

Appendix 3 Stress data

A reading list of a substantial number of lexemes was given to four informants of varying ages:

RH	70 years
JT	30 years
CF	25 years
EB	20 years

Subjects were asked to familiarise themselves with the list then say each word three times. A recording was made of these elicitations and stress assignment for each word was determined.

The data presented below relates to lexemes with the following structures:

- 1 - three moras in three light syllables
- 2 - three moras in two syllables - first syllable heavy, second syllable light
- 3 - three moras in two syllables - first syllable light, second syllable heavy
- 4 - four moras in three syllables - first syllable heavy, second and third light
- 5 - four moras in three syllables - first and third syllables light, second heavy
- 6 - four moras in three syllables - first and second syllable light, third heavy
- 7 - four moras in two syllables - both heavy
- 8 - five moras in four syllables - third syllable heavy

The heavy syllables in this data involve two adjacent vowels which are eligible for diphthong formation, creating one heavy syllable.

1 Lexemes of three light syllables

Trimoraic forms which occur as trisyllables are those for which each of the three vowels present is preceded by a consonant or consonant cluster, ie. every syllable has an onset (C(C)VC(C)VC(C)V), those for which only the first syllable has no onset (VC(C)VC(C)V), and those which contain a VV sequence which is ineligible for diphthong formation (C(C)VVC(C)V or C(C)VC(C)VV).

This data is grouped in the following way: historically monomorphemic roots; loan words; nonce words; synchronically monomorphemic roots demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the Proto Oceanic article **na*; synchronically monomorphemic roots reflecting accretion of the causative particle *fa*; synchronically monomorphemic roots with an initial echo syllable; and reduplicated disyllabic roots.

Each of these groups are divided in those lexemes which were assigned antepenultimate stress by all four subjects, those which were assigned penultimate stress by all four subjects, and those for which there was some variation.

1.1 Historically monomorphemic Kokota roots (107 lexemes)

Antepenultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (105 lexemes):

<i>abiti</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>meloño</i>	'be stupid'
<i>bagunu</i>	'wake up'	<i>meruku</i>	'flying fox'
<i>bakiha</i>	'custom pendant'	<i>moğaha</i>	'k.o. basket'
<i>baknua</i>	'be slow'	<i>mhanona</i>	'be afraid'
<i>bareke</i>	'custom pendant'	<i>nilehe</i>	'group of women'
<i>bariki</i>	'plantation'	<i>pağasa</i>	'pre-dawn light'
<i>baroña</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>palesu</i>	'turtle fin'
<i>beata</i>	'be calm' (of sea)	<i>panaga</i>	'snake sp.'

<i>belama</i>	'frigate bird'	<i>parake</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>belelu</i>	'be smooth'	<i>pazara</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>boleti</i>	'sinker fishing'	<i>pelara</i>	'shine brightly'
<i>bugotu</i>	place name	<i>pilaku</i>	'shellfish sp.'
<i>burusu</i>	'flame'	<i>ravata</i>	'afternoon'
<i>deduhu</i>	'slippery cabbage'	<i>riñata</i>	'doorway'
<i>doafu</i>	'be small' (poss. Pijin loan)	<i>roḡisi</i>	'bird sp.'
<i>dogoho</i>	'be lazy'	<i>roḡoto</i>	'bird sp.'
<i>dulagi</i>	'be powerful'	<i>rogovo</i>	'bird sp.'
<i>duvili</i>	'mud whelk'	<i>sabaka</i>	'lizard sp.'
<i>fiolo</i>	'penis'	<i>saboto</i>	'tree sp.'
<i>flakano</i>	'rock shelf on beach'	<i>sakale</i>	'plant sp.'
<i>ḡasere</i>	'octopus'	<i>salepo</i>	'k.o. basket'
<i>ḡemene</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>salupu</i>	'pass'
<i>gizuna</i>	'island'	<i>samore</i>	'be exhausted'
<i>hinage</i>	'boat'	<i>sarata</i>	'marlin'
<i>hokata</i>	'clam sp.'	<i>sarie</i>	'small <i>nali</i> nut'
<i>kabala</i>	'large <i>nali</i> nut'	<i>sebele</i>	'k.o. custom axe'
<i>kaburu</i>	'grit'	<i>sirahe</i>	'gourd lime bottle'
<i>kalosa</i>	'shellfish sp.'	<i>siuku</i>	'high tide'
<i>karuse</i>	'wild non-fruiting banana'	<i>sivoli</i>	'k.o. wind'
<i>kavara</i>	'copra' (possibly Pijin loan)	<i>sivoro</i>	'bird sp.'
<i>kolaña</i>	'sky'	<i>soala</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>komusu</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>soḡuma</i>	'giant grouper'
<i>korosa</i>	'hole'	<i>soraru</i>	'k.o. wind'
<i>kuluñe</i>	'retracted foreskin'	<i>tabara</i>	'buy'
<i>liḡomo</i>	'charm'	<i>talagi</i>	'be married'
<i>liḡoso</i>	'ground oven'	<i>tañano</i>	'food'
<i>madara</i>	'red'	<i>tañiri</i>	'kingfish'
<i>maḡoho</i>	'be unlucky'	<i>tapesu</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>magava</i>	'be hot'	<i>tarihi</i>	'be heavy'
<i>magiha</i>	'paternal uncle'	<i>taruña</i>	'spirit'
<i>mahavu</i>	'k.o. custom axe'	<i>tavihi</i>	'hunt'
<i>makara</i>	'parrot'	<i>tavuli</i>	'shellfish sp.'
<i>makasi</i>	'bonito'	<i>teḡeo/taḡeo</i>	'thank'
<i>maliri</i>	'fat'	<i>teḡuru</i>	'shelf'
<i>malivi</i>	'k.o. custom axe'	<i>teveke</i>	personal name
<i>maloa</i>	'air'	<i>tinufa</i>	'plant sp.'
<i>mamini</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>togoru</i>	'landslide'
<i>mañava</i>	'be hot'	<i>toloro</i>	'snake sp.'
<i>maneko</i>	'pawpaw'	<i>tomoko</i>	'war canoe'
<i>maneri</i>	'they'	<i>toñaha</i>	'tree fern sp.'
<i>marava</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>vetula</i>	'law'
<i>matava</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>zulapa</i>	'tree sp.'
<i>mavitu</i>	'community' (possibly Bughotu loan)		

Penultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (1 lexeme):

ḡahipa 'stone'

Stress assigned variably - penultimate stress assigned by the oldest subject (RH), antepenultimate stress assigned by the other three subjects (1 lexeme):

rabonī 'k.o. wind'

1.2 Identifiable loan words (21 lexemes)

Antepenultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (16 lexemes):

<i>bokese</i>	'box' (Pijin)	<i>meleni</i>	'melon' (Pijin)
<i>buluka</i>	'cow' (Pijin)	<i>miniti</i>	'minute' (Pijin)
<i>daramu</i>	'drum' (Pijin)	<i>pirisi</i>	'priest' (Pijin)
<i>fiḡasi</i>	'figure' (ie. 'number') (Pijin)	<i>sikolu</i>	'school' (Pijin)
<i>ḡaḡani</i>	'penis' (Maringe 'pounder')	<i>sileni</i>	'money' (Pijin selen) ¹
<i>ketolo</i>	'kettle' (Pijin)	<i>sipuni</i>	'spoon' (Pijin)
<i>letasi</i>	'letter' (Pijin)	<i>tarake</i>	'truck' (Pijin)
<i>lubati</i>	'allow' (Bughotu)	<i>timosi</i>	'thermos' (Pijin)

Penultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (1 lexemes):

sitōa 'store' (Pijin)

Variable stress assignment (4 lexemes):

- penultimate stress assigned by RH, antepenultimate stress by JT and EB, both by CF:

vuhuku 'hill' (Zabana)

- antepenultimate stress assigned by RH and JT, antepenultimate stress assigned by CF and EB:

faaknu 'strike a person'²

- penultimate stress by RH, antepenultimate by all others:

poposi 'dolphin' (Pijin)³

¹ From English *shilling*.

² This is the only instance of antepenultimate stress assigned by older subjects and penultimate by younger, and is thus the opposite of the general pattern. However, *faaknu* appears to be a loan from Maringe, where it is derived synchronically from *aknu* 'hit' by the Maringe derivational preposed form *fa*. The underived form *aknu* itself has also been borrowed into Kokota, but only very recently (older speakers do not regard it as Kokota). The most plausible explanation for the stress anomaly is that for older speakers *faaknu* is assigned stress as a monomorphemic root, while younger speakers, who have both *faaknu* and *aknu*, assign stress to *faaknu* as a derived form involving a bimoraic root preceded by the Kokota derivation particle *fa*, which does not participate in stress assignment. Both stress patterns are regular, it is the underlying lexeme which differs between older and younger speakers.

³ This is anomalous. It appears to be a Pijin loan, and no form **posi* exists in the language, but RH assigned stress as if it was a reduplicated disyllabic root. On other occasions RH has expressed the belief that the word *poposi* is true Kokota and not a loan. This seems to be unlikely given its close similarity to the English *porpoise*, and the fact that no other Isabel languages have forms which resemble it even slightly. Oddly, however, the slightly similar form *pusui* 'dolphin' occurs in Vangunu/Bareke (New Georgia). This is obviously cognate with *kusui* 'dolphin' in Nduke and mainland New Georgia languages (eg. Roviana) (all apparently cognate with East Choiseul /njuɪ ~ zui/ 'dolphin'). It is hard to know what to make of all this, particularly given that *poposi* would not be a regular Kokota cognate for the New Georgia and East Choiseul forms.

- penultimate stress by RH and CF, antepenultimate stress by JT and EB:

kasipotu 'clam sp.' (Zabana *kasipotu* 'clam sp.')⁴

1.3 Nonce words (5 lexemes)

Only elicited from one subject (JT). Antepenultimate stress assigned to all items (5 lexemes):

**busleki* **gigiri* **toḡuru*
**dedehu* **kavihi*

1.4 Lexemes demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the POC article **na* (21 lexemes)

Antepenultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (16 lexemes):

<i>nabote</i>	'crab sp.'	<i>nakriso</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>naboto</i>	'ten'	<i>nakrugū</i>	'owl sp.'
<i>nabrita</i>	'flood'	<i>nakrupe</i>	'wife'
<i>nakoṅo</i>	'hornbill'	<i>nanafa</i>	'heart'
<i>nafaro</i>	'fish genus'	<i>nariha</i>	'day after tomorrow'
<i>naḡihi</i>	'palm sp.'	<i>nasona</i>	'headland'
<i>naḡrama</i>	'seaweed sp.'	<i>nasuga</i>	'crayfish'
<i>nakoni</i>	'person'	<i>navula</i>	'whale'

Penultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (4 lexemes):

<i>nadia</i>	'cassava'	<i>naklegi</i>	'scorpion shell'
<i>nahani</i>	'rain'	<i>namhari</i>	'fish'

Variable stress assignment - penultimate stress by RH, antepenultimate by all others (1 lexeme):

naklihe 'tree sp.'

1.5 Lexemes demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the causative particle *fa* (4 lexemes)

Antepenultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (3 lexemes):

<i>fagalo</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>fatana</i>	'fit' (of clothes etc)
<i>fakamo</i>	'always'		

Penultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (1 lexeme):

fahega 'be happy'

⁴ This is anomalous. While this loan always occurs on the surface in a trisyllabic form, syllabifications indicate that for older speakers it retains its original underlyingly quadrisyllabic form. For these speakers stress is assigned regularly, with secondary stress on the first syllable and primary on the third. The unstressed second vowel then syncopates regularly, leaving a trisyllabic surface form which is stressed on the penult. However for younger speakers the form is underlyingly trisyllabic, and is accordingly stressed regularly on the antepenult.

1.6 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate (107 lexemes)

Antepenultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (58 lexemes):

<i>babasi</i>	'bamboo wall panel'	<i>memelo</i>	'earlobe plug'
<i>bablata</i>	'bat sp.'	<i>mimido</i>	'penis'
<i>bebeña</i>	'giant clam'	<i>momola</i>	'orchid sp.'
<i>bibina</i>	'large canoe'	<i>momoru</i>	'turtle net'
<i>boboka</i>	'seaweed sp.'	<i>mhamhala</i>	'fear height'
<i>boboke</i>	'inner thighs'	<i>nonolo</i>	'be straight'
<i>boboña</i>	'bow' (weapon)	<i>ñoñozi</i>	'whistle'
<i>bubulo</i>	'mist'	<i>nunuru</i>	'shiver'
<i>dadara</i>	'blood'	<i>papaka</i>	'bamboo sp.'
<i>dodoru</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>papate</i>	'bug' (crustacean)
<i>fafata</i>	'be crossed'	<i>pipila</i>	'cigarette'
<i>fifido</i>	'toe' (??)	<i>popoto</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>fufure</i>	'creeper sp.'	<i>rarapu</i>	'tattoo'
<i>gāgāhu</i>	'irritate eyes'	<i>rereo</i>	'shield'
<i>gēgēho</i>	'shellfish sp.'	<i>reregi</i>	'look after'
<i>gōgōla</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>roromu</i>	'insect sp.'
<i>gagada</i>	'creeper sp.'	<i>sasaga</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>gogozī</i>	'whistle'	<i>sisigā</i>	place name
<i>huhuru</i>	'force s.o.'	<i>sisigi</i>	'bird sp.'
<i>kakade</i>	'eagle'	<i>tataka</i>	'yam sp.'
<i>kokodo</i>	'shellfish sp.'	<i>teteke</i>	'earring'
<i>kokota</i>	place name	<i>tetere</i>	'shiver'
<i>kokoto</i>	'shellfish sp.'	<i>titili</i>	'tabu stone circle'
<i>lalaba</i>	'dancing ground'	<i>totofo</i>	'birds nest fern'
<i>liliu</i>	'opposite'	<i>totoku</i>	'cover'
<i>loloko</i>	'mangrove estury'	<i>totolu</i>	'coral sp.'
<i>mamahe</i>	'be sweet'	<i>vavagē</i>	'floating log'
<i>mamara</i>	'be deep'	<i>veveko</i>	'palm sp.'
<i>memeha</i>	'bird'	<i>ziziri</i>	'tree sp.'

Penultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (16 lexemes):

<i>bibibli</i>	'bird sp.'	<i>kikio</i>	'palm sp.'
<i>duduma</i>	'pity s.o.'	<i>kokoro</i>	'heron'
<i>fufunu</i>	'start'	<i>kokoru</i>	'be unripe'
<i>fufugo</i>	'tomorrow'	<i>lulua</i>	'vomit'
<i>hohoa</i>	'yawn'	<i>mhumhui</i>	'be wet'
<i>kakafre</i>	'spider'	<i>pepreku</i>	'lips'
<i>kakake</i>	'taro sp.'	<i>poprogu</i>	'shellfish sp.'
<i>kakara</i>	'frond midrib'	<i>vivivri</i>	'propellor'

Variable stress assignment (33 lexemes):

- penultimate stress assigned by RH, antepenultimate by all other subjects (13 lexemes):

<i>fefeka</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>tatabla</i>	'palm of hand/sole of foot'
<i>kukuti</i>	'eel'	<i>tatala</i>	'butterfly/moth'
<i>papase</i>	'ginger/turmeric'	<i>tatanhi</i>	'be noisy'
<i>popolo</i>	'shirt'	<i>teteḡu</i>	'go fishing'
<i>poporo</i>	'pandanus sp., pineapple'	<i>totofra</i>	'star'
<i>sesele</i>	'k.o. tree seed'	<i>tuturu</i>	'kneel'
<i>sosole</i>	'be naked'		

- penultimate stress assigned by RH and CF, antepenultimate stress by JT and EB (12 lexemes):

<i>kakaka</i>	'crab sp.'	<i>kokopa</i>	'door'
<i>kekeve</i>	'plant sp.'	<i>sesekri</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>kikipa</i>	'bird sp.'	<i>s eserhu</i>	'grass'
<i>kokobi</i>	'cup'	<i>susufli</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>kokofla</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>totoḡi</i>	'lizard'
<i>kokolo</i>	'type, clan'	<i>zuzufra</i>	'black'

- penultimate stress assigned by RH, antepenultimate stress by JT and EB, both by CF (2 lexemes):

<i>kokoba</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>loloro</i>	'tributary'
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- penultimate stress assigned by RH and JT, antepenultimate stress by CF and EB (4 lexemes):

<i>foforu</i>	'be new'	<i>sasaklo</i>	'argue'
<i>fofoto</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>sasalo</i>	'pandanus sp.'

- penultimate stress assigned by RH, JT and CF, antepenultimate stress by EB (1 lexeme):

<i>kekredi</i>	'egg'
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- penultimate stress by RH and JT, antepenultimate stress by CF, both by EB (1 lexeme):

<i>tetego</i>	'fish sp.'
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1.7 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists (63 lexemes)

Antepenultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (31 lexemes):

<i>babagi</i>	'side rooves'	(<i>bagi</i> 'wing')
<i>bubluse</i>	'be easy'	(<i>bluse</i> 'be easy' ⁵)
<i>bubulhi</i>	'clam sp.'	(<i>bulhi</i> 'cowrie')
<i>dedeke</i>	'stairs'	(<i>deke</i> 'step')
<i>dodoli</i>	'blue/green'	(<i>doli</i> 'be alive')
<i>duduki</i>	'k.o. parcel'	(<i>duki</i> 'parcel')
<i>fafada</i>	'shoot'	(<i>fada</i> 'shoot')
<i>gūgūfu</i>	'tobacco'	(<i>gūfu</i> 'smoke' (V))
<i>gagato</i>	'think' (ITR)	(<i>gato</i> 'think about s.th.' (TR))
<i>kakamo</i>	'stick for transferring fire'	(<i>kamo</i> 'go across')
<i>lalage</i>	'be castrated'	(<i>lage</i> 'castrate s.th.')
<i>lalase</i>	'know' (ITR)	(<i>lase</i> 'know' (TR))
<i>mamaku</i>	'leatherjacket' (fish sp.)	(<i>maku</i> 'be hard')
<i>mamarha</i>	'be painful'	(<i>marha</i> 'feel pain')
<i>mamasa</i>	'tapa cloth'	(<i>masa</i> 'custom G-string')
<i>momoge</i>	'smegma'	(<i>moge</i> 'smegma' ⁶)
<i>momoñha</i>	'prickle'	(<i>moñha</i> 'an itching insect')
<i>mhamhagu</i>	'be habitually fearful'	(<i>mhagu</i> 'be afraid')
<i>nonomho</i>	'news'	(<i>nomho</i> 'listen')
<i>nunuge</i>	'earthquake'	(<i>nuge</i> 'shake')
<i>pipiha</i>	'make a piha parcel'	(<i>piha</i> 'small parcel')
<i>rarata</i>	'sand/beach'	(<i>rata</i> 'walk on beach')
<i>ririñi</i>	'wall'	(<i>ririñilu</i> 'room')
<i>ririso</i>	'write' (ITR)	(<i>riso</i> 'write' (TR))
<i>rhurhuta</i>	'untangle' (ITR)	(<i>rhuta</i> 'untangle' (TR))
<i>tatahi</i>	'stingray'	(<i>tahi</i> 'sea')
<i>tataho</i>	'count' (ITR)	(<i>taho</i> 'count' (TR))
<i>titiḡi</i>	'spotted crab sp.'	(<i>tiḡi</i> 'spot')
<i>titihi</i>	'wash' (ITR)	(<i>tihi</i> 'wash' (TR))
<i>vavahe</i>	'operate'	(<i>vahe</i> 'carve')
<i>zazaho</i>	'walk'	(<i>zaho</i> 'go')

Penultimate stress assigned by all four subjects (9 lexemes):

<i>didia</i>	'be displeased by s.th.'	(<i>dia</i> 'be bad')
<i>kakatu</i>	'bite' (ITR)	(<i>kati</i> 'bite' (TR))
<i>kaklatu</i>	'testicle'	(<i>klatu</i> 'a round lump in the body')
<i>kikrisu</i>	'scoop liquid' (ITR)	(<i>krisu</i> 'scoop liquid' (TR))
<i>kokomhu</i>	'k.o. fruit'	(<i>komhu</i> 'year, season, fruit')
<i>papraha</i>	'unpleasant to smell or taste'	(<i>praha</i> 'be bitter or sour to taste')
<i>poprosa</i>	'wash clothes'	(<i>prosa</i> 'turtle slapping itself')
<i>poprotu</i>	'small lump on body'	(<i>protu</i> 'a distant object')
<i>tuturi</i>	'tell stories' (ITR)	(<i>turi</i> 'tell' (TR))

⁵ The distinction between *bluse* and *bubluse* is not clear at this stage.

⁶ The distinction between *momoge* and *moge* is not clear at this stage.

Variable stress assignment (23 lexemes):

- penultimate stress by RH and antepenultimate by all others (11 lexemes):

<i>mamamhi</i>	'tree sp.'	(<i>sakale mamhi</i> 'sakale sp.')
<i>papaña</i>	'breathe'	(<i>pañapaña</i> 'pant')
<i>pupuki</i>	'be round'	(<i>puki</i> 'round lump of s.th.')
<i>sisiko</i>	'steal' (new form)	(<i>siko</i> 'steal' (old form))
<i>sisito</i>	'be hot to the touch'	(<i>sito</i> 'make hot to the touch')
<i>sosofo</i>	'be grabbing'	(<i>sofo</i> 'grab')
<i>susuki</i>	'sew'	(<i>suki</i> 'lift skin of s.th.')
<i>tatako</i>	'bird sp.'	(<i>tako</i> 'catch s.th. in the air')
<i>tetena</i>	'sago palm'	(<i>tena</i> 'make sago leaf thatch')
<i>totoġla</i>	'chase' (ITR)	(<i>toġla</i> 'chase' (TR))
<i>totore</i>	'be always asking for things'	(<i>tore</i> 'ask')

- penultimate stress assigned by RH and CF, antepenultimate stress by JT and EB (5 lexemes):

<i>babara</i>	'rib (of skeleton or wall)'	(<i>bara</i> 'fence, enclosure')
<i>fofoġra</i>	'be a little bit sick'	(<i>foġra</i> 'be very sick')
<i>kekere</i>	'sting (ITR); thorns'	(<i>kere</i> 'sting' (TR))
<i>kokopo</i>	'capsize'	(<i>fa kopo</i> 'turn/be upside down')
<i>tutupri</i>	'be blunt'	(<i>tupri</i> 'be blunt' ⁷)

- penultimate stress assigned by RH and JT, antepenultimate stress by CF and EB (3 lexemes):

<i>hohoti</i>	'be very sore and tender'	(<i>hoti</i> 'sting' (TR))
<i>huhuñu</i>	'have heartburn'	(<i>huñu</i> 'feel heartburn')
<i>kekepi</i>	'side rooves of house'	(<i>kepi</i> 'hat')

- penultimate stress assigned by RH, JT and CF, antepenultimate stress by EB (2 lexemes):

<i>hahaġlu</i>	'broom'	(<i>haġlu</i> 'sweep')
<i>kekeli</i>	'be pleased by s.th.'	(<i>keli</i> 'be good')

- penultimate stress assigned by RH, JT and EB, antepenultimate stress by CF (1 lexeme):

<i>kakaġflo</i>	'crab sp.' (has waving claw)	(<i>kaġflo</i> 'beckon')
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- penultimate stress assigned by RH, CF and EB, antepenultimate stress by JT (1 lexeme):

<i>pipiri</i>	'tie' (ITR)	(<i>piri</i> 'tie' (TR))
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2 Lexemes with three moras in two syllables - first syllable heavy, second syllable light

All trimoraic disyllabic lexemes with a heavy first syllable were assigned stress on the heavy syllable by all four subjects.

⁷ The distinction between *tutupri* and *tupri* is not clear at this stage.

2.1 Historically monomorphemic Kokota roots (14 lexemes)

<i>baesu</i>	'shark'	<i>koilo</i>	'coconut'
<i>baiki</i>	'bag' (possibly a Pijin loan)	<i>maezu</i>	'honey'
<i>ḡaoḡa</i>	'fish sp.'	<i>mairi</i>	'left'
<i>ḡausa</i>	'betel nut'	<i>mautu</i>	'right'
<i>gaili</i>	'fishhook'	<i>moita</i>	'be cooked'
<i>haidu</i>	'meeting'	<i>rauru</i>	'landward'
<i>kaike</i>	'one'	<i>saeko</i>	'mango'

2.2 Identifiable loan words (4 lexemes)

<i>baere</i>	'friend' (Zabana)	<i>faeba</i>	'fibreglass boat' (Pijin)
<i>daeva</i>	'dive (for fish etc)' (Pijin)	<i>raisi</i>	'rice' (Pijin)

2.3 Lexemes demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the POc article **na* (3 lexemes)

<i>naesa</i>	'bamboo sp.'	<i>naota</i>	'sago palm'
<i>naitu</i>	'devil'		

3 Disyllables with a heavy second syllable

3.1 Historically monomorphemic Kokota roots (21 lexemes)

Stress assigned to light first syllable by all four subjects (2 lexemes):

<i>datau</i>	'chief'	<i>suḡou</i>	'crab sp.' (given in <i>kakau suḡou</i>)
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Stress assigned to heavy second syllable by all four subjects (2 lexemes):

<i>karao</i>	'k.o. basket'	<i>ohai</i>	'be domesticated'
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Variable stress assignment (17 lexemes):

- stress assigned to heavy second syllable by RH and JT, and to light first syllable by CF and EB (10 lexemes):

<i>ḡlelai</i>	'supsup fronds'	<i>nihau</i>	'when'
<i>ḡilai</i>	'until'	<i>nhorao</i>	'yesterday'
<i>ḡinai</i>	'future'	<i>potai</i>	'bounce' (of boat on waves)
<i>kalae</i>	'reef'	<i>tarai</i>	'pray; prayer'
<i>nihao</i>	'how many'	<i>torai</i>	'definitely'

- stress assigned to heavy second syllable by RH, JT and EB, and to light first syllable by CF (4 lexemes):

<i>fikai</i>	'turn around'	<i>kolae</i>	'spear'
<i>hotai</i>	'middle'	<i>putai</i>	'close eyes'

- stress assigned to heavy second syllable by JT, and to light first syllable by all other subjects (1 lexeme):⁸

<i>vilai</i>	'knife'
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⁸ This is the only unequivocally monomorphemic trimoraic disyllable with variable stress assignment where the oldest subject RH does not assign stress to the second syllable.

- *Kumai* 'drink; river' was elicited in three ways: in isolation; as a noun in the frame *ia kumai ana* (ART+river+DEM) 'that river'; and as a verb in the frame *kumai bia* 'drink beer'. The two younger subjects CF and EB consistently assigned stress to the light first syllable, in keeping with the general pattern shown in the data above. The older subjects RH and JT assigned stress with more variation: in isolation both RH and JT assigned stress to the heavy second syllable, and to the light first syllable in *kumai bia*; while in *ia kumai ana* RH assigned to the heavy second syllable and JT to the light first syllable:

	RH	JT	CF&EB
<i>kumai</i>	/kumáí/	/kumáí/	/kúmai/
<i>ia kumai ana</i>	/kumáí/	/kúmai/	/kúmai/
<i>kumai bia</i>	/kúmai/	/kúmai/	/kúmai/

3.2 Lexeme demonstrably reflecting accretion of the POc article **na* (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned to heavy second syllable by all four subjects (1 lexeme):

naprai 'sun'

3.3 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate (2 lexemes)

Stress assigned to heavy second syllable by all four subjects (1 lexeme):

babao 'be tired'

Variable stress assignment (2 lexemes):

- stress assigned to heavy second syllable by RH, and to light first syllable by JT, CF and EB (1 lexeme):

vavau 'kapok tree'

- *Kakau* 'crab' was elicited in isolation, as well as in five crab species names. In isolation all four subjects assigned stress to the heavy second syllable, while in species names all subjects assigned stress to the light first syllable:

<i>kakau</i>	/kakáú/
<i>kakau boboini</i>	/kákau bòboíni/
<i>kakau kakaŋflo</i>	/kákau kakáŋflo ~ kákaflo/
<i>kakau kakaka</i>	/kákau kakáka ~ kákaka/
<i>kakau nabote</i>	/kákau nábote/
<i>kakau suŋou</i>	/kákau súgou/

3.4 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists (2 lexemes)

Stress assigned to heavy second syllable by all four subjects (1 lexeme):

a'ao 'bird sp.' (aa 'make call of aao bird')

Stress assigned to light first syllable by all four subjects (1 lexeme):

totoi 'fire' (toi 'cook')

3.5 Lexeme reflecting accretion of the causative particle *fa* (1 lexeme)

Variable stress assignment - stress assigned to heavy second syllable by RH and JT, and to light first syllable by CF and EB:

fakae 'look (see)'

This reflects variation between speakers in the underlying lexical form. In synchronic Kokota *fakae* is replacing *kae*. For older speakers two lexemes exist: *kae* 'see' and *fa kae* 'look' ('CS + see'). These speakers assign stress regularly to *kae* as a monosyllabic root. The preposed causative particle *fa* does not participate in stress assignment. For these speakers stress is assigned to these lexemes as /káe/ and /fa káe/. Younger speakers do not have *kae*, with *fakae* functioning as a variably transitive monomorphemic root meaning 'look' or 'see'. These speakers assign stress regularly to *fakae* as any disyllabic root: /fákáe/.

3.6 Lexeme displaying other historical morphological complexity (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned to light first syllable by all four subjects:

manei 'he, she, it'⁹

4 Trisyllables with with a heavy first syllable and light second and third syllables

4.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots (9 lexemes)

Secondary stress assigned to heavy first syllable and primary stress to light second syllable by all four subjects (7 lexemes):

<i>ḡaemhari</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>oilagi</i>	'be powerful'
<i>ḡaenare</i>	'daybreak'	<i>raitopa</i>	'fish sp.'
<i>ḡaepaza</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>vaetahi</i>	'tree sp.'
<i>goinode</i>	'today'		

Stress assigned only to heavy first syllable by all four subjects (2 lexemes):

<i>taunamu</i>	'mosquito net'	<i>saigona</i>	'evening'
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4.2 Synchronic compounds (3 lexemes)

Secondary stress assigned to heavy first syllable and primary stress to light second syllable by all four subjects:

<i>rei-palu</i>	'they two'	<i>toi-kame</i>	'centipede'
<i>rei-tilo</i>	'they three'		

5 Trisyllables with with light first and third syllables and a heavy second syllable

5.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned to the light first syllable by all four subjects:

sorauru 'a wind blowing landward'¹⁰

⁹ This synchronically monomorphemic pronoun appears to be the result of the historical concatenation of *mane* 'man' with a suffix or enclitic, probably the emphatic suffix *-hi*.

¹⁰ While *sorauru* appears to be synchronically monomorphemic, historical morphological complexity is evident in the fact that the referent wind blows landward, a direction expressed by the term *rauru*. However

5.2 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned to the heavy second syllable by the one speaker (RH) who gave this form:

dadaēgra 'be startled'¹¹

5.3 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned to the heavy second syllable by all four subjects:

sasaeko 'liver' (*saeko* 'mango')

5.4 Identifiable loan words (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned to the light first syllable by all four subjects:

peleita 'plate' (Pijin)

6 Trisyllables with light first and second syllables and a heavy third syllable

6.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots (5 lexemes)

Secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by all four subjects (3 lexemes):

aramoi 'clam sp.' *nakedou* 'woman'¹²
lēgohai 'be thin (of person)'

Variable stress assignment (2 lexemes):

- secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by RH and JT, stress assigned to light first syllable only by EB, stress assigned in both ways by CF:

nhagarai 'banyan'

- secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by RH and JT, stress assigned variably by CF and EB: stress assigned to light first syllable only; and secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable:

helekae 'bird sp.'

a synchronically monomorphemic status is perhaps evidenced by the common reduction of the form to *soraru*. This reduced form is also always assigned stress on the first syllable only.

¹¹ This form is only used by some older speakers. The normal contemporary form has a reduced second syllable. This form, *dadāgra*, is always assigned stress on the first syllable only.

¹² I have included *nakedou* among synchronically monomorphemic roots, however it is an historical compound consisting of a reduced version of *nakoni* 'person' and the verb *dou* 'be big'. In this respect it resembles the compound *mane-dou* 'big man'. As the first element is a unique reduced form it is not clear at this stage the extent to which the form's compound status has synchronic reality.

6.2 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which no there is synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate (3 lexemes)

Secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by all four subjects (1 lexemes):

kokolai 'wild betel palm'

Variable stress assignment (2 lexemes):

- secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by RH and JT, stress assigned to light first syllable only by CF and EB:

totoai 'undercooked, unripe'

- secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by RH, JT and EB, stress assigned variably by CF: to light first syllable only; and secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable:

gigilai 'test'

6.3 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists (1 lexeme)

Secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by all four subjects:

fafakae 'face' (*fakae* 'look, see' (see 3.5 above))

6.4 Synchronic compounds (2 lexemes)

Secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by all four subjects:

lehe-n̄hau 'be hungry' *marha-pau* 'headache'

7 Disyllables of two heavy syllables

7.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots (1 lexeme)

Stress assigned variably:

- stress assigned only to the first syllable by RH, CF and EB; secondary stress assigned to the first syllable, primary stress assigned to the second syllable by JT:

baehai 'tree sp.'¹³

8 Quadrisyllables with a heavy third syllable

8.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots (1 lexeme)

Secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by all four subjects:

birukoilo 'bird sp.'¹⁴

¹³ The form *baehai* is now only used by some older speakers. The normal contemporary form, *bahai*, has a reduced first syllable.

8.2 Identifiable loan words (2 lexemes)

Secondary stress assigned to light first syllable and primary stress to heavy third syllable by all four subjects:

vañahaidu 'feast' (Bughotu?)¹⁵ *wokobaoti* 'stroll, wander about' (Pijin)

¹⁴ Although *birukoilo* is listed as synchronically monomorphemic, this is probably an historical compound. The initial component *biru* does not appear to be present in synchronic Kokota, however *koilo* 'coconut' does. It is not clear whether the form is really monomorphemic or bimorphemic for speakers.

¹⁵ Speakers identify this form as a loan, allegedly from Bughotu. However, it is also a transparent compound. In synchronic Kokota *fañā* 'feed s.o. or s.th.' and *haidu* 'meeting' both occur. The initial /v/ ~ /f/ alternation supports the view that the compound is a borrowing, however its semantic transparency mean that it is almost certainly a synchronic compound for speakers, despite its loan status.