The Puvaŋeŋo Language

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# Contents

1	Intr	oductio	$\mathbf{n}$												5
	1.1	Geogra	hy			 									5
	1.2	Culture			 ٠	 									5
<b>2</b>	The	Gramı	nar												7
	2.1	Abbrev	ations			 									7
	2.2		рgy												9
			Consonants												9
			Vowels												9
			Phonotactics												9
			Prosody												9
	2.3	Nomina	l Morphology			 									9
		2.3.1	Case			 				 					9
			Possessive Prefixe												10
	2.4	Adjecti	als			 									10
	2.5	Pronom	inals			 				 					12
		2.5.1	Personal Pronoun	s		 				 					12
		2.5.2	Others			 				 					12
	2.6		Morphology												12
			The Applicative												12
			Person/Transitivi												12
		2.6.3	$\Gamma$ he Inflectional S	uffix		 				 					13
			Participles												15
		2.6.5	Reduplication			 									15
	2.7	Derivat	on			 									16
		2.7.1	Verb to Noun			 				 					16
		2.7.2	Noun to Verb			 				 					16
		2.7.3	Compounding			 				 					17
	2.8	Syntax				 				 					17
		2.8.1	Phrasal Syntax .			 				 					17
		2.8.2	Alignment			 				 					18
		2.8.3	Clausal Syntax .			 				 					19
		2.8.4	Use of Modes			 									21
	2.9	Inter-cl	ausal Syntax			 									25
		2.9.1	Coordination			 									25
			Subordination												25

4		CONTENTS

3	Sem	nantics	27
	3.1	Numerals	27
	3.2	Kinship	27
	3.3	Colour Termniology	28
	3.4	Cardinal Directions	28
4	The	Lexicon	29

## Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Geography

Puvaŋeŋo is spoken on **Puvuva** the largest island in the **Keyeenyeye** archipelago off the coast of western **Peilaš** by a group known as the **Puvape**. The language is spoken across the whole island with a fair amount of dialectal variation, however unusually its closest relatives are to be found not on the other islands in the chain but on the mainland across the bay.

The island itself features a prominent mountain range in its centre sloping down into forest towards the coast. The climate is generally tropical and humid, with a contrast of wet and dry seasons, supporting thick rainforest outside of the peaks of the mountains and settlements. The human presence consists of scattered settlements based around the coast with large intervening tracts of jungle, with transport between these settlements being achieved mainly by boat rather than by foot. Travel into the interior is possible for particular cultural practices; many settlements are built at the mouths of small rivers along the banks of which journeys inland are made.

#### 1.2 Culture

The **Puvape** are a group of sedentary mixed farmer/hunter-gatherers, with agriculture consisting mainly the staples of breadfruit **nyeyo** and pigs **syevu**. These are farmed on plots of land cleared in forest close to the settlement. The rest of the diet is generally foraged from the surrounding area. Dishes made from these generally consist of flavoured vegetable stews sometimes combined with roast meat.

Social organisation at the village level is somewhat complex, with several extended family houses being centred on a large communal square. Houses generally consist of close collection of free-standing units **seme** housing one extended family headed by a patriarch **mofe**. Prior to marriage, teenage boys will join one of the cult houses **mosemii** built inland of the village and live there until marriage, with married men returning to the cult house to sleep when their wives are on their periods. The raising of children is a somewhat communal affair, with weaned children often being taken care of as much by the patriarch and his wife as by their birth mother.

Notably there are several ethnic sub-divisions or "lineages" in the Puvape people. The largest and most socially predominant of these are the **Anipi**, who comprise nearly a half of the total ethnic population. The other ethnic sub-divisions are the **Kisoyo**, **Piluvu**, **Mafoyo** and **Xoovu**. It will be noted that the latter four have required marital exogamy (e.g. **Kisoyo** cannot marry in their own group) but the **Anipi** are permitted endogamous marriage, though this mostly

occurs only in settlements with majority or solely **Anipi** population. Determination of lineage is patrilineal, and marriages are patrilocal.

The native religious practices are generally animist in orientation, with a large part of them being articulated through the **mosemii**. There are a few typical taboos, such as the aforementioned period taboo, which is motivated by the view that menstrual blood poses a physical danger to men. At this point, the man will go and live in their **mosemii** for several days, with the expectation that they will bring back some meat to their home in order for their wife to "regain her strength". It is not uncommon for several men, being tabooed from their wives for the same period, will go on a hunt together and share the kill between them to take back.

# Chapter 2

# The Grammar

## 2.1 Abbreviations

1 first person PROX proximal demonstrative

 $1 EXCL \ first \ person \ exclusive \\ REFL \ reflexive$ 

2 second person REL relative

21 second person plural/first person inclusive SAP speech-act participant

ALI alienable SG singular

ANI animate SIM simultaneous participle

APP applicative SOBJ speech-act participant object

CAUS causative participle SSUB speech-act participant subject

COMND command, imperative SUBJ subjunctive

COND conditional participle TRA transitive

CV intensive

DIR direct

DIST distal demonstrative

ERG ergative

**HEAR** hearsay

IMP imperfective

INA inalienable (but INT.INA interrogative inanimate)

IND indirect

INDEF indefinite

INST instrumental

INTER interrogative

IRR irrealis

ITER iterative

LOC locative

NEG negative

OBL oblique

PAR participle

PL plural

PRF perfective

PROHIB prohibitive

2.2. PHONOLOGY 9

### 2.2 Phonology

#### 2.2.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	$\operatorname{Dental}$	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	$\mathbf{p}$	${f t}<{f t}>$	$\mathrm{c}<\!\mathbf{t}\mathbf{y}>$	$\mathbf{k}$
Fricative	$\Phi < \mathbf{f} >$	$\mathrm{s}/\theta <\! \mathbf{s}\! >$	$arphi/arphi < \mathbf{s}\mathbf{y}>$	x
(Voiced)	$\beta < v >$	$\mathbf{z}/\delta < \mathbf{z} >$	$\mathrm{j} <\! \mathbf{y} \!>$	
Nasal	$\mathbf{m}$	$ \mathbf{n} < \mathbf{n} > $	p < ny >	ŋ
Lateral		$\mathbf{l} < \mathbf{l} >$	$\Lambda <$ $\mathbf{ly}>$	$_{ m L} <$

#### 2.2.2 Vowels

Puvaŋeŋo has a standard five-vowel system /i e a o u/, with each vowels coming in contrastive short-long pairs. Long vowels are denoted using double letters.

#### 2.2.3 Phonotactics

Phonotactics are strict (C)V, with vowel-only syllables only occurring word-initially. Additionally, word-initial consonants are restricted to the plosives, voiceless fricatives and nasals excluding  $\eta$ .

#### 2.2.4 Prosody

Puvaŋeŋo has variably placed stress, with penultimate being the default and final being found when the penultimate vowel is short and the ultimate vowel is long. Secondary stresses are then assigned trochacially to every other preceding syllable. Degenerate feet occur when a word-initial syllable is not assigned stress, except in bisyllables with ultimate stress, where an iambic foot is created instead.

## 2.3 Nominal Morphology

#### 2.3.1 Case

Puvaŋeŋo has a simple three-way case distinction between an absolutive, an ergative-instrumental and an oblique case. The absolutive is formally unmarked, while the ergative and oblique are expressed with suffices, which vary depending on the length of the preceding vowel, as show below:

(1) novasenanyu soota naŋuuki 1-father-INA-ERG ground.pigeon 3TRA-strip-IMP.DIR My father is skinning the ground pigeon

With the oblique the V represents an echo of the preceding vowel. There is a further irregularity where instead of a suffix when the final consonant of a short vowel noun is one of  $\mathbf{z}$  or  $\mathbf{y}$  the consonant is replaced by a lateral rather than adding a suffix -  $\mathbf{z} > \mathbf{l}$  and  $\mathbf{y} > \mathbf{l} \mathbf{y}$ . Additionally,

as seen above when an inalienably possessed noun and the reflexive pronoun takes the ergative it is realised as  $-\mathbf{nyu}$ .

- (2) tuzu azuxi grouse shout-IMP.DIR The grouse is shouting
- (3) no tulu syaxatalu
  1SG grouse-OBL SAP-strike-PRF.DIR
  I struck out at the grouse
- (4) tyesalana fiilu 2-uncle-INA die-PRF.DIR Your uncle is dead
- (5) tyeyasenanyu xamu natyiini 2-father-INA-ERG INDEF 3TRA-speak-PRF.NEG Your father said nothing

#### 2.3.2 Possessive Prefixes

Nominals in Puvaŋeŋo (which include participles, as discussed below) are either alienable of inalienable for the purposes of possession. There are two different sets of prefixes marking the person of each possessor for the two classes, and inalienable nouns are found with a suffix as well marking that they are inalienably possessed âĂŞ the absence of this suffix is semantically marked. First the alienable paradigm. The first form is used before consonant-initial words and the second before vowel-initial words.

```
1 | nuu-/nov-
2 | tyuu-/tyov-
3 | muu-/mov-
Then the inalienable paradigm
1 | no- -na
2 | tye- -na
3 | -na
```

## 2.4 Adjectivals

There are two main classes of adjective-like elements in Puvaneno - the root adjectives and the stative verbs. The root adjectives form a small class of core meanings, and behave mostly like nominals, being compounded with their head noun and not exhibiting any special morphology.

big
$\operatorname{small}$
young
old
black, dark
white, bright
long
$\operatorname{short}$
good
bad

2.4. ADJECTIVALS

(6) nosalana kosyi 1-uncle-INA old My old uncle/my uncle is old

(7) kosyi nosalana old 1-uncle-INA My old uncle

These may be treated as independent nominals in their own right.

(8) no mu kosyi muufiinyesya syeefisaxi 1SG DIST old 3ALI-dead-IMP.PAR SSUB.TRA-hold-IMP.DIR I want that old one dead

This class also includes the set of numerals. It will be noted that when used as independent nominals the numerals by default take singular agreement - plural marking on the verb would be interpreted distributively (as in "X groups").

(9) ana paxe five wrasse five wrasses

(10) pezana olo eye-INA two

They have two eyes

(11) anafi fololo syeenyaxi six tree-OBL hang-IMP.DIR Six of them were hanging from the trees

(12) no tyeŋala sanya syeenyiikuu 1SG 21-OBL four SSUB.TRA-give-IMP.IRR.PL I will give you four each

The other class of adjectivals consists of stative verbs, which is productively derived from nominals -nyexi (see below). These behave like verbs, taking verbal inflections when predicative and requiring a participle relative construction when attributive.

- (13) tyenyiinyesya eya salty-IMP.PAR fish salty fish
- (14) ee eya tyenyiinyexi PROX fish salty-IMP.DIR This fish is salty

#### 2.5 Pronominals

#### 2.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns only exist for the 1st and 2nd persons, and are the only kind of nominal that exhibits a number contrast. Additionally, there is a clusivity contrast in the 1st person, however the form used to mark it is identical to the 2nd person plural.

1SG	no
1EXCL	taa
$1 \mathrm{INCL} / 2 \mathrm{PL}$	tyeŋa
2SG	tye

These pronouns notably do not take ergative-instrumental marking, instead taking oblique marking when they occur as direct objects with transitive verbs (something which will be discussed under Alignment). There is additionally a reflexive pronoun **syina**, which does not mark number. It has an irregular oblique form **syinya** and takes the inalienable ergative **-nyu**.

#### 2.5.2 Others

The other pronouns come in pairs of a pronominal root and an adverbial root. There are four such pairs: proximal and distal demonstratives (which also function as 3rd person pronouns), an indefinite and a WH-interrogative.

	PRONOM	ADVERB
PROX	ee	$\mathbf{eefi}$
DIST	mu	muxu
INDEF	xamu	xaki
INTERR	$\mathbf{na/ni}$	exi
Evervone	tamu	taki

The **na/ni** alternation in the Interrogative is based on animacy, with na being used with animates and ni with inanimates.

### 2.6 Verbal Morphology

#### 2.6.1 The Applicative

The first prefix in the verb complex is the applicative **nyaa**-, which occurs in transitive verbs to mark that at least one of the oblique arguments has a benefactive role.

```
(15) tye eya nolo nyaasyeefunye?
2SG fish 1SG-OBL APP-SSUB.TRA-roast-PRF.SBJ
Would you roast a fish for me?
```

```
(16) tye mu nolo nyaasyeepuu nule
2SG DIST 1SG-OBL APP-SSUB.TRA-return-PRF.SUBJ must
You have to send them back to me
```

#### 2.6.2 Person/Transitivity

Transitivity is expressed in the Puvaneno verb via prefixes, with transitive verbs being marked overtly while intransitives are not overtly marked as such. This is tied up with a very limited

form of person marking, with separate prefixes to mark the presence of a speech-act-participant (1st or 2nd person) as a core argument.

Intransitive verbs are relatively simple âĂŞ They exhibit no prefix when their subject is a non-SAP and take a **sya-** prefix when their subject is an SAP. This prefix causes a mutation in a following plosive consonant.

Base | Lenited | v | t | z | ty | y | k | 0

Additionally, when the verb begins with a palatal consonant or the first vowel of the root is front, the vowel of the prefix mutates to e.

- (17) fe muusemele tyasyi man 3ALI-hut-OBL walk-PRF.IND The man walked to his house
- (18) no nuusemele syeyalu 1SG 1ALI-hut-OBL SAP-walk-PRF.DIR I walked to my house

Transitive verbs are more complex. There is a single overt prefix  $\mathbf{na}$ - used with non-SAP argument, but for SAP arguments there is a contrast between  $\mathbf{syee}$ - for an SAP subject and  $\mathbf{syana}$ - for a SAP-object with a non-SAP subject. There is a further piece of morphophonology, with an  $\mathbf{n}$  being inserted before a vowel-initial stem, plus a mutation in labials and velars, with  $\mathbf{f}$  and  $\mathbf{x}$  undergoing fortition to  $\mathbf{p}$  and  $\mathbf{k}$  and  $\mathbf{p}$  and  $\mathbf{k}$  nasalising to  $\mathbf{m}$  and  $\mathbf{\eta}$  respectively.

- (19) no tyele syeekatalu 1SG 2SG SSUB.TRA-hit-PRF.DIR I hit you
- (20) no fefe syeekatalu 1SG man SSUB.TRA-hit-PRF.DIR I hit the man
- (21) fefeyu nolo syanakatalu man-ERG 1SG-OBL SOBJ.TRA-hit-PRF.DIR The man hit me
- (22) fefeyu syani nakatalu man-ERG REFL 3TRA-hit-PRF.DIR The man hit himself

#### 2.6.3 The Inflectional Suffix

The final suffix in the full verb is the inflectional suffix, which marks for three categories simultaneously; modality (encompassing a mix of mood, polarity and evidentiality), aspect (in the form of a perfective-imperfective distinction) and number (of the absolutive argument). These are expressed in a single fused suffix. There are also a set of suffixes used to form different kinds of subordinate clauses (the relative suffix behaves somewhat differently and will be discussed as such)

There are four conjugation classes for this suffix depending both on the length of the previous vowel and the presence of a morphophonological nasal or lateral element, referred to in the table below as the -V, -VV, -N and -L classes (note that the colon in the -V class represents the lengthening of the preceding short vowel).

$\operatorname{Direct}$	-V		-VV		-N		-L	
PRF	-lu	-zee	-lu	-tee	-nulu	-tee	-lu	-lee
$\operatorname{IMP}$	-xi	-:tee	-ki	-kii	-ŋi	-ŋii	-łi	-łii
Indirect								
PRF	-syi	-zasyi	-syi	$-\mathbf{tasyi}$	-syi	$-\mathbf{tasyi}$	-syi	-lasyi
$\operatorname{IMP}$	-xusyi	-:tasyi	-kusyi	-kuusyi	-ŋusyi	-ŋuusyi	-łusyi	-łuusyi
$\operatorname{Hearsay}$								
PRF	-ve	-zave	-ke	-tave	-me	$-\mathbf{tave}$	-łe	-lave
$\operatorname{IMP}$	-xuve	-:tave	-kuve	-kuuke	-ŋuve	-ŋuuke	-łuve	-łuuke
$\operatorname{Subjunctive}$								
PRF	-0	-za	-0	-ta	-0	-ta	-0	-la
IMP	-xu	-:ta	-ku	-kusa	-դս	-ŋusa	-łu	-łusa
Negative								
PRF	-ni	-zani	-ni	- an i	-ni	- an i	-ni	-lani
$\operatorname{IMP}$	-xuni	-:tani	-kuni	-kuuni	-ŋuni	-ŋuuni	-łuni	-łuuni

The citation form of verbs in the lexicon is the imperfective-direct-singular, since it handily demarcates the four verb classes.

- (23) no tyenyesa funyelu
  1SG barracuda roast-PRF.DIR
  I roasted a barracuda over an open fire
- (24) ee fefe tyoseyu fiitasyi
  PROX man misletoe-INST die-PRF.DIR.PL
  These men died of mistletoe poisoning it seems
- (25) no iitya tyiisya syeetooxuve 1SG speech say-IMP.PAR SSUB.TRA-need-IMP.HEAR I am told I need to make a speech
- (26) tye xeepu syeesyizoota
  2SG paddle SSUB.TRA-break-IMP.SUBJ.PL
  You will be breaking paddles
- (27) tye xamu syeemoo aa? 2SG INDEF SSUB.TRA-absent-PRF.SUBJ INTER Have you lost something?
- (28) muyu tyanuu nolo naninyiikuuni DIST-ERG blanket 1SG-OBL 3TRA-give-IMP.NEG.PL They do not give me blankets

In terms of inflectional classes, there are a few irregularities of assignment, in particular involving a few verbs with stem-final long vowels which inflected like short-vowel stems such as **eexi** "drink" and **siiki** "crack, split open"

#### 2.6.4 Participles

Puvaŋeŋo has a large roster of participles encoding a number of distinctions.

-V -VV/-N/-LSequential/Perfective Relative -fa -pa Imperfective Relative -sya -tya Simultaneous -syaŋa -tyaŋa Causative -foyu -poyu Conditional -feepa -peepa Negative Conditional -niva -niva

- (29) funalya iipa fefe window-OBL appear-PRF.PAR man The man that appeared in the window
- (30) ituzu itetya notenuna housepole make-IMP.PAR 1-mate-INA My lodge-mate that makes housepoles
- (31) naneetyele xiisyana no tyefanena syeetyoolu village.square-OBL walk-SIM 1SG 2-brother-INA SSUB-meet-PRF.DIR While heading to the village square I saw your brother
- (32) tayoxaniva tye syefii reverence-NEG.COND 2SG SAP-die-PRF.SUBJ If you do not pay your respects you will die

Participles are syntactically nominal in character, such that they may mark the person of their (nominative) subject by alienable possession prefixes.

- (33) nuutyiyuupoyu mu syanatyuuni 1ALI-greedy-CAUS DIST SOBJ.TRA-eat-PRF.NEG They will not feed me because I are greedy
- (34) tyuupuufeepa no syeepii
  2ALI-return-COND 1SG SSUB.TRA-die-PRF.SUBJ
  If you go back I will kill you

#### 2.6.5 Reduplication

There are multiple reduplicative processes in verbs used to mark semi-derivational categories. The first of these involves reduplication of a CV-empty segment to mark the intensive. There are constraints on the shape of the segment - copied long vowels are shortened. With vowel-initial roots u and o insert a -v- and a, i and e insert -y-.

- (35) tye syeneneesyi
  2SG SAP-CV-push-PRF.IND
  Looks like you pushed [too] hard
- (36) ee nyeye mumuukii PROX stone CV-smooth-IMP.DIR.PL These stones are very smooth

The second of these is complete reduplication of the verb root to mark the iterative. The root and reduplicant are interpolated by a semantically empty segment, the form of which depends on the conjugation class:

$$\begin{array}{c|c} -V & -VV \\ -VV & -0(-y-/-v-) \\ -N & -nV \\ -L & -lV \end{array}$$

Here V represents an echo of the preceding vowel, which is absent when the root is vowel-initial. The y v alternation follows the same criteria as the intensive above: v with rounded vowels and y otherwise, and similarly with -VV roots when the root is vowel-initial

(37) taa mu nakatayaxatazee 1EXCL DIST 3TRA-ITER-hit-PRF.DIR.PL

We hit them over and over

- (38) nuuxafo xifaaxifaaki
  1ALI-parrot ITER-vomit-IMP.DIR
  My parrot keeps throwing up
- (39) tye moyosele eŋexaneŋexaŋuve 2SG river-OBL ITER-urinate-IMP.HEAR You keep urinating in the river

#### 2.7 Derivation

#### 2.7.1 Verb to Noun

There is a regular agent nominalisation  $-\mathbf{fe}$ , as well as a somewhat less productive and more semantically idiosyncratic formant  $-\mathbf{se}/-\mathbf{te}$ .

```
eyakaŋi "to fish" > eyakafe "fisherman"
pozoxi "to dance" > pozofe "dancer"
siŋi "to remain, stay" > site "resident, inhabitant"
tyovaxi "to stink, be putrid" > tyovase "corpse"
```

There is a patient/locative nominalisation as well in the form of -ye/-tye (the former form being used with -V verbs and the latter with the other three classes).

```
nanooxi "to feel (emotionally)" > nanooye "feeling"
toveeki "to hunt" > toveetye "prey"
fooki "to sit" > footye "seat"
```

#### 2.7.2 Noun to Verb

The most common verbalising affix is the stative **-nyexi** which forms stative verbs as discussed above.

```
esyuu "fire" > esyuunyexi "be hot"
nyeye "stone" > nyeyenyexi "be hard, stony"
```

There is also a more semantically irregular affix -xani, which forms verbs which denote actions involving the noun it is derived from.

```
fee "smoke" > feexani "to smoke"
ene "urine" > enexani "to urinate"
```

2.8. SYNTAX 17

#### 2.7.3 Compounding

Compounding is a somewhat productive process for word-formation, the predominant type being noun-noun compounding. These are often accompanied by irregular processes of sandhi like those found with the SAP prefix.

```
fulya "clay" + funyee "cooking vessel" > fulyafunyee "clay pot" nyeye "stone" + keŋo "mouth" > nyeyeeŋo "cave" apa "star" + ufe "mouse" > apoofe "bat" aamo "rain" + axa "cloud" > aamovaxa "raincloud" ixi "grave" + nyeye "stone" > ixinyeye "grave marker"
```

### 2.8 Syntax

In general Puvaneno is fairly strongly head-final, with heads nominals coming finally in noun phrases and finite verbs coming finally in clauses.

#### 2.8.1 Phrasal Syntax

Within the noun phrase, aside from the final position of the head noun, there are relatively few strict limits on permutations of modifying elements. In general the tendency is for simpler elements to appear closer to the noun, typically the demonstratives and numerals, with relative clauses tending to come first in the phrase.

- (40) no syeepisaasya syele ee tuu eya 1SG SSUB.TRA-hold-IMP.PAR 3 PROX big fish These three big fish that I am holding
- (41) seepa angoolo xamu tyanuu fill-PRF.PAR seven INDEF blanket
  Some seven finished blankets

Notably however, root adjectives may optionally appear after the head noun rather than before it, with demonstratives sometimes being found in this position as well.

- $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{(42)} & \text{tyeyasena} & \text{kosyi} \\ & \text{2-father-INA old} \\ & \text{Your old father} \end{array}$
- (43) nofinana ee 1-hand-INA PROX This hand of mine

#### Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are pre-nominal and use one of two different participle forms. Relatives may generally be formed freely with any participant, but with a difference in marking. Core arguments generally are null-marked inside the relative clause.

(44) teetya fefe no syeetookii follow-IMP.REL man 1SG SSUB.TRA-need-IMP.DIR.PL I need men who [will] follow [me]

- (45) noveyakapa syenya tye funyexu aa? 1ALI-fish-PRF.REL shark 2SG roast-IMP.SUBJ INTER Are you cooking that shark I caught?
- (46) nofaŋena napiipa feyee mu 1-brother-INA 3TRA-die-PRF.REL foreigner DIST That is the man that killed my brother
- (47) tyefanenanyu mafa mu azuu exi kiisyi?
  2-brother-INA-ERG catch-PRF.REL DIST bullroarer INT.LOC lie-IMP.IND
  Where is that bullroarer your brother found?

Reltivisation of non-core arguments, when that occurs, may also be zero-marked or have a reflexive resumptive pronoun.

- (48) nuupopa keyeele nomovasena fiike 1ALI-be.born-PRF.REL sun-OBL 1-granddad-INA die-PRF.HEAR My grandfather died on the day I was born
- (49) monyeye sitya semexala taa syesyuuxii mountain near-IMP.PAR village-OBL 1EXCL SAP-ascend-PRF.DIR.PL We are going up to the village by the mountain
- (50) syinya fozootya moyose ee REFL-OBL wash-IMP.PAR river PROX This is the river for washing

Negation of relatives is achieved by a periphrastic construction involving the copular negative  $\sin i$ .

- (51) nyizeenyesya sini nyizee no nyiinyiini sticky-IMP.PAR NEG glue 1SG understand-PRF.NEG I do not understand glue that is not sticky
- (52) syinya pataxatya sini puva mu REFL-OBL sail-IMP.PAR NEG island DIST That is an island we do not sail to

#### 2.8.2 Alignment

Puvaŋeŋo is a split-ergative language, with the split being found between personal pronouns and other nominal elements.

The personal pronouns (i.e. first and second persons) follow a nominative alignment, with nominative case (intransitive subject and transitive agent) being unmarked and the accusative (transitive patient) being marked with the oblique case.

(53) no syeesyiyoxanulu 1SG SAP-start.fire-PRF.DIR I started a fire 2.8. SYNTAX 19

(54) nolo syeekesyananii 1SG-OBL COMND-SSUB-give Give it to me

By contrast, other nominal elements (including full nouns, demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns) are characterised by an ergative alignment, with the absolutive case (intransitive subject and transitive patient) being formally unmarked and the ergative (transitive agent) being marked by the ergative-instrumental case.

- (55) kalye fulo fooki frog leaf-OBL sit-IMP.DIR A frog is sitting on a leaf
- (56) kalyeyu pusi natyuukii frog-ERG ant 3TRA-eat-IMP.DIR.PL The frog is eating ants

It will be noted that the ergative may occur with verbs lacking the transitive marker, conveying a de-agentive sense, and furthermore this usage is predominant with inanimate instrumental agents.

- (57) faŋena muyu napiike brother-INA DIST-ERG 3TRA-die-PRF.HEAR He killed his brother (intentionally)
- (58) faŋena muyu fiike brother-INA DIST-ERG die-PRF.HEAR He killed his brother (by accident)
- (59) nofinana pałeyu kuulu 1-hand-INA knife-ERG scratch-PRF.DIR The knife cut my hand

#### 2.8.3 Clausal Syntax

The typical order of constituents in Puvaŋeŋo clauses is SOV, though the split ergative alignment complicates this somewhat. In general ergative arguments will tend to follow more animate absolutive arguments but precede more inanimate ones, with oblique core arguments always following both absolutive and ergative arguments. Nominative personal pronouns will tend to come before other arguments.

- (60) mosyena fefeyu nakatazave son-INA man-ERG 3TRA-strike-PRF.HEAR.PL Men struck their sons
- (61) poxuyu tyanuu esyuule nasyisyi woman-ERG blanket fire-OBL 3TRA-lie.on-PRF.IND
  The woman placed a blanket over the fire
- (62) no nyeyo tyenala nyaasyiinyiita 1SG breadfruit 21-OBL APP-SSUBJ.TRA-give-PRF.SUBJ.PL I will give you some breadfruit

#### WH-Interrogatives

WH-interrogative phrases are realised in-situ.

- (63) nayu tyele syananinyiisyi?
  INT.ANI-ERG 2SG-OBL SOBJ.TRA-give-PRF.IND
  Who gave [it] to you?
- (64) mu ni esyuule napunyexuve?
  DIST INT.INA fire-OBL 3TRA-roast-IMP.HEAR
  What was he cooking on the fire?
- (65) tyeŋa exi syexiitee? 21 INT.LOC SAP-walk-IMP.DIR.PL Where are we/you going?

#### Copular Constructions

Copular constructions in Puvaneno are achieved by simple apposition.

- $\begin{array}{ccc} (66) & \text{no} & \text{fefe} \\ & 1\text{SG man} \\ & \text{I am a man} \end{array}$
- (67) mu tuu toomu
  DIST big cuckoo
  That is a big cuckoo

Negation is achieved by a clause-final particle sini

(68) ee sanu sini
PROX dog NEG
This is not a dog

This same construction is also found with the root adjectives.

- (69) pusi ponuu ant small Ants are small
- (70) tye tuu, no ponuu 2SG big 1SG small You are big, I am small/You are bigger than me
- $\begin{array}{ccc} (71) & {\rm tye} & {\rm kosyi} \; {\rm sini} \\ & 2{\rm SG} \; {\rm old} & {\rm NEG} \\ & {\rm You} \; {\rm are} \; {\rm not} \; {\rm old} \end{array}$

2.8. SYNTAX 21

#### Predicate Possession

There is no single verb meaning "have" in Puvaŋeŋo. Instead, there are two main constructions used to express this meaning.

The first construction is the simple marking of a possessed noun in a copular construction with possessive prefixes and placing that in a copular construction with another (pro)nominal to represent the possessor. This is most typical with 3rd persons.

- (72) fefe muusyiinyelepuzo man 3ALI-red.dye.plant The man has some red dye plant
- (73) ee tiluna PROX foot-INA It has a foot

The second construction uses independent pronouns marked with the oblique case and no possessive marking on the possessed noun. This is more typical with SAPs.

- $\begin{array}{ccc} (74) & tenu & nolo \\ & lodge.mate \ 1SG-OBL \\ & I \ have \ a \ lodge-mate \end{array}$
- (75) tayo tyenala respect 21-OBL

  We command respect

Both of these constructions are negated using the same strategy as copular constructions (i.e. the negative particle **sini**), and may similarly take the interrogative particle **aa**.

- (76) tamu taale sini
  every 1EXCL-OBL NEG
  We do not have everything
- (77) mofolo muumolyose sini forest 3ALI-rubber.plant NEG The forest has no rubber plants
- (78) pipe tyele aa? child 2SG-OBL INTER Do you have any children?

#### 2.8.4 Use of Modes

The functions of the five verbal modes are complex and multiform, with different forms competing with each other in certain contexts. In general the most fundamental contrasts are between the indicative modes (the direct, indirect and hearsay) as a whole, the subjunctive and the negative.

The functions of the indicative modes are the simplest to explain. These are used in non-negative realis clauses, with three levels of evidentiality being distinguished. The direct mode is used when the speaker has either directly witnessed themselves or was an active participant. The nature of the evidence for direct witness is generally visual, though auditory evidence may also be implied, for instance if the event described was separated from the speaker by a screen.

- (79) novasena semele fooki penye nasotexayasotexaki 1-father-INA hut-OBL sit-IMP.DIR bitterroot 3TRA-ITER-chew-IMP.DIR My father would sit in the hut chewing bitterroot
- (80) tye pupulu 2SG fart-PRF.DIR You farted

The indirect evidence refers to events or states which the speaker did not directly witness but instead has good reason to believe happened. This can be either through direct physical evidence (e.g. a speaker inferring from a pile of warm embers that a fire had been made recently) or through inference based upon other prior knowledge (e.g. knowing that a friend must be in the forest based on them being fond of hunting).

- (81) tyeyasena toveekusyi
  2-father-INA hunt-IMP.IND
  Your father must be out hunting
- (82) no folo nizofa syasuusyi
  1SG tree leave-PRF.PAR SAP-fall-PRF.IND
  I appear to have fallen out of a tree

The hearsay is used when the speaker does not even have indirect evidence for the event occurring but is instead relying upon third-or-more party testimony. As such this is a typical modality for legends, though this is not a hard and fast rule, especially for stories with first-person narration.

- (83) tye xeno syazookuve
  2SG wife SAP-need-IMP.HEAR
  I am told you are in need of a wife
- (84) eya moyosele pootave fish river-OBL lack-PRF.HEAR I hear there were no fish in the river

The subjunctive is more complex. Firstly it is used in hypothetical or counterfactual statements of any time.

- (85) tyeŋa syaxu
   21 SAP-descend-PRF.SUBJ
   We could have gone downriver (but did not)
- (86) ee pepenyenye
  PROX CV-bitter-IMP.SUBJ
  I would have be very bitter

Relatedly it may be used for statements in future time.

(87) puufa keyeele taa syesyuu begin-PRF.PAR sun-OBL 1EXCL SAP-ascend-PRF.SUBJ We will head upriver tomorrow at dawn 2.8. SYNTAX 23

(88) taa tyeŋala fulu syeelyoza 1EXCL 21-OBL war-OBL SSUB.TRA-exsanguinate-PRF.SUBJ.PL We will bleed you dry by war

The subjunctive is also used in polar interrogatives along with the particle aa.

(89) mu nolo syananyii aa?
DIST 1SG-OBL SOBJ.TRA-see-PRF.SUBJ INTER
Did they see me?

(90) tye ee syeekineeku aa? 2SG PROX SSUB.TRA-know-IMP.SUBJ INTER Do you know of this?

It is also the mode used with the modal particles **tyone** "may, can" and **nule** "must, be required to" to encode situational possibility and necessity respectively.

 $\begin{array}{ccc} (91) & {\rm tye} & {\rm syenizo} & {\rm tyone} \\ & 2{\rm SG~SAP\text{-}leave\text{-}PRF.SUBJ~can} \\ & {\rm You~may~leave} \end{array}$ 

(92) taa syavuuta nule 1EXCL SAP-return-PRF.SUBJ.PL must We have to go back

(93) no syesiŋu tyone aa? 1SG SAP-stay-IMP.SUBJ can INTER Can I stay?

Finally it is used in commands, accompanied by either the affirmative **syeeke-** and the prohibitive **syeekine-**.

(94) syeekesyeesuu!
COMND-SSUB.TRA-fall-PRF.SUBJ
Drop it!

(95) syeekinenakata!

PROHIB-3TRA-hit-PRF.SUBJ

Do not let him lash out!

The negative is used to negate any of the above modes (with the exception of the imperative sense of the subjunctive).

(96) no syenizoni 1SG SAP-leave-PRF.NEG I will not leave, did not leave

(97) tye syavozoxuni 2SG SAP-dance-IMP.NEG You are not dancing

- (98) nonenyenayu nyeyo nakuvakuuni 1-mother-INA-ERG breadfruit 3TRA-burn-IMP.NEG.PL My mother does not burn the breadfruit
- (99) noxenona syiikiilye footana no semele syazotyanuni tyone 1-wife-INA menstruation-OBL sit-SIM 1SG hut-OBL SAP-enter-IMP.NEG can I am not allowed to enter the hut while my wife is menstruating

#### Interrogative Mode Usage

As mentioned above, polar interrogatives use the bare subjunctive universally except in negative interrogatives.

- (100) no eefi syafeexaŋu tyone aa? 1SG PROX.LOC SAP-smoke-IMP.SUBJ can INTER Can I smoke here?
- (101) tye nuupale syeenoo aa? 2SG 1ALI-knife SSUB.TRA-take-PRF.SUBJ INTER Did you take my knife?
- (102) tye monyeye nyiikuni aa? 2SG mountain see-PRF.NEG INTER Do you not see the mountain?

However, the situation with WH-interrogatives is quite different. In general the indicative modes are preferred, with the evidential being selected as in normal indicative sentences. For example, in a situation where the speaker witnessed an event but was unsure as to the identity of one or more of the participants the direct would be used, and so on.

- (103) tye ni syenyiiki? 2SG INT.INA SAP-see-IMP.DIR What do you see?
- (104) nayu tyele syanakatasyi?
  INT.ANI-ERG 2SG-OBL SOBJ.TRA-hit-PRF.IND
  Who hit you? [the speaker can see evidence the listener was hit]
- (105) nyeyefolo exi syeekuuke?
  breadfruit.tree INT.LOC stand-IMP.HEAR.PL
  Where are the breadfruit trees? [the speaker has been made aware of a group of breadfruit trees through some other party]
- (106) tye nolo nili nyaxokani? 2SG 1SG-OBL INT.INA-OBL APP-help-PRF.NEG Why are you not helping me?

Copular constructions work as normal, since there is no special mode marking to speak of at all.

- (107) ni tyeneyana? INT.INA 2-name-INA What is your name?
- (108) na moveya ee?
  INT.ANI 3ALI-fish PROX
  Whose fish is this?
- (109) na ee sini?
  INT.INA PROX NEG
  Who is this not?

### 2.9 Inter-clausal Syntax

#### 2.9.1 Coordination

Coordinating conjunction is generally expressed using simple juxtaposition with finite verbs, regardless of correspondence versus contrast. If the correspondence between the two clauses is particular strong (generally meaning a combination of temporal simultaneity and complementary action) it may be reinforced with the particle **suu** "with" interpolated between the two clauses.

- (110) tye meesa syeemulii tye nyefoo folopiyu
  2SG hole SSUB.TRA-dig-IMP.DIR.PL 2SG ground sapling-INST
  syeeseekuni
  SSUB.TRA-fill-IMP.NEG
  You are digging holes but not planting saplings in the ground
- (111) taa monyeye syeesenulu taa xamu 1EXCL mountain SSUB.TRA-ascend-PRF.DIR 1EXCL INDEF syamaza SAP-catch-PRF.DIR.PL

  We went up the mountain and found some things
- (112) fefe toveekii suu poxu xookii man hunt-IMP.DIR.PL CONJ woman gather-IMP.DIR.PL Men hunt and women gather

#### 2.9.2 Subordination

There are a number of participles used for subordination. These come before the main clause in apposition to it. Typically the subject of the participle is identified with one of the arguments of the main clause and has no marking in the participle clause itself. For SAPs it is the nominative subject of the main clause which is identified in this way, while for 3rd persons it is the absolutive argument. The latter takes precendence when both are present

(113) kee nole eefa nomovasena fiilu water black drink-PRF.PAR 1-granddad-INA die-PRF.DIR My grandfather died after drinking dirty water

- (114) axa footyana taa semexala syeyootee cloud sit-SIM 1EXCL village-OBL SAP-encounter-PRF.DIR.PL It was misty when we arrived at the village
- (115) kee nole eefoyu nomovasena fiilu water black drink-CAUS 1-granddad-INA die-PRF.DIR My grandfather died because he drank dirty water
- (116) fiipa tye tyovasena syeetyiseeke die-PRF.PAR 2SG 2-father-INA SSUB.TRA-help-PRF.HEAR You took care of your father when he died
- (117) nolo nyaanevafeepa tye mozu syiinyiita 1SG-OBL APP-thatch-COND 2SG carp SSUB.TRA-give-PRF.SUBJ.PL If you thatch [this roof] for me I will give you some carp

When the subject of the participle is different from that of the main clause, its person may be marked using alienable possessive markers. Additionally, the reflexive **syina** may be used logophorically to overtly mark when a complement subject is identified with the ergative subject of a transitive main clause.

- (118) eefi muuxiifa no syina syeesyeya nule PROX.LOC 3ALI-walk-PRF.PAR 1SG REFL SSUB.TRA-cover-PRF.SUBJ must When he comes I must hide myself
- (119) xutyele tyuupataxatyana no syina tyenala syeetyityiseekii sky-OBL 2ALI-sail-SIM 1SG REFL 21-OBL SSUBJ.TRA-INT-help-IMP.DIR.PL While you were sailing in the sky I working hard for us.
- (120) syina kukonyesyana muyu xiyekilu nakookii REFL be.mad-SIM DIST-ERG scale.bug 3TRA-gather-IMP.DIR.PL In his madness he would gather up scale bugs

## Chapter 3

## **Semantics**

#### 3.1 Numerals

As indicated above in the adjectives section, numerals in Puvaŋeŋo follow a decimal system, though with certain patterns that indicate a quinqual subsystem, with the numerals between 5 and 10 being noticeably derived from 5.

fi	one
olo	two
$\mathbf{syele}$	$_{ m three}$
sanya	four
aŋa	five
aŋafi	six
aŋoolo	seven
aŋasyele	$_{ m eight}$
aŋasanya	$_{ m nine}$
oya	ten
tata	$\operatorname{hundred}$

## 3.2 Kinship

For the most part, Puvaŋeŋo follows an Eskimoan system of kin terms, though due to the prevalence of cousin marriage there are a few complications. In particular, in-law terminology is in large identified with non-immediate blood relative terminology, to the extent that **sala** "uncle" is equated with "father-in-law", **naki** "nephew" with "son-in-law" and so-on.

That this is the case in an Eskimoan system can be put down to the different patterns of marriage between the two halves of the population. For the four smaller lineages (**Kisoyo**, **Piluvu**, **Mafoyo** and **Xoovu**), the pattern is strongly in favour of cross-cousin marriage, since that is what best ensures the exogamy requirements. For the **Anipi**, where lineage-internal marriage is typical, there is relatively little concern for cross versus parallel cousins, thus facilitating the confusion of the two terms.

## 3.3 Colour Termniology

Puvaŋeŋo has a rather restricted set of colour terms. The main two poles are represented by the two adjectives **xaata** "white" and **nole** "black". These are also used for shades of bright and dark colours respectively. There are also specific terms for "red", "brown/yellow" and "green" in the form of the stative verbs **syiinyexi**, **fulyanyexi** and **fuzonyexi** respectively. The latter two are very obvious derivatives of **fulya** "clay" and **fuzo** "leaf" while the first may have some tie to an original root meaning "blood" as seen also in **syiikiiye** "menstruation" and **syiinyezuu liver**.

#### 3.4 Cardinal Directions

The system of cardinal directions is strongly tied with the topography of the island where Puvaneno is spoken. The two main axes are along the length of the island (roughly corresponding to a north-south axis) and inland-seaward (approximately east-west). This latter axis is notable in that the two terms used (**xutyiye** "inland" and **tyenyesyiye** "seaward") refer to opposite cardinal directions when on opposite sides of the island - on the west side, **xutyiye** will refer to an eastwardly direction and **tyenyesyiye** to a westwardly one, and vice-versa on the east side.

# Chapter 4

# The Lexicon

aako daughter aakoxu granddaughter aamo rain aamovaxa raincloud ali to shout, cry out  $a\eta a$  five  $a\eta afi six$ anasanya nine anasyele eight anoolo seven apa star apakiiye night-time apoofe bat  ${\it ase}$  father avonyexi be hot axa cloud, mist  $\boldsymbol{axe} \text{ leg, prop root}$  $\boldsymbol{axee}$  shadow  $\boldsymbol{azuu}$  bullroarer

eena nose eepaatya stomach bug eetya death eetyese pufferfish eetyu testicles  $\boldsymbol{eexi}$  to drink eeyenee whale ene urine enexani to urinate esyeeya stonefish esyiyoxayi to start a fire esyuu fire esyuukooki angry esyuunyexi be hot eya fish eyakafe fisherman eyakanye kingfisher eyakani to fish ezuxo moon

fane arm, tree branch
faŋe brother
faŋi to grow
fee smoke
feepuxi to rock back and forth
feexaŋi to smoke
fefe man, male
feyee foreigner, alien
fi one

fiiki to die fina finger, hand fini death fininyexi be dead fisaxi to hold, want to folo tree folopi sapling foloo magpie fooki to sit footye seat fote mangrove fova shrieker bird fovanyexi be chatty, loud fovuu mushroom fozooki to wash fulya clay fulyafunyee clay pot fulyanyexi yellow fulyaxanye potter funaya window funyee cooking vessel funyexi to roast over fire fusu wasp fuukuxi to smash, shatter fuxa ache, pain fuzo leaf fuzonyexi be green fuzu warfare

iiki to show, appear iinyaa curtain iite heron iitya a speech, declaration iityi aunt, mother-in-law ikuvaa kindling ilyoxi to exsanguinate imukanye bee-eater imunu bee inyani to protect, defend inyiiki to give inyinee spear isi dust, fine sand isinyexi be fine-grained iteni to make, build ituzu housepole ityiyiye stomach ixi grave ixinyeye grave marker

kaaka crow
kali to curve, curl
kalye frog
kalyexanye frog-eating snake
kami grease
kane riverbank, coast
kava stinging pain
kayese elbow, knee
kayoo parrotfish
kee water
keekiiye wet season

keekiiye wet season keekunyi water spring

 $\boldsymbol{keenyexi}$  be watery, damp, wet

keesa otter
keeva storm
keŋo mouth
keso gecko
keye eel
keyee sun, day
keyeekiiye daytime
kiiki to lie down
kiitye bed
kiilya lung

kisa cavity, socket

 $\boldsymbol{kiye}$ body hair, facial hair

kiyetefaa hide kofe mussel

kome sacred mysteries

kosyi old

kotya encircling fence

koyee dew

koyeenyexi be wet, damp
koyuu pool, puddle

kufuxi be soft

 $\boldsymbol{kukonyexi}\,$  be crazy, mad

kuna python

kuuki to scratch, cut lightly

kuutye eucalypt

meeki to run
meesa hole (in the ground)
mofanii albatross
mofe patriarch, headman
mofolo forest
molyonyexi be soft, rubbery
molyose rubber plant
monenye grandmother
monyesoo beach
monyeye mountain

moofe giant clam mooye pelican mosemii cult house mosote comb mosotexani to comb mosye son mosyexu grandson movalye bullfrog movase granddad moyenye sea, ocean moyose river mozu carp *mule* mole muli to dig muni to defeat, reject mutye bracket fungus muuki be smooth muutyaa gale muvanuzu stew

muvanyexi to boil in water

naaki to fuck, have sex with naatyaxi to flatten, press down naatyoozusyi ray, skate naki nephew, son-in-law na-maxi to receive, catch naneetye village square, debating ground na-nooki to take, seize nanooxi to feel (emotionally) nanooye feeling, emotion na- $\eta uuki$  to skin, strip naso feather naze frost neeki to push against nenye mother nevaxi to thatch nevoozu roof *neya* name nezoxi to swim

nezoxi to swim
nilye pigeon
nisyikanye monitor lizard
niye niece, daughter-in-law
nizoxi to leave, exit
nole black, dark
nolefuzo black dye plant
nomoxi be sore, sick
nopi blood vessel
noxi to throw
nufu long

nuuki to tie up, bind togethernuuni baby blanketnuyo back

nyaaki to begin nyeeya minnow nyefoo earth, ground nyemute wind nyemi knife nyesootyiye north nyeye stone, rock *nyeyeeŋo* cave nyeyefolo stalactite nyeyenyexi be hard, stony nyeyesefaa lichen nyeyexanye stone carver nyeyiiye moss*nyeyo* breadfruit nyeyofolo breadfruit tree nyezee tongue nyiiki to see nyiinyiiki to understand nyizee glue, gum nyizeenyexi be sticky nyooki to count, measure nyootye vagina nyoozu wound

okaxi be helpful, to help
ole headdress, crest
olo two
oota husband
opuu buttocks
oso tide
oya ten

paa young
pate knife, dagger
palya head
pata boat
pataxaŋi to sail
paxe wrasse
penye bitterroot
penyenyexi bitter
petu sand
peye cousin
peza eye
piinaa sling
piŋa skink

pipe child, baby piyamuzu mucus piyani to sneeze pofeyu bladder poko faeces pokoxayi to defecate poloo brain poni result, end product ponuu small  $po\eta i$  to be born pooki to be absent, missing poonya ash pooza beetle posya rock lizard poxu woman, female pozofe dancer pozoxi to dance, leap pozu magpie pupuxi to fart pusi ant pusonyexi be ugly, deformed **puu** louse puukooki be infested, louse-ridden puuxi to go back, return puva island puvanyexi be isolated, remote *puyoo* egg

safu dust sala uncle, father-in-law sali sea turtle  $sanu \log$ sanya four seeki to fill, complete sefaa skin sekala ball seme hut semexa village senolo horn, tusk seyi to ascend seyaa kidney sezo worm siiki to crack, split open siipiyooki be horny, lusty, randy sili to be near, with sineeni knowledge, wisdom  $si\eta i$  to remain, stay sisizu viper site inhabitant, resident

sofu fragrant herb solyo ring, circle solyonyexi be round solyoxani to walk round in circles sonu sound, tone, hum sooki to crawl soota ground pigeon sose goodsote tooth sotexani to chew, masticate sovu bag suli to sleep **sumu** short suna thorn, spine sunaxaŋi to prick suuxi to fall

syali to fly syanu penis syavuu hummingbird syeeki to stand syeene eagle syeenyaxi to hang, droop syele three syenya shark syevu pig syeyani to hide, cover oneself syezuu blood syii ear syiiki to summon, call hither syiikiiye menstruation syiikooki be healthy syiinyelepuzo red dye plant syiinyexi be red syiinyezuu liver syiiye head hair syiizilu neck syili to lie inside syivo inside, interior syixuuzu gift syizoxi to break, snap syooki to cut, chop syuuxi to ascend, go upriver

tała intestinestamu everyonetata hundredtayenyexi be cool, shadytayo respect, good deeds

tayoxaŋi to pay respects, reverence teeki to follow teetye path, route tenu lodge-mate texo belly tilu foot, tree root tiso grass tiye breast tomu cuckoo tonutye doorway, entrance tonu tail tooki to desire, have a need for toomuxi be numerous topa paint, paste topaxayi to paste on, paint topaxatye mural  $totya\eta i$  to enter tova body, tree trunk tovanyexi be strong, brawny toveeki to hunt toveetye prey tovenyexi be dry tovexiiye dry season tovoyuu bow tulya sap tulyenyexi be sweet tuu big tuuki be ill, sick tuzu grouse, chicken

tyaavo spider tyału heart tyanuu blanket  $tya\eta i$  to hear tyeete care, attention tyelo seed tyenyesa barracuda tyenyesyiye seaward, downriver tyenyexoo frigatebird tyenyii salt tyenyiinyexi be salty tyeyexanye vulture tyiiki to speak, say tyiitye word, speech tyiityiye south tyinexi to sew tyinini to feel, sense tyiseeki to help tyivuu spoon

tyixuni to go through, along
tyiyuuki be greedy, gorge oneself
tyola palm tree
tyone chest, breast
tyone tortoise
tyooki to meet, encounter
tyoozu story, tale
tyose mistletoe
tyovase corpse
tyovaxi to stink, be putrid
tyovoozu rotting flesh
tyuuki to eat
tyuuzunu poison

ufexu mouse
uka meat
uutyaa wind
uve sponge
uxala mud
uxalanyexi be muddy
uxalooki be stupid, foolish
uxi entrails
uxiikee bile
uxisyi power, strength
uxisyinyexi be strong, powerful
uzusyii menstrual blood

xaata white, bright xafo parrot  $\boldsymbol{xala}$  claw xali to hook, catch xanuxi to be full xataxi to hit, lash out xava fig xavopolo fig tree xaxali to play, toy with xazuu fish-hook xeeki to pull  $\boldsymbol{xeepu}$  oar, paddle  $\boldsymbol{xeno}$  wife xifaaki to vomit xifoxuru vomit xiixi to walk (to) xiiye time xiluxu beetle grub xineeki to know a fact xiyekilu scale bug xokuxi to cough xooki to gather, harvest xosuxi be rough coarse
xoxa bad
xoxi to laugh, chuckle
xoyi sister
xozii flower
xukanyii paddle
xunolanye swallow
xuŋi to descend, go downriver
xusyii bone
xutye sky
xutyiye inland, upriver
xuuki to burn
xuvaye hearth, fireplace
xuzo fly