

***THE FLAMINGO BAY DIALECT OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE***



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C. L. VOORHOEVE

## ***THE FLAMINGO BAY DIALECT OF THE ASMAT LANGUAGE***



'S-GRAVENHAGE — MARTINUS NIJHOFF — 1965





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to them an inexhaustible source of valuable data on the Ásmat people.

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C. L. VOORHOEVE

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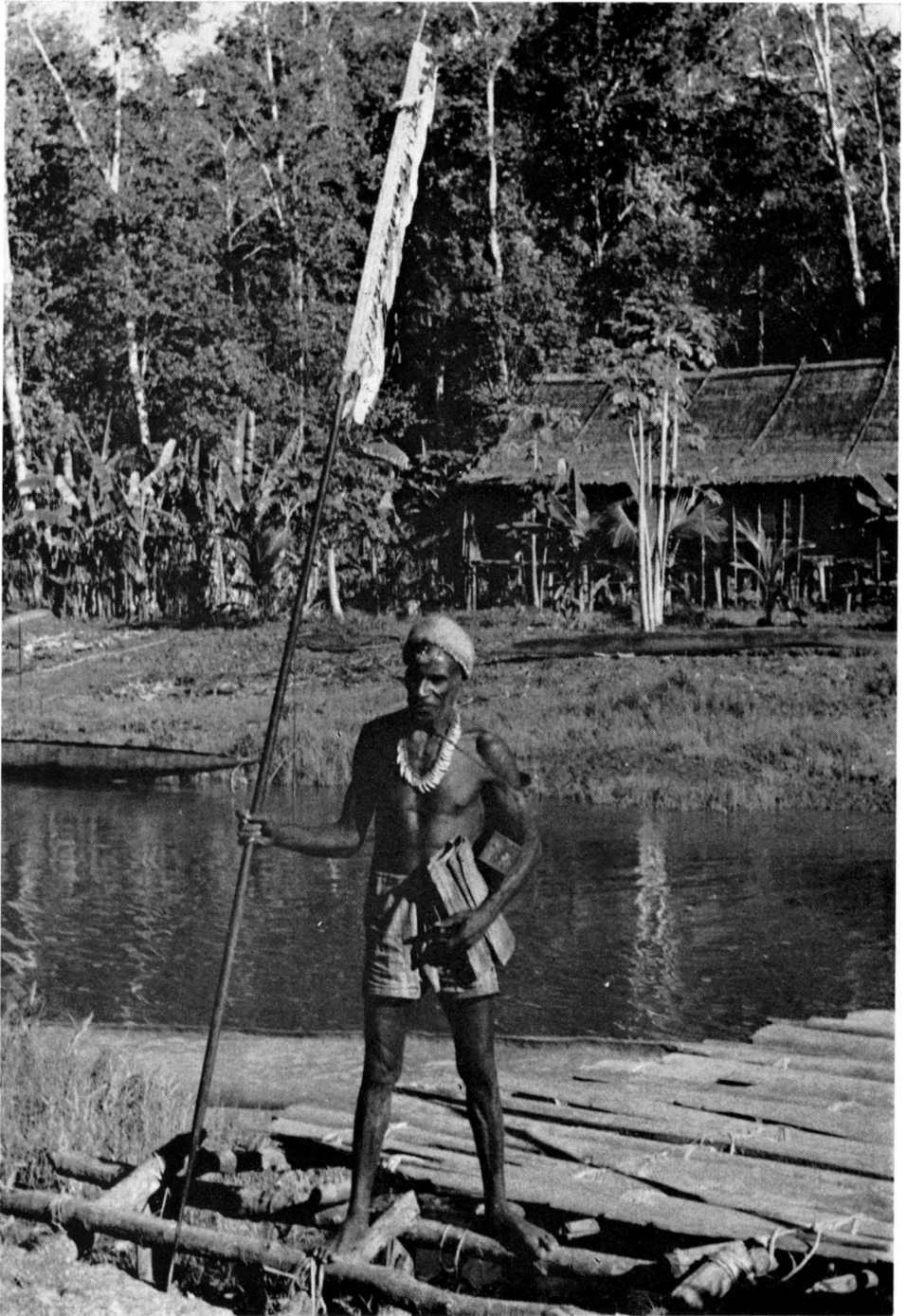
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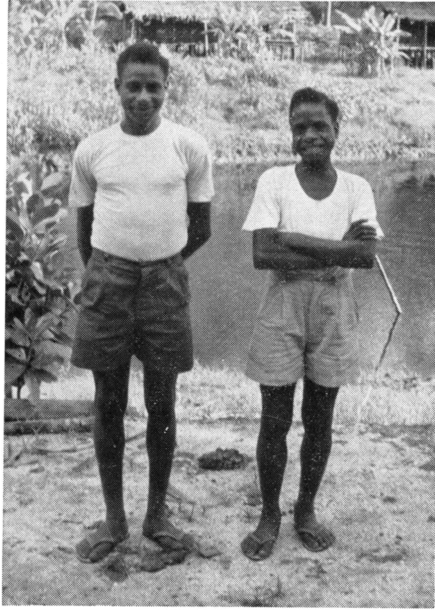
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Man holding a paddle decorated with white cockatoo feathers and a pouch made of pandanus leaves. He is wearing a cap made of the skin of the cuscus and a necklace made of dog's teeth. (Safântes, from Jepém).



The informants Mífekpic and Natinák.



The village of Jepém, 1962.

## PART I

# INTRODUCTION

### 1 The Asmat language: area, adjacent languages, dialects

The language of the Ásmat Papuans, Ásmat,<sup>1</sup> is one of a number of related Papuan languages which are spoken over an extensive area of the coastal plain of South-West New Guinea (Irian Barat). These languages extend along the coast from the River Ópa in the north-west to the mouth of the River Digul in the south-east.<sup>2</sup>

The Ásmat region is generally considered to be the coastal strip and the adjacent hinterland between the Rivers Momác (Le Cocq d'Armandville) and Ewtá. In addition to his region, however, Ásmat is also spoken in a small area to the east of the confluence of the Rivers Siréc (Eilanden) and Wildeman; on the coastal strip between the Ewtá and Cook Bay (the Casuarinen Coast); and in a few villages on the coast between Cook Bay and the mouth of the River Digul.

It is still not known with certainty how far inland the Ásmat language-area extends. It was only recently that this coastal area was brought under Government control and that part of the low-lying plain abutting onto the mountainous country in the centre is still practically *terra incognita*. Up to now, Ásmat villages have been encountered inland to a distance of more than 70 miles.

To the north-west of the Ásmat language-area, two languages related

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#### Introductory note

In the notes the following abbreviations have been used:

- Kon. Inst. TLV. — Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.  
BKI — Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, of the Kon. Inst. TLV.  
VKI — Verhandelingen van het Kon. Inst. TLV.  
MBA — Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos.

<sup>1</sup> Two remarks have to be made: (i) accents will be shown only on native names; (ii) the native names of rivers will be given, if possible, and where there is also a Dutch name, this will be added between brackets the first time the river is mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> See map at back.

to Ásmat, Kámoro and Sémpan, are spoken. These two languages cover the whole coastal area between the Rivers Ópa and Otákwa. Between the Otákwa and the Momác, where the Ásmat language-area begins, there are no villages. Nothing is known about the languages to the north and the north-east of the Ásmat language-area: in the east and the south-east, Ásmat meets up with the Áwju and Jakáj languages, which are probably not related to Ásmat.<sup>3</sup>

Ásmat has various dialects, but a systematic investigation into them has not yet been made, so that little is known about the nature and extent of the dialectical variations. Broadly, Asmat dialects can be divided into a central group of little differing dialects with, around it, on the periphery of the Ásmat language-area, a number of dialects differing sharply from it: those spoken upstream of the Rivers Pomác (Noordwest), Unír (Lorentz) and Siréc, and the dialect of the Casuarinen Coast.

## 2 The terrain, the people, the concept of their world

The area in which the Kámoro, Sémpan and Ásmat languages are spoken consists mainly of a marshy, low-lying, thickly wooded plain, intersected by countless rivers and streams of which a noteworthy feature is the ebb and flow of the tide far into the hinterland. The climate of the region is very humid and the rainfall abundant — approximately 225 inches a year. The terrain is very heavy going on foot, so the canoe is the usual means of transport. It is used extensively. One can go everywhere along the natural network of waterways by canoe and people can thus move about easily and can cover great distances.

The Ásmat people dwell in villages situated along the rivers. The

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<sup>3</sup> The data on the Kámoro and Sémpan languages are taken from P. Drabbe, M.S.C., *Spraakkunst van de Kámoro-taal*, Kon. Inst. TLV., Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1953.

The first studies of the Awju and Jakaj languages, also by the same author, are:

- 1) *Twee dialecten van de Awju-taal*, BKI, Vol. 106, Part I, 1950, pp. 93-147;
- 2) *Spraakkunst van het Aghu-dialect van de Awju-taal*, Kon. Inst. TLV., The Hague, 1957;
- 3) *Kaeti en Wambon, twee Awju-dialecten*, Kon. Inst. TLV., The Hague, 1959; and
- 4) *De Jakaj-taal. Talen en dialecten van Zuid-West Nieuw-Guinea*, MBA, Vol. II, Part B, 1954, pp. 73-98.  
(Vocabulary on pp. 128-142.)

largest villages have between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants; the smallest less than 100. The total Ásmat population is estimated to be 40,000 persons. The people of the central Ásmat region call themselves *ásmat ow*, which probably means 'tree people'.<sup>4</sup>

According to the Ásmat people, the territory they inhabit, the *ásmat capinmi*, is enclosed within, and lies at the bottom of, a gigantic coconut: their world is not convex but concave.<sup>5</sup> The boundaries of their world correspond roughly to those of their language-area — between the Casuarinen Coast and the Mimíka Coast (where Kámoro is spoken). And one can do the 'journey round the world' by setting out from the Casuarinen Coast, crossing the stretch of water between it and the Mimíka Coast, landing there, and then returning to the Casuarinen Coast. Through the middle of this world flows the great River Siréc, rising far away, somewhere at the top of the coconut, close to the holy entrance to the upper world (the outside world). From this opening, in prehistoric times, the heavenly beings descended to earth, in order to populate the world with their descendants.

### **3 Establishment of Government and the Missions; first linguistic research.**

It was only in the recent past that the Ásmat region was brought under control — the area was notorious for head-hunting. Only in 1954 did the Government finally set up its seat there, at Ágats, though the Roman Catholic Mission had opened its first Mission station there in 1953. It was also at Ágats that the Protestant Mission (The Evangelical Alliance Mission, TEAM for short) began its activities in this region in 1955.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> It is my opinion that, from the diachronical point of view, the word *ásmat*, or *ásmot*, is possibly a compound formed with the word for 'tree', now *os*, and a generic element, now *amot*, *mot*, which is found in compounds like *ser-amot* — *ser* fish (species of), and probably also in the word *setmót*, *set* bird (species of), the name of one of the ceremonial houses (*jew*) of Surú. The name Ásmat would then be consistent with a tradition that the people sprang from trees.

<sup>5</sup> I have to thank D. B. Eyde for this information which he came upon by chance. It is noteworthy, that a concept of the world common to all the Ásmat people, which is not sacred and is spoken of openly, has for so long escaped the attention of European investigators.

<sup>6</sup> There is a more detailed description of the first contacts of the Ásmat people with the outside world, and of the establishment of Government, the Roman Catholic Mission and the Protestant Mission in these regions in: V. F. P. M. van Amelsvoort, *Early Introduction of Integrated Rural Health into a*

Investigation into the language spoken in the territory inhabited by the Ásmat people, as in so many regions in New Guinea, was first undertaken by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions. The Dutch Missionary, P. Drabbe, who lived in Ágats from 1957 to 1959, made a study of the dialect of the village of Ajám, 20 miles further upstream. In addition, he collected material on various other dialects. His grammar of the Ajám dialect, with a vocabulary, as well as a comparative study of three Ásmat dialects, have been published.<sup>7</sup> The TEAM linguist, C. Roesler, is still working on the Ajám dialect, and Mrs. Dresser, the wife of the TEAM doctor at Pírimapún, Cook Bay is making an initial study of the Ásmat of the Casuarinen Coast. To date, their work has not been published.

#### 4 Present research, choice of dialect

The following description of the language is the result of an investigation into the coastal dialect around Flamingo Bay which was carried out from November, 1960, to September, 1962, under the auspices of the Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Nieuw-Guinea (W.O.N.G.).<sup>8</sup>

The aim of this research was the collecting of material for a description of one of the Ásmat dialects. Outside Mission circles in New Guinea, almost nothing was known about Ásmat. Drabbe's grammar of the Ajám dialect had been published, though this fact was not known to me until I arrived in the area, and found that the Mission disposed over a few copies of it. The only thing on Ásmat I had had at my disposal was a short vocabulary at the end of Drabbe's Kámoro grammar. Thus a preliminary orientation into the language was not possible. The investigation had to be started from scratch.

For some time the Roman Catholic Mission had been opening schools in the Ásmat region, the language taught in them being Malay,

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Primitive Society, thesis, Van Gorcum & Co., Assen, 1964. This thesis also contains a complete bibliography of works containing information on Ásmat, up to 31th December, 1962.

<sup>7</sup> Drabbe, P., M.S.C., Grammar of the Asmat Language, Our Lady of the Lake press, Syracuse, 1959.

Drabbe, P., M.S.C., Dictionary of the Asmat Language, Our Lady of the Lake Press, Syracuse, 1959.

Drabbe, P., M.S.C., Drie Asmat-dialecten, VKI, Vol. 42, 1963.

<sup>8</sup> The activities of the W.O.N.G. Foundation were continued by a new Foundation, de Stichting voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek van de Tropen, W.O.TRO., after the transfer of West New Guinea to Indonesia.

the *lingua franca* of West New Guinea. It was therefore obvious that the thing to do in this situation was to use Malay as the contact language and to make use of bilingual informants — Ásmat Papuans who had acquired a reasonable knowledge of Malay in school.

On arrival in the area, it became clear that the number of Ásmat Papuans with such a knowledge of Malay was meagre. These potential informants belonged almost entirely to the younger generation — children who had attended the three-year lower school of the Mission at the Government Station at Ágats, or who had left it. Only a few of the older men knew some Malay. The children who went to school in Ágats came from the neighbouring village of Surú, and from Ajám. The language of the village of Ajám, already examined by Drabbe, belonged to a dialect different from that of the coastal villages, one of which was Surú, in the environs of Ágats, and I therefore decided to make the dialect spoken at Surú the object of the investigation.

### 5 The Flamingo Bay dialect: area, history

The Flamingo Bay dialect is spoken by about 2,600 people who live in five villages, Ewér, Surú, Jepém, Per and Uwús,<sup>9</sup> situated in the immediate vicinity of Flamingo Bay. In the literature on Ásmat, this group of villages is also called Bismám, but the people themselves apply this name only to the villages of Ewér and Surú, of which the inhabitants formerly lived together.

The oral historical tradition of these villages goes back about a century. About the middle of the 19th century, Ewér, Surú, Uwús, and the village of Majít, stood together on the River Mow: Uwús is still there (see map). Jepém and Per, situated on the Jomót and the Maní, respectively, were then on the upper reaches of these small streams, with, at that time, the village of Kajé standing beside Per. Later on, Majít affiliated with Surú, while Kajé ceased to exist,

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<sup>9</sup> According to the data furnished by the Medical Service for 1961, published in V. F. P. M. van Amelsvoort's thesis (see note 5), p. 192, the population of these villages at that time was:

Ewér . . . .	686
Surú . . . .	697
Jepém . . . .	401
Per . . . .	365
Uwús . . . .	504
	Total . . . .
	2653

because its inhabitants dispersed to different villages after the death in battle of their foremost warrior.<sup>10</sup> Some of the Kajé people went to live at Surú. The inhabitants of Ewér and Surú left the Mow and, after wandering about for some time, settled in their present dwelling place.

The language of the villages around Flamingo Bay exhibit small lexical variations as between one village and another. Within Surú, the descendants of the people from Kajé are distinguished from the 'true' people of Surú by some lexical peculiarities in their speech. These singularities are regarded by the non-Kajé people as typical of the latter. Nothing comparable concerning the people from Majít came to my attention.<sup>11</sup>

## 6 Work with informants

The collaboration of two boys from Surú who were in the third and highest class at the Roman Catholic Mission school, was arranged with the help of the Mission. These boys were about 13 years old and appeared to be fairly intelligent. One of them, Mífekpic, was the principal informant throughout the entire investigation. The other, Natinák, worked with me for over a year.

Mífekpic, baptised Andreas, was a grandson of Warsékomen, the oldest of the chiefs of Surú and the most influential man in the Flamingo Bay area. Through his grandfather, Mífekpic was descended from the people of Kajé. Natinák, baptised Natalis, was related on his mother's side to the people of Amorép, a village belonging to the Ajám dialect-area. Both boys also had relatives in the village of Jepém,

<sup>10</sup> I was told in Jepém that, on the death of the most important *tesmájipic*, warrior, it was formerly the usual practice for the group to break up, and for the people in it to seek affiliation with other groups ('villages').

<sup>11</sup> Ásmat villages are not closed communities as far as language is concerned. Formerly, there was a regular influx of people speaking other dialects consequent upon the practice of abducting women and children during headhunting raids; by the adoption of children at the peace ceremony; and by people affiliating with other villages (see note 9). At the present time, it is especially the family connections with other villages (probably as a result of the historical facts above mentioned) which provide the contact with people speaking different dialects. In Jepém, I know of family connections with four villages in another dialect-area, namely, Ac, Amánamkaj, Míwár and Ománesepe. Although the Ásmat people who speak one dialect regard anyone speaking another dialect as *fasí* (crooked, wrong), no similar judgement regarding the small language differences within the village community ever has come to my attention.



where the investigation was later to be carried on. Mifekpic had even spent part of his childhood there.

My relationship to the two boys developed from the outset on the 'anak piara'<sup>12</sup> pattern: they called me their 'father' and were regarded as my 'children'. They were paid in cash for their assistance. They were given a meal every day, and now and then some clothes and tobacco. With their wages they could buy clothes, tobacco, and the highly prized axes and chopping knives at the shop in Ágats. The relationship with these informants was a very good and personal one throughout the whole undertaking. They worked with enthusiasm and pleasure, apart from some unavoidable lapses.

Because the boys were still rather young, their knowledge of their mother tongue, of tradition and of mythology was sometimes inadequate for the translating of the folk tales I collected. The help of an older man was then enlisted for the interpretation of mythological matters and special usage. In addition, all the Ásmat people with whom I conversed acted as informants. The information received from them was always checked again with the regular informants.

The reason I chose two of the latter was primarily to enable me to control the information given by the one by that provided by the other and *vice versa*. Another reason was that the boys' capacity for work was rather small, especially in the beginning — an hour at a stretch was more than enough for them. Later, when they had been properly trained, they could sustain a session of two hours or longer without difficulty. No fixed scheme of questioning was followed at these sessions. The discussion began on a particular subject and developed as it went along, depending upon the mood of the informant. The boys were never prevented from giving information spontaneously, even if it were not relevant, but sometimes they had to be guided along a fresh track back to the original subject. If it became apparent that an answer to a question about a particular matter was not forthcoming readily, either because the boy did not understand me, or because he had had enough, then it was put on one side. Later, a casual return to it often produced good results. If one of them gave information on a subject and it differed from that which the other had furnished, then these variations were discussed in the presence of both of them. And sometimes it then became clear that they held differing opinions regarding the pronunciation of particular words, or their meaning.

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<sup>12</sup> The Indonesian word for foster-child.

### 7 Tape recording

A portable tape recorder was used extensively for the collecting of the language data and the music. Thus texts and music could always be got without difficulty. Only once was I requested not to record a sacred song. The Ásmat people were delighted to hear their own music reproduced. Western music meant nothing to them. They were not much interested in the texts, though this did not alter the fact that the audience always listened critically and expressed their disapproval in a very positive fashion of any deviations from the version they knew.

The analysis of the texts collected appeared to be of great value for an understanding of the language and it was through these that I came upon the track of the special forms of the Ásmat verb which express varying moods.

The language of the folk tales would not appear to differ from common usage. Ásmat songs, however, have their own vocabulary which is known only to the older people, particularly the singers. These latter were, however, less inclined to be communicative about it to strangers.

### 8 Research in Ágats and Jepem

I began the investigation at Ágats, but since Ágats was completely outside the sphere of Ásmat society — it was a 15-minute walk from Surú — I decided, once I had surmounted the first difficulties of the language, to continue it in one of the Ásmat villages in the vicinity of Ágats. By living amidst the Ásmat people I would be able quietly to observe the way in which Ásmat society functioned and would become acquainted with the people and their language. Surú was less suitable as a place in which to stay because the presence of the Government and the Missions had to a certain extent already influenced the way of life there. The village of Jepém, where both my informants had relatives, appeared to be the most suitable, and from May, 1961, the investigation was carried on from there, interrupted from time to time by a short sojourn in Ágats.

During the period of my stay in the Ásmat region, the Dutch scholar, Dr. A. A. Gerbrands, and the American student D. B. Eyde, were also there: the former doing research into Ásmat art, similarly under the auspices of W.O.N.G., and the latter doing ethnological field work. Their presence was of great value in acquiring as good an insight as

possible into Ásmat culture. Many were the pleasurable and stimulating discussions we had when we were together, either in the house of the W.O.N.G. in Ágats or at the 'Wong Club', as Dr. Gerbrands' house in the village of Amánamkaj was called. During the last year, a lively correspondence on mythological and linguistic subjects was kept up with Eyde. A knowledge of mythology seemed to be of the greatest importance for acquiring an insight into Ásmat culture, and it was for this reason that I put as many tales as possible on the tape. I collected approximately 80 texts, but these represent only a fraction of the wealth of stories the Ásmat people know.

## PART II

# PHONOLOGY

## I THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

### Introduction

#### 9

The phonological description is based on the speech of the two principal informants. In the cases where their speech deviates from that of other people speaking the same dialect, the difference will be mentioned.

The system used for the phonetic spelling is that followed by the American linguist, K. L. Pike, in his work "Phonemics".<sup>1</sup> The phonetic transcription, in accordance with usual practice, is put between square brackets; the phonematic transcription between solidi. In the phonetic spelling, the accent is indicated by a sign placed before the accented vowel [ˈa]: in the phonematic spelling, by a sign above the accented vowel /á/. The following signs are also used: ≠ = other than; ~ = alternating with; C = consonant; V = vowel.

The term *cluster* means a biarticulate, non-geminate intervocalic consonant cluster. The terms *initial*, *medial* and *final* indicate positions in the word.

#### 10

The phonological system contains six vowel phonemes and eleven consonant phonemes. These are reproduced as follows: /a, e, i, o, u, ɛ; m, n, f, j, k, p, r, s, t, c, w/.

Sets of minimal pairs are:

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<sup>1</sup> Pike, K. L. *Phonemics*. Linguistics, Vol. III, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1954.

Since the printer did not have some of the symbols, used by Pike, it has been necessary to replace these by other symbols. The following are not Pike's: [â, ǒ, ɔ, û, π, ϑ, ĵ, j, j, ɾ, ɽ].

/fa/	= bottom	[fa]
/fe/	= string (on which something is threaded)	[fě]
/fi/	= empty	[fi]
/fo/	= wind	[fɔ]
/fu/	= bamboo horn	[fu]
/cēmén/	= penis	[čəm'ɛn]
/cimén/	= stem of a canoe	[cim'ɛn]
/am/	= kind of fish	[am]
/an/	= sago trough	[an]
/aj/	= new	[aj]
/ak/	= cheek	[ak]
/ap/	= kind of tree	[ap]
/ar/	= sawfish	[ar]
/as/	= faeces	[as]
/at/	= urging	[at]
/ac/	= name of a village	[ač]
/aw/	= breast (of a woman)	[aw]
/em/	= drum	[ɛm]
/en/	= kind of fish	[ɛn]
/ef/	= twig	[ɛf]
/ek/	= stone	[ɛk]
/ep/	= tail	[ɛp]
/es/	= blood	[ɛs]

## 11

Most phonemes occur in phonetically differing variants (allophones). These can be divided into: positional and alternating allophones.<sup>2</sup>

Two allophones are positional allophones when either of them occurs in specific mutually exclusive positions.

Two allophones are alternating allophones when both occur in the same or partly the same positions.

These definitions imply that an allophone may be a positional and an alternating allophone at the same time, which is in fact the case.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the terms *alternation*, *alternate* I have departed from the usual practice of using them specifically in relation to phonemes, and have made them applicable to allophones, morphemes, and words.

To give an example: of the allophones of the /e/ phoneme, [ě] may be called an alternating allophone because of the free alternation with [ε] in certain positions, and a positional allophone because in other positions [ě] and [ε] exclude each other. (§ 14).

### The vowel phonemes

#### 12

Diagram of the allophones of the vowel phonemes.

		Front		Central		Back	
		unr.	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.	rounded
<i>High</i>	close	i	ü	û		u	
	open	ɪ					
<i>Mid</i>	close	ě <sup>1</sup>	ö			ë	ö <sup>1</sup>
	open	ε		ə			
<i>Low</i>	close	æ				o	
	open	a		â, <sup>2</sup> a			

<sup>1</sup> slightly open [e] and [o]

<sup>2</sup> fronted [a]

#### 13

/a/ Allophones: [a], [a], [â], [æ].

- [a] occurs in final position: [a] thigh; [fa] bottom; [fir'ka] kind of grass.
- [a] occurs in all other positions: [ak] cheek; [ba] foot; [was'en] forest; [kanp'or] kind of crab.
- [a] ~ [â] in initial and medial positions, except before a cluster or a final consonant: [kam'em, kâm'em] many-pointed spear; [as'en, âs'en] place; [aw'or, âw'or] kind of fish.
- In addition, [a] ~ [æ] when the vowel immediately preceding it or the one immediately following is /i/: [jism'ak, jism'æk] fire;

[jir'an, jir'æn] ripe; [baw'it, baw'it, bæw'it] star; [dam'in, dām'in, dæm'in] white ant.

## 14

/e/ Allophones: [ě], [ɛ], [ö].

- [ě] occurs in final position: [ě] leaf; [sě] mud; [bat'ě] rib of a sago frond (gaba-gaba).
- [ɛ] occurs before a final consonant ≠ /w/ and before clusters ≠ /wC/: [ɛp] tail; [čɛs] arrow; [ɛsk'am] red; [tɛɾm'en] split.
- [ö] occurs before a final /w/, and before clusters of the type /wC/: [öw] crocodile; [jöv] ceremonial house; [böws'en] duck-board.
- [ɛ] ~ [ě] in all other cases: [ěɾ'en, ɛɾ'en] upstream; [fěɾ'ɔ, fɛɾ'ɔ] sharp. Here there appears to be a certain tendency towards harmony on the allophone level [ě-ě; ɛ-ɛ]; the allophone most frequently occurring before /o/ is [ě]: [ěs'ě] bag; [těɾ'ě] rattan leaf; [bɛs'ɛp] spittle; [bɛt'en] armband; [běw'ɔɾ] kind of parrot; [sěj'ɔɾ] kind of fish.

## 15

/i/ Allophones: [i], [ü], [ɪ].

- [i] occurs in all positions: [i] urine; [ič] thorn; [fič] nail; [pi] cassowary.

In the following cases, [i] alternates with [ü] or [ɪ]:

- [i] ~ [ü] before a final /w/, and before clusters of the type /wC/: [tiw, tüw] son; [iwn'im, üwn'im] the water's edge.
- [i] ~ [ɪ] occurs in a small number of words, before a final consonant: [bisɛɾ'im, bisɛɾ'im; mäsɪɾ'im, mäsɪɾ'im] thereupon; [b'utiɾ, b'utiɾ] octopus; [in, ɪn] (postposition, see § 258). In these words the [ɪ] allophone generally occurs.

## 16

/o/ Allophones: [ö], [ɔ], [ê].

- [ö] occurs in final position, and before /w/: [čö] nest; [jö] river; [čöw'ak] one (numeral); [čöv] the sago palm.
- [ɔ] occurs in all other cases. In addition, it occurs in final position, unless preceded by /c/ or /j/, and before /w/, unless preceded by /c/ or /j/. In the lastnamed cases, therefore, [ö] and [ɔ] alternate: [ɔk] egg; [ɔm'en] shouting; [ɔm'a] neap tide; [pɔm'an] opposite side; [bɔɾw'ɔt] kind of duck: [ö, ɔ] pig;

[pǒ, pɔ] paddle; [wǒ - wɔ] waves; [ǒw, ɔw] people; [bǒw, bɔw] kind of fibre.

3. In the following cases, [ɔ] alternates, moreover, with [ē] when the environment is formed by a specific combination of consonants from the alveolar and alveopalatal set. These combinations are: /s - s, s - t, t - s, t - t, j - r, j - c/: [sēs, sɔs] dry sago leaf; [sēt, sɔt] kind of bird; [tēs'ǒw, tɔs'ǒw] fruit; [tētəp'om, tɛtəp'om] wild cucumber; [jēr'ɔ - jɔr'ɔ] wing; [jēc'op, jɔc'op] head-hunting raid; [jēc'or] river mouth. (No form of this with [ɔ] was found.) A case standing on its own seems to be the name [Kɔs'ēr], of which no form with [ɔ] was found, while in other words with /o/ between /s/ and /r/, the allophone [ɔ] was always found.

### 17

/u/ Allophones: [u], [û].

1. [u] occurs in all positions: [uč] iguana; [fu] bamboo horn; [amb'us] sago scraper; [juw'ut] heron.

2. In some cases [u] alternates with an allophone [û], namely, when consonants of the alveolar and alveopalatal set precede and follow /u/. The [u] occurs in these cases only if the words are spoken slowly and emphatically: [ajt'ur, ajt'ûr] full (of something); [cur'uw, cûr'uw] secret; [jims'ur, jims'ûr] stake standing in the water; [bis'ur, bis'ûr] pole; [sus'ur, sûs'ûr] kind of small bat; [juɾ, jûɾ] white cockatoo; [bis'un, bis'ûn] abdomen; [duc'ur, dúc'ûr] ancient; [juɾs'uč, jûɾs'ûč] longing.

### 18

/ě/ In addition to the vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ there occurs a mid-central vowel [ě]. In the first place, it is found in the following cases where it alternates with one of the other vowels:

1. in words in isolation; only in the unaccented position: [fas'ak, fəs'ak] white; [ɛn'am, ən'am] fish; [pič'in, pəč'in] skin; [pɔr'ǒw, pər'ǒw] evening; [juw'ur, jəw'ur] dog.

2. in words in context; also in the accented position: [jǒ, jə] river; [dɛw'et, dəw'ət] elder brother; [dǒ 'nat, dɔ 'nət] I (stressed); [jumb'us, jəm'əs] with bowed head.

In the second place, it does not alternate with one of the other vowels, for example in [čəm'en] penis; [sən'en] elbow; [čəmb'ǒw] abuse; [j'opɾəs] sweat; [ənd'ǒw] mother.

It also occurs in a number of verbal suffixes, such as: [-ən, -ər].



The possibility of this [ə] occurring only in a consonantal environment in which the other vowels do not occur, is excluded by the occurrence of word pairs, like the following:

	[čɛm]	= house
	[čam'an]	= space under the house
[čəm'ɛn]	= penis	[čum'an] = a burn
	[čim'in]	= the temple (of the head)
	[čɔmb'it]	= sponge made of young sago leaves

The following minimal pairs were also found:

[cəm'ɛn] penis; [cim'ɛn] stem of a canoe;

[ənd'öw] mother; [ɔnd'öw] thatch;<sup>3</sup>

[âpɔɾ'ɛs] they saw him (from *pɔr* - to see);

[âpəɾ'ɛs] they sat (from *ap* - to sit).

Since [ə] occurs in the accented as well as the unaccented position in those cases in which it alternates with the other vowels, it is not possible to regard it here as an allophone common to /a, e, i, o, u/ which is restricted to unaccented positions. Because [ə] also occurs without alternating with the other vowels, in which cases I found some minimal pairs, it must be regarded as a phoneme /ě/. Cases of alternation must be regarded as cases of phoneme alternation. The phoneme /ě/ is then distinguished from the other vowels by its different behaviour, and because it is the only vowel phoneme without allophones.

## 19

To sum up one can say that the vowel phonemes form a system of three contrasting tongue heights. At the highest level, there is a contrast front - back /i - u/; at the middle level, a contrast front - central - back /e - ě - o/; while at the lowest level only /a/ occurs:

	i		u
e		ě	o
		a	

<sup>3</sup> According to my informants, the word [ɔnd'öw] was used only by the people who originated from the village of Kajè. I had the impression that now only the older people within this group use it. The younger people, as well as the non-Kajè people in Suru, use the form [ɔnd'öw].

From the foregoing it is clear that a rounded allophone of /i/ and /e/ occurs in analogous cases, while a rounded and an unrounded allophone of /u/ and /o/, respectively, occur in analogous cases. Later it will become clear that there is a close connection between /i/ and /u/, and between /e/ and /o/ which manifests itself in their occurrence in word variants (see § 55, 56) and in allomorphs (see § 91, 98).

### The consonant phonemes

#### 20

Diagram of the allophones of consonant phonemes (allophones belonging to one phoneme are enclosed within a line)

	bilabial		labio-dental	inter-dental	alveolar		alveo-palatal		palat.	velar
	un-voiced	voiced	un-voiced	un-voiced	un-voiced	voiced	un-voiced	voiced	voiced	un-voiced
stop	p, p <sup>w</sup> 1	b			t	d	č, t' 2	j		k
fricat.	ɸ		f	ʃ	s, s' 3		š		j	x
nasal		m				n				
vibrant <i>flapped</i> <i>trilled</i>						ɾ ɽ				
semi-vowel		w							ɹ	

1 rounded [p]

2 palatalized [t]

3 [s] with minimal friction.

The consonants are not, in general, strongly articulated. The stops do not usually have a release when they occur at the end of a word. When a final /p, t, k/ is followed by a hesitation pause, a nasal release sometimes occurs:

[p<sup>m</sup>, t<sup>n</sup>, k<sup>ŋ</sup>].

In clusters, as a rule, 'close transition' occurs; 'open transition' can occur in clusters of the type stop + stop, nasal + nasal, and stop followed or preceded by a non-homorgan nasal.

## 21

/p/ Allophones: [p], [ɲ], [p<sup>w</sup>].

1. [p] occurs in all positions: [ɛp] tail; [pa] scale; [up'u] coconut shell; [apč'om] having; [kanp'or] kind of crab.
2. [ɲ] alternates with [p], it would seem, only in the sequence /VpVpV/ [baɲaɲ'ajimb'uč] open it!
3. [p<sup>w</sup>] this allophone, it seems, is used only by older people. It could not be established whether it is a social characteristic, for instance, a sign of status. It occurs only before the vowel /e/. This allophone did not occur in the speech of the regular informants. [p<sup>w</sup>ɛr] name of a village; [p<sup>w</sup>ě] crab.

## 22

/t/ [t]. No allophones.

- [tɛm] rattan; [bât'ě] gaba-gaba; [pit] python; [tاتم'a] nonsense; [ajt'uɾ] having a high degree of a particular quality.

## 23

/c/ Allophones: [č], [tʲ].

1. [č] occurs in all positions, except as the first consonant of a cluster (§ 51): [čɛm] house; [pač'ak] bad; [apč'om] having, supplied with; [uč] iguana.
2. [tʲ] was found alternating with [č] in final position in the following cases: [ič, itʲ] thorn; [fič, fitʲ] nail.

## 24

/k/ Allophones: [k], [x].

1. [k] occurs in all positions: [kap] armpit; [ak'at] good; [akm'at] old; [ɛsk'am] red; [pøk] goods.
2. [x] as an alternant of [k] was found only in a few cases; in

the cases noted, [x] always follows a vowel: [akm'at, axm'at] old; [atak'am, atax'am] story; [ɔp'ak, ɔp'ax] not.

**25**

/f/ [f]. No allophones.

[fi] empty; [uf'u] kind of shell fish; [ɔf] rotten; [afč'in] the crust of roasted sago; [bat'akfiw] to go downstream into (a house).

**26**

/s/ Allophones: [s], [ʰ], [š], [ʔ].

1. [s] occurs in all positions: [si] stone axe; [ěs'ě] bag; [ɛsp'ɛt] shoot of the sago palm; [dɛms'ânâkap] slow; [ɔs] tree.

2. [ʰ] alternates with [s] in normal speech, i.e., speech that is neither deliberately slow nor intentionally emphatic. In the cases noted, [ʰ] always occurs after a vowel. The phonetic quality of this allophone is difficult to define by ear. I found it markedly similar to a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. When, however, I deliberately pronounced an [h] in such cases, my informants thought it ridiculous. It is probably a weak alveolar fricative. Regrettably, I have not been successful in reproducing this allophone: [amb'as, amb'aʰ] sago; [dɛs'ɛn, dɛʰ'ɛn] none.

3. [š] and [ʔ] occur especially in the speech of older people. I got the impression that they are not alternants of [s], but that [č] and [ʔ] are distributed throughout the vocabulary in a way which varies from person to person.

**27**

/r/ Allophones: [r̥], [r̄].

1. [r̥] occurs in all positions except in initial position and as the last consonant of a cluster (§ 48, 53): [tčr̥'ě] rattan leaf; [ar̥p'uk] far away; [ir̥] year bird.

2. [r̥] ~ [r̄] was found only in the speech of small children and in the speech of the regular informants. It is not beyond question that a consequence of the latter regularly speaking Malay with [r̄], is their using it now and then in their mother tongue.

**28**

/w/ [w]. No allophones.

[wu] edible top of the sago palm; [juw'ur] dog; [öw] crocodile; [iwn'im] the water's edge; [k'arwan] dagger made from a croco-

dile's jaw. [w] is often very weak between two identical vowels: [ju<sup>w</sup>'uɾ] dog; [ni<sup>w</sup>'i] father.

## 29

/j/ Allophones: [j], [j̥], [j̄].

- [j] occurs in all positions: [jɔf] hole; [âj'am] name of a village; [baj] foot; [ajk'un] younger brother; [bât'amjen] name of a woman.
- [j̥] and [j̄] alternate with [j] in initial position: [j'ɔpəɾes, j̥'ɔpəɾes, j̄'ɔpəɾes] sweat; [jiw'i, j̥iw'i, j̄iw'i] child; [jɔ̄, j̄ɔ̄] river.

## 30

/m, n/ These are two complex phonemes which present an almost complete parallel. Both phonemes have as allophones a voiced stop, its homorgan nasal, and a combination of both; nasal + stop:

/m/ = [b], [m], [mb]

/n/ = [d], [n], [nd]

- The *voiced stop*<sup>4</sup> occurs in initial position, and as second member of the clusters /nm, mn/; in the latter case only if no nasal follows: [b]: [bi] nose; [besn'im] smell; [čâp'inbi] land; [d]: [det] ghost; [dew'et] brother; [amd'u] towards each other.
- The *nasal* occurs in all other cases, and, in addition, in initial position before a following nasal, and also as second member of the clusters /nm, mn/, if no nasal follows. In these last cases, the stop and the nasal thus alternate: [m]: [m'imkam, b'imkam] kind of liana; [m'antam, b'antam] on the lookout; [am'an] bow; [jims'ip] door; [manm'ak, manb'ak] eye; [jokm'en] having supernatural power; [anmɔm] we eat; [tam] morning; [ɔm] digging stick.  
[n]: [namb'ir, damb'ir] dead; [ank'os] centipede; [tamn'am] kind of duck; [akn'im] angry; [jamn'ok, jamd'ok] two; [en'am] fish; [jin'a] knee; [sən'en] elbow.
- In the following cases, the nasal and the combination nasal + voiced homorgan stop, alternate:

- between two vowels, when no nasal or final /a/ follows: [mɛm'ap, mɛmb'ap] to sit down; [ɛm'atmɔɾ, ɛmb'atmɔɾ] he cut down; [ən'ow, ɛnd'ow] mother; [min'o, mind'o] lump.

<sup>4</sup> In initial position the voiced stop is often preceded by a very weak homorgan nasal. This has not been indicated in the phonetic spelling.

b) as second member of a cluster  $\neq$  /nm, mn/ provided no nasal follows: [jitm'up, jitmb'up] the sea; [tasm'a, tasm'b'a] beautiful, powerful.

No cases were found of [n]  $\sim$  [nd], though [n] as well as [nd] was found in comparable environments: [kək'ojndiew'εɾ] to fall down continually (ripe fruit); as well as: [âk'ajni'εf] it toppled over, broken (of a tree).

### 31

The consonant system can now be set out as follows:

p	t	c	k
f	s		
m	n		
w	r	j	

## II SPECIAL PHONOLOGICAL PHENOMENA

### Introduction

#### 32

The term *special phonological phenomena* is used here to denote a number of speech sounds which do not fit into the phonological system as described in the preceding paragraphs. These speech sounds are found in a restricted part of the vocabulary: in onomatopoeia, interjections and proper names, and also in some special forms of speech, i.e. when speaking in a kindly or affectionate manner, and when people call out to each other.

In the following paragraphs will be discussed: 1) one allophone occurring in a position in which it occurs not otherwise; 2) five particular phoneme modifications; 3) three sounds that stand completely by themselves.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The special phonological phenomena described in § 33 to § 38 will be indicated in the phonematic spelling as follows: [ε]: ε̇.  
prolongation of the vowel by a macron: jōj  
laryngalization by a broken underlining.  
the alveopalatal nasal: nj  
the voiceless glottal fricative: h  
[m]: 'm; [ts]: ts; [pr]: pr.

**The occurrence of an allophone in a position in which it occurs not otherwise**

**33**

The [ɛ] allophone of the phoneme /e/ occurs in final position in :

the word [kaj'ɛ] name of a village

two forms of the verb: these will be discussed in § 135 and § 140.

interjections: [wɛ] ouch!

onomatopoeia: [kɛkɛkɛ] the screaming of the *joc* bird;

[āj'ɛ āj'ɛ āj'ɛ] imitating laughter.

a kindly manner of speaking; the [ɛ] can then occur at the end of every final word of a word group. Here it is regarded as a feature typical of the speech of women; men use [ǒ], unless they are mimicking a woman. So, a woman will say :

[ji, ndoɾ mb'ǒɛ] hey, my husband!  
hey my husband

And a man will say :

[ʔ nat 'is ɛsçow'ǒ] now, you go to sleep!  
you pp<sup>6</sup> sleep /you must/

The [ɛ], however, occurs in the speech of men and women, when they give expression to a strong emotion :

[nɔn s'awɛ] Oh, Mrs! (a pity you are going).  
Mrs. pity

In this case, the [ɛ] can be prolonged (see § 34).

**Particular phoneme modifications**

**34**

1. *Prolongation* of vowels occurs :

in interjections: [jɔːj] exclamation of surprise  
[baː] Oh no! Really!

in onomatopoeia: [sɔp'iː, sɔp'iː] uuup and dooown; (said of a fish jumping high out of the water);

<sup>6</sup> pp = postposition. (See § 245-261). Since postpositions mostly are untranslatable in a word by word translation, they will be marked here by *pp*.

[ə̃] (laryngalized, see § 35) reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people.

In addition, I found the forms [jin'ičâč'i-na, jin'iča:] 'exceptionally beautiful' in which the prolongation of the vowel stresses the high degree of beauty.

Prolongation of the vowel also occurs in final [ɛ] and [ö], already mentioned in § 33:

[doɾom'umö:] my dear one! (expression of affection);

and in final [a] which can be suffixed to the last word of each word group when people address each other or call out to each other. This final [a] is sometimes very long drawn out:

[o č'ama:] Who are you?

you who

[wu ja č'a jöw'öw mböw'a:] hey there! Who are those people?  
hey there which people pp

A long vowel [ā, ɛ, ə̃] is sometimes suffixed to a word in order to indicate the duration of a happening, or to lay emphasis on its continuation:

[t'owa:] (they gathered continually) sago grubs.  
sago grubs...

['amsesmb'əsə:] they slept and slept...

[ěɾ'en 'âwitɛpɛf'ɛ:]  
upstream /he walked quickly/  
he walked quickly further and further upstream.

### 35

2. *Laryngalization* of vowels and voiced consonants occurs when the speaker is quoting a word or words shouted by a crowd of people. When the speaker is speaking softly, laryngalization can result in unvoicing:

[ə̃] (voiceless) scream of horror;

[j̃i'a:] (voiceless) cry of amazement;

[u:] (voiceless, rising to voiced) war cry;

[j̃iw'i ěfa t'owtopm'uča:] quickly, bring the child upstream!  
child quickly /bring it upstream/



## 36

4. *Palatalization* of the alveolar nasal [n] occurs sometimes in onomatopoeia, in initial position only:

[ñɛɾ, ñɛɾ], or [ñ'omö, ñ'omö . .] indicating the gnawing of maggots devouring a corpse, or the gnawing of sago grubs.

[ña ña ña] indicating the murmur when a great crowd of people are talking together.

## 37

5. A short *glottalized* bilabial nasal [ʼm] occurs as an interjection, and indicates a vigorous start to an act or happening:

[ʼm! 'õ nim jak k'aju k'aju 'ětětërmɓ'aɾ aɾaw 'un]  
m! pig like heart thump thump /began it of each to do/ pp pp

Then their hearts began to thump like the hearts of wild pigs!  
(§ 334).

### Sounds which stand completely by themselves

## 38

1. A voiceless glottal fricative [h] which occurs in the stereotyped sign of agreement [hɛhɛ], and in the interjection [ha]! ah!

2. An alveolar click [ts]: an interjection expressing annoyance.

3. A bilabial trill with 'mouth air'<sup>7</sup> [pɾ]: an interjection indicating that one finds something very beautiful or impressive.

## III THE ACCENT

### Introduction

## 39

To the most recent investigations in the field of accent belong the studies of the American linguist D. L. Bolinger. In 1958, the results of a number of experiments he had made were published.<sup>8</sup> These showed that the most important cue in determining stress in English is what he terms 'prominence of pitch', i.e. "a rapid and relatively

<sup>7</sup> I owe this term to: K. L. Pike, *Phonetics*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1958, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> Bolinger, D. L., *A Theory of Pitch Accent in English*, *Word* 14, 1958, pp. 109-149.

wide departure from a smooth or undulating contour".<sup>9</sup> By 'departure' Bolinger means a deviation in a contour which then continues in the same pitch — ' — or — . —, as well as a sudden rise — — or fall — —, after which it continues on a higher or a lower level.

With regard to Asmat, it could be established that in most cases the accent is accompanied by a clear and sudden rise or fall of the pitch. Four cases can be distinguished:

1. The accented vowel has a higher tone than the rest of the contour:

— ' —

2. The accented vowel has a higher tone than the contour preceding it:

. —  
—

3. The accented vowel has a lower tone than the contour preceding it:

—  
. —

4. The accented vowel has a higher tone than the contour following it:

— .  
—

It is clear that in 3, and 4 'pitch' alone does not determine the accent. There must be other factors that cause the difference. Bolinger, who describes a parallel case in English, attributes the determination of accent in this case to different factors: context, phonetic reduction, and contiguous 'unaccentables'.<sup>10</sup> It is not possible, however, for me to determine in how far similar factors are also active in Asmat. This would require special investigation.

There are also cases in which I noted accent without being able to discern a deviation in the pitch by ear. In some of these cases it could be established that the accented vowel was rather longer than the contiguous non-accented vowels. It was often not possible, however, to determine by ear what the accent-determining factors were.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Id. p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> Id. pp. 136, 137.

<sup>11</sup> In the above mentioned article, Bolinger remarks that psychological factors play a role in the interpretation of phonetic data as accent: data interpretable as accent may be ignored by a person speaking his mother tongue, when they occur in places where he knows from experience that there is no accent. (p. 136, 137). This presents the possibility that, on the one hand, a linguist

### The general principle of accentuation

#### 40

The general principle of accentuation is: *there is a regular alternation of accented and unaccented vowels.*

In certain cases, however, sequences of two, at most three, unaccented vowels occur.

Furthermore, there are some cases of multi-vowelled onomatopoeia in which no alternation of accented and unaccented vowels is found:

- iririri* imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.  
*sěsěsěsě* imitating the hissing of fire as it is put out.<sup>12</sup>

The factors which co-operate to produce the accent pattern of a word are: the morphological structure of the word, and the accents of contiguous words in the context.

### Words in isolation

#### 1. Monomorphemic words:

#### 41

Here the general principle applies without exception.

Words having two vowels:

As a rule, these have the accent on the second vowel. In the material I collected, the following words, however, have the accent on the first vowel:

<i>mimkam</i>	kind of liana
<i>iric</i> <sup>13</sup>	Spanish pepper
<i>júwa</i>	kind of grass
<i>sikaf</i>	kind of tree
<i>úmu</i>	crown of a palm tree
<i>úsi</i>	a tree fallen over a river

---

working on a language foreign to him, interprets phonetic data as accent where the man speaking his mother tongue would not do so, and on the other, that he errs in ignoring phonetic data when they occur in places where he does not anticipate them. So, the fact that most words with two vowels have the accent on the second vowel, caused me to overlook for a considerable time a number of cases in which the accent falls on the first vowel.

<sup>12</sup> More cases will be given in § 237.

<sup>13</sup> Loan-word from Malay (ritja).

<i>mútir</i>	octopus
<i>óset</i>	a cricket
<i>wárat</i>	kind of bird
<i>éco</i>	kind of frog
<i>mújsaw</i>	cumulus cloud
<i>ócen</i>	spear
<i>kárwan</i>	dagger
<i>kámter</i>	the legs
<i>jókmen</i>	tongs
<i>náriw</i>	brothers
<i>mácir</i>	an embrace
<i>jípír</i>	to clasp (a large object)
<i>cámuw</i>	sound of wood being chopped

<i>kófo</i>	}	onomatopoeia indicating a slap, splash or flash.
<i>káju</i>		
<i>cáka</i>		
<i>pére</i>		

<i>jáka</i>	}	deictic words (§§ 225, 226).
<i>átar</i>		

A number of minimal pairs were found in which the accent appears to be distinctive:

*cámuw* sound of wood being chopped - *camúw* (going) on foot  
*úmu* crown of a palm tree - *umú* name of a feast  
*úsi* a tree fallen over a river - *usi* camp  
*éco* kind of frog - *ecó* revenge  
*jókmen* tongs - *jokmén* having supernatural power

Words having three vowels:

These have an accent on the first and the third vowel. As a rule, the last vowel is stressed more strongly than the first:

<i>úsawíc</i>	banana
<i>jicēmúp</i>	the sea

An exception is the word *canúpir*, pelican.

## 42

2. *Polymorphematic words*.<sup>14</sup>

The general principle of accentuation also applies to these words with, however, the limitation that in specific cases, to be mentioned later, a sequence of two unaccented vowels occurs.

With regard to the position of the accent, or the first accent where the word concerned has more than one accent, the following rules apply :

1. The accent falls on the first vowel when the first morpheme has only one vowel :

*ó.few* relatives  
*jó.mopán* bird of paradise.

The accent falls on the second vowel, however, when in compound words, the second morpheme has an accent on the first vowel when it occurs as a word (see § 41) :

*om.ócen* spear (*ócen*) of which the top of the shaft is shaped like a digging stick (*om*).

No cases were found of the theoretically possible combination :

v.'vv'v

A number of compound words having two vowels were noted which, contrary to Rule 1, have the accent on the second vowel. These are :

*jis.mák* fire  
*jen.mák* ear  
*jew.sén* space in front of the ceremonial house  
*jow.ów* people belonging to one *jew*  
*po.mót* paddle decorated with feathers  
*pu.mót* spear decorated with feathers  
*sok.mót* feathered headdress  
*cem.sén* the space in front of the houses

<sup>14</sup> In the following paragraphs, the signs given below will be used :

v = morpheme with one vowel

vv = morpheme with two vowels

vvv = morpheme with three vowels

'v = accented vowel

. = junction between two morphemes, for example: *wa.sén*, the forest. However, the junction between a verbal core and verbal affixes will be shown by a dash: -, for example: *má-ni.tewer-ic* go home and take it! For the term core, see § 64).

<i>wa.sén</i>	the forest
<i>mi.tá</i>	nasal mucus
<i>facín</i>	the skin of the cuscus ( <i>fac + cin</i> )
<i>ucín</i>	the skin of the iguana ( <i>uc + cin</i> )

2. The accent falls on the second vowel when the first morpheme has two vowels :

<i>emén.metén</i>	calf band
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Words with two vowels, having the accent on the first vowel, however, retain this accent when they occur as first member of a compound word :

<i>jípir.sám</i>	to wrestle
------------------	------------

Some cases of regular accentuation are :

<i>ná.tín.ák</i>	'Our sago palm blossom' (proper name)
<i>áp.temét</i>	to climb into (a tree)
<i>patám.kurúm</i>	to load full
<i>saká.m.tam.pór</i>	to try to cut off something for someone
<i>ó.sirím.tak</i>	to row quickly downstream again.

#### 43

Monomorphematic words having two vowels, of which the first vowel is accented, appear to retain this accent when they occur as first member of a compound word or when, as a second member, they are preceded by a morpheme having one vowel. When, however, they occur as second member of a compound word and are preceded by a morpheme having two vowels of which the second vowel is accented then, in agreement with the general principle of accentuation, the accent falls on the second vowel :

<i>akám</i> , nipa palm ; <i>úmu</i> , crown ; <i>akám.umú</i> , crown of the nipa palm (proper name).
--

No cases were found of the theoretically possible combination 'vv'v.v'v, from 'vv'v, and 'vv.

#### 44

Sequences of two unaccented vowels occur in the following cases :

1. When an accented vowel is followed by :

- a) three morphemes, each of which has one vowel, the last morpheme being final or penultimate:

*tów.om.iw.tám* to bring something inside for someone;  
*tów.om.iw.tám-cěmés* they will bring it inside for someone.

But: *á-mít.áp.m-ac.és* when they had stabbed him;

- b) a morpheme having one vowel and a morpheme having two:

*pór.jar.awér* to go and look at (something) continually.

No cases were found in which the morpheme with two vowels has the accent on the first vowel when it occurs as a word.

2. In the morpheme combination: vv.vv, in which the first morpheme belongs to the exceptions which always have the accent on the first vowel (see § 41):

*úmu.nakáp* full  
*pákaj.amís* all to lie together<sup>15</sup>

No cases were found of the theoretically possible combinations 'vv.v.'v; 'vv.v.'v.v'; 'vv.v.'v.vv'v.

3. A sequence of two unaccented vowels can also occur in:

- a) the imperative forms of the verb (§ 116);  
 b) shouted words, to which the vowel -a is suffixed (§ 34).

In these cases, the last vowel of the word is always accented. When a morpheme of the type vv is followed by this accented vowel, this morpheme is unaccented if it is also preceded by an accented vowel, as for example in:

*mé-tewér* to take - *mé-tewer-íc* take it!  
*Tewér.awúc* T. - *Tewér.awuc.á* hey, T! (woman's name).

But when this is not the case, it has an accent on the first vowel, as for example in:

*níwi* father - *níwi.á* hey, father!

---

<sup>15</sup> *pákaj* is not included in the list given in § 41, because it is a bound morpheme (verbal formative, see § 67).

**Words in context****45**

The principle of the regular alternation of accented and unaccented vowels also operates in word sequences, though not so rigidly as within a word.

This is expressed by:

1. the accentuation of words with one vowel; this appears to be governed by this principle, as for example in:

*wún ow nát cem máp emétepákajpites in*

some people pp houses ahead /had gone upriver and sat together/ pp

some of the people had gone ahead upriver to their houses and sat there together.

2. the influence which accents in words in sequence can have on each other:

- a. words which in isolation have an accent on the first vowel, do not have this accent when, in context, a word with final accent precedes it; or, instead of it, have an accent on the second vowel:

*ém-or.ém* you made it.

*a pó ca ém-or.ém* who made this paddle?

this paddle who /you made it/

*a pó cá em-or.ém* who made this paddle?

this paddle who /you made it/

*má.ne.m-or.ém* you chopped down.

*ucím os má.ne.m-or.ém* which tree have you chopped down?

which tree /you chopped down/

*os cá ma.né.m-or.ém* who has chopped down the tree.

tree who /you chopped down/

- b. words which in isolation have an accent on the last vowel do not have this accent when, in context, a word with initial accent follows it; or, instead, have an accent on the penultimate vowel:

*úsawíc* banana

*úsawíc é* banana leaf



*pomán* 'the other side'

*póman céṃ, póman céṃ* the houses on both sides (of the river).  
/other side/ house, /other side/ house

#### 46

Contrary to the general principle, sequences of two accented vowels can occur in context. Unfortunately, I have not been able to discover any definite regularity in their occurrence.

*Jomót áwse aráw* here lies the (river) Jomót (§ 309).  
Jomót /here it is/ pp

*esé /mú anmúc/* make a carrying bag! (§ 284).  
bag /make it/

*jimsíp ónoká* bolt the door! (§ 292).  
door bolt

#### 47

Because the rules of accentuation presuppose an insight into the morpheme structure of the Asmat words which cannot be expected from readers without a fair knowledge of the Asmat language, and because in context changes in the accentuation of words often occur, the accents will be shown throughout this work, except in the lists of verbal cores<sup>15a</sup> given in §§ 100-103, and in the verbal cores, given in the word list.<sup>15b</sup>

## IV THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN THE WORD

### Single vowels and consonants

#### 48

All vowels occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally, except *ǣ* which does not occur word-finally.

I found only the following exceptions to this rule: a) the onomato-

<sup>15a</sup> For this term, see §§ 64-69.

<sup>15b</sup> The reasons for not showing the accents in these cases are: a. that only a few cores were found in isolation; b. that the morphological structure of many cores is still not fully known.

In many cases it is therefore impossible to tell how the core in isolation will be accentuated.

poetic words *sěsěsě* hissing of fire as it is put out, and *fěfěfěfě* the sound of the wind; b) the words with the long final *ě* mentioned in § 34.

All consonants occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally, except *r* which does not occur word-initially.

### Vowel sequences

#### 49

Here, the following rules apply:

1. In monomorphemic words, vowel sequences do not occur. I found two exceptions to this rule:

*Mait/Majit* the name of a ceremonial house in Surú  
*fait/fawíc* joke

2. In polymorphemic words sequences of only two vowels occur; the first vowel always is a morpheme-final vowel, the second one a morpheme-initial vowel.

#### 50

The following combinations of vowels were found:

word-initial:

*aa* *a-áp.tak-ěr.és* they went on the way down river  
*ae* *a-e-r* he said  
*ao* *a-órow.ap.óm-cěm.és* they repeatedly press  
*ea* *é.ap.óm* to build (a house)  
*ei* *e.itúm* to do in the evening  
*eo* *e-o.f* I said

word-medial:

*ae* *má-enáw-c.aw* he must come here  
*ai* *na.itúm* to eat in the evening  
*ao* *má-okom.ém.tam-c.ín* roll it up for me!  
*ea* *móm-se.áwer-í* stay in the water henceforth  
*ee* *até.enáw-m.om* we come here to summon  
*eě* *sé.pe-ěr.és* they started out, rowing  
*eo* *se.okór* to float past (on water)

<i>ia</i>	<i>ní.ap</i>	to return and sit down
<i>ie</i>	<i>tep.si-ér</i>	upstream he went into a side-stream
<i>iě</i>	<i>sé.si-ěr.és</i>	they entered a side-stream
<i>io</i>	<i>ní.om.úw</i>	to go down to the river and depart (with someone)
<i>iu</i>	<i>ní.uw</i>	to go down to the river and set out
<i>oa</i>	<i>po.amís</i>	to sleep with many people together
<i>oe</i>	<i>éw.tep.ko-ér</i>	it fell from above
<i>ua</i>	<i>mu.amís</i>	to lie down after bathing
<i>ue</i>	<i>a-wu-éf</i>	he wrapped it up
<i>uě</i>	<i>tép.kurú-ěr.es</i>	upstream they shouted approval
<i>uo</i>	<i>a-mu-ór</i>	he bathed

word-final :

Here, the second vowel is always one of the three vowels: *a*, *o* and *è* which are discussed in § 33 and 34.

<i>ea</i>	<i>maré.a</i>	enough!; stop!
<i>eo</i>	<i>maré.o</i>	it's done now
<i>ia</i>	<i>níwi.á</i>	father!
<i>iè</i>	<i>uci.è</i>	what's the matter!
<i>io</i>	<i>ém.ams-í.o</i>	I lay down
<i>oa</i>	<i>tó.a</i>	tomorrow!
<i>ua</i>	<i>mú.a</i>	water!
<i>oè</i>	<i>nor mó.è</i>	my husband!

The following vowel combinations were not found in this material :

word-initial :	ae, ai, au ; eě, eu ; ěV ; iV ; uV.
word-medial :	aě, au ; ei, eu ; ěV ; ii ; oě, oi, oo, ou ; ui, uu.
word-final :	Vě ; aV ; ei, eu, ee ; ěV ; ii, iu ; oi, oo, ou.

### Consonant sequences

#### 51

Here, the following rules apply :

1. Consonant sequences occur only word-medially ; sequences of more than two consonants do not occur.

2. sequences of two identical consonants cannot occur ; consequently, in polymorphematic words, only one consonant is found instead of two identical consonants wherever one would expect a sequence of two identical consonants to occur because of the constituent morphemes :

*mánakap* little hand ; from *man* hand, and *-nakap*, diminutive suffix.

*tépor* to go upstream to look at ; from *tép* to go upstream, and *por* to look at.

3. The sequence *c* + non-identical consonant cannot occur ; consequently, in polymorphematic words, *t* is found instead of *cC* ( $C \neq c$ ) wherever one would expect this sequence to occur because of the constituent morphemes :

*cowútnakap* little woman ; from *cowúc* woman, and *-nakap*, diminutive suffix.

*motni* to return while crying ; from *moc* to cry, and *ni* to return.

4. The sequence *tc* cannot occur ; consequently, in polymorphematic words, only *c* is found instead of *tc* wherever one would expect *tc* to occur because of the constituent morphemes :

*anakácowúc* the said woman, she ; from *anakát* anaphoric element and *cowúc* woman.

## 52

The following consonant combinations were found :<sup>16</sup>

*pt*    *áp.tak*    to go on the way down river

*pc*    *apcóm*    with, supplied with  
*em.áp-cēm.á*    he usually sits

*pk*    *tép.ku*    to go upstream and land

*pm*    *epmák*    upper course of a river  
*áp.m-or*    he planted

<sup>16</sup> It is not within the scope of this material to answer the question whether definite consonant combinations do occur in polymorphematic words but do not occur in monomorphematic words. For the sake of completeness, however, and where it is possible, after each consonant combination I give an instance where such a combination occurs in a monomorphematic word, as well as one in which it is the result of word derivation or composition.

<i>pn</i>	<i>epnám</i> pandanus <i>áp.n.awér</i> to sit, eating continually
<i>ps</i>	<i>tép.si</i> upstream to enter a side-stream
<i>pf</i>	<i>áp-f.om</i> we sat
<i>pj</i>	<i>áp.ji.pú</i> to stay and do habitually
<i>tp</i>	<i>pór.it-p.és</i> they looked at it in the morning
<i>tk</i>	<i>jítkakér</i> kind of bird
<i>tm</i>	<i>tatmá</i> nonsense <i>á-sit-m.i</i> I stand up
<i>tn</i>	<i>jím.ot.náw</i> to drag towards
<i>ts</i>	<i>temét.surum</i> to scratch one's head
<i>tf</i>	<i>tíw.ot-f.én</i> he touched me
<i>tw</i>	<i>temét.wani.óc</i> to grow high (of trees)
<i>tj</i>	<i>temét.jam.ém</i> to stand high up
<i>kp</i>	<i>akpés</i> tatoo marks <i>ták.por</i> to go downstream to look at
<i>kt</i>	<i>ták.ti.tíw</i> to go downstream and put down
<i>kc</i>	<i>akcá</i> together <i>cá-tak-cí</i> first I must go downstream
<i>km</i>	<i>jokmén</i> having supernatural power <i>a-sak.m-ór</i> he cut through it
<i>kn</i>	<i>akním</i> angry <i>ták.n.ap</i> to go downstream and sit down to eat
<i>ks</i>	<i>ták.se</i> to row downstream
<i>kf</i>	<i>ták.fíw</i> to go downstream and go into
<i>kw</i>	<i>ták.wi.tíw</i> to go downstream and throw down
<i>kj</i>	<i>ták.jukú.m.ap.óm</i> to go downstream and put together
<i>mp</i>	<i>wémpa</i> small stone axe <i>e.m-p.új</i> I did it
<i>mt</i>	<i>kamtér</i> both legs <i>sirim.tak</i> to row downstream quickly
<i>mc</i>	<i>mamcúp</i> three <i>em.cí</i> I am, I stand (as a man)
<i>mk</i>	<i>omkóc</i> kind of insect <i>ám.kawí</i> to join
<i>mn</i>	<i>jamnók</i> two <i>ém.ni</i> to go down (walking)

- ms* *simsá* scurf  
*ém.se* to be on the river  
*mf* *tetám-f.es* they gave him  
*maw* *a-ném.wer-ér* they took to their heels
- np* *kanpór* kind of crab  
*án-p.uj* I ate it  
*nt* *mantám* look out post  
*nc* *án-c.om* when we have eaten  
*nk* *ankós* centipede  
*nm* *tanmá* nonsense  
*án-m.ar* he eats it  
*nf* *án-f.om* we ate it  
*nw* *nanwís* shattered
- sp* *espét* young shoot of the sago palm  
*jís.por* to go outside to look at  
*st* *jís.tip.sé* to come out partly (said of a fish in its hiding place)  
*sc* *cescúw* skilled, clever  
*á-po.amís-cēm.óm* we all go to sleep (as usual)  
*sk* *eskám* red  
*jís.kapú* to row out of a river and join up with  
*sm* *fusmá* widow  
*a-jís-má* he goes to the forest  
*sn* *mesním* smell  
*nemés.nakáp* cautious  
*sf* *amés.fac* to become emaciated (said of a person lying down)  
*sw* *taráswuc* sister  
*sj* *és.jar* to sleep and travel on
- fc* *afcín* crust of ball of roasted sago  
*aj-áf-c.en* hit me!  
*fm* *áf-m.ar* he hits him  
*fn* *jóf.nakap* a little hole  
*fs* *áf.se* to die in the water
- wp* *táw.pacáj* to scatter in all directions  
*wt* *awtó* kind of tree  
*áw.tíw* to roast and put down (sago)

<i>wc</i>	<i>áw-c.om</i>	when we have roasted it
<i>wk</i>	<i>uwkú</i>	crochet needle made of a pig's bone
	<i>tíw.koj</i>	to go on one's way
<i>wm</i>	<i>táw.mes.ém</i>	to put things along the edge of something
<i>wn</i>	<i>íwním</i>	the water's edge
	<i>ew.ní</i>	to return from
<i>ws</i>	<i>jowsép</i>	baby
	<i>Súw.simít</i>	Suw senior (proper name)
<i>wf</i>	<i>aréw.faj</i>	to assemble
<i>wj</i>	<i>táw.jimír.se.m</i>	to launch (a number of canoes)
<i>jp</i>	<i>ajpáw</i>	fine!
<i>jt</i>	<i>ajtúr</i>	having a high degree of a particular quality
<i>jc</i>	<i>se.táj-cēm.és</i>	they will arrive (by canoe)
<i>jk</i>	<i>ajkún</i>	younger brother
	<i>tép.taj.kú</i>	to go upstream and land
<i>jm</i>	<i>ájmír.ém</i>	to be lost
	<i>se.táj-m.es</i>	they arrive (by canoe)
<i>jn</i>	<i>ajním</i>	now
	<i>sáj.ní</i>	to return (many people)
<i>js</i>	<i>mújsaw</i>	cumulus cloud
	<i>páj.se</i>	to turn off (in a canoe)
<i>jj</i>	<i>fajfó</i>	cocoon
	<i>páj.fir.áp</i>	when sitting to turn round
<i>rp</i>	<i>arpúk</i>	far away
	<i>mér.papúj</i>	to head off by going upstream
<i>rt</i>	<i>pór.tew.ét</i>	to be on the lookout for a woman to marry
<i>rc</i>	<i>arcér</i>	main stream
	<i>a-por-c.í</i>	if I see him
<i>rk</i>	<i>firká</i>	kind of grass
	<i>jír.ku</i>	to cross a river and land
<i>rm</i>	<i>karmák</i>	kind of snail
	<i>a-por-m.í</i>	I see him
<i>rn</i>	<i>jirno</i>	half burnt (of wood)
	<i>mér.ní</i>	to go downstream to look for food
<i>rs</i>	<i>parsá</i>	scattered, dispersed
	<i>áp.ter.sí</i>	to enter a river in line of battle
<i>rf</i>	<i>mér.fasí</i>	to go upstream and return again
<i>rw</i>	<i>karwán</i>	dagger made of a crocodile's jaw
<i>rj</i>	<i>pór.jit</i>	to plan (a murder)

The following consonant combinations were not found in this material:  
*Cr; fp, ft, fk, fw, fj; ns, nj; pw.*

## V WORD-VARIANTS

### Types of variants

#### 53

A number of words were found which have two or more variants. These variants fall into two groups: conditioned variants, and free variants.

Conditioned variants are variants which:

- a) exclude each other in all contexts, or:
- b) exclude each other in some contexts, and alternate in others, or:
- c) alternate only in specific contexts.

Conditioned variants are found among the deictic words, verbal forms, and postpositions. They will be discussed in §§ 129, 146, 208-212, 221, 229, 232, 245, 258 and 259.

Free variants alternate freely in any context. Only these will be treated here.

### Free variants

#### 54

In most cases, the free variants form pairs, of which the members appear to differ exclusively, or almost exclusively, from each other in one of the following points:

1. the one has *i* where the other has *u*
2. the one has *e* where the other has *o*
3. the one has *c* where the other has *t*
4. the one has *w* which is absent in the other
5. the one has *j* which is absent in the other
6. the one has a vowel which is absent in the other.

#### 55

Pairs of variants of which the one member has *i* whereas the other has *u*, are:

<i>jifó</i>	-	<i>jufó</i>	cold
<i>jiwús</i>	-	<i>juwús</i>	name
<i>jimsíp</i>	-	<i>jumcíp</i>	door



<i>níuw</i>	-	<i>núwuw</i>	to go aboard and depart
<i>jíkurúm</i>	-	<i>júkúrúm</i>	to squeeze out all (sago pulp)
<i>jír</i>	-	<i>jur</i>	white cockatoo

## 56

Pairs of variants of which the one member has *e*, whereas the second has *o*, are:

<i>Kosér</i>	-	<i>Kosór</i>	name of a ceremonial house in Jepem
<i>onéw</i>	-	<i>onów</i>	thatch
<i>oweréw</i>	-	<i>owerów</i>	adult males
<i>owerés</i>	-	<i>owerós</i>	husband
<i>ses</i>	-	<i>sos</i>	dry palm leaves

## 57

Pairs of variants of which the one member has *c*, whereas the other member has *t*:<sup>17</sup>

Words which in isolation always have a final *c*, in context alternate freely with a form with final *t*; for example:

<i>moc</i>	crying
<i>arám mot, moc, mot, mot, mot</i> . . .	he cried and cried and cried . . .
<i>he crying</i> . . . .	

Variants with non-final *c* and *t* are:

<i>ci</i>	-	<i>ti</i>	canoe
<i>cakás</i>	-	<i>takás</i>	all
<i>cesén</i>	-	<i>tesén</i>	outside
<i>tépacés</i>	-	<i>tépatés</i>	when they had gone upstream, . . . .

## 58

Pairs of variants of which the one member has *w*, which is absent in the other, are:

<i>fawíc</i>	-	<i>fait</i>	jokes
<i>maríw</i>	-	<i>marí</i>	} ready, finished
<i>maréw</i>	-	<i>maré</i>	
<i>fíwomíwəcěmés</i>	-	<i>fíomícěmés</i>	they go with him inside (the house)

<sup>17</sup> The phonemes *c* and *t* were probably differentiated rather late in the history of this dialect. This is suggested by the close relationship between *c* and *t*, which appears from their distribution and their role in word-variation and also from the fact that the phoneme *c* does not occur in the dialects spoken in the interior and along the Casuarinen Coast.

When *w* occurs in the one variant between two identical vowels, the other variant has *V* instead of *VwV*:

<i>kuwús</i>	-	<i>kus</i>	head
<i>níwí</i>	-	<i>ní</i>	father
<i>nuwúw</i>	-	<i>nuw</i>	to go aboard and depart
<i>tewér</i>	-	<i>ter</i>	to take

## 59

Pairs of variants of which the one member has *j* which is absent in the other, are:

<i>Majít</i>	-	<i>Máit</i>	name of a ceremonial house in Surú
<i>íwíjís</i>	-	<i>íwís</i>	to go quickly to the forest
<i>éwtepkójér</i>	-	<i>éwtepkóér</i>	(the fruit) fell from above

## 60

Pairs of variants of which one member has a vowel which is absent in the other, are:

<i>ájimsomicěmes</i>	-	<i>ájimsomítmes</i>	they pull him up with them
<i>manuwúw</i>	-	<i>manwúw</i>	(in order) to go aboard and depart
<i>ajísic</i>	-	<i>ajsíc</i>	go to the forest!
<i>misítí</i>	-	<i>místí</i>	stand up!
<i>mápacájkukuás</i>	-	<i>mapcájkukuás</i>	(in order) to disperse in all directions.

Although these variants appear to alternate freely, there is a clear distinction as to their frequency, which is determined by the speed of speaking: the variant having this vowel occurs mostly in deliberately slow speech, whereas the variant in which this vowel is absent, occurs mostly in normal or quick speech.

## 61

In addition to the preceding cases a number of isolated cases of free variation were noted. In these cases the same formal difference was not found to recur in a series of pairs of variants.

I will give here only the variants of two words which occur frequently in the texts:

1. *másinerím, másnerím, masirím, misěrim, masním* then, thereupon.
2. *maríw, maréw; marí, maré* ready, finished.

## PART III

### WORD-CLASSES

#### I INTRODUCTION: MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

**62**

The following morphological processes occur :

##### A. Frequently occurring processes :

1. suffixation: occurs with verbs, substantives, proper names, adjectives, and personal-possessive pronouns.
2. prefixation: occurs only with verbs.
3. reduplication: occurs only within the core of the verb and consists of the repetition of the first two phonemes of the underlying form. When the latter consists of two phonemes only, this process results in *duplication* (§ 79).
4. composition: occurs with verbs, proper names and substantives.

##### B. Processes occurring exceptionally :

5. infixation: was only found to occur instead of prefixation within the core of the verb in three cases (§ 76).
6. infixation, simultaneous with suffixation: was only found to occur instead of suffixation within the core of the verb in three cases (§ 82).
7. modification: was only found instead of prefixation in one case (§ 76).
8. multiplication: only two cases were noted: one of triplication of an adjective (§ 200) and one of quadruplication of a verbal root (§ 79).

#### II THE VERB

##### **Introduction**

**63**

From the preceding survey of the morphological processes, it is

clear that the word-class of the verb is distinguished from the other word-classes by the fact that all these processes occur within it, whereas outside the word-class of the verb only suffixation and composition occur.

Of the morphological processes which occur only within the word-class of the verb, only prefixation can occur with all verbs, and therefore is characteristic of the verb as a whole: an Asmat verb could be defined as a word which is, or can be, prefixed.

The morphological structure of the verb which is often very complicated, in comparison to the structure of non-verbs, makes it necessary to divide the description of the verb into three parts:

1. a general survey of the morphological structure of verbal forms and of the relation between the core-morphology and the word-morphology of the verb;
2. the core-morphology;
3. the word-morphology.

### **General survey of the structure of verbal forms**

#### *Core and peripheral part*

#### **64**

Within the verb, two parts can be distinguished which are to a certain degree independent of each other, namely:

1. a central part, which will be termed the *core* of the verb;
2. a peripheral part.

The verbal core can be monomorphemic or polymorphemic. The peripheral part consists of prefixes and/or suffixes added to the core.

The mutual independence of the core and the peripheral part shows itself in a difference in internal organization which makes a separate description of the two parts necessary.

Their mutual dependence shows itself in the fact that: a. a verb consists either of a core, or of a core + peripheral part, but never of a peripheral part alone; and b. there are a number of verbal categories that do not occur with cores ending with the morphemes *itum*, *es*, *it* or *awer* (see §§ 91-94).

*The morphological structure of the core***65**

Only provisional observations can be made here about the structure of the core. The reason for this is that the main point of research, as regards the verb, was an investigation into the verbal categories. An insight into the structure of the verbal system proved to be a prerequisite if I were to understand and to speak the Asmat language. The relative independence of the core made it possible, temporarily to leave its structure outside consideration. Since, however, research into the verbal categories took most of the available time, there was none left for a systematic examination of the cores. This remains one of the most important tasks for future research.

Consequently, the paragraphs on core-structure, as well as the paragraphs on core-morphology, represent only a preliminary reconnaissance in the field. The picture of the core-structure given here is for the main part based on indirect information, i.e. information obtained from an analysis of a specific corpus of verbal cores of which only a small part was elicited from the informants with this analysis in view. This corpus of verbal cores consists of  $\pm$  3,000 cores, of which  $\pm$  1,200 occur in the texts to be appended to this grammatical description.

**66**

Among the morphemes of which a core can consist, first a number of *roots* can be distinguished. The following will be considered to be roots:

1. The morphemes that can occur as a core of a verb, for example:  
*ap* to sit; *tak* to go downstream; *tewér* to take
2. The morphemes that were not found as a core, but which appear to be allomorphs of morphemes that occur as cores, for example:  

occurring as a core:	not occurring as a core:
<i>en</i>	<i>mer</i> to go upstream
<i>amís</i>	<i>amés</i> to lie (down)

The distribution of these allomorphs will be dealt with in § 97-100.

3. The morphemes that were not found as the core of a verb, but that do occur as a word within another word-class, i.e. cases of transposition. For example:

*siri* quick (adjective) *áp.siri* to break into a run  
*kiki* close together (adjective) *kiki.m* to put close together.

## 67

Secondly: among the remaining morphemes that were not found as cores, a number can be distinguished which have the character of affixes. These are morphemes that conform to the following criteria:

1. they occur in a series of forms;
2. their position in relation to the root is constant: they are either always placed before it, or always behind it;
3. they add to the core a specific semantic element;
4. they do not occur in combination with each other as a core;
5. there can be established a relative order in which they occur in relation to the root.

In order to distinguish these morphemes from the affixes of the peripheral part, they will henceforth be termed *formatives*.

Formatives are for example:

*o/or-* again; *-tam* on behalf of

The formatives will be discussed further in the core-morphology (§ 71-100).

The grouping of the corpus of core-morphemes now presents the following picture:

as components of a core			
as a core	not as a core		
roots	(root- allomorphs)	formatives	rest
	(cases of transposition)		

## 68

The group comprising the rest (rest-group) consists of:

1. a number of morphemes of which it cannot be said with certainty whether they belong to the formatives or to the roots. These fall into:

- a. a number that were not found in combination with formatives.
- b. a number that occur with formatives. The fact that these morphemes can occur with formatives could be an indication that we are here dealing with roots. This applies particularly to those morphemes which, in combination with formatives, were found to occur as a root, such as :

*co* 'hidden' in cores as : *có.ap* to sit hidden ;

*co.m* to hide something (*co* + formative *-m/Vm*, cf § 81).

Here the possibility must be taken into consideration that a third category of morphemes occurs within the rest-group, namely, morphemes that cannot occur as a core but which have certain characteristics in common with roots. The morphemes *naw* 'coming' and *as* 'away' neither of which can occur as a core, would belong to this category. Both morphemes can occur with the formative *-m/Vm* (see § 101, nr 4 and 8).

2. a residu of forms of which the constituent morphemes could not yet be identified and/or, of which the meaning is not known with certainty.

Complete lists of the morphemes and residual forms belonging to the rest-group will be added to the core-morphology.

## 69

Survey of the root - formative structures, occurring in cores.

The following survey will, naturally, be limited to those cores of which all the constituent morphemes could be identified as root or formative.

These cores fall into four groups :

- I. Those, consisting of a root
- II. Those, consisting of more than one root
- III. Those, consisting of a root + one or more formatives
- IV. Those, consisting of more than one root + one or more formatives.

The following symbols will be used here :

R = root

f- = prefixed formative

-f = suffixed formative

fi, placed before R = infix formative.

I. R	<i>ap</i> to sit; <i>onór</i> to carry something on the back
II. RR	<i>tép.ap</i> to go upstream and stay
RRR	<i>ní.ma.tiw</i> to return and chop down
III. f-R	<i>éw.ni</i> to return from
fiR	<i>s.om.ít</i> to stand up with something (in the hand); from: <i>sít</i> to stand up.
R-f	<i>pór.om</i> to show, to cause to see
f-f-R	<i>éw.om.sé</i> to row with something from
R-f-f	<i>jík.tam.pór</i> to try to tie something up for someone
f-R-f	<i>sá.saká.m</i> to cut into pieces
fiR-f	<i>s.úm.ut.úm</i> to cause to stand up; from: <i>sít</i> to stand up.
R-f-f-f	<i>é.m.tam.pór</i> to try to make something for someone
IV. f-RR	<i>ó.jis.pór</i> to go outside again to have a look at
R-fR	<i>fá.m.tiw</i> to burn a lying object
RfiR	<i>jím.s.om.ít</i> to pull someone up
Rf-R	<i>tów.o.ní</i> to bring something to the river
R-ff-R	<i>fá.m.o.p</i> to sit by someone until the morning
RR-f-f	<i>ní.tiw.tam.pór</i> to try to put down on behalf of someone
f-Rf-R	<i>éw.ni.om.úw</i> to go down from (the house) and go aboard with (something)
f-R-fR	<i>ó.fasi.m.tewér</i> to take up where one left off (a story)
R-fR-f	<i>taká.m.ne.m</i> to cause to go below through an opening
f-RR-f	<i>ó.wu.ap.óm</i> to bury something again
RR-fR	<i>jís.kawí.m.tiw</i> to go outside and put down some- thing against
RRR-f	<i>ní.tew.sé.m</i> to go to the river and lay something in the water
f-R-ff-R-fR	<i>si.sí.m.ka.kamí.m.tiw</i> to wash ashore many objects (subject = the water).

## 70

*The morphological structure of the peripheral part.*

The peripheral part can consist of: a prefix, or: 1, 2, 3 or 4 suffixes, or: a combination of 1 or 2 prefixes and 1, 2, 3 or 4 suffixes. The



peripheral part can also be absent: the core can occur as a word (see § 107).

Survey of the structures of the peripheral part.  
The following symbols will be used here:

p = prefix  
s = suffix  
Co = core

Co	<i>tewér</i>	to take
p Co	<i>mé-tewér</i>	in order to take
Co s	<i>téwer-íc</i>	take it!
Co ss	<i>tewér-m.em</i>	you take it
Co sss	<i>tewér-m.ěn.óm</i>	we take you
Co ssss	<i>tewér-m.an.ěn.ém</i>	are you taking me?
Co	<i>por</i>	to see
p Co s	<i>emé-por-í</i>	I have seen him (today)
p Co ss	<i>emé-por-n.ém</i>	you have seen me (today)
p Co sss	<i>emé-por-án.ěn.ém</i>	have you seen me (today)?
p Co ssss	<i>emé-por-m.án.ěn.ém</i>	can you see me now?
pp Co s	<i>emé.pa-pór-an (éw)</i>	has he perhaps seen it (today)
pp Co ss	<i>emé.pa-pór-an.em (éw)</i>	have you seen him perhaps (today)
pp Co sss	<i>emé.pa-por-án.ěn.em (éw)</i>	have you seen me perhaps? (today)
pp Co ssss	<i>emé.pa-por-m.án.ěn.em (éw)</i>	can you perhaps see me now?

### Core-morphology

*Formatives which occur prefixed to a root*

#### 71

*em/om-* This formative was only found with the roots *amis*, to lie; *aþ*, to sit; *em*, to stand; *teþ*, to be above; *se*, to be on or in the water.

*om-* only occurs in combination with the formative *o/om/ot/oc-* (§ 76):

*óm.óp* to go and sit by someone.

*óm.o.mís* to go and lie with someone.

The difference in meaning between roots with and without this formative seems to be that the roots without *em/om-* mean: 'to be' or 'to move', of a subject which belongs to the 'lying', 'standing', 'flying' or 'swimming' class of things,<sup>1</sup> whereas the roots with *em/om-* denote the actual action of lying, sitting, etc.

The roots with *em/om-* have, moreover, an inchoative element of meaning: they can mean: to lie down, to sit down, etc.

*ap* 'to be, to move', of a 'sitting' subject.

*ém.ap* to sit, to sit down.

## 72

*ew-* from, out of, since.

*fis* to come outside; *éw.fis* to come outside from (a house).

*kekém* to sew something up; *éw-kekém* to sew something up from a particular point; to be sewing something from a particular point in time.

Found in 39 cores.

## 73

*irim-* indicates: 1) plurality of subject; 2) that the subject is walking.

*tep* to go upstream (rowing or walking); *irim.tep* to walk upstream with many people.

Found in 6 cores.

## 74

*jam-* indicates that the subject or object is bulky, or that it consists of a quantity of component parts. It refers, for example to a *bunch* of fruit, a *bundle* of arrows, a *crowd* of people.

*tep* to hang, to be up in the air; *jám.tep* to hang; of a large object, or a bundle, a bunch of objects.

*ni* to go downriver; *jám.ni* to go downriver; of a large animal, of a crowd of people together.

Found in 24 cores.

<sup>1</sup> The Asmat people divide all existing things into these five 'position' classes. In general, it can be said that anything that is tall and slender 'stands' (e.g. trees, upright poles, and men); anything that is about as high as it is broad 'sits' (e.g. houses, carrying bags, and also women); anything that is much broader than it is high, or is low to the ground, 'lies' (fallen trees, small animals, reptiles, the just-risen sun or moon). The fourth class contains anything in or on the water (e.g. canoes, fishes, and also rivers); the fifth class contains anything that is above eye-level (e.g. flying animals, hanging objects, objects stored away on the rafters of the house).

## 75

*o/or-* again, anew.

*o-* occurs before a consonant.

*o-* alternates with *or-* before a vowel, except when this vowel is followed by another vowel, or if a vowel precedes the formative.

In such cases *or-* always occurs:

*mow ap* to split off pandan fibres

/pandan fibres / to split off/

*mow ó.ap/ór.ap* to split off pandan fibres again

*mow á-or.ap-ór* she split off pandan fibres again.

*e* to say.

*é-o.f* I said; *ór-e-ó.f* I said again.

Found in 37 cores.

## 76

*o/om/ot/oc-* indicates that the subject is holding something, is accompanying someone, is on the way to someone, or is busy with something.

This formative was only found with the roots *amis*, *ap*, *em*, *tep*, and *se* (see § 71) and with roots which indicate a going in a particular direction.

*o-* occurs with:

*ni* : *o.ni* to go downriver with (on a large river)

*tak* : *o.tak* to go downriver with (on a small river)

*tep* : *o.tep* to go upriver with (on a small river)

The following roots, after *o-*, have an allomorph without initial vowel:

*ap* : *o.p* to sit with, by; or, busy with something

*em* : *o.m* to stand with, by; busy with

*amis* : *o.mís* to lie with, by; busy with

*es* : *o.s* to come here with; busy with

*om-* occurs with:

*jir/ir* : *óm.ir* to cross the river with; towards someone

*jis/is/us* : *óm.is* to go landwards with; towards someone

*jiw/iw* : *óm.iw* to enter with; to go inside towards someone.

(Of these roots, the allomorph without initial *j* occurs after an *m*)

<i>as</i>	:	<i>óm.as</i>	to go away with
<i>at</i>	:	<i>óm.at</i>	to go with
<i>ku</i>	:	<i>óm.ku</i>	to go ashore with, to
<i>puw</i>	:	<i>óm.puw</i>	to go into the water with
<i>se</i>	:	<i>óm.se</i>	to be on or in the water with
<i>uw</i>	:	<i>óm.uw</i>	to go aboard with

*ot-* occurs only with:

<i>naw</i>	:	<i>ot.naw</i>	to come with
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*oc-* occurs only with:

<i>en</i>	:	<i>óc.in</i>	to go upstream with (on a large river)
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(the allomorph *in* occurs only in combination with *oc*)

Instead of prefixation the exceptional processes of infixation and modification occur with this formative. Infixation occurs in the following three cases:

<i>fis</i>	:	<i>f.óm.is</i>	to come outside with
<i>fiw</i>	:	<i>f.óm.iw</i>	to go inside with
<i>sit</i>	:	<i>s.óm.it</i>	to stand up with

(There occurs also a form *fiw.om.iw*, which has the same meaning as *fómíw*; here *iw* is an allomorph of *jiw* which also means 'to go inside'.)

Modification occurs in:

<i>tep</i>	:	<i>top</i>	to hang with, by
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This is the only case of modification I found.

## 77

*pákaj* 'with many together'.

*pákaj* was only found with the roots *amís*, *áp*, *em*, *tep* and *se* (see § 71).

*áp* to sit; *pákaj.áp* to sit together with many.

## 78

*tew* indicates the beginning of an action.

<i>po</i>	<i>ji</i>	to row
paddle /to do/		
<i>po</i>	<i>téw.ji</i>	to start to row

*o.s* to come here with; *téw.o.s* to leave here with.

*jiniw.jar* to go with everyone (walking); *tew.jiniw.jar* to set out with everyone (walking).

Found in 12 cores.

## 79

Finally, I treat as a prefixed formative the element which is added to the root by the process of (re)duplication. In all cases I noted, this process consists of the repetition of the first two phonemes of the underlying form. If this form consists of only two phonemes, the result is duplication.

Reduplication, or duplication, indicates that the action is repeated a number of times, or that the action is itself repetitive.

*erém* to tear something; *ér.erém* to tear something to pieces.

*si.m* to shift something; *si.si.m* to shift something repeatedly.

*ciki.m*, *ci.ciki.m* to wash something.

One case was found in which the non-reduplicated root has initial *a*, whereas the reduplicated root has initial *e*:

*apér* to make a test hole in the bark of the sago palm

*áp.epér* to make test holes.

In one case, quadruplication of a CV root was found:

*si* to dig(in); *á-si.si.sí.si-ác* after he had dug them in (the glowing coals in the ashes) . . .

## 80

The prefixed formatives do not occur with all roots equally. On the basis of their distribution, it appears to be possible to classify the roots in three groups, namely:

1. *amís*, *ap*, *em*, *tep*, *se*: 'positional roots';
2. roots that indicate a going in a particular direction, 'directional roots';
3. other roots;  
as will appear from the following survey.

	positional roots	directional roots	other roots
<i>ew-</i>	+	+	+
<i>jam-</i>	+	+	+
<i>o/or-</i>	+	+	+
<i>o/om/ot/oc-</i>	+	+	—
<i>tew-</i>	—	+	+
<i>em/om-</i>	+	—	—
<i>pákaj-</i>	+	—	—
<i>irim-</i>	—	+	—
reduplication	—	—	+

+ = found      — = not found

*Formatives which occur suffixed to a root*

**81**

*-m/Vm* By means of *-m/Vm* transitive or causative cores can be formed from intransitive roots, and causative cores from transitive roots.

*-m* occurs:

1. After a vowel:

*kawí* to add oneself to; *kawí.m* to add something to.

*an/na* to eat (see § 98); *na.m.* to cause to eat, to give to eat.

Of roots which have two allomorphs, one with and one without final *j* or *w*, the allomorph without *j* or *w* always occurs with this formative:

*sakáj* to be broken; *saká.m* to break something.

*uw* to go aboard; *u.m* to cause to go aboard.

2. After a consonant, when a vowel follows the formative:

*ap* to sit; *áp.om* to cause to sit; *ap.m-ór* he made him sit.

*-Vm* occurs:

After a consonant, if no vowel follows the formative.

The vowel of *-Vm*, as a rule, harmonizes with the (last) vowel of the root to which it is added.

*tak* to go downstream; *ták.am* to cause to go downstream.

*onór* to carry something on the back; *onór.om* to cause to carry something on the back.

Exceptions to this rule are :

*ap* to sit; *áp.om* to cause to sit.

*tep* to go upstream; *tép.om*, *táp.om* to cause to go upstream.

### 82

In three cases suffixation of *-Vm* occurs simultaneously with infixation of *-Vm* :

*sit* to get up; *s.úm.ut.úm* to cause to get up.

*fiw* to go inside; *f.im.u.m* to cause to go inside.

*fis* to come inside, to come outside; *f.im.us.úm* to cause to come inside, or outside.

These three roots each have an allomorph with *u* instead of *i*, which occurs only in this case (see § 98).

### 83

Two positional roots cannot be combined with *-m/Vm* :

*em* can mean 'to stand' as well as 'to cause to be stood up, to put down' (of a 'standing' object)

*amís*, to lie, does not occur with the meaning 'to lay, to put down' (a 'lying' object); in place of it, another root is used: *tiw*, to lay, to put down.

### 84

*-m/Vm* has a particular value<sup>2</sup> in such cases as :

(*faj* to burn; *fa.m* to cause to burn; *ap* to sit, to stay) :

*jo fá.m.ap* to stay somewhere until the sun begins to shine.  
sun

(*pu* to rise; *pu.m* to cause to rise; *em* to stand, to stay) :

*jo pú.m.em* to stay somewhere until the sun rises.

(*jís* to go outside) :

*pír jamnók jís.m.ap*  
moon two

to stay somewhere until two 'months' have elapsed.

<sup>2</sup> In using the term *meaning* exclusively for the semantic aspect of words, and the term *value* for the semantic aspect of parts of words, or morphemes, I follow E. M. Uhlenbeck and A. Reichling. See: E. M. Uhlenbeck, *De systematiek der Javaanse pronomina*, VKI 30, Den Haag 1960, Inleiding p. 2; and: A. Reichling, *Verzamelde studies*, Zwolle 1962, p. 43.

## 85

In addition, there are a number of cases in which the value of this formative is not clear to me; such as in:

*ní.ta.m*, having apparently the same meaning as the underlying form *ní.taj* 'to return and reach', in:

*támnakap ní.ta.m-or*  
/morning-a-bit / she arrived/  
she arrived (home) towards the end of the morning,

when compared with:

*cém norpá ma.ni.táj* I 'll arrive home alone.  
house /I alone / shall arrive/

and *ot.m*, apparently meaning the same as *ot*, 'to touch', in:

*wá ot.m.enáw-or.és* they came, brushing along the trees,  
trees /touching them they came/

when compared with:

*amás a pímnakap átemet.ót.ap-er*  
sago there /near-edge / it rose-touched-sat/  
the sago had almost risen to the edge.

## 86

A number of cases were noted in which by the suffixation of *-m/Vm* a word belonging to another word-class is transposed to the word-class of the verb. These cases are:

*fek, fak* (adjective) broken, damaged; *fak.ám* to break, to damage.

*kapi* (adjective) shut, closed; *kapi.m* to shut, to close.

*kiki* close together (adjective); *kiki.m* to put closely together.

*parsá, porsá* disorderly, scattered about here and there (adjective?);

*parsá.m* to scatter.

*iriri* . . . onomatopoeia, indicating the sound of many small objects falling down; *iriri.m* to brush small objects off something; to scrape small pieces off.

*káju* onomatopoeia, indicating a dull thud, the sound of footsteps;

*ká.kajú.m* to knock on something.

## 87

*-kurúm* 'all, totally'

*aw* to roast; *áw.kurúm* to roast everything.

*jirán* ripe; *jirán e* to become ripe; *jirán e.kurúm* to become squashy.

Found in 41 cores.



## 88

*-por* 'to try, to be able to'

*an/na* to eat; *ná.por* to try to eat, to taste.

*e.m* to make something; *é.m.por* to try to make something; to be able to make something.

Found in 25 cores.

## 89

*-tam* 'for, on behalf of'

*aw* to roast; *áw.tam* to roast for.

*onów fe* to make thatch

thatch make

*onów fé.tam* to make thatch for someone; to help to make thatch.

Found in 76 cores.

## 90

*-totór* 'everyone for himself, each individually'

*wu* bundle, wrapped in sago leaves; *wu wu* to make a bundle, wrapping it in sago leaves; *wu wú.totór* each person to make for himself sago leaf bundles.

*e* to say; *é.totór* to say, each person for himself.

Found in 10 cores.

## 91

Finally, there are four suffixed formatives, *-itum*, *-es*, *-it*, and *-awer* which, in contradistinction to the other formatives, exert an influence on the peripheral part: there are a number of verbal categories which do not occur with cores in which these formatives occur.<sup>3</sup>

*-itúm/utúm* indicates that the action or the event takes place during that part of the day which is called *porów*, i.e. the period from afternoon to shortly after sunset.

*-itúm* and *-utúm* are distributed according to a rule which also governs the distribution of the formative *-it/ut* (§ 93), the verbal suffixes *-i/u* (§ 117), *-i/(u, uj)* (§ 156), *(-er, ěr)/or* (§ 156) and the postposition *(in, 'n)/un* (§§ 258, 259). This rule is:

The allomorph containing *u* instead of *i* or absence of vowel, or *o* instead of *e, ě*, occurs only:

<sup>3</sup> A survey of these categories can be found in § 104, 105.

— after *p*, *w*, or *f*, when these consonants are preceded by a consonant, or by *a*, *o*, or *u*.

— after *m*.

The only exceptions to this rule are the positional roots *em* to stand, and *ap* to sit, after which the allomorph with *i* or *e*, *ě*, always occurs:

*atów e* to play

play /to do/

*atów e.itúm* to play in the afternoon.

*ém.itúm* to stand during the afternoon.

*é.m.utúm* to make during the afternoon.

*taw* to talk; *tów.utúm* to talk in the afternoon.

## 92

*-es* indicates that the action or the event takes place during the period from nightfall to early in the morning. This period covers that part of the day which is called *erém* 'night, when it is really dark', and the first part of *tam* 'morning, from daybreak to  $\pm$  10 a.m.'

*tak* to go downstream; *ták.es* to go downstream at night, in the early morning.

*purumúc ji* to sing dirges

dirge sing

*purumúc j.es* to sing dirges the whole night.

## 93

*-it/ut* indicates that the action or the event takes place in the morning, i.e. in the remaining part of *tam* (see above).

The distribution of *-it* and *-ut* runs parallel to that of *-itúm/utúm*.

*tak* to go downstream; *ták.it* to go downstream in the morning.

*faw* to spear (plural object);

*enám fáv.ut* to spear fish during the morning.

fish

There is no formative corresponding to *jok*, the period from  $\pm$  10 a.m. to  $\pm$  3 p.m. i.e. 'during the day'. Cores without *itúm*, *es* and *it* are neutral as far as indicating the time of day is concerned.

## 94

*-awér/ewér/ewír/a* is a formative indicating duration: 'continually, always, all the time'.

The distribution of the allomorphs is determined by the verbal categories within which the core occurs:

- awér* occurs in forms of category 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 23 <sup>3a</sup>  
*awér* occurs in forms of category 5, 6, 7 and 23  
*awír* occurs in forms of category 22  
*a* occurs in forms of category 14 and 15.

*so e* to sing (with drum accompaniment)

singing do

*to só e.awér-m.om*

tomorrow singing /we shall do continually/

tomorrow we shall sing and play the drums continually.

This formative can follow *-itúm/utúm*, *-es*, and *-it/ut*:

*pe ak* to catch crabs

crabs catch

*pe ák.es.awér* to catch crabs continually at night.

*jisín ák.it.awér* to gather coconuts all the morning.

coconuts

The informants also translated these four formatives as meaning 'many':

*jisín ak.it-m.om* we gathered many coconuts (in the morning)

coconuts

*jisín ak.á-m.om* we gathered many coconuts (during the day)

*jisín ak.itúm-om* we gathered many coconuts (in the afternoon)

*pé ak.es-m.om* we caught many crabs (at night).

### *Sequences of formatives*

#### 95

I only found sequences of prefixed formatives preceding the first root of a core, and sequences of suffixed formatives following the last root of a core. Between two roots, sequences of two formatives do occur, but the sequence consists always of a suffixed formative followed by a prefixed formative. In these cases, the suffixed formative is always *-m/Vm*; the prefixed formative is *o/om/ot/oc-* or, a (re)duplication:

R-ff-R *ká.m.o.ní* to tear away and take downstream

f-R-ff-R-fR *si.sí.m.ka.kamí.m.tiw* to wash ashore many objects.

<sup>3a</sup> A survey of these categories can be found in § 104, 105.

Only a few different combinations of prefixed formatives were found; for some of these a relative order could be tentatively fixed:

*o/or-*, *em/om-*, *o/om/ot/oc-*, Root, or:

*o/or-*, (re)duplication, Root.

(Re)duplication was not found with roots with which *em/om-* and *o/om/ot/oc-* occur (§ 80).

The following combinations were found:

*o/or-* + (re)duplication: *ó.si.si.m.tám* again to push  
(different objects) towards someone.

*o/or-* + *em/om-* : *ór.em.ém* again to stand up

*em/om-* + *o/om/ot/oc-*: *óm.o.p* to sit down by, with

A relative order could be determined for the following suffixed formatives:

R *-m/Vm*, *-kurúm*, *-tam*, *-por*,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -itúm/utúm \\ -es \\ -it/ut \end{array} \right.$ , *-awér/ewér/ewír/a*

Here, the following sequences of formatives were noted:

*-m/Vm* + *-por* : *é.m.por* to try to make

*-m/Vm* + *-es* : *é.m.es* to make something at night

*-tam* + *-por* : *jík.tam.pór* to try to tie up something  
for someone

*-por* + *-awér* : *otáw.por.awér* continually to try to  
exhort someone

*-itúm* + *-awér* : *jísín ak.itúm.awér* to gather coconuts  
all afternoon

*-kurúm* + *-awér* : *sa.kurúm.awér* to be dried up all

*-kurúm* + *-por* : *ná.kurúm.por* to try to eat up everything

*-m/Vm* + *-tam* + *-por*: *é.m.tam.pór* to try to make for someone.

#### Root-allomorphs<sup>4</sup>

#### 96

There are a number of roots which have 2, 3, or 4 allomorphs.

<sup>4</sup> The following allomorphs, which were already discussed in the preceding paragraphs, will not be dealt with again:

- The morphologically conditioned allomorphs of the positional roots (§ 76).
- The phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the roots *jíw* and *jír* (§ 76).
- The morphologically conditioned allomorphs, mentioned in § 81.

The distribution of these allomorphs appears to be conditioned by the following factors:

1. a phonological feature, or:
2. a morphological feature, or:
3. a positional feature, or:
4. a combination of 1 and 3, or of 2 and 3.

There are three positions which are relevant to the conditioning of root-allomorphs:

a. Occurrence as a core; b. final position in the core; c. non-final position in the core.

### 97

Conditioned by a phonological feature are the allomorphs of the root *e/j*: to say, to do

*e* occurs in all cases, except between two vowels.

*j* occurs between two vowels.

*é-o.f* }  
*á-j-o.f* } I said

*é.ap.óm* to build (a house);

*á-j.ap.m-ór* he built (a house).

### 98

Conditioned by a morphological feature is the distribution of the allomorphs of the following roots:

1. *ni/ne* to go down, to go home, to go towards the river.  
*ni* occurs in all cases, except before the formative *-m/Vm*.  
*ne* occurs before the formative *-m/Vm*: *ne.m* to cause to go down, etc.
2. *fis/fus* to come inside  
*fíw/fuŵ* to go inside  
*sit/sut* to stand up

*fis*, *fíw*, and *sit* occur in all cases, except in the exceptional case of simultaneous infixation and suffixation of the formative *-m/Vm*, in which the allomorph with *u* occurs: *f.im.us.um*; *f.im.u.m*; *s.um.ut.um* (see § 82).

3. *tep/tap* to go upstream (on a small river).  
*tep* occurs in all cases. In addition, *tep* alternates with *tap* before the formative *-m/Vm*: *tep.om*, *tap.om* to send someone upstream (see § 81).
4. *tep/top* to be above, to be hanging.  
*tep* occurs in all cases, except before the formative *-m/Vm*. Here occurs *top*: *tóp.om* to cause to be above; to hoist (a flag).
5. *temét/tomt* to rise, to climb.  
*temét* occurs in all cases, except before the formatives *-m/Vm* and *o/om/ot/oc-*; here occurs *tomt*: *tómt.om* to cause to rise; *tómt.o.m* to stand on top of something, and be busy with.
6. *tew/tow* to take, to seize.  
*tew* occurs in all cases except before the formative *o/om/ot/oc-*: *tów.om.íw* to bring inside; and in the core *tow.okop* to swallow.

## 99

The following roots have in addition to allomorphs of which the distribution is conditioned by phonological, morphological or positional features, allomorphs of which the distribution is conditioned by a combination of these features.

1. *amís/amés/ams* to lie down; to stream; to swim (a fish).  
*ams* occurs preceding a vowel.  
 Preceding a consonant occur:  
*amís*, as a core, or core-finally  
*amés*, in a core, but not core-finally.  
  
*áw-amís* it is lying here; *áw-ams-í* I am lying here.  
*áms.es* to come swimming towards (said of fish)  
*kámi.ams-ér* he lay after having collapsed  
*kámi.amís* to lay after having collapsed  
*amés.ní* to stream downwards.
2. *am/atám/ma/m* to chop.  
*am* occurs as a core  
*atám* occurs core-finally  
*ma* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, or a vowel  $\neq a$ .  
*m* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before *a*.

*am-úc* chop it!  
*mér.atám* to go to ... to chop  
*má.tiw* to chop down  
*m.ás.am* to chop off, to chop away.

3. *an/na/n/Vn* to eat.

*an* occurs as a core

*na* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, or a vowel  $\neq a$  or *e*.

*n* occurs a) in a core, but not core-finally, before *a* and *e*; b) core-finally, after a vowel.

*Vn* occurs core-finally after a consonant; the vowel of *Vn* harmonizes with the vowel preceding it.

*án-m.ar* he eats, is eating  
*ná.kurúm* to eat up everything  
*ná.itúm* to eat in the afternoon  
*n.ás.am* to eat up; *n.es* to eat at night  
*ci.n* to cut up something for eating  
*téw.en* to take something to eat it.

4. *ap/pa/p* to work loose (fibres); to gather (sago grubs).

*ap* occurs as a core, and core-finally

*pa* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before a consonant, and before vowels  $\neq a$ .

*p* occurs in a core, but not core-finally, before *a*.

*mow ap* to work loose fibres from the roots of the pandan tree.  
 /pandan fibres/

*m-o.ap-úc* work (the fibres) loose again!

*mów p.a-m.ár* she was busy working loose the fibres

*tow pá.tewér* to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to  
 /sago grubs/ gather the sago grubs.

5. *en/in/mer* to go upstream (on a large river); to go to a specific point.

*en* occurs a) as a core; b) core-finally, except when it is preceded by the formative *o/om/ot/oc-*; in this case *in* occurs.

*mer* occurs in a core, but not core-finally.

*fáw.en* to spear (fish) while going upstream

*tów.oc.in* to take upstream

*mér.ap* to go upstream and stay there.

6. *jis/is/us* to go to the forest ; to go outside.  
*jis* occurs in all cases, except after *m*.  
*is* occurs after *m*, but not after the formative *-m/Vm*.  
*us* occurs after *-m/Vm*.
- ém.is* to walk to the forest  
*tów.om.is* to bring to the forest  
*ní.m.us* to disappear into the forest.

*Lists of unidentified morphemes, and of residual forms*

**100**

1. Morphemes that in combination with one or more formatives can constitute a core (see § 68).
  1. *ariw* to be together ; to be with many people in one canoe. See: *ariwap*, *ariwes*, *emariw*, *tawariwap*; + *-m/Vm*: *arim*, *arimut*, *emarimut*.
  2. *asaw* to be adorned. See: *asawtam* (+ *-tam*), *asam* (+ *-m/Vm*).
  3. *faj* to glide, to stream. See: *fajpuw*; + *-m/Vm*: *fam*, *famasam*, *famsem*, *enawfam*.
  4. *fajim* to put in order ; to arrange neatly. See: *fafajim*, *tatafajim-tiw*.
  5. *fiki* to give forth a smell. See: *fikikonaw*; + *-m/Vm*: *fikim*.
  6. *firi* to be turned around. See: *merpajfirap*, *pajfirap*; + *-m/Vm*: *firim*, *firimtiw*.
  7. *jiri* to be fully loaden. See: *jirikaj*; + *-m/Vm*: *jiririm* (reduplicated), *jirmotep*, *nijirimuw*.
  8. *juw* to marry. See: *juwut*, *sajwut*; + *-m/Vm*: *juwum*.
  9. *kaj* to be loose. See: *kajkurum*; + *-m/Vm*: *kam*, *kamapom*, *kamoni*, *kampomes*, *kamtewer*, *kamtiw*.
  10. *koj*, *okoj* to break off ; to set out. See: *emkoj*, *kojir*, *kokojni*, *takokojir*, *tepokojir*, *tiwkoj*; + *-m/Vm*: *kom/okom*, *amkoman*, *emkom*, *jisokomtiw*, *komtewer*, *kokomtaw*, *kokomtiw*, *okomentam*, *okmomse*, *okmoni*, *okomtiw*, *okokom*.
  11. *ok* to stick to. See: *okap*; + *-m/Vm*: *okom*, *okokom*.
  12. *pajiw* to be open. See: *pajiwem*; + *-m/Vm*: *pajim*.
  13. *papuj* to perish. See: *papujkurum*.
  14. *pari*, *përi* to turn round. See: *papëriini*, *popëriomat*; + *-m/Vm*: *parem/përem*, *kupapëremapom*, *papërimop*, *tepomparem*, *tiwpopërem*.
  15. *patam* to load full. See: *patamkurum*.



16. *pur* to be covered with. See: *puramis*, *pupurap*; + *-m/Vm*: *purum*, *pupurumucimtiw*.
17. *su* to be pregnant. See: *jıwsu*; + *-m/Vm*: *sum*.
18. *tip* 'to be just beyond a demarcating line' (e.g. a man sitting just outside the door of his house). See: *jistipse*; + *-m/Vm*: *tipim*.
19. *co* to be concealed, hidden. See: *coap*; + *-m/Vm*: *com*, *comop*, *comapom*.
20. *tur*, *turu* beside each other in a row. See: *turamis*; + *-m/Vm*: *turum*, *turumtiw*.

## 101

- II. Morphemes occurring with one or more formatives, though not constituting a core in combination with one or more formatives.
1. *ani* disappeared. See: *anicukas*; + *-m/Vm*: *animcuku*, *animus*.
  2. *anaw* bowed. See: *anawtep*; + *-m/Vm*: *emanam*.
  3. *akapi* alone, separate. See: *akapicm*, *akakapipu*.
  4. *as* 'away'. See: *anicukas*, *nakurumas*, *eas*, *jisas*, *kikicukomas*, *kukuas*, *pacajkukuas*; + *-m/Vm*: *nasam*, *emasam*, *famasam*, *fafemasam*, *fawasam*, *pumasam*, *sasakamasam*, *siasam*, *tawasam*, *tewerasam*, *tiwsiriasam*, *cumasam*, *wiasam*.
  5. *awer* to be at the edge of something; to be at the extreme part of something. See: *awerfis*, *niawerap*, *apawerjotak*, *awewerjar* (reduplicated); + *-m/Vm*: *aweremtiw*, *aweweremkum*.
  6. *mes* against, close by, along. See: *mesamis*, *mesakajipirem*, *mesari*, *mesem*, *mesenaw*, *meses*, *mesjotep*, *mesom*, *mesop*, *jıwmesop*, *konawmesem*; + *-m/Vm*: *mesemapom*, *mesemjirmem*, *tamesem*.
  7. *met* accompanying; in addition to. See: *metos*, *metotnaw*, *metotep*, *metowomis*, *metocin*; + *-m/Vm*: *metenaw*, *metememan*, *metemtewer*.
  8. *naw* coming. See: *enaw*, *enawap*, *konaw/kunaw*, *konawamis*, *konawap*, *konawmesem*, *konawjim*, *konawkapu*, *konawomis*, *pinaw*, *pijinaw*, *toiwotnaw*; + *-m/Vm*: *izenam*.
  9. *nuk* to embark with many others (in a canoe). See: *ninukamis*; + *-m/Vm*: *nukumomuw*.
  10. *fu* gathered round, with. See: *fuamis*, *jıwfuem*; + *-m/Vm*: *jıwfumtotor*.
  11. *jiniw* (walking) with many, with all. See: *tewjinizawamis*, *tewjinizawem*, *tewjinizawjar*; + *-m/Vm*: *jiniwtewer*, *tewjinim*.

12. *jirim* to stick something in somewhere. See: *jirimem*, *mesem-jirmem*, *jirimku*, *jarjirimop*, *kujirimap*; *jirimsem* (reduplicated).
13. *juk* together, assembled. See: *jukap*, *jujukamis*; + *-m/Vm*: *jukumtiw*, *jujukumapom*, *jujukumapomtam*, *jujukumsomit*, *tajujukumapom*.
14. *kuri*, *kuru* to agree with. See: *tepkuru*, *kukuram*.
15. *pakaj* to break. See: *oterespakaj*; + *-m/Vm*: *capakamop*.
16. *paawu* to depart with many. See: *paawuawer*, *paawuamis*.
17. *piti* to be full. See: *pitijamap*, *pitijiwap*; + *-m/Vm*: *pitimsem*.
18. *puw* to go into the water. See: *jipuw*; + *-m/Vm*: *jipum*, *jispum*, *pumasam*.
19. *si* being in something. See: *nisiap*; + *-m/Vm*: *simom*, *sisimomis*, *jiramsimapom*.
20. *co* to put on a string; to plait. See: *cop*, *coap*, *cotiw*, *cotiwapor*, *comom*.
21. *cuk*, *cuku* to disappear, to go out of sight, to be out of sight. See: *anicukas*, *namicuku*, *jicuku*, *pacajcuku*, *animcuku*, *cukem*, *kikicukomas*; + *-m/Vm*: *parsamcukum*.
22. *wu* with all, with everyone. See: *wuamis*, *emwu*; + *-m/Vm*: *wumomas*.

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## III. Morphemes, not found in combination with formatives.

1. *am* together, with each other. See: *amamew*, *amakan*, *ame*, *amkawi*, *amkawimapom*, *amkoman*, *ampi*, *amtak*, *amtewen*, *amtewer*, *amtiw*, *amcirim*, *amuw*; *apam*, *emamtewer*, *jumamtam*, *kapumamtewer*, *kukuram*, *otmamtewer*.
2. *amis* to set out (to seek food). See: *wuamis*, *tewjiniwamis*.
3. *anim* to take in hand. See: *tiwanim*.
4. *asi* to assemble. See: *asienaw*.
5. *atam* indicates that the subject is doing two things at the same time, or that the subject is using an implement. See: *atamni*, *atamen*, *atamjik*, *atamse*, *atamsi*, *atamsiom*, *atamtewer*, *atamurum*, *atamompur*, *jywatamap*.
6. *awum* to stick something in the hair. See: *tewawum*.
7. *matam* to accompany to. See: *nimatam*, *takmatam*.
8. *mu* to pay, to present (a gift). See: *mutam*, *mutiwatam*.
9. *nuwum*, *nowom* (rowing) in line of battle. See: *nuwumamis*, *mesnowomtep*.

10. *et, ut* for oneself. See: *etjiwir, juwut, sajwut, tewet*.
11. *fes* to stick fast; to be unable to get free. See: *nifesap, nifesop-omit*.
12. *jininim* all around. See: *jininime*.
13. *jir* to bend; to stretch (a bow); to split. See: *jirap, jirem, jirpor, jirse*.
14. *jiram* hasty. See: *jiramfiw, jiramsimapom*.
15. *jirw* jiggling up and down. See: *jirwutum*.
16. *kasi* (to look) casually. See: *porikasi*.
17. *kipim* to hold ready for use (a spear). See: *kipmom*.
18. *okop* to swallow. See: *towokop*.
19. *orom* to pierce (with a spear). See: *omomoromtiw*.
20. *orow* to press repeatedly on. See: *orowapom, orownem*.
21. *ota* to and fro; returning with many people. See: *otasiap, em-otasisimawer*.
22. *oc* to stand out high. See: *temetwanioc*.
23. *papir* to turn round. See: *papiromku*.
24. *pari, pariw* extended, in full length. See: *pariwem, parise*.
25. *saj* each person; all. See: *nisaj, sajes, sajis, sajtakawer, sajwut, emsajcuku*.
26. *sicim* to separate from each other; to set apart. See: *nisicimtiw, sicimapom*.
27. *taj* slanting. See: *tajamis*.
28. *ter* in a row beside each other. (Perhaps = *tur*). See: *aptersi*.
29. *tuw* to keep an eye on. See: *tuwop*.
30. *cu* unseen, secretly. See: *cuomatomit*.
31. *cum* to let go. See: *cumasam*.
32. *cucuru* to slip, to glide. See: *cucuruni*.
33. *wasi* rising above the ground a little bit; to be coming up (of plants). See: *temetwasiap*.

### 103

#### *Residual elements*

These elements will be marked as follows:

- A = meaning uncertain, or unknown.  
 B = morphological structure uncertain, or unknown.  
 AB = meaning as well as morphological structure uncertain, or unknown.

1. *amer* AB. See: *jitamernem, jitamertaw*.
2. *anerem* AB. See: *sianeremtiw*.
3. *amew* B. to tell someone to do something. See: *amamew*.
4. *ak* A. See: *niakap*.
5. *akaj* A. being somewhere for some time (?). See: *mes-akajipirem, tepakajap*.
6. *apes* AB. See: *apesawer*.
7. *arew* A. (with many). See: *arewfaj, arewfajpurtaf, arewkaj, arewsam*.
8. *ari* AB. See: *mesari*.
9. *astam* B. to follow. See: *astamotak, astamotep, emastam-terwer*.
10. *aw* A. See: *apomawsim, tiwawsim*.
11. *map* AB. See: *jismaf*.
12. *me* AB. See: *apme*.
13. *nana* AB. See: *nanasimapom*.
14. *nim* AB. See: *nimomof*.
15. *faj* A. See: *arewfaj; arewfajpor, arewfajpurtaf*.
16. *jiw* A. (heavy). See: *amjiwapom, pitijiwap, jiwsu*.
17. *jum* AB. See: *jumof*.
18. *karem* B. to cause to be silent. See: *karemem*.
19. *kikira* B. to stop up. See: *kikirakurum*.
20. *kom* AB. See: *komapom*.
21. *kokorom* AB. See: *cakokoromse*.
22. *kawu* A. See: *kawuamis*.
23. *om* B. to chop. See: *omas*.
24. *omit* AB. See: *copomit, cuomatomit, nifesopomit*.
25. *okopom* B. to touch, to hit. See: *pumokopom*.
26. *ors* AB. See: *niorsap*.
27. *pit, put* A. (to fall (asleep), to go (tosleep)). See: *pitamis / putamis, nipitamis*.
28. *pom* AB. See: *miwpom, espom, kampom*.
29. *pok* AB. See: *emempokawer*.
30. *pu* A. (to be in the habit of, to be used to). See: *mapu, akakapipu, jipu*.
31. *sam* AB. (to detach from; to take out from). See: *samtewer, samof, emsamem; jipirsam, arewsam*.
32. *sapu* B. to take care of. See: *apsapu*.
33. *ser* A. (bent, in a curve). See: *serapom*.
34. *sirim* A. (to stare at). See: *tiwsirimasam, tiwsirimawer*.

35. *suw* A. See: *suwap*, *suwem*, *suwomis*, *jisuwap*, *nisuwem*, *suwumomis/sumomis*, *suwumop/sumop*, *mersuwem*.
36. *ta, t* A. (neatly; with). See: *tem*, *tap*, *tatafajimtiw*, *tajujukumapom*, *taksem*, *tamesem*.
37. *tapi* A. (a bit). See: *tapijiw*.
38. *tapow* AB. See: *nitapow*.
39. *tatepi* AB. See: *nitatepiap*.
40. *tarw* A. See: *tawariwap*, *tawpacamaom*, *tawpacamop*, *tawpacaj*.
41. *tem* AB. See: *tewtemsem*.
42. *tomin* AB. See: *tawtominomas*.
43. *topom* AB. (to row strongly). See: *ewtopomsirim*.
44. *caj* AB. See: *cajkurum*, *cajomat*.
45. *caci* AB. (tightly packed). See: *caciap*, *caciom*.
46. *urum* AB. See: *atamurum*, *urumni*.
47. *ucim* AB. See: *pupurumucimtiw*.
48. *wani* AB. See: *temetwanioc*.
49. *wari* A. (all at once). See: *waritemet*.
50. *warim* AB. See: *warimomas*.

## WORD-MORPHOLOGY

### Introduction

#### 104

In this section the verbal forms which can be formed from the core by the addition of prefixes and suffixes will be dealt with. These verbal forms, together with the affixless cores, make up the system of verbal categories. This system consists of 24 main categories 17 of which each consist of a system of sub-categories. A survey of these 24 main categories is given in the scheme on p. 68; the sub-categories are here omitted.

The form of the scheme is determined by the following considerations:

1. that the verbal cores are distinguished from all other verbal forms by the absence of a categorial element of form. They can be said

**Survey of the verbal categories**

I

<b>I</b>	<b>1. por</b>			
2. <i>por-íc</i>	3. <i>á-por-á</i>			<b>1</b>
4. <i>mó-por</i>	5. <i>mó-por-áji</i>			
6. <i>mó-por-ájmos</i>	7. <i>mó-por-ájpúrúw</i>			<b>2</b>
8. <i>mó-por-íc</i>				
9. <i>á-por-ców</i>				<b>3</b>
10. <i>a-por-cí</i>	11. <i>ta-por-cáj</i>			
12. <i>á-por-cěmi</i>	14. <i>á-por-mi</i>	16. <i>á-por-i</i>	18. <i>á-por-ací</i>	20. <i>á-por-iti</i>
13. <i>á-por-cěmóp</i>	15. <i>á-por-móp</i>	17. <i>á-por-óf</i>	19. <i>á-por-aró</i>	21. <i>á-por-itió</i>
	23. <i>á-por-měró</i>	24. <i>ap-i</i>		22. <i>á-por-évir-i</i>
	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>		<b>C</b>

I. non-characterized categories.  
 II. characterized categories.

1. without sub-categories.
2. with sub-division into object-categories.
3. with sub-division into subject-categories.
4. with sub-division into subject- and object-categories.

A. occurring with all cores

B. not occurring with cores ending in a time-formative or in the durative-formative.

C. only occurring with cores ending in the durative-formative.

The categories are dealt with in the sequences as given in the survey. For a fuller explanation of this survey, and the meaning of the verbal forms shown, see paragraphs 104 and 105.

to form a *non-characterized* category as opposed to to all other categories, which are *characterized*.

In the scheme: I and II.

2. that the characterized categories fall into:
  1. categories in which there are no sub-categories.
  2. one in which there is a division into a number of object-categories; the verbal forms belonging to this category differ from each other in the suffix indicating the object, e.g.,

*mo-por-c.én* look at me!

*mo-por-c.awúj* look at us!

3. one in which there is a division into a number of subject-categories; the verbal forms belonging to this category differ from each other in the suffix indicating the subject, e.g.,

*á-por-c.ów* do look! (sing.)

*á-por-c.owúj* do look! (plur.)

4. a number of categories in which there is a division into a number of subject categories and a number of object categories; the forms belonging to these categories differ from each other in the suffix indicating the subject and the suffix indicating the object, e.g.,

*á-por-m.i* I see him

*á-por-m.ém* you see him

*á-por-m.ěn.ém* you see me (Cat. 14)

In the scheme: II, 1, 2, 3, 4.

3. Cutting across the preceding division of four groups of characterized categories, there is a division of a totally different kind, i.e., the division of the characterized categories into:
  - A. A number of categories that occur with all cores.
  - B. A number of categories that do not occur with cores ending in time-of-day formatives, i.e., *itúm/utúm*, *es*, *it/ut*, or the durative formative, *awér/awér/ewír/a*.
  - C. One category that occurs only with cores ending in the durative formative, *awér/awér/ewír/a*.

In the scheme: II, A, B, C.

**105**

The 24 categories given in the scheme are as follows:

- I. 1. The core category: *por-* to see, to look at.
- II.
1. A: 2. A category of forms of which the categorical meaning is still not clear:
- por-íc* seeing (?)
3. A category of repetitive forms:
- á-por-á* to look at time and again.
- 4., 5. Two categories each of which has a semantic element of intent. Cat. 5 has, in addition, a semantic element translatable by 'usually, customarily':
- mó-por* in order to see, to wish to see  
*mó-por-áji* customarily to want to see.
- 6-11. These categories are modal categories. They express 'The psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker'.<sup>5</sup>
- 6., 7. Two categories expressing reproof. The forms in Cat. 6 contain, in addition, a semantic element of exhortation: the forms in 7, one of disapproval:
- mó-por-ájmos* you ought to look at it  
*mó-por-ájpurúw* you shouldn't look at it.
2. A: 8. A category of imperative forms:
- mó-por-íc* look!
3. A: 9. A category of hortative forms:
- á-por-ców* do look!
4. A: 10. A category of conditional forms:
- á-por-cí* if I see him.
11. A category of optative forms:
- tá-por-cáj* had I but seen him.

<sup>5</sup> Nida, E. A. *Morphology*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1956, p. 168.



The categories 12-21, inclusive, form a coherent group in which two sets of oppositions occur: a) the oppositions ultimate past - mediate past;<sup>6</sup> b) the aspect oppositions habitual, progressive, anteriority, perfective, absence of aspect:

		aspect				
		habitual	progres- sive	—	anterior- ity	perfect- ive
tense	ultimate past	[12]	14	16	18	20
	mediate past	13	15	17	19	21

An exception is Cat. 12 which relates to the present as well as the future. Cat. 14 is distinguished from Cats. 16, 18 and 20 because it relates to the present as well.

12. *á-por-cěmí* I shall see, I am accustomed to look at  
 13. *á-por-cěmóp* I was accustomed to look at  
 14. *á-por-mí* I look at, I am looking at  
 15. *á-por-móp* I was looking at  
 16. *á-por-i* I saw him (ult. past)  
 17. *á-por-óf* I saw him (med. past)  
 18. *á-por-ací* After I had seen it (ult. past)  
 19. *á-por-aró* After I had seen it (med. past)  
 20. *á-por-iti* I had seen him (ult. past)  
 21. *á-por-itó* I had seen him (med. past)

4. C: 22. A category consisting of past tense forms in which there is no distinction between ultimate past and mediate past. This category occurs only with cores ending in the durative formative: in this category, the allomorph *ewir* occurs.

*á-poréwir-i* I always looked at him.

<sup>6</sup> The Asmat people divide the past into two periods of which the one embraces the other. The one period, which I shall call the *ultimate past*, includes the most recent past as well as the distant past. To the ultimate past belongs everything that happens on the day of a speech-event but prior to it, as well as everything that took place so long ago that it is known only from tradition. The interval of time between begins with yesterday and goes as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience: this period I shall call the *mediate past*. It should be noted that according to the Asmat people the day begins at nightfall.

4. A: 23. A category of forms which seems to be an isolated category. These forms relate to the past (ultimate- and mediate past) and, in addition, have a semantic element of repetition that can be translated with 'each day again':

*á-por-měró* I saw him again each day.

4. B: 24. An unproductive category that only occurs with positional roots:

*ap-í* I am (sitting).

## 106

In the following paragraphs, first the verbal categories will be discussed in detail. Next, two prefixes of which the occurrence is determined by syntactical factors will be dealt with. Finally, two verbal word-groups will also be discussed, i.e., those consisting of:

1. a form of Cat. 3 (core -a), followed by a form of the verb *e/j* to do;
2. a form of Cat. 4 (m/mV- core), followed by a form of the verb *e.m* to do.

### 1 The core category

## 107

The cores form a category that is distinguished from all other categories by the absence of a categorial element of form. Their common semantic element is difficult to define on the basis of the 31 cases I noted. Tentatively, it can be said that these cases fall into two groups:

- a. one comprising a number of cases in which the core seems to be characterized by the absence of all other categorial meanings and only relates to the action or the happening as such:

*a Wók tetám, a Mís tetám, é a níwí tetám, iním a-e-f*

here Wok give here Mis give there his father give /that's what / he did/  
He gave (the fish) to Wok, and to Mis, and to his father (§ 318).

*onów amapóm ará* it must be covered with thatch.

thatch /to cover / it is/

b. one comprising a number of cases in which the core seems to have a semantic element of completion :

*pók tatáfajimtiw akát* the things were neatly put down (§ 268).  
things /neatly put down/ properly

*ci jicēmúp a pájnijs*  
canoe sea there /to turn downstream and go out/  
the canoe had turned downstream and drifted out on sea (§ 339).

## 2 The *-ic* category

### 108

I only noted six forms in this category; the categorial element of form is *-ic/uc*. *-uc* was found after core-final *m*, and in the word *jursúc*. Here, one would expect the rule of distribution formulated in § 91 to obtain: *jursúc* would then be an exception to it. It is still uncertain what the semantic element common to the forms with suffix *-ic/uc* is: the forms seem to indicate a state of having, of being :

*jurs-úc* longing for : *jurús* to long for.

*mokót tewer-ic* an inherited sago garden (§ 329).  
sago garden / having acquired

*Jépem ów por-ic* thinking of the people of Jepem (§ 322).  
Jepém people 'seeing'

*jirm-úc jirim* customarily to send someone on (errands).  
sending on / to send on

*cowúc móc am komapm-úc araw un*  
woman wailing pp /was doing/ pp pp  
the woman was wailing continually (§ 300).

In one of the cases noted the core was preceded by a prefix *a-*:

*a hari Minggu*<sup>7</sup> *cowák jiwí takás aj mupicin a-táwat-ic*  
this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving  
this very Sunday all the children will get new clothes.

The word *fajmuc*, safe, unhindered, perhaps also belongs to this category. The underlying form probably is *fajim* 'to arrange neatly'.

<sup>7</sup> *hari Minggu*: loan-word from Malay.

### 3 The *-a* category

#### 109

When *-a* is suffixed to cores, a category is formed with a semantic element of repetition. In most cases the suffix *-a* was found to be accented.

The forms of this category can occur with a prefixed *a-*. No difference in meaning was found between the forms with and without *a-*:

*é so ókom-á, purumúc am tazw-á, /iním cowák, / iním cowák/  
e song /to start repeatedly/ lament also /to sing repeatedly / and so on/  
/and so on/*

now (she) started the *e* song, then again (she) sang the lament, and so on, and so on.

*enám faw-á, arásen jukúmtiw-á fáfaw-á, arásen jukúmtiw-á...  
á-mesjótép-éf*

fish spearing there /putting together/ spearing there /putting together / so he did going upstream along the bank/

He went upstream along the bank continually spearing fish, which he always put together where he had speared them (§ 316).

The forms of this category can be linked with forms of the verb *e/j* 'to do'. This construction will be dealt with in § 182.

### 4 The *m-/mV-* category

#### 110

*m-* is prefixed to cores beginning with a vowel;

*mV-* is prefixed to cores with initial consonant. The vowel of the prefix is identical to the first vowel of the core, but it can also be *a* irrespective of the following vowel. A definite regularity could not be found here; sometimes both possibilities were found alongside each other, sometimes only one of them, for instance, I noted:

from *por* 'to see': *mó-por* and *má-por*;

from *fis* 'to come inside': always *mí-fis*;

from *ni* 'to return home': always *má-ni*.

Cores with prefixed *m-/mV-* have a semantic element of intent which is translatable with:

1. to wish to, in order to, to intend to:

*nó amás m-awán* I am going to scrape out sago.

I sago /go to scrape out/

*Ac ma-jsas ów opén*

Ac /want to go to/ people pp

are there people who want to go to (the village) Ac?

*ěnéw mú m-aw dapur*<sup>8</sup> *emiw-ér*

mother water /to boil/ kitchen /she went into/

mother went into the kitchen to boil water.

2. to have to, to be necessary to :

*akát cepés mo-cómopawér*

comely women /must be kept hidden/

you must keep comely women hidden (in the house) (§ 330).

*ná m-uapóm araw án* must we bury him (§ 274)?

we /must bury/ pp pp

3. 'to be able to, to be allowed to', if the postposition *pen* follows :

*nó a cém mi-fís pen* may I come inside this house?

I this house /can come in/ pp

### 111

I obtained, in addition, *m-/mV-* forms from my informants every time they referred to the action or the happening as such; for example, when I asked them "What's 'to go'", they replied "*ma-jár*". "What's 'to take'?" - "*mé-tewér*".

The question is, how do these forms stand as regards the core which can also indicate an action or a happening as such? It is out of the question that this is an idiosyncrasy of my informants, for Drabbe<sup>9</sup> had the same experience with his informants from Ajam.<sup>10</sup> It occurs to me that these forms only differ from the affixless core in having a semantic element of explanation, or clarification. This idea is supported by the fact that in categories 12, 14, 16 and 17, forms also occur that are characterized by a prefix *m-/mV-* which seems to differ

<sup>8</sup> loan-word from Malay.

<sup>9</sup> mentioned in the introduction, § 6.

<sup>10</sup> Drabbe does not say this explicitly. That he had the same experience, however, appears from his treatment of the *m-/mV-* forms: see § 47 of his "Grammar of the Asmat Language".

from the forms without this prefix by having a semantic element of explanation or clarification. Examples of the use of these forms, which I shall call *explanatory* forms, are to be found in §§ 140, 148, 158, 164.

### 5 The *m-/mV- -áji/éji* category

#### 112

*m-* occurs before an initial vowel;

*mV-* occurs before an initial consonant: the vowel is identical to the first vowel of the core, or *a* (/ / *m-/mV-* § 111).

*-áji* occurs in all cases, except when the core ends in the durative formative, which in this category has the allomorph *ewér*; in this case *-éji* occurs. The first vowel of the suffix is always accented.

The forms of this category only differ from those of the preceding category in having a semantic element that can be translated with 'usually; always':

*nó capínmi ma-konáwams-áji*

I land /usually go to sleep/

I shall make it my custom to go on the land to sleep (says a crocodile).

*cár mo-kokójniewer-éji araw án*

you /always to fall down/ pp pp

must you always fall down (§ 226)?

*ná níim as m-em-áji pów* we don't usually do such a thing (§ 287).

we such /a thing / usually to do/ not

### 6 The *-ájmos* category

#### 113

The following forms were noted:

*m/mV-* core *-mos*

*m/mV-* core *-ájmos*

core *-ámos*

core *-ájmos/éjimos*.

No difference in meaning could be found between the forms with and without a prefix and between forms with *-mos*, *-ámos*, *-ájmos* or *-éjimos*. *-éjimos* only occurs with cores ending in the durative formative, which here occurs in the allomorph *ewér*.

From a comparison with the *-ájpurúw* category, (§ 114), it appears that we are here dealing with a suffix *-a/aj/éji*, followed by a suffix *-mos*. The suffix *-a/aj/éji* is probably identical with the suffix *-áji* of the forms of category 5. The forms of the *-ájmos* and the *-ájpurúw* category are used to comment on something that, in the opinion of the speaker, is not as it ought to be.

The forms of the *-ájmos* category have a semantic element of exhortation in common :

*é wasén m-amus-ájmos o cepés akát*  
yonder forest /go with/ your wives comely  
now, you go with your comely wives to the forest! (as is usual).

*atów, ci ak-ájmosó*<sup>10a</sup> Come, now make a canoe!  
come, canoe /make it now/

(Says a man to his brother-in-law who, according to Asmat custom, must make a canoe for him but who has not done so).

*Owpacákípíc, ci jén inim émewer-éjimos*  
O. canoe sound /like this / you should always have been making!/  
Owpacákípíc, you should always have been making canoes for us!

## 7 The *-ájpurúw* category

### 114

The following forms were noted :

*m-/mV-* core *-ájpurúw*  
core *-ájpurúw/-éjipuruw*.

Like the forms of the *-ájmos* category, I could not find any difference in meaning between forms with and without a prefix. *-éjipurúw* occurs only with cores ending in the durative formative, which here, also, occurs in the allomorph *ewér*. With regard to *-purúw*, there is some doubt whether we are here dealing with a suffix : the structure *CVCVC* was not found in any other suffix. Since, however, *-purúw* was only found in combination with verbal forms, in a position parallel to that of the suffix *-mos*, I shall regard it as a suffix.

The *-ájpurúw* forms differ semantically from the *-ájmos* forms in that they do not express an exhortation, but a disapprobation :

<sup>10a</sup> For the final *o* in *akájmosó*, see § 33.

*inim as em-ájpurúwa* <sup>10b</sup> you mustn't do such a thing!  
/like this/ something /you must not do/

*pók piri emewer-éjipurúwa*  
fish /telling me wrong / you must not always/  
you must not tell me always the wrong way (to catch fish).

The semantic difference between forms with *-ájpurúw* and forms with *-ájmos* stands out clearly in the following case:

*pacákseré ow atakám jeten in apteterémtaw-ájpurúwa,*  
unfit people word middle pp /must not sit to talk/  
*akát ow atakám jeten in apteterémtaw-mosá!*  
fit people word middle pp /must sit to talk/  
unfit people are not expected to have a voice in discussions, only  
fit people do!

## 8 The imperative category

### 115

In this category there is a division into three object categories, a division that also occurs in categories 10 to 24, inclusive. These object categories are:

- I. a. the verb has no object ;  
b. the object or, where the verb admits of two objects, the indirect object, is neither the speaker, nor a group to which the speaker belongs, nor the person(s) spoken to :  
*him, her, it ; them.*
- II. the object or the indirect object, is the speaker or the person(s) spoken to :  
*me, you.*
- III. the object, or the indirect object, is a group of people to which the speaker considers himself to belong at the time of speaking :  
*us.*

---

<sup>10b</sup> For the final *a* in all these examples see § 34.



## 116

Paradigms of the imperative forms :<sup>11</sup>

*an* to eat                      *tetam* to give  
*por* to look at                *iwi* to shoot

I. a.	<i>an-íc/i</i>	<i>tetam-úc</i>	give it
b.	<i>án-cej</i>	<i>tetám-cej</i>	you should give it to him
II.	<i>án-cen/cin</i>	<i>tetám-cen/cin</i>	give it to me
III.	<i>án-cawúj</i>	<i>tetám-cawúj</i>	give it to us
A.	zero, a-, m-/mV-, p-/pV-		direct imperative
B.	mom-/pom-		postponed imperative

I. a.	<i>iwí-c</i>	<i>por-íc/i</i>	look!
b.	<i>iwí-cej</i>	<i>pór-cej</i>	you should look at it
II.	<i>iwí-cen/cin</i>	<i>pór-cen/cin/en/in</i>	look at me
III.	<i>iwí-cawúj</i>	<i>pór-cawúj/awuj</i>	look at us
A.	zero, a-/aj-/an-, m-/mV-, p-/pV-		direct imperative
B.	mom-/pom-		postponed imperative

If a comparison is made between the forms *iwí-c*, *iwí-cen*, and *iwí-cawúj*, it will be seen that the object categories II and III are characterized by the suffixes *-en* and *-awuj*, respectively, but that a

<sup>11</sup> The following should be noted regarding the arrangement of the paradigms:

1. the verbal forms in the paradigms are shown without any prefixes. When prefixes do occur, they are given separately below the paradigms;
2. in the forms, only the junction between the core and the peripheral part is shown: in the usual manner, by a dash. The morpheme structure of the peripheral part can be deduced by comparing the different forms and from the discussion on the formal characteristics of the categories which will be given immediately after the paradigms;
3. when the phonological structure of the core influences the form of the suffixes following the core, the paradigms of the different verbs will be given in order to demonstrate this influence;
4. in general, a translation will only be given of one of the series of forms. This translation will always be of the forms with prefixes given in A.

similar suffix is absent in the form of the object category I. Object category I is here characterized by the absence of an element of form which is correlated with the categorical meaning. In a case such as this, we can say that the object category is characterized by zero.

If we compare the form *an-i* with the other forms of the paradigm, then we see that here the modal suffix *c* is absent: the imperative is therefore characterized by zero. Besides *an-i*, the form with modal suffix *-c*, *an-íc* then occurs: here, the modal suffix *-c* alternates with zero.

*Formal characteristics.*

**117**

Modal suffix: *-c*.

*-c* occurs after the suffix of object category I, and alternates freely with zero;

*-c* occurs before the suffix of object categories II and III.

In these cases, *-c* alternates freely with zero, when the core ends in *r*.

Object suffixes:

I. a. *-i/-u*; *-i* and *-u* are conditioned allomorphs.

According to the rule formulated in § 91 (*//itúm/utúm*) they are mutually exclusive.

b. *-ej*.

II. *-en* alternates freely with *-in*.

III. *-awuj*.

Prefixes:

A. *a-aj-/an-*; *m-/mV-*; *p-/pV-*.

*a-* is only found before a core-initial consonant, or *a. aj-* or *an-* also occur before *a* instead of *a-*.

*m-* and *p-* occur before vowels.

*mV-* and *pV-* occur before consonants. As a rule, the vowel is identical to the first vowel of the core, but it can also be *a*, irrespective of the vowel following. No definite regularity could be discerned here.

These prefixes can also be absent: when, however, the core consists of one vowel, there is always a prefix. In the cases noted this prefix was mostly *a-*.

B. *mom-/pom-* appear to alternate freely.

*Categorial meaning***118**

1. The imperative forms with prefixes of series A, or without a prefix. No difference in meaning could be found between the forms with and without a prefix or between the forms which each have a prefix. The forms with *a-* and with *m-/mV-* are interchangeable; the forms with *p-/pV-* are perhaps rather more emphatic than the others. All these forms, with the exception of those with *-cej*, express a command that must be obeyed immediately:

*mó-por-í, a-por-í* look at it!

*aj-áf-cen, an-áf-cen* hit me!

*atów p-e-c* go and play!  
play /do it/

The forms with *-cej* do not have such a forceful imperative character; they contain a corrective instruction:

*iním a-ám-cej* you must chop it this way.  
/this way / chop it/

*jewór jurúw naká! éfa iním em-pór-cej*  
visit long too! quickly /this way / you must do it/  
your visit has been too long, you should be quick about it!

*pacák pók towós-cěmokóm, akát pók tówos-cěj*  
bad wares /bring you always/ good wares /you must bring/  
you always bring bad wares, you should bring good wares.

2. The imperative forms with prefixes of series B. The forms with the prefix *mom-* or *pom-* express a command that does not have to be obeyed immediately:

*móm-tetám-cin* give it to me soon!  
*pom-mátewer-íc (pomáteweríc)* chop it down soon and take it!

**9 The hortative category****119**

In this category the following subject categories are distinguished:

1. 2nd. pers. s.       you
2. 2nd. pers. pl.     you
3. 2nd. pers. dual   both of you
4. 1st. pers. pl.     we
5. 1st. pers. dual    both of us

Dual forms of the 1st. and 2nd. persons are only found in this category. They are productive, in contrast to the dual forms of the 3rd. person that occur in categories 14 and 16.

### 120

Paradigms of the hortative forms :

*an* to eat; *por* to look at

1. <i>án-cow</i>	<i>pór-cow</i>	look at it, look now
2. <i>án-cowúj</i>	<i>pór-cowúj/wuj</i>	you (pl.) look at it, you (pl.) look now
3. <i>án-cim</i>	<i>pór-cim/im</i>	both of you look at it, both of you look now
4. <i>án-car/ca</i>	<i>pór-car/ca</i>	let us look at it
5. <i>án-casín</i>	<i>pór-casín</i>	let us both look at it
4a. <i>án-er-ar/era</i>	<i>pór-ar/a</i>	let us look at it (inf.)
5a. <i>án-er-asín</i>	<i>pór-asín</i>	let us both look at it (inf.) (inf. = informal)
A.    p-/pV-, m-/mV-, a-, -		

The forms with the modal suffix *-er* that occur here in 4. and 5. are forms which only occur in friendly, familiar speech. They are not used when the speaker desires to or must keep the person(s) spoken to at a distance. These forms I shall call *informal* forms; the forms with modal suffix *-c* I shall call *formal* forms. The term *formal* only indicates, that in 'formal speech' only the formal forms are used; it does not imply that the formal forms can not occur in 'informal speech'.

The distinction between formal and informal forms also occurs in categories 10, 11 and 12.

*Formal characteristics***121**

Modal suffixes: formal: *-c*; zero  
 informal: *-er*

*-c* occurs in all cases; after core-final *r*, *-c* alternates with zero.

*-er* occurs only after core-final consonant  $\neq r$ .

The modal suffix here occurs before the subject suffix in all cases.

Subject suffixes:

1. *-ow*
2. *-owuj*; when the modal suffix is zero: *-wuj*
3. *-im*
4. *-ar*, alternating with *-a*
5. *-asim*

Prefixes: *a-*; *m-/mV-*, *p-/pV-*.

Here, the same rules of distribution apply as for the prefixes in series A of the imperative category. Here, also, forms occur without a prefix; before a core having one vowel, however, there is always a prefix: in most of the cases noted this was *a-*.

*Categorial meaning***122**

As with the imperative forms, I did not find here a difference in meaning between forms with and without a prefix, and between the forms which each have a prefix.

The hortative forms express an exhortation:

*amás aj-áw-car!* let us scrape out sago!  
 sago /let us scrape it out!/  
 /

*inim a-án-cow!* eat it up!  
 /this way / eat it!/  
 /

*m-án-ca!* let us eat it!  
*atów p-é-car!* let us play!  
 play /let us!/  
 /

*má-jirpor-im* both of you cross now (to the other side of the river).

**Subdivision into subject- and object-categories****123**

In the next categories to be dealt with, categories 10 to 24, inclusive, there is a division into 3 object-categories, and a division into 6 or 7 subject-categories.

The object-categories are those mentioned in § 115.

The subject-categories are as follows:

- 1st. pers. sing
- 2nd. pers. „
- 3rd. pers. „
- 1st. pers. plural
- 2nd. pers. „
- 3rd. pers. „
- 3rd. pers. dual

The 3rd. pers. dual occurs only in categories 14 and 16.

The object- and subject-categories occur in the following combinations:

subj. cat.	obj. cat.	no.	
1st. pers. s.	I	1	I - him, them, etc., or : absence of object
	II	2	I - you, you (pl.)
2nd. pers. s.	I	3	you - him, them, etc., or : absence of object
	II	4	you - me
	III	5	you - us
3rd. pers. s.	I	6	he - him, them, etc., or : absence of object
	II	7	he - me, you, you (pl.)
	III	8	he - us
1st. pers. pl.	I	9	we - him, them, etc., or : absence of object
	II	10	we - you, you (pl.)
2nd. pers. pl.	I	11	you - him, them, etc., or : absence of object
	II	12	you - me
	III	13	you - us
3rd. pers. pl.	I	14	they - him, them, etc., or : absence of object
	II	15	they - you, you (pl.), me
	III	16	they - us
3rd. pers. dual	I	17	both of them - him, them, etc., or : absence of object

In the paradigms, the verbal forms will be given in the order as above.<sup>12</sup>

### 124

The suffixes that characterize the subject- and object categories display great uniformity in all the categories which follow. For the description of these suffixes, we will take as a basis the standard list given below and only the deviations from the list in each category will be given. A survey of these deviations will be found at the back of the book.

Suffixes indicating the object	
I.	zero
II.	<i>-n</i> after a vowel or <i>r</i> .
	<i>-en</i> word-finally; and after C.
	<i>-ĕn</i> medial; and after C $\neq r$ .
III.	<i>-aw</i>
Suffixes indicating the subject	
1st. pers. s.	<i>-i</i>
2nd. pers. s.	<i>-em</i> ; after <i>w</i> , however: <i>-om</i>
3rd. pers. s.	zero
1st. pers. pl.	<i>-om</i>
2nd. pers. pl.	<i>-okom</i> ; after <i>r</i> or <i>w</i> , however: <i>-kom</i>
3rd. pers. pl.	<i>-es</i> ; after <i>p</i> or <i>w</i> , however: <i>-os</i> . With object-suffix <i>-en</i> - you (pl.): zero; see § 126.

The order of the suffixes is, as a rule: 1. suffix indicating the category; 2. suffix indicating the object; 3. suffix indicating the subject.

The suffix indicating the subject only occurs before the suffix indicating the object, in form 2.

## 10 The conditional category

### 125

In this category there is a division into formal and informal forms. This division cuts through the classification into subject- and object-

<sup>12</sup> From the foregoing it will be clear that, when a verb admits of no object, only forms 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, and 17 occur. See, for example, the paradigms of the positional verbs, given in § 176.

categories, so that the whole paradigm is split into one series of formal forms and one series of informal forms.

Paradigms of the conditional forms :

*tetám* to give; *por* to see

formal	informal		
1. tetám-ci	tetám-ěří	por-í	if I see him <sup>13</sup>
2. tetám-cin	tetám-ěřín	por-ín	if I see you
3. tetám-cem	tetám-ěřém	por-ém	if you see him
4. tetám-cěném	tetám-erném	por-ném	if you see me
5. tetám-cawóm	tetám-ěrawóm	pór-awóm	if you see us
6/8. tetám-caw <sup>14</sup>	tetám-ěráw	por-áw	if he sees him, us
7. tetám-cen	tetám-ěřen	por-én	if he sees me, you ; if they see you (pl.)
9. tetám-com	tetám-ěřóm	por-óm	if we see him
10. tetám-cěným	tetám-ernóm	por-nóm	if we see you
11. tetám-cokóm	tetám-erkóm	por-kóm	if you see him
12. tetám-cěnokóm	tetám-ernokóm	pór-nokóm	if you see me
13. tetám-cawkóm	tetám-ěrawkóm	pór-awkóm	if you see us
14. tetám-ces	tetám-ěřés	por-és	if they see him
15. tetám-cěnés	tetám-ernés	por-nés	if they see me, you (sing.)
16. tetám-cawós	tetám-ěrawós	pór-awós	if they see us
A.	zero, a-		
B.	m-/ma-/maj-		requisitive
C.	p-/pV-, m-/mV-, zero		prohibitive
D.	ca-/ta-		prioritive

<sup>13</sup> Of the pronouns in object category I: him, her, it, them, I shall follow the practice throughout the paradigms of giving only 'him'.

<sup>14</sup> In this category, in contrast to all those following, there is no formal difference between forms with subject-object combination No. 6 and those with subject-object combination No. 8.



*Formal characteristics***126**

Modal suffixes: *-c*; *-er/-ěr/zero*.<sup>15</sup>

*-c* occurs with the formal forms.

The following occur with the informal forms:

*-er* before C

*-ěr* before V; after the core-final *r*, zero always occurs.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. in forms 6/8 zero occurs instead of *-aw*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

3rd. pers. s. in forms 6/8: *-aw* occurs instead of zero.

3rd. pers. pl.: a feature occurs here which is also found in the following categories: when combined with the subject suffix *-es* of the 3rd. pers. pl., the object suffix *-en* only relates to the speaker and the person spoken to:

*tetám-cěnés* if they give me, you (sing.).

If the object-suffix relates to the persons spoken to, then the subject suffix of the 3rd. pers. pl. is zero and the form is like that of form No. 7:

*tetám-cen* a. if he gives it to me, you, you (pl.)

b. if they give it to you (pl.).

## Prefixes

A. zero, *a-*:

*a-* was only found before cores having one vowel and beginning with a consonant. An exception is the core *tewér* to take, of which forms were found with and without prefix *a-*.

<sup>15</sup> For reasons unknown to me the informants always used the informal forms with cores ending in *es*, *it* and *awér*, and the formal forms with cores ending in *itúm*:

*kártu atów é.it-ěři, é.es-ěři, é.awer-i, e.itúm-ci*  
cards play /if I do..../

If I play cards in the morning, at night, at noon, in the evening...

Later, it appeared from the texts that the formal forms can occur with cores ending in *it* and *es* and the informal forms with cores ending in *itúm* (*á-porit-ci, á-pores-ci, á-poritúm-ěři*).

After *awér*, however, the modal suffix is always zero so that the contrast formal-informal does not occur:

*á-poráwer-i* if I continually look at... (formal & informal).

B. *m-/ma-/maj-*:

*ma-* occurs before C and V  $\neq a$ .

*m-* occurs before *a*, except with the positional roots *aɸ* to sit, and *amís* to lie: here, *maj-* occurs.

C. *m-/mV-*, *p-/pV-*:

The rules of distribution are here the same as for the prefixes of the imperative category (§ 117).

D. *ca-/ta-*: only in one case did I note *ta-* occurring instead of *ca-*.

*Categorial meaning*

## 127

A. Forms with prefix *a-*, or without prefix:  
these have a conditional meaning:

*ɸakán a-kám-ci, móm-emsiri-c* if I scream, then run away quickly!  
scream /if I give / run away quickly/!

## 128

B. Forms with prefix *m-/ma-/maj-*: these have an imperative meaning; they express an order or a requirement. Only the forms of the 1st. and 3rd. persons occur with this meaning:

*inim atakám m-apómkuru-cóm* we must tell him about it (§ 343).  
this story /we must tell him/

*máj-ap-ěráw* he must remain sitting.

*máj-ams-ěráw, máj-amís-caw* it must remain lying.

*má-entép-caw* it must remain hanging.

*má-teɸ-ěrés* they must go upstream.

Probably the occurrence of imperative and hortative forms of the 2nd. person in category 9 and 10 prevents the forms of the 2nd. person in this category to occur with an imperative meaning.

## 129

Forms with prefix *m-/mV-* or *p-/pV-*: these have a prohibitive meaning. Here, by contrast, only the forms of the 2nd. person occur. They have either no prefix, or *m-/mV-*, or *p-/pV-*, just as in the

imperative and hortative categories, without noticeable difference in meaning:

*pók mi-jitúm-cěnemó*<sup>15a</sup> don't throw things at me the whole evening!  
thing /don't throw at me in the evening/

*mót se m-ówawer-ém*  
wailing mud /don't you always roll in it/  
don't continually roll in the mud, wailing (§ 299).

*pápis a-tám-cokóm*  
/exchange women / do not do/  
you cannot make an exchange of women with her (§ 330)!

*man mi tiwot-ěřém*  
hand tip /don't touch him/  
don't touch him with the tips of your fingers (§ 309)!

With the verb *e/j* to do, in addition to the forms with modal suffix *-c*, forms with modal suffix *-t* occur:

*m-owórse p-é-cemá*<sup>15b</sup> you must not travel to and fro!  
/to travel to and fro / you must not/

*mu-cucúm p-e-tém, p-e-tokóm*  
to make noise / don't do it!/  
you (sing., pl.) must not make such a noise!

### 130

D. By prefixation with *ca-* a category of prioritiv-conditional forms is created: first; must first:

*camním ca-emáp-ci*  
/in the proper way / I must first go and sit/  
first, I must go and sit down in the proper way (§ 291).

*cá-wijispor-in*<sup>16</sup> let me first go quickly to the forest to look at it.

There was one case in which *ta-* occurred instead of *ca-*:

*no tá-tak-cí*  
I /I must first go down the river/  
I must first go down the river (before you close it off).

<sup>15a</sup> For final *o* see § 33.

<sup>15b</sup> For final *a* see § 34.

<sup>16</sup> Form 2 (I-you) always occurs when the speaker refers to himself, as in the case just given.

## 131

The conditional forms also occur in interrogative sentences with the interrogatives *ucim* what, which, and *ca* who, when the question relates to the future:

*ucim caj é-cem* what are you going to do?  
which scheme /you do?/

*cá a-tewér-caw* who will take it?  
who /will take it?/

See also the discussion on interrogatives, § 234.

## 11 The optative category

## 132

Here, also, a series of formal and a series of informal forms occur alongside each other.

Paradigms:

*tetám* to give; *por* to see

formal	informal		
1. tetám-caj	tetám-aráj	por-áj	had I but seen him
2. tetám-can	tetám-aran	por-án	had I but seen you
3. tetám-carém	tetm-ararém	por-arém	had you but seen him
4. tetám-carném	tetám-ararném	por-arném	had you but seen me
5. tetám-carawóm	tetám-arárawóm	por-árawóm	had you but seen us
6. tetám-car	tetám-arár	por-ár	had he but seen him
7. tetám-carén	tetám-ararén	por-arén	had he but seen me, you, had they but seen you (pl.)
8. tetám-caráw	tetám-araráw	por-aráw	had he but seen us
9. tetám-caróm	tetám-araróm	por-aróm	had we but seen him
10. tetám-carnóm	tetám-ararnóm	por-arnóm	had we but seen you
11. tetám-carkóm	tetám-ararkóm	por-arkóm	had you but seen him
12. tetám-carnokóm	tetám-arárnokom	por-árnokóm	had you but seen me
13. tetám-carawkóm	tetám-araráwkom	pór-aráwkom	had you but seen us
14. tetám-carés	tetám-ararés	por-arés	had they but seen him
15. tetám-carnés	tetám-ararnés	por-arnés	had they but seen me, you (sing.)
16. tetám-carawós	tetám-araráwos	por-aráwos	had they but seen us
A.	t-/ta-		

*Formal characteristics***133**

Modal suffixes: *-car/-ca, -arar/-ara/-ar/-a*:

formal: *-car* in all cases, except in forms 1. and 2. where *-ca* occurs.

informal: in all forms, except 1. and 2.: *-arar*, but after the core-final *r*: *-ar*.

In forms 1. and 2.: *-ara*, but after the core-final *r*: *-a*.

As in the conditional forms, the contrast formal-informal, does not occur with cores ending in *awér*. After *awér*, only *-ar* and *-a* occur.

Object suffixes: no peculiarities.

Subject suffixes: peculiarities:

1st. pers. s. *-j* in form 1.; zero in form 2.

Prefixes: *t-/ta-*.

*t-* before vowels; *ta-* before consonants.

*Categorial meaning***134**

The forms of the optative category express an unrealizable wish of the speaker:

*jó cowák a t-arwáp-cares áw!*

river one there /had they but lived together/ pp

had they but lived together on one river (§ 329)!

In addition, these forms occur in sentences having the irrealis mark *aj* (see § 256). They then relate to the present or to the future and occur instead of the forms of categories 12 and 14.

*nórap aj nat a jéw t-ámses-aráj*

/I alone/ pp pp here /ceremonial house / I would sleep/

If I were alone (unmarried) I would stay and sleep here in the ceremonial house.

*ó a-tówoj aj, nés t-on-cán*

pig killed pp flesh /I would give you/

If I had killed a pig, I would give you the flesh.

When, however, the verb following after *aj* relates to the past, then the past tense forms of categories 16 and 17 occur:

*to á es áj, emé-faw-óf*

yesterday here /to come/ pp /I speared them already/

had they come here yesterday, I would have speared them

*jó pu iním emse-res áj nat, mú namír eme-áf-ores in*

sea on /like this / they were/ pp pp water dead /they were already/ pp

had they been on the sea, then they would by now have met their deaths in the water.

## 12 The habitual category

### 135

This category, like categories 13 to 15, inclusive, and 18 to 21, inclusive, is a *tense-aspect* category with separate characteristics of form for indicating time and aspect. In this category, as in the two previous categories, a series of formal and a series of informal forms occur. These two series are, in addition, opposed to a third series of forms which express a particular *mood* of the speaker, such as, for example: joy, excitement, vexation, disappointment. These forms I shall call *mood* forms. The formal and the informal forms are, in this respect, neutral. In addition, a few interrogative forms were noted. These occur only in the traditional stories. I get the impression that they have an archaic character. Outside the traditional tales, I found in questions only the non-interrogative forms, followed by the question marker *en/an*.<sup>17</sup>

### 136

(Paradigms: see pp. 94-95)

I noted the following interrogative forms:

- |                            |                    |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>tetám-cěmaní</i>     | shall I give him   |
| 3. <i>tetám-cěmaném</i>    | will you give him  |
| 6. <i>tetám-cěmán</i>      | will he give him   |
| 9. <i>tetám-cěmanóm</i>    | shall we give him  |
| 11. <i>tetám-cěmánokóm</i> | will you give him  |
| 14. <i>tetám-cěmanés</i>   | will they give him |

### *Formal characteristics*

#### 137

Aspect suffixes: *-cěm/-cě/-cu/-m*; *-erm* (informal).

1. only with cores not ending in the formative *awér*:

<sup>17</sup> For the discussion on this, see § 252.

*-cěm* in all non-mood forms, and in mood-form 6 (before mood suffix *-op*).

*-cě* before mood suffix *-p* when *-p* is followed by a vowel  $\neq u$ .

*-cu* before the mood suffix *-p* when *-p* is followed by *u*.

2. only with cores ending in the formative *awér*: *-m*.<sup>18</sup>

3. Informal: *-erm*. This suffix occurs only with cores not ending in *r*. The opposition formal - informal does not, therefore, occur if the core ends in *r*.

Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 13, it appears that here the time suffix is zero.

Mood suffix: *-p/-op*.

*-p* occurs in all forms, except when the object suffix and the subject suffix are zero; in that case, *-op* occurs.

Interrogative suffix: *-an*.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. In the non-mood series: *-ěraw* occurs before vowels; *-araw* occurs word-finally and before consonants.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st. pers. s.; after the mood suffix *-p*: final *-uj*, medial *-u*.

3rd. pers. s.; in the formal and informal series: when the object suffix is zero: *-ar* alternating with *-a*. *-ar* and *-a* alternate freely, except when, in context, the form is followed by a word with initial vowel. In that case, this suffix is always *-ar*.

Prefixes:

A. zero/*a/-aj-*:

<sup>18</sup> Here I noted only one mood-form of a core ending in *awér*: *m-ájmirēmewér-punè* = I always go the wrong way, (§ 317).

Here, the aspect suffix is zero. If we compare this form with mood-forms of cores without *awér*, it then becomes apparent that in this series we can expect an aspect suffix *-m* in form 6. (before *-op*):

	before <i>-op</i>	before <i>-p</i>
without <i>awér</i>	<i>-cěm</i>	<i>-cě, -cu</i>
with <i>awér</i>	<i>(-m)</i>	zero

The paradigms of these forms would, therefore, probably be as follows:

1. *porawer-puj*; 2. *porawer-pun*; etc.; 6. *porawer-mop*; 7. *porawer-pen*, etc.

Paradigms: *tetám* to give; *por* to see

formal	informal	
1. tetám-cěmí	tetám-ermí	porawér-mi
2. tetám-cěmín	tetám-ermín	porawér-mín
3. tetám-cěmém	tetám-ermém	porawér-mem
4. tetám-cěměném	tetám-erměném	porawér-měném
5. tetám-cěměrawóm	tetám-ěrměrawóm	porawér-měrawóm
6. tetám-cěmá(r)	tetám-ermá(r)	porawér-ma(r)
7. tetám-cěmén	tetám-ermén	porawér-men
8. tetám-cěmaráw	tetám-ermaráw	porawér-maráw
9. tetám-cěmóm	tetám-ermóm	porawér-mom
10. tetám-cěměnóm	tetám-erměnóm	porawér-měnóm
11. tetám-cěmokóm	tetám-ermokóm	porawér-mokóm
12. tetám-cěměnokóm	tetám-erměnokóm	porawér-měnokóm
13. tetám-cěmaráwkom	tetám-ermaráwkom	porawér-maráwkom
14. tetám-cěmés	tetám-ermés	porawér-mes
15. tetám-cěměnés	tetám-erměnés	porawér-měnés
16. tetám-cěměrawós	tetám-ěrměrawós	porawér-měrawós
A.	zero, a-/aj-	
B.	m-/mV-	
C.	tep-/tepa-	

*a-* alternates with zero. In addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*. The prefix *a-* usually occurs before a core having one vowel and beginning with a consonant. There is usually no prefix before cores beginning with a vowel.

B. *m-/mV-*:

The rule of distribution is here the same as that applying to the prefix *m-/mV-* of category 4 (§ 110).

C. *tep-/tepa-*:

*tepa-* occurs in all cases, except before *a*

*tep-* occurs before *a*.



mood forms		
tetám-cupúj	I usually give him	; I shall give him
tetám-cupún	I usually give you	; I shall give you
tetám-cěpém	you usually give him	; you will give him
tetám-cěpěném	you usually give me	; you will give me
tetm-cěpawóm	you usually give us	; you will give us
tetám-cěmop	he usually gives him	; he will give him
tetám-cěpen	he usually gives me, you	; he will give me, you
	they usually give you (pl.)	; they will give you (pl.)
tetám-cěpáw	he usually gives us	; he will give us
tetám-cěpom	we usually give him	; we shall give him
tetám-cěpěném	we usually give you	; we shall give you
tetám-cěpokóm	you usually give him	; you will give him
tetám-cěpěnokóm	you usually give me	; you will give me
tetám-cěpawkóm	you usually give us	; you will give us
tetám-cěpés	they usually give him	; they will give him
tetám-cěpěnés	they usually give me, you (sing.)	; they will give me, you (sing.)
tetám-cěpawós	they usually give us	; they will give us
	explicative	
	negative interrogative	

*Categorial meaning***138**

A. The forms without prefix, or with *a-/aj-*.

These indicate:

1. that the action or the happening is customary:

*jéw emáp-cěmá*

ceremonial house / he sits usually/

he is sitting, as usual, in the ceremonial house (§ 265).

*is a-poáms-ermóm* (after the feast) we usually all go to sleep.  
sleep /we usually all go to sleep/

*cí jufúj nim a-kirim-cupúj*

canoe /trough for paint/ like /I am accustomed to make/ (mood-form)

I am accustomed to make a canoe (beautifully carved) like a trough for paint! (Here the speaker gives expression to a feeling of pride).

In addition, they can have a prohibitive meaning:

*inim ém-cěmemá* <sup>18a</sup> you mustn't do it this way.

/this way / you must not always do it/

*inim atakám a-táw-cěmém* you mustn't keep saying such things.

/like this/ talking /you mustn't always speak/

2. that the action or the happening will take place in the future:

*usí wow a-káj-cěmá* today the people will return from camp (§ 333).

camp today /people will return/

*ós armá emwús-ermár*

tree /it itself / it will fall down/

the tree will fall down of its own accord (§ 296).

*ós kor am ém-cěpém*

cough loudly also /you will do/ (mood-form)

soon you'll also cough loudly (said a speaker laughing to the tape recorder when he had interrupted his narrative with a fit of coughing).

### 139

B. Forms with the prefix *m-/mV-*.

All the forms noted belong to the formal series.

The forms with *m-/mV-* are distinguished from the forms without a prefix, or with *a-/aj-* in that they are used when the speaker explains or interprets something, or when he makes a confirmatory statement to himself. These forms I shall call explicative forms (see § 111).

Explaining which word is used for peeling skin, an informant said:

*na picín ma-fafúj-cěmaráw* our skin 'peels'.

our skin /it 'peels us'/

*m-ájmiremewér-punè* <sup>18b</sup> (mood-form) - I always go the wrong way!

<sup>18a</sup> For final *a* see § 34.

<sup>18b</sup> For final *è* see § 33.

(complains a man who meets spirits when he is looking for food § 317).

Form 2. occurs here because he makes the observation to himself.

**140**

C. Forms with the prefix *tep-/tepa-*.

All the forms noted belong to the formal series.

The forms with *tep-/tepa-* are distinguished from the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* in that they express a negative question:

*tépa-pór-cěmém* why don't you usually look at it?

**13 The habitual forms of the mediate past****141**

Paradigms:

*tetam* to give; *e/j* to do

1. tetám-cěmóp	j-ermóp	I usually gave him
2. tetám-cěmpín	j-erpín	I usually gave you
3. tetám-cěmpém	j-erpém	you usually gave him
4. tetám-cěmpěném	j-ěrpěném	you usually gave me
5. tetám-cěmpawóm	j-erpawóm	you usually gave us
6. tetám-cěmép	j-ermép	he usually gave him
7. tetám-cěmpén	j-erpén	he usually gave you
		they usually gave you (pl.)
8. tetám-cěmpáw	j-erpáw	he usually gave us
9. tetám-cěmpóm	j-erpóm	we usually gave him
10. tetám-cěmpěném	j-erpěném	we usually gave you
11. tetám-cěmpokóm	j-erpokóm	you (pl.) usually gave him
12. tetám-cěmpěnokóm	j-ěrpěnokóm	you (pl.) usually gave me
13. tetám-cěmpawkóm	j-erpawkóm	you (pl.) usually gave us
14. tetám-cěmpés	j-erpés	they usually gave him
15. tetám-cěmpěnés	j-erpěnés	they usually gave me, you (sing.)
16. tetám-cěmpawós	j-erpawós	they usually gave us
A.	-/a-	

It will be seen from the paradigms that a series of forms occurs with an aspect suffix *-cēm*, and another series with an aspect suffix *-erm/-er*. Though the formal contrast between the two series shows great similarity with that between the formal and the informal series of the habitual category, there does not appear to be a division into formal and informal forms. The forms with *-erm/-er* were only found with the verb *e/j* to do, when it is linked to the repetitive form of a verb (core-á); they occur here instead of the forms with *-cēm*. The two series appear to be mutually exclusive.

### *Formal characteristics*

#### **142**

Aspect suffixes: *-cēm*; *-erm/-er*.

*-erm* before vowels; *-er* before consonants.

Tense suffix: *-p*.

In all forms, the tense suffix follows the aspect suffix, except in forms 1 and 6, in which it follows the subject suffix.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st. pers. s.: before the tense suffix: *-o* (form 1)

3rd. pers. s.: before the tense suffix: *-e* (form 6).

Prefix: *a-*.

*a-* was only found before cores having one vowel, and an initial consonant. In all other cases noted, no prefix occurred.

### *Categorial meaning*

#### **143**

The forms of this category indicate that the action or the happening took place regularly over a certain period of time. They differ semantically from the forms of the habitual category in that they relate to that part of the past that goes back from yesterday as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience. This period I have called the *mediate* past (see also § 105, note 6) in contrast to the *ultimate* past which covers the remaining part of the past.

Forms with *-cēm*:

*erém 'ní' a-jés-cěmpés, na tapín*

night come /they said time and time again/, we /sleeping mats/

*/manám a-jík-cěmpóm/, wunám 'opák' a-jí-cěmpes*

/we packed them up time and time again/, then 'no' /they said/

time and time again that night they said: "come (let's go)". Then we packed up our sleeping mats, but again they said they were not going.

*/wá mu/ nákurumsém-cěmop, wunám /wun ás/*

pool /I drank up again/ then another

every time I drank one pool dry I began on another (§ 314).

In Jepém I noted one case where the ending *-cěpes* occurs instead of *-cěmpes*:

*jíwí a mú nisé-cěpes, ás i op tepóm̄porsém-cěpes*

children there water /they were as usual/ shit piss above /they kept letting go/

The children who, as usual, were (playing) in the water just let their shit and piss go (§ 320).

Forms with *-erm/-er*:

*"ū" jícuku-á j-ermé̄p* shouting, they usually fled.

ooh! /shouting fled / they usually did/

*cí táktetémāpm-á j-er̄póm*

canoes /went downstream and rammed / we usually did/

we usually rowed downstream and rammed their canoes!

## 14 The progressive forms

### 144

In this category there occur a series of non-mood forms and one series of mood forms. In addition, a number of interrogative forms was found which appear to be used exclusively in traditional stories. A dual form of the 3rd. pers. occurs in the non-mood series. In contrast to the dual forms of the hortative category, this one appears to be unproductive. Until now, I have only found it in texts which were narrated by a couple of old men who were approximately 50 or 60 years old. In these texts, the dual form was not used consistently by the narrators. The informants knew these dual forms, but in practise they made no distinction between the 3rd. pers. pl. and the 3rd. pers. dual. In the progressive forms, the durative formative occurs in the allomorph *a* instead of *awér*.

non-mood forms		mood forms		
1. por-mí	tetám-amí	tetámutum-í	pór-mupúj	I give it to him
2. por-mín	tetám-amín	tetámutum-ín	pór-mupún	I give it to you
3. por-mém	tetám-amém	tetámutum-ém	por-mepém	you give it to him
4. por-měném	tetám-aměném	tetámutum-ěném	pór-mepěném	you give it to me
5. pór-měrawóm	tetám-áměrawóm	tetámutum-ěrawóm	pór-mopawóm	you give it to us
6. por-má(ř)	tetám-amá(ř)	tetámutum-á(ř)	por-móp	he gives it to him
7. por-mén	tetám-amén	tetámutum-én	pór-mepén	he gives it to me, you they give it to you (pl.)
8. pór-maráw	tetám-amaráw	tetámutum-aráw	pór-mapáw	he gives it to us
9. por-móm	tetám-amóm	tetámutum-óm	pór-mopóm	we give it to him
10. pór-měným	tetám-aměným	tetámutum-ěným	pór-mopěným	we give it to you
11. pór-mokóm	tetám-amokóm	tetámutum-okóm	pór-mopokóm	you give it to him
12. pór-měnokóm	tetám-áměnokóm	tetámutum-ěnokóm	por-mópěnokóm	you give it to me
13. pór-měrawkóm	tetám-áměrawkóm	tetámutum-ěrawkóm	pór-mopawkóm	you give it to us
14. por-més	tetám-amés	tetámutum-és	pór-mopós	they give it to him
15. pór-měnés	tetám-aměnés	tetámutum-ěnés	pór-mepěnés	they give it to me, you (sing.)
16. pór-měrawós	tetám-áměrawós	tetámutum-ěrawós	pór-mopawós	they give it to us
17. pór-mamés	tetám-amamés	—	—	they both give it
A.	zero/a-/j-			explicative
B.	m-/mV-			completive
C.	em-/eme-			interrogative
D.	op-/opa-			
E.	tep-/tepa-			negative-interrogative

## Paradigms :

*tetám* to give; *tetámútúm* to give in the evening; *por* to see  
(Paradigms: see p. 100)

The following interrogative forms were found :

- |                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>á-por-maní</i>    | do I see him?   |
| 2. <i>á-por-manín</i>   | do I see you?   |
| 3. <i>á-por-maném</i>   | do you see him? |
| 4. <i>á-por-máněném</i> | do you see me?  |
| 10. <i>á-por-manóm</i>  | do we see him?  |

*Formal characteristics***145**

Aspect suffix: *-m/-am/zero*.

*-m* occurs in all cases, except when the core ends in *m*.

*-am* occurs when the core ends in *m*, except after the formative *itúm/utúm* 'in 'the evening', and after the core *em* 'to do, to make' when the verb forms a word-group with a form of category 4 (see § 183).

zero occurs after *itúm/utúm*, and with *em* 'to do, to make' in the case mentioned above.

Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 15 this appears to be zero.

Mood suffix: *-p/-Vp*.

*-Vp* occurs after aspect suffix *-m*. The vowel is identical with the (last) vowel of the subject suffix.

*-op* final, when the aspect suffix is *-am* or zero.

*-p* medial, when the aspect suffix is *-am* or zero.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

1. when the subject suffix is zero *-a* alternates freely with *-ar*, except in context if the word following has an initial vowel: in that case, only *-ar* occurs.

III. In the non-mood series: final *-araw*; medial *-ěraw*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st pers. s.: after the mood suffix: final *-uj* (form 1) medial *-u* (form 2).

Interrogative suffix: *-an*; follows directly on the aspect suffix.

## Prefixes :

A. zero/*a-/aj-*.

*a-* alternates freely with zero. In addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*. Cores having one vowel and with an initial consonant usually have the prefix *a-*.

Cores with an initial vowel usually have no prefix.

B. *m-/mV-*: the same rules of distribution apply as for the prefix *m-/mV-* of category 4 (§ 110).C. *em-/eme-*: *eme-* occurs in all cases except before *e*; *em-* occurs before *e*.D. *op-/opa-*: *opa-* occurs in all cases, except before *a*; *op-* occurs before *a*.E. *tep-/tepa-*: *tepa-* occurs in all cases, except before *a*; *tep-* occurs before *a*.*Categorial meaning***146**

The progressive forms indicate that the action or the happening is or was still in progress. They relate to the present and the *ultimate past* to which, as I have already mentioned, belongs everything that has occurred on the same day as the speech event, but prior to it, as well as everything that took place so long ago that it is known only from tradition.<sup>19</sup> When, however, the core ends in the formative *itúm/utúm*, *es*, *it/ut*, or *a* (durative), these forms only relate to the ultimate past and appear to lack the progressive aspect.

**147**

A. The forms with zero/*a-/aj-*: their categorial meaning does not differ from the categorial meaning as described in § 146.

*jisín kokómtaw-més aráw* they are picking coconuts.  
coconuts /they are picking/ pp

*no atakám a-táw-mopokóm* (hey!) you're talking about me!  
me talking /you do/ (mood-form)

*Jaméw is nim póamis-már maré a-nijirimuw-or in*  
/people of J./ sleep when /they all slept/, then /they all departed/ pp

<sup>19</sup> See § 105; note 6.



When the people of Jaméw all slept, they (people of Jepém) all departed (§ 344).

*tám a-nuwút-mames ín* they both departed in the morning (§ 328).  
morning /they both departed/ pp

*móc a-móca-már* she wailed continually.  
wailing /she kept wailing/

I came across a few cases in which the categorial meaning of the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* appeared to be parallel to those of category 12 with prefix zero/*a-/aj-*. These forms are to be found in text II (§ 265). The following case is taken from a text which is not included in this book:

*cí na sówpum-cěmí aráw, a cí wunám jú*  
canoe pp /I always launch/ pp the canoe again trunk

*oworés-mopá*  
/it becomes again at night!/ (mood-form)

I always launch the canoe and then at night it always changes into a trunk again!

#### 148

B. Forms with prefix *m-/mV-*: These are distinguished from the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* by a semantic element of explication or clarification:

*sók mi-pimá* a bird flies.  
bird /it flies/

“*ó uciè!*” — “*ó uciè pak áw; nám m-enáw-mi*”.  
you what — you what not pp; I /I come/

“What do you want!” — “Don’t say ‘what do you want’; I’m just coming”.

*maré, jó ma-ni-má; nó a me-sés*  
good, sun /goes down/ I here /stay tonight in the water/

Good, the sun goes down, I’ll stay here tonight in the water (says a crocodile).

#### 149

C. Forms with the prefix *em-/eme-*: these are distinguished from the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* by a semantic element of completion which can be translated with ‘already’.

*mú emé-susu-má pen* Is the water boiling already?  
water /it is boiling already/ pp

*emé-jistewéres-mí* I have already been to the forest tonight and  
fetched it.

**150**

D. Forms with the prefix *op-/opa-*: these are distinguished from the forms with zero/*a-/aj-* by a semantic element of interrogation, translatable with: for what reason, why.

*car mó nor asén opá-na-már*  
your (pl) husband my place /why he ate/  
why has your husband eaten at my place?

**151**

E. Forms with the prefix *tep-/tepa-*: these are distinguished from the forms with *op-/opa-* by a semantic element of negation:

*enám tep-ámpia-mém* why won't you also go fishing?  
fish /why won't you also go fishing/

Instead of *enám tepámpiamém*, one can also say:<sup>20</sup>

*enám m-ampi pák opá-ema-mém.*  
fish /also to fish/ not /why don't you/

**15 The progressive forms of the mediate past****152**

A division into non-mood and mood forms does not occur here. The durative formative here occurs in the allomorph *a*.

(Paradigms: see p. 105)

*Formal characteristics***153**

Aspect suffix: *-m/-am/zero*.

*-m* occurs after core-final V, and after core-final C  $\neq m$  when a vowel follows the aspect suffix (forms 1. and 2.).

<sup>20</sup> For this construction, see § 183.

Paradigms: *tetám* to give; *af* to strike; (*atakám*) *tawutúm* to tell stories the whole evening

I was striking him	1. af-nóp	tetám-amóp	táwutum-óp
I was striking you	2. af-pín	tetám-ampín	táwutum-pín
you were striking him	3. af-pém	tetám-ampém	táwutum-pém
you were striking me	4. áf-pěném	tetám-ampěném	táwutúm-pěném
you were striking us	5. áf-pawóm	tetám-ampawóm	táwutúm-pawóm
he was striking him	6. af-mép	tetám-amép	táwutum-ép
he was striking you	7. af-pén	tetám-ampén	táwutum-pén
they were striking you (pl.)			
he was striking us	8. af-páw	tetám-ampáw	táwutum-páw
we were striking him	9. af-póm	tetám-ampóm	táwutum-póm
we were striking you	10. áf-pěném	tetám-ampěném	táwutúm-pěném
you (pl.) were striking him	11. áf-pokóm	tetám-ampokóm	táwutúm-pokóm
you (pl.) were striking me	12. áf-pěnokóm	tetám-ampěnokóm	táwutúm-pěnokóm
you (pl.) were striking us	13. áf-pawkóm	tetám-ampawkóm	táwutúm-pawkóm
they were striking him	14. af-pés	tetám-ampés	táwutum-pés
they were striking me, you (sing.)	15. áf-pěnés	tetám-ampěnés	táwutúm-pěnés
they were striking us	16. áf-pawós	tetám-ampawós	táwutúm-pawós

A.

zero/a-/aj-

*-am* occurs after core-final *m*, except after cores ending in the formative *itúm/utúm* 'in the evening'.

zero occurs: a. after core-final *C*  $\neq m$ , when a consonant follows;  
b. after *itúm/utúm*.

Tense suffix: *-p*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

1st. pers. s.: in form 1.: *-o*. 3rd. pers. s.: in form 6.: *-e*.

Prefix: zero/*a*-/*aj*-.

*a*- alternates with zero; in addition, *a*- alternates with *aj*- before *a*.

### *Categorial meaning*

#### 154

The forms of this category differ from those of the preceding category only in that they relate to the *mediate past*:

*Owpaćákípíc ís nim pútamis-mép, parás ten káku a-wíni-óf*  
O. asleep when /he lay down / dune-ridge/ on quickly /I went away/  
when O. lay down asleep, I quickly ran away along the dune-ridge  
(§ 312).

*atakám táwutum-ép* in the evening he told of it.  
story /he told in the evening/

*erén tepít-mép* he went upstream in the morning.  
upstream /he went in the morning/

*kónawomsés-pěnem cém*  
/you came-slept with me/ house  
the house where you came and slept with me (§ 300).

*a jíf sionípora-móp*  
the ground /I tried to dig away continually/  
I tried to dig away the ground continually (§ 302).

These forms, like those of category 14, lack the progressive aspect when the core ends in one of the time-of-day formatives or the durative formative.

### 16 The ultimate past category

#### 155

In these categories there is again a distinction between non-mood forms and mood forms. In addition, there is a series of interrogative forms

non-interrogative			interrogative		
non-mood forms	mood-forms				
1. an-í	tetam-új	por-í	I saw him	pór-aní	have I seen him?
2. an-ín	tetam-ún	por-ín	I saw you	pór-anín	have I seen you?
3. an-ěřém	tetám-orém	por-pém	you saw him	pór-aném	have you seen him?
4. an-ěněm	tetám-ěněm	por-péném	you saw me	pór-anéném	have you seen me?
5. án-ěrawóm	tetám-ěrawóm	por-pawóm	you saw us	pór-anawóm	have you seen us?
6. an-ěr	tetam-ór	por-óp	he saw him	por-án	has he seen it?
7. an-én	tetam-én	por-pán	he saw me, you	por-anén	has he seen me, you?
			they saw you (pl.)		have they seen you (pl.)
8. an-aráv	tetám-aráv	por-páv	he saw us	pór-anáv	has he seen us?
9. an-ěřóm	tetám-oróm	por-póm	we saw him	pór-anóm	have we seen him?
10. an-ěněm	tetám-ěněm	por-pénóm	we saw you	pór-aněněm	have we seen you?
11. an-erkóm	tetám-orkóm	por-pokóm	you saw him	pór-anokóm	have you seen him?
12. án-ernokóm	tetám-ornokóm	pór-pěnokóm	you saw me	pór-anénokóm	have you seen me?
13. án-ěrawkóm	tetám-ěrawkóm	por-pawkóm	you saw us	pór-anawkóm	have you seen us?
14. an-ěřés	tetám-orés	por-pós	they saw him	pór-anés	have you seen him?
15. an-ěněs	tetám-ěněs	por-pénés	they saw me, you (sing.)	pór-anénés	have they seen me, you (sing.)
16. án-ěrawós	tetám-ěrawós	por-pawós	they saw us	pór-anawós	have they seen us?
17. án-erramés	tetám-ormamés	—	both of them saw it	—	—
A.	zero/a-/aj-/an-				
B.	m-/mV-	—		—	explicative
C.	em-/eme-				completive
D.	op-/opa-	—		—	interrogative (causal)
E.	tep-/tepa-	—		—	negative interrogative

characterized by the suffix *-an*. The forms of this category, in contrast to those of categories 12 and 14, do not occur in combination with the question marker *en/an* (§ 252).

As in category 14, a dual form of the 3rd. pers. occurs but it does not appear to be productive. I found it in the same texts as the dual form of category 14.

Paradigms of the ultimate past forms :

*por* to see; *tetám* to give; *an* to eat; *wu* to shout

(Paradigms: see p. 107)

*titi* to tremble; *fe* to string together; (*owén*) *amo* to fight with

1. a-titi/titij-í	a-fé-j	amó-j	a-wú-j
3. a-titi-rém/ěré <sup>m</sup>	a-fe-rém/ěré <sup>m</sup>	amo-rém	a-wú-orém
6. a-titi-r/ér	a-fé-r/er	amó-r	a-wu-ór
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

### Formal characteristics

#### 156

Tense suffix: from a comparison with the forms of category 17, it appears that the tense suffix is zero.

Mood suffix: final: *-op*; medial: *-p*.

Interrogative suffix: *-an*, suffixed directly to the core.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

I. zero: in form 1.; after core-final *r*; <sup>21</sup> in all mood forms.

*-or*: after core-final *m*; after core-final *p*, *w*, *f*, preceded by *a*, *o*, *u* or *C*; not, however, after *em* - to stand and *ap* - to sit (// *itúm/utúm*, § 91).

In the other cases occur:

*-ěr* before a vowel; between two vowels *-ěr* alternates with *-r*.

*-er* word-finally, or before a consonant.

<sup>21</sup> In the speech of only one speaker did I find the object suffix *-er* word-finally after core-final *r*, alternating with zero: *aporér/apór* he saw it; *atewerér/atewér* he took it. See text IV and V, passim.

- II. *-ĕn* alternates with *-n* between two vowels.
- III. *-aw* occurs in the mood forms, and after core-final *r*.  
*-araw* occurs word-finally, after core-final C  $\neq r$ . After core-final V *-araw* alternates with *-raw*.  
*-ĕraw* occurs medially, after core-final C  $\neq r$ . After core-final V *-ĕraw* alternates with *-raw*.  
*-raw* after core-final V alternating with *-araw* and *-ĕraw*.

Subject suffixes: peculiarities:

1st. pers. s.: *-uj* occurs word finally; *-u* occurs word-initially; zero after core-final *-i*; *-j* after core-final V  $\neq i$ .

The distribution of *-uj* and *-u* is parallel to that of *-or* (see above).

3rd. pers. dual: *-mames*.

Prefixes:

A. *a-/aj-/an-/zero*:

*a-* alternates freely with zero. In addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*.

*an-* was only found in the form *an-e-rĕs* = they said, alternating with *a-* and zero: *a-e-rĕs/e-rĕs*. Before cores having one vowel, with initial consonant, *a-* usually occurs. Before cores with an initial vowel, there is usually no prefix.

B. *m-/mV-* Here, the rules of distribution apply as for the prefix *m-/mV-* of category 4 (§ 110).

C, D, E: Here, the same rules of distribution apply as for the corresponding prefixes of category 14 (see § 146).

*Categorial meaning*

157

A. The forms without a prefix, or with *a-/aj-/an-*:

These relate exclusively to the ultimate past, i.e. the period covering that part of the day which is prior to the speech event, as well as the distant past which is only known from tradition (see also § 105, note 6).

## 158

B. The forms with the prefix *m-/mV-*.

These have a semantic element of explanation, clarification :

*anáṃ ajpím néw, ómus néw, me-msémapm-új*

anam /extreme end/ perhaps omus perhaps /I've left there/

I've left the extreme end of the *anáṃ* (central sago pith) in the trunk of the sago palm, or perhaps it's the *ómus* (outside sago pith) (§ 299).

*ts! m-émamtewér-pokóm!* (mood-form) So. you've just met each other!

(Here the speaker deduces a fact and remarks upon it testily to himself.)

## 159

C. The forms with the prefix *em-/eme-*.

These have a semantic element of completion translatable with already :

*emé-setaj-ér* he has already arrived (by canoe).

*emé-pa-nikájaḅ-ánokom*<sup>22</sup> *ewá*

pp

have all of you perhaps returned? (from getting sago).

*amás nes emé-awkurúm-ḅuj*

sago pith /I have already scraped out all/

I have already scraped out all the sago pith! (§ 297).

## 160

D. The forms with *op-/opa-*.

Forms with this prefix are interrogative forms translatable with why, for what reason :

*a náṭ a cí mátuwuw pák opa-em-ór*

he pp his canoe go off not why does he

why doesn't he go in his own canoe?

## 161

E. Forms with *teḅ-/tepa-*.

These are negative interrogative forms translatable with why not :

<sup>22</sup> For *pa-*, see § 180.



*a nát a cí tepá-tuwuw-ór*

he pp his canoe /why doesn't he go/

why doesn't he go in his own canoe? (This is an alternative used instead of the previous example).<sup>23</sup>

*amás tepa-émn-ěřém* why haven't you fetched sago?

sago /why haven't you fetched it/

## 17 The mediate past category

### 162

A division into non-mood forms and mood forms does not occur here. I did find a number of informal forms: these, however, do not form a complete paradigm. In addition, I found in the texts a few cases of informal interrogative forms characterized by the suffix *-an*. My informants, however, always used a construction with the question marker *en/an* in interrogative sentences.

(Paradigms: see p. 112)

The verb *e/j* -to do, when linked with a form of category 3 (*core-á*), has *-erof*, *eréf* as endings instead of *-of* and *-ef* (form 1., 6.):

*tetam-á j-eróf* time and again I gave it to him

*tetam-á j-eréf* time and again he gave it to him.<sup>24</sup>

### *Formal characteristics*

### 163

Tense suffix: *-f*; in the informal forms: zero.

Interrogative suffix: *-an*.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. In the informal forms, *-eaw* occurs instead of *-aw*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

<sup>23</sup> Compare § 151.

<sup>24</sup> See also § 182.

## Paradigms :

*tetám* to give

formal	informal	interrogative	
1. tetám-of 2. tetám-fin 3. tetám-fem 4. tetám-fěném 5. tetám-fawóm 6. tetám-ef 7. tetám-fen	tetám-o     tetám-è	     tetám-anè	I gave it to him I gave it to you you gave it to him you gave it to me you gave it to us he gave it to him he gave it to me, you they gave it to you (pl.)
8. tetám-faw 9. tetám-fom 10. tetám-fěném 11. tetám-fokóm 12. tetám-fěnokóm 13. tetám-fawkóm 14. tetám-fes 15. tetám-fěnes	   tetám-okóm   tetám-es	     tetám-anés	he gave it to us we gave it to him we gave it to you you gave it to him you gave it to me you gave it to us they gave it to him they gave it to me, you (sing.)
16. tetám-fawós	tetám-eawós		they gave it to us
A.	zero/a-/aj-		
B.	m-/mV-		explicative
C.	em-/eme-		completive
D.	op-/opa-		interrogative
E.	tep-/tepa-		negative interrogative

- 1st. pers. s.: -o (form 1)  
 3rd. pers. s.: -è (form 6).<sup>25</sup>

Prefixes:

A. zero/a-/aj-: a- alternates with zero; in addition, it alternates with aj- before a. The prefix a- was found in most cases before cores having one vowel, with initial consonant. No prefix was found usually before cores with an initial vowel.

B. m-/mV-: m- and mV- are distributed according to the rule given in § 110.

C. em-/eme-; D. op-/opa-; E. tep-/tepa-: Here, the rules of distribution apply as for the corresponding prefixes of category 14 and category 16.

*Categorial meaning*

**164**

A. The forms with zero/a-/aj- relate exclusively to the mediate past, i.e. the period which begins with yesterday and goes as far back as the generations still alive can recall from their own experience.

B. Forms with m-/mV-: these have a semantic element of explanation or clarification:

*Taweric enim Jiw ma-táwsim-fawós*

Taweric and Jiw /took us with them/

Taweric and Jiw took us with them (on their flight) (§ 342).

C. Forms with em-/eme-: these have a semantic element of completion, translatable with already:

*amás emé-kafúm-anés* had they already scraped out sago?

sago /had they already scraped out/

D. Forms with op-/opa-: these have a semantic element of interrogation, translatable with why:

*ěnéw nat miřán opá-faj-fém* why were you averse to mother?

mother pp averse /why were you/

E. Forms with tep-/tepa-: these are negative-interrogative forms:  
*tepá-por-fém* why didn't you see it?

<sup>25</sup> Here, a special allophone of the e phoneme occurs: see § 33.

18/19 **The anterioritive forms****165**

The anterioritive forms are those verbal forms which indicate that the action or happening is anterior to another action or happening. They can be translated with: after . . . . ; first . . . . .

**Paradigms:**

*tetám* to give

ultimate past	mediate past	
1. tetám-ací	tetám-aró	after I had given it to him
2. tetám-acín	tetám-arín	after I had given it to you
3. tetám-acém	tetám-arém	after you had given it to him
4. tetám-acěném	tetám-arném	after you had given it to me
5. tetám-acawóm	tetám-arawóm	after you had given it to us
6. tetám-ac	tetám-aré	after he had given it to him
7. tetám-acén	tetám-arén	after he had given it to me, you
		after they had given it to you (pl.)
8. tetám-acáw	tetám-aráw	after he had given it to us
9. tetám-acóm	tetám-aróm	after we had given it to him
10. tetám-acěnóm	tetám-arnóm	after we had given it to you
11. tetám-acokóm	tetám-arkóm	after you had given it to him
12. tetám-acěnokóm	tetám-arnokóm	after you had given it to me
13. tetám-acawkóm	tetám-arawkóm	after you had given it to us
14. tetám-acés	tetám-arés	after they had given it to him
15. tetám-acěnés	tetám-arnés	after they had given it to me, you (s.)
16. tetám-acawós	tetám-arawós	after they had given it to us
A.	zero/a-/aj-	

*Formal characteristics***166**

Tense - aspect suffixes: ultimate past forms: *-ac*; mediate past forms: *-ar*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:

mediate past: 1st. pers. s.: *-o* (form 1); 3rd. pers. s.: *-e* (form 6).

Prefix: zero/*a-aj-*.

*a-* alternates with zero; in addition, *a-* alternates with *aj-* before *a*.

*Categorial meaning*

**167**

The forms of category 18 relate to the ultimate past; those of category 19, to the mediate past:

*ci sés a-sów-aci, mú a-nifámpum-aci, anpíw a-pesé-j*  
 canoe firing /I did first/ water /I pushed it first into/ immediately /I rowed off/  
 First I fired the canoe, then I pushed it into the water, and immediately rowed off.

*tapín a-jík-aró ci á-nuwuw-óf*  
 /sleeping mat / I packed it up and/ canoe /I go into it/  
 I packed up the sleeping mat and got into the canoe.

The anterioritive forms of the mediate past were never found as the last verb in a sentence; they were always followed by at least one verb. The anterioritive forms of the ultimate past can occur as the last verb of a sentence. They then have a conditional meaning. I do not know in how far their meaning is then identical to that of the forms of category 10 with the prefix *ca-* (§ 130) and whether they are interchangeable with those forms:

*már atów e-acóma!* let us first play football.  
 ball play /let us first do/

*tó amás emtewn-ácema*  
 tomorrow sago /you must first fetch/  
 tomorrow you must first fetch sago (before we go on our way).

**20/21 The perfective forms**

**168**

In the course of working on the material it became clear that the verbs with the suffix *-it/ut* form a separate category. It was, therefore, not possible to obtain a complete paradigm from my informants. It is, however, possible, on the basis of the cases noted, to deduce the complete paradigm with rather great certainty. The forms not found in the material are put between brackets in the paradigm that follows. All these forms appear to have a semantic element of completion.

I have therefore termed them *perfective* forms. They relate to the past; a division into ultimate past and mediate past only occurs, however, in forms 1 and 6.

Paradigm :

*por* to see; *tetám* to give

	ult. past	med. past		ult. past	med. past
1.	pór-ití	pór-itó		tetám-utí	tetám-utó
2.		pór-itín			tetám-utín
3.		por-itém			tetám-utém
4.		[por-itěnem]			[tetám-utěnem]
5.		[por-itawom]			[tetám-utawom]
6.	por-ít	pór-itè		tetám-ut	tetám-utè
7.		[por-iten]			[tetám-uten]
8.		pór-itáv			tetám-utáv
9.		pór-itóm			tetám-utóm
10.		[por-itěnom]			[tetám-utěnom]
11.		pór-itokóm			tetám-utokóm
12.		[por-itěnokom]			[tetám-utěnokom]
13.		[por-itawkom]			[tetám-utawkom]
14.		pór-ités			tetám-utés
15.		[por-itěnes]			[tetám-utěnes]
16.		[por-itawos]			[tetám-utawos]
A.		zero/a-			
B.		em-/eme-			completive

### *Formal characteristics*

#### 169

Tense - aspect suffix: *-it/ut*. *-it* and *-ut* are distributed according to the rule given in § 91 (// *itúm/utúm*).

Subject suffixes; peculiarities :

mediate past forms: 1st. pers. s.: *-o* (form 1); 3rd. pers. s.: *-è* (form 6).<sup>26</sup>

I noted one case of the ending *-itof* instead of *-ito*; here the *f* occurs which, in category 17, is the tense suffix.

Prefixes:

A. zero/*a-*: only in two of the cases noted a prefix *a-* occurs.

B. *em-/eme-*: only one form with this prefix was noted.

## 170

A. Forms with prefix, or with *a-*.

Some of the cases noted were:

*no asén akatés cowák emáms-iti*

I place good very /I have lain/

I have lain in a very good place! (§ 314).

*jóp nim jítak-itó a mú,*

/on the back / like this / I had gone downstream/ there water

I had gone downstream, laying on my back in the water (§ 313).

*jéw éwenaw-út* he has come from the ceremonial house (§ 315).

/ceremonial house / he has come from/

B. The only form with *em-/eme-* I noted, occurs in the following sentence:

*wín ow nát cem máp emé-tepákajap-ites in*

some people pp houses ahead /they had already gone upriver/ pp

some of the people had already gone upriver to their houses (§ 273).

## 22 The past tense category of cores with the durative formative

### 171

A separate category of past tense forms occurs with cores ending in the durative formative. There is no division into ultimate and mediate past. The durative formative here occurs in the allomorph *ewir*.

As in categories 12, 14 and 16, there is a series of mood forms.

(Paradigms: see p. 118)

<sup>26</sup> Here, a special allophone of the *e* phoneme occurs: see § 33.

## Paradigms :

*por* to see, to look at

non-mood forms	mood forms	
1. pórewir-í	pórewir-ipúj	I always looked at him
2. pórewir-ín	pórewir-ipún	I always looked at you
3. pórewir-ím	pórewir-ipém	you always looked at him
4. pórewir-iném	pórewir-ipěném	you always looked at me
5. pórewir-irawóm	pórewir-ipawóm	you always looked at us
6. pórewir-ír	pórewir-úp	he always looked at him
7. pórewir-ín	pórewir-ipán	he always looked at me, you they always looked at you (pl.)
8. pórewir-iráw	pórewir-ipáw	he always looked at us
9. pórewir-úm	pórewir-ipóm	we always looked at him
10. pórewir-inúm	pórewir-ipěnom	we always looked at you
11. pórewir-ikúm	pórewir-ipokóm	you always looked at him
12. pórewir-inokóm	pórewir-ipěnokóm	you always looked at me
13. pórewir-irawkóm	pórewir-ipawkóm	you always looked at us
14. pórewir-is	pórewi-ipós	they always looked at him
15. pórewir-inés	pórewir-ipěnés	they always looked at me, you (s.)
16. pórewir-irawós	pórewir-ipawós	they always looked at us
A.	zero/a-	
B.	em-/eme-	completive

*Formal characteristics***172**

Tense suffix: *-i* in all cases, except in form 9 of the non-mood series where it is zero.

Mood suffix: *-p/-up*. *-up* occurs word-finally, *-p* medially.

Object suffixes; peculiarities:

III. In the non-mood forms: *-raw*.

Subject suffixes; peculiarities:



1st. pers. s.: in the non-mood forms: zero. In the mood forms: *-uj/-u*. *-uj* occurs word-finally, *-u* medially (forms 1 and 2).

2nd. pers. s.: *-m* when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.

3rd. pers. s.: *-r* in form 6 of the non-mood series.

1st. pers. pl.: *-um* in the non-mood series.

2nd. pers. pl.: *-kum* when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.

3rd. pers. pl.: *-s* when the tense suffix immediately precedes it.

Prefixes:

A. *zero/a-*: *a-* was only found before cores having one vowel and with initial consonant.

B. *em-/eme-*: *eme-* occurs in all cases, except before *e*. *em-* occurs before *e*.

### 173

A. Forms without a prefix; or with *a-*:

*inim émtawéwir-is* that's what they always said.  
/like this / they always said/

*pé amás néwir-um néwa*  
crabs food /we always ate/ perhaps  
what we always ate before was perhaps crabs! (§ 302).

*mú micíc sejiréwir-úp*  
water seaweed /he lay in it so long that it grew over him/  
he lay in the water so long that the seaweed grew over him!

B. Forms with *em-/eme-* have a semantic element of completion, translatable with 'already; have':

*ci emé-akéwir-ípúj* I have always made canoes!  
canoe /I have always made/

## 23 The *-mër* forms

### 174

A category about which meagre data were obtained is that of the forms characterized by the suffix *-mër*. I only got form 6 from the informants, so that I thought for a long time that I was dealing with an isolated case. Later, from the texts it appeared that other forms also occur.

The forms with *-mër* relate to the past. In addition, they have a semantic element of repetition which is translatable with 'each day again'.

The following forms were noted:

- |                           |                                    |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>a-pór-měró</i>      | every day I saw him again          |
| 2. <i>a-pór-měréń</i>     | every day I saw you again          |
| 3. <i>a-pór-měréń</i>     | every day you saw him again        |
| 6. <i>a-por-měro/měre</i> | every day he saw him again         |
| 11. <i>a-pór-měrkóm</i>   | every day you (pl.) saw him again. |
| 14. <i>a-pór-měrés</i>    | every day they saw him again       |

*súntik* <sup>27</sup> *a-empór-měró opák*

injection / gave him every day / but not/

I gave him an injection every day but it didn't help.

*camúw ci ákarawér-měrkóm a-por-óf*

/on foot/ canoe /you went each day again / I saw/

I saw that you (pl.) went each day on foot instead of by canoe.

The *-měr* forms can also indicate that an action or a happening takes place over a long time, from a point in the past up to the present :

*núr epíc nam tari jiwamís-měró, wow /namír af-ór/*

my sister sick long /she lay/ today /she died/

my sister has been sick for a long time, today she died.

## 175

I found an ending *-erměro* with the verb *e/j* - to do, when it was linked with a form of category 3 (core *-á*). The forms with *-erměro* were only found in a text, narrated by an old man (between 50 and 60 years old). The suffix of the forms of cat. 3 in these cases is *-e* instead of *-á*.

*Taweric nat /ów cem/ iním apéwer-e j-ěrměro*

T. pp /lookout house / like this / he sat there each day/

each day Taweric again remained in the lookout post (§ 340).

*enám /teweréwer-e j-ěrměro/, tów /péwer-e j-ěrměro/*

fish /they fetched each day/, /sago grubs / they fetched/

each day they again fetched fish and sago grubs (§ 324).

In addition, this ending occurs in the same text, suffixed to cores ending in *awér* or *ewér* :

<sup>27</sup> *suntik* : loan-word from Malay.

*jók apawer-érměro* each day they spent the day in idleness (§ 326).  
/during the day / they just sat, each day/

*wasén namícukewer-érměro*  
forest /they all went each day/  
each day they all went to the forest (§ 326).

These forms are probably contractions of forms of category 3 and *j-erměro*. I think it not impossible that the forms with *-erměro* are archaic. When I ran the text after the recording, the informants repeated it word for word, and they always used in these cases forms with *-měro* instead of these with *-erměro*: *jók apawer-měro*; *wasén namícukewer-měro*.

Finally, a form with *-maměro* was found:

*Surú áwemic aráw, juwúr fěk wut ak-máměro*  
Suru /is there/ pp /juwur wood/ big very /he makes (a canoe) each day/  
Surú is there, he is busy every day making a very big canoe of  
juwur wood.

In this case, the daily activity is seen as a process that is still unfinished. Perhaps the *-měr* forms are divided into a category of past tense forms and another category of present tense forms.

#### 24 The unproductive category of the positional verbs

##### 176

When the positional roots occur as a core or as the last morpheme of a core with the meaning 'to be' (in a specific position), the forms of category 14 do not occur. Instead of them we find:

I. With *amís* (to lie), *ap* (to sit), and *se* (to be in the water):

---

1. <i>ams-í</i>	<i>ap-í</i>	<i>a-sé-j</i>	I am
3. <i>ams-ém</i>	<i>ap-ém</i>	<i>a-sé-m</i>	you are
6. <i>amís</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>a-sé</i>	he is
9. <i>ams-óm</i>	<i>ap-óm</i>	<i>á-se-óm</i>	we are
11. <i>áms-okóm</i>	<i>áp-okóm</i>	<i>á-se-okóm</i>	you (pl.) are
14. <i>ams-és</i>	<i>ap-és</i>	<i>a-sé-s</i>	they are
17. ?	<i>ap-més</i>	?	both of them are

---

II. With *em* (to stand), and *tep* (to be above):

---

1.	<i>em-cí</i>	<i>á-tep-cí</i>	I am
3.	<i>em-cém</i>	<i>á-tep-cém</i>	you are
6.	<i>em-íc</i>	<i>á-tep-íc</i>	he is
9.	<i>em-cóm</i>	<i>á-tep-cóm</i>	we are
11.	<i>ém-cokóm</i>	<i>á-tep-cokóm</i>	you (pl.) are
14.	<i>em-cés</i>	<i>á-tep-cés</i>	they are

---

Once in a text I found a dual form of *ap* (see above).

With *amis*, *ap*, and *se*, interrogative forms occur which are characterized by a suffix *-an*:

---

1.	<i>áms-aní</i>	<i>áp-aní</i>	<i>á-se-aní</i>	am I?
3.	<i>áms-aném</i>	<i>áp-aném</i>	<i>á-se-aném</i>	are you?
6.	<i>ams-án</i>	<i>ap-án</i>	<i>á-se-án</i>	is he?
9.	<i>áms-anóm</i>	<i>áp-anóm</i>	<i>á-se-anóm</i>	are we?
11.	<i>áms-anokóm</i>	<i>áp-anokóm</i>	<i>á-se-anokóm</i>	are you (pl.)?
14.	<i>áms-anés</i>	<i>áp-anés</i>	<i>á-se-anés</i>	are they?

---

The construction with the question marker *en/an* occurs with *em* and *tep*:

*em-cém en* are you?

*á-tep-íc en* is it (above)?

## 177

The complete paradigm occurs when the positional root is combined with the formative *o/om-* (see § 76).

---

1.	<i>op-í</i>	<i>om-cí</i>	I am with him
2.	<i>op-ín</i>	<i>om-cín</i>	I am with you
3.	<i>op-ém</i>	<i>om-cém</i>	you are with him
4.	<i>óp-ěném</i>	<i>óm-cěném</i>	you are with me
5.	<i>óp-awóm</i>	<i>óm-cawóm</i>	you are with us
6.	<i>op</i>	<i>om-íc</i>	he is with him

7. op-én	om-cén	he is with me, you they are with you (pl.)
8. op-áv	om-cáv	he is with us
9. op-óm	om-cóm	we are with him
10. óp-ěném	óm-cěném	we are with you
11. óp-okóm	óm-cokóm	you are with him
12. óp-ěnokóm	óm-cěnokóm	you are with me
13. óp-awkóm	óm-cawkóm	you are with us
14. op-és	om-cés	they are with him
15. óp-ěnés	óm-cěnés	they are with me, you (s.)
16. óp-awós	óm-cawós	they are with us

**178**

When the positional verbs are preceded by the deictic words *a* here, or *e* there,<sup>28</sup> a *w* occurs between these words and the verb:

*a w sé* - *á w amís* - *a w áp* - *á w emíc* - *á w atepíc* it is here  
*é w asé* - *é w amís* - *e w áp* - *é w emíc* - *é w atepíc* it is there

Morphologically, these word-groups behave as one word: it is not *á wamís* etc., because *a wsé* is impossible: a consonant cluster cannot occur at the beginning of a word; it is not *ew asé* because in that case the [ö] allophone of the *e* phoneme would occur in *ew*, whereas the [ě] allophone occurs.

Therefore I shall write *awsé*, *áwamís*, *éwasé* etc.

**The prefixes *em-* and *p-/pV-*****179**

There are two prefixes of which the occurrence appears to be exclusively dependent upon syntactical factors. These prefixes are *em-* and *p-/pV-*. *em-* occurs only when the verb is linked with the interrogative word *ucím* - how, how many. It does not, however, occur with the verb *em* - to make.

*em-* was found in forms of categories 10, 12, 16, 17 and 24 with the prefix *a-/aj-* or zero; it precedes *a-/aj-*.

<sup>28</sup> See §§ 197, 198.

- Cat. 10: *a amás ucím em-áw-cem*<sup>29</sup> how will you cook this sago?  
 this sago how /will you cook it/  
 But:  
*sájer*<sup>30</sup> *ucím em-cém* how will you prepare the vegetables?  
 vegetables how /you make them/
- Cat. 12: *sej sí ucím em-tetám-cēmokóm*  
 iron axes /how many / you usually give/  
 how many iron axes do you usually give for it?
- Cat. 16: *ów ucím em-setáj-ērés* how many people have arrived?  
 people /how many / they arrived/
- Cat. 17: *kús ucím em-sakámtewer-fém*  
 heads /how many / you cut off and took/  
 how many heads have you taken?
- Cat. 24: *jísín ucím éma-tep-íc*  
 coconuts /how many / are there/  
 how many coconuts are hanging there?

## 180

*p-/pV-*: *p-* occurs before vowels; *pV-* before consonants.  
 The vowel of *pV-* is identical to the vowel immediately following it.  
*p-/pV-* is prefixed to the verb when it is immediately followed by the  
 postposition *ew/aw* (§ 255).

It was found in forms of categories 10, 12, 14, 16, 17 and 24 with the  
 prefix *a-/aj-/zero*, or with *em-/eme-*. It is noteworthy that *p-/pV-*  
 precedes *a-/aj-*, but is preceded by *em-/eme-*.

- Cat. 10: *ucím cáj p-e-caw éw* what is he thinking of (§ 282).  
 which plan /has he/ pp
- Cat. 12: *ucím asén pí-jísas-érmokom* where will you go?  
 which place /will you travel to/ pp
- Cat. 14: *pá-por-mem éw* did you or did you not see it?
- Cat. 16: *emépa-sá-n ew* is it perhaps dry already (§ 284).
- Cat. 17: *ucím p-em-of éw* how could I have done it? (§ 326).  
 how /did I do it/ pp

<sup>29</sup> See § 234.

<sup>30</sup> Loan-word from Malay, = sajur.

Cat. 24: *o p-áp-em áw* are you at home?  
 you /you sit/ pp

### Syntactical valence<sup>31</sup> of the verbs

#### 181

Provisionally, the following can be said about the syntactical valence of the verbs:

1. it would appear that all verbs can be linked with substantives, proper names, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns;
2. it would appear that the only time that there can be a linkage verb + verb is in the verbal word-groups which are to be discussed in paragraphs 182 and 183;
3. the word-group interrogative + verb was only found with forms of the categories 10, 12-17 inclusive, 20, 21, 22 and 24;
4. only the forms of categories 4 and 5 (*m-/mV-*; *m-/mV- -áji*) can form word-groups with negations.

Cases in which all these verbal word-groups occur will not be given here; they can be found in paragraphs 182 and 183 (verb + verb; verb + negation); 192 (substantive + verb); 198 (proper name + verb); 219 (pronoun + verb); 234 (interrogative + verb) and in 235-243 (verb + negation).

### Summary of the forms of the verbs *e/j* and *ji* 'to do',<sup>31a</sup> which were found linked to a form of category 3 (*core-á*)

#### 182

Cat. 10: *a-por-á j-ěri/e-ci* etc.: Everytime I see him  
 /to see repeatedly / if I do/

Cat. 12: *a-por-á j-ermí* etc.: I shall see him again and again.

Cat. 13: *a-por-á j-ermóp* etc.: I used to see him time and again.

Cat. 14: *a-por-á e-mí* etc.: time and again I see him.

<sup>31</sup> By the *syntactical valence* of a word is meant: the possibility of the word forming word-groups with other words.

<sup>31a</sup> The meanings of *ji* and *e/j* overlap each other: both can mean to do, to say. *e/j* in addition can mean: to become, to make.

- Cat. 15: *a-por-á e-móp* etc.: time and again I saw him  
(mediate past).
- Cat. 16: *a-por-á ej* etc.: time and again I saw him  
(ultimate past).  
*a-por-á e-rém* etc.: time and again you saw him.  
*a-por-á e-r* etc.: time and again he saw him.
- Cat. 17: *a-por-á j-eróf* : time and again I saw him  
(mediate past).  
*a-por-á e-fém* : time and again you saw him.  
*a-por-á j-eréf* : time and again he saw him.  
*a-por-á e-fóm* etc.: time and again we saw him.

If the core of the form preceding ends in the durative formative (*ewér*), then the suffix is *-e*, and instead of *e* or *j*, *ji* occurs:

*a-poréwer-é ji-róf* : I saw him time and again, over  
a long period;

etc.

*a-poréwer-é ji-fém*

*a-poréwer-é ji-réf*

*a-poréwer-é ji-fóm*

etc.

- Cat. 23: *á-por-a j-érměro/jíměro* each day I saw him again.

The forms of categories 8 and 9 (imperative and hortative forms) are always separated from the core with the suffix *-a* by *inim* 'in this way':

- Cat. 8: *tám masěrim wunám otuwsé-a inim mom-é-c*  
morning then again /depart again / this way / do it!/  
and when it is morning, you must start out again (§ 300).

- Cat. 9: *wowúc sumoms-á inim e-rasín*  
middle /let lie with repeatedly / this way / let us both do/  
let us always sleep on either side of him! (§ 282).

The forms of category 3 can also be linked with verbal forms the core of which contains the root *ji*, or *e/j*:

*a-por-á jes-mí* time and again I see him at night (cat. 14).



“ní”, *a-jiþor-á jipór opák*

“come” /to win over / she tried / but not/

“come” so she tried to win her over, again and again, but in vain.

**Summary of the forms of the verb *em* - to do, to make, which were found linked to the *m/mV*- form of the verb**

183

I. Directly linked: this construction has a volitive meaning.

Cat. 12: *mó-þor ém-cěmí*, etc. I shall want to see it.

Cat. 14: Here, instead of *em-amí*, etc., the forms *em-í*, *em-ém*, etc. are found (see § 145).

*mó-þor em-í*, etc. I want to see it.

*mó-þor em-aném*, etc. do you want to see it?

Cat. 16: *mó-þor em-új*, etc. I wanted to see it (ultimate past).

*mó-þor em-þúj*, etc. I wanted to see it!

Cat. 17: *mó-þor em-óf*, etc. I wanted to see it (mediate past).

I also noted here a form *e-óf*, instead of *em-óf*.

Only once did I find a *m-/mV*- form followed by a form of the verb *ji* - to do, of category 23:

*o mo-þortewét jicwér-měró*

you /want to marry / he always did/

he has always wanted to marry you (§ 281).

II. Indirectly linked: this is the negative construction with *þak* - not. This construction has no volitive meaning.

Cat. 12: *mó-þor þák em-cěmí*, etc. I shall not see it.  
/to see/ not /I shall do/

Cat. 14: *mó-þor þák em-í*, etc. I don't see it.  
*mó-þor þák emut-mí*, etc. I didn't see it this morning.

Cat. 16: *mó-þor þák em-új*, etc. I didn't see it (ultimate past).

Cat. 17: *mó-þor þák em-óf*, etc. I didn't see it (mediate past).

Cat. 22: *mó-þor þák émewir-í*, etc. I never saw it.

## III SUBSTANTIVES

**Definition****184**

I will term *substantives* those words from which derivatives can be formed by adding the following suffixes:

- <i>nakáp</i>	primary derivatives
- <i>nakás</i>	
-----	
- <i>iríw/-eré</i>	secondary derivatives

**Primary derivatives****185**

*-nakáp* is a diminutive suffix indicating 'smallness + singular number'. The diminutive value of *-nakáp* has four aspects:

1. 'smallness': *cem* house, houses; *cémnakap* small house.
2. 'small part of a whole':
  - a. *mopán* trunk;
 

*mopánakap ám awamís*  
/piece of the trunk/ also /it lies there/  
there is also a piece of the trunk lying there (§ 299).

*si* axe;  
*sinakap mitapmúj* I thrust the axe into it, but not deeply (§ 278).  
/little bit of the axe/ I thrust into it/

*písuwá* dagger;  
*písuwánakap mafáw*  
/little bit of a dagger / to strike repeatedly/  
to strike repeatedly, but not deeply, with a dagger.
  - b. Suffixed to names of substances, and generic names, *-nakáp* indicates a 'small quantity of':
 

*amás* sago; *amásnakáp* a little bit of sago  
*mu* water; *múnakáp* a little water  
*enám* fish; *enámnakáp* a little bit of fish.

3. Suffixed to the words *tam* morning; *jok* noon; *porów* afternoon; and *erém* night, *-nakáp* indicates that the time of day or night in question has just begun or has almost passed: <sup>32</sup>

*támnakap ów /ucím ar' am/ éw enáwmes aráw*  
/early in the morning/ people various pp /they are coming/ pp  
early in the morning various people come.

*támnakap nitamor ín, jok*  
/late in the morning / she arrived/ pp, noon  
she arrived (at home) towards the end of the morning, at noon (§ 301).

4. In the following cases the suffix *-nakáp* indicates a closeness to:

*úmu* top;  
*esé umúnakap apítmomésmar ín*  
bag /almost to the top / he filled it at night/ pp  
at night he filled the bag he had with him almost to the top.

*pim* edge;  
*amás a pímnakap átemetótaper ín*  
sago there /almost to the rim / it rose and stayed/ pp  
the sago (meal) rose until it had almost reached the rim (§ 289).

## 186

One case was noted in which *-nakáp* was suffixed to the last word of a word-group; here it refers to the whole group:

*amás nec* raw sago; *amás nétnakap* a little bit of raw sago.

Similar cases are probably:

*pók kow opáknakap* not enough to eat.  
food much not-

---

<sup>32</sup> A similar semantic symmetry is found in the following words which also denote periods of time:

<i>to</i>	: tomorrow / yesterday
<i>jowún</i>	: the day after tomorrow / the day before yesterday
<i>átowún</i>	: in three days' time / three days ago
<i>átowáf</i>	: in four days' time / four days ago
<i>átomér</i>	: in five days' time / five days ago.

*ténam jóf opáknakap* <sup>33</sup> *ámémer in*

throat opening not- /he stood/ pp

he stood there his throat almost choked (with crying).

### 187

*-nakás* is a diminutive suffix indicating 'smallness + plural number':

*pok* thing/things; *póknakas* little things

*nani* heap/heaps; *nanínakas* little heaps.

The semantic value of *-nakás* does not seem to have the different aspects that *-nakáp* has.

### Secondary derivatives

#### 188

To derivatives with *-nakáp* and *-nakás*, the suffix *-iríw/-eré* can be added to form secondary derivatives. The forms of this suffix have a distribution parallel to that of *-nakáp* and *-nakás*: *-iríw* is suffixed to derivatives with *-nakáp*, and *-eré* is suffixed to derivatives with *-nakás*. Derivatives with *-iríw/-eré* indicate something very small, a very small quantity of, etc.:

*jak* rain cloud; *jáknakápiríw* a tiny rain cloud

*amás* sago; *amásnakápiríw* very little sago

*ow* people; *ównakápiríw* very few people

*porów* afternoon;

*porównakápiríw masním maré atakám afasmapéf*

evening- then /at last/ story /he told/

Finally, when it was still evening, he told them the story (§ 320).

*jísís* the edge of the fire;

*jísísnakápiríw fa amnú aotmámsères in*

/edge of the fire-/ back /to each other / they lay/ pp

by the edge of the fire they lay, their backs towards each other.

*jep* side;

*jépnakápiríw máokomémtamcín*

side- /roll it up for me/

roll up for me a tiny part of the side (of the fish trap) (§ 269).

No cases parallel to *sínakap mítapmúj* were found.

<sup>33</sup> The negation *opák* will be dealt with in § 240.

A secondary derivative with *-eré* is:

*pis* grandchildren; *car písnakaseré* all your small grandchildren.  
See also: *cowákaseré*, § 191.

**Words with which derivatives are formed only with *-nakáp*, or only with *-nakás***

**189**

1. In the following words, diminutive forms were found only with *-nakáp*:

*cowúc* woman; *cowútnakáp* little woman, girl  
*jípíc* man; *jípítnakáp* little man  
*ewúc* younger brother; *ewútnakáp* little younger brother.

It can therefore be assumed that only *-nakáp* can be suffixed to the following kinship terms denoting a particular person:

<i>o</i>	grandchild
<i>mo</i>	husband
<i>em</i>	wife
<i>ótípíc</i>	brother (said by a sister)
<i>těráswuc</i>	sister
<i>wa</i>	brother-in-law
<i>epúc</i>	older brother
<i>epíc</i>	older sister
<i>amús</i>	younger sister
<i>nin</i>	daughter-in-law

2. In the following words, diminutive forms were found only with *-nakás*:

*isipís* parents, mothers or fathers; *isipísnakás* little fathers  
*pis* grandchildren; *písnakás* little grandchildren.

It can also be assumed that only *-nakás* can be suffixed to the following kinship terms denoting a number of persons:

<i>miwís</i>	husbands
<i>ófajís</i>	grandparents
<i>ófew</i>	blood kinsmen belonging to a ceremonial house different from one's own

<i>ówoŋís</i>	people of a similar age
<i>těrásěpés</i>	sisters
<i>típuriś</i>	children of both sexes
<i>cenwís</i>	parents-in-law
<i>wes</i>	'sons'
<i>epúcěwes</i>	older brothers
<i>epícěwes</i>	older sisters
<i>amúsěwes</i>	younger sisters
<i>ninwís</i>	daughters-in-law

### A non-productive plural category

#### 190

A non-productive plural category occurs with six kinship terms. The derivative suffix is *-ěwes* in four cases, *-wis* in two cases:

A.		B.	
<i>epúc</i>	older brother	<i>epúcěwes</i>	older brothers
<i>epíc</i>	older sister	<i>epícěwés</i>	older sisters
<i>ewúc</i>	younger brother	<i>ewúcěwés</i>	younger brothers
<i>amús</i>	younger sister	<i>amúsěwes</i>	younger sisters
<i>nin</i>	daughter-in-law	<i>ninwís</i>	daughters-in-law
<i>mo</i>	husband	<i>mirwís</i>	husbands

The possibility of suffixing *-nakáp* to the words under A, and *-nakás* to the words under B, has already been discussed in § 189.

### Cases of transposition

#### 191

The one definite case of transposition I found is the word *jiwínakap*, which occurs as a substantive with the meaning 'small child' (from *jiwí*, child), and as an adjective with the meaning 'small'. This case will be dealt with when the adjective is discussed.

Transposition to the class of substantives probably occurs in the following cases:

1. The adjectives *awút* large, and *jiwínakap* small, occur in the following sentence in positions in which one would expect substantives to occur:

*takás awakámkurúmor in, awút am, jiwínakap am, takás in*  
all /he killed them all/ pp, large also, small also, all pp

He killed them all, large and small, all of them (/ / *owerów am, cepés am* - men and women).

2. *cowák* 'one, very, forthwith' > *cowákaseré* 'little ones' (substantive). *cowák* is a word of which it is not yet clear to which word-class it belongs. It can form groups with substantives, adjectives, and verbs, as in: *cem cowák* one house; *akát cowák* very good; *átepfés cowák* they forthwith rowed upriver.

The irregular derivative with *-aseré* instead of *-nakásere* (see § 202) I found once, as a substantive:

*cowákaseré pen éw menéstewer empúj*  
/little ones/ pp pp /come to get/ I do (mood form)

I come here and would like to get some [sago] if perhaps there are still some crumbs left! (§ 324).

### Syntactical valence

#### 192

Substantives can form groups with:

1. other substantives:

*amás esé* a bag with sago.  
sago bag

2. adjectives:

*áj cem* a new house;  
new house

*cem awút* a large house.  
house large

3. deictic words:

*no cím* my house; *a cím* this house; *cém ar* to the house;  
*cá cem (ám)* whose house; *ucím cem (ám)* what kind of house.

4. verbs:

*fét aworséc* change into a fet fish! (§ 270).  
/fet fish / change into/

*amás ancēmés* they usually eat sago.  
sago /they usually eat/

*no méntomir ów*  
me /accompany to the other side/ people  
people who (want to) accompany me to the other side (of the river).

5. the postpositions *aráw*, *nat*, *am* (see §§ 245, 246, 248).

## 193

There are a number of kinship terms which are always linked to a personal-possessive pronoun. They are:

( <i>nor</i> ) <i>amús(ěwés)</i>	(my) younger sister(s)
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>as, asakáp</i>	„ <i>papis</i> -partner
( <i>no</i> ) <i>mirwís</i>	„ husbands
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>mó</i>	„ husband
( <i>no</i> ) <i>nep</i>	„ child
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>em</i>	„ wife
( <i>nur</i> ) <i>epíc(ěwés)</i>	„ older sister(s)
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>epúc(ěwés)</i>	„ older brother(s)
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>ewúc(ěwés)</i>	„ younger brother(s)
( <i>nur</i> ) <i>ísipís</i>	„ parents
( <i>nur</i> ) <i>ícipíc</i>	„ father <sup>34</sup>
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>ó</i>	„ grandchild
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>ófajís</i>	„ grandparents
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>ófew</i>	„ kinsmen belonging to another <i>jew</i> than one's own
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>óswuc</i>	„ mother <sup>34</sup>
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>ótípíc</i>	„ brother (said by a sister)
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>ówtiw</i>	„ brothers (said by a sister)
( <i>no</i> ) <i>pús, purís, parwís</i>	„ daughter
( <i>nur</i> ) <i>upís, pís</i>	„ grandchildren
( <i>no</i> ) <i>sín(opís)</i>	„ wife (wives) (said by a husband)
( <i>no</i> ) <i>sók</i>	„ grandmother
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>wá</i>	„ brother-in-law
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>wés</i>	„ sons
( <i>nor</i> ) <i>wét</i>	„ namesake
( <i>nur</i> ) <i>wís</i>	„ sisters-in-law



<i>(nur) wíc</i>	„ father <sup>34</sup>
<i>(no) wopís</i>	‘the people of my age’
<i>(no) wós</i>	(my) mother <sup>34</sup>

## IV PROPER NAMES

**Grouping****194**

Proper names fall into two groups :

1. one group consisting of names of persons and names of rivers ;
2. one group consisting of names of villages and names of ceremonial houses (*jew*).

**Names of persons and names of rivers****195**

Derivatives can be formed from names of persons and names of rivers by adding the suffixes *-akáp* or *-simít*.

When *-akáp* is suffixed to a person's name, it indicates that that person is the younger of two namesakes ; when *-simít* is suffixed to a person's name, it indicates that that person is the elder of two namesakes :

<i>Tewérawuc</i>	(women's name)
<i>Tewérawúcakáp</i>	small T. (T. junior)
<i>Tewérawutsimít</i>	big T. (T. senior).

When *-akáp* and *-simít* are suffixed to names of rivers, they serve to distinguish two identically names rivers from each other. The name of the smaller of the two acquires the suffix *-akáp*, that of the larger, the suffix *-simít* :

<i>Mow</i>	(name of a river)
<i>Mówakáp</i>	the small Mow
<i>Mówsimít</i>	the big Mow.

<sup>34</sup> The current terms for father and mother are *níwí* and *ěnéw* ; *icipíc*, *óswuc*, *wíc* and *wos* I found in texts only. The difference in meaning between *icipíc* and *wíc*, *óswuc* and *wos*, is not clear to me. From the texts I get the impression that *wíc* and *wos* are used only when referring to persons belonging to one's own family.

## 196

The following kinship terms link up with the proper names :

<i>ěnéw</i> mother	<i>ěnéwakáp</i> younger sister of father or mother
	<i>enésmit</i> (< <i>ěnéw-simit</i> ) grandmother
<i>níwí</i> father	<i>níwíakáp</i> younger brother of father or mother
	<i>nísmit</i> (< <i>níwí-simit</i> ) grandfather
<i>wet</i> namesake:	<i>wétakáp/wétsimit</i> younger/elder namesake.
<i>as</i> partner in the exchange of women;	<i>asakáp</i> the younger of the two partners.

No derivative with *-simit* is known to me of the last term.

### Names of villages and ceremonial houses

## 197

Names of villages and of ceremonial houses (*jew*) link up with the names of persons and of rivers as regards their syntactical valence. But, they have no morphological valence.<sup>35</sup>

The name of one of the ceremonial houses of the village, or also a compound formed by the names of two ceremonial houses belonging to a village, are used as the name of the village, for example :

village	the ceremonial houses ( <i>jew</i> ) belonging to the village
<i>Jepém</i>	<i>Jepém, Apoków, Kosér, Mos.</i>
<i>Surú</i>	<i>Surú, Setmót, Ar, Awór, Majít.</i>
<i>Amanamkáj</i>	<i>Amán, Namkáj, Awók.</i>
<i>Amísu</i>	<i>Amíw, Su.</i>

### Syntactical valence

## 198

Proper names can form groups with :

## 1. substantives :

*Warsé ci* the canoe of Warsé; *Jepém ow* people of Jepém.

<sup>35</sup> A word has morphological valence when derivatives can be formed from it by means of one or more of the morphological processes, mentioned in § 62.

## 2. adjectives :

*Natinák omér* Natinák is afraid; *Jepém wut* many people of Jepém.

## 3. deictic words :

*no Tewérawúc* I am Tewérawuc; *ná Jepém* we are from Jepém.  
*já Matámjen* that Matámjen (persons name); *e Jepém* over there, in Jepém.

*Tewérawuc ár* in the direction of Tewérawuc.

*Jepém a* to Jepém.

*ca Miwirpic ar'áma!* who is this Miwirpic! (§ 273).

who M. pp pp

## 4. verbs :

*Jispáripic ájmirimtiwér* It was the fault of Jispáripic.

*Jomót ajiser* He rowed out of the Jomót.

## 5. postpositions :

*aráw, am, eněrim, cin* (see §§ 245, 246, 248, 250, 251).

## V ADJECTIVES

**Characteristics****199**

Words from which derivatives can be formed with the following suffixes will here be termed adjectives :

<p>-<i>nakáp</i>, -<i>iriw</i>          -<i>nakás</i>, (-<i>eré</i>)          -<i>picím</i></p>
---

Since, as far as morphological valence is concerned, there is a distinct similarity to the substantives, it is legitimate to ask the question whether there is here a separate class of adjectives. There are three arguments which plead for the existence of a special class :

1. the semantic value of *-nakáp* and *-nakás* differs clearly from the semantic value which these suffixes have when they are added to a substantive;

2. the possibility of suffixing *-picím*, a productive process, that does not occur with the substantives ;
3. the word *jiwínakáp* occurs as a derivative substantive with the meaning of 'small child' (see § 191), and as an adjective, with the meaning of 'small'. It is possible here to conclude that this is a case of transposition, a conclusion strengthened by the fact that from *jiwínakáp* 'small', derivatives can be formed with *-nakáp(íriw)* and *-picím* (see § 204).

### Morphological valence

#### 200

The suffix *-nakáp* has here the semantic value of 'much, to a high degree':

<i>jiníc</i> slack	<i>jinítinakáp</i> very slack, weak
<i>sirí</i> quick	<i>sirínakáp</i> very quick
<i>kikí</i> close together	<i>kikínakáp</i> very close together.

The suffix *-nakás*, similarly, has the semantic value of 'much, to a high degree':

<i>nemcén</i> angry, pugnacious	<i>nemcénakás</i> furious, very pugnacious
<i>jepén</i> recent	<i>jepénakás</i> very recent.

The material is not decisive in respect of the distribution of *-nakáp* and *-nakás*; a distinct correlation with singular and plural, respectively, such as occurs in parallel formations with the substantive, was only found with *pacák* - bad (discussed below). In all other cases, this does not occur:

*emák kikínakáp* having a quantity of bones (said of fish).  
bones /very close together/

*onów kikikikikikínakás*  
thatch

pieces of thatch laid very, very close together.

*jepénakáp; jepénakás* in the recent past, still very new.

The material is, however, too limited to allow of a decision whether *-nakáp* and *-nakás* are interchangeable in these cases and are thus alternants. Bearing in mind the case of *pacák* (§ 202), they will be provisionally regarded as two separate suffixes.

**201**

On the basis of the derivatives with *-nakáp*, secondary derivatives can be formed with the suffix *-iríw*, which serves to emphasize the semantic value of *-nakáp*:

*jinic* slack; *jinitnakáp* very slack; *jinitnakápíriw* very, very slack.

The only case of a secondary derivative with *-eré* that I came across was *pacákaseré* (§ 202).

**202**

*Pacák* bad, unfit, has irregular derivatives: the suffix *-ap* and *-as* are added to *pacák* instead of *-nakáp* and *-nakás*:

	<i>pacákáp</i>	<i>pacákapíriw</i>
<i>pacák</i>	(not found)	<i>pacákaseré</i>

These derivatives express intensity of feeling. *Pacákáp* is used to express compassion, for example:

*newét pacákáp!* my poor man! (said by a wife about a deformed husband).

*Pacákapíriw* and *pacákaseré* can be translated by: worthless, miserable, deuced. This is the only case in which the derivative with *-apíriw* indicates the singular number, in contrast to the derivative with *-aseré* which here indicates the plural number:

*a acir pacákapíriw!*

that *acir* bad

that confounded *acir* (store for sago on the collar beams of the house).

*a juwús pacákaseré /miníp manímcěmí/!*

those names bad /I always forget/

those deuced names, I always forget!

**203**

The suffix *-picím* indicates a relative degree:

<i>awút</i> large	<i>awútpicím</i> rather large
<i>jiwinakáp</i> small	<i>jiwinakápípicím</i> rather small
<i>tari</i> long ago	<i>taripicím</i> rather long ago

**Cases of transposition****204**

The case of *jiwinakáp* small, of which the derivatives *jiwinakápnakáp* very small, *jiwinakápnakápiriw* very, very, small, and *jiwinakápicim* rather small, were found, has already been noted.

Probably the following case is also one of transposition (transposition to the adjective class by suffixing *-nakáp*):

*nemsánakáp* slow

*nemsá*: I only came across this word as an exhortation:

*nemsá!* don't hurry!, be careful!

I do not know if *sétnakáp* narrow, and *karésnakáp* thin, laid out far apart (of *atap*) are derivatives: I did not find an underlying form *set* and *kares*.

**Syntactical valence****205**

Adjectives can form groups with:

substantives: *aj* young, new, is the only adjective that always precedes a substantive:

*áj cem* a new house

*áj jipíc* a beginner, newcomer.

The other adjectives can precede as well as follow a substantive.

An adjective precedes the substantive when a certain emphasis falls on the former:

*ów akát* good people

*akát ow* good people (in contrast to bad people)

*ów tari* old people

*tari ow* people from the distant past, ancestors.

proper names:

*Natinák omér* N. is afraid.

verbs:

*ew aj aworéf* the other day he was changed into a crocodile  
crocodile new /he changed into/

*akát émoreś ów* the men who did it well.  
good- /they did it/ people

personal pronouns :

*ó jiwínakáp* you are small

*nó pacák* I will not, I won't do it (*Pacák* can have the meaning 'averse to, not willing' when linked with personal names or personal pronouns).

Adjectives, in addition, can be linked with words which express 'a great degree of'. I got the impression that these words cannot be linked to all adjectives. Thus I found :

*kor* very, too, in :

<i>tari kor</i>	very long (ago)
<i>afó kor</i>	very very wide, too wide
<i>awút kor</i>	very very large, too large
<i>akát kor</i>	very very beautiful
<i>jicó kor</i>	very very smooth, too smooth
<i>jitúr kor</i>	very very heavy, too heavy
<i>siri kor</i>	very very quick, too quick

*anakát* really, in :

<i>fúm anakát</i>	clear as crystal
<i>mocó anakát</i>	wet through
<i>akmát anakát</i>	really old

*nucúr* very, in :

<i>awút nucúr</i>	huge
<i>pacák nucúr</i>	most miserable

*asúw* ?, in :

<i>pár asúw</i>	very wide
<i>fék asúw</i>	as hard as a stone

*safán* ?, in :

<i>jurúw safán</i>	very long
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*cakámkaj* ?, in:

*focó cakámkaj* skinny

*ut* very, in:

*awút ut* very large

*cowák* 'totally', in:

*akát cowák* very good

## VI DEICTIC WORDS

### Introduction

#### 206

Asmat has a number of deictic words which fall into two main groups: I. non-interrogative pronouns; II. interrogative pronouns.

I. The non-interrogative pronouns, if we set aside the derivative forms, can be set out in the following scheme:

<i>a / ar</i>		
<i>no / nor</i>	<i>e / er</i>	<i>aríw</i>
<i>na / nar</i>	<i>ja</i>	
<i>o / or</i>	<i>jáka</i>	
<i>ca / car</i>	<i>átar</i>	
personal possessive	demonstrative	directional

The form of this scheme rests on the following considerations:

- the non-interrogative pronouns fall into three classes: personal possessive pronouns; demonstrative pronouns; and directional pronouns; Of these, only the personal possessive pronouns have morphological valence;



2. there is one 'neutral' deictic word, *a/ar*, which links up with all three classes;
3. In all three classes we find pairs of word-variants: one variant ending in a vowel, the other in *r*.

The scheme makes it clear that there is a certain formal connection between the classes: 1) because the deictic word *a/ar* belongs to all three classes; 2) because the same type of word-variants occurs in all three classes.

Only with these deictic words do word-variants with and without final *r* occur systematically: outside the deictic words, only a few isolated cases were found.<sup>36</sup>

II. The interrogative pronouns are *ca/com*, *ucim* and *ucinak/uci/uc*. In this group the neutral deictic word *a/ar* does not occur, nor do word-variants with and without final *r*. The reasons for treating them as one group will be given in § 232.

### The non-interrogative pronouns

#### 1. The personal possessive class

#### 207

This class consists of four personal possessive pronouns, to which the neutral deictic word *a/ar* is added:

A	B	
<i>no</i>	<i>nor</i>	I
<i>na</i>	<i>nar</i>	we
<i>o</i>	<i>or</i>	you (s.)
<i>ca</i>	<i>car</i>	you (pl.)
.....	.....	
<i>a</i>	<i>ar</i>	he, they

The forms in set A will be called A variants; those in set B, B variants.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. the verbal forms ending in *-ca/-car*, *-cěma/-cěmar*, and *-ma/-mar*. See §§ 120, 136, 144.

## Distribution of variants.

## 208

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive, we find the B variant before a substantive beginning with a vowel; the A variant before a substantive beginning with a consonant:

*nor amás* my sago; *no cím* my house.

Deviations from this regularity are found:

1. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive having one vowel, which is initial:

*no ém* my drum; *o ó* your pig;

Besides these, however, one always finds:

*nor ém* my wife; *or ó* your grandchild.

It is possible that here the homonymy has led to a need for differentiation.

*nas* 'it is mine', occurs as well as the regular construction *nor ás* 'it is mine'.

2. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to one of the following substantives, all of which belong to the group of kinship terms that occur exclusively linked to one of these pronouns (see § 193): Here, the B variant occurs before substantives beginning with *m* or *w*:

1. <i>mo</i>	husband	<i>nor mó, or mó,</i>	etc.
2. <i>wa</i>	brother-in-law	<i>nor wá, or wá,</i>	„
3. <i>wes</i>	sons	<i>nor wés, or wés,</i>	„
4. <i>wet</i>	namesake	<i>nor wét, or wét,</i>	„
5. <i>wopís</i>	'people of the same age'	<i>no wopís, but: or wopís,</i>	„
6. <i>wos</i>	mother	<i>no wós, but: or wós,</i>	„

In one case has the personal possessive pronoun 1st. pers. sing. a variant *new*, in four cases a variant *nur*; in all these cases, the personal possessive pronoun 2nd. pers. sing. has a variant *ur*. These variants occur when these pronouns are linked to the following substantives:

1. <i>isipís</i>	parents	<i>new isipís, ur isipís</i>
2. <i>icipíc</i>	father	<i>nur icipíc, ur icipíc</i>
3. <i>pís</i>	grandchildren	<i>nur pís, ur pís</i>

- |                |                |                          |
|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 4. <i>epic</i> | elder sister   | <i>nur epic, ur epic</i> |
| 5. <i>wis</i>  | sisters-in-law | <i>nur wís, ur wís</i>   |

These substantives belong to the group of kinship terms which occur exclusively linked to a personal possessive pronoun (see § 193).

## 209

Only the B variant was found:

1. when the personal possessive pronoun is the only word in the sentence:

*nor*. I. (in reply to the question: who is there?)  
*or* you;

2. when the personal possessive pronoun is not linked to any other word in the sentence:

*omóp ca afán, or* you, who has hit you?  
 blow who struck you, you

*nor, or, nar, car, ar* (summing up).

3. when the personal possessive pronoun is linked to one of the following words:

- a. the directional pronoun *ar/a* (§ 229):

*ó nor ár þen* are you going for me?  
 you me to pp

- b. the question markers *en* and *þen* (§§ 252, 253):

*ór en* is it you; *ór þen* are you there?

- c. the postposition *am* (§ 248):

*nor ám, ar ám* I also, and he too.

- d. the postposition *aráw* (§ 245):

*nór aráw, "..."* *iním eóf* I then said: "..."  
 I pp so /I spoke/

- e. the postposition *aw* (§ 257):

*nór aw* (yes) it is only I (reassuringly).

4. in sentences like:

*ór enakáp nór enakáp, júmamtámjawas*  
 you small I small /they intended us for each other/  
 when we were both very small, they intended us for each other  
 (§ 280).

*ór a /jó ajpím/ iním mapí, nór a /jó ajpím/ iním memáp*  
 you this side /like this / go to sit/, I this side /like this / go to sit/  
 you go and sit on that side, then I will go and sit on this side (of  
 the sleeping mat) (§ 283).

5. before a hesitation pause:

*no ó moþor pák nor . . . . nám /þok mer emémi/*  
 I you /look for/ not; I /also I/ searched for food/  
 I am not looking for you; I . . . . I was also searching for food.

6. in derivatives: These will be discussed in §§ 213-217.

## 210

The A variant was always found:

1. before the postposition *nat* (§ 246):  
*no nát* I (emphatic);
2. before the interrogative *ca/cam/com* (§§ 232, 233):  
*o cím; ó com ám* who are you?  
 you who; you who pp

## 211

For the remaining cases, it was not possible to establish a constant difference in distribution between the A variant and the B variant. The A variant was found in the vast majority of cases. Both forms occur in identical or similar environments in which no difference in meaning is discernible and it is thus probable that in these cases the two variants can alternate freely:

*o/or cowák aráw an* are you the only one? (§ 290).  
 you one pp pp

*no/nor þók memtém emín* I shall take care of the food  
 I food /take care off / I shall/

*no/nor áwapi aráw* here I am; here I sit.  
 I /sit here/ pp

Only in one isolated case, namely, when they are linked to the word *omér*, was a difference in meaning found between the A and the B variant:

<i>nó omér</i>	I am afraid
<i>nór omér</i>	afraid of me
<i>ar omér</i>	afraid of him
<i>a nát omér</i>	he is afraid (For <i>nat</i> , see § 246).

The meaning of the personal possessive pronouns.

### 212

*no/nor* points to the speaker of the sentence in which *no/nor* occurs:

*nó or ěnéw aráw* I am your mother.  
I your mother pp

*na/nar* points to a group of persons to which the speaker of the sentence in which *na/nar* occurs belongs, or to which he considers himself to belong:

*ná Jepém ow* we are people of Jepem.  
we Jepem people

*o/or* points to the person to whom the sentence in which *o/or* occurs is directed:

*ó Miwír en* are you Miwir(pic)?  
you M. pp

*ca/car* points to a group of persons to whom the sentence in which *ca/car* occurs is directed, or to whom the person spoken to belongs or is considered to belong at the time of speaking:

*car arásen ememíc* you must remain here!  
you here remain

*a/ar* points to a person or persons other than those, indicated by *no/nor*, *na/nar*, *o/or* and *ca/car*:

*ár enakáp, nór enakáp, jumamtáměrawós*  
he small I small /they intended us for each other/

when he and I were still small, they intended us for each other (§ 280).

When these pronouns are linked to a substantive, they can have a possessive meaning :

*nor ěnéw no niwí* my mother and father (see also § 208).

Morphological valence.

### 213

Derivatives can be formed by suffixing *-ma*, *-ap/-pa*, *-ow*, *-am*, and *-m* to the B variant.

The forms with the suffix *-ma* have a semantic element in common which can be translated by: self, oneself, of one's own accord, or reflexively by: myself, etc. In the cases noted, the derivatives with *-ma* are always linked to a verb :

*normá mací emi* I myself will cut it up.  
/I myself / cut up / I will it/

*normá atewérfin* I have fetched you of my own accord (§ 283).  
I- /fetched you/

*sej sí normá sakamóf* I cut myself with an axe.  
iron axe myself /I cut/

*armá mápjít ás pow* it is not something that will grow by itself.  
self /to grow/ thing not

*se armá wuápmor in* he himself buried him (§ 274).  
ground self /he buried him/ pp

### 214

The derivatives with the suffix *-ap/-pa* all have a semantic element which can be translated by: alone, secluded.

Distributionally, the forms with *-ap* and with *-pa* exclude each other: the derivatives with *-pa* occur only when linked to a verb; derivatives with *-ap* are never linked to a verb:

*orpá mempór pow!* only you won't do it! (§ 283).  
/only you / will do/ not

*nám a norpá emapí cowák*  
I here alone /I sat/ continually  
I have sat here the whole time on my own.

*wasén arpá sorápères in* they lived quite alone in the forest.  
forest /they alone / they lived/ pp

*naráp /ow somót/ emcóma!* we are an independent group (§ 320).  
/we alone/ group /we are/

*op aráp sipám un, cenés aráp sipám un*  
above /it alone / row of collar-beams/ pp below /it alone/ row pp  
(in the house) there was a separate row of collar-beams above, and  
a separate row of collar-beams below (§ 321).

When these derivatives are linked to a substantive, they can have a possessive meaning:

*noráp tapín* my own sleeping mat, mine alone.

One exception to the above mentioned rule of distribution was found: the derivative with *-ap* as well as that with *-pa* occurs linked to an element *min*, which appears to be an emphasizing element:

*caráp min; carpá min* you alone (with emphasis).

## 215

The derivatives with the suffix *-am* have a semantic element which can be translated by: in (his) turn, on the other hand, however:

*náram ám naráp /ow somót/ emcóma*  
we too /we alone/ group /we are/  
we, too, are an independent group (§ 320).

*arám ja atmár araw ún, arám þo ajinimés araw ún*  
he way /he was on it travelling/ pp pp, they paddle /they were rowing down  
river/ pp pp  
while he was on his way (on foot), they rowed downriver (§ 341).

*Fét am arám, "..."* *inim aer in* Fet, in his turn, said.... "..."  
Fet and /he in his turn/ ...so /he spoke/ pp  
(§ 270).

## 216

The derivatives with the suffix *-ow* have a semantic element which can be circumscribed as emphasis on the person or persons in question, to the exclusion of others:

*norów aporóf* I saw it (not you).

*cowíc akát norów tetámfënem áw*

wife beautiful me /you gave me/ pp

you have indeed given me a beautiful wife (and not to others).

*cepés manám arów maf, owér masájwut opów*

women /in love / they only/ are, husbands choose not

women do fall in love, but the choice of a husband is not theirs  
(§ 283).

## 217

The derivatives with *-m* are:

*nam* (1st. pers. sing. & pl.)

*om* (2nd. pers. sing.)

*cam* (2nd. pers. pl.)

*am* (3rd. pers. sing. & pl.)

Unlike the other derivatives, it is impossible in these cases to decide which variant is the underlying form. Is *-m* suffixed to the A variant or does it replace the *r* of the B variant? Furthermore, here both *no/nor* and *na/nar* have a derivative *nam*.

The semantic element common to these derivatives can be translated by: also, concerning; often it can only be circumscribed as slight emphasis on the person or persons in question.

*náma!* I, too!

*nam asén akát emámsió* I lie in a good place, I do! (§ 314).

I place good /I lie/

*nam ám namsón pak* I don't know it either!

I either /I know not/

When a personal possessive pronoun is linked to a substantive and is preceded by an *-m* derivative, it lays stress on 'possession':

*nám no ci* (its) my canoe!

I my canoe

*óm or as* (its) yours!

you your thing

*ám a papís cowíc* (she is) his own *papís*-woman!

he his *papís* woman



In fact, the *-m* derivatives *om*, *cam* and *am* were found almost exclusively in this construction; *nam*, on the other hand, occurs frequently in other contexts, see the previous examples.

**218**

Summing up, we can say that all these derivatives refer to relations between persons. If we call the persons concerned A and B, then we can set out the following scheme:

derivatives	meaning
<i>-ap/-pa</i>	A only
<i>-ma</i>	A without (assistance of) B
<i>-ow</i>	A excluding B
<i>-am</i>	A as opposed to B
<i>-m</i>	A as well as B
	A, as distinct from B

Syntactical valence.

**219**

The personal possessive pronouns can form groups with:

substantives:	<i>no cím</i>	my house
proper names:	<i>no Téawuc</i>	I am Teawuc
adjectives:	<i>no omér</i>	I am afraid
verbs:	<i>nó matewét</i>	I will have it
	<i>wów, car áfëri</i>	take care, or I shall kill you!
deictic words; only with the directional pronouns:	<i>or ár</i>	in your direction, going for you (see § 209).

the postpositions *am*, *aráw*, *aw*, *nat*. (Examples of these constructions have already been given in § 209).

2. *The demonstrative class*

## 220

This class consists of the demonstrative pronoun *e/er*, the neutral pronoun *a/ar* and the three demonstrative pronouns without variants: *ja*, *jáka* and *átar*.

A		B
a	/	ar
e	/	er
	ja	
	jáka	
	átar	

## 221

The A variant was always found, except in the following cases; in these, the B variant occurred exclusively:

1. as the single word in a sentence:  
*ar* here; *er* there.
2. linked to the directional pronouns:  
*ár ar* this way; *ér ar* that way, over there.
3. linked to:

*aráw* (§ 245) *ár aráw* this is it; here it is.  
*ér aráw* that is it.

*masërim* *ár masërim* and next; and then  
*nim* *ér nim* a little bit to that side  
*picirim* *ár picirim* to here (and no further).

Cases in which the demonstrative pronoun was linked to *en*, *pen*, *am* or *aw*, were not met with in the material I worked on.

4. before the final *a* which occurs in exclamations: *éra!* hey, there!

## 222

*a/ar* points to:

1. that which is by, or in the direct neighbourhood of the speaker:  
*a fér ca serápmorémè*  
this /fish trap/ who /you put it down/  
who are you, who have put down this fish trap? (§ 269).

*jismák, a pér afámtiwít* fire, burn up this mouse! (§ 266).  
fire, this mouse /burn it/!

2. the locality of the events told of (in a tale):

*a nesén /os wá<sup>37</sup>/ cowák in, a Siréc*  
there only forest only pp there Siréc  
there was only the forest, there by the Siréc (the locale of the story)  
(§ 290).

3. to that which is simultaneous, or almost so, with the action spoken of, or the happening narrated:

*a /hari Minggu/<sup>38</sup> cowák jiwí takás aj mupicín atáwatic*  
this Sunday one children all new clothes receiving  
this very Sunday, all the children will get new clothes.

The demonstrative pronoun *a/ar* often occurs without its pointing to anything definite. I got the impression that this is the case when something is mentioned which has already been spoken of, or is presumed to be known to the listener:

*Majít nucúr moporóm pak in, a cém os*  
Majít ancestors /to show/ not pp the house poles  
the house poles [already mentioned], they did not let the ancestors  
of the Majít people see them (§ 274).

*a Watér nat " . . . " iním aer in* Watér then said: . . . .  
- Watér pp so /he said/ pp

*a amás jis akát, a pók jis akát étampormí a jím a enám*  
- sago roasted well - fish roasted well /I make for him/ - /fish net/ - fish

*piewérmi, mán opów*  
/I catch many/ [but] eat not

I prepare tasty roasted sago, tasty roasted fish for him, I scoop up  
many fish with the net, but eat he does not! (§ 280).

---

<sup>37</sup> Ásmat people make the distinction between two kinds of forest: *cow* - sago forest, and *os wá* forest without sago palms.

<sup>38</sup> Hari Minggu: loan-words from Malay.

## 223

*e/er* points to:

1. that which is distant from the speaker:

*e cá ci ám* whose is that canoe over there?  
that whose canoe pp

2. to a point in time, neither simultaneous, nor almost so, with the time of the speech-event:

*e asép enáwcaw /hari Rabu/*<sup>39</sup> *ará no karji*<sup>39</sup> *opák*  
that next /it comes/ Wednesday pp I work not  
next Wednesday I am free.

3. a place far from the locality of the event set forth in the narrative:

*fér e kápí cuwuc áp aw ún*  
/fish trap/ there closed /was present/ sitting pp pp  
there in the distance stood the fish trap (in the river) closing it  
(§ 269).

4. *e/er* can also indicate a point that, in relation to another, is seen by the speaker as being the farther removed; or as the last one of a series: the distance is not then relevant.

*esé jép er ár, jép er ár*  
bag side there to, side there to  
a bag whose sides reach from there to there (the speaker stretches  
out his arms on either side) (§ 285).

*e/er* can occur without pointing to anything definite, // *a/ar*:

*enám a Wok tetám, a Mís tetám, é a níwí tetám, iním aéf*  
fish - Wok /to give/ - Mís /to give/ - his father /to give/ so /he did/  
he gave the fish to Wok, to Mís and to his father.  
(Here *e* occurs as the last one of the series: *a . . a . . e . .*).

*é ur isipís aráw siriá, arásen momásiénawút*  
- your parents pp quickly here /presently you must come together/  
as regards (you and) your parents, presently you must come together  
here quickly! (§ 275).

<sup>39</sup> Hari Rabu; karji: loan-words from Malay. *karji* = kerdja.

## 224

*ja* points specially to the person spoken to: (that) there with you:

*ja ucim pok tówomkonáwmem*  
that what thing /you bring with you here/  
what is that thing you bring with you?

*ja émorem ánam aráw*  
that /you work up/ middle pp  
that part you have been working on is the *ánam* (middle part of the pith of the sago palm) (§ 299).

*no já or mó /manám maf/ páka!*  
I that your husband like not  
I don't like that husband of yours! (§ 281).

## 225

*jáka* points to everything that is not at too great a distance from the speaker.

Before a word beginning with a vowel, sometimes *jak* is found instead of *jáka*:

*jak ápori* look there (beside: *ar ápori*, look here! and *er ápori* look over there!)

*jáka jowówa!* hey, you there!  
there people

*ci jáka erén a!* (let's go) a length upstream with the canoe! (§ 269).  
canoe there upstream to

## 226

*átar* was only found in a few cases in the texts. It seems to me that *átar* only differs in meaning from the demonstrative *a/ar* by a certain emphasis:

*átar enám amás nêwirum nêwa!*  
that fish food /we ate always/ perhaps  
perhaps it was fish we always ate formerly! (§ 302).

*a ci nat átar jis ci nim makmák araw ún*  
his canoe pp there firewood canoe like /piled up/ pp pp  
in his canoe, now, there they lay piled up high (the corpses) like  
a canoe with firewood in it.

**227**

The demonstrative pronouns form groups with:

substantives: *a esé* this bag; *ja esé* that bag (with you); *jáka esé* that bag there; *e esé* that bag over there.

proper names: *a Jepém* here in Jepém; *e Kájmo* the village of Kájmo, away over there; *ja Matámjen* Matámjen there, near you.

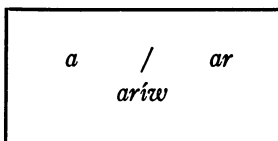
directional pronouns: *ar á* this way; *er á* that way. (not found with *ja, jáka, átar*).

with *aráw, masěrim, nim, picirim* (§ 221).

### 3. The directional class

**228**

This class consists of only two members: the directional pronoun *aríw*, and the neutral pronoun *a/ar*:

**229**

*a/ar* points in a certain direction:

*wásen á* to the forest

*nor á* to me

The B variant was always found before the question markers *en, pen*, before the 'quotative' marker *in/un*, and before the final *a, o* or *è* which were mentioned in § 33 and § 34.

*ár ará* this way!

here to!

*ó nor ár pen* are you going for me?

you me to pp

*o mokót ar en* are you going to the sago garden?

you /sago garden / to it/

*no mokót aró* yes, I am going to the sago garden.

I /sago garden / to it/

*e jowów mokót ar ín*

those people /sago garden / to it/ pp

they are on their way to the sago garden, so it is said.

In the other cases, the A and the B variant seem to alternate freely.

### 230

*aríw* indicates that the point to which the movement is directed has been reached :

*e jowów mokót aríw* they are at the sago garden.

those people /sago garden / to it/

*káper*<sup>40</sup> *Merauke aríw*

boat Merauke /to it/

the boat (which left here) has arrived at Merauke.

Syntactical valence

### 231

Directional pronouns can form groups with substantives, personal possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Examples were already given in § 229.

### Interrogative pronouns

#### *Characteristics*

### 232

There are three interrogative pronouns :

*ca/com*                      who, whose

*ucím*                         what, which, how, how many, how much

*ucínak/uci/uc*            where.

These will here be treated as a group for the following reasons :

1. they can occur in combination with a postposition *am*, which only occurs in combination with interrogatives ;
2. they can only occur with particular forms of the verb.

*ca/com* : *ca* occurs in all cases except immediately preceding the postposition *am* : in this case *com* occurs.

<sup>40</sup> *káper* : loan-word from Malay, = kapal.

*ucím*: only once in a text a form *ucíp* was found instead of *ucím*.

*ucínak/ucí/uc*: *ucínak* is probably a compound formed with *ucí* and *nak* true, actual; *ucínak* occurs in all cases except those given below. *ucí* was found only once in a context in which one would expect *ucínak*: this case is given in § 233 under *ucínak*.

*uc* occurs before the directional pronouns *a/ar* and *aríw*.

In addition, *ucí* and *uc* occur in the two alternating forms *uciè* and *ucè*, which occur in contexts in which the speaker expresses annoyance or uneasiness. These forms have the final *è*, dealt with in § 33.

The syntactical valence of the interrogatives is still not fully known to me. The structure of the sentences in which they occur is not always clear. It can only be said with certainty that they can form groups with substantives and verbs.

I shall deal first with those cases in which the interrogatives occur in combination with *am*; then I shall discuss those in which they occur without *am*.

*Interrogatives occurring in combination with am*:

### 233

*am* only occurs in combination with interrogatives in non-verbal word-groups.

There are two exceptions: a. *uciè/ucè*, with which *am* never occurs; b. the word-group *ucínak* + positional verb, after which *am* does occur.

*ca/com*

*a cá jípíc ám* who is this man?  
this who man pp

*cá Miwírpíc ar' ám* who is Miwirpic?  
who Miwirpic pp pp

*o cóm am* who are you?  
you who pp

Instead of *ó com ám*, *o cá m* who are you, also occurs.

*jírpu com ám* who is angry?  
angry who pp

*awút jiwí com ám* which is the biggest child?  
big child which pp



*ucím*

*a ucím pok ám* what's this thing?  
this what thing pp

*ucím as ám* what is it, what do you want?  
what something pp

In the contexts in which *ucím* means how, how many, *am* is always preceded by the postposition *ar'* (see § 245):

*ók ucím ar' ám* how many eggs are there?  
egg how many pp pp

*ná ucím ar' ám* what must we do now?  
we how pp pp

*o cí par ucím iním ar' ám* how wide is your canoe?  
you canoe wide /how much / like this/ pp pp

*ucínak/ucí/uc*

The postposition *am* is always preceded by the postposition *ar'*, when *am* occurs in combination with *ucínak*.

*niwí ucínak ar' ám* where is father?  
father where pp pp

*nó juwúr sis uci ar' ám* where is my necklace of dog's teeth?  
my dog tooth where pp pp

*cá uc ar' am* where are you going?  
you where pp pp

*é jowów uc áriw ám* where have those people gone to?  
those people where /have gone to/ pp

Exceptions, mentioned above:

- a. *niwí uciè/ucè* where is father?  
father where

In the following set expression, *uciè/ucè* has the specific meaning: why.

*iním nat uciè* why (do you say) this! (§ 281).  
/like this/ pp why

- b. *Surú ow ucínak apés ar' ám* where do the people of Surú live?  
 Surú people where /they live/ pp pp

*Interrogatives without am*

**234**

*am* does not occur in verbal word-groups. The only exception is the word-group *ucínak* + positional verb + *ar am* as mentioned in the preceding.

The interrogatives can form groups with the verbal forms of Cat. 10 (conditional forms), Cat. 12 (habitual forms), Cat. 14 (progressive forms), Cats. 16 and 17 (ultimate- and mediate-past forms), and Cat. 24 (unproductive category of the positional verbs). The forms of category 10 always occur when the question relates to the future.

*ca*

*a kanít ca cepés apiërés*  
 these shrimps who women /they caught/  
 who are the women who have caught these shrimps?

*no cá amkawícen* who will go with me there.  
 me who /will go with me/

*ucím*

*ucím emésmemá* how did you do it tonight?  
 how /you did it tonight/

*tirif*<sup>40a</sup> *ucím emamís*<sup>41</sup> how many letters are lying there?  
 letters /how many / lie there/

*makík ucím ématamcém*<sup>41</sup> how will you throw out the fish line?  
 /fish line/ how /will you throw it/

*ucínak*

*/makík mer/ ucínak em-cém* where will you go to fish?  
 /go to fish/ where /will you do it/

---

<sup>40a</sup> *tirif*: loan-word from Malay: tulis - to write.

<sup>41</sup> For the prefix *em-* see § 179.

Usually, however, one finds before a verb the circumscription *ucim asén* which place, instead of *ucinak* :

*tirif ucim asén tiwirúm fem* where did you send the letter?  
letter which place /sent you it/

## VII INTERJECTIONS

### Characteristics

#### 235

The interjections form a word-class characterized by :

1. the absence of morphological and syntactical valence;
2. the occurrence of special phonological phenomena;
3. the breaking of the rules of phoneme distribution;
4. the breaking of the rules of accentuation.

The special phonological phenomena occurring with interjections are :

word-final *è*  
prolongation of vowels  
laryngalization  
the special sounds *nj*, *'m*, *ts*, and *pr*.

These have already been dealt with in §§ 33-38.

The rules of phoneme distribution are broken in that the vowel *ě* can occur word-finally.

The rules of accentuation are broken in that, in specific cases, the regular alternation of accented and unaccented vowels does not occur.

The interjections fall into two groups :

1. exclamations;
2. onomatopoeic interjections, and exclamations used to call animals or to urge them on.

### Exclamations

#### 236

The rules of phoneme distribution are only broken in this group. Among others, the following cases were noted :

<i>wu!</i>	oh! alas!
<i>wwú!</i>	oh! alas!
<i>je</i>	fie!
<i>jōj</i>	an exclamation of surprise
<i>ěmá</i>	wait! be patient!
<i>atów</i>	come!
<i>ajpáw</i>	fine!
<i>enamúc</i>	come on!
<i>ts</i>	a sign of annoyance
<i>'m</i>	indicates a vigorous start to an action
<i>s!</i>	hey! I say!
<i>noromúm</i> <sup>42</sup>	you are my husband, my dear one, my dear

Some cases were noted in which a whole word-group was transposed to the category of interjections. These cases are: the affectionate expression *nor mó* my husband, my dear one, and the abusive words:

<i>ekcá jímá</i>	monster! misbegotten brat! (arse child!)
<i>nés minó</i>	weakling! (piece of meat)

#### **Onomatopoeic interjections and words of command to animals**

##### **237**

The rules of accentuation are only broken in this group. A phenomenon frequently occurring in this group is the repetition of the same element, usually one having one vowel. In this case the alternation of accented and unaccented vowels does not occur.

Examples of onomatopoeia :

<i>sěsěsěsě</i>	hissing of fire as it is put out
<i>fěfěfěfěfě</i>	the sound of the wind
<i>pepepepe</i>	the creaking of a cane binding as it is pulled tight
<i>iriririri</i>	sound of many small objects falling down

<sup>42</sup> When two Asmat people meet or are together and are pleased to see each other it is usual for the two of them to express their pleasure by using the term *noromúm* - 'you are my husband', my dear one, irrespective of the sex of the two people concerned and irrespective of whether or not there is a sexual relationship between them. Instead of *noromúm*, one can also say *nor mó cowak ém* - you are my only husband, or: *no miwís em* - you are my husbands, when one addresses more than one person.

<i>ko,ko,ko,ko,ko</i>	sound made by drums
<i>kukuku</i>	call of the <i>ojúm</i> bird
<i>kèkèkèkèkèkè</i>	scream of the <i>joc</i> bird
<i>taká ko, taká ko</i>	sound made by feet squelching in the mud

The following interjections are suggestive of actions :

<i>njanjanjanjanja</i> or <i>njómo njómo njómo</i>	the action of nibbling or gnawing
<i>urururururu</i>	the action of something slipping into something else ; people following one after another
<i>wáka</i>	the making of a scarcely noticeable movement (e.g., with the hand)
<i>pére</i>	a sudden appearing and disappearing, flashing of light, a quick short movement.

In the following cases the element that is repeated occurs also in the class of verbs either as a core, or as a component of a core. We are thus dealing here with cases of transposition :

<i>teptepteptep</i>	the action of going lower and lower down, of sinking deeper ( <i>tep</i> to be above)
<i>tajtajtajtaj</i>	the gradual ceasing of rain ( <i>taj</i> to cease, to stop)
<i>purpurpur</i>	the assembling of a great crowd of people ( <i>pur</i> in rows)
<i>sopĩ, sopĩ</i>	the action of leaping high in the air (of a fish leaping out of the water) ( <i>sow</i> to leap up, <i>pi</i> to fly).

I also noted the following interjections which are used to call an animal or to urge it on :

<i>as, as</i>	urging on dogs at a pig hunt
<i>fafafafafa</i>	calling tame pigs

## VIII NEGATIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

**Introduction****238**

I shall now deal with a number of words that have no morphological valence and which cannot yet be classified into a definite word-class because the material is insufficient for this purpose. That I have, nevertheless, divided them into negations and postpositions is due to the fact that the negations, at least, have a feature common to them, one which is not found in the postpositions: only specific forms of the verb can occur before negations. The feature characteristic of the postpositions is that they always occur at or within the end of a word-group.<sup>43</sup>

The syntactical valence of the negations and postpositions, like that of the interrogatives, is still not fully known to me. In so far as I have been able to determine it with certainty will it be mentioned, and examples will be given.

In addition, cases will also be given of the occurrence of negations and postpositions in sentences of which the syntactical structure has not yet been determined.

The negations and postpositions will be dealt with in the following order:

I. The negations: *opák/pak*, *opów/pow*; *ópnačáw/pěnačáw*, *pok*, *čmár*.

II. The postpositions: on the basis of their function, these can be divided into:

1. emphasizing words: *aráw*, *nat*, *man*
2. conjunctions: *am*, *wín*, *enčřím/ením*, *cin*<sup>44</sup>
3. question markers: *en/an*, *opén/pen*, *am*<sup>2</sup>
4. the dubitative marker: *ew*
5. the irrealis marker: *aj*

<sup>43</sup> The only exception to this is *enčřím/ením* which is always placed between proper names.

<sup>44</sup> There are still three other conjunctions: *másinerim/masnerim/maserim/misčřim/masnim* then; *wunám* again; *marčw/marčw/mari/marč* - at last, finally. These link word-groups with word-groups. These words will not be discussed here because this is not possible without a previous investigation into the syntax.

6. the subjectivity marker: *aw*
7. the quotative marker: *in/un/n*.

Lastly, I will discuss three elements of which the function is still not clear to me: *in/un/n*<sup>2</sup>, *am*<sup>3</sup>, and *aw*.

### Negations

#### 239

Only the following forms of the verb can precede negations:

1. the *m-/mV-* and the *m-/mV-áji* forms:
2. the tense and tense-aspect categories of verbs of which the core contains the formative *por* = to wish, to try to. These verbal forms only occur in combination with *opák/pak*, *opów/pow* and *ópnačáw/pěnačáw*. These negations then express a contrariness which can be translated by: but no, but in vain.

#### 240

*opák/pak* not, without

*opák* and *pak* alternate freely, except after verbs with the formative *por*, where *opák* always occurs. *pak* was usually found after the *m-/mV-* and the *m-/mV-áji* forms of the verb; in other cases *opák* was usually found.

*opák/pak* can form groups with:

the *m-/mV-* forms of the verb: *mópor pák emóf* I did not see it;  
see not /did I/

substantives: *amás opák* there is no sago

adjectives: *akát opák* it is not good

personal possessive pronouns: *or pák* not you

*cowák* one, all: *opák cowák* absolutely not

*wut* much, many: *opák wut* by no means

*pak* not: *opák pak* really! positively!

not not

Cases in which *opák* is preceded by the verbal forms mentioned in § 239, 2. are:

*Seréw matowóf un arewfájpōramár opák in*  
 /people of Seréw / in order to kill/ pp /they assembled/ not pp  
 the people of Seréw gathered to kill her, but in vain (§ 338).

“*maníc*” *ajiþor opák* eat it, he said, but in vain.  
 /eat it / he said/ not

## 241

*opów/pow* not, without

The distribution of *opów* and *pow* is parallel to that of *opák* and *þak*. I could not find a distinct difference in meaning between *opák/þak* and *opów/pow*. I got the impression from the examples to hand that the relationship between *opák/þak* and *opów/pow* is parallel to that between the non-mood and the mood forms of the verb. *opów/pow* was only found in direct speech, in sentences in which the speaker gives expression to varying moods.

*opów/pow* was found linked to:

the *m-/mV-* forms of the verb:

*Sajit masetáj powá* Sajit has not arrived!  
 Sajit arrived not!

substantives:

*amás opów* there is no sago!

personal possessive pronouns:

*no opów* I am not there!

Cases in which *opów* is preceded by one of the verbal forms mentioned in § 239, 2. are:

*atakám otawþormín opów*  
 talk I do with you not

I give you advice, but you won't listen! (§ 282).

*þók jis akát etáþormí opów*  
 fish roasted good /I make for him/ not

I prepare nicely roasted fish for him; it's all in vain! (§ 281).



*otáwporéwirin opów*

/continually I gave you advice/ not

I 've always given you advice, but you won't listen!

## 242

*ópnakáw/pěnakáw*

*ópnakáw*, or *pěnakáw*, occurs in negative-interrogative sentences and in sentences containing an emphatic denial and is translatable with: why not, not.

In sentences with this negation the speaker is always expressing a certain uneasiness, vexation, disappointment or dislike.

*ópnakáw/pěnakáw* was found linked with the *m-/mV-* forms of the verb, and with adjectives:

*manapór pěnakáw* why won't you eat them! (§ 280).

/want to eat / why not/

*namké ópna<sup>ka</sup>wè* now, aren't you ashamed!

ashamed not

Preceded by a verbal form mentioned in § 239, 2.:

*owerós moporómtewér empórmin ópna<sup>ka</sup>wè*

husband /to find / I try / but no/

I am trying to find a husband, but without success.

Other cases:

*cár jimín pěnakáw* I don't like you at all!

you like not

*okorá or owopís pěná<sup>ka</sup>wè*

seduce you /people of your own age / why not/

why don't you seduce girls of your own age!

## 243

*pok* let not, lest

*pok* was only found after the *m-/mV-* form of the verb:

*jó mupú pak*

sun /come up / let not/

don't let the sun rise = be sure you're ready before the sun comes up.

*ów mopor pók efá jaró*

people /to notice/ lest quickly /I walked/

I walked quickly lest people should notice (§ 314).

#### 244

*emár* is a negation expressing the reverse of an assumption; it can be translated with: but . . . not; indeed not; oh, no!

*emár* can be linked to *aráw* and to the group substantive-adjective:

*no ów akát emár* I am indeed not a handsome man.

I man handsome /indeed not/

*máwtewer asén emár aráw*

/to fetch (sago)/ place not pp

there is really no place to get sago from (§ 324).

*pacáksere ci mosokóm, emár aráw, ci tari moskóm pak*

useless canoe /break up/ no pp canoe old /break up/ not

a useless canoe, broken up . . . no, they didn't break up the old canoe (§ 339).

### Postpositions

#### 1. *Emphasizing words*

##### 245

*aráw/ará/ar'*: *aráw* and *ará* appear to alternate freely, except in the following cases:

*aráw* always occurs before the postpositions *an/en*, *in/un/n*, and *man*.

*ará* always occurs before the negation *pak*, and before *new* (§ 255).

*ar'*<sup>45</sup> always occurs before the postposition *am'*.

*aráw/ará/ar'* can be used to make a statement about an existing situation, and is then translatable by: (there) is, (there) are.

Often, however, *aráw/ará/ar'* only places a slight emphasis on the word or the word-group preceding it.

*aráw/ará/ar'* can be linked with:

<sup>45</sup> In order to distinguish the postposition *ar* from the directional pronoun *ar*, the first one will be written *ar'*.

verbs:

*ajiníwnimés ará* there they are, all coming back.

*atawfém aráw* you said it.

The group: *m-/mV-* form of the verb + *ará/aráw* expresses requirement:

*mósirimták araw án* is it necessary to row down the river again?  
(§ 269).

substantives:

*cowúc cém ará* the woman is at home (§ 265).

woman house pp

*maré, atów ará* then, there is play (§ 264).

then play pp

proper names:

*Watér aráw, mú aníser ín* then, Watér went into the water (§ 270).

W. pp water /he went into/ pp

personal possessive pronouns:

*nór aráw, ó matewér emín* I want to take you with me (§ 280).

I pp you /take with / I want to/

demonstrative pronouns:

*ár aráw* here is it, this is it.

*ér aráw* there it is, that's it.

the postposition *man*:

*aráw man* naturally, certainly.

## 246

*nat/na*

*nat* and *na* alternate freely.

*nat/na* places a slight emphasis on the word or the word-group preceding it.

*nat/na* can form groups with:

substantives:

*cowút nat jiwínakap in* the girl (in contrast) was quite small.  
girl pp small pp

proper names:

*a Watér nat " . . . . " iním aer in*  
Watér pp so he spoke pp  
Watér (in his turn) said: . . . . (§ 269).

personal possessive pronouns:

*no nát o jimín emció* I am fond of you.  
I pp you /fond of / I am/

When the pronoun *a/ar* is the subject of a sentence it is always linked to *nat*:

*a nát, ó mopórtewét emenè*  
he pp you /to take / he wants you/  
he wants to take you (as a wife) (§ 281).

directional pronouns:

*ér na* over there.

In the following cases, *nat/na* emphasizes the word-group preceding it:

*amás os nát opák in* then there were no sago palms (§ 289).  
sago palm pp not pp

*mitúr wut nát, pasték wut nát, miþacák in*  
*mitúr* many pp *pasték* much pp full pp  
(there were) many *mitúr* bushes, much *pasték* grass; the whole place was covered with it.

## 247

*man* always occurs at the end of an emphatic statement or affirmation. It can be linked to:

verbs:

*mácatíw man!* (yes), let's kill it!  
to kill pp

substantives :

*atów man* good, (let us) play!  
play pp

and to *aráw*, see § 245.

A few other cases are :

*no pók araw mán* it's mine!  
my thing pp pp

*ér araw mán* that's it! that's right!  
that pp pp

## 2. Conjunctions

**248**

*am* also, and.

*am* can be linked to substantives, proper names and personal possessive pronouns :

*onów am, ós am* thatch and wood.  
thatch pp wood pp

*púw atéwer in firkóm am amán am*  
spear /he took/ pp, /heavy arrow/ pp bow pp  
he took a spear, and also a heavy arrow and a bow, . . . (§ 277).

*nám am, namsóm pak* I also don't know.  
I also /I know/ not

*nor ám, or ám* you and I.  
I pp you pp

**249**

*win* all, one by one.

*win* can only be linked to substantives :

*cí win, cí win, cí win* all the canoes, one after the other.  
canoe pp canoe pp canoe pp

*mokót win ásasakájesef in, mokót win ásasakájesefē*  
 /sago garden/ pp /she passed, coming/ pp /sago garden/ pp /she passed,  
 coming/  
 she passed one sago garden after another, on her way here . . . .  
 (§ 307).

**250**

*enërim/ením* and.

*enërim*, freely alternating with *ením*, only occurs between proper names :

*Pisím enërim Wasí* Pisím and Wasí (§ 328).  
*Juwúr enërim Ew* Dog and Crocodile (as persons in a story).  
*Cepésmi enërim Okórmi* (the streams) Cepésmi and Okórmi.

**251**

*cin* and, inclusive.

*cin* occurs after words or word-groups which indicate a person. It is found linked to proper names, personal possessive pronouns and the interrogative *ca* 'who' :

*a tíw cin, Juwútakap cin* he and his son, Juwútakap.  
 his son pp Juwútakap pp

When linked to personal possessive pronouns *cin* is translatable with 'both' :

*ná cin* both of us; *cá cin* or *ó cin* both of you.

With the interrogative *ca* :

*o cá cin ám* who is with you?  
 you who pp pp

A few other cases :

*Taweríc, ar ewúc Jíw cin* Taweríc and his brother Jíw (§ 336).  
 Taweríc his brother Jíw pp

But: *Taweríc, enërim Jíw* Taweríc and Jíw (see § 250).

*no sínakap cin anijíc* go home now, you and my little wife § 292).  
 my /little wife/ pp /go home/

*ar ém cin, ar mó cin* the man and his wife.  
 his wife pp her husband pp

3. *Question markers*

252

*en/an*

*en* and *an* appear to alternate freely; *en* occurs most frequently. After *aráw*, however, *an* always occurs.

*en/an* occurs in interrogative sentences in which an inquiry is made regarding the identity of a person or a thing, or about the nature of something. It can be linked to verbs, substantives and adjectives:

*apórmem én* are you looking at it?  
*enám en* is it fish?  
*awút en* is it big?

A few other cases are:

*jáatakám jurúw en* is the story long?  
 story long pp

*tó nuwúwfokom én* did you set out yesterday?  
 yesterday /you set out/ pp

*ó Tewér en* are you Tewér(awuc)?  
 you Tewér pp

253

*opén/pen*

*opén*, freely alternating with *pen*, occurs in sentences in which: a. an inquiry is made about the presence of something or the occurrence of something:

*enám pen* is there any fish?

*mú emésusumá pen* is the water already boiling?  
 water /it boils already/ pp

*no mémtomir ów opén* is there someone who can take me across?  
 me /to take across/ people pp

b. an inquiry is made about the possibility of something happening, or permission is requested to do something. In these cases *opén/pen* always occurs after the *m-/mV-* form of the verb:

*nó a cé m mifis pen* may I go into this house?  
I this house /go into/ pp

*no maní pen éw* may I perhaps go home? (§ 299).  
I /go home/ pp pp

*ja omá makámte wer pén*  
these /binding material / to split into/ pp  
can you split them (the sago leaves) into binding material? (§ 288).

**254***am*<sup>2</sup>

This *am* which is not identical with the conjunction *am*, occurs only at the end of word-groups containing an interrogative. Since it has been discussed in paragraphs 232 and 233, it will not be dealt with again here.

4. *The dubitative marker ew***255**

With some exceptions which will be mentioned later, *ew* always occurs in combination with either the interrogative form of the verb, with an interrogative, or with one of the question markers *en/an* and *opén/pen*. Sentences with *ew* express a doubt or an assumption:

with the interrogative form of the verb:

*ěnéw níwí pacáseánes éwa!*<sup>45a</sup>  
mother father /did they kill them/ pp!  
have they perhaps killed mother and father (on the river)?

*mów emépasán ew* are the pandanus fibres already dry? (§ 284).  
/pandanus fibres / are they already dry/ pp

with an interrogative:

*já ucím pemof éw* well, how should I have done it? (§ 327).  
that how / did it/ pp

*na ucím jo ár' am éw* by which river are we? (§ 340).  
we which river pp pp pp

<sup>45a</sup> For the final *a* see § 34.



With *en/an*: here, *new* always occurs instead of *en/an* + *ew*:

*amás aráw newá* <sup>45b</sup> is it sago? Perhaps it is sago! (§ 302).  
sago pp pp!

*pakás kor new* perhaps (he had) a big ulcer (§ 331).  
ulcer big pp

*ucím o amítěréw, jipít new, penés new*  
/what kind/ pig /you speared/, male pp female pp  
what kind of pig did you spear, a boar or a sow?

Exceptions are the verbs of which the core consists of or ends in a positional root: *ew* then occurs instead of *new* and alternates with *aw*:

*namúj pámis aw* is my brother-in-law perhaps (lying) there?  
/brother-in-law / does he lie/ pp

*pápes ew* are they perhaps at home?  
/they sit/ pp

*amán pómcem éwa!* <sup>45c</sup> have you the bow by you? (§ 336).  
bow /you stand with/ pp

with *opén/pen*:

*o pacák pen éw* don't you want to?  
you /don't want to/ pp pp

*no jó pen éw mopówpor*  
I river pp pp /go to look for/  
I'm going to see whether or not there is a river (to settle down).

##### 5. *The irrealis marker aj*

###### 256

*aj* occurs only at the end of conditional word-groups as an indication that the condition therein mentioned has not been met. It can still be followed by the postposition *nat/na*. It would appear that *aj* can be linked to verbs and personal possessive pronouns. Sentences in which *aj* occurs have already been given in § 135.

<sup>45b</sup> For the final *a* see § 34.

<sup>45c</sup> For the final *a* see § 34.

6. The 'subjectivity' marker *aw*

257

*aw* is used to express delicate differences in the feelings of the speaker, e.g.:

reassurance: *nór aw* it's only I.

disappointment: *wasén cow opák aw!*  
 forest /sago palms/ not pp  
 there are no (good) sago palms in the forest (§ 279).

anxiety: *niwí nat áw* where has father got to?  
 father pp pp

querulousness: *a esé awút kor new áw*  
 this bag big too pp pp  
 this bag is perhaps too big! (§ 285).

7. The quotation marker *in/un/n*

258

*in/un/n* occurs in sentences containing a quotation in direct or in indirect speech, or containing a statement made from hearsay.

It's noteworthy that the rule of distribution obtaining for *in/un* is parallel to that which applies to the verbal formatives *itúm/utúm*, *it/ut* and to a number of verbal suffixes (see § 91): *un* occurs after word-final *m* (except after *em*, to stand), and after word-final *p*, *w* or *f* preceded by *a*, *o* or *u*, except after *ap* to sit. *in* occurs in the other cases. *n*<sup>46</sup> was found only in two texts, narrated by a boy from Jépém. (Text VII and IX, §§ 303-306; 316-320). In these texts it occurs after form 6 of category 19:

*Safán atéptowópmare'n* first she dropped Safan upstream (§ 303).

*in/un/n* always occurs at the absolute end of a word-group.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> With exception of a few interjections, and *n*<sup>2</sup> (§ 259), *n* is distinguished from all other words by the absence of vowels. In order to indicate that in *n* a vowel has been dropped, I shall write '*n*'. The same applies to *n*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> For the postpositions *en/an*, *opén/pén*, *am*, *ew*, *aw*, and *in/un/'n* a relative order could be determined; this order is:

<i>en/an</i>	}	- <i>ew</i> - <i>aw</i> - <i>in/un/'n</i> .
<i>opén/pén</i>		
<i>am</i>		

*á, arána, Miwirpic /jivís tuwséf/ aráw new ín, cí napí*  
 hey, upstream Miwirpic /who moved away / it is/ perhaps pp canoe white

*é nimár araw ún, e jó pu /mu ján/ asórmonimár*  
 there /comes downstream/ pp pp there river on current /it follows downstream/  
*araw ún*

pp pp

“Hey, they say that there upstream — perhaps its Miwirpic who moved away — a white canoe comes floating down, it follows the current there in the middle of the river!” (§ 301).

An abundance of cases can be found in the texts.

*Elements of which the function is not clear*

**259**

*in/un/n<sup>2</sup>*

The distribution of *un* is identical to that of the quotative *un*; *n*<sup>48</sup> occurs after word-final vowel; in the remaining cases *in* occurs.

*in/un/n<sup>2</sup>* was found:

1. After a *m-/mV-* form of the verb in sentences such as:

*(per), am ék man ín jisapcéj*

(mouse), am fruit /to eat/ pp /come outside and sit/

mouse, come outside and sit down to eat up the am fruit! (§ 266).

*pó mipipím un ámeremer ín*

midribs /to cut off/ pp /he went there/

he went there to cut off midribs (of the sago palm) (§ 267).

The *m-/mV-* forms of the verb do, however, occur in comparable constructions without *in/un/n<sup>2</sup>*.

*sér matáw ajisápĕres ín*

/set fish / to catch / they went onto land and sat/ pp

they went onto the land to sit down and catch the ser fishes (§ 272).

I was not able to discover a difference in meaning between this construction and that with *in/un/n<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>48</sup> In order to indicate that a vowel has been dropped, I shall write 'n see § 258, note 46.

## 2. After a substantive in sentences like :

*jipít, /mán fe'n/ ajimómcěmés*

boy wrist /they drag him along/

they drag the boy along by the wrist (§ 265).

*e akát ow, e akát cepés in porerémtewerá, pacáksere ów pacák cepés,*  
the fit men the fit women pp /choose repeatedly/, unfit men unfit women  
*towofá, iním aer in*

/kill repeatedly/, so /he did/ pp

again and again he choose the fine men and women (from the people in the water), and the unfit men and the unfit women he killed (§ 278).

In these cases *in/un/n<sup>2</sup>* appears to indicate that some part of a whole is affected by the action. There are, however, a number of cases in which constructions with and without *in/un/n<sup>2</sup>* occur without any apparent difference in meaning :

*/sé'n/ ajáwniámar in* she returned covered in mud (§ 300);  
mud /she returned covered in/ pp

as well as :

*sé ajáwnimía* I return, covered in mud (§ 301);  
mud /I return covered in/

and :

*júmus in jiremóf* I walked with bowed head (§ 309);  
/bowed head/ pp /I went/

as well as :

*júmus jireméf*  
/bowed head / she went/  
she went with bowed head (looking for crabs) (§ 303).

**260***am<sup>3</sup>*

An element *am*, which appears not to be identical to the conjunction *am*, was found in a limited number of cases, linked to *mak* back, *moc* wailing, and *fajmúc* unhindered, safe, undisturbed :

*mak am matátiw* to pile up on each other  
back pp /to put on/

*páj akát fajmúc am e-ěrés*  
/peace-making ceremony/ good undisturbed pp /they did/  
they held their peace-making ceremony properly, without disturbance.

*móc am ajatámniámár* she returned, wailing all the time.  
wailing pp /she returned/

But, in a comparable case, *in* instead of *am* occurs after *moc*:

*móc in ajatámsiěres in* wailing, they entered the river (§ 328).  
wailing pp /they entered the river/ pp

## 261

*aw*

This *aw* is not identical to the *aw* mentioned in § 257; it probably is an allomorph of *aráw/ará/ar'*.

Compare:

*Patépo cuwúc opéf aráw* at that time he lived with Patépo (§ 311);  
Patépo /at that time / he sat with/ pp

and:

*Patépo eněřím Jitúrcem cuwúc opéf áw*  
Patépo and Jitúrcem /at that time / he sat with/ pp  
at that time he lived with Patépo and Jitúrcem (§ 311).

PART IV

TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

**Recording and presentation**

**262**

The ten stories presented here are only a selection of those recorded on tapes. Eight of the stories were narrated by youths of 14 to 17 years of age and the recordings were made either at my house in Ágats or in my house in Jepém. One story, (VI), was told by a woman and was recorded in her own house and one, (X), narrated by an older man, was recorded in the ceremonial house.

During the narration, the speaker sat cross-legged on the ground on a sleeping mat, according to Ásmat custom. And, since the stories were being told to an audience, the hand microphone, on its holder, was placed on the ground in front of the narrator. A number of listeners were always present during the recording sessions. The speaker was only interrupted during the telling of the story when a new tape had to be put on.

The recorded stories were later transcribed and translated with the help of my informants. For the transcripts, they repeated the stories word by word, and the translating of each story was only done when the transcription had been completed.

The stories have been presented — as far as it has been practicable to do so — as they were told by the narrators: recapitulations, anacolutha, corrections made by the speakers, sudden changes of theme; and asides have been retained. Any errors of speech which, in my opinion, were a hindrance to the understanding of the texts have been deleted. The transcripts given here are based on the word-by-word repetition of the stories by my informants, who sometimes deviated from the original by using another word-variant, or another word, or by using an Ásmat word instead of a Malay word used by the narrator. In these cases the word used by the latter is given in a note.

To facilitate the reading of the texts these have been divided into relatively short paragraphs. One paragraph of the Ásmat text corresponds to one paragraph of the translation. If any notes occur in a

paragraph, these have been put at the end of it. For technical reasons the notes to the Ásmat text as well as the notes to the translation have been added to the Ásmat text.

The spelling of the texts is phonematic; the special phonological sounds are written as shown in § 32, note. The accent is always indicated. The *x* indicates the sound made by striking the cupped hand with the fist. The narrators sometimes did this when the passage dealt with chopping, striking, spearing, or when they wanted to indicate a thud or a crack, or a sudden start of an action. Since the striking of the cupped hand with the fist often wholly or partly took the place of a verbal description, it seemed advisable to indicate this sound in the transcription. A sentence such as: *Taweríc amás* . . . 'Taweríc sago' . . . cannot be understood unless the accompanying sounds made by the narrator are represented: *Taweríc amás x x x x* 'Taweríc chopped down sago palms'.

In addition, the following punctuation-marks will be used:

the comma, to indicate a non-final pause in the speech of the narrator;  
the full stop, to indicate a final pause, after a non-exclamatory sentence;  
the exclamation mark, to indicate a final pause after an exclamatory sentence;

the dash, to indicate a sudden change of theme;

quotation marks, to indicate statements in direct speech.

No capital letters will be used, except for proper names.

### Individual details about the texts

#### 263

- I. (§ 264). Narrator: the informant *Mífekpic* from Surú; approximately 14 years of age. He tells of a day in the life of youths from Surú.
- II. (§ 265). Narrator: *Mífekpic*. He gives a brief description of the way in which a marriage is concluded.
- III. (§ 266). Narrator: *Mífekpic*. A story for children about the squabble between the *Maciw*, a snake, and the *Am*, a fruit.
- IV. (§§ 267 - 270). Narrator: *Warsé*, an elder brother of *Mífekpic*, also from Surú; approximately 16 years of age. A story for children telling how the *fet* fish came by his scarred nose and the *watér* fish by its many bones. (Children are not allowed to eat the *watér* fish because it has so many bones).
- V. (§§ 271 - 279). Narrator: *Warsé*. This story of *Owpacák* and

*Cowútpacák* is part of the history of the origin of the Majít group in Surú. The locale of the story is the Sepér, a sidestream of the Siréc (see map II). In the past, the people of Majít lived for some time on the Sepér.

- VI. (§§ 280 - 302). Narrator: *Asépar*, the mother of my informant, *Natinák*. This story is about the origin of sago — the only story told by a woman. It differs in various details from the story of the origin of sago told to me later by *Warsékomen*, the chief of the ceremonial house Ar in Surú. Because this is the origin myth of the most important food of the Ásmat people, I shall give a short summary of both versions:

In *Asépar's* version, *Miwírpc* wants to marry the younger sister of his wife, *Tewérawúc*. When the girl expresses her unwillingness to become his wife, he takes the two women with him to the upper course of the Siréc. There he finds a sago palm which he looks after until the sago can be extracted. In the meantime, he gets *Tewérawuc* to make a huge bag. He chops down the sago palm and instructs the women in the extraction of the sago. While he is on his way home with the heavy bag full of sago on his back he sinks into a morass, still bearing the bag. During the night he changes into a sago palm which makes the sago palms, scattering them everywhere. It has, however, no crown. On the following day the women return to look for him. *Tewérawuc* puts her sister upside down on *Miwírpc* and she changes into the crown of the sago palm, her legs and arms, sticking up towards the sky, become its fronds. *Tewérawuc* then returns alone to her village and introduces the sago to the people.

In *Warsékomen's* version, *Miwírpc* goes alone to look for sago. He threads on a thorn which he then plants. From it grows the first sago palm. Helped by his wife, he then extracts the sago. On his way back, he and the bag full of sago sink into a morass. At night he changes into a sago palm which scatters its fruit everywhere and so spreads the sago palm.

*Warsékomen* told me that he did not know the version given by *Asépar* and claimed that it was incorrect. The question arises in this connection, whether *Asépar's* version may be told only by women. Unfortunately I was not aware of this during the time I was staying with the Ásmat people. It is noteworthy that various procedures in the *kaware* feast held on the Mimika Coast, bear a strong resemblance to some of the events described in



Asépar's version.<sup>1</sup>

VII. VIII. & IX. Narrator: *Wominén*, a young man from Jepém, approximately 16 years of age. These three stories all have as their subject matter a contact with supernatural beings. These were told to me as true happenings.

In VII. (§§ 303 - 306), he tells about the woman, *Pajámpari*, and the consequences following intercourse with a spirit from a river which passes itself off as the man she desires.

In VIII. (§§ 307 - 315), *Wominén* tells how he himself was taken off by a spirit girl who wanted to marry him, and was finally brought back.

In IX. (§§ 316 - 320), he tells how his father once had an encounter with his ancestors when he was searching for fish.

X. (§§ 321 - 344). Narrator: *Simni*, chief of the ceremonial house Awór in Surú; approximately 55 years of age. This story tells about a famine in the coastal regions which made it necessary for the people living in the area to join villages further inland. It describes in detail the fate of the people of Jepém when they went to the village of Seréw, and how the majority of them were slain there. The story is a *tari atakám*, a story regarded by the Ásmat people as historical. The happenings described in this story must have taken place at least a century ago.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only description of the *kaware* feast known to me is in the unpublished notes of the Dutch Roman Catholic missionary, Father G. Zegwaard, M.S.C., which date from 1952. Father Zegwaard associates this feast with two origin myths of which the Ásmat equivalents are the stories of Fimiriw, and Tónjenap and Mújenap. The first story tells of the origin of mankind, the second, of a number of plants. In my opinion, various parts of the *kaware* feast clearly relate to happenings in the myth, told by Asépar, i.e.,

the plaiting of a very large basket, followed by the young men carrying very heavy objects;

the ritual chopping down of the tree of which the trunk is to provide the central pole of the house of the feast. When the tree is to be chopped down, the crown foliage is first stripped off and then a man climbs to the top. Here he is discovered by women who are out looking for him. He spits chewed leaves onto those below (= sago fruit?);

the ritual banging end-to-end of the broad ends (called the 'heads') of two poles. This could be a re-enactment of the young Tewérawuc being placed, head-to-head, on Miwirpic.

In view of the preceding, the Kámoro word *kaware* could be connected with the Ásmat word *coworé*, the extreme end of a frond of the sago palm. This view is supported by the fact that Kámoro words often have *k* where the Ásmat words, corresponding to them, have *c*.

<sup>2</sup> From Zegwaard's data, it appears that four generations ago ( $\pm 100$  years) the villages of Surú, Ewér, Jepém, Per, and Uwús were in the same places as described in this story.

## I

264

ná amás mér, wásen á. amás mamánem, amás mawán. amás awcóm, amás esé atápomcēmóm. amás esé tapómcom<sup>1</sup> misěrim, ánicēmóm. cém misěrim ásetájcemom. amás áncóm, marí atów ará. atów ecóm, wunám, porów, már atów me, arásen ajíniwenáwcēmóm. már atów eitúmcom, ánicóm, cém amás ancóm, marí is ápoamiscēmóm.

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<sup>1</sup> capómcom.

\* i.e., from Surú to Ágats.

## II

265

jipít, jéw emápcēmá. cowút, cém ará. ajímsomícēmés cowút jímsomít, jipít jímsomit écēmes. jímsomícēmés, cowút, jis atopómccēmes jipít, mán fe'n ajimómccēmés. ár ěnėw, a niwí cém misěrim áfiwomíwcēmés.<sup>1</sup> fíw-omíwccēmes<sup>2</sup> masěrim, marí, á ko iním ajíwemapómccēmés. á ko jíw-apómccēmes, jókmen simtiwtámccēmés.<sup>3</sup> amás án co simtiwtámccēmés. marí, amás áncēmés. amás, sí amamtámccēmés. á pakajápcēmes ów si amamtámccēmes misěrim marí, misit écēmes misěrim, séj in órowapómccēmés awér kápmapómccēmés. jófaj misěrim, marí amás mer jisomásmes. wasén, fawíc emásmewérmes. fawíc<sup>4</sup> emásmewérmes. cí niomúwcēmés.<sup>5</sup> fawíc ésmewérmes. cém setájccēmés. wun jófaj amás mer jisásmes. ófasícēmés. porów misěrim, amás, cowúc, ár isipís, cém atówomiwtámccēmés. tówomiwtámccēmes pók am ámutámccēmés. marí opák.

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<sup>1</sup> fíomícēmes; <sup>2</sup> fíomíwccēmes; <sup>3</sup> simtitámccēmes; <sup>4</sup> fáit; <sup>5</sup> niomúccēmes.

<sup>a</sup> They = the male members of the girl's family.

<sup>b</sup> The boy may try to escape to avoid being married.

<sup>c</sup> The boy's parents.

<sup>d</sup> The bride and groom.

<sup>e</sup> The members of the boy's family.

<sup>f</sup> At the same time they express the wish that the girl may thrive in her new home.

<sup>g</sup> The *awér*, (sketch p. 365) is only worn by married women.

<sup>h</sup> The making of jokes with the young woman, who again is carried on the back, is a set part of the ceremonial becoming acquainted with the sago garden of her husband's family.

<sup>i</sup> On an occasion such as this the following can be offered: stone axes, daggers, spears, bows and arrows; feathers of the cassowary, the white cockatoo and the bird of paradise; headbands of the fur of the cuscus, necklaces made of dog's teeth and, more recently, iron axes, knives and clothes.

## I

264

We go to the forest to get sago. To cut down a sago palm; to scrape out the sago. When we've scraped out the sago, then we put the sago in the bags. When we've filled the bags we go back. Then we arrive home. When we've eaten, there'll be play. When we've played then, in the afternoon, we all come here <sup>a</sup> to play football once more. When we've played football in the afternoon, and when we've gone back and have eaten at home, then we all go to sleep.

## II

265

The boy sits in the ceremonial house. The girl is at home. They <sup>a</sup> pull them up with them; they pull the boy up with them; they pull the girl up with them. They pull them up with them; they put the girl on someone's back; they drag the boy along with them by the wrist.<sup>b</sup> Then they take them inside, into the house of his mother and father. When they've taken them inside, they make them sit down [on the floor] cross-legged. They make them sit cross-legged and they <sup>c</sup> push the bamboo tongs towards her. They push a basket with sago in it towards her. Then they <sup>d</sup> eat the sago. They <sup>e</sup> share the sago out. They share out the sago among all the people who are gathered there, and after that the latter get up one by one, and gently press her several times on the shoulders.<sup>f</sup> The *awér* is put on her.<sup>g</sup> The following day, they <sup>h</sup> go away with her to the forest to get sago. In the forest they make jokes all the time; all the time they make jokes.<sup>h</sup> They take her with them in the canoe. Still joking, they come here and arrive home. The next day they go away to the forest to get sago. They come back. Then, when it's evening, they take the sago inside the house of the girl's parents. They take it to them, and they also present them with things of value.<sup>i</sup>

## III

## 266

Maciw, mú amuámser ín. Ám ek arám op jirán aetéper ín. “Maciwa, ó na arpúka,<sup>1</sup> nó marí jirán mékurum mokójni<sup>1</sup> emí” ajípor opák ín. a nát, “carpá min nát tepákokójniewérmokom. a ów mamís masěрім cár mokokójnieweréji araw án” iním aer ín. “á, emémamsěрім” iním aer ín. Ám ek óp ewtépkojér<sup>2</sup> cowák mísa namí anijántiwer ín. “uwú mia uwú mia” iním aer ín. “pér, ase éwsiracém Am ék man ín jisapcėj” iním aer ín per ápsirér cowák, Am ék man ín ájisaper ín. “wá, jismák, a pér afámtiwít” iním aer ín. jismák pér sěsěšě aómomáter ín. “té mumú anemúca” iním aer ín. té mumú anémor ín. marí, opák.

<sup>1</sup> mokóni; <sup>2</sup> ewtépkoeér.

## IV

## 267

Fét, amás mér, támiwcím<sup>1</sup> atíwkojer ín. amás mer támiwcím tiwkojér, jó atépsier ín, erén. jó tepsier, wasén áiwisěres ín. wasén áiwisěrés, amás animatier ín ar mó. ar mó Fét.<sup>2</sup> apér ajáperer ín. apér aperér, anúk akér,<sup>3</sup> picin ám afafémor ín. picín afafémmasér, ar mó, amús átewerac ín. amús, cenám ájatmápmac ín amús atewérer ín, nés asákmor ín. nés áwkurmorés, — wunám ar ém atátmor ín a amús aráw. ar ém amús tatmór, ar ém amás nes ajáwor ín. ar mó aráw wunám, úmu áiwiénac<sup>4</sup> ín, pó mipipím un ámerémer ín. pó pipmór, po ámtawkenémtiwér misěрім, émkurmór misěрім, ar ém ará maré, “apím majít” iním aer ín. ar ém amás apím jiamár, amás apím ajiámar in tám ewemés. ar mó arám amás nes áwamar ín. awamár, amás apím jikurumorés,<sup>5</sup> amás am, ar mó amás nes áwkurumór, marí, amás nes áwkurumór masěрім, mú afámsemáces ín. amás masirím esé atápmores ín.

<sup>1</sup> támjiwcím; <sup>2</sup> Watér; <sup>3</sup> akór; <sup>4</sup> ajénac; <sup>5</sup> júkurumores.

<sup>a</sup> In order to find out which part of the trunk contains the sago, holes are made at regular intervals in the bark. Through these holes a digging stick is thrust into the pith. When the pith contains sago it sticks to the digging stick as it is pulled out (sketch p. 367).

<sup>b</sup> Water is poured out over the pith that has been scraped out of the trunk and the pith is then squeezed in the hand to separate the sago which then runs down with the water into the sump trough, where it sinks to the bottom. As soon as the sump trough fills up with the water, the plug at the end is removed and the water flows away, leaving the sago. The process is repeated until the sump trough is full of sago. The caked mass of sago is then cut crosswise into pieces approximately 12 inches long. These pieces, which are flat on the top and convex at the bottom, are called *pomán* -half; often two *pomán* are put face to face thus forming a roll of sago; this is called *maj* -foot.

## III

266

A Maciw snake lay asleep after bathing. A [bunch of] ripening Am fruit hung above it. "Maciw, get out of the way, you! I want to fall down to become squashy," it said, but in vain. "Why do you never fall down when you're alone? Why do you always want to fall down when someone's lying here?" [the snake] said. "Well, since you are there," it said. And the whole bunch of Am fruit forthwith fell down from above and hit the [snake's] nose. "Oh, my nose! Oh, my nose!" it cried. "Mouse, run out of the undergrowth and sit down and eat up the Am fruit," it said. The mouse immediately started to run out, and it sat down to eat up the Am fruit. "Hey, fire, burn up this mouse," said [the fruit]. The fire came up to the mouse, frizzling it up. "Down-pour fall down!" it said. A downpour fell down. That's all.

## IV

267

Fet went to get sago; early in the morning he started out. Early in the morning he started out to get sago and, having gone upriver, entered a sidestream. When he had rowed into the sidestream, they (Fet and his wife) went quickly into the forest. When they got into the forest, the man began to chop down a sago palm. Fet, the husband. He made the test holes.<sup>a</sup> When he'd made them, he chopped off the growth from the trunk, and he also stripped off the bark. When the man had stripped off the bark, he first took the sago scraper. He first fixed the headpiece to it. He took the sago scraper and began to scrape out the pith. When they'd scraped out all the pith —, after that, he gave his wife the sago scraper. He gave the sago scraper to his wife, and she began to scrape out the pith. Then the man walked quickly to the crown of the palm; he went there to cut off midribs of the fronds. He cut off midribs of the fronds and then he fitted up the trough for washing the sago, and when he'd made the whole thing, he then said to his wife: "Squeeze out the sago pulp." His wife squeezed out the sago pulp continually; continually she squeezed out the sago pulp. They were doing it from the early morning. The man, on his part, scraped out sago continually. He scraped all the time; they squeezed out all the sago pulp. The man scraped out the pith until it was all out and when he'd scraped out all the pith they let the water run away<sup>b</sup> and put the sago meal in the carrying bag.

## 268

ar mó cowó mokokómtewér, cowó eméner ín. cowó emenér, cowé kokómtawór, ar ém, cowé esé atówopmor ín. cowé esé towopmór, ar ém aráw, “wú copón pomátewerí,<sup>1</sup> cem, wú matáknap” iním aer ín. ar mó wú copón emátmor ín. wú aématmac ín, wú copón mátewér, wú asumór masěrim, — ar ém am arám, amás esé tatapóm akát. pók am tatáfajimtiw akát. marí ar mó wu ámerátmor ín. wú sumomér, tówocinér masěrim, “enamúc ánica” iním aer ín. a amás apím ará, átewerac ín, mirám ajíkonier<sup>2</sup> ín. mirám ajíkoniac<sup>3</sup> ín, cí anítitíwer ín a amás esé am cí nitowópmorés, ar ém mú amuór ar mó cin mú amuorés masírím cí asúwuwóres<sup>4</sup> ín. — wasén éwniěrés mu ánimurés. mu ámuores<sup>5</sup> ín cí ásuwaces ín. marí aséperes ín. sépeěrés, áptakěres ín.

<sup>1</sup> pomáterít; <sup>2</sup> ajúkoniér; <sup>3</sup> ajúkoniác; <sup>4</sup> asúwores; <sup>5</sup> mu ámores.

## 269

Watér am arám, mú iním jímsemamár marí asirmeser ín fér maserapóm. fér masírím, a Fét ar ém cin sésiěres jó, áserápmor ín. fer áserápmac ín wasén ajisémer ín. arám ásirímtakěrés cowák ar ém cin, Fét am, ásirímtakěrés cowák ar ém cin. sén, ar mó manmak ápentakmór.<sup>1</sup> fér e kapí cuwuc áp aw ún a jó. “á, a fér ca serápmorémè” iním atákjiser ín. Watér wasén cuwuc emic aw ún, “ja fér nó serápmujá”, iním ajinémor ín. “ěmá fér serápmorém new, é wasén piním jěpnakápiríw máokomémtamcín nor, — cí ara wasén piním mesétak” ajípor opák ín. a Watér nat, “carpá min nat tépesájtakawérmokóm. wúnam a fér serapmúj masírím, mósirimták araw án” iním aer ín. iním ajiémer ín a capínmi. “á, ěmá awút akát pak é jep ín okomémtamcín no cásirimtací”, ajípor opák ín. Watér nat, “carpá min nat tépesájtakawérmokóm” iním ajiémer ín. “á, emémeměré” ájac ín, “enamúc ci jáka erén a” iním aer ín. éren ásirímtepěrés, ar ém cin éren ásirímtepěrés cowák. e erén ewtopómsirimorés pó ji. éren

<sup>1</sup> ápemór.

**268**

The man went to the crown to break off side leaves of the fronds of the sago palm. He went to the crown; he broke off side leaves, and his wife lined the bag with them. She lined the bag with them and she said: "By and by, chop down a young sago palm and take the edible top out of it, so that when we arrive home we can eat it." The man went to chop down a young sago palm. He went to chop it down; then he chopped it open in order to get the edible top out of it, and —. Meanwhile, his wife had put the sago neatly in the bag, and placed all the tools neatly beside each other. The man went to cut out the edible top. He pulled out the edible top, took it back with him and said: "Come, let's go home." Then he took the sago pulp, which he wrapped up in a small bag, and went with it to the river. First he wrapped it up and then he went with it to the river; then he put it in the canoe. They also put the bag with the sago in it in the canoe; then the wife went to bathe. When she and her husband had bathed, they stepped into the canoe to start out . . . . They came out of the forest and went to the river to bathe. They bathed; they stepped into the canoe. Then they started out. They started out, and began to row downstream.

**269**

Then Watér came, just as the water began to go down, to put down a fish trap. And he put down the fish trap in the river which Fet and his wife had entered. When he'd put down the fish trap, he went ashore and stayed there. Now they came down the river; Fet and his wife came rowing quickly down the river. The man kept a sharp lookout downstream; there, in the distance, was the fish trap in the river, closing it. "Hey, who are you who've put down the fish trap?" he cried out from where he rowed downstream. Watér, who stood in the forest, said: "I've put that fish trap down there." "Oh, maybe you're the one who's put the fish trap there, then roll up a little of the end that's on your bank, then I — the canoe, can go along by the bank," he said, but to no purpose. Watér said: "Why don't you go down the river when you're alone? Must you travel down the river just as I've put down a fish trap?" so he shouted out, standing on the land. "Oh, come, only a little gap; roll up the end for me, let me get through first!" he said, but in vain. Watér said: "Why don't you go down the river when you're alone?" "Since you are there . . .," (Fet) said. "Come, let's take the canoe upstream a bit," he said. They quickly

éwtopómsirímorés cowák marí fér jeten ín atapómterémores ín a jó pu. fér jo pú jeten ín atapómterémores ín.

## 270

Watér am arám apán efa tíwsirítewerac<sup>1</sup> ín, Fét cuwúc emíc, maré mi picín, mitápmor ín. mí picín<sup>2</sup> ámitápmac ín, Fét am “á, nencén emétemérém” iním aer ín. ásefasíac ín, amás apím, atíwtewerac<sup>3</sup> ín cuwúc emíc maré nám empámor ín. nám empamór misërim, mare owén ajípirsámores ín. owén amorés amorés amorés, “apán mitapmún aráw, Fét, Fet májawérnes. Fét aworséc” iním aer ín. Fét am arám, “amás apím emsokmún aráw, mú enám niáworséc Watéra. Watér emák kikínakap mómseawerí”, iním aer ín. maré, Watér aráw, mú aníser ín. mu tíki ajípuor ín. fér am musúmtewér pak ín, mú wu ánijíser ín. Fét am arám, cí ewtépsowor cowák, mo mi'n ajístipser ín. mo mi'n jístipsér misërim, ów porá er,<sup>4</sup> mó amán tapíjiwá, ów opák aporá er,<sup>4</sup> mi'n jístipseá, iním aer ín. Watér am arám, ów porá er,<sup>4</sup> mú tiki jípuá ów opák aporá er,<sup>4</sup> súwapá, mú jípuá afún pupupu iním ajípuor ín. iním aémor ín. maré.

<sup>1</sup> tiwsiterác; <sup>2</sup> mí pcín; <sup>3</sup> atítterac; <sup>4</sup> aporër.

\* The *fet* is a fish that lives in small holes in the mud.

## V

## 271

Ówpacák, Cowútpacák. a tíw Miwírpcic. Majít nucur ín. sé caka jésmar jíwi mú. Majít nucur ín. sé caka jésmar cí sér mokokóm sen, cowák awuámsesmar ín. Ówpacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwírpcic<sup>1</sup> ám, maré erém ajámuwésmar ín. erém amtakesmár, sé caka jésmar, sé pe mákan maré, sé ajiémères ín. pé akítmes ín. pé akitmés, pú mu am ákonawor ín. “maréwa, pú mu átewermára,<sup>2</sup> jáka erén mátetapmúca, erén máescésa”,<sup>3</sup> iním aeres ín. erén jipít cowák ajirimtápmores ín, ów maté. erén tépkuruërés, cí anisájères ín. cí nisájères, cí sér araw



rowed up the river; he and his wife forthwith rowed up the river. From there they set off, rowing quickly. They rowed strongly from there — in the middle of the river they drove straight into the fish trap and split it down the centre. There in the middle of the river they drove straight into it and split it down the centre.

## 270

Then Watér quickly picked up a many-pointed arrow and hit Fet, who stood there, on the nose. When it had hit him on the nose, Fet said: "Oh, so now you are angry!" He turned round, picked up the sago pith and hit Watér, who stood there, on his body. After it had hit him, they began to struggle. They fought, and fought, and fought . . . "With a fish spear I struck you; Fet shall they call you from now on. Change into a *fet* fish," said Watér. Fet, in his turn said: "With sago pulp I hit you. Change into a fish, a *watér* fish. By and by become a fish, a water, full of bones!" Thereupon, Watér went into the water; with a splash he dived in. He did not remove the fish trap. In the water, he began to waggle his fins. Fet, for his part, forthwith sprang off the canoe and stuck his nose up through a small hole.<sup>a</sup> He stuck his nose up through a hole, and whenever he saw anybody, he went back into the hole, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he stuck his nose up through the hole. That's what he did. Watér, in his turn, dived below with a splash when he saw anybody, and whenever he saw that there was nobody, he came above the water, and when he dived he blew air bubbles. That's what he did. That's all.

## V

## 271

Ówpacak and Cowútpacak. Their son was Miwírpic. They were forefathers of the Majít people.<sup>a</sup> At night the mud banks lay dry, it was *jiwí mu*.<sup>b</sup> They were forefathers of the Majít people. At night, when the banks lay dry, the whole village went down the river to catch *ser* fish. And Miwírpic, the son of Ówpacak and Cowútpacak, went at night with them. At night, he too went downriver; the banks lay dry, and they went onto the banks to catch the crabs in the mud. The whole morning they caught crabs, and while they were catching the crabs

ún. áokómorés. wasén, ajísokómtiwëres<sup>4</sup> ín. sér atáworés, wunám, áokómorés cí wa. a cimín cowák araw wunám wasén ajísokómtiwëres ín.

<sup>1</sup> Mírpit; <sup>2</sup> átermára; <sup>3</sup> máesésa; <sup>4</sup> ajísokómtires.

<sup>a</sup> See the details, given in § 263, V.

<sup>b</sup> *jíwí mu*: the period during February and March when the tide is very low at night.

<sup>c</sup> The method used to catch the *ser* fish is as follows: in the shallow water near the bank of the river a number of canoes are placed end to end in a half circle, facing the bank. The canoes are then pushed towards the bank driving before them the fish that have been caught in this trap. The men who have been pushing the canoes then go and sit on the bank, stretch out their legs to the right and left of their bodies, and try to seize the fish as they slither back to the water.

## 272

wunám cí wá kor óeres ín. a sér najítipít, cí wa iním emés maré wasén sopī sopī sopī ajiser ín. Miwírpitsimít<sup>1</sup> arám, ów a tasmájipic ín, “tíwa, é sosójismar nás korá, atewércokom ów mómtetámciná”, iním aer ín. maré wá omisërés, wasén jisokómtiwëres misërím, maré sér matáw ajisjápëres ín. ar ás kor nat e wasén ewcúcurumorés cowák. wasén ewcúcurúmorés cowák, ár apnáf<sup>2</sup> a, cúrujisá, ájamesjínier ín iwním piním. Ówpcacák Cowútpacák, a tíw Miwírpic<sup>3</sup> apnáf<sup>2</sup> masirím maré mimí aniáper ín. maré, átewérac ín, cí atówonier ín. mú apirímác ín, fé acomómor ín. a Miwírpitsimít<sup>1</sup> aráw, Miwírpitsimít<sup>1</sup> aráw, curúw jírpu apuémér ín. “á, ja mátetamúca,<sup>4</sup> májsiréra” ajíporés opák ín. “á, nám nor ënéw no niwí ása, cëméw atmokóma”, iním ajómer ín.

<sup>1</sup> Mírpitsimít; <sup>2</sup> apnéf; <sup>3</sup> Mírpit; <sup>4</sup> mátamúca.

## 273

wunám, ar erén piním, cí ser áokómorés. ajísokómtiwëres<sup>1</sup> ín. a Miwírpicakáp ará, a Miwírpitsimít, cí, ak, iním méсарimár, pó men awón mopac ín x, sé okon ín ajakmápmor ín. á emsér jícop cí ow, “maréwa”, áemwúor ín. wún ow nát cem máp, emétepakajapites<sup>2</sup> ín. mánmak ín tíwsírimasmámes ín, ar ásakap Mewórpic. Mewórpic aráw, “manmák ín tíwsirmeweréjipurúwa” ájac ín, átewérac ín, mú, é nam mú cicikimór e sé, mú cicikimór,<sup>3</sup> cí atitiwer ín. átepá jamés, “Ówpcacák Cowútpacáka, ca tíw aráw, Miwírpitsimít<sup>4</sup> pó men, sé okon ín akmápmór. sér aráw, arów ajsirér sér omót nak, omót kor cowór. arów ajsirér, ca tíw masërím atéwer ín, matetám<sup>5</sup> pak emór”, iním tepjomséames ín. ar ënéw a niwí misërím, “á, ja cá Miwírpic ar’ amá”, iním japá james ín. ar mó cin ar ém cin. átepá jamés, “Ówpcacák

the tide came in. "Let's stop now, the tide begins to rise. Send someone upriver to call the people; they must come here," they cried. They sent a man upriver to call the people. There upstream they shouted their agreement, and they all got into the canoes. They all got into the canoes, and after that, they drove the *ser* fishes (before them) with the canoes.<sup>c</sup> They drove them against the (downstream) bank. They caught the *ser* fishes. Again they drove them, with the canoes in a half circle. Then, as before, they drove them to the bank.

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Again they made a big half circle. While they were busy doing that, a gigantic *ser* fish rushed to the bank, leaping high out of the water. The old Miwírpic, the men's war leader, cried: "Children, that one that's leaping onto the shore yonder is mine! If you catch it you must give it to me." And they pushed the canoes towards the shore. When they'd driven them against the land, they went onto the land to sit down and catch the *ser* fishes. The huge ones forthwith slithered from the bank. They (the fishes) slithered down from the bank, towards the wide apart stretched legs (of the men). They broke through to the water's edge. The son of Ówpacák and Cowútpacák, Miwírpic, sat down, his legs stretched wide apart close to the ground. He was the one who caught it, and he took it to the canoe. He washed it in the water, and he strung it on a rope. Now, the old Miwírpic was furious, but he didn't show it. "Hey, give him that fish, he's laid claim to it," they cried, but to no purpose. "No, it's for my mother and father; you won't rile me," he said, keeping it.

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Once again they drove the *ser* fishes up but then to the upstream bank. They drove them up onto the shore. As to the small Miwírpic; the old Miwírpic went alongside him with the canoe; he gave him a thwack with the blade of his paddle and toppled him into the mud with his mouth open.<sup>a</sup> The men who were in the war canoes (called out): "Let's go!" and they all fled. Some of the people had already gone ahead upriver to their houses and they sat there just staring.<sup>b</sup> His *papís* partner was Mewórpic. Mewórpic then said: "Don't sit there as usual, just staring!" He took him up, and washed the body with water; he washed off the mud with water, and he laid him in the canoe. Again and again the people went up the river: "Ówpacák, Cowútpacák, the old Miwírpic struck your child with the blade of the paddle and

Cowútpacáka, ca tíw aráw. pó men sé okon ín akmápmorés, é asepmóc ajósmes ará” iním eres ín.

<sup>1</sup> ajísokómtires; <sup>2</sup> emétepakajpites; <sup>3</sup> cikimór; <sup>4</sup> Mírpitsimít; <sup>5</sup> matám.

- <sup>a</sup> An open mouth (with the tongue hanging out) is a sign of death: the young man is therefore dead.  
<sup>b</sup> The people who are looking on behave in a manner which is customary in the Ásmat country: they don't meddle with things concerning others.

## 274

Miwírpic, ásirmotéperā, cém atepómser ín. cém tepomsér, ar ěnéw a niwí móc mamóc <sup>1</sup> pak ín, ar ěnéw a niwí móc mamóc <sup>1</sup> pak. múapom ámamewámes ín. “a, na iním pacákseré ow, ów cepés na jimá, ná muapóm araw ána”, iním já james ín. Miwírpic masérím wunám, sé armá awuápmor ín. sé armá wuápmor ín. jófaj apamés, jófaj am ápamés, jófaj misérím amás mér araw ún. amás mér, amás cem áwtiwěrés, a cí towopmór jipít,<sup>2</sup> Mewórpic, maré Miwírpic mi aók-mores ín. amás aworés, wunám, os mér araw ún, cém os. cém os, curúw ámores ín. Majít nucúr moporóm pak ín a cém os. curúw amápuěres ín ar ém cin ar mó cin. cém am curúw, ájapómkekémores ín. cém am curúw, curúw. jóf opák ín, takás akikirákurúmmores ín. jimsíp, ákamápmores ín. wasén, pók cem, ajápmores ín.

<sup>1</sup> mot mót; <sup>2</sup> ipít.

<sup>a</sup> i.e., Mewórpic.

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wunám, amás araw ún. amás, amás, aworés, aworés, aworés. cém, amás patámkurmorés, “má” jaces ín, mú enám <sup>1</sup> araw ún, sen ásirim-tákères ín. súku átewer ín. fét atéwer ín. fis atéwer ín. pé atéwer ín. kanpór atéwer ín. sinák atéwer ín. én atéwer ín mu enám.<sup>1</sup> é pakajsé, pók, e pákajamis pok, takás áfefémtawor ín. wasén, ców ek átewer ín. ci ék átewer ín. os ék, átewer ín. jíf atewérer ín. píri misín átewer ín. sé atewérer ín. emór, jófaj apamés jófaj, erám pok, afefémtawores ín. erám pok fefémtawamés, acíc acíc pok, fefémtawamés, jófaj, masérím, a tíw, Mewórpic a Miwírpic mí okmorés jipít, aótawores ín. “píri mu ajítmar” ecés aráw, e ur ísipís aráw, sirirá, arásen mom-

tumbled him dead in the mud. There was a *ser* fish, he claimed it, it was a *ser* fish like a real *omót* fish, as big as an *omót*. He claimed it, but your son captured it and wouldn't give it to him," so they called out again and again as they were rowing up the river. But his mother and his father who were sitting there said: "Hey, who is this Miwírpic?" So they sat, asking it again and again. All the time (people) came up the river: "Ówpacak, Cowútpacak, it's your child! He struck him with the blade of his paddle and tumbled him dead in the mud; and there behind, they come with him here, crying," they said.

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He rowed with Miwírpic upriver; he took him upriver to the house. He took him home, but his mother and his father didn't cry. They didn't cry. Everyone was telling everybody else to bury him. "Must we bury the child of such a bad man and woman," they said over and over again. In the end he himself<sup>a</sup> buried Miwírpic. The following day they stayed at home and the day after, and the day after that they went to get sago. They got the sago; they put the sago down at the house and Mewórpic, the youth who had laid him in the canoe, they took as a son in place of Miwírpic by rubbing him with lime. They scraped out the sago and then they went to fetch wood for the poles for a house. They chopped down the poles for the house in secret. They didn't let the forefathers from the Majít people see those house poles. They chopped them secretly, the man and his wife. The house, too, they built in secret and tied it firmly. They built the house in secret, too; there were no holes in it. They stopped them all up. They made a door in it. In the forest they put up a hut to store food.

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Once more, they went to get sago, and sago, and sago; they scraped and scraped and scraped; they filled the hut right up with sago. "That's still not enough," they said, and they went downstream to get the things that live in the water. He got a small *ewór* crab, a *súku*, a *fet* and a *fis* fish, a *pe* and a *kanpór* crab, a *sinák* lobster, an *en* fish. Everything that swam or crawled in the water he collected. From the forest he fetched a sago fruit, a fruit of the *ci* tree, and other fruits. He fetched humus, and from the seashore he fetched sand. That's what he did. The next day they rested, and the day after that they gathered magic herbs. The whole day they gathered magic herbs; they

asiénawút”, iním ajitámor ín. ájitamac ín jófaj aráw maré, erém atíwkojer ín. Majít nucur arám se cáka jésmar, pók memán, sén fofofó jitaker ín. arám efá sirímtakáces ín, e jó naraw atákseaces <sup>2</sup> ín, “jáka jicēmup múā, máenawcáwa”, iním aer ín, Ówpacák. iním emtawmár jóc ara “kèkèkèkèkè” iním aer ín. ar ém cin ar mó cin, “á, ěmá síri kór naká. cém cátepapcóma”,<sup>3</sup> iním aer ín.

<sup>1</sup> eném; <sup>2</sup> atáksaces; <sup>3</sup> tátepapcóma.

<sup>a</sup> The call of the *joc* bird is considered as an augury in that when its call is heard one may ask the bird a question. If the call stops, the answer is in the affirmative. In this story, the screaming of the *joc* bird is a sign that the magic practised by Owpacák and Cowútpacák will take effect immediately.

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cém iním tepapmés, jicēmúp<sup>1</sup> sesák jáknakapiriw atowópmor ín. Siréc jo pú. sésak jáknakáp atowópmor ín. mú komén fére ajíkonáwor ín maré. é po mén emsokmór jipit nát, cém metép pak ín maré jócor átakamás, mú namir átakamás ín. “sen mú ajter ina” iním emés, Mewórpcic,<sup>2</sup> ar ísipís, e asé ar ísipís, a tērásěpés, asé a tērásěpés, átaawac ín, Ówpacák Cowútpacák, cém cowák maré ajirámsimápmor ín. “jimsíp mápapájimút” iním aer ín. jimsíp pajimáces ín ar ísipís e cém amán cowák. maré jimsíp in akápmaper ín. Majít nucúr cém emápěres ów, pó karéw araw ún. pó karéw emápaces ín, cém eápmores ín. mú nat iním emór cowák, totototo. Majít nucúr, maré mú atowómser ín. pó karéw apěres ow, maré mu, ajítmomáser ín. pók mer, amás mer pacájucokor ów, mú namir takas ín. erém nat, maré mú nat, ’m, jímtewer <sup>3</sup> ín. Majít nucúr wun ów, pó karéw apěres ow, té cesmar wó, afésmar, namir nim e cí amán, júmus ín jínitnakapiriw nesén acaciápěres <sup>4</sup> ín.

<sup>1</sup> jitmúp; <sup>2</sup> Mowórcpit; <sup>3</sup> jímtewer; <sup>4</sup> atatiápěres.

<sup>a</sup> *asé ar ísipís, asé a tarásěpés*: his *asé* “side” parents and sisters. It is not clear which kinship group is meant here.

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a Ówpacák enim Cowútpacák aráw, “jáka iwním emséces ów aráw, já ur ísipís, nesén momniémít, nesén momátewerít”, iním áeres ín. anakátipic aráw, “awó”, iním aer ín. púw atéwer ín, firkóm am amán am átewerac ín, maré iwiniér ín. cemsén áwiniér, iním apór, pó karéw

gathered all kinds of magic herbs. Then, on the following day, they told their son Mewórpíc about it, the one they had taken in place of Miwórpíc by rubbing him with lime. "When the people say that the water's rising downstream, then be quick and come here with your parents," so they said to him. The day after they had told him that, he [Ówpacak] started out at night; the forefathers from the Majít people went downriver in crowds to find food because at night the mud banks were dry. They also went quickly down the river; when they had gone downstream on the shallow river he, Ówpacak, cried: "That sea water there, may it come here!" While he was saying that, a *joc* bird screamed: "kèkèkèkè".<sup>a</sup> "Hey, wait a bit," said the man and his wife, "not so fast! Let's first reach our house."

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When they'd arrived home a tiny dark cloud gathered above the sea; above the Siréc. A tiny dark cloud gathered itself. The fingers of water edged quickly towards the land. The man who had struck with the paddle did not come to the village. He was the first to perish in the water at the mouth of the river. When the people cried: "Hey, they say that there below the water's rising!", Mewórpíc fetched all his blood kin and all his distantly related kin<sup>a</sup> and took them all inside the house of Ówpacak and Cowútpacak. "Open the doors", he said. When they had opened the doors, all his family went into the house. After that, they stayed there with the doors shut. The forefathers from the Majít people, who were in the village, made a raft of canoes. When they'd got onto it, they built a house on it. Higher and higher rose the water and in the end it carried away the forefathers from Majít. The rising water carried away the raft with the people on it. The people who were scattered everywhere looking for fish and sago all perished in the water. But at night, all at once, the water began to go down. Those of the forefathers from the Majít people who were sitting on the raft, — the rain poured down on them all night, the waves buffeted them all night long. They just sat in the canoes, packed together, as though dead, completely numbed, their heads bowed.

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Ówpacak and Cowútpacak said: "The people there on the water in front of the house, your parents, by and by go down to them and fetch them and do them no harm." "All right" he said [Mewórpíc]. He took a spear, he took a heavy arrow and a bow and went down quickly to

apěrés ow cuwúc <sup>1</sup> asés aw ún. ów manmák mempepém pak. té afesmár, nám jiníc, cí amán of ním cuwút <sup>2</sup> pakajámis aw ún. jefé aniómac ín, ócen ín asemármor ín. anakátow mopór pak ín. a ócen ín mítapmá er, ájujukúmsomítěres ín. ájafac ín, — ar ěńew a niwí mofasím pak nėw —, maré nesén ajisemer ín. a mú kampomėsmar enám, capínmi nát, máj memém asén pak ín. usír wut, ón wut, sowót wut, ár wut, capínmi, ókokonísok ín. a mú emór, as wá maré, sá takas ín. ców, sá takas, sánamíkúrúmor ín. á seokorá eres, é akát ow é akát cepes ín pórerémtewerá iním aer ín. — cém, arám, cém eápmorés, mú am aráp cem etámores ín. wá mu áwsemac ín, ewór atewsémor ín súku átewsémor ín fět atewsémor ín, e wá mu.

<sup>1</sup> cu; <sup>2</sup> cut.

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emór, á emsěeres, é akát ow e akát cepes ín pórerémtewerá, pacáksere ów pacák cepés, tówofá, iním aer ín. á cemsén pakajámser enám, cém aciómiwėres ín. mú sisímkakamímtiwér enám. Cowútpacák, Ówpacák ar ém cin, wasén aiwijisėres <sup>1</sup> ín. “amás pawáncasín, amás sa sákurumawér ará” iním eres ín. Ówpacák amás ajisátmor ín. amás amor ín. mocó nat si mén acín atáper ín. “má, iním pak” ájaces ín, áfasíniėres ín. wú aurúmteweres <sup>2</sup> ín. wú nat, mú afemór, asesá kamák mopan ín. cém niápěrés, “wasén, ców opák aw, amás jemé. sínakap mítapmúj cérecafo jasér aw”, iním anijáper ín. “ma” jac ín, tínak ek átewer ín. wasén ajístowópmor ín. ci ék atéwer ín, wasén ajístowópmor ín. os ék, átowópmor ín. sen fět atáktitiwer <sup>3</sup> ín, súku atáktitiwer <sup>3</sup> ín, fis atáktitiwer <sup>3</sup> ín. ewór, pé, atáktitiwer <sup>3</sup> ín. mú enám anítewsémor ín. “má” jac ín jisín akán atowópmor ín. wasén, amás, átemétwasiáper ín, copú. mówerompór pak ín. arám a cém amás cowák ajapanėres ín. sén matákoweróm pak ín. arám a cém enám cowák ájapanėres ín.

<sup>1</sup> aiwísėres; <sup>2</sup> aurúmteres; <sup>3</sup> atáktier.

<sup>a</sup> This is a sign that the sago in the tree has been spoiled.

<sup>b</sup> *copú*: an early stage in the growth of a sago palm.



the river. He went down in front of the house and there he saw on the river the people sitting on the raft. They weren't on the lookout. The rain had poured down on them the whole night. They were numbed; like dead wood they lay together in the canoes. Then he went down quickly and stood beside them. He struck about him with the spear. The people took no notice. Again and again he struck with the spear. Only when they were struck did they make a move to get up. When he'd killed them — he didn't tell his father and mother, did he? — he went ashore without them. There was no place to put one's feet among the fish left on the land. The water had done that. The trees were already quite dead; all the sago palms were dead; they were all quite dead. Again and again when people floated by, he choose from among the fine men and women. They had (also) made a house; they had also made a separate house for the (drinking) water. When he had dug a water-hole, he put the *ewór* crab in it, and the *sukú* fish and the *fet* fish.

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That's what he did; again and again he chose fine men and women from the people in the water, and the unfit men and the unfit women he killed. They cut up the fishes that lay in a huge mass in front of the house and took them inside; the dead fish which the water had washed ashore in great numbers. Ówpacak and his wife went quickly to the forest. "Let's both scrape out sago before all the sago palms are dead," they said. Ówpacak went to cut down a sago palm. He cut it down and there was fluid sticking onto the blade of the axe.<sup>a</sup> "No, it can't be done," they said and they turned back. They got out the edible top of a sago palm. The water had ruined it; it was as hot as ginger. They went home. "There are no (good) sago palms in the forest, the sago is salty. I thrust the axe into it a bit and the juice spurted out," he said when he had returned. "So, it's no good," he said, and he took the fruit of the sago palm and planted it in the forest. The fruit of the *ci* tree, he took it and planted it in the forest. He planted the seeds of the trees in the forest. Downstream, he put the *fet* fish, the *súku* and the *fis* fish, the *ewór* and the *pe* crab. He put back again into the water all things that live in the water. "That's still not good enough", he said, and he planted coconut shoots. In the forest the sago palm was beginning to grow; it was already *copú*.<sup>b</sup> He didn't go back again to keep an eye on them; they only ate the fish that were in the house.

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Ówpacák Cowútpacák ar ém cin aráw, amás mer áiwijisères<sup>1</sup> ín. amás aráw, aworés, curúw un mufúm pak ín. curúw aniópères ín. “wasén, ców opák aw” iním anijápères ín. sen ásirimtakères, wasén pe okós jan ajamestámor ín. mú enám arám fá armá manámitámser ín. wasén arám, amás, maré atemétwaniócer ín. iním temétwaniótna, a tíw Mewórpcic aráw maré, é jipmúr ewapómjimoreś cowák, áw apcóm kor, maré emápmores ín. áj petéw amás mer másirim maré wasén, áiwijisères<sup>1</sup> ín. amás awamés, jófaj amás. jófaj am awamés amás misěrim, cowúc ar ěnéw a niwí atatámores ín. “ma” jaces ín piri enám araw ún. piri enám, ájapaněres ín. wasén amás mu emporá, mú enám emporá, wasén, pé emporá, iním ajápères ín. mú wumomásér ów, wún e jopmák, átwápacámápmor ín. wún ow misěrim e Kájmo ará. maré.

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<sup>1</sup> aiwísěres.

## VI

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Miwírpcic, Tewérawúc, tátmores ín. ar epíc Tewérawúc, atátmores ín. Tewérawuc á amás jis epórawér. Miwírpcic jis étámporawér a enám akát, tów jimín akát enám nes jimín akát. a ná manapór pak ín. a nát, e ár amús matewét, cenés awamís<sup>1</sup> araw ún. a amás jis akát a pók jis akát etamór, Miwírpit na mán pak ín “m, or amás man. orám o pók mán. iním aáncow”,<sup>2</sup> iním er ín. “e, Miwírpcic, amás jis akátè, pók jis akátè étámporminè. enám akát, píewérmi, enám akát píewérmi, ám ep omót ep akátè. enám nes jimín akat jiktámpormín, manapór pěnakáw. ór enakáp nór enakáp júmamtámfawos áw”, iním merjápa iním er ín. “má” jac ín, ar amús áw temér, ájapómiwer ín. cém, cuwuc áp ar amús, ajíwmesóper ín. “á Tewérawúc, o ucím as ám” iním er ín. “á, ‘o ucím as ám’ pak! á newét aráw, ár enakáp, nór enakáp, júmam-táměrawós. á amás jis akát, a pók jis akát, étámpormí. a jím a enám píewérmi. ám ep omót ep, áwjis étámpormí, mán opów! mán opák. cenés nesén mesamís. nór aráw, ó matewér emín, nó makawímop emín”, iním er ín.

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<sup>1</sup> wamís; <sup>2</sup> anáncow.

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Ówpacak and his wife went to the forest to get sago. They scraped out the sago in secret, they told nobody about it; they returned and hid it. "There's no sago in the forest," they said after they'd returned. They went downriver. On the bank the crabs were making a great noise with their pincers, the fishes were scratching each other with their spines. In the forest, the sago palm grew right up. When it had grown fine and high, they then took for their son, Mewórpíc, a big-bodied marriageable girl from the far end of the house, and made them sit down (as husband and wife). After that, the young couple went to scrape out sago in the forest. They scraped out the sago all day long, and the following day, and the day after that, and the sago they scraped out on the day following that one, they gave to the girl's mother and father. "It's still not enough," they said, and they went to the sea to fish. They ate sea fish. So they stayed there, scraping out sago in the forest and then fishing again, then going on land again to catch crabs. One part of the people who were carried away by the water were scattered about here and there along the upper course of the river (the Siréc); another part of them now forms the village of Kájmo. That's all.

## VI

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They gave Tewérawuc to Miwírpíc (as a wife). They gave the elder sister, Tewérawuc, to him. Tewérawuc always roasted sago; for Miwírpíc, she always roasted nice fish, tasty sticks of sago mixed with sago grubs, and tasty sticks of sago mixed with fish. But he wouldn't touch them. He just lay on the floor; he wanted to marry her younger sister. She prepared tasty roasted sago for him, and tasty roasted fish. But Miwírpíc wouldn't eat. "It's your sago, and it's also your fish, you must eat it," he said. "Oh, Miwírpíc, I prepare tasty roasted sago, delicious roasted fish for you. I always catch many fine fish, fine *am* and *omót*; I make tasty sticks of sago and fish for you, now why won't you eat them? When you were still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other," so she spoke, sitting down (beside him) every now and then. "All right, have it your own way!" she cried, and she went to her younger sister who already had breasts (was marriageable). She went inside and sat down beside her sister who was at home. "Hey, Tewérawuc, what's the matter?" she said. "Bah, don't ask 'what's the matter with you'! My husband, when he was still small and I was still small, they intended us for each other. I

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“á, Tewérawucá, no já or mó manám maf páka! iním as kor ám naká”, ajípor opák in. “á, iním nat uciè! a nát, ó mopórtewét emenè, nór amás jis akát, no pók jis akát etámpormí opów. nór amás nat no pók nat, paké nesen atiwamár aráw”, iním ajíkurúmor<sup>1</sup> in, ar epíc. áso-sówomér cowák ar amús matewér, ásosówomér cowák. ásosówomer. maré, ár amus áteveráces in, ar epíc akáwimápmores<sup>2</sup> in. ar epíc káwimápmores,<sup>2</sup> anakácowúc, cáj in. a nát caj in. ar mó, nám makawí pak in. nám makawí’n empór opák in. jumús iním jirapér cowák araw ún. amás pok, mán pak in. manmák moc mimís acín taper in. ár epíc “á, newét aráw, ó mopórtewét jiewérměró. a nór amás aráw no pók aráw, mopórsaméwirír. nór masiněrim, nám, normá makawímop, ajúrsewirín. mare ákawímtewérmin aráw. amás pok jis metamúj e jisís pájfirapí”, ájiporá jipór opák in. “á, no nát ja or mó nat manám afaní. manám mafè, e nór amás jis no pók jis arów metám arawá”, iním japá iním er in. “á, manám maf pák am iním aráw! manám maf pák am iním aráw nó sinopís, nów isipís, manám maf pák owér iním aráw owerów armá, manám<sup>3</sup> armá comá<sup>3</sup> emes ám. fácihtewtá emes ám ám amás jis in, pók jis in jíwpuopá iním emés. oráp cowák mémpor pák”, ajípor opák in.

<sup>1</sup> ajúkurumór; <sup>2</sup> akáimápmores; <sup>3</sup> *suka*: loan-word from Malay.

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anakátipíc, nám makawí pák apór, “Tewérawúc, jiwís pok cí a” iním aer in. jiwís atúwor in — tuwútmar in. anakácowútnakáp ep áni-aweráper in. ar epíc wowúc in ar mó cimén in. jiwís tuwómser in maré. é Siréc arán, ápajimómser in ci mí. Siréc ametóciner in. mówsec is, ésomitá er, nám makawí pak in. cémnakapiríw awút opak in, inímnakapiríw emapmá jipór, cowkán mopóromómis. a nát, erásenakapiríw, fá icítinakap nésen<sup>1</sup> jisamsá. a ár epíc aráw “á, ní newét, mótowóm-sefáw, wowúc sumomsá iním erasín”, ájiporá jipór opák in. ar amús nat “á, nó or mó manám afániè. no or mó manám afaní. nór masiněrim,

prepare nice roasted sago for him, and tasty roasted fish, I always catch fish with the net. I roast *am* and *omót* for him, but eat he will not! He just lies on the ground doing nothing. Now I'll take you with me, I'll put you beside him," she said.

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"Oh, Tewérawuc, I don't like that husband of yours, so don't do that," she said, but to no purpose. "Come, why do you say that; he wants to have you as his wife. I've prepared nice roasted sago, nicely roasted fish for him; it's all in vain. He just lets my sago and my fish get hard and old," she said, urging her, that elder sister. Again and again she got up to take her with her, again and again she got up, and yet again. In the end, they took the younger sister with them and added her to her elder sister. They added her to her elder sister, but the girl was not willing. She didn't want to. She wouldn't go near her husband; he tried to approach her but failed. She just sat with her head bowed; she wouldn't eat the sago or the fish; her eyes were full of tears. "Come, my husband has always wanted to marry you, he has always thrust aside my sago and my fish. And I, I've always wanted to add you to myself, that's why I take you now. Roast sago and fish for him, turn yourself towards the fire," so she tried again and again to win her over, but without success. "Oh, am I then to love this husband of yours! I'd roast sago and fish for him if I loved him," so she kept on repeating as she sat there. "Come now, although you don't love him, you must. Love or no love, it makes no odds! My sisters, my mothers, were married without being in love, that's the way of it. It's only the men who fall in love and marry again; they (the women) always sit indoors and roast the sago and the fish. You're the only one who won't do it!" so she tried to persuade her, but without avail.

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When the man saw that she wouldn't go to him, he said: "Tewérawuc, take everything to the canoe that we need to move house," and off he went — in the morning he went off. The younger wife went and sat in the stern, her sister was in the middle, their husband stood in the bows. Then he departed with them to another dwelling place. He turned the nose of the canoe towards the upper reaches of the Siréc, and he went up the Siréc with them. During the journey, he took them every night to sleep with him. She wouldn't go near him. Every time he made a small house, not a big one — one about this size —, to force

já or mó wowúc no musúwumomís atakám ájapotáwmaněném”, iním ja iním er ín. tam jó puamsá er, cí niómuwá, Siréc arán átowomsér cowák. jó iním nimémerapá er, wasén kuomsá, cémnakap inímnakap ín, áomocíner ín. iním cowák, tám tuwomséa, jók, pó mináf un. tám, cí niómuwá, e jók jo jurúw, pó mináf un. é ar epíc kor, “á, Tewér-awucakáp, cepés métiw atakám motáw pak emár aráw. atakám otáwpormín opów. otáwporéwirín opów! newét, nám makawí atakám otáwporewirín opák. ucím cáj pomséfaw éw. jók mukáp opák, op jó poké animár, na mák atíwtarémar aráw. ucím cáj pecaw éw newét, acán owpormín opák mówsec omsénom”, iním jomséa iním aer ín anakácowútnakápiriw, e cí ep móc mimís pu ín. “é, ó jurúsmemá, ěmá, newét matowómsefáw, jiwís cem armá kújurumápcaw apórserár”, ar epíc iním jomséa iním aer ín.

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<sup>1</sup> nè.

### 283

maré Siréc épماك nák ákikícukómaser ín. ajárkikiómser<sup>1</sup> ín maré. cém wos ín ajarómer ín. cém wos ín ajarómer ín. Siréc epmák. cém, eapmór, ar epíc, “néj, newét cowkán wowút sumóperasin, newét a cém, tapín a jumcíp iním mimiwtiwtám, ór a jó ajpím iním mapí nór a jó ajpím iním memáp”, ajípor “ā, no nát manám afaní, jáka or mó manám afaní!” “ā, orpá mempór pow! nó sinopís néw isipís am, a tíw jak ín jiwsú emár, iním aráw! ówerów, cepés iním manmák armá okoromá emés, tewtá iním emés cepés manám arów maf. owér masájwut opów! newét arám iním minip púmeméwirír<sup>2</sup> o matewét, nó masěrim aráw, cáj asiropén, normá atewérfin”, ajípor opák ín. “mowsécè, po jámkonáwewirúm<sup>3</sup> aráw maríw, cém os ín ajárjirim-ópmar aráw, ní nám makawíc”, ajípor opák ín. “no nát, o nám makawí cowút memáp pow, óm or atakám matáw emápem áw” iním

her to sleep with him. But no, every time she moved a little to one side and slept by herself. Her sister tried to win her over. "Come, our husband has brought us along with him, let's sleep on either side of him!" But no, everytime her sister said: "Do you think I love that husband of yours? Are you asking me to let your husband sleep between us?" Each time, just as the sun had risen, he got into the canoe with them and started out and he took them right to the upper course of the Siréc. Each time, just as the sun sank down towards the horizon, he went ashore with them to sleep, and he made a small house — one about this size — and so he moved upriver. And so it went on: in the morning he started out with them and during the day they just rowed. In the morning he got into the canoe with them and started out, and during the day they did nothing else but row, a long way upriver. During the journey, the big sister said continually: "Oh, little Tewérawuc, an older woman should not fail to give advice. Well, I give you advice, but you won't listen. I've always given you advice, but you wouldn't listen! All the time I've told you to go to my husband, but you won't hear of it! Why is he taking us along with him? During the day he doesn't go to the shore. The hot sun up there is going down; it makes our backs hot! What's my husband thinking of? I've tried to give you good advice, but in vain, all the time -ou're with us," so she spoke repeatedly during the journey. The girl sat at the stern, crying all the time. "It's your fault, but since our husband has taken us with him, let's wait and see whether he lands to build a permanent house" so spoke the elder sister again and again.

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Finally, he arrived with them at the narrow upper course of the Siréc; forward he went with them into the narrow stream and then (went ashore and) cleared an open space for a house. There, on the upper reaches of the Siréc. When he'd made the house, the elder sister said: "Come, let's allow our husband to sit between us. Spread a sleeping mat out here, near the door; you go and sit on one side and I'll go and sit on the other." "Oh, do you think I love him? Do you think I love that husband of yours?" "Oh, only you won't do it! My sisters and my mothers always have children in their bellies; that is the way it is. It's only the men who flirt with the women, who take them to wife; women do fall in love, but they don't do the marrying. My man has always had it in his mind; he's wanted to take you, and I've finally given in. I, of my own accord, I fetched you," so she tried to

aer ín. jó puamsá er, mopór pak a cimín cowák araw ún. cém in aópac ín, e jók jo jurúw, jo tí merémapá, iním aer ín.

<sup>1</sup> ajárkikuómser; <sup>2</sup> púmemewirúp; <sup>3</sup> jomkanawewirím.

### 284

“Tewéra, esé mú anemúc” iním aer ín. é wasén anakátipíc e wasén erém anímcká er. a wú mikin wút cowák araw ún, ców na opák in. a wú mikin wút cowák, cí papí nesén aémsiter ín. á nesén os wá cowák ín, a Siréc.<sup>1</sup> amás opák in, ców opák in. anakátipíc áomatmár araw ún, wós wos áomatmár araw ún. cí aésuntúmor in wú ci. iním porá er, “nor mó wut ém”, mi wút nim nesén afmár araw ún. maré waser kór atemétsowáper ín. copón atemtémer ín. anakátipic mésomíc araw ún.<sup>2</sup> maré op átemétjamémer ín. ar ém, esé at áetamor ín. mów esé, mow, anakátipic mów ajáker <sup>3</sup> ín. mów akamár, ar ém aníjukmapómtamor ín. “Tewéra, a mów esé masi mów akamí, mów masamúc jo poké asirímsamúc” iním aer ín. ar ém aráw, “hè hè” jac ín, a mów aráw jo poké aturúmamár, jo poké aturúmtiwer ín. “e esé, mócopí mariw, mów emépasán ew” “á, mow tó emésamep áw. jowún emésamep áw” “á maré mocópí, mów mapúc” iním er ín. amás na maré míc atémtémer ín. míc wut ín. “pok wút cowák, á matatám <sup>4</sup> pok éfamúc” iním er ín. “esé siriá, ácopáwerém cowák, mér cowáka”. ar ém masním, “ā, esé a mér cowák méwtiwají pák! pisis esé ěmá a mér cowák mewtíw aráw mów esé síporewérmes opák. mā, émtawmém aráw an” <sup>5</sup> iním er ín.

<sup>1</sup> Sirát; <sup>2</sup> in; <sup>3</sup> ajákar; <sup>4</sup> matawtám; <sup>5</sup> en.

<sup>a</sup> Sago is often compared with lime or ashes; a sago palm of which the growth is prolific, with a cloud of ashes, or lime; a big sago palm which contains an abundance of meal, with a canoe, newly painted with lime (see § 343).

<sup>b</sup> *wasér* and *copón* are two stages in the growth of the sago palm.

<sup>c</sup> When a sago palm begins to flower, the pith becomes unusable.

### 285

esé, mów pamár, acóaper ín. coapér, esé nat najítipicēj, cótiwer ín. “Miwírpicá, e esé awút kor new áw”, iním er ín. anakátipic iním apór, “á, ja wún mow ám moapút! já esé nat, énakapiríw misí atakám táwmanín, esé jép er ár, jép er ár”, iním er ín. “ā, Miwírpic é esé nat ucím caj écemè. esé awút nák wut mempór pow no nát a esé najítipic



persuade her, but in vain. "The whole way we've rowed together and now he's busy putting up the poles for the house. Come," she said, "go to him". "I'm not the one to add to you (as co-wife), so don't go on about it," she said. Every day, as the sun rose, she carried on as though it didn't concern her. So she did all day long, until the sun set, after he had made the house.

## 284

"Tewér, make a carrying bag" he said. Each night he disappeared into the forest. There was only one goodly young sago palm; it stood there with broad-based fronds. There was only the ordinary forest by the Siréc. There were no sago palms; there was no sago forest. The man got to work; he made an open space. He pulled off the old fronds from the young palm. Time and again he looked at it: "You're a beauty!" It rose up like lime which is thrown about.<sup>a</sup> Finally it grew into a *wasér*; (then) it became a *copón*.<sup>b</sup> The man stood guard by it. At last it had grown large and high. He told his wife to make a bag, a bag plaited with the fibres from the roots of the pandan tree. The man got the roots; he stripped off a great quantity of roots and put them down together for his wife. "Tewér, I've just stripped off a great amount of pandan roots to make the bag with; dry them, put them in the sun to dry quickly!" he said. "All right," said his wife, and she spread out the roots in the sun; she laid them down neatly in the sun. "Now, plait the bag; are the roots dry yet?" "Yes, they were already quite dry yesterday; they were already quite dry the day before yesterday." "Fine, start the plaiting, work loose the fibres," he said. Now, the sago palm had grown into a fully grown palm. A large fully grown palm. "It's huge! Quickly, it mustn't flower,"<sup>c</sup> he said. "Get on with the bag, if you plait continually it 'll be made in a day." But his wife said: "Huh, a carrying bag can't be plaited in a day! A bag made of grass, yes, that can be plaited in a day, but a fibre bag, even if the plaiting is done without interruption, that can't be done! You don't really mean that," she said.

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She worked loose many fibres for the bag and she started to plait it, and she plaited an enormous bag. "Miwírpíc, the bag is perhaps too large," she said. He looked at it. "No, work loose still more of those fibres. Do I tell you to make this bag very small! It must be a bag with the sides from here to there," he said. "Miwírpíc, what are you

nak áw”, ajípor opák in. “ése mów moapúc, ja esé jiwínakap”, iním er in. anakácowuc “hèhè” jac in, wunám, áorápor in, mów mamcúp.<sup>1</sup> manmák atewerámar jep é merámser in. esé jep a emámser in. ar ém, womák pasés in átemétsurúmor in “á, nów isipís, nó sinopís, esé asimés iním esé masiporáji pów, iním esé at nak ówpenem áw” iním er in. acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák, acópomít cowák. méw asén kor iním asianerémtiwer in. “ěmá, Miwírpic, asé emésakajámi maré asé jipín wut. esé awút kor maré ěmá, to méwtiw” iním er in.

<sup>1</sup> mamcip.

<sup>a</sup> The translation is uncertain: my informants translated ‘she plaited the *manmák*’, but no one knew what the *manmák* of a carrying bag was.

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jófaj jó fajamsér, anakátipíc, amán in átiwanímac in wasén ar in. iním apór, míc wut ním é cuwuc émecěmár araw ún. “jí, nor mó kor em! cem mémotásisímawér emín”, iním aer in. anakácowuc tám ewópomis, tám ewopomis, tám ewopomis, maré éwokómtiwer in a pók fek. ten ásiac in, com ám ajámtiwer in. é esé jép wut araw ún jép wut araw ún. amás jíspormémac in, fasiniér, ó penés wut, firkóm acimtiwer in. tosó nim amómorómtiwer in. átowóniér cowák, capínmi anítitiwer in. “Tewéra, o pápem áw”. “no apí”. “a ó penés korá, firkóm acimúj”. “é, mapnawère” iním er in. “esé tepéwtiwěrem”. “é, e jámtepit wút aráw. cóm wut eméamúj”. “á, esé tosów asmúc, waséa, mía” iním er in. wasé atéteremápmor in. e jírik emapmór, mí, manmák níni tepemár araw ún. e ó cíomíwamár, e ar amús, “á, mapájfirapí, newét, ó kor cátiwír, ó nam pók jis awúc”, ajípor. “ā, orám o ó omópem áw or mó catiwtamán, iním mánawerowè”, iním aer in. “ó, no okón, asé, nó momóp, a kús kor, á no sínakap á, wun á am sép am”, iním aer in. “é, mititiwtamcówè”, iním aer in. atíwtamor in á am sép am, kús<sup>1</sup> kor ám. ájujúkumapómtampór ar mó, opák in. ar epíc, atakám táwomewermár jó’n apótimór, anakácowuc aráw, o nésnakap mawán apájfiráper in.

<sup>1</sup> kuwús.

<sup>a</sup> See § 284, note a.

<sup>b</sup> Tamed pigs are (traditionally) fatter than wild pigs.

<sup>c</sup> For the jírik design, see sketch p. 365. Zegwaard remarks in his unpublished notes that the origing of woman is said to be a *jírik* bag.

going to do with the bag? I can't make an enormous bag. I . . . this bag is too terribly large," she said, but to no purpose. "Work loose still more fibres for the bag, this bag is much too small," he said. "All right," said his wife, and she again worked loose many fibres, a huge quantity of them. She plaited the eye design;" — the one side reached to here, the other to there. The wife scratched her head (thoughtfully, as though) she had lice. "Oh, my mothers and sisters plait bags, but such a bag have they never tried to make, and you've told me to make such a bag!" she said. She plaited, and she plaited, and she plaited, and she plaited. She plaited until she reached a place where she could stop, and then she put the bag aside. "Wait, Miwírpíc, my back is so tired; my back's breaking; the bag 's too big, wait! I'll finish it tomorrow," she said.

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The following day, just as the sun had risen, the man took his bow and went into the forest. He looked at it: there it stood, looking as usual, like a huge cloud of ashes! <sup>a</sup> "Ho, my most beautiful one! Many times shall I return home, filling the house (with your sago)". The wife was busy from early morning, continually at it, and finally she finished the huge thing. When she'd completed the top, she fastened the headband to it. From one side to the other the bag was enormous. He went to the forest to look at the sago palm and when he returned he shot a large sow, with a heavy arrow. It was though he'd killed a tamed sow.<sup>b</sup> Immediately he took it to the house and laid it on the ground. "Tewér, are you there?" "Yes, I'm here." "This large sow, I've shot it with an arrow." "Ah, plenty to eat", she said. "Have you done the bag?" "Yes, the huge thing hangs up there. I've already fixed the large headband to it." "Fine, decorate the bag with red and white," he said. She put stripes of red ochre on it, she put the *jirik* design on it;<sup>c</sup> and white lime. It hung there, a fine sight. He cut up the sow and took it inside. To her sister she said: "Come, turn yourself round (towards the fire), my husband 's killed a large sow. You must roast the entrails of the sow." "Oh, it's your sow, your husband killed it for you, so you eat it yourself," she said. "I want the jaw of the pig and the back part," he said, "the head is for my little wife, and a foreleg and a hindleg". "Go on, put it down for her," she said. He put them down for her, a hindleg, a foreleg and the head. He put everything together for her, but to no purpose. Her sister nagged her,

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jó fajamsér, “Tewéra, amás ken mekenéc”, iním aer ín. ar ém amás ken émkenéitmar ín. anakátipíc, amús afimtiwer ín. amús cenám, afimtiwer ín. ar ém, óf asítiwer ín. án afétiwer ín. amás ken esé aówor ín. “Miwírpicá, ná amás kená, a amás nat ucím emáwcom”. “ã, ěmá, a wasén, pók armá jis árawá, masím atí”, iním er ín. a nát amás mawpór pak ín. amás opák in. a pók amás cowák araw ún. a enám amás cowák araw ún, nawér araw ún. ar amús arám, amás ken átewer ín. áomómisér, áomómisér, “Miwírpic na nát ucím pok émcomè, na nát amás nat pók ánmom aráw. na iním as memáji pów”, iním aer ín, ar ém. “ěma ní, ěma ní, ěma ní”. iním apór, “Tewéra, a óp manmák péntomtómporí” iním er ín. ar ém iním apór, “ã, Miwírpica, ucím as ám”, iním er ín. “ěmá, amás aráw new, amás aráw new ěmá, ní jaka sí ar á” iním aer ín. aématámor ín. a amás wut, aématamor ín. apúmomer ín, jówomic wút nim, nesén awajimtiwer ín. máitmár, máitmár, ánijámtiwer ín.

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\* See § 284, note a.

## 288

ájaperér, om ténakap ín. “Tewéra, amás aráw. amás om amás in ajámtewérmi aráw” iním aer ín. “ã, ja amás pen éwa, na nát amás nat ánmom aráwa” iním aer in. — a nát a pók amás cowák araw ún. aósiocinér, ténakap ín aósiocinér ténakap ín aósiocinér ténakap ín. “ã, mariw, amás jurúw kor úmu mopán májamsěráw ní wowúc in fácimopcár” iním aer ín. anúk atemtémer ín. anúk, aktiwér,<sup>1</sup> ájítámernémor ín. fafémtiwer ín, manmák mamcúp ajítnemor ín. awúmnemor ín. “jaka amús ará amús cenám a éspet musúmtewí. a éspet apák asúmteweracém iním erémtewí manám masnim ájikapmúc” iním er ín. “ã, nomsóm pow”. “hè” iním aer ín. anakátipíc espét apák asúmtewerac ín, espét apák asúmtewerac ín, áeremtéwerac ín amús cenám manám armá jikápmor ín. amús cenám a amús ak ájatmápmor ín. a amás nes atíwsakámor ín. amás nes atíwsakamór cowák, ajáwtiwer

as usual, until the sun set, and then the girl turned round to roast a little bit of the pig's flesh and to eat it.

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When the sun had risen, he said: "Tewér, collect up the implements for getting sago." His wife collected up the sago-making implements. The man made the handle of the sago scraper, and the head of the sago scraper. His wife plaited the strainer for the sago and stitched up a trough for the sago. She filled the bag with the implements for getting sago. "Miwírpíc, but our implements, how do we get the sago with them?" "Wait a moment! In the forest you'll see for yourself, just you watch carefully!" he said. They didn't know how to scrape sago. There had never been sago. Their food had been only things that live in the water; fish had been the only food they ate. The younger sister took the implements too. He went with them to the forest; he went with them to the forest. "Miwírpíc, what are we to do? For food, we usually eat things that live in the water. Such a thing we've never done," she said, his wife. "Patience, just come with me, just come with me," he said to them. When he saw it, he said: "Tewér, take a good look above." His wife looked. "Hey, Miwírpíc, what's that?" she said. "Have patience! Perhaps it's sago, perhaps it's sago! Wait a bit! Come, hand me that axe," he said. He began to chop it down; he cut down that huge palm. He chopped the bark off it. He made it (the sago meal) fly out like a great mass of ashes:<sup>a</sup> he chopped, and chopped, and he toppled it over.

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He made a test hole in it; he stuck the digging stick into it a bit. "Tewér, it's sago! Look, I pull out the digging stick and there's sago on it!" he said. "Hey, is that really sago? Now we'll eat sago!" she said. For food they'd had only things that live in the water. He moved towards the top; it was near the surface;<sup>a</sup> again he moved towards the top; it was near the surface. "That's enough, the palm's very tall, the top and the bottom can wait. Come, let's open up the middle," he said. He climbed up onto the growth (on the trunk). He chopped away the growth, and then he made cuts across the trunk. He began to strip off the bark; he marked off three sections.<sup>b</sup> He wrenched the bark off downwards. "The head of this sago scraper, you must pull out a young sago palm shoot for it, and when you've pulled out the young shoot, you must split it and then tie it (the head) with it," he said. "Oh, I

ín. ájawócinér umú, ájawócinér mopán. po ámersuwémer ín. “a mú mawsemúc, amás po mú majírcaw.<sup>2</sup> mú mawsemúc” iním aer ín. ar ém mú ajawsémor ín. anakátipit pó, ásasakámtiwer ín. jéc mifím un áomómer ín. “Tewéra, jéc afimtiwmi”, iním aer ín. jéc fimtiwér,<sup>3</sup> síš ajírmemor ín. “a síš jírmemami” iním aer ín. apím atitiwer ín. jec átitiwer ín ep átitiwer ín. cowó átewerac ín, “já omá makámtewér pen”, iním aer ín “á, nar omá makámtewer namsóm pow”. ar mó oma kámtewer ín. manám ajikémor ín.

<sup>1</sup> aktiwír; <sup>2</sup> majírtaw; <sup>3</sup> fimtiwír.

<sup>a</sup> i.e., the bark of the sago palm is rather thin; the farinaceous pith starts just below the surface of the bark.

<sup>b</sup> Often, the whole trunk is not cleared of its pith at once and so that the scraping out can be done on different days, the trunk is marked off into sections. The bark is then removed only from one section at a time and the pith beneath it scraped out.

<sup>c</sup> See sketch p. 366.

<sup>d</sup> The gutter for washing the sago pith is made out of four of the central ribs of the fronds of the sago palm. See sketch p. 366.

<sup>e</sup> The *omá* is a kind of rope made from the leaves of the sago palm and used to tie together the sticks placed on either side of the sump trough to hold it in place. See sketch p. 366.

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“ní apím mitiwumúc” iním aer ín. “á, ěmá atow mémtamporén, namsóm pak”, iním er ín. anakátipic “hè hè” jac ín, apím atíwtewérac<sup>1</sup> ín a án, a pó atitiwac ín mú ajírtewérac ín awúmmemor ín. “apím jirè iním memjíc” iním aer ín. apím, apím, amás nak nesén ajamésnier ín. “Tewéra, a pó moporí amás nak ájamésnimár, amás aráw! ja enám amás, pé amás néwirum. já amás jáka majípor pak, a amás aráw amas ánowérmom”, iním er ín. ar ém iním apór “ěj, Miwírpcic, iním mopórem ún, jiwís átuwomséfēnem newá. a amás moporómtewer pémanem éwa” iním er ín. — amás os nát opák in a cowák wut jitémer ín —. mú pitímsemór, afámasmór, “a mú mafámami”, iním aer ín. amás mák wut ín aníjamámser ín. “Tewéra, amás aráw. marí majíc, amás mak ín ániámismár aráw a mú pitímsemá jawerém, a ép mú iním enáwřfamá wunám owuapmá iním mómjawirí” iním aer ín. “ě Miwírpcic, cáj akát nak émém áw”, iním er ín. ar ém arám, atíwumor ín. arám, arám, arám, mú apitímsemor ín, afámasmór, jéc wut, ép wut komén wut, jec mák am aníámser ín amás. aótiwumór, aótiwumór, a pímnakap átemetótaper ín. “á, Tewéra, amás po awút kor ní esé tápomcár”, iním aer ín. “á, maríw”, iním aer ín. “nó cowó mokóm-

don't know how to do it!" "All right," he said. The man pulled out the young shoot, split it, and he himself tied the head on the sago scraper.° He fastened the head on the handle. Then he began to scrape out the sago pith; he scraped until it was all out. He scraped to the top; he scraped to the bottom. He went to make the washing trough to wash the sago in. "Dig a water-hole here; water for the sago has to be scooped into the trough; dig a water-hole," he said. His wife dug a water-hole. The man cut midribs of the fronds of the sago palm and went to make the sump trough.° "Tewér, I'm making the sump trough," he said. He finished the sump trough and he put in the support. "Now, I put in the support," he said. He put in a plug of sago pith, he put it in the sump trough, he put it in the end of it. He fetched sago leaves and said: "Can you split them into binding material?" "Oh, we don't know how to split them." Their husband split them into binding material. He bound it.°

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"Come, pour water over the scraped out pith," he said. "Give me time. do it for me, I don't know how to do it," she said. "All right," said the man. He took the scraped out pith in a trough, put the sago in the washing trough, fetched water and poured it over it. "The pulp here, you must squeeze it out like this," he said. [He squeezed out] pulp, more and more pulp. The pure sago flowed downwards. "Tewér, take a look in the washing trough, the pure sago is flowing down: that's sago. We always ate fish and crabs for food. This sago we didn't know. This is sago, sago we'll eat henceforth," he said. His wife looked at it. "Hey, Miwírpíc, maybe you moved house with me because you wanted to do this. Maybe you wanted to look for this sago!" she said. — There were no sago palms, there was only this big one growing. He let it [the sump trough] fill up with water; he let the water run away. "Now, I let the water run away," he said. A thick layer of sago lay at the bottom. "Tewér, this is sago! Now you must squeeze out the sago. There's a layer of sago in it. You must keep filling it up with water and then you must let the water run away at the end, and then you must plug it up again, and this you must do again and again," he

tewér”, iním aer ín. “cowó nat ucím emcómè” “á, ěmá jokón jiemít”, iním aer ín.

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<sup>1</sup> atúwtewerac.

## 290

— má, amás mi mopór pak ín, á pirí atúwomsér a enám amás cowák a pé amás cowák araw ún. á Siréc, a ós wa cowák araw ún. amás opák in —. cowó efá okómtewerac ín, “ní a esé okón akmomíc” iním aer ín. esé okón ajákmomac ín, anakátipic cowó, atówopmor ín. “cowó iním ará iním owápma<sup>1</sup> iním moméc, cowó owápmamí” iním aer ín. amás átewerác, esé amas armá, nanasímapmor ín. “maré atowópmamí aráw amás aráw esé tawowúc” iním aer ín. amás esé, ar ém, amás esé, amás esé, “Miwírpicá, a amás esé kor maré mipitíjamapmóp!” “á, cowó cirím siotémtow! amás nat nani ín mam émaném”, iním aer ín. ese jép araw ún, jép araw ún, a mów esé nucúr. “cowó cirím siotemti! é cowák wut mámesasesémeroniawér”. “á, Miwírpicá, iním paká, amás esé awút nák wutá esé nemét emára. er á cowák wut cowó cirím masiótemet máji aráwa amás wun esé am ára” ajípor. “ó cowák aráw an. o nát cowó cirím asícow”, iním aer ín. a cowó cirím siotém-tamár, a esé najítipit, anijnakáp nim áemápmor ín, a wún cowúc am arám ar amás esé atápmor ín.

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<sup>1</sup> omómowápma.

<sup>a</sup> or *cowák aráw an*; Literally: are you alone, are you the only one?

## 291

“a esé ucím ar’ áma, Miwírpic, a esé ucím ar’ ám” iním er ín. “á, máp omóni emí, mónorómcen” iním er ín. á esé najítipíc, mónor in émporamár, ar ém masúmutum ún émporamár, a cenés nesén apáwuwúmar



said. "Oh, Miwírpic, this is a good idea you have," she said. And his wife began to pour water [over the scraped out pith] and kept on doing it. She filled up the trough with water, then she let it run away. There was much sago in the sump trough; from the one end to the other there was a thick layer of sago. And again she poured water over it, and again. It rose almost to the edge. "Hey, Tewér, there's an awful lot of sago in the washing trough, come, let's fill up the carrying bag," he said. "Yes, let's do that," she said. "I'll go and get sago leaves," he said. "What do we do with sago leaves?" "Have patience and be quiet," he said.

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— No, they'd never seen sago. On the coast from which he'd departed with them the only food they'd had was fish and crabs. By the Siréc there was only the ordinary forest. There were no sago palms. When he had quickly fetched sago leaves, he said: "Come, hold the top of the bag wide open." She held the bag open and the man lined the inside with sago leaves. "That's what the sago leaves are for. You must always put the sago leaves in like this. Now I'm lining it with sago leaves," he said. He took the sago and he himself spread it out in the bag. "Now that I've put it in for you, you must put the sago in the bag," he said. His wife put the sago in the bag, and more sago, and still more sago. "Miwírpic, the huge bag is already filled to the brim with sago!" "Is that so! Now you must plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it. Do you want to waste sago!" he said, — the bag stretched from here to there, the enormous fibre bag — "Plait a band made of sago leaves onto the top of it! Such a big one, I'll carry back in stages." "But, Miwírpic, that's not possible, the sago bag is much too big, a smaller one would be better. It's easy for you to say that a sago leaf band must be plaited onto the top of it! Another bag would do as well!" so she said. "Are you giving the orders \*?" he said. "You must plait a sago leaf band." She plaited a sago leaf band onto the top of the enormous bag, the sago which she then put in the bag was like a morsel! The other wife also put her sago in the bag.

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"What do we do now with this bag, Miwírpic, what do we do with the bag?" she said. "I'll go ahead and walk back with it; hang it on my back," he said. He tried to carry the enormous bag on his back; his wife tried to help him to stand upright but it only wobbled about

araw<sup>1</sup> ún. "Miwírpicá, emétawamía amás esé asép nim matápom atakám emétawamía!" "a ěmá, camním caemápci jiná onók" iním aer ín. jiná onók iním aótapac ín ar ěm a esé macír jipíromíc araw ún. asúmutum-émor ín. anakácowuc máp aemémer ín. ar mó a fá sormómer ín. é ar amús masërim asép nak ín. fá icíc ín. áomóniërésë, mé, me japjónimár <sup>2</sup> araw ún a pók fek fén. ániërés aniërés aniërés aniërés aniëres, maré e iwním, "a pów asisímar aráw arán nim suwemíc" iním aer ín ar ěm. "ós a jírew" iním aer ín. ós pu iním maníuwem ín máj akín atapómak-mamár, maré a esé wut apcóm 'm! Miwírpic maré copó nesen níapér cowák. "ā, Tewérawucá, masúmutumcén! no jíf maníorsópmi amás esé awút", iním aer ín "ā! esé awút moc ciropánem áw" iním aer ín esé mípor efá wiásmac ín a ómomer esé, mátewer ín, émporámar "ā, ěmá matewer pák a jíf masiasmúc" iním aer ín. a jíf, a jíf, a jíf anakátipit nát a esé apcóm tep tep jónimár araw ún. a jíf, mátewer ín emá jipór, masómit ín emá jipór. a nát esé apcóm tep tep jónimár araw ún. a jíf, a jíf, masómit ín emá jipór, a nát tep tep jónimár araw ún.

<sup>1</sup> aw; <sup>2</sup> wajjónimar.

<sup>a</sup> Contrary to custom, Miwírpic himself carries the bag with the sago in it. Normally, it is the women who always carry these bags. Moreover, Miwírpic is carrying a *jirik* bag (see § 286, note b), which is synonymous with woman. The situation is, in my opinion, significant: Miwírpic is already carrying the woman who is to be put on his head when he later becomes a sago palm.

## 292

maré manmák in anífesáper ín, jíf. "á, Tewérawucá, maré manmák in nifesapmí, anijíc" iním aer ín. ar ěm maré mót se mów arów pu anímuámser ín. mót se mów poperíomatamár, poperíomatamár, poperíom-átamár, ofóm efa tíwsirítewerac ín, ar amús cuwúc emíc empámor ín. ar amús, "e, anáfćená, no júrsewirí arawá, newét aw, iním ajáfćen", iním aer ín. ar amús. ar amús cámemerémemór, wunám, mót se mów, mót se mów, "á, Tewéra, maré no sínakap cín anijíc! jó manímemer-ápma cém jok ním nifiwíc, cáj pacák eapí", iním aer ín. "e jimsíp onoká, ónok mómjítnotewí",<sup>1</sup> iním aer ín. aémniërés moc ám ajatámniërés, ajatámniërés. máj se mu ánipirímac ín, cem móc am ajiwátnaper ín. op ják atitíwer ín, "Tewérawút, jimsíp, ónok jítnotewí, newét májmiremíc. jo úcucúmesawérmár a óp aporí ják titiwamá" iním er ín. ar amús e jimsíp ónok ájítnotewer ín. ónok, tám pepepepe emtáw-

on the ground. "Miwírpíc, I've said all along, I've said all along that the bag should be only half full!" "Wait, let me get in the right position on my knees," he said. First he knelt down; his wife stood holding the bag, she helped him to stand upright. The wife set out, walking in front, her husband followed her and her sister walked at the back, a little distance behind them. They walked back with it; staggering he walked back with the huge thing.\* They walked, and they walked, and they walked; arriving at the river's edge, she, his wife, said: "Here's a deep bog. Go upstream a little. Here's a tree trunk," she said. But as soon as he put his foot onto the tree trunk to cross to the river, splash! there sank Miwírpíc with the huge bag, right to the bottom, with a heavy thud. "Hey, Tewérawuc, help me out, I've sunk up to my chest in the bog, with the huge sago bag," he said. "Huh, so now it's you complaining about the huge bag!" she said, and she flung down the bag, the bag that she carried, and tried to haul him out. "No! Wait, don't haul me out, dig the ground away!" he said. Earth, earth, and more earth [she dug away] but the man sank farther and farther down with the bag. More earth . . . again and again she tried to haul him out; again and again she tried to stand up with him, but he sank farther and farther down with the bag. Earth, earth, and more earth [she dug out]; again and again she tried to stand up with him, but he sank farther and farther down with the bag. Earth, more earth [she dug out], again and again she tried to stand up with him, but he sank farther and farther down.

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At last he had sunk down up to his eyes in the bog. "Hey, Tewérawuc, I've sunk up to my eyes now, go home!" he said. His wife threw herself in the mud near him, wailing. Wailing, she rolled over, and over, and over. She quickly picked up a small digging stick and struck her sister who stood there. She, her sister, said: "Go on, hit me, I've always been in the wrong! Oh, husband! Go on, hit me." She thrashed her sister soundly and after that she threw herself wailing into the mud, as before. "Come, Tewér, go home now you and my little wife! The sun has just passed its highest point, you should arrive home early in the afternoon. My situation is hopeless," he said. Wailing, she went home. "Get a beam for the door. Presently shut it with a beam," he said. They walked back; wailing, they walked back. After she had washed the mud off her feet, she stayed in the house, wailing. High

utumár, anakáčowút nat móc mináf. anakáčowut nat móc.

<sup>1</sup> momjitróteweri.

### 293

porów jó inim tiamismár, fó fěfěfěfěfěfěfě tiwémor ín. maré mér kasé atiwémor ín. wúr a capínmi nesén aniámser ín mari. anakáčowuc “a, Miwírpic, Miwírpic, Siréc, jó piri popomísměrénè, Tewérawuc káwi kawíntewerawér iním, ó jursómewérměrénem áw newét akát, ár awún ájmirémic áw”. maré móc mamóc pak ín. te 'm! jók ewníemér cowák. mér kasé tiwemá jesmar wúr. anakátipic, a amás esé niopér jípít, 'm, mariw ín amás os, e óp worworworworworwor ájitemtésmar. iním áemesmár, iním áemesmár e Siréc piri atáwnemesmár e arán e wasén, é mu pú nak am ánitáwpiptimesmar ców. tam jó iním apumár tajtajtajtajtaj ajiémer ín. a amás e wuán wut cáwuawer araw <sup>1</sup> ún Siréc, piri wut arán wut, é pomán wut, é wasén wut. anakátipit nát, a os wá nat cenés ajímmemor ín. anakáčowúc, jimsip ápajimór, arán manmák, piri manmák, pomán manmák, wasén manmák, “ji, Tewéra, majíspori, newét, orów jursópěném aráw, maré amás kúaworésmar. ar ápo, Siréc <sup>2</sup> os wá cowák okorésawér ará amás ucím pemésmar éw, ców ar ápori”, iním ajífamútmar ín.

<sup>1</sup> aw; <sup>2</sup> Sirát.

<sup>a</sup> The sago palm is still acting as a human being.

### 294

ar amús iním apór “é, Miwírpic noromómè nó jursópen awá, cáj nak éwiripunè” iním er ín. “ní, newét iwijísporasín ucím pemésmar éw”, iním aer ín. áiwiómiser, áiwiómiser, á cenés aporpór opák ín. anakátipic úsis ín afajáper ín a óp. míc wut ín. míc maworémkurúm pak ín, iním atémtapésmar ín. “á, tó arásen aráw a uciè, a uciè!” “á, o Tewér ená” iním aer ín a óp. “ā, Miwírpic o ucím emésmemá! Miwírpic tó a jíf nisiápfem áw ucím emésmemá” iním er ín “á, noromóm, nor

in the sky dark clouds piled up. "Tewérawuc, fix the door tightly with the beam, a calamity has overtaken our husband. A violent storm is going to rage all night. Look at the clouds piling up there in the sky!" she said. Her sister fixed the door firmly with the beam. In the afternoon, she drew tight the rattan on the beam. The woman only thought of wailing; she kept on wailing.

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In the evening just when the sun had gone down, the wind rose in squalls, vivid lightning flashed, the thunder was so heavy it seemed to lay on the earth. "Oh," cried the wife, "Miwírpic, Miwírpic, wasn't I always with you on the coast, near the Siréc! By always wanting Tewérawuc as a second wife the way you did, you did me a wrong! My good man, now he's in trouble," and she stopped wailing. The rain, my! it fell down continually from the middle of the day, the terrible lightning flashed constantly that night, and it thundered. The man, the one who had sunk down with the sago bag, lo! he became a sago palm; higher and higher he<sup>a</sup> rose during the night. That's what he did, that's what he did that night: he made the sago palms and he scattered them all along the Siréc, down to the sea. He filled up [the land] with them, upstream, landwards, and right to the edge of the water. In the morning, when the sun rose, it stopped gradually. Then there was a continuous rustling of sago leaves along the Siréc: downstream, upstream, on the opposite side, in the forest. The man left the forest far below. The wife opened the door. She looked upriver, downriver, to the opposite side, and towards the forest. "Hey, Tewér, go and look outside! My man — you 've brought this disaster upon me — has changed during the night into a sago palm. Take a look here, along the Siréc! All night long, only the usual forest was there. How did he make those sago palms during the night? Just look at those sago palms!" So she spoke as day broke.

## 294

Her sister took a look. "Oh, Miwírpic, my dear husband, I've done the wrong thing by you. I would never have anything to do with you!" she said. "Come, let's both hurry to the forest to see what he has done during the night," she said. Quickly she hurried with her to the forest; she looked around below, but did not see him. The man up above smiled broadly. He had become a great sago palm, just about to flower, — no, he had not then completely<sup>a</sup> changed into a full grown sago

áwapi aráw. áwemci nó emcí no amás áworémesmí". maré a mopán amuámser ín. — á, ar amús memtomís pak cém makán takámjiser ín. anakácowuc aráp ín. — se mów omitmár, ómitmár, amás, akáw opák ín, pó opák ín nesén, ócen témtemésmar ín. é opák ín. nesén é ín. "ěmá atów, nó sinakap ám, masím caătěrén, arów jursómiwirín, manítewí" iním aer ín. "hè" ájac ín, áiwínier ín. "á, Tewér noromóm, Tewéra, nor mó cowák emá" iním aer ín. áemnierā, "Tewéra, newét ucím pemésmar éw ní, orám masím patí" iním aer ín. ar amús ín ánisirítewerac ín aómomiser ín. áomomiserā, wunám, mót se mów ajísmuámser ín. mót se mówa, mót se mówa. anakátipíc, "á, noromóma maréwa mú muemíca" iním aer ín. ar amús cin mót se mów. "mú muemíc, ánicím, maré no amás kuáworémesmí. Miwírpíc, Siréc arán, amás kuáworémer ín. iním májawérnes".

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\* He has as yet no crown, as will be clear from what follows.

## 295

"amás ajáworemésmi aráw. ców araw ún aemésmi aráw. sín siawéraw ám, amás am manáwěrés" iním aémjítmar ín. "nó akáw opák é opák, pó opák, nesén orom ákonawésmupúj" iním aer ín. "á, nej manítatepiápi", iním aer ín. "manítatepiápi nó sinakáp matewí", iním aer ín. "a, nó sinakáp sawnáka", ajípor opák ín. "ā, iním nat uciè, a nāt aráw ajurusé aw", iním aer ín. anakátipíc kór tepteptepteptepep ánijáper ín. ánitátepiápac ín a ár amús, kús<sup>1</sup> a anakát iním ajátmapmor ín. fop. a kamtér jamnók masiněrim, óp inim atemétowópmor ín. a mán sep jamnók maserím, iním aemápmor ín. a mán ef —, a amás a akáw a pó ajínemóm. Tewérawút, ar amús Tewérawucakáp, á iním akmapmár araw ún. a á sájjismar másiněrim. a sép iním apmár araw ún man éf ín, Tewérawucakáp man éf ín, man éf iním asicímápmor ín. atáwtermenápmor ín. a pó, pipíntawá emom amás jipumewermom pó

palm, when he grew during the night. "Hey, yesterday he was here, where is he, where is he?" "Hey, is that you Tewér?" he said, high up above. "Oh, Miwírpíc, what have you done during the night? Yesterday you sat here stuck in the ground; what have you done during the night?" she said. "Ah, my dear girl, here I sit, here I stay, I'm here. During the night I've changed into a sago palm." Thereupon she threw herself down beside his trunk. — No, she didn't take her sister to the forest; she left her at home, the first time she went. She was alone. — She threw herself down in the mud, she threw herself down in the mud. — The sago palm had no fronds, no ribs, it had nothing. Just like a spear it had risen up during the night. It had no leaves, without leaves it was. — "Wait, first my little sister must see me, she's always acted in the wrong way towards me. Go back and fetch her," he said. "All right," she said, and she hurried back. "Oh Tewér, my dear girl, you're the only one for me," he said. And she ran back. "Tewér, come! You, too, must see what our husband's done during the night," she said. After she'd hurried back and had fetched her sister, she took her to the forest. There she threw herself down into the mud and the water, wailing. Again and again she fell into the mud. "Now, that's enough, my good girl, go and bathe," he said. She and her sister threw themselves into the mud. "Go and bathe, and both go home. During the night I've changed into a sago palm. 'Miwírpíc changed into a sago palm on the upper course of the Siréc', that's what people must say about me from now on".

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"During the night I became a sago palm; I've made sago palms during the night. They must henceforth increase and people must also eat sago," so he spoke, as he stood there. "I've no fronds, no side leaves, no ribs; without anything, smooth all over, I've come into being here during the night," he said. "Oh, come! Come down from above," she said. "Come down from above, and take my sister." "Oh, have pity on my little wife," he said, but to no purpose. "Why [should I]? She's the one who's done wrong," she said. Lower and lower shrunk the huge man. When he'd come down from above, she put her sister on him, [standing her] upside down [on his head]. Next, she put her two legs upwards; her two arms she put — like this; her fingers, — we wash the sago in the ribs of the fronds of the sago palm —. Tewérawuc, the younger sister, little Tewérawuc, sits with her thighs spread out —

masirím, a á jamnók iním emór araw ún, a máj ek, pó atáwtermenáp-mor in. a amás é masirím a man éf araw ún.

<sup>1</sup> kuwús.

<sup>a</sup> Here, the speaker indicates with her arms how Tewérawuc was sitting.

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“maré, nó sinakap átowopmamin aráw, métméti”,<sup>1</sup> iním aer in. anakátipic kór ’m, maré os wá cenés ajímmemor in. amás po marí, e wú atemétjomer íi “aráw manè, orpá memém pok awér, nó sinakáp aráw mómjursómiwirín maré iním áneméców”<sup>2</sup> iním aer in. maré amás pó araw ún e átemetwúemer in. anakácowút wunám móť se mów amuámser in. moc, moc, moc, “ā, marí nor mó cowak ém anijíca” iním aer in. “Miwírpicá, no maré aníci, no jiwís matúwse, ów apcóm emár aráw noráp, nó sinakap ám marí jáka tówópmamin aráw” iním aer in “ā, nor mó cowak ém ěmá, jáka cém jimsíp ememésmar amás, tó amás mómawnáwiri, jowún am amás momawní, ěmá” iním aer in. “hè” iním aer in. “mí na ó mot ow pów”, iním er in. móc in ájatám-nierē, cém aniáper in. móc am, mócamár, mocamár jo tímapér, porów ojísporér, móc ajísmotiwér<sup>3</sup> ar mó, is in nipitamser, tam áiwijíser in. “Miwírpicó, nó amás mawanó” iním aer in. “á, amás jaka cém jimsíp ja omópomísmem amás, iním amúc” iním er in. “amás nat ucím emamcí”. “amás ja sí ará mopán anúk iním aknémacém, á momapóm-komúc” iním aer in. “picín púmtewercém masněřím, é senén momás, e mí momás a ás am mómsasákamúc armá emwúsermár” iním aer in. “hè” iním aer in.

<sup>1</sup> mátméti; <sup>2</sup> áneméców; <sup>3</sup> ajísmotiwír.

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aémnierá, si’n ajíwsirítewer in. sí efá tewérac in, amás cuwúc emíc anúk efá aknémac in (—).<sup>1</sup> picín apúmomer in. mí, mapmór senén, ás, maré awúmmemor in. áwijíser, “amás emenímatiwúpj!” “á, mom-



this way <sup>a</sup> —, they are the branches which stick out; she sits with her arms — this way <sup>a</sup> —. Her fingers, the fingers of the small Tewérawuc, she spread out — like this — she put them separate from each other. — The ribs we always break off, the ribs in which we squeeze out the sago, are her two thighs; that was how she put her, and her toes, she put them separate from each other, as the ribs. The small leaves of the sago palm, those are her fingers.

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“It’s done, I’ve put my sister there onto you, go upwards” she said. Lo! the huge man left the forest below him. The sago palm then had fronds. High up it stood, with leaves rustling. “That’s fine, you must not stay alone. My sister always did the wrong thing by you. Now keep her,” she said. Then the sago palm had ribs, with rustling leaves it stood there. Once more, the wife threw herself, wailing, into the mud, and into the water. She wailed, and wailed, and wailed — “Now, that’s enough, you’re a good girl, go home,” he said. “Miwírpíc, if I go back home, — I’ll leave here, since there’s no one with me. I’m alone, I’ve already put my sister on you there,” she said. “Oh, you’re a good girl, wait! Tomorrow you must scrape out the sago from the sago palm which has grown in front of the house during the night, and the next day also, you must scrape out the sago. Be patient!” he said. “All right”, she said. “No one will come to look for you here,” she said. Continually wailing, she returned, and stayed in the house. She wailed and wailed, until the sun went down. In the afternoon, she went again to the forest to look at him. There, she mourned again for her husband. She returned and went to sleep; in the morning she went to the forest. “Miwírpíc, I am going to scrape out sago,” she said. “Oh, that sago palm there in front of the house, the sago palm beside which you sleep and wake, cut down that one,” he said. “How do I cut it down?” “When you’ve chopped off the growth round the trunk with that axe, then start to chop it down,” he said. “When you’ve chopped off the bark — chop it away at the left side and at the right side, — then chop through the pith, and it will topple over of its own accord,” he said. “All right,” she said.

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She went back, inside she quickly got an axe. After she’d quickly got the axe, she quickly chopped the growth off the sago palm that stood there, and —<sup>a</sup>. She chopped off the bark, she chopped at her right

ápeperíc, ja wowúc tiwapércem, já om mén, amás nec apcóm nesen émisérmar. e úmu am momápeperóciní e mopán am momápeperóciní” iním aer ín. “amás, apeperácem anúk momtémtemíc anuk akcém, pím ororómtiwcem, e úmu am mómjítmemúc a mopán am mómjítmemúc a wowúc, e nám pomán áfáfémnemocém a nám pomán masírím amús maw nám pomán masírím á momáwmapmúc. amús misěrím a móm-tiwkáfumúc”, iním aer ín. “hè” iním aer ín. áwiniér, wowúc atiwaperer ín. ténakap átewémor ín. “m, amás aráw new” iním aer ín. úmu ásiocinér, ténakap ín ásiocinér ténakap ín. mopán, anúk ín atémtemer ín. anúk akérē.<sup>2</sup> úmu ájítmemor ín, fáfemocinér, mopán, manmák jamnók wut ájítmemor<sup>3</sup> ín, ájawumnémor ín. amús atíwkafumór cowák, amas nés, amas nés, amas nés, áwkurumtiwér,<sup>4</sup> wunám wasén aiwíjiser ín. “Miwírpíció, amás nes eméawkurúmpuj ucím emcí”.

<sup>1</sup> Here one word is unintelligible; <sup>2</sup> akárē; <sup>3</sup> ájítmomer; <sup>4</sup> áwkurumtiwír.

<sup>a</sup> Here a word is not clear enough on the tape for it to be understood.

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“á, a pó atówopmésměnem<sup>1</sup> pó aráw, ja pó anísicímtiwěrem pó, é coworé momsasakámasmúc, e cěwí masním sakámtewerá, sakámtewerá, mamcúp<sup>2</sup> iním mompímtiwíc. a wún jec a mómafímúc. a wún, sís aémteweracém a mómjirmemúc, e mómtakamjítiwíc. sís jirmémcem apím a mómítiwíc, jéc titiwcem ep, maré manám mómjikemúc, cowú momáteremúc. cicikímcem masírím ép a mómerwuápmuc mími am atíteweracém óf ajátmapmacém, á momtíwumúc”, iním aer ín. “hè” iním aer ín. áiwiniér, pó mipipím un aniómer ín. pó, efá sirípmipímtiwac ín jec efá sirímfimac ín, é ajímtiwer ín. sís ajirmemor ín. sís afímtiwac ín, ajirmémac ín apím atítiwer ín. ácicikímtiwer ín manám ajíkemac ín, óf ajátmapmor ín mími atítiwer ín. atíwumór cowak. atíwumor cowák. mu fá amerémsemor ín, wunám, wunám,

side, and at her left side, the pith, and finally she toppled it over. She hurried to the forest. "I went back and I've chopped down the sago palm!" "Fine! Now you must make the test holes. When you've made a test opening in the middle, then the digging stick will come out with nothing but raw sago sticking to the edge; then make the test holes towards the top, and after that, towards the end of the trunk," he said. "When you've made the test holes in the sago palm, then you must climb onto the trunk. When you've chopped off the growth and have made the surface smooth, then make cuts across the trunk on the upper surface, at the top end, the bottom end and the middle. When you've stripped the bark off the one half towards the bottom, then strip the bark off that half, which is the one that has to be scraped out. Then begin to loosen the pith with the sago scraper," he said. "All right," she said. She hurried back and began to make a test hole in the middle. She thrust it [the digging stick] into it a little bit. "Ho, this is probably sago," she said. She moved up towards the top, testing — just under the surface was the sago —; she moved down, testing, towards the lower end — it was just under the surface! She climbed onto the growth on the trunk. She chopped off the growth. She made a cut across the trunk on the upper side. She stripped the bark off towards the top; at the lower end [she did the same]; she divided it into two large sections. She wrenched the bark loose towards the bottom. Immediately she began to work loose the pith with the scraper. She scraped out more and more sago pith, until it was all out. Then she hurried to the forest. "Miwirpic, I've scraped out all the sago pith. What do I do now?"

## 298

"Oh, the ribs of the fronds you put on me last night, those ribs you put separate from each other, cut them off near the top of the fronds and chop them off at the base. Three of them you must cut off. One pair you must make into the sump trough, but first you must get a supporting pole and stick it in the ground. First you must pull off all the side leaves. When you've put in this supporting pole, rest the end (of the washing trough) on it; when you've put the sump trough in place, you must make it fast. [To do this,] you must split the bark of the sago palm". When you've cleaned it, you must stop up the far end tightly, and when you've also put the filter in place, and the strainer, then you must start to squeeze out the sago in it." "All right" she said. Quickly she returned and went to chop off the ribs of the sago palm

wunám. amás apím jíkumór, po mú fowu émsemor ín. anám, anám, anám, — opák a úmu anám mé pak ín — “amás po motowómsemém” iním aer ín.

<sup>1</sup> atówopmésměrawóm; <sup>2</sup> mamcíp.

<sup>a</sup> Pieces of the hard bark of the sago palm are probably used to hold the sump trough firm (instead of the sticks, mentioned in § 288, note e). I have never seen this material used in the making of the trough for washing the sago.

<sup>b</sup> Literally: trough, you're full of sago.

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áiwisér, “Miwirpicó, amás, pó matowómser”. “á, noromúm esé tá-pomni. máj momátawúc, máj ses mómtiwúrumúc. ja pó, apít tewéracem, máj, tatiwacem e sés mómtiwurumúc <sup>1</sup> áfcín teréw momfáfemasmúc. amás maj matáwacem”. “no nát ucím emcí amás awúj natá”. “á, ěmá, tó am, amás nat takás emaném” iním aer ín. “amás takás opák, anám ajpím new, ómus new é wun, memsémappmúj”. “á, ja ómus mesmápmorém! já, ěmorem ánam aráw” “mopánakap ám awamís” “á, ěmá tó emtewnácema noromóm” iním aer ín. esé tapmór, esé tapmór, máj atewér, máj atewér, máj atewér, cém ajujúkumápmor ín. amsesmár, jófaj tám, ánam ájisuwáper ín ánam ajpím, ómus, mopan ájawúmtiwac ín nes nes, ěmtiwkurúmac ín, apím, asúwaper ín. apím, apím, apím jíkumór, mopán, anám, takás, omúsnakap irirímtiwac ín. apím takas júkumór, amás esé atájujukumápmac ín máj am, cem ájukumápmac ín ar mó ákin ajákomiser ín. “o ěmcem ěn”. “no emcí”. móc ín atéwoséwer ín. mót se mów ajísmuámser ín. “noromómo, maré mót se mówawérémo”, iním er ín. “amás tepaěmněréw”, “amás emě-emanpúj, esé takás tájukumápmúj <sup>2</sup> tó am ese tájukumápmó <sup>3</sup> maj, cém mipacák nesén fer wáp. maní pen éw”. “tó momtuwséc, mu já'n másormonicén. é konawamsá efom cém, níapá. jó timséacem, ís esítá. tám tuwséa iním momjinijíc” iním aer ín.

<sup>1</sup> mómtiwúrumúc; <sup>2</sup> tájukumápmúj; <sup>3</sup> tájukumápmó.

<sup>a</sup> See sketch p. 367.

fronds. After she had quickly chopped off the ribs and she'd quickly put together the sump trough, she pulled off the side leaves [of the support pole] and she put in the support pole. After she'd made the support pole and had put it in the ground, she rested the end of the washing trough on it. When she'd cleaned it, and had bound it together, she fastened the strainer to it. She put the filter in place and right away she began to pour water over the sago pulp. Straight away she saw to it that the water reached to the far end of the trough, and again, and once again [she squeezed out the sago pulp until the sump trough was filled with water]. She squeezed out all the pulp; she filled the trough up to the brim with water. Continually she scraped out the inner pith — no, she didn't work the inner pith on the side near the top end — "The trough's full of sago," she said<sup>b</sup>.

## 299

She hurried to the forest. "Miwírpíc, the trough's full of sago." "Ho, my good girl, put it in the bag; take the rolls of sago and light a fire made of dry sago leaves. Take a dry rib of a frond, place the lumps of sago on it, and set the withered leaves alight. You must then peel off the cooked skin while it is still thin, when you've taken the rolls of sago off [the rib]." "How shall I do it, I have just squeezed out the sago!" "Have you worked up all the sago?" he asked. "Not all the sago; I've left the end of the *aná*m (inner part of the pith), or is it the *ómus* (the outer part of the pith)?" "What you've worked up is the *aná*m." "A small piece of the trunk is still to be done." "Wait! Tomorrow you must do that first, my good girl," he said. She filled a bag, she filled another bag; she took a lump of sago, and another, and yet another, and she put them all together in the house. At night she slept. The following day, in the morning, she went to the forest and began to work up the inner part of the pith, the last part of the inner pith, and the outer pith. She wrenched off the bark from the trunk; pith — pith — she worked it all up and she began with the pulp. More and more pulp — she squeezed out all the pulp. At the lower end, she first scraped out all the inner pith and a small part of the outer pith. She squeezed out all pulp, and when she'd filled the bags full of sago and had stored away the rolls of sago in the house, she went straight to the forest, to her husband. "Are you there?" "I'm here". She burst out wailing. Wailing, she threw herself into the mud. "Oh, poor thing, you mustn't be continually wailing and throwing yourself down," he said. "Have you got the sago out, or not?" "I've got [all] the sago out,

## 300

móc mocómewermár mocómewermár, “noromúmo jó matimár anijica. cém niamsía” iním aer ín. móc am ajatámnier ín. cém anífiwer ín. moc jó’n afamásmor ín. tám aráw, aóriwiser ín. mót se mów ajítmar, ajítmar, “o uciè”. “no maré manwúwo”<sup>1</sup> iním aer ín. “á, noromóm maré anijíc. tó atáwtamfín aráw, já mowséc akónawamsá<sup>2</sup> efom cém, nífiwá iním moméc. tám masěrim wunám otuwseá iním moméc. or ówtiw, ur ísipis, cém a mómnitamúc”, iním aer ín. jiwís atúwor ín. móc am, kómapmúc araw ún jiwís pok cí, jiwís pok cí, jiwís atúwser ín. jiwís atúwser in mú ja’n asormónier ín móc am amótnier ín. móc am ájatámniámár, móc am ájatámniámár, móc am ajatámniámár. jó tisér apór, arów konawámsěres cém ániwiwer ín. ámsesmárā. jó iním apumár, aóniuwor ín. mú ja’n asormónier ín, mu já, sórmoniamár, niamár, niamár, wunám, jó atímser ín. jó timseér, arów konáwfiwěres<sup>3</sup> cem, eápmorés cem, wunám onífiwer ín. ámsesmár, jó apuer ín. jó iním tepumár, wunám cí oniúwor ín. mu já’n sormóniamár, niamár, niamár, jó tisér wunám, máp nak konawápěres<sup>4</sup> cém, ániwiwěsmar ín — fiwitúmar ín. ámsesmár, jó inim tépserimár “á, Miwírpicèj, maré takámtowómsefěném néw isipis náriw, nó sinopís, capínmi ewnióm-uwfěnem, kónawomsěspěnem<sup>5</sup> cém amsěsmupúj. cí nuwuniè, cém norpá manitájè, wówè”, iním aer ín. moc ín ajatámser ín. mót se mów ajitmár ajitmár cí aníuwor in sé’n ajáwniámár ín.

<sup>1</sup> maníuw; <sup>2</sup> kánawamsá; <sup>3</sup> kanáwfiwěres; <sup>4</sup> kanawápěres; <sup>5</sup> kánawomsěspěnem.

I've filled all the bags right up with it; yesterday also, I filled the bags right up with it. The house is chock full of sago rolls, they're piled up everywhere. Can I go back now?" "Tomorrow you must set out, the current should take you to the sea. You must stop in the houses we came to and where we passed the nights. When you've rowed until the sun goes down, then sleep and then set out [again], continue your journey in the morning; that's the way in which you must return," he said.

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She stood there, wailing, continually wailing. "Oh, poor thing, the sun goes down now, go home to sleep," he said. Wailing, she returned and went into the house. She wailed until the day broke. In the morning, she hurriedly returned to the forest. Wailing, she continually threw herself down. "What do you want?" "I want to set out now," she said. "Oh, my good girl, that's enough now, go home! I told you yesterday what you had to do. You must enter the houses we came to and where we slept, and in the morning you must set out again. That's what you have to do. You must go to the house of your brothers and fathers," he said. She started to depart; wailing she took the baggage to the canoe and set off. She set off. The current carried her to the sea; wailing, she went downriver. She wailed all the time; all the time she wailed. When she saw that the sun was going down, she went into the house where they'd slept. She slept the whole night, and when the sun rose, she set out again. The current carried her down; the whole day long the current carried her. Again she travelled until the sun went down. She travelled until the sun went down, and then again she went into the house in which they'd been; the house they'd built. She slept the whole night, and the sun rose. When the sun had risen, she went to the canoe and set off again. The current carried her down, farther and farther. When the sun went down, at night — no, in the evening, she went into the first house they'd come to and slept in. During the night she slept, and when it was light she cried: "Oh, Miwirpic, Miwirpic, now I've slept tonight in the house where you brought me first; where you came and slept with me when you departed with me from the country of my parents, my brothers and my sisters. Now I'm going to get into the canoe and set out. Today, I'll arrive home, alone." Wailing she rowed on; wailing she threw herself into the mud, again and again. She went to the canoe and set off. She went back covered in mud.

## 301

ar ówtiw ar ísipis arám, manmák sirí cuwuc áp. “cí napi cowák ápopěřinimokómè” iním aeres ín. “á, arána, Miwírpcic, jiwís tuwséf aráw new ín, cí napi é nimár araw ún, e jó pu mú ja’n asórmonimár araw ún” iním eres ín. awúnier ín. anakácowut sé’n cuwuc awsé aw ún. “m, á, Tewérawuc arpá asé aw, maré Miwírpcic sonów emé, jópmak ów emécanes! á ar amús am opák arpá asé. sé’n ajáwse aráw” iním eres ín. wuniá jamár, támnakap, nítamor ín jok. “Tewéra, o ucím emfem, ja or mó ucè ja or amús ucè” inín eres ín. “ā, arán makán jinimía, norow ún tewnémamén namké mot se mów, sé ajáwnimía”, iním aer ín. “no mufán am ar ém un téwjiptomè”, iním er ín. amás cém cowák, ar ěnéw a niwí, cém cowák. cém purpurpurpurpurpurpur ówerow wút cepés wut típus jiwí wut, atakám mapor ín. e Miwírpcic a jowów a típurís e ar epúcěwes e ar ewúcěwés, e a těrásěpes, “a nát ucím as ám” iním eres ín. “a ná amás aráw! já anmokóm nat amás majipór pow a nát enám aw pé aw, ánmopokóm. á amás aráw” iním aer ín. “ánimár ara! Siréc epmák wow ám é wuan wú emá, é jo pím nak am, mú nak ám cakás, tínak ek mú iriríawérma, akámonimár aráw. ánitápowesmár”, iním aer ín. awú mumu ján araw ún.

## 302

“newét, ucím peme éw, newét ucím pemef éw newétè”. “cáj pacák emé, áwamis ás aráw, áwamis ás aráw newét ar ás. esé at étamén mow armá jaktamfén. esé nam pomán aráw nám pomán aráw énakap ním cotiwporó opák. cowák wut jíwirtámtamewirí. esé asiasmó com ám topmóf, “amas kén mekenéc” iním jomítpen. amás ken kéneóf, amás anítitiwitè amás awámpom. a esé najítipic, asép matápom emporó opák. “cowó cirím sítotmtí” iním jampén. cowó cirím sítotémtamó. mónor in émporamép, onór asomitéf akát, tówoniéf, oniéf, oniéf,<sup>1</sup> maré iwním, os máj masúwem ín, akín tapomákmamép a amás esé apcóm, esé najítipic, jíf copo wú jamép, manmák in nifesopómítè. mátewer ín a jíf sioníporamóp. tepteptep jómpuamép. newét maré



**301**

Now, her brothers and fathers sat on the lookout. "Hey, you people come floating down the river in a white canoe," they said. "Hey," cried the people, "they say there upstream, — perhaps it's Miwirpic, the one who moved away —, a white canoe comes floating down! It's floating downstream with the current, there on the river!" Everyone went to the river. The woman sat in the canoe, covered in mud. "Hey, Tewérawuc is alone! Miwirpic must have been killed; the people upstream have eaten him! Her sister is not there, either. She's alone. She's covered in mud," they said. All the people went to the river. She arrived towards the end of the morning — at noon [to be precise]. "Tewér, what's happened? Where's your husband? Where's your sister?" they asked. "Oh, I left them upstream; he sent me back alone; ashamed and covered in the mud into which I threw myself, wailing, I return. He took a dislike to me, he only had thought for his [other] wife," she said. They took all the sago into the house, the house of her mother and father. Everybody crowded together into the house, men, women, and children, in great numbers, to hear the news. The family of Miwirpic, his sons and daughters, his older and younger brothers, his sisters, said: "What have you got there?" "That's sago. What you eat is not real sago, fish and crabs are what you eat. This is sago," she said. "It comes downriver; now there is a great rustling of sago leaves on the upper course of the Siréc; on the banks, over the water, everywhere. Continually the fruit of the sago palm is raining down into the water which carries them to the sea, leaving them on the land on its way here," she said. The people struck themselves on their breasts with amazement.

**302**

"Just what has happened to your husband? Just what has happened to your husband?" they said. "A calamity overtook him. This stuff that lies here, is his! He got me to make a bag for it. He himself fetched the roots for me. I plaited a bag, wide from there to there, not so big, but that wasn't any good. Only one, a huge one, I made for him. I plaited the bag and fastened the headband onto it. "Get the implements ready," he said to me in the morning. I got the implements ready. We scraped out the sago palm he'd felled. I only wanted partly to fill the gigantic bag, but no! "Plait a band of sago leaves on top of it" he said to me. I plaited a band of sago leaves onto the top. He tried and tried to carry it on his back; [at last] he succeeded in carrying

amás kúaworéme Siréc arán. erém a mér cowak wáritemtesmép. nó sinakáp akáwimopé maré”. mu pó aniáper in móc. mót se mów ajámar in. ar ísipís ar epúcēwes ar ewúcēwes a típurís, a tērásēpés, mót semén araw ún awér opák semén, aémit ín. móc mocamés mocamés, “amás awamís aráw an”, “a amás aráw, amás aráw” iním aer ín. a amás jis tówopmá eres, amás acín iním tówkopá eres mó kawós in. ná eres “áw, átar enám amás pók amás pé amás néwirum néwa, amás aráw newá amás akatés aporía”, ajámes ín. amás atáwtomínomaser<sup>2</sup> ín. Siréc, Miwírpíc amás kúaworémer ín. ár picirim áw.

<sup>1</sup> towoniof, oniof, oniof; <sup>2</sup> táwtomúnomaser.

▪ When a dead man is being buried, it is the custom that the female members of his family who are most closely related to him show that they are in mourning by removing their *awér* and going about naked.

• In Ásmat stories the people always vomit as a reaction to: a) contact with the supernatural (see also § 311), and b) their first acquaintance with something entirely new to them, as is the case here. In the myth about the origin of fire, which is not given in this work, the people vomit when they first see fire.

## VII

### 303

net, Mis, Mísimit a erén éweséf. erén, erén eweséf masním, Pajámparí am arám, Fití, fér serapómfes ín. fér serapómfes masním, éren éwemef cowák, a Pajámpari am arám ar mó cin, fér serapómfes ín. Pajámpari am arám, ar mó Safán cin fér serapómfes ín. fér serapómfes masním, áserápmarés maré eren átepfes ín. éren átepfes cowák. ar mó makán ajiésef ín, a Safán atéptowópmare 'n. a nát, a tíw am, á purís am, — a tíw makán ef ín. Mesók, ámetosef ín. a mí nat, a níwi mí nim áj-aworémef<sup>1</sup> ín. anakácowuc aráw, a cenés ajapésfes ín. á, Mesók cin ájapesfes ín. Mesók cin ájapesfés cowakā, fér enám am arám, mú awút kor ín. mú awút kor. “Mesókā, fér men mú misi páka, mér amércasína” iním aef ín. “mér amércasína” iním aef ín. a níwi am arám, a jó minkúm, písúwa'n ájimomare'n, mákpin iním cuwuc<sup>2</sup> émef áw un. mákpin iním cuwuc<sup>2</sup> émef áw un. Pajámparí am arám, á Mesok ám, póman in. Pajámpari nesé in. Mís am arám, níwi mí nim ajáworemef ín. níwi mí nim áworeméf, iním aporéf, Pajámpari pé okómteweraré'n, júmus, jireméf jireméf jireméf pé mokómtewer

the heavy load on his back; he went back with it, farther and farther [he went]. Then, at the river, he tried to step onto a tree trunk, but as soon as he set foot on it, splash! there he sank into the bog with the bag, the gigantic bag. There he stuck, after he had sunk down up to the eyes. I dug away the ground to try to haul him out, but he sank farther and farther down. Now he's been changed into a sago palm, on the upper course of the Siréc. He grew right up during that one night; my sister was joined to him. That's what happened." The people went in a crowd to the water, wailing. Wailing, they threw themselves into the mud, his parents, his older and his younger brothers, his sons and his daughters, his sisters — in a long row they stood [the women] and wailed, without their *awér*<sup>a</sup>. They wailed and wailed. "Is this sago, this stuff that lies here?" "That's sago," she said. Every time they put the sago on the fire and every time they ate the baked crust, they vomited<sup>b</sup>. Every time they ate it, they said: "Oh, what we always ate before was perhaps fish, and crabs! Perhaps this is sago! Look! This is very nice food!" From then on, they ate sago. On the Siréc, was *Miwírpc* changed into a sago palm. That's the story.

## VII

## 303

A spirit, *Mis*<sup>a</sup>, *Mísimit*<sup>b</sup>, came here<sup>c</sup> from upstream. When he came from upstream — also *Pajámpari* — on the *Fití*<sup>d</sup> — they put down a fish trap. When they'd put the fish trap in place, he (*Mis*) came straight from upstream — *Pajámpari* and her husband put down a fish trap. *Pajámpari* and her husband, *Safán*, put down a fish trap. They put the trap in place, and when they'd put it in place, they went upstream. They rowed straight upstream where she left her husband behind and returned. After she'd dropped *Safán* upstream, then she and her son — and her daughter; she left her son behind —, she brought *Mesók* back with her here<sup>e</sup>. He [*Mis*], had changed his face into that of father<sup>f</sup>. The woman rowed down here. She and *Mesók* rowed straight here. She and *Mesók* rowed and rowed . . . Now about the fish in the trap, the water was still too high [to get at the fish]. It was still too high. "Hey, *Mesók*, the water's not yet run out of the trap, let's both go and catch crabs," she said. Father<sup>g</sup> was also there, at the mouth of the river; he stood there with his arms crossed, a

júmus jireméf jireméf, iním aporéf, “ā, Manéfakat o ucím miníp pumomnéma, á, Jomót ewenáwanemá” iním aef ín.

<sup>1</sup> ajorèmf; <sup>2</sup> cuc.

<sup>a</sup> Every river is the domain of a supernatural being, a river spirit. *Mis*, or *Mísimit*, is the master of the Jiníw (see map p. 363). The master of the Jomót is *Jomótsimit*; of the Fiti, *Antásimit*.

<sup>b</sup> Names of mythological and historical personages often have the suffix *-simít*. I get the impression that this suffix has an honorific value in these cases.

<sup>c</sup> here = downstream, towards the coast.

<sup>d</sup> See map, p. 363.

<sup>e</sup> Towards the coast.

<sup>f</sup> i.e., Manéfakat, Wominén's father.

<sup>g</sup> i.e., *Mis*, in the form of Manéfakat.

### 304

iním aporéf Pajámpari “áw, nó nat ó moporómtewer, pók mer nó a pók mer ajákakapipúmupújè” <sup>1</sup> iním ef ín. “ó moporómtewer ajakakapipumía, cáj ecéna” iním ef ín. anakátipíc aráw “á, nám pok mer emémi, no ó mopor pák”, iním ef ín. anakácowuc aráw, “efamúc” a juwúr nani nim emnánimár araw ún. “efamúca, efamúca!” “sawnáka, ěmá memíc” ajíporéf. “sawnák ěmá memíc” ajíporéf, “á, meméměré” iním aef ín. ániporémapef ín. m, ásumtúmare'n, anakátipíc aráw, “no ów asmótipic opák, no nétipic emcí, no nétipic emcí Manéfakat mí nim áworemí” iním aef ín. “eā, eméajmirámpunè, eméajmiramíno! Manéfakat mí nim áwor-emitém awè!” anakácowuc aráw, námun áemémef ín. “Mesókā”, iním aef ín, a Mesók “á” iním ef ín. “maréā, fér musúmtewercára mú akumára” iním ef ín. fér na enám pak ín. fér enám pak ín. asúmtewerarés,<sup>2</sup> mare mér amer pák, a umúc nimírsemá nimírsemá nimírsemá, enám, fo mufúm pak ín. enám ep nám mukurúmtewér pak ín. “á, maré enám ep nám mukurúmtewer pák maré, atépca” iním ef ín. “mú mukumár” iním aef ín.

<sup>1</sup> ajákakapipúmupújè; <sup>2</sup> asúmtewerarés.

<sup>a</sup> Coitus is effected in a sitting position.

### 305

“mú akumára”, fér in asúmtewerares <sup>1</sup> ín maré eren atówtépfes ín. átepfes ín. átepfes cowákā, pó jitepfés, pó jitepfés, ar mó “enám kor ním, fér in áserapmácokom, mínimir kór norpá aptákasameweréjipuruwa enám jó kor awer áw, enám kor awer áw fér masúmtewer fér atakám kor táwutúmcěpokom porów aporérmokom” iním aef ín. “enám kor awer áw enam jó wut awer áw” iním ef ín. maré, enám nat, Safán nat, Safán inim émtawaré, “enám nat jipís eawérmokom

dagger stuck in his armband. With his arms crossed, he stood there. Pajámpari and Mesók were on the opposite bank — no, Pajámpari was on this side. And also Mis, who had changed himself into father. He had changed his face into that of father. He saw her: Pajámpari was catching crabs, she continually stooped to catch crabs. She caught sight of him. “Hey, Manéfakat, what are you thinking about me? Have you come here from the Jomót?” she said.

**304**

When Pajámpari saw him, she said: “Oh, just to look for you I’m out catching crabs, I always go out alone to catch crabs. To look for you, I always go out on my own; come and couple with me,” she said. “Well, I’m also out hunting. I wasn’t looking for you,” said the man. “Do it quickly,” said the woman, and she stood there whimpering like a bitch! “Quickly, now; quickly, now!” Please, stay where you are, stay where you are,” he pleaded. “Well, since you are there,” he said and he went and sat <sup>a</sup> by her — mmmm — When he’d helped her up, he said to the woman: I’m not a man, I’m a spirit, a spirit man. I’ve changed my face into that of Manéfakat.” “Oh, and I’ve just committed adultery with you; I’ve just committed adultery with you. But you’d changed your face into that of Manéfakat!” The woman kept her secret. “Hey, Mesók, she called. “Yes,” Mesók replied. “It’s time now, let’s take away the fish trap, there’s no more water,” she said. But there were no fish in the trap. There were no fish in the trap. When they’d pulled it up, they didn’t catch more crabs but looked for fish in the pools that had been left. They searched, and searched, but they didn’t pull out any fish; not a fish’s body or a fish’s tail did they touch. “Enough of this, we can’t get hold of any fish, let’s go upstream,” she said. “There’s no more water,” she said.

**305**

“There’s no more water.” They pulled up the fish trap and took it with them upriver. They went upstream; they went straight upstream. They rowed straight up there. “You put down a fish trap as though there were plenty of fish, so that I went down the whole river on my own to feel about for fish <sup>a</sup>, but this river doesn’t have any fish! There are no fish at all! All the afternoon are you talking about lifting it, and you are always going to have a look at it in the afternoon, but there

aráw eitúmcēmokóm ara, jipís efokóm ar masním aserapómfēnom áw. enám caj curúw nakó”, iním aef ín. “enám caj curúw nakó” iním aef ín. anakácowuc am aram nám, akín atépakámsef ín. nám Fití opés opés opés opés, maré, ámetótnawfés. metótnawfés masírim, metótnawfés, jófaj, ápampés, jófaj apampés, jófaj maserím maré ju ájamép. jú emépē emép emép emép emép emép. jófaj jófaj jófaj maserim maré, erém ákamíamséf. erém ákamíamséf maré.

<sup>1</sup> asúmterares.

<sup>a</sup> One of the ways of catching fish is to search for them in the pools left in the beds of the small streams as the tide ebbs.

<sup>b</sup> here = the village of Jepém.

### 306

a Jiniw eren ów am arám arów matewér, 'm, pomót wut, sokmót wut, Jiniw eren ów ajítare Fití eren ów ajítare, Fití enáwkapuéf. Fití akápuaré, Jómot énowkapuéf. Jómot epmák. a Jómot masním, Piápipín aráw, wú, Jómot ap ín. Jómot, tákajap ín e Jiniw Piápipín <sup>1</sup> atakajéf cowák a Jómot, tamús emef ín. ów nat ájurupumés. á Jómótsimít masním, a Piápipín <sup>1</sup> minkúm, a okór emic ín. á okór emic ín. — pomót wut, mí pané wut, sokmót sok fín wut, sok fín wut téwawumésmep. Jómot nat samsamsamsamsamsamsam ájiesmép. enésjamséf, enésjamsef ín. Sajmós a tiw, — juwús namsóm pakó —, po sé'n ajirínkuare'n majistewer masním áiwisef ín. áwijisaré, cuwúc amséf maré atíwsiriteweraré, mare cí aniómuwfes ín. cí aniómuwares ín maré, x, e Jómot erén po so'n awájotepfes <sup>2</sup> ín maré. iním emfés cowák, Jiniw erén, Jómot acirá, Mow acirá, Jiniw acirá, Fití acirá, Mów acirá. Mów eren ów, mare círi émtewerfes ín. Pajámpari Mow, Mów awáp ín. Mów atewérfes <sup>3</sup> ín. Mów ow cét atewérfes ín. Mów eren ów, Uwúsakap cém awáp ín. a Jiniw eren ów asúnfes ín. Jiniw eren ów asúnfes masírim, Mów ow masním cet átatewérfes <sup>4</sup> ín.

<sup>1</sup> Piápin; <sup>2</sup> awájotepes; <sup>3</sup> atérfes; <sup>4</sup> ataterfes.

<sup>a</sup> According to the Ásmat people dwelling on the coast, the dead live on the upper courses of the rivers, where they have their own villages.

<sup>b</sup> It is noteworthy that the spirits squabble among themselves for the possession of Pajámpari in exactly the same way as the Ásmat people used to do over a head that had just been cut off in a head-hunting raid.

are no fish, this river doesn't have any fish!" grumbled her husband. And he spoke to the fish, like this: "You fish, you're always darting to and fro, in the afternoon! You darted to and fro when we put down the trap for you. One never knows what you fish are going to do!" he said. As soon as the woman had gone upriver she became ill. They stayed with her on the Fití; they stayed, and stayed, and stayed, and finally they brought her here<sup>b</sup>. When they'd brought her here, then — they stayed at home the following day; the day afterwards they stayed at home, and the day after she began to scream. She screamed, and screamed, and screamed the whole day, and yet another day, and another day, and the day after that, until finally she died in the night. In the night she expired.

### 306

The ghosts on the upper course of the Jiniw<sup>a</sup> then wanted to take her. "Oh, [they had] many feathered paddles, many feathers in their hair; the ghosts from the upper Jiniw set out for the Fití, the ghosts from the upper Fití set out; the Jiniw ghosts set out and arrived at the Fití where they joined up with them; they joined up with the Fití ghosts and arrived here so that they could join [those from] the Jomót, at the upper course. — There, on the Jomót, is the Píapipín, the short cut to the Jomót. It goes across to the Jomót; the Píapipín runs from the Jomót to the Jiniw. It forms a link with the Jomót. The people usually go along it. Jomótsimit keeps guard on the bank where the Píapipín branches off —. [They had] many feathered paddles, many nose shells, many bird's feathers stuck in their hair; great numbers of feathers they put in their hair that night. In rows close together they came that night over the Jomót; they all came here. The son of Sajmós — I don't know his name — stuck his paddle in the mud and landed. He went ashore quickly so that he could get her. Quickly he went ashore, picked her up where she lay, and they carried her off in the canoe; and, singing, they took her right to the end of the upper course of the Jomót. Like this they all did: the ghosts from the Jiniw snatched at her; the ghosts from the Jomót snatched at her. The ghosts from the Mow snatched at her, the ghosts from the Jiniw snatched at her, those from the Fití snatched at her, those from the Mow snatched at her<sup>b</sup>, finally, the ghosts from the Mow grabbed her. Pajámpari remains on the Mow; the ghosts from the Mow grabbed her, the ghosts from the Mow won her. She stays with the ghosts from the upper Mow, she's in the house of Uwúsakap. The ghosts from the

## VIII

## 307

net, is tamesmóp a jí pu cowák ara. is tamesmóp a jí pu cowák. nám, wasén aním cukóf, pók mer wú mer ariwtepfom. wú mujú ariwtepfóm, wú mujú ariwtepfóm. no jowów nat, a iwním pim nim ámesemfés. awún, nór masirím a wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemof. wasén pim nór awun ájisakápiemóf. e, Jomótakap a purís am arám, a purís am arám, áw apcóm un. áw apcóm, émeme ím. a owér, porów tetamfés. anakácowut maserím, “ā, iním owér no pú naká, nam ásmat ów owéros pen éw mopórjar emía, emára”, iním aef ím. nám, wú mujú, a wú mujú cuwúc emóf. arám, a niwí kor am arám, firkóm mawér, firkóm mawér, cuwúc apef. séj awérfisef ím. séj awérfiséf maré, “nia no owéros pen éw mapórjarawér<sup>1</sup> emío” iním ef ím. “owerós pen éw mapórjarawer émi” iním ef ím. é eren éweme ím. mokót win ásakájesef ím. mokót win sásakajeséfē, sasakajséf sasakajséf, ásakájesef ím. no ná, Tówmi á, — e, Tówmi emí ara —, Siwínmak á, Siwínmak. wú aurúmteweraró, — wú asér awáp aráw. a wú asér, murúmtewer, áurúmnemaró a cenés masním musúm cuwúc emóf.

<sup>1</sup> mapórarawér.

<sup>a</sup> *jowów*, here translated with ‘people’ refers primarily to people belonging to one and the same ceremonial house; it can also mean people who are of the same village.

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musúm cuwúc emóf masním, arám, anakácowuc ám arám, a wu ján, aporéf maré, manmák cenam wú ájesef ím “no namós araw mané, nó namós aráw mané”, iním aef ím. awíesef cowák awíesef cowák. iním aporéf, mijjísóm pak ím, manmák in aoróme ím. “ów mi akát nak áw! ów mi akát nak áw”, iním ef ím. “Jomót eren ów nat, mí motamú kor win, mí motamú kor win”, iním aef ím. “nor mó araw mán” iním aef ím. anakácowuc aráw, mán ses ím asowemaré, erén áwitepef ím. erén áwitepefē, “niwiá, nor, — cém cuwuc apéf, a niwí atepóme ím “ó ucè” iním ef ím. “níj, jipít cowák man sés sowemúj, awemít. wú musum óp tomtómer, aemíc. ow mí akatés cowák, aporí” iním ef ím. “ā, emá, ja owerów, am pók mer, amás, pók mer wú mer, páwuawér-



the Jiniw were worsted. The ghosts from the Jiniw lost, and the ghosts from the Mow won the contest.

## VIII

## 307

I dreamt about ghosts, and it happened just that way. What I dreamt actually happened. I, I disappeared in the forest; we went upriver with one canoe to hunt and to get edible tops of the sago palm. We went upriver to get the edible tops; to get the edible tops we went upriver. My people<sup>a</sup> stood there near the water's edge, but I stood alone at the edge of the forest. I stood alone at the edge of the forest. The daughter of Jomótakap, his daughter was also there; already she had breasts. She had breasts; she stood there. In the evening they had given her in marriage, but the girl had said: "No, I don't want such a marriage! I want to look around and see if there's not a human man who can be my husband, wait a bit!" I was there getting the edible tops. As for her great father, he sat there sharpening long arrows. She went outside, slipping out behind his back. When she'd gone outside behind his back, she said: "Father, I want to go and see if there's not a husband for me; I want to go and look for such a man." And straightaway she went off from the upper reaches. She passed one sago garden after another on her way here; she passed one after another... Now, I went to the Tówmi, — the Tówmi, I say... the Siwínmak, the Siwínmak. I got an edible top and, — there stood a young palm, a *wú asér*. In order to pull out the edible top, I toppled it over and I stood there pulling it out.

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As I stood there pulling it out, the girl heard the noise and with shining eyes she came there. "That's fine, that's fine," she said. She came quickly towards me and looked at me. She didn't come out of the forest to meet me, she just peered at me. "What a handsome man this is! What a good looking young man," she said. "The ghosts of the upper reaches of the Jomót have broad flat noses, every one of them," she said. "That's my husband," she said. The girl simply raised her hand<sup>a</sup> and quickly went upriver; she walked and walked. "Father, I..." — he sat at home; she went to her father, — "What's it?" he said. "Come, I've raised my hand to a man; yonder he stands, he stands on top of [the trunk] busy getting out the sago top. There he is,

mar. no cepés namós<sup>2</sup> témjoméno owerów namós<sup>2</sup> mijóm pow!" iním ef ín. anakátipic firkóm mirám un atíwjjimare'n, átososéf, a fa'n ajastámosef ín. fa'n ajastámosefē. iním aporéf, "a émesi" iním ef ín. iním aporéf "awemic aráw. épnam áj ap, áj ap" iním aef ín. á waséc kor masírím, nesén, oméw ten ín, amúw omew ín. ápumasméf cowák, anakácowuc iním aporéf, arám, arów aporéf, — jimámuc ín emí ara emí ara —, iním aporéf, ápumef cowák maré nam ápumokopomfén.

<sup>1</sup> aorémeſ; <sup>2</sup> *suka*: loan-word from Malay.

- <sup>a</sup> This gesture is an act of magic. As the girl raises her hand she casts a spell on Wominén which so slows down all his movements — though he still thinks he is working normally — that she can take her time fetching her father knowing that she will find Wominén on her return just where she left him.  
<sup>b</sup> Male ghosts are always out to seduce human women. Their favorite haunt are the banks of the rivers when the tide is in. There they lurk in branches of the overhanging trees, on the lookout for canoes with women in them.

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ápumfes cowák, maré nam ápumokopómfēnes nor aráw, maré mér nim "ā" cenés iním ajamsóf. maré, "a ěmá arpúka, arpúka ěmá, man mí tiwotěré. ěmá, a tów cajaríc"<sup>1</sup> iním aef ín. ěmá ěmá ěmá ěmá ěmá ěmá ěmá ěmá, anakátipic aráw, ják asé eméomoméſ, tiwotfén. "ā" ajamsóf. "ā, ucím omnémè, no ucím ar' amè, no ucím ar' amè, ucím eminè" iním ajóf. "ěmá, man mí tiwotěré" iním aef ín. man mí iním tiwótmepen ják, ják asé'n aráw, ájatmapóm ájatmapóm, a kús ajátmapóm iním aef. "ā" jísitóf. jísitóf masním, nor, "o cá jipic ám". no nát atakám mataw pák, atakám mataw pák. maré, átakam pák cowák. "Jomót áwse aráw, a Jomót teté, a Má teté, Júwotep pú awamis aráw, maré no mokot pú aráw", iním aef. fa'n ajastámteweréf cowák, Jomót erén. "maré ja matawér pak, já matawér pak maré, pú amis aráw", iním aef. á camák, wos kór iním eméf cowák, Má mu aní-jukumef ín. é a mokót pu masěрім, cím onow mák kor oméw cuwuc apéf. iním aporóf, "cém onow mák áwamis aráw, cím onow mák áwamis aráw" iním aef. iním aporóf, júmus in ajíremóf. arám, a cepés am arám amás wut, tów wut, wú jimín wut, áj amás akát amás, án co sisímampés, ásisímampés ásisímampes ásisímampes. cím ko niapóf. cím amán iním aporóf pok có maré cepés pok có asisímomséf. ar mó aráw "ā, atów ca mé jipit aráw an! no owerów namós<sup>3</sup> majóm pak no cepés namos<sup>3</sup> jomófa. matéwtakám emí marí memawér pak marí. cím emapacáw maré".

<sup>1</sup> tájarít; <sup>2</sup> oweréw; <sup>3</sup> *suka*.

a very handsome man, look now!" she said. "Oh, wait, he's a married man, they usually go out to hunt, to get sago and edible tops [the married men]; I only like the women", I dislike the married men," he said. The man took a bundle of large arrows and took it with him, following her. He followed her. She looked round. "It was here that I walked a moment ago," she said. "A young pandan tree stands there on either side," she said. In between there was a wide open space, overgrown with hanguana reeds. She trod them down; the girl looked, he looked also: I continued to work busily. She looked. She trod them down, and caused them to touch me on the body.

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They trod it down and, doing so, they caused them to hit me, and I, "ah!" I cried, and like a flash of lightning, I fell to the ground. "Wait, stand aside, keep off! Wait, don't touch him with your fingers! Wait! Let him come round first," he said. They waited and waited, and waited. The man had a magic piece of charcoal with him. He touched me with it. "Oh," so I lay, calling out. "Oh, why are you here with me? What's happening to me, what's happening to me?" so I cried. "Wait, don't touch him," he said. And he touched me with the tips of his fingers, and dabbed me here and there and there, and on the head, with the magic charcoal. "Ah," I cried, standing up. When I stood up, I said: "Who are you?" — No, I said nothing, I didn't speak, I said not a word. — "Here's the Jomót. Between the Jomót and the Ma lies the path along the Júwotép, that's the path through my sago garden," he said. And he took me with him, walking behind me, to the upper course of the Jomót. "It's not so far, it's not so far. Here's the path," he said. There, behind the house, he'd made a large clearing which reached to the river Ma. And there, near the sago garden, lay the house, with a big roof, in an open space. I looked up. "There's the roof of the house, there's the roof of the house," he said. I looked up. I was walking with bowed head. They, his wives, were busy filling one trough after another with much sago, many sago grubs, many sago sticks, mixed with the edible top of the sago palm; with new, fine sago. I went to sit on the front gallery. I took a look inside: there were the wives filling troughs with food and they brought them out-

- \* When a woman offers a man food, it can be a sign that she wants him as her husband. This is probably the case here.

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nó jowow<sup>1</sup> ám arám, a pók jimamúc in ajámpes, ajásmampés. no emcí akat ním. “ē”, — a purís nat cém amán, mot micíc ajirmár araw ún —. “níwiá, no owér jursúc<sup>2</sup> ememía maréwa, owér jursúc<sup>2</sup> ememí marè májperáwa”. “á, ur ísipisnakás” “o ucím as ám, o cá jipíc ám, o cá jewmopánipic ám, o cá a tíw, o niwí com ám” emár aráw. no nát, atakám mataw pák cowák, iním apitóf. jó, aémapef<sup>3</sup> masním, “tá, ná Wominén anícukasít cowák arawá, sí jen, óm jen opáka”, iním aéfes in. nám, ci, — “pó metewerí, matákmatám. nesén omómati, nesén omómati” iním ef. anakácowuc nat móc, matákmatam maré, jók nim ámetosfén. ná jowów am arám cí anínukámsères mí amnú. memámtewer in. a pó na pó a pó na pó, cí piním iním aporéf, nesmín asén ajáwewerémkumfēnés.<sup>4</sup> nesmín asén ajáwewerémkumfēnes.<sup>4</sup> a nát, x jo amánakapiríw teteté jicúkufés. a nát maré, iním aporfés “ā, na Wominén ewemíc araw! e jipíc ucim ás emút! uā”. a cowút ownés asakámtamfén, úwku átetamfén. “o á uwkú aráw, nór, a uwkú tatmamín, a ownés tatmanín, paras tén aráw, mómwiénawút. or epút Sumúj, or epúc Sumúj aráw, jewéw<sup>5</sup> canfés jipíc aráw, a Jiniw erén aráw, a Jiniw ewáp ara sé minakap. nó a cém matákfiw worwós nim matákfiw emí. a uwkú masním, o jófaj enáwcem uwkú am matawér emín”, iním aéf.

<sup>1</sup> jow; <sup>2</sup> *tjari*: loan-word from Malay; <sup>3</sup> aómaper; <sup>4</sup> ajáwewerémkumfēnés; <sup>5</sup> jew.

\* In the silence of the forest, the sounds of chopping, among others, carry over a great distance.

<sup>b</sup> According to the Ásmat people, spirits are not able to see well but they have a particularly good sense of smell.

## 311

á na jowów am arám, á na jowów am arám, pók mu. án pok mú omopfés. án pok mú, niwí am arám enmúm mer, e píri a. Ówpacákipit máj nosó, — jók akát emamópā, jók akát akát porów masním, a úwku aráw ajásamopóf, a fin am. á na jowów jiwí araw iním aporfés, “apák, jáka jowówa, Wóminen, ájakápiemíc araw, Wóminen uwkú am fín

side <sup>a</sup>. "Hey," said their husband, "is he your playmate? I dislike the married men, I only liked the women. I want to let him go. He can't stay here all the time. But for the time being he must stay in the house."

**310**

Now, my people were all busy searching for food, they were all engrossed, as though I were safe and sound. Ah! in the house his daughter cried her eyes out. "Father, I want a man so much, please, I need a man, let him stay!" "No, they are your small fathers [the human men]". "What do you want? Who are you? Which ceremonial house do you belong to? Whom are you a son of? Who's your father," she said. But I said not a word, I just sat there. When the sun began to sink, they [our people] said: "Hey, our Wóminén has disappeared! We can't hear the sound of his digging stick or his axe <sup>a</sup>!" Now, about me, he [the ghost] said: "Take a paddle and go with him downriver, go with him without doing him harm." Crying, the girl went with me downriver. It was early in the afternoon when she accompanied me here. My people also had all got in the canoe, and they set out in the opposite direction, so that we should meet. They rowed, and we rowed, they rowed, and we rowed . . . When she smelt <sup>b</sup> the canoe [of my people] they hastily put me ashore just anywhere. They hastily put me ashore and, flash! disappeared into a small side stream. When they saw me they called out: "Hey, there's our Wominén! What's he done! Oh, ho!" — The girl had cut off a piece of her long knitted hair for me and had given me a crochet hook, a crochet hook made from a pig's bone. "I give this crochet hook, I give you a length of knitted hair. By and by, come to me, along the dune-ridge. Your elder brother, Sumúj, who was eaten by the enemy, lives on the upper course of the Jiniw; there by the Jiniw he lives on a small spit of land. I'll go to his house. I'll go inside as though I'm eloping. I'll knit your hair with this crochet hook, if you come on the following day," she said.

**311**

Our people, our people held a feast, the feast of the sago troughs. They were busy with the feast of the sago troughs, the *an* feast. Father had gone that day to the sea with the canoe to fish. Ówpacákkipic [was at home] with a wound in his foot. During the day everything went well for me, the whole day, and in the afternoon I brought out the crochet

am, ownés am tátmorés, kapák sek esé am óp aráw”, iním efes ín. “ã, Wominéna karúwa, iním as mempór pak! fin, nét fin masakám-tampór pak” iním aefés. nór aráw, “nám omómi” eóf eóf porów masním, x mó kawós, x mó, x jak ám aóromésmop. níwi nát moc, mócesmép. ’m, mó kawós nim kámamóp jok, porów kawós nim kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp kamamóp. — níwi aráw Patépo cuwuc opéf aráw. Patépo enim Jitúr cem cuwúc opéf aw. a, Patiém nat jepnakasá. ěnéw nat, Patiém. Jitúr cem enim Patépo móg amócampés. nór aráw, apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf apóf maré manmák is ajáp-meof. níwi maré pók masakám, iním emép. “á ěmá, o népnakapiríw, net, áwíomatámes. na, ná majsás pak, iním emitóm. jisín jimí atawór masním, a jisín capínmi akát masním, atémtemér. á jisín óp ara néw, nét e jisín óp ara néw, arásen ew pewesánes éw, a erén éw pewesánes éw. nét aráw, á eren éw pewesánes éw. á jisín óp ara néw asúk new, jisín asúk new, nét, Jomót eren ów ara néw”, iním aefés.

\* The breaking of one's possessions is a means of warding off a calamity. (See also § 328, note b).

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na jowów jiwí, nó mapór a cém jiwfuemfés. “ěmá, o népnakápiríw, ěmá, cúomatómítés. nám mopor pák, nár emíc akát nim, tí mu, cí jiwirí nat arów ememér, na nát wasén, nám pomán iním eměrom”, iním aefés. Menákpíc a cém ewiséf “á, jáka jipíc araw, fín am, úwku ám iním tátmores ín. porów jépnakas ájasamópmar aráw, iním asamópmar masním iním ajísmar mó kawós iním akámtywmar aráw. mó, a jemésten éwotewér, e jew masním cowák motiwér, ár masním áwikunáwmar”, iním aef, Menákpíc. “atów tatakáj jiwí ín, tatakáj jiwí, pok mér jirmúc majirímpor pák, átatakájmar, jen ín jopít, jen ín jopít!” iním aef. amsóf amsóf amsóf, ufu amúp iním émfěnes, ufú amúp empórfěnes empórfěnes, “ã”, — nór aráw, Menákpíc aráw, cemsén, tesén ewsiréf cowák. “Wominén, nó o níwi aráw, no Menák”, iním aef. “ó”, jisítóf, a nát Mípic, a miníp nat Mípic miníp, ápupúm-esmóp. jo fá omér ajesmóp ájesmop ájesmop ájesmop ájesmop, jo fá, ájamsóf níwi am ís mes pák, ěnew am ís mes pák. jo’n áfamópfěnes. cem áfuamséspes á na jowów jiwí ám. wunám, jófaj, arów metmát emóf, is. níwi am arám enám fawesmép, omót kus, enám nes jimín

hook and the hair. When the children of our people saw that, they said: "Hey, folks, Wominén is standing there on his own; they gave him a crochet hook and hair; a knitted tress! And he also has a parcel of shag in his bag," they said. "Oh, Wominén, that's dangerous! You mustn't do that! The ghosts should not cut off their hair for you," they said. "No," I said, "I'll keep it," said I, again and again. When it was evening I began to vomit, and vomit. The whole night I emptied my stomach! Father cried, all night long. Lo! all the day I wanted to vomit, all the afternoon I wanted to vomit. Father was at that time married to Patépo; to Patépo and Jitúrcem. Patiém has only recently come, Patiém, [my present] mother. Jitúrcem and Patépo wailed the whole day, and I just sat there, and sat, and sat. Finally, I became dizzy. Father wanted to break everything we had. "Hey, wait, your small son has been kidnapped by ghosts! We didn't go away, we have been there all the time. And he searched for the fruit of the *jisín* tree. He gathered the *jisín* fruit, and he went to the high hard ground on which the *jisín* trees grow. Up there, in the *jisín* tree, there might have been ghosts; perhaps it was from here that they'd come there, perhaps they went there from the upper course. Perhaps it is the caterpillars up there in the *jisín* tree, the caterpillars of the *jisín* tree, which are ghosts! Perhaps they're the ghosts from the upper Jomót!" they said.

### 312

The children of our ceremonial house all came together into the house to see me. "They've taken him with them secretly, we didn't notice it, we thought he was safe and sound, the water was very high, he stood at the extreme end, near the canoes, and we stood on the other side, in the forest," they said. Menákpíc came out of his house: "They gave this boy hair and a bone crochet hook. A few moments ago, in the afternoon, he took them out of his bag, and as he took them out, he went outside and began to vomit. He retched all the way from the landing stage until he reached the ceremonial house. And after that he came quickly here," so said Menákpíc. "A playful child, a lively child should not always be sent away to search for food. He's very lively! Listen then, listen then!" he said. I lay there, just lay there. They treated me with hot shells,<sup>b</sup> they tried out hot shells on me. Oh! — Menákpíc came hurriedly from outside, from the front of the house, and said to me: "Wominén, it's me your father, Menák." "Oh!" I cried, standing up. I thought, he was the giant Mípic! The whole night I was afraid; I lay until the morning, afraid. My father didn't sleep

nítiwtámporfěnés, nó man pák. Ówpacákípic máj noso cém makan aefés. ěnéw am jím maré sěn atakéf ěnéw mes. no nát, arów metmát emóf. ís, jiníc acájkurumóf. Ówpacakípic ís nim pútamismép, x parás ten káku aiwinióf.

- <sup>a</sup> There are always many ghosts abroad at high water (see § 308, note b). Because it was high water at the time Wominén disappeared, the children assume that it was the ghosts that had taken him away.  
<sup>b</sup> When a person is sick heated shells are used as we would use a hot-water bottle and they are placed under the sick person's sleeping mat.

### 313

parás ten káku iním winíamop, Mítewer aráw asép ewsiríef<sup>1</sup> cowák. mácir kápu émtewerfěn.<sup>2</sup> “ó, Mítewéra ěmá no, jítakám mijimír emí, jítakám mijimír emí”, ajiporóf. a nát ájimotnawfěn, ájimotnáwaren, á jowów am maré jím takás, cepés am ówerow ám maré, pók mer takás píri á. no nát arásen efá wiesaró, jew kór ará Jepémčewi am Apoków am Mapíw am, jáměret e sěn cuwuc ámsef áw. iním aporóf a cém afiwá, a cém afiwá a cém afiwá a cém afiwá, amás tewená tewená tewená, amás masním maré tawanóf amás masním, mú efá niómpuwaró, mú am setná, jóp nim jítakitó a mú. mé, a amás nat mé pípi jap aráw, jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw jáp aráw maré sěn jewsěn, Menákcípíc cúwuc apéf “ā, mókonawúca, nía mókonawúca, noromóma, pók cowák a óp jirá mancasína”, iním aef. nór aráw, nór aráw, “óm or áso nám amás emétawnío” iním eóf. “nám amás emétawnío” iním eof. “amás matáwni” ájaró, túan<sup>3</sup> kúri<sup>3</sup> a mewсэн, Ufěnces cuwúc emef áw. Ufěnces cuwúc eméf ásep tuan kúri aráw. jemésten óf nim iním áparísearó jináf jináf jináf ajukóf. maré, tuan kúri wápu mú masním, már atów emfes asén, wápu mú masním, mé anásmamóp. “ā”, — tuan kúri — “ā, Wominén, nor mó cowák em ní, a cém mú a jiráw, té mu maní, nási a jiráw, maníc”.

<sup>1</sup> ewsiríf; <sup>2</sup> ěmterfěn; <sup>3</sup> loan-word from Malay (tuan guru = Mission teacher).

<sup>a</sup> In 1960 Jepémčewi again had its own ceremonial house: Apoków and Mapíw still shared a ceremonial house.

<sup>b</sup> A Papuan assistant attached to the Roman Catholic Mission who only gives religious instruction. A village such as Jepém had only a *penolong*. Villages where Christianization had progressed further and where a beginning had been made with schooling, also had a teacher (*guru*). Here, Wominén calls the *penolong kuri (guru)* in error.



either, my mother didn't sleep either. They sat with me until the morning. And also the children of our people slept round me in the house. Then, on the following day, I fooled them and acted as though I were still asleep. During the night, father had speared fish and they put down beside me the head of an *omót* fish, and a stick of sago mixed with fish, but I didn't eat. They left Ówpacákípic at home, the one who had a wound in his foot. Mother went to the sea with the fish net, mother and her companions. Then I fooled them and acted as though I were fast asleep. And when Ówpacákípic fell asleep, I ran away along the dune-ridge.

### 313

But when I ran along the dune-ridge Mítewer straightaway came after me and grabbed me. "Oh, Mítewer, wait, I want to catch *jítakám* fishes, I want to catch *jítakám* fishes!" I said, but in vain. He brought me here. When he brought me here, our people had already gone to the sea; the women with the nets, the men to catch crabs. I walked quickly here — to the big ceremonial house common to Jépémčewi, Apoków and Mapíw<sup>a</sup> which, at that time, lay at the downstream end (of the village). I looked around. I went into one house, into another, into still another, and still another, to get sago, to take away sago, and sago. And then I went quickly into the river with the lumps of sago I'd taken away. I dipped them into the water and ate them; drifting on my back I went downriver, my mouth was chock full of sago. There, in front of the ceremonial house downstream, sat Menákpíic. "Hey, there, come onto the land, come! come onto the land! You're a good boy. Let's both have a bite to eat up here," he called out, but I said: "It's your food, I've already got sago, I've already got sago, I've already got sago." The *penolong*<sup>b</sup> stood by the landing place. Juventius stood there, the former *penolong*. I lay stretched out, like a dead man, by the landing stage; crawling, I went ashore. After that, I drank from the rain-water pools near the house of the *penolong*, the pools of water on the football field. "Oh," cried the *penolong*, "oh, Wominén, good boy, come, there's water here in the house, drink some tea! Here's rice, eat it!"

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“ā, óm or ás pacákap mán! óm or ás pacákap man nó nat akát pok momaní”, ájamop. ’m! wapú mu mé, ’m, wá mu nákurumsémcēmop wunám wun ás, “wuá ja ják awút aporía” ájamép. Ówpacákipit nát no mót, cém amán ájamesmumújaramép, máj noso. “wuá, ja Tatépia mopórporía Wóminen” jamép jamép. “o nát ís escowó o nát nosó” ájumá jamóp. “nám asén akát emámsió, no iním, ja ponów<sup>1</sup> asén pacáko, nám a ponów<sup>1</sup> opák asen áwamsi aráwo”, iním eof. ’m, nákurumás masním, jím ci iním sajespés masním, mare cém ajiwóf se apcóm kor. “níwi, no asén akatés cowák emámsití, asén pacák nucúr wor!” “uá” emés ará. jófaj, ámsesmóp, jófaj masním wunám, Jiniw awinióf. Jiniw a parás ten, mú efá kojiraro ów mapor pók ajaró, — no nát jéw amsésmop, ów mopor pók efá jaró, pomán mu cáka efá jiraró, Sumúj mes, cuwúc emfés, Sumúj cuwúc eméf aw. a purís, — net, Sumúj, nor epúc, Uwúsopis<sup>2</sup> ájmirimfés jipíc ará, Uwúsopis ájmirimfés, iním aporéf, “ā, níwi mánam ow opák, mofasíc! ucím as emém-ērem” iním aef. a nát mės pak ín. a pó cuwúc ajimép nór masním, ániemóf un. pó cuwúc ajimép nór masním ániemof ún. a nát, a Sumúj, a purís<sup>3</sup> jamnók “níwia, maréa, or ewúca, or ewút maré jén in mápaperimóp<sup>4</sup> ará maré nor mó aráwo”, iním aéf, Júurúmwawúc enim Owófawúc. cowút pak atá jinicací jamnók. “maréwa, nor mó arawá”, iním aefés.

<sup>1</sup> *kotor* loan-word from Malay; <sup>2</sup> Usopis; <sup>3</sup> típuris; <sup>4</sup> máperimop.

<sup>a</sup> Wominén is the only living son of Manéfakat and must look after him when he is old.

<sup>b</sup> “turn his ears round”: let him forget the world of men so that he will stay here.

<sup>c</sup> A woman is beautiful in the eyes of the Ásmat people when her body is free of any deformity, but especially if she has an unblemished and rather light colored skin.

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a Sumúj araw “má, jajmír naká, ca nísmit aráw, ca nísmit, mánet ow opák. nó ememóf aráw, nó ememóf ér aráw, cá niwiakap aráp, wún ca niwiakap am jiwí, jiwínakap. ca nísmit mánam ow opák. jók apáweraw, arám porów metewénem emí”, iním aéf. maré cém ko masním ájapamóp. á na jowów am arám, a jéw jem mopów emfes ów jícop ci pé makán, Jiniw a. Jiniw, pé makán jícop ci kó ajaríwtepfés. iním aríwtepmepés, nám wasén ewkukuóf cowák, x Jiniw mú caka ajípuóf. “ā”, sír ow otonímop ow, “ā, a jipíc ucím emór, a jipíc ucím emor” iním aporfés, “uá, á jipít a jéw éwenawút jitakám mijimír,

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"Oh, keep your bad food, keep that nasty food of yours! I'm just eating nice food," I said. And I drank the water out of the pools. As soon as I'd drunk one dry, I began on another. "Ha, look at his swollen belly," he cried. Ówpacákípic, with the wound in his foot, cried over me, shuffling around the house. "Oh, Tatepí, come, and look at Wominén," he cried. "Go to sleep you, you've a wound in your foot," I said again and again to him inside. "I'm lying here in a good place, I don't want to lie in such a dirty place! I'm lying in a nice clean place," I said. When all the rain water had been drunk, and the canoes with the fish nets returned, I went into the house covered in mud. "Father, I've been in a lovely place. This is the nastiest of places!" "Ha!" they cried. The following day, — at night, I slept —, the following day I went to the Jiniw, along the dune-ridge. I crossed the river [Jiniw] quickly. I crossed quickly, so that the people shouldn't see me. — At night I slept in the ceremonial house —. I went quickly, so that they wouldn't notice it. I went into the water with a splash and swam to the other side. Sumúj and his family were there. Sumúj was there, and his daughters, ghosts. Sumúj, my elder brother, the man who was killed by the men of Uwús. The men of Uwús killed him. When he saw me, he said to me: "Hey, there's no one to give food to father \*! Go back! Why did you come?" — she hadn't yet arrived. She was still on her way when I arrived. She was still rowing and I'd already arrived. The two daughters of Sumúj each said: "Oh, father, please let your younger brother be my husband. Let him stay with his ears turned round<sup>b</sup>". They were Jururúmawúc and Owófawúc, they were too beautiful<sup>c</sup> to be true! "Come, let him be my husband!" they said.

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But Sumúj said: "Oh, no! you fools! Your grandfather, your grandfather, no one shall care for him. Were I still there, were I still there, then all would be well, but your little father is alone, moreover, your little father is still a child. He's too young. Your grandfather has no one to give him food! Today, he can stay, but in the evening I'll take him home." And I stayed sitting on the front gallery. Now, our people, who'd fetched the bark for the floor covering for the ceremonial house also went to the Jiniw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. They went up the Jiniw in a large war canoe to catch crabs. When they went

iním er erém emkojér”. e wun ow aráw, Sasák aráw, “s! a jipíc aráw ar epúc apóref ín Sumúj. Sumúj apóref ín”. iním aef. “mā, nám, jím cí awšés aráw jím mampiawér emi, cí mapsapú emí”, iním eoíf. wunám, na jowów jiwí am arám, no jursút no jursút, cuwúc jiníwenampés, nór ara pów mopán, mokóp ájamsaró, éw ji nim ámesjenóf. wún ow pów mopán, pé mopor ín, cuwúc emfés, iním aporfés “jiā”, iním ajisitfés, “jáka jowówa Wominén a jiráwa”, atewérfēnes cowák maré atówomfēnés. atówómfēnes cowák, maré, á wun ów, Jiniw parás ten ániapfés na nát, maré áwienfóm Sokoréw aráw nór aráw, Ewén aráw, áwienfóm. cém masním maré enáwapfom. iním emóf, maré opák.

## IX

## 316

á niwí aráw, jinwíc enám, Maní mopór anief. níwi jinwíc enám mopór, ánief. amás man pák maré tám ewsówsitesmép. é Sinak wú iním ániémare, á jinwíc enám am arám, mú opák cowák, jinwíc enám am arám, atéwjiniwámsitè, x áfawásmamep x áfawásmamep x áfawásmamep, á Sinak wú emnief maj jóf, póman, Sinák wu aémnief maj jóf, níjukúmtiwef ín. ájukúmtiwaré<sup>1</sup> masnim erén masním awitepéf. erén awiteparé, átewjiniwarítmep ás, x x átewjiniwarítmep ás x. — Jiniw eren ów am arám, Mis, Wok, jicop cí, pomán am ájirkuámsaré'n a nét aráw. a jó afó — jó setnakáp pakajáp aráw, ápumés araw afó apumés, afó apumés aráw, pár asúw un e Ásewec ním iním empúcēmes ín — arám pomán am ájirkuámsaré, Cepésmi ením Okórmi nát, púrumuc mamót, okón jo cuwúc seésmepeš aw ún. a níwi am arám, enám fawá, arášen jukúmtiwá, fáfawá arášen jukúmtiwá, arásén afáfawá jukúmtiwá, ámesjótepef ámesjótepef ámesjótepef. maré, a Napú masním atépeméf ín. Napú masnim x áfawútmep x áfawútmep x áfawútmep x áfawútmep maré. á erén púrumuc kokó cuwúc amésjesmép iním aporéf, “uój, nét jicóp ajtéra” iním aef ín. “ucím ar' ámè” iním aef ín. — arám manmák apcóm —. á Napu jisín

upriver, I dashed straight out of the forest and sprang with a splash into the waters of the Jiniw. "Ho!" — they stood with their spears at the ready. — "Ho!" what's the boy done, what's the boy done?" They looked at me. "Oh, that boy has come here from the ceremonial house to catch *jitakám* fishes, he said, he went away at night." But another man, Sasák, said: "No, the boy saw his elder brother Sumúj. He saw Sumúj." "Come to the canoe, come to the canoe, come to the canoe!" "No, there are the canoes of the fishing women, I want to join them. I want to guard their canoes," I said. The children of our people, longing to see me, were on their way there, but I lay on my belly among the mangroves and crawled in the direction of the village, just like a crocodile. At that moment there were people searching between the mangroves for crabs; they saw me. "Ho!" they cried and started towards me. "Hey, people, here's Wominén!" Straightaway they picked me up and took me with them. Straightaway they took me with them. Now, a part of the people went to stay on the Jiniw, and we went quickly towards the village: Sokoréw, and I and Ewén. We went upstream and arrived home here. That's what I did. That's all.

## IX

## 316

Father <sup>a</sup> went to the Maní to search for shoals of fish. Father went there to look for shoals of fish. He hadn't eaten; he started out quite early in the morning. First he went along the connecting river, the Sinák <sup>b</sup>. There was very little water in the channel and the shoals of fish had started to swim. He speared, and speared, and speared. He took the path along the Sinák, on the other side, he went along the Sinák, and he put the fishes together in a heap on the path. After he'd put the fish down, he went quickly upriver. He went upriver, and the fishes which swam there in shoals [he speared]. Now the ghosts of the upper Jiniw, Mis and Wok, also set out on a hunting party, [the line of] their canoes stretched from shore to shore. The river was broad; in fact, the river is narrow everywhere, but when the ghosts are on it, it's wide, then it's wide. They usually row on it as though it were the Asewéc. So they stretched from shore to shore, at the Cepésmi and the Okórmi. They were approaching, singing with their mouths wide open. Now, father walked farther and farther upstream along the bank of the river, spearing fish and putting them together where he'd speared them, here, and there, and there. Finally, he arrived at the

mopán, jisín, tamúw kor jemés kor nim iním pariémic. á jisín tamúw masním, iním amésakájjipirémef in.

<sup>1</sup> ajukúmtiare.

<sup>a</sup> i.e., Manéfakat, the father of the speaker.

<sup>b</sup> The Sinák is a small stream that joins the Jomót and the Jiníw together.

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arám, jícop cí sen maták pak ín. 'm, Napú enésturúmfef ín. "ē" fik nim, emturuméf cowák. Napú turúémtiwef ín. "ucím ar' am éw efamúc, ucím ar' am éw" iním efes ín. "á, Nápu pé wut, makáp wut, sisit wut, májisaweráw enám wut májisaweráw umúc enám wut májisaweráw", iním efes ín. "maré man, púrumuc aráw Napú, a Napú púrumuc, fáfsiaweraw" iním efes ín. arám, Wóksimit ám arám, camúw asuwém-are'n wasén, iním aesémef in, iním aporéf maré niwí cuwuc eméf, maré apórmef ín. iním aporéf, "á, jipíc cowák awemcém" iním aef ín. maré, a niwí aráw manmák pasés, "ts, majmíreméspunè iním májmíremewérpunè" iním aef ín. arám, makáp cuwut áp cájomatmép. a niwí aráw maré, "á, ní, ów puk kór a Napú minkúm afáfasimar wut aráw" iním aef ín. átewérare'n maré iním aporfés, "a, ja Jísaworém-akap á emíca" iním efes ín. — a juwús ara Jísaworém. "awúja cá jowow méwa ū, ájā, iním memjár akát aráwa". a niwí Jísaworém-simit, arów aporéf, iním aporéf maré manmák cenám cenés atúrumef ín. "a, no tíw aráw man! ucím emítem éw, majmíremánem éw" iním aef ín. átewéráres in cenés anítowopómfes ín. "ó ucè" iním efes ín. atakám otáwfes in. "nó, erém ewémsirésió, car písnakaseré, enam mót mocampés aw tó, jinwíc enam fáwampés. móc mocámpes aw. enám mapór erem éwemsirésió. enám fáwjukmapmúj, Sinák wu emnípuj Sinák wu, enám mapór aniempuj. Jiníw aráw, erém aémsirésió" iním aef ín.

<sup>a</sup> A kind of shell-fish.

<sup>b</sup> The Ásmat people believe that they live in the spirit world before they are born and that they return to it after they die. *Jísaworém* is the name by which Wominén's father is known in the spirit world; Manéfakat is the name he bears in the world of men.

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"ā, noromúm". á wun ów nat, erén memtótep ín. a Jísaworémsimit, ar wétsimit nát, "aw! á no tíw emít no á jipít áomatmí" iním aef ín. maré, jím cí ám arám, akát cepés, mú pakénakap ámsesef ín. "jím

Napú, and that morning he speared fish near the Napú. Then he heard it: there, upstream, they were all coming in his direction, singing. "Ho, the ghosts are abroad! What am I to do now!" he said. — He has second sight —. On the Napú, there was a *jísín* tree, a *jísín* tree with huge buttresses, like shields, stretching on all sides. He kept close to those buttresses of the *jísín* tree.

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But they didn't go to the sea in the canoes. They went to the Napú and lined them up [the canoes against the bank]; screeching like *fik* birds, they lined them up. They lined them up by the Napú. "What'll we do, what'll we do, let's get on, what'll we do," they said. "The Napú should provide many crabs, many *makáp* <sup>a</sup>, many *sisít* <sup>a</sup>, many fish out of the remaining pools," they said. "Fine, then here by the Napú we'll sing, by the Napú; [sitting in a circle] we'll sing in turn," they said. Wóksimit then set out on foot, in the forest, and came towards him. He looked [about him] and there he saw father, standing there. "Hey, people," — no, when he saw him, he said: "Hey, someone's standing there!" Father's eyes began to itch. "Ho, tonight I took the wrong path; I always take the wrong path!" he said. — Father carried with him a great quantity of the *makáp* that were there. "Hey, come, the people are sitting there in a circle in a huge clearing on the bank of the Napú, singing," he said. He took him with him, and when they saw him, they said. "Hey, there's the young Jísaworém! — Father's name is Jísaworém <sup>b</sup>. — "Ahoy! Who are you? oh yes, you've done right to come here!" His father, the old Jísaworém, looked at him, and when he saw him, his eyes nearly popped out of his head. "Hey, that's my son; what's happened to you? Are you dead perhaps!" so he said. They took him and made him sit on the ground. "What do you want?" they asked him. "From early this morning I've been walking here; your little grandchildren were wailing for fish. Yesterday they [the others] speared fish; they [the children] cried for fish. I set out on my way here early today to search for fish. I speared many fish and put them down together. I went along the Sinák, looking for fish. Along the Jiniw, I came here in the early morning," he said.

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"Ho, my good man!" The others wanted to take him upriver with them. But Jísaworémsimit, his elder namesake, spoke: "No, he's my son, usually, I visit him." Then the canoes with the fish nets arrived;

ci aráw” iním aefes ín. iním aporfés Jésircém, níwi mí iním aporéf “ā — Jésircém — “níwia Manéfakató, Manéfakat noromúma ucím eměréma!” “nam, pók meró erém éwsiresí, típuris enám mot mocám-pes. enám moc amocámpesá, enám mapór masním erém émsiresí” iním aef ín. anakátipic aráw, a Mís aráw, Wóksimit ám, “ni, tíw eren métotepcá, tíw erén a” iním efes ín. “má, erén pak, maré. enám, pók mer emémer, atakám un atawúc” iním efes ín. anakátipic aráw, afáwjukúmtiwef enám, a Wók tetám a Mís tetám é níwi ko tetám, iním aef ín. jó’n aémtiméf. jó’n emtiméfā, arám, máj, tíwpoporémampes ín. arám, popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép popújaramép. jó iním sapi-amismép masním, tíamismép masním enám, fé enaré, wúwu. e fáwtiwef enám, tewerá tewerá tewerá ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef ajamesjótakef. Sinák wu masním, wú awuéf in, ców, ájisakámteweraré wú awuéf in.

\* Jesircem is the name of a deceased daughter of Manéfakat.

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wú awuéf, áwuare’n, maré, a níwi kor Jísaworém “apák no á jipíc, jó’n emtímcěmar, kawí net máj mumu jómewérmes” iním ef ín. arám asúwemaré’n akcá iwítak. cuwúc emismép aw ún, iním aporéf, mák in apámusmef ín “á, nor mó, o ucím emitém! kawí net máj mumu jómewérměnesá, máj pupurúmomewérměnesá”, iním aef ín. “wuá, emétawúja nor móa”, iním aef ín. anakátipic a enám wuwú kor atéweref ín. amás to méten emitè. ’m “jó ucím asén sapiámsěráw, jó ucím asén sapiámsěráw, ucím asén sapiámsěráw, ucím asén sapiámsěráw!” Fití aniěmfes ín. Fití niemfés, Jomót iním emfés cowak, maré Jomót masním, Jomót jó pim masním maré, na jéw ajpím kor masním animatámef ín. “no porów aráw, porów aráw ja ájmirmómewérměnes nét mopórporemi, orpá maniómčěmnés nór masírím, mák am matitěmi” iním aef ín, níwi am arám manmák is maré kási aníamséf. móc ajuómispes maré sisíri pák cowák. ’m, móc ajuómispes ájuómispes. camán a fó kokokó emár aráw, a fó kokokó emár aráw. jó’n emfafamfés, jó’n fafamfés, jófaj aráw, jófaj ápamép. porów, jók nim emár masním, mapór cepés púrpur ajamep. a nát mistém nim iním ásitemaré, pók éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép éreremamép asámtiwá asámtiwá asámtiwá asámtiwá asámtiwá, á emamséf pok iním átwewer-



all the beautiful women arrived: the river was covered with canoes. "There are the canoes with the women," they said. They looked — Jesírcem<sup>a</sup> saw her father's face, — "Oh," cried Jesírcem, "father, Manéfakat, Manéfakat, dear father, what's happened to you?" "I've been fishing. Early in the morning I took the path here. The children cried all day long for fish. They cried all day long for fish. Early in the morning, I came here to look for fish," he said. Mis and Wok said: "Come, let's take your son upstream, our son must go upstream!" "No, not upstream; but he's been fishing, take his fish first," [the others] said. He gave the fish he'd speared and put together; to Mis, to Wok, and to his father. He stayed there until the sun went down, he . . . — they made him walk in a circle, he was always coming back on his own tracks; he walked in a circle, in a circle. When the sun had nearly gone down, he put the fishes on a string; he packed them in sago leaves. — Again and again he picked up the fish he'd speared and put down; doing this he went downstream along the bank, farther and farther. Finally, at the Sinák, he packed them in a basket made of sago leaves; he went into the forest, cut a frond from a sago palm and made a basket.

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He made a basket of sago leaves, when he'd done this, his father Jísaworém [there upstream] said: "No, this young man of mine, he'll walk until the sun goes down and strange ghosts will take him on the wrong path!" He, too, went on his way, to go with him downriver. He [father] was walking there, going to the forest. He saw him: he [father] turned his back on him, going to the forest. "Oh, my good man, what have you done? Strange ghosts will take you on the wrong path, they'll make you walk round in a circle!" he said. "Ah, it's just as I said, my poor man!" he said. He [father] carried a heavy basket with fish, he was also feeling hungry. "Where shall I be when the sun goes down, where shall I be when the sun goes down . . .?" They walked to the Fití, and then they walked straight to the Jomót. He [Jísaworém-simit] went with him to the Jomót, to the shore of the Jomót, at the far end of our ceremonial house. "This evening I wanted to see whether the ghosts were taking you on the wrong path; if you're alone, they'll join you, so I followed you," he said. Father became dizzy and suddenly fell down. They [the ghosts] grizzled all night; it was serious. They grizzled, and grizzled, and grizzled. Under the house, the ghosts whistled; wheeyee! they whistled, until the sun rose. The following

are <sup>1</sup> maré aníteweméf. manítewer nim iním títweweraré a jismák, atíw-  
teweraré,<sup>2</sup> áj iwénam áj iwénam, “ū” émar ará, “ū”, tesén, apájisef.

<sup>1</sup> áteraré; <sup>2</sup> atíteweraré.

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anakátipic ócen átiwsiriteweraré maré erén, x “wuā, jak áporía ja  
Manéfakat jóca, tó majmírimomewérsesā” iním aefés. cepés wut  
ówerow wút, jiwí wut ás mimís acumásmamép! ’m, jiwí a mú  
nisécēpes ás, i op tepómorsémcēpes. i op tepómorsomá iním cowák  
ajásmampés. póman ákojiréf, póman ákojiraré, áwieséf, áwiesefē. cém  
masnim áemamséf. cém masnim, mánmak ís, enésamséf. arám,  
mot, moc, mot, mot, porównakapiriw masním maré atakám afásmapéf.  
nét nat camán njonjonjonjo emár araw ún njonjo emár araw ún.  
porów jo iním tiamísmep maré maré fó aráw. ar ewút Mewerósakát  
am arám, ék mu jók ewtowópmutè, ék jis towópfes. ék mu jók  
ewtowópmutè, x x fajásmep, áfajásmamep. arám ar epúcēwés, arów  
metéwer ín. Afújè, Wók aráma, Sumújè, Jópakipicè, Nokópè, cí  
iním ariwésfes ín. arów metéwer ín. ’m, a cí kor ajaríwiesfés cowák  
camán mimí, anésmapomfés maré. “émá maré Manéfakat metewér  
emóm” iním aefés. “maré Manéfakat mitiwismúc maré Manéfakat  
metewér emóm” iním aefés. “narám am naráp ow somót emcóma”  
iním efés. ar ewúc Mewerósakát aráw iním emtáwamepés, ek masám-  
tewer ním iním asámteweraré, jismák jokmén iním ájatámteweraré,  
cí, Nokóp emíc aráw, Jópakipic emíc aráw, e Afúj emíc aráw Jópakipic  
ewemíc aráw títur asép, maré ci ák ‘sōh!’ emésmep. ’m, maré opák  
cowák. opák cowak ín maré. maré eméf masním mare jó’n, nét opák  
jó’n emfaméf. iním eméf maré.

<sup>a</sup> A red hot stone is the traditional means of rendering supernatural beings harmless.

<sup>b</sup> The water is obviously very high otherwise it would not be possible for a canoe to go right up to the house.

## X

## 321

Kajè eněrim Jepém, Maní cowkán aemápères ín. Ajkúm a tíw  
Acúwnam, arúw <sup>1</sup> aporómores ín. Maní nám Maní ájumópères cowák.

day, he stayed at home, and just when the afternoon had begun the women crowded together to see him. He got up as though he wanted to go away, and started sorting out things [in the house], pushing them all over the place; he picked up the things that lay there and put them down again casually; then he picked up pieces of burning wood and threw them to both the ends [of the house]. "Lo!" they cried. "Lo!" they all fled outside.

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Quickly he picked up a lance and dashed upstream. "Ho, look there now, Manéfakat is mad! Yesterday they made him loose his way!" they said. The many women, men and children, they let their shit go freely. The children, who, as usual, were [playing] in the water, just let their shit and piss go, they just let their piss go; so they all did. He swam to the other side. When he'd gone to the other side, he came here quickly. He came . . . and he lay down in the house to sleep, he lay down in the house, dizzy. They [the women] cried and cried and cried. Finally, when it was nearly night, he told them what had happened. The ghosts screeched under the house, they were continually screeching there. In the evening, when the sun had gone down, they whistled. Now, in the middle of the day, his younger brother Mewerósakát, had put down a large stone. They laid it in the fire, at the middle of the day they'd put it in the fire. It glowed fiercely, fiercely it glowed<sup>a</sup>. His older brothers then wanted to fetch him: Afúj, and Wok, Sumúj, Jópakipíc and Nokóp, they all arrived in a canoe and they drove it under the house until it stuck<sup>b</sup>. "Now, we want to take Manéfakat with us," they shouted. "Bring Manéfakat outside, we want to take Manéfakat with us," they said. "We, too, are an independent group," they said. While they were thus talking, his younger brother, Mewerósakat, took up the stone, picking it up casually, as though without purpose; he took up the stone from the fire with the tongs. The canoe in which Nokóp stood, and Jópakipíc, and Afúj — Jópakipíc stood at the end of the row —, there beside the canoe — swoosh! [he threw it in the water]. And they vanished, all of them vanished. When he'd done that, there were no ghosts, until the break of the day. That's how it happened.

**X****321**

The people of Kajé and Jepém lived together on the Maní<sup>a</sup>. They [the people of Jepém] then practised magic against Acúwnam, the son of

Jómot am ájarópëres ín. Jomót, "Ajkúm a tiw, Acúwnam músumútumúca! Jépema, Acúwnam músumútumúca!" amésfacamár araw ún. ar ënéw nat curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. moc awút mamóc pak ín, curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. Jépem nát tenfoj ín. Jépem mopores ín curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. curúw moc fá ni animár araw ún. mariw, Tawerít nat inim áporac ín, aj cém mu atakámanémor ín. Acúwnam, Ajkúm a tiw Acúwnam nám awamís araw ún aj cem. cém jëró kor araw ún. cém jëró kor araw ún. sipám, op aráp sipám un cenés aráp sipám un amás memánemér. cém akat ájiwapmór masním maré amás, x aémtewtúmor in. a nát, Jépem nát, ár amás, pók man okonép in jáp araw ún. Tawerít nat, Tawerít nat amás, Tawerít nat x amás maré e óp jukáp. e óp acír, e óp acír, e óp acír. "má" aner ín wú, wu, wu, e cenés acír worém wút, worém wút, mesám mesám amás nat ópak ín worém wút, mípor emsamemamár araw ún máj kor, póman kór. wú am wútiwpara emár araw ún.

<sup>1</sup> arów; used everywhere in place of *arúw*.

<sup>a</sup> See map, p. 363. From the story, it appears that the people of Jépem also had houses on the Jomót.

<sup>b</sup> A kind of dance performed by women when a child is seriously ill or dying.

<sup>c</sup> See § 267, note b.

### 322

Jépem nát a nát tenfój. a nát a cém wut, cem jóf opák in! á cenés matáw <sup>1</sup> memsém acáciomér cowák. é cenés, matáw memsém ácimomér cowák. é wasén jëró kor, é wasén jëró kor, worém wut póman wút máj wut, makámtatiw <sup>2</sup> emár araw ún. esé cówo apcóm, esé cówo apcóm mapómjim acáciomér cowák. tén matáweném, tén matáwenem, tén matáweném, tén mataweném, tén matawenem, tén matáweném. nám cokó nesén jiemér cowák opák cimin ním. mare Acúwnam akámiésmar in maré. "ë, Jépemá, maré Ajkúm a tiw Acúwnama, curúw moc fa ní niómewirir <sup>3</sup> emékamiésmar in" inim eres ín. "haháh! a Jépemá, Jépem, Jómot amás carpá manáwer, no tíw arúw, tés nak ajísowpénokom" áner in, mót. mót nak ópak in úc in emócamár araw ún. ar omúsëwes, a típuris mót, arpá amotmés araw ún. "á, ow nák anisá, mót mocájipurúwa", emár araw ún. amás, x worém kor cuwúw

Ajkúm. They [his mother and his father, Taweríc] were staying with him on the Maní when they made him ill. They went with him to the Jomót. "You," cried the men on the Jomót, "hey, make Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, well again [make him able to stand up]. Hey, men of Jepém, make Acúwnam well again!" He just lay there becoming emaciated. His mother wailed in secret and danced the buttock dance<sup>b</sup>. She didn't cry loudly; secretly she wailed and danced the buttock dance. The people of Jepém didn't know about it. His mother, Ajkúm, wailed and danced the buttock dance in secret, so that the people of Jepém wouldn't see. In secret she wailed and danced the buttock dance. When Taweríc saw that, he first built a new large house. A new house for the son of Ajkúm, Acúwnam, who lay sick. It was a very wide house, it was a very wide house; there were a separate row of collar-beams above, and a separate row of collar-beams below; — he stored the sago on them. When he'd built a well-made house, he began to gather large quantities of sago. And they, the people of Jepém, they just sat there, right opposite, and went on eating their sago and their fish! Taweríc — Taweríc [fetched sago], Taweríc [fetched] sago; it lay there above in large quantities, on the platforms there above on the top set of collar beams. "That's not enough," he said. Sago in sago leaf bags, more and more [he put] there on the lower platforms; and large lumps of sago, large lumps of sago. There were no small lumps of sago. Large lumps of sago, he piled them up at random, and *maj* of sago, and *pomán* of sago<sup>c</sup>; and again, and again, he packed sago in sago leaf bags.

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The people of Jepém knew nothing about it. There was no space left in his large house. He went on, putting them on the floor, along the sides, neatly in rows. He heaped them up along the wide back-wall of the house: many lumps, *pomán*, and *maj*. Carrying bags lined with sago leaves, he put them neatly in rows, and on top of them, he put other rows, and on those, and on those, and on those, and on those — he was in high spirits, as though nothing were afoot. Then Acúwnam died, at night. "Hey, men of Jepém, Acúwnam, the son of Ajkúm, over whom she wailed secretly and for whom she secretly danced the buttock dance, died last night," they said. "Hey, men of Jepém, you're not the only ones who eat the fish and the sago from the Jomót!" You've dared to practise magic against my son!" she said, weeping. — She didn't really cry, she stood there laughing. Only all his younger

amís, Acúwnam nám, átiwáwsimamár <sup>4</sup> araw ún! amás mí, ci mí wut ním, ci mí wut nim, ci mí wut nim, Acúwnam mewór wut nim wá aémtiwer ín. “no namós aráw manè” aner ín. apín, ár takas <sup>5</sup> ín, tákas <sup>5</sup> ín. mi cí mi e cí wut nim iním amsít cowák. “Ajkúma, atów nesén pok emamós na ucím emcawóm aw” jinínimar araw <sup>6</sup> ún. “Jépem ów poric amás metewerásmosá, jaka ním as emutokóma! Acúwnam nám amséwirir amás mawnámosá jak ápori” ánères ín. “ã, cá momómirsefokóma” aner ín.

<sup>1</sup> matá; <sup>2</sup> makámtati; <sup>3</sup> aniomirír; <sup>4</sup> átiwájsimamár; <sup>5</sup> cakás; <sup>6</sup> aw.

<sup>a</sup> It is not clear to me what is meant by this expression.

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sé asimés araw ún. se, se, se, se, siápmorés, amás worém kor atíwtewer cowák, x a sé amán, x a sé aman, x a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé amán, a sé akápmores sé. “eweráw man” áner ín. matówomisères ám aráp amás, mí nim cómismár araw ún. wów jimómismár araw ún wów jimómismár araw ún wów jimómismár araw ún wúnám a sé amán wúnám a sé amán wúnám a sé amán. Acúwnam iním tiwímamés, wúnám ten wúnám ten wúnám ten wúnám ten, maré a amás se amán, apcóm apupúrumucúmtiwères <sup>1</sup> ín maré. sé apcóm aápterémtiwères ín maré. amás, x x Jépem, x x arúw pok emamár, x jófaj amás atíwkukúmor ín. amás amás amás amás amás, arám, afín am njénjer emár araw ún. maré amás afín ásowaper ín. njómo njómo njómo njómo, afín oróm nim étiwamár nat, amás nat maré, anémsoper ín maré. amás mer emporés, “wè, na ucím ar’ám na ucím ar’ám” awemés araw ún. Tawerít nat emsókmémér, máj ní’n anímar araw ún. emporés, x x émporés, x x émporés, x x maré wú makanám atéwenémore <sup>2</sup> ín, enám sew ám. jiwí kor ajismár araw ún, cémi ákmot cepes kór ajismár araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún. iním jipít iním cowúc a purís a tíw amás to’n maré manmírafmor ín. moc áomimés araw ún. mot jóptom jóptom emár araw ún.

<sup>1</sup> apupúrumucúmtiwères; <sup>2</sup> atéwtewémore.

<sup>a</sup> Because the worms in the corpse have eaten the sago in the grave the sago in the sago palms has also disappeared.

### 324

Mósopis, nát, Tamúw Kér a cepés nat curúw apórkasiáces ín. Tawerít a cém. jipi emáporápèrés. si áteweráces ín, Tawerít acomápmores ín

sisters and his children cried. "Oh, you mustn't cry, he wasn't much of a man," she said. Sago, — a large lump that lay there — she smeared on the body of Acúwnam. Sago meal — as much as the lime for [painting] a canoe. She made him glisten like a large *mewór* cockatoo. "Now I'm satisfied," she said. His thighs — here and here — [she smeared] every part with sago meal; as much as the lime for a canoe, he lay there like a large canoe. "Ajkúm, please practise magic which isn't harmful! What are you going to do to us?" everyone said. "Think of the people of Jepém! You should have got sago! And now you have done a thing like this. All the time that Acúwnam lay sick, you should have got sago; and look now! [at the waste]" said the people. "Oh! it's your fault," she said.

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They dug a pit; they dug out more and more earth. Straight away she fetched a large lump of sago and strewed it in the pit, and more of it, and more, until she covered the mud with it. "That's all right," she said. They took their own sago outside and she strewed it about like lime; making patterns, she went with it outside, and again [she strewed] it in the pit, and again, and yet again. Then they put Acúwnam in it, and thereupon [they put] sago on top of him, and more, and more, and still more, and finally they filled the whole pit with sago. They covered it up with mud. [They were getting] sago — the people of Jepém — while she was practising magic, and the next day, too, they all went out to get sago. Sago, sago, sago, sago — as for Acúwnam: the maggots were devouring him, and they also began to eat the sago. They ate, and ate, and ate, and ate — when the maggots had eaten him clean, all the sago had disappeared. They tried to get sago, but in vain. "Oh, what must we do, what must we do, what must we do?" they said. Taweric, who had spoilt it, in the meantime, just dangled his feet. They tried, and tried, and tried to get sago but in vain. Finally, they put the edible tops of the sago palms on the racks above the fires, and also smoked fish [they ate]. The very small children died, the very old women died; everywhere there was wailing. A son, a daughter of this or that man or woman had already died of hunger. They mourned over them; everywhere there was wailing.

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The wives of Tamúw and Ker, men belonging to the ceremonial house Mos, took a sly look at the house of Taweric; they had a feeling about

maré. sí jurúw, fanénakap sí matewér pak ín si ép araw ún. “a ucím as ám! sí akát nak áw”. “a típuris, amás to, cíptow nim túnampés, cowákseré pen éw menéstewer empúj”. “aw, aw, aw, miníp pacák nakō. na nát neséno, máwtewer asén emár aráwo, opów”, iním aer ín. ar mó mí wací emtámor ín. worém ko cuwúc amís, námun áemtámor ín. atówotákēres ín. jófaj, curúw akakanímomséēres cowák. Jépem a jéw mamcúp nat mapór pak ín. Mós nat, amán in ajpamá emár araw ún. Mós nat, mesám mesám pok opák in enám teweréwere jíměro,<sup>1</sup> tów pewere jíměro<sup>2</sup> si ám araw ún. curúw, póman apámtiwěres ín. mí, tótewar ás emár araw ún. mí nesen asámteweres ín. “wè”, — inímpit, amás to nák, maré makmiámismar ín, — “wè, Ajkúm ěmá, atówa téntaj pók nim emámosá”, emporés, emporés. Maní, Mow, Jómot, cofó ajiemér cowák, Jépem wut Kajé kor, Mismám, Éwer kór, Súru kor Majít Jinit Pér kor Uwús kor, “na ucím ar’ám, wè na ucím ar’ám, wè, na ucím ar’ám, wè, na ucím ar’ám”. Tawerít, atakám ajisémer in maré. ów pomán jiwí pomán cepés pomán pápuj-kurumór apor maré atakám ajisémer ín. atakám jok éwemit cowák. atakám jok éwemit cowák, “tóa, to cépes ám, ówerow<sup>3</sup> ám, ówerów enmúm mer ará, cépes jím ará” ajítamor ín maré.

<sup>1</sup> téweréwere jéměro; <sup>2</sup> péwere jéměro; <sup>3</sup> *oweréw*; used everywhere in place of *owerów*.

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“na nát amás to ucím ar’am, pó memjí pow ják nat, or wés am, o niwís am o porówer ám, o tarásšepes ám, a sé jec ewěrom ucím pok tewawér-comè” ajitúmes ín. “enám at etáměrawómè” iním eres ín. “sén ewěscokóm jicóp ci ám jím ci ám, ca cemsén setájckokom cí mi’n, no cemsén cowáka” iním aer ín. pók tewértotoramár, enám tewértotoramár, juwúr ó camár, amésnowomóteper<sup>1</sup> ín. “tó nawic wut atakám jismutmép, — jismútumep atakám tawútumép, ucím, miníp pupúmémé ew” iním eres ín. cemsén asémsirímor ín. amás cém a wasén etámor ín. cem nák tári cém nat nesén ememer ín, kawénak iním emer ín. amás aráp cem etámor in. já matatáw emár araw ún, awamís taríjipic mómoniér e camák. erén Jiséw metéptewer-awér. á cemsén cowák atépsirimamár armá emkúmar araw ún ám wut omót wut, usír wut sowót wut. o kór, pé kor juwúr ó cajítmar.



it. They fetched a stone axe and presented it to Taweríc. It was a long axe, they didn't take a short one. It was quite a long axe. "Hey, what's that? What a splendid axe!" "The children — are like dried up sago palms through hunger. I come here and would like to get some [sago] if there are still some crumbs left." "Oh, ho, you're quite wrong! We've nothing, there's really no place to get sago from, there's nothing," she said. Her husband gave her a sign by lifting his head; a large lump of sago lay there, she gave it to them on the quiet. They took it downstream [to their house]. Again on the following day they got it and secretly took it away. The people of the many ceremonial houses of Jepém did not notice it; it was only known in Mos. The people of Mos [gave] no mere trifles; they caught many fish every day, they got many sago grubs every day, and [they gave] axes also: they took away a part [of the sago], not a big part, only a very small part of it. "Woe," — a man had already died of hunger — "Woe, Ajkúm, please do something about it," they asked, and asked. On the Maní, the Mow and the Jomót, all the sago was spoilt. The numerous people of Jepém, the many from Kajé, the Mismám people: [those from] Ewér, Surú, and Majít-Jinic; the many people of Per and Uwús [they all cried]: "What must we do, what must we do, oh, what's to be done, what's to be done?" Then Taweríc went outside to speak. When he saw that a part of the men, women and children had died, he went outside to speak. From midday he stood [there] calling out. "Tomorrow, tomorrow, the men and the women must go out to fish, every man in his own canoe, the women with the fish nets," he told them.

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"We're hungry, how can we? We can't row because of hunger; [we] your sons, your sisters-in-law, your married daughters, your sisters, if we have to walk through the mud to look for fish, how can we catch them?" they said all the evening. "Well, you've told us to get the fish," and they gave in. "When you come here from the sea with the war canoes, and with the canoes with the fish nets, and arrive in front of your houses, then direct all the canoes towards my house," he said. The whole day everyone looked for food, everyone caught fish; the whole day they hunted pigs with dogs; in battle array they rowed upriver with everything. "Yesterday evening our father came out and spoke; what did he have in mind?" so they spoke. They assembled on the river in front of his house. He'd made a house for the sago in the forest. The real house, the old house, was empty, only the people were

“á, no nát ucím pok émcinè, nó ucím pok tetámcin no ucím tosów ecëmánokom” emár araw ún utsís nat fajáp araw ún. “ěma cí maurúmni ará pak ěma iním memporí” iním aer ín. “Jépen cěwí, cár amás awamis aráw matewí” iním er ín. cí jomátamár, á jomátamár, á jomátamár a cí win cí win cí win cí win cepés cí ám owerów cí ám, maj jófnakap nesén fifí emémer ín.

<sup>1</sup> amèsnomóteper.

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“éwamis, Apoków car amás asi éwamis aráw matewí” iním aer ín. “éwamis Mapíw ow amás asi éwamis aráw”, iním aer ín. “ér, Ufún eněrim Jiwín car amás e jiráw” iním aer ín. “Muká car amás éwamis aráw, Kosér car amás éwamis aráw, Mós car amás éwamis aráw. ér, Mítuopís car amás éwamis aráw. ér, Ówse cár amás éwamis aráw”. cí nat, maj jóf opák ín. e mínakap nesén asámteweres ín á par píw nat, mémcimtewér<sup>1</sup> pak ín. op wút nat, mémcimtewér pak ín. amás tó ewerérměro,<sup>2</sup> e sí araw ún, e porów sí ajiwmar ín. porów si, jók apawérměro<sup>3</sup> sí ajiwmár araw ún. wasén namícukewérměro<sup>4</sup> tów mirám ajiwmár araw ún. sén takawérměro,<sup>5</sup> enám ajiwmár araw ún. máwkam un émporés, “ja ucím pemo éw jak áporwúj”, émimár araw ún. op wút nat macímtewér pak ín. ěmá a cenés fapíw miwpomór. cí mi jipín apinmár araw ún moporómtewen asén emár, amás mer ajísasér<sup>6</sup> máwtewer asén emár araw ún, cófo jiémkurumór cowák. x máwkam ún, x empór, máwkam un, máwkam un, máwkam un. a cenés aómirismár araw ún. á cenés aómirismár araw ún. a cenés aómirismár araw ún, a cenés aómirismár araw ún. “no miwís em, no ja ucím pemof éw, carmá porí!” emár araw ún. “wè, Tawerít noromóm, Tawerít noromóm jiw ná moméwerí” jinínimemár araw ún cėpes ám ówerow ám.

<sup>1</sup> mómcmntewér; <sup>2</sup> ewere jěrměro; <sup>3</sup> apawerérměro; <sup>4</sup> namícukewerérměro; <sup>5</sup> takewere jěrměro; <sup>6</sup> jisasár.

<sup>a</sup> Jepémcěwí, Apoków, Mapíw, Kosér, Muká, Mítúr, Owsé, Ufún and Jiwín were at that time *jev* in Jepém. The last four are no longer in existence. Mapíw now shares a ceremonial house with Apoków, Muká with Kosér. The people of Jepém told me that this was due to a lack of people.

in it. He made a separate house for the sago. He kept going to it; the sago, which had lain there a long time, he brought it back home along the path behind the house. He didn't go upstream to get sago at the Jiséw [his sago garden].

Everybody went upstream to his house. Everybody went ashore: many *am* fish, *omót* fish, rays, sawfishes, large pigs, huge crabs; pigs which had been hunted that morning with dogs. "Oh, what can I do for you? What shall I give you? What will you give me in return," he said, and he smiled broadly. "Wait, don't go again to the canoes, wait a moment," he said. "Jepémčéwi", your share of the sago lies over here, take it," he said. They took it to the canoes, to one after another, to those of the women as well as those of the men. [In the canoes] there was only very little room for them to stand.

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"Apoków, your share of the sago lies over there, take it," he said. "That part there, Mapiw, is yours," he said. "Over there, — Ufún and Jiwin, over there's your share," he said. "Muká, there's your sago; Kosér, yours is there, yonder. Mos, your sago's over there, people of Mitúr, your sago's over there. Owsé, yours is over there." There was no place in the canoes to stand! And still they had taken away only a tiny part from the far end; they didn't take it away from the huge main mass. They didn't take it from the huge quantity above. Every day, when they were hungry, [they gave] axes. In the evening they made them a present of axes, in the evening. Day in, day out, they sat, doing nothing, they just presented them with axes. Day in, day out, they went to the forest [to get sago grubs]; and [then] presented them with bundles of sago grubs. Day in, day out, they went to the sea, and then presented them with fish. They didn't succeed in using it [the sago] all up. "How can I have done it, look at it!" so he said, time and time again. He didn't take [sago] from the supply above, only from the sago he'd put on the floor. There was a coming and a going of people; there was no [other] place where they could get sago. — They went away in search of sago, but there was no place where they could get it! There were no sago palms with sago meal in them. He didn't succeed in using it up; first he busied himself with the sago below. "Oh, good people, take a look yourselves. How can I have done it!" he said. "Oh, Taweric, good man; Taweric, good man, long may you live!" so everyone said, the women, and the men.

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ci mí jipin apinmár araw ún. máwkam ún empór, máwkam ún empór, ěmá cenés, a jo wín fafujér a cenés, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór, a cenés támesmór. worém mak ám tatámenemór worém omirismar ín esé apcóm mapom-tewér pak ín. esé japúw apómjimór mapómtewér pak ín. “e worém tákamómirisíc, e máj tákamomirisíc” iním aer ín. maré a cenés awakám-kurumor ín maré, worém wut máj wut áwakámkurumor ín maré esé apcóm cuwuc áp. ájapómcimores ín maré, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór, esé máwkam un empór. “carmá porí ja ucím pemof éw” emár araw ún. ar amótipic nat máj ni'n emnimár araw ún. ar amótipic nat máj ni'n emnimár araw ún. máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór, máwkam un empór. maré esé apcóm awakámkurúmore<sup>1</sup> ín maré. maré a cenés sipám anamicimór, a jimsíp aóteveres ín. x x x x awakámkurúmore<sup>1</sup> ín maré. wowút nat mémcimtwér pak ín. emporés, ják manáfakam ún emporés, — wasén amás mentém aw, jak fék mawór ará —, áj nat ajismár araw ún, x x x óp acír, worém wut máj wut, póman wut, mak ám tatámenemór áwakámkúrmores ín. e óp, sosót temétowtopmór acír atemetjímores<sup>2</sup> ín. e óp x e óp e óp x e óp x e óp e óp e óp, mariw, wú cowak ápimópères ín maré.

<sup>1</sup> *bikin apis* emorés. *bikin apis* = Malay: *bikin habis*; <sup>2</sup> *atapómjimores*.

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maré, Seréw, piri amás cofó jemér atakám maré Mecēmúp kawénak nim ákukúaser ín maré. Pisím eněrim Wasí, Jépem nés jipíc jamnók ín, tés jisēmères<sup>1</sup> ín. “Pisím ením Wasía, cá jowów amás to jis nim jómatmés aw úna! amás namír afmés aw úna!” iním eres ín. — Sisnám cowút akátipic a Sakán jep, jipít tes ním ajismópères ín —. tám anuwútmames ín, Wasí eněrim Pisím. Áw araw nów Niním araw nów arewsámores ín. pómot có'n eámar ín. Jómot móc ín ajatámsières ín, cemsén mimís jen ín áemamar ín. Jépem nát jiwís pok “pok manám ajkíc” jí nak ním. mot ámotjaramámes ín. porów purumúc, aciropères ín. purumút ni ániomitúmes ín. jisín animár araw ún, pók manám ajikmés araw ún. ci sés mosów amún pu jáp araw ún. “tó em máem-sawěráw, car wíc jamnók newét jamnók jowún mápecés” iním eres ín. tam jó iním púamismár nat, jiwís pok nat cí aówonier ín. Pisím enim Wasí nat cém wapés araw ún. “á ja ‘tó em’ iním efom áwa!” “á, ca nát em éawiría” aneres ín. tam júruru ániámser ín maré. Maní

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There was a coming and a going of people. He couldn't use it up, he couldn't use it up. Day in, day out, he put [sago] on the floor, along the walls, more, and more, and more, and more. He only bothered with the large lumps, which he'd piled up; he didn't take the full bags, he didn't draw on the big mass of bags of sago he'd stored. "First deal wit the rolls of sago, first deal with the large lumps, first deal with the *maj*," he said.

Finally, he'd used up the sago below; the many lumps of sago and *maj* of sago were used up. But the full bags still lay there. They began to take some of those, he tried to use up the bags, continually, he tried to use them up. "Look for yourself, how can I have done it!" he said. The rich man dangled his feet, he dangled his feet. Again, and again, and again, he tried to use it up — Finally, they'd used up all the bags of sago. Then they began to fetch it from the lowermost collar-beams. They took it away from near the door. They used up all of it, but the middle part he'd not yet removed. They tried to eat their fill, but in vain — [only] when you go to the forest to get [fresh] sago, [will] your belly be satisfied —. Part of the people died. The many lumps, rolls, half rolls he'd put down in rows on each other, there on the platforms above, they used them all. They took away the sago from the platforms he'd hung up on the ridge beam: more, and more, and more — finally, only the bags made from sago leaves were left.

## 328

In Seréw — the news that the sago palms on the coast didn't contain any meal had spread like wildfire around the regions of the Mec — [in Seréw] there were two men, Pisím and Wasí, blood kinsmen of people in Jepém; they were great warriors. "Pisím and Wasí, they carry [the dead] of your family like firewood! It's said they die of hunger because of the famine," the people said. — Sísám was a very beautiful woman living at the mouth of the Sakán. She had as much *tes* as a man <sup>a</sup>! — In the morning, Pisím and Wasí started out. They went from the Aw — or was it the Niním? They both had paddles decorated with white cockatoo's feathers. Wailing, they entered the Jomót. In the village the sound of lime throwing rang out <sup>b</sup>. Jepém was astir, [the people were] packing their baggage as though someone had given the order: "Pack the baggage in readiness to move." Wailing, they walked round. In the evening, people began to sing for them; the whole evening they sang and danced to honour them. Meanwhile, the

am, Kajè át etám nak ním, arám kukuku áníamser ín. Mów am arám, Ewér Surú, Majít Jinit, Per, Uwús át etám nak ním, arám jiwís po kukuku áníamser ín. Jómot, ajiser ín. Maní nat akápuamár nat, Siréc asier ín. Mów am, Mów samát<sup>2</sup> manmák win manmák win jiskápuamár nat. mú pakénakap ín. Jépem wún, Asewéc apájser ín. Kajè wun Asewéc apájser ín. wún Unír ar ín, wún Pomúc ar ín. wún Momác ar ín. Amorép apájser ín, Ác apájser ín, Miwár apájser ín, Esín apájser ín, Amisu apájser ín Jów apájser ín. Kawét, Cowéw, Jaméw, Micím Sosó, Ar-Naním Atámuc. Sérew apcóm ajápteremóteper ín. memáp ow opák ín.

<sup>1</sup> ísemérés; <sup>2</sup> *somót*; used everywhere in place of *samát*.

- <sup>a</sup> *tes*: a quality that can be present in certain objects and in man. In men it manifests itself as success in war, in being successful in hunting pigs and in having a dominant personality: in women, in being beautiful (see § 324, note c) and in having a dominant personality. An insufficiency of *tes* can be augmented by taking the head of an enemy at a head-hunting raid arranged for the purpose.
- <sup>b</sup> Lime is thrown in order to avert a calamity, or to neutralize the *tes* of an enemy. In a crisis such as that described here, not only is the lime thrown but the bamboo lime containers are also smashed: this is the sound referred to.
- <sup>c</sup> A new canoe is 'fired' before it takes to the water. Burning torches, made of sago palm leaves are held under its bottom until a layer of charcoal, approximately 1/8 in. thick has formed. This is then scraped off with shells. Canoes that have been in the water for a long time are also subjected to this process in order to remove the growth of weed. Canoes are also fired before a long journey. According to the Ásmat people, firing makes a canoe light and fast.

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Jómot, Ewnápo araw ún, Cennácuw araw ún, iním aerwápères ín. Maní, Minwúj enim Erák, makán ajíperes ín. Mów, — Séper, ja Mów makan jípères ów, ucím ow ám —. Maní Amánpitsimít ám araw ún, Mów Jakajmówsimít, Kurúm, makán ajíperes ín. Korè, Jinác, makán ajíperes ín Jómot ám arám ów kow ún Maní nat, Minwúj enim Erák cowák aráp ín. amás nat, á makán eres ów jisítères ów, amás, e óp jurúw nat amás opák ín. apí e inímnakapiriw. iním amásnakápiriw ajápnères ín. Mów a jismák sukmapá eres ów, a Maní jismák jártewerá, Maní a jismák sukmapá eres ów, a Mów jismák tewerá, Jómot a jismák sukmapá eres ów, Maní jismák pájtewerá, Kajè a jismák sukmapá eres ów Jómot jismák tewerá iním ajapámeres ín. — iním emorés nat á cowák jó cowák a tárwápcares áw —, arám iním aemápères ín jir cómic ín. mokót tewerít mokót memáp pak. Minímap, wasén jisápères ín. Jiníw aníakápères ín. Minwúj nat, apácínakáp ajapkámtakawér-měro<sup>1</sup> cowák Maní jaká, Čěmenosamín, minkúm sé in ajitómiwmar

people fetched coconuts and packed up their things. They were busy firing the canoes<sup>c</sup>. "Tomorrow the drums must be beaten, your two fathers, your two elder brothers must depart on the day after tomorrow," they said. In the morning, just when the sun had risen, they took the baggage to the canoes. Pisím and Wasí, who sat in the house [of their kinsmen], said: "Hey, there, 'tomorrow the drums must be beaten' so we said yesterday!" "Beat them yourselves, then," the people said, and that morning they all started out, one after another. On the Maní, it was the same: the people of Kajé, as though they had been ordered, all went down the river, with paddles thumping. And on the Mow, also, the people of Ewér, Surú, Majít-Jinic, Per and Uwús were also on the move as though they had been ordered; they all rowed down the river with paddles thumping. They rowed out of the Jomót; the people from the Maní joined them, and they set out on the Siréc. The people from the Mow, one group after another, came out and joined them. The water swarmed [with the canoes]. Some of the people of Jepém broke away and went to the Asewéc; some from Kajé broke away and went to the Asewéc; some went to the Unír, some to the Pomác, some to the Momác. Some went to Amorép, to Ac, Miwár, Ésin, Amísu, and Jow; to Kawét, Cowéw, Jaméw, Micím, Sosó, Ar-Naním and Atamúc. The great mass of people went on their way to Seréw. Nobody stayed behind.

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Only Ewnápo and Cemnácuw stayed together on the Jomót. On the Maní they left Minwúj and Erák. On the Mow — Sepér<sup>a</sup>, the people they left on the Mow, who were they? — On the Maní, Amánpitsimít also stayed behind. On the Mow, they left Jakajmówsimít and Kurúm, Koré and Jinác behind. On the Jomót, also, there were still many people. On the Maní, only Minwúj and Erák were left behind. The sago, the sago of the people whom they'd left behind — up there [in the house] there was no sago. Look, such a little bit, only such a small piece did they have to eat. — The people on the Mow whose fires had gone out, went to the Maní to get fire; when the fires of the people on the Maní went out, they fetched fire from the Mow. When the fires of the people on the Jomót went out, they turned to the Maní to fetch fire; when the fires went out in Kajé, the people went to the Jomót to get fire: so the give and take went on. — So they went on, but they would have done better had they come together on one river — so they stayed there, their spleens like sponges<sup>b</sup>. The

araw jewér kor, cí e jewér ak, iním jiskawímtiwawér cowák. a nát jewér, éw nim iním átajámser <sup>2</sup> ín. enám iním akónawmesmá jermep, kámem sé maniapóm pak ín. iním atakámtewerá ci, mípor émtitiwá, iním jewérměro <sup>3</sup> 'n Maní. porów maserím jírnotepá jipuawér araw ún.

<sup>1</sup> ajakámtakéwere jérměro; <sup>2</sup> átajamsár; <sup>3</sup> jéwere jérměro.

<sup>a</sup> *Sepér*: one of the listeners; he came from the village of Uwús, on the Mow.

<sup>b</sup> i.e., life was very difficult for them.

<sup>c</sup> He didn't miss once.

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Sérew jéw mu aicímores ín. Jispáripic ám arám, Kajè, Kamsópisipít Jispáripít, Seréw, Jewérnamakát, jipít nim tés ajismópěres ín. — a Sisnám tesmá cowut, Sisnám nat, mocóm opák. akát cepés mocómopawér. Sisnám ar mó Jíw in —. Jewérnamakát nat, cowúc akát apóres ín. a Seréw, papís matam ów opák in. Mecěmúp, Ác in, Jakaríw cim-simít, “já Jewérnamakát, Seréw papís atámcom já no papís cowút akát” iním eápmor in papís is arpá espómer ín. maré Jispáripit nát, ci éwkuor cowák a Jewérnamakát manmák asamápmor ín. a papís manmák wasé araw, maré ten ájawerémtiwer ín maré. áomiser ín papís. jéw, apómkekemés araw ún. jéw, apómkekemés araw ún. jew, jew, jew, maré onów <sup>1</sup> atapómkekémores ín maré. onów iním akómamés maré amás usí awuámser ín. amás usí. “Jispáripicá, já Jewérnamakát Seréw, papís matám ow pák! e Jakaríw cim ar ém, Jakaríw cim manmák eskám ar omér! cemsén cowkán in, omér ajímap araw. ám a papís arpá omismár”. “jó cowkán emár aráwo” iním aer ín. amás usí awuámser ín.

<sup>1</sup> onów; used everywhere in place of onów.

<sup>a</sup> According to my informants a man only daubs red earth above the eyes of a woman with whom he has a *papís* relationship when she is not the wife of his *ésakap*, i.e., his official *papís* partner.

<sup>b</sup> Bloodshot eyes are a sign of a vicious nature.

<sup>c</sup> Here the listeners make the comment that one must effect *papís* with a woman of one's own village.

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— á, atakám mófasímtewer emín —, jaká, Sepér jep, cacíw kor wasén éwumsomítěres ín maré. Atáripic x ci éwtiwawér cowák,



sago palm gardens which had been passed down to them were no longer there. They went to live in the forest by the Minímap; they went to the Jiniw and stayed there. Now Minwúj went down to the Maní each day in his small one-man canoe and tied up his canoe to a huge *jewér* tree which lay with one end in the mud, near the mouth of the Cémenosamín. He always put his canoe alongside this *jewér* tree. Like a crocodile, he lay down on the trunk. Each time a fish swam close by he didn't stick the many-pointed spear into the mud<sup>c</sup> but he speared the fish with it; he pulled it in and threw it carelessly into the canoe. Then, in the afternoon, he usually went up the Maní with a full canoe.

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In Seréw, they began the feast for the new ceremonial house. Now, Jispáripic, Jispáripic of the ceremonial house Kamús at Kajé — in Seréw, there was Jewérnamakát: full of *tes* she was, like a man. And Sisnám, the beautiful woman — they didn't hide Sisnám; you should keep beautiful women indoors. Sisnám's husband was Jiw. The people noticed that Jewérnamakát was beautiful. She didn't have a *pápis* man in Seréw. He [her *pápis* man] was Jakariw cimsimít, from Ac in the Mecémúp. "You, of Seréw, are not allowed to enter into a *pápis* relationship with Jewérnamakát, she's my *pápis* woman," so he spoke, and he alone went to lie with her as her *pápis* man. Now, Jewérnamakát caught the eye of Jispáripic as he stepped from the canoe onto the land. And forthwith he daubed the red *pápis* sign above her eyes<sup>a</sup>. — At that time, they were making the new ceremonial house, making it strong. They worked constantly at it — at last they put the thatch on it and fastened it firmly. While they were getting the thatch, they all moved to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago. "Jispáripic, this Jewérnamakát has no *pápis* man in Seréw. She's the *pápis* woman of Jakariw cim, Jakariw cim with the bloodshot eyes<sup>b</sup>, of whom people are afraid! Even the people living in the same village with him are afraid of him. He only lies with her!" He [Jispáripic] said: But she's not from the same river [as Jakariw cim]<sup>c</sup>!" — They'd all gone to a temporary dwelling place to scrape out sago.

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— Now I'll take up the story again — There, at the mouth of the Sepér, they drove a huge *cacítw* fish away from the shore. Atáripic

emápmor ín. ci kajkajkajkajkajkaj e jicēmúp, mak émseres ów ci, acákokorómseres ín. áteweráces ín Wasí enim Pisím ci awínemores ín. Atáripít nat nám. akín ajisakámtiwères ín maré. pakás kor néw. “Jakaríwcmá, o papís cowúc Jewérnamakátá, Jispáripicá, piri éwitéa, papís manmák wasé ajiwíref ín, papís omísmar ina” iním aeres ín. “a jó cowkán emár aráw, ám a papís cowuc áw” iním aer ín. emér emér emér emér emér emér “á, no piri, Áw mu puawéra, Áw mu puawéra”, iním er ín. jicop cí kor ájarimutmar ín. cém cakám un. cém cakám cuwúc amis, sén apém omén kor ajimásmores ín. “Ác a cí korá!” “e cá omén am” “a Ac cí korá, Jákaríwcm emárimútmará” iním aeres ín. Jispáripít nat pónakap ákamóper ín. “Jispáripít, majtí! ‘Jakaríwcm’ iním emés, a papís cowút, ó ajiwírfem. mistí, manmák eskám” ajíporés. á na pó sejpá’n ápatmár araw ún. ów nat opák in cém nat ów opák in. a jéw omópères ów atáwporés atáwporés atáwporés.

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anakátipic, pomót kor, iním ámesémjirmémac ín, jeníwpa kór, wác apcóm kukár mi, éperak sé ar in mén in acápmomkúer ín a wác in ajimomer ín. Jispáripít nat pó sejpá atmár araw ún, ápatmár araw ún. asówfiwer ín. jéw ko pó sejpá cuwuc<sup>1</sup> ápatmár, “Jispáripít, sínakap pototómcenó,<sup>2</sup> Jewérnamakát papís manmák wasé ó etjiwírfenem inó” iním aer ín. “no Seréw jaká cowúc papís manmák wasé majwír pakó, ja papís norpá ajiméspomío” iním er ín. “Jakaríwcm sínakap patetámcená” iním aer ín anakátipic, áj pim éwfiwer cowák áj pim áeméner ín. a jeníwpa kór nat, épermák nesén apápcapípimar a mén in acápmomér cowák. áj pim amérfasíac ín, iním emór, pó sejpá cuwuc ápatmár, mán am ápomosómor ín. áteweráces ín a jéw, kámu nim ájarimópères ín. maré a jéw amán út nim, út nim uc ájè ájè ájè ájè, nesén círomásères cowák maréw ín. maré a jéw, tesén a míjispúm pak ín maré, o ním piním un áfikmámes in mufúm pak ín. nów kus nat áteweráces ín. Ac cí aniómuwores ín. Jispáripit tówofères mají pak ín curúw anápères in maré.

took one [a harpoon] out of the canoe and hit it. Quickly the canoes of the people who'd stayed behind, in the middle of the river, pushed on — they chased and killed the fish and hauled it aboard. When they seized it, they threw it in the canoe of Wasí and Pisím. Immediately after they'd put it ashore, Atáripic became ill. Perhaps he had a big ulcer. "Jakaríwcim, your *papís* woman, Jewérnamakát, Jispáripic came from the coast and put the red *papís* sign above her eyes; he has a *papís* relationship with her!" they said. "Oh, she's not from the same river [as I am], let her be his *papís* woman," he said. He waited, and he waited, and waited — "Well, I'm going to the coast, to pay a visit to the Aw, to pay a visit to the Aw," he said. In the morning, he manned a big war canoe. At that time the village [of Seréw] was deserted. At the downstream end [of the village] they raised a shout. "A big canoe from Ac!" — "Who's shouting there?" — "It's a big canoe from Ac that Jakaríwcim manned this morning," they said. Jispáripic, Jispáripic sat making a small paddle. "Jispáripic, get away from here, it's Jakaríwcim! You've daubed his *papís* woman [with red paint], get up! He's bloodshot eyes," so they urged him. But he just sat there making the paddle with a chopping knife. There were no [other] people there; there was nobody in the houses. The men who sat in the ceremonial house tried to reason with him again and again, but in vain.

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He [Jakaríwcimsimit] put his huge feather adorned paddle in the mud beside the canoe, and went ashore with a long lance with a cassowary's claw like the beak of the *kukár* bird which he held at its point, dragging the end in the mud. He pulled it along, holding the cassowary's claw. Jispáripic just sat there working the paddle with the chopping knife. He went inside — he sat on the gallery in front of the ceremonial house working with the chopping knife. "Jispáripic, give me a small stone axe; it's said that you daubed the *papís* red above the eyes of Jewérnamakát, instead of me," he said. "Jakaríwcim, do give me a little axe!" he said [Jispáripic]. The man at once went inside, at the far end of the ceremonial house, and walked to the other end. The end of his big lance swung to and fro; he held it only by the point. When he'd gone to the other end and had turned round, this is what he did: with both hands, he thrust the lance into the body of the man who sat working the paddle with the chopping knife. They picked him up; in the ceremonial house, they all made a terrible noise. It was as though

<sup>1</sup> cuc; <sup>2</sup> potómcen.

<sup>a</sup> This is a sign that his intentions are bad.

<sup>b</sup> According to custom the corpse should have been dipped in the river.

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Atáripít, a cém tówomiwér,<sup>1</sup> jipíc am, ar mó, asé cepes ín wárimomásér ín a fá cowúc, cém makán ajíper ín. “newét, no sín arám ám aráw, nam cáj. cém manmák iním tuwopíc” iním aer ín. cém jok ów pok mer armá wuamísmes maré, a Atáripic, cém fomiwér <sup>2</sup> jipíc,<sup>3</sup> makán jipér fá cowút tasmá, Atáripit manám afor ín. a ar ém cuwuc áp, á apómkurer ín. “iním cowucá”, — Sorówsimít ara nów Opekátsimít ara nów —, “iním cowucá, nór, a newét, ják serémopóf, jemcés cēmén akát. cáj máecén”, iním aer ín. ásisiócinér, ásisióciner ar mó cuwuc amís atíwoter ín. “no sín ucím atakám potáwmen éw” “atakám cowák ótawmen aráw, asówkonawfóm, ják seré japfen ín. “át etám-porén” iním er”. “m, no ucím apí!” iním aer ín. “atakám miníp pacák nak púmopěném” iním aer ín. “á, efamút! cén man pák aporcí aráw, newét setájcaw, “no Atáripic ókora ókoromfén”, iním mají! Seréw áwuamsé, o pok mú amás pak, o nés matámjik ín, amás usí wuamsé! cén mancén, musúmutúm emín”, ajómewérmar Atáripit omér eporamár, omér eporamár, omér eporamár, omér eporamár, “á, musumutúm emín, cén man pák aporcín aráw” iním er in. a Atáripic ar ém kor, e jíp ámeráper ín. maríw, Atáripit maré a cowút tasmá, cém ajówmoper ín. anér anér anér am ásumutúmor ín. “ór aráw, porów manémum emín. usí wów akájcěma, erém manémum emín” iním aer ín.

<sup>1</sup> tówomiwír; <sup>2</sup> fomiwír; <sup>3</sup> ipít.

### 334

usí ajaréwkajámar in cém. Jispáripit nát curúw nesén napěres cowák maréw ín. amás cowú curúw aetámtewerés cowák. a Seréw, kurkurkurkurkurkurkurkur, 'm, ó nim, jak káju káju étotormár araw

there was laughter in the ceremonial house ; — haw, haw, haw ; — they simply cut him up in pieces <sup>b</sup>. They stayed in the ceremonial house, and did not go outside to throw him into the water. They made it [his flesh] smell like roasting pork ; they kept it a secret. They took the head they'd cut off with them in the canoe to Ac. They told no one that they'd killed Jispáripic ; in secret they'd eaten him.

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The man who'd brought Atáripic into his house went off with all his co-wives ; his chief wife he left at home. "My elder brother, and also my sister, are ill, keep an eye on them here in the house," he said. The people who'd been at home that morning had all gone away to fish. The chief wife of the man who'd brought Atáripic to his house, [the wife] who was left behind, had taken a fancy to Atáripic. She spoke about it to his wife, who was sitting there. "Hey, woman," — was it Sorówsimít, or Opekátsimít? — "hey, woman, I've taken a fancy to your husband. He has a beautiful young penis, let him couple with me!" she said. She drew towards him and nudged her husband, who lay there. "What has my sister to say to me?" "She's something to say to you. [She says] that when we arrived here, she took a fancy to you. She said [to me]: 'tell him that for me,' " so she spoke. "Oh, what can I do? What you say and what you're thinking of with regard to me is very bad," he said. "Be quick! If I see that you don't want to couple with me, then I'll say to my husband when he comes home: 'Atáripic has raped me!' All the people of Seréw are away getting sago, but [there'll be] no feast sago for you, your flesh will be packed in bundles! They're all away getting sago ; if you couple with me, I'll let you go." She kept on saying that, and Atáripic became more and more afraid. "Come, I'll let you go ; but if I see that you won't couple with me, then . . .," she threatened him. At least, the wife of Atáripic went to sit at the far end [of the house] and Atáripic and the beautiful woman sat together in the house. He coupled with her . . . he raised her. "You, I'll let you go this evening. Today the people return from camp, and tonight I'll let you go away," she said.

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The people came home from camp in great numbers. Concerning Jispáripic, they had just eaten him in secret. Straightaway, they'd secretly brought the news to the place where the sago was being scraped out. The news flew from mouth to mouth amongst the people

ún maré. “apák, maré amás, ków nak, maré na, maré ajníma ajníma”  
 áněres in maré. ájarewfájpurtámar in sékakajámar in. amás cem fá  
 asen opák in. “maré jew, tó jem ám, onók muri ám tó, onów jowún  
 mápurámsěráw” iním aer in. jéw nat tów mamátiw pak in. cáj  
 emeěrés, piri só mopórjit, jéw aj icímores in. jéw amán mapórjursúm,  
 jéw aj icímores in. jófaj, onók muri jém ci atáwjmirśemor in, onók  
 muri kór aámjwápmores in. jófaj masním, tesén so niesmár niesmár  
 niesmár, tám onów un awítiwěres in. tám, onów awítiwěrés, maré pir  
 só, jok ákurumápěres in. pir só, ěmá porów jirwútumá jirwútumá  
 jirwútumá jirwútumá, maré, a Atáripic a cén anér cowút, “newét,  
 a cepés am, a tipuris ám erém mátepěrés” iním aer in. maré ar mó  
 kor ám arám, amán asów mípici, cuwúc amis jirporá jirporá jirporá  
 akátipít. máj pakám wut ním anítewemtámor<sup>1</sup> in. omócen kór  
 aníjimémtamor in. ceswén mirám kor aníjimémtamor in “po fá  
 asorómočėnes ów, aníjimémtamámín, mómokómtiwíc” iním aer in. maré  
 Atáripic, erém, Áw erén ajirímtapmésmes in maré.

<sup>1</sup> aníjimémtamor.

<sup>a</sup> When a new ceremonial house is completed, its strength is tested by all the men who take part in the feast, jumping up and down to a rythm beaten out by the drums. Should the house settle as a consequence, then great is the humiliation of the group to which it belongs: their strenght is as that of their house.

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niesmár niesmár niesmár niesmár niesmár niesmár maríw, jó'n afamás-  
 mores in tam ásakámores in. “maréa, amás tamā, e piri aréwfaj ówa  
 jéw cowák ará” áněres in. Jépem, Kajè, Per Uwús Mismám, Ewer  
 Surú Majít Jínít, jéw cowák, jéw cowák jóf opák in. Tawerít nat  
 cém apitmar in. Jakáj eněrim Máspic a niwí Tawerít. “ja Tawerít  
 ucé”. amás, amás, e jéw jurúw, piri nat a jóf opák in, ajiwtuwápmor  
 in. Tawerít manmák siriáp araw ún. Tawerít manmák siriáp araw  
 ún. Tawerít, jemís jemís jemís asówsiter in. a wajír<sup>1</sup> fiwér aw ún,  
 áj aríw áj aríw jarmár araw ún e óp manmák. e óp manmák onów  
 serér mopór. a óp ara, maré e erén pim jipmúr onów karésnakap,  
 iním apór, amán am omócen am, makpín in iním amerómer in.  
 e jipmúr. wasén nat tów wut nim mormormormormor ajesmár. Sérew

of Seréw. Then, their hearts began to thump like the hearts of wild pigs! "Hey! there's sago in abundance. Now it's our turn, now it's our turn [to take heads]" they cried. They came together from all directions and reached the village. Because of the sago, there was no room in the houses to sit down. "All right, tomorrow the floor covering for the ceremonial house and also the rafters — the day after tomorrow the thatch must be on," they said. For [the feast for] the ceremonial house they didn't cut down sago palms to get the sago grubs. They wanted an excuse to murder the men from the coast, so they began the feast. They began the feast for the new ceremonial house in order to kill them in the ceremonial house. The next day, they took the canoes to the water so that they could fetch the rafters and the floor covering. They laid many large rafters on it. The following day, they danced the whole night and sang the *tesén* song. In the morning, they laid the thatch. They laid the thatch in the morning and then, at noon, they sat and sang the *pir* song — no, in the afternoon they sang the *pir* song — and they jiggled up and down, up and down, up and down<sup>a</sup>. The woman with whom Atáripic had coupled said: "Our brother, his wives, and his children must go upriver tonight." Then her husband tried to bend a very large strong bow that lay there. He tried it, and again he tried it, — it was fine — and he put the bow down for him [with a thud], as though he stamped his foot. He fetched a large spear from above for him. From above, he fetched a big bundle of arrows for him. "I put them down for you," he said, "should the men pursue you, you must kill them." And when it was night they sent Atáripic away to the upper course of the Aw.

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The whole night long there was dancing; they went on until daybreak and in the morning they stopped. "Enough, now! This morning the sago [must be handed round], all the people who came from the coast must go to the ceremonial house," they announced. The people of Jepém, Kajé, Per, Uwús, and Mismám: of Ewér, Surú and Majit-jinic, all went to the ceremonial house. There was no room left! Taweric, however, just stayed in the house that morning. — Taweric, the father of Jakáj and Máspic. — "Where's Taweric!" More and more sago [they got together]. In the long ceremonial house they assembled the men from the coast; there was no room left. They waited, and waited, on the lookout for Taweric. Finally, after a long wait, Taweric stood up. He entered the ceremonial house in the middle; he

wut Epém wut Sakwús wut.<sup>2</sup> á amás masé mapór, a Tawerít nat manmák pepe emár araw ún, pepe emár araw ún. maré, awón mopáces ín, x “á Seréwa no só ajitni ca pacák pén!” a wasén kor iním niamár ’m x x x Tawerít nat maréw, Jiw cin ar ewúc, ’m á onow mák jéten ín átarífiser ín marí. Tawerít arám ócen apcóm amán apcóm atép-sowamár cowák ar ewúc cin mariw, a jéwsen tóko, énesjápères ín marí. a nát mariw, a jéw nat pipipipipi tatakáj ow émsajcúcumár araw ún, tatakáj ow emsajcúcumár araw ún. maré erén cowák, airímteper ín, maré.

<sup>1</sup> wojír; <sup>2</sup> A listener interrupts: “e Tawerít nat atakám matáw an ew” — Did they tell Tawerít about it? Simní answers: “a ná amsóm un! a ná erám apcóm, or epúc kor na!” — He knew it! He had a magical power, that great-grandfather of yours!

<sup>a</sup> Seréw, Epém and Sakawús: the three *jezw* of the village of Seréw.

<sup>b</sup> They crawl through the forest, so that when the killing begins, they will catch those who flee.

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Atáripít nat mariw x, amás, “já mokót pu amás, mómaókmomít, erém momáwesí! e amás am, amás kumís jisá, amás kumís jisá, momawesí, amás kumís esé kor masním a momsímomít. amás maj atáwcomom máj esé a, jismák am mí jis nim mómwuwumesí” iním ajitámor ín, a cém towomír jipíc.<sup>1</sup> jismák kor ám mús jimís átowówac ín, maré amás juwréw kor cuwúc emíc át etamór, erém animomópères ín erém x erém x, a Atáripic asímotéper ów, x x amás x erém x erém x erém. maré a Tawerít am arám, Atáripít, erén emátepésmar ow, jí nak ním jítám nak ním, maré erém airímteper ín maré. a cepés, iním cuwuc émtewjiniwmar, mariw, x Tawerít ar ewúc cin Jíw, Jíw cin, cocócó aémfinsúmore<sup>2</sup> ín maré. “Atáripicā, — Áw mifís pak áemutmár a Atáripic maré a cém jipíc erém akserémtapmésmar ín, Áw erén tepésmar ín” anères ín. maré atíwkúkúmore<sup>2</sup> ín maré. a jowówpic ám arám anúwuwor ín. “Atáripicā, o péncem éwa, já tatmésmin amána, póncem éwa, Sérew wut Epém wut ájumar áwa ór ar ina” iním er ín. “já, newét car wíc já atemár aráw, ca nát ajsí, ca ná ajsí” iním aer ín. ajsér ajsér ajsér ajsér ajsér ajsér, maré, — Tawerít, ar ewúc Jíw cin ám, tépkawières —, “ca nát ér nim jisemíc, nór, amán matmómpor” iním er ín. Atárpic apín asé iním atówopmor ín. “wú Atáripicā, wú ja wuā ja Seréw já jumar aráwa” iním aer ín. masirifis ín, a ná mesopér, x “wā” nesén mapmór cowák! omócen



walked to one end and then to the other, looking up. He looked above, looking for a thin place in the thatch. At least, at the upstream end, he saw a place where the thatch had not been laid on so thickly, and he went and stood there, with his lance and his bow, his arms crossed. There, at the far end. Many people from Seréw, from Epém, from Sakawús<sup>a</sup> approached through the forest, crawling like a mass of sago grubs<sup>b</sup>. Taweríc watched the sago being given out, looking sharply around him. There the killing started! "Hey, you from Seréw, do you want me to kill you!" [Taweríc shouted]. Those in the forest then came back; they stabbed and stabbed. But Taweríc and his younger brother Jiw, crash! they broke straight through the thatch, to the outside. Taweríc sprang with his lance and his bow, right down from above, he and his younger brother, and with a thud they landed on the ground. In the ceremonial house the killing went on; the fleetest men all fled to the forest. The fleetest men all fled to the forest. Then they all fled to the upper course of the river.

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Now, Atáripic had cut down a sago palm. "Presently, you must chop down a sago palm near the path through [my] sago garden. You must scrape out the sago at night, and the sago, the balls of sago, you must roast; roast them tonight. Then put them into a big bag and take them with you. When you've fetched the *maj* of sago, put them in bags. A big fire, as for burning lime, you must light tonight," so he was ordered by the man who had brought him to his house. And he put a large piece of burning wood into an empty bamboo water container. That night, they felled the big, full grown sago palm which stood there, the one he'd pointed out to him. The people whom Atáripic had brought upriver scraped out sago all night long. And also Taweríc — Atáripic had already gone upriver at night — fled, as though someone had indeed ordered him to, upriver. Just as all the women went on their way [after they'd washed the sago], there Taweríc and his brother Jiw dashed out of the forest. — "Where's Atáripic? He didn't leave the Aw this morning. The man who had him in his house, sent him upriver tonight, by a devious path. This night he went to the upper course of the Aw," they [the people of Seréw] said, and they set out in pursuit. His blood kinsman also set out. "Hey, Atáripic, are you there? Have you the bow I gave you last night? Many people from Seréw and Epém are on their way to you, yelling," he cried. "Hey, your brother,

aómosiromer cowák. Serew nát, — “wu Jepéma wú awúpa” “ū”  
émjiamar Jepém. Seréw jiná ji araw ún. jiná ji ajáper ín maré.

<sup>1</sup> ipít; <sup>2</sup> aémfumúsmores.

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a nát mariw, anémwerer ín maré. kuwús in ásakámteweres ín maré. tówoper ów kor marí irirí nesen émoper cowák maré. maré aem-téwjiniwer ín. Siréc arán áiriméner ín. a nát jíwa nesen jíwa emár araw ún wunám a wasén parsámckumór ow moáf un. arán, e, Nówit jép, Máj jep Cáka jep amérpapújer ín. a nát, a nát omá nesen jitjarmés araw ún á Seréw nat jú emar araw ún. a nát mapájuru pák. “émá mápapúj ará pak é ci sés amán, é ci sés amán”. Siréc jo pím maniém pak ín. a Méc juwút, a Siréc juwút, óma nesen jitjarmés araw ún. Seréw nat a jó pim, matakáj iním apor. wásen ís esjarmés araw ún. Jíw nat ar ém moc, mícuwan mm emár araw ún ar epút, “o nát Jomót tepapém” aemár araw ún karem emá. a nát micuwán,<sup>1</sup> púrumut mícuwan ī emár araw ún. Tawerít na “’m” aemár araw ún. maréw, atáwpacájer ów, Ac, Micím Sosó, Esínkom, Ar-Nanim, Amíw Su, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw Jaméw, táwpacamóper ów, Esínkom, “Seréwa, tó apómjirsómamep ina”, ajípores “á, am aráp samáta, nó, Mecémúp, jokmén no apesawéra no cém micicimpór paká! ám aráp samát pacákapan!” jípakajapér cowák atáwpacajóper ów now opák in. maré a Seréw cowák, arpá acáporsomóper ín. ám Jispáripic ájmirímtiwér.<sup>2</sup> — a nát amás awtámcar áw, wunám pirí fajmúc am totápowcar. Jewérnamakát ájmirímor —.

<sup>1</sup> A listener says: “Sisnám micuwán!”; <sup>2</sup> ajímirímtiwír.

<sup>a</sup> The concept of *jokmén*, here translated with ‘powerful’ has also to do with the possession of *tes*. The idea appears to be that a person who is a *jokmén* man has no need to resort to a head-hunting raid to augment his *tes*: he has enough.

<sup>b</sup> Ghosts make a rustling noise in the sago leaf walls of houses, like mice. “We have no need of the rustling of the ghosts” means: we don’t need to hold a head-hunting party.

your father is calling yonder! Go to the forest, you, go to the forest!" he said. One after the other they went to the forest [the wives of Atáripic]. Taweric and his brother, Jiw, joined them, going upstream. "You must wait at a little distance in the forest. I'm going to try the bow," [Atáripic] said. And he placed his legs wide apart, firmly. "Look out, Atáripic, look out, the people of Seréw are pursuing you [his kinsman] cried. They [the people of Seréw] wanted to rush out [from their cover] but he stood there on his guard. Thump! — "Oooow." — he'd just struck one with the lance he was holding at the ready. "Ho, Jepém, good oh! That's a hit!" "Hurrah!" cried the people of Jepém. The people of Seréw crawled [back] on their knees; they fled, crawling.

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And the others hurried on; they cut off the head [of the man they'd killed]. — The people they [Seréw] caught, [in the ceremonial house], not one of them was left. — And they went on their way, they all fled in the direction of the upper course of the Siréc. The others tried in vain to surround them, to kill the people still scattered about in the forest. They made a circling movement towards the mouths of the Nowit, the Maj, and the Cáka. They [Atáripic, etc.] went forward cautiously, while the people of Seréw started yelling. They couldn't be seen. "Don't make detours, go straight on, beneath the dead ribs of the sago palm fronds" [Taweric said]. They didn't go down to the banks of the Siréc. Between the Mec and the Siréc they went forward cautiously. The people of Seréw peered round to see if they should make a break for the banks of the river, but they went on, passing the night in the forest. Jiw bemoaned his wife. "Ooooh", he groaned under his breath. "Shsh! why didn't you stay on the Jomót!" so spoke his elder brother again and again, to keep him quiet. But he just moaned under his breath, crying, ooh, ooh! "Shsh," said Taweric, again and again. The people who dispersed to Ac, Micím, Sosó, Esínkom, and Ar-Nanim, to Amisu, Atámuc, Kawét, Cowéw and Jaméw, — concerning those refugees — the people of Esínkom tossed up a small ball: "Yesterday, it was the people of Seréw who killed them, it's said . . ." "They, the people of Seréw, are an outside group; I, of the Mecēmúp, am powerful<sup>a</sup>, I have no need of the rustling [of ghosts] in my house<sup>b</sup>. They, the people of Seréw, are an outside group, they are weak!" so spoke everybody, and the refugees were not slaughtered. Only the people of Seréw killed them. — It was the fault of Jispáripic! They would have scraped out sago for them, and after that they could

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wasén ajarmés araw ún, e cí ses amán. Siréc efá maniém pak ín. “émá jurwúcwaw jurwúcwaw jurwúcwaw cém otásiápěraw masirim, Siréc jo pim ániemcowúj” iním er ín. Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jaméw, táwpcáčjoper ów, Méc ow, táwpcáčmoper ów, nów opák ín. ja Úswut a niwí, Jurúwpitsimít, Jín eněrim Nosó, a jowówpít jamnók ín, cém camán nicomtiwites ín. Seréw matowóf un arewfáčjporamár opák ín. “no Jína, no Nosó” ajémites cowák. Úswut a niwí Jurúwpitsimít ará. cowúć, Cáman aráw, Jecám aráw, e camán aniásimomsěres ín. Pokás aráw, Eréw ar ěnéw Pokás. Kamémemak a niwí, ě, ar ěnéw, Námewfáksimít. Sísám cém nesén towópěres ín. pér nesen átěres ín cápakamópěres ín. Amíw, Jámew, Sísám matowóf er, pírkawór araw ún, juwúr sis, tarí si, mútiwtamór. pírkawór akát apor juwúr sis akát apór, cesén aótpemusúmtamor ín a cowút tesmá. téwer nim aémkomámes ín Sísám. Amíw cowak ámtewéněres ín. Sísám, Sísám cowút akát amí aměsfajer ín.

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cém osiáper ururu apórkurumór masním, mariw, “semí emár nów mináf amopmár maré, tajú emár” iním aéres ín. maré a Niním cakám, Tawerítsimít nat, cí moporómtewer ónmer iním onmermár araw ún map. Siréc akám jokós kor ámitémer ín, maré juwúr kor, ep wút címen wút araw ún, mokóp in emtópmpores ín. jěwí, ci, pacákseré ci mosokóm, — emár araw, cí tarí moskóm pak. a cí jipín firimtiwporá firimtiwporá firimtiwporá firimtiwporá a erén a se tén maré a juwúr kor cuwúć atepíc atapomfámores ín. “er aráw man, a cowák wut, a maémariwces mán” iním aer ín. pó jipín aporómtawamár, “no miwís em”. omócen wút nat mán kipmomíc araw ún. akám akám akám, wu, wu, “Siréc, ákajnapuésawirí no miwís em” iním aer ín. Jíw nat mót micuwan jī emár araw ún. a nát, a omócen kor sir<sup>1</sup> ám otomá emár araw ún. “o cém arásen emémaném! o nát tépacoapém! micuwan jī

all have gone back to the coast in peace. He was to blame, because of Jewérnamakát.

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Meanwhile, they went through the forest, under the dead ribs of the sago palms. They didn't go down to the Siréc straightaway. "Wait, first let them search, first let them search, and when they're all gone back to the village, then you can go down to the bank of the Siréc," said Taweríc. The people of Amorép, Warsé, Sumúj, Jaméw and the people from the Mec didn't kill those who had taken refuge with them. — The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimit, was hidden away under the house by Jin and Nosó, his two blood kinsmen. The people of Seréw came to try to kill him, but in vain. "I am Jin; I am Nosó!" they shouted at them. The father of Úswut, Jurúwpitsimit, and a woman, Cáman, as well as Jecám, lay hidden together under the house. And Pokás, Pokás, the mother of Eréw, and the father — no, the mother of Kamémemak, Námewfáksimit. They took Sísám into the house. They took her to wife; [the others] they'd killed. Then the people of Amíw and Jaméw wanted to kill Sísám: triton shells, necklaces made of dog's teeth, old axes, they paid these for her, and because [the people of Seréw] saw that the shells were fine and that the dog's teeth were fine, they pushed her out of the house, the beautiful woman. They took her as one picks a *terwér* flower, Sísám the beautiful woman. It was the people of Amíw who got her, to eat her. Sísám, the splendid woman, like a flame, she lay there.

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At last, when the pursuers had all gone back to the village, one after another, they said: "It's quiet now, now they're only thinking of the head-hunting feast, it's over." And Tawerítsimit went quickly ahead of the others to the old deserted village [of Seréw] on the Niním, to look for a canoe. A long rib from a nipa palm leaf pricked him, by the Siréc. [And lo and behold!] a huge canoe of *juwúr* wood, from stem to stern huge, had been turned upside down. A canoe of the enemy, a useless canoe, broken up — no, they didn't break up the old canoe — they tried to turn the truncated <sup>a</sup> canoe over, they tried and tried again, and finally they turned it over and pushed the *juwúr* wood canoe off the high bank on which it was lying, at the upstream end of the village. "That's fine! In this big one here, everyone must go aboard," he said. They searched for broken paddles. "My good people;" he stood with

iním ja ewérměro, wów!" jomatmár araw ún. erén, wasén apamés apamés apamés maré jó iním sapísemar, cí aníporómjiwíšeres ín maré. Tawerít nat máp atakmár araw ún, Tawerít nat máp, Tawerít nat máp, Tawerít nat máp. arán am píri am fifimkurúmac ín, "maré ów opák, maré". Áw jo píim aniémac ín maríw, "eméururútes nów mináf aámopmár aráw" iním aer ín. maré Siréc apíjináwores ín maré. cí nat póm apcóm un pó metéwji pak ín cepés wut owerów wut mak ám tatemáp<sup>2</sup> araw ún. Mow jép, Mow jép, cí jicémúp a pájnijs, "jów sirífisěrár" maji pas ín maré misín ké aemápmesmar ín maré.

<sup>1</sup> sur; <sup>2</sup> tatemamáp.

<sup>a</sup> truncated: sometimes a canoe splits at one end, due to the working of the wood. When this happens, the damaged portion is cut right off. The remaining good part is made seaworthy by placing a barrier of clay across the open end.

### 340

"na cá jo ápfamútmanomè, maré Siréc, pomán omér ja emátewirúm maré, na jó jemám enáwapesmóm ěmá ucím jo ar'am éw! tam jó putěráw apórca" iním eres ín. tam aráw jó'n apumápěres ín. "na Mówakap jép arawá" iním eres ín. "Mówakap jép apóma" iním eres ín. tám masním, muwú mu a enám nisarámesmár, misín ten enám áfawútmes ín. mu wá konáwkapumár maserím maré, ámsenáwores ín. wá aotmenáwores ín. Jómot, cém ateptájěres ín. Jíwsimít "Jómota misí no jawerá ajimiáji jú café anafiriáji mací ju cafa anafiriè" ajíkuer ín marí, Jíw ara. Tawerít nat maré cemsén x cí kor cuwúc emíc, ákin ájakómer ín maré. maríw, Ewnápo, Cemnácuw, coápěres ow am arám, ja Nét wasén jaráp ara, Samún emáp ara Ufít tepáp ará iním apjipúěres ín. maré a Nét wasén cuwúc apés, á, Tawerít, Jómót asésier ín. maré a cí jan káju káju erés, curúw apawerjótakěres ín. curúw atakóměres ín. otmámtewerés masnirim, akapmámteweres ín. Mów am arám táwpcamóper ów, arám Mow apcóm ajaptěrsier ín. Kajè arám Maní ajáptersier ín. a Jepém cowák, arpá jursumóper ín. á, Kajèa, a Jurúwpic, ar wés am a cepés am arpá amkawiěres ín. a tarásěpes ám. ów nat ám Esín, cém cowák ar ín Ac cém cowák ar ín, Amíw Su Mícím Soso Ár-Nanim, cém ar ín. a cí jipín kor, éren ów kapmópaces ín a cí jipín kor, jocór ajápewere jěrměro'n, Tawerít nat

the long lance in his hand. Nipa palms [they chopped open], edible tops [they took]. "Eat them tonight on the Siréc when we're on our way, homeward bound, my good people," he said. Jiw cried under his breath. Again and again he threatened him with the long lance. "Is your house here? Why don't you hide yourself? Day in, day out, you're crying under your breath, be careful!" so he spoke, walking round. During the day they stayed in the forest, and when the sun went out in the sea they all got into the canoe to move off. Taweríc went ahead downriver. When he'd searched about everywhere downstream and upstream, [he said:] "Fine, there are no people." After he'd also gone to the side of the Aw, he said: "They've all returned, they're only thinking of the head-hunting feast." Then they crossed the Siréc to this side. The canoe was full to overflowing; they couldn't row. Many men and women sat there, packed tight. When the canoe had drifted downstream and out to sea near the mouth of the Mow, they said: "Let's cross quickly over the sandbank," but they couldn't do it, they stuck on the sandbank that night.

### 340

"On whose side of the river do we have to wait until the morning? We've gone a long way, full of fear, on the other side of the Siréc; tonight we've arrived at our side of the river, but on which [side] river are we? In the morning, when the sun rises, we'll see," they said. They stayed there until the sun rose in the morning. "We're at the mouth of the Mówakap," they said. "We're by the Mówakap," they said. In the morning they speared the fishes that had been left behind on the sand that night by the ebb tide. And when the water had risen to the forest, they came here. They came here, brushing close past the edge of the forest. They came up the Jomót and reached the houses. Jíwsimit stepped ashore, wailing: "Alas, from now on I'm alone on the Jomót, I shall cry loudly every day" . . ." Taweríc immediately went to a huge *ci* tree which stood by the houses and chopped it down [to make] a canoe. Now, Ewnápo and Cemnácuw had kept themselves hidden there; usually they stayed either in the forest near the Net, or near the Samún, or upstream, near the Fití. At that time, when Taweríc went rowing up the Jomót, they were in the forest by the Net. They heard the sound of the *ci* tree being felled, and they walked quietly downriver, following the river but out of sight. Quietly they went downstream to meet them. When they met each other they joined up. The refugees

ów cem iním apéwere jérměro'n. "ów mapcájkukuasé, ów mantám, píri emseawér cowák ará" iním aer ín.

- <sup>a</sup> The language in which songs are couched, is very different from that of everyday speech. My stay in the Asmat was too short for me to make a study of it. The words of this fragment are not included in the word list.

### 341

Jaméw am arám, Jaméw kapmópěres ów am arám, Jum éwisěrés, — Ěs aráw new Júm ara néw —, Ěs awisěrés "píri mér pemeawéra" iním eres ín maré a Ómawer jép, Jákwarew jép Akámjow jép jím eměres aw ún. cí emsěěres ów am arám, a Má nesé, ájinawsirímkuěres ín. camúw masnirím, — cí new camúw new, a Jómot ów camúw a petéwmanes éw —, á Asewet éwniěres<sup>1</sup> ów cí'n, Jómot éweměres ów, camúw un. pówo mopán cirín enám áfawéner a Jómot éwemer jipít. á, Asewéc éwisěrés, jipít, cí, cí emseres jipíc jamnók arám animés araw ún. arám ja atmár araw ún, arám ja atmár araw ún, arám po ájinimés araw ún. jaká, akám jof, jítakám ser, apán ájatámurumór cowák. maré a cí oěmén anicímsemor ín. a cí jipíc jamnók okón waksés aw ún. "á com ám, á apán cá wimá, ja apán a ép ow wianém" iním aer ín. maré ememér jipít, "á, ja apán nor apán winémami"<sup>2</sup> maré cí ám apapirómkuěres ín maré. — cí akát kor ín, a cí kor mán aósmoper ín Tawerít. cí, ákin ákomer cí, ajáksemor ín sirimáksemor ín, cí taksém akát.

<sup>1</sup> éwněrés; <sup>2</sup> jimí.

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maríw, ak mí komén cómic aámewermés. a Asewec éwniěres jipíc jamnók am á Jomot éwemer jipíc cowák am. jú omewermés, "na ucím atakám atéwercóm, na ucím iním ar'am, ca ucím emfokóm!" "nar maríw, Seréw akpufóm ow, Pisím eněrim Wasí jokmén nim



from the Mow all entered the Mow together, in battle array. And all the people from Kajé entered the Maní in a line. Only the people of Jepém were overtaken by the disaster. Of the people of Kajé, only Jurúwpic and the male members of his family, as well as his wives and his sisters [all of whom had stayed behind] joined them. The people of Kajé had gone to Esín, Ac, Amísu, Micím-Sosó and Ar-Naním. In the large truncated canoe, — when the people from the upper reaches had joined them, Taweríc went each day in the large truncated canoe to the river mouth. Each day he stayed there in the lookout post. “When people scatter themselves about, there must always be someone on the look-out at the sea,” he said.

**341**

The people from Jaméw, the people who had joined up at Jaméw, went out of the Jum — was it the Es, or the Jum? — they went out of the Es. “Let’s go to the sea and fish,” they said. And they fished with the nets at the mouth of the Ómawer, the Jákarew and the Akámjow. The men in the canoes crossed over to our side of the river, and went to land near the Ma. Then they went farther on foot. — By canoe, or was it on foot? Or was it the men from the Jomót who set out on foot? — The people who came from the Asewéc went by canoe; the people who came from the Jomót went on foot. The man who came from the Jomót was spearing fish in the strip of mangrove along the coast, and the men who came from the Asewéc — by canoe — two men in a canoe, rowed downstream. The one just walked and walked, while the others rowed. There, from the path between the nipah palms, he shot at *jitakám* and *ser* fishes with a many-pointed arrow, until he shot it [an arrow] into the water near the stem of the canoe. The men in the canoe stood gaping in wonder! “Hey, who is that who shot that arrow? Did you shoot that arrow from behind,” he said [the foremost man]. The man who stood there [on the shore] said: “Hey, I shot that arrow!” They turned the canoe round and went ashore to meet him. — A very beautiful canoe it was, the large canoe on which Taweríc set to work, the canoe he immediately began to make. He finished it quickly. It was a beautifully made canoe.

**342**

Well, they licked each other’s faces, the two men who’d come from the Asewéc, and the man who’d come from the Jomót. They stood there screaming with joy. “What shall we say now? What must we do now? How are things with you?” “We, the people who joined up with the

járteweréjipurúwa maré eméjursúmeawós, maré, mátakam pák! ná atakájfóm ównakapiríw, Atáripít, erém atakámsomcúkmespés, nár masním, jéw amán so ájteawós, ápacájfóm. Tawerít enim Jíw, matáw-simfawós, Atárpíc, erém tepésmep, atépkawífóm, atéwjiniwemom ówerow ám cepés am, cakás. ów nat maré matakám pak, jú mamcúp kor setajóm.<sup>1</sup> Jómot áapom. maré erén coapfés jipic mámcup ám, emákapúmtewfom awapóm. cá nat ucím ar'am éw", iním aámeres ín. "á, nar, éma mimínip nat mapíc. á om mén, mú asetácokóm, amás a om mén arántiwíc. porów masnirim, a Jépem ótewerá otewerá otewerá momjítumút "nar, mú amás kor, Má jep, simtiwésmár, tó, usí tapín in átewécar jowún, amás ajáwcar, átojowún júmenáwcar" iním moméc. óm men amás armapmúc, "mu amás kor, pó sasakámtaw ním, mapepértaw emóm" iním momjítumúc" iním er ín maré. a amás óm men ájaramáces in toróm ten ájaweréntiwères ín, jó poké atíwpomámar ín.

<sup>1</sup> setajém.

\* i.e., as though we had nothing to fear from them (see § 337, note a).

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téweramés, á mer ów, áfasiénères ín. jimín am aénères ín, pó maji nát warák opák in. "tó cowáka máwkuw pák! nar, Tawerít iním atakám apómkurucóm". "a Jép jep cuwúc asecaw nák aráw Tewtén jep". iním ajitámares ín. a cí ow, mér jim émares ów am iním iním mají pak ín. "á, amás akát nak ucím amás am!" "á, ja mú amás kor, fá apcóm kor juwréw nucúr! áj ci mi nim nesén jismá paw kor iním cowór! máwkuw pák, amás sinák majirsé pok nár, usí tapín in memtémtezew enám memtémemán, atéenáwmmom" iním eres ín. "na pók atakám akát naká nor mó jamnók emá" aemés araw ún. teré ni am ájataménères ín. Es ámersières ín. cím apères ów, porów poknakáp ánapaces ín marí iním iním mukukúre atewémères ín. mukukúre a cím towómiwer ów, "na tó, amás mú amás kor, Má jep, kúpoporemápmesmár, pó jitamértaw ním, amás óm apcóm nesén kawuámsesmar nec apcóm! tó, nec apomáwsimá japom, ós májiririm-semorom tó, náriw am nó sinopis ám usí tapín mitíwtewér", iním eres ín. Jaméw "á, amás awúc, amás awúco" iním eres ín. "erém ara a jó awnám atamcáw aráw, jó, píri manífam Jép jep", iním eres

people from Seréw — Pisim and Wasí came to fetch us, as though they were *jokmén* men <sup>a</sup>, but they slaughtered us! There was no escape, we got away with only a few people. They let Atáripic flee in advance, at night, but they murdered us in the ceremonial house, we fled in all directions. Taweríc and Jiw took us with them when they fled, and we joined Atáripic who went upstream at night. We went away, men and women, everybody. The others didn't escape. Only three heads of family came back [Taweríc, Jiw and Atáripic]; we're on the Jomót. We also let the three men who had hidden themselves on the upper course join us, so we stay there. "How are things with you?" they said to each other. "We . . . wait, stay here to think up something. First, you must stick the point of the digging stick in the water and then smear it with sago meal. Then, this evening, you must say to all the people of Jepém: 'Last night the water washed ashore a huge sago palm at the mouth of the Ma. Tomorrow, let's take the sleeping mats to make a camp and the day after tomorrow let's scrape out sago, and the day after that let's return here.' So you must say presently. Smear the sago meal on the point of the digging stick and in the evening, say: 'The sago palm which has been washed ashore is huge, we shall make test holes until we have to cut off the fronds!' " So he spoke. After they'd rubbed the point of the digging stick with sago meal, they placed it [in the canoe] on a couple of supports. The heat of the sun dried it.

**343**

The people who were out fishing caught many fish; they returned upriver, content they went upriver, they rowed with ease. "It must be tomorrow, don't delay. We must tell it to Taweríc" [the man from the Jomót said]. "He really must wait there at the mouth of the Jep and the Tewtén," so they urged him. They said nothing about it to the people in the canoes and the women who'd fished with the nets. "Hey, that's splendid sago. How did you get this sago?" "Oh, there's a huge sago palm in the water, complete with roots; an enormous full grown sago palm, it [the sago] comes out like lime off a [newly painted] canoe<sup>a</sup>. It's as large as a mangrove tree. Don't wait! The palm mustn't get cracks [in the bark]. We've come here to tell [everyone] to get the sleeping mats as well, [so that we can make] camp; and also to bring fish as food." "This one is ours! That's good news! You're two fine fellows," they said. Dancing for joy, they rowed up river. They entered the Es. At night, after they'd had a bite to eat, they went on their way so that they could tell the people. They went into the houses and said to the people: "Yesterday, we . . . a sago palm, there's a huge sago

ín. Jómot am arám, mariw, Tawerít cuwuc áp áwiokópmares ín maré. "a mari enamúc po síš man ám", iním aer ín. "atépcar" iním aer ín. pok cím jis awní" iním er ín. Taweríc am arám jó iním sapísemár, mari asírínuwur<sup>1</sup> ín cí mu awiásmor ín, op átepomparémor ín, apípís jiwí nim, atíwtensémor ín. Jép jep acicin ín.

<sup>1</sup> asírínuwur.

<sup>a</sup> See § 284, note a.

<sup>b</sup> i.e., a sago palm of which the trunk has farinaceous pith well up to the top.

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kukurámitumár, kukurámitumár kukurámitumár, Jaméw íš nim póamismár mari aníjirimuwor ín mari. mariwáp<sup>1</sup> ow opák ín. Jaméw jipít, Seménterésimit ám arám, "nam nám ar a pé mámkomána" iním aer ín. "á, mapí, mapío, mapío, narpá, na mí cowóra" ajípores. nám pe mámakanó", iním aer ín. Asewét mu pakénakap ajísamser ín póman ájirkúnier ín, apcóm kor ín. póman kor pájener ín. muwú mu eamár, mu'n cuwúc okmónimár maré, Jép jep. Tawerít nat maré, asirípiaper ín. "já Tawerít pináwma néw, ájinawmá o cáma" áneres ín. "á, no Taweríta" iním aer ín. "o ucé" "caráp an, éknakáp mokómomsé ow opéna" iním aer ín. "ów opów, na mí owá, a newét wutá, Seménterésimitá, arpá niomúwpoma, áwomsémar áwa" iním aeres ín. "uc'áwase uc'áwomséokom!" "áwaséc jiráwa" iním eres ín. cí awuamsés araw ún, jeten ín iním áterémsemac ín, cuwúc emíc x, cí píam atówopmóper ín. "á Taweríta a newét wut sawnáka", ajípores. "ja mósókom ów opáka" ajípores opák ín. "á, ca nát mapí!" Jómot fu pú'n ajatámsiómer ín. Sérew am átowoférés, a Seréw acómères, nów kus ám arám, óš mopán afajúmares ín. wunám a Jaméw aókajúmares ín. Sisnám purumúc ámocémés.

<sup>1</sup> merwáp.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning of *os mopán* '(under) a tree', is not clear in this context.

<sup>b</sup> The song which tells of the dead of Sisnám, the *Sisnám purumúc*, is still popular in Jépém and Surú.

palm; the water rolled it at night onto the land at the mouth of the Ma. Such a palm that the fronds must be cut away to make the test holes<sup>b</sup>. The digging stick lies there in the house, covered in raw sago. Yesterday, every time we stuck it [in the tree] the raw sago came out; we stuck poles in the water [to prevent it from rolling back]. Tomorrow, our brothers and our sisters will take the sleeping mats to make camp," they said. "Good, go and scrape out sago, get sago," the men of Jaméw said. "Tonight it must be, before the sun has risen. We'll wait for day-break downstream, at the mouth of the Jep," they said. The people from the Jomót in their turn, told Taweríc. "All right, let's go," he said. "But, first, all take a rest," he said. "Let's go upstream," he said. "Roast food in the houses," he said. Now, when the sun went out in the sea, Taweríc went quickly to the canoe to set out. He put the canoe in the water; he turned it the right way up on the high bank, the canoe, slim as a young *gaba-gaba* stalk, and put it in the water, so that he should be at the mouth of the Jep before the others.

### 344

The whole evening they were telling each other, and when all the people of Seréw were asleep, they all set out in the canoes. Nobody stayed behind. A man from Seréw, Seménterésimit, also went with them. "I, also, want to go and catch crabs," he said. "Oh, stay at home, stay at home! We want to go alone, only with our people," they said, but in vain. "I, also, want to catch crabs," he said. They all went out to the Asewéc, the river was full of canoes. They covered it from side to side, going down, the main mass of canoes. A part went more upstream. It was night and the ebb, and the current carried them to the sea, to the mouth of the Jep. Then Taweríc quickly crossed the river. "Here comes Taweríc, perhaps! He's coming here! Who are you," they called out. "I'm Taweríc," he said. "What do you want!" "Are you alone? Is there someone with you," he said. "There are no other people, only our great brother Seménterésimit came with us," they said. Where is he? Where have you put him?" "Here he is," they said. He pushed forward between the canoes that lay there to where he [Seménterésimit] stood, and — thud — he killed him on the edge of the canoe. "Oh, Taweríc! have pity on our great brother," they cried. "He's not a bad man," they said, but in vain. "Stay you!" With the bamboo horns booming, they rowed into the Jomót. The head of the man of Seréw whom they'd killed, they flayed under a tree<sup>a</sup>, and after that they also flayed the head of the man of Jaméw. They still sing the lament of Sisnám<sup>b</sup>.

## WORD LIST

This list is a complete record of the Ásmat words that occur in the texts and in the grammar. The words are arranged alphabetically: *ǎ* follows *e*.

When a word has been discussed in the grammar, reference is made to the relevant paragraph or paragraphs. The number following the verbal forms belonging to categories 8—24 denotes the paragraph where the paradigm can be found.

Occasionally, the paragraph of the text where a word occurs is shown by quoting the number of the paragraph in brackets. This has been done when: 1. a word has a form which deviates from the one that would be expected according to the rules given in the grammar; 2. a doubt exists with regard to the correctness of the word-form given; 3. a word has a specific meaning in a particular context; 4. there is uncertainty about the correctness of the meaning given.

In the few cases in which a substantive only denotes one thing or person, or a number of things or persons, [s.] and [pl.] respectively are used. In the other cases, as a rule only the translation of either the singular or the plural aspect of the meaning of the substantive is given.

The following terms are used:

*singular*; *plural*.

*subject*, = verbal subject; *object*, = verbal object.

*aquatic*, *lying*, *sitting*, *standing*, *above eye level*: these terms refer to the five position-classes as discussed in § 71, note. *Aquatic* and *above eye level* are preferred here to *swimming* and *flying*. Thus e.g. 'aquatic subject' means: the subject of the verb belongs to the *aquatic* class of things.

The following signs are used :

- see.  
 < from.  
 = the same as.  
 — stands for the catchword.  
 [?] indicates that the correctness of the word-form or the meaning can be doubted.

### A

- a* 1 exclamation: hey, oh, ah!  
*a* 2 → *ar* 2.  
*a* 3 branch, thigh, hind leg [of a pig].  
*aámcej* < *am* 7; 116.  
*aáměres* < *ame*, 155.  
*aámewěrmes* < *amewer*, 136.  
*aámjwápmores* < *amjwapon*, 155.  
*aámopmár* < *amop*, 144.  
*aáncow* < *an* 3; 120.  
*áapom* → *áwapom*.  
*aápterémtiwěres* < *apterentiw*, 155.  
*Ac* name of a village on the *Mec*.  
*acaciápěres* < *caciap*, 155.  
*acáciomér* < *caciom*, 155.  
*acájkurumóf* < *cajkurum*, 162.  
*acákokorómseres* < *cakokoromse*, 155.  
*acán* advice.  
*acápmomér* < *capimom*, 155.  
*acápmomkúer* < *capimomku*, 155.  
*acáporšomóper* < *caporsomop*, 155.  
*acíc*, *acíc* — all kinds of.  
*ácicikimtiwér* < *cicikimtiw*, 155.  
*acicín* beforehand, in advance, ahead.  
*ácimomér* < *'cimom*, 155.  
*acimtiwér* < *cimtiw*, 155.  
*acimúj* < *cim*, 155.  
*acín* 1 → *tap*.  
*acín* 2 baked crust of sago.  
*áciomítwěres* < *ciomiw*, 155.  
*acír* small platform on the collar beams of a house, used for storing sago.  
*acirá* < *ciri*, 109.  
*áciropěres* < *cirop*, 155.  
*acóaper* < *coap* 1, 2; 155.  
*acomápmores* < *comapom*, 155.  
*acóměres* < *com*, 155.  
*acomómor* < *comom*, 155.  
*ácopáwverém* < *copawer*, 125.  
*acópomít* (285) she was continually busy with plaiting < *cop* [?].  
*acunásmaměp* < *cumasam*, 152.  
*Acúwnam* personal name.  
*Acúwnama* < *Acúwnam*, 34.  
*ácemamár* < *ematwer* 1, 2; 144.  
*ácemamsěf* < *emamis*, 162.  
*aémapef* < *emap*, 162.  
*aemápěres* < *emap*, 155.  
*ácemápmor* < *emapom*, 155.  
*aematámor* < *ematam*, 155.  
*aematmac* < *ematam*, 165.  
*ámémcow* < *emem* 1; 120.  
*áméměf* < *emem* 1; 162.  
*áméměmer* < *emem* 1; 155.  
*áméměncr* < *emen* 1; 155.  
*aeměs* < *e* 4; 144.  
*ámemesmár* < *emes* 1, 2; 144.  
*aeměsmi* < *emes* 1, 2; 144.  
*aémfimsúmoreš* < *emfimsu*, 155.  
*aemíc* → *awemíc*.  
*aemít* → *awemít*.  
*aémjitmar* < *emjit*, 144.  
*aémkómámes* < *emkom*, 144.  
*aémnier* < *emni* 1, 2; 155.  
*aémnierá* < *aémnier*, 34.  
*aémniěrés* < *emni* 1, 2; 155.  
*aémor* < *em* 4; 155.  
*aempórměro* < *empor* 2; 174.  
*aémširesi* < *emšires*, 155.  
*aémširesió* < *aémširesi*, 33.  
*aémšiter* < *emšit*, 155.  
*áemtámor* < *emtam*, 155.  
*aémteweracém* < *emtewer*, 165.  
*aemtewójiniwér* < *emtewójiniw*, 155.  
*aémtewtúmor* < *emtewtum*, 155.  
*aémťiněf* < *emťim*, 162.  
*aémťiwér* < *emťiw*, 155.

- áemutmár* < *emut* 1; 144.  
*áémwəuor* < *emwu*, 155.  
*áénères* < *en* 3; 155.  
*aef* < *e* 4; 162.  
*aefés* < *e* 4; 162.  
*aer* < *e* 4; 155.  
*áeremitéwerac* < *eremtewer*, 165.  
*aerés* < *e* 4; 155.  
*aerwápères* < *ariwəp*, 155.  
*aesémef* < *esem*, 162.  
*aésuntúmor* < *esuntum*, 155.  
*áetamór* < *etam*, 155.  
*aetámtewerés* < *etamtewer*, 155.  
*aetéper* < *etep*, 155.  
*af* 1 to strike, to kill.  
*af* 2 *manám* — to like, to take a fancy to, to be in love with; *mi* — to throw lime; *namír* — to die; *omóp* — to beat.  
*afáfasimar* < *fafasi*, 144.  
*afáfawá* < *fafaw*, 109.  
*áfafémmnacém* < *fafemnem*, 165.  
*afafémomasés* < *fafemomas*, 155.  
*afafémor* < *fafem*, 155.  
*afajáper* < *fajəp*, 155.  
*áfajásmamép* < *fajasam*, 152.  
*afajúmore*s < *fajum*, 155.  
*afánasmór* < *famasam* 1, 2; 155.  
*afámásmores* < *famasam* 1, 2; 155.  
*áfamopfènes* < *famop*, 162.  
*afámsemáces* < *famsem*, 165.  
*afántiwiít* = *afántiwiic* < *famtiw*, 116.  
*afán* < *af* 1, 2; 155.  
*afáni* < *af*, 1, 2; 155.  
*afániè* < *afáni*, 33.  
*áfasiénères* < *fasiem*, 155.  
*afásmapéf* < *fasiəp*, 162.  
*áfawásmamép* < *fawasam*, 152.  
*áfawenér* < *fawen*, 155.  
*afáwujukúntiwef* < *fəwjukumtiw*, 162.  
*áfawutmép* < *fawut*, 152.  
*áfawútmes* < *fawut*, 144.  
*afcín* skin or crust of roasted sago.  
*afeféntawor* < *fefemtaw*, 155.  
*afeféntaworés* < *fefemtaw*, 155.  
*afem* (278) to ruin, to make inedible.  
*afemór* < *afem*, 155.  
*afes* to buffet all night long.  
*afésmar* < *afes*, 144.  
*afétiwér* < *fetiw*, 155.  
*aféri* < *af* 1, 2; 125.  
*áfikmámes* < *fikimawer*, 144.  
*afímtiwwac* < *fimtiw*, 165.  
*afímtiwwer* < *fimtiw*, 155.  
*afímtiwwi* < *fimtiw*, 144.  
*afín* maggot.  
*afiwá* < *fiw*, 109.  
*afiwomiwəcəmes* < *fiwomiw*, 136.  
*afmár* < *af* 1, 2; 144.  
*afmés* < *af* 1, 2; 144.  
*afó* broad, wide.  
*afór* < *af* 1, 2; 155.  
*afse* to die in the water.  
*áfuaंसésəpəs* < *fuaंसes*, 152.  
*Afúj* personal name.  
*Afúje* (320) = *Afúj* [in an enumeration of personal names].  
*afún* air bubbles.  
*aicímores* < *icim*, 155.  
*áiriméner* < *irimen*, 155.  
*airimteper* < *irimtep*, 155.  
*áiwíenac* < *iwiem*, 165.  
*áiwijiser* < *iwijs*, 155.  
*áiwijisères* < *iwijs*, 155.  
*áiwiniér* < *iwini*, 155.  
*áiwinióf* < *iwini*, 162.  
*áiwíomísér* < *iwiomis*, 155.  
*áiwiséf* < *iwis*, 162.  
*áiwisér* < *iwis*, 155.  
*áiwisères* < *iwis*, 155.  
*aj* 1 irrealis marker, 256.  
*aj* 2 new, young, the other day; *jew* — the feast for the new ceremonial house.  
*aj* 3 side, half.  
*ajā* exclamation: hey!  
*ájac* < *e* 4; 165.  
*ájaces* < *e* 4; 165.  
*ájafac* < *af* 1, 2; 165.  
*ájáfceen* < *af* 1, 2; 116.  
*ájakakapípumi* < *akakapipu*, 144.  
*ájakakapípumia* < *ájakakapípumi*, 34.  
*ájakakapípumupúj* < *akakapipu*, 144.  
*ájakakapípumupúje* < *ájakakapípumupúj*, 33.  
*ájakápiemíc* < *akapiem*, 176.  
*ájaker* < *ak* 2; 155.  
*ájakápmor* < *akəpəm*, 155.  
*ájakmómoc* < *akmóm*, 165.  
*ájakómer* < *akóm*, 155.  
*ájakomísér* < *akomís*, 155.  
*ájaksemor* < *aksem*, 155.  
*ájamar* < *əawer*, 144.  
*ájamép* < *əawer*, 152.  
*ájames* < *əawer*, 144.  
*ajamésnumújaramép* < *amesnumujar*, 152.  
*ajamésnier* < *amesni*, 155.



- ájamésnimár < amesni, 144.  
 ájamesjiniér < amesjini, 155.  
 ájamesjótakef < amesjotak, 162.  
 ájamestámor < amestam, 155.  
 ájamop < eawer, 152.  
 ájamþcs < eawer, 152.  
 ájamsaró < eamis, 165.  
 ájamsóf < amis, 162.  
 ájamtewérmi < amtewer, 144.  
 ajámtiwer < amtiw, 155.  
 ajámurwésmar < amurwes, 144.  
 ajapámères < apam, 155.  
 ajapamóp < apawer, 152.  
 ajapánères < apam 2; 155.  
 ajáþer < eap, 155.  
 ajáþerér < aþer 2; 155.  
 ajáþércs < eap, 155.  
 ajáþésfes < aþes 1; 162.  
 ajáþewerc < apawer 1; 175.  
 ajapkámtakawerméro < apkámtakawer,  
 174.  
 ajáþmcóf < apmc, 162.  
 ajáþmores < eapom, 155.  
 ajáþnères < apam 2; 155.  
 ajapómíwer < apomíw, 155.  
 ajáþómkekémores < apomkekem, 155.  
 ajáþómcimorés < apomcim, 155.  
 ajáþotáwmanēnēm < apotaw, 144.  
 ajáþteremóteþer < aþteremoteþ, 155.  
 ajáþtársier < aþtersi, 155.  
 ajarámaces < aram 2; 165.  
 ajarewfáþpurtámar < arewfáþpurtawer,  
 144.  
 ajaréwkaþamar < arewkaþawer, 144.  
 ajarimópères < arimop, 155.  
 ajarimutmar < arimut, 144.  
 ajarizwesfes < ariwes, 162.  
 ajarizwteþfés < arizwteþ, 162.  
 ajárjirimópmar < jarjirimop, 144.  
 ajárkikimómser < jarkkikimomse, 155.  
 ajarmés < jar, 144.  
 ajaró < e 4; 165.  
 ajarómer < jarom, 155.  
 ajarópères < jarop, 155.  
 ájasamópmar < asamop, 144.  
 ájasamopóf < asamop, 162.  
 ájasmampés < easam, 152.  
 ajastámosef < astamos, 162.  
 ajastámosefē < ajastámosef, 34.  
 ájastámteweréf < astamtewer, 162.  
 ájataménères < atamen, 155.  
 ájatámniamar < atamniawer, 144.  
 ájatámniér < atamni, 155.  
 ájatámniérē < ajatámniér, 34.  
 ájatámniérés < atamni, 155.  
 ajatámsér < atamse, 155.  
 ajatámsiérés < atamsi, 155.  
 ajatámsiomér < atamsiom, 155.  
 ajatámteweraré < atamtewer, 165.  
 ájatámurumór < atamurum, 155.  
 ajatmáþmac < atamaþom, 165.  
 ájatmaþmór < atamaþom, 155.  
 ájatmaþóm (309) < atamaþom, 107 [?].  
 Possibly: *áj atmopóm*, i.e. a core,  
 preceded by a demonstrative pronoun  
*aj*, < *a* 2.  
 ajáwcar < aw 6, 7; 120.  
 ájawerémtiwer < aweremtiw, 155.  
 ájawerémtiwères < aweremtiw, 155.  
 ajáwewerémkumfēnés < aweweremkum,  
 162.  
 ajáwiniámar < awniawer, 144.  
 ajáwnimí < awni, 144.  
 ajáwnimía < ajáwnimí, 34.  
 ajáwócinér < awocin, 155.  
 ajáwor < aw 6, 7; 155.  
 ájatewóremef < aworem, 162.  
 ajátworemésmi < aworemes, 144.  
 ajáwse < awse 2; 176.  
 ajáwsemor < awsem, 155.  
 ajáwtiwer < awtiw 1, 2; 155.  
 ájatewunnémor < awunnem, 155.  
 ajatewúmtiwac < awumtiw, 165.  
 ájè interjection reproducing laughter.  
 ajémítes < cem, 168.  
 ájcesf < ees 1; 162.  
 ajesmár < ees 1, 2; 144.  
 ájesmóp < ees 1, 2; 152.  
 ajíamar < jiawer, 144.  
 ajicēmpés < ji 5; 141.  
 ajíémér < jicm, 155.  
 ajíémères < jiem, 155.  
 ájiesmēþ < jics, 152.  
 ajifamútmar < jifamut, 144.  
 ajikaþmúć < jikaþom, 116.  
 ajíkaró < jik, 165.  
 ajíkcēmpóm < jik, 141.  
 ajíkemac < jikcm, 165.  
 ajíkémór < jikem, 155.  
 ajíkmés < jik, 144.  
 ajíkonáwor < jikonaw, 155.  
 ajíkoníac < jikoni, 165.  
 ajíkoníér < jikoni, 155.  
 ajíkuér < jiku, 155.  
 ajíkurúmor < jikurum 1, 2; 155.  
 ajímásmores < jimasam, 155.

- ajiméþ* < *ji* 5; 152.  
*ajimespomio* < *ajimespomí*, 33.  
*ajimespomí* (332) I sleep with her [dialect of Ac], < *jimespom*.  
*ajimnemor* < *jinnem*, 155.  
*ajimómare* < *jimom*, 165.  
*ajimómcēmes* < *jimom*, 136.  
*ajimomer* < *jimom*, 155.  
*ajimotnáwarén* < *jimotnaw*, 165.  
*ajimotnawfén* < *jimotnaw*, 162.  
*ajimsomicēmes* < *jimsomit*, 136.  
*ajimsomitmes* a. < *jimsomit*, 144; b. = *ajimsomicēmes*, 51, 60.  
*ajimtiwér* < *jintiw*, 155.  
*ajinawmá* < *jinau*, 144.  
*ajinawsirínkuēres* < *jinawsirinku*, 155.  
*ajinémom* < *jine*, 144.  
*ajinémor* < *jinem*, 155.  
*ajinimés* < *jini*, 144.  
*ajiníwnimés* < *jiniwani*, 144.  
*ajíþer* < *jíþe*, 155.  
*ajíþeres* < *jíþe*, 155.  
*ajíþirsámores* < *jíþirsam*, 155.  
*ajíþor* < *jíþor*, 155.  
*ajíþorá* < *jíþor*, 109.  
*ajíþoréf* < *jíþor*, 162.  
*ajíþorés* < *jíþor*, 155.  
*ajíþoróf* < *jíþor*, 162.  
*ajíþuóf* < *jíþu*, 162.  
*ajíþuor* < *jíþuw*, 155.  
*ajíremóf* < *jirem*, 162.  
*ajírínkuaré* < *jirinku*, 165.  
*ajíríntápmésmes* < *jíríntapmes*, 144.  
*ajíríntápmorés* < *jíríntapom*, 155.  
*ájírkuámsaré* < *jírkuamis*, 165.  
*ájírkuunier* < *jírkuuni*, 155.  
*ajírmár* < *jír* 3, 4; 144.  
*ajírmémac* < *jirimem*, 165.  
*ajírmemor* < *jirimem*, 155.  
*ajírtewérac* < *jirtewer*, 165.  
*ájísakámteweraré* < *jísakamtewer*, 165.  
*ájísakámtiwēres* < *jísakamtiw*, 155.  
*ájísakápiemóf* < *jísakapiem*, 162.  
*ájísamser* < *jísamis*, 155.  
*ájísáþer* < *jísap*, 155.  
*ájísasér* < *jísas*, 155.  
*ájísátmor* < *jísatam*, 155.  
*ájísémer* < *jísem* 1, 2, 3; 155.  
*ájíser* < *jís* 3, 4; 155.  
*ájísitfés* < *jísit*, 162.  
*ájísjápēres* < *jísjap*, 155.  
*ájísmár* < *jís* 3, 4; 144.  
*ájísmópēres* < *jísmop*, 155.  
*ájísmotiawér* < *jísmotiaw*, 155.  
*ájísmuámser* < *jísmuamis*, 155.  
*ájísokómtiwērés* < *jísokomtiw*, 155.  
*ájísozwépénokom* < *jísozw*, 155.  
*ájístípsér* < *jístípsc*, 155.  
*ájístowópnmor* < *jístowopom*, 155.  
*ájísuwáþer* < *jísuwap*, 155.  
*ájítámac* < *jítam*, 165.  
*ájítámernémor* < *jítamernem*, 155.  
*ájítáamor* < *jítam*, 155.  
*ájítáamores* < *jítam*, 155.  
*ájítaré* < *jít* 1, 2, 3; 165.  
*ájítémtésmar* < *jitémetes*, 144.  
*ájítmar* < *jít* 1, 2, 3; 144.  
*ájítmi* < *jít* 1, 2, 3; 144.  
*ájítnémor* < *jítnem*, 155.  
*ájítndótewer* < *jítnotewer*, 155.  
*ájítómíawmár* < *jítomíaw*, 144.  
*ájítúmes* < *citum*, 144.  
*ájíwáþmór* < *jíwáþom*, 155.  
*ájíwátmaþer* < *jíwatamaþ*, 155.  
*ájíwemapómccēmes* < *jíwemapom*, 136.  
*ájíwáwíref* < *jíwáwir*, 162.  
*ájíwáwírfem* < *jíwáwir*, 162.  
*ájíwámar* < *jíw* 2, 3; 144.  
*ájíwamesóþer* < *jíwmesop*, 155.  
*ájíwóf* < *jíw* 2, 3; 162.  
*ájíwáwirítewer* < *jíwáwirítewer*, 155.  
*ájíwáwtuwáþmor* < *jíwáwtuwáþom*, 155.  
*ajkíc* < *jik*, 116.  
*Ajkúm* personal name.  
*Ajkúna* < *Ajkúm*, 34.  
*ajkún* younger brother (term of address).  
*ajmiratwer* to be wrong, guilty; to commit adultery (304).  
*ajnirem* to have lost one's way, to be in trouble; to be dead (317).  
*ajnírcmes* to take the wrong path here [the place where the speaker is].  
*ajnírcmewer* to take always the wrong path.  
*ájníremíc* < *ajnírem*, 176.  
*ajnírim* to kill, to bring disaster upon; to be to blame (377).  
*ájnírimífés* < *ajnírim*, 162.  
*ájnírimór* < *ajnírim*, 155.  
*ajnírimitiw* to have killed, to have brought disaster upon.  
*ájnírimítíwer* < *ajnírimitiw*, 155.  
*ajnírmomewer* to accompany someone and make him loose his way.  
*ájnírmómewérmēnes* < *ajnírmomewer*, 136.

- ajním* now.  
*ajníma* < *ajním*, 34.  
*ajóf* < *e* 4; 162.  
*ajómer* < *com*, 155.  
*ajómewérmar* < *eomewer* 1; 136.  
*ajówmopər* < *owmop*, 155.  
*ajpamá* (324) known.  
*ajpátw* fine!  
*ajpím* the far end [of a house].  
*ajsér* < *jis* 3, 4; 155.  
*ajsi* < *jis* 3, 4; 116.  
*ajsíc* < *jis* 3, 4; 116.  
*ajsirér* < *jisir*, 155.  
*ájteawós* < *jit* 3; 162;  
*ajtér* < *jit* 1, 3; 155.  
*ajtéra* < *ajtér*, 34.  
*ajtúr* having a high degree of a particular quality, e.g.: *atów* — playful;  
*akním* — hot-tempered.  
*ájujukumápmac* < *jujukumapom*, 165.  
*ájujukumápmor* < *jujukumapom*, 155.  
*ájujukumapómtampór* < *jujukumapom-tampor*, 155.  
*ájujukúmsomitères* < *jujukumsomit*, 155.  
*ajukóf* < *jiku*, 162.  
*ájukúmtiwaré* < *jukumtiw*, 165.  
*ájumá* < *jum*, 109.  
*ájumar* < *ju* 4, 5; 144.  
*ájumópères* < *jumop*, 155.  
*ájúómispés* < *juomis*, 152.  
*ajúrsewirin* < *jursawer*, 171.  
*ájurúpumés* < *jurupu*, 144.  
*ájurusè* < *urus* 1, 2; 162.  
*ak* 1 'curved side - surface', cheek, beside; *amús* — the handle of the sago scraper; *ci* — side of the canoe, beside the canoe.  
*ak* 2 to chop or strip off along a curved surface, to scoop up; *anúk* — to chop the growth off a tree; *ci* — to make a canoe; *ókon fin* — to shave; *pe* — to catch crabs.  
*akájcěma* < *kaj*, 136.  
*akajmós* < *ak* 2; 113.  
*akájmosó* < *akajmós*, 33.  
*akájnapuésawiri* < *kajnapuesawer*, 116.  
*akájniéf* < *kajni*, 162.  
*akakanimomse* (324) to get [sago] and take it away in the canoe [?].  
*akakanimomseērés* < *akakanimomse*, 155.  
*akakapipu* always to go out alone.  
*akám* nipa palm.  
*akamápmores* < *kamapom*, 155.  
*akamár* < *akawer*, 144.  
*akámci* < *kam*, 125.  
*akamí* < *akawer*, 144.  
*ákamiamséf* < *kamiamis*, 162.  
*akámiešmar* < *kamies*, 144.  
*Akámjow* name of a river.  
*akámonimár* < *kamoni*, 144.  
*ákamóper* < *kamop*, 155.  
*akámtiwemár* < *kamtiw*, 144.  
*Akámunú* personal name.  
*akán* shoot of a palm or tree; progeny, offspring.  
*akan*, *pe* — to catch crabs for food.  
*akapiem* to stand on one's own.  
*akapmámtewerés* < *kapumamtwewer*, 155.  
*akápmaper* < *kapimap*, 155.  
*akápmores* < *kapim*, 155.  
*akápuamár* < *kapuawer*, 144.  
*akápuaré* < *kapu* 2; 165.  
*akát* good, fine; *awút* — very large (269).  
*akatés* very nice, very good.  
*akátipic* very beautiful, excellent.  
*akátw* frond of a palm tree.  
*akawer*, *camúw ci* — always to go on foot in stead of by canoe; *ci* — always to make canoes; *jisín* — to gather many coconuts; *mow* — to chop off many roots of the pandanus tree.  
*akawérměrkóm* < *akawer*, 174.  
*akáwimápmores* < *kawimapom*, 155.  
*akawimopé* < *kawimop*, 162.  
*akawimtwemrin* < *kawimtwewer*, 144.  
*akcá* together.  
*akcém* < *ak* 2; 125.  
*akér* < *ak* 2; 155.  
*akěř.* < *akér*, 34.  
*akes*, *pe* — to catch crabs at night.  
*akesawer*, *pe* — all night long to catch crabs.  
*ákikícukómaser* < *kikicukomas*, 155.  
*ákikirákurúmore*s < *kikirakurum*, 155.  
*akin* immediately after, as soon as [always preceding a verb of which the core contains an element *ak*].  
*akirimcupuj* < *kirim*, 136.  
*akit*, *jisín* — to gather coconuts in the morning; *pe* — to catch crabs in the morning.  
*akitawer*, *jisín* — to gather coconuts all the morning.  
*akitmes* < *akit*, 144.

*akitum, jisín* — to gather coconuts in the afternoon.

*akmáměro* < *ak* 2; 175.

*akmaṭ, a* — to sit with spread-out thighs.

*akmaṭmár* < *akmaṭ*, 144.

*akmaṭmór* < *akmaṭom*, 155.

*akmápmorés* < *akmaṭom*, 155.

*akmaṭom* to cause to sit with open mouth = to kill someone.

*akmát* old.

*akmom* to hold open [a bag].

*akmomíc* < *akmom*, 116.

*akmót* → *akmát*.

*aknem* to chop off downwards [growth of a tree].

*aknémac* < *aknem*, 165.

*aknémacém* < *aknem*, 165.

*akním* cross, bickering.

*ákojiraré* < *kojír*, 165.

*ákojiréf* < *kojír*, 162.

*akom, akin* — immediately after [having arrived] to start to work on something.

*akómamés* < *kom*, 144.

*ákomer* < *akom*, 155.

*akomis* < *akin* — immediately after [having got up] to go to the forest to meet somebody.

*akónawamsá* < *konawamis*, 109.

*ákonawémupúj* < *konawes*, 144.

*akónawmesmá* < *konawmesem*, 109, 182.

*ákonawór* < *konaw*, 155.

*akpés* tattoo-mark.

*akpufóm* < *kaṭu* 2; 162.

*akse, okón* — to gape in wonder [aquatic subject].

*aksem, ci* — to make a canoe until it is finished.

*akseremtaṭmes* to send someone upstream at night by a devious path.

*akserémtaṭmesmar* < *akseremtaṭmes*, 144.

*aktam, mow* — to fetch roots of the pandanus tree for someone.

*aktiw, anúk* — to chop off the growth until it is all off.

*aktiwér* < *aktiw*, 155.

*ákukúaser* < *kukuas*, 155.

*ákurumápères* < *kurumap*, 155.

*am* 1 unidentified element, 260.

*am* 2 question marker, 254.

*am* 3 also, and; 248.

*am* 4 < *ar* 2; 217.

*am* 5 kind of tree.

*am* 6 kind of fish [Malay: kakap].

*am* 7 to chop, 99.

*am* 8, *com* — to fasten the headband to a carrying bag; *nani in* — to waste; *onów* — to cover [a house] with thatch.

*áma* (273, 291) < *am* 2; 34.

*amakan* also to catch crabs.

*amamewawer* to keep on telling each other to do something.

*ámamewámes* < *amamewawer*, 144.

*amamtam, si* — to share out [sago].

*amamtámčěmés* < *amamtam*, 136.

*amán* 1 bow.

*amán* 2 the inside; inside, in, during, beneath; *em* — the inside of the drum; *ccm* — in the house; *ci* — in the canoe; *pok mú* — during the feast; *ci sés* — beneath the dry sago palm fronds (377).

*amán* 3, *jo* — side stream.

*Amán* name of a ceremonial house in *Anánamkáj*.

*amána* (336) < *amán* 1; 34.

*amánakapiríw* < *aman* 3; 188.

*Amánamkáj* name of a village.

*Amánpitsimit* personal name.

*amaṭom* to cover [with thatch].

*amápuěrés* < *maṭu*, 155.

*amás* sago, food, sago palm; *enám* — fish for food; *pe* — crabs for food; *mu* — sago palm, washed ashore by the sea.

*amásnakap* < *amás*, 185.

*amásnakapiríw* < *amás*, 187.

*amě* (309) < *am* 2; 33.

*ame* to say to each other.

*amer, mer* — to catch crabs.

*ámeráper* < *merap*, 155.

*ámerátmor* < *meratam*, 155.

*ámércasín* < *amer*, 120.

*ámércasína* < *ámércasín*, 34.

*ámerémer* < *merem*, 155.

*ámérémsemor* < *meremsem*, 155.

*ámérfasíac* < *merfasi*, 165.

*ámérómer* < *merom*, 155.

*ámérpápújer* < *merpápuj*, 155.

*ámersíěres* < *mersi*, 155.

*ámersuwémer* < *mersuwem*, 155.

*amesakájipirémef* < *mesakajipirem*, 162.

*ámesemfés* < *mesem*, 162.

*ámesémjirmémac* < *mesemjirimem*, 165.

*amesfac* to become emaciated [a sick person].

*áměsfacamár* < *amesfacawer*, 144.

- amesfacawer* to become more and more emaciated [a sick person].  
*amesfaj* to lie burning.  
*amesfajer* < *amesfaj*, 155.  
*amesjen, éw ji* — to crawl upstream like a crocodile.  
*ámesjenóf* < *amesjen*, 162.  
*amesjes* to come in great numbers which/who are doing something else at the same time [e.g. singing].  
*ámesjesmép* < *amesjes*, 152.  
*amesjini* to go to the river in great numbers, which/who are doing something else at the same time.  
*amesjotak* → *mesjotak*.  
*ámesjótépef* < *mesjotep*, 162.  
*amesmumujar* to shuffle around [subject lying].  
*amesni* to flow downwards, to crawl downwards.  
*amesnowomotep* to bring upstream in many canoes in battle array.  
*ámesnowomóteper* < *amesnowomotep*, 155.  
*amestam, jan* — to make noise [subject lying].  
*ametóciuer* < *metocin*, 155.  
*ámetoséf* < *metos*, 162.  
*ámetosfén* < *metos*, 162.  
*ámetótnawfes* < *metotnaw*, 162.  
*amezwer, ak mi komén cómic* — continually to lick each others faces.  
*amí* all, without exception, nothing but, only; *akát* — splendid.  
*amis* to lie down.  
*Amísu* name of a village.  
*ámitápmaci* < *mitapom*, 165.  
*ámitápmaces* < *mitapom*, 165.  
*ámitémer* < *mitem*, 155.  
*amitërem* < *mit*, 155.  
*Amíw* one of the *jew* of the village of *Amísu*.  
*anjíwəpəm, onók muri* — to put the rafters on a house.  
*amkawi* to join.  
*amkarwícen* < *amkawi*, 116.  
*amkarwimapom* to join someone to.. ; to marry a woman to a man.  
*amkoman, pe* — also to go to catch crabs for food.  
*amnu* turned to each other; *mi* — face to face; *mak* —, *fa* — back to back.  
*amo, owén* — to fight with each other.  
*amócamár* < *mocawer*, 144.  
*amócampés* < *mocawer*, 152.  
*amocámpesá* < *amócampés*, 34.  
*amóccemes* < *moc* 2; 136.  
*ámomatni* < *omomat*, 144.  
*amómorómtiwér* < *momoromtiw*, 155.  
*amop, mináf* — to be engrossed.  
*amopmár* < *amop*, 144.  
*amór* < *am* 7; 155.  
*Amorép* name of a village.  
*ámorés* < *am* 7; 155.  
*amorés* < *amo*, 155.  
*amotmés* < *moc* 2; 144.  
*ámótniur* < *motni*, 155.  
*ámotjáramámes* < *motjarawer*, 144.  
*ampíawer* also to go fishing [with a net].  
*amsawer* to lie down all the time.  
*amséf* < *amis*, 162.  
*ámsenáwores* < *amsenaw*, 155.  
*amses 1* to sleep [at night].  
*amses 2* to come towards, swimming [fish].  
*amses 3* with many people in canoes to come towards.  
*ámsesef* < *amses* 1, 2, 3; 162.  
*amsesmár* < *amses* 1, 2, 3; 144.  
*ámsesmārā* < *amsesmár* 34.  
*ámsesmésē* < *amsesmés*, 34.  
*amsesmés* < *amses* 1, 2; 144.  
*ámsesmóp* < *amses* 1; 152.  
*ámsésmupúj* < *amses* 1; 144.  
*amséwíur* < *amsawer*, 171.  
*amsit* (322) he was lying down.  
*amsóf* < *amis*, 162.  
*antakes* also to go downriver at night.  
*ántakesmár* < *antakes*, 144.  
*amtawkenemtiw* to fit up [the trough for washing the sago].  
*ántawkenemtiwér* < *amtawkenemtiw*, 155.  
*amtewen* also to get food.  
*ántewénères* < *amtewen*, 155.  
*antewer, amás om* — to pull a digging stick out of the sago pith, with sago meal sticking to it → *apér*.  
*amtiw, com* — to fasten the headband to a carrying bag.  
*amuámsér* < *muamis* 1, 2; 155.  
*amúc* < *am* 7; 116.  
*amún* vapour, steam, smoke, haze.  
*amuór* < *mu* 4; 155.  
*amuorés* < *mu* 4; 155.  
*amúp* hot; *nam* — having fever.

*amús* 1 younger sister [s].  
*amús* 2 sago scraper [see sketch p. 366].  
*amus* 3 also to go to the forest.  
*amúsēwes* younger sisters [pl.], 190.  
*ámútámčemes* < *mutam*, 136.  
*amíuw* kind of reed [Hanguana Malayana], growing in and along rivers where there is little or no current. Its roots intertwine, forming a floating layer so that a river can be wholly overgrown by this plant. Traditionally this is the place where the children of the ghosts play.  
*amuwes* also to depart at night [by canoe].  
*an* 1 question marker, 252.  
*an* 2 small trough made of the leaf-case of the frond of the sago palm.  
*an* 3 to eat, 99; *cēmén* — to have sexual intercourse with a man [said of a woman]; *cen* — to have sexual intercourse with a woman [said of a man]; *mu* — to drink; *sis* — to take a rest.  
*ána* < *an* 1; 34.  
*anáfcen* < *af* 1, 2; 116.  
*anakácowúc* the said woman, she [anaphoric].  
*anakácowútnakápiriw* < *anakácowúc*, 188.  
*anakát* 1 very, really: *akmát* — really old; *fum* — clear as cristal [said of water]; *mocó* — wet through.  
*anakát* 2 trunk [of a man or an animal].  
*anakátipic* the said man, he [anaphoric].  
*anakátow* the said people, they [anaphoric].  
*ánám* the inner pith of the sago palm: the part of the pith which is scraped out first, by people standing outside the trunk [see sketch p. 367].  
*anamícimór* < *namicim*, 155.  
*ánapacés* < *nap*, 165.  
*ánápēres* < *nap*, 155.  
*ánásmamóp* < *nasam*, 152.  
*ánawérmom* < *nawer*, 136.  
*anawtep* to be bent upstream [top of a tree].  
*áncēmés* < *an* 3; 136.  
*áncom* < *an* 3; 125.  
*anem*, *mu* — to make a quantity of anything, to make a large object.  
*ánémor* < *nem*, 155.  
*ánémsopir* < *nemsopi*, 155.  
*anemúc* < *anem*, 116.

*ánémwerer* < *nemwer*, 155.  
*ánér* < *an* 3; 155.  
*ánér* < *e* 4; 155.  
*áneres* < *e* 4; 155.  
*ánésmapomfés* < *enesmapom*, 162.  
*ániakápēres* < *niakap*, 155.  
*ániamismár* < *niamis* 1, 2; 144.  
*ániamséf* < *niamis* 1, 2; 162.  
*ániámser* < *niamis* 1, 2; 155.  
*ániáper* < *niap*, 155.  
*ániapfés* < *niap*, 162.  
*ániásimómsēres* < *niasimomis*, 155.  
*ániáweráper* < *niawerap*, 155.  
*ánica* < *ni* 4, 5; 120.  
*ánici* < *ni* 4, 5; 125.  
*ánicim* < *ni* 4, 5; 116.  
*ánicímsemor* < *nicimsem*, 155.  
*ánicom* < *ni* 4, 5; 125.  
*ánicukasit* < *anicukas*, 168.  
*ániéf* < *ni* 4, 5; 162.  
*ániémac* < *niem*, 165.  
*ániémare* < *niem*, 165.  
*ániémcorúj* < *niem*, 120.  
*ániémfes* < *niem*, 162.  
*ániémóf* < *niem*, 162.  
*ániempuj* < *niem*, 155.  
*ánifámpumaci* < *nifampum*, 165.  
*ánifesáper* < *nifesap*, 155.  
*ánifwér* < *nifw*, 155.  
*ánifwésmar* < *nifwes*, 144.  
*ánijámámser* < *nijamamis*, 155.  
*ánijámtiwér* < *nijamtiw*, 155.  
*ánijáper* < *nijap*, 155.  
*ánijápēres* < *nijap*, 155.  
*ánijic* < *ni* 5; 116.  
*ánijica* < *anjic*, 34.  
*ánijimémtamamin* < *nijimemtam*, 144.  
*ánijimémtamor* < *nijimemtam*, 155.  
*ánijirimuwor* < *nijirimuw*, 155.  
*ánijnakáp* a morsel, mouthful.  
*ánijukmef* < *nijukum*, 162.  
*ánijukunapómtamor* < *nijukunapomtam*, 155.  
*ánimár* < *ni* 4, 5; 144.  
*ánimár* (328), *jisin* — they fetched coconuts.  
*ánimatámef* < *nimatam*, 162.  
*ánimatiér* < *nimatiw*, 155.  
*ánimcukóf* < *animcuku*, 162.  
*ánimcuká* < *animcuku*, 109.  
*ánimcuku* to disappear into the forest, to flee into the forest.  
*ánimés* < *ni* 4, 5; 144.

- ánimomópères* < *nimomop*, 155.  
*ánimurés* < *nimu*, 155.  
*animus* to disappear into the forest.  
*áninukámsères* < *ninukamis*, 155.  
*aniómac* < *niom*, 165.  
*aniómer* < *niom*, 155.  
*ániomitúmes* < *niomitum*, 144.  
*aniómuwarés* < *niomuwar*, 165.  
*aniómuwufes* < *niomuwar*, 162.  
*aniómuworés* < *niomuwar*, 155.  
*ániópères* < *niop*, 155.  
*ánipirímac* < *nípirim*, 165.  
*ánióporemapef* < *níporomap*, 162.  
*ániporómjivésères* < *níporomjivis*, 155.  
*anis* not what it seems; similar to but not quite.  
*anisá* < *anis*, 34.  
*ánisájères* < *nisaj*, 155.  
*ániser* < *nise*, 155.  
*ánisicímíwērém* < *nisicimíw*, 155.  
*ánisiríteverác* < *nisiritever*, 165.  
*ánitápowesmár* < *nitápowes*, 144.  
*ánitátepiápac* < *nitátepiap*, 165.  
*ániteweméf* < *nitewem*, 162.  
*ánitewémtamor* < *nitewemtam*, 155.  
*ánitewésémor* < *nitewsem*, 155.  
*ánititíwer* < *nititíw*, 155.  
*ánititíwité* < *nititíw*, 168.  
*ánitowopómfes* < *nitowopom*, 162.  
*áníuwor* < *niuw*, 155.  
*ankós* centipede.  
*anmokóm* < *an* 3; 144.  
*ánnom* < *an* 3; 144.  
*ánmopokóm* < *an* 3; 144.  
*anpiw* within reach; straight away, without delay.  
*anúk* growth of mosses, ferns and prickles on the bark of the sago palm; layer of charcoal on the bottom of a canoe when it has been fired, → *ses*.  
*anuwútames* < *nuwut*, 144.  
*ánuwuwóf* < *nuwuw*, 162.  
*ánuwuwór* < *nuwuw*, 155.  
*aókajúmore*s < *okajum*, 155.  
*aókmores* < *okom* 1, 2; 155.  
*aokómorés* < *okom* 1, 2; 155.  
*áomatmár* < *omat*, 144.  
*áomimés* < *omi*, 144.  
*aómirismár* < *omiris*, 144.  
*áomisér* < *omis* 1, 2; 155.  
*áomocíner* < *omocin*, 155.  
*aómomáter* < *omomat*, 155.  
*áomómer* < *omom*, 155.  
*áomómísér* < *omomis* 1, 2; 155.  
*áomómiserā* < *áomómísér*, 34.  
*áomóniērés* < *omoni*, 155.  
*áomóniērésē* < *áomóniērés*, 34.  
*aómosiromér* < *omosirom*, 155.  
*aóníuwor* < *oniuw*, 155.  
*aópac* < *op* 2; 165.  
*aorápor* < *orap*, 155.  
*aóriwiser* < *oriwis*, 155.  
*aorómej* < *orom*, 162.  
*aóromésmpop* < *oromes*, 152.  
*aósiocínér* < *osiocin*, 155.  
*aósmoper* < *osomop*, 155.  
*aótapac* < *otap*, 165.  
*aótaworés* < *otaw*, 155.  
*aótewerés* < *otewer* 1, 2; 155.  
*aótiwumór* < *otiawum*, 155.  
*aótmamsérés* < *otmamis*, 155.  
*aótmenáwoores* < *otmenaw*, 155.  
*aótpemusúmtamór* < *otpmesusumtam*, 155.  
*aówoniér* < *owoni*, 155.  
*aówor* < *ow* 2, 3; 155.  
*ap* 1 kind of tree.  
*ap* 2 to sit; to be, to move [of a sitting subject].  
*ap* 3 to work loose, to split, [fibres off the pandanus tree]; *torw* — to get sago grubs by breaking up the pith of the sago palm with digging sticks.  
*ápacájfom* < *pacaj*, 162.  
*ápáci* small one-man canoe.  
*ápácínakáp* < *ápáci*, 185.  
*ápájjírapér* < *papjirap*, 155.  
*ápájimómser* < *pajimomse*, 155.  
*ápájimór* < *pajim*, 155.  
*ápájisef* < *pajis*, 162.  
*ápájsér* < *pajse*, 155.  
*ápák* 1 interjection, expressing discontent: no! oh!  
*ápák* 2 the raw core of a ball of roasted sago; budding leaf.  
*ápamép* < *apawer* 1, 2; 152.  
*ápamés* < *apawer* 1, 2; 144.  
*ápampés* < *apawer* 1, 2; 152.  
*ápámíwērés* < *pamíw*, 155.  
*ápámusméf* < *pamusum*, 162.  
*ápán* 1 many-pointed arrow used to kill small fish and small birds.  
*ápán* 2 to have something to eat; to sit and eat.  
*ápápcapípi*mar < *papcapipi*, 144.  
*ápápiromkuérés* < *papiromku*, 155.  
*áparísearó* < *parise*, 165.

- apat* to sit working something up with a chopping knife.
- ápatmár* < *apat*, 144.
- apawer 1* to sit all the time, to sit the whole day.
- apawer 2, mow* — to work loose many fibres of the pandanus tree.
- apáweraw* < *apawer 1, 2*; 125.
- apawerjotak, curúw* — to walk quietly downriver keeping close to the bank [but out of sight], in order to meet someone.
- ápawerjótakêrés* < *apawerjotak*, 155.
- apawérměro* < *apawer 1, 2*; 174.
- ápáwuwumár* < *paawuwu*, 144.
- apcóm* with, supplied with, having; totally, wholly, the bulk, the main mass [of canoes, people]; *aw* — having breasts, marriageable; *manmák* — having second sight; *esé* — filled bag.
- apéf* < *ap 1, 2*; 162.
- apém* the upstream or downstream end of a village.
- ápemtakmór* < *pemtakam*, 155.
- apeper, apér* — to make test holes in the trunk of a sago palm → *apér 1, 2*.
- apepéracém* < *apeper*, 165.
- apeperocin* to make test holes towards one of the ends of the trunk of the sago palm, starting in the middle → *apér 1*.
- apepértaw* to make test holes in the trunk of a sago palm.
- apér 1* small hole made in the trunk of a felled sago palm in order to find out whether the pith is farinaceous. A digging stick is pushed through the hole into the pith and if there is sago there it will be adhering to the stick when it is pulled out. Here translated with: test hole [see sketch p. 367].
- aper 2, apér* — to make a test hole in the trunk of a sago palm.
- aperér* < *aper 2*; 155.
- apěres* < *ap 2*; 155.
- apes 1* to come rowing towards.
- apěs 2* < *ap 2*; 176.
- apesawer, jokmén* — to be powerful.
- apesawéra* < *apesawer*, 34.
- apeséj* < *pese*, 155.
- apéwerc* < *apawer 1*; 109, 175.
- ápfamut* to stay until the morning.
- ápfamútmanóm* < *apfamut*, 144.
- ápjamútmanomè* < *ápfamútmanóm*, 33.
- apí 1* look! listen! Interjection, used to draw attention.
- apí 2* < *ap 2*; 176.
- ápiěrés* < *pi 2, 3*; 155.
- apijinávores* < *pijinaw*, 155.
- apim* scraped out pith, sago pulp; the part of the sago-washing trough in which the pulp is squeezed out.
- ápimópěres* < *pimop*, 155.
- apín* the back of the thigh.
- apinmár* < *pin*, 144.
- apipís* the soft inner part of the midrib of a sago palm frond. *apipís jiwí* the midrib of a young sago palm frond.
- apirimac* < *pirim*, 165.
- apit 1* old, dry frond of the sago palm; *po* — old, dry rib of a frond.
- apit 2* to remain sitting [?].
- apit 3* to sit, stay, during the morning.
- apitimsemor* < *pitimsem*, 155.
- apitmar* < *apit 3*; 144.
- apitmóměsmar* < *pitimomes*, 144.
- apitof* < *apit 2*; 162.
- apjipu* to do habitually during one's stay.
- apjipúěres* < *apjipu*, 155.
- apjit* to grow [subject sitting].
- apkamtakawer* always to row downstream alone.
- apmár* < *ap 2, 3*; 144.
- apme, manmák is* — to become dizzy.
- apnaf* the wide apart stretched legs.
- apnawer* to have plenty to eat, to sit, eating continually.
- ápo, ar* — look here! = *ar ápori*.
- ápoamiscěmom* < *poamis*, 136.
- ápoámsermóm* < *poamis*, 136.
- apóf* < *ap 2, 3*; 162.
- Ápoków* name of a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.
- apóm 1* to cause to sit, to plant.
- apóm 2* < *ap 2*; 176.
- apóma* < *apóm 2*; 34.
- apomawsim* to thrust [a digging stick] into [the pith of the sago palm] and cause [the sago meal] to fly out.
- ápomawsimá* < *apomawsim*, 109.
- apomcim* to take away bits of, parts of.
- apomiw* to go inside to someone.
- apomjim* to pull, drag [object sitting]; to store [bags of sago].
- apómjimór* < *apomjim*, 155.



- apomjirsom* to kill, to bring disaster upon.  
*apómjirsómamep* < *apomjirsom*, 152.  
*apomkekem, cem* — to make a house, tying everything firmly.  
*apómkekemés* (330) = *apómkekémamés* < *apomkekem*, 144.  
*apomkom* to start to chop down [a tree].  
*apómkurer* < *apomkuru*, 155.  
*apomkuru* to agree upon.  
*apomosom, man* — to thrust [a lance] with both hands into.  
*ápmosómor* < *apomosom*, 155.  
*apomtewer* to take [object sitting].  
*ápođerínimokóm* < *pođerini*, 144.  
*ápođerínimokómé* < *ápođerínimokóm*, 33.  
*apór* < *por*, 155.  
*aporá* < *por*, 109.  
*áporác* < *por*, 165.  
*aporca* < *por*, 120.  
*aporcí* < *por*, 125.  
*aporcín* < *por*, 125.  
*aporérmokom* < *por*, 136.  
*aporés* < *por*, 155.  
*apóreweré* < *porawer*, 182.  
*aporí* < *por*, 116.  
*aporía* < *aporí*, 34.  
*apórkasiáces* < *porikasi*, 165.  
*apórkurumór* < *porkurum*, 155.  
*aporéf* < *por*, 162.  
*apórmef* < *porem*, 162.  
*aporóf* < *por*, 162.  
*aporómarés* < *porom* 1; 165.  
*aporómtawamár* < *poromtawawer*, 144.  
*aporómtawór* < *poromtaw*, 155.  
*aporpór* < *porpor*, 155.  
*apórserár* < *porse*, 120.  
*áporwúj* = *aporí*, < *por*, 116.  
*apotaw, atakám* — to ask, to tell someone.  
*apotim, atakám* — to sit talking until the sun sets.  
*apótímór* < *apotim*, 155.  
*apsapu, ci* — to guard the canoes of the women when they are fishing. [Generally this is done by children].  
*ápsirér* < *apsiri*, 155.  
*apsiri* to break into a run.  
*aptak* to go on the way downriver.  
*aptakasamawer* to set out and go down the whole length of the river.
- aptakasámeweréjipurúw* < *aptakasamawer*, 114.  
*aptakasámeweréjipurúwa* < *aptakasámeweréjipurúw*, 34.  
*áptakērés* < *aptak*, 155.  
*aptemet* to climb into a tree.  
*apteremotep* to go on one's way upstream to.  
*apteremtiw* to cover up.  
*aptersi* to enter a river with the canoes in line of battle.  
*apteteremtaw* to sit discussing with other people.  
*ápteteremtawájpurúw* < *apteteremtaw*, 114.  
*ápteteremtawájpurúwa* < *ápteteremtawájpurúw*, 34.  
*ápteteremtawmós* < *apteteremtaw*, 113.  
*ápteteremtawmósa* < *ápteteremtawmós*, 34.  
*apuér* < *pu* 5; 155.  
*apumápērcs* < *pumap*, 155.  
*apumár* < *pu* 5; 144.  
*ápumasméf* < *pumasam*, 162.  
*ápuméf* < *pum*, 162.  
*ápumés* < *pu* 6; 144.  
*ápumfés* < *pum*, 162.  
*ápumokópomfén* < *pumokopom*, 162.  
*ápumokópomfēnes* < *pumokopom*, 162.  
*ápúmomér* < *pumom* 1, 2; 155.  
*ápupúmesmóp* < *pupumes*, 152.  
*apupúruncúmtiwērés* < *pupurumucuntiw*, 155.  
*ar* 1 → *araw*.  
*ar* 2 a. he, she, it, they; him, her, them; his, her, its, their; 206-219;  
 b. this, there, here; 220-222;  
 c. to, in the direction of; 228, 229.  
*ar* 3 sawfish.  
*Ar* name of a *jezw* in the village of *Surú*.  
*ará* 1 → *araw*.  
*ará* 2 < *ar* 2c; 34.  
*arám* 1 < *ar* 2a; 215.  
*aram* 2 to rub in with.  
*aráma* (320) = *arám* 1 [in enumeration].  
*aramapom* to smear with, rub with [object sitting].  
*aramtiw* to smear with [object lying].  
*arámtiwéic* < *aramtiw*, 116.  
*arán* upstream, the upper reaches [of a large river].

*arána* < *arán*, 34.  
*aráp* < *ar 2a*; 214.  
*arásen* here, this place.  
*aráw* emphasizing word, 245.  
*aráwa* < *aráw*, 34.  
*aráwo* < *aráw*, 33.  
*arcér* main stream.  
*arewfaj* to assemble [many people].  
*arewfájpōramár* < *arewfajporawer*, 144.  
*arewfajporawer* to come together in great numbers to try to.  
*arewfajpurtawer* to come together from all directions.  
*arewkajawer* to come home from camp in great numbers.  
*arewsam* to start out from.  
*arewsámores* < *arewsam*, 155.  
*arim* to man a canoe.  
*arimop*, *kámu-* to sit together, making a terrible noise.  
*arimut* to man a canoe in the morning.  
*ariw* 'arrived at', 230.  
*ariwap* to stay together with a number of people.  
*ariwes* to come towards in a canoe full of people.  
*ariwésfes* < *ariwes*, 162.  
*ariwtep* to go upriver in a canoe full of people.  
*ariwtepfóm* < *ariwtep*, 162.  
*ariwtepmepés* < *ariwtep*, 152.  
*armá* < *ar 2a*; 213.  
*armapmúc* < *aramapom*, 116.  
*armótípíc* the owner, rich man [s.].  
*Arnanim* name of a village.  
*aró* < *ar 2c*; 33.  
*arów* < *ar 2a*; 216.  
*arpá* < *ar 2a*; 214.  
*arpúk* out of the way, at a distance from.  
*arúw* magic.  
*as 1* call, used to urge on dogs at a pig hunt.  
*as 2* something, a thing; beast (272); *wum* — another.  
*as 3* soft inner part of a stalk or stem; the pith.  
*as 4* faeces, shit.  
*as 5* 'friend': when an Ásmat child is still young, its parents will show it its *as*, another child or a youth of the same sex. [I don't know how this relation is established]. The two boys

or girls are expected to become close friends; in childhood they are playmates and regularly exchange food. In puberty, a homosexual relationship seems to have been regularized. After marriage, the *as* relationship ends as far as the girls are concerned; with the boys, the relationship from then on involves the exchange of women. This is called *pápis*. When one of the *as* dies, the other takes his place in his family and also takes his name.  
*ása* < *as 2*; 34.  
*ásakámores* < *sakam*, 155.  
*asakámamfén* < *sakamtam*, 162.  
*ásakámtewerés* < *sakamtewer*, 155.  
*ásakap* < *as 5*; 196.  
*asákmor* < *sakam*, 155.  
*asam*, *tosów* — to decorate.  
*asamápmor* < *asamapom*, 155.  
*asamapom*, *manmák* — to cast a look at, to catch sight of.  
*asamop* to bring something out and sit with it.  
*asamópmar* < *asamop*, 144.  
*asamtewer* to take away, to take out of, to pick up from.  
*asámteweraré* < *asamtewer*, 165.  
*asámtewerés* < *asamtewer*, 155.  
*asamtiw* to push away [object lying].  
*asámtiwá* < *asamtiw*, 109.  
*ásasakájesej* < *sasakajes*, 162.  
*ásasakámtiwer* < *sasakamtiw*, 155.  
*asawtam*, *tosów* — to decorate oneself for.  
*asé 1* the side of the small of the back, lumbar region; *o* — the loins of a pig; *apin* — the legs wide apart; → *cowúc*.  
*asé 2* undergrowth.  
*asé 3 jak* — piece of charcoal which is used in the practising of magic.  
*ase 4* < *se 2*; 176.  
*ásécaw* < *se 2*; 125.  
*ásefasiac* < *sefasi*, 165.  
*asemármor* < *semaram*, 155.  
*asémsírmor* < *semsirim*, 155.  
*asén* place; *fa* — place to sit down, room to sit down.  
*asép 1* at the back [of a row], next [of a date].  
*asép 2* half full.  
*aséperes* < *sepe*, 155.

- asér, wu* — young sago palm of which the edible top is taken for food.  
*áserápmac* < *serapom*, 165.  
*áserápmácokóm* < *serapom*, 165.  
*áserápmarés* < *serapom*, 165.  
*áserápmor* < *serapom*, 155.  
*áserapómfēnom* < *serapom*, 162.  
*asés* < *se* 2; 176.  
*asesá* hot to the taste, painful.  
*asesier* < *sesi*, 155.  
*asetácokóm* < *set*, 165.  
*ásetájčēmom* < *setaj*, 136.  
*Asewéc* name of a river.  
*Asewét* → *Asewéc*.  
*así* share.  
*asiac* < *si* 3, 4, 5; 165.  
*asianerémtiwer* < *sianeremtiw*, 155.  
*ásiasmó* < *siasam*, 162.  
*asicimápmor* < *sicimápmor*, 155.  
*asicow* < *si* 3, 4; 120.  
*asienaw* to come together at.  
*asier* < *si* 3, 4; 155.  
*asimés* < *si* 3, 4; 144.  
*asimotep* to bring upriver [a group of people].  
*asimotepér* < *asimotep*, 155.  
*ásiocinér* < *siočin*, 155.  
*asirmeser* < *sirimes*, 155.  
*asirimsamúc* < *sirimsam*, 116.  
*ásirímtakērés* < *sirímtak*, 155.  
*ásirímtepērés* < *sirímtep*, 155.  
*ásirínuwúwor* < *sirínuwuw*, 155.  
*asirípiáper* < *sirípiap*, 155.  
*ásirmóteper* < *sirímtop*, 155.  
*ásirmóteperā* < *ásirmóteper*, 34.  
*asiropén, caj* — I gave in (283), = *siropfen* [?] < *sirop*.  
*ásisínampés* < *sisim* 1; 152.  
*ásisímar* < *sisi*, 144.  
*ásisiócinér* < *sisiocin*, 155.  
*ásisímomséf* < *sisimomis*, 162.  
*ásitemaré* < *sitem*, 165.  
*asítíwer* < *sitiw*, 155.  
*ásmat* human.  
*ásmot* → *ásmat*.  
*asmótípic* a mortal man, as distinct from a ghost-man, → *nétípic*.  
*asmúc* < *asam*, 116.  
*áso* < *as* 2; 33.  
*asomitéf* < *somit*, 162.  
*asormónier* < *sormoni*, 155.  
*asórmonimár* < *sormoni*, 144.  
*asorómcēnes* < *sorom*, 125.  
*ásosówomér* < *sosowom*, 155.  
*asów, amán* — a heavy bow, a bow which is difficult to bend.  
*asówaci* < *sow*, 165.  
*ásowáper* < *sowap*, 155.  
*asowémare* < *sowem*, 165.  
*asowemúj* < *sowem*, 155.  
*asówfíwer* < *sowfiw*, 155.  
*asówkonawfóm* < *sowkonaw*, 162.  
*asówsiter* < *sowsit*, 155.  
*astamos* to follow someone, coming towards.  
*astamotak, fa'n* — to follow someone downriver.  
*astamotép, fa'n* — to follow someone upriver.  
*astamtewer, fa'n* — to kidnap someone and walk behind him.  
*asúk* caterpillar.  
*asumór* < *sum*, 155.  
*asúmtewérac* < *sumtewer*, 165.  
*asúmtewéracém* < *sumtewer*, 165.  
*asúmtewerérés* < *sumtewer*, 165.  
*ásumtúmare* < *sumutum*, 165.  
*ásúmutumémor* < *sumutumem*, 155.  
*asúmutúmor* < *sumutum*, 155.  
*asúnfes* < *sun*, 162.  
*asúw* very; *par* — very wide; *fek* — as hard as stone.  
*ásuwacés* < *suw*, 165.  
*asuwémare* < *suwem*, 165.  
*asúwuwóres* < *suwuw*, 155.  
*at* 1 urging, ordering, promising; → *etam*.  
*at* 2 *ceméw* — to abuse; *ja* — to move on [walking, rowing], to cover a distance; *masím* — to watch carefully; *per* — to have as a wife; *sejpa* — to work up with a chopping knife.  
*atá* → *atár*.  
*átajámser* < *tajamis*, 155.  
*átájujukumápmac* < *tajujukumapom*, 165.  
*átákajéf* < *takaj*, 162.  
*atakajfóm* < *takaj*, 162.  
*atakám* speech, language, talking, story, news.  
*atakámanémor* < *takamanem*, 155.  
*átakamás* first, as the first.  
*atakámsomcúkmespés* < *takamsomcukumes*, 152.  
*atakámtewerá* < *takamtewer*, 109.  
*atakéf* < *tak*, 162.

- atákjiser* < *takjis*, 155.  
*atakjár* < *tak*, 144.  
*atakómères* < *takom*, 155.  
*atákseáces* < *takse*, 165.  
*atáktitíwer* < *taktitiw*, 155.  
*atam 1, jó awám* — to have not yet risen [sun].  
*atam 2, papís* — to have a *papís* relationship with.  
*atamaþom* to put something on something else, to fasten something on, to fix on; to dab on.  
*atamcáw* < *atam 1*; 125.  
*atámcom* < *atam 2*; 125.  
*atamen, teré ni ám* — to row upstream, while dancing for joy.  
*atamjik, nes* — to wrap up meat [mixed with sago] in a nipa leaf to form a long stick → *jimín*.  
*atamni, móc am* — to go back home while crying.  
*atamniáwer, móc am* — to go down-river while wailing all the time.  
*atamomþor, amán* — to try a bow.  
*atamse, móc in* — to row while wailing.  
*atamsi, móc in* — to enter a river while wailing.  
*atamsiom, fu pu'n* — to row into a river with bamboo horns booming.  
*átámtewer, jókmen* — to take up something with the tongs.  
*Atámuc* name of a village.  
*atamurum* to shoot arrows, as one is walking.  
*atáþer* < *þap*, 155.  
*atáþmor* < *þapom 1, 2*; 155.  
*atáþmores* < *þapom 1, 2*; 155.  
*atáþomakmámar* < *þapomakem*, 144.  
*atáþomcēmóm* < *þapom 1*; 136.  
*atáþomfámores* < *þapomfam*, 155.  
*atáþomkekēmores* < *þapomkekem*, 155.  
*atáþomterēmores* < *þapomterem*, 155.  
*átar* there, this, that; 226.  
*átarífiser* < *tarifis*, 155.  
*Atáripic* personal name.  
*Atáripicā* < *Atáripic*, 34.  
*átatakájmar* < *tatakaj 2*; 144.  
*atátámores* < *tatam 1*; 155.  
*átatewérþes* < *tatewer*, 162.  
*atátmór* < *tetam*, 155.  
*atátmores* < *tetam*, 155.  
*átawác* < *taw 1, 2*; 165.  
*átawatic* < *tawat*, 108.  
*átawcēmém* < *taw 1, 2*; 136.  
*átawcom* < *taw 1, 2*; 125.  
*átawer* < *ja* — to move on and on, to go a long way; *uwkú* — to crochet hair all the time.  
*átáwjimirsémor* < *tawjimirse*, 155.  
*átáwomopokóm* < *taw 1, 2*; 144.  
*átáwnemesmár* < *tawnesmes*, 144.  
*átawór* < *taw 1, 2*; 155.  
*átáworés* < *taw 1, 2*; 155.  
*átáwþacájér* < *tawþacaj*, 155.  
*átáwþacájóþer* < *tawþacajop*, 155.  
*átáwþacamáþmor* < *tawþacamapom*, 155.  
*átáwþorés* < *tawþor*, 155.  
*átáwtamfin* < *tawtam*, 162.  
*átáwtermenáþmor* < *tawtermenapom*, 155.  
*átáwtominomasér* < *tawtominomas*, 155.  
*átawác* < *taw 1, 2*; 116.  
*ate* to call.  
*atcenaw* to come upstream to call.  
*áteenáwom* < *ateenaw*, 144.  
*atemar* < *ate*, 144.  
*átémétjamémor* < *temetjamem*, 155.  
*átémétjomor* < *temetjom*, 155.  
*átémétótáþer* < *temetotap*, 155.  
*átémétowópmor* < *temetowopom*, 155.  
*átémétsowáþer* < *temetsowap*, 155.  
*átémétsurúmor* < *temetsurum*, 155.  
*átémétwaniócer* < *temetwanioc*, 155.  
*átémétwasiáþer* < *temetwasiap*, 155.  
*átémétwúemor* < *temetwuem*, 155.  
*átémþapésmar* < *temetapes*, 144.  
*átémtemér* < *temetem*, 155.  
*atépá* < *þep 1*; 109.  
*atépakámsef* < *þepakamis*, 162.  
*atépca* → *atépcar*.  
*atépcar* < *þep 1*; 120.  
*atépeméf* < *þepem*, 162.  
*atépþés* < *þep 1*; 162.  
*atépíc* < *þep 2*; 176.  
*atépkauíþom* < *þepkawi*, 162.  
*atépómef* < *þepom 1, 2*; 162.  
*atépómser* < *þepomse*, 155.  
*atép sier* < *þepsi*, 155.  
*atép sirimámár* < *þepsirim*, 144.  
*atép sowamár* < *þepsowawer*, 144.  
*atéptájères* < *þeptaj*, 155.  
*atéptowópmare* < *þeptowopom*, 165.  
*áterémsemac* < *teremsem*, 165.  
*átetamþés* < *tetam*, 162.  
*atetapom* to send someone upriver to call people.

- atéteremápmor* < *teteremapom*, 155.  
*atewémères* < *tewem*, 155.  
*átewemór* < *tewem* 1; 155.  
*atéwenémores* < *tewenem*, 155.  
*átewér* < *tewer* 2; 155.  
*átewérac* < *tewer* 2; 165  
*áteweráces* < *tewer* 2; 165.  
*átewerámar* < *tewerawer* 2; 144.  
*atewéraré* < *tewer* 2; 165.  
*áteweráres* < *tewer* 2; 165.  
*átewércar* < *tewer* 2; 120.  
*atewércaw* < *tewer* 2; 125.  
*atewércokom* < *tewer* 2; 125.  
*atewércom* < *tewer* 2; 125.  
*áteweref* < *tewer* 2; 162.  
*atewérer* < *tewer* 2; 155.  
*atewérfènes* < *tewer* 2; 162.  
*atewérfes* < *tewer* 2, 3; 162.  
*atewérfin* < *tewer* 2; 162.  
*atewérmar* < *tewer* 2; 144.  
*átewermára* < *atewérmar*, 34.  
*átewjiniwámsitè* < *tewjiniwamis*, 168.  
*átewjiniwaritmeç* < *tewjiniwarit*, 152.  
*átewjiniwemom* < *tewjiniwem*, 162.  
*atewoséwer* (299), *moc* — she burst out  
wailing [*< tewosew* ?].  
*atewsémor* < *tewsem*, 155.  
*atèrés* < *at* 2; 155.  
*atí* < *at* 2; 116.  
*atímser* < *timse*, 155.  
*atíteweracém* < *títewer*, 165.  
*atítíwac* < *títíw*, 165.  
*atítíwacer* < *títíw*, 155.  
*atítwamár* < *títwawer*, 144.  
*átíwanímac* < *tíwanim*, 165.  
*atítwapérer* < *títwaper*, 155.  
*átítwáwsimamár* < *títwawsim*, 144.  
*atítwémor* < *tíwem*, 155.  
*atítwimaré* < *tíwim*, 165.  
*atítwkafúmor* < *títwkafum*, 155.  
*atítwkukúmor* < *títwkukum*, 155.  
*atítwkukúmoreś* < *títwkukum*, 155.  
*atítwoter* < *títot*, 155.  
*atítwopamár* < *títwopawer*, 144.  
*atítwsakamór* < *títwsakam*, 155.  
*átíwsiriteweraré* < *tíwsiritewer*, 165.  
*atítwtaremár* (282) < *títwtarem*, = *atítw-*  
*tarémamár*, 144.  
*atítwemsémor* < *títwemsem*, 155.  
*atítwtewer* < *títwtewer*, 155.  
*atítwtewérac* < *títwtewer*, 165.  
*atítwteweraré* < *títwtewer*, 165.  
*atítwumór* < *títwum*, 155.  
*atmár* < *at* 2; 144.  
*atmokóm* < *at* 2; 144.  
*atmokóma* < *atmokóm*, 34.  
*átójofáj* in four days' time, four days  
ago.  
*átójowún* in three days' time, three days  
ago.  
*átómér* in five days' time, five days ago.  
*atopómcēmes* < *topom*, 136.  
*atów* 1 interjection, expressing an  
earnest appeal: wait, please.  
*atów* 2 play; → *e* 4.  
*atówa* < *atów* 1; 34.  
*atówof* < *tówof*, 107.  
*átowófēres* < *tówof*, 155.  
*átowómfēnés* < *towom*, 162.  
*átowomíwtámčēmes* < *towomíwtam*,  
136.  
*átowomsér* < *towomse*, 155.  
*átowóniér* < *towoni*, 155.  
*atowópmani* < *towopom*, 144.  
*átowópmanín* < *towopom*, 144.  
*átowóp móper* < *towopom*, 155.  
*átowóp mór* < *towopom*, 155.  
*átowoséf* < *towos*, 162.  
*átówtotákēres* < *tówtotak*, 155.  
*átówtotépfes* < *tówtotep*, 162.  
*átowówac* < *towow*, 165.  
*aturúmamar* < *turum*, 144.  
*atúrumeç* < *turum*, 162.  
*aturúmtíwér* < *turumtíw*, 155.  
*átuwomséfēnem* < *tuwomse*, 162.  
*atúwomsér* < *tuwomse*, 155.  
*atúwor* < *tuw*, 155.  
*atúwser* < *tuwse*, 155.  
*áurúmmemará* < *urumem*, 165.  
*aurúmtewerará* < *urumtewer*, 165.  
*aurúmtewéres* < *urumtewer*, 155.  
*aw* 1 → *aráw*, 261.  
*aw* 2 subjectivity marker, 257.  
*aw* 3 interjection: oh!  
*aw* 4 breast [of a woman].  
*aw* 5 to roast, to cook, to boil water.  
*aw* 6 to scrape out sago.  
*Aw* name of a river.  
*áwa* < *aw* 1, 2; 34.  
*awajímtíwér* < *wajimtíw*, 155.  
*awajotépfes* < *wajotep*, 162.  
*áwakámkurumór* < *wakamkurum*, 155.  
*awakámkurúmoreś* < *wakamkurum*, 155.  
*awamár* < *awawer*, 144.  
*awamés* < *awawer*, 144.

*awamis* < *amis*, 178.  
*awámpom* < *aw* 5, 6; 152.  
*awan* 1 to roast sago for a meal.  
*awan* 2 to scrape out sago.  
*awáp* < *ap* 2; 178.  
*áwapí* < *ap* 2; 176, 178.  
*áwasé* < *se* 2; 178.  
*áwaséc* (344) = *áwasé*.  
*awawer* to scrape out much sago, to  
 scrape out sago continually.  
*awcóm* < *aw* 5, 6; 125.  
*awè* < *aw* 2; 33.  
*awemcém* < *em* 3; 176, 178.  
*áwemci* < *em* 3; 176, 178.  
*awemés* = *aemés* < *e* 4; 144.  
*awemic* < *em* 3; 176, 178.  
*awemít* → *awemic*.  
*awér* 1 (305) but not [?].  
*awér* 2 a pubic covering worn by the  
 married women. It consists of a plaited  
 waist-belt made of grasses from which  
 hangs a fringe of young leaves of the  
 sago palm. This fringe extends from  
 hip to hip and is approximately 2 ft  
 long. When the *awér* is to be worn  
 the fringe is gathered together, passed  
 between the thighs, to rest closely  
 against the pubes, along the perineum  
 and up over the top of the belt where  
 it is tucked in [see sketch p. 365].  
*awer* 3 to sharpen.  
*aweremtiw* to smear a stripe [of paint]  
 on; to put in a row [bags of sago];  
 to lay down on supports.  
*awerfis* to go outside by passing close  
 to.  
*awérfiséf* < *awerfis*, 162.  
*awes* to scrape out sago at night.  
*áwewerémkum* to put ashore in a hurry,  
 just on the edge of the water.  
*awewerjar* to walk across something  
 narrow, e.g. a duckboard.  
*awíasmor* < *wiasam*, 155.  
*áwienfóm* < *iwien*, 162.  
*awíesef* < *iwies*, 162.  
*áwíesefē* < *awíesef*, 34.  
*áwíjisará* < *íwíjis*, 165.  
*áwíjisér* < *íwíjis*, 155.  
*áwikunáwmar* < *íwikunaw*, 144.  
*awínenorés* < *íwinem*, 155.  
*áwiniér* < *íwini*, 155.  
*awínióf* < *íwini*, 162.  
*áwiokópmore*s < *íwiokopom*, 155.

*áwíomatámes* < *íwíomatawer*, 144.  
*áwísérés* < *íwis*, 155.  
*awítéparé* < *íwítép*, 165.  
*áwítépéf* < *íwítép*, 162.  
*áwítépéfē* < *áwítépéf*, 34.  
*awítiwérés* < *íwítiw*, 155.  
*awjis* roasted [?].  
*áwkurumorés* < *awkurum*, 155.  
*awkurum* to scrape out all [pith].  
*áwkurumór* < *awkurum*, 155.  
*awkurumtiw* to scrape out sago pith  
 until it is all out.  
*áwkurumtiwér* < *awkurumtiw*, 155.  
*awkuw* to delay [a departure].  
*awnáam* → *atam*.  
*awnawer* to scrape out much sago for  
 food.  
*awní* < *awan* 1, 2; 116.  
*awniawer*, *se'n* — to go downstream,  
 covered in mud.  
*awó* all right, yes.  
*awocin* to scrape out sago pith in the  
 direction of the top or the bottom of  
 the trunk.  
*Awók* name of a *jew* in the village of  
 Amánamkáj.  
*áwomsémar* < *omse*, 144, 178.  
*áwomséokom* < *omse*, 177, 178.  
*awón* stroke, blow; → *mop*.  
*Awór* name of a *jew* in the village of  
 Surú.  
*awór* 1 kind of fish.  
*awor* 2 to become, to change into.  
*aworéf* < *awor* 2; 162.  
*aworem* to have been changed into.  
 [subject standing].  
*áworeméf* < *aworem*, 162.  
*aworemes* to change into during the  
 night [subject standing].  
*áworémesmi* < *aworemes*, 144.  
*áworemí* < *aworem*, 155.  
*áworémitem* < *aworem*, 168.  
*aworemkurum* to change completely into  
 [subject standing].  
*aworés* < *aw* 5, 6; 155.  
*aworse* to change into [a fish].  
*aworséc* < *aworse*, 116.  
*awōpor* to try to scrape out sago, to  
 know how to scrape out sago.  
*áwse* 1 < *se* 2; 176, 178.  
*awse* 2, *se'n* — to be on the river [in a  
 canoe], covered in mud.  
*awsem*, *mu* — to dig a water-hole.

*áwsemac* < *awsem*, 165.  
*awisés* < *se* 2; 176, 178.  
*awtam* to scrape out sago for someone.  
*awtámcar* < *awtam*, 132.  
*awtever*, *amás* — to get sago.  
*awtiw* 1 to roast and put down, to have finished roasting.  
*awtiw* 2 to scrape sago pith until it is all out, to scrape out sago and put it down.  
*áwtiwérés* < *awtiw* 1, 2; 155.  
*awtó* kind of tree.  
*awú* breast [of a man].  
*áwuamsé* < *wuamis*, 162.  
*awuámsér* < *wuamis*, 155.  
*awuamsés* < *wuamse*, 176.  
*awuámsesmár* < *wuamses*, 144.  
*awuápmor* < *wuapom*, 155.  
*áwuará.* < *wu* 8; 165.  
*awúc* < *aw* 5, 6; 116.  
*awúco* < *awúc*, 33.  
*awúéf* < *wu* 8; 162.  
*awúj* < *aw* 5, 6; 155.  
*awúja* exclamation: hey!  
*awum* to flay.  
*awumapom* to strip [bark] off a tree.  
*awumnem* to wrench loose groundwards [the bark of the felled sago palm].  
*awúmnemór* < *awumnem*, 155.  
*awumtiw* to wrench [bark] off [the trunk of the sago palm].  
*awún* but, however.  
*awúniér* < *wuni*, 155.  
*awúpa* exclamation: that's a hit!  
*awút* large, big, much [water], many [people], heavy [rain].  
*awútpicim* < *awút*, 203.

## C

*ca* 1 who, whose, 232.  
*ca* 2 → *car*.  
*caátëren* < *at* 2; 125.  
*cácamapci* < *emap*, 125.  
*caj* 1 way of doing, customary behaviour; *caj curúw* unaccountable, mysterious [behaviour].  
*caj* 2 plan, scheme, intention, purpose, idea, pretext, → *emc*.  
*caj* 3 sexual intercourse, → *e* 4.  
*caj* 4 not willing, averse from, → *siróp*.  
*caj* 5, *nam* — ill; *caj pacák* calamity, disaster, → *cap*.

*cajaric* (309), *tow* — let him come round first; < *jar* [?].  
*cajit* to kill [pigs] in the morning.  
*cajítmar* < *cajit*, 144.  
*cajkurum* to pretend.  
*cajomat* to carry a great quantity of.  
*cajomatmep* < *cajomat*, 152.  
*cáka* 1 with a splash.  
*cáka* 2 pool.  
*Cáka* name of a river.  
*cakám* deserted [of a village].  
*cakámkaj*, *focó* — skinny.  
*cakás* → *takás*.  
*cakokoromse* to chase, kill and haul aboard [a fish].  
*cam* 1, *ca* 1 + *am*. 233.  
*cam* 2 < *car*, 217.  
*cáma* < *cam* 1; 34.  
*camák* 'behind the house'; path running from the back of the house into the forest along which people go to defecate, or when they are going to the forest.  
*camán* the space under the house.  
*Cáman* personal name.  
*camár* < *cawer*, 144.  
*camúim* the right way [as distinct from the wrong way].  
*camemeremem* to give someone a sound thrashing.  
*cámemerémór* < *camemeremem*, 155.  
*camúw* 1 on foot, walking.  
*cámúw* 2 the sound of wood being chopped.  
*can* to kill and eat.  
*canfés* < *can*, 162.  
*canúpir* pelican.  
*capakamop* to have killed.  
*cápakamópëres* < *capakamop*, 155.  
*capimom* to walk while holding [a lance] by the point.  
*capimomku*, *océn* — to go ashore, holding a lance by its point.  
*capínmi* ground, dry land [in contradiction to *jif*].  
*caporsomop* to have massacred, to sit with the massacred.  
*car* you, your [pl.], 206-220.  
*carám* < *car*, 215.  
*caráp* < *car*, 214.  
*carmá* < *car*, 213.  
*carpá* < *car*, 214.  
*case* < to kill whilst on the river.

*cásirímtakí* < *sirímtak*, 125.  
*cátepapcóm* < *tepap*, 125.  
*cátepapcóma* < *cátepapcóm*, 34.  
*catiw* to kill.  
*catiwir* = *catiwér*, < *catiw*, 155.  
*catiwtam* to kill [a pig] for someone.  
*catiwtamán* < *catiwtam*, 155.  
*caciap* to sit tightly packed [many people together].  
*caciom* to be busy putting in rows [?].  
*cacíw* kind of fish.  
*cawer* to kill many [pigs].  
*cáwíjísporín* < *íwíjíspor*, 125.  
*cawuawer* to rustle continually [leaves].  
*cem* house; *jíwís* — a new house, built after having moved to another dwelling place; *ow* — look-out post: large house, in form similar to a ceremonial house [*jerw*], situated at the mouth of the river on which a village lies. Here the men sit on the look out for enemies, especially when their women are fishing in the neighbourhood.  
*cémi* — *akmát* an old woman.  
*cénnakap* < *cem*, 185.  
*cénnakápirítw* < *cem*, 188.  
*Cemnácutw* personal name.  
*cemsén* the space in front of the house; the village.  
*cen* vagina; → *an* 3.  
*cenám* 1 'that which is inside': *kus* — the brain; *manmák* — the eyeball.  
*cenám* 2, *ces* — the point of an arrow; *amús* — the headpiece of the sago scraper.  
*cenwís* wife's parents.  
*cepés* a wife, wives; a woman, women [but never: the wife, the woman]; *cepés apcóm* having a wife, wives; → *cowúc*.  
*Cepésmi* name of a river.  
*cérecafó* spurting; → *cas*.  
*ces* 1 arrow.  
*ces* 2 to pour down all night long [rain].  
*cesmár* < *ces* 2; 144.  
*cesén* → *tesén*.  
*cescúw* skilled, clever.  
*ceswén* long arrow.  
*cet* → *cic*.  
*cémén* 1 penis.  
*cémén* 2, *ci* — = *ci cimén*, → *cimén*.  
*Cēménósamín* name of a river.  
*cēmew*, abuse → *at* 2.

*cēnés* below, on the floor; downstream.  
*cēwí* the base of the frond of a sago palm.  
*ci* 1 canoe; *jim* — a group of women who go out in a canoe to fish with the net; *jicop* — a group of men who go out in a canoe, e.g. to hunt or to guard the fishing women.  
*ci* 2 kind of tree, used for making canoes.  
*ci* 3 lower part of the midrib of the frond of the sago palm; *ci sés* the dead fronds of the sago palm.  
*ci* 4 to cut up.  
*cia* (341) = *ci* 1 [emphatic].  
*cic* contest, match.  
*cicimpor* to make rustling noises in the thatch of houses [said of ghosts].  
*cicikim* to wash off, to clean.  
*cicikimór* < *cicikim*, 155.  
*cicikimcem* < *cicikim*, 125.  
*cicikimtiw* to wash, to clean [object lying].  
*cikim* to wash something.  
*cim* to shoot [an arrow].  
*cimén* the stern of a canoe; *ci* — idem.  
*cimín* 1 temple [of the head].  
*cimín* 2 imitation; just as, as though; *ci* — imitation-canoe; *opák* — as though nothing were afoot (322); *a cimín cowák* just as before (271).  
*cimom* to be busy with [?].  
*cimtwer* to take away a part from.  
*cimtiw* to kill by shooting.  
*cin* 1 and, inclusive, both of; 251.  
*cin* 2 to cut up something for eating.  
*ciomíw* to cut up and take indoors, e.g. a pig.  
*ciomíwamár* < *ciomíwawer*, 144.  
*ciomíwawer* to cut up much [flesh] and take it indoors.  
*ciptow* dried up sago palm.  
*cír* to snatch at.  
*círi* snatching, → *emtwer*.  
*cirim* fence, partition; *cowó* — a band of sago leaves; *jemés* — a wall of shields.  
*círín* the strip of tidal forest along the coast.  
*ciromas* to cut up in pieces.  
*ciromásères* < *ciromas*, 155.  
*cirop*, *moc* — to start to cry, to complain about; *purumúc* — to begin to



- sing dirges to honour a guest [this is done in the ceremonial house].  
*cirópanem* < *cirop*, 155.  
*co* container; nest, trough; *pok* — trough with food; *an* — small trough used to put sago in; *pomót* — 'a nest of feathered paddles', said when all the people in a canoe have feathered paddles.  
*coap* 1 to plait [subject sitting].  
*coap* 2 to stay hidden.  
*coapér* < *coap* 1, 2; 155.  
*coapérés* < *coap* 1, 2; 155.  
*coapjés* < *coap* 1, 2; 162.  
*cococó* dashing forward.  
*cofó* spoilt, unusable [said of sago palms].  
*cokó, nam* — in high spirits.  
*com* 1 → *car*, 232.  
*com* 2 the headband of a carrying bag.  
*com* 3, *manam* — to fall in love.  
*com* 4 to hide [someone].  
*com* 5 to kill and take along.  
*comá* < *com* 3; 109.  
*comapom* (324) to present something to [?].  
*comíc* young sago leaves, used like a sponge to soak up the water that has come into the canoe.  
*comis* to go outside, throwing [sago] about.  
*cómismár* < *comis*, 144.  
*comom, fe* — to string [fish] on a rope and hold it.  
*comopawer* to keep someone hidden [indoors].  
*cop* → *coap*.  
*copawer* to plait without interruption, continually.  
*copó* with a thud.  
*copón* young sago palm [older than *wasér*]; *wu* — a *copón* from which the edible top only is removed. [A *copón* is still so small that one can get the top out of it without cutting the tree down].  
*copú* a young sago palm [older than a *mikin*, but younger than a *wasér*].  
*cotiw* to plait something until it is finished.  
*cótíwér* < *cotiw*, 155.  
*cotíwpor* to try to plait something until it is finished.
- cotíwporó* < *cotíwpor*, 162.  
*cow* the sago palm [generic name].  
*cowák* one, only, all; very; forthwith, straightaway [when *cowák* follows a verb]; *inim* — and so on; *opák* — not in the least.  
*cowáka* < *cowák*, 34.  
*cowákaseré* little ones, crumbs, 191.  
*cowákserc* → *cowákaseré*.  
*cowé* → *cowó*.  
*Cowéw* name of a village.  
*cowkán* together.  
*cowó* the side leaves of the frond of the sago palm.  
*cowór* flat, level, smooth; alike, the same. *mi* — among [our] selves, with only people of the same group.  
*cowóra* < *cowór*, 34.  
*coworé* the top of the frond of the sago palm.  
*cowú* 1 the bark of the sago palm.  
*cowu* 2 the place in the forest where the sago is scraped out.  
*cowúc* woman, girl [s.] *fa* — chief wife; *asé* — co-wife; *cowúc apcóm* 'being like a woman', term of abuse, used with regard to men.  
*cowúca* < *cowúc*, 34.  
*cowút* → *cowúc*.  
*cowútnakap* < *cowúc*, 185.  
*Cowútpacak* woman's name.  
*cukem* to be hidden [subject standing].  
*cumán* a burn.  
*cumasam* to let go freely [shit, piss].  
*cuomatom* to take someone away secretly, to kidnap.  
*cúomatómítes* < *cuomatom*, 168.  
*curujis* to slither to the outside [fish].  
*cúrujisá* < *curujis*, 109.  
*curúw* secretly.  
*cucum* to make noise.  
*cuwúc* at that moment, at that time.  
*cuwút* → *cuwúc*.

## E

- e* 1 interjection: oh!, no!.  
*e* 2 → *er*.  
*e* 3 leaf; *amás* — the side leaves of the frond of the sago palm.  
*e* 4 to say, to do; *anám* — to work up the inner part of the pith of the sago

palm; *ajpamá* — to be known (324); *atów* — to play; *caj* — 1) to intend, to think of, to have an idea, 2) to have sexual intercourse; *jan* — to hear; *je* — to carry a heavy load, to go forward with difficulty [e.g. across the mudbanks]; *jimamúc* — to be very busy with; *jipís* — to dart to and fro [fish]; *jiwá* — to surround; *ju* — to shout, to yell; *karém* — to cause someone to be quiet; *makán* — to leave behind; *njonjonjo* — to screech [ghosts]; *njernjer* — to devour [said of maggots]; *tosów* — to make a gift in return; *wu* — to rustle [leaves].

*e* 5 → *so* 1.

*ea* interjection: oh!

*eacóm* < *e* 4; 165.

*eacóma* < *eacóm*, 34.

*eamis*, *mokóp* — to lie on the stomach.

*eaþ* to do while sitting, to speak while sitting; *amún þu* — to be busy with [preparations for departure]; *cáj þacák* — to be in a hopeless situation; *ják seré* — to become enamoured of; *jiná jü* — to crawl on hands and knees; *mé þipi* — to have the mouth chockfull.

*eaþam* to do mutually while staying somewhere.

*eaþi* < *eaþ*, 176.

*eaþmor* < *eaþom* 1, 2; 155.

*eaþmorés* < *eaþom* 1, 2; 155.

*eaþom* 1 to speak about [object sitting].

*eaþom* 2, *cem* — to build a house.

*eaþomkekem* to build a house, tying it firmly.

*eas*, *cérecafó* — to spurt out [of juice]

*easam* to do all the time: *jimamúc in* — to be busy all the time, until completion.

*eawer* to do continually, all day long, always; *caj* — always to be averse from; *em* — to beat the drums all day long; *jipís* — always to dart to and fro [fish].

*éaweri* < *eawer*, 125.

*éawérmom* < *eawer*, 136.

*éawiri* < *eawer*, 116.

*éawiria* < *éawiri*, 34.

*éawérmokom* < *eawer*, 136.

*écem* < *e* 4; 125.

*ecémánokom* < *e* 4; 136.

*écemè* < *écem*, 33.

*écémés* < *e* 4; 136.

*ecén* < *e* 4; 116.

*ecéna* < *ecén*, 34.

*ecés* < *e* 4; 125.

*ecí* < *e* 4; 125.

*ecó* revenge.

*éco* kind of frog.

*ecom* < *e* 4; 125.

*cem* to speak while standing up.

*ees* 1 to do at night.

*ees* 2, *mormor* — to come towards crawling in great numbers; *manmák cenám wu* — to come towards with shining eyes.

*eesëri* < *ees* 1; 125.

*ef* 1 twig; *man* — finger.

*ef* 2 < *e* 4; 162.

*éfa* quickly.

*efamúc* [do it] quickly!

*efamúca* < *efamúc*, 34.

*efamút* → *efamúc*.

*efém* < *e* 4; 162.

*efés* < *e* 4; 162.

*efokóm* < *e* 4; 162.

*efóm* < *e* 4; 162.

*eit* to do in the morning

*éitëri* < *eit*, 125.

*eitum* to do in the afternoon.

*éitúmcëmokóm* < *eitum*, 136.

*éitúnci* < *eitum*, 125.

*éitúncom* < *eitum*, 125.

*ej* 1 interjection: hey! ay!

*cj* 2 < *e* 4, 155.

*ek* stone, fruit; *maj* — toe; *tínak* — the fruit of the sago palm.

*ekcá* → *ekcó*; *ekcá jimá* 'arse child', misbegotten brat [term of abuse].

*ekcó* knot in wood, arse.

*éknakap* one [numeral].

*ekurum*, *jirán* — to become squashy.

*em* 1 wife [s.].

*em* 2 drum.

*em* 3 to be [subject standing], to stand, to wait.

*em* 4 to do, to make, to work up [sago pith], to apply to; *mar atów* — to play football; *mer* — to catch crabs; *jim* — to fish with the net.

*em* 5 you [s., pl.] are. Only in the set expressions: *nor mó em*, *no miwís em*, see 236, note 41.

*emá* 1 < *e* 4; 144.

*emá* 2 < *em* 4; 144, 183.

- emá* 3 < *em* 5; 34.  
*emájpuruw* < *em* 4; 114.  
*emájpuruwá* < *emájpuruw*, 34.  
*emák* bone.  
*emákapúmtewfom* < *kapumtew*, 162.  
*emamár* < *emawer* 2; 144.  
*emámci* < *am* 7, 8; 125, 179.  
*emamis* to lie down.  
*emamóp* < *emawer* 1; 152.  
*emamópā* < *emamop*, 34.  
*emamós* < *em* 4; 113.  
*emamósa* < *emamós*, 34.  
*emamséf* < *emamis*, 162.  
*emamsér* < *emamis*, 155.  
*emamsi* < *emamis*, 155.  
*emamsio* < *emamsi*, 33.  
*emámsiti* < *emamis*, 168.  
*emantewer* to meet each other.  
*eman*, *amás* — to get food.  
*emanem* to store [sago] on, to fill [the platforms on the collar-beams, with food].  
*émaném* < *em* 4; 144, 183.  
*emap* to sit, to sit down, to begin to go down [sun].  
*emápacáw* (309) < *emap*, = *cáemap-cáw* or *emapác*, 130, 167.  
*emápaces* < *emap*, 165.  
*emápcěma* < *emap*, 136.  
*emápcem* < *emap*, 155 [mood form].  
*emápěres* < *emap*, 155.  
*emápi* < *emap*, 155.  
*emapmá* < *emap*, 144.  
*emapmés*, *ke* — to get stuck [on a sandbank] at night.  
*emápmesmár* < *emapmes*, 144.  
*emapmór* < *emapom*, 155.  
*emápmores* < *emapom*, 155.  
*emapom* to cause to sit down, to put down; to hit, strike [with a spear, harpoon]; *cem* — to make a house; *jirik* — to paint the *jirik* design on.  
*emáporápěrés* < *porap*, 155.  
*emár* indeed not, no; 244.  
*emár* < *e* 4; 144.  
*emára* 1 < *ěma*, 34.  
*emára* 2 < *emár*, 34.  
*emarimut* to man a canoe in the morning.  
*emárimutmár* < *emarimut*, 144.  
*emárimútmará* < *emárimutmár*, 34.  
*emariw* to go aboard [a number of people in one canoe].  
*emasmawer*, *fawic* — to make jokes all the time.  
*emásmcwérmes* < *emasmawer*, 136.  
*ematam* to go and chop down, to begin to chop down.  
*emátepésmar* < *tepes*, 144.  
*ematepic* < *tep*, 176, 179.  
*emátewirúm* < *atawer*, 171.  
*emátmor* < *ematam*, 155.  
*emáwccem* < *aw* 5, 6; 125, 179.  
*emáwccom* < *aw* 5, 6; 125, 179.  
*emawer* 1 to stay [subject standing].  
*emawer* 2 always to do.  
*emcawóm* < *em* 4; 125, 179.  
*emcém* 1 < *em* 3; 176.  
*emcém* 2 < *em* 4; 125, 179.  
*émcěmém* < *em* 4; 136.  
*émcěmemá* < *émcěmém*, 34.  
*émcěmi* < *em* 4; 136.  
*émcěpem* < *em* 4; 136.  
*emcí* 1 < *em* 3; 176.  
*emcí* 2 < *em* 4; 125, 179.  
*emcímtewer* to take away parts from.  
*emcín* < *em* 4; 125, 179.  
*émcíně* < *emcín*, 33.  
*emció* < *em* 3; 33.  
*emcóm* 1 < *em* 3; 176.  
*emcóm* 2 < *em* 4; 125, 179.  
*emcóma* < *emcóm*, 34.  
*eme*, *caj* — to look for a pretext; *mic wut nim* — to be like a huge cloud of ashes [subject standing].  
*emé* < *em* 4; 162.  
*emeáfores* < *af* 1, 2; 155.  
*eméajmiramín* < *ajmirawer*, 144.  
*eméajmiramíno* < *eméajmiramín*, 33.  
*eméajmirámpun* < *ajmirawer* [?], 144.  
*eméajmirámpuně* < *eméajmirámpun*, 33.  
*eméakéwiripúj* < *akawer*, 171  
*eméamúj* < *am* 8; 155.  
*eméawkurumpuj* < *awkurum*, 155.  
*emécánés* < *can*, 162.  
*émecěmár* < *emc*, 136.  
*eméemanpúj* < *eman*, 155.  
*eméf* < *em* 3, 4; 162.  
*eméfawóf* < *faw*, 162.  
*emějisterwěrcsmi* < *jisterweres*, 144.  
*emějursúmcawós* < *jursum*, 162.  
*emékafúmanes* < *kafum*, 162.  
*emékamiěsmar* < *kamies*, 144.  
*emem* 1 to stand up, to start to walk.  
*émcm* 2 < *e* 4; 144.

emémamsērém (266) 'since you are there'; < emamis, 155.  
 ememef < emem 1; 162.  
 emémemērém (269) 'since you are there'; < emem 1, 155.  
 ememér < emem 1; 155.  
 ememes to grow up during the night [tree].  
 emémésmar < ememes, 144.  
 emémērém < emem 1; 155.  
 eméni < emem 1; 155.  
 ememóf < emem 1; 162.  
 emen 1 to walk upstream; to walk to the far end of.  
 emen 2 < em 4; 144, 183.  
 émenè < emen 2; 33.  
 emenér < emen 1; 155.  
 emeninatipúj < nimatip, 155.  
 eménmetén rattan calf band.  
 eméomoméf < omom, 162.  
 emép 1 < e 4; 152.  
 emép 2 < em 4; 152, 183.  
 emépanikajapánokom < nikajap, 155.  
 emépapórán < por, 155.  
 emépapórancem < por, 155.  
 emépapóránēnem < por, 155.  
 emépapormánūnem < por, 144.  
 emépasán < sa, 155.  
 emépò < emép 1; 33.  
 eméporánēnem < por, 155.  
 emépori < por, 155.  
 emépormánūnem < por, 144.  
 emér < em 3; 155.  
 emes 1 to come walking towards.  
 emes 2 to make something at night.  
 emés 3 < e 4; 144.  
 emésakajámi < sakajawer, 144.  
 emésamep < sa 2; 152.  
 emésetajér < setaj, 155.  
 émesi < emes 1; 155.  
 emésmep < emes 2; 152.  
 emésmem < emes 2; 144.  
 emésmemá < emésmem, 34.  
 emésusumá < susu, 144.  
 emétawami < tawawer, 144.  
 emétawamía < emétawami, 34.  
 emétawáni < tawan, 155.  
 emétawnío < emétawáni, 33.  
 emétawúj < taw 1, 2; 155.  
 emétawúja < emétawúj, 34.  
 emétemērém < tem 2; 155.  
 emétepakajapites < tepakajap, 168.  
 eméururútes < ururu 2; 168.

emawer → emawer 2.  
 emaweréjimos < emawer 2; 113.  
 emaweréjipurúwa < emawer 2; 114.  
 emawéiri < emawer 2; 171.  
 emērém < em 3; 155.  
 emēréma < emērém, 34.  
 emérés < em 3; 155.  
 eméróm < em 3; 155.  
 emfafam, jo'n — to do until the sun rises.  
 émfafamfés < emfafam, 162.  
 emfam, jo'n — to stay until the breaking of the day.  
 emfaméf < emfam, 162.  
 emfém < em 4; 162.  
 emfés < em 3, 4; 162.  
 emfēnés < em 4; 162.  
 emfjsum to come out of [a hiding place].  
 emfokóm < em 3, 4; 162.  
 emi 1 to speak while standing.  
 emi 2 < e 4; 144.  
 emi 3 < em 4; 144, 183.  
 emía < emi 3; 34.  
 emíc < em 3; 176.  
 emíca < emíc, 34.  
 eminár < emi 1; 144.  
 emín < em 4; 144, 183.  
 eminè < emín, 33.  
 emío < emi 3; 33.  
 emis to go outside, to go to the forest.  
 émisérmar < emis, 136.  
 emismép < emis, 152.  
 emít → emíc.  
 emitè < em 3; 168 [?].  
 emitém < em 3; 168.  
 emitóm < em 3; 168.  
 emitum to be standing during the afternoon, to stay during the afternoon.  
 emiw to go indoors.  
 emiwer < emiw, 155.  
 emjar to go, to walk.  
 emji, po — to row [subject standing];  
 apím — to squeeze out sago pulp [subject standing].  
 émjiamar < emjiawer, 144.  
 emjiawer to keep on speaking, shouting [subject standing].  
 emkencit, ken — to start to collect up [necessary] implements in the morning.  
 émkençitmar < emkencit, 144.  
 emkoj to set out, to go away, walking [subject standing].

- emkojér* < *emkoj*, 155.  
*emkom* to pick [a flower], [subject standing].  
*emku* to go ashore, to step ashore.  
*emkumár* < *emku*, 144.  
*émkurmór* < *emkurum*, 155.  
*emkurum* to make all, to make the whole thing.  
*emnani, nani* — to stand whimpering.  
*émnanimár* < *emnani*, 144.  
*emni* 1 to (begin to) walk back home, to walk downstream, to descend.  
*emni* 2, *maj ni* — to dangle one's feet.  
*emnimár* < *emni* 1, 2; 144.  
*emnípuj* < *emni* 1; 155.  
*emócamár* < *emocawer*, 144.  
*emocawer, uc* — to stand laughing continually.  
*emóf* < *em* 3, 4; 162.  
*emóm* < *em* 4; 144, 183.  
*emóm* < *e* 4; 144.  
*emop, iriri* — to have left none, to have killed all (337).  
*émoper* < *emop*, 155.  
*emór* < *em* 4; 155.  
*émorém* < *em* 4; 155.  
*emotasisimawer* → *otasisimawer*.  
*empám* to hit someone with.  
*empámor* < *empam*, 155.  
*empepem, maumák* — to be on the lookout.  
*empor* 1 to try to stand; to want to stay; *empori!* please, stay!  
*empor* 2 to try to make something; to be able to do something; to want to do; *enám* —, *pe* —, *amás* — to try to get fish, crabs, sago.  
*emporá* < *empor* 1, 2; 109.  
*émporamár* < *emporawer*, 144.  
*émporamép* < *emporawer*, 152.  
*emporawer* continually to try to do.  
*empórcelj* < *empor* 1, 2; 116.  
*emporés* < *empor* 1, 2; 155.  
*empórfēnes* < *empor* 1, 2; 162.  
*emporó* < *empor* 1, 2; 162.  
*empu* to be on the river, to row along the river.  
*empúcēmes* < *empu*, 136.  
*empuj* < *em* 4; 144, 183.  
*emsajcucuku* to flee, everyone individually, to the forest.  
*émsajcucukumár* < *emsajcucuku*, 144.  
*emsajcuku* to flee, everyone individually, to the forest.  
*emsakámtewerfém* < *sakamtewer*, 162, 179.  
*emsamem* to pile up.  
*emsamémamár* < *emsamem*, 144.  
*emsaWER, em* — to beat the drums the whole day (328).  
*emse* to be on or in the water.  
*emseawer* always to be in or on the water, to stay in the water.  
*emséccs* < *emse*, 176.  
*emséēres* < *emse*, 155.  
*emsem, mu fowú* — to fill [a trough] to the brim with water.  
*émsemor* < *emsem*, 155.  
*emscr* < *emse*, 155.  
*émseres* < *emse*, 155.  
*emsetájērēs* < *setaj*, 155, 179.  
*emsires* quickly to come walking towards.  
*émsiresí* < *emsires*, 155.  
*emsiri* to run away.  
*emsit* to grow up [subject standing].  
*emsokmem* (323) to spoil [?].  
*émsoKmemér* < *emsokmem*, 155.  
*emsokmór* < *emsokom*, 155.  
*emsokmún* < *emsokom*, 155.  
*emsokom* to hit, to strike.  
*emtam, mi waci* — to indicate assent by lifting the head.  
*emtámor* < *emtam*, 155.  
*emtampor* to try to make or to do something for someone.  
*emtarw* to speak, to start to speak [subject standing].  
*emtáwamepés* < *emtarawer*, 152.  
*émtawaré* < *emtarw*, 165.  
*emtarawer* continually to speak [subject standing].  
*émtawéwiris* < *emtarawer*, 171.  
*emtarwár* < *emtarw*, 144.  
*emtarwém* < *emtarw*, 144.  
*emtarwutum, tam pepepe* — to draw rattan tight on something in the evening.  
*emtáwutumár* < *emtarwutum*, 144.  
*emtep* to hang.  
*emtetámčēmokóm* < *tetam*, 136, 179.  
*emtewen* to go and fetch food.  
*emtewer* to go and fetch; *ciri* — to grab; *kapú* — to catch hold of.  
*émtewerfén* < *emtewer*, 162.

*émtewerfés* < *emtwer*, 162.  
*emtwewjiniw* all to go on their way.  
*émtewjiniwmar* < *emtwewjiniw*, 144.  
*emtwewnácem* < *emtwewen*, 165.  
*emtwewnáccema* < *emtwewnácem*, 34.  
*emtwetum* (321) to gather large quantities of [sago] [?].  
*emtim*, *jo'n* — to stay somewhere until the sun goes down, to walk until the sun goes down [subject standing].  
*emtimcēmar* < *emtim*, 136.  
*emtiméf* < *emtim*, 162.  
*émtimefā* < *emtiméf*, 34.  
*emtitizw* to put [several things] down.  
*emtitizá* < *emtitizw*, 109.  
*emtizw*, *wa* — to make someone glisten [object lying].  
*emtiwukurum* to work up all [sago pulp].  
*émtiwukurúmac* < *emtiwukurum*, 165.  
*emtópmores* < *emtópom*, 155.  
*emtópom*, *mokóp* — to put upside down [a canoe on the bank of the river].  
*emturum* to line up [canoes against the bank of the river].  
*emturuméf* < *emturum*, 162.  
*emúj* < *em* 4; 155.  
*emut* 1 to do, to make, in the morning.  
*emut* 2 < *em* 4; 168.  
*emutmi* < *emut* 1; 144.  
*emutokóm* < *em* 4; 168.  
*emutokóma* < *emutokóm*, 34.  
*emutum* to make something in the afternoon.  
*emzew* to flee [a crowd of people].  
*emzew* to topple over, to fall down with much rustling of leaves [tree].  
*emzewsermar* < *emzew*, 136.  
*en* 1 → an 1.  
*en* 2 kind of fish.  
*en* 3 to go to the extreme end of; to go upriver on or along a large river [see sketch p. 364].  
*en* 4 [?], *je* — to put on a string.  
*énakap* small, young.  
*énakapirizw* very small, very young; < *énakap*, 188.  
*enám* fish; *mu* — creatures that live in the water.  
*enámnakap* < *enám*, 185.  
*enamúic* come! let's go!.  
*enaré* < *en* 4 [?]; 165.  
*enaw* to come towards [see sketch p. 364].

*enawap* to come towards and stay, → *enaw*.  
*enawapes* to come towards and pass the night, → *enaw*.  
*enawapesmóm* < *enawapes*, 144.  
*enawapfom* < *enawap*, 162.  
*enawcaw* < *enaw*, 125.  
*enawcem* < *enaw*, 125.  
*enawfam* to come towards . . . and run [water] away.  
*enawfamá* < *enawfam*, 109.  
*enawkapu* to come towards and join up with.  
*énawkapuéf* < *enawkapu*, 162.  
*enawmes* < *enaw*, 144.  
*enesamis* to come towards and lie down.  
*enesamséf* < *enesamis*, 162.  
*enesjamis*, *samsam* . . . — to come in many canoes close together.  
*enesjamséf* < *enesjamis*, 162.  
*enesjap*, *tóko* — to land with a thud on the ground.  
*enesjápēres* < *enesjap*, 155.  
*enesmapom*, *mimi* — having come towards . . . to cause to get stuck [e.g. a canoe on the bank of a river].  
*enesmit* grandmother.  
*enestewer* to come in order to get.  
*enesturum* to come towards and line up [canoes against the bank of a river].  
*enésturúmf* < *enesturum*, 162.  
*enērim* and, 250.  
*enim* → *enērim*.  
*enmúm* → *mer*.  
*eóf* < *e* 4; 162.  
*ecom* to speak while holding something.  
*ecomat* to speak while walking around.  
*ecomewer* 1 to keep saying to.  
*ecomewer* 2, *maj mumú* — always to take someone on the wrong path.  
*ecomit* to speak to someone in the morning.  
*ecompuawer*, *tep tep* — to sink farther and farther down [in the bog] with.  
*comse* to talk while rowing.  
*eoni*, *tep tep* — to sink farther and farther down.  
*eos*, *moc* — to come with [someone] while crying.  
*ep* tail; *jec* — far end of the sump trough; *ci* — the stern of a canoe; *si* — a very long axe.

*Epém* name of a *jew* in the village of *Seréw*.

*eperák* the bottom end of something long; the last one in a series.

*epermák* = *eperák*.

*epíc* elder sister [s.].

*epicéwes* older sisters [pl.], 190.

*epmák* the upper course of a river.

*epnám* young pandanus tree.

*eporamár* < *eporawer*, 144.

*eporawer, omér* — to become more and more afraid; *jis* — always to try to roast [but in vain].

*epúc* elder brother [s.].

*epúcewes* older brothers [pl.], 190.

*epút* → *epúc*.

*er* 1 that, over there, 223.

*er* 2 < *e* 4; 155.

*Erák* personal name.

*erám* magic, → *pok*.

*erásen* there, that place.

*erásenakapirítw* < *erásen*, 188.

*erasín* < *e* 4; 120.

*erém* 1 night, at night.

*erém* 2 < *e* 4; 155.

*erem* 3 to tear something.

*eremtew* → *eremtewer*.

*eremtewer* to split something.

*erémtewí* < *eremtew*, 116.

*erén* upstream, of a small river, a tributary.

*ererem* to tear something to pieces; to sort out things.

*érerémamép* < *ererem*, 152.

*erés* < *e* 4; 155.

*Eréw* personal name.

*es* 1 blood.

*es* 2 to come towards, from *erén* or *sen* [see sketch p. 364].

*es* 3, *is* — to sleep.

*Es* name of a side river of the *Asewéc*.

*esców* < *es* 2, 3; 120.

*escowó* < *esców*, 33.

*esé* carrying bag plaited of grass or of the fibres of the pandanus tree.

*esem* to come walking towards → *es*.

*Esín* name of a village no longer in existence.

*Esíngom* = *Esín*.

*esít, is* — to sleep and then set out.

*esitá* < *esít*, 109.

*esjar, is* — to sleep and travel on.

*esjarmés* < *esjar*, 144.

*eskám* red; *manmák* — bloodshot eyes.  
*esomit, is* — to sleep and then set out with . . .

*esomitá* < *esomit*, 109.

*espét* young shoot of the sago palm.

*espét apák* young leaf of the *espét*. A strip of the midrib of this young leaf is used to fasten the headpiece of the sago scraper onto the handle.

*espom, papís is* — to sleep with a *papís* woman.

*espómer* < *espom*, 155.

*esuntum* to pull off [leaves].

*etam* to do something for someone; *at* — to point out, to give instructions to do something; *cem* — to make a house for . . . ; *jis* — to roast food for someone.

*étamén* < *etam*, 155.

*etámērāwóm* < *etam*, 155.

*etámērāwómè* < *etámērāwom*, 33.

*etamór* < *etam*, 155.

*etāmorcs* < *etam*, 155.

*etampor* to try to do for someone [but in vain].

*etamporawer, jis* — always to try to roast food for someone.

*etamporén* < *etampor*, 155.

*etampormi* < *etampor*, 144.

*étampormín* < *etampor*, 144.

*étamporminè* < *étampormin*, 33.

*etamterwer* to take a message to.

*etep, jirán* — to ripen [fruit on a tree].

*etiw, oróm* — to make smooth, to eat clean [object lying].

*étiwamár* < *etiwawer*, 144.

*etiwawer, oróm* — to keep eating clean, continually to make smooth.

*etjwir* to rub on, to daub, for one's own benefit.

*etjwirfēnem* < *etjwir*, 162.

*etotor* to say, to do, each person for himself.

*étotormár* < *etotor*, 144.

*ew* 1 dubitative marker, 255.

*ew* 2 (311) from.

*ew* 3 crocodile.

*ew* 4 to finish plaiting.

*éwa* < *ew* 1; 34.

*ewáp* < *ap* 2; 176, 178.

*ewapomjim* to pull [someone] away from.

*ewapómjimorés* < *ewapomjim*, 155.

*ewcucurum*, *wasén* — to slither down from the bank of the river [said of fish].  
*ewúcúcurumorés* < *ewcucurum*, 155.  
*ewe*, *tam* — to do from morning.  
*ewem*, *jok* — to walk from midday, to stand from midday.  
*éweméf* < *ewem*, 162.  
*éwemer* < *ewem*, 155.  
*ewémères* < *ewem*, 155.  
*ewémés* < *ewe*, 144.  
*ewemic* < *em* 3; 176, 178.  
*ewemít* → *ewemic*.  
*ewemsires* to come quickly from.. towards.. → *es*.  
*ewémsiresí* < *ewemsires*, 155.  
*ewémsiresió* < *ewémsiresí*, 33.  
*Ewén* personal name.  
*ewenaw* to come from, → *en*.  
*ewenáwanem* < *ewenaw*, 155.  
*ewenáwanemá* < *ewenáwanem*, 34.  
*éwenawút* < *ewenaw*, 168.  
*Ewér* name of a village.  
*ewer* → *ewer*, *amás* to — always to be hungry; *jíw* — to live long, to become old.  
*eweráw* — man! that's good! all right!  
*ewerérměro* < *ewer*, 175.  
*ewérměro* < *ewer*, 174.  
*ewes* to come from.. towards.., → *es*.  
*ewéscokom* < *ewes*, 125.  
*eweséf* < *ewes*, 162.  
*ewěróm* < *ewer*, 125.  
*ewfis* to come outside from.  
*ewfiw* to go inside from.  
*ewfiwér* < *ewfiw*, 155.  
*éwiripún* < *ewer*, 171.  
*éwiripunè* < *éwiripún*, 33.  
*ewis* to go out of [a river].  
*ewiséf* < *ewis*, 162.  
*éwisěrés* < *ewis*, 155.  
*ewit* to come from, start out from.  
*éwitè* < *ewit*, 162.  
*éwiteá* < *éwitè*, 34.  
*ewkehem* to sew something up from a particular point; to be sewing from a particular point in time.  
*ewku* to step ashore from the canoe.  
*ewkuku* to dash out of [the forest].  
*ewkukuóf* < *ewkuku*, 162.  
*ewkuór* < *ewku*, 155.  
*Ewénápo* personal name.

*ewni* to go downwards from, to descend from, to go back home from.  
*ewniem*, *jok* — to fall down from the middle of the day [rain].  
*ewniemér* < *ewniem*, 155.  
*éwniěrés* < *ewni*, 155.  
*ewniomuw* to go down from [the house] and go aboard with..; to depart with [something] from [somewhere].  
*ewniomúwřénem* < *ewniomuw*, 162.  
*ewokomtiw* to finish plaiting and put [the bag] down.  
*éwokómtiwer* < *ewokomtiw*.  
*ewomse* to row from.. taking [someone] along.  
*ewopomis*, *tam* — to be busy with something from early morning [subject sitting].  
*ewór* kind of crab.  
*ewotewer*, *mo* — to retch all the way from [?].  
*éwsiracém* < *ewsiri*, 165.  
*ewsiréf* < *ewsiri*, 162.  
*ewsiri* to hurry from; *asép* — to run towards [someone] behind [him].  
*ewsiríf* < *ewsiri*, 162.  
*ewsowsites*, *tam* — to start out early in the morning.  
*ewsówsitesmép* < *ewsowsites*, 152.  
*ewtepkóer* < *ewtepkoj*, 155.  
*ewtepkoj*, *op* — to fall down from above [ripe fruit].  
*ewtepsow*, *op* — to spring down from above.  
*ewtépšowor* < *ewtepsow*, 155.  
*ewtiw* to finish, to get ready with [plaiting].  
*ewtiwtewer* to take something out of [object lying].  
*ewtowópmutè*, *ewtowopom*, 168.  
*ewtowopom*, *jok* — to put something in a place at midday and keep it there.  
*ewtopomsirim* to row strongly from.  
*ewtopómsirimorés* < *ewtopomsirim*, 155.  
*ewúc* younger brother [s.].  
*ewúcčwes* younger brothers [pl.], 190.  
*ewúca* < *ewúc*, 34.  
*ewumsomit*, *wasén* — to drive away from the shore [fish].  
*éwumsomitères* < *ewumsomit*, 155.  
*ewút* → *ewúc*.  
*ewútnakap* < *ewúc*, 185.



## ě

ě. onomatopoeia reproducing the screaming of a crowd of people, 35.

ěmá oh, wait, have patience!; yes; in that case; but; 236.

ěnéw mother.

ěnéwakap younger sister of father or mother, 195.

## F

fá 1 buttocks, the underneath part; behind; *os* — lowermost part of the trunk of a tree; → *icic*.

fá 2, *enám* — spine of a fish.

fá 3 (312), *jo* — until the breaking of the day.

*facimop* to prepare [the trunk of the felled sago palm].

*facimopcár* < *facimop*, 120.

*facimtwet* to marry again, to take as a co-wife.

*facimtwetá* < *facimtwet*, 109.

*facin* the skin of the cuscus.

*fajafa*.. interjection, used to call tamed pigs.

*fajajim* to smooth.

*fajam* → *emfajam*.

*fajamfés* < *fajám*, 162.

*fajasi* to turn around and around; *purumúc* — to sit in a circle and sing in turn.

*fajaw* to spear [fish], and again, and again.

*fajawá* < *fajaw*, 109.

*fajem* to strip off [bark].

*fajemasam* to peel off.

*fajemnem* to strip off, wrench off, downwards [bark of a felled tree].

*fajemomas* to strip off [bark].

*fajemocin* to strip off [bark] towards the top or the lower end of a tree-trunk.

*fajémocinér* < *fajemocin*, 155.

*fajemtiw* to strip off [bark] and put [it] down.

*fajémtiwer* < *fajemtiw*, 155.

*fajsiawer* to keep on turning around; *purumúc* — to sit in a circle and sing in turn, all day long.

*fajsiaweráw* < *fajsiawer*, 125.

*fafuj* 1 to peel [skin].

*fafuj* 2, *jo win fajujér* day in day out.

*fafujér* < *fafuj*, 155.

*faiit* → *fawic*.

*faj* 1 to burn.

*faj* 2, *miján* — to be averse to.

*fajamis* to lie burning; to have just risen [sun].

*fajamsér* < *fajamis*, 155.

*fajap* to sit burning; to shine [the sun, shortly after sunrise]; *útsis* — to smile broadly [subject sitting].

*fajasam* to glow fiercely.

*fajásmamép* < *fajasam*, 152.

*fajásmep* → *fajásmamép*.

*fajjó* cocoon.

*fajmúc* in peace, in good order, undisturbed.

*fajpuw* to slither into the water.

*fajum* to flay a head by holding it in the fire until the skin can be peeled off with ease.

*fak* → *fek* 2.

*fakam* to break, to damage.

*fakán* a scream.

*fam* 1 to run [water] away; to push, to shove.

*fam* 2 to cause to burn.

*famasam* 1, *jo'n* — to go on with something until daybreak.

*famasam* 2 to run all [the water] away.

*famop* to sit by someone until daybreak.

*famsem* to run water away.

*famtiw* to burn up [object lying].

*fanénakap* short.

*fapíw* the beams forming the floor of the house.

*fasák* white.

*fasien* to return upstream.

*fasimap*, *atakám* — to tell the story, to tell what happened.

*fasini* to turn round and go back home, or downstream.

*fasiniér* < *fasini*, 155.

*faw* to stab repeatedly, to spear [fish].

*fawá* < *faw*, 109.

*fáwampés* < *fawawer*, 152.

*fawasam* to spear to the last one.

*fawawer* continually to spear [fish].

*fawen* to go upstream while spearing [fish].

*fawes* to spear [fish] during the night.

*fawesmép* < *fawes*, 152.

*fawíc* joke.  
*fáwjukmaþmúj* < *fawjukunapom*, 155.  
*fawjukunapom* to spear [fish] and put [them] together.  
*fawjukuntív* to spear [fish] and put [them] in heaps.  
*fawtív* to spear [fish] and put [them] down.  
*fawtívéf* < *fawtív*, 162.  
*fawut* to spear [fish] during the morning.  
*fe* 1 string made of rattan, rope; *man* — wrist.  
*fe* 2, *onów* — to make thatch.  
*fefemtaw* to collect, to gather.  
*fefemtawamés* < *fefemtawawer*, 144.  
*fefemtawawer* to collect much, many.  
*fen*, *fek* — very large, huge.  
*fek* 1 hard, stiff, solid, firm; *jak* — a full stomach; *man féka!* hold tightly!; *po féka!* row on strongly!  
*fek* 2 broken, damaged.  
*fek* 3 → *fen*.  
*fer* 1 fish-trap: kind of screen made of strips of the wood of the pandanus. The strips, placed parallel to each other, are held together by an intertwined rattan binding. The trap is put in the entrance of a small river when the tide is high, so that the fish in this river is trapped behind it when the tide ebbs.  
*fer* 2 piled up.  
*fére* quickly.  
*feró* sharp; *ci* — a fast canoe.  
*fet* kind of fish living in small holes in the mud.  
*Fet* personal name.  
*fetam*, *onów* — to make thatch for someone, to help someone to make thatch.  
*fetiw*, *an* — to stitch up a trough.  
*fěšěš*.. the sound of the wind.  
*fi* empty.  
*fic* nail.  
*fifi* 'open, free': *fifi emém* to stand between piled up things [in a house, in a canoe].  
*fifimkurum* (339) to search about everywhere [upstream and downstream] [?].  
*fifimkurúmac* < *fifimkurum*, 165.  
*fik* kind of wading bird.

*fikikonaw* to waft towards the land [a smell].  
*fikim* to cause to smell.  
*fin*, *jec* — to make, to put in place, the sump trough.  
*fintív* to make ready for use [the sump trough, → *jec*]; to put into place [the support, → *sis*].  
*fintívér* < *fintív*, 155.  
*finum* to cause to go indoors.  
*finusum* to cause to come inside, or outside.  
*fin* feathers, hair.  
*fionícčemes* < *fivomív*, 136.  
*firim* to turn [upside down].  
*firimtíwpor* to try to turn over.  
*firimtíwporá* < *firimtíwpor*, 109.  
*firká* kind of grass.  
*firkóm* long heavy arrow with a bamboo point, used to kill pigs.  
*fis* 1 kind of fish.  
*fis* 2 to come inside, to come outside.  
*Fití* name of a river.  
*fiw* to go inside, indoors.  
*fiwér* < *fiw*, 155.  
*fiwitum* to enter [a house] in the afternoon.  
*fiwitúmar* < *fiwitum*, 144.  
*fivomív* to take someone inside.  
*fivomíwččemes* < *fivomív*, 136.  
*fo* 1 wind, whistling.  
*fo* 2 → *fum* 2.  
*focó* thin, lean.  
*fofofo* 'in crowds' → *jitak*.  
*fomis* to come inside, or outside, with.  
*fomív* to go inside with, or towards someone.  
*fomívér* < *fomív*, 155.  
*fop* upside down.  
*fowú* full, filled to the brim, → *emsem*.  
*fu* bamboo horn.  
*fuaumes* to pass the night, gathered around someone.  
*fum* 1 clear [of water].  
*fum* 2 to disclose, to reveal; *fo* — to bring out, to pull out.  
*fusmá* widow.

## H

*ha* ah! 38.  
*hèhè* sign of agreement, 38.

## I

*i* urine, piss.  
*ic* thorn.  
*icíc, fa* — [at] a little distance behind.  
*icim, mu* — to begin with a feast.  
*icímores* < *icim*, 155.  
*icipic* father, 193.  
*icitnakap* < *icíc*, 185.  
*in* 1 quotation marker, 258.  
*in* 2 unidentified element, 259.  
*ina* < *in* 1; 34.  
*ino* < *in* 1; 33.  
*inim* thus, in this way, like this; when, just as... [when followed by a progressive form of the verb; 144, 152]; *inim jipíc iním cowúc* this or that man or woman; *inim iním maji pak* to say nothing about.  
*inimnakap* such a little one, 185.  
*inimnakapirítw* such a very small one, such a very little bit, 188.  
*inimpic* a certain man; Mr So-and-so.  
*inimpit* → *inimpic*.  
*ir* year bird.  
*iric* spanish pepper [loanword from Malay, = *ritja*].  
*irimen* to walk upstream [many people] → *en*.  
*irimtep* to walk upstream [many people] → *tep*.  
*iriri* .1 onomatopoeia, imitating the sound produced by many small objects falling down.  
*iriri* 2 → *emop*.  
*iririawer* unceasingly to rain down [fruit].  
*iririawérma* < *iririawer*, 136.  
*iririm* to brush small objects off, to scrape small pieces off.  
*iririmtiw* to break up small, to scrape out [sago].  
*iririmtiwac* < *iririmtiw*, 165.  
*is* sleep; *manmák* — dizzy.  
*isipís* parents [pl.].  
*isipisnakás* < *isipís*, 187.  
*ivenam* to throw towards.  
*iwien* to go quickly upstream, to go quickly to the far end of... → *en*.  
*iwienaw* to come quickly towards, → *enaw*.  
*iwies* to come quickly towards, → *es*.  
*iwijis* 1 to hurry to the forest.

*iwijis* 2 quickly to go outside, to go out of a river.  
*iwijispor* to hurry to the forest and have a look at.  
*iwijisporasin* < *iwijispor*, 120.  
*iwikumaw* to come inland in a hurry.  
*iwinem* to throw down.  
*iwini* to hurry back home, to go quickly downstream.  
*iwiniér* < *iwini*, 155.  
*iwionis* to hurry to the forest with.  
*iwis* → *iwijis* 1, 2.  
*iwitak* to hurry downstream.  
*iwitep* to hurry upstream.  
*iwitiw* to lay on [thatch on the rafters].  
*iwimim* the river's edge, the side of the river as distinct from the side of the forest.

## J

*j* → *ej* 2; 182.  
*ja* that, there [with you], 224.  
*ja* 'movement, going'; *mú* — current; → *at*.  
*ja* < *e* 4; 109.  
*jac* < *e* 4; 165.  
*jaces* < *e* 4; 165.  
*jajmír* foolish.  
*jak* 1 → *jáka*.  
*jak* 2 stomach, belly, heart [as the seat of feeling].  
*jak* 3 charcoal.  
*jak* 4 dark rain cloud.  
*jáka* there, 225.  
*Jakáj* personal name.  
*Jakajmówsimit* personal name.  
*Jákaraw* name of a river.  
*Jákaríw cim* personal name.  
*Jakaríw cimá* < *Jakaríw cim*, 34.  
*Jakaríw cim simit* < *Jakaríw cim*, 195.  
*jáknakap* < *jak* 2, 3, 4; 185.  
*jáknakapirítw* < *jak* 2, 3, 4; 188.  
*jaktamfén* < *aktam*, 162.  
*jamár* < *awer*, 144.  
*jamép* < *awer*, 152.  
*jamép* (302) = *emép* [?] < *e* 4; 152.  
*jáméret* joined together [two or more *jew* sharing one ceremonial house].  
*jamés* < *awer*, 144.  
*Jaméw* name of a village.  
*jamkonawawer, po* — together to come rowing all the way along.

*jámkonáwewirúm* < *jamkonawawer*, 171.  
*jamni* to go down to the river, of a large animal, of a crowd of people.  
*jamnók* two.  
*jamóp* < *eawer*, 152.  
*jampén* < *eawer*, 152.  
*jamtep* to hang, of a large object, or a bundle, a bunch of objects.  
*jamtepit* < *jamtep*, 176.  
*jan* → *jen*.  
*japá* < *eap*, 109.  
*japfén* < *eap*, 162.  
*japjoni*, *me me* — to carry back home, staggering [a heavy load].  
*japjónimár* < *japjoni*, 144.  
*japóm* (343) = *jampom* < *eawer*, 152.  
*japúw* (327) big mass of [?].  
*jar* to walk, to go.  
*jarap* to go and to stay; to have gone.  
*jarjirimop*, *cem ós* — to go and be busy putting up poles for a house.  
*jarkikiomse* to take along [in a canoe] to a narrow river.  
*jarmár* < *jar*, 144.  
*jaró* < *e 4*; 165.  
*jarom* to go and stand working at, being busy with..  
*jarop* to go and stay by.  
*jartewer* to go and fetch something, to go in order to fetch something.  
*jartewerá* < *jartewer*, 109.  
*jarteweréjipurúw* < *jartewer*, 114.  
*jarteweréjipurúwa* < *jarteweréjipurúw*, 34.  
*jaser* < *eas*, 155.  
*jatakam* myth.  
*jawerém* < *eawer*, 125.  
*je* exclamation: fie!  
*jec* the part of the sago washing trough in which the meal is allowed to settle down: sump trough [see sketch p. 366].  
*Jecám* personal name.  
*jéfe* → *éfa*.  
*jem* the bark of the *juwám* tree; used as a floor covering.  
*jemám* side, region; *na jó* — our side of the river.  
*jemcés* new, still unknown, unexplored.  
*jemé* salty.  
*jemér* < *jiem*, 155.  
*jemés* shield.  
*jemésten* landing stage [loan-word from Malay, = *djambatan*].

*jemis*, *jemis* — after a long wait (335).  
*jen* sound, ear; → *ji*, *jop*.  
*jenúwpa* kind of spear.  
*jenmák* ear.  
*jep* side of an object [*ese*, *fer*]; part of the bank of a river where a tributary river flows into it.  
*Jep* name of a river.  
*Jepém* name of a village.  
*Jépemá* < *Jepém*, 34.  
*Jépémcēwi* name of one of the *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.  
*jepén* recent.  
*jepénakap* < *jepén*, 200.  
*jepénakas* < *jepén*, 200.  
*jépnakapirúw* < *jep*, 188.  
*jépnakasá* → *jepénakas*.  
*jeréf* < *e 4*; 162, 182.  
*jérméro* < *e 4*; 175, 182.  
*jermép* < *e 4*; 141, 182.  
*jermí* < *e 4*; 136, 182.  
*jermóp* < *e 4*; 141, 182.  
*jeróf* < *e 4*; 162, 182.  
*jerpóm* < *e 4*; 141, 182.  
*jesmár* < *ees 1, 2*; 144.  
*jesmí* < *ees 1, 2*; 144.  
*Jésircém* personal name.  
*jéten* [through] the centre of; straight through.  
*jew* a) ceremonial house, belonging to a group of people who claim descent from a common forefather. [The *jew* is a large oblong building in which every family has its own fire place. These are situated near the back wall; to every fire place there is a corresponding door in the front of the house. In the middle of the row of fire places is the *wajír*, the ceremonial fire place, which plays an important role in the social life of the group: here the guests are received, and the drums are beaten. All the feasts given by a group are held in its ceremonial house. During the day the *jew* is the regular meeting place for men and boys; during the night the boys, the unmarried youths and any man who for some reason does not stay at home, sleep in it. Women are only allowed to enter it on some specific occasions during the feast for the new *jew* and the head-hunting feast. See sketch p. 365].

- b) the group of people belonging to a ceremonial house. [This group is always divided into two halves, an "older" one [cēwí] and a "younger" one [coworé], each of which occupies one half of the ceremonial house].
- jewér* kind of tree.
- jewérmëro* < *eawer*, 174.
- Jewérnamakát* personal name.
- Jewérnamakátá* < *Jéwernamakát*, 34.
- jewéw* enemy, stranger.
- jewír* visit.
- jéwmopánipic* man, belonging to such-and-such a *jew*.
- jewsén* the space in front of a ceremonial house.
- jëri* < *e* 4; 125.
- jëró* broad, wide [of a house].
- jëwí* stranger, enemy.
- ji* 1 onomatopoeia, reproducing groaning.
- ji* 2 exclamation: ho!
- ji* 3, *ew* — trail of a crocodile. *jina* — crawling on hands and knees.
- ji* 4 preceding event, former happening, → *pu*; *ji ow* the primeval beings, the beings which existed before the earth was peopled.
- ji* 5 to say, to do; *apím* — to squeeze out sago pulp; *jen* — to hear, to listen; *makán* — to leave behind; *po* — to row; *purumúc* — to sing dirges.
- jiã* cry of amazement.
- jiamár* < *jiawer*, 144.
- jiawer*, *amás apím* — continually to squeeze out sago pulp.
- jičëmúp* the sea.
- jičóp* head-hunting party; hunting party, consisting of men only.
- jičór* the mouth of a river.
- jičuku* to flee shouting; *tetete* — to disappear in a hurry.
- jičukufés* < *jičuku*, 162.
- jičukuá* < *jičuku*, 109.
- jiem* to speak while standing up; to walk while doing; to be in a condition of. . . [standing subject]; *cofó* — to be spoilt, unusable [said of sago palms]; *nam cokó* — to be in high sprits; *jokón* — to be silent; *tajtaj*. . . — gradually to stop with [subject standing].
- jiemér* < *jiem*, 155.
- jiemic* < *jiem*, 176.
- jiemít* → *jiemic*.
- jiemkurum*, *cofó* — all to be unusable [sago palms].
- jiémkurumór* < *jiemkurum*, 155.
- jies* 1, *samsam*. . . — to go at night in great numbers.
- jies* 2, *makán* — to leave behind and come towards.
- jiewer* continually to do.
- jiewérmëro* < *jiewer*, 174.
- jif* marshy ground, bog, as distinct from dry, firm soil → *capínmi*.
- jifamut* to speak until daybreak.
- jifém* < *ji* 5; 162, 182.
- jifó* → *jufó*.
- jifóm* < *ji* 5; 162, 182.
- jik*, *manám* — to bind, to tie [up].
- jikapmór* < *jikapom*, 155.
- jikapom*, *manám* — to bind, tie up [object sitting].
- jikem*, *manám* — to bind, tie up [object standing].
- jikonaw*, *fere* — to edge quickly towards the land [the rising tide].
- jikoni* to wrap up something and carry it to the river, carry it home.
- jiktampor* to try to tie something up for someone; *jimin* — to try to make a sago stick for someone [but in vain].
- jiktampormín* < *jiktampor*, 144.
- jiku* to go ashore while saying. . . ; *jináf* — to crawl onto the land.
- jikurum* 1, *apím* — to squeeze out all sago pulp.
- jikurum* 2 to urge.
- jikurumór* < *jikurum* 1, 2; 155.
- jikurumorés* < *jikurum* 1, 2; 155.
- jim* fish net consisting of a large rattan ring to which a net is attached. It is always handled by two women, who scoop up the fish with it in the shallow water near the seashore or the river bank.
- jimá* child.
- jimamúc* engrossed in.
- jimap*, *omér* — to be afraid of (someone).
- jimasam*, *omén* — to raise a shout.
- jimespom* [dialect of Ac] → *espom*.
- jimëró* < *ji* 5; 174, 182.
- jimí* the fruit of the *jisín* tree.
- jimin* 'stick of sago'; sago, folded up in a nipa leaf and roasted. The sago can

- be mixed with fish [*enám nes* —], with sago grubs [*toŋ* —] or edible top of the sago palm, [*zəu* —].
- jimin* content, fond of.
- jimir* to search for, to look for, to hunt for.
- jimis, mus* — empty water container → *mus*.
- jinnem* to pull downwards, to leave [the forest] below [said of a growing sago palm which rises high above the surrounding trees].
- jimom 1, pisúwa* — to stand with a dagger stuck in the armband or in the waistband.
- jimom 2* to pull along.
- jimomis, wow* — to go outside while making patterns [by strewing sago on the ground].
- jimomismár* < *jimomis*, 144.
- jimotnaw* to drag towards, to bring towards [pulling, dragging].
- jimsem* to go out [the tide].
- jimsemamár* < *jimsem*, 144.
- jimsíp* door; *cem* — in front of the house.
- jinsomicēmes* < *jinsomit*, 136.
- jinsomit* to pull someone up.
- jinsúr* stake standing in the water.
- jintewer* to go out [the tide].
- jintiw* to pull off [leaves].
- Jin* personal name.
- jiná* knee.
- Jina* < *Jin*, 34.
- Jinác* personal name.
- jináf* crawling.
- jinaw* to come across the river.
- jinawsirimku* to come, crossing the river, and go ashore.
- jine* [?], *amás* — to wash sago (295).
- jinem* to speak to someone who is below.
- jini* to do while going back home, while going downstream; *makán* — to go home, leaving [someone] behind; *po* — to row downstream.
- Jinic* name of the *coworé* of the *jew Majit*, → *jew*.
- jinic* slack, limp; *nam* — numbed; *is* — deep sleep.
- jinicā* → *jinicaci*.
- jinicaci* very beautiful.
- jinicacina* exceptionally beautiful.
- jiniimí* < *jini*, 144.
- jiniimia* < *jiniimí*, 34.
- jiniintewer* to fetch many people.
- jinini* everyone to speak.
- jiniinimar* < *jinini*, 144.
- jininime* everyone to speak.
- jiniinimemár* < *jininime*, 144.
- Jinit* → *Jinić*.
- jinitnakap* < *jinic*, 200.
- jinitnakapiríw* < *jinic*, 201.
- Jiníw* name of a river.
- jiníwenampés* < *jiniwenaw*, 152.
- jiniwenaw* to come all towards.
- jiniwenáwčēmóm* < *jiniwenaw*, 136.
- jiniwjar* to walk [many people together].
- jiniwani* to go to the river, to go home [many people together].
- jiniwíc*, — *enám* shoals of fish.
- jip* the far end of the house.
- jipakajap* to speak [many people, staying together].
- jipakajapér* < *jipakajap*, 155.
- jipe, makán* — to leave behind and depart.
- jipér* < *jipe*, 155.
- jipéres* < *jipe*, 155.
- jipi* → *porap*.
- jipic* man, boy [s.].
- jipin* truncated, broken; *asé* — having tiredness in the back.
- jipir* to clasp [a large object].
- jipirom, macír* — to hold something in both arms [standing subject].
- jipiromic* < *jipirom*, 176.
- jipirsam* to wrestle.
- jipís* darting to and fro [fish].
- jipit* → *jipic*.
- jipitnakap* < *jipic*, 185.
- jipmúr* the far end of the house.
- jipor* to urge, to ask, to try to persuade [without success]; to know.
- jipu, mu cáka* — to spring, dive, with a splash in the water; *tiki* — idem.
- jipuí* < *jipu*, 109.
- jipuarwer* to do usually.
- jipumarwer* usually to squeeze out sago pulp.
- jipumewérmom* < *jipumarwer*, 136.
- jir 1* gall, spleen.
- jir 2* → *jur*.
- jir 3* to cross to the other side of a river.

- jir* 4, *mu* — to scoop up water; *móc micíc* — to cry one's eyes out.  
*jirá* → *jiráw*.  
*jiramfiaw* to enter a house in a hurry.  
*jiramsimápom* to assemble [people in a house] in a hurry.  
*jirán* ripe.  
*jirap, jumús* — to sit with bowed head.  
*jirapér* < *jirap*, 155.  
*jiraró* < *jir* 3; 165.  
*jiráw* 'present': *a* — here it is; *e* — there it is; *a óp* — it is up here; *a cém* — it's here, in the house.  
*jiráwa* < *jiráw*, 34.  
*jirè* → *jiráw*.  
*jiréf* < *ji* 5; 162, 182.  
*jirem, jumús* — to walk with bowed head.  
*jireméf* < *jirem*, 162.  
*jiréw* → *jiráw*.  
*jirik* special kind of design painted on carrying bags [see sketch p. 365].  
*jirkaj* to return with full canoes [from camp].  
*jirim* to send someone away [on an errand].  
*jirimem* to put in the ground [standing object].  
*jirimku, pó* — to stick one's paddle in the mud and go ashore.  
*jirimpór* to can (may, try to) send.  
*jirimtapmes* to send upstream at night.  
*jirimtapom* to send upstream.  
*jiririm, ci* — to put many things in a canoe.  
*jiririmsem, os* — to stick stakes in the water.  
*jirku* to cross to the other side of the river and land.  
*jirkuamis* to stretch to the opposite side of the river when setting out [row of canoes].  
*jirkuni* to go downstream stretching from side to side [row of canoes].  
*jirmemamí* < *jirimem*, 144.  
*jirmémcem* < *jirimem*, 125.  
*jirmotep* to go upstream with a full canoe.  
*jirmotepá* < *jirmotep*, 109.  
*jirmúc* 'sending' [on errands], 108.  
*jirnó* half burnt [firewood].  
*jiróf* < *ji* 5; 162, 182.  
*jirpor* 1 to try to bend, to pull, a bow.  
*jirpor* 2 to try to cross to the other side of the river.  
*jirporá* < *jirpor* 1, 2; 109.  
*jirpú* angry, furious.  
*jirse, sinák* — to get cracks in the bark [sago palm which has been in the water for a long time].  
*jirtewer, mu* — to fetch water.  
*jirwutum* to jig up and down in the afternoon.  
*jirwutumá* < *jirwutum*, 109.  
*jis* 1 firewood, fire, roasted; *amás* — roasted sago; *mi* — a big fire in which lime is burnt.  
*jis* 2 upper part of the back near the shoulders.  
*jis* 3 to go landwards, to go inland, to go to the forest.  
*jis* 4 to go out of [the river, the house], to rise [sun, moon, stars]; to become clear, to appear; to die.  
*jisakantewer* to go to the forest and cut off.  
*jisakamtíw, nam ákin* — immediately after having gone ashore to fall ill.  
*jisakapiem* to go outside and stand alone.  
*jisamis* 1 to go inland and lie down.  
*jisamis* 2 to go out of a river with many people in many canoes.  
*jisamsá* < *jisamis* 1; 109.  
*jisap* 1 to go to live in the forest.  
*jisap* 2 to go outside and sit down.  
*jisapcéj* < *jisap* 1, 2; 116.  
*jisápères* < *jisap* 1, 2; 155.  
*jisas* to go away.  
*jisásmes* < *jisas*, 144.  
*jisatam* to go to the forest to chop down.  
*jisawer* (317) to be got from in great quantity [?].  
*Jisaworém* personal name.  
*Jisaworémakap* personal name, < *Jisaworém*, 195.  
*Jisaworémsimit* personal name, < *Jisaworém*, 195.  
*jisem* 1 to go inland and stay there.  
*jisem* 2 to go and stand outside.  
*jisem* 3, *tes* — to be a great warrior, to have much *tes*.  
*jisémères* < *jisem* 1, 2, 3; 155.  
*jisemic* < *jisem* 1, 2, 3; 116.  
*jisín* 1 coconut, coconut tree.

*jisin* 2 kind of tree with large buttresses.

*jisir* to lay claim to.

*jisis* the edge of the fire.

*jisinakapiriv* < *jisis*, 188.

*jisit* to speak and get up, to cry out and get up; *makán* — to set out, leaving behind [someone].

*jisitères* < *jisit*, 155.

*jisitóf* < *jisit*, 162.

*jisjap* to go on to the land and sit down to do something.

*jiskapu* to row out of a river and join up with.

*jiskápuamár* < *jiskapuawer*, 144.

*jiskapuawer* to row out of the river and join up with.

*jiskawimtiw* to go landwards and put down something near . . . , against . . .

*jiskawimtiwawér* (329) = *jiskawimtiwá er* [?]: he always went to the bank and put [his canoe] alongside [the *jewér* tree].

*jismá* < *jis* 3, 4; 144.

*jismák* burning wood, fire.

*jismaþ*, *þir jamnók* — to stay somewhere until two 'months' have elapsed.

*jismop*, *tes* — to have someone who is *tes* in one's midst.

*jismotiaw* (296) to go to the forest and mourn for [?].

*jismuamis* to go to the forest and throw oneself down.

*jismut* in the morning to go and stand outside.

*jismutmép* < *jismut*, 152.

*jismutum* in the afternoon to go and stand outside.

*jismútunép* < *jismutum*, 152.

*jisokomtiw*, *ser* — to drive *ser* fishes against the bank of the river, → *wa*.

*jisokómtiwérés* < *jisokomtiw*, 155.

*jisom* to go outside to meet someone, to do something.

*jisomas* to go away to the forest with . . .

*jisomásmes* < *jisomas*, 144.

*jisow* [?], *arúw* — to practise magic (322).

*Jispáripic* personal name.

*Jispáripicá* < *Jispáripic*, 34.

*Jispáripit* → *Jispáripic*.

*jispor* to go outside to look at.

*jispormem* to go to the forest to look at, to keep watch on.

*jispormémac* < *jispormem*, 165.

*jispum* to go outside and throw something into the water.

*jistewer* to go ashore to get something.

*jisteweres* to go to the forest at night, and fetch.

*jistipse* to come out partly [said of a fish in its hiding place].

*jistipseá* < *jistipse*, 109.

*jistipsér* < *jistipse*, 155.

*jistowopom* to go to the forest to plant.

*jisurwap* to go to the forest to work up [pith of the sago palm].

*jít* 1 to start out, to set out, to rise [tide]; *jicóp* — to set out on a (head-) hunting party.

*jít* 2 to do in the morning.

*jít* 3, *so* — to kill, to murder.

*jítak*, *fofofo* — to go downriver in crowds; *jop* — to go downriver drifting on one's back.

*jítakám* kind of fish.

*jítáker* < *jítak*, 155.

*jítakitó* < *jítak*, 168.

*jítam* to order, to tell to do.

*jítamernem* to make cuts across the trunk of the sago palm, marking off sections, → *manmák* 2.

*jítamertaw* to cut away to the top [fronds of the sago palm, in order to make test-holes, → *apér*].

*jítem* to grow, to be grown up [subject standing].

*jítémér* < *jítem*, 155.

*jítentes*, *worwor* . . . — to rise higher and higher during the night [a growing tree].

*jíteþ*, *þo* — to row upriver.

*jíteþfés* < *jíteþ*, 162.

*jítjar*, *omá* — to go forwards cautiously.

*jítjarmés* < *jítjar*, 144.

*jítkaker* kind of bird.

*jítmomas* to carry away while rising [subject: the water].

*jítmúp* → *jicémúp*.

*jítnem* to mark off [sections] on [the bark of the sago palm] by making cuts across the trunk.

*jítnotew* → *jítnotewer*.

*jítnotewí* < *jítnotew*, 116.



- jitnotewer* to bolt [e.g. a door with a beam].
- jitomiw, se'n* — to lie with one end in the mud [fallen tree].
- jitum, pok* — to throw things at someone, in the evening.
- jitúr* heavy.
- Jitúrcem* personal name.
- jiw 1* long [of time], long-living; late.
- jiw 2* to go inside, to go indoors.
- jiw 3* to exchange goods.
- Jiw* personal name.
- jiwá* → *e 4*.
- jiwamis, nam* — to be sick.
- jiwamisměró* < *jiwamis*, 174.
- jiwapom, a kó* — to cause to sit down cross-legged; *cem* — to build a house.
- jiwapómčěmés* < *jiwapom*, 136.
- jiwatamaþ, moc* — to stay indoors, wailing.
- jiwemapom* → *jiwapom*.
- jiwfuem, cem* — to come together in a house.
- jiwfuemfés* < *jiwfuem*, 162.
- jiwsumtotor* each person to take food to [the *jew*].
- jiwí 1* child; → *mu*.
- jiwí 2, cem* — the walls of a house.
- Jiwín* name of a *jew* that was formerly in the village of *Jepém*.
- jiwínakaþ 1* < *jiwí 1*; 185.
- jiwínakaþ 2* small, young.
- jiwínakapicím* < *jiwínakaþ 2*; 203, 204.
- jiwínakáþnakáþ* < *jiwínakaþ 2*; 200, 204.
- jiwínakáþnakáþiríw* < *jiwínakaþ 2*; 201, 204.
- jiwir* to daub, to rub on.
- jiwirí* as far as, up to; at the edge of [a group of people]; *á jiwirí aráw* that's as far as it goes [the story].
- jiwirtamtawer* to plait [a huge bag] for someone.
- jiwirtámtawerí* < *jiwirtamtawer*, 171.
- jiwis* the moving to another dwelling place.
- jiwmesop* to go indoors and sit down beside someone.
- jiwpuop* usually to sit indoors, being busy with.
- jiwpuopá* < *jiwpuop*, 109.
- Jiwsimit* personal name, 195.
- jiwsirítewer* to go indoors and quickly fetch something.
- jiwsu* → *e 4*.
- jiwturwapom* to assemble indoors.
- jiwús* → *juwús*.
- jo 1* river; *enám* — river, abounding in fish.
- jo 2* sun, day.
- jo 3* space in the house between the front wall and the fireplaces.
- joc 1* crazy.
- joc 2* kind of bird.
- jóca* < *joc 1*; 34.
- jocóp* → *jicóp*.
- jocór* the mouth of a river.
- jof* hole, gap, passage; *maj* — path; *akám* — path between the nipa palms.
- jófaj* the next day.
- jófnakaþ* < *jof*, 185.
- jōj* exclamation of surprise.
- jok* the middle part of the day, between *tam* and *þorów*.
- jokmén* having supernatural power.
- jókmen* tongs.
- jokón* silent.
- jokós* main-nerve of the side leaf of a palm frond.
- jomat* to carry.
- jómatamár* < *jomatawer*, 144.
- jomatawer* continually to carry.
- jomatmár* < *eomat*, 144.
- jomatmés* < *jomat*, 144.
- jómewerměnes* < *eomewer 2*; 136.
- jom, namós* —, → *temjom*.
- jomitpen* < *eomit*, 152.
- jomóf* < *jom*, 162.
- jómopán* bird of paradise.
- Jomót* name of a river.
- Jomótakaþ* personal name, 195.
- Jomótsimit* personal name, 195.
- jómpuamép* < *eompuawer*, 152.
- jomseá* < *eomse*, 109.
- jop* [lying] on one's back.
- jop, jen* — to listen [subject sitting].
- Jópakipic* personal name.
- Jópakipicè* < *Jópakipic* [in enumeration].
- jopěrés* sweat.
- jopíc* < *jop*, 116.
- jopit* → *jopíc*.
- jopmák* the upper course of a river.
- jóptom, jóptom* — everywhere.
- joró* wing.

*jow* sandbank.  
*Jow* name of a village.  
*jowmóp* to sit coupling with.  
*jowomic* ashes.  
*jowów* the people belonging to one's own *jew*; the people of one's own village.  
*jowówa* < *jowów*, 34.  
*jowówpic* blood kinsman.  
*jowówpit* → *jowówpic*.  
*jowsép* baby.  
*jowún* the day after tomorrow; the day before yesterday.  
*ju* 1 shouting, yelling.  
*ju* 2 (342) head of family [?].  
*ju* 3 tree-trunk in which the rough shape of the new canoe has been cut out.  
*ju* 4 to yell, to raise a war cry.  
*ju* 5, *wu* — to get edible tops of the sago palm.  
*jufó* cold.  
*jufúj* small wooden trough for holding paint.  
*jujukamis* to lie down together.  
*jujukumapom* to put things together.  
*jujukumapomtampor* to try or to want to put down together for someone.  
*jujukumsomit* to get up after having been stabbed or speared [many people sitting tightly packed].  
*jukap* to sit with many people together; to lie together in great quantities [bags of sago].  
*jukumtiw* to lay down together.  
*jukumtiwá* < *jukumtiw*, 109.  
*jukurum* → *jikurum* 1.  
*jum* to speak to someone who is indoors.  
*Jum* name of a river.  
*jumamtam* to intend [a boy and a girl] for each other.  
*jumamtámérawós* < *jumamtam*, 155.  
*jumamtámfawos* < *jumamtam*, 162.  
*jumár* < *ju* 4; 144.  
*jumcíp* → *jimsíp*.  
*jumenaw* to come upriver with paddles thumping [sign of joy after a good catch].  
*júmenáwcar* < *jumenaw*, 120.  
*jumop*, *nam* — to stay with someone who has been made ill.  
*jumús* [with] bowed head.

*juomis*, *moc* — to grizzle the whole night.  
*jur* white cockatoo.  
*jursawer* 1 always to long for.  
*jursawer* 2 to be always in the wrong.  
*júrsewiri* < *jursawer* 1, 2; 171.  
*jursomawer* to act always in the wrong way towards someone.  
*jursómezewermérenem* < *jursomawer*, 174.  
*jursómíwirin* < *jursomawer*, 171.  
*jursop* [?] to be in the wrong.  
*jursópen* (294) < *jursop*, 162 [?].  
*jursópñem* (293) < *jursop*, 162 [?].  
*jursúc* longing for.  
*jursúm* to slaughter, to kill.  
*jursumop* to have been overtaken by disaster.  
*jursumóper* < *jursumop*, 155.  
*jursút* → *jursúc*.  
*jurupu* usually to go along a river.  
*júruru* one after another.  
*Júrurúmatwuc* personal name.  
*jurús* 1 to long for.  
*jurus* 2 to be in the wrong.  
*jurúsmem* < *jurus* 1, 2; 144.  
*jurúsmemá* < *jurúsmem*, 34.  
*jurúw* 1 long.  
*jurúw* 2 (338) to search for [?].  
*Jurúwpic* personal name.  
*Jurúwpišimit* personal name, < *Jurúwpic*, 195.  
*jurwúcarw* < *juruw* 2; 125.  
*júwa* kind of grass.  
*juwám* kind of tree.  
*juwréw* a full-grown sago palm.  
*juwum* to cause to marry.  
*juwúr* dog.  
*juwúr* kind of tree used for making canoes; canoe made of *juwúr* wood.  
*juwús* name.  
*juwút* 1 heron.  
*juwút* 2 between; a *Mec* — a *Siréc* — between the *Mec* and the *Siréc*.  
*jurwut* to marry, to take as a wife, as a husband.  
*Juwútakep* personal name.

## K

*kaj* to return from camp [many people].  
*Kajè* name of a village.  
*Kajéa* < *Kajè* [in enumeration].

- kafum* to scrape out sago.  
*kajkaj* . . onomatopoeia reproducing the sound made by the paddles thumping against the gunwales of the canoes when they are being rowed at great speed.  
*kajkurum* to be just clear of the horizon [the rising sun].  
*Kájmo* name of a village.  
*kajnapuesawer* to eat at night on the river when on one's way home with many people.  
*kajni* to topple over, broken [a tree].  
*káju* onomatopoeia, reproducing a dull thud, the sound of footsteps, the sound of wood being chopped.  
*kakajum* to knock on something.  
*káku* running, hurrying.  
*kam, fákán* — to give a scream.  
*kamák* ginger.  
*kámamóp* < *kamawer*, 152.  
*kamawer, mó kawós* — to vomit all the time.  
*kamém* many-pointed spear used to kill large fish and crocodiles.  
*Kamémemák* personal name.  
*kamiamis* to lay after having collapsed; to succumb.  
*kamies* to succumb at night.  
*kamoni* to tear away and carry downstream.  
*kamop, po* — to sit making a paddle.  
*kampomes* to wash ashore during the night.  
*kampomésmar* < *kampomes*, 144.  
*Kamsópisipíc* a man belonging to the *jew Kamús*, in the former village of *Kajè*.  
*kámter* the legs, both legs.  
*kamterwer* to split and take away.  
*kamtaw, mo kawós* — to vomit.  
*kámu* loud noise.  
*kánit* young shrimps.  
*kanpór* kind of crab.  
*kap* armpit.  
*kapák* tobacco [loan-word from Dutch = *tabak*, or Malay = *tembakau*].  
*káper* ship, boat [loan-word from Malay, = *kapal*].  
*kapí* closed, shut.  
*kapim* to close.  
*kapimap, jimsip* — to sit with the doors shut.
- kápmapómčemes* < *kapomapom*, 136.  
*kapmópaces* < *kapumop*, 165.  
*kapmópères* < *kapumop*, 155.  
*kapom* to cover (up).  
*kapomapom* to put on [e.g. clothes].  
*kápu 1* → *emterwer*.  
*kápu 2* to join up with.  
*kapuawer* to join up with.  
*kapumamterwer* to join each other.  
*kapumop* to be joined to.  
*kapumterw* to let people join one.  
*karém* silent [?] → *e 4*.  
*karésnakap* not thickly laid, laid far apart [thatch].  
*karéw* much, many; *po* — raft made of canoes placed alongside each other: the paddles are laid across the canoes to keep them together and to keep them stable.  
*karji* work [loan-word from Malay, = *kerdja*].  
*karmák* kind of snail.  
*kártu* playing-cards [loan-word from Malay].  
*karúw* dangerous, forbidden.  
*karúwa* < *karúw*, 34.  
*karwán* dagger made of a crocodile's jaw.  
*kasé, mer* — vivid lightning.  
*kási* suddenly, in a flash.  
*kawénak* human being [as distinct from other beings].  
*Kawét* name of a village.  
*kawí 1* strange, not belonging to one's own group or village.  
*kawí 2* to add oneself to, to approach to, to get near to.  
*kawí 3* → *kawimterwerawer*.  
*kawim* to add to, to join to.  
*káwimápmorés* < *kawimapom*, 155.  
*kawimapom* to add [a co-wife].  
*kawimop* to have been added [as a co-wife].  
*kawimterwer* to add [as a co-wife].  
*kawimterwerawer, kawí* — always to want to add [as a co-wife].  
*kawós, mo* — vomiting.  
*kawuamses* (343) to lie down all night [?].  
*kawuámsesmar* < *kawuamses*, 144.  
*ke* stuck [e.g. a canoe on a sandbank].  
*kèkèkè* onomatopoeia, reproducing the screaming of the *joc* bird.

*kekem* to sew something up.  
*ken, amás* — the implements used for making sago: axes, digging sticks, scrapers, small troughs, and strainers.  
*kená* < *ken*, 34.  
*kene, amás ken* — to collect up the implements for making sago.  
*kéneóf* < *kene*, 162.  
*Ker* personal name.  
*kikí* close together.  
*kikicukomas* to go away with [someone] to a narrow place.  
*kikikikikikinakás* < *kikí*, 200.  
*kikim* to put close together.  
*kikinakap* < *kikí*, 200.  
*kikirakurum* to stop up all [holes in a wall].  
*kipmom, ócen* — to hold a spear at the ready.  
*kipmomic* < *kipmom*, 176.  
*kirim* (138) to carve [?].  
*ko 1, ko, ko, ..* the sound made by drums.  
*ko 2* platform; *a* — cross-legged; *cem* — the front gallery of a house.  
*ko 3* → *kor*.  
*kófo* onomatopoeia reproducing a thud.  
*kojir* to go to the other side of the river.  
*kojiraro* < *kojir*, 165.  
*kojni* to get loose and fall down [ripe fruit].  
*kokoko..* onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of bamboo horns, of singing, of the whistling of ghosts.  
*kokojniawer* always to get loose and fall down [ripe fruit].  
*kokomtaw* to pick, to gather [fruit].  
*kokómtawmés* < *kokomtaw*, 144.  
*kokómtawór* < *kokomtaw*, 155.  
*kokomtewer* to break off and take along.  
*kokomtiw* to break off and lay down.  
*kom, onów* — to get sago leaves for thatch.  
*kómapmúc* < *kómapom*, 108.  
*kómapom, móc am* — to wail [?].  
*komén* tongue; part of the sump trough, → *jec*; *mu* — the edge of the water as it edges towards the land when the tide rises.  
*komomse* to take along in a canoe.  
*komtewer* to break off and take away.

*konaw* to come towards the land, to come inland.  
*konawamis* to come towards the land in order to sleep there.  
*kónawamsá* < *konawamis*, 109.  
*konawámsères* < *konawamis*, 155.  
*konawap* to come towards the land and stay there.  
*konawápères* < *konawap*, 155.  
*konawes* to come up or upwards during the night.  
*konawfiw* to come to the land and go indoors.  
*konáwfiwèrés* < *konawfiw*, 155.  
*konawkapu, wa* — to come landwards until the forest is reached [the rising tide].  
*konáwkapumár* < *konawkapu*, 144.  
*konawmesem* to come swimming close to the bank.  
*konawomses* to come ashore and pass the night with.  
*kónawomspēnem* < *konawomses*, 152.  
*kor* very, to a high degree, plenty of; too; *awút* — too large, too big; *jiwi* — a small child.  
*korá* < *kor*, 34.  
*Korè* personal name.  
*Kosér* name of a jew in the village of *Jepém*.  
*Kosór* → *Kosér*.  
*kow* many, much.  
*ku, mu* — to have dried up, to have run away [water]; to become dry [by rising above the water or because the water has run away].  
*kuap* to go ashore and stay there.  
*kuaworem* to change into [on the land].  
*kuaworemè* < *kuaworem*, 162.  
*kuáworemer* < *kuaworem*, 155.  
*kuaworemes* to change into [on the land] during the night [subject standing].  
*kuáworémesmí* < *kuaworemes*, 144.  
*kuawores* to change into during the night [on the land].  
*kuáworésmar* < *kuawores*, 144.  
*kujurumap, cem* — to go ashore, build a house and stay there.  
*kújurumápcaw* < *kujurumap*, 125.  
*kukár* kind of bird.  
*kukuas* to spread like wildfire [a rumour].

*kukuku* . onomatopoeia reproducing a) the thumping of paddles against the gunwales of a canoe; b) the call of the *ojúm* bird.  
*kukuramítum* to agree upon something in the evening.  
*kukurámitumár* < *kukuramítum*, 144.  
*kukure* to win over.  
*kumís, amás* — roasted ball of sago.  
*kuomis* to go ashore and sleep with.  
*kuomsá* < *kuomis*, 109.  
*kupoporemapmes* to roll onto the land at night [object sitting].  
*kupoporemapmesmár* < *kupoporemapmes*, 144.  
*kúri* teacher [loan-word from Malay, = *guru*].  
*kurkur* . onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of many people talking together.  
*Kurúm* personal name.  
*kurumap* to sit and beat the drums.  
*kurumtewer* to touch and take, to get hold of.  
*kus* head; *now* — head of a head-hunted man.  
*kuwús* → *kus*.

## M

*m* interjection: oh! hey!  
 'm interjection, indicating a sudden start to an action.  
*ma* interjection by which disagreement or dissatisfaction is expressed: oh no! really!  
*Ma* name of a river.  
*macatúw* < *catúw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mací* < *ci* 4; 110, 183, 239.  
*macímtewer* < *címtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mácir* an embrace.  
*macíw* kind of snake.  
*macíwa* < *macíw*, 34.  
*máecén* < *e* 4; 125.  
*máemariwces* < *emariw*, 125.  
*máemsáweráw* < *emsawer*, 125.  
*máemtépcaw* < *emtep*, 125.  
*máenawcáw* < *enaw*, 125.  
*máenawcáwa* < *máenawcáw*, 34.  
*máescés* < *es* 2, 3; 125.  
*máescésa* < *máescés*, 34.  
*máf* < *af* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*máfè* < *máf*, 33.

*máfafújcémaráw* < *fafuj*, 136.  
*máfámamí* < *fam* 1, 2; 144.  
*mait* to chop in the morning.  
*Máit* → *Majít*.  
*máitmár* < *mait*, 144.  
*maj* 1 foot.  
*maj* 2 roll of sago: a body of sago, cylindrical in shape, ± 12 inch long, formed by putting two *pomán* together.  
*Maj* name of a river.  
*májámiscaw* < *amis*, 125.  
*májámséraw* < *amis*, 125.  
*májápěraw* < *ap* 2; 125.  
*májawéernes* < *eawer*, 125.  
*máji* < *ji* 5; 110, 183, 239.  
*májíc* < *ji* 5; 116.  
*májípor* < *jípor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*májircaw* < *jir* 3, 4; 125.  
*májírímpor* < *jírímpor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*májíririmsemoróm* < *jiririmsem*, 155.  
*májírporim* < *jírpor* 1, 2; 120  
*májirsé* < *jirse*, 110, 183, 239.  
*májisaweráw* < *jisawer*, 125.  
*májisporí* < *jíspor*, 116.  
*májistewer* < *jistewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*májít* → *májíc*.  
*Májít* name of a *jew* in the village of *Surú*.  
*májmíremaném* < *ajmírem*, 155.  
*májmíreméspun* < *ajmíremes*, 155.  
*májmíreméspunè* < *májmíreméspun*, 33.  
*májmíremewérpun* < *ajmíremawer*, 137, note.  
*májmíremewérpunè* < *májmíremewérpun*, 33.  
*májmíremíc* < *ajmírem*, 176.  
*májmírimómewérpes* (320) instead of *májmírimómampes*, < *ajmírimomewer*, 152.  
*májmírimómewérpesá* < *májmírimómewérpes*, 34.  
*majom* < *eom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*májperáw* < *ap* 2; 125.  
*májperáwa* < *májperáw*.  
*májsás* < *jisas*, 110, 183, 239.  
*májsirér* < *jísir*, 155.  
*májsiréra* < *májsirér*, 34.  
*májtí* < *jít* 1, 2; 116.  
*májuír* < *jiwir*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mak* back; *amás* — layer of sago in the sump trough [*jec*]; *onów* — the roof of a house.  
*makámtewer* < *kamtewer*, 110, 183, 239.

*makán* 1 → *c* 4; *ji* 5.  
*makán* 2 < *akan* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*makánám* rack above the fireplace, on which firewood is dried or fish is smoked.  
*makáp* kind of shell fish.  
*makawí* < *kawí* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*makawíc* < *kawí* 2; 116.  
*makawimop* < *kawimop*, 110, 183, 239.  
*makík* fishline and hook.  
*makmák* piled up.  
*makmiámismar* < *kamiamis*, 144.  
*makonáwvamsáji* < *konawamis*, 112.  
*mákpín* with crossed arms.  
*mam* < *am* 7, 8; 110, 183, 239.  
*mámakán* < *amakan*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mámakanó* < *mámakán*, 33.  
*mamánem* < *manem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mamátiw* < *matw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mamcúp* three; much.  
*mamésasesémeroniawér* < *mesasesémeroniawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mamis* < *amis*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mámkomán*, < *amkoman*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mámkomána* < *mámkomán*, 34.  
*mamóc* < *moc* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*mamót* → *mamóc*.  
*mámpiawér* < *ampiawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mamusájmos* < *amus* 3; 113.  
*man* 1 emphasizing word, 247.  
*man* 2 hand.  
*man* 3 < *an* 3; 110, 183, 239.  
*manáfakam* < *nafakam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mánakap* < *man* 2; 185.  
*manám* 1 < *manám pok* binding material: rope, string, rattan; → *jik*, *jikapom*.  
*manám* 2 in love with, → *af* 2.  
*manám* 3 < *nam* 5; 110, 183, 239.  
*manamitamís* [?] to prick each other, to scratch each other [said of fishes with spines].  
*manámitámser* (279) < *manamitamís* [?], 155.  
*manapór* < *napor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manáwer* < *nawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manáweres* < *nawer*, 125.  
*mánawerów* < *nawer*, 125.  
*mánawerowè* < *mánawerów*, 33.  
*mánca* < *an* 3; 120.  
*máncaśín* < *an* 3; 120.  
*máncaśína* < *máncaśín*, 34.  
*mancén* < *an* 3; 116.

*manè* < *man* 1; 33.  
*Manéfakat* personal name.  
*Manéfakata* < *Manéfakat*, 34.  
*maném* to chop down, to cut down.  
*manémorém* < *manem*, 155.  
*manémum* < *nemum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mánét* < *net* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*maní* < *ni* 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.  
*maní* < *an* 3; 116.  
*maníc* < *an* 3; 116.  
*maníem* < *niem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*maníŋam* < *niŋam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manim*, *miníp* — to forget.  
*maníma* < *ni* 4, 5; 144.  
*manímčēmi* < *manim*, 136.  
*manímčērāpma* < *nimčērāp*, 144.  
*maniómčēmés* < *niom*, 136.  
*maniorsópmi* < *niorsop*, 144.  
*manisuwem* < *nisuwem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manítaj* < *nítaj*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manítájè* < *manítaj*, 33.  
*manítatēpiápi* < *nítatēpiāp*, 116.  
*manítewer* < *nítewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manítewí* < *nítew*, 116.  
*manmák* 1 eye; 'looking'.  
*manmák* 2 section [marked off on the trunk of the felled sago palm; of the roof of the *jerw*: the owner of a fireplace in the *jerw* is also the owner of the section of thatch right above it. Hence probably: group, family (328) [see sketch p. 367].  
*manmírafmor* < *namirafam*, 155.  
*mantám* look-out post; *ow* — a look-out.  
*manwúw* < *nawuw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*manwúwo* < *manwúw*, 33.  
*maokmom* to chop down and start to work on [a sago palm].  
*máokomémtamcín* < *okomcmtam*, 116.  
*maš* ahead, first, foremost.  
*mašáŋfirápi* < *pašŋfirāp*, 116.  
*mašáŋjuru* < *pašjuru*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mašapáŋjimúc* < *pašajim*, 116.  
*mašapáŋjimút* → *mašapáŋjimúc*.  
*mášaperimóp* < *pašerimop*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mašápuj* < *pašuj*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mašcáŋkukuás* < *pašajkukuas*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mašcáŋkukuasè* < *pašajkukuas*, 162.  
*mášecés* < *pe* 2; 125.  
*mašepértaw* < *apepértaw*, 110, 183, 239.

- mapí* < *a* 2; 116.  
*mapíc* < *a* 2; 116.  
*mapío* < *mapí*, 33.  
*Mapíw* name of a jew in the village of *Jepém*.  
*mapjit* < *apjit*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapmór* < *mapom*, 155.  
*mapnawér* < *apnawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapnawérè* < *mapnawér*, 33.  
*mapom* to chop, to hit.  
*mapomjim* < *apomjim*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapómkurucóm* < *apomkuru*, 125.  
*mapómtewér* < *apomtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapór* < *por*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapórjarawer* < *porjarawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapórjursúm* < *porjursum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapsapú* < *apsapu*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mapu* (274) usually to chop [?].  
*mapúc* < *a* 3; 116.  
*mapúramšéráw* < *puramis*, 125.  
*mar* ball [loan-word from Dutch, = *bal*].  
*maré* → *maríw*.  
*marča* < *maré*, 34.  
*maréw* → *maríw*.  
*maréwa* < *maréw*, 34.  
*marí* → *maríw*.  
*maríw* ready, finished, done; at last.  
*maríwáp* < *aríwáp*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masájwut* < *sajwut*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masakám* < *sakam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masakámtampór* < *sakamtampor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masam* to chop away.  
*masámtewer* < *asamtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masamúć* < *sam*, 116.  
*masé* < *se* 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.  
*máserapóm* < *serapom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masěrim* → *másiněrim*.  
*masí* < *si* 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.  
*masiasmúć* < *siasam*, 116.  
*masím* → *at* 2.  
*másiněrim* then, thereupon.  
*masiótemct* < *siotemct*, 110, 183, 239.  
*másiporáji* < *sipor*, 112.  
*masirifis* < *sirifis* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*masirím* → *másiněrim*.  
*masněrim* → *másiněrim*.  
*masním* → *másiněrim*.  
*masnirim* → *másiněrim*.  
*masonít* < *somit*, 110, 183, 239.  
*másormonicén* < *sormoni*, 116.  
*Máspic* personal name.  
*masúmtewer* < *sumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masúmutum* < *sumutum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*masúmutumcén* < *sumutum*, 116.  
*masúwem* < *suwem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*maták* < *tak*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matakáj* < *takaj*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matakám* < *takam* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*matákfiw* < *takfiw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matákmatam* < *takmatam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matáknap* < *taknap*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matákoweróm* < *takowerom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matam* < *atam* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*Matámjen* personal name.  
*matámjik* < *atamjik*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matápom* < *tapom* 1; 183, 239.  
*matátam* < *tatam* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*matatárw* < *tataw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matátíw* < *tatiw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matáw* < *taw* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*matáwacem* < *taw* 1, 2; 165.  
*matáwavenem* < *tawenem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matawér* < *atawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matáwemsem* < *tawemsem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matáwoni* < *tawoni*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matáwusimfawós* < *tawsim*, 162.  
*maté* rib of the frond of a young sago palm [Malay: *gaba-gaba*].  
*maté* < *ate*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mátépères* < *tep* 1; 125.  
*máterem* to split by cutting.  
*matctám* < *tetam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mátetamúć* < *tetam*, 116.  
*mátetamúća* < *mátetamúć*, 34.  
*mátetapmúć* < *atctapom*, 116.  
*mátetapmúća* < *mátetapmúć*, 34.  
*materwer* 1 to chop down and take away.  
*mátewér* 2 < *materwer*, 155.  
*matewét* < *tewet*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matewí* < *tew*, 116.  
*matéwtakám* < *tewtakam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matimár* < *ti* 3; 144.  
*matítíemi* < *titiem*, 155.  
*matíw* to cut down; *tow* — to cut down a sago palm with the object of its being used as a breeding place by the capri-

corn beetle. [After two months the grubs are then full-grown and are eaten].

- matmómpor* < *atmómpor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matowóf* < *towof*, 110, 183, 239.  
*matówomisērés* < *towomis*, 155.  
*matowómsefáw* < *towomse*, 162.  
*matowómser* < *towomse*, 155.  
*matúwese* < *tuwse*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mátuwuw* < *tuwuw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*maurúmni* < *urumni*, 110, 183, 239.  
*maw* < *aw* 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.  
*mawán* < *awan* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*mawáno* < *mawán*, 33.  
*mawér* < *awer* 2, 3; 110, 183, 239.  
*mawít* star.  
*máwkam* < *wakam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*máwkwu* < *awkwu*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mawnámos* < *awan* 1, 2; 113.  
*mawnámosá* < *mawnámos*, 34.  
*mawór* < *awor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*maworémkurúm* < *aworemkurum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mawór* < *awor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mawsemúc* < *awsem*, 116.  
*mawtewer* < *awtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*me* 1, *me*, — staggering (291).  
*me* 2 mouth.  
*me* 3 < *e* 4; 110, 183, 239.  
*Mec* name of a river [Zuid Eilanden river].  
*Mecēniúp* the region on both sides of the mouth of the *Mec*; the villages lying in this area, i.e. *Amisu*, *Ac*, *Ar-Naním*, *Atámuc*, *Cowéw-Jaméw*, *Esín-kom* [now extinct], *Jow*, *Kawét*, *Micím-Sosó* [now extinct], *Miwár*, *Ománeseþ*.  
*mekenéc* < *kene*, 116.  
*mékurum* < *ekurum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*memáji* < *em* 3, 4; 112.  
*memámtewer* < *emamtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mémamtewérpokom* < *emamtewer*, 155.  
*memán* < *eman*, 110, 183, 239.  
*memánemér* < *emanem*, 155.  
*memáp* < *emap*, 110, 183, 239.  
*memawér* < *emawer* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*mémcimtewér* < *emcimtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*memém* < *emem* 1; 110, 183, 239.  
*memémërem* 'since you are there', < *emem* 1; 155.

- memíc* < *em* 3; 116.  
*memjar* < *emjar*, 110, 183, 239.  
*memjí* < *emji*, 110, 183, 239.  
*memjic* < *emji*, 116.  
*mémotásisimawér* < *emotasisimawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mémpepém* < *empepem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*uempór* < *empor* 1, 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*mempori* < *empor* 1, 2; 116.  
*mémsemapmúj* < *mesemapom*, 155.  
*mémtamporén* < *emtampor*, 116.  
*mentém* < *metem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mentémaw* < *metemaw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mentémman* < *metemman*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mentémtewer* < *metemtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mentomír* < *metomir*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mentomis* < *metomis*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mentóteþ* < *metoteþ*, 110, 183, 239.  
*men* blade [of a paddle], sharp edge [of an axe, knife, digging stick], point [of a spear, lance, needle]; *fer* — the space directly behind the fish trap where the fish are caught.  
*Menák* personal name; abbreviation of *Menákipic*.  
*Menákipic* man's name.  
*menávemi* < *enaw*, 144.  
*menéstewer* < *enestewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mer* 1 lightning.  
*mer* 2 a day [period of time], time; to be or to go out on a day's (fishing etc.), thus: *amás* —; *enmúm* —; *makik* —; *os* —; *wu* —; *mér* *cowák* one day; all at once.  
*mer* 3, *mer* — to catch crabs.  
*meramis* to go towards and lie down; to reach towards [subject lying].  
*merámsér* < *meramis*, 155.  
*merap* to go upstream and stay there, to go towards and stay there.  
*meratam* to go towards to chop.  
*Merauke* name of a town on the south coast of Irian Barat.  
*merawer*, *mer* — to fish, to catch crabs, all day long.  
*merem* to go to the far end of.. and stay there.  
*meremap* to go toward and sit down.  
*meremsem*, *mu fá* — to make water reach a certain point.  
*merfasi* to go to the far end of.. and



- turn round; to go upstream and turn back.
- merjap* to go towards and sit down while speaking.
- merjapá* < *merjap*, 109.
- merni* to go downstream to look for food.
- merom* to go towards and stand by.
- merpapuj* to head off by going upstream.
- mersi* to row upstream [on a large river] and enter a side river.
- mersuwem* to go towards and begin to do.
- merwuapom* to go towards and stop up.
- mes 1* companions, family; *ənəw* — mother and her companions [the women with whom she usually goes out to fish or to scrape out sago]; *Sumúj* — *Sumúj* and his family.
- mes 2* < *es 2, 3*; 110, 183, 239.
- mesakajipirem* to keep close to [subject standing].
- mesam, mesám mesám pok* trifles.
- mesamis, cenés* — to lie down on the floor; 176.
- mesari* [?] to come alongside [in a canoe].
- mésarimár* (273) < *mesari* [?], 144.
- mesasesemeroniaawer* to carry back home in stages [e.g. a heavy bag].
- mesem* to stand near something, along something.
- mesemapom* to put something against, along...; *ómus* — to leave the *ómus* in the trunk of the sago palm.
- mesemjirmem* to put [a paddle] in [the mud] beside [the canoe], [object standing].
- mesenaw* to come upstream along [the bank of the river].
- mesép* spittle.
- mesés* < *ses 2*; 110, 183, 239.
- mesétak* < *setak*, 110, 183, 239.
- mesjotep* to go upstream along the bank of the river while doing something.
- mesmápmorém* < *mesemapom*, 155.
- mesnim* smell.
- Mesók* personal name.
- Mesókā* < *Mesók*, 34.
- mesom* to stand beside...; to stand guard by.
- mesomic* < *mesom*, 176.
- mesop* to sit by, keeping guard.
- mesopér* < *mesop*, 155.
- metám* < *etam*, 110, 183, 239.
- metamúj* < *etam*, 155.
- metem, pok* — to take care of the food.
- metemaw* to scrape out more sago; to scrape out sago in addition to.
- metememan* to get more food.
- metemeter* to fetch more; to fetch in addition to.
- metén 1* arm-band.
- métén 2* (319) in addition, moreover.
- metép* < *tep 1, 2*; 110, 183, 239.
- metéptewer* < *teptewer*, 110, 183, 239.
- metewénem* < *tewenem*, 110, 183, 239.
- metewér* < *tewer 2, 3*; 110, 183, 239.
- métewerásmos* (322) < *tewerasam* [?], 113.
- métewerásmosá* < *métewerásmos*, 34.
- meteweri* < *tewer 2*; 116.
- méteweric* < *tewer 2*; 116.
- metéwji* < *tewji*, 110, 183, 239.
- métiw* the elder of two people; term of address to an elder brother or sister; *cepés* — an elder woman, wife.
- metmát* < *temat*, 110, 183, 239.
- métmeti* < *temet*, 116.
- metocin* to take upriver, to accompany upriver, → *en*.
- metomir* to accompany to the other side of the river.
- metos* to accompany someone here [coming along a side river].
- metotep* to take upriver, to accompany upriver, → *tep*.
- métotepcá* < *metotep*, 120.
- metotnaw* to accompany someone here [coming along a main river].
- metótnawfés* < *metotnaw*, 162.
- mew* < *ew 4*; 110, 183, 239.
- mewá* (317) < *am ewá*.
- Mewerósakat* personal name.
- mewór* kind of parrot with bright coloured feathers [red and green].
- Mewórpíc* man's name.
- mewsén* 'duckboard': tree-trunk, fixed between stakes, laid down the bank of the river and across which one can reach the water when the tide is low without getting the feet dirty.
- méwtiw* < *ewtiw*, 110, 183, 239.
- méwtiwáji* < *ewtiw*, 112.
- mi 1* nose, extreme point of; face, outward appearance; 'of the same group':

- na mi ow* we are among ourselves;  
*man* — the finger tips.  
*mi 2* lime.  
*mi 3* (296) the right side [in contra-  
 distinction to the left side].  
*mía* (286) < *mi 2*; 34.  
*mic 1* full-grown sago palm, just about  
 to flower.  
*mic 2* → *jowomic*.  
*micíc* moss, seaweed; *moc* — a flood of  
 tears.  
*Micím-Sosó* name of a village.  
*micicimpór* < *cicimpor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*micuwán* groaning, mumbling, muffled  
 sound of voices.  
*mifán* averse to.  
*mifis* < *fis 2*; 110, 183, 239.  
*mijimír* < *jimir*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mijisóm* < *jisom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mijispám* < *jispam*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mijitúmcēnem* < *jitum*, 125.  
*mijitúmcēnemó* < *mijitúmcēnem*, 33.  
*mijóm* < *jom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mikín* young sago palm; *wu* — young  
 sago palm of which only the edible top  
 will be removed.  
*mimí 1* filter, consisting of a plug of  
 scraped out sago pith which is put at  
 the entrance of the sump trough, →  
*jec*.  
*mimí 2* pressing on, against; jammed.  
*miminíp* to think, thinking.  
*mimís, as* — soft shit; *moc* — tears.  
*mimítwtwtam* < *miwtwtam*, 110, 183,  
 239.  
*mínkam* kind of liana.  
*mináf* thinking only of; *moc* — thinking  
 only of wailing; *now* — thinking only  
 of the head-hunting feast; *jo* — doing  
 nothing but rowing.  
*minakap* < *mi 1, 2*; 185.  
*Minimap* name of a river.  
*minimír* < *nimír*, 110, 183, 239.  
*miníp* thought, thinking.  
*minkúm* snout; *jo* — the land at both  
 sides of the mouth of a side river.  
*minó* piece, lump.  
*Minwúj* personal name.  
*mipacák* chock-full, full with.  
*mipimá* < *pi 2, 3*; 144.  
*mipipím* < *pipim*, 110, 183, 239.  
*Mipic* name of a mythical giant.  
*mípici* very large.  
*mipítijamapmóp* < *pitijamap*, 144.  
*mípor* at random, carelessly.  
*mirám* bundle, small bag.  
*Mis* personal name.  
*misá* the root of the nose.  
*misērim* → *másinērim*.  
*misí* < *si 3, 4, 5*; 110, 183, 239.  
*Misimit* < *Mis*, 195.  
*misín* sand.  
*misí* < *sit*, 110, 183, 239.  
*Mismám* common name of the villages  
 Surú and Ewér.  
*mistém* < *sitem*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mistí* < *sit*, 116.  
*misún* abdomen.  
*misúr* pole, flag-pole.  
*mit* to thrust, to stick.  
*mitá* nasal mucus.  
*mitapmá* < *mitapom*, 109.  
*mitápmor* < *mitapom*, 155.  
*mitapmúj* < *mitapom*, 155.  
*mitapmún* < *mitapom*, 155.  
*mitapom* to stick, to thrust [a spear]  
 into. . [object sitting].  
*miem* to stick, to prick [object stand-  
 ing].  
*Mitewer* personal name.  
*Mitewéra* < *Mitewér*, 34.  
*mititwtamców* < *titwtam*, 120.  
*mititwtamcówè* < *mititwtamców*, 33.  
*mitiwismúc* < *tivisim*, 116.  
*mitwtewer* < *twtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mitwumúc* < *tivum*, 116.  
*mitúr* kind of shrub.  
*Mitúr* formerly a *jew* in the village of  
*Jepém*.  
*Mituropis* the people belonging to the  
*jew Mitúr*.  
*Miwár* name of a village.  
*Miwárpc* personal name.  
*Miwárpcá* < *Miwárpc*, 34.  
*Miwárpcakáp* < *Miwárpc*, 195.  
*Miwárpcó* < *Miwárpc*, 33.  
*Miwárpitsimit* < *Miwárpc*, 195.  
*miwís* husbands [pl.].  
*miwpom* (326) to put down in rows [?].  
*miwpómor* < *miwpom*, 155.  
*miwtwtam* to spread [a sleeping mat]  
 out for. .  
*mo 1* husband [s.].  
*mo 2* hole.  
*mo 3* vomiting, → *kawós*.  
*móa* < *mo 1*; 34.

- moáf* < *oaf*, 110, 183, 239.  
*moapúc* < *oap*, 116.  
*moapút* → *moapúc*.  
*moc* 1 crying, wailing.  
*moc* 2, *moc* — to cry, to wail; *puru-*  
*múc* — to sing dirges.  
*mocájiipurúw* < *moc* 2; 114.  
*mocájiipurúwa* < *mocájiipurúw*, 34.  
*mocamár* < *mocawer*, 144.  
*mocamés* < *mocawer*, 144.  
*mocampés* < *mocawer*, 152.  
*mocawer* continually to cry, to wail.  
*mócesmép* < *moces*, 152.  
*mocó* wet; wetness, moisture.  
*mocóapi* < *coap* 1, 2; 116.  
*mocóm* < *com* 3, 4, 5; 110, 183, 239.  
*mocomewer* continually to stand wailing.  
*mocómewer* (300) = *mocómamár*,  
 < *mocomewer*, 144.  
*mocómopawér* < *comopawer*, 110, 183,  
 239.  
*mócopí* < *cop*, 116.  
*mòè* < *mo* 1; 33.  
*mofasíc* < *ofasi*, 116.  
*mofasím* < *ofasim*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mófasimterwer* < *ofasimterwer*, 110, 183,  
 239.  
*mokokójnietweréji* < *kokojniawer*, 112.  
*mokokóm* < *okokom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mokokómtewer* < *kokomterwer*, 110,  
 183, 239.  
*mókomomsé* < *komomsc*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mokómtewér* < *komterwer*, 110, 183,  
 239.  
*mókonawúc* < *konaw*, 116.  
*mókonawúca* < *mókonawúc*, 34.  
*mokóni* < *kojni*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mokóp* face downwards, on the stom-  
 ach; upside down [a canoe].  
*mokót* sago garden: part of the marshy  
 areas where the sago palms grow;  
 owned by a specific man.  
*Momác* name of a river [Le Cocq d'  
 Armandville river].  
*mómajimúc* < *jim*, 116.  
*momani* < *oman*, 155.  
*mómaokmomic* < *maokmom*, 116.  
*momáokmomit* → *mómáokmomic*.  
*momápeperíc* < *apeper*, 116.  
*momápeperócini* < *apeperocin*, 116.  
*momapómkomúc* < *apomkom*, 116.  
*momas* to chop away.  
*momásienawúc* < *asienaw*, 116.  
*momásienawút* → *momásienawúc*.  
*momátawúc* < *taw* 1, 2; 116.  
*momáteremúc* < *materem*, 116.  
*momáteweríc* < *tewer* 1; 116.  
*momátewerit* → *momáteweric*.  
*momáwesí* < *awes*, 116.  
*momáwemapmúc* < *awumapom*, 116.  
*mómawenáwiri* < *awenawer*, 116.  
*momaweni* < *awan* 1, 2; 116.  
*moméc* < *e* 4; 116.  
*mómemsiric* < *emsiri*, 116.  
*mómerwuápmúc* < *merwuapom*, 116.  
*moméweri* < *ewer*, 116.  
*momáfemasnúc* < *fafemasam*, 116.  
*mómjawiri* < *ewer*, 116.  
*mómjikemúc* < *jikem*, 116.  
*momjinijíc* < *jiní*, 116.  
*mómjirmemúc* < *jirimem*, 116.  
*mómjtnemúc* < *jtnem*, 116.  
*mómjtnótewi* < *jtnotew*, 116.  
*momjtnumúc* < *ctum*, 116.  
*momjtnumút* → *mómjtnumúc*, 116.  
*mómjursómítewirin* < *omjursomawer*,  
 171.  
*mómniemíc* < *niem*, 116.  
*mómniemít* → *mómniemíc*.  
*mómnitamúc* < *nitam*, 116.  
*mómokómtiwíc* < *okomtiw*, 116.  
*momómirsefokóm* < *omomirse*, 162.  
*momómirsefokóma* < *momómirse-*  
*fokóm*, 34.  
*mómoniér* (325) = *omómoniér*, <  
*omomoni*, 155.  
*momóp* < *omop* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*momoromtiw* to kill [a pig].  
*mompúmtiwíc* < *pumtiw*, 116.  
*momsasakámasmúc* < *sasakamasam*, 116.  
*mómsasákamúc* < *sasakam*, 116.  
*mómseáwiri* < *seawer*, 116.  
*mómsímomíc* < *simom*, 116.  
*mómtakamjmtiwíc* < *takamjmtiw*, 116.  
*montémtemíc* < *temetem*, 116.  
*momtetámcin* < *tetam*, 116.  
*mómtetámciná* < *mómtetámcin*, 34.  
*mómtitiwíc* < *tiw*, 116.  
*mómtiwkáfumúc* < *tiwkafum*, 116.  
*mómtiwumúc* < *tiwum*, 116.  
*momtiwúrumúc* < *tiwurum*, 116.  
*momtiwúwéc* < *tiwúwéc*, 116.  
*mómwiénawúc* < *iwiénaw*, 116.  
*mómwiénawút* → *mómwiénawúc*.  
*mómwuwumesí* < *wuwumes*, 116.  
*mónor* < *onor*, 110, 183, 239.

- mónorómcen* < *onorom*, 116.  
*mop*, *awón* — to strike, stab, to give someone a thwack [with].  
*mopac* < *mop*, 165.  
*mopáces* < *mop*, 165.  
*mopán* trunk of a tree, especially the lower part of it; *kamák* — the root of the ginger.  
*mopánakap* < *mopán*, 185.  
*mopór* < *por*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mopórem* < *por*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mopores* (321) 'so that they wouldn't see' < *por*, 125 [?].  
*mopóri* < *por*, 116.  
*mopórjar* < *porjar*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mopórjit* < *porjit*, 110, 183, 239.  
*moporóm* < *porom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mopóromomis* < *poromomis*, 110, 183, 239.  
*moporómtewen* < *poromtewen*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mopórporemi* < *porporem*, 155.  
*mopórpori* < *porpor*, 116.  
*mopórporia* < *mopórpori*, 34.  
*mopórsaméwirir* < *poramawer*, 171.  
*mopórtewét* < *portewet*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mopów* < *pow* 4; 110, 183, 239.  
*mopówpor* < *powpor*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mormor*.. interjection, indicating the crawling of a mass of sago grubs.  
*morwót* kind of duck.  
*Mos* name of a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.  
*mósirimták* < *osirimtak*, 110, 183, 239.  
*moskóm* → *mosokóm*.  
*mosokóm* < *sokom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*Mósopis* the people belonging to the *jew Mos*.  
*mosów* < *sow*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mot* 1 → *moc* 1, 2.  
*mot* 2 < *ot*, 110, 183, 239.  
*motamú* broad and flat [said of noses].  
*motaw* < *otaw*, 110, 183, 239.  
*motiw* to retch.  
*motiwér* < *motiw*, 155.  
*motjarawer* continually to walk round wailing.  
*motni* to go downriver while wailing, to go back home while wailing.  
*mótowómsefaw* < *towomse*, 162.  
*motowómsemém* < *towomse*, 144.  
*mow* 1 the young prop roots of the pandanus tree; the fibres obtained from these roots.  
*mow* 2, *mot se* — to throw oneself in the mud while wailing.  
*Mow* name of a river.  
*mówa* (294) → *mow* 2.  
*Mówakap* name of a river, 195.  
*mowawer*, *mot se* — continually to throw oneself in the mud while wailing.  
*mówawerém* < *mowawer*, 125.  
*mówawerémo* < *mówawerém*, 33.  
*mówerompór* < *owerompor* 110, 183, 239.  
*mowórse* < *oworse*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mowséc* half-way; the middle of the journey.  
*mowsécè* (283) → *mowséc*.  
*Mówsimit* name of a river, 195.  
*mu* 1 water; period, season; *enám* — the season in which there is an abundance of fish; *jiwí* — the period in which the tide is low at night and high during the day: ± February and March. Traditionally this is the season for warfare and head-hunting; *muwí* — the period in which the tide rises in the evening and starts to ebb during the night: ± April and May; *pir* — the period of moonlit nights; *pu* — high tide; *ti* — very high water in a river, caused by heavy rainfall; *wa* — pool of rain water, water-hole.  
*mu* 2 feast; *pok* — idem.  
*mu* 3 turtle.  
*mu* 4 large, much [?]; *ek* — a large stone, → *anem*.  
*mu* 5, *mu* — to bathe.  
*muā* < *mu* 1; 34.  
*muamis* 1 to lie down [asleep] after bathing.  
*muamis* 2 (294) to throw oneself down [?].  
*muapóm* < *wuapom*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mucucúm* < *cucum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*muem*, *mu* — to go and bathe.  
*muemic* < *muem*, 116.  
*muemica* < *muemica*, 34.  
*muján* → *mífán*.  
*mufúm* < *fum* 2; 110, 183, 239.  
*mújsaw* cumulus clouds.  
*mujú* < *ju* 5; 110, 183, 239.  
*Muká* formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.

*mukáp* < *kuap*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mukukúre* < *kukure*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mukumár* < *ku*, 144.  
*mukurúmtewér* < *kurumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mumu* 1, *te* — heavy rain, downpour;  
*awú mumu ján* the sound made by striking one's breast [the striking of the breast is a sign of utter amazement].  
*mumu* 2 → *eomewer*.  
*múnakap* < *mu* 1; 185.  
*mupicin* clothes.  
*mupú* < *pu* 5, 6; 110, 183, 239.  
*mupuwér* < *puawer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mupuwéra* < *mupuwér*, 34.  
*murí, onók* — rafters.  
*nurúmtewer* < *urumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mus* bamboo water container.  
*musúm* < *sum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*musúmtewer* < *sumtewer*, 110, 183, 239.  
*musúmtewercár* < *sumtewer*, 120.  
*musúmtewercára* < *musúmtewercár*, 34.  
*musumteví* < *sumteví*, 116.  
*musúmutúm* < *sumutum*, 110, 183, 239.  
*musumútumúc* < *sumutum*, 116.  
*musumútumúca* < *musumútumúc*, 34.  
*musúarumomís* < *suwumomís*, 110, 183, 239.  
*mutam* to present someone with...; to pay for...  
*mútir* octopus.  
*mutíwtam* to pay for.  
*mútíwtamór* < *mutíwtam*, 155.  
*muwú* → *mu* 1.

## N

*'n* → *in* 1, 2; 258, 259.  
*na* 1 → *nat*, 246.  
*na* 2 → *nar*, 207.  
*najakam, jak* — to eat one's fill.  
*naitum* to eat in the afternoon, evening.  
*najítipic* enormous, gigantic.  
*najítipicèj* enormous [emphatic form].  
*najítipit* → *najítipic*.  
*nak* 1 true, real, pure.  
*nak* 2 don't [in sentences containing a mild reproof such as *ís kor nák* don't sleep so long!; *atakám nak* now, stop talking].

*naká* < *nak* 1, 2; 34.  
*nakó* < *nak* 1, 2; 33.  
*nakurum* to eat up everything.  
*nákurumás, mu* — having drunk all.  
*nákurumpor* to try to eat up everything.  
*nákurumsem* to drink all up.  
*nákurumsémčěmop* < *nákurumsem*, 141.  
*nam* 1 → *nar, nor*, 217.  
*nam* 2 body.  
*nam* 3 ill.  
*nam* 4 → *pomán*.  
*nam* 5 to feed.  
*náma* < *nam* 1; 34.  
*Námewfáksimit* personal name.  
*namí* in a bunch, with many together.  
*namičim* to take away from above [?].  
*namicukewer* all to disappear always in the forest.  
*namícukewěrměro* < *namicukewer*, 174.  
*namín* white ant.  
*namír* dead, perished, → *af* 2.  
*namírafam* to cause to die.  
*Namkáj* name of a jew in the village of *Amánamkáj*.  
*namké* ashamed.  
*namós* pleased with, satisfied.  
*nansóm* we know it, I know it.  
*namúj* my brother-in-law [term of address and of reference among relatives].  
*námun* on the quiet, secretly.  
*nanasimapom* to spread out in, to put [sago] in [a bag] while crumbling it.  
*nanasimapmor* < *nanasimapom*, 155.  
*nani* 1 heap of objects, not packed together; loose, → *am* 8.  
*nani* 2, *juwúr* — the whimpering of a dog.  
*nanínakas* < *nani* 1; 187. ,  
*nanwís* shattered.  
*nap* to eat and sit; to have eaten.  
*napěres* < *nap*, 155.  
*napi* white, light-coloured.  
*napor* to taste, to try to eat, to want to eat.  
*Napú* name of a river.  
*nar* we, us, our; 207-219.  
*narám* → *nar*, 215.  
*naráp* → *nar*, 214.  
*naráw* shallow [of a river, when the tide is low].  
*náritw* males of one's own generation; 'brothers'.

- nas* [it's] mine.  
*nasam* to eat up, to eat much.  
*nási* cooked rice [loan-word from Malay].  
*nat* emphasizing word, 246.  
*natá* < *nat*, 34.  
*nawer* to keep on eating, to eat much.  
*nè* → *nesén*.  
*nec* raw.  
*nej* → *ni* 1.  
*nem* to fall down [rain].  
*nemcén* angry, pugnacious.  
*nemcénakas* < *nemcén*, 200.  
*nemésnakap* cautious.  
*nemét* (290), *nemét emár* not so big!  
*nemsá* be careful! don't hurry!  
*nemsánakap* slow.  
*nemsóp* to have disappeared, to have given out.  
*nemum* to let go, to allow to escape.  
*nemwer* to hurry on, to take to one's heels.  
*neþ* sun, child.  
*néþnakapiriv* < *neþ*, 188.  
*nes* 1 flesh, meat; *amás* — sago pith;  
*Jepém* — *jípíc* a kinsman of people in *Jepém*.  
*nes* 2 to eat at night.  
*nesé* this side of the river, our side of the river.  
*nesén* empty, without; without doing harm (320); with only, with nothing else but; just, without more ado; loose (332); in vain (337).  
*neséno* < *nesén*, 33.  
*nesmín*, *nesmín asén*, just anywhere.  
*nésnakap* < *nes* 1; 185.  
*net* 1 spirit, ghost.  
*net* 2 to provide for someone, to take care of someone.  
*Net* name of a river.  
*netípíc* spirit-man, ghost-man.  
*nétnakap* < *nec*, 186.  
*new* 1 postposition, 255.  
*new* 2 → *nor*, 208.  
*newá* < *new* 1; 34.  
*newét* elder brother [term of address as well as and of reference, used among relatives]; husband [term of address as well as of reference, used by a wife].  
*newétè* < *newét*, 33.  
*néwirum* < *nawer*, 171.  
*ni* 1 come!  
*ni* 2 → *níwí*.  
*ni* 3 dance; *fa* — kind of dance, performed by women when a child is seriously ill or dying.  
*ni* 4 to descend, to go down [celestial bodies]; to go downriver on or along a large river; to go to the river; to go back home [see sketch p. 364].  
*ni* 5, *ni* — to dance.  
*nía* < *ni* 1, 2; 34.  
*niakap* to descend to and stay near.  
*niamár* < *níawer*, 144.  
*niamis* 1 to lie down on the floor; to go home to sleep.  
*niamis* 2 to start out with many people in canoes; to row downstream with many people.  
*niamsí* < *niamis* 1; 116.  
*niamsía* < *niamsí* 1; 34.  
*niap* to sit down, to go home and stay there; to have gone home.  
*niapá* < *niap*, 109.  
*niapér* < *niap*, 155.  
*niapóf* < *niap*, 162.  
*niapom* to put down [object sitting]; to stick [a spear] into.  
*niasimomis* to lie down together under.  
*níawer* always to go downriver, to go to the river, to go back home; to keep on going downriver, to the river, back home.  
*níawerap* to descend and sit down on the edge of, on the extreme end of.  
*níaworse* to go into the water and change into.  
*níaworséc* < *níaworse*, 116.  
*nicímsem* to shoot an arrow into the water.  
*nicomtiw* to hide someone under.  
*nicomtiwites* < *nicomtiw*, 168.  
*niem* to go below and stand; to have gone below, downstream, home [subject standing].  
*niemfés* < *niem*, 162.  
*nies* to dance during the night.  
*niesmár* < *nies*, 144.  
*nifam*, *jo* — to wait downstream for daybreak.  
*nifampum* to push [a canoe] from the bank into the water.  
*nifesap* to be stuck; having sunk down [e.g. in a bog].

- nifesapmí* < *nifesap*, 144.  
*nifesopom* [?] to sink down [in a bog] and be stuck there (302).  
*nifesopómitè* (302) < *nifesopom*, 168 [?].  
*nifiw* to go home and go indoors; to go downstream and enter [a house].  
*nifiwá* < *nifiw*, 109.  
*nifiwes* to go downstream and enter [a house] at night.  
*nifiwíc* < *nifiw*, 116.  
*nij* → *ní* 1.  
*nijamamis* to lie down on the bottom [a big thing].  
*nijamtíw* to topple [a large tree] over; to fall down on something large [?] (266).  
*nijap* to go home and speak; *teptep*... — to shrink down.  
*nijimemtam* to fetch from above and put down for someone [object standing].  
*nijirimuw* all to set out in canoes.  
*nijise, mu wu* — to go into the water and begin to waggle one's fins [fish].  
*nijukum* to stretch to the river [a clearing in the forest].  
*nijukumapomtám* to put things down together for someone.  
*nijukumtiw* to lay down together.  
*nijukúmtiwéf* < *nijukumtiw*, 162.  
*nikajap* all to have returned [e.g. from camp].  
*nim* like, as though; a little in the direction of: *er* — a little bit to that side; *arán* — a little bit to the upstream side.  
*nimár* < *ní* 4; 144.  
*nimatíw* to go home and chop down.  
*nimemeraþ* to begin to go down [sun].  
*nimémepá* < *nimemeraþ*, 109.  
*nimir* to look for.  
*nimírsem* to search for fish in shallow water, to feel about for fish.  
*nimírsemá* < *nimírsem*, 109.  
*nimomop* (336) to fell [a sago palm] and work on it [?].  
*nimu, mu* — to descend to the water and bathe.  
*nimuamis* to throw oneself down.  
*nimuamsér* < *nimuamis*, 155.  
*nimus* to disappear in the forest.  
*nin* daughter-in-law [s.].  
*niní, manmák* — presenting a fine sight, a feast for the eyes.  
*Ninim* name of a river.  
*ninukamis* to get in the canoe with many people and set out.  
*ninwis* daughters-in-law [pl.], 190.  
*nion* to go down and stand by; to go home and start to work on.  
*nionawer, ní* — to dance in honour of [a guest].  
*niómewirír* < *nionawer*, 171.  
*nionitum, ní* — to dance for someone during the evening.  
*nionpuw* to go into the water with.  
*niómpuwaró* < *nionpuw*, 165.  
*nionuw* to go to the river and depart with... [in a canoe].  
*nionuwá* < *nionuw*, 109.  
*nionúwčěms* < *nionuw*, 136.  
*nionúwepom* < *nionuw*, 155.  
*nionúwepomá* < *nionúwepom*, 34.  
*niop* to have sunk down with...; to go home and sit with [something], by [someone].  
*niopér* < *niop*, 155.  
*nionsop* to have sunk down up to the chest with.  
*nipirim* to go to the river and wash.  
*nipítamis, is* — to go home and go to sleep.  
*nipítamsér* < *nipítamis*, 155.  
*niporemap* to sit down with and have intercourse with.  
*niporomjewis* to get into a canoe in order to depart [a number of people].  
*nisaj* to get into the canoes [many people].  
*nisajérés* < *nisaj*, 155.  
*nisarames* to leave scattered at night.  
*nisarámesmár* < *nisarames*, 144.  
*nise* to be below in the river.  
*nisécěpes* < *nise*, 141.  
*nisiap, jif* — to sit stuck in the bog.  
*nisiápfem* < *nisiap*, 162.  
*nisicimtiw* to put things separate from each other.  
*nisirítcer* to hurry back home and fetch.  
*nísmít* grandfather.  
*nisuwem* to step on... in order to descend to the river.  
*nitaj, cem* — to arrive home.

*nítam* to go downstream and reach; to reach home.  
*nítamór* < *nítam*, 155.  
*nítapowes* (301) to leave things behind on the land while coming here downstream [?].  
*nítatepiap* to shrink down, to become short [a tree].  
*nítawépiúmes* to fill something down below during the night.  
*nítawépiúmesmar* < *nítawépiúmes*, 144.  
*nítawem* to put down [object standing].  
*nítawemtam* to put down for someone [object standing].  
*nítawer* to go home and fetch; to pick up.  
*nítawsem* to go to the river and put something in the water.  
*nítitiw* to lay something down.  
*nítítwampor* to try to put down for someone.  
*nítítwamporjěnés* < *nítítwampor*, 162.  
*nítowopom* to go to the river and put something in [the canoe]; to put something down on the ground.  
*nítowópomores* < *nítowopom*, 155.  
*nítuw* to go down to the river and set out [in a canoe] → *núwuw*.  
*nítwí* father [s.].  
*nítwíá* < *nítwí*, 34.  
*nítwíakap* younger brother of father or mother, 195.  
*nítwís* → *nínwís*.  
*njanjanja*.. interjection, suggestive of the action of nibbling or gnawing.  
*njenjer* → *e* 4.  
*njómo*.. interjection, suggestive of the action of nibbling or gnawing.  
*njonjo*.. → *e* 4.  
*no* → *nor*.  
*Nokóp* personal name.  
*Nokópè* (320) → *Nokóp* [in enumeration].  
*nomsóm* I know it.  
*non* mistress, Mrs. [loan-word from Malay, = *njonja*].  
*nor* I, me, my; 207-219.  
*normá* < *nor*, 213.  
*noromóm* interjection; good man! my dear one! 236.  
*noromóma* < *noromóm*, 34.  
*noromómè* < *noromóm*, 33.  
*noromúm* → *noromóm*.

*norów* < *nor*, 216.  
*norpá* < *nor*, 214.  
*nosó* wound.  
*Nosó* personal name.  
*now* head-hunting; person whose head is to be taken or has been taken.  
*Nówit* name of a river.  
*nowón* near.  
*nucúr* 1 enormous, huge; very, to a high degree: *awút* — huge; *pacák* — very bad, most miserable.  
*nucúr* 2 ancient; *ow* — forefathers.  
*nukumomúw* to take a number of people to a canoe and depart with them.  
*nur* → *nor*, 208.  
*núw* → *núwuw*.  
*núwumamúw* to set out in battle-array [canoes].  
*núwúmi* < *núwuw*, 144.  
*núwúmiè* < *núwúmi*, 33.  
*núwut* to start out [in a canoe] in the morning.  
*núwuw* to depart by canoe, to set out by canoe.  
*núwúwfokom* < *núwúw*, 162.

○

*o* 1 → *or*.  
*o* 2 grandchild [s.].  
*o* 3 pig.  
*oaf* again to kill, to kill also..  
*oap* again to split off, again to work loose [fibres].  
*ócen* spear, lance.  
*oe* again to do.  
*oerés* < *oe*, 155.  
*of* 1 dead wood, corpse; rotten.  
*of* 2 strainer.  
*ófajís* grandparents.  
*ofasi* to return, to go back.  
*ófasicěmés* < *ofasi*, 136.  
*ofasim* to tell, to inform.  
*ofasimtwer* to take up where one left off [a story].  
*ófew* blood-kinsmen belonging to a *jew* different from one's own.  
*ofóm* small digging stick.  
*ojíspor* to go to the forest again to look at.  
*ojísporér* < *ojíspor*, 155.



*ojúm* kind of bird; it always begins calling when the night is nearly at an end, thereby heralding daybreak.

*ok* egg.

*okajum* (344) also to flay [?].

*okap* to stick to [e.g. rust to iron].

*okomose* to follow [aquatic subject and object].

*okmoni* to carry away downstream [subject = the current].

*okmonimár* < *okmoni*, 144.

*okmorés* < *okom* 1, 2; 155.

*okokom* 1 < *ser* — to drive *ser* fishes against the bank of the river.

*okokom* 2 to rub with.

*ókokonísok* in great variety.

*okom* 1, *ser* — to drive *ser* fishes against the bank of the river. *so* — to start a song.

*okom* 2, *mi* — to rub someone with lime.

*okomá* < *okom* 1, 2; 109.

*okomentam* to roll something up for someone.

*ókomémtamcín* < *okomentam*, 116.

*okomtewer* to fetch something, breaking it off; *pe* — to catch a crab [breaking off the legs to prevent escape].

*okómtewerác* < *okomtewer*, 165.

*okómteweraré* < *okomtewer*, 165.

*okomtiw* to strike down, to kill [by shooting].

*okón* jaw, mouth [of a bag]; singing loudly (316); → *akmapom*, *akse*.

*okonép* opposite to, facing.

*okór* 1 mute.

*okór* 2 on guard, keeping guard.

*okorá* rape, adultery.

*okoresawer* (293) to be alone the whole night long [?].

*Okórmi* name of a river.

*okorom* 1, *okorá* — to rape.

*okorom* 2, *manmák* — to flirt.

*okoromá* < *okorom* 1, 2; 109.

*ókorómfen* < *okorom* 1; 162.

*okós, pe* — crab's pincer; *pír* — crescent; *o* — boar's tusk.

*om* 1 → *or*, 217.

*om* 2 digging stick, made of the wood of the nibung palm [see sketch p. 366].

*om* 3 to stand by, with; to be busy with [subject standing].

*omá* 1 binding material made of strips

of the midrib of a frond of a very young sago shoot, → *espét*.

*omá* 2 cautiously, → *jítjar*.

*oman* to walk while eating.

*Ománesep* name of a village.

*omas* → *momás* [?].

*omat* to move on, working, while busy with; *wos* — to make a clearing in the forest.

*Omaxwér* name of a river.

*omén* shouting, yelling.

*omé* afraid.

*oméw* open space in the forest, overgrown with grass or reed.

*omewer, ju* — to stand shouting with joy.

*omewermés* (342) instead of *omames*, 114 [?]; < *omewer*.

*omi* (323), *moc* — to cry about [?].

*omiris* (326) to busy oneself with [?].

*omis* 1 to sleep with, to lie down with, to lie down while doing . . .

*omis* 2 to go inland with, to go to the forest with.

*omísères* < *omis*, 1, 2; 155.

*omismár* < *omis* 1, 2; 144.

*omit, se mow* — to throw oneself in the mud in the morning.

*omitmár* < *omit*, 144.

*omjursomawer* (296) always to do wrong [?].

*omkóc* kind of insect.

*omku* to go ashore with.

*omném* < *om* 3; 177.

*omnémè* < *omném*, 33.

*omócen* spear of which the top of the shaft is shaped like a digging stick.

*omociu* to move upriver with.

*omom* to stand with, by; to stand while doing; to carry [subject standing].

*omomat* to accompany someone; to carry around; to visit (318).

*omómati* < *omomat*, 116.

*omomé* < *omom*, 155.

*omómi* (311) < *omom*, 144 [?].

*omomirse* (322) to be at fault [?].

*omomis* 1 to go and lie down with, by.

*omomis* 2 to take along to the forest, to go to the forest with.

*omomoni* to go on the way home, carrying something.

*omoni* to carry something back home, to carry something to the river.

*omóp 1* a blow.  
*omop 2* to sit by, with, while busy with. . ; to sit in a state of. .  
*omópem* < *omop 2*; 176.  
*omópères* < *omop 2*; 155.  
*omopjés* < *omop 2*; 162.  
*omopomis* (296) to sleep and wake with, in the company of [?].  
*omópomismem* < *omopomis*, 144.  
*omót* kind of fish.  
*ompuw* to go into the water with.  
*omse* to take along in the canoe, to be in the canoe with, busy with. .  
*omsénom* < *omse*, 177.  
*ómus* the outer part of the sago pith; this is scraped out by people standing in the trunk when the central part [*anáam*] has been removed [see sketch p. 367].  
*omúsšwes* → *amúsšwes*.  
*omúsnakap* < *ómus*, 185.  
*on 1* shark.  
*on 2* to share [food, tobacco] with.  
*onéw* → *onów*.  
*oniéf* (302) → *tówoniéf*.  
*onifiw* again to enter [a house] downstream.  
*onifiver* < *onifiw*, 155.  
*oniúw* to set out again [in a canoe].  
*oniúwoor* < *oniúw*, 155.  
*onmer, ónmer* — quickly to go ahead of.  
*onmermár* < *onmer*, 144.  
*onók* beam, support, staff; *jiná* — on the knees, kneeling.  
*onoká* < *onók*, 34.  
*onór* to carry on the back.  
*onorom* to cause someone to carry something on the back.  
*onów* thatch, made of sago leaves.  
*op 1* above, on top of, [high] up.  
*op 2* to sit with, by, busy with. . ; to be married to; *cem* — (283) to make a house [?].  
*opáemamem* < *emawer 2*; 144.  
*opáemór* < *em 4*; 155.  
*opáfajfém* < *faj*, 162.  
*opák* not, without; *opák cowák* absolutely not; *opák wut* by no means; *opák pak* really, 240.  
*opáka* < *opák*, 34.  
*opáknakap* < *opák*, 186.  
*opánamár* < *nawer*, 144.  
*opéf* < *op 2*; 162.

*Opekátsimít* personal name.  
*opén* question marker, 253.  
*opéna* < *opén*, 34.  
*opés* < *op 2*; 177.  
*ópnakaw* why not, not; 242.  
*opów* not, without; 241.  
*or* you, your; 207-219.  
*orám* < *or*, 215.  
*oráp 1* < *or*, 214.  
*orap 2* → *oap*.  
*oremem* again to stand up.  
*oriwís* hurriedly to go back to the forest.  
*ormá* < *or*, 213.  
*oróm* clean, smooth.  
*orom, manmák* — to peer at.  
*oromes, jak* — to empty one's stomach at night.  
*ororomtiw* to smooth something.  
*ororómtiucem* < *ororomtiw*, 125.  
*orów* < *or*, 216.  
*orowapom* to press repeatedly on [object sitting].  
*órowapómčemes* < *orowapom*, 136.  
*orownem* to cause to go downward by pressing repeatedly, [e.g. a pole in the mud].  
*orpá* < *or*, 214.  
*os 1* tree, wood. *amás* — sago palm.  
*os 2* cough.  
*os 3* to come towards with, while doing, while busy with.  
*osasmawer, fawíc* — to come towards while joking all the time.  
*ósasmewérmes* < *osasmawer*, 136.  
*óset* cricket.  
*osiap* to have gone back home [many people].  
*osiáper* < *osiap*, 155.  
*osín* → *sin*.  
*osiocín* again to move a little towards the end of something.  
*osirimtak* again to row steadily downstream.  
*osisimtam* again to push [a number of things] towards someone.  
*osmop, man* — to set to work on.  
*óswuc* mother, 193.  
*ot* to touch; *mi* — to pay a short visit to.  
*otap, jiná onók* — to kneel.  
*otapow* to return with all the people.  
*otasiap* all to have returned [in the village].

*otásiapĕráw* < *otasiap*, 125.  
*otasisimawer* to return home again and again, filling the house with.  
*otaw* to tell, to give advice; to ask.  
*otáwfes* < *otaw*, 162.  
*otawmém* < *otaw*, 144.  
*otawpor* to try to give advice.  
*otawporawer* continually to try to give advice to someone, to exhort someone.  
*otáwporéwirin* < *otawporawer*, 171.  
*otáwpormin* < *otawpor*, 144.  
*oterespakaj* to topple over in the opposite direction to the cut [a tree].  
*otewer 1* to tell, to inform.  
*otewer 2* (327) again to take [?].  
*ótewerá* < *otewer 1, 2*; 109.  
*ótipic* a woman's [classificatory] brother [s.].  
*otáwum* again to pour [water] over.  
*otmá* neap tide.  
*otmanis* to lie down while touching.  
*otmamtewer* to meet each other.  
*otmámtewerés* < *otmamtewer*, 155.  
*otmenaw, wa* — to come upstream, brushing along the edge of the forest.  
*otom, sir am* — to threaten a person with a lance.  
*otomá* < *otom*, 109.  
*otoni* < *sir* — to stand with the spears at the ready, pointing at something below.  
*otonimop* < *otoni*, 152.  
*otpemusumtam* to push someone out [of the house] for someone.  
*otuwse* again to set out [in a canoe].  
*otuwseá* < *otuwse*, 109.  
*ow 1* people, men, a man; *erén* — the upstream people = the ghosts; *mer* — the people who are [were, have been] fishing.  
*ow 2* to fill.  
*ow 3, at* — to tell someone to do; to give orders to do..  
*owá* < *ow 1*, 34.  
*owapmá* < *owapom*, 109.  
*owápmami* < *owapom*, 144.  
*owapom* to fill [object sitting].  
*owén* struggle, fight.  
*owér* marriage; husband.  
*owerés* → *owerós*.  
*oweréw* → *owerów*.  
*owerompor* to return regularly to keep an eye on.

*owerós* husband.  
*owerów* grown-up men, married men.  
*owmop* to sit and have coitus with.  
*ównakapiriw* < *ow 1*; 188.  
*ownés* strings of crocheted hair.  
*Owófawuc* woman's name.  
*owopís* people of a similar age.  
*owores* to change again into... at night.  
*oworésmop* < *owores*, 144.  
*oworésmopá* < *oworésmop*, 34.  
*oworse* to travel to and fro [by canoe].  
*Owpacák* man's name.  
*Owpacákikipic* man's name.  
*Owpacákikipit* → *Owpacákikipic*.  
*ówpĕnem* < *ow*, 155.  
*owpor, acán* — to try to give advice.  
*owpormin* < *owpor*, 144.  
*Owsé* formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.  
*ówtiw* a woman's (classificatory) brothers [pl.].  
*owuapmá* < *owuapom*, 109.  
*owuapom* again to bury; again to plug up.

## P

*pa* scale [of a fish].  
*pacaj* to flee in all directions.  
*pacájcukor* < *pacájcuku*, 155.  
*pacájcuku* to be scattered about far and near.  
*pacajkukuas* to scatter about [of people].  
*pacák* bad, unfit; not willing, averse to.  
*pacakáþ* < *pacák*, 202.  
*pacákapiriw* < *pacák*, 202.  
*pacákaseré* < *pacák*, 202.  
*pacáko* < *pacák*, 33.  
*pacáksere* → *pacákaseré*.  
*pacáseancs* < *case*, 155.  
*paj* peace-making ceremony.  
*Pajámþari* personal name.  
*pajen* to turn off or away and go upstream, → *en*.  
*pájener* < *pajen*, 155.  
*pajfirap* to turn oneself round [subject sitting].  
*pájjirapi* < *pajfirap*, 116.  
*pajim* to open [e.g. a door].  
*pajimáces* < *pajim*, 165.  
*pajimomse, cí mi arán* — to turn the nose of the canoe upstream taking [people] along.

- pajis* all to go outside.  
*pajiwem* to stand with the legs wide apart.  
*pájnijs* to turn downriver and go out to sea.  
*pajse* to turn off [a canoe].  
*pajtewer* to turn towards in order to fetch.  
*pájtewerá* < *pajtewer*, 109.  
*pajuru* (337) not to be seen, to be invisible [?].  
*pák* → *opák*.  
*páka* < *pak*, 34.  
*pakám* to kick; *maj* — the stamping of one's foot.  
*pakajamis* all to lie down together, in great numbers.  
*pákajámser* < *pakajamis*, 155.  
*pakajap* to sit somewhere in great numbers; to sit everywhere; *jo sétnakap* — the river is narrow everywhere.  
*pakajse* to be in the water somewhere in great numbers; to be in the water everywhere.  
*pakás* ulcer.  
*paké* hard and old, stale [food].  
*pakénakap* crowded with [a river with canoes]; covered with [a tree with flowers].  
*pakó* < *pak*, 33.  
*pamar* < *pawer*, 144.  
*pamitw* to divide a quantity of goods into small portions; to take away small parts from a quantity.  
*pamusem, mak in* — to walk to the forest and turn one's back towards.  
*pané, mi* — nose ornament made of a shell.  
*papajim* to open [plural object].  
*papcapipi* to swing to and fro.  
*pápem* < *ap* 2; 176, 180.  
*paperimop, jen* — 'to sit with the ears turned round', i.e. to have forgotten the world of men (314).  
*papes* < *ap* 2; 176, 180.  
*papi, ci* — broad-based midrib [of a sago palm frond].  
*papiromku* to turn [the canoe] towards and go ashore.  
*papis* exchange of women [this generally takes place between two *as*, and occasionally between men who are not each other's *as*, see 332, note a].  
*pápormem* < *por*, 144, 180.  
*papuj* (337) to make detours [?].  
*papujkurum* all to have succumbed.  
*pápujkurumór* < *papujkurum*, 155.  
*par* wide, broad.  
*parás* 'dune-ridge': low ridge consisting of crushed vegetable matter which has been carried by the rivers to the sea and then washed ashore. Found along the coast near *Jepém*.  
*parem* to turn something round.  
*pariem* extending in all directions [e.g. a tree with huge buttresses].  
*pariemic* < *pariem*, 176.  
*parise* to lie stretched out in the water.  
*parsá* scattered about, dispersed; disorderly.  
*parsam* to scatter.  
*parsamcukum* to scatter about, to cause to flee in all directions.  
*parsám-cukumór* < *parsamcukum*, 155.  
*parwis* daughter.  
*pas* in vain.  
*pasés* itch; *manmák* — itching eyes.  
*pasték* kind of grass.  
*patámkurmorés* < *patamkurum*, 155.  
*patamkurum* to fill right up with, to load full.  
*Patépo* personal name.  
*patetámcen* < *tetam*, 116.  
*patetámcená* < *patetamccn*, 34.  
*patewer, tow* — to work loose the pith of the sago palm in order to gather the sago grubs.  
*pati* < *at* 2; 116.  
*Patiém* personal name.  
*paw* kind of mangrove.  
*pawáncasin* < *awan* 1, 2; 120.  
*pawer, tow* — to get many sago grubs.  
*pawuamis* all to go away.  
*pawuawer* always to go out [to hunt] with people.  
*páwuawérmar* < *pawuawer*, 136.  
*pawuwu* to wobble about.  
*pe* 1 kind of crab.  
*pe* 2 to depart, to move off [in a canoe].  
*pec* < *e* 4; 116.  
*pecár* < *e* 4; 120.  
*pecaw* < *e* 4; 125, 180.  
*pecém* < *e* 4; 125.  
*pecemá* < *pecem*, 34.  
*pecokóm* < *e* 4; 125.  
*pémanem* < *em* 4; 144, 180, 183.

- pémcem* < *em* 3; 176, 180.  
*pémé* → *pemef*.  
*pemef* < *em* 4; 162, 180.  
*pemerawéra* < *merawer*, 120.  
*penésmar* < *emes* 2; 144, 180.  
*pemo* → *pemof*.  
*pemof* < *em* 4; 162, 180.  
*pemtakam, manmák* — to keep a sharp look-out downstream.  
*pemtomtompör, manmák* — to try to take a good look above; *pemtomtóm-pöri* please, take a good look above.  
*pémtomtompöri* < *pemtomtompör*, 116.  
*pen* → *opén*.  
*penés, o* — sow, female pig.  
*pepe* tightly bound; *manmák* — looking sharply around.  
*pepepe*.. onomatopoeia, reproducing the creaking of cane binding as it is pulled tight.  
*per* 1 mouse.  
*per* 2 → *at* 2.  
*Per* name of a village.  
*pere* interjection, indicating a sudden appearing and disappearing; a flash of light; a quick short movement.  
*peše* to row off.  
*petém* → *pecém*.  
*petéw, aj* — the newly wed couple.  
*petéwmanes* < *tewem*, 155, 180.  
*petokóm* → *pecokóm*.  
*péwewere* < *pawer*, 109, 175.  
*pewesánes* < *ewes*, 155, 180.  
*pěnakáw* → *opnakáw*.  
*pěrem* → *parem*.  
*pi* 1 cassowary.  
*pi* 2 to fly.  
*pi* 3 to fish with the net.  
*Piapipin* name of a river.  
*picin* skin, bark; *mi* — the skin around the nose and upper lip.  
*picirim, ár* — it's finished; that's the story.  
*piewer* to catch many fish with the net.  
*piewérmi* < *piewer*, 136.  
*pijinaw* → *pinaw*.  
*pijisasérmokom* < *jisas*, 136, 180.  
*piki* broken [of any binding material].  
*pim* edge, side, brim; *jo* — the bank of the river.  
*pinnakap* < *pim*, 185.  
*pimop* to have left something.  
*pimtiw* < to cut off.
- pin, cí jipin* — continually to come and go [e.g. people in a shop].  
*pinaw* to come crossing the river.  
*pinawamá* < *pinaw*, 144.  
*pinim* 1 the side where...; *wasón* — the side where the forest is; *iwónim* — the side where the river is [in relation to the speaker].  
*pinim* 2 smell.  
*pipi* chockfull.  
*pipipi*.. interjection, indicating the action of stabbing.  
*pipim* to break off, to chop off [plural object].  
*pipimaw* to break off and take away [plural object].  
*pipimawá* < *pipimaw*, 109.  
*pipmór* < *pipim*, 155.  
*pir* 1 moon.  
*pir* 2 → *so*.  
*piri* downstream [of a main river]; the coast, the sea.  
*piri* deliberate misinformation.  
*pirim* to wash, to rinse.  
*pirkawór* triton shell.  
*pis* grandchildren [pl.].  
*Pisim* personal name.  
*pisís* kind of grass.  
*pisnakas* < *pis*, 187.  
*pisnakaseré* < *pis*, 188.  
*pisuwá* dagger made of a cassowary's bone.  
*pisuwánakap* < *pisuwá*, 185.  
*pit* python.  
*pitamis* to go to sleep.  
*pitamsér* < *pitamis*, 155.  
*pitijamaŋ* to be filled to the brim.  
*pitimsem* to fill something with water.  
*pitimsemá* < *pitimsem*, 109.  
*pitimsemór* < *pitimsem*, 155.  
*pitmomes* to fill [a bag] one is carrying at night.  
*piw, par* — very broad.  
*po* 1 paddle; rowing.  
*po* 2 the midrib of the frond of the sago palm; the trough made of these mid-ribs that is used for washing the sago [see sketch p. 366].  
*po* 3 (302, 343) all.  
*poamis, is* — all to go to sleep, all to sleep.  
*poamismár* < *poamis*, 144.  
*pok* 1 let not, lest, 243.

- pok* 2 goods, things; edible animals that live in the water; *nam* — the entrails; *jivís* — baggage, taken along when moving to another dwelling place.
- Pokás* personal name.
- poké, jo* — the hot sun, the burning sun; the heat of the sun.
- póknakap* < *pok* 2; 185.
- poknakás* < *pok* 2; 187.
- pom* 1 harpoon.
- pom* 2, *póm apóm* 'full to overflowing' [said of a heavy-loaded canoe].
- Pomác* name of a river [Noordwest river].
- pomán* the other side, the opposite side; half-roll of sago: body of sago of which one side is curved and one side flat [see 267, note b; two *pomán*, put face to face on each other, form a *maj*]; *nam* — one half of.
- pomáteweri* < *mateweri* 1; 116.
- pómccm* < *om* 3; 177, 180.
- pomót* paddle of which the end of the shaft is decorated with a fringe of white cockatoos' feathers.
- pomsefaw* < *omse*, 162, 180.
- Pomúc* → *Pomác*.
- pónakap* < *po* 1; 185.
- ponów* dirty, dirt.
- popériomatamár* < *popერიomatawer*, 144.
- popერიomatawer* to roll over and over [wailing].
- popěriní* to drift downriver, turning around and around slowly.
- popomísměren* (293) always I was with you < *opomis* [?].
- popomísměrenè* < *popomísměren*, 33.
- popújaramép* < *popujarawer*, 152.
- popujarawer* continually to walk in a circle.
- por* to see, to look at, to hear, to smell; to know.
- porá* < *por*, 109.
- porap, jipi* — to have a presentiment.
- porém* 1 to see [subject standing].
- porém* 2 to intend to do, to want to do.
- poreremtewer* to choose [something] and take [it] away.
- porerémtewerá* < *poreremtewer*, 109.
- porí* < *por*, 116.
- poría* < *porí*, 34.
- poric* < *por*, 116.
- porjar* to go around looking for.
- porjarawer* to go around all the time looking for.
- porjit, so* — to plan a murder, massacre.
- porjursum* to plan to kill, to bring disaster upon.
- porkasi* to take a sly loot at.
- porkurum* (339) to see everything [?].
- porom* 1 to show someone something; to cause to see.
- porom* 2, *arúw* — to practise magic against.
- poromtaw* to search for until found [plural object].
- poromtawawer* to search for all the time until found [plural object].
- poromtewen* to look for food, to get food.
- poromtewer* to look for until found [singular object].
- porów* afternoon, early evening [the period from ± 3 p.m. until shortly after sunset].
- porówer* married daughter.
- porównakapiriw* < *porów*, 188.
- porpor* to look around for; to try to see.
- porporem* to go to [try to] have a look at.
- porśa* → *parśa*.
- porśamawer* always to thrust aside, always to spill.
- porse* to see, to look at [aquatic subject].
- portewet* to be on the look-out for a woman to marry.
- potáwmen* < *otaw*, 144, 180.
- pototómcen* [dialect of Ac] → *pate-támcen*.
- pototómcenó* < *pototómcen*, 33.
- pow* 1 → *opów*.
- pow* 2 → *powó*.
- pow* 3 breadfruit tree.
- pow* 4 to look for.
- powá* < *pow* 1; 34.
- powó* kind of mangrove.
- powpor* to look for, to seek [but in vain].
- pr* interjection, indicating that one finds something very beautiful or impressive.
- pu* 1, *fu* — the booming of bamboo horns.
- pu* 2 'a line running lengthwise over the centre of a flat or curved surface':

- jo* — [in] the middle of the river;  
*mokót* — the path running through the centre of a sago garden.
- pu 3* by, near, close to; on, across; *ji* — identical to a preceding event, according to custom.
- pu 4, amún* — busy with [said of people occupied in roasting food or firing canoes in preparation for a departure].
- pu 5* to come up, to rise [sun]; → *mu*.
- pu 6* to be on the river, to go by the river.
- puamis* to have just risen [sun].  
*puamismár* < *puamis*, 144.  
*puamsá* < *puamis*, 109.  
*puawer* to stay on a visit for some time.  
*puem, jirpu* — to be angry, furious [subject standing].  
*puk* clearing.  
*pum* to tread down [grass, reed].  
*pumap, jo* — to stay somewhere until the sun rises.  
*puamasam* to tread down [reeds].  
*puemawer, miníp* — always to have in mind, always to think about [subject standing].  
*puemnéwirir* < *puemawer*, 171.  
*pumokopom* (308) to tread [reeds] down, causing them to touch [somebody] [?].  
*pumom 1, miníp* — to be thinking about [subject standing].  
*pumom 2* to stand chopping off [bark of a tree].  
*pumomném* < *pumom 1*; 177.  
*pumomnéma* < *pumomném*, 34.  
*pumop, miníp* — to be thinking about [subject sitting].  
*puopžném* < *pumop*, 177.  
*punót* spear [*puw*] of which the end of the shaft is decorated with a fringe of white cockatoos' feathers.  
*puntewer, picín* — to chop bark off a tree [before cutting it down].  
*pupumem, miníp* — to think about, to ponder [subject standing].  
*pupúmemè* < *pupumem*, 162.  
*pupumés* < *miníp* — to think about at night; at night to be under the impression that.  
*puupu* . . . onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of air bubbles.  
*puapurap* to be covered with, overgrown with [path with jungle growth].  
*puapurumomewer, maj* — to walk with someone and make him keep walking in a circle.  
*puapurumomewerměnés* < *puapurumomewer*, 136.  
*puapurumomewerměnésá* < *puapurumomewerměnés*, 34.  
*puapurumucuntiw* to fill [e.g. a pit] up with.  
*puramis* to lie on [said of a cover, e.g. thatch].  
*puris* daughter.  
*púrpur* → *e 4*.  
*purpurpur* . . . interjection indicating the assembling of a crowd of people.  
*purum* to cover up.  
*purumúc* a traditional chant in which the subject matter is the event leading to a person's death: lament, dirge. [The *purumúc* is never sung with drum accompaniment].  
*purumút* → *purumúc*.  
*pus* → *puris*.  
*put* to rise in the morning [sun].  
*putamis* → *pitamis*.  
*putamisměp* < *putamis*, 152.  
*putěráw* < *put*, 125.  
*puw* kind of spear.

## S

- s* interjection: hey! I say!  
*sa 1* dry, dried up; dead [of trees].  
*sa 2* to be dry.  
*safán, jurúw* — very long.  
*Safán* personal name.  
*sajes* to come [a group of people as a whole].  
*sajespés* < *sajes*, 152.  
*sajis* to stick out [of branches generally].  
*sájismar* < *sajis*, 144.  
*Sajmós* personal name.  
*sajni* to return home [a group of people as a whole].  
*sajtakawer* always to go downstream [a group of people as a whole; any category of people].  
*sajwut* to marry, to take as a wife, a husband [when speaking in general terms].  
*sakaj* to be broken.

*sakajawer, asé* — to have a tired back.  
*sakam* to cut off, to break, to smash; to scrape out [sago]; to stop [any activity].  
*sakamóf* < *sakam*, 162.  
*sakamtam* to cut off for someone.  
*sakamtampor* to try or to want to cut off for someone.  
*sakamtewer* to cut off and take away [e.g. a head].  
*Sakán* name of a river.  
*sakurumawer* all to be dried up [of trees, → *sa* 2].  
*Sakwís* name of a *jetw* in the village of *Seréw*.  
*sam* to dry something.  
*samát* group of people forming the population of a village.  
*samáta* < *samát*, 34.  
*samop* → *asamop*.  
*samót* → *samát*.  
*samsamsam* . . in great numbers.  
*samtewer* → *asamtewer*.  
*Samún* name of a river.  
*sanamikurum* all to be dried up completely [sago palms].  
*sanamikurúmor* < *sanamikurum*, 155.  
*sapiamis* to have gone out; to be down, [sun].  
*sapiámismép* < *sapiamis*, 152.  
*sapiámsērav* < *sapiamis*, 125.  
*sapise* to go out in the sea [sun].  
*sapisemár* < *sapise*, 144.  
*Sasák* personal name.  
*sasakajes* to come towards while passing a number of something [e.g. rivers].  
*sásakajeséf* < *sasakajes*, 162.  
*sásakajeséfā* < *sásakajeséf*, 34.  
*sásakajeséf* → *sásakajeséf*.  
*sasakam* to cut into pieces.  
*sasakamasam* to cut off, to cut away [plural object].  
*sasakamtaw* to cut off [and take along], [plural object].  
*sasakamtíw* to cut off and put down [plural object].  
*saw* → *sawnák*.  
*sawè* < *saw*, 33.  
*sawnák* how sad! what a pity!  
*sawnáka* < *sawnák*, 34.  
*se* 1 mud, clay.  
*se* 2 to be on or in the water.  
*se* 3 to share out, to distribute.

*seawer* to stay in the water.  
*sees* to come towards [aquatic subject].  
*seésmpépés* < *sees*, 152.  
*sefasi* to turn round and go back [aquatic subject].  
*sej* 1 shoulder.  
*sej* 2 iron.  
*sejirawer, micíc* — to lie in the water so long that there is a heavy growth of seaweed on.  
*séjiréwirúp* < *sejirawer*, 171.  
*sejór* kind of fish.  
*sejpa* chopping knife.  
*sek* shag [loanword]; *kapák* — idem.  
*sékakajamar* < *sekakajawer*, 144.  
*sekakajawer* to return from camp with many people.  
*semaram* to strike about [aquatic object].  
*semén* rope; long row.  
*Seménterésimit* personal name.  
*Seménterésimitá* < *Seménterésimit*, 34.  
*semi* (339) quiet.  
*semisirim* (325) to assemble on the river [canoes] [?].  
*sen* downstream [of a tributary river].  
*senén* elbow; the left side (296).  
*seokor* to float by.  
*seokorá* < *seokor*, 109.  
*sep* arm, foreleg; *man* — idem.  
*sepe* to start out in a canoe.  
*sépeērés* < *sepe*, 155.  
*Séper* personal name.  
*ser* kind of fish.  
*seramót, ser* fishes [species of].  
*serápmorém* < *serapom*, 155.  
*serápmorémè* < *serápmorém*, 33.  
*serapmúj* < *serapom*, 155.  
*serápmujá* < *serapmúj*, 34.  
*serapom, fer* — to put down a fish-trap.  
*serápomfes* < *serapom*, 162.  
*sere, jak* — enamoured of.  
*seremop, jak* — to be enamoured of.  
*serémopóf* < *seremop*, 162.  
*serér, onów* — a thin place in the thatch.  
*Seréw* formerly a village on the river *Aw*.  
*Seréwa* < *Seréw*, 34.  
*ses* 1 dry palm leaves; *ci ses* the firing of canoes, → *sow*.  
*ses* 2, *man* — the raising of the hand [a magical gesture, see 308, note a].



- ses* 3 to stay in the water at night.  
*sesák* black.  
*sesi* to enter a river.  
*sesiērēs* < *sesi*, 155.  
*set* kind of wading bird.  
*setaj* to dip something [in water].  
*setaj* to arrive [in a canoe].  
*setájčaw* < *setaj*, 125.  
*setájčēmes* < *setaj*, 136.  
*setájčokom* < *setaj*, 125.  
*setajóm* < *setaj*, 162.  
*setak* to row downriver.  
*seten* to dip something in [water] and eat it.  
*Setmát* → *Setmót*.  
*Setmót* name of a *jew* in the village of *Surú*.  
*setná* < *seten*, 109.  
*setnakap* narrow.  
*sew* smoked.  
*šēsšěšě*.. onomatopoeia reproducing the hissing of fire as it is put out, or the sound of frizzling.  
*si* 1 stone axe.  
*si* 2 distribution, sharing out.  
*si* 3 to dig.  
*si* 4 to plait.  
*si* 5 to subside [of water].  
*sianeremtiw* to plait until a certain point is reached and then to stop work (285).  
*siapom, se* — to dig a pit.  
*siápmorēs* < *siapom*, 155.  
*siasam* 1 to dig away.  
*siasam* 2 to plait until completion.  
*siawer, sin* — to increase in number, to multiply.  
*siawéraw* < *siawer*, 125.  
*sicimāpom* to spread out [object sitting].  
*sikaf* kind of grass.  
*sim* to shift something, to shove.  
*simom* to fill and take along with [subject standing].  
*simsá* scurf.  
*simtiwes* to wash ashore at night.  
*simtiwesmár* < *simtiwes*, 144.  
*simtiwtam* to push something towards someone.  
*simtiwtámčēmes* < *simtiwtam*, 136.  
*sin* 1 'sister': term of reference used among sisters, among the wives of one husband and by the husband when referring to his wife [s.].  
*sin* 2 [= *si'n* ?] → *siawer*.  
*sinák* 1 kind of lobster.  
*sinák* 2 crack [in bark, skin].  
*Sinák* name of a river.  
*sinakap* 1 < *si* 1; 185.  
*sinakap* 2 < *sin* 1; 195.  
*sināpis* 'sisters' [pl.] → *sin* 1.  
*siocin* to move up towards the far end of.  
*sioniporamóp* < *sioniporawer*, 152.  
*sioniporawer* continually to try to dig out.  
*siotemet* to plait [a band] onto the top of [a bag].  
*siotémtamár* < *siotemtawer*, 144.  
*siotémtamó* (302) = *siotemtamóp*, < *siotemtawer*, 152.  
*siotemtawer* to plait something onto the top of.  
*siotemti* < *siotemet*, 116.  
*siotémtow* < *siotemet*, 120.  
*sišám* collar-beams [weapons and food are kept on these].  
*sišor* to try to plait.  
*sišorawer* continually to try to plait.  
*sišorawérmes* < *sišorawer*, 136.  
*sir* → *otoni*, *otom*.  
*Síréc* name of a river [Eilanden river].  
*siri* 1 quick, fast.  
*siri* 2 (301), *manmák* — on the look-out.  
*siriá* be quick! < *siri*, 34.  
*siriap, manmák* — to sit on the look-out for.  
*sirifis* 1 to come rushing out of.  
*sirifis* 2 quickly to cross over [a sand-bank], (339).  
*sirifisērár* < *sirifis* 1, 2; 120.  
*sirimaksem* quickly to make a canoe and launch it.  
*sirimaksemór* < *sirimaksem*, 155.  
*sirimes* to come rowing towards.  
*sirimfim* quickly to fit up, to make ready for use.  
*sirimfimac* < *sirimfim*, 165.  
*sirimotep* to row upriver with... to take along upriver [in a canoe].  
*sirimpipimtiw* quickly to chop off [ribs of the fronds of a sago palm].  
*sirimpipimtiwac* < *sirimpipimtiw*, 165.  
*sirimsam* quickly to dry something.  
*sirimtak* quickly to row downstream.  
*sirimtakacés* < *sirimtak*, 165.

- sirimteḗ* quickly to row upstream.  
*sirinakaḗ* < *siri*, 200.  
*sirinuḗwaw* quickly to go down to the river and set out.  
*siripiḗ* < quickly to cross a river.  
*siroḗ, caj* — to give in [to persuasion]  
*sis* tooth; support pole; *juwúr* — neck-lace made of dog's teeth.  
*sisì* to exist as a depth [said of a deep place in the bog].  
*sisim* 1 to fill [plural object].  
*sisim* 2 to shift something repeatedly; to shift things.  
*sisímampés* < *sisim* 1, 2; 152.  
*sisímkakamimtiw* to wash ashore and leave to die [fish].  
*sisímkakamimtiwér* < *sisímkakamimtiw*, 155.  
*sisimomis* to fill [troughs] and bring them outside.  
*sisiocin* to draw towards.  
*sisiri, sisiri pak* it was serious! (319).  
*sisit* kind of shellfish.  
*Sisnám* personal name.  
*sit* to get up.  
*sitem* to stand up, to have got up.  
*sitiw* to plait and put down; to plait something until it is finished.  
*Sivínmak* name of a river.  
*so* 1 song, generally sung with drum accompaniment; *e* — kind of song; *pir* — song, sung during the feast for the new *jew*; *tesén* — song sung outside the new *jew* during the feast on its completion.  
*so* 2 killing, murdering, in order to take heads.  
*soh* onomatopoeia, reproducing the hissing of water touching a hot object.  
*sok* 1 grandmother [s].  
*sok* 2 bird.  
*sokmót* head decoration consisting of feathers put in the hair.  
*sokom* to break up [and discard]; to kill (344).  
*Sokorév* personal name.  
*somit* to stand up with, while holding something.  
*somót* → *samát*.  
*sonów* → *e* 4.  
*sopī* interjection indicating the action of leaping high in the air [of a fish].  
*soraḗ* to live alone, to stay alone.
- sorápères* < *soraḗ*, 155.  
*sormom, fa* — to follow.  
*sormómér* < *sormom*, 155.  
*sormoni* to go with [the current] downstream; to carry downstream [subject = the current].  
*sórmoniamár* < *sórmoniatwér*, 144.  
*sórmoniatwér* to carry downriver [subject = the current].  
*sorom, fa* — to follow, to pursue.  
*Sorówesimit* personal name.  
*sos* → *ses* 1.  
*sosojis* to go towards the land in leaps [fish].  
*sosójismar* < *sosojis*, 144.  
*sosót* ridge-beam.  
*sosowom* (281) to stand up repeatedly with [?].  
*sowa, ci sés* — to fire a canoe; → 328, note c.  
*sowap* → *suwap*.  
*sowem, man sés* — to raise the hand to [magical gesture].  
*sowefiw* to step on to [the front gallery of a house] and go indoors.  
*sowekonaw* to come ashore.  
*sowót* saw-fish.  
*sowopum* to launch a canoe.  
*sówopuncēmí* < *sowopum*, 136.  
*Su* name of a *jew* in the village of *Amisu*.  
*suknáf, jismák* —to stay somewhere, the fires having gone out.  
*sukmapá* < *sukmap*, 109.  
*súku* < kind of fish.  
*sun* 1 to pull out.  
*sun* 2, *jak* — to get with child.  
*sumom* to pull out and take along.  
*sumómér* < *sumom*, 155.  
*sumomis* → *suwumomis*.  
*sumomsá* < *sumomis*, 109.  
*sumoḗ* to allow to sit between [people].  
*sumóperasin* < *sumoḗ*, 120.  
*suntew* → *suntewer*.  
*suntewer* to pull out, to pull up.  
*Sumúj* personal name.  
*Sumújè* (320) = *Sumúj* [in enumeration].  
*sumutum* to make someone stand up; to allow someone to escape (333) .  
*sumutumem* to help someone to stand up.  
*sun* to be worsted.

*susu* to be boiling.  
*susúr* kind of small bat.  
*suv* → *suvuw*.  
*suvap* 1 to begin with, to start to work at [subject sitting].  
*suvap* 2 to emerge, to rise up out of the water.  
*suvapá* < *suvap* 2; 109.  
*suvem* to begin with, to start to work at [subject standing]; *maj* — to step on to.  
*suvemíc* < *suvem*, 116.  
*suvumomis* to allow someone to sleep between [people].  
*suvuv* to step into a canoe and set out.

## T

*ta* hey!; interjection expressing surprise.  
*tajamis* to lie down on a slope.  
*tajtajtaj*.. interjection, indicating a gradual ceasing [e.g. of rain].  
*tajú* over, stopped, finished.  
*tájújúkmapómó* < *tajujukumapom*, 162.  
*tájújúkmapúmúj* < *tajujukumapom*, 155.  
*tajujukumapom, amás cse* — to fill bags right up with sago.  
*tak* to go downstream on or along a small river [see sketch p. 364].  
*takaj* to be pierced through; to be holed; to make a break for something; to form the connection between [said of a connecting river, → *wu*].  
*takajap* to form the connection with, → *wu*.  
*taká ko* onomatopoeia, reproducing the sound made by feet squelching in the mud.  
*takan* 1 to send downstream, to cause to go downstream.  
*takám* 2 to pierce through; to allow someone to escape.  
*takamanem, cím mu* — to build a large house first.  
*takamjimitiw* to pull off first.  
*takamjis* to go to the forest for the first time.  
*takannem* to cause to go below through an opening.  
*takamsomcukmes* to let [someone] flee in advance at night.  
*takamtewer* to pierce through, and remove.  
*takamtowomse* to take along in the canoe for the first time.  
*takámtowómseféném* < *takamtowomse*, 162.  
*takás* all, everyone.  
*takawer* continually to go downstream.  
*takawérměro* < *takawer*, 174.  
*takfiw* to go downstream and enter [a house].  
*takjise* to speak while rowing downstream.  
*takjukumapom* to go downstream and put together.  
*takmatam* to accompany someone downstream.  
*taknap* to eat, having gone downstream.  
*takokojir* to go downstream and cross to the other side.  
*takom* to go downstream to meet someone.  
*takowerom* to go repeatedly back downstream to keep an eye on.  
*takpor* to go downstream to look at.  
*takse* to have gone downstream [in a canoe].  
*taksem* well-made [of a canoe].  
*táktetemapmá* < *taktetemapom*, 109.  
*taktetemapom* to row downstream and ram [the canoes of the enemy].  
*taktitiw* to go downstream and put something down.  
*takwitiw* to go downstream and throw something down.  
*tam* 1 morning, from daybreak until ± 10 a.m.  
*tam* 2 rattan, → *tem* 1.  
*tamá* < *tam* 1; 34.  
*tames, is* — to dream.  
*tamesem* → *tawmesem*.  
*tamesmóp* < *tames*, 152.  
*tamesmór* < *tamesem*, 155.  
*támúwcím* early in the morning.  
*támnakap* < *tam* 1; 185.  
*tamnám* kind of duck.  
*támsesaráj* < *amses*, 132.  
*tamús* → *wu*; [loan-word from Malay, = *tembus*].  
*tamúw* buttress [of a tree].  
*Tamúw* personal name.  
*tanmá* nonsense.  
*tap, acín* — to stick on to.

*taɓer* < *taɓ*, 155.  
*taɓijiw* to retreat inside.  
*taɓijiwá* < *taɓijiw*, 109.  
*taɓín* sleeping mat, made of the dried leaves of the pandanus tree.  
*taɓmór* < *taɓom*, 155.  
*taɓom* 1 to fill, to put into.  
*taɓom* 2 → *teɓom* 1.  
*taɓomakem, maj ákin* — immediately after having put a foot on... [to fall down].  
*taɓomákmaméɓ* < *taɓomakem*, 152.  
*taɓoman* to fill [with food], to put [food] into.  
*táɓomcár* < *taɓom*, 120.  
*taɓómcom* < *taɓom*, 125.  
*taɓomɓam* to push [a canoe] off the high bank to the river.  
*taɓomkekem, onów* — to lay the thatch on a house, fastening it firmly.  
*taɓomni* < *taɓoman*, 116.  
*taɓomterem* to cannon into something, causing it to split.  
*tarásšɓes* (classificatory) sisters of a man [pl.].  
*tarásɓuc* (classificatory) sister of a man [s.].  
*tari* old, long ago.  
*tariɓis* to come outside by breaking through [e.g. a wall].  
*tariɓiɓic* very old, very long ago.  
*tariɓicim* < *tari*, 203.  
*tarwáɓcares* < *ariwáɓ*, 132.  
*tasmá* → *tesmá*.  
*tasmáɓiɓic* → *tesmáɓiɓic*.  
*tataɓajimtiw* to place neatly beside each other, 107.  
*tatakáj* 1 lively, swift-footed; *atów* — playful.  
*tatakáj* 2 to be lively, swift-footed.  
*tatakí* → *catakí*.  
*tatam* 1 to give [plural object].  
*tatam* 2 (284), *a* — to branch; to get flowers [said of a sago palm].  
*tatamenem, mak án* — to pile [bags] up in rows on each other.  
*tatámenemór* < *tatamenem*, 155.  
*taɓom* to put neatly in, to fill neatly; iilled neatly (107).  
*tataw, ja* — to go to fetch.  
*tatenáɓ* to sit tightly packed.  
*Tatepi* personal name.  
*Tateɓia* < *Tatepi*, 34.

*tatewer, cet* — to win a contest, to win the prize.  
*tatiw* to put down, to lay down [plural object].  
*tatmá* nonsense.  
*tatmamín* < *tetam*, 144.  
*tatmes* to give at night.  
*tatinésmin* < *tatmes*, 144.  
*tatmór* < *tetam*, 155.  
*tatmorés* < *tetam*, 155.  
*taw* 1 to take, to seize [plural object].  
*taw* 2, *atakám* — to speak; *ɓurumúɓ* — to sing a dirge.  
*tawá* < *taw* 1, 2; 109.  
*tawawer* 2, *uwkú* — to crochet hair all day long.  
*tawenem* to pile up [plural object].  
*Taweric* personal name.  
*Tawerit* → *Taweric*.  
*Taweritsimit* < *Taweric*, 195.  
*tawjimírsem* to take [canoes] to the river.  
*tawmanín* < *taw* 2; 144.  
*tawmemsem* → *tawmesem*.  
*tawmesem* to put things against something, along something [e.g. a wall].  
*tawnemcs* to cause to go downriver during the night [plural object].  
*tawomewer, atakám* — continually to speak to, to nag at [a person].  
*táwomewerám* < *tawomewer*, 136.  
*tawow* to put into [plural object].  
*tawowúɓ* < *tawow*, 116.  
*tawɓacaj* to scatter in all directions, to disperse.  
*tawɓacajɓ* to stay with people, after having dispersed from...; to have dispersed to.  
*táwɓacajɓer* < *tawɓacajɓ*, 155.  
*tawɓacamáɓom* to scatter [people] about.  
*tawɓacamɓ* to stay with people after having been driven away; to have sought refuge with.  
*tawɓacámɓer* < *tawɓacamɓ*, 155.  
*tawɓor* to try to reason with.

- tawsim* (342) to take a number of people along with one [?].  
*tawtam* to give advice to.  
*tawtermenapom* to put separate from each other [object sitting].  
*tawtominomas, amás* — to eat sago from then onwards (302).  
*tawutum* to talk all the afternoon.  
*táwutúmcěpokóm* < *tawutum*, 141.  
*táwutuměp* < *tawutum*, 152.  
*te* 1 rain.  
*te* 2, *tě mu* tea [loan-word from Malay, = *teh*].  
*tem* 1 rattan.  
*tem* 2, *aw* — to have breasts, to be marriageable; *nemcěn* — to be furious.  
*temat* to fool [someone].  
*temér* < *tem* 2, 155.  
*temet* to go upwards, to rise.  
*temetjamem* to have grown large and high.  
*temetjim* to pull away from above.  
*temetjimores* < *temetjim*, 155.  
*temetjom, e wú* — to stand high up with leaves rustling [a tree].  
*temetotap, pim* — to have risen to the brim [e.g. water].  
*temětowopmór* < *temetowopom*, 155.  
*temětowopom* to hang up above, to put down on top of.  
*temetsowap, wasér* — to grow up into a *wasér*.  
*temetsurum* to scratch one's head.  
*temetwanioc* to grow high up [trees].  
*temětwaníotma* < *temetwanioc*, 144.  
*temětwasiaap* to have shot up [plants].  
*temetwem, e* — to stand high up with leaves rustling.  
*temjom, namós* — to like.  
*temjomén* < *temjom*, 177.  
*temjoméno* < *temjomén*, 33.  
*temtapes* to have grown during the night [subject sitting].  
*temtem* to climb onto; to be high [subject standing].  
*temtemes* to grow up at night [subject standing].  
*těmteměsnar* < *temtemes*, 144.  
*ten* top, upper side of an object; on, on top of.  
*těnakap* < *ten*, 185.  
*tenám* throat.  
*tenfój* unaware of.
- téntaj, těntaj pók* antidote used in magic.  
*tep* 1 to go upstream on or along a tributary river [see sketch p. 364].  
*tep* 2 to be above, to hang, to be up in the air.  
*těpacoapém* < *coaþ*, 176, 144.  
*těpaémněrém* < *eman*, 155.  
*tepakajap* to have gone upstream and sit there.  
*tepakamis, akin* — to lie down [ill] immediately after having gone upstream.  
*těpákokójniewėrmokom* < *kokojniawer*, 136.  
*těpampiamem* < *ampiawer*, 144.  
*tepaþ* to go upstream and stay there.  
*tepaþém* < *aþ* 2; 176, 144.  
*tepaþmés* < *tepaþ*, 144.  
*těpaþorfem* < *þor*, 162.  
*těpaþórcěmem* < *þor*, 136.  
*těpaces* < *tep* 1; 165.  
*těpates* → *těpaces*.  
*těpátwuwuór* < *twuwu*, 155.  
*tepe* to hang in a condition of . . . ; *man-mák nini* — to hang, presenting a fine sight.  
*tepem* to have gone upstream [subject standing].  
*tepemár* < *tepe*, 144.  
*tepes* to go upstream at night.  
*těpesájtakawėrmokom* < *sajtakawer*, 136.  
*těpesmar* < *tepes*, 144.  
*těpěsměþ* < *tepes*, 152.  
*těpěwtiwěvrém* < *cwtiw*, 155.  
*tepit* to go upstream in the morning.  
*tepitměþ* < *tepit*, 152.  
*teþjomseames* < *teþjomseawer*, 144.  
*teþjomseawer* to speak to someone all the time while rowing upstream.  
*teþkawi* to go upstream and join.  
*těþkawiwěrés* < *teþkawi*, 155.  
*teþku* to go upstream and go ashore.  
*teþkuru* to shout agreement upstream.  
*těþkuruěrés* < *teþkuru*, 155.  
*teþokojir* to go upstream and cross to the other side.  
*teþom* 1 to send upstream, to cause to go upstream.  
*teþom* 2 to go upstream and stand by; to walk upstream to meet someone.  
*teþomparem* to turn upside down [object above eye level].

*tepomporsem*, *op* — to let go freely from above, into the water.  
*tepomporsémcēpes* < *tepomporsem*, 141.  
*tepomporšom* → *tepomporsem*.  
*tepomporšomá* < *tepomporšom*, 109.  
*tepomse* to take upriver [in the canoe].  
*tepomšér* < *tepomse*, 155.  
*tepor* to go upstream to look at.  
*tepseri* to be shining [sun].  
*tēpserimár* < *tepseri*, 144.  
*tepsi* upstream to enter a side-stream.  
*tepsiér* < *tepsi*, 155.  
*tepsirim* to row upstream.  
*tepsowawer* to jump from above [from a great height].  
*teptaj* to row upriver as far as...  
*tepteptep*... interjection, indicating the action of sinking deeper and deeper, 237.  
*teptewer* to go upstream and take away.  
*teptowopom* < to drop [someone] upstream.  
*tepu* to have risen [sun].  
*tepumár* < *tepu*, 144.  
*ter* → *tewer* 2, 3.  
*teré* 1 rattan, leaf.  
*teré* 2 joyful, glad.  
*teremsem* to split [aquatic object]; to push through [canoes on the river].  
*teréw* thin.  
*termén* split.  
*tes* daring, brave, successful, powerful; → 328, note a.  
*tesén* outside.  
*tesmá* courageous, successful; beautiful [of women].  
*tesmájič* brave warrior, war leader.  
*tetam* to give [something] to.  
*tetámčin* < *tetam*, 116.  
*tetámšénem* < *tetam*, 162.  
*tetámšes* < *tetam*, 162.  
*teté* 'between': a *Jomót teté*, a *Ma teté* between the *Jomót* and the *Ma*.  
*teteremapom* to put stripes [of paint] on something.  
*tetete* (320) interjection, indicating a sudden disappearing; 'in a flash'...  
*tew* → *tewer* 2.  
*tewawer* to take, get, catch, much/many...  
*tewawércom* < *tewawer*, 125.  
*tewawércomè* < *tewawércom*, 33.  
*tewawumes* to put feathers in the hair at night.

*tewawumésmeš* < *tewawumes*, 152.  
*tewem* 1 to put down [object standing].  
*tewem* 2 to set out [on foot].  
*tewen* to take up, or fetch, in order to eat.  
*tewená* < *tewen*, 109.  
*tewenem* 1 to take along with upriver.  
*tewenem* 2 to put something on something.  
*tewér* 1 the bright red flowers of a liana [*mucuna Nova Guinensis*: Flame of the Forest].  
*tewer* 2 to take, to seize, to fetch [singular object]; to rise [of the tide].  
*tewer* 3, *cic* — to win a contest; *atakám* — to speak.  
*Tewér* → *Tewérawuc* [abbreviation].  
*tewerá* < *tewer* 2; 109.  
*Tewéra* < *Tewér*, 34.  
*tewerác* < *tewer* 2; 165.  
*teweracem* < *tewer* 2; 165.  
*téweramés* < *tewerawer*, 144.  
*tewerasam* to take much, to get much [sago].  
*tewerawer* to get much [sago], to catch many [fish].  
*Tewérawuc* personal name.  
*Tewérawucakáp* < *Tewérawuc*, 195.  
*Tewérawutsimit* < *Tewérawuc*, 195.  
*teweréwere* < *tewerawer*, 174.  
*teweric* < *tewer* 2; 116.  
*tewerit* → *teweric*.  
*tewérmaněném* < *tewer* 2; 144.  
*tewérmem* < *tewer* 2; 144.  
*tewérměnom* < *tewer* 2; 144.  
*tewértotoramár* < *tewértotorawer*, 144.  
*tewértotorawer* all the day long to get [food], everyone individually.  
*tewet* to take for oneself; to marry.  
*tewji*, *po* — to start to row.  
*tewjinim* to send on the way [a number of people].  
*tewjiniwamis* to start to swim [many fish].  
*tewjiniwarit* to start out in the morning with many.  
*tewjiniwar* to set out with many [people], with everyone.  
*tewjipirom* (301) to think only of, to care only for [?]; to stand, embracing someone.  
*téwjipiromè* < *tewjipirom*, 162.

*tewnem* to send someone downstream,  
 to send someone home.  
*tewnémamén* < *tewncm*, 144.  
*tewsem* to put something into water.  
*tewtá* < *tewet*, 109.  
*tewtakam* to allow someone to escape.  
*Tewtén* name of a river.  
*térásēpes* → *tarásēpes*.  
*téráswuc* → *taráswuc*.  
*tí* 1 → *ci* 1.  
*tí* 2 → *mu*.  
*tí* 3 to go down [sun].  
*tiamis* to have gone down [sun].  
*tiamismár* < *tiamis*, 144.  
*tiamismép* < *tiamis*, 144.  
*tiki* onomatopoeia reproducing a splash.  
*timap, jo* — to stay somewhere until the  
 sun goes down.  
*timapér* < *timap*, 155.  
*timeremap, jo* — to sit until the sun  
 goes down.  
*timerepapá* < *timcremap*, 109.  
*timse, jo* — to row until the sun goes  
 down.  
*timséacem* < *timse*, 165.  
*timseér* < *timse*, 155.  
*tinák* the inflorescence of the sago palm.  
*típim* to cause to be just in front of,  
 just on . . .  
*tipuris* sons and daughters; children.  
*típus* → *jíwí*.  
*tírif* letter, book, writing; [loan-word  
 from Malay, < *tulis* — to write].  
*tise* to go down in the sea [sun].  
*tisér* < *tise*, 155.  
*titewer* to pick up [object lying].  
*títeweraré* < *titewer*, 165.  
*titiem* (319), *mák am* — to follow some-  
 one [?].  
*titiw* to lay down [something], to put  
 down [something]; to pile up [of  
 clouds].  
*titiwamá* < *titiw*, 144.  
*titiwcem* < *titiw*, 125.  
*titiwtam* to put [something] down for  
 someone.  
*títur* row [of men in a canoe].  
*tíw* son.  
*tíwá* < *tíw*, 34.  
*tíwanim, amán* — to take a bow from  
 the collar-beams on which it is kept.  
*tíwaper* to make a test hole in the  
 trunk of a sago palm, → *apér*.

*tíwapercem* < *tíwaper*, 125.  
*tíwawer* to leave [object lying].  
*tíwawsim* (322) to smear [sago] on [?].  
*tíwem, fěfěfě* — to rise in squalls  
 [wind]; to flash [lightning].  
*tíwemá* < *tíwem*, 109.  
*tíwémor* < *tíwem*, 155.  
*tíwim* (323) to put down in [corpse in  
 a grave].  
*tíwimamés* < *tíwim*, 144.  
*tíwirum* to send [e.g. a letter].  
*tíwirúmfen* < *tíwirum*, 162.  
*tíwisim* to bring outside [object lying].  
*tíwójim* to pull along [object lying]; to  
 pull a spear, bow or arrows off the  
 collar-beams on which they are kept.  
*tíwkafum* to scrape out [sago pith].  
*tíwkoj* to go on one's way.  
*tíwkojér* < *tíwkoj*, 155.  
*tíwkukum* to set out in pursuit; *amás*  
 — all to go out to look for sago.  
*tíwot* to touch, to nudge [object lying].  
*tíwótěrém* < *tíwit*, 125.  
*tíwotfén* < *tíwot*, 162.  
*tíwótmepep* < *tíwot*, 152.  
*tíwopom* (342) to cause to dry up [?].  
*tíwopoporémampes* < *tíwoporemawer*,  
 152.  
*tíwoporemawer, maj* — to cause to  
 walk in a circle continually [following  
 one's own footprints].  
*tíwsakam* to start to cut through; to  
 start to scrape out [sago pith].  
*tíwsirimasam, manmák* — to stare at.  
*tíwsirimasamámés* < *tíwsirimasam*, 144.  
*tíwsirimawer* always to stare at.  
*tíwsirimeweréjipurúw* < *tíwsirimawer*,  
 114.  
*tíwsirimeweréjipurúwa* < *tíwsirimewer-  
 éjipurúw*, 34.  
*tíwsiritewer* quickly to pick up some-  
 thing.  
*tíwsiritewerac* < *tíwsiritewer*, 165.  
*tíwtam* to put something down for  
 someone.  
*tíwtarem* (282) to cause to be hot [?].  
*tíwtemsem* to put [a canoe] into the  
 water.  
*tíwtewer* to take away [object lying].  
*tíwum, apim* — to wash sago: to pour  
 out water over the sago pulp and  
 squeeze it out.  
*tíwurum* to light a fire.

*to 1* yesterday; tomorrow.  
*to 2, amás* — hungry; *mu* — thirsty;  
*kapák* — longing for a cigarette.  
*toá* < *to 1*; 34.  
*tóko* onomatopoeia, reproducing the  
 sound of a thud.  
*tomtom* to stand on top of something  
 while busy with.  
*tomtómer* < *tomtom*, 155.  
*toncán* < *on 2*; 132.  
*top* to hang by, with, while holding  
 something.  
*topmóf* < *topom*, 162.  
*topom* to put something on top of . . ; to  
 fasten something on top of . . ; to hoist  
 [a flag].  
*toróm* 'support': pieces of wood or of  
 the midrib of a frond, laid across the  
 bottom of a canoe as supports for the  
 baggage which has to be kept dry  
 [often small leakages or water washing  
 over the gunwales make the bottom  
 of a canoe wet].  
*tosó, o* — tamed pig.  
*tosów 1* decoration.  
*tosów 2* all edible vegetable things obtained  
 in the forest or out of gardens,  
 such as fruit, the edible top of the sago  
 palm, sweet sago pith, and sago. Since  
 forest products are always given in  
 return for edible animals [*pok*], mostly  
 fish and sago grubs, *tosów* also has  
 acquired the meaning of: 'gift made in  
 return', independent of the things given.  
*totápowcar* < *otapow*, 132.  
*tótewar, tótewar as* a big part of.  
*totěpóm* wild cucumber.  
*tototo . . (276)* interjection, indicating the  
 steady rising of water.  
*tow 1* sago grub.  
*tow 2 (309)* vital spirit [?].  
*towā* < *tow*, 34.  
*towkopá* < *towokop*, 109.  
*Tówmi* name of a river.  
*towocin* to take upriver, → *en*.  
*towocinér* < *towocin*, 155.  
*towof* to kill.  
*towofá* < *towof*, 109.  
*tówofěrés* < *towof*, 155.  
*towokop* to eat, to swallow.  
*towom* to take along [subject standing].  
*towomér* < *towom*, 155.  
*towomír* → *towomér*.

*towomís* to take outside.  
*towomíw* to take inside.  
*tówomíwér* < *towomíw*, 155.  
*tówomíwtám* to take something inside  
 for someone.  
*tówomíwtámčěmes* < *towomíwtam*, 136.  
*towomkonaw* to bring onto the land.  
*tówomkonáwmem* < *towomkonaw*, 144.  
*towomse* to take along in a canoe; to  
 carry away [subject = the current];  
 to be full of water [said of a trough].  
*towoni* to take to the river, to take  
 downriver, to take home.  
*tówoniéf* < *towoni*, 162.  
*towop* to take and sit with; to have  
 caught, taken.  
*tówoper* < *towop*, 155.  
*towópřes* < *towop*, 162.  
*tówopmá* < *towopom*, 109.  
*tówopmamin* < *towopom*, 144.  
*towopmes* to put something onto some-  
 thing else at night.  
*tówopmésměnem* < *towopmes*, 144.  
*towopmop (344)* to kill [?].  
*towopmór* < *towopom*, 155.  
*towopom* to plant, to put into; to gather  
 [of clouds].  
*towos* to come here with.  
*towotak* to take along with downriver.  
*towotep* to take along with upriver.  
*towow* to put into.  
*towtopmúc* < *towtopom*, 116.  
*tówtopmúca* < *towtopmúc*, 34.  
*towtopom* to take upstream.  
*ts* interjection, expressing annoyance.  
*tunampés* < *tunawer*, 144.  
*tunawer (324)* to be emaciated [?].  
*turamis* to lie down in rows.  
*turuemtiw* → *turumtiw*.  
*turuemtiwef* < *turuemtiw*, 162.  
*turum* to put in an orderly way; to put  
 in rows; *manmák cenés turuméf* his  
 eyes nearly popped out of his head  
 [with amazement] (317).  
*turumtiw* to lay down neatly, in rows.  
*tuw, jiwís* — to depart in order to go  
 to another dwelling place.  
*tuwomse* to take to another dwelling  
 place [in a canoe].  
*tuwomseá* < *tuwomse*, 109.  
*tuwómser* < *tuwomse*, 155.  
*tuwop, manmák* — to keep an eye on.  
*tuwopíc* < *tuwop*, 116.



*tuwse, jiwís* — to go off to another dwelling place [by canoe].  
*tuwseá* < *tuwse*, 109.  
*tuwsef* < *tuwse*, 162.  
*tuwut, jiwís* — to go off to another dwelling place in the morning [by canoe].  
*tuwútmar* < *tuwut*, 144.  
*tuwuw* to step in the canoe in order to go to another dwelling place.

## U

*ū* onomatopoeia, reproducing the shouting of a mass of people, 35.  
*uā* exclamation of surprise, dismay.  
*uc' 1* → *ucínak*.  
*uc 2* laughter.  
*uc 3* iguana.  
*ucè* → *ucínak*.  
*uci* → *ucínak*.  
*ucidè* → *ucínak*.  
*ucím* what, which, how, how many, how much; 232-243.  
*ucín* the skin of the iguana.  
*ucínak* where; 232-234.  
*ucíp* → *ucím*.  
*ucucumesawer* to rage all night long [storm].  
*úcucúmesawérmár* < *ucucumesawer*, 136.  
*Ufences* personal name [< Juventius].  
*ufit* name of a river.  
*ufú* kind of shell-fish.  
*Ufún* formerly a *jew* in the village of *Jepém*.  
*um* to cause to go aboard.  
*umú* name of a feast.  
*úmu* the crown of a palm tree.  
*umúic* pools left behind in the beds of small streams when the tide ebbs.  
*unúnakap* full.  
*un* → *in* 1, 2.  
*úna* < *un*, 34.  
*Unír* name of a river [Lorentz river].  
*uój* exclamation of surprise.  
*upís* → *pís*.  
*upú* coconut shell.  
*ur* → *or*.  
*urumnem, wu* — to topple a palm tree over in order to get the edible top.

*urumni, ci* — to return with many people to the canoes.  
*urumtewer, wu* — to get the edible top out of a palm tree.  
*ururu* . . . 1 interjection indicating the action of something slipping into something else, or people following one after another.  
*ururu 2* (339) all to return, one after another [?].  
*usawíc* banana.  
*usí, amás* — temporary dwelling place near the sago gardens. where one stays when large amounts of sago have to be scraped out e.g. for a feast; 'camp'.  
*úsi* a tree fallen over a river.  
*usir* ray.  
*úsis* → *útsis*.  
*Uswut* personal name.  
*ut, awerit* — very large.  
*ut* → *uc 2*.  
*útsis* [sardonic] smile; → *fajap*.  
*uw* to go aboard.  
*uwú* exclamation: oh!  
*úwku* crochet needle made of a pig's heel-bone.  
*Uwús* name of a village.  
*Uwúsakap* personal name.  
*Uwúsopís* people from the village of *Uwús*.

## W

*wa 1* interjection: hey! ow!  
*wa 2* brother-in-law [s.].  
*wa 3* forest; *os* — the trees, with exception of palm trees. → *mu*.  
*wa 4, ci* — half-circle of canoes, (271, note).  
*wa 5* shining, glistening.  
*wac* cassowary's claw.  
*wací, mi* — the lifting of the head as a sign of assent, → *emtam*.  
*wajimtiw* to cause to fall out of.  
*wajír* the central fireplace in the *jew*.  
*wajotep* to go to the farthest point up-river with.  
*wáka* interjection, indicating a scarcely noticeable movement [e.g. with the hand].  
*wakam* to use up.

*wakamkurum* to use up all.  
*waksés* < *akse*, 176.  
*wap* = *awáp*, < *ap* 2; 176, 178.  
*wapés* = *awapés*, < *ap* 2; 176, 178.  
*wápu*, *wápu mu* pool of rain-water.  
*wardák* without pain, feeling fine [rowing] with ease.  
*warát* kind of bird.  
*warimomas* to go away with a number of people in one canoe.  
*wárimomásér* < *warimomas*, 155.  
*warimtemtes* to grow right up at night [a tree].  
*wáritemesmép* < *waritemtes*, 152.  
*Warsé* personal name.  
*wasé* red ochre.  
*waséa* < *wasé*, 34.  
*waséc* middle part, room in between.  
*wasén* the landside, the landward side, the bank of the river, the forest.  
*wasér* young sago palm, older than a *wu mikín*, younger than a *cópón*.  
*Wasí* personal name.  
*watér* kind of fish.  
*Watér* personal name.  
*wè* exclamation of distress: woe! oh!  
*wémpa* small stone axe.  
*wes* 'sons': the *wes* appear to be the male members of a family [the head of the family, his brothers, sons, brothers' sons and sons' sons] who together form the crew of one or more *jicop cí*.  
*wet* namesake.  
*wétakap* < *wet*, 195.  
*wétsimit* < *wet*, 195.  
*wi* to throw, to shoot [arrows].  
*wianém* < *wi*, 155.  
*wiasam* to throw away; quickly to put into the water [a canoe] (343).  
*wiásmac* < *wiasam*, 165.  
*wic* father; 193, note.  
*wies* quickly to come towards.  
*wiesaró* < *wies*, 165.  
*wimá* < *wi*, 144.  
*win* all, one by one; 249.  
*winem* to shoot [arrows] downwards.  
*winémamí* < *winem*, 144.  
*winímop* < *iwini*, 152.  
*wiokopom* (343) to tell [news] to [?].  
*wiomatawer* to run away with, to kidnap.  
*wis* sisters-in-law [pl.].  
*witép* quickly to go upriver.

*wu* wave.  
*Wok* personal name.  
*Wóksimit* < *Wok*, 195.  
*womák* louse.  
*Wominén* personal name.  
*Wominéna* < *Wominén*, 34.  
*wopís* people belonging to the same category, e.g. of the same age, of the same household, of the same *jevw*.  
*wor*, *nucúr* — very large, huge.  
*worém* large lump of sago.  
*worworwor*... interjection, indicating the steady growing of a tree.  
*worwós* marriage, effected by the girl's eloping to the house where lives the boy she wants to marry.  
*wos* 1 a clearing in the forest.  
*wos* 2 mother; 193, note.  
*wow* 1 exclamation: be careful! [threatening].  
*wow* 2 today.  
*wow* 3 [carved] designs, writing, letters.  
*wowè* (300) < *wow* 2; 33.  
*wowíc* the middle of something.  
*wowít* → *wowíc*.  
*wu* 1 interjection: hey!  
*wu* 2, *cópo* — with a splash, thud.  
*wu* 3 the edible top of the sago- and the nipa palm.  
*wu* 4 sago-leaf bag; bundle wrapped in sago leaves.  
*wu* 5 watercourse forming a connection between two rivers.  
*wu* 6 rustling, waving [of leaves] → *e* 4; waggling [of fins] → *nijise*.  
*wu* 7 (308), *manmák cenám* — with shining eyes.  
*wu* 8, *wu* — to make a sago-leaf bag.  
*wua* interjection: ah! *wú ja* — hey there!  
*wuamis* all to depart by canoe.  
*wuamísmes* < *wuamis*, 144.  
*wuamse* [?] (344) to be on the river [many canoes].  
*wuamses* to go out at night with many people.  
*wuán* [the sound of] rustling → *wu* 6.  
*wuápmor*, *wuapom*, 155.  
*wuapom* to bury.  
*wumnem* 1 to pour [water] out over.  
*wumnem* 2 to wrench off downwards [bark].  
*wumnem* 3 to topple [a tree] over.

*wumomas* to carry away many people  
[subject: water].

*wun* 1 other, others; some, part of; *wún*  
*ow* other people, some people, part of  
the people.

*wun* 2 (315) moreover.

*wunám* once more, again; and then,  
after that.

*wuni* all to go to the river.

*wuniá* < *wuni*, 109.

*wur* thunder.

*wut* large, big; many, much; very;  
*awút nak* — enormous; → *opák*.

*wutiwpor, wu* — to make bags of sago  
leaves.

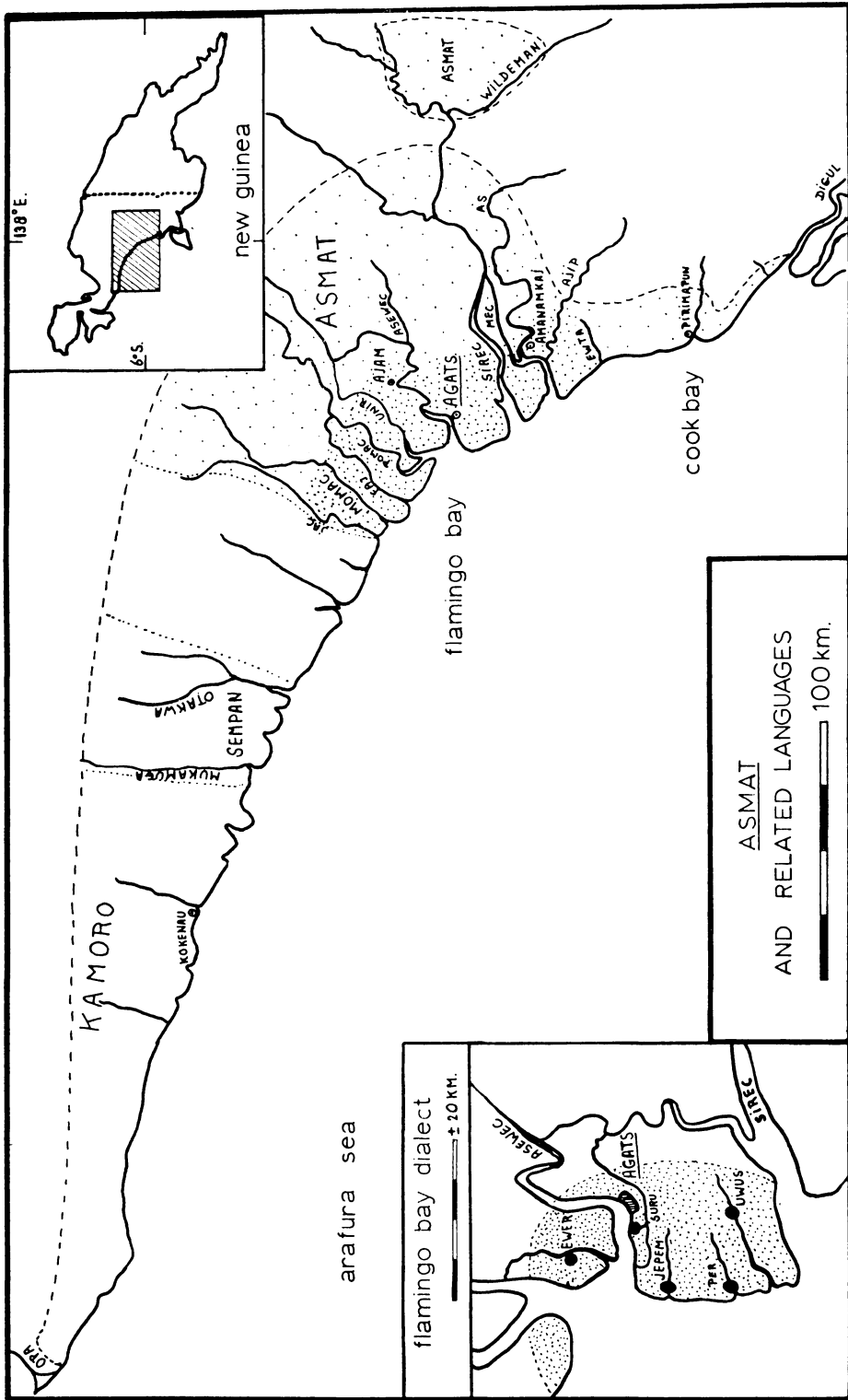
*wútiwporá* < *wutiwpor*, 109.

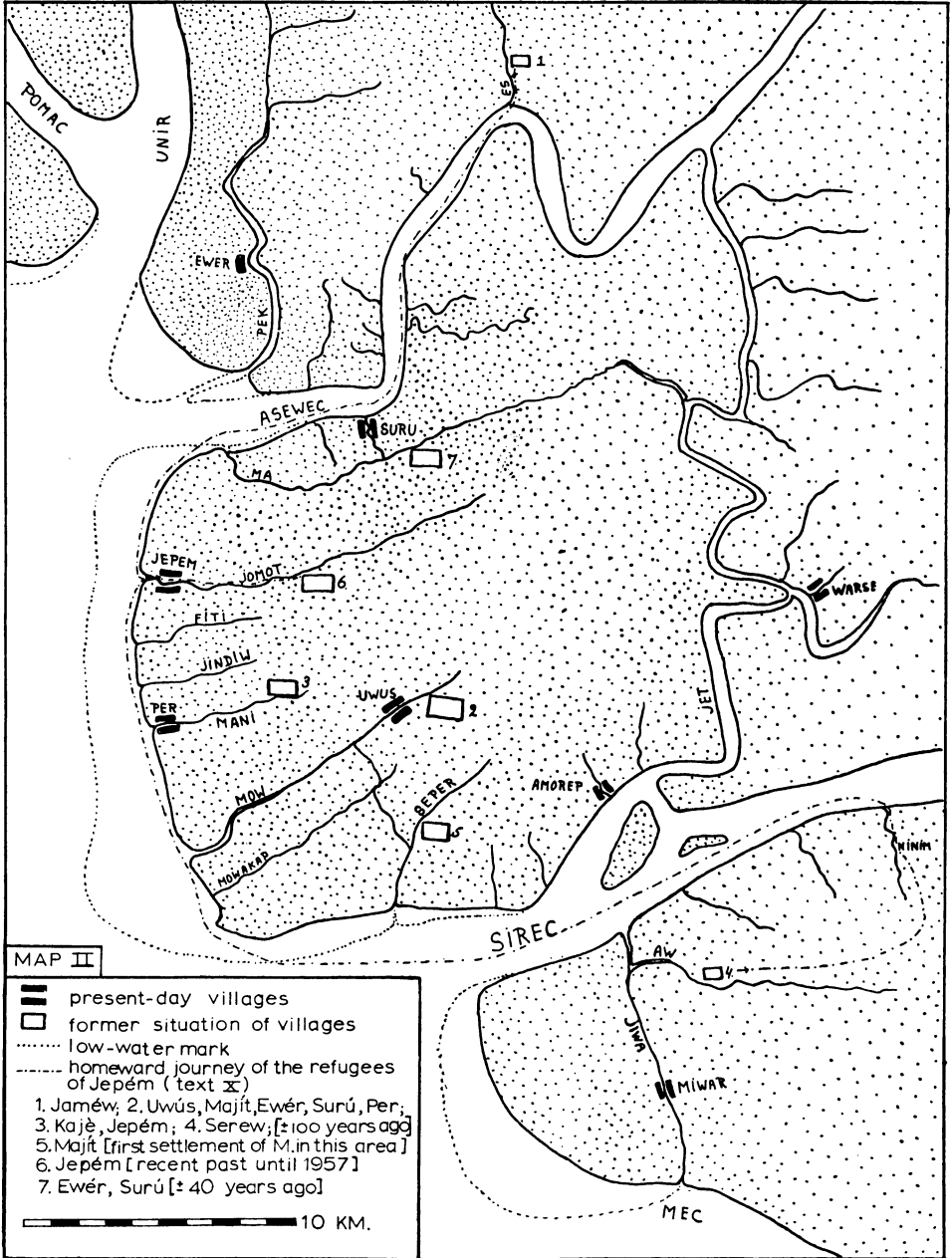
*wutotor, wu* — each person to make for  
himself sago-leaf bags.

*wúwu* → *wu* 4.

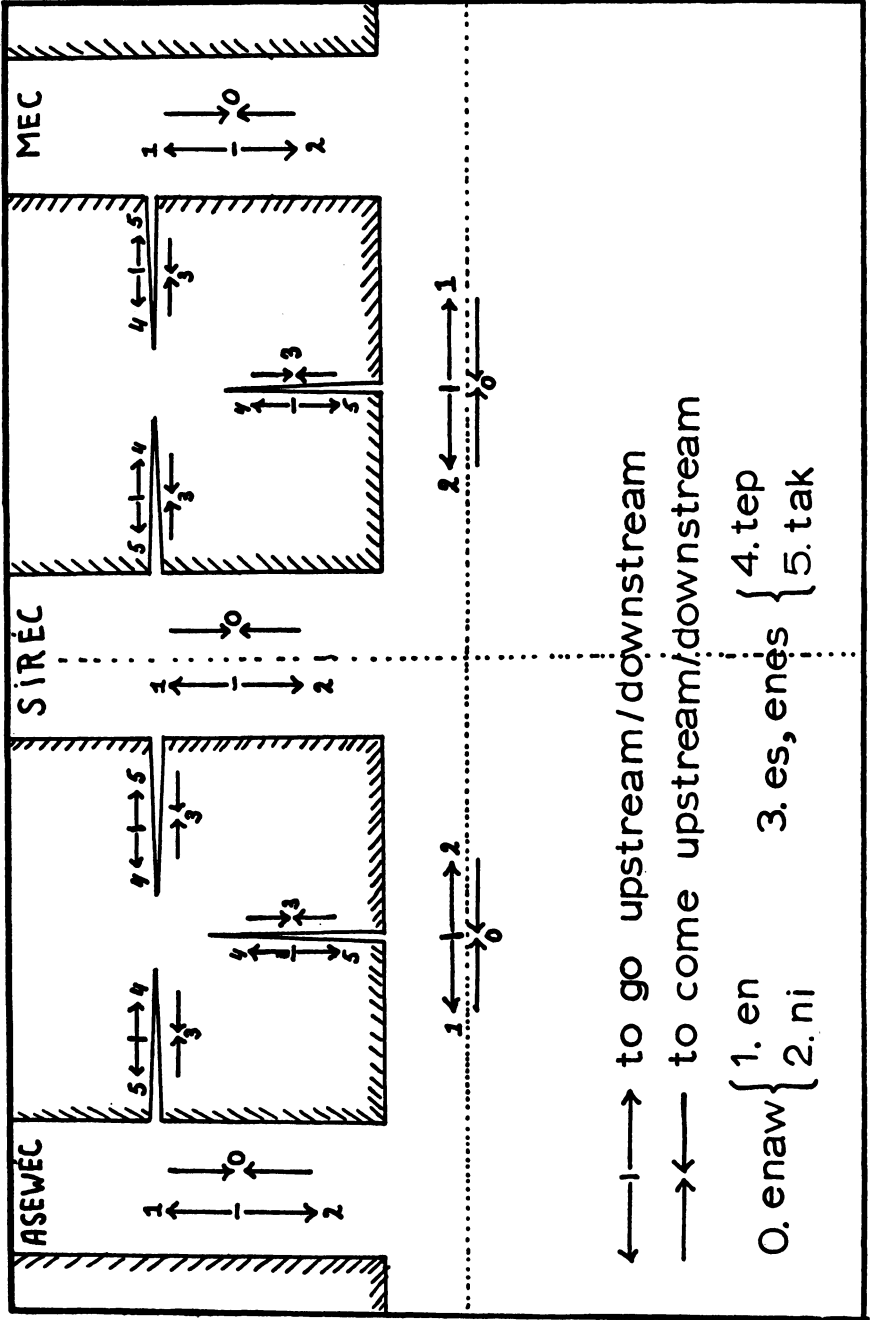
*wuwumes, jis* — to light a fire at night.

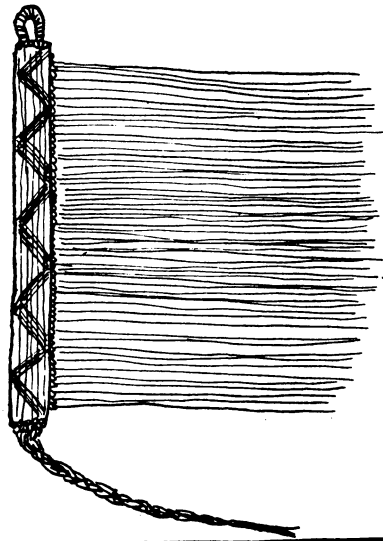
MAP I



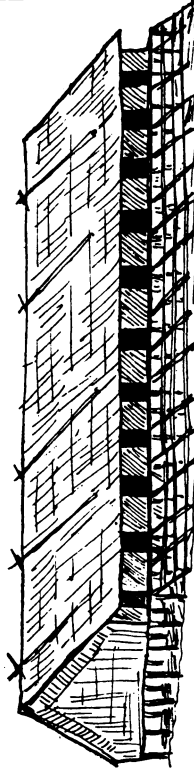
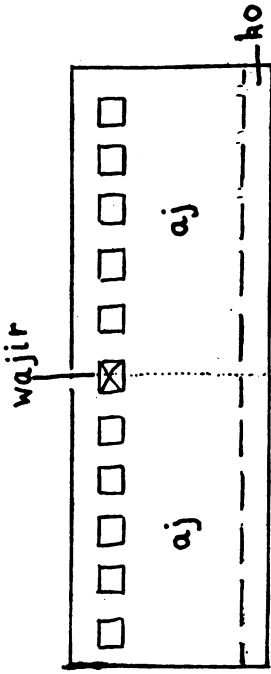
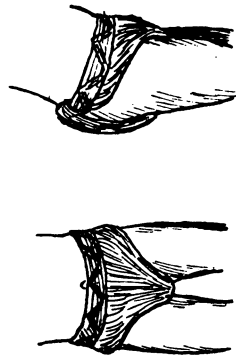


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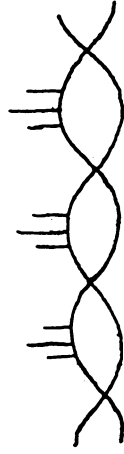




AWÉR

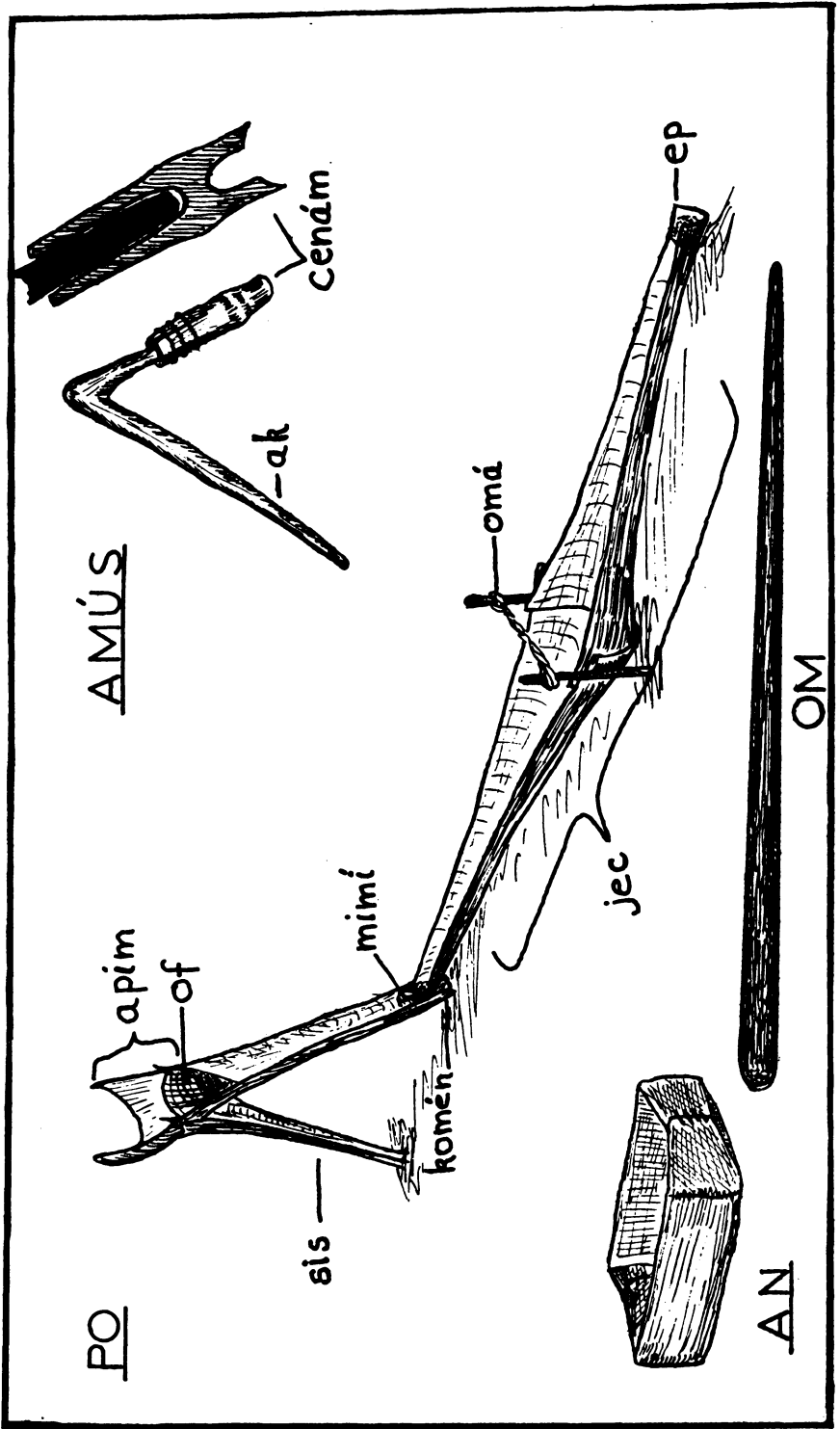


JEW

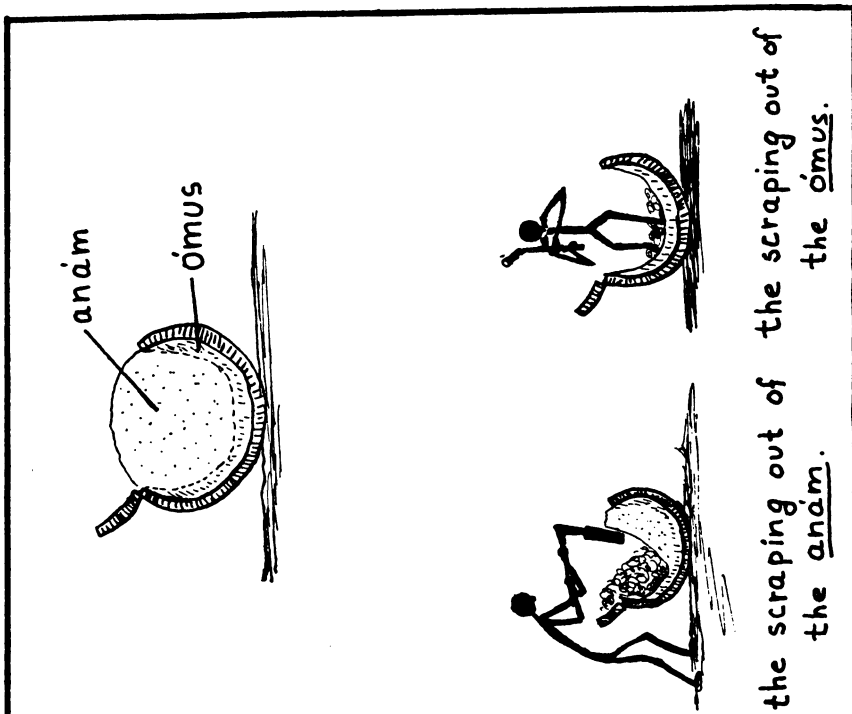
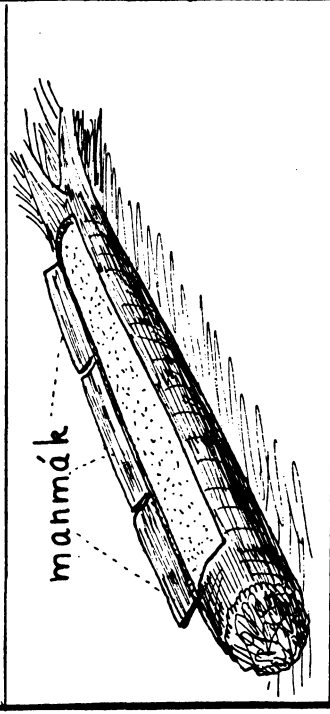
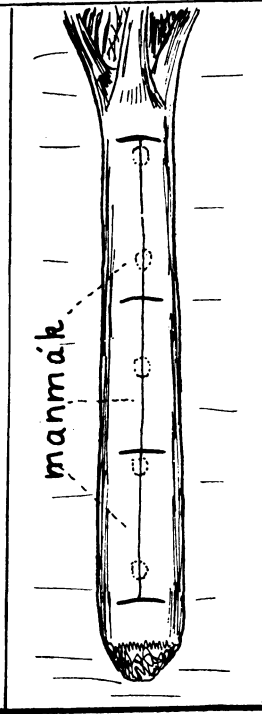
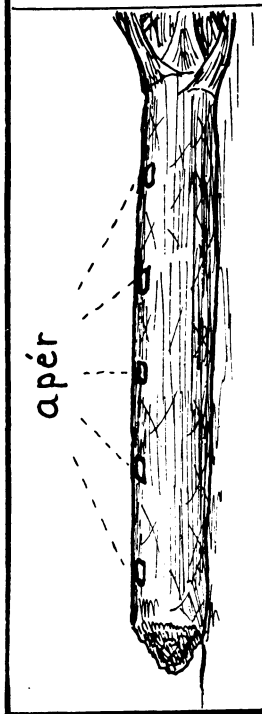


JÍRIK design

SKETCHES III







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VERHANDELINGEN

29. *E. M. Uhlenbeck*, met medew. van *J. Soegiarto*, Aantekeningen bij Tjan Tjoe Siem's vertaling van de lakon Kurupati rabi. 1960.
30. *E. M. Uhlenbeck*, Het systeem der Javaanse pronomina. 1960.
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38. *Tapan Raychaudhuri*, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605—1960. 1962.
39. *H. J. de Graaf*, De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, Vorst van Mataram, 1646—1677. II Opstanding en ondergang. 1962.
40. *C. Skinner*, Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War) by Entji' Amin. 1963.
41. *Silvia W. de Groot*, Van isolatie naar integratie. De Surinaamse Marrons en hun afstammelingen. Officiële documenten betreffende de Djoeka's (1845—1863). 1963.
42. *P. Drabbe*, Drie Asmat-dialecten. 1963.
43. *S. J. Esser*, De Uma-taal (West Midden-Celebes). Spraakkunstschilden en teksten. 1964.
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45. *H. van der Veen*, The Merok Feast of the Sa'dan Toradja. 1965.

Standard list:	deviations												
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20/21	22	24
I zero	—	—	(a/ar)	—	(a/ar)	—	(o/er/er/r)	—	—	—	—	—	—
-n after V or r	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
II -en word-finally, after C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	(an)	—
-ŕn medially, after C ≠ r	—	—	—	—	—	—	(n)	—	—	—	?	—	—
III -ow	(zero)	—	(araw/eraw)	—	(araw/eraw)	—	(araw/eraw raw)	—	—	—	—	(raw)	—
1. -i	—	j, zero	(ij/ü)	(e)	(üj/ü)	(o)	(j/ü/üj/zero)	(o)	—	(o)	(o)	zero/üj/ü	—
2. -em, after w: -om	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(m)	—
3. zero	(aw)	—	—	(e)	—	(e)	—	(e)	—	(e)	(e)	(r)	—
4. -om	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(um)	—
5. -okom, after r, w: -kom	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(kum)	—
6. -es, after p, w: -os; zero	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(s)	—

When the deviating suffix is placed between brackets, this means that it alternates with, or is in complementary distribution to, the suffix given in the standard list.