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THE ANUTAN LANGUAGE RECONSIDERED:  
LEXICON AND GRAMMAR OF A POLYNESIAN OUTLIER

Richard Feinberg, Kent State University

Volume I

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To

PU TOKERAU

who took me into his house, treated me as a brother,  
was my most important teacher of Anutan language, custom,  
and belief, and who, at age 35, passed away before  
he ever had a chance to see this work completed.

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PART I

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

## PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

### Introduction

Up to the beginning of the present decade Anuta was among the least known of the Polynesian islands, both from a linguistic and a cultural point of view.<sup>1</sup> The only substantive work on the island and its people, for many years, was a forty-five page article by Raymond Firth,<sup>2</sup> based on data he had accumulated during his Tikopian studies and a one-day visit to Anuta in 1952. In that paper, Firth recounts oral traditions stating that the island was populated by Tongans approximately twelve generations before, and these traditions appeared to have been confirmed by a number of lexical items, also presented in the article. This finding has been significant for Polynesian historical linguistics in that it suggests the possibility of a third member of the Tongic (TO) subgroup.<sup>3</sup> As the two certain members of this group are Tongan (TON) and Niuean (NIU), this would make Anutan (ANU) the only Tongic language spoken in any of the Polynesian outliers, the rest of which fall into the Samoic-Outlier (SO) subgroup of Nuclear Polynesian (NP).<sup>4</sup>



In July, 1970, Roger Green spent a day on Anuta, collecting word-lists in the hope of testing ANU's position in the subgrouping of Polynesian (PN) languages, and on the basis of his findings he suggested that ANU is, in fact, an NP language in the SO subgroup, distinct from, yet closely related to Tikopian (TIK).<sup>5</sup> Green was unaware of the fact that a more detailed anthropological investigation of Anuta was to take place shortly after his own expedition, and given Anuta's isolation and difficulty of access there was no way of his knowing how long it might be before another investigator was likely to reach the island. Therefore, it was entirely commendable that he take advantage of his rare opportunity to collect the word-lists and publish his conclusions. Unfortunately, Anuta's school teacher -- the logical candidate to serve as major informant for a person who did not speak the native language -- never told Dr. Green that he was a Tikopian who had moved to Anuta as a young adult. This man's speech still is strongly Tikopian, and thus, the list appearing in Green's paper in many ways approximates more closely the Tikopian than the Anutan language.

This problem was ameliorated somewhat by Green's use of supplementary informants plus a two hundred word basic vocabulary list collected by Samuel Elbert from Anutans living in Honiara. However, while Anutan speech at home has been influenced substantially by TIK, the TIK influence is significantly stronger among Anutans living overseas, and consequently even Elbert's list suffered a certain distortion in this regard.

From late October until Christmas, 1971, a team of researchers including Douglas Yen, an ethnobotanist, and archaeologists Paul Rosen-dahl and Patrick Kirch, from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, was on Anuta.

The team's primary goal was to document the island's agricultural system and conduct some initial archaeological research.<sup>6</sup> In the course of their two month stay, however, they also took the time to compile a word-list of approximately fifteen hundred items.<sup>7</sup> Despite the fact that this list was intended from the start to be a working manuscript, and not a definitive statement, it was far superior to any of the three earlier ones, both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view. Yet, the fact that none of the three investigators was truly conversant in ANU may still be seen in sentences run together as single words, phonetic errors, and some inaccurate renditions.

Between March, 1972 and January, 1973, I spent close to eleven months living on Anuta, conducting a study of the island's social structure. In addition to my time on Anuta I spent almost three months with Tikopians and Anutans in the vicinity of Honiara, Guadalcanal. Over the fourteen month span I learned to speak Anutan well enough that my conversations were always in that language, even when dealing with bilingual natives. I also learned some Tikopian, and although my level of proficiency in TIK did not approach my grasp of ANU, I did master enough of the phonetic shifts and distinct lexical items so that I generally was able to make myself understood with little difficulty.

During the time I spent on Anuta, I went over the lists collected by Green and Yen systematically with a number of informants, and in light of my inquiries I have made numerous revisions. In addition, I have expanded the list with a number of items familiar to me from my own knowledge of the language as well as words drawn from oral traditions and recorded texts. Without getting into the question of whether

there can be a mixed language in the technical sense,<sup>8</sup> I have the impression that ANU has had a greater TO influence than one would think from reading Green's account.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the oral traditions, as rendered by Anuta's acknowledged experts, indicate that the dominant source of the island's current population is East 'Uvea, with Tonga playing a clearly secondary role. The initial migration is said to have occurred approximately fourteen generations (350 years) before the time of my study, and if Pawley is correct that East 'Uvean (UV) is an SO language with recent heavy TO borrowing in the lexical sphere<sup>10</sup> it must have looked considerably more Samoic at the time of Anuta's first settlement. In other words I am suggesting that the oral traditions indicate a greater Samoic influence, and the language is probably more Tongic, than was previously believed, and thus the apparent discrepancy between traditional history on the one hand and linguistic evidence on the other, begins to disappear.<sup>11</sup>

I am not a linguist, and make no pretense of being one. Undoubtedly professional linguists will find much to be desired in the brief grammatical description and vocabulary list that follows. It has the merit, however, of being compiled by one who speaks the language, and it is hoped that this may compensate for some deficiency in formal linguistic expertise. I present this work, therefore, not as the finished product of a trained linguist, but as a source of data upon which professional linguists may draw for their own purposes. My working knowledge of the language and the opportunity to build on my predecessors' mistakes should make the present word list superior to any of those that have gone before, and hopefully linguists working in the Polynesian field may find this monograph of use in their own research.<sup>12</sup>

### Tikopian Influence

An adequate account of ANU must take into consideration the role of TIK and the impact it has had in shaping the language of the present day Anutans. Tikopia is Anuta's nearest neighbor, lying approximately seventy-five miles to the southwest. The two islands share similar cultures,<sup>13</sup> and there has been a good deal of intermarriage and trade as well as other forms of social intercourse over the generations.<sup>14</sup> The languages bear a high degree of mutual intelligibility, although Tikopians have greater difficulty understanding Anutan speech than the reverse.<sup>15</sup>

The native explanation for this phenomenon is that ANU is a more difficult language than TIK. My own feeling is that the discrepancy can be better explained by the disparity in size of the two islands. The Tikopian population seems consistently to have been about ten times that of Anuta. Given the frequency of social interaction this means that each Anutan is forced to deal intensively with many Tikopians during the course of his lifetime while the opposite is not the case. A dozen Anutan emigrants may easily get lost in a population of 1500 or so Tikopians, with the result that most members of the larger community rarely have to deal with persons from the smaller island. A dozen Tikopian visitors, on the other hand, can have a profound effect on the Anutan population. Thus, each Anutan hears much spoken TIK while the average Tikopian will hear little spoken ANU. The result is that most Anutans are familiar with TIK phonology and lexicon, and when conversing with a Tikopian they frequently will alter their own speech

patterns in order to facilitate effective communication.<sup>16</sup> I have observed this process on innumerable occasions, and I even began doing it myself, almost unconsciously, in my dealings with TIK speakers.

Over time Anutans grow accustomed to Tikopian words and sounds, and start using them among themselves in free variation with older Anutan forms. For weeks after a labor recruiting ship from the Russell Islands brought several dozen Tikopian visitors to Anuta for a visit of a single day there was a noticeable increase in the use of TIK phonology and lexicon on Anuta, and one young woman, returning home from two years of living at the Tikopian colony of Nukufero in the Russell Islands, had difficulty understanding "pure" Anutan for quite some time. At present, almost every adult Anutan has spent time away from home, either at Tikopia, or in Honiara or the Russell Islands, where they also tend to live with the much larger Tikopian communities. Therefore, it is not surprising that many TIK forms are commonly used by the Anutans, and the languages have interpenetrated to the point where it is often difficult to separate the two. Nevertheless, there are many words and sounds commonly in use on Anuta which informants readily identify as TIK. In still other cases items are not recognized explicitly as TIK borrowings, but there is circumstantial evidence suggesting that they are, in fact, just that (see below).<sup>17</sup>

Phonology

Consonants;

The consonants appearing in ANU are as follows:<sup>18</sup>

TABLE I:

Comparative Listing of Consonants for  
ANU, TIK, and Various Polynesian Proto-languages

PPN	*p	*t	*k	*'	*f	*w	*s	*h	*m	*n	*ng	*l	*r
PTO	*p	*t	*k	*'	*f	*v	*h	*h	*m	*n	*ng	*l	*ø
PNP, PSO	*p	*t	*k	*'	*f	*w	*s	*ø	*m	*n	*ng	*l	*l
PEP	*p	*t	*k	*'	*f	*w	*h	*ø	*m	*n	*ng	*l	*l
TIK	p	t	k	ø	f	v,w	s	ø,s	m	n	ng	l,r	l,r
ANU	p	t	k	ø	p	v,w	t	ø	m	n	ng	r	r

Of these phonemes, 'm', 'n', and 'ng' need little explanation.

The remainder are less straightforward and require some discussion.

Stops are represented as the unvoiced 'p', 't', and 'k'. At times they may be pronounced with slight voicing, leading Yen to list a number of words as containing the phoneme 'b'. Also, in much of the literature produced by mission writers and government administrators the 't' appears as 'd'. However, there are no minimal pairs to indicate that 'p' and 'b', 'k' and 'g', or 't' and 'd' are phonemically distinguished on Anuta. The fact that they may be voiced slightly on occasion makes the decision as to how to represent them somewhat arbitrary, but in the interest of consistency and in order to avoid undue confusion, I have chosen to follow the convention used in most of the published sources on Anuta.<sup>19</sup>

'v' and 'w' are not distinct phonemes, but rather, are conditioned variants of one another. Normally the phoneme appears as the voiced fricative, 'v'. Following 'o' or 'u', however, it shifts to the semivowel, 'w'.<sup>20</sup> The only exception to this rule, of which I am aware, is kovi ("bad"), and even here the 'v' will shift to 'w' in some Anutans' speech. This shift makes it difficult to know, in words where a vowel follows an 'o' or 'u', whether or not there should be an intervening 'v', as the distinction between uvi (pronounced uvi) and ui ("bone") or tauvi (pronounced tauwi) and taui ("to exchange"; "to purchase") is not readily apparent. Therefore, except in cases where informants have made it explicit that a 'v' appears in the form of 'w' following a 'u' or 'o' I have uniformly deleted the intervening consonant. This shift, along with the consequent problems for transcription occurs in TIK as well as ANU.

The shift is clearest in words that begin with 'v' since in that case pronunciation depends on the last phoneme of the preceding word. Te vaka ("the canoe"), thus, becomes toku waka ("my canoe"), or tangata taapi vaka ("helmsman" becomes tangata tau waka ("canoe owner"). As there is no phonemic distinction between 'v' and 'w', and the sound shift follows a regular pattern, I shall follow Firth's convention of representing the phoneme with the symbol 'v' regardless of where it appears. The reader may apply the rule described above to ascertain the correct pronunciation in any given context.

In cases where a possible 'w' occurs that is obviously not a transformation of 'v' due to a shift in phonetic environment I make the assumption that the sound is produced by the phoneme 'u'. Thus a type of shrub which Yen represents as wari, I shall write as uari,

and a type of "pudding" rendered by Yen as wowa/uoua(?),<sup>21</sup> I shall write unequivocally as uoua. This also is a convention by which Firth has abided consistently in his Tikopian writings.

A more complicated problem pertains to the pairs 'f' and 'p', 'l' and 'r', and 's' and 't'.

I can say with confidence that there is, properly, no 'f' in the Anutan language. Words with cognates containing 'f' in other PN languages consistently appear with 'p' in ANU. In those rare instances where a native Anutan pronounces a word with 'f' the shift can easily be traced to Tikopian influence. Anutans are quite aware of this relationship, and they consciously recognize the 'f' as a TIK intrusion.<sup>22</sup>

In my opinion the situation with 'r' and 'l', and 's' and 't' is similar, but the evidence is less clear. There are a number of words in which Anutans use 's' or 'l' fairly consistently and insist that this is acceptable pronunciation. Where these sounds occur, however, they are not phonemically distinct from 't' and 'r' respectively.

One may speak perfectly good ANU and never utter an 's' or 'l'. In TIK, on the other hand, these sounds are phonemically distinct, and for every case in which we find 's' or 'l' to be acceptable ANU pronunciation there is also a TIK form in which the sound is used. In other words the ANU word tapa ("best;" "top notch") may be rendered by the TIK pronunciation, sapa. Pete ("to sing") may appear in the Tikopian form, pese. Tiiti ("to fish with a pole and line") may appear as the TIK siisi. But, where the Tikopians say tapu an Anutan never would say sapu. Similarly karikau ("trochus") may appear in the TIK form, kalikau while maru ("a man of high rank") would never appear as malu. The TIK word sara ("wrong;" "incorrect") might appear



in ANU as sara or tara, but never sala or tala, and tufi ("to write") may appear as the TIK tusi, but never susi. The TIK sale ("to play a stringed instrument") could appear in ANU in any of four forms. In ANU words for which there are no TIK cognates 's' and 'l' ought not to be pronounced. This rule is less rigid, however, than in the case of ANU words where the TIK cognates already have a 't' or 'r'. The simplest explanation for this variation would seem to be that the PPN '\*s' originally shifted to 't', and '\*l' to 'r' in ANU, but with increasing TIK influence 's' and 'l' are being reintroduced.

The fate of the TIK 's' in ANU is further complicated by the existence of a body of words in which the 's' is simply dropped. The TIK tasi ("one") becomes tai in ANU. The TIK aso ("day") changes to ao, and kasoa ("necklet") becomes kaoa. My original hypothesis was that these words trace back to PPN forms with the phoneme '\*h', which changed to 's' in TIK and '\*ø' in PNP. The problem with this thesis is that while there are some Tikopian words (e.g., aso) in which the PPN '\*h' seemingly shifts to an 's', it is reflected far more regularly as 'ø'. Since my initial formulation it has been suggested to me that the ANU 'ø' and 't' are both reflexes of the PPN '\*s', which has been retained in its original form in TIK.<sup>23</sup> Biggs feels that the "true" or directly inherited ANU reflex of this phoneme is 'ø', while 't' was borrowed from the TIK 's'.<sup>24</sup> Clark, on the other hand, suggests that both 'ø' and 't' are "true" Anutan forms, the latter appearing initially and the former medially.<sup>25</sup> Statistically there seems to be a tendency in this direction, although there are enough exceptions to keep one from accepting this hypothesis uncritically. Among these various interpretations, at this point, I have no strong

predilection. Perhaps the picture is more complex than any one of them would lead us to believe. In any case, I present them for the reader's perusal and consideration while leaving him to exercise his own ingenuity and judgement.

Finally, there is a group of words in which the PPN '\*1' shifts to 'r' in TIK and 'n' in ANU. Included in this list are TIK raua/raaua ("they," dual), ratou/raatou ("they," plural), and rīma ("arm;" "five"), which change in ANU to naaua, naatou, and nīma respectively. With regard to this phoneme ANU appears to be aligned with TON and opposed to SAM and TIK.

#### Vowels:

Green states that, "Vowel correspondences are the regular reflexes of PPN forms \*a, \*aa, \*e, \*ee, \*i, \*ii, \*o, \*oo, \*u, \*uu."<sup>26</sup> I would only add that there seems to be a group of words in which there is a shift from 'a' to 'o' as one moves from TIK to ANU. For example, TIK ma ("with;" "and"), rua ("hole"), puka (a type of tree), and toka (a particle preposed to a number when enumerating human beings) become mo, ruo, puko, and toko respectively in ANU. Of these Walsh and Biggs' only unequivocal PPN reconstruction is \*toko, suggesting that with respect to this phoneme ANU is closer to PPN (and TON) than it is to TIK.<sup>27</sup>

As in other Polynesian languages vowel length can indicate phonemic differences. Mateáa, for example, means "maybe" while maatea is "big," "great," or "numerous". Or matua means "husband," "primary," or "important," maatua means "old" or an "old person," and maatuaa means "parent" or "in-law of adjacent generation". In many cases, however, long and short vowels appear in free variation. Often vowels are lengthened

for emphasis or euphony. Mata in matapenua (the "front" or east side of the island) is the same morpheme as mataa in mataapare (the "front" or seaward side of a house). After a moderately successful fishing trip people might say, "Mátea te ika," After a highly successful trip this shifts to "maatea," and after an outstanding trip it may become "maaatea te ika."

An additional problem in determining vowel length is that accentuation of a syllable generally is accompanied by some lengthening of the vowel, and it is not always possible to tell whether the distinctive feature of the word is in the accentuation or the vowel length of the respective syllables.<sup>28</sup> Because of this uncertainty, and the general variability in vowel length in the same morpheme from one context or one speaker to another my account should not be taken as entirely reliable on this point. My feeling is that in most cases length does not make a phonemic difference, and I shall indicate a lengthened vowel only in those cases where it is fairly clear that this is the preferred form. Where different informants have taken different positions on the proper vowel length in a given word I shall present both variants.

One final point on pronunciation is that there is a tendency, particularly in rapid speech, for unstressed vowels to be dropped. When the vowel occurs in the middle of a word the consonants surrounding it are run together in such a way almost as to produce a double consonant. In normal speech, then, the nearby island of Patutaka is often heard as Pattaka and paparangi ("European") may be heard as pparangi. Momoe ("to sleep," plural) is often rendered as mmoe, and vevera ("hot") may be shortened to vvera. Final unstressed vowels frequently are dropped so that the word appears to end with a consonant, but wherever the deleted vowel occurs in careful speech it reappears.

Grammatical Notes and Specialized Word-Lists

Before presenting a general vocabulary of ANU I would like to give several specialized lists of words. My rationale is two-fold: first, to make available certain coherent sets of words which may have particular interest for purposes of comparison with other PN languages, and second, in the course of explaining the ways in which the words comprising several of these lists are used it should be possible to give the reader some idea of the syntactic structure of ANU.

Personal Pronouns

As is general in Polynesian languages the ANU system of personal pronouns distinguishes first, second and third person, singular, dual and plural. The first person dual and first person plural are further separated into inclusive and exclusive forms. For each of the singular and dual pronouns, as well as first person plural exclusive, there are two forms which alternate depending on the word's position in the sentence. In the case of the third person singular a third form may be used. A full list of personal pronouns appears in Table II, below:

TABLE II: Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
<u>1st</u> person	a) au b) kau	maaua ma	taaua ta	matou matou	tatou tou
<u>2nd</u> person	a) koe b) ke	korua koru		kotou kotou	
<u>3rd</u> person	a) ia b) ei c) na	naaua na		natou natou	

In all cases except the second person plural the "a" form of the pronoun should (and, in the singular, always must) appear in conjunction with a preposed particle. The particle may be either ko, e, mo, or te, depending on the grammatical position of the pronoun it precedes.

When the pronoun stands alone rather than appearing in a sentence the proper particle is ko. A typical response to the question, "Mea ko ai?" ("Who is it?"), would simply be, "Ko au" (" /It is/ I"). Similarly, a response to the question, "Ko ai te mea e ke karanga ki ei?" ("About whom are you speaking?") would likely be "Ko ia" ("Him") or "Ko koe" ("You"). In addition the "a" form of the pronoun is used with ko when it stands as the subject of a sentence and a tense marker is postposed. Hence, one might say "Ko au (ko koe, ko ia, etc.) ka aru ki te moana" ("I /you, he, etc./ am going to the ocean"). More commonly, however, in all the first person forms and in the second person singular and dual, the "b" variant is used. In this case the tense marker is preposed, or may be omitted altogether. The normal way of rendering the sentence cited above, therefore, is Kau oru (or Ka kau oru) ki te moana. Preferred constructions, then would be follows:

Kau oru ...  
Ma oro ...  
Ta oro ...  
Matou oro ...  
Tou oro ...  
Ka ke aru .../Ko koe ka aru ...  
Koru oro ...  
Kotou oro ...  
Ko ia ka aru ...  
Na oro .../Ko naua ka oro ...  
Natou oro ...

For certain verbs na is generally used in this construction with the third person singular. E.g., Na iroa. ("He knows.")

When a pronoun appears as the object of a sentence the "a" form normally is used, preceded by the preposition ki ("to;" "toward," if action is directed away from the speaker), i ("to;" "toward," if the action is directed toward the speaker), or mai ("from"), followed by the personal marker, a, followed (in the singular forms), by the singular article, te. In dual and plural forms the te is dropped, and for the first and third person singular there are several common variants. Typical forms are as follows:

Kau piipia ki te kaiapi rakau ke momori mai i (sometimes appears as ki) a te au. ("I want a wooden pipe to be sent hither to me.")

Kau piipia...i (or ki) a maaua.

Kau piipia...i (or ki) a taaua.

Kau piipia...i (or ki) a matou.

Kau piipia...i (or ki) a tatou.

Kau piipia...ke momori atu ki a te koe.

Kau piipia...ki a korua.

Kau piipia...ki a kotou.

Kau piipia...ki a te ia (or ki ei).

Kau piipia...ki a naaua.

Kau piipia...ki a natou.

With certain verbs the first and third person singular objective voice is produced by postposing the possessive form of the pronoun to the verb. E.g., Riikinaku. ("Leave me alone.") Riikina. ("Leave it alone.") On occasion the "a" form of the third person singular may be attached to a verb as a suffix, and in this way made into a direct object. Thus, riti ("to tie up") may become ritia ("to tie him up").

When appearing as the object of the preposition mo ("for" or "with") the "a" form of the pronoun is used without any intervening particle or marker. E.g., mo au; mo koe.

In passive constructions the "a" form of the pronoun always is used, preceded by the agency marker, e. E.g., Ko te mako ka pete e au. ("The dance song will be sung by me.") Ko te toa ne taia e natou. ("The warrior was slain by them.")

#### Possessive Pronouns:

As in the case of personal pronouns ANU distinguishes first, second and third person singular, dual and plural, and first person dual and plural are subdivided into inclusive and exclusive. Moreover, the singular forms vary according to whether the object possessed is singular or plural. A full list of possessive pronouns is enumerated below in Table III.

TABLE III: Possessive Pronouns

		Singular	Dual		Plural	
			Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
First Person	singular object	toku taku	ma o maaua	ta o taaua	matou o matou	tatou o tatou
	plural object	oku aku	ma o maaua	ta o taaua	matou o matou	tatou o tatou
Second Person	singular object	tou tau	koru o korua		kotou o kotou	
	plural object	ou au	(k)oru o korua		kotou o kotou	
Third Person	singular object	tona tana na	na o naaua		natou o natou	
	plural object	ona ana	na o naaua		natou o natou	

Possessive constructions may be formed in one of two ways. Either a possessive pronoun is preposed immediately to the object, or, in the dual and plural forms, the object may be preceded by the definite article (te; nga), and succeeded by the preposition, o ("of"), followed by the "a" form of the personal pronoun. "Our (dual, inclusive) house", then, might appear either as ta pare, or te pare o taaua.



When the subject is singular the normal possessive pronoun must be used, so that one would say, "toku pare" ("my house"), not te pare o au. However, with a singular subject the form of the pronoun does vary according to whether the object is singular or plural (there is no separate form here for a dual object). In each case the plural is created by dropping the initial 't' from the singular form. "My brother," then, is toku taina, while "my brothers" is oku taina; "your (singular) garden" is tou topi while "your gardens" is ou topi. With dual and plural subjects the form of the pronoun does not vary according to whether the object is singular or plural, with the possible exception of the second person dual, which sometimes is rendered as oru rather than koru when referring to a plural object. A recently composed song about a man and his fiancée, for example, starts out, "Peiuiaki oru ringi..." ("Exchange your /dual/ rings").<sup>29</sup> I am fairly certain, however, that I have heard koru used with a plural object as well, and I have a feeling that oru may be, properly, a Tikopian form which alternates with TIK toru.

In all singular possessive pronouns (i.e., with a singular subject) the phoneme 'a' varies with 'o' in the initial syllable. This usage is consistent for any given object, so that once a speaker finds out that the proper form is toku pare he knows that pare takes the 'o' rather than the 'a' for the second and third person singular possessive pronouns as well. However, I was able to discern no rule by which one might predict what nouns will take the 'a' and which will take the 'o' form of the possessive pronoun.

Firth<sup>30</sup> has suggested that in TIK the 'a' form tends to connote some action directed toward the object as opposed to mere possession. Thus, in referring to some trees he had cut down, a Tikopian would say,

"aku ne ta" ("mine that I felled"). In ANU, however, there is no consistent pattern. A given noun always takes the same form of the possessive pronoun regardless of its connotation in the particular sentence, and while nopine ("wife") takes the 'o' form of the pronoun, paē ("mother") takes the 'a'. Yet, I see no reason to believe that "mother" connotes greater action than does "wife".

An alternative hypothesis is that the shift is determined by the pronoun's phonetic rather than its semantic environment. Yet "my father" is toku tamana while "my son" is taku tama. As far as I can tell, then, the only way of knowing which variant to use is by simply memorizing which form goes with each noun in the language. The only partial exception to this pattern is in the third person, where the short form, na, most frequently is used in place of either of the longer variants, tona or tana. If the object is plural, however, we must revert to the longer form, and it is necessary to know whether the noun in question takes ona or ana.<sup>31</sup>

In certain constructions the preposition, mo ("with;" "for") precedes the possessive pronoun. Pronouns, in this case, are used in the form associated with the plural object even if the object, in fact, is singular, and for nouns which take the 'a' form of the possessive pronoun the preposition shifts from mo to ma. Thus, if I should want to request a piece of tobacco I would say, "Au mai poi rau paka maaku" ("Bring hither a tobacco leaf for mine"), and "Does he have any sons?" is "Eiei ni tamatangata maana?" while "They don't have a canoe", is rendered, "Kairo e vaka mo natou."

Verbs:

ANU has an infinitive plus four specific tenses in addition to forms which are indefinite with respect to time. Tense markers are as follows:

infinitive	ke
future	ka
present	e
past indicative	ne
perfect	ku

These markers may be preposed directly to the verb in constructions without a personal pronoun (e.g., Ka peatu. [Some unspecified subject, which must be inferred from context, "Will fight."]), or in which the "a" form of the personal pronoun is used (e.g., Ko koe ka aru. [You will go.]), or they may be preposed to the "b" form of the pronoun, which in turn is followed by the verb (e.g., Ne kau oru. [I went.]). Any of these constructions is grammatically acceptable although in particular cases one or another variant (e.g., Ko au ka aru, or ka ke aru in an affirmative statement) may be somewhat awkward stylistically. When the subject of the sentence is a noun it is treated in the same way as the "a" form of the personal pronoun; the tense marker is placed between the noun and the verb (e.g., Te vaka ne ngoto [The canoe sank]).

In some cases the perfect tense (have v; has v; had v) is indicated not by the particle, ku, but by the longer construction, Ku oti na (pronoun) (verb). Ku o kau oru ki ei ("I have gone there"), for example, would be awkward, and is never heard. Ko au ku oru is

only slightly better, and the normal construction for expressing this thought is Ku oti na kau oru ki ei ("Has finished its my going there").

In addition to these tense markers there is a particle, ke, to indicate an infinitive. E.g., Ko ia ne karanga mai ke nonopo pakarerei ("He told /us/ to sit properly.") Ku oti na kau karanga atu ke aua koru peatu. ("I have finished telling the two of you not to fight.")

In situations where the "b" form of the personal pronoun is used and the action is occurring in the future or the present, or if time is unimportant and need not be specified, the tense marker may be dropped entirely. Thus, while it is acceptable to say, "Ka kau oru," or "E kau oru," usually one simply says, "Kau oru." If the action already has occurred, however, time is made explicit (e.g., Ne kau oru; Ku oti na kau oru).

These particles are the only tense markers in ANU. Any concept with respect to time that is not denoted directly by these markers either must be understood from the context or obtained by juxtaposing, in various ways, phrases in which these markers are contained. A command contains no tense marker and may or may not include a noun or second person pronoun. The usual way of saying, "Go bring me that thing there," therefore, would be, "Aru o to mai te mea na." The closest one can get to a condition contrary to fact (e.g., "If I went to Honiara, I would stay with my brothers") is Pe kau oru ki Honiara kau nopo i oku taina. ("If I go to Honiara I /will/ stay with my brothers").

ANU verbs generally do not change their form to indicate a singular or plural referent. A number of words, however, do take the plural suffix, raki, or else reduplicate one syllable to indicate a plural. A partial list of such verbs is given in Table IV, below.

TABLE IV

Verb	English Translation	Plural
kai	to eat	kakai
karanga	to speak	kararanga
moe	to sleep	momoe/ moeraki
nopo	to live to sit to dwell	nonopo/ noporaki
tu	to stand	turaki

I know of two words which change their stem to indicate a dual or plural subject. Kakau ("to swim") becomes pekaopi when the subject is dual or plural, while aru ("to go") changes to oru when the subject is the first person singular pronoun and oro for all dual and plural forms. Nopo ("to sit," "to dwell," "to live") is the only verb of which I am aware that has a special form, noponopo (TIK: nokonofu) to indicate the past. This seems to be in free variation with ne nopo.

Practically any verb can be made into a gerund and used as a noun by simply preposing the definite article, te. "He doesn't know how to swim," normally would appear as, Kairo na iroa te kakau ("He doesn't know the swimming"), and, "He is an expert canoe builder," is likely to be rendered as Ko ia e poto i te ta o te vaka ("He is expert in the cutting of the canoe"). Since this applies to verbs generally it should be understood that any word appearing in the list in Part II and labelled, (v.), may be made into a noun by this procedure.

### Nouns:

Nouns generally are treated in the same manner as the "a" forms of the personal pronouns. When appearing as a subject they may or may not be preceded by the particle, ko, and are followed by a tense marker and a verb. When appearing as an object they are preceded by the preposition ki or i, or by the preposition, o, to indicate possession. Adjectives are postposed immediately to the nouns they modify. E.g., Ko te tangata makeke e aro i te vaka rai o te ariki. ("The strong man is paddling in the chief's large canoe.")

Nouns do not change their form to indicate singular or plural. Number is indicated, instead, by the preceding article, te ("the," singular), nga ("the," plural), or more rarely, e, ("a") or ni ("some"). In normal Anutan speech common nouns are accompanied by an article; they almost never stand alone.

### Adjectives:

Adjectives may either follow immediately the noun they modify or appear as predicate adjectives following a tense marker, which in this case may be translated as the verb, "to become" or "to be." E.g., te tangata rerei, ("the good man"); Te tangata e rerei ("The man is good"); Na tino ku o kovi ("His body became bad," i.e., He became sick); Na tino ka rerei ("His body will become good," i.e., He will get well).

The tense marker particles also may be used in this manner with respect to nouns when they appear as predicate nominatives. For example, one might say, "Ko ia ne ariki i te vatia koi tamaaroa" ("He became chief while still a bachelor").

### Adverbs:

Adverbs follow the verbs they modify. Commonly an adjective may be transformed into an adverb by preposing the causative prefix, paka, or the prepositions, ke or ki. Thus, Nopo pakarerei means "Sit properly," and Kau iroa pakarerei is "I know (it) well." "Run quickly" is Rere ke vave, "Hold it securely" is Puke ke mau, "Speak loudly" is Karanga ki runga, "Stand up" is Tu ki runga, and Nopo ki raro is "Sit down." A few words normally are adverbs without any special marker. E.g., "Speak softly" or "Speak slowly" is Karanga maarie.

### Numerals:

Cardinal numbers in ANU are shown in Table V:

TABLE V: Anutan Cardinal Numbers

ANU	ENG
tai	one
rua	two
toru	three
pa	four
nima	five
ono	six
pitu	seven
varu	eight
iva	nine
puangapuru	ten
puangapuru maa tai	eleven
puangapuru maa rua	twelve
puangapuru maa toru	thirteen
etc;...	etc;...
pua rua	twenty
pua rua maa tai	twenty-one
pua rua maa rua	twenty-two
etc;...	etc;...
pua toru	thirty
pua pa	forty
pua nima	fifty
pua ono	sixty
pua pitu	seventy
pua varu	eighty
pua iva	ninety

TABLE V: Anutan Cardinal Numbers (Cont'd)

ANU	ENG
(e) pua te rau	one hundred
pua te rau maa tai	one hundred one
pua te rua maa rua	one hundred two
pua te rau mo te puangapuru/ (e) rau mo te puangapuru	one hundred ten
pua te rau mo te puangapura maa tai/ rau mo te puangapuru maa tai	one hundred eleven
pua te rau mo te puangapuru maa rua/ rau mo te puangapuru maa rua	one hundred twelve
(e) ape/ te ape e tai	one thousand
(e) mano/ te mano e tai	ten thousand

Anutan numbers do not stand alone, but are preceded by a tense marker. E, indicating present tense, is by far the most common, but ka (future), ne (past), or ku (perfect) also may be used. In asking the time one may say either, "E pia te ra?" ("How many is the sun?") or "Ku pia te ra?" ("How many has the sun become?"), and in answer one may be told, "Te ra e pitu (varu, etc.)" ("The sun is seven eight, etc."), or "Te ra ku varu" ("The sun has become eight..."). While it is grammatically acceptable to use any tense marker, some tense marker must be used; it may not be entirely deleted.

Anutans count using a decimal system. Units from one to ten are indicated by simple terms; after ten compounds of various sorts generally are used. Tens are designated by the same terms as the units except that they are preceded by the term, pua. Hence, "twenty" is pua rua, "thirty" is pua toru, etc. Figures which are not even multiples of ten are designated by indicating the numbers of tens, followed by the word, maa (a special form of the preposition mo "with;" "and" which is used with numerals), and the number of units. Thus "thirteen"



is puangapuru maa toru, "fifty-five" is pua nima maa nima, "sixty-seven" is pua ono maa pitu, etc.

Hundreds follow the same principle. "One hundred" is e pua te rau e tai, which may be reduced to e pua te rau, or simply e rau. "Two hundred" just replaces the "one" with "two" and is e pua te rau e rua. Numbers higher than, but not even multiples of one hundred are indicated by compounding all the principles discussed above. "One hundred fifty," then, is e pua te rau mo te pua nima, "three hundred seventy-four" is e pua te rau e toru mo te pua pitu maa pa, and so on.

In the thousands there is some confusion as to the exact terms. I was told by two knowledgeable informants that "one thousand" is (te) (e) ape, and "ten thousand" is (te) (e) mano. Others used mano to mean one thousand, but were not really certain. I have never heard numbers of this magnitude invoked in normal conversation, and since Anutans rarely have to think about such terms the confusion is not surprising. Milioni is an obvious English loan word, and Anutans seem to have little conception of the particular quantity involved. To them it means, essentially, "an awful lot," or "too many to count."

When the objects being enumerated are either fish or human beings special terms are used. In enumerating people the word, toko, is placed before the number. "One man" may be te tangata e tai, but "two men" is nga tangata e toko rua, not nga tangata e rua. Similarly, one says:

e toko toru  
e toko pa  
e toko nima  
etc.

When one reaches "ten," puangapuru becomes tokangapuru. At twenty or more the counting system seems to revert to the normal method of enumeration,

but one may say, "Ko te penua e toko rai" ("The island is populous").

In enumerating fish the marker is mata, and this term seems to be limited to quantities of ten or more. The morpheme, mata, simply is substituted for pua so that "ten fish" becomes te ika e matangapuru, "fifty-nine fish" is te ika e mata nima maa iva, and "seven hundred twenty-eight fish" would be te ika e pua te rau e pitu mo te mata rua maa varu.

Ordinal numbers rarely are used except for "first" (ruoki or mataki -- which can mean "first in importance" as well as in a temporal sense), "last" (murimuri pakaoti), or "in the middle" (i rototonu). Aside from this, if it becomes necessary to use a specific ordinal number the normal cardinal number is used, preceded by the particle, na.

#### Kinship Terminology:

Following is a list of Anutan kin terms and their approximate English referents as described, for the purposes of brevity, in genealogical terms. In fact, the actual categories cannot be outlined properly in these terms alone, and for a more adequate account of the Anutan conceptual domain of "kinship" the reader is referred to my doctoral dissertation.<sup>32</sup>

#### Terms of Reference

##### "Consaguineal"

Tupuna.--Can be translated roughly as either "grandparent" or "ancestor," as it may refer to any relative in the second or higher ascending generation. It may be qualified in such a way as to read either tupuna tangata ("grandfather"; "male ancestor") or tupuna papine ("grandmother"; "female ancestor"), and it includes collaterals of any

degree.

Nuna.--Its semantic range is identical with that of tupuna, but it differs syntactically in that it may be substituted for Pu<sup>33</sup> in a person's proper name in order to indicate a relationship of respect. To call someone by his proper name suggests familiarity, and while such familiarity is permissible in dealing with members of the grandparental generation the junior party to the relationship may wish to show some special respect on account of the difference in age. Tupuna is used with the possessive pronoun (e.g., "my grandfather" is toku tupuna, not toku nuna), and may not be substituted for a proper name in the manner of nuna. For lack of a better phrase I shall refer to this type of construction as a "kinship title."

Tamana.--May be glossed as "father." It also includes the father's brothers and male cousins of all degrees.

Tamai.--Identical in semantic and syntactic content with tamana, but is used less frequently.

Mana.--A "title" with the same set of referents as tamana and tamai. It is forbidden for any Anutan to utter his father's proper name (e.g., Pu Taumarei; Pu Parikitonga). If it is necessary to specify which of a person's tamana he is talking about, however, most islanders consider it permissible to use constructions such as Mana i Parikitonga, etc. The word may stand by itself as a substitute for a proper name, so that one may ask, "Mana ne karanga atu pakapepeeki?" ("What did 'father' say?"), but, like nuna, it may not be used with a possessive pronoun. Whereas one may say toku tamana or toku tamai, toku mana is incorrect. This differs from Tikopia, where mana is simply an abbreviated form of tamana and is used in precisely the same way as its

lengthier counterpart.<sup>34</sup>

Papa.--A "title" whose usage is almost identical with that of mana except that it is most frequently heard from children. Youngsters also use papa at times to refer to the tuatina ("mother's brother"), but this is regarded by adults as improper.

Patamaaroa.--"Title" for an unmarried man who, by other criteria, falls into the tamana class.

Pae.--May be glossed as "mother," but also includes the mother's sisters and female cousins of all degrees. Syntactically this term is employed in the same manner as tupuna, tamana, and tamai.

Papae.--A "title" having the same range of designata as pae but whose usage follows the pattern of nuna and mana.

Nau taka.--"Title" for an unmarried woman in pae relationship. It is the female counterpart to patamaaroa (see above).

Nga maatuaa.--May be translated approximately as "parents." It is used in the plural and usually refers to one's real parents unless they are deceased or absent, in which case it generally applies to the persons who are acting in their stead. In other words it normally designates a person's closest social "parents," who are most often--but not necessarily--his real parents as well. It often is used with a possessive pronoun rather than the definite article.

Tuatina.--Refers to the mother's brothers and her male cousins of all degrees. It is used both as a standard term of reference, in the manner of tamana or pae, and as a "title" after the fashion of nuna, mana, and papae.

Makitanga.--Refers to the father's sisters and his female cousins of all degrees. Like tuatina it may be used either as a standard term

of reference or as a "kinship title."

Taina.--May be glossed as "sibling of the same sex as ego," but includes cousins of all degrees. For "consanguines" of ego's own generation proper names are invariably employed; there are no "kinship titles." Like Tikopia, and in contrast to most Polynesian kinship systems, junior and senior siblings of the same sex are not terminologically differentiated.

Kave.--May be glossed as "sibling of opposite sex," but it includes opposite sex cousins of all degrees as well.

Tama.--May be translated roughly as "child." A man calls his own children and the children of anyone he refers to as taina by this term. For a woman all "consanguineal" relatives of the first descending generation are referred to as tama.

Pota.--Synonymous with tama. Anutans have no trouble identifying it as a term which is indigenous to the island, but it is not often used.

Tei.--Can probably best be thought of as a metaphor for tama. It literally refers to a flower which is placed through a perforated earlobe, the implication being that a man is adorned by his children just as he is by his tei.

Kaoa.--A metaphor for tama comparable to tei except that here the literal referent is a floral necklace.

Iraamutu.--May be glossed as a man's "sister's child," although it actually refers to the child of anyone he calls kave. There is no comparable term for a female ego, who refers to her brother's child by the same term (tama) as she does her own.

Tama Tapu.--"Sacred child." Has the same set of referents as

iraamutu, although it is somewhat more likely to be employed in ceremonial contexts than in the course of everyday life. In fact, I rarely heard it used at all during the course of my stay.

Mokopuna.--May be glossed as "grandchild" or "descendent," and applies to any relative in the second or lower descending generation. It may be modified to read mokopuna tangata ("grandson"; "male descendent") or mokopuna papine ("granddaughter"; "female descendent"), and referents include collateral relatives of all degrees.

#### Affinal

Nopine.-- Wife. This term has no other referent.

Matua.--Husband. Has no other referent.

Ma.--Kave's spouse or spouse's kave. May be roughly translatable as a man's "brother-in-law" or the "sister-in-law" of a woman, although collaterals of any degree may also be included.

Tangaata.--"Title" with same set of referents as ma, but it has same grammatical usage as nuna, mana, and papae and may be used only by a male ego.

Taina.--Spouse's taina or taina's spouse. Roughly translatable as "sibling-in-law of the opposite sex," but, like ma, it may include collaterals of all degrees as well.

Pungona.--Spouse's tamana or pae, or the spouse or spouse's taina of one's tama or iraamutu. Roughly, classificatory "parent-in-law" or "child-in-law." If one wishes to specify sex and generation the word pungona must be replaced by pungoai in the following manner:

tamana pungoai: "father-in-law." I.e., father, father's brother, or father's male cousin of either one's spouse or sibling's spouse.

pae pungoai: "mother-in-law." I.e., mother, mother's sister, or mother's female cousin of ego's spouse or sibling's spouse.

tama pungoai: "son-in-law." I.e., husband, or husband's brother or male cousin of ego's daughter or niece.

nau pungoai: "daughter-in-law." I.e., wife, wife's sister, or wife's female cousin of ego's son or nephew. Unlike the preceding three forms, this construction generally is not used with the possessive pronoun.

Tautau pariki.--Generally used as a synonym for pungona although in certain contexts it may denote any kinsman in a restraint relationship.

Patamaaroa.--"Unmarried son-in-law" (i.e., the unmarried brother or male cousin of ego's daughter's or niece's husband) or "unmarried father-in-law" (i.e., the unmarried brother or male cousin of the wife's tamana). This is a "title;" if one wishes to designate a relative in this category by a standard reference term of the type that may go with a possessive pronoun he simply uses te pungona, tama pungoai, or tamana pungoai, just as he does for a married relative.

Nau taka.--"Unmarried daughter-in-law" (i.e., unmarried sister or female cousin of ego's son's or nephew's wife). This term is a "title" in the same way as patamaaroa and their syntactic usages are identical.

Te maatuaa.--Refers to any male pungona, but it is a title, which must be used in the same manner as mana, papae, patamaaroa, etc. It may also be used in the plural to designate "parents-in-law" just as a phonetically identical term may be used to designate one's parents.

#### Terms of Address

The vocative system divides an Anutan's relatives into the same

categories as do terms of reference, but some of the words, themselves, are at variance. In addition, members of several categories tend to be addressed by proper name rather than kinship terms, and in a few of these cases proper terms of address are absent. Following is a list of kin categories which, for convenience sake, have been labeled with English glosses, and the vocative terms by which relatives in these categories are addressed;

"Grandparent"; "Great grandparent." Called nuna or by proper name.

"Father." Called mana or papa, the latter term predominating among, but not restricted to, children.

"Mother." Called papae.

"Mother's brother." Called tuatina, papa ("incorrectly," by small children), or by proper name.

"Father's sister." Called makitanga.

"Sibling of ego's sex." Called taina or by proper name.

"Sibling of opposite sex." Called kave or by proper name.

"Child." Called by proper name.

Man's "sister's son." Called by proper name.

"Grandchild"; "Great-grandchild." Called by proper name.

"Husband." Called by proper name.

"Wife." Called by proper name.

"Father-in-law." Called mana or te maatuaa.

"Mother-in-law." Called papae or nau.

"Son-in-law." Called te maatuaa.

"Unmarried son-in-law." Called patamaaroa.

"Daughter-in-law." Called nau.



"Unmarried daughter-in-law." Called nau taka.

Man's "brother-in-law." Called tangaata or tau ma.

Woman's "sister-in-law." Called tau ma.

"Sibling-in-law of opposite sex." Called by proper name.

In addition to the foregoing list any standard term of reference (not "titles") may be used as a term of address simply by prefacing it with toku or taku, the first person singular possessive pronoun. All "titles" may be used as terms of address, as should be evident from the above account, but without the possessive pronoun.

PART II

ANUTAN WORD-LIST

ANUTAN WORD-LIST

A

- a particle placed between a preposition and a personal pronoun or a proper name, but not before a common noun.  
E.g., ki a John (to John)  
ki a kotou (to you, plural)  
vs.  
ki te ariki (to the chief)
- a? (interrogative pronoun) what?  
E.g., Ka ke aru o a? (What are you going in order to do?)  
Koru tau a? (In what relationship are the two of you?)
- aa (adv)<sup>1</sup> yes (colloquial speech)  
(this word usually is nasalized somewhat, so that it may come out sounding like, ngaa.)  
c.f., iio
- aa? (interrogative pronoun) What?  
Why?  
Huh?
- aapai (v) to carry a large load, such as a bundle of firewood, in one's arms.  
c.f., taapi (to carry a small object, such as a pencil or a pipe, in one's hands.)

<p>aaepa (interrogative pronoun; relative pronoun; adv)</p>	<p>when (indicating future)</p> <p>E.g., Ko ia ka poki mai aaepa? (When will he [she; it] return?)</p> <p>Kairo kau iroa ka poki mai aaepa. (I don't know when [he; she; it] will return.)</p> <p>[the more common Anutan rendering of this sentence, however, would be, <u>Kairo kau iroa te vatia ka poki mai i ei.</u> (literally: I don't know the time [he; she; it] will return in it.)]</p> <p>c.f., anaepa (when, indicating past)</p>
<p>aaapo (n)</p>	<p>tomorrow night</p>
<p>aaarie (command)</p>	<p>wait</p> <p>c.f., maarie</p> <p>ngaarie</p>
<p>aaavanga (v)</p> <p>(n)</p> <p>(adj)</p>	<p>to marry</p> <p>wedding</p> <p>married</p>
<p>ae</p>	<p>that one over there.</p> <p>E.g., Te mea ae. (The thing there.)</p>
<p>aaere (v)</p>	<p>to walk</p>

ai? (personal  
pronoun)

who? whom?

appears as:

Ko ai? (Who?)

e ai? (by whom?)

ki ai? (to whom?)

mai ai? (from whom?)

mo ai? (with whom?)

i ai? (with whom?)

E.g., Ko ai te mea na? (Who is it?)

Ne taute e ai? (It was done by whom?)

Who did it?)

Ko te mea nei ne tori atu ki te tangata.

Ki ai? Ki te tangata rai. (This thing was given  
to the man. To whom? To the big man.)

Te kope mai ai? (The knife from whom?)

I.e., From whom did you get the knife?)

Korua mo ai? (You /dual/ and whom else?)

I.e., who is the other person you are /were; will  
be /with?)

E nopo i ai? (With whom is /he/ sitting?)

ai (kitua)

to take ma (see below) out of a pit.

(verb phrase)

akau (n)

reef

ake (direction-

up

al indicator)

upward

- ake (v) to ascend  
c.f., akeake
- akeake (v) to ascend  
E.g., akeake ki Maunga (to climb to a higher point on Maunga Anuta's hill)  
c.f., ake
- akiaki (n) fairy tern (a type of bird)
- ako (n) to learn  
c.f., pakaako (to teach)
- akoako (n.) a type of plant (Halfordia sp.)
- akonake (v) to teach  
c.f., pakaako  
ako
- aku (possessive pronoun) my (with plural object)  
E.g., aku mea (my things)  
See part I, above, for further explication.
- aku (n) a type of small billfish, approximately two to three feet long. (needlefish or garfish)
- ama (n) outrigger
- amo (v) to carry a basket on the back by grabbing it and supporting it with one's hand (the normal means employed by men to carry loads).

amonga (n)	a load carried on the back and supported with one hand, "men's style."
ana (possessive pronoun)	his; her; its (with plural object) E.g., ana mea (his /her; its/ things) ana tama (his /her/ children) c.f., tona tana ona na See Part I, above, for further explication.
ana (n)	cave
anaapi (n)	yesterday c.f., naapi
anapea (interrogative pronoun; relative pronoun; adv)	when (indicating past) E.g., Kairo kau iroa ne poki mai anapea. (I don't know when /he/ returned.) Ne taute anapea? (When did /he/ do it? When was /it/ done?) c.f., aapea (when, indicating future)
anapo (n)	last night
anu (n)	saliva spit spittle (sometimes rendered as <u>ano</u> )

angaa (n)

a type of ceremony performed for children at and/or before puberty.

anganga (n)

tongs for placing and removing fish, vegetable food, or stones from a fire. May be made from either metal or wood, and labelled as follows:

te anganga rakau (wooden tongs)

te anganga ngatana (metal tongs)

ango (n)

turmeric plant (Curcuma domestica)

ao (n)

daytime (as opposed to night)

te ao katoa

the whole day (when used in this sense it denotes the period from sunrise to sunset, not an entire twenty-four hour period.)

ao (n)

day (as in day of the week)

te ao nei

today

te ao tapu

Sunday

te ao tai

Monday

te ao rua

Tuesday

te ao toru

Wednesday

te ao pa

Thursday

te ao nima

Friday

te ao ono

Saturday

ao (n)

cloud (short form of kauao)

ao tapu (n)

week

c.f., uiki



apa (n)	net spacer (short for <u>apa tia kupenga</u> )
apa tia kupenga (n)	net spacer c.f., apa
apaa (n)	storm
ape (adj; n)	one thousand (usually appears as <u>e ape</u> /it is a thousand /)
	E.g., te poi tora e ape (one thousand dollars)
	See Part I, above, for further explication.
ape (adj)	"u"-shaped shaped like a fish hook
	E.g., Te matau e ape. (The hook is "u"-shaped.)
api (n)	fire
api (n)	a group of people sharing a common ancestor, plus women who have married and other people who have been adopted into the group. <sup>2</sup>
apo (v)	to hit something with a stick, axe or adze. c.f., apotaki
apongipongi (n)	tomorrow
aporau (n)	canoe shed (one only on Anuta; common in Tikopia) c.f., parevaka
(te) aporau (n)	string figure #51c. <sup>3</sup>

apotaki (v)	to hit something with a stick, axe or adze. c.f., apo
apu (v)	to spring forth.
apukere (n)	earthsprung; autochthone c.f., tinoipenua
apuru (n)	a kind of small fish which sometimes comes onto the reef.
ara (v)	for one to wake up
(adj)	awake c.f., pupura
ara (n)	path road (short form of <u>rotoara</u> , especially used in expres- sions such as " <u>tama o te ara</u> " -- illegitimate child, or literally "child of the path.")
araara (v)	to chat to discuss
(n)	discussion
araarapanga (n)	story
areare (n)	liquid between meat and <u>oko</u> of <u>nui raurau</u> .
arero (n)	tongue

ariki (n)	chief leader person in position of high authority or ritual honor.
Te Ariki (n)	God; Jesus
Ariki i Mua (n)	Chief in Front -- title of island's senior chief; also known as Tui Anuta.
Ariki i Muri (n)	Chief Behind -- title for Anuta's junior chief; also known as te Ariki Tepuko or Tui Kainanga
Ariki Tepuko (n)	title for the chief of Anuta's second ranking <u>kainanga</u> (large scale descent group); the island's junior chief. The holder of this title is also known as te Ariki i Muri or Tui Kainanga.
aringa (v; adj)	to smell like rotten fish or bird, but not mammalian flesh or vegetable matter.  c.f., ero nanamu taunga
aringaavai (n)	drainage ditch for water.
aro (v)	to paddle a canoe or for a canoe to be paddled.  c.f., aroaro
aroaro (v)	to paddle a canoe or for a canoe to be paddled.  c.f., aro

aroaro (n)

belly inside

aropa (n; v.)

1. love, sympathy, affection, pity
2. gift symbolizing feeling of affection.<sup>4</sup>

c.f., pakapere

aropinima (n)

palm of hand

aropitai (n)

water covering the fringing reef.

c.f., tai

aropivae (n)

1. sole of foot
2. anything worn on foot like shoes, sandals, thongs, or swimfins. These may also be referred to simply as vae.

aru (v)

go (second and third person singular).

E.g., Ka ke aru kipea? (Where are you going?)

aru kitua

go away

aru o

go for the purpose of

E.g., Ka ke aru o a? (What are you going in order to do?)

Aru o to mai toku kope. (Go bring me my knife.)

ata (n)

shadow

(i) ata (n)	pre-dawn
ata o tupua	very early morning when it is just beginning to get light. literally: <u>ata</u> of spirits. c.f., maringoringo
te mapoaata	pre-dawn period following <u>te ata o tupua</u> , when people may just be starting to stir from bed.
ata o tanagata	early morning, when <u>mapoaata</u> is finished, people are up, and the sky is well lit.
atamai (n)	mind
atamai (n)	meaning
atamere (n)	watermelon (English loan word)
ate (n)	liver
ate (n)	type of plant: ( <u>Wedelia biflora</u> ) ( <u>Adenostema lavenia</u> )
ati (v)	to call to refer to as to be called  E.g., E ati pakapepeeki? (What is it called?) E ati ko te pare. (It is called <u>te pare</u> .)
atu (directional indicator)	indicates action directed away from the speaker or point of reference.  E.g., Ko te ika nei, kau tori atu ki a te koe. (I give you this fish.)

atu (n)	bonito
atu (v)	to remove liquid from a container, like bailing a canoe or lifting soup out of a bowl with a spoon.
atua (n)	spirit being c.f., tupua
(Te) Atua Kovi (n)	the Devil
(Nga) Atupiti (n)	Vanikoro, Utupua, Reef and Duff Islands (i.e., Santa Cruz Islands excluding Anuta and Tikopia).
(te) aturaro (n)	all "islands" west of Anuta. E.g., Tikopia, Solomons, Banks, New Guinea, New Zealand and Australia. also known as; <u>nga penua i raro</u> (the lands below).
ature (n)	a type of small fish that comes into the shallow reef water in large schools. Ranges in size from about one to one and a half pounds.
(te) aturunga (n)	all "islands" east of Anuta E.g., Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Hawaii and America also known as; <u>nga penua i runga</u> (the islands above).
au (possessive pronoun)	your (singular subject with plural object.) E.g., au mea (Your <u>/singular/</u> things.) See Part I, above, for further explication.

au (personal  
pronoun)

I; me

used as:

ko au (I)

te au (me)

e au (by me)

E.g., Ko au. (It is I. -- this is the normal response to the question, Mea ko ai? [Who is it?])

Karanga mai i a te au. (Speak to me.)

Ne taute e au. (It was done by me.)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

au (v)

to come

c.f., ou

au (n)

gall bladder

au (n)

ocean current

c.f., te tape

au mai

1. come in

(command)

2. bring here

aua

don't

(command)

not to

E.g., Aua ke pakaoa. (Don't you [singular] make so much noise.)

Ku oti na kau karanga atu ki a kotou ke aua taute pakapeiana. (I have finished telling you [plural] not to do that.)

ave

thank you

c.f., pakaueue (to thank)

autiapi (n)

smoke

c.f., kokopu

TIK: ausiafi

ava (n)

passage from open sea to protected water--not necessarily a channel; there is no channel on Anuta, but there is a passage.

avatea (n)

mid-day

(sometimes pronounced, aoatea)

ave (v)

to move one or a few objects from one place to another. Roughly: to bring or to carry a small number of objects.

c.f., tari

TIK: sau



E

e present tense marker

E.g., E kau oru. (I am going; I go.)

Ko te pare e tu i te vae vai tai. (The house stands on the seashore.)

Ko te tangata e kai te ika. (The man is eating the fish.)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

E rerei te good evening  
epiepi nei.

E rerei te good morning  
pongipongi nei.

E rerei te good night  
pouri nei.

E rerei te good day  
vakaanga nei. (literally: Is good the time this; i.e., Good now.)

E rerei te good day  
vatia nei. (literally: Is good the time this; i.e., Good now.)

These salutations are used both in greeting and in parting. The idiom is borrowed from the English, "Good morning," "Good day," etc. Traditionally the standard greeting simply was, Ka ke aru ki pea? (Where are you going?) or, Ka ke aru o a? (What are you going in order to do?)

E tapa aku mea mai I have more than you.  
a te koe. My things are better than yours.

E roroa How long is it?  
pakaapeeki? How tall is it?

E toe na \_\_\_\_\_. Is greater its \_\_\_\_\_.

I.e., this is an idiomatic expression to indicate that when other people have exhausted their \_\_\_\_\_, the subject still will have some left.

E.g., E toe na makeke. (He is singularly strong.) (literally: Is left his strength.)

E koe matéa. I think so.

e (article) a (indefinite article singular)

E.g., Kairo e tangata. (Not a man.)

TIK: se

e (agency marker) by

E.g., Ne taute e ia. (It was done by him.)

E ai? (By whom?)

E au. (By me.)

ea? what? why?

what's going on?

huh?

may be used as response to a call, as if to say,

"What do you want?"

ee response to a call; acknowledgement of a call,  
as if to say "yes?" or "here I am."

ei him, her, it (objective voice; used as object of  
(personal preposition ki or i).  
pronoun)

See Part I, above, for further explication

eiei (v) to have; for there to be

E.g., Eiei ni rau paka? (Is there any tobacco  
leaf?)

Eiei ni rau paka mau? (Do you have any  
tobacco leaf?)

(Ena and enaa are Tikopian forms.)

eirea (adv) irremediably

E.g., Kau oru eirea. (I am going and not coming  
back.)

Te vaka ne aru eirea ki te moana. (The  
canoe went forever to the ocean.)

ékoe/eekoe exclamation of surprize  
("gee whiz"), or perplexity.

c.f., pe kopea

ena (pronoun)

that

there

always used with a preposition, i, ki, or ko

E.g., E tu i ena. (It is standing over there in that place.)

Kau oru ki ena. (I am going there to that place.)

Ko ena (That one. Generally stands by itself in answer to a question. Sometimes the 'e' is lengthened for emphasis and the word, ko eena!, becomes an exclamation of approval, similar to the English 'good work!' 'right on!' or Melanesian pidgin 'hem now!')

eni (pronoun)

this

here

over here

always used, as ena, with the preposition i, ki, or ko.

E.g., Kau nopo i eni. (I am here.)

TIK: kunei

Au ki eni. (Come here.)

TIK: kunei

Ko eni. (This one.)

epiepi (n)

evening (about 5 to 7 p.m.)

TIK: afiafi

TON: epiafi

- epoepo (v)            to lick (with tongue).
- epu (n)                a type of toy, fashioned from coconut.
- epuepu (n)            finely scraped baked taro or puraka, mixed with  
coconut cream.  
a type of pudding used especially for small chil-  
dren.
- ere manu (n)           a bamboo snare for catching birds.
- ere mei (n)            a tool for scraping breadfruit.
- ero (n)                a offensive odor  
(v)                    to give off such an odor.  
to smell badly or to have a rotten smell.  
c.f., aringa  
nanamu  
taunga

I

i (preposition)

in

on

i te vakaanga

sometime

at the time

when (as a relative or interrogative pronoun).

i te vakaanga nei

now

i te vatia

at the time

sometime

when (as a relative or interrogative pronoun).

i te vatia na

then

at that time

i te vatia nei

now

at this time

i te vatia pea?

when?

i papo

outside

i pea?

where?

i tea?

why?

i tua

outside

away

i a tua

afterwards

i a tua o	after
i ei	there
	in it
i ena	there
	over there
	in that place
i eni	here
	in this place
ia	he, she, it
(personal pronoun)	used as: <u>ko ia, te ia or e ia</u>
	See Part I, above, for further explication.
ia!	here it is!
langaonei (adv)	recently
	in recent days
	(compound of <u>i a nga ao nei</u> )
	TIK: iasonei
	(i aso nei)
ie (n)	a kind of fish
ii (v)	to ejaculate
(n)	semen
iio	yes (formal or "proper" speech).
	c.f., aa

ika (n)	fish (generic term)
ika tapu (n)	a kind of fish reaching perhaps five pounds; very hard fighter and very good to eat; with navy blue and gold markings. (Pompano?)  c.f., taaputu
ike (n)	wooden hammer or mallet for pounding bark cloth or pandanus leaf. May be designated, more fully, as <u>te ike tutu</u> .
iki (v)	to lift
ke iki ki runga	to carry
ke iki te pure	(to lift /something/ up) (to attack) (to kill the first adversary in a battle)
iko (v)	1. to roll up a length of string. 2. to transfer string from the hands of one person to another in playing at making string figures.  c.f., ikoiko TIK: siko
ikoiko (v)	to transfer string from hands of one person to another in making string figures.  c.f., iko TIK: sikosiko



ina (n)	white or gray hair resulting from advanced age. a person having such hair.
(adj)	white or gray haired.
ingano (n)	a type of fragrant plant from which head bands may be made.
ingoa (n)	name
ingoa pakamaatuaa	married name
ingoa pakauku tapu	baptism name
ingoa pouri	traditional personal name (literally: "dark- ness name", i.e., the type of name that people had before the Church brought them "the light.")
inu (v)	to drink
ipi (n)	tree: <u>Inocarpus fagiferus</u> (Polynesian chestnut)
ipo (v)	to descend
ipo (directional indicator)	downwards
ira (n)	mole (on a person's skin)
iraamutu (n)	"sister's child" c.f., tama tapu See Part I, above, for further explication.
iri (n)	fan

iroa (v)

to know

to understand

ita (v)

to object or refuse.

TIK: teke

iu (n)

nose

iva (n; adj)

nine

TIK: siva

See Part I, above, for further explication.

ivi (n)

bone

(The normal word for bone is ui. Ivi, however, may be used in certain constructions and words:

E.g., mataivi /a type of small bone fish hook<sup>7</sup>.)

K

ka	future tense marker
	See Part I, above, for further explication.
kaakaa (adj)	ripe (with reference to betel nut).
kaanga (n)	finger ring
kaarengau (adj)	tired
	lazy
kae (conj)	but
kai (v)	to eat
kai (n)	generic name for food crops.
kai (adj; adv)	then
	and then
kai mata (v)	to eat something raw.
kai mua (n)	a type of banana.
kai potati/	string figure #48d
kai pootati	and #32c
kai tae (expletive)	"eat shit" (curse)
kai te mo te	"eat shit with your father!" (curse).
tamana!	
kai te mo te tamana	intensified form of the standard curse ("eat
mo te tamana!	shit with your father with your father!").
kai tamu (v)	to eat fish only and not vegetable food.

kai tapu (n)	Holy Communion (literally: "sacred eating")
(v)	to take Holy Communion
kaia (v)	to steal
kaiapi (v)	to smoke a pipe or a cigarette (literally a compound of <u>kai</u> /eat/ and <u>api</u> /fire/).
(n)	pipe
kainanga (n)	any of four groups tracing their ancestry to Tearakura, one of his two brothers, or his one brother-in-law, the four of whom are said to have slain the island's population eight generations ago. <sup>5</sup>
	c.f., matakainanga
kainga (n) (?)	informants were not very familiar with this word, but generally figured its meaning to be similar to <u>kano a paito</u> - "kindred" or "family". One informant agreed that it might indicate a "relationship," or "residence," but I have never heard it used in this, or any other way in normal Anutan speech. <sup>6</sup>
kaipariki (n)	a type of skin fungus; same as <u>rau kiri</u> .
kairo (adv)	no
	none
	nothing
	never
kairo e tai	no one

kaka (n)	a kind of bird
kakaa (v)	to burn
(adj)	to be warm (as a pot of warm water). to feel warm (as from the sun, a fire, fever, wearing a heavy shirt, or any other cause). c.f., pakakakaa pakaka
kakaa (v)	to get hurt to hurt one's self
kakai (adj)	sharp (as a sharp knife)
kakamo (n)	lightening flash bulb flashlight
kakapi (mai)	to call someone to come.
(v)	c.f., tupekau
kakara (adj)	irritating to the skin.
kakati (v)	1. to burn food by leaving it on fire too long. 2. to dry fish or other food by this method in order to preserve it.
(adj)	burned charred overcooked
kakati (n)	yellowfin tuna

kakau (v)	to swim (singular) c.f., pekaopi
kake (v)	to climb (to the top of a tree, the deck of a ship, or the top of a canoe).
kamakama (n)	a kind of crab
kamika (n)	plant: <u>Achranthes bidentata</u>
kamu (v)	to chew
kana (n)	a substance found in water on reef and used for polishing metal (a type of coral?).
kanae (n)	a type of fish, going to several pounds, which sometimes enters shallows on reef.
kano a paito (n)	'kinsman' 'kindred' 'family' 'neighbor' <sup>7</sup>
kanoimata (n)	eye (as an object; <u>mata</u> refers more to area around the eye).
kanoiuto (n)	rectum; posterior lobes c.f., uto
kanopenua (n)	people of the island population

kanopi (n)	meat or flesh (may be either animal or vegetable --the edible portion of anything).
kanotu/kanotuu (adj)	for a tuber to be no good because it is watery inside. c.f., tu/tuu
kao (n)	reed
kaoa (n)	necklet TIK: kasoa also used metaphorically to refer to one's child which adorns one just as does his necklet of beautiful flowers.
kaoa pipii	braided flower necklace.
kaoa tomo	necklace made from beads of European manufacture.
kaoa tui	flower necklace held together with a coconut fibre running through the flowers.
kaoa tui papai	necklace like <u>kaoa tui</u> except the flowers are split.
kaokao (n)	armpit
kapa (n)	sennit cord (any form of cordage made from coconut fibre).
kapa pipii	sennit cord, braided to form two or more overlapping rolls; flattish in shape. c.f., piini
kapa piro	sennit cord, rolled into single coil or spiral.
kapakangamai (n)	late afternoon (about 3:30 or 4:00 p.m.)

kapakapa (v)	to flap wings
kapakau (n)	wing
kape (v)	1. to remove the top of something, like a tin can or the end of a coconut. 2. to scoop something out, as in tearing out someone's eyeball.
kapengatara (n)	plant: <u>Alocasia macrorrhiza</u>
kapia (n)	lime (calcium hydroxide), made by baking coral stone. It is used for chewing with betel, bleaching hair, and protecting canoes when they are not in use.
kapika (n)	malay apple ( <u>Eugenia malaccensis</u> )
kapikapi (adj)	many (There was some suggestion that this is Tikopian, and the proper Anutan words are <u>maatea</u> or <u>rai</u> .)
kapiti (n)	two betel nut sticks between which thatch is placed in order to give the thatch rigidity.
kapokapo (adv)	quickly E.g, Tuti kapokapo. (Write quickly). (The more common Anutan expression is <u>ke vave</u> . E.g., Rere ke vave. ( <u>Run Quickly</u> )
kaponga (n)	ear of a fish. inside part of human ear.



kapu (n)	hat; cap (probably an English loan word).
kaputi (v)	to run away (the more commonly used expression is <u>rere o aru.</u> )
karae (n)	a kind of bird
karakarapui (n)	plant: <u>Acalypha grandis</u>
karamata (n)	"wild" betel nut; a type of areca palm with a very small fruit. c.f., te puariki
karanga (v)	speak; say; tell c.f., reerea/rerea TIK: muna
karanga marie	speak slowly speak softly
E karanga	
pakapepeeki?	How is it said?
karanga poki	repeat; say again
karanga ki runga	speak up speak loudly
karanga ke vave	speak quickly
karapau (n)	upper cheek
kararaa (n)	rustling noise
kareu (v)	to turn one's head to look back.

karikau (n)	1. trochus shell (found in Tikopia, but not Anuta). 2. trochus shell armllet TIK: kalikau
karo/karopia (v)	to dodge
kata (v)	to smile to laugh
(n)	laughter
katapa (n)	a kind of plant
kati (n)	a shell used to grind coconut
kati (v)	to cut something with the teeth as in biting through a piece of cord or octopus tenacle which is to be used as bait.
katikati (n)	outside part of neck.
katoa (adj)	all; each; every
kau (personal pronoun)	I (when appearing as a subject in active constructions). See Part I, above, for further explication.

- kau (n) stem; shaft; body
- E.g., kau tika (dart shaft)
- kau mori (handle of dance paddle)
- kau poe (paddle shaft)
- kau rakau (tree trunk)
- kau nima (arm everything from wrist to shoulder)
- kau vae (leg)
- kau pita (stem of the betel vine)
- kau (n) a group of people
- E.g., kau vaka (canoe crew)
- kau porau (group of travellers)
- kau paparangi (group of white men)
- kau (n) very large hook, generally made from wood at least in earlier times. Used for catching large fish such as sharks and also used for hanging objects in the house.
- kau ivi (n) fishing pole
- c.f., kau tiiti
- kau matanga string figure #53
- o te topaa (n)
- kau nima (n) arm (from wrist up to shoulder)
- kau ngato toetoe string figure #27
- (n)

kau papa (n)	a rock shelf or ledge as is the reef on the shore side of the breakers with respect to the ocean.
kau rakau (n)	1. tree trunk 2. a part of a net
kau rararo (n)	boom supporting bottom of pandanus leaf sail.
kau raro (n)	very large longitudinal supporting beam in house; made from trunk of a coconut tree.
kau roro (n)	coconut fruit petiole
kau ta (n)	stick for drumming on a sounding board to keep rhythm at a dance.
kau tiiti (n)	fishing pole c.f., kau ivi
kau vae (n)	leg (from ankle to hip).
kauai (n)	chin
kauao (n)	cloud
kauapi (n)	"adopted child" c.f., tama pakapiki
kauapui (n)	plant: <u>Alpinia</u> sp. two species: kauapui tea ('white kauapui') kauapui toto ('red kauapui')

kauariki (n)	tree with small, red edible fruit
kaukaupupura (n)	plant: <u>Commelina nudiflora</u>
kaupa (n)	leaf petiole
kaura (n)	areca palm betel nut
(te) Kaurave (n)	a war club believed to have been brought to Anuta by the first immigrant from Tonga, a man named Kaurave, fourteen generations ago. <sup>8</sup>
kautakere (n)	canoe keel
kaute (n)	hibiscus flower hibiscus plant
kava (v)	to wave something
kava (n)	1. kava plant <u>Piper methysticum</u> (not found on Anuta). 2. drink made from kava plant. 3. alcoholic beverages, because of their bitter taste and intoxicating properties, are called by this term; more properly: tini kava (tinned kava) tinu kava (bottled kava)
kavakavaatua (n)	plant: <u>Euphorbia aloto</u>

kave (n)

"sibling of opposite sex"

See Part I, above, for further explication.

kavi (n)

bracelet made from coral stone from reef.

kaviki (n)

small white sand crab; comes in two types; one lives on water's edge, and the other is found inland.

ke/kee (adj)

distinctive

different

exceptional

unusual

(E) kee pe!

"Sure is wierd!" "Get a load of that!"

ke (prep)

until

for....

to....

E.g., taripaki ke maarama te penua. (to wait for the island to get light i.e., for dawn to break<sup>7</sup>).

ke (personal  
pronoun)

you (singular)

used as subject in active constructions; otherwise koe is used with a preposition or specifying particle.

See Part I, above, for further explication.

ke (prep)

to (infinitive marker)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

ke a?	in order to do what? what for? used as a response to a call for one to come. Indicates, "I hear you, but what do you want me to come in order to do?"
ke toe (v; adj)	to remain to be left to be excluded E.g., Kairo e ika ke toe. (Not a fish is left. That not a fish should be remaining.)
ke vave (adv)	quickly E.g., rere ke vave (run quickly)
kea (n; adj)	lazy
e kea	is lazy
te kea	lazy person
kekepu (adj; n)	green; blue c.f., kepu
kemo (v)	to close one's eyes
kemokemo (v)	to blink
kena (adj; n)	white
kepu (adj; n)	green; blue (short for <u>kekepu</u> ).
kere (n)	soil; sand (short for <u>kerekere</u> ).

kerekere (n)	generic term for sand, dirt, or soil
(adj)	dirty
	c.f., kere
keri (v)	1. to dig
	c.f., tutuki
	2. to bury
	c.f., tanu
kete (n)	a type of deep, narrow coconut leaf basket, constructed in such a way that it can be tied around the waist.
kete aro (n)	a man's first (ritualized) fishing trip after he has married. Also, the ceremonial feast following such a fishing trip.
keti (v)	to strip betel nut or coconut with the teeth.
ketoro (n)	kettle (English loan-word).
ketu (adj)	malformed
te vae e ketu	malformed foot or leg; the foot (leg) is malformed.
ketu (v)	to hop on one leg.
keu (v)	to pull something away.
(ke) keu kitua	to chase someone away.
	c.f., pepé kitua
	peiaa kitua



keukeuvae (n)	ankle and surrounding area.
ki (prep)	to
	toward
ki ei	there
	(to it)
	(toward it)
ki eni	here
	(toward here)
ki ena	there
	(toward that spot)
ki papo	outside
	E.g., Kau oru ki papo. (I am going outside.)
ki tua	outside
	away
	E.g., Aru ki tua (Go outside. Go away.)
ki (prep)	about (as in to talk about something).
	E.g., ke araara ki nga tukutukunga mai mua
	rea. (to speak about the customs of long ago.)

ki

prefix used to indicate smallness.

(Te kivaka is a small canoe. This is relative since in one context it may refer to a six-inch model while in another it may refer to a good sized vessel. On my trip to Patutaka, members of my crew in the 32 foot Puinga referred to the other vessel of 25 feet as te kivaka. Also, intensifies.

E.g., tama means "child" in kinship sense. Tamati is "child" in age sense, ti being a suffix or particle signifying "small." A baby is called te kitamati. literally: "small little child").

kiato (n)

thwart or outrigger boom of a canoe.

kie (n)

type of pandanus whose leaf is used in making mats.

kie (n)

ceremonial garment of plaited pandanus leaf.

c.f., tangaavae

kikira (adj)

shiny

c.f., kirakira

makirakira

(te) kikumete (n)

string figure #36

(literally: "the small bowl.")

kina (n)

sea urchin

- kini (v)                    1. to divert or deflect a blow.  
                               2. to dodge
- kio (n)                      chicken  
                               (moa does not appear in ANU.)<sup>9</sup>
- kipatu (n)                    pebble (literally: small stone).  
                               c.f., kirikiri
- kirakira (adj)                shiny  
                               c.f., kikira  
                                   makirakira
- kiri (n)                      skin  
                                   outside covering  
                                   also, short form of rau kiri, a type of skin  
                                   fungus.
- kirikiri (n)                    pebble  
                               c.f., kipatu
- kitamati (n)                  baby  
                               TIK: memea
- kiui (n)                      a small bird which comes only during monsoon  
                                   season.
- kivi (v; adj)                 to have something in one's eye.  
                                   E.g., Oku mata ku o kivi. (My eyes have some-  
                                   thing in them.)

ko

specifying particle preceding nouns and pronouns in active constructions or noun phrases standing by themselves.

E.g., Ko ai te mea na? (Who is it? Who is there?)

Ko au. (I.)

Ko ai tou ingoa? (What is your name?)

Ko Ana. (Ana.)

Ko tea te mea na? (What is that object?)

Ko te kapu rau niu. (A coconut leaf hat.)

Ko ai te mea i a kotou e rai ana ika?

(Which of you /pl/ has more /or the most/ fish?)

Ko Ropeti ka aru ki te moana. (Robert is going /will go/ to the ocean.)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

ko ena

that one (the "e" may be lengthened and the "a" stressed and cut short, and used as a word of support, encouragement, or adulation, as we might say "that's it," or "right on." The pidgin equivalent is "hem now.")

TIK: tena/teena

ko eni

this one

TIK: tenei

koa? (interrogative pronoun)

what? (short for ko tea in certain constructions:

E.g., Koa kotou mea taute? /What are you (plural) doing?/).

koe (personal  
pronoun)

you (singular)  
used as: ko koe  
te koe  
e koe

See Part I, above, for further explication.

koe' (adj; adv)

1. and then  
thus

E.g., Koe', ko natou ne peatu. (And then  
[or thus] they [plural] fought.)

2. over there

E.g., Q. Kupea te rotoara? (Where is the  
path?)

A. [pointing] Koe'.

koi (adv)

still; yet

koi tuei

not yet (literally: still waiting).

koi (v)

to scratch with one's fingernail.

koko (n)

flour made from pulp of sago palm or from tur-  
meric root.

kokona (adj)

fragrant; sweet smelling

kokopu (n)

dust

smoke

water spray

(v)

to swirl around like a 'dust devil', or water  
spout.

c.f., autiapi

kona (adj)	inedible because of noxious chemical properties. E.g., tobacco; soap; poisonous species of taro.
konokono (adj)	angry TIK: teke
(n)	anger
kope (n)	1. bamboo 2. knife or other small cutting instrument such as a razor blade or scissors.
kope rai	hish knife or machette (literally: "big knife").
kopi (v)	to embrace (short for <u>kopikopii</u> ).
kopikopii (v)	to grasp to embrace to hold to one's breast c.f., kopi
kopu (v)	1. to put on a covering as to cover one's self with blankets. 2. to parcel something as when wrapping food in a large leaf.
(n)	a parcel
kopu (n)	penis c.f., te ure

- kore (adj) to be ill-disposed toward someone (short for korekore).
- c.f., matapipini
- korekore
- korekore (adj) to be ill-disposed toward someone.
- c.f., kore
- matapipini
- korii (n) dog
- TIK: kurii
- koroa (n) durable goods
- koru (personal pronoun) you (dual, used as subject)
- E.g., Koru oro kipea? (Where are the two of you going?)
- (possessive pronoun) your (dual)
- E.g., Koru ika ko'e. (There are your  $\overline{\text{dual}}$  fish.)
- See Part I, above, for further explication
- korua (personal pronoun) you (dual)
- See Part I, above, for further explication.
- korua mo ai? you plus who else? (i.e., you and who is the other person with you.)
- koti (v) to cut hair, but not too short, as for men and unmarried women.
- c.f., toti

kotou (personal  
pronoun)

you (plural)

(possessive  
pronoun)

your (plural)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

kovi (adj)

bad

TIK: pariki

ku

perfect tense marker

E.g., Ko nga tangata ku oro o pangota. (The men have gone fishing.)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

ku mate

dead (literally: has died).

ku oti

finished; has finished; the preceding.

c.f., ne to

ku pea? (inter-  
rogative pronoun)

where?

E.g., Te ariki ku pea? (Where is the chief?)

ku piripiri (adv)

close up

nearly

about to

E.g., Ko te painga pekau ku piripiri ke oti.

(The work is almost finished.)

kuani (n)

a kind of net used for catching vanevane fish in the ocean.

kuei (n)

scraper for removing skin from taro before it is put into an oven.



kuku (v)	to cook food by boiling.
(adj)	boiled
	from English "cook" since boiling was not a common method of preparing food prior to the introduction of metal pots.
kuku (v)	to grasp a small object, which may be completely enclosed in the hand. (To grasp a larger object such as a pipe or a paddle is <u>taapi</u> .)
kukumi (v)	to squeeze or compress something between the hands, as in expressing coconut cream without the aid of the hibiscus fibre which is normally used.
kukuti (n)	small hand net used by women for fishing on the reef.
kumaa (n)	rat
kumete (n)	wooden bowl
kumi (v)	1. to search for something. 2. to squeeze (short for <u>kukumi</u> .)
kumi (n)	measure of length--ten fathoms--usually used as: <u>poi kumi</u> .
kumi ika (v)	to go fishing (literally: to search for or to seek fish.)

TIK: fai ika

kumikumi (v)            1. to search for and find something.  
                             2. to massage

kupenga (n)             net (generic term)

kupenga tuupota (n)    a type of net used at the mouth of fish traps.

kutu (n)                head louse

M

- ma (personal  
pronoun) we (dual exclusive, used as subject).  
E.g., Ma oro ki ei (We two he and I are going there.)  
Ko maua ka oro ki ei.  
Kairo ma iroa. (We two don't know.)  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- (possessive  
pronoun) our (dual exclusive)  
E.g., Ma pare, ko eni. (This is our his and my house.)  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- ma (n) "brother-in-law"  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- ma (adj) clean
- ma (adj) empty
- ma (prep) for (alternates with mo preceding 'a' form of possessive pronouns--see grammatical notes above.)
- ma (n) a dark fish with very tough skin, possibly related to the trigger fish. Goes up to about a pound. Edible, but not esteemed.

ma/maa (n)

a type of food made from a number of vegetable substances, buried in large pits where it is fermented to acid, in which condition it can be kept for many years without spoiling.

TIK: masi

maa

"and" (used in numbers larger than but not even multiples of ten).

E.g., puangapuru maa rua (twelve)

pua toru maa pitu (thirty-seven)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

maaina (n)

1. moon

month

TIK: maarama

2. snail operculum

maaku

contraction of mo (for) and aku (mine or my).

See grammatical notes above, Part I, for further explication.

maamaa (adj)

light (not heavy)

maanatu (v)

to think

maanatunatu (v)

to think (usually appears in the shorter form: maanatu).

to think about

maanava (n)

breath

c.f., maanoa

maanava/manava (n)	belly stomach
maanava (v)	to rest c.f., manonoá
maanoa (n)	breath c.f., maanava
maanu (v)	1. to play in the water (may include actual swimming, but need not). 2. to float
maanga (n)	twins TIK: matanga
maapana (n)	a type of very fragrant plant.
maapora (adj)	generous
maarama (n)	the light part of the day. daylight light (especially used idiomatically with respect to the church, much as we would talk about "seeing the light.")
(adj)	light bright intelligent (used especially in the form, <u>rotomaarama</u> , which literally translates as "light mind" or "bright mind.")

maarie (adv)	slowly
	softly
	gently
	E.g., Karanga maarie. ("Speak slowly;"
	"Speak softly.")
(command)	wait
	take it easy
	c.f., aarie
	ngaarie
maaro (n)	prize
maaroi/ (adj)	healthy
maaroui (?)	
maaroro (n)	flying fish
	c.f., tatave
	TIK: save
maaruonga (n)	valley
	c.f., vaamaunga
maatoru (adj)	thick
	c.f., matatoru
(te) maátua/	kinship "title" for:
maátuaa (n)	"father-in-law"
	"son-in-law"
	See Part I, above, for further explication.

(nga) mātua/mātuaa (n)	"parents"  (only has this meaning when used in the plural.)  See Part I, above for further explication.
maatua/maatuaa (adj)	old
(n)	an old person
maavete (v)	to untie
maavini (n)	string figure #19
maea (n)	heavy rope of either European cordage or made from bark of <u>pau</u> tree.
maea nooika (n)	rope which is looped to catch sharks and other large fish (the loop is <u>te tarimatanga</u> ).
mai (directional indicator)	particle indicating action toward some point of reference, generally the speaker.
mai (prep)	from
mai pea?	from where?
maikao (n)	appendage on the hand or foot
maikao nima	finger
maikao matua	thumb
maikao mero	middle finger
maikao raorao	ring finger
maikao tama	little finger (pinky)
maikao tuti	index finger
maikao vae	toe
	c.f., manikao

maka (n)	sling (for hurling stones)
maka (adj)	to be hoarse, as from singing or laryngitis. c.f., pa
makakai (adj)	sharp (as a sharp knife) also: <u>kakai</u>
makara/makaara (adj)	sweet pleasant tasting
makariri (adj)	to be cold to have chills (Used to describe the way a person <u>feels</u> as opposed to <u>maariki</u> or <u>taumaariki</u> , which means "cold" or "chilly" with reference to a physical environment.)
makeke (adj)	strong
makirakira (adj)	shiny c.f., kikirā kirakira
makitanga (n)	"father's sister" See Part I, above, for further explication.
mako (n; v)	dance
makona/maakona (adj)	full (with food) satiated



mama (v)	to prepare food to be fed usually to an infant by chewing. May also be used as a generic term for chewing, but the usual word in that case would be <u>kamu</u> .
(n)	mouthful
mamaŋ (n; v; adj)	to hurt pain
mamao (adj)	far distant
mamapa (adj)	heavy
mamata (v)	to see TIK: ono
mami (n)	1. <u>Antiarsis toxicara</u> (the tree from which barkcloth is made on Anuta). 2. barkcloth
mami kapu (n)	barkcloth blanket
mana (n)	"father" (term of address or "kinship title"). See Part I, above, for further explication.
mana (n)	power c.f., manuu <sup>10</sup>
(adj)	"almighty"

mana/maana

contraction:

for or of his, hers, or its

(compound of mo /for/ and ana /his, her,  
its, with plural referen7).

manako (n)

desire

(v)

to desire

(the usual word is piipia)

manavanava (adj)

short of breath

manenea (v)

to play

walkabout

(n)

any object employed for recreational purposes.

manikao (n)

finger

toe

c.f., maikao

manini (n)

smallish fish commonly speared on reef.

manini (n)

string figures: #28

#40c

#47g

#48

#50b

#51b

#51d

#54

maninia (v)

to lust after something

(adj)

lustful

maninía (n)	fingernail toenail
manioka (n)	manioc ( <u>Manihot</u> sp.) (English loan word for an introduced crop.)
maniovae (n)	toenail
manipi (n)	smallish torpedo-shaped fish, possibly ten inches long and half a pound, often caught with pole and line from beach.
manipinipi (adj)	thin
mano (adj)	there is some disagreement over whether this properly means "one thousand" or "ten thousand." Informants taking the latter position point out that there already is a work, <u>e ape</u> , for "one thousand."
manonoá (v)	to rest c.f., maanava
manongi	1. flower 2. fragrant plant 3. fragrant object E.g., <u>tinu manongi</u> (perfume) <u>topu manongi</u> (bath soap)
manoonoa (v)	to breathe rapidly to pant

manu (n)	<p>1. bird or flying insect</p> <p>2. may also be used for "animal," but this is commonly <u>manumanu</u>.</p> <p>3. used metaphorically in reference to an immigrant or visitor from overseas. In this usage a visitor is known as <u>te manu o te moana</u> by analogy to a bird who comes from the sea, spends its day there, and comes ashore only at night to sleep.</p>
manumanu (n)	animal (includes terrestrial animals, mollusks and crustaceans; excludes birds, flying insects, cetaceans, and fish).
manuu (n)	<p>power</p> <p>c.f., mana</p>
manga (n)	hook part of traditional fishing lure.
mangaarie (n)	mid day
mangai (v)	to spread one's legs
mangai ro (n)	apex of tool made from two sticks lashed together in "V" shape for harvesting breadfruit.
mangamangaatai (n)	a type of starfish with very fine delicate tentacles.
mangiangi (v; adj)	<p>windy</p> <p>for the wind to blow</p>

mangio (v; adj)	to itch to produce itching
mango (n)	a kind of fern
mango/mangoo (n)	shark
maoa (n)	Polynesian arrowroot; <u>Tacca pinnatifida</u>
maori (adj)	1. true 2. indicates closeness when applied to kinsmen. 3. indigenous
(n)	truth c.f., mooni
mapanapana (adj)	warm TIK: mapana
maperu (adj)	bent
mapetua (v)	to sneeze
mapi (n)	an energetic or industrious man; a man who is constantly doing work.
mapiti (v)	for a seedling to begin to show itself above the ground. c.f., matara
mapoaata (n)	pre-dawn hours: perhaps 3:30 to 4:30 a.m.
mapora (adj)	spread out (of a large number of objects spread out on the floor of a house and ground outside it is said <u>e mapora</u> ).

mapu (v)	to whistle through folded tongue, alternately breathing in and out, as in playing a harmonica.
mapuri/maapuri	to turn over
(v)	to capsize
	to turn something upside down
	to be turned upside down
	TIK: tapuri/taapuri
marae (n)	open area in which traditional religious rites were held, or for "dart" matches, which are still held at the present time.
marae pai kava	open areas on which traditional worship rites ( <u>kava</u> ) were held.
marae tika	"dart" pitch
Marae	an old <u>marae pai kava</u> , also used as a dart pitch.
marama (n)	string figures: #32d #48f #49a #50a
marara (n)	charcoal c.f., potumarara
ta te marara	to paint one's self with charcoal.
maremo (v)	to drown

marino (n)	calm on ocean
(adj)	no wind or waves c.f., ngaaiō
maringaringa (n)	side of head in front of ear.
maringoringo (n)	first dawn while it is still dark. c.f., ata o tupua
maro (n)	men's loin garment, made from a strip of bark-cloth. c.f., pakamaruu/pakamarú
maro tāpi	men's barkcloth loin garment, dyed with turmeric.
maro tea	undyed men's barkcloth loin garment.
maroro (adj)	healthy (possibly TIK in origin)
maru/maruu (adj)	1. protected 2. dry (as the inside of a well constructed house when it is raining). 3. shady
(n)	1. protector 2. executive officers of the two chiefs; all males of leading 2 <u>kainanga</u> . c.f., tangata tu
marumaru (adj)	shady dry (as a result of being protected from the rain).

maruu (adj)

soft

flexible

mata (n)

eye (including the immediate surrounding area).

face (has this meaning when used in plural).

front end of an object.

mata (adj)

raw

undone

mata

particle used in place of pua in the enumeration of tens when counting fish.

E.g., E pia te ika? ("How many fish?")

E mata nima mo nga riu. ("There are fifty.")

E mata pia? ("How many tens of fish are there?")

See Part I, above, for further explication.

mataaki (v)

to pull up out of the ground.

c.f., puputi ki runga

ranga/rangai

mataanga (n)

twins

ta mataanga (v)

to strike two people at one time in a battle or fight.

mataapare (n)

"front" side of house--usually faces the sea, or else in the direction of prevailing winds, and is the direction in which one's head faces when he is lying down.



mataavaka (n)	1. bow of canoe or other vessel. 2. a type of simple and popular dance, generally done at night.
matai (n)	string figure #21
mataivi/mataaivi (n)	a type of small traditional fishhook made from fish bones.
matakainanga (n)	large patrilineal descent group. c.f., kainanga
mataki (adj)	first c.f., ruoki
mataki (v)	to look to observe (always seems to be <u>mataki atu</u> ; not <u>mataki mai</u> .)
matakivikivi (n)	a kind of shellfish
mataku (adj)	afraid to be afraid frightened
(n)	fear
matamata (v)	to look around
matamataango (n)	a type of plant: <u>Guilliana</u> sp.
matangi (n)	wind
Matangi (n)	old name for Anuta.

mataono/mataoono (v)	to see
matapara (adj)	blind (literally: ulcerated eyes).
matapipini (adj)	to be unfavorably disposed toward someone. c.f., kore korekore
matapiu (n)	a type of limpet
mataputi (n)	new shoot springing from old banana plant.
matara (v; adj)	1. to be unfolded or untied. 2. for a meeting or other gathering to disband. 3. for leaf of a young plant to begin to show itself. c.f., mapiti
matatau (n)	a line of men in battle formation.
matatoru (adj)	thick (more commonly rendered as <u>maatoru</u> ).
matau (n)	hook
matau (n; adj)	right (side)
pai matau	right side
nima matau	right hand
mataurunga (n)	door doorway
matauu (n)	tatooing needle (made from bird bone).

matavai (n)	spring source (the spot where a spring comes out of the ground).
mate (v)	to die
mátea (adj)	great
(adv)	large
	numerous
(the initial 'a' may be lengthened for emphasis)	
matea na ____	very ____
	E.g., matea na rerei ("very good")
	matea na rai ("very big", "very many")
matéa (adv)	maybe
	perhaps
	probably
E koe matéa	I think so.
matenge (n)	low noise, as quiet drumming.
mati (n)	a kind of plant: <u>Ficus septica</u>
matike (v)	to stand erect (applies to people, trees, or any other object).
matimati (n)	dolphin (fish)
	TIK: masimasi
mato (n)	cliff

matou (personal  
pronoun)  
(possessive  
pronoun)

first person (plural, exclusive).

he and I; she and I.

his and my; her and my.

See Part I, above, for further explication.

matúa (n)

husband

See Part I, above, for further explication.

matúa (adj)

important

major

primary

adult

mature

ripe

E.g., na matua atamai. (its primary /real;  
true/ meaning.)

te matua papine. (the adult /mature /  
woman.)

Te taro ku matua. (The taro has become  
ripe.)

matuku (v)

to disband

E.g., Te rotu ku matuku. (The service has dis-  
banded.)

mau (adj)

1. fixed

firmly or strongly attached.

immovable or hard to move.

2. brave

mau (adv)	always
mau (v)	to find to discover to become aware of  E.g., Ko ia ne mau a te manuu o te ariki. (He discovered the power of the chief.)
mau/maau	yours  conditioned variant of <u>mou</u> ; contraction of <u>mo</u> ("with" or "for") and <u>au</u> ("your" with a singular subject and plural object).  See Part I, above, for further explication.
maua/maaua (personal pronoun)	we us  See Part I, above, for further explication.
mauakena (n)	a type of large white bird
maunu (v)	to untie a strip of barkcloth so that a <u>popora</u> type basket falls from a woman's back.
maunga (n)	hill mountain
mauraro (adj)	low (in rank)

mauri (v)	to live
(adj)	to be alive
(n)	life
	soul
	E.g., Te mea na koi mauri. (That thing is still alive.)
	E ngarue paia na mauri. (It is moving because of its life.)
maurunga (adj)	high (in rank)
	E.g., the High Commissioner is referred to as <u>te ariki maurunga</u> .
mea (n)	thing (frequently used to mean "person" and may also be used, as the word "thing" in English, to allude to the male sex organ).
	TIK: nea
Mea ko tea?	What is this?
(Ko tea te mea nei?)	
Mea ko ai?	Who is it?
mei (n)	breadfruit; <u>Artocarpus altilis</u>
memero (adj)	pink
mero (adj)	red
milioni (adj)	million
	too many to count. (English loan word.)

mimi (n)	urine
(v)	to urinate
mimiti (v)	to suck (may be shortened to <u>miti</u> ).
mioi (v)	1. to twist something in one's hands as to wring it out. 2. to express cream from grated coconut, using hibiscus fibre. c.f., <u>tatao</u>
miri (v)	to drill or bore a hole in something.
miro (n)	a kind of tree: <u>Thespesia populnea</u>
miti (n)	dream
(v)	to dream
miti (v)	to suck c.f., mimiti
mitimiti (n)	hard candy or other object to be sucked.
mo (conjunction)	with and TIK: ma
mo (adj; v)	cooked, in any manner (baked, roasted, or boiled).

mo (preposition)	for (may be prefixed to a possessive pronoun in order to indicate "for ___" or "___'s").
mooku	for me; for mine (compound of <u>mo</u> /for/ and <u>oku</u> /my or mine/.)
mou/moou	for you for yours (compound of <u>mo</u> /for/ and <u>ou</u> /your or yours/.) conditioned variant of <u>mau/maau</u> .
mona	for him (her; it). for his (hers; its). (compound of <u>mo</u> /for/ and <u>na</u> /his; her; its/.) conditioned variant of <u>mana</u> .
mo taua/mo taaua	for us (dual, inclusive). for ours (dual, inclusive). (compound of <u>mo</u> /for/ and <u>taaua</u> /the first person, dual, inclusive possessive pronoun/.)
mo maua/mo maaua	for us (dual, exclusive). for ours (dual, exclusive). (compound of <u>mo</u> /for/ and <u>maaua</u> /the first person, dual, exclusive possessive pronoun/; this construction is an extrapolation from the other forms; I do not recall ever having heard it actually in use.)
mo korua	for you (dual). for yours (dual). (compound of <u>mo</u> /for/ and <u>korua</u> /you, dual/.)



mo naua/mo naaua for them (dual).

for theirs (dual).

(compound of mo /for/ and naaua /their, dual/.)

mo tatou/mo taatou for us (plural, inclusive).

for ours (plural, inclusive).

(compound of mo /for/ and tatou /the first person plural, inclusive possessive pronoun/.)

mo matou/mo maatou for us (plural, exclusive).

for ours (plural, exclusive).

(compound of mo /for/ and matou /the first person, plural, exclusive possessive pronoun/.)

mo kotou for you (plural).

for yours (plural).

(compound of mo /for/ and kotou /your, plural/.)

mo natou/mo naatou for them (plural).

for theirs (plural).

(compound of mo /for/ and natou /their, plural/.)

(In all of these constructions the "o" may change to an "a" depending on whether the noun being possessed normally takes the "o" or the "a" form of the possessive pronoun.)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

moa (n)

a bunch of bananas just beginning to fruit

(this word does not denote a bird of any kind in ANU; a chicken is te kio.)<sup>11</sup>

moaarea	no matter it is of no concern. it does not make any difference.
moana (n)	ocean (water beyond the point where the waves break onto the reef).
moe (v)	to sleep (plural: moeraki; momoe) TIK: mee
moeranga (n)	sleeping place bed sleeping mat (more commonly known as <u>te para</u> ). TIK: menga
moko (n)	a type of fairly large lizard; possibly same species as <u>moko uri</u> .
moko uri (n)	"black lizard" (a fairly large black lizard sometimes exceeding a foot in length).
mokopiri (n)	a type of lizard a little bigger than the <u>piripata</u> , but smaller than the <u>moko uri</u> .
mokopuna (n)	"grandchild" "descendent" See Part I, above, for further explication.
mokopuru (n)	a kind of plant; possibly a type of grass.

mokotoro (n) crocodile (moko indicates a lizard-like animal;  
toro seems to be the Anutan rendering of "dile").

momo (n) a type of manongi plant: Halfordia sp.

momona/moomona (n) fat  
grease  
(adj) greasy  
c.f., rorororo

momono (v) 1. to stop or prevent someone from doing some-  
thing.  
2. to forbid  
3. to turn something off or close something  
(like turning off a radio).

momono te vaka to caulk or stop a leak in a boat, ship, or  
a canoe.

momori (v) to send (an object).

mooanga (n) a kind of fish  
(another name for te apuru.)

moomona (n) string figure #48g  
#49b

moonī (adj) true (as opposed to a lie).  
c.f., maori

mora (adv) first  
beforehand  
E.g., Kai mora! (Eat first!)

mori (n)	a type of dance in which a paddle (club?) by the same name is waved around.
móri (n)	dance "paddle." c.f., paki
morimori (v)	to continue to carry on
morokau (n)	centipede
motu (n)	small island (Anuta is considered <u>te motu</u> ; Tikopia is known as <u>te penua rai</u> /Large island/ because it is much larger than Anuta. Hawaii, on the other hand, is known as <u>te motu o America</u> because it belongs to a much larger country; i.e., the U.S.)
motu (v)	to split to part c.f., motumotu
motumotu (v)	to cut up or split c.f., motu
moumoui (v)	to spoil to destroy
mounu (n)	bait

mua (n; prep; adv)	front; the forward part of something. before in front (most often used with the preposition, <u>i</u> or <u>ki</u> .)
Mua (n)	1. eastern most "village" in triadic system of naming. <sup>12</sup> 2. name of the island's highest ranking <u>kainanga</u> . <sup>13</sup> 3. title for the chief of this <u>kainanga</u> . <sup>14</sup>
mua (v)	to go first.
muko (n)	first leaf of young plant.
mumua (n)	uncircumcized penis
mumuni (v)	to hide one's self c.f., pupuu (to hide something from another person).
munimuni (n)	a game in which people hide.
mungaarai (n)	forehead
muri (prep; adv; n)	back; the rear portion of something. behind (most often used with the preposition, <u>i</u> or <u>ki</u> .)

- Muri (n) 1. "village" just to the west of (i.e., "behind") Mua.<sup>15</sup>
2. alternate name for Pangetau, the third ranking kainanga.<sup>16</sup>
3. title of the second ranking chief, also known as te Ariki Tepuko.<sup>17</sup>
- muringao (n) heel
- muriroa (n) 1. a kind of shellfish.
2. the conical shell of above animal.
3. the pointed end of above shell.
- muritaaremu (n) a kind of bird
- huriuru (n) back of head
- muu (n) a kind of fish

N

na (possessive  
pronoun)

his

her

its

(with singular object)

c.f., tona/tana

See Part I, above, for further explication.

na

preposed ordinal particle

E.g., rua (two)

na rua (second)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

na (personal  
pronoun)

suffix indicating third person singular, objec-  
tive voice.

E.g., Ke rongona? (Do you hear it?)

Kau kaina. (I eat it.)

Riikina. (Leave him her; it alone.)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

na (personal  
pronoun)  
(possessive  
pronoun)

they (dual)

their (dual)

See Part I, above, for further explication.

na (adj)

there

E.g., te mea na (the thing there may also be  
translated as 'that thing' there.)

naapi/napi (n)	yesterday c.f., anaapi (literally "on yesterday").
naaia (personal pronoun)	third person (dual) See Part I, above, for further explication.
nakaropia (v)	to dodge
nakiroa (n)	smallish reef fish, rarely going much over a pound; hard fighter and good eating; sort of beige in color.
namu (n)	mosquito
namu (v)	to bleach one's hair by application of a suspen- sion of lime (calcium hydroxide) in salt water.
nanamu (v; adj)	to have an unpleasent odor. to stink
(n)	sour, pungent, or other disagreeable odor, such as the smell of <u>ma</u> or rotten fish. c.f., ero aringa taunga
nanue (n)	a kind of fish
naporo/naaporo (n)	papaya
natou (personal pronoun)	they (plural)
(possessive pronoun)	their (plural) See Part I, above, for further explication.



- natu (n) fruit tree: Burckella obovata
- nau (n) kinship "title" for: 'mo-in-law'  
"da-in-law"  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- Nau (n) title for a married woman.
- nau taka (n) kinship title for:  
unmarried 'mo-in-law'  
unmarried "da-in-law"  
or a term of address for any unmarried girl.  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- ne past tense marker  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- Ne aa nei? What was this?  
(said when something is not clearly understood  
and the listener would like the speaker to re-  
peat.)
- ne to last  
the one past  
E.g., te tau ne to (last year)  
c.f., ku oti
- nei (adj) this  
here  
E.g., te mea nei ("the thing here"; "this thing").

nepu (n)	fog
neve (v)	to carry a basket on back by tying it with a strip of barkcloth; women's style of carrying burdens.
nevenga (n)	a load carried by a woman by tying it to her back with a strip of barkcloth.
ni (adj; indefinite article, plural)	some
nima (adj)	five TIK: rima See Part I, above, for further explication.
nima (n)	arm (includes hand) TIK: rima
nima atamai	right arm; right hand
nima matau	right hand; right arm
nima tema	left hand TIK: rima sema
nimea (n)	something
ninimo (n)	an eye disorder
nipo (n)	tooth teeth
niraamea (n)	someones (i.e., some people)

niu (n)	1. coconut
	2. coconut tree
niu mata	young coconut
niu matuu	mature coconut (before the stage where the liquid congeals to form the <u>oko</u> ).
niu motomoto	coconut before it has become fully mature and fallen from the tree.
niu rau rau	coconut seedling
niu vau	grated coconut
niu vi	green coconut
niu takoto rua (n)	string figure #41a
nokoti (v)	to tie two ropes together.
noku (v)	to bend
(adj)	bent
nonó (v)	to tie two pieces of cord together.
(n)	cord used to parcel some object.
nono/nounou (adj)	short
nonoa (n)	a promise
(v)	to promise
nonongi (v)	to ask for something
(n)	a request
	TIK: kaisi

nonopo (v)

1. plural of nopo (to dwell).

c.f., noporaki

2. short form of noponopo (used to dwell).

TIK: nonofo

nokonofu

nonoua (v)

to tie two ropes together. (Same as nokoti, but according to some informants this is a TIK word.)

nonu (n)

a tree, of which there are two subvarieties:

te nonu kuru (with larger fruit), and

te nonu vao.

nookapa (n)

a belt made from sennit cord.

nopine (n)

wife

See Part I, above, for further explication.

nopo (v)

1. to dwell

2. to sit

3. to be alive

c.f., pare

ke nopo mo na

to be pregnant (idiom)

manava.

(literally: to dwell with her belly)

noponopo (v)

dwelt

used to dwell

c.f., nonopo

TIK: nokonofu

noporaki (v)	plural of <u>nopo</u> ("to dwell"; "to sit"; "to live"). c.f., nonopo
noporanga (n)	dwelling place village TIK: potu
noporanga ariki (n)	chiefly dwelling place chiefly office (similar in connotation to the English word, "throne.")
nopu (n)	stonefish
noua/nouua (v)	to hang by the neck (literally: "tie neck")
nounou/nono (adj)	short
nuku	island (archaic term; at present it is used only in songs and proper names.)
nuna (n)	"grandparent" (kinship "title") See Part I, above, for further explication.
nunumi (v)	to fold to fold over
(adj)	folded c.f., petuke petepetuke
nupu (n)	lake

(te poi) nupu (n) "cat's cradle" string figure design of the following types:

string figure #2

string figure #3

string figure #4

nga poi nupu e rua string figure #5b

nga poi nupu e toru string figure #6

string figure #8

string figure #10

nga poi nupu e pa string figure #11

string figure #40b

string figure #41b

NG

- nga (article) definite article plural (the)  
(may be used to mean "the people of" just as the definite article in some European languages is used in this way.)  
E.g., nga Anuta (the Anutans)  
nga America (the Americans)
- (te) nga tau panau a group of siblings of the same sex.
- nga directional prefix used to indicate landward (ngauta) or seaward (ngatai).
- nga substantive suffix, often used to change a verb to a noun.  
E.g., tuku (to preserve)  
v.s.  
tukutukunga (custom);  
neve (to carry a load strapped to the back)  
v.s.  
nevenga (a load strapped to one's back)
- ngaalo (n) 1. calm weather  
2. sometimes used as generic term for weather.  
c.f., marino
- ngaarie (command) wait  
c.f., maarie  
aarie

ngaengae (adj)	sick
	ill
(n)	sickness
	illness
	c.f., rongorongokovi
ngaengae pakateki (n)	a type of sickness characterized by convulsions.
ngaki (adj)	to be short of wind.
ngano (n)	plant (a type of pandanus [?]).
ngangau (v)	to have a headache.
(adj)	to be in a weakened condition because of a headache.
	usually appears in the following form:
	<u>toku uru e ngangau</u> ("my head aches").
ngao (n)	path
	way (with moral content).
	E.g., Tautari ki te ngao o Jesus Christ. (Follow the way of Jesus Christ.)
ngao (n)	a kind of bird
ngapa (v)	to reach out and hold.
	to grab
ngapure/ngaapure	married man
(n)	



ngaro (v)	to forget to disappear c.f., reku E.g., Ku ngaro i a te au. ("I have forgotten.") Ko te vaka ne ngaro i te vata. ("The ship disappeared <u>was lost</u> on the open sea.")
ngaru (n)	breakers surf (on rare occasions it also may be used as a more general term for "wave.")
ngaru penua (n)	waves rebounding from an island, which the Anutan sailors say are distinct from those caused by the wind and by which they can find their way to land when other navigational aids fail.
ngarue (v)	1. to work, either in the sense of doing work or in the sense of operating properly. c.f., <u>pai pekau</u> 2. to move (as when an object moves as the result of being pushed or pulled by human being).
ngaruru (n; v)	earthquake
ngatai/ngaatai (n)	seaward toward the open sea c.f., ngauta

ngatana (n)	1. metal 2. machine
ngatao (n)	arrow (also may be used as a general term for a projectile powered by an implement)  E.g., a bullet
ngatara (n)	a kind of reef fish coming in two varieties: a) te ngatara mero ("red <u>ngatara</u> ") with red speckled markings.  b) te ngatara uri ("black <u>ngatara</u> ") with dark brown, gray or black mottled color.  reaches perhaps 3 lbs., very good eating.
ngau (v)	to chew
ngau (n)	plant: <u>Scaevola taccada</u>
ngau (n)	a kind of bird
ngauta (n)	landward  ashore  inland  toward the center of the island. (Relative term; when at sea it may mean simply the shore, the reef, or any place closer to land than the point of reference.)  c.f., ngatai
ngavari (adj)	slack (as in fishing line).
(v)	to become slack.

ngenge (adj)

slow

(adv)

slowly (normally appearing as ke ngenge).

ngira (n)

needle (probable English loan word).

ngo

prefix indicating that an object has in some way been altered in such a manner as to prepare it for use.

E.g., food crops are known as kai; food which has been cooked and prepared for consumption is te ngokai.

the generic term for fish is ika; a piece of cooked fish is te ngoika.

tobacco is te paka; a bit of cured tobacco, prepared for smoking, is te ngopaka.

the generic term for "firewood" is te papie; a specific bit or pile of firewood is te ngopapie.

"language", "speech", or "utterance" is te taranga; a word is te ngotaranga.

in some cases the prefix may produce more substantive semantic shifts.

E.g., mea means "thing" while te ngomea is "place."

ngopapie (n)

firewood, which has been cut, prepared, and is ready for the fire.

ngorakau (n)

a piece of wood.

ngotaranga (n)

word

ngovatia (n)	a period of time
ngokai (n)	vegetable foods
ngomea (n)	place
ngoniu (n)	coconut meat removed from shell.
ngopaka (n)	a bit of cured tobacco leaf.
ngoika (n)	a bit of prepared fish.
ngongo (n)	a type of bird.
ngopengope (n)	a type of grass: <u>Cyperus javanicus</u>
ngoto (v)	to sink
nguipeke (n)	squid
ngutu (n)	1. mouth 2. cutting edge (of knife, scissors, axe, adze, etc.) or the striking edge of a club or point of a spear.
ngutu korekore (v)	to curse someone or shout in anger.
ngutu mooni (adj)	truthful
(v)	to tell the truth.
(n)	truthful person.
ngutu roi (v)	to lie
(n)	liar
ngutu pai opa (n)	string figure #23

nguu (n)

a hum or soft groan

(v)

to utter such a sound.

o

o (v)	to go
(ova?)	to proceed
	to come
	E.g., o ake (to go up)
	o atu (to go toward)
	o mai (to bring here; to come here)
	c.f., pena (ake; atu)
o (prep)	of
oata (adj)	red or reddish brown.
oatai (n)	a type of large fish.
oka (n)	transverse beams supporting roof of house.
oke (v)	to remove the husk from a coconut.
oko (n)	spongy inside of mature coconut.
oko (v)	to arrive
oko rea (prep)	until
okotinga (n)	corner of house
oku (possessive pronoun)	my (plural object) See Part I, above, for further explication.
omo (n)	leaf of a seedling
(v)	for a seedling to begin to show itself above the ground.

ona (possessive pronoun)	his, her, its (plural object) c.f., tona tana ana na  See Part I, above, for further explication.
one (n)	beach  beach sand (short form of <u>oneone</u> ).
oneone (n)	beach  beach sand
ono (adj)	six  See Part I, above, for further explication.
onge (n)	famine
ongi (v; n)	to press noses in greeting or as a show of affection.  the pressing of noses.  c.f., pikita  TIK: songi
ongongo (n)	a small plant capable of producing severe itch- ing for a short time.
oo (n)	provisions for voyage  c.f., oto
opa (n)	aqueduct (made from hollowed out areca palm trunk).

ora (n)	soul spirit everlasting life
oritu (v)	to "cross swords" (in this case using war clubs rather than sabres or foils).
oro (v)	go (plural) E.g., Natou oro o a? ("What are they going in order to do?")
oro (v)	to grate a tuber
orotai (n) (oroorotai)	type of plant: <u>Pseuderanthemum</u> sp.
oru (v)	go (first person sing.) E.g., Kau oru ki Maunga. ("I'm going to Maunga.")
ota (n)	sago palm
oti (v)	to finish finished (generally used with perfect particle, <u>ku</u> ). c.f., ne to
otika (adj; adv)	and then
oto (n)	provisions for ocean or other long voyage. c.f., oo



ou (possessive  
pronoun)            your (sing.; plural obj.)

ou (v)                to come  
                      c.f., au

oura (v)             to swell as result of a blow.  
(ku o ura?)

ova atu/ o atu (v)    1. to give  
                          to present with  
                          2. to go  
                          to proceed  
                          c.f., o  
                          pena

P

- pa (v) to land  
E.g., Ko te rakau ne pa i te kerekere. ("The stick landed in the sand.")
- pa (adj) to be hoarse  
E.g., E pa na reo. ("His voice is hoarse.")  
c.f., maka
- pa (adj) four  
See Part I, above, for further explication.
- pa (n) a type of pandanus with large, sectioned, edible fruit, resembling pineapple in appearance if viewed from a distance and occasionally referred to as "bush pineapple."
- pa pakapaparangi (n) pineapple (literally: "European pa").
- paa/pa (n)  
1. traditional fishing lure with pearl shell "spoon" and turtle shell or green snail hook.  
(short for pa tiiti atu.)  
2. necklace made from fishing lure by same name.

paangongo/pangongo  
(n) coconut shell or anything made from coconut shell, like a ring, bowl, water bottle, etc. Also, may be applied to types of implements, such as bowls and cups, which were originally made from coconut shell, regardless of the material from which they are made at present.

E.g., an aluminum bowl is called te paangongo, just as if it had been made from coconut shell.

paaoa (n) people  
te paaoa ("the people"), used very much as that same expression is in English.

(te) paaoa Christian (literally: "baptized") people.

pakauku tapu.

paapai/papai (v) 1. to divide objects into two or more groups.  
2. to split an object.

c.f., vavae

vae

paapaka (n) string figure #32b

#48e

paarora/paroro (n) file (of either the traditional coral variety or metal of European manufacture.)

paroro peo a type of traditional file made from coral.

paateve (n) a kind of plant: Tacca leontopetaloides

paatio (v)

to look

(short for pakatio)

E.g., paatio atu (to look that way)

paatio mai (to look this way)

c.f., tio

paau (v)

to grab something

pae (n)

"mother"

TIK: nana

tinana

See Part I, above, for further explication.

pae (n)

stone wall or divider

E.g., a sea wall, or rocks marking the

"foundation" or outline of a house.

pai (v)

to occur

to make

to do

c.f., taute

TIK: fai

pai ika (v)

to go fishing. (said by informants to be an

adaptation of the TIK: fai ika; the proper

Anutan expression is kumi ika.)

(n)

fishing

pai kava (n)	traditional ritual for worship of pagan gods; performed without the kava plant, which has never grown on the island.
(v)	to perform the kava ritual.
pai kovi (v)	to damage
paipai roi (v)	1. to tease or play physically with someone. 2. to play a practical joke on someone.
pai pakakata (v)	to joke c.f., pakapiikata
pai pekau (v)	to (do) work TIK: fai fekau
pai takaro (v)	1. to play 2. to make fun of, play a practical joke on, or tease someone. 3. to compete in a sporting event.
pai taranga (v)	to converse to discuss
pai tauī (v)	to exchange; to trade to sell
pai umu (v)	to make oven (i.e., prepare food in an earth oven).
(n)	the activity of preparing food in an earth oven.

pai/paai (n)	side
	TIK: fasi
pai ama (n)	port side of ship or canoe (the side on which the outrigger / <u>ama</u> / is placed on Anutan canoe).
pai pai ika (n)	starboard side of ship or canoe.
pai matau (n)	right side
pai tema (n)	left side
pai maunga	side of a mountain
pai/paai/	to split up or divide a unitary object.
paai (v)	
pai (n)	ray fish coming in two varieties:
	a. pai aari
	b. pai peka
paia (conj)	because
painga (n)	act
	doing
painga pekau (n)	job
	work
painga pua (adj)	easy
(n)	ease
painga ta (adj)	difficult
(n)	difficulty
	c.f., tautenga
paitikoro (n)	bicycle (English loan word)

paiva (n)	way manner
	E.g., te paiva o taugata (the way of men). also may be used to indicate an area of expertise or special jurisdiction (e.g., a carpenter's <u>paiva</u> is to cut a canoe; a fisherman's <u>paiva</u> is to catch fish; etc.).
paka (n)	tobacco
rau paka	tobacco leaf
ngopaka	cured tobacco
paka	causative prefix
pakaakeeke (v)	to body surf
(n)	body surfing c.f., pakaeke
pakaako (v)	to teach
(n)	1. teacher 2. catechist 3. missionary
pakaangiangi (v)	to expose one's self to wind or breeze.
pakaapaapa (adj)	distant or outside; used only in conjunction with kinship terms.
pakaape (v)	to bend something into hook shape.

pakaara (v)	to wake up to awaken someone
pakaari (atu; mai) (v)	to show (in the widest sense of the term) to demonstrate to illustrate to explicate
pakaaropa (n)  (adj)	designation of persons belonging to lower two of the four <u>kainanga</u> ; "commoner." (literally: one who causes sympathy) causing sympathy E.g., tama pakaaropa ("orphan" or "pitiable child").
pakaeke (v)	to body surf c.f., pakaakeeke
pakaepa (v)	to honor to respect
pakaeva (v)	to jump
pakaeva ipo (v)	to jump or dive down c.f., taaneva
pakaka (v)	to burn, as in burning a piece of wood. (probably short for <u>pakakakaa</u> ) c.f., kakaa
pakakai (v)	to sharpen



pakakaitaringa (n)	turtle shell earring c.f., toutoutaringa
pakakakaa (v)	to light (a fire). c.f., pakaka
pakakata (adj; adv)	funny
pai pakakata	to joke
pakakati (v)	to burn, as in burning a piece of wood.
pakakato (n)	thin transverse supporting strip for roof of house, made from betel nut.
pakakau (v)	to send someone to swim
(pakakakau?)	c.f., kakau (to swim)
pakakaukau (n)	longitudinal supporting beams for roof of house.
pakakii/pakaki (n)	larynx or throat
pakakikiro (v)	to restrain to arrest to jail
pakamaa (adj)	ashamed embarrassed shy
pakamaanatu (v)	to remember

