>n</i> binding-cloth (<i>Bindzeug</i>)	kea <i>n</i> k.o. tree (Source: names)
kasi <i>n</i> grove of forest spirits (Source: Parkinson)	kei <i>n</i> (<i>Baum</i>) tree (NB: generic word). Lusk: <i>key</i> 'firewood'
kasou <i>n</i> side. kasolui <i>n.comp</i> side of the beach where the driftwood gathers (<i>die Seite des Treibholz</i>). Lusk: <i>kason</i> 'next to'	keiny <i>n</i> pot. Lusk: <i>keny</i> 'clay pot'
kata <i>n</i> frigate bird (Source: Parkinson)	keis ~ akeis (Parkinson) <i>int.pro</i> when. Lusk: <i>keis</i>
katam <i>n</i> door	keka ~ keken <i>n.ia</i> 1. foot 2. bone. 1sg <i>keko</i> . Lusk: <i>kekan</i>
kato <i>n</i> foot of tree. katolin <i>n.comp</i> tree-foot. katolinkul	kekecou <i>n</i> foot-bench, bed
	kekес <i>v.it</i> urge, press
	kemedə <i>n</i> k.o. large fish (Source: Parkinson)
	kenai <i>n</i> k.o. tree (Source: names)

- kerehe** *int.pro* where cf. *rehe*
- ketatai** *n* quarrel cf. *etatai* ‘have an argument’. Lusk: *ketatay*
- keyau** *n* bed. Lusk: *keyaw* ‘ceremonial bed, platform’
- kiar** *n* k.o. fish
- kilima** *n* color. **kilimanat** *n.comp* black child. Lusk: *kiliman* ‘brand, distinguishing mark’
- kilit** *n* rudder. Lusk: *kilit*
- kinan** *n* limit
- kip** *v.it* lie, tell a lie *n* lie. Lusk: *kip*. **kipani** ~ **kivani** *v.tr* lie to someone
- kis** *n* k.o. plant *Loniu kes* ‘k.o. plant with red branches, leaves used in ceremonial dress’
- kit** *n* octopus (*Seepolyph*). Lusk: *kwit*
- kitiit** *n* sex (*Beischlaf*) cf. *itiit*
- kiyi** *n* magic. **kiyibura** *n.comp* rain-magic
- ko** *v.it* fall. Lusk: *k.o.* ‘break up, break apart, knock down’
- koakal** *n* k.o. hermit crab (Source: names)
- kobu** *n* big basket **lonkobu** *n.comp* basket-inside.
- moluankobu** *n.comp* basket-shadow. Lusk: *kombulel* ‘basket for trash’
- koco** *n* obsidian dagger
- kokol** *v.it* shrink
- kolap** *n* k.o. fish (Source: names)
- kolau** *n* tapa bark. Lusk: *kolaw* ‘bark loin cloth’
- kolo** *n.ia* neck, throat **kolonat** *n.comp* boy’s neck. **kolodili** *n.comp* neck-sadness. Lusk: *kolo*
- koloan** *n* guardian (NB: this could be *koloa* and the -*n* the third person singular possessor.)
- koloani** *v.tr* protect cf. *koloan* ‘guardian’
- kolol** *v.it* be hollow
- konan** *interj* enough!
- konova** *conj* just as, just like
- kopat** *n* crab. Lusk: *kopat* ‘crab, lobster’
- kor** *n* 1. home, village, farm 2. settled land 3. the earth **kor a kor phr** another land. **a kor pe a kor phr** in all lands. **matankor n.comp** face of the land, beginning of the land (Source: Parkinson). **kaleuyankor n.comp** the tail of the land, land’s end (Source: Parkinson). **palankor n.comp** land’s head, tongue of land, spit (Source: Parkinson). **kinkor n.comp** receptacle of land (Source: Parkinson). **duankor n.comp** back, reverse side of land which looks out to the open sea (Source: Parkinson). **iodiankor n.comp** midland (Source: Parkinson). **burunkor n.comp** end of the extent of inhabited land (Source: Parkinson). **garonkor n.comp** roots of the land; the name of the islands

Part B

- surrounding Manus (Source: Parkinson)
- koti** *n* basket. Lusk: *koti*
- kou** *v.it* become crooked
- ku** *n* a type of fragrant ornamental plant (Source: names)
- kuel** *n* k.o. fish (Source: names)
- kuer** *n* sea cucumber, trepang cf. *bunai*
- kui ~ ki** (This could be a typo. It was recorded by Blust as **kwiy**.)
n.ia buttocks. Lusk: *kwiy*
- kul** *n* breadfruit tree, breadfruit (*Brotfruchtbäum*) Lusk: *kul*
- kulico** *n.ia* 1. skin 2. bark.
kuliconma *n.comp* taro skin.
kuliconmadum *n.comp* bark from the mandrue tree.
- kuliconkei** *n.comp* bark from a tree Lit: 'skin of a tree'. Lusk: *kulin ~ kwilin* 'skin' Lusk:
kulicon
- kuluep** *n* ashes (Source: names)
- kulul** *n* speech *v.it* argue
- kulumuadas** *n.comp* sea-drinker, person who drinks sea water (Source: Parkinson) cf. *ulumui*
- kun** *v.tr* drag home. **kuni** *v.tr* sling over shoulders. **kunian** *n* stretcher, sling (*Tragbahre*)
- kuni** *v.tr* drag (Source: names)
- kunusu** *n.ia* 1. hospitality 2. payment. **kunusudol** *n.comp* payment for a canoe cf. *dol*. Lusk: *kunusun* 'meal given as payment for work'
- kup ~ kuup** *n* 1. east 2. SE wind. **kup culan casa phr** time of year when the south-east wind sets in strongly in the evening
- kupoen ~ kuvuen** *n* nets. Lusk: *kup^wi* 'stick used for driving fish'
- kus** *v.it* be angry. **kusuani** *v.tr* be angry at
- kut** *n* lice. Lusk: *kut*

- L - I -

- la₁** *v.it* 1. go 2. become 3. be. Lusk: *la* 'go, become'
- la₂** *aux* 1. hortative 2. imperfective 3. present tense 4. inchoative
- lai** *v.tr* 1. take 2. extend (*nehmen, strecke*). Lusk: *lai*
- laken** *adj* sore
- lako** *n.ia* 1. dwelling 2. sleeping place (*Lager* or *Lage*)
- lal** *n* mussel-shell
- lalevei** *n* k.o. tree (Source: names)
- lam₁** *n* net
- lam₂ ~ lamu** *n.ia* 1. hair 2. feather. **lamunpala** *n.comp* hair Lit: 'head-hair' **lamunmanuai** *n.comp* osprey-feather cf. *manuai*. **lamunpalancinal** *lamun-palancinal* *n.comp* devil's head-hair Lit: 'hair-head-devil'
- lan ~ laan** *n* 1. south 2. south wind
- laŋ** *n* heaven. Lusk: *laŋ*. **bubu'laŋ** *n.comp* heaven

- lagat** *v.it* sail. Lusk: *lagat*. **lagate** *v.it?* sail out. Lusk: *lagati* ‘pull a canoe up on shore’
- lapan ~ lavan** *n.ia* lord, master, chief. Note: Fortune (1935:371) defines this word as ‘a man or a woman of rank’, as opposed to **lau**, a commoner. Lusk: *lapan*
- lau** *n* people Note: i.e., in contrast to **lapan** Lusk: *law*
- laun** *n* leaf (NB: This word is only found in compounds so the citation form perhaps should be **lau.**) **launiu** *n.comp* coconut leaf [Morphol: *laun niu*]. **launbulai** *n.comp* taro leaf Lit: ‘laun-mbulai?’ **laudilis** *n.comp* canarium-leaves. **launkei** *n.* 1. tree-leaf 2. leaf skirt (*Blattkleid*). Lusk: *laun ~ loun*
- laup** *n* k.o. shell (Source: names)
- lauyaq** *n* grass skirt (*Blattkleid*) cf. *launkei* ‘tree-leaf’ (NB: Compare also the name **Poyaq**, where **yaq** is said to mean a woman’s leaf-dress.)
- lavuen** *adv* in vain
- lawat** *n* brush-tail possum (*Fuchskusu*) *Trichosurus vulpecula* cf. *losou*. Lusk: *lawat*
- le** *v.tr* go to cf. *la* (NB: = la+e) (NB: go+applic? (glossed at one point as gehen in)) Lusk: *le*
- lei** *n* ginger bulb. Lusk: *ley* ‘ginger root, used in sorcery’
- lele** *v.it, v.tr* 1. see, look at 2. look out for, look around. Lusk: *lele*
- lemetani ~ lametani** (once only) *v.tr* ask, ask about. Lusk: *lemete*
- Lusk: *lametani*
- leg** *n* 1. shore 2. sand (*Ufer*). Lusk: *leg*
- lep** *n* pit, hole (Source: names)
- les** *n* spar
- lia** *n.ia* tooth. **liamuiny** *n.comp* dog-tooth. Lusk: *liam^winy*
- lie** *adv* 1. also 2. again, anew. Lusk: *lie*
- likom** *v.it* be pitch-dark (*stockfinster*)
- lima₁** *n.ia* 1. hand 2. arm. Isg.poss *limo* ‘my hand’
- lima₂ ~ alima** *num* five
- lin** *n* foot (of tree). **linkul** *n.comp* breadfruit-foot. **lanpojopon** *n.comp* pandanus-foot. Lusk: *linkey* ‘stump’
- lij** *v.it* wait, wait for. Lusk: *lij*.
- lijani** *v.tr* wait for. Lusk: *lijani*
- lis** *v.tr* see. **lisi** *v.it, v.tr* see, look for, watch, look at. **lisiai** *n* looking around
- lo** *n.ia* inside, heart, middle. **lodol** *n.comp* inside a canoe. **lomodol** *n.comp* inside the bow of a canoe. **lonum** *n.comp* inside a house. **lonkobu** *n.comp* inside-basket. **lonpilaj** *n.comp* inside-garden
- lodia** *n.ia* inside. **lodia um** *n.comp* inside the house.
- lodianum** *n.comp* house-inside.
- lodia-lono** *n.comp* inside the forest. Lusk: *londian* ‘inside’

Part B

- Lusk: *londol* 'inside of a canoe'.
 Lusk: *lonum* 'floor, inside of a house'
lokai *n* k.o. crab (Source: names)
lolau *adj* surreptitious (Source: names)
lom *v.it* be ripe
lonar *n* middle cf. *lo*
lonau *n* 1. thicket 2. thick forest cf. *lo*
lono *n* forest
lopoani *v.tr* send for
los *v.it* fall. Lusk: *los*
losou *n* possum (*Beutelratte*) cf. *lawat*
lot *n* ulcer (Source: names)
lui *n* driftwood (*Treibholzstamm*). Lusk: *luy*
luke *v.tr* lay aside, drop
lulu *v.it* go down
luluai *n* shell money. Note: Fortune (1935:371) gives a rather different definition; **luluai** is a 'war leader and man of highest hereditary rank in a village'.
luluani *v.tr* let down. Lusk: *lulaani* 'lower, let down'
lupoani ~ **luvuani** *v.tr* throw (away). Lusk: *lopogani* 'bash up'
- M - m -
- m** *n.suff* second singular possessor
ma₁ *n* taro. **magasama** (Source: Parkinson) *n.comp* taro-grower. Lusk: *ma*
- ma₂** *prep, conj* and, with
ma₃ *adv* still. Lusk: *ma(n)*
mada *n* old man. Lusk: *mada*
madaj *v.it* be old cf. *madajat*. Lusk: *madaj* 'not fresh (of food)'
madajat *v.it* be stale, be flat (*abstehen*)
madean ~ **modean** *adj* 1. big 2. adult (i.e., "big person"). Lusk: *mandean*
madid *n* k.o. tree (Source: Parkinson)
madun *n* k.o. tree
mah *interj* hey there!
malegan *n* air
malep *n* dead person
maleyou *n* k.o. wood
mamada *n* M-hut (*Mamandrahütte*). Note: According to Fortune (1935:371), 'the confinement of a girl just before her marriage; the gift-giving by her kin at the close of her confinement'.
mamat *v.it* 1. go out 2. keep watch 3. wake up cf. *ca mamate*. Lusk: *mamat* 'awake'
mamatin *adj* raw
mamej *n* toy
manaon *n* egg. **manaonkaraat** *n.comp* turtle-egg. Lusk: *mana'un*
manayan *n* small
manis *v.it* be done, be ready
manuai *n* 1. osprey *Pandion haliaetus* osprey, Pandion's

- sea-eagle.** (NB: also given as “hen” in Meier’s introductory glossary and glossed as ‘der Vogel’ [the bird] as a footnote in the text.) 2. the constellation *Canis major* (Source: Parkinson). **lamunmanuai** *n.comp* osprey-feather. Lusk: *manuay* ‘bird, sea eagle, sting ray’
- manyau** *adv.temp* always, forever. Lusk: *manaw* ‘yet, still, unchanged’
- majas** *n* work, affairs. Lusk: *majas*. **po majas** *v.comp* ‘do work’ **majasama** (Source: Parkinson) *n.comp* taro-grower cf. *ma*. **majase** *v.tr* 1. prepare 2. build 3. buy. **majasani** *v.tr* make. Lusk: *majase* ‘make, do’
- majun** *v.it* be dry. Lusk: *majun* ‘dried out’
- mapalupalue** *v.comp* twist Lit: ‘come-again-again’
- marayen** *adv* quickly
- mari** *v.it* spit (Source: names)
- mario** *n.ia* shadow
- masar** *v.it* give birth
- masaren** *n* outside. Lusk: *masalen*
- masiani** *v.tr* praise. Lusk: *masiani* ‘speak well of, enjoy’
- masie** *adv.temp* just now, immediately. Lusk: *masie*
- mat₁** *n* 1. reef 2. ebb tide 3. intertidal zone; the area of the beach between low water mark and high water mark. (Meier’s note: “Bank which is only dry at low tide.”) Lusk: *mat* ‘beach, tide’
- mat₂** *v.it die n.ia* death. Lusk: *mat*
- mata** *n.ia* 1. face 2. eye, eyes
- matanbul** ~ **matabul** *n.comp* moon-face. **matajai** *n.comp* cave mouth Lit: ‘face-cave.’
- mata i momoa** *phr* pay attention to. Lusk: *matan, matay* ‘eye, face’
- matabule** *n* shyness
- matamorai** *n* sun ~ **morai** (cf. also the name of the creator in text I.1, which is Malai—perhaps a dialect borrowing.) cf. *morai, mata*
- matanusun** *n* nose cf. *mata* ‘face’
- Lusk: *matagusun* ‘nose’
- matir** *v.it* lie, sleep. **matire** *v.tr* sleep with. **matirwai** *n* sleep making cf. *wai*. Lusk: *matiluay* ‘sleep’ Lusk: *matil*
- mato** *n.ia* left [side]. Lusk: *maton* ‘right hand’ (NB: Either Lusk or Meier has reversed ‘left’ and ‘right’ in their glossary.)
- maturue** *v.it* sleep with (*er wollte sich legen schlafen*). **maturuani** *v.tr* sleep with
- mavuen** *adv* not yet. Lusk: *mapijen*
- maya** *n* a kind of bird, probably a type of raptor, since it seems to be used homophonously with

Part B

- manuai** 'osprey' (Source: names)
- mayayawe** *v.it* wander
- me** *v.it* come. Lusk: *me*
- mim ~ nim** (one only, perhaps typo) *n* urine. Lusk: *mim*
- mimi** *v.tr* urinate on. Lusk: *mimi*
- mises** *n* half-caste woman
- mm** *interj* mm!
- mo** *n* bow (*Vorderteil*) bow, front part, esp. of canoe. **modol** *n.comp* prow of a canoe. Lusk: *modol ~ mʷadol* 'forehead, bow of canoe'
- moali** *n* story
- moan ~ mon** *n* fire, fireplace. Lusk: *mʷan*
- moanje** *v.tr* abuse, scold abuse (verbally), scold, tease
- moareta** *n* pepper-vine (*Pfefferranke*). (NB: Fortune [1935] identifies this as kava.)
- moarin** ? alive
- moat** *n* snake. Lusk: *mʷat*
- moatata** *v.it* move
- mocel** *n* woven pandanus leaves. Lusk: *mocel*
- mocorumo** *num* twenty thousand
- moele** *v.tr* decorate. Lusk: *mole*, *mʷale*
- moelenmoei** *v.it* decorate self
- moen ~ moe** (mostly before l, r, y, and n) *dem.pro* this, definite argument Lusk: *mʷncinal* 'male bush spirit'
- moeren** *n* middle. Note: Compare also the phrase in Fortune
- (1935:372) **mwere rang mwere palit**, the medium's control 'between the mortals and between the ghosts'. Lusk: *mʷelen*
- moi** *n* Pongopong tree, pandanus
- mokeu** *n* open sea. Lusk: *mokew*, *mʷakew*
- molemoel** *n* jewelry. Lusk: *mol* 'beaded armband' Note: Fortune (1935:372) spells the word **mwelamwel** and defines it as 'gifts on the person of the bride given with her by her bilateral kin on her marriage day'.
- moliton** *n* stench. **molitonpoan** *n.comp* mouth-stench.
- molitonkopat** *n.comp* crab-stench. **molitonlauyan** *n.comp* grass-skirt-smell. Lusk: *muliton*, *mʷiliton*, *moliton*
- molomol₁** *v.it* stop, leave off. Lusk: *molomol* 'take a break'
- molomol₂** *n* laziness
- molua** *n.ia* 1. soul (*Seele*). Note: Fortune (1935:10–16, 32ff, 56ff) discusses **molua** and the difference between it and **mwelolo**, which he glosses as 'soul stuff'; the 'semi-material' which devils remove from people when they are ill, for example.
- moluanpein** *n.comp* woman-spirit (*Frauenschatten*)
2. shadow. **moluankobu** *n.comp* basket-shadow. Lusk: *muluan*, *mʷaluan* 'spirit, ghost'

- momoa** *v.it* 1. be angry 2. pay attention 3. suffer. Lusk: *mom'a* ‘bad, ruined’
- Momote** *n*? name? Unglossed in text (Source: Parkinson)
- moneani** *v.tr* 1. shape, form 2. arrange. Lusk: *monean* ‘a planked up canoe’ Lusk: *moneani* ‘build (a canoe and nothing else)’
- morai₁** *n* weather. **morai im paun** *n.comp* summer; when the sun is north of the equator Lit: ‘war sun’ (Source: Parkinson.)
- morai in kawas** *n.comp* time of the year when the sun is over the equator Lit: ‘friendship sun’ (Source: Parkinson). **morai unonou** *n.comp* colder season, time of the year when the sun is south of the equator (Source: Parkinson)
- morai₂** *n* peace
- mosal** *n* mussel. Lusk: *mosal*, *m'asal* ‘largest of the clams’
- mot** *n* seagrass
- mouk** *n* k.o. tree (Source: names)
- muan** *adj* 1. bad, weak, be bad (*böse, gebrechlich*) 2. ugly 3. desirable, attractive (*Begehrenswerte*). Lusk: *muan*
- mucinani** *v.tr* 1. deny 2. refuse someone (something). Lusk: *mucinani*, *m'icinani* ‘drive away, reject’ (NB: This is probably morphologically complex but no attested underived form.)
- muduk** *v.it* explode (*platzen*). Lusk: *muduk* ‘pierced, has a leak’
- muduken** *n* window hole. Lusk: *muduken* ‘hole, tear, puncture’
- muiny ~ muinj** (one example only; probably typo) *n* dog. Lusk: *m'iny*
- multi** *v.tr* pick
- muleu** *n* k.o. fish (Source: names)
- mulie** *v.it* turn, return cf. *imulie*. Lusk: *mulie* ‘return’
- mulul** *v.it* be tame
- mum** *v.it* (*schloss sich*) close (self). Lusk: *mum* ‘closed (as of jaws)’
- muri** *n* back. **muridol** *n.comp* canoe-back
- murin** *adj* last. **e murin** *phr* at the back
- musue** *adj* furtive. *v.it* be furtive
- musuani** *v.tr* creep down to (*mich hinschleichen*)
- N —
- n** *n.suff* Third person singular possessor
- nabu** *part* negator in irrealis clauses. Lusk: *nabu* ‘forbidden, don’t’
- nabun** *v.it* be sacred cf. *nabu* (NB: This could be an adjective.) Lusk: *nabunabun* ‘taboos pertaining to something’
- nat** *n* (*Knabe*) 1. boy 2. child. Isg. *natu* ‘my son.’ **natunat** *n* little child. Lusk: *natunat*

Part B

- ‘baby.’ **natmuriñ** *n.comp* descendants. **naturamat** *n.comp* male child. Lusk: *nat* ‘boy, son’
- nause** *adj* quiet. (NB: This word is also glossed once as *langsam* ‘slowly’, but it means ‘quietly’ everywhere else, and the gloss ‘quietly’ also makes sense at VIII.4/7, where it is glossed as *langsam*.)
- ne₁** *part* negator in declarative/realis clauses. Lusk: *ne*
- ne₂** *conj* or. Lusk: *ne*
- ne₃** *part* still
- neneu** *v.it (reden)* talk. Lusk: *nenew* ‘talk, converse’
- nes** *n* stick
- ni** *n* fish. Lusk: *ni*
- nim** See **mim**
- niu** *n* 1. coconut 2. coconut palm. **launiu** *n.comp* coconut leaf. Lusk: *niw*
- no₁** *v.it* 1. fear 2. remain. Lusk: *afraid*
- no₂** *aux* try. Lusk: *no* ‘stative, merely’
- nou** ~ **nowu** *n* day. Lusk: *now* ‘day, time’
- nya₁** *n* fishing spear. Lusk: *nya*
- nya₂** *interj* hey. **nya itan** *phr* you there! (*du so und so da*)
- nyak** ~ **naak** (one example only) *v.it* 1. climb 2. rise (of the sun) (*erklettern*) *v.tr* hunt? raise?
- nyak lawat** *v.comp* hunt possum. Lusk: *nyak*
- nyam** *n* mosquito. Lusk: *nyam* ‘mosquito’
- nyamiri** *v.tr* love. Lusk: *nyamilan* ‘desire for’
- nyamui** *v.tr* scrape. Lusk: *nyamwan*
- nyany** *v.it* 1. rustle? 2. crawl. Lusk: *nyany* ‘crawl’
- nyasi** ~ **oyasi** (typo—one example only) *n.ia* grandmother
- nyat** *n* apple-like fruit; k.o. tree (Source: Parkinson)
- nyatoan** *n* waves
- nyimili** *v.tr* swallow. Lusk: *nyimili*
- nyol** *v.it* shake. Lusk: *nyol* ‘fear’
- nyonyok** *n* k.o. vine (*Njoknjok-Liane*)
- nyonyomoe** *v.it* explain
- nyu** *v.it* 1. sink 2. swim 3. dive. Lusk: *nyu* ‘dive, bathe, go under’
- nyubu** *n.ia* young shoot
- nyune** *v.tr* ask for cf. *nyuni* (NB: generally takes an argument marked with (*k)ila* as donor, DO as thing asked for). Lusk: *nyune* ‘sing, chant’
- nyuni** *v.tr* 1. call to 2. gather up. Lusk: *nyuni* ‘hail, call’
- nyurui** *v.tr* wash. Lusk: *nyuluuan*, *nyuluwi* ‘washing’

– N – y –

- ya** *n* 1. lime vessel 2. lime. Lusk: *ya*

ŋade *n* (*der Kot*) excrement cf. *de*.
Lusk: *ŋade*

ŋadi *v.it* be sick, ache Lusk: *ŋadi*

ŋai *n* cave, hole, pit. Lusk: *ŋayen*

ŋam *n* type of forest spirit, similar to **kasi**. cf. *kasi* (Source: Parkinson [1999] (1907):173b–174a))

ŋara *n.ia* 1. name. 1sg *ŋaro* 2. cry. Lusk: *ŋalan*. **ŋaralavan** *n.comp* lord-cry. **ŋareani** *v.tr* call by name. Lusk: *ŋaleani*

ŋare *adv.temp* already, now

ŋaro *n.ia* sinew (*Sehnen*); sinew, tentacles of octopus (NB: The speakers whom Hauser consulted on this word preferred a translation like ‘rope’.)

ŋarobuin *n.comp* vulva-sinews

ŋas *v.it* (*staunte*) be astonished

ŋei *v.it* call out

ŋoda *adj* eaten away (*abgefressen*)

ŋon₁ *v.it* be tired

ŋon₂ *n* term (Source: Parkinson)

ŋou *n* stupidity

ŋundu *n* neck (NB: written as **ngrundu** but this is surely an error.)

– O – o –

-o *n.suff* -1sg

ocun *v.it* sit on mother’s neck
(Source: names)

oh *interj* oh

oi *pro* 2sg Lusk: *oy*

omani *v.tr* put

on ? [unglossed] (Source: Parkinson)

onani *v.tr* (*ausreichen*) be sufficient for

ot *v.it* sound. Lusk: *ot* ‘swell, break’

owani *v.tr* blow

o! *interj* Oh!

– P – p –

pa ~ va *v.it* 1. say, talk to 2. think. *aux* want to, volitional particle. (NB: Ross has *pwa* for 1sg and 2sg, and *pa* for 3sg.) Lusk: *pʷa*. **vai** *v.tr* say. **va** *wari* *v.comp* sing out

paana *v.it?* steal cf. *panawe* ‘steal’. Lusk: *pana*

painam for you (NB: no further information [e.g., regarding part of speech]; one occurrence only, at VIII.4/11)

rainani *v.tr* 1. strike? 2. find

pakut *n* business. Lusk: *pakute* ‘make, do’

pakute *v.tr* do. **pakute ... ila** *v.tr* turn X into Y Lit: ‘do X becoming Y’. Lusk: *pakute* ‘make, do.’ **pakutani** *v.tr* 1. tie fast 2. repair

pal *n* pigeon (Source: Parkinson)

pala *n.ia* 1. head 2. hair 3. end. 1sg *palo*. **palankeka** *n.comp* big toe cf. *keka* **paladasin** *n.comp* head-brother-3sg.

paladasiaru *n.comp* head-brother-3dl.ps cf. *dasi*

Part B

- 'brother.' **palaramat** *n.comp* a person's head, **palawoseu** *n.comp* rattan rope-end cf. *woseu* 'rattan'
- palan** *n.ia* front, in front *adv.temp* before, beginning. Lusk: *palan*. **palanporj** *n.comp* beginning of the day, dawn. **palanum** *n.comp* the front of the house cf. *pala* 'head.' e **palan** *phr* first.
- palakeu** *n* clearing in front of the house (*Freien vor dem Hause*). Lusk: *palakew* 'door, big front door'
- palawar** *n k.o.* fish (Source: names)
- palei** ~ **pale** (Parkinson) *n* sail. **poronpalei** *n.comp* hole in the center of a sail roll. Lusk: *palei* **palenkei** *n* sago-leaf ribs (*Sagoblaattrippen*)
- pali** *n.ia* wing
- palia** *n.ia* calf (*Waden*)
- paliau** *n k.o.* fish cf. Loniu *peliyaw* 'possibly tuna or mackerel'. Lusk: *paliaw* 'tuna'
- palimat** *n* flying fox cf. *pali* 'wing'. Lusk: *palimet*
- palit** *n* 1. ghost 2. witchcraft Note: Fortune (1935:1ff) contains a long discussion of **palit** and its definitions. Fortune contrasts **palit**, 'Ghost', the spirit of a dead father, with **moen** **palit**, 'Sir Ghost', the protective spirit of one's own father. Compare also **palit am mbwaro**,
- 'magic to damage infants and child-bearing mothers' (Fortune 1935:372). Lusk: *palit* 'sorcery, magic, spirits, ghost'
- palua** *n.ia* wife *n* companion
- palue** *adv* again, back. Lusk: *palue*
- panapi** *n* sago trunk cf. *api* 'sago'
- panawe** ~ **vanawe** *v.tr* steal. Lusk: *panawe*
- panum** ~ **pauum** (probably a mistake [u for n in typesetting]). *pro* some. Lusk: *panum*
- pao** *n* big oar (*die grossen Ruder*). Lusk: *oar, row*
- papai** *n k.o.* fish (Source: Parkinson)
- patapi** *v.tr* 1. take 2. carry
- papi** *n* (*Ufersand*) sand
- papu** *n.ia* 1. father. 1sg *papu* Lusk: *papu*
- par** *n* pandanus nut. **polenpar** *n.comp* pandanus-top. **parcinal** *n.comp* pandanus-devil. Lusk: *par*
- paran** *n* overhang. **parankei** *n.comp* tree-overhang.
- paranpitou** *n.comp* overhang of branch? **paranpatapat** *n.comp* under-the-bed. **parayeu** *n.comp* yeu tree-overhang
- parar** *n* thunderclap
- parec** *n* small bamboo stick
- parer** *v.it* be white *adj* (be) white. **pareren** *v.it* (be) white *adj* white. Lusk: *perer*

- pas** *v.it* recognize *n* expertise.
pasan *v.it* know. **pasani** *v.tr* recognize, know about. Lusk: *pas* ‘know’
- pat** *n* stone cf. *sosorjanpat* ‘stone-carrier’
- pata** *n* tree, post. **patadodo** *n.comp* sugarcane. **patanpalei** *n.comp* mast Lit: ‘sail post.’
- pataponjoponj** *n.comp* pandanus-tree. Lusk: *patan* ‘trunk, stem’
- patale** *n* middle of the canoe. Lusk: *patale* ‘platform of a canoe’
- patapat** *n* bed. Lusk: *patapat* ‘a sort of bench used by exchange partners’
- patarui** *n.ia* bone. **pataruiramat** *n.comp* person’s-bone
- pati₁** *n* wife
- pati₂** *n* decoration, jewelry.
- patirama** *n.comp* red ochre cf. *ram* ‘to redder’
- pati₃** *prep* from (NB: One token seems to mean ‘for’, i.e., to denote a purpose (VIII.5/5).)
- patimu** *n* white ant
- patiyaye** *n.ia* niece
- patu** *v.it* be heavy. Lusk: *patu*. **patuan** *adj* heavy
- paun** *n* battle, fighting, hostility. Lusk: *pa'un* ‘fight, make war’
- paut** *v.it* be together. Lusk: *pa'ut*, *po'ut* ‘together’
- pe₁** *conj* and. Lusk: *pe* ‘and, but’
- pe₂** *v.it, v.tr* 1. defile (Latin *cacare*) 2. excrete. Lusk: *pe* ‘defecate’
- pe₃** *n* market day. Lusk: *pe* ‘market’
- pei** *n* stingray, constellation (= Scorpio) (Source: Parkinson)
- pein ~ pin ~ pi** *n* woman cf. *pimpati*. **pinanes** *n.comp* prostitute. **pincinal** *n.comp* she-devil. Lusk: *pincinal*. **pincuel** *n.comp* young woman **pinlavan** *n.comp* mistress [Morphol: *pein lapan*] cf. *lapan*. **pimanuai** *n.comp* female-osprey. **pinponjoponj** *n.comp* woman who is a pandanus fruit. **pinmoi** *n.comp* pandanus-woman. **pinramat ~ piramat** *n.comp* woman. Lusk: *pilamat* Lit: ‘woman person.’ **pintavo ~ pintapo** *n.comp* wretched woman, slave woman. Lusk: *pein*
- pekan** *n* k.o. tree (Source: names)
- pel ~ pely ~ vel** *v.it* jump. Lusk: *pel*. **pelawani** *v.tr* propel
- pel** *n* 1. ear 2. taro pulp (Source: Parkinson)
- pela** *n.suff* element in some body parts
- pep** *adj* full *v.it* fill. Lusk: *pep*
- pepoen** *adv* afterwards
- pere** *n* brain (Source: names)
- peu** *n* 1. shark 2. the constellation Altair (Source: Parkinson) (NB: written by

Part B

- Meier [esp in story I.14] with a diaresis over the [e]. This is the only word with a diacritic in the text.) Lusk: *pew*
- pia** ~ **via** *n* dark *v.it* 1. be dark 2. get dark. Lusk: *pia*
- piau** ~ **piawun** *n* night *adv.temp* by night. Lusk: *piawun*
- pilaŋ** *n* plantation (*Pflanzung*), garden (NB: Meier uses the German word *Pflanzung* ‘plantation’, but it doesn’t seem to be the best word to use in translation, since it isn’t what we would normally call a ‘plantation’ (i.e., a large organized agricultural business with many workers). ‘Garden’ seems more appropriate.)
- lonpilaŋ** *n.comp* garden-inside. Lusk: *pilaŋ* ‘garden’
- pilao** ~ **pilawa** *n.ia* sister. Lusk: *pila'o*
- pilitani** *v.tr* taunt. Lusk: *pilitani* ‘scold, hate’
- pimpal** *n* pigeon (*Taube*). Lusk: *pimpal*
- pimpati** *n* (*Greisin*) old woman. Lusk: *pimpati*
- piniu** *n* k.o. tree (Source: names)
- piju** *n* k.o. building (Source: names)
- piris** *n* lewdness. Lusk: *pilis*
- pisi** *v.tr* defile (Latin *concavit*). Lusk: *pisi*
- pisio** *n.ia* Note: 1 sister, brother, sibling. Lusk: *pision* ‘sibling of the opposite sex.’
- pisioi n** sisterhood
- pitilou** *n* obsidian spear (*Obsidianspeer*). Lusk: *pitilow*
- pitou** *n* k.o. wood *Calophyllum* (Source: Scientific name from Parkinson) Lusk: *pitlow*
- pitui** *n* star. Lusk: *pituy*. **pitui an kilit** *n.comp* ‘he steering star’, the evening star (Source: Parkinson). **pitui an kor** *n.comp* constellation of Aquila (Source: Parkinson). **pitui an nyam** *n.comp* the constellation Corona (Source: Parkinson). **pitui an papai** *n.comp* the two largest stars of the Sextant (Source: Parkinson)
- po** ~ **vo** *v.tr, v.it* 1. make, do, cause 2. have a concern for (*besorgen*) 3. use, procure, work 4. be aux passive causative (is caused to become) (NB: This verb has a wide range of meanings. It is perhaps best glossed as “have something to do with.”) Lusk: *po*
- po ajan** *n.comp* have an argument (NB: Modern Titan speakers regard this phrase as archaic.)
- po kou** ~ **vo kou** *v.comp* go angling
- po muan** *v.comp* do something bad
- po paun** *v.comp* fight
- po uyan** *v.comp* do good
- poa_i** *n.ia* 1. mouth 2. beak 3. canoe deck 4. call **poamoat**

- n.comp** snake-mouth. Lusk: *po, p^wo*
- poa₂** *ag.part* second person singular subject desiderative (NB: probably variant of *pa*, but around labial environments)
- poancoco** *n* shelf above door cf. *cocou*
- poany** *n* ground, earth Hauser *p^wan*. Lusk: *p^wany*
- poawai** *n* estuary (Source: names)
- poedilei** *n* sea eagle (NB: Given in Parkinson [1999 (1907):174b] as a species of fish) Lusk: *p^wediley* ‘sea eagle’
- poekou** *n* water vessel. Lusk: *p^wekow* ‘bald’
- poen₁** ~ **voen** *adv* not. Lusk: *p^wen*
- poen₋₂** *n.pre* first element in a number of compounds containing body parts, meaning uncertain
- poencu** *n* (*Muschelmesser*) mussel-knife
- poenkeka** *n* foot-print cf. *keka*.
- poenkekakanatunat** *n.comp* child-footprint. **poenkekancako** *n.comp* hermit-crab-footprint
- poenpalan** *n* skull
- poepoau** *n* mushroom
- poepuil** *n* coconut-milk bowl
- poes** *v.it* have a good time
- poesi** *num* one thousand
- pokapoak** *n* k.o. tree
- pokat** *n* gun (*Gewehr*)
- poke₁** ~ **voke** *v.it* 1. be strong, be rich 2. (Latin *tenebatur*) be held, be fixed (to). **pokean** *adj* strong. Note: Fortune (1935:372) defines the word as ‘rich, strong in body, aggressive, hard-working’. **pokeani** *v.tr* ~ **vokeani** *v.tr* make-strong. **ajan** **poke** *phr* words come true. Lusk: *poke*
- poke₂** *n* unchastity
- pole** *n.ia* 1. top, peak. **polenkei** *n.comp* top of a tree. **polenbue** *n.comp* betel-palm-top.
- polencivo** *n.comp* civo-tree-top.
- polenpar** *n.comp* pandanus-top.
- polenporopon** *n.comp* pandanus-palm-top. **polenpotai** *n.comp* potai-tree-top.
- polenpitou** *n.comp* k.o. wood-top
- polu** *n* fish basket. Lusk: *polu* ‘fish trap made of bamboo’
- pomane** *v.tr* supply with food. Lusk: *pomane* ‘care for’
- ponai** *n* (*Seewalze; Seegurke*) sea slug
- poy** *n, n.ia* day. Lusk: *pugin* ~ *p^wigin* ‘times, days’
- ponopog** ~ **vopovon** *n* pandanus (NB: Meier glosses *ponopon* as ‘Pongopong’; the identification is taken from Lusk.) Lusk: *ponopon* ‘pandanus’
- ponou** *n* cloud, mist
- ponunsi** *adv* immediately cf. *poy*
- popou** *n* dirt (Source: Parkinson)

Part B

- pora** *v.it* rot
- poratani** *v.tr* grab someone, hold someone tightly. Lusk: *polotani* ‘catch, hold, grab’
- porawin** *adj* nasty (used of foul breath)
- poro** *n.ia* hole. **porokiny** *n* 1. pot 2. wooden bowl. Lusk: *porokin*. **poromatan** *n.comp* eye socket. Lusk: *poromatan*.
- poronkawakau** *n.comp* hollow in the center of a bundle of spears. **poronpalei** *n.comp* hole in the center of a sail-roll.
- poroyeu** *n.comp* hollow of a yew tree
- porolu ~ porulu** *n* valley
- pos** *n* oar (*Ruder*) Source: Hamel (1994:25) Lusk: *pos*
- potai** *n* k.o. tree Loniu *pʷatay* ‘k.o. tree with large dark green leaves (Tok Pisin paw)’
- poto** *n.ia* prickle (*Stacheln*). **potonpar** *n.comp* pandanus prickle. Lusk: *poton* ‘bone’
- pou** *n* pig. **denpou** *n.comp* pig-excrement. Lusk: *pow*
- puci** *n* fingernail, toenail. **pucilimaramat** *n.comp* man-fingernail Lit: ‘nail-hand-person.’ **pucinkekā** *n.comp* 1. trotter 2. claw, talon 3. foot of animal. 1sg *pucinkeko*. Lusk: *pucIn ~ pʷicm* ‘skin’.
- pucinkekāpalimat** *n.comp* flying fox’s claw Lit: ‘nail-its-foot-flying fox’.
- pucinkekāpou** *n.comp* pig’s trotter
- pucibukei** *n* mussel-shell
- pucijak** *interj* imitative noise of flying fox
- pucui ~ puicui** *n* young one *adv* little. Lusk: *pucuwi* ‘small’
- puic ~ vuic** *v.it* be(come) black. **puicon ~ vuicon** *adj* black. **puiconma** *n.comp* taro-blackness. Lusk: *pʷic*
- pukaun** *adj* dirty (Source: Parkinson)
- pulpul** *n* meaning uncertain; perhaps a kind of imitative noise
- pun** *n* turtle (NB: a Matankor word)
- puras** *v.it* emerge
- puriŋi** *v.tr* squeeze out. Lusk: *puligi ~ pʷiliŋi*
- pusuan** *adj* smell bad
- put** ? ? (NB: This word appears at V.5.032. It is not translated in Meier’s glosses and does not appear elsewhere in the corpus.)
- puti ~ vuti** *v.tr* marry, take as spouse cf. *pati* ‘wife’
- putua** *n.ia* stomach (NB: Because of the parts of the body that Asa stitched together in story I.6, putua probably can refer to the whole torso.) 1sg *putuo*.
- putuamoa** *n.comp* snake-stomach

— R —

- ra** *v.it (steig herab)* spring up,
spring out, jump, jump up
rai *n* 1. blood 2. raw
rakuron *n* 1. middle 2.
mid-sized drum. Lusk: *lakulon*
'back'
ram *v.it* redder cf. *patirama*
ramat *n* person. Lusk: *lamat*
ramei ~ **rame** *n* wooden drum.
Lusk: *lameun* 'rhythm, beat'
rameyani ~ **remayani** *v.tr* count
rami *n* fibers. **ramilauyan** *n.comp*
grass-skirt-fibers
raj *n* 1. day 2. people (gloss
uncertain)
rajiau *adv.temp* tomorrow. Lusk:
laŋkiaw
ranisa *n* revenge. **ranisani**
n.comp revenge over fish cf. *ni*
rap *v.it* penetrate (Latin *haereo*
[context of sex])
rapiti *v.tr* press tight (*zwängen j.d.*
fest)
rar *v.it* hurt. **rari** ~ **rarai** *v.tr* cut
open
ratutui *v.tr* insult, tell off, scold
rehe *int.pro* to where cf. *kerehe*
rei *n* kind of freshwater fish
(Source: names)
rek *v.it* grow bigger
reta ~ **moreta** *n* betel leaf
(Source: Parkinson)
riin *adj* 1. small 2. child (i.e.,
"little person")

- rio** *adv* over there (NB: only one
example)
riwi *v.tr* 1. pull 2. rise
rokaliani *v.tr* coil
romot *v.it* vomit
rop *n* basket
ropou *n* k.o. fish *Loniu nropow*
'gloss unknown'
roputi *v.tr* break in half
ror *v.it* scatter
rosani *v.tr* shake
royani *v.tr* shake
rubuti *v.tr* untie
rukou *num* twenty
ruo *num* two See **aru**
rut *v.it* roar

— S —

- sa₁** ~ **sai** *v.tr* build from wood.
Lusk: *sai* 'carve' Lusk: *sa* 'go
up, come up.' **sasa** *v.tr* build.
saya *n* builder. **sayadol** *n.comp*
canoe-builder cf. *dol*
sa₂ *int.pro* what cf. *ca* 'what'
sa₃ *n* k.o. wood
sam *v.it* shine
sama *v.tr* drag up
samiti *v.tr* tie
sajat ~ **asajat** ~ **tasajat** *num*
one hundred. Lusk: *sajat*
saone *v.it* boast (*prahlen*)
sari *v.tr* seize
sau *v.it* be dry *n* dry(ness)
saul *n* money string
savol *n* mussel-knife (NB:
mussel-knife also glosses
poencu. Parkinson (1999) gives

Part B

- savol** as ‘mother-of-pearl’; this is therefore probably an error
- savui** *v.tr* wipe off. Lusk: *sap^wi ~ sep^wi*
- sawan** *n* light (*sie ward die Helle nach dem Gewitter*). Lusk: *sawan*. **sawabul** *n* moonlight cf. *bul*. **sawani** *v.it* brighten
- sawaraj** *n.comp* Milky Way
(Source: Parkinson)
- se₁** *int.pro* 1. how 2. who
- se₂** *v.tr* 1. stand, sit 2. be on, be in. Lusk: *se*
- sel** *v split* (Source: names)
- sem** *num one* (Restriction: houses). Lusk: *sem*
- si ~ sei ~ asi** *num one*. Lusk: *si*
- sing** *v.tr* singe (Source: names)
- sir** *n* 1. fragment 2. part 3. side *v.tr* splice (*splissend [spleisen]*) Lusk: *sil* ‘one (piece)’
- siriani** *v.tr* put in. Lusk: *siliani*
- sisiani** *v.tr* rub at. Lusk: *sisiani*
- sisie₁** *n* identical in number
- sisie₂** *n* midnight
- so** *v.it ~ sou* 1. remain 2. make aux cont (NB: aspect marker? (Habit in MR’s sketch)) Lusk: *so*
- sol** *v.tr* roll
- somuti** *v.tr* forbid, disagree with, begrudge
- sonani** *v.tr* fill up
- sop** *v.it* be full
- sor** *v.it* lose one’s way
- sorere** *v.it* look for a wife
- sos** *v.it* meet. Lusk: *sos* ‘together’
- sosope** *v.tr* collect. **sosojani** *v.tr* collect. Lusk: *sosojani*.
- sosojanpat ~ sogojanpat** (surely a typo) *n.comp* stone carrier
- sowe** *v.tr* 1. cram into 2. make (nets)
- su** *v.it* flow
- sua** *v.it* come on, to fall (of night) (*Die Nacht neigte sich*) Lusk: *sua* ‘go down’
- suar** *v.it* fall down. **suari** *v.tr* pull out
- subuani** *v.tr* destroy
- sue** *v.it* row. Lusk: *sue* ‘paddle’
- sui** *v.tr* scrape off
- sukusuk** *v.it* kiss bombastically
- sumoe** *v.tr* touch (*benetzte*). Lusk: *sum^wi* ‘make wet’
- suni** *v.tr* scoop
- surjani** *v.tr* right oneself, stretch out
- sur** *v.it* exercise a charm
- sus ~ susu** *n.ia* breast. Lusk: *sus*
- susui** *v.tr* stitch. Lusk: *susuwi*
- susuri** *v.tr* clean (*kehren*)

– T – t –

- ta₁** *v.tr (fingen)* 1. catch 2. collect 3. measure. **ta ni** *v.phr* catch fish (NB: This phrase is regarded by current Titan speakers as archaic.) (*messen*)
- ta₂ ~ te** *v.tr* 1. hit, attack 2. kill 3. fell (e.g., trees)
- ta kamaam** *v.comp* beg
- ta kamati** *v.comp* beg for help

ta kou *v.comp* whimper
ta mana *v.comp* dance
ta uro *v.comp* greet
taa *num* four
taai *v.it* (*erhellte sich*) brighten.
 Lusk: *tay* 'rise (of the sun)'
taamo *dem.pro* that one
tadul *v.it* stand upright, get up.
 Lusk: *tadul*. **tadulai** *n* standing
 up
tais *v.tr* put on. Lusk: *taisi*
takeai *n* change
talan *dem.pro* there
tali *v.it* mix. **talasi** *v.tr; v.it* 1.
 separate 2. spread out 3.
 distribute. Lusk: *talasi* 'share,
 divide up.' **talatal** *n* method of
 division. Lusk: *talatal* 'divide
 up'
talo *num* three
taltalie *v.it* become knotted,
 intertwined
tama *n* father
tamete *v.tr* squeeze. Lusk: *tamate*
 'kill'
tan *dem.pro* this
tan₁ *v.it* to cry, to make a crying
 noise, e.g., drums. Lusk: *tay*.
tagisi ~ tanjis *n* sympathy *v.tr* 1.
 love 2. cry about 3. pity. Lusk:
tanjis 'cry for'
tag₂ *v.it* reach
tage *v.tr* prick (*stechen*)
tapari *v.tr* open
tapeta *int.pro* how
tapo ~ tavo *n* wretch!, slave

tarani *v.tr* avoid (Source:
 Parkinson)
tarase *v.tr* throw off back (NB:
 German: "er warf auf den
 Ruecken")
tarawe *v.tr* cover with paint
tariti *v.it* be still
taroan *n* light. Lusk: *taroan*
 'colored'
taru ~ taru rumo (*rumo* is the
 word for 'two' used with
 humans, ghosts, etc.) ~ **yotaru**
 ~ **ta** *pro* 1dl.inc
tarumo ~ taruovo (this is
 probably an error, since Meier
 writes /v/ as w, and the relevant
 letter appears to be m upside
 down.) *num* two (Restriction:
 human)
taruo *num* two
tatalo ~ atalo *num* three
tatapei *v.tr* spread. Lusk: *tatape*
 'open, unfold'
tatarume *v.tr* shine on
tawani *v.tr* stick out
 (*herausdruecken*)
tatip *v.it* creep. Lusk: *tatip*
 'tiptoe'
tatuni *v.tr* hold fast to. Lusk:
tatuni 'hold on to, catch'
tavai *int.pro* who? (NB: glossed as
 such in Meier but this is doubtful
 [although cf. *tapeta*]) cf. *tapeta*
 Lusk: *tap^way* 'true' (NB:
 Hapax)
tawi *v.tr* 1. give 2. create, give
 birth to, lay an egg, produce 3.

Part B

- save (*retten*), set right
 (zurechtsetzen) 4. place 5.
 plant trees, taro, etc. cf. *tou*.
- tawi poan phr** Lit: ‘give mouth’
 cry out. Lusk: *tawi*
- tawi kalo ~ tou kalo phr** wave
 (Source: Parkinson)
- tayani v.tr** plant. **tayanapi n.comp**
 sago-scraper (Source: Parkinson)
 (NB: Glossed as such by
 Parkinson but may be more
 appropriately ‘sago-planters’.)
 Lusk: *taye*
- te prep** 1. to, for 2. from. **ila te ~ kila te phr** 1. there to (i.e.,
 direction away from speaker or
 focus) 2. with. **ime te ~ kineme te ~ kime te phr** here to (i.e.,
 direction towards speaker or
 focus). **teyo pro** up to me,
 to-1sg. **teoi** up to you. Lusk: *te*
- teani v.tr** confuse (*verschlagen*)
- tei pro** to-3sg
- teoi** See *te oi*
- tet v.it** crawl
- teyoru**
- ti v.it** 1. be in, be on 2. live, live
 in 3. be near. Lusk: *ti*
- tian v.it** give birth. Lusk: *tian*
- timoak v.it** be proud
- tinanum adj** first
- tir v.tr** weave (for example,
 baskets). Lusk: *tili*
- tita ~ titan dem.pro** that, here
 adv.temp 1. now 2. today. Lusk:
titan
- Titan n.pl** Titan people and
 language
- titie int.pro** where, where to,
 where from cf. *ite*
- titie v.tr** seek out. Lusk: *titie*
- titile v.it** think cf. *titie* (NB:
 Hapax) Lusk: *titile* ‘mind,
 thought, idea’
- tito dem.pro** this
- tokai v.it** go (in texts, usually
 motion away; equivalent in most
 cases to “left and went away”)
- tolau n** 1. North 2. north wind
- tone n** poles for propelling a
 canoe forward, quant (Source:
 Parkinson)
- totowe adj** sparse
- tou₁ n** bower bird *Baza bismarcki*
 (Source: names)
- tou₂ n** side
- tou₃ v.tr** 1. turn 2. place 3. give
 birth to. **tou se v.comp** give
- toval num** fifty
- tu aux** 1. habitual aspect marker
 2. progressive aspect marker *v.it*
 1. be there 2. stay. Lusk: *tu*
- tua v.it** chew betel (*sie kauten Betel*). **tuei v.tr** chew. Lusk:
tua
- tuai v.tr** complain. Lusk: *tuai*
 ‘chew’
- tuanani v.tr** send out (*schickte*)
 (*fortschicken*)
- tuetuene v.tr** send away
 cf. *tuanani*
- tukuni v.tr** draw in (*anzogen*)

tulumui ~ **talumui** *v.tr* 1. cook
2. burn. Lusk: *tulum^wi*
tuluqat *num* three hundred
tuluqol *num* thirty. Lusk: *tuluqol*
tunei *v.tr* kick away (*einstossen?*
(*fstiess einJ.*) Lusk: *tunai*
'nudge, touch'
tuni *v.it* sink
turuji *v.tr* cover with paint
tutui *v.tr* 1. sniff 2. have a fight,
beat each other 3. grind to
powder, crush cf. *ratutui*. Lusk:
tutuwi 'beat, strike, hit'

— U —

u₁ *ag.part* first person singular
subject agreement marker. **ku**
lsg.fut first person singular
subject, future tense or
counterfactual. **kune** first
person singular subject,
perfective
u₂ *interj* exactly *adj* exactly,
(*genau*). Lusk: *u* 'yes'
ucumui *v.tr* peel, husk. Lusk: *uc*
'husk'
ucupi *v.tr* wipe. Lusk: *ucupi*
'husk'
uduli *v.tr* wrap in rattan. **udulani**
n outer wrap for fish. Lusk:
uduli 'string together (beads,
words, etc.)'
uh *interj* oh
ulu *n* flood tide
ulumui *v.tr* drink cf. *kulumuadas*.
Lusk: *ulum^wi*

uluou *n* young person. Lusk:
uluow
um *n* house. **ionum** *n.comp*
inside a house. Lusk: *um*
umari *v.tr* spit out (*bespucken*)
un₁ *v.tr* drink
un₂ *prep* 1. for 2. on account of
una *quant all* cf. *asi*, *asiuna*.
Lusk: *una*
unani *v.tr* whisper. Lusk: *unani*
'talk behind someone's back'
unonou *v.it* be cold. Lusk:
unonow
uny *n* 1. k.o. tree 2. fruit of the
uny tree. **buanuny** *n.comp*
uny-fruit Lit: 'bua-n uny'
ujan *v.it* rest (*ruhen*)
uge *v.tr* 1. smell of 2. smell.
Lusk: *uge*
ujuni *v.tr* shake
ujunj *v.it* wake up. Lusk: *ujini*
'shake someone to wake them
up'
ure *v.tr* pour
uri *n* long-nosed parrotfish
(*Schweinfisch*) *Hipposcarus*
longiceps?
uro *n* greeting cf. *auro*, *ta uro*
uroj ~ **aroj** *v.it* listen. **uroje** *v.tr*
hear. Lusk: *ulog*
uror *v.it* speak boldly
usani *v.tr* pull out
usi *v.tr* chew
usuni *v.tr* 1. (*nahmen ins Canoe*)
take in 2. take out
utani *v.tr* kindle

Part B

uti₁ *v.tr* 1. pull out 2. go out 3. set out 4. throw. Lusk: *uti* ‘throw’

uti₂ *n.ia* penis

utuani *v.tr* fill up. Lusk: *utue*, *utuani*

utue *v.tr* 1. make 2. fetch, especially sea-water

uyan *adj* good

— V —

va See **pa**

varina ~ varin *prep* to. Note (phonology): Blust has *pwirina*. Lusk: *pulma*

vavuen *v.it* refuse, don't want to know

vaye *v.tr* accompany, go with

voliliti *v.tr* follow

vomuani [Morphol: *vamuani*] *v.tr* harm (NB: vo+muan? - do bad)

votoani *v.tr* stir up cf. *tuanani*

vuacole *v.it* 1. play (*spielen*) 2. travel (*wandeln*)

vuyan *n* beside

— W —

wa₁ *interj* yes

wa₂ *v.prep* there, fut *kua*

wa₃ *v.it* go. Lusk: *wa*

waareani *v.tr* reveal (NB: This could be *wa* ‘go’ + *are-ani* ‘appear’.)

wai₁ *n* 1. water 2. water-jug. Lusk: *way*

wai₂ *v.it* grow

wal ~ walawal *n* cousin, relative

(Source: names; Parkinson)

walel *n* yellow-white colored

pigeon

wagei *n* war-ornament

(*Kampfschmuck*) (NB: *wagei* is a war-ornament that is worn into war around the nape of the neck. It is composed of feathers and bones of the osprey, and should make the wearer strong and invulnerable in war.)

wari *v.it* sing *n* song

waru ~ woru ~ wariu (one example only, probably typo) *pro* second person dual. Lusk: *walu*

wato ~ woto *pro* 2pc second person paucal

waye *v.tr* take along cf. *vaye*

we *prep* under

wee ~ ee *int.pro* where. Lusk: *we*

wei *pro* 1. third person singular inanimate oblique pronoun 2. there, pronoun used instead of a place name

wek *v.it* float. **wekani** *v.tr* make float Lusk: *wek*

wewei *n* mango species (Source: names)

wian *adj* ?

womuani *v.tr* (*schänden*) rape cf. *vomuani*

woseu *n* (*Rotangseile*) rattan rope

– Y –

- ya** *dem.pro* definite
yai *v* wash (Source: names)
yak *n* sago
yap *n* foreigner (Source: names)
yau *v,prep* 1. up 2. away cf. *au*
 fut *kiau* perf *kineau*
yaviani *n* left behind cf. *vaye*
yavuer *adv* 1. all the way 2.
 forever. fut *kiavuer*
yaye *n,ia* mother 1sg *yaye* 3pl
 yayeala
ye₁ *v,it* flare
ye₂ *interj* it's true
yen ~ **yene** *v,prep* there cf. *en* fut
 kien
yetepe *int,pro* for what cf. *etepe*
yeu *n* k.o. tree. Lusk: *yew* 'type
 of tree good for firewood'
yevuen *v,prep* (*fertig*) 1. finished
 2. completely cf. *evuen* fut
 kievuen
yii *interj* yii

- yinkekan** *n* talons cf. *kekan*
yo₁ ~ **ya** *pro* 1sg first person
 singular pronoun
yo₂ *v,it* fly (of birds). Lusk: *yo*
yoh ~ **yooh** ~ **yoou** *interj* oh
yoito *pro* first person paucal
 exclusive
yon *v?* penetrate?
yoru ~ **yooru** *pro* first person
 dual exclusive. Lusk: *yoitlu* ~
 yolu
yota *pro* ~ **ta** ~ **yola** (yoto)
 1pl.inc first person plural
 inclusive (NB: *yola* is probably a
 typographical error)
yoto ~ **to** ~ **yooto tulumo** ~
 yooto *pro* first person paucal
 inclusive
yoya *pro* first person plural
 exclusive
yumoani See **cut yumoani**
yuyuu *v,it* call. Lusk: *yuw*
 'whistle'

English–Titan Finderlist

– A – a –

about **e prep**
abuse, scold **moanje v.tr**
accept **camui v.it**
accompany **vaye v.tr**
adult **madean ~ modean adj**
afterwards **pepoen adv.temp**
again **palue adv.temp**
again, anew **lie adv**
against **e prep, ile ~ kile ~ kinele v.prep**
agree **camui v.it**
air **malejan n**
a little **ape ~ ave adv quant**
all **asi adj, asiuna n.comp, una quant**
all other **asiuna n.comp**
all the way **yavuer adv**
almond **apei n**
almond-feast **kanianajei n.comp**
alone **kavuen adj, do amo phr**
already **gare adv.temp**
also **lie adv**
Altair (constellation) **peu n**
always **de adv, manyau adv.temp, inotu v.prep**
and **pe conj**

angry (be) **momoa v.it, kus v.it**
angry at (be) **kusuani v.tr**
another land **kor a kor phr**
answer **camui v.it**
anus **buamataki n.ia**
any **ape ~ ave adv quant**
appear **are v.it, cau v.it**
apple-like fruit; k.o. tree **nyat n**
Aquila **pitui an kor n.comp**
argue **vo aran v.comp, ececejan v.it, kulul n v.it**
arm **kae n.ia, lima n.ia**
arrange **moneani v.tr**
ashes **kuiuep n**
ask **lemetani ~ lametani (once only) v.tr**
ask for **nyune v.tr**
astonished (be) **pas v.it**
at the back **e murin phr**
at the same time **ivosisie adv.temp**
Aurora australis **kapet n**
avoid **tarani v.tr**
away **yau v.prep**

– B – b –

back **murin adj, palue adv.temp, du n, muri n, dua n.ia, imulie ~ kimulie v.prep**

Part B

bad (be) muan <i>adj</i>	bird alu <i>n</i> <i>Agapornis roseicollis</i>
bad breath molitonpoan <i>n.comp</i>	bite ala <i>v.tr</i> , ate <i>v.tr</i>
bad, weak muan <i>adj</i>	black puicon ~ vuicon <i>adj</i>
bake cakauri <i>v.tr</i>	black (be) puic ~ vuic <i>v.it</i>
bamboo stick (small) parec <i>n</i>	black-child kilimanat <i>n.comp</i>
banana bur <i>n</i>	block culungi <i>v.tr</i>
banana-shape dogoanbur <i>n.comp</i>	blood rai <i>n</i>
bark kulico <i>n.ia</i>	blood money kano <i>n</i>
basket ain <i>n</i> , kobu <i>n</i> , koti <i>n</i> , rop <i>n</i>	blow ilou <i>v.it</i> , owani <i>v.tr</i>
basket-bottom burunkoti <i>n.comp</i>	board, bed cocou <i>n</i>
basket-inside lonkobu <i>n.comp</i>	board-piece caunpap <i>n</i>
basket-shadow moluankobu <i>n.comp</i>	boast saone <i>v.it</i>
battle, fighting, hostility paun <i>n</i>	body canji <i>n.ia</i> , dita <i>n.ia</i>
be la <i>v.it</i>	body-substitute coancanji <i>n.comp</i>
beak poa <i>n.ia</i>	bone keka ~ keken <i>n.ia</i> , patarui <i>n.ia</i>
because alan <i>conj</i> , e <i>prep</i>	bottom burun <i>n</i>
become la <i>v.it</i>	bow mo <i>n</i>
become torn apart avues <i>v.it</i>	bower bird tou <i>n</i> <i>Baza bismarcki</i>
becoming ila ~ kila ~ kinela <i>v.prep</i>	boy nat <i>n</i>
bed kekecou <i>n</i> , keyau <i>n</i> , patapat <i>n</i>	brag about cecemani <i>v.tr</i>
before palan <i>n.ia adv.temp</i> , de <i>prep</i> , <i>adv</i>	brain pere <i>n</i>
beg ta kamaam <i>v.comp</i>	breadfruit-foot linkul <i>n.comp</i>
beg for help ta kamati <i>v.comp</i>	breadfruit tree, breadfruit kul <i>n</i>
beginning palan <i>n.ia adv.temp</i>	breadfruit-tree-foot katolinkul <i>n.comp</i>
beside vuyan <i>n</i>	break ciri <i>v.tr</i> , roputi <i>v.tr</i>
betel leaf reta ~ moreta <i>n</i>	break out caic <i>v.it</i>
betel nuts, betel palm gue <i>n</i> <i>Areca catechu</i>	breast sus ~ susu <i>n.ia</i>
betel-palm-top polenbue <i>n.comp</i>	brighten sawani <i>v.it</i> , faai <i>v.it</i>
big madean ~ modean <i>adj</i>	brother dasi <i>n.ia</i>
big-toe palankeka <i>n.comp</i>	brother-in-law cali <i>n</i>
bind abuti <i>v.tr</i> , asi <i>v.tr</i>	build asi <i>v.tr</i> , majase <i>v.tr</i> , sa ~ sai <i>v.tr</i> , sasa <i>v.tr</i>
binding-cloth kasam <i>n</i>	builder saya <i>n</i>
	burn tulumui ~ talumui <i>v.tr</i>
	burning coconut leaves cul <i>n</i>

bury **iri** v.it
 business **pakut** n
 but **alan** conj
 buttocks **kui ~ ki** n.ia
 buy **cime** v.tr, **manjase** v.tr
 by night **piaun ~ piawun** n
adv.temp

- C - c -

calf **palia** n.ia
 call **poa** n.ia, **yuyuu** v.it, **ŋei** v.it,
atue v.tr, **nyuni** v.tr, **ŋareani** v.tr
 canarium-leaves **laudilis** n.comp
 canarium nut, almond tree **dilis** n
Terminalia litoralis
 cannibal, person-eater
kaniaramat n.comp
 canoe **dilen** n, **dol** n
 canoe used for fishing with large
 nets **dol en kapet** n.comp
 canoe-back **muridol** n.comp
 canoe-builder **sayadol** n.comp
 canoe-deck **peadol** n.comp
 canoe-inside **lodol** n.comp
 canoe-payment **kunusudol** n.comp
 canoe-prow **modol** n.comp
 canoe-stern **muridol** n.comp
 carry **papati** v.tr
 carry around **capuni ~ cavuni** v.tr
 carry away **capuni ~ cavuni** v.tr
 carry-basket **cem** n
 catch **ta** v.tr
 catch fish **ta ni** phr
 catch sight of **ilimoani** v.tr
 cause **po ~ vo** v.tr, v.it, s.v.
 cave **ŋai** n

cave-mouth **matajai** n.comp Lit:
 'face-cave'
 chalk magic **kau** n
 change **takeai** n, **caucaye** v.tr
 change self **amou** v.it
 chew **tuei** v.tr, **usi** v.tr
 chew betel **tua** v.it
 chief **lapan ~ lavan** n.ia
 child **riin** adj, **nat** n, **naturat** n,
naturamat n.comp
 child-footprint **poenkekanatunat**
n.comp
 civo-tree-top **polencivo** n.comp
 claim, demand **cacegani** v.tr
 clasp **cumoe** v.tr
 claw **pucinkeka** n.comp
 clean **susuri** v.tr
 climb **awen** v.it, **calou** v.it, **dul ~**
ndoul (one only [probably r > o
 in typesetting]) v.it, **nyak ~**
naak (one example only) v.it v.tr
 close **mum** v.it, **dutui** v.tr
 cloud **pojou** n
 coconut (dry leaves of coconut
 palm) **cul** n
 coconut (palm) **niu** n
 coconut-leaf **launiu** n.comp
 coconut-milk bowl **poepuil** n
 coil **rokaliani** v.tr
 cold (be) **unonou** v.it
 colder season **morai unonou** phr
 collect **sosogani** v.tr, **ta** v.tr
 colonize **asi** v.tr
 color **kilima** n
 come **me** v.it
 come about **ajan poke** phr
 come to an end **sua** v.it

Part B

- companion **palua n.ia n**
 compensation **coan n**
 complain **tuai v.tr**
 completely **yevuen v.comp**
 conceal **akurani v.tr**
 confuse **teani v.tr**
 constellation Altair **peu n**
 consume **ani ~ eni v.tr**
 cook **abur v.tr, aburuti v.tr,**
 tulumui ~ talumui v.tr
 coral platform (platform was used
 for ceremonial exchanges and
 meetings) **arakeu n**
 cord **caca n**
 corona **pitui an nyam n.comp**
 count **cani v.tr, rameyani ~**
 remayani v.tr
 cousin, relative **wal ~ walawal n**
 cover **eo v.tr, cumoe v.tr**
 cover with paint **turunji v.tr**
 crab **kopat n**
 crackle **dunj ~ duja n.vit**
 cram into **sowe v.tr**
 crawl **nyany v.it, tet v.it**
 create **tawi v.tr**
 creation words **dame n**
 creep **tatip v.it**
 creep down to **musuani v.tr**
 crocodile **buai n**
 crooked (become) **kou v.it**
 crush **tutui v.tr**
 cry **nara n.ia, tanj v.it**
 cry about **tanisi ~ tanjis n v.tr**
 crying **dilan n**
 cry out **tawi poan phr** Lit: 'give
 mouth'
- cut **can v.tr, cani v.tr, cariti v.tr,**
 cele v.tr, rari ~ rarai v.tr
- D - d -**
- dance **ta mana v.comp**
 dark **pia ~ via n v.it**
 dark (be) **pia ~ via n v.it**
 daughter **asao ~ ase ~ assao (one
 example only.) n.ia**
 daughter-in-law **buhunat n**
 dawn **palanponj n.comp**
 day **nou ~ nowu n, ranj n, poj n,
 n.ia**
 day-end **inponj n.comp**
 dead person **malep n**
 death **mat v.it n.ia**
 deck **poa n.ia**
 decorate **moele v.tr**
 decorate self **moelenmoei v.it**
 decoration, jewelry **pati n**
 deep (be) **alawen ~ alaweu**
 (probably a printing error) *v.it, adj*
 defile **pe v.it, v.tr, pisi v.tr**
 deny **acani v, mucinani v.tr**
 descendants **natmurin n.comp**
 desirable **muan adj**
 destroy **subuani v.tr**
 devil **cinal n, kalial n**
 devil-hair **lamunpalancinal**
 n.comp Lit: 'hair-head-devil'
 dew **cacan n**
 die **mat v.it n.ia**
 different from each other **de arai,**
 de arai phr
 dig up **iri v.it**
 dirt **popou n**

dirty pukaun <i>adj</i>	ear pel <i>n</i> , diliŋa <i>n.ia</i>
disappear kamum <i>v.it</i>	earth poany <i>n</i> , kor <i>n</i> (the earth, land)
distribute talasi <i>v.tr, v.it</i>	east kup ~ kuup <i>n</i>
dive nyu <i>v.it</i>	eat an <i>v.it</i> , anaan <i>v.it</i> , ani ~ eni <i>v.tr, cani</i> <i>v.tr</i>
do pakute <i>v.tr</i> , po ~ vo <i>v.tr, v.it, s.v.</i>	eaten away ŋoda <i>adj</i>
dog muiny ~ muŋj (one example only) <i>n</i>	eater kania ~ kanian <i>n.ia</i>
do good po uyan <i>v.comp</i>	ebb tide mat <i>n</i>
dog-tooth liamuiny <i>n.comp</i>	egg alet <i>n</i> , manaon <i>n</i>
done (be) manis <i>v.it</i>	eight adaruo <i>num</i>
don't want to know vavuen <i>v.it</i>	emerge pugas <i>v.it</i>
door katam <i>n</i>	end in <i>n</i> , pala <i>n.ia</i>
do something bad po muan <i>v.comp</i>	enough! konan <i>interj</i>
drag culani <i>v.tr</i> , kalani <i>v.tr</i> , kuni <i>v.tr</i>	enraged (be) ebus <i>v.it</i>
dragon tree, dracaena bush dilou <i>n</i>	enter calou <i>v.it</i>
drag home kun <i>v.tr</i>	entwine, pinch buluti <i>v.tr</i>
drag up sama <i>v.tr</i>	equinox-times morai in kawas <i>n.comp</i> Lit: 'friendship sun'
draw anyum <i>v.tr</i>	escape coŋ <i>v.it v.tr</i>
draw in tukuni <i>v.tr</i>	estuary poawai <i>n</i>
driftwood lui <i>n</i>	evening-star pitui an kilit <i>n.comp</i>
driftwood-side kasolui <i>n.comp</i>	exactly u <i>interj adj</i>
driftwood-top ditalui <i>n.comp</i>	examine kalumoani <i>v.tr</i>
drink ulumui <i>v.tr</i> , un <i>v.tr</i>	exchange cauyani <i>v.tr</i>
drop luke <i>v.tr</i>	excrement ŋade <i>n</i> , de <i>n.ia</i>
drum (small) dakuin <i>n</i>	excrement-feast kaniaŋade <i>n.comp</i>
dry (be) maŋun <i>v.it</i>	excrete pe <i>v.it, v.tr</i>
dry land ivosau <i>n</i>	exercise a charm sur <i>v.it</i>
dry leaves of coconut palm cul <i>n</i>	expertise pas <i>v.it n</i>
dry up camar <i>v.it</i>	explain nyonyomoe <i>v.it</i>
dry(ness) sau <i>v.it n</i>	explode muduk <i>v.it</i>
dwelling lako <i>n.ia</i>	extend lai <i>v.tr</i>
- E - e -	
each a <i>adj dem.pro</i>	eye-socket poromatān <i>n.comp</i>
eager (be) kakes <i>v.it</i>	eye, eyes mata <i>n.ia</i>

Part B

— F —

fabric **dakau** *n*
 face **mata** *n.ia*
 fall **ko** *v.it, los* *v.it*
 fall down **suar** *v.it*
 far (be) **alau** *v.it, alawen* ~
 alaweu (probably a printing
 error) *v.it, adj*
 farm **asi** *v.tr*
 father **tama** *n*, **papu** *n.ia*
 father's-tongue **kararamepapun**
 n.comp
 fear **no** *v.it*
 feast **kania** ~ **kanian** *n.ia*
 feather **lam** ~ **lamu** *n.ia*
 fell **ta** ~ **te** *v.tr*
 fetch **utue** *v.tr*
 fibers **rami** *n*
 fifty **toval** *num*
 fight **po paun** *v.comp, eso* *v.it,*
 etatai *v.it, tutui* *v.tr*
 fill **pep** *adj v.it*
 fill up **sonani** *v.tr, utuani* *v.tr*
 find **painani** *v.tr*
 finger **kavoelima** *n*
 fingernail **puci** *n*
 fingernail (of man)
 pucilimaramat *n.comp* Lit:
 'nail-hand-person'
 finished **yevuen** *v.prep*
 finished (be) **evuen** *v.it*
 fire **moan** ~ **mon** *n*
 fireplace **moan** ~ **mon** *n*
 first **tinanum** *adj, e* **palan** *phr*
 fish **kaliou** *n*, **kiar** *n*, **ni** *n*, **paliau**
 n, papai *n*

fish basket **polu** *n*
 fish-body **ditani** *n.comp*
 fishing net (large) **kapet** *n*
 fishing spear **butut** *n*
 fish-intestines **diliweni** *n.comp*
 fish soup **cu** *n*
 five **lima** ~ **alima** *num*
 fixed to **poke** ~ **voke** *v.it*
 flare **ye** *v.it*
 flat (be) **madajat** *v.it*
 flatulence **ci** *n*
 float **wek** *v.it, wekani* *v.tr*
 flood tide **ulu** *n*
 flow **su** *v.it*
 fly **kalomat** *n, ilou* *v.it, yo* *v.it*
 flying fox **palimat** *n*
 flying-fox's-claw
 pucinkekanpalimat *n.comp* Lit:
 'nail-its-foot-flying fox'
 follow **voliliti** *v.tr*
 food **kan** *n*
 foot **kato** *n*, **lin** *n*, **keka** ~ **keken**
 n.ia
 foot-bench **kekecou** *n*
 foot-print **poenkeka** *n*
 for **an** *prep, un* *prep, ile* ~ **kile** ~
 kinele *v.prep*
 forbid, disagree with **somuti** *v.tr*
 foreigner **yap** *n*
 forest **lono** *n*
 forever **yavuer** *adv, manyau*
 adv.temp
 form **dojoa** *n.ia, itigi* *v.tr*
 forty **anjol** ~ **taanjol** *num*
 four **taa** *num*
 four hundred **anjat** *num*
 fragment **sir** *n v.tr*

friarbird **cauka** *n* *Philemon coquerelli*
friend **kawas** *n*, **dasi** *n.ia*
frigate bird **kata** *n*
frighten **ateare** *v.tr*, **eateare** *v.tr*
from **e** *prep*, **pati** *prep*, **te** *prep*, **ile**
 ~ **kile** ~ **kinele** *v.prep*
front **palan** *n.ia* *adv.temp*
fruit **bua** *n*, **carjin** *n*
fruit-tree **buankei** *n.comp*
full **pep** *adj v.it*, **u** *interj adj*
full (be) **sop** *v.it*
furtive (be) **musue** *adj v.it*

— G — g —

gall **asu** *n.ia*
garden **pilaj** *n*, **lonpilaj** *n.comp*
gather **nyuni** *v.tr*
get up **tadul** *v.it*
ghost **palit** *n*
ginger bulb **lei** *n*
give **tou se** *v.comp*, **tawi** *v.tr*
give birth **masar** *v.it*, **tian** *v.it*
give birth to **tou** *v.it*
go **con** *v.it v.tr*, **la** *v.it*, **tokai** *v.it*,
 wa *v.it*
go angling **po kou** ~ **vo kou**
 v.comp
go down **lulu** *v.it*
good **uyan** *adj*
go out **mamat** *v.it*, **uti** *v.tr n.ia*
go to **le** *v.tr*
golden-white (be) **ajou** *v.it n*
grab **poratani** *v.tr*
grandmother **nyasi** ~ **oyasi** (typo,
 one example only) *n.ia*
grass skirt **lauyanj** *n*

grass-skirt-fibers **ramilauyaj**
 n.comp
greet **ta uro** *v.comp*
greeting **auro** *n*, **uro** *n*
grind to powder **tutui** *v.tr*
ground **poany** *n*
grove of forest spirits **kasi** *n*
grow **wai** *v.it*
grow bigger **rek** *v.it*
guardian **koloan** *n*
guest-friendship **kawa** *n.ia*
gun **pokat** *n*

— H — h —

hair **bugonpela** *n*, **lamunpala**
 n.comp Lit: ‘head-hair’, **lam** ~
 lamu *n.ia*, **pala** *n.ia*
half-caste woman **mises** *n*
half-ripe coconut **cui** *n*
hand **lima** *n.ia*
hang **dul** ~ **ndoul** (one only)
 [probably r > o in typesetting]
 v.it
harm **vomuani** *v.tr*
have sex **itiit** *v.it*
have sex with **iti** *v.tr*
have a good time **poes** *v.it*
head **pala** *n.ia*
head-shape **dojoanpala** *n.comp*
hear **uroje** *v.tr*
heaven **lanj** *n*, **bubu'lanj** *n.comp*
heavy **patuan** *adj*
heavy (be) **patu** *v.it*
held (be) **poke** ~ **voke** *v.it*
help **copani** ~ **covani** *v.tr*
here **ime** ~ **kime** ~ **ineme** ~
 kineme *v.prep*

Part B

hermit crab **cako** *n*
 hermit-crab-footprint
poenkekancako *n.comp*
 hide (self) **akure** *v.it*
 hilly **bulian** *adj*
 hiss **esorok** *v.it*
 hit, attack **ta ~ te** *v.tr*
 hog fish **uri** *n*
 hold **asi** *v.tr*, **kakawi** *v.tr*, **tatuni**
v.tr
 hold fast **asi** *v.tr*, **poratani** *v.tr*
 hole **lep** *n*, **gai** *n*, **poro** *n.ia*
 hollow (be) **kolol** *v.it*
 home, village, farm **kor** *n*
 hospitality **kunusu** *n.ia*
 house **um** *n*
 house-front **palakeu** *n*, **palanum**
n.comp
 house-inside **Iodianum** *n.comp*,
Ionum *n.comp*
 house-post **du** *n*
 hunger **cojn** *n*
 hunt possum **nyak lawat** *v.comp*
 hunt? raise? **nyak ~ naak** (one
 example only) *v.it v.tr*
 hurt **rar** *v.it*
 husband **kamal** *n*

- I - i -

if **alan** *conj*
 immediately **masie** *adv.temp*,
pogunsi *adv.temp*
 impregnate **itiit** *v.it*
 in **ile ~ kile ~ kinele** *vprep*, **ise ~**
kise ~ inese *vprep*
 in all lands **a kor pe a kor** *phr*
 in (be) **ti** *v.it*, **se** *v.tr*

inexpert (be) **kakau** *v.it*
 in front **palan** *n.ia adv.temp*
 in, on **iti ~ kiti** *vprep*
 inside **lo** *n.ia*, **lodia** *n.ia*
 inside the house **lodia um** *n.comp*
 inside-basket **lonkobu** *n.comp*
 inside-bow-canoe **lomodol** *n.comp*
 inside-garden **lonpilanj** *n.comp*
 inside-house **lonum** *n.comp*
 inside-the-forest **lodia-lono**
n.comp
 insult **ameani** *v.tr*
 insult, tell off, scold **ratutui** *v.tr*
 intertidal zone **mat** *n*
 intestines **diliwe** *n.ia*
 into **ila ~ kila ~ kinela** *vprep*
 in vain **lavuen** *adv*
 island (small, uninhabited) **buco** *n*
 it's true **ye** *interj*

- J - j -

jaw-bone **kapase** *n*
 jewelry **molemoel** *n*
 jump **pel ~ pely ~ vel** *v.it, ra v.it,*
ra *v.it*
 just as **konova** *conj*
 just like **konova** *conj*
 just now **masie** *adv.temp*

- K - k -

keep watch **mamat** *v.it*
 kick away **tunei** *v.tr*
 kill **atiiji** *v.tr, ta ~ te v.tr*
 kindle **utani** *v.tr*
 kiss bombastically **sukusuk** *v.it*
 knotted **taltalie** *v.it*
 know **pasan** *v.it*

know about pasani <i>v.tr</i>	lay aside luke <i>v.tr</i>
k.o. bird maya <i>n</i>	laziness molomol <i>n</i>
k.o. building pipiu <i>n</i>	leaf laun <i>n</i>
k.o. crab lokai <i>n</i>	leaf skirt launkei <i>n</i>
k.o. fish al <i>n</i> , dawi <i>n</i> , kali <i>n</i> ,	leave au <i>v.it</i>
kaliou <i>n</i> , kanas <i>n</i> , kołaj <i>n</i> , kuel <i>n</i> , muleu <i>n</i> , palawar <i>n</i> , rei <i>n</i> ,	left [side] mato <i>n.ia</i>
ropou <i>n</i>	left behind yaviani <i>n</i>
k.o. hermit crab koakal <i>n</i>	left over dawan <i>adj</i>
k.o. heron karipou <i>n</i>	let down luluani <i>v.tr</i>
k.o. large fish kemedə <i>n</i>	lewdness piris <i>n</i>
k.o. parrot cibir <i>n</i>	lice kut <i>n</i>
k.o. pigeon walef <i>n</i>	lie kip <i>v.it n</i> ,
k.o. plant ku <i>n</i>	lie down alul <i>v.it</i>
k.o. shell laup <i>n</i>	lie to kipani ~ kivani <i>v.tr</i>
k.o. shoreline tree deu <i>n</i>	lie, sleep matir <i>v.it</i>
k.o. tree but <i>n</i> , hi <i>n</i> , kawi <i>n</i> , kea <i>n</i> ,	light sawan <i>n</i> , taroan <i>n</i>
kenai <i>n</i> , lalevei <i>n</i> , madid <i>n</i> ,	lightning damet <i>n</i>
mouk <i>n</i> , pekan <i>n</i> , piniu <i>n</i> , uny <i>n</i>	light color arjou <i>v.it n</i>
k.o. vine nyonyok <i>n</i>	light colored agouin <i>adj</i>
k.o. wood maleyou <i>n</i> , pitou <i>n</i>	like ila ~ kila ~ kinela <i>vprep</i>
<i>Calophyllum</i> , sa <i>n</i>	lime ŋa <i>n</i>
	lime vessel ŋa <i>n</i>
	limit kinan <i>n</i>
	listen uroj ~ arop <i>v.it</i>
	little pucui ~ puicui <i>n adv</i>
	little (a) ape ~ ave <i>adv quant</i>
	live ti <i>v.it</i>
	live in ti <i>v.it</i>
	liver ate <i>n.ia</i>
	long (be) alawen ~ alaweu
	(probably a printing error) <i>v.it</i> , <i>adj</i>
	long-nosed parrotfish uri <i>n</i>
	<i>Hippocampus longiceps?</i>
	look around lele <i>v.it, v.tr, lisiai</i> <i>n</i>
	look at lele <i>v.it, v.tr, lisi</i> <i>v.it, v.tr,</i>
	kalum <i>v.tr</i>

— L —

ladder budel <i>n</i>	
land kor <i>n</i>	
land-back duankor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-bottom burunkor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-buttocks kinkor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-face matankor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-head palankor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-middle lodiankor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-root ŋaronkor <i>n.comp</i>	
land-tail kaleuyankor <i>n.comp</i>	
language aran <i>n.ia</i>	
laugh alisai <i>v.it</i>	
laugh at alisani <i>v.tr</i>	

Part B

look for **lisi** *v.it, v.tr, ka* *v.tr v.it*
 look for a wife **sorere** *v.it*
 look on **kalumoani** *v.tr*
 look out for **lele** *v.it, v.tr*
 lord **lapan** ~ **lavan** *n.ia*
 lose one's way **sor** *v.it*
 love **nyamiri** *v.tr, tajisi* ~ **tajis** *n
v.tr*
buon *adj*
 lower self **alulu** *v.tr*
 lung **busasan** *n*

– M – m –

magic **kiyi** *n*
 magic (make magic) **demayani** *v.it*
 make **so** *v.it* ~ **sou** *s.v., mayasani
v.tr, sowe* *v.tr, utue* *v.tr, po* ~ *vo
v.tr, v.it, s.v.*
mamada-hut *mamada* *n*
 Mandrum bark **kuliconmadum**
n.comp
 mango species **wewei** *n*
 mangrove **ca** *n*
 many **coloan** ~ **colowan** ~
colowau *adj*
 many (be) **colo** ~ **coli** *v.it*
 market day **pe** *n*
 marry **asou** *v.it, puti* ~ **vuti** *v.tr*
 mast **patanpalei** *n.comp* Lit: 'sail
 post'
 master **lapan** ~ **lavan** *n.ia*
 measure **ta** *v.tr*
 meet **sos** *v.it*
 menstrual blood **dayebui** *n*
 men's house **kamal** *n*
 method of division **talatal** *n*

middle **lonar** *n, moeren* *n,
rakuron* *n*
 middle of the body **kalio** *n.ia*
 middle of the canoe **patale** *n*
 midnight **sisie** *n*
 mid-sized drum **rakuron** *n*
 Milky Way **sawaranj** *n.comp*
 mist **pojou** *n*
 mistress **pintavan** *n.comp*
 mix **tali** *v.it*
 money string **saul** *n*
 month **bul** ~ **bu** *n*
 moon **bul** ~ **bu** *n*
 moon-face **matanbul** ~ **matabul**
n.comp
 moonlight **sawabul** *n*
 morning star **kalomatan** *n*
 mosquito **nyam** *n*
 mother **yaye** *n.ia*
 mother-of-pearl shell **cunyak** *n*
 mountain **buli** *n*
 mouse **bulei** *n*
 mouth **poa** *n.ia*
 move **atupoel** *v.it, moatata* *v.it*
 muddle up **cikak** *v.it, cikikani* *v.tr*
 mushroom **poepoau** *n*
 mussel **mosal** *n*
 mussel-knife **poencu** *n, savol* *n*
 mussel-shell **tal** *n, pucibukei* *n*

– N – n –

name **qara** *n.ia, atue* *v.tr*
 nasty **porawin** *adj*
 navel **kaca** *n.ia*
 near **ic** *adv.loc*
 near (be) **ti** *v.it*
 neck **qundu** *n, kolo* *n.ia*

negator in irrealis clauses nabu	one at a time amoeamoe <i>adv</i>	
part	one hundred sajat ~ asajat ~	
nephew kakali <i>n</i>	tasajat <i>num</i>	
net kupoen ~ kuvuen <i>n</i> , lam <i>n</i>	one more amo lie <i>phr</i>	
New Moon coorer <i>n</i>	one thousand poesi <i>num</i>	
niece patiyaye <i>n.ia</i>	only do <i>adv</i>	
night piaun ~ piawun <i>n adv.temp</i>	open caqan <i>v.it</i> , tapari <i>v.tr</i>	
nine adaamo <i>num</i> , adasi ~	open sea mokeu <i>n</i>	
taadasi <i>num</i>	or ne <i>conj</i>	
no epoen <i>interj</i>	originate au <i>v.it</i>	
noise duŋ ~ duŋa <i>n v.it</i>	osprey manuai <i>n Pandion</i>	
North tolau <i>n</i>	<i>haliaeetus, pimanuai n.comp</i>	
north wind dai <i>n</i> , tolau <i>n</i>	osprey-feather lamunmanuai	
nose matangusun <i>n</i>	<i>n.comp</i>	
not poen ~ voen <i>adv</i>	other a <i>adj dem.pro</i>	
not yet mavuen <i>adv</i>	otherwise aloa <i>adv</i>	
now tita ~ titan <i>dem.pro</i>	out of ile ~ kile ~ kinele <i>v.prep</i>	
<i>adv.temp</i> , pare <i>adv.temp</i>	outdoors arakeu <i>n</i>	
- O -		
oar pos <i>n</i>	outer wrap for fish udulani <i>n</i>	
oar (big) pao <i>n</i>	outrigger cam <i>n</i>	
obsidian dagger koco <i>n</i>	outside masaren <i>n</i>	
obsidian spear pitilou <i>n</i>	outside of the house kalicou <i>n</i>	
octopus kit <i>n</i>	over e <i>prep</i>	
of e <i>prep</i> , in <i>prep</i>	overhang paran <i>n</i>	
of, from an <i>prep</i>	over there rio <i>adv.loc</i> , iti uei <i>phr</i>	
old (be) madaj <i>v.it</i>	- P -	
old man mada <i>n</i>	paint amuti <i>v.tr</i> , tarawe <i>v.tr</i>	
old woman pimpati <i>n</i>	pandan poropon ~ vorovon <i>n</i> ,	
on ile ~ kile ~ kinele <i>v.prep</i> , ise	<i>moi</i> <i>n</i>	
~ kise ~ inese <i>v.prep</i>	pandan-devil parcinal <i>n.comp</i>	
on (be) ti <i>v.it</i> , se <i>v.tr</i>	pandan-foot lanporopon	
on account of un <i>prep</i>	<i>n.comp</i>	
one akap <i>num</i> , amo <i>num dem.pro</i> ,	pandan-fork caqanpar <i>n.comp</i>	
amoat <i>num</i> , sem <i>num</i> , si ~ sei ~	pandan-top polenpar <i>n.comp</i>	
asi <i>num</i>	pandan-tree patapopon	
	<i>n.comp</i>	

Part B

pandanus-woman pinmoi <i>n.comp</i> , pinponopon <i>n.comp</i>	pigeon pal <i>n</i> , pimpal <i>n</i>
pandanus nut par <i>n</i>	pig-excrement denpou <i>n.comp</i>
pandanus palm alei <i>n</i> <i>Pandanus sp.</i>	pig-intestines diliwenpou <i>n.comp</i>
pandanus palm-top polenponopon <i>n.comp</i>	pig's trotter puinkekapou <i>n.comp</i>
pandanus prickle potonpar <i>n.comp</i>	pit lep <i>n</i> , ŋai <i>n</i>
parcel (small) cuman <i>n</i>	pitch-dark (be) likom <i>v.it</i>
parrot asa <i>n</i> <i>Domicella atricopilla</i>	pitou-fruit buanpitou <i>n.comp</i>
part sir <i>n v.tr</i>	pity tajisi ~ tajis <i>n v.tr</i>
paternal uncle cupu <i>n</i>	place tawi <i>v.tr</i> , tou <i>v.tr</i>
path cal <i>n</i>	plant dos <i>n</i> , kis <i>n</i> , tawi <i>v.tr</i> , tayani <i>v.tr</i>
payment kunusu <i>n.ia</i>	plantation pilaq <i>n</i>
pay attention momoa <i>v.it</i>	play vuacole <i>v.it</i>
pay attention to mata i momoa <i>phr</i>	Pleiades casa <i>n</i>
peace morai <i>n</i>	plenty coloan ~ colowan ~ colowau <i>adj</i>
pearl buayap <i>n</i> Lit: 'Yap-fruit'	pod cucumoa <i>n.comp</i> , cucu <i>n.ia</i>
peel, husk ucumui <i>v.tr</i>	pole tone <i>n</i>
peer inin <i>v.it</i>	poss e <i>prep</i>
peg, stake dusul <i>n</i>	possum lawat <i>n</i> <i>Trichosurus</i> <i>vulpecula</i> , losou <i>n</i>
penetrate rap <i>v.it</i>	post pata <i>n</i>
penetrate? yoŋ <i>v?</i>	pot keiny <i>n</i> , porokiny <i>n</i>
penis uti <i>v.tr n.ia</i>	potai-tree-top polenpotai <i>n.comp</i>
people lau <i>n</i>	pour ure <i>v.tr</i>
people? ran <i>n</i>	pour over cani <i>v.tr</i>
pepper-vine moareta <i>n</i>	praise masiani <i>v.tr</i>
perhaps ane <i>adv</i>	pregnant diayou <i>adj</i> , <i>v.it</i>
person demat <i>n</i> , ramat <i>n</i>	prepare marjase <i>v.tr</i>
person-feast kanianramat <i>n.comp</i>	present with gifts, present, offer ajani <i>v.tr</i>
person's head palaramat <i>n.comp</i>	press tight rapiti <i>v.tr</i>
person's bone pataruiramat <i>n.comp</i>	prick tage <i>v.tr</i>
pick multi <i>v.tr</i>	prickle poto <i>n.ia</i>
pierce cili <i>v.tr</i>	produce cope <i>v.tr</i>
pig pou <i>n</i>	prog tu <i>s.v.</i> , <i>v.it</i>
	propel pelawani <i>v.tr</i>

prostitute **pinanes** *n.comp*
 protect **koloani** *v.tr*
 proud (be) **timoak** *v.it*
 pull **bulati** *v.tr, riwi v.tr*
 pull out **suari** *v.tr, usani v.tr, uti v.tr n.ia*
pulpul *pulpul n*
 put **omani** *v.tr*
 put in **siriani** *v.tr*
 put on **tais** *v.tr*
 put out **ca mamate** *v.comp*

– Q – q –

quarrel **ketatai** *n*
 quarrel with **ececena** *v.tr*
 quickly **marayen** *adv.manner*
 quiet **nause** *adj*

– R – r –

rafter **kao** *n*
 rain **bura** *n*
 rain-magic **kiyibura** *n.comp*
 ransom **anui** *v.tr*
 rape **womuani** *v.tr*
 rattan **alakei** *n*
 rattan rope **woseu** *n*
 rattan rope-end **palawoseu** *n.comp*
 raw **mamatin** *adj, rai n*
 reach **tan** *v.it*
 reason **ajanun** *n*
 reception **ayyan** *n*
 recognize **pas** *v.it n, ilimi v.tr, pasani v.tr*
 recognize (did not) **illilime** *v.it*
 redder **ram** *v.it*
 red ochre **patirama** *n.comp*

red parrot **karej** *n Agapornis roseicollis*
buton *n, mat n*
 reef-creation-words **damebuton** *n.comp*
vavuen *v.it, mucinani v.tr*
 remain **no** *v.it, so v.it ~ sou s.v.*
 remaining **kavuen** *adj*
pakutani *v.tr*
ujang *v.it*
 return **mulie** *v.it*
waareani *v.tr*
rajisa *n*
 revenge (over fish) **rajisani** *n.comp*

right [side] **kalimo** *n.ia*
 right oneself **sunjani** *v.tr*
 ripe (be) **lom** *v.it*
 ripe coconut **butoniu** *n*
 rise **nyak ~ naak** (one example only) *v.it v.tr, riwi v.tr*
rut *v.it*
 rock-top **ditanpat ~ ditapat** *n.comp*
sol *v.tr*
burgei *n*
pora *v.it*
sue *v.it*
 rub at **sisiani** *v.tr*
kilit *n*
ilou *v.it*
 rustle? **nyany** *v.it*

– S – s –

sacred (be) **nabun** *v.it*
 sad (be) **dili** *v.it n*
 sadness **dili** *v.it n, kolodili n.comp*

Part B

sago api ~ avi <i>n</i> , yak <i>n</i>	set aside cani <i>v.tr</i>
sago-feast kanianapi <i>n.comp</i>	set out uti <i>v.tr n.ia</i>
sago-leaf ribs palenkei <i>n</i>	set right tawi <i>v.tr</i>
sago-loaf abulukal ~ bulukal <i>n</i>	set up asi <i>v.tr</i>
sago-scraper tayanapi <i>n.comp</i>	seven adatulomo <i>num</i>
sago trunk panapi <i>n</i>	sex kitiit <i>n</i>
sail dilaki <i>n</i> , palei ~ pale (Parkinson) <i>n</i> , lapat <i>v.it</i>	sextant pitui an papai <i>n.comp</i>
sail-hole poronpalei <i>n.comp</i>	sexually immature cucun <i>adj</i>
sail out lagate <i>v.it?</i>	shadow molianpein <i>n.comp</i> ,
same (number) sisie <i>n</i>	mario <i>n.ia</i>
sand leq <i>n</i> , papi <i>n</i>	shake nyol <i>v.it</i> , rosani <i>v.tr</i> , royani <i>v.tr</i> , ujuni <i>v.tr</i>
sand-picture dogoanpapi <i>n.comp</i>	shape, form moneani <i>v.tr</i>
save tawi <i>v.tr</i>	shark peu <i>n</i>
say vai <i>v.tr</i>	sharpen ace <i>v.tr</i>
say, talk to pa ~ va <i>v.it</i>	she-devil pincinal <i>n.comp</i>
scatter ror <i>v.it</i>	shelf above door poancoco <i>n</i>
scoop suni <i>v.tr</i>	shellfish buke <i>n</i> <i>Tridacna sp.</i>
scrape nyamui <i>v.tr</i>	shell money luluai <i>n</i>
scrape off sui <i>v.tr</i>	shine ce <i>v.it</i> , sam <i>v.it</i>
sea das <i>n</i>	shine on tatarume <i>v.tr</i>
sea cucumber bundai <i>n</i> , kuer <i>n</i>	shore dileq <i>n</i> , leg <i>n</i>
sea-drinker kulumuadas <i>n.comp</i>	shrink kokol <i>v.it</i>
sea eagle poedilei <i>n</i>	shyness matabule <i>n</i>
seagrass mot <i>n</i>	sibling pisio <i>n.ia</i>
search for kai <i>v.tr</i>	sick of it ewesur <i>v.it</i>
sea slug ponai <i>n</i>	sick (be) qadi <i>v.it</i>
sea water das <i>n</i>	side kasoi <i>n</i> , sir <i>n v.tr</i> , tou <i>n</i>
see lele <i>v.it</i> , <i>v.tr</i> , lis <i>v.it</i> , <i>v.tr</i> , lis <i>v.it</i>	sinew qaro <i>n.ia</i>
seek ka <i>v.tr v.it</i> , kakala <i>v.it</i> , con <i>v.it</i> , <i>v.tr</i>	sing wari <i>v.it n</i>
seek out titie <i>v.tr</i>	singe sig <i>v.tr</i>
seize sari <i>v.tr</i>	sing out va wari <i>v.comp</i>
send away tuetuene <i>v.tr</i>	sink camur <i>v.it</i> , nyu <i>v.it</i> , tuni <i>v.it</i>
send for logoani <i>v.tr</i>	sister pilao ~ pilawa <i>n.ia</i>
send out tuanani <i>v.tr</i>	sister, brother pisio <i>n.ia</i>
separate talasi <i>v.tr</i> , <i>v.it</i>	sisterhood pisioi <i>n</i>
	sit an <i>v.it</i> , en <i>v.it</i> , en <i>v.it</i>

sit down alul <i>v.it</i>	south lan ~ laan <i>n</i>
sit on mother's neck ocun <i>v.it</i>	south wind lan ~ laan <i>n</i>
sizzle esorok <i>v.it</i>	southeast wind kup ~ kuup <i>n</i>
skin kulico <i>n.ia</i>	spar les <i>n</i>
skull poenpalan <i>n</i>	sparse totowe <i>adj</i>
slave tapo ~ tavo <i>n</i> , pintavo ~ pintapo <i>n.comp</i>	speak boldly uror <i>v.it</i>
sleeping place lako <i>n.ia</i>	spear nya <i>n</i> , atiq <i>v.tr</i>
sleep making matirwai <i>n</i>	spear bundle kawakau <i>n</i>
sleep with maturue <i>v.it</i> , ci <i>v.tr</i> , matire <i>v.tr</i> , maturuani <i>v.tr</i>	spear-bundle hole poronkawakau <i>n.comp</i>
sling over shoulders kuni <i>v.tr</i>	spear-fish atitip <i>v.it</i>
slip, slide con <i>v.it v.tr</i>	spears kawakau <i>n</i>
small riin <i>adj</i> , manayan <i>n</i>	speech kulul <i>n v.it</i> , ajan <i>n.ia</i>
smell uge <i>v.tr</i>	spit cawon <i>n</i> , mari <i>v.it</i>
smell bad pusuan <i>adj</i>	spit out umari <i>v.tr</i>
smell of uge <i>v.tr</i>	spittle buangire <i>n</i>
smell of crab molitonkopat <i>n.comp</i>	splice sir <i>n v.tr</i>
smell of grass skirt molitonlauyan <i>n.comp</i>	split sel <i>v</i>
snake esol <i>n</i> , moat <i>n</i>	spread tatapei <i>v.tr</i>
snake-eater kaniamoat <i>n.comp</i>	spread out ajanani <i>v.tr</i> , cani <i>v.tr</i> , talasi <i>v.tr, v.it</i>
snake-mouth poamoat <i>n.comp</i>	spread over cani <i>v.tr</i>
snake-stomach putuamoat <i>n.comp</i>	spring out ra <i>v.it</i>
sniff tutui <i>v.tr</i>	spring up ra <i>v.it</i>
solid (be) atu <i>v.it</i> , ikisi <i>v.prep</i>	squeeze tamete <i>v.tr</i>
some ape ~ ave <i>adv quant</i>	squeeze out duluani <i>v.tr</i> , puriyi <i>v.tr</i>
somewhat ape ~ ave <i>adv quant</i>	stale (be) madaŋat <i>v.it</i>
somewhere ape ~ ave <i>adv quant</i>	standing up tadulai <i>n</i>
song wari <i>v.it n</i>	stand, sit se <i>v.tr</i>
soothe asusui <i>v.tr</i>	stand upright tadul <i>v.it</i>
sore laken <i>adj</i>	star pitui <i>n</i>
soul molua <i>n.ia</i>	starling cilim <i>n</i>
sound ot <i>v.it</i>	stay tu <i>s.v. v.it</i>
sound of coconut leaves being dragged through the water dilo <i>n</i>	steal paana <i>v.it?</i> , caburui <i>v.tr</i> , panawe ~ vanawe <i>v.tr</i>
	stench moliton <i>n</i>

Part B

stick nes <i>n</i>	supply with food pomane <i>v.tr</i>
stick out tatawani <i>v.tr</i>	support, look after agani <i>v.tr</i>
still amu <i>adv</i> , ma <i>adv</i> , ne <i>part</i>	surf awei <i>n</i>
still (be) tariti <i>v.it</i>	surreptitious lolau <i>adj</i>
stingray pei <i>n</i>	swallow nyimili <i>v.tr</i>
stir up votoani <i>v.tr</i>	swim kau <i>v.it</i> , nyu <i>v.it</i>
stitch susui <i>v.tr</i>	swimming kawenai <i>n</i>
stomach putua <i>n.ia</i>	sympathy tarisi ~ tarjis <i>n v.tr</i>
stone pat <i>n</i>	— T —
stone axe cimer <i>n</i>	tail kaleuya <i>n.ia</i>
stone carrier sosonganpat ~ <i>n.comp</i>	take lai <i>v.tr</i> , papati <i>v.tr</i>
stop molomol <i>v.it</i> ,	take along waye <i>v.tr</i>
story moali <i>n</i>	take in usuni <i>v.tr</i>
strand caca <i>n</i>	take out usuni <i>v.tr</i>
strange amaun <i>adj</i>	talk neneu <i>v.it</i>
strangle cimiti <i>v.tr</i>	tall (be) alawen ~ alaweu (probably a printing error) <i>v.it</i> , <i>adj</i>
stretcher, sling kunian <i>n</i>	talon pucinkekka <i>n.comp</i>
stretch out sunjani <i>v.tr</i>	talons yinkekan <i>n</i>
strike atiiji <i>v.tr</i>	tame (be) mulul <i>v.it</i>
strike? painani <i>v.tr</i>	tapa bark kolau <i>n</i>
strong pokean <i>adj</i>	taro ma <i>n</i>
strong (be) poke ~ voke <i>v.it</i>	tarō-blackness puiconma <i>n.comp</i>
strong (make) pokeani <i>v.tr</i> ~ vokeani <i>v.tr</i>	tarō-grower majasama <i>n.comp</i>
stupidity gou <i>n</i>	tarō leaf launbulai <i>n.comp</i> Lit: 'laun-mbulai?'
substitute coan <i>n</i>	tarō pulp pel <i>n</i>
suffer momoa <i>v.it</i>	tarō skin kuliconma <i>n.comp</i>
sufficient (be) onani <i>v.tr</i>	taunt pilitani <i>v.tr</i>
sugarcane patadodo <i>n.comp</i>	tear self away from apus <i>v.tr</i>
summer morai im paun <i>n.comp</i>	tease moage <i>v.tr</i>
Lit: 'war sun'	ten akou ~ taakou <i>num</i>
sun matamorai <i>n</i> ~ morai (cf. also the name of the creator in text I.1, which is Malai; perhaps a dialect borrowing)	tentacles qaro <i>n.ia</i>
	tern qon <i>n</i>
	tern species kanau <i>n</i>

testicles buanuny <i>n.comp n.ia</i>	today tita ~ titan <i>dem.pro</i> <i>adv.temp</i>
than e <i>prep</i>	toe kapoenkeka ~ kavoenkeka ~ kavoekeka <i>n.comp</i>
there ila ~ kila ~ kinela <i>v.prep</i> , wa <i>v.prep</i> , yen ~ yene <i>v.prep</i>	to, for te <i>prep</i>
there in ilati ~ kilati <i>v.prep</i> , ilatu <i>v.prep</i>	together (be) paut <i>v.it</i>
the one, the other arai <i>n</i> , de arai <i>phr</i>	tomorrow rajiau <i>adv.temp</i>
thick isop <i>v.prep</i>	tongue kararame <i>n.ia</i>
thicket lonau <i>n</i>	tooth lia <i>n.ia</i>
thick forest lonau <i>n</i>	top dita <i>n.ia</i> , dun <i>n</i>
thigh bupan <i>n</i>	topmost-cluster dum <i>n n.comp</i>
thing buamarit <i>n</i>	top, peak pole <i>n.ia</i>
think pa ~ va <i>v.it s.v.</i> , titile <i>v.it</i>	touch sumoe <i>v.tr</i>
thirty tuluopol <i>num</i>	toy mameq <i>n</i>
this side ir <i>n</i>	trade cicime <i>v.it</i>
this way enau <i>adv.loc</i>	travel vuacole <i>v.it</i>
three talo <i>num</i> , tatalo ~ atalo <i>num</i>	tree buahat <i>n</i> , civo <i>n</i> , kayar <i>n</i> , kei <i>n</i> , madun <i>n</i> , pata <i>n</i> , pokapoak <i>n</i> , potai <i>n</i> , yeu <i>n</i>
three hundred tulupat <i>num</i>	tree-bark kuliconkei <i>n.comp</i> Lit: ‘skin of a tree’
throat kolon <i>n.ia</i>	tree-dew cacankei <i>n.comp</i>
throw covolani <i>v.tr</i> , uti <i>v.tr n.ia</i>	tree-foot katolin <i>n.comp</i>
throw (away) lupoani ~ luvuani <i>v.tr</i>	tree-leaf launkei <i>n</i>
throw off back tarase <i>v.tr</i>	tree-overhang parankei <i>n.comp</i>
thrust ari <i>v.tr</i>	tree top polenkei <i>n.comp</i>
thunder katut <i>n</i> , atut <i>v.it</i>	trepang kuer <i>n</i>
thunderclap parar <i>n</i>	tropic bird kanawi <i>n</i>
tie samiti <i>v.tr</i>	trotter pucinkeka <i>n.comp</i>
tie fast pakutani <i>v.tr</i>	true daajan ~ ngrajan (one example only) <i>n</i>
tie tightly ndawe <i>v.it?</i>	try no <i>s.v.</i>
time of year kup culan casa <i>phr</i>	turn mulie <i>v.it</i> , tou <i>v.tr</i>
tired (be) ngop <i>v.it</i>	turn into pakute ... ila <i>v.tr</i> Lit: ‘do X becoming Y’
to ila te ~ kila te <i>phr</i> , ime te ~ kineme te ~ kime te <i>phr</i> , varina ~ varin <i>prep</i> , ila ~ kila ~ .	turtle kalivuc <i>n</i> , karaat <i>n</i> , pun <i>n</i>
kinela <i>v.prep</i> , ile ~ kile ~ kinele <i>v.prep</i>	turtle-egg manaonkaraat <i>n.comp</i>

Part B

twenty rukou <i>num</i>	urinate on mimi <i>v.tr</i>
twenty thousand mocorumo <i>num</i>	urine mim ~ nim (one only, perhaps typo) <i>n</i>
twist mapalupalue <i>v.comp</i> Lit: 'come-again-again'	use po ~ vo <i>v.tr, v.it s.v.</i>
two aruei <i>num</i> , arukap <i>num</i> ,	used up kamum <i>v.it</i>
arumo ~ rumo <i>num</i> , aruo <i>pro num</i> ~ ruo ~ arou (occurs only once, probably typo.), ataruo num , tarumo ~ taruvo (this is probably an error, since Meier writes /v/ as w, and the relevant letter appears to be m upside down) <i>num</i> , taruo <i>num</i>	— V — v —
type of ceremony kalou <i>n</i>	valley porolu ~ porulu <i>n</i>
type of forest spirit, similar to <i>kasi</i> . qam <i>n</i>	very much de <i>adv</i>
type of spirit kapou <i>n</i>	vine kap <i>n</i>
— U — u —	visit kai <i>v.tr</i>
ugly muān <i>adj</i>	vomit romot <i>v.it</i>
ulcer lot <i>n</i>	vulva bui <i>n.ia</i>
unchastity poke <i>n</i>	vulva-sinews qarobuin <i>n.comp</i>
uncle kakali <i>n</i>	— W — w —
under e <i>prep</i> , we <i>prep</i> , ile ~ kile ~ kinele <i>v.prep</i>	wait for lipani <i>v.tr</i>
under (be) kanun <i>v.it</i>	wait, wait for liŋ <i>v.it</i>
undergo s th?, do what, how is it etepe <i>v.it</i>	wake up mamat <i>v.it, uŋuŋ</i> <i>v.it</i>
under-the-bed paranpatapat <i>n.comp</i>	wander mayayawe <i>v.it</i>
under the house kavalij <i>n</i>	wander here and there karikari <i>v.it</i>
uninhabited island (small) buco <i>n</i>	want pa ~ va <i>v.it s.v.</i>
untie rubuti <i>v.tr</i>	war-canoe dol en paun <i>n.comp</i>
uny-fruit buānuny <i>n.comp n.ia</i>	war-ornament wanei <i>n</i>
up yau <i>v.prep</i>	wash yai <i>v</i> , nyurui <i>v.tr</i>
up to you teoi	watch lisī <i>v.it, v.tr</i>
urge, press kekes <i>v.it</i>	water wai <i>n</i>
	water-jug wai <i>n</i>
	water vessel poekou <i>n</i>
	wave tawi kalo ~ tou kalo <i>phr</i>
	waves nyatoan <i>n</i>
	weather morai <i>n</i>
	weave tir <i>v.tr</i>
	well developed (be) ewain <i>v.it</i>
	west ai <i>n</i>
	west wind ai <i>n</i>
	whimper ta kou <i>v.comp</i>

whisper unani <i>v.tr</i>	wood-shelter paranpitou <i>n.comp</i>
white pareren <i>v.it adj</i>	word ajan <i>n.ia</i>
white (be) parer <i>v.it adj, pareren v.it adj</i>	work po mapas <i>v.comp</i>
white ant patimu <i>n</i>	work, affairs mapas <i>n</i>
wife pati <i>n</i> , pafua <i>n.ia n</i>	worm kalemuid <i>n</i>
wife, woman bulu ~ bulun <i>n</i>	woven pandanus leaves mocel <i>n</i>
wild animal cavat <i>n</i>	wrap cut yumoani <i>v.tr</i>
wind kawo <i>n</i>	wrap (in rattan) uduli <i>v.tr</i>
window hole muduken <i>n</i>	wretch! tapo ~ tavo <i>n</i>
wing pali <i>n.ia</i>	– Y – y –
wipe ucungi <i>v.tr</i>	yam buapan <i>n</i>
wipe off savui <i>v.tr</i>	yes wa <i>interj</i>
witchcraft palit <i>n</i>	yesterday aminyau <i>adv.temp</i>
with ila te ~ kila te <i>phr, e prep,</i>	yet amu <i>adv</i>
ma <i>prep, conj, ile</i> ~ kile ~	yeu hollow poroyeu <i>n.comp</i>
kinele <i>v.prep</i>	yeu tree-overhang parayeu
woman pein ~ pin ~ pi <i>n</i> ,	<i>n.comp</i>
pinramat ~ piramat <i>n.comp</i>	young girl dakein <i>n</i>
Lit: ‘woman person’	young man kamal <i>n</i>
woman (young) pincuel <i>n.comp</i>	young one pucui ~ puicui <i>n adv</i>
woman-spirit moluanpein <i>n.comp</i>	young person uluou <i>n</i>
wooden bowl dis <i>n</i> , porokiny <i>n</i>	young shoot nyubu <i>n.ia</i>
wooden drum ramei ~ rame <i>n</i>	you there! nya itan <i>phr</i>

Part C

Texts

Introduction

This section contains the corpus on which the sketch grammar is based. The few obvious typographical errors have been silently corrected (such as a few transpositions of letters including an instance of *jnu* for *nju*). One problem was the multiple number of spellings which exist for some words, particularly alternations between *p* and *v* (e.g., *lapan* and *lavan* ‘chief’). Variants have been recorded in the wordlist, and no attempt has been made to standardize spelling in the texts. Variants with *v* and *p* are listed under *p* in the wordlist. More difficult is the occasional alternation of *u* and *n*. This has been assumed to be a typesetter’s error and occurrences, such as *atne* ~ *atue*, have been corrected and noted as they arise. In all cases where there were several tokens, one had *n* and the rest *u*. The same problem occasionally occurred with *w* and *m*. On occasion, Meier glosses parts of the text in Latin. In all cases the relevant passages are descriptions of sexual intercourse. These sections have been glossed in English without comment.

Meier added a number of explanatory footnotes to the stories. Some elucidate the German transcription. Others provide cultural information. I have incorporated some of the notes into the free translation and I have translated the notes which add cultural information. I have also added notes where I have corrected non-obvious errors (anything other than typographical errors). Fortune’s notes on text VIII.6 are also included as annotations.

The texts are reproduced here in the same order and with the same numbering scheme as in Meier’s original. Meier grouped the stories into sections and his titles have been translated. The line numbers are mine, however, as are the free translations.

I Origin Myths

I.1 The creation of the earth and of people

Told by Po Sing from Papitalai. A story from Manus. (Meier:1907:650)

I.1/1. *Kor mavuen, do das. Moat, garan Malai, i tu kau e das.*
land not.yet only sea snake name Malai 3sg prog swim in sea

At this time, there was no land; only sea. Malai the snake used to swim in this sea.

Texts: Part I

1.1/2. *Kor a, i ki le wei poen.*
land indef 3sg pot go.to that not

There was no land for him to go to.

1.1/3. *I va damebuton, i va: "Buton ki nyak!"*
3sg say reef-creation-words 3sg say reef hort rise

Malai uttered a spell for making a reef. He said: "Let the reef rise!"

1.1/4. *Buton i nyak ila madean, i la kor.*
reef 3sg rise becoming big 3sg become land

The reef rose [from the sea] and got bigger. It became land.

1.1/5. *I tawi nat arumo. Amo i la pein, amo i la kamal.*
3sg give.birth.to child two one 3sg become woman one 3sg become young.man

Malai gave birth to two children. One was a woman and the other a man.

1.1/6. *Aru puti aru. Aru tawi yota.*
3dl marry 3dl 3dl create 1pl.inc

They married each other. They created us all.

1.1/7. *Moat i tawi kor, pe i tawi kan pe i tawi yota.*
snake 3sg create land and 3sg create food and 3sg create 1pl.inc
The snake created the land, food, and they created us.

I.2 Nimei and Nivong, the ancestors of the Admiralty-Islanders, created everything

Told by Moenpak from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1907:650)

1.2/1. *Nimei pe Nivong.*
Nimei and Nivong

This is a story about Nimei and Nivong.

1.2/2. *De palan kor mavuen, do das.*
before beginning land not.yet only sea

Before, in the very beginning there was no land yet, only sea.

1.2/3. *Nimei pe Nivong aru nyu.*
Nimei and Nivong 3dl swim

Nimei and Nivong were swimming.

- 1.2/4. *Aru va: "Taru ita kor etaru ite?"*
 3dl say 1dl.inc this land 1dl.inc.ps where
 They said, "Where is this land of ours?"
- 1.2/5. *Nivog i va: "Nime! Taru ka la vo sau amu!*
 Nivong 3sg say Nime! 1dl.inc hort go make dry(ness) yet
Das ane ki camar ne poen?"
 sea.water perhaps 3sg.fut dry.up or not
 Nivong said, "Nime! Let's go and make it dry. Maybe the sea water
 will dry up?"
- 1.2/6. *Aru nyak ile lui. Das i vo sau yevuen.*
 3dl climb onto wood sea.water 3sg pass.caus be.dry completely
 The two climbed onto some driftwood. The sea got completely dry.
- 1.2/7. *Kor i la bulian. Kei poen, do poany.*
 the.earth 3sg become hilly tree not only ground
 The earth became hilly. There were no trees, only earth.
- 1.2/8. *Aru va: "Taru ka tayani kei!" Aru tayani kei.*
 3dl say 1dl.inc hort plant tree 3dl plant tree
 They said, "Let's plant trees!" They planted trees.
- 1.2/9. *Aru tawi kor, aru tawi kei, aru tawi kan. Aru moneani*
 3dl create land both create tree both create food both form
poepoau aruo.
 mushroom two
 They created the land, and trees, and food. They made two mushrooms.
- 1.2/10. *Nime i moneani tei ila bul. Nivog i moneani tei*
 Nime 3sg shape to-3sg into moon Nivong 3sg shape to 3sg
ila matamorai.
 into sun
 Nime shaped his [mushroom] into the moon, and Nivong shaped his
 into the sun.

1.3 Men are descended from turtles

Told by Suean from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1907:651)

1.3/1. *Karaat i nyany ile mat. I la tawi manaon ile ηai.*
turtle 3sg crawl from beach 3sg incho lay egg in hole

A turtle crawled from the beach [intertidal zone]. She began to lay her eggs in a hole.

1.3/2. *Manaonkaraat i ciri. Adaruo i la karaat, pe taruo*
turtle-egg 3sg break eight 3sg become turtle and two
i la ramat.
3sg become person

The turtle eggs hatched. Eight became turtles and two were humans.

1.3/3. *Amo i la kamal pe amo i la pein.*
one 3sg become young.man and one 3sg become woman

One became a man and one a woman.

1.3/4. *Aru puti aru. Aru tawi yota lau asiuna, Yap pe Moanus.*
3dl marry 3dl 3dl create 1pl.inc people all Yap and Moanus
They married each other. They created all our people, people from Yap and Manus.

1.3/5. *Yota lau asiuna, yota nat e karaat.*
1pl.inc people all 1pl.inc child poss turtle

All our people, we are all the children of turtles.

1.3/6. *Karaat ki la poen alan, do kor pe ramat poen, titan*
turtle c.fact be not if only the.earth and person not now
yota nat e karaat.
1pl.inc child poss turtle

Had there been no turtles, there would have been only the earth and no people, since we are the children of turtles.

1.3/7. *Puicon pe ayouin do nat e karaat.*
black and light.colored only child poss turtle
Black and light-colored people are merely the children of turtles.

I.4 Men are descended from pigeons

Told by Songan from Papitalai. A Man story. (Meier 1907:651)

I.4/1. *Amo pimpal.*
indef pigeon

This is a story about a pigeon.

I.4/2. *I tawi nat arumo. Amo i la ramat pe amo*
3sg give.birth.to child two one 3sg become person and one
i la manuai.
3sg become osprey

She gave birth to two children. One became a person and one became an osprey.

I.4/3. *I ramat i vo muan. I iti yayen.*
3sg person 3sg do bad 3sg have.sex.with mother-3sg

The person did a bad thing; he had sex with his mother.

I.4/4. *Yayen i tawi nat ila coloan.*
mother-3sg 3sg give.birth.to child there many

His mother gave birth to many children.

I.4/5. *Ala puti ala. Ala tawi yota lau asiuna.*
3pl marry 3pl 3pl give.birth.to 1pl.inc people all

They married each other. They gave birth to all our people.

I.5 Men are descended from the blood of a woman

Told by Kopen from Papitalai. A story from Manus. (Meier 1907:651–652)

I.5/1. *Hi Asa do i kavuen. I tu po mayas.*
Hi Asa only 3sg be.alone 3sg prog do work

Hi Asa was alone. She was working. (Meier's note: The work that his woman is doing entails that she removes the spines from the leaves of pandanus palms (from which she wishes to make a shade) with a sharp piece of mussel shell.)

I.5/2. *I cariti kavoelman.*
3sg cut.through finger-3sg

She cut her finger.

I.5/3. *I lai si pucibukei. I tawi rai e liman ile wei.*
3sg take one mussel-shell 3sg place blood from hand-3sg into that

Texts: Part I

I dutui.

3sg close

She took a mussel shell and placed the blood from her hand into it. It closed.

1.5/4. *I cani nou.*

3sg count day

She counted the days.

1.5/5. *Nowu akou pe si. I la lisi.*

day ten and one 3sg go see

Eleven days passed. She went to look at it.

1.5/6. *Alet ataruo. Aru ne caic mavuen.*

egg two 3dl d.neg break.out not.yet

There were two eggs. They had not hatched yet.

1.5/7. *I la lisi palue. Aru caic.*

3sg go see again 3dl break.out

She went and looked again. They had hatched.

1.5/8. *Amo i la kamal pe amo i la pein.*

one 3sg become young.man and one 3sg become woman

One became a man and one a woman.

1.5/9. *Aru tawi yota. Yota nat e rai.*

3dl give.birth.to 1pl.inc 1pl.inc child poss blood

They gave birth to us all. We are the children of blood.

I.6 Men are descended from the pair of parrots Asa and Alu

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A Manus story.⁶³ (Meier 1906:481)

1.6/1. *Asa pe Alu aru alul yen e kei sei.*

Asa and Alu 3dl sit.down there on tree one

Asa and Alu were sitting down in a tree.

1.6/2. *Asa i va dilija Alu, i va: "Do yotaru ka voen? Taru ka*

*Asa 3sg say ear Alu 3sg say only 1dl.inc hort not 1dl.inc hort
tawi amo ramat!"*

create one person

Asa said in the ear of Alu, "Will it be just us two? Let's make a person!"

- 1.6/3. *Asa i susui launkei; i susui liman; i susui kekan; susui palan; i susui putuan.*
Asa 3sg stitch tree.leaf 3sg stitch arm-3sg 3sg stitch foot-3sg stitch head-3sg 3sg stitch stomach-3sg

Asa stitched leaves together. She sewed hands, feet, a head, and a torso.

- 1.6/4. *I lupoani ile poany; launkei i amou ila ramat; ramat i tadul.*
3sg throw onto ground leaf.cloth 3sg change.self into person person 3sg stand.upright

She threw it onto the ground. It changed itself into a person, and the person stood upright.

- 1.6/5. *Asa i neneu ila te i, i va: "Ko tokai kile kor; ko asi um eoi; ku susui laudilis kila pati eoi; ko tawi nat eoi ki coli kile kor asiuna!"*
Asa 3sg talk to 3sg 3sg say imp go to village imp build house 2sg.ps imp stitch canarium-leaves into wife 2sg.ps imp create child 2sg.ps 3sg.fut be.many in land all

Asa spoke to him and said, "Go into a village, build a house for yourself; stitch canarium leaves into a wife for yourself. Make children who will be many in many lands!"

1.7 The origin of women

Told by Po Sing from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1907:652)

- 1.7/1. *Manuai, moen Lowoseu, do i kavuen. Kor ei a kor.*
osprey def L only 3sg be.alone village 3sg.ps other village

Manuai, the osprey, was alone in Lowoseu. His was a different village.

- 1.7/2. *Amo pein poen. I va: "Yo ita pati eyo ite?"*
indef woman not 3sg say 1sg this wife mine where
There weren't any women. He said, "Where's a wife for me?"

- 1.7/3. *I lai cimer. I tokai ile lonau.*
3sg take stone.axe 3sg go into thick.forest
He took a stone axe. He went into the thick forest.

Texts: Part I

1.7/4. *I cariti civo.*

3sg cut.up ko.tree

He cut up a civo tree.

1.7/5. *I lai ile kor. I sai kei ila ramat.*

3sg take to village 3sg build.from.wood tree into person

He took the tree to the village. He made the tree into a person.

1.7/6. *I sai kekan pe liman, i sai susun pe i sai*

3sg build foot-3sg and hand-3sg 3sg build breast-3sg and 3sg build mata-n.
face-3sg

He built the feet, the hands, the breast and he built the face.

1.7/7. *Kei i la pein.*

tree 3sg become woman

The tree became a woman.

1.7/8. *I va: "Kei eyo ita ki la pein!"*

3sg say tree mine this hort become woman

He said, "Let my tree become a woman!"

1.7/9. *Kei i la pein.*

tree 3sg become woman

The tree became a woman.

1.7/10. *Aru tawi nat ila coloan.*

3dl give.birth.to child there plenty

They gave birth to many children.

1.7/11. *Manuai ki la poen alan, do yota kamal, ala pein*

osprey c.fact be not if only 1pl.inc husband 3pl woman

poen.

not

If Manuai had not existed, we would be only men. There would be no women.

I.8 The creation of the Poawai Channel, in the region of Papitalai, and how all things originate from the stomach of a snake

Told by Ho Mou from Warvei. This story is well known to all Admiralty-Islanders. Cf. I.18. (Meier 1907:652–653)

Section A

- I.8/1. *Aru dasiaru.* *Aru ti Pounda.*
3dl brothers.to.each.other 3dl live.in P

There were two brothers. They lived in Pounda.

- I.8/2. *Aru va, "Yotaru ka sosogani pat, ki la tay kile lag!"*
3dl say 1dl.inc hort collect stone hort go reach into heaven
They said, "let's collect stones which will reach to heaven!"

- I.8/3. *Aru sosogani.*

3dl collect

They collected them.

- I.8/4. *Pounda kor e moat. Moat i lisi aru, aru tu sosoge pat.*
P land poss snake snake 3sg see 3dl 3dl prog collect stone
Pounda is a land of snakes. A snake saw them as they were collecting stones.

- I.8/5. *Moat i va: "Amo ku tu sosoge pat, amo ko copani yo!"*
snake 3sg say one imp prog collect stone one imp help 1sg
The snake said, "One of you collect stones, and the other one help me!"

- I.8/6. *Amo, i tu sosoge pat, putuan i momoa e aru.*
one 3sg stay collect stone stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry with 3dl
One stayed collecting stones, feeling angry with the other two.

- I.8/7. *I kuni pat. I tokai piaun.*
3sg sling.over.shoulders stone 3sg go by.night
He slung stones over his shoulders. He went [home?] at night.

- I.8/8. *Cauka i tay, i luvuani pat.*
ko.bird 3sg cry 3sg throw stone
The Chauka bird cried, he threw stones.

- I.8/9. *I va: "Das ki cani kor! Sir earu pe sir*
3sg say sea.water hort spread.over the.earth part 3dl.ps and part

Texts: Part I

eyo!"

1sg.ps

He said, "Let sea water spread over the earth. Part will be for them two, and part will be for me!"

- I.8/10. *Das i cani kor, sir earu, sir ei.*
sea.water 3sg spread.over the.earth part 3dl.ps part 3sg.ps

The sea water spread over the earth, and one part was theirs and one part was his. (Meier's note: The rocks which are the topic of this story can be found in the middle of the channel and are called <Caretankor>, which means "the land division".)

Section B

- I.8/11. *Moat pe amo, aru tu paut.*
snake and one 3dl stay be.together

The snake and one of the men were together.

- I.8/12. *I putuan i momoa e moat, i va: "Oi etepe, oi mucinani dasi? Oi amo ramat poen, oi moat."*
3sg stomach-3sg 3sg angry with snake 3sg say 2sg how.is.it 2sg a 2sg.nfut refuse brother 2sg indef person not 2sg snake

The man was angry with the snake. He said, "How is it that you [refused] my brother? You aren't a person, you're a snake."

- I.8/13. *Moat i va: "Ko lai kan eoi! Ko aburuti, yo ku lisi!"*
snake 3sg say imp take food 2sg.ps imp cook 1sg 1sg.fut watch

The snake said, "Take your food! Cook it and I will watch!"

- I.8/14. *I lai kuvuen, i la ta ni.*
3sg take nets 3sg go catch fish

He took nets and went to catch fish.

- I.8/15. *I ta ni yevuen, i tokai ila varina moat.*
3sg catch fish finished 3sg go there to snake

When he finished catching fish, he went to the snake. (Meier's note: "After he'd caught fish...")

- I.8/16. *Moat i va: "Ku tulumui ni eoi! Yo ku lisi."*
snake 3sg say imp cook fish 2sg.ps 1sg 1sg.fut see
Snake said, "Cook your fish! I will watch."

- 1.8/17. *I lai, i tatapei yen e morai. Ni i kokol.*
 3sg take 3sg spread lie in sun fish 3sg shrink
 He took the fish and spread them out (lying) in the sun. The fish dried and shrank.
- 1.8/18. *I ani ni ma rai.*
 3sg eat fish still blood
 He ate the fish while there was still blood on them [before they had dried out completely].
- 1.8/19. *Moat i alisani i, i va: "Oi cinal! Oi ane ko ani*
 snake 3sg laugh.at 3sg 3sg say 2sg devil 2sg perhaps 2sg.fut eat
yo."
 1sg
 The snake laughed at him and said, "You're a devil, you might eat me!"
- 1.8/20. *I ramat i camui, i va: "Papu! Yo cinal poen, yo*
 3sg person 3sg answer 3sg say father 1sg devil not 1sg
ramat."
 person
 The man answered, saying, "Father! I am not a devil, I am a human."
- 1.8/21. *Moat i va: "Ko cog kile putuo!" Poamoat i cayaq.*
 snake 3sg say imp slip into stomach snake-mouth 3sg open
 The snake said, "Slide into my stomach!" The snake's mouth opened.
- 1.8/22. *Ramat i cog. I la lisi moan, i la lisi ma, i la*
 person 3sg slip 3sg incho see fire 3sg incho see taro 3sg incho
lisi patadodo, i la lisi buamarit asiuna.
 see sugercane 3sg incho see thing all
 The man slipped [inside]. He began to see fire, taro, sugarcane; he began to see everything.
- 1.8/23. *I aten i gas e wei.*
 3sg liver-3sg 3sg be.astonished by that
 He was astonished by it.
- 1.8/24. *I lai kayar pe i lai ma pe i lai patadodo, i*
 3sg take k.o.stork and 3sg take taro and 3sg take sugarcane 3sg
lai, i la are.
 take 3sg incho appear
 He took kayar, taro, and sugarcane, he took them and he appeared again.

Texts: Part I

1.8/25. *I sisiani moan, moan i ye.*
3sg rub.at fire fire 3sg flare

He rubbed at the fire and it flared.

1.8/26. *I aburuti ma. I usi patadodo. Kan i manis, aru anaan.*
3sg cook taro 3sg chew sugarcane food 3sg be.ready 3dl eat

He cooked the taro and chewed the sugarcane. The food was ready and they ate.

1.8/27. *Moat i vai ila te i, i va: "Teyo uyan ne teoi uyan?"*
snake 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say to-1sg good or to-2sg good
The snake said to him, "Is mine good or is yours good?"

1.8/28. *Ramat i va: "Teoi uyan."*
person 3sg say to-2sg good
The man said, "Yours is good."

1.8/29. *Aru vo mayas. Moat, i ne vo mayas poen, i koloani um.*
3dl do work snake 3sg d.neg do work not 3sg protect house
They worked. The snake didn't work, he protected the house.

1.8/30. *Moe ramat i ewesur. I ratutui moat.*
def person 3sg be.sick.of.it 3sg tell.off snake
The person was sick of this. He scolded the snake.

1.8/31. *Moat uroj, i va: "Oia ratutui yo e ca?"*
snake hear 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut scold 1sg regarding what
The snake heard, and said, "What are you scolding me about?"

1.8/32. *Yo ku la poen alan, oi kone mat.*
1sg 1sg.cfact be not if 2sg 2sg.perf die
If I hadn't been here, you would have died.

1.8/33. *Yo u vokeani oi e kan. Tita ko en e kor eyotaru. Yo ku au.*
1sg 1sg.S make-strong 2sg with food now imp sit on land
Idl.inc.ps 1sg 1sg.fut leave
I make you strong with food. Now, stay on our land. I will leave."

- I.8/34. *Moat i tet ile das. I kau ile Yap.*
snake 3sg crawl into sea 3sg swim to Yap
The snake crawled into the sea and swam to Yap.

I.9 The creation of all things from the stomach of a snake

Told by Kisoyai from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1907:654–656)
Section A

- I.9/1. *Ase Ulungau i tokai ile lono.*
daughter U 3sg go to forest
The daughter of Ulungau went into the wood.
- I.9/2. *Moat i lisi i, i va: "Ko me!"*
snake 3sg see 3sg 3sg say imp come
A snake saw her, and said, "Come here!"
- I.9/3. *I pein i va: "Se i nyamiri oi? Oi moat. Yo u ne nyamiri oi poen."*
3sg woman 3sg say who 3sg love 2sg 2sg snake 1sg 1sg.S d.neg love 2sg not
The woman said "Who loves you? You're a snake. I don't love you (at all)."
- I.9/4. *Moat i va: "Yo caji moat, yo po ramat. Ko me!"*
snake 3sg say 1sg body-1sg snake 1sg be person imp come
The snake replied, "I have the body of a snake, but I am a person.
Come here!"
- I.9/5. *I pein i tokai ila.*
3sg woman 3sg go there
The woman went over to him.
- I.9/6. *Kin i nyol e i.*
buttocks-3sg 3sg shake at 3sg
Her buttocks wobbled at him.
- I.9/7. *Moat i va: "Ko en e poany!" Aru iti aru.*
snake 3sg say imp sit on ground 3dl have.sex.with 3dl
The snake said, "Sit on the ground." They had sex with each other.
- I.9/8. *Ase Ulungau i tawi amo kamal, pepoen i*
daughter U 3sg give.birth.to one young.man afterwards 3sg

Texts: Part I

tawi amo pein.
give.birth.to one woman

The daughter of Ulungau gave birth to a boy, and afterwards she gave birth to a girl.

- 1.9/9. *Moat i va: "Ko tokai! Yo ku ajani aru kile kan."*
snake 3sg say imp go 1sg 1sg.fut support 3dl with food

The snake said, "Go! I will support the two [children] with food."

- 1.9/10. *Ase Ulungau i tokai. Ala Papitalai ala lisi sus e
ase Ulungau. Sus i ewain.*
daughter U 3sg go 3pl P 3pl see breast poss
daughter U breast 3sg be.well.developed

The daughter of Ulungau went [away]. The people of Papitalai saw her breasts. They were well developed.

- 1.9/11. *Ala va: "Ase Ulungau, oi etepe susum i
ewain?"*
3pl say daughter U 2sg how.is.it breast-2sg.ps 3sg
be.well.developed

They said, "Daughter of Ulungau, what have you been doing? How is it that your breasts are well developed?"

- 1.9/12. *I va: "Poen." Ala va: "Oi kone tawi amo nat." I
va: "Poen."*
3sg say not 3pl say 2sg 2sg.perf give.birth.to indef child 3sg
say not

She said, "No." They said, "Have you given birth to a child?" And she answered, "No."

Section B

- 1.9/13. *Moat i ajani nat pe dakein. Aru la madean.
Coy i ani aru.*
snake 3sg support boy and young.girl 3dl become big
hunger 3sg eat 3dl

The snake supported the boy and girl. They grew up. Hunger ate at them.

- 1.9/14. *Moat i va: "Waru ka la ta ni!" Aru tokai, aru la ta*
snake 3sg say 2dl hort go catch fish 3dl go 3dl go catch

ni.

fish

Snake said, "You two go and catch fish!" They left, they went to catch fish.

1.9/15. *Aru lai ni ile Pounda.*

3dl take fish to P

They took the fish to Pounda.

1.9/16. *Aru va: "Papuyoru!" I va: "Waru ka tulumui ni!"*

3dl say father-1dl.excl 3sg say 2dl hort cook fish

They said, "Our father!" He said, "You two cook the fish."

1.9/17. *Aru va: "Matamorai i ma nyak mavuen."*

3dl say sun 3sg still rise not.yet

They said, "The sun hasn't risen yet."

1.9/18. *Matamorai i nyak, aru tulumui ni.*

sun 3sg rise 3dl cook fish

The sun rose and they cooked the fish.

1.9/19. *Ni i ne manis poen. Aru ani, ma rai.*

fish 3sg still be.done not 3dl eat still raw

The fish were still not done. They ate the fish still raw (i.e., lit still with blood).

1.9/20. *Moat i va: "Waru cinal! Ane waru k' ani yo! Waru ani ni mamatin.*

snake 3sg say 2dl devil perhaps 2dl hort eat 1sg 2dl eat

fish raw

Snake said, "You two are devils! Maybe you will eat me! You ate the fish raw!"

1.9/21. *Oi pein ku tu! Oi kamal ko le putuo!"*

2sg woman imp stay 2sg young.man imp go.to stomach-1sg

You, girl, stay here! You, young man, go into my stomach!"

1.9/22. *I kamal i no, i va: "Yo ku la vo ca?"*

3sg young.man 3sg fear 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut go do what

The boy was afraid. He said, "What will I do?"

1.9/23. *Moat i va: "Ko lai moan! Ko me tawi kila te i pein,*

snake 3sg say imp take fire imp come give to 3sg woman

Texts: Part I

i k'utani moan! Oi ku mulie!
3sg 3sg.fut-kindle fire 2sg 2sg.fut turn

Snake said, "Get fire! Give it here to the girl, so that she can kindle the fire. You will return!"

- 1.9/24. *Ko la vo niu, ko vo ma, ko vo patadodo, ko vo buajan, ko vo bur! Ko me!*"
imp go make coconut imp make taro imp make sugarcane imp
make yam imp make banana imp come
Go and prepare coconut, taro, sugarcane, yam, banana. Come here!"

- 1.9/25. *I vo yevuen, i tokai ime e masaren.*
3sg make completely 3sg go here to freedom
He finished making it, and came here to freedom (i.e., he collected all these things and returned from the snake's belly).

- 1.9/26. *Moat i va: "Waru ka utani moan! Waru ka tulumui ma!*
snake 3sg say 2dl nsg.fut kindle fire 2dl hort cook taro
Waru k' ani cui, waru k' ani patadodo!"
3dl hort eat half-ripe.coconut 2dl hort eat sugarcane
Snake said, "You two kindle fire! You two cook taro! Eat half-ripe coconuts and sugarcane!"

- 1.9/27. *Aru ani yevuen, putuaaru i sop ile kan e moat.*
3dl eat be.finished stomach-3dl 3sg be.full from food from snake
They finished eating, and their stomachs were full of the food from the snake.

- 1.9/28. *Moat i va: "Teyo uyan ne tewaru uyan?"*
snake 3sg say to-1sg good or to-2dl good
Snake said, "Is mine good or is yours good?"

- 1.9/29. *Aru va: "Teoi uyan, teyoru muan."*
3dl say to-2sg good to 1dl.excl bad
They said, "Yours is good, ours is bad."

- 1.9/30. *Aru tokai, aru vuacole. Aru vo muan. Aru itiit. Moat i lisi*
3dl go 3dl play 3dl do bad 3dl have.sex snake 3sg see
aru.
3dl

The two children left and played. They did a bad thing. They had sex with each other. Snake saw them.

1.9/31. *Moat i va: "Ki la ajan eyo, yota nabu ka vo muan.*
 snake 3sg say hort become speech 1sg.ps 1pl.inc irr.neg nsg.fut
 do bad

Snake said, "Let my words come true, so that we might not do a bad thing."

1.9/32. *Waru vo muan, waru ka ti Moanus! Yo ku kau kile Yap."*
 2dl do bad 2dl hort be.in M 1sg 1sg.fut swim to
 Yap

You did bad, you stay on Manus! I will swim to Yap."

1.9/33. *I kau, i va: "Yo ku le Yap. Yap uyan. Moanus amo ki vo muan, awa k' eso.*
 3sg swim 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut go.to Yap Yap good M indef
 3sg.fut do bad 2pl nsg.fut fight

He swam, and said, "I will go to Yap. Yap is good. A man from Manus will do evil. You will fight."

1.9/34. *Awa ka paana. Amo ki paana, awa ka te i.*
 2pl nsg.fut steal indef 3sg.fut steal 2pl nsg.fut kill 3sg
 You will steal. Someone will steal. You will kill him.

1.9/35. *Amo ki vo muan, awa ka te i.*
 indef 3sg.fut do bad 2pl nsg.fut kill 3sg
 Someone will do evil, and you will kill him.

1.9/36. *Yo ku le Yap. Yap uyan, Moanus muan.*"
 1sg 1sg.fut go.to Yap Yap good M bad
 I will go to Yap. Yap is good, Manus bad."

1.9/37. *Moat i kau. Dakein pe nat aru tawi niu ila yai.*
 snake 3sg swim young.girl and boy 3dl lay coconut into hole
 Snake swam. The girl and boy lay a coconut in a hole.

1.9/38. *Niu wai ila madean.*
 coconut grow becoming big
 The coconut grew and became big.

1.9/39. *Ma i rek, buagan i rek, bur i*
 taro 3sg grow.bigger yam 3sg grow.bigger banana 3sg

Texts: Part I

rek.

grow.bigger

Taro grew bigger, the yam grew bigger, and the banana tree grew bigger.

1.9/40. *Aru tawi patadodo. I wai ila coloan.*

3dl plant sugarcane 3sg grow becoming plenty

They planted sugarcane. It grew and became plentiful.

1.9/41. *I onani kor asi. Niu i onani*

3sg be.sufficient.for land all coconut.palm 3sg be.sufficient.for
kor asi.

land all

It was enough for the whole land. There was enough coconut for everyone.

1.9/42. *Moat i uyan. I tawi ma, i tawi bur, i tawi*

snake 3sg good 3sg create taro 3sg create banana 3sg create

niu, i tawi bue, i tawi buajan iti Moanus.

coconut.palm 3sg create betel 3sg create yam in M

The snake was good. He created taro, banana, coconut, betel, and yams on Manus.

1.9/43. *Moat ki la poen, Moanus kan e wei poen. Yoya*

snake c.fact become not M food from 3sg not 1pl.excl

k' ani ni mamatin.

c.fact eat fish raw

Had not the snake existed, there would be no food on Manus. We would be eating fish raw.

I.10 The origin of things from the stomach of a snake

Told by Dakot from Papitalai. A Matankor story. (Meier 1907:656–658)

1.10/1. *Morau pe Morer aru en e Pouna.*

M and M 3dl sit in P

Morau and Morer were on Pouna.

1.10/2. *Aru lai ni earu, aru tawi ile morai.*

3dl take fish 3pl.poss 3dl place in sun

They took their fish and placed them in the sun.

I.10/3. *Moan earu poen. Aru ne ani kan poen.*
 fire 3pl.poss not 3dl neg eat food not

They didn't have fire. They didn't eat food.

I.10/4. *Aru no tu ani kuliconmadun.*
 3dl try habit eat Mandrum-bark

The used to try to eat Mandrum bark.

I.10/5. *Aru en. Morai i ce, aru la anyum wai.*
 3dl sit sun 3sg shine 3dl go draw water

They sat. The sun shone, and they went to draw water. (Meier's note: <An yum wai>, drain water. The people in the interior <*Binnenlande*> catch fish and crabs in little streams, in which they erect dams and drain the water, so that the fish and crabs stay in the drained parts.)

I.10/6. *Cauka i gareani esol.*
 friarbird 3sg call.by.name snake

The cauka bird called out, giving warning about a snake. (Meier's note: The cauka bird, *Philemon coquerelli*, warns of the presence of a snake through a distinctive call.)

I.10/7. *Morer i en e poany. Morau i nyak.*
 M 3sg sit on ground M 3sg climb

Morer sat on the ground. Morau climbed up.

I.10/8. *I nyak, i lele lavuen. I ra. Aru anyum wai.*
 3sg climb 3sg see in.vain 3sg spring.up 3dl draw water

He climbed, but couldn't see anything. He jumped off [the tree]. They drew water.

I.10/9. *Cauka i tag lie. Morau i nyak.*
 friarbird 3sg cry again M 3sg climb

The cauka bird cried again. Morau continued climbing.

I.10/10. *I pa ki ra, esol i tawi mata-n ila te i.*
 3sg want 3sg.fut spring.up snake 3sg place face-3sg to 3sg

He wanted to jump up, and the snake placed/showed his face next to him.

I.10/11. *Morer i papati i.*
 M 3sg carry 3sg

Morer took it. [He picked it up.]

Texts: Part I

- I.10/12. *Dasin i no. I au.*
brother-3sg 3sg fear 3sg leave
His brother got scared. He left.
- I.10/13. *I la cojile um. I la akure iti dis.*
3sg go slip into house 3sg go hide in wooden.bowl
He went and slipped into the house. He hid in a wooden bowl.
- I.10/14. *I luvuani ni iti du.*
3sg throw fish under housepost
He threw the fish under a house post.
- I.10/15. *Esol pe Morer aru le um. Morau i tapari dis.*
snake and M 3dl go.to house M 3sg open wooden.bowl
The snake and Morer went home. Morau opened the wooden bowl.
- I.10/16. *Morau i va: "Eh, dasi, eh! Moat ane ki ani yo."*
M 3sg say oh brother oh snake perhaps pot eat 1sg
Morau said, "Oh, brother! The snake might eat me."
- I.10/17. *Esol i va: "Yo cinal poen, yo ramat."*
snake 3sg say 1sg devil not 1sg person
The snake said, "I'm not a devil, I'm a person."
- I.10/18. *Aru tawi esol ile dis. Aru rokaliani i ile*
3dl place snake into wooden.bowl 3dl coil 3sg into
dis.
wooden.bowl
They put the snake in a wooden bowl. They coiled him into it.
- I.10/19. *Aru rokaliani yevuen, i en e dis.*
3dl coil completely 3sg sit in wooden.bowl
They coiled it completely, and it sat in the bowl.
- I.10/20. *I va: "Waru ka vo putua-waru!"*
3sg say 2dl hort care.for stomach-2dl
He said, "You two— have a care for your stomachs! (i.e., get food)"
- I.10/21. *Aru tawi ni earu ile morai.*
3dl place fish 3dl.ps in sun
They put their fish in the sun.

- I.10/22. *Morau i va: "Yo ku en. Morer, ko la vo kuliconkei kime te yotaru!"*
 M 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut sit M imp go do bark here to 1dl.inc

Morau said, "I will sit. Morer, go and fetch bark here for us."

- I.10/23. *Esol i va: "Tito kile ca?"*
 snake 3sg say this to what

The snake said, "What's this for?"

- I.10/24. *Aru va: "Kan eyoru itan. Kanian ito kuliconkei."*
 3dl say food 1dl.excl.ps this feast there bark

They said "It's our food. We'll eat that bark."

- I.10/25. *Esol i va: "Waru ka lai ni pe kuliconkei kime e um!"*
 snake 3sg say 2dl hort take fish and bark here to house
 The snake said, "You two take the fish and bark here to the house."

- I.10/26. *Morau i no; i en.*
 M 3sg fear 3sg sit

Morau was afraid; he sat down.

- I.10/27. *Morer i le um. Moat poa-n i cayaj.*
 M 3sg go.to house snake mouth-3sg 3sg open

Morer went home. The snake opened its mouth.

- I.10/28. *Morer i cog ile putuan.*
 M 3sg slide into stomach-3sg
 Morer slid into its stomach.

- I.10/29. *I la kun ma, i la vo bur, i la vo patadodo, i la vo keiny, i la vo moan.*
 3sg go drag.home taro 3sg go procure banana 3sg go procure sugarcane 3sg go procure pot 3sg go procure fire
 He dragged home taro. He got banana, sugarcane, a pot, and fire.

- I.10/30. *Moat poa-n i cayaj, i me are. Aru utani moan.*
 snake mouth-3sg 3sg open 3sg come appear 3dl kindle fire
 The snake opened his mouth and he [Morer] appeared. They kindled the fire.

Texts: Part I

I.10/31. *Ni ile moan, ma ile keiny.*
fish to fire taro into pot

They put the fish into the fire, and the taro into the pot.

I.10/32. *Ma kulicon poen. I manis. Aru an.*
taro skin-3sg not 3sg be.ready 3dl eat

The taro didn't have its skin. It was ready. They ate. (Meier's note: The taro had no skin, that is, they were already peeled.)

I.10/33. *Aru romot. Aru an ile moan lie, aru romot lie.*
3dl vomit 3dl eat in fire again 3dl vomit again

They vomited. They ate into the fire again (they ate the stuff put into the fire?). They vomited.

I.10/34. *Aru ani ma, ma kulicon. I la atu.*
3dl eat taro taro skin-3sg 3sg become solid

They ate the taro with the skin. They kept it down. (Meier's note: They didn't vomit anymore.)

I.10/35. *Aru an. Morer keken i gog.*
3dl eat M feet 3sg be.tired

They ate. Morer's feet were tired.

I.10/36. *I vai ila te dasin, i va: "Lau coloan, pein coloan ala ti putuamoat."*
3sg say to brother-3sg 3sg say L many woman many 3pl be.in stomach-snake

He said to his brother, "On Lau there are plenty of women. There are lots of women in the snake's stomach."

I.10/37. *Dasin uroj, i va: "Dasi! Ko en! Yo ku la lie."*
brother-3sg hear 3sg say brother imp sit 1sg 1sg.fut go also
His brother heard this, and said, "Brother! Stay here! I'll go [into the snake's stomach] too."

I.10/38. *I la lisi ala lau. Aten, i la gas.*
3sg go see 3pl people liver-3sg 3sg become be.astonished

He went and saw the people. He was astonished.

I.10/39. *I lai ma pe api. I lai kei, yaran buahat.*
3sg take taro and sago 3sg take tree name-3sg ko.tree

He took taro and sago. He took the tree that's called buahat. (Meier's note: Buahat means both the tail-bone of a snake as well as a tree.)

Morau took the snake's tail bone [on account of which he cried out], and according to myth these were planted and became the plant.)

- I.10/40. *Moat i tawi poan, pa ki ani i.*
snake 3sg cry.out want 3sg.fut eat 3sg

The snake cried out that he wanted to eat him.

- I.10/41. *I tagisi i lie. I me.*
3sg love 3sg again 3sg come

He loved him again. He came back out.

- I.10/42. *Aru dasin aru en. I via, moat, i va:* "Waru k'
3dl brother-3sg 3dl sit 3sg be.dark snake 3sg say 2dl hort
en! Yo ku la so tokai ave, wariu kakali."
sit 1sg 1sg.fut go remain go some 2dl nephew

The brothers sat [together]. It was dark, and the snake said, "You two sit! I will go somewhere, you two nephews."

- I.10/43. *Morer vai ila te Morau, i va,* "Oi a vo muan ila te
M say to M 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut do bad to
kakaliyotaru. I ki au ito."
uncle-1dl.inc 3sg 3sg.fut leave here

Morer said to Morau. "You've done something bad to our uncle! He's going to leave us."

- I.10/44. *Moat i au. Aru tagis i. Aru ilou yau e*
snake 3sg leave 3dl cry.about 3sg 3dl run away behind
kuin.
buttocks-3sg

The snake left. They cried for him. They ran behind him.

- I.10/45. *Aru me tawi i ile das.*
3dl come give 3sg to sea

The two of them came and gave him to the sea.

- I.10/46. *Esol i va:* "Aru k' en! Yo ku au."
snake 3sg say 3dl hort sit 1sg 1sg.fut leave
The snake said, "You two sit! I will leave."

- I.10/47. *Esol i me e Yap.*
snake 3sg come to Yap

The snake came to Yap.

Texts: Part I

- I.10/48. *Esol i va: "Moan ewaru yo u tawi kineme itan, kei*
snake 3sg say fire 2dl.ps 1sg 1sg.S give here.to this tree
ewaru kineme itan.
2dl.ps here.to this
The snake said, "Your fire I gave for this place, and your trees I gave for this place."
- I.10/49. *Waru cinal. Waru pa k' ani yo. Waru k' en! Yo ku*
2dl devil 2dl pa 3sg.fut eat 1sg 2dl hort sit 1sg 1sg.fut
au.
leave
You two are devils. You will eat me. Stay there! I will leave."
- I.10/50. *Aru ta moan, moan i ye.*
3dl collect fire fire 3sg flare
The two people collected fire, and the fire flared.
- I.10/51. *Esol i tawi moan ime te yota.*
snake 3sg give fire here to 1pl.inc
The snake gave fire to us.
- I.10/52. *Esol ki la poen alan, yota ne an kan poen.*
snake c.fact be not if 1pl.inc d.neg eat food not
Had the snake not existed, we wouldn't eat [cooked] food.
- I.11 The origins of fish and snakes**
- Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A Manus story (compare number I.5.).
(Meier 1907:659). I.659
- I.11/1. *Amo pein i vo mayas. I cariti kavoeliman.*
indef woman 3sg do work 3sg cut finger-3sg
A woman was working. She cut her finger.
- I.11/2. *I lai pucibukei. I sosogani rai e liman.*
3sg take mussel-shell 3sg collect blood from hand-3sg
She took a mussel shell. She collected blood from her hand.
- I.11/3. *Pog atalo rai i la alet, alet arou.*
day three blood 3sg become egg egg two
After three days the blood became eggs, two eggs.

- 1.11/4. *Si i la manuai, si i la moat.*
one 3sg become osprey one 3sg become snake
One became an osprey, and the other became a snake.
- 1.11/5. *Manuai, i yo. I la ta ni. Moat i tet ile lono.*
osprey 3sg fly 3sg go catch fish snake 3sg crawl into forest
The osprey flew. It went to catch fish. The snake crawled into the wood.
- 1.11/6. *Manuai i lai ni ila varina yayen.*
osprey 3sg take fish there to mother-3sg
The osprey took fish to his mother.
- 1.11/7. *Moat i te losou. I ani.*
snake 3sg kill possum 3sg eat
The snake killed a possum and ate it.
- 1.11/8. *Matamorai i la, aru le um.*
sun 3sg go 3dl go.to house
The sun set, and they went home.
- 1.11/9. *Manuai i ayani yayen ile ni, moat poen.*
osprey 3sg present.with.gifts mother-3sg with fish snake not
The osprey presented his mother with the fish, but the snake didn't give anything.
- 1.11/10. *Manuai i va: "Yaye! Taru k' au!"*
osprey 3sg say mother.1sg 1dl.inc hort leave
Eagle said, "Mother! Let's leave!"
- 1.11/11. *Manuai i lai yayen ile polencivo. I lai um*
osprey 3sg take mother-3sg to civo-tree-top 3sg take house
earu lie.
3dl.ps also
Eagle took his mother to the top of a civo tree. He also took their house.
- 1.11/12. *Aru ti polencivo.*
3dl live.in civo-tree-top
They lived at the top of the civo tree.
- 1.11/13. *Moat i kai aru. I ne lisi aru poen.*
snake 3sg search.for 3dl 3sg d.neg see 3dl not
Snake looked for them. He didn't see them.

Texts: Part I

- I.11/14. *I tokai ile civo. I lisi aru.*
3sg go in ko.tree 3sg see 3dl

He went to the civo tree. He saw them.

- I.11/15. *I yuyuu, i va: "Yaye pe dasi! Yo ku au e*
3sg call 3sg say mother and brother 1sg 1sg.fut leave from
tite kua varina waru?"
where there to 2dl

He called and said, "My mother and brother! How will I get up to you?"

- I.11/16. *Manuai i va: "Ko naak!" Moat i nyak.*
osprey 3sg say imp climb.up snake 3sg climb
Eagle said, "Climb up!" Snake climbed.

- I.11/17. *Manuai i lai cimer. Moat i nyak ile palan um.*
osprey 3sg take stone.axe snake 3sg climb into in.front house
Eagle took up an axe. Snake climbed to the front of the house.

- I.11/18. *Manuai i cariti palan. Moat i los.*
osprey 3sg cut.through front snake 3sg fall
Eagle cut through the front. Snake fell.

- I.11/19. *Moat i surjani ila lie.*
snake 3sg right.oneself there again
Snake righted himself and tried again.

- I.11/20. *I cariti moat yevuen.*
3sg cut.through snake completely
He cut right through Snake.

- I.11/21. *Ala sir ala los ile das, ala la ni.*
3pl part 3pl fall into sea 3pl become fish
Part of him fell into the sea, and became fish.

- I.11/22. *Ala sir ala los ile lono, ala la moat.*
3pl part 3pl fall into forest 3pl become snake
Part fell into the wood, and became snakes.

I.12 The creation of fire

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A myth known to all Admiralty-Islanders. (Meier 1907:659–660)

I.12/1. *De palan moan i ne ti poany poen.*
before beginning fire 3sg d.neg be.on earth not
Before, in the beginning, there was no fire on the earth.

I.12/2. *Amo pein i tuanani poedilei pe cilim, i va:* “*Waru ka le laj!* *Waru ka la vo moan kime te yo!*”
indef woman 3sg send.out sea.eagle and starling 3sg say 2dl
hort go.to heaven 2dl hort go make fire here for 1sg
A woman sent away a sea eagle and a starling, saying “You two go to heaven! You two go and make fire here for me!”

I.12/3. *Aru yo ile laj. Poedilei i lai moan. Aru mulie ile poany.*
3dl fly to heaven sea.eagle 3sg take fire 3dl return to earth
The two flew to heaven. The sea eagle took the fire. They returned to the earth.

I.12/4. *Aru caucaye e rakuron. Cilim i lai moan.*
3dl change in middle starling 3sg take fire
They swapped the fire halfway. The starling took the fire.

I.12/5. *I kuni moan yen e grundun.*
3sg sling.over.shoulders fire lie on neck
He slung it over his shoulders so that it was lying on his neck.

I.12/6. *Kawo i utani moan. Moan i ye. I tulumui cilim.*
wind 3sg kindle fire fire 3sg flare 3sg burn starling
The wind kindled the fire, and it flared up. It burned the starling.

I.12/7. *Cilim i la riin, poedilei i la madean.*
starling 3sg become small sea.eagle 3sg become big
The starling became small and the osprey became big.

I.12/8. *Nabu moan ki tulumui cilim alan, cilim madean e*
irr.neg fire c.fact burn starling if starling big than
poedilei.
sea.eagle

Had not the fire burned the starling, the starling would have been bigger than the osprey.

Texts: Part I

I.12/9. *Aru lai moan ime te yota e poany. Yota anaan e*
3dl take fire here to 1pl.inc on earth 1pl.inc eat because.of
moan.
fire

They two took fire here to us on the earth. We eat because of fire.

I.12/10. *Aru ka la poen alan, yota ne anaan e moan poen.*
3dl c.fact go not if 1pl.inc neg eat from fire not
If they had not gone [to heaven], we would not eat food from the fire.

I.12/11. *Yota k' aijayani kan eyota e matamorai.*
1.pl c.fact spread.out food 1pl.inc.ps in sun
We would spread out our food in the sun.

I.13 The origin of the coconut palm

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A myth from Nauna—a Matankor story. (Meier 1907:662–663)

I.13/1. *Hi Pipiu, pin Nauna, i tawi nat arumo.*
H. P. woman Nauna 3sg give.birth.to child two
Hi Pipiu, a woman from Nauna, gave birth to two children.

I.13/2. *Aru la vo kou. Aru suari paliau tulugat.*
3dl go go.angling 3dl pull.out k.o.fish 300
Those two went fishing; they caught 300 fish.

I.13/3. *Aru le kor. Yayearu i aburuti ni.*
3dl go.to village mother-3dl 3sg cook fish
They went home. Their mother cooked the fish.

I.13/4. *Aru anaan yevuen, aru sue palue.*
3dl eat finished 3dl row back
They finished eating, and they rowed back.

I.13/5. *Aru la vo kou. Aru suari ni e das asi*
3dl go go.angling 3dl pull.out fish from sea all completely
yevuen, aru va: “*Taru ka la suari ni kile Palitawi!*”
3dl say 1dl.inc hort go pull.out fish in P
They went fishing. They caught all the fish in the sea. They said, “We should go and catch fish from Palitawi.”

- I.13/6. *Aru la. Aru suari ni poesi pe tulujat.*
 3dl go 3dl pull.out fish 1000 and 300
 They went there. They caught 1300 fish.
- I.13/7. *Moen cinal e Palitawi i lisi aru, i kau e aru.*
 def devil from P 3sg see 3dl 3sg swim to 3dl
 A certain devil from Palitawi saw them. He swam up to them.
- I.13/8. *Aru lisi i, aru sue. I kau, i kau ila ic.*
 3dl see 3sg 3dl row 3sg swim 3sg swim 3sg-go near
 They saw him. They rowed, and he swam closer to them.
- I.13/9. *Aru luvuani ni amo ila. I nyimili ni. Aru sue. I voliliti*
 3dl throw fish indef there 3sg swallow fish 3dl row 3sg follow
aru.
 3dl
 They threw a fish to him. He swallowed it. They rowed on, and he followed them.
- I.13/10. *I ani ni yevuen. I kau ila ic.*
 3sg eat fish completely 3sg swim there near
 He ate all their fish. He swam closer.
- I.13/11. *I madean i vai ila te i riin, i va:* “*Ko cariti yo. Ku*
 3sg big 3sg say to 3sg small 3sg say imp cut 1sg imp
luvuani yo kila te i, i ki ani yo!”
 throw 1sg to 3sg 3sg 3sg.fut eat 1sg
 The big person said to the small one, “Cut me (up). Throw me to him, so that he can eat me.”
- I.13/12. *I riin i va:* “*Oi madean ku tu! Ko cariti yo riin!*”
 3sg small 3sg say 2sg big imp stay imp cut.up 1sg small
 The small one said, “You’re big, you stay! Cut up me, since I’m small.”
- I.13/13. *Ayan e modean i voke.*
 word poss big 3sg come.about
 The big person’s word came true (i.e., he had his way).
- I.13/14. *I riin i cariti kekan ila.*
 3sg small 3sg cut.off foot-3sg there
 The small person cut off his foot.

Texts: Part I

- I.13/15. *Moen cinal i ani yevuen.*
def devil 3sg eat completely
The devil ate it up.
- I.13/16. *Moe ramat i sue. Moen cinal i kau ila ic.*
that person 3sg row def devil 3sg swim there near
The people rowed on. The devil swam nearer.
- I.13/17. *I cariti keka akap ila. I sue.*
3sg cut.off foot one there 3sg row
The [small one] cut off the other foot. He rowed on.
- I.13/18. *Awei i ot e Nauna, i ani ramat yevuen. Do si poenpalan.*
surf 3sg sound on Nauna 3sg eat person completely only one skull
The surf was thundering on Nauna when the devil had eaten the person completely. Only his skull was left.
- I.13/19. *I la nyak ile lay. Moen cinal i mulie.*
3sg go climb to shore def devil 3sg turn
The other climbed onto the shore. The devil turned.
- I.13/20. *I so ile lay, i le kor ei ilati lay.*
3sg make into heaven 3sg go.to land 3sg.ps there.in heaven
He made himself go into heaven, and he went to his land and stayed there in heaven.
- I.13/21. *I va: "Yaye! Cinal kine ani dasi! Do si poenpalan yo u lai."*
3sg say mother devil 3sg.perf eat brother only one skull 1sg 1sg.S take
He [i.e., the boy] said, "Mother! A devil has eaten my brother! There was only his skull [left] which I took."
- I.13/22. *Aru tay, tay, tay. Aru tay yevuen, aru iri paladasiaru.*
3dl cry cry cry 3dl cry finished 3dl bury head-brother-3dl.ps
They cried and cried and cried. When they finished crying, they buried the head of their brother.

- I.13/23. *Pon alima niu wai.*
 day 5 coconut.palm grow
 After five days, a coconut palm grew.
- I.13/24. *Aru lisi niu, wai, aru ligani.*
 3dl see coconut.palm grow 3dl wait.for
 They watched the palm grow, and they waited.
- I.13/25. *Niu wai piaun, do si, niu i la*
 coconut.palm grow by.night only one coconut.palm 3sg become
tatuni lay.
 hold.fast.to heaven
 The palm grew by night. Only one grew. It reach and held onto heaven.
- I.13/26. *Yayen i tulumui ma taakou, utuani wai si.*
 mother-3sg 3sg cook taro ten fill.up water-jug one
 The mother cooked ten taro and filled up a water jug.
- I.13/27. *I lai liamuiny taruo, i nyak.*
 3sg take dog-tooth two 3sg climb
 He took two dog's teeth and climbed [the tree].
- I.13/28. *I la tatuni lay. I tokai.*
 3sg go hold.fast.to heaven 3sg go
 He reached the sky. He left [the coconut palm].
- I.13/29. *I la lisi um e moen cinal.*
 3sg go see house poss def devil
 He went and saw that devil's house.
- I.13/30. *I akurani liamuiny iti katam.*
 3sg hide dog-tooth in door
 He hid the dog's teeth in the door.
- I.13/31. *I matir yen e keyau e moen cinal.*
 3sg sleep lie on bed poss def devil
 He slept, lying on the bed of that devil.
- I.13/32. *Moen cinal i tu vo mayas. I vo mayas yevuen, i me*
 def devil 3sg prog do work 3sg do work finished 3sg come
tokai.
 go
 The devil was working. When he finished work, he came back.

Texts: Part I

L13/33. *I lisi i, i va: "O! Auro!" I ta uro ei.*

3sg see 3sg 3sg say Oh! greetings 3sg greet 3sg.ps

The devil saw him and said, "Oh! Greetings!" He greeted him.

L13/34. *I lematani i, i va: "Oi etepe, oi a kai yo?"*

3sg ask 3sg say 2sg how.is.it 2sg 2sg.nfut visit 1sg

He asked, "How are you? Have you come to visit me?"

L13/35. *I va: "Naralavan eoi i me te yo: yo u kai oi."*

3sg say lord-cry 2sg.ps 3sg come to 1sg 1sg 1sg.S visit 2sg

He said, "Your lord-cry reached me, and I visited you."

L13/36. *Moen cinal i va: "Ko en e poany! Yo ku vo*

def devil 3sg say imp sit on ground 1sg 1sg.fut care.for

kawam."

guest-friendship-2sg.ps

That devil said, "Sit on the ground! I will attend to the guest friendship."

L13/37. *I lai cimer. I pa ki te moe ramat e wei.*

3sg take stone.axe 3sg want 3sg.fut kill def person with 3sg

He took a stone axe. He wanted to kill the person with it.

L13/38. *Muij i ilou. Amo i ate utin, amo i ate buan.*

dog 3sg run one 3sg bite penis-3sg one 3sg bite testicles-3sg

I mat.

3sg die

Two dogs ran in. One bit off the devil's penis, and the other bit off his testicles. He died.

L13/39. *Ramat lai buamarit asiuna yevuen, i mulie.*

person take thing all completely 3sg turn

The person took all his things and returned.

L13/40. *I me ra, i me ra e niu.*

3sg come jump 3sg come jump from coconut.palm

He jumped off the coconut palm.

L13/41. *I ra ile poany, i los ile poany, i mat.*

3sg jump to ground 3sg fall to ground 3sg die

He jumped onto the ground, and [the coconut palm] fell to the ground and died.

- I.13/42. *Nabu i ki los alan, niu ki tu tadul,*
 irr.neg 3sg c.fact fall if coconut.palm c.fact stay stand.upright
yota ka tu nyak e wei kile laj.
 1pl.inc c.fact habit climb in there to heaven
 If the coconut palm had not fallen, if it had stood upright, we would climb into heaven.

- I.13/43. *I los, niu i la buon.*
 3sg fall coconut.palm 3sg become low
 The coconut palm fell, and became stumpy.

- I.13/44. *Yota ne nyak poen, ta ne lisi laj poen.*
 1pl.inc d.neg climb not 1pl.inc d.neg see heaven not
 We don't climb it, and none of us can see heaven.

I.14 The origin of the coconut palm

Told by Tou from Dobut. A story from the island of Rambutyo. (Meier 1907:662–663)

- I.14/1. *Ala Palitawi taayol, ala la ta peu ile mokeu.*
 3pl P forty 3pl go catch shark from open.sea
 Forty men from Palitawi went to catch shark from the open sea.

- I.14/2. *Ala panawe dol e Po Ma aru dasin.*
 3pl steal canoe poss P. M. 3dl brother-3sg
 They stole a canoe from Po Ma and his brother.

- I.14/3. *Po Ma aru dasin aru pa ka le ley.*
 P. M. 3dl brother-3sg 3dl think nsg.fut go.to shore
 Po Ma and his brother wanted to go to the shore.

- I.14/4. *Aru kai dol earu e ley. Dol earu poen.*
 3dl search.for canoe 3dl.ps on shore canoe 3dl.ps not
 They searched for their canoe on the shore. Their canoe wasn't there.

- I.14/5. *Aru la culani dol e moen cinal.*
 3dl go drag canoe poss def devil
 They went and dragged down a canoe of a certain devil.

- I.14/6. *Aru au e wei, aru le mokeu, aru la ta peu.*
 3dl leave in 3sg 3dl go.to open.sea 3dl go catch shark
 They left in it, they went to the open sea, and went to catch shark.

Texts: Part I

I.14/7. *Moen cinal i le leg. I lisi: dol ei poen. I kau ile mokeu.*
def devil 3sg go.to shore 3sg see canoe 3sg.ps not 3sg swim
into high.seas

That devil went to the shore, and saw that his canoe wasn't there. He swam to the open sea.

I.14/8. *Po Ma aru dasin aru ne ta peu coloan poen: akou P. M. 3dl brother-3sg 3dl d.neg catch shark plenty not ten peu pe cem en kiar.*
shark and carry-basket of ko.fish

Po Ma and his brother didn't catch many sharks. They got ten sharks and a basket of kiar fish.

I.14/9. *Cinal i tatuni cam earu.*
devil 3sg hold.fast outrigger 3dl.ps

The devil grabbed onto the outrigger of their canoe.

I.14/10. *Cinal i va: "Dol ewaru ne dol e se?"*
devil 3sg say canoe 2dl.ps or canoe poss who
The devil said, "Is this canoe yours, or whose is it?"

I.14/11. *Aru va: "Kakali yoru! Dol eoi, yoru au e wei.*
3dl say uncle 1dl.excl canoe 2sg.ps 1dl.excl leave in 3sg
They said, "Uncle! It's your canoe, we left in it."

I.14/12. *Yoru me ta peu e wei. To ka le mat!*
1dl.excl come catch shark in that 1pc.inc nsg.fut go.to tidal.area
We came to catch shark in it. Now we'll go back to the beach.

I.14/13. *Yoru ka vo kunusu-dol eoi.*
1dl.excl nsg.fut make canoe-payment 2sg.poss
We'll make a payment to you for your canoe."

I.14/14. *Cinal i va: "Tita yo ku ani waru." Aru cariti peu si.*
devil 3sg say now 1sg 1sg.fut eat 2dl 3dl cut.up shark one
The devil said, "Now I'm going to eat you." They cut up a shark.

I.14/15. *Aru luvuani kaleuyan ila te cinal.*
3dl throw tail-3sg to devil
They threw the tail to the devil.

- I.14/16. *I ma tu ani, aru sue. I ani yevuen, i kau ila ic.*
 3sg still prog eat 3dl row 3sg eat finished 3sg swim there near
 He was still eating it when they were rowing away. He finished eating it
 and swam towards them.
- I.14/17. *Aru luvuani rakuron ila te cinal. I ani yevuen, i kau*
 3dl throw middle to devil 3sg eat completely 3sg swim
ila ic.
 there near
 They threw the middle of the shark to the devil. He ate it up and swam
 closer.
- I.14/18. *Aru luvuani palan ila. I ani yevuen, aru cariti amo*
 3dl throw head-3sg there 3sg eat completely 3dl cut.up one
lie.
 again
 They threw him the head. He ate it up, and they cut up another shark.
- I.14/19. *Aru luvuani ila. I ani yevuen. I no tu vo tu vo.*
 3dl throw there 3sg eat completely 3sg try prog do prog do
 They threw it there. The devil ate it. They kept on trying to do
 something [to make him go away].
- I.14/20. *I ani peu yevuen, aru luvuani kiar ila.*
 3sg eat shark completely 3dl throw.(away) ko.fish there
 He finished eating all the sharks. They threw him the kiar fish.
- I.14/21. *I ani kiar yevuen, leg i parer.*
 3sg eat k.o.fish completely sand 3sg be.white
 He ate up all the kiar fish, and the sand was showing white.
- I.14/22. *I riin i cariti i madean ila. Cinal i ani i.*
 3sg small 3sg cut.up 3sg big there devil 3sg eat 3sg
 The small person cut up the bigger person. The devil ate him.
- I.14/23. *Do si paladasin, i lai ile ley.*
 only one head-brother-3sg 3sg take to shore
 Only his brother's head remained and he took it ashore.
- I.14/24. *I iri paladasin iti kalicou.*
 3sg bury head-brother-3sg in outside.of.the.house
 He buried his brother's head outside the house.

Texts: Part I

- I.14/25. *Paladasin i la niu, wai ila alawen.*
head-brother-3sg 3sg become coconut.palm grow becoming tall
His brother's head became a coconut, and it grew and became tall.
- I.14/26. *Niu i tawi buan ila colowan.*
coconut.palm 3sg create fruit-3sg there many
The coconut palm gave many fruit.
- I.14/27. *A kor pe a kor ala usuni niu.*
each village and each village 3pl take.in coconut
Every village took a coconut.
- I.14/28. *Ala Toj pe ala Pak pe ala Nauna ala usuni dakau.*
3pl T and 3pl P and 3pl N 3pl take.in fabric
Tong and Pak and Nauna took cloth made from coconut palms.
- I.14/29. *Ala le kor eala. Dakau i le Pak pe Puliup Nauna,*
3pl go.to land 3pl.ps fabric 3sg go.to P and P and N
i la niu colowau.
3sg become coconut.palm plenty
They went to their lands. The fabric went to Pak and Puliup and Nauna, and there became many coconut palms.
- I.14/30. *Yota ani niu, i au e palaramat.*
1pl.inc eat coconut 3sg originate from head-person
The coconut which we eat originated from a person's head.
- I.15 Another story about the origin of the coconut palm**
- Told by Kuluep from Patusi. A Manus story. (Meier 1907:663–664)
- I.15/1. *Po Kolay, moen Loku.*
PK def L
This story is about Po Kolang, a man from Loku.
- I.15/2. *I lai pat si. I covolani pat, i va: "Pat eyo ito ki la niu!"*
3sg take stone one 3sg throw stone 3sg say stone 1sg.ps there hort become coconut
He took a stone and threw it, saying "Let my stone there become a coconut!"

I.15/3. *Pat i la niu. I lai niu, i ciri, i ani*
stone 3sg become coconut 3sg take coconut 3sg break 3sg eat
niu.
coconut

The stone became a coconut. He took the coconut, broke it, and ate the meat.

I.15/4. *I lai ave niu ila te ala Loku.*
3sg take some coconut to 3pl L

He took some coconut to the people of Loku.

I.15/5. *Ala Loku ala ani, ala va:* "Niu ito i au e tite?"
3pl L 3pl eat 3pl say coconut there 3sg originate from where
The Loku people ate it, and asked "Where did this coconut come from?"

I.15/6. *Po Kolay i va:* "Yo u pakute pat ila niu, yota
PK 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S turn.into stone to coconut 1pl.inc
k' ani."
nsg.fut eat

Po Kolang said, "I turned a stone into a coconut, so that we can eat it."

I.15/7. *Nabu Po Kolay ki tawi niu alan, yota, ta k'*
irr.neg PK c.fact create coconut if 1pl.inc 1pl.inc c.fact
ani ca?
eat what

If Po Kolang had not created the coconut, what would we eat?

I.15/8. *Po Kolay i tawi niu, yota ani.*
PK 3sg create coconut 1pl.inc eat

Po Kolang created the coconut, which we eat.

I.16 Origin of the Betel palm

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1907:664–666)

I.16/1. *Ala Poawai akou ala ti kor eala.*
3pl P ten 3pl be.in village 3pl.ps

Ten people from Poawai were in their village.

I.16/2. *Papuala kine mat: do yayeala i tu.*
father-3pl 3sg.perf die only mother-3pl 3sg stay
Their father had died, and only their mother remained.

Texts: Part I

- 1.16/3. *Ala la nyak lawat. Ala me e kor.*
3pl go rise possum 3pl come to village
They raised possums. They came to the village.
- 1.16/4. *Ala adaamo ala ani lawat eala, ala ne agani*
3pl nine 3pl eat possum 3pl.ps 3pl d.neg present.with.gifts
yayeala poen.
mother-3pl not
Nine of them ate their possum(s). They didn't give any to their mother.
- 1.16/5. *I riin e ala i ne ani tei poen.*
3sg small p'tive 3pl 3sg neg eat for-3sg not
The smallest of them didn't eat any for himself.
- 1.16/6. *I tawi ila te yayen. Yayen i ani.*
3sg give to mother-3sg mother-3sg 3sg eat
He gave his bit to his mother. His mother ate it.
- 1.16/7. *Ala la ta ni. Ala me. Ala ani teala.*
3pl go catch fish 3pl come 3pl eat for-3pl
They went fishing. They came [back]. They ate it [for] themselves.
- 1.16/8. *I riin i ne ani tei poen, i tawi ni ei ila te*
3sg small 3sg neg eat to-3sg not 3sg give fish poss.3sg to
yayen.
mother-3sg
The smallest didn't eat any himself, he gave his fish to his mother.
- 1.16/9. *Raj si yayeala i vai ila te nat ei, i riin, i va:*
day one mother-3pl 3sg say to child 3sg.ps 3sg small 3sg say
“*Natu! Rajiau yo ku mat. Ko tawi yo kien e um eoi!*
son-1sg tomorrow 1sg 1sg.fut die imp place 1sg lie in house 2sg.ps
One day their mother said to the smallest child, “My son! Tomorrow I will die. Put me in your house!
- 1.16/10. *Poj atalo ku lisi bue, ki rek e yo*
day three 2sg.fut see betel.palm 3sg.fut grow.bigger from 1sg
palo.
head-1sg
After three days you will see a betel palm growing out from my head.

I.16/11. *Bue ki tawi cagin taakou.*
betel.palm 3sg.fut produce fruit ten

The betel palm will grow ten fruit.

I.16/12. *Taadasi ki lom, si ki ne lom poen.*
nine 3sg.fut be.ripe one 3sg.fut d.neg be.ripe not

Nine will be ripe and one will not be ripe.

I.16/13. *Ku lisi, i ne lom poen, teoi.*
imp see 3sg neg be.ripe not to.2sg

See that the unripe fruit is yours.

I.16/14. *Taadasi, i lom, ko tawi kila te ato dasim!*"
nine 3sg be.ripe 2sg.fut give to 3pc brother-2sg.ps

The nine that are ripe, give them to your brothers."

I.16/15. *Yayen i mat. Nat ei i tawi i iti um ei.*
mother-3sg 3sg die child 3sg.ps 3sg lay 3sg in house 3sg.ps

The mother died. Her child lay her in his house.

I.16/16. *I remayani pog atalo. Pog atalo i evuen, bue
wai.*
3sg count day three day three 3sg be.finished betel.palm
grow

He reckoned up three days. When the third day was over, the betel palm grew.

I.16/17. *Bue i tawi cagin. Taadasi i lom, si i ne
lom poen.*
betel.palm 3sg create fruit nine 3sg be.ripe one 3sg d.neg
be.ripe not

The betel palm created fruit. Nine of them were ripe, and one of them was not ripe.

I.16/18. *I lai bue, i mutti, i talasi, i onani
patapat e ato dasin.*
3sg take betel.nuts 3sg pick 3sg distribute 3sg be.sufficient.for
bed poss 3pc brother-3sg

He took the betel nuts, picking them, and distributed them. There was enough for the bed of each of his brothers.

Texts: Part I

- I.16/19. *Tei i tawi iti patapat ei.*
to-3sg 3sg place in bed 3sg.ps
For each he placed a betel nut in his bed.
- I.16/20. *Ray i taai, ala la nyak lawat.*
day 3sg brighten 3pl go rise possum
The day dawns and they went and hunted possum.
- I.16/21. *Bue i amou ila pein.*
betel.nuts 3sg change.self into woman
The betel nuts changed themselves into women.
- I.16/22. *Taadasi, susuala i los, mataala muan.*
nine breast-3pl 3sg fall face-3pl ugly
For nine of them, their breasts hung down, and their faces were ugly.
- I.16/23. *E si, pincuel, i moele i.*
regarding one young.woman 3sg decorate 3sg
As for one of them, she had adorned herself.
- I.16/24. *I ti um e ya kamal ei.*
3sg be.in house poss def husband 3sg.ps
She was in her husband's house.
- I.16/25. *Ala me. Ala lele ila te pati eala. Susuala i los.*
3pl come 3pl look.at to wife 3pl.ps breast-3pl 3sg fall
They came back. They looked at their wives. Their breasts were hanging.
- I.16/26. *Pati e dasiala susun i ne los poen, i*
wife poss brother-3pl breast-3sg 3sg d.neg fall not 3sg
pincuel.
young.woman
The wife of their brother had breasts that were hanging. She was young.
- I.16/27. *Ala va: "Yota etepe? Yota lau uyan, pati eyota*
3pl say 1pl.inc how.is.it 1pl.inc people good wife 1pl.inc.ps
muan?
bad
They said, "What's this? We are good people, but our wives are bad?"

- I.16/28. *I riin e yota, pati ei uyan.*
 3sg small p'tive 1pl.inc wife 3sg.ps good
 And the smallest of us, his wife is good.
- I.16/29. *Ta ka kivani i! Ta ka caburui i kila pinanes*
 1pl.inc hort lie.to 3sg 1pl.inc hort steal 3sg as prostitute
eyota!"
 poss-1pl
 Let's lie to him! Let's steal his wife as our prostitute!"
- I.16/30. *Ala kivani i, ala va: "Rajiau ta ka ta ni!"*
 3pl lie.to 3sg 3pl say tomorrow 1pl.inc hort catch fish
 They lied to their brother, and said, "Tomorrow we'll be catching fish."
- I.16/31. *Ala la ta ni.*
 3pl go catch fish
 They went and caught fish.
- I.16/32. *Ala le kor alawen. Ala lisi mosal.*
 3pl go.to land far 3pl look.for mussel
 They went to a faraway land and looked for mussel.
- I.16/33. *Ala va: "Se i nyu e wei?"*
 3pl say who 3sg swim to that
 They said, "Who's swimming there?"
- I.16/34. *I riin i va: "E yo." I nyu.*
 3sg small 3sg say pred 1sg 3sg swim
 The smallest of them said, "I'll do it." He swam.
- I.16/35. *Ala lisi i, i nyu kinela alawen, ala sue.*
 3pl see 3sg 3sg swim to deep 3pl row
 They saw him swim, reaching the deep, and they rowed [away].
- I.16/36. *Ala le kor. Ala la lisi pati ei.*
 3pl go.to village 3pl go see wife poss.3sg
 They went to the village. They went to see the man's wife.
- I.16/37. *Pati ei i amou ila bue. I se polen.*
 wife poss.3sg 3sg change.self as betel.nut 3sg be.on peak-3sg
 His wife [had] changed herself into a betel nut. She was at the top of the tree.

Texts: Part I

- I.16/38. *Ala ilou ile um. Ala titie um. I poen.*
3pl run to house 3pl seek.out house 3sg not
They ran towards the house and sought her out there. She wasn't there.
- I.16/39. *Ala kaaka, ala ne lisi i poen.*
3pl seek 3pl neg see 3sg not
They looked for her, but they couldn't find her.
- I.16/40. *I se polenbue. I ligani ya kamal ei.*
3sg be.on betel-palm-top 3sg wait.for def husband poss.3sg
She was at the top of the betel palm. She was waiting for her husband.
- I.16/41. *Ya kamal ei i kau ile mat.*
def husband poss.3sg 3sg swim to intertidal.zone
That husband of hers swam onto the shore (to the area between low and high water).
- I.16/42. *I tokai, i la are, i le kor.*
3sg go 3sg go appear 3sg go.to village
He appeared and went to the village.
- I.16/43. *Pati ei i ra ile um. I aburuti kan.*
wife poss.3sg 3sg jump into house 3sg cook food
His wife jumped [out of the tree] into the house. She cooked some food.
- I.16/44. *Aru anaan yevuen, ya pein unani ayan ila te ya*
3dl eat completely def woman whisper word to def
kamal ei.
husband poss.3sg
They had finished eating, when the woman whispered a word to her husband.
- I.16/45. *Ya kamal ei aroy, i va: "Awa dasi! Awa vo muan*
def husband poss.3sg hear 3sg say 2pl brother 2pl do bad
ime te yo.
to 1sg
That husband heard her, and said, "My brothers! You have done an evil thing to me."
- I.16/46. *"Awa k' ani lawat eawa, awa ka tawi ave kila te*
2pl c.fact eat possum 2pl.ps 2pl c.fact give some to
yayeyota, awa ka puti pein uyan. Awa, cinal i le kan
mother-1.pl 2pl c.fact marry woman good 2pl devil 3sg go.to food

eawa.

2pl.ps

"Had you eaten your possum and given some to our mother, you would have married good women. You, a devil has got into your food."

- I.16/47. "Awa ne ayani yayeyota poen. Teyo i la
2pl d.neg support mother-1pl.inc not to.1sg 3sg become
uyan, teawa i la muan.
good to.2pl 3sg become bad

You did not support our mother. [Therefore] I've done well and things have gone badly for you.

- I.16/48. "Awa ka ti kor eyota. Yo ku au."
2pl hort be.in village 1pl.inc.ps 1sg 1sg.fut leave
"You stay in our village. I will leave."

- I.16/49. Aru nyak ile bue. Aru la ti polenbue.
3dl climb into betel.palm 3dl become be.on betel-palm-top

Those two [the man and his wife] climbed into the betel palm. They were at the top of the betel palm.

- I.16/50. I va: "Yaye! K' wai kila alawen kile lay!"
3sg say mother hort grow to high into heaven
The man said, "Mother! Grow high into the sky!"

- I.16/51. Aru le lay. Mim earu i la bura, ci earu
3dl go.to heaven urine 3dl.ps 3sg become rain flatulence 3dl.ps
i la katuq, moan earu i la damet.
3sg become thunder fire 3dl.ps 3sg become lightning

They went to heaven. Their urine became rain, their flatulence became thunder, and their fire became lightning.

I.17 Why there are so many things missing from Manus

Told by Hi Poyang from Papitalai. A story well known to all from the Admiralty Islands. (Meier 1907:666)

- I.17/1. *Muan, moen Lokomo.*

Muan def L

Muan was a man from Lokomo.

Texts: Part I

- 1.17/2. *I sai dol ei ila alawen.*
3sg build.from.wood canoe 3sg.ps as long
He built his canoe long.
- 1.17/3. *I mayasani ila madean.*
3sg make-trans into big
He made it big.
- 1.17/4. *I mayasani yevuen, ai i ilou.*
3sg make-trans finished west.wind 3sg blow
When he finished making it, a west wind blew.
- 1.17/5. *I usuni buamarit asiuna yevuen, i layat ile mokeu.*
3sg take.in thing all completely 3sg sail to open.sea
He put in all his things [into the canoe] and sailed to the open sea.
- 1.17/6. *Ai i ilou ila madean.*
west.wind 3sg blow there big
A strong westerly wind blew up.
- 1.17/7. *Do ave pucui, dol ei ki camur. I luvuani*
only somewhat little canoe 3sg.ps pot sink 3sg throw
buamarit asiuna yevuen.
thing all completely
After a little time, the canoe could have sunk. He threw everything overboard.
- 1.17/8. *Do pou pe muinyp e ma pe niu pe buayan pe bur*
only pig and dog and taro and coconut and yam and banana
i ti dol.
3sg be.in canoe
Only a pig, a dog, taro, coconut, yam, and banana were left in the canoe.
- 1.17/9. *Buamarit asiuna i au yevuen.*
thing all 3sg leave completely
Everything else was gone.
- 1.17/10. *Ai nabu i vomuani i alan, yota k' ani*
west.wind irr.neg 3sg harm 3sg if 1pl.inc c.fact eat

buamarit asiuna kievuen.

thing all completely

If the west wind had not harmed him, we would eat everything.

- I.17/11. *Ai i vomuani i, yota ani buamarit panum, pe panum poen.*
west.wind 3sg harm 3sg 1pl.inc eat thing some and
some not

The west wind harmed him, and so we eat some things and we don't eat others.

I.18 The origin of the Poawai channel

Told by Lovar from Papitalai. This story is well known to all Admiralty-Islanders. (Meier 1907:666–667)

- I.18/1. *Aru dasiaru, aru ti Pounda.*
3dl brothers.to.each.other 3dl live.in P

Two brothers lived on Pounda.

- I.18/2. *Amo i sosogani pat, i vo buli ei ila alaweu.*
one 3sg collect stone 3sg make mountain 3sg.ps to tall

One collected stones to make his mountain tall.

- I.18/3. *Amo i tu sa dol.*
one 3sg prog build.from.wood canoe

One built a canoe out of wood.

- I.18/4. *Moen sogopyanpat i tu sosoge pat.*
def stone.carrier 3sg prog collect stone

The stone carrier kept on collecting stones.

- I.18/5. *Moen sayadol i tu sa dol.*
def canoe-builder 3sg prog build.from.wood canoe

The canoe builder was building a canoe.

- I.18/6. *Moen sayadol putuan i momoa e moen sogopyanpat.*
def canoe-builder stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry regarding def stone.carrier

The canoe builder was angry about the stone carrier.

- I.18/7. *I tokai piaun. I tunei pat e kekan. Pat i*
3sg go by.night 3sg kick.away stone with foot-3sg stone 3sg

Texts: Part I

rot.

scatter

He went at night and kicked away the stones with his foot. The stones scattered.

- I.18/8. *Moen sogoganpat va: "Dasi! Oi kone vo muan kineme te yo, oi kone subuani pat eyo.*
def stone.carrier say brother 2sg 2sg.perf do bad to
1sg 2sg 2sg.perf destroy stone 1sg.ps

The stone carrier said, "Brother! You have done a bad thing to me.
You've destroyed my stones!"

- I.18/9. *"Ki la teyo alan, buli eyotaru ki la alawen, ki la tatuni lay. Kine la teoi. Ku tu, pe yo ku au."*
c.fact become to.1sg if mountain 1dl.inc.ps pot become tall pot become hold.fast heaven 3sg.perf become to.2sg imp stay and 1sg 1sg.fut leave

"If it had turned out for me, our mountain would have become tall and would have held onto the sky. But it's come out your way. You stay here and I'll leave."

- I.18/10. *Moen sayadol i ti kor earu.*
def canoe-builder 3sg be.in village 3dl.ps

The canoe builder was in their village.

- I.18/11. *Moen sosogyanpat i kuni pat si.*
def stone.carrier 3sg sling.over.shoulders stone one

The stone carrier slung a stone over his shoulders.

- I.18/12. *I tokai ime e Poawai.*
3sg go here to P

He went here to Poawai.

- I.18/13. *Raj i tu sawani, i luvuani pat iti moeren.*
day 3sg prog brighten 3sg throw stone in middle

The day brightened, and he threw the stone into the middle [of the land].

- I.18/14. *Pat i cariti kor. Das i ilou e wei.*
stone 3sg cut.through land sea 3sg run in there

The stone cut through the land. The sea ran in.

Stories about the Confusion of Languages

- I.18/15. *Pat no la ti Poawai. Kunian kayar, i no la*
stone remain pres be.in P sling ko.tree 3sg remain be
ti wei.
be.in there

The stone is still there today in Poawai. The kayar tree, his sling, is still there.

- I.18/16. *Kasan nyonyok, i ne la ti wei.*
binding-cloth ko.vine 3sg still pres be.in there

His binder (the thing he bound the rocks and the tree with), the nyoknyok vine, is still there.

II Stories about the Confusion of Languages

II.1 The confusion of languages is due to Mount Cavomu

No information given about speaker. The story is known to all Islanders.
(Meier 1907:933)

- II.1/1. *Buli an Cavomu i wai ila alawen.*
mountain of C 3sg grow into high
Mount Cavomu grew high there.

- II.1/2. *I tu wai ila alawen.*
3sg prog grow into tall
It grew into a tall mountain.

- II.1/3. *Cavomu kor e moat.*
C land poss snake
There was a snake in Cavomu.

- II.1/4. *Moat i lisi buli, i la alawen, i somuti*
snake 3sg see mountain 3sg become be.tall 3sg disagree.with
buli.
mountain

The snake saw that the mountain was getting tall; he disagreed with the mountain.

- II.1/5. *Buli i vai ila te moat, i va: "Yo u va, awa ka*
mountain 3sg say to snake 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S think 2pl nsg.fut
nyak kiau e yo kile lay.
climb up from 1sg into heaven

The mountain said to the snakes: "I think that you will climb up from

Texts: Part II

me into the sky.

- II.1/6. *"Oi a somuti yo. Oi ayan eoi ki la arai,*
2sg 2sg.nfut forbid 1sg 2sg speech 2sg.ps hort become the.other
ayan eyo ki la arai.
speech 1sg.ps hort become the.other

"You will forbid me. Let you and your language become different from me (let your speech become one kind, and mine another kind.)

- II.1/7. *"Ala nat eyotaru ala ka wai, ayan eala de arai,*
3pl child 1dl.inc.ps 3pl hort grow speech 3pl.ps the.one
de arai."
the.other

"Let our children grow up, their languages being different."

II.2 The confusion of languages because of the building of a house

Told by Kopen from Papitalai. (Meier 1907:933–934)

- II.2/1. *Ala Lohi tasajat pe tulugol. Lavan i ala Lohi Muikiu.*
3pl L one.hundred and thirty chief 3sg 3pl L M

There were 130 Lohi people. The chief of the Lohi was Muikiu.

- II.2/2. *I va: "Ta k' asi um kila alawen kile lay!"*
3sg say 1pl.inc hort build house as high into heaven
He said, "Let us build a house that will be as high as heaven!"

- II.2/3. *Ala asi um iti Lohi. Um i la alawen.*
3pl build house in L house 3sg become be.high
They built a house on Lohi. It became tall.

- II.2/4. *Do ave um ki la tatuni lay.*
only somewhat house c.fact become hold.fast.to heaven
At some point the house would have "grabbed on" to heaven.

- II.2/5. *Po Avi, moen Kali, i la varina i.*
Po Avi def Kali 3sg go to 3sg
Po Avi, a man from Kali, went to the chief.

- II.2/6. *I somuti Muikiu, i va "Se i vai wa te oi,*
3sg disagree.with M 3sg say who 3sg say there to 2sg
poa ko asi um eoi kila alawen?"
2sg.desid 2sg.fut build house 2sg.ps into high
He disagreed with Muikiu, and said, "Who told you [something], so that you want to build a house as high as heaven?"

Stories about the Confusion of Languages

- II.2/7. *Muikiu i va: "Yo lavan i yoya Lohi yo u vai,*
M 3sg say 1sg chief 3sg 1pl.excl L 1sg 1sg.S say
yoya asi um, ila alawen, pa ki le lay.
1pl.excl build house into high pa 3sg.fut go.to heaven
Muikiu said, "I am the chief of us Lohi people, and I say, we will build
the house as high as heaven, we want to go to heaven."
- II.2/8. *"Dasi! Ki la teyo alan, yota k' asi um*
brother 3sg.fut become to.1sg if 1pl.inc 3sg.fut build house
eyota kila alawen kile lay.
1pl.inc.ps into high to heaven
"Brother! If it comes out your way, we will build a house as high as
heaven."
- II.2/9. *"Kine la teoi, um eyota ki la buon."*
3sg.perf be to.2sg house 1pl.inc.ps 3sg.fut become low
"If it comes out your way, our house will become low."
- II.2/10. *Muikiu i lai wai, i ure i ile ditaala lau ei.*
M 3sg take water 3sg pour 3sg onto body-3pl people 3sg.ps
Ayan eala i mapalupalue.
language 3pl.ps 3sg twist
Muikiu took water and poured it onto the bodies of his people. Their
language got twisted.
- II.2/11. *Panum i tuanani panum, panum i ne uroq ayan*
some 3sg send.out some some 3sg d.neg hear language
e panum poen.
poss some not
Some sent out others, and some could not understand the language.
- II.2/12. *Ala lau ala ror ile a kor pe a kor.*
3pl people 3pl scatter into indef land and indef land
The people scattered into different lands.
- II.2/13. *Ala la asi a kor. A kor de*
3pl become build indef village other land very.much
ajanun, ajanun.
language-3sg language-3sg
They built different villages. Each village had a very different language.

II.3 The confusion of languages by a snake

Told by Kopen from Papitalai. A Matankor story. (Meier 1907:934)

II.3/1. *Hi Pun pe Iyaruu.*

H and I

This is a story about Hi Pun and Iyaruu.

II.3/2. *Hi Pun i tawi nat. Amo i la ramat, amo i*

H 3sg give.birth.to child one 3sg become person one 3sg
la moat.
become snake

Hi Pun gave birth. One was human and the other was a snake.

II.3/3. *Aru pision aru po paun.*

3dl sibling-3sg 3dl do battle

The two siblings fought.

II.3/4. *Ramat i va: "Ko la vo ni!" Moat i vavuen.*

person 3sg say imp go procure fish snake 3sg refuse

The person said, "Go get fish!" The snake refused.

II.3/5. *Ramat i vai ila te i, i va: "Oi cinal!"*

person 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say 2sg devil

The person said to him, "You're a devil!"

II.3/6. *Moat i vai ila te i, i va: "Ki la teyo alan,*

snake 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say c.fact become to.1sg if

ayan eyota ki la do arai.

language 1pl.inc.ps c.fact be only the.one

The snake said, "If it were up to me, our language would be the same."

II.3/7. *"Kine la teoi. Oi a moage yo, yo*

3sg.perf become to.2sg 2sg 2sg.nfut abuse.verbally 1sg 1sg

ku cikak.

1sg.fut muddle.up

"It has come about as you want it. You insulted me, and I will muddle up.

II.3/8. *"Yo ku cikikani ayan eyota.*

1sg 1sg.cfact muddle.up-trans language 1pl.inc.ps

"I will muddle up our language.

II.3/9. "Ajan eyota a kor de ajan ei, ajan language 1pl.inc.ps each land always language 3sg.ps language ei."
3sg.ps

"Our language in each land will be our own (i.e., each will have a different language)."

II.4 Why the people of Manus, although scattered far, have only one language

Told by "Kawas and Yap" (nickname meaning "friend of White people").
A myth from the Island of Mbuka. (Meier 1907:935)

II.4/1. *Kalivuic, moen Buke. I mayase dol.*
ko.turtle def B 3sg build canoe

Kalivuic was a turtle from Mbuka. He built a canoe.

II.4/2. *Bulei i me varina i, i va: "Kalivuic! Ajan eyota do arai!"*
mouse 3sg come to 3sg 3sg say ko.turtle language 1pl.inc.ps only the.one

A mouse came to him and said, "Turtle! Our language is the only one!"

II.4/3. *Kalivuic i va: "Wa pe ye! Ko au e dol eyotaru!"*
ko.turtle 3sg say yes and it's.true imp leave in canoe 1dl.inc.ps
Turtle said, "Yes! Leave in our canoe!"

II.4/4. *"K' uti lamum! Ko talasi, ki onani*
imp pull.out hair-2sg.poss imp spread.out 3sg.fut be.sufficient.for
kor!"
land

"Pull out your hair! Divide yourselves, so that you will be sufficient for the land!"

II.4/5. *I uti lamun. I onani kor.*
3sg pull.out hair-3sg 3sg be.sufficient.for village
He pulled out his hair. He was sufficient for the village.

II.4/6. *Ajan e Moanus i la do arai.*
speech poss M 3sg become only the.one
The speech of Manus became a single language.

Texts: Part III

- II.4/7. *Nabu bulei ki vai alan, ayan eyota ki la coloan.*
irr.neg mouse c.fact say if speech 1pl.inc.ps c.fact be many
Had not the mouse spoken, our languages would be of many different kinds.

III Tales of Heaven, Sun, and Moon

III.1 The forty men who were drawn into heaven

Told by Laakam from Papitalai. This story is well known to all Admiralty-Islanders. (Meier 1907:936–937)

- III.1/1. *Kunialay, lavan i lag, i do amo.*
K chief 3sg heaven 3sg only one

Kunialang, chief in heaven, was alone.

- III.1/2. *I lisi ala, ramat, ala ayol, ala ti poany, ala Lawes.*
3sg see 3pl person 3pl forty 3pl be.on earth 3pl Lawes
He saw people, forty of them, on Earth, people of Lawes.

- III.1/3. *Ala ayol ramat, ala tutui ala, ala ratutui ala. Moen Kunialay i*
3pl forty person 3pl fight 3pl 3pl insult 3pl def K 3sg
lisi ala.
see 3pl

Those forty men were fighting each other, calling each other names.
Kunialang saw them.

- III.1/4. *I luluani kobu piaun ile poany.*
3sg let.down big.basket by.night to ground
At night he let down a big basket to the earth.

- III.1/5. *I pakutani kobu ile woseu.*
3sg tie.fast big.basket to rattan.rope
He tied the basket to a rattan rope.

- III.1/6. *I abuti palawoseu iti lag pe i luluani i ime*
3sg bind.fast rattan.rope-end in heaven and 3sg let.down 3sg here
e poany.
to earth

He tied one end of the rope to heaven and let down the other end here to earth.

- III.1/7. *I lai ala ile lonkobu. I dul palue ile lag. I*
3sg take 3pl to basket-inside 3sg climb back into heaven 3sg

sama ala.

drag.up 3pl

He took the men inside the basket. It climbed back into heaven. He pulled them up.

III.1/8. *I moneani keyau eala. I moneani ala e keyau. Ala ne
mamat poen.*
3sg arrange bed 3pl.ps 3sg arrange 3pl on bed 3pl d.neg
wake.up not

He arranged their beds. He arranged them on the bed. They didn't wake up.

III.1/9. *I akurani kobi ile polenpotai. I dutui katam. I
tokai ile lono.*
3sg conceal big.basket in potai-tree-top 3sg close door 3sg
go to forest

He hid the basket at the top of a potai tree. He shut the door and went into the forest.

III.1/10. *I la ta api. I va ki ani ala e wei.*
3sg go collect sago 3sg want 3sg.fut eat 3pl with that
He went and collected sago. He wanted to eat them with it.

III.1/11. *I ta api. I akurani api iti lono. I tokai ile kor.*
3sg collect sago 3sg conceal sago in forest 3sg go to village
He collected sago. He hid that sago in the forest. He went back to the village.

III.1/12. *I va: "Awa lau eyo."*
3sg say 2pl people 1sg.ps

He said, "You are my people."

III.1/13. *Ala lau, ateala i gas e wei.*
3pl people liver-3pl 3sg be.astonished regarding that
The people were astonished by that.

III.1/14. *Ala ililime. Lavan i ala i vai ila te ala, i va:
"Nabu awa ka no! Yo cinal poen, yo ramat."*
3pl did.not.recognize chief 3sg 3pl 3sg say to 3pl 3sg say
irr.neg 2pl hort fear 1sg devil not 1sg person

They did not recognize him. The chief spoke to them, and said, "Don't be afraid! I am not a devil, I'm a human."

Texts: Part III

III.1/15. *I tokai palue ile lono.*

3sg go back to forest

He went back to the forest.

III.1/16. *Cog i ani ala. Ala ne ani ave kan poen. Ala*

hunger 3sg eat 3pl 3pl d.neg eat some food not 3pl

tuetuene amo e ala.

send.away one from 3pl

The people got very hungry. They hadn't eaten any food. They sent out one from among them.

III.1/17. *I tokai. I lisi api. I ndoul konova palimat. I*

3sg go 3sg look.for sago 3sg hang just.like flying.fox 3sg

tokai imulie ile kor.

go back to village

He went to look for sago. He hung there like a flying fox. He went back to the village.

III.1/18. *I va: "Awa dasi! Yota, cinal itan ane ki ani*

3sg say 2pl brother 1pl.inc devil this perhaps 3sg.fut eat

yota. I ta kaniayota ilati lono."

1pl.inc 3sg collect feast-1pl.inc there.in forest

He said, "You, my brothers! This devil might be going to eat us. He's collecting a feast for us in the forest."

III.1/19. *Ala taj. Koloala i dili.*

3pl cry throat-3pl 3sg be.sad

They cried. They were sad in their throats.

III.1/20. *Amo muiny i neneu ila ramat, i va: "Awa taj e*

one dog 3sg talk as person 3sg say 2pl cry because.of

ca?"

what

A dog, who could talk like a person, said, "Why are you crying?"

III.1/21. *Ala camui ayan ei, ala va: "Yota no. Lavan eoi i*

3pl answer speech 3sg.ps 3pl say 1pl.inc fear chief 2sg.ps 3sg

ta kaniayota ilati lono."

collect feast-1pl.inc there.in forest

They answered him, and said, "We're afraid. Your chief is collecting our feast in the forest."

III.1/22. *Muiny i waareani kōbu, i va: "Kōbu ilati dog 3sg reveal big.basket 3sg say big.basket there.in polenkei, katam itan."*
tree-top door this

The dog revealed to them the basket, and said, "There's a big basket at the tree-top, and this is the entrance."

III.1/23. *Ala nyak ile kei, ala luluani kōbu ile poany.*
3pl climb into tree 3pl let.down big.basket to ground

They climbed into the tree and let down the basket to the ground.

III.1/24. *Ala lai, ala tapari katam.*
3pl take 3pl open door

They took it and opened the lid.

III.1/25. *Ala tulujol pe adasi ala luluani ala ile kōbu. Do amo,*
3pl thirty and nine 3pl let.down 3pl in big.basket only one
murin e ala, i ti lag.
last p'tive 3pl 3sg be.in heaven

Thirty-nine of the men let themselves down in the basket. Only one, the last of them, remained in the sky.

III.1/26. *I va: "Awa ka lisi yo. Awa ka uroj ketatai eyoru.*
3sg say 2pl hort look.at 1sg 2pl hort hear quarrel 1dl.excl.ps
He said, "Look at me! You, hear my quarrel (with the chief when he returns).

III.1/27. *I ki atuj, awa ka pas e wei,*
3sg 3sg.fut thunder 2pl nsg.fut know.about because.of 3sg
yoru po paun itan.
1dl.excl do battle this

"When it thunders, you'll know of it because of this, that we are fighting."

III.1/28. *Moen lavan i lag i tokai imulie ile kor. I lisi um.*
def chief 3sg heaven 3sg go back to home 3sg see house
The chief from heaven went home. He saw his house.

III.1/29. *Amo lau e wei poen, do Po Cucu. I lematani i, i*
one people in there not only P. C. 3sg ask 3sg 3sg

Texts: Part III

va: "Ala lau eyotaru ala la wee?"
say 3pl people 1dl.inc.ps 3pl go where

There were no people there, only Po Cucu. He asked him, "Where did my people go?"

- III.1/30. *Po Cucu i va: "Ee! Yo u pasani ala poen. Ane ala kane tokai kinele lono."*
P. C. 3sg say oh! 1sg 1sg.S know.about 3pl not perhaps
3pl nsg.perf go to forest

Po Cucu said, "Oh! I know nothing about them. Maybe they went to the forest."

- III.1/31. *Moen Kunialang i va: "Oi a kipani yo."*
def K 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut lie.to 1sg
Kunialang said, "You're lying to me."

- III.1/32. *I lai kayar. I te i e wei. I te i e ramei.*
3sg take k.o.stork 3sg hit 3sg with that 3sg hit 3sg with
wooden.drum

He took a kayar stick and hit him with it. He hit him with a wooden drum.

- III.1/33. *Po Cucu i pel ile keyau. I te i e keyau.*
P. C. 3sg jump into bed 3sg hit 3sg against bed
Po Cucu jumped into the bed. He hit him against the bed.

- III.1/34. *Po Cucu i pel ile moan. I te i e moan.*
P. C. 3sg jump into fireplace 3sg hit 3sg against fireplace
Po Cucu jumped into a fireplace. Kunialang hit him against the fireplace.

- III.1/35. *Po Cucu i pely ile katam. I te i e katam.*
P. C. 3sg jump into door 3sg hit 3sg against door
Po Cucu jumped into the door[way]. Kunialang hit him against the door.

- III.1/36. *Po Cucu i lulu ile poany. Kawo i pelawani i konova akap launkei.*
just.like one tree.leaf
Po Cucu jumped onto the ground. The wind pushed him just like a leaf.

III.1/37. *Ala lisi Po Cucu, i lulu ile poany.*

3pl see P. C. 3sg go.down onto ground

The people saw Po Cucu go down onto the ground.

III.1/38. *I tokai ile kor, i va: "Awa dasi! Muiny uyan, i tawi yota.*

1pl.inc

He went to the village and said, "You brothers! The good dog saved us.

III.1/39. *"Awa paun eawa riin, yo, paun eyo madean. I te yo e ramei. Ramei i atuy.*

against wooden.drum wooden.drum 3sg thunder

"As for you, your fight was small, but as for me, my battle was big. He hit me against a drum. The drum thundered.

III.1/40. *"I te yo e keyau. Keyau i la parar.*

3sg hit 1sg against bed bed 3sg become thunderclap

"He hit me against a bed, which make a thunderclap.

III.1/41. *"I te yo e moan. Moan i la damet.*

3sg hit 1sg against fireplace fireplace 3sg become lightning

"He hit me against a fireplace, and the fireplace became lightning.

III.1/42. *"I te yo e katam. Katam i la sawan."*

3sg hit 1sg against door door 3sg become light

"He hit me against a door, and the door became light."

III.1/43. *Moen Kunialang i putuan i momoa.*

def K 3sg stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry

That Kunialang got stomach-angry.

III.1/44. *I pa ki buluti si kobu lie. I pa ki luluani.*

let.down

He wanted to weave a big basket again. He wanted to let it down [to the earth].

Texts: Part III

- III.1/45. *Bul i culuji katam. Moluankobu ilati sawabul.*
moon 3sg block door basket-shadow there.in moonlight
The moon blocked the doorway. The shadow of the basket is moonlight.

III.2 Men are the children of the sun

Told by Dawi from Dobut. A Matankor story. (Meier 1907:938)

- III.2/1. *Peu pe Al, aru sai dol.*
Peu and Al 3dl build.from.wood canoe
Peu and Al built a canoe.

- III.2/2. *Aru usuni ala ni ila lau earu.*
3dl take.in 3pl fish into people 3dl.poss
They took the fish [into their canoe] as their subjects.

- III.2/3. *Wewei i le kilit eala. Al i le cam.*
W 3sg go.to rudder 3pl.poss Al 3sg go.to outrigger
Wewei went to the rudder of the canoe. Al was on the outrigger.

- III.2/4. *Peu i le kekecou. Ala awen ile dol.*
Peu 3sg go.to bench 3pl climb into canoe
Peu sat on the bench. They had all got into the canoe.

- III.2/5. *Ala ka pein ile Tawi e Capale.*
3pl look.for woman in T
They went to Tawi to look for women.

- III.2/6. *Pein poen. Ala sue ime e Pere. Pein uyan iti wei.*
woman not 3pl row here to Pere woman good in there
There weren't any women. They rowed to Pere. Surely there would be good women there.

- III.2/7. *Peu pe Al aru va: "Muan."*
Peu and Al 3dl say bad
Peu and Al said, "[They're] bad."

- III.2/8. *Ala me sue lie ime e Poamacau. Peu i en e kekecou,*
3pl come row again here to P Peu 3sg sit on bench
i lele ile Damolou.
3sg see to D

They arrived at Poamacau. Peu sat on the bench, and saw Damolou.

III.2/9. *I lisi alei, i en e ditanpat, i en parer e*
3sg see pandanus.palm 3sg sit on rock-top 3sg sit be.white on
ditanpat.
rock-top

He saw a pandanus palm on top of a rock, shining white.

III.2/10. *Peu i vai ila te Al, i va: "Al! Si manuai ne ave ca,*
Peu 3sg say to Al 3sg say Al one osprey or some what
i la en parer e ditanpat?"
3sg be sit be.white on rock-top

Peu said to Al, "Al! Is that a bird? What is it that is sitting white on the top of the rock?"

III.2/11. *Ala la ic. Ala lisi i, pein iti cawon.*
3pl go near 3pl see 3sg woman on spit

They went near. They saw her, a woman on the spit of land.

III.2/12. *Al i tuanani ala lau ei. Ala lau ala vavuen.*
Al 3sg send.out 3pl people 3sg.ps 3pl people 3pl refuse
Al sent his people, but they refused [to go].

III.2/13. *Wewei, i en e muridol, i la vaye i ime e*
W 3sg sit at canoe-back 3sg go accompany 3sg here in
dol.
canoe

Wewei, who was sitting in the last canoe [or, the rear of the canoe], accompanied him in a canoe.

III.2/14. *Ala lametani i, ala va: "Naram se?" I va: "Yo,*
3pl ask 3sg 3pl say name-2sg.poss who 3sg say 1sg
garo Aluh Komolon."
name-1sg A. K.

They asked her, "What's your name?" She said, "My name is Aluh Komolon."

III.2/15. *Ala sue ile Yap.*
3pl row to Yap

They rowed to Yap.

III.2/16. *Ala le ley Al, i en e cam, kine nyu kinele das,*
3pl go.to shore Al 3sg sit on outrigger 3sg.perf dive into sea

Texts: Part III

i la ni.
3sg go fish

They went ashore. Al, who was sitting on the canoe outrigger, dived into the sea to get fish.

III.2/17. *Peu i en e kekecou, kine nyu kinele das.*
Peu 3sg sit on bench 3.sg.perf swim to sea

Peu, who was sitting on the bench, had swum into the sea.

III.2/18. *Ala lau earu ala kane coŋ kineau.*
3pl people 3dl.ps 3pl nsg.perf escape away

Their people had gone away.

III.2/19. *Dol kine la kei. I, pein kavuen, i se ley.*
canoe 3sg.perf go tree 3sg woman be.alone 3sg be.on shore

The canoe reached the tree. She, the woman alone, was standing on the shore.

III.2/20. *Wewei i vai ila te i, i va: "Ku tu, ne?"*
W 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say 2sg.fut stay or
Wewei spoke to her; he said, "Are you going to stay there?"

III.2/21. *Aluh Komolon i va: "Ko la!" I la.*
A. K. 3sg say imp go 3sg go
Aluh Komolon said, "Go away!"

III.2/22. *Aluh Komolon i la varina Matamorai.*
A. K. 3sg go to sun
Aluh Komolon went to the Sun.

III.2/23. *Matamorai i tawi nat ile putua ya pein.*
sun 3sg create child in stomach def woman
The Sun created children in the stomach of that woman.

III.2/24. *Titan yota lau asiuna, Yap pe Moanus, ta nat e*
T 1pl.inc people all Yap and M 1pl.inc child poss
Matamorai.
sun

Titan people, Yap and Moanus, are all children of the Sun.

III.3 The course of the sun is that of the good, and that of the moon is that of the wicked

Told by Hi Tulukor from Papitalai. This story is well known to all Admiralty-Islanders. (Meier 1907:939)

III.3/1. *Aru nat arumo, aru dasiaru.*

3dl child two 3dl brother-3dl

There were two children, brothers to each other.

III.3/2. *Aru pati kor e Morai.*

3dl from village on M

They were from a village on Morai.

III.3/3. *Aru no tu tokai do uyan.*

3dl try prog go only good

They tried to do only good things.

III.3/4. *Pe poŋ si amo i nyamiri cal e Bul, pe amo i and day one one 3sg love path poss moon and one 3sg nyamiri cal e Matamorai.*

love path poss sun

But one day, one loved the path of the Moon, and one loved the path of the Sun.

III.3/5. *Aru tokai muan.*

3dl go bad

They went bad.

III.3/6. *Takeai earu, i me te yota.*

change 3dl.ps 3sg come to 1pl.inc

Their change has come down to us.

III.3/7. *Ala panum ala tokai yau e cal e Matamorai, ala uyan, pe 3pl some 3pl go to path poss sun 3pl good and ala panum ala tokai yau e cal e Bul, ala muan.*

3pl some 3pl go to path poss moon 3pl bad

Some of them go away to the path of the Sun, that is, the good people, and others go to the path of the Moon, who are bad.

III.4 The origin of the dark parts of the moon

Told by Hi Tulukor from Papitalai. This story is well known to all Admiralty-Islanders. (Meier 1905:939)

III.4/1. *Aru, pein arumo, aru po pilay.*

3dl woman two 3dl work plantation

There were two women working on a plantation.

III.4/2. *Ave poencu earu poen.*

any mussel-knife 3dl.ps not

They didn't have any mussel knives.

III.4/3. *Bul i sam. Aru sui ma earu ile Bul.*

moon 3sg shine 3dl scrape.off taro 3dl.ps with moon

The Moon shone, and they scraped off their taro with the moon.

III.4/4. *Bul i la nyu. Ave savol earu poen.*

moon 3sg go sink any mussel-knife 3dl.ps not

The moon set. They didn't have a mussel knife.

III.4/5. *Bul i are palue. Aru lai. Aru sui ma earu ile*

moon 3sg appear again 3dl take 3dl scrape.off taro 3dl.ps with

wei.

that

The Moon appeared again. They took it and scraped off their taro with it.

III.4/6. *Bul i womuani aru. I cope nat arumo ile*

moon 3sg rape 3dl 3sg produce child two in

putua-aru pein arumo.

stomach-3dl woman two

The Moon raped the two women. He produced two children in the stomachs of the two women.

III.4/7. *Aru moage bul, aru va: "Oi muan! Oi matam puicon. Oi*

3dl abuse moon 3dl say 2sg bad 2sg face-2sg.ps black 2sg

savol eyoru.

mussel-knife 1dl.excl.ps

They scolded him, and said, "You are bad! Your face is black. You are our mussel knife."

III.4/8. “*Kuliconma eyoru ki ti matam! Nabu ko taro.skin 1dl.excl.ps hort be.on face-2sg.ps irr.neg imp savui kilimanat eyoru!*”
wipe.off black.child 1dl.excl.ps

“Let the skin of our taro be on your face! Let you not wipe away our black children!”

III.4/9. *Puiconma i ti matabul. I no manyau, i taro-blackness 3sg be.on moon-face 3sg remain always 3sg ne au poen.*
d.neg leave not

The blackness of taro is on the face of the Moon. It always remains. It does not disappear.

III.5 Why the sun rises in the east and the moon in the west

Told by Po Cili from Papitalai. A story from Manus. (Meier 1907:940–941)

III.5/1. *Matamorai pe Bul aru dasiaru.*
sun and moon 3dl brothers.to.each.other

Sun and Moon were brothers.

III.5/2. *Amo i puti pin tulugol, amo i puti pin tulugol.*
indef 3sg marry woman thirty one 3sg marry woman thirty
Pati earu i vo sisie.
wife 3dl.ps 3sg make identical.in.number

One married thirty women, and the other married thirty women. They had the same number of marriages.

III.5/3. *Ala lau e Bul pe ala lau e Matamorai ala awen*
3pl people poss moon and 3pl people poss sun 3pl climb
ile dol aruei.
into canoe two

The people of Moon and the people of Sun climbed into two canoes.

III.5/4. *Matamorai pe Bul aru ti kekecou aruo. Ala la vo*
sun and moon 3dl be.on bench two 3pl impf make
lam.
net

Sun and Moon were on the two benches. They were making nets.

Texts: Part III

III.5/5. *Ala ta ni yevuen, ni e Bul ila te Matamorai, ni*
3pl catch fish completely fish poss moon for sun fish
e Matamorai ila te Bul.

poss sun to moon

When they finished catching fish, the fish of Moon [went] to Sun, and the fish of Sun [went] to Moon.

III.5/6. *Aru tu vo, tu vo. Ray si ito Bul i kivani*
3dl prog do habit do day one there moon 3sg lie.to
Matamorai, i va: "Dasi! Awa ka la vo ni! Yo u yadi."
sun 3sg say brother 2pl hort go do fish 1sg 1sg.S sick
They did this for a time. One day, then, Moon lied to Sun. He said, "Brother! you go fishing. I am sick."

III.5/7. *Matamorai i va: "Ku tu!"*
sun 3sg say imp stay
Sun said, "Stay!"

III.5/8. *Ala lau e Matamorai pe ala lau e Bul ala la*
3pl people poss sun and 3pl people poss moon 3pl go
ta ni. Bul i ti kor. Bul i tokai ila.
catch fish moon 3sg be.in home moon 3sg go there
The people of Sun and the people of Moon went to catch fish. Moon was at home. Moon went there.

III.5/9. *I tatuni pati e Matamorai. Aru iti aru.*
3sg hold.fast wife poss sun 3dl have.sex.with 3dl
He caught hold of Sun's wife. They had sex with each other.

III.5/10. *Bul pa ki tokai, bui pati e Matamorai i*
moon want 3sg.fut go vulva wife poss sun 3sg
kakawi Bul.
hold.on.to moon

Moon wanted to leave, but the vulva of Sun's wife held onto Moon.

III.5/11. *Bul pa ki tadul, i poke.*
moon want 3sg.fut stand.upright 3sg be.strong
Moon wanted to stand up, but [the vulva] was too strong.

III.5/12. *Matamorai ala me e kor. Matamorai pa ki le*
sun 3pl come to home sun want 3sg.fut go.to

um ei, i la lisi aru.

house 3sg.ps 3sg go see 3dl

Sun [and his followers] came home. Sun wanted to go to his house. He caught sight of them.

III.5/13. *I va: "Oh! Dasi, oi a kivani yo! Oi kone vo muan."*
3sg say oh brother 2sg 2sg.nfut lie.to 1sg 2sg 2sg.perf do bad

He said, "Oh, brother, you were lying to me! You have done an evil thing."

III.5/14. *Matamorai i mulie ile um ei sem.*
sun 3sg return to house 3sg.ps one

Sun returned to the house of one of them.

III.5/15. *Ala anaan yevuen, ala un wai, ala tua.*
3pl eat completely 3pl drink water 3pl chew.betel

They finished eating, they drank water, they chewed betel.

III.5/16. *Matamorai i va: "Awa lau eyo! Bul i kivani yota.*
sun 3sg say 2pl people 1sg.ps moon 3sg lie.to 1pl.inc
I kine vo muan.
3sg 3sg.perf do bad

Sun said, "You are my people! Moon lied to us. He has done an evil thing."

III.5/17. *"Awa ka tu! Yo ku waye ala lau eyo. Yota k' au." Ala au.*
2pl hort stay 1sg 1sg.fut take.along 3pl people 1sg.ps 1pl.inc
hort leave 3pl leave

"You will stay! I will take along my people [with me]. We will leave."
They left.

III.5/18. *Ala awen ile dol sei. Ala lai ley.*
3pl climb into canoe one 3pl take shore

They climbed into one canoe. They took [it along?] the shore.

III.5/19. *Ala sue. Ala ti Pak. Ala va: "Ta ka ti tita?"*

3pl row 3pl be.near P 3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut live here

They rowed. They reached Pak. They said, "Will we live here?"

Texts: Part III

III.5/20. *Matamorai i va: "Mavuen."*

sun 3sg say not.yet

Sun said, "No, [we won't stop] yet."

III.5/21. *Ala ti Tog. Ala lau ala va: "Ta ka ti tita?"*

3pl be.near Tong 3pl people 3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut live here

They reached Tong. The people said, "Will we live here?"

III.5/22. *Matamorai i va: "Mavuen."*

sun 3sg say not.yet

Sun said, "Not yet."

III.5/23. *Ala ti Tovi. Lau ala va: "Ta ka ti tita?"*

3pl be.near T people 3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut live here

They reached Tovi. The people said, "Will we live here?"

III.5/24. *Matamorai i va: "Mavuen!"*

sun 3sg say not.yet

Sun said, "Not yet!"

III.5/25. *Ala le mokeu. Si kor poen. Kor i kamum yevuen.*

3pl go.to open.sea one land not land 3sg disappear completely

They went to the open sea. They didn't see any land. The land had disappeared completely.

III.5/26. *Ala va: "Ta ka ti tita?" Matamorai i va: "Wa!"*

3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut live here sun 3sg say yes

They said, "Will we live here?" Sun said, "Yes!"

III.5/27. *Ala ure leg ile das. Matamorai i va: "Leg eyo ito k'*

3pl pour sand into sea sun 3sg say sand 1sg.ps this hort

wai kila kor!"

grow into land

They poured sand into the sea. Sun said, "This sand of mine will grow into land!"

III.5/28. *Leg wai ila kor. Ala asi.*

sand grow into land 3pl build

The sand became land. They built [on it].

III.5/29. *Matamorai i va: "Awa lau eyo! Awa ka ti tita! Yo*

sun 3sg say 2pl people 1sg.ps 2pl hort live here 1sg

ku la nyu ave."

Isg.fut go swim somewhere

Sun said, "You, my people! Live here! I will go and swim somewhere."

III.5/30. *I la nyu. I kau yavuer ile Yap.*

3sg go swim 3sg swim all.the.way to Yap

He swam. He swam all the way to Yap.

III.5/31. *Bul i apusi i.*

moon 3sg tear.self.away.from 3sg

Moon tore himself away from her.

III.5/32. *Muiny ulumui rai earu. Muiny i itiit ila alawen.*

long

A dog drank the blood of both of them. It had sex with them until its penis got long.

III.5/33. *Bul ki vo uyan alan, Matamorai pe Bul aru ka nyak kiau e kup.*

up in east

If Moon had done good, Sun and Moon would rise up in the east.

III.5/34. *Bul i vo muan, Matamorai i talasi aru.*

moon 3sg do bad sun 3sg separate 3dl

Moon did bad, and Sun separated them.

III.5/35. *Bul i nyak yau e ai ma lau ei.*

moon 3sg rise up from west with people 3sg.ps

Moon rises from the west with his people.

III.5/36. *Matamorai i nyak yau e kup ma lau ei. Lau e Bul pitui.*

sun 3sg rise up from east with people 3sg.ps people

poss moon star

Sun rises from the east with his people. The people of the moon are stars.

Texts: Part IV

III.5/37. *Matamorai i tokai yaviani ala lau ei.*
sun 3sg go left.behind 3pl people 3sg.ps

Sun went and left his people behind.

III.5/38. *Lau ei ala ti Nauna. Matamorai i tawi Nauna*
people 3sg.ps 3pl be.in N sun 3sg create N
pe ala lau iti wei.
and 3pl people in that

His people live on Nauna. Sun created Nauna and all the people on it.

IV Stories about People

IV.1 Why we die

Told by Morumou from Dobut. Well known to all. (Meier 1908:193)

IV.1/1. *Amo pimpati i muan.*
indef old.woman 3sg be.bad

An old woman did a bad thing.

IV.1/2. *Aru nat ei arumo. Aru la ta ni.*
3dl child 3sg.ps two 3dl go catch fish

Her two children went to catch fish.

IV.1/3. *I pimpati i la nyu. I ucugji kulico-n yau.*
3sg old.woman 3sg go swim 3sg wipe skin-3sg away

The old woman went swimming. She scrubbed at her skin.

IV.1/4. *I la pincuel konova de palan.*
3sg become young.woman just.like very.much before

She became a young woman like [she had been] long ago.

IV.1/5. *Aru nat ei aru, le um. Atearu i gas*
3dl child 3sg.ps 3dl go.to house liver-3dl 3sg be.astonished
e i.
regarding 3sg

Her two children went home. They were astonished at her.

IV.1/6. *Amo i va: "Yaye-yotaru." Amo i va: "Oi yaye-m, pe*
one 3sg say mother-1dl.inc one 3sg say 2sg mother-2sg.ps and
yo pati eyo!"
1sg wife 1sg.ps

One said, "That's our mum!" The other replied, "You have your mother and I'll have my wife!"

IV.1/7. *Yayearu uroj, i va.* "Waru va ca?"
 mother-3dl hear 3sg say 2dl say what
 Their mother heard, and said, "What did you say?"

IV.1/8. *Aru va:* "Poen!"
 3dl say not

They said, "nothing."

IV.1/9. *Yoru va:* 'Oi yaye-yoru.'
 1dl.excl say 2sg mother-1dl.excl
 "We said, 'You are our mother'".

IV.1/10. *I va:* "Waru kip. Yo uroje waru.
 3sg say 2dl lie 1sg hear 2dl
 She said, "You are lying. I heard you."

IV.1/11. *Amo i va:* 'Yaye-yotaru.'
 one 3sg say mother-1dl.inc
 One said, "[You are] our mother."

IV.1/12. "Pe amo i va: 'Pati eyo. Ki la mayas eyo alan,
 and one 3sg say wife 1sg.ps 3sg.fut become work 1sg.ps if
 yota ka wai pe yota ka la mada pe yota ka
 1pl.inc hort grow and 1pl.inc hort become old.man and 1pl.inc hort
 la pimpati, yota ka ucungi kulicoyota yau, yota ka
 become old.woman 1pl.inc hort wipe skin-1pl.inc away 1pl.inc hort
 la pincuel pe yota ka la uluou.'
 become young.woman and 1pl.inc hort become young.person
 And one said, '[You are] my wife. If it turns out, we will get older and
 we will become old people, we will wipe our skin away and become
 young men and young women.'

IV.1/13. "I la ayan ewaru; yota ka wai, yota ka
 3sg become speech 2dl.ps 1pl.inc hort grow 1pl.inc nsg.fut
 la pimpati pe yota ka la mada, yota ka
 become old.woman and 1pl.inc nsg.fut become old.man 1pl.inc nsg.fut
 mat."
 die

"It was what you said: We will grow up, we will be old men and
 women, and we will die."

Texts: Part IV

IV.1/14. *I la lai kulicon, i bulati ile cagin, i la
3sg go take skin-3sg 3sg pull on body-3sg 3sg become
pimpati.*
old.woman

She went and took her skin and pulled it over her body, and became an old woman.

IV.1/15. *Yota natmuring ei, yota wai, yota la
1pl.inc descendants 3sg.ps 1pl.inc grow 1pl.inc become
pimpati pe yota la mada.*
old.woman and 1pl.inc become old.man

We are her descendants. We grow up, we become old men and women.

IV.1/16. *Nabu aru ka vomuani yota, palan-pog eyota
irr.neg 3dl c.fact harm 1pl.inc beginning-day 1pl.inc.ps
poen, in-pog eyota poen yota, ka no tu wai.
not end-day 1pl.inc.ps not 1pl.inc c.fact try prog grow*
Had not those two harmed us, our life would not have a beginning, nor an end, we would just keep growing.

IV.2 Why we die

Told by Hi Caci from Papitalai. A story from Papitalai. (Meier 1908:194)

IV.2/1. *Amo Souh i la ta ni.*
indef Souh 3sg go catch fish

A man from Souh went fishing.

IV.2/2. *Amo cinal i pa ki ani i. I ilou ile lonau.*
indef devil 3sg want 3sg.fut eat 3sg 3sg run into thicket

A devil wanted to eat him. He ran into a thicket.

IV.2/3. *Kei sei i cagaj. Amo Souh i coj ile wei. Kei i mum.*
tree one 3sg open indef Souh 3sg escape into 3sg tree 3sg close
One of the trees opened. That man from Souh escaped into it. The tree closed.

IV.2/4. *Moen cinal i ne lisi i poen. Kei i cagaj.*
def devil 3sg d.neg see 3sg not tree 3sg open
The devil didn't see him. The tree opened.

IV.2/5. *Moen Souh i ra ile poany.*
def Souh 3sg jump to ground

The Souh man sprang to the ground.

IV.2/6. *Kei i vai ila te i, i va: "Ko tokai kile Souh, ko la asi pou arumo pareren kime te yo!"*
tree 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say imp go to Souh imp go tie.up
pig two white for 1sg

The tree said to him, "Go to Souh and catch two white pigs and bring them here to me!"

IV.2/7. *Amo Souh i ne asi pou arumo pareren poen: amo pareren pe amo puicon.*
indef Souh 3sg d.neg tie.up pig two white not one
white and one black

That Souh man didn't get two white pigs. One was white and the other was black.

IV.2/8. *I lai ja. I turupi pou ile ja.*
3sg take lime 3sg cover.with.paint pig with lime

He took lime. He covered the pig with lime.

IV.2/9. *Pou i pareren. I lai ila te kei.*
pig 3sg be.white 3sg take to tree

The pig became white. He took it to the tree.

IV.2/10. *I lai e cal, ja i ror.*
3sg take on path lime 3sg scatter

The lime rubbed off (scattered) when he was taking it along the path.

IV.2/11. *Kei i lisi amo pareren pe amo puicon.*
tree 3sg see one white and one black

The tree saw one white pig and one black pig.

IV.2/12. *Kei i moaje i, i va: "Oi muan, yo uyan.*
tree 3sg scold 3sg 3sg say 2sg bad 1sg good

The tree scolded him, and said, "You are bad, I am good."

IV.2/13. *"Paun ki te oi, oi ko mat.*
fighting hort hit 2sg 2sg 2sg.fut die

"Fighting will come upon you, and you will die.

Texts: Part IV

IV.2/14. "Ki la ayan eyo alan, oi ko ta ni e das,
c.fact become speech 1sg.ps if 2sg 2sg.cfact kill fish in sea
paun ki te oi, oi ko coŋ kime varina yo.
fighting c.fact hit 2sg 2sg 2sg.cfact escape here to 1sg

"If what I said had come true (i.e., if you had done what I said), you would have killed fish in the sea, and battle would have come to you, and you would have escaped here to me.

IV.2/15. "I la ayan eoi. Paun ki te oi, oi ko mat
3sg become word 2sg.ps battle 3sg.fut hit 2sg 2sg 2sg.fut die
do pogunsi.
only immediately

"But it turned out your way. You'll go into battle, and you will die immediately.

IV.2/16. "Cinal ki te oi, oi ko mat do pogunsi."
devil 3sg.fut kill 2sg 2sg 2sg.fut die only immediately
"A devil will kill you, and you will die immediately."

IV.2/17. *Mayas e moen Souh i me te yota lau e moen*
affairs poss def Souh 3sg come to 1pl.inc people poss def
Souh.
Souh

The affairs/business of that Souh man have come to us, the people of that Souh man.

IV.2/18. *Paun i te yota pe palit i te yota: Ki la*
battle 3sg kill 1pl.inc and ghost 3sg kill 1pl.inc c.fact become
ayan e kei alan, yota ne mat poen.
speech poss tree if 1pl.inc d.neg die not

Battles attack us and ghosts attack us. Had the speech of the tree come about, we would not die.

IV.2/19. *I la ayan e moen Souh, yota mat.*
3sg become speech poss def Souh 1pl.inc die

But the speech of the man from Souh came about, and we die.

IV.3 Why we die

Told by Kawas u Yap from Papitalai. A story from Papitalai. (Meier 1908:194–195)

IV.3/1. *Kosi, lavan i ala Moakarey. I en e kamal ei.*
K chief 3sg 3pl M 3sg sit in men's.house 3sg.ps
Cog i ani i.
hunger 3sg eat 3sg

Kosi was a chief of the people of Mokareng. He was sitting in the men's house. Hunger was nagging him.

IV.3/2. *I va: "Waru nat eyo! Waru ka nyak kul kime,*
3sg say 2dl child 1sg.ps 2dl hort climb breadfruit.tree here
to k' ani! Cog kine ani yota."
1pc.inc nsg.fut eat hunger 3sg.perf eat 1pl.inc

He said, “You two, my children! Climb this breadfruit tree here, we'll eat! Hunger has consumed us.”

IV.3/3. *Aru nat aru vavuen.*
3dl boy 3dl refuse

The two sons refused.

IV.3/4. *I moele i ile luluai.*
3sg decorate 3sg with shell.money

He decorated himself with shell money.

IV.3/5. *I asi pala-n. I tokai. I nyak e kul.*
3sg bind hair-3sg 3sg go 3sg climb on breadfruit.tree
He bound his hair. He went and climbed on a breadfruit tree.

IV.3/6. *Ai i ilou. Ai i luvuani i. I los.*
west.wind 3sg blow west.wind 3sg throw 3sg 3sg fall
A west wind blew. The west wind threw him off [the tree]. He fell.

IV.3/7. *Caigin i mat. Moluan i le kor. I la an e*
body-3sg 3sg die soul-3sg 3sg go.to village 3sg go sit in
kamal ei.
men's.house 3sg.ps

His body died. His soul went back to the village. He went to sit in his men's house.

Texts: Part IV

IV.3/8. *I asi pala-n; i tarawe mata-n ile patirama.*
3sg bind hair-3sg 3sg paint face-3sg with red.ochre
He bound his hair; he painted his face with red ochre.

IV.3/9. *Pati ei pe nat ei, ato au e murin ile lono.*
wife 3sg.ps and child 3sg.ps 3pc leave back to forest
His wife and children went back to the forest.

IV.3/10. *Ato pa ka la kun kul. Ato la lisi Kosi,*
3pc want nsg.fut go drag.home breadfruit.tree 3pc go see K
i mat. Ato mulie ile kor.
3sg die 3pc return to village
They wanted to go and drag home the breadfruit tree. They saw Kosi,
who had died. They returned to the village.

IV.3/11. *Ato lisi molua-Kosi, i en e kamal.*
3pc see soul-K 3sg sit in men's.house
They saw Kosi's soul sitting in the men's house.

IV.3/12. *Ato va: "Tan se?" Kosi i va: "E yo!"*
3pc say this who K 3sg say pred 1sg
They said, "Who's this?" Kosi said, "It's me!"

IV.3/13. *Ato va: "Oi itan? Se i mat ilati kato linkul?*
3pc say 2sg this who 3sg die there.at foot foot-breadfruit.tree
Kosi i mat ilati linkul."
K 3sg die there.at foot-breadfruit.tree
They said, "Who are you? Who died there at the foot of the breadfruit
tree? Kosi died there at the foot of the breadfruit tree."

IV.3/14. *Kosi i va: "Yo ita, yo u ne los poen. Ane amo*
K 3sg say 1sg this 1sg 1sg.S d.neg fall not perhaps indef
i los, yo poen, yo ito."
3sg fall 1sg not 1sg here
Kosi said, "I'm that one, I didn't fall. Perhaps someone fell, but it
wasn't me. I'm here."

IV.3/15. *Ato va: "Oia kip!" Kosi i va: "Dayan!"*
3pc say 2sg 2sg.nfut lie K 3sg say true
They said, "You're lying!" Kosi said, "It's the truth!"

IV.3/16. *Ato va: "Ko me! To ka la lisi!"*
3pc say imp come 1pc.inc nsg.fut go look.at

They said, "Come here! We'll all go and look."

IV.3/17. *Ato tokai. Ato la ic.*
3pc go 3pc go near

They left. They approached near [the place].

IV.3/18. *Kosi i va: "Ki la teyo alan, yota ka los e*
K 3sg say c.fact become to.1sg if 1pl.inc c.fact fall from
polenkei, canjiyota ki mat, moluayota ki me e kor
tree-top body-1pl.inc c.fact die soul-1pl.inc c.fact come to village
kila coancajiyota.
as body-substitute-1pl.inc

Kosi said, "If I'd had it my way, then we would fall from the treetop,
our body would have died, and our soul would come to the village in
place of our body.

IV.3/19. *"Paun ki te yota, moluayota ki me e kor,*
fighting c.fact attack 1pl.inc soul-1pl.inc c.fact come to village
ki la ramat.
c.fact become person

"Some hostility would attack our soul as it was coming to the village,
and it would become a person.

IV.3/20. *"Oi a kekes, taru me lisi caqj.*
2sg 2sg.nfut urge 1dl.inc come see body-1sg

"You urged that we come and see my body.

IV.3/21. *"Amo ki nyak e buankei, i ki los, ki mat kiavuer.*
indef pot climb up fruit.tree 3sg pot fall pot die forever
"When someone climbs a breadfruit tree and falls, he dies forever.

IV.3/22. *"Amo ki mat, ki mat kiavuer. Nabu moluan ki*
one 3sg.fut die 3sg.fut die forever irr.neg soul-3sg pot
tadul."
get.up

"Once one has died, one dies forever. Let their soul not stand up."

IV.3/23. *Kosi i vel ile caqin, i mat.*
K 3sg jump into body-3sg 3sg die
Kosi jumped into his body and died.

Texts: Part IV

IV.3/24. *Ala iri i.*

3pl bury 3sg

They buried him.

IV.3/25. *Pati ei ki vo uyan alan, yota ne mat poen.*

wife 3sg.ps c.fact do good if 1pl.inc d.neg die not

Had his wife done good, we wouldn't die.

IV.3/26. *Cajiyota ki mat, moluayota ki la cajiyota,*

body-1pl.inc c.fact die soul-1pl.inc c.fact become body-1pl.inc

ki tu tokai e kor.

c.fact habit go to village

Our bodies would die, our souls would become our bodies, which would return to our villages.

IV.4 Why we die

Told by Sawai from Patusi. A story from Manus. (Meier 1908:195–196)

IV.4/1. *Koniu, moen Lalevei, i tu tir polu ei.*

K def L 3sg prog weave fish.basket 3sg.ps

A man from Lalevei, Koniu, was weaving himself a fishing basket.

IV.4/2. *I tir i yevuen, i la tuni ile das.*

3sg weave 3sg completely 3sg go sink into sea

He finished weaving it and sank it into the sea.

IV.4/3. *Pog tatalo i pa ki la lisi.*

day three 3sg want 3sg.fut go see

After three days he wanted to go and see it.

IV.4/4. *Moen cinal i tu ta ni e wei.*

def devil 3sg prog catch fish with that

A devil was catching fish with his fish basket.

IV.4/5. *Koniu i va: "Oi se?" Moen cinal i va: "Yo!"*

K 3sg say 2sg who def devil 3sg say 1sg

Koniu asked, "Who are you?" The devil answered, "Me!"

IV.4/6. *Koniu i va: "Polu eoi ne polu e se? Moen*

K 3sg say fish.basket 2sg.ps or fish.basket poss who def

tavo!"

miserable

Koniu said, "Is it your fish basket, or whose is it? Miserable wretch!"

IV.4/7. *Moen cinal i va: "Ko me ic!"*
 def devil 3sg say imp come near
 The devil said, "Come here!"

IV.4/8. *Koniu i la ic. Aru etatai. Koniu i te moen cinal. Moen*
K 3sg go near both fight K 3sg kill def devil def
cinal i mat.
 devil 3sg die

Koniu went closer. They fought. Koniu killed the devil. The devil died.

IV.4/9. *Nabu Koniu i te i alan, yota ne mat poen.*
 irr.neg K 3sg kill 3sg if 1pl.inc d.neg die not
 Had not Koniu killed the devil, we would not die.

IV.4/10. *Koniu i te i, cinal i mat, yota lie yota mat.*
 K 3sg kill 3sg devil 3sg die 1pl.inc also 1pl.inc die
 Koniu killed the devil and he died, and we also die.

IV.5 Why the Papitalai do not return to their homes

Told by Po Sing from Papitalai. A story from Papitalai. (Meier 1908:196–198)

Section 1

IV.5/1. *Hi Kalemuid pe Po Samitanpun aru sue ile das.*
 K and S 3dl row to sea
 Hi Kalemuid and Po Samitanpun rowed to the ocean.

IV.5/2. *Hi Kalemuid i se dol pe Po Samitanpun i nyu.*
 K 3sg be.in canoe and S 3sg dive
 Hi Kalemuid was in the canoe and Po Samitanpun did the diving.

IV.5/3. *Dilaki sir i ti dol, pe sir i le das.*
 sail part 3sg be.in canoe and part 3sg go.to sea
 Part of the sail was in the canoe and part went into the sea.

IV.5/4. *Po Samitanpun i samiti karaat. I tukuni dilaki.*
 S 3sg tie turtle 3sg draw.in sail
 Po Samitanpun tied a turtle to the sail and he drew it in.

IV.5/5. *Hi Kalemuid i matir. Dilaki i avues. Dol i*
 K 3sg sleep sail 3sg become.torn.apart canoe 3sg

Texts: Part IV

wek ile mokeu.

float to open.sea

Hi Kalemuid fell asleep. The sail got torn apart. The canoe floated to the open sea. (Meier's note: The Admiralty-Islanders catch sea turtles in the following way. The turtle hunter dives into the sea, having tied a rope around his stomach, the other end of which is tied fast to the boat. Once the hunter has caught the turtle, he ties the other end of the rope to the flipper of the turtle, and gives a pull on the rope to his companion waiting in the canoe to pull in the rope with the booty.)

Section 2

IV.5/6. *Halives pe lau ei ala nyu. Ala lisi dol, i kanun*
H and people 3sg.ps 3pl swim 3pl see canoe 3sg be.under
yevuen. Ala sue.
completely 3pl row

Halives and his people were swimming. They saw the canoe; it was completely under [the water]. They rowed [to it].

IV.5/7. *Ala lisi dol, i cau. Ala sue ila ic.*
3pl look.for canoe 3sg appear 3pl row to near

They looked for the canoe; It appeared. They rowed nearer.

IV.5/8. *Ala lisi Hi Kalemuid. Ala uguni i. Hi Kalemuid i mamat.*
3pl see K 3pl shake 3sg K 3sg wake.up
They saw Hi Kalemuid. They shook her. Hi Kalemuid woke up.

IV.5/9. *Ala va: "Oi pin tite?" I va: "Yo pin ai."*
3pl say 2sg woman where 3sg say 1sg woman west
They said, "You're a woman from where?" She said, "I'm from the west."

IV.5/10. *Ala va: "Oi etepe?"*
3pl say 2sg how.is.it

They said, "What's happened?"

IV.5/11. *I va: "Yoru ya kamal eyo yoru la ta ni. Ya*
3sg say 1dl.excl def husband 1sg.ps 1dl.excl go catch fish def
kamal eyo i nyu pe yo u matir.
husband 1sg.ps 3sg dive and 1sg 1sg.S sleep
She said, "We (my husband and I) went to catch fish. My husband dived and I went to sleep.

IV.5/12. "Ai i wekani yo ime varina awa."
west.wind 3sg make.float 1sg here to 2pl

"The west wind blew us here to you."

IV.5/13. *Halives i va:* "Ko me! Oi pati eyo." *Ala vaye i*
H 3sg say imp come 2sg wife 1sg.ps 3pl accompany 3sg
ile Yap.
to Yap

Halives said, "Come! You're now my wife." They all accompanied him to Yap.

Section 3

IV.5/14. *Po Samitanpun i pupas. I ne lisi dol poen.*
S 3sg emerge 3sg d.neg see canoe not
Po Samitanpun emerged. He didn't see the canoe.

IV.5/15. *I kau ile leg. I lai cimer. I sai*
3sg swim to shore 3sg take stone.axe 3sg build.from.wood
maleyou ila manuai.
ko.wood into osprey

He swam to the shore. He took a stone axe. He built the maleyou wood into an osprey.

IV.5/16. *I sai palin arukap pe kekan pe matan.*
3sg build.from.wood wing-3sg two and foot-3sg and face-3sg
He built two wings from wood, two feet and a face.

IV.5/17. *I tuanani i, i va:* "Oi ko le Yap! Ko la lisi
3sg send.out 3sg 3sg say 2sg imp go.to Yap imp go look.for
yayem!"
mother-2sg.poss

He sent it out, saying, "Go to Yap! Look for your mother!"

IV.5/18. *Maya i yo ile Yap. I ne lisi yayen poen.*
M-bird 3sg fly to Yap 3sg d.neg see mother-3sg not
The Maya bird flew to Yap. He didn't see his mother.

IV.5/19. *I lisi kopat coloan. I ani kopat. I yo imulie ila varin*
3sg see crab many 3sg eat crab 3sg fly back to to

Texts: Part IV

papun.

father-3sg

He saw many crabs. He ate those crabs. He flew back to his father.

IV.5/20. *I va: "Papu! Yo u ne lisi yaye poen."*

3sg say father 1sg 1sg.S d.neg see mother not

He said, "Father! I didn't find my mother."

IV.5/21. *Papun i va: "Ko me ic!" Maya i la ic.*

father-3sg 3sg say imp come near M-bird 3sg go near

His father said, "Come here!" The Maya bird went near.

IV.5/22. *I uye molitonpoan, do molitonkopat.*

3sg smell mouth-stench only crab-stench

The father smelled the smell of his breath, and smelled the smell of crabs.

IV.5/23. *I va: "Oi a ne lisi yayem poen, oi*

3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg see mother-2sg.poss not 2sg

a la ani kopat."

2sg.nfut impf eat crab

He said, "You didn't look for your mother. You were eating crabs."

IV.5/24. *Maya i acani. I va: "Oi a moage yo, yo ku*

M-bird 3sg deny 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut scold 1sg 1sg 1sg.fut

au."

leave

The Maya bird denied it. He said, "You're telling me off, I will leave."

Section 4

IV.5/25. *Po Samitanpun i sai pitou.*

S 3sg build.from.wood ko.wood

Po Samitanpun built [another eagle] from pitou wood.

IV.5/26. *I sai yevuen, poedilei i yo.*

3sg build.from.wood finished sea.eagle 3sg fly

He finished building the sea eagle, and it flew.

IV.5/27. *I va: "Ko le Yap! Ko la lisi yayem!*

3sg say imp go.to Yap imp go look.for mother-2sg.poss

He said, "Go to Yap! Go and look for your mother!"

- IV.5/28. "Naran Hi Kalemuid. Ku lisi i, ko waye i
 name-3sg K imp look.for 3sg imp take.along 3sg
 kime varina yo!"
 here to 1sg
 "Her name is Hi Kalemuid. Look for her and bring her back to me!"
- IV.5/29. Poedilei i yo ila Yap. I alul ile uny.
 eagle 3sg fly to Yap 3sg sit.down on ko.tree
 The eagle flew to Yap. He landed on an *uny* tree.
- IV.5/30. I royani uny. Buanuny i ror. Ala pin Yap ala
 3sg shake uny.fruit uny.fruit 3sg scatter 3pl woman Yap 3pl
 nyuni uny. Ala le kor.
 gather.up uny.fruit 3pl go.to village
 He shook the *uny* fruit. The fruit scattered. The women of Yap gathered
 up the *uny* fruit. They went to the village.
- IV.5/31. Hi Kalemuid i nyune e ala.
 K 3sg ask.for from 3pl
 Hi Kalemuid asked for [fruit] from them.
- IV.5/32. Ala tatuni uny eala, ala va: "Oi kekam poen? Ko
 3pl hold.fast uny.fruit 3pl.ps 3pl say 2sg foot-2sg.ps not imp
 tokai, ko la nyuni uny eoi!"
 go imp go gather.up uny.fruit 2sg.ps
 They held onto their *uny* fruit, and said, "Don't you have feet? Go and
 gather up your own fruit!"
- IV.5/33. Hi Kalemuid i tokai. I nyuni uny.
 K 3sg go 3sg gather.up uny.fruit
 Hi Kalemuid went. She gathered up *uny* fruit.
- IV.5/34. Ala pi Yap ala nyuni i pe ala atue gara Hi Kalemuid.
 3pl woman Yap 3pl call.to 3sg and 3pl name name K
 The women of Yap called to her and said her name, Hi Kalemuid.
- IV.5/35. Poedilei i uroge paran. I yo ile poany.
 sea.eagle 3sg hear name-3sg 3sg fly to ground
 The eagle heard her name and flew to the ground.
- IV.5/36. I sari i e kekan. Aru yo. Aru yo ile maleyan. Aru
 3sg seize 3sg by foot-3sg 3dl fly 3dl fly to air 3dl

Texts: Part IV

alulu ile das.

lower.self to sea

He seized her by the foot. They both flew. They flew into the air. They lowered themselves towards the sea.

IV.5/37. *Keka Hi Kalemuid das i sumoe i.*

foot K sea 3sg touch 3sg

Hi Kalemuid touched the sea with her foot.

IV.5/38. *Hi Kalemuid i ta kamaam, i va: "Nat eyo, nat eyo!"*

K 3sg beg 3sg say child 1sg.ps child 1sg.ps

Ane yo ku los!"

perhaps 1sg 1sg.fut fall

Hi Kalemuid begged, saying, "My child! my child! I might fall!"

IV.5/39. *Poedilei i va: "Oia ne pasani yo pucinkeko*

sea.eagle 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg know.about 1sg talon-1sg

poen."

not

The eagle said, "You don't know anything about my talons."

IV.5/40. *Aru yo imulie ile maleyan.*

3dl fly back to air

They flew back into the air.

IV.5/41. *Aru la varina Po Samitanpun. I ratutui aru, i va: "Waru*

3dl go to P.S. 3sg tell.off 3dl 3sg say 2dl

vo muan iti das."

do bad in sea

They went to Po Samitanpun. He told them off, and said, "You two did something bad in the sea."

IV.5/42. *Manuai i kus. I yo yau.*

osprey 3sg be.angry 3sg fly away

The osprey was angry. He flew away.

IV.5/43. *Ki la ayan e manuai alan, paun ki lai yota kile*

c.fact go word poss osprey if battle c.fact take 1pl.inc to

kor a kor, manuai ki lai yota kime lie.

village other village osprey c.fact be take 1pl.inc here also

If the word of the osprey had come about, hostilities would have taken us to another village, and the osprey would have taken us here too.

IV.5/44. *Pe i la ayan e Po Samitanpun, yota ne la*
 and 3sg become word poss S 1pl.inc d.neg be
uyan poen.
 good not

But Po Samitanpun's words came about, and we are not good.

IV.5/45. *Paun i lai yota, yota la manyau ile kor a kor.*
 battle 3sg take 1pl.inc 1pl.inc go always to village other village
 Hostilities have overtaken us; we always go to another village.

V Stories about Animals

V.1 Why the Cauka bird (*Philemon coquerelli*) is not found on the island of Lou

Told by Tapali from Sivisa. (Meier 1908:199)

V.1/1. *Ala cauka ala ti Lou. Ala Lou ala vo mayas.*
 3pl ko.bird 3pl live.in L 3pl L 3pl do work

The Cauka bird lived on Lou. The people of Lou were working.

V.1/2. *Amo kamal i sorere.*
 indef young.man 3sg look.for.a.wife

A young man was looking for a wife.

V.1/3. *I lisi amo pein. I poratani i. Aru pa ka vo muan.*
 3sg see indef woman 3sg grab 3sg both want nsg.fut do bad
 He saw a woman. He grabbed her. They both wanted to do something bad.

V.1/4. *I tarase ya pein ile poany.*
 3sg throw.off.back def woman to ground

He threw the woman to the ground.

V.1/5. *Ya kamal i pa ki maturue kila varina ya*
 def young.man 3sg want 3sg.fut sleep.with there to def
pein.
 woman

The young man wanted to sleep with that woman.

V.1/6. *Cauka i tag: "Lava Lou i ci bulun."*
 ko.bird 3sg cry master L 3sg sleep.with woman

The Cauka bird cried, "A 'chief' of Lou is sleeping with a woman!"

Texts: Part V

V.1/7. *Moe Lou putuan i momoa. I le kor.*
def L stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry 3sg go.to home

That Lou man got angry. He went home.

V.1/8. *I cani bue un cauka. I tawi bue ile Lou
3sg spread.out betel.nuts for ko.bird 3sg give betel.nuts to L
asiuna.*
all

He spread out betel nuts for the bird. He gave betel to everyone on Lou.
(Meier's note: Anyone who wants to open a feud gives out betel nuts.
Whoever accepts the betel nuts announces themselves to be his
companions in the feud.)

V.1/9. *Ala sowe kupoen. Ala te ala cauka yevuen. Do amo
3pl make nets 3pl kill 3pl ko.bird completely only one
pucui i akure ise launkei.*
young.one 3sg hide in tree.leaf

They made nets. They killed all the cauka birds. Only one young bird
hid behind a leaf in a tree.

V.1/10. *I ulumui wai e Lou. I la ure i ile Lomodol. Lou
3sg drink water from L 3sg go pour 3sg to L L
ave wai e wei poen.*
any water on 3sg not

It drank water from Lou. It went and poured it out on Lomondrol. Lou
has no water on it.

V.1/11. *Lomodol wai coloan. Lou cauka e wei poen. Moanus
L water plenty L ko.bird on that not M
cauka iti wei.*
ko.bird in there

In Lomondrol there is plenty of water. The cauka bird doesn't live on
Lou. The cauka bird lives on Manus.

V.2 The birds' dancing festival

Told by Selan from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1908:199–200)

V.2/1. *Ala Yap ala uti kan. Ala manuai asi ala moelenmoei.*
3pl Yap 3pl set.out food 3pl osprey all 3pl decorate.self

The people of Yap set out food. All the birds decorated themselves.

- V.2/2. *Ala yo ile Yap. Ala pi Yap tasayat ala tu ta mana.*
3pl fly to Yap 3pl woman Yap one.hundred 3pl prog dance
They flew to Yap. One hundred of the women of Yap were dancing.
- V.2/3. *Ala manuai ala yo ila. Ala la ta ramei.*
3pl osprey 3pl fly there 3pl go hit wooden.drum
The birds flew there. They were hitting wooden drums.
- V.2/4. *Cilim i ti madean. Pimpal i ti vuyan.*
starling 3sg be.near big pigeon 3sg be.near beside
The starling was near the big drum. The pigeon was near, beside him.
- V.2/5. *Manuai i ti rakuron, palimat i ti*
osprey 3sg be.near mid-sized.drum flying.fox 3sg be.near
rakuron si.
mid-sized.drum one
The osprey was near the midsized drum, and the flying fox was also near a medium-sized drum.
- V.2/6. *Walel arumo aru ti dakuin aruo.*
ko.pigeon two 3dl be.near small.drum two
The two walel pigeons were near two small drums.
- V.2/7. *Ala ta ramei. Ala pi Yap ala nyune bue ila te*
3pl hit wooden.drum 3pl woman Yap 3pl ask.for betel.nuts from
cilim pe ila te walel, manuai poen.
starling and from ko.pigeon osprey not
They all hit their drums. The women asked for betel nuts from the starling and from the walel pigeons, but not from the osprey.
- V.2/8. *Manuai i va: "Yo lavan alan.*
osprey 3sg say 1sg chief but
The osprey said, "But I am a chief."
- V.2/9. *Ala pein ala ne nyune bue ineme te yo poen.*
3pl woman 3pl neg ask.for betel.nuts here from 1sg not
The women didn't ask me for betel nuts.
- V.2/10. *Aru lau muan ito ala pein ala nyamiri aru."*
3dl people bad there 3pl woman 3pl love 3dl
Those two [the starling and the walel pigeons] are bad; the women love them."

Texts: Part V

- v.2/11. *Manuai i ebus. I lai kei. I te cilim.*
osprey 3sg be.enraged 3sg take tree 3sg hit starling
The osprey was furious. He took a tree and hit the starling.
- v.2/12. *Cilim i la riin. I pa ki te walel.*
starling 3sg become small 3sg want 3sg.fut hit ko.pigeon
The starling became small. [The osprey] wanted to hit the walel pigeons.
- v.2/13. *Walel i lai ramei ei, i yo yau.*
ko.pigeon 3sg take wooden.drum 3sg.ps 3sg fly away
The walel pigeons took their drums and flew away.
- v.2/14. *Walel i yo konova ramei, i tay.*
ko.pigeon 3sg fly just.like wooden.drum 3sg cry
The walel pigeon flies just like a wooden drum, and it makes a call [like one too.]
- v.2/15. *Cilim, manuai i te i, i la riin.*
starling osprey 3sg hit 3sg 3sg become small
The starling, whom the osprey hit, became small.

V.3 How the dog lost its power of speech

Told by Kawi from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1908:200–201)

- v.3/1. *Wewen, kor ei Lokomo. I ajani muiny ei. Do aru kavuen.*
W village 3sg.ps L 3sg look.after dog 3sg.ps only 3dl alone
There was a man Wewen, and his village was Lokomo village. He had a dog. Those two lived together alone.
- v.3/2. *Kor earu a kor Muiny i neneu konova ramat.*
land 3dl.ps other land dog 3sg talk just.like person
They lived in a different land. The dog could talk just like a person.
- v.3/3. *Wewen i va: "Ko koloani um eyotaru! Yo ku la vo mayas.*
W 3sg say imp protect house 1dl.inc.ps 1sg 1sg.fut go do work
Wewen said, “Protect our house! I will go to work.

V.3/4. "Amo pa ki me panawe bue eyotaru, ku yuyuu,
 one want 3sg.fut come steal betel.nuts 1dl.inc.ps imp call
 ku nyuni yo!"
 imp call.to 1sg

"If anyone wants to come and steal our betel nuts, call out, call to me!"

V.3/5. *Ala Male ala la panawe bue.* *Ala karikari*
 3pl M 3pl go steal betel.nuts 3pl wander.here.and.there
mataala.
 eyes-3pl

The Male people went to steal those betel nuts. Their eyes were all over the house.

V.3/6. *Ala va:* "Amo e um poen, do muiny." *Ala nyak e*
 3pl say indef in house not only dog 3pl climb on
bue.
 betel.palm

They said, "There's no one in the house, only the dog." They climbed on the betel palm.

V.3/7. *Muiny i tawi poan, i va:* "Papu oi, ala tu panawe
 dog 3sg give call-3sg 3sg say father-1sg 2sg 3pl prog steal
bue, oh!"
 betel.nuts oh

The dog called out, and said, "My father! You! They are stealing betel nuts. Oh!"

V.3/8. *Ala Male ala ilou ile um.* *Ala va:* "Ramat i la wee?"
 3pl M 3pl run into house 3pl say person 3sg be where
 The Male people ran into the house. They said, "Where's the person?"

V.3/9. *Aru rumo aru akure iti kalicou.* *Ala Male ala nyak e*
 3dl two 3dl hide in outside.of.the.house 3pl M 3pl climb on
bue.
 betel.palm

Two of them hid outside the house. The others climbed onto the betel palm.

V.3/10. *I tawi poan:* "Papu oi! *Ala Male ala nyak e bue,*
 3sg give call-3sg father-1sg 2sg 3pl M 3pl climb in betel.palm

Texts: Part V

oh!"

oh

The dog called out. "Hey, you, my father! The Male people are climbing on the betel palm. Alas!"

- V.3/11. *Aru ramat arumo aru ilou ile um, aru asi muiny, aru tulumui poa-n ile moan.*
3dl person two 3dl run into house 3dl bind dog 3dl
burn mouth-3sg with fire

The two men ran into the house, and tied up the dog. They burned his mouth with fire.

- V.3/12. *Muiny i ne neneu poen. Ala panawe bue, ala tokai.*
dog 3sg neg talk not 3pl steal betel.nuts 3pl go

The dog didn't talk [anymore]. They stole the betel nuts and left.

- V.3/13. *Papun i me, i va: "Po Salah!"*
father-3sg 3sg come 3sg say PS

The dog's father returned, and said "Po Salah!"

- V.3/14. *Po Salah i ne camui poen. I ta kou ila te papun.*
PS 3sg neg answer not 3sg whimper to father-3sg
Po Salah didn't answer. He whimpered to his father.

- V.3/15. *Nabu aru ka tulumui poa-n alan, muiny ki neneu konova ramat.*
irr.neg 3dl c.fact burn mouth-3sg if dog c.fact talk
just.like person

If those people hadn't burned his mouth, dogs would be able to talk just like people.

- V.3/16. *Aru tulumui poa-n, matayusun-muiny i vuic.*
3dl burn mouth-3sg nose-dog 3sg be(come).black
Muiny i neneu muan.
dog 3sg talk bad

Those two men burned the dog's mouth and it became black. Dogs can't talk well [now].

V.4 The mouse and the octopus

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1908:201)

V.4/1. *Bulei pe kit aru vo ayan un mat.*
mouse and octopus 3dl have.an.argument on.account.of reef

Mouse and Octopus were having an argument about a reef.

V.4/2. *Bulei i va, mat ei, kit i va, mat ei.*
mouse 3sg say reef 3sg.ps octopus 3sg say reef 3sg.ps

Mouse said that the reef was his, and Octopus said that the reef was his.

V.4/3. *Bulei i lai pat, i te kit e wei.*
mouse 3sg take stone 3sg hit octopus with that

Mouse took a stone and hit Octopus with it.

V.4/4. *Kit i sujani nyaron, i buluti bulei e wei.*
octopus 3sg stretch.out tentacles-3sg 3sg entwine mouse with that
Octopus stretched out his tentacles and wrapped them around Mouse.

V.4/5. *Kit i va: "Oi bulei, ku tu nyany e um, ku tu*
octopus 3sg say 2sg mouse imp stay crawl in house imp stay
vanawe kan e ala ramat, ko ani!
steal food for 3pl person imp eat

Octopus said, “You, Mouse. Stay crawling around inside a house, keep on stealing food from people and eat it!

V.4/6. *"Nabu ko vo ave mayas eoi!"*
irr.neg imp do some work 2sg.ps

“May you not do your own work!”

V.4/7. *Bulei i vai ila te kit, i va: "Oi ku tu nyany e das!"*
mouse 3sg say to octopus 3sg say 2sg imp stay crawl to sea
Mouse said to Octopus, “Stay crawling around in the sea!

V.4/8. *"Ku tu kakawi pat!"*
imp stay hold.on.to stone
“Keep holding on to this stone!

V.4/9. *"Nabu ko vo ave mayas!"*
irr.neg imp do some work
“Don’t do any work!”

V.5 The osprey and the snake

Told by Dakot from Papitalai. A Matankor story. (Meier 1908:201–203)

V.5/1. *Manuai i la ta ni. Esol pe nyasin aru la*
osprey 3sg go catch fish snake and grandmother-3sg both go
ta avi.
collect sago

Eagle went to catch fish. Snake and his grandmother went to collect sago.

V.5/2. *Aru la. Esol i no tu vuacole. I ne ta avi*
both go snake 3sg remain prog play 3sg d.neg collect sago
poen.
not

They both went. Snake, however, kept playing. He didn't collect any sago.

V.5/3. *Aru tokai imulie ime e kor. Aru pa ka me e kor,*
3dl go back here to village 3dl want nsg.fut come to home
manuai, i ta ni, i ti um.
osprey 3sg catch fish 3sg be.in house

They left to go back to the village. They wanted to come home. Eagle caught fish and was home.

V.5/4. *Aru vo ile moan. Aru an. Manuai i vai ila te esol, i va:*
3dl make into fire 3dl eat osprey 3sg say to snake 3sg say
“*Waru yayeyotaru waru ta avi ne poen?*”
2dl mother-1dl.inc 2dl collect sago or not

They put the fish into the fire. Eagle said to Snake, “Did you and mother collect sago, or not?”

V.5/5. *Esol i va: “E poen!”*
snake 3sg say hey! not

Snake said, “No.”

V.5/6. *Manuai i va: “Ragiau, esol, ko la ta ni! Yo ku la*
osprey 3sg say tomorrow snake imp go catch fish 1sg 1sg.fut go
ta avi.”
collect sago

Eagle said, “Tomorrow, Snake, go and catch fish. I will get the sago.”

- V.5/7. *Manuai i la ta avi. I ta cayin taakou. I osprey 3sg go collect sago 3sg collect fruit ten 3sg cavuni ime e um.*
 carry.away here to house
 Eagle collected the sago. He collected ten plants. He hurried away back home.
- V.5/8. *Esol i la ta ni. Ni poen. I no an e leg. I snake 3sg go catch fish fish not 3sg remain sit on shore 3sg me e um.*
 come to house
 Snake went to catch fish. There weren't any fish. He remained sitting on the shore. He came home.
- V.5/9. *Manuai i va: "Ni ite?" Esol i va: "Ni poen!" osprey 3sg say fish where snake 3sg say fish not*
 Eagle asked, "Where are the fish?" Snake said, "there weren't any fish."
- V.5/10. *Manuai i vai ila te yayen, i va: "Yaye! Esol osprey 3sg say to mother-3sg 3sg say mother-1sg snake cinal! Ane ki ani yotaru. Yo ku la tele lakoyotaru."*
 devil perhaps 3sg.fut eat 1dl.inc 1sg 1sg.fut go see dwelling-1dl.inc
 Eagle said to his mother, "Mother! Snake is a devil. Maybe he will eat us. I will go and see about our house."
- V.5/11. *I me e Palitawi. I me lisi civo ise wei. I lai 3sg come to P 3sg come see ko.tree on 3sg 3sg take yayen pe um.*
 mother-3sg and house
 He came to Palitawi. He saw a *civo* tree there. He took his mother and house there.
- V.5/12. *I yoani aru ile civo e Palitawi.*
 3sg fly-trans 3dl to ko.tree on P
 They flew to the *civo* tree on Palitawi.
- V.5/13. *Esol i la coŋ kolau. I pa ki me lele: manuai snake 3sg go seek tapa.bark 3sg want 3sg.fut come see osprey pe yayen, aru kane au.*
 and mother-3sg 3dl nsg.perf leave
 Snake went looking for tapa bark. He wanted to come and see Osprey, but as for Osprey and his mother, they had left.

Texts: Part V

- V.5/14. *I tawi kau ile Palitawi. I va:* "Aru la ti
3sg create chalk.magic to P 3sg say both go be.in
Palitawi."
P

He determined through chalk-magic that they had gone to Palitawi. He said, "They have gone to Palitawi." (Meier's note: <Kau> is chalk magic. It is used here to discover where a person is. The person seeking takes between his fingers pinches of chalk and throws them in turns into one of the four quadrants of the sky, each time guiding the pinch to the nose. When the nose begins to run, that is the sign that the person sought is to be found in this direction.)

- V.5/15. *I la varina aru. I ti poany, i vai ile malejan, i va:*
3sg go to 3dl 3sg be.on ground 3sg say to air 3sg say
"Dasi pe yaye! Waru itan? Waru etepe? Waru coŋ e yo?"
brother and mother 2dl this 2dl do.what 2dl escape from 1sg
He went to them. He was on the ground, and he spoke into the air, and said, "My brother and mother? Is it you? How are you? Did you run away from me?"

- V.5/16. *Manuai i va:* "Ko nyak!"
osprey 3sg say imp climb
Eagle said, "Climb up!"

- V.5/17. *Manuai i ace cimer.*
osprey 3sg sharpen stone.axe
Eagle sharpened a stone axe.

- V.5/18. *Moat i nyak. I pa ki le malejan.*
snake 3sg climb 3sg want 3sg.fut go.to air
Snake climbed. He wanted to go into the air.

- V.5/19. *Manuai i te i ile cimer.*
osprey 3sg kill 3sg with stone.axe
Eagle killed him with the stone axe.

- V.5/20. *I cariti i. I los ime e poany.*
3sg cut.through 3sg 3sg fall here to ground
He cut him through. Snake fell to the ground.

V.5/21. *I ti poany, aru yayen aru ti malejan.*
3sg be.on ground both mother-3sg both be.in air

He was on the ground, and both [Osprey] and his mother were in the air
(i.e., up the tree).

V.5/22. *Aru tu vo kan earu.*
3dl prog make food 3dl.ps

They were getting their food.

V.5/23. *E kan aru i evuen, manuai i va: "Yaye, ko
hey! food both 3sg be.finished osprey 3sg say mother-1sg imp
en! Yo ku la vo avi kile Dobut.*
sit 1sg 1sg.fut go procure sago to D

Their food was finished, and Osprey said, "Mother, stay here. I will go
to Dobut and get sago."

V.5/24. *I cavuni yak. Avi i tamete i. I no en yo
3sg carry.away sago sago 3sg squeeze 3sg 3sg remain sit fly
yau e poany.*
away to ground

He carried the sago away. He squeezed the sago. He flew away to the
earth.

V.5/25. *Moen Dobut i lisi i. I lai kei, i te i e wei, i
def D 3sg see 3sg 3sg take tree 3sg hit 3sg with that 3sg
roputi palin akap.*
break.in.half wing-3sg one

Someone from Dobut saw him and took a tree and hit Osprey with it,
and broke one of his wings.

V.5/26. *Manuai i luke avi. I ti wai. I yo yau. I la
osprey 3sg lay.aside sago 3sg be.in water 3sg fly away 3sg go
mat iti Marir.*
die in M

Eagle dropped the sago into the water. He flew away. He went to Marir
and died there.

V.5/27. *Aru Pitilu arumo, aru tu mayase um. Aru Pitilu aru lisi i.
3dl P two 3dl prog build house 3dl P 3dl see 3sg*
Two men from Pitilu were building a house. The Pitilu men saw him.

Texts: Part V

V.5/28. *Aru la lai ile um. Aru tawi ile ηai.*

3dl pres take to house 3dl place into pit

They took him to their house and placed him in a pit.

V.5/29. *Manuai i pora, aru lai pataruin. Aru asi ila waei.*

osprey 3sg rot 3dl take bone-3sg 3dl bind to war-ornament

Eagle rotted and they took a bone and bound it to their war dress.

V.5/30. *Ala la te ala Dobut. Ala la te ala tasagat.*

3pl go kill 3pl D 3pl go kill 3pl one.hundred

They went to Dobut and killed a hundred people.

V.5/31. *Pojuŋ si lie ala la lai sagat lie, ala te ala day-3sg one again 3pl go take one.hundred again 3pl kill 3pl*

Dobut ala tulujat.

D 3pl 300

Another day they went again and took another hundred, and again they killed Dobut people. They killed three hundred people.

V.5/32. *Amo pin Dobut i asou ime Pitilu. I asou ile Pitilu,*

indef woman D 3sg marry here P 3sg marry to P

i vanawē put yinkekan manuai.

3sg steal ? talons osprey

A woman from Dobut married into Pitilu people. She married a Pitilu person and stole the eagle's talons.

V.5/33. *I lai ile Dobut. Ala Pitilu ala pa ka vo paun kile*

3sg take to D 3pl P 3pl want nsg.fut do battle with

Dobut, ala Dobut ala te ala Pitilu tasagat.

D 3pl D 3pl kill 3pl P one.hundred

She took them to Dobut. The Pitilu people wanted to do battle with the people from Dobut, and the Dobut people killed one hundred Pitilu people.

V.5/34. *Ala molomol. Ala tawi morai.*

3pl leave.off 3pl set.right peace

They stopped fighting and made peace.

V.5/35. *Ala cani pe eala. Ala cicime e wei. Ala tu*

3pl set.aside market.day 3pl.ps 3pl trade with that 3pl prog

tokai ila pe ime.
go there and here

They chose a market day for themselves. They traded with them. They went between them, here and there.

V.6 The story of a pigeon who transformed herself into a woman

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1908:203–206)

Section 1

V.6/1. *Saurang pe papun kor earu Lohawai.*
S and father-3sg village 3dl.ps L

Saurang and father were from Lohawai village.

V.6/2. *Ala pimpal taakou ala cani ayei e kor asi yevuen.*
3pl pigeon ten 3pl eat almond poss village all completely
Ten pigeons ate all the almonds in their village.

V.6/3. *Ala va: "Yota ka la ani ayei e Saurang aru papun."*
3pl say 1pl.inc nsg.fut go eat almond poss S 3dl father-3sg
They said, “We will go and eat the almonds of Saurang and his father.”

V.6/4. *Ala la cani. Saurang i va: "Papu, pimpal i cani ayei eyotaru!"*
3pl go eat S 3sg say father pigeon 3sg eat almond
eyotaru!”
1dl.inc.ps

They were eating them. Saurang said, “Father! The pigeons are eating our almonds.”

V.6/5. *Papun i va: "Ko la te ala e pat!"*
father-3sg 3sg say imp go kill 3pl with stone
Father said, “Go and kill them with stones!”

V.6/6. *I lai pat taruo. I tokai.*
3sg take stone two 3sg go

Saurang took two stones and went.

V.6/7. *I tatip ila ic. I uti pat ila. I te pimpal taruo. Anu los.*
3sg creep to near 3sg throw stone there 3sg kill pigeon two 3dl fall

He crept near to them and threw the stones. He killed two pigeons.
They fell.

Texts: Part V

- V.6/8. *I lai ile kor. Aru ani amo, amo ma moarin.*
3sg take to village 3dl eat one one still alive
He took them back to the village. They ate one, but the other was still alive.
- V.6/9. *I va: "Papu! Taamo ito ki la mameg eyo!"*
3sg say father that.one there hort become toy 1sg.ps
Saurang said, "Father! That one can become my toy!"
- V.6/10. *I tawi ise kobi.*
3sg place in big.basket
He put it in a big basket.
- Section 2
- V.6/11. *Ramei e ala Yap i tag. Saurang i va: "Papu, yo wooden.drum poss 3pl Yap 3sg cry S 3sg say father 1sg va ku la ta mana ave kila varina Yap!"*
want 1sg.fut go dance somewhat there to Yap
The Yaps' wooden drum sounded out. Saurang said, "Father, I want to go to Yap to dance."
- V.6/12. *I moele i. I tokai ile lonpilay.*
3sg decorate 3sg 3sg go to garden-inside
He decorated himself and went inside the plantation.
- V.6/13. *I cariti lei. I ani. I tokai.*
3sg cut ginger.bulb 3sg eat 3sg go
He cut a ginger bulb and ate it. He left.
- V.6/14. *Pimpal i amou ila pein. I moele i e pigeon 3sg change.self into woman 3sg decorate 3sg with luluai e Saurang.*
shell.money poss S
The pigeon changed herself into a woman. She decorated herself with Saurong's shell money.
- V.6/15. *I tokai yau e murin. I la varina ala pi Yap.*
3sg go away back 3sg go to 3pl woman Yap
She went to the women from Yap.

V.6/16. *Saurang i tu ta ramei, pimpal i tu ta mana.*
 S 3sg prog hit wooden.drum pigeon 3sg prog dance

Saurang was there, hitting a drum. The pigeon was dancing.

V.6/17. *Saurang i lisi i. I va: "Pi Yap amo itan ko la pati eyo amu, e?"*
 S 3sg see 3sg 3sg say woman Yap indef this 2sg.fut
 become wife 1sg.ps yet hey

Saurang saw her, and said "You Yap woman will become my wife yet, no?"

V.6/18. *Wari i evuen. Saurang i pa ki nyune bue kila te i.*
 song 3sg be.finished S 3sg want 3sg.fut ask.for betel.nuts
 to 3sg

The song finished. Saurang wanted to ask her for betel nuts.

V.6/19. *Pimpal i va: "Yo u vavuen!"*
 pigeon 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S refuse

The pigeon said, "I refuse."

V.6/20. *Wari i evuen, pimpal i tokai yau e palan ile kor.*
 song 3sg be.finished pigeon 3sg go away at front to village

The song finished and the pigeon went away in front to the village.

V.6/21. *Saurang i tokai yau e murin.*
 S 3sg go away back

Saurang went the back way.

V.6/22. *Pimpal i aburuti kan yevuen, kan i manis.*
 pigeon 3sg cook food completely food 3sg be.ready

The pigeon finished cooking food. The food was ready.

V.6/23. *Pimpal i tu molomol. I amou ila pimpal i se lonkobu.*
 pigeon 3sg prog stop 3sg change.self into pigeon 3sg sit basket-inside

The pigeon stopped. She changed herself back into a pigeon and sat inside the basket.

V.6/24. *Saurang i me. I va: "Papu, amo pi Yap uyan uyan*
 S 3sg come 3sg say father one woman Yap good good

Texts: Part V

ki la pati eyo, e?"
3sg.fut become wife 1sg.ps hey

Saurang returned and said, "Father! A woman from Yap would be a good wife for me, no?"

V.6/25. *Papun i va: "Oi etepe, oi a ne caburui i*
father-3sg 3sg say 2sg how.is.it 2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg steal 3sg
poen?"
not

His father said, "What have you done? You haven't stolen her?"

V.6/26. *I va: "Ko molomol! Rayiau yo ku caburui i."*
3sg say imp stop tomorrow 1sg 1sg.fut steal 3sg
Saurang said, "Stop! I'll steal her tomorrow."

V.6/27. *Sauraj i le um. I lisi keiny, i va: "Kan ito, se*
S 3sg go.to house 3sg see pot 3sg say food here who
i abur?"
3sg cook

Saurang went into the house and saw the pot. He said, "Who cooked this food?"

V.6/28. *Papun i va: "Yo poen!"*
father-3sg 3sg say 1sg not

His father said, "It wasn't me."

V.6/29. *Sauraj i va: "Ane amo pein?"*
S 3sg say perhaps indef woman

Saurang said, "Perhaps some woman did it?"

V.6/30. *Papun i va: "Ane tavai? Amo pein? Yo pasan*
father-3sg 3sg say perhaps who? indef woman 1sg know.about
poen."
not

Father said, "Perhaps who? Some woman? I don't know anything about it."

V.6/31. *Sauraj i va: "Moen tapo! Nou i ani oi! Oi etepe,*
S 3sg say def wretch! stupidity 3sg eat 2sg 2sg do.what
oi a ne koloani um uyan poen?"
2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg protect house good not

Saurang said, "Idiot. Stupidity is eating you! How is it, do you protect this house well or not?"

V.6/32. *Papun i va: "Yo u tu sol kap e kamal.* Yo
 father-3sg 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S stay roll cord in men's.house 1sg
pasan poen."
 know.about not

Father said, "I was rolling cord in the men's house. I don't know about it."

Section 3

V.6/33. *Rap i taai, ramei e Yap i tay.*
 day 3sg brighten wooden.drum from Yap 3sg cry

The day brightened, and the wooden drum called out from Yap.

V.6/34. *Sauray i moele i. I tokai. I la akure iii lonpilay.*
 S 3sg decorate 3sg 3sg go 3sg go hide in plantation.inside

Saurang decorated himself. He left and hid inside the plantation.

V.6/35. *Pimpal i amou ila ramat. I moele i e luluai.*
 pigeon 3sg change.self into person 3sg decorate 3sg with shell.money

The dove changed herself into a person. She decorated herself with shell money.

V.6/36. *I tokai ile lonpilay.*
 3sg go to garden-inside

She went inside the garden.

V.6/37. *I cariti lei. I tawi ile liman. I tokai.*
 3sg cut ginger.bulb 3sg place to hand-3sg 3sg go
 She cut ginger bulb and put them in her hand. She left.

V.6/38. *Sauray i lele ila te i. Aten i yas e i i va: "Papu, e yo, pati eyo, pati eyo itan!"*
 S 3sg see to 3sg liver-3sg 3sg be.astonished regarding 3sg 3sg say father poss 1sg wife 1sg.ps wife 1sg.ps this
 Saurang saw her. He was astonished in his liver about it. He said, "My father, my wife—this is my wife!"

V.6/39. *"Yo u nyamiri i, i me are itan. Ane papu i*
 1sg 1sg.S love 3sg 3sg come appear this perhaps father 3sg

Texts: Part V

tawi ave kei ila te i."

give some tree to 3sg

"I love her, and she appears to me like this. Perhaps my father will give her a tree."

v.6/40. *I la are. I ta uro ei, i va:* "Auro, pati eyo!"

3sg go appear 3sg greet 3sg.ps 3sg say greetings wife 1sg.ps

He appeared and got a greeting from her. He said, "Greetings, my wife!"

v.6/41. *Pimpal i va:* "Se pati eoi? Yo pisiom."

pigeon 3sg say who wife 2sg.ps 1sg sister-2sg.poss

The pigeon said, "Who's your wife? I'm your sister."

v.6/42. *Saurang i va:* "E poen! Yo u vavuen e

S 3sg say hey! not 1sg 1sg.S refuse regarding

pisiom! Oi ko la pati eyo!"

sisterhood 2sg 2sg.fut become wife 1sg.ps

Saurang said, "No! I don't know anything about sisterhood! You will become my wife!"

v.6/43. *I puti i. I matire i yevuen, arule kor.*

3sg marry 3sg 3sg sleep.with 3sg be.finished 3dl go.to village

He married her and slept with her. When they finished, they went back to the village.

v.6/44. *I va:* "Papu! Pati eyo ita!"

3sg say father wife 1sg.ps this

He said, "Father! This is my wife."

v.6/45. *Papun i va:* "Auro! bulunat eyo! Kone

father-3sg 3sg say greetings daughter-in-law 1sg.ps 2sg.perf

me?"

come

His father said, "Greetings, my daughter-in-law. Will you come in?"

v.6/46. *I le um. Saurang i lisi pimpal. Pimpal poen. I*

3sg go.to house S 3sg look.for pigeon pigeon not 3sg

va: "Pimpal eyo i la wee?"

say pigeon 1sg.ps 3sg go where

She went to the house. Saurang looked for the pigeon. The pigeon wasn't there. He said, "Where did my pigeon go?"

V.6/47. *Papun i va: "Camanyin!"*

father-3sg 3sg say hmm

His father said, "Hmm".

V.6/48. *Pimpal i atue i, i va: "Yo ita, yo, pati eoi."*

pigeon 3sg call 3sg 3sg say 1sg this 1sg wife 2sg.ps

The pigeon called, and said, "I am it. I your wife."

V.6/49. *Aru puti aru. Sauray i nyune bue ilate i, i va:*

3dl marry 3dl S 3sg ask.for betel.nuts from 3sg 3sg say

"*Hi Solou, ko tou se bue kime te yo!*"

H.S. imp give betel.nuts here to 1sg

They married each other. Saurang asked for betel nuts from her, and said, "Hi Solou, give me betel nuts!"

V.6/50. *Hi Solou i ma tu kakala. Sauray kekan i goy*

H.S. 3sg still prog seek S foot-3sg 3sg tired

e tadulai.

because.of standing.up

Hi Solou was still looking when Saurang's feet were tired from standing.

V.6/51. *I moaye i, i va: "Pintapo! Oi*

3sg abuse.verbally 3sg 3sg say wretched.woman 2sg

pimanuai! Yayem poen, papum poen! Kanian-aipei!"

female-osprey mother-2sg.ps not father-2sg.ps not almond-feast

He insulted her, and said, "Wretch of a woman! You're a woman-eagle.

You don't have a mother, you don't have a father. You're an almond-eater!"

V.6/52. *Pimpal i taj. I taj yevuen, ray i taai.*

pigeon 3sg cry 3sg cry finished day 3sg brighten

The pigeon cried. She stopped crying when the day brightened.

V.6/53. *I va kolodili ilate aru papun, i va: "Ki la*

3sg say neck-sadness to 3dl father-3sg 3sg say c.fact become

teyo alan, yo manuai, oi ramat ko lai yo, yo ku

to.1sg if 1sg osprey 2sg person 2sg.cfact take 1sg 1sg 1sg.cfact

amou kila pein, ku puti yo kila pati eoi.

change.self to woman 2sg.cfact marry 1sg as wife 2sg.ps

She told her sadness to her father, she said, "It would be the same for

Texts: Part V

me if, me being a bird, you person had taken me, and I had changed myself into a woman and you had taken me as your wife.

V.6/54. “*Kine la teoi, yo manuai, oi ramat: oi ko poke,*
3sg.perf be to.2sg 1sg osprey 2sg person 2sg 2sg.cfact be.rich
luluai eoi ki colo, ku cime amo pein e wei.
shell.money 2sg.ps c.fact be.a.lot 2sg.cfact buy indef woman with that
“It would have been the same for you, if I were an osprey and you a person: if you had been rich, you had a lot of money, and you had bought a woman with it.

V.6/55. “*Amo, luluai ei poen, i ne cime amo pein poen.*
one shell.money 3sg.ps not 3sg d.neg buy indef woman
not

“Someone who doesn’t have money, doesn’t buy a wife.

V.6/56. “*Ko lai yo manuai, ko ani yo. Yo u ne la pein poen.*
2sg.cfact take 1sg osprey 2sg.cfact eat 1sg 1sg 1sg.S d.neg
become woman not

“If you had caught me as an osprey, you would have eaten me. I will not become a woman.”

V.7 The story of a man who was in the stomach of a fish

Told by Songau from Papitalai. A story from Usiai. (Meier 1908:206)

V.7/1. *Moe Levei i la nyu. I se ditapat.*

that L 3sg go swim 3sg sit rock-top

That man from Levei went swimming. He sat on a stone.

V.7/2. *Kali i nyimili i. I ti putuan poj akou pe si.*
Kali 3sg swallow 3sg 3sg be.in stomach-3sg day ten and one

The kali fish swallowed him. He was in his stomach for eleven days.

V.7/3. *Moe ramat i roputi lat iti liman. I cele diliwe-ni.*
def person 3sg break.in.half mussel.shell in hand-3sg 3sg cut.up
fish-instines

Then, the man broke a mussel shell in half in his hand. He cut through the fish’s intestines.

V.7/4. *I are. I kau ile teg.*

3sg appear 3sg swim to shore

The man got out of the fish. He swam to the shore.

V.7/5. *Cajin konova amo Yap. I tokai ile Levei.*

body-3sg just.like indef Yap 3sg go to L

He looked just like a man from Yap. He went to Levei.

V.7/6. *I va: "Awa ka me! Yota ka la lai ni, i ani yo!"*

3sg say 2pl hort come 1pl.inc hort go take fish 3sg eat 1sg

He said, "You, come here! We'll get the fish that ate me!"

V.7/7. *Ala lai ni, ala ani.*

3pl take fish 3pl eat

They got the fish and they ate it.

V.8 How someone made a pig out of a pig's trotter

Told by Koven from Papitalai. A story from Papitalai. (Meier 1908:206)

V.8/1. *Amo i lai pucinkekapou. I tawi ile cem.*

indef 3sg take trotter-pig 3sg place into carry-basket

A man took a pig's trotter and placed it in a carry-basket.

V.8/2. *I tokai ile lodia-lono. Ave kor e wei poen.*

3sg go to inside.the.forest any village in there not

He went into the forest. There weren't any villages there.

V.8/3. *I luvuani pucinkekapou. Pou i la amo.*

3sg throw pig's.trotter pig 3sg go indef

He threw the pig's trotter. A pig started to walk around. (lit, a pig walked somewhere)

V.8/4. *I demayani lie, i va: "Pou eyo ki la rumo!"*

3sg make.magic again 3sg say pig mine hort become two

He did the magic again, and said "Let my pig become two pigs!"

V.8/5. *Pou amo i tokai lie. I ndemayani, buamarit i colo.*

pig one 3sg go again 3sg ndemayani thing 3sg be.a.lot

Another pig appeared. He made this magic and increased the number of many things.

VI Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

VI.1 About the pandanus fruit that changed into women

Told by Kopen from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1908:651)

VI.1/1. *Poipopoi akou, ato ti cucumoaato. Kor i pia, ato pandanus ten 3pc be.on pod-3pc land 3sg be.dark 3pc ra.*
spring.out

There were ten pandanus fruit in pods. The land was dark. They sprung out of the pod.

VI.1/2. *Ato nyu pe ato va wari pe ato poes.*
3pc swim and 3pc say song and 3pc have.a.good.time

They were swimming, and singing, and mucking around.

VI.1/3. *Amo ramat i tokai musue, i uroje wari eato. I indef person 3sg go be.furtive 3sg hear song 3pc.ps 3sg ilimi ato. I nyamiri ato.*
recognize 3pc 3sg love 3pc

A person was lurking around and heard their song. He saw them and fell in love.

VI.1/4. *I lisi ato. Cagiato i ajou konova*
3sg see 3pc body-3pc 3sg be.golden-white just.like
mises. I sukusuk.
half-caste.woman 3sg kiss.bombastically

He watched them. Their bodies were golden-white, like half-castes. He blew great kisses at them.

VI.1/5. *Ala tokai ila varina i. I vai ila te ala, i va: "Awa etepe?"*
3pl go there to 3sg 3sg say to 3pl 3sg say 2pl
how.is.it

They went to him. He asked them, "How are you? What are you doing?"

VI.1/6. *Ala va: "Yoya nyu." Pe i vai ila te ala, i va: "Awa etepe?"*
3pl say 1pl.excl swim and 3sg say to 3pl 3sg say 2pl

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

asiuna, awa pati eyo una!"

all 2pl wife mine all

They said to him, "We're swimming." And he said to them, "You will all be my wives!"

VI.1/7. *Ala adasi ala camui, pe i pi murin e ala i vavuen.*
3pl nine 3pl agree and 3sg woman last p'tive 3pl 3sg refuse

Nine of them accepted and the last woman of them refused.

VI.1/8. *Amo ramat i kusuani i, i va: "Oi lie!"*
one person 3sg be.angry.at 3sg 3sg say 2sg also

The man was angry at her, and said, "You too!"

VI.1/9. *Pi murin e ala i va: "Yo piramat poen, yo Vojovoy."*
woman last p'tive 3pl 3sg say 1sg woman not 1sg pandanus
The last woman of them said, "I'm not a woman, I'm a pandanus fruit."

VI.1/10. *Amo ramat i va: "Oh! Oi a kip!"*
indef person 3sg say oh 2sg 2sg.nfut lie

The man said, "Oh! You are lying!"

VI.1/11. *Pinpopopoy i va: "Ku lisi yo! Yo ku nyak kile*
woman-pandanus 3sg say 1sg.fut see 1sg 1sg 1sg.fut climb into
pogopoy."
pandanus

The pandanus woman said, "Watch me! I will climb into the pandanus [pod]."

VI.1/12. *I nyak. I siriani i ile cucumoan. I la pogopoy.*
3sg climb 3sg put.in 3sg into pod-3sg 3sg become pandanus
yota ani.
1pl.inc eat

She climbed and put herself into the pandanus pod. She became the pandanus fruit which we eat.

VI.2 About the pandanus fruit that changed into women

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. (Meier 1908:651–653)

VI.2/1. *Ato pinpopopoy akou, ato ti cucu eato.*
3pc woman-pandanus ten 3pc be.in pod 3pc.ps

Ten pandanus women were in their pods.

Texts: Part VI

VI.2/2. *I via, ato tu nyu e wai.*
3sg be.dark 3pc prog swim in water

It was dark, and they were swimming in the water.

VI.2/3. *Pogou, moen Konou, i tu cog kap. Mata-n i sor e cal.*
P def K 3sg prog seek ko.vine eyes-3sg 3sg
lose.one's.way in path

Pongou, a man from Konou, was looking for *kap* vine. His eyes lost their way on the path. (He didn't know where he was going.)

VI.2/4. *I tu cog e lono. I via e i iti lono.*
3sg prog seek in forest 3sg get.dark for 3sg in forest

He was looking for it in the forest. It got dark on him while he was in the forest.

VI.2/5. *I uroy ile porulu, i uroje alisai e ato pinpopopoy.*
3sg listen to valley 3sg hear laugh poss 3pc woman-pandanus
He listened towards the valley and heard the laugh of the pandanus women.

VI.2/6. *I va: "Ato la tu alisai itan, ato pinramat ne ato pincinal?*
3sg say 3pc pres prog laugh this 3pc woman or 3pc she-devil
He said, "These ones who are laughing, are they women or devils?"

VI.2/7. *"Yo ku la musuani ato amu!"*
1sg 1sg.fut go creep.down 3pc still
"I'll go and creep down to them anyway."

VI.2/8. *I lisi ato. Cagiaato aijouin, aijouin.*
3sg see 3pc body-3pc light.colored light.colored
He saw them. Their bodies were all light colored.

VI.2/9. *I va: "Papu, eyo, ite? Ato itan yo ku puti ato kievuen kila pati eyo!"*
3sg say father pred-1sg where 3pc this 1sg 1sg.fut
take.as.spouse 3pc completely to wife mine
He said, "Father! Where am I? These women, I'll take them all to be my wives!"

VI.2/10. *I are varina ato, i va: "Wato pinramat ne wato*
3sg appear to 3pc 3sg say 2pau woman or 2pau

pincinal?"

she-devil

He appeared to them and said, "Are you women or are you devils?"

VI.2/11. *Ato va: "Yoito pinpopopoy!"*
3pc say 1pc.excl woman-pandanus

They said, "We're pandanus women!"

VI.2/12. *"Yo ku puti wato kievuen kila pati eyo!"*
1sg 1sg.fut marry 2pau completely to wife mine
"I'll take you all to be my wives!"

VI.2/13. *Ato camui. I vaye ato. Ato tokai ile kor ei.*
3pc agree 3sg accompany 3pc 3pc go to village 3sg.ps
They agreed. They accompanied him back to his village.

VI.2/14. *I tawi ato ile um. I matire ato. I matire ato*
3sg place 3pc in house 3sg sleep.with 3pc 3sg sleep.with 3pc
pin madean adaamo.
woman big nine

He put them in his house. He slept with the nine adult women.

VI.2/15. *Pe i pa ki matire i pin riin. I rap.*
and 3sg want 3sg.fut sleep.with 3sg woman small 3sg penetrate
He also want to sleep with the small one. He penetrated her.

VI.2/16. *Dakein i tawi poan. Moen Konou i va: "Nabu ko tawi*
young.girl 3sg cry.out def K 3sg say irr.neg imp give
poa-m!"
mouth-2sg.ps

The young girl cried out ("gave mouth"). That Konou man said, "Don't shout!"

VI.2/17. *Dakein i va: "Oia rap e yo pe ko no*
young.girl 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut penetrate to 1sg and 2sg.fut try
tu kakes, e?"
prog be.eager hey!

The young girl said, "You're penetrating me and you'll keep wanting to do it, no?"

VI.2/18. *Pogou i va: "Yo u puti oi. Oi pein an ca? Yo*
P 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S marry 2sg 2sg woman for what 1sg

Texts: Part VI

u puti oi, oi pein an kitiit alan, e?
1sg.S marry 2sg 2sg woman for sex because hey!

Pongou said, "I married you. What are you a woman for? I married you, because you're a woman for having sex with, no?"

VI.2/19. *Dakein i va: "Yo u vavuen! Ane ko rar e*
young.girl 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S refuse perhaps 2sg.pot hurt to
yo, yo ma cucun."

1sg 1sg still sexually.immature

The young girl said, "I refuse! You might hurt me. I'm not mature yet."

VI.2/20. *Pogou i moage i: "Oi pintapo! Oi*
P 3sg abuse.verbally 3sg 2sg woman-wretch! 2sg
pinpojopoy! Oi a pinramat poen!
woman-pandanus 2sg 2sg.nfut woman-person not

Pongou scolded her. "You're a wretch of a woman You're a pandanus woman! You're not a real woman!"

VI.2/21. *"Yayem se, papum se?"*
mother-2sg.ps who father-2sg.ps who

"Who's your mother, who's your father?"

VI.2/22. *Pinpojopog i va: "Wa, oi a moage yo.*
woman-pandanus 3sg say yes 2sg 2sg.nfut tease 1sg
Rajiau ku lisi yo palue."
tomorrow 2sg.fut see 1sg again

The pandanus woman said, "Yes, you're insulting me. Tomorrow you'll see me again."

VI.2/23. *I via, I sua, dakein i vai ila te ato pilaon,*
3sg dark 3sg grow.dark young.girl 3sg say to 3pc sister-3sg
i va: "To k' au!"
3sg say 1pc.inc hort leave

It was dark. Night came on, and the young girl said to her sister, "Let's leave!"

VI.2/24. *Ato tokai piaun. Ato la nyak ile patapojopog eato. Ato*
3pc go by.night 3pc go climb onto pandanus-tree 3pc.ps 3pc
amou ila pogopoy.
change.self into pandanus

They left by night. They climbed onto their pandanus palm. They changed themselves into pandanus fruit.

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

VI.2/25. *Ran i taai, Pojou i titie ato. I la lisi ato.*
day 3sg brighten P 3sg seek.out 3pc 3sg go see 3pc

The day brightened. Pongou sought them out. He went to see them.

VI.2/26. *Ato vai ila te i, ato va: "Ko la uyan alan, pojopoj
3pc say to 3sg 3pc say 2sg.fut be good if pandanus
k'wai, ki amou kila pein.*

3sg.fut-grow 3sg.fut change.self into woman

They said to him, ‘If you’re good, the pandanus fruit will grow and change themselves into women.

VI.2/27. *"Ramat, pati ei poen, i ki puti pinpojopoj.*
person wife 3sg.ps not 3sg pot marry woman-pandanus
‘A person who doesn’t have a wife can marry pandanus women.

VI.2/28. *"Kine la teoi, yoito ka la pojopoj, ko ani
3sg.perf go to.2sg 1pc.excl nsg.fut become pandanus 2sg.fut eat
yoito kile putuam, nabu ku puti yoito."*
1pc.excl into stomach-2sg.ps irr.neg 2sg.fut marry 1pc.excl
‘If it happens your way, we will become pandanus fruit, and you will eat us and we’ll go into your stomach, and you won’t marry us.’

VI.2/29. *Pojopoj i me e Yap, i tawi ayou ime e Yap.*
pandanus 3sg come to Yap 3sg place light.color here on Yap
The pandanus came to Yap and placed their light color here on Yap.

VI.2/30. *Pojou i ti Moanus, i tawi puicon iti Moanus.*
P 3sg be.in M 3sg place black in M

Pongou was on Manus and placed his black color on Manus.

VI.3 About the pandanus fruit that changed into women (another version of the previous story)

Told by Tou. (Meier 1908:653–654)

VI.3/1. *Hi Moi kor ei Kalau.*
H.M. village 3sg.ps K

Hi Moi was from Kalau village.

VI.3/2. *I se polen. Ala pin Kalau pe ala pin Kamalah ala
3sg sit top-3sg 3pl woman K and 3pl woman K 3pl
me tokai.*
come go

She sat at the top [of a tree]. The women of Kalau and the women of Kamalah came to her.

Texts: Part VI

VI.3/3. *Ala pin Kalau ala au e palan, ala pin Kamalah ala au e murin.*
3pl woman K 3pl leave first 3pl woman K 3pl
leave last

The Kalau women left first, and the Kamalah women left last.

VI.3/4. *Ala va: "Moi, ko me! Ta ka la nyu!"*
3pl say M imp come 1pl.inc nsg.fut impf swim

They said, "Moi, come here! We're going swimming!"

VI.3/5. *I va: "Awa ka koloani yo amu!"*
3sg say 2pl hort protect 1sg yet

She said, "You must protect me!"

VI.3/6. *Moi i moele i. I moele kekan, i moele liman,*
M 3sg decorate 3sg 3sg decorate foot-3sg 3sg decorate arm-3sg
pati kalion ile wei, pati diliyan ile wei,
jewelry middle.of.the.body-3sg on 3sg jewelry ear-3sg for 3sg
pati matajusun ile wei.
jewelry nose for 3sg

Moi decorated herself. She decorated her feet and arms, she put jewelry around her waist and on her ears, and in her nose.

VI.3/7. *I tutui patirama ile lamunpalan. I lai*
3sg grind.to.powder red.ochre onto hair-3sg 3sg take
ya ei ile kae-n, i kuni ain ei.
lime.vessel 3sg.ps with arm-3sg 3sg sling.over.shoulders basket 3sg.ps
She ground red ochre to powder for her hair. She took her lime pot under her arm and slung a basket over her shoulders.

VI.3/8. *Ala tokai. Ala pin akou ala le Paraye. Ala pin akou ala le Pojopou.*
3pl go 3pl woman ten 3pl go.to P 3pl woman ten
3pl go.to P

They went. Ten women went to Paraye. Ten women went to Pongopou.

VI.3/9. *Hi Moi i ti Palanpapi. Ala nyu, ala alisai, i alisai. Ala*
H.M. 3sg be.in P 3pl swim 3pl laugh 3sg laugh 3pl

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poes, i poes.

have.a.good.time 3sg have.a.good.time

Hi Moi was in Palanpapi. They swam and laughed and laughed. They were having a good time; she was having a good time.

VI.3/10. *Ala va: "Ta ka le mat!" Ala le mat. Ala po sau*
3pl say 1pl.inc hort go.to reef 3pl go.to reef 3pl cause be.dry
yevuen, Hi Moi i tawi molemoel ei ile cayin.

finished H.M. 3sg place jewelry 3sg.ps on body-3sg

They said, "Let's go to the reef!" They went to the reef. They got themselves dry. Hi Moi put her jewelry on her body.

VI.3/11. *Ala tokai. Ala pin Kamalah ala le palan, ala pin*
3pl go 3pl woman K 3pl go.to in.front 3pl woman
Kalau ala le murin.

K 3pl go.to back

They left. The Kamalah women went in front and the Kalau women went behind.

VI.3/12. *Hi Moi i ti moeren. Ala tokai, ala le kor eala.*
H.M. 3sg be.in middle 3pl go 3pl go.to village 3pl.ps
Hi Moi was in the middle. They went to their villages.

VI.3/13. *Ala pin Kamalah ala le kor eala, ala pin Kalau*
3pl woman K 3pl go.to village 3pl.ps 3pl woman K
ala le kor eala.
3pl go.to village 3pl.ps

The Kamalah women went to their village and the Kalau women went to the village.

VI.3/14. *Hi Moi i va: "Awa ka la, ne?"*
H.M. 3sg say 2pl hort go or
Hi Moi said, "Are you going?"

VI.3/15. *Ala va: "Ku tu!" I rubuti buamarit ei. I tawi ile*
3pl say imp stay 3sg untie thing 3sg.ps 3sg place into
rop.
basket

They said, "You stay!" She untied her things and placed them into the basket.

Texts: Part VI

VI.3/16. *I nyak ile moi. I amou ila pogoponise*
3sg climb into pandanus.tree 3sg change.self into ko fruit on
polen.
peak-3sg

She climbed into a pandanus tree. She changed herself into a pandanus fruit on the tree-top.

VI.4 About the pandanus fruit that changed into women (another version of the previous story)

Told by Tou. (Meier 1908:654–655)

VI.4/1. *Po Kuop i en e kamal. I en asi palan.*
P.K. 3sg sit in men's.house 3sg sit bind in.front

Po Kuop was sitting at the men's house. He was winding [cord] at the front.

VI.4/2. *Patiyayen i tokai. Launkei ei muan.*
niece-3sg 3sg go leaf.cloth 3sg.ps bad

His niece went there. Her leaf skirt was bad.

VI.4/3. *Po Kuop i va: "Launkei eoi pusuan, ko la tokai*
P.K. 3sg say leaf.cloth 2sg.ps smell.bad imp go go away
kiau e lonau!"
in thick.forest

Po Kuop told her, “Your skirt smells bad. Go away into the forest!”

VI.4/4. *Patiyayen i vai ila te i, i va: "Do oi! Ko asou kila*
niece-3sg 3sg say there to 3sg 3sg say only 2sg imp marry
uyan, yo ku tais launkei uyan.
to good 1sg 1sg.fut put.on leaf.cloth good

His niece told him, “It’s your fault. Marry a good woman and I will wear good leaf-cloth.

VI.4/5. *"Oi asou muan, launkei eyo muan."*
2sg marry bad leaf.cloth mine bad
“You married badly, and my cloth is bad.”

VI.4/6. *Po Kuop i va: "Yo ita, yo ku puti ca pein uyan?"*
P.K. 3sg say 1sg this 1sg.fut marry what woman good
Po Kuop said, “As for me, what good woman will I marry?”

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

- VI.4/7. *I asi palan. I moele i, i tokai. I la akure iti*
3sg bind hair-3sg 3sg decorate 3sg 3sg go 3sg go hide in
Palanpapi.
P
He bound his hair. He decorated himself. He went and hid in Palanpapi.
- VI.4/8. *Ala pein ala me nyu. Ala pin akou ala le sir, ala*
3pl woman 3pl come swim 3pl woman ten 3pl go.to part 3pl
pin akou ala le sir:
woman ten 3pl go.to part
Women came to swim. Ten women went to one side and ten women
went to the other side.
- VI.4/9. *Hi Moi i ti moeren. Ala nyu. Hi Moi i rubuti*
H.M. 3sg be.in middle 3pl swim H.M. 3sg untie
luluai ei, i tawi iti leg.
shell.money 3sg.ps 3sg place on sand
Hi Moi was in the middle. Hi Moi untied her mussel money, and put it
on the sand.
- VI.4/10. *I la nyu. Po Kuop i tawi ila. I cauyani luluai*
3sg go swim P.K. 3sg lay there 3sg exchange shell.money
ei.
poss.3sg
She went swimming. Po Kuop lay something there.
- VI.4/11. *I cauyani ga ei, i cauyani rop ei.*
3sg change lime.vessel 3sg.ps 3sg change basket 3sg.ps
He substituted a lime vessel and a basket for her money.
- VI.4/12. *I tokai, I la ti linpopopoj.*
3sg go 3sg go be.in foot-ko fruit
He left and went to the foot of a pongopong tree.
- VI.4/13. *Ala nyu yevuen, ala la po sau.*
3pl swim finished 3pl go make be.dry
They finished swimming and they went to get dry.
- VI.4/14. *Hi Moi i lisi luluai, i va: "Iyi! Tita luluai"*
H.M. 3sg look.for shell.money 3sg say Hey! that shell.money

Texts: Part VI

e se? Luluai eyo, i la wee?
poss who shell.money mine 3sg be where

Hi Moi looked for her money, and said, "Hey! Whose is that money?
Where's my money?

VI.4/15. *Tita ya eyo poen, tita rop eyo poen!*
that lime.vessel 1sg.ps not that basket 1sg.ps not
Buamarit ita te se?"
thing this to who

"That lime pot isn't mine, and that basket isn't mine! Whose is this?"

VI.4/16. *I lai, i moele i e wei. Ala tokai.*
3sg take 3sg decorate 3sg with that 3pl go
She took it and adorned herself with it. They left.

VI.4/17. *Ala ti cal. Ala pin Kamalah ala la, ala pin Kalau*
3pl be.on path 3pl woman K 3pl go 3pl woman K
ala me.
3pl come

They were on the path. The Kamalah women were going and the Kalau women were coming.

VI.4/18. *Hi Moi i pa ki nyak kile polenporopon.*
H.M. 3sg want 3sg.fut climb into pandanus.palm-top
Hi Moi wanted to climb into the pandanus palm.

VI.4/19. *I nyak ilati sir, Po Kuop i ilou ila.*
3sg climb there.on part P.K. 3sg run there
She climbed onto a branch, and Po Kuop ran there.

VI.4/20. *I tatuni kekan. Hi Moi i va: "Ku luke yo! Yo ku*
3sg hold.fast foot-3sg H.M. 3sg say imp drop 1sg 1sg 1sg.fut
nyak kile pole."
climb into top

He held fast to her foot. Hi Moi said, "Let me go! I will climb to the top."

VI.4/21. *Po Kuop i va: "E poen! Ko ra!"*
P.K. 3sg say hey! not imp spring.up
Po Kuop said, "No! Get away!"

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

- VI.4/22. *Hi Moi i kekes, Po Kuop i kekes. Ayan e Po Kuop i*
H.M. 3sg urge P.K. 3sg urge speech poss P.K. 3sg
la pokean, Hi Moi i ra.
become strong H.M. 3sg jump
Hi Moi urged [him to grant her wish] and Po Kuop urged [her not to do it]. Po Kuop's language became strong and Hi Moi got away.
- VI.4/23. *Aru tokai. Aru la ti cal, Hi Moi i va:* "Taru ka
both go both impf be.on path H.M. 3sg say 1dl.inc hort
le kor, nabu ko me varina yo! Yo pinmoi.
go.to village irr.neg imp come to 1sg 1sg woman-pandanus
They went. They were on the path when Hi Moi said, "Let's go to the village, don't come to me! I am a pandanus woman."
- VI.4/24. "Nabu ko me varina yo! Aloa yo ku mat!"
irr.neg imp come to 1sg otherwise 1sg 1sg.fut die
"Don't come to me. Otherwise I will die."
- VI.4/25. *Aru le kor. Po Kuop i ne la varina i poen. I la*
3dl go.to village P.K. 3sg d.neg go to 3sg not 3sg go
varina ala pin palan.
to 3pl woman in.front
They went to the village. Po Kuop didn't go to her. He went to the first women.
- VI.4/26. *Patiyayen i va:* "Oi etepe? Oi a ne la matir
niece-3sg 3sg say 2sg do.what 2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg go sleep
varina i pi murin poen?"
to 3sg woman last not
His niece said, "What did you do? You didn't go and sleep with the last woman?"
- VI.4/27. *Po Kuop i va:* "Hi Moi i va, i nabun. Yo u ne
P.K. 3sg say H.M. 3sg say 3sg be.sacred 1sg 1sg.S d.neg
la varina i poen itan."
go to 3sg not this
Po Kuop said, "Hi Moi said that she was blessed. I didn't go to this woman."
- VI.4/28. *Patiyayen i va:* "Ko la varina i! Ko tawi nat eoi
niece-3sg 3sg say imp go to 3sg imp create child 2sg.ps

Texts: Part VI

kamal!"

husband

His niece said, "Go to her! Make your child, man!"

VI.4/29. *I la varina i, i maturuani i, i tawi nat ise putuan.*
3sg go to 3sg 3sg sleep.with 3sg 3sg create child in
stomach-3sg

He went to her and slept with her and created a child in her stomach.

VI.4/30. *Hi Moi i tian. I tawi kamal ise liman.*
H.M. 3sg give.birth 3sg place young.man on arm-3sg
Hi Moi gave birth and lay the child in her arms.

VI.5 About the pandanus fruit that changed into women (another version of the previous story)

Told by Tou. (Meier 1908:655–656)

VI.5/1. *Koco e papun i ti poancoco.*
obsidian.dagger poss father-3sg 3sg be.on shelf.above.door

The father's obsidian dagger was on the shelf above the door.

VI.5/2. *I via, yayen i tawi nat ei yen e cocou si.*
3sg be.dark mother-3sg 3sg place child 3sg.ps lie on bed one
It was dark, and the mother placed her child on a bed.

VI.5/3. *Nat i la madean. I la usuni koco e papun.*
child 3sg become big 3sg go take.out obsidian.dagger poss
father-3sg

The child grew big. He took his father's obsidian dagger.

VI.5/4. *I tokai piaun. I la te amo lavan pati Loniu.*
3sg go by.night 3sg go kill indef chief from L

He went out at night and killed a chief from Loniu.

VI.5/5. *I me tawi koco e papun iti lakon.*
3sg come lay obsidian.dagger poss father-3sg in
sleeping.place-3sg

He came back and lay his father's obsidian dagger on his sleeping place.

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

- VI.5/6. *I los ile lakon. I amou ila nat. I tay.*
3sg fall onto sleeping.place-3sg 3sg change.self into child 3sg cry
He lay down on the sleeping mat. He changed himself into a child and cried.
- VI.5/7. *Yayen i la tai i. I asusui i e sus.*
mother-3sg 3sg go take 3sg 3sg soothe 3sg on breast
His mother went and took him. She soothed him on her breast.
- VI.5/8. *Ray i taai, i ti limayayen.*
day 3sg brighten 3sg be.on arm-mother-3sg
The day dawned and he was in his mother's arms.
- VI.5/9. *Kor i via, i la madean.*
land 3sg be.dark 3sg become adult
When the land was dark, he became an adult.
- VI.5/10. *Ray i taai, i madean inotu. I la uluou.*
day 3sg brighten 3sg big always 3sg become young.person
When the day brightened, he remained big. He became a young person.
- VI.5/11. *I te ala nat. Ala nat ala tay.*
3sg hit 3pl child 3pl child 3pl cry
He hit some children. The children cried.
- VI.5/12. *Ala moaje i, ala va: "Oi itan, yayem pinramat poen,*
3pl tease 3sg 3pl say 2sg this mother-2sg.ps woman not
yayem pinpopopon!
mother-2sg.ps woman-pongopong
They teased him and said, "You, there, your mother isn't a person, your mother's a pongopong woman!"
- VI.5/13. *"Lavan e yoya i me puti yayem, i tawi oi.*
chief poss 1pl.excl 3sg come marry mother-2sg.ps 3sg give.birth.to 2sg
"Our chief came and married your mother and she gave birth to you.
- VI.5/14. *"Oi a va, oi naturamat, yayem itan amo*
2sg 2sg.nfut say 2sg child-person mother-2sg.ps this one

Texts: Part VI

pinpojopoj!"

woman-pandanus

"You say that you're a child, but your mother's a pandanus woman!"

- VI.5/15. *Nat i tokai. I la varina yayen.*
child 3sg go 3sg go to mother-3sg

The child left. He went to his mother.

- VI.5/16. *I va: "Yaye! Yo u te ala nat. Ala ameani oi, ala va,*
3sg say mother 1sg 1sg.S hit 3pl child 3pl insult 2sg 3pl say
oi pinpojoponj."
2sg woman-pandanus

He said, "Mother! I hit some children. They insulted you and said that you're a pandanus woman."

- VI.5/17. *Yayen i papati nat ei ile duan.*
mother-3sg 3sg take child 3sg.ps to back-3sg

The mother took her child onto her back.

- VI.5/18. *Aru tokai. Aru los ile gai, e dusul.*
3dl go 3dl fall into pit on stake

They went. Those two fell into a hole in which there were sharp stakes.

- VI.5/19. *Aru mat. Ala nat nabu ala ka moage i alan, yota*
3dl die 3pl child irr.neg 3pl c.fact tease 3sg if 1pl.inc
ramat ka puti ala pinpojopoj.
person c.fact marry 3pl woman-pandanus

They died. Had the children not done that teasing, we people would marry pandanus women.

- VI.5/20. *Ala nat ala moage i, aru yayen aru mat.*
3pl child 3pl tease 3sg 3dl mother-3sg 3dl die

The children teased him, and he and his mother died.

- VI.5/21. *Yota ramat ne puti pinpojopoj poen.*
1pl.inc person d.neg marry woman-pandanus not
We people don't marry pandanus women.

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

VI.6 Why the leaves of the Dilis (canarium) tree don't turn into women anymore

Told by Kopen from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1908:656–657)

VI.6/1. *Aru uluou arumo, aru ti kor earu.*

3dl young.person two both be.in village 3dl.ps

Two young people were in their village.

VI.6/2. *Amo i sue ile mokeu. Ai i wek kalani i*

one 3sg row to high.seas west.wind 3sg make.float drag 3sg

ile kor e dilis.

into land poss canarium.nut

One rowed to the open sea. The west wind propelled him into the land of the dilis (canarium nuts).

VI.6/3. *Ala dilis, kor i taai, ala la*

3pl canarium.nut the.earth 3sg brighten 3pl become

laudilis, kor i pia, ala la pein.

canarium-leaves the.earth 3sg be.dark 3pl become woman

As for the canarium nuts, when the earth brightens [i.e., during the day], they become leaves on the canarium tree, but when the earth is dark, they become women.

VI.6/4. *Kosa i le kor. I la varina yaye-ala dilis.*

K 3sg go.to land 3sg go to mother-3pl canarium.nut

Kosa went to that land. He went to the mother of the canarium nuts.

VI.6/5. *Yayeala i va: "Kone me?"*

mother 3sg say 2sg.perf come

Their mother said, "Have you come?"

VI.6/6. *Kosa i va: "Wa, yo kune me."*

K 3sg say yes 1sg 1sg.perf come

Kosa said, "Yes, I have come."

VI.6/7. *Aru ti kor. Kosa i la ta ni.*

3dl live.in village K 3sg impf catch fish

They lived in the village. Kosa caught fish.

VI.6/8. *I ani riin, ni madean ila te yaye-ala dilis.*

3sg eat small fish big for mother-3pl canarium.nut

He ate the small ones, and the big ones were for the mother of the canarium nuts.

Texts: Part VI

VI.6/9. *I ajan i poysi pe poysi.*
3sg present.with.gifts 3sg day one and day one

He gave her gifts day in and day out.

VI.6/10. *Poysi yayeala dilis i va: "Kosa poa ko*
day one mother canarium.nut 3sg say K 2sg.desid imp
le kor eoi?"
go.to village 2sg.ps

One day the mother of the canarium nuts said, “Kosa, do you wish to go to your village?”

VI.6/11. *Kosa i va: "Wa!" Yayeala dilis i va: "Ko nyak*
K 3sg say yes mother canarium.nut 3sg say imp climb
kile dilis, ko la multi laudilis, nyubun
into almond.tree imp go pick canarium-leaves young.shoot-3sg
ilati dun e malegan!"
there.in top in air

Kosa said, “Yes!” The mother of the canarium nuts said, “Go and climb into the canarium tree, pick canarium leaves, the young shoots that are at the top, in the air.”

VI.6/12. *Kosa i la lai. Yayeala dilis Maleu i va: "Ku sue!*
K 3sg go take mother canarium.nut M 3sg say imp row
Ko tawi laudilis akap kile modol, akap kile muridol.
imp place canarium-leaves one into bow-canoe one into back-canoe
Kosa did this. the mother of the canarium nuts from Maleu said, “Row! Place one of the canarium leaves in the bow of the canoe and one into the stern.

VI.6/13. *"Ku cut yumoani oi kien e patale! Nabu ko lele!*
imp wrap 2sg there in canoe irr.neg imp look.around
“Then wrap yourself up there in the canoe. Don’t look out!

VI.6/14. *"Ko matir ikisi oi!"*
imp sleep solid 2sg
“Sleep tight!”

VI.6/15. *I matir Laudilis arukap aru amou ila pein*
3sg sleep canarium-leaves two 3dl change.self into woman

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

arumo.

two

He slept. The two canarium leaves changed themselves into two women.

VI.6/16. *Aru uyan, uyan. Aru sue. Kor i taai, Kosa i
3dl good good 3dl row the.earth 3sg brighten K 3sg
mamat.*
wake.up

Both were really good. They rowed. They day brightened and Kosa woke up.

VI.6/17. *I pa ki lele kile modrol, i lisi pincuel amo.*
3sg think 3sg.fut see into bow 3sg see young.woman indef
He thought to look into the bow to see a young woman.

VI.6/18. *I pa ki lele kile muridol, i lisi pincuel
3sg think 3sg.fut see into back-canoe 3sg see young.woman
amo.
indef*

He thought to look into the stern to see a young woman.

VI.6/19. *Kosa i alisai, i timoak yen e patale.*
K 3sg laugh 3sg be.proud lie in canoe
Kosa laughed and was proud lying in the canoe.

VI.6/20. *Ato le kor. Dasin i va: "Oh! Pati eoi muan
3pc go.to village brother-3sg 3sg say oh wife 2sg.ps desirable
e se?"
for who*

They went to the village. His brother said, "Oh! Who's your wife desirable for?"

VI.6/21. *Dasin i va: "Yo ku la lie!"
brother-3sg 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut go also
His brother said, "I will also go!"*

VI.6/22. *Dasin i la. I le kor e dilis Maleu.
brother-3sg 3sg go 3sg go.to land poss canarium.nut M
His brother went. He went to the land of the canarium nut of Maleu.*

Texts: Part VI

- VI.6/23. *Yayeala dilis Maleu i va: "Kone me?" Ya
 mother canarium.nut M 3sg say 2sg.perf come def
 ulou i va: "Wa!"
 young.person 3sg say yes*

The canarium nut of Maleu said, "Have you come [to stay]?" That young man answered, "Yes!"

- VI.6/24. *Yayeala dilis i va: "Ko nyak kile dilis!
 mother canarium.nut 3sg say imp climb into canarium.nut
 Nabu ko le dun!
 irr.neg imp go.to.the.top*

The mother of the canarium nuts said, "Climb into the canarium tree!
Don't go to the top!"

- VI.6/25. *"Ku tu katolin! Ku mui*ti laudilis
 1sg.fut be.there tree-foot 1sg.fut pick canarium-leaves
 arukap!"
 two**

"I will be here at the foot of the tree. Pick two canarium leaves."

- VI.6/26. *I ti katolin. I mui*ti laudilis arukap.
 3sg be.near tree-foot 3sg pick canarium-leaves two
 She was at the foot of the tree. He picked two leaves.**

- VI.6/27. *I va: "Ko tawi akap kile modol, akap kile muridol!
 3sg say imp place one into canoe-prow one into canoe-stern
 She said, "Place one leaf in the bow of the canoe, and one at the back.*

- VI.6/28. *"Ku cumoe oi kile mocel, ko matir ikisi
 imp clasp 2sg into woven.Pandanus.leaves imp sleep solid
 oi!"
 2sg*

"Wrap yourself in woven pandanus leaves and sleep well!"

- VI.6/29. *I matir. Laudilis arukap aru amou ila pein.
 3sg sleep canarium-leaves two 3dl change.self into woman
 He slept. The two canarium leaves changed themselves into women.*

- VI.6/30. *Amo kekan laken, amo matagusun yoda.
 one foot-3sg sore one nose eaten.away*

One had a lame foot and one had a nose that was eaten away.

Stories about Things that Pertain to the Plant Kingdom

- VI.6/31. *Rai i taai, ulouou i mamat.*
day 3sg brighten young.person 3sg wake.up
The day brightened and the young man woke up.
- VI.6/32. *I lele ile modol, amo matajusun yoda.*
3sg see into canoe-prow one nose eaten.away
He looked into the bow of the canoe, and saw the one whose nose was eaten away.
- VI.6/33. *I lele ile muridol, amo kekan laken.*
3sg see into canoe-stern one foot-3sg sore
He looked into the stern of the canoe, and saw the one whose foot was sore.
- VI.6/34. *I luvuani aru ile das.*
3sg throw 3dl into sea
He threw them into the sea.
- VI.6/35. *I sue ile kor. Kosa i va: "Kone me?"*
3sg row to land K 3sg say 2sg.perf come
He rowed back to the land. Kosa said, "Have you come back?"
- VI.6/36. *Dasin i va: "Yo kune me."*
brother-3sg 3sg say 1sg 1sg.perf come
His brother replied, "I have come back."
- VI.6/37. *"Pati eoi i la wee?"*
wife 2sg.ps 3sg be where
"Where are your wives?"
- VI.6/38. *Uluou i va: "Pati eyo poen."*
young.person 3sg say wife 1sg.ps not
The young man said, "I don't have wives."
- VI.6/39. *Kosa i va: "Oi etepe ila te yayeala?"*
K 3sg say 2sg do.what to mother
Kosa said, "What did you do to their mother?"
- VI.6/40. *Uluou i va: "Yo u ani ni madean, yo u tawi*
young.person 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S eat fish big 1sg 1sg.S give
ni pucui ila te yayeala.
fish young.one to mother-3pl
The young man said, "I ate a big fish, and I gave the young one to their mother."

Texts: Part VII

VI.6/41. "Yayeala i tawi pein arumo muan ime te yo.
mother-3pl 3sg give woman two ugly to lsg

"Their mother gave two ugly [women] to me.

VI.6/42. "Yo u luvuani aru ile das. Yo u sue ime e kor."
lsg 1sg.S throw 3dl into sea 1sg 1sg.S row here to land

"I threw them into the sea. I then rowed back here to land."

VI.6/43. Uluou ki vo uyan alan, yota ka la varina ala
young.person c.fact do good if 1pl.inc c.fact go to 3pl
dilis, ta ka la puti ala kila pati eyota.
canarium.nut 1pl.inc c.fact go marry 3pl as wife 1pl.inc.ps
If that young man had done good, we would go to the canarium nuts,
we would take them to be our wives.

VI.6/44. Uluou i vo muan, dilis wai ila kei, yota
young.person 3sg do bad canarium.nut grow as tree 1pl.inc
ne puti i poen.
d.neg marry 3sg not

The young man did a bad thing, canarium nuts grow as trees, and we
don't marry them.

VII Stories about Yap and Manus

VII.1 Why those from Yap are light and those from Manus are dark

Told by Hi Lueni from Moakareng. A Rambutyo story. (Meier 1908:658)

VII.1/1. Peu moen Palitawi i ani ala Polocal yevuen.

Peu def P 3sg eat 3pl P finished

Peu of Palitawi ate everyone from Polocal.

VII.1/2. Do amo i poke. I te Peu.

only one 3sg be.strong 3sg hit Peu

Only one man was strong. He hit Peu.

VII.1/3. Peu i vai ila te i, i va: "Nabu ko te yo alan, yo
Peu 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say irr.neg 2sg.cfact hit 1sg if 1sg

ku ani awa, pepoen yo ku tawi awa palue.

1sg.cfact eat 2pl afterwards 1sg 1sg.cfact create 2pl again

Peu said, "If you hadn't hit me, I would have eaten all of you, and
afterwards I would have created you again.

VII.1/4. *Oi kone te yo, ko lai kaleuyo! Palo
ki le Yap!*
2sg 2sg.perf hit 1sg imp take blackness-1sg.poss head-1sg
3sg.fut go.to Yap

“But you have subdued me. Take my blackness! My head will go to Yap!”

VII.1/5. *Cagi-ala Yap ajouin, mataala i la taroan. Yota la
puicon, matayota muan.*
body-3pl Yap light.colored face-3pl 3sg be light 1pl.inc be
be(come).black face-1pl.inc bad

The bodies of people from Yap are lightcolored, and their faces are light. We are black, and our faces are bad.

VII.2 Why there's so much to eat in Yap and so little on Manus

Told by Kawas u Yap from Papitalai. A Nauna story. (Meier 1908:658–659)

VII.2/1. *Karaat amo i la tou alet ile ley.*
turtle indef 3sg go place egg into sand

A turtle went and laid her eggs in the sand.

VII.2/2. *Alet i caic. Toval i la karaat, pe toval i
la ramat.*
egg 3sg break.out 50 3sg become turtle and 50 3sg
become person

The eggs hatched. Fifty became turtles and fifty became humans.

VII.2/3. *Ala toval ramat ala asi Moali.*
3pl 50 person 3pl colonize M

The fifty people colonized Moali.

VII.2/4. *Ala ajani cavat e lonau asi yevuen. Ala
cavat mataala i mulul.*
3pl support wild.animal in thick.forest all completely 3pl
wild.animal face-3pl 3sg be.tame

They supported all the wild animals in the dense forest. The faces of the wild animals became tame.

Texts: Part VII

VII.2/5. *Ala Moali ala uti kan, ala uti kan eala.*
3pl M 3pl set.out food 3pl set.out food 3pl.ps

The Moali people set out their food.

VII.2/6. *Yap pe Moanus ala kalumoani.*
Yap and M 3pl look.on

The people of Yap and Manus looked on.

VII.2/7. *Cikui i talasi kan, i onani Yap pe Moanus.*
C 3sg spread.out food 3sg be.sufficient.for Yap and M
Cikui spread out enough food to be sufficient for Yap and Manus.

VII.2/8. *I talasi yevuen, i va: "Kan e awa Yap ki la coloan, te yota Moanus e pou ito pe ni!"*
3sg distribute completely 3sg say food for 2pl Yap 3sg.fut
become plenty to 1pl.inc M pred pig there and fish
He distributed all the food, and said, "The food for you Yap people will
be plentiful, and to us Manus people there's pig and fish."

VII.2/9. *Ala Moanus ala moage i, ala va: "Talatal eoi ca uyan?"*
3pl M 3pl scold 3sg 3pl say method.of.division 2sg.ps
what good

The Manus people told him off. They said, "What good is your way of
dividing up [the food]?"

VII.2/10. *Lavan e ala Moali i va: "Talatal eyo uyan.*
chief poss 3pl M 3sg say method.of.division 1sg.ps good
The chief of the Moali people said, "My method of division is good."

VII.2/11. *"Awa moage yo yetepe? Ki la teyo alan, kan e 2pl abuse.verbally 1sg for.what pot be to.1sg if food poss yota Yap pe Moanus ki vo sisie.*
1pl.inc Yap and M pot be identical.in.number

"Why are you scolding me? If it's done my way, our food, of us Yap
people and Manus people, will be the same amount."

VII.2/12. *"Kine la teawa, owa moage . . . yo, kan e Yap ki la coloan, kan eyota ki la totowe.*
3sg.perf be to-2pl 2pl abuse.verbally 1sg food poss Yap
3sg.fut become plenty food 1pl.inc.ps 3sg.fut be sparse
"But it's come out your way, you've scolded me, and the food of Yap
people will be plentiful and our food will be sparse."

VII.3 Why the sea separates Yap and Manus

Told by Kuval from Nauna. A Nauna story. (Meier 1908:659)

VII.3/1. *Kot moen Yap, Laup moen Moanus.*

K def Y L def M

Kot was from Yap and Laup was from Manus.

VII.3/2. *Kup i teani Kot, Kot i wek ile Nauna.*

SE.wind 3sg confuse Kot Kot 3sg float to N

The south-east wind confused Kot and Kot floated to Nauna.

VII.3/3. *Laup i lisi i, i vaye i. Aru le kor.*

L 3sg see 3sg 3sg accompany 3sg 3dl go.to village

Laup saw him and accompanied him. They went to the village.

VII.3/4. *Laup i lematani i, i va: "Oi moen tite?"*

L 3sg ask 3sg 3sg say 2sg def where

Laup asked him, "Where are you from?"

VII.3/5. *"Yo moen Yap, kup i teani yo. Yo u me e kor eoi."*

2sg.ps

"I'm from Yap, and the south-east wind confused me. I have come to your land."

VII.3/6. *"O! Auro, dasi! Taru ka ti kor eyo!"*

Oh! greetings brother 1dl.inc hort live.in village 1sg.ps

"Oh! Greetings, brother! Let's live together in my village!"

VII.3/7. *Ala Yap ala me sos, ala sos iti Nauna.*

3pl Yap 3pl come meet 3pl meet in N

The people from Yap came and met, they met in Nauna.

VII.3/8. *Ala Moanus ala la sos lie ile Nauna.*

3pl M 3pl go meet also in N

The Manus people also went and met in Nauna.

VII.3/9. *Ala asi Nauna, ala ti wei. Bul tulujol pe si ala kulul.*

argue

There were Nauna people living there. For thirty-one months they argued.

Texts: Part VII

VII.3/10. *Ala Moanus ala ameani ala Yap, ala va: "Kor eawa ite?"*
3pl M 3pl insult 3pl Yap 3pl say land 2pl.ps where

The Manus people insulted the Yap people, and said, "Where's your country?"

VII.3/11. *Ala Moanus ala va: "Kor eawa poen! Awa no tu wek*
3pl M 3pl say land 2pl.ps not 2pl remain prog float
e das. Awa painani Nauna. Awa me asi."
on sea 2pl find N 2pl come colonize

The Manus people said, "You don't have a land! You try to float on the sea. You found Nauna and you came to colonize it."

VII.3/12. *Ala Yap ala va: "Yota dasi yota. Awa ameani yoya,*
3pl Yap 3pl say 1pl.inc brother 1pl.inc 2pl insult 1pl.excl
tapeta titan yoya ka cariti das. Yota ka talasi yota.
how now 1pl.excl hort cut.through sea 1pl.inc hort separate 1pl.inc

The Yap people said, "We're all brothers. You have insulted us, so now we will cut through the sea. Let's separate ourselves."

VII.3/13. *"A kor de ajan-un, ajan-un. Yoya ka le*
each village before speech-3sg speech-3sg 1pl.excl hort go.to
Yap, ka la manyau.
Y hort be always

"Each village before had the one speech. Let's us go to Yap and remain there always.

VII.3/14. *"Awa Moanus ka me manyau. Yota dasi yota poen*
2pl M hort come always 1pl.inc brother 1pl.inc not
lie. Yota ka la kialal!"
again 1pl.inc nsg.fut become devil

"You Manus people will always come (to us?). We all will not be brothers again. We'll become devils!"

VII.4 A story about Alu from Manus, who married a man from Yap

Told by Soyan from Poamacau. Well known to all Islanders. (Meier 1908:659–662)

Section A

- VII.4/1. *Alu, pin Potomo, yayen i tawi i ise mamada.*
Alu woman P mother-3sg 3sg place 3sg in M-hut
Alu, a woman from Potomo, was placed in a mamada hut.
- VII.4/2. *Naran i le a kor pe a kor.*
cry-3sg 3sg go.to indef village and indef village
Her cries reached all the surrounding villages.
- VII.4/3. *Ala lavan asiuna amo pa ki puti i, ki puti i.*
3pl lord all indef want 3sg.fut marry 3sg 3sg.fut marry 3sg
All the chiefs wanted to marry her.
- VII.4/4. *Ala ececeyan. Alu i va: "Yo vavuen e awa!"*
3pl argue Alu 3sg say 1sg don't.want.to.know about 2pl
They argued over her. Alu said “I don't want to know about any of you!”
- VII.4/5. *Ala lavan ala va: "Ko vavuen e yoya, pe ku puti se? Ku puti Kalomat, moe Yap?"*
3pl lord 3pl say 2sg.fut don't.want.to.know about 1pl.excl and
2sg.fut marry who 2sg.fut marry K that Yap
The chiefs said “Since you refuse us, whom will you marry? Will it be Kalomat, from Yap?”
- VII.4/6. *Alu i va: "I ki tu ic alan, yo ku kai i. Kor ei alawen, ane yo u ne lisi mata-n poen."*
Alu 3sg say 3sg pot stay near if 1sg 1sg.fut visit 3sg village
3sg.ps be.far perhaps 1sg 1sg.S d.neg see face-3sg not
Alu said, “If he is nearby, I will visit his village. If his village is far away, perhaps I shall never see him.”

Section B

- VII.4/7. *Naran i ilou ile Yap ila te Kalomat.*
cry-3sg 3sg blow to Yap to K
Her cries reached Kalomat in Yap.

Texts: Part VII

- VII.4/8. *Kalomat i tuanani lui sei, i va:* "Ko wek kile
K 3sg send.out drift.wood one 3sg say imp float to
Potomo, ko lai kopat asi kiti ditam, ko wek kilati
P imp take crab all on body-2sg.ps imp float there.in
palanum e Alu!"
house-front poss Alu

Kalomat sent a piece of driftwood, saying "Float to Potomo, get lots of crabs on your body, and then float in front of Alu's house!"

- VII.4/9. *I wek ile Potomo. Ala pin Potomo ala lisi lui, i tawi nyatoan.*
3sg float to P 3pl woman P 3pl see drift.wood 3sg
create waves

The log floated to Potomo. The women saw it and made waves.

- VII.4/10. *Ala pin Potomo ala asi kopat e wei. Ala asi yevuen, pein amo i la tokai.*
3pl woman P 3pl farm crab from there 3pl pluck
finished woman indef 3sg go go

The Potomoan women took all the crabs off the wood. When they had finished, one of the women went away.

- VII.4/11. *Alu i yuyuu ila te i:* "Nya itan, ko tou si kopat kime
Alu 3sg call to 3sg you there! imp place one crab here
te yo!"
to 1sg

Alu called to her: "You there! Give me a crab!"

- VII.4/12. *Ya pein i va:* "Kekam poen? Ko tokai. Ko la vo
def woman 3sg say foot-2sg.poss not imp go imp go do
teoi!"
to.2sg

The woman said to her, "Don't you have feet? Go and get your own!"

- VII.4/13. *Amo i me tokai lie. I yuyuu ila te i:* "Si kopat kime,
indef 3sg come go again 3sg call to 3sg one crab here
yo ku ani!"
1sg 1sg.fut eat

One left again. She called to her, "I'll eat this crab here!"

VII.4/14. *Ya pein i vai ila te i, i va:* "Kekam poen? Ko def woman 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say foot-2sg.ps not imp tokai, ko la vo teoi!"
go imp go do to.2sg

The woman said to her, "Don't you have feet? Go and do your own thing!"

VII.4/15. *I tawi mocel ile ditan, i tokai.*
3sg place woven.Pandanus.leaves onto body-3sg 3sg go

She put on woven pandanus leaves and she left.

VII.4/16. *I le kasolui i pe dakein amo koloan.*
3sg go.to driftwood-side 3sg and young.girl one guardian

She went to the side where the driftwood is, she and a young girl, her guardian.

VII.4/17. *Dakein i atue garan, i va:* "Alu, ko le
young.girl 3sg call name-3sg 3sg say Alu imp go.to
ditalui, ko asi kopat!"
body-driftwood imp pluck crab

The young girl called her name, and said, "Alu! Go to the driftwood and get a crab!"

VII.4/18. *Alu i calou ile lui. Lui i buluti
Alu 3sg climb.up onto driftwood driftwood 3sg entwine
kekan.*
foot-3sg

Alu climbed onto the driftwood. The driftwood grabbed her foot and held onto it.

VII.4/19. *Lui i wek ile mokeu.*
driftwood 3sg float to high.seas

The driftwood floated out to the open sea.

VII.4/20. *Dakein i va:* "Alu ko vel!"
young.girl 3sg say Alu imp jump

The young girl said, "Alu! Jump!"

VII.4/21. *Alu i va:* "Yoh, assao! yo u no vel lavuen!"
Alu 3sg say oh daughter 1sg 1sg.S try jump in.vain
Alu said, "Oh, my daughter! I can't jump!"

Texts: Part VII

- VII.4/22. *Lui i wek kalani i ile Yap.*
drift.wood sg float drag 3sg to Yap.
The driftwood floated, dragging her to Yap.
- VII.4/23. *Kalomat i nyak iti polenpitou. I lele ile mokeu. I K 3sg climb on ko.wood-top 3sg see to high.seas 3sg lisi lui.*
see drift.wood
Kalomat climbed to the top of a pitou tree. He looked out to the open ocean. He saw the driftwood.
- VII.4/24. *I amuti buanpitou alima. Lui i wek ile 3sg paint pitou-fruit 5 drift.wood 3sg float to paranpitou.*
wood-shelter
He painted five pitou fruits. The driftwood floated under the overhang of the pitou tree.
- VII.4/25. *Kalomat i luvuani buanpitou si ila.*
K 3sg throw pitou-fruit one there
Kalomat threw one of the pitou-fruit there.
- VII.4/26. *Alu i lai, i ilimoani, i va: "Ki la pucinkekpalimat alan, yo ku ilimi, konova pucilimaramat flying.fox's.claw if 1sg 1sg.fut recognize just.like man-fingernail ito."*
there
Alu took it, caught sight of it, and said, "If it were a flying fox's claw, I would have recognized it, it's just like a man's fingernail."
- VII.4/27. *I lele ila pe ime. Kalomat i eateare i, i 3sg look.around there and here K 3sg frighten 3sg 3sg va: "Oia lisi se?" say 2sg 2sg see who*
She looked around here and there. Kalomat frightened her, he said, "Who do you see?"
- VII.4/28. *Alu i va: "Yo u lisi oi. Oi lavan ne oi lau?" Alu 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S see 2sg 2sg chief or 2sg people*
Alu said, "I see you. Are you a chief or are you a regular person?"

VII.4/29. *Kalomat i va: "Yo Kalomat, yo lavan i Yap!"*

K 3sg say 1sg K 1sg chief 3sg Yap

Kalomat said, "I am Kalomat. I am chief in Yap!"

VII.4/30. *Alu i va: "Yo pinlavan in Potomo!"*

Alu 3sg say 1sg mistress of P

Alu said, "I am a chief's wife in Potomo!"

VII.4/31. *I vaye i ile kor. I tawi i iti keyau.*

3sg accompany 3sg to village 3sg place 3sg in bed

She accompanied him to the village. He put her into bed.

VII.4/32. *I vai ila te ala paluan, i va: "Awa ka vo kan*

3sg say to 3pl wife-3sg 3sg say 2pl hort make food

ei!"

poss.3sg

He said to his wives, "You, make her food!"

VII.4/33. *Kalomat i matire i. I tawi nat amo*

K 3sg sleep.with 3sg 3sg give.birth.to child indef

kamal.

young.man

Kalomat slept with her. She gave birth to a male child.

VII.4/34. *Alu i va: "Kalomat! Yo va ku le Moanus."*

Alu 3sg say K 1sg want 1sg.fut go.to M

Alu said, "Kalomat! I want to go to Manus."

VII.4/35. *Kalomat i va: "Ku sui palenkei!"*

K 3sg say imp scrape.off sago-leaf.ribs

Kalomat said, "Scrape off sago-leaf ribs!"

VII.4/36. *I sui sajat pe tulugol.*

3sg scrape.off one.hundred and thirty

She scraped off one hundred and thirty.

VII.4/37. *Kalomat i va: "Ko le Moanus! Nou eoi akou pe*

K 3sg say imp go.to M day 2sg.ps ten and

lima. Ku mulie kime!

five imp return here

Kalomat said, "Go to Manus! You have fifteen days. Then return!"

Texts: Part VII

VII.4/38. "Kolom kila te nat! Nat ane ki mat e sus."
neck-2sg.ps to child boy perhaps 3sg.fut die from breast

"Let your neck for your child! The boy might die away from the breast."

VII.4/39. *Alu i uti palenkei ile das. Das i camar. I tokai.*
Alu 3sg throw sago-leaf.ribs into sea sea 3sg dry.up 3sg

go

Alu threw the sago-leaf ribs into the sea. The sea dried up and she left.

VII.4/40. *I uti palenkei sagat pe tulugol yevuen,*
3sg throw sago-leaf.ribs one.hundred and thirty completely
i la calou ile Potomo.
3sg go enter to P

She threw all one hundred and thirty sago-leaf ribs in, and she entered Potomo.

VII.4/41. *Ato pision ato lisi i. Ato yareani i.*
3pc brother-3sg 3pc see 3sg 3pc call.by.name 3sg

Her brothers saw her. They called out her name.

VII.4/42. *I la varina pision pe papun pe yayen.*
3sg go to brother-3sg and father-3sg and mother-3sg

She went to her brothers, father, and mother.

VII.4/43. *Ato lisi sus ei, ato va: "Oia tou nat?"*
3pc see breast poss.3sg 3pc say 2sg 2sg.nfut give.birth.to child
They saw her breasts and said, "Have you given birth to a child?"

VII.4/44. *I va: "Wa, yo u tou nat amo."*
3sg say yes 1sg 1sg.S give.birth.to child one

She said, "Yes, I've given birth to one child."

VII.4/45. *Nou e ya kamal ei, i cani ila ei i, i evuen.*
day poss def husband poss.3sg 3sg count to 3sg.ps 3sg 3sg
be.finished

The days of her husband, the number he had counted to her, were finished (i.e., the 15 days were up).

VII.4/46. *I va: "Nou eyo i evuen. Yo pa ku le*
 3sg say day 1sg.ps 3sg be.finished 1sg want 1sg fut go.to
Yap."
 Y

She said, "My days are up. I want to go to Yap."

VII.4/47. *Ato pision ato tatuni i, ato va: "Ku tu amu! Bul*
 3pc brother-3sg 3pc hold.fast 3sg 3pc say imp stay yet month
eo i tatalo, yoya ka la tawi oi."
 2sg.ps three 1pl.excl nsg.fut impf give 2sg

Her brothers held on to her, they said, "Stay yet! When you've had
 three months here, we'll go and take you."

VII.4/48. *Bul atalo nat i mat. Kalomat i luvuani i.*
 month three child 3sg die K 3sg throw 3sg

After three months her child died. Kalomat threw it away.

VII.4/49. *Nat i tadul palue, i ne mat poen.*
 child 3sg stand.upright again 3sg d.neg die not

The child got up again, it did not die.

VII.4/50. *I lijan i yayen lavuen, papun i cariti das,*
 3sg wait.for mother-3sg in.vain father-3sg 3sg cut.through sea
i va: "Ki la teyo alan, Moanus pe Yap ki
 3sg say c факт become up.to.me if M and Yap c факт
paut.
 be.together

It waited for its mother in vain, and its father divided the sea, saying "If
 it had happened my way, Manus and Yap would have been together.

VII.4/51. "*Kine la te Alu, Yap ki me ir, Moanus*
 3sg.perf become to Alu Yap 3sg.fut come this.side M
ki la ir!"
 c факт become this.side

" It's come out Alu's way; let Yap be on one side, and Manus on the
 other."

VII.4/52. *Alu i tawi nat iti Yap, Yap panum puicon, panum*
 Alu 3sg give.birth.to child in Yap Yap some black some

Texts: Part VII

ajouin.

light.colored

Alu gave birth to a child in Yap, where some people are black and some are light-skinned.

VII.4/53. *Alu i me e Moanus, yota puicon.*
Alu 3sg come to M 1pl.inc black

Alu came to Manus, and we are black.

VII.5 The history of a pair of siblings

Told by Hi Tulukor from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1908:662–666)

Section A

VII.5/1. *Saminkap pe Saminrop aru tawi nat earu taruovo,*
S and S 3dl give.birth.to child 3dl.ps two
amo pein pe amo kamal.
one woman and one young.man

Saminkap and Saminrop gave birth to two children, one a female and one a male.

VII.5/2. *I pein i la madean marayen.*
3sg woman 3sg become adult quickly
The girl quickly became an adult.

VII.5/3. *Aru cili diliyan, aru tawi i ise mamada.*
3dl pierce ear-3sg 3dl place 3sg in M-hut

The two of them [her parents] pierced her ears and put her in the mamada hut.

VII.5/4. *I kamal i manayan amu, i nyany ile kamal.*
3sg young.man 3sg small still 3sg crawl into men's.house
The boy was still small. He crawled into the men's house.

VII.5/5. *Saminkap i va: "Ko nyany kile um, yo u tu sol*
S 3sg say imp crawl to house 1sg 1sg.S prog roll
kap!"
cord

Saminkap said, "Crawl home, I'm rolling cord!"

VII.5/6. *I nyany ile um, yayen i va: "Ko le kamal,*
3sg crawl to house mother-3sg 3sg say imp go.to men's.house

yo u tu tir rop!
1sg 1sg.S prog weave basket

He crawled home, and his mother said, "Go to the men's house, I'm weaving a basket."

VII.5/7. *I le kamal, papun i va: Ko le um, yo*
3sg go.to men's.house father-3sg 3sg say imp go.to house 1sg
u tu sol kap!
1sg.S prog roll ko.vine

He went to the men's house, and his father said, "Go home, I'm rolling cord!"

VII.5/8. *Nat, coj i ani i. I taj, i le um.*
boy hunger 3sg eat 3sg 3sg cry 3sg go.to house

As for the boy, hunger was eating him. He cried and went home.

VII.5/9. *Yayen i va: Ko le kamal, yo u tu*
mother-3sg 3sg say imp go.to men's.house 1sg 1sg.S prog
tir rop!
weave basket

His mother said, "Go to the men's house, I'm weaving a basket!"

VII.5/10. *I tokai ile kamal, papun i va: Ko le um, yo*
sg go to men's.house father-3sg 3sg say imp go.to house 1sg
u tu sol kap!
1sg.S prog roll ko.vine

He went to the men's house, his father said, "Go home, I'm rolling *kap* cord."

VII.5/11. *Pision i se mamada. I talumui ma taakou, i*
sister-3sg 3sg be.in M-hut 3sg cook taro ten 3sg
utuani poekou.
fill.up water.vessel

His sister was in the mamada hut. She cooked ten taro and filled up a water vessel.

VII.5/12. *I lai pos si. I tokai, i la are.*
3sg take oar one 3sg go 3sg go appear

She took an oar and went, she appeared [to her brother].

Texts: Part VII

- VII.5/13. *Natunat i tay, i tay, i tay.*
little.child 3sg cry 3sg cry 3sg cry
The little child was crying, crying, crying.
- VII.5/14. *Papun pe yayen mataaru i ne momoa e i poen.*
father-3sg and mother-3sg eyes-3dl 3sg d.neg pay.attention regarding 3sg not
His father and mother didn't pay any attention to him.
- VII.5/15. *Pision i la are, i lai ma taakou, wai taruo, pos si.*
sister-3sg 3sg go appear 3sg take taro ten water-jug two oar one
His sister appeared carrying ten taro, two water jugs, and an oar.
- VII.5/16. *I tay lie, i tayisi pision.*
3sg cry also 3sg cry.about sibling-3sg
She cried again, she cried for her brother.
- VII.5/17. *I la, i papati i.*
3sg go 3sg carry 3sg
She went and picked him up.
- VII.5/18. *I la riwi dol ile das. I tawi pision ise patale.*
3sg go pull canoe into sea 3sg place brother-3sg in middle.of.the.canoe
She pulled the canoe into the sea. She placed her brother in the middle of the canoe.
- VII.5/19. *Aru sue, aru pa ka le Yap.*
3dl row 3dl want nsg.fut go.to Yap
They rowed. They wanted to go to Yap.
- VII.5/20. *Nat i lisi par, i lom.*
child 3sg see pandanus.nut 3sg be.ripe
The child saw some pandanus nuts which were ripe.
- VII.5/21. *Nat i va: "Pisio! Si pa!"*
boy 3sg say sister-1sg one want
The child said, "Want one!"

VII.5/22. *I taŋisi par Aru le leg.*
3sg cry.about pandanus.nut 3dl go.to shore

He cried about the pandanus nuts. They went to the shore.

VII.5/23. *Pision i vai ila te i, i va: "Nat, par ki la uyan, yo ku lai kime, oi ko ani.*
sister-3sg 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say child pandanus.nut cond
be good 1sg 1sg.fut take here 2sg 2sg.pot eat

His sister said to him, “Boy, if the pandanus nuts are good, I will bring it here and you can eat it.”

VII.5/24. *Par ki la cinal, ki ani yo.*
pandanus.nut cond be devil 3sg.fut eat 1sg

“[But] if the pandanus nuts are a devil, it will eat me.”

VII.5/25. *Nai e cako i la tu, cako ki me vaye oi, ko la varina i!*
hole poss hermit.crab 3sg pres be.there hermit.crab 3sg.fut
come accompany 2sg imp go to 3sg

“The hole of a hermit crab is there, the hermit crab will come with you; go to it!”

VII.5/26. *Pision i nyak. I tawi kekan iti cayanpar.*
sister-3sg 3sg climb 3sg place foot-3sg in fork.in.pandan.us.palm

The sister climbed up. She placed her foot in the fork of the pandanus palm.

VII.5/27. *I pa ki muii par. Par i rapiti i.*
3sg want 3sg.fut pick pandanus.nut pandanus.nut 3sg
press.tight 3sg

She wanted to pick the pandanus nuts. The nuts pressed tight [dug in?] to her.

VII.5/28. *I pa k' usuni i, potonpar i tage i.*
3sg want cond take.out 3sg prickle-3sg.pandan.us 3sg prick 3sg

She wanted to take out the prickle from the pandanus nut which pricked her.

Texts: Part VII

VII.5/29. *I usuni i lavuen, i taj.*
3sg take.out 3sg in.vain 3sg cry

She couldn't take it out. She cried.

VII.5/30. *I lele ila te pision ile dol, i taj, i taj, i taj.*
3sg look.at to brother-3sg in canoe 3sg cry 3sg cry 3sg cry

She looked at her brother in the canoe, and cried and cried and cried.

VII.5/31. *Pision e dol i lele ila te i, e maleyan, i taj, i taj,*
brother-3sg in canoe 3sg look.at to 3sg in air 3sg cry
i taj, i taj.
3sg cry 3sg cry

Her brother in the canoe looked at her in the air, and cried and cried and cried.

VII.5/32. *Cako uroq dilap i nat.*
hermit.crab hear crying 3sg child

The hermit crab heard the child's crying.

VII.5/33. *I nyanyime e leg, i lematani i, i va: "Waru se?"*
3sg crawl here on sand 3sg ask 3sg 3sg say 2dl who
He crawled to the sand and asked them, "Who are you?"

VII.5/34. *Nat i va: "Yoru pisio!"*
child 3sg say 1dl.excl sister

The boy said, "We're brother and sister!"

VII.5/35. *Cako i va: "Pisiom i la wee?"*
hermit.crab 3sg say sister-2sg.poss 3sg be where
The hermit crab said, "Where's your sister?"

VII.5/36. *Nat i va: "Pisio ilati polenpar."*
boy 3sg say sister-1sg there.in pandanus-top
The boy said, "My sister's at the top of the pandanus palm."

VII.5/37. *Cako i va: "Taru ka la lisi i."*
hermit.crab 3sg say 1dl.inc hort go see 3sg

The hermit crab said, "Let's go and see her."

VII.5/38. *Aru la lisi i.*
3dl go see 3sg

The two of them went and saw her.

- VII.5/39. *Nat i vai ila te pision, i va:* "Ku tu, ne?
boy 3sg say to sister-3sg 3sg say imp stay or
The boy said to his sister, "You stay, no?"
- VII.5/40. *"Yo cako kine vaye yo."*
1sg hermit.crab 3sg.perf accompany 1sg
"As for me, the hermit crab came with me."
- VII.5/41. *Pision i va:* "Ko la varina i, uyan! Cako ki
sister-3sg 3sg say imp go to 3sg good hermit.crab 3sg.fut
agani oi."
support 2sg
His sister said, "Good, go to him! The hermit crab will look after you."
- VII.5/42. *I la varina i, aru le gai.*
3sg go to 3sg 3dl go.to hole
He went to him, and they went into the hole.
- Section B**
- VII.5/43. *Moe Yap, i tu so ni.*
that Yap 3sg prog make fish
A certain man from Yap was fishing.
- VII.5/44. *I lisi ca moluanpein iti das.*
3sg see what female.spirit in sea
He saw a woman's spirit in the sea.
- VII.5/45. *I lisi, i va:* "Uh! Pein amo ita muan e se?"
3sg look.at 3sg say Oh woman one this desirable poss who
He looked at her, and said, "Oh! Who does this desirable woman
belong to?"
- VII.5/46. *I nyu. I nyamui poany, i ne lai poen.*
3sg swim 3sg scrape ground 3sg neg take not
He swam. He scraped the ground, but didn't get her.
- VII.5/47. *I awen ise dol, i lele ile das, i lisi, i vel ile das, i nyu.*
3sg climb in canoe 3sg look.at to sea 3sg see 3sg jump into
sea.water 3sg swim
He climbed into his canoe, and looked into the sea, jumped into the
water and swam.

Texts: Part VII

- VII.5/48. *I nyamui leg, i ne lai poen, i me cau.*
3sg scrape sand 3sg d.neg take not 3sg come appear
He scraped the sand (at the bottom), but didn't take her. He appeared again [he came out of the water].
- VII.5/49. *I calou ise dol. I lele ile das, i lisi ca moluanpein.*
3sg climb.up in canoe 3sg look.at to sea 3sg see what female.spirit
He climbed into the canoe. He looked into the sea, and saw the female spirit.
- VII.5/50. *I nyu lie, i ne lai poen.*
3sg dive again 3sg neg take not
He dived again, but couldn't take her.
- VII.5/51. *I va: "Pein amo ita i la wee?"*
3sg say woman one this 3sg be where
He said, "Where is this woman?"
- VII.5/52. *Poromatan i yadi e das.*
hole eyes-3sg 3sg ache because.of sea.water
His eyes ached because of the sea water.
- VII.5/53. *I uyan amu, ya pein i ateare i, i va: "Mah! Oi a tu nyu e ca? Yo ita!"*
3sg rest still def woman 3sg frighten 3sg 3sg say hey.there!
2sg 2sg prog swim to what 1sg this
She still rested; the woman frightened him. He said, "Hey! Where are you swimming to? I'm here."
- VII.5/54. *Moe Yap i va: "Oi etepe?"*
that Y 3sg say 2sg how.is.it
The man from Yap said, "What happened to you?"
- VII.5/55. *Ya pein i va: "Parcinal i rapiti yo."*
def woman 3sg say pandanus-devil 3sg press.tight 1sg
The woman said, "A devil in a pandanus palm pressed into me."
- VII.5/56. *Moe Yap i tokai ile lonpilay.*
that Y 3sg go into garden
The man from Yap went into the garden.

VII.5/57. *I lai lei, i nyamui pokapoak, i lai dilou,*
3sg take ginger.bulb 3sg scrape ko.tree 3sg take ko.bush
i lai bue, i lai moareta, i tokai ime.
3sg take betel.nuts 3sg take pepper-vine 3sg go here
He took a ginger bulb, he scraped the *pokapoak* tree, he took a *dilou* (*Dracaena sp.*) bush, he took betel, he took pepper-vine, and he came here.

VII.5/58. *I tuei bue, i ani pokapoak, i ani lei, i umari dilou.*
3sg chew betel.nuts 3sg eat ko.tree 3sg eat ginger.bulb 3sg spit.out dracaena

He chewed betel, he ate the *pokapoak* bark, he ate the ginger, he spat out the dracaena.

VII.5/59. *I nyak. I rosani dilou ile par,*
3sg climb 3sg shake dracaena against pandanus.nut
par i cayan.
pandanus.nut 3sg open

He climbed up. He shook the dracaena against the pandanus palm, and the pandanus nuts opened.

VII.5/60. *Aru ra. I vaye i.*
3dl scramble 3sg accompany 3sg

The two of them scrambled down. He went with her.

VII.5/61. *Aru awen ile dol, aru sue ile Yap.*
3dl climb into canoe 3dl row to Yap

The two of them climbed into the canoe and rowed to Yap.

Section C

VII.5/62. *Cako i tokai, nat i tokai.*
hermit.crab 3sg go boy 3sg go

The hermit crab and the boy left.

VII.5/63. *Aru tu tokai ila pe ime.*
3dl prog go there and here

They went here and there.

Texts: Part VII

VII.5/64. *Hi Buisir, pincinal, Hi Koakal, pinramat, kor earu a kor.*
H.B. she-devil H.K. woman land 3dl.ps other land

Hi Buisir, a female devil, and Hi Koakal, a person, were in another land.

VII.5/65. *Aru la po mayas. Aru cani launbulai, aru le um.*
3dl go do work 3dl cut.off taro.leaf 3dl go.to house

They were working. They cut taro leaves, and they went home.

VII.5/66. *Hi Koakal i va: "Buisir pilao! Buisir ku ti um! Yo
H.K. 3sg say H.B. sister H.B. imp be.in house 1sg
ku la utue das."*

1sg.fut go fetch sea.water

Hi Koakal said, "Sister Buisir! Buisir! You stay at home! I will go and fetch sea water."

VII.5/67. *I la, i la utue das.*
3sg go 3sg go fetch sea.water

She went and fetched sea water.

VII.5/68. *I lisi poenkekancako pe poenkekanatunat.*
3sg see hermit-crab-footprint and child-footprint

She saw the footprints of the hermit crab and the little child.

VII.5/69. *I va: "Tito poenkekancako, tito konova
3sg say this hermit-crab-footprint this just.like
poenkeka-amo nat."*

foot-print indef child

She said, "This is a hermit crab's footprint, and this is just like the footprint of a child."

VII.5/70. *I akure, i pa ki lele. I lisi aru.*
3sg hide 3sg want cond see 3sg see 3dl

She hid, as she wanted to see them. She saw them.

VII.5/71. *Cako i au e palan, nat i au murin.*
hermit.crab 3sg leave first boy 3sg leave back

The hermit crab left first, and the boy was behind.

VII.5/72. *Cako i cog ile gai.*
hermit.crab 3sg slip into hole

The hermit crab slipped into a hole.

VII.5/73. *Nat pa ki cog, pa ki la, Hi Koakal i ilou, i*
 boy want 3sg.fut slip want 3sg.fut go H.K. 3sg run 3sg
caburui i, i papati i ile duan.
 steal 3sg 3sg carry 3sg on back-3sg

The boy wanted to slip [inside], he wanted to go, but Hi Koakal ran and stole him, and carried him on her back.

VII.5/74. *Aru tokai. Cako i lig lavuen, i va: "Nat eyo*
 3dl go hermit.crab 3sg wait in.vain 3sg say child 1sg.ps
ita, i la wee?"
 this 3sg go where

They went. The hermit crab waited [for the boy] in vain. He said, "My child, where did he go?"

VII.5/75. *I tag. Cako i va: "Ki la teyo alan, amo*
 3sg cry hermit.crab 3sg say c.fact become up.to.me if one
pein ki tawi nat, yayen pa ki mat, nat
 woman 3sg.fut give.birth.to child mother-3sg want c.fact die child
ki me, yo ku ayani i.
 3sg.fut come 1sg 1sg.fut support 3sg

He cried. The hermit crab said, "If I'd had it my way, a woman would have given birth to a child, and his mother would have died; the child would have come to me, and I would have looked after it."

VII.5/76. *"I kine la eoi, ko tawi nat, ko*
 3sg 3sg.perf become 2sg.ps 2sg.fut give.birth.to child 2sg.fut
ayani i.
 support 3sg

"It's come out your way: you will give birth to a child, and you will support it."

VII.5/77. *"Yayen pa ki mat, i ki tu mayayawe e*
 mother-3sg want 3sg.fut die 3sg 3sg.fut prog wander from
um sem pe sem.
 house one and one

"Its mother will die, and it will wander from house to house."

VII.5/78. *"Yo ku la kaniagade."*
 1sg 1sg.fut become excrement-eater
 "I will become an excrement-eater."

Section D

VII.5/79. *Hi Koakal i vai ila te nat, i va:* "Nat nabu ko tay!"
H.K. 3sg say to boy 3sg say boy irr.neg imp cry

Hi Koakal said to the boy, "Don't cry, boy!"

VII.5/80. "Oi ko tay alan, cinal k' uroy, ki ani yotaru. Ko no
2sg 2sg.pot/fut cry if devil pot hear pot eat 1dl.inc imp try
tu molomol!
prog stop

"If you cry, a devil will hear you and will eat us. Try to stop!"

VII.5/81. "Yo ku la tu vo kan kime te yotaru.
1sg 1sg.fut go prog make food here for 1dl.inc
"I will go and make food for us.

VII.5/82. "Ko la madean, taru ka te i."
2sg.fut become big 1dl.inc nsg.fut kill 3sg
"You will get big, and we will kill it."

VII.5/83. *I ajan i. I la madean.*
3sg support 3sg 3sg become big
She looked after him, and he became big.

VII.5/84. *Hi Koakal i kivani Hi Buisir, i va:* "Oh, pilao!"
H.K. 3sg lie.to H.B. 3sg say oh sister-1sg
Ai, i vuic, i la enau! Tita yotaru ka momoa
west.wind 3sg black 3sg go this.way now 1dl.inc nsg.fut suffer
e bura."
because.of rain

Hi Koakal lied to Hi Buisir, and said, "Oh, my sister! A black
nor'-wester is coming this way! Now we'll suffer from the rain."

VII.5/85. *Hi Buisir i va:* "Pilao! Oi piramat. Um eoi
H.B. 3sg say sister-1sg 2sg woman.person house 2sg.ps
uyan.
good

Hi Buisir said, "My sister! You're a person, your house is good.

VII.5/86. *Yo pincinal, um eyo muan. Ko me pakutani um*
1sg she-devil house 1sg.ps bad imp come repair house

eyo!"

1sg.ps

"I'm a devil, my house is bad. Come and mend my house!"

- VII.5/87. *Hi Koakal i va: "Ko matir kitii lonum! Yo ku*
H.K. 3sg say imp sleep in house-inside 1sg 1sg.fut
culuji um eoi."
block house 2sg.ps

Hi Koakal said, "Sleep inside the house. I will block up your house."

- VII.5/88. *I la cariti launiu, launiu magun.*
3sg go cut.up coconut.leaf coconut.leaf dry

She cut off a coconut palm frond, a dry one.

- VII.5/89. *I culuji um ei. I culuji isop yevuen, i*
3sg block house 3sg.ps 3sg block thick completely 3sg
lematani i ile um, i va: "Hi Buisir, muduken i sou ne
ask 3sg in house 3sg say H.B. window.hole 3sg remain or
poen?"
not

She blocked off the house. She blocked it fully, and asked the woman in the house, "Are there any holes left?"

- VII.5/90. *Hi Buisir i va: "Ape ito."*
H.B. 3sg say a.little here

Hi Buisir said, "There's one here."

- VII.5/91. *I culuji.*
3sg block

She blocked it.

- VII.5/92. *Lodianum ei i likom. Hi Buisir i matir.*
house-inside 3sg.ps 3sg be.pitch-dark H.B. 3sg sleep
The inside of her house was pitch black. Hi Buisir went to sleep.

- VII.5/93. *Narobuin i kakawi kao.*
sinew.vulva-3sg 3sg hold.on.to rafter

She held onto the rafters with her genitals.

- VII.5/94. *Aru nat ei aru utani moan.*
3dl child 3sg.ps 3dl kindle fire

Her two children kindled the fire.

Texts: Part VII

VII.5/95. *Amo i au e sir, amo i au e sir.*
one 3sg leave to side one 3sg leave to side
One went to one side, one went to the other side.

VII.5/96. *Aru utani moan ile um. Moan i ye, i tulumui um.*
3dl kindle fire in house fire 3sg flare 3sg burn house
They kindled the fire in the house. The fire flared and burned the house down.

VII.5/97. *I tulumui Buisir. Hi Buisir i mat.*
3sg burn H.B. H.B. 3sg die
It burned Hi Buisir. Hi Buisir died.

Section E

VII.5/98. *Hi Koakal i vaye nat. Aru sue ile Yap.*
H.K. 3sg accompany boy 3dl row to Yap
Hi Koakal accompanied the boy. They rowed to Yap.

VII.5/99. *Pision i ilimi i.*
brother-3sg 3sg recognize 3sg
His brother recognized him.

VII.5/100. *I va: "Hi Koakal! Titan konova pisio."*
3sg say H.K. that just.like sister-1sg
He said, "Hi Koakal, that's just like my sister."

VII.5/101. *I va: "Wa!" I va, i ki me. Pision i la*
3sg say yes 3sg say 3sg 3sg.fut come brother-3sg 3sg go
varina i.
to 3sg
She said, "Yes". She said that he should come. Her brother went to her.

VII.5/102. *I la varina cali ei. Aru uti kan.*
3sg go to brother-in-law poss.3sg 3dl set.out food
He went to his brother-in-law. They set out food.

VII.5/103. *Naran i ilou ile a kor pe a kor.*
cry-3sg 3sg blow to other land and other land
The sound of it blew to another country.

VII.5/104. *Ala Yap pe ala Moanus, ala kalumoani kan.*
3pl Y and 3pl M 3pl examine food
The people from Yap and Manus examined the food.

VII.5/105. *Naran i ilou ila te Saminkap pe Saminrop.*
 cry-3sg 3sg blow to S and S

The sound blew to Saminkap and Saminrop.

VII.5/106. *Aru sue. Aru la kalum lie.*
 3dl row 3dl go look.at also

They rowed. They looked at it too.

VII.5/107. *Nat uror, i va: "Oh!" ila te Saminkap pe*
 boy speak.boldly 3sg say oh to S and
Saminrop "aru ne pomane yo poen.
 S 3dl neg supply.with.food 1sg not

The boy spoke boldly, and said, "Oh!" to Saminkap and Saminrop.
 "They haven't given me food!"

VII.5/108. *"Pisio i tajisi yo, i vaye yo, yoru me e*
 sister-1sg 3sg pity 1sg 3sg accompany 1sg 1dl.excl come to
Yap, yoru me uti kan.
 Y 1dl.excl come set.out food

"My sister pitied me, she accompanied me, we two came to Yap, and
 we set out food here."

VII.5/109. *"Ko me lai kime teoi: dem iti*
 imp come take here to-2sg excrement-2sg.ps in
kuim!
 buttocks-2sg.ps

"Take yours! Let your shit be in your buttocks!"

VII.5/110. *"Waru ka iti waru! Waru muan."*
 2dl hort have.sex 2dl 2dl bad

"You two will have sex with each other. You're bad."

VII.5/111. *Kan earu i ror.*
 food 3dl.ps 3sg scatter

Their food scattered.

VII.5/112. *Aru talasi kan ile Yap pe Moanus.*
 3dl distribute food from Yap and M

The two divided the food between Yap and Manus.

VII.5/113. *Saminkap pe Saminrop aru lai yade, aru lai nim, aru*
 S and S 3dl take excrement 3dl take urine 3dl

Texts: Part VII

sue.

row

Saminkap and Saminrop took the excrement, they took the urine, and they rowed away.

VII.6 The journey of the Paluar to Yap

Told by Kawas u Yap from Papitalai. A story from the island of Mouk.
(Meier 1908:666–669)

VII.6/1. *Po Kuel, moen Paluar.*

P.K. def P

Po Kuel was a man from Paluar.

VII.6/2. *Ala Paluar asayat ala pa ka le Yap.*
3pl P one.hundred 3pl want nsg.fut go.to Yap

One hundred Paluar people wanted to go to Yap.

VII.6/3. *Ala va: "Yota ka le Yap!"*
3pl say 1pl.inc hort go.to Y

They said, “let’s go to Yap!”

VII.6/4. *Ala mucinani Po Kuel. Ala va: "Po Kuel, ku ti kor! Ko koloani ala pein!"*
3pl refuse P.K. 3pl say P.K. imp be.in village imp protect 3pl woman

They didn’t let Po Kuel go. They said, “Po Kuel, stay in the village. Protect the women!”

VII.6/5. *Po Kuel i va: "Yo ku ti kor aloa, awa ka*
P.K. 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut be.in village otherwise 2pl nsg.fut
le Yap, awa ka me ebus kime te yo, awa ka va:
go.to Y 2pl nsg.fut come be.enraged here to 1sg 2pl nsg.fut say
ane yo u iti pati eawa.
perhaps 1sg 1sg.S have.sex.with wife 2pl.ps

Po Kuel said, “If I stay in the village, you’ll go to Yap, and you’ll get angry with me, and you’ll say that maybe I’ve had sex with your wives.

VII.6/6. *"Ala pein ala ka ti kor, yota ka le Yap."*
3pl woman 3pl hort be.in village 1pl.inc nsg.fut go.to Y

“Let the women stay in the village, and let us all go to Yap.”

VII.6/7. *Ala va: "Poen! Oi ku ti kor, yoya ka la!"*
 3pl say not 2sg 2sg.fut be.in village 1pl.excl hort go

They said, "No! You stay in the village, and we will go!"

VII.6/8. *I va: "Awa ka la!"*
 3sg say 2pl hort go

He said, "You go!"

VII.6/9. *Ala sosogani pos, ala sosogani palei, ala sosogani pao, ala moneani dol.*
 3pl collect oar 3pl collect sail 3pl collect big.oar 3pl arrange canoe

They collected their oars (for steering), they collected their sails, they collected their big oars, they arranged their canoes.

VII.6/10. *Cauka i tawi poan, Po Kuel i au e palan, i la akure iti poronpalei.*
 k.o.bird 3sg cry.out P.K. 3sg leave first 3sg go hide in sail-hole

The cauka bird cried out, and Po Kuel left first. He went and hid in the hole of a rolled-up sail (i.e., the gap in the middle of the roll).

VII.6/11. *Ala Paluar ala ugug nause, ala va: "Ta ka tokai nause!*
 3pl P 3pl wake.up quiet 3pl say 1pl.inc hort go quiet

The Paluar people woke up quietly, and said, "Let's leave quietly!"

VII.6/12. *"Ane Po Kuel k' urog dutayota, ane i ki*
 perhaps P.K. hort hear noise-1pl.inc perhaps 3sg 3sg.fut
mamat!"
 wake.up

"Po Kuel might hear our noise, and perhaps he'll wake up!"

VII.6/13. *Ala tokai nause. Ala awen ile dol.*
 3pl go quiet 3pl climb into canoe

They left quietly. They got into their canoes.

VII.6/14. *Ala sue. Ave kawo poen. Ala sue, sue.*
 3pl row any wind not 3pl row row

They rowed. There was no wind. They rowed and rowed.

VII.6/15. *Paluar i kamum, tolau i ilou, ala va: "Ta ka*
 P 3sg disappear north.wind 3sg blow 3pl say 1.pl hort

Texts: Part VII

lagat!"

sail

Paluar disappeared, the wind blew from the north, and they said, "Let's sail!"

VII.6/16. *Ala asi patanpalei, ala rubuti palei.*
3pl set.up mast 3pl untie sail

They set up the mast and untied the sail.

VII.6/17. *Ala riwi palei, ala lisi Po Kuel.*
3pl pull sail 3pl see P.K.

They pulled out the sail and saw Po Kuel.

VII.6/18. *Ala va: "Oh! Po Kuel i ti palei, i akure iti palei!"*
3pl say oh P.K. 3sg be.in sail 3sg hide in sail

They said, "Oh! Po Kuel is in the sail, he hid in the sail!"

VII.6/19. *Ala va: "Po Kuel, oi poa ko le ee?"*
3pl say P.K. 2sg 2sg.desid 2sg.pot go.to where

They said, "Po Kuel, where do you want to go?"

VII.6/20. *I va: "Yo va ku la lisi ave Yap!"*
3sg say 1sg say 1sg.fut go see some Yap

He said, "I want to go and see something of Yap!"

VII.6/21. *Ala va: "Ta ka mulie!"*
3pl say 1pl.inc hort turn

They said, "Let's turn around!"

VII.6/22. *Ala mulie. Ala va: "Po Kuel, poa ko pakute lie,*
3pl turn 3pl say P.K. 2sg.desid imp do again
yoya ka te oi!"
1pl.excl nsg.fut kill 2sg

They turned back. They said, "Po Kuel, if you want to do that again, we'll kill you!"

VII.6/23. *I va: "Uyan! Awa ka te yo!"*
3sg say good 2pl nsg.fut kill 1sg

He said, "Good. You kill me!"

VII.6/24. *Ala le kor. Ala kivani Po Kuel.*
3pl go.to home 3pl lie.to P.K.

They went home. They lied to Po Kuel.

VII.6/25. *Ala va: "Ta ka la uŋay!"*

3pl say 1pl.inc hort go rest

They said, "Let's have a rest!"

VII.6/26. *Ala la, ala uŋay. Kor i pia.*

3pl go 3pl rest village 3sg be.dark

They went, they rested. It got dark.

VII.6/27. *I po sisie, Po Kuel i tokai, i la akure iti*

3sg be midnight P.K. 3sg go 3sg go hide in

poronkawakau.

spear-bundle.hole

It was midnight, and Po Kuel left and went and hid in the hollow in the center of a spear bundle.

VII.6/28. *Ala matir yevuen, i asi mocel, yen e*

3pl sleep finished 3sg bind woven.pandanus.leaves lie on

lakon.

bed/store-3sg

They finished sleeping, they bound pandanus fronds on their beds.

VII.6/29. *Kor i tariti, ala tuanani amo, ala va: "Ko la lisi*

land 3sg be.still 3pl send.out one 3pl say imp go look.for

Po Kuel!"

P.K.

The land was still, and they sent one of them, and they said, "Go and look for Po Kuel!"

VII.6/30. *I tokai, i inin ile um, i lisi mocel,*

3sg go 3sg peer into house 3sg see woven.pandanus.leaves

yen e lako Po Kuel, i mulie, i va: "Po Kuel i la

there on sleeping.place P.K. 3sg return 3sg say P.K. 3sg be

tu matir. Ta ka tokai!"

prog sleep 1pl.inc hort go

He went and peered into the house, and having seen the pandanus fronds there on Po Kuel's bed, he returned and said, "Po Kuel is asleep. Let's go!"

VII.6/31. *Ala tokai yevuen, ala awen ile dol, ala va: "Pos! Ta*

3pl go finished 3pl climb into canoe 3pl say oar 1pl.inc

Texts: Part VII

k' au e tou, ane Po Kuel ki kau kime e dol!"
nsg.fut leave at side perhaps P.K. pot swim here to canoe
They left, they climbed into their canoe, and said, "The oar! Let's go to
the side, in case Po Kuel swam to the canoe."

VII.6/32. *Ala sue, sue. Matamorai i ce, Paluar i kamum*
3pl row row sun 3sg shine P 3sg disappear
yevuen, ave i ne sou poen.
completely some 3sg neg remain not

They rowed and rowed. The sun shone, and Paluar disappeared
completely, nothing remained.

VII.6/33. *Ala neneu, ala va: "Po Kuel i ti kor! I ki*
3pl talk 3pl say P.K. 3sg be.in village 3sg 3sg.fut
titie yoya lavuen, i ki tag."
seek.out 1pl.excl in.vain 3sg 3sg.fut cry

They talked, and said, "Po Kuel's in the village! He'll look for us in
vain, and he'll cry."

VII.6/34. *Po Kuel i en e poronkawakau, i uroj, i alisai musue.*
P.K. 3sg sit in spear-bundle.hole 3sg hear 3sg laugh furtive
Po Kuel was sitting in the hollow of the spear-bundle. He heard and
laughed furtively.

VII.6/35. *Ala lisi manuai, ala alul iti das.*
3pl see osprey 3pl sit.down in sea

They saw an osprey sit in the sea.

VII.6/36. *Ala va: "Po Piniu, ko la lai kawakau kime! Yota k'*
3pl say PP imp go take spear.bundle here 1pl.inc hort
atigi manuai!"
kill osprey

They said, "Po Piniu, bring the spear-bundle here! We'll kill the
osprey."

VII.6/37. *Po Piniu i la lai kawakau.*
PP 3sg go take spear.bundle

Po Piniu went and took the spear bundle.

VII.6/38. *I tapari kawakau, i lisi Po Kuel, i igareani i,*
3sg open spear.bundle 3sg see P.K. 3sg call.by.name 3sg

i va: "Oh! Po Kuel i tu, oh!"
 3sg say oh P.K. 3sg be.there oh

He opened the spear-bundle, and saw Po Kuel, and called his name, and said, "Oh! Po Kuel is here!"

VII.6/39. *Ala panum ala va: "Moen tapo! Poa ko le ee?"*
 3pl some 3pl say def wretch! 2sg.desid 2sg.pot go.to where

Some of them said, "Wretch! Where do you want to go?"

VII.6/40. *Ala va: "Ta ka mulie!"*
 3pl say 1pl.inc hort turn
 They said, "Let's turn around!"

VII.6/41. *Ala pawum ala va: "Kor kine alau. I ki ti dol,*
 3pl some 3pl say land 3.sg.perf far 3sg hort be.in canoe
ta ka le Yap!"
 1pl.inc nsg.fut go.to Y

But others said, "The land is already far away. He should stay in the canoe, and let's go to Yap!"

VII.6/42. *Ala le Yap. Amo i la varina kawas ei, Po Kuel i*
 3pl go.to Yap one 3sg go to friend poss.3sg P.K. 3sg
ti dol, amo kawas ei poen.
 be.in canoe one friend 3sg.ps not

They went to Yap. One of them went to his friend, and Po Kuel stayed in the canoe. He had no friend.

VII.6/43. *Cog i ani i, i tag i tag i tag.*
 hunger 3sg eat 3sg 3sg cry 3sg cry 3sg cry
 Hunger gnawed at him, he cried and cried and cried.

VII.6/44. *Moe Yap amo i me nyu, i va: "Oi pe se?"*
 that Yap indef 3sg come swim 3sg say 2sg and who
 The man from Yap came swimming to him, and said, "Who are you?"

VII.6/45. *Po Kuel i va: "Do yo!"*
 P.K. 3sg say only 1sg
 Po Kuel said, "Only me!"

Texts: Part VII

VII.6/46. *"Oi kone anaan ne poen?"*

2sg 2sg.perf eat or not

"Have you eaten?"

VII.6/47. *Po Kuel i va: "E poen!"*

P.K. 3sg say pred not

Po Kuel said, "No."

VII.6/48. *Moe Yap i va: "Ko me! Taru ka le kor!"*

that Y 3sg say imp come 1dl.inc hort go.to village

The man from Yap said, "Come here! We'll go to my village."

VII.6/49. *Aru le kor. Moe Yap i cariti pou amo, i aburuti ma.*

3dl go.to village that Yap 3sg cut.up pig one 3sg cook taro

They went to the village. The man from Yap cut up a pig and cooked taro.

VII.6/50. *Pou i manis, ma i manis, i tawi ila te Po Kuel.*

pig 3sg be.ready taro 3sg be.ready 3sg give to P.K.

The pig was ready, the taro was ready, and he gave them to Po Kuel.

VII.6/51. *Po Kuel i ani, putuan i sop.*

P.K. 3sg eat stomach-3sg 3sg be.full

Po Kuel ate until his stomach was full.

VII.6/52. *Moe Yap i va: "Oi a nyamiri amo pein?"*

that Yap 3sg say 2sg 2sg love indef woman

The man from Yap said, "Do you love a woman?" [Would you like a woman?]

VII.6/53. *Po Kuel i va: "Wa!"*

P.K. 3sg say yes

Po Kuel said, "Yes!"

VII.6/54. *Moe Yap i tawi pein amo ila te i, i tawi pokat si,*

that Yap 3sg give woman one to 3sg 3sg give gun one

i tawi pou tarumo.

3sg give pig two

The man from Yap gave him a woman, and he gave him a gun and two pigs.

VII.6/55. *Moe Yap i moele asaon ila te Po Kuel.*
 def Y 3sg decorate daughter-3sg to P.K.

The man from Yap decorated his daughter for Po Kuel.

VII.6/56. *Ala Paluar ala va: "Ta ka sue!"*
 3pl P 3pl say 1pl.inc hort row

The Paluar men said, "Let's row!"

VII.6/57. *Po Kuel i le dol. I vaye pati ei, i lai pokat ei, i asi pou ei arumo, buayap ei gun 3sg.ps 3sg hold.fast pig 3sg.ps two pearl 3sg.ps cuman akou. I le dol.*
 small.parcel ten 3sg go.to canoe

Po Kuel went to the canoe; he brought his wife with him, he took his gun, and he held onto the two pigs, and ten small packets of pearls. He went to the canoe.

VII.6/58. *Ala Paluar ave ca poen. Ala sue, sue.*
 3pl P any what not 3pl row row

The Paluar men didn't have anything. They rowed and rowed.

VII.6/59. *Paluar i cau. Po Kuel i va: "Awa mucinani yo, buamarit eawa i ya wee?"*
 P 3sg appear P.K. 3sg say 2pl deny 1sg thing 2pl.ps 3sg def where

Paluar appears. Po Kuel said, "You turned me down, but where are your things?

VII.6/60. *"Pein eawa i la wee? Teyo ito, awa lisi. Teawa i la woman 2pl.ps 3sg be where to-1sg here 2pl see to-2pl 3sg be wee?"*
 where

"Where are your women? Mine are here, you see them. Where are yours?"

VII.6/61. *Ala moaje Po Kuel, ala va: "Moen tavo! Dol eoi ite, 3pl scold P.K. 3pl say def wretch! canoe 2sg.ps where oi awen ile wei, oi a saone ime te yoya?"*
 2sg climb to that 2sg 2sg.nfut boast to 1pl.excl

They scolded Po Kuel, the said, "Wretch! Where's your canoe for you to climb into, if you're boasting to us?"

Texts: Part VII

- VII.6/62. *Ala le kor. Ala nyonyomoe, ala va:* "Yoya poen,
3pl go.to village 3pl explain 3pl say 1pl.excl not
Po Kuel i vaye pein amo, pokat si, pou rumo, buayap
P.K. 3sg accompany woman one gun one pig two pearl
cuman akou."
small.parcel 10
- They went to the village. They explained, "Not us, but Po Kuel brought back a woman, a gun, two pigs, and ten small packets of pearls."
- VII.6/63. *Ala pein ala coŋ yevuen, ala la puti Po Kuel.*
3pl woman 3pl escape completely 3pl go marry P.K.
All the women left [their husbands] and married Po Kuel.
- VII.6/64. *Po Kuel i puti ala pin sayat pe akou.*
P.K. 3sg marry 3pl woman one.hundred and ten
Po Kuel married a hundred and ten women.
- VII.6/65. *Ala pein nabu ala ka coŋ alan, yota amo ki*
3pl woman irr.neg 3pl c.fact escape if 1pl.inc one c.fact
puti amo, ki puti amo, ki vo sisie.
marry one c.fact marry one c.fact be identical.in.number
Had the women not escaped [their husbands], we would only marry one woman each.
- VII.6/66. *Po Kuel i vo muan, i puti pati eala.*
P.K. 3sg do bad 3sg marry wife 3pl.ps
Po Kuel did a bad thing; he married their wives.
- VII.6/67. *I tawi yota. Ramat amo i puti pein rumo, amo*
3sg give 1pl.inc person one 3sg marry woman two one
lavan i puti pein akou i puti pein rukou.
lord 3sg marry woman ten 3sg marry woman twenty
He bequeathed it to us. One man marries two women, one chief marries ten women or twenty women.
- VII.6/68. *Po Kuel i la lavan i ala Paluar.*
P.K. 3sg become lord 3sg 3pl P
Po Kuel became chief of Paluar.
- VII.6/69. *Ya pin Yap i asou ile Paluar, caj i yota Moanus i*
def woman Yap 3sg marry to P body 1pl.inc M 3sg

ajou ave pucui.
be.golden-white somewhat little

The woman from Yap was married to Paluar, and our bodies in Manus are a bit lighter.

- VII.6/70. *Nabu i ki asou kile Paluar alan, yota konova ala Buka.*
irr.neg 3sg c.fact marry to P if 1pl.inc just.like 3pl
B

If she hadn't married into Paluar, our bodies would be just like people from Mbuka.

VII.7 The revenge of two Yap women against a man from Manus

Told by Po Sing from Papitalai. A story from Papitalai. (Meier 1908:669–671)

- VII.7/1. *Po Kot, moen Paliau, ala lau ei taanjol, ala ti kor eala.*
P.K. def P 3pl people poss.3sg forty 3pl be.in land
3pl.ps

Po Kot, a man from Paliau, had forty men in his village.

- VII.7/2. *Ala Yap ala uti kan.*
3pl Y 3pl set.out food

The people from Yap set out food.

- VII.7/3. *Po Kot i vuti pati amo, i ti um.*
P.K. 3sg marry wife one 3sg be.in house

Po Kot married one wife, who was in his house.

- VII.7/4. *I vai ila te ala lau ei, i va: "Ta ka la kalum kan kile Yap!"*
3sg say to 3pl people 3sg.ps 3sg say 1pl.inc hort go look.at food from Yap

He said to his people, “Let's go and look at food in Yap!”

- VII.7/5. *Ala sue, poj eala taakou, ala le Yap, ala le ley.*
3pl row day 3pl.ps ten 3pl go.to Yap 3pl go.to shore

They rowed for ten days, and they got to Yap, to the shore.

Texts: Part VII

VII.7/6. *Ala moele ala, ala moele ala yevuen, ala tokai.*
3pl decorate 3pl 3pl decorate 3pl completely 3pl go

They decorated themselves, they finished decorating themselves, and they left.

VII.7/7. *Ala la ta ramei. Po Kot i ti madean, ala lau ei ala ti ramei asiuna.*
3pl go hit wooden.drum P.K. 3sg be.near big 3pl people
3sg.ps 3pl be.near wooden.drum all.other

They were hitting wooden drums. Po Kot was near the big one, and his men were next to all the others.

VII.7/8. *Aru pein arumo, aru pilawaaru aru nyune bue ila te Po Kot.*
3dl woman two 3dl sister-3dl 3dl ask.for betel.nuts from
P.K.

Two women, two sisters, asked for betel nuts from Po Kot.

VII.7/9. *Aru va: "Po Kot, si bue kime te yoru!"*
3dl say P.K. one betel for 1dl.excl

They said, "Po Kot, let us have one betel nut!"

VII.7/10. *Po Kot i va: "Cajiwaru puicon! Waru konova pin Lawes.*
P.K. 3sg say body-2dl black 2dl just.like woman
Lawes.

Po Kot said, "Your bodies are black! You're just like women from Lawes.

VII.7/11. *"Pati eyo, i la ti um, cajin agouin."*
wife 1sg.ps 3sg be be.in house body-3sg light.colored
"My wife, who's at home, has a light-colored body."

VII.7/12. *I vavuen e aru. Aru la varina oyasiaru.*
3sg refuse regarding 3dl 3dl go to grandmother-3dl
He refused them [to give them betel]. They went to their grandmother.

VII.7/13. *Aru la nyune palit.*
3dl go ask.for witchcraft

They asked for witchcraft.

- VII.7/14. *Nyasiaru i atue palit an nyam.*
grandmother-3dl 3sg name witchcraft for mosquito-plague
Grandmother named the witchcraft for a plague of mosquitos.
- VII.7/15. *Aru vavuen.*
3dl refuse
They refused.
- VII.7/16. *I atue palit an bue, aru vavuen.*
3sg name witchcraft for betel.nuts 3dl refuse
She named the witchcraft for betel, but they refused.
- VII.7/17. *I atue palit an matirwai, aru vavuen.*
3sg name witchcraft for sleep-grow 3dl refuse
She named the witchcraft for sending someone to sleep, but they refused.
- VII.7/18. *I atue palit an ya, aru vavuen.*
3sg name witchcraft for lime 3dl refuse
She named the witchcraft for lime, but they refused.
- VII.7/19. *I atue palit an bura, aru camui.*
3sg call witchcraft for rain 3dl accept
She named the witchcraft for rain, and they accepted.
- VII.7/20. *Aru lai, aru tokai. Aru ani lei, aru ani kis.*
3dl take 3dl go 3dl eat ginger.bulb 3dl eat ko.plant
They took it and left. They ate a ginger bulb, and they ate *kis* (a kind of plant).
- VII.7/21. *Aru umari i, bura i rut.*
3dl spit.out 3sg rain 3sg roar
They spat it out, and the rain roared.
- VII.7/22. *Ala lau asi ala uyan.*
3pl people hold.fast 3pl good
All the people held fast.
- VII.7/23. *Bura i cani Po Kot. Po Kot pa ki le um,*
rain 3sg pour.over P.K. P.K. want 3sg.fut go.to house
bura i cani i.
rain 3sg pour.over 3sg
The rain poured over Po Kot. Po Kot wanted to go to his house, but the rain poured over him.

Texts: Part VII

- vII.7/24. *I pa ki co e mocel, bura i*
3sg want 3sg.fut cover with woven.pandanus.leaves rain 3sg
cani i.
pour.over 3sg
He wanted to cover himself with pandanus fronds, but the rain poured over him.
- vII.7/25. *I pa ki le paranpatapat, bura i cani i.*
3sg want 3sg.fut go.to overhang-bed rain 3sg pour.over 3sg
He wanted to shelter under his bed, but the rain poured over him.
- vII.7/26. *I vo lavuen, i la ti arakeu.*
3sg work in.vain 3sg go be.in outdoors
He did all this in vain, he went and stayed in the open.
- vII.7/27. *Bura i cani i, kekan i le gai.*
rain 3sg pour.over 3sg foot 3sg go.to hole
The rain poured over him, and he went into a hole up to his foot.
- vII.7/28. *Bura i cani i, rakuron i le gai.*
rain 3sg pour.over 3sg middle 3sg go.to hole
The rain poured over him, and he went into a hole up to his middle.
- vII.7/29. *Bura i cani i, kolon i le gai.*
rain 3sg pour.over 3sg neck-3sg 3sg go.to hole
The rain poured over him, and he went into a hole up to his neck.
- vII.7/30. *Bura i cani i, pala-n i le gai.*
rain 3sg pour.over 3sg head-3sg 3sg go.to hole
The rain poured over him, and he went into a hole up to his head.
- vII.7/31. *I akure yevuen, do si lamunmanuai ei i tu*
3sg hide completely only one osprey-feather 3sg.ps 3sg stay
tadul.
stand.upright
He was completely hidden, only one of his osprey-feathers stood upright [standing out of the mud].
- vII.7/32. *Bura i evuen. Ala lau ei ala tay.*
rain 3sg be.finished 3pl people 3sg.ps 3pl cry
The rain stopped. His people cried.

- VII.7/33. *Ala taj yevuen, ala sue. Ala le kor.*
 3pl cry finished 3pl row 3pl go.to village
 They stopped crying, and they rowed. They went to the village.
- VII.7/34. *Yayeala i lematani ala, i va: "Papuawa i la wee?"*
 mother 3sg ask 3pl 3sg say father-2pl 3sg be where
 Their mother asked them, "Where's your father?"
- VII.7/35. *Ala va: "Aru pi Yap arumo, aru tawi kiyibura ila te*
 3pl say 3dl woman Yap two 3dl create magic.rain for
i, i la ti gai."
 3sg 3sg be be.in hole
 They said, "Two women from Yap made magic rain on him, and he's in a hole."
- VII.7/36. *Yayeala i va: "Awa k' anaan amu!" Ala anaan.*
 mother-3pl 3sg say 2pl hort eat still 3pl eat
 Their mother said, "You'll eat first!" They ate.
- VII.7/37. *Yayeala i ani lei, i va: "Ta ka sue!"*
 mother-3pl 3sg eat ginger.bulb 3sg say 1pl.inc hort row
 Their mother ate a ginger bulb, and said, "Let's row!"
- VII.7/38. *Ala sue, ala le Yap.*
 3pl row 3pl go.to Yap
 They rowed; they went to Yap.
- VII.7/39. *Yayeala i tokai yau e palan.*
 mother-3pl 3sg go up first
 Their mother went up first.
- VII.7/40. *Ala nat ei ala au e murin.*
 3pl child poss.3sg 3pl leave last
 Her children left behind her.
- VII.7/41. *I lematani ya kamal ei, i va: "Po Kot i la*
 3sg ask def husband poss.3sg 3sg say P.K. 3sg go
wee?"
 where
 She asked about her husband, "Where did Po Kot go?"
- VII.7/42. *Ala nat ei ala va: "I la ti arakeu, lamunmanuai*
 3pl child poss.3sg 3pl say 3sg be be.in outdoors osprey-feather

Texts: Part VII

ei i la tu tadul."

3sg.ps 3sg go stay stand.upright

Her children said, "He's outdoors, and his osprey feather is still sticking out."

VII.7/43. *Ala la ic. Yayeala umari Po Kot, umari si, lamunpalan*

3pl go near mother spit.out P.K. spit.out one hair-3sg

i are.

3sg appear

They approached. Their mother spat out Po Kot; she spat once, and his hair appeared.

VII.7/44. *Umari si lie, palan i are.*

spit.out one again head-3sg 3sg appear

She spat out again, and his head appeared.

VII.7/45. *Umari si lie, rakuron i are.*

spit.out one again middle 3sg appear

She spat out again, and his middle appeared.

VII.7/46. *Umari si lie, bupan i are.*

spit.out one again thigh 3sg appear

She spat out again, and his thigh appeared.

VII.7/47. *Umari si lie, palian ei i are.*

spit.out one again calf-3sg 3sg.ps 3sg appear

She spat out again, and his calf appeared.

VII.7/48. *Umari si lie, Po Kot i vel ime e malejan.*

spit.out one again P.K. 3sg jump here to air

She spat out again, and Po Kot jumped into the air.

VII.7/49. *I va: "Yoo!"*

3sg say Oh

He said, "Oh!"

VII.7/50. *I va: "Yo u etepe? Yo u me are lie?"*

3sg say 1sg 1sg.S do.what 1sg 1sg.S come appear again

He said, "What happened to me? Have I come back?"

VII.7/51. *Pati ei i va: "Aru pein arumo, aru ececeja oi.*

wife 3sg.ps 3sg say 3dl woman two 3dl quarrel.with 2sg

His wife said, "Two women quarrelled with you.

VII.7/52. "Amo ki tu, ku puti amo kila paluayo!"
one hort stay imp marry one to companion-lsg
"Let one stay; I'll marry one to be my companion!"

VII.7/53. Ala Yap ala moele amo ile dol.
3pl Y 3pl decorate indef for canoe

The people from Yap decorated one [woman] for the canoe.

VII.7/54. Po Kot ala sue.
P.K. 3pl row

Po Kot and his men rowed.

VII.7/55. Pin tinanum i le liman maton, pi murin i
woman first 3sg go.to hand-3sg left woman last 3sg
le kalimon.
go.to right-3sg

The first woman went to his left hand, the last woman went to his right.

VII.7/56. Po Kot i en e moeren.
P.K. 3sg sit at middle

Po Kot sat in the middle.

VII.7/57. Ato an e kekecou. Ala sue.
3pc sit on bench 3pl row

They were sitting on a bench. They rowed.

VII.7/58. Po Kot i nyune bue ila te i pin palan.
P.K. 3sg ask.for betel.nuts from 3sg woman front

Po Kot asked for betel nuts from the woman at the front.

VII.7/59. Pi Lawes i va: "Ku nyune bue ila te i pi
woman Lawes 3sg say imp ask.for betel.nuts from 3sg woman
murin."
back

The woman from Lawes said, "Ask for betel from the woman behind."

VII.7/60. I nyune bue ila te i pi murin.
3sg ask.for betel.nuts from 3sg woman last

He asked for betel from the last woman.

VII.7/61. I pi murin i vavuen.
3sg woman last 3sg refuse

The last woman refused.

Texts: Part VII

VII.7/62. *Pi Lawes i lai cunyak, i cariti*
woman Lawes 3sg take mother-of-pearl.shell 3sg cut.through
kolo pi Yap ile wei.
neck woman Yap with that

The Lawes woman took a mother-of-pearl shell. She cut through the neck of the woman from Yap with it.

VII.7/63. *I luvuani pi Yap ile das.*
3sg throw woman Y into sea

She threw the woman from Yap into the sea.

VII.7/64. *Ala me ile kor. Cunyak e pi Lawes*
3pl come to village mother-of-pearl.shell poss woman Lawes
i luvuani ile lay, i la bul.
3sg throw into heaven 3sg become moon

They came to the village. The mother-of-pearl shell of the Lawes woman she threw into the sky, where it became the moon.

VII.7/65. *Pi Yap i le das, pi Yap i atupoel, das i*
woman Y 3sg go.to sea woman Y 3sg move sea 3sg
la awei.
become surf

The woman from Yap goes to the sea, the woman from Yap moves, and the sea becomes rough.

VII.7/66. *Nabu i ki te i alan, yota Moanus ka asou kile*
irr.neg 3sg c.fact kill 3sg if 1pl.inc M c.fact marry into
Yap, ala Yap ka asou kime e Moanus.
Yap 3pl Yap c.fact marry here to M

If she hadn't killed her, us Manus people would marry into Yap [families], and Yap people would marry Manus people.

VII.7/67. *Cunyak e pi Lawes i ne nyurui uyan*
mother-of-pearl.shell poss woman Lawes 3sg neg wash good
poen, rai i ti cunyak.
not blood 3sg be.in mother-of-pearl.shell

The mother-of-pearl shell of the Lawes woman didn't wash clean; blood is on the mother-of-pearl shell.

VII.7/68. *Rai e pi Yap i la ti matanbul.*
blood poss woman Y 3sg be be.in moon-face

The blood of the woman from Yap is in the face of the moon.

VII.7/69. *Bul i nyak, mata-n ave i vuic i la*
moon 3sg rise face-3sg somewhat 3sg become.black 3sg pres
se wei.
be.in that

The moon rises, and the face is a bit dark from it.

VII.7/70. *Titan rai e pi Yap.*
that blood poss woman Y

That was the blood of the woman from Yap.

VIII Stories about Devils

VIII.1 The story of a boy that a devil strangled

Told by Kitalasi from Diol. A story from Diol. (Meier 1909:354)

VIII.1/1. *Amo nat i itigi papi konova amo pein.*
indef boy 3sg form sand just.like indef woman

A boy made a woman from sand.

VIII.1/2. *Papi, cinal i coj ile doyoanpapi.*
sand devil 3sg slip into sand.picture

A devil went into that sand picture.

VIII.1/3. *Papi i tadul. Nat i le leg, papi i alul.*
sand 3sg stand.upright child 3sg go.to shore sand 3sg lie.down

The 'sand' stood upright. The child went to the shore and the 'sand' lay down again.

VIII.1/4. *Nat i le um, papi i tadul.*
child 3sg go.to house sand 3sg stand.upright

The child went home and the sand picture stood up.

VIII.1/5. *Palit i ti doyoanpapi. Aru iti aru pe nat.*
ghost 3sg be.in sand.picture 3dl have.sex.with 3dl and child

There was a ghost in the sand picture. They had sex (it and the child).

VIII.1/6. *Palit i cimiti kolonat. Nat i mat.*
ghost 3sg strangle boy's.neck child 3sg die

The ghost strangled the boy, and the boy died.

VIII.2 Story of a man who ate a banana that a ghost had entered

Told by Kuvai from Nauna. (Meier 1909:354)

- VIII.2/1. *Palit i cog ile dogoanbur. Po Weye i ani bur.*
ghost 3sg slide into shape.of.a.banana PW 3sg eat banana
A ghost slid into the shape of a banana. Po Weye ate the banana.

- VIII.2/2. *I mat. Lima-n i kou, keka-n i kou.*
3sg die hand-3sg 3sg become.crooked foot-3sg 3sg
become.crooked

He died. His hands became crooked, his feet became crooked.

- VIII.2/3. *Diliwen i taltalie, aten i are, putua-n i muduk.*
intestines-3sg 3sg get.knotted liver-3sg 3sg appear stomach-3sg
3sg explode

His intestines got tangled up, his liver was exposed, and his stomach exploded.

VIII.3 About a mother and a child who were eaten by a devil

Told by Kuvai from Nauna. A story from Nauna. (Meier 1909:354–355)

- VIII.3/1. *Ala pin Nauna ala la ta kopat.*
3pl woman N 3pl go catch crab

Women from Nauna went catching crabs.

- VIII.3/2. *Amo i diayou e ala. Ala ta kopat yevuen, ala le kor.*
one 3sg be.pregnant by 3pl 3pl catch crab finished 3pl go.to
village

One of them got pregnant (from the crabs). They finished catching crabs, and they went home.

- VIII.3/3. *Pin, diayou, i mata-n i masar.*
woman be.pregnant 3sg face-3sg 3sg become.free

The pregnant woman gave birth [lit; her face became free].

- VIII.3/4. *Amo cinal uroj dilag i nat, i tokai, i vai ila te aru,*
one devil hear crying 3sg child 3sg go 3sg say to 3dl

i va: "Waru ka me! Yoto, ka la coŋ kile gai!"
3sg say 2dl hort come 1pc.inc hort go go into cave
A devil heard the child's crying; he came and said to them [the mother and child] "You two come here; we will go into a cave."

VIII.3/5. *Ato tokai, ato la coŋ ile gai. Moen cinal i atiji pou, i aburuti ma.*
3pc go 3pc go slide into cave def devil 3sg spear pig 3sg cook taro

The three went into the cave. The devil speared a pig and cooked taro.

VIII.3/6. *Moen cinal i ani pou pe i ani ma. I tawi ɿade e pou pe i tawi kuliconma ila te aru.*
def devil 3sg eat pig and 3sg eat taro 3sg give excrement poss pig and 3sg give taro.skin to 3dl

The devil ate pig and taro. He gave pig excrement and taro skin to the mother and child.

VIII.3/7. *Aru ani, aru pilitani i, aru va: "Oi muan, oi cinal!"*
3dl eat 3dl taunt 3sg 3dl say 2sg bad 2sg devil

They ate it and taunted him, saying "You're bad! You're a devil!"

VIII.3/8. *Pe moen cinal i neneu, i va: "Wa! Yo u ani pou, yo and def devil 3sg talk 3sg say yes 1sg 1sg.S eat pig 1sg u ani ma, pe yo ku ani waru tita." I ani aru.*
1sg.S eat taro and 1sg 1sg.fut eat 2dl now 3sg eat 3dl
And the devil said, "Yes! I ate pig, I ate taro, and now I'm going to eat you!" He ate them.

VIII.4 The devil who opened its own belly

Told by Po Kisel from Papitalai. A story from Matankor. (Meier 1909:355–356)

VIII.4/1. *Amo nat e cinal pati Ditapat, i au e tite ile Loniu?*
indef child poss devil from D 3sg leave from where to Loniu

Loniu

There was a devil's child from Ditapat. Where did he come from to go to Loniu?

VIII.4/2. *Aru pin Loniu arumo, aru po cul*
3dl woman Loniu two 3dl make burning.coconut.leaves

Texts: Part VIII

piaun. Aru tatarume ni.
by.night 3dl shine.on fish

There were two women from Loniu; they were making burning coconut leaves at night. They were lighting up the fish.

VIII.4/3. *Amo cinal, i madean, i lisi aru pein arumo, i siriani*
 indef devil 3sg big 3sg see 3dl woman two 3sg put.in
nes ile kuin, i la manayan i en tag e leŋ.
 stick into buttocks-3sg 3sg become small 3sg sit cry on shore

A devil, who was big, saw the two women; he put a stick into his buttocks to become small; he sat crying on the shore.

VIII.4/4. *Aru lisi i, aru waye i.*
 3dl see 3sg 3dl take.along 3sg

The two women saw him. They took him along.

VIII.4/5. *Amo i papati i, aru tokai ile kor. Aru ayani*
 one 3sg carry 3sg 3dl go to village 3dl present.with.gifts
i, aru te pou, aru cariti pou.
 3sg 3dl hit pig 3dl cut.up pig

One carried him. They went to the village. They presented him with gifts, they killed a pig and cut it up.

VIII.4/6. *Aru va: "Nat, ko la cele diliwenpou!"*
 3dl say child imp go cut.up pig-intestines

They said, "Child! Go and cut up the pig-intestines!"

VIII.4/7. *Nat i lai diliwenpou, i tokai.*
 child 3sg take pig-intestines 3sg go

The child took the pig's intestines and left.

VIII.4/8. *I usani nes yau, i la lavan in cinal.*
 3sg pull.out-trans stick away 3sg become chief among devil

He pulled out the stick and became a chief amongst devils.

VIII.4/9. *I cele diliwenpou, i ani mamatin, pe i cariti*
 3sg cut.up pig-intestines 3sg eat raw and 3sg cut.through
kavoelman.
 finger-3sg

He cut up the intestines. He ate them raw, and cut through his finger.

VIII.4/10. *I tokai ile kor, i va:* "Yaye! Ala ni ala caburui
3sg go to village 3sg say mother 3pl fish 3pl steal
diliwenpou, ala ate kavoelimo."
pig-intestines 3pl bite finger-1sg

He went to the village and said, "Mother! Fish stole the pig's intestines
and they bit my finger."

VIII.4/11. *Aru pein aru camui, aru va:* "Konan, nat! Pou coloan i
3dl woman 3dl answer 3dl say enough! child pig many 3sg
ti um painam."
be.in house for.you

The women answered him, "That's enough, child! There are many pigs
in the house for you."

VIII.4/12. *Aru aburuti pou. Pou i manis, aru ayani i.*
3dl cook pig pig 3sg be.ready 3dl present 3sg

They cooked a pig. The pork was ready, and they presented it to him.

VIII.4/13. *Aru lisi matan, i anaan naise.*
3dl look.at face-3sg 3sg eat quiet

They watched his face as he was quietly eating.

VIII.4/14. *Aru lele ile tou, i nyimili, i nyimili.*
3dl see to side 3sg swallow 3sg swallow

They looked to the side as he swallowed and swallowed.

VIII.4/15. *Pou sir i los ile poany.*
pig part 3sg fall to ground

A morsel of the pork fell to the ground.

VIII.4/16. *Aru tuanani i, aru va:* "Ko la nyurui pou kile das!"
3dl send.out 3sg 3dl say imp go wash pig in sea.water
They sent him away, and said, "Go and wash the pork in the sea!"

VIII.4/17. *Aru pein arumo aru titile, aru va:* "Ko tokai kiau e murin
3dl woman two 3dl think 3dl say imp go away back
amu! Amo i tokai yau e murin, i akure iti lonau.
indef one 3sg go away back 3sg hide in thicket

The two women thought about it and said, "Go away behind him!" (i.e.,
follow him).

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.4/18. *I lisi i cinal i madean, caca e palan i dul,*
3sg see 3sg devil 3sg big strand poss hair-3sg 3sg hang
moan i ye e kuin.
fire 3sg flare at buttocks-3sg

They saw the devil, that he was big, strands of hair hung down, and fire flared from his buttocks.

VIII.4/19. *Amo pein i ilou palue ile kor, i vai ila te dasin,*
one woman 3sg run back to village 3sg say to friend-3sg
i va: “*Oh! dasi! Yotaru ka coŋ! Tita cinal ki ani yotaru.*
3sg say oh friend 1dl.inc hort escape now devil 3sg.fut eat 1dl.inc
The woman ran back to the village and said to her friend, “Oh, friend!
We must escape! That devil will eat us!

VIII.4/20. “*Yotaru pomane i, yotaru va, i ramat, i*
1dl.inc supply.with.food 3sg 1dl.inc think 3sg person 3sg
cinal, i ramat poen.”
devil 3sg person not

“We gave him food because we thought that he was a person, but he’s a devil, and not a person.”

VIII.4/21. *Aru coŋ. Moen cinal i tokai ile um, i titie aru,*
3dl escape def devil 3sg go to house 3sg seek.out 3dl
i ne lis aru poen.
3sg d.neg see 3dl not

They escaped. That devil went to the house and sought out the two [women], but he could not see them.

VIII.4/22. *Moen cinal, i putuan i momoa. I cele*
def devil 3sg stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry 3sg cut.up
putuan, i mat.
stomach-3sg 3sg die

That devil, he got angry in his stomach. He slit open his stomach and died.

VIII.5 About the devil with four eyes

Told by Hi Kenai from Harangan. A story from Matankor. (Meier 1909:356)

VIII.5/1. *Amo cinal, garan Po Pekan, matan taa.*
 indef devil name-3sg PP eyes-3sg four

There was a devil by the name of Po Pekan, and he had four eyes.

VIII.5/2. *I ti kor ei, garan Kali. I ani ala lau
 3sg live.in village 3sg.ps name-3sg Kali 3sg eat 3pl people
 asiuna.*
 all

He lived in a village whose name was Kali. He ate all the people there.

VIII.5/3. *Aru nat arumo aru tokai ile cal amoat.*
 3dl child two 3dl go to path one

Two children were going along a path.

VIII.5/4. *Aru sor, aru le kor e Po Pekan. Aru akure
 3dl lose.one's.way 3dl go.to village poss PP 3dl hide
 amu.*
 still

They lost their way, and went to Po Pekan's village. They were still hidden (i.e., Po Pekan hadn't seen them yet).

(Note: Fortune corrects *sor* to *sore* here.)

VIII.5/5. *Po Pekan, mata-n aruo i sasa e wei, pe mata-n aruo
 PP eyes-3sg two 3sg build with that and eyes-3sg two
 pati lisiai.*
 for look.around

As for Po Pekan, two of his eyes were used for building, and two were for looking around.

VIII.5/6. *I lisi aru, i alisai, i va: "Waru ka, tokai kiau e
 3sg look.at 3dl 3sg laugh 3sg say 2dl hort go away to
 masaren! Auro e waru! Waru k' alul!"
 outside greetings to 2dl 2dl hort sit.down*

He looked at them, and laughed, and said, "Go outside! Greetings to you, sit down!"

(Note: Auro is corrected to *eworo* in the Fortune text.)

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.5/7. *Aru alul. Cinal i vo kunusuaru.*

3dl sit.down devil 3sg care.for hospitality-3dl

They sat down. The devil took care of hospitality for them.

VIII.5/8. *I va: "Waru k' anaan!"*

3sg say 2dl hort eat

He said, "You should eat!"

VIII.5/9. *Aru anaan. I puriji mata-aru, aru mat.*

3dl eat 3sg squeeze.out eyes-3dl 3dl die

They ate. He squeezed out their eyes and they died.

VIII.5/10. *I ani aru. I ta rame un malep.*

3sg eat 3dl 3sg hit wooden.drum for dead.person

He ate them. He hit the wooden drum for a dead person.

VIII.5/11. *Ala lau ala uroj ala va: "Mm! Moen cinal i Kali i*

3pl people 3pl hear 3pl say mm! def devil 3sg Kali 3sg

kine an ramat!"

3sg.perf eat person

The people heard it and said, "Mm. That devil from Kali has eaten a person!"

VIII.6 About a devil whom someone bound to his bed with their hair.

Told by Hi Ocun from Loniu (a story from Usiai, told by someone from Loniu). (Meier 1909:357–358)

VIII.6/1. *Moen cinal in Peheu i akure.*

def devil of P 3sg hide.(self)

A devil from Peheu hid himself.

VIII.6/2. *Aru ramat arumo aru pa ka la ta ni piaun.*

3dl person two both want nsg.fut go catch fish by.night

Two people wanted to go fishing at night.

VIII.6/3. *Amo i matir iti um, pe amo i lai kuvuen ile leg.*

one 3sg sleep in house and one 3sg take nets to shore

One went to sleep in the house and the other took the nets to the shore.

VIII.6/4. *I riwi dol ile das, i riwi sir, cinal i tatuni sir.*

3sg pull canoe into sea 3sg pull part devil 3sg hold.fast part

As he pulled the canoe into the sea, he pulled on one end, and a devil held fast to the other end.

VIII.6/5. *I tokai ile sir, i la lisi.*
3sg go to part 3sg go see

He went to the other end, and went to see.

VIII.6/6. *Ave ca i ne tatuni sir poen.*
any what 3sg d.neg hold.fast part not

Nothing was holding onto the end.

VIII.6/7. *I riwi, cinal i tatuni sir.*
3sg pull devil 3sg hold.fast fragment

He pulled, and the devil held onto the other end.

VIII.6/8. *I putuan i momoa, i lai cimer, i cariti dol.*
3sg stomach-3sg 3sg angry 3sg take stone.axe 3sg cut.through canoe

He got angry, and took an axe, and cut through the canoe.

VIII.6/9. *I pa ki tokai kile um. Cinal i asi i.*
3sg want oblig go to house devil 3sg hold.fast 3sg

He wanted to go into the house. The devil held fast to him.

VIII.6/10. *I tawi poan, cinal i cumoe poa-n, i va: "Ko ani buo!"*
3sg cry.out devil 3sg cover mouth-3sg 3sg say imp eat testicles-1sg

The man cried out, but the devil covered his mouth, and said, "Eat my testicles!"

VIII.6/11. *Amo ramat i va: "Se pa ki ani buam?"*
indef person 3sg say who want oblig eat testicles-2sg.ps
Buam i madagat.
testicles-2sg.ps 3sg be.stale/flat

The man said, "Who would want to eat your testicles? Your testicles are flaccid!"

VIII.6/12. *Cinal i va: "A pulpul, a pulpul!"*
devil 3sg say a pulpul a pulpul

The devil said, "A pulpul, a pulpul!"

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.6/13. *Moe ramat i va: "E ca ito: a pulpul, a pulpul?"*
def person 3sg say pred what this a pulpul a pulpul

The person said, "And what's that: a pulpul, a pulpul?"

VIII.6/14. *Cinal i va: "Ko ani buo konova ni!"*
devil 3sg say imp eat testicles just.like fish

The devil said, "Eat my testicles like fish!"

VIII.6/15. *Ramat i va: "Buan i maday."*
person 3sg say testicles-3sg 3sg be.old

The person said, "Your testicles are old."

VIII.6/16. *Cinal i va: "Oia ne ani buo poen, yo ku*
devil 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg eat testicles not 1sg 1sg.fut
ani oi! Ko me! Taru, ka le kor eyo!"
eat 2sg imp come 1dl.inc hort go.to farm 1sg.ps

The devil said, "If you don't eat my testicles, I will eat you! Come here,
let's go to my house."

VIII.6/17. *Aru le kor e cinal. Moen cinal i matir.*
3dl go.to farm poss devil def devil 3sg sleep

They went to the devil's farm. The devil went to sleep.

VIII.6/18. *Moen cinal i va: "Ko te kut eyo!"*
def devil 3sg say imp kill lice 1sg.ps

The devil said, "Kill my lice!"

VIII.6/19. *Moe ramat i te kut. Moen cinal i matir yavuer.*
def person 3sg kill lice def devil 3sg sleep all.the.way

That person killed his lice. The devil slept all the time.

VIII.6/20. *Moe ramat i abuti lamunpalancinal.*
def person 3sg bind.fast devil-hair

The person tied the devil's hair (to the bed).

VIII.6/21. *I uguni i. Moen cinal i ne mamat poen.*
3sg shake 3sg def devil 3sg d.neg wake.up not

He shook him. The devil didn't wake up.

VIII.6/22. *Moe ramat i coy. I nyak ile buli, garan*
def person 3sg escape 3sg climb to mountain name-3sg

Docun.

D

The person escaped. He climbed up a mountain, called Docun.

VIII.6/23. *I va wari: "Cinal, cinal i Lopeheu, pa ki eni*
3sg sing.out devil devil 3sg L want 3sg.fut eat
demat, ehee! Demat kerehe, i eni? Bugonpelan eni ndawe, ehee!"
person Ah! person where 3sg eat hair-3sg 'is' tie.tightly Ah!

He sang out, "Devil, the devil from Lopeheu wants to eat a person!
 Where's the person that he wants to eat? His hair is all tied up!"

VIII.6/24. *Cinal i mamat, i tadul, i cavuni keyau iti*
devil 3sg wake.up 3sg stand.upright 3sg carry.away bed on
duan.
 back-3sg

The devil woke up, stood upright, and carried his bed away on his back.

VIII.6/25. *Keyau i patu, moen cinal i putuan i momoa,*
bed 3sg be.heavy def devil 3sg stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry
i va: "Oh! Yo, you i ani yo.
3sg say oh 1sg stupidity 3sg consume 1sg

The bed was heavy, and the devil was angry. He said, "Oh! Stupidity is eating me up.

VIII.6/26. *"Yo, u etepe? Yo u ne ani i poen?"*
1sg 1sg.S how.is.it 1sg 1sg.S d.neg eat 3sg not
 "How is it that I didn't eat him?"

VIII.6/27. *I va: "Oh! Kararamen eyo! Buajire i lulu."*
3sg say oh tongue-3sg 1sg.ps spittle 3sg go.down

He said, "Oh, would that his tongue were mine! The spittle would run down."

(Fortune has *Kararam* [with *karara(n)* above *en ejo* 'would that his tongue were mine'].)

VIII.6/28. *I putuan i momoa, i ciri bua-n, i mat.*
3sg stomach-3sg 3sg be.angry 3sg break testicles-3sg 3sg die
 He got very angry, he broke his testicles, and died.

VIII.7 A devil as a suitor

Told by Sokoloh from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:358)

VIII.7/1. *Amo pein, yaran Nya Sa, papun pe yayen aru cili diliyan.*
 def woman name-3sg NS father-3sg and mother-3sg 3dl
 pierce ear-3sg

A woman, whose name was Nya Sa, her father and mother pierced her ears.

VIII.7/2. *Ya pein i se um.*
 def woman 3sg be.in house

The woman was at home.

VIII.7/3. *Amo cinal i lisi papun pe yayen, aru la vo mayas.*
 def devil 3sg see father-3sg and mother-3sg 3dl impf do work

A devil saw the father and mother working.

VIII.7/4. *I tokai ile um. I yuyuu, i va: "Nya Sa, ko me! Yo ya kamal eoi."*
 3sg go to house 3sg call 3sg say NS imp come 1sg def husband 2sg.ps

He went to the house. He called to her, "Nya Sa, come here! I'm your husband."

VIII.7/5. *Nya Sa i lele yau e muduken.*
 NS 3sg look.at up from window.hole

Nya Sa looked out of the window.

VIII.7/6. *I ilimi i, i va: "Oi cinal!"*
 3sg recognize 3sg 3sg say 2sg devil

She recognized him, and said, "You're a devil!"

VIII.7/7. *Cinal i va: "Ko tawi budel kime e poany!"*
 devil 3sg say imp place ladder here to ground

The devil said, "Put a ladder here to the ground!"

VIII.7/8. *Nya Sa i vavuen. Moen cinal i iri du.*
 NS 3sg refuse def devil 3sg dig.up housepost

Nya Sa refused. That devil dug up a house post.

- VIII.7/9. *Nya Sa i yuyuu, i nyuni papun pe yayen.*
 NS 3sg call 3sg call.to father-3sg and mother-3sg
 Nya Sa called to her father and mother.
- VIII.7/10. *Papun pe yayen aru uroy, aru ilou ile kor.*
 father-3sg and mother-3sg 3dl hear 3dl run to village
 Her father and mother heard her; they ran to the village.
- VIII.7/11. *Aru lisi moen cinal. Moen cinal i sowe kin,*
 3dl see def devil def devil 3sg cram.into buttocks-3sg
i la manayan.
 3sg become small
 They saw the devil. The devil crammed himself into his buttocks, and became small.
- VIII.7/12. *I va: "Yoru vuacole!"*
 3sg say 1dl.excl play
 He said, "We two are playing!"
- VIII.7/13. *Nya Sa i va: "I kivani waru. I va ki puti yo."*
 NS 3sg say 3sg lie.to 2dl 3sg want 3sg.fut marry 1sg
 Nya Sa said, "He's lying to you. He wants to marry me."
- VIII.7/14. *Moen ramat i te i.*
 def person 3sg hit 3sg
 The man hit him.
- VIII.7/15. *Moen cinal i lai lian ila alawen.*
 def devil 3sg extend tooth-3sg to long
 The devil made his teeth long.
- VIII.7/16. *I sowe kui- moen ramat.*
 3sg cram.into buttocks def person
 He crammed them into the person's buttocks.
- VIII.7/17. *Nade i are.*
 excrement 3sg appear
 Excrement appeared.

VIII.8 A devil as a suitor

Told by Tou. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:358–360)

VIII.8/1. *Mohin pe Muleu, pisioaru i se mamada. Aru la ta ni.*
M and M sibling-3dl 3sg be.in M-hut 3dl go catch fish

Mohin and Muleu, siblings to each other, were in the mamada. They went fishing.

VIII.8/2. *Moen cinal i tu sa dol.*
def devil 3sg prog build.from.wood canoe

A devil was building a canoe.

VIII.8/3. *Kup i ilou. Ya pein i la an e palakeu.*
SE.wind 3sg blow def woman 3sg go sit in house-front

A south-easterly wind was blowing. A certain woman went to sit in front of her house.

VIII.8/4. *I so sir lauyay. Kup i owani ramilauyay
ile modol e moen cinal.*
3sg cont splice grass.skirt SE.wind 3sg blow grass-skirt-fibers into canoe-prow poss def devil

She was splicing a grass skirt. The south-easterly blew the fibers of the leaves into the front of the devil's canoe.

VIII.8/5. *Moen cinal i uge molitonlauyay. I luke cimer ei.
3sg.ps*

The devil smelled the stench of the leaf-cloth. He laid aside his axe.

VIII.8/6. *I kaaka ila pe ime, i kaaka lavuen.*
3sg seek there and here 3sg seek in.vain

He searched here and there, but he couldn't find (the source).

VIII.8/7. *I la lai ya ei, i so kau.*
3sg go take lime.vessel 3sg.ps 3sg make chalk.magic

He took his lime vessel and made chalk-magic.

VIII.8/8. *I tou ile lan, poen; i tou ile tolau, poen; i tou ile*
3sg turn to south not 3sg turn to north not 3sg turn to

ai, poen; pa ki tawi kile kup, kau i
west not want 3sg.fut give to east chalk.magic 3sg
sur.
exercise.a.charm

He turned to the south—nothing. He turned to the north—nothing. He turned to the west—nothing. He turned to the east, and the chalk-magic exerted an influence.

VIII.8/9. *I va: "Oh! Pein ilati kup!"*

3sg say oh woman there.in east

He said, "Oh! The woman is in the east!"

VIII.8/10. *I tokai ila. I le kavaliq.*

3sg go there 3sg go.to under.the.house

He went there. He went under the house.

VIII.8/11. *Ya pein i lisi i, i va: "Oi se?"*

def woman 3sg see 3sg 3sg say 2sg who

The woman saw him, and said, "Who are you?"

VIII.8/12. *Moen cinal i va: "Ko lai budel kime e poany!"*

def devil 3sg say imp take ladder here to ground

The devil said, "Let the ladder down to the ground!"

VIII.8/13. *Ya pein i va: "Yo u vavuen. Se i logoani oi?"*

def woman 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S refuse who 3sg send.for 2sg

The woman said, "I refuse. Who sent for you?"

VIII.8/14. *Cinal i va: "Morai uyan, yo u tu tokai."*

devil 3sg say weather good 1sg 1sg.S habit go

The devil said, "The weather is good, I'm going out."

VIII.8/15. *Cinal i yuyuu lavuen.*

devil 3sg call in.vain

The devil called out in vain.

VIII.8/16. *Kavoelman pe kavoekikan i iri du, do ave,*
finger-3sg and toe-3sg 3sg bury house-post only a.little
um ki suar.
house c.fact fall.down

He buried the house post with his fingers and toes, but only a little, and the house would have fallen down.

(Fortune crosses out the *r* of *sua[r]*.)

Texts: Part VIII

- VIII.8/17. *Ya pein i va:* "Oh! Um eyo ki tadul!"
def woman 3sg say oh house 1sg.ps hort stand.upright
The woman said, "Oh! Let my house stay up!"
- VIII.8/18. *Um ei i tadul palue.*
house 3sg.ps 3sg stand.upright again
Her house stood upright again.
- VIII.8/19. *Ya pein i tagisi aru pision.*
def woman 3sg cry.about 3dl brother-3sg
The woman cried out for her two brothers.
- VIII.8/20. *Moen cinal i va:* "Yo ku ani aru pisiom pe oi
def devil 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut eat 3dl sibling-2sg.ps and 2sg
lie."
also
The devil said, "I'll eat your siblings, and you too!"
- VIII.8/21. *Aru pision aru lai butut aruo.*
3dl sibling-3sg 3dl take fishing.spear two
Her two siblings took two fishing spears.
- VIII.8/22. *Aru uti, aru ne atigi ni poen, aru atigi pat.*
3dl throw 3dl d.neg strike fish not 3dl strike stone
They threw them, but they didn't strike fish, they struck stone.
- VIII.8/23. *Aru mulie. Aru uroge poan, aru sue ile kor.*
3dl return 3dl hear call-3sg 3dl row to village
They returned. They heard the call, and rowed to the village.
- VIII.8/24. *Moen cinal i lisi aru. I lai ya ei pe rop*
def devil 3sg see 3dl 3sg take lime.vessel 3sg.ps and basket
ei.
3sg.ps
The devil saw them. He took his lime vessel and his basket.
- VIII.8/25. *I en tua. Aru me ic. Aru va:* "Oi, etepe?"
3sg sit chew.betel 3dl come near 3dl say 2sg how.is.it
He sat and chewed betel. They came near. They said, "How are you?"
- VIII.8/26. *Ya pein i va:* "Moen cinal! Pa ki ani yoto."
def woman 3sg say def devil want 3sg.fut eat 1pc.inc
The woman said, "This is a devil! He wants to eat us."

- VIII.8/27. *Moen cinal i va: "Oh! Pintavo! Ku ti def devil 3sg say oh wretched.woman 2sg.cfact be.on poany alan, yo ku tawi oi!" ground if 1sg 1sg.fut set.right 2sg*
 The devil said, "Oh! Wretched woman! If you were on the ground, I would set you right!"
- VIII.8/28. *Aru cali ei aru va: "Oh! Pein muan! I 3dl brother-in-law 3sg.ps 3dl say oh woman bad 3sg tu neneu e i. Ko me! To, ka le kamal! To, stay talk to 3sg imp come 1pc.inc hort go.to men's.house 1pc.inc ko la an ni!" imp go eat fish*
 Her brothers-in-law said, "Bad woman! We'll talk to him. Come! Let's go to the men's house! We'll go and eat fish."
- VIII.8/29. *Moen cinal i va: "Wa! To, ka tokai!" def devil 3sg say yes 1pc.inc hort go*
 The devil said, "Yes! Let's go!"
- VIII.8/30. *Ato anaan yevuen, aru akurani porokiny pe 3pc eat be.finished 3dl conceal pot and poepuil.*
 coconut-milk.bowl
 They finished eating, they hid the pot and bowl for coconut milk.
- VIII.8/31. *I lematani aru, i va: "Poepuil ewaru ite?" 3sg ask 3dl 3sg say coconut-milk.bowl 2dl.ps where He asked them, "Where is your coconut bowl?"*
- VIII.8/32. *Aru va: "Poepuil poen!" 3dl say coconut-milk.bowl not*
 They said, "We don't have one!"
- VIII.8/33. *Aru un au e palan. Cinal i un yau e murin. 3dl drink originate first devil 3sg drink up last Kin i ram.*
 buttocks-3sg 3sg reddens
 The two drank first. The devil drank second. His buttocks reddened.
- VIII.8/34. *Aru lai kawakau aru sowe kin e wei. I 3dl take spears 3dl cram.into buttocks-3sg with 3sg 3sg*

Texts: Part VIII

mat.

die

They took their spears and crammed them into his buttocks. He died.

VIII.8/35. *Aru rarai putuan. Aru <lai> aten. Aru tawi ile*
3dl cut.open stomach-3sg 3dl take liver-3sg 3dl place into
moan.

fire

They cut open his stomach. They took his liver and placed it in the fire.

VIII.8/36. *I ne esorok ave poen.*
3sg d.neg sizzle any not

It didn't sizzle at all.

VIII.8/37. *Aru va: "Moen tavo muan!"*
3dl say def wretch! bad

They said, "Evil slave!"

VIII.9 About a crocodile who waged war against the devils

Told by Koven from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:360)

VIII.9/1. *Buai i puti amo pein.*
crocodile 3sg marry indef woman

A crocodile married a woman.

VIII.9/2. *Amo pein i ti um, pe buai i ti das.*
indef woman 3sg be.in house and crocodile 3sg be.in sea

The woman lived in a house and the crocodile lived in the sea.

VIII.9/3. *Aru ne vo muan poen.*
3dl d.neg do bad not

They didn't do anything bad.

VIII.9/4. *Cinal i vanawe ya pein.*
devil 3sg steal def woman

A devil stole that woman

VIII.9/5. *Aru cog ile yai e ala cinal.*
3dl slide into cave poss 3pl devil

They slid into the cave of the devils.

VIII.9/6. *Buai i titie pati ei, i ne lisi i poen.*
crocodile 3sg seek.out wife 3sg.ps 3sg d.neg see 3sg not

The crocodile sought out his wife, but he didn't see her.

VIII.9/7. *Buai i cani ala ni e das asiuna.*
crocodile 3sg set.aside 3pl fish in sea all

The crocodile got together all the fish in the sea.

VIII.9/8. *Ala nyak e kor e ala cinal.*
3pl climb to home poss 3pl devil

They climbed into the devils' lair.

VIII.9/9. *Ala ani cinal yevuen.*
3pl eat devil completely

They ate the devils up.

VIII.10 Story of a devil and seven brothers

Told by Sokou from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:360)

VIII.10/1. *Ala dasiala adatulumo, ala ti kor a kor.*
3pl brother-3pl seven 3pl live.in land other land

There were seven brothers, who lived in another country.

VIII.10/2. *Ala vuacole do uyan.*
3pl travel only good

They went around doing only good (that is, not doing anything bad).

VIII.10/3. *Poy si cinal i ani ala.*
day one devil 3sg eat 3pl

One day a devil ate them.

VIII.10/4. *I ani ala madean yevuen, do amo, i murin e
ala, moen cinal i tai rop, i capuni i ile wei.*
3sg eat 3pl big completely only one 3sg at.the.back poss
3pl def devil 3sg take basket 3sg carry.away 3sg from there
He ate the bigger ones completely, and only one, the last of them, the devil took a basket for, and carried him away from there.

VIII.10/5. *Moe nat i tai parec. I cariti
def child 3sg take small.bamboo.stick 3sg cut.through
burunkoti.*
basket-bottom

The child took a small bamboo stick. He cut through the bottom of the basket.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.10/6. *Moe nat i matir yen e cal.*
def child 3sg lie lie on path

The child came to lie on the path.

VIII.10/7. *Moen cinal i lai rop, i tokai. I la varina ala cinal.*
def devil 3sg take basket 3sg go 3sg go to 3pl devil

The devil took the basket and went; he went to (the other) devils.

VIII.10/8. *I va: "Yo u lai nat amo."*
3sg say 1sg 1sg.S take child indef

He said, "I brought a child."

VIII.10/9. *Ala va: "I la wee?"*
3pl say 3sg be where

They said, "Where is he?"

VIII.10/10. *I va: "I ti koti."*
3sg say 3sg be.in basket

He said, "He's in the basket."

VIII.10/11. *Ala lisi koti. Nat e wei poen.*
3pl look.at basket child in that not

They looked in the basket; the child wasn't there.

VIII.10/12. *Ala va: "Oi a kip."*
3pl say 2sg 2sg.nfut lie

They said, "You lied."

VIII.11 About some devils who carried off a man while he was asleep

Told by Kaye from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:360–362)

VIII.11/1. *Ala cinal pati Cavokaleu ala pa ka la lai Yohanj,*

3pl devil from C 3pl want nsg.fut go take Y

moen Muhei.

def M

The devils from Cavokaleu wanted to take Yohang, a man from Muhei.

VIII.11/2. *Yohanj i tu matir e keyau ei.*
Y 3sg prog sleep in bed 3sg.ps

Yohang was sleeping in his bed.

VIII.11/3. *Ala cinal ala cavuni i nause. Ala tokai. Ave dug poen,*
 3pl devil 3pl carry.away 3sg quiet 3pl go any noise not
ave kulul poen.
 any speech not

The devils carried him away quietly. They left. There was no noise, no talking.

VIII.11/4. *Ala tokai ile kor alawen.*
 3pl go to land far

They went to a land far away.

VIII.11/5. *Cacankei i le ile cajin. Cajin unonou.*
 dew-tree 3sg go.to to body-3sg body-3sg be.cold

The dew from the trees went onto his body, and his body got cold.

VIII.11/6. *I tadul, i lele, i va: "Yo ita, yo etepe?"*
 3sg get.up 3sg see 3sg say 1sg this 1sg do.what

He got up, and looked around, and said, "What's happening to me?"

VIII.11/7. *I lisi ala, i va: "Yo, yoou! Yo, ku etepe?"*
 3sg look.at 3pl 3sg say 1sg alas! 1sg 1sg.fut do.what

He looked at them, and said, "Alas! What will I do?"

VIII.11/8. *Ala la we parankei sei. Yohag i tatuni, kei i ne poke poen.*
 3pl go under overhang-tree one Y 3sg hold.fast tree 3sg
 d.neg be.strong not

They went into the shelter of a tree. Yohang held fast, but the tree wasn't strong.

VIII.11/9. *Yohag i kip ile dilay in palimat, i va: "Puciyak,*
 Y 3sg lie with crying of flying.fox 3sg say p
puciyak!"

P
 Yohang pretended to make the sound of a flying fox, he said,
 "Pucingak, pucingak!"

VIII.11/10. *Ala cinal ala va: "Oh! Palimat, nabu ko ani ramat*
 3pl devil 3pl say oh flying.fox irr.neg imp eat person
eyoya!"
 poss-1pl.excl

The devils said, "Oh! Flying fox, don't eat our person!"

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.11/11. *Ala tokai. Ala la we parankei sei. Yohay i tatuni.*
3pl go 3pl go under tree-overhang one Y 3sg hold.fast
They left. They went under the overhang of a tree. Yohang held fast.

VIII.11/12. *I so dul e wei. Ala cinal ala cavuni keyau. Ala tokai ile kor.*
3sg remain hang to that 3pl devil 3pl carry.around bed 3pl go to home

He kept hanging onto it. The devils carried around the bed. They went home.

VIII.11/13. *Ala yei, ala va: "Yii! Yo ku ani Yohay!"*
3pl call.out 3pl say yii 1sg 1sg.fut eat Y
They called out, "Yii! I will eat Yohang!"

VIII.11/14. *Ala le kor. Ala tawi keyau ile kamal, ala ne lisi mavuen. Ala culupi katam.*
3pl go.to home 3pl place bed in men's.house 3pl d.neg look.at not.yet 3pl block door

They went home. They placed the bed in the men's house, they didn't look around yet. They blocked the door.

VIII.11/15. *Kor i taai, ala aburuti ma, ala cakauri avi.*
land 3sg brighten 3pl cook taro 3pl bake sago
It got light, and they cooked taro and baked sago.

VIII.11/16. *Kan i manis yevuen, ala va: "Ta ka le food 3sg be.ready completely 3pl say 1pl.inc hort go.to kamal! Ta ka te Yohay! Ta k' ani i!"*
men's.house 1pl.inc hort kill Y 1pl.inc hort eat 3sg
When their food was all ready, they said, "Let's go to the men's house!
Let's kill Yohang! Let's eat him!"

VIII.11/17. *Ala cog ile kamal, ala lisi keyau, ave ca poen!*
3pl slide into men's.house 3pl look.for bed any what not
They slid into the men's house, and they looked for the bed, but there wasn't anything!

VIII.11/18. *Ala tuai ala.*
3pl complain 3pl

They complained to each other.

VIII.11/19. *Ala panum ala va: "Yohanji la wee?"*
3pl some 3pl say Y 3sg go where
Some asked the others, "Where did Yohang go?"

VIII.11/20. *Ala panum ala va: "Camanyin!"*
3pl some 3pl say hmm
Others said, "Hmm."

VIII.11/21. *Ala tutui ala. Ala molomol, ala nyak ile yeu eala. Ala matir.*
3pl fight 3pl 3pl stop 3pl climb into ko.tree 3pl.ps 3pl sleep

They fought each other. They stopped, and climbed into their *yeyu* tree.
They went to sleep.

VIII.11/22. *Yohanji cani bue ile a kor pe a kor.*
Y 3sg spread.out betel.nuts to indef land and indef land
Yohang spread betel nuts over one land after another.

VIII.11/23. *I tawi dubue ila te peu pe buai.*
3sg create topmost-cluster into shark and crocodile
He made the topmost cluster into a shark and a crocodile.

VIII.11/24. *Ala tokai. Ala lai cul. Ala utani moan, i*
3pl go 3pl take dry.coconut.leaves 3pl kindle fire 3sg
ye:
flare

They left. They took dry coconut leaves, and kindled a fire, which flared.

VIII.11/25. *Ala cinal panum ala mat, panum ala pel ile das. Peu i*
3pl devil some 3pl die some 3pl jump into sea shark 3sg
ani ala.
eat 3pl

Some of the devils died, and some jumped into the sea. The shark ate them.

VIII.11/26. *Ala cinal mocoromo ala mat yevuen.*
3pl devil 20.000 3pl die completely
Twenty thousand devils died.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.11/27. *Do amo nat pe amo dakein aru akure iti*
only one boy and one young.girl 3dl hide.(self) in
poroyeu.
hole-ko.tree

Only one boy and one girl hid themselves in the hollow of a yeu-tree.

VIII.11/28. *Yohang ala tokai, aru me are.*
Y 3pl go 3dl come appear

Yohang and the others left, and the two appeared.

VIII.11/29. *Aru iti aru, aru tawi nat ila coloan.*
3dl have.sex.with 3dl 3dl give.birth.to child as many
They had sex with each other and gave birth to many children.

VIII.11/30. *Cinal amoemoe ala ti kor eyota.*
devil one.at.a.time 3pl be.in land 1pl.inc.ps

One devil at a time is in our country.

VIII.11/31. *Nabu Yohang ki te ala alan, cinal ala k' ani yota*
irr.neg Yohang c.fact kill 3pl if devil 3pl c.fact eat 1pl.inc
kievuen.
completely

Had Yohang not killed them, they would have eaten us all up.

VIII.12 The apparition of a ghost

Told by Po Minis from Papitalai.⁶⁴ (Meier 1909:362–363)

Section 1

VIII.12/1. *Pamei i calou ile ditapatiyayen.*
P 3sg enter to niece's.body

(The ghost of) Pamei entered his niece's body.

VIII.12/2. *Suean i vaye i ime varina yaye.*
S 3sg accompany 3sg here to mother

Suean accompanied her here to my mother.

VIII.12/3. *Ala lemetani i, ala va: "Pamei! Yota ka mat, yota*
3pl ask-trans 3sg 3pl say P 1pl.inc nsg.fut die 1pl.inc
ka le ee?"
nsg.fut go.to where

They asked her [the niece], “Pamei! When we die, where will we go?”

VIII.12/4. “*Yota ti palit.*”

1pl.inc live ghost

“We live as ghosts.”

VIII.12/5. “*Au palit, awa ani ca?*”

2pl ghost 2pl eat what

“You ghosts, what do you eat?”

VIII.12/6. “*Amo i mat masie, i ani denpou.*”

indef 3sg die just.now 3sg eat pig-excrement

“Someone who has just died eats pig-excrement.”

VIII.12/7. “*Oi awa, awa ne mat poen lie?*”

2sg 2pl 2pl d.neg die not again

“You, don’t you die again?”

VIII.12/8. “*Amo, de i la pimpati, i kip, i la*

one very.much 3sg become old.woman 3sg lie 3sg become

utue das, i la manyau, i la ponai.

make sea.water 3sg become forever 3sg become sea.slug

“One, when she was a very old woman, lied, and she started to make seawater, she went for good, and became a sea slug.”

VIII.12/9. “*Awa raj awa ani kan muan, yoya palit yoya ani*

2pl people? 2pl eat food bad 1pl.excl ghost 1pl.excl eat

kan uyan!

food good

“You people eat bad food, we ghosts eat good food!”

VIII.12/10. “*Oi awa, amo i mat, i ani denpou!*”

2sg 2pl one 3sg die 3sg eat pig-excrement

“You, when one of you dies, he eats pigshit!”

VIII.12/11. “*Kan auyan, matabule-*au ei. Kila murin i ani**

food reception shyness-leave 3sg.ps becoming last 3sg eat

kan uyan.”

food good

“This is what he eats when he arrives, to make his shyness leave. After that he eats good food.”

Section 2

Dauka questions the ghost of Pamei. He wants to know why the ghost of Kamau, his late father, does not watch over his daughter-in-law Hi Lul.

- VIII.12/12. *Dauka i va: "Kamau i la wee? Ato lau ei ato*
D 3sg say K 3sg go where 3pc people 3sg.ps 3pc
la wee?
go where

Dauka said, "Where did Kamau go? Where are his people?

- VIII.12/13. *"Ato ne koloani yo poen, ato ne koloani nat eyo*
3pc d.neg protect 1sg not 3pc d.neg protect child 1sg.ps
poen.
not

"They didn't protect me, and they didn't protect my child.

- VIII.12/14. *"Palit amaun i me te pati e nat eyo."*
ghost strange 3sg come to wife poss child 1sg.ps
"A strange ghost came to the wife of my child."

- VIII.12/15. *Pamei i va: "Kamau pe lau ei ala kane le*
P 3sg say K and people 3sg.ps 3pl nsg.perf go.to
Rabuco."
R

Pamei said, "Kamau and his people have gone to Rambutyo."

- VIII.12/16. *"Ala ka me keis?"*
3pl nsg.fut come when
"When will they come back?"

- VIII.12/17. *"Ragiau!"*
tomorrow

"Tomorrow."

- VIII.12/18. *"Ko la kaaka!"*
imp go seek
"Go and look (for them)!"

- VIII.12/19. *"Yo kune tokai!"*
lsg lsg.perf go
"I've left!"

VIII.12/20. *I tokai, i la lisi um eyo.*
 3sg go 3sg go look.in house 1sg.ps

He went and looked in my house (Po Minis').

VIII.12/21. *I la lisi, i la painani molua ya pein.*
 3sg go look 3sg go find soul def woman

He went looking and found the ghost of a woman. (Meier's note: In times of sickness the soul of a sick person escapes from the body under the influence of an evil spirit. Recovery begins with the release of the soul and its return into the body of the sick person. Otherwise it is lost, so the people of the Admiralties believe.)

VIII.12/22. *I me waareani, i va: "Po Sig i te i."*
 3sg come reveal 3sg say PS 3sg attack 3sg

He returned and revealed, "(The ghost of) Po Sing is attacking her."

VIII.12/23. *Dauka i lematani i, i va: "Ayanun ca?"*
 D 3sg ask 3sg 3sg say reason what

Dauka asked, "For what reason?"

VIII.12/24. *"Ayanun nat ei. Nat eoi i puti pati e nat*
 reason child 3sg.ps son 2sg.ps 3sg marry wife poss child
ei. Po Sig i va ayanun, i te ya pein."
 3sg.ps PS 3sg say reason 3sg attack def woman

"Because of his son. Your son married his son's wife. Po Sing said that that was the reason he is attacking the woman."

VIII.12/25. *Dauka i va: "Oi pokean, ne poen? Ko la lai i!"*
 D 3sg say 2sg strong or not imp go take 3sg

Dauka said, "Are you strong? Go and take her (i.e., the soul of the sick woman)!"

VIII.12/26. *"Po Sig i lai pitilou, pa ki te yo e*
 PS 3sg take obsidian.spear want 3sg.fut kill 1sg with
wei. Yo u no e i.
 that 1sg 1sg.S fear regarding 3sg

"Po Sing took a spear with an obsidian blade and wanted to kill me with it. I was afraid of him."

VIII.12/27. *"Po Sig i va: Rayiau wato ka tawi kano e*
 PS 3sg say tomorrow 2pau hort give blood.money to

Texts: Part VIII

nat ei.

child 3sg.ps

"Po Sing said that tomorrow you will give blood money to his son.

VIII.12/28. "Po Sig ki tawi moluan kimulie kime, rajiau
PS 3sg.fut give female.spirit-3sg back here tomorrow
ne tita."
or today

"Po Sing will give the spirit back today or tomorrow."

Section 3

Kamau's ghost explains and speaks about the woman.

VIII.12/29. *Kamau i va: "Oi awa, etepe?"*
K 3sg say 2sg 2pl how.is.it

Kamau said, "How is it with you people?"

VIII.12/30. *Dauka i va: "Yoya, etepe?"*
D 3sg say 1pl.excl how.is.it

Dauka said, "How is it with us?

VIII.12/31. "Yoya kano momoa, oi awa kane le Rabuco.
1pl.excl nsg.perf suffer 2sg 2pl nsg.perf go.to R
"We suffered, because you went to Rambutoyo.

VIII.12/32. "Po Sig i me, i me te Hi Lul, pati e nat
PS 3sg come 3sg come collect HL wife poss child
eyo.
1sg.ps

"Po Sing came and took Hi Lul, the wife of my son.

VIII.12/33. "*Maten!*"
death-3sg

"It's her death!"

VIII.12/34. "*E lal ne saul?*" *Ala va: "Saul!"*
hey! mussel.shell or money.string 3pl say money.string

"Mussel shell or money string?" They said, "[Like a] money string."
(Meier's note: Literally: "Is she mortally sick like a shell that has been
crushed, and can't be put back together again, or like a broken string of
shell money, which can be repaired?")

VIII.12/35. *I va: "Moluan i la wee?"*

3sg say female.spirit-3sg 3sg go where

He said, "Where did the woman's spirit go?"

VIII.12/36. *Dauka i va: "I la ti um e Po Minis!"*

D 3sg say 3sg go be.in house poss PM

Dauka said, "She went to be in the house of Po Minis!"

VIII.12/37. *"Ranjau yo ku la lai i!"*

tomorrow 1sg 1sg.fut go take 3sg

"Tomorrow I will go and take her."

VIII.12/38. *"Yo ku lai luluai, yo ku la anui i."*

1sg 1sg.fut take shell.money 1sg 1sg.fut go ransom 3sg

"I will take shell money, and I will ransom her."

Section 4

The ghost of Kamau comes back with the ghost of Hi Lul.

VIII.12/39. *"Yo kune lai i. Awa ka lai si wai! Yo ku*

1sg 1sg.perf take 3sg 2pl hort take one water 1sg 1sg.fut

tawi moluan ila."
give soul-3sg there

"I've already brought her back. You take a water jug! I will put her soul into it."

VIII.12/40. *I lai wai. I nyurui Hi Lul. I tawi moluan ile wai.*

3sg take water 3sg wash HL 3sg give soul-3sg to water

He took the water jug. He washed Hi Lul. He put her soul into the water jug.

VIII.12/41. *I tawi i ila te i Hi Lul i neneu uyan.*

3sg place 3sg to 3sg HL 3sg talk good

He placed it into her. Hi Lul talked sense again.

VIII.13 Story of a devil and two brothers

Told by Hi Poailep from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:363–365)

VIII.13/1. *Paliau aru dasin, yayearu kine mat, do aru*

P 3dl brother-3sg mother-3dl 3sg.perf die only 3dl

kavuen.

alone

Paliau and his brother's mother had died, and there were only the two of them alone.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.13/2. *Kan earu poen! Aru pasan ma poen! Aru no tu ani ni.*
food 3dl.ps not 3dl know.about taro not 3dl try habit eat
fish

They didn't have food! They didn't know about taro! They tried to eat fish.

VIII.13/3. *Raj si, dasin a madean i vai ila te i a riin, i va: "Taru ka la atitig!"*
day one brother-3sg other big 3sg say to 3sg other
small 3sg say 1dl.inc hort go fish.spearng

One day, the big brother said to the little one, "Let's go spearing fish!"

VIII.13/4. *Aru la. Aru atiji ni akou. Aru me e kor.*
3dl go 3dl spear fish ten 3dl come to village

They went. They speared ten fish and came back to the village.

VIII.13/5. *I riin i tulumui ni.*
3sg small 3sg cook fish

The small one cooked the fish.

VIII.13/6. *Ni i manis, i madean i ani ni, i ne ajani i riin poen.*
fish 3sg be.ready 3sg big 3sg eat fish 3sg d.neg support
3sg small not

The fish were ready and the big one ate the fish, and didn't give anything to the little one.

VIII.13/7. *Raj si, raj si. I riin i vavuen.*
day one day one 3sg small 3sg 'refuse'

The days passed. The small one didn't want to go on.

VIII.13/8. *I madean i la atitig. I riin i ti um.*
3sg big 3sg go fish.spearng 3sg small 3sg be.in house

The bigger one went fish spearing. The small one stayed at home.

VIII.13/9. *I lisi dasin kine le mokeu.*
3sg see brother-3sg 3sg.perf go.to open.sea

He saw that his brother had gone to the open sea.

VIII.13/10. *I tokai, i titie kan.*
3sg go 3sg seek.out food

He went and sought food.

VIII.13/11. *I la painani kul e moen cinal. I va: "Tita*
3sg go find breadfruit.tree poss def devil 3sg say now
ca kan ave?"
what food any

He went and found the breadfruit tree of a certain devil. He said, "Now, what food is there?"

VIII.13/12. *I calou. I multi kul alima. I luluani ile*
3sg climb.up 3sg pick breadfruit five 3sg let.down to
poany. I ra.
ground 3sg jump

He climbed up. He picked five breadfruit. He let himself down to the ground, and jumped.

VIII.13/13. *I lai kul, i tokai. I tulumui taruo. Tatalo i*
3sg take breadfruit 3sg go 3sg cook two three 3sg
akurani.
hide

He took the breadfruit and left. He cooked two of them, and three he hid.

VIII.13/14. *Dasin i me. I lematani moan, i va: "Moan*
brother-3sg 3sg come 3sg ask.about fire 3sg say fire
itan mon un tia?"
this fire for what

His brother came [back]. He asked about the fire and said, "This fire, what's it for?"

VIII.13/15. *Dasin i va: "Yo u lisi oi, yo utani moan, mon*
brother-3sg 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S see 2sg 1sg kindle fire fire
un ni."
for fish

His brother said, "I saw you, and I kindled the fire; the fire is for fish."

VIII.13/16. *I va: "Ni eoi i la wee?"*
3sg say fish 2sg.ps 3sg be where

He said, "Where's your fish?"

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.13/17. *I riin i va: "Ni eoi, pe yo utani moan."*
3sg small 3sg say fish 2sg.ps and 1sg kindle fire

The small one said, "The fish are yours and I kindled the fire."

VIII.13/18. *Ni i manis. I ani ni.*
fish 3sg be.ready 3sg eat fish

The fish were ready. He ate the fish.

VIII.13/19. *Dasin i va: "Ave ni kime, yo ku ani!"*
brother-3sg 3sg say some fish here 1sg 1sg.fut eat
His brother said, "Some of the fish here, I'll eat them!"

VIII.13/20. *Dasin i va: "Ko ani molomol eoi!"*
brother-3sg 3sg say imp eat laziness 2sg.ps
His brother said, "Eat your laziness!"

VIII.13/21. *I ani ni yevuen. Dasin i lai kul ei,*
3sg eat fish completely friend-3sg 3sg take breadfruit 3sg.ps
i me are.
3sg come appear

He finished eating the fish. His brother took his breadfruit and appeared to him.

VIII.13/22. *I alul yen e mata-n. I ciri kul,*
3sg sit.down there in.front.of eyes-3sg 3sg break breadfruit
i ani.
3sg eat

He sat down there in sight of his brother. He broke open the breadfruit and ate.

VIII.13/23. *Dasin i ta kamaam, i va: "Ave kime, yo ku*
brother-3sg 3sg beg 3sg say some here 1sg 1sg.fut
ani!"
eat

His brother begged him, and said, "Some here, for me to eat?"

VIII.13/24. *Dasin i vai ila te i, i va: "Ko ani ni eoi!"*
brother-3sg 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say imp eat fish 2sg.ps

His brother said to him, "Eat your fish."

- VIII.13/25. *I ne apani i poen. I ani kul ila rajisa-ni.*
 3sg d.neg offer 3sg not 3sg eat breadfruit as fish-revenge
 He didn't offer him any. He ate the breadfruit as fish-revenge.
- VIII.13/26. *I va: "Yo keko poen? Yo ku la titie i lie."*
 3sg say 1sg foot not 1sg 1sg.fut go seek.out 3sg also
 He said, "Don't I have feet? I'll go and seek them out too."
- VIII.13/27. *I riin i vai ila te i, i va: "Ko koloani oi kila*
 3sg small 3sg say to 3sg 3sg say imp protect 2sg as
uyan!
 good
 The small one said to him, "Protect yourself well!"
- VIII.13/28. *"Poa ko pakute muan, cinal ki ani oi!"*
 2sg.desid imp do bad devil 3sg.fut eat 2sg
 "If you want to do bad, a devil will eat you!"
- VIII.13/29. *"Yo manayan?"*
 1sg small
 "Am I a little child?"
- VIII.13/30. *I tokai, i lisi kul, i nyak e wei.*
 3sg go 3sg see breadfruit.tree 3sg climb in 3sg
 He went, he saw the breadfruit tree and climbed into it.
- VIII.13/31. *I multi tatalo uyan.*
 3sg pick three good
 He picked three good [fruit].
- VIII.13/32. *I pa ki multi si, kul i los. Moen cinal i*
 3sg want 3sg.fut pick one breadfruit 3sg fall def devil 3sg
uroy.
 hear
 He wanted to pick a breadfruit which fell. The devil heard.
- VIII.13/33. *I tawi poa-n, i va: "Tan se u, oi a*
 3sg give call-3sg 3sg say this who exactly 2sg 2sg.nfut
vanawe kul eyo?"
 steal breadfruit 1sg.ps
 He gave a shout and said, "Who is it exactly, you who are stealing my
 breadfruit?"

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.13/34. *I tokai, i la ic. Paliau i lisi i, i no, i mimi i pe i pisi i.*
3sg go 3sg go near P 3sg see 3sg 3sg fear 3sg
urinate.on 3sg and 3sg defile 3sg

He went, and came close. Paliau saw him, he was afraid; he wet himself and messed himself.

VIII.13/35. *Moen cinal i va: "Tita ane ko yo! Yo ku ani atem!"*
liver-2sg.ps

That devil said, "You might flee now! I will eat your liver!"

VIII.13/36. *I nyak ila varina i. Paliau i dul ile kul sei, i tawi poa-n, i ta kamati dasin.*
3sg climb there to 3sg P 3sg climb into breadfruit one 3sg give call-3sg 3sg beg.for.help brother-3sg

The devil climbed there to him. Paliau climbed into a breadfruit, he gave a shout and begged his brother for help.

VIII.13/37. *Dasin i va: "Lavam!"*
brother-3sg 3sg say master-2sg.ps

His brother said, "Your chief."

VIII.13/38. *I ta kamaam yevuen, i va: "Dasi! Ane yo ku los!"*
3sg beg completely 3sg say brother perhaps 1sg 1sg.fut fall

He begged his brother completely, "My brother! I might fall!"

VIII.13/39. *Dasin i tarawe caunpap asi.*
brother-3sg 3sg paint board-piece one

His brother painted a piece of board.

VIII.13/40. *I amuti ila palaramat. I tokai ila. I la ti katolinkul.*
3sg paint as head-person 3sg go there 3sg go be.near breadfruit-tree-foot

He painted it as a person's head. He went there. He was near the foot of the breadfruit tree.

VIII.13/41. *I yuyuu ile maleyan, i va:* "Waru dasim, waru
 3sg call to air 3sg say 2dl brother-2sg.ps 2dl
ka lele kime!"
 hort look.at here

He called into the air, and said, "You and your brother, you two look here!"

VIII.13/42. *Aru lisi palaramat iti caunpap. Moen cinal i va:*
 3dl see head-person on board-piece def devil 3sg say
 "Epoen, epoen, epoen! Yoru vuacole! Ko molomol amu! Yo
 no no no 1dl.excl play imp leave.off yet 1sg
ku ra!"
 1sg.fut jump

The two saw the person's head. The devil said, "No, no, no! We're playing! Still, leave off. I'll jump!"

VIII.13/43. *I ra-ime e poany, i va:* "Kul tewaru, niu
 3sg jump-here to ground 3sg say breadfruit for-2dl coconut
tewaru! Buankei asiuna ito tewaru! Yo ku le yai eyo!"
 to-2dl fruit.tree all this to-2dl 1sg 1sg.fut go.to cave 1sg.ps
 He jumped here to the ground and said, "The breadfruit tree is yours, the coconut is yours. All these fruit trees are yours. I will go to my cave."

VIII.13/44. *I coj ile yai. Aru abuti caunpap ise matayai.*
 3sg escape to cave 3dl bind.fast board-piece on cave.mouth
I ti yai.
 3sg be.in cave

He escaped to the cave. The two [brothers] bound fast the piece of board onto the cave mouth. The devil was in the cave.

VIII.13/45. *I pa ki tokai kise maleyan, i lisi caunpap, i*
 3sg want 3sg.fut go in air 3sg see board-piece 3sg
no, i mulie ile yai. I pakute, i pakute. Coj i ani i, i
 fear 3sg return to cave 3sg do 3sg do hunger 3sg eat 3sg 3sg
mat.
 die

He wanted to go into the air. He saw the piece of board, he was afraid, and he returned to the cave. He kept on doing this. Hunger ate him and he died.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.13/46. *Aru cacegani kor ila te aru.*
3dl claim land as to-3dl

The two brothers claimed the land as theirs.

VIII.14 Story of a man from Hus and his ten children, whom a devil wanted to eat

A story from Matankor. (Meier 1909:365–367).

VIII.14/1. *Moen Hus, i tawi nat ei taakou, i tu sa dol.*
def H 3sg produce boy 3sg.ps ten 3sg prog
build.from.wood canoe

A man from Hus, who had ten children, was building a canoe.

VIII.14/2. *Ala magasani panapi ila dol. Tolau i ilou, ala lajate.*
3pl make sago.trunk into canoe north.wind 3sg blow 3pl
sail.out

They made a trunk of a sago palm into a canoe. The north wind blew and they sailed out.

VIII.14/3. *Moen cinal e Pawi i rameyani dol.*
def devil from Pawi 3sg count canoe

The devil from Pawi counted the canoes.

VIII.14/4. *Taakou i la u, sei dawan poen.*
ten 3sg be full one left.over not

Ten were full; not one was left over.

VIII.14/5. *I tokai ime e ley.*
3sg go here on shore

He took himself off to the shore.

VIII.14/6. *I kau. I kau ila ic.*
3sg swim 3sg swim to near

He swam, he swam near.

VIII.14/7. *Ala nat ala lisi i. Ala ilou ile um.*
3pl child 3pl see 3sg 3pl run into house

The children saw him. They ran into the house.

VIII.14/8. *Ala va: "Tamahurun! Hurun ka la rehe? Cinal e*
3pl say father-1pl 1pl nsg.fut go to.where devil from

Pawi i kini me dileŋ rio, la ki eni yola yare."
 Pawi 3sg 3sg.perf come shore over.there go oblig eat 1pl.inc now
 They said, "Father! Where can we go? The devil from Pawi has already arrived on the shore over there, he's coming to eat us now!"

- VIII.14/9. *Papuato poan, i cayay.*
 father-3pc mouth-3sg 3sg open

Their father's mouth opened.

- VIII.14/10. *Ato nat ei ato cog. Ato taakou ato cog yevuen ile putuan.*
 3pc child 3sg.ps 3pc slide 3pc ten 3pc go completely into stomach-3sg

His children slid inside. Ten went into his stomach completely.

- VIII.14/11. *Palankekaamo i so are e kararame-papun.*
 big.toe-one 3sg remain appear over tongue-father-3sg

The big toe of one of them remained [visible] over the tongue of his father.

- VIII.14/12. *Moen cinal i tokai ile kor.*
 def devil 3sg go to village

The devil went into the village.

- VIII.14/13. *Moen Hus i lisi i, i va: "Dasi, kone me?"*
 def H 3sg see 3sg 3sg say brother 2sg.perf come
 The man from Hus saw him, and said, "Brother, have you come?"

- VIII.14/14. *Moen cinal i va: "Yo kune ne."*
 def devil 3sg say 1sg 1sg.perf 'come'

The devil said, "I've come."

- VIII.14/15. *Moen Hus i va: "Poa ko me po ca?"*
 def Hus 3sg say 2sg.desid 2sg.fut come do what
 The man from Hus said, "What will you do (here)?"

- VIII.14/16. *Moen cinal i va: "Yo pa ku me vaye ato nat eyotaru.*
 def devil 3sg say 1sg want 1sg.fut come accompany 3pl boy 1dl.inc.ps

The devil said, "I want to came and take our children with me."

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.14/17. “*Ato ka la an kan eyo. Bur eyo kanian poen! Pou*
3pl hort go eat food mine banana 1sg.ps feast not pig
eyo kanian poen!”

1sg.ps feast not

“Let them eat my food. My bananas are not food for them. They don’t eat my pigs.

VIII.14/18. “*Yo pa ku vaye ato nat eoi. Yo ku la*
1sg want 1sg.fut accompany 3pl child 2sg.ps 1sg 1sg.fut go
agani ato.”

present.with.gifts 3pc

“I want to take your children. I will give them presents.”

VIII.14/19. *Moen Hus i va: “Yo, nat eyo poen!”*
def H 3sg say 1sg boy mine not

The man from Hus said, “Me? I don’t have children!”

VIII.14/20. *Moen cinal i va: “Oi kone kip, yo kune lisi ato.”*
def devil 3sg say 2sg 2sg.perf lie 1sg 1sg.perf see 3pc
The devil said, “You are lying, I have seen them.”

VIII.14/21. *Moen Hus i va: “Ato la wee?”*
def H 3sg say 3pc be where

The man from Hus said, “Where are they?”

VIII.14/22. *Moen cinal i va: “Ato ti putuam.*
def devil 3sg say 3pc be.in stomach-2sg.poss

The devil said, “They are in your stomach.

VIII.14/23. “*Yo u lisi kapoenkeka-am, i tu are e*
1sg 1sg.S see toe-one 3sg prog appear on
kararamem itan!”
tongue-2sg.ps this

“I see the big toe of one of them—it’s sticking out on your tongue!”

VIII.14/24. *Moen Hus i va: “Oi cinal. Kararamem do si. Yo*
def Hus 3sg say 2sg devil tongue-2sg.ps only one 1sg
ramat, kararame ruo.”
person tongue two

The man from Hus said, “You’re a devil. You only have one tongue. I am a person; I have two tongues.”

VIII.14/25. *Moen cinal i va: "Oi a kivani yo, dasi! Ko tawi def devil 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut lie.to 1sg brother imp give ato kime are!*

3pc here appear

The devil said, "You are lying to me, brother! Give them here to me!"

VIII.14/26. *"Oi a ne tawi ato poen, tita yo ku ani oi."*
2sg 2sg.nfut d.neg give 3pc not now 1sg 1sg.fut eat 2sg
"If you don't give them to me now, I will eat you."

VIII.14/27. *I tawi ato ime are.*

3sg give 3pl here appear

He let them appear.

VIII.14/28. *Moen cinal i va: "Yoto, ka sue kile kor eyo!"*
def devil 3sg say 1pc.inc hort row to home mine

The devil said, "Let's row back to my home!"

VIII.14/29. *Ato nat taakou pe moen cinal ato sue ile ley.*
3pl child ten and def devil 3pc row to shore

The children and the devil rowed to the shore.

VIII.14/30. *Moen cinal i va: "Wato k' au e murin! Yo ku def devil 3sg say 2pc hort leave last 1sg 1sg.fut au e palan, ku la magase kan ewato." I ilou.*
leave first 1sg.fut go prepare food 2pc.ps 3sg run

The devil said, "You leave last! I will go first and go and get food for you." He ran away.

VIII.14/31. *I sosoyani palaramat, i sosoyani pataruiramat, i akurani.*
3sg collect head-person 3sg collect bone-person 3sg conceal

He collected a person's head and a person's bones and hid them.

VIII.14/32. *I susuri um ila uyan. I moneani keyau.*
3sg clean house as good 3sg arrange bed

He made the house clean. He arranged the bed.

VIII.14/33. *Ato la. I va: "Wato nat eyo, to k' ani ca?*
3pc go 3sg say 2pc child 1sg.ps 1pc.inc hort eat what
They went. He said, "You, my children, what shall we eat?"

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.14/34. *Kan poen! Wato, ka tu! Yo ku la ta avi.*
food not 2pc hort stay 1sg 1sg.fut go collect sago
“There’s no food. You stay here! I will get sago.”

VIII.14/35. *I tokai, i vai ila te ala lau ei, i va:* “*Awa ka me!* *Ta, ka ta avi! Kanian-ramat eyota!*”
3sg go 3sg say to 3pl people 3sg.ps 3sg say 2pl hort
come 1pl.inc hort collect sago feast-person 1pl.inc.ps
He went and said to his people, “You come here! We’ll collect sago.
It’s for our person-feast!”

VIII.14/36. *Ala te i, avi do sei.*
3pl fell 3sg sago only one

They only felled one sago tree.

VIII.14/37. *Carjin tulugat. Matamorai i la, i ne vo ave avi inese liman poen.*
fruit 300 sun 3sg go 3sg d.neg procure any sago
in hand-3sg not

Its fruit filled three hundred baskets. The sun went down, and he didn’t get any sago in his hands.

VIII.14/38. *I tokai ile kor, i va:* “*Wato nat eyo! Yo pa ku te avi, api muan. To k’ ani ca?*”
3sg go to home 3sg say 2pc child 1sg.ps 1sg want
1sg.cfact collect sago sago bad 1pc.inc nsg.fut eat what

He went home, and said, “My children! I wanted to get sago, but the sago was bad. What will we eat?”

VIII.14/39. *Ato va: “Ko la te avi lie!”*
3pc say imp go collect sago again

They said, “Go and get sago again!”

VIII.14/40. *I tokai. I la te api.*
3sg go 3sg go collect sago
He went, and collected sago.

VIII.14/41. *Ato nat ato coy. Ato la awen ile dot.*
3pl child 3pl escape 3pc go climb into canoe

The children escaped. They went and climbed into a canoe.

VIII.14/42. *Ato sue ile Hus. Ato covani papuato, i tu nyu e polu.*
3pc row to H 3pc help father-3pc 3sg prog dive for fish.basket

They rowed to Hus. They helped their father who was diving for a fish basket (to bring up the fish).

VIII.14/43. *Ni agat pe ropou amo.*
fish four.hundred and ko.fish one

There were four hundred fish, and one ropou fish.

VIII.14/44. *Ato lai ile kor. Ato aburuti ni eato.*
3pc take into home 3pc cook fish 3pc.ps

They took it into the house. They cooked their fish.

VIII.14/45. *Ato anaan yevuen, ato lai ropou, ato tutui.*
3pc eat finished 3pc take ko.fish 3pc crush

They finished eating, and took the ropou fish and crushed it.

VIII.14/46. *Asun i ciri. Ato aburuti. Ato nyamui dos.*
gall-3sg 3sg break 3pc cook 3pc scrape ko.plant

The gall broke out. They cooked it. They scraped the dos plant.

VIII.14/47. *Ato tali ila varina avi.*
3pc mix into to sago

They mixed it there into the sago.

VIII.14/48. *Ato pa ka lele, i me kau.*
3pc want nsg.fut look.at 3sg come swim

They wanted to look out for him, he came swimming.

VIII.14/49. *Ato va: "I kine me."*
3pl say 3sg 3sg.perf come

They said, "He's come."

VIII.14/50. *Ato ure cu.*
3pc pour fish.broth

They poured the fish broth.

VIII.14/51. *Cinal i le kor, i va: "Wato, etepe? Wato coŋ*
devil 3sg go.to home 3sg say 2pc how.is.it 2pc escape

Texts: Part VIII

e yo?"

from 1sg

The devil went to the house, and said, "What's with you? Did you escape from me?"

VIII.14/52. *Ato va: "Matayoito i poke e papuyoito."*

3pl say face-1pc.excl 3sg be.held by father-1pc.excl

The said, "Our faces were held by our father" (i.e., "we were longing to see our father").

VIII.14/53. *Moen cinal i va: "Matamorai ki la, to ka*

def devil 3sg say sun 3sg.fut go 1pc.inc nsg.fut

mulie."

return

The devil said, "When the sun goes down, we will go back."

VIII.14/54. *Ato va: "Wa! Ko anaan amu!"*

3pl say yes imp eat yet

They said, "Yes. Eat still."

VIII.14/55. *Ato tawi cu ila palan ila te i.*

3pc give fish.broth there beginning to 3sg

They gave the fish-broth to him first.

VIII.14/56. *I ulumui cu, i va: "Yo ku matir amu.*

3sg drink fish.broth 3sg say 1sg 1sg.fut sleep still

Matamorai ki la, yoto ka sue."

sun 3sg.fut go 1pc.inc nsg.fut row

He drank the fish broth, and said, "I will sleep for a while. When the sun goes down, we will row away."

VIII.14/57. *I matir. I mat masie.*

3sg sleep 3sg die immediately

He slept. He died immediately.

VIII.14/58. *Ato ujuni i. I ne tadul poen.*

3pl shake 3sg 3sg d.neg stand.upright not

They shook him. He didn't get up.

VIII.14/59. *Ato alisai. Ato rari putuan.*

3pc laugh 3pl cut.open stomach-3sg

They laughed. They cut open his stomach.

VIII.14/60. *Ato luvuani ile das. Cajin i la*
3pl throw into sea body-3sg 3sg become
uri.

long-nosed.parrotfish

They threw him into the sea. His body became a parrotfish.

VIII.14/61. *Lamunpalan i la mot ilati das.*
hair-3sg 3sg become seagrass there.in sea.water
His hair became seagrass there in the water.

VIII.14/62. *Hus i la kor.*
H 3sg become farm

Hus became a land for people to live in.

VIII.15 Story of a devil and two brothers

Told by Angat. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:367–369)

VIII.15/1. *Aru Sau arumo, amo i ti kor, amo i lai kuvuen*
3dl Sau two one 3sg be.in home one 3sg take fish.net
ei.
3sg.ps

Of two people from Sau, one was at home and the other had taken his fishing net.

VIII.15/2. *Mat in kup uti piaun.*
ebb.tide of SE.wind go.out by.night

The ebb-tide at the time of the south-easterly winds was going out at night.

VIII.15/3. *I tokai ile leg. I riwi dol ei ile das. I la ta*
3sg go to shore 3sg pull canoe 3sg.ps into sea 3sg go catch
ni.
fish

He went to the shore. He pulled his canoe into the sea and went fishing.

VIII.15/4. *I sonani dilen sei. Kalomatan i riwi, ulu i*
3sg fill.up canoe one morning.star 3sg rise flood.tide 3sg
su, i le leg.
flow 3sg go.to shore

He filled up the canoe. The morning star rose, and the flood tide flowed in, and he went to the shore.

Texts: Part VIII

- VIII.15/5. *I riwi dol ivosau. I uduli ni.*
3sg pull canoe dry.land 3sg wrap.in.rattan fish
He pulled the canoe onto dry land. He wrapped the fish in woven rattan.
- VIII.15/6. *I tokai, i la varina dasin. I la masiani ni.*
3sg go 3sg go to brother-3sg 3sg impf praise fish
He left and went to his brother. He was praising the fish.
- VIII.15/7. *Aru anaan yevuen, moen Kananpogou i lai kuvuen ei.*
both eat finished def K 3sg take nets 3sg.ps
They finished eating, and Kananpongou took his nets.
- VIII.15/8. *I tokai, i la an e leŋ. I lipani piaun.*
3sg go 3sg go sit on shore 3sg wait.for night
He left and went to sit on the shore. He waited for nightfall.
- VIII.15/9. *Kor i via, mat uti. Aru Sau arumo aru lai kuvuen earu.*
land 3sg dark ebb.tide go.out 3dl Sau two 3dl take nets
3pl.poss
It got dark, and the tide went out. The two men from Sau took their nets.
- VIII.15/10. *Aru tokai. Amo i lai cam, amo i la riwi modol.*
both go one 3sg extend outrigger one 3sg go pull
canoe-bow
They left. One extended the outrigger of the canoe, and the other pulled on the bow of the canoe.
- VIII.15/11. *Moen Kananpogou i ilou ila.*
def K 3sg run there
Kananpongou ran to there.
- VIII.15/12. *I tatuni muridol.*
3sg hold.fast canoe-stern
He held fast to the stern of the canoe.
- VIII.15/13. *Aru riwi, riwi, aru riwi lavuen.*
3dl pull pull 3dl pull in.vain
The two men pulled, pulled in vain.

- VIII.15/14. *Lokai i vai ila te Palawar, i va:* "Dasi, dol eyotaru
 L 3sg say to P 3sg say brother canoe 1dl.inc.ps
i voke e ca? Yo u riwi lavuen."
 3sg be.fixed to what 1sg 1sg.S pull in.vain
 Lokai said to Palawar, "Brother, what's our canoe stuck on? I'm pulling
 on it with no result."
- VIII.15/15. *Palawar i va:* "Oia kip! Dol ave patuan
 P 3sg say 2sg 2sg.nfut lie canoe somewhat heavy
 poen!"
 not
 Palawar said, "You're lying! The canoe isn't heavy at all."
- VIII.15/16. *Lokai i va:* "Ko me, ko me riwi lie! Yo k' wa
 L 3sg say imp come imp come pull again 1sg 1sg.fut go
 cavuni cam."
 carry.away canoe.outrigger
 Lokai said, "Come here and pull again! I will carry off the outrigger."
- VIII.15/17. *Palawar i la riwi dol. I riwi, i riwi, i riwi lavuen.*
 P 3sg go pull canoe 3sg pull 3sg pull 3sg pull in.vain
 Palawar went and pulled on the canoe. He pulled, pulled, pulled in vain.
- VIII.15/18. *I va:* "Dasi, dol eyotaru ita, i etepe?"
 3sg say brother canoe 1dl.inc.ps this 3sg do.what
 He said, "Brother, what's wrong with our canoe?"
- VIII.15/19. *Aru tokai, aru lisi muridol. Ave ca poen.*
 3dl go 3dl see canoe-stern any what not
 They went to look at the back of the canoe. There wasn't anything.
- VIII.15/20. *Aru riwi. Pogou i tawi ila, i tatuni muridol. Aru*
 3dl pull P 3sg place there 3sg hold.fast canoe-stern 3dl
riwi lavuen.
 pull in.vain
 They pulled. Pongou put himself there, and held fast to the back of the
 canoe. They pulled in vain.
- VIII.15/21. *Aru lai kuvuen earu. Aru tokai ile mat.*
 3dl take nets 3dl.ps 3dl go to reef
 They took their nets and left for the reef.

Texts: Part VIII

- VIII.15/22. *Kananpongou i riwi dol ile das. I la ta ni.*
K 3sg pull canoe into sea 3sg go catch fish
Kananpongou pulled the canoe into the sea. He went fishing.
- VIII.15/23. *Ulu i su, ato le leg ivosisie.*
flood.tide 3sg flow 3pc go.to shore at.the.same.time
The tide turned, and the three went to the shore at the same time.
- VIII.15/24. *Aru lisi dol e leg poen. Aru pa ka lele*
3dl see canoe on shore not 3dl think nsg.fut look.out.for
kile mat, aru lisi dol.
on reef 3dl see canoe
The two men didn't see their canoe on the shore. They thought to look for it on the reef, and they saw it.
- VIII.15/25. *Aru va: "Dol eyotaru i la enau!"*
3dl say canoe 1dl.inc.ps 3sg go this.way
They said, "Our canoe went this way!"
- VIII.15/26. *Aru ligani dol. Aru va: "Tan se, i au e dol*
3dl wait.for canoe 3dl say this who 3sg leave in canoe
eyotaru? Ki iti pati ei!"
1dl.inc.ps hort have.sex.with wife 3sg.ps
They waited for the canoe. They said, "Who is this who went off in our canoe? Let's have sex with his wife!"
- VIII.15/27. *I le leg. I tawi dol ile leg pe ni ei.*
3sg go.to shore 3sg place canoe on sand and fish 3sg.ps
He went to the shore. He placed the canoe on the sand with his fish.
- VIII.15/28. *I la can alakei, pa ki la udulani.*
3sg go cut rattan want 3sg.fut become outer.wrap.for.fish
He went to cut rattan to make a wrapper for their fish.
- VIII.15/29. *Aru vanawe ni ei, aru tokai.*
3dl steal fish 3sg.ps 3dl go
The two men stole his fish, they went away.
- VIII.15/30. *I tokai imulie ile dol.*
3sg go back to canoe
He went back to the canoe.

VIII.15/31. *I lisi lodol, amo ni poen.*
3sg look.at canoe-inside one fish not

He looked inside the canoe; there wasn't a single fish.

VIII.15/32. *I va: "Ni eyo ita se kine panawe i?"*
3sg say fish 1sg.ps this who 3sg.perf steal 3sg

He said, "Who has stolen my fish?"

VIII.15/33. *I tokai ile kor ei. I la matir.*
3sg go to village 3sg.ps 3sg go sleep

He went to his village. He went to sleep.

VIII.15/34. *Ray si i le leg. I akure.*
day one 3sg go.to shore 3sg hide.(self)

Another day he went to the shore. He hid himself.

VIII.15/35. *Aru dasin aru tokai, aru la vo ni. Aru sonani*
3dl brother-3sg 3dl go 3dl go procure fish 3dl fill.up
dilen sei.
canoe one

The two brothers went fishing. They filled up a canoe.

VIII.15/36. *Aru le leg. Amo i tokai, i la can alakei. Amo i*
3dl go.to shore one 3sg go 3sg go cut rattan one 3sg
la pe.
go excrete

They went to the shore. One went to cut rattan. One went to excrete.

VIII.15/37. *I tawi ila. I panawe ni earu yevuen.*
3sg place there 3sg steal fish 3dl.ps completely

The one man placed himself there. He stole all their fish.

VIII.15/38. *I tokai. Aru pa ka me, aru me lisi ni earu.*
3sg go 3dl want nsg.fut come 3dl come see fish 3dl.ps

He left. The two men wanted to come and see their fish.

VIII.15/39. *Ave ca poen. Aru lai pitilou. Aru tokai yau*
any what not 3dl take obsidian.spear 3dl go away
e murin.
back

There wasn't any. They took their spears. They went behind.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.15/40. *Aru le kor ei. Aru va: "Ni eoi ne ni e se,*
3dl go.to village 3sg.ps 3dl say fish 2sg.ps or fish poss who
oi a me panawe i?"
2sg 2sg.nfut come steal 3sg

They went to the village. They said, "Our fish or whose fish? [Was it] you who came and stole it?"

VIII.15/41. *I va: "Waru panawe teyo aminyau. Se i va*
3sg say 2dl steal to-1sg yesterday who 3sg say
ayanun?"
reason

He said, "You stole mine yesterday. Who gave the reason?"

VIII.15/42. *Aru va: "Yoru va ayanun dol eyoru, yoru*
3dl say 1dl.excl say reason canoe 1dl.excl.ps 1dl.excl
panawe ni eoi. Tita yoto k'eso!"
steal fish 2sg.ps now 1pc.inc nsg.fut-fight

The two said, "Because it's our canoe, we stole your fish. Now we'll fight!"

VIII.15/43. *I va: "Se i no e waru?"*
3sg say who 3sg fear because.of 2dl

He said, "Who's afraid of you?"

VIII.15/44. *Ato eso. Aru atiji i si. I atiji aru ruo. Aru mat pe*
3pc fight 3dl strike 3sg one 3sg strike 3dl two 3dl die and
i, i mat.
3sg 3sg die

The three fought. The two struck the one man and the one struck the two. The two died and the other man died, too.

VIII.15/45. *Lokai i la ti wai. Palawar i la ti wai.*
L 3sg pres be.in water P 3sg pres be.in water
Lokai is now in the water. Palawar is now in the water.

VIII.15/46. *Kananpongou, poenpalan i la patimu, busasan i*
K skull 3sg become white.ant lung 3sg
la pojou.
become cloud

As for Kananpongou, his skull became a white ant, and his lung became a cloud.

VIII.16 Story about a devil who was shut into a canoe

Told by Tou. An Usuai story. (Meier 1909:369–370) Note that the name of the place the character is from is variously written as Uravei, Waravei, and Warapei in the text; I have not standardized this.

VIII.16/1. *Moen Uravei i sai dol ei yen e
def W 3sg build.from.wood canoe 3sg.ps lie in
lonau.
thick.forest*

A man from Waravei built his canoe in thick forest.

VIII.16/2. *Moen cinal i tu an kuer. I kolon i vo
def devil 3sg habit eat sea.cucumber 3sg throat-3sg 3sg be
sau.
dry*

A devil was in the habit of eating trepang. His throat got dry.

VIII.16/3. *I pa ki la un wai kile porolu.
3sg want 3sg.fut go drink water to valley*

He wanted to go to the valley to drink water.

VIII.16/4. *Wai i vo sau. I ne un wai poen.
water 3sg be be.dry 3sg d.neg drink water not*

The water was dry. He didn't drink any water.

VIII.16/5. *I pa ki lele, i lisi wai iti lodol e
3sg think 3sg.fut look.at 3sg see water in canoe-inside poss
moen Waravei.
def W*

He thought to look around, and he saw water in the canoe of this man from Waravei.

VIII.16/6. *I ulumui, dol i mum. I taŋ, i taŋ, i taŋ
3sg drink canoe 3sg close 3sg cry 3sg cry 3sg cry*

He drank, and the canoe closed. He cried and cried and cried.

VIII.16/7. *Ray i taai, moen Waravei pa ki la
day 3sg brighten def W want 3sg.fut go
sai dol ei.
build.from.wood canoe 3sg.ps*

The day brightened, and the man from Waravei wanted to go and build his canoe.

Texts: Part VIII

- VIII.16/8. *I uroje cinal, i tu tag e lodol.*
3sg hear devil 3sg prog cry in canoe-inside
He heard the devil crying inside the canoe.
- VIII.16/9. *I lematani i, i va: "Oi se?"*
3sg ask 3sg 3sg say 2sg who
He asked him, "Who are you?"
- VIII.16/10. *Cinal i va: "Yo, dasi! Ko pakutani dol, ki cagay.*
devil 3sg say 1sg brother imp repair canoe 3sg.fut open
Yo ku me are!"
1sg 1sg.fut come appear
The devil said, "Brother! Repair the canoe, so that it will open. I will get out!"
- VIII.16/11. *Moen Warapei i lai cimer, i cariti poadol*
def W 3sg take stone.axe 3sg cut.through deck-canoe
e wei.
with that
The man from Waravei took a stone axe and cut through the deck of the canoe with it.
- VIII.16/12. *I ta doyoanpala moen cinal.*
3sg measure head.shape def devil
He measured the head-shape of the devil (i.e., to cut out a hole big enough for the devil's head).
- VIII.16/13. *I cariti yevuen, i va: "Dasi! Ko ta*
3sg cut.through completely 3sg say brother imp measure
doyoanpalam amu!"
head.shape-2sg.ps still
He cut through completely, and said, "Brother! Measure your head still!"
- VIII.16/14. *Moen cinal i ta doyoan.*
def devil 3sg measure form-3sg
The devil measured his head.
- VIII.16/15. *I riwi pala-n ime are yevuen, kinan kolon.*
3sg pull head-3sg here appear finished limit neck-3sg
He pulled his head out all the way, as far as his neck.

VIII.16/16. *Moen Warapei i lai cimer, i cariti kolon*
def W 3sg take stone.axe 3sg cut.through neck-3sg
e wei.
with that

The man from Waravei took a stone axe, and cut through the neck with it.

VIII.16/17. *Moen Warapei i la se modol.*
def W 3sg go stand canoe-prow

The man from Waravei stood on the prow of the canoe.

VIII.16/18. *I ari kekan ile modol, i va: "Oh! Dol*
3sg thrust foot-3sg into canoe-prow 3sg say Oh canoe
eyo ki cayan!"
1sg.ps hort open

He thrust his foot into the bow of the canoe, and said, “Oh! Let my canoe open!”

VIII.16/19. *Dol i cayan. I riwi moen cinal ile poany.*
canoe 3sg open 3sg pull def devil to ground

The canoe opened. He pulled the devil to the ground.

VIII.16/20. *I rarai putuan. Ave kan uyan poen, do ponai.*
3sg cut.open stomach-3sg some food good not only sea.slug
He cut open his stomach. There wasn’t any good food in it, only sea slug.

VIII.16/21. *I va: "Dayebui i su kut, pe ya kara sa?"*
3sg say menstrual.blood 3sg flow ?? and def ?? what
He said, “Menstrual blood is flowing, and what is it?” (Meier’s note: One says this phrase to signify that something is inferior and useless.)

VIII.17 How the people of Lawes deceived a devil

Told by Dawi from Papitalai. A Manus story. (Meier 1909:370–371)

VIII.17/1. *Ato Lawes taajol, ala la vo cul*
3pl Lawes forty 3pl go make burning.coconut.leaves
piaun.
by.night

Forty people from Lawes went fishing at night using burning coconut leaves.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.17/2. *Ala tu vo, tu vo, tu vo ile Bunai.*

3pl prog do prog do prog do to B

They were doing this, doing this, doing this, as far as Bunai.

VIII.17/3. *Aru, tarumo aru la lisi kali, amo madean, madean.*

3dl two 3dl go see ko.fish one big big

Two of them went to see a *kali* fish, a big, big one.

VIII.17/4. *Aru va: "Awa itan, awa ka me! Ta ka te*

3dl say 2pl this 2pl nsg.fut come 1pl.inc nsg.fut kill

kali ita!"

ko.fish this

They said, "You there, come here! Let's kill the *kali* fish here!"

VIII.17/5. *Ala la sos ila varina aru. Ala omani i iti lonar.*

3pl go meet there to 3dl 3pl put 3sg in middle

They met them there. They put it in the middle.

VIII.17/6. *Ala utani moan, i ye. Ala lisi i. Kali i moatata.*

3pl kindle fire 3sg flare 3pl see 3sg Kali 3sg move

They kindled a fire, which flared. They saw it. The *kali* fish moved.

VIII.17/7. *I ca mamate moan eala. Moan i mamat yevuen,*

3sg put.out fire 3pl.ps fire 3sg go.out completely

ave i ne sou poen.

some 3sg neg remain not

It put out their fire. The fire went out completely, nothing remained.

VIII.17/8. *Kali i amou ila cinal. I la ti Conkavou.*

Kali 3sg change.self into devil 3sg go be.in C

The *kali* fish changed itself into a devil. It went to Conkavou.

VIII.17/9. *I tatawani buamatakin. Buamatakin i ye.*

3sg stick.out anus-3sg anus-3sg 3sg flare

It stuck out its anus. Its anus flared.

VIII.17/10. *Ala Lawes ala lisi, ala va: "Oh! Moan ilatu."*

3pl Lawes 3pl see 3pl say oh fire be.there

The people from Lawes saw this, and said, "Oh! There's a fire."

VIII.17/11. *Taayol ala ilou yevuen.*

forty 3pl run completely

The forty of them all ran away.

VIII.17/12. *Ala la ic.*

3pl go near

They came near.

VIII.17/13. *Cinal i lisi ala, i ilou ile Cavonawit.*

devil 3sg see 3pl 3sg run to C

The devil saw them, and ran to Cavonawit.

VIII.17/14. *I la se Cavonawit.*

3sg impf be.in C

They were in Cavonawit.

VIII.17/15. *I duluan i kin. Kin i ye.*

3sg squeeze.out buttocks-3sg buttocks-3sg 3sg flare

He squeezed his buttocks, and they flared (flames came out).

VIII.17/16. *Ala lisi, ala ilou. Ala la ic.*

3pl see 3pl run 3pl go near

They saw him, and they ran. They went near.

VIII.17/17. *Cinal i coŋ ile um ei.*

devil 3sg slip into house 3sg.ps

The devil slipped back into his house.

VIII.17/18. *Ala lie ala coŋ ile um.*

3pl again 3pl go into house

They went back into the house.

VIII.17/19. *Cinal i culugi katam e ala.*

devil 3sg block door behind 3pl

The devil blocked the door behind them.

VIII.17/20. *I cakauri api. Api i manis. I te pou amo ila*

3sg bake sago sago 3sg be.ready 3sg kill pig one as

kanianapi.

feast-sago

He baked sago. The sago was ready. He killed a pig to eat with the sago.

VIII.17/21. *Pou i manis. I lai api pe pou ila varina ala.*

pig 3sg be.ready 3sg take sago and pig there to 3pl

The pig was ready. He took the sago and the pig to them.

Texts: Part VIII

VIII.17/22. *Ala Lawes ala ani.*

3pl Lawes 3pl eat

The people from Lawes ate it.

VIII.17/23. *Cinal i va: "Awa ka tu, ne? Yo ku le*
devil 3sg say 2pl hort stay or 1sg 1sg.fut go.to
lonau."

thick.forest

The devil said, "So you'll stay? I will go to the thick forest."

VIII.17/24. *I la ta api, pa ki la kanian-ala Lawes.*
3sg go fell sago want 3sg.fut become feast-3pl Lawes

He went and cut down a sago palm, to go with the Lawes people (that he was going to eat).

VIII.17/25. *I cariti api sei. I ko ile poany.*
3sg cut.up sago one 3sg fall to ground

He cut down a sago palm. It fell to the ground.

VIII.17/26. *I rarai api yevuen, i ta i.*
3sg cut.open sago finished 3sg hit 3sg

He finished cutting open the sago, and beat it.

VIII.17/27. *Matamorai i la, i suni api, i la akou.*
sun 3sg go 3sg scoop sago 3sg become ten

The sun went down, and he scooped the sago into ten baskets.

VIII.17/28. *I akurani api iti lonau.*
3sg conceal sago in thicket

He hid the sago in a thicket.

VIII.17/29. *I lai do ave puicui, i lai ile kor.*
3sg take only some little 3sg take to home

He took only a little, and brought it home.

VIII.17/30. *I va: "Oh! Awa lau eyo! Ya va ku la ta*
3sg say Oh 2pl people 1sg.ps 1sg say 1sg.fut go collect
api, api muan.
sago sago bad

He said, "Oh, you my people! I said I would get sago, but the sago was bad.

VIII.17/31. “*Rayiau yo ku la ta api uyan kime yota*
tomorrow 1sg 1sg.fut go collect sago good here 1pl.inc
k’ ani!”
nsg.fut eat

“Tomorrow I will go and get good sago for us to eat here.”

VIII.17/32. *Rayiau i tokai. Ala Lawes ala panawe dol e moen*
tomorrow 3sg go 3pl Lawes 3pl steal canoe poss def
cinal.
devil

The next day he left. The people from Lawes stole the devil’s canoe.

VIII.17/33. *Ala vai ila te kao pe les, ala va:* “*Awa, cinal pa ki*
3pl say to rafter and spar 3pl say 2pl devil want 3sg.fut
me yuyuu, awa ka yei!”
come call 2pl nsg.fut call.out

They said to the rafters and the roof-spars, “You! The devil intends to come calling, but you cry out!”

VIII.17/34. *Ala Lawes ala au e dol, ala sue ile Dova.*
3pl Lawes 3pl leave in canoe 3pl row to D

The men from Lawes left in a canoe and rowed to Dova.

VIII.17/35. *Cinal pa ki me yuyuu, ala kao pe les ala camui.*
devil want 3sg.fut come call 3pl rafter and spar 3pl answer

The devil wanted to come and call them, and the rafters and spars answered.

VIII.17/36. *I tu ta api.*
3sg prog collect sago

He was collecting sago.

VIII.17/37. *Kor i via, i va ki le um.*
land 3sg be.dark 3sg want 3sg.fut go.to house

It got dark, and he wanted to go home.

VIII.17/38. *Ave ca poen.*
somewhat what not

There was nothing there.

Texts: Part IX

VIII.17/39. *I kau ile Dova. Buai i ani i.*
3sg swim to D crocodile 3sg eat 3sg
He swam to Dova and a crocodile ate him.

VIII.18 About a ghost

Told by Hi Ocun from Loniu. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:371)

- VIII.18/1. *Amo palit i nyak ile ditani. I vistoani das.*
indef ghost 3sg climb into fish-body 3sg stir.up sea
A certain ghost climbed into the body of a fish. He stirred up the sea.
- VIII.18/2. *Ulu i su. Ulu i nyak e Loniu. Ala Loniu ala mat yevuen.*
flood.tide 3sg flow flood.tide 3sg climb to Loniu 3pl Loniu
3pl die finished
The flood tide flowed in. The flood climbed up [the shore of] Loniu.
The people of Loniu all died.

- VIII.18/3. *Talan palit i lisi poke eala, pe piris eala, i te ala ile das.*
there ghost 3sg see unchastity 3pl.ps and lewdness 3pl.ps 3sg
kill 3pl with sea.water
The ghost saw the unchastity and lewdness of the people there; and so
he killed them all with a flood from the sea.

IX Stories about Other Topics

IX.1 The man who wanted to drink up the sea

Told by Po Sempak. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:372–373)

- IX.1/1. *Moluam, moen Lomoau.*
M def L
Moluam was from Lomoau.
- IX.1/2. *I tu vo mayas. I vo mayas yevuen, i ile len.*
3sg prog do work 3sg do work finished 3sg to shore
He was working. He finished working and went to the shore.
- IX.1/3. *I lisi ala ni, i va: "Yo ita, yo ku etepe, yo ku an amo ni ito?*
3sg see 3pl fish 3sg say 1sg this 1sg 1sg.fut do.what sg 1sg.fut
eat indef fish this
He saw the fish, and said, “What am I going to do in order to eat one of
those fish?

IX.1/4. "Yo k' ulumui das. Das ki camar, yo ku
1sg 1sg.fut drink sea.water sea.water 3sg.fut dry.up 1sg 1sg.fut
nyuni ni."
gather.up fish

"I'll drink the sea water. The sea water will dry up, and I'll gather up the fish."

IX.1/5. I ulumui das, i ulumui, ulumui. Putuan i pep.
3sg drink sea.water 3sg drink drink stomach-3sg 3sg full
He drank the water, he drank and drank. His stomach got full.

IX.1/6. Matamorai i la, mat in casa uti.
sun 3sg go ebb.tide of Pleiades go.out

The sun left, and the ebb tide of the Pleiades went out.

IX.1/7. Matamorai i la, Moluam i ti leg. I lisi mat,
sun 3sg go M 3sg be.on shore 3sg see ebb.tide
uti, i va: "Oh! Yo ulumui das alan, das i camar ito. Yo
go.out 3sg say Oh 1sg drink sea because sea 3sg dry.up there 1sg
ku la ulumui lie."
1sg.fut incho drink again

The sun went down, and Moluam was on the shore. He saw the ebb tide go out, and said, "Oh! Because I drank the sea, the sea water has dried up here. I will start drinking again."

IX.1/8. I la, i la ulumui. I ulumui, ulumui. Putuan i
3sg go 3sg incho drink 3sg drink drink stomach-3sg 3sg
pep.
full

He went and started to drink. He drank and drank. His stomach was full.

IX.1/9. Mat uti yevuen. I ne vo amo ni poen. I
ebb.tide go.out completely 3sg neg procure one fish not 3sg
le kor.
go.to village

The ebb tide went fully out. Moluam didn't get a single fish. He went to his village.

Texts: Part IX

- IX.1/10. *Pati ei i va: "Moluam! Oi a ti tite?*
wife 3sg.ps 3sg say M 2sg 2sg.nfut be.in where
His wife said, "Moluam! Where were you?"
- IX.1/11. *"Kan eoi, yo u lig oi lavuen, ala nat ala*
food 2sg.ps 1sg 1sg.S wait.for 2sg in.vain 3pl child 3pl
kane ani kan eoi."
nsg.perf eat food 2sg.ps
"As for your food, I waited for you in vain, and your children have
eaten your food."
- IX.1/12. *Moluam i va: "Rajiau yo ku la vo ave cayo!"*
M 3sg say tomorrow 1sg 1sg.fut go do some what-1sg
Moluam said, "Tomorrow I will go and do some stuff of mine!"
- IX.1/13. *Raj i taa'i, i tokai. I ulumui das, i ulumui,*
day 3sg brighten 3sg go 3sg drink sea.water 3sg drink
ulumui.
drink
The day brightened and he left. He drank sea water, he drank and drank.
- IX.1/14. *Das i ne camar poen. I le leg. Putuan i*
sea 3sg d.neg dry.up not 3sg go.to shore stomach-3sg 3sg
kolol, i le das lie.
be.hollow 3sg go.to sea again
The sea didn't dry up. He went to the shore. When his stomach was
empty, he went to the sea again.
- IX.1/15. *I ulumui das. Colai, moen Towi, i la atij ni.*
3sg drink sea.water C def T 3sg impf spear fish
He drank the sea water. Colai, a man from Towi, was spearing fish.
- IX.1/16. *I lisi Moluam, i tu un das. I lai nya.*
3sg see M 3sg prog drink sea.water 3sg take fishing.spear
He saw Moluam drinking sea water. He took his fishing spear.
- IX.1/17. *I sowe kui Moluam. Moluam i tadul, i*
3sg cram.into buttocks M M 3sg stand.upright 3sg
va: "Oi etepe? Oi a vomuani yo?"
say 2sg do.what 2sg 2sg.nfut harm 1sg
He crammed it into Moluam's buttocks. Moluam stood upright and
said, "What are you doing? Are you going to harm me?"

- IX.1/18. *Colai i va*: "Yo u vamuani oi e ca?"
 C 3sg say 1sg 1sg.S harm 2sg with what
 Colai said, "What am I going to harm you with?"
- IX.1/19. *Moluam i va*: "Dasi, ki la teyo alan, yo k' ulumui
 das, das ki camar, taru k' ani ni.
 M 3sg say brother pot be up.to.me if 1sg fut drink
 sea.water sea.water 3sg.fut dry.up 1dl.inc hort eat fish
 Moluam said, "My brother, if it's up to me, I will drink the sea, the sea
 will dry up, and we can eat the fish."
- IX.1/20. "Kine la teoi, das nabu ki camar."
 3sg.perf become up.to.you sea.water irr.neg pot dry.up
 "But it's come up your way, and the sea won't dry up."
- IX.1/21. *Colai i va*: "Dajan ne kip? Ni eoi, oi a lai
 e pakut eoi, i la wee?"
 C 3sg say true or lie fish 2sg.ps 2sg 2sg.nfut take
 from business 2sg.ps 3sg go where
 Colai said, "Is this the truth or a lie? Your fish, that you took from your
 business, where did they go?"
- IX.1/22. *Moluam i va*: "Poen!" *Colai i va*: "Ku lisi te yo! Ni
 eyo coloan. Das i ne camar poen. Oi a kivani yo,
 1sg.ps many sea 3sg d.neg dry.up not 2sg 2sg.nfut lie.to 1sg
 dasi!"
 brother
 Moluam said, "None!" Colai said, "Look at me! I've got a lot of fish!
 The sea doesn't dry up. Someone lied to you, my brother!"

IX.2 A family drama

Told by Kawas u Yap from Papitalai. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:373–374)

- IX.2/1. *Moamoau pe Hi Kamei. Pisio Hi Kamei Paliau pe Lau.*
 M and H.K. sibling H.K. P and L

This story is about Moamoau and Hi Kamei. The siblings of Hi Kamei were Paliau and Lau.

Texts: Part IX

IX.2/2. *Hi Kamei i puti Moamoau.*

H.K. 3sg marry M

Hi Kamei married Moamoau.

IX.2/3. *Moamoau pe Hi Kamei, kor earu a kor. Paliau pe Lau,*

M and H.K. land 3dl.ps other land P and L

kor earu a kor.

land 3dl.ps other land

Moamoau and Hi Kamei were from different lands. Paliau and Lau were from different lands.

IX.2/4. *Moamoau pe Hi Kamei aru la vo mapas. Aru cani ma.*

Moamoau and H.K. 3dl impf do work 3dl spread.out taro

Moamoau and Hi Kamei were both working. They were spreading out taro.

IX.2/5. *Aru lai ile kor. Hi Kamei i aburuti ma.*

3dl take to house H.K. 3sg cook taro

They took it into the house. Hi Kamei cooked the taro.

IX.2/6. *Moamoau i cariti pou. Ma i manis, pou i manis.*

M 3sg cut.up pig taro 3sg be.ready pig 3sg be.ready

Moamoau cut up a pig. The taro was ready and the pig was ready.

IX.2/7. *Aru an tearu. Hi Kamei i va: "Moamoau, ku tu! Yo*

3dl eat for-3dl H.K. 3sg say M imp stay 1sg

ku lai pou pe ma, yo ku la tawi kila te aru pisio."

1sg.fut take pig and taro 1sg 1sg.fut go give to 3dl brother-1sg

They ate. Hi Kamei said, "Moamoau, stay here! I will take pig and taro and I will give them to my two brothers."

IX.2/8. *Moamoau i va: "Jho! Yo u vavuen. Ko la, wato,*

M 3sg say ah! 1sg 1sg.S refuse 2sg.pot go 2pau

ka la iti wato."

nsg.pot impf have.sex.with 2pau

Moamoau said, "Ah, I refuse. If you go to them, you will all have sex amongst yourselves."

IX.2/9. *Hi Kamei i va: "Moen tavo! Oi, etepe, oi a*

H.K. 3sg say def wretch! 2sg do.what 2sg 2sg.nfut

ratutui yo ila te aru pisio?"
insult 1sg to 3dl brother

Hi Kamei said, "What a wretch! What are you doing, insulting me in front of my two brothers?"

IX.2/10. *Hi Kamei i va: "Ko la tawi kan e aru cali*
H.K. 3sg say imp go give food for 3dl brother-in-law
eoi!"
2sg.ps

Hi Kamei said, "Go and give food for your two brothers-in-law!"

IX.2/11. *I lai pou pe i lai ma. I tokai. I le lono,*
3sg take pig and 3sg take taro 3sg go 3sg go.to forest
mariion.
shadow-3sg

He took pork and he took taro. He went. He went into the forest, into its shadows.

IX.2/12. *I ani pou, i ani ma.*
3sg eat pig 3sg eat taro

He ate the pig and he ate the taro.

IX.2/13. *I ani yevuen, i pe ile porokiny.*
3sg eat finished 3sg excrete into pot
He finished eating, and excreted into a pot.

IX.2/14. *I lai yade ila, i nyuni Lau, i va: "Lau, ko*
3sg take excrement there 3sg call.to L 3sg say L imp
me lai kan ewaru!"
come take food 2dl.ps

He took the excrement and called to Lau, and said, "Lau, come and get your food!"

IX.2/15. *Lau i tokai, i lai. I la varina dasin.*
L 3sg go 3sg take 3sg go to brother-3sg
Lau went to take the food. He went to his brother.

IX.2/16. *Paliau i va: "E ma ne pou?" Lau i va: "Nade!"*
P 3sg say pred taro or pig L 3sg say excrement
Paliau said, "Is it taro or is it pork?" Lau said, "It's excrement!"

Texts: Part IX

- IX.2/17. *Paliau i va: "Ku luvuani kiau!" I luvuani yau. "Ko la P 3sg say imp throw away 3sg throw away imp go ucumui butoniu!"*
husk ripe.coconut
Paliau said, "Throw it away!" He threw it away. "Go and husk a ripe coconut!"
- IX.2/18. *Lau i la ucumui, i ucumui yevuen, i ciri, aru ani.*
L 3sg go husk 3sg husk completely 3sg break 3dl eat
Lau went and husked them, he finished husking them. They broke them and ate them.
- IX.2/19. *Aru ani yevuen, aru va: "Yotaru tawi pisioyotaru, i 3dl eat completely 3dl say 1dl.inc give sister-1dl.inc 3sg asou, pa ki ajanai yotaru. I vo muan ime te yotaru. Bulu marry want 3sg.fut support 1dl.inc 3sg do bad to 1dl.inc wife eyotaru poen."*
1dl.inc.ps not
They finished eating, and said, "We gave our sister to marry so that she would think to support us. She's behaved badly to us. We don't have any wives."
- IX.2/20. *Paliau i va: "Taru ka cimiti nabu koloyotaru, taru,*
P 3sg say 1dl.inc hort strangle irr.neg neck-1dl.inc 1dl.inc ka mat! Hi Kamei nabu ki lisi matayotaru!"
hort die H.K. irr.neg 3sg.fut see face-1dl.inc
Paliau said, "Let's strangle ourselves so that we will die! Hi Kamei will not see our faces [anymore]."
- IX.2/21. *Aru moeles aru. Aru moeles aru yevuen, aru tokai.*
3dl decorate 3dl 3dl decorate 3dl completely 3dl go
They decorated themselves. When they finished decorating themselves, they left.
- IX.2/22. *Aru la lisi um e Hi Kamei. Hi Kamei pe ya kamal*
3dl go see house poss H.K. H.K. and def husband
ei aru kane la vo mayas.
3sg.ps 3dl nsg.perf go do work
They went to look at the house of Hi Kamei. Hi Kamei and her husband had gone to do work.

IX.2/23. *Aru yuyuu. Hi Kamei i camui. Hi Kamei i me ic, aru nyak ile buj ei.*
3dl call H.K. 3sg answer H.K. 3sg come near 3dl climb onto roof

The two brothers called out. Hi Kamei answered. Hi Kamei came near, and they climbed onto the roof.

IX.2/24. *Aru utani moan, i ye ile um. Aru ti buj ei.*
3dl kindle fire 3sg flare in house 3dl be.on roof

The two kindled a fire, and it flared into the house. They were on the roof.

IX.2/25. *Moan i ye, i tulumui um. I dug ila madean.*
fire 3sg flare 3sg burn house 3sg crackle becoming big

The fire flared and it burned down the house. It crackled big.

IX.2/26. *Hi Kamei i lisi aru, i va: "Waru pisio, waru, etepe,*
H.K. 3sg see 3dl 3sg say 2dl brother 2dl how.is.it
waru mat?"
2dl die

Hi Kamei saw the two and said, "My brothers, what are you doing? Will you die?"

IX.2/27. *Aru va: "Oi ani kan uyan, a tawi de ime te yoru. Tita yoru ka mat."*
3dl say 2sg eat food good 2sg.nfut give excrement to 1dl.excl now 1dl.excl nsg.fut die

They said, "You ate the good food and you gave us excrement. We will die."

IX.2/28. *Moan i duj, i tulumui aru. Hi Kamei i tagisi aru, i pel ile moan lie.*
fire 3sg crackle 3sg burn 3dl H.K. 3sg pity 3dl 3sg jump into fire also

The fire crackled and burned them. Hi Kamei pitied them and jumped into the fire too.

Texts: Part IX

IX.2/29. *Moamoau i tajisi ato, i pel ile moan.*

M 3sg pity 3pc 3sg jump into fire

Moamoau pitied the three of them and jumped into the fire.

IX.2/30. *Moan i mamat. Ato pision ato mat.*

fire 3sg go.out 3pc sibling-3sg 3pc die

The fire went out. The three siblings died.

IX.2/31. *Moamoau i ne mat poen. I vel ile das. Ala peu ala*

M 3sg d.neg die not 3sg jump into sea 3pl shark 3pl
tutui i. I la ponai ilati das.

sniff 3sg 3sg become sea.slug there.in sea

Moamoau didn't die. He jumped into the sea. The sharks sniffed him.

He became a sea slug in the sea.

IX.3 About a man who ate all his children

Told by Kalie. A Papitalai story. (Meier 1909:374)

IX.3/1. *Peu, kania-ala nat, i ani ala nat ei yevuen.*

Peu eater-3pl child 3sg eat 3pl child 3sg.ps finished

Peu, the eater of children, ate up all his children.

IX.3/2. *I uroŋ amo pein, i tawi nat amo iti kor*

3sg hear indef woman 3sg give.birth.to child indef in village
a kor, i tokai ila, i la ani i.

other village 3sg go there 3sg go eat 3sg

He heard about a woman who gave birth to a child in another village,
and he went there and ate it.

IX.3/3. *I ani nat e kor asi yevuen.*

3sg eat child from village all finished

He ate all the children from all the villages.

IX.3/4. *I va ki la ani nat e Poebul pati Lohi.*

3sg want 3sg.fut go eat child poss P from L

He wanted to go and eat the child of Poebul from Lohi.

IX.3/5. *Nat e Poebul i voke. I te Peu, Peu i mat.*

child poss P 3sg be.strong 3sg kill Peu Peu 3sg die

Poebul's child was strong. He killed Peu and Peu died.

IX.3/6. *Yota la coloan. Yap pe Moanus lau i la*

1pl.inc become many Yap and M people 3sg become

coloan.

many

We are now many people. Yap and Manus people have become many.

- IX.3/7. *Nabu i ki te Peu alan, Peu i ki ani yota, yota lau poen.*
irr.neg 3sg c.fact kill Peu if Peu 3sg c.fact eat 1pl.inc 1pl.inc
people not

If that child had not killed Peu, Peu would have eaten us, and there would be none of our people.

X Parkinson's Texts

I have added line and section numbers and continued the numbering from Meier's texts.

X.1 People of the Admiralties

Told by Po Minis from Papitalai. Parkinson ([1907] 1999:168a-169a)

Section A—The Moanus

- X.1/1. *Ala Moanus ala asi um eala elati das.*
3pl M 3pl build house 3pl.ps there.in sea

The Moanus build their houses over the sea.

- X.1/2. *Ala Moanus ala pas e dol, ala pas e pos, ala pas e tone, ala pas e kawenai, ala pas e kawo, ala pas e palei.*
3pl M 3pl know of canoe 3pl know of oar 3pl know of poles 3pl know of swimming 3pl know of wind 3pl know of sail
Moanus people are expert in the canoe, the [use of the] oar, the [use of] poles, they know about swimming, they know how to use the wind, they are expert with sails.

- X.1/3. *Ala pas e pitui, ala pas e bul.*
3pl know of star 3pl know of moon

They are expert in the stars and the moon.

- X.1/4. *Ala pas e kapet.*
3pl know of large.fishing.net

They know how to use large fishing nets.

- X.1/5. *Ala pas e palit, ala pas e kau, ala pas e ya.*
3pl know of ghost 3pl know of chalk.magic 3pl know of lime
They are experts in spirits, in magic using chalk and magic using lime.

Texts: Part X

X.1/6. *Ala Moanus pas eala madean, ayan eala do arai.*
3pl M expertise 3pl.ps big speech 3pl.ps only the.one

The expertise of the Moanus is great, and they have a single speech.

Section B—The Usuai

X.1/7. *Ala Usuai ala lati lonau.*
3pl Usuai 3pl live.in thick.forest

The Usuai live in the bush.

X.1/8. *Ala Usuai ala kakau e tone, ala kakau e kawenai, ala ne tarani pitilou wian e dol poen.*
3pl Usuai 3pl inexpert of poles 3pl inexpert of swimming 3pl d.neg avoid obsidian.spear ? in canoe not

The Usuai are not experts with quants, they are not good at swimming, and they don't avoid obsidian spears in canoes.

X.1/9. *Ala Usuai ala mayasama, ala tayanapi.*
3pl Usuai 3pl taro-grower 3pl sago-scraper

The Usuai are taro growers and sago scrapers.

X.1/10. *Ala Usuai ala kaniamoat, ala kaniaramat, ala kaniawati, ala kulamuadas.*
3pl Usuai 3pl snake-eater 3pl person-eater 3pl ? 3pl sea-drinker

They are snake-eaters, cannibals and they drink sea water.

X.1/11. *Ala Usuai carjala pukaun, poaala porawin, popou i tawi liaala.*
3pl Usuai body-3pl dirty mouth-3pl nasty dirt 3sg lay tooth-3pl

The Usuai have dirty bodies, their breath is foul, and their teeth have dirt on them.

X.1/12. *Ayan eala de arai.*
speech 3pl.ps the.one

They have one language.

Section C—The Matankor

X.1/13. *Ala Matankor um eala iti mat.*
3pl M house 3pl.ps in intertidal.zone

The Matankor have their homes on the beach.

X.1/14. *Ala Matankor ala pas e dol, ala pas e palei, ala pas e kawenai, ala pas e kapet.*
 3pl M 3pl know of canoe 3pl know of sail 3pl know of swimming 3pl know of large.fishing.net

The Matankor are experts with canoes and with sailing and with swimming, and they are experts with large fishing nets.

X.1/15. *Ala Matankor pas eala madean poen.*
 3pl M expertise 3pl.ps big not

The Matankor don't have great expertise.

X.1/16. *Ala ne pasani pitui poen, ala ne pasani bul poen, ala ne pasani kau poen, ala ne pasani ya poen.*
 3pl d.neg know.about star not 3pl d.neg know.about moon not 3pl d.neg know.about chalk.magic not 3pl d.neg know.about lime not

They aren't experts with the stars or with the moon, and they aren't good with chalk magic or lime magic.

X.2 Invocation in a time of war

X.2/1. *Papu! Abulukal eoi ito!*
 father sago-loaf 2sg.ps here

Father! Here is your sago loaf.

X.2/2. *Ko nyak kiene dita bulukal eyo.*
 imp climb there-to top sago-loaf 1sg.ps

Climb onto my sago loaf.

X.2/3. *Ko tawi bulukal eyo ki ta on e kei ito, konova yo, yo u ta on e ala ramat!*
 imp give sago-loaf 1sg.ps 3sg.fut hit ? to tree this just.like 1sg 1sg 1sg.S hit ? to 3pl person

Grant that my sago loaf will hit this tree just like I will hit those people!

X.2/4. *Bulukal eyo i ne ta on e kei poen, yoya lau sago-loaf 1sg.ps 3sg d.neg hit ? to tree not 1pl.excl people eyo, yoya ne la ta on poen.*
 1sg.ps 1pl.excl d.neg go hit ? not

If my sago loaf does not hit the tree, my people will not be hit either.

X.3 Three song texts recorded in Parkinson from Po Sing

1: Song of the Chief Po Sing of Papitalai

Song text

- X.3/1. Ahaa E Mo en Pitilul, kono *you!*
E nyuni yo ila pel. Ae. O. Me te net i menuai.
Va: ani yo akeis?
E nyuni yo ila pel.
Ae-E. Me te net i menuai.
Va: ani yo akeis? E nyuni yo ila pel. Ae-Ae.
Caceman pel eoi.
Tawi pel ile poam. Ae.

Text in prose

- X.3/2. *Moen Pitilu, oi kone you!*
def P 2sg 2sg.perf stupidity
Man from Pitilu, you are stupid!

- X.3/3. *Oi a nyuni yo ila pel.*
2sg 2sg.nfut call.to 1sg to ear
You have called to me, to my ear.

- X.3/4. *Ayan eoi i me teyo.*
speech 2sg.ps 3sg come to-1sg
Your words have come to me.

- X.3/5. *Yo nat i manuai.*
1sg child 3sg osprey
I am the child of an osprey.

- X.3/6. *Yo u va: oi ani yo akeis?*
1sg 1sg.S say 2sg eat 1sg when
I say, "When do you eat me?"

- X.3/7. *Oi a cecemani pel eoi.*
2sg 2sg.nfut brag.about taro.pulp 2sg.ps
You bray about your taro pulp.

- X.3/8. *Yo ku tawi pel kile poam.*
1sg 1sg.fut place taro.pulp into mouth-2sg.ps
I will put taro pulp in your mouth.

2: Song of the crocodile

Song text

X.3/9. *Yo buai.*

1sg crocodile

I'm a crocodile.

X.3/10. *Yo buai i Lolu.*

1sg crocodile 3sg L

I'm a crocodile of Lolu.

X.3/11. *Yo u sa kau ita*

1sg 1sg.S come swim here

I have come swimming here ...

X.3/12. *pa ki an amo ramat.*

want 3sg.fut eat one person

in order to eat a person.

3: Song of the woman Hi Pak from Kerice (Fedarb dialect)

Song text

X.3/13. *Yo u se dua Cokele.*

1sg 1sg.S stand back C

I stood on the beach of Cokele.

X.3/14. *Yo u tawi kalo.*

1sg 1sg.S wave

I was waving.

X.3/15. *Yo u tou kalo yevuen.*

1sg 1sg.S wave finished

I finished waving.

X.3/16. *Yo limo i kine ηoy.*

1sg hand-1sg 3sg 3sg.perf be.tired

My hand was tired.

X.3/17. *Pale u lan i kine kanun.*

sail ? south 3sg 3sg.perf be.under

The sail going south has disappeared.

X.3/18. *Kamal eyo Koun.*

husband 1sg.ps K.

My husband is Koun.

Texts: Part X

X.3/19. *Yo u se dua Cavokil.*

Isg Isg.S stand back place.name

I stand on the beach at Cavokil.

X.3/20. *Yo u tawi po.*

Isg Isg.S cry.out

I cry out.

X.3/21. *Yo u tawi poa yevuen.*

Isg Isg.S cry.out finished

I finished crying out.

X.3/22. *Yo kapase i kine yoy.*

Isg jaw-bone 3sg 3sg.perf be.tired

My jaw was tired.

X.3/23. *Momote palei i kine kanun.*

? sail 3sg 3sg.perf be.under

The sails have disappeared [at the spot where they are hauled ashore].

X.3/24. *Kamal eyo Kamau.*

husband Isg.ps Kamau

My husband is Kamau.

X.4 Saying

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X.4/1. *Moali ki la, moali ki me; kit yoy kitti*

story 3sg.fut go story 3sg.fut come fut-be-in penetrate? in

buamatakuyana

buttocks

Let the story go, the story come, let it penetrate our buttocks.

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¹Bob Hauser went through a three-page questionnaire with some speakers of Titan on my behalf, and their responses are noted in the sketch grammar; however, the questions were aimed at checking some of the odder sentences in Meier's texts and confirming some points of his orthography, and were not of the detail required to make further grammatical generalizations.

²(Meier 1906:216) says “Eine der Fedarb-Inseln, mit Namen Siwisa, ist die Heimat des Po Minis mütterlichseits” [One of the Fedarb Islands, with the name Sivisa, is the homeland of Po Minis through his mother.] One of the Titan speakers that Bob Hauser (p.c., 2000) consulted remembered a man of that name who came from Mbunai. According to Meier (1907:650 et passim) Po Minis' father, Po Sing, was from Papitalai, and he is also referred to in Parkinson (1999) as the chief of Papitalai. Po Minis himself is said to speak the dialect of Papitalai. These areas are all part of the same dialect group (that which distinguishes *l* from *r*), and this is reflected in the data. I have called this study Sivisa Titan because that is the only dialect indication in Meier's text; however, it might better be called Papitalai Titan or simply ‘*r*-dialect’ Titan.

³The German original is as follows: “Da schliesslich Po Minis wieder in seine Heimat zurückkehrte, nachdem er Lesen und Schreiben gelernt hatte, so gab ich ihm den Auftrag mit, alle weiteren Sagen, die zu seiner Kenntnis gelangen sollten, aufzuschreiben und mir zuzuschicken. Das hat er auch getan. So verdanke ich denn Po Minis fast ganz allein das gesamte Material, das ich unten zum Abdruck bringe. Was er von seiner frühesten Kindheit an gehört und in dem Gedächtnisse bewahrt, was er später durch Fragen ermittelt hat, all das hat er mir getreulich mitgeteilt. Freilich ist der Schatz der Überlieferung dadurch noch nicht erschöpft”.

⁴“Was man dem Po Minis selbst, der behauptet, 9 Dialekte zu sprechen, in verschiedenen Mundarten erzählt hat, habe ich alles nur in seiner Muttersprache wiedergegeben, sa es mir unmöglich was, in so kurzer Zeit all die verschiedenen Dialekte zu erlernen.”

⁵Well over half the texts are given by speakers who are said to be from Papitalai, so this may imply that the corpus is fairly homogeneous.

⁶“Da ich Sagen von all den drei Stämmen habe ... nämlich von den

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Moanus, die ihre Hütten auf Pfählen in der See draussen irrichten, von den Matankor, die sich am Strande oder in dessen Nähe anbauen, und von den Usiai, die das Innere bevölkern...”

⁷The internal grouping of Eastern Manus languages is currently very unclear and the published classifications (Smythe 1958; Healey 1976b,a; Schooling and Schooling 1980, 1988, and Ross 1988) all differ in their details.

⁸This estimate is based on figures from Ethnologue (Grimshaw 1990), 1980 Papua New Guinea census data, Schooling and Schooling (1988), and Bob Hauser (p.c.).

⁹Schnee (1901:272–273) tends to use voiceless stops initially and varied voiced and voiceless intervocally; cf. *tei* ‘sein/his’ vs. *io kodoxei* ‘ich gehe/I go’. Smythe and Z’Graggen (1975) also tended to write the stops as voiced.

¹⁰“*p* und *w* können in einigen Fällen vertauscht werden. Es ist daher einerlei, den einen oder anderen Konsonanten zu schreiben, z. B. *lápán* oder *láwan*.” (*p* and *w* can be substituted in a few cases. It is equivalent to write one consonant or the other, for example, *lápán* or *láwan*.)

¹¹Hauser (p.c.) recorded the verb ‘say’ as *pʷe* and the desiderative/causative as *pa*.

¹²For example, *panawe* ~ *vanawe* ‘steal’ is written as *panawe* in Lusk (nd); *par* ‘pandanus nut’ does not alternate in Meier (and is written as *par* in Lusk [nd] too); *puic* ~ *vuic* ‘black’ is *pwic* in Lusk. Therefore, we find examples of both /pw/ and /p/ varyingly and unvaryingly transcribed, depending on the lexical item. In the Fortune text corrections to Meier’s stories, Fortune has typed these segments as *w* and then changed them to *p*, as in *Awe tja i ne tatuni sir poen* > *ape tchaa i ne....*

¹³Meier uses <*j*> for the palatal glide.

¹⁴Ross (1988:321) states that Titan loses the Proto-Admiralties contrast between *m and *mw, with both descending as *m*. The Meier corpus would appear to show that Titan is dialectally diverse in this regard, assuming that Titan *mʷ* continues Proto-Oceanic *mw. Reflexes such as *ramat* ‘man’ < POC *tamwata, however, implies that either a partial merger or a secondary innovation has taken place in the language.

¹⁵ Since sequences of *o* and non-high vowels also appear before consonants other than velarized labials (for example in *taroan*, ‘light-colored’), this schema possibly misses a contrast between *pwa* and *po.a*.

¹⁶ Meier (1906:481) records the stress as *karáat*, implying that the syllabification is *ka.ra.at*.

¹⁷ A word for ‘wife’ is not recorded in the Loniu materials available to me.

¹⁸ The alternation between *pein* and *pinramat* might also imply a process of vowel reduction away from stressed syllables.

¹⁹ Not all examples of *n*-loss can be explained as cluster reduction, however; as seen from Section 3.4.3, there is also a syntactic environment for the reduction.

²⁰ The word *luwani* is also transcribed *luwuani* by Fortune.

²¹ References to examples are given throughout in the form (IV.3/15). The first number references the section; the second is the text number and the third is the line number. These references are keyed to the texts in Part C of this book. The section and text numbers correspond to the original Meier corpus; I have added line numbers.

²² This ‘inclusive construction’, the juxtaposition of a non-singular pronoun and a nominal, is discussed further in Section 5.5.

²³ For the use of *amo*, see Section 4.4.8. Note that the third person singular *i* does appear in prenominal position, but it functions not as a number marker but a discourse marker (examples are given in Section 5.4; see (5.23)). While numerals trigger singular agreement, the quantifier *panum* ‘some’ triggers plural agreement; see (5.21) below.

²⁴ In this sketch I use the terms ‘alienable’ and ‘inalienable’ rather than ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ used in Lynch et al. (2002). The inalienable suffix construction corresponds to Lynch et al.’s ‘direct’ possession.

²⁵ There are two exceptions in the data; the pronoun *ca* ‘what’ seems to be possessed in the word *cayo* ‘my business’ (IX.1/12), but this could be a contraction of *ca eyo*, which would be regular. Another example with similar phonological conditions is *paluayo* ‘my companion’.

²⁶ There seems to be more alternation between ‘short forms’ and ‘long

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forms' in Loniu than there is in Titan. There are many more forms in Loniu with inalienable and compounded forms than are found in the Titan data. In Loniu, *um* 'house' has a long form *umʷe*, but the word in Titan seems to be only *um* with no alternation. The origin of the alternation is presumably the Proto-Oceanic loss of word-final consonants reconstructed by Ross (1988:331).

²⁷ *Maten* occurs only in one example (XIII.12/33), where the word is glossed as 'it's her death' (i.e., she's close to death). Ross (2002:128) identifies a suffix *-en* in Kele which forms nouns from verbs, as in *misen* 'cooked food' (cf. *mis* 'cook'). Therefore, this may not be an inalienable possessive marker in this example after all, although an equivalent suffix is otherwise not to be found in the corpus.

²⁸ The context of the statement is that the boys' mother has scraped off her old skin and now looks very young. The boys have just noticed her; one says, "that's our mother", but his brother implies that he would rather have his mother as his wife.

²⁹ Note that in the examples, the order of glossed items preserves English headedness, not the Titan headedness, for ease of parsing.

³⁰ The *-n* is frequently lost before *d* (Meier's <ndr>) and *r*, as in the example *pinramat* ~ *piramat* 'female person' above. As discussed in Section 2.4.1, it is unclear whether n-deletion in this environment is phonetic or grammatical. One compound is attested both with the *-n*, in *lodianum* 'inside the house', and without it, as *lodia um*, where it is written as two words. This might imply that there is a difference in semantics between forms with the possessive suffix and those without.

³¹ Such compounds could possibly be described also as 'inalienable possessive compounds'; such compounds are frequent with body parts to denote the animal from which the body part comes. Compare also *diliwe-ni*, 'fish intestines', *diliwen-pou* 'pig intestines', and *kolo-nat* 'child's neck'.

³² Note that 'breadfruit' is a compound in English but not in Titan.

³³ See section Section 7.4.4 for the use of prepositions with no complement as 'adverbs', which could be considered another type of zero derivation.

³⁴ The form *parer* is somewhat problematic, however, as both *parer* and

pareren seem to occur as verbs. The verb *kuni* is itself derived from *kun* ‘drag home’; *lisi* ‘see’ is from *lis* ‘see’. That is, several of these words include multiple derivational steps.

³⁵This is not the case with objects of non-verbal prepositions, which must always be present. Objects of de-verbal prepositions may be omitted, and some de-verbal prepositions do not take object complements. See further Section 7.3.

³⁶The English glosses in the table are derived from a combination of deduction from Meier’s glossing in German, the material in Ross (nd) and my analysis of the texts.

³⁷There are pronouns of the form *to* in the texts, but they are shortened forms of *wato* ‘1pc’, and not third person pronouns or demonstratives.

³⁸The use of the numeral in the function of an article is reconstructed by Ross (1988:331) to Proto-Admiralties.

³⁹(9.20) provides a further possible example. In that sentence, the child’s footprint is contrasted with that of a hermit crab. That example is interesting because it provides evidence for possible phrasal compounding of the type also noted in Section 3.4.2 (see examples (3.19a) and (3.19b)).

⁴⁰Example (9.32) is problematic in several ways; Meier has a note that “One says this phrase to signify that something is inferior and useless.” This implies that the phrase might be dialectal or fossilized. There are two untranslatable words in addition to the singly attested interrogative.

⁴¹With fieldwork it would be possible to test for differing behavior of headless NPs with adjectives versus zero-derived adjectival nominals. For example, derived nouns should be able to appear in possessive constructions and be modified with quantifiers, and verbs should be able to be serialized and to appear with adverbs. No relevant examples appear in the corpus, unfortunately.

⁴²I assume here that the adjectives remain adjectives and are modifying the pronouns; however, it would also be possible to analyze the adjectives as zero-derived nouns. In that case, (3.2b) would be an example of a regular noun phrase, and (9.7) would be an example of the pronominal number marking discussed in Section 3.2 above. (9.7) would then be an example directly parallel to (3.3). I prefer the modifier analysis (that is, where the

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adjective modifies the pronoun), since adjectives also occur with the third person singular pronoun *i* in examples such as (9.2a); this is not parallel to the number-marking use of third person pronouns, as the singular pronoun is never used to mark number.

⁴³The long form *asiuna* is only postnominal; *asi* is variable.

⁴⁴This *ei* ‘3sg.ps’ is probably a mistake for *tei*, since this is the only attestation of the phrase *ila ei i*, whereas *ila te i* occurs twenty-two times in the corpus.

⁴⁵Ross (2002:136) gives some examples of verbs in Kele which occur with possessive-like subject suffixes rather than prefixes; equivalents in the Titan corpus always have subject prefixes.

⁴⁶Here I discuss realis, irrealis, and perfective forms. There is a possibility that there is a fourth TAM inflection, in negation. The evidence for this arises from the inflection of deverbal prepositions (for which see Section 7.3), where forms may show the prefixes *i-*, *ki-*, *kine-*, or *ine-*. Meier treats the negation particle as a distinct word which appears between the realis agreement markers and the main verb. I follow Meier’s treatment here, although noting that this may be inconsistent.

⁴⁷This is the same distribution of replaced forms as seen in the inalienable possessive suffixation. Ross (1988:331–332) provides details of the historical replacement of earlier affixes with the free pronouns for inalienable possessives; the realis agreement markers would be another case of the same replacement.

⁴⁸I use the term serialization here following Ross (2002), Crowley (2002), and other work in this area, but I have no true evidence that the markers in question are still verbs. They are clearly verbs in origin but their synchronic status is unclear.

⁴⁹From the data available it is not possible to clearly distinguish V serialization from VP serialization. All the aspect serial verbs attested in the corpus are intransitive; sequences of V VP and VP VP would, therefore, be formally identical in all attested cases.

⁵⁰The verbs are *yaw* ‘go away’; *to* ‘be at, in a place’; *ye* ‘be in/on a place, sit’, and *so* ‘be in/on a place, stand’.

⁵¹Note that Hamel’s (1994) use of the term ‘auxiliary’ should not be

taken to imply that the Loniu construction is not a serial verb construction; Hamel does not discuss this possibility. Her description is also consistent with serialization. Regarding the distinction between serial verbs and particles, this cannot be tested in the current corpus because there are no examples of doubtfully serialized items with any agreement other than a third person singular non-future subject. However, there are examples with an overt subject and a third person agreement marker:

- Hi Solou i ma tu kakala.*
 H. S. 3sg still prog seek
 'Hi Solou was still looking... (V.6/50)

I have analyzed items such as *ma* 'still' as adverbs rather than serial verbs but further confirmation is needed.

⁵²Titan *tu* would appear to be cognate with the Loniu aspectual verb *to*, which is stative, durative, and habitual (Hamel 1994:109). No stative functions are attested in the Meier corpus for this verb, however.

⁵³It is possible that there is another lexical verb with a closer meaning to the serial verb, but which is not attested in the corpus.

⁵⁴See Section 2.1.2.4 for an explanation of the form *ngrundun*.

⁵⁵I distinguish the occurrence of *te* and a preposition from goal-marked prepositions because Meier writes the former as two words and the latter as a single word. This distinction may be artificial, however.

⁵⁶In (9.14a), *tia* is an alternative spelling for *ca* 'what'.

⁵⁷Hauser (p.c.) notes that agreement with deverbal prepositions in the modern language appears to follow slightly different rules. There are a few examples not only of non-matching agreement (as in [ii], but also instances where the agreement is missing (see [iii]). All these phrases were said to 'mean the same'.

- i *Das kine po sawi yep^wen.*
 sea perf cause dry.up completely.
 'The sea dried up completely.'
- ii *Das kine po sawi yep^wen.*
 sea perf cause dry.up completely.

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- iii *karaat i la tawi manaun le gai*
turtle 3sg inco lay egg in hole
'The turtle lay her eggs, having gone into a hole.'

⁵⁸This analysis does not, I think, extend to Loniu or some of the other Admiralties languages with similar constructions, as the syntax appears to differ.

⁵⁹The only possible form which could be analyzed in this way is *-lati* 'on', and this preposition is probably also related to a lexical verb *lati* 'live', as in

- Ala Usia ala lati lonau.*
3pl Usiai 3pl live.in thick.forest
'The Usiai live in the bush.' (Parkinson:14)

⁶⁰The form *mulie* in the Fortune typescript is *mulis* but that is most likely a typographical error. There are a considerable number of typographical errors in the English transcript of Fortune's papers which might imply that someone had trouble reading Fortune's handwriting.

⁶¹The fact that the word is recorded as *langkiau* in Lusk's dictionary may imply that Meier has conflated *ŋ* and *ŋk* in writing <ng>; see Section 2.4.1.

⁶²There are no examples of the desiderative where the subject of wanting and the subject of the lexical verb are different; that is, there are no examples of the form 'X wants Y to do something'.

⁶³This story was published not in the main text collection but under the definition of *kareŋ*, 'Papagei' ('parrot': *Agapornis roseicollis*).

⁶⁴Much of this anecdote illustrates the points made in Fortune (1935) about the cult of Sir Ghosts and their obligations of ghosts to look after their living relatives. CB.

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