A KEWA DICTIONARY

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY GRAMMatical AND
ANTHROPOLOGICAL MATERIALS

by

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assisted by Yapua Kirapeasi

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DEDICATION

To the Kewa people, with the hope that theirs will always be the adaa agaa, or 'big (=important) talk (=language)'. 
PREFACE

Language work is never complete, and ours is no exception. The deficiencies of this present study are apparent and although we will not elaborate upon them, we can mention some which are obvious: (1) accurate taxonomical designations for Kewa flora and fauna are often lacking, and what has been included is sometimes brief due to our poor collection. The binominal nomenclature that is given has been supplied by courtesy of the Department of Forests and Botanical Gardens in Lae, Morobe Province; (2) the technical presentation will make it difficult for many of the Kewa people to benefit from this volume. However, especially designed materials are already available, including introductory readers, a flora and fauna book, a booklet of legends, a common usage dictionary, and a culture book. These and other items are listed in the annotated Kewa bibliography (Part V, Section 13); (3) the anthropological notes are occasionally inconsistent because we have written them over a considerable period of time from two separate dialect areas; (4) to fully understand the grammar it is necessary to refer to chapters which are published elsewhere (Franklin 1971).

Despite these and other shortcomings we have decided to publish the materials in their present form, freely acknowledging that the dictionary is only a 'first' step in Kewa lexicography.

We should like to express our appreciation to several sources, as well as individuals: to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. for assigning us to work on the Kewa project; to the Australian National University for academic support during one stage (1967-69) of the study; to our friends in the villages of Muli and Usa who patiently taught us their language; to Judy Parlier and Pat Brien of S.I.L. who assisted in filing and typing much of the data in Parts II and III; to Christian friends who have helped us regularly during our work in linguistics, literacy, and translation; and, finally to the government
of Papua New Guinea for allowing us to reside in our adopted homeland - where our two children were born and have grown up.

One person above all deserves special mention for his work in the West Kewa project: Yapua Kirapeasi assisted with Section 6 in particular, but he is also the co-author of many of the books noted in Section 13.

We sincerely hope that this volume, which makes many of the materials collected and analysed by us over the years readily available, will be added to and revised in the future.

Karl Franklin
Joice Franklin

May 1976
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1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Kewa language is spoken by over 50,000 people living in the Southern Highlands Province. Like many language names, the name Kewa is arbitrary and means 'stranger'. Apparently interpreters in Ialibu first referred to the people toward Kagua by the name Kewa-pi, 'those who are strangers'. The name was recorded in the government census books as Kewabe, a census division for the area to this present day. There are, however, many groups in the Southern and Western Highlands that have been or are called similar names: Kewa, Hewa, Ewa, reflecting the fact that the term is a common cognate in the general area (see, for example, F.E. Williams, 'Report on the Grasslanders: Augu-Wage-Wela'. In Annual Report for Papua, 38-67, 1939).

The Kewa language is bounded by the following unintelligible languages: northwest and west by Mendi (West Central Family); north and northeast by Medlpa (Central Family); east by Wiru (West Central Family); southeast by Polopa (Teberan Family); south by Sau (West Central Family); southwest (perhaps) by Poe (East Kutubuan Family); west by Magi (also called Det; West Central Family). See Map 1.

Geographically, one major river network drains the whole Kewa area. To the northwest, the Mendi River flows south into Kewa territory just south of the town of Mendi and some nine miles later it is joined by the Ankura, a swift-flowing river draining the southern slopes of Mt. Giluwe to the northwest. Three miles later the Ankura is joined from the east by the Kagua which drains the southern slopes of the Vakari range and the Kagua valley. This river (now called the Ankura) also drains the Lai and Nembi to the west before it becomes the Erave. The Sugu River drains the valley by the same name and originates some twenty miles east before joining the Erave River. The Erave extends southeast, south and east from another 125 miles or so before it becomes the Purari and flows into the Gulf.

---

1Some of the material and all of the Maps in this section are reprinted from Pacific Linguistics B-10 (The Dialects of Kewa, 1968), by permission.

2I would now consider Det a dialect of Mendi. See 4.2.1., note 1.
Map 1
KEWA LANGUAGE AREA
The only other river complex of major consequence which is envi­
ronmental to the Kewa area is the Iaro and its tributaries, originating
in the Giluwe slopes of the Ialibub basin, running south and then east,
and eventually joining the Erave.

The Kewa are part of the Highland community which extends from the
Strickland divide at the west to the Kalnantu shelf at the east. The
altitude of the area varies from 6,300' around Ialibub to 3,500' in the
Erave valley and the land includes swamp areas around Ialibub and Kuare,
short grasslands in the Kagua and Sugu valleys, as well as limestone
ridges in the Southern areas.

Malaria has probably restricted population south of the Sugu River
area and southeast, but it would seem to be limited to that area and
farther south. Malaria is, in fact, often called Pole Yanya, i.e., a
sickness from Erave (Pole), and this fear of sickness has undoubtedly
inhibited more migration into the area.

The East Dialect is bounded north by the base of Mt. Giluwe (14,000'
and extending across the western end of the Ialibub basin), east by the
wooded slopes of Mt. Ialibub (11,000') and the Poru Plateau (where the
Wiru generally live east of the Wiwi River), south by the Kuare River
and swamp area, as well as the ridges north of the headwaters of the
Sugu River, and west by the vast wooded Vakari range and the range
between the Kagua and Sugu valleys.

The South Dialect extends north from Erave across the Erave valley
and river to the Kuare area, southeast into dense bushland (mainly the
Southeastern Sub-dialect), and west to the headwaters of the Sugu River.

Although the West Dialect has a natural river boundary to its west
and south, beginning near Mendi and extending beyond the junction of
the Sugu River, the Northwestern Sub-dialect straddles the area west­
ward for an undetermined distance. This sub-dialect shows considerable
influence from the adjacent Mendi language. It goes as far south as
the Sugu River, always remaining close to the Mendi-Ankura Rivers. It
also follows the Ankura River east for a distance but generally is north
of this same river.

Because an original diagnostic list was designed primarily to elicit
differences, it was not the sole basis used to establish percentage
relationships between dialects. In addition, a lexicon of stems col­
lected from a central village in each major dialect area (East, Muli;
South, Erave; West, Usa) have been compared. The tabulations are set
forth in Tables 1 and 2. In Table 2 words which were found in one
dialect but not the other were mainly names for local varieties of
flora and fauna. All figures are rounded to the nearest percent.
TABLE 1

DIALECT RELATIONSHIPS
(Diagnostic List)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E - S</th>
<th>E - W</th>
<th>W - S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different
Exactly Same
Accounted by Rules

TABLE 2

DIALECT RELATIONSHIPS
(Lexicon)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E - S</th>
<th>E - W</th>
<th>W - S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>1475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words Recorded
East only
South only
West only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E - S</th>
<th>E - W</th>
<th>W - S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>220 (16%)</td>
<td>193 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>835</td>
<td>710 (50%)</td>
<td>520 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>486 (34%)</td>
<td>512 (43%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words Compared
Different
Exactly Same
Accounted by Rules

88% 84% 85% % of Sameness

A few observations are pertinent to Table 2:

(1) The percentage of words which do not require rule changes for mapping between dialects will undoubtedly affect the degree of mutual intelligibility. Between the West and South 42% of the words are exactly the same, while between the East and South the figure climbs to 66%. As this implies, intelligibility is (impressionistically) greater between the East and South. Our impressions on degree of closeness of mutual intelligibility between dialects will have to be formally tested and proven.

(2) As a corollary, the number and kind of rules necessary to map words from one dialect to the next will also affect intelligibility.
Thus, for example, it is not only important that between the East and West 34% of the words require rule mapping but it is also important that often more than one rule is required. Although lindi (E, S) "leech; story" is an obvious cognate with iti in the West following two regular sound changes (l > Ø; nd > t), the latter is infrequent enough so that native speakers classify them (intuitively) as different words.

(3) It would also be possible to assign phonemes in cognates numerical values according to dimensions of rank, and sum these as a means of determining degrees of phonological difference. This has been done in the Eastern Highlands but the results have shown no more or no less than other statistical comparative methods.

(4) Regardless of the criteria used, the evidence points to three main dialects. The East and South are the more closely related and these in turn are similarly related to the West.

The Kewa language is closely related to the following languages: Mendi (dialects), Sau (or Samberigi), Huli, Ena and Ipili. It is more distantly related to Wiru near Pangia and Fasu, south of Lake Kutubu. Additional notes on the relationship of Kewa and Mendi are given in Section 4.2. of this dictionary.

The following maps illustrate the main dialect boundaries of the Kewa language. Numbers on the isogloss boundaries of each map refer to the following (only the base dialect form, from the E, is given):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word (Base Form)</th>
<th>Word (Base Form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>kai 'banana'</td>
<td>51 lega 'embers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>wara 'palm of hand'</td>
<td>54 eda 'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>weno 'forehead'</td>
<td>72 nogo 'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>kuba 'star'</td>
<td>73 agaa 'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>kura 'skirt'</td>
<td>74 paga 'to hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>kamaa 'outside'</td>
<td>76 roga 'to bind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>kira 'to cook'</td>
<td>79 pu-ka 'I went'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>kana 'stone'</td>
<td>80 lu-ka 'I hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>kope 'vine'</td>
<td>81 lu-ka 'I spoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>wali 'sugarcane'</td>
<td>83 werepe 'later'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>ali 'man'</td>
<td>85 were 'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>lema 'lice'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 2
PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES SHOWING EAST-WEST BOUNDARY
Map 3

PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES SHOWING EAST-SOUTH BOUNDARY
Map 4

ISOGLOSSES DEPICTING STEM + REMOTE PAST SUFFIX
LEXICAL ISOGLOSSES REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EAST
Map 6

LEXICAL ISOGLOSSES REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST
Map 7

LEXICAL ISOGLOSSES REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WEST AND NORTHWEST
Map 8

ISOGLOSSES DEPICTING SUGU-SUMI AREA; EAST DIPPING INTO SOUTH
Map 9
BLOOD
Map 10

NOSE
2. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

West Kewa has the following phonemes: p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, l, r, s, w, y, a, e, i, o, and u. This inventory is two less than E. Kewa, which also has the palatals /tʃ/ and /ŋ/ (see Section 2.1).

The symbols employed here have traditional articulatory values except that /tʃ/ and /ŋ/ are fronted, /b/ and /d/ are prenasalised, /l/ and /r/ are flaps, and /g/ is generally voiceless and backed.

Any consonant or vowel may occur as a syllable onset, but only a vowel occurs as syllable terminus: pa 'to do'; ta 'to hit'; ki 'hand'; bi 'name'; di 'a count'; gi 'to give (to 1st or 2nd person)'; mu 'sand'; nu 'net bag'; lo 'stomach'; ro 'bridge'; saa 'we (two)'; waa 'sugar cane'; yaa 'bird'; aa 'man'; e 'garden'; i excrement'; o 'scab'; u 'sleep'.

Syllable nuclei have a contrastive peak of tone which is always simple, even in combination with other vowels: aaŋ 'banana'.

Any vowel may follow any consonant in a syllable, except for these restrictions: *yi and *wu. In contiguous syllables of a single morpheme the following combinations have not been observed: *CeCi, *CeCu, *CoCi, *CoCu, i.e. low non-central and high vowels do not occur in contiguous syllables separated by a consonant.

There are other phonological features which are important but which have been outlined elsewhere; others are not as well developed. Note especially that: (1) except for /aa/ which is perceptibly slightly longer, long vowels are restricted to monosyllabic rhythm units (Kewa I:26); (2) any rhythm unit (or phonological foot) is a unit of stress placement, each foot having an obligatory stress which is the nucleus (Kewa II:29); (3) a plus juncture accompanies the joining of single foot syllables within a single morpheme.

Word space, for the most part, also represents plus juncture, but grammatical words are determined by criteria other than plus juncture alone. On the phonological realm, clitics in combination with stems or each other, as well as any V which is not /a/ or /aa/ but which is followed by one of them, have audible transition points. Compound stems, on the other hand, have their borders signalled by a change in pitch at the seam, by plus juncture, or by both. Some consideration of plus juncture may be morphophonemic, e.g. /y/ may be interpreted as occurring as a variant of plus juncture in certain positions.

Tone was shown to be phonemic in E. Kewa (Kewa I:27). Tonal patterns in W. Kewa correspond to those in E. Kewa with the exception that a

1Parts of this section are reprinted from Chapter 2 of A Grammar of Kewa, New Guinea (Pacific Linguistics C-16, 1971), by permission. Kewa I refers to the article reprinted in Section 2.1., Kewa II is reprinted in Section 2.2.
low-low pattern occurs on verb stems and must be reconstructed only in the case of nouns. In E. Kewa all basic low-low patterns were reconstructed on the basis of their perturbation pattern.

The four tonal patterns of two syllable verb stems are illustrated in the following frame:1

    (1) ní rúmáwá 'I climbed up it'
    (2) ní kála lawa 'I gave it (to him)'
    (3) ní rubáwá 'I threw it out'
    (4) ní pawa 'I did it'

The isolating frame consists of ni [ -wa 'I [verb]-(I sg Pa)', where the stems are: rúmá 'to climb', kála 'to give (to a 3rd person)', rubá 'to throw out', pa 'to do (something)'. The free pronoun ní 'I' is always basic high tone, but the suffix -wa '(1 sg Pa)' perturbs according to the basic tone of the verb stem. Most verb suffixes follow the tone carried on the final syllable of the stem, but there are other complicating factors, not dealt with here.

The perceptual or auditory height of a tone may be conditioned by stress placement (cf. Kewa I:28). Disregarding levels above the phonemic word, a primary stress occurs on the first syllable of any noun stem of less than four syllables and on the second syllable of any stem over four. Any basic low tone which occurs on such stressed syllables will be heard as mid.

In a given sequence of up to three tones, if the first is high and the third low, the second will most often actualise as mid. In such cases, the tone can be interpreted as high or low only by determining its perturbation effect with adjacent tones.

A non-phonemic up-glide occurs on syllable final lows when such lows are followed by a word with an initial high. This phonetic clue is often useful in establishing the identity of following tones as phonemic highs. In the same manner, a rapid fall on the final syllable of an utterance establishes the final tone as high plus terminal fade (see below on intonation), rather than as the normal very low tone of a terminal fade. In a series of two identical tones on adjacent syllables interrupted by /p/ [p] or /r/ [f], the first tone actualises with a slight rise-fall where the consonant intervenes.

An intonational downdrift actualises any series of basic high or low tones as successively lower in an utterance.

The beginning pitch point of all utterances is most often perceptably mid on the first syllable. This may indicate that the beginning as well as the end syllables of every utterance have tones which can be interpreted as pitch points in an intonational contour, rather than

1High tone is marked with an acute accent, low tone is unmarked.
simply as lexical tones. It, therefore, follows that the basic tones of any stem can only be positively identified in an environment other than pre- or post-silence. For this reason all entries in the dictionary are written without tone. However, the Kewa tone system is dealt with in more detail in Section 2.3.

Aside from tonal contrasts, a backed voiceless velar, and certain fronted alveopalatals, the sounds of Kewa are fairly straightforward. Tone has generally been left unwritten in literacy materials with no apparent difficulty for new readers. One orthography symbol has proved troublesome, and this only in teaching spelling consistently: the digraph aa is used to represent a low central vowel, contrasting with the symbol a, which represents a mid central vowel. The distinction is critical in many cases, including many aspects of verb morphology.

The symbols and an approximation of the sounds to an English speaker are as follows. The letters follow the alphabetic listing in the dictionary.

a, as in butter: (a mid-central vowel occurring most often in an unstressed position only);
aa, as in father: (a low-central vowel, often reflecting the historical loss of an adjacent consonant);
b, as in timber: (a pre-nasalised bilabial stop);
d, as in under: (a pre-nasalised alveolar stop);
e, as in able: (a mid-front vowel);
g, as in goat: (a back velar stop, always pre-nasalised in the South or Northwest dialects);
i, as in even: (a high-front vowel);
k, as in scatter: (a voiceless velar fricative or often, word initially voiced in rapid speech);
l, as in allure: (a voiced flapped lateral, often retroflexed word initially);
m, as in man: (a voiced bilabial nasal);
n, as in not: (a voiced alveolar nasal);
ny, as in onion: (a voiced alveopalatal nasal, occurring only in the East, South and certain areas of the West);
o, as in over: (a mid-back vowel);
p, as in spot: (a voiceless bilabial fricative, usually occurring as an affricate initially and voiced in rapid speech);
r, as in Adam: (a voiced alveolar flap, usually with a voiceless onset as a complex unit);
s, as in ship or sip: (a voiceless alveolar or alveopalatal siblant, often fronted);
t, as in stop: (a voiceless dental stop);
ty, as in caught you said quickly: (a voiceless alveopalatal stop, usually fronted and found only in parts of the East);
u, as in shoe: (a high back vowel);
w, as in west: (a bilabial semi-vowel);
y, as in yes: (an alveopalatal semi-vowel, usually fronted).

Certain dialectal differences allow for the use of slightly different alphabets. However, there are still some major differences in writing the Kewa language. These can easily be overcome, but the main differences are as follows:

1. The Asian Pacific Christian Mission (APCM), working in South Kewa, writes the digraph mb and nd medially, but uses b and d initially in an attempt to correspond more closely to English. All others (SIL, Catholic, Lutheran) use b and d in all positions.

2. APCM writes t initially and r medially for the one phoneme. Everyone else writes r in all positions.

3. APCM writes d for the phoneme which is generally realized as a fronted non-aspirated alveolar stop. Everyone else writes this as t.

4. The Lutheran Mission writes a for the low central, somewhat longer vowel, and å for the higher, shorter central vowel. APCM does not write a sixth vowel. SIL and the Catholic Mission write the lower vowel as a digraph åa, although this has not always been consistently or correctly done.

5. The Lutheran Mission puts a hook beneath a vowel if it carries nasalization, and the APCM underlines a vowel for the same reason. In almost every case nasalized vowels can be written with a digraph. See Section 4.1. for comments on nasalisation in dialects.

6. SIL and the APCM have put tone marks on a few words which are members of a pair that are easily misunderstood, even in context. No diacritics are used in this dictionary.

7. APCM and the Catholic Mission often write the vowel glide aː which obligatorily precedes alveopalatals.

Four other items which are relevant to the symbols are:

1. The symbol ş represents either a slightly backed stop (as in most areas), or a prenasalized stop, as in the South, SE and NW of the Kewa

2. The symbol ny is necessary in all except certain areas of W. Kewa. Here ni or in correspond to the same sound in the same environments.
(3) The symbol \(\gamma\) is necessary in certain areas of the East and SE.

(4) All affixes are written with /a/ (examples: na-, ma-, -na, -lep, etc.). The one exception is -daa which literacy experiments show is more helpful to the reader when written /aa/. The reason for writing the prefixes with /a/ though some in fact are /aa/ is because of their affixation to words beginning with /a/: na- + adalo is written naadalo not *naadaalo, *nado, or *na adalo. Additional comments on the orthography symbols /a/ and /aa/ can be found in Section 7.5.

2.1. KEWA I: PHONOLOGICAL ASYMMETRY

2.1.0. This section is a description of the phonology, both segmental and suprasegmental, of the Kewa language. Various areas of the phonemic system show pattern or distributional asymmetry.

There is a dominance of consonants which are articulated in the front of the mouth as against back consonants. This is indicated by the occurrence of twice as many labial and alveolar consonants as palatal and velar consonants. These front consonants also occur five times more frequently than back consonants in text.

There is asymmetrical vowel distribution. Within simple syllable nuclei, the one central vowel /a/ occurs only seven percent less frequently than the front and back vowels combined.

There are five geminate vowel clusters; however four of these occur only in monosyllabic words. The fifth geminate /aa/ has a widespread occurrence in the language.

Palatal consonants show a unique skewing in distribution. Each palatal consonant occurs before central vowels, none occur before front vowels, and there are certain restrictions of occurrence before back vowels.

Tone perturbation limits the sequences of tone which occur. On disyllabic nouns, for example, contextual perturbation eliminates one of the four tone patterns which would be expected to occur.

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1 This paper first appeared in *Anthropological Linguistics* 4/7:29-37, 1962, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

2 Kewa is a member of the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru family; S.A. Wurm and D.C. Laycock refer to Kewa as Kewapi in 'The Question of Language and Dialect in New Guinea', *Oceanica* 32. 128-43 (1961). There are approximately 25,000 speakers divided into three main dialects located in the Southern Highlands of Papua. The dialect analysed is spoken in Muli, a hamlet near the Iaro River between the Ialibu and Kagua patrol posts. Little change has been noted in this dialect which extends from Ialibu to Kagua, a distance of about twenty-eight miles.

The authors prepared this paper following eighteen months fieldwork between October 1958 and August 1961. The main informant was Piku, a youth about eighteen years old.

We are indebted to Kenneth L. Pike, University of Michigan, for suggestions and helpful criticism, particularly in regard to tone. We also acknowledge the editorial assistance of colleagues Harland B. Kerr and Alan Pence, members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
First and third person dual pronouns constitute a unique tone class (based on perturbation of tones) within the total pronoun series. There are no other members (nouns, verbs, etc.) in this class.

It is impossible to predict at this stage what fundamental mechanism is responsible for the asymmetry. No internal conditioning factor can be postulated, but comparative studies may clarify the situation. Initial evidence suggests that other dialects of Kewa may be less asymmetrical.

2.1.1.0. There are fifteen consonants and five vowels in Kewa as shown in Chart 1.

CHART 1 - PHONEMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obstruents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>t[t]</td>
<td>t[ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>g[ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex</td>
<td>b[مب]</td>
<td>d[ند]</td>
<td></td>
<td>k[ŋx]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>p[بپ]</td>
<td>s[س/ئ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>k[خ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td>m[م]</td>
<td>n[ن]</td>
<td>ː[ئ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nasals</td>
<td>w[و]</td>
<td>l[ل]</td>
<td>y[ی]</td>
<td>r[ر]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i[i]</td>
<td></td>
<td>w[u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>e[e][e]</td>
<td>a[ا][ا]</td>
<td>o[o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.1. The labial, alveolar and velar consonant phonemes contrast in identical and analogous environments in the following examples:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p/b:</th>
<th>polo</th>
<th>'house front',</th>
<th>bolo</th>
<th>'mole cricket'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b/w:</td>
<td>baaal</td>
<td>'kinship term',</td>
<td>waal</td>
<td>'sugar cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t/d:</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>'body',</td>
<td>doó</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/g:</td>
<td>kalu</td>
<td>'head',</td>
<td>galu</td>
<td>'clay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t/r:</td>
<td>koráá</td>
<td>'to fasten',</td>
<td>kotáá</td>
<td>'ball'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/t:</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td>'to put',</td>
<td>tá</td>
<td>'he is saying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/b:</td>
<td>lumú</td>
<td>'yaws',</td>
<td>lubú</td>
<td>'mist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/d:</td>
<td>mené</td>
<td>'pig',</td>
<td>medá</td>
<td>'another'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l/r:</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>'small ant',</td>
<td>rolo</td>
<td>'below'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To show the phonemic status of palatal consonants clearly, several examples for each are presented:

- t/t: útáá 'tree type', úttá 'bird type'; tá 'he is saying', tá 'he is hitting'; tápa 'we two are saying'; tápá 'we two are hitting'; kítá 'slurping sound', kíta 'he cooked it'; pota 'tree type', paña 'to sleep'.
- t/y: táá 'he hit it', yaá 'cloud'; paña 'to sleep', páyá 'to sharpen'; pota 'to strike', kóya 'to pour'; kútá 'sweet potato type', kúyá 'erect'.
- n/ñ: nunú 'all of the net bags', nuñu 'to court'; yaná 'dog', yáña 'sickness'; mená 'pig', mená 'he brings' (dep.); kíná 'on the hand', gíña 'he gives' (dep.).
- ñ/y: puñá 'bee', kúyá 'erect'; añá 'cross sibling', ayá 'kinship term'; piña 'he is standing' (dep.), piyá 'to shoot'; kañú 'sweet potato type', payú 'courtship song'.

2.1.1.2. Vowel phonemes are contrasted in identical environments in the following examples:

- i/e: ami 'grease', amé 'kinship'.
- o/u: rabo 'time', rabu 'a game'.
- a/o: paka 'little snake', pako 'tree type'.

2.1.1.3.1. Obstruent simple stops are fortis at alveolar, palatal and velar points of articulation. These simple stops tend to be lengthened in word medial position. The alveolar stop is articulated with the tongue blade in alveolar position, and tongue tip in interdental position. The velar stop fluctuates between voiced and voiceless, and is backed before central and back vowels. Examples: /t/ ta 'he is saying', puti

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1 High tone has been written (''); unmarked syllables are low tone. When single rhythm units are used as examples throughout this section, their basic tonal form is shown; otherwise tonemes are written as they occur in context.

2 In later materials we do not write monosyllabic words with vowel length, except for the low central vowel /aː/. The vowels in these examples were originally written with digraphs because of tone contrasts.
'many', rote 'white shale'; /ɛ/ pɪtə 'tree kangaroo type', poʊə 'to strike', ùtə 'bird type'; /ɡ/ [k/ɡ] tága 'ashes', pugu 'frog type', [k/ɡ] kege 'mud', gi 'give'.

2.1.1.3.2. Obstruent complex\(^1\) stops are prenasalized and occur at labial and alveolar points of articulation. The alveolar complex stop is retroflexed before back vowels or between central vowels. Examples: /b/ [m\textsuperscript{b}] bedo 'to stir up', rubá 'to throw away', bii 'name'; /d/ [n\textsuperscript{d}] medá 'another', kudi 'rain falling', [n\textsuperscript{g}] doó 'sand', ádá 'house'.

2.1.1.3.3. Obstruent fricatives are voiceless and occur at labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation. Voiced allophones occur fluctuating with voiceless allophones especially in fast speech. In addition, labial and velar flat fricatives occur as affricatesutterance initially: /p/ [p\textsuperscript{p}] pá 'light', píá 'to be', pee 'container', póó 'wind', puu 'urine'; [p/b] rapáá 'a group', kélépó 'wig', rípú 'ripples'; /k/ [kx] kaa 'smell', kee 'torso', kii 'hand', kóóá 'fence binding', kuni 'edge'; [x/g] ráákí 'caterpillar', péké 'hunched', pikú 'boy's name'.

The alveolar grooved fricative is alveo-palatal before high vowels and fronted elsewhere: /s/ [ʃ/ʃ] papasí 'kinship term', su 'ground'; [s/z] sáá 'we two', sógó 'up over there', wása 'to look for', seagú 'stone axe'.

2.1.1.3.4. Nasal sonorants are voiced and occur at labial, alveolar and palatal points of articulation: /m/ ami 'grease', remo 'spirit', muu 'sand'; /n/ mená 'pig', kuni 'edge', noo 'down there'; /n/kúña 'to rub', kiñu 'chin', yáñá 'sickness', giñā 'he gives' (dep.).

2.1.1.3.5. Non-nasal sonorants are voiced and occur at the same points of articulation as nasal sonorants. Palatal non-nasal sonorant occurs with tongue tip approaching interdental position but primary stricture is tongue mid in palatal position. Examples: /y/ ráyó 'all', kalíyamú 'spider type', yoo 'leaf', yubí 'tree type'; /w/ pótáwe 'bush type', réréwáré 'round', diñwá 'tree type', wiñá 'woman', weno 'forehead'.

Two flaps occur at the alveolar position: /l/ [l] occurs before front or central vowels: kuli 'bone', polé 'graze type', la 'to say'; [l] occurs elsewhere: polo 'house front', galú 'clay', loo 'stomach'; /ɾ/ [ɾ] occurs utterance initially before front and central vowels: riki 'knife', re 'stump', raa 'wild'; [ɾ] occurs utterance initial elsewhere:

\(^1\)The complex unit consonant interpretation is used in this paper because of the total pattern pressure (no-non-suspect contoid clusters occur).
roo 'bridge', ruu 'shade'; [3]
or between a high front and low open central vocoid: iri 'hair', kira 'to cook', pira 'to sit'; [4] occurs word and utterance medially elsewhere: kuri 'frog', pore 'to be ripe', póra 'road'.

2.1.1.4. The five\(^1\) voiced oral vowels are: /i/ high close front unrounded vocoid: kina 'on the hand', ipi 'you two', raf 'axe'; /e/ [ε] mid open front unrounded vocoid occurs before prenasalized stops: kebo 'star', keda 'heavy'; [e] the close allophone occurs elsewhere: kege 'tongue', pea 'to make', ele 'pay'; /a/ [ʌ] mid open central unrounded vocoid occurs following the velar stop: taga 'ashes', galu 'clay'; [a] low open central unrounded vocoid occurs elsewhere: pa 'just', yása 'mushroom', álí 'man'; [a]\(^2\) occurs before palatal consonants: nátape 'don't hit it', yáña 'sickness', ayá 'kinship'; /o/ mid close back rounded vocoid: moto 'stomach', one 'sweet potato type', kola 'beads'; /u/ high close back rounded vocoid: lúbí 'moss', útá 'bird type', wirú 'tree type'.

2.1.1.5. A Kewa syllable, a pulse within a rhythm unit, is an open unit\(^3\) and may be simple or complex. A geminate cluster is one pulse, and therefore constitutes a syllable nucleus: tó.aa 'I will say', nuú 'string bag'. Geminate syllable nuclei have a smooth transition which contrasts with the two distinct pulses heard in pa all 'just a man'.\(^5\) A simple nucleus, V, has an optional consonant onset: po. pó 'steam',

\(^1\)Clusters of two or three vocoïds occur in Kewa. On the basis of distribution these clusters have been interpreted as separate segments. Non-suspect sequences of vocoid occur; other clusters of suspect sequences occur in reverse sequence.

\(^2\)Contrast between /a/ and /ai/ is neutralized before palatal consonants but maintained in other environments as follows: ráfbálo 'Jew's harp', raba 'assistance'; wáipi 'discourse', wápiráá 'grass type'; rása 'to lift out', yása 'mushroom'; kímá 'flying fox', yáma 'on the knife'; rainá 'on the knife', kaná 'stone'.

\(^3\)Phonetic syllables differ from phonemic syllables when a nucleus is followed by a pre-nasalized stop or phonetically long stop. The phonetic syllable is closed by the nasalization or first segment of the long stop: [pán.dá] /pá.dá/ 'room'; [tág.gá] 'room'; [tá.gá] /tá.gá/ 'ashes'. The symbol (.) indicates syllable division word medially.

Two other examples of phonetically closed syllables also occur: es, a form used when calling pigs, and -is, a fluctuant form of the diminutive suffix -si.

\(^4\)Geminate clusters are complex nuclei. Though they may occur with differing tones, diverse clusters have been interpreted as complex nuclei also. Frank E. Robbins shows evidence of complex syllable peaks composed of one of three diverse vowels with differing tones in 'Quiotepec Chinantec Syllable Patterning', IJAL 27:237-50 (1961).

\(^5\)Geminate clusters may occur across morpheme boundaries: gú.sa-a 'he cooked it'.
A complex nucleus, \textit{VV}, has an optional consonant onset and a peak of two vowels: \textit{ao.ba 'to continue standing'}, \textit{sea.gu 'stone axe'}, \textit{noî 'needle'}. Single vowels and clusters occur syllable initial, medial, and final contiguous to any consonant, except for the following restrictions contiguous to palatals: /\textit{ĩ}/ occurs only before /\textit{a}/; /\textit{ĩ}/ occurs only before /\textit{a}/ and /\textit{u}/; and /\textit{ũ}/ occurs before /\textit{a}/, /\textit{u}/ and /\textit{o}/. In addition, /\textit{ĩ}/ is restricted to word medial position.

All possible combinations of different as well as identical vowels occur as clusters within the syllable. In examples of clusters other than \textit{aV} or \textit{Va}, a central vocoid always occurs between the two vowels and has been interpreted as transitional.\textsuperscript{1} Sequences of up to three vowels occur initial, medial or final in a rhythm unit.

Long vowels (except /\textit{a}/) are restricted to monosyllabic rhythm units. Since they may occur with diverse tones in this position, they are analyzed as geminate clusters.\textsuperscript{2}

Stems may have one to four syllables. Verb stems may have a maximum of four syllables, and all other word class stems a maximum of three syllables.

\textbf{2.1.1.6.} A frequency count of phonemes was taken in a study of twenty short texts comprising over 1,100 words. Labial and alveolar consonants occur five times more frequently than palatal and velar consonants. Vowels occur over one percent more frequently than consonants. Simple syllable nuclei occur thirty-five percent more frequently than complex syllable nuclei. The central vowel occurs almost one and one-half times more than the combined frequency of the two front vowels and almost two and one-half times more than the combined frequency of the two back vowels. Diverse clusters show a frequency of 1.16 percent more than geminate clusters.

Obstruents occur sixteen percent more frequently than sonorants. Fricatives show fifty percent more frequency than stops; flaps occur 1.04 percent more frequently than nasals, and twenty-eight percent more often than semi-vowels.

\textsuperscript{1}This interpretation is substantiated because an informant never interpolates a transitional vocoid between sequences across rhythm unit boundaries, e.g.: [. . . o i . . .] po ipula 'the wind is coming'. This diverse cluster restriction lends further evidence to the interpretation of diverse clusters as single syllable nuclei.

\textsuperscript{2}While the high-low tone pattern does not occur on geminate cluster monosyllabics, it does occur on diverse cluster monosyllabics.
2.1.2.0. Kewa suprasegmental features are tone and stress. Only tone is phonemic.

2.1.2.1.0. There are two contrastive tonemes in Kewa, high tone and low tone. This contrast was determined by substituting a substantial list of words within fixed segmental frames. With two phonemic tones four tone patterns should be observed on disyllabic words. In the substitution frame abi . . . -pe only three patterns were observed; no low-low sequences occurred. A similar situation occurred with all other frames.

The post-frame segment -pe was consistently low tone following the disyllabic sequences high-high and low-high. Following some high-low sequences -pe remained low, but following other high-low sequences -pe perturbed to high. Since these disyllabic high-low sequences which perturbed -pe to high were invariably low-low following a low frame (abala), they were equated with the missing low-low sequence. (With this pre-frame there were again only three contrastive patterns. The low-low sequence was again the only one to perturb the post-frame -pe to high).

Examples: pādā 'room', ābī pādāpe 'now it is like a room'; popō 'steam', ābī popōpe 'now it is like steam'; tāga 'ashes', ābī tāgāpe 'now it is like ashes'; papa kinship term', ābī pāpāpe 'now it is like a relative', abala pāpāpe 'before it was like a relative'.

Similar reconstruction methods have been used for polysyllabics.

2.1.2.1.1.0. General morphophonemic rules\(^1\) govern tonal inter-action. Rules were determined by tonal changes of basic tone\(^2\) patterns.

2.1.2.1.1.1. Tone Class I is a list of grammatical words whose first tone must be the same as the last tone of the preceding word: kāpaa 'egg'; ābī kāpāape 'now it is like an egg', abala kāpāape 'before it was like an egg'.

Three sub-classes occur within tone Class I. Sub-class A comprises words whose only restriction is the above tonal agreement.

Sub-class B is a group of words which additionally condition a high tone on the first syllable of the next word; rogoma 'clay'; sāámé rogoma wārāšēpa 'we two are touching the clay', rogoma āwaa 'he dug up the clay'.

Sub-class C is a group of words whose entire tonal pattern agrees with the last tone of the immediately preceding word. The tonal patterns

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\(^1\)Tone morphophonemics are dealt with in more detail in Section 2.2. and 2.3.

\(^2\)Basic tone forms are determined by tonal pattern following tone Class II words.
of this group are either all-high or all-low but never a combination of both: yáá 'pigeon', póná 'to cut'; sáámé yáá pónálépá 'we two are cutting the pigeon', neme yaa ponalepa 'you are cutting the pigeon'.

2.1.2.1.1.2. Tone Class II is a group of words whose basic tone is unchanging regardless of what tone precedes, and whose final tone is always high: káí 'banana', rubá 'to throw away'; sáámé káí rubálépá 'we two are throwing away bananas', neme káí pónálé 'you are cutting the bananas'.

2.1.2.1.1.3. Tone Class III is restricted to first and third person dual pronouns. When they are preceded by low tone, the pronouns become all high tone; when they are preceded by high tone, these pronouns become all-low tone: sáá 'we two', náá 'they two', abala sááme kápaa waraapa 'yesterday we two touched the egg', ábí naame kápaa waraatepa 'now they two are touching the egg'.

2.1.2.1.2. Tone variants occur in predictable environments. Utterance initial syllables are mid-tone; when this mid-tone occurs before a low tone, it is interpreted as phonemic low tone; when occurring before high tone, it is phonemic high tone.

Basic high tone (Class III pronouns), when perturbed to phonemic low tone, will be phonetic mid-tone between unperturbed high and low tonemes: sáá 'we two', ábí sáá rubálépá 'now we two are throwing it away'. A phonemic high tone between two low tones occurs as mid-tone: ábí pópópé 'now it is like steam'; a phonemic low tone between two high tones occurs as mid-tone: ábí rápálópé 'now it is like an arrow'. The stressed high tone of a verb stem is extra high.

Due to the intonational down-drift of utterances, phonemic high tones utterance final are never as high as utterance initial high tones; utterance final low tones are lower than initial low tonemes.

2.1.2.1.3. Stress is non-phonemic. The most pronounced stress occurs on the first syllable of words, except verbs where it may occur elsewhere. Unaffixed verb roots of tone Class I are stressed on the first syllable: póná 'to cut', wáraa 'to touch', runaa 'to portion out'. Affixation of tone Class I verbs causes stress to shift to final stem syllable. Tone Class I verb stems are stressed on the second syllable: rubá 'to throw away'.

Three features of Kewa phonology produce a minor stress if they occur on unstressed syllables: (1) high tone, (2) fortis consonants and (3) /aa/. 
Thus far stress placement has only been determined for short constructions. No phonological analysis of discourse has been carried out. It is expected that features of high-level phonology will operate in this type of material which do not coincide completely with the features operating in short constructions.

2.2. KEWA II: HIGHER LEVEL PHONOLOGY

2.2.0. In the previous section the segmental and suprasegmental items of Kewa phonology were described. Further research on narrative texts has led to modification of the analysis of length and stress in terms of a hierarchical model of phonology; the phonemes and syllables which form the lower levels of the hierarchy remain substantially the same as presented in Kewa I. This section, therefore, will start with the phonological phrases and sentences, which are the high levels of the hierarchy and are named by analogy to the grammatical units with which they are most frequently associated. Modifications of the former analysis will be shown when pertinent.

2.2.1. The phonological foot (called 'rhythm unit' in 2.1.1.5.) is a unit of stress placement; each foot has one obligatory stress which is the nucleus. Feet may have one to seven syllables.

In polysyllabic feet, any syllable but the final syllable may be stressed. Feet are bounded by pause or by plus juncture; but the juncture is sometimes hard to hear in the absence of redundancies such as those implied in the distribution of allophones of /a/.

The distribution of allophones of /a/ is different from that of any other phoneme, and is closely related to distribution within the foot (see 2.1.0.). [a] occurs in foot initial syllables; slightly lengthened [a·] occurs at the nucleus of the foot (i.e., stressed); [ʌ] fluctuates freely with [a] in foot final syllables; and [ʌ] occurs elsewhere. (Space marks plus juncture; stress is shown by ' before the syllable; high tone is shown by ' on the vowel, low tone is unmarked): nə'maːyʌ 'my father' (foot initial); 'laːmʌ 'tree name' (stressed nucleus); mo'pulumityʌ mo'waːrisi pi 'nʌʌ 'they continued to make the place
Pulumitya', mo'pulumitya mo'waarisipir 'they made the place Pulumitya' (mo'pulumitya fluctuating with mo'pulumitya, foot final); 'lapopar 'inside two', rabo 'when' ([\~] occurs elsewhere).

The geminate cluster /aa/ contrasts with /a/ in all positions. Its vocoidal quality is always low central, and in both stressed and foot final positions it is longer than /a/ would be in the corresponding position.

Length is pertinent to the foot at the stress nucleus; stressed single vowels tend to be slightly longer than their unstressed counterparts. When, however, a single foot makes up a phonological phrase, the length of the stressed syllable of the foot is approximately double that of the unstressed syllables. The rhythmic effect of this extra lengthening is to give a relatively uniform beat from phrase nucleus to phrase nucleus if there is no change of timing between phrases.

Diverse vowel complex syllable nuclei are not perceptibly longer when stressed than when unstressed. Because it is not perceptibly longer when stressed than it is when unstressed, geminate cluster /aa/ likewise functions as a sequence of two vowels.

Length is also pertinent to the foot when a foot is monosyllabic. Kewa I (Section 2.1.1.5.) pointed out that all monosyllabic rhythm units (feet) are non-contrastively long. Monosyllabic feet are also stressed; therefore monosyllabic feet have obligatory stress and length.

If for morphophonemic reasons the morpheme represented by a one-foot syllable is joined to another morpheme within the same foot, the only vowel lengthening involved will be that attributable to position in the foot. A monosyllabic with /aa/ when affixed within the foot, retains its two vowel sequence; but the length of single vowel nuclei is lost if the monosyllabic foot is affixed (: indicates length): 'mo: 'over there', 'monane 'at the side there'; 'kí: 'hand', 'kipara 'inside the hand'. Some grammatically bound (phonologically free) forms are also monosyllabic feet and fulfill the stress-length criteria (+ foot boundary medial in a grammatical word): 'golénálé 'láma+ 'pé: 'the lama (tree) is there'; 'goparánu+ 'rí: 'so everything there'.

The previous two examples also show that phonological and grammatical words do not always coincide. Further examples of this lack of correspondence are: na'máya+na'máya 'my father's father' (two words, two feet); 'goléna+ 'ré 'in that place' (one word, two feet).

Tone was proved to be phonemic (see Section 2.1.2.1.0.). The tone

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*Without a spectrograph it is difficult to determine whether /aa/ is longer than /a/ in monosyllabic feet; however, /aa/ is always perceptibly lower than /a/ and thus distinguishable.*
of syllables does not, however, seem to be pertinent to the higher phonological levels (except when in conjunction with stress, see 2.2.3.). Tone has a low functional load throughout the hierarchy. It is contrastive on stressed syllables ('kálu 'tree name', 'kábe 'wild cane'). It is also contrastive elsewhere in the foot (on the last syllable, ke'pírísa 'it was covered', go'písípi 'they were there'; on the first syllable, compare the preceding form and ná'pírísa 'it wasn't there'). The last syllable of a foot that precedes a monosyllabic foot is always low, regardless of the tone of the monosyllabic foot: reponá wálu mí 'the walu tree'; orágóléna ré 'truly in that place'.

In text material the occurrence of two consecutive monosyllabic feet within a phrase has not been found because of stress restrictions (see 2.2.2).

2.2.2. The phonological phrase has a minimum of one and a maximum of five feet. The phrase stress nucleus is a primary stress that coincides with the first foot stress of the phrase. ¹

Occasionally a shift of primary stress occurs; it represents a morpheme of emphasis (" indicates primary phrase stress, / indicates non-final terminal of a phrase): "odu 'pudínyá 'sálemepara/ 'laake "kalupara 'at that place they have put the pidínyá (tree), also the laake and the kalu'. In this example the first phrase has normal stress on the first foot, but the second phrase has its primary phrase stress on a non-initial foot, emphasizing 'and the kalu tree'.

Phrase terminal margins are of two types: final and non-final. The final terminal usually is accompanied by breath intake; or if breath intake is absent, there is a sharp increase in tempo following the terminal. This sharp increase in tempo is preceded by abrupt cut-off before the terminal. When the terminal of a phonological phrase coincides with the end of a grammatical sentence, the phrase ends on one of the intonational pitches described in Section 2.2.3.2. Non-final terminal is signalled by mid falling (MF) intonational pitch: píma rányameMF/ 'the píma tree'; gopísárabo réMF/ 'when it was there'.

A sharp step-down of pitch signals an initial margin of a non-final phrase within a sentence, and within the non-final phrases there is a narrowing of tone heights. (+ indicates pitch drop): námáya námáya+ mádésáya gomáya nára mádésaa+ goa limi 'the seed of my father's father, this is the man'.

¹Primary stressed low tone is more difficult to hear and thus elusive when listening for phrase nuclei.
Within a phrase there is a restriction that two stresses may not occur consecutively; at least one unstressed syllable must intervene. Thus the head word of a phrase has its normal foot stress, and any other word in the phrase whose stress falls two or more syllables in either direction from the stressed syllable of the head word receives its normal stress. A word in a phrase that would, if unaltered, result in a stress next to a nuclear stress has its stress suppressed: 'sú 'ground', 'yaa 'sky' become 'súyaa 'ground and sky'. Monosyllabic or polysyllabic marginal words also have suppressed stress and are joined to the head word as part of the same phonological foot: 'orá 'true', 'winyáli 'men and women' become orá'winyáli 'true men and women'.

Furthermore, 'go 'there', 'pisa 'he stopped', 'rabore 'when' become go'pisarabo 'ré 'when he stopped there', a shift of stress from the first syllable of the word 'rabo, to the grammatically bound, phonologically free suffix '-re, which is always stressed.

Within a phrase, foot stresses come at regular intervals, largely as a result of the phrase suprafixed pattern that results from the restriction against two stressed syllables coming together. At phrase boundaries, however, there may be a complete change in the timing. The following is a sampling from a text showing change in phrase timing (\textit{S} indicates slow, \textit{M} indicates moderate, \textit{F} indicates fast, \text{_____} indicates phrase, \# indicates phrase final terminal): \text{S}____/ \text{M}____\#\text{S}____/ \\
\text{S}__/ \text{S}____\# \text{M}____\# \text{F}____\# \text{M}____/ \text{F}____/ \text{M}____\# \text{S}____\#

\text{F}____/ \text{M}____\# All possible combinations of phrase timing changes have been observed in texts.

2.2.3. Phonological sentences composed of one to three phonological phrases (two of which would be non-final) have been noted, preceded and followed by terminal margins. It is possible that more than two non-final phrases could occur. Terminal margins have fading intensity and often de-voicing of final vowel; the final two or three syllables have slowing of tempo.

The nucleus of the phonological sentence is the peak of the intonational contour. The peak of the intonational contour, the highest point of the contour, occurs at the first stressed high tone of the sentence; if a sentence contains all low syllables, the peak occurs at the first stress. From the peak of the contour there is an intonational downdrift (see 2.1.2.1.2.) which causes pre-peak high tones to be higher than post-peak high tones, and similarly pre-peak low tones to be higher than post-peak low tones.

When two non-final phrases occur consecutively in a sentence, the phrase non-final intonation is pitched higher (+) or lower (−) according
to its position in the intonational contour: mopúlmitya wááríspirapa re\textsuperscript{MP+} / orágóléna re\textsuperscript{MP-} / kabe abúná nápirísá# 'they made Pulumitya but in that place there wasn't any wild cane'.

There are three different sentence intonational contours which contrast as to end points; in each case the peak is the highest point of the contour. The intonational pitch modified the tones over which the pitches are superimposed.

The statement sentence contour is falling (F) intonational pitch to final low pitch, the lowest pitch of the sentence (º indicates peak): awáºmópópára gopásípí nada\textsuperscript{F}, 'digging there they continued stopping'; yaari ºfíbi yáwó lísípína\textsuperscript{F} 'they named it yawo cassowary'. The statement intonation gives such meanings as fact, permission and repetition.

The attention sentence contour is rising (R) intonational pitch, that is, higher pitch than the statement final contour pitch: kabe abúná náºpirísá\textsuperscript{R} 'there wasn't any wild cane'; paawá wiºpísínda góléna oné\textsuperscript{R} 'slowly they came along that area'. The attention intonation not only gives the meaning of attention to the sentence, but also may show affirmation, exclamation or incredulity. Occasionally when the speaker is very agitated or excited the pitch of the contour may go to high rising.

The question sentence contour is falling rising (FR) giving the meaning of inquiry: ³álí yá\textsuperscript{FR} 'what is it?'; waláºmédá lásíle\textsuperscript{FR} 'shall I say it again?'.

Presence or absence of a pre-peak in the intonational contour is dependent upon peak placement. If a pre-peak occurs there is a gradual increase of loudness to the peak locus before the intonational downdrift (\textless indicates pre-peak crescendo): kabe paalíºpirísa\textsuperscript{F} 'now there is wild cane'; píma ³órányame\textsuperscript{MF} / goú kúpísa\textsuperscript{MF} 'the píma (tree) was there'. If a pre-peak does not occur there is no crescendo before the intonational downdrift: ³góléna re\textsuperscript{MF} / ó repona reponane\textsuperscript{F} 'in that place three o trees were there'; ³neme lalá\textsuperscript{F} 'let me say it'.

When there are non-final phrases within the sentence, the intonation peak will be within the first included phrase. A typical text with phrase and sentence phenomena is as follows (- indicates one foot):
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{2--MF} & / \text{-F#2 MF} / \text{-MF} / \text{-F#2-MF} / \text{-MF} / \text{-R#--2} \\
\text{F#2--MF} & / \text{-F#2--F#2 MF} / \text{-MF} / \text{-F#2 MF} / \text{-MF} / \text{-F#2-F#2 MF} / \\
\text{--F#2 MF} & / \text{-F#2 MF} / \text{-F#} \\
\end{align*}
\]

2.3. FURTHER NOTES ON TONE

In this section notes on the analysis of Kewa tone are followed by sample lists of tone groups from W. Kewa.
In E. Kewa there are shortened forms of first person possessive pronouns: na 'my', naa 'our pl' and saa 'our dl'. These contractives (omitting -na possessive suffix) retain the tones of the full form, i.e. nana 'my', nana 'our pl' and sana 'our dl'. The na is more clearly distinguished before low tone than when a high tone follows.

na pāpā pēē 'my relative'
na pōpō pēē 'my steam'

Tonally then, the pronoun's basic tone remains the same regardless of suffixes which make possession or mark transitive (-me). Examples are:

Class Ia

sāmē pāndá wārāātēpā 'we are touching the room'
āmbī sāmē pāndá wārāātēpā 'now we are touching the room'
āmbālā sāmē pāndá wārāāpā 'yesterday we touched the room'

Class Ib

nēmē pāndá wārāātē 'you are touching the room'
āmbī nēmē pāndá wārāātē 'now you are touching the room'
āmbālā nēmē pāndā wārāāripī 'yesterday you touched the room'

Class IIa

īpūmī pāndá wārāātēpē 'they are touching the room'
āmbī īpūmī pāndā wārāātēpē 'now they are touching the room'
āmbālā īpūmī pāndā wārāāpē 'yesterday they touched the room'

Class IIb

īpūmī pāndā wārāātā 'he is touching the room'
āmbī īpūmī pāndā wārāātā 'now he is touching the room'
āmbālā īpūmī pāndā wārāāripā 'yesterday he touched the room'

Contrasted with the above basic pronoun tones are the following frames employing the pronouns followed by nouns of from one to four syllables. Finally verbs of four basic tone classes conclude the frame:

Class I

Prec. ', Foll. ' sāmē yāā pōnālépā 'we two are cutting the pigeon'
nēmē yāā pōnālē 'you are cutting the pigeon'

Class II

Prec. ', Foll. ' sāmē kāpāā pōnālépā 'we two are cutting the egg'
Only one and two syllable verb stems were of those analyzed. There are only a small number of three syllable stems in Kewa. The verbal tone classes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Basic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>&lt;pona&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>&lt;waraa&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>&lt;rumba&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>&lt;rumaa&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb classes correspond to the same number of noun classes.

The chart below shows verb patterns when preceded by high and low influences. Verbs are the final conclusion of the chain tone reaction. Verb stems, in each case, are the first two tonemes on the chart, with the remainder of the pattern allowing for tense suffixes.

**VERB TONE CLASSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preceding Tone</th>
<th>Class I Basic</th>
<th>Class II Basic</th>
<th>Class III Basic</th>
<th>Class IV Basic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;pona&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;waraa&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;rumba&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;rumaa&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The difference between Class II and Class IV when preceded by low tone is one of stress.

Note how Class III verbs (as Class III nouns) are unchanging regardless of what precedes them. This basic (') seems to be unchanging throughout Kewa. The same holds for Class IIb pronouns and Class I adjectives. Note also that, except for Class III, the first syllable of the verbs agrees with what precedes it.

It should be noted that Class I (``'), the final non-phonemic (') glide (high final syllable plus low statement tone) is barely perceptible because of the lowness of the final pitch.

Verb prefixes take the tone of the preceding syllable. There are only two prefixes in Kewa; they are not obligatory and either one or both may occur. They are: na- 'negative' and ma- 'causative'. The verb stem then acts the same as in the above chart.

Examples are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ipimi pápa námápónálépá</td>
<td>'Don't you two cause the relative to be cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ipimi* kápáá námáwáráálépá</td>
<td>'Don't you two cause the egg to be touched'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>ipimi pândá námárùmbálépá</td>
<td>'Don't you two cause the room to be thrown away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>ipimi pòpò námárùmààlélèpá</td>
<td>'Don't you two cause the steam to be portioned out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Class Ia pronoun with Class II noun

In the verbs, the difficult feature to hear in tone is the perturbed all-low (as Class II and IV). These utterances sound higher, especially stressed, and can only be perceived accurately by comparing with another utterance of all-high tonemes.

Examples of verbs with preceding high and low influences are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>sáámé pòpò pónálépá</td>
<td>'we two are cutting the steam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáámé kápáá pónálépá</td>
<td>'we two are cutting the egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>sáámé pòpò wáráátépá</td>
<td>'we two are touching the steam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáámé kápáá wáráátépá</td>
<td>'we two are touching the egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>sáámé pòpò rùmbálépá</td>
<td>'we two are throwing away the steam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáámé kápáá rùmbálépá</td>
<td>'we two are throwing away the egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>sáámé pòpò rùmáátépá</td>
<td>'we two are portioning out the steam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáámé kápáá rùmáátépá</td>
<td>'we two are portioning out the egg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When adjectives are used either preceding (e.g. size) or following (e.g. number) nouns, the tonal action is the same as has been discussed. There emerges two Classes of adjectives:

Class I: Basic " remains unchanging but final tone influences what follows.

Class II: All others first syllable same as preceding syllable, final syllable influences next contiguous syllable.

Examples of adjectives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I adjectives</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>òrā óké pándá méndà</td>
<td>'really another little room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òrā óké kápara méndà</td>
<td>'really another little egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ámbí órā pénāá pándá lāápó</td>
<td>'now really two new rooms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ámbí órā pénāá kápara lāápó</td>
<td>'now really two new eggs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pénāá ándāá pándá ráfyō</td>
<td>'all the new big rooms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pénāá ándāá kápara ráfyō</td>
<td>'all the new big eggs'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, note that throughout Kewa certain classes of all high, or all low basic tones, can only remain the same or completely metathesize, i.e. they cannot be divided, as certain others can, into diverse sequences of tone.

Class I pronouns  sáámé 'we two'
                 némē  'you sg'

Class I nouns      pándá 'room'
                   rítípú 'pig meat'

Class I verbs      póná 'to put' (with notation that preceding low influence makes final syllable become high on stress)

There are degrees of length in Kewa, all apparently non-phonemic. Non-contrastively, stressed syllables tend to be lengthened slightly. This may cause (a) to sound like a short (a)

In the personal benefactive tense, all verb stems ending in /a/ when adding the -a (benef.) suffix become /aa/. However, verb stems which already have a final /aa/ fuse to remain /aa/, not /*aaa/ when the benefactive suffix is added.

rumbala > rumbaata 'throw away'
waraaatema > waraalame 'touch'

Non-contrastively, emphasis may also cause the speaker to lengthen a syllable or word, such as (when translated), 'I said steam.' If the speaker is talking slowly so the hearer can understand he may lengthen words, stressed syllables especially.
As has been mentioned, all non-monosyllables seem to have a long vowel, viz.

- **ma**: 'neck'
- **gu**: 'dove'
- **re**: 'stump'

But there are other word classes where this is not so:

- **na**: 'negative'
- **sa**: 'to put'
- **na**: 'to eat'

Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and time words are stressed most frequently on the first syllable. In addition there seems to be another stress on second syllable of Classes I and II as was mentioned earlier. This might form a rule of stress on final high syllable and stress on first syllable elsewhere. Examples of some nouns from the various tone classes are:

- **ambí 'pá'ndá pèè**: 'now it's a room' Class I
- **ambí 'kápàà pèè**: 'now it's an egg' Class II
- **ambí 'pò'pò pèè**: 'now it's steam' Class III
- **ambí 'pápà pèè**: 'now it's a relative' Class IV

The following rules seem to apply for the stress patterns in verbs:

1. **Statement Forms**:

   Class I - stress on final syllable unless utterance all-low, then second syllable of stem.
   - **némpándá póñá'ló**: 'you are cutting the room'
   - **ípimi pândá pó'nálépà**: 'you two are cutting the room'

   Class II - stress on penultimate syllable.
   - **némpándá wá'ráátó**: 'you are touching the room'
   - **ípú wáráátípà**: 'he touched it'
   - **ípimi kápáá 'námáwáráá'tépè**: 'you two don't cause the egg to be touched'

   Class III - stress on second syllable stem.
   - **némpándá rú'mbáló**: 'I am throwing away the room'
   - **ípú rú'mbáá**: 'he threw it away'

   Class IV - stress third from last syllable.
   - **némpándá 'rúmáló**: 'I am portioning out the room'
   - **ípimi kápáá námá mú'mátépè**: 'you two don't cause the egg to be portioned out'
2. Command Forms

Class I - stress on first syllable stem said in isolation; otherwise stress on second syllable stem. If prefixed by na- 'negative' the prefix receives the stress.

'pònà  'cut it'
'nàpònà  'don't cut it'
pòn'àlèpà  'you pl cut it'
'nàmàpòn'àpè  'don't cause it to be cut'

Class II - stress on first syllable unless affixed, then stress second syllable stem. Exception: prefix na- 'negative' causes stress on first syllable stem.

wà'ràà  'touch it'
'nàwà'ràà  'don't touch it'
wà'ràlàlèpà  'you pl touch it'
'nàmàwà'ràlàpè  'don't cause it to be touched'

Class III - stress on second syllable stem.

rù'mbà  'throw it away'
'nàrù'mbà  'don't throw it away'
rù'mbàlèpà  'you pl throw it away'
'nàmàrù'mbàlèpè  'don't cause it to be thrown away'

Class IV - stress on first syllable stem unless followed by two or more syllable suffix (± prefixes) when stress changes to second syllable stem.

'rù'màà  'portion it out'
'nà'rù'màà  'don't portion it out'
rù'màlàlèpà  'you pl portion it out'
'nàmà'rù'màlàpè  'don't cause it to be portioned out'
'nàmàrù'màlàlèpè  'don't you pl cause it to be portioned out'

The tone perturbation rules outlined for E. Kewa (above, as well as Kewa I) apply, with some amplification, to W. Kewa. The rules in E. Kewa, in summary, are: (1) the tones of noun stems perturb to the same tone as the basic uniform tones of a preceding word; sub-classification is necessary if the preceding tones are diverse; (2) stems with tones of basic low-high are not perturbed; (3) the free pronouns of first dual and plural could be perturbed so that their basic tones were dissimilated.

Morphotonic patterns in Kewa do not operate independently of lexical, rhythm, or intonational spans. In certain cases, and in ways not presently understood, the stressed syllable of a rhythm unit may override an expected perturbation pattern. It appears that such
examples of stress are not purely lexical, but that in such instances emphasis may be given to any particular word (or clitic) in an utterance.

When perturbation has been described it has been without taking into account the complete effect of stress on rhythm units. In other words, the analysis has not included the effect on tone patterns when they are distributed in other high-level phonological units.

However, in the case of nouns, the perturbing effect of the stem helps to classify its basic tones. This is most obvious in pairs of words which are alike except for their basic tones. For example, in the following frame, 'my NOUN two', the post frame lāāpō (HL) 'two' perturbs to LL only if the basic tones of the substituted noun stem are also low:

ninā [ímàà] lāāpō 'my two [relatives]'
ninā [ímàà] lāāpō 'my two [pig tusks]'

Here the contrastive basic tones of ímàà 'relative' and ímàà 'pig tusks' actualise as identical tones. However, the basic tones can be classified as HL and LL respectively due to perturbation. This is because only stems with basic lows can perturb a following high to low such that lāāpō becomes lāāpō. At the same time, the final basic high of the clitic -ná '(possessive)' has perturbed the otherwise isolatable initial basic low of ímàà 'pig tusks' to high. Such an understanding and interpretation of the interaction of final and initial tones is crucial to the classification of the basic tones of any stem. It is, therefore, necessary to determine and test tonal patterns in many syntactic environments and state all changes in terms of an underlying basic pattern.

In summary, the most stable tone pattern in Kewa is a basic low-high. It may be perturbed only in very rare instances, e.g. in noun stems only when adjacent to final pause.

The basic pattern of lows is the most unstable; it most frequently simply reverses all of its tones. Once it does reverse its tones, or even in some other cases, it is the only pattern which perturbs following high to lows.

Patterns which consist solely of basic highs cause perturbation of most patterns which are adjacent to them.

Free pronouns consist of a small class of stems which are easily perturbed. Those which are basic low cause complete assimilation of the tones of any verb stem which may follow.

Clitics have independent perturbation rules in that they cause perturbation, rather than simply assimilating to the tones of the stem, which is most often the case with suffixes.
Three contrastive intonational contours were described for E. Kewa (Section 2.2.3.). In each case the final syllable of the utterance carries the contrastive intonational pitch and one highest point or peak occurs in the contour (marked with ° in the section referred to).

The intonational contours are signalled by terminal fade, terminal rise, or terminal fall-rise. The usual semantic distinctions are respectively:

(1) fact, repetition, permission and command;
(2) attention, affirmation, exclamation or incredulity;
(3) inquiry.

These three intonational contours seem to be practically the same in W. Kewa; in addition, a fourth pattern occurs (presumably in both dialects). A terminal rise-fall appears to mark intonational contours which are meant to forewarn. Morphologically, such forms are identical with that of the future tense, but the meaning is different, as shown below:

(4) nimi awalimi 'you all should not dig it'
This intoneme contrasts with normal negative imperative structures or simple future statements, both of which have contours as described in (1) above:

(1a) nimi awalimi 'you all will dig it'
(1b) nimi naawalepaa 'don't you all dig it'

Often the contrastive intonation terminal contour is carried by a special morpheme, rather than simply the final syllable of an utterance: for example, -ra in the case of emphatics (2).

We now conclude with some examples from the basic tone groups in W. Kewa (first nouns, and then verbs):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I ('')</th>
<th>Group II ('')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alaa</td>
<td>agaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aako</td>
<td>agi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aalu</td>
<td>ame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>besaa</td>
<td>adu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolo</td>
<td>awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ema</td>
<td>aki</td>
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<tr>
<td>ini</td>
<td>aalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iri</td>
<td>aane</td>
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<tr>
<td>iti</td>
<td>bali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodo</td>
<td>bira</td>
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<tr>
<td>kopo</td>
<td>dipi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kabe</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kaka</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kemaa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kepaa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>komaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kidu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aapidi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aaralu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arobo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>aladi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awara</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bakua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group I (&quot;'&quot;) (cont.)</td>
<td>Group II (&quot;'&quot;) (cont.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>duma</td>
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<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>duni</td>
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<tr>
<td>daa</td>
<td>eke</td>
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<tr>
<td>kadipi</td>
<td>ebo</td>
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<tr>
<td>kibu</td>
<td>ena</td>
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<tr>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>epo</td>
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<tr>
<td>maali</td>
<td>etaa</td>
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<tr>
<td>sapi</td>
<td>eta</td>
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<td></td>
<td>imaa</td>
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<td>ipa</td>
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<td>rumu</td>
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<td>maaku</td>
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<td>yapa</td>
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<td>naare</td>
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<td>kone</td>
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<td>url</td>
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<td>yagi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kosaa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gaapi</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group III (&quot;'&quot;)</th>
<th>Group IV (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aana</td>
<td>aipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aai</td>
<td>ada</td>
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<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>aani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aima</td>
<td>aapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duku</td>
<td>baani</td>
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<tr>
<td>dusa</td>
<td>bone</td>
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<td>ero</td>
<td>ega</td>
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<td>ete</td>
<td>eno</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaato</td>
<td>igu</td>
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<tr>
<td>kege</td>
<td>imu</td>
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<tr>
<td>kipaa</td>
<td>itu</td>
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<tr>
<td>kumi</td>
<td>lai</td>
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<td>kuta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group I</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><code>awa</code></td>
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<tr>
<td><code>wala</code></td>
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<tr>
<td><code>rala</code></td>
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<td><code>ewa</code></td>
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<td><code>yola</code></td>
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<td><code>lora</code></td>
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<td><code>roba</code></td>
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<td><code>rapa</code></td>
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<td><code>paga</code></td>
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<td><code>mobea</code></td>
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<td><code>raake pea</code></td>
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<td><code>radepea</code></td>
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<td><code>pogola</code></td>
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<td><code>ridula</code></td>
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<td><code>ogeya</code></td>
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<tr>
<td><code>padola</code></td>
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<tr>
<td>Group III</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>yala</code></td>
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<td><code>rub</code></td>
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<td><code>maraa</code></td>
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<td><code>saapira</code></td>
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3. GRAMMATICAL NOTES

In this section one part of the Kewa grammar is treated with some detail - the rules for combining affixes with stems, in particular verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, deictics, and particles. Following this, paradigms which illustrate the various Kewa tenses are listed.
3.1. WORDS

3.1.0. Introduction

In this section both word classes and word patterns are outlined. If both the members and morphological combinations of a given class are restricted, they are described in the same section.

3.1.1. Word Classes

Two major groups of words may be conveniently defined in Kewa: Verbs and Non-Verbs. The criteria employed to classify verbs are primarily inflectional coupled with morphophonemic variations of the verb bases and certain suffixes. This results in a clear division between a class of verbs on the one hand and all non-verbs on the other. The subdivision of non-verbs is less clear-cut, but several additional word classes can be substantiated: Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs, Deictics, and possibly a class called simply Particles. The latter includes several clitics which are not clearly words because they do not occur as free forms. On the other hand, clitics cannot be considered as affixes because at least some of them can occur, in combination with each other, as words. The classification which follows is not exhaustive, nor is this to be expected realistically for any first description of a language. However, by giving definitions of word classes the category symbols employed for them throughout the grammar should be clearer to the reader.

3.1.1.1. Verbs (v)

Verbs are those stems which may occur with (1) tense suffixes; (2) the pre-clitic na-'(negative)'; (3) command suffixes. Thus the definition of a verb may be on inflectional grounds alone. By incorporating syntactic, i.e. additional distribution criteria, verbs also: (4) have tense suffixes which are potentially in cross-reference with free pronoun subjects; (5) occur with coordinating suffixes.

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1This section first appeared as Chapter 3 in A Grammar of Kewa, New Guinea C-16, 1971, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

2Matthews (1966:156) notes that exhaustiveness is only required when word classes are conceived as a taxonomic system. He also makes two further relevant observations about the notion of word classes: (1) definitions can naturally be heterogeneous, i.e. employ 'notional' as well as 'formal' evidence, 'morphological' as well as 'syntactic' criteria; (2) at least some of the definitions should refer to universal properties of grammars (ibid., pp.156-9).
Verb stems are inherently Active (va) or Stative (vs). Stative stems are signalled phonologically by bases ending only in /aa/ and morphologically by occurring only with affixes of Set II (outlined in 3.2.2.1.). Stative verbs may be subclassified into non-derived and derived stems, the latter arising from underlying active bases. Some examples of non-derived stative stems are:

1. nímínàa 'to understand'
2. rúmaa 'to portion out'
3. kiriítaa 'to gather together'
4. minásáá 'to lift up'

Active stems have bases with phonemic shapes which end in /a/, or in two cases /u/; they occur with affixes of either Set I or Set II. Active bases which occur with Set II are derived stative stems.

3.1.1.2. Nouns (n)

The definition of a noun stem is essentially a negative one which in fact applies to any non-verb, non-derived stem which cannot occur with terminal or non-terminal suffixes (outlined in 3.2.2.2.). A positive definition must employ functional criteria: those stems which potentially expound the Head of a nominal phrase are nouns. When nouns expound functions such as Subject-as-Agent or Object-as-Location of certain clause types they are marked by special clitics. However, so are other word classes, so there appears to be little or no morphological evidence to separate nouns from other word classes, excluding verbs.¹

When a noun expounds the Head-as-Agent of a descriptive noun phrase (np₉₉₉₉) it may be modified and the full np is marked by the clitic -mé ( volta -m ). This particular clitic marks the function of Subject-as-Agent in certain clause types. For example, the following are np₉₉₉₉ marked by -mé (throughout, a hyphen indicates morpheme boundaries):

5. adaa já-mé 'the big man'
6. adaa já láápo-mé 'the two big men'

Such clitics as -mé mark clause-level functions for various grammatical categories, not simply nouns. For this reason they are discussed in Chapter 4² on clause patterns.

¹In other Highland languages possessive suffixes often divide noun stems into such categories as kinship and kin or body parts and functions on the one hand, and animate-inanimate nouns on the other. Cf. for example, D. Bee (1973) on Usarufa for the former, or P. Healey (1965:6) for the latter.

²The Chapters cited in this section refer to K.J. Franklin, A Grammar of Keva, New Guinea, Pl C-16, which should be consulted for further detail.
It is possible to sub-divide nouns semantically into those which are general (ng) and those which are temporal (nt). Any further sub-categorisation of ng is also on a semantic basis: for example, nouns which are animate (ng_{an}) versus those which are inanimate (ng_{inam}). As will be shown later, an animate-inanimate dichotomy is reflected in the semantic interpretation of functions such as Subject-as-Agent on the one hand, and Subject-as-Instrument on the other. In addition, interrogative pronouns (Cf. 3.1.1.5.1.) have animate-inanimate forms and consequently support the division of ng into these two semantic categories.

Stems which specify time are a sub-class of nouns and include forms such as: áḇá 'now'; ríbbáá 'night'; órópe 'later'; and ogé oro 'Saturday'.

Reference to specific points of time in the past or future is often by a combination of nt and demonstratives (3.1.1.5.2.). Note, for example, the bottom three rows in Chart 2.

Chart 2: Time Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'yesterday' áḇálá</th>
<th>áḇá 'now'</th>
<th>ékéṟáá 'tomorrow'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>numane</td>
<td>'one day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mo numane</td>
<td>'two days'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>apo numane</td>
<td>'three days'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, any nt can also occur with substantive (= non-verb) clitics, e.g.:

(7) ékéṟáá-mé... 'with (the coming of) tomorrow...'
(8) ékéṟáá-nane 'in the future'
(9) ékéṟáá-nu 'later on' (lit., tomorrow-many)

There seems to be no basis for a sub-classification of ng into common versus proper.¹

¹In E. Kewa names given to females are optionally suffixed by -nyu or -me: Rumú-nyu '([the woman] Rumúnyu)', Waru-eme '([the woman] Waruame'). In addition, any name may be suffixed to show the parentage: Rumúnyu-раа 'the father of Rumúnyu', waruāme-gi 'the mother of Waruame', where the suffixes -раа and -gi are contractions of the kinship terms of reference aаа 'father' and аgi 'mother'. (Cf. K. Franklin 1967a:76). Although both types of suffixation occur in W. Kewa, the system appears to be less developed. In W. Kewa female names are frequently formed by compounds employing nog̱ó 'gtrī', e.g. Kádpf-nog̱ó, Amala-nog̱ó, Ipere-nog̱ó.
3.1.1.3. Adjectives (aj)

Stems which may expound the Modification function of an np or often the Complement function in a clause are non-derived adjectives. Such stems may be sub-categorised on the basis of their potential position and function in a noun phrase. The following sub-categories of adjectives will be described in greater detail later in Chapter 5 on Phrases:

(a) colours (aj_{cl}) are forms such as kōbere 'dark', kaane 'red', and kágá rákene 'green'.

(b) size (aj_{sz}) are forms such as ada`a 'big', oge 'little', and rúdu 'short'.

(c) number (aj_{nm}) are forms such as láápo 'two', ekátaa 'little finger',\(^2\) and páápu 'one cycle'.

(d) quality (aj_{qal}) are such forms as épé 'good', waé 'bad', and pūr l 'strong'.

Any verb also become a derived adjectival form upon filling the modification slot of a np_{des} and by being marked by the suffixes -ne (egocentric benefaction\(^3\)) or -ae (altercentric benefaction) (see 3.2.6.1.).

An aj_{nm} may also be marked with the clitic -pú which specifies the category of quantifier, usually with the meaning of 'sequence' or 'progression'. In addition, words of other classes or even sub-classes of aj may become a derived aj_{nm}:

(10) nímu ada`a-pú ími (they all, big-quan, they have = 'they have plenty') [aj_{sz} + -pú]

(11) ékéráa yáápi-pú ípa yótéa (tomorrow, day-quan, water, it will pull = 'tomorrow during the day the water will recede') [nt + -pú]

(12) aki-pú rapoyaa (what-quan, quantity? = 'how many are there?') [interrogative + -pú]

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1 It is interesting to note that P. Healey (1965a:15-8) describes four sub-classes of qualifier [=adjectives] which are very similar: colour, size, quality and quantifiers. The latter is subdivided into general and kin types.

2 See K. and J. Franklin (1962a) and also Franklin (1968b) for a description of how body parts are used as a system of counting in Kewa. (See also Section 11.3.).

3 Categories of benefaction are described in the section on verb affixation. Certain morphophonemic rules outlined there also apply when adjectives are derived from verbs.
3.1.1.4. **Adverbs** (adv)

Stems which expound the Adjunct tagmeme (Chapter 4) of a clause generally are adverbs. Adverbs do not occur with clitics which typically mark functions expounded by nouns or adjectives. Such stems may be derived or non-derived. The latter are a small closed set of forms including: aipapulu 'quickly'; gupa 'likewise'; kode 'almost'; mada 'enough'; waru 'really'; aloma 'quickly' (only with verbs of motion); pawa 'slowly'; wala 'again'; and aba 'before'. Derived adverbs (actually adverbials) are a combination of any stem which is not already an adverb plus the clitic -rupa '(adverbiaiser)' or any construction plus this clitic. The latter represent embedded adverbial clauses (outlined in Chapter 4). Some examples of derived adverbs are:

(13) ní áá-rupa píralua (I, man-like, I will sit = 'I will sit like a man') [ng + -rupa]

(14) ní étaa wárí-ni-rupa lággíaa (I, food, prepare-Adjz-like, he told = 'He told me how food is prepared') [Adjectival Clause + -rupa]

(15) ní mógopara-rupa méáwa (I, that over there-like, I got it = 'I got (the one) similar to that (thing) over there') [Deictic Phrase + -rupa]

(16) nípú kírl pa-rupa ta (he, laugh, just-like, he is = 'He is just laughing (without reason)) [Particle + -rupa]

3.1.1.5. **Deictics** (dei)

Deictics are either pronouns or demonstratives and constitute a closed class, i.e. they can be enumerated. They can also only be defined semantically by reference to the speech event and to the participants of the speech event.¹

3.1.1.5.1. **Pronouns** (pro)

There are two sets of pronouns: Personal and Interrogative. Personal pronouns are a small closed set which may represent actors or objects. The complete set of personal pronouns is given in Chart 3.

¹See Jakobson (1957), especially his discussion of shifters and their semantic components.
Chart 3: Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>sáá</td>
<td>níáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>nipi</td>
<td>nimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>nipú</td>
<td></td>
<td>nimú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the third person, singular or dual is ambiguous, but may be explicitly stated by the addition of láápo 'two':

(17) nipú láápo áda-pe (he, two, they two saw = 'They two saw it')

However, except when free pronouns function as objects, the use of láápo 'two', is omitted because pronouns functioning as subject are in cross-reference with verbs. In the following examples the subject of the verb is marked as dual or singular by two separate suffixes (which also indicate number and tense):

(17a) nipú áda-pe (he, they two saw = 'They two saw it')
(19a) nipú áda-a (he, he saw = 'He saw it')

If suffixes ambiguously signal the person of the actor, this may be clarified by the use of free pronouns:

(18) nimi áda-me 'You all saw it'
(18a) nimú áda-me 'They saw it'

where -me ambiguously marks 2nd or 3rd plural Past.

Some examples of clitics occurring with pronouns are: nipú-ná (he-pos = 'his'); nímu-para (you all-loc = 'to them'); ne-si (you-dim = 'little you'); saa-me (we two AGN = 'we two').

Interrogative substitutes are built on two forms: (1) áápi '(animate)', and (2) ake '(inanimate)' meaning broadly 'who?' and 'what?' respectively. Note the appropriate nouns which are used in answer to questions containing the interrogative forms:

(19) [áápi]-mí tá-a '[Who] hit it?'
(19a) [áá]-mé tá-a '[The man] hit it'
(20) [ake]-mé tá-a '[What] hit it?'
(20a) [répena]-mé tá-a '[The tree] hit it'

By expanding these two forms with general clitics, or by the use of a separate interrogative clitic, the full range of interrogatives such as 'which', 'how many', 'why', 'how' and so on may be constructed. These will be outlined under word patterns.
3.1.1.5.2. Demonstratives (dem)

Demonstratives, similarly to pronouns, are a small closed set of substitutes, but which point out actors or objects. The complete set of simple stems is given in Chart 4 and other dem compounds are built upon them.

Chart 4: Demonstratives

| só | 'up' | go | 'specific' (seen) |
| mó | 'distant' | o | 'neutral' |
| nó | 'down' | ápo | 'general' (unseen) |

3.1.1.6. Particles (par)

Particles are non-derived or derived forms which function mainly at the clause and sentence-level as Subordinators or Connectors. Subordinators are free forms such as rábú 'when' in the following examples:

(21) épaló rábú épé ta (he will come, when, good it is = 'When he comes it will be good')

Connectors are of two shapes, either as clitics or derived from these forms plus the affirmative verb 'to be' ya:

- paré 'but, however' yapare
- pulu 'because' yapulu
- pae 'perhaps' yapae

The forms in the first column are used if the relationship signalled is between two verbal clauses or between a verbal clause and some other construction; those in the second column are used if the relationship is between a complementive clause and a verbal clause. Note the following contrast:

(22) ora láe-paré napálua (true, you said, but, I will not go = 'You spoke true but I will not go')
(22a) ora yapare napálua 'True, however I will not go'

3.2. WORD PATTERNS

As already indicated, words consist of simple or, in some cases, derived stems. These stems occur with various patterns of affixation or clitic orders. Those patterns which are contrastive (in the tagmemic sense where usually two structural differences are required - see Chapter 1) are separate syntagmemes. The patterns described in this section begin with the more complex ones of verbs and proceed to the simpler patterns.
3.2.1. Verb Bases

While describing these, it will also be necessary to outline the morphophonemic rules which apply to both verb bases and certain affixes. Simple stative verb bases are unaffected by morphophonemic rules. Derived stative stems are affected by one general morphophonemic rule:

\[
\text{\text{vstMP-Rl}} \quad \text{\text{XV}} + \text{Xaa} / \text{ABase}_2, \quad \text{Set II},
\]

where V represents the final vowel of an active verb base which becomes /aa/ in the presence of affixes of Set II (3.2.1.1.). XV refers to the pattern of the active verb base; it always has one of the following underlying morphophonemic patterns:

1. Pattern L - bases ending with or consisting of the shape la, represented morphophonemically as XL.
2. Pattern E - generally bases ending with the vowel sequence ia or ea, represented morphophonemically as XE.
3. Pattern A - generally bases ending with the vowel a, represented morphophonemically as XA.
4. Pattern H - any base with an underlying shape of \(\text{XV}_1(C)V_2\), where \(V_1 = u\) or \(i\), and \(V_2 = a\). Thus bases ending in ia (Pattern E) automatically belong to Pattern H.

Pattern H provides for morphophonemic rules of vowel harmony which in every case override rules normally effective in Patterns L, E or A. Therefore, such rules are ordered and always apply last after any other appropriate rule.

Orthographically, patterns are marked as L, E, A or H only when phonemic and morphophonemic correspondences are not isomorphic. Some examples of each pattern are:

L: yólá 'to pull'; lá 'to talk'; pógolaa 'to jump'.
E: ríia 'to carry (on the shoulder)'; sa(E) 'to knit'; ráképéá 'to husk'; ógeya(E) 'to beg'.
A: áda 'to look'; pó(A) 'to go'; mêá(A) 'to fetch'.
H: púná 'to shepherd' (basic pattern A); rábúla 'to mend' (basic pattern L); tá 'to hit' (basic pattern E).  

\footnote{In some cases if an alveopalatal or dental consonant occurs a high vowel preceding it may be absent in present day Kewa. However, forms such as *itá 'to hit' can be reconstructed.}
MP rules operate upon such verb bases when they combine with obligatory suffixes. The verb base plus the obligatory Terminal or Non-Terminal suffix (see following section) constitute the obligatory verb nucleus. Before discussing MP rules it is necessary to introduce the obligatory suffixes which serve as conditioning environments to the verb bases.

3.2.2. Obligatory Suffixes

Obligatory verb suffixes are either Terminal or Non-Terminal and in each case belong to one of two sets: (1) Set I, which occurs only with active verb bases, marks egocentric benefaction; (2) Set II, which occurs either with stative or derived verb bases, marks altercentric benefaction. It is important to note that the set marks either of the categories of benefaction, although the individual affixes mark some other grammatical category as well.¹ Non-obligatory verb affixes co-occur with Set I of Set II terminal or non-terminal suffixes, but do not occur alone.

3.2.2.1. Terminal Suffixes

Terminal suffixes mark either Tense or Imperative categories, which are mutually exclusive with each other. Tenses are Present (Pr), Past (Pa), Remote Past (RP), Future (Fu), and Perfect (Pf). Set II (altercentric) suffixes are outlined in Chart 5. Other abbreviations in this section (KVM and KCM) refer to articles on verb morphology and clause markers (Franklin 1964, 1965).

¹In KVM the altercentric Set is called Non-Personal Benefactive. KCM introduces the terms altercentric and egocentric but applies them only to tense. In this study altercentric and egocentric apply to either terminal or non-terminal suffixes. Typologically, the specification of egocentric or altercentric benefaction in verbal categories is a distinctive characteristic of Kewa in particular, and the West-Central Family in general. Wurm (1962:117) cites what he calls the use of "applicative verb forms", i.e. "action for the sake of benefit of, a person other than the one speaking, spoken to, or spoken about", as a typical feature of the West-Central Family: In Telefol, of the Ok Family, P. Healey (1965c:6ff) describes a general dichotomy between benefactive and non-benefactive stems. On the other hand, languages of the Eastern Family have a benefactive morpheme which must be preceded by an indirect object marker. (For Awa, see R. Loving and McKaughan 1964:19; for Gadsup, C. Frantz and McKaughan 1964:86; for Usarufa, D. Bee 1965:46.) In Benabena, a language of the East Central Family, benefactive verbs take indirect object prefixes but are part of a compound unit (R.A. Young 1964:65n and 74ff). The category of benefaction appears to be an important universal and how it is formed could well be added to Wurm's typological features for Highland languages (1964b, et seq).
Chart 5: Set II Tense Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pr</th>
<th>Pa</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Fu</th>
<th>Pf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-su</td>
<td>-lua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 s</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ria</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-lia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl</td>
<td>-tepa</td>
<td>-ripa</td>
<td>-sipa</td>
<td>-lipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3 dl</td>
<td>-tepe</td>
<td>-ripi</td>
<td>-sipi</td>
<td>-lipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>-tema</td>
<td>-rima</td>
<td>-sim</td>
<td>-lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3 pl</td>
<td>-teme</td>
<td>-rimi</td>
<td>-simi</td>
<td>-limi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although it is quite possible to further segment the suffixes in Chart 5 so that person-number is distinct from tense, or even so that person is distinct from number, all of these categories are considered as compound representations and included within the semantic designation called Tense.¹

Set II tense suffixes regularly combine with stative bases² or, together with vstMP-Rl, with derived stative stems. Some examples are:

(23) rūmaa 'to portion out' + 1 sg Pr + rūmaa-to
' I am portioning out (for someone)'

(24) āda 'to look' + 1 sg Pr + vstMP-Rl + ādaa-to
'I am looking (on behalf of someone)'

(25) ria 'to carry (on shoulder)' + 1 pl Pf + vstMP-Rl
+ riaa-ema 'we have carried (on behalf of someone)'

¹For example, consider the following as morphs which mark only tense: -te- (Pr), -ri- (Pa), -si- (RP), -li- (Fu), and -e- (Pf). Basic person-number forms are:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-me</td>
<td>-me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Morphophonemic rules provide surface representations:

```
[-o] + Pr → [-to] ; + Pa → [-ru ]
[-e] + Pa → [-te] ; + Pr → [-ri ]
[-a] + Pr → [-ta] ; + Pa → [-ria ]
```

and so on, where vowel harmony rules convert o → u/r . There seems to be little to be gained by such an exercise: person-number-tense always occur together (or person-number-tense relationship) and must ultimately be rejoined and specified as co-occurring obligatorily.

²In a sense, stative bases are inherently altercentric, i.e. the action of the verb always relates to some implied person or circumstance other than the speaker. Although benefaction is signalled by the affixes as a set, stative bases which combine only with Set II suffixes might also simply be called benefactive stems.
The first example rúmaa illustrates a stative verb stem; the other two examples illustrate stative stems derived from active verb bases.

Imperative categories are Singular and Non-Singular, Immediate and Non-Immediate. Imperative suffixes are listed in Chart 6.

Chart 6: Imperative Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Immediate</th>
<th>Immediate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ego</td>
<td>Altr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>vBase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Singular</td>
<td>-lepaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of Set II imperatives are:

(26) rúmaa 'to portion out' + n-imm n-sg + rumaa-tepaa
    'you all portion it out (for someone)'

(27) áda 'to look' + n-imm sg + vstMP-Rl + ádāa
    'look (on behalf of someone)'

(28) áda 'to look' + imm n-sg + vstMP-Rl + ádāa-tepaa-pe
    'you all look (on behalf of someone else) now'

Set I Tense suffixes are given in Chart 7.

The basic shape of the active verb base to which Set I Tense suffixes are attached can be found in several ways: (1) the shape of the verb base which results when the regular past tense suffixes occur; (2) the shape of the verb base which results when the 1 and 2 sg Pr tense suffixes occur; (3) the shape of the verb base in the environment of non-immediate sg Set I imperatives.

In other instances the shape of the verb base changes according to regular MP rules which will be outlined.

Chart 7: Set I Tense Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pr</th>
<th>Pa</th>
<th>RP</th>
<th>Fu</th>
<th>Pf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-su</td>
<td>-lua</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-lia</td>
<td>-ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl</td>
<td>-lepa</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-sipa</td>
<td>-lipa</td>
<td>-epa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3 dl</td>
<td>-lepe</td>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>-sipi</td>
<td>-lipi</td>
<td>-epa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>-lema</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-sim</td>
<td>-lima</td>
<td>-ema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3 pl</td>
<td>-lem</td>
<td>-me</td>
<td>-simi</td>
<td>-limi</td>
<td>-em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 The obvious gap of *-le is due to a regular sound loss between the East and West dialects (Cf. Franklin 1968).
3.2.2.2. Non-Terminal Suffixes

The presence of separate sets of verb suffixes according to the 'medial' or 'final' position of the verb in an utterance is a typological feature of New Guinean Papuan languages.\(^1\) It is also common in New Guinea Highland languages to treat such clauses in terms of two intersecting dimensions: the set of verb stems which expound the Predicate as one dimension, and the syntactic distribution of the Predicate as the other. In Kewa such aspects of clause relationships are described on the Sentence-level (Chapter 6), so that in this section only the suffix forms which have morphophonemic rules accompanying them are outlined. There are many variations of such suffixes, but semantically they fall into two main groups: those which mark successive actions and those which mark simultaneous actions.\(^2\)

Actions which are successive may be performed by the same or by different persons. Such actions may also be either altercentric or egocentric in benefaction. The suffixes which mark such actions are listed in Chart 8 (as well as two others which are discussed later). Morphophonemic rules for the combination of active verb bases and egocentric successive or simultaneous suffixes (Set I) follow in the next section.

![Chart 8: Non-Terminal Suffixes](image)

3.2.3. Morphophonemic Rules

Rules which specify the shape of the verb base for a particular pattern when that pattern occurs with the Terminal suffixes of Set I are

---

\(^1\)See especially Wurm (1964b:81) on typological variations. This medial/final characteristic is widespread in New Guinea. G.B. Milner (1967:735) refers to it as "Pilhofer's distinction" in his review of Cowan's Grammar of the Sentani Language. Pilhofer (1933:35) reported "Unselbständige Formen" or "Satzinnen Formen" (sentence medial forms) in Kâte of the Huon peninsula. These medial forms had either the same form and subject throughout ("Durchgangsformen") or changed forms ("Wechselformen") and different subjects ("Subjektswechsel"). Chapters 4 and 6 give examples in Kewa and also references to other New Guinea language descriptions.

\(^2\)See again Pilhofer (ibid) who reported three kinds of actions in Kâte: successive ("postemporäres"), simultaneous ("kontemporäres") and durative ("kontinuatives").
given first. The suffix shapes which result are starred if MP suffix rules are yet to be applied. A general rule of vowel harmony applies finally to any appropriate tense or verb stem.

The following rule applies to any base of pattern L:

\[
\text{vstMP-R2} \quad XL + X / \begin{array}{c}
\text{Pr} \\
\text{RP} \\
\text{Fu} \\
\text{Pf}
\end{array}, \text{ where Pr} \neq 1,2sg
\]

Examples are from the base yólá 'to pull':

(29a) yólá (1 sg Pr) 'I am pulling'
(29b) yó-su (1 sg RP) 'I pulled sometime ago'
(29c) yó-lua* (1 sg Fu) 'I will pull'
(29d) yó-e* (1 sg Pf) 'I have pulled'
(29e) yó-lepa (1 dl Pr) 'We two are pulling'
(29f) yó-sipa (1 dl RP) 'We two pulled sometime ago'
(29g) yó-lipa* (1 dl Fu) 'We two will pull'
(29h) yó-epa* (1 dl Pf) 'We two have pulled'

To account for the actual shape of the tense suffixes the following rule must apply:

\[
\text{vafMP-Rl} \quad XL + \begin{array}{c}
\text{-lu-} \\
\text{-e} \\
\text{-le-} \\
\text{-li-} \\
\text{-e-}
\end{array} + \begin{array}{c}
\text{-to-} \\
\text{-to} \\
\text{-ta-} \\
\text{te-} \\
\text{-ta-}
\end{array} \quad (29c) \quad (29d) \quad (29e) \quad (29g) \quad (29h)
\]

The correct shapes are thus yó-toa (29c), yó-to (29d), yó-tapa (29e), yo-tepa (29g), yó-tapa (29h). If certain historical facts are taken into account, which are outside the scope of this grammar, t regularly replaces l. This results in ambiguity in the case of the 1 dl Pr and 1 dl Pf suffixes, but only with verb bases of this pattern.

The following rule applies to bases of pattern E or A:

(30a) ri-su (1 sg RP) 'I carried sometime'
(30b) ri-to* (1 sg Pf) 'I have carried'
(30c) ri-sima (1 pl RP) 'We all carried sometime'
(30d) ri-tema* (1 pl Pf) 'We all have carried'
(31a) ráképé-su (1 sg RP) 'I husked sometime'
(31b) ráképé-to (1 sg Pf) 'I have husked'
(31c) ráképé-sima (1 pl RP) 'We all husked sometime'
(31d) ráképé-tema (1 pl Pf) 'We all have husked'
(32a) ád-su (1 sg RP) 'I looked sometime'
(32b) ád-e (1 sg Pf) 'I have looked'
(32c) ád-sima (1 pl RP) 'We all looked sometime'
(32d) ád-ema (1 pl Pf) 'We all have looked'
The variations in the tense suffixes (from those given in Chart 7) can be accounted for as follows:

1. by expanding the left-hand side of vafMP-R1 to include pattern E; this applies to (30b), (30d), (31b), and (31d).

2. by adding a further vowel harmony rule to provide the correct surface shapes for (31b and d):

$$vafMP-R2 \quad XH + \begin{bmatrix} te- \\ to- \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} ti- \\ tu- \end{bmatrix}$$

The correct shapes are thus ri-tu (30b) and ri-tima (30d). ¹

The combination of active verb bases and the immediate imperative suffixes follows the general pattern of vstMP-R2.

$$XL + X / \_ \_ Imp$$

The underlying form of the imperative suffix is -lepaa for all verb patterns, except that pattern L requires an addition to vafMP-R1:

$$XL + \_le- + \_te-$$

In every case the imperative is marked by -tepaa for altercentric benefaction (Cf. Chart 6). Examples of each active verb stem morphophonemic pattern are:

(33) yóla 'to pull' + n-imm n-sg + yó-tepaa
'You all pull it'

(33a) yóla + n-imm n-sg (Altr) + yóláá-tepaa
'You all pull it on behalf of someone'

(34) ria 'to carry' + n-imm n-sg + ria-lepaa
'You all carry it'

(34a) ria + n-imm n-sg (Altr) + riaa-tepaa
'You all carry it on behalf of someone'

¹This rule also accounts simply for variants occasionally heard which correspond to what I called class A-3 verbs in E. Keva (1964:104), e.g. abu-tua 'I will compensate' instead of *abu-toa. Other special vowel harmony rules are necessary for the verbs pú 'to go' and fpu 'to come'. Usually these bases conform to Pattern A, with additional Pattern H rules in some cases. Note however:

$$(i)pú + \begin{bmatrix} \text{imm imp} \\ \text{sg Fu} \\ \text{sg Pa} \\ \text{N-Term dp} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} (é)pó-pe \\ (é)pó-lua \\ (é)pó-a; pú-a \\ (é)pó-no \end{bmatrix}$$

Alternately, the forms for 'go' and 'come' may be considered pús and épá respectively (see Table 3). Once this is done the "irregularities" are resolved by more regular morphophonemic rules.
Active verb bases which occur with Non-Terminal suffixes (Chart 8) also require MP rules. The following rule applies to bases which combine with suffixes marking successive actions involving same persons:

\[
vstMP-R4 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} XL \\ AA \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} Xlo \\ Xo \end{array} \right] / \quad \text{N-Term (suc-sp),}
\]

where in the case of examples (40) and (41) the vowel harmony rule applies to the vowel preceding the successive-same person suffix, i.e. \'-a becomes -u:

(36) péla 'to pull out' + -a + pélo-a píra-wa

'\( I \) pulled it out and sat down'

(37) ráképéá 'to husk' + -a + ráképéá-a píra-wa

'\( I \) husked it and sat down'

(38) roa(E) 'to pluck' + -a + roá-a píra-wa

'\( I \) plucked it and sat down'

(39) póná 'to sharpen' + -a + pónó-a píra-wa

'\( I \) sharpened it and sat down'

(40) rípína 'to grasp' + -a + rípínú-a píra-wa

'\( I \) grasped it and sat down'

(41) sá1 'to put' + -a + sú-a píra-wa

'I placed it and sat down'

(41a) sáá-wa píra-wa 'I placed it (for someone) and sat down'

In all of the above examples the tense is signalled by the terminal suffix -wa (1 sg Pa).

If the persons involved in the successive actions are different the following rule applies:

\[
vstMP-R5 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} XL \\ AA \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} X \\ Xe \end{array} \right] / \quad \text{3rd person (any number)}
\]

1This form is reconstructed as *sia 'to put' in pre-Kewa.
A variation of vafMP-R1 provides for the only other suffix alternants:

\[ L + \begin{bmatrix} -\text{lipi} \\ -\text{limi} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -\text{tepe} \\ -\text{teme} \end{bmatrix} / \_ 2 \_ \_ \_ \_ 1, \_ 1 \]

Some examples are:

(42) áwá 'to dig' + -na + áwé-na píra-wa
   'He dug it and I sat down'

(43) ádíá 'to fasten' + -na ádf-na píra-wa
   'He fastened it and I sat down'

(44) yólá 'to pull' + -na ýó-na píra-wa
   'He pulled it and I sat down'

(45) ródópea 'to break' + -na ródópe-na píra-wa
   'He broke it and I sat down'

(46) ábúlá 'to compensate' + -na ábú-na píra-wa
   'He compensated and I sat down'

(47) îpu 'to come' + -na épe-na píra-wa
   'He came and I sat down'

In example (43) the vowel harmony rule must also be applied.

When two successive actions occur the first may be marked for purpose, rather than simply for time (as in previous examples). The person, number and tense of the action is again specified in the suffix of the final verb but the tonal action is a verb phrase (Chapter 5). The benefactive nature of the purpose suffix may be specified as egocentric or altercentric (note the contrast in (51) and (51a) below).

Some examples are:

(48) ádó-la pú-lu   'I am going to see it'
(49) ri-ta pú-a      'He went to carry it'
(50) ráképé-ta pá-limi 'They will go to husk it'
(51) pógo-ta ép-eme   'They have come to jump'
(51a) pógolaa-ta ép-eme 'They have come to jump on behalf of someone else'
(52) rúmaa-ta yalá-a  'In order to ration it out, he yelled out'

The morphophonemic rule which applies to the combination of active verb stems and the purpose suffix (basic -1a) is a continuation of earlier rules:

\[ \text{îpu 'to come' + épe / } -\text{na}. \text{ This apparent irregularity can be overcome as suggested in note 1 on page 57.} \]
where \( V \) is the penultimate of an \( XE \) pattern. If any pattern is also \( H \), then \( o + u/H \) according to regular vowel harmony rules. Additionally, the purpose suffix variation follows \( \text{vafMP-Rl} \) such that:

\[
\text{VB-L,E} + -la + -ta
\]

Note examples (49-51) above.

Gerundive actions which are always by the same person are also part of a \( \text{vp} \) and have morphophonemic rules which are the same as those of \( \text{R5} \), so that the environment can now be expanded to read: \( \text{Pur, Ger.} \) Some examples are:

(53) \( \text{pú píra-wa} \) 'Going on, I sat down'
(54) \( \text{ló píra-wa} \) 'Talking, I sat down'
(55) \( \text{frú píra-wa} \) 'Cooking, I sat down'
(56) \( \text{sú píra-wa} \) 'Placing it, I sat down'
(57) \( \text{ráképé píra-wa} \) 'Husking it, I sat down'
(58) \( \text{ábúló píra-wa} \) 'Compensating, I sat down'

The gerundive marker can be interpreted either as a zero suffix, or as the morphophonemic change which takes place, or as both. Example (53) also illustrates how the gerundive form of the verb to go is often used to express an on-going or repetitive action.

Verbs denoting altercentric simultaneous actions by the same person or by different persons are marked by the suffixes indicated in Chart 8 and by the accompanying \( \text{vstMP-Rl} \):

(59) \( \text{láá-ma píra-wa} \) 'While speaking on his behalf, I sat down'

3.2.4. Verb Syntagmemes

Active, stative, or derived stative stems expound the Nucleus of verb syntagmemes. The Pheriphery is expounded by affixes which are diagnostic of the type of verb syntagmeme. The Terminal and Non-Terminal suffixes of the pheriphery are obligatory; other suffixes are optional within the framework of the particular type of verb syntagmeme, still other suffixes and clitics are optional to any verb syntagmeme:

\[
\text{NUC} : \ \text{va} / \_ + (\text{ASP}^1) + \text{SET I} \\
\text{vs} / \text{(CAS)} + \_ + (\text{ASP}^2) + \text{Set II}
\]

\[
\text{dvs}
\]
The Pheriphery can be expounded as follows:

\[
\text{PHERI: } \begin{cases}
\{ \text{Term I} \} & / \text{ABASE} + (\text{ASP}^1) + \_
\{ \text{N-Term I} \} \\
\{ \text{Term II} \} & / (\text{CAS}) + \begin{cases}
\{ \text{ABASE} \} + \text{ASP}^2 + \_
\{ \text{SBASE} \} 
\end{cases}
\end{cases}
\]

where if an ABASE is expounded, vst-MP-Rl must be applied. The remaining functional points for any verb syntagmeme are:

\[v \rightarrow (\text{NEG}) + \text{NUC} + \text{PHERI} + (\text{ASP}^3) + (\{\text{CON}\}, \{\text{MOD}\})\]

where CON and MOD denote Sentence Connectors and Sentence Modals, which are relevant to and discussed in Chapter 6.

The obligatory exponents have already been reviewed. Optional categories expound NEG, CAS, ASP^1, ASP^2, and ASP^3. Each of these will now be dealt with.

3.2.4.1. Negative

The pre-clitic na-negates the action signalled by certain verb phrases (see Chapter 5), the complemented action of certain clauses (see Chapter 4), or simply the verbal action of verb syntagmemes. Some examples are:

(60) na-pálua (neg-go I will = 'I will not go')
(61) na-ádo-la pálua (neg-see-pur, go I will = 'I will not go to see it')
(62) adaalu na-ya-lia (long, neg-affirm-he will = 'He will not grow tall')
(63) na-ma-adaalu yaa-ilia (neg-cas-long, affirm-he will = 'He will will not shorten it')

In the latter case, in order for the negative to not attach to a verb, it must co-occur with the causative pre-clitic. Other examples of the use of na- follow:

(64) na-pú-lupaap-e 'Don't all of you go now'
(65) na-toa 'I will not talk'
(66) na-ma-adáa-ilia 'He should not cause (me) to wait...'
(67) na-mú-la pú-lu 'I am not going to get it'
(68) na-mú-a púa-wa 'I did not get it and I went'
(69) na-méá-no púa-a 'I did not get it and he went'
(70) na-méá-no na-púa-a 'I did not get it and he did not go'
In example (64), na- negates an imperative action; in (65) an action to be carried out in the future; in (66) also a future action, but one which will be caused; in (67) and (68) the use of the negative reveals two different structures and the fact that na- is a pre-clitic rather than a prefix. In (67) it negates a verb phrase of purpose while in (68) it negates only the first action of two successive actions by the same person. Thus, in order to negate both of two successive actions, the negator must occur twice, as in (70), or:

(68a) na-mú-a na-pú-a-wa 'I did not get it and I did not go'

However, there is no counterpart to the verb phrase of (67):

(*67a) na-mú-la na-pú-lu 'Not in order to get it, I am not going'

In other words, na- always moves to the beginning of the constitute which it negates; in the case of (67) a verb phrase (Chapter 5). Example (69) is parallel to (68), but the identity of the actors change. The actors are again different in (70) (1 sg and then 3 sg), but na- occurs twice and negates both actions.

3.2.4.2. Causative

As indicated in the formula, if the causative pre-clitic occurs, Terminal or Non-Terminal suffixes of Set II must occur in the Pheriphery. The causative also changes a clause syntagmeme to transitive, if it is already transitive (Cf. Chapter 4).

(71) píra-pe (sit-imp imm sg = 'Sit down')
(71a) ma-píraa-pe (cas-sit-alt imp imm sg = 'Cause (someone) to sit down')
(72) píra-wa (sit-1 sg Pa = 'I sat down')
(72a) ma-píraa-ru (cas-sit-1 sg Pa alt = 'I caused (someone) to sit down')
(73) ma-rékaa 'Cause it to stand up for someone'
(74) ma-fraa-to 'I am causing it to be cooked on behalf of someone'
(75) ma-míná-saa-tepaa-pe 'You all cause it to be lifted upwards right now'

3.2.4.3. Aspect

Many of the co-occurrence restrictions of aspects are outlined in the tagmemic rewrite rules suggested in Chapter 7. Here, the forms of the various aspect markers and examples are given:
(1) -ba(A) '(inceptive)' specifies action that has begun at some point in time. It is one of the few affixes where morphophonemic rules outlined earlier apply; it belongs to pattern A and co-occurs with Set I or Set II, Terminal or N-Terminal suffixes.

(76) íra 'to cook' + -ba + vstMP-R4 + -a (cons sp) = íra-bo-a... 'having begun to cook it and ...'

(77) íra-baa-ru-de 'I started to cook it once'

If -ba(A) interrupts a morphophonemic tense alternant which co-occurs with a base pattern other than XA, the tense is always from those which co-occur with pattern A:

(78) íra 'to cook' + 1 sg Pf = íri-tu 'I have cooked it'
(79) íra + -ba + 1 sg Pf = íra-be 'I have begun cooking it'

In other words MP rules apply now to -ba(A), not the verb base.

(2) -pa '(completive)' specifies action completed with altercentric benefaction, sometime in the past. That is, it co-occurs only with past tense suffixes of Set II. Similarly to the 'inceptive' aspect marker, vstMP-Rl applies to this suffix, which optionally interrupts the vbase and tense suffix:

(80) íra + -pa + 1 sg Pa altr = íra-paa-ru 'I finished cooking it (for someone)'

(3) -la and -ta '(prolongation)' are forms which mark egocentric and altercentric benefaction respectively. They occur only with N-Terminal suffixes which mark different persons:

(81) íra + -la + 1 sg dp = íra-la-no 'I continue cooking it for sometime and then...'
(81a) íra + -ta + 1 sg dp = íra-taa-no 'I continue cooking it for (altr)
someone for some time and then...'

These suffixes also give some idea of simultaneous actions by different persons, but the first action is prolonged (Cf. also Chapter 6).

(4) -wa '(residual)' specifies that some part of the action remains to be completed. It co-occurs only with Set II Terminal suffixes:¹

¹Unless the form which marks permission with N-Terminal suffixes is considered the same (Cf. Chapter 6). If so, a transformation rule is required to place it following N-Terminal suffixes.
(82) fra + -wa + 1 sg Pa alo = fra-waa-ru 'I cooked part of it (for someone)'

3.2.4.4. Aspect$^2$

The two aspect markers in this set function as directional aspects and co-occur only with suffixes of Set II.

(1) -niaa '(downward motion)' specified action performed upon something in a downward fashion:

(83) fra + -niaa + 1 sg Pa altr = fra-niaa-ru 'I burned it downward' (as a hill)

(2) -saa '(upward motion)' specified action performed upon something in a upward fashion:

(84) fra + -saa + 1 sg Pa altr = fra-saa-ru 'I burned it upward' (as a hill)

3.2.4.5. Aspect$^3$

Several aspect markers only follow terminal or N-Terminal suffixes. These are:

(1) -de '(punctiliar)' specified action performed at a point in time; it occurs with a slightly different function with other word classes and constructions.

(85) fra + 1 sg Pa + -de = fra-wa-de 'I cooked it'

(2) -na '(reported seen action)' occurs only with past actions of Set I suffixes. It is also used for reported speech (Chapter 6).

(86) fra + 3 sg Pa + -na = fra-a-na 'He was seen to cook it'

(3) -ya '(reported unseen action)' occurs parallel to the form above:

(87) ira + 3 sg Pa + -ya = ira-a-ya 'He is said to have cooked it'

(4) -lo '(desiderative)' expressed a desire that an action takes place. It mainly follows only N-Terminal dp suffixes or suffixes which indicate purpose (Chapter 5):

(88) fra + Pur + -lo = fra-la-lo '[I] want to cook it'
(89) fra + 3 dp + -lo = fri-na-lo 'He wants to cook it and ...'

(5) -loa '(serialisation)' indicates that the action is completed as one in a series of actions. It follows only N-Terminal dp suffixes (Cf. Chapter 6).
After he cooks it, then...

(6) -paa '(exclusive)' indicates that the action is exclusive in nature (Cf. Chapter 6):

(91) íra + 1 pl dp + -pas = íra-mina-paa 'We all (alone) should cook it'

Because all other clitics that occur with verbs mark a grammatical function which can better be described on the clause or sentence level, these are described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In the following section suffixes and clitics occurring with nouns and other word classes are described.

3.2.5. Noun Syntagmemes

Noun stems consist of bases which are either Simple or Compound. Compounds are combinations of general nouns which function as a semantic unit and which have the properties of a singular general noun (i.e. occur with the usual clitics, have the same syntactic settings, perturbation patterns with tone, and so on). Compounds often appear to be derived from other noun phrase patterns. For example, one possible underlying pattern for compounds is based on N-ná N, where -ná in a full phrase type marks the item-as-possessor. Examples such as:

(92) répë-ña-ùni (tree bone = 'sticks')
(93) yágágá-ífrí (chin hair = 'whiskers')
(94) póré-rúmu (mountain knee = 'ridge')
(95) pora-ùni (road bone = 'trail')

appear to be derived from répë-ná-ùni, yágágá-ná-ífrí, and so on.

A further type of noun compound can be recognised often by the fact that the first noun specifies a generic property for the compound as a whole:

(96) raí-kutu (axe, bamboo knife = 'bush knife')
(97) aapu-ásála (tanket asála = 'asála [cordyline] leaves')
(98) kábe-lápo (pit-pit lápo = 'harden lápo type of cane')
(99) yági-putí (kunai grass, aggregate = 'grassland')
(100) ífrí-kati (hair grey = 'elderly')

Two nouns which share the same semantic characteristics and which can be counted collectively as a unit, can be considered as derived from a npnum which contains lápo 'both' as the Mqan exponent. For example, compounds such as:
(101) oná-áá (woman, man = 'people')
(102) nogó-naakí (girl, boy = 'children')
(103) íní-agaa (eyes, mouth = 'face')
(104) Chí-kómáa (hand, upper arm = 'whole arm')
(105) pádi-ráání (edible pit-pit, cress = 'vegetables')
(106) mená-irikai (pig, dog = 'animals')

appear to be derived from oná-áá lápo, nogó naakí lápo, and so on.

Body parts are most frequently in a part-whole kind of relationship
and it is important to note that subordinate semantic relationships
are often due to physiological function (K. Franklin 1963). Thus the
form Chí-dípáa must be glossed simply 'nails', but the compounds based
upon the form are either aa-Chí-dípáa (foot nails = 'toenails') or
Chí-Chí-dípáa (hand nails = 'fingernails').

Other compounds which appear similar in form may be derived from
quite different sources:

(107) oná-áda (woman house = 'women's house')
(108) tálpa-áda (platform house = 'men's house')
(109) Kábe-áda (pit-pit house = 'menstrual hut')
(110) Kúku-áda (cook [Pidgin Eng.] house = 'kitchen')
(111) Répena-ágaa (fire mouth = 'headlights')
(112) Répena-réke (wood stairs = 'ladder')
(113) Répena-káápu (wood dry = 'firewood')

Examples (108-110) are derived from a common Modifier-Head functional
phrase pattern, but (107) is more similar to (93-96), based on the
pattern of N-ná N. Likewise (111-113), although similar in form,
appear to be derived from different patterns.

There are no other characteristics which would serve to distinguish
separate types of nouns. There are also no clitics or suffixes which
occur solely with nouns. There are, however, four which function on
the word-level and which may be considered together because none of
them occurs with verbs.¹

3.2.5.1. Word-Level Clitics

Clitics which primarily attach to word-level tagmemes and which
therefore show no phrase or clause relationships are:

¹A further qualification is necessary here. Phrases such as onó-na-mó (to die nom-
coll-AGP = 'those who are dying') are common, but the full phrase can always be
supplied:

onó onó-na-mó 'the people who are dying'. I consider the use of the collective
clitic -nu in onó-na-(mí) as a contraction of the full phrase.
aa- 'information question': aa-áá (ques-man = 'what man?');
aa-rabu (ques-time = 'what time?'); aa-para (ques-loc = 'where?'); aa-maapú-nu (ques-garden-coll = 'what gardens?')

-sl 'diminutive quality': yómagae-sl (old man-dim = 'a slightly old man'); laapo-si 'two little ones'; adaa-si 'a slightly big one'.

-nu 'collective': yomagae-nu 'all of the old men'; ékéréé-nu (tomorrow-all = 'in the future'); nimú-nu 'all of them'.

-lu 'durative quality': aaréé-lu (father-dur = 'a family'); pora-lu (road-dur = 'a long way')

Combinations of word-level clitics which are permissible are:

(114) mení-sí-nu 'all of the little pigs'
(115) adaa-lu-nu 'all of the long ones'

Because -nu specifies an aggregate, it cannot co-occur with an ajnm such as: *mená-nu láápo 'all the pigs, two'.

3.2.6. Other Word Patterns

The three word-level clitics which have been described combine freely with stems of other non-verb word classes. Each word class will now be discussed individually.

3.2.6.1. Adjectivals

In addition to the basic class of adjectives described (Chapter 3) other adjectives may be derived from verbs. Such forms expound the Modification function of a npdes, most often occurring as the relator of an embedded clause. The derivational clitic is of two basic forms: egocentric, where the shape of the clitic is determined according to the underlying morphophonemic pattern of the verb base; and altercentric, which is invariably the clitic -e. Examples for each verb pattern are (Cf. also vstMP-R5):

(a) XL + Xne, e.g. yalá + yané 'the yelling (one)'
(b) Xa + Xe, e.g. áwá + áwé 'the digging (one)'
(c) XE + Xni, e.g. ria + ria 'the carrying (one)'
(d) Xaa + Xaae, e.g. nímníaa + nímnínae 'the understanding (one)'

In example (c), because XE is also XH (includes a high vowel), ne + ni.

Although word-level clitics may attach to the derived adjective, the preferred pattern attaches the clitic to the noun expounding the Head:
(116) rini áá-nu, rather than rini-nu áá 'all of the men who carry'
(117) yané áá-si, rather than yané-si áá 'the smallest man who
yells out'

If the adjective is a cardinal number such as padáne 'one', láápo 'two', repo 'three' and máálá 'four', all additional cardinal numbers are based on multiples of four (Franklin and Franklin 1962, Cf. also Franklin 1968). Structurally the forms are numerical noun phrases and possessive noun phrases, and these are described in Chapter 5. However, body parts may also be named as ordinal numbers and the base cardinal numbers may become ordinal. To do this the numerical derivational clitic -pú 'quantifier' is added. It may be added to stems of certain other word classes as well:

(118) láápo-pú 'two of them'
(119) ekáta-pú (little finger-quan. = 'the first of them')
(120) adaa-pú (big-quan. = 'plenty of them')
(121) ade-pú (what-quan. = 'how many of them?')

3.2.6.2. Adverbials

Derived adverbs have already been mentioned in 3.1.1.4. They consist of a syntagmeme marked by -rupa. Adverbial clauses and adverbs which function as clause modifiers are described in Chapter 4.

3.2.6.3. Deictics

Personal and interrogative pronouns combine with all word-level clitics except -lu:

(122) ne-si 'little you'
(123) niáá-nu 'all of us'
(124) áápí-nu 'who all?'
(125) ake-si 'the little what?'

Interrogative pronouns combine with clitics which function at various levels of the grammar. In Chart 9 these are outlined and the clitic is given a very general gloss. In two instances ake adds the vowel /a/ before a clitic and in one instance the final vowel of ake changes in a manner apparently following vstMP-R5b.
Chart 9: Interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitics</th>
<th>Animate ááp</th>
<th>Inanimate ake</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nu 'coll'</td>
<td>'who all'</td>
<td>'what all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ná 'poss '</td>
<td>'whose'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mé 'agn'</td>
<td>'who'</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-para 'ben'</td>
<td>'to whom'</td>
<td>'about what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne 'adjz'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'due to what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-daa 'obj'</td>
<td>'due to whom'</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lo 'dear'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'for what desire' (or purpose)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives, on the other hand, may combine with not only word-level clitics but also with themselves. Examples with clitics are:

(126) go-sí 'those little ones'
(127) só-nu 'all those up there'
(128) ápo-sí-nu 'all those little ones somewhere over there'

Examples of demonstrative compounds are:

(129) mó-go 'over there (seen)'
(130) só-go 'up there (seen)'
(131) no-go 'down there (seen)'
(129a) mó-po 'over there (unseen)'
(130a) só-po 'up there (unseen)'
(131a) no-po 'down there (unseen)'

but not forms such as *mo-so, *mo-no, *go-po. In demonstrative compounds comprising ápo, the initial vowel of the stem is lost.

TABLE 3
Verb Paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pu 'to go'</th>
<th>ípu 'to come'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>púlu</td>
<td>'I am...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púi</td>
<td>'you are...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púla</td>
<td>'he is...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púlupa</td>
<td>'we two are...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púlupi</td>
<td>'you two are...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púluma</td>
<td>'we all are...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púlumi</td>
<td>'you all/they are...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cont. on next page
### TABLE 3 (Cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pu 'to go'</th>
<th>pu 'to come'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puwa 'I ... recently'</td>
<td>epawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puæ 'you ... recently'</td>
<td>epae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puæa 'he ... recently'</td>
<td>epaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puæpa 'we two ... recently'</td>
<td>epapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puæpe 'you two ... recently'</td>
<td>épape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puæama 'we all ... recently'</td>
<td>épama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puæame 'you all/they ... recently'</td>
<td>épame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palua 'I will...'</td>
<td>epaluа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palı 'you will...'</td>
<td>epali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palıa 'he will...'</td>
<td>epaliа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palıpa 'we two will...'</td>
<td>epalipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palıpi 'you two will...'</td>
<td>epalıpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palıma 'we all will...'</td>
<td>epalıma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palıimi 'you all/they will...'</td>
<td>epalımi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>písu 'I ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisi 'you ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisa 'he ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>písipa 'we two ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>písıpl 'you two ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisıpl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>písima 'we all ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>písimi 'you all/they ... sometime ago'</td>
<td>īpisimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe 'I have...'</td>
<td>īpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pé 'you have...'</td>
<td>īпе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pęa 'he has...'</td>
<td>īpea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pepa 'we two have...'</td>
<td>īpepa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pépe 'you two have...'</td>
<td>īpepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pęma 'we all have...'</td>
<td>īpena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peme 'you all/they have...'</td>
<td>īpeme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3. FURTHER PARADIGMS

As indicated in the previous section verbs in Kewa occur with two sets of suffixes, depending on the benefactive nature of the action. Both sets are now listed with the verb stem ada 'to see' with each of the five basic tenses.

(1) Present Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego-centric</th>
<th>Alter-centric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sg ada-lo 'I am looking'</td>
<td>adaa-to 'I am looking for...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sg ada-le 'you are....'</td>
<td>adaa-te 'you are..........'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sg ada-la 'he is........'</td>
<td>adaa-ta 'he is............'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 D1 ada-lepa 'we two are..'</td>
<td>adaa-tepa 'we two are........'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 D1 ada-lepe 'you two are.'</td>
<td>adaa-tepe 'you two are........'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cont. on next page

1 In the West, due to a regular sound change where l becomes lost, the form is simply ada-e. This is identical, except for tone, with the past tense form: ada-e.
## Ego-centric (Cont.)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Dl</td>
<td>ada-lepe</td>
<td>'they two are...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pl</td>
<td>ada-lema</td>
<td>'we all are.....'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pl</td>
<td>ada-leme</td>
<td>'you all are.....'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pl</td>
<td>ada-leme</td>
<td>'they all are....'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Alter-centric (Cont.)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Dl</td>
<td>adaa-tepe</td>
<td>'they two are....'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pl</td>
<td>adaa-tema</td>
<td>'we all are........'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pl</td>
<td>adaa-teme</td>
<td>'you all are........'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pl</td>
<td>adaa-teme</td>
<td>'they all are........'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (2) Past Tense

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sg</td>
<td>ada-wa</td>
<td>adaa-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sg</td>
<td>ada-e</td>
<td>adaa-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sg</td>
<td>ada-a</td>
<td>adaa-ria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dl</td>
<td>ada-pa</td>
<td>adaa-ripa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dl</td>
<td>ada-pe</td>
<td>adaa-ripi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dl</td>
<td>ada-pe</td>
<td>adaa-ripi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pl</td>
<td>ada-ma</td>
<td>adaa-rima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pl</td>
<td>ada-me</td>
<td>adaa-rimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pl</td>
<td>ada-me</td>
<td>adaa-rimi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (3) Remote Past Tense

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sg</td>
<td>ade-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sg</td>
<td>ade-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sg</td>
<td>ade-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dl</td>
<td>ade-sipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dl</td>
<td>ade-sipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dl</td>
<td>ade-sipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pl</td>
<td>ade-sima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pl</td>
<td>ade-simi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pl</td>
<td>ade-simi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (4) Future Tense

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sg</td>
<td>ada-lua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sg</td>
<td>ada-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sg</td>
<td>ada-lia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dl</td>
<td>ada-lipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dl</td>
<td>ada-lipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dl</td>
<td>ada-lipi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1EK is identical in Set A, except for 1 Sg, which takes the suffix -kua. Set E is also identical, except for adu-ka (1 sg).
Ego-centric (Cont.) Alter-centric (Cont.)

1 Pl     ada-lima     adaa-lima
2 Pl     ada-limi     adaa-limi
3 Pl     ada-limi     adaa-limi

(5) Perfect Tense

Ego-centric                   Alter-centric

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ego-centric</th>
<th>Alter-centric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sg   ade</td>
<td>adaa-yo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sg   ade</td>
<td>adaa-ye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sg   adea</td>
<td>adaa-ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dl   adepa</td>
<td>adaa-pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dl   adepe</td>
<td>adaa-pe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dl   adepe</td>
<td>adaa-pe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pl   adema</td>
<td>adaa-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pl   ademe</td>
<td>adaa-me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pl   ademe</td>
<td>adaa-me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. HISTORICAL NOTES

As recent as 2000 years ago the Kewa language probably became separated from Proto-Engan, continuing southward away from the present day area of the Enga, which appears to have been the homeland region for the proto-language.

The Kewa language is spoken within what is today called the Southern Highlands Province. The first visit to the Southern Highlands was by L.A. Flint in his ill-famed expedition into the Samberigi Valley (published in Appendix II of the 1921-22 Annual Report for Papua under the title 'Report on the Patrol through the Samberigi Valley, Mount Murray District, Delta Division'). Flint's report includes a daily log, many anthropological notes including the names of tribes, groups, and villages visited, as well as a few scattered phrases of the language. The few words noted are all from the Samberigi language although the expedition visited the Western Teberan language area as well.

The words recognized in Flint's report, his gloss, and our comments on them is as follows:

---

1The 2 Sg form in E and SK is adele. The final syllable is lost in WK, following a regular sound loss.

2This can be derived from a number of factors: by examining the relationship of the grammar, lexicon, and phonology of all present day Engan languages which shows that speakers of the Samberigi language (Sau) must have penetrated southward into the area before a later movement of Huli speakers to the southwest, but much later than the Wiru speakers to the southeast.
p. 144 kamio 'friend' (generally hami plus o 'vocative')

p. 145 amio 'friend' (loss of k-, perhaps dialectal)
ba ba 'go away' (probably 'let's go together')
dia dia 'no, no kill us' (simply 'no, no')

p. 149 samberi-gi 'tube' (the name of the place or land followed by the archaic -gi suffix)

p. 150 ago 'belt' (shows the loss of k- or perhaps h-, although the latter is not recognized;).

Flint's report clearly shows that the Samberigi and perhaps southernmost S. Kewa areas were visited. The Kewa area was not visited again (if Flint did indeed reach any S. Kewa villages) until 1935 when Hides and O'Malley crossed the Papuan Plateau from the Strickland to the Purari.

In 1939 I. Champion and A.T. Timperley patrolled the Mubi, Erave, Iaro, Kagua, Akuru, Nembì, and Wagü Valleys thus penetrating all the main areas of the Kewa as well as the Det or Megi dialects of Mendi and the Kutubu language (Foe) area as well. Earlier (1935) Champion and C.J. Adamson, in their Bamu-Purari expedition, skirted the Kewa area when they walked up the Mendi grass basin and climbed Mt. Ialibu.

After the Second World War when the patrol post was re-opened at Lake Kutubu, patrols into the Kewa area became more frequent and in 1949 an airstrip site was found in the Mendi Valley. In November 1950 the first plane landed and by 1951 headquarters for the area had been moved from Kutubu to Mendi.

Missionaries from the Unevangelized Fields Mission (now the Asian Pacific Christian Mission) arrived at Lake Kutubu in 1949 and at Erave in 1953. Although APCM opened a station at Lombö in the E. Kewa in 1953, this was later abandoned and is presently occupied by the Bible Missionary Church. The latter group also has stations at Pagogle on the Ialibu-Mendi road and at Warababe on the Ialibu-Pangia road.

In 1955 the Ialibu government station was opened, followed by the Kagua station in 1957. The Capuchin order of the Catholic church and the Lutheran Mission established stations at Ialibu shortly after the government station opened. The Catholics opened a station at Karla near Kagua in 1958 and the same year the Lutheran mission opened Wabi station, eight miles west of Kagua.

Other mission stations in the Kewa area are located at Pulupape (EK, the Evangelical Bible Mission), Kataloma (SK, the Evangelical Wesleyan Mission), Ialibu (EK, the Gospel Tidings Mission), Poroma area (WK, the Christian Union Mission), and at Sumi (Capuchin Order). Work by the
authors began in 1958 under the auspices of the S.I.L. at Muli (EK) along the present day Ialibu-Kagua road and continued until 1962. From 1964-67 a second S.I.L. team were located at Mull while we began work at Usa (WK) in 1967. We continued there until 1972 when the translation work and field project was concluded. A government patrol officer is now in residence at Usa.

4.1. NASALISATION IN KEWA DIALECTS

4.1.0. Introduction

Nasalisation in the Kewa language is found, in general only south of the Kagua River and Kware Valley area. In the Northwest sub-dialect area, the northern part of the West dialect and most of the East dialect (except for the southernmost border) the nasalisation of vowels is rarely heard. When heard it is by speakers who have migrated into the area from the south, either due to marriage or for some other reason.

The three main dialects of Kewa, as well as minor sub-dialectal areas have been outlined in some detail elsewhere (Franklin 1968). A great deal is also known about the languages which surround the Kewa territory, particularly to the south and west (Franklin, ed. 1973). It has been found, for example, that a so-called 'nasalisation belt' encompasses a large part of the Southern Highlands, as well as the Gulf Province and westward into the Western Province (Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973). In this section I describe how certain changes in Kewa have contributed to vowel nasalisation and also briefly comment on nasalisation from other languages adjacent to the general area.

4.1.1. Phonemic Nasalisation

The phonemic status of vowel nasalisation can be demonstrated in two main dialect areas of Kewa. In the following examples pairs 1-5 are from the South dialect, 6-10 are from the West. Nasalisation is represented orthographically by a macron over the vowel.

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1 This paper first appeared in *Kivung* 8/1:72-86, 1975, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

2 Kewa is spoken by over 40,000 people in the Southern Highlands. Although numerous publications have appeared, the main studies have been on the dialects (Franklin 1968) and a grammar of West Kewa (Franklin 1971). Abbreviations used here are PK = Pre-Kewa, PE = Proto-Engan, WK = West Kewa, EK = East Kewa, and SK = South Kewa. Research has been supported, in part, from the PNG Research Fund of S.I.L.
Evidence from words in other village areas indicates that vowel nasalisation may be a feature of /e/ as well, e.g.: 'ee 'eye', êê 'tongue', in the SK Kuare (Kilibimi village) area. In other words, the feature is presently found with all phonemic vowels, although it is most frequently associated with a central vowel, particularly /aa/.¹

Taken on the whole, however, vowel nasalisation in the lexicon is infrequent in Kewa and rare in the morphology. There seems to be several historical reasons for the present vowel nasalisation, but the main one is the loss of a relic suffix. The loss of an intervocalic *-k-, certain sound changes, such as *l > n or *nd > t, in which case certain adjacent vowels retain the nasal feature, have also contributed to the present status of vowel nasalisation. An intermediate stage of *l > ñl may be implied on the *l > n change.

4.1.2. The Relic Suffix

In certain areas of Kewa, particularly SK, the form ânge 'foot, leg' will be found. The final syllable is a retention of the suffix *-ŋgV, which is reflected as -ŋgV, -kV, and -ŋV in other languages of the family.² In other villages of Kewa there is a general progression of forms which clearly reveals how the nasalisation feature of the suffix was retained in some areas, but lost in others. For example: ânge > ANge > ññ, while elsewhere âge > ññ. The correspondence of ñg : ɡ is

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¹See Franklin and Franklin (1962:29) for earlier considerations of /a/ in East Kewa as a unit or as a geminate cluster. In West Kewa, as well as in this section, [a] and [a] are represented in the orthography by a and aa, respectively. The latter most frequently arises in Kewa when a consonant contiguous to a higher central vowel is lost, or in some cases, when a syllable is lost. There are other factors as well which help to account for the present day contrast of the two central vowels. The vowel /aa/ is also frequently the historical result of a contiguous consonant loss.

²Further details may be found in Franklin (1974, 1975), as well as in Kerr (1975). The suffix is also apparent in languages of the Kutubu-Bosavi area and is reflected in forms such as -nV ~ -kV in Fasu and -xV in Foe (Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973:174).
a common one between South Kewa on the one hand and East and West Kewa on the other.

The particular vowel of the suffix is variable and follows a present day morphophonemic rule of vowel harmony which is essentially the same in Kewa and several other languages in the family. The rule is that the vowel of the suffix is identical with the final vowel of the stem, unless the final vowel is a, in which case the vowel of the suffix is e. The rule may be represented as:

\[ V \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V_a \\ e \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} V_e \\ a \end{bmatrix} - C \]

where C is any velar or nasal consonant.

Some examples of words in present day Kewa with vowel nasalisation probably reflecting the loss of the relic suffixes include: (11) masaa 'back'; (12) oraa 'palm'; (13) ekataa 'little finger'; (14) pasaa 'shoulder'; (15) agaa 'month'; (16) maa 'neck'; (17) arotaa 'armpit'; (18) popaa 'wing'; (19) kidipaa 'claw, finger-nail'; (20) raa 'bush'; (21?) e 'garden'; (22) kaga 'new, green'; (23) saa 'we two'; (24) naaa 'we all'.

In 11-19, as well as many words in la-10a, body parts are represented. Body parts and kinship terms commonly reflect suffix in other languages of the family, although free pronouns, demonstratives, certain interrogatives, and some qualifiers have also retained it.\(^1\)

There is also evidence from PE that Kewa dialects which reflect vowel nasalisation in contiguous vowels have lost an intervocalic nasal, rather than simply the relic suffix:

(25) kaa 'cross-cousin' < *kani, which in turn came from PE *kani-ŋki

It is possible that maa 'uncle' had a similar origin and other two vowel sequences may suggest similar origins: kaa 'lizard'; paa 'check'; saa 'hornbill'; waa 'suddenly' and noe 'needle'.

4.1.3. Sound Changes

Other words with vowel nasalisation reflect the change of *l > n, or *nd > t in Kewa. Examples of the first are as follows:

(26) kaa 'ear' < PE *kale-ŋge *k a l e

(26a) aane < PK *kale ə a n e ə

I do not see how the habitual suffix -nge/-ngi in present day Enga (R. Lang 1970: 124) can be derived from the same relic proto-form unless this is equivalent to the Kewa -ne '(nominaliser)'. Lang states that this is the only area in Enga where the form is still viable and considers that -gE might be considered a verbal nominaliser.
It is possible to suggest that the vowel nasalisation was a direct result of the loss of PE *-nge and that no intermediate stage was involved. If this is the case it makes it difficult to account for the lack of vowel nasalisation on the vowel e, which was contiguous to the pre-nasalised relic suffix. In fact when such direct losses of the relic suffix can be attested without any necessary intermediate stage the final vowel is nasalised in certain dialect areas:

(27) lē 'eye' < PE *ili -ngi

The dialectal form for ini 'eye' in West Kewa must then reflect:

PE  
*ili -ngi
↓↓↓
ini Ș where l : n is a regular sound correspondence and the final vowel of the proto-suffix follows regular vowel harmony rules. Although dialects of Kewa reflect l : n as regular correspondences this is never the case with relic suffixes. Mendì, as well as Kewa, the following correspondences are noted:

(a) before high vowels - l : n : ñ : t : t : Ș
(b) elsewhere - l : n : n : Ș

Further examples of vowel nasalisation contiguous to l are as follows:

(28) wēlē  'nose'
(29) pēle  'fat over the ribs'
(30) môle  'fog'
(31) sāla  'type of fish'
(32) òlemôle  'something'
(33) ăali  'husband'

Examples (28), (29) and (33) are suspect of either an intermediate stage where l > Șl, the loss of *-ngV, or both.

As indicated above, vowel nasalisation may reflect a loss not always apparent today. Note for example, these dialect variations: (30a) moāe 'fog, cloud'; (34) peāu 'nose'; and (35) koāu 'back'. Such three vowel sequences are rare, but suggest a contiguous nasal at some point in time.

The loss of the prenasalised feature of a voiced stop is more easily seen in many words, but ng : ș is the most common:

(36) āgale < angale 'speech'
(37) pāga < pânga 'to hear'

The correspondence nd : t is also found:

(38) māita < mandia 'to carry in a bag'
(39) piṭa < pinta 'root'
as found in a few areas of Kewa

In one area mb : b is found:
(40) bëbë < mbembo 'to stir up'

4.1.4. Morphology

In SK in certain verb paradigms nasalisation accompanies only certain tenses. Note for example the future and remote past tenses for mēa 'to fetch':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fut.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Dl.</th>
<th>RP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mula</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mTsua</td>
<td>mTsima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mTli</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mTsip</td>
<td>mTsima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mTlia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>mTsip</td>
<td>mTsima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems likely that mēa < *minV, with the common n > l change and subsequent retention of the nasal feature. The form miningi 'to hold in the hands' in Enga lends some support to this reconstruction. In each paradigm of mēa, vowel nasalisation accompanies only the morphophonemically determined stem vowel /i/.

Other instances of vowel nasalisation in SK occur in the future tense of a few verbs. Some examples are:

(41) toā 'I will speak' < la 'to speak'
(42) lamulā 'I will marry' < lamua 'to marry'
(43) punyulā 'I will shepherd' < punya 'to shepherd'
(44) połōā 'I will chop' < poa 'to chop'
(45) połā 'I will go' < pu 'to go'

Forms such as (41) and (44) correspond with to-wa 'I will speak', in the NW area of Kewa. It seems likely that the loss of intervocalic -w- has resulted in nasalisation in some cases. Where ā follows l this may again be the result of *l > n.

4.1.5. Other Examples

In this section examples of words with vowel nasalisation are listed according to some of the historical factors which have influenced the nasalisation.

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1Abbreviations are: Fut. = Future; RP = Remote Past; 1, 2, 3 = first, second and third person; Sg. = Singular; Dl. = Dual; Pl. = Plural.
4.1.5.1. Contiguous to ŋŋ or *ŋŋ:

*agā or āga* 'pandanus'
*ēkapita* 'comb'
*ōge* 'small'
*rōgaa* 'to bind'
*yōngale* 'skin'

*Contiguous to* Qg or *Qg:

*nōŋgo* 'girl'
*pūŋu* 'to stink'
*tāŋga* 'ashes'
*pānge* 'also'

4.1.5.2. Contiguous to the relic suffix:

*abūāā* 'head'
*ō* 'scales, scab'
*wasāā* 'soul, shadow'
*kagāā* 'new'
*arāā* 'father (reference)'
*pū* 'liver'

*Malāā* 'index finger'
*rē* 'base'
*adēā* 'beg'
*medēā* 'the same'
*yō* 'leaf'

4.1.5.3. Contiguous to a present day nasal:

*kuma* 'soft'
*nāa-* 'negative'

*mūma* 'quail'
*nū* 'net bag'

4.1.5.4. Loss of an intervocalic consonant:

*kapēāā* 'lid'
*nāT* 'boy'

*nēlēā nēlēā* 'cicada'
*wēT* 'suddenly'

4.1.5.5. Contiguous to *-l-:

*wēli* 'nose'
*ekēli* 'little finger'

*kāle* 'ear'

4.1.5.6. Central vowel insertion:

*moe* 'fog'
*noē* 'armbone'

*peāu* 'check'
*koāu* 'back'

4.1.5.7. Contiguous to mb or PK *nd:

*kalāmbē* 'clavicle'
*pītyaa* 'root'

*māltya* 'cricket'
*pāmba* 'to fill up'

4.1.5.8. Other factors:

*kāyo pi* 'egg yolk'
*sāyale* 'wild pig'

*kāyo* 'red'

The latter may be the result of *nd : ny : ty : y* correspondences found in a few examples.
4.1.6. Other Languages

Phonemic vowel nasalisation occurs in other languages of the Engan family (Sau or Sambergi, Huli, Wiru), the Teberan family (MacDonald 1973), Pawala (Trefry 1969), Fasu and Foe on opposite sides of Lake Kutubu (Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973), as well as the Bosavi area and the Strickland Plains (Shaw 1973). This is an area inland in the Gulf and Southern Highlands from the Vailala River in the east to the Strickland River in the west. There are also some languages west of the Strickland with vowel nasalisation.

It is only in the Engan family that we can demonstrate at present some of the historical factors responsible for vowel nasalisation.

Examples where vowel nasalisation in free pronouns reflect the loss of an adjacent nasal consonant can be found in Huli and Sau: i for first person singular in both languages. The form is identical for second person singular in Huli, but with a low tone. Other languages in families in the nasalisation belt (such as the Strickland Plains and Lake Tebera area) also have a nasalised vowel for first person singular. Certain languages of these same two families have a nasal consonant plus nasalised vowel for the second person, singular form, for example nyi in Suri (in the Teberan family) and no in Kubo (in the Strickland Plains).

There is no evidence of the relic suffix in present day languages occurring with natural objects, foodstuffs, or verbs. It seems that the -kE habitual suffix marker in present day Enga is a homophonous, but different, form.

In the Teberan family George MacDonald (personal communication) reports that vowel nasalisation is not particularly related to body parts although a few, such as sāgā 'leg, foot', penāli 'chin', and pisīlti 'lower leg', have nasalised vowels. In fact, in Dadibi (of the Teberan family near Karimui) MacDonald reports that the bulk of the forms with nasalised vowels are nouns which are names of items in nature, e.g. hō 'star', tō 'ground', tōli 'cassowary type', yōwī 'moss type', etc. In addition certain descriptives and a few verb forms exhibit vowel nasalisation.

MacDonald notes two interesting features about vowel nasalisation in Dadibi: 1. wherever there is a backed ə in the language, with like vowels contiguous, the vowels are nasal, except for -igi, e.g. sāgā 'foot, leg', sēgē heavy', sōgō 'tobacco', but sīgi 'cane type'; 2. syllables with nasalised vowels are always low tone, except for 3rd singular pronouns.¹

¹MacDonald relates this to Pawala (Trefry 1969:13). He feels that the impression of more nasalisation in Pawala can be attributed to verbal suffixes with nasalisation.
One additional observation in Dadibi, which parallels historical developments in Kewa, is that the normal recent past suffix -ali > -ani, when the verb stem vowel is nasalised, e.g. kē 'to pull' + -ali > kāni 'pulled'.

In H.B. Kerr's excellent Wiru dictionary, unfortunately as yet unpublished, there are examples which may suggest that vowel nasalisation developed along lines similar in Wiru:

1. adjacent to velars (perhaps a suffix):
   - āko 'open mouth'
   - kāūko 'shatter'
   - kōko 'disobey'
   - pāko 'break open'
   - tūko 'multiply'
   - tōko 'to utter words'
   All of these are verbals with a final syllable of -ko.

2. in the first of two vowel sequences:
   - āl 'fat'
   - āu 'to bark'
   - kāia 'many'
   - kō 'to be straight'
   - lēo 'crystal of salt'
   - maio 'pearl shell crescent'
   - pōi 'saliva'
   - To 'cockroach'
   This suggests the loss of *-n-.

Similar patterns may be found in Fasu and Foe, suggesting either a relic suffix with a velar or alveolar nasal or in Fasu something like *n- > h. Some examples in Fasu are:

In Foe:
   - ī 'eye'
   - hāī 'egg'
   - hē 'water' (cf. the earlier Dadibi example)
   - hāase 'pandanus'
   - ūkē 'stone'

In Foe:
   - ī 'eye'
   - gī 'shoulder'
   - sāe 'hair'
   - gumūxu 'heart'
The language families in the general area (Franklin, ed. 1973) where vowel nasalisation can be found, can then be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY</th>
<th>LANGUAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teberan:</td>
<td>Dadibi, Polopa dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawaia:</td>
<td>Pawaian dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutubuan, E. and W.:</td>
<td>Poe, Pasu, Namumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engan (West Central):</td>
<td>S. Kewa, Sau, Huli, Wiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosavian:</td>
<td>Kaluli, Biami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strickland:</td>
<td>Bibo, Honibo, Kubo, Samo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turama-Kikorian:</td>
<td>Ikobi-Kairi, Kairi, Mena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inland Gulf:</td>
<td>Ipiko, Minanibai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified:</td>
<td>Porome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous:</td>
<td>Bogaya, Pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.7. Conclusion

Vowel nasalisation is an important clue for any historical comparison in the south, south-central area of Papua New Guinea. The processes which have led to the development of vowel nasalisation in Kewa will most likely be paralleled in other languages of the general area.

4.2. MENDI VOWELS

4.2.0. Introduction

The Mendi language, often called Angal or Angal Heneng by the people, consists of at least three major dialects with over 45,000 speakers. The language area lies wholly in the Southern Highlands, mainly in the Nembí, Wage, Lai, and Mendi valleys.

Linguistically, Mendi is within the same language family (Engan) as Enga, Huli, Ipili, Sau, Kewa, Wiru, and perhaps one or two additional

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¹This paper first appeared in *Kivung* 7/3:167-77, 1974 and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.
languages.\textsuperscript{1}

In this section the phonemically attested vowels of present day Mendi Proper are compared with those of other closely related languages, particularly Kewa. An attempt is made to determine how the vowels of Mendi are derived from Proto-Engan, the parent language. It is suggested that only five vowels were present in Proto-Engan.

4.2.1. The Mendi Vowels

According to W.M. and J.E. Rule (1960) the following eight phonemic vowels occur in present day Mendi:\textsuperscript{2}

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{i} \\
\text{u} \\
\text{e} \\
\text{o} \\
\text{æ} \\
\text{ɔ} \\
\text{ä} \\
\text{a}
\end{array}
\]

The vowel symbols represent traditional phonetic values except that /æ/ is higher, /e/ and /ɔ/ are lower, and /a/ has an allophone [ʌ] which occurs word finally in unstressed syllables.

\textsuperscript{1}Other names for Mendi dialects are Wola, essentially west of the Mendi valley and the dialect with the major number of speakers; Augu basically the same as Wola but further south; Megi, in the valleys of the Lal River area, and Mendi Proper, which is north of the town of Mendi. The area well south of Nipa is also a dialect area. In this section Mendi always refers to Mendi Proper. I wish to thank Alan Healey for comments on this section, first presented at the 1974 Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea.

Historical aspects of the language family are commented upon by Wurm (1965), Franklin and Voorhoeve (1973), Franklin (1975), and Kerr (1975). Capell (1948-9) first published data which supported the existence of such a group, but it was Wurm (1960a, 1960b, 1962) who demonstrated in more detail the interrelationship of the West-Central language family - as he later (1965) called it. Lang (1970) suggests that Nete, (also called Gadio in another dialect area) lying to the north of the Enga area, also belongs to the Engan family. Lang (personal communication) believes that Lemben is an additional Engan language, located somewhere in the middle Yuat.

\textsuperscript{2}It seems that the distinction between æ and a are either neutralised in other dialects, or not really phonemic in Mendi. This will be dealt with later.

Consonants in Mendi are: p, k (both voiceless); b, d, g, j (each prenasalised), m, n, s, r (flapped medially, voiceless and slightly retroflexed initially); l (flapped) and ñ (voiceless, but sometimes alveopalatal); w, y, and h. Several orthographies have been derived over the years for Mendi and its dialects, including those by the Apostolic Christian Church, the United Church, the Capuchin Order of the Catholic Church, the Christian Union Mission, and W.M. and J.E. Rule (of the Asian Pacific Christian Mission). Almost all of these symbolise seventeen consonants and either seven or eight vowels. For proto-forms the symbols for prenasalised stops are written as digraphs, in that this may influence the interpretation of syllable breaks. Hyphens mark suffixes. Other symbols are equivalent to those used for Mendi, unless otherwise noted.

V.K. Schlatter (n.d.), of the Apostolic Christian Church, in his orthography outlines the following phonemes: p, t (voiceless and flapped finally), kl (a velar lateral), b, d, g, mb, nd, ng, nj, j, h, m, n, l, ñ, w, y. His vowels are: i, e, æ, a, u, o, and ɔ.
Some words employing these eight vowels are:

/ɪ/ /ki/ 'arm' /u/ /ipu/ '3rd sing.'
/ɪɾ/ 'hair' /pʊ/ 'I am going
/ɾ/ 'wood, tree' /sʊkʊ/ 'snake'

/e/ /pe/ 'bamboo' /o/ /so/ 'leaf'
/epe/ 'good' /od/ 'banana'
/pesə/ 'shoulder' /noʊ/ 'girl'

/œ/ /sœ/ 'rain' /o/ /mo/ 'taro'
/œp/ 'salt' /od/ 'breast'
/kaɛb/ 'pitpit' /so/ 'bird'

/o/ /ap/ 'father' /ʊ/ /ap/ 'who'
/kap/ 'two' /mɑ/ 'uncle'
/ad/ 'house'
/dəbələ/ 'yesterday'

The four vowels in particular which prove troublesome, from a historical point of view are: /ə/, /œ/, /o/, and /œ/. These will be examined in more detail and compared with other vowels in Engan languages.

4.2.2. Regular Vowel Corresondences

Four regular vowel and one vowel glide correspondences in present day Engan languages are demonstrated in Chart 10.¹

Chart 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>kuli</td>
<td>uni</td>
<td>holiki</td>
<td>kuli</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>kulini</td>
<td>[tono]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'hair'</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>itiki</td>
<td>iti</td>
<td>iri</td>
<td>itini</td>
<td>[pine]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'hand'</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kiki</td>
<td>kingi</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kini</td>
<td>[yono]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
<td>adu</td>
<td>odu</td>
<td>andu</td>
<td>andu</td>
<td>adu</td>
<td>adu</td>
<td>adu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'netbag'</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nuu</td>
<td>[k̑a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'earth'</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
<td>keke</td>
<td>hege</td>
<td>kekeke</td>
<td>kekenge</td>
<td>hege</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td>keke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'brother'</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td>hame</td>
<td>hameme</td>
<td>[kaiminïngi]</td>
<td>hameme</td>
<td>amene</td>
<td>wamene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'sore'</td>
<td>rere</td>
<td>rer</td>
<td>tete</td>
<td>tete</td>
<td>dere</td>
<td>tete</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Abbreviations used in this section are: (K)ewa, (M)endi, (S)au, (E)nga, (H)uli, (I)pili, and (W)iru.
By examining other dialects of Mendi we find in each a similar pattern: generally more than a five vowel system with the six or seven vowels low and often central ones. However, the proto-language never appears to reflect more than five vowel correspondences and a vowel glide, causing us to suspect that extra vowels in present day Mendi are recent and the result of syllable patterns where certain consonants are lost. We will return to the correspondences of the central vowel (the fifth one and not given in Chart 10) in the following sections.

4.2.3. Vowels without Regular Correspondences

We now turn to the vowels which do not have regular correspondences between Mendi and other Engan languages.

Mendi /a/ is low and central, occurring in all positions. In the final position of unstressed syllables it usually actualises as [ə]. It is reflected in other languages mostly in words which demonstrate the loss of a final vowel (or occasionally a suffix), or an initial consonant. The loss of this and other final vowels is reflected by equivalent voiceless vowels in cognates found in Enga and the Northwest dialect of Kewa.

Chart 11 gives examples of Mendi forms and their proposed proto-form counterparts for the single syllable words.
Mendi /a/ has come from *a, but usually accompanied by the loss of a final vowel or final syllable. In cases such as (7-9) the initial consonant has been lost, although in some dialects of Mendi k- > h-. The suffix *ŋkV (1, 5, 7) is commented upon in more detail later.

Mendi /o/ is front, low, and closed and contrasts with /ä/, which is also front and low, but open, (W.M. and J.E. Rule (1960) and J. Rule (1965)). These vowels are contrasted by the Rules in pairs such as:

(13) /ɔp/ 'salt' and (14) /œp/ 'who'
(15) /ɔm/ 'rain' and (16) /m̥/ 'uncle'

Few such contrasts appear in data given by the Rules and the present day functional load of /ä/ appears to be quite low. Other students of Mendi, such as M. and R. Reeson (n.d.) and V.K. Schlatter (n.d.) do not distinguish between the two vowels in the Nipa (West) dialect of Mendi. The functional load is not only low but the contrast apparently does not exist in other dialects of Mendi. In fact, in Nipa the above words are

---

1 The symbol x represents the protophoneme */kh/ which split into */k/ and */h/, representing some intermediate stage. The suffix -ne of this form and others and -ke in words such as (5) are retained strongly in several languages, e.g. Sau, Enga (-kV), Ipili, Wiru, and often Hull (-nV). Kewa and Mendi are weak in this respect, although not entirely. See also fn. 2 on page 75.

2 In my own materials of Mendi I have never phonemicised more than six vowels and a diphthong - which could be written or interpreted as a seventh vowel. My phonemic experience in Kewa undoubtedly influences such an interpretation. Reeson's and Schlatter's phonemicisation have seven vowels for the dialect in the Nipa area.
written by Reesons as (13) eip, (14) œp, (15) sei, and (16) mœ.

In the rest of this section /œ/ is written to cover Rules' /œ/ and /œ/. Examples of words with /œ/ in Mendi and their proto-Engan counterparts are given in Chart 12.

Chart 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Mendi</th>
<th>Proto-Engan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(17) 'sister'</td>
<td>øki</td>
<td>*kaki-ŋki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18) 'uncle'</td>
<td>mœ</td>
<td>*ameya (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19) 'edible greens'</td>
<td>rœn</td>
<td>*rani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20) 'fine weather'</td>
<td>pœn</td>
<td>*pani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) 'rain'</td>
<td>sœ</td>
<td>*sai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(22) 'salt'</td>
<td>œp</td>
<td>*aipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23) 'today'</td>
<td>øbi</td>
<td>*abiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24) 'calf of leg'</td>
<td>rœpe</td>
<td>*ruakape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25) 'garden fence'</td>
<td>pœp</td>
<td>*pape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26) 'sweet potato'₁</td>
<td>sœp</td>
<td>*sapira (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/œ/ has come from either *ai or from *a, when it is followed by *i or *e in the syllable which is usually subsequently lost. Note that *a > /œ/ in *ma-ŋke (5), *xame- ke (7), *kari (8), but that *a > /œ/ in *pape (25, *pani (20), and others.

Several additional comments should be made about the following reconstructions. First of all, the loss of a final vowel or syllable again influences the development of /œ/, e.g., (17-20, 23-26). Secondly, reflections of the diphthong /ai/ as in (21-22) can be readily found in languages such as Kewa yai 'rain' and aipa 'salt'. In other dialects of Mendi this reflects as [ε¹] commonly. Thirdly, the presence of initial *x can again be noted in (17). Fourthly, the loss of a medial k is suggested in (24) and this is by no means uncommon in other Engan languages. Note: *ruakape > *ruaanpe to probably Rœpe. Finally, (26) suggests a final syllable which is sometimes reflected in Huli and a form which in many respects is similar to present day Fasu (see Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973) supuru 'sweet potato'.

Mendi /œ/ reflects then a front vowel, as well as a phonemic diphthong (a central vowel followed by a high front vowel) which have merged. The

₁I have omitted verbs, mainly due to morpho-phonemic processes which often allow changes in the vowels in verb stems when tenses occur. Concerning loans, it is interesting to note that only /œ/ is found in Pidgin loan words such as popœ 'paper' and kopœ 'cabbage'.

process may be quite recent, resulting in the present [ʊ] contrast. Further support is suggested from the Wola dialect, where /eɪ/ and /o/ are recorded, rather than [ʊ] versus [o]. In other words in forms such as *sai (21) and *aipi (26) the Wola dialect has not merged the reflexes of *CaC and *CaCV.

Mendi /ɔ/ is well attested, as shown in Chart 13. However, there does not seem to be any basis to reconstruct this vowel in Proto-Engan. There are still problems on how to predict when *a > /a/ and when *a > /ɔ/; for example *kako (9) > ak, but *anda (3) > ᵇd; *ma-ke (5) > ma, but *sy-ke (44) > yo. In other words it is not simply that in every case /ɔ/ has arisen from *a after the loss of a final vowel, initial consonant, or suffix. Rather the vowels /ɔ/ and /a/ have split from *a on the basis of the phonetic nature of the consonants and vowels. Basically the split follows this general pattern:

* a > a, where the suffix is usually absent in the proto-form, and adjacent consonants are not fricatives.

* a > o, where the suffix is usually present in the proto-form, and adjacent consonants have a quality of friction associated with them.

In cases where this does not hold other factors, such as vowel harmony, have to be taken into account.

Chart 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Mendi</th>
<th>Proto-Engan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(27) 'man'</td>
<td>οτ</td>
<td>*xakalyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28) 'husband'</td>
<td>οτί</td>
<td>*xakalyi-ŋki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29) 'father' (reference)</td>
<td>ᵇο</td>
<td>*xara-ŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(30) 'sibling' (opposite sex)</td>
<td>οτί</td>
<td>*balyi-ŋki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31) 'father's sister'</td>
<td>erob</td>
<td>*arambo (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(32) 'head'</td>
<td>wosubọ</td>
<td>*wasamba-ŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33) 'forehead'</td>
<td>wọnọ</td>
<td>*weno-ŋko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(34) 'chin'</td>
<td>sọgọ</td>
<td>*syaga-ŋke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In an intermediate stage two suffixes can be proposed: *-N and *-K. These undoubtedly reflect an earlier stage, probably *ŋkV which split into the -KV forms, represented by Sau and Enga, and the -N forms, represented by Huli, Ipili, and to a lesser extent by Wiru. Kewa has only an occasional N or KV form and Mendi has neither. Both forms are retained in the reconstructions above. The /sy/ phone represents forms which reflect [s], [ʃ], [ʒ], [z], and [j] in present day languages; /R/ represents what is usually a retroflexed flapped lateral.
Chart 13 (Cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Mendi</th>
<th>Proto-Engan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(35) 'stomach'</td>
<td>robo</td>
<td>*rombe-ŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36) 'bark'</td>
<td>mes</td>
<td>*masya-ŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(37) 'shoulder'</td>
<td>pes</td>
<td>*pasya-ŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(38) 'breast'</td>
<td>ɔd</td>
<td>*andu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39) 'possum'</td>
<td>ɔp</td>
<td>*syapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(40) 'bird'</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>*syaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41) 'sugar cane'</td>
<td>ɔɔt</td>
<td>*walyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42) 'taro'</td>
<td>ɔɔ</td>
<td>*anama (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(43) 'smoke'</td>
<td>ɔɔɔt</td>
<td>*Rondo lyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(44) 'we two'</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>*sy-aŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(45) 'we plural'</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>*nyi-ŋki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a general rule Mendi /ɔ/ always corresponds to /aa/ in Kewa in open syllables; in checked syllables it usually corresponds to /a/.

4.2.4. A Comment on Other Factors

There is one further item which should be mentioned: the function of tone in Kewa and other languages of the family may sometimes carry the equivalent load of the extra vowel in Mendi:

- K ɔɔ 'neck' and maa 'taro', are equivalent to M ma and mo;
- K ɔɔ 'man' and aa 'foot' are equivalent to M ɔt and aɡa;
- K yɔɔ 'sky' and yaa 'bird' are equivalent to M rugi and ɔɔ.

In these cases, however, K aa corresponds to M a on the one hand (neck) but to ɔ on the other hand (man). As stated above Mendi ɔ and *ly appear to be the main contributing factor.

The interpretation of the central vowels in many languages of Papua New Guinea has always presented a problem and is undoubtedly linked to phonetic features of stress and tone, as well as syllable structure. With Mendi it is not simply the central vowels, but all low vowels, which reflect problems in the phonemic interpretation of vowels, both in present day Mendi and in Proto-Engan.

4.2.5. A Summary of the Engan Family

Wurm (1965:387), by means of a family tree diagram, suggested six major separations between proto-Engan and the present day languages of the family. His groupings of present day languages is: (1) Wiru; (2) Huli and Huliduna; (3) Ipili; (4) Enga and Kyaka; (5) Lembten; and (6) Augu, Sau, Pole, Kewapi, and Mendi.
It is now possible to clarify these groupings as follows:

(1) Wiru, according to Kerr (1975) is "an isolated member of a more extensive language grouping with a greater time depth than that underlying the relationship between the families of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock." The reflection of the suffix *-nV is strikingly apparent between Wiru and Ipili;

(2) Huli and Huliduna are the same language;

(3) Ipili, as noted, has at least one common retention with Wiru but in its free pronominal forms and other aspects is closely related to Enga;

(4) Enga and Kyaka are dialects;

(5) the status of Lemben is uncertain, but it is located in the middle Yuat area and is closest geographically to Kyaka;

(6) Augu is a western dialect of Mendi; Pole is the southern dialect of Kewa(pi); Sau is a separate language with certain features, such as the retention of -ke, similar to Enga, but with free pronominal forms more akin to Huli, Kewa, and Mendi. On the basis of free pronouns alone one historical diversion which can be suggested is:

```
Proto-Engan
   \_________Ipilic
       \________Hulic
            \____Mendic
             \____Wiru
                 \____Ipili
                      \____Enga
                           \____Huli
                                \____Sau
                                     \____Kewa
                                          \____Mendi
```
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5. SYSTEM OF ENTRIES AND ABBREVIATIONS

5.1. ENTRIES

A boldface entry at the extreme left of any page or column identifies a main entry. The entry may be a single word, a hyphenated word, or a combination of words:

remo n

tu lopaa vp

remona-kibita n

There are no indented sub-entries in the dictionary, but alphabetization clearly indicates when a particular entry is in some sense related to a string of entries which follow. For example, aba is listed as meaning 1. before 2. old and 3. first stage of a plant coming up. It is followed by the related words abade, abala, abana, abane, abasade, and abasana before sequential alphabetization to the unrelated word abako. The material which follows the main entry explains or identifies the item in English, and gives supplementary facts such as the following:

(1) Word class. Every entry is identified, if necessary, according to its main grammatical category. In the three examples above the word classes of the first and third entries are nouns and the second is a noun phrase. Other word classes identified are verb (which could be further subdivided as transitive, intransitive, process, benefactive, stative, and existential), adverb, adjective, pronoun, adjective phrase, deictic, and particle. In the case of longer expressions, such as idioms, the word class is, of course, not identified. Combinations of noun plus certain classificatory verbs (pa 'make', la 'talk', ta 'hit', na 'eat') are also not marked as a particular word class.

(2) Inflectional category. Each verb occurs with a particular set of affixes which allows the identification of the morphophonemic class of the verb. Often the third person singular form of certain tenses
quickly identifies the changes in the final vowels of syllables of their stems:

pira to sit;
pi-ta he is sitting.
mea to take or bring;
mi-sa he brought it (sometime ago).

The dictionary user needs to know that a change automatically takes place on the stem of certain verbs when they combine with certain suffixes. When such changes take place the verb stem is identified as belonging to one of two patterns: L, or E. These patterns are described in Part I, Section 3 of this dictionary, but are not identified for individual verbs.

(3) Homographs. Certain words may have identical spellings. In such cases the words are distinguished by superscript numerals preceding each word. Although tone is not written on any of the entries, the tonal system is described in Section 2 in Part I of this dictionary.

\(^1\text{yaa} \; \text{n} \; \) the generic for any bird
\(^2\text{yaa} \; \text{n} \; \) sky
\(^1\text{pa} \; \text{adv} \; \) just, only
\(^2\text{pa} \; \text{v} \; \) to make, to do

(4) Derived compounds. If a series of words or phrases are built upon a basic form, the basic form is listed initially, followed by the hyphenated derived entries:

aalu \; \text{n} \; \text{head}
aalu-ipa \; \text{n} \; \text{baptism}

Normal alphabetisation then resumes following the related series of entries.

(5) Semantic distinctions. The Arabic numerals which occur in the definition of an entry divide the senses:

reke \; \text{n} \; 1. any platform, bed or ladder
2. the cage for a cassowary made of slats

(6) Sentence examples. In many instances the entry is used in a Kewa sentence to help the reader better grasp its use in context. The illustrations are enclosed in parentheses with the word being illustrated in italics:

riripia \; \text{v} \; 1. to tear or rip something
(lapalapa otaga riripia: the cloth is old so rip it up)
In such cases a colon separates the Kewa sentence and the English translation.

(7) Supplementary information. Square brackets immediately following the English definition enclose: (a) botanical names, where this is possible; (b) a literal rendering of the vernacular, if this would be helpful and can be supplied; (c) information that the K use in classifying certain flora and fauna.

(a) ope-ropena n a var. of tree with a milky juice

[Apocynaceae, Alyxia]

(b) uba-aana n a var. of tree [Rutaceae, prob. Evodia; lit. star-stone]

(b) rege n a small frog [brown or green coloured, usually found in swampy areas]

(8) Synonyms or related words (cross references). For a number of words and expressions, synonyms are supplied. These are always given at the very end of the definition, etc.:

ropo pa to trade, buy, exchange (ropo pape agaa: trade talk)

Cf. ugia, karia, ebepea, pulakea, rugula, kaba

(9) Dialects. Unless otherwise noted as East Kewa (E), South Kewa (S) or occasionally other areas, the entry is from the West Kewa (W) dialect, particularly as found in the vicinity of Usa village. Such other dialect identifications are noted in parenthesis immediately following the entry.

kope-paki (E) n a bicycle

Dialect equivalents which follow the main W entry are not cross-referenced in the dictionary. For example, in:

kopo n a wooden bowl; awaro, kawaso (E)

the two E equivalents are not defined elsewhere in the dictionary.

(10) Pidgin English. All entries which are borrowed from Pidgin English are marked with an asterisk:

*dokesaa n a doctor

(11) Hyphens vs word space. A hyphenated word indicates that although the constituent parts can be identified, there is but one, often quite distinct, meaning derived from them. For example, the word for a strong smelling fern is pore-rea, consisting of pore 'to be ripe' and rea 'to finish cooking'. In addition the word is pronounced as one unit. When word space is used the meaning is more easily derived from the constituent parts: for example, poripu 'wind' and agaa 'talk' when adjacent mean 'gossip'. In such cases the first word modifies the second.
(12) Illustrations. Pictures interspersed in Part II of the dictionary are drawn by Uria Yabera (birds) and Veda Rigden (cultural items) and are reprinted by permission from Ne Nane Vae Luabu I Buku and Popena Oyae Luabu Buku. For details see items 43 and 38 in Section 13 of this dictionary.

5.2. CLASSIFICATORY VERBS

As already noted, a limited set of verbs, usually of one syllable and also primary verbs in their own right, are derivational. When they follow certain nouns the whole expression becomes verbal:

naga n a var. of stone, very hard, and often used for sharpening knives and axes

naga pa to file something (nipumi rai gaapi naga palia: he will sharpen the axe)

5.3. ENGLISH GLOSSES

The English speaker can be misled by the over-simplification of certain glosses. For example, although ini usually refers to the fruit or seeds of a tree or plant, it can also refer to a tree's nuts, flowers, or blossoms. Similarly yo is the leaf of a tree, but it is also a blade of grass. Context invariably would render the correct choice of gloss, but it has not been possible or practical to supply all possible illustrations of any term. However, by examining the senses in the gloss as well as the Kewa synonyms that are given, some idea of the semantic range can be understood.

5.4. WORD BUILDING

Even a cursory examination of any English dictionary will reveal that entries are proliferated by indexing thousands of derived forms such as 'incommutable' from 'in-' plus 'commutable, incomparable' from 'in-' plus 'comparable' and so on. Similarly in K, the pre-clitics na- (negative) and ma- (causative) can be added to many verbs or adjectives with or without nominalised suffixes to produce new entries:

(1) rudu 'short'; rudu ya 'it is short' becomes ma-rudu yae 'something which is short, has been shortened';

(2) ada 'look' plus a stative aspectual marker -ba and a person tense form -ya becomes ada-ba-ya 'to be staring';

(3) paga 'hear' plus additional suffixes becomes paga-ta-baa-de 'he had heard enough' or 'he is fed up with listening';
(4) onaa 'people' (built from ona 'woman' plus aa 'man') plus the collective suffix -nu means 'many people' or more freely, 'a crowd'.

The process of word building follows certain rules but is, of necessity, open ended. It is impossible and impractical to even attempt to include many such entries in this first dictionary.

5.5. ABBREVIATIONS

Certain grammatical abbreviations will now be listed, as well as the more common ones used through the dictionary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>alter</td>
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<td>Pand lang</td>
<td>Pandanus language</td>
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<td>tab</td>
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<td>var.</td>
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<td>sub-var</td>
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<td>n-term</td>
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6. KEWA TO ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The Kewa to English section of this dictionary contains over 4,500 main entries. In addition there are hundreds of dialect variations which are noted following the main entries. An early count showed that the largest number of entries began with the letter k, followed by r, p, a and m. The least number of entries started with g, followed closely by d, t, b, and u (all with less than 100 entries).
In addition to the main entries in this section there are almost 1,000 additional words or expressions listed in Appendixes 9.1. and 9.2. of Part III of the dictionary.

No count has been made on the number of cross-references nor of the number of illustrative sentences.

There is also a large number of supplementary Kewa sub-entries in the English Index (Section 8) which are not necessarily listed in this section.
1-a same person, successive, non-terminal action; -mea, -ma (E)

2-a 3 sg Pa, Set I

a to be stationary

(ni ayo: I am standing; aa meda mu maalu: I will get someone to wait [lit. another man I will get and cause to wait])

aba av 1. before
2. old
3. first stage of a plant coming up

abade av a long time ago; abala (E,S)

abala av yesterday
(abalade: [when it was] yesterday)

abana av old, from before;
abasanyai (E), abalanai (S)

abane av day before yesterday

abasade av a really long time ago

abasana av really old

abako n a var. of red victory leaf
(abakore nu sape yae: abako is used to colour net bags; go aapu abako yamoa pepena waru peme: when they put on this victory leaf they are well decorated)

1-abanome (E) n [Liliaceae, Dracaena]

2-abanome n a var. of victory leaf [two sub-var. depending on size, used in earth ovens]
(abanome yore pa porala: the leaf of the abanome is yellowish)

abi av today, right now

abia av alt for abi; abi (E,S)
(niri abia palua: I am going now; abiara: now what has happened)

abi pa quickly
(kogono luabu abi pa: do all of this work quickly)
Cf. aipapulu

abo n a var. of tree [large leaves, soft wood, fruit not usually eaten except in famines]

abo-akupa n a type of flora [Euphorbiaceae Homalanthus]

1-abu (E) n [Gramineae, Panicum palmarum]

2-abu n a var. of cane [grows wild, very long, tough roots, also eaten by pigs]

abu-rogenea n taboo word for edible cane in Ribu ceremony

3-abu n 1. peelings, refuse, as the skin of sugar-cane (go aai aburi aapimi raba: who threw away this banana skin)
2. excess dead leaves, as on a Pandanus tree

4-abu n a wedge; kabu (E,S)

5-abu n yellow clay
(abu pala kati paia pua pa uba podo podo ta: yellow mixed with brown which is speckled throughout [lit. yellow it-makes, brown it-makes, going just star shining shining it-says]

abua n the top part of the mushroom

abula av 1. to repay, compensate (yago abula: repay the debt)
2. to wind around, bind, cover over (soko abula: get a smoke ready; aga abula: bind the pandanus nut)

abuliri n Pand lang for dog

abulu n lips; kabulu (E,S)
(abulu iri: moustache; aga abulu adaata: swollen lips)

abulu baulapae ajp protruding lips also abulu sebepea

abulu poyo rea popea harelip, cleft-palate
abulu rekepa na to bite the lips in pain 
also abulu rukula, abulu kibi piari, abulu kapata piraaria

abuna aj everything, also 
(pyae abuna mea ipu: bring everything; eta abuna ni gi: give me all the food; nemo abuna meda gialua: I will also give you one) 
Cf. luabu, rayo

abuni aj 1. binding; kumulu (E), yabuli (S) 
(aga abuni: bound pandanus nuts) 
2. compensation, repayment 
(yago abuni: repaid debt) 
Cf. abula

abu-pi n a var. of tapioca 
[small red tuber, small leaves, yellow flesh; some sub-var.]

abu pia v to be yellow coloured as rust 
(rai gaapi amaa sua abu pea: put the axe outside and it gets yellow [i.e. rusted]) 
also kadepu tea 
Cf. uiupapu pea

abu roke ta to ripen as a pandanus nut

ada n house 
(yawe ada: ceremonial long house; remo ada: spirit house; *sukulu ada: school, church; *siki ada, yaina ada: hospital; yagi ada: *kapayo ada: permanent house; mena ada: pig house; itapa ada: toilet; yapa ada: marsupial nest; *kuku ada: kitchen; *misimi ada: mission station; *kapumano ada: government office; *situa ada: store; kudiri ada: concealed house; kapi ada: a container)

ada gaana aw near house, village 
(ada paana yapa: domesticated marsupial)

ada gaanane aw outside the house 
Cf. raanane

ada kagure n a town

ada keroga 1. corner of house 
2. lower horizontal beam of lean-to house

ada noko 1. small room, closet, shelf, etc. 
2. storage space inside a house 
3. corner of a house

ada rai place where house was located [now overgrown]

ada re n village, home

2 ada v to see, look 
(neme asapua adape: you find it and look at it; ada adesana: apparently he saw it before; adesimaya: it is told that we saw it)

adaa aj big, large 
(adaa mena: a big pig; adaa yalia: he will grow large)

adaa ki large finger [i.e. middle finger] 
adaa ki ro uni: big-boned hands

adaalu aj long 
(adaalu pora: a long ways [i.e. a long road]; repena adaalu: tree which is tall; ada adaalu: a long house)

adaa oro Sunday; adaapula (S) 
(adaa oro ore Anatumi oyae wari kirita ku pitirisay di: Sunday is the time God finished making things and then rested)

adaapu aj much, plenty, many 
(adaapu ia: to have much)

adaa-bira n a var. of tapioca 
which resembles a taro [two sub-var.: bira-usaa and bira-yapara; tubers are plentiful, flesh is white]

adaa-keto n var. of the keto snake but much larger

adaa-laipu n var. of plant with one leaf

adalu ribu yaina np a spell used during the Ribu ceremony [recited while a pig was killed with a ceremonial stone axe]

adaa-opayo n a type of flora 
[Araceae family]

adaapu rulatabea v to have an abundance 
also adaapu ia 
Cf. amape
adaa-rai n a type of stone axe

ada-kagu n type of flora [Rubiaceae var.]

adakaru intentions
(nipuna kone aba adakaru meawa: I perceived what he intended to do [i.e. what his thoughts were]; nipuna kone aba adakaru mua pogola epawa: I saw what he intended to do and ran away)

adamea v to make friends

adami aa n friend; adami ali (E,S)
(nina adami meda Kagua aya: a friend of mine lives in Kagua; niri nina adamimi epope laadaa pulu: a friend of mine said "come", so I am going)

adami yago n a friend, one who helps someone
Cf. adami aa

adaniaa v 1. something bent or crooked
2. looking downward; adanya (E,S)

ada-poka n var. of rat [found mainly in houses]

ada-puna n var. of rat [long tail, brown on top, white underneath]; ada-puni (E), perhaps kabe-seke (S)

1adasa n a var. of mushroom [large, grows in the forest, clear on the top part, resembles someone's forehead; it is therefore taboo for young boys to eat because they are still without hair near their foreheads; also called ibi]

2adasa (E) n taboo name for pig in Ribu ceremony
Cf. waka

1adasaa v to find something

2adasaa v to look upwards

adawaa v 1. to abstain from food [usually out of sorrow for death of another]
2. to mourn (E,S)

adawe kone n p homesickness

adia v to tie fast
(mena adia: tie up the pig)
Cf. runa, wakepata

adipa v to put covering over the head, as an umbrella mat
(yai epeaga yapara adipa: the rain is coming so put your head umbrella on; kimisu paina raguna adipa: when you go on a journey put on your good hat; mogo aal yore nipu adipina kala: give him that banana leaf so that he can cover himself); adapa (S)

adoaa v to wait
(ni mogo sitoapara puluaga adoaa: since I am going to the store, you wait; adoawaba: to wait a little while; ado piruapana: let's the two of us wait and see)

adobra v to look after something

adola (E) v to be angry, argue

1adu n breast

adu aroka pabea painful swollen breast

adu ini nipple [i.e. eye of the breast]

adu ipaa breast milk
Cf. adu paage

adu kodo (E) any child after the second born in a family

adu na to suckle
(go naakiri adu pa nala aya: that boy is still breast fed)

adu pa nala naaki np an unweaned child

adu paage milk
Cf. adu ipaa

adu yota sagging breast [lit. to be pulled down]

2adu n a Bird of Paradise [long tail, long head, lives deep in the forests; prob. the Black-Billed Sickle-Bill Bird of Paradise]
Cf. kearu
adu-dula n a Bird of Paradise
(similar to adu but without
a long tail)
Cf. adu-kearu

adu-ipaa n a yellow-coloured
var. of mushroom [two sub-var.
depending on size; small var.
has the most juice, both eaten
raw or cooked]

adu-kearu n a Bird of Paradise
(similar to the adu but with
a longer tail)
Cf. adu-dula

adunini-gia n a large striped
lizard [when it loses its tail
it is said to turn into the
kenome frog]

adu pia 1. to sleep
2. to close eyes tightly
3. euphemism for death; kadu
pia (E)
Cf. ini pata

ae (W) pig call

-ae altercentric, adjectival marker

aebo av afternoon; alebo (E)
Cf. aabo

*aene-kapaa n handcuffs
also ki *kapaa
Cf. aane kapaa

aga n the generic term for the
Pandanus or Screw Pine [Pandanaceae
Pandanus]; two main var. in the
Highlands: those at a higher
altitude bear the nut while
those at lower altitudes bear
a long red fruit which is cooked
and eaten]
Cf. tab names: malupia, mabua,
ralipa, garota

aga makura the inside or core of
the pandanus nut
Cf. maloa

aga maa the complete pandanus nut

aga oyaga alume adea a pandanus
nut the size of two fists

aga palu mature pandanus with many
nuts

aga pia a fist-sized pandanus nut
[full of water]

aga parapea the young immature
pandanus nut, still enclosed in
leaves

aga ripa wild pandanus

aga rumula agaa secret language
[i.e. special coined language
used when harvesting pandanus]

aga ulu flowering pandanus [i.e.
one without fruit]

1 agaa n language; agaale (E),
agele (S)
(sake agaa ya: what kind of talk
is that)

aga aipapulu la talk rapidly

aga eke aya someone who will not
admit things [lit. to have sharp
teeth]

aga kekolo tea to speak frankly,
quickly, etc.

aga lo otaa to send a message
Cf. wai

aga loraa to stop talking

aga maare aa np dumb man [i.e.
one who can't talk]; kipa pobò
ali (E), angele maare ali (S)

aga mea v to ask; lorapea (E,S,
Kware)
(aba nipumi agaa mipare dialaya:
he said no to what he was asked)

aga mone mone adaalu to talk for
a long time
Cf. agaa yola

aga mone mone pa lagia to talk
on and on

aga-aani an unproductive pandanus
tree

aga ini a pandanus nut
agaa name aa np reticent man
agaa penename nata not spoken where it can be heard
agaa perekeke aa np an interpreter
agaa reke to keep bringing something up [lit. to stand up the talk]
agaa reke reke pi ajp talk on and on
agaa rudu rudupu la talk rapidly
agaa rugula to cut short someone's talk [lit. to break it off]
agaa yaa ramani unintelligible jabbering [like the sound of the flickertail bird]
agaa yae pi aa np bragard [lit. one who is rich with his mouth]
agaa yaria to stop talking about something [lit. to plant or bury it]
agaa yola to talk on and on [lit. to pull the talk]
2agaa n teeth, mouth
agaa aya the space between the teeth
agaa madaapi ajp food stuck on teeth
agaa mimamo speech impediment
agaa monane ne ajp cavities
agaa nala toothache also agaa nea
agaa odonalo pi ajp chipped teeth
agaa ragene ragene pu lick corners of the mouth while talking [lit. going on talking without saliva]
agaa ria lower edge of lip
Cf. pinama nama
agaa sa pu salivate; maake maake (E,S)
(go naakisi ora agaa sa pu agitea: this lad's mouth is full of saliva; go nogona agaa sa puri kaapu ta: that girl's mouth is dried out)
agaa bubu la the sound of a frog croaking
agaa-aga n a strong, large vine [also called age-repenasi; fruit cucumber size but with fuzz on them]
agaa-mada n a small grey-coloured bird [prob. a var. of Mannikan; named after its flat beak]
agagaane aj close to a village, place (go balusa amaare ada agagaane ia: the airstrip is located close to a village)
Cf. agego, repara, nenepu
agake n [Maraccaee Ficus var.]
1agala n a comb (agalame iri warua: straighten the hair with the comb)
2agala (E) v to throw away
agalaku ia 1. hollow as the inside of an onion stalk
2. inside the hole of a tree; lau (E,S)
agamaa (E) n tab word for edible cane in Ribu ceremony
agamea n ground cave-in, land-slide; anga mita (S) (aga maata: the ground caved-in)
1agapala n [Orchidaceae family]
2agapala n a var. of moss [Dawsonia]
agapopano n a large var. of victory leaf [found in the forest, planted near fences and ditches, worn for everyday, used in earth ovens]
agatete n [Rubiaceae family]; aga-tita (E)
aga wako n bark scoop for water when fishing

age ada (S) n shoes; aalaaku (E), aariti (W)

agego aj close to something
Cf. repara, agagaane

agelemaa (E) aj slippery, as an eel; kagala (W), angelemaa (S)

agene n
1. a sprout
(mogo repena agenere pena go opala piadaa: that tree sprout just came up here)
Cf. ene
2. a protrusion as the lip of a tin can
Cf. walele

agepaa n single forked branch of tree or pandanus; angepaa (S)
Cf. marisaa

1agii n a var. of wild cane [tough, does not have knots on it, shoots are covered with fuzz]

2agii n type of wallaby [fairly large, lives in wet areas, smaller type called onagae lit. 'old woman']

3agii n term of reference for mother; angil (S)
Cf. ama

agi-ada n menstrual house; mea ada (E)
Cf. kupaada-ada, kame-ada

agiala the mother and children

agi-epa rali a taunt or challenge to race; agia rali (E)
(agi ralina loa palima: let's say agi rali and go; saa agi rali lapanapaa: let's race)

agimu n a var. of edible mushroom [smooth and white underneath; two sub-var. depending on size]

agipitu n plant with thorns along spine [Rosaceae Rubus var.]
Cf. itu-itu

agitu aj
1. a unit
2. joined as one
(aalu kebo agitu pia: its head and stomach are like one; saana agitu gi: give it for the two of us)

agola n [Aingiberaceae Alpinia]; agolo (E)

agola-rula n a type of flora
[Aingiberaceae Riedelia]

1agoloma n left-over or stale sweet potato which is hardened

2agoloma n a type of vine [used for building houses or tying up sugarcane, very hard-shelled fruit which is black when it is ripe and has five seeds in it]

agona n fish trap; koaa (E,S) also angona (S)

agopata v to break a piece off from something as a bone, pandanus nut, etc.
Cf. wagopa, parepa

agopeta v to be dried out
(katopa naaremee adoa agopeta: the sun has dried the peanuts)
Cf. aapuda, kelele ta

agora n
1. snout of a pig
2. throat area of a person
3. part of frog which expands

agu av only, just, by virtue of itself
(go bukuna page ora aake pi epe yae agu ia: this book has just all kinds of good things in it; ni aguri ora pa pirano: I alone am here)
Cf. kunuma, agu raapo

agu raapo av alone, without accompaniment; angu raapo (S)
Cf. agu, kunuma

agu-agu (E) n a var. of fern

agula v to jump over; angula (S)
(kepo agula: jump over the fence; royo pate adoa agula: so that the fence doesn't impale you watch out and jump over)
Cf. kabula, pogolasa

agula-ipudu-pebaro n a small bird [prob. a kingfisher var.; found in the Agura River area, white underneath, blue on back, long beak]
agula-rete n a small bird [lives close to streams, scratches in river beds for food]

agunape-opayo n sacred stone in Opayo ceremony

agunape-yapa n taboo word for sacred stone in Ribu ceremony

agu numane av 2-3 days previous; apo abane (E), munumane (S)
Cf. apo numane

aguta n Pand lang for rain

aguta pa v to carry on both ends of a pole
also aguta lapa ria
Cf. rukata pa

1 aip n sticks in top game [those nearest the center stick]

2 aip n cousin [cross-cousin]; ka: (E), kani (S)
Cf. wakia, kiwape

ai maepaata to bring a death message [i.e. those who come crying when someone dies]

ai mapua to yell out that someone has died
Cf. kepia, awala, ai maepaata

aima n pus, discharge; kaima (E,S)
(go rerere aima waru pua pugu pea: that sore has lots of pus and smells badly)

aima-kuni n a small flying insect; puniili (E), punya-kima (S)

aina n a large snake [considered poisonous]
(go ainare onaa nea rahuri onaa ora ome: when that snake bites people they die)
Cf. mugunun, awina

ainabo n type of vine [Urticaceae Debregeasia; shredded and used for net bags, white underneath]; anyabo (E) (ainabore gore umunane pakuai repena: the ainabo tree has leaves that are white on the underside)
Cf. aa-ope, kala

ainya (S) n taboo name for fish in Ribu ceremony

1 aipal n traditional salt
Cf. kosaa

2 aipal n a var. of mushroom [black, grows at the base of the pai tree, salty tasting, hence the name]

3 aipal n parasitical vine or tree growing on a larger tree [prob. Araliaceae var.; some leaves have large bits of fuzz on them and are long, yellow and red flowers, small leaves used for posterior decorations by men]

aipal la to be pleased, happy about animate things; kaipa (E,S) (mogo irikai epetaga aipal la: that dog is a good one so be kind to it)
Cf. pedo pi, raana pia

aipal-mudupa n a type of flora [Araliaceae, prob. Schefflera]

aipal-olake n a type of flora [Araliaceae Schefflera]

aipal-pepo n type of flora [of the family Araliaceae]

aipalapulu av hurry, go quickly
(go naaki pora aipalapulu pamea: this child walks quickly)
Cf. abipa, aaioma

aipal-riti n a small edible spider [found in sword grass and near creek beds]

ai peaa dirty
(nena tore ai peaga ipame tape: you are really dirty so wash)
Cf. amulu, oto

aipal n l. new net bag worn for
special occasions
2. spare net bag
Cf. kerepena, padane ma

aipu m generic name for cane;
kaipu (E)

aipuya m 1. cane
2. a piece of cane used as a
walking stick; keloa (E,S)
(aipuyare balami onaa tala
ainalo kalaa: the government
gave the cane for hitting the
people)

aipu aa np 1. mercenary warrior
[usually decorated with special
clay]
Cf. kabe-reke aa
2. any ally in time of war

aipuni aj those who are mercenary
allies [helped a group fight for
pay]
(yada aipuni nina su nimu misimi:
they got some of our ground for
being mercenaries)

aipu-rikili m a var. of mushroom
[two sub-var.: both inedible
because bitter; one large with
the top and underside red, stem
very bitter, like ginger, so not
eaten; second sub-var. smaller
and green]

aka m bark cloth made from repena
yoke
(mogo akare aapimi taa ia pae:
who pounded out that bark piece)
Cf. wamea

ake m a var. of taro [has a white
tuber, very sweet]

ake-ake m [Lauraceae, Beilschmiedia/
Endiandra]

akena m a sub-var. of wild sugar-
cane [the ipa-yapa but smaller]

akena-akena m a large tree [has
a dark coloured bark, leaves not
large]

akena-raani m a var. of plant [has
slender leaves, used for catching
frogs]

akra m ancient stone [used
magically with spirits]

1*akero m angel
also *angel

2*akero m budding flower of a
plant or tree
(besa otaku etolalo akero tea:
when beans or cucumbers want to
produce they flower; abiare pai
etolalo akero tea: when the oak
wants to have acorns it flowers)

akero ta to blossom or bud

aki-raara m a var. of edible
greens [also known as aaraani
or usi]

*akisupa m a handkerchief

*ako m cargo, imported goods
Cf. *akore

akoa keke rati yae np small specks,
blemishes [i.e. on a pearl shell]

ako-kabo m a type of flora
[Rosaceae Prunus]

akolae naaki a child who learns
quickly, an extrovert

akolae yae np something which is
firm, does not yield to pressure
or give way

ako-poro m a type of flora

*akore m any type of imported
goods
Cf. *ako

1 akua m someone two ranks (not
generations) removed from Ego
[consanguine therefore FP, SS; if affinal therefore WF, a
man who marries D of an age-mate
etc.]; kakua (E), kaasua (S)
(nina akua yaina omea: my grand-
father is sick)

2 akua m moon; eke (E), suba,
kaisapo (S)
(abiare akua mari poala: now
it is the full moon)
Cf. eke, suba

akua lu padane np one full moon

akuana-ai m morning star [i.e.
cousin of the moon]
akua n ridge pole of a house; kakua (E), kaasua (S)
Cf. suba
akuyawa n a type of flora
[Pteridophyte var.]
-ala a group of two, three or more
(ameala ipulumi: the brothers are coming)
alaa n a small tough tree [prob. Rutaceae var.; small leaves, reddish in appearance, used in spirit houses to pour blood and tree oil over]
branches or twigs of a tree
(repena yo palaanuri gore alaa tema: the branches and leaves are called alaa)
Cf. rikini
alaa ada n small spirit house
[generally built in the garden area]
very small twigs; laali (E,S)
(ora oge repena alaalisini mea sape: gather up all the little twigs; kabe alaa: dried pieces of cane husk)
fine, thin burrs; yapaa angi (S)
prob. the Superb Bird of Paradise [four "wings", a protrusion or type of wattle on forehead, cry is kea kea, similar to the kaapu miru]
alaina n the tab name for any var. of sugarcane
alalo n a type of flora
[Pteridophyte Nephroepis]
alapa lapa pea to stand out as separate or distinct, as individual trees on a ridge
alapea (E) v to display as butchered pig pieces
alape lapa pea to be thin and tall [not necessarily weak]
a type of arm bracelet
[made from cane and vine]
alakate n a var. of mushroom
[small and red, cooked in a bamboo, slightly bitter taste]
alake tinkle; ete kaate (E, Kware), ata keta (S)
gore nogo naakinumi rapa pulalo aarotapara ale kete peme: when children play they tickle under the arms)
alapea v 1. to carry on the shoulder
2. to carry under the arm; le pea (E), lepe pea (S, Kware)
[ipa pe alepa: carry the water containers on your shoulder)
Cf. kaimaadia
alepaa n a hardwood tree
[Apocynaceae Alstonia; grey-ash coloured trunk with thin leaves, long flowers when in seed]
a type of arm bracelet
[reportedly about the size of a butterfly]
alapea v to cut open, break open
(asko alepealema: we cut open the chest [to check the cause of death]
a type of mushroom
[three sub-var.: one is large
with black top, second is smaller and red, third is smaller still and very red; none are firm, crumble easily when carried in the net bags]

1 ali \(n\) a var. of tapioca [like a small taro, leaves are red, flesh soft and sweet]

2 ali \((E,S)\) \(n\) man; aa \((W)\)

ali-kuli \((E)\) \(n\) \[Davalliaceae, Humata\]

alimudi \(n\) a large common spider [usually found in trees] (mo ali-mudi nipuna adare i yoloa pia: the ali-mudi spiders made their homes from their own refuse)

alo \(n\) small piece of pig (sawame niri mena alo agu gia: my relative only gave me a little piece of pig)

Cf. kawata, ruguni

alo pa 1. to substitute something (pora alo pua epawa: I changed roads and came) 2. a replacement; kolo paba \((E)\) (alo pae aa: a man who replaces someone else)

alo pape yae \(np\) exchange [i.e. as oil or kero for a lamp when the fuel is used up]

1 alowa \(n\) a flute

2 alowa \(n\) generic term for orchid plant \[Orchidaceae Dendrobium\]

1 alua \(n\) a type of flora \[Saxifragaceae Carpodetus major\]

2 alua \(n\) a var. of mushroom \[two sub-var., one black and one white; grows on dry or rotten logs, roasted or cooked in bamboo\]

aluua \(v\) to ringbark a tree; kalua \((E, Kware)\)

Cf. olomaa, ataa

aluada-raani \(n\) the tab name of what is considered the ancestral var. of edible greens raani

aluba \(n\) a small bird [yellow markings around eyes, loud cry is kea kea]

alubana rage-rage \(n\) a type of flora \[Orchidaceae var.\]

alubi \(n\) type of stinging wasp [eggs are eaten, said to sting only when warmed by the sun, i.e. not in the morning]

alubi-alubi \(n\) type of tree

aluda \((E)\) \(n\) small spirit house

alupa \(v\) to be concealed, lost (alupia: it is hidden [as in a hole]; ninade menasiri alupa ria: my pig is lost; no raapara alupa: get lost in the bush)

Cf. etapa

aluia \(v\) 1. to uncover or dig out something which is covered over [e.g. a frog underneath leaves, sticks, etc.] 2. to collect into piles (apopara oyae adaapu iaga alupia: there are lots of things there so collect them together) 3. \((E)\) to fall through a hole as in a bridge

alurai \(n\) cockroach [found in houses, etc., known by the people to cause sickness]; korea \((E,S)\)

ama \(n\) term of address or familiar form for mother (nina ama maapupara puua: my mother went to the garden; niaana amale aba omesa: our mother [collective] died some time ago)

Cf. agi

1 amaa \(aj\) outside, clearing; kamaa \((E,S)\)

(epe su amaa: a good clearing [i.e. dance ground]; amaa pu: go outside; amaanane pali rabu wala upa pali: when you go outside you will get cold again)

Cf. rarane

2 amaa \(av\) just; kamaa \((E,S)\)

(giri amaa ne ona: just a giggling [laughing] woman; pa amaa: just because)

ama \(aa \ np\) rich man, var. of amo pi
amaa-noma n a type of grass
[planted outside houses or in areas where people gather to sit]

amage pa v to straighten, organise; mumugu (E), amange (S)
(oyae amage pi ona: neat woman) also amege pa

amai (E) n a type of fern
[Marattiacae, Angiopteris]

amakea av in that way, direction, etc.
(Tarinane amakea: over towards Tari)

amalo n a type of flora [either Pterodophyte family or Orchidaceae, Epiblastus]

amama exclamation [i.e. in reference to a mistake]

amama av slowly, deliberately
(go naaki amama napi: don't just take you time)

amape aj rich
Cf. adaapu rulatabea, amo pi

amari n a small dark-coloured bird [short nose, eats berries and fruit, similar to a Buff-Bellied Flycatcher]
Cf. pebaro

ame n brother
(gore nipuna ame mupaa: this is his eldest brother)
Cf. yago

ameala two brothers or friends considered brothers

amealu several brothers

ameke n fellow brothers-in-law
[i.e. men married to sisters]; popeke (E,S), also kopae (S)
(aa laapome ona padane Mui ona ruaalipiri gore nipu ameke lapa: if two men marry women from the Mui clan, they are like brothers)

ame mupaa np elder brother

ame negaa np younger brother

ame payo mama rudupu payment to allies for killing an enemy
Cf. eya kepabe ia

ame-ame n a fair-sized grey-coloured bird [eats fruit from trees, has a harsh cry; a var. of Greybird, prob. Black-Bellied]

amege pa v to straighten, get things in order
(amege pi ona: a good house-keeper; go oyaenu waru amege pua sa: get everything collected and ready)
Cf. managola, maredopo ya

ami n pig fat
(mogo naakiri nipumi ami pabe agu nea: this lad just eats pig fat)

ami n soldiers, the army

amo n white clay, white; kamo
(E,S)
(onaa omeme raburi amo pema: when people die we decorate with white ground; go menare amo pi roa omaade: this pig's manure was white and it died)

amo kadi white and yellow clay mixed, rust clay

amo kege np alt for white clay

amope aj important, rich
Cf. ama aa

amo pi aa np wealthy man
Cf. mu du aa, amape, adaapu rulatabea, ama aa, amope

amo sekere np prize pearl shell

amo pea light shades blue, brown, gray; kutu pi (E)

amu n a var. of pitpit [fairly large stalk, difficult to re-plant]

amulu aj dirty
(nena ki amulu peaga wasimi tape: your hands are dirty so wash them)

amulu n brain; yau (E), yadupa (S)
amu pa v to gather things together; kamo pea (E), kamuyalo (S)
(sapi awoa amu pa: dig out the sweet potato and collect it [in one place]; apo naakina monere adaapu amu pa: that lad has collected a lot of money)
Cf. kirita sa, managola, nugila

ana-ana kadipi n type of flora

ana aya left-over
(eta aedaloma ana ayaga onaa kalamina: there is some food left so give it to the other people [i.e. the other line])
Cf. purupina ia, pa suaya

ane-lubi n a type of flora [of the Hepatic family]

*aniaani n the common onion
[Liliaceae Allium genus; introduced by the European, but there are already four sub-var. named in the W, depending on size of stalk, hollowness of stalk, shape and depth in the earth of the bulb; usually eaten with sweet potato]

anyabo (E) n a type of vine
[Urticaceae, Pipturus]; ainabo (W)

aoogege aa np a young man
Cf. arumu naaki, made ini, bau unि

1apaa n 1. egg, grease, fat
2. the meat of the pandanus kernel; kapaa (E,S)
apaa sape ada np where spider lays eggs and retreats when disturbed [lit. egg for-putting house]
apaame ome mena np fair-sized pig
[i.e. one with much fat, coming to about mid-thigh]
2apaa n mother's brother
Cf. awa

apaa yola pirae n a sweet potato tuber [fibrous, breaks up easily]

1apai n type of hardwood tree
[Moraceae ?Streblus; greyish bark, small leavea, commonly used to make garden fences]

2apai m a marsupial type [similar to the Spotted Cuscus]
apano m a large Pandanus [green nuts which are cooked and eaten]

1apea n a type of marsupial
Cf. wamea

2apea v to thrust in and out, scoop out, bail, etc.
(ena meamina go ipa apeа: scoop out this water and get the fish
ape-ake n a vine [resembles a small tree; used to make string, reddish shoots, bears a small firm fruit]
apela a type of hardwood tree
[few scattered branches and leaves, bears small seeds, used for fences, similar to eya]
apela v to argue, quarrel, disagree; adola (E)
aperu m the red Pandanus fruit; daapu (E,S)
apo d 1. directional, as over there
(aponane: over that way)
2. referential, as previously mentioned or noted
(apo meama maapu waru mea: that pig really rooted up the garden)
Cf. mopo, go
apo abane about five days before; oabane (E,S)
apodaa d that's it, etc.
(yada gonane apodaa: [they are] fighting over there now)
also godaa, mopodaa
apode d over there, etc.
(neme apode mea mea epope: bring that pig over there)
also mode, gode, sode
apo numane about four days ago
Cf. agu numane
apo rudane 1. about 3-4 days ago
2. about 3-4 days hence
apo eke: expression to refer to a mature man about 30-35 years of age

apola n var. of tree [Podocarpaceae: Podocarpus nereifolius]

apola-apola n type of tree [Podocarpaceae var.; grey-coloured bark, small leaves, long fruit which is reddish when ripe, edible fruit hangs in clusters of two or three]; maapola (E)

apone aj 1. part of something 2. pieces (niri mena apone meda gialimi: they will give me a piece of pig later) Cf. kalae, paaki

apone pa v to break into two pieces Cf. paaki pa

apulati n type of arrow made from bone, human or animal

apura v to hold in the mouth; kapura (E) (penesolo agaame apura: put the pencil in your mouth; alubi ni apura: the bee stung me)

are n chips of wood, etc. (repena are pua madia: go carry the bits of wood) Cf. paaere

are-are n a type of flora

areke n a sharp piece of rote shale [used for scraping pigs, cutting rope, vine, etc.]; are (E,S)

arena-yo n type of leaf chewed with betel nut and lime (bera inipara taga lapo ia pare arena-yo diata raburi gimeme: when they have betel nut and lime but they don't have the are leaves they don't bother eating it) Cf. kega yo

arepe n type of hardwood tree [small leaves, wood is light-coloured] (go arepere ora eyaga nipuna aapa yaako pea: the arepe tree is really like the eya tree but it is white inside) Cf. eya

2 arepe n a bush rat [long tail, small head, makes home in the ground, holes or dried pandanus branches]

arepe-onagae n a large rat [long tail, found in stumps of the hardwood eya tree]

arepe-paani n a large reed [breaks easily, used to make grass skirts]

arepe-wape n a shield Cf. raubui, negalo, koro-koro

arere pa 1. argument over land, pigs, etc. 2. to take without distributing, etc. (neme adoa katalo pawa pare nimuna arere pame: I wanted to give it out but they just took it) Cf. yolariri

arewake n a bird type [similar to the Wood-Swallower]

1 ari a small var. of the pasalo marsupial

2 ari n animal, flesh, meat also ari yaenu

1 aria n a type of flora [Gramineae, prob. Miscanthus]

2 aria n common wild bamboo; karia (E) (ipa nape aria meda gi: give me a bamboo to get some water in) Cf. pe, tau

aria ini etea the bamboo is in blossom

aria-ipiri alt for aria kuki

aria kuki shreds of bamboo skin [used to string beads on] Cf. aria-ipiri

aria pita page yae np growth lines [as the natural crescent lines in the pearl shell]
aria-yo-kama n a var. of mushroom [small tasty, smooth on top and white underneath]

ari mugi mugi piled on one another, joined to another, etc.; ari mugi mugi (S)

ari naare-palu n small dark-coloured rat [sleeps at night, travels during the day, hence the name]

ari pu n bow string; karipu (E,S)

aro-aro n a bird [white underneath, black on top, long tail, lays eggs in nests in tree tops]

aroba-adu n type of whirlygig or diving beetle [edible, lives in water, dark-coloured]

aroka-aroka n a small bird [lives in cane near gardens, long tail, white underneath, dark along the back; prob. a var. of Kingfisher]

arolo (E) n a type of fern [Nephrolepis]; perhaps alolo (W)

aroma-atoma n a large quick-growing softwood tree [Lauraceae ?Cryptocarya; large leaves and fruit]

arumu naaki n p a young man
Cf. aogege aa, made ini, bau uni

asa n alt for ancestor [female]; aya
(nina onana agiri nina asa: my wife's mother is my female ancestor)

asa n the newly laid eggs of a frog

asaa v 1. to crush something to pieces; kasa (E,S)
Cf. okopea
2. spit something out of mouth after chewing

asa-as a n a type of flora [Selaginellaceae Selaginella]

asa-bulu n a var. of vine [medicinal purposes: leaves mixed with wasps, neabua-agi, which is then smeared on the body of the sick person to make a dark appearance and to heal]

asada-moka n a type of flora [Cunoniaceae, prob. Caldeluvia]

asa-galo-galo n a tall hardwood tree [single nuts which are dark when first appearing, when ripe are difficult to open]

asa-kawara n shell ornament [worn hanging from the ear lobe]

asad a-karini yaina n p diarrhea with blood

asaamina v to take ahold of and crush (yaa apaa asaamina: take that egg and crush it)
Cf. regepemina, pulubimina

asa pa v to search for something or someone (neme nere asa pu aaruga aapara pira: I was looking for you, so where were you)

asa pa minapa v p let's look for something [together]

*asapos o (E,W) n potato; *poteto (S)

asa n a thorny var. of vine

asa (E) [Lycopodiaceae, Lycopodium cernuum]

asawaaka n butterfly; asakari (E), kasawari, kasapari (S)
asawaaku m a rainbow [seen as
green (karerene), red (kaane),
and yellow (abu); when it ap-
ppears folklore teaches that
where the ends of the rainbow
are, those people will be af-
flicted with sorcery or that
the spirits will eat the peo-
ple; children are told never
to point at the rainbow];
also asapaku (E), remodali (S)
asawaaku rolo ia to be coloured
like a rainbow
asubaa m head
(mena asubaa ora rede waru pea:
pig's head is really sweet)
Cf. aalu
asupopalu m Pand lang for water
1ata m a tall Pandanus var. [soft
nuts, large trunk with yellowish
colour under the bark]; katya
(E), kata (S)
2ata m a small var. of mushroom
[two sub-var.: one black and
one white; grows on dry or dead
trees]
3ata m father [rare]
(nina atare raapara pua: my
father went to the forest)
Cf. aapa, suba, aaraa
4ata v to break a pandanus nut,
etc. with one's teeth; katya (E)
ataa v to ring bark a tree
Cf. olomaa, aluaa
ata-mabiri m insect which gets
into food
ata-mutu m type of weevil [lives
in tree tops, two hornlike pro-
trusions on the top of its head]
ata-papora m a Pandanus var.
[fairly smooth, yellow bark
i.e. few protrusions]
ato m Mangolia tree [Mimantandraceae,
Galbulimima belgraviana]
ato-ini m a type of flora [prob.
of the Magnolia family]
atore m a var. of hardwood tree
[grown large, black bark, when
mature bears much fruit]
atubia v to break into pieces as
a plate
(apo sekerere nopo aana madaa
lopoa atubitabade: the pearl
shell fell on the stone and
split into pieces)
Cf. pola, reropa
atupa m a red and green parrot
[similar to the King Parrot]
au m decoration
(maali pabolalo au waru teme:
when they have Christmas dances
they really get decorated)
Cf. pepena
1au la to change into something
else, to decorate
(ni ona au to: I'm like a
woman)
2au la to make a noise, bark, etc.
to call out
1awa m mother's brother
(nina awame epope ladaa pulu:
I am going because my cross-
uncle said to come)
Cf. aapa
2awa v 1. to dig out
(no maapupara sapi awa: get
some sweet potato from the
garden)
Cf. odekea, rasa
2. to thrust, as a spear
(ini awa: spear the eye)
3. to implant, as a post in the
ground
3awa v to string a bow
(etaa aripu awa: string the
bow)
4awa v to wait
(saapara awabato: I stood the
shovel up)
Cf. yarua, rekamaa
awabaepara where it is standing
[lit. a- 'to be' + -wa 'station-
ary' + -ba 'incomplete' + -ae
'which is' + -para 'location']
awaa m  a main var. of sugarcane [purchased with many trade items; lots of juice, long leaves, yellow skin; similar to pinia; three sub-var.: oge-awaa, awaa-aani, adaa-waa-awaa]

awaa-ega m  a bitter fern which is not eaten also ramitu

awaka mena  a pig which has extra 'toes' on its feet

awaro m  a valley, depression, etc.; katupi (E,S) (go balusa amaa awaro mada ia: that airstrip is in a gully) Cf. kanapu, kutulu, pagalo

awaw-rola m  a small bird [markings about its eyes, plumes not used for dances, meat considered very sweet; var. of the Ground Dove]

awasi m  any large central tuber from which others come up

awina m  alt name for the aina snake; au-winya (E)

ayaa m  ancestor [female] (nina ayaa aba omesa: my [female] ancestor is dead [i.e. grandmother, etc.]) Cf. aasa

ayaa v  to be [referring to objects which are stationary] (ade ayaa: it is a house; go ayadaa: there it is)

ayaa-kera m  type of tree grasshopper [green coloured, well disguised in tree leaves, children eat them]

ayakopaa m  Pand lang for man, skin, knee, neck, etc.

ayamu m  type of spider [similar to irikai-yari with six legs, lives in the ground where it lays eggs]

ayana-gae m  a green edible grass snake also ayaa-onagae Cf. rodooya

aya-waya m  type of plant [considered as very ancient]

ayaro (E) m  mother

AA

aa-  question marker (aarabu: when; aanane: which direction; aapara puua: where did he go)

aaimu  red coloured leaves [worn as a sign that enemies had been killed in battle]

aake  question form meaning what; ale (E) (apoparare aake pi pae: what did you do over there; neme go yae madaare aake pali: what will you do about this; aake ya: what is that) [Note: aake, although classified as a question morph or particle, often functions with -a suffixed, similar to a verb: aakea puua ne raba meaa: how did he help you]

aakeane pa  why [was it done]; ae pea (E), aake pa (S) (ne etaa nagianaga aakeane pa: why was it that he didn't give you any food) Cf. aakolo pa

aakepara  where; ali para (E), ale para (S) (mo aana adare aakepara ayaa: where is that man's house) Cf. aananeyaa

aakepeadaa  for what purpose; ae peadaa (E) (apo naakiri aake peadaa tae: why did you hit that boy)

aakepu  how many; ai pu (E) (aakepu raapo: how many)

aakepu pe  how did it happen; ai pu (E)

aakeya  what is it; ali ya (E), ale ya (S)

aakolo pa  why (go punitaig mada aakolo pa: why did he involve himself in this kind of trouble; niri aakolo
1 aa n  leg, foot; ange (S)
2 aa n  man; ali (E,S)

(aa laapo pipi: two men are there)

aa eke a middle-aged man; kegaali (E), kengaali (S)

aa pooke alt for middle-aged man

aa rado aaki term used between two women who are married to brothers [lit. another man's sister]

aa repaa group of men; ali repaa (E,S)

aa-ro n a corpse

aa-saapu n taboo equivalent for corpse

(aa bau uni naaki np an adolescent [lit. with exploding bones] (E,S)

Cf. bau uni

aa bau uni naaki np an adolescent [lit. with exploding bones] (E,S)

Cf. bau uni

aabe aj barren

(nogo naaki namadini pa aabe ona: a woman who not bearing children [is] barren)

aaabo av alt for aeo afteroon; alebo (E,S)

aabua n a type of leaf-hopper [several legs, edible, considered very sweet]

aaage n 1. Pand lang for leg

2. dialect for leg in Kware River area

aai n banana; kaai (E,S), epele (NW)

aai-kera hand of bananas

aai-perea ladder used to tie up bananas

aai-ala n a var. of wild banana [eaten only by animals and birds because of the hard fruit]
aai-amu n a var. of banana [has fuzz on the stalk, grey-coloured, fruit crumbles easily and not sweet]

aai-pore n a type of insect [perhaps an earwig; lives in trees and bananas, some black and some yellow, carries young on its back, said to go inside people's ears and cause pain]

aai-rade n a brownish bird [similar to Macgregor's Bowerbird]

aakane n Pand lang for stone, etc.

1aakena n the large eel [found in the Kagua River and other rivers, caught with frogs as bait in especially constructed traps which have been be-spelled]

2aakena (W,E) n row, as in a garden

aakepa n compensation pay to allies for their dead; alikepa (E) (yada yarina aakepa: compensation for allies)

aake pi ajp to be coloured white; kaakepi (E) (aake pi seti oto aba pea: white shirts get dirty quickly)

Cf. yaako pi

aaki n sister

aakiala n sisters [lit. with each other]

(aa laapome ona aakiala rado palipiri gore nipu laapo ameke: if two men marry two sisters, the two men are like brothers)

aakiago la to be stealthy [as someone who wants to steal] (romu malu madini ona yapae meda aakiago lawa popaa: could she be a sorceress in that she is going very quietly)

1aako n bark belt; kaako (E) (go aakore abasana nina akuana moae aa pu go iadaa: that bark belt came from my father's inheritance)

aako rekepepe ajp piece of tree bark for a belt; kaako paale (E), aako rekelepa (S)

2aako n a white-coloured var. of mushroom [grows only on the NG Oak trees: pai and kati]

3aako n chest; kaako (E)

aako pene aa np thin man [i.e. with chest drawn in] (go aare nipuna perani u gia aako pene aa: this man has his ribs showing and is thin)

Cf. aako yabe aa

aako yabe aa np thin man (oro yaalo eta waru ne pare aako yabe piruaya: you always eat well but you stay thin)

Cf. aako pena aa

aakoa n the main var. of victory leaf [large, some size of small trees, new shoots are white but upon maturity the leaves are red, commonly used at dances]

aako-keto n a var. of the keto snake

aakone aj 1. proud or conceited (aakone i aa: a proud man)

2. spoiled, as children (aakone maae nogo naaki: favoured children, not corrected) [also used in certain contexts to show that someone has special abilities]

aala n space, room (apo ropaare aalaape paenaga aake pa1ua pae: what shall I do with this armband that is so big [spacious]; go naakisina agaare aala aya: that baby boy has his mouth open)

aaladi n a bird with black, prized plumage; kaladi (E,S)

aalalo n small vine [on trees]
aalamu  n  the generic term for the edible fruit of wild sugarcane; kuni (S)

aalamu-paaka  n  the edible fruit of the wild sugarcane called akena [very firm and sweet]

aalamu-palali  n  the occasional fruit of the wild sugarcane kabe-mayapa

aalamu-pepo  n  a var. of edible wild sugarcane [stalk with much fuzz on it]

aalega  n  lichen

1aalipu  n  a strong vine [used for making net bags, blossoms are considered as food, like salt; leaves have fuzz on them]; kalipu (S)

2aalipu  n  long red hat [worn at dances]; ranguna (S)  Cf. raguna

aaloma  av  hurry; aalo (E,S)  (aaloma pu: run)  Cf. aipapulu

aalu  n  head; kalu (E,S)  (nina aalu tua yaina omalo: I am sick with a headache)  Cf. asubaa

aalu awaro  top head area of the cassowary

aalu-ipa  n  baptism [lit. head-water]  (aalu-ipa meape aa, aalu-ipa kane aa: one who baptises)

aalu-kakema  n  fontenal

aalu kebo  the swelling or protrusion on the head of certain birds such as the cockatoo

aalu kelepo  a large wig often worn at dances (abiare nina aalu kelepo adaa aya: now I have a large wig)  Cf. iri kelepo

aalu waki  cone or nipple-shaped [lit. head-shaped]

aaluma  n  magic [used on arrows so they will travel far to kill enemies]

*aama  n  a hammer

aana  n  a stone; kana (E,S)  (eta yawamina aana ira: heat the stones so we can cook the food)

aana aapeda  n  a cave  Cf. aapeda

aana oraa  promise, agreement [touching a stone and keeping parts of it as a promise to each other]

aana raapu i su  rocky ground

aana yaina  magic [by throwing a stone to spoil a feast]

aana-kati  n  a type of flora [Fagaceae Castanopsis]

aana palo-palo  n  type of tree [not large but with much fruit usually eaten by possums; pig ropes made from the bark]; kana palo-palo (S), palo-balo (E)

1aane  aj  the edge or point of something (lapaiapa aane: the corner of the cloth)

2aane  n  a small Pandanus [grows in clear areas, yellow nuts which are hard]; kane (E)

3aane  n  var. of moss [grows on trees and stones, commonly stuck in the hair and around the ears as decoration]

4aane  n  ear; kale (E), kale (S)

aane awalapae  ajp  large ears [i.e. bent over]  also aane ragupae

aane awalapawa ragupaina  ears which go up slightly [flap over, like those of a dog]

aane ebo  decorative ear plugs [often containing love weed rakiana pitaa, possum fur or other magical items]
aanepara kekapu pea tired of listening [lit. the ears are hot]
aane poaya to be deaf
aane rugula cut-off ear
aane sale earring [decorative plastic-like rings worn in ears]

1aane-kale n a var. of mushroom
[appearance of a dog's ear, grows on rotten logs, eaten by women and children]

2aane-kale n a wattle [e.g. on the cassowary]

*aane kapaa m handcuffs
also *aana kapaa, ki kapaa

aennenane aj along the edge of something

aane-sigi n var. of ancestral sweet potato [pointed, patterned leaves which are brownish coloured, sweet and yellow tuber]

aane-yakoa n small wallaby
[lives in wild cane clumps, said to be deaf, sleeps most of the time]

aani m husband; aali (E,S)
aanipe n a sub-var. of the dumu mushroom

aa-ope m type of vine
Cf. ai nabo, kala

aapa m address term for father
(aapani mename e kepo malobaria: father's pig broke the garden fence; ni nena aapadaa dia: I am not your father)

aapaaku m Pand lang for sun, moon, etc.
aaparia v to extract, remove from trap, untie
Cf. kola, kapata, esepea, koloria

aapeda m a cave
Cf. aana aapeda

aape-lope n a small dark bird
[prob. Whisler var.; sings early in the morning, lives in small shrubs]
aapetaki n type of marsupial
[webbed feet, lives in the water]
aapetaki n type of marsupial

*ape-lope a small dark bird
[prob. Whisler var.; sings early in the morning, lives in small shrubs]
aape-lope n a small dark bird

aapididi m a stone axe; kana rai (S)
(abade akuanumi go aapidimi kogonc radaa pina pisimiy: a long time ago it was really hard work to do things with the stone axe)
Cf. robaa-mogo

aapili m a type of flora
[Pteridophyte Gleichenia]
aapili m a type of flora

*aapera type of small possum; kapeta (E,S)
aapeta n type of small possum;
kapeta (E,S)
aapididi n a stone axe; kana rai (S)

1aapo m a tough variety of wild cane [used for arrow shafts, very small, does not have knot-holes in it]

2aapo m a var. of grass [blue flowering, use relates to birth, pungent odour]; kapo (E,S)
aapo m a tough variety of wild cane [used for arrow shafts, very small, does not have knot-holes in it]
aapo m a var. of grass [blue flowering, use relates to birth, pungent odour]; kapo (E,S)

1aapu m a tail
(mena aapu: pig's tail)
aapu ade ade pia a small tail coiling in one direction and then another [as a certain mouse's tail]
aapu galia crooked tail

aapu ade ade pia a small tail coiling in one direction and then another [as a certain mouse's tail]
aapu kepea cut-off tail

aapu wabe pig-tail apron; pana (S)
2aapu n the generic term for victory leaf; ramu (E,S)
Cf. warakaua

aapi ru a tab place
(Ribu aapu: place of Ribu)

aapu-ata n a type of possum
flies like a flying squirrel, small tail like a dog

aapuda aj dried out, hardened;
kaputa (S)
go etare ora aapuda ta: this food is dried out
Cf. agopeta, kelele ta

aapu-karubi n a var. of victory leaf; ramu-karubi (E)

aapulu pona aa np spell-maker
by blowing on arrows, etc.
Cf. repena kabe pone aa

aaraa n seed cane [i.e. cane which has flowered and produced seedlings]

aaraalu n family
(go aaraaluna adapara oyae
adaapu ia: this family has a lot of things)
Cf. repaa, ruru

aarani n type of plant
has leaf like a maple leaf

aarani n edible greens
Cf. aki-raara, usi

aare pa v to cut open, operate
[i.e. when an arrow or stick is stuck in a person]
(nina upi aare pa: open up my boil)
Cf. puti poa

aari n mountain; kari (E)
Cf. pore, rudu, maasa

aari ta hard rain [i.e. the mountains speak]

aari tala lightning
Cf. aari yapa, pore yamato

aari yapa n alt for lightning
aari tala

aaria v to carry on the shoulder
(go naakiri neme aaria: carry this lad)

aari palae pua to carry something simultaneously while walking

aarobo n father's sister [male ego]

aarobo-adu n water insect [large bellied, edible]

aaromaa aj dull [person], doesn't comprehend quickly; aaromali (E) kone maare ali (S)

aaromona (S) when [from aa-'question' + romo-na]; rabu, rabo (E,W)

aarota n 1. armpit
t. side of a pig; atoraa (E,S)

aarota nu n men's net bag worn under arm

aata v to yell for
(mo Usa awa ne aataga page:
since they are in Usa yelling for you, listen)
Cf. yala

aatatu n temple area of face

aatatu-koma n Pand lang for nose

aato n type of tree

aa-ugiasi n Pand lang for boy, child, young man, etc.

aa-uni n a small var. of mushroom
grows on tree branches, black and white sub-var., cooked in bamboo

aa-uni n tab name for bamboo container in Ribu ceremony
aa-uni n walking stick [lit. a man's bone and representative of strength]; ali-kuli (E,S)

aa-uni-aa n tab word for fire in Ribu ceremony

aawai n upright sticks in top game; aliwai (E,S)

aawana pa v to compete
Cf. rawana pa, yada malue

aa-waria n a type of flora
[Elacocarpaceae Sloanea sp. aff sogerensis Bak. f.]

aa-yagopasi n term for man in ritual Pand lang

-ba inceptive asp

ba v let's go [dl]

baako n a var. of victory leaf
[two sub-var. depending on the size and degree of redness; black stem, deep red leaves hence sometimes called a man's heart, worn on special occasions]

baani m sibling of opposite sex;
baali (E,S)
(mopo naakina baani abia sogo Mendi aanumi rumaarmide: the men from Mendi have just married [bargained for] that boy's sister)

*baipolo m the Bible Church [any small independent Protestant mission]

bakua m the Raggiana male Bird of Paradise; basua (S)
Cf. bara

balaa n a var. of mushroom
[three sub-var.: one large and very red, the second a lighter shade of red, the third smaller and black; grow at the base of the eya hardwood tree, roasted and eaten]

bale n a var. of sweet potato
[white tuber, bitter, given to pigs]

bale-basa n a var. of sweet potato [large, considered ancestral]

bali n tab word for liver or blood in certain E areas

bali n European, white-skinned person; kewali (E) (abade balinu naipisimi rabu ora waerupa pirisima: before when the whiteman had not come we lived badly)
Cf. kadipí

bali-kiapo m government officer

bali-bali (E) n [Melastomataceae Osbeckia chinensis L. or Melastoma polyanthum]

balo m [prob. Euphorbiaceae Croton]

balu (E) n pile
(kuri balu peawa: I made a pile of frogs)

balu ra ripe
(aga aba balu raia: the pandanus has ripened)
Cf. pora

*balusa n a var. of sweet potato [large, sweet, white tuber, probably a recent introduction]

*balusa n airplane
(go balusa luaburi su adalupara page aipapulu peapulu ora epeta kone ima: we think it is good that airplanes go so quickly over long distances)

*banana n the common name for any var. of imported banana
[only eaten when ripe]

bara m the Raggiana Bird of Paradise [found near the head-waters of streams, cries koa koa koa; several sub-var. are recognized]
Cf. bakua
barara n  road
Cf. waaka, pora barara

barika n  type of tree [Guttiferae
Catophyllum paucaflorum A.C.
Sm.; not hardwood, used for
building houses, thick sap,
although one type does not have
sap]

*baro n  a ball; kota (E), sabaa
(S)
(barotaa: kick the ball)

basa n  1. alt tab word for blood
in parts of W
2. tab word for blood in Ribu
ceremonies
Cf. kupaa, yaapi

batala n  children of sisters or
brothers
(gore akiyana si wane lapo gore
nipu batala pulupi: the son
and daughter of those sisters are
special cousins)

*batene n  a button; also tere-
ware (E)

bau n  noose trap
(sogo ipa kanapapara sawade bau
madaa yapa padanedaa tana: I
set a trap in the gorge and a
possum got caught in it; wasa
bau: rat trap)

bau latabaa  explosive noise or
banging noise as closing a book

bau-unini n  a young lad
Cf. aogege aa, arumu naaki,
made ini

be n  type of bird
(go yaa ba nipuri ora paupara
agu piraala: the be bird just
lives in the swamp)

beamu n  a large var. of the
victory leaf [white and green
colouring along the base of
the stem, yellowish toward the
tips, planted along the gardens,
worn at special occasions]

bebo 1. not in line; bebo (S)
(go e kepo eperupa awaluame
pawa pare bebo laa: I wanted
to build the fence straight but
it is crooked)
2. disorderly, disarrayed

(bgo oyaere pena go mea kirita
sawade ga aapimi bebo lata:
since I just straightened these
things, who messed them up)

*beke n  a bag
(go bekenuri balinumi sitimi:
these bags have been made by
Europeans)

bele-sage n  a small bird similar
to Blue Wren Warbler; dark
coloured, lives in smaller
shrubs and trees]

*benesini n  gasoline, petrol
[Note: kerosene is *marasane,
from 'medicine'; usually any
fuel can be referred to as ipa
(lit. water)]

bera n  type of arrow made from
Areca palm

bera-ini n  wild betel nut

*berete n  bread

*bero n  a bell, trumpet, etc.

besaa n  the common native bean
[esp Phaseolus vulgaris; now
any type of introduced bean];
kabi (E), pesaa (S)

betaa la v  to burp
(yadare nanawa pare ni betaa
ioa yaina omalo: I haven't
eaten anything but I am burping
and sick)

betaamu n  grub worm; lusabo (E,S)
(go repena muni maapara piruaya
betaazu mua nema: we eat the
grubs that live in the tops of
the muni tree)

bete n  a frog [prob. a type of
Tree Frog; carries its young
on its back]
(ura bete ora epe rede pea:
this bete frog is really sweet)

betagimi n  alt name for the
Hornbill
Cf. sau, saua agora

*betene n  prayer

*betene la  to pray

bi n  name; ibi (E)
(naa biri Kira: my name is Kira)
bi polo-polo aa np a man with several names usually because of many wives and consequent taboo names

biba ta to beat wings together, beat a drum (yaa kopame bibau tapulu kona madaa roaya: the bird wings are beating so it is hung up in a trap) Cf. paru-paru

bibi ta to flap wings; maagala (E) (yaasi pena madita raburi gore bibi ta: when young birds are born they flap their wings) Cf. bibau ta, paru-paru

bibi yala v cause someone to drop something by bumping into them; rapedatya (E)

*bilakeboto n a chalkboard

bini n a var. of sweet potato [yellow tuber, introduced in recent times]

bipa by oneself
(nimuma bipa surubalimi: they will look after it by themselves)

bira n the generic term for any var. of tapioca [Manihot dulcis, Pax; generally the 'sweet cas-sava']

*bisikete n a biscuit

biya v to fly (yaasi pena kagaa rolatana pare mopoo biya puade: the bird has just hatched but there it is flying; go yaa kutaare tulalo ratata pare ora biya rabu gimawa: I chased the chicken to kill it but it flew off so I left it) Cf. riya

bobolo la 1. sloshing noise made when walking through mud 2. pig call by drawing air through puckered lips (E)

bobolo lo ruku piala aya sloppy, as mud sticking to the feet

bobota (E) sound of hitting a hollow object Cf. bibi ta

boke n a hole, opening (repena boke: hole in a tree; imaa boke: anus)

bola ta (E) to burst [as a boil, dam, seam of clothing]

bolo n the mole cricket [eaten by women and known to frequently bite the feet of people] Cf. kaato

*bome n a bomb (bomo kusa: to plant a bomb or an underwater mine)

1bone n 1. any fish when it is red coloured and spawning 2. fish eggs (S)

2bone n a type of vine with edible fruit [large fuzzy leaves, fruit is cooked and eaten, juice causes extreme pain if it gets in the eyes]

boso pea (E) v to be finished, used up, disposed of

bo tea (E) v to expand

*bote ta to vote

bu la explosive noise [as book slamming shut, stick breaking, burning crackling]; bau ta (E), bo to (S) (balina etamme yaa pitimi rabu bu tea: when the white man shoots birds his gun says 'bu'; ariia iruatemarabu bote ta: when we cook bamboo it explodes)

bua bua ta the cry of certain birds

bubaa beat alternately as a drum; bibau (E)

*buku n a book

bula-bula n [prob. Arakh Astrapia; sleeps in Pandanus trees so its long tail cannot be seen, cry is bua bua, plumes are highly prized, similar to
the kisa-kisa, alt name is pale]

bula poa chop firewood
Cf. regepa, labea

bula la blow flute, conch shell, etc.
(onaa lotu ta epena bula la: blow the flute for the people to come to church)
Cf. emaa la

bulataba broken in [two] pieces, burst apart as a boil
(ipa pe aana madaa lopaa bulataba: the container fell on the stone and split; mena iri yagawa rabu bulataba: when singing the pig's hair it burst open]

bulata bebe pea to crumble or fall apart easily

bulu n a frog [found in rotting wood or in ponds; newly laid eggs look like soapy water, noise is like someone beating a drum]

*bumi pa to gather together for a meeting

buruka (E) au tomorrow; ekeraa (W), ru li (S)

busu pia 1. to be dark-coloured
(gore ipapara i repea yalo busu pia: the wood is dark from lying in the water; apo ura paupara pusini yalo busu pia: the reeds are darkened from lying in the mud)
Cf. kupaa ome
2. to be bruised

buyae sa to swell up, fill up, etc.; muyasa (E), ru la (S)
(mopo nupare buyae sayaga oyae apo maditadaa: that net bag is expanded so it has lots in it)

-D

daa n housepost; kele (E,S), also kera (S)
(nina ona ada paluame ada daa

ponola pulu: I want to build a house for my wife so I am going to cut posts)

daapara side of a house

daad aa daa la 1. noise of rain on iron roof
2. sound of tree kangaroo hopping

daali n small type of cricket
[found mainly in garden areas, considered edible]; kal (S)

daapu (E,S) the red Pandanus fruit; apero (W)

dalua (E) n dysentery

dau (E) explosive noise as from a gun; du ta (W)

dauwa n decorative headdress made from cassovary plumes
Cf. rapasuma

-de punctiliar asp

den n axe handle; kede (E), ede (S)

1depea v to scrape; radepea (E,S)
(go ona meme mogo mena lo depea: woman, scrape clean the belly of that pig)
Cf. radepea, kira

2depea v to braid; edepea (E)

depetapa n alt name for kiba-kiba or kegeremaa mushroom

depolo (E) v to pry up

di n specified time
(mo yawe aake di rabu pabea: when do they intend to have the dance)

di kala to relate the future time or date of a festival

di sa v to set a date

dia no
(dia ta: there isn't any)

dia ya to be finished, all gone; boso pea (E)

didi n a small tree frog
didi paara-paara children's game
[several children alternately
pinch the skin on the back of
each other's hand, forming a
pyramid effect; the hands are
together raised and lowered as
the children chant di-di-di;
then at the words paara-paara
the children release each other
and clap hands]
dila n joints on bamboo [removed
in order to use the bamboo as
a water container]; nila (E),
le (S)
Cf. ene, rumu
dilata v to force open
(aane dilatina: let your ears
be opened [i.e. wake up])
dina av enough
Cf. dipara, mada
dipara av enough
(ada pape repena dipara: that
is enough wood to make the
house)
Cf. mada, dina
1dipi n type of tree
2*dipi n jeep, landrover
Cf. *sipi
dipia v to count; diminya (E)
(go mone aakepu yapame dipiae:
how much money have you counted)
*dirimanono n any agricultural
officer
also *ririmanono
diwa n a var. of victory leaf
[not very common]
diwi n a hardwood tree [sub-var.
according to the number and
length of leaves]
do n dust, sand, silt; to (K,S)
dodo n 1. burning sensation in
the mouth
2. clicking noise made with the
mouth; gege (E)
dolo n a hardwood tree [small
leaves, yellow fruit, wood is
used for axe handles]
do-yaina m a spell worked on a
young woman to make her run
away
*dokesana m a doctor
also *lokasa
duke (S) m the flying fox
duku aj scarred or deformed as
from a fire
(ki duku pi aa: man with a
shriveled hand)
1dulu aj blind, deformed eyes;
rubu (E,S)
2dulu aj group of something
animate
(puna dulu: swarm of bees)
duma n saucer ornament [imported,
won on foreheads during dances]

1dumu n a large var. of mushroom
[two sub-var.: one large,
yellow, edible; other aanipe
is small, not eaten unless
mushrooms are scarce]
2dumu n tab word for tobacco in
Ribu ceremony
duni n a Pandanus which bears
green nuts [small leaves, few
spines]
dusa n digging stick
(sapi awape dusa meda gi: give
me a stick to dig out the sweet
potato)
Cf. lama, roto, rimaapu
du ta (E) explosive noise as from
a gun
Cf. dau

E
-e 2 sp Pr, Set I: ada-e 'you
are seeing it'; 2 sg Pa, Set I;
ada-e 'you saw it'; 1 sg Pf, Set I: ade 'I have seen it';
2 sg Pf, Set I: ade 'you have seen it'

1e yes
(neme eta reae pea pae? e: are you hungry? yes)

2e n garden [usually old, with greens not sweet potato]; q (S)
(niri epara eta madita pulu: I am going to get food in the gar­
den)
Cf. maapu

-ea 3 sg Pf, Set I
eada n fishworm
(go menare eada nola penala: send this pig to eat the worms)
Cf. kolowi, msaakena, kegeremaa
eba n a var. of sugarcane [red skin, three sub-var. depending on the amount of juice and
colour of the skin]
ebalua (S) n water puddle
ebe women's expression when afraid of something
ebeaa v to be leaning
ebe-laaki n scaffold, bridge, house brace; lebo-laaki (E),
kebe-laake (S)
(repena apo kubapara ebe-laaki

Cf. maapu

2ebo n hole in ground; lebo (E),
su bokena (S)
(so goro repena madaa ebo ia: that tree has a hole in it; aana ebo
madaa yapa pia: there is a marsupial in the hole in the stone)
ebo-adaalua n taboo word for banana in Adaalu Ribu ceremony
ebomaan n sweet potato peelings, stubs, refuse, butts; konobaa

(S)
(go agare ebomaan suaya: only the Pandanus scraps are there)
Cf. ragota, ebo
ebo-ruduua n taboo word for banana in Rudu Ribu ceremony
edelitia (S) n a river snake
depeea (E) v to braid
(roka edepeea: fasten as a braid)
edoto n the spiny edges of the Pandanus leaves
ega n the generic term for the fern [often cooked with meat,
usually pig, in earth ovens; one taboo name is kibia-leme;
class Filicopsida]; kega (E),
kenga (S)
egaa n live coals; legaa (E),

taa (S)
egaalum n 1. small needle [made
from bamboo, used for sewing]
2. small head scratchers;
niripiri (E)
egaalum-epereaa n a comb; angala

(S)
Cf. egaapita
egaapita n 1. a small, long pointed stick [stuck in hair and used as head-scratchers; also as a needle to make a net bag] 2. a bamboo comb; kegaapitya (E), engaapita (S) Cf. egaapita eperaa, egaalu eperaa

egaapita kego hole end of needle

egaapita-eperaa n a comb; egalaa (E) Cf. egaalu-eperaa

egaene n a hardwood tree [long leaves used in earth ovens, fruit is red and small]

ega-kaapua n a var. of rat [white coloured underneath, black on its back, lives in dried logs, etc., has a strong odour]

ega-pagalae n any cassowary which is dark from the quill area upwards [brownish-red from that area back]

ega-pitaa n edible fern var. [Pteridophyte var.]

ega-rapa-rapa n edible fern var. [Pteridophyte var.]

egasa n a var. of rat [bears young in a hole in the ground, dark-coloured, long tail]

egataa n 1. the little finger; egali (E), engali (S) 2. one in the body part counting system Cf. padane, komea

egata-rape-rape n edible fern var. [Pteridophyte, Sphaenomeris chinensis]

ege (E) n alternate form of oge, little

egele n woven cane; kegele (E), kegele (S) (ada egeleme piri ora epeta: houses made from woven blinds are good) Cf. kabe lapaa

ega-nana n a small whitish-coloured rat [found in yellow clay soil, associated with the locust because it cries out at about dusk]

ega-ta n a small weed found in garden areas [looks like a little tree, covered with fuzz]

ekamu n a very large marsupial [brown fur, makes its home in the strong yakipu vine]

ekata n perspiration; pudu (E,S) (adapara pirua ekata pia: he is in the house perspiring; naara me ekata maparia: the sun made me perspire)

1eke n 1. sharpness; ne (E,S) (eke waru aya: it is very sharp) 2. sharp edge of something (kidipaa eke: point of fingernail; loma eke: edge of a splinter; pore eke: summit of a mountain; sekere eke: edge of pearl shell) Cf. pudu, rugi

2eke n the generic term for any Parrot or Lorikeet [in particular any Parrot which is coloured red, yellow, green]

3eke n moon, month; suba (S) (eke pena ipula: a new moon coming up) Cf. akua

4eke n tongue; keke (E,S)

ekedoloro rita to be bitter tasting [lit. to cut off and carry the tongue]
eke ta foul talk 
(go naakini nipara eke laade: 
that boy said foul things to 
me)
Cf. wae agaa

eke tole pi ajp 1. tongue-tied 
2. any speech impediment 
also eke rakolo pi

eke-mari n var. of flora 
[Melastomataceae, Medinilla]
eke-nare-nare n a hardwood tree 
[small tomato-like fruit, cooked 
and eaten]
ekeraa av tomorrow; burika/buruka 
(E), rulii (S)
ekeraanane in the future, later 
eke-raara n var. of flora [prob. 
Gesneriaceae fam]
eke-yo (E) n var. of flora 
[Melastomataceae, Polikilosyne]
eke yolo rita to have very thick 
leaves 

ek n a var. of cane [long, 
yellowish, very tasty]
elepa n tab name for forked tongs 
in Adaalu Ribu ceremony 
-ema 1 pl Pf, Set II, Set I 
ema n lice; lema (E)

1 emaa n flute, panpipe; welema 
(E), pelema (S)
emaa la to blow flute, conch 
shell, etc.; elema la, welema 
la (E) 
(sukulu ta epenalo emaa ta: he 
is blowing the shell for them 
to come to class)

emabora n a softwood tree 
[Melastomataceae, Astronia; 
large leaves used for dance 
decorations, leaves are green 
on top, yellow underneath]; 
kelemabo (E,S)
emabu-aani n a var. of flora 
[Melastomataceae, Astronia]
emagu pea 1. the green-brown 
colour of certain leaves 
also kagaa-reke yo

2. muddy water colour; agu pia 
(E), angu pia (S)
-eme 2,3 pl, Pf, Set II, Set I

1 eme n type of bird [nice feather-
ers]

2 eme n alt word for garden 
(go ona re eme waru saya: this 
woman works strong in the gar-
den)
Cf. e, maapu

eme-lalu n a var. of mushroom 
[dark-coloured, only eaten 
when others are scarce]

emelalu pea to be dizzy 
(eta nanoa emelalu pia: I 
haven't eaten and I am dizzy) 
Cf. toto pea

emogo n a var. of Fruit Dove 
[yellow head, similar to the 
kalepa]

1 ena n the generic term for any 
kind of fish [other sub-var.: 
kobere (dark-coloured), katipi 
(whitish), akua-ena (fish caught 
at full moon), re ena (fish 
caught when the waters are in 
flood)]; wena (E), walia, repali 
(S)
Cf. ipagi

2 ena n var. of wena in parts of E

ena-ega n a var of edible fern 
[similar to the fern awa-ega; 
grown in sword grass]
en e n 1. swelling or knot on tree 
(repena ene opea: there is a 
swelling on the tree) 
2. joint on growing things; 
le (E)
Cf. agene, rumu, dilala

eno n forehead; weno (E,S)
enopogaesi n a var. of tree 
[Euphorbiaceae, Macaranga]
enopapepo n a var. of tree 
[Euphorbiaceae, Macaranga]
-epa 1 dl Pf, Set II, Set I
epaa v he came [from ipu 'to 
come']
epaa pia to strongly desire;  
kaipa pia (E)  
(ona epe adoa epaa naomaape:  
don't covet a desirable woman)

epaawe n sago; kawi kolamu (E),  
kawi (S)

epari n an old garden area

epari-ega n a var. of fern [grows  
in old garden areas]

epa sala swelling in the groin  
area  
( ni epe sa: my groin pains)

-epe 2,3 dl, Pf, Set II, Set I

epe aj good  
(epe yae: good things)

epa ta it is good; apea (E),  
epelea (S)

epa ta nala aa np helpful men [one  
who eats his food well, sharing  
it]

1 eperea n 1. ladder from forked  
pole; angepaa (S), aakepaa (E)  
(aa eperaa laketaboa lopapa:  
the ladder to the bananas broke  
and we fell down)  
Cf. kepaa  
2. fork in the road  
3. tributary stream

2 eperea n taboo word for tongs in  
Ribu ceremony

epere n fish net, trap (Wabi)  
Cf. oro

epesa-epesa n a small bird [prob.  
Honeyeater; black along back,  
red around neck]

epeso n a type of spirit mask  
Cf. ribu-aeta, ribu-asawaakua

epo la to whistle; wepo (E,S)

epo na 1. joke, fool around  
2. tease; kepna (E,S)  
(epo nololo laa: he was kidding)

epoaa v to root in the ground [as  
a pig]; pilinala (S)

era pea slippery; kera pia (E),  
kerera pia (S)  
(go agare rumaape era pia: this  
pandanus is too slippery to  
climb; kiapome malerepena area  
rabu era ora waru pea: when the  
kiap puts up the pole at Christ- 
mas it is really slippery)  
Cf. ragala, kagala

era putaba to be slippery or  
slimy [like the skin of an eel]

erawa (S) n flying fox; kaima  
(W,E)

erawe (E) n tab name for water in  
Ribu ceremony

1 ere exclamation [as when seeing  
a snake and being frightened]

2 ere n female genital; kere (E,S)

ero n large green python [mostly  
in S but purchased in W; edible,  
similar to the Green Tree Python]  
(go eroere ora pepena rarorupa  
ua pia: that python is really  
marked differently)  
Cf. yaipunaaki

ero-robbero n var. of flora  
[Ranunculaceae, Clematis]

ero-ga n a large Pandanus with  
many spines [individual kernels  
are green, eaten raw]

ero ta angry talk, insulting talk  
Cf. ratu yawa

esa-wai n pasture grass [imported  
from agricultural station; from  
e 'garden', sa 'to put' and wai  
'seedling']

esa-yo var. of imported grass  
planted for pasture

esepea v to untie, loosen  
(ki madaa esepeena aa: a lazy  
person [lit. someone with  
hands and feet freed])  
Cf. ki aaraakepene aa

1eta n food; eda (E,S)  
(eta waru naata: there's no food  
[no sweet potato, just vines])
eta Kane aa np the host [lit. the one who provides the food]

eta-pora m esophagus

2eta v to bear [as fruit, nuts, flowers, seeds]
   Cf. pereketa, etea

etaa m arrows; edali (E,S)

etaa are pi aa np a primitive fight surgeon

etaane m bow and arrows; aapa (E,S)

etaa wapu a very strong bow [used especially in fighting and hunting]

etapa v to be lost, disappear;
   lelapa (E)
   (mo ipa ini iarupa adano etapaa: like disappearing in a lake,
   let me see [you] be lost; yaina aba etaparia: the sickness is gone)
   Cf. alupa

etapea v to cut off
   (apo lapalapa medane ni giaina etapea: cut off some of that cloth
   and give it to me)
   Cf. kadola, rugula, ebepea, kava, ugia

ete m the flea
   Cf. medo, kayabo

etea v to be bearing fruit
   (abiare aai adaa etea: now the banana tree has plenty of bananas)
   Cf. pereketa, eta

ete eta pia make a movement; lewa-lewa (E,S)
   (no go ipapara ete eta pia: there is movement down there in
   the water; ete eta pu lapae

piralia: it is moving around [as in the wind])
   Cf. kete-kete pia, keto pia, wage-wage pia

ete-eto-piri-yaee maggots [i.e. things which move about]

ete madini aa an insult for an unkept person [lit. one who carries fleas]

etemina v to help someone by holding their hand

etepa v 1. to sew up, mend
   (apo yapara waru etepa
   riripitaga: sew up that umbrella since it is splitting)
   Cf. rabula
   2. to make [as a bed]

etepea v to shred [as leaves from a stem]; edepea (E,S)
   (eta yawape aapu yo etepaa: shred the leaves off for the earth oven)
   Cf. kibia

eto m thorns; keto (E,S)
   (aga eto ora waru aya: Pandanus trees have many thorns)
   Cf. etolo-etolo

etelo-etolo m alt for thorns eto
   (ope itutu madaare etolo-etolo
   waru aya: the itutu vine has many thorns on it)

etutu someone talking incoherently [as in sleep or when about to die]
   also po yaki agaa

1ewa m any stranger, kewali (E,S)

2ewa v to light a lamp or torch;
   kewa (E,S)
   Cf. waduna

ewa-eba m a var. of sugarcane [large stalk, very juicy]

ewano m an imported tree [planted near roads and gardens; not large, black bark, bears nuts]

ewa rare a top which is still spinning

ewe aj reddish
   (mogo ridi ora waru ewea: that
paint is really bright red)
   Cf. kaata

ewo ria yae np any substance
   which has a light and moves
   along [e.g. someone carrying
   a lamp, a lightning bug]

ewo ta a reflection, glare
   Cf. kalo ta

eya m a hardwood tree [Fagaceae
   Nothogagus]
   Cf. arepo

eyaa aj abnormal
   (eyaa mea pamua: to be walking
   about in a foolish manner; eyae
   kone: jealous, distrustful,
   resentful manner)

eya kepane ia payment to allies
   for killing an enemy
   Cf. ame payo mama rudupu

eya-lopena m a var. of mushroom
   [grows in abundance on the
   hardwood eya tree, brown-
   coloured, slightly bitter]

eya-made m hardwood tree [Fagaceae
   Nothogagus]

-ayo 1 sg. Pf, Set II

eyo rubea scatter, spread [as
   grease in skillet]

-eye 2 sg. Pf, Set II

-gae old person
   (-onagae: an old woman;
   yomagae: an old man)

gae m generic term for any locust
   type cf insect [considered taboo
   for young man to eat them lest
   it spoil their growth, etc.]
   Cf. nele-nele, noae-noae

gae ta to be getting dark, dusk
   (abiare akua naayapulu gae waru
   ta: there is no moon so it is
   really dark)
   also gae yala
   Cf. ribaa

gaema m var. of sweet potato
   [fairly large leaves, red-
   coloured tuber, excellent taste]

gaga ta 1. sound of water boiling
   (pe madaa mena sae pabema rabu
   gaga ta: when we put pieces of
   pig in a bamboo they boil)
   Cf. kololo ta
   2. noise made when calling a pig

gala-gala m var. of tree with
   thorny protrusions

galenale m Pand lang for food

galu-galu m clumps of hard clay
   or ground

gapiaga m decorations made from
   bits of shell, pipiki, and worn
   by children

gara ona tab name for Pandanus
   Cf. malupia, mabua, railipa

garo ta sound of chopping wood
   (go adapa gara taga warita
   pae: is the chopping noise in
   the house from building some-
   thing)
   Cf. gau ta
garula v to close, fasten
(ni puluga pora garula: I am going to close the door)
Cf. moga, poa

gasua-kaale n black tree or ground oil (very old)
gau ta sound of chopping wood or knocking on door
(mo raapara mela gau taga aapiya pae: who is that making the noise chopping wood in the bush)
Cf. garo ta
gauwaa puru mother fish
(robaa adaane gauwaa puru: a large stomach [like] a mother fish)
Cf. kau puru
gawa-iri n a var. of sweet potato
[large but has dirty-coloured juice, only eaten when there is no other, usually for pigs]
gan an orphan; gele (E)

ge n an orphan; gele (E)
geao geao ta the sound of the kenome frog
gepa n edible greens
Cf. raani
gere n hole in sides of nose for ornament; pea lumu (E)

gi v to give [to 1st or 2nd person]; ngi (S)
Cf. kala
gigaa n a small green-coloured migratory bird [makes nest inside dead trees, comes only when the pai tree bears fruit; similar to a Rainbow Lory] (repena paina ini etea raburi go yaa gigaa ora adaapu epea: when the pai nuts are ripe many gigaa birds come)
Cf. pai-rakepeala
gili n var. of hardwood [two types: one has many leaves, reddish nuts resembling peanuts; other has only a few leaves; used for fence posts]
gimaa v to disregard, leave alone; giyaa (E), ngiyaa (S)
(ni raapa giyaa gimaa: I don't want to play so forget it)
Cf. palainawa, inala, repaa
gipea v to be lazy, dislike;
nigia (S)
gira ta to sneeze [or pretend to, as when has had his name mentioned]; gira tya (E)
giri la to laugh
(onaa adaapu pirua riri lo pimi: there are a lot of people there laughing; giri amaa ne ona: silly woman)
Cf. roasu
giyaa (E) v to let go, to loosen; gimaa (W)
go d this, that
(go ia eta ni gi: give me that food there)
Cf. mo, mopo, apo, mogo
gomeda (E) n var. of flora [Araceae, Pothos]
gota-gota (E) pig call; gaga ta (W)
gula-gula n bamboo container used to store feather head-dresses
gupa av like this; ngupa (S)
(nere gupa epape: later come like this)
also gorupa, aporupa

1i n a large tree [large quantity of sap, broad leaves, reddish bark, bears nuts in abundance which are cooked and eaten]
2i n the husk or unwanted part of fruit, vegetable, vine, etc.
3i n excrement
i gau lata: to break wind

i na: [lit. to eat excrement] expressions (i nalua: I am in pain, help me; nena i nalua: pressure for someone to give a desired object)

i raa: to defecate

i tapa: outhouse, toilet; also putapa (E,S)

ia: to have; wiia (E,S)
(mena sae ia: to have a piece of pork)

Cf. saapia, pa ia

iaa: enemy; loreali (E,S)
(Puti palua rabu iaanum ni talimi: when I go to Puti the enemies will kill me)

Cf. yada kepene aa

ibi: the taboo name for the adasa mushroom

ibiri: abundant sweet potato vines; libiri (E,S)

ibiri pia: fasten something with a stick [as leaves on a wig]

ibu-ibu lo ti ajp: fat
(nipu epe eta adaapu noa ibu-ibu lo ti aya: he eats well and is fat)

Cf. *kaikai lo ti, rea gi ti

idipitya (E, Kware): to tear, tip

idu pita: to rest; kitu pira (W)

igigi aata: chills [as malaria]; ingigi aata (S)
(aebo naare pabola popea raburi igigi awa yaina omea: when the sun goes down he has chills and is sick)

Cf. puru aata, pururu pia

igipa: contagious [as in an epidemic]; gipa (E,S)
(abia yaina igipa waru omeme: there are many people sick now)

Cf. omame yae

ligi pia: to squeeze; sigi pia (E), singi pia (S)
(upi nena to madaa adaapega igi

pia: there is a large boil on your body, so squeeze it)

Cf. moro pea

2igi pia v: to fall down, break down
(aga mua e kepo igi pia: the landslide knocked down the fence; yaa igi pialia sa: the bird fell down)

Cf. lake ria

1igira: a small tree [prob Euphorbiaceae; patterned colour, scattered leaves, bears brown-coloured fruit]

2igira: an abusive term for dogs [so called if they only bark and will not hunt possums]

igu: 1. blunt end of axe
2. bottom part of something; ingu (S)
(maa igu: part of taro left after top is cut off)

ikari: trousers [older term]

ikidi: the long tail of a bird

ikulu: diarrhoea; ilo (E,S)
(nina mena ikulu loa omaa: my pig had watery diarrhoea and died)

Cf. robaa kulu

1imaa: posterior

Cf. irimaa, kerai

2imaa: 1. pig tusk
2. horns of an animal; imaa pe (E,S)

3imaa: 1. tab relationship of certain affines such as mother-in-law to son-in-law
2. general for tab relationship (go aare nina pasega imaa nalape: that man is my brother-in-law so don't say his name)

Cf. suba, imaa niti
imaa niti forbidden name, relative due to marriage [for example, all affines of either spouse consider Ego as a taboo relationship; a male Ego considers his WZH, ameke, his ZH and his DH as in a taboo relationship]
Cf. imaa, suba

imaa-nalo m a type of small edible crab [the 'mother' cf. the kobitu]

imaane (E) n tab name for stone in Ribu ceremony

imu n heart, lungs; konali (E), kosa (S)
also pu-imu

imu-ria m a large bird [prob. White-Breasted Fruit Dove; sleeps in trees, plumes are prized, distinguished by the white around neck and soft cry]

-ina 2 sg, dp, suc, n-term

ina n a var. of flora [prob. Monaceae, Ficus wassa]

inabi m a var. of sweet potato [yellow tuber, small multiple tipped leaves, considered recent]

inala v to let something alone; winyala (E,S)
(apo oyae nimuna imiga ina inala: those things belong to them so let them there)
Cf. gimaa, palainawa

1inalu n sprout of bamboo

2inalu n 1. tip of something
Cf. uninane

2. the chin; kinyu (E), kunì (S)
Cf. yagaa

ina-yo n rough leaf [used like sandpaper for axe handles, etc.]; niyo (E), niyo (S)

1ini m the eyes; le (E,S)
(upa ini: core of a boil [lit. eye-boil])

ini adu pia v to die; le kadu pia (E,S)
(naakide abia ribaa ini adu pia: the boy died during the night)
Cf. ini pata, ini pu pia

ini-agaa m face; le-agaa (E), le-angaa (S)

ini-agaa girì ti onaa mp a person with a smiling or grinning face

ini apaa pitulapae ajp bug-eyed

ini apulane pia someone who is sick, eyes do not look right

ini dulu pa to be blind

ini emelalu pia to be dizzy

ini kabe aì mp a proud, conceited man
Cf. rope pia, sugilima yawa pia

ini kalae rubini aì mp person who is blind in one eye

ini madaapi scar tissue on eye, cloudy eye, etc.

ini mare eye matter

ini mini pì aì mp person who is always looking around

ini nenge ria to look around carefully

ini pagì the edge or outside of the eye socket

ini pata to die; le kadu pìa (E)
Cf. ini adu pìa, ini pu pìa

ini perekea to be cross-eyed

ini pitaa pì kara ogea to ask with the eyes [as blink to entice someone]
ini pita pi karita to blink the eyes
ini pobolo eyebrow; le pobolo (E)
ini pobolo ridipia to raise the eyebrows [a signal that someone else should speak]
also ini pobolo redepea
ini pobolo rokesaa a sign of anger made by moving the eyebrows
ini pu pua euphemism for dying [lit. to close the eyes tightly]
(nipuri yapipu pa pira pare abia go rabu ini pu pua: he was alive this morning but he just died now)
Cf. ini adupia, ini pata
ini ramua sore eyes
ini riasae to be without an eye
ini ria to lie [lit. to carry the eyes]; le ria (E,S)
ini rini aa to be nosey [a person who looks everything over; also refers to someone who is tricky]
ini rita to be expensive; le aya (E,S)
ini rubu pea to be blind
ini rutu pi to be angry
ini ta damaged eye
ini-tepare glasses; tere-ware (E)
ini kidu nose; kili (E,S)

2ini n kidney; kili (E,S)
ini a lake or pond; ipa kumi (E), ipa le (S)
ini any fruit, nuts, flowers, blossoms or seeds from a tree; li (E), kili (E)
Cf. wai
ini-kedu nose; pea (E,S)
Cf. ini-kara
ini-kadu nalape aa np an insult; an ugly person [lit. a man with an eaten off nose]
ini-kadu po ebepeisa ugly [someone with a short flat nose]
ini-kadu rekae tasa wide-nostriled nose [considered ugly]
ini-kadu rekatabea pug-nosed person
ini-kara n tab equivalent for nose
Cf. ini-kadu
ini-kenage n decorative nose plug

ini maatu mucus
ini maatu akiti aqp one who always has a runny nose
ini paraa ti naaki np a child with a flared-out nose
ini pome minasa pug-nosed [considered ugly]
Cf. ini-kadu rekae tasa
ini ro ebepe an insult: an ugly person [lit. a chopped-off pug nose]
ini ro tala tala epe aqp pretty [someone with a long slender nose bridge]
ini-lobea n tab name for forked tongs in Rudu Ribu ceremony
ini-pitaa n a type of grass found in the forest and sword grass [one var. has red flowers, the other blue, children like to play with them]
inipu n the beak of a bird
ini ta type of sorcery [where nails, pieces of bottle, etc. are thought to be implanted in a person]
inu-makua n tab name for boy in Adaalu Ribu ceremony
inya (E) n  female animal

1 ipa aj numeral indicator
   (ipa laapo: two; ipa kerepo: seven)

2 ipa n water, stream
   (niri ipa nola pulu: I am going for a drink; ipa lumaa: the stream is dry)
   Cf. some

ipa-*bia n beer

ipa ipudu n riverbed

ipa kai rapids, waterfall; ipa kali (E,S)

ipa kanapu n ditch, canal, gorge;
   ipa maako (E)
   (go ipa kanapuri ora ota: this gorge is a bad one)
   Cf. ipa kutulu

ipa kutulu n ditch, gorge, etc.
   (go ipa kutulu ora pora epeta: there is a good road around this gorge)
   Cf. ipa kanapu

ipa lewa-lewa n sound of moving water
   (po ripu ipua ipa lewa-lewa pia: when the wind comes the water makes a sound)
   Cf. eto eto

ipa lumaa n dried-up riverbed

ipa mu n sand

ipa madaa tasabalia n to float on water
   also ipa madaa riama awatalia

ipa paagi n the edge or shore of a stream or pond
   Cf. ipa repa, ipa rere

ipa raku pitabaa n to overflow and wash away a bank, etc.

ipa rea 1. flood waters
   2. boiling water

ipa repa n the edge or bank of a stream
   Cf. ipa paagi, ipa rere

ipa rere 1. bank, edge of stream
   Cf. ipa paagi, ipa repa

ipa rikirane i su island; kapasi (E)

ipa-ro n a bridge
   Cf. ipa-saapu

ipa runane ugiade n to sink deep into the water

ipa-*ti n tea

ipa ti aa mp  a proud man [lit. one who is well washed with water]
   Cf. to wanini aa

ipa yokea n a spring of water

ipaaa n milk, sap, etc.; paage (E), paange (S)
   (go repena ipaa waru pia: that tree has a lot of sap)
   Cf. paage

ipa-angi (S) n tab name for girl in Ribu ceremony

ipadu n a var. of cane [large, dark-coloured, large leaves, very juicy, considered ancient]

ipagi n fish
   (ipara ipagi mula pulu: I am going fishing)
   Cf. ena

ipa-gi n tab name for boy in Ribu ceremony

ipa-kama n a var. of mushroom
   [so named because of its abundant juice, roasted, dark-coloured, etc.]
   Cf. to pira

ipa-kole (E) n [Lauraceae Cryptocarya]

ipa-mapi n alt for mapi
   [Cunoniaceae, prob. Oacunonon]

ipa-mara n var. of flora
   [Lauraceae, Cryptocarya]

ipa-mu rakia n a var. of an edible green [found growing near water, usually eaten with pig, but also raw]

ipa nami (E) n whole of butchered pig when split open
1. ipapa n a var. of sweet potato
   (ancestral, white stringy tuber, red skin, large leaves)

2. ipapa v to string beads, etc.
   Cf. rupa, kibipaba

ipa-ropaa n decorative arm bracelet
   Cf. kiami ropaa, kebe ropaa, ropaa

ipa-saapu n tab equivalent for bridge

ipa-walu n var. of flora
   [Rubiaceae, var.]

1. ipa-yapa n the choice var. of wild edible sugarcane [black stalk; cooked in ashes or in earthen pits]

2. ipa-yapa n a type of slimy eel [tail much like a fish]

ipi-alawaina n a small bird
   [found at the top of trees or on rocks, long tail which stands up, comb on its neck]

ipi-mena aapu n a net apron made of pig tails [placed over the main apron as a decoration at dances]
   Cf. mena aapu

ipi-piri n a fair-sized bird [black along the back, longer tail, when the cassowary cries this bird also sings]

ipi-rame n a tall edible Pandanus
   [many spines, short leaves]

ipiriisi n a small brown bird [var. of Berrypicker, flies close to the ground]

ipitu n a small marsupial [about the size of a guinea pig, black coloured, lives in the water]

ipu v to come

ipu aria bamboo split and used to make a fire

ipu edepea pull bamboo back and forth to make a fire

ipu repena fire made by pulling bamboo back and forth on hard-wood

ipudu n riverbed

ipula n the rump of a bird
   (ipula iri: rump feathers)

ipunu n canoe, boat
   Cf. moae

ipunu-yapara n sacred or magic pouch [containing small stones, feathers, bark, etc. to help obtain more pearl shells and pigs]; nu yapara (E)

1. ira n a tough sword grass
   [prob. a var. of ira-yama]

2. ira v 1. to cook food; kira (E,S) (go repena ira: light the fire)
   Cf. yaga
   2. burn skin from a pearl shell
   3. sharpen a pencil

iraa v to paint, brush on; kira (E,S) (ada peno iraa: paint the house)
   Cf. pepemina

iraru n the hindquarter (ham) of a pig

ira-yama n a tough sword grass
   [people like to plant it near ditches, in the gardens, near fences so that pigs cannot move the posts easily; also i-yama]

iri n hair, feathers, fur

iri-i-ripu type of spell used to make hair grow
iri-kelepo n a wig
Cf. aalu kelepo

iri rasu ruba v to molt, as chicken feathers

iri yaga to pluck out hair, as in grief

iriata n a possum
Cf. yapa

1irikai n the name for dog [used in certain parts of W]; yana (E,S) (go irikai ota: this dog is no good, yapa waru ti irikai: good hunting dog [one which really kills possums])
Cf. rialli

2irikai n a Pandanus var. [same as the yana]

irikai-ari n a var. of flora [Gesneriaceae, Cyrtandra]

irikai-yari n a type of large fly [bites people, lives in red soil, picked up by the hair and then fed to dogs, hence the name]

irikai-aalup gourd for tree oil
Cf. wabala-pe

irimaa n posterior
(sukulupara pirua irimaa radaa pia: when we sit in school our irimaa pains)
Cf. kerai, imaa

irimaa adaalu pi ajp an insult:
someone with a long sloping posterior

irubina v 1. to completely burn off [grass, etc.]; kirubina
(E,S) 2. to singe

iru-kipu n a type of flora

iru kone resolute minded

iru la 1. to be firm or solid
2. to be stuck fast
(go ada daa rasape iru ta: those houseposts are hard to get out)
Cf. puri

iruru n prob. the celery wood [Araliaceae, Polyscias]

is exclamation

ita-riti n a very large hawk or eagle [said to have come recently to the area, size of a small cassowary, perhaps the name given to a turkey]

ita-yama n a large hawk [eats chickens, other birds and snakes; lives in the trees and grass]; kabe-kele, ita (E)

1iti n snail, leech; lidi (E) (Wagalupara iti adaapu pia: there are many leeches along the Wagalu bush)
Cf. loma

2iti n a rope
(mena iti puri pasa: that pig tether is very strong)
Cf. ope

3iti n myth, ancient story; lidi (E,S)

iti la to tell a story; lidi la
(E,S)

itipa v rain leaking through a hole in a roof; kidipali (E), rodopa (S)
(go adare itipa pogotaga ramea: this house leaks so it must be old)

ititu n a soft var. of vine [used for medicinal purposes, leaves mixed with the tests of a pig and ginger and given to counteract sorcery]
1 itu $n$ pitch of pine etc. put on shells as magic to make them multiply

2 itu $n$ a large hawk [similar to the Black-Mantled Goshawk; lives in holes and trees, feeds upon rats, possums, etc., cry is wea wea, feathers are fuzzy looking, dirty-coloured with white speckling amongst them]; kitu (E)

itu-itu $n$ plant with thorns on spine
Cf. agipitu

itu kaatu nea see kitu kaatu nea

iya $v$ call to a dog; siya (E), iye (S)
(iya go: get that thing)

K

1 kaa $n$ smell, fragrance, odour
(go kaa pia yaere ake pae: what is that thing with the odour)
Cf. pugu

kaa mea $v$ to smell something

2 kaa $n$
1. taro left-over after top leaves etc. are cut off
   (maa kaa: taro tuber)
2. sprouts or base of sugarcane after cutting main part

kaade $aj$ rust-coloured, reddish colour

kaake pia (E) white colour; aake pia
(le kaake: to show whites of eyes)

kaakoma $n$ fontanel; kaakama (E,S), also kakomo (S)
(kaakoma iri: bald-headed)

kaaku (E) pig snort sound

kaalare $aj$ light brown, as water in a swamp; kaat (E)

kaale nogo (E) np orphan girl

kaalepa (E,S) $n$ river stones

kaaloae $aj$
1. reflection from embers
2. redness of flowers or ground

1 kaane $aj$ red, orange; keweae (E), kayo pi or we pi (S)

2 kaane $n$ a var. of tapioca

3 kaane $n$ tab name for the brown pine, pawa

4 kaane $n$ alt for bamboo knife rigi
Cf. menana-la

kaane-ula $n$ a good wood for sawing and cutting [Podocarpaceae, Dacrycarpus; dark-coloured, scattered irregular leaves used for singsing decorations, small thorns]

1 kaanu $aj$ rotten inside as sweet potato, dry rot as wood

2 kaanu $n$ a var. of sweet potato; kaanyu (E)

kaanu pi $aj$ orangish colour as egg yolk; kaanyu (E,S)
also kayo pi (S)

*kaapo $n$ cup, glass container

kaapu ta 1. to be dry
2. to be barren, as a woman
Cf. muburu sa

kaapu-miru $n$ the Blue Bird of Paradise

1* kaara $n$ an automobile

2 kaara (E,S) $n$ the common sword grass

kaare rai $n$ bush knife
Cf. rai kutu, kutu, kudu
kaaru n co-wife  
(go onare kaaru meda pia: that woman has a co-wife)  
Cf. udipa

*kaasa n cards, gamble
kaaso n reddish clay soil; kaasu (E,S)
kaaso kege n decorative reddish clay used on people

kaata aj red  
(go penesolo ora kaata ipa pia: this pencil has red ink)  
Cf. ewea
kaataturaa n inside part of pig's stomach
kaati aj rusty colour
kaato n alt name for the mole cricket; kaatyaa ruma (E), kaaloanga (S)  
Cf. bolo
kaawi n arrow for animals and humans  
Cf. mera

1kaba n a small type of grass-hopper  
also mata-kaba
2kaba v to buy, sell  
(mogo lapalapa epeta ga ka: that cloth is good so buy it; kabo mea: sell; kaba pu: buy)  
Cf. ropo pa
3kaba v to break off something  
Cf. rodopea, ebepea, karua, ugla, kadola, etapea, rugula, kagola, lora

1kabe n 1. the generic term for wild sugarcane [Saccharium robustum]  
2. type of arrow made from wild cane
kabe kele n cane laid as floor, bed, platform  
(niri sogo kabe kele madaa patalua: I will sleep on top of that platform)  
Cf. reke, yatapa, rapuluma

kabe lapaa n pitpit wall, etc.; kegele lapaa (E)  
(nina ada pena kabe lapaa pawa: I made my new house of wild cane walls)  
Cf. egele
kabe-putine n clusters or heavy growths of wild cane
kabe wakunabo n clumps of wild cane roots, etc.

2kabe n a marsupial found in the Poroma area [does not have much fur, lives in the wild cane areas near the gardens]
kabe-lupulupu n [Bignoniaceae, Tecomanthe]
kabe-mayapa n a var. of wild sugarcane which rarely produces fruit [when it does the fruit is called palili]
kabe-reke n 1. preliminary pay to allies  
2. paid mercenaries  
3. mercenary warrior  
Cf. aipu aa
kabe-ruma (E) n [Gramincæas Miscanthus floridulus]
kabiri n a type of arrow made from pitpit  
Cf. sapi kabe
kabita n a marsupial about the size of a cat [makes its home in clumps of old cane; feeds on decaying corpses among other things]
kabitu n small type of crab; kabitu kaapo (E,S)

1kabo n a small var. of sugarcane with red skin
2kabo (E) n [Euphorbiaceae, Homalanthus]
3kabo n softwood tree type [bark used for making belts, small leaves]
kabo mamawa n circular markings around eyes and face, especially a marsupial
kabo marae  
arrow type for killing humans [bone-tipped, markings on shaft]; kabu marale (E,S)

kabo marae yae  
divination of bow and arrow [performed after someone had been killed in a fight; magical act was to give arrows power to retaliate]

kabu-kabu  
a small hardwood tree which bears nuts [prob. Celastraceae, Perrottetia]

Cf. agula, pogolasa

kabu1a  
var. of kabita

kada  
pillow [wooden]

kadataa  
to criss-cross as beams, wood; kadatya (E), kadalia (S) (sogo ada suba mada kadataa: cross them on top of the center beam)
Cf. polopea

kadepea  
to rub, scrape; kedepa (E) (nena ini ota kadepea: rub the dirt from your eyes)
Cf. kuna, radepa

kadepoala  
tag name for the tree kangaroo maapuna

kadepu tea  
[considered to be colour of white man's skin by some]; wepea (S)

kadiasupa  
Pand lang for spirit, etc.

kadipe  
whiteman (abia kadipe episade rabu waru eperupa pima: now since the whiteman came we have lived in peace)
Cf. bali

kadipe raguta  
the yellowish-tan ant; edible eggs; kadipe lolo (E)

kadipe-ruulu  
a type of brown horserfly

kadisaa  
trunk of body; kadesaa (E,S)

kadola  
to cut off, separate (go ope adaaluga kadola: this vine is long so cut it off)
Cf. etapea, rugula, ebepea, kaba, rodepea, ugjia, karie, kagola, lora

1 kadu  
a var. of rattan cane [Calamus sp]

2 kadu  
nose
Cf. ini kudu

kadu na  
to chew

kadusupa  
Pand lang for snake, lizard, frogs, etc.

kagaa aj  
new, green alive

kaga-karerene  
an alt name for the moss kagu

kagala aj  
slippery as an eel; agelemaa (E), angelemaa (S) (go aga kagala pea: this pandanus is slippery)
Cf. ragala, era

kagala-kua  
var. of wild edible grass

kagareke aj  
green colour; kagaa rekele (E), kagaa rekele (S)
Cf. karerene

kagaro yaina  
sickness contracted at a strange place

kagaru ki  
an edible type of grubworm which lives in the ground
Cf. roge, yapira, robe-agi

kagato  
a small marsupial

kage (E)  
a myth

kagena  
row as of a garden, ditch etc.; agena (E), angena (S)
Cf. kana

kagi-kago (E)  
[Rubiaceae, Uncaria]

kagola  
to cut off
Cf. kadola, karic, kaba, etepea, ebepea, rugula, rodepea, ugjia, lora
kagola sa v to cut off by slicing up through

kagu n a small shrub planted near houses [Rubiaceae, Psychotria; red berries]

kagu-lubi n a var. of moss commonly found on the kagu tree

kagu-rete n a small bird which lives in the forest [prob. a var. of the Sunbird; feathers are brown; said to be difficult to pull out]

1kai n waterfalls; kali (E)

2kai n arrow type, bird claw tip; mera (E,S) (onaare kaimi piniri omeme: people who are shot with the kai arrow die)

3kai n alt for black palm kawi

kai-dolo n a var. of mushroom [two sub-var., one dark and dirty-coloured, the other neutral coloured and both tall; roasted or cooked in bamboo]

kai-kaapu n a type of worm found in rotting wood as well as human feces

*kaikai lo ti ajp a fat person; pea walis (S) (kaikai lo ti aare aipapulu naogeteme: fat man do not get old quickly) Cf. rea gi ti, ibu-ibu lo ti

1kaima n flying fox; duke (S)

2kaima (E) n lymph, pus; aima (W)

kaima rumu wape n a type of design woven on arm and leg bands [lit. markings of the flying-fox tail]

kaimaadia v to carry by hanging on to the shoulder and arm (go nakiri neme kaimaadia: carry this boy on your shoulder) Cf. alepa

kaina-sorobe n a var. of victory leaf; sorobe (E), so (S)

kaipa (E) n [Araliaceae, Schefflera]

kaipa pia (E) to strongly desire; epaa pia (W)

kaiyama n light-coloured stone axe

kaka-luga n [Acanthaceae, Rungia]

kakape n [Zingiberaceae]

kaki-kaki n [Rubiaceae, Uncaria]

kaki ne aa np a hurtful person Cf. ratsu yawe aa

kaki yoioa pea spider spinning its web

kakome ona np a lazy woman

kaku n a type of slate used to make axes

kakua-usu n a type of duck found in the Kagua river Cf. pano, kaluga

1kala n a tree vine which is used for net bags [similar to aa-ope and ainabo; full of sap and its fruit is thick-shaped]

2kala v to give [to a third person]; ala (S, Kware) Cf. gi

kalaari n a parrot [prob. like the Rainbow Lorikeet; sharp beak which digs into trees; yellow, red and green feathers]

kalatabya (E) v to trip

1kalabe (E) n a var. of sweet potato

2kalabe n entire neck; kalabe (S) Cf. maa

kalabe nane aa energetic, excessively strong man [also refers to those who are always fighting, not tame, e.g. men from Puti] (kalabe nane agaa: arguments, etc.)
1 kaladi n [Moraceae, prob. Ficus dammanepsis]

2 kaladi n the breadfruit tree [Antocarpus altissimus; large leaves are cooked with pig and eaten, large fruit, some are not eaten; bark is shredded for making string] also matyaa (E)

kaladi-sokope n [Moraceae, Ficus]

kalado n bush spirit; kalodali (S)

kalae aj other side, part (niri nina rado kala e epawa: I came from the other part of the path; ini kala e rubini: blind in one eye) Cf. apono, paaki

kalae nogo/naaki mp orphan girl/boy; kaa le (E,S)

kalagu n a var. of sweet potato which is recent [sweet, skin and parts of the leaf are red, tuber is firm and white]

kalai aj difficult (go naakiri kalai waru pea: the boy is really obstinate) Cf. pupitagi

kalaka n a dark-coloured tree, small leaves, thorny branches, small fruit

kala-kawa n a var. of victory leaf with wide purple blade [three sub-var. depending on size of the stems and size of the leaf, commonly planted along the perimeters of the garden]; kalo-aapu (E,S)

kalalu ta to burp (aga maa nema raburi kala la ta: when we eat the core of the pandanus we burp) Cf. kitu kaatu ta, popolo ta

kalamata n type of burrs which are used in shaping wigs to keep hair attached to wig form

kala-mata n [Tiliaceae, Triumfetta]

1 kalamu (E) n [Araliaceae, Boerlagiodendron]

2 kalamu n a very thorny tree with lots of sap in it [Rubiaceae, prob. Myrmecodium; leaves like those of abarara, bears fruit during rainy time]

kalapara n dew, mist, frost (abiare pani pua kalapara igipita: now in the dry, frost has come down)

kalari n a var. of parrot

kala-yamu n a many-legged insect which lives in the ground [edible by children, considered the 'mother of the ants'; poss alt for kala-yamu]; kaleyamu (E), wenakai (S)

kala-yamu n spider type [attested to overcome pregnancy if eaten, perhaps same as kala-yamu]; kaleyamu (E), walengou (S)

kale n a var. of mushroom which grows in abundance on trees, pitpit and bamboo in the wet season [very greasy, sometimes causes vomiting]

1 kaledaa aj red colour; kaa le (E), we pe (S)

2 kaledaa n hide, ambush; kaleadaa (E,S)

kalepa n type of Bird of Paradise [prob. Ribbon-tailed Bird of Paradise; found in the high mountain areas, such as Giluwe and Ialibu, similar to the small emogo]
kalepea v 1. to scratch the skin 2. to tear something up such as an old bag  
Cf. riripla

kali (E) n waterfalls; kali (W)

kalia n wild reed for skirts; kalia (E)  
(ona medaloma ura diata raburi kalia tu yameme: when some women don't have reeds for their skirts they plant kalia)  
Cf. tipa

kaliapo n the introduced peanut  
[Anachis hypogaea; two var. are recognised, according to where the peanuts are found; on the root, or on the branch; also called *pinata, katopa]; *pinati (S)

kalipu (S) n a var. of cane

kaliyapo yawala a type of spell or cure used for children with severe coughs or hiccoughs

kalonga (S) n snail

kalo tea 1. bright sunset 2. reflection or glare from something very red  
Cf. ewo ta

kaluaa (E,Kware) v to ringbark a tree; olomaa, ataa, aluua (W)

kaluda (E,S) n type of marsupial; kelea (W)

kaluga n wild duck, Datchick; kalunga (S)  
(go yaa kalugare pa ipa ipudu piryaya: the wild chicks live on the river)  
Cf. pano, kakua-usu

kalu-kepo n a var. of mushroom which is tall and yellow [also called kalu-dusa; only eaten when young and tender, slightly bitter]

1kama n a tree type with edible fruit which is red coloured  
[tree is short with oily leaves, inside of the fruit or nut is the size of a bird's egg, eaten raw or cooked]; weau li (E), weau kili (S)

2kama n a var. of cane similar to ipadu

3kama n a var. of mushroom [two sub-var.: one is large, dark on top with white underneath and on the stem, the smaller var. is also called ariya-yo-kama; causes vomiting unless cooked very well]

kama-ini n anklebone, heel

kama-iri white haired, greying hair; kamo iri (E,S)

kamanaqae n taboo name for rat, onasa or wasa

kame n a type of hardwood tree [serves as the base when fire was made by rubbing bamboo strips on it, usually used in the spirit house]

kame-ada n menstrual house  
Cf. kupaa-ada, agi-ada

kaminya ali (E,S) a poor man

kamo pea (E) v to get ready, prepare; amu pa (W)

*kanaka n disparaging word for someone who is unsophisticated, a 'hilbilly'

*kanakana agaa np common speech, by those who don't know Pidgin

kana n small ditch  
Cf. kagen

kanapu n a gorge, ditch, ravine, depression  
(go kanapu madaa ora ota: that ditch is really had)  
Cf. awaro, kutulu, pagolo

kanaa n the boundary mark  
(go su kanaa sale bali abi naepea: the government man who marked out the boundary hasn't come yet)  
Cf. robo

*kanesolo n the village representative to government council meetings  
Cf. *komiti

kani (S) n relative
kano pi ajp to be askew, crooked, bent
   (go ada ora kano pi aya: that house is crooked)
   Cf. payabo pi, paaki pi, waagasu pi, koi pi
kaola (E) n PNG hornbill; also kauwala (E), sau (W)
kapaa (E) n boy [lit. egg, but disguised speech for son or child]
   *kapaaasa n alt for cabbage
   *kawasa
kapae m a small bird with red feathers [prob. PNG Eclectus Parrot; found south in the Erave area]; kapale (E)
kapano (E) to tab something; rekena (W)
kapapi-eke n an inedible fern which grows in the forest [trunk is covered with fuzz like dog's hair as well as thorns, leaves worn for dances and when harvesting the pandanus nut]
kapata v to release, untie, set free
   Cf. esepea, aaparia, kola, koloria
   *kapa yo n iron roofing
1kapae n a var. of mushroom which grows everywhere [many sub-var. depending on the colours, white, red, black, etc.; must be cooked very well or causes vomiting; also called kubili]
2kapae n top of a container, etc. (go sosopene kapea aapari a: where is the top for this sauce-pan)
   Cf. peso
   *kapedaa n a carpenter
kapipi n [Pteridophyte var.]
kapo (E) n [Labiatae, Coleus]
kapola n Pand lang for fog, etc.
   *kapumano n the government
kapu (E) n a close friend
kapu-pa n [Convolvulaceae var.]
kapu-paa n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [sweet with small leaves, soft tuber]; kapuka (E)
   Cf. oroipe-ipula
karakara pua etala to grow in clusters or clumps, as mushrooms
karaa m 1. septum of nose
   2. bamboo husks
   *karaapo (E) n jail; *karapusa (W), *kalapus, *tipulaa (Motu) (S)
karape n type of New Guinea beech tree [Fagaceae, Nothogagus]
karapi n a shield; karepa (E)
   (yada pula pololare go karapi aanu madua pisimiya: when the men wanted to fight they carried their shields)
   Cf. ralubi, negalo, koro-koro, arepe-wape, riti-yapara
karaputa to smack with the open hand
   *karapusa ada np jail; *karaapo (E), *kalapus, *tipulaa (Motu) (S)
karasa pea (E) curve as a road; crooked as a dog's tail
karea v 1. cut grass or dense growth
   2. scrape sweet potato, taro, banana, etc. after cooking in ashes
   Cf. warea, karea
karepa (E) n chips of wood; parepa, are (W)
karepe (E) n shield type; karapi (W)
karerene aj green colour
   Cf. kagareke
kari (E) n mountain; aari (W)
1karia (E) n a stick
2karia (E) n [Gramineae var.]
3karia v to break off, split
(mogo kabenu karia: break off
those pitpit; repena uni karu
meawa: I broke it off and
brought the stick)
Cf. ebepea, rodopea, ugia, kaba,
kadola, etapea, rugula, kagola,
lora, kopea, pulakea

kariapu (E) n bow string

*karisi mata n alt for *kirisa
mata
Cf. maali

karome la up to whisper, talk
secretly
(go naaki lapome karome loa
yadaa pala pirape: those two
boys are whispering about doing
something)
Cf. mumu la

karome karome n alt for whisper

karota (E) n [Orchidaceae,
Calanthe]

karota-apu n an orchid var.

*karote n the introduced carrot
[Daucus carota]

karua n a var. of wild tapioca
found in thick sword grass [in
times of famine fed to the pigs
for food, very large with lots
of fuzz on the vine and leaves]

karua la sustained loud noise of
a crowd, fight, etc.
Cf. pinama nama

1karubi n a var. of victory leaf
[green colour when found in the
forest, yellow when planted near
gardens and growing in the sun,
large with medium leaves; used
in earth ovens and worn at
dances]

2karubi n gourd for tree oil
(karubi etaa: container with
oil inside)
Cf. wabala-pe, naapu-pe

karuli (E) n corner, as of a
house

karumina v to break into, break
by force; karuminya (E)

(apo waa karuminua medane ni
gi: break the sugarcane and
give me half)
Cf. ebemina

karuta v to give off steam,
smoke
(miru karutamama pea: it makes
intermittent smoke come up from
it)

kasa-kawaraa n broken shell
ornaments attached in ear;
kasa (E), kasa kaoraa (S)

kasade n feather headdress made
from the short crowns of plumes
from the head of the cockatoo

*kasa-kasa n any clerk

kasu-kaba-ope n used on sores
[Rutaceae, Zanthoxylum]

katamu n taboo word for edible
greens raani in Ribu ceremony;
atamu (E)

1kati aj grey colour
(iri kati: grey haired)

katipi aj grey or brownish

2kati n type of New Guinea oak
tree [Fagaceae, Castanopsis;
two kinds: one is yellow,
coloured at the top and has
small leaves, the other has
large leaves; commonly used
for fences: inedible nuts]

kati-alame n type of cassowary
headdress

katokato n hard, uneven clay
Cf. kilikili

*katoliki n Catholic
Cf. *pasare

katopa n alt for peanut
Cf. kaliapo
katupi (E,S) n valley, low place, dip in ground
(ni katupipara pulu: I will descend)

1 kau n the common small lizard
[many names usually depending
on its colour; prob. a type of
Skink]

2 kau n European owl
(go yaa kau ada ipua agaa epa
ta taburi onaa meda omalma
tema: when this kau bird comes
to our house and talks we say
that someone will die]
Cf. olasuba

kaulatabea v to be upset, angry
as a pig ready to attack

kaule (E) n child in pubescence

kau-puru n any mother fish
(go kau-pururi oge nogo naakl
onanumi naleme: little children
and women eat the mother fish)
Cf. gauwaa puru

kauruli n corner or furthest
position of an object
(ipa kauruli: corner of a pond)

kausi n a type of owl [similar to
Wallace's Owlet Nightjar]

kauwala (E) n the Hornbill, also
kaola; sau (W)

kawa n a var. of sweet potato
which is ancestral [small leaves,
dark skin, tuber is white and
sweet]

kawabu n a large pandanus with
spaced branches and many spines;
green nuts

kawai (S) n an axe; rai (W)

kawame n one of twin peaks of
Mt. Giluwe
Cf. kiwame

kawaria (E) v to limp

*kawasa v any introduced cabbage
[Brassica oleracea var.
capitata]; kiamu (E)
Cf. kapaasa

kawata n small piece of pig
(mena kawatare amulu peapulu
ni gipea: that small piece of
pig is dirty so I don't want it)
Cf. alo, ruguni

1 kawi n black palm; kawi kolamu,
yawi (E)
Cf. kai

2 kawi n a var. of mushroom which
is small and grey coloured
[fuzzy stem, found easily be-
cause of its pungent odour]

1 kayabo n the common bedbug;
kayamo (E)
Cf. medo, etc

2 kayabo n a sugarcane var. [also
often used in a generic sense;
has a pungent odour, not eaten
inside houses]

kayaki n [Dioscoreaceae,
Dioscorea]

kayamo n black stone axe; kayama
(E), bamo (S)
(raikayamo ripirua mata temere
gore epeta: when we hold our
stone axes and dance it is
really good)

1 ke n greenwinged King Parrot

2 ke n upper thigh; ke (S)

ke ki lapo n 1. hands and legs
2. quartered section of pig;
aa-pala E, ange lapo (S)

1 kea n a reddish coloured tree
with red leaves [very hardwood,
bears fruit which falls at
various times]

2 kea v to marry, etc.
(nena mena sekere kiritawa ona
kea: get your pigs and shells
together for marrying; ona kea
gima: break off the marriage)
Cf. lamua, runaa

keado (E,S) n bright star; kedo
(W)
keala n a large Pandanus with many spines and large leaves, tough nut [similar to the koma-ramina]

keango (S) n a frog type

keapea (E) v to cover over (yaa keapea: cloud coverage)

keepu depea v to make a fire [by pulling bamboo strand on hard-wood]

keepu ini n tinder

kearu n alt for adu bird

kebe n 1. ladder bridge
   2. footholds on steep places (poranini kebe talepape: put a bridge across the road)
      Cf. tapa

kabele n var. of bamboo with edible shoots

kebe ropaa n decorative arm bracelet
      Cf. kiiami ropaa, ipa ropaa, sikireaeli ropaa, ropaa, mapiratemea

kebo n 1. female [mother] animal
      Cf. wai, suna
   2. any protrusion or swelling (aa kebo: ankle bone; repena kebo: tree knot)

kedaa aj heavy (lo kedaa pia: to be lonely)

1 kede (E) n axe handle; de (W)

2 kede (E, S) n decorated spirit house entrance; kele (W)

kedepova v 1. to husk, shred
   2. to slice, gather as leafy vegetables
   3. to whittle, shave; keya (E, S), edepea (Kware)

kedere n sprout

1 kedo n leaf, etc. used as a drinking trough

2 kedo n bright star; keado (E, S)

kegaali ali (E) n middle-aged man

1 kega (E) n type of softwood fern [Piperaceae, Piper; grows along the water, long fruit, has holes in it and contains a lot of sap]; ega (W), kenga (S)

2 kega n a var. of sugarcane which has a brown skin and yellow leaves which have a characteristic bend to them; pegali (E), kengali (S)

kega-alone n a tree type which lasts a long time without rotting [Piperaceae, Piper; small red fruit]

kega-epen n [prob. Piperaceae, Piper]

kega yo n pepper leaf used with betel nut
      (bera ini nolalore kega yo raapu neme: when we eat the betel nut, we eat it with kega yo)
      Cf. arena yo

kege n 1. mud; kenge (S)
      Cf. pau
   2. decorated warrior

kegereme n a var of mushroom [also called kiba-kaba or depetapa]

1 kegeremaa n the common fishworm
      Cf. kolawi, eada, maakena

2 kegeremaa n alt name for the maakipa sugarcane

kege tapa n bridge through mud

1 kego n sound bamboo makes when exploding from fire
2kego n pelvis and lower back area; kengo (S)

3kego (S) n hole
(noe kego: hole in needle)

kekapua n husk on any cane or yagipu

kekapu pia to be hot, have fever;
also kekepa pia, riripu pia (E),
only riripu pia (S)
(go ada kekapu waru pea: this house is really hot)
Cf. popo pia, riripu pia

keke n 1. old leaves
2. type of pitpit leaf also kekepe

keke la 1. laugh at something dirty
2. cry of certain birds

kekepa pia (E) fever
also kekapu pia; kekapu pia (W)

kekepe v move or slant something
(kepo kekepe: slant the fence inward)

1kele n post
(ada kele: along side of house (E))
Cf. daa

2kele (E,S) n a var. of vine

3kele n pimplies; keto, kelea (E)
(go naakina inipara kele waru
pia: that boy has a lot of
pimplies on his face)
Cf. kete

1kelea n a type of black and
white marsupial
also kaluda (E,S)
Cf. kepa

2kelea (E) n pimple, wart, etc.

kelea-oloma n similar to the
smaller var. of the marsupial
kelea-rogema

kelea-rogema n a larger marsupial
found in holes in rock and trees
[white in the stomach area, black
on top, considered to have a 'good' smell]

kelekai n 1. spirit name
2. small spirit house

kelele ta v crackling noise when dry
(kopi naare waru adoa kelele ta: the sun drying out the coffee makes a crackling noise)
Cf. aapuda, agopeta

kelema n a large fish considered to be the 'mother' of all others [has a mucous-like substance running from its two nostrils, similar to a small eel]; wasaako (S)

kelemaa v to collect together
(kagolo kelemape: slice off and heap up; etepe kelemape: pick and gather; loro kelemape: cut and heap up)

kele-mabu (E,S) n [Melastomataceae, Astronia sp.]; emabo (W)

kelema n fish resembling catfish [found in Sugu River area]

1kelepa (E) n [Fern, Nephrolepis]

2kelepa (E) n garden stick used for hitting and breaking ground; kepaa (W)

kelepo n 1. a wig
2. special hat worn at festivals where pigs are killed

kelepo-kepaa n a form made from cane or vine which serves as the base on which wigs are shaped
keme n groan, grunt [as when lifting or carrying something heavy]
ke moke n 1. festival for killing pig
2. distribution of pig by calling out recipient names;
mena moke (E), mena ki moke (S)
kenaa v to cross the water, a stream
1kenage n main edible bamboo species; megaalo (E), kenange
(S)
Cf. rabolo
2kenage (S) n tab name for bamboo container in Ribu ceremony
kenoa m a small tree type planted around spirit houses [grow quickly, tab for use in other spirit houses such as the payamo]
kenoa-kilili m a var. of wild tapioca found in the forest and eaten in times of hunger, small leaves, very tough tuber
kenoa-manala n the tab name for the loke marsupial
kenoa-yama n [prob. of Tiliaceae]
kenoa-yakita m [Euphorbiaceae, Acalypha insulana Muell.-Arg]
kenoa yo n tobacco leaf
Cf. ramaa yo, mutaa yo, soko yo
kenome m a frog found in water or in the forest [if the water is warm many are found; cry sounds like geao geao]
ke ode aip a lame or humpy walk
1kepa n the tab name for the kelea marsupial
2kepa v to slice, cut off, etc.; also lora (S); only lora (E)
(su kepea: slice the ground with a shovel; aga kepea: pandanus which is cut off)
Cf. lora
kepaa n 1. ladder
(waare kepaa mada awa abutema: we stand on a ladder and fasten the sugarcane)
2. crotch of a tree
(remo kepaa: forked place in tree for spirit offerings)
3. forked stick; also kelepa (S), kelepa, yaruka (S)
kepa awala up to yell out that someone is dead
also ai maepaata, ai mapua
ke parae ti aip one who is square-shaped [i.e. no hips]
also pa moko parae ti
kepea v 1. to open and look inside
2. to separate
(kepealepa: all of you stand aside)
3. to peel off as thin strips or bark from a shrub
kepele-ali (E) n a woman's tab about eating any kind of double-joined fruit for fear of bearing twins
kepele pia to be really very good or very nice
(go ada repaa naimi raburi ora kepele napea: when the house doesn't have a big log in front of it, it doesn't look nice)
also ora epea
kopesura n name of a malevolent bush spirit
kepo n fence
also pape (E, S)
(kepo pia: there is a fence; kepo pa: to make a fence; kepo rasa: to pull up a fence; kepo padola: to sharpen fence posts)
kepopinane v the leeward side
1kera n a marsupial which lives in the cane [has red eyes, when larger resembles onagae]
2kera n [Elaeocarpaceae, Sericolea]
Cf. puki
3kera v to pick, cut, pluck off (apo aga nape taga kerea: that
pandanus is ready to eat so pick it; aai kerea: pick the bananas)
Cf. rala

keraa n Pand lang for bird, flying fox, cassowary, etc.

keraape (E) n quartered section of pig

keraapi (E) n locally manufactured kerosene [white]

*keraasini n kerosene

kerai n posterior
(nina kerai madaa upi pia: I have a boil on my posterior)
Cf. irimaa, imaa

kerepea v to be filled to overflowing
Cf. rulatoba, rubita

kereketa n Pand lang for tomorrow

kerelota n any firm tuber

kerepena something reserved for special occasions
(apo onaapu nina kerepena i: I have only that one apron)
Cf. aipi, padane ina

kerepo n 1. wrist
2. seven; kerapo (E)

kero n (W,E) python; (S) generic term for snake

keroga n twin center poles; kepaa (S)

*kese n any type of box-like container
also *seke

ketalu n a var. of mushroom which grows on rotten logs and along the creeks [very tough, inedible unless young]

1kete n softwood tree [grey-coloured, long leaves, small seeds]

2kete n pimpls; keto, kelca (E)
Cf. kele

3kete n decoration near road of white and red leaves [indicates spirit house entrance]; kede (E,S)

kete-kete pia to make a sound, noise; lewa pia (E,S)
(riput para kete kete piaga oyae pia: there is movement in the grass so something must be there)
Cf. ete-eto pia, keto pia

ketepea v to scrape or pare as sweet potato
(aane aba reaga sapi abi ketepea: the stones are hot so scrape the sweet potato)
Cf. woraa, karea

1keto (E) n 1. hives, pimples also kelea; kete (W)
2. thorns on tree, vine, pine-apple

2keto n a common long yellow and black snake [found in holes in stone, in logs, in the water or in the forest area]

ketopala n type of cane which is wound around the surface of a bark belt to strengthen it; also called ketopula

keto pia to move, shake or make a noise [e.g. grass, trees, unborn baby]; lewa pia (E,S)
(Keto napi yae: something which is noiseless)
Cf. ete-eto, kete-kete pia

kewali (E) European; bali (W)

kewae (E) aji red, orange

keya/kea (E,S) v to slice; kedepa (W)

keyaala pe aji bald

ki n hand; ki (S)
(nina ki ora pipaa te rabu pururupita: when I want to write my hand shakes)
Cf. yono

ki amitu n black spot on finger (blood blister) or under finger-nail when hit

ki apura-apura v to shake the hand in amazement
Cf. ki wage-wage, ki malu-malu
ki dolena pa v to box
ki ene n joint of the arm
ki kalaeme mea v to take in one hand
(go yae kedaa napeaga ki kalaeme mea: this isn't heavy so you can take it in one hand)
Cf. ki lumi mea

ki karupae ajp cut off or shortened arm or leg

ki kebo n the funny-bone

ki koba pia to fold arms

ki-loke n knuckles, wrist joint

ki loke malaa to snap the knuckles [thought that if the large knuckle does not crack, you do not feed your mother well]

ki *loko n a wristwatch
Cf. naare ini

ki lumi mea to pick up with the fingers
(go eta adaapu nagialaga ki lumi mea: he is not giving me much food so I can hold it with my fingers)
Cf. ki kalaeme mea

ki malu-malu to shake or wave the hand
Cf. ki apura-apura, ki wage-wage

ki mea v to greet, shake hands

ki omo n part of hand or leg by joint; moae (E), ki mo (S)
Cf. kinalu

ki para-para ta to clap hands

ki roka saapia to fold the hands [especially when not working]

ki wage-wage pa to shake or wave the hand
Cf. ki apura-apura, ki malu-malu

kia v to sweep, etc.

kiaa (E) v to slice, as when butchering a pig

kiade la 1. to taste and swallow
2. to slurp, suck
also mo la (E)

kiami-ropaa n decorative arm bracelet
Cf. ipa ropaa, kebe ropaa, sikireeli ropaa, mapiratemea ropaa

*kiapo n a government officer

kiaalo n hand bracelet, ring

kibia v to shred as leaves from stem; edepea (E)
(menâ ega kibia: shred the leaves with the pig taste [from the earth oven])
Cf. etepea

kiba-kaba n a large var. of mushroom, similar to piru [two sub-var.: larger is black on top, red underneath; smaller is brown; both have black stems and grow at the base of the pai and kati trees; greasy and cause vomiting if too many are eaten; also called kegerema, depetapa]

kibame n a var. of banana which is large and dark-coloured [stalks are short but with many bananas, used in trade]

kibia-leme n the tab name for a man called Ega, fern; hence the tab name for fern

kibipaba v to shake down, as beads or insects when stringing them
Cf. rupa, ipaepa

kibita n a var. of cress
[Nasturtium officinale; with several sub-var.: adaa-kibita, oge-kibita, kibita-ake depending
on the size and the yellow to
greenish colour of the leaves,
plants are found in the forest
and planted in the garden areas; kibitya (E)

²kibita n a var. of mushroom
[three sub-var.: one is large
and red, one is small and red,
and the third is yellow, only
the first two are eaten]
kibita-pora-pora n [prob.
Meliaceae Chisocheton]
kibita sekere np pearl shell of
poor quality

¹kibu (E) n bone arrow type

²kibu n 1. shin bone, tibia,
fibular
2. posts, etc. holding up the
heavens
(su kibu: ground horizon; yaa
kibu: sky horizon; pore kibu:
mountain in horizon)
kibu-kuli (E) n a var. of sweet
potato

kibu-ropaa n leg bracelet (below
knee)
kibuma v to join with something
or someone else
also runa (E,S)
(go naakimi rapa pearupa pulalo
go kibumata piadaa: that
child has joined the others in
playing; kibumaa sima: an alli-
ance)
Cf. ripia, ripima

¹kidi n evil spirit

²kidi (E) n vaginal discharge

kidimi ne aa np leper [lit. man
eaten by the discharge]; kidimi
ne ali (E,S)
(go aare kidimi neapulu omalia:
that man has leprosy so he will
die)
Cf. yakimi ti aa

kidipa (E) v 1. to leak
2. to drop as rain; itipa (W)
kidipaa n 1. a tyre or wheel
[i.e. natural extension of an
object]
also kibu
2. fingernail
also ki kebo (S)
kidipaa alape lape pa v to open
and close the claws [e.g. like
a crab]
kidipata n the stinging nettle
plant [also the alt marriage
tab name for nettle]
(onaa yaina omesimi rauri sutu
meaemerupare gore kidipata
pakuasima: when people were
sick they used nettles like
they get injections)
Cf. raara

kidu n 1. tree bark
2. skin, scales, etc.
(paaaka kidu orpa paala pea: we
are afraid of snakes’ skin)
Cf. yogane, o

kidu pa v 1. to break up ground,
cultivate around a plant
2. to grind finely; kilidu pa
(E)

*kiki 1. football
2. v to kick

kikine n brush, burn, abrasive,
shred [as when tree being
pulled hits the edge of a stone]

kili (E) n a kidney

kilidu pa (E) v to break up or
crumble as ground; kidu pa (W)

kili kalo yae np things scattered
around, bunches of objects

kilikili n 1. sand
2. ground, etc. which is rough
Cf. katokato

kilipa galapa ta noise of tractor
etc. rattling sound; kilipa
kalapa (S)

kilipia v 1. to tear down
(go oge ada rameaga kilipia:
that little house is rotten so
tear it down)
Cf. lakepea
2. to strip off leaves
3. to stretch, pull apart
4. to shimmy down

kilipu (E) n tree without leaves
ki liru (E) adj tired

kilorori n a small white earthworm commonly eaten by pigs as they root in the ground

kilua-puria n a hardwood [Ericaceae, Rhododendron, prob. zollerí; white in colour outside, reddish colour inside; small leaves, small seeds about the size of beads]

kilue-piladi n a wild dog of Mt. Giluwe; paladi yana (E)

kiluwa n mountain name

kimai (S) n fishhook

kimimu suki lalo game played on the ground by making squares

kimimigi n upper arm place

kimisu n strange place (kimisu aa: stranger)

kinaaipo n purple dye for net bag, net aprons, etc.; mumuga, kinaako (E), mumunga (S)

kinalu n elbow joint; kinyalu (E) Cf. ki omo

kini n var. of tree [Palmae; leaves are used in spirit houses; also kini-aala]

kinigi (E) n medicine

kini-roba ke n spirit name alt for robake

kipala v 1. to ream or shape with a stone 2. to cut up a pig

kipaa n neck ornament made of small seashells Cf. pokai, pipiki

kipirege n scissors

kipono ranai n 1. pandanus which has born nuts once 2. a bunch of fruit, nuts, etc. Cf. paaku

kipu (E) n [Fagaceae, Pasania]

kipu n a type of tree [Myristicaceae, Myristica subulata; leaves used as a medicine in the spirit house when the ribs or arms ached; skin of the tree also used medicinally]

kipu-parepa n var. of softwood

kira (E) n [Euphorbiaceae, Breynia]

kira v to scrape or plane something; kilira (Kware) Cf. radepea, depea

kira-mena n a wild pig; sayale (S) (kira mana rede napea: wild pig is not sweet) Cf. raa mena

kirape n a softwood tree [prob Lauraceae, Sloanea; two kinds: one has few leaves, the other has many, long fruit]

kirape-roto n a type of softwood tree [prob Lauraceae, Sloanea; dark with small leaves, long black seeds; resting place for large birds]

kiriri n a var. of pitpit which is short [resembles wild inedible cane, small leaves, reddish husks, found wild in the forest; also called yana-kiriri because the edible stalk looks like a dog's tail]

kirisa mata n dance [at end of year] (misinina kirisa mata madaare onaa ogepusi pabeme: when the mission has a dance, few show up) Cf. maali

kiriya (E, Kware), medaley (S) Cf. kirita sa
kirita sa v to gather up together; also mobea (E) (ada otaga puluma pipia kirita sa: the house [appears] bad so gather the refuse together) Cf. amu pa, managola sa

kiru m pimpls, sores, scabies

kiru pea to itch

kiru-repena m head scratchers worn behind men's ears

kirura m 1. tree thorns 2. wood slivers 3. anything rough

kisa-kisa m either Black Sickle-Billed Bird of Paradise or a Drongo [similar to the bululaba but with a shorter tail] Cf. paua-puti

kisimu (S) m a firefly

Kita-Meda n mythical shepherd of wild dogs in the Mt. Giluwe area

kiti-pi m a var. of sweet potato [brownish leaves, white skin and tuber]; also called opaa-kitipi

kitu v to rest; liraa (E, Kware), lirua (S) (kitu omalo: lit. I am tired to death)

kitu aria up to wait for someone or something

kitu pia to have cramps in limbs

kitu pira up to stop and rest; idu pira (E)

kitu kaatu nea to eat quickly, with a lot of noise

kitu kaatu ta 1. to burp (mename sapi kagaa nala rabu kitu kaatu ta: when a pig eats raw sweet potato it burps) Cf. popolo ta, kaialu ta 2. stomach noises 3. crunchy chewing

kiwa m a small rat living in holes in logs [long tail and head; ears lie down like those of a dog and are very small]

kiwai (S) m a type of marsupial

kiwage m a var. of taro not cultivated by many men [special design on leaves and skin of the tuber]

kiwame m one of twin peaks on Mt. Giluwe Cf. kawame

kiwape m relative [e.g. cousin] Cf. ai, wakia

kiyapi m a var. of victory leaf found in the forest [two sub-var. depending on the size of the stem and leaf; very durable and worn at dances and used in earth ovens] Cf. yane

koaa (E) m binding on fence, fish traps, etc. (wena koaa: fishnet)

koae-ini m hardwood tree type [used for varying purposes; bears fruit the size of lemons]

koa koa ko ta the cry of the male Bird of Paradise

koare-oda m a var. of banana eaten when ripe [grows in open areas, as it needs plenty of sunlight]

koa ta (E) to cure by smoking

koau (E) m 1. back of the body; masaa (W) (koau na: talk secret language) 2. pig tenderloin

koba m a var. of edible cabbage-leaf type green [four sub-var.: adaa-koba: large green leaves; oge-koba: small green leaves; kaane-koba: large with red leaves; yo paakene-koba: small yellow leaves; planted in gardens and outside of houses] koba pa to bend, fold, wrinkle Cf. pege pa

kobea (E) v to cut in two

kobere aj any dark colour; pobere (E,S), also punapi (S) (kobere aa: Papua New Guinean)
kobere-raguta n the black ant

kobere-rulu n the large black horsefly [when alighting on sores, thought to deposit poison causing sickness]

koborame n a small tree with red seeds [Rubiaceae; women put the leaves in their net bags as a cushion for their babies]

koda (S, Kware) v to take down as from a shelf

koda-koda n the pupa stage

1 kode av almost, to faint; pode (E,S)

2 kode (E) n a var. of sweet potato

kodea v to break off, pull out as a tooth (sapi meda kodea gi: break off a piece of sweet potato for me) Cf. piribia, piripia, rukia, pulubia

*kodisi (E) n the D-3 aircraft [hence any large airplane]

kodo n a scar or tattoo (Sibu onaime inipara kodo waru aweme: the Chimbu place tattoo around their eyes; irikaimi kodo mapasa: a dog made that scar) Cf. ririba

kogai n tree type

kogapu n 1. vein, tendon; kongapu (S) 2. flesh, meat Cf. midi

kogapu pea to be strong; kongapu pea (S) (kogapu pi aa: a man of strength) Cf. midi pea

kogono n 1. work Cf. waka 2. way (nena kogono: it's your doing)

kogono *made n Monday

kogo pia (E) to be cold

kogore aj cold (oyae kogorea: this is cold)

koi pi aj crooked; koe pea (E), koekoe (S) Cf. paaki pi, kano pi, payabo pi, waagasu pi

kola v 1. to extracate (apo mena abala page ada adiamega kola: since that pig was tied up yesterday too, let it go) 2. to take off clothes; koyaa (E) Cf. esepea, kapata, aaparia, kolo ria

koladi n tree type Cf. osari

kola-kola ta to be loose fitting (aako kola-kola tealo ketopala mua yamema: so that the bark belt is not loose, we fasten cane around it)

kolali (E) n womb

kolalu (E) n 1. ear canal 2. ear ornament

kolawu n fishworm, worms (go naakina robaapara kolawu pirua abi naadaa ta: there are worms in that boy's stomach and he has not grown) Cf. eada, maakena, kegeremaa

1 kole n [Myrtaceae, Eugenia] Cf. pipi, marabe

2 kole (E) n [Hamamelidaceae, prob. Sucoopia]

koleba-rero n a bird which is yellow-coloured except for the black around its eyes [so named because it is said to be bitter when it is eaten; perhaps a var. of Ground Dove]

kole-kale raguna n the edge or outside rows of the net hat

kole-yapale n a large variety of tough wild cane, reddish colour, resembles sugarcane Cf. pole-yapale

kolo (E) n a hole; negaa (W)
kolobo n depressed area behind knee
kololo ne maapu np a very good garden also seke ne maapu
kololo ta 1. water escaping in bamboo when boiling greens 2. sound of hitting a hollow object; bobo ta (E,S) (go raani pere roa kololo ta: the greens are cooked and boiling) Cf. gaga ta
kolo paba (E) v to exchange; alopa (W)
kolo pea (E) to climb down inside
kolo ria vp to take away, remove (go irikaina maapara epe sene ayaga kolo ria: there is a nice chain around that dog's neck so remove it) Cf. kola, esepea, aaparia, kapata
1komaa n upper arm
2komaa v to tramp down grass
komabu (E) n mist
koma-naaki n a grey-coloured pandanus with long spines, nut eaten raw or cooked
koma-ramina n a pandanus similar to the keala
1komea aj one; pamede (E) Cf. padane, egataa
2komea n a pandanus with green nuts [not tough but with smaller nuts on top of them]
komeaa (E,S) n a var. of sweet potato
*komiti n alt for *kanesolo
komo pia v to be out of breath; pomo pia (E,S) (komome omalo: I am exhausted)
kona n a trap; kono (E)
kona kurita naare rala an expression for the sunrise

*konaape n the common introduced maize [Zea mays; two sub-var. now recognized in W according to the firmness of the ear; the type which hardens quickly are preferred, classified according to colour of kernels and size of ear]; kapua, kapuka (S)

*konaape-buka n any ear of corn which has dark kernels mixed in with normal yellow ones

konali (E) n a heart
kone n thoughts, behaviour, custom, etc. (wae kone: bad thoughts)
kone laapo np doubt [i.e. two thoughts, double-minded]
kone laapo i naaki laapo np twins Cf. kone laapo sua madini
kone laapo sua madini ajp twins Cf. kone laapo i naaki laapo, also medaa rabu madi
kone maara to forget Cf. kone rugula
kone mayolo ruba disoriented, confused [i.e. thoughts caused to be pulled and thrown away]
kone mea yolo rubea to have one's thinking confused
kone nareke reke pu i something which is not comprehended so that confusion results [lit. thought non-standing, standing going having]
kone rasa disobey
kone rugula to forget Cf. kone maara
kone sa to think
kone yolo rumoa pea be reluctant konoba (E) v to be finished konobaa (E) n sawdust, refuse bits
konome n a var. of sweet potato which is recent [white tuber, red skin]; koneme (E)
kopaa (E) n white meat-like substance around pandanus

kopaa n back position
(agaa kopaa: wisdom teeth)

kopaa n wings
Cf. popaa
kopaa yokataba to have the wing fall off [e.g. of an airplane]

kopatya (E) v to wind around [as a road or river]

kopea v 1. to break off something; roba (E,S)
also rodopea (S)
2. to snap into pieces
(apo mena perani kopea: break the pig's ribs)
Cf. ugia, karia, ebepea, pulakea, rugula, kaba

kopeke n alt for popeke

kope-pake (E) n a bicycle

kope (E) coffee

kop n a small type of tick or mite found on bush rats

kopo n a wooden bowl; awaro, kawaso (E)
Cf. wako, maae

korea (E) n cemetery

korea (E,S) n the common cockroach; alurai (W)

koroka n a var. of tapioca [so called because it was introduced from Goroka; large with deep roots]

koroka-ramaa n a crowbar

koro-koro n shield type
Cf. ralubi, negalo, karapi, riti-yapara, arepe-wape

korome korome la to whisper, talk easily
Cf. mumu la

kosapeaa n a government or mission designated 'headman'

kosaa n salt; kusaa (E), *damena (Motu) (S)
Cf. aipa

kose (E) sometimes used for God

koso n a court; *kose (E), *kot (S)
(saa laapo koso lapana: we (2) will settle it in court; mariawa koso lapana: we will take it up in court [i.e. carry it]; pa mariawa koso la: to go to court falsely)

koso lape aa np witness [i.e. those who talk a lot in court]

koso lape aa np accuser [i.e. one who initiated court proceedings]

koso pagape aa np the judge [i.e. the one who listens to court]

koso-muta n [Euphorbiaceae, Phyllanthus]

kota aj bad, no good [from koya]; ota (W)

kota (E) n a ball

kotapu n a bird which lives in the sword grass [var. of Fly-catcher; its tail is fairly long, meat is said to be very sweet]

koya v 1. to pour out
2. to set free
(mena koya pasima: sent the pigs out; koyae aa: a free man [lit. who has been loosened])

koyaapo (E) n a weed type

koyaati n pointed stick (niri koyaati maapu i palawa: I have been pierced by a spiked stick in the garden)

koyada n a small grub which is found in bean and corn plants

koyaga n a var of mushroom [bitter, usually inedible, grows with the piru and kiba-kaba]

koya ki np left-hand
Cf. poya ki

koyamina v to completely pour out something, such as water
koya rubea v to pour and throw away
Cf. lakepe rubea

ku n a hardwood tree [used for tying up sugarcane and in house building, small inedible seeds, few leaves]

1kuba (E) n [Rutaceae, Evodia]; uba (W)

2kuba n ditch; kubu (E, S)

kubai (E) n a var. of sweet potato

kubab-kauba n a softwood tree [grey-coloured, thorns on it, leaves change colour from red when they are young, to greenish-yellow later]

kubili n alt for kapea mushroom

kubuniaaa v to be bent over, doubled up; kubunyaa (E), pubunyaa (S)
(nu kedaa peaga kubuniaawaa madia: he is bent over because the net bag is heavy)

kubura (E) n large mound of sweet potato

kudi n rain shower, mist
(abia re kudi lubu pia: now its the rainy season)
Cf. ya i

kudipa (E) n [Balsaminaceae, Impatiens]

kudiri pi v to hide, conceal
(kudiri agaa: secret talk)

1*kudu n drum; usane (S)

2kudu n any stick or stick-like thing
(yapali kudu: old pitpit stick; rai kudu: bush knife)
Cf. kutu, kaare rai

kugu n mountain [tab word used in men's cult]
Cf. rudu, pore, aari

kuka (E) adj slanted

kuki n fibres from bamboo, etc.; kuku (E)

kukua n tab name for pig in Adaalu Ribu ceremony

kula pae aa n man without foreskin, circumcised man
Cf. rene lobe aa

kuli-gali (E,S) n [Elacocarpaceae, Elacocarpus]

1kul (W,E) n roof of a house also pulu; cf. puru

2kul n external ear canal; kolali (E), kolalu (S)
(aane kulukulu: eardrum)

kulubu n beads; beleke (S)

kulubu ki np a pin; obe kele (E)

1kulumudu n snore; ugoro (E), ungoro, ukemelalo (S)

2kulumudu n a large owl [prob. the Grass Owl]

kuma (E) n 1. boards around fire table
2. outside log at house entrance

1kuma (E) n spirit-hair [bit of hair left in center forepart after remainder is cut or shaved]

2kuma v to roll string
Cf. kusaa

kuma pia to be soft, tame; kuma (S)
(kuma pi pora: an easy road [i.e. one which is soft]
Cf. rorea pia

kumi n 1. a rounded type of stone commonly covered with moss
2. soft stone, shale, hard clay; galu (E)
kumulu (E) n weaving an a stone axe

kumuma (E) n [Compositae]

kuna v to rub, scrape, clean, erase; kunya (E)
(ada oto paaga kun: the house is dirty so clean it; oto pe a yae kuna ruba: clean the dirty things and throw them away)
Cf. kadepa

kunanaa m courting song
also rukuma (E)
(kunanaa la: to court)
Cf. remani

kuni (S) n edible fruit of wild sugarcane

kuniga n alt for common introduced maize
Cf. *konaape

kuni-yapaapu n decorative cowrie headband

kunuma n alone
Cf. agu, agu raapo

kupaa n [prob. var. of leguminosae]

kupaa-ada menstrual house; mea ada (E)
Cf. agi-ada, kame-ada

kupaa manaria an insult [lit. he has caused him to drink the blood]

kupaa ninigire ajp very dark coloured blood

kupaa ome ajp dried blood, bruise
Cf. busu pia

kupaa pupula v to be bleeding

kupaa n stone [in certain areas] (kupaa raa pea: the stones are oily)
Cf. aana

kupa pia (E) v to be cold; upa pia (W)
kupatete (E) v to shiver

kupi-kupi n Australian flag

kupu (E) n [Myrisinaceae var.]
kupulu tea alt form for pupulu tea

kura (E) n spirit name

kura (E) n women's grass skirt

kura v to follow, track
(nipuna agaa kura: follow his talk; kurini aa: one who follows; pora kura: follow a road)
Cf. rataa

kura-kura agaa mp questioning

kuranu n an arm net bag used by men to carry sacred stones and other objects

kupaa n blood; nasu (E), we (S)
(mena kupa re pea: pig blood is really sweet)
Cf. yaapi, basa

kupaa-ada menstrual house; meaad a (E)
Cf. agi-ada, kame-ada

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kura n tree type

kuria n a stick, a wedge

kuruma (E) n unnamed child

kuru pia (E) v to pull in stomach

kuru pia v 1. to break into pieces
2. to rot or wear away

kurupuniaa v to be completely rotten; kurupunyaa (E)
Cf. ramuniaa

kusa v 1. to cook in ashes
2. to stick something into the ground

kusaa v to roll string
Cf. kumaa

kusaa (E) imported salt; kosaa (W), damena (S)
kusaari n a var. of wild cane; kusaaru (E, S)
kusabaya v to be stuck fast
kusari n a var. of pitpit with a dark skin, not tough
kusimi n a long, hard rock found in river beds [taboo name sapera]
kusu-naapu n [Casuarinaceae, Casuarina papuana]
kuta n pen, fence; kutya (E, S) (mena kuta: pig pen)
ku ta v to be erect as tail of dog; kuya (E), nguta (S)
kutairia n a semi-hardwood tree [black in colour with few and scattered leaves; bears red seeds]
kuta-iri n [prob. Sapindaceae, Dicthyoneura]
kutapu nea to enclose with a fence (neme kutapu neasu: I made the pen sometime ago)
kuta-repena n 1. tree type 2. flower or grass [signifying promise of something to be given] also palaru, rage
Cf. waga-sula

1 kutu (E, S) n any lump: pimpls, hives, tumor
2 kutu n stick or stick-like object; kudu (E, S) (nina rai kutu etaparia: my knife is lost) Cf. kaare rai, kudu
kutulu n 1. ditch, gorge, ravine; kutyalu (E) Cf. kanapu, awaro, pagolo 2. spinal column; kutyalu (E)
kutu pi (E) aj brown, grey, etc. colour
1 kutya (E) tab name for forked tongs in Ribu ceremony
2 kutya (E) v to be steep
kutya-kegali (E) n [Piperaceae, Piper]
kutyalu (E) n ditch, gorge, ravine, spinal column; kutulu (W)

1-la 3 sg Pf, Set I
2-la Ego, prolongation asp
3-la purposive marker on verbs
la v to talk (nena talo paede agaa orope lape: say later what you wanted to say earlier)
laala lapaa up break into two pieces (go repena rekepu tabena laala lapaa: break that wood into two separate pieces) Cf. rilaa
laali (E) n small twigs
laame la to slander (go aare laame waru ta: that man really lies) Cf. ya agaa, sa agaa, makirae agaa, sapi agaa
laapo aj two
laapopa n Pand lang for the numeral two
*laasa n rice
laata pea v 1. to leave a space 2. in a series
*labu n lamp, light
labeeaa v 1. to break off (apo pe kaapu labeeaa: break off that dry bamboo) Cf. ralebea, regapa, bulapoa 2. to break upon falling (su amaa lopoa labeeaa: it fell on the ground and broke) 3. to split open as when using a wedge (E)
lagia v to tell [to a 1st or 2nd person]  
Cf. lakala

1lai n a large tough tree [used to make drums; large leaves, greyish-coloured wood, seeds fall freely on the ground]

2lai n a drum [also the name of a tree used to make drums]; ralia (E), usaane (S)

lai talae nona pia ajp like the sound of a drum being beaten

lakala v to tell (3rd person), divulge a secret; layoka (E)  
Cf. lagia

lakea v to break off by splitting  
(mogo repena palaa lakea: break off that tree branch)  
Cf. yoka

lakela v alt form of lakala

lakela-keaa n a var. of sweet potato [ancestral, has a dry white tuber which is eaten with water, fuzz on the leaves]

lakepea v to tear down, get rid of  
(go ada ora rameaga lakepea: this house is rotten so tear it down)  
Cf. kilipia, mupa

lakepea rubea vp upset, throw off from something  
Cf. koya rubea

lake ria vp to give way, break  
(kepo puri napaloo kubade lake riaa: the fence wasn't strong and the ditch caved in)

lakiraa n a var. of sweet potato [very old]

lalamina to talk together; emaisa (S)  
(go agaare orepe lalamina: later we can talk about this)  
also lamina

lala pia to continue talking

lala ta noise of rain on roof, etc.  
(abiare yai ora adaape ipularupa kapaa yo madaaa lala ta: now it is really raining, like the noise of rain on an iron roof)  
Cf. laulua ta

lalu pia (E) to be dizzy; eme lalu pia (W)

1lama (E) n volcano

2lama n digging stick  
Cf. roto, dusa, rimaapu

lama-*sapara n a shovel, pick, etc.

lama-awa to attach a feather headdress to a stick [this is in turn placed on a wig]

lame-lame n flag; kupi-kupi (E), *pilake (S)  
(nogo lame-lame pu mudiameere sukulu ada yapae: there where they have hung a flag, is it a schoolhouse)  
Cf. wari-wale

lamua v 1. to find or bring someone  
(lamu sa patalua: I will look after someone [a guest])  
2. to marry (mainly E)  
(ona lamualo raburi kogono waru pali: when you get married you really work hard)  
Cf. kea, rumaa

lamua palua vp to escort someone

laniaa v to win, better than another; lanyaa (E)

lao (E) v to split tree bark, shred off later

lapa n tongs  
(sapi lusape lapa ota: the tongs for removing the sweet potato are bad)  
Cf. ramina
lapaali (E) v to tear down

lapala v to tell or reveal something

*lapalapa n cloth; maminya (E),
aaka (S)
Cf. mamina

lapedepe ne agaa vp to tell what is on one's mind

lapo aj both

lapopa (S) n tongs; lapa,
ramina (W)

lapo rakala to hit two stakes with the top [game] at one time

lapu lapu pu aya to be in a line
(mena gawa laina madaa lapu lapu
pu aya: the cows are all lined up)
Cf. ripu

lariaa v 1. to teach someone
2. to coax (E); mongeria (S)
moge

lau (E) n hollow in a tree

lau lau ta sound of rain on roof,
etc.
(aariti maraa ipula rabu lau lau
ta: when he comes with shoes on
they say 'lau lau')
Cf. lala ta

laulamina v to unfold
Cf. maesepea

le (E, S) n eye; ini (W)

le busu pia (S) pupil of the eye

le kapaa (E) n the eyeball

le malalu (E) to be dizzy

le aya (E) to be expensive; ini
rita (W)

lebepea (E) v to cut off at the end of something; ebepea (W)

lebepe minya (E) vp break by forcing apart, squeezing,
twisting, strangling

leda (E) dark; ribaa, gae (W)
(leda ta: it is dark)

lege n a var. of mushroom [two sub-var. depending on size,
both sweet, also called kolobo-reke]

lege-lege n a large snake [flat-shaped head, makes a noise,
aggressive]

lekea v to be turned by the wind

leke ta noise of tree, leaves,
etc.; reke ta (S)
Cf. pulake ta

leke-yala n var. of flora [Rhamnaceae, Alphitonia]

-lema 1 pl Pr, Set I

-leme 2, 3 pl, Pr, Set I

-lena (E) suffix indicating
direction or location; -para,
-pare (W)

-lepa 1 dl Pr, Set I

-lepaa non-s, n-imm Ego imp

-lepe 2, 3 dl Pr, Set I

1le pea (E) happy, satisfaction

2le pea (E) carry under arm;
apa (W)

lepera n a small bird [small
beak, feathers short and not desired]

lepo-lepo atae ajp to listen,
reflect
(go aana aalupara wale adaapu
sua lepo-lepo ata aya: that
man has plenty of oil on his
head and it glistens]
Cf. wasupa ri palae

lera (E) v to heal; marekaa (W)

le ria (E) to lie; ini ria (W)

leru leru la to constantly cry
or whine, as an animal

*lesaa n a razor or its blade

lewalewa tya (E) to dance, weave
about
lewa-lewa n reflections on the water [as when the wind blows]
-li 2 sg Fu, Set II, Set I
li (E) n seed; ini (W)
-lia 3 sg Fu, Set II, Set I
libiri (E) n 1. clothes pegs
2. sticks used to hold wood trim around fire table
-lima 1 pl Fu, Set II, Set I
-limi 2, 3 pl Fu, Set II, Set I
-limina 2 pl, dp, suc, n-term
liminya (E,S) v to fold the hands
-lipa 1 dl Fu, Set II, Set I
lipale (E) n a string of something tied together
lipale pea (E) 1. to string [as beads]
2. to hang up a pig for drying
-lipi 2, 3 pl, Set II, Set I
-lipina 2 dl, dp, suc, n-term
liri pia (E) to stretch, pull apart
liru pia (E) to rest; kitu pia (W)
1-lo 1 sg Pr, Set I
2-lo disiderative asp

1-lo n top of house where fire wood is stored
also ada lo para

2-lo n stomach
also moto (E)
Cf. roba
lo garulariade constipation
-loa serialisation, in series of actions
loae n a hardwood tree [found in the forests, seeds are fair-sized, very hard]
Cf. muni

loae-lega n a var. of cane
[reddish leaves and stalk]
loae-loae n var. of flora
[prob. Erythroxylaceae, Erythroxylum ecarina tum Bruk]
loba v to open [as a door, tin of fish, window, etc.]

1lobaina n a var. of sugarcane
[tough skin greyish brown in colour]

2lobaina v to bend finger and point to someone's face [as sign of anger]
loba-loba n a var. of mushroom
[two sub-var.; one blackish, other brown, both have 'sores' on them, edible]
loba poa up to cut something in the centre

lobo n a hardwood tree [Theaceae, prob. Eurya; whitish-yellow including leaves and seeds, used for fences and poles for sugarcane]
loboyo n the small common eel
lodea v 1. to remove as a hat, etc.
2. to take away
Cf. ludia, lusa
lodo (E) n smoke; miru (W), radata (NW)

logo pia to dislike someone

1loke n a marsupial [lives in a home made from tree leaves or in wild cane
also kenoa-manalá tab name

2loke n type of bird [similar to a Sugar Glider]

1loke-loke n wrist, joint, neck
Cf. maa, kalabe

2loke-loke n a stick type of insect [hinged head, children ask it questions to make it shake its head]
loke-papu n var. of flora  
[Pteridophyta]

*lokesaa n doctor  
Cf. *lokoto, dokesa

*lokoto n doctor (Kagua)  
Cf. lokesa, dokesa

1lolo n a bird similar to the lepera [very many of them, found in wild cane and forests; prob. the Little Scrub-Wren]

2lolo n a type of ant

1loma n alt name for the leech iti

2loma n splinter

lomaa (E) v to be dry; lumaa (W)

loma la (E) to tell a story  
also lidi ia

loma-nema n a feast after one month for a dead man

loma palaa v to limp; kawareaa (E), kawareaata (S)

lomo n shoot, sprout  
(go waa lomo penaa opala: that is a new sugarcane sprout)  
Cf. maa

lopa v to fall down  
(era pua lopawa: I slipped and fell down)

lopaa v 1. to throw together  
2. to thrust forth, as a hand  
3. to pitch, as a ball; weaa (E)

1lopena n var. of tree

2lopena n a var. of mushroom  
[grows on rotten trees or on the ground; taboo for young boys because of their smell which is thought to make their breath smell]

lora v to cut off  
(waya rudusiga lora mea: the wire is short so cut it off; agaa lora: cease talking; odo lora: relieve sorrow)

Cf. kagola, kadola, rugula, kaba, karia, kepa

lorapea (E) v to ask; ogeya (W)

lore n markings [e.g. on an arrow]

loreaa n

*lotu n church; guliguli (S)  
(lotu ta pulu: I'm going to church [lit. say-church])

-lu durative quality marker; suffix meaning on or along  
(poralu: on or along the road)

lu (E) v to kill [lit. go on hitting]

-lua 1 sg Fu, Set II, Set I

luabu aj all  
(eta luaba ia: all the food is there)  
Cf. abuna, rayo

luagala (E) v 1. to push, shove  
2. to throw something down suddenly

lubi n the generic term for any var. of moss  
(repena madaa ratea lubi yaako piri yomagaenuna irinu adea: the moss which is on the trees looks white like old men's hair)

lubiridi (E) n a bird type

lubu n constant misty rain;  
kudi (E)

ludia v var. of lodea  
(ena meamina go aana ludia: lift that stone out so we can get fish)  
Cf. puguna

ludi sa vp to straighten something out  
Cf. lusu sa

luga n a large hardwood tree  
[small leaves, slightly grey-coloured with uneven grain, white seeds but few in number]

lugaa n new pandanus shoot after parent tree matures; lungaa (S)  
Cf. maa
lugare-waya n  a var. of flora
[Myrtaceae, prob. Eugenia]

lukira (E) n  a var. of flora
[Polygonaceae, Polygonum]

*lula n  a ruler

1 lumaa n  roof
   Cf. masaa

2 lumaa v  to dry up [as a creek];
   lomaa (E,S)

lumu (E) n  large sore

lupa n  Pand lang for hit, make, eat, etc.
   also lupupu

lupia v  1. to ream something out
   (aane lupia: clean out your ears [i.e. listen])
   Cf. royo pa
   2. to shove a stick in a hole
   3. to pick the nose

lu-poge n  prob. granite [extremely hard, large, coloured but not found in the immediate area]

lupu-lupu n  a var. of flora
[prob. Oleaceae, Jasminum]

lu ralu (E) vp  to scatter about
   [lit. hitting to chase]

lu rubu (E) vp  to miscarry [lit. hitting to throw away]

lusa v  1. to take out, remove;
   yoka (E,S)
   (sapi aba reaga lusa: since the sweet potato is cooked, take it out)
   Cf. ludia, lodea
   2. to tear down
   Cf. lopa

lusu sa vp  to straighten out as a mat
   Cf. ludi sa

*luturana n  Lutheran

M

ma-  causative suffix [note: ma + aa- is always spelled maa-, i.e. with never more than aa contiguous]
maa rapumi aalu mea crown of the head
   Cf. maabua apealape

maa rapumi aalu head of a snake

maa regepemina to choke (someone)

maa wage wage pa to shake the head

maa-apaa n a large bird which lives in the top of trees (does not sing where it can be seen or heard)

maai n a type of palm found in the forests [bears non-edible fruit, very hard, used for making bows and arrows and the battens for houses]

maaka n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [many leaves, coloured red, firm and sweet]

maakati n a hardwood tree [large leaves and fruit, used for fenceposts and houseposts]

maake-maake matya (E) to have saliva in corners of mouth from talking; raako (W)

maakena n generic term for worm; kolawi (S)
   (maakena neme ade rabu maaku abapea: when I saw the worms I almost vomited)
   Cf. eada, kolawi, kegeremaa

maakera n clay found on river banks [used for paint, dye on reeds for making paintings]

maakera n reddish paint made from burning roots of wild cane

*maakete n the market

maakipa n a var. of sugarcane [reddish coloured, red leaves, very juicy, very sweet]

maaku n vomit

maaku rata to vomit
   (neme maaku ratawa: I vomited)

maalaa n 1. four
   2. index finger
   also rago (S)

maali n 1. year
   2. Christmas
   Cf. *kirisa mata; *karisi mata

maapaapu n 1. jowls of pig
   2. uncooked pig fat, especially belly
   3. pig fat from back of neck

maape n support used for banana tree or sugar cane to keep wind from blowing it down

maapu n garden
   (go maapu ripumi minabaya: the garden is overgrown [choked] with weeds; niri e maapu kogono pula pulu: I am going to work in the garden)
   Cf. e, eme

maapu-ripu n a broom; maapo (E), *balum (S)
   Cf. puluma kiape

maapuna n a tree kangaroo [do not make homes but are found in various places; eat mainly greens; this was the main generic name but due to name taboo, other names are now known: oyali, yareraa, kadepoala and padota] (yapa maapuna nipuri ki lapo pagasua ke lapone pamaea: the tree kangaroo tucks its hands away and goes on its two feet)

maapuna-palaa n taboo name for maapuna, tree kangaroo

maara n tree type

maarea v to lack understanding

maari n complete, full (akua maari: full moon)

maarolaa v to straighten; marolea (S)
   (apo repena paaki peaga maarolaa: this tree is crooked so straighten it out)
   Cf. maredepo ya

maasa n a mountain
   Cf. aari, pore, rudu

maasa n a bird which is medium-sized [good for eating, feathers are not sought after; its cry says pupu u pupu u]
maasadu n a large bird [long beak and tail, brown, lives in branches of trees]

maa subi n the cassowary wattle also maa subi-abuni

maata n a neck decoration consisting of short slats attached in a series [formerly worn by men as a symbol of wealth in pigs and shells]; yarapula (E)

maa-ta n a var. of taro [yellowish-coloured, including the leaves]

maata pi (E) aj brown colour

maatu n mucous especially from the nose

maatu alalo dried mucous; maatu kalalo (E)

maatu sula to sniff mucous in the nose

maayapara n small bamboo used as decorations

maawa v to encircle (su maaawaenane: all directions)

mabaa v to be set (as a trap); maobaa (E, S)

mabau laria to cause the noise of an explosion

mabo n 1. thorn tree [similar to a vine, very strong, small leaves, yellow fruit] 2. any hooked thing, as end of umbrella

mabua n tab name for pandanus Cf. garota, malupia, raalipa

1mada au enough (abiare ni eta mada ne: now I have eaten enough) Cf. dipara, dina

2mada (E) n a var. of sweet potato

1madaa aj on top of

2madaa n a var. of mushroom [comes up in broken up ground, white, looks something like the stomach of a pig; sub-var. determined by white or black tops]

3madaa v to meet

mada mea v to pretend; mada sa (E) Cf. megere

mada sa (E) v to pretend; mada mea (W) (ni mada su: I am pretending)

madawe n a nocturnal marsupial [makes its home in the mossy area of trees or in pandanus branches; two types depending on whether there are one or two black stripes on the back]

made n tree type [Euphorbiaceae, prob. Macaranga; bark is stripped and used to make rope for a pig tether]

made-ini n young, intelligent man Cf. aogege aa, arumu naaki, baununi

madi-pore-nogo n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [small abundant leaves, red skin, white tuber]

Cf. pagaapia

madia 1. to carry inside of something as a net bag (besa madia: to carry beans; naaki madia: to carry a child) 2. to be torn; matya (E), mata (S)

madia pia v to be pregnant [animal] Cf. pagaapia

madima (E) n [Urticaceae, Proctis]

madini sekere ajp prized pearl shells which are hung up for display at dances
madolo pa n to be smooth, without fuzz, as certain mushrooms, etc.

madu i aa np descendant

madulu m an abusive term for dogs which do not hunt well

madu pora poae aqj the last born [i.e. the one who shut the door]

mae m uncle

maebea v 1. to hinder sight as a child hiding behind the mother
2. to block light as when standing in a doorway

maema-uni m collarbone

maesepea v to unfold [lit. cause to untie]

(kimi maesepea: unfold it with your hands)

Cf. laulamina

maeta v cause someone to be well again

1 maeya aqj crazy; makeya (E), kea alici (S)

2 maeya m Pand lang for pig, marsupial, etc.

maga m Pand lang for house

magala m a large hardwood tree [bears fruit, inside texture of wood is reddish, used for firewood]

1 magata m a var. of Swiftlet

Cf. pubu

2 magata m a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [has red skin, small abundant leaves, very sweet]; magatya-kudu (E)

magataba v 1. to shake, jostle as a piece of tree or a vine so that it will fall down
2. to trip; kalabatyia (E), lalamata (S)

(magataba lopawa: I tripped and fell down)

magera m Double-wattled Cassowary

1 ma gia aqj edge of; paginane (E), masu (S)

2 ma gia v to dodge out of the way

magomawae aqj round; mogalu (E), ngalu (S)

magomawoata v to be in orbit

magula v tab form for to blow (miru waru rubitaga repena magula: it is really smoking so blow on the fire)

Cf. pola

1 mai m tree type

2 mai m type of slate stone used to make stone axes

3 mai m tab name for man in Ribu ceremony

ma ini m betel nut type

maima m a var. of wild black palm [Palmæ] 

maipu m a var. of the Fruit Dove [beak and claws are red, green along the back, white around the neck, soft cry, lays many eggs]; malipu (E,S)

makaapu yata aa np one who claims to be poor [lit. man who is caused to be dried up]

maka m a var. of sugarcane

makemake m tattooed face; yapai (E)

*makeme mea v to measure something
makenaapo n an insect with horny protrusions and sharp teeth [prob. a snail]; makena-kaapo (E) also yapi-raapo
makera v to leave someone after walking together
makibu v to join together, to add onto, to patch
makibuma riri pae to measure and fit pieces together
makiraa v to lie, deceive
makirae agaa mp lie, deceitful talk
Cf. ya agaa, sa agaa, sapi agaa, lame
mako rounded ends of house
mako-ada n a marsupial's pouch
makua v to taboo something, forbid (aa medame yasa makua ia: someone has tabooed the mushrooms) Cf. rekena
1makuaa (mainly E) v to understand or know; niminaa (W) (makuae aa: a man of understanding)
2makuaa agj young, marriageable woman; mapuaa (E,S)
makuna pa v to make an animal tame [lit. cause to soften]
makunana n a medium-sized dark coloured bird [prob. a var. of Flycatcher; lives in the tops of trees]
makuraa n core in pandanus; bakurumaa (S)
(go aga makuraa ora adaape aya: the core of the pandanus is really big)
Cf. maloa
1malaa n a hardwood with dark edible nuts [Elaeocarpaceae, Elaeocarpus bancroftii P.V.M. and F.M.B.; nuts have four parts, eaten raw or cooked]
2malaa v to teach
malapu pa sa to just lay something down somewhere
male-male n a type of fern found in the forest [bears thistles; cassowaries and humans eat the shoots]
malia (E) n a rainshield; yapara (W)
maloa n pandanus nut core (aga ru ia raburi maloa nipuna opapawa ia: when the pandanus is ripe and falls down, the core breaks loose) Cf. makuraa
malu n type of death by sorcery [a swinging stone is struck as name of victim is called to produce a spell on the victim]
mamani $ n $ wild edible red berry
   [Rosaceae, Rubus rosaeformis]
mamina $ n $ cloth; maminya (E)
   Cf. *lalapala*
mamu $ n $ a large bird [cries at night like a Pigeon]
mamu mamu ta $ puffy, edema$
managola $ v $ to arrange, put into order
   (ekeraa balusa mealiga oyae
managola sape: tomorrow you catch the plane so get your things ready)
   Cf. amega pa, maredepo ya, wamo pa
managola su pira $ vp $ to straighten things out
mana ta $ to advise well, give admonitions, instructions$
manemane $ n $ a type of inedible grub [found in the tassel of corn and in other newly planted vegetables]
mano $ n $ the hoop pine [Aranicaria; grows sparsely; bark is dark, leaves are far apart, pitch is also used]
mao ya ta $ vp $ 1. to mix together poorly; raakole (E,S)
   2. to destroy things
mapame $ n $ a large bird which lives in the top of trees [a var. of kingfisher]
mapatya (E) $ n $ [Polygonaceae, Polygonum]
mapepo $ n $ [prob. Moraceae, Ficus]
mapeta $ v $ to reinforce so as not to fall down; wakatya (E)
ma pi $ n $ a semi-hardwood with long leaves and small fruit
   [Cunoniaceae, prob. Opocunonia, same as ipa-mapi]
mapira $ v $ 1. to leave
   2. to stay put
   3. to establish
   (apo su amaa mapira: leave it there on the ground)
   Cf. pirinala
mapiratemea $ n $ an armlet
   Cf. ropaa, kiama ropaa, ipa ropaa, kebe ropaa, sikireali ropaa
mapoia $ n $ a softwood tree [large trunk, small round leaves which are shed at times]
mapola agaa $ n $ permanent teeth
mapuuaa $ n $ a dream
   Cf. upaa
mapu-mapu (E) $ n $ [prob. Saxifragaceae, Carpodetus]
mapuna-rami (E) $ n $ [Selaginellaceae, Selaginella]
mapuru $ n $ the center stake in the top game
mara $ n $ the Massoea tree
   [Lauraceae, Cryptocarya]
maraa $ v $ to put on clothes, etc.
marabe $ n $ water-gum tree [several sub-var. according to colour and hardness; Myrtaceae, Eugenia]
   Cf. pipi, kole
marabe-yo-adalua $ n $ [Myrtaceae, Eugenia]
maraki $ n $ hardwood tree used for fence posts [grows in wet, swampy areas, whitish bark, bears a white fruit which is edible]
1 marala $ n $ many pandanus, etc. shoots
2 marala $ v $ to increase, as population
mara lakea $ n $ [Lauraceae, prob. Litsea]
maraata $ n $ type of seeds which are strong and worn in time of mourning
   Cf. ola
mara-tagai $ n $ [Lauraceae, Cryptocarya]
1 marata yai $ n $ mourning skirt; kalipira yai (E,S)
2 maraata yai n waterfall on stone cliff  
mara-ato n [Lauraceae, Cryptocarya]  
maredepo ya v 1. to straighten  
(adada kano peaga eperupa  
maredepo ya: the house post  
is leaning so straighten it up)  
Cf. maarolaa  
2. arrange, put in order  
(goadawa marapedo ya:  
straighten the house up well;  
apopo pepe otaga marapedo ya:  
since your decorations aren't  
good, straighten them up)  
Cf. amegapa, wamopa, managola  
maregatali n any small tadpole  
[looks like a fish but later  
develops legs]  
mari n the Macaranga tree  
[Euphorbiaceae, Macaranga;  
bark used for house siding as  
well as being stripped to tie  
up sugarcane]  
mario-toge n a parasitical shrub  
[Loranthaceae; reddish fruit,  
shrub is yellow coloured at the  
tips, has small leaves]  
marisa n single branch of pandanus tree [not strong, near  
center]  
Cf. agepaa  
marola (E) v to frighten, scare  
maruba n a hardwood with small  
leaves [Myrtaceae, Eugenia;  
fruit gets ripe at varicus  
times; leaves are used in net  
bags as cushion for babies]  
marubaa n a bird  
masa n [prob. Myrsinaceae var.]  
1 masaa n a medium-sized bird  
with good plumage [probably  
Centropophinae var.; neck area  
feathers, brown, especially  
favoured]  
2 masaa n 1. back of body  
also koau (E), only koau (S)  
2. surface or top; koau (S),  
iumaa (E)  
[ipa masaa: surface of water;  
ada masaa: roof of house;  
pore masaa: ridge of mountain]  
masaa robe n p a bent-over person  
Cf. u robe yomagae  
masaa ruka ruba severe backache  
masaa rili agaa v to gossip,  
talk behind someone's back  
masa-aani n [Myrsinaceae, prob.  
Ardisia]  
masaane n Pand lang for pandanus  
nut, tree, etc.  
masaa-rero n [Araliaceae var.]  
*masasi n matches  
*masini n any generator or  
stationary engine  
1 mata n the common cricket  
[considered very edible, but  
only available at certain times];  
manyaa(E), mata (S)  
2 mata n dance; yasa (E,S)  
(mata pabala: to singsing or  
dance)  
Cf. yasa  
mata radai n ceremonial dancing  
stick used by women  
mataa n cassowary; yaari (E,S)  
(yaa mataaa: most common usage)  
mataa egataa n cassowary claws;  
yaa maala (E,S)  
mataa omeyae n dark-coloured  
cassowary; uya (E), uyari (S)  
*mata-mata n grave, graveyard  
Cf. tapa
mata-rakua n a var. of banana [tall, large, reddish stalk]

matya (E) v to carry as in a bag; madia (W)

mauba (E) v to set as a trap

maukuku pa rasa extreme heat from sun or fire

mawae yae ajp something which is drum-shaped

mawape n a var. of mushroom [two sub-var.: one yellow, other red; nipple-shaped on the top which is thrown away before eating, grows at the base of trees and pitpit]

1maya n a marsupial similar to the madawe [found in the pen-danus area of Mt. Giluwe]

2maya n familiar or respectful term for father; manya (S)
    Cf. ata, aapa, aaraa

mayapa n the main var. of tough wild cane [used in housebuilding and for fences; grows quite tall, young shoots have fuzz on them]; yapaa li (E)

1-me subject, agent, instrument marker
    (aame irikai aaname taa: the man hit the dog with an axe)

2-me 2, 3 pl Pa, Set I

3-me female name marker [mostly E]
    Cf. -nyu

mea v 1. to fetch
    (mea ipu: bring it; mea pu: take it; mea sa: put it)
    2. as a complementary verb
        (rumu mea: rheumatism, arthritis in knee; yogane o mea: scaly skin)

-mea suffix denoting sp in suc action [areas of W]
    Cf. -a, -ma

mea ada (E) menstrual house; agi
    ada, kupaa ada (W)

*meba n an elected member of parliament

mebota (E) v to do something bad

meda aj another
    (medapare: another place)
    Cf. rado

medaloma aj left-over, some more; medapare (S)

medaalaa two alike, two together;
    medai (E,S)

medaapara place together

medaalaa yae ajp things alike;
    medai (E,S)
    Cf. padane yae

medo n type of louse which is found on birds, pigs, etc.
    Cf. kayabo, ete

megere v 1. to mark, reserve
    (go repena epeta palo megere mea: that tree might be good so reserve it)
    2. to warn, etc. by pretending
        (pa megere mealo: I am pretending)
        also pa maagaa pa, pa maagaa sa
        Cf. mada mea

melepa-abanome n a var. of victory leaf imported from the direction of Ialibu [large green leaves, usually used in earth-ovens but is also sometimes worn]

melepa-ramani n a var. of the common Flycatcher

1-mele-raji n [Liliaceae, Geitonoplesium cymosum]

2-mele-raji (E) n [Liliaceae, Rhigothonum]

1-meme n a softwood tree
    [Aquifoliaceae, Sphenostemon; average-sized leaves, small berry-sized fruit]

2*meme n a goat

*meme mena n alt for goat
mena $n$ a pig

mena abulu raguta $n$ protruding mouth of pig as a result of large tusks

mena aapu $n$ ornamental pig tails used as decorations
   Cf. $i\ddot{p}$i mena aapu

mena imaa $n$ pig tusk; mena kaapo ($E$)

mena imaa paaki $n$ a pig which is waist high in size

mena iri-yagaae $n$ a pig which comes to the knee in size
   also aba kabulae mena

mena iti $n$ a pig rope or tether made from vine

mena ke moke special occasion when pigs are killed and preparations are called for

mena sae a piece of pcrk

mena yagaa $n$ pig's jawbone [used ceremonially as a reminder of major pig feasts]

mena-aalu rakia $n$ a sub-var. of the edible green rakia [lit. pig's-head rakia, so called because it is eaten with pig]

mena-eada $n$ earthworm; mean-e ($E$)

mena-i-ratua $n$ [prob. Cucurbitaceae var.]

mena-iri $n$ a very tough grass
   [long roots making it tough to pull out; grown near the houses]

mena-iru $n$ installment payment to allies

$1$ mena-iti $n$ a short water snake which has a dark flat head

$2$ mena-iti $n$ a var. of mushroom [two sub-var. one black and one white, not very sweet]

mena-kau $n$ type of earthworm commonly eaten by pigs; mena-balaa ($E$)

mena-keyasa $n$ a large var. of mushroom [grows on rotten logs, cooked in bamboo]

mena minabu ne ona $\eta p$ a woman who is strong-willed, difficult to control

menana-laa $n$ a bamboo knife
   Cf. $r$igi, $k$ane

mena-pea $n$ a var. of mushroom which is very tasty [black, but two sub-var., one is yellowish; also called mena-kadu, lit. pig snout]

mena putupaa pig bladder

mena *sipisipi $n$ sheep

mena-uni-maraba $n$ [Myrtaceae, Eugenia var.]

mena-yagi $n$ a gift to the affines' clan
   also ona olae
   Cf. yagi, ona makaue, ona rumaape

$1$ mena $n$ a var. of wild betel nut [Palmae var.]

$2$ mena $n$ arrow type, bird-claw tipped
   (menare merame piawapulu naomaa: because I shot the pig with the arrow it did not die)

*midi $n$ meat, flesh
   Cf. kogapu

midi pea $v$ to be strong, obstinate (go naaki agaa napape midi pea: he is a disobedient obstinate boy)
   Cf. kogapu pea
1. mimi (E)  aj  black
   (su mimi:  topsoil; yaa mimi:  rain clouds)

2. mimi n 1. gums of teeth
   2. large underneath section of a mushroom

-mina  suffix denoting 3rd pl in the first of at least two coordinate clauses which do not have identical participants

mina abuta v 1. to deplete
   2. entertain to exhaustion

minaba v  to bend down
   (repena rugi ogedaa minaba:  bend the top of the tree down)
   Cf. minaniaa

minabu n  young, energetic, mischievous youth

minaniaa v  to force down, shake down; minyanya (E,S)
   (sapi beke minaniaa:  shake down the bag of sweet potatoes)
   Cf. minaba, rabua

minarepaa v  1. to leave alone
   2. to let go of, drop; minyarapaa (E,S)

minasa v  to lift up; minyasa (E,S)
   Cf. musaa

minuta v  to copulate; yota (E)
   Cf. yaruta, rene pape, lamua

minya (E)  1. to hold apart
   2. to break up as a fight

miru n  smoke; lodo (E,S)
   (miru waru pea:  heavy smoke)
   Cf. radata

miru kapu kapu  cjp  heavy dense smoke

miru-pe (S) n  tab word for 'smoke pipe' in Ribu ceremony

*misini n  mission, missionary, etc.
   also *misi

*misisi n  a European woman

mo d  that (one)
   (nena ada mo ayaya:  is your house over that way)
   Cf. mogo, mopo, monane

1. moae n  1. wooden bowl
   Cf. wako, kopo
   2. boat; moe rili, kawasa (S), rili (E)
   Cf. ipunu

2. moae n  clouds, fog; mole (E), mole, koa (S)
   (moae igipita:  to be fogged in)

3. moae n  inheritance, objects which are handed on to others after a death; moyae (E)

mobesa (E) v  to gather into piles; kirita (W)
   (mobeba:  it is all collected)

1. modaa (E) n  a var. of sugarcane

2. modaa n  a victory leaf var.
   [plentiful long, small yellow leaves; worn at dances]

modo n  1. the sweet potato mound; modo rumu (E)
   Cf. pana
   2. the generic term for sweet potato (E)

modo-ada n  compost heap

modo-inigi n  sprouts which form from old decaying sweet potato; modo-kinigi (E)

modo kabe (E)  arrow type

modo kepaa n  1. stick for making sweet potato mound
   2. ceremonial garden stick

1. modo-mapua  tab name for sweet potato in Ribu ceremony

2. modo-mapua n  a small black and brown bird [found in sword grass and near garden areas, similar to a Bowerbird]

1. modopea v  to shoot a gun
   Cf. pia

2. modopea v  to break and bend over
   (abiare ramina kagaa modopealua:  break off the pig's leg)
   Cf. palubia
modopea v to clean off path  
Cf. waria

modopea v 1. to weave an arm or leg bracelet  
2. to shape a nose plug  
3. to make a hole in ear or nose; modo pesaa (E), kule podo pelea, wil (S)

moe-rili (E) n any kind of boat

modo-sugi n a pandanus var. similar to the subita

moga v to close, fasten  
(e kepo alupi pa iaga moga: the fence is missing so close it up again)  
Cf. garula, poa

mogalu n any very round-shaped tuber

mogeea (E) v to swim, stroke water

mogeea v 1. to echo, imitate  
2. to teach; monge ange (S)  
Cf. lariaa

mogoo d over there  
(nipu mogoo adapara patea: he sleeps in that house over there)  
Cf. mo, mopo, monane

mogo n first section of basket or net bag which is made

mogoramea (E) n string skirt

moka n a tree with twisting turning grain, making it difficult to split [Cunoniaceae var.; thorny protrusions, yellow fruit, brownish crown]

moke paa v to portion out to many people (meat, etc.)  
(moke pubisimi: they portioned all of it out)  
Cf. rumaa

moketekaa (E) n a var. of sweet potato

mole (E) n fog, low clouds

mole pi (E) adj brown or dark colour

molo-molo n type of cassowary headdress

momaa n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [small leaves, yellow soft tuber]

momake n Pand lang for net bag

momani n a var. of mushroom [found on dead trees or on young saplings; can be seen afar off because of their red colour]

momangi n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [red skin, small red leaves]

moma yaalo n a type of decorative pearl-shell display band  
Cf. sekere yaalo

momo n 1. rat's stomach  
2. insult, by applying it to children, etc.; moto (E)

momogo n a var. of sweet mushroom [similar to the kale but round, hence the name; grows on rotten trees, cooked in bamboo]; momokau (E)

momoko n a millipede type of insect

-mono n suffix denoting 1st pl inclusive in the first of at least two coordinate clauses which do not have identical participants

monane d in that direction  
(monane maditi yaere ake yapae: what have you been carrying over there)  
Cf. mo, mogo, mopo
*mone n money; *muni (S) (mone sape ada: teh bank)

*mone papo sape yae a pouch or wallet [lit. something for putting money in]

*mone tagesi n tax money

moneaav v 1. to shove to someone 2. to pump 3. to bring (E); muneaa (S) (ne yola moneaa: you shove over; balusimi nana olenu mada moneaia: the plane will bring my things]

mone pane d on other side of stream, etc.

mono (E) n fist

monumane n two-three days prior; munumane (E,S)

mope aa np a rich man with many possessions

mopo d that (mopo aa ora epe kone ia: that man is a good man [i.e. he has good thoughts]) Cf. mo, go, apo, mogo

moraa (E) v to lean against something; muraa (W)

mora-ipa n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [tough, abundant leaves, bluish coloured tuber]

mora-pia n the tab name for the mora-ipa sweet potato

more n a var. of sweet potato [brown skin, yellow tuber which is tough, leaves are fairly large]

1moropea v to turn around, cause something to move; werepea (E,S) (morope morope ia: to shake, as in an earthquake) Cf. perekea

2moropea v to squeeze (lapalapa ipa piaga moropea: the clothes are wet so wring them out) Cf. igi pia

mo rudane d three days later

mo ta (E) to suck or slurp

moto n 1. part of something which is thrown away, as cut out part of pearl shell 2. stomach (E)

moya v to start fire from fire (ipu moyapa: light it from this)

moyaa v to send Cf. otaa, rapaa, penala

moyae n part of hand or leg by joint, wrist, or ankle; moaia (E), ki mo (S)

moyae (E) n inheritance; moae (W)

1mu n silt, sand

mu kilili n sand quartz

2mu n a migratory bird which occasionally flies in great flocks when the bamboo is in blossom [prob. a var. of Ground Dove; makes a great noise so that it obliterates all other noise, trapped in nets and highly desired for meat, white around the neck and either black or brown on the top] also yaa igipia

3mu n noise of a car or plane

muaroro n Pand lang for road, etc.

muba v 1. to completely take away 2. to keep from falling; minyaa (E) (mubamede: finished, gone)

mubaa v to separate, hold apart, keep from fighting
muburu sa to be dry, scarred  
Cf. kaaputa

mudi n 1. edible part of quartered pandanus  
2. parts of tree after sides are split off

mudia v to hang up something  
Cf. pitaa

mudiaa v to spread, as a disease; be contagious  
Cf. yaina mudia

1mudu n important man, shell, pig

2mudu (E) n point, as of a fence

mudupa n a tree [seeds and leaves were used in ancient traditional exchange]

muga n [Aingiberaceae var.]

mugi n a var. of tapioca [two sub-var. according to its colours: white or dark, small leaves, very long root]

mugili n a var. of mushroom [two sub-var. called mena-alaalumugili and ara-mugili: one is black and the other yellow; cooked in bamboo]

1mugu n a tree type used for firewood and for garden digging sticks [prob. Guttiferae, Garcinia; two kinds: one has larger leaves, commonly used in earth ovens, the other small; yellow seeds]; mugu (S)

2mugu n a var. of taro [yellow and very sweet]

mugunu n poison snake; mugunyu (E), pairiali (S)

mugunu-aina n a taboo name for the awina snake

mugu-rudu n a var. of mushroom [dirty coloured and bitter]

muka n a var. of sweet potato; mugu (E)

muku n [Monimiaceae, Daphnandra]

*mula-mula (Motu) n medicine (W,S); kinigi (E)

mulapaa (E) v to stretch

1muli (E) var. of softwood tree

2*muli n the general generic term for any introduced citrus

muma n small quail which lives in clumps of wild cane [cry is seweke seweke]; muma (S)

mumula 1. to whisper, talk secretly, mumble, hum; pinipini (E,S) (mumu ne agaa: whispering talk)  
Cf. karome

2. the soft cry of certain birds such as the imu-ria, maipu

mumuna-agaa n a short grass [found in sword grass, when planted spreads out]

mumudusa n Pand lang for sleep, sit, rest, etc.

mumuga (E) aj purple, blue

mumuga nala (E) to commit suicide

mumugi v to take back something given  
(mumugi mea: take it back)

mumunu n a smaller net bag worn by women in particular [contains personal remembrances of deceased relatives and thought to contain the deceased spirit]

muni n a var. of taro [reddish skin, white tuber]

2muni n a hardwood found in abundance [Sapindaceae, Dodonae viscosa; used for firewood and housebuilding; has a peeling bark and few leaves]  
Cf. loae
munia v to lower, put down, as a lid of a box; munya (E)

muni pepara (E) to put across

1 mupa v Pand lang for get, walk, go come, stand, etc.

2 mupa v to take away (nogo karapara ia akore mupa: get the cargo down there in the car)
Cf. lakepea

mupaa n eldest

mupia v to be tough, thick, or strong (apo pipa madaa mupiapulu mone pia: that envelope is thick so there is money inside)
Cf. roketa

muraa v to lean against something; moraa (E)

muri n turbulence of approaching storm (muri pabea: clouds are making scunds)

muru n a var. of taro which is dark-coloured with white flesh

murubu-beleke n a type of seed which when mature is strung on vine, resembling beads

musaa v 1. to lift up
2. to squeeze
Cf. minasa

muta n a type of softwood tree [three sub-var.: one has a fuzzy kind of leaf which is smoked and a red fruit shaped like a small pearl-shell]

muta-pita n a var. of tapioca which is ancestral [small leaves and tuber]

muta-puri-pane n [Moraceae, Ficus var.]

muta-ramaa n var. of tree [leaves are used for decorating the spirit house but it is not cooked with the food]

muta-rasa n a hardwood tree [bears fruit in abundance, many leaves, peeling bark]

mutaa yo n tobacco leaf
Cf. *soko yo, ramaa yo, kenoa yo

muti-malo n a hairy type of insect [causes a skin reaction (swelling) and consequent sores if it touches the skin]

N

1-na 3, dp, suc, n-term

2-na pos, genitive, and allocative marker

3-na reported seen action

na- neg pre-verb clitic

na v 1. to eat, to drink
2. to pain (agaa nala: toothache; robaa nala: stomach ache; uni nala: aching bones)

nama nama rubini aa np a selfish man [lit. a man who just goes on eating and throws away what he doesn’t want]
Cf. yamame ome aa

naa p mine; nyaa (in some areas) (naa ada: my house)

naai (E,S) alt for boy naaki

naaki n a boy
Cf. kapaa

naaki-nogo-amape n var. of flora [either Apocynaceae or Asclepiadaceae]

naaki-irali n a var. of mushroom [small, yellow, resembles feces of children, hence the name; skin peeled off before eating, bitter]
naapu n  Casuarina tree [two kinds: one commonly used for firewood, other is left standing, a favourite tree which is planted near the houses, spirit-houses, and dance grounds; other types: naapu-wai and waapu-yadapu; Casuarinaceae, Casuarina oligodon]  Cf. utayae

naapu-pe n  gourd for tree oil  Cf. wabala-pe, karubi

naapu-rikili n  a var. of mushroom [grows on the roots of the Casuarina, hence the name; reddish coloured]

naara aj  poor man without material possessions also kone di tone ia  Cf. riabepe, ribu aa

naare m  sun (abiare naare udunala: now the sun has gone beyond the clouds)  Cf. puda, paaku

naare abua rikirane aina about noon [lit. when the sun is stationary in the middle of the sky]  Cf. pud a, paaku

naare-ini m  watch, clock  Cf. kiloko

naare ipulaina  mid-morning [lit. while the sun is still coming]

naare pabola pulaina  late afternoon [lit. when the sun is going down inside]

naare paalu  bright sun [hence also approx noon]; naare rikana (E)  Cf. pud a, paaku

naare pereketa laina  mid-afternoon [lit. when the sun is turning]

naare ra  to shine as the sun

nabisa m  a var. of introduced tapioca [similar to koroka]

*nabisi m  the coast

nada v  to taste (nadaluame pi: I want to taste it; nanade: I haven't tasted it; nanadesu: I did not taste it before)

1 naga m  a var. of taro [dark-coloured, very tough, white flesh]

2 naga m  whetstone [flat, dark-coloured, splits easily when heated]; nanga (S) (niri no Magani ipa rai naga pula pulu: I'm going to the Magani River to sharpen my axe in the stones)  Cf. nepo

naga pa  to sharpen something; nanga pea (S)

naku m  a hole (apo paupara naku ia: that swamp has holes in it)  Cf. neka, wakunabo

-nane directional clitic (oronane: in there; mogonane: over there; madazane: up there; aponane: over there [unseen])

1 napaa v  to eat up (apo eta abi napaa: eat all this food up)  Cf. no kirita

2 napaa v  to be tired out (pora pamaue pirua napata: I have been walking a lot and am tired out)

napuma-koa m  a bird [similar to the Pelican]

narea m  a small lizard [usually found lying in the sun; prob. a type of Skink]; prob. pada-raaketa (E), raaketa (S)

nare-nare m  a var. of flora [Guttiferae, Garcinia]

nasu (E) m  blood; kupaa, yaapi, basa (W)

nata m  a small shrub [used to make string for net bags, leaves are very fuzzy, vine not used widely]

-ne (also -ni) Ego, adjectival marker

1 ne p  you [sg]
2 ne aj sharp
(ne waru aya: very sharp)
Cf. eke waru aya

3 ne n arrow; apaa, rabaa (E,S)

neabu n sorcery substance
[excreta, fingernails are used, sometimes also taken to the
large wasp neabu-agi to eat it so the person will die]
(neabu ipa ini: sorcery round water)

neabu-agi n the large striped
wasp which lives in the ground
[used for sorcery]

neabu-diwi n var. of flora
[Rubiaceae, Timonius]

neada n the ceremonial longhouse
Cf. yawe ada, yapua ada

nebonane along the edge or side
of something
Cf. renane, rerenane

negaa n last born
(gore onaa adaapu madama ipua
madu poa poame negaa: she
has borne many and now this is
the very last one [i.e. the
last brother]
Cf. yogo

negalo n shield
Cf. karapi, ralubi, koro-koro,
riti-yapara, arepe-wape

neka n a hole [stone]; kolo (E)
(yapa agiri neka madaa piruaya:
the agi marsupial sleeps in a
hole)
Cf. naku, wakunabo, boge

nekea n a tree type [four kinds,
two of which bear fruit, com-
monly used for firewood and
building houses, leaves of one
used to bandage sores]

nekea-ini n an edible bean-like
seed [previously four var. were
recognised; perhaps some var.
of climbing cucurbit with seeds]

nekeali (E) n native black oil

nekea-potoma n a softwood tree
[Moraceae, Ficus; grey-coloured,
small leaves, seeds about the
size of beans]; nekea-potema
(E)

nekea-royo n a var. of victory
leaf [worn for everyday, long
slender green leaves]

*neke-noke n a mechanic

nele-nele n a locust
(gore wala yapipu ora ribaa
page wala mo nele-nele nipu
reke: in the morning and at
night the locust arises [i.e.
makes its sound])
Cf. gae, noae-noae

nele-nele lalaina early dusk
[lit. when the locusts cry]

nema n a semi-hardwood tree
[black-coloured, quite unique
with oily leaves, white fruit
which the birds eat]

nene pia intermittent drizzle
(yai madu nene pia: it's
ready to rain)

nenepu əw almost, nearly; pode,
kode (E)
(nipu Waβi repara nenepu epa
lopaya: he fell down when he
was almost to Wabi)
Cf. agagaane

nepo n whetstone
(raikutu aana madaa nepo pi
rabu eke waru aya: when the
knife is sharpened on the nepo
stone, it is really sharp)
Cf. naga

ni p I, me

-niaa downward motion, Set II

niaa p we all, us; naa (E,S),
nyaa (in some places)

negolo n ridges

nikiri n space or holes in a
fence; podea (E,S)
Cf. yaa-rotari

nikiri pia to grind teeth
together; nini pia (E,S)

nila (E) n joints on bamboo;
dila (W)
*nili m nail, needle, straight pins; piri (E), *ekoko (S)
(nili taniaa: to nail something securely)

nili-nyalo (E) m a var. of flora
[Lauraceae, Actinodaphne]

nima m a softwood shrub [reddish, large banana-like leaves used in earth ovens, many leaves, bears much fruit]

nimi p you all; imi (E)

niminaa v to perceive, understand; makuua (E)

nimu p they; imu (E)

ninigi m small mushroom sprouts

ninima m mother bird feeding young
(ninima kala: it is feeding its young)

nini pia (E,S) to grate teeth together; nikiri pia (W)

nipi p you two; ipi (E)

1nipu p he, they two; ipu (E)

2nipu m an edible fern [two kinds depending on the degree of fuzz]

niru m portion, leftovers, pieces

niti m marsupial [lives in holes of trees, four to six in a litter; can hear someone coming from a far distance, sharp teeth]; kapano (E)
Cf. paakena

-no 1 sg, dp, suc, n-term

no d down below, close also nogo

no kiritu vp to finish eating
Cf. napaa

noae m 1. needle made of bone
2. forearm bone

noae ada m a large spirit house
[about the size of a rakua meeting house, built for certain cures]

noge (E) m a tree house

nogo m a girl; nongo (S)
Cf. wane

nogo-naaki m children [lit. girl-boy]

nogo-naaki abe ona np barren women (or man)

nogo-naaki rama pape sekere np gifts of shells for the children of cross-siblings

nogonane down that way also nopenane

nogo pea to swell up as the face

noko m shelves in a room

nole (S) m a locust; nele-nele (W)

noma m a common grass [found in all areas]

nona pi adj like one another; nono pi (E)
(aa nono pi: its like a man)

nono m any gnat or mosquito-like insect
Cf. rigina

noria v to fill and carry water container

-nu coll marker

nu m a net bag

nu aaro ta v to join in middle the knitted parts of a bag

nu ebo the ends of a net bag

nu-laapu m a gift between affinal clans also rumaaneme
Cf. ragele
nu piri a worn-out net bag

nu raake device made from pandanus branches [used to weave net bags]

nu ramane the bottom of a net bag

nu-yapara 1. net bag and rain shield
2. placenta
   Cf. ode

nugila v to prepare something;
   nungula (S), managola
   Cf. amupa, managola

numa n a hardwood tree [small leaves, reddish fruit at various times, reddish sap]

numane av two days prior; abane (E,S)

nunu la to kiss; nunyu (E)

nupiti n a var. of victory leaf [worn at dances, leaves medium length are white and dark-coloured]

-nyu (E) feminine name marker

1 o d this way
   Cf. go

o mudi apo mudi hop from branch to branch

one d this direction
   (nina ada one go aya: my house is this way; onepane: direction)

2 o n a frog, usually found in swamps [long legs, brown coloured]

3 o n scabs, loose skin
   (go aare yaina adaape omkaarupa o laulau ta: this man is really sick and his skin is peeling)
   Cf. yogane, kidu

o abane (E) about five days previous

obeke n bird type, similar to a Bower-bird

obe n a var. of banana

obckele (E) n a pin

oboro n the common grasshopper

1 oda n a var. of banana [small end tough; two sub-var., one which is black; eaten in earth ovens when ripe]

2 oda v 1. to pick coffee
2. to shell
3. to take down
4. to be loose, as a board
5. to break off, as a tooth;
   koda (E,S)

odaba v to go inside of; koda (E)

*oda polisimano n a warden, guard

1 ode n 1. a stalk of bananas
2. the individual pandanus nuts

2 ode n a hardwood tree
   [Sapotaceae, Planchonella; tough leaves with fuzz on them, few fruit, commonly used in house building]

3 ode n pig uterus; kolali (E,S)
   Cf. nu-yapara

4 ode n profit from selling goods

ode gia free gift
   Cf. pa gia

odekea v to dig out
   (apo katepo napetaga odekea: those peanuts are mature, so dig them out)
   Cf. awa, rasa
odo pia to be sorry; kodo pia (E) 
(odome omalo: I am really sorry) 
Cf. yara pea

oga n a frog with a strong smell 
[a var. of pugu; red coloured, 
white eggs, usually found in 
groups and on stones]

ogae aj any old person

1oge aj small; onge (S)

oge oro np Saturday [lit. little 
week]; oge pula (S)

oge punasi np any small fly, esp. 
the fruit fly

2oge n bush trail; mapi (E,S)

oge-apola-apola n [prob. 
Elaeocarpaceae, Aceratium]

ogere n an earth oven feast 
(ogere yawape yo: leaves for 
the earth oven; ogere lusa: 
uncover the earth oven) 
Cf. waima

ogere pusa cover over the earth 
oven; ogo pusa (E), ogo pusa 
(E,S) 
Cf. ubu

ogere waima n large feast prepared 
in an earth oven

ogeya v to ask, beg; kogeya (E), 
kongeya (S) 
also lorapea (E) 
(ogeyo pia: to beg, i.e. go on 
asking)

okokaa n a larger frog [similar 
to the pata-agi but emits a 
slimy soapy substance, formerly 
tabooed in the Ribu ceremonies 
but now eaten, lays yellowish 
eggs, has distinctive markings]

oko pea skin rash, scabies, 
peeling skin on face 
also yapona pia (E)

okopea v to mash, as tablets 
Cf. asaa

ola n mourning beads; kola (E,S) 
(ola rupeeme: they string beads) 
Cf. maraata

olayapara apu n mourning beads 
and clay

olama-kane n [Euphorbiaceae, 
Macaranga var.]

olapa n beads made from plants 
found in river beds [covered 
with white clay, worn in times 
of mourning]

olaria n small black marsupial 
[makes its home by digging a 
place on top of the ground]

olasuba n a kind of owl [large 
reddish eyes] 
(go yaa olasuba nipu paapara u 
patua ribaa pamuaya: the owl 
sleeps during the day and flies 
around at night) 
Cf. kau

olemole (E) n things, something

olo n tree similar to momai 
[long, broad leaves, which are 
shed on occasion, tough bark 
is stripped to make pig tethers; 
extremely soft inside tree]

*olode n holiday 
Cf. *orode

oloma n softwood tree type

olomaa v to ringbark a tree 
Cf. ataa, aluua

olopa n mourning beads
oolopena n hardwood shrub [looks much like a coffee tree; bears a small fruit]
omaa v to die; komaa (E)
(omea: in sick condition; dim, e.g. stars)
omame yae np contagious [lit. something they die with]
(onaa omamede yae omama pae: is he sick with what other people have)
Cf. igipa
omapae aj 1. weak, sickly
2. one who does not learn quickly, an introvert also puri napane
omapae yae np something which feels soft
oma palae madusa to have a stillborn child
oma n small moss type [used to plug cracks in house]; koma (E)
omae n a type of moss [Sphagnum]
omai n a softwood tree [prob. Moraceae, Ficus; two kinds: one has reddish leaves, the other has leaves with fuzz on them; bears a white fruit]
omari n tree type [edible fruit that possums eat]
omea n a long edible lizard [found in sweet potato mounds]
omeyae n 1. black cassowary feathers
2. a dark colour; komeae (E), kome kome su (S)
omoau (E) n everything (substance)
ona n woman; winya (E), rena (NW), wena (S)
(amege pi ola: woman who keeps things cleaned up)
onaa n people; winaaali (E), wenaali (S)
onagae n old woman; winyagai (E), wena rudu, pamogae (S)
ona kalae ajp a widow
Cf. ona wasa
ona makuue n payback in marriage also ona olae
Cf. ona rumaape, yagi, mena yagi
ona napiri aa np a widower, bachelor; winya napiri ali (E), wena napiri ali (S)
ona paake yone aa np adulterer [lit. one who steals and pulls a woman]
Cf. ona urapu ruguni aa
ona piri aa np married man; ali pali (E,S) also wena piri ali (S)
ona remo n woman's ghost
ona rumaape n marriage payment
Cf. ona makuue, yagi, mena yagi
ona urapu ruguni aa np adulterer [lit. one who unhitches the skirt]
Cf. ona paake yone aa
ona wasa n a widow; wasa winya (E)
Cf. ona kalae
ona-yapa n secondary brideprice gifts returned from the affine's clan
onaapu n men's net apron; konaapu (E,S)
onagae n a marsupial [found in holes, usually near the headwaters of a stream; two kinds distinguished by black stripes]
onasa n a common bush rat [found in the wild cane and under logs, etc.; some var. called egasa]
onasa-onasa n a grey coloured tree [not a hardwood; var. of Lauraceae, Actinodaphne; long leaves which are white underneath]
onasu n red or yellow clay
ona-waria n a hardwood tree [prob. Moraceae var.; bears a nut which splits into three pieces, few but fair-sized leaves]
one in this area, direction
opa v to come up, as a seed, tooth (kele opalia: pimples)
1opaa n a var. of sweet potato [very similar to the kitipi]
2opaa v to take out from something (apo ipa pe luabu pa inaga padane opaa mea: since there are many water containers there, take one of them) Cf. pela
opapa v 1. to take something away 2. to arrive somewhere (apo miru pia yae opapa: take that smoking thing away) Cf. pelaapa
opasaa v to climb up on something [lit. come up + upwards] Cf. rumasaa, ruma
opataboa raa to explode and burn
opayo n spirit name
1ope (E) aj alt form for something which is not good
2ope n the generic term for vine or rope; kope (E,S) [certain parasitic vines are classified with trees repona] (apo mena maapu mula palia opeme adiape: fasten the pig so it can't get in the garden) Cf. iti
ope na v to commit suicide by hanging
ope-malaua-maluae n [prob. Monimiaceae var.]
one of climbing plant [Araeaceae, Pothos]
op-omeda n a var. of climbing plant [Araeaceae]
op-paapu n a bicycle Cf. paapu
ope-ropena n a var. of tree with milky juice [Apocynaceae, Alyxia]
opeta n the main var. of reed used to make grass skirts [light coloured and fairly tough]
*opisi n an office
opo n a hardwood used to make garden sticks [Ochnaceae, Schuurmania henningsii; two kinds: one small and red with long leaves and red fruit; other has white leaves and a white fruit]
opogo mopogo n 1. a game where participants try to stamp each others feet; also a game of jumping across a stream or ditch of water 2. v to jump around; opongo mopongo (S)
ora av intensified: true also kamu (E)
ora-ki n right-handed Cf. popeke
2ora n a type of wild cane which is used for weaving walls
1oraan the palm of the hand, sole of the foot (ki oraan madaa tu salo: I am balancing something on the palm of my hand)
2oraa v 1. to touch, grasp; waraa (E,S) 2. to fasten; koraa (E,S) (orabaaria: state of burial)
orapi n a reddish tree [prob. Gutierrezae, Garcinia; small leaves and a small red fruit, bark is stripped to make women's net aprons]
ore .sponge; werep (Wabi)

orena a var. of wild tapioca [found in the sword grass, vine-like consistency, cooked and fed to pigs in time of hunger]

ore yapa-yapa (S) aphids [considered skin to the cockroach]

1oro day, week; koro (E, S) (adaa oro: Sunday, holiday)

oro yaaloo yaaloo always; ade abuna (E)

2oro cough; koro (E, S) (nipu oro ta: he is coughing)

3oro fish bait

*orode any government designated holiday
Cf. ololode

orolopaa to shove underneath, push someone down; waru lopaa (E) (go adaa yaare ipame riaa pena orolopaa: shove that big thing down so the water can carry it away)
Cf. perealopaa

oropara inside or beneath it (maa oropara makura aya: beneath the pandanus circle of nuts is the core)

orope later; werepe (E, S) (oropenane: later on)

orope-ipula the taboo name for the kapu-paa sweet potato

oropena into the future

orudane aj 4-5 days hence

osari a hardwood parasite which grows in wet, swampy areas [Myristaceae, Mearnsia cordata; red flower and fruit, does not grow very large, scaly skin and small leaves]
Cf. koladi

*ose mena a horse

1ota aj bad; kota (E), kolea (S) Cf. wae

2ota a var. of the Honeyeater [seen when the osari bears its fruit, red feathers with some black]

otaa v 1. to send Cf. rapaa, penalaa, moyaa
2. to shove inside ashes; moyaa (E, S)

otaa-kula a var. of victory leaf similar to aakoa [has flowers and is commonly worn]

1oto aj dirty; koto (E) (go adaa kagaare oto aba pana: that new house is already dirty [i.e. sooty])
Cf. anulu, ai pea

2oto a var. of sweet potato [dirty coloured skin and leaf; white tuber, very sweet]

oyae things; ele (E), aleda (S)

oyae amege pi ona np a diligent woman worker; olele amege pi winya (E)

oyaedaa something, goods; elida (E)

oyae kane aa np man who lends freely [lit. man who gives things] also rumaae aa

oyaeyae everything; olemole (E), qlemole (S)

oyali a marsupial similar to the Agile Wallaby (mo yapa oyali nipuri adapara napati pa repena repara patea: the oyali marsupial does not sleep in a house but in tree stumps)
oyo moyo ari epalipi (E) we two
will change places

P

1-pa 1 dl Pa, Set I

E

2-pa comp asp, Set II

pa aqv just, only, etc.

pa aina let it alone; pa winya
(E,S)
Cf. pa pirina

pa gia give for nothing, free
gift
Cf. ode gia

pa ia to have something left
(nena repena kaapuri so raapara
pa ia: your firewood is still
up there in the bush)
Cf. ia, saapia

pa pirina to let (someone) be
(ni agu raapoo paluaga nipu pa
pirina: let him be, I will go
alone)
Cf. pa aina

pa suayaa left, left-over
(nina adare eta adaapu pa suayaa:
there is a lot of food left at
my place)
Cf. ana aya, purupina ia

pa v to make, to do
(kepo pa: to make a fence; in
the 3rd sg perfective as pea
and having an existential verb
function: usu pea: it is
crooked; kedaa pea: it is
heavy)

-paa exclusive action

pa n light, daytime
(abia pawa roa paa pea: now
the power is on and the lights
are too)
Cf. yapia

paado n [Moraceae, Ficus var.]

paage n sap, milk, etc.; pange (S)
(mena gawa adu paage rede waru
pea: cow's milk is really sweet)

paaka n the generic term for
any kind of snake

paakea v 1. to miss, as with a
spear
2. to dodge
Cf. wadiaa

paake lamua v to commit adultery
[lit. steal and marry]

paake na up to steal
(mena paake kobena aa: a pig
their)

paake ne aa np a thief

paake rene pua madini naaki np
illegitimate [i.e. child from
a stolen penis]
also paake rene wae pitua
madini naaki

paakena n marsupial type [so
named because it steals pan-
danus nuts]
Cf. nitia

paakenade ropaa n decoration
woven from cane [used as a
binding on bark belts, etc.]

paaketa v to be striped with
different colours, as the body
of a lizard

paaki n part of, half of
(aai paaki suayaa: half of the
banana is there)
Cf. apone, kalae

paaki-nagaa (E) n a var. of
sugarcane; paaki-rangaa (S)

paaki pa v to tie around, tie a
knot, secure with vines, etc.;
paaki pea (E)
Cf. apone pa

paaki pi aj 1. to be bent,
crooked, curved
2. to wind around as a road,
river
also kapatya (E), only kopalia (S)
(nena ki ora paaki pi aya: you have doubled up your hand)
Cf. kano pi, payabo oi, waagasu pi, koi pi

paakipu n groin area, backside of thigh and knee

1paaku n a large softwood tree
[large green leaves; bears a large quantity of fruit]

2paaku n 1. pandanus which has
born nuts twice
(go agare rana laapo etoa
paaku aya: this pandanus has
born fruit twice)
Cf. kipo ranai
2. a bunch of fruit

3paaku (NW) n sun; naare (W,E,S)
Cf. puda

paakua v to swat someoone else
with nettles
Cf. yodota, pakua

paala pia to be afraid
Cf. pururu pia

paalo (E) true stomach

paalu when sun is directly overhead

1paani n reference term for H of
clan sister; paali (E,S)
Cf. paase

2paani n fat over ribs of pig;
paale (S), paale, kie (S)

paapeaa n rib cut of a butchered
pig; perali (E,S)
Cf. perani

1paapu n circle dance

2paapu n small rope vine tied
around feet and used to climb
a tree [hence any kind of a
sling]
Cf. ope-paapu

3paapu n a unit of counting (body
parts)

paarapu v to tie sugarcane and
dried leaves to a pole; fasten
together; paarapa (S)

1paare n a small hardwdood tree
[Cunoniaceae var.; used to make
arrows and as forked tongs to
remove sweet potatoes from the
ashes]

2paare n chips, sswdust, etc.
(repena so temepara paare suaya:
there is a lot of chips where
they saw up the trees)
Cf. are

paase n address term for H of
clan sister; base (S)
Cf. paani

paata n torch or lamp made from
sticks, grass, etc.; paate (S)
also ponesupa (E)

paate (E) alt form for torch

paawa au slowly, easily

paawa awae aa np soft-spoken,
humble man [i.e. one who stands
quietly]

paba v 1. to put or go inside of
something else
(naare pabaala: sunset)
2. to dance
(yasa pabaala: he is dancing)

pabo ta 1. v to destroy
2. when all sticks are knocked
down (hit) in top game
(luabu taboo padane ada piaga
pabo ta: they are all hit but
one so knock it down)
Cf. ratu ta

1pada n room of a house
(go ada pada waru iapulu mada
patalima: there is plenty of
room in this house so we can
sleep here)
Cf. alaa

2pada (E) v to claim for oneself

padaa pia 1. to be fat
2. to be pregnant
also to robea (S)
Cf. rarane pia
padala  n  cassowary bone used for magical purposes [such as love spells on women, in cures for sorcery, etc.]

padane  a]  one; pamed (E), komea, komekome (S)   (padanea: the same kind)   Cf. komea, egataa

padane ma  a]  only one, just one   Cf. aipi, kerepene

padane ropaa n  a type of armband

padane yae n  things the same (go balinu luabumi padane yae agu imi: whitemen have things just alike)   Cf. medaa yae

padanea pia  to be alone, by itself

pada-raaketa  v  to be obstinate; padetyaa (E)

pade (E,S) n  a var. of tree

padea  v  to shred off dried pandanus skin, to husk (mogo aga ini padea sape: husk the pandanus fruit)

padi n  the generic term for any edible grass stalk [Setaria palmaefolia var.]

padola  v  to sharpen; paya, padala (E,S)   (kepo padola: to sharpen fence posts)   Cf. pona

1 padota n  tab name for the tree kangaroo, maapuna

2 padota  n  a type of cockatoo [said to be deaf]   Cf. yaako

1 pae  marker for all sentences

2 pae (W)  question marker   Cf. palo

3 pae (E) n  [Myrsinaceae var.]

paga  v  to hear, listen; panga (S)

pagaa  v  1. to put inside of 2. to tuck under; panga sia (S) (ninomo neme aakopara pagaa: hide my money in your bark belt; mapagaa yae: something for putting articles in)

pagaa pia  v  to be pregnant [animals]   Cf. madia pia

pagasa  v  to hide something

page  also, and; pange (S)

page-pi (E) n  tab word for blood in Ribe ceremony

pagipi n  an alt name for the palo-palo var. of banana

pago n  a var. of tree [edible nuts]

pagolo n  gorge, depressions that water follows, etc.   Cf. kanapu, kukuulu, awaro

pago-ode n  nut shells tied together and used as decorations on spirit houses

pai  n  the New Guinea oak tree [Fagaceae, Lithocarpus or Fagaceae, Castanopsis Acuminatissima; when bearing nuts, flocks of birds come to eat; at certain times the nuts are very prevalent and eaten in great quantities]   Cf. yawe

pai-lobaina n  a var. of sugar-cane with large stalk [large leaves and a lot of juice]
Paima-loke n. a frog similar to the kenome [considered to be its 'mother'; loses its 'tail' like a lizard and turns into a frog; colours resemble dried leaves]

Paima-loke n. a var. of mushroom [two sub-var. depending on the size and colour: the white one is not eaten but is used as decoration in the hair by men, the edible var. grows on oak tree branches]

*Painapolo n. the common pineapple [Ananas comosus]

Pai-rekepeala n. type of bird [lit. to shred the pai] (go repena pai ini etea raburi mo yaa pai-rakepeala ipua nabeme: when the pai nuts are ripe the birds pai-rekepeala come and eat them up) Cf. gigaa

Pai-riali (S) n. a snake

Pai-yabala n. a var. of mushroom which grows on the pai tree [similar to the momani except that it is white]

Paka (E) v. design

Pakena-lomaria n. [Moraceae, Ficus var.]

Pakipaki pu (E) v. to encircle

Pakira n. a common name for rat [used mainly in E and S but also known in W] Cf. kamanagae, wasa

Pakopako (E) n. waist

Paku n. [Rubiaceae var.]

1 Pakua n. sunlight on side of mountain, just before dusk (sogo pore madaa pakua salare gae talo pia: there is bright sun up on the mountain but it is getting dark) Cf. pore Yamato

2 Pakua v. to swat oneself with nettles

(nena bipa raara pakua: swat yourself with nettles) Cf. paakua, yodota

Palaa n. 1. thigh 2. tree branch Cf. alaa 3. pitpit on roof that grass is fastened to

2 Palaa n. Pand lang for tree, firewood, fire, root, etc.

Palaa-kuta n. the name given to commercial blankets Cf. *pi lagasi

Palaa reketapae an insult for someone who walks toes-out also ke paleba pi

Palainawa v. never mind, leave it alone (niri abia epope lame pare napuluga palainawa: they said I should go but I'm not so forget it) Cf. gimaa, repaa, inala

Palagi n. number 8 (body part system); palangi (S)

*Palawa n. flower

Pale n. the black sickle-billed Bird of Paradise Cf. bulu-bula

Palea n. a var. of sweet potato [considered ancestral]

Palebea v. 1. to spread open as a net bag 2. hold hands up as in fright

Palo or, perhaps; pe (S) (go mena siri ni ana pale: I think that piglet may be ours) Cf. pae
1. **palo-palo** n  
A short hardwood tree commonly used for house-building [*Moraceae, Ficus* var.; fruit is small and round; leaves are small and sweet; tree grubs are found in it and the bark is used for making string, alt name *pagi-pi*]  
*Cf. palo-palo*

2. **palo-palo** n  
A var. of banana [*small, dark-coloured stalk, eaten ripe or in earth ovens*]  
*palo-rote* n  
A small-sized cassowary

*palu* (E) a grove of Pandanus trees

*palubia* v  
To cut, break in two  
*Cf. modo pea*

*pamakini* n  
Any introduced var. of pumpkin [*Cucurbita pepo*]

*pama ne* to eat something alone, by itself

1. **pameda** n  
A large edible white grubworm found in trees [*found by observing the holes and consequent sawdust in trees; cooked in bamboos or earth ovens*]  
*Cf. wapaga*

2. **pameda** (E) one; **padane** (W)

*pameda-iri-pati* n  
A var. of the common grubworm

*pameda-riti* n  
A bug with a hinged head [*children play games by asking questions and watching its head shake*]

*pamo* (S) n  
Any married woman;  
*ona* (W), *winya* (E), *wena* (Kagua area)

*pamogo* n  
Hip area, buttocks;  
*palimo* (E)

*pamua* v  
To walk, travel

-pana suffix denoting 1 dl inclusive in the first of coordinate clauses which are identical in participants

1. **pana** n  
Leaves used to cushion a heavy load  
(akoreme nene pasaa nalia pana mua ria: the cargo will pain your shoulder so get a cushion to carry it)  
*Cf. ralage*

2. **pana** n  
Old net apron [new apron is worn over it]

3. **pana** n  
Sweet potato mound; *yame* (E); *kalu, pae, rama* (S)  
*Cf. modo*

4. **pana** v  
To form a compost heap

*panaa* n  
1. The old pandanus leaves still hanging which [*used to wrap around the nuts*]  
2. Shell of pandanus nut

*pana pa* to serve a meal, to put food out on plates; *pana pea* (E,S)

*paneaa* v  
To clear out, clear away

*paninie* n  
Pand lang for big, etc.

*pandiia* dry season

*pano* n  
Generic term for duck  
*Cf. kaluga, kakua-usu*

*pa-osi* n  
Tab name for leaf in Ribu ceremony

*papa* n  
Mother's co-wife, etc.

*pape* (E) n  
Fence

*papeaa* (E) n  
Ribs

*papola* n  
Large dark bird which lives in the forest [*Mid-Mountain Melidectcs ?*]

*papora* n  
[*Myrsinaceae, prob. Ardisia var.*]

*papora-aani* n  
A var. of tree [*leaves are used for decorations*]

-para locational; conjointer of noun phrases

*para* n  
A var. of sugarcane [very large with long leaves and tough skin]
para a n taro shoots which come up after harvesting
para a la (E) v to come up, grow up
para a ti (E) v to be flat-shaped, square, etc.
para ai n a tadpole type of fish [found only near the surface of the water, caught in net bags and cooked in bamboo containers]; kauwa puru (E)
paralo aji 1. uneven, bent misshapen
2. toed-in or bow-legged so that one appears short also palea (E), paralo paralo (S)
(paralo ne aa: a flat-footed man)
para-para n a vine used for fastening things [prob. Vitaceae var.; a similar var. is called para-para-aani]
para-para-aani n [Vitaceae, prob. Cayratia var.]
para-para-ro n a very long snake (coils up to sleep, coloured black or brown, people are afraid of them)
parata v 1. to split open, as a tree when falling 2. to slap together; paratya (E,S)
parata kipiae n something which is flat-shaped
parati yae n rectangular or square-shaped
1 pare marker for antithetical sentences: but, however; lena (E,S)
(ni pono kone salo pare...: I want to go but...) 
2 pare n partly burned piece of firewood (go ia repena pare aapina ya: whose piece of firewood is this) Cf. rekepena
3 pare n type of slate used to make stone axes
pare-ata n a type of tree
pare-kepeta n [prob. Berseaeaceae var.]
1 parepa n a softwood tree commonly used in housebuilding [Myrsinaceae, Macea; there are two kinds: one with large leaves, the other with small ones]
2 parepa n a very large pandanus [tough nuts which are not eaten]
3 parepa v 1. to break off a bone Cf. wago plia, agopata 2. to chip wood, etc.; karepa (E,S) Cf. are parepea v to buy
paria n 1. the stand made around the pandanus tree [built so that the owner can reach the leaves to cover over the nuts] 2. prepare to husk or tie pandanus nuts (aga paria tulalo: wanting to knock the pandanus husk off) 3. rafters
paro n old broad bean type
paru n a tree with var. sub-names according to its leaves [Lauracea, Cyptocauya var.; most commonly has leaves which are white underneath and green on top; another name is menarobaa: (pig stomach); leaves are used on the houses and as a rump covering]
paru-paru flap wings, beat wings together Cf. bibau
pasaa n shoulder
pasaa pege pi aji a hunch-back, someone who walks with hunched shoulders
pasalo n a large strong marsupial [found well into the forest area; similar to Matschie's Tree Kangaroo] also aari-yapa, yapi-agi
*pasare n the Catholic mission
   Cf.

*pasare kadipi a Catholic priest

*pasi n a letter, mail

1 pata n [Sapindaceae var.]

2 pata n type of slate stone used
to make stone axes

3 pata (E) formerly a tab word
   for ear

4 pata v to sleep, close eyes;
   patya (E), palia (S)
   (patalala pamiaa: transient
   [i.e. one who goes around
   sleeping]; mapata: to jail;
   yada patapa: to cease fighting)
   Cf. adupia

pata-agi n a frog which is con-     
   sidered very edible [usually
   found in the water, but a brown
   var. is found in the forest;
   another var. white underneath,
   green on top]

pataba v be bent over, lie down;
   patyapa (E), palu paba (S)
   (ada reke rolo para paina pataba:
   bend down and get it under the
   house)

pata pata v to creep stealthily
   (pake nolalo pata pata epepe:
   those who want to steal, crawl
   along on their hands and knees)
   Cf. yarua lala popame

pata-puti n a bird type
   Cf. kisa-kisa

pata waduna v to light a bush
   torch

pau n a swamp
   Cf. kege

paulua pae adj steep place
   (go suri ora paulua pae pare
   agu puluma: this place is
   really steep but we can make
   it)

*paura n powder

pauraa v to burn, scorch, wilt

*pausi n any small pouch, a
   wallet, etc.

1 pawa n electricity, generator,
   etc.

2 pawa n the brown pine tree
   [Podocarpaceae, Podocarpus
   nereifolius; a sought after
   tree for pit-sawing; leaves
   like the mano tree, fruit
   (seeds) like those on the kama
   tree]

paya (E) v to sharpen

payabo pea v to be crooked, bent
   askew
   (go kopo payabo pea: this fence
   is crooked)
   Cf. kano pi, paaki pi, waagasu
   pi, kai pi

payame n tab word for woman in
   Ribu ceremony

1-pe 2, 3 dl, Pa, Set I

2-pe imm imp marker

3-pe nominaliser
   (na-pe: for eating [i.e.
   edible or food])

pe n 1. the generic term for
   bamboo [Bambusa sp]
   also karía (E), kenange (S)
   Cf. aria, tau
   2. any container for water, etc.
   (go pere oyae pape: this
   container is for putting things
   in)

pe abulu n the husk of a bamboo

pea v to make, do

peaalua n white ashes of fire;
   peakula (E,S)
   Cf. taga, pere

pea dumu (E) little decorative
   holes on men's noses

peae n cheek; pae (E), pae (S)

1 peago (E) [Commolinaceae,
   Desmodium]
peago n a var. of edible green
found in the forest [two sub-
var. depending on the colour;
eaten with raanij]; peango (S)

peago n any shoots for planting;
peango (S)

pea paka (E) to be angry
(kadipi alimi kana adaapu
nakateare pea pakeme: if the
white man doesn't give us a
lot of money we are angry)

pea poa (E) v to pout

peawisi n a small brown bird
found only in the forest [var.
of Pitohui ?]

pea-yawe a a black marsupial
found in the forest [when
touched wiggles and rolls to
escape]

pea yawa yaina swelling similar
to mumps

pebalu n a bird arrow made from
pitpit
Cf. sekaalu

pebaro n a green bird with white
on its neck and ears [var. of
Kingfisher; fairly large and
long, lives near garden areas,
eats mainly lizards and
crickets]
Cf. amari

pebe n a leaf used like sand-
paper

pebera v 1. to shove, push
2. intercourse

pebetakua n a small brown and
white bird that flies in flocks
[seen especially in the morning
drinking dew on the grass, lives
in swordgrass; similar to Grey-
Headed Mannikin]

peodo-pedo n a var. of edible
green [two sub-var. depending
on the colour; much like koba]

peodo pi aip a to be happy, pleased
(neme sekere adaapu sua pedo pi:
I have many pearl shells and am
happy)
Cf. raana pia, aipa la

peodo rukuli (E) n dumb, unable
to speak

pege pa v to fold up, bend over,
hunch, squeeze, bunch up,
knead; pege pa (S)
(rumu pege pa: to bend the
knees; lapalapa pege pa: fold
up the clothes)
Cf. koba pa

peke n pig wallow

peke pa to wallow in mud

pela v 1. to get from inside
something
(kabe rogo pela: remove a
pitpit from that bundle)
2. pierce through something as
with a nail
Cf. opaa

pelaapa v to take away
Cf. opapa

pelepele v to turn around and
around, as something hanging
from a rope; to spin

pelepele apalae lopa to turn
end for end in the air and
fall down

*peleta n a dish-like container

pema (E) n [Gramineae var.]

pema-raani n a var. of edible
green which is yellowish
coloured; fuzzy leaves

penaa aijd 1. young, not ripe
2. new, still in process of

penala v to send away
(mea penalia: he will take it)
Cf. otaa, rapaa, moyaa

pename aap a loafer, playboy

pepe n a softwood tree [greenish
branches and leaves; used for
firewood and housebuilding;
very small fruit]

pepeasa n a moss found on trees;
also the common name var.
[Spiridens]

*penesolo n a pencil
also *penesole
Ipepemina v to mix up a substance such as pig fat, charcoal and tree oil

2pepemina v to paint on, spread on, rub on
(reme para marasini pepemina: paint medicine on the sore)
Cf. iara

1 pepena aj straight tree, wood, person
(pepena naaki: tall boy)

2 pepena n a softwood tree with dark texture [full of sap, small leaves, bears fruit occasionally throughout the year]

3 pepena n decorations; au (E,S)
(mo ana pepena eperupa pea: that man's decorations are really nice)
Cf. au

pepena pa to decorate

pepeso la to roll around or slide around so that something is difficult to grasp; pepe repea, pepe yolea (E), pepeyo la (S)
(epe pepeso ne yae: something smooth, or slippery)

pepeto n stones used around fireplaces

pepe-yawe n a fairly softwood with a hard centerwood
[Euphorbiaceae, Macaranga var.; small prickly thorns, large leaves, seeds like those of cordyline leaves] also pepe-awe

1pepo n fuzz

2pepo n a var. of pitpit which is ancestral [so named because of the large amount of fuzz on it]

3pepo n a var. of moss

peraa aj side, edge
(adapeeraa: along the side of a house)

peragalapua an abusive term for dogs which only want to sleep near the fire

perani n ribs; perali (E,S)
(peraninane pira: to sit next to someone; perani unagi: broken ribs)
Cf. paapeaa

perani kope awa rib pain or pneumonia

pere n ashes
Cf. taga, peaalua

perea v to grab away from, retrieve
(yada perea: to stop a fight; perene aa: helping warrior)
Cf. pere ria

perealopaa v to shove down into
Cf. oralopaa

perekeav 1. to turn around;
werepea (E)
Cf. moropea
2. to turn inside out, as clothes

pereketa v to bear
(nina para otaaku pereketa: there are plenty of cucumbers in my garden)
Cf. etea, eta

perene v to roll away; perere (E,S)

perepa v to cook sweet potato in ashes
Cf. pusa

pere-pere n a softwood tree;
[Symplocaceae, Symplocos var.; dark in texture, small leaves, white fruit]

pere-pere-aani n [Euphorbiaceae, Aporusa papuana]

pereria v to snatch, grab away from
(nina mea sae saapirano pereria: I had a piece of pig and he grabbed it)
Cf. perea

peri n [Symplocaceae, Macaranga var.]
peso n top of tin, bottle, etc. (nogo ipapara puna omalia peso pua sa: the fly will die in the water so put the top in it)  
Cf. kaape

pete pia to lick

peto n Adam's apple, throat; pedo (E,S)  
Cf. yalima ini

peto pu n oesophagus; pedo pu (E)

peto-regepe minata to be hoarse

peto-yobe m a var. of sweet potato [red skin and leaves, considered very sweet]

pia v to shoot  
Cf. modo pea

pida (E) n flattery

pidi lalo la sound of wallaby as it jumps away

pidipi m slippery, loose  
(go repena pidipi pidipi ta: this tree is really slippery; pidipi taboa pua: it was slippery and got away)

pidi-rai m a yellow or brownish-coloured moss [found on trees; mixed with pig fat and put on the hair]

pig i n center upright housepost; pingi (S)

*pilagasi n blanket  
Cf. palaa-kuta

*palaka mea pa aria aa summonser  
[i.e. one who carried the piece of wood with the coin attached to it]

*pilake n a flag

pila-pala n 1. rope made out of woven cane  
2. small chain

pili m a hardwood tree [small leaves which have fuzz on them, bark is stripped to make rope for pig tethers; grows very crooked]

pili-mada m [prob. Ulmaceae var.]

pina-epera m a var. of taro  
[white tuber, when matured has many tubers branching from it]

1pinama-nama m lower edge of lip  
Cf. agaa ria

2pinama-nama loud noise of crowd, etc.  
(onaa luabu kirtaemepulu agaa adaapu loa pinama nama lo kipita: because of the big crowd there is a lot of noise  
Cf. karua

pina-pina m a small var. of parrot [accompanies the mu on its migrations, looks like the pebetakua]

*pinata n the introduced peanut  
Cf. kaliapo, katopa

pinawa v never mind; pinyawa (E)

pini m number 11 (body part system)

1pinia m a var. of taro [very large, straight, skin is black]

2pinia m a var. of sweet potato, the largest of all [yellow skin, long leaves, lot of juice, used in trade, also called awaa]

pinipini (E) n unfamiliar talk, talk secretly

pinya-pinya (E) m [Laureacea, Cystocarya var.; prob. pina-pina in W]

*pipaa n paper

piparape aj var. form for adaa ape

pipi m water gum tree [Myntaceae, Eugenis var.]

Cf. marabe, kole

pipiki m cowrie shell neck ornament  
Cf. kipaa, pokai

pipina m a hardwood tree [like the naapu casuarina but with different shaped branches, difficult to split]
pipita n  dew
(gore yai naepade pare
kalapara gipia pipita ia:
 it didn't rain but there is
dew on the ground from the
frost)
Cf. kalapara, radaki

pipitu n  a var. of mushroom
which grows in the forest
(sweet-salty taste, black on
top and white underneath;
crumble easily so are only
cooked slightly with leaves
of the pandanus)

pira v  to sit down

piraa n  rafters

1piri aj  old, worn out
(nu eta madi piri mea epope:
bring the old net bag for
carrying food)

2piri  where someone is located
[from verb pira]
(nipu piri pu: go where he is)

piribia v  1. to break off a
piece of something
  2. to crumble as ground
(maa ogegepu piribia: break
off a small piece of taro)
Cf. kodea, rukia, piripia,
pulubia

pirimi (E) n  nail

pirinala v  to leave it
(kimi saapirua gipaliare gore
pirinala: if you hold it by
hand and want to quit allright,
let it go)
Cf. mapira

piripia n  var. of piribia

piru n  a var. of mushroom, con-
sidered the best [white on top,
yellow underneath and on the
stem, grows exclusively on oak
trees, one sub-var. is called
watadekali]

piru-aani n  a var. of mushroom
[similar to the piru; cooked
with greens in bamboo]

*pisanisa kogono n  any work or
enterprise which people pay
money willingly for

*pisilaina n  fishline

pisu n  a var. of sweet potato
[dark leaves, brown skin, white
firm tuber, very sweet; also
called bisu]

1pita n  a small rat [said to
be the mother of the wasa;
underneath is white with darker
hair on top, esp at the base of
its ears]

2pita n  hardwood tree [two kinds
one with fuzz at the top of the
tree; bark is stripped to make
net bags but the string is not
considered to be good]
Cf. palo-palo

1pitaa n  root; pityaa (E)

pitaa iri n  eyelashes; pityaa
(E), pida iri (S)

2pitaa v  to hang up
(yai ramuaga tawale so repena
madaa pitaa: hang the towel
on the tree so it won't mold)
Cf. mudia

pita-roto n  [Moraceae, Ficus
var.]

po n  wind, air; po (S)

pota n  air in a ball

1poa v  to repeatedly strike at
or through something, hence
  1. to chop
    (repena poa: to chop wood;
naaki poa: to hit the boy with
an axe)
Cf. regepa, bulapoa
  2. to plant
    (maapu poa: to plant the
garden)
Cf. yaria

2poa v  to close, fasten
(ena meamina ipa poa: dam off
the water so we can get fish)
Cf. garula, moga

po-ada n  tab word for a smoke
pipe in Ribu ceremony

pobere-kagu n  [prob. Saxifragaceae,
Dichroa var.]
pobolo n  eyebrow

pode av  almost
  (pode lopawa: I almost fell
down)

1podea n  small hole in house

2podea v  to cut (hair)

1podo  reflection
  (waru podo ne uba: a bright
  star)

2podo n  a var. of parrot

podopea v  1. to make a hole
  2. to force a way through
  something
  (mename ora waepara podopeta
  popea: the pig goes along
  making a way through hard
  places)
  Cf. rulupita
  3. take away part of something,
  as a house
  Cf. robea

podo podo ne ajp  reflection of
  anything from the sun: shell,
  axe, mirror, airplane, quartz,
  a white bird, etc.

podoro n  a small parrot [prob.
  the Dusky Orange Lory; red on
  the head and neck area, black
  underneath, tail feathers
  fairly long and used for dec-
  orations; cry is tete]

pogaa n  1. base of pandanus leaf
  from which other leaves sprout
  2. fruit wrapped with leaves to
  keep marauders away

pogata n  a softwood tree
  [Elaeocarpaceae, Elatocarpus
  polydactylus; grows very
  straight and is therefore
  sought for housebuilding, bark
  is shredded, leaves turn red-
  dish when it is dry]

pogo ta v  1. to tie or twist
  together
  (poga waru tamama pua pusitimi:
  they make the (rope) by twisting
  it as they go along)
  2. to secure with rope; poga
  tya (E), ponga pia (S)
  Cf. wakepata

poganane the underneath part of
  a mushroom

1poge (E) n  [Lauraceae,
  Chrysolepis var.]

2poge n  a striped-breasted bird
  [similar to Lawes' Six-Wired
  Bird of Paradise]

1pogo n  club

2pogo v  to get loose from (ger)
  (ni pogo su: I jumped before)

pogala v  to jump, to spring;
  pongolaa (S)

pogolasa v  to jump on
  (so repena palaa mataa pogolasa:
  jump up on the top of that
  branch)
  Cf. kabula, agula, rolari pamea

poka n  a medium-sized fish
  [found in dirty and flooding
  water; caught by diverting the
  main stream and collecting them
  in small stagnant pools of water]

pokaalo n  lean-to, temporary
  house such as food shelter
  built next to longhouse;
  ponokaa (E), keakola ada (S)

pokai n  neck shell ornament
  also kipoi (S)
  Cf. kipa, pipiki

pokamu rami (E) n  type of men's
  head covering [made from matya
  tree]

pokasawea n  a type of hawk [does
  not have much meat on it, white
  in the stomach area and blackish
  elsewhere]
1 poke n a small tree which bears fruit which is cooked with fern leaves [Melastomataceae, prob. Medinilla; leaves are small and white on underside]

2 poke n pig meat, cut located near stomach; konge (S)

pokiki n wind
Cf. poripu

pola v to break, crack as glass (pelete polataba: the plate has broken; aga aana madaa lopoa polataba: the pandanus nut fell on a stone and split open)
Cf. atubia, rerepa

po la to blow
Cf. magula

pole (E,S) n common variety of grass; yamala (W)

pole-yamala n an imported grass from the south [when in seed it has two or three branches]

pole-yapale n a var. of tough inedible wild cane mayapa [resembles domestic sugarcane, used for a var. of purposes; also called kole-yapale]

*polisimano n the police

polo n front of the house

polo-adaalu n [Pteridophyte, Asplenium nidus]

polo asubaanu n the first in the line of headmen at the Ribu ceremony [responsible for the fire making ceremony, the flutes, etc.]

polopea 1. v to cross, e.g. wood beams (ada pi gi madaa polopea: cross them over the centre pole; polopeba: turn it straight across) 2. the cross in Scripture (repena polopea: the wooden cross)
Cf. kadataa

polo-polo n [Rubiaceae, prob. Psychotria]

pomo pia (E) v to breathe fast, be breathless
-pona 1 dl, dp, suc, n-term

pona v 1. to sharpen
Cf. padola
2. to slice through something at an angle (kabe pona: cut the pitpit)
3. to scrape as to remove potato skins

ponesupa (E) n light (ni ponesupa salo: I put the light on)

ponokaa (E) n lean-to, skillion roof

popaa n wings
Cf. kopaa

popea v to move, run, as water in a stream

1pokeke n right-hand
Cf. ora-ki

2pokeke n kinship term for men married to sisters
Cf. ameke, kokepe

popolo ta to burp (puri pane *bisikete nema raburi popolo ta: when we eat hard biscuits we burp)
Cf. kitu kaatu ta, kalalu ta

popo pia to be hot, steaming, breathless; pomo pia (E) (ipa ti popo waru pea: the tea is steaming hot)
Cf. kekapu pia, riripu pia

popo pupuba to exhaust all of the air

1pora aj ripe (pore: to have ripened)
Cf. balu ra

2pora n a large grey-coloured tree [Rhamnaceae, Alphitonia var.; leaves used for posterior covering; bark is stripped for use]

3pora n a large pandanus [many spines on the leaves, yellow nut eaten raw or cooked]
pora n a var. of victory leaf [two sub-var. depending on the texture of the leaf; yellowish-coloured, used in earth ovens]

pora n 1. a door
2. a road, path
  (poranane: near the road; poranini: along the road; poralulu: along all the roads; pora rana misimi: shortcut)
  Cf. peraa, sapu

pora barara n any government road
  Cf. waaka, barara

pora gaape n alt for door
  (abiare'ina adakaagamaadaa pora gaape warita pulu: I am going to make a door for my new house)
  Cf. gaape

pora-alo n type of wood cockroach [found in rotting logs, etc.]

porai n a var. of mushroom [found in new kunai near gardens, coloured black and yellow, cooked in bamboos]

poralora (E) v to guard, watch over; suruba (W)

pora mabo a np messengers for head men

poraroro n a small var. of mushroom [found on the pora tree and on dry pandanus trees, red and white, eaten raw if it is new]

porawe n a spiny marsupial found in the Sugu River area [does not have a tail; quills are used to make arrow tips]

porawi n a var. of sugarcane [large dark-coloured stalk, long leaves, very juicy]

1 pore aj ripe

2 pore n mountain; kaari (E), kana, kepo (S)
  Cf. aari, rudu, maasa

porea aj colour: brown, yellowish-brown; maata pi (E,S)

pore-nogo n a var. of sweet potato [white tuber, very sweet]

pore-rea n a strong-smelling fern [white coloured along the tips, two var. depending on the amount of fuzz on them]

poreyamato n 1. lightning
  Cf. aari yapa, aari tala
  2. sunlight on mountainside at dusk
  Cf. pakua

poripu n wind
  Cf. pokiki

poripu agaa n gossip [lit. wind-talk]

poro n a softwood tree [bark used for belts, grey-white in colour]

pororo (E) n a var. of parrot

1 pota v to chop; potya (E)

2 pota v to blow air into something; bota (E), buta (S)
  (poyasa: be full of air)

potaa n pig bladder; putupaa (E,S)

potare (E) n trouble

potelema n pimples on face or skin, a wart; potaloma (E,S)

1 poto n [Pteridophyte, Polypodium var.]

2 poto n a var. of lichen

3 poto glare from mirror or shiny object

poto-poto to shine, as shells when sun hits them; gleam, glare

poto pia v 1. to cut out the 'eye' of pandanus nut
  2. to be bald

poya ki n alt for koya ki
poya kipame lapo rata madita aa
np a tricky or deceitful per-
son who says one thing and does
another

¹ pu n a handle which can be
pulled on

² pu n urine

³ pu n 1. the liver
  2. for certain feelings, the
emotional centre; pu (S)

pu aaripina to be disobedient

pu epeta to be pleased [i.e.
the liver says good]

pu-imu n heart or liver

pu-imu udinaa to be dead

pu kau pa sala pia someone who
is about to die; having dif-
culty in breathing

pu kone adaapu sa to be worried,
expectant

pu kupa piaa pia to be tired
[i.e. the liver has blood]

pu mataa to tease, fool

pu nala to be upset or sick [i.e.
the liver is being eaten]

pu omaa to be disappointed [i.e.
the liver is dead]

pu ota to do bad work [i.e. the
liver is bad]

pu oyala pity

pu payaba to be scattered about,
as people

pu pogolasa be be frightened
[i.e. the liver has jumped up]

pu (imu) raala to burn one's
throat with a hot drink [i.e.
burned liver]

pu raana pia to be happy

pu radaa pia 1. to be in pain,
feel poorly [i.e. the liver
pains]
  2. to be hard-hearted

pu rede pia to be happy [the
liver is sweet]

pu rekaa to be excited [i.e.
the liver stands up]

pu rero pia 1. to be in pain,
feel poorly [i.e. the liver
is bitter]
  2. to be hard-hearted

pu rokeya to breathe labouredly
[i.e. failing liver]

pu rolari pamea to be frightened
also pu-imu rolala puua

pu runane agaa tea to be soft-
spoken [i.e. to speak in the
liver]

pu udinaa to die [i.e. the liver
is extinguished]
also pu-imu udinaa, pu uduna

pu u patea to be lazy [i.e. the
liver is sleeping]

pu yala pia to be full of pity
[i.e. the liver is ashamed]

pu yola to entice to fight [i.e.
to pull the liver]

⁴ pu v to go

pubawa v to be finished
(e kepo pubata palua: I am
going to finish working on the
fence; ripima pua ekeraa
pubaiepa: start now, finish
tomorrow)
Cf. pu kiritawa, pu paru

pubu n a small type of Swift
which lives in holes in stones
or in holes in logs [legend has
it that long ago when these
birds wanted to land, they
alighted on the kalamu tree
which has many thorns. This
hurt their legs so they never
land in trees because they
think all trees are thorny;
similar to the rumina]
Cf. magata

pudu n 1. tab word for sun in
some areas
Cf. naare, paaku
  2. (E) tab word for sun, moon
tongue at former times
pudia \( \text{v} \)
1. to pull out weeds
2. to cut as hair; podea (E,S)
Cf. rasa

pudiapa n a tab name for any dog
which is a good hunter [lit.
its makes the fur come out]

pudinya (E) n [Pandanaceae, Pandanu var.]

pudi-pudine m fright from heights
(niri no rudu pudi-pudi ne
popawa: I walked along the
spur of the ridge)

1pudu (E,S) n perspiration;
ekata (W)
(rataa par pema rabu pudu waru
maditima: when we climb the
steep hill we really sweat)

2pudu n sharp point of something
Cf. eke, rugi

pudua la (E) impure talk

1pugu n a common black frog
[found in the water or forest,
emits a foul-smelling fluid
when picked up]

2pugu n pandanus skin

3pugu n smell, odour
(go pugu pupula yaere mena iri
ira leme paya: I think that
smell is from singeing the pig's
hair)
Cf. kaa

pugu kaka ria to smell something
 carried by the wind, etc.

pugu-kega n \( \text{[Piperaceae, Piper var.]} \)

puguna \( \text{v} \)
1. to lift off or away
2. to tear down as a house
(poripumi ada yagi puguna:
the wind blew the grass off the
house)
3. to put on or off as a hat;
lodea (E), ladea (S)
Cf. ludia

pukamaa 1. floor of a house
2. passageway, hallway, aisle

puki n the quandong tree
[Elaeocarpaceae, Elaeocarpus;
not a hardwood, considered one
which does not retain coals
very well]
Cf. kera

pu kiritawa \( \text{v} \) to be finished
Cf. kera

pula \( \text{v} \) to get rid of someone
(go eta kuku nogo pupitagi
naadaa ada pula: the female dom-
estic servant got in trouble
so she was sent home)

pulaa n tail
(go yaana iri pulaa ragoea:
the tail of this bird is really
crooked)
Cf. pulu

*pulagesi n alt for blanket
Cf. *pilagasi

pulakea \( \text{v} \) to break off
(nina etaa pulakea rabu rubawa:
when my arrow broke I threw it
away)
Cf. kopea, karia, ebepea, kaba,
ugia, rugula

pulake ta m noise of tree
creaking, etc.
(abiare apo repena pulake ta
goea paysa: now this tree made
a noise so I think it is breaking)
Cf. leke ta

puliae m string rolled on thigh
-pulu marker for causal sentences

1pulu n 1. a tail
Cf. pulaa
2. ends of grass, victory leaves,
etc.
(go aana aapu pulu ora adaalu:
that man's leaves are really
long)

2pulu (E) divining spell causing
blood to appear at the mention
of offender's name

pulubia \( \text{v} \) to break into pieces;
atubia (E)
Cf. piribia, kodea, piripia,
rukia
pulubimina v to crush up something, as sweet potato
Cf. regepemina, asaaminia

1 puluma n \(Pteridophyte\) var.

2 puluma n a grass found near gardens and in the forest [used for decorating gables of houses]

3 puluma n a very high flying bird [characteristically in flocks; make a sound like rushing of wind as they come; prob. a type of Dove]

4 puluma n waste around house [e.g. pieces of sugarcane, etc.]

purame (E, S)

puluma kiape n a broom
Cf. maapu ripu

pulu-pulu n fern tree \(\text{Cyatheaceae, Cyathea}\)

1 puna n the generic term for any type of fly; punya (E, S)
Cf. wasagi

2 puna v to shepherd
Cf. suruba

puna-alubi n a type of stinging bee [painful, leaving the stinger (ini) in the skin]
Cf. alubi

puniaa v 1. to drown
2. to go down; punya (E)

punu n a long-nosed marsupial [makes its home near paths]

punu-palaa n a marsupial [similar to the wamea but with long legs]

pupa v to move along as water in a riverbed

pupalae madini yae np birthmark [lit. as a result of birth]

pu paru v to be finished
Cf. pubawa, pu kiritawa

pu pa yaba v to escape when about to be caught

pupitagi m 1. difficult
(abiare nina maapupara pupitagi waru noa ipulu: I have really been working hard in my garden before I came)
Cf. kalae
2. sin, trouble also potare (E)
(pupitagi nape aa: a sinner)

pupitu pia to be selfish
Cf. udipu kone

pupulu tea to flower
(mali rana meda rabu repen a pupulu tea: in another year the tree will blossom)

pupusi m a small dark bird [a var. of Thrush?; a long tail, lives in shrubs and small trees]

pupu u pupu u ta the cry of the maasa bird

pura (E) n 1. covering over earth oven
2. leaves which decorate the gables of houses

purame (E) n refuse

puri aj strong, energetic
(ipa ro adiape repen a puri paloa yola: pull the trees for this bridge vigourously)
Cf. irula

puri pa to be strong

puri yola pata to be difficult to pull out, as feathers from a bird

puri-pata n a small var. of sugarcane [resembles the inedible cane pole-yapale]

pu-roke n a var. of mushroom [grows on the pai tree, large and yellowish; reserved for adults only]

1 puru n \(Pteridophyte\), Dipteris novoguineensis

2 puru n a var. of plant [leaves used as decoration along gable edge of house]; purulaa, puru (E), pula (S) also pulu
Cf. kulu
3 puru (E) n bank, ledge

(ipa puru: rapids)

puru aata n chills, malaria
(go puru yainare ewa adapara
epea: this chill sickness
comes from Erave)
Cf. igigi ata, pururu pia

puru-gauwake n minnows and
tadpoles caught when water is
low; puru-gauwa (E)

purumi (E) divide in equal parts

puru pia v 1. to portion out
2. to display; pudu pia (E)

purupina ia n left-overs;
purupinya aya (E)
(purupina pa salia: there is
plenty, unable to use all;
repena purupina medialoma ia:
is there any wood left over)
Cf. ana aya, pa suaya

pururu pia 1. to shake, have
chills, etc.
(su pururu: earthquake (E))
Cf. igigi ata, puru ata
2. to be frightened
Cf. paala pia

puru yagipoopaa armband used
by an important man

1 pusa n covering on an earth
oven
also ogere ubu (S)

2 pusa v to cook sweet potato in
ashes
Cf. perepa

3 pusa v to roll string; kusa (S)
*pusikete n the European cat
Cf. yapaposo

putapa (E) n a toilet

1 puti m a var. of mushroom [two
sub-var., the eke-yasa which is
red and the ora-puti which is
white; grows on softwood trees]

2 puti m a group or collection of
people, trees, etc.
(ipu puti: a meadow; repena
puti: a forest)

duti-olasuba m a large owl
[prob. the Papuan Hawk Owl;
yellow claws about the colour
of old leaves]

puti poa v 1. to bloodlet
(yada pua tipara poyoria epeaga
puti poa: since it has swollen
up from being hit in the fight,
let the blood out)
Cf. aare pa
2. to release pressure

putupa (E) n a gall bladder

Ra

-ra (E) father of referent [from
aaraa father]

1 raa 1. bush or forest area
2. wild; kapaa (S)
(raa mena: wild pig)

2 raa n cassowary quills, from
the wing area

3 raa v 1. to be overflowing, as
a stream
(ipa raa: to be in flood)
2. to be completely cooked, as
food, or boiling as water
(sapi rea: the sweet potato is
cooked)
3. as an existential verb, to
emit
(aima raa: discharge of pus;
u pu: to urinate; i raa:
to defecate; sope laapoo raalo:
I spit twice; pu maraaria: to
be frightened into urinating
[as by a spirit]

raa-ega m a large fern found in
the forest
raake n a wild pandanus var. 
[leaves used to make umbrellas] 
Cf. raako

raake pea v 1. to husk, shed skin, etc. 
Cf. rapura
2. to cast out a demon or to have a demon exercised 
also lokola (S)

raako n a var. of wild pandanus 
Cf. raake

raako pia v 1. to roll or fold up as an umbrella 
2. to roll and shape the pandanus leaves to make a rain-shield

raale n top used in games by throwing to hit any one of a series of five unright sticks

raale awai n the five sticks which are used in the top game also raale ulu (E)

raale magopea n a spinning or balancing top

raali n a frog [similar to the bete but smaller; has a green body]

raame n the bailer shell 
Cf. uriagaa

raa mena n wild pig; sa yale (E) 
(go raa mename onaa waru nala: wild pig will eat people) 
Cf. kira mena

raana v to be happy, satisfied also lepia (E) 
(abiare ni eta epe noa raana pia: now I have eaten and am happy; raaname omalo: I am really happy) 
Cf. pedo pi, apia la

raanane n outside 
Cf. gaanane

raani n a generic term for any small edible plant or herb 
[almost exclusively found in old garden areas; many taboo names, e.g. gepa; plant is cooked in a bamboo; children were told not to eat much because the greens would cause worms; Acanthaceae family]

raa-opayo n [Araceae var.]

raapalaana n Pand lang for forked tongs

raapu aj together, as with the same kind

raapu n vine for making a net bag

raapuni n where a fire has burned or scorched an area; pakumaa (E, S)

raara n the stinging nettle place [Dendrocnidae Spp; used as a counter-irritant] 
Cf. kidipata

raara-kera n a var. of edible green raani [grows wild in the forest, coloured a mixture of yellow and green]

raarua n a var. of edible green which usually grows with the peago [looks like a weed with tiny white blossoms]

raataa-pu n [prob. pandanaceae, Freycinetia]

rabalo (E) jew's harp; rabialo (W), soke (S)

raba mea v to help, give aid; rera milia (E)

rabe-rabe n a type of grass vine [weeded when new gardens area made, seeds are white, but another type has red ones; comes up quickly but also dries out quickly]

rabia v 1. to pull vine from a tree 
(ope so repena maapara peaga
rabia: the vine is up in the top of the tree so pull it down
Cf. rata
2. (E) to pull a snake by the tail

rabialo n jew's harp; rabalo (E), soke (S)

rabolaminiaa v spread it out, as a mat down on the floor

1rabolo n a var. of bamboo
Cf. kenage

2rabolo (E) n top of something, as a table

rabopa n Pand lang for axe, chop, etc.

1rabu au when; rabo (E), aroomona, adepele (S)

2rabu n cat's cradle game [dozens of varieties depending on the object formed with the string; some common interpretations are: the mountains Giluwe and Ialibu, lighting, the meeting house, a cassowary, the parents of the cassowary, grass outside, a dog chasing a kapul, the jaw and chin of someone, a bee and its wings, a tree, a pig, a beetle; in many instances two people are required: a bird sliding down the string, an eel trap suspended from the arm, two men in a dance, etc.]

rabuaa v 1. to tread upon
(apo repena rugi rabuaa: stomp on the end of that wood)
Cf. minaniia
2. to shake down
3. to overlap or place something on top of

rabula v 1. to make a bed
2. to sew up, mend, put together
(mone yo riri pataga waru rabula: that money is tearing so tape it together)
Cf. etepa, rodo pia
3. to make peace
(yada rabutipa: let's patch things up)

rabuni yae n clips [i.e. something for fastening]

radaa pia v to be painful, to pain; redaa pia (S)
(nina topara radaa pia: my body pains)
Cf. riri pia

radaki n ice, snow, frost;
radal (E,S)
(radaki apa: hail)
Cf. kalapara, pipita

radala v 1. to prepare ground for planting
Cf. rupita
2. to shake off, brush something off
(sapi lusua radala: get the sweet potato from the ashes and brush it off)

radali (E,S) n snow, hail;
radaki (W)

radata n smoke; lodo (E)
Cf. miru

rade n [Gesneraceae, Dicksoniaceum]

radepea v to rub, wash
(peleta oto peaga radepea: the dishes are dirty so wash them)
Cf. *wasowaso, *wasimi ta, kadepea, depea

rado other or different one
(apo eta rado meda gi: give me that other food)
Cf. meda

radu pia v to sprinkle, as water on something
ragala slippery
(portanini ragala pia: the road is slippery)
Cf. era, kagala

ragala peau v to split open, as wood which dries in the sun

1 rage (E)n [Orchidaceae, Glomera]

2 rage n a type of wild pandanus

3 rage n cowrie shells; rogo (E), rongo (S)

rage kobene n a short coil of cowrie shells

rage rogo n a coil of cowrie shells

rage ulu n any long coil of cowrie shells

ragea v to chew; rage (E), rangea (S)

ragele n bride price
Cf. nu-laapu

ragepa v to split firewood;
 rele pea (E), rekelepa (S)
Cf. rekepa

ragopea v 1. to spread open, as a net bag
(naaki re taga nu ragopea: the child is crying so open the bag (and get it))
Cf. rakua
2. to fold, as men's victory leaves

rago pia v to be blunt, as a dull axe; rango pia (S)

rago-petame n a var. of mushroom
[small, causes vomiting if not cooked well; yellow on top and black underneath]
rai (E) m  spleen
rai-apula m  a var. of Fantail that lives in the sword grass and wild cane
raipa (E) m  horizontal fence; rokepu (W)
1 rake m  a yellow hardwood tree [Rubiacae, Neonanuclea]
2 rake m  strips of bark up to dry for making string
rake agaa m  baby teeth
rakeda m  a pandanus [reddish coloured nuts which are eaten raw or cooked]
rakema-wage m  a large type of worm [found in rotting logs, trees, pandanus, etc.; skin is said to be coloured like the rainbow]
raketa m  a var. of mushroom [small, grows up with the ale-pole, some are eaten]
rake-wala m  a large red worm [flat head, found in trees]
1 raki m  a caterpillar, hence that stage of any butterfly as well [the nest and caterpillars are eaten, usually by cooking in a bamboo] Cf. wabi
2 raki v  to hit down in a container, as a bamboo
1 rakia (E) m  [Umbelliferae, Oenanthe javanica]
2 rakia m  one of the most prized pandanus [large with long leaves; nuts are tender enough to be eaten raw]
3 rakia m  an edible green [dark coloured, cultivated in the gardens, commonly eaten with pig]
rakiru m  any object such as leaves, bark, etc. mixed with pig, etc. to be eaten as a cure
rako pia (E) v  to have a dry mouth
rako supi m  the light frothy mass formed on water as a result of agitation also agaa yapi
1 rakua m  a var. of banana which is large and sweet [fruit is very white; eaten ripe or steamed in earth ovens]
2 rakua v  to spread open a net bag (apo nupara oyae madiawaga rakua ada: open the net bag and see what I have brought) Cf. ragopea
rakua ada m  a large open-ended meeting house used in W during festivals to house strangers
rakua nu m  the individual branches of the forked sticks that bags of pearl shells are hung on
rakua-pema m  a var. of banana with red stalk and long fruit
rakumina v  1. to remove entirely; rakuminya (E, S) (go mena robaa rakumina: remove the insides from the pig) 2. to turn inside out
1 rala v  1. to pluck, as corn 2. to pull out as weeds or grass 3. to gather as berries, mushrooms; kerea (E) Cf. kera
2 rala v  to be cooking, as sweet potatoes in ashes (sapi ralaal naalu: I will eat the sweet potatoes which are ready)
1 ralage m  1. leaves used on the head to cushion a heavy load
(nu ebo radaa peaga ne nalia ralage pagoa madia: the ends of the net bag will dig into you so tuck a cushion underneath)  
Cf. pana

ralage n a type of tree; ralega (E), ralenge (S)

rala patea v 1. to be sticky, have sticky hands, as from digging out sweet potato  
2. very tough bark on a tree without sap in it

rala-puti n a small wood lizard [reddish-coloured, bites people]

ralebea v 1. to break off (pe o taga ralebea: that bamboo is no good so break it off)  
Cf. labea  
2. to split open as bamboo; rekepa (S)  
also atubia (E,S)  
(nopo pepara raani pabawaii rala patega ralebeanowa: I filled up the bamboo with greens but the bamboo is split and it is dry)  
Cf. labea, regepa, bulapoa, poa

ralega (E) n a cushion

rale-rale n [Rubiaceae, prob. Lecinaceae]

ralia (E) n a drum; usaane (S), lal (W)

raliki n a crocodile

ralipa n 1. a small pandanus [small leaves, no spines, does not ripen so is eaten raw]  
2. tab name for pandanus  
Cf. garota, malupia, mabua

raluba n shelf or shield in ceiling of a house for storing firewood to dry

ralubi n a shield; karepe (E), kanga (S)  
Cf. karapi, koro-koro, negalo, arepe-wape, riti-yapara

rama n a spear [usually the point is made from a cassowary bone]; tolo, dolo (S)

1 ramaa n a ray of light, as from the sun shining through a hole in the wall

2 ramaa n the inside fold of a net bag  
Cf. ripi

ramaa yo n tobacco leaf  
Cf. mutaa yo, *soko yo, kenoa yo

ramagi n a var. of banana which is found in the forest [large stalk, large leaves, fruit is very hard so is eaten only by animals and birds]

rama pula v to be in motion, as fire or liquid  
Cf. rari pula

ramani n the common Flycatcher [lives near houses, only eaten by children because it is often seen near toilet areas]; ramane (E), samane (S)

ramea v 1. to decay, be rotten (go ada aba ramea: this house is rotten; rere ramua adaata: the wound is infected and become large)  
2. to have bad breath (agaa rami aa: man with bad breath)  
3. to be soaked, as from rain; ramula (E), ramula (S)  
Cf. yadia

rame ada (E) n birth house

rami (E) n meat gift exchange to prospective father of bride (mena rami tia: he will exchange pigs)

ramina n forked tongs; raminya (E,S)  
Cf. lapa

ramitu n another name for the fern awa-ega

ramitu-kapi n a fern with spines on it such that it resembles the pandanus paria
ramogo pi ona n a diligent woman worker; mumugu pi winya (E) also omage pi ona

ramu n 1. a var. of victory leaf 2. the generic term in E and S [grows freely in the forest, is commonly worn, several sub-var.] Cf. aapu, warakua

ramua la (E) v to be soaked as from rain

ramu-kale (E) n a var. of the victory leaf [Liliaceae, Cordyline]

ramu-mabu (E) n a var. of the victory leaf [Liliaceae Cordyline]

ramuniaa v to be rotten Cf. kurupuniaa

rana (E) n time

rangi (S) n a mosquito

ranu (E) n garden stick

ranu-koba n Pand lang for penis

1rapa n a group

2rapa v to play, as a game also relepo (E), relepo ra (S) (rapepa: we two are playing)

rapaa to send something or someone (neme pipaa aba rapaaru: I sent the letter) Cf. penala, otaa, moyaa

rapa agaa np to tease, fool around (rapolalo laa: he was joking)

rapa ia v 1. to be temporarily caught, as one tree falling on another 2. to have a stiff leg, or one that is not straight 3. by implication, anything which is askew; rapa wia (E), ange rapa wia (S)

rapalo n a type of arrow which is forked [used for shooting birds]; rengolo, semongo (S)

rapa-rapa n a very strong inedible fern [white-coloured underneath the leaves]

rapa salana (E) v to spring, as a trap

rapasuma n decorative headdress made from cassowary plumes Cf. dauwa

rapedatya (E) v to knock loose from

rape pea (E) v to tie up small bundle, as money

rapu n [Urticaceae, Pipturus]

rapula v to burn off; ragula (E)

rapula poala v to be striped or spotted, as an animal's fur

rapuluma n 1. the floor 2. a bed or raised platform 3. deck or top of a bridge; rapula (E) Cf. reke, kabe kele, yotapa

rapura v to shed or husk the skin or peelings (go besaare abu puri patega rapura: the beans are hard and yellow so shell them) Cf. raaake pea

rara n a small common edible grubworm [brownish in colour]; memenalo (E), unginalo (S), pamada (E?)

rarane outside; outside perimeter (ni kekapu pladaa rarane pulu: I am hot so I am going outside) Cf. amaa

rarane pia v 1. to be fat or have an extended stomach 2. to be pregnant Cf. padaa pia

rarane sapi alt term for taro Cf. maa, tapu
rari pula \(\nu\) the motion of an object propelled by the wind, as a fire or liquid
(repena mo raapara rari pula: the fire is moving toward the forest)
Cf. rama pula

rarua \(\nu\) \(E\) \(n\) [Solanaceae, Solanum]

rarubi pita\(\nu\) \(n\) the face mask worn in the Ribu ceremony

raru pia \(\nu\) \(E\) \(v\) to have a bad taste

rasa \(\nu\)
1. to pull out weeds, grass, etc.; yoka \(S\)
Cf. pudia
2. to remove, dig out, lift out
Cf. awa, odekea
3. to reject
(agaa rasini nogo naaki: disobedient children)

1rata \(aq\) two at the same time;
ratya \(E\)
(laapo rata: both at once)

2rata \(n\) steep hill, cliff, ledge;
ratya \(E\)

3rata \(v\) to pull; ratya \(E\), ralia \(S\)
Cf. rabia, yola

rataa \(v\) to follow or chase;
raluma pu \(S\)
also mogeaa \(E\)
(gomena pena rataa: follow that pig which is going)
Cf. kura

rataa mea ipu \(v\) to chase something around
(go aya mena rataa mea ipu: chase that pig back around)
Cf. rataanea

rataanea \(v\) to chase after something
(gopari ripinaluaga rataanea: chase it back around so that I can grab it)
Cf. rataaa mea ipu

rataasa \(v\) to chase someone or something, etc.

rato \(S\) \(n\) beads worn by men on forehead

ratuaa \(n\) a type of wild cucumber which is edible [Cucumbitaceae var.]
also ratuali \(E\)

ratu ta \(v\)
1. to finish top game by chasing others off
2. to chase away; ralutya \(E\)
Cf. pabo ta, ratasa

ratu yawa \(v\) to be angry; rorolaa \(E,S\),
also rutula \(S\)
(ratu yawala: he is pouting)
peapoa \(E\)
Cf. rono pia, ero ta

ratu yawe \(aa\) \(n\) an angry person
Cf. kaki ne \(aa\)

rawana pa \(v\) to engage in anything competitive, as trading for pigs, pearl shells, cassowaries, etc.
Cf. yada male, sawana pa

raya alt for rayo

rayasa \(E\) \(v\) to brace as a house, bank of ground

rayo \(n\) all
(onaa rayo pem: all the people have gone)
Cf. abuna, luabu

-re topic marker in clause or sentence [also -ri depending on vowel harmony]

re \(n\)
1. stump of a tree
2. base of something
3. the reason for a purpose or action; re \(S\)

re lubu lumu along or close to the edge of something
Cf. repaa

reaa \(v\) to knit a string bag, etc.

rea gi ti \(aa\) \(n\) a fat man [lit. a hungry give and hit man]
(nipu rudu aa yalo raa gi ti aya: he is short but also fat)
Cf. *kaikai lo ti, ibu-ibu lo ti

rea pia \(v\) to be hungry
rede pia v to be sweet

redepo adj 1. straight
   (redepo yae: something straight)
   2. righteous
   (redepo ne aa: a righteous man)

redepo ya v to make straight, or straighten

*redio n the radio
   Cf. *walisi

1rege n a small frog [brown or green coloured, usually found in swampy areas]

2rege (E) v to be wet, damp

regapa v to split wood lengthwise
   also rupi poa
   Cf. poa, bulapoa

regapea v 1. to be filled up
   2. to be tight
      (apo ropaare regapea: that armband is tight)
   Cf. rulataba
   3. to be stuck fast; renge pea (S)

regepemina v 1. to take ahold of and twist around or squeeze;
   regepeminya (E)
   (go naakina aane regepemina: grab ahold of that boy's ear and twist it)
   Cf. asaamina, pulubimina
   2. to be forced together tightly

reka v 1. to get up
   (mogo rekama pulumi onaare aapi yapae: who are those people getting up and walking)
   2. to arise, get up
   (nipu so Medi bana laaga rekoa pia: he said let's go to Mendi so is he ready)
   3. to decide
      (koneme rekaliare gore mada: if he decides, then O.K.)

rekamaa v to stand vertically
   Cf. yarua

reka pia v to be well again

rekari n a very large tree [roots are stripped and used to make net bags; sheds its leaves and carries its fruit once a year]

1reke n dark tree oil; rege, nekeali (E), renge (S)

2reke 1. any platform, bed or ladder; maapoka, rapuluma, rabolo (E), deke, rapuluma, rete (S)
   (go mo reke ogesi yapula ne mada dia: that bed is too small for you)
   Cf. rapuluma, kabe kele, yotapa
   2. cage for a cassowary made of slats

3reke n a long bundle of salt; relepaa (E), reke lepaa (S)

rekena v 1. to taboo something; usually by putting leaves or sticks in a prominent place;
   kapano (E)
   Cf.makua
   2. the commandments (rekena i agaa)

rekepa v to split, crack, tear;
   repia, rekele pea (E,S)
   Cf. ragepa

rekepena n piece of burned firewood
   Cf. pare

reke-rekea n tab word for live coals in Ribu ceremony

reke-reke ae yae n something which feels rough

reketa n lice eggs

re-kibita n a var. of mushroom [large, sweet and red-coloured; a sub-var. called atana-wayalo is inedible, grey-coloured and tough]

re la to cry

relepa n salt type
rele pia (E) v to split, as wood
relepo (E) v to play; rapa (W)
remaa n a story, report; remani (E), ramani (S)
remani n a courting song; kunanaa (E), remali (S)
Cf. kunanaa
remo n an ancestral spirit
remo-agaa n magic flutes used in certain spirit ceremonies
remo-apaa n spirit stones usually kept in holes in the ground [decorated with tree oil, possum fur, etc.; painted particular colours according to the nature of the spirit they represent]
remona-ini n the firefly; remona-le (E), kisimu (S)
remona-kagu n [Acanthaceae var.]
remona-kibita n a type of weed which grows in new garden areas [two kinds: one with a white flower; the other with red; lasts about one or two months before wilting]
remona-maa n a var. of inedible taro [Araceae; put on top of pig pens to ensure that the pig will get fat]
remona-mata n hopping insect which jumps out quickly [lit. the spirit's grasshopper]
remona-raani n a var. of wild edible green found in the forest
remo-raga n a small tree with small edible nuts [Pittosporaceae, Pittosporum sinuation; nuts can be shelled by hand; when ripe they are reddish in colour]
remo-raga-aani n a small tree found in forest
remo-rage n a type of insect found mostly on sugarcane leaves [thought that its cry is a bad omen]
remo-rialawa v tab expression for to dance in certain spirit ceremonies
remo-yaasi n an alt name for the roba-kema bird
renane av along the edge of something; kuni (E,S) (nina adare ipa renane aya: my house is along the side of the river)
Cf. nebonane, rerenane
rene n penis
rene ere ramea syphillis
rene lobe aa m man without foreskin, circumcised
Cf. kula pae aa
rene pape v to have intercourse
Cf. yaruta, minuta, kea, lamua
rene ru n scrotum, testicles
rene wae piti ona n a prostitute
1repaa n a family group; a clan; a group of animate objects (mena repaa: herd of pigs; aa repaa: a group of men; go repaare adaapuga eta adaapu kala: there are many families [in this clan] so give them some food)
Cf. aaraalu ruru
2repaa n 1. the area along the edge or bank or a pond or river; repaale (E,S) also kauruli (E)
Cf. lubu lumu
2. a large log used to sit on outside of men's houses; kuma (E)
Cf. repe
3repaa v 1. to let go of something
2. to set someone or something free; rapaa (E,S)
Cf. gimaa, palainawana
repala n spouses, husband and wife
Cf. repaya
repali (S) n  any kind of fish
repara av to be close to something, next to something
Cf. agego, agagaane
repaya n  spouses, husband and wife
Cf. repala
repe n  a large log placed at the front of a man's house as a bench
(aanumi tapada kagaa puare repe yoloa saleme: the men build a new men's house and pull a big front log for it)
Cf. repaa, uma-repena
repena n  1. trees or wood
2. fire; repona (E,S)
(adapara repena rala aya: the fire is blazing in the house; abiare repena egaa udunana: the fire appears to have gone out)
Cf. repa-a, anda-repena
repena egaa n  flames or live coals
repena epere n  forked branches that pearl shell bags are hung on
repena kabe pone aa n  a spell-marker using arrows [i.e. the diviner who blows on wood and pitpit]
Cf. aapulu pone aa
repena *muli n  any citrus
repena nalae *masini n  a planeing machine [lit. a machine for eating wood]
repena sulaa n  flames of a fire
repena suri n  any log or large branch which has been lying on the ground for some time
repena-aga n  a tall pandanus [green spiny leaves and nuts which turn slightly yellow]
repena-are n  kindling
repena-ekamu n  a large brown marsupial [lives in holes in trees, nest is made of leaves and said to be very warm]
repena-lu n  a gift given to a unit who are burying one of their own clan
repena-rabe-rabe n  [prob. Anaceae var.]
repena-rabe-rabe n  a large snake commonly found in or near logs
repena-rade n  [Gesneriaceae, Dichotrichum]
repena-robe n  the shoulder cut of a pig
repete ada n  a type of decoration made from the bark of a tree
repina aj three
repone n  the fire embers or the burnt part of firewood which is left
repone-inyalu (E) tab word for fire in Ribu ceremony
repone-ipaa (E) n  tab word for tree oil in Ribu ceremony
rera milia (E) v  to help; raba mea (W)
rerane yaa n  tab name for the cassowary
rere n  a sore (reremapiraride: you made that sore [by jabbing it, etc.])
rerenane av along the edge or bank of something (nogo ipa rerenane popope: walk along the edge of the water)
Cf. nebonane, renane
rererea v  to break into pieces
Cf. pola, atubia
rere piri yae n  the cracks or scratches on a pearl shell
rerere-ripana n  [Melastomataceae var.]
rerewaa n  circle, round, button; rerewaare (E), dereewaa (S)
rero pia v to be bitter
also raaru pia (E)

1 rete n [Pteridophyta var.]

2 rete n a small bird [lives near the water, finds its food in the sand]

3 rete n grass which becomes overgrown

rete (E) v 1. to fight with a stick
2. to stick a stamp on a letter

reteya (E) n net bag containing leaves which cushioned deceased baby

1 -ri 2 sg Pa, Set II

2 -ri Ego, sp, sim, n-term

-ria 3 sg Pa, Set II

ria v 1. to carry, generally on the shoulder
2. to be carried along by someone or something else
(repena kaapu ria: to carry firewood; repena unimadaa ria: to carry something on a stick; aalune rita: she is carrying it on the head)

riabope n a poor destitute man who appears old
Cf. naara

riali n a tab name for dog
(go rialiri yapa natea: this dog doesn't kill possums)
Cf. irikai, yana

riani (E) n [Euphorbiaceae, Macaranga]

ria-yadi n an edible insect which lives in the water [comes out of the water to tree leaves where it is caught: when in the water it resembles a leaf]

ribaa n night; leda (E)

ribaa reko n morning time
Cf. yapi pu

ribaa ta 1. dark; leda ta (E), nole ta (S)
(ribaa yabasa: it was really dark; ribaa yabaina puawa: I went while it was dark; abiare ribaa tadaa ada pulu: its dark now so I am going home)
Cf. gae yala
2. blind
(ini ribaa ta: [lit. dark in the eyes])

ribaa yabaria n early evening
[lit. the darkness is completed]

ribi n a type of softwood tree
[yellowish in colour, including the leaves]

ribu n small lesser pearl shells
[also called kopene, wae-yaako pinu, remona-kibita or rumaasi; also commonly called riba and are used for credit, etc. but not for major trading; are associated with the arrival of the European]

ribu aa n a poor man or one who builds the spirit house
Cf. naara

ribu aapu n sacred place of Ribu

ribu ada n a tall spirit house

ribu-eta n generic name for spirit mask [used to frighten people who came near the spirit grounds]
Cf. epeso, ribu-asawaakua

ribu agaa n the noise of the flutes [blown during certain spirit ceremonies to frighten away people]; tau (?E), pe ruli kenange (S)

ribu-asawaakua n type of spirit mask
Cf. ribu-aeta, epeso

ribu asubaa n headman of the Ribu ceremony
ribu kaboria epaa v to buy a spirit ceremony and import it into the area

ribu raguna agaa n secret talk [i.e. talk used at the Ribu ceremony]

ribu raku n soapy substance prepared in separate spirit house [fed to Ribu ceremony participants]

ribu rugi n the centre pole of a spirit house

ribu-aya n a large bird which is green-coloured on its body [was called rodoyoaa by the men who build the Ribu ceremony house; prob. a var. of Warbler]

rida pea (E,S) v to unfold, smooth out; ridi pia (W)

1 ridi (E) n flower petals

2 ridi n a red paint used to decorate the face
Cf. wape

redi pia 1. to unfold, like an umbrella
2. to stretch; rida pea (E,S)

1 ridipita n shoots from a plant

2 ridipita v to rip, tear; idipitya (E), singipia, liripia (S)

ridita n a small bird [lives in the wild cane and near houses and gardens, mixed black and white colour]

ridi ta (E) v waterfalls; ipa kai (W)

ridu la v to stretch, to exercise

rigane n a unique softwood tree [Sautauaceae, Sautania; often planted in old garden areas, rots quickly when used in housebuilding]

rigi n a bamboo knife; singi (S) (abiare mena saape rigi varia salepa: make bamboo knives for cutting the pig)
Cf. kaane, menana-laa

rigi aareke lapo rata madita aa n a tricky or deceitful person [i.e. someone who says one thing and does another]

rigina n any mosquito-like insect
Cf. nono

rigita v to cover over something; kea pea (E,S), rigitya (S) (rigitaniaa: cover something completely over; ada rigitabaria: to cover up a house as from a landslide)

rikai n an edible black-white striped caterpillar; kade (E), rikaa (S)

rikana (E) aj middle; rikiraa (W)

rikili n a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral [has many leaves, red skin, yellow soft tuber and is very sweet]

rikini n 1. the small branches of a tree; rikili, kilipu (E,S) (go repena kaapu rikini warera: these dry twigs really burn)
Cf. alaa
2. fingers or toes; rikili (E,S)

rikiraa aj halfway, in the center or middle of something; rikana (E,S) also rumaa (E), runa, rumu (S) Cf. runiiaa

rikiraa agaa all the teeth except the back ones; rika agaa (E), rika angaa (S)

rikita v to dry out and shrivel up, as bark stripped from a shrub

1 rila (E) v to break into several pieces, as dry kindling
Cf. laala lapaa

2 rila v give all of the pay at once to someone

rili (E) n local boat
rima 1 pl Pa, Set II
rimaapu n walking stick
Cf. roto, lama, dusa
rimi 2, 3 pl, Pa, Set II
rimu n charcoal, charcoal markings
rimu-ega aki aki pi aa a person who has been burned escaping from a fire also repena egame rapula diari diari pi aa
rimu-kama n a var. of mushroom [large, black on top and white underneath, if not cooked well causes vomiting]
1rimu-rimu n charcoal-coloured tree which sheds its leaves [Launaeae, Litsiea; used for house-building, holding up sugarcane]
2rimu-rimu n a type of shoot which comes from a black vine [Sabia pancifeora Bl; tough but is cooked and eaten]
rimu-rimu-ope n [Sabiaeae, Sabia pancefetora Bl]
*rini-pe n a container such as a tin can
Cf. *tini
rini pugu n characteristic smell [lit. smell which carries]
rinya (E) n a swamp
-ripa 1 dl Pa, Set II
ripa n a var. of wild pandanus [occasionally nuts are cooked and eaten]
ripana n traditional cure for those who have been victims of sorcery; ripada (E), ripane (S)
(go aare yaina omeaga romo ripana kalamina: this man is sick so give him the medicine for that poison)
Cf. upipi
ripana-ope n [Rubiaceae var.]
-ripi 2, 3 dl, Pa, Set II
ripi n the fold on the inside and bottom of a net bag
Cf. ramaa
ripi a v 1. to begin something 2. to start work, etc.; ripila (S)
(go nurimi nema aba ripia sae: start working in this net bag first)
Cf. kibuma, ripima
ripima a v to begin or start something
Cf. ripia, kibuma
ripi a v to hold onto; ripinya (E)
(go naakimi nina maapu paake noa epeaga ripina: hold on to that boy since he has stolen from my garden)
Cf. saapira, saba
1ripu adj even in a row, line
(go onana agaare eperupa ripu aya: that woman's teeth are really straight)
Cf. lapu lapu
2ripu n the generic term for grasses; rilipu (E), wapiraa (S)
3ripu (E) n ripples
(ipa ripu: water ripples)
ripulu n type of slate stone used to make stone axes
ririma n a scar or mark made on the body as a tattoo
(go aan aako madaa ririma waru irisana: it can be seen that that man has scars well burned on his chest)
Cf. kodo
1riripia a v to tear or rip something
(lapalapa otaga riripia: the cloth is old so rip it up)
Cf. kalepea, sigipa
2riripia a v to be painful, to pain, sting
(nina aapara kabeme naapulu ipa paboa riri pia: I cut my foot with a piece of pitpit and it swelled up and is painful)
Cf. radaa pia
riripu pia n to be hot
(naare riripu pea: the sun is hot; riripu pi pora: a hard road [i.e. one which is hot])
Cf. kekapu pia, popo pia

riti n a large block of salt used in trade
Cf. ukumu

riti pa v 1. tie something with a rope
2. look after something, keep it enclosed, etc.

riti pe aa np someone who looks after possessions well

riripu n the cut of the butchered pig which is over the rib and chest area

riti-yapara n a fighting shield
Cf. ralubi, karapi, negalo, koro-koro, arepe-wape

riwa-rakua n decorative item for dances tucked in the back with the victory leaf [made from cane and cassowary feathers]

riwi n cassowary type [prob. Dwarf Cassowary]

riya v to fly, soar
Cf. biya

1ro n a type of wild cane used for weaving

2ro n a bridge
Cf. yapu

3ro n a corpse

1roa v to hang in a snare
(konapara wasa roayaga esepea: release the rat caught in the trap)

2roa v to break off sugarcane

3roa (E) v to plane, as wood
roaa v to be very bright, shining
(uba roaaya: the star shines)

1roaape n a parrot var. [green coloured along the body with red feathers and claws]

2roaape n the calf of the leg

roasu v to laugh, smile
(go naakimi raapa agu pea rabu roasu agu epea: that boy, when he plays, he really laughs)
Cf. giri la

1roba n a tree with long leaves whose bark is stripped for drying to make string for net bags [Rubiaceae; fruit is like that of the rulupa tree, but is eaten only by marsupials]

2roba v to break something off
(go sapara robere aapina ya: whose shovel is this that is broken off)

3roba v to talk in secret [dl and pl forms used only]

1robaa n a var. of mushroom which grows near the base of the pai tree [very short with a white top and varied colours underneath; certain sub-var. are very juicy and not eaten]

2robaa n stomach
(robaapara kuma pea: peaceful; robaapara rekatabea: angry)
Cf. lo

robaa agiti n the area from below the head to the legs on an insect

robaa aya v to be full

robaa kebo agiti n swollen or distended stomach

robaa-kema n a parrot var. with black and green speckles [lives near houses and gardens; also called remo-yaasi]

robaa kulu ta diarrhoea
(go naaki robaa kulu yaina omea: the boy is sick with diarrhoea)
Cf. ikulu

robaa mogo n a stone axe with a green stone blade
Cf. apidi

robaa nala stomach ache
robaa peberasa n swollen or distended stomach from sickness

robaa perekea to change one's ways [lit. to turn around the stomach]

robaa pia (E) v to be full

robaa puguri n insult: someone who has a large stomach [lit. a stinking stomach]

robe n rhinoceros beetle

robea to make a hole (robeanye: something with a hole in it)
Cf. podo pea

robe-agi n a large edible type of grub worm
Cf. kagaruki

robeni n a var. of banana [long fruit and leaves, yellow stalk, used for trade]

robeniae n the rooms of divisions of a house

robeta n [Piperaceae, Piper var.]

robo n 1. a boundary mark (goerebo mopopopari a: the boundary for this garden is over there)
Cf. kanaa
2. chapter, etc. divisions in a book

robo pia v 1. to make a promise
2. agree, make a deal, etc.
Cf. yada robo

robosi n a small bird which lives in the forest [brown breasted with a white neck and beak]

rodo ipa n bone marrow

roda n a type of bird which is taboo to eat [its cry is an omen associated with the spirit house; perhaps a var. of Logrunner]

rodopn n rain drops, as in leaking house (ada kagaaga yai rodopn runane awea: the house is new but it still leaks)
Cf. itipa

rodopea v to break off something (rodope minitalo pia: he wants to break it in two)
Cf. ebepea, karia, ugia, kaba, rugula, pulakea

rodo pia v to rejoin something together (go sekere ugin rodo pia: join together the shell which is broken)
Cf. rabula

rodoya n alt name for the ayangae snake

roga n [Elaeocarpaceae, prob. Elaeocarpus]

roga v to bind, bury; rongaa (S) (rere rogaane yae: something for binding sores)
Cf. abuni

rogaya n fence binding; koaa (E,S)

roge n an inedible insect commonly found at the base of banana or taro plants [said to be the "mother" of the kakaruki]
Cf. yapira

rogema n a tall tree with long leaves [Proteaceae, Finschia chloroxantha; reddish in colour, as is its flowers; whitish tough nuts which must be broken with a stone or axe; two nuts inside which are eaten raw or cooked and are highly prized]

rogeta n prob. a var. of the small Bowerbird

roro n a bundle of something fastened together also balu (E), only balu (S)
Cf. roga

rogaa n cowrie shells

rogoma n yellow clay; rongoma (S)

roka n the under part of the pearl shell also robaa and oka

rokanu n man's pouch made from the bark of a tree [carried
under the arm, used for tobacco leaves and other personal objects]

rokepu n a flat horizontal type of stacked fence; raipa (E)

roketa v to be tough, as a bark belt, meat, etc.; rokelea (E,S)

rokopa n tyle of slate used to make stone axes

rokopa-aani n [prob. Meliaceae, Chisocheton]

1 rola n tab term for dog

2 rola rota v to be finished raining

3 rola v to hatch, to break; rerekeyae (S)

4 rola (E) v to blister

rolari pamea v to run off with fright; rolari pamua (E) Cf. pogolasa

rolo n payment

rolopara av underneath also rolea (S)

ro mamaa v to be well smoked and cleaned, as gourds hung up over a fire (ro mamaalia: it will really cook; waru ro mamaainalape: let it really cook [from raa: to cook])

romani agaa lover's talk

rome n 1. a debt or credit (go aare runa rone media pubayo: I have extended credit to that man) Cf. yago, yano, rudu

2. secret exchange (rome agaa: trading or courting language [i.e. any secret exchange]

rome yago aipapulu abuta aa man who repays quickly [i.e. as a man with a debt from a trade]

romo n poison, death sorcery involving substance which is put in food

romo malu n generic term for any sorcery substance

ronage n a type of ant; rodea (E), ronange (S) (gore ronage kobereme onaa nanea: the black ant called ronage does not bite people) Cf. raguta

rono pia v 1. to be angry Cf. ratu yawa
2. to be jealous (ni rono maalimi: they will be made jealous of me)

ropaa n a small pandanus with nuts that are tough and must be cooked to be eaten

ropa n a decorative armlet (go ropaa ora aala aya: that armlet is really loose) Cf. mapiratemea, kiamu ropaa, ipa ropaa, sikireaeli ropaa, kebe ropaa

1 ropea n a hardwood tree used for fence posts [Myrtaceae, Occtamythus pleioptala; reddish in colour, black fruit and large leaves]

2 ropea (E) v 1. to make a ladder 2. to cause an erection (male)

1 rope pia (E) v 1. to dislike 2. to be lazy, apathetic

2 rope pia v to be proud, conceited Cf. ini kabe aa, sugilima yawa pia

ropi n the knot in the string of a pearl shell [each knot denotes a separate trade; also called
ruru suggesting perhaps that they are traded only between clans

ropo pa v to trade, buy, exchange
(ropo pape agaa: trade talk)
Cf.

reora pia v to feel smooth; sorea pia (E), sorosoro pia (S)
Cf. kuma pia

roro n a kind of tree, growing in kunai grass [Leguminosae, Desmodium]

rorola (E) v to be angry

roropopa (E) v to have an odour, good fragrance

ro saya v to be lit, as a torch;
ro siaya (S)

rota n a blister

rote n white shale [considered to be a source of ipa mu sand]

1roto n a hardwood tree which is difficult to cut [Magnoliaceae, Talauma oreadum; long leaves are used for binding sores, causing them to dry up quickly]

2roto n a digging stick
Cf. lama, dusa, rimaapu

royo n splinter

royo pa v
1. to shove a stick in a hole
Cf. lupia
2. to be blinded by the sun
(naareme royo pali: sun shines in eyes)

royo pea n sickness like pneumonia

ru 1 s Pa, Set II

1ru n male species, excepting man

2ru aj ripe (fruit)

ru agalaa (E) v to carry and throw down

rubu v to throw something away
(nama nama rubini aa: selfish man, eats alone, unsharing)

rubita v to be overflowing;
rubilla (E)
Cf. rutataba, kerepea

rudane av day after tomorrow

1rudu n a mountain or hill
Cf. pore, aari, maasa

2rudu 1. anything which is short
2. an outstanding debt
Cf. yago, yano, rudu

rugin n 1. the point or head of something
2. the long pole in a spirit house
3. bindings on arrow shaft to hold point; rungi (S)
Cf. pudu

ruginisepa rita v to be bent over toward the ends [e.g. a long victory leaf]

rugula 1. to break off, cut off
(midip epga rai kutumi rugula: it is tough so cut it off with the axe)
Cf. ugia, karia, kaba, ebepea, pulakea, rodopea, kodola, etapea
2. to forcibly remove
(onara uraapu ruguni aa: an adulterer [i.e. a man who unhitches the skirt])
3. to be split up due to fighting
(yada rugutipa: we have split from fighting)
4. to forget
(kone rugulaaru: I have forgotten)
5. to tear off; rungula(S)
(no rugula rialia: it has bitten and torn it away [as the skin of someone bitten by a snake])

rugula tabebe pa v to fall apart in pieces

ruguni n small piece
(go aame oyae ruguni agu
rumaaya: that man just rationed me out a little piece)
Cf. alo, kawata
rugyo m an emetic (leaf) used to induce vomiting

rui m a type of tree which grows in the swamp
Cf. yodo rui

rui teme to yell out in unison, as warriors in battle

ruka-aako m a tree which has strong but soft bark [bark does not split nor cause itching or sores so therefore is used for belts]

ruka-oma m var. of tree [bark used for belts]

rukata pa v to carry on both ends of a pole, as pandanus nuts
Cf. aguta pa

ruki m a var. of sugar-cane with tough leaves and stalk [unusual colouring on the stalk but not a lot of juice]

rukia v to break something apart, as a pandanus nut
Cf. piribia, kodea, piripia, pulubia

rukini m sections, divisions, as when breaking sweet potato;
rukili (E,S) (niri aga rukini gia: he gave me some pieces of pandanus nuts)

1ruku m a small type of tree planted near the villages [leaves or bark are eaten as a cure for sorcery; small leaves full of water]

2ruku m the end sprout of the banana which is thrown away

rukumaa (E) v to court

ruku-ruku (S) m tab name for boy in Ribu ceremony

rula v 1. to bang down [as bamboo when forcing the food into it or a post in a hole]; rutuna (S) 2. to believe (kone rulape agaa: the believer's creed; kone rulae onaanu: the believers)

rulaa v 1. to be blocked, such as a road and hence unpassable 2. to be hemmed in

rulataba v to be completely full or crowded, as a house with people
Cf. regepea, rubita

1ruli (S) av tomorrow; ekeraa (W), buruka (E)

2ruli (E) m [Liliaceae, Cordyline var.]

rulia (E) v to bruise

ru lopa v to carry and throw down; ruagala (E), ru ruba (S)

1rulu m the sweat bee; tagi (E), tangi (S)

2rulu m a var. of banana which is very firm [stalk and leaves are long, plant is white-coloured, fruit is firm; used in trade]

3rulu m a swarm; dulu (E,S) (puna rulu: swarm of bees)

rulupa m a type of tree which, when the fruit or leaves are eaten, may cause the skin to itch [Moraceae, Ficus; fruit the size of a small mandarine, with a hard green shell, white fruit inside]
Cf. sapu-sapu-maa

rulupita v to trample down the grass or bush; rupiitya (E), rupia (S) (paake aame pora naipara rulupita: thieves trample down a way where there isn't a road)
Cf. podo pea

1ruma m a small hardwood tree [three kinds classified according to the size of the leaves; fruit is oblong shaped]

2ruma v to climb
Cf. opasaa, rumasaa
rumasaa v to go up a tree, etc.
with aid
Cf. opasaa, ruma

rumaa v 1. to exchange in marriage
Cf. kea, lamua
2. to portion out goods, etc.

rumaake pi two together
Cf. rupaake

rumana (E) n a marsupial; rumano (S)

ruma-naaki n a large bird,
apparently the New Guinea eagle
[reminds the people of cassowary
because of its claws; eats pigs,
possoms and can even kill small
children]

ruma rumane in the middle of the
night, complete darkness, midnight

1rumina n the common bat; ruminya
(E,S)

2rumina n a var. of sweet potato
[red skin, fed leaves and a soft
tuber; fed to pigs]

ruminaa n a type of butterfly;
bolopari (E)

rumiraaru (E) n mythical ape-like
animal

1rumu n a var. of tapioca [large,
tomato-shaped tubers, firm flesh
when cooked]

2rumu n 1. the knees
2. the top of a mountain (pore rumu)

3. the joint of cane or bamboo;
rumaa (E), le (S)
Cf. ene, dila

rumu au la (E) a head man, big
man, show-off

rumu-kebalo n [Chloranthaceae,
Ascarina philippensis]

rumu-kebalo-aani n [Urticaceae
var.]

rumula n a pandanus found on
Mt. Giluwe [very tough nuts,
must be broken open with stones]

rumu yarua v to kneel

1runa (E) the second child in
a family; runiaa (W)

2runa v to tie something fast
(ada yagi runa: tie the grass
to the roof)
Cf. adia, wakepata

runaa (E) v to bring together,
touch; kibumaa (W)

runaa sawdust from borer in a
post, etc.

runane av inside
(runane pimi: they are at
peace [euphemism])
Cf. rupara

runia n the middle child; runya
(E), runa (S)
(go naaki wala runia madini:
that boy was born between two
others)
Cf. rikiraa

rupa v to string beads, insects,
etc.; lipalepea (E), rupea?(E)
Cf. kibipaba, ipaepa

1rupaa n something which is half
full

2rupaa n the walls of a room

3rupaa v to open the eyes
(ini narupaaria: he didn't
open his eyes)

rupaake n two pandanus, sweet
potato, etc. which have grown
together
Cf. rupapi
rupa odea n dance of sorrow, sung for the dead; rupaale koda (E)

rupapi n fused together
(ena rupapi padane pepara pia: the fish are all fused together in the tin)
Cf. rupaake

rupara av inside
(ada rupara miru ora adaa opea: there is a lot of smoke in the house)
Cf. runane

rupea (E) v to borrow, take and use

ru pia v to be in the shade

rupia (E) n small crack

rupi-kali m alt name for centipede
Cf. supi-kalai

rupita v 1. to bang down as in a container
Cf. radala
2. to throw something down
3. to split open by hitting with something
(onana aalu rupotaya: the woman's head is split open)
4. (S) to beat the chest; rupitya (E)

rupitabaa v to bang down and break

ruri (E) n sorcery substance

ruri pia v to perform sorcery

ruri pi aa m death sorcerer

ru upi aa m sorcerer

ru ru m a clan
Cf. repaa, araalu

rutu la v to forbid, disagree about something

ruwaluruni Pand lang for small, bad, etc.

S

-sa 3 sg NP, Set I, Set II

1sa v 1. to put or place something; sia (S)

2. in the perfective form used as an existential verb
(go ia: it is here)
3. to swim
(ipa sa: he is swimming)

2sa to knit or weave something; isa (E)

-saa upward motion, Set II

1saa p we dl, us dl

saalapae the two of us together (as a unit)

2saa v to slice deliberately, as with a knife
(midii saa: to slice meat;
apaa saa: to slice off pieces of pig fat)

sa agaa m any type of disguised speech where the implication is clear to some but not all of the hearers; sa agaale (E), sa angele (S)
[(apo aai adega raimi rolaia nogo pe meda pua mea: you see the banana there, well cut it down and go and get a drinking container) The hidden meaning relates to the social context where the speaker is eating sweet potato and consequently thirsty; this is a culturally clever way of asking for a drink. Most commonly disguised speech is used to pass on innuendoes, insults, or some other culturally acceptable threat]
Cf. sa pi agaa, ya agaa, makira agaa, lame

sa kone m hidden thoughts

*saapara m shovel
Cf. *sepete

saapia v to have
(amame aga ia pare pa saapia palo maarea: I don't know if mother has pandanus yet or not)
Cf. ia, pa ia

saapira v to hold on to; siapira (S)
(saapirapa: hold on to it; don't let loose)
Cf. ripina, sabaa
sabaa v to hold on to
Cf. saapia, ripina

sakalaina n a var. of victory leaf which is red in colour;
potawe (E,S)

salesale n an introduced var. of long leafed cabbage [prob. Chinese cabbage, Brassica chinensis]

saluba (SW) n name for sweet potato

sama n a var. of wild taro found in wet swampy areas [said to cause hallucinations and death]

sanome pea (E) v to mix something up

sape v to sew, knit, do handwork; isa (E,S)

sape-pora *tarake (E) n a grader or any shovel-like machine

saperara n tab name for the river bed rock called kusimi

sapi n the generic term for sweet potato; modo (E)

sapi rakota n left-over sweet potato

sapi re yaina a spell said to ward off hunger [a sweet potato is wrapped in possum fur and tree oil poured over it; then it is buried and the site marked with a hardwood stake]

sapia n a var. of pitpit [reddish stalk right to the top]

sa pi agaa n hidden talk
Cf. sa agaa, ya agaa, makirae agaa, lame

sapia-rimu n a var. of pitpit which is ancestral [dirty coloured but with a white edible stalk]

sapi kabe n a type of arrow [made from pitpit]; modo kabe (E,S)
Cf. kabiri

sapi-nala n a large black hawk

sapi rado inalo e poa kimi omeme expression for a time of famine or hunger [lit. when only unusual sweet potatoes are left and these are dug out by hand]

sapi-ramu n a wild or unplanted var. of victory leaf

sapi-ripu n a general term used for weeds and grasses which grow on sweet potato mounds

sapu n 1. a path; pora (S)
2. tab alt for road
Cf. pora

sapula n a type of arrow made from the bone of a man; sapulu (E,S)

sapu-sapu-maa n a type of tree with an edible fruit
Cf. rulupa

*sarara padane n 1. a week
2. a reference point in a unit of 7 days

sau n the Papuan Hornbill [although not found in the area, the bills are traded and used for decorations]; kauwala (E), sau (S)
Cf. sau a gore, beteagimi

saau-agora n alt name for the hornbill
Cf. beteagimi, sau

saware (S) n a marsupial

seagu (E) n a stone axe

seakoli (S) n praying mantis

sebe n inside of lips

sebea v 1. to open the mouth and show the gums and teeth
2. to split open a body, etc.
sege ta to be wet; rege ta (E), rege ta (S) also ipa pia

seka n a var. of sweet potato [long white tuber, abundant leaves]

sekaalu n a bird arrow made from kabe Cf. pebalu

sekelaate-mea tab name for water in Ribu ceremony

sekere n pearl shell the main unit of currency or shell exchange in the immediate pre-European era [it was predated by the cowrie shell necklaces (rage) and headbands (yapaapu)]. Before this reputedly certain exchanges involved the seeds of the mudupa tree and certain leaves. There are several grades of pearl shell: the small, white coloured ones; the large more golden ones which are displayed; and the ones with 'a name', i.e. well-known ones which are highly prized with a history kept of their trade; rekere (E)

sekere aare n parts of pearl shell which are used as neck and ear ornaments

sekere ada poa to display pearl shells

sekere kibita n a poor quality pearl shell

sekere nu robeme a large display of unwrapped pearl shells, displayed communally but individually owned

sekere pore a smaller less-desired type of pearl shell sekere ubi decorative bark used to cover and protect pearl shells

sekere wai a heavy pearl shell [lit. female]

sekere yaalo the decorative band used to hang up and display pearl shells Cf. moma yaalo

sekere yadapu a pearl shell with long ends where holes are made for the yaalo [lit. a male shell]

se latabaa releasing air, juice from anything; si latyabaa (E), si lalupa (S)

*sele ada n a tent

*sele kadati aa a silly or funny person; *sele ali (E), *sele ali (S)

semogo n a var. of sweet potato [brown skin, round white tuber, leaves are small and reddish]

*sene n a chain

se pea (E) v to lift out

*sepete n shovel Cf. *saapara

serali n a var. of sugar-cane [large and tough with large leaves, red skin, little juice]

serepe (S) n a var. of spider
se $n$ the cry of young birds
se ta the noise of air being released [as when burning green cane or bursting a balloon] (se latabaa: it gushed out or it)

*seti $n$ a shirt
*sewede misini $n$ Seventh Day Adventist mission
seweke seweke ta $n$ the cry of the muma quail
1-si 2 sg NP, Set I, Set II
2-si diminutive quality
si $n$ the offspring or children of someone
*siaa $n$ a chair
siakali (S) $n$ a var. of caterpillar
sibea naaki $n$ mischievous child, always in trouble (yada sibeaape naaki: a boy who gets in trouble fighting)
sibia $v$ 1. to strip, as bark from a tree
2. to pull up and down, as when weaving a net bag
sigipa $v$ to tear loose from
Cf. riripia
sigipia (E) $v$ to squeeze; igipia (W)
sikalu (E) $n$ arrow using back bone for tip
sikame (E) $n$ a marsupial
*sikerete $m$ a cigarette
*siki ada $n$ the hospital
sikili $n$ Pand lang for pearl shell also gigili
sikireaeli ropaa $n$ decorative arm bracelet
Cf. kiami ropaa, kebe ropaa, ipa ropaa, mapiratemea, ropaa

si la to suck or slurp sugar-cane
1-silo $n$ a small yellow bird with speckles of brown throughout [lives in grass and wild cane]
2-silo (E) $n$ fluid, moisture
si lo rubala to spin a cob-web
-sima 1 pl NP, Set I, Set II
-simi 2, 3 NP, Set I, Set II
si-olaa $n$ small frog carried on the back of its mother
-sipa 1 dl NP, Set I, Set II
-sipi 2, 3 pl NP, Set I, Set II
*sipi $n$ 1. a jeep
2. an ocean-going ship
Cf. *dipi
sipilia $n$ a small bird [var. of Flycatcher; long tail, lives in the grass around gardens]
sipili toge $n$ a marsupial [name is known but not found in the area]
*sipunu $n$ a spoon
sisi $n$ animal offspring (mena sisi: piglets [lit. si + -si])
sitaa $n$ type of trees, softwood [Saurainaeae, Saurania; three var.: one is larger with much sap in the bark, leaves are long and firm; second is smaller with prickles on the leaves; third is also small with more prickles on it]
*situwa $n$ a store
Cf. *sitoa
siya (E) expression used to call a dog
so an exclamation used to get attention
so $d$ up there, upwards
Cf. sogo
sogo d up there, up that way
Cf. so
dokey (S) n. jews harp; rabalo (E), rabialo (W)
*soko n. tobacco
(soko meda gi: give me a draw)
Cf. *soko yo
*sokope n. a pipe

*soko yo n. tobacco leaf; soko keraa (S)
Cf. mutaa yo, ramaa yo, kenoa yo, *soko
*sokone n. socks
soko-ta (E) n. taboo word for smoke pipe in Ribu ceremony
*solowara n. the ocean
Cf. yalo
somo n. water [rare tab form]
(somo ora lumayade: the water (stream) has dried up)
Cf. ipa
sope n. 1. saliva; supi (E), tupa (S)
(sope raa: to spit)
2. foam, soap bubbles
*sopo n. soap
sorea (E) v. to feel smooth
*sosopene n. any cooking utensil
-su 1 sg NP, Set I, Set II
1 su n. 1. the thumb
2. the number five in the body part counting system; su (S)
su-midi n. 1. the heel of the thumb in many areas
2. the number six in the body counting system in many areas; suara (S)

2 su n. 1. the ground
(ipaa piri su: good soil
[lit. ground with substance in it])
2. any village or location
su agapae n. irregular ground that has clumps or grass, etc.
su arere pa n. any dispute over land
su-eto n. an earthquake
Cf. suminini
su iru ta n. hard ground
(gore rogoma su yalo iru ta: that ground is clay so it is hard)
Cf. su puri pata, su midi pe
su-kele *tarake (E) bulldozer
[i.e. any machine which shoves dirt]
su kobere n. good soil [i.e. black soil]
suminini n. an earthquake;
sumimi (E,S)
(adaa suminini pa: to have a strong earthquake)
Cf. su eto
sumi-sumi peia (E) n. alt for earthquake
su-masa *tarake (E) n. front-end loader [i.e. any machine which lifts dirt]
1 suba n. 1. tab relationship
(niaa Kewa onaame imaa suba niti waru peme: we Kewa do not say the names of our taboo relatives)
Cf. imaa, imaa niti
2. alt term for akua
2 suba n. moon (S and only certain areas of W)
(suba epea rabu onanu agi-ada pateme: when the new moon comes up the women go to their menstrual houses)
Cf. eke, akua
3 suba n. the ridge pole of a house; kakua (E), kasa (S)
Cf. akua
1 subi  a softwood tree [prob. *Elaeocarpus* var.; there are two kinds, one large and one small; both are used for house-building leaves turn red and are used for decoration, bark is used for sides of houses]

2 subi a lean or thin pig or other animal; yubi (E)

subita a var. of Pandanus similar to *modo-sugi* [one of the most prized nuts with distinctive markings; the tree is tall, has many spines on the leaves]

subi-yalu-yalu type of tree like the subi [also called subi-aani; marble-sized red fruit]

su-ekamu a black, large marsupial [long hair over the eyes, lives in trees or on the ground]

sugi tab name for pig in *Rudu* ceremony

sugilima ne kone clever manner, does things quickly, etc.

sugilima yawa pia to be proud, conceited

Cf. ini kabe aa, rope pia

sugi-pipi type of rat which lives in old logs, etc. [up to 20 or 30 live together; have a characteristic odour, similar to the ega-kapua in appearance]

sukiru ta to be strong; sugulumata (E), sugulumua (S)

suku 1. the flames of a fire

Cf. sulaa 2. anything shiny

(suku suku pi yae: something which has a shiny finish)

*sukulu a school

sukuma (E) tab word for sacred stone in *Ribu* ceremony

sulaa the flames of a fire

Cf. suku

sulasaa v to sniff something or to sniff mucous back into nose; sulasa (S)

sulepera a small brown bird [flies around close to the ground and along streams]

sumaipe a medium sized bird which has a green colour, speckled with brown [prob. a var. of Fruit Dove; found in the forest area]

sumale (S) the area near Mt. Murray

suna a female pig

Cf. wai, kebo

supi-kalai a centipede

Cf. rupi-kalai

supita a large bird, about the size of a chicken [prob. a var. of Pigeon; has red feathers along the back, white underneath, blue around the neck, very loud and distinctive cry]

suri a hole in something (aana suripara: holes in rocks; repena suripara: holes in trees)

Cf. ebo

su-roto [Leguminosae, *Desmodium]*

suroba 1. to guard something

2. to watch carefully; poralora (E)

Cf. puna

*susu-mena an imported or European pig

*susu-winya (S, Kware) the European honeybee

*sutigane a rifle or shotgun

1-ta 3 sg Pr, Set II

2-ta Alter, prolongation asp

*ta v 1. to hit; tya (E)

2. an existential verb form
(ikuulu ta: to have diarrhoea; masaa ta: to have a backache; aalu ta: to have a headache)

tu lopaa vp to kill and dispose of; luagalaa (E), lu lopaa (S)

tu maoma vp to kill someone [lit. hit and cause to die]

1taga n a var. of banana which is grey [fruit is short but plentiful]

2taga n the ashes of a fire; tanga (S)
  (sapi kusape taga waru ia: there are good (not) ashes for cooking the sweet potato)
  Cf. pere, pealua

tage tage ta sound of a pig chewing food

1-tapa 1 dl Pr, Set I

2-tapa 1 dl Pf, Set I

tapa n 1. a burial platform, hence now a grave, graveyard
  Cf. *mata-mata
  2. a bridge, ladder, stairs
   (ada pora gaapepara tapa pua opasaeme: there are steps up to the house door)
  Cf. kebe

tapa adita curve down, as banana leaf, tail of an animal, etc.; tapa aditya (E)

tapada n the men's house

tapada ini n the opening of the men's house

tapu n 1. a var. of wild taro
  2. also generic term used for taro
   (go tapu medaloma rero pea: some taro is bitter)
  Cf. raraen sapi, maa

*tarake n a truck or tractor
*taramu n any drum-like container
*tarasisi n trousers or pants
*taro n a var. of imported taro

1tau n alt name for bamboo
  (niri raapara tau kabola pulu: I am going to the bush to cut bamboo)
  Cf. aria, pe

2tau (E) n tab name for bamboo container in Ribu ceremony

*tawale n towel

-te 2 sg Pr, Set II

-te n a type of medium-sized parrot [red and green coloured]

tela (E) n sparks

 tele tele ta a sound [as pig fat cooking, etc., a sudden noise];
  teta (E,S)
  Cf. tepo tepo ta, tolo tolo ta

-tepe 1 pl Pf, Set I

-tepe 2, 3 pl Pr, Set II

-tepa 1 dl Pr, Set II

-tepaa non-s, n-imm Alter imp

1-tepe 1 dl Fu, Set I

2-tepe 2, 3 dl, Pr, Set II

tepo tepo ta n 1. the sound of pig fat frying, etc.
  Cf. tele tele ta, tolo tolo ta
  2. the noise made by cracking nuts with the teeth

tere n the hole in a man's nose for a stick ornament; dumu (E)

tere-ware (E) eye glasses, button

*tesini ada n 1. a square house off the ground
  2. any group of houses built in a line

ter ta (E) to burst open

1tete n softwood which flowers but does not bear fruit [red leaves, black bark is stripped for making ropes to tether pigs]

2tete n a small type of pig flea
tete ta the cry of parrots or lorikeets [as the podoro, te and watan]

te-tole n a small brown bird [lives near the beds of streams]
tewa (E) n a type of fern
-ti 2 sg Pf, Set I
tiga n a softwood tree [prized for its many forked branches so it can be used as a ladder for tying sugar-cane and bananas, fruit is yellow, bark is used in house-building]
-tima 1 pl Pf, Set I
*tini n any tin can or container; sinipe (E), sini (S)
(nina tini pe raputea: my container has a hole in it)
Cf. *rini-pe
tipa n wild reed for skirts
Cf. kalia
*tisaa n a teacher
tiwarakua n a tail of cassowary [used in certain dances, usually by visiting strangers]
1-to 1 sg Pf, Set II [occurs with Active stems optionally and with Stative stems obligatorily]
2-to 1 sg Pf, Set I
to n 1. the body of a person
  2. the trunk of a tree
to wanini aa wp proud [i.e. one pleased with his own body]  
Cf. ipa ti aa
-toa 1 sg Fu, Set I
toae toae ta the cry of parrots, etc. as they fly
toge n a softwood which flowers [prob. Saxifragaceae, Polyosma; orange bark which is not used]
tole pia tongue-tied
tolo tolo ta sound of wild cane, etc. crackling as it burns

tomato n the common introduced tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum*)
tosi n a torch, flashlight
toto pea v 1. to be dizzy, blind; lalu pia (E), le kalu pia (S)
(niri toto pua yaina omalo: I am dizzy so I'm sick)
Cf. emelalu pea
  2. to be drunk
toto ta n the noise of something or someone approaching in the bush
toyo n a type of hardwood tree
-tu 1 sg Pf, Set I
tutu agaa n gibberish, incoherent talk, as in fever
tutu-wapi-ruru n an alt name for the wapi-ruru frog [so named because it cries tutu]

u
u n sleep
umikole-malae la pirae to be nodding with sleep
umima n to be heavy-lidded or sleepy
u pata v to sleep
(yaa u pata: to sleep fitfully)
upège pi ajp someone who walks with his head down
u robe yomagae ajp a bent over old man
Cf. masaa robe
urumu rumu raa (E) midnight;
rumu, ruma ruma nia (S)
1uba n a star; kuba (E, S)
uba podo podo ta to glisten [as the coloured feathers of a bird in the sunlight or the stars; usually referring to different colours]
2uba n a var. of tree
uba-aana n a var. of tree
[Rutaceae, prob. Evodia; lit.
star-stone]

uba-ninigi n var. of softwood
[has a pungent odour]

uba uba said to a young cassowary
to get it to follow

ubi n 1. the bark used for
covering or wrapping a pearl
shell
2. the bark used for the sides
of a house; kubi (E,S)

ubu n covering for an earth oven
Cf. ogere pusu

ubuma n a pandanus with many
spines [nuts ripen yellow,
cooked before eating]

uburaa v to make a pile of
something, as compost for a
sweet potato mound; kuburaa
(E,S)

udidi karia to wrinkle or fold
the victory leaf as a dance
decoration

udinaa v to go out or be ex-
tinguished, as a fire; kudinaa
(E,S)

udinaa repe-repe pea to be
flickering, as to go out

udipa n a type of red plant
with flowers [Begoniaceae,
Symbegonia]

udipa kone np selfish, jealous
Cf. pupitu pia

udipaa n 1. co-wives; kaaru (E)
Cf. kaaru
2. the relationship of a wife
and sister; kudipaa (E,S)

udupa n 1. for a male Ego, the
HZ
2. for the female Ego, the BW

ugaga n a fairly large bird
[black feathers, white beak
and nose, loud cry which can
be mistaken for people; similar
to a Flycatcher]

ugi n a var. of banana which has
bunches of short, sparse fruit

ugia v to break off; rukia (E)
(mena uni ugia: break off the
pig bone)
Cf. ebepea, karia, rodopea,
kaba, pulakea, rugula

ugoro (E) v to go ro; ururu (W)

uguna n the inside wall or corner
of a house

uguru to snore; ugoro (E)
(uguru waru pe aa: a man who
really snores)

ukane n the black Pine
[Podocarpaceae, Podocarpus]
Cf. pawa

ukuma n 1. the center ridge of a
house roof
2. the roof of a house
Cf. masaa
3. the boards around fire; kuma
(E,S)
4. log entrance to house

ukumu n a bundle of trading salt;
uruma (E,S)
Cf. riti

ulabu aj dialect var. of luabu all

ula-kega n [Piperaceae, Piper
var.]

1'ulu n long bamboo filled with
something; rupea (E), luminya
(S)
(wabala ulu: container of tree
oil)
Cf. wabala

2'ulu (E) posts

3'ulu n the two end stakes in the
top game

ululu n Pand lang for thunder,
lightning, bush, etc.

ululu kege n decorative clay
used in dances

uluma n mold on food; kuluma (E,S)

ulu-mu n a type of brown hawk
which lives in the grass

ulupapu pea v to become rusty or
yellow-coloured
Cf. abu pea
ulu-yaako n the tab name for the while cockatoo, yaako

uma-repena n large log in front of men's house
Cf. repe

umini n pond, lake; kumi (E)

umu n 1. underneath or belly of an animal or human
2. underneath part of a mushroom, etc.; kumu (E,S)

umunane av underside; kumunane (E,S)

1uni n a loan of something; kuni (E,S)
(uni sa: help someone)

uninane av the extreme edge or end of something
Cf. inalu

2uni n a bone; kuli (E,S)
(uni roboa sisu oya: fracture to a pulp)

uni agoloma ti aa np an extremely thin person

uni kikiaa nea to have aching bones [lit. eaten bones and extremities]
Cf. uni raa

uni kogorea someone about to die [lit. cold bones]

uni oma paya a weak person [lit. dead bones]

uni pia to be thin

uni raa to have a fever [lit. burning bones]
Cf. uni kikiaa nea

uni-rama n a spear made from a thigh bone

uni-robe aa an extremely thin or short man [lit. one with bones broken off]

upa n a var. of mushroom which grows on dead pai trees [one sub-var. grows in large clusters; the other is smaller]

upaa n a dream
(abia neme epe upaa pawa: I just had a good dream; upaa laapo pawa: I had two dreams)
Cf. maapua

upaa ne aa np an ally [i.e. one seen in the dream]

upaa pia to have a dream

upano n a var. of taro [large leaves, yellow skin and white flesh]

upapa to be cold; kupa pea (E)

upa rigi the shivers, malaria; kupeririri (E,S), igigi (E), ingingi (S)
(abiare upa rigi wasua yaina omalo: now I am shivering and really sick)
Cf. upa susu

upa susu v 1. shivers from the cold; kogo pia (E), koso pia (S), kupa pia (E,S)
2. to have goose-bumps
(upa susu salaga yaina omalo paya: there are goose-bumps so I am getting sick)
Cf. upa rigi

upa ya 1. to be on the same side
2. to be allies; kaleya (E,S)
(saa upadaa dia: we are not on the same side; saa upa yapa: we are on the same side)

upi n a boil

upi-ini n the core of a boil

upia v to hug, embrace; kupia (E,S)

1upipi n a volcanic type of pitted stone [very hard, used in earth ovens]

2upipi n traditional emetic for cases of sorcery
(go upipi naliare maaku ratalia: if he takes that medicine he will vomit)
Cf. ripana, wabu yo

3upipi (E) n alt form for boil
lupisaa n  a type of sugarcane

upisaa v  to lift up by hugging;
  kupisaa (E), kupisia (S)

ura n  a woman's skirt; kura (E, S)
  (ura yama: put on a skirt)

ura-yai n  a woman's mourning skirt
  Cf. yai ura

urawai n  a sty; inflamed swelling on the eyelid

uri n  the generic term for frog;
  kuri (E, S)

uria n  a small soft shrub which is dark coloured [skin is stripped and used for net bags; fruit is small and covered with fuzz]

uriagaa n  the bailer shell;
  kuriagaa (E)
  Cf. raame

uruba-masatala n  a wild var. of victory leaf [also planted as a fence, used in fances, for common wear or in earth ovens; two sub-var. depending on the size of the leaf]

uruma (E) n  a wrapped unit of salt; ukumu, riti (W)

usaane (E) a drum; ralia (E), lai

usade n  a var. of banana [long fruit, long leaves, dirty coloured]

usi n  an edible green
  Cf. aki-raara

usiralima n  alt name for usi

usu asubaanu n  the head men at the back of the line in the Ribu ceremony [also called wasanane]

usu pea to be cooked

uta n  a type of small swamp fowl [does not fly]

uta-be n  a small swamp fowl [similar to the uta but it has red and black feathers]

utaayae n  a type of casuarina tree

utali (S) tab name for water in Adaalu Ribu ceremony

utu n  a rat which lives in holes in trees [long tail, red-coloured legs, markings on the face, caught by plugging the holes of the tree with dirt]

W

1-wa 1 sg Pa, Set I

2-wa  Alter, sp, suc, n-term

3-wa  residual asp, Set II

1-wa  an exclamation to get attention

2-wa  to disassociate oneself from an act
  (ni rapa gipiaga wa: I don't want to play so forget it)

waa n  the generic term for sugarcane [Sacharum officinarum]

waa aqi n  the main sugarcane stalk

waa ene n  the joints of the sugarcane stalk

waa ini n  the tassles or flowers of the sugarcane

waa kekapua n  the sugarcane bits and refuse after being chewed

waaape n  a sugarcane pole
waa-pe n a var. of sugarcane with a large yellow stalk; large leaves and lots of juice
waa peago sugarcane sprouts Cf. waa si
waa si n sugarcane sprouts Cf. waa peago
waagasu pi adj to be bent, crooked (repena waagasu pi yola epemena: pull the crooked tree along) Cf. kano pi, paaki pi, payabo pi, koi pi
*waaka n 1. work (abadere pama karapusa waaka pisima: formerly we just did slave work [i.e. jail work] Cf. kogono
2. the government road; barara (E), pora (S) (niri waaka nebonane aru: I waited along the side of the big road) Cf. pora barara, barara
waala v 1. to show or reveal (masaa waalalo: I am turning my back)
2. to teach
waapitaa n Pand lang for hand
waa-yapa n a large marsupial found in the Erave area [it is said that when it sees people a smoke-like substance is given off from its body]
1waba n a brightly coloured lizard [found mainly in the diwi tree; bites people]
2waba n small green tree grasshopper also gau (S)
wabala n the generic term for tree oil; yokoyo (E,S) (mata pabem raburi wabala waru peme: when they dance they really put on the grease) Cf. ulu
wabala-pe n a gourd made to hold tree oil
Cf. naapu-pe, karubi, irikai-alu
wabala-yo n name given to trees in areas where tree oil is found
1wabe (E) n men's net apron with pigtail decoration
2wabe adj 1. the motion of a dog or pig, etc.
2. the motion of water or something going around Cf. wabiaake
wabiaake adj the swishing motion of the tail of an animal; wapiaake (E,S)
1wabi n the lesser bird of paradise [found mostly in the southern K areas]
2wabi n a var. of caterpillar often found in the pora tree Cf. raki
1wabu n a strong small tree or shrub [short squat leaves, yellowish branches]
wabu yo n the leaf of the wabu tree taken as emetic for sorcery Cf. upipi
2wabu n pandanus husk without nuts
wabula n dragonfly, mayfly, or water strider type of insect
wadea (E,S) yellow clay; abu (W)
wadiaa v 1. to miss, as when shooting an arrow
2. to remove, clear, pass someone else
3. to dodge; wadua (E,S)
   Cf. paa kea

wadina v alt form for waduna

wado pa v 1. to store firewood in a house
   2. to place something on top of something else
      (neme repena ada lopara wado pi: I am putting the firewood up in the house)

wadu av carelessly

waduna v to light a torch; kewa (E,S)
   (ribaa taga pata waduna: it's dark so light the torch)
   Cf. ewa

wae aj bad, no good; kolea (E,S)
   (wae kone: bad thoughts)
   Cf. ota

wae agaa np foul talk
   (go oname nipara wae agaa laadaa koso tepa: this woman said bad things to me so we will go to court)
   Cf. eketa

wagalu-rani n [Scrophulariaceae var.]

waga-sula n [Zingiberaceae, Riedelia var.]
   Cf. kuta-repena

wage wage pa v 1. to weave
   2. to shake the hand with amazement
      (ki wage wage pu pirawa: I was really amazed)
   3. to shake one's head
   4. to move about
      (wage wage pu lapae piralia: it will move around (by the wind); aalu mawage wage pea: he is disagreeing [i.e. moving the head back and forth])
   Cf. ete eto pia

wagopia v 1. to pick a bone clean, as a dog
   2. to lick (E)
   Cf. agopata, parepa

1 wai n a young immature female animal, esp. pig; inya (E,S)
   Cf. kebo, suna

2 wai n anything which can be planted; wai (S)
   (konape wai: corn kernel; waa wai: sugarcane sprout; kiamu wai: type of cabbage seed; repena wai: tree seedling)
   Cf. ini

3 wai n a message
   (awa nepara wai lamega lagiano ipu: your relatives sent you a message so come and let me tell you)
   Cf. agaa lo otaa

wai lo otaae aa np a messenger

wai *balusi (E) n helicopter

1 waima n a type of grass which grows near streams, etc.

2 waima n a large feast
   (yawe sulalo waima yaweme: when they want to build long houses they have a feast)
   Cf. ogere

waimalo n the main or choice var. of tapioca; the smaller tuber type

waip (E) n discourse, talk, noise

waipoa (E) v to learn

wairi n a fence erected in fighting

waiwe (E) n [Compositae, Erigeron]

waka (E) n tab name for pig in Ribu ceremony
   Cf. adasa

wakatya (E) v to reinforce so as not to fall down
   also aluatya (E), mapeta (E)

1 wake n a small edible grasshopper

2 wake n a var. of sweet potato
   [ancestral, small leaves, red skin and a white tuber]

wakea n a large softwood tree in common use [yellow bark and leaves, reddish inside grain]
wake kamayaa n  the man who gives the count for future dances [i.e. the one who announces the date of the next festival]

wake-malo n  var. of grasshopper (wake) also called mata kabamalo

wakenane n  tab word for dog

wakepata v  to tie onto, tie securely (ada yagi wasua wakepata: put the grass on the house and tie it) Cf. poga ta, adia, runa

wakia n  a tree which grows abundantly in new garden areas [Monaceae, Ficus pungens; leaves are large with small thorns and used in earth ovens, bark is stripped and the women make string from it for net bags, fruit is eaten by marsupials]

wakia n  a relative, e.g. cross-cousin Cf. ai, kiwape

wakia v  1. to threaten  2. to hold axe in dance position

wakiana rogaa v  to coil something up [as an eel when about to cook it]

wakia yona (E) n  dewdrops on growing things [interpreted as where the spirits spit]

wako n  a wooden plate or bowl; kopo (E,S) Cf. kopo, moae

wadono (E) n  a poor man

wakunabo n  a hole in the ground; kolo (E), pusa (S) Cf. neka, naku

waku pa (E) v  to dry out beside fire

wala av  again

wala-wia (E) n  arrow type

wale (E) n  net bag type

walea n  the Wau Beech tree [Magnoliaceae, Elmerillia papuana; formerly used to make wooden bowls, the skin is removed and the sap is sometimes put in dogs' noses to help them scent possums, etc.]

walega yaa n  any very large cassowary

waleka (E) [Sauraniaceae, Saurania]

walele n  a small protrusion, as the lip of a tin can (go repena lai madaa walele waru aya: this drum has a nice ridge on it) Cf. agene

walia (E) n  tab word for tobacco in Ribu ceremony

walilo (E) intestine

wali pea (E) to line up

walipi winya (E) np  a prostitute

walipi naaki (E) np  an illegitimate child

*walo (S) n  oil

walu n  the Kandis tree [Guttiferae, Garcina; a type of hardwood tree found in the forests; short leaves used by men for decorations in dances, tree used in buildings and as poles for sugarcane]

walu n  a tough, yellowish moss found in the deep forest
walu (E) n: a walking stick
walu kepaa (E) n: two main posts in the spirit house
walu-lubi n: var. of moss
waluma n: menstrual period
Cf. kupaa-ada
waluru n: 1. the noise of dangerous sliding mud
2. the noise made while walking through a muddy place such as a swamp
(go paure waluru taga ne pabaladaape: that swamp sounds bad so look out you aren't covered up by it; waluru lala aya: he is slooshing through the mud)
walu walu lapa salia v: to be loose, like a tooth
1. wamea n: a bandicoot type of marsupial which roots in the ground for food; saluba (E), kasa (S)
(go yapa wamea adapara lapatepe: two of the marsupials called wamea sleep in one house)
Cf. apea
2. wamea n: 1. a bark cloak
Cf. aka
2. a head covering made of the bark wamea; pokamu rami (E), porale (S)
wamea-epota n: a small marsupial
[makes its home in moss on the ground of in tree stumps, sleeps with tail hanging out of hole]
1. wamo pa v: to straighten or pick up things
Cf. managola, maredepo ya, amege pa
wane n: a daughter
Cf. nogo
wane ada (E) n: a porch
wanega n: a var. of sweet potato which is ancestral; small leaves and dry yellow-coloured tuber
wano n: a softwood tree with white bark [Urticaceae, Pipturus; has small bead-sized yellow fruit; tough bark used to wrap around items]
wano-laba n: a var. of softwood tree
wapa n: a type of possum which is said to be able to fly
(go yapa wapa nipuna aapu irikai aapuna nonapea: the tail of the wapa is like a dog)
Cf. aapu-ata
wapaga n: a tree grub; pamada (E), pameda (S)
wapaga-iri-pati n: the common grubworm [when it is at a stage with a lot of hair on it, hence the name]
wapaga-riga n: var. of common grubworm
wapalepo (E) n: marks or designs on something
wape n: a red plant used to decorate pearl shells
Cf. ridi
wapea v: 1. to uncover or reveal something
2. clear a path
wape lepo pea v: to have bright distinguishing colours or markings, as a lizard's body
wape pea 1. v: to carve markings on something
(paipa negolo wape pa: the markings of a shield)
2. m decorations for a dance such as paint (E)

wapi m
1. any dense forest area
2. natural mounds of earth, etc.

wapike pia
1. to twirl or shake a grass skirt
2. to wag tail, as a dog

wapiasa m
a var. of moss found in the forest or near gardens

wapi-puna m
a type of bushfly or sweat bee

wapi-ruru m
a frog found deep in the forest [large stomach, very short legs, considered tasty because of the fluid in it, cries only in the rainy times when women hear it and uncover it]

1wapu n
type of slate stone used to make stone axes

2wapu n
type of arrow made from Areca palm

wapu-kaago n
a var. of sweet potato [ancestral; large, firm tuber and yellow leaves]

waraa (E)
1. m palm of hand or heel of foot
2. v to touch

waraka pa
to hit the stake only with the stem and not the round part of the top

warakua n
1. a var. of victory leaf
2. an alt or tab name for any such leaf; ramu (E,W)
(nena warakua ora kaaputa: your leaves are dried out)
Cf. aapu

warea v
1. to peel, as sweet potato
Cf. ketepa, karea
2. to scrape, shave
3. to sharpen a pencil

wareaa v
1. to pick, pluck or prune
(no maapupara āpū pua wareaa: go to the garden and pick some pitpit)

warena m
a var. of large wild tapioca [found in the forest, fed to pigs in time of famine]

1waria m
a var. of tree [Elaeocarpaceae, Sloanea; there are two kinds: one is said to have the bark and trunk resembling a man, the other of a woman; one called ona-waria has a large fruit; the other, aa-waria, has a small fruit; fighting shields made from the root-section]

2waria v
to construct or make something; warua (E,S)
(rayo warī kirītīsa: he made everything)
Cf. modo pea

wari-wale m
a flag
Cf. lame-lame

waru av
in a good manner
(waru epeta: it is really good)

1warua (S) n
a wild, inedible banana

2warua (E) v
to work

waru pia
1. to work

2wasaa n
1. the soul
2. a shadow; wasupa (E,S)

warea n
1. to make a grass skirt
2. to put grass on a house roof
3. to tie grass into clumps

I wasaa
a widow

1wasa n
1. a wild, inedible banana
2. to work
3. the corner of a house, round end of a men's house; maako (E,S)
4. to make a grass skirt
2. to put grass on a house roof
3. to tie grass into clumps

1wasaa
a widow

2wasaa n
1. the soul
2. a shadow; wasupa (E,S)
wasagi n a fly
Cf. puna

wasa-ipugu n a var. of sweet potato [small leaves, dark coloured tuber]

*wasimi ta to wash something
Cf. radepa, kadepea

*wasowasato alt for *wasimi ta

wasupa 1. a reflection or mirror
(wasupa ri palae: ourselves and our reflection)
2. (E,S) soul or shadow; wasaa (W)

wasupa ri palae to be light, bright, reflect, etc.
(go nogona ree madaa wasupa ri palaya: that girl's sore
is light coloured on top [has pus in it])
Cf. lepo-lepo atae

1 wata n a type of tree which also is used as vines

2 wata n a large dark tree lizard

3 wata v to show, point out;
   wala (E)

watade-kali n a var. of the piru mushroom

watane n a var. of parrot [red, white and black feathers which shine as it flies; makes its home in tree holes as well as on branches]

waya-riri n a var. of lichen

wea (E) v 1. to thrust forth, as a hand
2. to pitch underhand, as a ball
3. to send a person or thing

weaonya (E) v to lower someone by hand

wea wea ta the cry of the itu bird

wemaa n small flutes made from kabe and tied in a cluster

[usually associated with the spirit houses]; welema (E)

1 wena (E) n fish; ena (W)

2 wena (E,S) n var. for woman

wena-walu n a type of worm found in water and fish [fairly large and sometimes mistaken for a small fish]

weno (E) n [Euphorbiaceae, Macaranga var.]

werepe (E) av later on; orope (W)

werepea (E) v to turn something; perek ea (W)

*wido n a window

wila (E,S) v to yell or shout for someone; yala (W)

winya (E) n woman; ona (W), wena (Kagua area), pamo (S)

winyaali (E) n people; onaa (W)

winyake (E) n headcloth, handkerchief

winya-remo (E) n type of spirit house [head and stomach of pigs are given to women]

1 wiru n the hoop pine

2 wiru n a var. of sweet potato [ancestral; large yellow leaves, white tuber; fed to pigs]

wiru-yogale (E) n decorations on spirit house where sacred stones are kept
witu-malo n a type of hairy tick
Cf. medo

-ya suffix denoting reported unseen action

ya v to be

1. yaa n the generic term for a bird; ropa (S)
   Cf. biyalayae

2. yaa apaa n an egg; yaa kapaa (E), ropa kapaa (S)

yaa inipu wape n a decorated or carved bird's beak

yaa-kuta n any domestic fowl also kulaa, ogado (E), kolokolo, si (S)
(nina kuta kebo apaa ia: my hen has laid an egg)

yaa-kuta mupaa rekaa when the first cock crows

yaa mataa n cassowary; yaari (E,S)

2. yaa n clouds, sky

yaa-koya a type of white cloud

yaa-ome black rain clouds [i.e. clouds which are dead]

yaa-ralo-paro-e small, high clouds seen during the dry season

yaa-ruta white clouds, heavy cumulus

3. yaa (E) v to send; otaa (W)

yaae yaae ta the cry of the yatupa bird

ya agaa n a lie, deceit; pala (E)
(niri ya agaa loa mataria: his lies made me hit him)
Cf. lame, makira agaa, sa agaa, sapi agaa

yaa i n a var. of sweet potato [short, large, pungent odour, recently introduced, fed to pigs]

yaake n 1. brother's wife of male ego
      2. sister's husband of male ego; kaate (E), kaaleke (S)

yaaki n a var. of wild tapioca found in the forest [consistency and shape of a vine, red tuber and leaves; also called yaaki-wapu]

yaa-roro n [Leguminosae, Desmodium]

yaa-kidipaa n a var. of mushroom [very small, usually not eaten]

yaa-kidua n tab name for stone in Rudu Ribu ceremony

yaaki-ona n apparently a type of borer or ant [found in the shoots of hardwood such as eya; very fine shavings said to be a result of women coming down from heaven at night for their food, which they then take back]

yaako n a cockatoo [not plentiful except in areas where certain fruits are abundant]
Cf. padota
yaako yaako geya geya ta n the cry of the cockatoo

yaako-aana-parati n limestone [it is considered to be the 'mother' of sand quartz, mudjilili]

yaako pala koboralu pea mixed black and white colours

yaako pi aj white coloured; kaake (S,S) Cf. aake pi

yaako-pi-adaalu n tab word for sacred stones in Rudu Ribu ceremony

yaakoya n obscure, dim, image of something (nipuna yaakoya raapu aya: it's there but obscure)

1 yaalo av continuous, always; ade abuna (E)
   (oro yaalo: all the time; oro yaalo yaalo: continuously)

2 yaalo n the woven band tied to a pearl shell

yaapi matya (E) to menstruate

1 yaapo n a var. of sugarcane [large, grey-coloured; large leaves, much juice]

2 yaapo (E) n a var. of victory leaf

yaa-potari n 1. holes in the wall or roof of a house 2. holes or flaws in a piece of paper, etc. Cf. nikiri

yaa-ragala tab name for stone in Adaalu Ribu ceremony

1 yaari n main cassowary headdress [the main decoration worn in fighting]

2 yaari (E) n a cassowary; mataa (W)

yaari gula gula ini riti pi idiom for one who looks around a lot, like a cassowary [implied: but doesn't see things very well]

yaari-paralo any fat cassowary

yaari-raa n quill from the wing of a cassowary which is used as a nose decoration

yaari-ria the ceremonial dance when pigs are killed in the spirit house

yaari-riwi a cassowary when its feathers are dark

yaba n an important pearl shell also kabuku (E)

yaba-puluae n a carved wooden crescent to resemble a shell with a piece of real pearl shell set in pitch in an indentation in the center [pre-dated the mother-of-pearl shell; made from the eya tree]

yabala n a var. of mushroom found on hardwood trees [red, sometimes called the momani, but referred to by sub-var. names according to appearance and the kind of tree it grows on; if not cooked well, causes vomiting]

yaba-rani (E) n [Osalidaceae, Oxalis]

yaba-yaba uni mp shoulder bone

yabia n ginger [Zingiber officinale], used as a condiment in sorcery cures of various kinds, for sickness, or as a normal food]
yabiri n a type of green-headed beetle [often strung as decorative necklaces]

1)yada n a var. of sugarcane [dark-coloured, has large leaves; the fibres are soft with lots of juice]

2)yada n speech or talk; adua (E) auta (S)

3)yada v to fight

yada agema ne aa np peace-loving person

yada-kabereke aa np a mercenary or paid fighter

yada kaya alt for yada yaari

yada kepene aa np an enemy; lore ali (E)
(bali ipisade raburi yade kepene aanu raapu pa piruama: when (after) the government came we were at peace with our enemies)
Cf. iaa

yada kuma pi aa np peace-maker or mediator [i.e. one who softens the fight]

yada makua an oath, confirming that something is true [often accompanied by placing the right index finger between the eyes on the bridge of the nose]
Cf. yapare ta

yada malue competition
Cf. rawana pa, aawana pa

yada mapatamina to make peace
Cf. yada pereamina

yada pau time of truce
(yada paululo pata pasimi: we had a time of peace)

yada perea to stop a fight
also yada patapa, yada para, yada musa

yada pereamina to make peace
Cf. yada mapatamina

yada-remo n sickness or sorcery inflicted due to unsatisfactory compensation to allies

yada repena yo a spell worked with an arrow [the arrow was thrust into the heart of a pig and then fired toward the enemy's area with the command 'go like a bird' or 'go like a star']

yada robe aa np a fight leader

yada robo an agreement or set boundary; a deal
Cf. robo pia

yada rugutipa a clan which has split due to fighting
also yada kepetepa

yada sa hidden talk used during fights; yada sia (S)

yada tae pe aa np fugitive [i.e. one who has run away from a fight]

yada upa aanu np allies

yada-yaari n compensation to allies for slain warrior
also yada kaya

yada yaari aa np 1. compensationary warrior [i.e. man decorated in charcoal who receives death payment]
2. any death payment from a war

yada yaba kone i aa np someone intelligent or spirited [i.e. one who works well, directs activities, etc. as a fight leader]
also kone reke reke pu

4)yada v 1. to trim a tree
2. to cut down or strip something

yadapu n any male animal

yadasaa (E) v to lie on the back (yadasama rokaaeme: buried person)

yadata v to mix or stir something
(mayadatawa rubawa: I mixed it up and threw it away)

yadia v to be spoiled, soaked, rotten
(abia aeo yai yadia epawade: this afternoon I was really soaked by the rain when I came)
Cf. ramua
yadira 1. Pand lang for nose, eye, seed, face, head, etc.
2. tab word for eye

yae (W) = something

yaga v 1. to cook, as sweet potatoes
2. to dry, as leaves over a fire
   (rae peaga sapi yaga: since (we are) hungry cook the sweet potato)
   Cf. ira

yagaa n = the chin; yangaa (S)
   Cf. ira

yagaa inalu n = the point of the chin; jawbone; yangaa kuli (S)

yagaa iri n = whiskers

yagaa pone aa np = spell-maker, using a jawbone

yagale-mea n = tab word for tree oil in Ribu ceremony

1yagi n = the generic term for sword grass [Imperata conferta; two kinds are recognized: adaalu yagi with large, long blades; and oge yagi meaning small sword grass]; kaara (E)

2yagi n = return gift from bride's side
   Cf. ona makuae, mena yagi, ona rumaape

yagine aj = where there are large patches of sword grass

1yagi-nogo n = an edible insect which lives in the ground [also the stage of the locust gae when in the ground]

2yagi-nogo n = a var. of mushroom which is small and yellow [grows with the piru and depetapa]

yagi-retete n = a small brown bird which lives in the sword grass [prob. a var. of Fly-Eater]

1yago n 1. a namesake
2. something identical

3. a friend or brother
   Cf. ame

2yago n = a hard wood commonly used to make axe handles [small leaves, small red fruit]

3yago n = a debt or credit [in Kewa, a debt is an investment, often repayable at 100% interest]; rudu (E,S), yango (S)
   (neme yago meda nina baani kaato: I have extended credit to my sister)
   Cf. rome, yano, rudu

yago mi aa np = a borrower

yagodaa n = Pand lang for the numeral one

yago-pugu n = a grey-coloured hardwood [prob. Meliaceae var.; used for axe handles; marble-sized fruit]

yagos (E) = kinship

yagur n = stone axe with black stone also seagu (E), only kaana rai (S)
   (go rai yagum ona page rumaateme: this stone axe is used in marriage exchanges)

yagura n = a hardwood used for house posts and fences

yagura-gili n = a hardwood used for fences and in house building

1yai n = rain
   Cf. kudi

yai lubi riba pulaba tabaria misting rain lasting all night

yai mu re pabala the sound of rushing wind and rain

yai yaina pa make a spell to stop the rain

2yai n = type of skirt
   See yai ura

yaina n = sickness; yanya (E,S)

yaina-agaa n = magic spells recited in various ceremonies [also
used in some Christian churches to mean a blessing]
yaina-apula n payment for a magical cure
yaina etea to become well again, as a result of a cure
yaina kupa aa np sorcerer using blood
yaina mudiaa v to be contagious
   Cf. mudia
yaina oma to be sick
yaina pa to make a spell on something
yaina pi (pu) aa np a shaman or spell-maker [i.e. the one who causes the sickness to depart; also the headman in spirit worship]
yaina-igia n [Araceae var.]
yairi-kati n a grass found near gardens [white coloured stalk; insects often strung on it]
yai-ura n a mourning skirt; yai kura (E,S)
   Cf. ura-yai
yake n a white tree [medium-sized leaves, marble-sized fruit]
yaki n benevolent sky-being; yakili (E)
yakimi ti aa np a leper; yakili mili (E), kidimi ne ali (S)
   (go onana to ora mamu mamu taga yakimi talia: that woman's body is puffed out, so she will be a leper)
   Cf. kidimi ne aa
yaki-onu n the walking stick insect
1yakipu n [Gleicheniaceae, Gleichenia]
2yakipu n a var. of mushroom [black, does not look like a mushroom; one sub-var. is round and another is smaller and grey-coloured, both cause vomiting and sickness if eaten]
3yakipu n a choice piece of meat (yakipu ti mena: a large fat pig; mena apaa yakipu tumaaya: to kill and portion out pig lard with lean meat)
yakipu-alalo n [Pteridophyta, Gleichenia]
yakipu-pitaa n area in the immediate vicinity of Usa dance grounds
1yakipu-ropaa n [Pteridophyta, prob. Diekanopteris]
2yakipu-ropaa n leg or arm band made from a type of common ground vine, a symbol of wealth [from the vine Gleicheniaceae, Gleichenia]
yaki ragi n the neck and jowl of a butchere pig; tenderloin of pig; yakili ragi (E), yakili rangi (S)
yaki remaa yawala a basket or container put on the top of the house, used to make magic
yaki-repena n lightning in daytime
yakita-kelape n type of praying mantis [lives on sugarcane]; yakityali (E), yakitali (S)
1yakora n a var. of sweet potato with yellow leaves and a white
skin [one vine will bear 15-20 tubers, not sweet so fed to pigs]

2 yakora n var. of victory leaf [small, light-coloured, long leaf, used in several ways]

yakua n a softwood tree [Euphorbiaceae, prob. Claoxylon; short, very green, long fruit which birds eat]

yakura n caddis fly

1 yala n a hardwood tree [Palmae var.; blossoms without bearing fruit, many small knotholes on the trunk]

2 yala v to yell out
also wila (E,S)
(balimi ni yatadaa pulu: the white man is yelling (for me) so I'm going)
Cf. aata

yalala peme up to go on yelling about something [e.g. a group of men]

yaloa katea up to yell out for someone in order to give them something; wilo atoa (S)

yala pia to be ashamed, embarrassed

yalapu n [prob. Cunoniaceae var.]

yalimag a n swing made from vines
Cf. yalipu

yalima-ini n Adam's apple, throat, esophagus; pedo pu (E), pedo kuli (S)
(matatala pirua yalima-ini radaa pia: when the singsing goes on there are sore throats)
Cf. peto

yalima ini ruqutea hoarse [lit. broken larynx]

1 yalipu (E) n [Urticaceae, leucosyke]

2 yalipu (E) n a snake

3 yalipu n a var. of sweet potato [large white tuber, small leaves, tubers turn black after roasting]

1 yalipul i (E,S) n a var. of sugar-cane

2 yalipul i n a swing made of vines for play
Cf. yalimag a

yalipu-midi (S) n a snake

yalipu-naaki n a python (go yalipu-naaki nipu page neme: they also eat pythons)
Cf. ero

yalo n salt water; also a river name
Cf. *solowara

yalu n temporary blindness, as from looking at the sun (inipara yalu palia: it will blind you)

yalu-ylau n a type of tree

yama v to fasten on a skirt, put on a belt, trousers, etc.

yama-ala n [Ataceae var.]

yamada n a var. of mushroom [much fuzz on it; also called yamada-pepo, similar to the kale mushroom]

yamala n a type of sword grass [many varieties, recognized as putting substance back into the soul]

yamame ome aa np selfish man
Cf. nama nama rubini aa

yamamu n a small bird, whitish in appearance [nocturnal, eats insects, cries like someone blowing on a bamboo: mu u mu u, similar to a Flycatcher]; yamumu (S)

yama pia 1. to be hungry for something
2. to covet

yama-pop a n a large tree with large leaves [soft woody tissue,
leaves used in earth ovens, large fruit]
yama-sokele n a potent brand of sorcery reputedly from the Mendi area
yame (E) n sweet potato mound
yamo n a large tree with large extending branches [prob. Euphorbiaceae, Phyllanthus; small leaves turn down in late afternoon or when it is raining, when the sun shines on the tree, the leaves turn up again; leaves when mixed with water form a soapy substance; bears a long fruit which falls off when dry]
yamo-kara n [Leguminosae, Albizia julva]
yamo-repo n a small worm found in vegetables, etc.
yamoropa ada atae yae things resembling spiders [yellow-coloured, live in pandanus trees, edible]
yamu n a type of Lory [prob. the Fairy Lory, red and green, long tail; said to make two holes in its house, usually the porous area of a dead tree; thought to go in one hole and out the other so its pretty feathers will not be ruffled]
yamu-kobene n var. of the yamu Lory [very long red and green tail]
yana n a small Pandanus with short leaves [green nuts eaten raw, taboo to burn the husks]
yanagali (E) n spirit-possessed
yana-inyalu (E) n tab word for magic spell in Ribu ceremony
yana-kiriri n a type of wild cane [red tassles resembling a possum tail, edible shoots]
yanamabo n a hook made from the branch of a tree
yana-maku n a var. of mushroom [green on top, white underneath, several sub-var., only eaten when others are scarce]
yana-muli (E,S) n the rhinoceros beetle
yana-mutu n similar to a mite, found in gardens Cf. yana-yaka
yana-teme tab name for dog in certain parts of W [lit. they say yana]
yanayaga-pobere n a very small bush bird [black or brown, feathers quite different, apparently widely spaced]
yana-yaka n alt name for the mite yana-mutu Cf. yana-mutu
yane n a var. of victory leaf [prob. recent, similar to the kiyapi]
(go aapu yanere so yali punane mea is ipimiya: the victory leaf yane is said to have been brought from Ialibu direction)
yanguri the S name for the language towards Mt. Murray; SE dialect
yano n a debt or credit (nimu yano meailimiri raanname omalima: if they take a debt, we will be happy) Cf. rudu, yago, rome
yapa n the generic term for any marsupial
yapa apai-umu n the fur of the possum apai which is worn as a headband in dances

\(^2\)yapa v 1. to open by stretching, as a net bag
2. to poke

yapaa v to shove a pole through something to be carried; wea (E)

yapa aapu n a headband made from small cowrie shells
also rato (S)

yapae marker for alt sentences

yapa-madia n secondary bride-price gifts returned from the affines clan

yapano n a type of tinea; gameo (S)

yapa-pamu n [Rubiaceae, prob. Gardenia]

yapa pa v 1. to become well again
2. to be lightweight

yapa-*poso n the European cat [coined from the words yapa marsupial and poso pussy]
Cf. *pusikete

yapapu n decorative cowrie headband

yapa-pubu raguna n a net head covering made by knitting possum fur with the string

yapa-puluma iriae n a cassowary at about one month of age

\(^1\)yapara n a rainshield usually made from pandanus leaves;
also malia (E)
also called rako yapara, aga yapara, masaa yapara, ripa yapara

\(^2\)yapara n the placenta

\(^3\)yapara n a shelf in a house, usually made from old cane; yapale (E,S)

yapara-yapara n [Monimiaceae, prob. Kibana]

\(^1\)yapare antithetical marker for sentences

\(^2\)yapare n a mat

yapare ta give an oath or promise following an agreement, etc. Cf. yada makua

yapasa (E) v to lever a heavy object, as a log

yapa-tala tab name for dog that is a good hunter [i.e. it kills marsupials]

yapatu n 1. a group of people who have a similar function
(mudu yapatu: all of the head-men)
2. a group of items with the same characteristics
(puri pane repena yapatu: all of the hard wood)

yapi n daylight
Cf. paa

yapi lapa taina when it is almost sunrise

yapi pu daybreak
also yapi penalipara (E)
Cf. ribaa reko

yapiraa n a type of beetle which eats taro
also yawiraa (E)
Cf. roge
yapi-rapo n  alt name for makenapo
yapi talo yaa lobalaina first light or pre-sunrise [i.e. lit. wanting to light, the sky in opening]
yapo la (E) v  to lie; yaa la (W)
yapu n  a bridge
Cf. ro
yapua ada n  the ceremonial longhouse; neada (E)
Cf. yawe ada, neada
yara pea  tab expression for to be very sorry
Cf. odo pia
yarapula (E) n  stick decorations worn as neck ornament; maata (W)
yare n  a large tree type
yarepea v  to gather into piles
yarera n  [Urticaceae, Procris]
yareraa n  tab name for the tree kangaroo, maapuna
yarera-aani n  var. of wild grass
yarera pa  to get things ready in one place
(kogono paluame yarera pi: I am getting things ready for work)
yaria v  to plant upright in the ground
yari-i-gala-gala n  a type of tree; yari-i-ngala-ngala (S)
yariria (E) n  special swaying dance used in long spirit house
yarua v  1. to stand upright
(ramaa gopare yaruabatodaa: look where I have stuck your spear)
Cf. rekamaa, awaba
2. to have intercourse
Cf. yaruta
yarua naaki n  yaws
(yarua naaki medalomamere ontaa tu maomaya: some yaws sores cause people to die)
Cf. gaale
yarua kele masa  to lay an egg
also apaa yarua bulu maaya
yarua lala popame  to creep or crawl; yaru tata popame (E), yaru ari popame (S)
Cf. pata pata
yaruna n  Pand lang for night, etc.
yaruta v  to copulate; yarutya (E), yaru lia, lamua (E)
Cf. minuta, rene pape, yarua
yaru yaru v  to be blinded; le yaru (S)
1yasa (E) n  formerly a tab word for ear
2yasa n  the generic term for any mushroom
yasa-aa n  a diviner, fortune teller; yasa ali (E), yasa soko ali (S)
yasa-ini n  the stem of the mushroom
yasa kale aalu-ketalu eto lalo pi yae idiom meaning that the rain will be good for the mushrooms
yasa kerea  to pick mushrooms
3yasa n  dance, sing
(mali rabu yasa pabeme: at the end of the year they dance)
Cf. mata
yasa amaa rarane aya aa np on­ looker [i.e. one who stands along the outside of the sing­ sing and does not participate]
yasa mataaa  to dance; yasa paba (W,E), sama (S)
yasabua nona pia  to be conically shaped [i.e. like an old hat] also ota raguna­rupa
yata­pebaro n  a small bird [prob. a var. of Kingfisher; long beak, white underneath and green back, lives in the garden areas]
yatupa n a tree; the bark and leaves used to cover sores
yatupa n a fair-sized parrot [green and white mixed feathers, lives in holes in trees and top of trees; poss. Dusk-o-Lory]
yatutu n a softwood tree [rots quickly, bark used in house building, bears a small fruit]
yau (E) n brain
yawa v to cook something in an earth oven Cf. yawe
yawa (E) v to put grass on a house without fastening it
yawala n [Pteridophyte var.]
yawa-lala n a small, black rat [found in the forest, does not make its home in any one place]
yawale (E) n celebration
yawe n tree type Cf. pai
yawe n earth oven Cf. yawa
yawe (E) n a festival used in calendar system
yawe ada n ceremonial long house [a time of peace and feasting culminating in competitive pig killing, dancing, and pork distribution; a time to remember the dead]; ne ada (E,S) Cf. yapua ada, neada
yawi (E) n Areca palm [Palmace, Areca] Cf. kawi
yawi (S) n a var. of bird
yayone pira v to be suffocated
yo n any leaf; keraa (S)
yo rigi rigi pea small abundant leaves
yo-adaalu (E,S) 1. tab name for sugar-cane in Ribu ceremony 2. (E) tab word for Areca palm in Ribu ceremony
yoa pa v to take something away, leaving a space
yobo n an edible insect [lives in the ground, feeds on the greens called yobolo, hence the name]; mane-mane (E,S)
yodo n a brown lizard [white tail, found near houses]
yodola v 1. to crawl, as a child 2. to pull hands back and forth, as the legs of a cricket or frog
yodopea v to watch over valuables, like a headman with pearl shells
yodo-rui n a large type of tree [easily sawn, resembles mano and pawa]
yodo sa so put dry materials as kindling, etc. to start a fire
yodota v to swat with nettles Cf. paakua, pakua
yogane n 1. skin, bark; yogale (E), yongale (S) (mena iri irua o yogane raakepe ruba: singe the pig's hair and peel off the skin) Cf. o, kidu 2. skin of certain stones which are used to make stone axes [in descending order of importance these are: wapu, ripulu, pata, mai, pare, rokopa and kaku]
yogo n 1. alt tab term for last born (gore madu pora poae yogo: the last born is the youngest [i.e. the one carried who closed the door]) Cf. negaa 2. slang for a young boy
yoka v to break off, to take out (bera ini mea yokawa mea ipu: break off some of that wild betel nut and bring it) Cf. lakea
yokala $n$ a spring
also yokea

yoka pa $v$ 1. to be side by side
   2. to take apart or push apart;
yoka sia
Cf. yoka monea

yokataba $v$ to be joined together,
as the arm to the shoulder

yokayo $(E,S) n$ rust-coloured
tree oil, gathered from holes
in trees; wabala $(W)$

yoke $n$ a large pointed tree with
long leaves [$Monaceae, 
Ficus$
   cf. Angust; red blossoms, skin
used for rope, skin of roots
used to make bark hats]

yokea $n$ a spring
Cf. yokala

yoko-rai $n$ a type of stone axe

$^1$ yola $n$ a var. of sweet potato
which is ancestral [large
leaves, firm dirty-coloured
 tuber]

$^2$rola $v$ 1. to pull up
   Cf. rata
   2. to spread around
   (remaa lama yolata: to spread
    a story around)

yola monea $vp$ 1. to pull slightly
   2. to be side by side; yoka pa
      $(E)$, yoka sia $(S)$
Cf. yoka pa

yolaniaa $v$ 1. to lower something;
weonyaa $(E)$, yolanya $(S)$
   2. to swallow; yolanya $(E)$

yolariri $v$ to take unevenly,
without being fair, etc.
   (eta yawo saaru pare nimuna
   yolariri pua name: I cooked
   their food and put it for them
   but they took most of it and
   ate it)
Cf. arere pa

yoleali $(E,S) n$ a snake

yo-lobaina $n$ a var. of sugar-cane
   [large, yellow-coloured, tough
    skin, much juice]

yolo ria $vp$ to pull something
   along the ground; ipia $(S)$

yomagae $n$ an old man; yomagae
   $(E)$, yomagae, ali rudu $(S)$

yo-nabo $(E)$ tab word for banana
   in Ribu ceremony

yono $n$ alt form for hand
   (mogo aana yono masinimi ne:
    his hand got caught in the
    machine)
Cf. ki

youna $n$ 1. a net bag used to carry
   babies
   2. leaves wrapped around a new
   baby; yokunu $(E,S)$

yope pa $v$ 1. to declare or make
   something public [e.g. a bound-
   ary mark, goods for an inheri-
   tance, some death payment]
   2. to indicate where something
   is hidden
   3. a signal to indicate the
   correct path to take

yopolo $(E) n$ a var. of Pandanus

yopo pa $v$ to put into something
   small

yotapa $n$ the platform erected
   outside of long houses in pre-
   paration for the pig kill;
yokotapa $(E,S)$
Cf. reke

yoto $n$ the price of something
   (yoto mulalo: to get a payment)

yowe $(E) n$ [$Cyatheaceae, 
Cyathe]

yoyo $v$ to push and pull

yoyo-koma $n$ Pand lang for hair,
ear, breast, etc.

yubi $(E) n$ tree type; subi $(W)$

yupia $v$ 1. to fill a container
   2. to milk an animal
7. APPENDICES

The Appendices given in this part of the dictionary are of three kinds: (a) additional Kewa entries not contained in Section 6, such as personal names, the names of traditional spirits, and names of the common well-known clan areas; (b) reprints from articles which contain additional K lexical materials, but which are not primarily anthropological in nature; (c) a spelling list of pairs of words which are differentiated only by the symbol used for the central vowel (/a/ vs /aa/).

7.1. SPIRIT NAMES

There are many names of Kewa deities or spirits, as Section 11.7 of Part IV (Alternate Spirit Names) demonstrates. Here the names are listed alphabetically with notes following many of them, although no attempt has been made for a comprehensive coverage. Forest spirits, which are a separate contrastive category called kalado (contrasted to remo, spirit), are also listed. Important spirits have sacred stones with special paint markings associated with them.

Adaalu Ribu [long spirit] - generally the main spirit throughout Kewa; used in cures, especially for diarrhoea with blood and severe headaches. Said to be imported from Maruda. Also called Kepe and Yaki Remo.

Aga-palaa Ribu [Pandanus branch spirit] - used for cures, especially when the body was swollen or distended; also perhaps for leprosy.

Aipa Remo [salt spirit] - considered by some as taboo name for Rudu Ribu.

Akera [medical stone] - said to be the oldest spirit in a 'line' which now includes Opayo and Loboyo.

Alaa [to open] or Alada (E) - very small garden house, approximately three feet square. Associated with Payamo cult.

Aalamu [long, edible wild sugar-cane] Ribu - alternate taboo name for Rudu Ribu.

Elabe (E) - second main spirit in the E.

Etaa Sapu [holding and putting arrows]

Ipa-Kege [water mud] - associated with a special ceremony where the men string bags on their backs. Performed especially for children in the Robake and Payamo houses.

Ipa-Remo [water spirit] - used especially for fevers.

Ipimi - thought to be responsible for earthquakes, especially in myths.

Kabema Remo [base of wild cane spirit] - alternate taboo name for Yapi-Yaina.

Kalado - generic term for bush spirits. Specific names are: Adai Kibu-Kari, Yapi-Kalado, Rata-Wasalo, and Imula-Kewala.

Kele-kai - used especially for stomach ailments; rats killed in spirit house; cf. Payamo.

Kepesura - a bush spirit; sometimes used in E for name of Satan. Also known as Yai-Kunape and Napasa.
Kita-Meda - bush spirit in the Giluwe mountain area responsible for tending the wild dogs (see Pandanus language).

Koele-ada (E) [bad things house]

Kilikai (E) [kidney ?]

Kinila (E) [blue-green colour ?]

Kuma [soft, tame]

Kurada (E) [following, to follow house]

Loboyo - alternate of Akere; main spirit in the E.

Maapu-niniaa [along the garden area] - used as a cure, especially for constipation.

Matya-ada [carrying house] (E) - probably associated with childbirth.

Modo-Yoli (E) [sweet potato leaves ?]

Murarane - associated with cult activities of Wapaga Remo.

Natome (E) - similar in function to Adaalu Ribu.


Opayo [leaves which come up] - stone-shaped like an elongated bill, used for headache, pain in ribs. When certain unusual noises were heard (perhaps earthquakes) people would look for the stone. Used especially for curing pneumonia (perani kopea).

Osa-Yaina [bad sickness]

Para (naaki) (E) [boy striking ?]

Payamo (E) - also called Ribu Papira (Ribu is there); used for curing stomach ailments.

Po-Ripu Remo [wind spirit] - later name for Kabe-Maa Remo.

Raide [for axe] - taboo name for Ipa-Kege.

Repena-Ropo [trading fire or wood]

Robake (also well known in E) - stones kept in a house with a high, conical roof. Mainly pigs killed in the house with special ceremonies with intestines, tree oil, etc.


Runane Remo [inside spirit] - perhaps associated with cures only performed in houses.

Sokele - generally for the women; birds, crickets, etc. were killed and eaten in a small house.

Sokuma - alternate taboo name for Sokele.

Tagane Ribu - alternate taboo name for Rudu Ribu. So named because of the use of ashes (taga) in certain cures.

Tu-Mudu [killing important, head one] - later taboo name for Oge-Agi.

Wapaga Remo - used especially for blockages in the ears, deafness.

Yada Repena-Yo [fight ambush house]

Yaki Ogere [earth oven, sky being] - alternate taboo name for Kuma.

Yapi-Yaina [blood sickness] - for any type of general weakness.

Yaako [white coloured] - alternate taboo name for Kita-Meda.
7.2. CLAN NAMES

Land rights, marriage, residence, and many other social factors are tied closely to descent relationships. Traditionally in the K area there were no villages, rather there were homesteads and these most often were clustered in a defined clan area which included a dance ground. The dance ground was the site of pig slaughters, feasts, and festivals, as well as activities associated with spirits and their cults. Names which are now given by the government to such areas reflect the name of the dance ground or some other traditional geographical site, such as a garden area, stream, ridge, and so on.

In this section some of the better known clan names are listed, followed by the village area and the dialect notation.

Andalurepa (also parts of Lawerepa, Perepa, Rakilirepa and Repenariirepa) - Katiloma (S)
Ekerepa - Muli (E)
Eperepa - Yagare, Warapape (E)
Ibirepa - Usa (W)
Kagua-Rakili - Yama-Yama (E), Modanda
Kanaarepa - Batri (W), Kira (W)
Kipurepa - Palanda (E)
Lawagerepa - Mendo (E)
Marepa - Mungumabu (E)
Mirupa - Lomba, Paripi (E), Porani (W), Mugiri (W)
Mogarepa - Ududu
Moi - Padarana (E)
Mui - Wabi (W), Usa (W)
Mumungurepa - Kaware, Kanemabu, Mukoro, Karia (E)
Nemola - Ponawi (E), Kumbame (E), Ruli (W), Usa (W)
Pale-Ali - Pai (E)
Palame-Ekerepa - Mabu (E)
Perepa-Rakili - Ialibu (E)
Perepe (Amburupa) - Tibiri (W), Sumbura (S)
Pundia-Rakili - Pundia (E)
Rakili - Wangai (E), Kendagl (E, but not K)
Rigilimi Alinu - Rigilimi (E)
Rasumarepa - Utami (W)
Rawame Ali - Yate (E)
Sumbulu - Waima (S)
Sumburarepa - Taku (W)
Walua Perepa - Batri (W)
Warorepa (or Petemerepa) - Kaware (E)
Yarena Ekerepa - Yarena (E)
7.3. PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF FOLK TAXONOMIES

[This article, which was suggestive and preliminary in nature, was followed with more detail by the article in the following section. Although exploratory, the article demonstrates that traditional classifications of flora (or fauna) in K proceed along lines which reflect a system of rules that is recognised and in everyday use in the society.]

7.3.1. Introduction

A folk taxonomy may be described as the grouping of related items within a particular set according to internal, culturally defined principles. Although most often scientific taxonomies are exemplified by classifications of flora or fauna, there are a wide variety of such areas or domains within a given culture which may be labelled, abstracted, and presented as a system or whole. The linguistic labels which designate given items within a taxonomy include classification by class-inclusion labels where, in English for example, man includes all representatives belonging to the taxonomical level of human beings. Other labels show either a part-whole or a kind-of relationship of the item under focus in a given taxonomy. Thus post is a part of house, but wooden may be a kind of house or post. Very often the latter type of taxonomical distinctions are reflected formally in the grammar of the language.

In this article I would like to demonstrate both the importance of and the technique for investigating folk taxonomies and relate certain observations to practical considerations of cross-cultural understanding. The materials presented in the article are from English and from Kewa, a language spoken in the Southern Highlands District of Papua.

7.3.2. Modes of Transportation

In this section I will contrast the folk classification of transportation elicited from my eleven year old son with that elicited from

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2More precise definitions are given in H.C. Conklin, 'Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies,' International Journal of American Linguistics, 28 (1962, Publication 21), 119-141, and in M. Mathiot, 'Noun Classes and Folk Taxonomy in Papago,' American Anthropologist, 64, (1962), 340-50. Many articles relating to this field can be found in S.A. Tyler, ed., Cognitive Anthropology, N.Y: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston (1969). I would like to thank Rosemary Young and Alan Healey for reading and commenting of this paper.

3Full details on Kewa, a language of the West-Central Family, can be found in K.J. Franklin, The Dialects of Kewa, Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No.10 (1968), and in A Grammar of Kewa, New Guinea, Pacific Linguistics Series C, No.16 (1971).
typical Kewa informants. From this comparison the axiom that cultural focus corresponds to label proliferation can also be easily demonstrated.\(^2\)

The questions which were asked of the English and both Kewa informants were basically the same. First of all, a general list-type of question was given: What are the names of all the kinds of transportation that you can think of? As we would expect, the list is shallow from the Kewa informants and all of the main labels are borrowed from Pidgin English. This is an aspect of culture contact and does not mean that Kewa people cannot coin new terms. The first airplanes observed by the Kewa were known as *yaa-para bararara* (*sky-in, brrrr*), that is the things which made the noise 'brrrr' in the sky. The first vehicles, by analogy, were the things which made the noise 'brrrr' on the ground. Later other terms were borrowed, but the original coinages were equally valid. The primary list of labels for transportation in Kewa is: *kara* 'car', *tipi* 'jeep', *balusi* 'airplane', *wilikara* 'wheelbarrow', *sipi* 'boat; ship', and possibly *masino*. The gloss given in English corresponds to the source term, and not necessarily the referent.

After further questioning about the items the component of 'noise' may be used to divide the taxonomy; certain vehicles make a noise or sound when they move and others do not. Bicycles, the wheelbarrow, and some boats do not make any noise. Those that do make a noise divide according to space: airplanes move mainly in the air, ships or boats move on the water, and everything else moves on the land. The Kewa divide those which move on the land according to how many wheels they have: generally two versus more than two. The wheelbarrow, with one wheel, is often thought of as the precursor to all other forms of transport.

New modes of transport are generally some modification of the main names already given: a road grader is called a *sapepora tarake* (*shovel road, tractor*), a front-end loader is called a *sususa tarake* (*ground, lift, tractor*), while a bulldozer is called either a *su kele tarake* (*ground, smooth off, tractor*) or simply, in some areas, a *masini* (*machine*). Usually this latter term is generic and contrastive, including such things as light plants, sawmills, and other stationary machines. A helicopter is called a *waya balusi* (*wire, airplane*), while the name for a DC-3 is

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1The fact that vocabulary is proportionate to cultural relevance is pointed out, e.g. in E.A. Nida, 'Analysis of Meaning and Dictionary Making,' *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 24, (1958), 279-92.

2There is some variation between the East and West dialects of Kewa, so a composite view is presented here. I am indebted to Ropasi of Usa hamlet, Yandawae of Muli hamlet, and my son Kirk for their help.
kundisi, derived from the Pidgin English form as pronounced by Kewas (ndisitari). The generic term for the category 'car' appears to be either kara or tipi. At times lengthy extensions of such primary terms occur: pakira kuburame ade tipi (rat, collection of, looking, jeep) is a 'jeep which looks like a pile of rat things', referring to certain imported cars which it might be best not to name. Such extensions illustrate the "kind-of" labels mentioned earlier. On the other hand, parts of cars and other forms of transport are often referred to in Kewa by the use of body parts, a fact that has been noted in other areas of the world.¹

The folk taxonomy of transportation for my eleven year old son is, not too surprisingly, more involved. Although some of the semantic components which can be extracted to separate the categories of transport are the same as those given by the Kewa men, the number of labels elicited from my son is much greater. As separate categories, i.e. those which have contrastive semantic features, there are scooters, motorbikes, bicycles, cars, trucks, airplanes, trains, and ships. According to his classification there are certain vehicles which cannot be placed simply within one category or another. Thus landrovers and jeeps are thought of as part car and part truck, which verbalizes the function of the vehicles quite well. They fulfill the functions of each and are connectives between or within taxonomical levels.²

Discovering the semantic contrastive components involves several types of question frames: those which distinguish sameness (Which of these vehicles are most alike in appearance and in function?); those which distinguish sub-categories (What are all of the kinds of cars?); and so on. Other questions can be framed which reveal something of the cultural prestige of the items, the supposed history of the items, and other factors. For my son the "kind-of" frame produces a great array of labels in virtually every contrastive level: the names of eight kinds of motorbikes, four kinds of bicycles, many kinds of cars, trucks, and airplanes. Certain labels are elicited which are not clearly placed in the informant's folk classification: Is a sedan a "kind-of" car? Into what category should he place a station wagon or a diesel truck? Where do electric trains or buses of any sort fit in the overall classification?

¹K.H. Basso in 'Semantic Aspects of Linguistic Acculturation,' American Anthropologist, 69 (1967), 471-77, shows how the Western Apache correlate the taxonomy of an automobile with the parts of a man's body.

²This type of over-lapping phenomena is not clear-cut and is therefore not often commented on in folk taxonomical descriptions. I have mentioned this feature earlier in 'Kewa Ethno-linguistic Concepts of Body Parts.' Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 19 (1963), 54-63.
The main semantic components extracted which allow the placement of items in a given relationship in the transportation taxonomy include the number of wheels that an item has, whether the vehicle has handlebars or steering wheels, whether there are fixed tracks, and the number of people who ride in the item.

An investigation of this sort, although elementary, can teach us several things. First of all, culture brings borrowing only at points within the taxonomy where there is contrast. The remainder, in Kewa, follow the pattern of modification by grammatical arrangement of folk semantics. For example, it is most often possible to tell if the item under focus is conceived of as a "kind-of" or "part-whole" relationship by noting the grammatical arrangement: ada 'house' to be modified as a "kind-of" takes the modifier to the left: kabe ada is a 'pitpit house'; a "part-whole" relationship has the modifier to the right; ada polo is the 'front of the house'. Borrowings can be expected to follow the grammatical pattern and can therefore only be understood correctly in the light of their structure. It follows that the process of adopting non-cultural terms builds upon the indigenous system and not vice versa. In the same way, and as will be mentioned in more detail at the conclusion of the article, the process of 'education' should also follow and build upon the indigenous system of classification. This is even more clear when we turn to an area of New Guinea culture that we as outsiders generally know little about, for example cordyline leaves.

7.3.3. Cordyline Leaves

It is not too surprising that my son has no generic term and that for him cordyline leaves are simply 'some kind of leaves' with no special importance. On the other hand, the use of such leaves has often been mentioned in the ethnographic literature of New Guinea people. In this section I will describe some of the salient aspects of 'tanget' leaves as described by the Kewa and also outline some of the procedures which I used to elicit the materials.

In Kewa the generic term aapu 'tanget' includes all of the following kinds: aako, ota-kula, neke-a-royo, nupiti, modaa, karubi, beamu, asala, asala,
kala-kawa, baako, yapi, uruba, aga-popano, masaa-tala, abanome, pora, melepa-abanome, and yakora. The taxonomy is thus a very shallow one in that all of the varieties are contrastive on the same level.

For linguists (especially) the tendency is to now analyse each name: does the leaf nupiti refer to the fact that this type are carried in the woman’s net bags underneath the children? (from nu ‘net bag’ + piti ‘you will sit’); does the name aga-popano indicate that such leaves may look something like the leaves of the pandanus palm? (from aga ‘pandanus palm’ + popano ‘I should move’); does melepa-banome suggest that this is a new type of tanget which was introduced from the north? (where melepa refers to a language group in that direction); and so on. Although this may reveal some clues to the nomenclature it is unlikely to reveal anything about the folk taxonomy.

The next question may quite naturally centre about the physical properties of the cordyline leaves: their size, colour, and function. Such questions allow the sub-classification of the leaves but are not the most important questions in terms of the semantic features. The main questions are those which can be framed as a result of participating in informal discussion on the nature and function of cordyline leaves and are therefore questions which are suggested by cultural participants. The five main questions framed as a result of the discussion and their answers are now given:

(1) What leaves are used for dances? (yamoa mata pabe aapu = putting on and dancing tanget): modaa, karubi, asala, agaa-popano, and kiyapi*, where an asterisk indicates a new name that had not been elicited before.

(2) What leaves are best for the dry season times, in that they do not wilt? (puri pateaga pane pia yamape aapu = since they are strong, they are tangets for wearing when dry): nupiti, uruba, nekea-royo, melepa-abanome, and masaa-tala.

(3) What leaves are used to line the earth ovens? (ogere yawape yo = mumu cooking leaves): pora, melepa-abanome, and ramu*.

(4) What leaves are put on and worn as every-day types? (pa ama yamape aapu = tangets that are just put on): aakoa, ota-kula, nekea-royo, nupiti, masaa-tala, and sapi-rami*.

(5) What leaves are used when taboo signs are made? (rekena i aapu = tanget which has taboo signs): asala, aako, modaa, karubi, and kiyapi.

It is not surprising that several of the leaves have more than one function. In a classification according to colour there are always leaves which are difficult to place. The same is true of other physical properties and cross-classification is probably an aspect of any system.
After all of the above information had been elicited I then had an assistant gather one of each type of the cordyline leaves. I then, without aid, attempted to assign each specimen a name. This was, of course, a real problem for me. The function was not associated with the appearance and only the physical properties of the leaves were an aid: colour, width and shape of the leaves and stems. Following my attempt several Kewa men were asked the names of the leaves and they were labelled. With the leaves in plain view I then asked which ones they considered to be similar in appearance. This allowed me to see if what I considered as the same or different corresponded with the view of the cultural insider. It also allows the learner to ask why, for example, the leaves pora and uruba or baako and asala are placed together. It is a gradual process of trial and error learning whereby I become educated into this particular area of Kewa culture. During the periods of discussion I learned many interesting things about other aspects of Kewa culture that I had not known before. The whole process suggested to me some practical considerations for education in New Guinea which I will now give.

7.3.4. Practical Considerations

The excitement generated by the men in discussing cordyline leaves was noteworthy. Their immediate concern: Are you going to do this with mushrooms? sweet potato? frogs? and so on? In other words, what about the other areas of our culture that you are so unfamiliar with? Would you like to learn about them too? I think that it is not only important that we do study and understand these aspects of New Guinea culture but that we also ensure that New Guinea youngsters be taught their own taxonomical systems. These aspects of their culture should be preserved and not simply wiped out by learning the 'correct' Western systems of classification - whether leaves or transport.

If this is not done many of the present generation of New Guinea students will ask why they should bother to learn all the names of their trees and shrubs and other domains. Instead they may feel that the only 'proper' names are those which the white man has formulated in his scientific taxonomies. This may seem to them to be further borne out by the fact that such areas as cordyline leaves would have virtually no space in a botany textbook. Instead, in textbooks currently available eucalyptus trees, as a part of the expatriate culture, are much more likely to be featured. It seems obvious that a more direct tie-in between 'scientific' and 'folk' taxonomies is necessary somewhere in the process of education.
Acculturation introduces new items which are placed in a folk taxonomical system on the basis of semantic features of classification already present in the language. Such a view may be modified or expanded with education but any new system introduced would build upon the way the people of the culture extract and combine the semantic features they consider valid and helpful. For example, the Kewa people can understand our mode of transportation only as the semantic features which we use to separate vehicles by assigning labels become clear to the Kewa people and as they in turn contrast such features with their present system of classification. Any other attempt to teach an outside viewpoint will have to be done by rote memory and will not necessarily match the cultural view of the people.

This is perhaps even more apparent if we consider for the moment the Kewa concepts of compass orientation. These are related as 'where the sun comes up' (=East), 'where the sun goes inside' (=West), while both North and South are what we could translate as 'the left-hand direction'. Such a completely different perspective cannot help but confuse both the Kewa students and their teacher in a geography lesson. If the first lesson on geography dealing with directions explores the Kewa folk system the scientific system is much more likely to make sense. The same principle can be extended to virtually any subject: mathematics, anatomy, or science concepts.\(^1\)

Although there has been a great deal of investigation of vernacular languages in New Guinea,\(^2\) there has been little or no interest in incorporating such studies into current education. It is not merely a matter of preserving the present cultural systems in some form for the sake of preservation. Instead, and as we have attempted to briefly demonstrate, a more careful and sympathetic understanding of the indigenous systems will provide a more adequate and accurate knowledge of the subjects taught in Western education.

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1Earlier, for example, we suggested that counting should be introduced to Kewa students by a base four system: K. and J. Franklin, 'The Kewa Counting Systems,' *Journal of Polynesian Society*, 71 (1962), 188-91. That Kewa anatomical concepts differ radically from our own can be seen from the article referred to in footnote 2 on page 261. For comments on the problem of relating time concepts among New Guinea students see J.R. Prince and A. Balint, 'Cultural Conflicts in the Time Concepts of New Guinea Speakers,' *Kivung* 1 (1968), 18-37. The authors give separate educational and linguistic viewpoints. Prince has also demonstrated how Western education and culture influence our own science concepts and that such concepts are not found naturally among New Guinea students. See 'Science Concepts among New Guinea School Children: A Pilot Survey,' *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, 1 (1967), 119-27.

2The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. alone has members studying over 90 separate languages in the Territory.
7.4. CULTURAL AWARENESS: SOME OBSERVATIONS

This paper described efforts in a village area of the Southern Highlands District to promote cultural pride by stimulating classwork in specific areas of the culture where the students have similar knowledge due to age and background. The article demonstrates that some knowledge of the vernacular allows one to better appreciate and capitalise upon the cultural awareness that is evident among such students.²

7.4.1. Students and Classes

Eight students attended the experimental class, one as a trainee instructor with the author. Of the remaining seven, none had received any formal education in a government school. All of them, however, had attended the local mission's Pidgin Bible School for up to two years. They had, therefore, a limited grasp of the fundamentals of reading and writing Pidgin but none of them knew English. All of the students had received initial vernacular literacy instruction through a series of primers and limited post-reading materials.³ Classes were held only in the mornings for about 1½ hours, or a total of 7-8 hours per week. Aside from paper, pencils, and a blackboard no other supplementary materials were used. Classes continued usually on a daily basis for about two months.

7.4.2. Procedures

Various aspects of Kewa culture were suggested by the students for consideration: trees, mushrooms, pandanus, frogs, marsupials, rats, sugar cane, bananas, sweet potato, yam, sicknesses, colours, birds, stones, houses, body parts, and others. It was obvious that the potential for

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² The author and his wife, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, have studied the Kewa language since 1958, living intermittently in the village of Muli and Usa. These areas are administered from Ialibua and Kagua, respectively. This paper was originally presented at the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea, September, 1973.

³ The primers, by Joice Franklin (1971) are called Adaa Agaa, Buku 1-3, 32 pp. each. The advanced reader was Pepena Oyae Luabu Buku by Karl Franklin and Yapua Kirepeasi (1972). It outlines 88 cultural items giving descriptive paragraphs on each, as well as illustrations of many items. A diglot (Pidgin and vernacular) booklet outlines the cultural life of the Kewa. Recently two additional booklets have been published, a myth book and a triglot (vernacular-Pidgin-English) phrase book. All of these booklets are in the West Kewa language, spoken by about 20,000 people. The editions were fairly limited, usually only up to 300 copies.
areas of study was practically inexhaustible.

The students began by simply listing the names of all the items in a particular domain. Some incentive to do this was given initially, mainly by the recognition of the student who listed the most names for any domain. In the case of mushroom types, for example, the lists varied from 19 to 30 names. However, when all individual lists were conflated a total of 46 names were compiled. Each of these names were checked with an adult citizen by the co-instructor and often certain names were corrected or deleted. Sometimes the students were only partially correct in their name, in that alternate names for the same species are common among the Kewa, due to name taboo and other factors.

On the following day (usually) the revised total list was written by the co-instructor on the blackboard. Students were then asked to write a short descriptive statement about certain names. By again conflating the total descriptions all distinguishing features of items such as mushrooms could be noted: their location, that is, whether they grow on trees, on the ground, their colour, taste, and so on. In addition, often attitudes about certain types were obvious. For example at certain times some specific mushroom types are thought to cause craziness. Other mushrooms are considered quality food only when eaten individually, and so on. Often a discussion on the relative merits of a type of description of a type followed the listing of the names. Quite obviously some students had not much more than heard the names of certain types.

The next step in the exercise was to encourage the students to draw or sketch some particular type of mushroom or other item, but each student had to pick a different one. The students were then taught to label the parts of the mushrooms. Three examples of actual drawings are reproduced here, copied as closely as possible from the student's original drawings.

FIGURE 1

Mushroom type 'Kama'

Story: The Kama mushroom is really sweet. They grow in the bush and when we pick them we bring them and cook them.

Code: (1) Down below it is called the mimi
(2) The stem is called the ini
(3) The top part is called the yogane
(4) New sprouts are called inagi
In Figure 1, a drawing of the mushroom type kama is reproduced. Some stories were much longer, depending on the students' knowledge of the particular variety and his ability to write about it. Note the labelling of the parts of the mushroom. Each student drew and labelled his particular type of flora and fauna according to this own style. Other attempts were made to encourage creativeness by writing short news releases which were included in the weekly Newsheet in the vernacular.

**FIGURE 2**

Pandanus type 'Rakia'

**Story:** This is a brother to the 'komea', and 'koma-naaki'. Its leaves are green and the roots stand out individually. It is really good to eat. We break it (nuts) off with our teeth. When they are ripe and fall down we also eat them.

**Code:**
1. the bulges or spiny parts;
2. the platform;
3. the roots;
4. the leaves;
5. the nuts;
6. the trunk;
7. the ground.

Figure 2 is an example of one student's description of the rakia pandanus screw pine. Note the student's attempt to align the species taxonomically with ones which are considered similar according to the Kewa system of classification. We shall indicate how certain contrastive taxonomical features become apparent later in this paper when examining students' comments on sweet potatoes.

Figure 3 simply illustrates how most pigs are sliced with a bamboo knife before being quartered. Some students attempted to draw the internal organs which are cooked; these are indicated in numbers 7-9, 12-16, 18 and 19.

The purpose of the classes was not to provide either a scientific classification of flora and fauna species, nor a full folk classification of them. Without collaboration, extensive collections, and so on, such
exhaustiveness is almost impossible. Rather the purpose was limited: to motivate the students to reveal the extent of their own knowledge about the world about them. This helped the author to learn and record (and in this sense preserve) such knowledge, but it also demanded that the students refer to the experts (their elders) for more information. This exchange in turn, created considerable interest on the part of the elders in just what we were doing and why. It was a revelation that the study of frogs or sweet potatoes could in any way be related to school and therefore education.

FIGURE 3

Parts of a Butchered Pig

Code: (1) snout
(2) eyes
(3) ears
(4) hands
(5) ribs
(6) thigh
(7) stomach
(8) heart
(9) liver
(10) neck
(11) back
(12) duodenum
(13) tail
(14) rear-end
(15) testicles
(16) hooves
(17) head
(18) big intestine
(19) small intestine

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1 Some authors (e.g. Bulmer and Tyler 1968) have attempted such exhaustiveness, correlating their studies with Western scientific taxonomic labels and descriptions. These fuller studies also have practical applications, although this is apparently not the primary interest of the Karam studies.
7.4.3. Details from Experimental Classes

In labelling the parts of frogs students often listed both legs, arms, eyes, etc., but a conflation of the parts listed was: thighs, nails (claws), eyes, head, bone (skull, etc.), heart, stomach, hands, hips, mouth, nose, fingers, and body. All of these names are used for human body parts as well. Three parts, however, had names which are not used for human body parts: kego 'edible thigh portion', ikidi 'posterior', and agora 'inflatable throat area'. Certain names had been taboo at one time or another and this was revealed by alternate names.

The folk descriptions of different frogs was interesting, and we now present translations of several of them:

(1) **Kenome** - This frog has a large liver with great strength and it changes and blows itself up. It lives in the bed of the river and eats from the sand. At night we light torches and search for them. We kill them, dry them and eat them. We know where they are from hearing them.

(2) **Tutu** - We call this frog the tutu. It is in the forest and lives at the roots of the pandanus. It is a little frog but has a very large stomach. Its arms and legs are short but it is filled with good juices. It is very sweet. When it rains we go to get them.

(3) **Rege** - This frog, called the rege, lives in the pitpit leaves and in the leaves of trees. When we go to get them they jump into the water.

(4) **Pugu** - the pugu frog is dark and lives in the bush. When it is in the water it is colored green. When we go to get them they jump in the rapids of the water. Its body smells, but we eat them.

(5) **Agipitu** - We find this frog just in the water. When they are sleep-in and at night we look for them. When sleeping on the edge of branches we get them. We take them home, put them in bamboos and eat them.

(6) **Rali** - This frog's food is things in the water. It sleeps in the light. At night we hunt it for food. When the women hear its cry at night we hunt them. Then we put them with fern leaves in bamboos. After cooking we share them.

(7) **Bete** - This frog lives in the water but at night it cries as it jumps up on the branches of pitpit. The women prepare torches and go for them.

In many parts of Papua New Guinea there were traditionally no villages. The Kewa cultural area is one of these. In the last ten years, however, there has been a trend toward building villages, usually centered near
the dance grounds and structured around social units such as the clan. This had resulted in a general exodus from the new village setting during the day so the people can farm their garden areas. Living in villages has also lengthened the distance to the traditional bush areas and, in some cases, it has therefore correspondingly lessened the degree of cultural awareness on the part of children who grow up in the village. This tendency was noted when the students prepared lists of certain items: the village dwellers invariably could not name as many varieties of a given item as those who still lived out in the hamlets. If village settlements continue it will not be surprising if children in villages recall many fewer names of specific items. The performance of children in this realm should be of considerable interest in the future.

To the Highlander the sweet potato is, for the most part (i.e. excluding areas such as Telefomin - West of the Strickland River) the staple food. Many varieties flourish and it is a topic of natural interest among the Kewa.

By conflating the lists given by the 7 students (from 18 to 30 names each, but averaging over 25) some 48 varieties of sweet potato were named. Some anthropologists (Romney and D'Andrade 1969) have commented that the order of such lists may be important, from a psychological point of view. That is, given a list of kin terms, those terms near the beginning will be of more social importance than those near the end. Further, the greater number of subjects who recall the term, the more likely it is to be of social importance. It is suggested that such prominence is related to the reinforcement received for using the terms in social context. This theory is interesting to apply, in a limited manner, to sweet potatoes.

Of the lists of names of sweet potato the following 4 kinds were listed near the top (1-6) most frequently: (a) ipapa (as number 4 twice, 5 and 6 twice); (b) bini (as number 1 and 3 twice); (c) yali pu (as number 1 and 2 twice); (d) maakaa (as number 3, 4, and 6).

However, in examining the varieties listed by each student only 5 names were given by all the students: (a) ipapa; (b) yakora; (c) porengo; (d) semogo; (e) opaa. Only ipapa was among the first 6 listed and by 5 of the students. There may be a correlation between order and frequency of the name on the list which can be scaled to the cultural importance of the particular variety, but in this class only one variety of sweet potato illustrates this. However, it is interesting to ask why the 5 names

1 The correlation may be more significant for sugar cane variety names where the names of the top 6 were also named by the most students. The varieties so named were kegaa, lobaina, makipa, kabo, eba, and aawaa.
could be considered of importance. The translations given here are one student's explanation of the 5 'main' varieties:

(1) Yakora - This is not a really good sweet potato (s.p.), but its leaves quickly come up and its vines multiply rapidly. Its consistency is soft so the women give them to the pigs. However there are very many of this one variety of sweet potato.

(2) Porenogo - This s.p. is really sweet. Its body is red and it is large. Since it is so good all the people eat it. Its leaves are green and there is much of it to eat.

(3) Semogo - This is a small s.p. but it has many leaves. Its body is white but its consistency is hard so we give them to pigs, rather than eat them.

(4) Opaa - This is really a large, good sweet potato. Another name for it is kitipi, but on that one there is fuzz on the leaves. Its body is white and it is one of the most important of our s.p.

(5) Ipapa - This is one of our ancestors s.p. On its green leaves there are many divisions. On its body are many marks but we say it is good s.p. When it is young it is red.

From the descriptions given, a select vocabulary is apparent, but so also are certain attitudes and themes which are uniquely non-Western. In particular the explanations point out components of classification used by the Kewas. For this reason, as well as for practical applications (see Franklin 1971), the study of such cultural items is extremely important. It relates the writing, drawing, and cumulative classroom experience to a cultural identification which is not possible in a western education. The procedure is one of identification of known objects, consensus of agreement on all types, revision, and so on. All of these are steps needed to solve problems in any type of society. The end result is not merely cultural preservation, but the passing on of cultural knowledge to others. Much of this information can be stored in vernacular dictionaries and books for natural reading interest. In addition, the examination of objects and the explanations may dispel doubts. The open discussion and classification of topics such as land, customary punishment, and even sorcery could do much to allay such fears. The contrastive aspects of the traditional way and the new ideas coming into the culture can be pointed out. Frogs and sugar cane will be supplemented by fish and rice in the diet, but accepting the latter should not lead to the abandonment of all knowledge related to the former.

One further and purely linguistic consideration on the names for sweet potato is to compare lists between related languages, where possible. The following, for example, are possible cognates between Kewa, Ipili, and Enga (in the order of languages just given):
(a) konome   konema   konemaa;  
(b) pisu    piso     piso;   
(c) madi    madipa   madane;  
(d) kainyu (EK) aina   aina;   
(e) gawai   gula     gwara;   
(f) opaa    opa      opa;     
(g) mone    mole     -;       
(h) raiya   tuiyu    taita;   
(i) momani  -        manumi.

The question, which cannot be answered by the author for any of the languages, follows as to whether these varieties are among the older and hence, presumably, more widespread ones. The older speakers of the languages may give some opinions on this, which can also be checked against known sound correspondence between the three areas.

7.4.4. Comments

There are several observations which can be drawn on the nature of the experimental classes. First of all, they afforded excellent opportunities for the development of creative writing and expression in the West Kewa language. It takes a great deal of practice to learn to write so that others will want to read what is written and so that the reading can be without effort and enjoyable. If the stories are either too redundant or too abbreviated, to mention the two most natural extremes, they will not illustrate a satisfactory style for new readers. By focusing upon natural specimens of the world around them the students could write short stories with a good degree of success, i.e. the content and interest were both of good calibre.

Secondly, the classes were exploratory, beginning and ending with what the students knew. There was no attempt to justify or dispute the basis for any Kewa taxonomy, nor to relate the distinguished types of Kewa flora or fauna to a Western evolutonal theory. This would be interesting to the Westerner and undoubtedly (eventually) to some Kewas, but without cultural motivation. Depending on where the student begins, this knowledge is compared with other observations (by other Kewas) and expanded, so that a more complete picture of the item under consideration can be known. Everyone contributes to the total picture, but the criterion of acceptance is simply that of concensus. If the majority of Kewa men do not know the names of X to be a Y, then the position of X is not within Y. That is (in another domain), if the Kewa recognise a colour which may be glossed as 'mixed' or 'patterned', this recognition carries as much weight as the Western basis for 'primary' colours. What is important in the
classification is the reflection of the Kewa world-view it represents. Such a view of a so-called 'folk' taxonomy is seen from the reference point of the student, without any need for correlation to an outside system. In Pidgin English all Kewa types of frogs will be rokrok at any rate and even in the English language, it is doubtful that anyone other than a University major in zoology needs to know many more names than tadpole, frog, or toad. Certainly to teach the linguistic relationship between toad and toadstool is completely spurious.

Thirdly, the classes which utilise the Kewa students' knowledge and develop this knowledge are educational in an easily understood sense: the classes instruct, teach, train, cultivate and enlighten the mind, in the context of the Kewa culture. This is surely a worthy practical benefit derived from linguistic analysis which is then applied to literacy classes.

Finally, there is good evidence (Kolers 1971) that an adequate transfer of information between two languages is not possible without access to the information in both languages. This is summarised by Kolers (p.254) as follows:

'To put the point more concretely, suppose one wanted to give a student two lessens in geography. If the student knew two languages, he would retain as much geography from one lesson in each language as from two lessons in one of them. Moreover, he would be able to talk about geography readily in both languages. On the other hand, teaching him geography in one language and also teaching him a second language would not necessarily enable him to express his knowledge of geography in the second language without some kind of additional instruction. The information one has and the mechanisms or rules used to acquire it are clearly separate aspects of memory.'

Students, such as those in the experimental literacy classes described in this article, have a better chance of understanding and explaining subjects in Pidgin (or English) if there has also been some exposure to the subject in the vernacular.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[References will be found at the end of Part II, p.277].

7.5. SPELLING LIST

The present day low central vowel [a:] is represented orthographically as /aa/ and has arisen in Kewa from several historical sources:

(1) the loss of certain contiguous consonants (mainly k- and w-): aana 'stone' in WK is from the Pre-Kewa *kana
(2) the loss of a consonant plus a tone-stress shift: apâá 'egg' or 'grease' in WK is from the Pre-Kewa kápa.

(3) the loss of a final suffix or syllable: WK aa 'man' is from *ali, where the final syllable is lost; however, WK aa (with low tone) 'foot' is from Pre-Kewa a-ge, where the suffix is lost in all but a few relic areas.

(4) a fusion of the stative 'to be' marker a with the final vowel of a certain class of Pre-Kewa verbs: *nimina + a becomes niminaa 'to understand', now a stative verb which has a benefactive-like semantic notion implicit in the stem.

(5) a fusion of the initial central vowel with the vowel of two main pre-clitics: na- '(negative)' + ada 'to look' > naada 'don't look'; ma- '(causative)' + maada 'cause someone) to look', where because of the implicit benefaction the a 'to be' form also fuses with the final vowel, so that in actuality ma-ada-a is heard.

Although in each case the /aa/ is written as a phonemic sixth vowel in Kewa, tone-stress on the vowel is most often the reason for the longer and lower quality of the vowel. Phonetic descriptions for these and other sounds are given in Part I, section 2.

To assist the dictionary user we list here a number of the more frequently used words spelled with /aa/ contrasted with counterparts spelled with /a/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>to be (stationary)</th>
<th>apaa</th>
<th>egg, grease</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>aapa</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>leg, foot</td>
<td>ega</td>
<td>fern</td>
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<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>egaa</td>
<td>live coals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>to look</td>
<td>ema</td>
<td>lice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adaa</td>
<td>big, large</td>
<td>emaa</td>
<td>flute</td>
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<tr>
<td>aga</td>
<td>pandanus</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaa</td>
<td>mouth, talk</td>
<td>etaa</td>
<td>arrows</td>
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<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>cross-cousin</td>
<td>eya</td>
<td>beech tree</td>
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<tr>
<td>aai</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>eyaa</td>
<td>abnormal</td>
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<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>to have</td>
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<tr>
<td>*aama</td>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>iaa</td>
<td>enemy</td>
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<td>amaa</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>water</td>
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<td>aane</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>ipaa</td>
<td>sap, milk</td>
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<td>aane</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>ira</td>
<td>to cook</td>
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<td>ake</td>
<td>var. of taro</td>
<td>iraa</td>
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<td>aake</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>kepa</td>
<td>to slice</td>
</tr>
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<td>ladder</td>
<td>palaa</td>
<td>thigh</td>
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<td>lapo</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>paala</td>
<td>afraid</td>
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<tr>
<td>laapo</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>pira</td>
<td>to sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopa</td>
<td>to fall down</td>
<td>piraa</td>
<td>rafters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopaa</td>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>rama</td>
<td>a spear</td>
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<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>only, just</td>
<td>ramaa</td>
<td>ray of light</td>
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<tr>
<td>maa</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>rana</td>
<td>another time</td>
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<tr>
<td>maa</td>
<td>taro</td>
<td>raana</td>
<td>happy</td>
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<tr>
<td>maala</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>rapa</td>
<td>to play</td>
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<tr>
<td>malaa</td>
<td>to teach</td>
<td>rapaa</td>
<td>to send someone</td>
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<tr>
<td>mada</td>
<td>enough</td>
<td>rata</td>
<td>both</td>
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<tr>
<td>madaa</td>
<td>on top of</td>
<td>rataa</td>
<td>to follow</td>
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<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>roa</td>
<td>to break off</td>
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<tr>
<td>mataa</td>
<td>cassowary</td>
<td>roaa</td>
<td>to shine</td>
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<td>meda</td>
<td>another</td>
<td>roba</td>
<td>to break</td>
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<tr>
<td>medaa</td>
<td>alike</td>
<td>robaa</td>
<td>stomach</td>
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<tr>
<td>mudia</td>
<td>to hang up</td>
<td>ruma</td>
<td>to climb</td>
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<tr>
<td>mudiaa</td>
<td>to spread</td>
<td>rumaa</td>
<td>to portion out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>rupa</td>
<td>to string beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>rupaa</td>
<td>to open eyes</td>
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<tr>
<td>nada</td>
<td>to taste</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>to put</td>
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<tr>
<td>naada</td>
<td>to not see</td>
<td>saa</td>
<td>we two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma</td>
<td>moss</td>
<td>sapi</td>
<td>sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omaa</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>saapi</td>
<td>to have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>udipa</td>
<td>flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onaa</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>udipaa</td>
<td>co-wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opa</td>
<td>to arise</td>
<td>upa</td>
<td>mushroom var.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opaa</td>
<td>to remove from</td>
<td>upaa</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ora</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>wala</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oraa</td>
<td>palm</td>
<td>waala</td>
<td>to show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ota</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otaa</td>
<td>to send</td>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>sky, cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>just</td>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>yapi</td>
<td>daylight</td>
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<tr>
<td>paga</td>
<td>to hear</td>
<td>yaapi</td>
<td>blood</td>
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<tr>
<td>pagaa</td>
<td>to put inside of</td>
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PART III
8. ENGLISH TO KEWA INDEX

The English to Kewa index which follows is expanded in the following way: (a) information is given which amplifies the terminology of many main entries, such as sickness, speech, sounds, to name just a few; (b) under tree the English botanical taxonomical designations are listed alphabetically, in each case followed by the Kewa flora which has been identified as members of the botanical set.

The English gloss is simply followed by the K equivalent(s) for most entries. There are approximately 2,200 English glosses, plus 63 sub-entries under tree. Each English gloss is followed by at least one K cross-reference, but more often by several.

A

again wala
agentive -me, -mi
agricultural officer *didimano;
* tirimano
Adobe robaa
able mada
abundance adaapu ia
accuser koso lape aa
action downwards -niaa
action upwards -saa
Adam's apple; throat peto pu
admonish; advise; instruct
mana ta
adolescent aabau uni naaki
adulterer paake yone
adultery lamua; kea
afraid, to be paala pia
afternoon aebo
afternoon (late) naare pabola
pulaina
afterwards orope

281
along the edge of pond or river: repaa
also page
also; everything abuna
alternative sentence marker pae
always oro yaalo yaalo
always; continuous yaalo; adae abuna
ancestor (female) aya; asa [alt for aya]
ancestor (male) akua
and -ma
angel *akero
angry, to be ratu yawa; rono pia
animal ari is now often used, but this refers to 'flesh' or even 'scent'. The genetic term is mena-yapa-yana-yaenu 'pig-marsupial-dog-things' or some such serial label.
animal, mythical ape-like rumiraaru
ankle aa galo
ankle bone; heel kama-ini
another meda; rado
answer, to agaa yago la
ant (common var.) lolo
antithetical sentence marker pare; yapare
aphids ore yapa-yapa (si)
appear opapa
appointed, to be mapira
apron ipi mena aapu
area (along edge of pond or river) repaa
area (burned or scorched by fire) raapununi
argument; quarrel; disagree ape la
argue (over land, pigs, etc.) arere pa
arm (upper) komaa
armband; legband ropaa
Common types are: ipa-ropaa; kabe-ropaa; kiamari-ropaa; kibu-ropaa; sikireali-ropaa; yakipu-ropaa
armpit aarotaa
arrange, to put into order managola; amege pa; maredepa ya; wamo pa
arrive, to; to appear opapa
arrow ne; apaa
Some common types of arrows are: kai (bird claw tip); kawi (palm tip); kibu (bone tip); kobo-marae (bone tip); mera (bird claw tip); modo-kabe (wild cane) [also called sapi-kabel]; pe balu (fork tip); rapaalo (fork tip); sapula (bone tip); sikalu (vertebrae tip); waapu (palm tip)
ascend, to climb ruma
ashamed, to be embarrassed yala pia
ashes peaalua; pere; taga
ask for; to beg agaa mea; ogeya
ask (with eyes); to entice ini pitaapi kara ogea
askew; slanted kano pi; payabo pea
asleep, to be upa pata
associative -ya
at once ora abi
attachment (feather headdress) lama; awa
Australian flag kupi-kupi
automobile, car *kaara
avenge, to pay back abula
avoid, to pakea
away from mone pu
axe rai
axe (blunt end) igu
axe handle de
axe; chop (Pand lang) raboa
axe, stone aapidi
Other common types are: adaa-rai; rai-yaku; robaa-mogo; seagu

B
babble; talk nonsense agaasa pu
baby nogo-naaki
baby boy naakisi
baby girl nogosi
baby talk (E) The following phrases are said to babies being lulled to sleep, in a sing-song rhythmic manner:
aga meape; aga gode; aga rami, a rami; kakama meape; kauwa agami; ki moau adae; kirami; kuri agami; puru agami; rama robe; ti tyale
back (of body) masaa
back (of house) ada masaa
bakaache (severe) masaa ruka ruba
bad; no good ota; wae
bad; small (Pand lang) ruwalu runi
bad taste raru pia
bag *beke
bag, net nu
bag, net (Pand lang) momake
bag, net (special; worn at dances) aipi

balance, to; remain; stand up awaaba
bald, to be keyaala pe; poto pia
ball *baro
bamboo pe (generic)
Bambusa sp. of Gramineae family. Includes ari (?Miscanthus) and kenage as most common var. Another common var. is tau
bamboo container (for storing feathers) gula gula
bamboo container (tab name for) aa-uni
bamboo fibres kuki
bamboo (flowered and produced seedlings) aaraa
bamboo, in blossom ari ina etea
bamboo joints dila
banana (Musa sp.) aai
Many edible var. as well as a few which are inedible. Three common taboo words were ebo-adaa lu, yo-nabo, and ebo-rudua. A few common types in the E are: imakai; kibame, koda; kusade; mapi; matya; merene; pakipi; pema; robene
banana, hand aai kera
band, decorative (for pearl shells) sekere yaalo; moma yaalo
bang down, to rula
bank; ledge puru
baptism aalu-ipa
bark (cloak); head covering wamea
bark cloth aka
bark (for cov. pearl shell; for sides of house) ubi
bark, tree (stripped off to be used in a belt) aako rekepene
barren (woman) kaapu ta; aabe ona
base (of something) re
basket (used for magic) yaki remaa yawala
be, to ya
be, to (stationary) a
beads kulubu
beads (from river bed plants) olape
beak (of bird) inipu
beak (decorated and carved) yaa inipu wape
bean (green) *besaa
bean (broad) paro
bear, to (i.e. fruit, etc.) eta
beard yagaa iri
beat, to (wings, drum) bibau
beat, to (alternately) bubaa
bed; stretcher reke
bedbug kayabo
bee, a stinging puna-alubi
bee (sweat) rulu
beer ipa-*bia
beetle, green-headed yabiri
beetle, rhinocerous robe
before 1 day numane; 2 days monumane; 3 days apo numane; about 4-5 days oabane; several days apo abane
beg, to ogeya
begin, to; start ripia; ripima
behind masananane
believe, to kone rula
bell; trumpet *bero
belt, bark aako
bend, to; fold; wrinkle koba pa; pege pa
bend down, to minaba; minaniaa beneath; inside oropara
bent (crooked, curved, winding) waagasu pi; kano pi; paaki pi; payabo pi
bent over, to be; doubled up kubuniaa; patabaa
bent over old man u robe yomagae
bent over toward ends (i.e. long leaves) rugi nepoa rita
berry (edible) mamani
betel nut (var. of wild) mera
betel nut var. mai ini
bicycle ope-paapu
big; large adaa
big (Pand lang) paninie
bind; bury, to rogaa
binding (fence) rogaya
bind; wind around abula
bird yaa
Well over 100 types are listed in this dictionary, but this is by no means complete; does not include bats or cassowary. Birds are classified according to habitat, function, colour or plumage, size, as well as other features. For example, those found mainly in the garden areas are: mumu, uta, ramani, amari, roka (aroka-roka), robokema, kotapu (yagi putipara), pebetakua, ridita, rini-muma, yagi-rete; those in the wild cane: rai-aapula, okasawea, poke, rodapi; those living in the kunai: same as garden and wild cane; those living near water: pano, kaluga, naapu-makua, tete, ipi-yalowena, pebaro; those in holes in trees and stones: pebaro, olasuba, itu, yaako, eke, kalari, ipipi (robeala); those in trees: yamamu, inasa, bara, kaladi, poke, kaapu-miru, maipu, puluma, imu-ria, bula-bulu, ruma, sumaipu, adu, ugaga, e-mogo, awarola, aluba, roketa, papola, ape-lope, ipiri, pobo, silo, yaneaga, abua,
Birds which are considered similar: (1) aluba, rogeta, emogo, awarola, poge, rodapi; (2) bara, wabi, kaapu; (3) bula-bula, kisa-kisa, adu; (4) wataane, eke, yatupa, kalari, yamu, te, podoro, tiki; (5) ame-ame, ugaga, oneone-oneone, aladi, kiga sumaipu, ipipi, roaape; (6) okasaawea, itu, yamamu, olaasuba, ruma (?); (7) itayama, pora, ita kidi-kidi, loraape, keau; (8) uta, utabe, muma, tini-muma; and (9) apola, ramina.
book *buku
borrow, to *buka
borrower yago mi aa
both rata; lapo
both (at once) laapo rata
bottle *botolo
boundary mark kanaa; robu
bow (very strong, used in fighting
and hunting) etaa wapu
bow and arrows etaa wapu
bow string aripu
bowl; scoop kopo; moae; wako
boy, to ki dolena pa
boy naaki
Other tab forms are: aaugias i
(Pand lang); ipa-gi (Rudu Ribu);
ruku-ruku
brace, to rayasa
bracelet; ring kiaalo
braggart agaa yae pi aa
braid, to depea
brain amulu
branches of tree (small) rikini
bread *berete
break and bend, to modopea;
palubia
break, to (a tab of men's cult)
raguna ludia/lodea
break, to; give way lake ria; igi
pia
break (crack into pieces) pola;
rerepa
break (into parts) karumina;
ebepemina
break, to (into many pieces);
shatter atubia; atubitaba
break (into pieces); rot; wear
away kuru pia
break (into two pieces) laala
lapaa; rilaa lapaa
break off, to (a bone) parepa;
wagopa; agopata
break off (a branch, piece of
wood, etc.) pulakea; kopea
break off; break open (and remove)
yoka; lakea
break off, to (in the centre)
roba
break off (into small pieces);
crumble piriba; piripia; rukia
break off, to; remove forcibly
(tear off, slice off) rugula;
etapea; kodola
break off, to (snap off) kodea
break off, to; split off a part
of karia; rolopea; ugia
break off, to; split open labea;
ralebea; regepa
break off, to (sugarcane) roa
break off (with sharp instrument)
ebepea; kaba
break open alepa
break up (a fight); (hold apart);
press together mina
break up ground; cultivate around
plant; grind finely kidu pa
break, with teeth (i.e. a pandanus
nut) ata
breast adu
breast (sagging) adu yota
breastfeed, to; sukle adu na
breath, be out of komo pia
brideprice gifts (secondary) ona-
yapa
bridge ipa-ro
bridge (tab word) ipa-saapu
bridge over, to (mud) kege tapa
bring, to mea ipu
broken down lake ria
broom maapu ripu; puluma kiape
brother ame
brother, elder ame mupaa
brother (of mother) awa
brothers-in-law, to each other (men married to sisters) ameke
brothers (two or more, or friends who are brothers) ameala
bruise busu pia
brush off; shake off radala
bubbles (of water foam) kali
bug (with hinged head) pameda-riti
bug-eyed ini apaa pitulapae
build, to; construct waria
bump, into, to bibli yala
bundle fastened together rogo

burial rogaa
The treatment of the dead during epidemics was to throw the corpse in the river. Still-born children were wrapped in the bark of the aga (pandanus) tree and put in the crotch of a tree. The bark was covered with kunai and left to rot, with no long mourning over infant deaths. There was knowledge of treating the body by smoke curing (miru puku koauma - from the vb koa) but this was uncommon. After a mourning period and the flesh had had a chance to rot, the bones of women and men were usually placed somewhere in the vicinity of the descendants garden. In the case of an important man the skull was placed in a skull house near the men's house. They did not put food in the grave for, "We would not want to see the spirit come and eat it."

burial platform; grave; graveyard tapa; mata-mata
burn (throat with hot drink) pu (imu) rala
burn; scorch; wilt pauraa
burn off, to; singe; clear away irubina; ragua; rapula
burning sensation (in mouth) dodo
burp, to beta
burrs (small) alaalo
burrs (used to shape wigs) kalamata
burst apart, to bulataba
burst open teta
bury, to; bind up rogaa
business; company *pi sanis a
but; however pare
butterfly asawaaka
buttocks; hip area pamogo
button rerewaa
buy, to; sell kaba
Directional: buy kaba pu; sell kaba mea
buy a spirit ceremony, to ribu kabo ria epaa

C
call (for dogs) iya
call, to yala
cane (for bark belt) ketopala; ketopula
cane (for flooring, bed, platform) kabe-kele
cane, wild (Saccharium robustum) kabe
canoe, boat *ipunu; moae
carefully; slowly *paawasi
carelessly wadu
cards; gamble *kaasa
carpenter *kapedaa
carry, to 1. inside of something, as a net bag: *madia; matya (E)
   2. on something, as on the shoulder or head: *ria
   3. under arm: *alepa; lepea (E)
   4. straddle on shoulder: *aria
   5. on both ends of a pole: *aguta pa; rukata pa
carry and throw down, to ru lopa
carve markings on, to; decorate for dance (paint) *wape pea
cassowary *yaa mataa
   Eats nuts, especially from the following pandanus: *malaa, *subi, *marabe, *papora, *ina, and male-male. Cassowaries are graded (by name) according to the appearance of their feathers.
   Those with special markings on the feathers are *ega-pagalae; dark-coloured are *mataa-omeyae; one taboo word for cassowary is *rerane-yaa. There are many customs associated with the cassowary: old men eat the flesh from the back and sides to prolong their lives; pregnant women will have cross-eyed children if they eat cassowary meat; if there is lightning it is a sign that a cassowary egg has been hatched; also used in curing ceremonies.
cassowary bone (used for magical purposes) *padala
cassowary headdress (main one) *yaari
cast spell, to *yaina pa
cat (European) *pusikete; yapa-*poso
caterpillar *raki; wabi
Catholic *katoliki
causative ma-
church *lotu ada
cicada gae; nelenene
cigarette *sikerete
circle; round; button rerewaa
circumcised man rene lobe aa; kula pae aa
citrus repena *mulj
clan ruru
clap, to ki parapara ta
clay 1. used for decorative paint on people, especially at dances or when in mourning;
  2. put on pigs to keep them from getting sores;
  3. also used to dam up areas for drainage, etc. abu (yellow); amo (white); amo-kadi (white and yellow); amo-kege (whitish); galu (hard red); kaane (reddish); kaaso (reddish); maakera (general, for paint); onasu (reddish-yellow); rogoma (reddish-yellow); ululu-kege (decoration for dances); wadea (yellow)
clean off path modo pea
clear out; clear away paneaa
clerk *kasa-kasa
clever; quick manner sugilema ne kone
cliff; ledge; steep hill rata
climb down inside kolo pea
climb over; jump over akula
climb up, to opasaa; rumasaa; ruma
clops, fasteners rabuni yae
clock, wristwatch *kiloko
close, to; fasten; plug garula; moga; poa
close to; next to agagaane; agego; repara
closest; space; small room ada noko
cloth *lapalapa; mamina
clothes pegs; sticks (to hold wood trim) libiri
cloud (white) yaa
  1. black, rain clouds: yaa ome;
  2. white, heavy cumulous: yaa ruta
club pogo
coast, the *nabisi
coals (live) egaa
coals, live (tab word) reke-rekea
cockroach alurai
cold, to be upa pia; kogo pia
coffee *kopi
coil up, to (as eel when about to cook it) wakiama rogaa
collect into piles alupia
collect together kelemee

colour the basic colours are:
  1. abu (yellowish), applied to certain ground, feathers, stones, seeds, insects, leaves, snakes, frogs, victory leaves, sweet potato, etc.;
  2. yaako pi; aake pi; amo pi; madaa pi (whitish), bone, ashes, clouds, snake's belly, old-men's hair, certain birds, mushrooms, trees, shells, sweet potato, etc.;
  3. kobere; oto pi; mimi pi; ulumikiri (dark or blackish); body hair, the eyes, the sky, certain leaves, mushrooms, marsupials, lizards, pigs, birds, frogs, vines, insects, fruits, etc.;
  4. kagareke; karerene; emagu pea (greenish), leaves, bamboo, grass, certain victory leaves, leaves, fruit, vegetables, birds, lizards, frogs, insects, etc.;
  5. kaane; kaata; ewea (reddish), ground, embers, flames, berries, cassowary cockles, certain birds, mushrooms, fruits of vines, tree fruits and leaves, worms, snakes, etc. Other names for colours
are: kaade (rust); kaalare (light brown); kaanu pi (orangish-yellow); kati pi (grey-brown); kinaago (bluish-green); kutu pi (grey-brown); maata pi (brownish); porea (yellowish-brown); yaako pala koborala pea (mixed black and white).

comb (usually referring to bamboo) agala; egaalu-eperaa; egaapita; egaapita-eperaa

come, to ipu
come down, to kilipia
come up, to (as seed, tooth) opa
committee *komiti

compensation; payment to allies for slain warrior yada-yaari; yada kaya

complete, to aawana pa; rawana pa

competition yuda malue; rawa

complete; to be finished amari

completive aspect -de

compost heap modo ada

conception Conception is believed to take place when the semen (kapaa) of the man unites with the blood of the woman (yaapi or nasu). These two substances mix together as the child grows or gets form. This develops inside the kokali which is apparently the descending colon. As the child grows the mother does not menstruate as the blood is used to form the child. The first stage is believed to be the kope 'umbilical cord'; then a woman is said to padaa pia 'be pregnant' or have a stomach. It is necessary to continue impregnation for the organism to grow, that is, it must continue to have semen to mix with the blood in the body.

cone or nipple-shaped aalu waki; ota ragunarupa; yasabua nona pia

confused kone mea yolo rubea

constipation lo garulariaide

construct, to; make waria; warua

contagious igipa; omame yae

container 1. pe: general
2. ariaa: bamboo
3. naapu-pe: bamboo, for tree oil
4. *tini; *rini-pe: tin can, etc.
5. *taramu: drum, etc.
6. ulu: long bamboo
7. maluagi: gourd
8. *kese: box

counter, bamboo (tab) tau
to controversy, to have a arere pa

cook, to ira
cook in ashes, to kusa
cook in earth oven, to yawa; yawe
cook, to (sweet potato) yaga
cooking utensil *sosopene
copulate, to minuta; yaruta

corn *konaape; kuniga
corner, end of men's house wasa; maako
corner (of house) keroga
corps aa-ro
corps (tab equivalent for) aa-saapu

costume (decorative of cane and cassowary feathers) riwa-rakua
cough oro
count (specified time) di
count, to dipia
counting, unit of (body parts) paapu
court *koso
courting song kunanaa; remani
cousin (cross) ai
cover, to (the head) adipa
cover over, to keapea; rigita
cover over (earth oven) ogere pusa; ubu
covet, to yama pia
co-wives kaaru; udipaa
courie shell rage kobene
cow, steer mena *gawa

crab kabitu
crack, to; break pola; rupia
crack, break, to (as nut, bone) wagopa; agopata; parepa

cracks; scratches (as on pearl shell) rere piri yae

cramps in limbs kitu pia; liru pia
crawl, to yodola
crazy eya; maeya

credit; debt yago

creep, to; crawl yaru lala; pata-pata; yaru tata popame; yaru arī popame


crivet daali (small var.); mata (large, edible var.)
criss-crossed; cross over kada taa; polopea
crooked; bent koi pea; paaki pi; usu pea
cross, to (water) kena

cross, to (as wood beams) polopea
cross-eyed, to be ini perekea
crook (of tree) kepaa
crowbar *koroka ramaa
crowd of people adaapu pimi
crowded; completely full; overflowing regepea; rubita; rulataba

crumble, to; break up kidu pa
crumble, to; fall apart bulata bebe pea

crumbs; left-overs; etc. ebo
crush, to asamina; pulubimina; regepemina
crushed pieces; chewed up food asa
cry, to re la

cry, of birds, etc. toae toae ta: certain parrots; tete ta: lorikeets; mumu ta: doves, etc.; sese ta: young birds; seweke seweke ta: quails, etc.; koa koa ko ta: Bird of Paradise; bua bua ta: certain large birds; leru leru ta: whine of an animal
cucumber otaaku
cup; glass; container *kaapo
cure by smoking, to koa ta
cure (for sorcery victims) ripana
curve; crooked karasa pea
curve (of animal's tail); curve downward tapa adita
cushion ralega
cut, to (hair) podea
cut, to (break in pieces) modo pea; palubia
cut, to (in two) kobea
cut off, to (forcibly) rugula
cut off (near top) kagolaa sa
cut off, to; separate (with instrument, etc.) ebepea; etapea; kadola; lora; rugula

dance mata paba; yasa paba
dance (sung for dead) rupa odea
dance; circle  paapu
dark (time of day)  ribaa ta
daughter  wane; nogo
day; week  oro
day after tomorrow  rudane
day before yesterday  abane
daybreak  yapi pu
daylight  yapi lapaya; yapi laparia
deaf  aane poaya
deal out, to; portion; divide  mokepea
death rattle  pu kau pa sala pia
debt; credit  yago; yano
decay, rot, to  ramea
deceitful, tricky person  poya
kipame lapo rata madita aa;
rigi aareke lapo rata madita aa
deceive, to  makiraa
deceiving talk  makirae agaa; ya agaa
decorate, to  pepena pa
decoration (made from bits of shell - pipiki)  gapia ga

decoration (near spirit house entrance)  kete
decoration (nose plug)  ini kenage
decoration (of cane to bind bark belt, etc.)  paakenade ropaa

decoration (of nut shells)  pagoda
decoration (of plants in gable of house)  puru

decoration (on spirit house)  wiru yogale
decoration (tree bark for house)  repete ada
decoration, stick (for neck)  maata
defecate, to i raa
deformity (on animal)  tapula
demon; spirit  remo
dense area  wapi
descendant  madu i aa
design  paka
desire, to; want  epaame oma
desire (intense)  kaipa pia
destroy, to  maoya talo
dew  pipita
dew-drops (on growing things)  wakia yona
diarrhoea  ikulu ta; robaa kulu
diarrhoea (with blood)  asala karini yaina
die, to  ini adupia; ini pata;
oma; pu-imu udinaa
die, about to (cold bones)  uni kogorea
different  rado
difficult  kalai
dig, to  awa
dig out, to  odekea; rasa
direction -nane
  This way: onane; that way:
  gonane; over that way: monane;
  over there: apo
dirt; ground  su
dirty  ai pea; amulu; oto
disappointed, to be  pu oma
discard; throw away  ruba
discharge (from woman)  kidi
In Kewa, diseases may be categorized according to (1) sickness (yaina); (2) sores (rere); and (3) pain (nala or radaa pia). Various kinds of sicknesses are: fever, headache, colds, malaria, pneumonia, diarrhoea, etc. Sores include yaws and boils. Depending on the severity of the pain and whether it is internal or external it either 'eats' (teeth pain, stomach, liver, etc.) or simply 'hurts' (as a splinter or an external wound). Disease may either spread or be healed
disguised speech sa agaa
dish *peleta
dishonest (one who does not admit everything) agaa eke aya
dislike, to gipea
dislike (strongly) logo pia
disobedient, to be pu aaripina
disorientated; confused kone mayolo ruba
disregard, to; leave alone; ignore gimaa
disrupt bebo ta
distribute, to moke pa
ditch kuba; kanapu
divide in equal parts purumi
divination (of bow and arrow) kabo marae yae
division (of men according to line in Ribu ceremony) maluwe
divisions; sections rukini
divorce, to ona gimaa
dizzy, to be ini eme lalu pia
do, to pa
doctor *dokesaa; *lokesaa
dodge, to wagia
dog yana is the most widely known. Also irikai in WK and many taboo names throughout K, e.g. igira, madalu, peragalapua, pudiapa, riali, rola, wakenane, yana-teme, and yapa-tala. Dog is a separate animal category in K.
dog (abusive terms) igira; madalu; peragalapua
dog (wild, in Giluwe area) paladi yana
door pora gaape
doubt; double-minded kone laapo
down below (close) nogo
dragonfly; mayfly wabula
dream, a upaa; maapua
dream, to upaa pa
dried out aapuda; agopeta; keleta; kete-kete
drink; eat na
drink, suck (sugarcane) sila
drizzle (intermittent rain) nene pia
drop, to; let go of minyarapa (E)
drown, to; go down puniaa
drum kudu; lai
drum-shaped mawae yae
drunken maeya
dry kaapu ya; mumuru sa
dry up (as a creek) lumaa
dry, to (over fire, i.e. tobacco leaves) ira; yaga
dry mouth raako pia
dry season pani pia
dry and shrivel, to rikita
duck (domesticated) pano
duck (wild) kaluga
dull (person) aaromaa

dumb (speechless) agaa maare aa; pedo rukuta

dusk, to be gae yala; nele-nele lalaina

dust; sand; silt do

dye (purple for net bag) kinaapo

dysentery, to have ikulu ta

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dysentery, to have ikulu ta

edge (of something) 1. ipa-paagi, ipa-repaai, ipa-rere: of stream, shore, pond;
  2. aane-nane: along the edge of something, as a piece of cloth;
  3. ini-paagi: edge or corner of eye;
  4. renane, nebonane: of a house, directions not in focus, not the
     main area, along a bank, etc.;
  5. edoto: of spiny pandanus leaf;
  6. uninane: bottom edge, side, etc.

edible greens padi-raani is the
  common generic label: padi is
  probably Setaria palkaejfolia, a
  small plant shoot which is
  propagated by cuttings. The
  outside is husked after cooking
  and the heart is eaten. The
  second name (raani) probably
  includes varieties of small
  plants or herbs of the
  Acanthaceae family.

eel aakena (large); loboyo (small)

egg yaa apa

eight palagi

ear canal kolalu; kulu

ear plugs (decorative) aane ebo

earring aane sale

eart; ground su
  Garden soil is classified as
  good if it is dark (kobere),
  a certain clay type (rokoma),
  from cave-in areas (aga tete),
  shale (aana-rote), but not good
  if it is red soil (su kaane),
  white clay (amo-kadi), or other
  types (e.g. kato-kato su).

earth oven yawe

earthquake suminini; su eto; sumi
  sumi pea; sumi sumi pia

earthworm kolawi; eada; mena-eada

eat, drink, to na

eat, to (alone, by itself) pama ne

eat (noisily and quickly) itu
  katu nea

eaves (outside, on roof of house)
  kulu; pulu

echo, to; imitate; teach lariaa;
  mogeaa

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so that he will vomit (maaku ratya) and have diarrhoea (ilo rala or ilo pltya) to rid him of the poison. After this he is allowed to eat regular food.

empty dlaya
encircle, to magomawaa
enclose (with fence) kutapu maawa
end, edge (of something) unlu
ends (of grass, leaves, etc.) pulu
end sprout of banana (thrown away) ruku
enemy laa; lore all; yada kepene aa
energetic; untame; extra strong kalabe nane aa

English language

*Inlglllsi

enough dlpara; mada
entertain, to; to host wamo pa
entice to fight, to pu yola
entire luabu; rayo
erase, to; rub kuna
escort lamua palua
esophagus eta pora; yalima inl
establish; stay put maplra; plrinala

evening (early) ribaa yabaria
everything; also abuna
everything oyaeyae
exchange (buy and sell) ropo pa; yoto
exchange, to (in marriage); portion out goods, etc. kea; rumaa
exchange (return gift from wife's line) nu makuue
excited, to be pu reka

exclamation ere; is
exclamation (to gain attention) so; wa
exhausted, to be; breathless komo pia
expand, to bo tea
expensive ini rita
explode, to bau lataba
explode and burn, to opataboa raa

expressions, women's (E) Expressing almost any emotion can be done by using any one of or several together of the following expressions: palyero, apo gupa, goyade, mukublnyu, pade, walaplkebo, suklpima, pale kera, kebo yarllya

extrovert (quick learner) akolae naaki

eye inl
eyebrow inl pobolo
eye (damaged) ini ta
eye fluid inl mare
eye lashes pltaa irl
eye (scar tissue) inl madaapl

F

fable; myth iti
face inl-agaa
faeces; excrement i
faint, to be; dizzy ini ome lalu pia
fall apart, to (in pieces) rugula tabebe pa
fall down, to lopa
family (father and children) aaraalu
family group; group; herd repaa
famine sapi rado inalo e poa
far away monane; mopara
fasten to; bind oraa
fasten, to (on to a stick) ibiri pia
fat ibuibu lo ti; *kaikai lo ti, rea gi ti
fat (over ribs) paani
father (address) aapa
father (familiar) maya
father (reference) aaraa
fear (of heights) pudi-pudi ne
feast (earth oven) waima; ogere waima
female (person) ona
fence kepo
fence (built in fighting) wairi
fence binding koaa
festival (used in calendar system) yawe
festival (for killing pigs; distribution of pig by calling names) ke moke
fetch, to; bring; take; put mea
fever, to have; hot kega pu; kekapa pia; kekapu pia; riripu; popo pia
few oge pu
fight, to yada
fighter (compensationary; receives death payments); warrior yada yaari aa
fighter (paid, mercenary) yada kabereke aa
fight leader; someone intelligent or spirited yada yaba kone i aa; kone reke reke pu i aa
fill, to (a container) yupia
fill up; put inside paba
filled up, to be regepea
find ada sa
finger (index) maala
fingernail kidipaa; ki kebo
fingers; toes rikini
finish eating, to no kirita; napa
finished, to be; utilised; disposed of dia ya; pereya; boso pea
finished raining, to be rola; rota
finished working, to be pu kiritawa; pubawa
fire; trees; wood repena
fire (tab word) aa-uni-aa
firefly remona ini
firewood (partially burnt) pare
firm, to be; solid; stuck fast iru la; puri
firm, tough leaves yo agolae
fish ena
fish bait oro
fish eggs bone
fish hook kimai
fishline *pisi laina
fish trap agona
fishworm eada; kolawi; maakena
fishing ena meape
A small branch of kenoa wood about two feet long is joined at the ends to form a circle, the ends tied with yakipu, a fern stem, making a strong vine. An old bag, nu piri, is then tied to the wood with the end of the nu extending over the sides of the frame. Yogo, a special type of leaf, is stripped from its branches and placed inside the net to lure the fish. The net
is placed on the river bottom with the feet holding it in place and the frame standing upright behind the legs. The stones in front of the net are removed and kalepa sand, which is also to lure the fish, is placed in front of the net. As the fish come by, they are swept with the hands into the open net at the fisherman's feet. The fish often turn out to be frogs.

*flat momogo
*five supu
*flag lame-lame; *pilake; wari-wale
*flames (of a fire) repena sulaa
*flap, to; *flutter bibi ya
*flap wings; beat wings bibau; paruparu
*flat-shaped parata kipiae
*flaws (in paper, etc.) nikiri; yaapotari
*flea ete
*flea (on pigs) tete
*flicker, to udunaa repe-repe pea
*float aripalae pua
*flood ipa rea
*floor; platform; top of bridge rapula; rapuluma; reke
*floor (of house); hallway; aisle pukamaa
*flower *palawa
*flower, to pupulu ta
*flower (budding) akero
*flute; panpipe emaa
*flute (magic) remo-agaal
*fly puna
*fly (small) oge punasi
*fly, to; soar biya; riya

*foam; bubbles sope; supi
*fog; low clouds moae
*fog (Pand lang) kapola
*fold, to ragopea
*follow, to; track kura; rataa
*fontanel; bald-headed kaakoma
*food eta
*food (Pand lang) galenale
*foot, leg aa
*foot asleep aa madai
*football; kick *kiki
*forbid (taboo something) kapano; rekena sa
*forbidden name; relative imaa niti
*forehead eno
*foreigner; stranger ewa
*forest repena puti
*forest area raa
*forest spirits kalado
*forget, to kone rugula
*forked (ladder, road, stream) eperaa
*form (for shaping wigs) kelepokepaa
*fortune teller; diviner yasa aa
*four; index finger maala
*friend; brother yago
*friend (close) adami aa; kapu
*frightened, to be pu-imu rolala puaa; pu pagola sa; pu rolari pamea
*frog uri (generic term)

There are over a dozen edible varieties such as: agi-pitu; bete; kenome; o; oga; okokaa; paima-loke; raali; rege and tutu.
frog eggs (newly laid) asa
gsture of approval (nodding of head) maa mayaria ria
g at, to (from inside something); pierce opaa; pela
get, to (Pand lang); walk; come; stand mupa
get ready, to amupa; nugila
get rid of, to alupia
ghost; spirit remo
gift (between affinal clans) nu-laapu; rumaaeme
gift (free) ode gia; pa gia
gift (to affine's clan) makuue; mena-yagi; ona-olae; yagi
gift (to unit who bury their own clan) repena lu
gifts (secondary bride-price) yapa-madia
ginger yabia
girl nogo
give, to 1. gi: any 1st or 2nd person;
2. kala: any 3rd person
glare (from mirror) poto
glasses ini tepere
glisten, to; reflect lepo-lepo ataee; palae yae; wasupari
gnat nono
go, to pu
go inside of, to odoba
go, let's (dl) ba
go out, to (as fire); extinguish udinnaa
goat *meme; *meme mena
good epe (ta)
gorge kanapu; kutulu; pagolo
gossip masaa rili agaa; po ripu agaa
gourd (holds tree oil) irikal-alulu; karubi; naapu-pe; wabala-pe

government *kapumano

government council; village representative *kanesalo

government officer *kiapo; bali *kiapo

government road pora; *waka

grab away from; retrieve perea; perea

granddaughter wane

grandfather akua

grandmother aya

grandson si

granite lu-poge

grass 1. ripu or ripu-yamala (both generic);
2. noma (common)
3. mena-iri (tough with long roots);
4. mumuna-agaa (short, mixed in with sword grass)

grasshopper oboro

grass skirt (reed Codiaeum vatiaegatum) ura (kura E,S)
Made from reeds which grow or are planted in muddy areas.
Part of the reed is stripped off and the inner part is dried.

grease (butter, margarine, dripping, etc.) apaa; *girisi

greens (edible, most common) raani

greens (edible, tab word) katamu

greet, to; shake hands (in welcome) ki mea

grind teeth together, to nikiiri pia; nini pia

groin area; backside of thigh and knee paakipu

ground, soil; village; location su

ground (caved in) aga mea

ground (hard) su iruta; su mi di pea; su puri pata

ground (irregular, with clumps of grass) su agapae

group (having same characteristics) yapatu

group (people, trees, etc.); collection puti

group (something animate) dulu

grow, to (in clusters) karakara pua etala

grubworm (large, edible) pameda
Others are mane-mane (inedible) and kagaruki

guard, to; watch carefully suruba

gum mimi

gun *suti-gane

hair; feathers; fur iri

hair (left for spirits) iri kumaa

hair (Pand lang); ear; breast yoyo-koma

half full rupaa

half way; middle; centre rikiraa

hammer *aama

hand ki

hand (left) koya ki

hand (Pand lang) waapitaa

hand (right) popeke

hand (shortened or cut off) ki karupae

handcuffs *aana-kapa; *aanekapa; ki-*kapaa

handkerchief *agisupa
handle of stone axe rai apula
hang in snare, to roa
hang up, to mudia
happy, to be; pleased aipa la; pedo pi; raana pia
harelip; cleft-palate abulu poyo rea popea
hat (common, men's) raguna
hat (long, red, worn at special dances by men) aalipu
hatch, to; break rola
have, to ia; pa ia; saapia
he; she; it nipu
head aalu; asubaa
head (crown of) maabua apealape
headband (cowrie) (kuni) yapaapu
headress (Bird of Paradise type) kasade
headress (from cassowary plumes) dauwa; kati-alam; molo-molo; rapasuma
headman (of Rimbu ceremony) ribu asubaa
headman (government or mission-designated) *kosapeaa
headmen (at back of line in Rimbu ceremony) usu asubaanu; wasanane
heal, to lera
hear, to; listen paga
heart; lungs imu
heavy kedaa
heel (of foot) kama ini
helicopter waya balusi
help, to; hold (by hand) etemina
help, to; give aid rabamea
hence orope
hide; ambush kaledaa
hide, to; conceal (talk) kudiri pi
hide something, to pagasa
hip bone; rump paamogo
his; here; its nipuna
hit, to (also existential verb form) ta
hit; make; eat (Pand lang) lupa; lulupa
hit, to (two stakes at once in top game) lapo rakala
hit, to (the stake with stem, not round part of the top in game) waraka
hit down, to (in container) raki
hives; thorns; pimples keto
hoarse, to be peto regepe minata
hold and slice or cut etapea
hold axe in dance wakia
hold in mouth, to apura
hold onto, to ripina; saapira; sabaa
hole (in ground) neka; suri; wakunabo
hole (in house) podea
hole (in nose for ornament) tere
hole (in sides of nose for stick ornaments) gere
hole (in tree) ebo
hole (in wall or roof) yaapotari
holiday *olode; *orode
hollow (in tree) lau
homesickness adawe kone
honeybee (imported) *susu-winya
hook (made from branch of tree) yanamabo
hoop-pine mano; wiru
hop (from branch to branch) o
mudi apo mudi
horn; tusk imaa
horse mena *ose
hospital *siki ada; yaina ada
host (provider of food) eta kane
hot, to be; fever kekapu pia;
popo pia; riripu pia
house There are many kinds of
houses, including the following:
1. agi ada (kupa ada): men-
strual;
2. eta-yapi ada: spirit house;
3. ipa kege (raide): small
spirit house;
4. itapa ada: toilet;
5. kabe ada: woven cane;
6. *kapa ada: permanent;
7. ona ada: women's;
8. pokalo ada: temporary;
garden;
9. tapada: men's;
10. yawe ada: long ceremonial;
11. yodo: ambush; hunting;
12. yo-tapa: lean-to, next to
long houses
house (Pand lang) muga
house, parts of The main parts
of a house are: daa: posts;
karuame: area for pigs; koa
madaa: soot protector; lo:
fire protector; maluae: end
peaks; massac: roof of house;
noko: shelves, spare areas;
palaa: purlins; pera: sides;
perere: firebox; pigi: centre
poles; pira: rafters; polo:
front; pora-gape: door; puru:
decorative leaves in eaves;
ragi: same as puru; robeniae:
sections; suba: ridge pole;
ukuma: centre roof; wasa:
ends; yagi: grass roof
house (village) ada re
housefly puna
how did it happen? aakepu raapo
how much? aakepu raapo
hug, to upia
hug and lift up, to upisaa
hunch-back pasaa pege pi
hungry rea pia
hurry aaloma; aipapulu
husband aani
husk, to; shred padea
husk (of bamboo) pe abulu
husk to; shred; slice; gather
(leafy veg.); whittle; shave
kedepea
husk, to; shred skin; cast out
(demon) lokola; raake pea

I ni
ice; snow; frost radaki
identical something yago
important (man, shell, pig) mudu
implant, to awa
incapable mada dia
inheritance moae
insect bolo puna itinu
This category in Kewa includes
crickets (bolo), flies (puna),
and leeches (iti), as well as
beetles and other insects.
insect (the area from below head
to legs) robaa agiti
insect, edible (E) The following
insects are roasted over the fire
and eaten by the women and chil-
dren. The method is to string
them on a piece of rilipu (weed
grass) and hold the stringed
insects over the coals: mainya:
black cricket; kagaruki: white
 grub; yawira: var. of beetle;
bolo: flying insect with four
legs; kaliyamu: spider; ero: small grasshopper; wakepalo: type ero; winyakoe: black spider; waba: small green grasshopper

inside runane; rupara
inside; beneath oropara
inside fold of net bag ramaa; ripi
inside (of tree hole) agala kuaa
instep aa-pu
instrument (for weaving net bags) nu raake
insult (ugly, lit. with a chopped off pug-nose); ini ro ebeme
insult (unkept person, lit. flea-ridden) ete madini aa
intelligent, to be kone waria
intentions adakaru
intestines lo
intercourse, to have (most are euphemisms) aota; kea; lamua; minuta; pebera; rene pape; yaria; yaruta
interpreter agaa pereke ne aa
island ipa rikirane i su
it; he; she ipu nipu
itch, to kiru pa

J
jawbone; point of chin yagaa inalu
jealous, to be; angry ratu yawala; ronopia
jeep; ocean-going ship *sipi; *dipi

Jew's harp rabialo; soke; gauwa
The Jew's harp is made from a selection of wild bamboo. It is an attraction to the female members because the male can talk to her on it.

job; work kogono
join, to (with) kibuma
joined together (as arm to shoulder) yokataba
joint (of bamboo) nila
joint (of pitpit) rumu; ene
joint (of sugarcane) waa ene
joke; fool around; jest epo la
judge, a (court) *koso pagape aa
juice; sap; milk ipaa
jump, to; spring pogolaa
jump around, to opogo mopogo
jump over, to agula; kabula
just; only; etc. agu; amaa; pa

K
kerosene *keraasini
kerosene (local white) keraapi
kick, to aame ta
kidney ini
kill and die, to tu maoma
kill and dispose of, to lu lopaa; tu lopaa
kindling repena are
kisa, to nunu la
knead, to; mold or form; fold up; bend; squeeze; bunch up pege pa
knee rumu
knee (joint, area behind knee) kolobo
kneel rumu yarua
knife (bamboo) rigi
knit, to (a string bag) reaa
knot (in string of pearl shell) ropi; ruru
know, to niminaa

ladder eperaa; kepaa
ladder (for Pandanus tree) pariapari
ladder (for tying up bananas) aai peraa
lake; pond ini
lame; humpy walk ke ode
lamp; light *laba
land su
land dispute su arere pa
landslide agamea
language; talk; mouth agaa
large; big adaa
larynx peto
last born madu pora poae; negaa; yogo
later orope
later (in the future) ekeraanane
laugh, to giri la; roasu
law agaa mana
lay egg, to apaa yarua bulu maaya; yarua kele masa
lay something down, to malapu pa sa
lazy, to be pu u patea
lazy woman kakome ona
leaf yo
In WK the following leaves are said to have medicinal value:
asa-bulu, itutu, kaane, kenoa, kipu, muta-rama, neabua-agi, nekea, omai, raara, remona-maa, upipi, wabala, wabu, yamo, and yatupu
leaf (chewed with betel nut) arena yo; kegaa yo
leaf (eaten to induce vomiting) rugu yo
leaf (rough, used for sanding) inayo
lean, to ebe
lean-to (skillion roof) ponokaa
leave, to mapira; pirinala
leave, to (a space) latapea
leave, to (someone) makera
leave alone, to inala; pa alna; pa pirina
leaves, old keke
leaves (old Pandanus) panaa
leaves (small, abundant) yo rigi pea
leaves (very thick) eke yolo rita
leaves (wrapped around new baby) yonu
leech iti
leftover (something which is remaining) ana aya; pa suaya; purupina ia
leg; foot ana aya; pa suaya
leg (calf of) roaape
leg (dragging) aa perekepea
leg-band aa kebo ropaa
leper kidimi ne aa; yakimi ti aa
leprosy kidimi na
Hansen's disease is fairly frequent in this section of the Southern Highlands. The people have an intense fear of it, although the person is not isolated from society until the sores become ulcerous or the members deformed. Their attitude is represented by the names for it: (1) kidimi nea, 'the woman's semen has eaten it'; or (2) yakili millia, 'the sky being will get (it)'. The skin type is called le ogo pia which is either a skin disease or some
form of skin leprosy that is external. This occurs when a man touches the comb of the cassowary while eating it and then touches his face (yaa! noma). Then once on the face they can never touch it for fear of it then spreading to their eyes. The sores do not heal (lera), they dry up (kaapu tea). With many sores a person lives in a rere ada or sore house.

let be (someone) pa alna; pa pirina

let go glmaa; repaa

let go of; drop mina repaa

letter *pasl

lice ema

lice (found on birds, pigs, etc.) medo

lice nest regeta

lichen (combination of algae and fungus) waya-rlrl

lick, to pete pia; wako pia

lie, a maklrae agaa; ya agaa

lie, to; deceive makira

lie on back, to yadasa

life cycle The life cycle in EK is something like the following:
1. kuruma: unnamed child;
2. pena naakl: a small walking child;
3. kaule naakl: pubescent;
4. ali mapua: from adolescent until married;
5. ali: (when married) man;
6. adaal or ora ali: a young married man;
7. pa epe ali: ‘just a good man’ referring to a middle-aged man;
8. ali kamoae or kekali ali: referring to a man who has the beginning of white whiskers.
A woman at about this same general age is a winya kuliklsl;
9. yomagae or wlnyagae: an old man or woman;
10. anything beyond this (which is unusual) would be ora yomagae or ora wlnyagae, really old. A couple of terms that are used to describe children somewhere between one and two above are kiloke: when they pull themselves by the hand and yarutata pamula: when they get about by crawling.

lift up; squeeze minasaa; musaa

light; daytime paa; yap!

light, ray of ramaa

light, to (as lamp, etc.) ewa

light, to (a torch) paata waduna

lightning aarl tala; aari yapa

lightning (in daytime) yaki repena

lightweight yapa pia

like this aporupa; gorupa; gupa

limestone yaako-aana-parat!

limp, to kawarla; loma palaa

line up, to lapulapu pu aya

lip (lower edge) agaa ria; plnama nama

lips abulu

lips (inside of) sebe

listen, to; hear paga

lit (to be) ro saya

little ege; oge

live, to; be alive pa pia

liver (centre of emotions) pu

liver (failure) pu rokeya

liver; heart pu-imu

liver (forbidden, tab word); blood bali

lizard (generic) kau

Many edible varieties
loafer; playboy pename aa

location -para; piri

look *loko

Locust gae; nelenene

log; large branch repena suri

log (in men's house) repaa; repe

Loincloth onaapu

long adaalu

look after, to adoba

look carefully, to ini nenege ria

look for, to; search for, to asapa

loose (as board) oda

loose-fitting kola kola ta

loose, to be walu walu lapa sala

lose, to alupa

lost, to be; disappear alupa; etapa

love, to aipa pia

love weed rakia

A young man who is interested in a particular girl, takes the leaves of the rakia (which taste like celery or parsley leaves), cuts off the outer bark of a piece of sugarcane and rubs the leaves onto the cut sugar. Then when he goes courting, he offers the sugarcane to the girl he is interested in. She doesn't know that it has been treated with the love weed when she accepts it and eats it. Later, if another man wants to marry her, she says that she can't because she likes the man who gave her the sugarcane. This is said to be because of the effect of the love weed.

lower, to; put down (as lid of box) muniaa; yolaniaa

lump; tumor; pimples; hives kutu

lungs; heart imu

Lutheran *Luturana

machete (type knife) kaare rai; rai kepere; rai kutu

machine (planes wood) repena nalae

machine (shovels, i.e. bulldozer) su-kele *tarake; su-musaa *tarake

magic (purposed to spoil or ruin an event) aaana yaina

magic (with weapons and war) aaluma

magic flutes (tab word) emaa

make, to The exact verb chosen in Kewa depends upon the nature of object; however, generally pa means to 'make something, perform an action, etc.'

1. ada pa: make a house;
2. depea: make a fire;
3. eperupa pa: make it well;
4. keapu: make a fire;
5. kepo pa: make a fence;
6. kogono pa: make (do) work;
7. kone wasa pa: make it poorly;
8. maepea: make it straight;
9. modo pa: make a hole in the ear;
10. podopea: make a hole in something;
11. rabula: make a bed;
12. ubura: make a pile of something, as compost;
13. wasa: make a grass skirt;
14. yada pereamina: to make peace

malaria upa rigi wasita

male (person) aa

Two alternate taboo forms are mai (in the Ribu ceremonies to the S) and aayagopasi (Pand lang). Other common expressions are:
1. aa eke; aa poeke: middle-aged man;
2. aaogege aa: young man;
3. apo eke: middle-aged;
4. made-ini: young man;  
5. ona piri aa: married man

male animal  yadapu
male species (except man)  ru
man (circumcised)  kula pae aa;  
\hspace{1cm} rene lobe aa
man (expatriate) kadipi; bali
man (old)  yomagae
man (poor, without possessions)  naara;  
\hspace{1cm} riabo; ribu aa
man (rich, many possessions)  mope aa
man (who lends freely)  oyae  
\hspace{1cm} kane aa; rumaae aa
\hspace{1cm} manner, a good  waru
many; much; plenty  adaapu
mark (boundary)  robo
mark (tattoo-like)  ririma
market  *maakete
markings  lore
markings (bright, distinguishing)  
\hspace{1cm} wape-lepo pea
marriage  lamina; rumaa
marrow; bone  roda ipa
marry, to  kea; lamua; rumaa
matches  *masasi
material (for fire making)  ipu  
\hspace{1cm} aria; ipu edepea; ipu repena
measure  *maakeme mea; mada mea
measure and fit (pieces together)  
\hspace{1cm} makibuma riri pae
meat; flesh  *midi
meat (choice piece)  yakipu
meat (small piece of)  alo
mechanic  *neke-neke
medicine  *mula-mula
meet, to (someone)  madaa
meeting house (open-ended)  rakua  
\hspace{1cm} ada
member (of parliament)  *meba
mend; sew up  etepa
men's house  tapada
men's house (entrance way)  tapada  
\hspace{1cm} ini
menstruate  akua adea
message; reported speech  agaa lo  
\hspace{1cm} otaa; wai; wai agaa
messenger  wai lo otaae aa
messenger (of death)  ai maepaata
mid-afternoon  naare pereketa laina
mid-morning (about 10-11 a.m.)  
\hspace{1cm} naare ipulaina
midnight; complete darkness  ruma;  
\hspace{1cm} rumane
middle  rikana
middle-born  runa; runi
middle finger  adaa ki
milk  adu paage
minnow type fish  maregatali; parai
mirror; shadow  wasaa
miscarry, to tu ruba
miss, to (as with spear) paakea;
wasiaa
mishapen; uneven; bent paralo
mission *misini
missionary *misi
mist; fog moae
mix, to; stir yada ta
mix together (different ingredients) pepemina
moisture; fluid silo
mole cricket bolo
Monday kogono *made
money *mone
money for taxes *mone tagesi
moon; month akua; eke
moon (full) maari
more; leftover medaloma
morning star akuana ai
morning time ribaa reko; yapipu
mosquito rigina
moss lubi (generic term)
Mosses are commonly used as ear decorations at dances, for filling in the cracks in houses to keep the wind out, and as an absorbent and coagulant in bleeding. There are several var., including: aga-pala (Dawsonia), omae (Sphagnum), pepeasa (Sphagni), and podeni.

motorbike *mosapai
mother (address or familiar) ama
mother (reference) agi
mother bird feeding young ninima
motion (of dog, pig) wabe
motion (of water) wabiaake
mould (on food) uluma
mound (of sweet potatoes, large) kubura
mountain; hill (Pand lang) kugu
mountain; hill aari; masaa; pore; rudu
mountain name kiluwa
mountain top; peak pore rumu
mourn, to; cry re la
mourning beads ola; maraata
mourning beads and clay olayapara apu
mourning skirt yai; yai ura
moustache abulu iri
mouth; talk agaa
move along, to (as water) pupa
movement; sound ete eto
moving, to be (fire, liquid, etc.) rama pula; rari pula
much; many adaapu
mucous (nose) ini maatu
mud kege
muddy water emagu pia
muscle kogapu; midi
mushroom yasa and many more sub-var. There are at least 50 var. named in WK. These are classified on the basis of colour, taste, where they are found growing, texture, etc.
mushroom (underneath section of) mimi
myth; legend iti
N
nail; needle; straight pins  *nill
name  bi
namesake, man who has many  bi polo-polo aa
naughty, to be  pupitagi na
nauseated, to be  maaku ratalo
navel  mogo
near  repara
neck  kalabe; loke-loke; maa
neck and jowl of butchered pig  yaki ragi
neck bone  maa pemaa
necklace  kulubu
necklace (of sticks)  maata
needle (bamboo)  egaalu
needle (bone); forearm bone  noae
needle, hole-end of  egaapita kego
negative  na-
nephew  si; ai
net apron (common)  onaapu
net apron (pigtail decoration)  wabe
net bag (common)  nu
net bag; rain shield; placenta  nu yapara; ode
net bag (to carry babies)  yonu
net bag (used by men for sacred stones and other objects)  kuranu
net bag (woman’s)  mumunu
net band (tied to pearl shell)  yaalo
net hat (possum fur with string)  yapa pubu raguna
net hat (in first stages of being knit)  raguna moga
nettle, stinging (used as counter-irritant)  raara
never mind; let it be; that’s alright  glmaa; palainawa; pinawa
new; green  kagaa
niece  wane
night gae; leda; ribaa
night (Pand lang)  yaruna
nipple  adu ini
no  dia
nod (signifying approval)  maa mayaria ria
nod (with sleep)  umi cole-malae la pirae
noise (of something approaching in bush)  toto ta
noise, sudden  tele-tele ta; tepotepo; teta; tole-tole
noise, to cause  mabau laria
noiseless  keto napi yae
noon (about)  naare abua rikirane aina
nose  ini-kadu; ini-kara
nose; eye; face; head; seed (Pand lang)  yadira
nose ornament (from cassowary quill)  yariraa
nose (septum)  karaa
nosey (person)  ini rini aa; maa adaalu aa
not (connecting clauses)  pare
not (with nouns)  dia
not (with verbs)
now abia
numeral indicator ipa

oath (expressing truth) yada
makua
obedient agaa pagene
obey, to pagea
object marker, etc. in sentence construction -daa
obscure; dim; image of something yaakoya
obstinate, to be padataa
ocean *solowara
odour; smell; fragrance kaa
odour, to have (good fragrance) roropo pea
office *opisi
offspring (animal) sisi
offspring (children) si

oil Introduced oil is *walo. The
generic term for tra-
ditional oil is wabala. Other
names are:
1. gasua kaale: tree or ground
oil;
2. nekeali (E): dark ground
oil;
3. reke: dark tree oil;
4. repona-ipaa: tab form for
tree oil
old abana
old (really old) abasana
old man yomagae
old woman onagae
old; worn out abana; piri
on (locative) -na

one egataa; komea; padane
oneself, by bipa
on-looker (at sing-sing) yasa
aama rarana aya aa
only (emphatic marker); just ma
on top madaa
open (mouth) agaa aala
open mouth (display gums, teeth) sebea
open, to (door, tin, window) loba
open eyes, to rupaa
open and close, to (claws, as a
crab) kidipaa alape lape pa
open and look inside; unfasten
kepea
open up, to; make room lebea
operate; cut open aare pa
or (interrogative) palo
orbit, to be in magomawa
orchid alowa
ornament, saucer (worn on wig)
duma
ornament, shell (worn on ear lobe)
asa-kawara
ornament, small shell (worn on
neck) kipaa; pipiki; pokai
orphan ge
other; different one meda; rado
other part apone; kalae; paaki
other side mone pane
ours; mine naa
outhouse; toilet itapa
outside (a clearing of ground)
amaa
outside (perimeter) rarane
oven, earth yawe
overflowing, to be rubita; rulatabea
overflowing (as stream) raa
overlap; place on top of rabuaa
over there apode; mo; mogo
owl kau; olasuba

P
pain, to radaa pia
pain (in neck area) maa nigiipea
paint (red, used to decorate pearl shells) ridi; wapei
paint, to; brush on; display iraa
palm of hand oraa

pandanus (Pandanaceae) aga
A distinct contrastive category with trees, shrubs, etc. Also a very important cultural domain among the Kewa. Over 30 var. named in WK.
pandanus branch agepaa; marisa
pandanus leaf, base of (from which other leaves sprout) pogaa
pandanus nut aga maa; aga ini (one)
Other relevant vocabulary is:
1. aga kiporanae: two nuts;
2. aga palu; paaku: over three nuts (mature);
3. aga parapea: a small nut;
4. aga pia: a fist-sized nut;
5. aga ulu: flowering, no nuts;
6. aapero: edible fruit;
7. apa: meat of the nut;
8. makura; maloa: inside core;
9. ode: individual kernels;
10. pugu: skin;
11. wabu: husks
pandanus shoots lugaa; maa; marala
pandanus (tab names) garota; mabua; malupia; ralipa

pandanus (unproductive tree) aga aani
pandanus (wild) aga ripa
pant, to komo pia
paper pipaa
parable sa agaa
paralysis ki a a ome
pares, to ketapea
part of; half of apore; kalae; paaki
path; road pora
payment (compensation to allies for their dead) aakepa
payment (installments to allies) mena-iru
payment (magical cure) yaina apula
payment (marriage) ona makuai; ona rumaape
payment (to allies before fight) kabe-reke
peace-maker; mediator yada kumapi a
peace, to make etepa; rabu a
peak (of mountain, Mt. Giluwe) kiwame
peak (of Mt. Kiluwe, twin of Kiwame) kawame
peanut kaliapo; katopa; pinata
peel, to ketapea; warea
peel off, to kepea
peelings; scraps; refuse abu; eboma; ragaota
pelvis and lower back area kego
pen; fence kuta
pencil penesolo
penis rene
penis (Pand lang) ranu-koba
people onaa
perhaps; or pae; palo
person (silly, funny) *sele kadatiaa
perspiration; sweat ekata
petrol *benesini
photo; picture *pikisaa
pick, to; pluck; cut kera; rala
pick, to; prune wareaa
pick, to; shell; take down oda
pick mushrooms, to yasa kereaa
pick up and place in piles, to yarepea
picture; photo *pikisaa
Pidgin language *Pisini agaa
piece, small aalo; kawata; ruguni
pig mena
Pigs are classified according to the size (length) of their snout, the amount of hair on them, how their ears lie down, the number of "toes" on their feet, as well as by their colour. Other relevant vocabulary include:
1. apaame ome mena: very fat pig;
2. awaka mena: a pig with extra "toes";
3. kebo; wai; suna: a female;
4. kira mena; raa mena: a wild pig;
5. mena imaa paaki: waist-high in size;
6. mena iri-yagaae: knee-high in size;
7. ragua: very hairy.
Taboo names heard are: adasa, kukua, maeya (Pand lang), sugi and waka. Generally these were used in the Ribu ceremonies. Some of the common names for parts of a pig are:
1. aalo; kawata; ruguni: a small piece of pork;
2. aarotaa: a side of pork;
3. ami: fat;
4. imaa: tusks;
5. ipanami: butchered and split open;
6. keraape: quartered section;
7. maapaapu: jowls area;
8. poke: any cut of pork;
9. yagaa: jawbone; and
10. yakill-raki (E): tenderloin pig call ai
pig (imported) susu mena
pig (protruding mouth of) mena abulu raguta
pig rope or tether mena iti
pig tail (used for decoration) mena aapu
pig-tail apron aapu wabe
pig wallow peke
pile, to; join onto, to ari mugi mugi
pillow (wooden) kada
pimples; wart kele; kete; potelema
pin kulubu ki
pineapple *painapolo
pipe *sokope
pipe (tab word) po-ada
pitch (for weighting Jew's harp) wasa
pity pu oyala
pity, to be full of pu yala pia
place together medaapara
placenta yapara
plane, to; scrape kira
plant, to (in the ground) poa
plate *peletia
platform; ladder reke
platform, burial aa rogaape, lit. for binding the man. The platforms were about 4 feet off the
ground, with bark from trees along the side of the platform.
Bow and arrows were placed along side of the platform, pointing toward the enemies.
In one ceremony men bring a pig and in a silent procession encircle the platform. The leader had a net bag and knelt hitting a stake of the platform, commanding the dead man's spirit to rise up.

platform (outside long house) yotapa

play, to as a game) rapa pa

pleased, to be pu epe ta

pluck, to; pull out; gather rala

pluck, to (out hair) iri yaga

point (a bent finger gestured in anger) lobaina

point of something eke; mudu; pudu; rugi

point, to; shake hand in amazement; shake one's head wagea

poison; sorcery romo

pole (centre in spirit house) ribu rugi

pole (long in spirit house) rugi

pole, ridge (of house) akua; suba

poles (twin centre) keroga

police *polisimano

pond; lake umi

poor man naara aa; riabope aa; ribu aa

portion out, to rumaa

portion out, to; display pudu pia; puru pia

possessions (of dead man) moyae

possessive -na

post ada daa

posterior (anatomy) imaa; irimaa; kera

potato *asaposo; *asapusi

pouch; wallet *pausi

pouch (of marsupial) mako ada

pouch (man's; made from bark of tree) roka nu

pouch (sacred or magic) ipunu yapara

pour out, to koya

pout out (completely) koyamina

pout, to ratu yawala

powder *paura

praise bi minasaa

pray, to *betene la

prayer *betene

pregnant, to be; fat padaa pia; pagaa pia; rarane pia

prepare, to amege pa

price yoto

prison; gaol *karapusa ada

prisoner opeme adini aa

profit (from selling goods) ode

promise; agreement aana oraa

prostitute rene wae pi ti ona

protrusion kebo

proud man ipa ti aa; to wanini aa

proud, to be; conceited ini kada; karaya; rope pia; sugilema yawa pia

pry up, to depolo

pug-nosed, to be ini kadu rekatabea; ini pome minasa

pull, to The general term is yola. Depending on the direction, method, and objects pulled other
vocabulary is used: loke: knuckles; pudia: hair out; rabia: vine from a tree; rasa: weeds, grass, etc.; sibia: pull up and down when weaving; yodola: pull legs back and forth, as an insect; yola monea: pull away from; yolo ria: pull along the ground

pumpkin *kamakini; *pamakini
pus; lymph kaima
push down, to; shoved underneath orolopaa
put across, to munei pepara
put, place, to sa
put inside of; tuck under; fasten tightly pa a
put into something small, to yopo pa
put on, to (clothes, leaves, etc.) maraa; yama
put on or off, to (as hat); tear down (as house) ludia; puguna

Q
quail muma
quarrel, to aple a
question marker aa; pae; pao
questioning talk kurakura agaa
quickly abi pa; aipapulu
quietly paawasi
quilla (of cassowary) ra

R
radio *redio; *walisi
rafters paria; piraa
rain agi rali

rain yai
rain (lasting all night) yai lubi ribaa pulaba tabari a
rain (misty, constant) kudi; lubu
rainbow asawaaku
raindrops itipa; rodopa
rain shield malia; yapara
raise eyebrows, to ini pobolo ridipia
rapids; waterfall ipa kai
rash; scabies; peeling skin (on face) oko pea
rat This includes larger bush rats as well as smaller mice. The two main named categories are wasa and onasa (bush rat) in WK, pakira and repoto (or konasa) in the E and S. Seventeen distinct var. are named in WK.
rattan (Calamus sp.) aipuya; mayapa
raw kagaae
razor; razorblade *lesaa
ready things in one place, to yarera pa
reason (for an action or purpose) re
rectangular or square-shaped parati yae
reed (for skirt) kaliaa; opeta; tipa
reflection; glare ewo ta; kalot a
reflection (from sun) podo podo ne
reflect, to lepo-lepo atae; wasupari
refuse purame
refuse permission, to ritipea
reject, to rasa
rejoin; mend  rode pia
release, to; slip out of; take off (clothes)  kola
release air, juice from something se latabaa
remember, to  kone wala mea
remove, to; clear; pass someone else; dodge, to paakea; wadiaa; waduua
remove, to; dig out, to; lift out awa; odekeaa; rasa
remove, to (in order to reveal another object) waapea
remove, to; release esepea; kola; kolo ria
remove, to; take away; throw out lodea; ludia; lusa
remove entirely, to  rakumina
repay, to; compensate; cover over abula
resolute minded iru kone
rest, to  kitu
reticent man  agaa nane aa
return, to  wala epea
reveal, to; show; teach waala
revenge, to; shou; teach waala
rib pain; pneumonia perani kope awa
ribs perani
rice *laasa
rich amape; amope
rich man ama aa; amo pi aa
rid of, to get rata
ridge (of mountain) agagaane; negolo
ridge pole (center of house roof) masaa; ukuma akua
rifle; shotgun *sutigane
ringbark a tree, to aluua
rip, to; tear podopecia; ridipita; riripia
ripe balu ra
ripe fruit ru
ripe, to be porea
ripples ipa eto-eto; ipa lewa-lewa
rise to top, to; swell up nogo pea
riverbed ipudu
road; door pora
road (any government) pora barara; waka
road (Pand lang) muaroro
road (tab); path sapu
rock (long and hard) kusimi
rock (tab) saperara
rocky ground aana raapu i su
roll away perene
roll around, to; slide around pepeso la
roll string, to kumaa; kusaa; pusa
roll up, to; fold up, to (as umbrella) raako pea
roof masaa; ukuma
roof (iron) *kapa yo
rooms; divisions (of house) robenlae
root pitaa
root, to (as pig) epoaa
rope  1tl; ope
rotten (inside of) kaanu
rotten, to be ramua; yadia
rotten, to be (completely) kurupuniaa; ramuniaa
rough (to the touch) reke-reke ae yae
round, smooth magomawae
row (in garden, etc.) aakena
rub, to; scrape kadepea; kuna
rub, to; wash radepea; *wasimi ta
ruin, to bebo la
ruler *lula
run, to (as water in stream); move, to popea
run off afraid, to pogolasa; rolari pamea
rustling (leaves); turn (by wind) lekea
rusty, to become; wet ulupapu pea

sadness kedaa kone
saliva sope; supi
salt (imported) kosaa
salt (large block) riti; ukama
salt (long bundle) reke
salt (traditional) aipa
salt (wrapped unit) uruma
salt water; also river name *solowara; yalo
sand ipa mu; kili-kili
sap; milk; juice ipaa
satisfied, to be; happy raana pia
Saturday oge oro
sawdust; refuse; bits konobaa
say, to la
scabies; loose skin o
scaffold ebe-laaki

scale a tree, to; climb up opasaae; ruma
scar; tattoo kodo
scar; deformation duku
scattered about, to be pu payaba
soent ari
school *sukulu
scissors kipirege
scoop (used for bailing water while fishing) agawaaka
scoop, to; bail; thrust in and out apea
scratch, to (the skin); tear, to kalepea; riripia
scrotum; testicles rene ru
search for, to asa pa
second born runa
secret exchange rome
secret talk kudiri pu ne agaa
secret talk (used when harvesting pandanus) aga rumula agaa
section (first made of basket or net bag) mogo
see, to ada
seeds (for stringing) murubu beleke
seeds (plantable) ini; wai
selfish man nama nama rubini aa; yamame ome aa
sell, to mea kaba
send, to moyaa; otaa; penala; rapaa
separate, to kepea
separate, to; hold apart; keep from fighting mubaa
set, to be (as trap) mabaa
seven kerepo
Seventh Day Adventist *Sewede Misini
serve, to (food) pana pa
sew, to; mend; put together rabula
sew, to; do handwork; knit saa
shade, to be in ru pia
shadow; mirror wasaa
shake, to; move (as leaves) ete-eto pia; wage-wage pia
shake, to (as a tree); jostle magataba
shake, to (from fright, sickness) pururu pia
shake, to (hand, in gesture of amazement) ki apura-apura
shake, to (the head) maa wage-wage pa
shake down, to rabuaa
shale (used for cutting, scraping) areke
shale (white) rote
shape, to (with stone); ream kipa
sharp ne
sharp teeth agaa eke aya
sharpen, to (as a fence post) padola; pona
sharpen, to (by whetstone) naga pa
sharpen, to (by a point) paya
shed, to (skin or peelings); husk rapura
sheep mena *sipisipi
shelf (for storing firewood to dry); raluba
shelf (inside house) yapara
shell (bailer) raame; uriagaa
shell, cowrie rage
shell (mother-of-pearl)
Pearl shells are classified according to degree of yellowness, size and shape. Prize shells are: amo-sekere, sekere-wai, and yaba, but any prize shell has a particular name and history. Poor shells are called sekere kibita, sekere pore, etc. Some of the parts of a shell are: yadapu (the ends), yaalo (the decorative band), roka or robaa (the under-part).
shell (pearl, hung up for display) madini sekere
shell (pearl, etc.; Pand lang) gigili; sikili
shell ornament (ear) kasa-kawaraa
shell ornament (neck) kipaa; pipiki; pokai
shell ornaments (pieces of pearl hung on the neck and ears) sekere aare
shells (display of unwrapped pearl) sekere nu robeme
shells, coil of cowries rage rogo
Short coil: rage kobene; long coil: rage ulu
shelter; temporary house; lean-to pokaalo
shepherd, to puna; suruba
shield Many varieties with names according to size, type of wood, etc.: karapi; karepe; koro-koro; negalo; ralubi; riti-yapara
shin bone kibu
shine, to; gleam; glare poto poto pia
shine, to (as stars) uba podo podo ta
shine, to (sun) naare raa
sick, to be yaina
Some of the medical terminology associated with sickness and related problems is as follows:
agaa odataba: broken off tooth; agaa nea: toothache;
aalu ta: headache; aalu lobade: broken leg; aa kidipaa rugula: puade: torn off toenail; aane poaya: deaf; alma raa: discharge pus; eme lalu pea: distress; gale pia: yaws; i kululu ta: diarrhoea; ini radaa pia: sore eyes; ini dulu pa: blind; ini dukupara rero pa: smarting in corners of eye; ini maatumi pora poade: plugged up nose; ini maatu epea: runny nose; ini dipa: greasy condition on face; kegapu pea: fever; kidimi nea (or yakimi nea): leprosy; kiru pea: measles or skin itch; kitu pea: malaise or tiredness; ki duku pa: deformed hand; kele opea: pimples; kogapu poa: cut a vein or tendon; kupaa epaa: bleeding; komo pea: out of breath; lo garulariade: constipation; masaa ta: backache; maaku rata: vomiting; potoloma pirade: warts, etc.; pu nea: liver, etc. pains; rere pia: sores; royo pea: pneumonia; robaa nea: stomach ache; rumu meala: stiff knees; upi pia: boils; uparikl wasita: malaria; uni nea: bones ache; uni tolatabade: broken bones; yogane o mea: scaly skin
sickness (inflicted); sorcery yada-remo
side; edge peraa
side by side yoka pa; yola mea
side of house daapara
side, the leeward kepopinane
similar to nona pi
sin; trouble pupitagi
sing, to yasa la
singsing; dance, to yasa mataa
sink, to (deep into water) ipa runane ugiade
sister aki
sister (father's sister) aarobo
sisters aakiala
sit down pira
six; heel of thumb su midi
skin yogane
skirt ura
skirt (mourning) maraata yai; ura yai
skirt (string) mogoramea
skull aalu uni
sky (or clouds) yaa
sky being (benevolent) yaki
slanted kuka
sleep  u
sleep; close eyes  adu pia; pata
sleep, to  u pata
sleep; set; rest (Pand lang) mumudusa
sleepy; heavy-lidded umi oma
slice, to  kea; keya; saa
slice, to; cut off kepa
slippery, to be; slick; smooth era pia; era putaba; kagala; pidipi; ragola pia
slowly; easily paawa
smack, to (with open hand); slap karapu ta
small  ege; oge
smell; odour kaa; pugu
smell, to  kaa mea
smell, to have (carried by wind) pugu kaka ria
smoke miru
smoke (heavy, dense) miru kapu kapu
smoke pipe (tab Ribu) mirupe; *soko-ta
smooth (to the touch) kuma pia; rorea pia
smooth (without fuzz) madolo pa
smooth out, to; unfold ridapea
snail  iti
snake paaka (generic) Snakes are classified by the K according to whether they are edible or poisonous, as well as by habitat, size, and colour. Some common types are: kero (python); mena-iti (water snake); mugunu-aina (poisonous); yalipu; lege-lege
snake; lizard; frogs, etc. (Pand lang) kadusupa
snap; crack (knuckles) ki maloke
sneeze, to giru
sniff, to sulasa
snore, to ugoro
snout (of pig); chin (of person) agora
soaked, to be (as from rain) ramea; ramula; yadia
soap *sopo
socks *sokone
soft; tame kuma pia
soft (to the touch) oma pae yae
soft-spoken pu rurane agaa tea
soft-spoken (person); humble; who stands quietly paawa awae aa
soil; ground su
soil (good, black) su kobere
soldiers; the army *ami
some medaloma
something; things oyaeyae; yae
son naaki; si
song (courting) kunanaa; remani
soon oro pe ogesi
sorcerer ruri pi aa; ru upi aa
sorcery neabu; ruri
sorcery (emetic) ripana; upipi
sorcery (leaf for cure) wabu yo
sorcery (potent) yama sokele
sorcery spell (stone as object) malu
sorcery, to perform ruri pia
sore rere
sore (large) lumu
sore; scabies (caused from bark belt) epaa

sorry, to be ado pia; yaraa pea

soul; shadow wasaa; wasupaa

sound There are many imitating sounds, such as: bu ta: something exploding; daa-daa ta: rain on roof; dau ta: gun firing; do-do ta: clicking with mouth; garo ta; gau ta: chopping wood; geao-geao ta: the kenome frog; kaaku ta: pig snorting; kego ta: bamboo exploding; kete-kete pia: wind, etc.; kilapa galapa ta: rattling; tractor on road; kololata: hitting hollow object; lala ta: rain on roof; lau-lau ta: rain on roof, etc.; lege ta: pulake ta; teke ta: tree leaves, tree creaking, etc.; lewawela pia: grass, etc.; mu: car or plane approaching; pidu pado la: vallaby jumping; pinama-nama: crowd; fight; se ta: air being released; tele-tele ta: fat, etc. cooking

sound (of sacred flutes) ribu agaa

space; room aala

space or holes (in fence) nikiri; yaapotari

spear rama

spear (from thigh bone) uni rama

spear, to; thrust awa

speech There are many categories of agaa (lit. talk, language, etc.) such as: agaa maha: instructions; agaa muma: soft, quiet; eke tole: tongue-tied; ero agaa: insults; ini rini agaa: lies; kudiri agaa: secret; kura-kura agaa: questioning; maeyae agaa: crazy; maki rae agaa: lies; mana-mana agaa: instructions, teaching; mumu ne agaa: whispering; ona rumape agaa: marriage; ora agaa: truth; pa agaa: misleading, empty; pedo pi agaa: happy; puri pane agaa: loud; remaa ne agaa: story; rome agaa: trade; sa pi agaa: disguised; tata ne agaa: baby; wae agaa: foul; yada maluue agaa: challenge; yaina pi agaa: spells

speech; something to say yada

spells yaina agaa

Any incantation used in curing ceremonies, etc. For example, while cooking pig breasts the man would chant:

ipa kaa u midaa midaa
ipa nabi u midaa midaa

wake rumu atubili oma rumu atubili

where there is a definite pattern and rhythm used in the chants. Magical spells are said for a variety of reasons, but especially to counteract sorcery. Other reasons are to make bows and arrows more accurate in fighting (etari pane and yada repena-yo), to improve the hunting capacity of dogs (yana aari poala), for gardens (especially taro: e-maa pi), to make pigs grow (mena amu yae), to spoil a feast (aana yaina), with love weed for women (ona rakia), to make the hair grow (iri i ripu), in spirit houses, to ward off hunger (sapi-re yaina), to stop the rain (yai yaina pa), to cause blood to appear (pulu), for curing hiccoughs, etc. (kaliyapo yawala), and to make people run away (do yaina)

spell-maker; shaman (headman in spirit worship) yaina pi (pu) aa

spell-maker (using arrows) aapulu pone aa; repena kabe pone aa

spell-maker (using jawbone) aa yagaa pone aa

spinal cord masaa uni

spider (common) alimu

spider (spinning web) kaki yoloa pea

spin, to (something hanging from rope) pelepele
spinning top  ewa rare
spin cobweb, to  silo rubala
spirit (ancestral) remo
spirit; bush kepesura
spirit mask  ribu etaa
spirit (Pand lang) kadiasupa
spirit stones  remo apaa
spit, to  sopi ra; supi ra
spleen rai
splinter koyati; loma; royo
split, to; crack; tear rage pa; reke pa
split, to (due to fighting) yada kepetepa; yada rugutipa
split lengthwise, to rupi poa
split open, to  ralebea
split open, to; slap together parata
split open, to (as wood) ragala pea
split up, to be etapea; kadola; rugula
spoon  *sipunu
spouses; couple; husband and wife repala; repaya
spread, to (a disease) mudia
spread open, to (net bag) palebea; ragopea; rakua
spring of water  ipa yokea
sprinkle, to  pepemina; radu pia
sprout; shoot  lomo; maa
sprout (of sugarcane or taro); base kaa
square-shaped parae ti
squeeze, to  igi pla; moropea
stab, to  awa
stake (centre in top game) mapuru
stakes (nearest centre stick in top game) ai
stakes (end ones in top game) ulu
stakes (upright in top game) aawal
stalk (of bananas) ode
stand up, to; arise reka
stand upright, to  aawa; rekamaa; yarla; yarua
star uba
start, to; begin ripima
stay, to  pa aya
steal, to  paake na
steam, to; smoke, to  karuta
steep kuta
stem uni
stick kaare rai; kutu; rai kutu
stick; wedge kurla
stick (ceremonial dancing) mata radal
stick (digging) dusa; lama; rimaapu; roto
stick (for fastening; to look for something, etc.) libir
stick (for scratching) kiru repena
stick (for sweet potato mound) modo kepa
stick (pointed) koyati; loma; royo
stick (small, long, pointed) egaapita
sticky, to be  rala patea
stiff leg, to have; anything which is askew  rapa ia
stiff-necked  karayo pi; maa kano pa
stillborn child, to have  oma  

palae madusa

stink bug  betamu

stir, to  moropea

stomach  lo;  robaa

stomach ache  robaa nala

stomach noise; crunchy chewing  
kalalu ta;  kitu kaatu ta;  
popolo ta

stomach (rat)  momo

stone  The generic term is aana  
(kana in E and SK). Some  
informants consider it to be  
the "mother" of rote 'shale',  
while others are less certain  
and rank the two equally.  
Only the former can have a  
"skin" (yogane) from which  
stone axes are made. Often  
the dual generic aana-rote is  
heard for all kinds of stones  
or rocks. There are several  
varieties according to the  
characteristics of shape,  
texture, colour and location  
where found.

stone  (ancient one used in magic)  

akera

stone  (for sharpening)  naga;  nepo

stone  (Pand lang)  aakane

stone  (soft, shale)  kumi

stone  (tab name)  imane;  yaa-kidua

stone  (volcanic type used in  
earth ovens)  upipi

stones  (for around fireplace)  
pepeto

stones, river  kaalepa

stones  (sacred, tab)  yaako-pi- 
adaalu

stone axe  The most common types  
are aapidi and roba-mogo. Other  
types are: adaa-rai, kai-yamo,  
rai-yaku, wapu, yaku, and yoko- 
rai. The types of slate used  
for making stone axes are:

kaku, mai pare, pata, ripulu,  
and rokopa

stop fighting, to  yada musa;  
yada para;  yada patapa;  yada  
perea

stop talking, to  agaa loraa

stop and rest  kitu pira

store  *sitoa;  *situa

store firewood, to (in house)  
wadopa

story  iti

story; report  remaa

straighten, to  redepo ya

straight, to make  managola sa;  
maredepo ya

straighten up, to; pick up  
managola;  wamo pa;  yarepea

straighten up, to; put in order  
amage pa;  amege pa

strange place  kimisu

stranger  ewa

strangle, to; twist; squeeze;  
force apart  lebepe mina

stretch, to; exercise  ridula

stretch open, to; poke, to  yapa

strike, to; chop; hit; plant  poa

string; rope  ope

string (from bamboo skin for  
stringing beads)  aria kuki

string beads  ipaepa;  kibipaba;  
rupa

string-making  kope pusa (E)

1. The stems of the kope bush  
are gathered and stripped of  
their leaves into long straight  
stems.

2. The stems are then put between  
the teeth and split into two  
pieces the entire length of the  
stem.

3. The split stems are bundled
and dried over a fire for a couple of days, until completely dried.

4. When dry, each split stem is taken between the teeth and "cracked" at intervals. This makes the splitting of the outside bark from the stem easier. After splitting off the bark, the inner part is thrown away.

5. The outer bark is then peeled further so that fine fibres on the inside part remain. These fine fibres are rolled lightly together into larger fibres until string is ready to be rolled.

6. Alternately, the fibres may be peeled off when not completely dry. In this case, the fibres are set in the sun or carried around in the string bag until dry enough to roll.

7. From the fibres thus gathered, very fine strands are separated and rolled separately, then rolled two together into strands of string. The finer the stands the finer the string. String bags take a coarser and thus thicker string, while net hats look best when made with a fine string.

8. Short strands of string are thus rolled, and when a new piece is needed to make the string longer, this is rolled in. The string is rolled while the women sit down, on their thighs.

Vocabulary: gusa: to roll the separately rolled strands into one string; kago: thin split fibres; kope: the bush the string is made from; also commonly used for string in general; kope kuli: the inner part of the stem after the bark has been peeled off, which is subsequently thrown away; kuli mea: the split off thin bark; kuma: roll single strands separately before joining them into one; kuma iyé: string that is just rolled forwards; pulie: string that is rolled both forwards and backwards; pusa: to roll string

string, to (a bow) awa
strip, to (bark) sibia
strip, to (skin of sugarcane); husk (pandanus nuts) paria
striped; spotted (as animal) rapula poala
striped with different colours paaketa
strong; energetic iru; kogapu; puri
strong; obstinate kogapu pea; midi pea
stuck, to be (in mud) kusa
stuck fast, to be kusabaya
stump; base; reason for action re
stupid, to be kone naia
stutter tole agaa
sty; inflamed swelling on eyelid ura waï
substitute; replacement alo pa
sufficient mada
suffocated, to be yayone pira
sugarcane (Saccharum officinarum)
The generic term is waa or wali (E,SK). Sugarcane is classified according to size, colour, the composition of the outer skin, the taste, the size of the leaves. The six most common varieties are: awa, eba, kabo, kega, lobaina, and makipa. Some two dozen varieties are named in Kewa, including: alainâ, ewa-ebö, kayabo, kege-rema, lobaina, makipa, maka, modaa, pai-lobaina, para, pinia, ruki, serali, yada, and yo-lobaina
sugarcane (chewed up) waa kekapua
sugarcane (flowers of, tassles of) waa ini
sugarcane sprouts waa peago; waa si
sugarcane stalk waa agi
suicide ope na
The two main methods of suicide seem to be hanging oneself (ope na: 'eating the rope') or jumping in a large river. The usual motives given are thwarted love, especially after a couple have courted (rome) and then one goes off and marries someone else. During the time of fights many people jumped in the river and killed themselves from the fright of the fight or enemy. The general name for suicide is mumuga na. The attitude of the people in general toward suicide is a shame towards those who may have tried it and failed.

summonsar pilaka mea pa aria aa
sun naare; paaku
sun (bright) naare palu
sun; moon (Pand lang) aapaaku
sun; moon; tongue (tab words) puda
Sunday adaa oro
sunlight (on side of mountain before dusk) pakua; pore yamato
sunrise yapi lapa taina; yapi talo yaa lobalaina
sunset naare pabala
surgeon (a primitive fight) etaaripi aa
swallow, to yolaniaaa
swamp pau
swarm rulu
swat (with nettles) paakua; yodota
swearing talk eke ta; wae agaa
sweat; perspiration ekata
sweep, to kia
sweet, to be rede pia
sweet potato (Ipomea batatas) sapi; also modo in EK.

Over 45 var. are named in WK- They are classified by the K according to: tuber colour, number and texture of the leaves, taste, texture of tuber, human or pig consumption, age of introduction, i.e. recent or ancestral, and the degree and consistency of the juice. A few common var. are: lakiraa, lakela-kea, maa, maaka, mada, magata, malue, mad pore-nogo, momaa, modo-mapua (Ribu tab name).

sweet potato mound modo; pana
swelling; knot (on tree); joint on growing things we
swelling (like mumps) pea yawa yaina
swim, to; strike water mogea
swing (made of vines) yalimag; yalipuli
swishing motion (of tail) wabiaake
swollen; distended (stomach) robaa kebo agiti
swollen; puffy; edema mamu ta
syphilis rene ere ramea

T

table reke; *tepolo

taboo 1. rekena, an overt marking such as leaves, shrubs, etc. attached to a pole or fence, or someone to keep someone out of the gardens, near the spirit houses to mark them as sacred, on a person to mark them as betrothed or menstruating;
2. imaa-niti, if there is a special relationship between a man and his brother-in-law or mother-in-law;
3. raguna lusuni, if a taboo has been violated, for example by entering a sacred area or saying a certain affine's name;
4. rumula agaa, if it refers to the special Pandanus language spoken while nuts are harvested
in the Mt. Giluwe area;
5. also there is a taboo
against speaking the name of
the recently deceased
taboo (relationship) imaa nitl
tail aapu
tail (bird) ipula iri
tail (cassowary used in dancing)
tiwarakua
tail (coiling in different direc-
tions) aapu ade ade pia
tail (crooked) aapu galia
tail (cut off) aapu kepea
tail (long, of bird) ikidi
tail (possum) wakl
take, to (in one hand) ki
kalaeme mea; kilumi mea
take apart, to; push apart yoka
pa
take away, to lakepea; mupa
take away, to opapa; pelaapa
take away, to (and leave a space)
yoa pa
take away completely, to; keep
from fighting muba
take back something given, to
mumugi
take down, to (as washing) oda mea
take hold and twist, to; take
hold and squeeze regepemina
take out, to (of something) pela
take out, to (remove) lopa; lusa
take unfairly, to arere; yolariri
talk; discourse; noise agaa
talk (agree together) robo pia
talk (angry and insulting) ero ta
talk (continuously) agaa mone mone
pa lagia
talk (for bartering) rome agaa
talk (for trading) ropo pape agaa
talk (foul) eke ta; wae agaa
talk (hidden) sa agaa; sapi agaa
talk (incoherently); babble;
sleeptalk e tutu agaa
talk (lovers) romani agaa
talk (questioning) kurakura agaa
talk (secret at Ribu ceremony)
ribu raguna agaa
talk (speech impediment) agaa mimamo
talk (tell what's on one's mind)
lapedepe ne agaa
talk (ungrammatical); incoherent
talk; gibberish tutu agaa
talk, to la
talk, to (continue on) lala
talk together, to lalamina; lamina
talkative (lit. broken larynx)
yalima ini rugutea
tall adaalu
tame, to (an animal) makuma pa
tapioca bira (Manihot esculenta)
There are over 15 named var. in
WK and several sub-var. Many var.
are wild and inedible for humans.
taro maa (Colocasia esculenta var.
antiquorum?)
Also called tapu. Several var.
taste, to nada
taste and swallow, to; slurp;
sucking noise kiade la
tattooed face *makemake
taunt agi epa rali
tax *tagisI
tea ipa *ti
time The time of day is judged by the location of the sun, etc. A typical reckoning is as follows: ribaa-reko: pre-dawn (5 a.m.); yapl lapa talna: almost sunrise; yaplpu: (6-8 a.m.); naare ipulina: (9-11 a.m.); naare abua riklra ne aina: (11 a.m. - 1 p.m.); naare peeeketa pulaina: (2-4 p.m.); nelenene lalaina: (5-6 p.m.); ribaa yabarla: (7-8 p.m.); ruma rumane: (10 p.m. - 2 a.m.); yaa kuta agaa mupaa rekaa: 1st cock crows time (long time ago) abade time (specific) di time (really long time ago) abase time (type of) yapano tip of something inalu; uninane tired, to be pu kupa pia tobacco mutaayo; *soko; *soko yo tobacco (tab) dumu; walla tobacco leaf kenoe yo; muta-yo; ramaa yo; *soko yo today; now abi toe; fingers rikini together (with same kind) raapu toilet putapa tomato *tomato tomorrow ekeraa tomorrow (Pand lang) kerelata tonga, forked lapa; lapopa; ramina tonga, forked (tab name) elepa; ini-lobea tonga, forked (Pand lang) raapalaana tonga (tab Ribu) eperaa tongue eke tongue-tied; speech impediment eke rakolo pi; eke tole pi toothache agaa nala; agaa nea tooth, baby oge rake agaa When an old tooth is pulled out to make room for the baby tooth, it is thrown toward the East as the person says: Nina adaa mapola are agaa ne gialoga nena oge rake agaa ni glape: Since I am giving you my large chip which was caused to split (i.e. the old tooth), you give me a little piece of husk (i.e. the new tooth). This is also an example of clever disguised talk. top (used in games) raale top (spinning or balanced) raale magopea top game raale ta Raale ta is a game of trying to hit sticks lined up in two rows parallel to each other with a top. These lined-up sticks are named aawai. The sticks lined up thus are named:

```
+---+---+---+---+
|   |   |   |   |
+---+---+---+---+
|   |   |   |   |
+---+---+---+---+
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The purpose of the game is to hit all of the sticks, usually starting with the outside ones, before the opponent(s) can hit his(heirs). Players line up behind the sticks and throw to the opposite sticks. If, however, the opponent strikes a stick, any one that you have already hit is nullified.

top of madaa top of (container) kapea; peso top of (as table) rabolo toroh *tosi toroh (made from sticks, grass); lamp paata; ponesupa touch, to; palm of hand; heel of foot oraa
tough (meat, bark, etc.) roketa

tough, to be; thick; strong mu pia

towel *tawale

town ada kagure

trade, to; buy; exchange kaba; ropo pa

trample down, to podopeta; rulupita

trap kona

trap (for fish, wabi) epere

trap, noose bau

tread upon, to; stomp on rabuua

tree The generic terms in Kewa are repena in the W, repena (E and S), and ri (NW). In the Kewa taxonomical system this category does not include pandanus, ferns, bamboo, cor-dyline, or most vines. The characteristics which serve to separate species of Kewa trees are based on: the colour, shape and consistency of the leaves; the durability, sap content, and colour of the wood; the colour, consistency and function of the bark; the size, shape, colour and edibility of the fruits or nuts; as well as the size, straightness, grain and function of the tree itself. This section is divided into two parts: (1) an alphabetical listing of the known botanical families and their Kewa members, according to the Western taxonomical system; and (2) an alphabetical listing of unidentified Kewa tree, or in some cases, flora names. This section is not exhaustive, i.e. it does not contain all those vernacular names listed in the Kewa-English section of the dictionary.

Acanthaceae - perennial herbs or shrubs, usually allied to the Gesneriaceae or Bignoniaceae: remona-kagu

Apocynaceae - usually twining shrubs but also various trees (Hard Alstonia) and perennial herbs, with a milky and often poisonous juice: alepaa (? Alstonia), naaki-nogo amape (or Asclepiadaceae?), ope-repena (Alyxia)

Aquifoliaceae - the Holly family: meme (Sphenostemon)

Araceae - of the Arum family: herbaceous or shrubby climbing plants: adaa-opayo, masaa-ero, ope-omeda (Pothos), raap-opayo, remona-maa, repena rabe-rabe, yaina-igia, yama-ala

Araliaceae - aromatic herbs, shrubs and small trees: aipa-mudupa (? Scheflera), aipa-olake (Scheflera), aipa-pepo (Scheflera)

Begoniaceae - succulent herbs, vines or undershrubs. Flowers are unisexual: udipa (Symbegonia)

Bignoniaceae - dicotyledonous plants, chiefly shrubs, trees, and vines with large, showy flowers: kabe-lupulupu (Tecomanthe)

Burseraceae - Inselae tree family, usually with essential oils and resins in the wood: pare-kepeta

Casuarinaceae - the She Oak or Yar tree: kusu-naapu (Casuarina papuana), naapu (Casuarina oligodon)

Celastraceae - trees and shrubs, often twining with simple, mostly deciduous leaves: kabu-kabu (? Perottetia)

Chloranthaceae: rumu-kebalo (Ascarina philippensis)

Convolvulaceae - Morning-glory family of plants: kapupa

Cucurbitaceae - the gourd family: mena-i-ratu, ratua

Cunoniaceae: asada-moka (? Calcluvia), iqa-mapi (Opocunonia), mapi (Opocunonia), pare, yalapu

Dendrocnidae spp. - stinging nettle: raara

 Dioscoreaceae - the Yam family of monocotyledonous herbs or shrubs: kayaki ( Dioscoria)
Elaeocarpaceae - Quandong: aa-waria (Sloanea sp. aff. Sogerensis Bak f.), mala (Elaeocarpus bancroftii F.v.M. & P.M.B.), oge apola-apola (?Aceratum), roga (Elaeocarpus), subi (?Elaeocarpus)

Enicaceae - the Heath family, woolly dicotyledonous flowering plants: kilua puri-aai (Rhododendron ? Zoller)

Erythroxylaceae - the Coca family: loai-loai (?Erythoxylum ecarnatum Burk.)

Euphorbiaceae - the Spurge family: Macaranga abo-akupa (Homalanthus), balo (?Croton), enopa-ogesi (Macaranga), enopa-pepo (Macaranga), igira, keno-yakita, koso-muta (Phyllanthus), momai (?Croton), oloma-kane (Macaranga), pere-pere aani (Aponusa papuana), yakua (Claoxyton)

Fagaceae - the Beech family: aana-kati (Castanopsis), ea (Nothofagus), ea-made (Nothofagus), pai (Castanopsis acuminatissima) the N.G. Oak

Gesneriaceae - family of dicotyledonous plants, consisting of herbs, vines and shrubs: eke-raara, irikai-ari (Cyrtandra), repena-raide (Dichrothichum)

Guttiferae - the Kandis tree: bakira (Calophyllum pauciflorum A.C. Sm.), mugu (?Garcinia), nare-nare (Garcinia), orapi (?Garcinia), waliu (Garcinia)

Hepatic - plants of the Buttercup family: aane-lubi

Laureaceae - the Masiona tree: aroma-toma (?Cryptocarya), ipamara (Cryptocarya), maratoto (Cryptocarya), mara-lakea (?Litsen), mara-tagia (Cryptocarya), onasa-onasa (Actinocaphne), paru (Cryptocarya), rimu-riimu

Leguminosae - the Legumes family: su-roro (Desmodium), kupaa, yaa-roro (Desmodium), yamo-kara (Albizia julva)

Liliaceae - the Lily family: mele-rali (Geitonoplesium cymosum)

Loranthaceae - the Mistletoe family: mari-toge

Magnoliaceae - Magnolias: roto (Talauma oreadum)

Melastomataceae - a large family of dicotyledonous plants: aipape-loke (Astronia), bali-bali (Osbeckia chinensis L.), eke-mari, emabu-aani (Astronia), poke (Medinilla), rere-ripana

Meliaceae - large family of dicotyledonous plant: kibita pora-pora (?Chisocheton) the Kisco tree, rokapa-aani (?Chisocheton) the Kisco tree, yago-pugu

Monimiaceae: ope maluae-maluae, yapara-yapara (?Kibara)

Moraceae - plant family including the fig tree: agake (Ficus), apai (?Strebulus), ina (?Ficus wassa), kaladi (Eugenia), kaladi-sokope (Ficus), mapepo (?Ficus), muta-puri pane (Ficus), ona-waria, paado (Ficus), pakena-lomaria (Ficus), palo-palo (Ficus), perek-pere-aani (?Ficus), rulupa (Ficus), wakia (Ficus pungenus), yoke (Ficus cf. angust)

Myristicaceae - the Nutmeg family: kipu (Myristica subalulata), masa

Myrsinaceae: masa-aani (?Andisia), parepa (Maesa)

Myrtaceae - includes the watergum of the Teatree family: lugarewaia (?Eugenia), marabe (Eugenia), marabe-yo adaaluae (Eugenia), maruba (Eugenia), mena-uni marabe (?Eugenia), osari (Mearnsia cordata)

Ochnaceae: opo (Schuurmansia henningsii)

Oleaceae - the Olive family: lupu-lupu (?Jasminum)

Orchidaceae - the Orchid family: aga-pala, alawa, alubana rage-rage, amalo (Epiblastus), karota (Spathoglottis), rage

Palmae - the Palm family: kini, mai, mera, yala

Piperaceae - the Pepper family: kega (Piper), kega-alone (Piper), kega-epi (?Piper), pugu-kega (Piper), robeta (Piper), ula-kega (Piper)

Pittosporaceae - includes shrubs
and certain evergreens: remo-raga (Pittosporum sinuation)

Podocarpaceae - Conifer family: apola (Podocarpus nereifolius) the Blackpine, kane-ula (Dacrycarpus), pawa (Podocarpus nereifolius) the Blackpine

Proteaceae - the Banksia family: rogeme (Finshia chloroxantha)

Pteridophyte - includes the var. of Fern trees: apalip (Gleichenia), aku-yawa, alalo (Nephrolepis), ega, ega-pita, ega-rapa-rapa, egata rapa-rape (Sphaenoritis chinensis), kapipi, loke-papu, poto (Polypodium), poto-adaalu (Asplenium nidus), puluma, puru (Dipteris novoguineensis), rete, yaki-palu-alalo (Gleichenia), yaki-palu-ropa (?Dictanopteris), yawala

Ranunculaceae: e-robo-robo (Clematis)

Rhamnaceae - the Buckthorn family: leke-yala (Alphitonia) the White Almond tree

Rosaceae - the Rose family: agipitu (Rubus), ako-kabo (Prunus)

Rubaceae - the Madder family of angiosperos flowering plants. Includes Gardenia, Bedstraw, Coffee, as well as medicinal herbs and dye stuffs: ada-kagu, aga-tete, ipa-walu, kaki-kaki (Uncaria), kala-mata, kalamu (?Myrmecondium), koborame, neabudwi (Timonius), paku, polo-polo (?Psychotria), rale-rale (?Lucinacea), ripana-ope, yapamamu (?Gardenia)

Rutaceae - the Citrus family: alaa, kasu-kaba-ope (Zanthoxylum), uba-aana (?Evodia)

 Sapindaceae: kuta-iri (?Dictyoneura), muni (Dodonaea viscosa)

Sapotaceae - family of tropical plants, usually trees with leathery leaves: ode (Planchonella)

Saurauiaceae - Lizard's Tail family: rigane (Saurauia), sitaa (Saurauia)

Saxifragaceae - Saxifrage family. Includes certain berries: alua (Carpodites major), pobere-kagu (?Dictroa), toge (?Polyosma)

Scrophulariaceae - the Figwort family: wagalu-rani

Selaginellaceae - the Little Club Moss family: asa-asa (Selaginella), mapuna-rani (Selaginella)

Symplacaceae: pere-pere (Symplacos)

Theaceae - the Tea family: lobo (?Eurya)

Riliaceae - the Linden family: kala-mata (Triumfetta), kenoa-wama

Ulmaceae - the Elm family: pili-mada

Urticaceae - the Nettle family: aina-abo (Debregeasia), rapu, rumu kebalo-aani, yarera

Zingiberaceae - the Ginger family: agola (Alpinia), agola-rula (Riedelia), muga, waga-sula (Riedelia)

Unclassified trees include the following: abo, aipa-pepo, akoporo, ana-ana kadipi, are-are, asa galogalo, ato-ini, eta-kagu, gili, iru kipu, kaga-lakua, kama, karota-aapu, kipu-arepa, kirape, kirape-roto, koae, kuri, magala, malu-malu, mapola, mari, mutara, nekea, nekea-potoma, nemaa, olo, page-amep, palo-palo, papora-aani, para-walega, puki, ralage, rale-rale adaa, remoraga aani, rete-yo, ribi-oge, ruka-oma, ruma-adaa, ruma-ogesi, uba-ninigi, ukuru, wabala-yo, wabu, wakea, wano-laba, wata, yago, yagura, yakua, yare, yeerara-aani

tree; firewood; fire; root (Pandlang) palaa

treebark; skin; scale kidu; yogane

tree brace noge

tree (no leaves) kilipu

tree oil repena ipaa; ulu; wabala; yokayo

tree oil (taboo) yagale-meia

tree thorns; wood sliver kirura
tree trunk to
tree grub wapaga
trim tree, to; cut down; strip something yada
trouble; sin pupitagi
trouser; pant *tarasisi
true; intensifier or or
s tuber awasi
tuber, round-shaped mogalu
turn, to (end for end in air) pelepele agalae lopa
turn around, to; cause something to move; shake, to moropea; perekea
tusk; horn imaa
twenty kilaapo aa laapo pegepu
twice rana laapo	twige alaa; alaaal

twines kone laapo laa naaki laapo; kone laapo sua madini
two laapo
two (Pand lang) laupopa
two alike; two together medaa
two together rumaake; rupake
two of us together saalapae

understanding, to lack maarea
unfasten, to esepea
unfold, to laulamina; maesepea
unfold, to; stretch ridaa pea; ridi pia
unmarried ona napiri aa
unripe; young; new penaa
unsophisticated; uneducated *kanaka
untie, to esepea
unweaned child adu pa nalae naaki
up there so; sogo
upset, to; throw off from something koga rubea; lakepe rubea
upset, to be; sick pu nala
urine pu
urinate pu raa
usniaa

uncover, to alupia; aepa; lakepea; waapea
underneath rolopara
underside (of leaf, etc.) umunane
understand, to; know makuua; niminaa

valley; gully akaaro
valley; low place; dip in ground katupi
vegetable named according to the var., e.g. *konaape: corn, *pamakini: pumpkin, besaa: bean, etc.

vein kogapu
very (emphatic) or or
very (intensive) waru

victory leaf (Cordyline sp.) aapu
The traditional rump covering worn by men, as well as a common leaf covering used in earth ovens. They are classified according to function (dances, earth-ovens, every-day), length, size and colour of the leaf, length and size of the stem, as well as by
other properties. They are commonly used (certain of them: aako, asala, karubi, kiyapi, and modaa) for taboo signs. Over 25 var. are named in WK.

Vine (Vitaceae and Sabiaceae)
ove (generic term)
Some common var. are: aalipu (very tough), raapu (for net bags), para-para (for fastening things)

Vine; rope (for foot sling, tree climbing) paapu

Vomit maaku
Vomit, to maaku rata
Vote, to *bote ta

W
Wait, to adoaa; awa
Wake up, to; arise reka
Walk, to; travel pamua
Wall of house (front); house peak malue
Wall (of pitpit) egele; kabe lapaa
Wander aimlessly, to pupayaba; yolata
Want, to; desire epaa pia
Warden; guard oda *polisimano
Warrior (mercenary) aipu aa; kabereke aa
Wart potelema
Occasionally rubbed with a fuzzy leaf or cut off, wrapped up and left somewhere. People believe they are finding money and the wart spreads (mudiaa) to them.

Wash, to radepea; *wasimi ta
Wash away (a bank, etc.) ipa raku; pitabaa
Wasp alubi

Wasp (striped) neabu-agi
Watch over, to; guard suruba
Watch over, to (valuables) yodo pea
Water; stream ipa; somo (rare)
Water (Pand lang) asupopalu
Water (spring) rau
Water (tab in Ribu) erawe; sekelaate-me
Waterbed, dried up ipa lumaa
Waterfalls kai
Wattle (e.g. on cassowary) aane-kale
Wattle (cassowary) maa subi; maa subi-abuni
Wave, to; shake (the hand) ki wage wage pa
We all niaa
Weak; sickly omapae; puri napane
Weak person uni oma paya
We two; us two saa
Weave, to; knit; sew isa
Weave, to (bracelet); shape (nose-plug) modo pea
Weaving (on stone axe) kumulu
Web-footed aa rabuta
Wedge (piece of wood) abu
Weed, to; cut (hair) pudia
Weeds wae ripu
Week *sarara padane
Well, to become (as result of cure) yaina etea; yaina perekea
Well again, to be reka pia; waru pia; yapa pea
Wet, to be ipa pia; rege ta; sege ta
what direction? aanane
what is it? aake; aakeya
wheel; tyre; natural extension of object (as fingernail, claw) kidipaa
when rabo; rabu
when? aarobo
where? aakepara; aanane ya; aapara
whetstone naga; nepo
whiskers yagaa iri
whisper, to; talk secretly; mumble karome la; mumu la
whistle, to epo la
white-haired; greying amo; kama iri
who? aapi
whole luabu; rayo
whose? aapina
why? aakeane pa; aake peadaa; aakolo pa
widow ona kalae; ona wasa
widower ore ome aa
wife ore
wig aalu kelepo; iri kelepo
wild raa
wild cane kabe
wild edible grass stalks (Setaria palmaefolia) The generic term for any edible green stalks called padi. There are var. including (for the E): abu, ipa-duku, kadu, kapale, kusar, moka, natya, pata, rudu, yari-mala, yawi
wild sugarcane aalamu (Saccharum spontaneum)
Edible fruit which resembles a slender soft unripe ear of corn. the stems are used for fences, shelves, etc.
wilt; scorch; burn puraaa
wind; air po; pokiki; poripu
window *wido
windy (violent) lekea pirae
wings kopaa; popaa
wireless; radio *redio; *walisi
with what? aami/aame
witnesses koso lala pape aa
woman ona
woman (diligent worker) omage pi ona; ramogo pi ona
woman (expatriate) *misisi
woman (old) onagae
woman (Pand lang) ebisi
woman (strong-willed) mena minabu ne ona
woman (tab) payame
woman (young and marriageable) makuaa
woman's ghost lboyo; ona remo
wood; tree repena
wood chips are; paare
wooden kina yaba-puluae
wooden plate; wooden bowl kopo; moae; wako
word agaa
work kogono; *waka
work, to (build) warua
work (which people willingly pay for) kogono; *pisanisa
work, to do bad pu ota
worm kolawi
worried; expectant pu kone adaapu sa
woven cane egele; kabe lapaa
woven design (on arm and leg bands) kaima rumu wape
wrinkle, to (victory leaf as decoration); fold udidi karla
wrist; seven kerepo
wristwatch; clock *kiloko
write, to (on paper) pipaa ta

Y

yam bira
Actually tapioca and probably Manihot esculenta, the "bitter cassava" of the Euphorbiaceae family. True yams belong to the genus Dioscorea
yawn, to; get one's breath momaa
yawa gaale; yarua naaki
year; Christmas *karisi mata; *kirisa mata; maali

Y

yell, to aata; yala
yell out, to (for someone to give something to them) yaloa katea
yell out, to (announcing a death from one hill to another) ora kepa awalata
yelling (continuous, i.e. group of people) yalala pame
yes e
yesterday abala
you ne
you all nimi
you two nipi
younger (brother) ame nega
young man arumu naaki
9. ENGLISH AND PIDGIN APPENDICES

There are two sub-sections to this section: (1) a list of the more common New Testament terms and their equivalents in the Kewa New Testament (1973) translation; (2) a list of Pidgin English terms used in government councils and offices, with the common Kewa translations of them.

9.1. KEY TRANSLATION TERMS

Bible translation into the Kewa language has been going on for some time by various missions. In some cases similar or identical words and expressions have been used for Biblical terms, but in the majority of cases each mission has worked independently. As a result there was a need for dialogue to avoid a proliferation of terms. The present list was originally (1971) devised to aid the missions who were translating the Kewa language. It was hoped that by examining the list carefully and testing it, some agreement on standard and widely used terms for the New Testament would be agreed upon.

The history of translation into the Kewa language dates back at least as far as 1962 when S.I.L. published a trial version of the first five chapters of Mark into East Kewa. In 1967 Kevin Newton, then with S.I.L., published I, II and III John, Philemon and the Genesis Abridgement, all as a result of a translation workshop held by S.I.L. Other publications into East Kewa are a Catechism and Bible Story book (Kewa Agalena Baipel Lidi, Abalanyapi Lidi and Kagapi Lidi, Diseba 1967) by Fr Roy Schuster, then of the Catholic Mission at Kagua, and the Gospel of Mark (Okane Agele Maaka) by Fr Roger White in 1973. In West Kewa, Rev. Norm Imbrock of the Lutheran Mission has published Bible stories from the Old and New Testaments and instruction books (Anatuna Abana Aga Rema and Anatuna Kaga Aga Rema, three booklets of each; Anatuna Agaa Mana, two booklets, 1972) beginning sometime in the early 1960s and continuing up until the present. In 1969 S.I.L. published a trial version of Mark in West Kewa and in 1970 a trial version of Acts. The materials translated by Fr Roger, then also of the Catholic Mission of Kagua, were based on W. Kewa materials adapted for E. Kewa (as spoken in the Kuare area). In South Kewa (Called Pole by them) the Asian Pacific Christian Mission (APCM, formerly Unevangelized Fields Mission) has translated several Gospels originally by working with speakers who are bilingual in Sau and South Kewa. The translation was first supervised by Mr Don Mosely but is now being completed by Miss Gwen Priestley.

In the following list most of the English terms are extracted from the United Bible Societies Bible Index, compiled by R.G. Bratcher and
J.A. Thompson and published in 1970. References to Bible passages may be found in referring to that book.

In general proper names have not been included. This is for two reasons: (1) usually the transliterated forms in Kewa are adapted as closely as possible to the Pidgin spelling in the *Nupela Testament* (B.F.B.S. 1969). For example, Endru is spelled as Edaru, Apolos as Apolo, and so on. By simply adding a final vowel to a closed syllable which is the same as the vowel preceding, spellings such as Apele occur for Abel, Apara for Abraham, and so on. By omitting (generally) the final -s of names reflecting Greek endings, many names can be shortened without doing damage to the underlying root forms of the words. For example, Annas becomes Ana, not *Anasa; Ananias becomes Anania, not *Ananiasi, and Damascus becomes Damasaka, not *Damasakasi; (2) the pronunciation will vary from area to area and even speaker to speaker so that if a given word were spelled like a particular speaker pronounces it, several alternate spellings in the same language would occur. This has already happened to some extent: Ata, Atama, Atame, etc. for Adam. The second spelling is suggested as the best one.

In some cases Pidgin forms have been conveniently incorporated into a translation. The general rule for using such a term is: if the form has wide acceptance in Kewa by monolingual speakers, it can be used with a good chance of being understood correctly. Thus terms such as koso/kose 'court', lotu 'church', betene 'pray', polisimano 'police', kapumano 'government' have a wide usage outside Sunday services. On the other hand, terms such as pekado based on Latin for 'sin', or haiden for 'heathen' are questionable. There are suitable terms available in the language.

One key term deserves special comment: the word for God. The most suitable expression for God is either the vernacular term yakili (where the -li is dropped in W. Kewa) or a transliteration of the English term God, written as Gote. The Lutheran Mission has used Anatu and the APCM uses Gode as a transliteration. Note that by spelling God this way, APCM sometimes uses /d/ to stand for [t], as in the word above, and sometimes to stand for [n], as in dia 'no'. For this reason /t/ is suggested.
A

abomination mabebolawa puku pi yae
accusation mariae agaa
adoption 1. ge pi naaki
            2. ge pape naaki
adulterer 1. one paake yone aa
            2. paake rene pi ona
            3. ona paake lami aa
            4. aa paake rume onaa
            5. ona urapu rukini aa
            6. ona ada pora lobe aa
agreement agaa padane
alms 1. onaa naraanu raba mulalo palimi rabu
      2. naraa onaanu kateme
alpha and omega 1. aba ripia
                pirisuga wala orope piralua
                2. pira mama pisuga orope
                pirama palua
ally 1. aipu aa
      2. kabe reke aa
      3. yada (or yawe) kabereke pi aa
altar 1. aana reke (madaa)
      2. aaname warini tapa
      3. aana kepa
amen 1. go ora
      2. go
angel akero(nu)
anger 1. rono pi aa
      2. ratu yawe aa
      3. kaki ne ona
animal 1. arinu
      2. menarupa nape yae
anoint (a) Christ 1. maakeme
      2. mapiraria
            (b) sick 1. aalu madaa wabala
                    sa
            2. yogane madaa koya sa
            (c) dead mulamula sula puame
            (d) guest epe kaa pi wabala
                    koya sa
apostel mogeae aa(nu)
appear (suddenly) iti rala parupa maaulalia
appoint 1. Yakimi mapirasaa
        2. Yakimi su maperekeape di
approval 1. maa mayaria
        2. maa malokea lokea palua
        3. maa lokealua
army 1. yada pape aa
      2. ami
arrest 1. mapatata (palimi)
       2. aditalo (palimi)
ashamed 1. yala potoa
       2. yala pia
       3. yala polo pia
authorities 1. surube aanu
       2. asubaanu
       3. aa mudununu
       4. kosapeaanu
avenge 1. ratu yawe kone mea
        abutea
        2. abutea
        3. bekeme palia

B

baptist, the aalu-ipa meape aa
baptise (a) Christian 1. aalu ipa kala
        2. aalu ipa meame
            (b) with the Spirit Epe Remona
             aalu ipa gialia
barren 1. abe ona
      2. polae abe ona
      3. namadini ona
beast 1. raapara piri kira ari
      2. mena
believe kone rulaya
believers kone rulae onaa
birth 1. nogo naaki madita
      2. madialia rabu
birthplace mogo i su
bishop surube aa
bite (as wild dog or pig) kaulataboa nolalo pea
blame 1. agaa irape
      2. (someone else) one kunulo pa
            apone kunulo pa
bless 1. epe yaina pi agaa
2. raaname waru omalimi
3. puri kane (or kalape) agaa
4. (addressed to God or Christ)
nipuna bi minasamina
5. yaina pu pa

blind 1. ini rubu pi aa
2. rubuni aa
3. dulu pi aa
4. ini wae aa

blood 1. kupa
2. yapl
3. bali
4. we
5. nasu

body 1. yogane
2. to yogane
3. to
4. (of Christ) Yesuna ruru
raapu pimi

book 1. buku
2. plpaa (= letter)

bow (kneel) 1. rumu yarua
2. rumu pegepua
3. aa kibu upla

bread (a) 1. berete
2. nape eta
(b) figurative eta
(c) of the Presence Yakina ini
agaane nape berete
(d) Lord's supper berete

bridegroom 1. ona rumaatalo pi aa
2. ona ketalo pi aa
3. ona rumaape aa

businessmen  mone yoto mi aa(nu)

buy and sell 1. mone ropo pi aa
2. oyae kabape aa
3. rumae aa
4. mone giape aa

C

call 1. nipupara yaateme
2. (by God) Yakimi yaaloa
mapirasa

choice nipuna ririma sua mealia

chosen 1. maakeme ti aa (from Pidgin)
2. mapiraee aa

Captive 1. ripinae aa (yada)
2. ripina ria epea
3. lamua epea

Census onaanuna bi plpaa madaa ta

challenge yada malue

change (a) mind 1. kone perekeea
2. kilipi salua
3. kilipi kilipi lo sape
(b) into aula
(c) after it changes aunaloa

chasten 1. kedaa gialia
2. kidimi manalia
3. konene ne matalia

chief priest 1. miru irini aa mudu
2. miru irae aa

children 1. (nogo) naakinu
2. si wanenu

Christ see Messiah

Christian Keresiteni

Church 1. lotu ada piri onaanu
2. Gotena rununu

circumcise yogane kepene aa

close (close to etc.) 1. repara
puu regemina
2. agego repara
3. rekepe tama peme
4. kutupa ina peme

clothes 1. lapalapa
2. marape lapalapa

clouds moae
(shining) paa pu kipia moae

coins (figurative) yalam potea

collection mea katalo kiritaepa yae

come (to pass) 1. go agaana ini
abla mea madalia
2. etalia

coming (of the Lord, Day of the
Lord) 1. epalliade dl
2. oroepa epala raba

comfort 1. pu robaapara kuma
mapatalo
2. paawa epe agaa epa laketaloo
3. robaapara kuma pi kome salia
commandment  (a) Mosesina rekena agaa  
(b) Christ's kagaa rekena agaa

compassion  1. odo omape kone  
2. yara pia  
3. odo pia

competition  rawa pi kone

condemn  1. koso agaa lakateme rabu  
2. wae yoto katea rabu  
3. wae abulape yae  
4. wae yae kane

confess  1. lapede pe agaa  
2. lapede pealua  
3. lapano  
4. lapalua

congregation  1. aalu ipa mi ona  
2. lotu adapara peme onaa

conscience  1. robaapara i kone  
2. o kone apo kone pu robaapara  
3. pu imupara

cornerstone  see foundation

council  kanesole aanu

counsel  1. yada robalimi  
2. yawe robalimi

courage  1. puri mapalape agaa  
2. puri mapabape agaa

court  1. koso  
2. (false) pa mariawa koso la  
3. (fine) moneme opesi kabeme

covenant  1. epe garulaa agaa  
2. kagaa garulaa agaa  
3. aana orae (or oraaape) agaa  
4. kagaa garulaa kogono  
5. (everlasting) oro yaalo pirape garulaa agaa  
6. pago kiri ti agaa

covet  1. oyae epame ome kone  
2. raaname ome (kone)

create  su yaa waria

creature  raapara piri klra oyae

cross  repena polopea

crown  1. aa muduna epe raguna  
2. (figurative) oro yaalo mapirape kone

crucify  repena polopea madaa tislimi

cup  1. ipa nape yae gialia  
2. (figurative) kaapona kedaa pi yae

curse  1. Yakimi wae yoto katea  
2. wae rero pi agaa  
3. yaina pa  
4. wae oyaemee puri gisa  
5. wae repena egaapara palimi

darkness  1. ribaa yabasaa  
2. (spiritual) ribaa nepara piri onaa  
3. (eschatological) ribaa yabaya nakupara

day  (a) of God, Lord. Christ, etc.  
Yakina adaa di rabu  
(b) last orope epaliade di  
(c) of judgment, wrath, anger  
ratu yawape adaa di  
(d) of suffering, tribulation, affliiction, evil kedaa rialimi rabu

dead  1. (figurative) omape kone  
2. omee onaa (rupa)

deacon  raba mi aa

dedication  pora gaaape lobeme

defile  1. yogane amalu napinalo  
2. etame nimu mooyaya  
3. wae etanu  
4. oto mapasimi

deliver  1. niaa maesepeasa  
2. raba mulalo epalla

deliverer  1. raba mi aa  
2. raba meape aa  
3. yada reke aa  
4. naa kinalu mi aa

demon  1. remonu  
2. wae remo pabo piri aa  
3. wae remo pi aa  
4. (on Jesus) wae remo mashaane pia  
5. (cast out) wae remo maraakepea

descendant  1. madu i aa  
2. made saliade nogo naaki
3. omala ralala (piralimi)
4. naa kupa ne aa
5. saa padane kupa namaepe
   yada palawa

*devil* Satane

*disappoint* 1. pu omaa
   2. pu adaniaae
   3. pu adaniaalia

*disapprove* ini pobolo rokesa
   (disbelief)

*disciples* 1. mogene aa(nu)
   2. Yesuna pora kurini onaa

*discipline* 1. kone maredepo yalia
   2. kone epe masalua

*discussion* 1. yada robame
   2. yawe robeteme

*disease* see epidemic

*disobedience* 1. agaa rasitimi
   2. agaa rabuanaame
   3. agaa napage aa

*disperse* 1. yada taepe aanu
   2. yada rasape aanu
   3. pabo tidaa epe aa

*dispute* 1. agaame yada pa
   2. apena pa
   3. arere pa
   4. rado rado ne agaa
   5. arere pi agaa

*district* adaa su robo

*division* yada rugulala pimi

*diviner* 1. yasa rupini aa
   2. yasa ropo aa

*divorce* 1. ore gimalia
   2. ona rasini meape kone
   3. ona rasa lapamee kone

*doctrine* epe maredepo yape agaa

*dragon* 1. paaka pare adaa wata
   nona plaene
   2. adaa paaka watape
   3. adaa wata paakape

*drunk* ipa bia noa maeyae kone
   salimi

*duat* 1. aa amulu
   2. aa kege

dwelling 1. Yakina adare
         2. Yakina adarupa (Eph.)

dwel 1. su amaa
   2. (inhabitants of world, or
      region thereof) su amaa pimi
      onaa
   3. (new earth) su yaa pereke
      talia rabu

*earthquake* 1. su minini
   2. su eto pa

*elders* (leaders) 1. kone makuve aana
   2. kone (waru) i aa
   3. kone redepo ne aa

*elect* 1. maakeme tisa onaa
   2. nipuna kogono pinalo mapirasa

*encourage* puri mapalape kone

*endure* 1. puri palo rekape kone
   2. pa ado gimeme

*enemy* 1. iyaa(nu)
   2. yada pi aanu

*envy* 1. udipa kone
   2. eya kone

*epidemic* 1. palaga tea
   2. yaina mudialia
   3. yaina omeaa raapu napiralepa

*escape* pogola puaa

*eternal* 1. oro yaalo pirape kone
   2. piru kamape

*even* abe aa

*evangelist* 1. kogono aa
   2. epe agaa lakelape kogono
   3. epe agaa mogeape aa

*evening* 1. naare pabola puu rabu
   2. aebo
   3. pa rumaa yapa pea

*everyone* 1. onaa luabu
   2. aa meda

*evil* wae yae

*exalt* sopo yaapara mapirasa
example
1. pora watea
2. pora walape
3. wailape

excited
pu rekatabala

exhort
agaa mana

exile
yada tae aa

flood
ipame su luabu minabasa

follow
rata mea pua

foil
1. raapara piri onaanu
2. kone namakuae onaanu
3. maeyae onaa

forefathers
1. ririnane pirisimi akuanu
2. riri minua akuanu
3. aba aapa akuanu

forgive
pupitagi mea (raakepe) rubalia

foundation(s)
1. kebe ti aana
2. ada yaruape aana
3. ikidi yaruape yae

frankincense
repena madolo nona plaene

free
1. esepene aa
2. wae kone esepe rubinalo pisa

friend
adami aa

fruit
1. ini eperupa ipapea
2. ini madialia
3. (figurative) nipuna kone mea
4. kogono pea

genealogy
rurunu

generation
padane rabu madini onaa

generous
1. rurepa kane aa
2. eta epene aa

gentiles
1. ruru radonu
2. pora kimisu piri onaanu
3. Ewaa ruru

gentle
1. pawa pirape kone
2. pa pereke pu piruaya

gifts
(a) of men pa kone yae
(b) from God
1. pa kane
2. (gi) kone

glorify
bi minasape

glory
epa paana puri

glutton
eta adaapu yoloa agola matl aa

face
Yakina ini agaa madaa

faith
1. agaa robaapara odabaya
2. robaapara mea sa

faithful
kone waru sua kone rulaya

false
makirae yakinu

family
1. X-repa
2. X ona nogo naakinu

famine
sapi rado inalo e poa gimi omesimi

fast
1. (day of Atonement) eta adobaeme
2. eta gima
3. niti pua pimi
4. (Christian) eta nano pirisimi

fear
paalame omea

feast
1. eta nape di
2. eta yawe pasopa di (Passover)
3. (God's great) ogere wailsma

fig (tree)
repena kalaadi nona

fire
1. repena egaarupa
2. magomawae nakupara
3. magomawae repena egaapara
4. repena sulaarupa

first-born
1. aba ripia
2. mupaa naaki

flesh (a) human
1. to yogane
2. yogane
(b) all people
su amaa piri onaa luabu
(c) flesh and blood
yogane kupa apolae
(d) human nature apart from God abana kone
(e) Christ's body and humanity
su amaa onaa nona pirisa

follow
rata mea pua
gnashing (teeth) 1. abulu regepe no piralimi
   2. kidipaa regepe no piralimi

goat mena meme

God 1. Yaki
    2. Anatu
    3. Gote

gold aana golo

goodness 1. kone redepo ne aa
   2. eperupa pirape kone

gospel Epe Agaa

government kapumano

governor 1. nabawane kapumano (aa)
   2. nabawane kiapo

grace epe raba meape kone

grow adaa ya mama pua

guard(s) oda polisimano

guide pora mea watea

guilt 1. wae kone oro yaalo pa saapiralia
   2. pupitagi nape kone saapitia

heal yaina perekea

heart 1. pu-robaa
   2. pu-imu

heathen 1. kone narulae onaa
   2. ribaa nepara piri onaa
   3. kepo rarane piri onaa

heaven so yaapara

Hebrew 1. Ipuru
   2. Yudaanu

Hebrew (language) Yudaana agaa

heir 1. oyae luabu minalo
   2. epe oyae mealimi

hell see Hades

helmet kapa yome warini raguna

helper raba mi aa

holy 1. epe rekena i yae
   2. Yakina epe onaa

Holy Spirit 1. Epe Remo
   2. Kone Popo
   3. Oli Sipiriti

homesick adawe kone

homosexual ona maulape kone

honor bi minasa

hope ado pirape kone

horn 1. imaa epera epera
   2. aalu epera epéra

horse ose mena

household ada padane (kiritae) onaa

humble 1. pae aa
   2. paawa awae aa

hunger reaeme omeme

hymn epe yasa

hypocrisy kudiri kone

hyssop 1. rero pi ipa meda
   2. repena islipina yo

head (figurative) Asubaa (aa)
idle kakome ona

idol aaname warini remo

idolatry wae remora bl minasaeme

illicit immune paa ke rene pu a madini naaki

immoral 1. ona paa ke rum e kone
2. ona paa ke yolape kone

immortal oro yaalo pirape kone

imprison karapusa da mapatape

impure 1. puri pane wae kone
2. waerupa mpirape kone
3. wae puku pi kone

indecent yala polape kone

inherit 1. yaina pape yae
2. moae yae

inspired 1. puri mapalasa
2. yapa pea

instruct agaa mana

intelligent 1. akolae onaa
2. kalabo ne onaa

jealous 1. udipa kone
2. udipa pia

joy raaname omem e

judge 1. koso lape agaa
2. koso yago tape agaa
3. (day of) wae yoto abulape di
4. yoto mea rumaae di
5. (Judge others) pago rumaalima

just (God) redep o ne kone (sua)

justice koso lape agaa

kindness epe kone

king 1. su amaa piri onaa luabuna mudu
2. (Christ) aa mudu rado meda

kingdom Yakina surube di

kiss ki mea

knowledge 1. makuae kone
2. (of the truth) waru pago kiritea

laborer 1. kogono aa
2. kogono naaki

lake 1. ipa ini
2. ipa sapae
3. ipa mato
4. ipa rubipae

lamb mena sipisipi si(nu)

lame 1. pora napami aa
2. ada piradaa yae aa
3. pora mada napope aa

lamp 1. laba
2. (figurative) epe paata nona pia
3. laba nona piaene pia

lampstand laba marekape yae

language adaa agaanu

law rekena agaa

lazy 1. ki aa esepene aa
2. raakepene aa
3. glmi adini aa

leader 1. aa mudu
2. yada yabe aa

leaven 1. berete marekae yae
2. berete marekape yae
3. berete maadaape yae
4. maadaa yape yae

leper 1. kldimi ne aa
2. yakimi ne aa

letter pipaa (talia)

liar ya agaa ne aa
licentious 1. wae puku pi kone  
2. puku pi rado wae yae

life 1. pa pi  
2. (eternal, everlasting) oro yaalo pirama lama palimi  
3. epe paa mea (to receive the good light or life)

light 1. (figurative) paa  
2. epe paa  
3. robaapara i paa

lightning 1. yaki repena pita  
2. repena pita

likeness nona pia

locust 1. raki nona piaene yae garasopo  
2. mata

Lord 1. Asubaa  
2. Aa adaa

lost etapa

love 1. pedo pu raaname omalimi  
2. epe kone mapiralia

lust pa ona yone kone

maggots etoto piri yae

majesty 1. mupaa aa mudu  
2. so yaapara pi adaa aa mudu

malice wae abulape kone

manna yaapara i eta (berete)

marriage ona rumaa

master aa adaa

mediator yada kuma pi aa

meek 1. paawa awae onaa  
2. nimina bipa kone rabuaniyaaya

member (ki aanupara) yogane luabu

mercy odo omape kone

Messiah 1. Mea Otaae Aa  
2. Raba mi aa Mesia (Anointed one)
messenger 1. wai lo otae naaki  
2. agaa mea epope naaki  
3. remaa lama epe naaki

midnight ruma rumane rabu

might 1. puri paloa pa pia  
2. puri luabu  
3. (works) puri pane kogono  
4. kalai pu kogono

mile oge adaalupara

mind 1. kone rayo  
2. kone padane (one mind, agreement)

minister kogono peme

miracle 1. ora puri pane yae (rado)  
2. puri pane kogono

money mone

mortal 1. omape yogane  
2. omape kone

motive adokaru mea

mountain 1. pore  
2. rudu

multitude kiritaee onaa adaapupe

murder tu maomalia

murmer mumu agaa

music rabialo

mustard 1. repena toge  
2. repena kama ini

myrrh repena maara nona piaene

mystery 1. ora agaana re kudiri i kone (see secret)

nation kapumano rado rado surube sunu

nature Yakina warini yaenu

neighbour 1. ada lala pu pimi  
2. ada lapa piri aa (close)
oath yada makuæ agaa

obey 1. pago pimi
2. ratu pimi

offering 1. miru iralia
2. miru irape kogono

old 1. (way) abana kone
2. (covenant) mupaa garulæ agaa
3. aba tisade rekena agaa

open (eyes) 1. ini rupa
2. ini maæepa

order wai lo otæa

orgies wae pupitagi nape yae

orphan kalæ nogo naakì

owe 1. yano mea
2. yago mea

owner (of garden) maapuna araà

P

parable sa (pi) agaa

paralyzed 1. pora napami onaa
2. yaïna oma pa pi
3. kiki aì uni oma pae aa

passover Pasopa yawe olode

patient epe paawa piraape kone

payment mone yoto

peacemakers 1. kuma pi onaa
2. kalabo ne onaa
3. yada patapa
4. yada perea
5. yada mapatalo palua
6. yada etaa kopeminì aa

people (a) of God 1. Yakina si wanenu
2. Yakina onaanu
3. Yakina ruru
(b) general to rado rado ayanu

perfect ora eperupa

persecute 1. palaga adaa talià rabu
2. kedaa katea

Pharìsee Parasi

plague see epidemic

please 1. nipu madaa pedo pìa
2. pedo pea

poor 1. naraa onaa
2. rabo onaa
3. ribu onaa

porch 1. pokalo ada
2. wane ada
3. puralæ ada

power purì
t (a) spiritual 1. yaapara piri remonu
2. wae akeronu
3. so surube yaenu
4. yaapara piri wae wasaanu
(b) lords asubaanu
(c) rulers surube akeronu
(d) authorities aker o mudunu
(e) cosmic ribaa nepara piri purì pane remonu
(f) dark age wae ribaa ne di rabu

praise bi minasà

prayer betene la

preach 1. mogeta
2. epe agaa laketa

pride 1. rope pi kone
2. aakone ia

priest 1. Yakina miru irini aa
2. oyae irae aa

principalities see power

promise 1. aana oraae agaa
2. garulæ agaa

prophecy agaa wai lo

prophesy agaa mea wateme

prophet 1. Yakina agaa ne aa
2. agaa lape aa
3. agaa lakene aa

prostitute see adulterer

proud 1. kone pogati
2. rope pi
3. aakone

province adaa su robo
punish  kedaa kateme
pure  epe wasupa ripalae aa
purify  1. ipame radepene rekena agaa
        2. yogane (ipame) maepeatalo
quarrel  1. agaame yada pea
        2. ratu yawape kone

R
Rabbi  Tisaa
read  pipaa dipitimi
rebuke  1. ratu yawoa laa
        2. puri pane agaa lakelaa
receive  1. (Christ) kone rulaya
        2. (teaching, gospel) robaapara agaa maodabaya
        3. agaa pago mogeta
reconcile  1. adami onaa mapirasa
        2. nipu raapu padane mapirasa
redeem  raba mua niaa kabesa
reign  oro yaalo mudu piru alia
reject  masaa rilaeme
rejoice  raaname omea
religious  1. rulae kone
        2. lotu kone
remember  1. kone mua niminaa
        2. kone mareka
repent  kone perekea
respect  1. epe bi mina
        2. epe bi samina
rest  kitu pira
resurrection  1. tapapara wala rekesa
    2. (people) ome onaa rekalimi
reveal  1. Yakina kone mea watea
    2. epe pora mea watea
    3. upaame agaa mea watea
reward  epe yoto katea
rich  1. amo ne aa
     2. amope aa
righteous  1. epe redepoe ne onaa
          2. eperupa mapiralia
righteousness  1. redepoe ne kone
             2. maredepo yalaa
ruler  surube aa

S
Sabbath  1. kitu pirape oro
       2. kitu pirape di
       3. kitu pirape yapi
sacrifice  1. miru iritimi
          2. miru irape kone
sadness  1. kedaa pi yae
        2. kedaa ria
saints  Yakina ruru onaa
salvation  oro yaalo mapirape kone
Satan  Satane
save  oro yaalo mapirape kone
gialia
Saviour  Raba Meape Aa
scorpion  ai pore nona plaene yae
scribe  1. rekena agaa tisaanu
       2. rekena agaa malape aanu
scripture  Yakina buku (i agaa)
seal  1. (opeme) rogae buku
     2. agaa garalalia
secrets  see mystery
self-control  bipa kone surubea
selfish  1. yamame ome aa
       2. eta one aa
       3. nama nama rubini aa
serpent  wae paaka
servant  1. kogono aa
       2. raba mi aa
shaman  yaina pu pi aa
shield  ralubirupa
shine  1. lepo lepo atalia
       2. kolo talua
       3. kaloko tape yae
sick  (frail)  aakope ne aa
signs  1. aba naademede yae
       2. (also if by apostles) epe
            rado kogono
       3. yae epape di
       4. pani epape di
       5. pani eke
       6. yae mea epape di
sinner  1. pupitagi ne onaa
        2. apapi nane onaa
sins  pupitagi nape kone
slave  1. kogono adini aa
       2. adini kogono pi aa
soldier  1. etaa rini aanu
        2. yada pi aanu
son  1. (of man) Onaanu Raapu
     2. (of God) Yakina Si
songs  (a) psalms  epe yasa
      (b) hymns  epe mataa
      (c) sacred songs  1. puri
            mapalape yasa
      2. epe lotu yasa
sorcerer  1. ru upi aa
        2. ruri pi aa
        3. yaina kupa aa
soul  1. wasaa
     2. remo wasaa
          (vs. life  pu imu kone)
spirit  remo
      (a) of man  1. kone
            2. robaapara i kone
      (b) unclean  waee remonu
      (c) possessed man  remone maeya
            aa
sprinkle  radu pea
stack  1. aritape
       2. surumape
strengthen  puri mapalape agaa
stubborn  1. yola mi kone
         2. orope ti kone

stumbling  makatabalia
suffer  1. radaa nolalo epaa
       2. radaa ne aa
swear  1. yada makua ta
       2. Yakina bi madaa yada makua ta
sword  adaalu rai kutu
synagogue  Yudaanuna rakua ada

table  reke madaa
tax  (collector)  tagisi mi aa
teacher  1. tisaa
       2. agaa maalape aa
teaching  1. mogene agaa
        2. kone mogealia
temple  adaa lotu ada
tempt  1. kotulalo pea
      2. manata epalia
test  kone adolalo kotaee yae
thirst  pu imu kaapu yaa
throne  mudu pirape sia
time  1. epaliade di
      2. epape di
tired  1. pu imupa kupa pia
       2. pu imupara kupa pia rubula
          pupua omea
tithe  oyae rumaawa ki laapo
       pegepu kalape yae
tongue  (speaking) naniminaa adaa
         agaa tea
town  1. adare
     2. kagure
     3. (of district)  X su robopara
            adare Y
traitor  1. kawae madini aa
       2. padala madini aa
       3. iyaanupara
       4. kawae madialia
transfigure  to rado awa pisa
| treasure | 1. mone oyae luabu |
| trial | kedaa rialia |
| tribe | ruru luabu |
| tribulation | wae kedaanu |
| trumpet | bero ta |
| trust | 1. pirawe kone |
| | 2. awawe kone |
| | 3. ora lana kone |
| | 4. robaapara e ta |
| | 5. robaapara e kone ia |
| | 6. ki madaa pia |
| truth | ora agaa |
| un | 1. ini kadu po ebepe |
| | 2. ini pome minasa |
| unbelief | kone narulae kone |
| uncircumised | yogane (rugl) nakepea |
| uncover | 1. lade palia |
| | 2. lakepe alia |
| ungodly | 1. wae kone saapimi onaanu |
| | 2. Yaki masaa rilae onaa |
| unobservant | yari gula gula ini riti pi aa |
| vengeance | yago abutea |
| victory | wae kone rabuaniaaya |
| village | see town |
| vine | ope uni |
| viper | wae paaka |
| virgin | oda paeme pawa piri ona |
| vision | 1. upaarupa pea |
| | 2. upaame adea |
| | 3. upaame mea wata |
| wages | mone yoto kogono |
| weak | yogane kidu igi pita |
| whip | 1. aipuyame |
| | 2. rimapumi talia |
| widow | ona wasaa |
| wilderness | 1. raapara |
| | 2. onaa napiri su |
| | 3. su amaa |
| wine | ipa waini |
| wisdom | 1. kone waru makua kiritaee aa |
| | 2. maluba kegene aa |
| witness | adasae aa |
| world | 1. su yaa |
| | 2. su amaa luabu |
| worry | nina kone oyae luabu madaa yolari riripea |
| worship | Yakipara betene lape |
| wound | etaane pinipara (vs. saar kodo) |
| wrath | 1. ratu wayape di |
| | 2. ratu yawe kone |
| | 3. see anger |
| zeal | pu reko aya |
| sion | Sayone rudu |
9.2. COMMON GOVERNMENT COUNCIL TERMS

In the early part of 1971 the Local Government Council in Kagua requested a translation of those terms commonly used in Council meetings. The council clerk of that time (Mr J. Pangal) worked with S.I.L. in finding translation equivalents—words and phrases—for the terminology outlined here.

The spelling of the terms which are translated follows that supplied to S.I.L. from Kagua. The list is alphabetical, followed by an East and often a West Kewa (in parenthesis) translation.

A
administrator kapumanona mudu kadipi
deuvar raba me ali (raba mi aa)
ageenda pealimade kogonona ibinu (... binu)
aidpost yaina maperekeape ada

division su adoma (adoa) robo salimi
dokta boi 1. dokisa
2. dokita
3. lokita
4. lokisaa
draiwa kara mea pamuaape ali (aa)

B
bank 1. mone wi ada
2. mone sape ada
bank bilong kaunsil kanesolena mone kiritape ada
bisnis gawanu sitoanu kopinu gorupa marekape kogono

eduksaen boad sukulu madaa agale (agaa) mepe (meape) alinu (aanu)
eekuku kausil oge mudu kanesole
eekuku komiti 1. agale (agaa)
2. su ogenuna runane
3. surubeape ali (surubape aanu)
eklekt maakeme talimi
elektorot kanesole mapirape su robonu
eria stady adaa su robo runane adoma (adoa) pipaa sape agale (agaa)
estimeit akepu raapo kalape agale (agaa)

C
didiman see deuvar
didiman titimano ali (aa)
didiman asisten titimanona raba meape ali (aa)
distrik 1. adaa su robo
2. su pamedapara piri enaa (su padanepa piri onaa)
distrik komisina adaa su robo runane piri ali (aa) mudu
distrik kot su pameda (padane) para aya koso ada

distrik komisina adaa su robo runane piri ali (aa) mudu

distrik kot su pameda (padane) para aya koso ada

D
finans ofisi mone dipiama surube ali (aa)
finans ripot mone dipiape pipaa
forests repena poape kogono
G

gavman kapumanonu

gazet (bilong gavman) kapumanona
agale (agaa) sape pipaa

grants o sabsidi raba meape mone

H

haus asembali kapumanona adaa
kiritape ada

I

infomeisien na ekstensin sevise
one mone agale lo weape kogono
(agaa lo otaape)

K

kago kalt olemole kuma meape kone
(oyae pa ama ...)

kamda adanu wariape ali (aa)

kapitol expenditsu olemole
adanuna rubape mone

kaunsil (loko gavman kaunsil)
kanesole alinuri nimu kapumano
raba meape alinu

kaunsil elektoral buk kanesole
alinu mapirape buku

kaunsil loa kanesolena poranu

kaunsil rul kanesolena oge poranu

kendideit 1. mapiratalo pi ali
(aa)
2. ... pi meba

komisina kapumano ali mudu (also
nambawan gavman)

ko-opereitiv sosaeti bisinisi
raba meape kome suma (sua)
kiritape alinu (aanu)

dadedi repena kopi kogono

do parespondenza koa ada piruma pipaa
tape sukulu

kuksus pipaa tape ali (aa)
kuksus, aisteten pipaa tape alina
raba meape ali

L

lande su koso pagape kogono

loa bilong teritori Nugini su
luabuna poranu

loan (dina) rudu meape (yano
meape)

lokol gavman ordinese kanesolenuna
poranu

lokol pipal agale pamedea le enaali
(agaad adane ne onaa)

lukautimi namba di surube ali (aa)

M

magistret koso agale pagape ali
(aa)

maket sapinu olemolenu (oyaeyaenu)
ropo peape (pape) ada

meba, elekted adaa kapumano ada
mapirape aliri meba

meba, kaunsil kanesole ada
mapirape ali (aa)

minit, raitim daun leme agalenu
mu matyape kogono (teme agaanu
mu matape kogono)

miting, holim kiritape rabu

miting, ronim kiritalimi rabu
surubalia

N

Nugini (Papua na New Guinea)

impura kewaa enaali para pobere
enaali luabupara imi rayo suna
Ibiri Nugini leme
O
odaimi ol samting elenu kabape
pipaa tape kogono

ofisa 1. kapumanona raba meape
ali (aa)
2. surubape ali

ofisa, nupela patrol naaki klapo

ofisa, treining 1. kagaa kogono
pealalore go alimi raba mealla
2. kagaa kogono raba meape ada
surube ali

P
pablik enaali luabuna kogono

pablik helt enaalina yaina
meperekeape kogono

pablik wok enaalina pora
bararanu ipa ronu peape kogono

paua (bilong ol memba) adaa
kanesole alinuna puri

peim takis takisi lopape mone

proklemeisen agale garulame
pipaa

R
(resolusen) multi rasial pobere
alinupara kadipi alinupara
makiritape kanesolena agale

rikarent expenditsu oro yaalo
olemole madaa rubape mone

risew mont (moni ol putim i stap
sanbai) pa kirituma sape mone

ripot pipaa madaa sape agaa

sekteri (bilong) dipatmen
kapumanona ada runane sape
robonu

self gavman (independens) pobere
enaalinuna bipa kapumanona kogono
palimi rabu

sikret balot kudiri kone suma
maprake alinuna pipaa

spendim 1. lopae mone
2. lopae kana

T
takis takisi lopape mone

takis apiol traibunai takisi kata
palo mare pagape alinu

takis buk nena lopape mone luma
leme

takis ekempesin tiket takisi
nakalape pipaa

takis peiyas miting takisi lopape
enaalinu kiritalimi rabu

takis riviu komiti takisi wala
gilimito adapie alinu

tisa sukulu malaape ali
	
treidsman ole mole warini alinu

treining haus kogono madaa mogeape
ada

V
vot ki paara tu maoma piri ali

vilea 1. ada kagure
2. adare

S
saina kadipina yago pare abu pi
enaali

sainimi ibi tae pipaa
10. VERNACULARS AS BRIDGES TO CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

[In the event that the previous section may convey the impression that Pidgin terms can simply be transliterated into Kewa and be readily understood, the following article demonstrates the pitfalls of such an approach.]

10.1. ABSTRACT

Often it has been suggested that there are so many indigenous languages in Papua New Guinea that it is impossible to use them in education. Instead, English, or more recently, Pidgin English, are proposed as a unified approach to education and, by implication, to national unity. In this paper I comment upon the basic policies of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in respect to the vernaculars, and make comments as well on Pidgin and English. By focusing on the individual merits and functions of the three kinds of languages I imply that all can be fully utilised in Papua New Guinea, not only in education but for all aspects of communication. However, the use of Pidgin English by itself in education is seriously questioned. Throughout the paper references to Pidgin should, by implication, extend to Hiri Motu as well. The paper concludes with some observations on the decrease of intelligibility in Pidgin English when it borrows too heavily from standard English.

10.2. INTRODUCTION

The work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Inc. (= SIL) is now going on in some 25 countries throughout the world. Approximately 600 languages and dialects are being studied by its workers.

The goals of SIL (also called Institut Bilong Tok Ples) centre upon three distinct, but closely related areas: linguistics, literacy, and translation. Each of these programmes reflect the dignity of the indigenous people and their languages. The work of SIL, which began in 1934, has been motivated since its inception by the recognition of individual groups, no matter what size their language in all areas of the world.

With this great emphasis on literacy and literature in the vernacular it is not surprising that SIL has often been criticised for its approach, sometimes it seems, to the exclusion of Pidgin or English. For the most

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1Reprinted (with minor alterations necessitated by book publication) from Tok Pisin i Go We?, K.A. McElhanon, ed. Kivung Special Publication Number One (May 1975) pp.138-54, by permission. The Pidgin English introduction is omitted here.
part this emphasis reflects the type of basic work the members of SIL engage in: village work on a local level. Most often the work is small and unspectacular, with limited financial or moral support. Nevertheless, the materials used in such areas are well tested and designed and could easily be adopted into a system of initial education.\(^1\) It is essential that vernacular languages and materials prepared in them should not be considered as a substandard vehicle of education. Added to this there is already the danger that Pidgin English has a reputation as an ineffective method for formal education. In fact, speakers of English alone have enjoyed the prestige which should rightly be enjoyed by the speakers of all indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea. We shall turn now to a short discussion of the potential roles of each of the three major kinds of language used in Papua New Guinea.

10.3. VERNACULARS

Those who are members of SIL take pride in studying the languages of Papua New Guinea. But this is not an academic pride, i.e., the goal of simply knowing linguistic facts about areas of the country. Rather, it is our attempt (done with varying degrees of success) to identify with and appreciate the cultural viewpoint of the village people. For this reason SIL members request the village people for the privilege of living in the local setting. It is a privilege because we have no right to live in such areas by virtue of citizenship, or because we can guarantee economic benefits to the area. What we can offer is an honest and sincere effort to learn to speak the language well, to prepare literacy materials in the language, and to translate New Testament materials for the use of the local church. (There is, however, no SIL church set up by expatriate SIL members.)

The vernacular language reflects the heritage and identity of the people. It is rich in vocabulary which relates the people to each other, to geographical places and to the natural environment around them. The beliefs and myths of the people are reported through the cognitive framework expressed most adequately in the vernacular. It would be a simple matter to preserve cultural artifacts so that they could be examined and in some sense remembered. However, in order to talk about the same objects, the vernacular alone supplies the richness and depth of

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\(^1\)Often programmes are supported locally. See, for example, the description of SIL literacy programmes among the Kanite of the Eastern Highlands by S.G. Harris (1971) and among the Atzeria of the Markham Valley (A. Cates, unpublished). Additional articles can be found in READ, an adult literacy and literature magazine, published by SIL, Papua New Guinea Branch. Research for this paper was supported in part by the Papua New Guinea Research Fund of the SIL.
emotions that are associated with the customs surrounding mere objects. For this reason, if a vernacular is destroyed or allowed to be immersed by a larger cultural group the culture of the smaller group has also effectively been destroyed. We of SIL maintain that to bypass the vernacular in education is to bypass the basis of the very heart and soul of the Papua New Guinea people.

Because this emphasis may seem impractical it is important to remember that basic education (reading and writing, as well as simple math) has been going on in Papua New Guinea languages for some time. Dr Alan Healey, in a report to the Educational Research Unit and SIL, estimates that orthographies of various degrees of accuracy have already been established for 191 of the 354 languages spoken by more than 1000 people. In fact 78% of Papua New Guineans have their language written, and most of these have reading materials as well. A further proposed joint survey by SIL and the Educational Research Unit will undoubtedly give a much more complete picture of the potential for basic education in the vernacular.

A practical problem which confronts SIL is the funding of literacy materials in the vernacular. In 1969-70 many items were underwritten by Miles for Millions (Calgary, Alberta, Canada) and in 1971-72 by Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe E.V. (Bonn, West Germany). In addition some Local Government Councils (in the Goroka, Kainantu, Okapa and Markham Valley areas) have supplied funds. The Department of Information and Extension Services has also aided SIL in many ways. Currently SIL is exploring funding from other outside sources.

Quality control of SIL publications in the vernacular is assisted by a trained core of literacy consultants who carefully check each manuscript. Field training courses supervise the preparation of additional materials. An example of the range and scope of such materials can be found in the current SIL Bibliography (compiled by P.M. Healey and published in 1973) from pages 31-62.

As J. Allen demonstrated for the educated Buka, a knowledge of the cultural tradition transported by the vernacular language is still a very worthwhile goal. However, without materials in the Buka language this goal would be frustrated. This fundamental desire for vernacular materials does not preclude a distaste for materials in Pidgin or English. The needs which each supply are simply in separate realms (Allen 1972).

Robert Litteral, in another paper given at this conference, (called 'What Role Should Pidgin and Vernaculars Have in Papua New Guinean's Education Policy?') suggests the mechanics whereby vernacular materials can be initially introduced into an educational programme. Certain aspects of this have been tried in SIL related programmes, such as the
academies at Ambunti in the East Sepik District and Kipu in the Morobe district. On the other hand, the emphasis on vernacular education in Papua New Guinea received early support from linguists such as S.A. Wurm (1966, 1971a). Other countries have also emphasised the vernacular in education despite problems of the lack of trained teachers, teacher and pupil transfer, and related problems. B.P. Sibayan (1971) provides an excellent summary of language policies in the Philippines. In this country English is the chief language of government, business and industry, but it is also used in mass communication and in schools and universities. English is on a par with Pilipino, the national language in all levels of instruction, but the vernacular is used in primary education. An attempt in the same country to make Spanish an official language by law resulted in it being hated and rejected (Sibayan 1971:145) - perhaps an interesting lesson for Papua New Guinea. Elsewhere in the Pacific, the French have adopted a policy in French Polynesia where all education, from the most elementary level, is conducted in French only. This has led to the complete exclusion of Tahitian (Lavondès, 1971:1118), although no such attitude prevails toward Chinese. A political decision of this type presumably would not be tolerated in a country like Papua New Guinea.

In the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (as reported by G.J. Trifonovitch, 1971) English is taught as a second language and is used as a vehicle of instruction, but not until students prove comprehension in other subjects in English. The vernacular is the first choice for learning to read, following what linguists and UNESCO have long recommended as the best procedure (cf. Lefèvre 1964 and Fries 1962 for linguistic principles of reading). The UNESCO report (1953) summarises twenty points which should be seriously considered before any binding educational policy is proposed for Papua New Guinea (see Appendix B).

Finally, even in Australia, long the bastion for a strict English approach in Aboriginal communities, the government is now proposing that the child's first language should 'in general' be used for initial literacy (B.H. Watts, et al. 1973).

One might ask, in the light of such overwhelming positive evidence in favour of initial literacy in the vernacular, why the proposal for English or Pidgin (or both), to the exclusion of the vernaculars, is even seriously considered. It would seem that even if there are considerations about vernaculars other than those proposed on linguistic or even moral grounds, these have probably already been anticipated in the studies made by UNESCO, as well as the other authors mentioned above. A further excellent proposal on literacy education in the adult community of developing countries is given in Blowers (1968). In choosing
the language(s) of instruction he considers psychological factors, literacy status, availability of teachers and materials, costs, as well as the general aims of such a programme. Such a programme often incorporates the national language as well as the vernacular. Such bilingual programmes will be mentioned briefly in the next section of this paper.

10.4. PIDGIN ENGLISH

Historically, Pidgin languages which are European-based (e.g. Haitian French, Jamaican English, Cameroon Pidgin English, Pidginised Afrikaans, Chinese Pidgin English, etc.) are related to communication barriers between communities where bilingualism is absent and contact is always multilingual. It fulfils a practical function and for this reason it has often been called a 'trade' language. Some linguists (such as Hall 1962) assert that a pidgin language owes its origin to causal short-term contact where the groups concerned have no common language. Others (such as Whinnom 1971) claim that pidginisation is a result of hybridisation between two distinct languages. The result is a new, separate creation, but subject to natural mutations and barriers, such as factors of contact, attitude, phonology, grammar and cognitive conditioning. The distinction between a pidgin language and the mechanism of pidginisation has also been made (Samarin 1971). The latter is "any consistent reduction of the functions of language both in its grammar and its use" (Samarin 1971: 126). In this view secret languages and the like (e.g., Kewa 'Pandanus' language in Franklin 1972, or Dixon 1917 on an Aboriginal language) are pidginised in that their use is more restricted, but they are not pidgin languages. A pidgin language typically has a great reduction in usage, i.e., ideas and concepts may be transmitted but there is no meta-language for precise definitions.¹

There is general agreement that Pidgin English is now tending toward standardisation. This trend will continue as more publications follow some uniform spelling system. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that Highland Pidgin (e.g. Wurm 1971b) is not Lowland Pidgin (e.g. Laycock 1970) and that National Broadcasting Pidgin is neither. The latter is more of an attempt at what is sometimes called a koiné (Samarin 1971:133) where various features from several regional varieties are

¹Note, however, that there is no reason why such a meta-language cannot be coined and learned. Phil Staalsen and David Strange of SIL, in another paper given at this Conference and which is based on a training course in Pidgin, mention a few Pidgin English terms used to describe semantic relations. Hoenigswald (1966) proposes that reaction of the indigenous speakers of a language should be sought, in particular notions of correctness, dialects and concepts related to word, sentence and so on.
incorporated, as well as some from English. This attempt at standardisation will affect spoken Pidgin much more slowly than the written form.

Given the limited source materials available in Pidgin, it is unlikely that it can provide anything more than we should expect at this time: a very general, non-precise education which demands a simplification of the same materials rendered in either the vernacular or English.

For this reason alone education in Pidgin should always be closely tied to at least one other language. The second language provides the preciseness that Pidgin, due to its nature, cannot. In fact, the more precision that one attempts to incorporate into Pidgin, the more English words one must introduce. Of course, for a speaker who already knows English this is a simple matter (witness the circular in Pidgin in Appendix A at the end of this paper), but the decoding of the new terms is contextual, resulting in ambiguity, circumlocution, and direct misunderstanding. One only needs to examine the brief outline of the Constitutional Planning Committee (e.g. as given in the Post-Courier, Wednesday, August 23, 1973) and count the direct borrowings from English into Pidgin and Hiri Motu to be aware of the problem. Terms such as 'judicial system' become ol kot, ol jas an magistret, na ol loia bilong kot, where four English nouns attempt to convey the concept. The lack of precision which is inherently part of the nature of Pidgin language is somehow thought to now be made precise by the introduction of new English words. To translate these terms into the vernacular it is also necessary (for the most part) to use loan words from English, but the nominalised descriptive phrases render them quite satisfactorily. For example, kot can be amplified as 'the house for making court', jas as 'the man who hears court' and so on.

All of this is not to say that Pidgin English (or Hiri Motu) are not extremely important and necessary in the development of this country. Their use in contact, trade and elementary education are well known and attested. In SIL, Pidgin has been used as a bilingual aid in diglot materials published by the Institute. Many indigenous translators have made excellent use of materials written in Pidgin and with proper training and checking, they have translated very serviceable materials into their own languages. But in order to translate well they have had to move away from the literal rendering of the Pidgin words and phrases. Far too often, however, those who translate from English into Pidgin have retained a literal and wooden style. Creative writing and expression is obviously not any easier in Pidgin than it is in English, or the vernacular.

It seems apparent then that Pidgin or Hiri Motu have a limited value in education if they are divorced from English, or for that matter, the
vernacular. To illustrate this point in detail we shall now turn to the circular in Appendix A at the end of the paper.

The circular, called Kaunsil Kopi Plantasin, was distributed from the district headquarters at Mendi in the Southern Highlands District. Details of its distribution are unclear, but we may assume that it is not unlike other Pidgin materials and information disseminated to sub-district offices, schools, councils and missions. Words which were dictated for written explanations in the vernacular are underlined and listed serially in Table 1. Those on the left-hand side of the Table were not understood, i.e., for any one term, more than half of the students did not understand the term. The definition of understanding is drawn from the English-speaking cultural perspective underlying the circular. The number given in the first column indicates the number of Standard 6 or Skulanka students who did not understand the term, or in the right-hand side of the Table, those who did understand the term. The second column on both sides simply transfers the number of students into the percentage of students.

Certain comments follow about the explanations given by the students. The numbers given identify the terms with their location in Table 1. Students were instructed to write the meanings of the Pidgin word or phrase in the vernacular (Kewa) by pretending that they were explaining the word or phrase to someone who did not know Pidgin, such as an older person in the village. We now comment on the explanations given for misunderstood words before giving some additional observations.

(1) komiti (sometimes capitalised in the document) - invariably understood as an individual, reflecting the borrowing and use of the term in the language. Usually associated with roads, courts, surveillance and so on.

(2) Southern Highlands Area Authority (English spelling used in document) - generally understood as a group of men with powers as some type of guardians, often hearing courts about land.

(3) Ekonomik development (note mixing of spelling systems) - generally understood variously as guardians, those who tell about something (such as self-government) or ask about things, but in one case suggesting some kind of work that black men do.

(4) wok bisnis - often interpreted as the ones who began businesses, but usually those who simply work 'strong'.

(5) profit - interpreted in a variety of ways including: money, what comes from money, what follows a debt (repayment), redistribution after a sale, change, and exchange.
(6) *kaunsil* - interpreted as those who are important, go to meetings, head men, those with badges, guardians, tax collectors, those who hear courts, and those who are elected.

(7) *rural development mani* (note spelling) - money in banks, in Australia, head men who have money, money the council gives for working on roads, money given for cars, money for the council, money to start businesses (two correct answers).

(8) *aplikesin* - a paper, paper for getting things ready, something the police give, for buying some ground, the place of government, etc. but generally (by the context of the document) associated with ground.

(9) *Lain bilong didiman* - interpreted as the *didiman's 'line',* those who look after pigs and cows, those who foster businesses, those who plant things, men of the *didiman*.

(10) 50% - interpreted as 20 + 20 + 10.

(11) *kontrak* - what those who go to the coast get, about work, to carry when work is finished, get it for money-work.

(12) *kampani* - this word and the following (which is more easily explained) are the only ones which were understood by one group and not by the other. Usually this term was interpreted as people who somehow encouraged work, but also as those who had a business, searched for oil, or did some kind of work.

(21) *nurseri* - not dictated in context for Standard 6 and hence only correctly interpreted in 3 cases. However, even in context Skulanka students in 6 cases associated the term with sickness or the hospital.

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words Not Understood</th>
<th>Standard 6 (20)</th>
<th>Skulanka (22)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 komiti</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Southern Highlands Area Authority</td>
<td>1 5</td>
<td>1 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ekonomik development</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>3 13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wok bisnis</td>
<td>(omitted)</td>
<td>4 18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 profit</td>
<td>6 30</td>
<td>4 18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kaunsil</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>8 36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Rural development mani</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2 9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now for some more general comments.

(a) The Kewa spelling rendered by the students varied from very good to practically unintelligible. It is noteworthy that the more capable the students were (judged by the headmaster) the better they could handle vernacular writing. Conversely we have noted that there is a correlation between the ability to learn to read and write the vernacular in the village and later ability in Pidgin.

(b) The spelling of the document should not be taken seriously. The words were pronounced, in context, so that spelling such as 'pay' (16) 'tree' (26), 'acre' (18) or 'dollar' (19) should not have influenced the interpretations.

(c) The standard of correctness for the interpretation was judged by a simple dictionary rendering, or its variants.
(d) 'Folk' explanations were related to world view in such such as nambis, famili, mun Januari or even 1973.

(e) The exercise demonstrated clearly that Pidgin documents are going to need much more preparation and editing if divorced from either the vernacular or, for that matter, English.

The difficulties inherent in proposing Pidgin without amplification in the vernacular or English should be apparent from this discussion. To incorporate either demands a bilingual programme that only seems to add to the already known problems of literacy in one language. In SIL, we have attempted to publish materials of a diglot or triglot nature (e.g. in Kewa see Franklin and Kirapeasi 1973). Elsewhere in countries such as Peru, quite successful bilingual programmes have been implemented by SIL for many years (cf. reports by Burns 1968 and Wise and Shell 1971). The first stage in such programmes is for materials to be published in vernacular-national language(s) format.

This summary of Pidgin as an instrument for education is only negative if considered apart from the vernacular. Even if Pidgin is closely linked to English there is no assurance that understanding of non-cultural concepts will take place, since the concept will be Western but the spelling will be Pidgin - in some form or another. We will now turn to an examination of English for some additional comments.

10.5. **ENGLISH**

It has been strongly claimed by some (Papua New Guineans as well as Europeans) that Pidgin, if used in education with a wholesale introduction or words, phrases and expressions will gradually develop or evolve into some kind of more sophisticated language. Pidgin, as Whinnon suggests, is a hybrid, and the process of relexification always tends toward the simpler (and cruder) system. This is so even if there is considerable linguistic awareness, and thus to suggest that a higher-grade Pidgin will evolve through natural selection from the hybrid is to ignore a long history of the use of Pidgins and Creoles. It is true that certain deficiencies (such as what Whinnon labels referential inadequacy, i.e. the naming of objects) can easily be repaired by the introduction of English terms. But the wholesale introduction of semantic or linguistic structure from English into Pidgin is impossible, even if it is possible to promote language engineering (such, for example, as described by Wurm 1971a).

Even when a Pidgin or Creole is based squarely upon an indigenous language (as, for example, Police Motu or Katanga Swahili - for the latter see Polome 1971) the prestige language (in these two cases English and French respectively) will be used at all or certain levels of education.
and administration. For this reason alone it is impractical to use Pidgin without a bilingual or trilingual programme complementing it.

On the other hand, the blatant use of English to the exclusion of Pidgin or the vernaculars is quite likely to be regarded as a 'colonial' relic. Presently a vernacular may be used for the first two years of primary school if a syllabus is prepared in that language. Now the vernaculars may even be introduced into primary schools for approximately one hour per week. Pidgin, as far as I know, is not taught as a subject in any administration school, although it has been widely used as a vehi- cal of instruction in mission schools.

It seems obvious then that there is no need to stress the importance of English in education in Papua New Guinea. Pidgin has also enjoyed some legitimacy in recent years. The vernacular languages, however, have been viewed cautiously and with a certain amount of suspicion. The voiced feeling that 700 languages represents a fragmented society which can only be unified through one language is, of course, a natural concern to those involved in administration or education. But is the present country really fragmented as a result of some 700 indigenous languages being spoken, or rather, is not any tendency toward fragmentation based on political and economical factors which have been fostered through inadequate communication? The liberal sprinkling of English words into Pidgin does not communicate any more than the same liberal incorporation of Pidgin words into the vernaculars. And both are done in political speeches, House of Assembly meetings, council meetings, church meetings, and in printed materials. English is a foreign language to almost all Papua New Guineans and, as such, it represents a foreign influence which is necessary in advanced education but which when used is a direct threat to the cultures of the country. English is spoken mainly by foreigners and we represent an alien culture which promotes materialism and results in urbanisation. Speaking English can guarantee job security to a select class of people who can become educated and live, for the most part, quite divorced from the traditional way of the village or hamlet. Seen in this light, it is English that promotes certain aspects of fragmentation, especially when separated from the languages and cultures of the people of Papua New Guinea.

English, of course, is here to stay and it is pointless to propose that it be discontinued. However, at the beginning levels of education when children, (or for that matter, elected political figures) still have a strong link with the traditional cultural setting, the vernaculars should complement the use of English. In fact, but idealistically, every expatriate involved in education, including political education, should
learn a vernacular language and, when required, develop a vernacular meta-language to talk about new concepts introduced into the culture. Here especially is where the high school and university graduate can help the rural settlement in a practical manner: assuring that all sectors of the community can comprehend and discuss all factors that they are expected to be familiar with. This will include terms and concepts such as House of Assembly, Constitution, Judicial system, Public Prosecutor, Public Solicitor, Executive Officers and the like (all mentioned in the item on the Constitutional Planning Committee which appeared in the *Post-Courier*). The graduates should prepare explanations and definitions of these concepts for use in beginning and lower-level education. Once this is attempted the grass-roots problem of education can perhaps be better appreciated.

10.6. SUMMARY

I have argued that both Pidgin and English are inadequate without the vernacular. Other aspects which display this inadequacy, such as phonological interference between the vernacular and Pidgin or English have not even been mentioned. This type of interference is not confined only to the sound system, extending also to grammar and semantics. For those interested, the study by D. Bee (1972) illustrates persuasively that fluency in Pidgin is questionable if the concepts cannot be adequately translated into the vernacular.

I also maintain that the appeal to teach everyone English will not lead to national unity, as its proponents suggest. If such an approach were possible it would be only at the sacrifice of the traditional heritage of the people of Papua New Guinea. It might not be entirely facetious to suggest that urbanized, semi-deculturated tertiary students return to their rural settlements periodically as volunteer teachers to translate new concepts into vernacular languages. This constructive type of cultural re-identification would go a long way toward counteracting the present boredom and resentment of those high school drop-outs who do return to the villages.

Finally, I suggest that if only part of the materials in written Pidgin are understood by those in the upper levels of Primary education, then far less is understood by the village people when they hear orally translated Pidgin. This assertion is based on a small formal sample, but it can easily be tested in other areas by using the same or a modified technique. It can also be tested in secondary schools or other primary schools even if someone who does not know the vernacular(s) administers the test. Here the students can be instructed to explain
the meanings of terms by writing them in English. The results to such formal techniques may prove embarrassing; we may be surprised to know how little of our Western jargon is understood at any level of education. On the other hand, such evidence, if found, should clearly warn us that the Papua New Guinea cognitive framework does not match the academic perspective for the interpretation of cultural change.¹

Finally, we conclude on a more positive note: despite the multiplicity of languages and cultures in Papua New Guinea, all of them are far closer in universal features to each other than any of them are to English. This fundamental fact, far from being ignored, should be exploited at all levels in education.

¹I cannot hope to comment on aspects of cultural change in this paper. Barnett (1953) provides an exhaustive account on the incentives which led to what he calls the innovative processes inherent in change. A more practical book with constructive comments on change as a positive means in societies is by Goodenough (1963). The contrast in approach for cultural development between so-called democratic and communist 'under-developed' countries is given in Staley (Revised edition, 1961). The latter book, although essentially political and hence doctrinaire in approach, gives comments which are relevant to the development of a country such as Papua New Guinea.
APPENDIX A
Kaunsil Kopi Plantasin


Wei bilong mekim dispela wok i olsem. Pastaim kaunsil mas putim (8) aplikeisin long wanpela gutpela hap graun ol pipal i laik salim. Dispela graun i mas winim mak long (18) 60 acres. Pei bilong dispela graun i olsem (19) 8 o 10 dollar long wanpela (18a) acre. (9) Lain bilong didiman i mas go lukim dispela graun long tok save emi gut pela long kop i o nogat. Na oli ken tok tu long hamas (28) mararsin kaunsil i mas putim long graun na wanem kain diwai oli mas planim long wokim (27) ples kol long kop i. Behain kaunsil i mas askim (20) gavman long halpim ol long rural development mani long planim inap long (18b) 20 acres long namba wan yia. Dispela mani kaunsil askim gavman long en i ken kamap (10) 50% long mani didiman i makim long pei bilong wokim dispela graun.

Taim oli kisim mani pinis kaunsil i mas givim (11) kontrak long ol man long ples long rausim pitpit, wokim (21) nurseri, wokim hol na plantim

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(26) Kofi na tree. Na behain man long ples i kisim kontrak long klinim graun. Taim kofi i redi pinis inap long kaunsil i ken baim man long wok dei oa long napela wei. Kaunsil i mas holim tingting dispela wok bisnis em bilongsowim ol man wei bilong wokim (22) plantasin bilong em iet, na wei bilong makim wok bisnis. Taim dispela plantasin i kamap bikpela kaunsil i mas makim wanpela man bilong lukautim dispela plantasin. Tasol kaunsil i mas askim didiman long halpim kaunsil long kisim wanpela man igat save long dispela wok. Kaunsil i mas givim kontrak long dispela man long sampela yia na oli no ken rausim nating.

Taim plantasin i kamap gutpela ol man long ples i ken kisim wok klostu long haus bilong ol long pei wankain long (23) nambis. Em olsem man i ken kisim gutpela wok na stap klostu long (24) familu bilong ol. Kaunsil inap long kisim sampela mani moa na ino gat wok long spim (25) takis igo. Tasol sapos kaunsil ino wokim plantasin olsem wok bisnis tru, profit mani ino inap long kamap.
APPENDIX B

(From UNESCO Report, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*)

1. The mother tongue is a person's natural means of self-expression, and one of his first needs is to develop his power of self-expression to the full.

2. Every pupil should begin the formal education in his mother tongue.

3. There is nothing in the structure of any language which precludes it from becoming a vehicle of modern civilization.

4. No language is inadequate to meet the needs of the child's first months in school.

5. The problems of providing an adequate supply of schoolbooks and other educational materials should be specially studied by UNESCO.

6. If the mother tongue is adequate in all respects to serve as the vehicle of university and higher technical education, it should be so used.

7. In other cases, the mother tongue should be used as far as the supply of books and materials permits.

8. If each class in a school contains children from several language groups, and it is impossible to regroup the children, the teacher's first task must be to teach all pupils enough of one language to make it possible to use that language as the medium of instruction.

10. Adult illiterates should make their first steps to literacy through their mother tongue, passing on to a second language if they desire and are able.

11. Educational authorities should aim at persuading an unwilling public to accept education through the mother tongue, and should not force it.

12. Literacy can only be maintained if there is an adequate supply of reading material, for adolescents and adults as well as for school children, and for entertainment as well as for study.
13. If a child's mother tongue is not the official language of his country, or is not a world language, he needs to learn a second language.

14. It is possible to acquire a good knowledge of a second language without using it as the medium of instruction for general subjects.

15. During the child's first or second year at school, the second language may be introduced orally as a subject of instruction.

16. The amount of the second language should be increased gradually, and if it has to become the medium of instruction, it should not do until the pupils are sufficiently familiar with it.

17. Efficient modern techniques should be used in teaching the mother tongue and a foreign language. A teacher is not adequately qualified to teach a language merely because it is his mother tongue.

18. Where there are several languages in a country, it is an advantage if they are written as uniformly as possible.

19. For convenience of printing, languages should as far as possible be written with a limited set of symbols which are written in a single line. For a summary of other recommendations on orthography, see (elsewhere in the UNESCO article).

20. For the needs of a polyglot state which is developing a national language, the materials for teaching the language should be simplified for instructional purposes, so that pupils may progress towards full mastery without having anything to unlearn.
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PART IV
EDITORS' NOTE TO THE ANTHROPOLOGY NOTES

The following Anthropological Notes are based on articles and contributions by K. Franklin and J. Franklin on various aspects of the culture and life of the Kewa people. These were published over a number of years in a variety of places. They are republished here with the permission of the original publishers to whom the editors wish to express their thanks. K. and J. Franklin have added introductions to the individual republished articles.

These Anthropological Notes bring together much information of potential interest and value to the user of the Kewa dictionary to whom it gives a picture of the people who speak this language, and of the cultural setting in which it is used as a means of communication and expression.

The articles contained in these Anthropological Notes were written and originally published at different times over a long period of time, and details of the information presented in them, e.g. on the numbers of speakers of Kewa, vary from article to article in the light of the knowledge extant at the time of their writing, and of the changing circumstances (e.g. increases of the population from year to year). No attempt at editing out such differences has been made: apart from the intrinsic value of the information offered in them, the articles constitute a historical documentation of the increase and widening of our knowledge of the culture and life of the Kewa people, and the differences in detail between the articles provide a good picture of this progress.

The Editors.
11. **ANTHROPOLOGY NOTES**


The final two papers of this section, 'Kewa Law: A Preliminary Report' and 'Notes on Kewa Religion' have not been published previously.

Each sub-section contains additional supplementary materials. These data are enclosed in square brackets and precede the main articles of each sub-section.

11.1. **Social Organization**

[W. Kewa kin terms which differ from those in Figure 1 of the reprinted article on E. Kewa are as follows: 1. aan; 1a. ore; 3a. bani; 5. mae; 10. aai; 11. yaake; 11a. udupa; 15. akua; 17. aina; 19. pini; 21. pani; 23. aaraa; 24. udipa; 25. ameke; and 26. imaa. Most of these words simply reflect normal sound changes between the two dialects such as the loss of *k*, *l*, or *w*, combined with resulting changes of vowel quality (1, 2, 10, 11a, 15, and 24); three reflect the common *l* > *n* change between the E and W (3a, 19, and 21); two reflect changes in the identification of the central vowel (23 and 26); and only three are completely new forms (11, 11a, and 25).

Additional notes on marriage which now follow are from the village of Usa in W. Kewa.

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During October and November 1967 a series of events were noted which finalised the marriage of Ewame (daughter of Isima) and Ratu (son of Mugaroaa of the Rederepa clan). Although the marriage was later dissolved - by the return of the bride-price - the sequence of events is typical of the marriage arrangement.

In July and August preliminary overtures were made and in October six pigs were brought to the area near Isima's house by members of Ratu's clan. These were tethered and inspected by members of the Nemola (Isima's) clan. At the same time eleven mother-of-pearl shells were unwrapped and displayed, with the main 'name' shells being Nare-Ripuru, Murubi-Egata, and Rami. The name of the shell usually indicates the name of the prior owner or the source place of the shell, followed by the designated name. The unwrapping and rewrapping of the shells - a very careful and drawn-out process - was done by the fathers of the proposed bride and groom with help from more distant (affinal) relatives. The display was in front of Isima's house on blankets and leaves, especially located so that the shells would glisten in the sun. The peak of activity was the shell display and the ceremonial handling of the shells.

In addition to the shells two sows and four younger pigs, as well as salt and 'tree oil', were also exchanged. Apparently the father of the bride can ask for more pigs, resulting in an exchange of fewer secondary items, if he so chooses. The total value of the salt and oil was said to be around K10. The return gift from the clan of Isima was four pigs promised (one a female) with an option on giving the fourth only at a later date. A pig was killed later in the day to 'seal' the arrangement. The bride-price was redistributed later by Isima to the 'second' mother of the bride, in that her 'real' mother was dead, as well as to close relatives of the mother. Isima kept three shells for himself.

Following the exchange the brother of Isima later formed a trading partnership or exchange relationship with the groom. The women observe the exchange and can disagree as to the nature of the items but do not in practice seem to influence the exchange a great deal.

Observers at the betrothal included the immediate families, clan brothers, affines who happened to be resident in the area, people passing through, and other neighbours. The brother of the groom shared in the ceremonial handling over of the shells from the father of the groom to the bride, who in turn gave them to her father. In so doing the bride gave assent to the marriage, although a period of trial marriage always follows, with the bride residing at the house of the mother-in-law.

The exchange relationship between the groom and his new brother-in-law then proceeds through a continuous series of exchanges where the affine
reciprocates as long as the man takes care of his wife - the sister of the exchange partner - satisfactorily.

The wife of the groom and the wife of the bride's new brother-in-law consider each other as sisters (akiala). It is not uncommon for sisters to be exchanged, but always between separate clans. Ego as husband cannot marry the daughter of his wife's siblings because he will receive gifts of his own when these daughters are married.

A diagram of the normal participants in a marriage is as follows:

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I
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1 - Responsible to give major supply of pigs and shells
2, 3, etc. - succeeding uncles give additional shells, money, etc. as capable
a, b - receive all bride gifts
c, d, etc. - redistributed to them by a.

Once the marriage is considered as finalised the newlyweds are in a name taboo relationship with other affines as follows (where solid double arrows show the relationship):
Finally, a preferred pattern of marriage between certain clans in residence at Usa has been noted:

\[ \text{Ona-Pale (Yadawae)} \rightarrow \text{Mui (Kobere-Yapu)} \]
\[ \text{Ibirepa (Roasu)} \rightarrow \text{Ona-Pale (Utare)} \]
\[ \text{Mui (Aare)} \rightarrow \text{Ibirepa (Salaako)} \]

Those along parameter A are brother-in-laws (pase), those alone parameter B are sister-in-laws (udupa). Each succeeding clan repays the marriage to its pase, so that Yadawae by marrying Kobere-Yapu obligates his clan (Ona-Pale) to repay a female clan member (Utare) to the Ibirepa clan. This continues along the lines indicated within the box; although at times the exchanges are not symmetrical.]

11.1.1. Kewa Social Organization

The Kewa people are located in the Southern Highlands of Papua (New Guinea). Their language belongs to the Eastern New Guinea Highlands stock, which comprises five families, all non-Austronesian (Capell 1962b; Wurm 1960a). Kewa is said to belong to the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru family and the Mendi-Pole subfamily. A complete list of the languages within this subfamily, together with the names of the other subfamilies and population data, is given below.

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1This paper first appeared in *Ethnology* 14:408-20, 1965, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication. The maps which originally accompanied this article (together with all references to them) have been deleted here for technical reasons. Essentially the same information appears in maps in Section 1 of this book.

2The materials presented herewith were collected by the author and his wife during the years 1958-63 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

3The following summary is from Wurm (1960a). Note, however, that Wurm refers to Kewa as Kewapi or Kewa Pi, reserving the term Kewa for a small undetermined group in the north-eastern part of the Western Highland District better referred to as Hewa. Also, his figures on the Kewa population are low. I estimate the population at 25,000 to 30,000. The word kewa is a cognate in many languages within this family meaning 'stranger'.

The word **kewa** is a cognate in many languages within this family meaning 'stranger'.
Some of the actual interrelationships within the family, with Wurm’s (1960a) computations, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subfamilies involved</th>
<th>Languages compared</th>
<th>Percentage of cognates</th>
<th>Years of separation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within Enga-Ipili</td>
<td>Enga-Kyaka</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>550-720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enga-Ipili</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1330-1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Mendi-Pole</td>
<td>Mendi-Kewa</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>820-1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mendi-Pole</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>880-1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mendi-Augu</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>880-1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Augu-Pole</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1050-1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kewa-Pole</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>530-690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pole-Sau</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1020-1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enga-Ipili and Huli</td>
<td>Enga-Huli</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1600-1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipili-Huli</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1450-1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enga-Ipili and Mendi-Pole</td>
<td>Enga-Kewa</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1850-2180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enga-Ipili and Wiru</td>
<td>Enga-Wiru</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2700-3250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hull and Mendi-Pole</td>
<td>Huli-Pole</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1900-2250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendi-Pole and Wiru</td>
<td>Pole-Wiru</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2250-3050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship of these languages is pointed out because, as would be expected, the cultures also have many features in common. In addition, although little has been published from this area dealing with linguistic descriptions, a considerable amount of ethnographic material is available on the peoples who speak the languages.¹

¹With reference to Kewa, two linguistic articles (Franklin and Franklin 1962a; Franklin 1964) and two ethnographic articles (Franklin and Franklin 1962b; Franklin 1963) have appeared. References are made to ethnographic articles from other languages within the family where pertinent. For a general bibliography on the highlands, see Watson, ed. 1964.
The details for this study come primarily from a fairly intimate knowledge of the Ekerepa clan, located near the Ialibu Patrol post and the Iaro River in the area of the Kewa Eastern Dialect. Although no study of comparable depth has been attempted within other clans, the basic pattern of social organization appears to be the same.¹

The terrain where the Kewa people reside is mountainous and rough. The two highest peaks are Giluwe (14,000 feet) and Ialibu (11,000), and the country, though continually mountainous, drops gradually from the villages of Ialibu (6,300 feet) to Erave (4,000 feet). There are no marked seasons, and the Kewa plant and clear whenever the land is dry enough. Rainfall averages at least 150 inches per year, with February usually the wettest month, having a precipitation of around 30 inches, and August the driest (five to seven inches). The weather is generally clear in the early morning; rain begins on the higher mountains by noon, and by late afternoon it is raining throughout the area, often continuing into the night.

In general, the Kewa people, like the Mendi (Ryan 1955), are short and muscular. In stature, the men average around five feet, two inches; the women, four feet, seven inches. Skin pigmentation varies from very black to tan, but the hair texture is typically Negroid.

Kinship Terminology

Figure 1 presents a composite chart of Kewa kinship terms, both consanguineal and affinal. The numbers refer to those in the listing below. Where two numbers are given, the upper one refers to the term used by male speakers, the lower one to that used by females. In the definitions of terms the symbols represent initials, except that Z stands for sister. Where sex of speaker is not specified, terms are used by both sexes.

¹I have collected detailed word lists and information from almost all the main points in the Kewa language area, and have talked with missionaries and government officers who have contact in the areas which I have not actually visited. The last of the Kewa area was de-restricted (allowed access to) by the Australian government in June, 1961.
Figure 1: Kewa Composite Kinship Chart

1 ali: H.
1a were: W.
2 apa: R.
2a ama: M.
3 ame: (male speaking only) B, FBS, MZS, WZH, WFBDH, WFZDH, WMBDH, WMZDH.
3a bali: (male speaking) Z, FBD, MZD; (female speaking) B, FBS, MZS.
4 aki: (female speaking only) Z, FBD, MZD, HBW, HFBSW, HFZSW, HMBSW, HMZSW.
5 mai: FB, MZH.
6 papa: FBW, MZ, MBW.
7 arobo: FZ.
8 yage: FZH.
9 awa: MB.
10 kai: FZS, FZD, MBS, MBD.
11 kate: (male speaking) BW, FBSW, FZSW, MZSW, MBSW, WZ, WFBW, WFZD, WMBW, WMZD; (female speaking) HB, HFBS, HFZS, HMBW, HMZS.
11a pameda: (female speaking only) BW, FBSW, FZSW, MZSW, MBSW, HZ, HPBD, HFZD, HMBD, HMZD.
12 pase: (male speaking) ZH, FBDH, FZDH, MZDH, MBDH, WB, WPBS, WPZS, WMBW, WMZS; (female speaking) ZH, FBDH, FZDH, MZDH, MBDH.
13 si: S, ZS, BS, FBSS, FBDS, FZSS, FZDS, MZS, MZDS, MBSS, MBDS; also male relatives of spouse in the first descending generation.
14 wane: D, ZD, BD, FBSD, FBDD, FZSD, FZDD, MZSD, MZDD, MBSD, MBDD; also female relatives of spouse in the first descending generation.
15 kagua: FP, MF, and other male consanguineal relatives of the second and third ascending generations; comparable relatives of Ego's spouse; brothers and sisters' husbands of spouse's parents; (male speaking) husbands and wives of Ego's and his wife's relatives in descending generations; (female speaking) husbands of Ego's and her husband's female relatives in descending generations; (female speaking) HZH, HPBDH, HPZDH, HMBDH, HMZDH.
16 aya: FM, MM, and other female consanguineal relatives of the second and third ascending generations; comparable relatives of Ego's spouse; sisters and brothers' wives of spouse's parents; (male speaking) WBW, WPBSW, WPZSW, WMBSW, WMZSW; (female speaking) wives of Ego's and her husband's male relatives in descending generations.

The kinship system is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending generation. In Ego's generation it employs Iroquois cousin terms; all cross-cousins are called by the same term (10) but are terminologically differentiated from siblings. Parallel cousins are classified with siblings. Siblings of the same sex have one term (3) for males and another (4) for females, whereas a single reciprocal term (3a) is used for siblings of opposite sex. In general, the principles of classification are apparent from Figure 1 and the definitions of the terms.

Several kinship terms used only in address are equivalent to reference terms as defined above.¹

17 anya: equivalent to bali (3a).
18 maya: equivalent to apa (2).
19 pili: equivalent to pameda (11a).
20 kiwape: equivalent to kai (10).
21 pali: equivalent to pase (12).

A number of additional terms are used either in address or in reference:

22 agi: mother (of someone else), e.g. mulinyugi, mother of Mulinuyu.
23 ara: father (of someone else), e.g. palisara, father of Palisa.²
24 kudipa: co-wife.
25 popeke: a man married to a clan sister of Ego's wife.
26 ima: (man speaking) wife's mother; (woman speaking) daughter's husband.

¹Meggitt (1964) gives corresponding reference terms for every term of address among the Enga.
²These vocative or reference forms are usually employed rather than personal names because of taboos. The whole problem of personal names and name taboos lies outside the scope of this paper. It can be mentioned, however, that anyone in the clan, as well as the nuclear relatives of Ego's spouse, knows the personal names which may not be used because of taboo.
Certain affinal relationships are characterized by a measure of avoidance in that persons thus related may not use each other's names and that others may not speak their names if they are present. These taboos prevail reciprocally between ima (26) and between Ego and pase (12). In actual behavior, however, the tension between ima (26) is often relieved by an exchange of verbal jests. Other behavior patterns may be noted as follows.

(a) Ego to bali (3a). When Ego's sister marries, her husband brings rats, marsupials, etc., to Ego and his siblings and parents. He thus refers to her as his yapa naluame, 'marsupials I want to eat'.

(b) Ego to kai (10). Through marriage, Ego anticipates receiving shells and pigs from the parents of his father's sister's children.

(c) Ego to awa (9). On certain occasions Ego can expect gifts from his mother's brother. This relative may also be expected to care for Ego if his mother dies.

(d) Ego to kate (11). There is a strict rule that Ego must look after his brother's wife well so that she will not return to her clan to marry someone else. He frequently reminds her that he helped secure the bridal payment for her.

Structural Units

Before considering the extended kinship units of the Kewa - the family, the subclan, and the clan - we may summarize, for purposes of comparison, some of the characteristics of social groups reported elsewhere within the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru language family.

The question of descent and its relation to structural units among the Huli has been studied by Glasse (1959). He explains Huli social organization as a system of segmentary descent groupings based on ambilineal descent at the lower levels and on agnatic descent at the higher levels, with a transitional zone between these two levels. At the highest level is the phratry, which is composed of clans. A clan has at least two lineages, which are in turn made up of co-ordinate quasi-lineages combined through the genealogies of males. These so-called quasi-lineages constitute the transitional zone from ambilineal to agnatic descent.

The three uses of descent among the Huli are: (a) group recruitment or renewal; (b) pattern relationship between co-ordinate segments; and (c) formation of superordinate from subordinate units. In other words, there is a pyramiding of social segments from the bottom up, as follows:

These were gleaned from native texts, but seem to suggest a range of behavioral possibilities which can be expanded later.
elementary and composite families, ambilineages, quasi-lineages, lineages, clans, and phratries.

In the Mendi area adjacent to the Kewa, Ryan (1955, 1959) has studied clan organization and formation. The pivotal social unit is the patrilineal clan, a territorial group with a name the meaning of which is not known. Clans among the Mendi are independent units, are said to have little contact, are the largest social groupings, and are invariably exogamous. They may split and occupy territory in widely separated areas.

Ryan does not describe a clan as a lineage, because no genealogical connection is preserved with its forgotten founder. According to Ryan, there are three main social segments: homesteads (man, wives, children of a common descent); subclan (bearing the name of the common ancestor); and clans (patrilineal, localized, and exogamous). Clans may be either split (geographically), or linked to other clans by alliances, or both.

The subclan among the Mendi is not a territorial unit but a purely social unit consisting of a group of families claiming descent from a common founding ancestor. A subclan bears the name of the deceased father of its senior members. If A is the deceased father of three living sons, B, C, and D, of subclan A, when B dies his sons, E and F, form a new subclan called B. The subsequent deaths of C and D, similarly, lead to the establishment of new subclans C and D.

The Waka and Lai peoples, according to Meggitt (1956), reflect the meeting of three highland cultures - Enga, Mendi, Huli - and exhibit traits from all three groups. They possess phratries of groups of 'brother' patriclans, the ancestors of which are believed to be nonhuman (e.g. python, dog, bower bird).

In all the above groups, as among the Kewa, there is some sort of clan organization. In general, however, they lack any overall knowledge or sense of political unity. Even within the dialect divisions of the Kewa, each clan is independently organised and maintains contact with neighboring clans by trade, marriage, religious festivals, and war.

Family

Among the Kewa a family is called aralu (literally, 'the duration of the father'), and it includes a man, his wife or wives, and their children. No distinction is made between full and half siblings within the family. Among them the eldest is called mupa, the middle child runya, and the last-born madu porapo. The members of a family do not form a single household. The father and older male children reside in the men's house, whereas the mother, older female children, and infants of both sexes occupy either a 'women's house' or a 'family house'. A women's house is
hip-roofed and entered only through side doors. A family house is divided into two sections, separated by a wall and door – a closed, hip-roofed rear portion, entered by a side door, and an open, gable-roofed front section. The wife and older female children occupy the rear portion and cook there. The husband and other men (if present) enter the house through the open front and cook their food in this area.

Subclan

The subclan among the Kewa is a definite territorial unit. The process of subclan formation is similar to that among the Mendi; a subclan is comprised of families which are laterally related through brothers, fathers' brothers, fathers' fathers' brothers, etc. The land which belonged to these ancestors is inherited by all the sons, although the eldest is favoured.

The Ekerepa clan is reported in all genealogies or myths to have been founded by Eali. It comprises three separate functioning subclans together with descendants of at least two others that are now considered inactive owing to a lack of members. The Kademabu subclan resides mainly at Pone, the Asakidipa subclan at Kulikali and Kada, and the Mutyanaya subclan at Muli. Their descent, reckoned backward from the present generations, is as follows:

(a) Kademabu - Rauwala, Reali, Rebame, Yapa, Kade, and Epa. All except Rauwala are now dead.

(b) Asakidipa - Akawai, Keloa, La, Kawapo, Kidipa, and Asali Akawai and his father, Keloa, are still alive.

(c) Mutyanaya - Yaba, Noma, Walea, Pasalo, Yame, and Yakala. Noma is the village bard and has several sons including Yaba.

Subclans tend to build their own spirit houses and men's houses within their prescribed territories. They act as a unit in making arrangements for marriages, funerals, and other exchanges. The names they bear are compounded from the names or parts of the names of the founding brothers, e.g. Asakidipa from Asa and Kidipa.

Clan

The word for clan is ruru, but the suffix -repa is usually added to the actual clan name, as in Ekerepa. Within the clan all collateral males are called ame, 'brother'. Clans act as units in war and in ceremonies involving sacred stones or rites of purification. Although the clan participates in festivals as a group, each subclan takes turns hosting dances on its own dance grounds. Today clans are no longer
involved in direct open conflict with surrounding clans, but boundary and land disputes are common. The clan usually works as a unit in government road building, and a village constable is appointed by the government office.

The name of the clan at Muli, Ekerepa, means 'moon line', although the people do not relate any myths associating themselves with the moon. It comprises three subclans, which trace their descent to Eali, the founder and original settler. In myths, Eali is reputed to be the son of Gole-Male, one of two brothers who originally came from some unknown area and settled in Muli. Myth credits these brothers with the naming of birds and trees, and also links this clan with the other clans in the area through one of the brothers, who is said to have left Muli and settled in a nearby area. This myth suggests the possibility that three other clans called Ekerepa - the Mabi Ekerepa, Watya Ekerepa, and Pudura Ekerepa - may be linked with the Muli Ekerepa. At present, however, these four clans fight and intermarry with each other as with other clans.

The Ekerepa clan, according to the 1962 government census, numbered 408 individuals - a net increase of 4 over the 1961 census total. Broken down by age and sex, there were 83 male children, 90 female children, 103 male adults, 114 female adults, and 18 males absent at work on the coast or in mission schools.

Marriage

Marriage is exogamous with respect to the clan. In addition, a person may not marry a member of another clan to whom he refers by a kinship term. Polygyny is preferred. In fact, for the men of the Mutyanaya subclan, it is normal; at one time, of the sixteen married men of this subclan, nine had more than one wife. This is unusual, however, and not typical of the Kewa in general. Only men of substantial wealth have more than two wives.

The groups involved in a marriage are the clan of the bride and the clan of the groom. Although his clan brothers and his father are responsible for the exchange items, the prospective groom may choose the particular girl he would like to marry. From his numerous courting adventures he has acquired a good idea of the prospects in the surrounding area. A girl, on the other hand, experiences a great deal of pressure to marry any man whose clan offers an attractive bride-price. She is not, however, forced to marry against her will, for her clan is desirous of a lasting bond so that they may retain the bride-price. Any girl who has menstruated is eligible for marriage, although in some cases girls are chosen by suitors even
before they reach puberty. Men are much older when they marry, and they then own some valued possessions as potential repayments to their clan brothers.

The men of the Ekerepa clan have obtained wives from all the surrounding clans and from some of those in the Western dialect area. Ekerepa girls have married into most of the same clans and even outside of the language area. There does not seem to be any particular pattern, although clans that have been violent enemies prefer to intermarry whenever possible.

The marriage ceremony usually, though not invariably, takes place at the dance ground of the bride's subclan. It involves the exchange of pigs, mother-of-pearl shells, and lesser items such as steel axes, knives, native salt, native oil, cowrie head bands, and beads. The groom is usually not present for the exchange, receiving his bride later at his mother's house. The payment to the bride's relatives, represented by her father, averages four or five pigs, eight shells, and at least six other items. This is far less than the average of ten to fifteen pigs reported by Meggitt (1957, 1956) for the Ipili or Waka. The reciprocal gift averages two or three pigs and three or four shells, and is similar to that reported for the Ipili (one to three pigs).

Upon receipt of the bride-price the bride's father immediately redistributes the wealth among his clan brothers and the brothers of the bride. The most senior receives the largest share, and so on down to the youngest brother of the bride, who may be promised a portion of the pig at some later date (the pigs are not killed and eaten at this time). A similar redistribution takes place among the groom's clan.

A marriage can be terminated by either party. The wife can potentially initiate the proceedings by returning to her clan; she usually complains about sexual incompatibility, trouble with her mother-in-law, or too much work. Adultery on the part of a woman must be compensated by payments of her clan. A married man, on the other hand, is allowed considerable sexual freedom, even to the point of re-engaging in courting ceremonies. Once a man decides that his departed wife will not return, he, with his father and brothers, holds an informal court session with the immediate family of the bride. If a price can be settled upon, the father of the bride returns a certain number of items similar to those received, and the girl is then free to marry again. Such a divorce works a hardship against the bride's clan, because once her father has dispersed the wealth it is very difficult for him to recall it again. Indeed, he has usually used it to take care of long-standing debts to other clan members and thus often has to borrow to make the required repayment. If
children have been born of the marriage, the husband may still have a legal claim to his best shell and pig or pigs. The female children, however, go with the mother of her clan.

Many Kewa men have been married more than once. The marriage records of two brothers from the Mutyanaya subclan are given below.

(a) Kama married in turn Rakia, Kepinyu, Naduga, Yabanyi, Yokame, Rumunyu, and Lawinyu. Of these wives, all are living except Rakai and Naduga, who died (presumably in warfare) while still married to Kama. At present Kama is married to Rumunyu and Lawinyu, who are from the same clan and has three living children by them. The other five wives were from different clans. Kepinyu is at present married to an Asakidipa man, her second husband from this subclan. There are at least two other cases of aborted marriages by the prospective brides of Kama.

(b) Roto, Kama's eldest brother, has had four wives: Pidipa, Ramawanyu, Kariade, and Warua. Warua is his only living wife. Kariade died a short time ago; after having borne him three children, she divorced him and returned with her daughter to her own clan. Another daughter, born of Pidipa, is married and frequently returns to the clan with her child. Warua has borne two living children to Roto. In addition, a girl orphan from Warua's clan came to reside with him in the Ekerepa clan, and, when she married, Roto collected the bride-price.

Levirate polygyny of a sort is practiced, but the two cases known in the Ekerepa clan vary widely in circumstances. One man, Riba, married Nirlame, who is reputed to have been the wife of an unidentified dead brother of Riba. In the other case, Kepenyu, when married to Yanya, had trouble with her co-wife about gardening, and to prevent a divorce was married to Yanya's older brother as his second living wife.

Residence

Residence\(^1\) is patrilocal, with the qualification that husband and wife reside in separate houses within the territorial limits of the husband's subclan. A new bride usually resides with her mother-in-law, or, if there is a co-wife, at the latter's house - in contrast to other areas, such as the Mendi and Enga (Ryan 1955; Meggitt 1956), where co-wives do not share a common dwelling. The pigs, as a rule, are housed with the women for their care and safekeeping. Only established married partners have a separate women's or family house. The husband spends most of his nights at the men's house, where his wife brings him sweet potatoes each evening.

\(^1\)For the Ekerepa clan, at least, residence patterns are changing. In early 1964, villages were composed mainly, though not entirely, along the lines of subclan membership. However, the men's houses remain.
on her way home to the women's house. She may not actually enter the men's house but may sit on the large log across the front of the open porch.

The family houses are usually located near one of the family's gardening sites, and as a marriage matures the husband may build another house in another garden area for his wife (or wives) and children. During special religious feasts, the whole family resides for several days at the site of the dance ground. Apart from such occasions and visits to her own clan area, a wife resides in a house provided by her husband in the territorial area of his subclan.

Other Functional Groups

Kewa society also embraces voluntary groups associated with men's houses and clan festivals. The residents of a men's house form a men's society and institute a sharing household. The food brought them by the women is cooked by the men as a group and is then portioned out among them.

Currently the most prominent religious ritual carried out by the men's society in the Muli area relates to Natome, a spirit imported about three years ago from the Western dialect region. It is a purification ceremony during which the adult men reside for several days at a specially constructed spirit house. On the final day, one or more pigs are killed, sacrificed, and eaten by members of the men's society. Attendance is not obligatory, and many clan members do not participate. Another special activity conducted by the men's society is the rupale kodeme, a shuffling dance performed inside the men's house during which participants sing about past men of the clan and their departed ghosts and offer gifts to them.

11.2. SONGS IN KEWA

[There are many varieties of songs in Kewa: courting songs, which have a distinct nasal quality and are sung in houses with chaperons; mourning songs, which extol the virtues of the recently departed and are made up on location; songs in memory of the dead, sung in a type of shuffling dance back and forth on the inside corridor of the men's house; fertility songs, sung in a small circle by women who slowly and in rhythm raise a garden stick up and down as they sing; and finally the festival songs which are described in the following article.

The few representative songs which are interpreted here are but a small sample of an open ended set of festival songs. Associated with such festivals is the true raison d'être: the exchange of pork to pay
debts, demonstrate wealth, cultivate new exchange partners, as well as to further confirm existing trade relationships. For a complete description of the exchange patterns in a group neighbouring the Kewa see Strathern, 1971.

On the morning of a festival dance the people are up before sunrise, about 5.00, making fires to heat the earth oven stones. The food is prepared by the women - raani, cane shoots, sweet potato and unripe bananas. When the pits have been filled with food, covered with banana leaves and then earth, the people wash-up and begin to dress for the dance. The men are made up with paint, especially on their faces. Bodies are spread liberally with pig grease. Girls' faces are painted red with further design in other colours. Their new skirts are worn, skirts which are longer both in front and back. Older women in mourning cover themselves with clay and married women only occasionally paint their faces. The men don new ramu leaves using the vari-coloured yellow-purple ones, along with the greens. Sometimes these are shredded or pleated. Most men have new net hats and new aprons, which are longer. Some men remove their net hats to show their wigs, which have been charcoaled black. The feather headdresses are placed in the wigs, with wooden combs holding them firmly to the hair. The feathers range from the cassowary headdresses seen daily to vari-coloured blue, coral, white and blacks of the Bird of Paradise and smaller feathers from lesser birds. The men gather into groups according to their clan and the host clan begins dancing first. Others join as they arrive, marching down the road to the path singing. Some men carry arrows, long wooden bayonets, a few the old stone axes, but mainly steel axes are carried. Some of the young unmarried girls also march along standing on the outside of the lines, but they do not sing. The dancers march in circular routes stamping their feet and singing. Periodically they stop to catch a breath and to let another group begin. When it is their turn again, someone begins by singing and stamping his feet; others join still standing in place, and then the group moves forward. At a large dance there may be 5-6 clans going at once with up to 40 in a group. The dance continues for several hours until the food is ready to be eaten. After eating, dancing is resumed while the married women and children watch all the festivities contentedly from the side-lines. In the early afternoon, some young men form circles and do a jumping dance, arms entwined about each other's waists, with onlookers standing in the middle of the circle. The girls likewise hold hands in a circle and shuffle around singing their fertility songs. The festivities break up in the late afternoon as folk return to their homes, but some of the sturdier home folk continue dancing. Finally, everyone exhausted and hoarse, returns to their homes for the night.]
11.2.1. Metaphorical Songs in Kewa

Introduction

Throughout the course of several years I have witnessed festivals and dances which are common in the Southern Highlands of Papua (as well as in other areas of the Territory). In the Western and Southern Highlands in particular, such festivals have been examined in terms of their economic, political, and religious significance. Despite these excellent general descriptions and certain explanations, I have never understood the deep (to use a popular linguistic term) meanings of Kewa festival songs. In this article I wish to briefly examine several Kewa songs and attempt to relate their linguistic and social meanings. The possible interpretations or implications of these songs have been suggested to me by Kewa men. It will be apparent that this article is not conclusive in that only limited features of the songs have been examined. A fuller study should determine the relationship of these songs to other cultural songs, as well as to aspects of the culture as a whole. However, a few of the points raised here have been discussed elsewhere, although the use of parables and allegory in New Guinea is by no means uncommon.

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2From 1958 until the present (excluding all of 1963, part of 1964 and 1968) my wife and I have lived among or had contact with Kewa speakers from the Southern Highlands District. We have lived in the hamlets of Mull (between Ialibu and Kagua patrol posts) and Usa (between Kagua and Mendi) under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and (more recently) the Australian National University. In writing this paper I have benefited from comments by E. Loeweke (SIL) and C.L. Voorhoeve (ANU).

3See for example Ryan (1955, 1959, 1961), Bulmer (1960), and Luzbetak (1954). The studies by Ryan are the most pertinent in that Kewa and Mendi (where Ryan studied) are closely related (Wurm 1960; Franklin 1968). Kyaka (the group Bulmer studied) is also related to the Kewa (Wurm, ibid).

4The songs for this article were recorded on November 4, 1967 at Malue, a dance ground site belonging to the members of the Puti clan. I accompanied various subclans from the hamlet of Usa who were invited to participate. Songs which I recorded near Mull (in the East dialect and a hard day's walk east) many years earlier are very similar.

5See for example Chenoweth (1966) for an ethnomusicologist's analysis of songs in the Eastern Highlands. E. Loeweke (unpublished) has analysed Fasu songs (southwest of the Kewa but probably related).

6P. Lawrence (1965) gives more or less classic examples of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture and also of 'cargo' interpretations of white man's behaviour. Note also the often 'hidden' meanings of Pidgin words and phrases as reported in T. Schwartz (1962). Just recently Rosemary Young (1968) has demonstrated the use of 'hidden talk' in Bena-Bena (Eastern Highlands) songs.
The Setting

The kind of songs described here are typically sung at the dance grounds of any clan.¹ They may be sung at any festival, which is in turn only one of a chain of festivals going on at various stages and locations throughout the Kewa.² The size and shape of the dance grounds varies according to the terrain available but usually it will be at least 200 yards long and 30-40 yards wide. Long houses, which are used as overnight accommodations later in the cycle, are often still being built during the early festivals. Earth pits for cooking food (and pigs in the final festival) are located in rows parallel to the long houses. Each long house is the responsibility of host subclans and neighbouring clans; the houses are as long as necessary to provide accommodation for all the family units involved in the final festival.

To begin a song, men line up in columns of six or eight abreast stretching back as far as there are clan members available to fill the ranks. Younger boys and (occasionally) unmarried girls from the host clan also dance, but only the men sing. The dance begins when a man in the front row starts to rhythmically bob up and down while singing the first line of the song. Others in the row respond and the column moves off, followed by the remainder of the other columns.

The songs are sung antiphonally with appropriate responses from back columns. The men in the columns sing back and forth, interjecting whistles, hisses and shrieks at juncture points between antiphons. As in our songs, frequently Kewa words must be squeezed or stretched to accommodate the rhythmic unit in the timing of the song. Because of this, shortened forms of verbs (especially) are often used with many tenses and aspects deleted. The result is that the actor often may be (deliberately) obscure. Also, the accommodation of utterance span to song timing span may even obliteratesubject, location and goal markers. This adds to the allegorical character of the interpretation, although the songs are so familiar that many formal linguistic markers are unnecessary.

Presentation

Following are eight separate songs which were used at the particular festival recorded (see footnote 4 on previous page). An interlinear

¹See Franklin (1965) for a short description of Kewa social organisation and Ryan (1959, 1961) for a more complete description of clan organisation and alliances among the Mendi. The West Kewa (where I recorded these songs) and the Mendi have frequent social contact.

²See Franklin and Franklin (1962) for a description of what we now realise to be but one variant of such a festival cycle.
'semi-literai' translation follows each song in which subscripts cross-identify morphemes and their translations. Immediately following each song a suggestion of the parabolic meaning of the song is given. Following the presentation of the songs, certain of their linguistic and social aspects as well as their parabolic nature are mentioned. Finally, the conclusion includes some general remarks on the function of such songs and their wider implications.

A. 1 kale-naaki 2Rage-Yamo 3palaa 4si 5ni 6kiru 7pia 8pu.
   1 Orphans 8continue 6-ta 4pia 5-on the 4-little 2Rage-Yamo
   3-branches.
   Implication: Remember that there are orphans left from the Rage-Yamo battle.

B. 1Upa-Pitu 2laa 3wa 4suae 5amaa 6si 7ri 8go 9amaa 10aeya.
   7Concerning the 1Upa-Pitu which was 2picked 3-up 4and put 5outside,
   8-it 10-is still 9outside.
   Implication: Some of us (like the Upa-Pitu pandanus nut) remain outside waiting.

C. 1pu 2la 3lo 4reka 5lo 6Waga-Yako 7pa 8meda 9-10ina 11epe
   12wa.
   5 I 4-get up 2-3-in order to 190 10-and 12 I have 11-some 7-where
   8-some 6Waga-Yako cockatoos 9-gare.
   Implication: Few of us may be present, but there are many more where we have come from.

D. 1pu 2la 3pira 4no 5Malue-Muga 6vo 7si 8ya 9yawa 10lipa.
   4 I have 1-2-come to 3-be here 4-and 10-we two will 9-cook the
   7-little 6-leaves of the 5-Malue-Muga tree.
   Implication: Could it be that we will be killed here?

E. 1gupi 2yae 3me 4Yaapa-Yali 5kupu 6si 7ni 8ria 9e 10ira 11lo.
   1 These 2-things 9-which have been 8-carried 7-which are like the
   5-backbone of the 4-Yaapa-Yaali snake, 11 I am 10-cooking them.
   Implication: Our strength is apparent from our actions.
F. Rage-Yamo 2maa 3naa 4ria 5pa 6wa 7ga 8ni 9agu 10naa 11ria 12pe.
Since I made the 1Rage-Yamo tree without having a 2crown, 11-12 do not carry 8me off 9alone.
Implication: Alone I may be like the Rage-Yamo tree, but don't allow this to tempt you.

G. Kabe-Yaa 2kada 3rogaa 4naa 5madia 6wa 7pawa 8rakua.
I have not carried 1Kabe-Yaali snakes with the 2neck (of the 3bag) 4fastened. 8Open it 7slowly.
Implication: Be cautious in dealing with us.

H. Laapo 3me 4pai 5paape 6iru 7gu 8pi 9na 10pira 11lo 12rupa.
These 2-3few (people) have made an 6unassailable 4-5fighting 6fence 9and 11 I 10am here 12like this.
Implication: We are here as if we were captives.

Discussion

One item which is noticeable in the linguistic structure of the songs is the frequent use of a particular species for generic concepts: pandanus (B₁), birds (C₆), trees (A₂, D₅, F₁, H₄), snakes (E₄, G₁), and (in other songs) the names of places. In fact, the Kewa often report (upon questioning) that 'we just sing about the mountains, rivers, trees and other things'. This is, of course, true, but it does not necessarily follow that the species or place names are the real-world referents which one would expect. That the names of species are most often allegorical symbols for the dramatis personae of the utterance can be seen in the following songs:

In A, Rage-Yamo can be either the name of a tree or it can refer to a former battle ground by the same name. In F, it is more certainly the name of a tree. In A, it probably means the battle ground, in that the association with orphans (A₁) reminds the singers of a historical battle in which the host clan lost many members. The suffix -ni 'directional' also confirms the analysis that it is the battle site, not the tree which

¹There is a definite semantic association between place names and tree names. I have often heard places referred to by certain trees as their symbols.
is meant. In no case is the actor actually identified as to his person and number, but the use of pu 'go' (A_8) suggests a continuous action by one actor.

In B, Upa-Pitu refers to the enemy, while in C, Wago-Yago refers to the remaining members of the visiting clan. In the latter instance it is made quite clear that a whole flock of the birds (i.e. other clan members) have been left behind. Although the song implicates a whole clan, it is sung as if only one man were saying it (note C_5 and C_12). This parallels common narrative style in which the speaker represents several actual actors.

The meaning of D takes the form of a repulsive insult, in that the people claim (and there seems to be no evidence to the contrary) that they were not cannibalistic. Some of the songs are undoubtedly very old, however, and earlier cultural attitudes may be reflected. The alliteration Malue-Huga is the name of certain leaves from a tree. However, since the dance was being held at Malue dance grounds, there may be other implications.

Snakes are generally disliked and the reference to them in both E_4 and G_1 may refer to magical properties. In each case the visiting clan uses the name in association with a specific act: in E their backbone is cooked; in G they are let out of the bag. But in both instances snakes indicate violence. Other actions suggested in the songs can also be interpreted as violent: 'scraping' (A_6-8), 'picking and putting' (B_2-4), 'cooking in an oven' (D_9-10), 'cooking in a container' (E_9-10), 'opening up' (G_8), and 'carrying' (F_4, F_11). In the latter instance ria can be considered a pun. A tree which has a crown has a маа; it is 'carried' by the tree and this represents a natural use of the verb. In the expression ni agu naariape, 'don't carry away just me', the verb is alliterative; usually the verb ria refers only to carrying objects on the shoulder.

Song H is a different kind of song, but has been included to show that it may also be interpreted parabolically. It represents songs which are sung by men and women alike in a large circle with a different kind of musical setting. The singing is punctuated by yodels and strangers are also invited to take part. It always occurs later in the day when the

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1Almost all of the older or middle-aged Kewa men still have their 'bags of power' which were used to collect objects such as uniquely formed stones, bits of bark and stick, and so on. These were often carried in the bark belt for protection in battle and for potency in life. One fossilised stone which I saw was referred to as the backbone of a certain kind of snake. There may be other connections between the lexical forms used in the song and their wider cultural significance. It should serve to warn us of just how much is lost to even the 'trained observer' if he is not a complete member of the culture.
singers and marchers are more tired, although the other marching type of dance may still be in progress.

In addition to the unusual species vocabulary, forms such as paape 'fence' (from the East dialect), have been observed. This may reflect something of the direction from which the songs originally came or it may simply be a taboo form.¹

Finally, the use of the diminutive suffix -si may serve to soften the impact of the words upon the hearers; note A₄, B₆, D₇, and E₆

Social Function

One of the main purposes of the songs emerges when the songs are examined closely. At first glance they appear linguistically vague and decidedly regional in their favour. However, upon closer examination several facts emerge: (a) the songs are punctuated with hidden meanings; (b) the parabolic interpretations are quite obvious to the cultural insider but invariably lost to the outsider; (c) the parabolic significance cannot be immediately deduced from the linguistic forms.

The social significance of the metaphor is a sense of ominous warning: the singing allows traditional enemies to let off steam, without cutting off heads. A festival was, after all, a time of truce and as such it was apparently seldom broken. It was important that the cycle of festivals not be broken so that the culmination takes place. Otherwise there would be no death payments, exchanges, or other economic activity on a large scale. In the midst of the dance and festival under discussion, mock warfare did in fact take place. After a lull in the singing a leader of the host clan mounted the men's house and exclaimed: 'When you killed pig and sent talk to me you insulted me - now I return it. You get pigs and pearl shells and take them to Rage-Yamo and make some long houses like these and put your pigs and shells there.' Here again, a great deal which is culturally significant is lost to the outsider. But the implication was: What do you think of all the pigs and shells we have? Why don't you go down to that land area we have been fighting over and see how well you can do? The visiting clans seem to take such insults in their stride, i.e. real battle does not occur. After all, the host clan is also duly insulted outside the security of their own clan grounds.

¹I have indicated some of the problems of word taboo elsewhere (Franklin 1968). Texts which have been collected describe in detail the tabooing of words during cult ceremonies and alternate names due to marriage relationships (Franklin 1967). The mechanism whereby alternate words are coined when the new forms are not outright borrowings demands more investigation. The Kewa appear to have a sophisticated folk-semantic system.
As indicated earlier, the purpose of a festival depends upon the point of focus: the killing of pigs has profound economic and religious significance; the individual dances have a competitive spirit about them and doubtless underscore the social cohesiveness of competing clan units and alliances; the display of pearl shells emphasise the collective bargaining power of the clan, even though the shells are individually owned. Such generalisations about festivals and about songs or dances are important, although they relate little of the underlying structure which allows the generalisations. Neither would a grammatical or semantic analysis of a song relate its function from a social point of view. The song language used must be interpreted in terms of its distribution, implications, and so on. Any explanation of songs strictly in terms of linguistic units (or processes) would distort the parabolic nature of the songs. Here no claim is made that Kewa songs are completely understood or well-described. Rather, this is an attempt to point out some otherwise obscure implications of songs which must, in turn, be related to the whole culture.

11.3. COUNTING SYSTEMS

[There are two main systems employed in the East, one involving the naming of body parts as count units and the other based on counting fingers and thumbs. As an analogy, the system which uses fingers and thumbs based on multiples of four may be compared with cardinal numbers; the body part system as ordinal numbers. In the latter case all named body parts are one in a sequence of a total finite unit, namely the counting cycle called a paa-pu.

The West also uses both systems, although in the body part system certain parts are different from those in other dialects. In addition the four base system is known, but is not used extensively.

In the South the body part system shows the least development, but its use of the four base system is the same as in the East.

A complete cycle around the named body parts begins with the little finger of the left hand and ends with the same finger of the right hand. After the mid point is passed (rikaa for the East and West, meaning literally 'middle'; yangaa 'jaw' in the South) each additional body part corresponding to the opposite side of the body is qualified with mendaa]
'another of the same'. The cycle totals 47 in the East and West, but only 35 in the South.

The body part system for each of the three main dialects is presented in composite form in the following table.

**COUNTING IN THREE DIALECTS OF KEWA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>East Gloss</th>
<th>West Gloss</th>
<th>South Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kegali 'little finger'</td>
<td>egata (&quot; )</td>
<td>engali (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kegali yame 'ring finger'</td>
<td>laapo (&quot; )</td>
<td>engali ame (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>andaa ki 'middle finger'</td>
<td>repo (&quot; )</td>
<td>andaa ki (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>maala 'index finger'</td>
<td>maala (&quot; )</td>
<td>maala (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>su 'thumb'</td>
<td>supu (&quot; )</td>
<td>su (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>su mindi 'heel of thumb'</td>
<td>oraapu 'palm'</td>
<td>su mindi (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>waraa 'palm'</td>
<td>kerepo 'wrist'</td>
<td>waraa (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kerepo 'wrist'</td>
<td>palaa ki 'forearm'</td>
<td>kerepo (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>palaa ki 'forearm'</td>
<td>noae 'upper forearm'</td>
<td>noe (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>noe luambu 'large arm bone'</td>
<td>noae re pambu 'inside elbow'</td>
<td>noe repa (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>noe luambu 'small arm'</td>
<td>komaa 'lower upper arm'</td>
<td>komaa (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>komaa 'above elbow'</td>
<td>pini 'mid upper arm'</td>
<td>wena ropaa (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>winya ropaa 'lower upper arm'</td>
<td>pini re pambu 'upper upper arm'</td>
<td>ali ropaa (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ali ropaa 'upper upper arm'</td>
<td>pasaa 'lower shoulder'</td>
<td>pasaa (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pasaa 'shoulder'</td>
<td>pasaa re pambu 'mid shoulder'</td>
<td>pasaa mindi (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pasaa kuli 'shoulder bone'</td>
<td>kalambe 'top shoulder'</td>
<td>kalambe (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>pasaa mindi 'neck muscle'</td>
<td>ipa lo 'low neck'</td>
<td>maa 'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>maa 'neck'</td>
<td>maa (&quot; )</td>
<td>yanga 'jaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>yagaa 'jaw'</td>
<td>peae 'back of cheek'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kale 'ear'</td>
<td>peae re pambu 'temple'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>pae 'cheek'</td>
<td>aane 'ear'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>le 'eye'</td>
<td>ini (&quot; )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>paki 'inside corner of eye'</td>
<td>paki (&quot; )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>rikaa 'between eyes'</td>
<td>rikaa 'bridge of nose'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unit</td>
<td>paapu 'around the body parts'</td>
<td>paapu (&quot; )</td>
<td>paapu (&quot; )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The symbol (" ) means that the gloss and sequence is the same as that of the East: ( * ) means the gloss and sequence is the same as the West.
A variation of the body-system is also found in Imani, in the south-west corner of K, where the top of the shoulder and the lower part of the neck (16 and 17 in the W) are omitted. Similar omissions or variations have been noted in other parts of the K, although the system is generally disappearing from use as it is replaced by the Western decimal system taught in schools.

As a further variation of the system of counting used in the E to outline festivals and the preparation for them the following sequence was noted in the W:

Month 1 - cutting the cane and grass; preparing the ground
2 - preparing the site for the long house of the Nemola clan; gathering poles, ridge poles, vine and other materials; begin building
3 - bringing the grass for the long house; having a small sweet potato feast
4 - finishing building; putting grass on the roof
5 - lining the posts for the next clan long house (Ibirepa clan)
6 - gathering materials
7 - preparing more ground
8 - building the house
9 - putting grass on the house
10 - at this point (the elbow joint count) there is an announcement telling when the pigs will be killed.

At this count and when the two long houses had been completed there was also the first dance. In the past the first dance would actually have been held at the little finger count (month 1), but there is considerable variation now, due to other demands on the people's time.

There was then a 2-4 months time of rest before additional long houses were begun. By the time the count got to 21 (aame 'ear') two more houses had been finished and another dance was held.

The count continued on in this way - building houses in a prescribed manner, followed by dances - until Month 24 plus 8 (continuing the count down the other side of the body), when the pigs were finally assembled, tied to pig stakes down the center of the dance ground between the long houses, and viewed. Ten months later the large pig slaughter took place.

For any specific event in the series the body-part counting system provided the basis for counting months (= moons) until the next main event was to be held. It is likely that the system will continue to be replaced by the Western calendar.

Other samples of the body-part counting system have been collected in an additional area of the S (Yamurupi village), where a cross-over is made.
at the jaw at 18, and at an area near the E-S border where the cross-over
is at the chest area below the neck at 17, for a total of 33. Similar
variations probably occur elsewhere.

In some areas of the W, as a variation of the four base system, ru is
used instead of ki and repena rather than kode, so that the number 9 is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ru laapo repena padane} & \quad \text{(areas of W)} \\
\text{ki laapona kode pameda} & \quad \text{(most areas of the E)}
\end{align*}
\]

Other numerals follow a similar pattern; for details of the E see the
article which follows.]

11.3.1. The Kewa Counting Systems\(^1\)

There are two methods of counting used by the Kewa people: the body-
part system (commencing with the fingers and proceeding up the arm, head
and down the other arm ending with the fingers) and the four base system
(using the four fingers as a base and adding thumbs when needed).

The Body-Part System

The body-part system equates a count-name to the part of the body being
pointed to by the speaker. The count-names and their body-part referents
are as follows:

\[
\text{kegali}^2 \ 'little finger'; \text{kegali yame} \ 'ring finger'; \text{adaga ki} \ 'middle finger';
\text{maala} \ 'index finger'; \text{su} \ 'thumb'; \text{su midi} \ 'heel of palm'; \text{waraa} \ 'palm';
\text{kereso} \ 'wrist'; \text{palaa ki} \ 'forearm'; \text{noe} \ 'large arm bone'; \text{noe luabu} \ 'small
arm bone'; \text{komaa} \ 'above elbow'; \text{winya ropaa} \ 'lower upper arm'; \text{ali ropaa}
'upper upper arm'; \text{pasaa} \ 'shoulder'; \text{pasaa kuli} \ 'shoulder bone'; \text{pasaa midi}
'neck muscle'; \text{maa} \ 'neck'; \text{yagaa} \ 'jaw'; \text{kale} \ 'ear'; \text{pae} \ 'cheek'; \text{le} \ 'eye';
\text{paki} \ 'inside corner of eye'; \text{rikaa} \ 'between the eyes'.
\]

From rikaa 'middle' the body parts are repeated fown the other side of
the body using the same names plus meda 'another'. A complete unit con-
sisting of a sweep across the hand, up the arm, over the head and down

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1 This paper first appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 71:188-91, 1962, and
is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

2The orthography used in this paper represents the following phonemes: vowels - /a/ (a),
/e/ (e), /i/ (i), /o/ (o), /u/ (u); consonants - /p/ (bilabial fricative), /t/ (dental
stop), /ty/ (palatalized dental stop), /k/ (velar fricative), /g/ (fortis velar
fricative), /r/ (alveolar flap), /l/ (lateral flap), /d/ (nd), /b/ (mb), /ny/ (dental
alveo-palatal nasal), /m/ (m), /n/ (n), /s/ (alveo-palatal grooved fricative), /y/ (non-
syllabic dental vocoid), /w/ (w). Vowel length is phonemic. For the purposes of this
paper, tone has been omitted.
the other arm, is called a paapu. This term means 'very many' and is generally used to translate the English or Pidgin English term 'one hundred'. 'Many' may be shown by pointing to the rikaa 'between the eyes', signalling half a paapu.

The interesting semantic features of this system are:

(a) ada ki means 'big hand'. Because the middle finger is the longest, it is considered to be the biggest part of the hand.

(b) ki maala, literally 'hand cause-speak', idiomatically means to teach'. Therefore, the index finger is the finger that teaches, or points out.

(c) palaa ki is the forearm. The word paala alone means thigh, thus paala ki is the arm-thigh.

(d) noe refers to the radius bone of the forearm. This bone is used for making needles by which to do handwork; thus the word for 'needle', including steel ones, is now noe.

(e) noe luabu is the ulna bone. This bone, taken from skeletal remains, was used for arrow tips and literally means 'kill-remains'.

(f) winya ropaa is the term for 'woman's armband'. In the counting system it refers to the position on the arm where the women wear their armlets.

(g) ali ropaa 'man's armband', likewise refers to the position where men wear their armlets, higher on the upper arm than the women.

The body-part system is not usually used to specify an exact number, e.g. one, five or ten. Informants cannot give the body-part system equivalent of a four base system number. Instead, the words meaning a few, lots, several, are used.

The body-part system seems to be distributed throughout Central New Guinea - from the Bismark range to the centre of Netherlands New Guinea and from Telefomin south to Kiunga. The languages, Wiru and Ialibu, name the same number of body parts as Kewa, although different body parts are named. Telefomin names 27, Kutubu 37, Dumut Mandobo and Ayom 23, Pole 15, and Huli and Duna both 14. Normally all of these systems commence with the little finger. The place from which the count changes to

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1 The material on the counting systems mentioned was provided by the following: Wiru, H.B. Kerr; Huli and Duna, R. Brown; Telefomin, A. Healey (all are colleagues working with S.I.L.); Dumut Mandobo, Dr A. Capell of the University of Sydney; Pole, W.M. and J.E. Rule (1956); Kutubu, F.E. Williams (1940-41); Ayom, Heinrich Aufenanger (1960). Dr Capell mentions (in a letter) that the Ayom counting system is similar to that of the Gende people, further east in the Bismark Range. (Aufenanger 1938). For a summary of the various counting systems used throughout New Guinea (with maps) see Kluge 1942.
the other side of the body varies from between the eyes (Kewa and Ialibu), to the nose ridge (Wuru, Telefomin, and Kutubu), to the crown of the head (Dumut Mandobo), to the hole (in front) between the collar-bone and the neck (Ayom), to not changing at all (Pole, Duna, Huli).

One practical use of the body-count system is for calendar reckoning. The months are counted by the body-count system to provide for a certain cycle of dances to occur. Half of this cycle (ritaa) is often equated to our year, although in actual numbers it contains something like 22 months. A total paapu then is approximately 47.

Once a particular cycle of dances was decided upon, the months were counted in the following way:

**Festival One** - rake was the time when the clans assembled and had a large feast, excluding pigs. This festival took place after 11 months (kegali through koma) at the division of the elbow, or komame roba suma 'arm-with division put-and'.

**Festival Two** - mena rudupu was a pig debt festival that took place after an additional three months (winya ropaa through pasaa) at the shoulder division (pasame roba suma) 'shoulder-with division put-and'.

**Festival Three** - mena regere laapo ke laapo rali pe aiyia, the dividing of pigs and shells into two lines, occurred at the 'between the eyes' division, rikaame roba suma 'middle-with division put-and', after 6 or 7 months depending on whether rikaa is counted once to twice. At this time the pigs and shells were viewed to see how many had been accumulated. The count between Festival Three and Four was not begun until there were plenty of pigs and shells available.

**Festival Four** - raguna yasa, dance of the long hats, occurred after counting from between the eyes down to the shoulder division on the other side of the body, about 9 months. At this time the long hats, which were made from bark and dyed red, were worn. They protected feather headdresses underneath.

**Festival Five** - kega yogo laapo or kana pusu laapo 'place the fern leaves and stones and cover the food pit' occurred after the count continued from the shoulder to elbow division. At this time a large feast was made from sweet potato, bananas, edible herbs, cane shoots, etc., and the dance grounds were cleaned and prepared.

**Festival Six** - yamu yapa yawau konoba 'marsupial-cook-complete' continued the count, from the elbow to wrist division, a total of three months. At this festival a special ceremony took place when the animal bones from the centre post of the long spirit house were removed and dragged around the ground. They had been purified in the spirit house
and after this celebration were dispensed to the men's houses of the clan to be hung on their walls.

_Festival Seven - mena lie 'pig killing' feast_ was held seven months later (wrist division to the little finger) and was the final consummation of the cycle. At this time, pearl shells were displayed and many pigs killed and eaten. After the complete cycle occurred, another one would not be held in the same area for many years.

The Four Base System

The four base system of counting can be directly equated to our numbers. Beginning with the little finger, the numbers from one to four are: _pameda 'one', laapo 'two', repo 'three', and ki 'four'. The word for 'hand' is also ki so the system may be termed a 'four base system', i.e. four fingers constitute the hand. The thumb (kode), then, is considered as a separate entity from the hand (ki).

Counting from 5-20, the numbers and semantic analysis are:

Five: kode - the thumb (or kina kode, the hand's thumb, with -na the possessive suffix, further showing its distinction from the hand).
Six: kode laapo - two thumbs (or kina kode laapo - one hand, two thumbs).
Seven: kode repo - three thumbs (kina kode repo - one hand, three thumbs).
Eight: ki laapo - two hands.
Nine: ki laapona kode (pameda) - two hands, one thumb.
Ten: ki laapona kode laapo - two hands, two thumbs.
Eleven: ki laapona kode repo - two hands, three thumbs.
Twelve: ki repo - three hands.
Thirteen: ki repona kode (pameda) - three hands, one thumb.
Fourteen: ki repona kode laapo - three hands, two thumbs.
Fifteen: ki repona kode repo - three hands, three thumbs.
Sixteen: ki maala - four hands.
Seventeen: ki maalana kode (pameda) - four hands, one thumb.
Eighteen: ki maalana kode laapo - four hands, two thumbs.
Nineteen: ki maalana kode repo - four hands, three thumbs.
Twenty: ki su - five hands.

Note that for 'sixteen', to be consistent the count-name should be ki ki 'four sets of hands'. However, this is a phonological combination which does not occur in Kewa, so the word for 'ring finger' (maala) from the body counting system is used. In numerating 'twenty', ki su (su is

Note that for 'sixteen', to be consistent the count-name should be ki ki 'four sets of hands'. However, this is a phonological combination which does not occur in Kewa, so the word for 'ring finger' (maala) from the body counting system is used. In numerating 'twenty', ki su (su is

Footnote: Twenty can also be reached by counting each finger and toe until both hands and feet are doubled. This is called ki laapo aa laapo pekepu 'two hands, two feet, doubled up'.

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the name for thumb in the body counting system) is used instead of ki kode as this would be confused with kina kode which is 'five'. In continuing the count beyond twenty, the body part system qualifies every unit of four for the same reason.

The 'European' system of counting is being introduced in schools using the individual English numbers. Difficulty is often encountered because pupils do not equate English 'twenty', for example, with anything in their counting system. Therefore, it would seem advantageous to teach the multiplications of four first, based on the four-base system, equating them to the English terms. Thus: 4 x 1 = ki; 4 x 2 = ki laapo; 4 x 3 = ki repo; 4 x 4 = ki maala; 4 x 5 = ki su. When the students learn to equate 'four' with ki and the multiples of 'four' with the unit ki and its simple additions, this would serve as a basis to teach what the remaining Kewa units relate to in English.

11.4. BODY PARTS

[In the last paragraph of the article which follows we suggested that a full study of body parts in cultural contexts would demonstrate most of the emotions, as employed in speech by Kewa people. By examining body part terms in the dictionary it will readily be seen that the use of such terms is indeed one of the most common devices for forming idioms. Not all idioms so formed are listed in the dictionary, nor are all body parts. Additional examples of how the names of body parts are used in the formation of idioms now follow; the examples are from WK.

1. head aalu; asubaa (aalupara kogono waru napea [lit. 'head-in work really not-make' = 'cannot concentrate on working']; aalu waru nakegepene onaa [lit. 'head really not-feverish people' = 'those who cannot think clearly'])

2. brain yau (yau waru kegepeta [lit. 'brain really fever-it is' = 'he can really decide things clearly'])

3. hair iri (rakia iri = 'someone with thick, bristling hair'; puluma iri = 'someone with thin, sparse hair'; kaatipi iri = 'someone with white (grey) hair')

4. forehead eno (enopara kogapu ipua [lit. 'forehead-in tendons come' = 'to wrinkle the forehead', i.e. 'to be angry']; enopara esepeta [lit. 'forehead-in- released-it is' = 'to free the forehead', i.e. 'to be happy'])

5. eyebrow eno-pobolo (eno-pobolo enopara padanea pea [lit. 'eyebrows forehead-in alone make' = 'the eyebrows stand out in the forehead', i.e. 'someone is scowling in anger'])
6. eyes ini (ini rini aa [lit. 'eyes carrying man' = "conceited")

7. bridge of nose ini-ro (ini-ro yola paya [lit. 'bridge of nose pulled make-it has' = "flared out nose", i.e. 'one who is weak'])

8. eyelashes ini pita iri (ini pita iri narasa tala pepare yasa naratema [lit. 'eyelashes not-pull out hit-it is coming mushrooms not-pick-we will' = 'if some eyelashes don't come out we won't find any mushrooms' (referring to the game children play)])

9. ears aane (aane no poaya [lit. 'ears down struck-it is' = 'one who is deaf'])

10. tongue eke (agaa talo page eketapa tema [lit. 'talk-wanting also tongue-in we-talk' = 'our tongue helps us to speak'])

11. fontanel aalu kakema (aalu kakama waru kegepeta [lit. 'head fontanel really feverish-it is' = 'a really intelligent person'])

11.4.1. Kewa Ethnolinguistic Concepts of Body Parts¹

In an article entitled 'Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies', Harold C. Conklin (1962) has suggested methods for defining units within a given culture. Each lexeme is defined in terms of the contrasts it makes at its particular level and its relationship to lexemes on other levels.

While living among Kewa² speakers for a number of years I have become aware to an increasing degree of the semantic systems employed in various domains. This paper presents one domain - body parts - and its categorisation into a semantic hierarchy.

The method used to gather the material has been observation supplemented by informant elicitation. For example, in observing the butchering of pigs, I noticed that specific units always had names which included subsidiary body parts. Also, when Kewa speakers looked at pictures where only part of the torso was present (as in catalogues - a head,

¹This paper first appeared in the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19:54-63, 1963, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

²Kewa has been classified by Wurm (1961) as a member of the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru language family and is located in the Southern Highlands of Papua. Field research in Kewa was begun in 1958 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I am indebted to Alan Pence for valuable suggestions on a previous draft of this paper.

The orthography used in this paper represents the following phonemes: vowels - /a/ [a]; /e/ [e]; /i/ [i]; /o/ [o]; /u/ [u]; consonants - /b/ bilabial fricative; /t/ dental stop; /ty/ palatalized dental stop; /k/ velar fricative; /g/ [g]; /r/ alveolar flap; /l/ lateral flap; /d/ [nd]; /b/ [mb]; /ny/ [n]; /m/ [m]; /n/ [n]; /s/ alveo-palatal grooved fricative; /y/ non-syllabic dental vocoid; /w/ [w]. Vowel length (with the exception of /a/) is restricted to mono-syllables. Acute recent represents high tone; low tone is unmarked. For a full description of Kewa phonology, see Karl and Joice Franklin (1962b).
upper trunk, below the waist, legs, etc.), it was obvious they had lexemes that described units in a body-part system different from our own. In the light of this, informants were questioned about the function and characteristics of individual body parts. They were asked what parts were represented by one lexeme and how this lexeme related to others. Tape recordings were also made of an older man who was requested to tell me all he could about certain body parts.1

Answers to the above provided the results shown on the charts which follow. This is, in short, the meaningful (emic) cultural division of the body part system. The principles of contrast within hierarchies used to classify and interpret the data presented here are aided by the writing of Conklin and Pike.2

All body parts in Kewa may be thought of as occurring on levels with contrasting parts on each level and each descending level subordinate to the level above it. Chart A is not a full inventory of Kewa body parts but rather a representative selection of parts on each level of the hierarchy.

Formulaic representations in this chart and throughout this paper are as follows: Vertical arrows show subordinate relationships between body parts. Horizontal arrows indicate contrasting parts on a given level. Circles refer to connecting parts between or within levels. The symbols < > enclose the members of a class of body parts which (a) are subordinate to one body part, e.g. the liver (Chart A, level IV), which represents one of a group of contrasting body parts, all subordinated to the stomach area (Chart B, level IV); although the chest has a subordinate relationship to the upper trunk, it is not one of a group subordinated to the upper trunk and hence is not represented as a member of a class. The same symbols also enclose parts which (b) may be additionally composed of members on a minute level, e.g. the eye (Chart C, level IV).

The semantic levels3 of contrast are as follows: I) the human being; II) the physical and spiritual components of level I; III) the main

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1Here is a free English translation of one such recording: '... the below the waist. The thighs branch off in two directions from the below the waist area, just like you have observed on the pig. These are the two thighs - look. The thighs themselves are large pieces of meat, again as on a pig. And then there are the knees and the spaces behind the knees - look. They (and the legs) aid in walking on the road, in visiting strange places, in carrying wood, etc. Look, here are the lower legs, just like the white men have. Here are the toes [goes on with the names and some observations]....'

2Pike (1960), especially Chapter 15 on hierarchies and systems.

3An attempt has been made to get lexemes into their levels realistically. An arrow has been drawn straight through any given level when a general term is lacking on that level. Longacre (1960:69) plots a sentence into a hierarchy of word, phrase, and clause layers.
sections of the physical body; IV) the contrastive members of each section of the physical body; V) the subordinate parallel members of contrastive body parts. Further labels or levels would indicate the maximum expansions of any class of body parts.

Within level I of Chart A, áli 'man' is a simultaneous member with winya 'woman' as a human and contrasts with mena 'pig', which would represent a class of non-humans on this level.

Level II has tóó 'body', wasupa 'soul' and rémo 'spirit' as contrasting members. The soul (shadow, image) is contained in the body while the person lives. Upon death the spirit of the person comes to the body. The spirit contrasts with the soul at this level by being associated with the body only in death, while the soul is associated with it both in life and death.

There are certain members of the body organisation that have dual roles. For example, on level III, maá 'neck' and loó 'stomach area' refer to links between the three main divisions of the body. These links are not subordinate to the sections of level III (kálú 'head', kádéssé 'upper trunk', and keé 'below waist') but are coordinating links between contrasting members. The members mabéma 'nape of neck' and pasaa 'shoulder' are inter-level coordinating body members. The former connects the kádéssé 'upper trunk' with the kóó 'back' and the latter joins the 'upper trunk' to the kíí 'armpit'.

Members of a higher level (III) may have one subordinate member (such as pédo 'throat area' to maá 'neck') or many (e.g. loó 'stomach area' has subordinate to it a whole class of contrasting members on level IV).

Body constituents which are on level V include total areas which may in turn be more minutely structured. In general, these consist of part-whole relationships (Conklin 1962:131-32) whose minimum contrasts would include all the component parts of the member and their own hierarchical relationship. A member which represents a class is subordinate in the same way as the parallel body parts which it represents.

There are members subordinate to the body as a whole, e.g. nasu 'blood', yógala 'skin', kúli 'bones', kogapu 'veins' and 'tendons', kópe 'nerves', and múdú 'flesh'. One member, írí 'hair', is subordinate to whatever body area it modifies; when the name occurs alone it refers to the hair on the head. The skeleton or bone system also has its own hierarchy which may sometimes overlap with the body part hierarchy. For example, the word komaa 'upper arm' may also refer to the 'humerus bone'. The total cultural meaning of komaa includes the 'bone', the 'muscle', and the 'upper arm area'.

Certain other members that would seem to fit into the above category (i.e., subordinate to the body as a whole) may be included in an entirely
different cultural hierarchy. One example is káíma 'lymph fluid', subordinate to 'sore' (rere), which are in turn on a contrasting level with 'sickness' (yánya).

The term ree 'base' or ébo 'swelling' are often used to refer to parts of organs outlined in this paper; e.g. ii réé 'feces base' (rectum), paalo ébo 'stomach swelling' (duodenum). These do not directly relate to members of the body part hierarchy in an important way and are not dealt with in this paper.

Nida (1958:283) and Conklin (1962:132) imply that by noting which lexical hierarchies have the most divisions we know what is probably most important in the culture. In Kewa anatomy, the greatest number of contrasts that are subordinate to one part occur on level IV. Especially significant are those members which are subordinate to loo 'stomach area'. These comprise a class which púu 'liver' represents on level IV. This class and its structuring may be seen in Chart B.
Chart B shows the main area with which emotions are associated in Kewa culture. The seat of the emotions is the pūú 'liver'. Some examples of its use are the following expressions: pūú kúdinaa 'the liver has been extinguished' (death); pūú kotá 'the liver is bad' (dislike); pūú réka 'the liver stands up' (excitement); pūú réro pia 'the liver is bitter' (hard-hearted); pūú rámula 'the liver is rotting' (pity); pūú réde pia 'the liver is sweet' (happy); pūú pálea 'a sleeping liver' (lazy); pūú rubá 'to throw the liver' (frightened); pūú yáápi pia 'the liver is bloody' (tired); pūú mátyá 'to carry the liver' (tease).

The functions of the contrasting members of level IV can be summarised in the following manner: pūú 'emotional center' (liver); paalo 'food storage and hunger center' (stomach); wáálílo 'thirst center' (intestines); máya 'waste center' (colon); ami 'growth center' (pancreas); kolalí 'pregnancy center' (uterus).

CHART B
Hierarchy of the Stomach Area

III

IV

pūú 'liver'

paalo 'stomach'

wáálílo 'intestines'

máya 'colon'

ami 'pancreas'

kolalí 'uterus'

Level V on Chart B shows members which have a subsidiary function. The pútupa 'gall bladder' forms urine and is responsible for its being sent to the bladder. Physical support of organs is performed by the rai 'spleen', which carries or holds the stomach; momo 'transverse colon' occurs with the same function for non-humans and humans.

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1 This lexeme is bracketed in the chart because it occurs only in females, human or non-human. Also on this level is kumu 'mammary area'. However, since this term applies only to non-humans it is not shown on the chart. In tracing the subordinates of the chest or the mammary area, it is found that the same lexeme adu 'breast' occurs for both terms. Therefore, while kumu 'mammary area' and káágo 'chest' contrast on the same relative level for non-humans versus humans, their subordinate member adu 'breast' occurs with the same function for non-humans and humans.
and kátótúra 'descending colon' bridge the area between the stomach and intestines; and kéli 'kidneys' carry the pancreas.

There are three body area which are subordinate to the kádesaa 'upper trunk'. They are the kou 'back', káágo 'chest' and kii 'arms'. The arms are a direct subsidiary to the trunk but the back is linked to the trunk by the mabémaa 'nape of the neck' and the chest is linked to the trunk by the pasaa 'shoulder'. Each of the subordinate members of level V (Chart A) represent a class of body parts.

The function of the kou 'back' is an aid to physical work, such as gardens and roads. The káágo 'chest' is the decoration center for shells and beads. Kii 'arms, hands' are for making things.

Subordinate to the káágo 'chest' on an internal level is the konalí 'heart'. The heart has the function of being the thought center which contains the kóne 'behaviour'. However, this does not imply that a makeya ali 'crazy man' only has trouble in his thought center. He is thought of as having trouble in his whole body. After formation, the thoughts proceed to the wéno 'forehead' and then to the ágaa 'mouth'. The term for 'lungs', konalíyo, means 'leaves of the heart' and is considered subsidiary to the heart. Within the kádesaa 'upper trunk' is also the kuma 'diaphragm'. This word simply means enclosure and is used otherwise to describe the broad enclosure around a fireplace. On an external level and subordinate to the káágo 'chest' are adu 'breast' and pápéaa (or pérali) 'ribs' (back and front ribs respectively).

In Chart A, level V, pae 'cheek' is one member of a class of body parts that are in a subordinate relationship to kálú (ásúbaa) 'head'.

Chart C shows the inter-relationship of the semantic items.

On level IV of Chart C each contrasting part makes up the total parts that are immediately subordinate to kálú 'head'. The function of the parts which contrast on this level are as follows: kákama 'fontanel' make people strong, e.g. indicate strength as they grow closer together; one purpose of yáu 'brain' is the storage of mucus; wéno 'forehead' stores thoughts; pae 'cheeks' carry the laugh; yaga 'jaws' are for eating, for whiskers; péa 'nose' for breathing.

There are also minute parts which occur as modifications of principal parts on this level: e.g. yágaa kinyu refers to 'point of the jaw' and yágaa akoraa to the area between the two sides of the lower jaw bone.

1 Certain body parts, because of taboos, may have two or more names: e.g. kálú, ásúbaa 'head'; loo moto, róbaa 'stomach area'; púu, bali 'liver'; kou, mása 'back'; péa, kadu 'nose'; lee, íni 'eyes'. Whenever important evil spirits need to be placated, many words in the language are 'hidden' and new words from other dialects borrowed. Especially susceptible are body parts.
It is possible to become very specific in describing body parts. Although pédo kúl í are terms for the 'larynx'; and pédo is used in such expressions as na pédo rukutya 'my throat is broken' (I'm hoarse).

Fewer items occur on level V and three of these represent classes. Individual parts of lee 'eyes' are as follows: lee pobolo 'eyebrows'; lee kapaa 'whites of the eyes'; lee palogaa 'eyelids'; lee pitya iri 'eye-lashes'; lee sii 'pupils'. Ágaa 'mouth' contains the parts kabulu 'lips', keke 'tongue', and the teeth (rikaa ágaa 'middle teeth', lopa ágaa 'molars', kuma ágaa 'wisdom teeth'). The words for mouth and eyes form a composite name leagaa 'face'. Kaale 'ears' are also represented on level V because they contain minute parts in the same way as the eyes and mouth.

CHART C
Components of the Head

On the same level kálu 'head' (III, Chart A), kee 'below waist' is superordinate to ae 'legs' and the pubic area. The pubic area is denoted by either the male (rene) or female (kére) reproductive organs. They in turn have the dual functions of reproduction and the removal of puu 'urine'. Subordinate to these organs are ruu 'testes' and yáwe 'ovaries'. The semantic label ruu is also used to denote the male species. Another part of the below the 'waist area is the imáa 'anus', which has as its function defecation.

The rene 'penis' and kére 'external genitalia' have as their functions the production of kápaa 'semen' and kidi 'vaginal discharge'. Conception is believed to take place when the semen of the man unites with the nasu (or yásái) 'blood' of the woman. These two substances mix together in
the kolalí 'uterus' and are responsible for the growth of the fetus. As growth takes place the mother does not menstruate, for the blood is used to form the fetus. Repeated impregnation by the male is therefore necessary because the semen must be supplied to mix with the blood. The first stage of growth is believed to be the kópe 'umbilical cord' (rope). The attitude about the vaginal discharge is reflected in the term for leprosy: kidimi nea 'the discharge has eaten it'. Leprosy is believed to be caused by some direct contact with vaginal discharge.

Chart D presents the leg and arm areas with their correlating parts as labelled in the Kewa culture.

Chart D outlines in detail the part-whole relationships included in level V. These are the ultimate constituents which are subordinate as a group to level IV. The charts is diagramed in such a way as to show how the same lexemes are used for some of the corresponding areas subordinate to separate lexemes on level IV. Lexemes in the two columns are opposed to show physical similarities between the extremities.

The fingers or toes are represented by the lexeme kilikili1 on level V. This lexeme represents a class, the ultimate constituents of which could be conveniently sub-categorised in a level VI. However such parts are on a minute level and not diagramed.

In summary, this study suggests a schematic, culturally meaningful representation of the body parts in Kewa. Each body part is described in terms of its hierarchical relationship with other parts - its contrast with other parts on various levels of a semantic hierarchy and its distribution in the hierarchy as a whole. The actual description and dimensions of the body parts have been elicited from informants and therefore give a realistic picture of body parts as seen from within the Kewa culture.

This study is admittedly narrow in scope. Further amplifications should include a hierarchical treatment of domains directly related to body parts.2 Lexemes of body parts that are of other than humans should be exhaustively compared.

Other areas of study would be the use of body part terms as components of complex lexemes (Conklin 1962:122). Some examples of this sort in Kewa are: rémo 'spirit' + lee 'eye' = remólé 'lightning bug'; waali

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1 For a complete listing of the names and uses of the fingers, see Karl and Joice Franklin (1962a:190-91).

2 These domains would include such areas as physical attributes, intellectual and emotional expressions, etc., as outlined in Charles F. and Florence M. Voegelin (1957, chapters B and C, pp.27-45).
'sugarcane' + 1oo 'stomach area' = wáálílo 'intestines'; paa 'just' or 'only' + 1oo 'stomach area' = paalo 'stomach'.

It has already been mentioned that certain systems (such as the skeletal) overlap with the body part system. The complexity of this factor and the resulting multiple range of meaning of the lexemes needs to be studied more fully. For example, although a lexeme like kíí has the general meaning of 'arms', it can refer more specifically to 'hands' or 'hand bones'. Because one counting method is based on the four fingers of the hand, the name for 'four' in this system is also kíí.

Although the use of certain body parts (e.g. the liver) have been mentioned in cultural contexts to show abstractions, a complete listing of the actual hierarchical arrangements of the body parts involved and the abstractions employed might help to categorise most of the emotions expressed in Kewa culture. Such studies will give a culturally relevant look at lexemes and their full implications rather than a simple listing or an ambiguous reference.

CHART D

Hierarchy Showing Correlation of Extremities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV</th>
<th></th>
<th>kíí 'arms'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aa 'legs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pálaa 'thigh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rumu 'knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kólóbo 'behind knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>roaape 'calf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kíbu 'shin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th></th>
<th>kíí 'arms'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kákálo 'ankle' or 'elbow joint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kálaló 'ankle' or 'elbow bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kínýálú 'heel' or 'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wáraa 'sole' or 'palm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;kilikili&gt; 'toes' or 'fingers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kídípaa 'nails' (toe or finger)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.5. KEWA NAMES

[In other publications (Franklin 1967, 1968, 1972) we have commented extensively on the use of Kewa names. The first of these publications is reprinted in this section, in that the system of naming generally holds throughout the Kewa. First, however, we give some examples at a modern-day modification from the same general system of naming.

Over the past seven or eight years many Kewa people have been baptized into the Lutheran and Catholic churches. In the village of Usa the people selected new (Kewa) names. Some of the new names and the meanings are as follows:

Adano I should see it
Adaluwa I will see
Ado-Pira waiting to see
Epalua I will come
Epeape come
Epe-Kone good thoughts
Epeta it is good
Etoa I will bear (fruit)
Giape give to me
Ini-Mea get eyes
Ipisa he has come
Kaa-mea smell it
Kagaa-Kone new thoughts
Kagaa-Mea receive newness
Kasa he gave him
Katea he will give
Kone-Kala give him thoughts
Lakela he has told
Lakelape tell (them)
Makuape understand
Mea get it
Mea-Naade get what has not been seen
Mealo I am receiving (it)
Meape receive it
Minaasa lift up
Niminape understand
Odo-Ome full of pity
Orapi good, thanks
Page listen
Pagesa he has heard
Pagomea hearing talk
Pedo happiness
Perekeano I will turn around
Pira sit
Pitua I will sit
Pokatape tied together
Puri-Mea receive strength
Puri-Pane strength
Raana-Mada enough happiness
Raana-Mea get happiness
Rabuniaasa he has tramped it down
Radepeape washed, cleansed
Rapape follow
Rodo-Meape taken and rejoined
Ripinape hold fast
Runane inside
Warisa he made it
Watoa he will reveal it
Yarepea picked up]
11.5.1. Names and Aliases in Kewa

The Kewa language of the Southern Highlands, Papua, is closely related to the Mendi language. Sometime ago D'Arcy Ryan (1958:109-16) reported on personal names among the Mendi and in this paper I propose to compare my findings with those of Ryan and also to suggest the relevance of studying names and naming as possible clues to pre-European history.

Data

The Linguistic sampling of names represented here comes from two main sources:

(a) Personal interviews with various individuals asking specific questions about their names.
(b) Informal tape-recordings, responding to the suggestion that the individual talk about how he received his name.

Using the first technique approximately sixty people were interviewed and in the second case short texts (averaging about forty words) were recorded from over a dozen individuals.

During personal interviews the following linguistic frames were employed:

(a) nena ibi aapiya 'What is your name?'
(b) apeadaa nena maya go ibi gisa 'Why did your father give you that name?'
(c) lamuanyaloma aibi gisa 'After you married, what name were you given (by someone else),'

By using these questions as a guide other relevant details were noted and later expanded.

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1This article first appeared in the Journal of the Polynesian Society 76:76-81, 1967, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

2Materials have been collected mainly in Mulī, Ialibu Sub-District between 1958 and the present, with the exception of 1963-4. The analysis of the Kewa sound system is presented in Franklin and Franklin (1962) and J. Franklin (1965).

3According to S. Wurm (1961:22) Kewa, called Kewa Pi there, is 67% related to Mendi on the basis of his modified TRIPP lexical list.

4Recently some anthropologists (e.g. Frake 1964; Metzger and Williams 1963) have been attempting to check native categories by using a formal technique of linked queries and linguistic frames. Important insights are thus gained on the 'emic' (Pike 1954) or culturally relevant thought processes for a given domain. Although this approach has been extremely helpful, a fairly intimate knowledge of the language is required to satisfactorily interpret and translate all elicited linguistic forms.
During tape recordings it was, of course, impossible to control the type of data gathered. Only when the materials had been translated was it possible to explore some of the clues contained in the texts. The following is an example of one text:

1. niri1 Ribu2 mogo3 nana4 Payamo5 kama6 namayame7 poaloanya8 rabu9 amaame10 ni11 madea12 2. apo1 naki2 matyaenale3 kama4 roale5 lea6 mayame7 3. su1 tyalo2 su3 keyalo4 arare5 ada6 yatya7 madi8 rupa9 mayame10 4. gore1 mupi2 kama3 poala4 kama5 leme6 5. ni1 mupi2 le3 alo4 6. adaa1 yawe2 rabore3 wala4 kama5 lisa6

1. About me1 when9 my father7 was enclosing8 the outside6 of our4 Ribu2 and3 Payamo5 (spirit houses), my mother10 bore12 me11 2. Father7 said6 since3 (you) bore3 that1 boy2 I will call5 him 'clearing'.4 3. My father10 bore me8 in the manner9 when building (planting)7 the house,6 digging2 the ground1 and scraping4 the ground3 along the edges.5 4. All rightA he is striking4 the cleared area, he2 is3 'clearing'5 they said.6 5. I1 am3 the clear2 man.4 6. When3 there was a big1 festival2 he6 again4 said6 'clearing'.5

Name Classification

In the general assemblage of names and counter-names, it became apparent that first names are determined by several factors, a number of which apply to alternative names, supplementary to the first name, which are acquired by some individuals later in childhood:

(a) the characteristics of the father;
(b) the characteristics of the child;
(c) the characteristics of someone or something else;
(d) events which happened or conditions existing about the time of the birth;
(e) a metathesis of names or nicknames resulting from any of the above.

\footnote{Formally fathers always give what is regarded as the first name, though they may themselves solicit the name or have it suggested to them. The child is normally named sometime after the return from the birth-hut; it may be much later, perhaps several months afterwards, as Ryan (1958:109) reports to be the case among the Mendi. As with the Mendi, the first name may be further modified by the clan or sub-clan name (cf. Ryan 1958:107).}
The first three of these factors can be illustrated by the following names:  

2. Wepo 'whistle', (F-8). Her father is an important man and therefore he is recognised when he yells out for others.
3. Warea 'it has worked (in a good manner)', (M-2). The child has always had good behaviour.
4. Rumunyu 'knee', (F-30). Her father had bad knees. (The suffixes -nyu or -me may be optionally added to any female name.)
5. Paakena 'to have stolen', (M-50). As a boy he stole something; from the form pake misa 'he stole it'.
6. Pudia 'to pull out', (M-55). When a small boy, he pulled out grass, weeds, and so on; from the form pudilisa 'he pulled it out'.
7. Riba 'night', (M-40). At night he was always falling down.
8. Ledapasa 'it was lost', (F-45). Her father always seemed to be looking for things which were lost.
9. Palinya 'to sleep', (F-25). Her father called her this because she slept often; after the verb patya 'she is sleeping'.
10. Naadame he didn't see it', (F-45). When asked about something, her father always said he hadn't seen it; after naadaa plus the suffix -me.
11. Lubinyu 'moss', (F-40). When a girl, her father always decorated behind his ears with moss.
12. Wiru 'pine tree', (M-5). After a pine tree planted after he was born.
13. Raami 'stink', (M-35). Because of the festering sores he had.
14. Rabua 'to tread on', (M-45). So named because of the habit the father had of tramping on the earth oven food pit.
15. Remonogo 'spirit girl', (F-18). As a little girl she went crawling in the wild cane and her father said the spirits would get and kill her.
16. Ratyanw 'to chase', (F-50). So named because her father was always chasing away the women.

1 First given is the name, followed by the literal meaning in single quotes. The approximate age and the sex are in parenthesis. In some cases other linguistic clues are given before the stated reason for the name.

2 This has produced some interesting problems in the transliteration of non-Kewa names. For example, the Biblical Adam becomes Arame (because all words end in vowels) and is interpreted by some as a woman. The man was therefore deduced to be Ewa (Eve).
Events which happened at or around the time of birth and influenced the child's naming include such prominent things as wars, trades, or festivals which the parent wished to remember. Some names which serve as examples are:

17. Poasa 'he chopped it', (M-40). So named because his father chopped a man from the village Watya at about this time.
18. Yapo 'cordyline leaf', (M-25). Named after a special type of leaf worn at inter-clan dances.
19. Aapea 'what did it?', (M-2). Somehow as a little child he broke his father's axe and the father kept asking what happened.
20. Remaa 'talk' or 'story', (M-50). After a fight between his father (Kapu from the Ekerepa clan) and a neighbouring clan member, they later got together for a talk.
21. Adaluua 'I will see it', (M-10). Named when his sub-clan was chased out of Muli by another sub-clan. The men said they would see Muli again.
22. Patya 'to sleep', (M-5). So named when his father's clan-member Pala was captured by a nearby clan (Nemola) and killed. However, this trouble was made to 'sleep' with no compensation or war because the white man had arrived.
23. Magau 'to circle about', (M-6). Named in memory of a clan leader from the clan Rageali who fought a Muli sub-clan and captured some of them. Later when a returned member (Yanima 'type of mushroom') had a son, he named him magau.

From several of the above examples (especially 19-22) it seems apparent that early tribal wars can be fairly accurately dated by names. Events are permanently recorded by using key words as mnemonic devices. It should be possible to trace out historical happenings by recording the names of, for example, all men between 40 and 50 years of age in several adjacent tribes. If the names give even a good cross-sampling of outstanding events from around the turn of the century, this could be of immense value in tracing land occupation and warfare. Furthermore, if the conditions surrounding the naming of an individual are generally known, the reason for a name being given can easily be cross-checked with other clan members or former enemies.

Semantic Play

Although Ryan (1958:111) has stated that descriptive names given in infancy do not retain any literal meaning in later life among the Mendi, this is not the case among the Kewa. In fact, the semantic play between
first names and married names is one of the most interesting features of Kewa names.

The most usual name avoidance is between a man and his wife's brother or brothers. Because a new groom must avoid having his name spoken in the presence of such affines, he adopts a new name, which is frequently given to him by his wife. This name is usually derived semantically from his original name, i.e. the one given by his father around the time of birth. The following name pairs illustrate this semantic matching. (Numbers and letters refer to new name pairs or to first names listed previously; a number with a subscript letter refers to the married name.)

23. Kamaa 'outside', (M-40).
23a. Nali 'outside', from an alternate dialect name naliyna from which his wife came.
24a. Negaa 'the second child', because he was second after his brother.
5. Pakena 'to steal'.
5a. Yapina 'to pick up', because he took things.
25. Aitupia 'to split', (M-50). So named when his father broke his rame (bailer) shell.
25a. Aapea 'what did it?' (broke the rame).
19. Remaa 'story'.
19a. Agale 'talk'.
13. Rabua 'to tread upon'.
13a. Loma 'splinter', from treading on the food pit.
26a. Kadupilisa 'close the eyes tightly'.
27. Kolasu combination of kolo 'hole' plus su 'ground', (M-40).
27a. Nakupea 'a large hole'.
28a. Sikame 'type of marsupial'.

Ritual

As pointed out by Ryan (1958:112), name taboo may also result from ritual. With the Kewa, in addition to the men's secret cult,1 other deities are directly responsible for name taboo. This taboo extends beyond personal names to the names of all sorts of objects. For example, the following tree names are all taboo, because their wood is used to

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1The Mendi cult is cited by Ryan as Timp. This is undoubtedly a cognate with Ribu (phonetically, tˈɪmbu), the previous men's cult in Muli, later replaced in Muli by Natome - a spirit imported from the Mendi direction.
build certain spirit houses: kabo, kaipa, olo, toge and waleka. In other ceremonies the parts of the pig sacrificed were given new (other dialect) names and the old names were taboo in any context. One example is lee 'eye' which was replaced by the Western dialect ini, and such idiomatic expressions as leriale 'you are lying' (literally, 'you are carrying eyes') became iniirale.

Summary
Every Kewa man has at least two names, the second sometimes given by his wife and often semantically related to the first.
The first name of a child often serves as a clue to events of importance in the father's life and also may be a mnemonic aid to others of the clan. It would seem possible to test this by comparing several names of the same age-group in clans of a general area.
Name taboo is imposed by certain affines and in allegiance to specific spirits. The distortion which could theoretically be caused to potential lexical cognates cannot be investigated here. However, any language percentage relationship should take word taboo into account.

11.6. A RITUAL PANDANUS LANGUAGE OF NEW GUINEA

Sociolinguistic aspects of language such as word taboo, euphemisms, metaphors, riddles, parables, and other forms of speech concealment are apparently not uncommon in various culture and linguistic areas of the world. Hymes (ed., 1964), for example, includes many examples of hidden language and symbolism from groups of American Indians, tribes in Africa, as well as from people in Asia and Europe. The use of hidden forms of speech and symbolism in New Guinea is also well known. Little, however, has been written which deals directly with ritual languages known to be in use in New Guinea. In this paper I shall present preliminary social and linguistic facts which relate to a ritual pandanus language used in the Mt. Giluwe area of the Southern Highlands, Papua New Guinea.

The General Area
Although the Mt. Giluwe area is not the only area of New Guinea where the pandanus language is spoken, I am most familiar with this area and will illustrate the language and other forms of speech disguise from

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1 This article first appeared in Oceania 43/1:66-76, 1972, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitate by book publication. Note that /b/ and /d/ are written as /mb/ and /nd/ in the original article.

2 For hidden forms of speech in New Guinea see especially Aufenanger (1962), Young (1968) and Brennan et al. (1970). Bulmer (1967, 1968) also indicates that there is a pandanus secret language in use in the Karam area.
Kewa. Kewa and its dialects are spoken mainly south and south-east of Mt. Giluwe. It is especially from the Ialibu basin area, north toward Alkena, as well as west and north-west near the town of Mendi, that I have verified the language.

The floor of the Ialibu is approximately 6,300 feet in altitude, and the populated slopes of Mt. Giluwe do not extend much higher. On the south and south-eastern slopes of the mountains where the language is spoken there are undulating volcanic plains, sword grass, and a heavy shrub regrowth. The main forest composition in the area is a Beech-Mixed type of growth with the Pandanus trees growing in what is generally characterised as a Highland Pandanus swamp area. The Pandanus trees grow to a height of about 90 feet in such areas, with a higher montane Coniferous-Mixed growth above the lower montane forest. As the summit of Mt. Giluwe is approached, an alpine or lower montane grassland is apparent.

The Pandanus is dominant only in some of the small areas within the lower montane rain forests where drainage conditions have inhibited the growth of larger trees. The upper altitudinal limit for the Pandanus is reported to be about 7,000 feet. In the Giluwe area the Pandanus nut cluster is a round pendant fruit up to a foot or so in diameter. It is usually harvested about December to February in a given year, although in some areas there is a longer two-year cycle. In the Kewa language the Pandanus as a genus is referred to as aga, while the ritual pandanus language is called rumala agaa.2

1The author and his wife have lived intermittently in the village of Muli in the East Kewa from 1958 to 1962 and in the village of Usa in the West Kewa from 1967 to the present. I am indebted to the New Guinea Research Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for financial assistance which enabled me to do a survey around the Mt. Giluwe area. I would also like to thank Alan Healey of S.I.L. and Professor R. Bulmer of the U.P.N.G. for comments on this paper, originally presented at a meeting of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea.

2Information on the Pandanus in this section is drawn from the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Land Research Series No.15. Pandanus is a genus name for the common screw pine. In Pidgin it is called karuga (Mihalic 1971:107) or marita (ibid., p.131). The second name applies to a long red or yellow edible type growing at lower altitudes. Mihalic, incidentally, makes a difference between marita and morota (p.136). He says that the latter is the thatch shingles made of sewn sago palm leaves, but this does not correspond to Highland pidgin usage. On the other hand, Steinbauer (1969) correctly (for the Highlands) identifies morota/marita as alternate spellings for the edible red fruit of the pandanus palm (p.122). The Kewa refer to karuga as aga and to marita as apere or daapu. The derivation of rumala in rumala agaa, 'Pandanus Language', is either from ruma 'to climb', plus -la 'purpose', or from a type of banana called by the same name. The latter is most likely as it fits in with the general pattern of parabolic or hidden speech where the listener is expected to infer the 'correct' meaning by analogy or extension of the meaning of the referent. For the C.S.I.R.O. report, see Perry (1965).
The ritual language is spoken by members of three separate language groups in the Giluwe area: the Mbongu, the Kewa, and the Mendi. The languages represent two main families of languages: Mbongu is a dialect of Medlpa in the Central Family and Kewa and Mendi are closely related languages of the West-Central Family.\(^1\)

The clans who speak the ritual language are all within one large highland culture area extending north and east into the Wabag and Wahgi valleys, west into the Tari basin, and south and south-east into the Samberigi and Pangia areas. The main aspect of the culture area centres around a cycle of building long houses, dancing, and feasting, culminating with pig slaughters where pork distribution compensates for war debts and also placates the spirits of the dead.\(^2\)

The whole of the Giluwe area is believed to be inhabited by wild dogs and their mystical guardian, who is known as Kita-Meda in most areas. Although there is no firm archaeological evidence for the antiquity of the dog in New Guinea (Bulmer and Bulmer 1964:48), oral tradition and a proliferation of alternate taboo names for dog suggest that they have been in the area for a considerable time. It is to placate the mountain inhabitants that the ritual language has arisen.

**Name Taboo**

Before commenting in more detail on the ritual language, it will be helpful to mention several similar variations of word taboo. These are brought about by marriage, as a result of death, or as a result of cult activities involving the placation of deities (spirits).

When a person's given name becomes taboo, it is said to be niti or imaa niti. When people refer to others as their imaa, they signal that they are in an affiliated relationship which does not allow them to speak each others' names. In Kewa the term imaa can generally be glossed as the 'wife's mother' if a man is speaking, or the 'daughter's husband' if a woman is speaking (Franklin 1965:412), but the social meaning is much broader. As I have discussed elsewhere (Franklin 1967), Kewa personal names are mnemonic to real world situations, events, objects, and so on, and therefore have 'linguistic' meanings as well. For example, a man named Wiru is semantically associated with the 'hoop-pine tree' by the

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\(^1\) All three languages are part of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Wurm 1960, 1971). Kewa and Mendi are closely related, but although both have dialects adjacent to Medlpa neither is closely related to it.

\(^2\) There is a mass of anthropological literature on such aspects of the culture. For the Giluwe area, see the articles or books by Vicedom and Tischner (1943-1948), Strauss and Tischner (1962), Strathern (1971) and Ryan (1961).
same name. When the man marries, his wife's siblings and classificatory 'brothers' will not call him 'Wiru'. Instead, they will call him 'brother-in-law', the 'husband of so-and-so', or by a newly assumed name. The new name will most often be semantically associated with the first name, so that 'Wiru' may now be named Naapu 'caauarina tree'. If the first name, now tabooed, is spoken, a gift is expected from the offender and it will generally be made to the one whose name is taboo. The reason given is that a man's classificatory brothers, his father, and uncles have given the clan into which he marries gifts for his wife. They have also been given gifts in return and the two clans, especially the siblings and parents involved, have now entered into an exchange relationship. This relationship is represented by kinship terms and newly assumed names. To use the old names would imply the old non-exchange relationship. This would be an embarrassment of the offending party and could only be compensated by some gift. In the case of the new relationship between generations, for example, the husband and his mother-in-law or the wife and her father-in-law, there is also a strong element of shame associated with calling each other by name, but this reflects incest prohibitions, although exchange relationships also are in practice.

When a person dies, his name is considered taboo as the ghost is malevolent.¹ To mention a dead man's name is to call attention to the ghost to the speaker's presence, a course of action which must have appropriate safeguards such as the ritual offering of gifts of food. During such occasions the names of the dead are recited. Once such ceremony, called the rupa, was conducted in either the men's house (tapanda) or the ceremonial meeting house (rakua anda), depending on the area involved. During the ceremony a shuffling dance took place while men in a column sang the name of dead relatives. Fear of the power of the ghost to hear its name is thus in one sense simply an extension of affinal name taboo. In both cases certain obligatory gift-bearing relationships are in operation when a person's name is called. The calling of the name is associated with the presentation and to call a name without such a purpose is an obvious embarrassment to the Kewa people.

The greatest source of taboo activity has been clearly associated with rituals that involve cures in the houses of specific dieties (remo) or spirits. The rituals vary according to the name and function of the

¹Compare the Kyaka belief (Bulmer 1965:141) that it is dangerous to say aloud the name of a person who had died recently lest his ghost be summoned. The Kyaka are within the same linguistic family and culture area as the Kewa. The descriptions of religious activities among the Huli, Mae Enga and Kyaka (in Lawrence and Meggitt, eds. 1965) are paralleled in many respects by the Kewa.
deity, but for those having the most power in their stone representations the rituals have always involved word taboo. By substituting new words, a cult argot was coined that separated regular cult leaders and initiates from outsiders. The breaking of the taboo by outsiders was also a method the cult adherents had to extracting payment from the offenders. The form of such payment was usually pigs or pearl shells, substantial items, so that the motivation for not speaking forbidden words was very strong.

One particular powerful deity was the Andaalu Rimbu,¹ the 'long Rimbu', which contrasted with the Rundu Rimbu 'short Rimbu'. Some of the common words which were tabooed in the West Kewa area when Andaalu Rimbu ceremonies took place are as follows: stone, sweet potato, forked tongs, girl, leaf, man, pig, sugarcane, water, bamboo container, fire, pipe, mother-of-pearl shell, live-coals, woman, tobacco, tree oil, two types of green vegetables, banana, forked stick, corpse, platform, as well as several body parts. All of these words refer to objects which are important in cult activities. Sacred stones, oil from a tree (*Camposperma coriacea*) found in the Kutubu area of the Southern Highlands, and certain parts of pigs or marsupials which were ritually cooked and eaten played a special part in such activities. In the construction and decorating of the spirit houses certain types of trees and leaves which were used also were given alternate names. However, it does not appear that such objects, apart from the stone representations of the deities, had any inherent power of their own or that the cult leaders gave them such power.

Although the cult practice of word taboo is for the most part no longer used, a present-day extension of the principle has carried over into mission and church affairs. In the hamlet of Usa, for example, the words for penis and genitals are not used. Following the baptism of many of the people in the area, the new word pekato (from the Roman Catholic use of the Latin *peccatum 'sin*') is now the preferred substitute.

In each case the words which were taboo when associated with deities were never more extensive than a few dozen. It is within the ritual pandanus language that the potential of word taboo can be seen in its fullest application.

The Ritual Language

The ritual language is considered as aspect of 'hidden' language (*sa pi agaa*) and as such contrasts with other forms of speech such as 'happy talk'.

¹The cognate form in Huli is Timbu (Glasse 1965:33) and refers to a mythical male deity. Ryan (1958:112) mentions a secret men's cult called the Timp among the Mendi. It is quite likely that the Kewa imported the Rimbu ceremonies from the direction of Mendi or that the ceremonies are very old and widespread throughout the area.
(pedo pu agaa), kurakura agaa 'questioning talk', makirae agaa 'deceitful talk', and so on. Within social and political contexts almost any example of hidden language can be shown to be ominous. This is especially the case with metaphorical songs (Franklin 1970) that are sung by rival clans at festivals. Hidden language, because of its functions, is often the source of disruption and ill-feeling between clans that have a history of friction. Such hidden language is an outlet for the undercurrents present between rival clans. The hidden language associated with the harvesting of pandanus is clearly related to other manifestations of hidden language, although it has a quite different function.

Due to the wild dogs and the spirits which inhabit the Mt. Giluwe area, the mountain itself has also taken on certain magical qualities. Anything associated with the forbidden area of the mountain in particular takes on magnified proportions. Not only are the dogs and spirits immense in size, but even objects in dreams, such as pigs or pearl shells, take on a proportionately larger size.

Although the cries of the dogs are heard and the large tracks of them are seen in the mountain area no one would see a dog by choice. To see the dogs or even their bones invites disaster. The ritual keeper of the dogs, the spirit Kita-Menda, is thought to be capable of ripping people apart. He is reported to have a long string of mother-of-pearl shells hanging from his neck and to be well camouflaged by leaves. It is only by speaking the ritual pandanus language when visiting the areas where the pandanus nuts grow most profusely that people can claim to control the magical properties associated with the mountain. It is therefore necessary that anyone, regardless of age or sex, know the ritual language before they enter the forbidden area.

The ritual language also serves to remind outsiders that certain areas of the mountain are marked off for the exclusive rights of the clans adjacent to the Pandanus area. Without a knowledge of the ritual language, any outsider would not only be unwise, but also unwilling, to trespass in the area. The forbidden areas are marked by taboo signs, usually at older garden or camp sites, just before the Pandanus area is entered. Most often the taboo signs (rekena) are cordyline leaves tied on a stick in some prominent place on or near the path, but other leaves are also used. In the West Kewa area clans residing near the government rest house at Asasa (the Marepa and Ambia clans) have marked the area

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1 Other uses of taboo signs are in garden areas, in areas where mushrooms grow, near spirit houses, and beside an owner's firewood. Women who are menstruating also wear certain leaves in their skirts as a sign that they are dangerous to the men.
near Muta with taboo signs. The ritual language is not to be used outside of the forbidden area lest the mountain spirits hear 'their' language and come to investigate.

The vocabulary and grammar of the language are restricted and regularised, but built clearly upon their counterparts of standard Kewa. The phonemic representation for any given form is exactly in correspondence to the system already described in Kewa.1 The nature of the vocabulary reflects the items which are talked about on a trip into the pandanus area, except that the generalised glosses result in a shallow reduced taxonomy for flora and fauna.

Vocabulary

Several examples follow which show the generalised nature of the vocabulary.

(1) yo yo is formed from the reduplication of yo 'leaf', but the referents are 'hair', 'ear', 'breast' and 'net bag'. The corresponding standard West Kewa forms are respectively iri, aane, andu and nu. These show clearly that the standard forms are very different than the ritual ones. For the most part the ritual form refers to any extension of the body or of an object. The form yo is also used in combination with andaalu 'long', in the ritual language, but the meaning is 'sugarcane' rather than the expected meaning of 'a long leaf'. In standard Kewa, sugarcane is either waa or wali.

(2) yandira means 'nose stick' in standard Kewa, but in the ritual language the referents are 'nose', 'eye', 'seed', 'face' and 'head'. In standard Kewa the respective forms are ini kandu, ini, repena ini, ini agaa and aalu or asumbaa. It will be noted that the form ini 'eye', occurs compounded with several of the forms. The form yandira is also compounded in the ritual language with palaa ('thigh' or 'branch' in standard Kewa), but the meaning is 'stick', 'flower' or 'seed'.

(3) palaa ('thigh' or 'branch' in standard Kewa) means 'tree', 'fire-wood', 'fire', 'root', as well as any reference associated with trees. In standard Kewa 'tree' and 'fire' are both repena, 'firewood' is repena kaapu (tree, dry), and 'root' is pitaa. In the ritual language palaa kaapu 'firewood' also occurs. There are several other compounds which occur with palaa: palaa pu (...going on), 'vine': palaa yandira (see

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1The phonology of East Kewa is described in Franklin and Franklin (1962) and J. Franklin (1965), while that of West Kewa is described in K. Franklin (1971).
(2) above); palaa kandu ta (...nose, hit), 'smoke'; and palaa awe (...
have planted), 'ashes'. In standard Kewa 'vine' is ope, 'smoke' is
miru, and 'ashes' is pere or taga.

(4) aayagopa is apparently derived from aa 'man', plus yago 'fellow
man/namesake', plus pa 'make'. The referents in the ritual language are
quite varied: 'man', 'skin', 'knee' or 'neck', but all relate to body
parts. In standard Kewa the respective terms are aa, yogane, rumu and
maa. Many expressions in the ritual language are built on the term, for
example ni mandi aayagopasi (I, carrying,...) means 'my father', while
in standard Kewa the form would be naa aapa. The ritual form yagopa
(i.e. without aa-) alone refers to either 'tongue' or 'teeth'.

(5) keraa ('bush', 'forest' or 'leaves' in standard Kewa, depending
on the dialect area) means 'bird', 'flying fox', 'cassowary' or any type
of winged object. In standard Kewa the words for the preceding three
are yaa, yaa mataa and kaima. In the ritual language, as well as in
standard Kewa, cassowaries are clearly grouped taxonomically with birds.¹

(6) maeya, which means 'crazy' in standard Kewa, means 'pig', 'mar-
supial' or generally any kind of animal other than a dog. Sometimes the
form maga maeya is used for pig in the ritual language.

(7) lupa or lupupa is derived from the standard Kewa participial forms
lu 'hitting', pu 'making', and pa 'make'. In the ritual language this
word refers to actions such as 'hitting', 'killing' and 'eating'. The
corresponding verbs in standard Kewa are ta, ta oma (hit, die) and na.

(8) mupa is derived from standard Kewa mu 'taking', plus pa 'make'.
In the ritual language the referents are 'get', 'walk', 'go', 'come',
'stand' and probably others that I am not aware of.

(9) Other verbs have similar broad ranges of meaning in the ritual
language: mumundusa means 'sleep', 'sit' and 'rest'. The verb may be
derived from mu 'getting', plus mundu 'chief', plus sa 'put'.

Several additional vocabulary items will show how the ritual forms
are coined from standard Kewa: aaugiasi (from aa 'man', ugia 'break
into', si 'diminutive', means 'boy', 'child', 'young man'; yasa (from

¹Among the Karam, the cassowary is not classified taxonomically as a bird, but enjoys
rather a particular, almost human, placement based on broad cultural features and
function (Bulmer 1967). L. Scholz, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, also has
told me (personal communication) that among the Karam cassowaries are more like dogs
than birds in the sense that they are ritually potent and are often thought to be
indwelt by human ghosts. Although the cassowary is classified as a bird by the Kewa,
it enjoys a special status and there are many superstitions and stories which centre
around it. In standard Kewa, from area to area, there are many alternate taboo names
for cassowary.
'mushroom') means 'ear' in some areas where the ritual language is spoken; waapitaa (from waa 'sugar cane' and pitaa 'root') means 'hand'; aage (from aa 'leg', plus -ge, an archaic derivational suffix used in certain dialect areas of Kewa1) means 'leg'; ranukomba (from ranu 'garden stick' and komba 'break off') means 'penis'; asupopalu (from a, 'be', papa 'move along' and lu 'hitting') means 'water'; aguta (agu 'alone', ta 'hit') means 'rain'; rambopa (ramba mea 'help', plus pa 'make') not only means an 'axe' but also 'chop'.

Anything which crawls upon the ground, such as snakes, lizards, certain insects and perhaps frogs, is called a kandusupa (from kandu 'nose', su 'ground', pa 'make' in standard Kewa). In the ritual language nature demons are called by the same name.

The derivation of other forms is not so apparent; maga 'house', is possibly from magomawae 'circular', in standard Kewa, in that the end of the houses are circular and called by a related form; raapalana 'forked tongs', is probably from raa 'bush', in standard Kewa, palaa 'tree', in the ritual language, and the standard -na 'possessive marker'. If this is so it shows an interesting combination of standard and ritual Kewa forms; galenale 'food', is possibly from gae, plus a contraction of nelenela, in that both are names for an edible locust; momake 'net bag', may be derived from moma 'sweet potato variety' plus the archaic suffix -ke; sikili or gigili 'pearl shell', may be based either the East Kewa form sekere 'pearl shell', or, in the second case, from the pidgin term girigiri 'small oyster shell'. If this is the case, some of the coinages must be quite recent.

Grammar

All vocabulary items which are simple nominal types are predicated optionally by the ritual language marker koma. Semantically, this form can be related to several species of Pandanus called koma naaki (...boy), koma ramina (...forked tongs), and komea (meaning 'one' in some areas). Grammatically, the form koma parallels menda, meaning 'one' or 'another'.

The grammatical features of the ritual language are also regularised and simplified. The free pronominal forms and some of the verbal suffixes which occur in cross-reference to them are drawn from standard

1The suffix -ge, here, or -ke, elsewhere, in a few words reflects a suffix -kv which was present in the ancestral language from which Kewa has arisen. I have commented on it elsewhere (Franklin 1968:20) and R. Lang (1970:123-24) has outlined its function in present-day Enga.

Lyle Sholz has pointed out to me that the Karam Pandanus word for 'water' and the Kewa ritual word are strikingly similar in their derivation. Both seem to describe the source of water in the bush, namely a stream. The word in Karam is man-wuleb pat ('ground-muddy long').
Kewa. While in standard Kewa there is an important dichotomy between benefactive and non-benefactive sets of tense suffixes, only the latter was observed in the ritual language. When there is a difference in forms the difference is quite outstanding: thus instead of the regular third person singular free pronoun nipu 'he', the ritual word form 'man' aayagopa, is heard. To form the third person dual or plural pronoun the collective suffix -nu (generally only on nouns) is added to the ritual word for 'man'.

In standard Kewa existential or 'to be' verb forms are based upon the verbs 'stand', 'sit', 'put', 'eat', 'hit' and others. In the paradigm based upon 'sit' which I elicited, the differences are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard Kewa</th>
<th>Ritual Kewa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I am'</td>
<td>ni pij</td>
<td>ni mupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you are'</td>
<td>ne p'I</td>
<td>ne mupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he is'</td>
<td>nipu pia</td>
<td>aayagopa mupia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we two are'</td>
<td>saa pia</td>
<td>saa mupapana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we all are'</td>
<td>niaa pima</td>
<td>niaa mupapana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they are'</td>
<td>nimu pimi</td>
<td>aayagopanu pupipa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in standard Kewa, in the ritual language imperative forms are in both the singular and plural, immediate and non-immediate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard Kewa</th>
<th>Ritual Kewa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Now</td>
<td>Later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you bring it'</td>
<td>mea</td>
<td>meape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you all bring it'</td>
<td>mealepa</td>
<td>mealepape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1In standard West Kewa 1st singular and 2nd singular suffixes are often identical forms due to a sound loss. In this instance the form pi has lost the -II suffix present in East Kewa. However, the forms are differentiated by tone in West Kewa.
In standard Kewa there are two verb stems which mean 'give', depending upon whether the recipients are third person or first/second person. In the ritual language there appears to be no such distinction.

### Verb Forms for 'give'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard Kewa</th>
<th>Ritual Kewa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'give it to me'</td>
<td>ni gi ('me', 'give')</td>
<td>ninane lala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'give it to him'</td>
<td>nipi kala ('him', 'give')</td>
<td>aayagopa lala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ritual forms are derived from ni 'I', plus -nane 'direction', for the first word and a reduplication of the verb la 'talk', for the second.

In other instances the exact meaning of some sentences appears to be grammatically obscure, but given the context informants express the meaning with certainty. For example, the following sentence:

(a) ni lupu-pu-lia (I...-it will) means either 'it will kill me' or 'I am afraid'

On the other hand the sentence:

(b) ni lupu-pu-lua (I...-I will) means either 'I will eat it' or 'I will kill (hit) it'.

In standard Kewa the ambiguity would be resolved by marking the pronominal form ni 'I', with an agentive suffix in (b).

In longer stretches of speech simple juxtaposition of clauses serves the same purpose as standard Kewa markers meaning 'because', 'on account of', 'since' and so on, thus eliminating these distinctions.

In addition to differences in nouns and verbs differences have also been noted in adverbs and adjectives, including numerals. The form pawa in standard Kewa means 'slowly', but in the ritual language the meaning extends to 'later on'. In the ritual language paninie (from pa 'just', -nini 'along', and -e 'nominaliser') means 'big', but the meaning extends to anything which is thought of as positive or good. Conversely, the form ruwaluruni (from ru 'carrying', waluru 'muddy', and ni 'on') means not only 'small' but also anything which is negative or bad. The two numerals which I recorded in the ritual language were yagondaa (perhaps from yago 'fellow man', and -ndaa, a marker meaning 'on account of') meaning 'one' and laapopa (from laapo 'two', plus pa 'make') meaning 'two'. The forms for 'big' and 'small' in the ritual language also serve as descriptives meaning 'many' or 'few'. Any of the numerals may be optionally followed by the ritual predication marker koma.
Conclusion

The ritual pandanus language is an extreme variation of other forms of word taboo. The forms for the language are clearly derived from the standard language of the area. The examples which I have presented are from the West Kewa area, but the materials which I have from East Kewa and from the Medipa and Mendi areas support this observation. As far as the West Kewa speakers are concerned, any outsider who might accompany them into a Pandanus harvesting area could speak Pidgin English if they did not know the ritual language. This suggests that the regularisation and simplification of the standard language is intuitively felt to be a pidgin form of the language.

A few of the forms in the ritual language are drawn from words which represent an earlier stage of Kewa (i.e. those nouns which end with the -ge suffix), but the ritual language as a whole does not in any sense represent some archaic stage of an ancestral language common to the Giluwe area.

The fact that the ritual language is still in use and that there are several sub-dialects within a given dialect of standard Kewa reflects the probability that current coinages are still taking place, perhaps as some of the words or expressions become too well known outside of a given area. Some of the women who had learned the ritual language as young girls and then moved out of the area can recall words and expressions quite easily, but they are not in every case exactly the same as those which I recorded more recently in the areas from which they came. The dialect variation within the ritual language probably correspond to separate clans who claim rights to the Pandanus in separate areas around Giluwe.

In other cases it may be that the fear which is associated with the mountain and its wild dogs prompts additional variants as old ones become better known. This would certainly seem to be so with a term such as 'dog', and I have recorded the ritual variants wakenane, rola and ambuliri within the standard West Kewa area.

Finally, the use of ritual language in New Guinea is widespread. The Karam of the Western Highlands and the Duna of the Western and Southern Highlands also use such a language when performing certain acts which concern Pandanus, the Huli use a special vocabulary when journeying

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1. I am indebted to Robert Head of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information about the Pandanus language that Mbongu speakers use.

2. Karam speakers have also told Lyle Sholz of the S.I.L. that he could speak Pidgin English if he went harvesting Pandanus nuts with them.
through country inhabited by 'nature demons', and the Telefol use a special vocabulary when in the bush trapping rats. In each case the ritual form of the language is apparently clearly derived from the standard form. ¹

11.7. A KEWA RELIGIOUS ARGOT²

For the Kewa, a name implies a certain power.³ This power is related to the response of a being (whether living person or disembodied spirit) when its name is spoken. The use of a name implies a relationship between the speaker and the being named, and to is important that the correct name, the one that implies the appropriate relationship, be used in social intercourse. It is not uncommon to being into play a new set of names on the occasion of establishing a new relationship between individuals, which means, in turn, that old names go out of use.

A common function of such vocabulary is to denote an exchange relationship. When a marriage contract is made between two families, gifts are exchanged to cement the affinal relationships being established and the relationships are sealed by the use of new names. After such a contract has been made, the use of an old name would cause embarrassment since it implies the former non-exchange relationship, and would undermine the newer one.

In the context of religious cults, Kewa males establish relationships with spirits.⁴ Cult activities are carried on in secret with the result that new names coined during such activities constitute an argot which must be learned by the rest of the community through indirect means. Names which have been replaced become taboo, and their use carries a penalty.

¹Alan Healey of the S.I.L. has provided me with examples of nouns which are replaced by semantically related verb forms in Telefol. Thus water becomes 'what flows', dog becomes 'sniffer', wind becomes 'blower', eye becomes 'opener', and so on. In some cases groups of quite distinct words are replaced by a single word acting as a new generic term: sun and moon are called 'shiner', person and ghost are called 'huge', and possum, bird, snake, wallaby, rat and nature spirit are all called ugolkal in, a Telefol word of undetermined origin. Glenda Giles of the Christian Missions in Many Lands has reported to me verbally on the Duna.

²This article first appeared in Anthropos 70:713-25, 1975, and is reprinted here by permission, with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

³I would like to thank William Merrifield, William Samarin, and Robert Litteral for helpful suggestions on this paper.

⁴'Spirit' translates the Kewa word remo, which refers not only to named malevolent beings, but also the ghosts of departed ancestors. On occasion I have heard very old people referred to categorically as remo-si ('spirit-diminutive marker') and disobedient teenagers called remo-pe ('spirit-nominalising marker'). Anything deviant to the Kewa society (including the first white men, who were thought to be remo) is attributed to such spirits, or their associates.
The Religious Setting

Cult activities take place in and around a spirit house. (Although virtually impossible to find more than abandoned spirit houses among the Kewa today, I use the ethnographic present throughout this paper.) Spirit houses are of various sizes and dimensions. They are not elaborate, made only of crude materials such as wild cane, leaves, grass and poles. They may be hidden in garden areas, or located quite conspicuously in the central area of the clan dance grounds, or on prominent hills. A particularly important Kewa man may have his own family spirit house near his gardens, or near the men's house where he resides.

In addition to the spirit house itself, where rituals are performed, other temporary houses are built nearby for initiates and participants of the cult. Ceremonial objects are stored in such houses. Each spirit house is associated with the rites and objects that pertain to a particular spirit. The importance of such a spirit is enhanced by the power inherent in the rituals and paraphernalia associated with it. By far the most powerful objects associated with spirit houses are magic stones used in many of the cult activities.

Pigs, marsupials, rats, or birds are ceremonially killed and eaten in or near the spirit house. Special parts of a pig are ritually cooked while men versed in the cult activities of the named spirit bespell the meat. As will be described more fully below, each special portion of meat is given a taboo name, and then the meat is eaten by the participants of the cult.

In the case of an elaborate inter-clan ceremony, culminating in the slaughter of several hundred pigs, the site is normally adjacent to the dance grounds and long houses that serve as residences for the clan community during all ceremonies. Each long house - there may be from three to six - is partitioned into family rooms, with members of the same patrilineage all occupying the same long house.

In the case of smaller cults, a less conspicuous site is chosen, and the new sacred names coined during the cult activities may not be spoken outside the general area of the spirit house. Cordyline (victory leaf) plants are placed to mark the boundaries of the site, and certain leaves

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1 The term moka is used in many areas to refer to the ceremonial exchange system involving both pork and pearl shells. See, for example, Strathern (1971) for an account of the exchange network in a group near the Kewa. Ryan (1961) describes a similar system among the Mendi, a group closely related to the Kewa. For descriptions of religious systems in language groups related to the Kewa (Huli, Mae Enga, and Kyaka) see the accounts in Lawrence and Meggitt (1965). On related marriage systems compare Glasse and Meggitt (1959).
are used to decorate, and effectively seal off, the entrance to it.

The members of a cult are typically of the same subclan, with accommodation made for trading or fighting partners who happen to be in the area at the time a ritual is performed. Only adult males may participate, and the naming ceremonies themselves are the responsibility of the leaders among them.

The selection of a cult leader is based upon charismatic appeal, success as a warrior, and economic worth measured in shells, pigs, and wives. Shells provide a medium of exchange through a network of partnerships for such items as salt, pork, cassowaries, pigs, tree oil, and wives. Pigs provide the prestige upon which the entire exchange network is built; and wives provide gardens and children upon whom the continuity of the system rests.

Function of the Argot

There are strong economic and social restraints which have served to keep the taboo system in check. In the case of affines, it is important to maintain good relations between the two clans by gifts, following the original marriage exchange. It is also important to maintain liaison between a given spirit and those cult members who claim some sort of allegiance to the spirit. The function of the spirits is not simply to bridge the gap between the living and the dead. Rather, the spirits are also responsible for curing the sick and all have curing powers associated with their ceremonies. The particular spirit invoked for a given sickness depends upon the diagnosis. This in turn is determined by such factors as the colour of the skin, the presence of blood in the mucus or feces, distended stomach, an extreme fever, a coma, and so on. Today among the Kewa if the sickness seems at all severe or unusual it is attributed to sorcery. In former days the fear of sorcery was present, but without the ramifications brought about by new contacts. In the past, a new and presumably more powerful spirit could always be purchased and imported into an area, generally supplementing but not totally replacing the older spirit. For this reason, there is quite an elaborated historical evolution of spirit names, some of which will be commented upon later in this paper. The newer spirit is new only in the sense that it might have a different name with a slightly differing ritual and, of course, newly tabooed names. Such an importation was most likely during a time of extreme famine or epidemic. If the cult members were having problems with their cures they would be prone to supplement their ritual with the use of some allegedly more powerful spirit from another area.
One practical function of the cults, which is quite freely admitted by former adherents, is simply to serve as a cover-up for extortionist types of behaviour. Once words are coined for the argot, if such words are mistakenly spoken outside of the area by people who are not cult members, a payment can always be demanded to atone for the desecrating words. The payment demanded is harsh: pigs or pearl shells, and if these are not paid, the offender's house might be burned or his garden raided. In other instances, the cult members make quite elaborate pretenses that they are involved in ritual activities for days on end, but at night slip out and rob gardens or steal pigs. On such occasions, if theft is obvious it is not wise to accuse the cult members. The members claim to hold the power to cures for various sicknesses by their association with the spirits and their help is always needed. Former cult members suggest that often their extracted payment for a cure, a dream, or some sort of communication with a spirit (often the spirit of a departed relative) was made with the specific purpose of having plenty of pork to eat. The payment appeases the offended cult members and through them the spirit. The cult members ritually cook the pig in the spirit house, an action which is always considered appropriate and pleasing to the spirit.

Sacrifices, in the normal sense of the word,¹ are never made. The spirits are expected to be satisfied with what they can find lying around an area, such as bits of blood, meat, and leaves.

The argot has thus arisen in a context of cult secretism. The esoteric nature of cult activities assumes that outsiders maintain an appropriate distance. By coining words which only insiders can use, and by tabooing other words, Kewa men have a controlling device in the society. In this context an argot is a necessary part of their ritual, especially if it is to exude 'power' and produce the proper attitude of fear.

Argot Terms

The question of how the cult members coin new words will now be examined.

As has been indicated, the spirit houses have a curing function for members of the clan or subclan. The relatives of the sick provide pigs for the curing ceremonies and in serious cases accompany the sick to the

¹That is, there is nothing which is consumed in a deliberate act of consecration. Hubert and Mauss (1964) define sacrifice as 'a religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned'.
spirit houses. Although they are always kept well outside the main
spirit houses, they do hear some of the spells and ritual. However,
they are under strict surveillance and it is unwise for them to reveal
secret information at some later date.

The cult leaders ceremonially name all items inside the spirit house,
or the accompanying temporary residences. The new words are then not to
be spoken outside the area where the ceremony occurred. Those who are
present with the sick, or the dead, are surrounded not only by new words
that they can only guess the meaning of, but also by a great deal of
hocus-pocus on the part of the cult leaders. With spells, door opening
and closing ceremonies, fire making, the cooking of pigs, the ritual
mixing of blood, tree oil and pig grease, the pouring of the mixture
over the sacred stones of the spirit, and so on, an awesome atmosphere
prevails and no observer will freely disclose what he witnesses. When
items are bespelled the head man of the cult often recites the names of
dead fathers, brothers, and other ancestors. The names of the ancestors
identify the ceremony with the power inherent in their ghosts who, with­
out violence, visit specific spirit grounds, especially when pigs are
killed. The giving of the new names is then in a sense performative:
it causes a new powerful relationship to exist between the cult members
and the spirit.

In the semantic analysis of the argot which follows, only those words
which were coined in the ceremonies of the Andaalu Rimbu and the Rundu
Rimbu. Two particularly important spirits in the life of the Kewa, will
be discussed. The names of these and other spirits will be discussed
later in the paper. The abbreviations W(est), E(ast), and S(outh) refer
to the three dialects of Kewa; AR stands for Andaalu Rimbu, and RR for
Rundu Rimbu. In addition to the argot terms, the standard Kewa (K) words
are also given and a suggested semantic derivation is supplied for the
coined argot term.

In coining of new terms antonymy or simple semantic reversal is often
used. For example, the words 'boy' naaki, and 'young unmarried girl'
inumakua, are exchanged in the AR argot so that the latter term means
'boy'.

In other cases a type of metonymy, where one term may be thought of
as the cause of the other, is used. For example in standard K nogo is
'girl', but in the argot of the AR ipa agi ('water' plus 'mother') is
substituted. In some areas ipa agisi (where -si is a diminuative marker)
means either 'girl' or 'boy' in the AR argot.

There are several words for 'woman' in various dialect areas of K; in
WK the word is ona. In this area the corresponding AR term is payame
(pa 'just' plus yame, a nominalised form of yama 'to put on a skirt, net apron' etc.). In such cases another type of metonymy is suggested, i.e. the covering function for the item which is covered.

In SK the word ali 'man' is replaced by maj in the AR. The standard gloss for mai (not nasalised in WK or most of EK) is 'father's brother'. In such instances a specific kin term is used for a general category which included all kin.

In K the word ro generally means 'corpse', but with ipa 'water' it also means 'bridge', i.e. ipa ro. The AR argot term for 'corpse' is saapu, an alternative name for 'path' or 'bush track'. Because this term has been chosen for corpse it also replaces the word for bridge: ipa ro now becomes ipa saapu, even though 'bridge' plays no part in the ritual. The argot is extended in such cases to other non-ritual items and considerable semantic adjustment must take place when words of this type which have identical sounds are changed. For this reason alone it is always very likely that someone may quite innocently violate the taboo and use an argot term. Knowledge that a given term is forbidden comes from observing the leaders of the cult, i.e. taking careful note of how they speak. Certain names, such as body parts are commonly taboo, and members of the community are very careful after cult activities to not speak words without following the lead of the cult leaders. Outsiders who come into an area are always quite reserved and it seems that they are attempting to sense the situation, knowing from experience that they can easily break a taboo.

The most significant edible item in any important cult activity is pork. Consequently not only the word for the pig, but also many of the parts of pig which are eaten are given argot names. The cultural focus of pigs is clearly indicated in cult ceremonies as well as in everyday life.¹

The word for 'pig' throughout K is mena. In the AR argot of WK kuga is used and in EK andasa or waka are the substitute terms. In K kuga refers to the sound of water in flood or to the sound of a great many pigs eating; andasa means 'to find something', and waka is sometimes used as a Pidgin English loan transliterated from 'work', but refers to the government road. This seems like an unlikely derivation, but there are other instances where Pidgin loans have been incorporated into the argot of recent cults. In the RR of WK sugi 'pig' is apparently derived from mondo sugi, a large edible type of pandanus nut.

¹Nida (1958) comments on how an abundance of names on a given level in the lexicon reflects a cultural focus at that level.
The word for 'sugarcane' is wa li in EK and SK and waa in WK. The AR argot term (as well as the RR term in WK) is yo andaalu in SK and WK and yandaalu in EK. The form is derived from yo 'leaf' and andaalu 'long', and in EK it is a contraction of these forms. In this example and the one to follow a characteristic of the tabooed item is retained as the argot term, i.e. 'long leaves' for sugarcane and 'wet' for water.

Although 'water' is invariably ipa throughout K, there are several distinct argot terms: in the argot of WK sekelaatemea (seke la 'to be wet' plus the suffix -te indicating that the addressee is performing the action, plus mea 'to fetch'), is used in the AR, but roaa 'to break off' (as sugarcane, etc.) is the RR term. In the AR argot of EK the term for water is era we, the name of a large river to the south of the area; in the SK the term is utyali, from utya 'casuarina tree' and li 'seedling'. Casuarina trees grow in abundance along the streams and rivers and are planted near spirit houses.

In K the word for the genus 'banana' is either aai (WK) or kai (elsewhere, except in the northwest area). The argot terms in WK are embo andaaluua for the AR and embo runduua for the RR. The word embo most often refers to 'stringy fibers', i.e. of a banana, pandanus nut, sweet potato, and so on. The form aai at the end of the words is apparently from the verb meaning 'to be stationary', while andaalu and rundu correspond to the 'long' and 'short' meanings also reflected in the names of the spirits. In EK the AR argot form is yonambo from yo 'leaf' and nambo 'to completely eat it up'.

There are many vegetables which are indigenous to the K area, but the most inclusive term is pandi-raani which can be glossed simply as 'greens'. In the AR argot pandi is called amburogenea in WK and agama in EK. Both derivations are associated with the pandanus: the EK term is from aga 'pandanus (genus)' plus maa 'sprout' (of pandanus, sugarcane, etc.). The WK form is from ambu 'yellow' and verbal forms of rogaa 'to bind' and na 'to eat'. The AR argot form for raani is also associated with an action related to the pandanus nut: katamu is derived from (k)ata 'to shell with teeth' plus mu, the participial form of 'to bring'. This latter derivation reverses the common syntactic pattern, in that the participial form normally precedes the main verb in K.

'Sweet potato' is called sapi in WK or EK, but also mondo in EK. The AR argot term is mondomapuaa in WK, but an argot form has not been recorded elsewhere. The term is derived from modo 'sweet potato mound' and ma-puaa 'it was caused to go'. An alternant form, kuaapitaa (kuaa 'kind of tree'; pitaa 'root') is also found in the AR of WK.
 Apparently the word 'fish' is used only in the AR ceremonies of SK. In this area ainya 'it remains there' is used as an argot term for the standard SK word repali.

The Kewa people refer to 'smoking' as 'eating tobacco'. The borrowed term for tobacco is sogo throughout K. In the AR argot the term is ndumu 'kind of mushroom' in WK, or walia 'he will look for it' in SK; the pipe which was used for smoking is generally called sogo pe 'smoke container' throughout K. In the AR argot it is called poanda (po 'wind'; anda 'house') in WK, mirupe ('smoke' plus pe 'container') in SK and sogota ('he/it says' following sogo) in EK.

An interesting variation to the standard ceremonial naming of objects has also been noted. In the ceremonies associated with the spirit called Natome in EK (observed in about 1960) the standard K words became sacred (i.e. to be used only in the argot) and the new terms were incorporated into the vocabulary of the people in the area. Most of the words were direct borrowings from WK, in that the spirit has been imported from that direction. Almost all of the words were body parts or round objects which were associated with the pig parts used in the ceremonies and the rituals where spells are made over stones and holes in the ground. Thus the EK form le 'eye' became the WK form ini in everyday vocabulary; EK pea 'nose' became kandu from WK; EK nasu 'blood' became mbali from the northwest, and so on. On the other hand, certain terms were handled by one generalised gloss, a situation similar to the coinages in the K pandanus language (Franklin 1972). For example, EK words for 'tongue' (keke), 'moon' (ege), and 'sun' (naare) were all called punda, a term meaning 'tongue' in most areas of WK. The new vocabulary became effective overnight (literally) and when outsiders such as ourselves inadvertently used the old words, cult participants would show their disgust by spitting on the ground. This variation can be thought of as a reversal of the older, more widely known pattern described.

As mentioned, the most important ritual objects in the main spirit houses are the sacred stones. In a sense the spirit is somehow thought to be embodied in the stone and each spirit-stone has identifying marks painted on it. The shape of the stone is also significant: bell-shaped stones, mortars, pestles, discs, pineapple-shaped stones, fossils, and irregularly shaped limestone, are all used in spirit houses. In the AR of WK the spirit-stones (remo aapa) are called yagaini or wapa. The

\[1\] I have commented on the nature and significance of K dialect variants elsewhere (Franklin 1968:27,28). Note in particular the many variants given for blood, nose, hat, rat, moon, head, tongue, back, and drum. All of these objects have figured in cult taboos.
first comes from yaga 'chin; and ini 'point of', while the second is from the name of a type of possum. In EK the argot form is sukuma (su 'ground'; kuma 'soft'). In the RR of WK the form used is yakopi andaalu (yako pi 'to be white' and andaalu 'long'). This term is a descriptive association of the long pieces of white limestone used in ritual acts.

Flutes are used throughout the K area to warn people when cult activities are in progress. The standard term remo agaa 'spirit talk' is called ema 'panpipes' in the AR argot of WK and remo inyalu 'spirit point-of' in EK.

The forked part of a tree where parts of pigs are sometimes placed is called kepaa 'forked' in K. Once parts of the pig were put there other clan members, and especially the spirits, would know and be happy that pigs had been killed. In the AR argot the term is epearaa 'hoof', which is similar to a forked branch in that it is split or divided from a point.

The word 'stone' is (k)ana in K and is sometimes used interchangeably for 'spirit-stones'. In the AR argot the terms used are yaaragala (yaa 'sky/cloud'; ragala 'high dispersed cloud') in WK and imaane (imaa 'taboo' plus -ne, a directional clitic) in EK. The derivations reflect both the sacred nature of the stones and their unusual shapes.

Forked tongs made by splitting a section of wood are used to pick up hot coals, hot sweet potatoes, and the like. There are various words for this, depending on the dialect: lapa in WK, raminya in EK, and lapopa in SK. In the AR argot of WK the term used is elepa, derived from etepa 'to sew together'; in EK kutya 'enclosure' (generally a pig-pen) is used. In the RR of WK ini lobea (ini 'eye', lobea 'to have opened') is used.

Leaves are used not only in decorating the spirit houses but also to cook food in, or as ornamental decoration in wigs or armbands of the man. The WK word is yo (generic), but the AR form is paosi or paua in WK and raguna 'hat' in EK. The latter WK form is a type of tree and the former is apparently derived from pa 'only', o 'refuse', and -si, the diminutive clitic.

Bamboo containers are used for carrying water and cooking food. The generic term in K is pe; the AR argot term in WK is aauni (aa 'man'; uni 'bone'), in SK kenange 'kind of bamboo', and in EK tau, an onomatopoetic word which describes the sound of a bamboo splitting, is used.

The word meaning 'fire' or 'tree' (generic) in K is repena in WK and repona in EK and SK. The AR argot form of WK is very similar to the

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1The word imaa (with other tones) can also mean ' tusks', and it could be that some sort of pun is intended here.
argot for bamboo (see above): *auniaa*, with the final aa meaning either 'to be stationary' or 'man', depending upon the lexical tone. The form *ribuakaapu* (*ribu* 'name of spirit'; *aa* 'man'; *kaapu* 'dry') is used in the RR of WK. In EK the argot term is *repoainyalu* ('tree' plus 'point-of').

Containers are used to cook certain parts of pig and greens, mushrooms, and other vegetables, but pork is mainly cooked in earthen pits. Live coals are used to heat the stones if the cooking is done in such a pit. In WK the word for coals is *ega*, in SK it is *lenga*, and in EK *lega*, all cognate forms. The WK argot form in the AR is *regeregea*, a reduplicative phrase referring to the crackling action of the coals or to a person who is restless, especially when sick, and therefore does not sleep well. The EK form is *inyalu* (the 'point-of' something).

Another item which figures strongly in the ritual for spirits is tree oil, an imported item traded in from the southwest. The generic term is *wambala* and this oil is smeared on the body of people for dances, on the body of pigs for skin cures, or on spirit stones in a number of ritual acts. In the latter case it is most often mixed blood. The AR argot term in WK is *yagalemea* (*yaga* 'to bake'; *mea* 'to fetch') and in EK it is *reponaipaa* ('tree' plus *ipaa* 'sap'). The derivation may have arisen due to the manner of extracting the tree oil.

It is quite obvious that only nouns are substituted for the most part in the argot. However, at least one directional morpheme -*nane* 'in the direction of' has the variation -*nini* found in the AR argot: thus *masaanane* becomes *kukuni* and *poranane* becomes *saapunini*. The form *kuku* is of undetermined derivation; *masaa* means 'back' and *saapu* 'small path', (as mentioned earlier) is often a substitute word for the standard *pora* 'road'. The forms -*nane* and -*nini* are both used in standard K at the present time.

The limitation of argot terms to mainly nouns is a much simpler form of taboo than that involved in the pandanus language or with personal names (Franklin 1972 and 1967).

The above description of argot terms is not meant to be an exhaustive coverage of terms used in the various ceremonies throughout K. However, it does suggest and describe how semantic association played an important role in coining new words.

**Alternative Spirit Names**

The tabooing of names and words applies also to the names of the spirits. The same spirit is known by different names in different areas, although the names of *Andaalu Rimbu* and *Rundu Rimbu* are well known
throughout the K. In this section the alternative names will be examined and, where possible, the underlying meaning of the name will be given.

AR is also known by the name of Tagane Rimbu. The word taga alone means 'ashen' and -ne is a nominalising clitic. This name is identified by informants as an alternative name although the ceremonies associated with it differ slightly, due to local innovations. By carefully plotting the alternative names in each area of K (which has not been done entirely for this present study) it is possible to not only indicate their direction of importation but also aspects of the semantic associations which prompted the local alternative name.

RR is also known by the names Alamu Ribu or Alamu Palaa. Alamu is the name of a long slender type of edible cane, while palaa means the 'branch' or 'stalk' or a tree or plant, or the 'thigh' or a person. There is some confusion among informants about the additional names for RR. Some claim that Alamuo, Naaki-Mapirae-Remo and Airi-Remo are identical in function to RR. Others claim that both of these differ slightly in function and are rather the 'offspring' of RR, i.e. that RR is the 'mother' (in a chronological sense) of the others. The first name is clearly related to the form alamu discussed above and the other names will be dealt with later.

Aga Palaa ('pandanus tree branch') is also called Rimbu Remo. Rimbu can probably be best glossed as 'feared' or 'sacred', although the name is used in other ways.¹ Remo is the generic term, as indicated earlier, for 'spirit'.

Rombaake (romba 'atomach'; ke 'all of thigh and leg') is also an important spirit. An alternate name is Amaa Pirala Yae ('thing sitting outside'), but others insist that Rombaake is a 'brother' of Ipa-Kege ('water-mud') and Payamo (pa 'only'; yamo 'putting on', i.e. a skirt or net apron). This probably means that the spirits are much the same as far as their function is concerned, but that they have different names in different areas. Payamo is also called Alaa ('to open mouth'), but alaa anda is the general name for very small spirit houses (two or three feet square with a grass roof) scattered throughout the garden areas. Ipa Kege undoubtedly refers to the spirit which gathers near a small pool with a house nearby. Several such areas have been noted.

There is, however, another spirit which is known as Ipa Remo ('water spirit') by the alternative names of Maapu-Ninias ('to be along the

¹In one of its uses rimbu also reflects a semantic reversal. Very poor men, often physically lacking as well, are sometimes called rimbu aasi (aa 'man' plus the diminutive suffix). Reversed semantic implications are common in K songs (Franklin 1970).
garden') and Sapi-Alaa (sapi 'sweet potato'; alaa 'to open mouth'). IPA Remo and IPA Kega seem to be distinct.

One (chronological) progression in the naming of spirits is illustrated by the one called Ogeagi ('small mother'). This became Lomboyo ('type of tree' plus yo 'leaf'), which became Tumundu (tu 'hitting'; mundu 'chief'), which finally became Opayo ('to come up' plus yo 'leaf'). This apparently reflects the new name which the forerunner received as it moved from area to area. In other instances informants say that the correct name for the first two spirits given above was actually Ogeagunape, which is a combination of both names. If this is so, it reflects the split in the name when the spirit was imported into two different localities. A further alternant for the latter and Lomboyo is Akera or Akerakirikiri. No derivation for akera is known but kiri means 'itch' and the name may imply something of the function of the spirit. Most spirits were specific in their cures and depending upon the diagnosis, the patient would be taken to a particular spirit house.

In that most spirits have rituals related to specific sicknesses, this fact is sometimes reflected in their names. For example Yapi-yaina ('day-sickness'), also called Amo-yaina ('rich-sickness'), is a spirit employed by women when they are pregnant. Another spirit is named Osa-yaina ('bad-sickness').

Several spirit names incorporate remo 'spirit' (generic) in them: Naaki-Mapirae-Remo ('spirit for causing sons') has something to do with childbearing; Aipa-Remo ('salt-spirit'); Yaki-Remo ('sky being-spirit'); Kambema-Remo ('spirit which we have bought') and Aaa-Remo ('big-spirit') are all examples.

There are easily another dozen names which can be added to the above list, but the names and derivations suggested depict the type of coinages in any given area of K. I have not attempted to describe the function of the spirits in relation to specific cures - which is another topic by itself.

Summary

In this article the nature of the religious argot associated in particular with the spirits called Andaalu Rimbu and Rundu Rimbu has been discussed. An attempt has been made to supply the semantic derivations for the argot terms and for alternative names of spirits, even though most of the other spirits do not have as elaborate ceremonies as the AR or RR and few others, apparently, had an argot associated with them.

There are a variety of semantic processes whereby new argot terms are coined. Some are more obvious and easier to classify than others.
For example, the substitution of the form normally meaning 'young woman' to mean 'boy' clearly employs the principle of antonymy. However, when the form 'water-mother' or 'little water-mother' to mean 'girl' or 'boy' occurs, this can be considered either antonymy or a type of metonymy called catacresis in which there is an inherent contradiction of terms. The latter type of process also appears in substitutions like 'mushroom' for 'tobacco', 'panpipes' for 'spirit flutes', a type of 'pandanus nut' for 'pig', or a type of 'possum' for 'stone'. These pairs also illustrate how characteristics of the tabooed item carry over into the new name. The characteristics are usually related to shape, such as those just mentioned, or, for example, point of the chin, white and long limestone, or high dispersed clouds, all for the word 'stone'.

The process of metonymy is more readily recognised in coinages such as 'the sound of pigs eating' for a 'pig', 'putting on a skirt' to mean 'woman', the process of 'being wet' for 'water', or the specific name of 'a river' for 'water'. In other cases the related semantic process of synecdoche is apparent: 'uncle' is used to mean 'man', 'long leaf' to mean 'sugarcane', the 'sprout of pandanus' for 'green', and 'long or short fibers' for 'banana'. This process, or one related to it, also seems to be used in substitutions such as 'tree sap' for 'tree oil', 'making sweet potato mounds' to mean 'sweet potato', or a 'kind of tree' to mean 'fire (or wood)'.

Onomatopoetic characteristics give rise to the 'sound of bamboo splitting' being used to mean 'bamboo', or the 'crackling sound of fire or coals' to mean 'live coals'.

But most of the coined names are also simply mnemonic expressions, regardless of how they might be classified semantically: the argot term soft ground can be used to shape 'stones', a man's long bone is like the shape of a 'bamboo container', hats have 'leaves' decorating them, 'causuarina trees' commonly grow near the water, one encloses things when picking them up with 'tongs' or breaks off sugarcane and eats it when thirsty for 'water', and so on. The practical point is that without some such mnemonic device cult adherents would not be able to adapt the argot quickly.

The variation in the names of the spirits suggests that the system has been in operation for a considerable time. There has also been a pragmatic approach to all cults and members are willing to borrow new rituals to supplement the old. In a similar vein, it is no wonder that the Kewa of today find no problem if God is referred to by four different names by different missions in the area.
11.8. KEWA LAW: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Introduction

This article sketches some aspects of the customary law observed among the Kewa people. The group represented in this study is the Ekerepa clan and some surrounding clans. Almost all of the details and later generalisations apply to Ekerepa (eke 'moon' and -repa 'group', 'herd', 'covey', etc.). Thus the study would not be applicable to the Kewa as a whole if law is relative (to some extent) to the subgroup being described (Pospisil 1958b:275,291). However, from dialect lists taken in the surrounding Kewa areas and detailed talks with other missionaries and government personnel, it seems unlikely that any legal postulates formulated here will not hold in any other clan areas.

Cultural Sketch

The Ekerepa clan occupies a defined territorial area in the Eastern dialect (Section 1 of this book) approximately half-way between the Ialibu and Kagua government patrol posts. The former was established in 1955 and the latter in 1957. The total Kewa area was de-restricted (declared controlled) in 1961.

The terrain represented is mountainous and rough. The two highest peaks are Giluwe (14,000 feet) and Ialibu (11,000). The terrain, although continually mountainous, drops gradually from Ialibu (6,100) to Erave (below 4,000). There are no marked seasons and the Kewa plant and clear the land continuously whenever it is dry enough. Rainfall averages over 150 inches per year with February usually the wettest month.

The kinship system (Franklin 1965, Section 11.1. of this book) is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending generation. It employs Iroquois cousin terms where all cross-cousins are called by the same term but are terminologically differentiated from siblings. Parallel cousins are classified with siblings. Siblings of the same sex as Ego have respective polar terms while a sibling of the opposite sex is called the same term by a male or female Ego.

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1 This revised article was originally presented as a term paper in a graduate course in Anthropology at Cornell University (1964) and is reprinted here with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.

2 A technical description of Kewa Phonology can be found in Section 2 of this book.

3 Where a clan is a localised patrilineal descent group which trace themselves to a real or putative founder of the lineage.
There are kinship terms of address as well as reference. In addition there are other unique terms such as someone else's mother or father, the relationship between co-wives, husbands of sisters, mother-in-law and son-in-law, and contemporaries of different clans.

The Kewa extended kinship units are the family, the subclan, and the clan. The family can be subdivided into various types of households (men's, women's, family, etc.) and the clan can be combined with others to form a group with some sort of a common ancestor myth. The subclan is comprised of families which are laterally related through brothers, father's brothers, father's father's brothers, etc.

The clan is composed of subclans. The Ekerepa clan (according to the July 1962 government census) numbers 408 men, women, and children. The breakdown was as follows: 83 male children, 90 female children, 103 male adults, 114 female adults and 18 absent. The latter were out working at the coast or in mission schools. The figure 408 is a net increase of 4 over the 1961 census total.

In reference to the clan, marriage is exogamous and polygamy is very common. However, anyone who is referred to in another clan by a kinship term cannot be married.

Within the Ekerepa clan wives have been obtained from every surrounding clan and from some clans in the Western dialect. Ekerepa girls have married into most of the same clans and even outside of the language area.

Residence is jointly patri-local, as the husband and wife reside in separate houses within the territorial limits of the husband's subclan. Only established married partners have a woman's or family house as the husband sleeps at the men's club house and only intermittently sleeps at the woman's house. These houses are usually near one of the present gardening sites of the family.

Illustrative Cases

The following is an attempt to reconstruct some of the disputes observed by the author and his wife. It illustrates some of the legal principles at work within the society. The disputes are arranged according to their observed frequency. Disputes which are strictly within the clan are discussed last as these seem to be settled more quickly.

Marriage

Most disputes involve bride price, divorce, and adultery. These disputes are between the Ekerepa clan and others as a result of marital complications.
Aditya and his wife Kolanyu had been married for many years. They have three living children, a baby girl, a boy about 7 and a girl about 9 as well as an adopted boy (who is about 18 and working at the coast). Aditya also had had another wife whom he divorced and a son by his former marriage. This son also resided with Aditya. Kolanyu decided to leave Aditya and return to her clan — named Kipurepa. An informal court was held and the interested members of the clan (especially the subclan to which Aditya belonged) and headmen assembled to hear the argument. Kolanyu charged Aditya with abusive language, not giving her pork, and having dealings with the clan at Paipa (from whence his other wife had come). Aditya responded with emphasis on his own selfless dedication. If his wife were to leave him he must have his one pearl shell Mabi Kawapo and his pig Malue returned.

Decision. Kolanyu's family could not repay the items. There was no question as to Aditya's demand right, even after these many years of married life. The boy aged 7 was the demand right of Aditya's clan but they had no demand to the other children (none to the younger boy on account of his not being weaned). Because there was no repayment there was in effect no divorce and after a year or so at her own clan site Kolanyu and her two children returned to Aditya's house where they still remain.

Discussion. The pig Malue had, of course, been dead for many years and the shell may or may not have been available to Kolanyu's clan. Her clan was represented by her mother, two brothers, and some other close relatives. The point was that items equal in value to those demanded would have to be repaid by Kolanyu's clan to constitute a divorce.

It should be mentioned that in the above case (and the cases which follow) there are always exhibits. These may be small sticks or a rope with individual knots which represent either deeds or misfortune or merit (depending on who is speaking). Other exhibits include bones of pigs (in pork-gift cases), pieces of sweet potato vine or sugarcane (as in theft cases), a broken piece of fence (in garden disputes), and so forth. These exhibits have been saved as mnemonic devices by even the most stable partners.

Kitue was a young man from the Kipurepa clan who resided with his father in the Ekererepa clan territory. This was because Kitue's sister was married to the headman of the Ekererepa clan. Kitue and his father resided in effect as full clan members although the father still had land holdings in his own clan area. Kitue later married a girl
from the Paipa clan. Ekerepa clan members of the subclan where Kitue resided, his brother-in-law, as well as his father, advanced the bride price. Kitue and his wife Rame had been married only a few months when, with mutual ill feelings, divorce proceedings began. The headman of the Paipa clan and other appropriate relatives of Rame met with the Ekerepa headman and other clan members (as well as Kitue's father) at the men's house in Muli - the dance ground center for the Ekerepa clan.

Decision. Rame was divorced and her clan paid back the amount of pigs and pearl shells agreed upon. The number of pigs and shells awarded the bride's nuclear family (represented by her father) usually averages 4 or 5 pigs and about 8 shells. There are usually six or more other items (axes, native salt, beads, etc.). Here the settlement involved all individuals who had loaned or borrowed items from either side as they now had to purchase and return the equivalents.

Discussion. Rame had run away from Kitue a few times but this is not unusual with new brides. She had not worked in the new garden site which Kitue and his father had cleared. Kitue had this garden working demand-right and Rame had failed. Her clan had participated in divorce proceedings on her behalf before and were not overly sympathetic. At the same time they wanted to pay back as little of the price as possible.

Land

Now that inter-clan peace has arrive through the Australian administration there are many disputes over territorial rights. These occur most frequently around February when the nut of the pandanus tree matures. At this time the leaves must be secured around the nut so that marsupials will not eat the fruit. Anyone who ties up the leaves around the nuts is laying claim to the fruit and hence the tree (and in some cases therefore to the land around the tree).

Another area of dispute involves gardening land. This is particularly true in clan territorial fringe areas which were a no-mans land during warfare but now may be cultivated.

Other disputes involve ownership rights in forested areas where trees suitable for building are located. The trees are in particular demand for the construction of European buildings.

Formerly land disputes were a source of constant or intermittent warfare. Now such disputes are arbitrated in government courts. The government policy is one of victor's rights where the holder at the time of government control is allowed use of the land. A land commissioner then (ideally) settles claims through surveys and to some extent by
geneologies. Clans which are involved in disputes have their cases heard by government officers who then file land complaints to the commissioner. This has been unsatisfactory in many areas because the land commissioners have years of cases on hand. In addition, the original inhabitants of what is considered the clan territory are traceable only by myth and the current victors engage in tree planting. The latter practice involved the planting of pandanus nut trees immediately upon the conquering of an area of land. If the land was reconquered the trees were retained. In later disputes one clan might claim the land and another the fruit from the trees. One government officer resolved (?) the difficulty by cutting down the trees and giving half the tree to each party. For these and other reasons the disputants have out-of-court agreements if at all possible.

The problem of land disputes will plague the area (and New Guinea) for generations to come. A full treatment of this struggle for land among the Chimbu people (Eastern Highlands) has been given by Brookfield and Brown (1963). They give excellent examples and discuss land ownership, tribal structure, and other land and intertribal relations. Among this densely populated group there are many land disputes. Such disputes are different than the Kewa in at least one respect because there is no distinction made between ownership of trees and ownership of land (p.40). Another important difference is the avoidance of marriage by the Chimbu with hostile tribes (79). When it comes to leadership, land is a resource used for getting followers and supporters (130). The relationship between land ownership and clan leadership will have to be more thoroughly checked for the Kewa.

Pospisil (1963:132ff) outlines land rights according to lineage, sublineage, or family. The type of land (forest, rocky, etc.) influences the rules concerning its use. Although among the Kewa the clan and subclan have territorial boundaries, family land usage is within the appropriate subclan.

**L-1 History.** The Ekerepa clan claim original rights to all land between the Kuni Creek and the Iaro river. At one time the Mogarepa clan conquered a hill called Katyali long enough to plant some pandanus nut trees. Later the Ekerepa re-conquered and held the land at the time the European government peace was established.

**Decision.** The decision in this and similar cases has been made by the government. If the decision is out of line with the common sense of both parties involved a mutual agreement is worked out where the pandanus nuts or the land are shared. This is considered temporary until the government
leaves the area (most of the people assume this will eventually happen), at which time the clans will resort to open warfare.

Discussion. The headman from the Mogarepa clan has been put in jail twice by the government because of continued dispute over the land. The Ekerepa clan, knowing something of government history, have appealed to the government court which follows the practice of victor's rights.

L-2 History. The Ekerepa clan have an area of land bordering the Iaro river which is known as Watya. At one time the Lawakerepa clan from across the river conquered the area and established gardens. Later it was re-conquered.

Decision. The legal (outside) decision is again victor's rights. The Lawakerepa have a demand-right to the land because they had once conquered it. Any land once conquered seems to imply a privilege-right regarding the use of the land.

Discussion. At times the Lawakerepa clan, who seem to be pressed for good gardening area, steal across the river and begin to plant gardens. Each time open warfare is averted only by government intervention.

Debts

A debt is a rudu. Almost everyone claims to have a debt. These are often incurred during trades. For example, party A of clan X trades a pig to party B of clan Y for two shells and a promise of some tree oil (which he will receive from a fellow clan member). The tree oil may be a long time forthcoming but while it is owed party A has free access to the territory of party B (and hence clan Y). Other debts are incurred during religious festivals when there is plenty of pork available. At this time outstanding debts may also be repaid by a piece of pork (always good collateral). Trouble arises when a debtor will not pay. Between clans this led to confiscation of property and hence open warfare.

D-1 History. Pigu, a lad of about 16 from the Ekerepa clan, had loaned some of his shells and ornaments to a contemporary of the Kipurepa clan. A dance was soon to be held at the Ekerepa clan dance grounds and Pigu went to collect his belongings. The original borrower would not return them because one of Pigu's brothers owed a debt to a brother of the borrower.
Pigu's brother now has a debt with Pigu. The debt which Pigu's brother had with the Kipurepa clan was nullified by their seizure of Pigu's ornaments. Now Pigu's brother has promised a payment to Pigu. However, this debt will be more difficult to collect because it is a family affair and will not have any subclan or clan pressure to settle the dispute.

Discussion. It is a common practice to loan ornaments, etc. for use in dances. The debtor in this case was undoubtedly prompted not to return the goods so that another debt could be settled. This is a power belonging to the original lender.

In the foregoing discussions examples have been limited to disputes which involve different clans. Before continuing with other cases, there is one special type of dispute which should be mentioned. This dispute is a result from murder. If the inter-clan weregild is not made immediately war is the result. Only during religious festivals are members of a clan involved in killings immune from retribution. Festivals are a time of peace and if there has been killings between clan members and the host clan the former appear covered in black (grease and charcoal) and do not participate in the usual dances. In this way they show their sorrow. Weregild is paid with pigs and shells. Because we did not record any murder cases I do not have any cases to report.

M-3 History. Yanya of the Ekerepa clan married Kepinyu of the Paipa clan. Yanya's first wife, Wanenyu, objected to the marriage and left Yanya for her clan (Kipurepa). In order to get his wife to return Yanya was forced to divorce Kepinyu.

Discussion. To save complications about the bride price, which for the most part had been spent by other clan members, Yanya's older brother Awape agreed to marry Kepinyu. His present wife Kekerame agreed because she needed help with the gardening and other work.

Discussion. Yanya wanted to retain Kepinyu but could not without losing his first wife Wanenyu and their daughter Magupe. Awape, on the other hand, saw a way to get a wife quite cheaply and quickly. He did not repay his brother as he had supplied much of the original bride price. Trouble continued within the family because of the feeling of Yanya towards Awape.

M-4 History. Sawinyu of the Ekerepa clan married a man from Ialibu in the Mbongu (Medlpa) language. After a few months she ran away from her
husband with complaints of sexual incompatibility and no relatives in the area.

**Decision.** Her father and clan brothers reluctantly agreed with the spokesmen from the husband's area and returned the bride price. Prior to this Sawinyu threatened suicide on several occasions. If she carried through her threat it would be a total loss of the bride price as this would be the legal demand-right of the husband's clan.

**Discussion.** The general legal principles involving marriage do not vary to any extent throughout the Kewa or neighbouring areas into which they marry. Arbitration is at the lowest (family) level and disputes not resolved at this level then go to the clan headmen. If disputes were not resolved at this level the clans would resort to illegal procedures - such as stealing back the bride.

**Clan Disputes**

Disputes within the clan are numerous and varied but solved (as a rule) without outside aid. The accepted clan sanction may be corporal (usually beating), economic (usually restitution), or psychological (such as reprimand and warning). Disputes that are within the clan are resolved in the manner best suited for the unity and stability of the clan. With the dawn of the government court the appointed village constable mimics similar proceedings in the village dance grounds or men's house. These disputes are attended by all free and interested persons.

Most disputes which take place within the family are settled by force. The person applying the force is socially approved - the head of the house. Yet it seems unwise to try and derive rules of behaviour for every act which involves a corporal sanction by a father of his offspring or a man to his wife. These are minor domestic quarrels and do not involve law or legal action any more than a similar family quarrel in our society.

However, when the dispute cannot be settled by the family unit involved and is then taken to some other socially recognised members for a hearing it becomes a legal action. The defendants are, in effect asking for an opinion by so-called neutral outsiders. Some disputes (all of which involve compensations of some sort) of this type are as follows:

**C-1 History.** Mano of the Ekerepa clan has two wives, Rumunyu and Lawenyu, both of the Kipurepa clan. Mano insulted Rumunyu for her work
habits. She told her brother Kitue (residing with the Ekerepa clan) who immediately accused Mano of this action in front of other clan members.

Decision. Mano paid Rumunyu a shell for the insults. He was pressured into this decision by Kitue with other Ekerepa clan members giving passive assent.

Discussion. Insults are common between married partners and are usually disregarded. In this case the insult may have been more vicious and the brother of the wife was obligated to protect her. This is a common pattern, not only in Kewa, but in other areas as well (e.g. Abelam, cf. Kaberry 1941-2). In other cases the husband and brother-in-law fight. The payment to the wife is not uncommon although the usual pay is the promise of a piece of pork. In this case the wife passed the shell over to her brother for safe keeping.

Other disputes that are quite common within the clan include petty theft, garden damage by pigs, and fire-throwing.

C-2 History. One of the sons of the Ekerepa clan shaman stole some sugarcane for himself from the garden of another clan member. Someone observed him and reported the matter to the owner.

Decision. Restitution of an amount agreed upon by the owner and the thief's father.

Discussion. The owner always makes a commotion to show his concern. Only in this manner can he be assured of some sort of indignation and social sanction by fellow clan members. Theft of garden produce is morally wrong and socially disapproved but attempted by most clan members if they are hungry enough.

C-3 History. Two pigs belonging to Aditya got into the garden of Koyapura. They thoroughly ruined several mounds of matured sweet potato. Koyapura quickly covered himself with mud (a sign of mourning) and went yelling through the village area.

Decision. Koyapura and his brothers demanded a small pig or a shell for the damage. Aditya begged them to settle for less and finally they accepted a headband.

Discussion. The pattern of calling as much attention as possible to the misfortune results in more spectators. Such spectators acted as a shame to Aditya. If Koyapura had not had his garden fenced he would not have been able to collect damages.
The daughter of Roto who is called Nakalame and the daughter of Keloa called Punyu were visiting at the house of Roto. Although from different subclans, both belonged to the Ekerepa clan. During a name-calling session Punyu became enraged and threw hot coals on Nakalame. The father immediately sued the father of Punyu for damages.

Decision. At first the father of Punyu would not pay anything. Finally outside council (a trip to the government court) stipulated that Keloa should pay Roto a pig and the two girls should work in the garden of a medical orderly for two weeks.

Discussion. This case dragged on for months. In the end the pig was paid but there is still hard feelings between the two families. It seems this was an unusually harsh penalty as fire-throwing is a common cause of intra-clan strife.

Hierarchy of Authority

In reflection on the seemingly hundreds of intra-clan disputes which we have seen or heard about the following pattern seems to hold true:

(1) Disputes within the clan allow more corporal sanction. This is because force is not as likely to be met by equal force within the group. In other words applying the same force to someone outside the clan would result in open warfare (wives are considered members of the clan into which they marry).

(2) The first line of authority in any dispute is the kin involved. Thus in marriage it is the fathers' of the bride and groom who must agree on settlement or re-settlement (in the case of divorce). They are of course aided by other kin who are personally affected by the decision. If it is a decision regarding the subclan or clan as a whole the wealthy and outspoken lead the discussion but the decision to be effective must be attributed to the group as a whole.

(3) Presently there is a government appointed village constable for each clan. In addition there is a mission appointed (or self-appointed) representative (often one for each subclan). These men are exerting authority because they have sanction and power from outside the clan structure. Formerly this was never so. Even the ultimate sanction (death penalty) was embedded psychologically and socially within the clan structure.

(4) Pospisil (1958:261) points out the following levels of authority among the Kapauku; leader of confederacy - (+1 authority); lineage (+2);
sublineage (+3); household (+4). (The numbers in parentheses are my interpretative scale.) Although the Kewa lack a confederacy, this scale seems to reflect the degree of authority at different levels.

Miscellaneous Disputes

There are other areas where disputes are sometimes involved. A brief mention will now be made for some of them:

A-1 Inheritance. When a man is about to die he is quickly taken outside of the house in which he is located to recite who his heirs are and what they will receive. We observed one recitation of this sort where the benefactor did not seal the case by dying. He then retained his possessions but the heirs apparent were cited for that future day. Inheritance is through the male with the eldest son receiving the largest portion. If there are no sons the brother(s) receive the goods. Otherwise they share in the will.

A-2 Ownership. Individuals possess items which are their own. They may lend them or use them as collateral (within or without the clan). At large festivals shells and pigs represent the clan as a unit with less importance on individual possession. These are trusts passed down from the ancestors and individuals are responsible to the clan as a whole (living and dead). Pigs are often loaned or reared by kin in other clans. Upon slaughter the caretaker is rewarded by a piece of pork. The use of caretakers spreads the risk of epidemic or war and assures better individual care for the pigs.

A-3 Suicide. This is a common form of punishment and action. The most frequent causes given are: (1) fear in war time; (2) insults during marital dissenion; and (3) thwarted love. The most common methods are jumping in the Iaro river or hanging.

Suicide is morally wrong; it is socially bad. No funeral feast is held and no shells are distributed or pigs killed. This contrasts directly with the neutral attitude among the Fore in the Eastern Highlands (Berndt 1973:203). Widows do not commit suicide among the Kewa if the husband dies. The usual method of showing sorrow is by finger lopping. For the most common reasons for finger lopping among a group related to the Kewa see the Table in Meggitt (1957).

A-4 Gift Reciprocity. If sorrow is shown for misfortune the one afflicted is expected to reciprocate with a gift. Thus during mourning the grieved must reciprocate the gifts of the mourners. Hard feelings and disputes often follow hard on the heels of misfortune and calamity.
Supernatural Sanctions

In the illustrations of dispute cases no reference to supernatural sanction has been made. This is of course a purposeful omission. In Pospisil's discussion of what he considers the four legal attributes he dismisses religious taboo because 'Religious taboo lacks authority and obligation'. (1958:266). In as much as religious taboo contains his other two legal attributes (intention of universal application and sanction) Kewa religious taboo is considered in reference to authority and obligation. (See Section 11.9. for an account of Kewa religion.)

New Guinea Highland Law

By New Guinea Highland law, reference is made to other patterns of authority and control mentioned in the literature which are not Malayo-Polynesian.

The most extensive reports on groups which are linguistically related to the Kewa are by Berndt (1962), Reay (1959), and Brookfield and Brown (1963). For a Papuan group, but not known to be related to the Kewa, Pospisil (1958) is of course the most complete. Other groups are also mentioned below.

Berndt has given a detailed Dionysion report on the sexual and cannibalistic excesses among the Fore people in the Eastern Highlands District. There is probably not a more detailed book about Papua New Guinea cannibalism. Sorcery also is the norm although in: 107 recorded cases of informal court cases only one is about sorcery. Some 59% (63) of his cases relate to marital dissection. Common punishment is an arrow in the thigh (for adultery), a balance of 'backing' and 'counter-backing', and open warfare. Especially interesting are the following items: (1) 40 cases (26 successful with 21 being women) of suicide; (2) the varieties of sorcery used as retaliation and punishment (p.214-28); (3) warfare is socially approved and regarded as right (232); (4) torture of enemies and cannibalism as genuine protein hunting; (5) women have no legal status (325).

While in the Kewa the pattern of authority is remarkably similar from clan to clan, Berndt reports that each district (the political unit) has its own system, rules, and practices (309).

Marie Reay shows among the Kuma (Eastern Highlands) how authorised leadership is traced from the founder of the junior line. The senior ancestor passes on leadership through eldest sons. If there are no sons or if they are not old enough the eldest brother is eligible. His son then receives the leadership. The leader of the subclan has an informal role (p.113). Besides the recognised leader there is an orator ('Rhetoric Thumper' - p.118) in the subclan.
Reay also reports that the new government appointed village officers 'have fitted fairly well with the segmentally based roles of traditional authority'. (120). This is in opposition to Langness' (1963) report in the Bena (also Eastern Highlands) where he says there is a lack of fit between the council system and the original structure. Although the council system differs from the so-called luluai (government appointed chief) system, Langness says the luluais and tultuls were not traditional leaders (155).

As with most areas now under government control, sanctions which involve death and physical violence are no longer operative among the Kewa (123). Acts which are met with negative sanction include witchcraft, adultery, theft, damage to property, personal injury, abusive speech, and irresponsible allegations (125). Reay, in an analogous statement to Berndt says that 'strain, tension, and disharmony are part of the Kuma life' (191).

Pospisil (1958) outlines Kapauku law in great detail. The Kapauku are a mountain group in Western New Guinea in the Central Highlands. He discusses the ideal rules of behaviour and then follows with case examples pertaining to the rules. There are 176 cases of disputes and 121 abstract rules. Offenses are classified as against persons, against rights in things, contract, against authority and delicts against society. In general his examples under these headings include every imaginable offense that can be said to relate to his four attributes of law. He claims these abstracted rules or principles of law are actually drawn from legal decisions which are verbalised by informants. This claim may or may not be substantiated by cross-comparison with other New Guinea groups. My guess is that the Kewa can inform the observer of some of their well-defined laws for the clan as a whole but cannot begin to elaborate and generate rules in the Kapauku fashion. This will have to be checked later.

Pospisil calls the internal pressure of conscience or the fear of shame customary law. It is not related to political decisions. He cites his classic example of permissive incest as law due not only to custom but also as transfer of a political decision into a law.

As a minor criticism Pospisil seems to put too much emphasis on a repetitive tense-aspect suffix as being a verbalisation of intention for an abstract law. In our culture people who say 'if God wills' are not necessarily verbalising a submission to that will.

Bromley (1960) has formulated his preliminary views of the Dani (Baliem Valley in West New Guinea) people. These people align into confederacies (like the Kapauku) and the political leader of this unit seems to be the feast-chief (241-3). As the feast-chief also has a religious function, religious law may overlap with other laws. In fact
one postulate states the control of the supernatural by certain rites of pig killing which involves individual pig owners. Ownership and the supernatural (obligation and authority) are closely linked.

In the Western and Southern Highlands, particularly among the language family of which Kewa is a member, political authority is also linked to participation in the great festivals. These festivals involve the ceremonial killing of hundreds of pigs. In fact Bulmer (1960) relates performance in the generation feast as the 'most important single criterion and index of influence and prestige' (5). During these feasts (called the Te in Enga) weregild payments are made. This is not mentioned by Bus (1951) although he gives a few clues as to the economic importance of these feasts.

Luzbetak (1956) has described similar feasts in the Middle Wahgi (Western Highlands in the same general area as the Kuma). He mentions in particular the religious practitioners associated with the feast and how the demands of the departed ghosts are carried out through these feasts. He does not mention supernatural sanction as the ghosts always seem to be obeyed (87).

Ryan (1955, 1959), while describing clan formation and organisation among the Mendi (Southern Highlands, bordering the Kewa) in fair detail, only mentions leadership in passing. The clan, the clan cluster, and the system of inter-clan alliances are based upon kinship connections but the pattern of authority is not clear.

Meggitt (1956) describes several legal punishments in the Upper Wage and Lai river area (W. and S. Highlands). He mentions adulterous wives (thrashed or killed), violation of name taboo (a pig or pearl shell), garden damage by pigs (salt or a net bag) and unfaithfulness (one or two pigs from the lover). Deaths in fights are compensated for by at least 15 pigs per victim.

An implication of the clan socio-political hierarchy is given by Goodenough (1953) when he mentions formal seating arrangements at the ceremonial grounds during the moka (Pidgin English for the Te festival; Bus (1951), Elkin (1953) exchange, funeral feasts or initiation of adolescents (Enga).

In the Huli (S. Highlands), Glasse (1959) reports that the ambilineage is the politico-jural unit in feud, warfare and compensation. An ambilineage comprises all descendants through the male and/or female links of a pair of ancestors four or five generations removed. The ambilineage is also the bride-wealth contribution unit, the ritual unit and the exchange unit. It is the minimal segment.

Some interesting observations are reported by Gitlow (1947) for the Mt. Hagen tribes (W. Highlands with dialects bordering the Kewa). He
reports that full property rights are limited to the male (82) with female ownership extending only to movable goods. These do not include shells or pigs. He also says that 'natives view each other's possessions with great jealousy' and that each tries to amass as much wealth as he possibly can (82). A decoration of slats are worn to indicate participation in the Moğa (Te) ceremonies.

There are two other factors relating to Highland law which should be mentioned. The first is the emerging of cults. These have been interpreted as an effort to alter the balance of power and thus a political movement (Inglis 1957:255). These cults are introduced from the outside and are known in Highland areas where Europeans have been for a number of years. The rise and fall of a cult among the Kuma is discussed thoroughly by Heay where they changed the basis of wealth and power for a time (1959:199).

The final factor is the relation of morality to law. It has been discussed by Kaberry (1941-2) and Read (1955). Read's information is the most interesting. It seems to me that he has tried to voice his own interpretation to Christian morality by applying Gahuku (E. Highlands) concepts as diametrically opposed. His theme is that moral evaluation is contextual (264). Statements such as the following appear: '

...stranger to that particular affective and cognitive state which the Christian calls the 'sense of sin' (272); 'death means the virtual end of the personality' (275); 'there is no real dichotomy between man and society...' (276).

In all of the above reports there are definite principles of right and wrong which serve as a basis for the legal concepts which the society has. No one worries where these came from; no one seriously denies their existence. For those that hold that there is a true, universal God (in the Biblical sense) the existence of these values show His influence in all cultures.

One other aspect of law should be mentioned. This is the influence of European law among the Kewa. In some sense the unpredictable settling of court cases by the administration controls the actions of the native people. Thus in a petty case on assault, one officer may order jail for the assaulted while in another case the assailter would be prosecuted. The confusion helps to keep a check on repeated offenses but at the same time keeps the people from settling cases out of court. There is always a chance for appeal to the government courts. As a result the decisions of village arbitrators are never final until they receive the 'official' sanction.
Kewa Postulates

Although the details of Kewa law are not well formulated it is felt that the foregoing and other factors point to definite legal postulates in the society. An attempt is now made to formulate some verbalised principles:

Postulate I: The solidarity of the clan must be maintained.
Corollary 1: Disputes within the clan must be solved as quickly and peaceably as possible.
Corollary 1a: The clan must recognise certain members to arbitrate in any disputes.
Corollary 2: Clan members must align themselves as a unit against any outside unit which threatens unity.

Postulate II: Kinship relationships within the clan are of primary importance.
Corollary 1: Clan kin of the same sex and generation are regarded as equal.
Corollary 2: A brother should protect his sister in any dispute with her husband or her husband's clan.
Corollary 3: At times when the clan functions as a unit all kin members contribute their wealth and possessions.
Corollary 3a: Items are intrusted to individuals for the clan as a whole.

Postulate III: Evil spirits control the universe.
Corollary 1: These spirits must be placated at all times.
Corollary 2: Departed souls go to reside in the domain of the spirits.
Corollary 2a: It is not safe to mention the name of the recently departed.
Corollary 3: Supernatural sanctions influence all realms of the individual's life.
Corollary 4: Dead ancestors are clan members.
Corollary 4a: Dead ancestors are in close communion with spirit deities.
Corollary 4b: Dead ancestors can help control the evil spirits.
The logical outworking of some of these postulates can be seen in the cases cited. Postulate 1 must be interpreted in the light of patrilineal descent. Thus in M-1 the oldest boy was a demand-right of the Ekerepa clan to carry on the lineage. The baby boy was also their right but this was forfeited due to his young age.

Although the wives are full members of the Ekerepa clan, their consanguines are not and marriage problems involve the latter due to bride price. This calls for Corollary 1a where both clans must recognise arbitrators to settle the issues which arise.

It would not be altogether facetious to suggest that any time a pig is involved (or perhaps a pearl shell), for the Kewa this is a legal action. This follows from Postulate III.1 where pigs have a special supernatural purpose (placating spirits) while at the same time the clan is interested in building up its supply of pigs for the Generation Feast so the dead ancestors can see how each clan member has looked after the items that were passed on to the clan. Practically speaking, pigs also represent protein.

There are doubtless other postulates which can be formulated when a more complete picture of the Kewa culture is known. These seem to be the foundation of which to build.

Appendix on Law

In an examination of the court records at Ialibu the following statistics were noted for the two year period between June 1961 and June 1963:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Offence</th>
<th>Number of Convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Riotous behaviour</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to work</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to appear at census</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to appear at court</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike in unlawful manner</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steal</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behave in threatening manner</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escaping</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contempt of court</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful sexual intercourse</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawfully lay hold</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing cards</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling with money</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Offence</td>
<td>Number of Convictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstruct justice</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disobey summons</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bribery</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread lying reports</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse hospital</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorcery</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply a prisoner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect duty (village constable)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infanticide</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawfully wound</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave custody of hospital</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that: (1) of those charged with riotous behaviour, 23 were so charged on one occasion at Mambi in April, 1962; (2) of those charged with assault, 18 were charged for indecent assault; (3) of those charged with refusal to appear at court, 30 were from Mambi in October of 1962; (4) less than 6 females were charged with any offence; (5) the most severe sentences were for infanticide (3 months), unlawfully wounding (1 year), manslaughter (4 years), and murder (5 years), and in each case sentences were passed by the supreme court; (6) there were 177 charges between November and December 1962, mainly for failure to clean the houses and village areas; (7) one man was charged simultaneously with contempt, escaping, assault, and acting in a threatening manner. All sentences were concurrent.

Those convicted from the Ekerepa clan of the village in Muli were few: only 13 between July, 1961 and May, 1965, if we exclude 21 men charged with failing to work on the road and 41 who failed to clean their house area, including 10 charged at the same time with failure to defecate in a latrine. All sentences were light, although 4 months was given for unlawfully striking on one occasion.
11.9. NOTES ON KEWA RELIGION

Introduction

This is an attempt to set forth what is now known about Kewa religion.¹ Most of the information is first hand, i.e. from direct observation. Other information has come from tape recorded stories by various members of the Kewa people in the village of Muli and of the clan Ekerepa. In the latter category, especially significant are some fifty pages of text relating to the major dieties involved in Kewa religion.

Key Concepts and Dieties

The Kewa people have names for a body, soul and spirit. The words and their fuller glosses are to 'body', 'substance', 'trunk (of a tree)'; wasupa 'soul', 'reflection', 'image', 'shadow'; remo 'spirit', 'goblin', 'ghost', 'ancestral being'. The latter two are associated with the mystical, the unknown. A body has component parts, while a soul is vague and non-segmentable. Spirits have names when they are important dieties and all unknown acts are attributed to them. In the Kewa world there are three broad categories of living personalities: spirits (remo), enemies (loreali) and people (winyali).

In addition there is a sub-category apparently of spirits, which have proper names but few of the attributes of spirits, such as being worshipped or held in special reverence. There are at least three such groups, which we call goblins, that are well-known:

(1) kapo kalado - lives in the holes in stones, in the rapids of the rivers and in the deep places of water. It carries a bow and arrow and resembles half a man with long hair on one side. It can smell food and will attack a person with food.

(2) pado - lives far away where the wild cane grows. Its particular habit is to eat people's noses and it also chops trees with its own long nose like a bird (woodpecker).

(3) tamapo - also lives in the wild cane and eats noses. It is heard yelling from inside large stones when they are heated.

Without exception one of the main characteristics which separates major spirits from the goblins is that the former have sacred stones.

¹The data were collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during 1958-62. The present materials are from a term paper in anthropology, Cornell University (1964) and reprinted here with minor alterations necessitated by book publication.
Such stones are frequently found in the rivers where their unusual shapes attract attention while others are found in fields while gardening. Such stones are very smooth and thought to be the eggs of certain spirits. Hence they were deposited in the spirit's house.

There are at least ten major spirits which make up the bulk of the Kewa supernatural order. These are not the same as ancestral ghosts, although the latter apparently have free access to the domain of the supernatural spirits. The spirits (major deities are called spirits while departed ancestors are referred to as ghosts) are always associated with an abode, that is, a spirit house, while ghosts wander freely in the area of their former bones—especially where the skull is located. Another major difference between spirits and ghosts is that the former are always called by a name while the latter can not be called by name until their malevolent nature has disappeared. This is especially true with reference to the recently departed who are more restless and malevolent in the wanderings.

Even live persons are sometimes referred to as spirits. This is especially true with very old, wrinkled, stooped people, who are called a little spirit or a little bad spirit.

Three is a graded sequence or progression in the arrival of new spirits which can be traced. As the potency of an old one wanes, a new one is accepted. The old ones must still be remembered and in fact worshipped, but for the time being the new spirit with its new more powerful promises of potency is more exciting. I observed the ceremonies marking the entrance of a new spirit Natome. It was imported from a dialect to the west during a severe epidemic and any unusual catastrophe or incident is a period for the potential importation of new spirits, with the associated new word taboos and ritual. Frequently name taboo and spirit importation are connected, although during the second world war when planes were observed for the first time, everyone 'hid' their old name and took on new ones, but did not import new spirits. Epidemics, floods and famines are periods when the spirit worship can be restructured. Culture change in the form of local governments, medicine, religious and secular education, communal living and dying (graveyards) also promise new innovations in spirit worship.

The rituals involved in the worship of the Kewa spirits cannot be spelled out in detail here. Several of the spirits (payamo, kura, alamuoe, adalu, ribu and robake) have many features in common. These involve sacred stones, special leaves, and high, cylindrical houses. Special pig-cooking rituals are indulged in by the clan men. These spirits are connected with the festival outlined in diagrams 1-3. A
center post plays a key part in the ceremony with the bones of pigs and marsupials which have been sacrificed to these spirits.

A recent spirit (natome) is now believed to be the most powerful. Mere mention of his name may cause sickness. His house is more modest - a rectangular shaped affair similar to that of a elape, an earlier family spirit. However, natome is strictly a men's affair and seems to be involved in the men's secret society purification rites.

There are at least two spirits (pali remo and kelekai) which have ritual connected with them in a small three foot square open-sided house known as alada. With the former, most families have an ipa kumi - a sacred water over which words are chanted by the shaman. Both have special trees into the crotch of which offerings are made to the spirits.

The women and children have one spirit (ribareko) connected with special sacrifices of rats and marsupials. They use an alada for this purpose or construct a small temporary house for the occasion.

One additional sky-being should be mentioned. Its name is yakili and it is responsible primarily for the lightning and thunder. It is also responsible for luck in some sense, as for example if a Kewa man should find a nice pearl shell in the middle of the road. It is also considered responsible for safety, somewhat like a guardian spirit. For example, if someone were to slip and almost fall in the river, yakili would have kept them from falling.

The body is called to and is a component of an individual, just as the soul is while the individual is alive, and the spirit is when he is dead. The body is capable of decay but the soul is not. While an individual is alive the soul may leave the body during dreams or unconsciousness. It is also at this time that a spirit may try to enter the body. On one occasion a woman called Lawinyu of the village where we were living tried to commit suicide. Some men saw her jump from a vine bridge with a rope around her neck. The men quickly rescued her and took her to a nearby house and although she had a wide rope burn on her neck, she was not dead. However, she was dazed and hurt so the men concluded that a spirit had entered her body. To make her 'shed' this spirit a pig was sacrificed and shortly thereafter she recovered.

The soul may enter the body at birth through the fontanelle and the Kewa are extremely careful about touching this pulsating area on a baby. As it grows together the baby receives strength.

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1 As in the Wahgi area. Cf. Luzbetak 1956. Although of a different linguistic family, this area shares many cultural features with the Kewa. One group of these people (the Medlpa), are closely related linguistically and culturally to the Wahgi, but also border the Kewa area.
It would seem that the soul is a disembodied reflection or image that does not die. It can be observed in a shadow or in a mirror but cannot be captured or harmed.

Another realm of the supernatural is ancestral ghosts. These ghosts are called by the same name *remo 'spirit'* but are associated with individuals who have died. Such individuals are deceased clan members whose ghosts come back to linger and wander around their homesteads. They can be communicated with through the medium of shamans and communication usually takes places near where the bones of the departed are located. The bones are in the custody of the departed one's offspring or, in the case of an important man, they are taken care of by the men's society.

Departed ghosts are never referred to directly by name. This would violate name taboo and call attention to themselves by the ghost. They are referred to as 'so-and-so's father', 'the child of so-and-so', etc.

The ghosts of the departed wander freely and as time goes by their potential malevolence decreased. When this happens the *rupale kodeme* dance is permissible. During this dance the men cry for departed ancestors by name and make gift offerings to them.

Personnel Involved

Practically every member of the Kewa society is involved in religion. The men carry on the worship, the women provide food and also have their own spirits, while the children are there to be awed, frightened, and taught.

In the Ekerepa clan (over 400 individuals) there is, to my knowledge, only one major magician-shaman (*yanikali* or *yasali*). He is summoned when one is ill to work spells over the sick one and during festivals he oversees the rituals connected with particular spirits. If family sacrifices are demanded by departed ghosts he often performs the ceremony. There are probably other ceremonies which I have not seen that he is in charge of. He, on behalf of the clan, is also the guardian of the sacred stones (these will be mentioned later).

Other adult males may make small sacrifices at their private garden spirit houses. Although pigs are frequently used, rats or birds (or marsupials) may on the occasion of a lesser illness be used. An individual's prior illness is often referred to in terms of the number of

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1Not only personal names of the departed are tabooed. Common objects, body parts, etc. are also tabooed to placate certain spirits in special ceremonies. Names are borrowed from other dialects (or even languages) to replace the tabooed ones.
pigs which were killed on his behalf. A 'four-pig sickness' means that four pigs were sacrificed before he recovered from his illness.

When sorcery is suspected the individual involved may work counter-sorcery to combat any evil effects. Many objects are said to be used but one I observed used was a jawbone secured in the middle of a long bamboo. A man held each end of the bamboo and when the correct name of the suspect was called, the jawbone rocked back and forth on the bamboo.

There are several types of houses associated with religion. Undoubtedly the most significant is the neada, a long house which is built during a specially calculated series of festivals. I have had opportunity to witness the various stages of this festival as it took place in the Ekerepa clan. The following is a diagram of the long houses and spirit houses involved at the one dance ground (Asakidipa subclan).

**DIAGRAM 1**

![Diagram 1](image)

The Paipa clan and Mokarepa clans are former enemies and occupy land adjacent to the Ekerepa clan and Asakidipa subclan area. They built the long houses themselves with materials from their own land areas.

The spirit houses in Diagram 2 serves all of the clans participating in the festival and are built jointly. The spirit ground area belongs to the host clan and each long house is partitioned according to families. An example from one of the Mutyanaya long houses is as follows:
Other long houses are built by neighbouring clans who will sleep in them during the festivals. Platforms are built by the side of the houses bordering the dance grounds. After pig meat is sacrificed at the nearby spirit houses it is portioned out from these platforms.

Physical Components and Aspects

Various spirit houses are involved in the special culminating dance in the cycle of festivals involved in Kewa religion.

Perhaps the most striking in appearance of all Kewa spirit houses is that belonging to the spirit alamuoe. Such houses are about thirty feet high and approximately twelve feet in diameter. The houses are built in the following manner: tall spirit houses are put on the side of the village somewhere by the gardens but not in the center of the village. First the posts are placed in the ground; then the center post on which the pig bones are hung is put in place and following this the roof, with a sharp point. The sides are filled in with cane and the two doors are made opposite each other. The roof is covered with the leaf pimaa yo. After quite a long time the kelemabo yo (red type) leaf is put along the middle of the outside walls and paru yo (white leaf) is put above and below the red leaves. Pig bones continue to be put on the center post following each ceremony. Kede, the outside
boundary of the spirit house, i.e. it marks a spirit house, is the final structure. The hole in the kede is where the pig's head is put and then clubbed from the inside. The kede is decorated with the same leaves as are on the outside of the house. In the center inside of the spirit house on the ground are the spirit stones.

The center pole with all of the bones from animals which have been sacrificed is pulled from the spirit houses to the dance ground when the final dance of the cycle takes place.

Sacred stones are often found when gardening and due to their unusual appearance take on religious significance.\(^1\) They are kept in spirit houses and belong to the clan as a whole.

Diagram 3 illustrates the complete domain of spirit houses associated with the festival of the long houses. The high cylindrical spirit houses are not at this location. The center posts for each clan involved in the festival will be pulled by clan members from the location of these spirit houses.

\(^1\)R. and S. Bulmer 1962, show pictures of sacred stones used in a linguistically related area in the Western Highlands. They give further references to the use of stones in other areas.
Other Practices

Other practices in Kewa religion include magic and sorcery. Magic is used particularly in treating the sick. On one occasion I observed the clan magician-shaman using an uncooked sweet potato, which he rubbed with a stick while chanting for the patient. The chants were not possible for me to understand because they employed many sound combinations not previously observed in the language. Small bird feathers were placed in the patient's hair. After the ritual the sweet potato was eaten by the patient and 'doctor'.

In other instances pig blood or other materials are used. This can be seen from the following account of a treatment for burns:

The fire burned the boys and girls. They kill a pig. They kill the pig, cut a bamboo and fill it up with the blood of the pig. They hold the two legs of the pig so the blood goes over the body where the fire has burned. Then they fill up another container with blood to be poured out some other day. When the blood is all gone they kill another pig. Then again they kill another pig and pour it in the same manner. Then if it isn't dry they do still another and that is enough. Again later if there is no pig they go to a small hill and get some tree leaves. This they eat and spit out. They fill up and pour out more water. They get some tree bark and put it in the water, squeeze it and pour the water out. Another type is the Koroka root. They cut (kill) this root which is much like milk and let it become soft. This also squeeze and put into a container. They put it in the water, bang it, go and squeeze it in the container and pour the water out. This medicine makes it all get dry.

Magic is also used in the form of a love weed. A young man who is interested in a particular girl may take the leaves of the rakia (which tastes like celery or parsley leaves), cut off the outer bark of a piece of sugarcane, and then rub the leaves onto the cut sugar. Then when he goes courting, he offers the sugarcane to the girl he is interested in. She doesn't know that it has been treated with the love weed when she accepts it and eats it. Later when another man wants to marry her, she says that she won't marry him because she likes the man who gave her the sugarcane. This is said to be the effect of the love weed coming out because she is not supposed to have known that that particular man gave it to her to eat.

Perhaps one of the most prevalent fears of the Kewa people is having some tangible part of their person (such as hair, nails, excreta or blood) possessed by the wrong person. This can be used as romo 'sorcery' and used against a person by an enemy. If sorcery is suspected the treatment is usually as follows: after a fast of two days, on the third day a preparation called upipi is made. It is made by using the bark or leaves from any of the following: (a) ruku, (b) malakera, (c) toyo,
(d) ramu ma(yo). One (or more) of these is mixed in a plate (kopo) with ginger (yabla), salt (alpa), and sometimes raani (an edible clover). The individual is urged to eat this mixture so that he will vomit (maaku ratya) and have diarrhoea (ilo rala or ilo pitya) to rid him of the sorcery. After this he is allowed to eat regular food.

The fear of sorcery is becoming more widespread as tales reach the area of new methods.

The fear of ancestral spirits and the ritual festivals connected with this belief has been mentioned. This leads to special rituals regarding the burial of the dead. During epidemics the corpse was thrown into the Iaro river, the largest river in the area. If a woman dies in childbirth the child is also expected to die and nothing may be done to preserve its life. A stillborn child is wrapped in the bark of the aga (pandanus) tree and put in the crotch of a tree. The bark is covered with grass and left to rot; often there is no mourning or death payments for infant deaths. The body, after a mourning period of several days, was placed in the ground. Later, after the flesh has had a chance to rot, the bones of women and men were usually placed somewhere in the vicinity of the descendants garden. In the case of an important man (that is, one who had many pigs and pearl shells) the skull was placed in the skull house near the men's house. Food was not put in the grave because the people would not want to see the spirit come and eat it.

At the present time the disposal of the dead is by burial in the ground. Usually after one month (when the flesh has had a chance to rot) the head is exhumed and placed in a skull house. Sick people (especially those with yaws, leprosy, etc.) were disposed of in the following way: a spear (rauma) was driven into each eye and left and a large stone was placed in the mouth. Then a rope was tied to the body and it was pulled into the Iaro river.

This concludes our brief notes on Kewa religion. Perhaps the Kewa religion can never be adequately described by an outsider. Nevertheless it is possible to continue to observe and try to report the various functions and actions as they appear. In time, hopefully the Kewa people will write and give a more accurate and full account of their religious system.¹

¹A fuller account of sorcery in two other Highland areas can be found in R. Berndt 1962 (Chapter 11, pp.208-28) and M. Reay 1959 (Chapter 6, pp.131-162).
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PART V
12. TEXTS

The following texts are from East and West Kewa. The reader should note that morpheme identification by subscript follows the forms in EK, but precedes them in WK.

12.1. EAST KEWA

The following text is a dialogue in a village court case between a husband and his wife, Aditya and Kolanyu. The text was recorded in the village of Muli by the authors of the dictionary in February, 1961. Although the text is spontaneous the tape recorder was observed, hence the textual references to it and myself.

If a word or morpheme does not occur in Kewa but is inserted in English for ease of translation, it is indicated by the subscript 0 (zero).

(1) gore₁ repoa₂ wai₃ sopọ₄ le₅ neada₆-7 go₈ winya₉ nalamira₁₀-₁₂
(2) abala₁ lamума₂-₃ yareyalo₄-₅ repoa₆ sopọ₇ le₈ ne₉ ada₁₀ (3) muli₁ yamo₂ go₃ le₄ nalada₅-₇ (4) abala₁ lamuawa₂-₃ winya₄ dia₅ (5) kalọ₁ goro₂ abasaenya₃ lamuga₄-₅ (6) winyagoisimili₁-₄ (7) ne₁ ora₂ gipia₃ tale₄-₅ (8) ipuna₁ ni₂ gioma₃-₄ pula₅-₆ tabore₇ aipula₈-₁₀ (9) nana₁ mena₂ malue₃ pamed₄ gulaka₅ kama₆ ginya₇-₁₀ (10) nana₁ rekere₂ na₃ mabi₄ kawapo₅ pamed₆ kama₇ (11) pa₁ kida₂-₃ nayola₄-₅ maka₆-₇ (12) pa₁ elenuri₂-₃ rukulinya₄-₅ (13) nana₁ mena₂ malue₃ adi₄ peakuapulu₅-₇ ginya₈-₉ gu₁₀ pie₁₁-₁₂

(1) All right, while I was not married to that woman the tree seedling has grown up. (2) Before I married and decided to plant that tree up there you look. (3) The tree that yam is growing there. (4) When I married her she was not a woman. (5) Karl I married really a long time ago. (6) So she is quite an old woman. (7) Since she is saying "I really dislike you." (8) When she doesn't like me and goes what shall I do? (9) The one pig
of mine 1 malue 3 which I 6-7 gave to you 5 just 8 give it 9 to me 10 (10) Just 7 my 1 pear shell 2 my 3 one 6 mabi kawapo 4-5 (11) I 6 have not 3 just 1 got 5 and pulled 3 her 3 hand 2 (12) All 3 the other 1 things 2 you 5 should break 4 (and keep) (13) Due to her 5, I 6 fastened 4 my 1 pig 2 malue 3 which 12 she 9 should give 8 another 0 like it 10

(14) go 1 mena 2 yano 3 ora 4 mulu a 5-6 (15) ipuna 1 ni 2 gipia 3 loma 4-5 pulapulu 6-8 (16) n 1 rekere 2 mabi kawapo 3-4 ora 5 mula 6-7 (17) pa 1 kaluka 2-3 elenuri 4-5 rukulinya 6-7 (18) nene 1 (go 2 winya 3 ) ne 4 gipiale 5-6 pulalo 7-8 leada 9-10 go 11 rukutu 12-13 aya 14 (19) rekere 1 mabi kawapo 2-3 na 4 mena 2 malue 6 ora 7 mula 10-11 (20) ipu 1 lamu 2 sabara 4-6 epa 7 yareyawa 8-9 repona 10 waimi 11 gole 12 ne 13 ada 14 (21) kalo 1 nogo 2 naki 3 lapo 4 ya 5 yapa 6 apola 7 peada 8-9 (22) ipu 1 lami 2 sabara 3-5 yareyawa 6-7 (23) aga 1 kini 2 ralawa 3-4 (24) pagu 1 eta 2 abiri 3 pen a 4 koneda 5-6 nasawa 7-9

(14) I will 6 really 4 get 5 (back) a duplicate 3 pig 2 (15) Because 8 she said 4 she 1 dislikes 3 me 2 and 5 is going 6-7 (16) I will 7 really 5 get 6 my 1 pear shell 2 mabi kawapo 3-4 (17) All 5 the goods 4 which I 3 just 1 gave them 2 they 7 can break off 6 (and keep) (18) You 1 (that 2 woman 3 ) since 6 you 4 dislike 5 me 0 and have said 9-10 you 0 want to 8 go 7 that before mentioned 11 you will 13 break off 12 and leave 14 (19) The shell 1 mabi kawapo 2-3 and my 4 pig 5 malue 6 those 7 two 8 I will 11 really 9 get 10 (20) While 6 still 5 marrying 2 her 1 I 9 came 7 and planted 8 the seedling 11 that 12 you 13 see 14 (21) Karl the boy 3 and girl 2 are free to do 8-9 like 7 the birds 5 and animals 6 (22) While 2 still 4 married 2 to her 1 I 7 planted it 6 (23) I 4 picked 3 pandanus 1 fruit 2 (24) The bunch of pandanus fruit 1 which 3 is hanging 2 now 3 I 9 still 4 have not 7-8 thought about 5-6

(25) gore 1 ipuna 2 ora 3 epe 4 ali 5 palua 6-8 ta 9 rabore 10 kalo 11 neme 12 pu 13 piri 14 ai pea 15-16 lanoya 17-19 (26) ipu 1 pena 2-3 wara 27 (27) penaya 1-2 peawa 3-4 rapa 5 go 6 winya 7 lea 8 (28) menare 1 agale 2 lea 3 rekerere 4 agale 5 mogole 6-7 giliai ri 8-10 agalere 11 ipuna 12 ai pea 13-14 luma 15-16 komano 17-18
All right then when she says "I will go to a man who is really good," Karl why should I say you go stay (27)
Suppose she goes and this woman says I made her leave (28)
Since she talks about pigs and shells she talks about what she will give how can I hit and kill her talk (29) (Since that which she will give talks 6-7) "now I will hit and you give" she said so she has hit the pig and I gave it to her. - How's that (30) She said "give" about the shell so I gave it to her (31) When she changes and really changes as usual and says "I will go then I will get just my pig and my mabi kawapo 16-17 (25)

She and I the two of us are not going because the recorder can go up there and say what I am saying (33) I said to break off those pigs and shells and she won't do it (34) Now I gave (the pig) and she killed and put the pig ago
because of that which 6 wape 9 went 10-11 to get 12 and hit it 14-15 (35)
Because she will really throw away the pig and she will give me that 7 (36)
That which I now 4 gave 3-4 to wape 2 is being carried and is here 9-10 (37)
(Hey - men 2 all right since it is mine to tell just wait 8-9 all right 11) (38)
Wape 1 should give 2-3 what I gave 5 before to him - the pig malue 8 and mabi kawapo 10-11 he should really give 14 (39) (KOLANYU): That which I should say 3 let me say 6 it now and that will hear 8 and we two should talk 11-12.

(40) (ADITYA): ipu 1 nana 2 winya 3 lalo 4-5 pirano 6-7 mogo 8 pulapulu 9-11
mogo 1 mogo 1 pulla 2-4 (42) kalo 1 neme 2 rai 3 reda 4 go 5 napalo 9-11
(43) roto 1 meda 2 go 3 natyaloda 4-7 (44) go 1 winya 2 pu 3 loma 4-5 rai 6
meda 7 go 8 napalo 9-12 roto 13 meda 14 (ada 15) roto 16 meda 17 go 18 nai 19-20
pu 21 pulada 22-24 (45) kalo 1 ora 2 ipuna 3 werepema 4-5 pa 6 ali 7 meda 8
paluame 9-11 tapulu 12-13 (46) abala 1 ali 2 lapo 3 pe 4 winya 5 neme 6 repo 7
peau 8-9 lamuawa 10-11 (47) abi 1 ki 2 peau 3-4 pa 5 all 6 meda 7 polalo 8-10
tapulu 11-12 (48) nana 1 mena 2 malue para 3-4 mena 5 ibi 6 malue 7
nana 8 rekere 9 nabi kawapo 10 lapo 11 kama 12 yago 13 mulua 14-15

(40) (ADITYA): She my wife 2-3 I 7 am sitting to talk 4-5 about because 11 she is going 9 there 8 (41) Because she 3 is going there 1 4 (42) Karl 1 I 2,8 am not hitting 7 her 0 with an axe 3 about that 9 (43) I 6 am not hitting 5 her 0 with a stick 1 about 7 that 3 (44) That woman 2 says 4-5 she is going 3 and I 11 am not hitting 10 her 0 with an 6 axe 7 or a 14 stick 13 (look 15) or a 17 stick of mine 19-20 and 24 she 23 is going 21 (45) Karl 1 because of her 3 real strength 4 she is saying "I 11 will 10 go 9 to just 6 another 8 man." (46) She 5 is a twice 3 married 1,4 woman 5 and I am 6 the third 7 to do it 8-9 (47) Now it will be made 3-4 a fourth 2 because 12 she is saying 11 "I 0 want 9-10 to go 8 to some 5 other 7 man." (48) My pig 2 malue 3 the pig's 5 name 6 is malue 7 and my 8 shell 9 nabi kawapo 10 just 12 two 11 the same 13 I will 15 get back 14.
Because the woman really dislikes me and is going to the woman recorder, you go up there and tell what I am saying. I do not intend to go to Lalibu. Now you talk (KOLANYU): I am saying accusation now—about the pig and pearl shell.

When I started thinking about it, that man was giving the shell and pig (giving that 6 shell giving that 9 pig) He didn't give and I am making accusation about nothing. At that time he did not give those goods. And now he wants to give those goods since the time when the police boys and man (the constable) came and said give them to her and they got them and gave them to me.

They gave them but "Why have you two done this?" they said and gave them to me. The sweet potatoes are done.
The pigs are well cared for. The people are well entertained. "Give it to her," they said, and gave them to me. All the people did. This having happened, I thought I would say court, and just get some more for it.

I do not have sweet potatoes well, but "your sweet potato manner is bad," he says. His people (clan) will do it for him.

"Who will get it?" he says - all the shells and pigs.

"You have not done good, and people have been entertained, by you in a bad manner," he says. "Suppose I didn't have a mother, then what would I have done?" he says. "Since you haven't given it to me," he says.

I do not have sweet potato well, but "your sweet potato manner is bad," he says. His people (clan) will do it for him.

"Who will get it?" he says - all the shells and pigs.

"You have not done good, and people have been entertained, by you in a bad manner," he says. "Suppose I didn't have a mother, then what would I have done?" he says. "Since you haven't given it to me," he says.

"Since you haven't been there," he says. "You don't entertain people," he says. Here-2 in my liver there are bad thoughts (the second word for liver is the tabooed form). Here-2 since that I have bad thoughts, I have done well, but I think of his saying and I have these thoughts - in the liver.

This happened, and I think since I will just get it because of it, he can do it (i.e. give her something) and I will stay.

But because I'm not a little girl, now there are four children. I am going. Now I went and got my pig and my shell with the sweet potato. I got them. When I put the shell which Roto gave, he says to Riabo's mother, "Let's go and get it." - at Paipa.
Let's go to carry it. I got this sweet potato - the shell got it. It got the pig and bundle of salt, which I carried - the two of them. His cousin said "The pig was bought and is it yours?" (the one that they gave to me for nothing.) "Another pig has been gotten to be killed was carried down to Paipa - a female pig to Paipa and they say "come and get it. We are keeping it." Another down there was got killed and portioned out. This continues and I am really clearing out. Before plenty of them (pigs) have died there. All those others before have died when dirty talk continued.

12.2. WEST KEWA

The following text was told by Ropaasi of the Nemola clan in Usa of the Kagua Sub-Province area. Ropaasi, who was then around forty years of age, has seen considerable change and frustration, as well as improvement, in his area. The text is presented primarily to illustrate the Kewa language, but it is hoped that it will also help the reader to appreciate Kewa life, as Ropaasi relates it.

The text is not completely edited, but square brackets enclose utterances which are either deleted in the English translation or are repetitions. Each sentence is indexed so that it can be compared with the English translation. However, the translation is not literal, i.e. every morph indexed in Kewa cannot be provided for in English.
(1) Naaki 2ogege 2maapu 4, 5reko a 7piri 8sim a 9pare 10maapu 11reko
12piri 13sim a 14rabu 15yada 16uu 17uu 18lo 19ipi 20sa.
(2) Go 2pi 3sa 4rabu 5su 6para 7yada 8opa 9ne 10aa 11la 12pa 13me 14asa 15pu
16piri 17sim a 18pare 19su 20para 21asa 22pu 23pirua 24si 25ma 26na 27poga 28la
29pabo 30la 31ipi 32sim a.
(3) Ni 2na 3ame 4so 5raa 6para 7pu 8aya 9de 10me 11ada 12sa 13wa 14sa 15na
16yada 17bini 18yae 19daa 20kopaa 21aya 22daa 23so 24pea 25ada 26sa
27pa 28aya.

We were young boys and were standing in the garden, but
when we were standing in the garden something came
saying "uu uu."

When this happened the things appeared from the earth and we kept looking for it, but we looked along the ground and we came jumping and hiding.

My brother who had gone up into the forest said that he looked up and saw something which flew and had wings and he looked at it and came and was just up there.

The brother said he saw something flying, making noise, coming up there.

The use of the verb la 'to talk' in its simultaneous marking form implies that the action continued on for sometime.
(5) Then concerning that thing we thought, "What can it be?"

(6) He said that something else like a wing burst and then continued to fall into the forest.

(7) That thing was seen to hit a tree.

(8) Concerning the thing that did this we saw it again but it appeared that something like an airplane had hit and fallen down.

(9) Abia 4pare 5gupa 6pasi 8abu 9apo 10kopaa 11de 12kone 13saa

(10) Remo 2bali 3pea 4simi.

(11) No 2ado 3la 4pope 5simi 6rabu 7i 8tapada 9nu 10kabe 11me 12pasa 13pasa

(12) Lapalapa 2ode 3nu 4sopo 5ti 6simi 7para 8nu 10puku 11puku 12paala

(13) Remo 2yana 4kone 56simi.

(14) We have still seen it but when that happened, we were thinking about that wing, they said he has come and is down at the place Remo-Ada-Mapu.

(15) They said the Spirit had come.

(16) When we went down to see them it appeared they were going on making 7,8 toilets out of wild cane.

(17) We were frightened about the smell from the clothes they wore and that they were washing with soap.

(18) We thought that this was the spirit.

Literally, what plus the uncertainty marker.
(16) Go 2 eta 3 na 4 page 5 go 6 rabu 7 ru 8 lu 9 ba 10 po 11 pe 12 si 13 mi.

(17) Go 2 yae 3 aake 4 yapae 5 kone 6 i 7 sima 8 re.

(18) Wala 2 abia 3 go 4 mea 5 pu 6 lum 7 rabu 8 re 9 go 10 yae 11 ya 12 na 13 lo
14 ini-mini 15 go 16 ada 17 lema.

(14) When 3 we 2 did 1 this [their] hair was 7 really made to 8,10 stick out
by 11 them.

(15) When 2 all of the 1 hair 3 really 10 went 6 down 7,8 inside 4 that 5 water
they 12,13 combed it and 25 it 17-19 straightened out 20 up on 21 top.

(16) At 5 this 6 time 11 they 10 went around 8 while 7,9 carrying their 2,3 guns.

(17) We 5,6 thought 3 "What 4 can 1 these 2 things be?"

(18) Now 7 when 3 those who are 3 similar 4,5 come 6,17 we 13 want to 16 know
11,12 what 10 it is and 17 we 16 look 14 carefully at 15 it [that is, we look
around with our eyes.]

(19) Go 2 rabu 3 ri 4 remo 5 pe 6 loa 7 si 8 maga 9 na 10 po 11 go 12 do 13 ba 14 laa
15 pe 16 ae 17 pi 18 ra 19 pi 20 si ma.

(20) Padane 2 kone 3 simi 4 ri 5 aa 6 nu 7 mi 8 ri 9 aa 10 naak 11 oge 12 go 13 a 14 nu
15 ado 16 la 17 pu 18 a 19 pi 20 si ma.

(21) Ona ge 2 yomage 3 nu 4 no 5 go 6 naak 7 oge 8 nu 9 ri 10 remo 11 pe 12 loa
13 kabe 14 ri 15 la 16 pi 17 la 18 pi 19 si ma.

(22) Gup 2 pi 3 sima 4 pare 5 aa 6 nu 7 o 8 na 9 bu 10 bane 11 ne 12 re 13 ado 14 la
15 pi 16 si ma.

(19) Then 15,16 on account of 8,9 them 6,7 saying that the 4 spirits 5 had
come 20 we 17-19 ran away 11 in order to 12 hide and 13 remained 12,14 inside.

(20) We had 1 one 2 thought 4 concerning 3 you-- 7 all of the 5 men, 14 all
the 9,13 men and the 11,12 young 13 men 17 went 18 wanting to 15 see [you].

(21) All the 5 little 6 children, 3 all the 2 old men, and 1 old women
said 8 the spirits 9 were 10 coming and 16 stayed 15 hidden 14 in the
13 clumps of 12 wild cane.

(22) We 2 did it 1 like that 4 but 6,8 all the 5 men and 7 women 11,12 who were
9,10 aggressive 15 went 14 to 13 see [them].
At that time we also did not carry all the cargo for them.

They carried it themselves while walking about.

We did not make houses for them.

They themselves spent about travelling.

After these handkerchiefs, that is the things which we bound around our heads were given by them when we cut and went and gave them bananas and sweet potato.

We thought that these things were really something and held on to them.

We did this but now when they came we hold fast the thoughts that we are their children.

When they travelled about like that we were very frightened.

We kept thinking about what kind of men these were who had come.

Another time planes came.

Literally, the planes came 'as in flocks'.
We thought about what they were doing in groups like that but now the white-men government, and missions have come and told us [about] the fight down there at that time [that is, the Pacific War].

When they told us they were fighting we thought about it.

Before our eyes were not really open but when we thought "what is this which the men were singing us?"

We went on like this and they said that they had come and were in a house up in Mendi.

When formations of the planes came and they came 10,11 by ground.

When they said "they are here" then they brought corydyline leaves and were turning and doing the Rama dance.
While they were at Mendi, we continued fighting.

Grass houses had been made in Mendi.

Go ada nu gec Malue nu pabo 8 tu 9 n’aa 10 taa 11 bo 12 roga 13 bo.

Goa puu a rima.


Go rabu me n’ada para s pir ma 9 rabu 10 ri 11 n’aa 12 karapusa epaa 14 mu 15 aa 16 ria.

Aake pa ma 4 daa 5 pa 6 pe 7 loa 8 la 9 ma 10 na.

At these 2 places and at 4 places on Malue [mountain] we gathered together and kept 8, 10 fighting and 12 burying.

We went on like this.

When they recently came again to Kagua - at first it was said 12, 13 they came 10 to 11 Wabi - 15 after 28 they had 21, 22 broken camp they 26 went and 27 built 25 Kagua [station].

At that time, the time 3, we continued fighting, 16 they 13 came for 11 us and 14-16 took us to 12 jail.

We 7, 8 said "What have we done to 5, 6 deserve 4 this?"


Gupa 2 e 3 pa 4 pa yapapu 5 mada 7 saa 8 pe 9 naba 3 10 meda 11 epaa 12 gia 13 a.

Literally, we 12 sat holding 5, 6 our bows and arrows and 3 axes.

The verb forms are 3rd 3g referring to 'the government' as actor-referent. To 'break camp' is literally 'to let loose of and then to go'.

From the Pidgin namba, referring to anyone with rank or authority.
After we had given up bows and arrows and axes [i.e. stopped fighting] and during the time they came, to those designated as leaders they gave 31 canes.

They came and gave other metals for putting on top of the head bands.

When 'boss-boys' were designated we threw away the bows, arrows and axes.

While we threw them away and sat down then other black clothes were given [by them].

Canes have been used as a symbol of authority along with badges. The word kosopea is a transliteration of the Pidgin form bosboi meaning 'foreman' or 'supervisor'.

A reference to the black uniforms formerly given to village policemen in Papua.

3 From the Police Motu expression: Hanua Polisimani 'village policeman'. T.E. Dutton (1968) in The Peopling of Central Papua, Pacific Linguistics C-9, discusses the origin of the term.
We spent a lot of time in jail.

After that the village policemen who they selected took [census] books around and we thought "What is supposed to be done?"

We took books around and thought "What is supposed to be done?"

They did this while they walked around and called out.

Other small houses were made in them did the census.

When we thought now what is this for they came and caused another thing to begin which is the council.

When we said for saying they came and gave medallion.

When these things happened they took us to jail - about things.
(62) [They] came to work for us - our brothers, fathers, and uncles - our white-men, missionaries, government people, and Catholics.

(63) Those men are now where we saw them.

(64) When they opened our ears and eyes and came and allowed light in our stomachs then again we ate together - we thought they are our brothers.

(65) We gathered sweet potato, sugarcane, and food for them and they gave us money and gave us their meat and rice.

(66) [They gave] soap, blankets, clothes and other things for wearing and playing.

(67) They came again.
(68) When they were [here] like that they gave 4,5 spoons and 6,7 plates for 1,2 eating.

(69) We also did not 11 sleep in 2,3 houses which were good; 20 we slept 17 in 12,13 our 14 pig 16 houses.

(70) When they came 4,5 they also went on sleeping in [houses with] woven walls 17 we 14,15 thought 13 about these 12 things and 16 told them.

(71) Those good 2,4 houses also they slept in 5 them and 15,16,18 they 14 also made 10-12 doors for 13 them.

(72) We copied 1 them with the 6,7 locks, 8,9 hasps, and 10,11 hinges 17-19 things which 16 they gave 14 when 16 they 15 came.

(73) We slept 13 like that, 14 eat 12 food 10 like that, and 11 open our 1 doors with 2,3 keys 4 like that in the 5,6 doors [of the houses where] we 7 sleep 26 when 25 they 24 came 23 and 22 opened 18,19 our 20 ears and eyes, 35 we 34 thought that 27,28 our 29 brothers have 30 come], 13 we 41,42 think 40 that 36 we were 38,39 told [things] 37 well.

(74) Abia 2 go 3 kane solo 4 nu 5 ma 6 7 ma 8 peaa 9 gabu 10 nu 11 ake 12 pu 13 la 14 lo 15 pia 16 pea 17 kone 18 saa 19 ma 20 gabu 21 go 22 de 23 mone 24 onaa 25 si 26 27 si 28 ora 29 luabu 30 simi 31 lopaa 32 tema.

(75) Meda 2 ona 3 nu 4 mi 5 ri 6 teni 7 silini 8 apo 9 lopaa 10 lema 11 daa 12 onaa 13 nu 14 mi 15 ri 16 de 17 repo 18 apo 19 lopaa 20 teme 21 daa.

(76) Orope 2 nu 3 ri 4 mone 5 daaa 6 ya 7 lia gabu 9 ri 10 ake 11 pa 12 lima 13 palo 14 na 15 ade 16 niaa 17 pisanisa 18 meda 19 na 20 saapi 21 ma.
Now when they designate council and when they think, "What is this for?" the people and all of the men are giving money for it.

Concerning the women, they gave ten shillings for it because of it.

Concerning later on, there is a lot of money, (then) what we will do, I don't know (since) we do not have any businesses.

Pisanisu gave na, saapi, anaani, nu tomato aposo go kalip 13 poa lema yae nu 17 su kele la lasaa 20 wa ya 21 la.

Concerning later on, there is a lot of money, (then) what we will do, I don't know (since) we do not have any businesses and we will harvest 15, 16 things [like] onions, tomatoes, potatoes, and peanuts [but] the ground is not fertile and it is bad.

When it is bad, we think that we don't know what we can do about the soil.

The council is something good but we do not really know anything about beginning a business.

Later when we have carried and brought the planks [which we have] carried and laid out.

We will harvest the hanging coffee beans.
(82) When this is done and when we cut PZ aks, 12 in 6,7 our Wagalu and 11 Malue [forests], 15 in these places we will find 30 dry 28,29 wood.

(83) We will gather all the planks.

(84) At that time when we really begin then we will hold 9 lots of 15 money but 35 when they come 32 and 29-31 ask for 22 those 23 who have died and also been born, 36 then shall we 38 jump in the water - 44 I am just thinking with my 46 thoughts.

(85) Mone 2 na 3 sa 4 ma 5 ama 6 lo 7 a 8 rabu 9 ripia 10 re 11 wani 12 silini 13 saapira 14 aba 15 go 16 lopaa 17 tema 18 rabu.

(86) Wala 2 mone 3 adaa 4 yola 5 popa 6 lia 7 rabu 8 ri 9 gope 10 na 11 pe 12 re 13 ope 14 na 15 limi.

(87) Ipa 2 pogolaa 3 pe 4 re 5 pogo 6 tea.

(88) Puri 2 pane 3 mena 4 wai 5 ya guta 6 aba 7 kanaka 8 rabu 9 page 10 ama 11 saa 12 aame 13 re 14 nipa 15 na 16 isa 17 rupa 18 ama 19 nea 20 mena 21 wai 22 adaa 23 pu 24 saapira 24 me.

(85) When we first 6,7 said that we just had no money 17 we 14 then only had to give (them) one 12 shilling.

(86) Concerning 10 committing 9 suicide, 7 when 6 they go about

1 Because there is not always enough money for taxes (taken at the time of roll-call), suicide is contemplated.
Extracting a lot of money again, they will commit suicide.  

Regarding jumping into the water, they will jump in.  

Concerning the men who also had strength in pigs planted things, and chickens when they were natives, they had (things) just like that, plenty of pigs and gardens.  

Pisanisa go ana para - aba gapiro sima nu ri.  

Ora pa sipa 6padane si8nu gapia10 la 11pi2 simi.  

Abia money na para 6page sa la.  

Mena puna leme 14a5nu6 mi 7adaa pu 9sa10 leme.  

Kogono pu34 pamu 5mea6 leme 7naak18nu9mi 10nipu11 na 12gore 13aaraa 14ame15 nu 16nipu17na 18aapa19nu 20nipu21 na 22ame23nu 24ada 25piri26 na 27pu28 lumi 29rabu 30go31 nu32 mi 33ada34 la 35pisa.  

When all of those were like this before - businesses were in the houses of such men.  

We really just set and held on to little pieces of water.  

Now the way of money is also sought.  

Those men who look after pigs put away a lot of money.  

The boys who go away and get work, their fathers, brothers, uncles stay at home when the others go - those others to have a look (at the coast).  

---

1Literally, they will eat the rope.  

2From the Pidgin kanaka 'unsophisticated native'.  

3This is obviously metaphorical. It could mean that possessions slipped through their hands.
When they have it, then, they bring it and portion it out one piece of money, at a time - those boys (who went away) for the others.

After that which they kept is all gone, they just will remain like they were before.¹

When we do this and when all that big money is just gone some (of them) will commit suicide.

Others will jump in the river.

We think that they will do it, like that.

There.

¹Literally, they will just sit like they sat before.
13. AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS IN KEWA

In this section all published articles and books which describe or refer to Kewa, as well as some manuscript materials, are listed, usually chronologically. These have been written by the author and his wife as well as with, in some cases, Kewa speakers. The items are divided into those which refer to linguistics, anthropology, literacy, and translation. Each item is followed by a short summary of the contents.

LINGUISTICS

1. FRANKLIN, Karl J. and Joice FRANKLIN, 1962. 'Kewa I: Phonological Asymmetry'. Anthropological Linguistics 4/7:29-37. [A description of the phonology (including comments on tone) of East Kewa, as represented at Muli village in the Ialibu administrative area. Two palatal sounds, written ty and ny, occur in this area; ty is generally not found in other areas but ny is more widespread. The phoneme aa (as written in the orthography used by us) is interpreted as a cluster of the vowel a plus a in this early paper. This supports the contrast pointed out later of aa (the longer central vowel) and a (the shorter one). Written at a linguistics workshop in PNG in 1960. See 2.1. of this dictionary.]

2. FRANKLIN, Joice A., 1965. 'Kewa II: Higher Level Phonology'. Anthropological Linguistics 7/5:84-8. [A description of the system of length and stress, especially as it relates to tone and intonation. The dialect is East Kewa, of the Muli area. Certain factors of tone change (morphophonemics) are also related to larger segments of phonological phrases and sentences, as well as shorter timed units. Written at SIL 3rd year workshop, University of Oklahoma, summer of 1963. See 2.2. of this dictionary.]

3. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1964. 'Kewa Verb Morphology'. In: Elson, B.F. ed., Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages, Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 10:100-30. [This is the first published account of the verb structure of any language of the Engan Family. It points out the very important benefactive versus non-benefactive dichotomy in sets of verb affixes. Some of the comments on affixes such as -da, -pulu and -le should be read in the light of sentence structure. The verb classes given here for E. Kewa do not exactly parallel those for W. Kewa or, for that matter, S. Kewa. Written at a grammar workshop in PNG in 1960.]
4. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1965. 'Kewa Clause Markers'. Oceania 35/4:272-85. [The published version of an M.A. thesis submitted at Cornell University. Certain markers are described which relate clauses or mark them such as transitive, intransitive, independent, and dependent. Some comments on sequences of sentences are also given. Written in 1964.]

5. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1967. 'Kewa Sentence Structure'. Pacific Linguistics A-13:27-59. [This paper described the sentence and clause relationships of East Kewa. A text illustrates most of the markers described. The paper was written at the SIL 3rd year workshop course at University Of Oklahoma in the summer of 1963. The E. Kewa text is in section 12. of this dictionary.]

6. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1968. The Dialects of Kewa. Pacific Linguistics B-10, iv + 72 pp.; 20 maps. [A description of the major dialects of Kewa: West, East and South, with additional information on sub-dialectal areas. Evidence is phonological (sound changes), grammatical, lexical and cultural. Based on information gathered throughout the Kewa area and submitted as chapter 8 of Ph.D. thesis to the Australian National University (ANU). Written in 1967. See also parts of section 1. of this dictionary.]

7. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1970. 'Grammatical and Cultural Function in Tagmemics'. Kivung 3/3:164-75. [An examination of the concept 'tagmeme', i.e. the functional role played by linguistic classes of words, phrases, etc. and an extension of this principle to cultural hierarchies such as family and clan. First presented at the Linguistic Society of PNG in August 1970.]

8. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1971. A Grammar of Kewa, New Guinea. Pacific Linguistics C-16, ix + 138 pp. [Chapters 2-6 of the Ph.D. thesis submitted to ANU. The introductory chapter described the Kewa area and language family (Engan) and comments of previous E. Kewa publications. The description of the phonology, word classes, phrases, clauses and sentences is based entirely on W. Kewa, but reference is made throughout to the E. Kewa area as well. Written in 1968-69. For chapter 3 see 3.1. of this dictionary.]

10. **FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1974.** 'A Diachronic Note on Mendi Vowels'. *Kivung* 7/3:167-77. [Comments on the development of a seven to eight vowel system in Mendi, and how this compares with Kewa. Reprinted in 4.2. of this dictionary.]


13. **FRANKLIN, Karl J. and C.L. VOORHOEVE, 1973.** 'Languages near the Intersection of the Gulf, Southern Highlands and Western Districts'. In: Franklin, Karl J., ed. *The Linguistic Situation in the Gulf District and Adjacent Areas, Papua New Guinea*. *Pacific Linguistics* C-26:151-86. [A reconstruction of some of the phonemes of Proto-Kutubuan, which is derived from an examination of present day sound correspondences in Fasu, Foe (both near Lake Kutubu) and Kewa. These are all from different language families. Written in 1972.]

**ANTHROPOLOGY (AND RELATED)**


15. **FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1963.** 'Kewa Ethnolinguistic Concepts of Body Parts'. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19:54-63. [The names of major body parts in East Kewa with a proposed system of arrangement based on comments from Kewa speakers. Written at an SIL workshop in 1960. See 11.4. of this dictionary.]

as certain social units. Information of West Kewa can be found in item 6. Written as a term paper in anthropology at Cornell University, 1963-4. See 11.1. of this dictionary.]

17. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1967. 'Names and Aliases in Kewa'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 76/1:76-81. [The semantic nature of naming among the E. Kewa, based on social restrictions. Further comments on W. Kewa in item 6. Written in 1965. See 11.5. of this dictionary.]


20. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1971. 'Some comments on Eliciting Cultural Data'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 13/7:339-48. [During the course of investigating the nature of Kewa religious ceremonies, several ideas on gathering data came to light. There are passed on in this article. Written in 1970.]


22. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1972. 'A Ritual Pandanus Language of New Guinea'. *Oceania* 43/1:66-76. [Taboo forms in Kewa speech arise from a variety of factors, especially marriage, death, and rituals. The harvesting of pandanus nuts has led to a simplified taboo-related form of Kewa in Mt. Giluwe area. Data is from W. and E. Kewa. Based on a survey carried out in 1971. See 11.6. of this dictionary.]


26. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1975. 'Vernaculars as Bridges to Cross-cultural Understanding'. In: McElhanon, K.A., ed. Tok Pisin i Go We?. Kivung Special Publication 138-54. [Paper presented at Pidgin Conference, September 1973. Includes results of tests administered to Kagua primary students designed to judge comprehension of Pidgin. Materials were translated into Kewa. See section 10. of this dictionary.]

27. FRANKLIN, Karl J., 1977. 'The Kewa Language in Culture and Society'. Pacific Linguistics C-40:5 18. [Several speech categories are outlined and their use in society is described briefly.]


LITERACY


32. FRANKLIN, Joice A., 1973. Remedial Reading Experiment. Read 8/1:9-11, 15. [Comments on a book designed to overcome difficulties of readers who were too familiar with W. Kewa Primers (item 38), but needed additional instruction before they were fluent. Based on classes carried out in Usa village in 1967, 69, 70-72.]


KEWA LITERACY BOOKS

35. FRANKLIN, Joice, 1963. Kewa Pre-Primer. 9 pp. [E. Kewa, now out of print.]

36. FRANKLIN, Joice, 1963-4. Kewa Primers 1-12. [A series of primers in E. Kewa from 12 to 20 pages each. Included with the series was also 4 reading pamphlets on various topics. Now out of print.]

37. FRANKLIN, Joice and Karl FRANKLIN, 1963. Introduction to the Kewa Primer and Reader Series. 12 pp. [A description on how to use the materials in items 35 and 36. Now out of print.]

38. FRANKLIN, Joice, 1971. Adaa Agaa Buku 1-3. (Primer 1-3). 32 pp. each. Reprinted 1972. [A set of 3 primers for use in W. Kewa. Reprinted in 1972 with a few corrections. Each primer a different colour; syllable cards for each primer are also available or can be made.]

a short description of some 88 cultural objects and artifacts - W. Kewa. Revised as a diglot with Pidgin, 83 pp., 1975.]

40. FRANKLIN, Karl and Yapua KIRAPEASI, eds., 1972. Akuanuna Iti Remaanu Buku. 52 pp. [Kewa myth book used as an advanced reader. Edited texts from several men in the W. Kewa area. Each text is followed by questions about the story.]

41. FRANKLIN, Joice, 1973. Teacher's Guide for Kewa Primers and Workbooks. 94 pp. [A step-by-step description on how to use materials described in items 38 and 42. Written in English, but includes a glossary of all W. Kewa words used in items 38 and 42, as well as a translation of texts contained in materials of item 38.]


44. FRANKLIN, Karl, Joice FRANKLIN and Yapua KIRAPEASI, 1974. Ne Nane Yae Luabu I Buku. 180 pp. [An alphabetical listing with descriptive sentences on all major fauna and flora types in W. Kewa. Designed as an advanced reader. Includes 35 categories and over 800 entries.]


46. FRANKLIN, Karl and Yapua KIRAPEASI, 1975. Pisini Agaapara Adaa Agaa Laapo I Buku. 67 pp. [A common usage dictionary translating words and phrases into W. Kewa.]

47. FRANKLIN, Karl, Yapua KIRAPEASI and A. TUA, 1975. Tok Save Long Ol Kain Liklik Tok Kewa. 53 pp. [A series of dialogues outlining the differences between Kewa dialects. Each such lesson is concluded with exercises in English.]

TRANSLATION

49. FRANKLIN, Karl, tr., 1963. Maka. 36 pp. [A translation of the gospel according to Mark, Chapters 1-5 in E. Kewa. Now out of print.]


56. FRANKLIN, Karl, et al., 1976. Gotena Agaa Medaloma. 92 pp. [Scriptures for new readers, following the series outlined by the Bible Society.]

57. FRANKLIN, Karl, et al., 1971. A list of Key Translation Terms: West Kewa. Ts. 20 pp. [An alphabetical list of terms with explanation of their translation. Also includes comments on the spelling system used by SIL and all other missions in the Kewa area. A three page list of important spelling distinctions, mainly based on words with aa versus a, concludes the paper. Mostly included in this dictionary in section 9.1.]


OTHER KEWA MATERIALS

For several years members of the Lutheran Mission (Wabi station), and Capuchin Mission (Karia station), as well as the Asian Pacific Christian Mission (Erave) have been studying the Kewa language. We are aware of the following publications which have resulted. Items 1-15 are in W. Kewa; 16-22 and 27-29 are in E. Kewa; 23-25 are in S. Kewa. There are probably other materials that we have not seen, particularly in S. Kewa.


3. Untitled rendition of *Liklik hap tok bilong soim rot long wok misin*, not paginated, Mimeo., Lutheran Mission. [General outline of Bible stories and themes for the use of mission evangelists working in Kewa area.]


6. *Anatuna aga rema*, [25 selected O.T. stories], *Rekena wi aga*, [10 commandments], *Adaa betena aga* [Lord's prayer], trs. N. Imbrock, no date, not paginated, Mimeo., Lutheran Mission. [In one volume.]


8. *Anatuna abana aga rema: Buku lapo*, as above. [24 additional O.T. stories translated from OSBB.]

9. *Anatuna abana aga rema: Buku repo*, as above. [15 additional O.T. stories translated from OSBB.]
10. *Anatunâ kaga aga remâ*: Buku egaita, as above. [29 N.T. stories translated from OSBB.]

11. *Anatunâ kaga aga remâ*: Buku lapo, as above. [27 additional N.T. stories from OSBB.]

12. *Anatunâ kaga aga remâ*: Buku repo, as above. [14 additional N.T. stories from OSBB plus 16 songs.]

13. *Anatunâ aga mânâ*, as above, 20 pp. [Martin Luther Catechism.]

14. *Lotu Aga Buku*, as above. [Sunday service, Sunday prayers, Communion, Baptism, Marriage, Church dedication, Burial.]


21. *Kewa agalina baibel lidi oltpela testament*: Abalamyapi lidi; Gotena agale abalade lisayai Yesusi sukama abi naepena, December 1967, 91 pp., duplicated. [Bible stories from the O.T., when Jesus had not come to earth - first 31 pp.]

22. *Kewa agatena baipel lidi nupela testament*: Kagapi lidi; Yesusi sukama Ipuma lagi pena kaga agale, 60 pp. [Bible stories from N.T., when Jesus came to the earth and told us - last 60 pp.]


27. SCHUSTER, Fr Roy (?), n.d. Kewa Verbs. 19pp., duplicated. [A few declensions plus alphabetical list of verbs with sentence examples.]

28. WHITE, Fr Roger, 1971. Vocabulary List for the Kware Language. 123 pp., duplicated. [Vocabulary plus songs from the E. Kewa dialect, Kware sub-dialect.]

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